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Pacific Linguistics 521
Taba: description of a South Halmahera language

John Bowden

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Dedicated to the people of Maluku and to the hope that all their current problems will soon be a thing of the past.
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One of the things that disturbs many linguists who have written grammars of little known languages is that it is very difficult to see what value an academic product such as a grammar could have for the people who speak the language. I am not sure what value this document will have to any of the Makianese people I know now. I fear that Taba, like many minority languages of the world today, will not last beyond a few generations more. I sincerely hope the language never reaches its death, but if it does, I hope that the descendants of my many Makianese friends might see some value in having their ancestors’ language documented in this way.

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Abbreviations

A  most agentive argument of transitive verb
ADMON  admonitive
ALL  allative
APPL  applicative
BEN  beneficiary
CAUS  causative
CLASS  classifier
COMP  complementiser
CONT  continuative aspect
DEM  demonstrative
DETR  detransitivising
DIST  distal
EMPH  emphatic
EP  epenthesis
ESS  essive
excl.  exclusive
FOC  focus
IMP  imperative
INCH  inchoative
incl.  inclusive
INST  instrument
INST.NZ  instrumental nominalisation
LOC  locative
NEG  negative
NOM  nominalisation
O  most patient-like argument of transitive verb
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1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 1pl, 2pl, 3pl: first, second, third person singular and plural.

cr: clitic break
= morpheme break

For further reading:
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Introduction

The Taba language has generally been referred to in the literature as either East Makian, Makian Timur, Inner Makian or Makian Dalam. In Indonesian, it is generally known as Makian Dalam, but the speakers of the language refer to it as Taba. Taba is also the name given by speakers of the language to Makian island, one of the most important islands on which the language is spoken, and the name they give themselves as the ethnic group who speak the language. Taba will be the name adopted for the language in this description.

According to Blust (1974, 1978, 1982, 1983/4, 1993), Taba is a member of the South Halmahera – West New Guinea (SHWNG) group of languages. The SHWNG languages, along with the Oceanic languages form the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian language family. (See §1.3.1 for further discussion of the classification of Taba.)

In this chapter we provide a general orientation for the rest of the grammar. In section §1.1 a brief typological sketch of Taba is given. Section §1.2 provides a brief geographical, historical and ethnographic overview. Section §1.3 discusses previous literature on the Taba language itself as well as providing a few notes on studies of closely related South Halmahera languages. In section §1.4 we sketch out the general aims of this study and discuss the theoretical framework adopted for the grammar, as well as providing an outline of the sources of data used in the study. Section §1.5 provides a sociolinguistic sketch covering dialect differences, speech levels, and the impact of the local lingua franca, North Moluccan Malay.

1.1 Typological sketch

Taba is predominantly a head-marking language with basic AVO word order, and it has both prepositions and a postposition. Most nominal modifiers follow their heads, but the genitive precedes its noun. Taba has a number of typologically unusual word-order correlations which are discussed in chapter 6. The unusual word order patterns encountered
are probably best explained as a result of contact between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages in the North Maluku sprachbund.

Taba has an inventory of 15 indigenous consonants and 5 indigenous vowels. Although the language's segmental phonology is unremarkable, a fairly complex variety of initial geminate consonants and consonant clusters are found. Many of the consonant clusters are exceptional with respect to widely held expectations based on hierarchies of sonority. Pervasive 'metathesis' and a variety of different productive reduplicative processes are found. All of these matters are discussed in chapter 2.

Defining characteristics of the notions 'word', 'clitic', 'affix' and 'particle' as well as the notion of the 'precategorial root' are discussed in chapter 3. Like many Austronesian languages, Taba has a number of morphological roots which cannot be said to have membership in any word class until they have undergone derivation of some kind. Usually, however, there is little difficulty in assigning a derived word to a word class on either morphological or syntactic grounds. Word classes are defined in chapter 4, where it is argued that Taba has no class of adjectives. Although words may have incontrovertible class membership as either nouns, verbs, etc., this does not mean that nouns must always function as arguments and the like, nor that verbs must always function as predicates. Predicates with a variety of different kinds of heads - verbal, nominal and adpositional - are found (chapter 5). Likewise, verbs and verb phrases (as well as nouns) can function as arguments (chapter 7 & §16.4.2 on 'headless relative clauses').

Taba has a mixed split-S and accusative system of pronominal cross-referencing for intransitive verbs (chapters 5, 6 & 8). Actors are obligatorily cross-referenced on verbs by a proclitic which indicates the Person and Number of the Actor argument; Undergoers are not obligatorily cross-referenced. Grammatical relations are discussed in chapter 6 where it is suggested that Taba recognises no subject or object grammatical relations, but only Actors and Undergoers.

Taba has a very productive set of valence affecting affixes. There is a causative prefix, two applicative suffixes and also a detransitivising prefix. The valence affecting affixes can have a number of other functions, e.g. the causative prefix ha- is also used to derive Actor intransitives from Undergoer intransitives. Taba has root intransitive and root transitive verbs but all ditransitive verbs are derived with applicative suffixes. Undergoer oriented intransitive verbs (unaccusatives) may also participate in applicative derivation. The derived forms are bivalent, but have no Actor arguments. While applicatives in other languages often have voice-like properties in that they allow what would otherwise be oblique elements to be 'promoted' to direct object position, the Taba applicatives generally just allow extra arguments to be expressed. The relative prominence of Undergoer arguments is not usually affected. These issues are all discussed in chapter 8.

Taba has a number of numeral classifiers. One of the classifiers is a prefix, a few are proclitics, and the rest are all independent words. These occur obligatorily whenever a numeral root is used, and also in a few other constructions which are discussed in chapter 10. Other aspects of quantification are also discussed here.

Taba has an important set of directional roots. These are used to locate the position of objects in space with respect to other objects, as well as to refer to direction of movement. Their use in discourse is quite pervasive. The spatial categories involved are 'seawards', 'landwards', 'upwards', 'downwards' and what I have glossed as 'there'. There are no Taba translation equivalents for the relative location categories of 'front' and 'back' which are familiar to speakers of European languages. A discussion of the semantics, morphosyntax
and use of directionals is found in chapter 11. Some directional roots can also be used deictically (as can demonstratives): these functions of directionals and demonstratives are also addressed in chapter 11.

Taba has productive verb serialisation which is discussed in chapter 12. Both prepositional and postpositional phrases are discussed in chapter 13, where the optional adpositional or applicative licensing of certain kinds of noun phrases is also addressed. Taba is unusual in that some kinds of noun phrases, e.g. instruments and locations can be licensed by both an applicative suffix on the verb and by an adposition at the same time.

While aspect and modality marking are never obligatory in Taba, continuous aspect and realis modality can be marked by optional verb phrases particles. These are discussed in chapter 14 where a variety of other clausal modifications including negation are also discussed. A treatment of various kinds of Taba direct and indirect speech acts is found in chapter 15, where different strategies for asking questions and making requests are discussed. Although both co-ordinate and subordinate clauses are found in Taba, most natural discourse actually consists of loosely bound paratactic sequences of clauses. Any meaningful connections between the clauses involved are understood pragmatically rather than through any overt semantic devices such as conjunctions. Multiclausal constructions are discussed in chapter 16.

Taba shows characteristics which suggest that it is typologically a kind of hybrid between the more familiar western Austronesian languages and the also familiar Oceanic ones. Sociolinguistically, this hybrid nature is also apparent. Like many western Austronesian languages such as Javanese and Balinese, Taba has named speech registers (albeit less elaborated than in the just named western languages). As do many speakers of Oceanic languages, Taba speakers practise name taboo.

At the present point in time, virtually all Taba speakers are also speakers of Indonesian or North Moluccan Malay. This is leading to a situation where the future existence of Taba is threatened, Malay or Indonesian beginning to take over many of the functions that Taba once had for itself. Sociolinguistic issues are addressed in later parts of this chapter. The effects of Malay on grammatical features found in the contemporary Taba language are discussed at a number of points throughout the grammar. Although Taba usage is still fairly vigorous amongst its speakers, quite a large part of the grammar of the language has become simplified, particularly amongst younger speakers, and a variety of aspects of Malay grammar are steadily being incorporated into Taba.

1.2 The setting and the speakers of the language

Taba is spoken chiefly on the eastern side of Makian island, on parts of Moti and the Kayoa islands, as well as in a number of villages on adjacent parts of the South Halmahera coast. Frequent volcanic eruptions on Makian island have led to contined migration from Makian to other places around the North Maluku region, and there are a large number of Makianese living in other places as well. At the time the research for this grammar was conducted, a sizeable community of Makianese people also live in a transmigration area in Malifut, near Kao on the northern peninsular of Halmahera island. However, recent intercommunal violence which has affected the Maluku region of Indonesia has led to the evacuation of Malifut by all of the Makianese who used to live there. There is a significant community of Taba speakers living in the regional metropolitan centre of Ternate. The long-standing Makianese community living here has been boosted considerably by the evacuees
from Malifut. There have been reports of further speakers of the language on Bacan and Obi islands as well as in the hinterland of Jailolo on Halmahera. I have been able to confirm that there was at least one Taba speaking community on Bacan island during the mid-1990’s. However, I was unable to confirm any of the other reports about communities around Jailolo personally. Jim Collins (pers. comm.) informs me that all of the inhabitants of Obi (at least up until the advent of intercommunal violence) were actually speakers of North Moluccan Malay. Thus it appears that if there were once speakers of Taba on Obi, their descendants have taken up Malay and abandoned Taba.

Map 1.1 shows north-eastern Indonesia with the locations where Taba was spoken or reported to be spoken before the recent violence began.

Map 1.1 North-eastern Indonesia showing locations where Taba was spoken during the mid-1990’s

Makian island itself is home to two different languages: Taba is spoken on the eastern side of the island while a Papuan language is spoken on the western half of the island. In English this language has been called West Makian and in Indonesian it is referred to as Makian Luar or ‘Outer Makian’. Taba speakers refer to the language as Taba Lik ‘Outer Taba’, while the speakers of the language itself refer to it (and Makian island) as Moi. Map 1.2 shows Makian island and areas adjacent to it showing where Taba is spoken.

Makian island is an active volcano with a long history of devastating eruptions. Verbeek (1908: 14) reports that there were eruptions in 1646, 1760, 1861-64, and 1890. The most recent eruption in 1988 resulted in the temporary evacuation of all the island’s inhabitants. Over the years, eruptions have led to widespread migration both from and to Makian island. Although the propensity for eruptions has continued to provide a motivation for Makian’s inhabitants to settle elsewhere a countervailing motivation to return to the island, or to occupy land left vacant by those who have fled, is provided by the island’s rich volcanic soils. Lucardie (1980) discusses Makianese migratory traditions, and, in a paper published
Areas shown in dark shading are areas where Taba is exclusively spoken. Areas shown in light shading are where other languages are spoken in addition to Taba. The labels in normal type give standard place names; italics show Taba place-names.
Chapter One

not long before the most recent eruption, Lucardie (1983) examines the Indonesian government’s transmigration scheme which was designed to encourage the Makianese to settle in Malifut on Halmahera island. This scheme was motivated by geological reports which predicted that a further major eruption was imminent.

Before the advent of government sponsored transmigration this century, large communities of Makianese people had already moved elsewhere. They set up villages on nearby islands where they maintained their native language. This occurred, for example, in the Bacan community referred to above, where Makianese people emigrated after the 1890 eruption.

The recent intercommunal violence which has afflicted the Maluku region has led to further evacuations and migrations. As already mentioned, the community at Malifut has all fled, mostly to Ternate. The community on Makian island still remains there, but the effects of the violence on all of the other communities which existed at the time the research for this grammar was undertaken are not known.

The factors just discussed here make it impossible to give an accurate estimate of the number of speakers for the language. The 1996 edition of Ethnologue gives a total of 22,000 speakers, 20,000 of whom, according to Ethnologue live on Makian island. These figures are clearly erroneous, however.

In the 1991 Indonesian census, a total of 17,179 people were recorded as living in Kecamatan Makian (Makian Subdistrict). Kecamatan Makian actually consisted of two major divisions: Makian Pulau (‘Makian island’) and Makian Daratan (‘Makian mainland’, or the transmigration area in Malifut). Recent local government reorganisation means that these administrative divisions no longer apply, but there are no more recent figures which give the populations of the new administrative areas which encompass the bulk of Taba speakers. Although all of the inhabitants of Makian Pulau are speakers of either Taba or Makian Luar, transmigration from Sulawesi and Java into Malifut meant that some of the adult inhabitants of Malifut were not speakers of either of the Makianese languages. On Makian island there is a clear geographical separation between the villages in which Taba and Makian Luar are spoken, but there was no clear separation in Malifut. Although separate divisions of Malifut were created for transmigrants from each of the villages on the island, these were all located very close to each other and inhabitants of each of the replicated villages were in regular daily contact with people from each of the other ‘villages’. In Malifut, most younger Makianese no longer spoke their ancestral language, whether that language was Taba or Makian Luar. In the present circumstances, the Makianese from Malifut are probably speaking even less of their language than was the case before they left Malifut. I was unable to find separate population statistics for each individual village, so it is impossible to say how many of the total number of Kecamatan Makian residents were speakers of which language. Whatever the number of speakers on Makian, there are less than estimated by Ethnologue.

Furthermore, the figures given in Ethnologue clearly underestimate the number of Taba speakers who lived in places other than Makian island. A rather large proportion of peoples living on the south west coast of Halmahera were speakers of Taba, as are many of the residents of Moti and Kayoa islands: each of these areas falls into different administrative subdistricts. Moti is home to three villages of Taba speakers, one village of Makian Luar speakers, and further speakers of Tidore, but the numbers of these people are not known. These places all fall into the Tidore district. Kecamatan Kayoa was home to speakers of Taba, Makian Luar and also to a community of Bajau speaking people. It had a total population of
18,252 according to the 1991 census. A considerable proportion of the people living on Kayoa – probably at least half – would have been speakers of Taba. There was at least one Taba speaking village (if not more than one village) on Bacan island, and possibly more on Obi. In addition, there were a large number of native Taba speakers living in Ternate city, and still living there now: some of the suburbs of Ternate such as Kampung Pisang were known as Makianese suburbs. In addition, a number of places along the south west coast of Halmahera, such as Payahe, had sizeable Taba speaking communities. Many more Makianese have migrated further afield to places as diverse as Irian Jaya, Sulawesi (particularly around Manado), Ambon and Jakarta.

A further problem with respect to determining the number of Taba speakers needs to be mentioned. This concerns whether the closely related Gane or Giman should properly be considered a distinct language from Taba or a dialect of the same language. Although sources such as the Ethnologue and Wurm and Hattori (1981), along with Grimes and Grimes (1984) suggest that Gane is a distinct language, Taba speakers I know all insist that they speak the same language. Inspection of Gane words and textual material found in Teljeur (1982, 1990 & 1994), along with unpublished material made available to me by Dirk Teljeur, suggest that Gane and Taba may be mutually intelligible. Teljeur (1982: 131) says there are about 2,900 speakers of Giman.

Given all the factors just outlined, an accurate estimate of the total number of Taba speakers is impossible: the true figure could be anywhere between 20,000 and 50,000 people. My best estimate would be that there are somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000 speakers. Population figures from the 1991 Indonesian census for some of the most significant kecamatan ‘subdistricts’ where Taba (amongst other languages) were spoken are given in table 1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Makian</td>
<td>8,611</td>
<td>8,568</td>
<td>17,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayoa</td>
<td>8,989</td>
<td>9,263</td>
<td>18,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gane Barat</td>
<td>9,939</td>
<td>9,725</td>
<td>19,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gane Timur</td>
<td>5,415</td>
<td>5,093</td>
<td>10,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32,954</td>
<td>32,649</td>
<td>65,603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 Population figures for some districts where Taba is spoken (after 1991 census)

The dialect of Taba which is the focus of this study is the dialect of Waikyon or Ngofakiaha village. (Ngofakiaha is the Indonesian name for the village which Taba speakers themselves refer to as Waikyon.) A map of Makian island showing all of the villages located on the island is found in map 1.3.

Useful introductions to the history of North Maluku can be found in van Fraassen (1981) and Andaya (1993) from which most of the following notes, unless otherwise cited, have been culled. Makian, as well as Ternate, Tidore, Moti and Bacan islands are the islands to which cloves (Eugenia aromatica) are indigenous. From as early as the first century A.D., there were reports of cloves in Chinese, Indian and Roman sources. Trade routes direct from Java to the North Moluccan region were in existence from at least the fourteenth century, and it appears that Islam arrived in the region not long after. Before European contact, the people of these islands and the nearby region were to a large degree subject to the power of sultanates based in Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo and Bacan. Makianese oral tradition suggests
that the sultanate of Bacan may originally have been Makianese. The sultanates acted as conduits for the trade and their rulers extracted tributes from the people living in the area.

In 1512 (after Malacca’s fall to the Portuguese in 1511), the Portuguese explorer Francisco Serrão arrived in Ternate. Although the Portuguese did not immediately found any settlements in the area, Serrão remained in Ternate until his death early in 1521, and a number of Portuguese ships passed through the region over this period. Meanwhile, the Spanish had begun to take an interest in the region, and in late 1521, after Ferdinand Magellan’s death in the Philippines, two ships from his fleet managed to reach Tidore where their crews were received hospitably. After staying in Tidore for about six weeks (and loading their vessels with a cargo of cloves) they returned to Spain as heroes and sparked off great interest in the region back in Europe.

The Portuguese returned to Ternate in 1522 and built a fort where they maintained a permanent settlement until 1574. They also established a presence in Ambon and a few other places. The Portuguese saw their role in Maluku as twofold: first, they wished to control the trade of cloves from the region, and second, they wanted to propagate Christianity. Both of these aims brought them into conflict with the Ternatans. After Sultan Hairun of Ternate was murdered in 1570, the Ternatans struck back. Assisted by Tidore and Bacan, they forced the Portuguese back to Ambon in 1574.
Tidore, fearful of the growing power of Ternate, invited the Portuguese back a few years later. They tried establishing a fort on Tidore in 1578, but Ternate remained the centre of the clove trade. A succession of brief Dutch expeditions to Ternate around the turn of the seventeenth century resulted in an alliance between the two powers against the Portuguese who were finally expelled from Tidore (and Ambon) in 1605.

The Dutch did not immediately attempt to consolidate their presence in the region. When they returned to Ternate in 1607, they found that during their absence the Spanish had launched an attack and taken over the fortifications in the south-western part of Ternate island. Ternatan power had been routed, but not for long. Along with the Dutch, the Ternatans founded a new capital, and built new fortifications on the eastern side of Ternate island. Over the next few years, Moti, Bacan, and also Makian islands were brought under the control of the Dutch, while the Spanish maintained a presence on Tidore and in the south-west of Ternate. The Dutch and the Ternatans gradually extended their sphere of influence, also gaining control of the western part of Halmahera from Jailolo. Spanish influence survived until 1663 when they finally gave up all of their settlements in Maluku and withdrew to Manila.

During this period, Makian island was brought firmly into the struggle between the colonial powers. Andaya (1993: 152ff.) describes some of the events on Makian, which up until this time was probably largely the domain of Makian Luar speakers. The first significant events occurred during 1610 and 1611 when the Dutch built three forts on Makian island, expelling the Spaniards and their Tidoran allies: in Tafasoho, in Ngofakiaha (or Waikyon), and in what Andaya (1993: 153) calls 'Tabalola'. The inhabitants of Kayoa (who were probably already speaking the language which has developed into contemporary Taba) then settled 'Tabalola'. 'Tabalola' is probably the village closest to Kayoa, now known as Mailoa. A number of people from Gane in south Halmahera also settled Tahane in the south-east of Makian. These people were also probably members of a speech community whose dialect gave rise to contemporary Taba. (It is quite likely that the variety spoken by those who remained at home developed into Ciman – see discussion above).

In 1627, another important event, the selection of Hamzah as the new sultan of Ternate, occurred. In cahoots with the Dutch, he set out to consolidate Ternate’s power, and in 1628, sent his assistant Kapita Laut 'Captain of the Seas' Ali to Ambon and Butung in Sulawesi with a fleet of 27 kora-kora, (a large Malukan war canoe carrying between 50 and 200 men). Valentijn (162: 442) quotes Hamzah as saying that this expedition was 'to implement in a proper fashion my law and justice in Maluku as if I myself were present'. The expedition was a disaster and most of the men were killed. Twelve of the canoes were from Makian. After this debacle, the inhabitants of Tahane moved north to replenish the population of war-ravaged Ngofakiaha or Waikyon, which until then had probably also been a Makian Luar speaking area. New arrivals on the island after the bungled expedition were probably people who brought an earlier variety of Taba from southern Halmahera.

There were further struggles between the old and the new powers. Most devastating of these for Makian came in 1679 when hostilities between the Dutch and Ternate along with Ternate’s local allies including Makian. According to VOC (Dutch East India Company) report 1375 of 12 August, 1682, these hostilities resulted in 2,919 Makianese deaths (out of a total population at the time of 5,197).

During the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company gradually asserted firmer control over North Maluku. Cloves began to be grown in a number of other places, most notably in Ambon. When spice prices began falling in Europe, the Dutch East India company embarked on a vicious campaign to eradicate all the clove trees in North Maluku.
and concentrate the industry on Ambon island, where monopolising the clove trade had not been so problematic. Although the campaign was not as successful as the Dutch might have hoped, the importance of North Maluku to the colonial powers was much diminished and the area no longer figured so prominently in Dutch colonial history.

The Dutch remained in control of what were the Dutch East Indies and became Indonesia until World War II, when the Japanese invaded. The Japanese stationed a small garrison on Makian island during their occupation and a significant Japanese military force was stationed at Kao, close to the Makianese transmigration settlement in Malifut. Wrecks of the Japanese ships bombed by allied aircraft are still visible just off the beach at Malifut.

After the Japanese defeat, the Dutch attempted to reassert control over their former colony but the attempt was unsuccessful, and Indonesian independence was proclaimed on 17 August 1945. Makian has been a part of the Republic of Indonesia since that time. National independence and economic development has now brought a number of changes to Makian.

Most important of these changes as far as the language is concerned is a huge growth in schooling. All schooling is conducted in Indonesian, and this has contributed to the increasing ‘Malayicisation’ of Taba. Increased communications over this time, particularly radio, and to a lesser extent television, have also contributed to the increasing impact of Malay on the language. The recent violence in North Maluku will also no doubt have its own effect on the future of the language. The impact of Malay on Taba is discussed further in §1.5.4.

Traditionally, Makianese society was organised into endogamous patrilineal clans or soan. Today, however, the traditional soan no longer plays such an important role in Taba society and the old rules of endogamy are no longer enforced. Today, marriage with people from other Islamic ethnic groups is very common. (Intermarriage with Christians is rare.) On Makian, intervillage (and thus inter-soan) marriage is also common.

The Makianese are all Muslims, but long-standing animist traditions are widely practised alongside Islam. There is widespread belief in guo ‘witches’ and their powers. Village shamen practise their craft alongside the Iman, and a large number of everyday phenomena are explained as a result of the work of the guo.

The Makianese all live in villages that are ranged along the coast of the island, all the houses within a hundred or so metres of the beach. Gardens are located behind the villages, ranged up the sides of the mountain for perhaps a couple of kilometres. There are no roads and all transport is either by foot, or by boat.

Makian island itself has been less affected by modernisation than other parts of Indonesia, even other parts of its less developed eastern provinces such as Maluku. Inducements to the population designed to encourage their transmigration to Malifut included the withdrawal of all government services from Makian island, including government health clinics, schools, and other government offices such as police and military posts. While the local population found the resources to fund local schools (and pay their teachers), money is scarce on Makian, and the economy is to a fair degree a subsistence one.

The traditional staple crop of Maluku, sago (baku in Taba), is not grown much on Makian because Makian is not endowed with the swampy terrain necessary for its cultivation. Sago is, however, imported from Halmahera and other nearby islands, and root crops such as cassava asbi, yams up and taro bia etc. are grown. Rice is also imported and has a growing

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1 The lack of swampy areas has its benefits: malaria is not endemic to Makian, although it is widespread on nearby islands.
place in the Makianese diet. Fish *yan* is also important. Chickens *manik* and goats *kabin* are also raised for consumption, but usually only on the occasion of feasts of some sort or another.

Quite a few cash crops are also grown. Amongst these are coconuts *niwi*, cloves *odai*, nutmeg *pala*, cocoa *coklat*, and probably most important today, the canarium nut *ngnge*. (Canarium trees were traditionally planted as shade for cloves, but their economic importance on Makian, which is renowned for the high quality of its canarium crop, has superseded that of the plant it was once grown to protect.) A variety of other endeavours also occasionally bring in money. During their season, the spawn of milk-fish *yan banden* are caught and sold live to be airfreighted to Java where they are farmed for export. There is some trade in chickens and goats which are sold in the markets of Ternate and Tidore.

1.3 Previous studies

Very little previous descriptive work has been published on Taba. In the following sections we discuss some proposals concerning Taba's historical relationships with other languages (§1.3.1), and we review the previous studies of Taba that have been published (§1.3.2).

1.3.1 The position of Taba within Austronesian

Adriani and Kruijt (1914) first proposed that the languages of the southern Halmahera area, the Austronesian languages of what was then Geelvink Bay (now Cenderawasi Bay in the Indonesian province of Papua) and the languages of the Raja Ampat islands formed a genetically related unit. Although their classification was based on a relatively small amount of data it was adopted by Esser (1938) who named this collection of languages the South Halmahera - West New Guinea group. Neither Adriani and Kruijt, nor Esser, however, had anything to say about the wider relationships of the putative subgroup.

Dyen (1965), on the basis of lexicostatistical evidence assigned the languages from this area into two separate first-order subgroups of Austronesian. Although Taba was not one of the languages examined by Dyen, it is relatively uncontroversial to assume that Taba would fit into his classification in the same way as Buli (see Maan, 1940, 1951), an obviously close relation of Taba, spoken in the southern part of Halmahera. A tree diagram representing the presumed position of Taba within Dyen’s classification, as well as the positions of the other languages he discusses from Adriani and Kruijt’s putative South Halmahera–West New Guinea group is shown in figure 1.1.

Dyen’s classification suggests a great degree of linguistic diversity in the north-eastern region of Indonesia. According to this classification, the languages of western New Guinea are most closely related to the languages of central and southern Maluku, and along with these, more closely related to most languages of western Indonesia, the Philippines, Polynesia and Melanesia than they are to the languages of southern Halmahera and the Raja Ampat islands.

Although Dyen’s classification is impressive in its scope, it has largely been rejected by other Austronesianists: its findings are at odds with the evidence of shared phonological innovation that has been presented by other linguists. The classification which has been most widely accepted by Austronesianists is that originally proposed by Blust (1978) and
developed in later articles. Although Blust was able to draw upon more extensive data than Adriani and Kruijt, his classification, like that of Adriani and Kruijt, puts Taba in a subgroup which he also calls the South Halmahera – West New Guinea (SHWNG) subgroup. In addition to providing further evidence for the SHWNG subgroup, Blust’s major contribution was his proposal that the SHWNG languages, together with those of the Oceanic subgroup (first proposed by Dempwolff, 1934-1938), together form a subgroup of Austronesian which he labels Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. Including this proposal with others for the languages of eastern Indonesia also developed by Blust (1982, 1983/4, 1993), a rough family tree giving the position of Taba as part of the South Halmahera – West New Guinea group as shown in figure 1.2 can be drawn. (The family tree drawn here is adapted from Blust, 1983/84: 2.)

Figure 1.1 Classification of languages from southern Halmahera and western New Guinea according to Dyen (1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key</th>
<th>A: Bigic Subfamily</th>
<th>1: Buli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B:</td>
<td>Malayo-Polynesian Linkage</td>
<td>2: Minyafuin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>Moluccan Linkage</td>
<td>3: Biga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D:</td>
<td>Geelvink Hesian</td>
<td>4: As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X:</td>
<td>non-specific number of additional branches</td>
<td>5: Biak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6: Numfor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7: Wandamen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8: Yapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9: Waropen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Blust’s classification of the South Halmahera and West New Guinea languages has been widely accepted by Austronesianists some caveats should be made about his conclusions. The most obvious caveat that needs to be mentioned concerns the paucity of data that was available to Blust. Until this grammar, the only published information that is at all comprehensive on any of the South Halmahera languages comes from Maan’s 1940 dictionary and 1951 grammar of Buli. The only comprehensive sources on West New Guinea languages available to Blust at the time he wrote his major 1978 paper were Held’s 1942 dictionary of Waropen, Suparno’s 1975 dictionary of Biak, and the source he relied upon most, Hasselt and van Hasselt’s 1947 dictionary of Numfor, as well as a few other word-lists. Perhaps more problematic is the lack of adequate data from most of the putative Central Malayo-Polynesian languages, many of which might be suspected to share a closer
historical relationship with the South Halmahera – West New Guinea languages than the
subgrouping proposed by Blust would lead one to believe.

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Figure 1.2 Classification of Austronesian languages according to Blust (1978, 1982, 1983/84, 1993)

**Key:**
- **AN:** Austronesian
- **F:** Formosan (one or more primary subgroups in Taiwan)
- **MP:** All non-Formosan Austronesian languages
- **WMP:** Western Malayo-Polynesian (MP languages from western Indonesia, the Philippines, as well as Chamorro, Palauan, Chamic and Malagasy)
- **CEMP:** Central–Eastern Malayo–Polynesian (the languages of the CMP and EMP subgroups)
- **CMP:** Central Malayo-Polynesian (the MP languages of the Lesser Sunda islands from Bimanese east, and of the southern and central Moluccas, including the Sula archipelago as well as the Bomberai peninsula of Irian Jaya)
- **EMP:** Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (the SHWNG and Oceanic languages)
- **SHWNG:** South Halmahera – West New Guinea (the MP languages of Halmahera, Cenderawasih Bay as far east as the Mamberamo river and the languages of the Raja Ampat islands)
- **OC:** Oceanic (the MP languages of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia except as stated elsewhere)

It is beyond the scope of the introduction to this grammar to make any detailed proposals about possible changes to Blust’s classification, however, and we will adopt Blust’s classification for our present purposes.

As far as the internal subgrouping of the South Halmahera languages is concerned, the only modern source is Grimes and Grimes (1984). Adriani and Kruijt also proposed a classification for some of them. Grimes and Grimes surveyed a number of North Maluku languages, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian, and devised classifications for each group of languages on the basis of lexicostatistics. A summary of their classification for the South Halmahera languages is given in figure 1.3.


Figure 1.3 Classification of South Halmahera languages after Grimes and Grimes (1984)

1.3.2 Previous studies of Taba

Very little has been written about the Taba language. The first people known to the author to have written anything at all about the language were van der Crab, 1862 and de Clercq, 1890. Both of these sources include brief word lists, along with very sketchy grammatical notes.

Adriani & Kruijt, 1914, reassembled the data originally presented by van der Crab and de Clercq but also used it to help construct their hypotheses about the historical relationships of the South Halmahera languages which were mentioned above.

More recently, Collins (1982) provided two word lists from Taba as well as a few pages of grammatical notes which appear before the word lists themselves. Collins' data came from a brief 15 hours spent with a Taba speaking informant, Bapak Junus Djabir, on the island of Obi, where he was working as a government official. Collins, it seems, rather reluctantly wrote up his notes and had them published because there was such a dearth of published material on any of the Austronesian languages from North Maluku. It was felt imperative that what information he had collected on Taba should be published in spite of the fact that writing up his materials revealed 'numerous inconsistencies in the transcription' (Collins, 1982: 99).

Bapak Junus Djabir is a native speaker of the Tahane dialect of Taba, and the word lists provided in Collins (1982) have proved useful to the present author insofar as they show certain characteristic differences between the dialects of Tahane and Waikyon. The grammatical preface to the word lists has proved less useful, however, largely because of the inconsistencies in transcription reported by Collins.

One of the most recent works on Taba that has been reported in the literature is Abdulrahman (1985). Extensive searches for this work both in Indonesia and outside have failed to locate a copy so I have been unable to draw on anything from it.
The present author produced an earlier version of this grammar as his PhD dissertation at the University of Melbourne (Bowden, 1998).

1.3.3 Previous studies of other South Halmahera languages

Although there has been hardly any previous work done on Taba itself, there are a few studies on closely related South Halmahera languages which have enabled some comparisons to be made between Taba and the languages concerned at various points in the grammar.

The major published material was written by the Dutch missionary G. Maan who produced a dictionary (1940) and a grammar (1951) of Buli, a language spoken on the northeastern peninsula of Halmahera island. Both of these works were produced on the basis of his knowledge of the language gained during a long residence in the area in the quite a few years earlier than the descriptions were published. In the tradition of his day, the grammar provides very useful information on Buli morphology, but very little attention has been paid to syntax, most of what can be gleaned in this area having to be worked out from the examples he provides.

In more recent times, a team of linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Ron and Jacqui Whisler) has been working on the Sawai language, spoken chiefly in the area around Weda on Halmahera. Although little of their work has yet been published (a phonological study, Ronald Whisler, 1992, has appeared) I have been lucky enough to have had access to draft manuscripts of a grammar (Jacqui Whisler, n.d.) and of a study of Sawai discourse (Ronald Whisler, n.d.).

I will use the materials provided by all of these linguists to facilitate comparisons with Taba at a number of points in this grammar.

1.3.3 Studies of other Halmahera region languages

Published studies have appeared on a variety of other languages from the Halmahera region. These can be divided into two basic groups: those on local Malay and those on the North Halmahera group of non-Austronesian languages. The North Maluku region is a language area in which a large number of linguistic features spread by contact are shared across language boundaries. Pervasive influences from both local Malay and the non-Austronesian languages of the area are found in Taba.

Two distinct varieties of Malay are spoken in the Halmahera region: the widely spoken North Moluccan Malay, and the more restricted Bacan Malay. Studies of various aspects of North Moluccan Malay have been published by Taylor (1983) and Voorhoeve (1983a). Virtually all adult Taba speakers (and most children over about the age of seven or eight) are also speakers of North Moluccan Malay, and its influence on Taba is discussed in more detail in §1.5.4. Bacan Malay has had little effect on Taba and little in the way of published materials are available on this variety.

The non-Austronesian languages which have had the most lasting impact on Taba are West Makian (Voorhoeve, 1982), and the languages of Ternate and Tidore. Ternate and Tidore are closely related dialects which were once the languages of the most powerful sulatanates in the region. The most comprehensive source to have appeared on either of these is van Staden (2000) on Tidore.
1.4 Aims of this study and the theoretical framework

This description of Taba has been written with what might be called a basic descriptive orientation. The overall aim of the grammar is simply to describe some of the most salient features of the language in as clear and explicit a manner as possible. The primary descriptive aim of this study means that the grammar will be presented in a largely ‘theory-neutral’ manner, in the tradition of other descriptive-typological studies of languages.

By asserting that this grammar will be largely ‘theory-neutral’ I do not mean that no theoretical decisions have been adopted, but simply that the theoretical orientation of the grammar is largely neutral between various competing models of grammar used by different practitioners of linguistics. A number of theoretical decisions must inevitably be made in the course of writing a grammar: defining concepts such as ‘the phoneme’, ‘the word’, ‘the phrase’, ‘the clause’, etc. (indeed, even deciding to adopt such linguistic units at all) require theoretical decisions to be made. Whenever these kinds of decisions have been made, however, they have as far as possible been made in such a way that practitioners of linguistics, whatever their theoretical orientation, should have few difficulties in understanding what has been written. In spite of this, occasional use will be made of theory-specific ideas, when these make a significant contribution to the ease of understanding of whatever is being discussed. Any terminology specific to a particular theory will be explained as clearly as possible on its introduction.

The largely ‘theory-neutral’ approach has been adopted for two reasons. The first reason is that I hope that the description will be useful to as many linguists as possible, whatever their theoretical orientation. More importantly, however, it is unlikely that anyone else will ever write a description of Taba. This grammar, then, needs to remain useful to readers not just now, but for quite a long time into the future. The value of largely ‘theory-neutral’ description is probably self-evident to anyone who has attempted to use grammars as ‘young’ as twenty or so years old that were written within theory-specific frameworks that were popular at the time they were written but which have since been superseded by new theoretical frameworks. Such descriptions are often quite impenetrable to those who were not trained within the relevant theory at the time.

The fact that this grammar is likely to be the only one ever written of Taba is made doubly important by the fact that Taba, like perhaps the vast majority of small-scale languages in the world today, is unlikely to survive as a viable language for many more generations. The signs of stress for Taba are already quite apparent. Many younger speakers of the language have extensively adopted grammatical patterns from the dominant local lingua franca of North Moluccan Malay (see §1.5.4).

In many grammars of small-scale languages, writers attempt to describe as archaic a variety of the language as possible. This is often done (even if it is not made explicit) at least partly in order to facilitate historical comparisons between the language under discussion and its relations. While I hope that this description may be of use to those having this aim in mind, and I have attempted to describe more archaic features of Taba as clearly as possible, I feel that to do only this would have resulted in a grammar that described something that does not really exist today, if it ever did. Contemporary Taba is characterised by a wide variety of different styles, some more archaic than others, and some more characteristic of different parts of the Taba speaking world than others. Accordingly, in addition to describing ‘archaic’ Taba, I have also tried to show at a number of points how features of the more archaic varieties of the language are being supplanted by newer more heavily Malayicised features, particularly amongst younger speakers.
With respect to geographical differentiation between dialects, I have concentrated almost exclusively on the dialect of Waikyon village, with only passing mentions of the varieties found in other places. This decision has been made not according to any principles of theory, but largely for the very pragmatic reason that I do not know enough about other dialects to be able to make extensive and accurate comments about them. Occasional notes on dialects other than Waikyon are included when I have reliable information about any differences they show.

1.4.1 Presentation of study

A major problem which needs to be addressed by the writer of any grammar is how to ‘translate’ the grammar of the language into a linear format, starting at page one, and continuing in a straight line until the end. Needless to say, a speaker’s knowledge of their language is not two dimensional, as are sheets of paper, nor one-dimensional as are the arrangements of words found on sheets of paper.

A variety of approaches for dealing with this problem have been devised by different grammarians. Perhaps the most common approach is to begin with an introductory first chapter, including basic material on geography, history, ethnography, historical classification, etc. After this, the grammar tackles phonology and morphophonemics, and the rest of the grammar deals with increasingly larger structures: morphology, the noun phrase, the verb phrase, perhaps the adpositional phrase, the clause, and then finally interclausal relationships. Depending on their importance (either within the language itself, or to the linguist writing the grammar) we might also see chapters on say, discourse phenomena or indirect speech acts, etc. We might call this approach that of the ‘standard grammar’.

Of course, within such a framework, there will be major differences between grammars. For a purely isolating language there would be no morphology chapter; for some (non-isolating) languages there would be a large section on morphophonemics and for others very little, etc.

But this kind of format for a grammar is clearly not the only kind possible. The ‘standard grammar’ outlined above actually reflects a number of different assumptions about the nature of language.

At the highest level of generality, the ‘standard grammar’ assumes the precedence of form over function. After being told what the ‘word-classes’ of a language are, we would next be told how they may combine together into phrases of various types, and how phrases may be joined together with other constituents to make further kinds of constituents. It is at least conceivable in principle that a grammar might be written which consistently put functions first, and then proceeded to describe the structures that were available for expressing each function (although how this would work in practice is perhaps more difficult to see).

Another underlying assumption of the standard approach to grammar writing outlined above is an assumption that the levels of analysis within a language are essentially modular: the phonology is clearly distinct from the morphology which remains clearly distinct from the syntax, etc. Again, it can be argued that languages themselves do not really consist of discrete modules which can be divided up so neatly. Inevitably, in writing a grammar of such a format the linguist is required to make decisions about exactly where certain ‘fuzzy’ phenomena of the language should be placed. For example, where should the line be drawn between morphology and syntax with respect to say clitics, which on phonological grounds
might be taken as morphological components of the word to which they are phonologically bound, but which on syntactic grounds occur as independent entities themselves? Recent grammaticalisation studies (see, for example, Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Traugott & Heine, eds. 1991) have made it clear that shifts in the grammatical status of individual morphemes, lexemes and constructions are the norm in languages rather than the exception. When, for example does a serial verb become an adposition? And how should intermediate cases be treated within a grammar? Another problem with the traditional approach to grammar writing is that languages often include minor form-classes which can have a role to play at different structural levels within a language. This is the case, for example, with the class of 'directionals' which have been identified in Taba. Some of the forms which have been derived from directional roots are formally classified as nouns while others can function as verbs or as adverbials of various kinds. Should they all be treated separately, in order to satisfy the constraints of the structural divisions of the grammar, or should they be treated together, in order to show both their formal and functional commonalities?

Inevitably, the answers to such questions as those posed above will involve compromises on the part of the linguist who is writing a grammar. This grammar, like any other can be viewed as the end product of a large number of such compromises. While the basic outline of this grammar follows the progression of the 'standard grammar' from small units of analysis such as the phoneme through larger units of analysis such as the clause and multi-clausal constructions, a few departures from this 'standard' framework have been made where it was felt that such departures contribute to a better understanding of the Taba language in some way.

The first departure from this standard framework lies in the provision of some chapters where we 'zoom out' to take in a wider view of the language's structures before zooming back in on smaller structural units. This occurs, for example, with chapters 5 and 6 which provide an overview of simple clauses before any examination of either the noun phrase (chapter 7) or of verbal morphology (chapter 8).

The second departure from the 'standard' framework occurs in sections of the grammar dealing with things such as possession and directionals. The morphological building blocks of possessive and directional constructions suggest an emic commonality for all of the derived forms, whether they occur within the noun phrase, the verb phrase or whatever. This emic commonality has been given precedence in determining how these aspects of Taba are presented in the grammar.

A brief overview of the history of Taba, and an outline of some sociolinguistic phenomena are found in this chapter. Further details on these aspects of the language have also been provided at a variety of points of the description, whenever some background on these matters can throw further light on the phenomena under discussion.

Of course, none of the strategies for grammar writing adopted here and outlined so far can hope to reveal all of the interrelationships between different components of the grammar. Where such interrelationships, as for example between serial verb and prepositional uses of the same linguistic form are found, I have simply tried to provide as much cross-referencing between different parts of the grammar as possible. The reader is thus left with the job of following up those cross-references if they so desire.
1.4.2 The field methods adopted and the data used

In this section, I give a short personal account of how the fieldwork which this description is based on was actually conducted, and how the data used as the basis for the study was collected.

I made three separate field trips to Makian island, the first from August 1993 until February 1994, the second from April 1996 to July 1996, and the third (shorter trip) in January and February 1998. Before my arrival on Makian island, my knowledge of the language, except for a few snippets of information I had been able to glean from Adriani & Krujt (1914) and from Collins (1982) was virtually non-existent. Before leaving on the first field trip, I prepared myself by learning some basic Indonesian, the North Moluccan Malay dialect of which serves as a lingua franca in the region where Taba is spoken. When I first arrived on Makian island, then, I was able to communicate at a basic level with Taba speakers, using Malay as the initial vehicle of communication.

Upon my first arrival on Makian island, I was taken to the house of the kepala desa (village head) of Ngofakiha village, to report my arrival, as is customary in small Indonesian villages. Ngofakiha (or Wiakyon as it is called in Taba) is the village which was the capital of Kecamatan Makian (Makian subdistrict) until its administrative relocation to the transmigration area of Malifut about ten years prior to my arrival. As is also customary when arriving in Indonesian villages where no hotel facilities of any kind are available, I stayed in the village as a guest of the kepala desa, Pak Ahmad Hamaya and his wife Mina. After a few days in Ngofakiha, it was decided that I should remain in the same house throughout my stay, and I thus have spent all my fieldwork time as a member of a Makianese household, eventually being adopted as a classificatory son of Ahmad and Mina.

My initial efforts at gathering linguistic data proceeded along two fronts. I elicited a variety of simple linguistic material from a number of different Makianese people who lived in Wiakyon, using Malay as the vehicle of communication. At the same time, I worked on developing some degree of fluency in speaking the language. At first, this was mostly in interaction with children (who did not seem to get so bored with my attempts at performing drills and seeking their correction of my mistakes as would have most of the adults!). After the first two or three months I had developed sufficient communication skills in Taba to enable me to cease using Malay and conduct all of my enquiries monolingually in Taba. The fact that my skills at speaking Indonesian / Malay were fairly rudimentary when I arrived was probably advantageous with respect to my aim of learning to speak Taba: it did not take very long before my ability to communicate in Taba was greater than my ability to communicate in Malay.

From this point on I was able to direct my enquiries about the language to the generally more reliable and less Malay influenced adults of the village rather than the children. At this point I also began recording stories on tape from a variety of speakers of different ages, and transcribed them with the assistance of a number of different people. At the same time as I was recording stories, I was also participating in the daily life of the village, always carrying a notebook into which I was able to jot down any noteworthy utterances about which I could make further enquiries at a later stage.

Although direct elicitation played a relatively minor role in constructing the corpus, elicitation was used to flesh out the bones of the data whenever what I had collected of people’s spontaneous utterances was insufficient for a detailed understanding of the linguistic phenomena involved. A total reliance on spontaneously uttered data would clearly not provide a sufficient corpus. Some less common grammatical constructions would
probably not be heard, but more importantly, such a corpus would only reveal what can be said in the language, and would not provide any information on what is ungrammatical or impossible to say. An advantage of a primary reliance on spontaneous utterances, on the other hand, is that it sometimes allows the investigator to hear constructions which are only grammatical in quite constrained discourse contexts, and which, without an appropriate context, might be immediately ruled out as ungrammatical by native speakers. The combination of causative and de-transitivising prefixes, both attached at the same time to a verb as discussed in §8.3.1.7, for example, is something that I heard people using on a number of occasions in spontaneous discourse. When I first asked people for further details on this construction, their immediate responses tended to be that the construction was ungrammatical. Once the context that I had heard it used in was explained, however, people were happy to admit that the construction was grammatical, but only in a narrowly defined context.

For the remainder of my first field trip I continued to work in the manner described above. After these first six months, I returned to Australia where I embarked upon writing the first draft of the grammar, noting where gaps remained in my data. My collected notebooks and transcribed texts were the primary source of data for this draft, these being supplemented by the letters I began to receive from Taba speakers during this time.

After most of a first draft of this grammar had been written, I returned to Makian in April 1996 for another three months of field work, during which time I continued to collect material in the same manner as during my first trip to the island. During this period I also filled in some of the gaps in my knowledge which had been revealed during the process of writing the initial draft. This second field trip no doubt resulted in the collection of proportionately more consciously elicited material than did the first trip. By this stage, virtually all elicitation was done monolingually. During my second field trip, I also did a fair amount of elicitation in Ternate city, where a large number of fluent first-language speakers of Taba also reside.

After the second field trip I returned to Australia where a final version of my PhD thesis was written, largely without the benefit of further consultation with Taba speakers. In a few instances, I was able to ask further questions of Taba speakers, mostly in letters, but also on a couple of occasions by telephone. The present grammar is a further revised version of the PhD thesis, in which I have been able to incorporate some modifications based on the final period of fieldwork which was conducted after the PhD thesis was submitted. This version has also benefitted from the comments of my PhD examiners, Malcolm Ross and Byron Bender.

1.5 Sociolinguistic overview

In the rest of this chapter, a few of the more noteworthy sociolinguistic features of the language are introduced:

- dialect differentiation
- speech levels
- name taboo
- the impact of Malay on Taba
1.5.1 Dialects of Taba

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, I have not been able to ascertain all of the places where Taba is spoken, so obviously an accurate and exhaustive discussion of dialect differentiation in Taba is not possible. This description is largely a description of the Waikyon dialect, but a few notes on dialect differentiation are provided where I have adequate information. The differences I know about are chiefly those which relate to the villages on Makian itself.

There are minor dialectal differences between each of the Taba speaking villages on Makian island. Mostly, these differences affect just a few words for which there are different forms in different villages. The most significant dialectal difference which I have noted is the quite widespread reflection of PSH *a as /o/ in Waikyon and Waigitang ('Ngofagita' in Indonesian) villages, whereas /a/ is retained in other villages. Some examples of words thus affected are given in (1).

(1) Waikyon & Waigitang Other villages English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waikyon &amp; Waigitang</th>
<th>Other villages</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wag</td>
<td>wag</td>
<td>'canoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pso</td>
<td>pso</td>
<td>'one' (default classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>ada</td>
<td>'mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batalon</td>
<td>batalan</td>
<td>'to sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doba</td>
<td>daba</td>
<td>'cultivated field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddoba</td>
<td>ddaba</td>
<td>'dirt, earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamuno</td>
<td>gamuna</td>
<td>'residue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yas</td>
<td>yas</td>
<td>'to swim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mto</td>
<td>mto</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another major dialectal difference concerns the rules for determining the grammatical category of Number (§7.3.3). While in Waikyon (and most other dialects) only nouns which refer to humans can be marked as grammatically plural, in Samsuma any kind of animate can be marked as plural.

It appears that the dialects of Ngelo (Kayoa island) and Mailoa villages have generally been more conservative than other dialects, reflecting a number of forms which have been lost in other dialects. Makianese people, whatever dialect they speak themselves, are all in agreement that the dialect of Mailoa and Ngelo is more alus 'pure' than other dialects. This status appears to be related to the fact that in the dialect of Ngelo and Mailoa a larger number of speech level distinctions (see §1.5.2) are maintained than in other dialects.

1.5.2 Speech levels (alus, biasa, and kasar)

It is necessary to recognise a number of distinct speech levels in Taba. A number of common words are categorised as either alus 'refined', biasa 'ordinary' or kasar 'coarse'. In general, alus forms should be used when one speaks to an addressee who is older than or of greater status than the speaker. Biasa forms are used in most other situations and kasar forms, if they exist, are used only rarely, perhaps when speaking to misbehaving children or people one is angry with. There is quite a deal of variability in people's command of alus styles: younger speakers often only know a few of the more common alus forms, even though it is they who are expected to use the forms when addressing older people. While speech levels were probably an important feature of older varieties of Taba, it appears that
the distinctions between levels are being lost under the impact of Malay, and perhaps as a result of decreasing differences in status since the political influence of the sultanates has waned.

Speech levels probably emerged in Taba as a result of the influence of the formerly powerful sultanates. Many of the *alus* forms I have noted are loans from Ternatan, and presumably these derived their *alus* status from their association with the sultanate of Ternate. I have not been able to conduct an exhaustive study of speech level differences. The distinction between levels seems to be particularly weak in Waikyon, which was until the transmigration of many Taba speakers to Malifut, the administrative centre of *Kecamatan Makian*, and thus more heavily ‘Indonesianised’ than other Makianese villages. As mentioned in §1.5.1, the dialects of Ngelo and Mailoa seem to have retained more speech level distinctions than other dialects.

Speech level distinctions in the grammatical system most notably affect the demonstrative system and are discussed in §11.1. A few examples of meanings for which words belonging to different speech levels are found are listed in (2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>alus</th>
<th>biasa</th>
<th>kasar</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jou</td>
<td>ole</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maledi</td>
<td>hamolam</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matutin</td>
<td>hacarita</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>‘to chat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palihara</td>
<td>toanam</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>‘to bury’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasiar</td>
<td>taggil</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>‘to walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mul ni asal</td>
<td>mot</td>
<td>botaq</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babas</td>
<td>babas</td>
<td>bor</td>
<td>‘to bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haloin</td>
<td>ahon</td>
<td>hajaweda</td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuda</td>
<td>kuda</td>
<td>burat</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>piës</td>
<td>hanata</td>
<td>‘to steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>kabot</td>
<td>kaletaj</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.5.3 Aroah (name taboo)

In common with many people from the Melanesian region, Taba speakers practise ritual name taboo. This means that when people die, their names cannot be used by anyone who has a close connection with them. This taboo is practised in accordance with the Makianese belief that the spirits of dead people may be disturbed, with potentially drastic consequences for the living, if their names are ever uttered. The names of living people who share the same name as the recently deceased cannot be used either: such people will have substitute names or *maronga* bestowed upon them.

In Taba, the ritual avoidance of someone’s name is called *aroah*. It should be noted that *aroah* concerns the avoidance of people’s names and does not mean that the dead cannot be referred to in other ways than by their names. When I returned to Makian for my second field trip, a woman who had lived in a neighbouring house to the one I stayed in had died during my period away. She was commonly referred to as *Deku ni mamasi* ‘Deku’s mother’ or *Dula ni mapin* ‘Dula’s wife’, after her death, but no longer by name.
Taba speakers very often have Islamic names which many people share in common. Most Taba speakers also have nicknames in addition to their ‘real’ names. These can serve to facilitate unambiguous reference to people having the same name: the widespread use of nicknames may also be partly motivated by the necessity of avoiding the use of names which are shared with the recently deceased.

1.5.4 Multilingualism: language contact and decline of Taba

Virtually all adult Taba speakers are also fluent in the regional lingua franca of North Moluccan Malay. North Moluccan Malay and Bahasa Indonesia are two varieties of the same lingua franca which are in a diglossic relationship in North Maluku. Most village-dwelling Taba speakers have limited command of the ‘high’ variety of Bahasa Indonesia (which they themselves often refer to as Bahasa Indonesia Tinggi ‘High Indonesian’) as opposed to Bahasa Malayu ‘Malay’, the ‘low’ variety which is the one making the most impact on Taba. Those Taba speakers with higher levels of education generally speak ‘official’ Indonesian better than those with less education.

Quite a few Makian Luar speaking inhabitants of the western side of Makian island speak Taba, but hardly any Taba speakers know the western language, most saying that it is too difficult to learn.

Although few Makianese today speak other minority languages from North Maluku, this clearly has not been the case throughout history. For many years Ternatan functioned as a regional lingua franca, and many Ternatan loan words can be found in contemporary Taba. Loans from a wide variety of source languages are found in Taba, including a few words from European languages such as Dutch which appear to have been borrowed directly into Taba. For example, I have been unable to find any other languages in the region with forms similar to Taba bonci for ‘peanut’ (< Dutch boontje ‘little bean’). The other regional languages I am aware of have borrowed Malay kacang. A number of similar forms are also found.

Today, Taba is being increasingly affected by Malay. Better communications and increased education mean an ever-increasing role for Malay in everyday life and corresponding decrease in the role for Taba. Although Taba is still the preferred language for household use, more formal situations generally call for the use of Malay, even if all of the audience present are speakers of Taba. This seems to be a fairly recently introduced feature of Taba life. Although the present kepala desa in Waikyon, Ahmad Hamaya always speaks Malay on public occasions, I was told that his predecessor always spoke Taba when only Taba speakers were present. The only person I ever heard speaking Taba during a public address was Haji Abdul Hadi Togubu, the Jogugu Moloku Kie Raha (or ‘Lord of the Land of the Kingdoms of Maluku’), the sultan of Ternate’s deputy, a native of Makian. The current Jogugu is now a fairly elderly man, who no doubt uses Taba partly because of his age, and partly for affective reasons, showing his identification with the people of Makian, although he now resides in Ternate.

In short, the functional domains for the use of Taba are in a downward spiral. Furthermore, the population of Makian, since the most recent eruption, is in decline. More and more Makianese are now living in the regional centre of Ternate as well as in the transmigration area of Malifut and other places where Malay is the normal vehicle of communication. In general, their children are not being brought up as speakers of the language any more. Although I have not been able to verify this myself, I have been told

2 See Ferguson (1957) for an introduction to the notion of diglossia.
that the Makianese who live in more distant locations such as Jakarta make more strenuous
efforts to teach their children Taba and to use Taba as their preferred language in the
household than do the Makianese living closer to home. If this is true, it may be caused by a
more strongly perceived association between the language and Makianese identity felt by
those who have little daily contact with other Makianese. The Makianese I have met who
live in Ternate or Malifut all seem to quite clearly identify as Makianese without feeling any
necessity to speak the language of their ancestors.

It is also clear that younger people living on Makian speak varieties of the language that
are much more heavily influenced by Malay than are the varieties spoken by older people.
Discussion of these differences is found at a number of places in this grammar, and will not
be reiterated in detail here. Most noteworthy amongst the Malayicised features found in
young people’s speech are a reduction in the marking of speech levels (§1.5.2), a collapse in
the distinctions marked by the system of numeral classification (§10.3), widespread adoption
of Malay prepositions into the language (§13.2) and the use of a number of other Malay
grammatical particles (chapter 14) and conjunctions (chapter 16) as well as the widespread
replacement of vocabulary. It is clear that the prognosis for Taba’s continued existence
beyond the next century, like perhaps the prognosis for most of the indigenous languages of
Maluku, is not at all good. More discussion of the impact that Malay is having in Taba can
be found in Bowden (2001).
2

Phonetics and phonology

This chapter constitutes a survey of the major features of Taba phonetics and phonology. A brief illustration of Taba phonetics is also found in Bowden and Hajek (1996). Taba is notable for having many initial geminate consonants, and a wide variety of phonemic consonant clusters in initial and medial environments.

In this phonological description I will be adopting a theoretical orientation drawn from a number of different frameworks, but most notably from classical phonemics, and from autosegmental phonology (see, for example, Goldsmith, 1989). Although different aspects of various phonological theories have been used to elucidate the description of Taba phonology, it must be pointed out that the major purpose of this chapter is simply to describe Taba phonology as clearly as possible. Although the phonological structure of Taba may provide evidence that would bolster the position of some theories of phonology vis-a-vis some other theories, none of this kind of debate will be conducted here.

A preliminary outline of the inventory of Taba segmental phonemes is given in §2.1, but a more detailed treatment of segmental phonology is left until §2.5. This is preceded by an outline of the phonological phrase as a unit in Taba phonology (§2.2), and a discussion of syllable structure in §2.3. Stress is discussed in section §2.4. In §2.6 and §2.7 are found discussions of prosody and morphophonemics. Section §2.8 takes up the issue of dialect variation in phonology.

There are quite a few loan phonemes found in the language. As discussed in the historical introduction to this grammar, the Taba language has long been subjected to influence from other languages, and the present phonemic inventory reflects this influence. Loan phonemes range from the highly marginal /ʔ/, through the increasingly less marginal /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ to the almost nativised /f/. Any dividing line that could be drawn between phonemes that are 'native' and phonemes which are not would by necessity be somewhat arbitrary. I have decided that for the purposes of exposition of the general phonological structure of Taba, the role of all loan phonemes will be set to one side. Thus, the major parts of this phonological description will deal with the 'native' or inherited Taba phonemes alone. As well as obviating the need for arbitrary decisions on 'degree of nativeness' of particular phonemes, this approach also has the advantage of considerably reducing the complexity of the rules for
phonotactics and syllable structure (§2.3). Although the phoneme /tʃ/, for example, is now reasonably common in Taba, the possibilities for its appearance in consonant clusters are quite limited in comparison with the inherited consonants. Presumably this fact reflects something about the phonotactic rules of the languages from which it has been borrowed rather than about the phonotactics of Taba itself. The loan phonemes, although not treated in detail in the core parts of this chapter, will be introduced in the sections dealing with segmental phonology, and they will be discussed in more detail in §2.9.

Section §2.10 deals with the orthographical conventions I have adopted for the remainder of the grammar. Discussion of the notions ‘word’, ‘affix’, ‘particle’, etc. is found in chapter 3.

2.1 Phonemic inventory

In this section is found a preliminary discussion of the segmental phonemes of Taba. Charts showing all of the phonemes, and a listing of minimal and subminimal pairs is found: consonants in §2.1.1 and vowels in §2.1.2. A more detailed treatment of segmental phonology is found in §2.5.

2.1.1 Consonant inventory

The Taba consonant inventory is shown in figure 2.1. (Loan phonemes are shown in parentheses.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>apico-alveolar</th>
<th>lamino-palatal</th>
<th>dorso-velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td>(tʃ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
<td>(dʒ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Consonant phonemes

Taba has fifteen indigenous consonant phonemes, and four loan phonemes: /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /tʃ/, and /ʃ/. The glottal stop is very marginal, occurring only in a handful of loan words having their ultimate origins in Arabic, e.g. /máʔal/ ‘forgiveness’, /táʔat/ ‘be obedient’. The voiced affricate occurs both in loans from Ternatan, e.g. /dʒʊal/ ‘respectful greeting’ and from North Moluccan Malay, e.g. /dʒága/ ‘take care of/ofen’ as well as from English, e.g. /dzeregén/ ‘jerry can’. Its voiceless counterpart occurs more frequently, in loans from both North Moluccan Malay, e.g. /tʃalana/ ‘trousers’ and Ternatan, e.g. /tʃalan/ ‘thousand’, as well as from Spanish or Portuguese, e.g. /ʃókla/ ‘cocoa’ and Dutch, e.g. /bɔntʃi/ ‘peanut’ (<boontje ‘small bean’). In addition /tʃ/ occurs as an allophone of /ʃ/ following alveolar consonants, e.g. /n=sóbal/
(3sg=sail) [ntʃóbal] ‘s/he sails’. The labiodental fricative /ʃ/ is found in words having their origin in a variety of languages, e.g. Portuguese /fêr/ ‘iron’, Dutch /fruk/ ‘early’, Tematan or Tidoran /fat/ ‘to cover’, North Moluccan Malay /ful/ ‘mace (from nutmeg)’ and Arabic /falit/ ‘the sixth month after Ramadan’.¹ In younger people’s speech, the affricates /dy/ and (especially) /ts/ have become quite nativised in many respects, but all four of the above phonemes are treated as loans, for reasons outlined in this chapter’s introduction and treated at more length in §2.8.

While /h/ is sometimes classified as a fricative, it has been labelled an approximant here, for reasons discussed in §2.5.1.6.

Minimal pairs exhibiting contrasts between the consonant phonemes discussed above are given in (1). In a few cases where no minimal pairs exist in the corpus, subminimal pairs have been given.

(1) /b/ vs /p/ nabûb ‘it’s making a noise’
    napûp ‘(s)he coughs’
    /m/ bâle ‘to return’
    mâle ‘must’
    /d/ bó ‘formerly’
    dó ‘realis marker’

/p/ vs /m/ póto ‘buttocks’
    möto ‘a little’
    /l/ huâp ‘overflow, outfall’
    huât ‘small fishing net’

/m/ vs /n/ nám ‘you (sg.) see’
    nám ‘(s)he sees’

/d/ vs /l/ dála ‘breakfast’
    tâla ‘to meet’
    /n/ dó ‘cuscus’
    nó ‘there’
    /s/ dó ‘cuscus’
    só ‘to ascend’
    /l/ dó ‘cuscus’
    ló ‘and’
    /r/ dóre ‘Tidore’ (place name)
    rôre ‘small stone’
    /g/ dôd ‘to ask’
    gôd ‘ditch’

/l/ vs /k/ thán ‘we (incl.) go’
    khán ‘I go’

¹ Although */f/ occurred as a reflex of PAN */p/ in Proto-South Halmahera (e.g. PSH *fen ‘turtle’ < PAN *peñu), this phoneme is reflected as /h/ in modern Taba (e.g. hen ‘turtle’).
| /n/ | láat  | ‘to slice’ |
|     | láan  | ‘step’     |
| /s/ | tóglak | ‘to pull something’ |
|     | sóglak | ‘to hang something up’ |
| /l/ vs /l/ | bóta | ‘to cuddle’ |
|     | bóla | ‘cotton’ |
| /r/ | tábu | ‘to bite (as snake)’ |
|     | rábu | ‘cape, promontary’ |
| /n/ vs /ŋ/ | ntóno | ‘(s)he watches’ |
|     | ntómo | ‘(s)he stays’ |
| /s/ | niwi | ‘coconut’ |
|     | síwi | ‘fish species’ |
| /l/ | né | ‘this’ |
|     | lé | ‘only’ |
| /h/ | nóbas | ‘soft banana’ |
|     | róba | ‘by product of sago making process’ |
| /ŋ/ vs /k/ | gówo | ‘place’ |
|     | kówo | ‘seed, stone’ |
| /ŋ/ | qálala | ‘white cockatoo’ |
|     | nálawa | ‘game’ |
| /h/ | gólo | ‘snot’ |
|     | hólo | ‘to trap fish’ |
| /k/ vs /ŋ/ | kálekále | ‘grubby’ |
|     | nále | ‘meaning’ |
| /h/ | kíhis | ‘flood’ |
|     | híhit | ‘bamboo cross-braces on roof’ |
| /ŋ/ vs /h/ | hán | ‘to go’ |
|     | nán | ‘sun’ |
| /s/ vs /l/ | lólis | ‘species of tree’ |
|     | lólil | ‘wink’ |
| /l/ | süba | ‘to bow (gesture of obeisance)’ |
|     | rúpa | ‘type, kind’ |
| /h/ | sán | ‘to shout’ |
|     | hán | ‘to go’ |
| /h/ vs Æ | llóan | ‘fish species’ |
|     | lóan | ‘step/stair’ |
|     | hám | ‘you see’ |
|     | ám | ‘to see’ |
More information on Taba consonants is found in §2.5.1.

2.1.2 Vowel inventory

Taba has a simple five vowel system, as shown in figure 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front (unrounded)</th>
<th>central (unrounded)</th>
<th>back (rounded)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Taba vowel phonemes

Minimal pairs, showing contrasts between the Taba vowel phonemes are given in (2).

(2) /i/ vs /u/  lik ‘outside’
     luk ‘to bend over, lie face down’
     /e/ li locative postposition
     le ‘only’
     /a/ lilho ‘navel’
     lalho ‘tooth’
     /o/ li locative postposition
     lo imperative particle

/u/ vs /e/  klu ‘fish species’
     kle ‘landwards side’
     /a/ um ‘house’
     am ‘to see’

/u/ vs /o/  llu ‘leaf’
     llo ‘blood’
     /e/ hen ‘turtle’
     han ‘to go’
     /o/ le ‘only’
     lo ‘and’

/a/ vs /o/  dala ‘breakfast’
     dola ‘hole’

More information on the Taba vowel phonemes is found in §2.5.2.
2.2 The phonological phrase

The phonological phrase is an important concept in Taba phonology, providing the domain for a number of phonological rules. Most important is the fact that syllables may have complex onsets only when they occur at the beginning of phonological phrases (see §2.3 for details on syllable structure). The phonological phrase is defined as the minimal string after which it is possible to pause briefly. The phonological phrase is thus more or less equivalent with the ‘intonation unit’ of Chafe (1979 and elsewhere) when it occurs in fluent speech. The phonological phrase is largely (but not exclusively) coincidental with the clause as a morphosyntactic unit (again, when it occurs in fluent speech). Where two clauses are conjoined, the initial phonological phrase may consist of the first clause plus its following conjunction and the second phonological phrase of just the second clause as seen in (3). (Note that in the following examples ‘,’ and ‘.’ indicate pauses.)

(3) indadi latada Banda de_supaya,
indadi l=ha-tada Banda de_supaya,
thus 3pl=CAUS-give Banda in_order_that,

asehat hasole am
a=ha-sehat ha-so-le am
1pl.excl=CAUS-healthy CLASS-one-only (all) 1pl.excl

‘So they give (it) to Banda so that we all remain healthy towards each other.’

If a second clause in an utterance has a cross-referencing proclitic on a clause initial verb, a copy of the proclitic may be ‘detached’ from the second phonological phrase and appear as the last element of the preceding phonological phrase. Such ‘proclitic detachment’ is seen in (4) which consists of two phonological phrases.

(4) polo otin nwom de t,
polo otin n=wom de t,
if tuna 3sg=come RES 1pl.incl,

ttalai dumik do.
t=tala=i dumik do
1pl.incl=get=3sg be.complete REAL
‘If tuna come so that ... we catch them all.’

Pauses also occur within clauses after the occurrence of a conjunction which has been used to conjoin clause internal elements, as seen in (5) where there are also two phonological phrases.

(5) Polo Ahmad lo, Mina lhan pope te,
polo Ahmad lo, Mina l=han po-pe te,
if Ahmad and, Mina 3pl=go down-ESS NEG,
‘If Ahmad and, Mina hadn’t gone down,’
Examples such as (5) illustrate what is probably a pause occurring as a result of disfluency rather than as a result of the intervention of any real structural linguistic boundary. However, the effects of such pauses on the permissible shape of the following segments are real enough.

Pauses may also occur after a fronted preclausal noun phrase (see §6.3.1 for details on this construction) as illustrated in (6) where again there are two phonological phrases. Note that (6) also illustrates proclitic detachment. In this example, the proclitic is totally detached: it no longer appears attached to the verb itself; the detached proclitic remains in the initial phonological phrase.

(6) *Iswan e n, mau ni dawalat Samsumasi ne*
   *Iswan e n= mau ni dawalat Samsuma=si ne*
   *Iswan FOC 3sg= want 3sg.POSS girlfriend Samsuma=PL PROX*
   ‘This guy Iswan, wants his girlfriend from Samsurna.’

Note that the pauses in examples such as (4) and (6) above can also occur before ‘undetached’ cross referencing proclitics as in (7).

(7) *Rauf e, nhan akla do*
   *Rauf e, n=han ak-la do*
   *Rauf FOC, 3sg=go ALL-sea REAL*
   ‘Rauf, he’s gone seawards.’

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the phonological phrase is the domain within which initial syllables may have complex onsets. Syllable structure and stress are treated in the next two sections.

### 2.3 Syllable structure

The minimal Taba syllable consists of just a vowel, while the maximal indigenous syllable structure is CCVC.² The structure CCVC, however, is only found in syllables which occur at the beginning of phonological phrases; non-initial syllables have a maximal structure of CVC. ‘Syllables which occur at the beginning of phonological phrases’ will hereafter be referred to simply as ‘phrase-initial syllables’. The structure of the initial syllable is illustrated in figure 2.3.

---

² There are two examples of word-initial three consonant clusters involving the sequence ‘str’ in the corpus, but both of these are loans from Dutch *strep* ‘hessian’ and *strøken* ‘kerosene lamp’.
Figure 2.1 Taba initial syllable structure

There are some restrictions on which sequences of syllable initial consonant clusters are allowed (see §2.3.1.1).
A representation of the post-initial syllable is given in figure 2.4.

Figure 2.2 Taba post-initial syllable structure

Any of the five Taba vowels may occur in the nucleus position, and any of the native consonants may occur in coda position. There are no restrictions on which single consonants can occur in the onset of a syllable, but there are some restrictions on syllable-initial consonant clusters. In this analysis of Taba phonology, each distinct surface vowel forms a syllable nucleus. Thus, sequences of different surface vowels always cross syllable boundaries. This way of viewing vowel sequences considerably reduces the complexity of the rules for assigning stress which will be discussed in more detail in §2.4. Except for a few very marginal exceptions to be discussed in more detail in §2.5.2, underlying sequences of the same vowel segment are realised phonetically as short vowels, and occupy only one syllable nucleus. In the following examples, [σ] represents a syllable and [σ] represents a stressed syllable.

All of the possible C & V arrangements for monosyllabic words are illustrated in (8).
Polysyllabic words occur with a maximum of two consonants appearing together in medial clusters. Such clusters always syllabify so that the initial consonant occurs as the coda of one syllable, and the second consonant occurs as the (simple) onset of the next. Within the limits just outlined, all of the possible C & V arrangements for disyllabic words are illustrated in (9).

The vast majority of Taba words are either monosyllables or disyllables. While polysyllabic words are not uncommon, there are not enough found in the corpus to give exhaustive examples of each potential CV combination. A few representative examples of polysyllabic words are given in (10) - (12).
2.3.1 Syllable peaks

It has already been mentioned that the peak of each Taba syllable consists of a single vowel. There is a clear distinction between \(VV\) sequences which do not surface as diphthongs and real diphthongs which are treated as \(VC\) sequences.\(^3\) Such a distinction makes rules for stress assignment (see §2.4) much simpler.

When two syllables of the form \((C)(C)V\) and \(V(C)\) appear together (whether word-internally or not) each vowel forms a separate syllable peak. There are few restrictions on which vowels may occur together, except that in a \(V_1V_2\) sequence, \(V_2\) must be a different vowel from \(V_1\). When two vowels of the same type occur adjacent to each other, the underlying vowel sequence is realised phonetically as a single vowel. There is, except for a few marginal lexically exceptional cases discussed below, no surface length distinction to be found in the Taba vowel system.

Each word-internal vowel sequence found in the corpus is illustrated in table 2.3 below, along with an example word within which it occurs.

As already discussed, no instances of geminate vowels are shown in the table. In addition, the sequence \(/ea/\) is not found in the corpus. All other combinations are attested. The lack of any examples of \(/ea/\) sequences is probably explicable as an accidental gap and further research may reveal its existence: the phoneme /e/ is by far the rarest of the Taba vowels (see §2.5.2).\(^4\)

The constraints against the surface realisation of two alike vowels are very strong, operating across both morpheme and word boundaries. Where two adjacent vowel segments of the same type are found, they share a single phonetic realisation. Example (13)

\(^3\) See, however, discussion of glide replacement (§2.3.1.1) and glide formation (§2.5.1.6).
\(^4\) The sequence /e a/ is attested across word boundaries, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am} & \quad e \quad \text{a-han} \\
\text{1pl.excl} & \quad \text{FOC} & \quad \text{1pl.excl-go}
\end{align*}
\]

'As for us, we’re going.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>second V</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>initial V</td>
<td>SEE DISCUSSION BELOW</td>
<td>pies ‘black (kasar)’</td>
<td>bia ‘taro’</td>
<td>hio ‘well, good’</td>
<td>doliu ‘divorcee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>galéit ‘to burp’</td>
<td>SEE DISCUSSION BELOW</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>maléo ‘other’</td>
<td>hagléu ‘to poke tongue out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>odáii ‘clove’</td>
<td>kawáel ‘be.tired’</td>
<td>SEE DISCUSSION BELOW</td>
<td>maōka ‘mouse’</td>
<td>gaugáu ‘device used to fan fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>wói ‘shark’</td>
<td>alhóe ‘who?’</td>
<td>poas ‘to row’</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>lanóu ‘argument’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>púik ‘to give off foul odour’</td>
<td>bús-búebúe ‘baby bouncer’</td>
<td>suát ‘shellfish’</td>
<td>guó ‘evil spirit’</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Phonetically realised vowel sequences

illustrates geminate reduction across morpheme boundaries, while (14) and (15) illustrate the same process occurring across word boundaries.

(13) \( Am \ am\text{am} = s l \text{do} \rightarrow [\text{amamsido}] \)

\[ \text{am.pl.excl} \text{am.excl=see=}3\text{pl} \text{REAL} \]

‘We already saw them.’

(14) \( Ndadi i \ n\text{han} \rightarrow [\text{ndadinhan}] \)

\[ \text{ndadi} i \text{n=han} \]

so 3sg 3sg=go

‘We already saw them.’

(15) \( Kaluso Oci \rightarrow [\text{kalusoci}] \)

\[ k=ha-lusa-o \text{Oci} \]

1sg=CAUS-say-APPL Oci

‘I told Oci.’

A few lexically exceptional cases are found, concerning the vowels /a/, /i/ and /e/:

- /a/ is the only vowel for which a true geminate sequence is attested. This occurs in the word haākak (ha-akak, CAUS-cough.up.phlegm) ‘to cough up phlegm’ where the adjacent vowels are assigned to separate syllables, the second attracting stress. The form is obviously exceptional because it is onomatopoeic. There are no minimal contrasts between short and long /a/.
• Long /i/ is attested in two words: sī penis’ and kī ‘vagina’. The abnormal lengthening in these words probably has an expressive function; it is not related to the fact that the words are monosyllabic. Other monosyllabic words consisting of just an open syllable receive no comparable lengthening, e.g. do ‘cuscus’ has a short vowel.

• The situation with /ē/ is a little more complicated. The negative particle /te/ ‘not’ (see §14.2.1) contrasts with the discourse marker /te/ ‘if not...’ (§16.7.11). It seems likely that both forms arise historically from the same source, but two distinct varieties have emerged under the effect of different characteristic prosodic environments. The negative particle generally appears as a prosodic satellite to the clause in which it appears (although it can also occur on its own with the meaning ‘no’). The discourse marker always occurs before a clause describing what would happen if some presupposed condition has not been fulfilled: it often attracts non-terminal rising intonation in the same way as fronted orientational elements generally do (see §6.3.1). It is thus frequently subject to lengthening, as other fronted elements can be.

2.3.1.1 A note on glide insertion

Many of the vowel sequences illustrated in figure 2.5 above can be produced with a distinct glide between adjacent vocal segments, although there is quite a deal of variability between individual speakers, and between different utterances of individual speakers. Glide insertion appears to be a rather low-level phonetic phenomenon rather than a phonological one.

The sequences found at the top of the table (/ie/; /ia/; /io/, and /iu/) but most likely those towards the left /ie/ and /ia/) often occur with [j] insertion, particularly when the first vowel of the sequence is stressed. Sequences towards the bottom of the table (/ui/; /ue/; /ua/; /uo/ and /oa/) from the second to bottom row, and most likely /ua/ and /uo/) are liable to occur with [w] insertion, again most often when the initial vowel of the sequence is stressed. Some examples of such glide insertion are given in (16) and (17).

(16) [j] insertion

/pīes/ [pījes] ‘black’ (kasar)
/bīa/ [bīja] ‘taro’
/hīo/ [hīo] ‘be.good’
/dolīu/ [dolīu] ‘divorcee’

(17) [w] insertion

/sūat/ [sūwat] ‘shellfish’
/gūo/ [gūwo] ‘evil spirit’
/pōas/ [pōwas] ‘to row’
/pūik/ [pūvik] ‘to give off foul odour’
/būe-būe/ [būe-būe] ‘baby bouncer’

Further discussion of glide formation is found in §2.5.2.1.
2.3.2 Onsets and codas

We have just seen that each Taba vowel forms a separate syllable peak. In this section we discuss the rules for associating consonantal segments with syllable peaks.

2.3.2.1 Simple onsets and codas

The following is an ordered set of rules which apply in the order presented. They apply across both morpheme and word boundaries, so long as these occur within the same phonological phrase.

First, any consonant (C) immediately preceding a syllable peak (V) is associated with that peak as in (18) and (19).

(18) **onset assignment**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma' \\
/ \\
C \ V \\
| \\
\end{array}
\]

`'cuscus'

(19) **onset assignment**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma \sigma' \sigma' \sigma \\
/ / / / \\
C V C V \\
\end{array}
\]

`'father'

The rule applies across word and morpheme boundaries.

(20) **onset assignment (across word boundaries)**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma \sigma' \sigma \sigma' \sigma \\
/ / / / / \\
C V C V C V C V C V \\
\end{array}
\]

`Naluso Bib e`

n=ha-lusa-o Bib e

3sg=CAUS-say-APPL Bib FOC

'It was Bib he told.'

Next, any unassociated consonants following a syllable peak are associated with that (preceding) peak.
When a sequence of words occurs within a phonological phrase, syllabification occurs in exactly the same manner, assigning consonants to syllable peaks irrespective of which word they occur in.

2.3.2.2 Complex onsets

As we have seen, phrase-initial syllables may have complex onsets. If, after the above rules have applied, there are any unattached consonants at the beginning of a phonological phrase, they associate with the syllable peak to their right.
Given the syllabification rules just outlined, phrase-medial words with initial consonant clusters that are preceded by a vowel are already accounted for: the initial consonant of the cluster simply associates with the preceding syllable. The process is exemplified again in (25).

(25) onset assignment \[ '\sigma \quad '\sigma \] \[ \vdash \quad \vdash \] coda assignment \[ '\sigma \quad '\sigma \] \[ \vdash \quad \vdash \] \\
\[ V \ C \ C \ V \ C \] \[ V \ C \ C \ V \ C \] \[ i \ n \ h \ a \ n \] \[ i \ n \ h \ a \ n \]

If any consonants remain unassociated at this stage, there are two strategies available for dealing with them. The first is degemination, and the second is epenthesis.

2.3.2.3 Degemination

Degemination is optional. It can occur when an unassociated consonant is the same as either the preceding segment (the coda of the previous syllable) or the following segment (the onset of the following syllable). If an unassociated consonant of this sort exists, it may be deleted. Degemination most commonly occurs when either the first person singular pronoun is immediately followed by a consonant initial verb root bearing a first person singular cross-referencing proclitic, or when the first person plural inclusive pronoun is followed by an appropriately cross-referenced consonant-initial verb as in (26). Here, the unassociated consonant is preceded by a consonant of the same type.

(26) onset assignment \[ '\sigma \quad '\sigma \] \[ / \quad / \] coda assignment \[ '\sigma \quad '\sigma \] \[ /\quad /\] \[ V \ C \ C \ C \ V \ C \] \[ V \ C \ C \ C \ V \ C \] \[ t \ i \ t \ h \ a \ n \] \[ t \ i \ t \ h \ a \ n \]
\[ t i t \quad t=han \] \[ t i t \quad t i t \quad t=han \quad t i t \quad t h a \ n \]
\[ l p l . i n c l \quad l p l . i n c l = g o \]
\[ ' S h e \ i s \ g o i n g . ' \]

An unassociated consonant followed by a consonant of the same type is illustrated in (27).

(27) onset assignment \[ '\sigma \quad '\sigma \quad '\sigma \] \[ / \quad / \quad / \] coda assignment \[ '\sigma \quad '\sigma \quad '\sigma \] \[ /\quad /\quad /\] \[ V \ C \ C \ C \ V \ C \] \[ V \ C \ C \ C \ V \ C \] \[ b i b n n i \eta i s \] \[ b i b n n i \eta i s \] \[ b i b n i \eta i s \] \[ b i b n i \eta i s \]
There is one environment where degemination is obligatory. This is when an underlying sequence of /ts/ occurs with /t/ as the unassociated consonant and underlying /s/ as the onset of the following syllable. [tf] is an allophone of /s/ which occurs after an apico-alveolar sequence (see §2.5.1.4). In this environment the sequence is always realised as [tf] rather than [ttf].

(28) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{onset assignment} & \text{coda assignment} & \text{obligatory degemination} \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
/ & / & / \\
CVCcCVCVC & CVCcCVCVC & CVCVCVCVC \\
tttfobsal & tttfobsal & tttfobsal \\
\end{array}
\]

2.3.2.4 Epenthesis and resyllabification

If, after all the rules for assigning segments to syllable peaks outlined above have applied, there are still unassociated consonants, then epenthesis must apply. The epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted between the unassociated consonant and the preceding (coda associated) consonant. At this stage, the rules for assigning segments to syllable peaks are reapplied cyclically. This situation is illustrated in (29).

(29) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{onset assignment} & \text{coda assignment} & \text{epenthesis} \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
/ & / & / \\
CVCcCVCVC & CVCcCVCVC & CVCVCVCVC \\
bibnhan & bibnhan & bibnhan \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{onset assignment} & \text{coda assignment} \\
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
/ & / & / \\
CVCcCVCVC & CVCcCVCVC & CVCVCVCVC \\
bibnhan & bibnhan & bibnhan \\
\end{array}
\]

Bib e n=han
Bib EP 3sg=go
'Bib is going.'

Epenthetic /e/ is never stressed. Epenthetic /e/ has also been used to break up non-native consonant sequences in some loan words, e.g. stérek 'good/strong' (< Dutch sterk 'strong / robust'). I also observed the use of epenthetic /e/ by some Taba speakers who
were attempting to pronounce written English words with word-final consonant clusters. English 'baits', for example, was rendered as [baites].

/e/ is occasionally used as a rhythmic device in songs when it is not required for strictly phonotactic reasons. An example from a Taba *lagu daerah* about people's fear of the potential for volcanic eruption on the island is given in the second line of (30).

(30) kárna lkiúak ní manítap e
    because 3pl=be.scared 3sg.POSS work FOC
    ‘Because they (the Makianese people) are scared of its (the volcano’s) work,’

njóa Tába mólo ráta e
    almost Makian be.empty flat (completely) RHYTHM
    ‘Makian was almost completely empty.’

As (30) also illustrates, the epenthetic vowel has the same form as the postposed focus marker e which is discussed in more detail in §14.5.

Another process which often results in resyllabification, namely cliticisation, is discussed in §3.2.

2.3.3 Restrictions on syllable initial consonant clusters

Many Taba words with initial consonant clusters are multimorphemic: a great many of the possible clusters result from the prefixing of Actor cross-referencing proclitics to verbs, for instance (see §8.2). Others result from the prefixing of classifiers to numeral roots (see §10.3). There are some restrictions on which phrase-initial consonant clusters can occur, particularly in monomorphemic words. Here we will first survey the kinds of sequences found in monomorphemic words and then examine the consonant clusters found in either mono- or multimorphemic words. Note that all of the examples of Taba words given here exemplify attested phonemic clusters and phonemic representations of the words concerned are given. Phonemic clusters can be realised phonetically in a variety of ways (e.g. some phonemic stop-stop sequences are realised phonetically as coarticulations). This will be discussed in more detail in §2.3.3.3.

2.3.3.1 Consonant clusters in monomorphemic words

In (31) is found a list of all the initial clusters encountered in independent monomorphemic roots. Some of these clusters are derived historically from multimorphemic words (for example, many of the words with initial /m/ are derived from historical verbs that had a stative *ma-* prefix attached to them from which the vowel has since been deleted). As far as I am aware, however, they are all monomorphemic in contemporary Taba.
(31) **Initial clusters in monomorphemic words:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Cluster (monomorphemic word)</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bb</td>
<td>bbú 'grandchild / grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bl</td>
<td>bliéwin 'megapode'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br</td>
<td>brágis 'to be covered in sores'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd</td>
<td>ddáwa 'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gq</td>
<td>ggónan 'itch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gl</td>
<td>glís 'itch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps</td>
<td>psós 'bug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plán 'fly (n.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>tráko 'to be lying side by side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
<td>kmón 'axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kn</td>
<td>kná 'twins (non-human)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>klú 'species of fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss</td>
<td>ssó 'name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mbúluk 'to be rotten (of fish)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>md</td>
<td>mdio 'to be authentic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>mtó 'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mníhis 'to be thin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>mlónan 'to be tall / long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>mhónas 'to be sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mj</td>
<td>mjásíŋ 'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>nsór 'mix of rocks, coral, etc. used in building'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nm</td>
<td>nmú 'muddy water after rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nhík 'bat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nné 'kanari nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>llú 'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lhóan 'fish species'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wl</td>
<td>wló 'heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ww</td>
<td>wwé 'leg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A summary of the cluster types in (31) above is given in tabular form in table 2.4. Manners of articulation of initial consonants are listed vertically down the left of the tables and manners of articulation of the second consonants are listed horizontally along the top of the table. An exemplary combination is found in each table cell for which a cluster is attested. Geminate examples are given in parentheses. The shaded areas show which combinations do not occur. Those in dark shading are cluster types not found in either
mono- or multimorphemic words while those in light shading are found in multimorphemic words but not in monomorphemes.

Table 2.4 Consonant clusters in monomorphemic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>second C</th>
<th>stop</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>trill</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>approximant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>initial C</td>
<td>stop</td>
<td>(bb)</td>
<td>ps</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>(ss)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ll)</td>
<td>lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ww)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large phonological literature exists discussing what has been labelled the ‘sonority hierarchy’ according to which phonological segments of different types are ranked from most to least sonorous. Hooper (1972, 1976) proposes a sonority scale as shown in (32), where vowels are the most sonorous and plosives or stops are the least sonorous, and segments having other manners of articulation are ranged in terms of sonority between the two as illustrated.

(32) vowels > glides > liquids > nasals > fricatives / affricates > plosives

It has been noticed that in many (if not all) languages, syllables can often be thought of as ‘envelopes of sonority’, with the most sonorous segments (i.e. vowels) at their centre, and segments which have generally decreasing degrees of sonority as we move to the edges of the syllable. While there are many language-specific exceptions to this rule, the notion generally holds well as at least a preference for the organisation of segments within syllables across languages.

The patterns of initial clusters found in monomorphemic Taba words are largely consistent with the sonority hierarchy. Stops, for example, (the least sonorous segment type) are found in initial position with a wide variety of more sonorous segments closer to the syllable nucleus. The only combinations involving stops which are exceptional in terms of the sonority hierarchy are those involving nasal segments preceding stops. The only other exceptional combination found in monosyllables involves approximant - liquid clusters, as in woló ‘liver’. Although Taba monosyllables are fairly unexceptional in terms of the sonority hierarchy, multimorphemic words (§2.3.3.2) present quite a different picture. A brief outline of some of the historical processes which have led to the emergence of the contemporary Taba clusters is given in §2.3.3.4.

In the next section we turn to a discussion of consonant clusters in multimorphemic words.
2.3.3.2 Consonant clusters in mono- or multimorphemic words

In (33) a complete listing of all word-initial clusters found amongst the native Taba words of the corpus, whether monomorphemic or not, and examples of each are given. Examples involving both geminates and non-geminate clusters have been included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bb</td>
<td>bbú</td>
<td>'grandchild / grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bl</td>
<td>bléwin</td>
<td>'megapode'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br</td>
<td>brágis</td>
<td>'to be covered in sores'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd</td>
<td>ddáwa</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>ggónan</td>
<td>'itch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gl</td>
<td>glís</td>
<td>'species of tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt</td>
<td>ptól</td>
<td>'three' (default classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps</td>
<td>psós</td>
<td>'bug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plán</td>
<td>'fly (n.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>phót</td>
<td>'four' (default classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pw</td>
<td>pwál</td>
<td>'eight' (default classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tb</td>
<td>tbábas</td>
<td>'we (incl.) bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>td</td>
<td>tdód</td>
<td>'we (incl.) ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tg</td>
<td>tgórás</td>
<td>'we (incl.) shave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tp</td>
<td>tpóás</td>
<td>'we (incl.) row'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt</td>
<td>ttágil</td>
<td>'we (incl.) walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk</td>
<td>tkútan</td>
<td>'we (incl.) ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tm</td>
<td>tmóni</td>
<td>'we (incl.) snore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tn</td>
<td>tnínis</td>
<td>'we (incl.) smile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsóbá</td>
<td>'we (incl.) sail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>tlúk</td>
<td>'we (incl.) bend our heads over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>tráni</td>
<td>'we (incl.) bind something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>thán</td>
<td>'we (incl.) go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj</td>
<td>tjóg</td>
<td>'we (incl.) jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw</td>
<td>twágík</td>
<td>'we (incl.) sell something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kb</td>
<td>kbábas</td>
<td>'I bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kd</td>
<td>kdód</td>
<td>'I ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kg</td>
<td>kgórás</td>
<td>'I shave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kp</td>
<td>kpóás</td>
<td>'I row'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kt</td>
<td>ktágil</td>
<td>'I walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>kkútan</td>
<td>'I ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
<td>kmón</td>
<td>'I snore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kn</td>
<td>knínis</td>
<td>'I smile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks</td>
<td>ksóbá</td>
<td>'I sail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>klúk</td>
<td>'I bend my head over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr</td>
<td>kráni</td>
<td>'I bind something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>khán</td>
<td>'I go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemes</td>
<td>Simplified Forms</td>
<td>Meanings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kj</td>
<td>kjög</td>
<td>'I jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kwąık</td>
<td>'I sell something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss</td>
<td>ssó</td>
<td>'name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mbútuk</td>
<td>'to be rotten (of fish)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>md</td>
<td>mdío</td>
<td>'be authentic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mq</td>
<td>mqórás</td>
<td>'you (sg.) shave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>mpóás</td>
<td>'you (sg.) row'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>mtó</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mk</td>
<td>mkútan</td>
<td>'you (sg.) ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>mmón</td>
<td>'you (sg.) snore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mníñís</td>
<td>'you (sg.) smile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>msó bal</td>
<td>'you (sg.) sail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>mlónan</td>
<td>'be long / tall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mr</td>
<td>mrání</td>
<td>'you (sg.) bind something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>mhónas</td>
<td>'be sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mj</td>
<td>mjög</td>
<td>'you (sg.) jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mw</td>
<td>mwąık</td>
<td>'you (sg.) sell something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb</td>
<td>nbábás</td>
<td>'(s)he bites'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ndód</td>
<td>'(s)he asks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ngórás</td>
<td>'(s)he shaves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>np</td>
<td>npóás</td>
<td>'(s)he row's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>ntónolólan</td>
<td>'lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk</td>
<td>nkútan</td>
<td>'(s)he asks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nm</td>
<td>nmú</td>
<td>'muddy water after rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nníñís</td>
<td>'(s)he smiles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>nsó bal</td>
<td>'(s)he sails'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nl</td>
<td>nlúk</td>
<td>'(s)he bends her / his head over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nr</td>
<td>nrání</td>
<td>'(s)he binds something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nhik</td>
<td>'bat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj</td>
<td>njög</td>
<td>'(s)he jumps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nw</td>
<td>nwąık</td>
<td>'(s)he sells something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk</td>
<td>nkól</td>
<td>'to be lame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nhó n</td>
<td>'kanari nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nhón</td>
<td>'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lbáb as</td>
<td>'they bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ld</td>
<td>ldód</td>
<td>'they ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lq</td>
<td>lqórás</td>
<td>'they shave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp</td>
<td>lpóás</td>
<td>'they row'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lt</td>
<td>ltágil</td>
<td>'they walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lk</td>
<td>lkút an</td>
<td>'they ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lm</td>
<td>lmón</td>
<td>'they snore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td>lníñís</td>
<td>'they smile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ls</td>
<td>lsó bal</td>
<td>'they sail'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cluster types illustrated above are summarised according to manner of articulation in table 2.5 below, in a similar way to the summary of monomorphemic clusters given in table 2.4. In this table, the darkly shaded areas show combinations which are unattested in either indigenous words or loans, while the areas that are lightly shaded show combinations attested in loan words, but not in any kind of indigenous word, either mono- or multimorphemic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>second C</th>
<th>stop</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>trill</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>approximant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>initial C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>kp</td>
<td>ps</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>kl</td>
<td>kj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>ss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>ms</td>
<td>nm</td>
<td>nr</td>
<td>nl</td>
<td>nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>ls</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>lr</td>
<td>ll</td>
<td>lj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>hb</td>
<td>hs</td>
<td>hm</td>
<td>hr</td>
<td>wl</td>
<td>hw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5 Consonant clusters in mono- or multimorphemic words

It can be seen from the above table that a very wide variety of cluster types are found in multimorphemic words in Taba. Virtually any combination is possible, except for trill initial
clusters, and, in indigenous words at least, fricative initial clusters.\(^5\) Stops, nasals, laterals and approximants occur freely as the first element of clusters with phonemes of any other class.

Although there are no fricative initial clusters in any indigenous Taba words, the restriction on such clusters is probably an accidental gap. Quite a large number of borrowings of some antiquity have fricative intial clusters: words such as frûk ‘early’ (< Dutch vroeg), skûp ‘shovel’ (< Dutch schop), stêrek ‘good, strong’ (< Dutch sterk), slôt ‘lock’ (< Dutch slot), swûk ‘be weak, feeble’ (< Dutch zwak) are all quite strongly nativised. There are even some fricative-initial three consonant clusters found in Dutch borrowings, e.g. strûjken ‘kerosene lamp’.

In Taba (and in closely related languages spoken nearby) sonority based constraints on initial clusters appear to be largely non-existent. The only really strong constraint on cluster types seen in figure 2.7 is that trill-initial clusters are unattested. In many of Taba’s closest relations, however, /h/ initial clusters are common. In Sawai the cognate of Taba l= (3rd person pl. agreement proclitic) is an [r]-like segment. In Sawai PSH *r and *d have merged, but R. Whisler describes the cluster initial allophone of this /d/ phoneme as [r], a ‘voiced alveolar vibrant flap’ (R. Whisler, 1992:9). The Taba /r/ phoneme is always quite heavily trilled (§2.5.1.5). While the lack of /r/-clusters can be explained quite simply in terms of sonority constraints, it is also worth noting that the trill is a relatively infrequently occurring phoneme.

It is clear that the preponderance of initial clusters in Taba has emerged as a result of a variety of morphological processes which bring many of these segments together in initial position. The vast majority of tokens of cluster initial approximants in Taba occur with the cross-referencing proclitic h= (2nd person plural). However, although Taba has very few /w/ or /j/ initial clusters, in Sawai, R. Whisler (1992:22) reports a large number of monomorphemic consonant clusters with initial /w/. Most stop-initial clusters occur when a morpheme consisting of a single stop is attached to some consonant-initial root: either the default classifier p- attached to a numeral root, or the cross-referencing proclitics k= (1st person singular) and t= (1st person plural inclusive) attached to verbs or the preverbal reciprocal particle.

Further discussion of some of the morphological processes which result in initial clusters is found in §2.3.5. More detailed discussion of exceptions to sonority based constraints in consonant clusters in a variety of languages from the Maluku region can be found in Hajek and Bowden (1999).

### 2.3.3.3 Phonetic realisation of phonemic consonant clusters

It should be borne in mind that the clusters listed above can all be seen as phonemic sequences but not necessarily as phonetic ones. Most of the cluster types discussed do get realised phonetically as clear sequences of different segments: stressed sequences of voiceless stops followed by the glottal fricative /h/, for example, are clearly articulated as phonetic sequences, and not as simply aspirated consonants. In phonemic terms, we could say that each segment is clearly associated with a separate C slot on the CV timing tier.

\(^5\) The picture of possible cluster types given here would be somewhat different if /h/ had been classified as a fricative rather than as an approximant. A justification for classifying /h/ as an approximant is given in §2.5.1.6.
Chapter Two

There are some exceptions. Two cluster types found only in multimorphemic words are phonetically realised as coarticulations: heterorganic oral stop sequences and initial oral stops followed by nasals. Some examples of such co-articulations are given in examples (34) - (40).

(34) [ktágil]
k=tagil
lsg=walk
'I walk.'

(35) [kpe]
k=pe
lsg=do
'I do.'

(36) [tábábas]
t=babas
1pl.incl=bite
'We bite.'

(37) [tgorás]
t=goras
1pl.incl=shave
'We shave.'

(38) [ptól]
p-tol
CLASS-three
'three (pieces of fruit, etc.)'

(39) [tmoñ]
t=moñ
1pl.incl=snore
'We snore.'

(40) [kniñis]
k=ninjis
lsg=smile
'I smile.'

It has long been recognised that many so-called 'coarticulations' actually consist of a primary articulation and a secondary articulation (see, for example, Ladefoged 1982: 210). In Taba, it is always the second occurring segment in such sequences that involves the primary articulation: the first is the secondary articulation. The production of the phonemic sequences illustrated above begins with the articulatory gesture appropriate for the initial phonemic element. This is followed almost immediately by an articulatory gesture
appropriate for the second phonemic element. In the release of the coarticulation, it is the second element which is most strongly realised, hence its primary status.

In some instances, when Taba speakers produce such phonemic sequences, the first segment is not even obviously audible, although it is clear that the articulatory gesture has actually been made. In the production of words with initial bilabials such as /ptól/ ‘three’, for example, the first (secondary) gesture is always visible, even though it cannot always be obviously heard.

2.3.3.4 Initial geminates

As with non-geminate initial clusters, a preliminary distinction between those occurring only in monomorphemic roots, and those occurring across morpheme boundaries word-initially can be drawn. In (41), a listing of all initial geminates found in the corpus, along with examples of each, and either minimal or sub-minimal pairs showing contrasts with unitary phonemes is given. If an example occurring in a monomorphemic root is available it is given. If the geminate only occurs across morpheme boundaries, a multimorphemic word is given, and noted as such.

(41) bb  bbú  ‘grandparent / grandchild’
     b  búb  ‘hornet’

     dd  ddáwa  ‘grass’
     d  dáwa  ‘kin relation between two women married to same man’

     gg  ggówo  ‘neck’
     g  gówo  ‘place’

     tt  ttálá  ‘we (incl.) meet’  [multi-morphemic]
     t  tála  ‘to meet’

     kk  kkútan  ‘I ask (a question)’  [multi-morphemic]
     k  kútan  ‘to ask a question’

     ss  ssó  ‘name’
     s  só  ‘to ascend’

     mm  mmói  ‘you (sg.) are shy’  [multi-morphemic]
     m  mói  ‘to be shy’

     nn  nínís  ‘(s)he smiles’  [multi-morphemic]
     n  nínis  ‘to smile’

     nñ  nñé  ‘kanari nut’
     ñ  ñeku  ‘chin’

     ll  lló  ‘blood’
     l  ló  ‘inside’
The phonetic realisation given to these word-initial geminate sequences depends on both the manner of articulation of the consonant concerned, and its position within an utterance. Geminates are always articulated for longer than their unitary counterparts, whether they occur phrase-initially or within a phrase. Geminate stops which occur within a phonological phrase are noticeably longer than their unitary counterparts, but they appear to be articulated as a part of two syllables: the first part as coda of the first syllable, and the second as onset of the following syllable (see §2.3.2 on resyllabification). When geminate oral stops occur at the beginning of a phonological phrases, a major correlate of gemination appears to be a greater degree of force and tension in their articulation than for their unitary counterparts. Airflow measurements (which have not been made) would be required to give a precise measure of duration initial geminate stops.

2.3.3.5 Towards an historical phonology of initial consonant clusters

Given that the preponderance of consonant clusters found in Taba is somewhat unusual for Austronesian languages that have been reported in the literature, we will devote some space to an examination of their historical sources.

Many of the modern initial consonant clusters occur in multimorphemic environments rather than in monomorphemic roots. Subject cross-referencing proclitics attached to consonant-initial verbs and the default classifier p- prefixed to numeral roots provide many examples of unusual clusters and geminates. Although consonantal cross-referencing proclitics are common in eastern Indonesian languages, these are sometimes omitted in front of consonantal verbs as in Kisar (Blood, 1992:4ff) or they may have allomorphs consisting of the consonant plus a vowel which occur in the environment of consonant-initial verbs as in Selaru (Coward, 1989:26). Neither of these strategies is followed in Taba.

The most common monomorphemic clusters found in Taba are NC sequences. Blust (1978) and others have reported that one of the distinguishing features of the South Halmahera languages is what has been called ‘post-nasal syncope’, or the deletion of vowels following the initial nasal consonants of some words. Thus, in the Waikyon dialect of Taba we have forms such as mto ‘eye’ < PSH *mta < PAN *mata. (mta rather than mto is found in some other Taba dialects.) The majority of forms with initial NC sequences in contemporary Taba are Undergoer intransitive verbs (§4.2) with initial m-. These have arisen from roots to which the stative deriving prefix *ma- was once attached and to which post-nasal syncope has subsequently applied. In modern Taba, although the sequence ma- or m- commonly occurs at the beginning of Undergoer intransitives, the prefix is no longer truely productive (but see §8.5.2). A few examples of such forms are given in (39).

(42) mbúlik ‘be rotten’ < *ma- + PAN *buRuk
mút ‘be soft’ < *ma- + PEMP *lut
mníhis ‘be thin’ < *ma- + PAN *nìpis

\begin{tabular}{ll}

hh & hhán ‘you (pl.) go’ \\
h & hán ‘to go’ \\
ww & wwé ‘leg’ \\
w & wé ‘pig’ \\
\end{tabular}
Such morphological and phonological processes explain the vast majority of initial consonant clusters, but do not yet provide an account for the origins of initial geminates. Although the specific processes which have applied in each and every case for the emergence of initial geminates are not clear, there is one process which may have played a prominent role.

In instrumental reduplication (§2.7.6.2 & §7.1.2.1), a copy of the initial CVC sequence of a verb root is made, the vowel is changed to /a/ and the resulting affix is prefixed to the root to derive a noun referring to an instrument. A similar process has been reported in a number of languages from Maluku including Sawai (R. Whisler, 1992: 26-28), Buli (Maan, 1951: 25-26) and West Tarangan (Nivens 1993). It appears that the process is of some antiquity (see Blust, forthcoming).

In many instances of instrumental reduplication in Taba, the final consonant of the reduplicative prefix assimilates to the initial consonant of the root (see §2.7.6.2 for more details). In one certain case, the assimilated form has been further weakened in some speakers’ idiolects so that the prefix has been reduced right down to a copy of the first consonant:

(43) dóba  ‘garden’

with reduplicative prefix:  dabdóba  ‘earth’

with assimilation:  daddóba  ‘earth’

some speakers:  ddóba  ‘earth’

The vast majority of contemporary roots with initial geminates are nouns, so it may well be that other initial geminates have also derived from reduced reduplicative prefixes. However, the evidence is limited at this stage and further historical research needs to be done to properly understand the origins of initial geminates.

2.4 Stress

Primary stress in Taba falls on the penultimate syllable of a word, unless the word is monosyllabic, in which case it falls on the only syllable of the word. In words of four or five syllables, secondary stress occurs on the preantepenultimate syllable. There are no words in my corpus of more than five syllables, and words of more than three syllables are quite rare. Stress is never affected by affixation.

A few exceptions to these generalisations occur: some disyllabic words have lexical stress on the final syllable, e.g. amseh ‘be drunk’, magún ‘be silent’, makót ‘red’. While the reasons for all of the examples of final stress are not clear, some examples can be given historical explanations. Magún ‘be silent’ and makót ‘red’ were both clearly derived forms historically. Although the historical *ma-stative deriving prefix is no longer really productive in Taba (§8.5.2), these forms remain stressed on the final syllable because apparently historical *ma-prefixation did not bring about any changes in stress assignment. All exceptional forms which follow will be marked with an acute accent over the stressed vowel.

Stress is indicated by higher pitch, longer duration, and greater intensity than in unstressed syllables. Illustrative examples of words from one to five syllables with
indication of where both primary and secondary stress occur are given in examples (44) - (48).

(44) monosyllables

[mlút] 'be soft'
[ón] 'spider’s web'
[plán] 'fly'
[ján] 'fish'
[búb] 'hornet'

(45) disyllables

[pójo] 'head'
[túal] 'stump'
[lúri] 'rosetta'
[úat] 'forest'
[bíá] 'taro'

(46) trisyllables

[haláim] 'middle'
[katʃúpan] /katsúpan/ 'grasshopper'
[susára] 'twins'
[kamúdu] 'be thick'
[manítap] 'work'

(47) four syllables

[mànusía] 'people'
[páradídu] 'run-away child'
[kúpatbáwan] 'small woven rice basket'
[hàdahéda] 'to pull lasso tight'
[sàkoámo] 'to insert something'

(48) five syllables

[kamkùmpappído] 'large woven rice basket'

The assignment of stress treats each vowel as belonging to a separate syllable. This is the primary evidence for analysing vowel sequences not as diphthongs but as multisyllabic. In (46) and (47) σ** indicates a syllable bearing primary stress while σ* indicates a vowel bearing secondary stress.

(49) a. σ σ** σ
    /
    | |
    C V C V C
    h a l a i m [haláim] ‘middle’

b. σ σ** σ
    /
    \ \ | | |
    C V C V C
    k a i a s [kaías] ‘dolphin’
Affixation never affects stress, except when the causative prefix ha- (§8.3.1) is used with its intensifying function. Example (51) shows the verb mul 'to return', first on its own (51a), then with the causative prefix attached to it (51b), deriving a verb meaning 'to make something return'. Note that stress does not move to the penultimate syllable after prefixation of ha-.

(51) a. mul
   ‘to return’

b. hamul
   ha-mul
   CAUS-return
   ‘to make something return’

When the causative prefix ha- is used with its intensifying function, it can, however, attract stress. This is illustrated in (52), which has also undergone unstressed vowel deletion after applicative suffixation with -Vk (§8.3.2). The root is the intransitive so 'exit', to which has been added the applicative suffix -ak, creating the stem soak 'send out' (§8.3.2). To this stem has been added the intensifying causative prefix ha- (§8.3.1), which, bearing stress, forces a morphophonemic change in the stem (see §2.4). Finally, the agent is removed by the addition of ta-, and we have the translation, 'they are sent into isolation'.

(52) Tahásak si!
    ta-ha-so-ak si
    DETR-CAUS-exit-APPL 3pl
    ‘They are sent into isolation.’

The phonological effects of suffixation are somewhat more complicated due to concomitant vowel loss and 'metathesis' whenever suffixes are attached to polysyllabic roots. A detailed discussion of these phenomena is found in §2.7.

2.5 Segmental phonology

A preliminary discussion of segmental phonology was given in §2.1. There, the Taba phonemic inventory was laid out and a listing of minimal pairs illustrating contrasts between phonemes was given. In this section, the phonemic inventory is first repeated, then
allophony and other phonological processes having segmental effects are discussed. Section §2.5.1 deals with consonants and §2.5.2 deals with vowels.

### 2.5.1 Consonants

The Taba consonant phonemes were listed in figure 2.1. The phonemes are all discussed in turn below.

#### 2.5.1.1 Stops

Taba has a set of six stops, a voiced, and a voiceless series, made at the bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar places of articulation. When they occur before a pause, they are usually unreleased. As part of an initial consonant cluster with another stop, they are produced as coarticulations (see §2.3.3.3). The voiceless apico-alveolar /t/ is often slightly palatalised before /i/.

/b/, /d/, /g/: The voiced stops. Examples of each phoneme are found in (53) to (55).

\[(53) \quad /b/ \quad \text{voiced bilabial stop} \]
\[\text{/bulaŋ/} \quad \text{[bulaŋ]} \quad \text{‘be white’} \]
\[\text{/kabin/} \quad \text{[kábin]} \quad \text{‘goat’} \]
\[\text{[b’]} \quad \text{(unreleased before a pause)} \]
\[\text{/bub/} \quad \text{[búb’]} \quad \text{‘hornet’} \]

\[(54) \quad /d/ \quad \text{voiced apico-alveolar stop} \]
\[\text{/doba/} \quad \text{[dóbo]} \quad \text{‘much, many’} \]
\[\text{/odái/} \quad \text{[odáí]} \quad \text{‘cloves’} \]
\[\text{[d’]} \quad \text{(unreleased before a pause)} \]
\[\text{/npid/} \quad \text{[mpíd’]} \quad \text{‘(s)he flicks her / his finger’} \]

\[(55) \quad /g/ \quad \text{voiced dorso-velar stop} \]
\[\text{/gunáŋe/} \quad \text{[gunáŋe]} \quad \text{‘ant’} \]
\[\text{/moglo/} \quad \text{[móglō]} \quad \text{‘branch’} \]
\[\text{[g’]} \quad \text{(unreleased before a pause)} \]
\[\text{/wog/} \quad \text{[wóg’]} \quad \text{‘canoe’} \]

/pl/, /t/, /k/: The voiceless stops. Illustrative examples are found in (56) to (58).

\[(56) \quad /p/ \quad \text{voiceless bilabial stop} \]
\[\text{/póí/} \quad \text{[póí]} \quad \text{‘crocodile’} \]
\[\text{/hapón/} \quad \text{[hapón]} \quad \text{‘to whistle’} \]
[p'] (unreleased before a pause)
/hasop/ [hasóp'] ‘to shower’

(57) /t/ [t] voiceless apico-alveolar stop
/tala/ [tála] ‘to meet’
/poto/ [póto] ‘buttocks’

[t'] (unreleased before a pause)
/kbat/ [kbat'] ‘I carry (something) on my back’
/[t] (often slightly palatalised before [i])
/tiplo/ [tiplo] ‘end, half’

(58) /k/ [k] voiceless dorso-velar stop
/kabot/ [kabót'] ‘be dirty’
/makót/ [makót'] ‘be red’

[k'] (unreleased before a pause)
/nhik/ [nhik'] ‘bat’

/r/: Voiceless glottal stop. A highly marginal loan phoneme occurring in only a few borrowings ultimately from Arabic. Some examples are given in (59).

(59) /ʔ/ [ʔ] voiceless glottal stop
/maʔaf/ [máʔaf] ‘forgiveness’
/taʔat/ [táʔat] ‘be obedient’

2.5.1.2 Nasals

/ma/, /n/, /r/: These segments are realised as voiced bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar nasals respectively. Both /m/ and /n/ are subject to some allophonic variation in fast speech depending on the place of articulation of any following consonant. /m/ has a labiodental allophone [m] which occurs before the borrowed labiodental fricative. /n/ has bilabial, labiodental and dorso-velar allophones ([m], [m], and [ŋ]) which occur in front of bilabial, labiodental and dorso-velar segments respectively. Examples can be seen in (60) to (62).

(60) /m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal stop
/mlut/ [mlút'] ‘soft’
/lomo/ [lómo] ‘other’
/am/ [ám] ‘to see’

[m] before labiodental fricative [f]
/mfati/ [mfati] ‘to cover’
(61) /n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal stop
    /nmu/ [nmu] ‘muddy seawater after rain’
    /manik/ [mánik] ‘chicken’
    /mapín/ [mapín] ‘woman’

[m] before bilabials
    /napín/ [mpání] ‘(s)he wakes up’

[m] before labiodentals
    /mfáti/ [mfáti] ‘(s)he closes’

[ŋ] before dorso-velars
    /nkútan/ [ŋkútan] ‘(s)he asks’

(62) /ŋ/ [n] voiced dorso-velar nasal stop
    /nán/ [nán] ‘sun’
    /nínis/ [nínis] ‘to smile’
    /miálin/ [miálin] ‘to float’

2.5.1.3 Affricates

Both of the affricates are loans, but they appear quite frequently in the corpus and derive from a variety of different source languages (see §2.1.1 for some examples). The identification of these segments as unitary phonemes is problematic, especially in the case of [tʃ] which also occurs as a native allophone of /ʃ/ following apico-alveolar consonants (see §2.5.1.4). For older speakers at least, [tʃ] is probably best analysed as consisting of a phonemic sequence of an apico-alveolar consonant plus /ʃ/. The multiphonemic analysis of affricates is supported by the fact neither of them occur syllable finally and syllable structure rules for the native phonemes do not allow consonant clusters to occur in the coda (see §2.3 on syllable structure). On the other hand, for [dʒ] it is not clear what the underlying segments would be. The voiced affricate never appears as an allophonic variant of anything else, and the phone which would be the prime candidate for a putative underlying second segment, i.e. [z] does not exist in Taba.

/tʃ/: This is a voiceless grooved alveopalatal affricate. There is no allophonic variation. Some examples are found in (63).

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6 In the only instance of a potentially affricate-final loan that I am aware of, máfes ‘match, matches’, it is noteworthy that no final affricate has been preserved in Taba. Either the plural English form ‘matches’ was borrowed directly, or some kind of adaptational process utilising epenthetic /e/ has been adopted.

7 The only example of borrowed [z] that I have been able to trace ultimately comes from Arabic, where /z/ has been replaced by /d/: dulkádat ‘11th month of Islamic calendar’ < Ar. ‘Zulkaedah’. However, it is not clear what intermediate languages, if any, might have been involved in the transmission of this word.
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(63) /tʃ/ [tʃ] voiceless grooved alveopalatal affricate

/tʃoa/ [tʃøa] 'classifier - bundles of firewood'
/tʃutʃur/ [tʃʊtʃur] 'langsat fruit'
/tʃoklat/ [tʃʊklat] 'cocoa'

/dʒ/: This is a voiced grooved alveopalatal affricate. There is no noticeable allophonic variation. Some examples are given in (61).

(64) /dʒ/ [dʒ] voiced grooved alveopalatal affricate

/dʒahan/ [dʒahən] 'be cooked in bananas'
/badʒu/ [bâdʒu] 'shirt'

2.5.1.4 Fricatives

/lʃ/: This is another loan phoneme which is now quite frequent in Taba. It has been borrowed from a variety of languages (see §2.1.1 for examples of some words and their sources). /lʃ/ is realised as a voiceless labiodental fricative. There is no noticeable allophonic variation.

(65) /lʃ/ [ʃ] voiceless labiodental fricative

/ʃuli/ [ʃuλi] 'mace (from nutmeg)'
/ʃafa/ [ʃafa] 'base of coconut leaf'
/ʃløf/ [ʃløf] 'armspan'

/lʃ/: The default realisation of the /ʃ/ phoneme is as a voiceless grooved alveolar fricative. It is realised as a voiceless lamino-palatal grooved affricate [tʃ] when preceded by an apico-alveolar segment other than /ʃ/ itself. Note that when preceded by /tʃ/, degemination (see §2.3.2.3) is obligatory, i.e. /tsʃ/ is realised as [tʃ] and not as [tʃʃ].

(66) /ʃ/ [ʃ] voiceless apico-alveolar grooved affricate

/ʃo/ [ʃo] 'to ascend'
/ʃasur/ [ʃasur] 'good, beautiful'
/ʃinas/ [ʃinəs] 'to massage'

/tʃ/ when preceded by any apico-alveolar other than /ʃ/

/tʃobal/ [tʃøbal] 'we (incl.) sail'
/ʃoʃl/ [ʃøʃl] 'it is wrong'
/ʃorsak/ [ʃɔrʃak] 'to peel s.t. with s.t.'
/ʃispøn/ [ʃispøn] 'they descend'
2.5.1.5 Liquids

/rl/: This phoneme is a voiced alveolar trill. It is always quite strongly trilled. There is no significant allophonic variation.

(67) /r/ [r] voiced alveolar trill

/reŋkoreŋko/ [reŋkoreŋko] ‘decorative coconut leaf fringe’
/sarun/ [sárun] ‘sheath’
/jar/ [jár] ‘seaweed’
/görtjak/ [görtjak] ‘to scrape something with something’

/l/: This segment is realised as a voiced apico-alveolar lateral. There is no noticeable allophonic variation.

(68) /l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral

/lekat/ [lékat’] ‘be broken’
/molo/ [mólo] ‘be empty’
/wosal/ [wósal] ‘to stand’
/lhan/ [lhán] ‘they stand’

2.5.1.6 Approximants

/h/: This phoneme is classified as a voiceless glottal glide. In some languages /h/ is classed as fricative. While there is not a great deal of evidence for choosing between the classifications for Taba /h/, one morphophonemic process does suggest that /h/ patterns with other glides. This is classifier-numeral compound metathesis, discussed in §2.7.5. In this process, the animal classifier sis= has two variant forms, one of which occurs only when the classifier is prefixed to numeral roots beginning with the glides /h/ and /wl/, while the other form occurs with numeral roots beginning with any other kind of segment. While /h/ is not generally subject to any significant allophonic variation, stem initial /h/ in the onset of an unstressed syllable is subject to obligatory deletion whenever a prefix is attached to the stem. A few examples of this variation are set out in (69), but a detailed discussion of the phenomenon is found in §2.7.1.

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8 It is noteworthy that for most Taba speakers, their realisation of North Moluccan Malay /r/ (normally realised as a flap) is also quite heavily trilled.
The phonemic distinction made between /w/ and /j/ and the high vowels /u/ and /i/ deserves some justification. Although (as in many languages where such a distinction is made) there are no clear minimal pairs showing a contrast between approximants and high vowels, and although there are some instances where the surface realisation of an approximant is clearly associated with an underlying vowel (discussed in §2.5.2), there are still good reasons for preferring to see the approximants as distinct phonemes.

The most important reason has to do with patterns of syllabification and stress assignment. Stress assignment is almost completely regular if some instances of potential underlying vowels are viewed as consonants. For example, the word /hajko/ ‘shoulder / wing’ has regular stress on the penultimate syllable if the third segment of the form is seen as the approximant /j/ rather than the vowel /i/. Some more examples illustrating how stress assignment can be simplified by assuming the existence of glides are given in (70).

Another phonotactic reason for believing that at least /w/ is an approximant is its ability to appear as a geminate in words such as wwe ‘leg’ (see §2.3.3.4) while long vowels are not a feature of Taba phonology (see §2.5.2.1). Geminate /jj/ is not, however, attested.

The Waikyon Taba dialect has some forms with glides that are distinguished from those of other dialects which have vowels. To give one example, the Waikyon dialect has the form [já] ‘fish’, while Tahane has [ián]. (Both of these forms presumably derive ultimately from PAN *hikan.) More examples of this are given below where glide formation is discussed.

There is additional psycholinguistic evidence in favour of treating /j/ and /w/ as separate phonemes: when native speakers write Taba (which has no formal written standard) they invariably represent [j] and [w] as ‘y’ and ‘w’ and not as ‘i’ or ‘u’.
/w/: This is a voiced labio-velar approximant. No significant allophonic variation has been noted.

\[(71) /w/ \quad [w]\] voiced bilabial approximant

/wul/ [wúl] ‘young banana leaf’
/awáj/ [awáj] ‘vegetable’

/l/: This phoneme is a voiced palatal approximant. Again, there is no significant allophonic variation.

\[(72) /l/ \quad [l]\] voiced palatal approximant

/láŋ/ [láŋ] ‘shadow’
/ojáŋ/ [ojáŋ] ‘tear (n.)’
/awáj/ [awáj] ‘vegetable’

There are two glide formation processes: glide insertion and glide replacement.

Glide insertion

Glides are often inserted between adjacent vowels. The insertion of \([j]\) is likely between /i/ of /i/, /i/, /i/, and /i/ and [w] insertion often occurs between /u/, /u/, /u/, /o/ and /o/.

Glide insertion is most likely to affect sequences where the first vowel is stressed. Glide insertion is optional.

\[(73) /bóa/ \quad ‘door’ \quad \rightarrow \quad [bóa] /bóa/\]

/kaías/ ‘dolphin’ \quad \rightarrow \quad [kaías] /kaías/

Glide replacement

Where there are underlying vowel sequences with an unstressed initial vowel in the sequence, glide replacement is more likely to occur. In these cases, the initial /i/ of /i/, /i/, /i/, /i/ and /i/ is likely to become \([j]\), and the initial /u/ of /u/, /u/, /u/, /u/, and /o/ is likely to become [w]. This process is also optional. When glide replacement affects the third vowel of a quadrissyllabic form, secondary stress disappears from the first syllable, as shown in (71).

(No examples of five syllable words affected by glide replacement are attested in the corpus.)

\[(74) /mákoái/ \quad ‘be hot’ \quad \rightarrow \quad [mákoái] /mákoái/\]

/iótas/ ‘thatch’ \quad \rightarrow \quad [iótas] /iótas/

In the Waikyon dialect, glide replacement has been much more pervasive (as an historical process) than in other dialects. Some forms are evident in Collins’ (1982) Tahane wordlist, for example, where vowels have been completely replaced by the appropriate glide in Waikyon: e.g. Tahane ian Waikyon ján ‘fish’; Tahane ip idp; Waikyon jípjáp ‘dust’, Tahane uas, Waikyon wás to wash (plate, face). As mentioned above, glide replacement is more often variable: puása ~ pwása ‘fast during Ramadan’; toála ~ twála ‘handkerchief’; makoái ~ makwái ‘hot’; suói ~ sóví ‘python’ and ióban ~ jóban ‘species of banana’.
In two attested cases, glide replacement occurs with a multimorphemic vowel sequence, where the first morpheme is a non-stress bearing particle to which the second morpheme may cliticise (see §4.2 for discussion of cliticisation). Most commonly affected is the possessive ligature ni in examples such as /ni 6bat/: [ni6bat] ~ [nj6bat] ‘sore’. Such glide replacement tends to occur most frequently when the possessed noun begins with a back vowel. The other cross-morphemic environment in which glide replacement often occurs is in the juxtaposition of pu ‘what’ with the focus marker e a combination usually pronounced as pwe ‘what?’.

Very occasionally, vowels which would normally be stressed are replaced by glides. This process only seems to work sporadically with a few word forms such as kiu ~ kjü ‘scared’. In these cases stress always shifts from the affected vowel to the following vowel. In careful pronunciation of these forms glide replacement never takes place.

Glide replacement and glide insertion are both highly productive. A variety of factors condition whether or not they actually occur. Both processes are to some extent lexically governed. With some words, in the Waikyon dialect at least, glide replacement and glide insertion are obligatory, with other words they are rare. Common words are more likely to be affected than less common words. (See Bybee, 1994 for detailed discussion of the role of frequency of token use in phonological processes.) Individual speakers’ idiolects can vary considerably in their propensity for glide formation, and individual speakers’ utterances can themselves vary considerably depending on how careful a pronunciation is used.

2.5.2 Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Taba with minimal pairs were introduced in §2.1.2 and listed in figure 2.2. In this section we further exemplify Taba vowels, and discuss vowel allophony.

/i/: This is a high front unrounded vowel. When occurring as the initial unstressed element in a sequence of adjacent vowels it is often subject to glide replacement (see §2.5.1.6 above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(75)</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>[i]</th>
<th>high front unrounded vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ihos/</td>
<td>[ihõs]</td>
<td>‘megapode mound’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nihik/</td>
<td>[nihik]</td>
<td>‘bat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lupi/</td>
<td>[lupi]</td>
<td>‘to wrestle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ə/: This is a mid to low-mid front unrounded vowel [ə]. Although it occurs rather frequently as the epenthetic vowel (see §2.3.4) and as the focus marker (§14.5), it is otherwise quite rare. It is quite distinctly raised towards [i] when it precedes a velar consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(76)</th>
<th>/ə/</th>
<th>[ə]</th>
<th>mid to low-mid front unrounded vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/elin/</td>
<td>[elin]</td>
<td>‘to remember’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/blewin/</td>
<td>[bléwin]</td>
<td>‘megapode’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋŋe/</td>
<td>[ŋŋe]</td>
<td>‘kanari nut’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[i]</th>
<th>significantly raised before velar consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/yak e khan/</td>
<td>[yák ɪ khán]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/a/: This is a low central unrounded vowel.

(77) /a/ [a]  low central unrounded vowel
   /alan/ [alan]  'food for eating on voyage'
   /odai/ [odáí]  'clove'
   /panosa/ [panósa]  'hit something in order to kill it'

/o/: This is a mid to low-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ]. When occurring as the initial unstressed element in a sequence of adjacent vowels it is occasionally subject to glide replacement (see §2.5.1.6 above).

(78) /o/ [ɔ]  mid to low-mid back unrounded vowel
   /odo/ [ɔdɔ]  'not necessary'
   /polas/ [pɔlas]  'to pay'
   /plelo/ [plélo]  'tongue'

/u/: This is a high back rounded vowel. It is often subject to glide replacement when it occurs as the initial unstressed element of a vowel sequence (see §2.5.1.6 above).

(79) /u/ [u]  high back rounded vowel
   /udam/ [údam]  'medicine'
   /rube/ [rúbe]  'pot-belly'
   /kutu/ [kútu]  'small'

2.6 Prosody

A comprehensive description of Taba prosody is beyond the scope of this study. Some discussion of prosodic phenomena, however, is found at various points of the grammar. The role of the phonological phrase as the domain for certain syllable structure rules has been discussed in §2.2, and the phenomenon of prosodic lengthening was mentioned in §2.3.1. The role of intonation in a number of different syntactic structures is also touched on at various points of the description: intonation as a means of signalling marked word order is discussed in §6.3; as a means of signalling questions in §15.1.1.1; and as a means of signalling the close bond between paratactically adjoined clauses in §16.1.

The unmarked pattern for intonation in declarative clauses is for pitch to start at a mid-level, rise slowly throughout the utterance until falling quite sharply at the end, as illustrated in (80).

(80) Iswan nahagak
     Iswan n=ha-hag-ak
     Iswan 3sg=CAUS-fool-APPL 3sg
     'Iswan is kidding him.'
2.7 Morphophonemics

There are a few morphophonological processes that need to be mentioned. The deletion of /h/ is discussed in §2.7.1. Reduction of long vowels, mentioned in §2.3.1, is discussed in detail in §2.7.2. Unstressed vowel deletion with the -o applicative is discussed in §2.7.3 and the morphophonemic processes which apply in derivations involving the -Vk applicative are discussed in §2.7.4. The question of whether or not metathesis is involved in these derivations is also addressed. In §2.7.5 is found a treatment of some morphophonemic processes where metathesis does seem to be involved: the formation of some classifier-numeral compounds. Three different forms of reduplication are discussed in §2.7.6, and finally, a discussion of prenasalisation of verb roots in Undergoer nominalisation is found in §2.7.7.

2.7.1 Loss of unstressed /h/

A pervasive aspect of Taba morphophonemics is the systematic deletion of unstressed /h/ when it occurs word initially and a prefix is added in front of it. The loss of /h/ affects most uses of the ha- causative prefix. An example illustrating this process is seen in (81) where /h/ occurs in the onset of a stressed syllable, and so is realised phonetically, and in (82), where, as an element of the onset of an unstressed syllable, it does not get realised phonetically.

(81) sî lhán [sî lhán]
si l=han
3pl 3pl=go
‘They go.’

(82) sî lahan [sî lahan]
si l=ha-han
3pl 3pl=CAUS-go
‘They are able.’

The process of /h/ loss is exceptionless. Although the /h/ of ha- is never realised in inflected forms, its underlying existence is supported by the fact that it is regularly realised in the citation of causative verbs and in nominalisations as seen in (83).

(83) habójam e stérek [habójam e stérek]
ha-bójam e sterek
CAUS-fish FOC great
‘Fishing is great.’

Stem-initial /h/ is also realised phonetically when a cross-referencing proclitic is attached to a preposed reciprocal particle rather than to the verb itself as in (84).

(84) sî lmaka haóblak [sî lmáka haóblak]
si l=maka ha-oblak
3pl 3pl=RECIP CAUS-call
‘They are calling each other.’
2.7.2 Reduction of long vowels

Although there are many morphosyntactic contexts where two instances of the same vowel appear together within a word as parts of separate morphemes they never get realised as anything more than a short vowel (§2.3.1). This situation is commonly encountered when the 1pl.excl agreement proclitic a= is attached to the beginning of an /a/-initial verb root as exemplified in (85).

(85) am ám [am ám]
     am a=am
     1pl.excl 1pl.excl=see
     'we see'

Vowel reduction also occurs with /h/-deletion. This is shown in (86) where the sequence a=ha (1pl.excl=CAUS) has been reduced right down to simple a.

(86) am abáku [am abáku]
     am a=ha-báku
     1pl.excl 1pl.excl=CAUS-sago
     'We are processing sago.'

underlying form:       ahabaku
/h/ deletion          → aabaku
vowel reduction       → abaku

Note that these rules need not be ordered extrinsically, if they are both applied for as long as possible until nothing more can be done.

(87) underlying form:       ahabaku
    vowel reduction       → ahabaku (cannot apply)
    /h/ deletion          → aabaku
    vowel reduction       → abaku

2.7.3 Unstressed vowel deletion with -o applicative

The functions of the -o applicative are discussed in detail in §8.3.3. -o suffixation is associated with unstressed vowel deletion in the stem to which it is attached. Three cases may be distinguished:

- suffixation to stems with stressed final syllables
- suffixation to stems with unstressed open final syllables
- suffixation to stems with unstressed closed final syllables

In the final case, resyllabification also occurs. The general processes are schematised in figure 2.3, and illustrated further in the examples below.
Figure 2.3 Unstressed vowel deletion & resyllabification with -o suffixation

When -o is suffixed to a stem with a stressed final syllable, the underlying form of the stem is retained:

(88) a. Adhar njog
    Adhar n=jog
    Adhar 3sg=jump
    ‘Adhar is jumping.’

    b. njogo mesel
        n=jog-o mesel
        3sg=jump-APPL wall
        ‘He’s jumping over the wall.’

If the final syllable of the stem to which the applicative is attached is an open unstressed syllable, the vowel from that final syllable is deleted before the suffix is added:

(89) a. lalusa lhan
    l=ha-lusa l=han
    3pl=CAUS-say 3pl=go
    ‘They said they went.’
b. nalūso  yak
   n=ha-lúsa-o  yak
   3sg=CAUS-say-APPL 1sg
   ‘She told me.’

When the final syllable of the stem to which the applicative is attached is a closed unstressed syllable, the vowel from the final syllable is first deleted, then resyllabification occurs after the suffix has been added:

(90) a. masín lékat
   masin lekat
gine be.bad
   ‘The engine is broken down.’

b. gawája lékto
   gawája lékat-o
guava be.bad-APPL
   ‘The guava has gone rotten.’

2.7.4 -Vk applicative suffixation

In this section we examine the morphophonemic processes associated with -Vk applicative derivation in Taba. A description of the functions of the -Vk applicative is found in §8.3.2. The -Vk prefix takes a variety of forms depending on the root to which it is attached: each of these will be discussed in turn below. Some of the processes to be discussed in this section would appear at first glance to involve metathesis. I will argue that there is no real metathesis in Taba, but that the final result of applying several different morphophonemic rules merely looks like metathesis.

The root structures which condition different forms of the suffix are:

- words with stressed final syllables
- polysyllables with unstressed open final syllables
- polysyllables with unstressed closed final syllables

Each of these root structures, and the appropriate forms for the applicative suffix will be discussed in turn below.

2.7.4.1 Stems with stressed final syllables

The most common form of the -Vk applicative is -ak, but other forms are also possible. A preliminary illustration of -ak suffixation is given in (91).

(91) a. Iswan nifsùŋ  do
   Iswan n=sùŋ  do
   Iswan  3sg=enter REAL
   ‘Iswan has entered.’
In quite a few cases, for reasons which remain somewhat obscure, the form of the \(-Vk\)
applicative suffixed to monosyllabic words is \(-ik\).\(^9\) The \(-ik\) form of applicative derivation
with a monosyllabic root (in this case \(wēt\) ‘hit’) is illustrated in (92).

\[(92)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{Nim} & \quad \text{babasi} & \quad \text{lwēt} & \quad \text{au} \\
& \quad \text{nim} & \quad \text{baba=si} & \quad l=\text{wēt} & \quad \text{au} \\
& \quad 2\text{sg.POSS} & \quad \text{father=PL} & \quad 3\text{pl}=\text{hit} & \quad 2\text{sg} \\
& \quad \text{‘Your father will hit you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Ni} & \quad \text{babasi} & \quad \text{lwētik} & \quad i & \quad \text{weri} \\
& \quad \text{ni} & \quad \text{baba=si} & \quad l=\text{wēt-ik} & \quad i & \quad \text{weri} \\
& \quad 3\text{sg.POSS} & \quad \text{father=PL} & \quad 3\text{pl}=\text{hit-APPL} & \quad 3\text{sg} & \quad \text{rattan.cane} \\
& \quad \text{‘His father hit him with a rattan cane.’}
\end{align*}
\]

There is one attested example of \(-Vk\) applicative derivation with a disyllabic root having
exceptional stress on the final syllable (see §2.4). In this case, the form of the applicative
suffix is \(-ak\).

\[(93)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{Namlih} \\
& \quad n=\text{amlih} \\
& \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{laugh} \\
& \quad \text{‘She’s laughing.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{Namlihak} & \quad \text{tit} \\
& \quad n=\text{amlih-ak} & \quad \text{tit} \\
& \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{laugh-APPL} & \quad 1\text{pl.incl} \\
& \quad \text{‘She’s laughing at us.’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 2.7.4.2 Stems with unstressed open final syllables

When the root to which the applicative suffix is attached is already vowel-final, no vowel
is used in the suffix, as in (94). (None of the vowel final roots which have undergone
applicative derivation in the corpus are stressed, and all are polysyllabic.)

\(^9\) In many cases the conditioning for the \(-ik\) suffix appears to be phonological. Quite a few of the verb
roots to which \(-ik\) is suffixed contain the stressed vowel \(i\) or \(e\). However, there are a number of
exceptions to this (e.g. \(\text{hasōp}\) ‘to shower’ \(\sim\) \(\text{hasōpik}\) ‘to wet something in the shower’; \(\text{tāk}\) ‘to nod
head’ \(\sim\) \(\text{tākik}\) ‘to butt head into something’) as well as roots containing stressed \(i\) to which \(-ak\) is
attached (e.g. \(\text{amlih}\) ‘to laugh’ \(\sim\) \(\text{amlihak}\) ‘to laugh at (someone)’). The reasons for the existence of
the \(-ik\) applicative form are probably at least partly historical. Some historical roots have probably
lost final unstressed \(i\), and other forms possibly have historical remnants of the most common
Undergoer referencing pronoun, 3sg. \(i\), attached to them.
(94) a. Wója n’tsagu
    wója n=sagu
    water 3sg=spear
    ‘Water is spouting out.’

    b. Níjágu k i sassa gu.  
        n=sagu-k i sassa gu
        3sg=spear-APPL 3sg spear
        ‘He speared him with a spear.’

2.7.4.3 Stems with unstressed closed final syllables

The applicative forms derived from CVC final polysyllables are the ones which appear at first glance to have undergone metathesis. A selection of illustrative examples are given in (95) through (97).

(95) a. I nbálíŋ hadia
    i n=bálíŋ hadia
    3sg 3sg=wrap present
    ‘(S)he is wrapping a present.’

    b. Yak k=bálýik yak kolái
        yak k=bálíŋ-k yak kolai
        1sg wrap.up-APPL 1sg snake
        ‘I wrap myself in the snake.’

(96) a. kbúlaj
    k=búlaj
    1sg=twist
    ‘I’m spinning.’

    b. i nbúljak wóla
        i n=búlaj-k wóla
        3sg 3sg=twist-APPL rope
        ‘(S)he’s spinning rope.’

(97) a. pirìŋ maka téđen
    pirìŋ maka téđen
    plate RECIPI stack
    ‘The plates are stacked on top of each other.’

    b. Yak katédnek yak kúrusi yôl balón
        yak k=ha-téđén-k yak kúrusi yol balón
        1sg 1sg=CAUS-stack-APPL 1sg chair fetch light.bulb
        ‘I’m standing on the chair to get the light bulb out.’
Pervasive ‘metathesis’ has been reported in a number of languages from Maluku region, including Leti (Van Engelenhoven 1995) and Selaru (Coward, 1989). While Coward is happy to analyse the processes found in Selaru as real metathesis, a variety of different kinds of analyses of what looks like metathesis have been proposed in the phonological literature (see, e.g. van der Hulst & van Engelenhoven, 1995). Let us consider two possible analyses for the Taba data, the first with a metathesis rule:  

(98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>metathesis</th>
<th>suffixation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V* C V C</td>
<td>C V* C C V</td>
<td>C V* C C V - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t e d e n</td>
<td>t e d n e</td>
<td>t e d n e - k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b u l a j</td>
<td>b u l j a</td>
<td>b u l j a - k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b a l i η</td>
<td>b a l i η</td>
<td>b a l i η i - k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative analysis involves an extra step: suffixation applies first. The suffix takes the form -Vk, where V is an unspecified vowel. The second step is assimilation, where the features of the final vowel of the root spread onto the vowel of the suffix, and the final step is syncope: the deletion of the unstressed root vowel. This set of rules is illustrated in (99).

(99)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>suffixation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V* C V C</td>
<td>C V* C V C - V C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t e d e n</td>
<td>t e d e n - k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b u l a j</td>
<td>b u l a j - k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b a l i η</td>
<td>b a l i η - k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 These rules could apply in any order, but the order with metathesis first is illustrated here.
Although the first analysis illustrated in (98) has one less step in the derivation than the second analysis, there are a number of reasons for preferring the second, apart from the highly marked status of metathesis rules. The most persuasive reason for electing the analysis in (99) is the pervasiveness of syncope in Taba, both diachronically and synchronically. Diachronically, one of the major defining characteristics of the South Halmahera - West New Guinea subgroup is post nasal syncope (giving forms such as mto \( \sim \) mta 'eye' < PAN *mata). One of the most likely explanations for the emergence of a considerable number of initial geminates in Taba is the operation of syncope in initial unstressed syllables (§2.3.3.5): the effects of this process can still be seen in contemporary variation between speakers in the pronunciation of at least one word: ddoba \( \sim \) dadddoba 'earth/dirt'. Further synchronic evidence for the operation of syncope is seen in the morphophonemic rules outlined for -o applicatives in §2.7.3. In all the environments in which it occurs, an effect of syncope is the preservation of metrical structure: the stressed syllable does not move.

While there is reasonably good evidence for not preferring the metathesis analysis as far as the -Vk applicatives are concerned, there is one other possible case of metathesis discussed in the next section for which the evidence is somewhat more equivocal.

2.7.5 Classifier-numeral compound metathesis

The other potential instance of metathesis in Taba concerns a few classifier-numeral compounds. Taba has a large number of numeral classifiers, some of the most common of which occur as proclitics, prefixed to the first element of a number phrase (see chapter 10).

One of the common classifiers, which has variable forms sis= and sih=, is used to classify animals, and appears with the numeral roots from 2 to 9 (§10.3.2.4). The sis= form of the classifier is simply prefixed to the numeral root with which it occurs, but when the sih= form is used, the final h of the suffix metathesises with the initial consonant of the root to which it is attached. Examples showing all of the relevant classifier-numeral combinations are given in table 2.6.
Table 2.6 Forms of animal classifier-numeral root compounds

Given that there are so few forms in which this morphophonemic alternation operates, I would hesitate to provide a phonological solution. We can note, however, that the forms to which simple $sis=$ is prefixed are all glide-initial, and that the forms to which metathesised $sih=$ is prefixed all begin with alveolars.

2.7.6 Reduplication

Taba has three distinct kinds of reduplication: full lexical reduplication, and two varieties of partial reduplication. In the first kind of partial reduplication, a copy of the first syllable of a root is prefixed to that root to derive a noun which refers to an instrument. The second type only affects activity verbs:\footnote{Note that this process can affect only the verbs which refer to activities, and not to all of the verbs which are subcategorised for Actor arguments (see §4.2).} a prefix is formed by taking the first syllable of a verb which refers to an activity, plus the onset of its second syllable, then replacing the vowel of the first syllable with /a/ and adding /a/ to the end of the resultant form. This whole complex is prefixed to the verbal stem and the derived form refers to an activity involving a 'plurality of action'. Each of these kinds of reduplication is discussed in turn below.

2.7.6.1 Full lexical reduplication

Phonologically, the principal difference between full lexical reduplications and other word forms is that reduplications attract primary stress twice. Complete reduplication (‘REDUP’) is not very common in Taba. When it is used, it has a variety of different functions: intensification of some sort is a common meaning, but a variety of other more lexicalised meanings are found as well. The functions of reduplication have not been analysed in detail, but some notes on the phonology of reduplication are given here. Some examples are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root form</th>
<th>Root meaning</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Reduplicated meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ηán</td>
<td>‘day, sun’</td>
<td>ηán-ηán</td>
<td>‘every day, often’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misili</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
<td>misili-misili</td>
<td>‘little by little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kútu</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>kútu-kútu</td>
<td>‘very small, cute’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{Note that this process can affect only the verbs which refer to activities, and not to all of the verbs which are subcategorised for Actor arguments (see §4.2).}
There are also a reasonable number of reduplicated forms found in the corpus for which no independent root forms have been found. These are clearly identifiable as reduplications, since they have double primary stress. Some examples are given in (100).

(101) **Reduplicated form**  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jáp-jáp</td>
<td>‘ash, dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lól-lól</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pála-pála</td>
<td>‘back of thigh’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few more words have double primary stress but show only partial similarity in segmental form between the two parts:

(102) sán-náŋ  

‘happy’

cf. nʧáŋak  

n=sán-ak  

3sg=happy-APPL  

‘(s)he is pleased (about something)’

2.7.6.2 ‘Instrumental’ partial reduplication

Taba has another, more functionally restricted, form of reduplication which is used to derive nouns referring to the instruments of an action (see §7.1.2.1). All but one example of instrumental partial reduplication (‘RED’) in the corpus are based on roots which begin with a CVC sequence (as the vast majority of roots actually do). We will discuss partial reduplication of consonant-initial roots first, and later examine the sole example based on a vowel-initial root.

With consonant-initial roots, the process works by taking the first CVC sequence from the verb root, substituting /a/ for the vowel, and prefixing the resultant sequence of phonemes to the root. As with other forms of affixation, stress is not affected.

(103) balbulaj  

bal-bulaj  

RED-to wind/coil something  

‘device for winding rope, cord onto’

(104) takték  

tak-tek  

RED-scoop up water  

‘water scoop’

Partial reduplication always applies to roots rather than word forms, even if the roots themselves are precategorials (see §4.4). This fact is illustrated in (105) and (106). The root involved in these examples (pon ‘whistle’) is not attested except in derived forms, yet it is
clearly used as the base in the derivation of both the causativised form in (105) and of the reduplicated instrumental in (106).

(105) Napón
    n=ha-pón
    3sg=CAUS-whistle
    ‘(S)he’s whistling.’

(106) Pampón
    pan-pón
    RED-whistle
    ‘Nocturnal bird’ (its calls believed to be made on behalf of spirits, i.e. ‘the instrument of the spirit’s whistling’)

As can be seen from the above example, partial assimilation of the final segment of the reduplicative prefix to the first segment of the root can occur. Examples (107) and (108) illustrate complete assimilation of the final segment of the prefix.

(107) pappít
    pat-pit
    RED-snare (v.)
    ‘snare (n.)’

(108) tattúbal
    tab-tubal
    RED-to.prod.with.vertical.motion
    ‘long stick used to get fruit down from high up in a tree by poking at it’

In quite a large number of derivations assimilation is variable:

(109) sassíkat ~ saksíkat
    sak-síkat
    RED-brush (v.)
    ‘brush (n.)’

(110) sasságu ~ sagságu
    sag-ságú
    RED-spear (v.)
    ‘spear (n.)’

At first glance, given its rather extreme variability, principles governing the operation of assimilation appear difficult to ascertain. However, there seem to be two underlying motivations for assimilation, sometimes having somewhat contradictory effects. Neither principle is easy to quantify exactly.
The first principle governing assimilation is ease of articulation. With clusters that are inherently more difficult to articulate, assimilation is favoured, as in (111). With less difficult to pronounce combinations such as (103) above assimilation occurs less frequently.

(111) \textit{faffáti}  
\begin{itemize}
  \item fat-fati
  \item RED-cover
  \item 'curtain'
\end{itemize}

As mentioned, ease of articulation effects are rather hard to quantify, not just because of problems in characterising ease of articulation precisely, but also because the appearance of assimilation is not just a question of which forms it applies to (types) but also which concrete utterances of particular types does it apply to (tokens). As also already mentioned, whether or not a particular token undergoes assimilation is rather variable.

It also seems that words which occur frequently within texts are more likely to undergo assimilation than those that occur less frequently. While instrumental reduplication is very productive, some forms are highly lexicalised, such as those shown as (107) and (108) above, repeated here as (112) and (113). With these highly lexicalised forms assimilation is virtually invariable.

(112) \textit{pappít}  
\begin{itemize}
  \item pat-pit
  \item RED-snare (v.)
  \item 'snare (n.)'
\end{itemize}

(113) \textit{tattúbal}  
\begin{itemize}
  \item tab-tubal
  \item RED-to.prod.with.vertical.motion
  \item 'long stick used to get fruit down from high up in a tree by poking at it'
\end{itemize}

With neologisms, such as that illustrated in (114) (heard only once by the author), assimilation hardly ever occurs.

(114) \textit{tagtöglak}  
\begin{itemize}
  \item tag-tógal-k
  \item RED-insert-APPL
  \item 'prong on watch strap'
\end{itemize}

Such variability in assimilation (based on the commonness of forms within a language) has been widely reported in the literature. See Bybee (1994) for other examples.

Given that there is only one attested example of partial reduplication based on a vowel-initial root, general principles for deriving such forms are impossible to determine. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the root itself is not attested: it is only found in derived forms and the underlying form of its second (unstressed vowel) is not known. Its -o applicative derived form is given in (115).
The partially reduplicated form is *gogolo* ‘pillow’ (i.e. the thing that one cuddles). Given that it appears to be a fully lexicalised form, one would expect it to be more subject to assimilation than less lexicalised forms. Thus, it is not clear whether the second unstressed vowel here reflects an underlying vowel or merely an assimilation to either or both of the initial stressed vowel and the applicative suffix. Given that stress appears on the initial vowel, and that the initial vowel is /o/ rather than /a/ one might expect that the partially reduplicated prefix consists of just the first consonant of the root. Since there are no other partial reduplications based on roots which have -o applicatives otherwise subject to syncope, it is unclear exactly what rules have determined the shape of the second unstressed vowel in the reduplication.

2.7.6.3 ‘Plurality of action’ partial reduplication

In this type of partial reduplication (glossed ‘RED2’), a prefix is formed by taking the first syllable of a verb which refers to an activity, plus the onset and nucleus of the second syllable if there is one, then replacing any vowels with /a/. This whole complex is prefixed to the verbal stem and the derived form refers to an activity involving a ‘plurality of action’. The process is given preliminary exemplification in (116) where it applies to a monosyllabic stem.

(116) a. *Ksuŋ* um
    k-suŋ um
    1sg-enter house
    ‘I entered the house.’

    b. *Kṣaŋsuŋ* um
    k-ṣaŋ-suŋ um
    1sg-RED2-enter house
    ‘I entered many houses.’

‘Plurality of action’ partial reduplication affects already derived words rather than the roots which are affected by ‘instrumental’ reduplication as discussed in §2.7.2 above. In (117) the process is further exemplified with a derived stem *otik* ‘to give’. In this example, there is no onset to the first syllable of the stem, so the derived form has no initial consonant. Since the stem is bisyllabic, the prefix is also bisyllabic. The nuclei of both prefixal syllables are formed with the vowel /a/.

(117) a. *Notik* yak yan
    n-ot-ik yak yan
    3sg-get-APPL[give] 1sg fish
    ‘He gave me some fish.’
b. **Nataotik** si yan *llotfi*
   n-ata-otik 3pl fish *llotfi*
   3sg-RED2-give 3pl fish many
   'He gave out loads of fish to them.'

In (118) the derived stem is consonant initial and the reduplicative prefix also has a copy of the stem-initial consonant.

(118) a. **Ncuŋak** Nou
   n-suŋ-ak 3sg-enter-APPL Nou
   'He put Nou in.'

b. **Ncaŋasuŋak** *wang* *llotfi* =si
   n-saŋa-suŋ-ak 3sg-RED2-enter-APPL child many=PL
   'He put lots of kids in.'

As has been said, 'plurality of action' partial reduplication affects already derived stems. The reduplication occurs after all other morphophonemic processes have taken place. This is illustrated in (119) where the complex stem *togiak* 'to insert something into something' has already undergone unstressed vowel deletion (§2.7.3 & §2.7.4.3).

(119) a. **Ntogiak** *wola*
   n-togal-k 3sg-insert-APPL rope
   'She inserted rope.'

b. **Ntaglatogiak** *wola*
   n-tagla-togal-k 3sg-RED2-insert-APPL rope
   'She inserted loads of rope.'

The functions of this type of reduplication are discussed in more detail in §8.5.3.

### 2.7.7 Prenasalisation of verbs (Undergoer nominalisation)

The functions of Undergoer nominalisation, which is not a very commonly attested process, are discussed in §7.1.2.2. Undergoer nominalisation is signalled by a nasal consonant, the underlying form of which is *ŋ*, but which assimilates to the place of articulation of any following obstruent. This segment is then prefixed to the root itself (as with instrumental reduplication (§2.7.6.2), the derivation is applied to verbal roots, even if the roots have no independent existence outside of causativised and nominalised derivations).

Some examples of Undergoer nominalisation, illustrating the assimilation of the nasal prefix are given in (120) to (124).
(120) before a vowel (underlying /ŋ / as prefix)

ŋalawa
N-alawa
UND.NZ-play
‘game’

(121) before /k/ (underlying /ŋ / as prefix)

ŋkutan
N-kutan
UND.NZ-ask
‘question’

(122) before /h/ (underlying [ŋ] as prefix)

ŋhon
N-hon
UND.NZ-eat
‘food’

(123) before /b/ (prefix assimilates to [m])

mbatalon
N-battalon
UND.NZ-sit
‘sitting place / seat’

(124) before /s/ (prefix assimilates to [n] and initial /s/ of root occurs as [tʃ] (see §2.5.1.4 on allophony of /s/)

ntʃagu
N-sagu
UND.NZ-spear
‘water fall’\(^\text{12}\)

2.8 Dialect variation

I have not had the opportunity to conduct a detailed study of dialect differences in Taba. This would in itself be a major undertaking given that it is not even clear where all the Taba speaking communities are located (see chapter one). The discussion on dialect variation given here, then, concentrates solely on those Taba speaking villages on Makian and Kayoa islands with which the author has some familiarity. Although there are minor dialect

\(^\text{12}\) Water is said to ‘spear’ over a waterfall in Taba.
differences found between all of these villages, two major phonological differences have been
found between the dialects of Waikyon and Waigitang on the one hand and all of the other
Taba speaking villages on the other.

First, the segment /o/ is frequently used in Waikyon and Waigitang where /a/ is used in
all of the dialects spoken to the south of Waikyon village. This segmental alternation most
commonly (though not exclusively) affects stressed vowels. Some examples of words with
these differences are found in (125). The Tahane forms are from Collins (1982).

(125) Waikyon          Tahane

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óda</td>
<td>áda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batalón</td>
<td>batalán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōba</td>
<td>dāba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddōba</td>
<td>ddāba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamúno</td>
<td>gamúna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-só</td>
<td>p-sá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jós</td>
<td>jás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wóg</td>
<td>wág</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtó</td>
<td>mtá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all cases where an etymology for the forms can be established, it is the Waikyon and
Waigitang forms which are the innovative ones (i.e. where an historical proto-form can be
established, the proto-form contains /a/). This can be seen with the last two examples given
above, for instance, which are clearly derived from PAN *waŋka and PAN *mata
respectively.

Another major difference between the dialects concerns glide formation: the vowels /u/ or /o/ and /i/ are sometimes found in southern dialects where the glides /w/ and /j/ are
found in Waikyon and Waigitang. This seems to occur in environments where there has
been a stress shift away from the affected segment in Waigitang and Waikyon. Some
examples (Tahane forms again come from Collins 1982) are seen in (126).

(126) Waikyon          Tahane

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ján</td>
<td>íán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wás</td>
<td>úas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-wónam</td>
<td>p-öenam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final major difference between southern and northern dialects concerns the form of
the reduplicative instrument-deriving prefix (see §2.7.7.2 above). As we have seen, in
Waikyon and Waigitan the vowel used in the reduplicative prefix is /a/. Collins (1982)
provides some examples from Tahane where the reduplicative vowel used is /i/ rather than
/a/. (There are some other minor phonetic variations between the different dialects
evidenced by these forms as well.)
2.9 Incorporation of loans

Taba speakers have had a long period of contact with speakers of a wide variety of different languages (see chapter one for discussion of the history of Taba speakers). As a result of this long period of contact with speakers of other languages, a fairly large number of loan phonemes have been introduced into the language from a wide variety of source languages. The sources of the loan phonemes /nl/, /dy/, /fl/, and /fl/ are discussed in the introduction to section §2.1. Epenthetic vowel insertion (to break up disallowable consonant clusters) was discussed in §2.3.4. In this section we will not revisit the territory explored in other parts of the grammar, but we will explore a few other aspects of the incorporation of loan words into Taba.

In §2.3.3 the issue of allowable consonant clusters in indigenous Taba words was discussed. Patterns of consonant clusters involving the borrowed phonemes reflect the phonotactics of the languages from which the words were borrowed rather than anything inherent about Taba phonotactics. There are, however, a few interesting patterns that can be seen in borrowed words. A complete listing of the initial clusters found with borrowed phonemes is given in (128). (Clusters found in borrowed words which containing only indigenous phonemes have been omitted.)

(128)  tf  tfáti  ‘we (incl.) cover something’  (< Ternatan or Tidoran fáti ‘to cover’)
        td3  tdsílat  ‘we (incl.) scrape food from plates with fingers’  (< Ternatan or Tidoran jilat ‘to scrape food...’)
        kf  kfáti  ‘I cover something’  (< Ternatan or Tidoran fáti ‘to cover’)
        kd3  kd3ílat  ‘I scrape food from my plate with my fingers’  (< Ternatan or Tidoran jilat ‘to scrape food...’)
        fl  flúit  ‘flute’  (prob. < Dutch floet ‘flute’)
        fr  fruk  ‘early’  (< Dutch vroeg ‘early’)

Note that Collins does not give the form pid ‘to trap’, but I have assumed that the root exists in Tahane as it does in Waikyon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Cluster</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hf</td>
<td>'you (pl.) cover something'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Fatı ‘to cover’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hd3</td>
<td>'you (pl.) scrape food from plates with fingers'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Jilat ‘to scrape food...’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mf</td>
<td>'you (sg.) cover something'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Fatı ‘to cover’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>md3</td>
<td>'you (sg.) scrape food from plates with fingers'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Jilat ‘to scrape food...’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf</td>
<td>'(s)he covers something'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Fatı ‘to cover’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd3</td>
<td>'respectful greeting'</td>
<td>Ternatan Njou ‘lord, ruler’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf</td>
<td>'something that is covered'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Fatı ‘to cover’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lf</td>
<td>'they cover something'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Fatı ‘to cover’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ld3</td>
<td>'they scrape food from plates with fingers'</td>
<td>Ternatan or Tidoran Jilat ‘to scrape food...’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Striking features of the consonant clusters seen in the loans are the distribution of /lf/ and /ld3/ and the non-appearance of /hf/.

The fact that /hf/ does not appear in this listing while /ld3/ does is understandable because clusters including /ld3/ which occur in the corpus are exceedingly rare. All of them (except nd3ilat ‘(s)he scrapes food from her / his plate’) are given above. Phonetically, /Cd3/ sequences are realised in a variety of ways. Stop initial clusters are realised in an analogous manner to stop-stop sequences: the initial stop and the first part of the affricate are coarticulated and then a fricated release occurs in the alveopalatal region (e.g. /kd3ilat/ as [kʰd3ilat]). The nasal-affricate sequences take one of two different forms, depending on the place of articulation of the nasal. Initial alveolar /n/ and /d3/ is realised as a briefly prenasalised alveolar stop followed by a fricated release in the alveopalatal region: [ⁿd3óu] , [ⁿd3ilat]. In /m/- initial clusters the underlying affricate is realised as a fricative: [ᵐ3ilat].

The fact that /lf/ initial sequences are comparatively rare (only found in the Dutch loans fluit and fruk) while /lf/ second sequences are common is simply explained as a result of the fact that no multimorphemic forms with initial /lf/ are found but many multimorphemic forms including verb cross-referencing proclitics and /lf/ initial verb roots are found. The fact that the only /lf/ initial clusters are found with following liquids probably reflects the rules of Dutch phonotactics rather than those of Taba.
2.10 Orthography & presentation of examples

In the final section of this chapter we will review the practical orthography for Taba adopted in the rest of this grammar, and a brief outline of the conventions used for presenting examples will be given.

2.10.1 Orthography

There is no regulated standard orthography for Taba. Taba literacy is not taught in schools, and since the vast majority of Taba speakers are literate in Indonesian, most of them have no need to use Taba as a vehicle for written communication. Whenever a need for written communication arises, most Taba speakers simply use Indonesian. Some speakers express an inability to write in Taba, in spite of their literacy in Indonesian. When native speakers do occasionally write Taba (as in letters the author has received from Taba speaking people), they generally use an orthography which has been adapted from the Indonesian writing system they have been taught at school.

The orthography adopted in the rest of the grammar largely conforms to a kind of de facto standard which I have seen Taba speakers using. (Although there is no regulated standard for orthography, in practice virtually everyone uses much the same writing system.) The system adopted here is largely phonemic, with one exception.

The symbols used in the phonemic representations given so far (up to this point represented by the standard IPA symbols) will continue to be used in later parts of the grammar, except for the exceptions outlined below.

2.10.1.1 Glottal stop /ʔ/

Most Taba speakers do not represent the glottal stop at all when writing Taba. In practice, this does not present any real problems since the glottal stop is (as already discussed) a very rare loan phoneme in Taba. Moreover, whenever it does occur in any of the words found in the corpus, it occurs between sequences of alike vowels. Since there are no phonemic long vowels in Taba, double indication of the vowels occurring on either side of the glottal stop is sufficient to indicate presence of the glottal stop. For the sake of clarity, however, glottal stop is represented in the remainder of this grammar by an apostrophe, e.g.

(129) /mtaʔat/  mta'at  ‘you are obedient’

2.10.1.2 Velar nasal /ŋ/

As is the case with official Indonesian orthography, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented by the digraph ‘ng’, e.g.

(130) /ŋeku/  ngeku  ‘chin’

In most examples, this representation causes no difficulties. Geminate /ŋŋ/ is a little more problematic. However, there is only one example of /ŋŋ/ in the corpus, and although all the Taba speakers I spoke to about the problem of representing /ŋŋ/ orthographically

14 See chapter one for more information on this matter.
were agreed that the double digraph ngng looked clumsy, they all concurred that this was still the best way of representing the geminate in writing:

\[(131) /\text{ng}\text{ng}/ \quad \text{ngnge} \quad \text{‘canarium nut’}\]

### 2.10.1.3 Voiceless Palatal Affricate /\text{tf}/

In accordance with the standard Indonesian writing system, instances of the voiceless palatal affricate phoneme /\text{tf}/ is represented with the symbol c, e.g.

\[(132) /\text{tf}\text{alan}/ \quad \text{calan} \quad \text{‘thousand’}\]

As has been discussed above, [\text{tf}] also occurs as an allophone of /s/ in a number of environments. In this grammar, I follow the general practice of Taba speakers and also represent this allophonic form of /s/ as c, e.g.

\[(133) /\text{ns}\text{obal}/ \quad (\text{n}=\text{obal}) \quad \text{ncobal} \quad \text{‘s/he sails’}\]

Note, however, that whenever an interlinear morphemic representation of a particular gloss is given, ‘s’ is used when indicating the underlying morphemic representation, as in \text{ncung} (n=sung) below:

\[(134) \text{Ni} \quad \text{lupelupe} \quad \text{ncung} \quad \text{ane.}\]
\[\text{ni} \quad \text{lupe-lupe} \quad \text{n}=\text{sung} \quad \text{a-}\text{ne}\]
\[3\text{sg.POSS} \quad \text{wave-wave} \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{enter} \quad \text{LOC-PROX} \]
\[\text{‘Its wake came up to here.’}\]

### 2.10.1.4 Voiced Palatal Affricate /\text{dz}/

In accordance with standard Indonesian orthography, /\text{dz}/ is represented as j, e.g.

\[(135) /\text{dz}\text{arat}/ \quad \text{jarat} \quad \text{‘graveyard’}\]

### 2.10.1.5 Palatal Glide /\text{j}/

In accordance with the standard Indonesian writing system, the palatal glide /\text{j}/ is represented with the symbol y e.g.

\[(136) /\text{pojo}/ \quad \text{poyo} \quad \text{‘head’}\]

### 2.10.2 Presentation of Examples

In the presentation of sentential examples from Taba, interlinear glosses are provided. In the first line of an example a surface phonemic representation will be given. A second line will generally be included, showing a morphemic representation including an indication of the division into morphemes with representation of the underlying phonemic character of
each morpheme. It has been felt worthwhile to include a morphemic representation distinct from the phonemic one given first to make it easier to see the underlying structure of forms such as those including ‘metathesised’ applicatives (see §2.7.4). The third line consists of a gloss of each morpheme and the final line is a free translation. This approach is illustrated in (137).

(137) I ngorcak we ada ni kobit.
i n=goras-Vk we ada ni kobit
3sg 3sg=sha ve-APPL mango with 3sg.POSS knife
‘He’s peeling the mango with his knife.’

In some places, a simplified system of interlinear glosses, collapsing the first two lines of the gloss above into just one line in which morphemic breaks are indicated. This system is exemplified in (138). It is only be used when there are no complicating factors such as metathesis or assimilation, etc. which might obscure the underlying forms of the morphemes.

(138) Kuat wola amit.
be.strong rope amit
‘It’s strong, amit rope.’

From this point of the grammar on, stress is only indicated in those exceptional cases where it is not predictable.

Morpheme breaks are indicated in a variety of ways. The breaks between full words are represented by spaces. Breaks between affixes and their hosts are indicated with a hyphen. Finally, the breaks between clitics and their hosts are indicated with an equals sign. Defining characteristics of ‘affixes’, ‘clitics’, and ‘words’ are discussed in chapter 3.
This chapter deals with some important preliminaries to the chapters on morphology and syntax which follow. In it, we first discuss defining characteristics of the notions ‘word’, ‘particle’, ‘clitic’ and ‘affix’ as they are used in this grammar. In §3.2 we discuss ‘cliticisation’, a process through which two hitherto independent words fuse together phonologically and behave like one phonological word. In §3.3 we introduce the notion of ‘precategorial roots’, and discuss their status as morphological units. Word classes, or parts of speech are discussed in chapter 4.

### 3.1 ‘Word’, ‘particle’, ‘affix’ and ‘clitic’

Linguists have long recognised that the notion of the ‘word’ is one that can be characterised with two quite distinct sets of criteria: phonological and morphosyntactic. Phonological criteria, for instance might include the fact that the word is the domain within which primary stress occurs only once, or there may be a variety of morphophonological processes that take as their domain of operation the word. Morphosyntactic criteria might include the fact that words are generally the minimal free forms that can be uttered on their own, or the fact that the order of words within a phrase or clause can be changed while the order of affixes, for instance, cannot be changed.

In many cases the different sorts of criteria do not coincide exactly. It may be possible to find some unit that fits all of the defining characteristics for the phonological word while not qualifying as a morphosyntactic word or vice-versa.

Words are linguistic entities that are in some way independent from other linguistic entities. Notions of independence and dependence are useful in providing a broad (and somewhat rough) characterisation of words, affixes, clitics and particles as they will be used here. Table 3.1 provides an initial overview of how different morphological units can be characterised in terms of phonological and morphosyntactic dependence and independence in Taba.
**Table 3.1 A classification of words, particles, clitics and affixes in Taba**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>morphosyntactically independent</th>
<th>morphosyntactically dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phonologically</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonologically</td>
<td>clitics</td>
<td>affixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key defining characteristics of each of the morphological units shown in figure 3.1 can be given as follows for Taba:

- **word**: a word attracts primary stress and can occur as a free form.
- **particle**: a particle attracts primary stress but cannot occur as a free form.
- **clitic**: a clitic never attracts stress and attaches itself to phrases.
- **affix**: an affix never attracts stress and attaches itself to words or roots.

Further description of each of these morphological units is given in the following sections. In the examples which follow, word and particle boundaries are indicated by spaces while affix boundaries are indicated with a hyphen, and clitic boundaries by an equals sign.

### 3.1.1 Words

The Taba word is both phonologically and morphosyntactically independent. Phonological independence is seen in the following characteristics of words: words always receive primary stress (see §2.4). Words may have initial syllables with complex onsets (§2.3.2.2). A variety of morphophonemic processes such as loss of unstressed $h$- (§2.7.1) and unstressed vowel deletion (§2.7.3) occur within the domain of the word.

Morphosyntactic independence of words is seen in the fact that words can be uttered on their own. In example (1), according to all of the criteria so far outlined, there are three words, *khan*, *Tarnate* and *poma*.

1. **Khan Tarnate poma**
   
   k=han Tarnate po-ma  
   1sg=go Tarnate down-ABL  
   ‘I’m going from down in Tarnate.’

Each word attracts primary stress, and each could be uttered on its own in answer to the questions in (2) - (4) for example.

2. **Q: Mpe pu Tarnate poma?**
   
   m=pe pu Tarnate po-ma  
   2sg=do what Tarnate down-ABL  
   ‘What are you doing from down in Tarnate?’
A: Khan
   k=han
   1sg=go
   ‘I’m going.’

Q: Mhan lo li e poma?
   m=han lo li e po-ma
   2sg=go where LOC FOC down-ABL
   ‘Where did you come down from?'

A: Tarnate
   Tarnate
   ‘Ternate.’

Q: Mhan Tarnate lo e?
   m=han Tarnate lo e
   2sg=go Ternate where FOC
   ‘Where did you go from Ternate?’

A: Poma
   po-ma
   down-ABL
   ‘From down.’ [i.e. ‘upwards’]

Another morphosyntactic criterion useful for determining what is a word is that in
general elements of a word (i.e. roots and affixes) must appear in a fixed order, but words are
more free to appear in different positions within a sentence. In (5) below, for example, all of
the affixes can only appear attached to their hosts as shown. It is possible, however, to
change the order of some (but not all) of the words, as exemplified in (6) and (7) with only
minor changes to the meanings of the utterances.\footnote{See §6.1 for discussion of word-order in Taba. One the order of words within a phrase is
somewhat more fixed than is the order of a phrase within a clause or a sentence. For example, a
noun must precede any postposition with which it occurs in a postpositional phrase (§13.1), and it
must follow any preposition with which it occurs but the resulting adpositional phrase may occur
in a number of positions within a clause.}

(5) Iswan nhan akno ni dawalatci
   Iswan n=han ak-no ni dawalat=si
   Iswan 3sg=go ALL-there 3sg.PSS girlfriend=PL\footnote{The plural marker =si is classified as an enclitic because it is attached to whole noun phrases rather
than just to individual nouns, e.g. Nim mama lo baba=si ‘your mother and father’. In this example
=si is used as a marker of respect. (See §7.3.3 for detailed discussion of grammatical number.)}
   ‘Iswan went to his girlfriend’s place.’

(6) Akno ni dawalatci, Iswan nhan
   ak-no ni dawalat=si Iswan n=han
   ALL-there 3sg.PSS girlfriend=PL Iswan 3sg=go
   ‘To his girlfriend’s place, Iswan went.’
Morphosyntactic independence is also seen in that it is often possible to add another word between two independent words, but not between an affix and its host. In (8) there are two words ncaplik and wog.

(8) Ncaplik wog
  n=sapil-ik wog
  3sg=board-APPL canoe
  'He’s loading the canoe.'

If someone wants to say that he loaded the boat fast, this can be done as in (9) where the word capat has been placed between ncaplik and wog.

(9) Ncaplik capat wog
    n=sapil-ik capat wog
    3sg=board-APPL fast canoe
    'He’s loading the canoe quickly.'

The word capat may also appear after wog but cannot appear between any of the elements n=, sapil or -ik.

3.1.2 Particles

Particles are phonologically independent forms which have little morphosyntactic independence. They are defined as morphological units that are stress-bearing but which cannot occur as free forms. Particles occur within verb phrases, noun phrases, adpositional phrases, or they appear as conjunctions. The adnominal possessive markers (§9.1) are also treated as particles.

3.1.2.1 Verb phrase particles

The verb phrase particles are the aspect / modality markers do (realis mood, §14.1.1) and hu (continuative aspect, §14.1.2), and the reciprocal particle maka (see §6.6). These must always occur along with a predicator of some kind.

The preposed particle maka immediately precedes the verb upon which it is dependent.

(10) maka (reciprocal particle)

    Si lmaka alcomak surat
    si l=maka alsoma-k surat
    3pl 3pl=RECIP send-APPL letter
    'They sent each other letters.'

The postposed particles hu and do immediately follow not the predicator itself, but the predicate phrase headed by the predicator (see §14.1). Such predicate phrases may include
locative adjuncts, for example, occurring between the predicator itself and the postposed particle (11, 12).

(11) do (realis modality)

\[ N\text{han} \ a\kla \ do \]
\[ n=\text{han} \ a\-k\-\la \ do \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{go} \ \text{ALL-sea} \ \text{REAL} \]
'\(\text{(S)he's gone seawards / (S)he's going seawards.}'

(12) hu (continuative aspect)

\[ N\text{han} \ p\text{oma} \ hu \]
\[ n=\text{han} \ po\-m\-a \ hu \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{go} \ \text{down-ABL} \ \text{CONT} \]
'\(\text{(S)he's going from downwards.}'

The postposed particles also have cliticised forms which are attached to the negative word te (§14.2), such as tehu ‘not yet’. These derived forms are treated as full words since they can occur on their own, just as the negator te often occurs as a free form simply meaning ‘no’.

3.1.2.2 Noun phrase particles

The reflexive particle do occurs as a dependent of the noun phrase (§6.5 and §9.2.5).

(13) do (reflexive particle)

\[ i \ do \ nwet \ i \]
\[ i \ do \ n=\text{wet} \ i \]
\[ 3\text{sg} \ \text{REF} \ 3\text{sg}=\text{hit} \ 3\text{sg} \]
'\(\text{(S)he hit her/himself.}'

The demonstrative roots ne ‘PROX’, and da / dia ‘DIST’ (§11.1.1), as well as the recognitional deictic particle ya (§11.3) are also dependents of the noun phrase.

(14) pakakas ne

\[ \text{tool} \ \text{PROX} \]
'\(\text{this tool}'

(15) kurusi da

\[ \text{chair} \ \text{DIST} \]
'\(\text{that chair}'

(16) um ya

\[ \text{house} \ \text{REC} \]
'\(\text{that house you know about}'
3.1.3 Adpositions

Adpositions are particles which occur as the heads of adpositional phrases (chapter 13). Taba has a locative postposition, *li* (§13.1) and a number of prepositions including *ada* ‘with’ (§13.2).

(17) *Rauf, si noge Mado li*
Rauf si no-ge Mado li
Rauf 3pl there-ESS Mado LOC
'Rauf is there at Mado's place.'

(18) *Lwom ada gina lloci*
l-wom ada gina lloci
3pl-come with stuff lots
'They came with lots of stuff.'

3.1.2.4 Conjunctions

The conjunctions are of a variety of sorts. They include forms such as *lo* ‘and’ which conjoins noun phrases, and *de* ‘in order that’ which is a subordinator and conjoins clauses. Conjunctions are defined in §4.3.3 and further discussed in a variety of places throughout the grammar.

(19) *Mama lo Babasi*
mama lo baba=si
mother and father=PL
'mother and father’

(20) *Nculak wangsi de lcobak gamuno*
  n=sul-ak wang=si de l=sobak gamuno
  3sg=order-APPL child=PL RES 3pl=throw.away rubbish
'He told the children to throw out the rubbish.'

3.1.2.5 Adnominal possessive markers

The adnominal possessive markers (§9.1) are also particles.

(21) *Mado ni mtu*
Mado 3sg.Poss child
'Mado’s child’

(22) *Nik wwe*
  ni-k wwe
  POSS-1sg foot
  'My foot’

3.1.3 Affixes

Affixes are both phonologically and morphosyntactically dependent on a host word (see §3.1 above) or root (§3.3). Affixes are never stressed and they never occur as free forms.
Affixation never affects stress in the derived forms. Taba has a number of both prefixes and suffixes, e.g.

(23) **ha-** ‘causative prefix’ (§8.3.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lamot</th>
<th>paramalam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l=ha-mot</td>
<td>paramalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl=CAUS-die</td>
<td>lamp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They turned the light off.’

(24) **han-** ‘inchoative prefix’ (§8.5.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wwe</th>
<th>nancagal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wwe</td>
<td>n=han-sagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>3sg=INCH-stride</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(My) legs keep striding along.’

(25) **-o** ‘applicative suffix’ (8.3.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kyogo</th>
<th>mesel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K=yog-o</td>
<td>mesel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg=jump-APPL</td>
<td>wall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I jumped on the wall.’

(26) **-ma** ‘ablative suffix’ (§11.2.2.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nhan</th>
<th>lama do</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n=han la-ma do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg=go sea-ABL</td>
<td>REAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He’s come in from the sea.’

### 3.1.4 Clitics

Clitics maintain some degree of morphosyntactic independence, attaching themselves to phrases rather than to words or roots, but they are phonologically dependent on their hosts and never bear stress. Clitics may be either proclitic or enclitic to their host.

The most common proclitics are the Actor cross-referencing proclitics which are attached to verb phrases (§7.3.1). The most common enclitic is the plural marker =si (§7.3.3).

The cross-referencing proclitics are usually attached directly to verbs as in (27), but if any other elements of the verb phrase occur before the verb, the proclitics are attached to these, as illustrated in (28) where the proclitic l= (3pl.) is prefixed to the reciprocal particle naka.

(27) **Si lhan appo**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>si</th>
<th>l=han ap-po</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>3pl=go ALL-down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They went to Ternate.’
(28) Si l maka al comak surat turus
    si l=maka alcomak surat turus
    3pl 3pl=RECIP send-APPL letter throughout
    ‘They send each other letters all the time.’

The plural enclitic =si is attached to noun phrases and signifies plurality of the whole noun phrase (see §7.3.3 for discussion of the grammatical category of Number).

(29) Nim mama lo babasi
    nim mama lo baba=si
    2sg.POSS mother and father=PL
    ‘Your mother and father.’

Some numeral classifiers are proclitics. Numeral classifiers function as the syntactic head of the quantifier phrases to which they are attached (§10.3). The proclitic ha= is one of these. In (30) ha is the phonological dependent of wal ‘eight’ but the head of the whole phrase hawal pa sio.

(30) hawal pa sio
    ha=wal pa sio
    CLASS=eight or nine
    ‘Eight or nine times.’

3.2 Compounding & cliticisation

Compounding occurs when two words, neither of which is a clitic, fuse together phonologically to create a new form which now behaves as a single phonological word. Compounds are words in which the combined form is recognisable as an independent semantic unit itself. Such compound forms often have lexicalised meanings. Compounding results in the creation of a new word, both phonological, and morphological, from what were once two independent words.

(31) ntonololan
    n-tono-lolan
    3sg-look.at-path/road
    ‘lizard’

Cliticisation results in the loss of some degree of phonological substance for one or other of the cliticised forms. In cliticisation, it is generally the first element which loses in phonological substance, as illustrated in (32) below where the final syllable of mawowo ‘light’ has been lost, and stress reassignment has taken place after it has been cliticised to appo ‘to downwards’ (the resulting form mawoappo has the lexicalised meaning ‘the next day’).

(32) uncliticised

    σ σ σ
    || || ||
    ma wo wo + ap po
In another kind of cliticisation, pronouns referring to Undergoers sometimes encliticise to the verbs which precede them. This process results in the formation of a single new phonological word from what was once two phonological words, but the resulting single phonological word consists of two morphological words in this case. In this kind of cliticisation, pronouns lose stress, and behave phonologically as if affixes to the verbs. They thus lose their status as independent phonological words, but still behave as if independent morphological units. This is an optional process, presumably conditioned by discourse factors that are not well understood (but see §7.3.1). In (33) we see the Undergoer pronoun i ‘3sg’ occurring as a stress attracting independent word. In (34) it has lost stress, and appears as an enclitic, phonologically attached to the verb of which it is an argument.

(33) Mtala i hu?
     m=tala i hu
     2sg=meet 3sg CONT
     ‘Have you found any yet?’

(34) Mtalai pa tedo?
     m=tala=i pa te-do
     2sg=meet=3sg or NEG-REAL
     ‘Have you found any or not?’

3.3 Precategorial roots

Precategorial roots are forms which never occur without supporting affixes of one kind or another, so they do not have the status of ‘independent free forms’. In other respects, however, they behave like independent phonological words in that when they do occur alongside a supporting affix, it is the precategorial root which attracts stress. A more detailed discussion of ‘precategorial roots’ is found in §4.4.
Parts of speech

Two major open word classes are found in Taba: nouns and verbs. Nouns and verbs (along with various subclasses of each) are discussed in §4.1 and §4.2 respectively. Taba has no class of adjectives which can be distinguished from verbs. This fact is discussed in detail in §4.2.1. There are also a number of minor parts of speech: demonstratives, adpositions, conjunctions, discourse connectors and interjections, as well as a variety of grammatical particles. Minor parts of speech are discussed in §4.3. There is no real open class of adverbs, although nouns, verbs and some of the grammatical particles often have adverbial functions in use. A few other words have exclusively adverbial function of one sort or another, but these all have quite idiosyncratic characteristics of their own. Forms with adverbial functions are discussed at a variety of points throughout the grammar, most notably in chapter 14 (modifiers of simple clauses) and chapter 12 (serial verbs). In chapter 12 it is suggested that some of the elements involved in serial verb constructions may be emergent adverbs, as may a few borrowings from North Moluccan Malay.

Taba, like a great many Austronesian languages, has a large number of roots which do not in themselves belong to any word class, but which, after having participated in derivational morphological processes gain membership in a particular word class. The ‘precategorial root’ is discussed in §4.4.

In Taba, syntactic criteria are by far the most important for defining parts of speech, and these will be the characteristics most discussed in the rest of this chapter. Morphological criteria are of only limited use for determining part of speech membership. Semantic criteria are not used at all to assign individual words to word classes, but they are used to ascribe an appropriate label to already defined word classes on the basis of cross-linguistic semantic similarities. (See Dixon, 1977 and Schachter, 1985 for general discussions on the determination of parts of speech categories.)

The same forms may sometimes function on different occasions as different parts of speech, without any overt morphological marking. In (1) mlongan ‘be long’ functions as a verb, but in (2) it functions as a noun ‘depth’.
Chapter Four

(1) Yapyap um ni llo ya mlongan tane
yapyap um ni llo ya mlongan ta-ne
ash house 3sg.POSS inside REC be.long SIM-PROX

‘The ash inside the house was as deep as this.’

(2) Woya ni mlongan tujuh meter
woya ni mlongan tujuh meter
water 3sg.POSS depth seven metres

‘The water was seven metres deep.’

Sometimes, the meanings of etymologically related nouns and verbs having the same form cannot be predicted from each other. For example, the verb poas ‘to row’ is related to the noun poas ‘oar’.

In a few cases the form of a word can be used to incontrovertibly define its word class, but this is rare. For example taktek ‘scoop (n.)’ is derived from the verb tek ‘to scoop’. The instrumental reduplicative prefix tak- (see §7.1.2.1) marks taktek as a noun.

The paucity of morphological evidence which can be used to determine word class membership is something that has been noted by other scholars in relation to some other Austronesian languages. Himmelmann (1991) argues that in Tagalog there is little evidence for the distinction of a verbal word class from a nominal one, but that particular tokens of words in sentences can quite straightforwardly be assigned to different syntactic word classes when they are used. Taba is also a little like this in some respects (although not nearly to the extent that Himmelmann claims for Tagalog). The discussion found in this chapter, then, must be read with this caveat firmly in mind.

4.1 Nouns

Nouns are defined and introduced here, but more details, particularly concerning nominal derivation, are found in chapter 7. Nouns can be defined as a word class in Taba on the basis of the fact that they occur in the following syntactic constructions:

• as arguments of a predicator. Nominal arguments are cross-referenced with an agreement proclitic on verbs if the noun operates as the Actor subcategorised for by the verb (see chapter 5).
• as objects of an adposition.
• as the heads of noun phrases.
• in possessive constructions.

The heads of noun phrases are always nouns. They may be qualified in a variety of ways. These include postposed demonstrative particles, measure phrases or relative clauses as well as attributive nouns. Number is only marked on nouns having human referents (§7.3.3). Four minor subcategories of nouns are distinguished: pronouns (§4.1.1), locatives (§4.1.2), quantifiers (§4.1.3) and interrogatives (§4.1.4). Most nouns, however, belong to none of these subcategories.

Nouns are shown occurring in a variety of syntactic roles in (3) through (7). (The noun phrase concerned in each example is given in bold type.)
(3) as the Actor argument of an Actor intransitive verb

\[ \text{Heni} \ n=\text{alhod} \ \text{capat} \]
Heni 3sg=run  be.fast

‘Heni ran fast.’

(4) as the Undergoer argument of a transitive verb

\[ \text{Banda} \ n=\text{poas-ak} \ \text{wog} \]
Banda 3sg= row-APPL canoe

‘Banda is rowing the canoe.’

(5) as object of a postposition

\[ \text{Wangsi} \ l=\text{tagil} \ \text{po-pe} \ \text{solo} \ \text{li} \]

‘The children are walking down on the beach.’

(6) as head of a noun phrase with nominal attributes

\[ \text{Kapal} \ \text{Kayu} \ \text{Jepang} \ l=\text{loci} \ n=\text{ne} \]
ship  timber  Japan many PROX

‘These many Japanese timber ships.’

(7) in a possessive phrase (Possessor noun is Banda (man’s name); possessed noun is wog ‘canoe’):

\[ \text{Banda} \ n=\text{wog} \]
Banda 3sg.POSS canoe

‘Banda’s canoe.’

4.1.1 Pronouns

Pronouns form a closed set. Their reference can only be established in relation to the context of a particular utterance. They code the grammatical categories of Person and Number. They function as the heads of noun phrases and can serve as both Actors and Undergoers to the verb, but they can generally only be used to refer to animates.\(^1\) The labels ‘Actor’ and ‘Undergoer’ are discussed in the introduction to chapter 5 as well as in §6.4. Pronouns are discussed in detail in chapter 7.

\(^1\) Although pronominal reference to inanimate Undergoers is required in reflexive clauses (§6.5), in other circumstances inanimates cannot be referred to pronominally.
4.1.2 Locative nouns

Locative nouns are distinguished from other nouns in that they can appear unmarked in adjunct locative phrases. Non-locative nouns can be marked as locative with the postposition *li* (§13.1).

Two kinds of locatives must be distinguished: what are labelled ‘independent locatives’ (§4.1.2.1) and ‘dependent locatives’ (§4.1.2.2). Independent locatives are distinguished from dependent locatives in that independent locatives always function as the heads of locative phrases while dependent locatives often function as adjuncts to independent locative heads. While there is a strong preference in discourse for locative phrases to include an independent locative as head, this is not a categorical restriction, since dependent locatives occasionally do occur without a supporting independent locative.

4.1.2.1 Independent locatives

Whenever independent locatives and dependent locatives are used together in the same locative phrase, the independent locative always precedes the dependent one.

Independent locatives form a closed set and consist of the locative demonstratives *ane* and *adia* (§11.1), the allative directionals (§11.2.2.2), ablative directionals (§11.2.2.3) and essive directionals (§11.2.2.4). The directional root *po* ‘down’ (§11.2) also functions as an independent locative in conjunction with the dependent locational interrogative *lo* (§15.1.2).

The use of independent locatives on their own is exemplified in (9) through (13) where the independent locatives are given in bold.

(9) **Locative demonstrative**

Yak e ktongo *ane*

yak e k=tongo a-ne

I FOC 1sg=live LOC-PROX

‘As for me, I live here.’

(10) **Allative directional**

Si lhan *appo*

si l=han ap-po

they 3pl=go ALL-down

‘They went downwards.’

(11) **Ablative directional**

Rauf nwom *poma* do

Rauf n=wom po-ma do

Rauf 3sg=come down-ABL REAL

‘Rauf has already come from downwards.’

(12) **Essive directional**

Yanti nasuyu *lawe*

Yanti n=ha-suyu la-we

Yanti 3sg=CAUS-type.of.fishnet sea-ESS

‘Yanti is netting fish seawards (of where utterance is spoken).’
Example (13) shows the use of the directional root *po* in conjunction with the locative interrogative *lo*. The root *po* cannot be used on its own as a locative phrase, but does appear as the head of locational interrogatives, along with the interrogative form *lo* (§15.2).

(13) \[Hhan \ po \ loe?\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
h=han \ po \ lo=e? \\
2pl=go \ down \ where=FOC? \\
'Where \ are \ you \ going?'
\end{array}
\]

Independent locatives may also function as the heads of locative clauses (§5.3.2.3).

### 4.1.2.2 Dependent locatives

Dependent locatives usually (but not always) occur as modifiers of independent locatives, which they follow. Dependent locatives may be either bound or free forms. Free dependent locatives form an open set: these comprise place names, as shown in (14), and the interrogative *lo* exemplified above in (13).

(14) \[Ntongo \ yase \ Rabudayo\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
n=tongo \ ya-se \ Rabudayo \\
3sg=live \ up-ESS \ Rabudayo \\
'He \ lives \ up \ at \ Rabudayo.'
\end{array}
\]

General nouns (§7.1) may function as dependent locatives when they occur as objects of the locative postposition *li* (§4.3.2 & §13.1) as in (15) and (16).

(15) \[Wangsi \ lalawa \ lawe \ solo \ li\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
wang=si \ l=ha-lawa \ la-we \ solo \ li \\
child=pl \ 3pl=CAUS-play \ sea-ESS \ beach \ LOC \\
'The \ children \ are \ playing \ seawards \ at \ the \ beach.'
\end{array}
\]

(16) \[Hbattalon \ appo \ boa \ li \ ya!\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
h=battalon \ ap-po \ boa \ li \ ya \\
2pl=sit \ ALL-down \ door \ LOC \ REC \\
'Sit \ down \ away \ under \ the \ door \ there!'
\end{array}
\]

Bound dependent locatives must occur as the heads of possessive noun phrases (chapter 9). The bound dependent locatives consist of the part directionals (§11.2.2.1) which refer to parts of their possessors that are oriented in a particular direction, or to areas of space that lie adjacent to their possessors. The essive directionals (§11.2.2.4) may also occur as the heads of possessive phrases, but these are not bound in the same way as the part directionals since they do not obligatorily occur in this context. The bound dependent locative *kle* 'landwards oriented part' (in this case referring to an area of space adjacent to the landwards side of the house) is shown in (17).

(17) \[Loka \ adia \ um \ ni \ kle\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
loka \ a-dia \ um \ ni \ k-le \\
banana \ LOC-DIST \ house \ 3sg.POSS \ PART-land \\
'The \ bananas \ are \ over \ there, \ on \ the \ landwards \ side \ of \ the \ house.'
\end{array}
\]
As mentioned above, dependent locatives occasionally occur without any independent head. The conditions for this are not fully understood at present, but in every case where this usage has been noted, it can be assumed that an independent directional is anaphorically, or cataphorically retrievable by the addressee.

(18) Nyat i Tarnate
   n=yat i Tarnate
   3sg=take 3sg Ternate
   ‘He’s taking them (chickens) to Ternate.’

In (18), which was spoken on Makian island, the addressee would be able to deduce that the chickens were being taken ‘upwards’ to Ternate as shown explicitly in (19).

(19) Nyat i attia Tarnate
   n=yat i att-ya Tarnate
   3sg=take 3sg ALL-up Ternate
   ‘He’s taking them (chickens) up to Ternate.’

In (20), again spoken on Makian island, Keten ‘Moti island’ would be known to be ‘seawards’ while Botan ‘Halmahera island’ would be ‘landwards’, as illustrated explicitly shown in (21).

(20) Mon i Keten, mapin i Botan
    mon i Keten mapin i Botan
    husband 3sg Moti wife 3sg Halmahera
    ‘The husband was on Moti, the wife on Halmahera.’

(21) Mon i la-we Keten, mapin i le-we Botan
    mon i la-we Keten mapin i le-we Botan
    husband 3sg sea-ESS Moti wife 3sg land-ESS Halmahera
    ‘The husband was seawards on Moti, the wife landwards on Halmahera.’

The meanings of directionals are discussed in §11.2.1.

4.1.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are nouns which can occur as the heads of measure phrases (see chapter 10). They consist of classifier-numeral collocations, as illustrated in (22), or measure nouns, as shown in (23).

(22) Matlu llewit
    mat=lu l=llewit
    CLASS=two 3pl=carry.on.pole
    ‘Two people carried it on a pole.’

(23) Ni poyo palo
    ni poyo palo
    3sg.POSS head half
    ‘He’s crazy.’ [lit. ‘He has half a head.’]
4.1.4 Interrogatives

All of the Taba interrogative roots are nouns, although there are also some derived forms which can function as verbs. The locative interrogative lo was discussed briefly in §4.1.2.1 above. The other interrogative roots are pu ‘what’ (25) and allo ‘who’ (26).

(25) Ya pu dae?
    ya pu da=e
    REC what DIST=FOC
    ‘What is that?’

(26) Ni sso alhoe?
    ni sso alhoe
    3sg.POSS name who=FOC
    ‘What is her name?’

Note that the interrogative pu in (25) is qualified by a demonstrative in just the same way as any other noun. Interrogatives are discussed in detail in §15.1.2.1.

4.2 Verbs

Verbs describe actions, processes, achievements and states. There are no purely morphological grounds for distinguishing verbs as a whole from other parts of speech, although verbs with Actor arguments can be partly defined on the basis that they are marked by cross-referencing proclitics which agree in Number and Person (§7.3) with the Actor.

There are a number of derivational affixes which can only be attached to verbs, or used to derive verbs from stems which are either ‘precategorial roots’ (§4.4) or which belong to other word classes. One of these, an applicative suffix used to introduce an extra argument which is not an Actor, is illustrated in (27). In this case, the root verb goras ‘to shave / peel’ is transitive and takes an agent Mina and a patient kapaya ‘pawpaw’ as its arguments. The derived form is ditransitive and the applied argument is an instrument. The applicative suffixes and other derivational processes involving verbs are discussed in chapter 8.

(27) Mina ngorcak kapaya kobit
    Mina n=goras-ak kapaya kobit
    Mina 3sg=peel-APPL pawpaw knife
    ‘Mina’s peeling the pawpaw with a knife.’
Verbs are further distinguished as the only part of speech which can head a resultative clause introduced by the subordinator de 'in order that' as in (28). (See §16.5.1 for discussion of resultative clauses.)

(28) Haosak janela de mawowo.
    h=ha-oas-ak  janela  de  mawowo
2pl=CAUS-flee-APPL  window  RES  be.light
‘Open the window and let some light in.’

Verbs may occur in serial verb constructions (chapter 12) where sometimes their meanings take on characteristics specific to serial verb constructions alone. An illustration is provided in (29) where the verbs tagal and ta’at are serialised.

(29) Mtagal mta’at
    m=tagal    m=ta’at
2sg=perch 2sg=be.obedient
‘You stay obedient.’ [lit. ‘you perch being obedient.’]

Verbs can be divided into a number of subcategories on the basis of the number and kinds of arguments that are obligatorily associated with them. More properly, it should probably be said that clauses can be classified on the basis of the number and types of arguments that are associated with them, and that the individual verbs involved in particular clauses contribute parts of the argument structure for the clauses they are found in. Although this stipulation has no real consequences as far as simple clauses containing only one verb are concerned, the distinction is important to bear in mind when dealing with clauses containing serial verb constructions discussed in chapter 12. For the sake of convenience, in the present chapter we will conduct the discussion as if these requirements are borne by verbs themselves rather than by clauses, and complicating factors will be discussed in chapter 12.

Different kinds of meanings tend to be associated with the verbs (or clauses) from each of these subcategories. Verbs may take from zero to three arguments, and the arguments may be of two major types, labelled either Actor or Undergoer. The terms ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’ are borrowed from Role and Reference Grammar (see Foley & Van Valin, 1984, Van Valin, ed. 1991, and Van Valin & La Polla, 1997) and refer to the comparatively more and less agentive core participants in a clause respectively. The Taba labels used here, though, differ from those used in Role and Reference grammar. In Role and Reference Grammar the labels actor and undergoer refer to generalised and universal ‘macro-roles’, while in Taba I use them to refer to language-specific morphosyntactic roles. Although the Taba morphosyntactic roles do differ from the generalised macro-roles in some respects, there are strong enough parallels between the two sets of terms to warrant using the labels for Taba, especially since other potential labels such as ‘subject’ and ‘object’, etc. are even more problematic. I will use the lower case labels ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’ to refer to generalised macro-roles in the Role and Reference

---

2 In asserting that verbs have a certain number of arguments obligatorily associated with them, I do not mean that all of them need to be overtly expressed, since ellipsis of arguments is quite common in Taba. It is true, however, that there will always be a certain number of arguments involved in the meanings of the verbs of each type. (See §6.2 for a discussion of ellipsis).
Grammar sense, and the capitalised labels ‘Actor’ and ‘Undergoer’ to refer to Taba specific grammatical roles.

Detailed discussion of the Taba roles of Actor and Undergoer is deferred until §5.2. For the moment we can simply say that the Taba ‘Actor’ is an argument that is cross-referenced on the verb by a proclitic which agrees with the Actor in number and person while an ‘Undergoer’ is not cross-referenced on the verb. Different sorts of Undergoer also need to be distinguished. Some Undergoers can never occur with any sort of adpositional marking, but other Undergoers are optionally marked by adpositions. These are labelled ‘direct’ and ‘remote’ undergoers respectively. The differences between the two sorts of Undergoer will also be outlined more fully in §5.2, and also in chapter 8, on the verb.

The possible combinations of core arguments which can be associated with a verb, and a label for each of these verb types are shown in table 4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Undergoer Arguments</th>
<th>Number of Actor Arguments</th>
<th>Arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ambient Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Actor intransitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non-Actor bivalents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Undergoer Arguments</th>
<th>Number of Actor Arguments</th>
<th>Arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Actor intransitives / Transitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Victor bivalents / Direct ditransitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Remote ditransitives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Number and kinds of core arguments associated with verbs

There is also another important distinction to be drawn between verbs which are subcategorised for complement clauses and those which are not. The predicates which are subcategorised for clausal complements also include some possessive noun phrases. Predicators requiring complement clauses are not discussed in this chapter, but introduced in §5.5.

Each of the subcategories of verbs listed in table 4.1 is exemplified in (30) to (35).

(30) Ambient (no arguments)³

*Midin*  
be.cold  
‘It’s cold.’

(31) Actor intransitive (one Actor argument, no Undergoer)

*S*  *ihan*  
s1 l=han  
3pl 3pl=go  
‘They went.’

³ ‘Ambient’ verbs are actually a rather marginal category in Taba, used most commonly when referring to states of the weather, etc. All of the examples found in the corpus can also occur as Undergoer intransitives. Since nouns may also occur as predicates without arguments, eg. *Ulan* ‘It’s raining’ [lit. ‘rain’], it might be better to think of ‘ambience’ as a property of certain clause types rather than of verbs per se.
(32) **Undergoer intransitive** (one Undergoer argument, no Actor)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mapot} & \quad i \\
\text{mapot} & \quad i \\
\text{be.heavy} & \quad 3\text{sg} \\
\text{‘It’s heavy.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(33) **Transitive** (one Actor argument, one ‘direct’ Undergoer)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mina} & \quad ntua \quad awai \\
\text{Mina} & \quad n=tua \quad awai \\
\text{Mina} & \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{buy} \quad \text{vegetables} \\
\text{‘Mina is buying vegetables.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(34) **Semi-transitive** (one Actor argument, one ‘remote’ Undergoer with optional adpositional marking)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yanti} & \quad ncung \quad um \quad (li) \\
\text{yanti} & \quad n=sung \quad um \quad (li) \\
\text{Yanti} & \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{enter} \quad \text{house (LOC)} \\
\text{‘Yanti entered the house.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(35) **Non-Actor bivalent** (two Undergoer arguments, no Actors. The first-mentioned Undergoer is ‘direct’ while the second is ‘remote’, and optionally marked adpositionally)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Calana} & \quad kudak \quad (\text{ada} \quad \text{asfal}) \\
\text{calana} & \quad kuda-k \quad (\text{ada}) \quad \text{asfal} \\
\text{trousers} & \quad \text{be.black-APPL (with) tar} \\
\text{‘The trousers were blackened with tar.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(36) **Ditransitives** (one Actor argument, two Undergoers)

a. **Direct ditransitive** (both Undergoers direct; no adpositional marking possible)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ahmad} & \quad notik \quad i \quad \text{loka} \quad \text{lloci} \\
\text{Ahmad} & \quad n=ot-ik \quad i \quad \text{loka} \quad \text{lloci} \\
\text{Ahmad} & \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{get-APPL(give)} \quad 3\text{sg} \quad \text{banana many} \\
\text{‘Ahmad gave him many bananas.’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. Remote ditransitive (first Undergoer direct, second Undergoer indirect)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} & \quad nwetik \quad yak \quad (\text{ada}) \quad \text{senter} \\
i & \quad n=wet-ik \quad yak \quad (\text{ada}) \quad \text{senter} \\
3\text{sg} & \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{hit-APPL \text{1sg (with) torch} } \\
\text{‘He hit me with a torch.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Only the first four types of verbs exemplified above (Actor intransitives, Undergoer intransitives, transitives, and semi-transitives) are found in underived roots. The last two types, those with more than one Undergoer (non-Actor bivalents and ditransitives) are only found in forms derived with applicative suffixes. Non-Actor bivalent verbs always occur with one direct and one remote Undergoer. Ditransitives are of two sorts: one type (the
‘direct’ ditransitive) has two direct Undergoers while the other type (remote ditransitive) has a direct Undergoer and a remote Undergoer.

The semantics of different verb types and different core argument types are discussed in more detail in chapter 8, where the processes used to derive different kinds of verbs are also discussed.

4.2.1 ‘Undergoer verbs’ or adjectives?

In this grammar, I distinguish no class of adjectives. There is however a group of ‘Undergoer verbs’ which often have the kinds of meanings that are associated with adjectives in other languages. In this section I will present my reasons for characterising this class as ‘Undergoer verbs’ rather than ‘adjectives’.

As pointed out by various writers, e.g. Dixon (1977), Schachter (1985), major parts of speech are usually defined on the basis of a whole range of different characteristics in morphology, semantics and syntax. In Taba, Actor and Undergoer intransitives may be distinguished on the basis that Actor intransitives bear prefixes which cross-reference their sole Actor arguments while Undergoer intransitives do not. However, this is the only major piece of evidence which can be used to distinguish the two subcategories of verbs, and they share many properties in common: there are no grounds for setting these up as two major parts of speech.

In the following sections I will review some of the kinds of evidence we might expect to see if adjectives and verbs were distinct categories in Taba and show that such evidence is lacking. I will then examine exactly what it is

4.2.1.1 TAM marking

One possible difference between verbs and adjectives can be the restriction of tense / aspect / modality (TAM) marking to verbs. In Taba, there is no affixal TAM marking on verbs, but there are two particles do and hu which mark realis mood and continuative aspect respectively. These do not apply solely to predicates with Actor verbs (37), but also to Undergoer intransitives (38) and other kinds of predicates including nominal ones (39).

(37) Wangsi lmul do
     wang=si l=mul do
     child=PL 3pl=return REAL
     ‘The children have returned.’

(38) Makwai hu
     hot CONT
     ‘He’s still sick (with a fever).’

(39) Manusia lloci do
     people many REAL
     ‘There are already a lot of people.’


4.2.1.2 Derivational morphology

In Taba, there are ways of deriving Actor intransitives from Undergoer intransitives, and Undergoer intransitives from Actor intransitives (see §8.3.1.3 and §8.4 respectively), but other kinds of derivation can apply to both without distinction. For example, the applicative suffix -\(V_k\) discussed at length in §8.3.2 is most commonly added to either Actor intransitives or to transitives and allows an extra Undergoer argument to occur with the verb. This is shown in (40) and (41).

(40) Banda nposas
Banda n=poas
Banda 3sg=row
'Banda is rowing.'

(41) Banda nposak wog
Banda n=poas-ak wog
Banda 3sg=row-APPL canoe
'Banda is rowing the canoe.'

Although applicative derivation with an Undergoer intransitive stem is not as common as with Actor intransitives, 'non-Actor bivalents' can be derived from Undergoer intransitives (§8.3.2.1), as in (42) and (43).

(42) Loka posa
banana boiled
'The banana is boiled.'

(43) Loka posak niwi
loka posa-k niwi
banana boil-APPL coconut
'The banana is boiled in coconut.'

4.2.1.3 Attributive use

In Taba, all kinds of verbs can be used attributively, not just Undergoer intransitives (see chapter 16). Thus, availability for use in attributive constructions does not demarcate an adjecival category distinct from that of verbs in Taba. Examples are found in (43) where tagil 'walk' is an Actor intransitive, and in (44) where makoai 'be hot' is an Undergoer intransitive. Note that both of the constructions exemplified here are formally classed as relative clauses (see §16.4).

(44) mamatuosi ltagil lahates do
mamatuo=si l=tagil l=ha-hates do
old.people=PL 3pl=walk 3pl=CAUS-be.impossible REAL
'Old people who can't walk any more.'

(45) mesel tadopas ne
mesel ta-dopas ne
wall DETR-crumble PROX
'This crumbled wall.'
Note that whenever any kind of verb is used attributively, the attributive verbs is treated here as the head of a relative clause (see §7.2.2.1).

4.2.1.4 Adverbials

In some languages there are distinctive adverbials which can only apply to adjectives rather than verbs, e.g. English 'very'. In Taba, conditions for the use of adverbials such as kwat 'be.strong', lebe 'be.more.than', ndara 'be.too.much' do not correlate with the difference between Undergoer intransitives and other subcategories of verb. For discussion of the 'adverbial' serial verb constructions exemplified in (46) to (51) see §12.2.5.

(46) $N=$tagil kwat
    3sg=walk be.strong
    'He walks really fast.'

(47) Kawai 1 kwat yak
    be.tired be.strong 1sg
    'I'm really tired.'

(48) I lebe n=tagil
    3sg be.more 3sg=walk
    'He walks more.'

(49) lebe kawai yak
    be.more be.tired 1sg
    'I'm more tired.'

(50) I n=tagil ndara
    3sg 3sg=walk too.much
    'He walks too much.'

(51) Kawai ndara yak
    be.tired too.much 1sg
    'I'm too tired.'

4.2.1.5 Semantic considerations

The semantic split between Undergoer intransitives and Actor intransitives does not coincide neatly with recognised cross-linguistic regularities in what are typically encoded by adjectives: dimension, age, value, colour and physical attributes (Dixon, 1977). Undergoer intransitives are used to encode most of these concepts when applied to non-human arguments, but there are Actor intransitives which are used to encode others, especially when referring to humans (see §4.2.1.6). 'Tallness', for example, if ascribed to a human, is generally encoded by an Actor intransitive as in (52).

(52) Namlongan
    n=ha-mlongan
    3sg=CAUS-be.long
    'He is tall.'
Undergoer intransitives can also be used to encode situations which are clearly not property concepts, that one might expect to be encoded by verbs rather than adjectives.

(53) Yan dumik do fish be.exhausted REAL
‘The fish is all gone.’

Occasionally there is even assignment to different verb classes of apparent antonyms, as in (54) and (55) which both express ‘adjectival’ meanings.4

(54) Kabus be.wet
‘It’s wet.’

(55) Nmang n=mang 3sg=be.dry
‘It’s dry.’

4.2.1.6 The real differences between Actor and Undergoer intransitives

There are two general principles which seem to be at work in determining whether an intransitive verb is likely to be one with an Actor argument or an Undergoer argument, although there are a few odd (and largely principled) exceptions to these rules. The two principles are whether or not the argument refers to an entity that effects or initiates some action, and whether or not the argument refers to a human being or human beings. If an intransitive verb has either an ‘effector’ or a human referent as its argument, then that argument will generally be realised as an Actor and the verb will be an Actor intransitive. (This generalisation does not apply to the Undergoer intransitive verbs derived by ta-detransitivisation when it has its non-volitional function as discussed in §8.4.2.) If the verb has neither of these kinds of arguments, then its sole argument will be realised as an Undergoer and the verb will be an Undergoer intransitive.

The term ‘effector’ is used here as the notion is discussed by Van Valin and Wilkins (1996). They characterise an effector as ‘the dynamic participant doing something in an event’ (Van Valin and Wilkins 1996: 289). One of the main purposes of Van Valin and Wilkins’ paper is to distinguish a semantic role that has some similarities with the hitherto familiar notion of ‘agent’, but differing from agent in a number of respects. Perhaps most important of these respects is the fact that an ‘effector’ need not be either volitional or even strictly animate. Thus, in a sentence such as ‘the rock broke the window’, ‘the rock’ may be an effector because it is ‘a dynamic participant doing something in an event’. Any core argument of an intransitive Taba verb which is an effector then, must occur as Actor, and must be cross-referenced on the verb. Illustrative examples are given in (56) and (57).

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4 A possible reason for these seeming antonyms having being assigned to different subcategories of intransitive verbs is discussed in the following section (§4.2.1.6).
(56) Oci nalhod
Oci n=alhod
Oci 3sg=run
‘Oci is running.’

(57) Motor nhan do
motor n=h an do
motor.boat 3sg=go REAL
‘The motor boat has gone.’

Note that the requirement for a verb with a single ‘effector’ argument to occur as an Actor intransitive verb also applies in cases where the notion of ‘effecting’ something is really metaphorical rather than literally conceived. This is illustrated in (58) where the expression of the fact that the roots of a tree are not totally covered by earth is achieved by using the verb sopalik ‘exit’, which is an Actor intransitive requiring cross-referencing.

(58) Ai ni wowo ncopalik
ai ni wowo n=cpalik
tree 3sg.POSS root 3sg=exit
‘The tree’s roots emerge from the ground.’

Sometimes, as with examples (54) and (55) given above, the explanation for two antonyms being consigned to different verbal subcategories appears to be historical. Kabus ‘be wet’ is used to refer to all kinds of things: washing that has not yet dried, a child that has just been swimming, a muddy path after heavy rain, etc. The use of nmang ‘be dry’ is usually more restricted, being most often used to refer to dried-up and possibly dead pieces of vegetation. Originally, -mang probably described the process of drying rather than the state of dryness while kabus ‘be wet’ has probably always referred to a state. In a sense, even if leaves themselves cannot be seen as the instigators of drying, the drying process can be seen as having originated within the leaves rather than outside of them, which is where ‘wetness’ presumably originates.

As mentioned above, the human argument of an intransitive verb, whether that argument is an effector or not, requires expression as an Actor. In (59) below for example, the quality of tallness, when ascribed to a human being, is expressed by an Actor intransitive verb, and the human ‘Actor’ is cross-referenced on the verb by the 3sg proclitic n=. Note that the Actor intransitive here has been derived from the Undergoer intransitive root mlongan ‘be tall/long’ by causativisation (see §8.3.1).

(59) Namlongan
n=ha-mlongan
3sg=CAUS-be.long
‘He is tall.’

In (60) we can see the underived Undergoer intransitive mlongan being used to ascribe the quality of length to a fence.

(60) Ubang da mlongan
fence DIST be.long
‘That fence is long.’
Examples (61) and (62) further exemplify the fact that Actor and Undergoer intransitive forms of the same verb are characteristically used for reference to human Actors and inanimates respectively. Note that human body parts are not treated as humans insofar as the operation of this principle is concerned. It is also worth pointing out that there is no entailed asceptual difference between the two classes of verbs. Undergoer intransitives can be used with either an active or a stative meaning; Undergoer intransitives can also be used with either aspectual meaning.

(61) Ni tololo mtat
    3sg.POSS genitals be.fallen
    ‘His genitals are fallen (out of his trousers).’ [or, ‘have fallen’]

(62) Iswannammatat
    Iswan n=ha-mtat
    Iswan 3sg=CAUS-be.fallen
    ‘Iswan fell over’ [or, ‘is fallen over’]

Note also, as pointed out in the beginning of this section, that humans may be expressed as Undergoers if the verbs involved are derived with the non-volitional function of the detransitivising prefix ta- (§8.4.2). This is exemplified in (63).

(63) Tattagil appo yak.
    ta-tagil ap-po yak
    DETR-walk to-down 1sg
    ‘I’m walking downwards (with no specific destination in mind).’

Sometimes, Taba speakers can use Undergoer intransitives when referring to humans, but only if it is their intention to suggest that somehow the human involved is being ‘less than human’ in the situation referred to. Example (64) below shows the normal way of referring to someone being drunk. Example (65) has been heard in use too, but by using it the speaker has made a strong suggestion that the drunk’s behaviour was something not appropriate for a normal human being, particularly for a Muslim, as all Taba speakers are.

(64) I n=amseh
    3sg 3sg=be.drunk
    ‘He’s drunk.’

(65) Amseh t
    be.drunk 3sg
    ‘He’s drunk.’

One final point needs to be made with respect to the distinction between Actor intransitives and Undergoer intransitives as it has been presented here. It was pointed out in the introduction to §4.2 that the characteristic association of different kinds of arguments with different subcategories of verbs was perhaps more properly seen as a property of different clause types rather than of different verbs. While the discussion of Actor and Undergoer intransitives just presented characterises the distinction neatly for when such forms are used in simple clauses containing only one verb, there are some complicating factors at work in serial verb constructions which are discussed in §12.1.3, where it is
suggested that Actor orientation and Undergoer orientation may also really be better seen as a property of clauses rather than of verbs.

4.2.1.7 Concluding remarks

In short, there are no grounds for distinguishing a class of adjectives distinct from verbs. There are differences in the morphological marking of core arguments associated with Actor and Undergoer intransitive verbs. However, none of the other morphological, syntactic or semantic tests which we have applied to the two subcategories show any differences between the classes which are sufficient to confirm the existence of two major part of speech categories. Rather, the Undergoer intransitives share many properties with Actor intransitives. These shared properties define the class of verbs.

Merlan (1985), Van Valin (1990) & Mithun (1991) review the semantic parameters underlying ‘Split-S’ or ‘Fluid-S’ systems in a large number of languages from around the world showing that in spite of some degree of messiness in the factors that govern the semantic splits between each class of intransitive verb, it is generally possible to show that each subcategory has a clearly discernible underlying semantic coherence. What at first often seems to be a lack of regularity can be explained as a result of there being more than one semantic basis for the split in any language, and as a result of diversity in the grammaticalisation and lexicalisation processes that have led to the emergence of particular forms.

Taba is no exception to these principles: Actor intransitives are prototypically associated with human Actors while Undergoer intransitives are prototypically associated with non-human Undergoers. Actor intransitives are also associated effector arguments. Peculiarities associated with the historical development of individual lexemes (as we saw in relation to the apparent antonyms \textit{kabus} ‘be wet’ (Undergoer intransitive) and \textit{nmang} ‘be dry’ (Actor intransitive) in examples (49) and (50) above) add another dimension to our understanding of the split. A discussion of the derivation of Actor intransitives from Undergoer intransitives is found in §8.3.1.3. The derivation of Undergoer intransitives from Actor intransitives is discussed in §8.4.

4.3 Minor parts of speech

There are a number of minor parts of speech which are all introduced briefly here. These are adpositions, conjunctions, discourse connectors and interjections, as well as a variety of grammatical particles. Taba has no open class of adverbs, although many of the grammatical particles have adverbial functions. Many nouns and verbs can also function adverbially. A few of the verbs in particular are in the process of developing real adverbial status. See the discussion of serial verbs in chapter 12 for some examples of this.

4.3.1 Adpositions

Adpositions are particles which occur as the heads of adpositional phrases and are used to mark oblique case roles on non-core noun phrases. Taba is rather unusual in having both prepositions and a postposition. The postposition marks nouns as locative while the prepositions mark a variety of other roles. Adpositions are discussed in more detail in
chapter 13, where reasons for the existence of both prepositions and a postposition are also explored.

4.3.1.1 Prepositions

Taba has four prepositions: ada which marks comitative or instrumental case, pake which marks instrumental case, untuk which marks beneficiaries, and lo, a similitative marker. All of these are probably recent innovations in Taba, and the meanings of all of them can also be expressed by other means.

The comitative / instrumental preposition ada (§13.2.1) is derived historically from the conjunction ada ‘with’ / ‘and’. Compansions and instruments can also occur as the core arguments of verbs, subcategorised for by applicative marking. The use of ada as a preposition is shown in (66).

(66) Ntongo akle ada ni mapin
   n=tongo ak-le ada ni mapin
   3sg=live ESS-land with 3sg.Poss wife
   ‘He lives landwards with his wife.’

The instrumental preposition pake is borrowed from North Moluccan Malay pake ‘to use’. In North Moluccan Malay, pake is used in serial verb constructions to mark instruments. In Taba, it sometimes occurs in serial verb constructions (§12.2.4) and sometimes occurs as a preposition (§13.2.4). As pointed out above, instruments also appear in Taba as applied core arguments of verbs. Pake appears to be a relatively recent borrowing into Taba since older speakers of the language rarely use it.

(67) Npe ubang pake peda
   n=pe ubang pake peda
   3sg=make fence with machete
   ‘He’s making a fence with a machete.’

The beneficiary marking untuk is without doubt the most recent borrowing. It is rarely used by anyone over the age of about thirty or so. Amongst older speakers, beneficiaries are usually introduced in resultative / purposive clauses (§16.5.1). The preposition is illustrated in (68), and an equivalent resultative clause is shown in (69).

(68) Yak k tua bbuk untuk wangsi
   yak k=tua bbuk untuk wang=si
   1sg 1sg=buy book for child=pl
   ‘I bought books for the children.’

(69) Yak k tua bbuk de kotik wangsi
   yak k=tua bbuk de k=ot-ik wang=si
   1sg 1sg=buy book RES 1sg=take-APPL child=pl
   ‘I bought books for the children.’ (I bought books in order to give them to the children)

A far less commonly utilised way of marking beneficiaries is with the -o applicative suffix (§8.3.3). Its use is illustrated in (70).
It should be noted that this is the only example in the whole corpus where the applicative licenses a beneficiary. It is also the only example of anything other than *untuk* licensing an argument that can be simply labelled as beneficiary. Note that in the resultative construction illustrated in (69) the exact nature of the benefit received by *wangsi* ‘the children’ has been specified, i.e. that they received the books. The noun phrase is thus realised as an actual recipient of something rather than as a beneficiary. (See §13.2.3 for more discussion of the seeming unimportance of beneficiaries in Taba.)

The final Taba preposition is the similitative marker *lo* glossed ‘SIM’ and generally translated into English as ‘as’. This always occurs as a complement of the Undergoer intransitive verb *sama* ‘be the same’. Its origins are not known with any certainty but it is noteworthy that it has the same form as the conjunction *lo* ‘and’ (§4.3.2). It is illustrated in (71) and discussed at more length in §13.2.2.

4.3.1.2 Postposition

The locative postposition *li* has a range of possible translations into English depending on context, including such things as ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’ and sometimes ‘by’. It is discussed at length in §13.1.

4.3.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to conjoin two constituents of the same grammatical type: generally noun phrase plus noun phrase or clause plus clause. The following are amongst the conjunctions found in Taba:
Conjunctions are placed between the elements that they conjoin, as in (76) and (77).

(76)  Kabin lo manik tubutubu
       kabin lo manik tubu-tubu
       goat and chicken gather-gather (vast amount gathered together)
       ‘Vast amounts of goats and chickens.’

(77)  Nyoas ada nayok
       n=yoas ada n=ayok
       3sg=flee and 3sg=cry
       ‘He ran off and cried.’

Conjunctions can also be sub-classified as either coordinat ing or subordinating. The examples given in (76) and (77) were both examples of coordination. The example in (78) is of subordination.

(78)  Ktoban hadala de kadala
       k=toban hadala de k=ha-dala
       1sg=wait breakfast RES 1sg=CAUS-breakfast
       I wait for breakfast to be cooked so that I can eat breakfast.’

The distinction between coordination and subordination is discussed in more detail in chapter 16.

4.3.3 Discourse connectors

A variety of discourse connectors which have the function of providing some kind of orientation for a stretch of text to which they are preposed with respect to either the preceding text, or with respect to some attitude of the speaker, etc. are discussed in detail in §16.7.

4.3.4 Interjections

Interjections are distinguished from other parts of speech on the basis of the fact that they form single intonation units and that they are not syntactically integrated with the reference and predication system. They express an attitude towards some proposition, event, state or so on. Some examples of Taba interjections are given in (79) and (80).

(79)  Astaga!
       exclamation indicating surprise on the part of the speaker at something
Interjections are all inherently indexical (see Wilkins 1992). The glosses for each of the interjections given above, for example, need to be made with reference to the person who utters them. Wilkins (1992) discusses a variety of other ways in which the inherently deictic nature of exclamations is manifested. A detailed study of Taba interjections is beyond the scope of this grammar.

4.3.5 Grammatical particles not considered elsewhere

In addition to all of the parts of speech outlined above, Taba also has a large number of particles with various functions and idiosyncratic morphosyntax. These include aspect and modality markers and other operators of various kinds, as well as the demonstrative roots, etc. Because of their varied formal and functional characteristics they are not discussed here, but treated at various places in the grammar.

4.4 Precategorial roots

Taba has a number of roots which never occur on their own. These 'precategorial roots' only ever get realised as words when they have undergone some derivational process which provides them with their word class membership. The phonological characteristics of precategorial roots are discussed in §3.3.

Precategorial roots are found in many Austronesian languages. Most Taba precategorial roots get realised as derived Actor intransitive verbs with the ha- 'causative' prefix. The root lusa, shown in (81) and (82), for example, only ever occurs in the derived form halusa 'to say something' and in other forms derived from the stem halusa such as the applicative derived haluso 'to say something to someone'.

(81) Nalusa       nhan
   n=ha-lusa    n=han
   3sg=CAUS-say  3sg=go
   'He said he's going.'

(82) Naluso       yak
   n=ha-lusa    yak
   3sg=CAUS-say-APPL 1sg
   'He told me.'

Some precategorial roots get realised in more than one major word-class, after undergoing different kinds of derivational processes. This is illustrated with respect to the root pon 'whistle' in the examples below. In (83), the form derived with 'causative' ha- (§8.3.1) is an Actor intransitive verb. In (84), an instrumental noun is derived through partial reduplication (§7.1.2.1).
(83) *Napon*  
n=ha-pon  
3sg=CAUS-whistle  
‘He’s whistling.’

(84) *pampon*  
pan-pon  
RED-whistle  
‘Nocturnal bird believed to be used as the instrument of evil spirits when it whistles.’

Many roots which co-occur with the detransitivising prefix *ta-* (see §8.4), likewise do not occur on their own. The derived forms generally refer to states of disrepair of some sort or other which need not have been caused by a volitional agent, as in (85) below where the root *dopas* is unattested outside the derived form *tadopas*.

(85) *Reng*  
tadopas  
do  
reng  
ta-dopas  
do  
rubber.seal  
DETR-perish  
REAL  
‘The rubber seal is perished.’
The clause is treated as a basic unit of discourse structure. Each clause consists of at least a predicator, and optionally one or more arguments. The predicator is at the heart of the clause. Not only are there clauses which consist of just a predicator (§5.1), but in clauses which do have one or more arguments, it is the predicator which governs both the number and types of arguments that can occur with it.

In traditional grammar, a primary division is made between 'subject' and 'predicate'. There are a number of difficulties associated with the use of these terms that are addressed in §6.4. Since it is not necessary to use either of them to describe the basic clause types in Taba, we will avoid using either of these terms in this chapter.

Arguments are defined here as those elements of a clause that are required by a predicator. Thus, arguments are usually, but not always noun phrases. Some predicates require clausal complements and these will also be labelled 'arguments'. Two specific types of nominal arguments will be distinguished: Actors and Undergoers. This distinction is defined on language internal grounds for Taba: an Actor is an argument that is obligatorily cross-referenced on its verbal predicator while an Undergoer is an argument required by the predicator, but not cross-referenced. A further distinction can be made between different types of Undergoer: direct Undergoers never co-occur with any adpositional marking while remote Undergoers are optionally marked by adpositions. Non-verbal predicates never require more than one nominal argument, so no distinction between Actor and Undergoer needs to be drawn for these at this stage. The sole arguments of non-verbal predicates share many similarities with Undergoers. Like Undergoers, they are not cross-referenced on the predicator, and characteristic word-order (§6.1) for both pronominal and full noun arguments is the same as for verbal Undergoers. Discussion of whether or not grammatical relations such as 'subject' and 'direct object', etc. have any relevance to Taba is deferred until §6.4.

All Taba clauses (except ambient clauses) occur with at least one argument. In this chapter, we classify clauses according to the number and types of arguments involved in them, and then we describe the kinds of meanings typically associated with each type of clause.
This chapter deals solely with declarative clauses that are unmarked prosodically and which have no overt morphosyntactic or lexical devices for marking contrastive emphasis / focus etc. of arguments. Non-declarative clauses are discussed in chapter 15 and a variety of devices, both prosodic and morphosyntactic, for marking different kinds of contrastive emphasis on arguments are discussed at various points of the grammar.

In Taba, predicators can be either verb phrases, noun phrases or adpositional phrases. Arguments are discussed in detail in chapter 7 on the noun phrase.

Clauses which have no arguments at all in them (i.e. ambient clauses) are discussed in §5.1. Verbal clauses containing either one or more arguments are introduced in §5.2, but they are treated at more length in chapter 8, on the verb. Nominal predication is discussed in §5.3. Predications which require complement clauses are introduced separately in §5.4, since both nouns and verbs can be involved as the predicators in this type of construction. Complementation is treated at more length in §16.3. Other clause types – those having adpositional phrases or simulative demonstratives as heads – are treated in §5.5.

A few illustrative examples of clauses with arguments and predicators of different types are given here before we examine each kind of clause in more detail. In the following examples, predicators are shown in bold type. A simple clause with an Actor intransitive verb is shown in (1).

(1) Si lhan akno
   si l=han ak-no
   they 3pl=go ALL-there
   ‘They went there.’

   In (1) the sole argument si is a noun phrase, as are most arguments of Taba clauses. However, in (2) lhan te ‘they didn’t go’ is both a clause and an argument of the complement taking intransitive verb halusa ‘to say’. (Here, the Actor argument cross-referenced on the verb with the proclitic l= ‘3pl’ has been ellipsed.)

(2) Lalusa lhan te
    l=ha-lusa l=han te
    3pl=CAUS-say 3pl=go NEG
    ‘They say they didn’t go.’

   The most common predicators are verbs, but predicators can also be general noun phrases, as in (3), or locative phrases as in (4). In (3) the noun manusi a Keten ‘person from Moti’, is the predicator.

(3) Sine manusia Keten
    si-ne manusia Keten
    DEM-PROX person Moti
    ‘This person is from Moti.’

   In (4), the locative phrase noge um li ‘there in the house’ is the predicator.

(4) Nik mana lo babasi um li
    nik mana lo baba=si um li
    1sg.POSS mother and father=PL house LOC
    ‘My mother and father are at home.’
In ambient clauses, there is no argument at all, as shown in (5). Here, the predicator is an Undergoer intransitive verb.

(5)  *Midin*
    
    midin
    be.cold
    'It's cold.'

In addition to a predicator and its arguments there may also be a variety of non-obligatory elements (or adjuncts) associated with a clause. In intonationally unmarked clauses, most adjuncts occur after the predicator and its arguments (see §6.1.2 for more details). The specific characteristics of different kinds of adjuncts are discussed at various points in the grammar.

5.1 Ambient clauses

In ambient clauses a predicator occurs with no arguments. Ambient clauses are usually used to describe meteorological states. Where English employs a dummy subject 'it' in these kinds of constructions, in Taba, no argument of any kind is necessary. The predicators in ambient clauses can take a variety of forms in Taba. Noun phrase predicates are shown in (6) and (7).

(6)  *Ulan*
    
    ulan
    rain
    'It's raining.'

(7)  *Damdim*
    
    damdim
    thunder
    'It's thundering. (there's thunder').

While ambient clauses generally refer to climactic conditions of one sort or another, nominal ambient clauses can also be used to describe the existence of other things as well (similar to 'there is a X' clauses in English).

(8)  *Ssu!*
    
    earthquake
    earthquake
    'There's an earthquake!'

An Undergoer intransitive can also be the predicator, as shown in (5) above, and (9) below.

(9)  *Makoai*
    
    makoai
    be.hot
    'It's hot.'
While it may appear somewhat odd to speak of verbs without any arguments as 'Undergoer intransitives', I use the label because all of these forms are otherwise used in constructions where they do take arguments, and in these constructions the sole argument is always expressed as an Undergoer, as in (10).

(10) Idia makoai
    i-dia makoai
    DEM-DIST be.hot
    'That's hot.'

An ambient clause cannot consist solely of an Actor intransitive.\(^1\)

### 5.2 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses have verbal predicators, and at least one argument. As discussed in chapter 4, primary distinctions between verb types are made on the basis of the number of arguments they require, and whether these arguments are expressed as Actors or Undergoers. Parallel distinctions are made between different kinds of verbal clauses. One argument verbal clauses require either an Actor or an Undergoer. These are labelled Actor intransitive and Undergoer intransitive clauses respectively. Two argument clauses may have either an Actor and an Undergoer (transitive clauses) or two Undergoers and no Actors (non-Actor bivalents). Clauses which contain three arguments (ditransitive clauses) all contain an Actor and two Undergoers. Each of these basic clause types is treated in order below, and more detailed discussion of all of them is found in chapter 8. One subcategory of transitive clauses will be treated separately from the others at the end of this section. This is the subcategory of verbal possessive clauses (§8.2.2 and chapter 9).

It should be borne in mind that ellipsis (§6.2) is a common feature of Taba discourse, and arguments need not always be mentioned explicitly.

#### 5.2.1 Actor intransitive clauses

Actor intransitive clauses are distinguished by the fact that their predicators, always Actor intransitive verbs (§4.2), require a single Actor argument. The grammatical person and number (see chapter 7) of the Actor is cross-referenced on the verb. Example (11) shows the Actor intransitive verb mul 'return' with the Actor noun phrase wangsi 'the children'. The grammatical number and person of the noun phrase (3rd person plural) is cross-referenced on the verb with the proclitic l=.

\(^1\) There are a few examples that appear at first glance to be ambient clauses with Actor intransitive verbs, but closer examination reveals that an argument has been ellipsed from the constructions. In the example below, for instance, \(n=\) '3sg' cross-references the understood argument ulan 'rain'.

\[Nabub\]
\[n=ha-bub\]
\[3sg=CAUS-noise\]
\['It's 'noising',\]

(A description of the sound heavy tropical rain makes as it approaches, but before it has yet fallen in the place of utterance)
Example (11), where the noun phrase wangsi 'children' has been ellipsed, (but remains
cross-referenced on the verb by the proclitic l=), is also perfectly acceptable.

(12) \textit{Lmul} \textit{do}.
\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{l=mul} \texttt{do}
  \item \texttt{3pl=return \textsc{real}}
\end{itemize}
' They've returned.'

5.2.2 Undergoer intransitive clauses

Undergoer intransitive clauses are distinguished by the fact that they require Undergoer
intransitive verbs as predicators and that they take a single Undergoer argument. There is
no obligatory cross-referencing of Undergoer arguments on verbs. Examples of Undergoer
intransitive clauses are given in (13) where the Undergoer \textit{wola ne} 'this rope' is attributed the
quality of being \textit{mlongan} 'long', and in (14) where the Undergoer \textit{nener da} 'those \textit{nener} fish' is
attributed the quality of being \textit{kutukutu} 'small'.

(13) \textit{Wola} \textit{ne} \textit{mlongan}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{wola ne} \texttt{mlongan}
  \item \texttt{rope PROX be.tall / long}
\end{itemize}
'This rope is long.'

(14) \textit{Kutu-kutu} \textit{nener da}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{kutu-kutu} \texttt{nener da}
  \item \texttt{small-REDUP sp. fish DIST}
\end{itemize}
'These \textit{nener} are small.'

Ellipsis of Undergoer arguments is also common.

(15) \textit{Kutu-kutu}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{small-small}
\end{itemize}
'It's small.'

5.2.3 Basic transitive clauses

Basic transitive clauses have verbs which take both an Actor argument and a direct
Undergoer argument (i.e. an Undergoer with no adpositional marking possible). In (16) the
verb \textit{pe} 'to make' has both an Actor argument \textit{Mado} (man's name) cross-referenced by the 3sg
proclitic \texttt{n=}, and an Undergoer argument \textit{ubang} 'fence'. In (17), the verb \textit{ot} 'to catch' is shown
with the Actor \textit{Banda} (man's name), cross-referenced on the verb with the 3sg proclitic \texttt{n=} ,
and the undergoer \textit{yan bakan} 'fish that's big / big fish'.

\footnote{The attribute \textit{bakan} 'be big' shown here is formally classified as a relative clause (see §16.4).}
5.2.3 Semi-transitive clauses

Semi-transitive clauses are distinguished by the fact that they take an Actor and a Remote rather than a Direct Undergoer. Remote Undergoers are able to (optionally) receive adpositional marking. Underived semi-transitive clauses are restricted to those containing a few verbs of motion having locative goals as Remote Undergoers. All of these clauses have remote Undergoers which may be marked by the locative postposition *li*. Many more semi-transitive clauses are found with applicative derived semi-transitive verbs (see chapter 8). Some of the Remote Undergoers in these kinds of clauses may also occur with the locative postposition *li*; others may occur with the instrumental preposition *ada*. Example (21) shows a semi-transitive clause with the underived motion verb sung ‘enter’. Example (22) includes the applicative derived taglik ‘to walk with an instrument’.

(21) *Iswan nzung um (li)*
- *Iswan n=sung um (li)*
- *Iswan 3sg=enter house (LOC)*
- ‘Iswan entered the house.’
5.2.5 Non-Actor bivalent clauses

Non-Actor bivalent clauses take two Undergoer arguments and no Actor. As mentioned in §4.2, there are no underived non-Actor bivalent verbs: all derive from Undergoer intransitive roots with an applicative suffix which licenses a second Undergoer in addition to the one subcategorised for by the root verb. Non-Actor bivalent derivation can occur with either the -Vk applicative (§8.3.2.1) or the -o applicative (§8.3.3.1).

All of the examples of non-Actor bivalent clauses with -Vk that I have collected refer to a mixing of two things together. Examples of non-Actor bivalent clauses with -Vk derivation are given in (23) and (24).

(23) Hamasik posak niwi
hamasik posa-k niwi
rice be.boiled-APPL coconut
'The rice is cooked with coconut.'

(24) Calana kudak asfal
calana kuda-k asfal
trouser be.black-APPL asphalt
'The trousers are blackened with asphalt.'

Attested non-Actor bivalents with -o all refer to the relative position or posture of two arguments. An example of such a clause is given in (25).

(25) Bbuk pso mfato bbuk maleo
bbuk p-so mfati-o bbuk maleo
book CLASS-one close-APPL [abut] book other
'One book is abutting the other book.'

Ellipsis of either of the arguments in a non-Actor bivalent clause is unattested in the corpus, although this is probably explained as simply a result of the constructions not being very common and the fact that I have few naturally occurring examples to draw from: most of the examples are elicited.

5.2.6 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive verbs subcategorise for three arguments: an Actor and two Undergoers. As mentioned in §4.2, there are no underived ditransitive verbs. Ditransitive clauses parallel ditransitive verbs in their structure. There are two distinct types of ditransitive verb: those taking an Actor, a direct Undergoer, and a remote Undergoer (labelled 'remote ditransitives'), and those taking an Actor and two direct Undergoers ('direct' ditransitives).

Three major kinds of meanings are associated with ditransitive clauses. The first two types of meaning are associated with remote ditransitive clauses; the third is associated with direct ditransitives. The most common type of ditransitive clause describes the performance
of a transitive action whereby the Actor uses some instrument (the applied remote Undergoer) to bring about the resulting state of the underived Undergoer. Another kind of remote ditransitive clause involves a transitive action where the direct Undergoer is moved to a location (the applied remote undergoer of the locative applicative). The other kind of ditransitive clause describes the transfer of possession of some entity described by one of the Undergoers from the Actor to the other Undergoer. An example of an instrumental remote ditransitive clause is given in (26), a locative remote ditransitive in (27), and a direct ditransitive clause describing transfer of possession is given in (28).

(26) Bib npunak kolay peda
    Bib n=pun-ak kolay peda
    Bib 3sg=kill-APPL snake machete
    ‘Bib killed the snake with a machete.’

(27) Ngorco kapaya ni kowo bbuk (li)
    n=goras-o kapaya ni kowo bbuk (li)
    3sg=scraper-APPL pawpaw POSS seed book (LOC)
    ‘He’s scraping pawpaw seeds onto the book.’

(28) Pamarinta notik am bantuan
    pamarinta n=ot-ik am bantuan
    government 3sg=get-APPL 1pl.excl help
    ‘The government gave us help.’

Ellipsis is very common in ditransitives. Any one, two or even all three arguments may be ellipsed from a clause such as that given in (26) above. Examples illustrating ellipsis in ditransitives are found in (29) to (35).

(29) Npunak kolay peda
    N=pun-ak kolay peda
    3sg=kill-APPL snake machete
    ‘(Someone) killed the snake with a machete.’

(30) Bib npunak peda
    Bib n=pun-ak peda
    Bib 3sg=kill-APPL machete
    ‘Bib killed (something) with a machete.’

(31) Bib npunak kolay
    Bib n=pun-ak kolay
    Bib 3sg=kill-APPL snake
    ‘Bib killed the snake (with some instrument).’

(32) Bib npunak
    Bib n=pun-ak
    Bib 3sg=kill-APPL
    ‘Bib killed (something with some instrument).’
5.2.7 Verbal possessive clauses

Verbal possessive clauses are clauses which can be formally classified as transitive in which an intimate relationship is expressed between an Actor and an Undergoer. The prototypical relationship expressed is one of possession (the Actor possesses the Undergoer), but a variety of other semantic relationships can also be expressed (see chapter 9). Although formally transitive clauses, they are introduced separately here because they have a number of idiosyncratic properties including a system of Actor cross-referencing which differs from that of other transitive clauses. In verbal possessive clauses, Actors are usually cross-referenced twice, at the beginning and end of the predicator. Some examples of verbal possessive clauses are given in (36) and (37), but a detailed discussion of possession (both attributive and predicative) is left until chapter 9.

(36) **Yak kanik atom da**
    yak k=ha-nik atom da
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sg.POSS pen DIST
    'I own that book.'

(37) **Meu memeu bbuk lloci**
    meu memeu bbuk lloci
    2pl 2pl=CAUS.2pl.POSS book many
    'You have many books.'

Ellipsis of either or both of the arguments of possessive verbal clauses is also possible, although Undergoer ellipsis is probably more common in discourse than Actor ellipsis. Compare (33) above with (35) - (37) below.

(38) **Yak kanik**
    yak k=ha-nik
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sg.POSS
    'I own it.'
(39) \( \text{Kanik} \quad \text{atom} \quad \text{da} \)
\( k=\text{ha-nik} \quad \text{atom} \quad \text{da} \)
\( 1\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-1sg.POSS} \quad \text{pen} \quad \text{DIST} \)
'I own that book.'

(40) \( \text{Kanik} \)
\( k=\text{ha-nik} \)
\( 1\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-1sg.POSS} \)
'I own it.'

The morphology of the possessive verb is discussed in §8.2.2.

5.3 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses take a diverse range of forms. Depending on the nominal subcategories to which both arguments and predicates belong, a number of different semantic functions can be discerned for nominal clauses. In §5.3.1 we discuss some of the formal characteristics of nominal clauses and in §5.3.2 a classification of nominal clauses according to the kinds of meanings they express is provided.

5.3.1 Formal characteristics

Nominal clauses consist of just a noun phrase in the case of existence clauses (see §5.3.2.6), but more commonly (in all other kinds of nominal clauses) of both an argument noun phrase (which may nevertheless be ellipsed) and a noun phrase acting as predicator. Given that both the argument and the predicator in these nominal clauses are noun phrases, the first problem which needs to be addressed in this discussion is how we can determine which noun phrase bears which function.

A number of pragmatic properties of arguments as they are used in discourse can be used to identify the arguments in nominal clauses. These all have to do with the fact that arguments are trackable in discourse. Trackable elements in discourse often tend to be given information (once they have been introduced into a discourse), and they are referential. This cluster of pragmatic properties typically associated with arguments often has grammatical consequences: arguments are often definite (e.g. they are proper nouns, or they are qualified by demonstrative particles, etc.) while predicator noun phrases are hardly ever definite.\(^3\)

Another consequence of the above outlined pragmatic properties of arguments is that if arguments are given information in the context of a particular discourse they are often ellipsed.

An examination of nominal clauses with these kinds of criteria in mind leads to a very simple principle for the identification of the argument and the predicator. In intonationally unmarked nominal clauses, the argument comes before its predicator if the argument is expressed by a full noun phrase. If expressed by a pronominal it occurs after the predicating NP.

In the remainder of this section, I will provide examples of each of the subcategories of nominal predicators that have been identified in the corpus.

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\(^3\) Although it is rare for predicators to be definite, a few demonstratives functioning as definite predicators are attested in the corpus. These are discussed further below.
In (41) the argument is the possessive noun phrase *ni sso* ‘its name’ and the predicator *lahar midin*, ‘cold lava’ is a noun phrase consisting of a head noun *lahar* ‘lava’ which has been modified by the Undergoer intransitive verb *midin* ‘be cold’. Here, the predicator simply identifies the (given) argument.

(41) *Ni sso lahar midin*

`ni sso lahar midin`

3sg.Poss name lava be.cold

‘It’s name is ‘cold lava’ (lava that is cold).’ [i.e. lahar]

Demonstrative pronouns can be used as predicators, as illustrated in (42). Note that although the predicator in this case is referential, it is not given information. The argument, *Banda ni wog* ‘Banda’s canoe’, is given information. Here, the speaker assumes that the addressee knows Banda has a canoe, but that the addressee is not able to identify which canoe that is. The particular canoe referred to by *idia* ‘that one’ has not been referred to previously, although it is visible to both speaker and addressee and thus able to be identified as definite. In normal discourse, a gesture of some kind to accompany the utterance of the demonstrative would probably be obligatory.

(42) *Banda ni wog idia*

`Banda ni wog i-dia`

Banda 3sg.Poss canoe DEM-DIST

‘Banda’s canoe is that one.’

Quantifiers (see chapter 10) may be used predicatively. The quantifiers thus used may be either general quantifiers, as in (43), or classifier-number phrases as in (44) and (45).

(43) *Ni poyo palo*

`ni poyo palo`

3sg.Poss head side/half

‘He is crazy (lit. he has half a head).’

(44) *Panas halu*

`panas ha=lu`

hot CLASS=two

‘Two hot (dry) seasons passed.’

(45) *Ni gamuno plim*

`ni gamuno p-lim`

3sg.Poss residue CLASS-five

‘There are five left.’

Another subcategory of noun that can be used as the head of a predicator noun phrase is the independent locative (§4.1.2.1). This is illustrated in (46), where the essive directional *lawe* ‘seawards’ functions on its own as a predicator.

(46) *Ni guru lawe*

`ni guru la-we`

3sg.Poss teacher sea-ESS

‘His teacher is over the sea.’
When independent locatives are used as the heads of predicator phrases they can also license dependent locatives (§4.1.2.2) to occur with them as illustrated in (47) below.

(47) Mado e lewe doba li
    mado e le-we doba li
    Mado FOC land-ESS garden LOC
    ‘Mado is in the garden.’

As mentioned in §4.1.2, occasionally dependent locatives are found in situations where there is no independent locative to license them, but in all of the actually attested examples I have seen, an independent locative would be readily retrievable by the addressee. Compare (47) above with (48).

(48) Mado e doba li
    mado e doba li
    Mado FOC garden LOC
    ‘Mado is in the garden.’

General descriptions of noun phrases, demonstratives, quantifiers, and directionals can be found in chapter 8, §11.1, chapter 10, and §11.2 respectively.

5.3.2 Semantics of nominal clauses

A number of different semantic relationships between arguments and their nominal predicators may be distinguished. These are identity, location, quantity, manner, and possession. These have correlations with the formal subcategories of predicators outlined above, but there is no exact isomorphism between the semantic and the morphosyntactic categories.

5.3.2.1 Identity

In an identity clause, the predicator encodes some new information concerning the identity of its argument. The argument is almost invariably given information. In these clauses, the predicator is usually a noun phrase with a general noun as its head (§7.1), or a demonstrative pronoun (§11.1.2.1). The first type is illustrated in example (49) where the predicator consists of just a head noun guru ‘teacher’. In (50), the argument is expressed as a pronoun i ‘s/he’ and occurs after the predicate, mapin ‘woman / female’. In (51) the predicator is a possessive noun phrase (§9.1) with kobit ‘knife’ as its head.

(49) Sine guru
    si-ne guru
    DEM-PROX teacher
    ‘This person is a teacher.’

(50) Mapin i
    female 3sg
    ‘It’s a female.’
The second type of common identificational nominal clause (with a demonstrative as predicator) is illustrated in (52), where the argument *Oci ni um ‘Oci’s house’* is predicated by the demonstrative *idia ‘that one’. (See §5.3.1 above for discussion of some of the pragmatic requirements for clauses containing demonstratives as predicators.)

(52)  
\[ Oci \ ni \ um \ idia \]  
\[ Oci \ 3sg.POSS \ house \ LOC-DIST \]  
‘Oci’s house is that one (over there).’

A very common sub-class of identificational clause is the ‘naming’ clause. This is exemplified in (53), where the addressee is being asked to provide his or her name, and in (54) where a reply to that question is given.

(53)  
\[ Mmeu \ sso \ alhoe? \]  
\[ memeu \ sso \ alho=e \]  
POSS.2pl name who=FOC  
‘What is your name?’

(54)  
\[ Nik \ sso \ Ahmad \]  
\[ ni-k \ sso \ Ahmad \]  
POSS-1sg name Ahmad  
‘My name is Ahmad.’

### 5.3.2.2 Location

In a locative nominal clause, the argument refers to someone or something that is located in a place encoded by its predicating noun phrase. The predicator is always a locative noun phrase (see §4.1.2 and §11.2). There are quite complex conditions for what constitute grammatical and idiomatic use of locative nominal clauses (see §4.1.2 on the distinction between independent and dependent locatives). In (55) *nim capeyo ‘your hat’* is the argument predicated by the independent locative *noge ‘there’.*

(55)  
\[ Nim \ capeyo \ noge \]  
\[ ni-m \ capeyo \ no-ge \]  
2sg.POSS hat there-ESS  
‘Your hat is there.’

In (56) the noun phrase *ni Wanglomosi ‘his friends’* is the argument predicated by *lawe ‘seawards’.  

(56)  
\[ Ni \ wanglomosi \ lawe \]  
\[ ni \ wang-lomo=si \ la-we \]  
3sg.POSS child-other(friend)=PL sea-ESS  
‘His friends are seawards (in Australia).’
A more accurate pinpointing of the location of something may be achieved by adding a dependent locative. The dependent locative provides more detailed information as an adjunct of the preceding independent locative. This can be seen in (57), where the location lawe 'seawards (of the place of utterance) is further described as kurusi ni kno 'to the side of the chair'.

(57) *Idia* lawe kurusi ni kno
    i-dia la-we kurusi ni k-no
    DEM-DIST sea-ESS chair 3sg.POSS NOM-there
    'It's seawards to the side of the chair.'

Occasionally, dependent locatives appear without the support of independent locatives as predicators. Although this can occur, as in (58), such clauses are far less common than their counterparts with an independent locative.

(58) *Idia* kurusi ni kno
    i-dia kurusi ni k-no
    DEM-DIST chair 3sg.POSS NOM-there
    'It's at the side of the chair.'

These constructions are perhaps best analysed as parallel to those with overt independent locatives, but as constructions from which the independent locative predicator has been ellipsed (see §4.1.2.1 for further justification of this analysis, and §6.2 for more detailed discussion ellipsis in general). Another example with an ellipsed independent locative is provided in (59) where independent locatives describing the location of both Moti and Halmahera are readily recoverable by the addressee. In this example, there are two clauses, both having the 3sg pronoun *i* as their argument (but each argument having different referents). The first clause is predicated by *Keten* 'Moti' and the second by *Botan* 'Halmahera'. The elements *mon* 'husband' and *mapin* 'wife' are both intonationally marked as dislocated orientational phrases (see §6.3.1).

(59) *Mon* i Keten, mapin i Botan
    mon i Keten mapin i Botan
    husband 3sg Moti wife 3sg Halmahera
    'The husband was on Moti, the wife on Halmahera.'

Also analysed as 'dependent locatives' are locative postpositional phrases. Predicates formed from postpositional phrases are discussed in §5.4.

5.3.2.3 Quantity

In a quantificational nominal clause, the argument refers to some entity which the predicator quantifies. (Quantifiers are introduced as a subcategory of nominals in §4.1.3 and discussed in detail in chapter 10). In (60) the argument is hamasik ne 'this rice' and the quantifying predicator is lloci 'much / many'.
In (60) the quantifying predicate is the classifier-numeral compound $ptol$ which is modified by the particle $le$ ‘only’ (§14.4.1).

In (61) the quantifying predicate is the classifier-numeral compound $ptol$ which is modified by the particle $le$ ‘only’ (§14.4.1).

Although many Taba classifiers are phonologically bound to their following numerals, and although numerals can never be used without classifiers, when numerals are conjoined as in (62), a classifier other than the default classifier $p$- (which is a true prefix, and not just a proclitic) need only appear with the first numeral to occur within the phrase. Here, the argument is $dukon$ Taba ‘the Makianese eruption’ and the predicator consists of the classifier $ha=$ (used to count events, §10.3.2.2), and the numeral roots $wal$ ‘eight’ and $sio$ ‘nine’ which have been conjoined by the conjunction $pa$ ‘or’.

The fact that classifiers must be used with numerals clearly helps to resolve questions of argument reference. In (63) the argument $mapinci$ ‘women’ is quantified by the expression $matisokno$ ‘a few (people)’. In (64), no overt reference to an argument is made, but use of the classifier $mat=$ entails that the referent must be human.

The rich variety of classifiers that occur with quantifiers can be employed to indicate a large range of meanings. One interesting use is seen in (65) where the subject noun phrase is $ngnge$ $awa$ $so$ $da$ ‘that one bunch of kanari nuts’. The quantifying predicate $phot$ ‘four fruits’ is used to state that there are four individual nuts on the one bunch.
5.3.2.4 Possession

In §5.3.2.1 an example was given, (51), in which a possessive noun phrase functions as the predicator, but this was labelled an identificational clause rather than a possessive one. In an identificational clause such as (51), a complete possessive noun phrase (§9.1), with both the head possessed noun and its possessor noun functions as a simple predicator. In the possessive nominal clause, on the other hand, what would be the head possessed noun of a normal possessive noun phrase is given information and functions as sole argument of the clause. The possessor, along with an inflected possessive ligature, function as predicator. The predicator indicates that the argument is possessed by the entity referred to in the predicate. This is illustrated in (66) where *kabin ne* ‘this goat’ is the argument predicated by *Mado ni* ‘Mado’s’, and also in (67) where *kobit da* ‘that knife’ functions as the argument predicated by *yak nik* ‘mine’.

(66) Kabin ne Mado ni
    kabin ne Mado ni
    goat PROX Mado 3sg.POSS
    ‘This goat is Mado’s.’

(67) Kobit da yak nik
    kobit da yak nik
    knife DIST 1sg 1sg.POSS
    ‘That knife is mine.’

5.3.2.5 Other types

Nominal predicates are occasionally encountered which meanings other than those discussed so far. In (68), for example, the meaning might be characterised as ‘dative’. This meaning is possibly an extension of the locational type (§5.3.2.3).

(68) Nik salam nim kaluarga hasole
    nik salam nim kaluarga hasole
    1sg.POSS blessing 2sg.POSS family all
    ‘My best wishes to all of your family.’

5.4 Predications requiring complement clauses

A few predicators are subcategorised for complement clauses. This distinction is one that cross-cuts all of the formal divisions so far made in relation to clause types. The predicators subcategorised for clausal complements include some possessive noun phrases, Actor intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs. The meanings of these constructions usually have to do with either the expression of desires and beliefs or reported speech. Examples of each type are provided in (69) to (71) where the complement clause is given in bold type.
Possessive noun phrase predicator with complement clause

Ni suka nhan tuli
ni suka n=han tuli
3sg.POSS desire 3sg=go sleep
‘He wants to go to sleep.’ [Lit. His desire is that he sleeps]

Actor intransitive verb with complement clause

Nalusa ni wwe mhonas
n=ha-lusa ni wwe mhonas
3sg=CAUS-say 3sg.POSS leg be.sick
‘He says his leg is sore.’

Transitive verb with complement clause

Nculak ni mapin nhan
n=sul-ak ni mapin n=han
3sg=tell-APPL 3sg.POSS wife 3sg=go
‘He told his wife to go.’

Complementation is discussed at length in chapter 16.

5.5 Other clause types

5.5.1 Adpositional phrase clauses

The final type of predication found in Taba is the adpositional clause. It has a very low functional load in simple predicates, occurring only a handful of times in the corpus. A simple adpositional clause is illustrated in (72).

(72) Nik mama lo babasi um li
nik mama lo baba=si um li
1sg.POSS mother and father=PL house LOC
‘My mother and father are at home.’

Taba adpositional clauses always involve the locative postposition li rather than any of the prepositions. As discussed in chapter 13, li licenses non-locative noun phrases to occur in syntactic positions normally reserved for locative nouns such as place names, etc. This being the case, adpositional clauses are very closely related to nominal locative clauses (§5.3.2.2).

5.5.2 Similative demonstrative clauses

Similative demonstratives are derived from demonstrative roots and they may function as predicates. Some examples are given in (73) and (74).
There are quite a large number of similitative demonstratives used in Taba, each with a different range of registral and other connotations. They are discussed in more detail in §11.1.2.3.
An overview of clausal syntax

In this chapter we provide an overview of a number of aspects of clausal syntax in Taba. We deal with principles of word order, with the 'ellipsis' or omission of arguments subcategorised for by predicates of various kinds, and with the notion of 'grammatical relations' as manifested in Taba syntax. We also examine reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

In previous chapters we have simply referred to the core arguments of verbal clauses as either Actors or Undergoers, depending on whether or not they are cross-referenced on the verb. In this chapter, we examine grammatical relations in Taba in some more detail. A few definitions of new terms are required.

R.M.W. Dixon has published a number of works dealing with the nature of the obligatory arguments that co-occur with intransitive and transitive predicates in the languages of the world. In Dixon (1994:6-7), he says that:

all languages work in terms of three primitive relations:

- S – intransitive subject
- A – transitive subject
- O – transitive object

In languages with a nominative - accusative grammar, S and A naturally group together. Languages of the ergative - absolutive type link S and O. Many languages have some accusative and some ergative characteristics, linking S with A for certain purposes and S with O for other purposes.

Dixon’s primitive relations of S, A and O will be adopted here and used in the following description of word-order and grammatical relations in Taba. A few clarifications with respect to Dixon’s basic schema are necessary before we begin, however. Since we do not wish to prejudge the outcome of our investigations into what grammatical relations might be relevant to Taba at the outset, we do not wish to use definitions which are couched in terms of ‘subject’ and ‘object’. For Taba we can simply identify A as the argument of a transitive verb which is cross-referenced on that verb (the Actor), and O as the argument which is not cross-referenced on it (the Undergoer). This classification accords with general practice in
linguistic description whereby the A argument is the most agentive of the core arguments of a transitive verb, and the O argument is the most patient-like.

Taba is one of the languages which, in Dixon's terms links S with A for some purposes and S with O for others. The sole argument of an 'Actor' intransitive verb links with A in that verbal cross-referencing of it is required, while the sole argument of an 'Undergoer' intransitive verb links with O in that cross-referencing of O is not required. It is thus useful to be able to distinguish between the two kinds of S: they will be labelled $S_A$ and $S_O$ respectively. The rules for determining whether or not the sole argument of a Taba intransitive occurs as Actor or Undergoer are discussed in detail in §4.2.1.6, where we see that Taba is actually a mixed accusative / split-S language. Of course, so-called 'split-S' languages pose a problem for the universal applicability of the S category. Even in the case of Taba, with a mixed typology, it would be quite possible to describe most aspects of morphosyntax without any reference to an S category at all.

One further issue must be dealt with before we begin our discussion of Taba, and that is what to do with verbs which have more than a single core argument that is not an Actor. In Taba there are ditransitive verbs which have two Undergoers in addition to an Actor, and there are also non-Actor bivalent verbs which have two Undergoers but no Actor.¹

Taba actually has a number of distinct kinds of 'Undergoer'. An initial distinction can be drawn between Undergoers which may optionally be marked by an adposition and those which cannot be so marked. The former are labelled 'remote' Undergoers while the latter are labelled 'close' Undergoers.

### 6.1 Preferred word order

'Preferred word-order' or 'basic word order' is taken as the most frequently exhibited order of elements within clauses that are intonationally unmarked. In Taba there is a reasonable degree of flexibility in word order. While some of the statements made in this section have virtually the status of categorical rules, others must be seen as statistical tendencies with varying degrees of strength. In this section we deal with just the major elements occurring within clauses and a few other grammatical structures. Adjuncts are treated only very sketchily. More detailed information on the order of adjuncts is given in chapter 14 and at various places in the grammar where particular kinds of adjuncts are discussed.

In §6.1.1 we deal with the ordering of the major elements within a clause. In §6.1.2 we examine the ordering of some elements which typological research has revealed often show correlations with basic clausal word-order. The final part of this section examines some of the typologically unusual word-order correlations seen in Taba, and suggests some explanations for the unexpected word-order patterns.

#### 6.1.1 Preferred clausal word-order

Basic word-order for the verb and the arguments subcategorised for by it in a transitive Taba clause is AVO:

In normal discourse, it is unusual for more than one full NP argument to be mentioned in a clause, and often none at all are overtly mentioned. Although (1) is grammatical, (2) and (3) would be more natural in most discourse contexts.

(1) Yak kalekat pakakas ne
    yak k=ha-lekat pakakas ne
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-broken tool PROX
    'I broke this tool.'

(2) Kalekat pakakas ne
    k=ha-lekat pakakas ne
    1sg=CAUS-broken tool PROX
    'I broke this tool.'

(3) Yak kalekat
    yak k=ha-lekat
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-broken
    'I broke it.'

In fact, neither of the core arguments needs to be overtly mentioned. (4) can also be used if the referents can be ‘retrieved’ anaphorically. In natural discourse, it is in fact very common to omit overt reference to any arguments at all. See §6.2 for discussion of ellipsis.

(4) Kalekat
    k=ha-lekat
    1sg=CAUS-broken
    'I broke it.'

While it is a reasonably strong tendency for the arguments to occur in the order just outlined, there are also a fair number of cases attested where O precedes V in transitive clauses, most commonly when overt reference to A is not made, either because of ellipsis as in (5) or because a non-finite clause with no expressed Actor is used as in (6).

(5) Lomo nyatci Bacan
    lomo n=yat=si Bacan
    others 3sg=carry=3pl Bacan
    'They (boats) took others to Bacan.'

(6) Boa hataosak tahate
    boa ha-ta-osa-k tahate
    door CAUS-DETR-open-APPL be.impossible
    'It was impossible to open the doors.'

Taba also has a class of ‘semi-transitive’ verbs taking what I call ‘remote’ undergoers in addition to an Actor argument. These normally occur in the same position as O of a pure transitive, directly after the verb. They are distinguished from the ‘close’ Undergoers of plain transitives by the fact that they can optionally bear adpositional marking, as seen in (7) below.
The most common word order for intransitive clauses with full noun phrases referring to S in Taba is SV, whether S is SA or SO, although the tendency for this is weaker than for AVO in transitive clauses. Quite a few full NP's referring to SO in particular occur after their subcategorising verbs. Of course, a large number of S, whether SA or SO are ellipsed altogether.

When pronominal reference is made to SA, preferred word-order remains SV but when pronominal reference is made to SO, the preferred word-order is VS. In Undergoer intransitive clauses with pronominal SO, the pronominal argument is optionally cliticised onto the verb it follows.

The preferred order for verbs referring to a transfer of possession is A V O\textsubscript{(recipient)} O\textsubscript{(theme)}.
Banda notik tit yan bakan
Banda n=ot-ik tit yan bakan
Banda 3sg=get-APPL 1pl.incl fish be.big
‘Banda gave us a big fish.’

I natadak yak bbuk lloci
i n=ha-tada-k yak bbuk lloci
3sg 3sg=CAUS-give-APPL 1sg book many
‘He gave me many books.’

Note that the preferred order of elements within these ditransitive constructions does not depend in any way on the argument structure of the stems to which the applicative suffix has been attached. The stem in (12) is the verb *ot* ‘to get’ which takes an agent and a patient. The recipient is the applied object. The stem in (13) is the transitive verb *hatada*, not easily given an English gloss since it subcategorises for an agent and a recipient, but not (without applicative suffixation) a theme. (Perhaps the best English translation I can provide is ‘give to some other person so that an obligation of reciprocal debt is owed by the recipient to the donor’. ) The recipient in (13) then, is the underived object and the theme is the applied object. In both cases, the ordering suggests that there is a ‘primary object’ system at work (see Dryer, 1986).

The unmarked order for ‘instrumental ditransitives’ is A V O\(_{\text{patient}}\) O\(_{\text{instrument}}\).

Doktor Mina naudmak kampung savlon.
Doktor Mina n=ha-udam-Vk kampung savlon
Doctor Mina 3sg=CAUS-medicine-APPL village savlon
‘Doctor Mina administers the (people of the) village with savlon.’

Ican nmomsak ni komo toala.
Ican n=momas-Vk ni komo toala
Ican 3sg=wipe-APPL 3sg.POSS hand towel
‘Ican is wiping his hands with a towel.’

With locative ditransitives, the order of elements is normally agent – patient – location as illustrated in (16).

Yak kgorco kapaya ni kowo bbuk.
1sg k=goras-o kapaya ni kowo bbuk
1sg 3sg=scrape-APPL papaya 3sg.POSS seed book
‘I’m scraping papaya seeds onto the book.’

The second Undergoers in both instrumental and locative ditransitives are, like the second arguments of semi-transitive verbs, ‘remote undergoers’ in that both may be optionally marked adpositionally. Examples (17) and (18) are adpositionally marked equivalents of (15) and (16) respectively.
(17) **Ican nmomsak ni komo ada toala.**

Ican n=momas-Vk ni komo ada toala

Ican 3sg=wipe-APPL 3sg.POSS hand with towel

‘Ican is wiping his hands with a towel.’

(18) **Yak kgorco kapaya ni kowo bbuk. li**

1sg k=goras-o kapaya nl kowo bbuk li

1sg 3sg=scrape-APPL papaya 3sg.POSS seed book LOC

‘I’m scraping papaya seeds onto the book.’

Taba also has a class of ‘non-Actor bivalent verbs’ which have two Undergoer arguments. These can be derived with the -Vk applicative (§8.3.2.1) or the -o applicative (§8.3.3.1), and each of these types of non-Actor bivalents has characteristic semantic roles associated with each argument. The detransitivised forms of the applicative derived verbs of excretion (§8.4.4) are also formally classified as non-Actor bivalent verbs.

For non-Actor bivalents derived with -Vk, and having full NP arguments, normal word-order is O(patient) V O(instrument).

(19) **Mesel bulngak cet**

mesel bulang-k cet

wall be.white-APPL paint

‘The wall has been whitened with paint.’

For non-Actor bivalents derived with -o, and having full NP arguments, normal word-order is O(Figure) V O(Ground).

(20) **Bbuk pso mfato bbuk maleo**

bbuk p-so mfati-o bbuk maleo

book CLASS-one close-APPL book other

‘One book is abutting the other book.’

When a pronounal argument refers to the patient of the -Vk derived non-Actor bivalents, however, the pronoun occurs after the verb, and before the NP referring to the instrument.

(21) **Tasiak i niwi**

ta-sio-Vk i niwi

DETR-shit-APPL 3sg coconut

‘He’s uncontrollable shitting with coconut.’

Likewise, when a pronoun is used to refer to the figure with an -o derived non-Actor bivalent, the pronounal argument occurs after the verb, and before the noun referring to the ground.

(22) **Mfato i faffati**

mfati-o i faffati

be.covered-APPL 3sg curtain

‘It’s covered over with the curtain.’
The (single) argument of any non-verbal predicate normally occurs in the same order relative to the predicate as do the SQ arguments of Undergoer verbs: full noun phrases usually precede predicates (23) and pronominal arguments ordinarily follow them (24).

(23) *Jailil e guru*

    Jailil  FOC  teacher
    ‘Jailil is a teacher.’

(24) *Australia si*

    Australia  3pl
    ‘He’s Australian.’

When verbs are subcategorised for clausal complements, the complement always occurs after the verb and any nominal arguments. (See §5.5 for discussion of the predicates which take clausal complements.) In (25), intransitive, complement clause taking *halusa* ‘to say (something)’ is shown, and in (26), transitive, complement clause taking *sulak* ‘to tell (someone) (to do something)’ is illustrated, each construction with its complement clause occurring after the verb and any nominal arguments.

(25) *Kalusa  kpe  kahate*

    k=ha-lusa  k=pe  k=ahate
    1sg=CAUS-say  1sg=do  1sg=be.unable
    ‘I said I can’t do it.’

(26) *Nculak  ni  mapin mhan*

    n=sul-ak  ni  mapin m=han
    3sg=tell-APPL  3sg.POSS  wife  2sg=go
    ‘He told his wife, “You go”.’

Most clausal adjuncts, expressing things such as locations, instruments, companions etc., also occur after the verb and any of its arguments that are expressed. This is illustrated in (27) and (28).

(27) *Malai  kutin  manusia ni  sagala sagala ne  um  li*

    Malai  k=utin  manusia  ni  sagala sagala  ne  um  li
    then  1sg=gather  people  3sg.POSS  stuff  stuff  PROX  house  LOC
    ‘Then I gathered up all the people’s stuff in the house.’

Some Taba possessive NP predicates (see §5.3.2.2 and §16.3.2) also take clausal complements. The construction is illustrated here:

    *Ni  suka  nhan  tuli*

    ni  suka  n=han  tuli
    3sg.POSS  desire  3sg=go  sleep
    ‘He wants to go to sleep.’ (Lit. ‘His desire is that he sleeps.’)
Temporal adjuncts, on the other hand, tend to occur more frequently clause-initially.

(29) **Mawoappo** motor **ncung** te
Mawowo-ap-po motor n=sung te
light-to-down(the next day) boat 3sg=enter NEG
'The next day the boat didn’t enter.'

Temporal adjuncts such as that illustrated in (29) may sometimes be followed by a pause; in these constructions the adjunct clearly functions like any other orientational preposed NP intonation unit (§6.3.1).

### 6.1.1.1 Summary

The rules just outlined for basic clausal word-order in Taba can be summarised according to a hierarchy of roles as displayed in figure 6.1.

![Figure 6.1 Hierarchy of roles for determining word-order of core arguments](image)

Two hierarchies of roles can actually be seen in figure 6.1. The first (a) shows the hierarchy of roles that applies for all verbal predicates except non-Actor bivalent verbs derived with -0. Actors come before recipients and patients which come before themes, etc. The second (b) shows the hierarchy which applies for non-Actor bivalents derived with -o, and might also be thought of as applying with non-verbal predicates. Figure comes before

---

3 Similar hierarchies of roles have been proposed by a number of scholars to account for principles of word order and grammatical relations. See, e.g. Bresnan and Kanerva (1989).

4 Although non-verbal predicates take no more than one argument, it is clearly the ‘figure’ which occurs before the predicate. Moreover, in the case of locative (NP or PP) predicates, the predicate itself clearly constitutes the ‘ground’ and normally follows the ‘figure’.
ground. In line (c) of figure 6.1, a representation of the verb (or predicator) and its potential argument slots is given.

The rules for Taba word order can be expressed most simply by saying that the argument which has the highest position on the hierarchy is selected first and normally appears in slot [1] in front of the verb (at least if it is represented by a full NP). The next highest argument (if there is one) is selected next and appears in slot [2] immediately behind the verb. Any remaining arguments from lower down the hierarchy appear in slot [3]. Adjuncts, unless they are potential fillers of the preposed orientational intonation unit (as the temporal adjunct illustrated in (25) above) normally follow all of the arguments.

There are some important exceptions to this rule. If an Undergoer intransitive verb, a non-Actor bivalent verb or a nominal predicate has a pronominal argument, whatever its role in the hierarchy in figure 6.1, slot [1] is unavailable to it and it must occupy slot [2] immediately after the verb. It must be remembered (as discussed above) that these rules of word order just outlined here are statistical tendencies rather than categorical rules, especially when a clause contains only one argument.

6.1.2 Preferred word-order in other constructions

A reasonably long tradition of work in typological linguistics has established that there are quite strong cross-linguistic correlations between basic clausal word-order in a given language, particularly the relative order of verb and object, and the ordering of elements within other kinds of grammatical structures. (See, for example, Greenberg, 1966, Vennemann, 1974, Lehmann, 1978, Dryer, 1988, 1992). While many of the ordering principles discussed in this section are treated at more length elsewhere in the grammar they are brought together here because Taba exhibits a number of peculiarities with respect to the expected correlations. These peculiarities are discussed in §6.1.2.8.

The most exhaustive study of these correlation is Dryer (1992). A listing of some of the correlations found by Dryer is given in table 6.1.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adposition</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Adpositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Manner adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content verb</td>
<td>Tense / aspect verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial subordinator</td>
<td>Clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 Cross-linguistic word-order correlations (after Dryer, 1992)

5 Not all of the correlations found by Dryer are listed here because some of them are inapplicable to Taba. For example, it is impossible to make a simple statement about the order of ‘adjective and standard of comparison’ in Taba. Firstly, Taba has no adjective word class (see §4.2.1), and secondly, the construction used to refer to comparison of attributes in Taba does not readily allow a simple interpretation in terms of the ordering of these elements (see §14.3.4). Dryer also examines things such as copula-predicate word order, but since Taba has no copula this comparison is irrelevant.
Although we have not yet established which Taba arguments (if any) should be labelled 'subject' and 'object', it is clear that for this type of broad typological comparison the transitive Actor must be equated with 'subject' and the transitive Undergoer as 'object'. Whether this equation of Actor and Undergoer with subject and object is really theoretically sustainable is discussed in §6.4. Thus, for our purposes here we will treat Taba as a language with preferred VO word order.

The ordering of each set of elements shown in the table above will be addressed in turn.

6.1.2.1 Adposition - noun

Taba has both prepositions and a postposition (see chapter 13).

(30) Comitative preposition

\[
\text{Lwom} \quad \text{ada} \quad \text{kapal} \quad \text{motor}
\]

\[
l=wom \quad ada \quad kapal \quad motor
3pl=come \text{ with ship engine}
\]

'They came with motorised ships.'

(31) Locative postposition

\[
\text{Nhatalon} \quad \text{appo} \quad \text{kurusi} \quad \text{li}
\]

\[
n=battalon \quad ap-po \quad kurusi \quad li
3sg=\text{sit ALL-down chair LOC}
\]

'He's sitting down on the chair.'

6.1.2.2 Noun - relative clause

Taba nouns always precede the relative clauses which modify them (§16.4).

(32) \[
\text{Nam} \quad \text{mon} \quad \text{nwomak} \quad \text{lai mo ya}
\]

\[
n=am \quad mon \quad n=wom-ak \quad lai \quad mo \quad ya
3sg=\text{see man} \quad 3sg=\text{come-APPL just recent REC}
\]

'He saw the man who just came with it.'

6.1.2.3 Noun - genitive

The genitive noun always precedes its head in Taba (chapter 9).

(33) \[
\text{Yak} \quad \text{nik} \quad \text{mapin}
\]

\[
yak \quad nik \quad mapin
1sg \quad 1sg.\text{POSS wife}
\]

'My wife'

6.1.2.4 Verb - adpositional phrase

Adpositional phrases almost invariably follow the verbs of which they are adjuncts (chapter 13).
6.1.2.5 Verb - manner adverb

Taba has no real open class of adverbs. However, Taba does have quite productive verb serialisation, and some of the verbal elements involved in these constructions are beginning to lose some of their 'verbiness' and starting to behave more like adverbs, especially in 'manner adverbial serialisation' (§12.2.5.1). In these constructions, the verb which has the adverbial function always occurs after the verb which is semantically primary.

(35) \textit{Nwosal màddodang}  
\textit{n=ivosal màddodang}  
3sg=stand be.straight (straight)  
‘He’s standing up straight.’

6.1.2.6 Content verb - tense / aspect verb

Dryer actually notes a correlation between ‘content verbs’ and ‘tense / aspect auxiliary verbs’. For this comparison with Taba word-order patterns I examine the relative position of the verbs in ‘aspectual serialisation’ constructions (§12.2.5.3). As with the verbs involved in serial verb constructions encoding manner, the verbs which encode aspect in aspectual serialisation are tending to lose some of their ‘verbiness’ on some occasions.

Taba actually has both orders available for these constructions, depending on the verb that functions adverbially as an aspect marker.

(36) \textit{Aspect encoding verb first}  
\textit{Myoa} \textit{mhan}  
\textit{m=yoa} \textit{m=han}  
2sg=search(almost) 2sg=go  
‘You’ve almost gone.’

(37) \textit{Aspect encoding verb second}  
\textit{Kahon} \textit{okik} \textit{do}  
\textit{k=ha-hon} \textit{okik} \textit{do}  
1sg=CAUS-eat be.finished REAL  
‘I have finished eating.’

6.1.2.7 Adverbial subordinator - clause

‘Adverbial subordinators’ in Dryer’s terminology correspond to what are described here as ‘subordinating conjunctions’ (§16.5). All of the Taba subordinating conjunctions precede the clause they mark as subordinate.
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(38) Polo t'sung um li, boa me taosak
polo t=sung um li boa me t=ha-osak
when 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door well 1pl.incl=CAUS-open

tahate do
tahate do
be.impossible REAL

‘When we entered the house, well we couldn’t open the doors.’

6.1.2.8 Taba word-order in typological perspective

A number of departures from the cross-linguistically expected word-order correlations are found in Taba. A comparison between ‘expected’ word-order and that actually found in Taba is presented in table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected VO typology</th>
<th>Order in Taba</th>
<th>Meets expectations?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb – Object</td>
<td>Verb – Object</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adposition – Noun</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun – Relative Clause</td>
<td>Noun – Relative Clause</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun – Genitive</td>
<td>Genitive – Noun</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb – Adpositional Phrase</td>
<td>Verb – Adpositional Phrase</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb – Manner Adverb</td>
<td>Verb – Manner Adverb</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content Verb – Tense/Aspect</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Subordinator – Clause</td>
<td>Adverbial Subordinator – Clause</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Taba word order and expected VO language word-order compared

The table above shows that Taba fails to meet typological expectations in a number of respects. While genitive - noun order is the only pattern for which Taba consistently fails to meet expectations (and according to Dryer, genitive - noun order is relatively weakly correlated with Verb - Object order, particularly in SVO languages), Taba has variable ordering in two more cases. These concern the order of adpositions and nouns, as well as the order of content verbs and tense / aspect verbs.

As far as genitive - noun order is concerned, Taba possibly exhibits the patterns as a result of extensive contact with typically AOV non-Austronesian languages also found in North Maluku, although it is not exactly clear how such a change from (presumably) historical noun -genitive would have come about in practice.6 The non-Austronesian languages

6 Early writers on eastern Indonesian languages (eg. Brandes, 1884 and Friederici, 1914) were quick to notice that this pattern of a ‘reversed genitive’ is prevalent in the region, and some of these people proposed that the languages of eastern Indonesia with the reversed genitive pattern formed a distinct subgroup of Austronesian. More recent commentators (e.g. Blust, 1978, 1983/83, 1984, 1993; Grimes, 1991 and others) generally discount the value of this word order pattern for subgrouping. Although noone has proved how language contact may have been responsible for the shift in word order patterns found in the possessive structures of many eastern Indonesian languages, one possible factor that may have allowed such a shift in the history of Taba is that Taba’s ancestral proto-language, Proto South Halmahera, was a language with pronominal suffixes on possessed nouns that cross-referenced the number and person of the possessor NP. (Taba has
themselves often show divergent word-order patterns, presumably because they in turn have been in long contact with South Halmahera VO Austronesian languages such as Taba, and in more recent times with Malay. Voorhoeve (1983b) provides a discussion of ‘Austronesian features’ in the North Halmahera languages.

The variable adpositional placement can probably be explained as a result of language internal grammaticalisation processes (for the prepositions) and as a byproduct of genitive-noun ordering insofar as the locative postposition is concerned. Closely related Sawai has a locative enclitic -lo which is presumably cognate with Taba li. If the forms are indeed cognate they no doubt derive from PEMP *lalo-, a directly possessed noun meaning ‘inside’. If that is indeed the case, the ‘reversed genitive’ would provide a simple explanation for the occurrence of li as a postposition in Taba: it merely occupies the position which the possessed noun forebear of the form would have occupied. In Western Oceanic languages, the cognate morpheme is a postposition if the language has a ‘reversed genitive’ and a preposition if the possessor is postposed to the possessees (Ross, 1988). 7

The explanation for variable word-order with respect to relative position of content verbs and tense / aspect verbs probably has more to do with language-internal patterns of grammaticalisation. These can best be explained by re-examining (32) and (33) above, repeated below as (39) and (40).

(39) Aspect encoding verb first

```
Myoa mhan
m=yoa m=han
2sg=search(almost) 2sg=go
'You’ve almost gone.'
```

(40) Aspect encoding verb second

```
Kahon okik do
k=ha-hon okik do
1sg=CAUS-eat be.finished REAL
'I have finished eating.'
```

Although the verbs encoding aspect here are ‘semantically bleached’ (cf. Meillet, 1912), their original lexical meanings clearly influence their position with respect to the lexically primary verb in each clause. Durie (1997) notes that the ordering of elements in serial verb constructions is largely determined iconically. In (39) above the aspect marking serial verb yoa also occurs as an independent verb meaning ‘to search’. Under Durie’s iconic account of serial verb construction order, one would expect that ‘searching’ always occurs before anything can be found, and thus this verb precedes the verb carrying the main lexical content -han ‘go’. Likewise, we would expect finishing something to occur after it starts: hence the order of the verbs in (40).

---

since lost these suffixes but they are still found in the neighbouring Sawai and Buli languages from the South Halmahera group.) A shift in word order of possessor and possessed could very easily take place without any ensuing possibility of miscomprehension if possessor and possessed can be determined by reference to the pronominal suffixes rather than to the relative order of the full word elements.

7 I am indebted to Malcolm Ross for pointing this out to me.
6.2 Ellipsis

Ellipsis, or the omission of elements that are subcategorised for by predicates of different kinds, is a common feature of Taba discourse. Ellipsis may generally occur if a speaker can assume that the referent of any ellipsed element is readily retrievable by the hearer. The precise discourse conditions under which ellipsis is most likely to actually occur in real life are quite complex and an exhaustive exploration of the topic is beyond the scope of this grammar. In this section we will simply set out some of the most salient characteristics of ellipsis in a rather impressionistic manner.

There are no categorical restrictions against the ellipsis of particular kinds of arguments in simple clauses, nor indeed against the ellipsis of other kinds of complements. Example (37) shows a transitive verb from which the Actor argument has been ellipsed.

(41) Nkubai kabin
n=kubai kabin
3sg=slaughter goat
‘He’s slaughtering a goat.’

In (42) we have ellipsis of the Undergoer argument of a transitive verb.

(42) Yak kamot do
yak k=ha-mot do
1sg 1sg=CAUS-die REAL
‘I’ve turned it off.’

Example (43) shows ellipsis of $S_A$.

(43) Kapuasa noge
k=ha-puasa no-ge
1sg=CAUS-fast there-ESS
‘I will fast there.’ (puasa is the name given to the fasting period during Ramadan)

Ellipsis of $S_O$ is shown in (44).

(44) Makoai
be.hot
‘It is hot.’

The verb in (45) is the ditransitive punak ‘to kill something with something’. In this example, all three arguments, $A$, $O_{(patient)}$ and $O_{(instrument)}$ have been ellipsed.

(45) Npunak
n=pun-ak
3sg=kill-APPL
‘He killed it with something.’

The arguments of non-verbal predicates may also be ellipsed. Example (46) shows ellipsis of the only argument of the nominal predicate guru ‘to be a teacher’.

(46)
Clausal complements are sometime ellipsed as well. The verb *halusa* ‘to say’ is subcategorised for a clausal complement expressing the thing said. Whatever was said has been ellipsed from (47).

(47) *Nalusa* do
    n=ha-lusa do
    3sg=CAUS-say REAL
    ‘He said so.’

Ellipsis of the possessor in possessive noun phrases is also rather frequent in discourse. Contrast (48), showing ellipsis of the possessor with (49) where a full lexical argument expressing the ellipsed possessor of (48) is seen. (Possession is discussed in chapter 9.)

(48) *Ni* um
    3sg.POSS house
    ‘His house.’

(49) *Banda ni* um
    Banda 3sg.POSS house
    ‘Banda’s house.’

As pointed out at the beginning of this section, a detailed study of the actual discourse conditions under which ellipsis most commonly occurs is outside the scope of this study. Some of these conditions, however, are readily apparent in the absence of any rigorous textual analysis. Full NP reference to first and second person participants appears less common than to third person referents, presumably because first and second person referents are always given information, and thus more readily retrievable. Ready retrievability is consistent with the more common omission of A and SA than O or S0, since the number and person of A and SA is cross-referenced on the verb. Principles of ‘preferred argument structure’ (that new mentions of referents are more likely to occur as either S or O, cf. Du Bois, 1986) would also predict that full lexical arguments are less commonly found as A than either S or O. Durie (1988a, 1994) examines preferred argument structure in Acehnese, a split-S language from Sumatra, showing in detail that A and SA are more readily ellipsed than O or S0, and that new mentions more commonly occur as O or S0. Durie’s conclusions for Acehnese are consistent with my initial impressions of Taba, for which a detailed examination of both ellipsis and ‘preferred argument structure’ await further study.

### 6.3 Noun phrase intonation units

Often, ‘stranded’ noun phrases occur on their own, either before or after a clause with which they appear to have some kind of connection. Most commonly, these NPs occur before the clause, but occasionally they occur after it. Each of these situations is discussed in turn below.
6.3.1 Preposed NP intonation units

Quite a large number of utterances are encountered in Taba discourse where noun phrases occur alone as intonation units, most commonly preceding a clause with which they appear to be associated. The elements found here attract contrastive emphasis by virtue of their prominent position relative to the clause itself. The major function of this construction in Taba is to name something which provides an orientational framework for what follows it. Whatever follows this element is then interpreted with respect to the orientation it provides.\(^8\)

Often, the fronted NP is coreferential with one of the arguments of the following clause, but this need not always be the case.

A preliminary example of a NP intonation unit occurring before a transitive clause whose O it is coreferential with is given in (50).

(50) Ine...
       i-ne
       DEM-PROX

\begin{verbatim}
kyat    Keten nak.
k=yat   Keten nak
lsg=take Moti also
\end{verbatim}

'This stuff, I took it to Moti too.'

The fact that such fronted elements are extra-clausal can be deduced first of all from the characteristic intonation associated with them and their following clauses. Characteristic intonation for (50) can be seen below in (51). Note the incomplete intonation curve over the extraclausal element *ine* 'this stuff'.

(51)

\[---
\]

\[Ine, \ kyat \ Keten \ nak..\]

\(^8\) Similar constructions are found in many other languages, Austronesian and otherwise. In the descriptions of Austronesian languages, such fronted elements have often been labelled 'topics'. A similar construction is familiar from English linguistics where a sentence such as 'That man, I saw him' is often cited as an example of a syntactic process labelled 'topicalisation'. Although the term 'topic', or something derived from that term has been widely used in the linguistic literature for constructions such as the Taba construction described here, the label is an unfortunate one. I have avoided using the term here since the elements that occur in this position are never topical in the sense generally accepted by discourse analysts as represented in works such as Givón ed. (1983) and others, a point that Givón (1988) himself makes. Elements that are topical in this sense are are always old, and thus given information. Usually, the preposed 'fronted' position marks new information rather than old. Although the referent of the fronted element may become topical, it is hardly ever topical at the time it first appears in the preposed position.
Contrast the intonation pattern seen in (51) with that in (52) which consists of a single clause with nothing outside it. Here there is just one complete curve.

(52)

\[
\text{Kyat ine Keten nak.}
\]

k=yat i-ne Keten nak
1sg=take DEM-PROX Moti also
‘I took this to Moti too.’

Preposed elements are found which are coreferential with any kind of argument, adjunct, or complement of the clauses which follow them. Preposed elements that have no coreferential elements within the following clause are also found. Whatever occurs in this preclausal position, we find the same kind of intonation as illustrated in (51): the extraclausal element attracts an incomplete intonation curve. Example (53) illustrates a fronted locative adjunct, (54) illustrates a fronted complement clause.

(53) \textit{Ane Waikyon,}

a-ne Waikyon
DEM-PROX Ngofakiaha

\textit{tasakal, tapi lloci te.}

ta-sakal, tapi lloci te
DETR-smash, but a.lot NEG

‘Here in Ngofakiaha, stuff was smashed up, but not a lot.’

(54) \textit{Nhan do,}

n=han do
3sg=go REAL

\textit{nalusa}

n=ha-lusa
3sg=CAUS-say

‘She’s already gone, she said.’

Sometimes discourse connectors such as \textit{malai} ‘then / well’ (see §16.7) occur at the beginning of the clause itself.

(55) \textit{Botan,}

Botan
Halmahera
On Halmahera, well they ran up into the mountains.

Note also that more than one adjunct can be found preposed to a clause.

(56) Ane Waikyon, a-ne Waikyon DEM-PROX Ngofakiaha

seng ni tattubo, seng ni tattubo roofing iron 3sg.POSS NOM.up

yapyap kamudu-kamudu tane. yapyap kamudu-kamudu ta-ne. ash thick-thick SIM-PROX

'Here in Ngofakiaha, on top of the roofing iron, ash was as thick as this.'

Examples such as (57) occur with two incomplete intonation curves, one over *ane* Waikyon 'here in Ngofakiaha' and the other over *seng ni tattubo* 'on top of the roofing iron', before the clause *yapyap kamudu-kamudu tane* 'the ash was as thick as this' occurs with normal intonation.

(57)

_Ane Waikyon, seng ni tattubo, yapyap kamudu-kamudu tane_

In (58), the fronted element, *wang gulo iso* 'a small child', has no immediately obvious syntactic relationship to the clause which follows it. Its relevance only becomes apparent upon examining the clause that appears after that. This example comes from the eruption text in the appendices. The speaker is relating the story of the Makianese eruption of 1988. The incident referred to here resulted in the only death brought about as a result of the eruption, when a terrified mother fled into the mountains of nearby Moti island, hugging her baby so close to her chest that the baby suffocated and died. The extraclausal element *wang gulo iso* provides an orientational framework for the whole passage which follows, and not just for the subsequent clause.

(58) Wang gulo iso, Wang gulo i-so child baby CLASS-one

lalhod attia uto, l=alhod at-ya uto 3pl=run ALL-up mountain
Overview of clausal syntax

A small child, they ran up into the mountains, she hugged him. She hugged him in close, then he died.

In example (58) above, the characteristic incomplete intonation associated with clausal constituents that are fronted is maintained. In fact, when the above passage was recorded, there was no terminal fall in intonation until the very last clause malai i nmot 'then he died'. Each section of text followed by a comma in (58) provides orientation for that which follows it, whether the section of text is a whole clause or something less than a clause.

Another passage, with a similarly complex series of orientational sequences is illustrated in (59). In this case, the complex orientation was provided to ensure that the hearer (this author) definitely knew about the context within which the event of erecting the ridge-pole of the garden shelter had been previously reported. (Although knowledge of these events was shared by the protagonists in this conversation, the information could not be presumed to be given at the time of utterance since the event had been reported several days earlier.)

(59) Ngan iso John nwom ya,
    day CLASS-one John 3sg=come REC

    yak kalusa kso pungan ya,
    yak k=ha-lusa k=so pungan ya
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-say 1sg=raise ridge-pole REC

    pope um li ya,
    po-pe um li ya
    down-ESS house LOC REC

Note the use of the recognitional deictic form ya ‘up’ at the end of each orientational sequence shown here. This deictic particle points to the preceding text as something that the speaker hopes the addressee will recognise as common knowledge. See §11.3 for more discussion of the ‘recognitional’ deictic.
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Kso ine.
k=so i-ne
1sg=raise DEM-PROX

'One day when you came around John, I said 'I'm erecting the ridge-pole', down at the house, I erected this.

Again, each of the orientational sequences shown in (59) occurred with an incomplete intonation contour. In other similar fragments of discourse though, where an orientational framework for a passage longer than a single sentence is provided, terminal falling contours for initial orientational elements can occur. In (60), the initial clauses provide an orientation for the whole discourse which follows. (Because this example is somewhat longer than the previous examples intonation units are not presented on separate lines.)

(60) Karna lkuu, loas do. Manusia lkuu dumik si.
karna l=kuu l=oas do manusia l=kuu dumik si
because 3sg=scared 3pl=flee REAL people 3pl=scared be.complete 3pl

Lalhod ada layok.. Tapi yak, yak khan te. Ktanoan
l=ha-alhod ada l=ayok tapi yak yak k=han te k=tanoan
3pl=run and 3pl=cry but 1sg 1sg 1sg=go NEG 1sg=remember

ddoba.10 Mai non dumik do hu. Malai yan mai
ddoba mai n=on dumik do hu Malai yan mai
garden but 3sg=eat be.complete REAL CONT then fish but

kwat... Kot yan iso e, matlu llewit...
kwat k=ot yan i-so e mat=lu l=lewit
be.strong 1sg=catch fish CLASS-one FOC CLASS=two 3pl=carry.on.pole

'Because they were scared, they had already fled. Everybody was terrified. They ran and they cried. But me, I didn’t go. I remembered the gardens. But the eruption had already engulfed them. Then the fish were just amazing. I caught one fish, two people were needed to carry it…'

Example (60) comes from the same text as did (58). In this text, as mentioned above, the speaker relates his experiences during the volcanic eruption of 1988. The person speaking here had a rather unusual experience of the event, being the only person on Makian who refused to leave the island while the eruption was at its peak. In the above passage, the orientation given is reference to the great fear felt by other inhabitants of Makian, which led to their fleeing the scene of devastation. The speaker’s bravery in staying behind is thus emphasised. Although the gardens were completely engulfed by falling ash, the speaker

10 Tanoan is rather difficult to provide an adequate gloss for. Although its basic denotational sense is adequately glossed as 'remember' it also has an affective meaning that is clearly suggested in sentences such as tanoan ni dawalat ‘he’s missing his girlfriend’, (lit. ‘he remembers his girlfriend’) and tanoan kampung ‘to feel homesick’ (lit. ‘to remember the village’). The affective meaning is important in the example here.
was rewarded for his bravery by the enormous size of the huge (and presumably disoriented deep-water dwelling) fish that he caught in the aftermath. The passages which follow the excerpt above continue to develop the theme of the wonderful fishing to be had following a major eruption.

Initial orientation for large chunks of discourse can come in a variety of formal guises. In (58), orientation is provided with complete clauses. Sometimes, however, orientation for very long texts can be provided by structures less than the clause. In the text found in appendix 1, for example, the relation of another speakers’s experiences of the eruption, the first element is a simple noun phrase which provides orientation for the whole text (about 20 minutes in length) that follows.

(61) Dukon Taba...
    eruption Makian
    ‘The Makianese eruption...’

There are also parallels between these structures and other grammatical structures discussed elsewhere in the grammar. For instance, there is a parallel with N N constructions such as that illustrated in (62) and discussed at more length in §7.2.2.2, where the first (generic) noun gives a general domain within which the second (specific) noun is to be understood.

(62) Yan domohi
    fish young.tuna
    ‘Young tuna.’

Some of the adverbial serial verb constructions discussed in §12.2.5 also display the kind of generic - specific ordering seen in (62) above. Such a construction is illustrated in (63).

(63) Nwosal māddodang
    n=wosal māddodang
    3sg=stand be.straight (straight)
    ‘He’s standing up straight.’

### 6.3.2 Postposed NPs

The postposing of NPs after clauses is only attested a handful of times in the corpus. In the attested examples, these postposed NPs function to provide parenthetical referent identification, sometimes when it appears that the speaker is attempting to ensure there is no likelihood of the addressee misinterpreting what the intended referent is, as in (64).

(64) Kuat,
    be.strong

    wola amit.
    rope amit

    ‘It’s strong, amit rope.’
Example (60) is taken from a text where the speaker is discussing the uses to which a variety of different trees, and parts of those trees are put. *Amit* rope is a fibre gathered from the bark of one tree which is particularly valued for its strength.

### 6.4 Grammatical relations

In this section we discuss grammatical relations in Taba. Before turning to the Taba evidence itself, however, we will first examine some general issues relating to the determination of grammatical relations both cross-linguistically and within individual languages.

Grammatical relations have long played a central role in grammatical theory. Indeed, the distinction between ‘subject’ and ‘predicate’ goes back at least as far as Plato (Lyons, 1968:10). In Plato’s view, according to Lyons (1968:11): ‘Roughly speaking, the subject of a predication names the thing about which something is said, and the predicate is that part of the sentence which say something about the thing named by the subject’. A moment’s reflection will show that such a definition does not work: the problem lies in determining just what a clause is about. ‘Aboutness’ is simply too difficult to characterise unambiguously.

Grammatical relations, then, must be definable in terms other than those relating to topicality that traditional definitions such as that just quoted from Lyons have been framed in. We began this chapter with a quote from R.M.W. Dixon wherein he discussed the primitive relations S, A, and O. Dixon went on to say that:

> In languages with a nominative - accusative grammar, S and A naturally group together. Languages of the ergative - absolutive type link S and O. Many languages have some accusative and some ergative characteristics, linking S with A for certain purposes and S with O for other purposes. For any discussion of universal grammar, it is most useful to take S, A and O as the basic grammatical relations, and to define ‘subject’ (and ‘pivot’...) in terms of them.

*(Dixon, 1994:6-7)*

The suggestion that might be taken from this quote is be that in a language like Taba, with ‘split-S’ marking for intransitive verbs, the relevant grammatical relations might just as well be Actor and Undergoer, where SA arguments group with A as Actors, and SO arguments group together with O as Undergoers. (Such a claim is made by Durie, 1987, 1988a, for another split-S Austronesian language, Acehnese.) Yet, elsewhere in Dixon’s book, he states that a universal category ‘subject’ can be defined: ‘A and S functions are grouped together as “subject”’ (p.124). Dixon does provide a cautionary note about Acehnese for which he states that ‘it may be for Acehnese that the only viable definition of “subject” is [Durie’s] Actor’ (p.125).

The kinds of arguments that Dixon is referring to here as ‘subjects’ are arguments that in some sense have greater ‘syntactic weight’ than other arguments. While such a category might not be immediately obvious if we look solely at overt phenomena such as word-order or case-marking, a unitary ‘subject’ category may be revealed at a deeper level of analysis, in that only subjects may be able to control syntactic phenomena such as relativisation, or equi-NP deletion, etc.

The problem for determining what, if anything, is the subject in Taba then, should be clear. Is there at some level of syntax a conflation of the A and S roles such that a unitary
category of 'subject' has common properties, or is Taba, (as a split-S language), like Acehnese where only the grammatical relations of Actor and Undergoer are relevant?

Another problem that needs to be addressed for Taba is the status of the dual non-agentive arguments of clauses with two Undergoers (i.e. ditransitive and non-Actor bivalent clauses). Does one of these arguments have more 'syntactic weight' than the other? And if so, what are the appropriate grammatical relation labels to accord each type of argument? Is one of the arguments to be labelled the direct object or Undergoer and the other the indirect object or Undergoer, or is one of them to be labelled the primary object or Undergoer and the other the secondary object or Undergoer?

In the next two sections, we seek to determine what grammatical relations might be manifested in Taba syntax by examining a range of grammatical features that are often seen as diagnostic of grammatical relations. In §6.4.1 we look at overt coding properties associated with different grammatical relations and in §6.4.2 we examine 'behaviour and control properties' associated with grammatical roles. In the final section, we draw together the evidence from Taba presented in §6.4.1 and §6.4.2 in an attempt to provide a coherent (if yet tentative) account of grammatical relations in Taba.

**6.4.1 Overt coding**

The following overt coding properties associated with verbal arguments will be reviewed in this section:

- verbal cross-referencing
- word-order
- adpositional marking of arguments

**6.4.1.1 Cross-referencing**

The grammatical number and person categories of A are cross-referenced on both transitive and ditransitive verbs, but no other arguments are cross-referenced. For Actor intransitives, the number and person categories of the sole SA argument is cross-referenced on the verb. For Undergoer intransitives and for non-Actor bivalents, as well as for non-verbal predicates, no arguments at all are cross-referenced.

Such an alignment of cross-referencing properties, taken on its own, would suggest that A and SA fall together as 'subject', but that no other arguments should be treated as such. Cross-referencing properties provide no evidence for distinguishing between Undergoer arguments in any of the constructions involving more than one of them.

**6.4.1.2 Word-order**

Preferred word-order patterns provide a different kind of evidence. Word-order is discussed in detail in §6.1. Only a brief summary of the facts is given here. The patterns of preferred word-order for full NP arguments of clauses are shown in table 6.3.
Preferred word-order for full NP arguments in Taba clauses is shown in Table 6.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate type</th>
<th>Actor intransitive</th>
<th>Undergoer intransitive</th>
<th>Semi-transitive</th>
<th>Instrumental ditransitive</th>
<th>Locative ditransitive</th>
<th>Transfer ditransitive</th>
<th>non-Actor bivalent</th>
<th>Non-verbal predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A V O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SA V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SO V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V O('remote')</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O(patient) O(instrument)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O(patient) O(location)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O(recipient) O(theme)</td>
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<tr>
<td>O(patient) V O(instrument)</td>
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<tr>
<td>O(Figure) V O(Ground)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP Pred</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Preferred word-order for full NP arguments in Taba clauses

Preferred word-order for pronominal arguments is shown in Table 6.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate type</th>
<th>Actor intransitive</th>
<th>Undergoer intransitive</th>
<th>Semi-transitive</th>
<th>Instrumental ditransitive</th>
<th>Locative ditransitive</th>
<th>Transfer ditransitive</th>
<th>non-Actor bivalent</th>
<th>Non-verbal predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A V O</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA V</td>
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<tr>
<td>SO V</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O('remote')</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O(patient) O(instrument)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O(patient) O(location)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V O(recipient) O(theme)</td>
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<tr>
<td>O(patient) V O(instrument)</td>
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<tr>
<td>O(Figure) V O(Ground)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pred Pronoun</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 Preferred word-order for pronominal arguments in Taba clauses

The patterns summarised above provide conflicting evidence for the status of the sole arguments of Undergoer intransitive verbs. On the one hand, arguments expressed as full NPs occur in the preverbal position, just like A and SA arguments. On the other hand, SO arguments that are expressed as pronouns occur in the postverbal position, just like O arguments. It must be borne in mind, though, that the tendency for the full NP arguments of Undergoer intransitives to occur preverbally is a relatively weak one and that transitive O is also often found preverbally when there are no other intervening nominals (aside from cross-referencing proclitics). Overall, then, it appears that SO patterns more closely with O than it does with either A or SA. Likewise, in terms of word order alone, the remote Undergoer of a semitransitive clause patterns with plain O of a transitive.

The patterns shown above also provide evidence that the arguments of non-verbal predicates behave like SO. Neither of these kinds of arguments are cross-referenced anywhere, and both types show the same patterning with respect to word-order: full NP arguments generally occur before the predicate and pronominal arguments occur after the

---

11 See the following discussion in this section for discussion of the notion of 'remote' Undergoers.
12 See the following discussion in this section for discussion of the notion of 'remote' Undergoers.
13 The patterns shown here for arguments with semantic roles such as instrument and theme are rarely encountered in normal discourse since pronouns can only be used to refer to animates, and animates are not very often found with these semantic roles.
predicate. As far as non-Actor bivalents are concerned, the patients of -Vk derived non-Actor bivalents and the figure of -o derived ones also behave like S0 and the arguments of non-verbal predicates: full NPs come before the predicate and pronominal arguments come directly after.

There is little evidence thus far to distinguish between the non-agentive arguments of ditransitive verbs, except to say that the recipients of transfer ditransitives, and the patients of instrumental and locative ditransitives align in that they both occur immediately postverbally while the themes of transfer ditransitives, the instruments of instrumental ditransitives and the locations in locative ditransitives align in that they occur last. We might note that in both -Vk derived non-Actor bivalents and instrumental ditransitives, pronominal patients and instruments have the same position in each kind of clause. Although the positions of these arguments may differ with respect to the verb when they are expressed by full NPs, patient and instrument are still in the same positions with respect to each other: patient precedes instrument.

6.4.1.3 Adpositional marking of arguments

None of the Taba core arguments need to be marked with adpositions in canonical clauses. However, some of the arguments of ditransitive clauses as well as those of non-Actor bivalents and of semi-transitive verbs may optionally be marked adpositionally (§8.3.2.1, §8.3.2.3, §8.3.3.4). The arguments that may be marked with adpositions in addition to their licensing by applicative suffixes are the instruments of instrumental ditransitives, the locations of locative ditransitives, the instruments of non-Actor bivalent verbs derived with -Vk, the Undergoer arguments found with semi-transitive verbs, and the ground argument of non-Actor bivalents derived with -o. However, neither of the non-agentive arguments of a transfer ditransitive may be marked by an adposition. The cases where optional adpositional licensing of arguments occurs are exemplified in (65) to (69).¹⁴

(65) Argument optionally marked with preposition ada in instrumental ditransitive

\[
\begin{align*}
Oci & \text{ nlikok} & \text{ manik} & (\text{ada}) & \text{ sapatu.} \\
Oci & 3sg=tread.on-APPL & \text{ chicken} & (\text{with}) & \text{ shoe} \\
Oci & \text{ trod on the chicken with his shoe'}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

¹⁴ The existence of doubly-licensed arguments such as those just seen must be viewed as problematic not only for any notion that there is always a clear distinction between arguments and adjuncts, but also for a movement-based account of applicative affixes as advanced by Baker (1988). Baker suggests that in languages with applicatives, underlying adpositions have been subjected to obligatory movement rules and appear on the surface as bound affixes, attached to derived verbs which then license arguments to appear in core, rather than oblique roles. The problem for Baker’s account that the Taba data presents is that in examples such as (65) to (69) above, the putative ‘underlying’ adposition has manifestly not moved anywhere.
(66) Argument optionally marked with preposition *ada* in non-Actor bivalent derived with \(-Vk\)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Loka & posak & (ada) & niwi \\
loka & posa-k & (ada) & niwi \\
banana & be.boiled-APPL & (with) & coconut \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The banana has been boiled with coconut.’

(67) Argument optionally marked with postposition *li* in non-Actor bivalent derived with \(-o\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
Bbuk & pso & mfato & bduk & maleo & (li) \\
bbuk & p-so & mfati-o & bbuk & maleo & (li) \\
book & CLASS-one & close-APPL & [abut] & book & other (LOC) \\
\end{array}
\]

‘One book is abutting the other book.’

(68) Argument optionally marked with postposition *li* in locative ditransitive derived with \(-o\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
Yak & kgorco & kapaya & ni & kowo & bbuk. & (li) \\
1sg & k=goras-o & kapaya & ni & kowo & bbuk & (li) \\
1sg & 3sg=scrape-APPL & papaya & 3sg.POSS & seed & book & (LOC) \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’m scraping papaya seeds onto the book.’

(69) Argument optionally marked with postposition *li* in semi-transitive

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Oci & ncung & um & (li) \\
Oci & n=sung & um & (li) \\
Oci & 3sg=enter & house & (LOC) \\
\end{array}
\]

‘One book is abutting the other book.’

Here we see further evidence for distinguishing between the two non-agentive arguments in clauses which have them. We saw in §6.4.1.2 that non-agentive arguments other than those marked adpositionally in non-Actor bivalents behave in the same way as SO, while the other arguments patterned differently. We see more evidence for distinguishing between these non-agentive arguments above. Furthermore, there is now evidence for associating the instruments of instrumental ditransitives with the instruments of \(-Vk\) derived applicatives and the ground argument in \(-o\) derived applicatives, as well as with the sole non-Actor argument of a semi-transitive and with the locative argument of a locative ditransitive.

6.4.1.4 Summary

On the basis of the evidence so far presented with respect to overt coding of arguments, it is possible to group the argument types together on the basis of the properties they share. These properties are summarised in table 6.5.
Table 6.5 Summary of overt coding properties of arguments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument Types</th>
<th>CR</th>
<th>ProV</th>
<th>NPV</th>
<th>VPro</th>
<th>VNP</th>
<th>V_NP</th>
<th>AD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive / ditransitive A</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive S_A</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive SO</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument of non-verbal predicate</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(patient) of -Vk derived non-Actor</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bivalent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(Figure) of -o derived non-Actor</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>bivalent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive O</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(recipient) of transfer ditransitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(patient) of instrumental ditransitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(theme) of transfer ditransitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(location / instrument) of semi-transitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(Ground) of -o derived non-Actor</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>bivalent</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(instrument) of -Vk derived non-Actor</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>bivalent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>O(instrument) of instrumental</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>ditransitive</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(location) of locative ditransitive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key

- CR: Cross-referenced on verb
- ProV: Pronouns occur preverbally
- NPV: Full NP occurs preverbally
- VPro: Pronoun occurs postverbally
- VNP: Full noun phrase must occur immediately postverbally
- V_NP: Argument may occur two places after the verb
- AD: Optionally marked by adposition

The argument types summarised in Table 6.5 fall into groups discussed below in order of what might be termed pragmatic salience, most salient first.

**Transitive A and intransitive S_A**

These are both cross-referenced on their predicates and both always occur preverbally, whether represented by pronouns or by full NPs. Neither of them may be marked adpositionally.

**Intransitive SO, argument of non-verbal predicate, O(patient) of -Vk derived non-Actor bivalent, O(Figure) of -o derived non-Actor bivalent**

These all occur in the preverbal position if represented by full noun phrases, but immediately after the verb if they are represented by pronouns. None of them may be marked by adpositions.
Transitive O, O(recipient) of transfer ditransitive, O(patient) of instrumental ditransitive

These must always occur immediately after the verb whether represented by full NPs or as pronouns. They may not be marked by adpositions.

O(theme) of transfer ditransitive

These can occur in the final position, two places after the verb, but they may not be marked with adpositions.

O(Ground) of -o derived non-Actor bivalent, O(instrument) of -Vk derived non-Actor bivalent, O(instrument) of instrumental ditransitive, O(location) of locative ditransitive, O(remote) of semi-transitive

All of these arguments can occur in the final argument position within a clause. They can also, optionally, be marked by adpositions.

Actors and a whole range of Undergoers

The facts as presented so far would suggest that the grammatical relation ‘subject’, as usually used to refer to a unified category represented by A and S arguments, does not have any relevance to Taba, at least as far as the overt coding properties of arguments are concerned. The problem is that there is no real coherence within any S category in Taba. SA and SO have quite distinct properties. SA aligns with A in its overt coding properties while SO aligns most clearly with the arguments of non-verbal predicates, and with the first-appearing arguments of non-Actor bivalents. In fact, SO shares more properties in common with transitive O and with the first Undergoer argument of ditransitives: none of these are cross-referenced on verbs, and all pronominal arguments of these sorts occur immediately postverbally. It is only in the case where they are represented by full NPs that there is any difference in their behaviour, and even this has been shown to be marginal. All of this, then, suggests that Actor and Undergoer are the grammatical relations most pertinent to describing Taba morphosyntax, at least at the level of overt coding.

This characterisation of syntactic roles in Taba does not yet address the issue of how to distinguish between the different Undergoer arguments in clauses which have more than one of them. There are two kinds of constructions in which two Undergoers are found: non-Actor bivalent verbs and ditransitives. It appears that in each of these construction types one of the twin Undergoers does indeed have more pragmatic salience than the other. In non-Actor bivalents, the patient or the figure (depending on how the verb was derived) occurs preverbally if manifested by a full NP while full NP instruments and grounds occur postverbally. While pronominal patients and figures occur postverbally, they still precede any overt instrument or ground arguments, whether pronominal or not. Moreover, instrument and ground arguments in these constructions may be marked adpositionally while the other arguments may not. In addition, the Undergoer arguments of semi-transitive verbs may also be marked adpositionally. All this suggests that the initially occurring Undergoer of verbs with two Undergoers might be labelled the ‘primary Undergoer’ while the finally occurring one might be labelled ‘secondary Undergoer’ (See Dryer, 1986 on primary and secondary objects). Neither of the Undergoer arguments of transfer ditransitives may be marked adpositionally, but word-order considerations suggest that the recipient should align with the patient of an instrumental ditransitive as ‘primary Undergoer’ and the theme should align with the instrument of in the instrumental ditransitive verbs as
'secondary Undergoer'. However, a distinction needs to be made between Undergoers which can be marked adpositionally and those which cannot. We will label those that cannot be marked adpositionally as 'close' Undergoers and those which can be so marked as 'remote' Undergoers. These Taba grammatical relations, tentatively ascribed on the basis of overt coding properties, are summarised in table 6.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Primary Undergoer</th>
<th>'Close' Secondary Undergoer</th>
<th>‘Remote’ Secondary Undergoer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive A</td>
<td>Intransitive SO</td>
<td>O(theme) of transfer ditransitive</td>
<td>O(Ground) of -0 derived non-Actor bivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive SA</td>
<td>Argument of non-verbal predicate</td>
<td>O(patient) of -V_k derived non-Actor bivalent</td>
<td>O(instrument) of -V_k derived non-Actor bivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O(Figure) of -0 derived non-Actor bivalent</td>
<td>O(location) of locative ditransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive O</td>
<td>O(recipient) of transfer ditransitive</td>
<td>O(instrument) of instrumental ditransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O(patient) of instrumental ditransitive</td>
<td>O(remote) of semi-transitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6 Putative grammatical relations for Taba on basis of overt coding

The facts presented up to this point, while instructive, need more support before the suggestions presented in table 6.6 are adopted unequivocally. In the next section we examine some of the 'behaviour and control properties' exhibited by different Taba arguments.

6.4.2 Behaviour & control

In Taba discourse there is an overwhelming preference for syntax to be monoclausal. The discourse structures which are multiclausal usually tend to consist of rather loosely bound paratactic sequences of clauses (§16.1) where coreference constraints on arguments are weak, if they exist at all.

Most of the 'classic' behaviour and control tests for grammatical relationhood cannot be applied to Taba. Raising, for example does not occur. There is nothing analogous to English infinitival complements where it might be possible to test which arguments can (or must) be omitted from the complement clause. Neither is there anything in 'WH-question' formation (§15.1.2) which distinguishes between the syntactic roles of the questioned referents. Indeed, there is a paucity of evidence of any kind which might be used to say that any kind of argument is syntactically privileged over any other kind of argument.
In (§16.2.8) we discuss syntactic restraints on coreference in coordinate clauses, where it is found that there are really no such restraints. Likewise, there do not appear to be any such restrictions with respect to subordination. Deletion of coreferential arguments across clauses is always possible, since ellipsis is a common feature of Taba discourse (§6.2). Deletion of coreferential arguments is never obligatory, however.

The reasons that arguments are selected as the (grammaticalised) Actor or Undergoer in Taba transitive and intransitive clauses are always quite semantically transparent, and likewise, constraints on coreference are always related to semantic and discourse factors that have little to do with overtly syntactic restrictions. The only real syntactic constraint that has been found with respect to complex syntactic structures in Taba relates to what has been tentatively labelled the ‘remote Undergoer’, when it is subject to relativisation.

In order for an element from within a clause to be relativised, it must be an argument of the relative clause. Adjuncts may not be relativised (see §16.4.1). However, all of the putatively identified remote Undergoers – whether of ditransitive verbs, of non-Actor bivalents, or of semi-transitives – require adpositional licensing in addition to any other marking such as applicativisation in order to occur in a relative clause.

Example (70) illustrates relativisation of a secondary instrumental Undergoer. Note the clause final occurrence of the preposition ada, which along with the -Vk applicative suffix on the verb, licenses the applied object.

(70) Banda nyat peda npunak kolay ada
Banda n=yat peda n=pun-ak kolay ada
Banda 3sg=carry machete 3sg=kill-APPL snake with
‘Banda is carrying the machete he killed the snake with.’

Example (71) is ungrammatical because the relativised instrument is not dually licensed.

(71) * Banda nyat peda npunak kolay
Banda n=yat peda n=pun-ak kolay
Banda 3sg=carry machete 3sg=kill-APPL snake

Like the remote Undergoers of instrumental ditransitives, locative undergoers of locative ditransitives also require adpositional marking when occurring in a relative clause. So too do the remote Undergoers of both locative and instrumental non-Actor bivalents, and the remote Undergoers of semi-transitives. All of these cases are illustrated in (72) – (75)

(72) Yak kbaca bbuk i ngorco kapaya ni kowo li
Yak k=baca bbuk i n=goras-o kapaya ni kowo li
1sg 1sg=read book 3sg 3sg=scrape-APPL papaya 3sg.POSS seed LOC
‘I’m reading the book he’s scraping papaya seeds onto.’

(73) Alhoe nyat niwi loka posak ada?
alho=e n=yat niwi loka posa-Vk ada
who=FOC 3sg=bring coconut banana be.boiled-APPL with
‘Who brought the coconut that the banana has been boiled with?’
Overview of clausal syntax

(74) Yak ktono bbuk ne bbuk da mfato li.
yak k=tono bbuk ne bbuk da mfati-o li
1sg 1sg=look.at book PROX book DIST close-APPL [abut] LOC
‘I’m looking at this book which is abutting that book.’

(75) Rauf nani um ya Yanti ncung li
Rauf n=hani um ya Yanti n=sung li
Rauf 3sg=own house REC Yanti 3sg=enter LOC
‘Rauf owns the house that Yanti entered.’

Note that the second Undergoers in transfer ditransitives cannot be licensed
adpositionally and are not affected by this rule.

(76) Lahon yan mon ya lwagik lai mo ya
l=ha-hon yan mon ya l=wag-ik lai mo ya
3pl=CAUS-eat fish man REC 3pl=sell-APPL just come REC
‘They’re eating the fish the man just sold them.’

6.4.3 Grammatical relations in Taba: an overview

It is clear that we have not found sufficient language-internal evidence for the
identification of any ‘subject’ grammatical relation in Taba. The best evidence we have for
grammatical relations in Taba identifies only Actors and a variety of Undergoer types. A
first distinction can be made between ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ Undergoers. Secondary
Undergoers can be further distinguished as either ‘close’ or ‘remote’, while the sole non-
Actor arguments of semi-transitive verbs pattern in most significant respects with remote
Undergoers. The most likely candidates for membership of each of these categories of
grammatical relations remains as it was at the end of our examination of overt coding
properties and as was summarised in table 6.6. The labels ‘Actor’, ‘Primary Undergoer’ and
‘close’ and ‘remote’ Secondary Undergoer as presented in table 6.6 will be adopted
throughout the rest of this grammar to refer to the relevant grammatical relations in Taba.

It should be noted that although the terms Actor and Undergoer come from Foley & Van
Valin’s (1984) work, they are used here in a quite distinct sense form that used by Foley and
Van Valin. Foley and Van Valin define actor and undergoer as what they called ‘macro-
roles’, in their theory having a status somewhat analogous to the ‘action tier’ roles of
Jackendoff (1983) or the ‘proto-agent’ and ‘proto-patient’ of Dowty (1991), all of which are
categories intermediate in the mapping process between strictly semantic roles such as
‘effector’, ‘instrument’, ‘location’, etc. and syntactic roles such as subject and object. In Taba,
the capitalised terms Actor and Undergoer (whether primary, close secondary or remote
secondary) refer to morphosyntactic roles overtly manifested in Taba grammar, and
definable on strictly language-internal grounds in terms of their morphosyntactic properties.

We can now sketch out the general typology of argument alignment in Taba. As far as
argument alignment in transitive and ditransitive clauses is concerned, Taba can be
characterised as a mixed ‘accusative’ and ‘split-S’ system. In general, the sole human
argument of an intransitive follows an accusative pattern of argument alignment, since single
human arguments normally occur as Actors just as the agentive arguments in transitive
clauses do. Non-human arguments of intransitives, on the other hand, pattern according to a
split-S system: effectors occur as Actors and non-effectors occur as Undergoers. Where the
patterning of ditransitive and transitive arguments are concerned, Taba actually follows a system of argument alignment which has not up until this point been recognised elsewhere in the literature as far as I am aware. As far as transfer ditransitives are concerned, the alignment is unexceptional: Taba follows the pattern identified as that of the ‘primary object pattern’ by Dryer (1986). Constructions in which a remote Undergoer occur, on the other hand, exhibit what I call a split-O system of argument alignment as will be argued in the following section.

6.4.3.1 Taba as a ‘split-O’ language

Dryer (1986) argues, amongst other things, that patterns of primary and direct objectivity he identifies cross-linguistically have significant parallels with ergativity and accusativity in language systems. This parallel can be seen in the way these systems are represented in figures 6.2 and 6.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>(O)</td>
<td>(A)</td>
<td>(O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.2** Accusative vs. ergative patterning in transitive and intransitive clauses (adapted from Dryer, 1986: 814 [figure 1a])

In figure 6.3 the labels ‘T’ and ‘G’ refer to the theme and the goal of a transfer ditransitive respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct Object</th>
<th>Indirect Object</th>
<th>Secondary object</th>
<th>Primary object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td>(G)</td>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>(G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monotransitive</td>
<td>(O)</td>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>(O)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.3** Primary vs. direct object patterning in ditransitive and monotransitive clauses (adapted from Dryer, 1986: 814 [figure 1b])

Interestingly, when diagrams such as that illustrated in figure 6.2 are found in introductory typology textbooks, there is usually another system of argument alignment presented alongside that of the accusative and ergative patterns, namely the split-S pattern that we have already seen Taba makes use of. Accusative, ergative and split-S systems are schematised in figure 6.4. The essential difference between a split-S system on the one hand, and accusative and ergative systems on the other is that accusative and ergative systems
work by neutralising the semantic differences between different kinds of intransitive arguments and by representing them all like transitive agents in the case of the accusative system, and like transitive patients in the case of the ergative system. In a split-S system, no such neutralisation occurs. Intransitive agents occur just like transitive agents and intransitive patients occur just like their transitive counterparts too.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.4 Argument patterns for transitive and intransitive clauses in accusative, ergative and split-S systems

It is clear that Dryer's typology for ditransitives and monotransitives has a logical gap in it. There is no place in the scheme for a category that would provide a parallel with the split-S system shown in figure 6.4. An illustration of what a simple version of such a 'split-O' system might look like is given in figure 6.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary object</th>
<th>Secondary object</th>
<th>Split-O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.5 Putative argument patterns for ditransitive and monotransitive clauses in direct and primary object as well as in a simple split-O system

The putative 'split-O' system outlined above would work in much the same way as a split-S system. Primary and secondary object systems neutralise the semantic differences between different kinds of transitive objects, all of them being represented like the ditransitive goal in the case of a primary object system and like the ditransitive theme in the case of a direct object system. In a simple split-O system, there would be two distinct classes of transitive object and no neutralisation of semantic roles. In such a system, the goal of a monotransitive verb like 'help' would occur like the goal of a ditransitive and the theme of a monotransitive verb like 'drive' would occur like the theme of a ditransitive.

Taba cannot be labelled a 'split-O' system with respect to the simple schematisation given in figure 6.5, since transfer verbs in Taba all appear to work quite normally according to Dryer's primary object pattern. However, the other ditransitives found in Taba do seem to operate with a modified system of split-O argument alignment, whereby instruments and locations occur in a form distinct from undergoers of any other type no matter what kind of clause they occur in. A schematisation of the Taba situation is given in table 6.7.
Chapter Six

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Close Undergoer</th>
<th>Remote Undergoer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>object of affect</td>
<td>instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-instigating theme</td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recipient</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stimulus of emotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7 Semantic roles of Taba 'close' and 'remote' undergoers

The basic point to be taken from table 6.7 is that no matter what type of clause they appear in, whether bivalent or trivalent, instruments and locations always occur as remote Undergoers, having the option of adpositional marking whenever occurring in a main clause, and obligatorily appearing with an adposition whenever they occur in a relative clause. Arguments of these two semantic roles can occur in conjunction with a variety of different argument types, but no matter what kind of verb they occur with they always occur as remote Undergoers. With just an Actor, they occur in semi-transitive clauses and are marked distinctly from other Undergoers which occur in plain transitive clauses and do not have the ability to co-occur with adpositions. With another Undergoer (a patient in the case of the instruments, and a ground referring NP in the case of a location) they occur in non-Actor bivalent clauses. Again they have the ability to occur with adpositions as remote Undergoers while other kinds of Undergoer do not. With both an Actor and a plain Undergoer they occur in ditransitive clauses and yet again they occur as remote Undergoers with the ability to appear with adpositional marking in addition to their applicative marking. Further discussion of the nature of Undergoer roles in Taba can be found in Bowden (2000).

6.5 Reflexive constructions

Taba has an invariant reflexive particle do which occurs as an attribute of the Actor nominal, and which indicates that the Actor of the verb is coreferential with an Undergoer (either primary or secondary) of the same verb. It is most commonly encountered with simple transitive verbs where agent and patient are coreferential.

(77) I do nwet i
    i do n=wet i
    3sg REFL 3sg=hit 3sg
    'He hit himself'

Do can also be used with ditransitive verbs, to indicate that the Actor and the primary Undergoer of the verb (see §6.4) are coreferential.

(78) Yak do kalcomak yak surat
    yak do k=alcoma-k yak surat
    1sg REFL 1sg=send-APPL 1sg letter
    'I’m sending myself a letter.'

The use of do to indicate that a clause is reflexive is optional. Example (79) could also be used to refer to the same real world event as (78).
Although the use of do is strictly optional in all cases of reflexives, it is rather unusual for reflexive clauses with pronominally marked third person arguments to occur without do, presumably because there is a greater likelihood of ambiguity in these cases. Example (80) is, however, grammatical if dispreferred in practice.

(80) * I do nwet i
   i do n=wet i
   3sg REFL 3sg=hit
   'He hit himself'

In most Taba clauses, anaphorically retrievable arguments can be ellipsed (see §6.2). In reflexive clauses, however, a pronominal copy of the coreferential Undergoer must occur. Examples (81) and (82), then, are ungrammatical.

(81) * I do nwet
   i do n=wet
   3sg REFL 3sg=hit

(82) * Yak do kalcomak surat
    yak do k=alcoma-k surat
    1sg REFL 1sg=send-APPL letter

The rule which requires a pronominal copy of a reflexive object to occur applies equally to animate and inanimate objects, thus constituting an exception to the general rule that inanimates can never be referred to with pronouns (§7.3.3). Examples (83) and (84) illustrate the use of a pronominal copy of inanimate reflexive objects. Note that example (84) also shows possessor-raising (§9.1.3): the Actor noun phrase actually refers to a part of the reflexive Undergoer.

(83) Bonci ncayak i tadia.
    bonci n=say-ak i ta-dia
    peanut 3sg=spread-APPL 3sg SIM-DIST
    'Peanut (leaves) spread out on it self like that.'

(84) Ni sumo ncaplak i
    ni sumo n=sapal-k i
    3sg.POSS mouth/spout 3sg=stick.out-APPL 3sg
    'Its spout sticks out on itself.'

A number of verbs encode activities which an Actor carries out on a part of him / herself, such as washing one's face or shaving one's beard. In these constructions the part acted
upon occurs as the Undergoer, but is not formally marked as possessed by the Actor.15 Neither is the Actor in these clauses overtly marked as reflexive with do.

(85) *Mina nwas mto*
Mina n=was mto
Mina 3sg=wash eye
‘Mina is washing her face.’

(86) *Rauf nparas kumu*
Rauf n=paras kumu
Rauf 3sg=shave beard
‘Rauf is shaving himself.’

The particle *do* is also sometimes found in non-reflexive clauses, where it means ‘alone’, or ‘by one’s self’. This is exemplified in a simple Actor intransitive clause in (87), and in a more complex structure in (88).

(87) *I do nhan*
i do n=han
3sg self 3sg=go
‘He went by himself.’

(88) *Yak kanig lomo polisi do lgotal yak*
Yak k=ha-nig lomo polisi do l=gotal yak
1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg friend police self 3pl=grab 1sg

suko sel.
suk-o sel
insert-APPL cell

‘I have a policeman friend who himself grabbed me and stuck me in the cell.

6.6 Reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal constructions indicate that the referents of referentially plural noun phrases act on each other at the same time in some way. The reciprocal particle *maka* occurs preposed to the verb it marks as reciprocal, and any Actor cross-referencing proclitics are prefixed to *maka*. In Taba reciprocal constructions, a variety of different argument types can be involved.

15 These examples constitute a class of exceptions to the general principle that ‘inalienably’ possessed things such as body parts are obligatorily possessed as discussed in §9.1.1.
(89) \(Si\ l=maka\ tala\ la-we\)
\(3pl\ 3pl=RECIP\ meet\ sea-ESS\)
‘They are meeting each other in a seawards location.’

(90) \(Ndadi\ a=maka\ am\ te\)
\(so\ 1pl.excl=REFL\ see\ NEG\)
‘So we couldn’t see each other.’

Note that the actants with more than one referent need not be grammatically Plural (see §7.3.3).

(91) \(Kabin\ n=maka\ tad-ik\)
\(goat\ 3sg=RECIP\ butt-APPL\)
‘The goats are head-butting each other.’

The particle \(maka\) can be used to indicate that noun phrases bearing a variety of syntactic and semantic roles are acting on each other. In (92), the Actor and the dative primary Undergoer of a ditransitive verb are in a reciprocal relationship.

(92) \(Si\ l=maka\ alcomak\ surat\ turus\)
\(3pl\ 3pl=RECIP\ send-APPL\ letter\ all.the.time\)
‘They send each other letters all the time.’

A reciprocal relationship may also obtain between the Actor of a verb and the object of a preposition.

(93) \(i-ne\ n=maka\ sol\ ada\ i-ne\)
\(DEM-PROX\ 3sg=RECIP\ be.different\ with\ DEM-PROX\)
‘This and this are different from each other.’

Reciprocal constructions may also mark the fact that two Undergoers of a ditransitive verb have been brought into contact with each other by an external agent.

(94) \(Iswan\ n=maka\ ha-kaop-o\ nonas\)
\(Iswan\ 3sg=RECIP\ CAUS-turn.over-APPL\ half.outer.shell.of.coconut\)
‘Iswan brings the half coconut shells together.’

Example (95) shows possessor-raising (§9.1.3) in conjunction with a reciprocal clause. Here, although it is the possessed ‘heads’ of the Actor noun phrase \(Oci\ lo\ Deku\ ‘Oci\ and\ Deku’\ which actually come into contact, the verb is cross-referenced for the plural Actor NP.
(95) Oci lo Deku l maka tak ik poyo
Oci lo Deku l=maka tak-ik poyo
Oci and Deku 3pl=RECI P bang-APPL head
‘Oci and Deku banged their heads together.’
Nouns and noun phrases

This chapter is concerned with both Taba nouns and the general structure of the Taba noun phrase. Nouns are defined as a part of speech in §4.1, but more details on the derivation of nouns from other categories are given here. While all major aspects of the noun phrase will be mentioned in this chapter, a number of topics relevant to noun phrases will be treated in more detail elsewhere. Possession, for example, is discussed in chapter 9 and quantification is treated in chapter 10. Directionals, which can be used to modify both nouns and verbs are discussed in chapter 11. Relative clauses are treated in §16.4.

The first part of this chapter discusses the noun itself, and derivational processes which can be used to create nouns. The second part of the chapter discusses the structure of the noun phrase. In the final section of the chapter the nominal grammatical categories of number and person will be discussed, as will pronouns.

7.1 The noun

Nouns are an open word class in Taba. Criteria for defining them are discussed in §4.1, as are some major subcategories of nouns: pronouns, locatives, quantifiers, and interrogatives.

Nouns occur as the heads of noun phrases to which a number of optional modifying devices can also be added. In the Waikyon dialect, noun phrases are marked for number only when they refer to humans (see §7.3), although in some other dialects nouns referring to animals may be grammatically marked as Plural. Noun phrases function as arguments of a verb, as objects of possession or of adpositions, and they may also function as predicates.

Most nouns are morphologically simple, but nouns can also be derived from other parts of speech. There are two ways to derive nouns from verb stems: reduplication and nasal prefixation.

Addition of a reduplicative prefix derives nouns which refer to an instrument used to bring about an action described by the verb. This very productive process is exemplified in (1) and (2) and treated at greater length in §7.1.2.1. (The morphophonemics of the process is discussed in §2.7.6.2.)
Chapter Seven

(1) underived verb
sagu
'spear (v.)'

(2) derived instrument
sagsagu
sag-sagu
INST.NZ-spear
'spear (n.)'

A nasal segment prefixed to an Actor intransitive root derives a nominal Undergoer of the action described by the verb. An example of this is seen in (3) and (4) and the process is discussed in more detail in §7.1.2.2. Note that here the Undergoer is not an obligatory argument of the verb, but a common locative adjunct associated with the verb. The morphophonemics of Undergoer nominalisation are discussed in §2.7.7.

(3) underived verb
battalon
'sit'

(4) derived Undergoer
mbattalon
m-battalon
UND.NZ-sit
'seat / sitting place'

There are some further processes which derive nouns from directional and demonstrative roots: these are introduced in §7.1.2.3 and §7.1.2.4 respectively, but treated more fully in chapter 11.

There are also some syntactic processes in the domain of relativisation which can be used to create complex noun phrases. These are discussed in §16.4.

In §7.1.1 we introduce some of the kinds of entities referred to by canonical nouns.

7.1.1 Nominal reference

According to Lyons (1968: 147), ‘in traditional grammatical theory... “a noun is the name of any person, place or thing”...’. Members of the word class of nouns in Taba do very often refer to ‘persons, places, or things’, but they are also used for different kinds of reference. (See §4.1 for a definition of the noun.) A selection of example nouns arranged in semantic fields is presented in (5) to (11).
### (5) Natural phenomena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kihis</td>
<td>lava flow / flood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dukon</td>
<td>eruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapyap</td>
<td>ash (volcanic) / soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulan</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damdim</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngan</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pait</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woya</td>
<td>fresh-water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takis</td>
<td>salt-water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (6) Flora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niwi</td>
<td>coconut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala</td>
<td>nutmeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odai</td>
<td>cloves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngnge</td>
<td>canarium nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamasik</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (7) Fauna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabin</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welik</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiyas</td>
<td>dolphin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luri</td>
<td>rosella (bird sp.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (8) Humans / body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manusia</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon</td>
<td>man / husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapin</td>
<td>woman / wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wang</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangaji</td>
<td>sultan's representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulia</td>
<td>transvestite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanno</td>
<td>elder same sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamno</td>
<td>younger same sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dammo</td>
<td>opposite sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poyo</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komo</td>
<td>hand / arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>foot / leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litho</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badan</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(9) Material culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>um</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boa</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wog</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobal</td>
<td>sail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubang</td>
<td>fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupi</td>
<td>sago porridge (bapeda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurengure</td>
<td>earthenware pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peda</td>
<td>machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobit</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taba</td>
<td>Makian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarnate</td>
<td>Ternate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botan</td>
<td>Halmahera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) Miscellaneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lomo</td>
<td>others / another / the rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misili-misili</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likso</td>
<td>edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palo</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiplo</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llo</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sso</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suka</td>
<td>desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponco</td>
<td>thingummy-bob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manitap</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1.2 Nominalising morphology

This part of the grammar is divided into four sections:

- Instrumental nominalisation
- Undergoer nominalisation
- Nominalisation of demonstratives
- Nominalised directionals

The last two of these are introduced here but dealt with at greater length in chapter 11.

7.1.2.1 Instrumental nominalisation

This process operates on verbs and derives a noun with the meaning ‘instrument used to bring about the action of the verb’. The process works by taking the first CVC sequence from the root, substituting /a/ for V, and prefixing the resultant sequence of phonemes to the root. The process is very productive. A number of illustrative examples are given below.
(12) *balbulay*
   bal-bulay
   RED-to wind/coil something
   ‘device for winding rope, cord onto’

(13) *taktek*
    tak-tek
    RED-scoop up water
    ‘water scoop’

(14) *lawlewit*
    law-lewit
    RED-carry.goods.balanced.on.a.pole.over.one’s.shoulder
    ‘Pole used to balance goods on when carrying them.’

Some of the following examples show assimilation of the final consonant of the prefix to the initial consonant of the stem. The morphophonemics of instrumental nominalisation are discussed in §2.7.6.2.

(15) *pappit*
    pat-pit
    RED-trap (v.)
    ‘lassoo type trap used to catch megapodes and other birds’

(16) *tattubal*
    tab-tubal
    RED-to.prod.with.vertical.motion
    ‘long stick used to get fruit down from high up in a tree by poking at it’

(17) *sassikat* / *saksikat*
    sak-sikat
    RED-brush (v.)
    ‘brush (n.)’

(18) *sassagu* / *sagsagu*
    sag-sagu
    RED-spear (v.)
    ‘spear (n.)’

Note that when this process is applied to verbs that have been causativised with *ha-*, it applies to the verb root, and not to its causativised derived form. This is exemplified in (19) and (20). In (19), a simple clause with the causativised root *pon* ‘to whistle’ is shown. Note that the root *pon* never appears on its own.

(19) *Napon*
    n=ha-pon
    3sg=CAUS-whistle
    ‘He’s whistling.’
The derived instrumental nominalisation (which also shows how lexicalised the meanings of instrumental nominalisations can become) is shown in (20).

(20) *pampon / panpon*

- *pan-pon* (RED-whistle)
- ‘nocturnal bird sp. (believed to be acting as the instrument of evil spirits when making its call)

This process has been used quite widely for coining new words to describe material culture items which have been relatively recently introduced to Taba society. Examples are given in (21) and (22). Note in (21) that although (as we noted above) reduplicative instrumental nominalisation cannot be applied to a causativised verb, it does occur with applicative stems.

(21) *tagtoglak*

- *tag-togal-ak* (RED-insert-APPL)
- ‘prong used to secure watch strap’

(22) *saffati*

- *fat-fati* (RED-cover.something)
- ‘curtain.’

As already mentioned, instrumental nominalisation is highly productive. It is often used to create one-off coinings appropriate to a particular situation. The author was once applauded by onlookers for his growing language proficiency when he produced the form in (23) derived from the onomatopoeic *kokodok* ‘crow’ as a description of a rooster’s beak.

(23) *kakkokodok*

- *kak-kokodok* (RED-crow)
- ‘instrument used to crow with’ (beak)

Interestingly, this process seems to have been used to derive the names for quite a large number of body parts. Some possible examples are given below:

(24) *pappuko*

- *pak-puko* (RED-????)
- ‘knee.’

(25) *lakloko*

- *lak-loko* (RED-????)
- ‘calf.’
Unfortunately, information on possible roots for these derivations is scarce, none of them existing as independent verbs in contemporary Taba (although the root *pu ko* found in *pappuko* 'knee' possibly has a historical connection with the modern Taba *puko* 'corner'). The putative derived body parts probably derive from verbs of posture: Taba has a rather highly elaborated vocabulary for posture verbs, and a great many of them are derived with the -*o* applicative suffix (see §8.3.2).

### 7.1.2.2 Undergoer nominalisation

This process is not nearly as productive as the reduplicative instrumental nominalisation process described above, nor is the assignment of a precise semantic role in relation to the verbal root for the derived noun so straightforward. In all cases, the derived noun is an entity somehow affected by the action of the verb, but it can be affected in a variety of ways. The process is thus labelled 'Undergoer' nominalisation.

The stems used in this process may be either Actor intransitive or transitive verbs. If the root verb is transitive, the derived Undergoer corresponds to an Undergoer of the verb. If the root verb is intransitive, the derived Undergoer noun refers to some entity which is not an Undergoer of the root, but which is nevertheless affected in some way by the activity referred to by the verb.

Undergoer nominalisation is signalled by a prefix which is a nasal consonant usually homorganic with the initial consonant of the root. This segment is then prefixed to the root itself (as with instrumental nominalisation, the derivation is applied to verbal roots, even if the roots have no independent existence outside of causativised and nominalised derivations). Examples of Undergoer nominalisation are given in (26) to (30) below. In the glosses which follow, the designation N has been given to the homorganic nasal which represents the prefix. The morphophonemics of the process are discussed in §2.7.7.

(26) *mbatalon*

N-battalon
UND.NZ-sit
‘sitting place / seat’

(27) *ng hon*

N-hon
UND.NZ-eat
‘food’

(28) *ngkutan*

N-kutan
UND.NZ-ask
‘question’

As already mentioned, this process is not very productive. The following two forms are also highly lexicalised.

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1 Note that the root *hon* ‘eat’ does not usually occur outside the derived causativised form *ha-hon*. 
7.1.2.3 Nominalisation of directionals

The directional roots *ya* ‘up’, *po* ‘down’, *la* ‘seawards’, *le* ‘landwards’ and *no* ‘there’ discussed in detail in chapter 11 may all be nominalised in two different ways. The essive directionals, exemplified in (31) refer to places located in a particular direction from an understood deictic centre.

(31) *lawe*

la-we
sea-ESS
‘Seawards location.’

The nominalised directionals, exemplified in (32) refer to parts of things that are oriented in a particular direction and are obligatorily possessed by a noun referring to the thing of which they are a part.

(32) *Um ni kle*

um ni k-le
house 3sg.POSS NOM-land
‘The landwards side of the house.’

The nominalised forms of the directionals are discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

7.1.2.4 Nominalisation of demonstratives

Taba has two demonstrative particles *ne* ‘proximal’, and *da / dia* ‘distal’ which can both be nominalised by prefixing the forms *i-* (singular) and *si-* (plural). (See §7.3 for a discussion of number marking in Taba.) Demonstrative nominalisation is exemplified in (33) and (34).

(33) *sine*

si-ne
DEM-PROX
‘These people here’ or ‘this person here’.

---

2 Water is said to ‘spear’ over a waterfall in Taba.
that one there' or 'those ones there'.

The Taba demonstratives and nominalising processes which can be applied to them are treated in more detail in chapter 11.

7.2 The noun phrase

This section provides a discussion of the structure and functions of the noun phrase in Taba. Some kinds of noun phrases, and some of the potential elements of the noun phrase will receive a detailed treatment in this chapter, but others (generally those which also have a role to play in structures other than noun phrases) will only be outlined here and treated in more detail elsewhere.

Noun phrases generally have a noun as their head, but sometimes the head noun may be ellipsed when the only overt elements of the noun phrase may be modifiers. All nominal modifiers except for possessors follow the head noun in a Taba noun phrase.

The basic order of possible noun phrase elements is as shown in figure 7.1. (do is the reflexive particle.)

\[
\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{Associative} / \text{Possessive}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{NP}
\end{array} \right\} -\text{(PL)} (\text{Attribute}) (\text{Quantifier}) (\text{Demonstrative}) (\text{Directional}) (\text{do})
\]

Figure 7.1 Basic structure of the noun phrase

All elements of the noun phrase (except for plural marking when appropriate) are optional, including the head noun itself which may be ellipsed under certain conditions (see §6.2).

The topics listed below will be treated in the following sections:

- an introduction to ‘associative’ and possessive noun phrases (see also chapter 9)
- nominal attributes (see also §16.4 on relativisation)
- quantifiers (see also chapter 10)
- demonstratives and directional roots (see also chapter 11)
- the reflexive particle do (see also chapter 6 on clause level syntax)
- conjunction of noun phrases
- ‘complex noun phrases’

Plural marking (along with the grammatical category of person) is discussed in §7.3.
7.2.1 Possessive noun phrases

The Taba possessive noun phrases will be introduced here, but given that there are a number of striking parallels between nominally expressed and verbally expressed possession, a more extensive discussion of possession is found in chapter 9.

Taba possessive noun phrases are formed by preposing a possessor noun to a possessed noun which are linked by an intervening possessive particle which is cross-referenced with the Number and Person of the possessor. (Although the possessive particles in many respects appear similar to what are termed ‘possessive pronouns’ in other languages the term ‘pronoun’ is avoided here for reasons spelled out in detail in chapter 9.) Some preliminary examples are shown in (35) to (41).

(35) Yak 梗  babasi
     yak ni-k     baba=si
     1sg POSS-1sg father=PL
     ‘My father.’

(36) Nim capeyo
     ni-m     capeyo
     POSS-2sg hat
     ‘Your (sg) hat.’

(37) Buang ni oto
     buang ni-∅ oto
     Buang POSS-3sg car
     ‘Buang’s car.’

(38) Amam manik lo kabin tubutubu
     amam manik lo kabin tubu-tubu
     1pl.excl.POSS chicken and goat be.gathered-be.gathered
     ‘Our many gathered together chickens and goats.’

(39) Nit  daddoba
     ni-t     daddoba
     POSS-1pl.incl garden
     ‘Our gardens.’

(40) Memeu wlo
     memeu wlo
     2pl.POSS heart
     ‘Your hearts.’

(41) Om Ur nidi um
     om ur ni-di um
     Uncle Ur POSS-3pl house
     ‘Uncle Ur’s house.’
7.2.2 Attributive noun phrases

Two major types of nominal attribution can be distinguished. Probably the most frequent type of attribute is the relative clause. This construction is introduced in §7.2.2.1 but treated in more detail in §16.4. Attributes which are themselves nouns are also common in Taba, and a number of varieties are encountered in the corpus. These are discussed in §7.2.2.2.

7.2.2.1 Relative clause as attribute

Taba has no distinct class of adjectives (see §4.2.1 for discussion), so most of the attributes found in the corpus are described formally as relative clauses with a verb as its head. This is exemplified in (42) to (44).

(42) Am atala ngan makoai
    am a=tala ngan makoai
    1 pl.e xcl=meet sun be.hot
    'We encountered the sun which was hot / We encountered a hot sun.'

(43) Wog tapakat psa
    wog ta-pakat p-so
    canoe DETR-smash CLASS-one
    'One smashed-up canoe / One canoe that is smashed up.'

(44) Mon ntagil ya nmap
    mon n=tagil ya n=map
    man 3sg=walk up 3sg=yawn
    'This man who is walking is yawning / This walking man is yawning.'

Relative clauses are discussed in detail in §16.4.

7.2.2.2 Nominal attributes

A variety of constructions involving nominal attributes are encountered in the corpus. Perhaps the most important of these is the generic noun - specific noun construction which is exemplified in (45). In this example, yan ‘fish’ is a generic noun (also functioning as head of the construction) specifying the kind of entity which sola, the specific noun attribute, and the name of a species is.

(45) yan banden
    fish milk.fish
    ‘milk fish’

This kind of construction is particularly common in expressions referring to species of plants and animals. Generic nouns have a function similar to that of numeral classifiers (§10.3): they serve to initially delimit the types of things specified more closely by the specific noun which follows them. Morphosyntactically, generic nouns are quite distinct from numeral classifiers, however. Whereas the most common numeral classifiers have no existence as independent nouns outside of their use as numeral classifiers, all generic nouns can be used independently. Further examples of generic noun constructions are given.
below. In (46) an example showing the classifying head *awai* ‘vegetable’ and the specific *hat* ‘banana blossom’ is given. (In North Maluku, banana blossom is often eaten as a cooked vegetable.)

(46) *awai*    *hat*
    vegetable  banana.blossom
    ‘Banana blossom’ (this is eaten as a vegetable).

In (47) the generic *burung* ‘bird’ is used.

(47) *burung*  *luri*
    bird       rosel.la
    ‘rosella’

While generic noun - specific noun constructions are commonly used to refer to species of plants and animals, they are also often used for other types of referent. A variety of such expressions are illustrated in (48) to (50).

(48) *wah*    *Taba*
    island    Makian
    ‘Makian island’

(49) *kampung*  *Kota*
    village    Kota
    ‘Kota village’

(50) *kampung*  *Taba*
    village    Makian
    ‘Makianese villages.’

Perhaps the most important feature of generic - specific noun constructions which distinguishes them from numeral classifiers is that there is no obligation to use them: whereas numeral classifiers are obligatorily used before the quantifiers they classify, a specific noun can always be used on its own without a preceding generic.

Although the generic - specific construction is probably the most important one involving nominal attributes, there are some other construction types which fall under this rubric. One distinct (but clearly related) construction occurs when people refer to an individual by his or her title. This is illustrated in (51).

(51) *Om*    *Banda*
    Uncle    Banda
    ‘Uncle Banda.’

One further type of construction involving nominal attributes should be mentioned here, although it is probably more properly treated as a nominal relative clause. This involves expressions where the attribute refers to a location where the head noun is situated, and generally occurs with a nominalised directional as in (52) below.
Place names and essive directionals (see §11.2.2.4) as well as postpositional locative phrases (see chapter 13) are found in this position. The construction is further exemplified in (53) but treated in detail in chapter 16.

(53) *Ni um Malifut li*

3sg.POSS house Malifut LOC

‘His Malifut house / his house is in Malifut’

### 7.2.3 Quantified noun phrases

Quantifiers can have quite a complex internal structure of their own, and many of the quantifiers found within noun phrases can also be used adverbially. Quantification is thus discussed in detail as a separate topic in chapter 10. Quantifiers are of two basic types: classifier - numeral compounds or independent quantifiers. They are illustrated in (54) and (55) respectively.

(54) *Ketensi mattol*

keten=si mat=tol

Moti=PL CLASS=three

‘Three people from Moti.’

(55) *yan iloci*

fish many

‘Many fish.’

A number of the independent quantifiers are lexicalised compounds derived from classifier - numeral combinations, although quantifiers other than numerals are not usually classified. An example is given in (56).

(56) *Tabasi hasole*

taba=si ha-so-le

Makian=PL CLASS-one-only [all]

‘All of the Makianese.’

Although the quantifier *hasole ‘all’* can be broken down into the component parts given in the gloss above, the combination is clearly lexicalised and bleached of some of its original meaning. The classifier *ha= is generally used with measurements of various kinds (§10.3.2.2), but here it is used to quantify humans. Detailed discussion of this and other classifiers is found in chapter 10.
7.2.4 Demonstratives & directional roots

Both demonstratives and the directional root *ya* ‘up’ may be used deictically within noun phrases. There is a two-way distinction in the normal Taba demonstrative system: the forms signal what is called in this grammar proximal and distal deixis. The proximal demonstrative is *ne* and the distal demonstrative has two alternate forms: *da* and *dia*. Some examples are seen in (57) to (59).

(57) *Yak ne*
    1sg PROX
    ‘Me here.’

(58) *Manik da*
    chicken DIST
    ‘that chicken (by you)’

(59) *Um dia*
    house DIST
    ‘That house (yonder).’

The demonstratives can be defined roughly in terms of indicated proximity to the speaker. Such proximity may be literal or metaphorical. The proximal demonstrative is thus defined as ‘close to speaker’ and the distal demonstratives as ‘distant from the speaker’.

The directional *ya* ‘up’ can also be used deictically, but it has a ‘recognitional’ function (cf. Himmelmann, 1996: 230-239). It serves to identify whatever the sequence of text it indexes refers to as something that the speaker expects the addressee to recognise in some way. The use of *ya* ‘up’ as a marker of deixis is illustrated in (60).

(60) *Oras tbattalon kawoling ni umpo ya...*
    oras t=battalon kawoling nî um-po ya
    time 1pl.incl=sit tree.sp POSS NOM-down REC
    ‘That time we sat under the kawoling... (you know?)’

In (60), the deictic *ya* points to the preceding text as referring to something that the speaker believes the addressee should recognise as shared knowledge. Further discussion of both demonstratives and directionals, as well as the forms which are derived from them is found in chapter 11.

7.2.5 The reflexive particle *do*

Taba has an invariant reflexive particle *do* (which also occurs as an independent noun meaning ‘self’). The particle always occurs as part of an Actor noun phrase and indicates that the Actor is acting on itself in some way. Reflexive constructions are discussed in detail in §6.5.
7.2.6 Conjoined noun phrases

The basic structure of the noun phrase may be modified by conjoining two or more noun
phrases. This rule can be stated as in (62).

(62) NP —> NP (Conj) NP

The overt conjunctions which can be used for conjoining noun phrases are lo ‘and’, ada
‘and, with’, and pa ‘or’, shown in (63) to (65).3

(63) lo ‘and’

Mother lo father
mother and father

(64) ada ‘and / with’

John ada Banda
John and Banda

‘John and Banda’

(65) pa ‘or’

Ahmad pa Iswan
Ahmad or Iswan

‘Ahmad or Iswan’

Note that when number (see §7.3) is marked on the noun phrase, the phrasal enclitic =si is
added as the last element of the entire phrase rather than on any conjoined elements, as can
be seen in (63) above. Note that there are some important meaning differences between lo
‘and’ and ada ‘with / and’. Although either conjunction may be used for the same purpose in
many instances, there are some cases where the use of ada leads to an ambiguous reading
while lo would not lead to this problem. Example (66) is ambiguous between whether or not
there are two or three people being referred to in total.

3 There are more than three conjunctions which can be used to conjoin clauses, but only the three
discussed here can be used to conjoin noun phrases.
(66) matlu ada yak
mat=lu ada yak
CLASS=two with lsg
‘two people with me’ (either two or three people in total)

If the conjunction lo ‘and’ had been used in the above example, there would have been no ambiguity: there would have been a total of three people referred to.

The conjunction pa ‘or’ can also be used in ‘disjunctive’ noun phrases where it occurs after all the overtly mentioned noun phrases and signals that there are other possible alternatives in addition to the ones overtly mentioned. This is illustrated in (67).

(67) Iswan pa Ahmad pa
Iswan or Ahmad or
‘Iswan or Ahmad or someone else.’

7.2.7 Complex noun phrases

It can be seen that the basic structural outline of possible noun phrases given in figure 7.1 above is recursive. In principal, there is no limit on the size of a noun phrase, and some complex structures showing both conjunction and other forms of recursion are seen in the corpus. Although there is no limit in principal to the size of a noun phrase, of course processing considerations mean that there is an effective limit in practice. Some examples of complex noun phrases are given in (68) - (70) where the complex noun phrases are given in bold.

In example (68) the complexity of the noun phrase is caused by a possessive construction in which both the possessor noun phrase and the head possessed noun phrases are quantified.

(68) tanggal yo haso lo pwal ni jam
tanggal yo ha=so lo p-wal ni jam
date ten CLASS=one and CLASS-eight 3sg.POSS hour

yo haso lo plu
yo ha=so lo p-lu
ten CLASS=one and CLASS-two [twelve]
‘Twelve o’clock on the eighteenth’

In (69) there is a conjoined noun phrase in which the second conjoined phrase is itself a possessive noun phrase.

(69) Yak ada nik mapin aoas Keten.
yak ada ni-k mapin a=oa Keten
lsg with lsg.POSS wife 1pl.excl=excl=flee Moti
‘Me and my wife fled to Moti.’

Example (70) is somewhat more complicated:
(70) Lcayang wang gulosi ada myasi-myasi tane.
   l=sayang wang gulo=si ada myasi-myasi=si ta-ne
   3pl=grieve child baby=PL and small-small=PL SIM-PROX
   ‘They grieved for the babies and the small children like this.’

In this example there are two conjoined noun phrases, each marked as plural by the enclitic =si. The head noun of each is wang ‘child’, but wang has been ellipsed from the second noun phrase, and the attribute myasi ‘small’ is reduplicated (see §2.7.6.1 on reduplication).

7.3 Pronouns, person & number

The grammatical category of Person is marked on pronouns and on the cross-referencing proclitics attached to verb phrases. Number is marked on NP’s and pronouns.

Some examples showing distinctions in Actor cross-referencing and in pronouns used in simple Actor intransitive clauses are given in (71) through (77).

(71) Yak kwom
    yak k=wom
    1sg 1sg=come
    ‘I’ve come.’

(72) Au mwom
    au m=wom
    2sg 2sg=come
    ‘You’ve come. (you singular)’

(73) I nwom
    i n=wom
    3sg 3sg=come
    ‘S/he’s come.’

(74) Tit twom
    tit t=wom
    1pl.incl 1pl.incl=come
    ‘We’ve come. (you and I)’

(75) Am awom
    am a=wom
    1pl.excl 1pl.excl=come
    ‘We’ve come. (myself and one or more other people but not you)’

(76) Meu hwom
    meu h=wom
    2pl 2pl=come
    ‘You’ve come. (you plural)’
(77) Si lwom
si  l=wom
3pl  3pl=come.
‘They’ve come.’

In the following sections we will discuss the forms of pronominals and cross-referencing proclitics (§7.3.1), the grammatical category of person (§7.3.2) and the grammatical category of number (§7.3.3). Some archaic pronominal forms will be introduced in §7.3.4.

7.3.1 Pronouns & forms of cross-referencing proclitics

The pro-forms for nominals express two grammatical categories: person and number. The Taba independent pronouns are listed in table 7.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
<th>1pl. (incl.)</th>
<th>1pl. (excl.)</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
<th>3sg.</th>
<th>3pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>yak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1 Taba independent pronouns

The independent pronouns can be used in virtually any of the syntactic contexts where full noun phrases can be used, except that pronouns cannot normally be used to refer to inanimates (but see §6.5 on reflexives for some exceptions). Pronouns referring to Undergoer arguments (§4.2) may optionally cliticise (§3.2) onto the verbs of which they are arguments.

In many languages, possessive pronouns are used to refer to possessors. This is not the case in Taba, which, strictly speaking has no possessive pronouns. Rather, possessor nouns and the nouns referring to whatever they possess are linked by ligatures which are marked for the number and person of the possessor noun. The possessive ligatures used in the Waikyon dialect are illustrated in table 7.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
<th>1pl. (incl.)</th>
<th>1pl. (excl.)</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
<th>3sg.</th>
<th>3pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>nik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2 Taba possessive ligatures

The default Actor cross-referencing proclitics used with Actor verbs (see §8.2.1) are listed in table 7.3.

4 Note that in some dialects (Mailoa, Kayoa, Peleri) the 1sg. independent pronoun is lak.
5 A detailed justification for analysing these forms as ligatures rather than possessive pronouns is set out in §9.1.
6 There is some degree of variation in the forms of the possessive ligatures, but the functions of each of the variant forms appear to be roughly equivalent.
7 Note that the possessive verb and the verbs of excretion have didtinctive patterns of cross-referencing. These are discussed in §8.2.2 and §8.2.3 respectively.
The rules for determining Person and Number categories will be discussed in §7.3.2 and §7.3.3 respectively.

7.3.1.1 Pronouns and inanimates

As has just been mentioned, the independent pronouns may not generally be used for inanimate reference. There are two exceptions to this generalisation, however. Occasionally, ‘higher inanimates’ are accorded more animate-like status (as in English where things such as cars and ships etc. can be sometimes ascribed a gender). This is illustrated in (78).

(78) Ttumo i
    t=tum-o i
    1 pl. incl =follow-APPL 3sg
    ‘We didn’t catch it enough’

Sentence (78) was a response to the question ‘Why did the Taba Jaya (name of a boat) stop coming to Makian?’. In this case, the Taba Jaya, a fairly large boat significant enough to be given a name, is accorded something more like animate status. The other exception to the generalisation occurs in reflexive clauses where a pronominal copy of a reflexive Undergoer is required. This is illustrated in (79), and further discussed in §6.5.

(79) Bonci ncayak i
    bonci n-say-ak i
    peanut 3sg-spread-APPL 3sg
    ‘Peanut (leaves) spread out on it self like that.’

7.3.1.2 Some archaic pronominal forms

There are two archaic independent pronouns once used in the place of the modern first person singular form that are remembered by some older speakers. The forms are joumonam and joumapinam (clearly with the derivations jou-mon-am ‘Lord-man-1pl.excl’ and jou-mapin-am ‘Lord-woman-1pl.excl’). These were used by men and women respectively when speaking to others of higher status (cf. §7.3.3 and the use of number marking as an indicator of respect).

---

8 The form jou is a borrowing from Ternatan. In Taba it has a variety of meanings: it is the alus form (§1.5.2) for ‘good’ and it is also used as a deferential greeting and acknowledgement of assent. In Ternatan, its literal meaning is ‘Lord’ and it is used as a term of address for the sultan.


7.3.2 Person

Taba distinguishes three Persons in the pronominal and cross-referencing systems. In the first person plural, a distinction is made between 'inclusive' (including the addressee) and 'exclusive' (excluding the addressee) as is common to most Austronesian languages.

7.3.3 Number

Taba makes a distinction in grammatical Number between singular and plural categories. In the Waikyon dialect, contrastive plural is only marked for humans. For humans, plural marking is obligatory, and is used for all noun phrases that refer to more than one individual. It is also used as an indicator of respect in both the second and third persons when addressing or referring to an individual of greater age than the speaker.\(^9\)

Number is marked on pronouns, on cross-referencing proclitics, and on all general noun phrases. For normal noun phrases, Number is marked by the phrase-level enclitic =\textit{si,} as illustrated in (80) and (81) below. In (80) the enclitic =\textit{si} indicates that there is more than one child playing on the beach, while in (81) the enclitic shows that the entire noun phrase \textit{mama lo babá} 'mother and father' is plural.

\begin{verbatim}
(80) Wangsi lalawa lawe solo li.
    wang=si l=ha-lawa la-we solo li
    child=PL 3pl=CAUS-play sea-ESS beach LOC
    'The children are playing on the beach.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(81) Nim mama lo babasi laoblak
    nim mama lo baba=si l=ha-obal-k
    2sg.POSS mother and father=PL 3pl=CAUS-call-APPL
    'Your mother and father are calling you.'
\end{verbatim}

As has been pointed out, plural Number is used as a marker of respect not only for second Person addressees, but also for third Person referents, as illustrated in (82) below.

\begin{verbatim}
(82) Ksung Om Nur nidi um li
    k=sung Om Nur nidi um li
    1sg=enter Uncle Nur 3pl.POSS house LOC
    'I went into Om Nur's house.'
\end{verbatim}

It has been observed that many adults use deictic shifts towards the perspective of children whom they are addressing in their use of plural marking. For instance, utterances such as the one exemplified in (83) are commonly heard spoken by people older than those they are referring to, presumably in order to show that respect should be accorded to the referent by the addressee.

\begin{verbatim}
(83) Ksung Om Nur nidi um li
    k=sung Om Nur nidi um li
    1sg=enter Uncle Nur 3pl.POSS house LOC
    'I went into Om Nur's house.'
\end{verbatim}

\(^9\) The Taba system of using Number to mark respect is similar to that found in many European languages (cf. Brown & Gillman, 1960). Where Taba differs from common European systems is in using respectful plural forms in both forms of address and in forms of reference (i.e. in the third person as well as in the second person).
As has been pointed out, non-human animates (as well as inanimates) are always grammatically singular, no matter how many referents are involved. Sentence (84) was used to refer to two roosters fighting each other, while (85) refers to a whole flock of cockatoos flying off in response to the barking of a dog.

(84) ‘Tyson lo ‘Riddock Beau’ nasipal
Tyson lo Riddock Beau n=ha-sipal
Tyson and Riddock Beau 3sg=CAUS-fight
‘Tyson and Riddock Beau are fighting.’

(85) Napa dumik i
n=opa dumik i
3sg=fly be.complete 3sg
‘They’ve all flown off.’ (said of a flock of cockatoos fleeing from a barking dog)

The rules for marking Number on noun phrases are summarised in tabular form in table 7.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>• used for one person when person is same age or younger than speaker</td>
<td>• used for one person when person is older than speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• used for more than one person in all contexts</td>
<td>• not used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-human animate</td>
<td>• used no matter how many referents</td>
<td>• not used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>• used no matter how many referents</td>
<td>• not used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4 Summary of rules for determining Singular and Plural categories

7.3.3.1 Number in other dialects

The system outlined above is the system used by speakers of the Waikyon dialect, but it does not apply to all of the Taba dialects. In Samsuma, respect does not play such an important role, and non-human animates are also marked for number. This feature of the dialect makes Samsuma people the object of mild ridicule by Waikyon speakers, as evidenced by (86), offered as an explanation of their linguistic behaviour in this regard.

(86) Samsumasi nidi bahasa kasar kwat. Lasi binatang
Samsuma=si nidi bahasa kasar kwat. l=ha-si binatang
Samsuma=PL 3pl.POSS language course very 3pl=CAUS-‘si’ animal
‘Samsuma people’s language is very coarse. They refer to animals as si.’
This chapter deals with the verb and the various affixes which can be attached to it. Defining characteristics of the major subcategories of verbs were given in detail in §4.2, and a detailed justification for the absence of any adjective word class distinct from that of verbs was given in §4.2.1.

In the first section of this chapter we provide an inventory of Taba valence-changing affixes. Section §8.2 deals with basic patterns of cross-referencing Actors. Three distinct patterns of cross-referencing are found. Two of these are confined to just a handful of verbs: one for the possessive verb, the other for a few verbs of excretion. The dominant pattern is used with all other verbs having an Actor argument.

Sections §8.3 and §8.4 deal in detail with what have been called valence increasing affixes and valence decreasing affixes respectively. These terms are used as much as a convenient labelling device as anything else: while the labels are usually apt, the affixes can also be used to bring about changes in the alignment of grammatical relations or changes verbal semantics that do not strictly involve any increase or decrease in the valence of the verbs concerned.

In §8.5 there is a discussion of some other verbal affixes. These include m(a)-, which in contemporary Taba is virtually an historical relic, and the inchoative marking han-. Also discussed is a reduplicative prefix which marks plurality of action.

### 8.1 Inventory of valence-affecting affixes

A complete inventory of Taba valence affecting verbal affixes discussed in this chapter is given in table 8.1 below, along with a brief indication of each affix's major morphosyntactic and semantic functions.

The first three of these affixes are discussed in §8.3 while detransitivising ta- is discussed in §8.4.
Verb morphology and valence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Valence Effect</th>
<th>Derivations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>Valence Increasing</td>
<td>Derives transitive verbs from Actor intransitives, Actor intransitive verbs from Undergoer intransitives, Actor intransitive verbs from a variety of other word classes, 'intensive' marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Vk</td>
<td>Valence Increasing</td>
<td>Derives non-Actor bivalent verbs from Undergoer intransitives, transitive verbs from Actor intransitives, semi-transitives from Actor intransitives, ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs, 'intensive' marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>Valence Increasing</td>
<td>Derives 'non-Actor bivalent' verbs from Undergoer intransitives, process oriented Undergoer intransitive verbs from unmarked Undergoer intransitives, transitive verbs from Actor intransitives, semi-transitives from Actor intransitives, ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>Valence Decreasing</td>
<td>Derives Undergoer intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, Undergoer intransitive verbs from Actor intransitives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 Taba valence-affecting affixes

8.2 Cross-referencing of Actors on verbs

All Taba verbs having Actor arguments carry proclitics which cross-reference the number and person of the Actor. (The determination of person and number values for nominals is discussed in §7.3 where the forms of the cross-referencing proclitics were also introduced.) The possessive verb *hani* ‘to have’ is generally formed with an incorporated possessive ligature which is itself cross-referenced for the number and person of the possessor, and its stem varies accordingly. A few verbs referring to processes of excretion carry suffixes in

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1 In addition to the regular forms built from the ligatures as stems there is also a suppletive 2pl. form. These are discussed further in §8.2.2.
addition to the regular proclitics. The default pattern of verbal cross-referencing of Actors is discussed in detail in §8.2.1. The possessive verb is introduced in §8.2.2, but discussed further in chapter 9 where both the attributive (adnominal) and verbal expression of possessive relationships is dealt with. The distinctive pattern of suffixing in addition to prefixing which is found in the verbs of excretion is treated in §8.2.3.

8.2.1 Default agreement

The actor cross-referencing proclitics were introduced in chapter 7 and they are set out again in table 8.2. The grammatical categories of Person and Number were discussed in §7.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 singular</th>
<th>1 plural (incl.)</th>
<th>1 plural (excl.)</th>
<th>2 plural</th>
<th>3 plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>k=</td>
<td>t=</td>
<td>a=</td>
<td>h=</td>
<td>l=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>m=</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 singular</td>
<td>n=</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2 Taba Actor cross-referencing proclitics (default pattern)

Sentential examples showing each of these prefixes with a variety of verbs are found in (1) through (7).

(1) **Actor** = 1sg

Yak kunak do
yak k=unak do
l 1sg=know REAL
'I know.'

(2) **Actor** = 2sg

Au mhan appo Tarnate
au m=han ap-po Tarnate
you (sg) 2sg=go ALL-down Ternate
'You're (singular) going to Ternate.'

(3) **Actor** = 3sg

Ni llu nmang
ni llu n=mang
3sg.POSS leaf 3sg=be.dry
'Its leaves are dry.'

(4) **Actor** = 1pl.excl

Am atala motor lawe
am a=tala motor la-we
we.excl 1pl.excl=meet boat sea-ESS
'We (exclusive) met the boat by the sea.'
(5) **Actor= 1pl.incl**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tit</th>
<th>tpe</th>
<th>tane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tit</td>
<td>t=pe</td>
<td>ta-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

we.incl 1pl.incl=do SIM-PROX

'We do it like this.'

(6) **Actor= 2pl**

*We mhonas, hasopik oik!*

we mhonas h=ha-sop-ik oik

leg be.sick 2pl=CAUS-shower-APPL ADMON

'Don’t shower your sick leg! (Don’t get it wet.).'

(7) **Actor= 3pl**

*Wangsi laboh dumik*

wang=si l=ha-boh dumik

child=PL 3pl=CAUS-be.crazy be.complete

'The kids are all acting crazy.'

Actors need not always be animates, but this is usually the case (§4.2.1.6). An example of an inanimate Actor was given in (3).

### 8.2.2 The possessive verb

The Taba possessive verb, with the meaning ‘to have’, also follows a more or less regular pattern of actor cross-referencing (except for the suppletive 2pl. form), but the verbal stems employed are somewhat unusual. The forms of the possessive verb are given in table 8.3.

The possessive verb (and possession in general) are discussed in greater detail in chapter nine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>1pl.incl</th>
<th>1pl.excl.</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
<th>3pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanik</td>
<td>k=ha-nik</td>
<td>1sg=CAUS-1sg.POSS</td>
<td>1pl.incl=CAUS-1pl.POSS</td>
<td>1pl.excl. amam</td>
<td>2pl. memeu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 'I have'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'You (pl) have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manim</td>
<td>m=ha-nim</td>
<td>2sg=CAUS-2sg.POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 'You (sg) have'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nani</td>
<td>n=ha-ni</td>
<td>3sg=CAUS-3sg.POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 '(S)he has'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.3 Taba possessive verb forms
8.2.3 Verbs of excretion

A small class of verbs referring to acts of excretion have been identified which follow an aberrant pattern of argument cross-referencing. These are the verbs *sio* 'to shit', *mio* 'to piss', *sito* 'to fart' and *hantol* 'to lay eggs'. These verbs all bear cross-referencing suffixes in addition to the normal proclitics. I have questioned Taba speakers extensively with the aim of finding more members of this subcategory of verbs in addition to these four, but I have been unable to add to the list. Numerous possible verbs with similar semantic characteristics to the excretory verbs above were elicited (e.g. 'to bleed', 'to menstruate', 'to ejaculate', 'to ooze pus' etc.), but no other verbs with this unusual conjugation pattern were found. The forms of cross-referencing markers for excretory verbs according to the number and person of the excretor are given in table 8.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>1pl.incl</th>
<th>1pl.excl</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3pl</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>k–k / k–yak</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>m–u</td>
<td>n–i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>t–tit</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>a–m</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>h–meu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>l–si</em></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.4 Argument cross-referencing with verbs of excretion

A few illustrative examples of the verbs are given in (8) to (11) below.

(8)  *Buang nciwi*
    *Buang n=sio-i*
    *Buang 3sg=shit-3sg*
    'Buang shitted.'

(9)  *shitomeu!*
    *h=sito-meu*
    *2pl=fart-2pl*
    'You farted.'

(10)  *Yak kmiok hu*
     *yak k=mio-k hu*
     *1sg 1sg=piss-1sg CONT*
     'I’m off for a piss.'

(11)  *Manik nantoli do*
     *manik n=han-tolo-i do*
     *chicken 3sg=INCH-egg-3sg REAL*
     'The chicken has laid an egg.'

The similarity between the forms of the suffixes illustrated above and the forms of the independent pronouns (§7.3) is readily apparent. The excretory verbs also closely resemble reflexive constructions (§6.5) in their form. There are, however, some important differences between excretory verbs and reflexives. In reflexive constructions, Undergoer pronouns are optionally, but not necessarily, cliticised onto their verbs. With excretory verbs, on the other hand, the postposed cross-referencing markers are true suffixes, *always* occurring as part of the same phonological word as the verb root. The forms of the 2sg., 1pl.excl., and
(sometimes) the 1sg. suffixes are also phonologically reduced in comparison with their reflexive Undergoer counterparts. Although the constructions shown above are distinct from the contemporary Taba reflexive, they probably have arisen historically from reflexive constructions, and have some similarities with middle voice constructions which treat what Kemmer (1993: 53ff.) calls ‘body action middles’ differently in some languages.

So-called ‘double agreement’ has been reported in other Austronesian languages such as Kokota in the Solomon Islands (Palmer, 1995). Palmer suggests that the verbs involved in double agreement in Kokota (expressing concepts such as ‘hiccup’, ‘yawn’, ‘be angry’, ‘be pleased’) are doubly cross-referenced because the referents of these arguments are subject to forces over which they have no direct control. Although Kokota is typologically quite different from Taba, (it is otherwise an accusative language rather than a split-S language), much the same case can be made for the sole arguments of the Taba excretory verbs discussed here. Excretion is typically something that people are forced to do rather than something which they have any extreme degree of control over. The Taba excretory verb pattern of cross-referencing also has similarities with the double cross-referencing seen in some serial verb constructions as discussed in chapter 12.

A detailed discussion of the characteristics of derived excretory verbs is given where each of the valence-affecting derivational affixes is treated. In the constructions which utilise these derived forms, further evidence for the treatment of the excretor as being at the same time both Actor-like and Undergoer-like can be seen. See §8.3.2.5, §8.3.3.5, §8.4.4 for details of derivational processes concerning verbs of excretion.

8.3 Valence increasing morphology

There are three derivational affixes which can be used for increasing valence: the ‘causative’ prefix *ha-*, and two ‘applicative’ suffixes -*Vk* and -*o*. They are all quite productive, although in some cases particular combinations have become lexicalised, as with the ‘causativised’ forms of the possessive verb discussed above. While all of these affixes can increase the valence of the verb to which they are attached, this is not always the case. In some cases, their function is to highlight certain arguments more prominently or to change the meanings of the verbs to which they are attached in other ways. This applies especially to the *ha-* ‘causative’ prefix discussed in §8.3.1. In this chapter, we will be concerned primarily with the morphosyntactic and semantic functions of each of the affixes. This discussion will begin with an examination of ‘causative’ *ha-*, and be followed with a discussion of the applicative suffixes: first the prototypically instrument adding suffix -*Vk* then the prototypically locative adding suffix -*o*.

8.3.1 The causative prefix *ha-*

The underlying form of the ‘causative’ prefix is *ha-*. However, in most environments the initial *h* of the morpheme is deleted. (See §2.7.1 for details.) Taba has no productive periphrastic causative constructions, but see §12.2.3 on causative serial verb constructions. The basic function of *ha-* affixation is to put an argument into the Actor position which was not there with the underived form. This can be achieved in a variety of ways, some of which are real ‘causatives’ and others of which are not.
In the following sections we will discuss the derivation of transitive verbs from both Actor intransitives and Undergoer intransitives, the derivation of Actor intransitives from Undergoer intransitives and a variety of other sources, as well as the use of ha- as a marker of intensity or duration.

Taba ‘precategorial’ roots are discussed in §4.4. Many verbs beginning with ha- such as hadoi ‘to watch’, hapon ‘to whistle’, halusa ‘to say’ have roots which are unattested outside these derived forms.

One common use of causative morphology in other languages is conspicuous by its absence in Taba: a transitive verb cannot be made ditransitive by prefixing ha-. If ha- is prefixed to transitive roots it always has an intensive/durational function. All Taba ditransitive verbs are derived from transitive stems through applicative suffixation (§8.3.2).

Some semantic entailments of ha- affixation will be discussed in §8.3.1.7.

8.3.1.1 Deriving transitive verbs from Actor intransitives

Ha- prefixation can be used to derive a transitive verb from an Actor intransitive. The meaning of the derived form is something like ‘(new Actor argument) makes the event happen’. Sentence (12) shows a typical event verb ‘die’ while sentence (14) shows its derived causative.

(12) Paramalam nmot.
   paramalam n=mot
   lamp 3sg=die
   ‘The lamp has gone out.’ (lit. ‘the lamp has died’).

(13) I namot paramalam.
    i n=ha-mot paramalam
    3sg 3sg=CAUS-die lamp
    ‘He turned the lamp off’ (lit. ‘he made the lamp die’).

Sentence (13) also shows one of the other important features of causatives: they are often lexicalised. The root verb mot is usually used to refer to events in which animate beings die (although as seen in (12) it can also be used for inanimates). Its derived causative, however, is always used to refer to events where inanimates are made to ‘die’. If animates are made to die, the verb pun ‘kill’ is used.

Further examples of ha- being used to derive transitive verbs from Actor intransitives are given in (14) and (15) below.

(14) underived Actor intransitive

Iswan ncung do
Iswan n=sung do
Iswan 3sg=CAUS-enter REAL
‘Iswan has gone in.’
8.3.1.2 Deriving transitive verbs from Undergoer intransitives

The prefix *ha-* can be used to derive transitive verbs which take a new Actor that is not part of the root verb’s argument structure. The SO argument from the underived root becomes O in the new structure. The meaning of the resulting form is ‘the new agent does something which brings about the state referred to by the root in the derived Undergoer.

The construction is exemplified in (16).

(15) **derived transitive**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Iswan} & \text{n=ha-sung} \ Oci \\
\text{Iswan} & \text{3sg=CAUS-enter} \ Oci \\
& \text{‘Iswan made Oci go in.’}
\end{array}
\]

(16) **Mina nabulang**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Mina} & \text{n=ha-bulang} \ kos \\
\text{Mina} & \text{3sg=CAUS-be.white} \ T.shirt \\
\text{‘Mina whitened the shirt.’}
\end{array}
\]

Note that when *ha-* prefixation of Undergoer intransitives occurs, it sometimes results in the derivation of transitive verbs, but more commonly results in the derivation of Actor intransitives (§8.3.1.3). Sometimes the forms derived from Undergoer intransitive stems can be used either transitively or intransitively. This is actually the case for *habulang* shown in (17) which also occurs as an Actor intransitive.

(17) **Jul nabulang**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Jul} & \text{n=ha-bulang} \ sama \ lo \ John \\
\text{Jul} & \text{3sg=CAUS-be.white} \ same \ as \ John \\
\text{‘Jul is as white as John.’}
\end{array}
\]

8.3.1.3 Deriving Actor intransitives from Undergoer intransitives

The causative prefix probably has its most productive function in deriving Actor intransitive verbs from Undergoer intransitives. This is illustrated in examples (18) to (21).

(18) **Acan boh**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Acan} & \text{boh} \\
\text{‘Acan is crazy.’}
\end{array}
\]

(19) **Acan naboh**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Acan} & \text{n=ha-boh} \\
\text{Acan} & \text{3sg=CAUS-crazy} \\
\text{‘Acan is crazy.’}
\end{array}
\]

(20) **Ni calana kuda**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3\text{sg.POSS} & \text{trousers black} \\
\text{‘Her trousers are black.’}
\end{array}
\]
Although there are times when either Actor intransitives or Undergoer intransitives can be used to refer to the same events (as in (18) and (19) above), Actor intransitives are more commonly associated with animate Actors and Undergoer intransitives more commonly associated with inanimates. Most often, the sole human argument of an intransitive predicator must be represented as Actor, except in a few cases where the verb involved entails that the person involved is somehow ‘less than human’ in the context of the verb’s use, as in (18) above where Acan (boy’s name) is accused of being ‘crazy’ boh. An example such as (19) would thus be more commonly heard than its Undergoer intransitive counterparts in (18). This is further exemplified in (22) and (23). The causativised namlongan ‘be tall’ in (23) is required for a human Actor, while an inanimate Undergoer, e.g. mesel ya ‘that wall’ in (22) can occur with the underived Undergoer intransitive mlongan ‘be long’.

(22) Mesel ya mlongan
    wall up be.long
    ‘That wall is long.’

(23) Ismit namlongan
    Ismit n=ha-mlongan
    Ismit 3sg=CAUS-be.tall
    ‘Ismit is tall.’

One further pair of examples in (24) and (25) illustrate that body parts are generally treated as inanimate when a choice between Actor and Undergoer forms of a verb are made.

(24) Ni poyo mhonas
    3s.poss head be.sick
    ‘He has a head-ache.’

(25) Kamhonas
    k=ha-mhonas
    1sg=CAUS-be.sick
    ‘I am sick.’

The use of ha- to derive Actor intransitives from Undergoer intransitive roots is no doubt the most common of its functions because of the normal requirement in Taba grammar for the sole human argument of a predicator to occur as Actor. Detailed discussion of the differences between Actor intransitives and Undergoer intransitives is found in §4.2.1.

8.3.1.4 Deriving Actor intransitives from numbers

Examples (26) and (27) show the derivation of a verb from a numeral root. Note that numerals cannot appear on their own without prefixed classifiers (see chapter 10). The
number ‘one’ is given in (26) with the default classifier $p$-. The root numeral used in the derived form shown in (27) is $so$.

(26) $ps\circ$

$p-so$

CLASS-one

‘one.’

(27) $Kabin\ naso$

kabin $n=ha-so$

goat $3sg=CAUS-one$

‘The goats are mating.’

$Ha-$ can also be prefixed to classifier-numeral root compounds to derive Actor intransitives as shown in (28) and (29).

(28) $iso$

$i-so$

CLASS(human)-one

‘one (person)’

(29) $I\ naiso$

$i\ n=ha-i-so$

$3sg\ 3sg=CAUS-CLASS(human)-one\ REAL$

‘She’s already married.’

8.3.1.5 Deriving Actor intransitives from almost anything

The prefix $ha-$ is extremely productive. It can be added to virtually anything, including expressives, to derive an Actor intransitive verb. Sentence (30) gives one example of a derived form coined for use on one occasion.

(30) $Fendi\ na-'[\ddot{b}]'$

Fendi $n=ha-'[\ddot{b}]'$

Fendi $3sg=CAUS-['[\ddot{b}]'$

‘Fendi is making ‘$[\ddot{b}]$’ noises’

(something said to describe the actions of a young boy who was walking along a footpath making the nonsense sound $[\ddot{b}, \ddot{b}, \ddot{b}, \ddot{b}, \ddot{b}, \ddot{b}, \ddot{b}]$).

In (31) $ha-$ prefixation derives an Actor intransitive verb from a similative demonstrative (see §11.1.2.3).

(31) $Tatadia\ hu$

t=$ha-ta-dia\ hu$

$1pl.incl=CAUS-SIM-DIST\ CONT$

‘Let’s do this again.’
8.3.1.6 *ha-* as intensive marker

So far we have considered uses of *ha-* which result in an increase in valency or the realignment of arguments. *Ha-* can also be used to indicate increased intensity. This is illustrated in (32), where a non-intensive Actor intransitive root form is used, and in (33), where an intensive reading results from *ha-* prefixation.

(32) Tit twonga *maliling ya*
tit t=wonga *maliling ya*
1pl.incl 1pl.incl=stay.awake.all.night night up
'We stayed awake all last night.'

(33) Tit tawonga *maliling ya*
tit t=ha-wonga *maliling ya*
1pl.incl 1pl.incl=CAUS-stay.awake.all.night night up
'We stayed awake all last night.'

Both of these sentences could be used to describe the same event, but (33) emphasises the intensity of the staying awake: it may be used to brag about how much fun was had at a big party, for instance. Intensive causative marking also has an extended meaning whereby increased duration can be indicated. Greater than usual duration is signalled by *ha-* in (34).

(34) Manusia maleo lcurat, John *nasurat* tarus
manusia maleo l=surat, John n=ha-sur at tarns
people other 3pl=write, John 3sg=CAUS-write all.the.time
'Other people write, John writes (on and on) all the time.'

In the eyes of the Makianese villagers, there was something quite unusual about the way this author ("John") spent so much of his time writing up his notebooks. Whenever other people were described as writing something, the root form *surat* would generally be used. When I was writing, the causativised form would be used, since I seemed to spend so much time at the task.

Note that when *ha-* is used with this intensive function, it may attract stress while other instances of *ha-* do not. See §2.4 for details.

8.3.1.7 Some semantic entailments of causative morphology

In many languages, the use of causative morphology entails that the subject of the derived clause is a volitional actor who intended to bring about a certain result. This is not strictly the case in Taba, where it can be explicitly signalled that the result of the process was not intended, even though causative morphology is used. (This feature of Taba semantics is in keeping with the general functions of Actor intransitive verbs in Taba.)

In example (35) we see what a speaker would normally say in expressing that someone had husked a coconut.

(35) I *nbes niwi*
i n=bhes niwi
3sg 3sg=husk coconut
'He husked the coconut.'
In normal circumstances, where there is an assumption that the shredder intended to bring about the resultant state of there being a husked coconut or coconuts (35) would be an appropriate expression of this state of affairs, and (36) would not be permissible.

(36) I natabhes niwi  
   i=ha-ta-bhes niwi  
   3sg 3sg=CAUS-Detr-shred coconut  
   'He caused the coconut to be accidentally shredded.'

This utterance is acceptable, though, if someone drops a coconut from a tree and accidentally splits it open. Here, ta- (see §8.4) indicates the accidental nature of the splitting, and emphasises the resultant shredded state of the coconut. The causative prefix ha-indicates that someone has done something that accidentally brought about the resultant state of the coconut. The example shown in (37) is similar: the Actor of (37) is rain (something which could not have deliberately brought about the resultant damaged state of the road).

(37) Lolan natapsek dumik  
   lolan=ha-ta-psek dumik  
   road 3sg=CAUS-Detr-wreck be.complete  
   'It completely wrecked the road.'

8.3.2 The -Vk applicative

Suffixation with -Vk performs a variety of functions, each of which will be discussed in the following sections:

- it derives 'non-Actor bivalent' verbs from Undergoer intransitives
- it derives transitive verbs from Actor intransitives
- it derives semi-transitive verbs from Actor intransitives
- it derives ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs
- it can act as an 'intensive' marker

The use of -Vk with verbs of excretion is discussed separately in §8.3.2.5. The exact details on what kinds of semantic roles are associated with the arguments licensed by this applicative suffix are sometimes obscure, depending on the semantics of the verb to which they are suffixed (and also, occasionally, contextual pragmatic features). Most commonly, the -Vk suffix allows an extra instrument to be included as a core argument in the clause. Examples of -Vk suffixation that allow extra themes, patients, companions and recipients are also encountered. In some cases the meanings of the derived forms involved have become lexicalised.

The -Vk applicative suffix occurs before the -o applicative in the only attested example of a derived form having both suffixes. The -Vk suffix has thus been labelled the 'internal' applicative. The relevant example is discussed in §8.3.3.4.

An illustrative example of ditransitive derivation from an Actor intransitive verb with -Vk, allowing an instrument to be introduced as an Undergoer is shown in (38) and (39).
(38) Ahmad npun  kolay
    Ahmad n=pun  kolay
    Ahmad 3sg=kill snake
    'Ahmad killed a snake.'

(39) Ahmad npunak  kolay  peda
    Ahmad n=pun-ak kolay peda
    Ahmad 3sg=kill-APPL snake machete
    'Ahmad killed the snake with a machete'

Example (39), as with many -Vk derivations, has an equivalent rendition wherein the instrument is licensed by a preposition rather than by an applicative suffix. This is illustrated in (40).

(40) Ahmad npun  kolay  ada  peda
    Ahmad n=pun  kolay  ada  peda
    Ahmad 3sg=kill snake with machete
    'Ahmad killed a snake with a machete.'

Interestingly, whenever either -Vk or a preposition can be used to license an argument in Taba, the same idea can be expressed using both the applicative and the preposition. The same event referred to in (39) and (40) is expressed in (41) with both -Vk and ada.

(41) Ahmad npunak  kolai  ada  peda
    Ahmad n=pun-ak kolai ada peda
    Ahmad 3sg=kill-APPL snake with machete
    'Ahmad killed a snake with a machete.'

The morphophonemics of -Vk suffixation are somewhat complicated. The underlying vowel appears to be [a] but the choice of which vowel to use is also affected by the final vowel of the root. In a few cases the choice of applicative vowel seems to have been determined by a vowel which has been historically lost. -Vk suffixation is also affected by pervasive 'metathesis'. Discussion of all these morphophonemic processes is found in §2.7.4.

8.3.2.1 Deriving non-Actor bivalents from Undergoer intransitives

All of the examples of this construction that I have collected refer to a process whereby the two Undergoers of a derived verb can loosely be described as being mixed in some way. Example (42) asserts that a fence is white, while (42) illustrates the derived construction being used to describe how the fence became white, i.e. through the application of paint.

(42) Ubang bulang
    ubang bulang
    fence be.white
    'The fence is white.'
The most commonly encountered examples of the construction describe cooking processes: the preverbal NP in these cases refers to the thing that has been cooked, while the postverbal applied Undergoer refers to what it has been cooked with. Examples of this are seen in (44) and (45).

(44) Loka posa
    loka posa
    banana be. boiled
    ‘The banana is boiled.’

(45) Loka posak niwi
    loka posa-k niwi
    banana be. boiled-APPL coconut
    ‘The banana is boiled in coconut.’

Constructions such as the one illustrated in (44) occur very commonly in discourse as nominalisations or 'headless relative clauses' (see §16.4.2). The expression seen in (45) is also the name of a Makianese dish, seen nominalised in (46).

(46) Ni suka kwat non loka posak niwi
    ni suka kwat n=on loka posa-k niwi
    3sg.POSS desire EMPH 3sg=eat banana be. boiled-APPL coconut
    ‘He loves eating banana boiled in coconut.’

There are some other Makianese dishes which appear to have received their names from parallel derivational processes for which no contemporary independent root exists. (See §4.3 for a discussion of 'precategorial roots' in Taba.) Example (47) illustrates such a derivation.

(47) Hamasik litak niwi
    hamasik lita-k niwi
    rice be. cooked-APPL coconut
    ‘Coconut rice’

One further point should be made with regard to non-Actor bivalent derivation. Although with many of the uses of applicative morphology to be discussed below it is possible to substitute adpositional expressions for applicative suffixes as markers of extra arguments, this is not possible in the case of non-Actor bivalent derivation with -Vk. The putative counterpart of (50) seen in (52), for example, is grammatical, but has a quite different meaning from (52). This difference in meaning stems from the heterosemy\(^2\) of ada, which, in addition to its role as an instrument marking preposition also occurs as a

\(^2\) ‘Heterosemy’ is a term borrowed from Lichtenberk (1991) which refers to the related senses of lexemes (much like polysemy) except that the lexemes may have different word class memberships which have presumably come about through some kind of grammaticalisation process.
conjunction meaning ‘and/with’ (§7.2.6, §16.2.2). In (48) the preferred reading is as a conjunction. The expression thus means ‘boiled banana and coconut’.

(48) Loka posa ada niwi
banana be.boiled and coconut
‘Boiled banana and coconut.’

Although substitution of the applicative with the preposition is not allowed, use of the preposition in addition to the applicative is possible, as seen in (49).

(49) Loka posak ada niwi
loka posa-k ada niwi
banana be.boiled-APPL with coconut
‘The banana has been boiled with coconut.’

8.3.2.2 Deriving transitive verbs from Actor intransitives

The derived forms with this construction have the same Actor as the root verb, but an extra derived Undergoer. Most commonly, the derived Undergoer is a patient. Examples (50) to (53) illustrate the addition of patients as Undergoers with -Vk applicative derivation.

(50) Namlih
n=amlil
3sg=laugh
‘She’s laughing.’

(51) Namliak tit
n=amlil-ak tit
3sg=laugh-APPL 1pl.incl
‘She’ll laugh at us.’

(52) Naiso do
n=ha-i-so do
3sg=CAUS-CLASS-one[marry] REAL
‘He is married.’

(53) Male maisoak
male m=ha-i-so-ak
must 2sg=CAUS-CLASS-one[marry]-APPL 3sg CONT
‘You still have to marry her.’

In some cases, the derived Undergoer is a theme. Examples (54) and (55) illustrate the addition of an applied theme.

(54) Oci npoas
Oci n=poas
Oci 3sg=row
‘Oci is rowing.’
8.3.2.3 Deriving semi-transitive verbs from Actor intransitives

Semi-transitive verbs (§4.2) are verbs which take an Actor and a remote undergoer as core arguments. Remote undergoers are distinguished from close Undergoers by the fact that they are optionally marked by adpositions. When \(-Vk\) suffixation adds an instrument or a companion argument, the instrument or companion is always a remote undergoer and can be marked adpositionally. Some examples are given in (56) and (57).

(56)  
\[
\text{Alho ntaglik (ada) ai} \\
\text{alho n=tagil-Vk (ada) ai} \\
\text{who 3sg=walk-APPL (with) ai} \\
\text{‘Who walks with a stick?’}
\]

(57)  
\[
\text{Iswan nwornak (ada) Nou} \\
\text{Iswan n=wom-Vk (ada) Nou} \\
\text{Iswan 3sg=come-APPL (with) nou} \\
\text{‘I swan came with Nou.’}
\]

8.3.2.4 Deriving ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs

As already mentioned in §8.3.1, the only way of deriving ditransitive verbs in Taba is through the addition of applicative suffixes to verb roots. Furthermore, there are no ditransitive roots in Taba, all Taba ditransitives having been derived from transitive stems. The transitive stems may be either underived roots, or may themselves be forms derived by ha- prefixation (see §8.3.1). A rather wide range of semantic roles are seen in the applied Undergoers introduced by \(-Vk\) derivation: instrument, manner, companion, theme and recipient.

Applicativisation derives two distinct kinds of ditransitive verb: close ditransitives and remote ditransitives. Close ditransitive derivation only occurs with a small handful of verbs and will be dealt with at the end of this section. Productive \(-Vk\) applicativisation derives remote ditransitives where the applied argument is either an instrument or a companion.

Most commonly, adding \(-Vk\) to a transitive stem allows the addition of an applied instrument. Some examples illustrating the addition of an instrument a remote secondary Undergoer are given in (58) through (61).

(58)  
\[
\text{Oci nliko manik} \\
\text{Oci n=liko manik} \\
\text{Oci 3sg=tread.on chicken} \\
\text{‘Oci trod on the chicken.’}
\]
(59) Oci nlikok manik sapatu
Oci n=liko-k manik sapatu
Oci 3sg=tread.on-APPL chicken shoe
‘Oci trod on the chicken with his shoe.’

(60) Yak kgoras nik kumu
yak k=goras ni-k kumu
1sg 1sg=shave POSS.1sg beard
‘I’m shaving.’

(61) Nggorcak kapaya kobit
n=goras-ak kapaya kobit
3sg=shave(take.seeds.out)-APPL pawpaw knife
‘I took the seeds out of the pawpaw with a knife.’

The remote Undergoer in remote ditransitive clauses can be optionally marked by an adposition in addition to its applicative marking. This is illustrated in (62), which could refer to the same real world event as (61), and where kobit ‘knife’ is marked twice: with the applicative suffix -Vk, and also with the adposition ada ‘with’.

(62) Yak kgorcak kapaya ada kobit
yak k=goras-ak kapaya ada kobit
1sg 1sg=shave(take.seeds.out)-APPL pawpaw with knife
‘I took the seeds out of the pawpaw with a knife.’

Arguments with semantic roles other than ‘instrument’ may also be added through -Vk suffixation. The exact nature of those roles is determined by both the meaning of the verb involved and contextual pragmatic factors. While examples (63) and (64) further illustrate the addition of an applied instrument with the verb pun ‘kill’, example (65) illustrates how what might best be described as an applied ‘manner’ where pun has also been used with a more metaphorical meaning.

(63) Npun babang da
n=pun babang da
3sg=kill moth DIST
‘She’s killing the moth.’

(64) Ahmad npunak kolay peda
Ahmad n=pun-ak kolay peda
Ahmad 3sg=kill-APPL snake machete
‘Ahmad killed the snake with a machete’

(65) I npunak yak catur
i n=pun-ak yak catur
3sg 3sg=kill-APPL 1sg chess
‘He killed me at chess.’
A few of the verbs derived from $-Vk$ applicativisation are close ditransitives. An example of close ditransitive $otik$ ‘give’ is supplied in (66) and (67).

(66) $Banda$ not yan bakan
    Banda n=ot yan bakan
    Banda 3sg=get fish be.big
    ‘Banda caught a big fish.’

(67) $Banda$ notik yak yan
    Banda n=ot-ik yak yan
    Banda 3sg=get-APPL 1sg fish
    ‘Banda gave me some fish.’

Rough translation equivalents of English ‘give’ can be derived in two ways in Taba. While $otik$, illustrated in examples (66) and (67) above, is derived by adding an applied recipient to a transitive root having a patient or theme as its Undergoer, $hatadak$, illustrated in (68) and (69) below works quite differently. In example (68) we can see the transitive stem $hatada$ roughly glossable as ‘to present’ with just a recipient as Undergoer. The derived ditransitive form shown in (69) has an applied theme.

(68) $Latada$ yak
    l=ha-tada yak
    3pl=CAUS-presentation 1sg
    ‘He gave you lots of money didn’t he?’

(69) $Natadak$ meu pipis lloci pa ne?
    n=ha-tada-k meu pipis lloci pa ne
    3sg=CAUS-presentation-APPL 2pl money much or PROX
    ‘He gave you lots of money didn’t he?’

In most ditransitive constructions, preferred word-order has the applied Undergoer occurring in the final position, but this is not the case for $otik$ shown in (67) above. The recipient in a ditransitive verb encoding transfer of possession always immediately follows the verb whether it is the underived Undergoer as in (67) or the applied Undergoer as in (69). The secondary Undergoer with both $hatadak$ and $otik$ differ from the secondary Undergoers of instrumental ditransitives in that they cannot be marked by adpositions.

3 It is interesting to point out some of the differences between the two ‘give’ verbs seen in (67) and (79). Taba speakers have explained the difference to me as one between ‘kasar’ and ‘alus’ speech forms, $otik$ being the ‘kasar’ form, and $atadak$ being the ‘alus’ form (§1.5.2). Although there appear to be no syntactic consequences caused by the different derivations, there are differences insofar as the perceptions of speakers as to register are concerned: the verb $atadak$ with a human recipient at the centre is seen as more refined than the verb $otik$ which has the theme at its centre. My own observations as to the differing patterns of use of these two verbs suggest that $atadak$, with the human recipient at its centre is more appropriately used when whatever is transferred is seen as an important gift, an account of which must be kept and the gift repaid sometime. On the other hand, $otik$, with the inanimate theme at its centre is more appropriate for everyday transfers of things that a close accounting of is unnecessary for. As far as example (67) is concerned for instance, it is expected in Taba culture that anyone with a reasonable quantity of fish or surplus vegetables etc. simply gives them to others who are not so well endowed. The gift of large sums of money,
8.3.2.5 Applicative –Vk vs causative ha-

Some examples of -Vk derivation appear to have a causative rather than an applicative reading. Such a case is illustrated in (70) and (71).

(70) Mina ntobi do
Mina n=tobi do
Mina 3sg=disembark REAL
'Mina has got off (the boat).'

(71) Banda ntobik kadut phot
Banda n=tobi-k kadut p-hot
Banda 3sg=land-APPL sack CLASS-four
'Banda is taking four sacks off (the boat).'

It is noteworthy that derivations such as the one illustrated in (71), while reasonably common, are restricted to contexts where the applied Undergoer can be seen as a companion of the verb’s Actor and not simply as a theme. When (71) was uttered, for instance, Banda was himself getting off the boat at the same time as he was taking the sacks off. The sentence can thus be read as meaning something like ‘Banda got off the boat with some sacks’. Example (72), with the overt preposition ada is referentially equivalent to (71).

(72) Banda ntobik ada kadut phot
Banda n=tobi-k ada kadut p-hot
Banda 3sg=land-APPL ada sack CLASS-four
'Banda is taking four sacks off (the boat).'

Examples (73) and (74) below are minimal pairs which illustrate that whether or not the Actors of transitive verbs derived from intransitive motion verbs actually participate in that motion themselves or not is crucial as to whether causative or applicative morphology is appropriate.

(73) Bib ncungak Nou
bib n=sung-ak nou
Bib 3sg=enter-APPL Nou
'Bib took Nou inside.’ (i.e. Bib went inside too)

(74) Bib nasung Nou
bib n=ha-sung nou
Bib 3sg=CAUS-enter Nou
'Bib made Nou go inside’ (but Bib didn’t go inside himself)

however, as in (69) is not an everyday occurrence in the same way as the passing out of surplus fish. It is likely that hatadak was originally an example of productive instrumental applicativisation in which the erstwhile remote undergoer has become more closely attached to the verb and can no longer be adpositionally marked. Perhaps, given the social conditions under which it is normally used, the best translation for the root verb hatada would be ‘do something on behalf of recipient so that recipient now has a social obligation to do something in return for the giver’. Viewing the meaning in this way it is simple enough to see the gift which is added by applicativisation as the instrument of bringing about this change in relations between the giver and the recipient.
In example (73), using an applicative suffix, the Actor of the clause 'Bib' performs the action of entering the room at the same time as (his son) 'Nou' who also enters at the instigation of Bib. In (74), Bib simply makes sure that Nou enters the room, but does not enter the room himself.

An exceptional causative reading of -Vk is shown in (75).

(75) \begin{align*}
Hsoak & \quad kofi \\
\text{h}= \text{so-ak} & \quad \text{kofi} \\
\text{2pl}= \text{exit-APPL} & \quad \text{coffee} \\
\text{'Throw the coffee out.'}
\end{align*}

The applicative seems to be have been used here because the putative causative derivation would be homophonous with an obscene form. Recall example (27) repeated here as (76).

(76) \begin{align*}
Kabin & \quad naso \\
kabin & \quad n= \text{ha-so} \\
goat & \quad \text{3sg} = \text{CAUS-one} \\
\text{'The goats are mating.'}
\end{align*}

The hypothetical causative construction would probably be construed as in (77), and is thus avoided.

(77) \begin{align*}
? & \quad hhaso \quad kofi \\
\text{h}= \text{ha-so} & \quad \text{kofi} \\
\text{2pl}= \text{CAUS-one} & \quad \text{coffee} \\
\text{'Fuck the coffee!'}
\end{align*}

In addition to this lexically specific explanation for the use of applicative morphology rather than causative, it should be noted that the root involved, so 'exit' is a verb of motion, just like the other roots involved in applicative derivation where a causative reading is possible.

8.3.2.6 \(-Vk\) as 'intensive' marker

A few other derived forms which have lexicalised meanings have been noted. In these, \(-Vk\) derivation signals a more 'intensive' meaning than the underived form would have, paralleling the \(ha\)- as marker of intensive discussed in §8.3.1.5. One such example is illustrated in (78) and (79).

(78) \begin{align*}
Kaidis & \\
k= \text{ha-idis} \\
\text{1sg}= \text{CAUS-spit} \\
\text{'I spit (making no noise).'}
\end{align*}

(79) \begin{align*}
Kaidcik & \\
k= \text{ha-idis-k} \\
\text{1sg}= \text{CAUS-spit-APPL} \\
\text{'I spit (making a lot of noise).'}
\end{align*}
Spitting publically is quite common practise amongst Taba speakers, but polite spitting is always done silently. To make a large noise while spitting is seen as insulting, and the applicative form is used here to signal that spitting is performed with such an insulting noise. It is possible that -Vk suffixation in the above example originally allowed a companion argument referring to the noise to be expressed, but that overt expression to this companion is no longer necessary.

8.3.2.7 -Vk with verbs of excretion

When the -Vk applicative is suffixed to the verbs of excretion it licenses an extra argument referring to whatever it was that was excreted. When the applicative suffix is used it displaces the cross-referencing suffixes usually found with the excretion verbs (§8.2.3), as seen in (80).

(80) Ksiak halua
    k=sio-ak halua
    1sg=shit-APPL halua
    'I’m shitting halua.' [halua = ‘toffee made from palm sugar’]

Although the applicative displaces the cross-referencing suffix, the excretor can be overtly mentioned as Undergoer, with the use of an independent nominal referring to the excretor as Undergoer of the verb.

(81) Yak ksiak yak halua
    yak k=sio-ak yak halua
    1sg 1sg=shit-APPL 1sg halua
    'I’m shitting halua.' [halua = ‘toffee made from palm sugar’]

The construction can thus be seen formally as a ditransitive, with corefential Actor and Undergoer and an added applied argument.

8.3.3 The -o applicable

The external applicative suffix in Taba is -o. Suffixation with -o performs a variety of functions, many (but not all) of them paralleling the functions of -Vk suffixation.

- It derives ‘non-Actor bivalent’ verbs from Undergoer intransitives
- It derives ‘process oriented’ Undergoer intransitive verbs from unmarked Undergoer intransitives
- It derives semi-transitive verbs from Actor intransitive verbs
- It derives ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs

Where -o suffixation differs most obviously from -Vk suffixation is in the range of semantic roles of the applied arguments that are licensed by its use, and in the existence of ‘process oriented’ Undergoer intransitive derivations.

Most commonly, the -o suffix allows a locative argument to be expressed as a remote Undergoer. These locative arguments can be sources, goals, or static locations. -o is also
occasionally used to license objects of emotion. Sometimes the derived forms have lexicalised meanings.

In essence, what occurs in ‘process oriented’ Undergoer intransitive derivation is a shift in the ‘force dynamics’ (see Talmy, 1985) of the real world situations described by the underived and derived forms respectively. ‘Process oriented’ Undergoer intransitive derivation will be discussed in detail in §8.3.3.2.

In the only attested example of a derived verb having both the -\(V_k\) and the -\(o\) suffix, -\(o\) occurs after -\(V_k\). The -\(o\) suffix can thus be labelled the ‘external’ applicative. The example concerned is discussed in §8.3.3.4. An illustrative example of semi-transitive derivation from an Actor intransitive verb with -\(o\), allowing a location to be introduced as an Undergoer is shown in (82) and (83).

(82) \(H_{\text{battalon}}\)
   \(h=b\text{attalon}\)
   \(2\text{pl}=\text{sit}\)
   ‘Sit down!’

(83) \(N_{\text{battalono}} \text{ kurusi}\)
   \(n=b\text{attalon-o} \text{ kurusi}\)
   \(3\text{sg}=\text{sit-APPL chair}\)
   ‘He’s sitting on the chair.’

Example (83) also has an equivalent rendition wherein the location is expressed licensed by a postposition rather than by the applicative suffix, as illustrated in (84).

(84) \(N_{\text{battalon}} \text{ kurusi li}\)
   \(n=b\text{attalon kurusi li}\)
   \(3\text{sg}=\text{sit chair LOC}\)
   ‘He’s sitting on the chair.’

When arguments are added by -\(o\) applicativisation, they are always remote undergoers, able to be marked by an adposition in addition to the applicative marking. An example of this is given in (85).

(85) \(N_{\text{teko}} \) \(\text{woya botol li}\)
   \(n=\text{tek-o} \text{ woya botol li}\)
   \(3\text{sg}=\text{scoop-APPL water bottle LOC}\)
   ‘He’s scooping out water from the bottle.’

A noteworthy characteristic of -\(o\) derived forms is the frequency of their nominalisation (see §16.4.2 for details on nominalisation).

The -\(o\) suffix itself is not subject to any morphophonological variation but -\(o\) suffixation often conditions changes in the forms of the root to which it is attached. These issues are discussed in §2.7.3.
8.3.3.1 Deriving non-Actor bivalents from Undergoer intransitives

This construction is not very common. All of the attested cases of -o deriving a non-Actor bivalent are applied to verbs of position or posture where the position or posture of the preverbal noun phrase is described relative to some other noun phrase (the applied Undergoer). An illustrative example is given in (86).

(86) Bbuk pso mfato bbuk maleo
    book CLASS-one close-APPL book other
    ‘One book is abutting the other book.’

Like other examples of -o applicativisation, the applied arguments in non-Actor bivalent clauses may be optionally marked by an adposition as in (87).

(87) Bbuk pso mfato bbuk maleo li
    book CLASS-one close-APPL book other (LOC)
    ‘One book is abutting the other book.’

8.3.3.2 Deriving ‘process oriented’ Undergoer intransitives from unmarked Undergoer intransitives

This kind of derivation occurs when the Undergoer of an underived Undergoer intransitive verb remains the sole Undergoer of the derived form. Rather than leading to any increase in valence for the derived form, there is a realignment of the verb’s ‘force dynamics’ (see Talmy (1985) for a general discussion of the notion of ‘force dynamics’). Underived Undergoer intransitive verbs generally refer to situations wherein a stable state is in existence, and no particular change of state is being asserted (e.g. makot ‘be red’ entails that its sole argument has the quality of redness, not that it has become red, or that it makes something red, etc.). Derived ‘process oriented’ Undergoer intransitives, on the other hand, entail that their sole argument has undergone a process which has resulted in the achievement of a particular state. Contrast the following examples:

(88) Amam um lekat
    1pl.excl.POSS house be.bad
    ‘Our house is bad.’

(89) Nghon lekto
    NOM-eat be.bad-APPL
    ‘The food is rotten / has gone rotten.’

In (88) it is simply being asserted that the house is a bad one. There is no other entailment. Although it is possible that the house being referred to was once a good house, and it has since become bad, this is not at all a necessary condition: the house may simply have been a bad one since its construction. In (89), however, it is asserted that the food has undergone some kind of process which has resulted in its condition of ‘badness’ or more
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colloquially in English ‘rottenness’. Note that while aspectual changes in the verb’s semantics may often be implied, process oriented Undergoer intransitive derivation does not entail any change in aspect. Both ‘the food is rotten’ and ‘the food has gone rotten’ are possible contextual translations of the sentence: the essential assertion made here is that the food is still in a state of ‘badness’ but that this state has been brought about as the result of some process or other.

Process oriented Undergoer intransitive differ from other –o derived forms in that their Undergoer arguments may not be adpositionally marked. They are also very commonly encountered as nominalisations (see §16.4.2 for a discussion of syntactic nominalisation or ‘headless relative clauses’). Example (90) illustrates such a form.

(90) Ada ni laho nak
    ada ni lah-o nak
    exist 3sg.POSS be.increased-APPL again
    ‘There’s an addition again.’

The root lah illustrated above does not occur independently, but it is commonly seen in its derived causative form halah ‘to add something / top up’. The above statement is taken from a discourse where the speaker is talking about how much Bahasa Malayu has affected contemporary Taba, and here he bemoans yet another instance of Malayu being the source of an (unwanted) addition to the language.

8.3.3.3 Deriving semi-transitive verbs from Actor intransitives

Examples (91) and (92) show applied locative Undergoers occurring with -o derivation of transitive verbs from root intransitives.

(91) I nyogo mesel
    i n=yog-o mesel
    3sg jump=APPL wall
    ‘She jumped on the wall.’

(92) I ncaglo Buang ni oto
    i n=sagal-o Buang ni oto
    3sg 3sg=stride-APPL Buang 3sg.POSS car
    ‘He stepped over Buang’s (toy) car.’

Note that in (91) the reading ‘over’ follows fairly naturally from the verb sagal, which is an appropriate word to use for a very wide stride, but not a short step.

Examples (93) and (94) illustrate the suffix being used to allow applied Undergoers with roles other than locative. Here, perhaps the semantic role of the applied Undergoer should be seen as that of ‘object of emotion’.

(93) Nayoko ni dawalat
    n=ha-yok-o ni dawalat
    3sg=CAUS-cry-APPL 3sg.POSS girlfriend
    ‘He’s crying over his girlfriend.’
In (94) we have a similar example with -o applied to a causativised stem.

\[(94) \text{Namaro} \quad \text{John}^4\]
\[n=\text{ha-mara-o} \quad \text{John}\]
\[3\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-be.angry-APPL} \quad \text{John}\]
\[\text{‘He’s angry with John.’}\]

In all of the above examples, alternative renditions with the addition of the locative postposition li are possible. Example (95) is referentially equivalent to (94) above.

\[(95) \text{Namaro} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{li}\]
\[n=\text{ha-mara-o} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{li}\]
\[3\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-be.angry-APPL} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{LOC}\]
\[\text{‘He’s angry with John.’}\]

### 8.3.3.4 Deriving ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs

As with other types of -o applicatives, the kinds of arguments allowed to be added by the suffix depend on the meanings of the stems involved. Examples (96) and (97) illustrate the addition of a locative goal.

\[(96) \text{Yak} \quad \text{kgoras} \quad \text{kapaya ni} \quad \text{kowo}\]
\[\text{yak} \quad k=\text{goras} \quad \text{kapaya ni} \quad \text{kowo}\]
\[1\text{sg} \quad 1\text{sg}=\text{scrape} \quad \text{papaya} \quad 3\text{sg.POSS seed}\]
\[\text{‘I’m scraping out the papaya seeds.’}\]

\[(97) \text{Yak} \quad \text{kgorco} \quad \text{kapaya ni} \quad \text{kowo bbuk}\]
\[\text{yak} \quad k=\text{goras-o} \quad \text{kapaya ni} \quad \text{kowo bbuk}\]
\[1\text{sg} \quad 1\text{sg}=\text{scrape-APPL} \quad \text{papaya} \quad 3\text{sg.POSS seed book}\]
\[\text{‘I’m scraping the papaya seeds onto the book.’}\]

Note again, in (98) how both applicative and adpositional marking of the locative argument may co-occur within the same utterance.

\[(98) \text{Yak} \quad \text{kgorco} \quad \text{kapaya ni} \quad \text{kowo bbuk li}\]
\[\text{yak} \quad k=\text{goras-o} \quad \text{kapaya ni} \quad \text{kowo bbuk li}\]
\[1\text{sg} \quad 1\text{sg}=\text{scrape-APPL} \quad \text{papaya} \quad 3\text{sg.POSS seed book LOC}\]
\[\text{‘I’m scraping the papaya seeds onto the book.’}\]

In (99), a lexicalised derivation, the applied Undergoer is a locative source.

\[(99) \text{Rauf} \quad \text{nyolo} \quad \text{wola ai} \quad \text{coatco}\]
\[\text{rauf} \quad n=\text{yol-o} \quad \text{wola ai} \quad \text{coat=so}\]
\[\text{Rauf} \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{take-APPL} \quad \text{rope} \quad \text{wood CLASS=one}\]
\[\text{‘Rauf took the rope from the bundle of fire-wood.’}\]

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4 Simple glosses of emotion terms are often somewhat misleading. ‘Angry’ may not be the best translation for *mara* which is better seen as something that one experiences (and that may come from a particular source), but not something which is necessarily directed at someone.
In this example, the root Undergoer is *wola* ‘rope’ and the applied Undergoer is *ai wolatco* ‘a bundle of firewood’. The literal meaning of the sentence is thus ‘Rauf takes the rope from the bundle of firewood’.

In the only attested verb having both the -Vk and the -0 applicative, -0 occurs after -Vk.

(100) *Si lwagiko* *yan*  
   *si l=wag-ik-o* *yan*  
   3pl 3pl=wag-APPL-APPL 1sg fish  
   ‘They sold me fish.’

In this example, -0 licenses the recipient, and the recipient occurs before the theme. Contrast (100) with (101) where no recipient is specified.

(101) *Si lwagik* *yan*  
   *si l=wag-ik* *yan*  
   3pl 3pl=sell-APPL fish  
   ‘They’re selling fish.’

The root *wag* is not attested independent of the applicative suffixes. In (101) the Undergoer *yan* ‘fish’ is licensed by the applicative -ik. An unusual feature of the forms derived with *wag* is that when no overt reference is made to whatever is sold, the -ik suffix is not generally used, even though in any act of selling to someone, something must presumably be sold and is generally presupposed by speaker and hearer in discourse.

(102) *Yak kwago* *Ahmad*  
   *yak k=wag-o* *Ahmad*  
   1sg 1sg=wag-APPL Ahmad  
   ‘I sold (it) to Ahmad.’

8.3.3.5 -0 suffixation with verbs of excretion

When the -0 applicative is used with the verbs of excretion, it allows a goal to be expressed as an Undergoer of the verb. The goal refers to wherever what is excreted ends up. The -0 suffix always displaces the cross-referencing suffixes that are normally found on verbs of excretion (§8.2.3). Excretion verbs derived with the -0 applicative are exemplified in (103) - (105). (For details on the morphophonemics of this derivation, see §2.7.2.)

(103) *Buang ncio* *ni calana*  
   *Buang n=sio-o* *ni calana*  
   Buang 3sg=shit-APPL 3sg.POSS trousers  
   ‘Buang shat his trousers.’

(104) *Ismit ncito* *mesel*  
   *Ismit n=sito-o* *mesel*  
   Ismit 3sg=fart-APPL wall  
   ‘Ismit farted on the wall.’
8.4 The detransitivising prefix \textit{ta-}

Derivation with the detransitivising prefix \textit{ta-} has the effect of removing an Actor argument from a verb's argument structure. It derives agentless Undergoer intransitive verbs with four distinct functions:

- When applied to a transitive verb, the resulting derived form is generally an Undergoer intransitive verb which has as its sole obligatory argument the underived Undergoer. In this kind of derivation \textit{ta-} can be labelled a 'resultative' prefix, because the effect of its use is to focus semantically on the resulting state of the patient after a process of some kind has reached its end.

- When applied to an Actor intransitive root, the derived form is also intransitive, but in this case, the root Actor becomes Undergoer of the derived form. Here, the function of \textit{ta-} is to signal the non-volitionality of the sole argument and indicate its reduced agency.

- When applied to the second verb in a motion serial verb construction, \textit{ta-} signals that a result has not yet been achieved and that there is some doubt that it ever will be achieved. This function can be labelled 'dubitative'.

- When applied to verbs of excretion, it always occurs with ditransitive stems derived with the \textit{-Vk} applicative (§8.3.2.5). It has the effect of signalling that the excretor has no control over the excretory process whatsoever, as when someone has diarrhoea.

Although four distinct functions of \textit{ta-} have been identified, each one of them shares in common the effect of somehow reducing the agency of an argument associated with the verb. Following Foley & Van Valin's (1984) distinction of a 'semantic' passive, \textit{ta-} has been labelled a passive prefix in this description. Note, as discussed in §4.2.1.6, that Undergoer intransitives derived with the \textit{ta-} prefix may, unlike other Undergoer intransitives, occur with human arguments.

Each of the four functions of \textit{ta-} enumerated above will be discussed in turn.

8.4.1 Resultative

The most common function of \textit{ta-} is to remove the Actor argument from a transitive verb. The resulting form is an Undergoer intransitive verb which has the corresponding underived Undergoer as its sole obligatory argument. The derived form of the verb generally describes

\begin{itemize}
  \item The form is clearly cognate with and has a similar function to forms like Malay \textit{ter-} (sometimes called the 'accidental passive' marker or the 'resultative' prefix), \textit{ta-} in Karo Batak (Woollams, 1994), and forms in many other Austronesian languages.
\end{itemize}
the way the patientive argument has been affected by a process of some kind. Agency is completely omitted from the semantics of the verb as with the ‘non-volitional’ derivations described in §8.4.1.2 below. Some examples are given in (106) through (111):

(106) underived

\[ I \ \text{nbes} \ \text{niwi} \]
\[ i \ \text{n}=\text{bhes} \ \text{niwi} \]
\[ 3\text{sg} \ 3\text{sg}=\text{husk} \ \text{coconut} \]
‘She husked the coconut.’

(107) derived

\[ \text{Niwi} \ \text{tabhes} \ \text{do} \]
\[ \text{niwi} \ \text{ta-bhes} \ \text{do} \]
\[ \text{coconut} \ \text{DETR-crack} \ \text{REAL} \]
‘The coconut has been husked.’

(108) underived

\[ \text{Male} \ \text{tcakal} \ \text{boa} \]
\[ \text{male} \ \text{t}=\text{sakal} \ \text{boa} \]
\[ \text{must} \ \text{1pl.incl}=\text{smash} \ \text{door} \]
‘We had to smash down the door.’

(109) derived

\[ \text{Boa} \ \text{tasakal} \]
\[ \text{boa} \ \text{ta-sakal} \]
\[ \text{door} \ \text{DETR-smash} \]
‘The door was smashed down.’ (either intentionally or not)

(110) underived

\[ \text{Yak} \ \text{kganas} \ \text{tabako} \]
\[ \text{yak} \ \text{k}=\text{ganas} \ \text{tabako} \]
\[ 1\text{sg} \ 1\text{sg}=\text{tear} \ \text{cigarettes} \]
‘I’m tearing the cigarettes (open).’

(111) derived

\[ \text{Tabako} \ \text{taganas} \ \text{do} \]
\[ \text{tabako} \ \text{ta-ganas} \ \text{do} \]
\[ \text{cigarettes} \ \text{DETR-tear} \ \text{REAL} \]
‘The cigarettes are already torn (open).’

The prefix \textit{ta-} can be used to derive intransitive verbs from stems which have already been made transitive by the application of valence increasing affixes to intransitive roots. This is illustrated in (112) and (113) where Actor intransitive verbs have been made transitive by
suffixing the applicative marker -ak. To these transitive stems, ta- has been prefixed, and the derived verbs are Undergoer intransitive verbs with the applied Undergoers their sole arguments.

(112) Ni plelo taluak.
ni plelo ta-lu-ak
3sg.POSS tongue DETR-pokeout-APPL
‘His tongue is poking out.’

(113) Kofi tasoak meja li
kofi ta-so-ak meja li
coffee DETR-exit-APPL table LOC
‘Coffee is spilt all over the table.’

The combination of valence-affecting affixes can even be more complex than in (112) and (113). Example (114) shows resultative ta- combined with both the intensive causative ha- and the applicative -ak. This sentence refers to what happens to sufferers of leprosy on Makian island. The root is the intransitive so ‘exit,’ to which has been added the applicative suffix -ak, creating the stem soak ‘send out’. To this stem has been added the intensifying causative prefix ha-, which, bearing stress, forces a morphophonemic change in the stem (see §2.4). Finally, the agent is removed by the addition of ta-, and we have the translation, ‘they are sent into isolation’.

(114) Tahasak si!
ta-ha-so-ak si
DETR-CAUS-exit-APPL 3pl
‘They are sent into isolation.’

As well as having derived forms based on already complex stems, there are many ta- derivations based on roots which have do not have any independent existence outside of the derived forms. These most commonly have to do with states of disrepair of one kind or another. They may or may not have been brought about by the actions of an external agent. Examples (115) and (116) show derived forms which have no corresponding independent roots.

(115) Masin ni reng tadopas
masin ni reng ta-dopas
engine 3sg.POSS seal DETR-perish
‘The seal on the engine is perished.’

(116) Taplod haso nak
ta-plod ha=so nak
DETR-erupt CLASS=one again
‘It (the mountain) erupted once more.’

We have already seen that one of the most important semantic characteristics of the forms derived with ta- is that they generally describe the results of processes without describing the process itself. This is not always the case, however, and we can see hints of this in example
(116) above. As outlined in the introduction to this section, the primary function of ta- seems to vary according to whether it is applied to a transitive or an intransitive stem. Given that a stem like -plod has no independent existence, it is not surprising that the function of ta- here is somewhat harder to pin down: although this derivation can be seen as resultative in function, it also has a non-volitional meaning. In the next section we examine the functions of ta- when it is applied to an intransitive stem.

8.4.2 Non-volitionality

When prefixed to an Actor intransitive stem, the derived form is an Undergoer intransitive verb. I have so far only heard one spontaneous utterance where ta- is used with this function, but I have also elicited a few further examples. All of those which have been collected are intransitive verbs of motion which have an animate Actor in their underived forms. The argument of the Actor intransitive form is not deleted in this case, but rather it appears as Undergoer of the derived Undergoer intransitive verb. The major difference in meaning is that whereas the underived Actor is generally seen as a volitional actor with a purpose in mind, the derived Undergoer is not seen as having any particular purpose. The spontaneously uttered example of ta- with this function is shown in (117).

(117) Tatagil yak
     ta-tagil yak
     DETR-walk 1sg
     ‘I’m wandering around (with no specific destination in mind).’

In this example, ta- has been added to an intransitive root, and it signals a lack of purpose on the part of the person walking. I am told that ta- can also be prefixed to other intransitive verbs of motion, with a similar meaning. This is further illustrated in (118) which is elicited.

(118) Tapoas tit
     ta-poas tit
     DETR-row 1pl.incl
     ‘We’re rowing around (with no particular destination in mind).’

8.4.3 Dubitative

The dubitative function of ta- is found when it is prefixed to the second verb of a motional serial verb construction (§12.2.1) having as its first element the verb of motion. In this case, the meaning of the derived form is almost the exact opposite of the resultative derivation. This is labelled the ‘dubitative’ function because the use of the prefix signals that while the speaker may be hopeful that the action of the derived verbs gets carried out, s/he believes that there is a reasonable possibility that the result may not be able to be achieved for some reason or other. The dubitative function of ta- is illustrated in (119) and (120).
8.4.4 *ta-* with verbs of excretion

The *ta-* detransitivising prefix can also be used with the verbs of excretion, but whenever it occurs, it must co-occur with the *-Vk* applicative. These constructions are used to indicate that the person excreting has no control over the process, as when for instance they might have diarrhoea.

(121) *Tasiak* yak
    *ta-sio-ak* yak
    DETR-shit-APPL 1sg
    ‘I’ve got the shits.’

I have never heard anyone mention the theme supposedly licensed by the *-Vk* applicative when this construction has been used spontaneously, but it is possible to do so. If some particular substance previously ingested is seen as the cause of diarrhoea, sentences like (122) are possible.

(122) *Tasiak* yak niwi
    *ta-sio-ak* yak niwi
    DETR-shit-APPL 1sg coconut
    ‘The coconut has given me the shits.’ [lit. ‘I’m uncontrollably shitting coconut’]

These constructions are formally classed as non-Actor bivalents.

8.5 Other verbal morphology

Aside from the valence affecting devices already discussed, Taba has very little verbal morphology. Tense / aspect / mood marking for instance is achieved through the use of clausal enclitics as well as adjuncts of other kinds. These are discussed elsewhere. There are are two further verbal prefixes, however, *han-* an inchoative marker (§8.5.1) and the prefix *ma-* which is largely an historical relic in contemporary Taba.
8.5.1 The inchoative marker *han-*

The inchoative prefix *han* occurs very infrequently and it appears to be a very recent innovation in the language, having derived historically from the independent motion verb *han* used as the first verb in a serial verb construction. The presumed historical development of this prefix is discussed at some length in §12.1.8. *Han-* has been called the inchoative prefix, because this is the most transparent meaning discernible in most of its manifestations. Some examples of *han-* with an inchoative meaning are given in (123) to (128).

(123) underived

\[ ntuti \]
\[ n=tuli \]
\[ 3sg=sleep \]
\[ '(S)he is sleeping.' \]

(124) derived

\[ Nantuli \]
\[ n=han-tuli \]
\[ 3sg=INCH-sleep \]
\[ 'S/he is going to sleep.' \]

(125) underived

\[ ntub \]
\[ n=tub \]
\[ 3sg=grow \]
\[ 'it is growing (of plants, etc.)' \]

(126) derived

\[ Nantub \]
\[ n=han-tub \]
\[ 3sg=INCH-grow \]
\[ 'S/he is living.' \]

(127) underived

\[ nwosal \]
\[ n=wosal \]
\[ 3sg=stand \]
\[ 'It is standing up.' \]
(128) derived

Nanwosal
n=han-wosal
3sg-INCH-stand
'He has an erection.'

In other cases of what appears historically to be han- prefixation, the meanings of the derived forms are lexicalised. In examples (129) and (130) we also see changes in the forms of the putative roots to which han- has been attached. In both of these examples, han- signals that the Actor undergoes a process which results in the production of something referred to by the root.

(129) putative root: mtu ‘child’

Nantun
n=han-tun
3sg=INCH-child
'She gives birth.'

(130) putative root: tolo ‘egg’

Nantoli
n=han-tolo-i
3sg=INCH-egg-3sg
'It lays an egg / eggs.'

8.5.2 The relic prefix ma-

There are only a couple of examples in the corpus where this prefix occurs attached to a stem which is otherwise attested without the prefix. Initial ma- (or sometimes m-) is found on many Taba verbs, however, and the prefix was clearly productive earlier in the language’s history. The examples where the stems to which ma- is prefixed are otherwise found are given below.

6 With this putative derivation, the initial nasal of the root can be quite readily imagined to have assimilated to the same place of articulation as the final nasal of the prefix. The additional final segment in the derived form is presumably one that has been lost historically from the stem, but retained in the derived form. (Taba has lost many final consonantal segments from a variety of words.) It is possible that in this case a motivation for retaining the final n comes from the applicative derivation based on this complex stem antunak, commonly heard in utterances such as the following:

Nantunak
n-an-tun-ak mon
3sg-INCH-child-APPL male
'She gave birth to a boy.'

7 Hantoli is one of the verbs of excretion having a distinct pattern of argument cross-referencing discussed in §8.2.3.

8 A ma- prefix which has a stative function is highly productive in the closely related Sawai language (Jacqui Whisler, nd) and it also occurs in Buli (Maan, 1951).
(131) Underived form

*Yak* *kdod* *maaf*
*yak* *k=dod* *maaf*
*1sg 1sg=ask.forforgiveness*
‘I am sorry.’

(132) Derived form

*Mon* *ya* *madod* *maaf*
*mon* *ya* *ma-dod* *maaf*
*man REC MA-ask.for maaf*
‘This man is asking for forgiveness.’

Example (132) was used in a formal speech made by the *Jogugu Moloku Kie Raha* (the Sultan of Ternate’s deputy), a Makianese man who had earlier on the day of utterance been received ceremonially into Waikyon village, and the *ma-* form is marked as highly formal and quite archaic. The sentence he uttered is a part of a ritualised ending to a formal speech, apologising for any transgressions the speaker might have made while he was present in the village. Similar ritual apologies have been heard made by many other Makianese speakers, in both Taba and Malay, although no-one other than the *Jogugu* has been heard using the *ma-*derived form. Exactly what it signifies in the *Jogugu*’s speech remains unclear: it is probably an archaism of some sort.

In example (133), the derived form *malol* occurs in a serial verb construction (see chapter 12).

(133) Derived form

*Mayas* *nfati*.. *malol* *dumik*
*mayas n=fati ma-lol dumik*
*smoke 3sg=cover MA-be.big/full be.complete*
‘Smoke covered things... it was totally covered.’

(134) cf. Underived form

*Ngan lol*
*sun be.big/full*
‘middle of the day’

The above example also appears to be rather marginal. The root *lol* only occurs on its own in the lexicalised expression *ngan lol* ‘middle of the day’ shown in (133). Otherwise, *lol* also occurs in the reduplicated form *lollol* ‘big’.

Fossilised *ma-* (or sometimes *m*) is also found on a great many contemporary Taba verbs. It occurs at the beginning of both Actor and Undergoer intransitive verbs, but is much more common with Undergoer intransitives than with Actor ones. Some examples of Undergoer verbs containing initial *ma-* are illustrated in (135).
(135) maddodang  ‘be straight’
    makinis   ‘be yellow’
    makot     ‘be red’
    makwai    ‘be hot / be feverish’
    manil     ‘be sour’
    masure    ‘be good’
    mattail   ‘be different’
    matua     ‘be old’
    mawowo   ‘be light’ (i.e. not dark)

In (136) are shown some m- initial Undergoer intransitive verbs which presumably have their historical sources in ma- derivations from which the vowel has been lost. So called ‘post-nasal apocope’ is one of the historical phonological processes cited as diagnostic evidence for the South Halmahera – West New Guinea subgroup of languages by Blust (1982).

(136) mhonas  ‘be sick’
    mlongan  ‘be long’
    mnihis   ‘be thin’

All of the examples of Actor intransitives with initial ma found in the corpus are shown in (137).

(137) malingak  ‘forget’
    malongo  ‘hear’
    manowo  ‘breathe’

It is noteworthy that all of the Actor intransitive forms with initial ma are verbs which describe involuntary processes, as the Undergoer intransitives with ma- or m- also describe presumably involuntary states. It is therefore quite likely that any historical prefix had the function of signalling involuntariness. Maan (1951:63-64) notes the presence of a ma- prefix in Buli but he only gives a few examples of words containing ma-- and its function in Buli is not clear. In Sawai, however, (Jacqui Whisler, nd) ma- is highly productive, being used to derive stative verbs from active ones.

8.5.3 The ‘plurality of action’ reduplicative prefix (C)aC(C)(a)-

The reduplicative prefix (C)aC(C)(a)- can be added to a transitive or ditransitive verb to indicate that whatever activity is described by the verb is done repetitively, and often implies that the action affects more than one Undergoer. Such derived forms are not commonly encountered in discourse although the affixation process can affect virtually any verb. The prefix is formed by taking the first syllable of a verb, plus the onset and nucleus of its second syllable if there is one, then replacing any vowels with /a/. This whole formation is then prefixed to the verbal stem. The morphophonemics of the process are discussed in more detail in §2.7.6.3. The process is given preliminary exemplification in (138) and (139).
(138) **underived**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ksung} & \quad \text{um} \\
\text{k-sung} & \quad \text{um} \\
1\text{sg-enter} & \quad \text{house} \\
'I' & \quad \text{entered the house.}'
\end{align*}
\]

(139) **derived**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ksangsung} & \quad \text{um} \\
\text{k-sang-sunG} & \quad \text{um} \\
1\text{sg-RED2-enter} & \quad \text{house} \\
'I' & \quad \text{entered many houses / I entered the house many times.}'
\end{align*}
\]

This Taba reduplicative prefix encodes what has been called in the literature 'verbal number'. (See Durie (1986) for general discussion of the notion of 'verbal number' as it is manifested in many languages across the world.)

Note that in (138) the Undergoer noun phrase *um* 'house' is grammatically Singular (as all inanimates must be). The derived form is ambiguous as to whether or not more than one house has been entered: either one house has been entered repeatedly or more than one house has been entered. What is important here is that the activity of 'entering' must have been repeated many times. While all the Taba speakers I consulted about this construction initially offered explanations of the derived forms involving multiple Undergoers, when pressed they were all happy to admit that a single Undergoer may be involved, but that it must be affected repeatedly. What is important here is not that there must be multiple affected Undergoers, but that any action was repeated.

Further examples illustrating that it is not necessarily plurality of any noun phrase with a particular syntactic function that is entailed by the use of these reduplicated verbs are given in (140) to (143).

(140) **underived**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Notik} & \quad \text{yak yan} \\
\text{n-ot-ik} & \quad \text{yak yan} \\
3\text{sg-get-APPL[give]} & \quad \text{1sg fish} \\
'He' & \quad \text{gave me some fish.}'
\end{align*}
\]

(141) **derived**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nataotik} & \quad \text{si yan lloci} \\
\text{n-ata-ot-ik} & \quad \text{3pl fish lloci} \\
3\text{sg-RED2-get-APPL} & \quad \text{3pl fish many} \\
'He' & \quad \text{gave out loads of fish to them.}'
\end{align*}
\]
(142) underived

\[ Ncungak \quad \text{Nou} \quad \text{nik} \quad \text{um} \]
\[ n\text{-sung-ak} \quad \text{Nou} \quad \text{nik} \quad \text{um} \]
\[ 3\text{sg}\text{-enter-APPL} \quad \text{Nou} \quad 1\text{sg}\text{.POSS} \quad \text{um} \]
‘He put Nou in the house.’

(143) derived

\[ Ncangasungak \quad \text{wang} \quad \text{llocisi} \quad \text{nik} \quad \text{um} \]
\[ n\text{-sanga-sung-ak} \quad \text{wang} \quad \text{lloci}=\text{si} \quad \text{nik} \quad \text{um} \]
\[ 3\text{sg}\text{-RED2-enter-APPL} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{many}=\text{PL} \quad \text{nik} \quad \text{um} \]
‘He put lots of kids in the house.’

Note that in the preferred interpretations of the derived form given in (140) above it is only the secondary Undergoer which can be seen as plural (the primary Undergoer yak ‘1sg’ is marked as grammatically Singular), while in (142) it is only the primary Undergoer which can be viewed as plural (it is grammatically marked as Plural, while the person speaking only has one house).
Possession and related constructions

The term ‘possessive’ is one which is commonly used to describe linguistic constructions which denote a close relationship between two nouns. However, the term is somewhat misleading. The use of a possessive construction to relate two nominals does not necessarily entail that what is referred to by one noun is literally possessed by what is referred to by the other. The use of these constructions does entail a close relationship between one entity and another, but that relationship can be of a number of sorts, including possession, intended possession, a part-whole relationship, as well as kinship relations and a number of others. In this chapter, the terms ‘possessor’, ‘possessed’ and ‘possession’, etc. refer to the relationship signalled by the use of the the ‘possessive’ forms to be discussed below rather than to real-world ownership unless otherwise stated.

In this chapter we discuss the expression of possessive relationships in Taba, whether through adnominal or verbal means, and we also introduce some other constructions which are formally related to the possessive constructions themselves.

In adnominal possessive constructions, a possessor is expressed as an attribute of something possessed. The thing possessed generally occurs as the syntactic head of the construction, but in ‘possessor raising’ (see §9.1.3) the possessor has some head-like qualities. Verbal possession involves the expression of the possessive relationship in a formally transitive predication which links the possessor as Actor and the possessed as Undergoer of a clause.

Preliminary examples illustrating adnominal possession are given in (1) - (3).

(1) Sobal ni balul
   sail 3sg.POSS bamboo
   ‘Boom’ (the sail’s bamboo)
Adnominal possession in Taba is distinguished by what has been called the ‘reverse genitive’ ordering, common to many languages of Maluku, whereby the noun referring to the possessor precedes the head-noun which refers to whatever is possessed. This typologically unusual possessive ordering (for a normally head-first AVO language) is discussed at more length in §6.1.2.8.

An example of verbally expressed possession is given in (4).

(4) Yak kanik kobit
    yak k=ha-nik kobit
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sg.POSS knife
    ‘He has a knife.’

9.1 Adnominal possession

Adnominal possession is signalled by interposing an inflected possessive particle between the possessor and the thing possessed. The inflected possessive particle is cross-referenced with the Number and Person of the possessor and it is formally categorised as a ‘ligature’: it intervenes between a modifier noun and its head and serves to indicate that there is a ‘possessive’ relationship between the modifier and its head.

(5) possessor particle possessed

a. Mado ni mtu
    Mado 3sg.POSS child
    ‘Mado’s child’

b. Yak nik wwe
    yak nik wwe
    1sg 1sg.POSS foot
    ‘My foot’

In many contexts, overt reference to the possessor is not made. This applies to all kinds of possessors, but perhaps most commonly to the non-third person singular ones which are cross-referenced on the possessive particle.
Given that ellipsis of the possessor is a very common feature of Taba discourse, the cross-referenced possessive particles often function like possessive pronouns in other languages. Since overt reference to a possessor noun is always possible, however, it is felt best that the forms not be labelled ‘possessive pronouns’ as such, but rather as pronominally cross-referenced ligatures. The complete set of forms is listed in table 9.1. (Rules for determining grammatical Person and Number are outlined in §7.3.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Possessive particle</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>nik (also nig and dik)</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl. excl.</td>
<td>1 pl. incl.</td>
<td>nit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>meu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>nidi (also di)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1 Possessive particles

Most of the forms in this paradigm can be seen to be composed of the particle ni, to which has been appended a suffix cross-referencing the person and number of the possessor. This principle holds for all of the Persons and Numbers except first person plural exclusive and 2nd person plural forms. The third person singular form ni has no cross-referencing suffix.

The use of all of these forms is illustrated in (7) to (13).

(7) Yak ada nik mapin aoas Keten.
yak ada ni-k mapin a=oas Keten
1sg and POSS-1sg wife 1pl.excl=flee Moti
‘Me and my wife ran away to Moti.’

(8) Mfati nim mto!
m=fati nim mto
2sg=close POSS-2sg eye
‘Close your eyes!’
Ni sso alhoe?
3sg.POSS name who=FOC
‘What’s his name?’

Malai am kabin lo manik tubutubu...
then 1pl.excl.POSS goat and chicken gather-gather
‘And then our heaps of goats and chickens...’

Nit kabin nmot
POSS-1pl.incl goat 3sg=die
‘Our goat has died.’

Hkingi memeu golo ya
2pl.POSS=snot REC
‘Wipe your snot (off your faces).’

Lomosi lakawa to i, nidi calana taholo.
other=3pl POSS-3pl trousers DETR-open
‘Others were naked, their trousers open.’

It is quite common in Taba discourse to see nominalised clauses as possessors in some constructions. Example (14) shows the Undergoer intransitive *taplod* ‘it erupted’ as possessor of *bohiya* ‘the first time’.

Taplod ni bohiya Jumat jam sabalas.
DET-erupt 3sg.POSS first Friday hour eleven
‘The first of the eruptions was at eleven o’clock on Friday.’

Similar constructions also occur with possessors that are not made explicit at all, where the presumed possessor is something that may have to be inferred by the addressee from the preceding text or from general knowledge about a situation. A few such examples are given below. In these examples it appears that the 3sg.POSS marker *ni* may be on its way to grammaticalising as some kind of an article, much as the possessive suffix -*nya* appears to have done in some dialects of colloquial Malay.

Example (15) comes from the same text as (14) above, and although *taplod* ‘the eruption’ had not been mentioned explicitly for a total of ten intonation units, as the general topic of the whole narrative, it is the presumed possessor of *laylu* ‘wave’.

Idia ni laylu nwom lawe... nwom Keten
DEM-DIST 3sg.POSS wave 3sg-come sea-ESS 3sg=come Moti
‘Its wave cam over the sea... it hit Moti.’
Example (16) comes from a letter I received from a Makianese friend. In the first part of this sequence he reminds me of how we had been photographed together at the landward side of Wisma Sejahtera, the small hotel where I had been staying. In the last part of the sequence, he tells me how I had promised him that once ni foto ‘its photographs’ (i.e. ‘the photographs of the situation just described’) had been developed I would send copies to him.

(16) Bo sebelum mmul Australia ada tafoto
formerly before 2sg=return Australia and 1pl.incl-CAUS-photograph

Wisma Sejahtera ni klee ya Malusa bi polo
Wisma Sejahtera ni k-le ya m=ha-lusa bi polo
Wisma Sejahtera 3sg.POSS NOM-land REC 2sg-CAUS-say that if

mwas do malcoma yak ni foto.
m=was do m=alcoma yak ni foto
2sg=develop REAL 2sg=send 1sg 3sg.POSS photograph

‘Back just before you went back to Australia and we took photographs at the front of Wisma Sejahtera. You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs.’ (that situation’s photographs)

In the next two sections on obligatory possessive marking and the associative use of the adnominal possessives we review further features of the Taba possessive system that may also be partly responsible for the observed tendency for ni to behave in a manner somewhat akin to an article.

9.1.1 Obligatory possessive marking

A differentiation between alienable and inalienable possessive categories is not obligatorily marked by the use of different forms in Taba, as is common in many closely related languages. However, some of what could perhaps be called the most ‘alienable’ kinds of possessive relationships (e.g. expressions referring to part-whole relationships) are distinguished in Taba by obligatory possessive marking, as illustrated in (17). Here, myao ‘digit’ cannot occur on its own without both concurrent reference to its ‘possessor’ kama ‘hand’ and formal marking of the possessive relationship with ni.

\[2\text{In closely related Sawai (Jacqui Whisler, n.d), there is actually a threefold distinction in the classification of possessive relationships between ‘inalienable’, ‘general’ and ‘edible’ possession. A distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is also found in Buli (Maan, 1951). Collins (1982: 101) notes a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in the Tahane dialect of Taba, but whatever the case is for Tahane, Waikyon makes no formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. The examples cited by Collins suggests that the distinction for Tahane only occurs for 1st and 2nd person singular possessors, and thus it appears to be but a fragment of what was earlier a much more productive system. The base of the ligature ni- seen in Taba appears to be cognate with the ‘general possessive classifier’ of Sawai, the form of which is also ni. Edible possession in Sawai is signalled by the no classifier, and inalienable possession through suffixes which are attached to the possessed noun and which mark the person and number of the possessor.}\]
There are quite a large number of things that cannot be referred to without overt reference to a possessor. These are most commonly parts of some whole where the noun referring to the part is obligatorily possessed by a noun referring to a whole of some kind. A few more examples of this kind are given in (18) to (20).

(18) *Sumo ni wilō*  
     mouth 3sg.POSS  lip  
     ‘Lip’.  

(19) *Kurusi ni sodā*  
     chair 3sg.POSS  face  
     ‘The front of the chair’.  

(20) *Meja ni wwe*  
     table 3sg.POSS  leg  
     ‘The leg (of the table)’.  

Note that this restriction is framed in terms of referents rather than in terms of the nouns that refer to them. A number of body-part terms such as *sodā* ‘face’ in (19) and *wwe* ‘leg’ in (20) are only obligatorily possessed when the terms are used metaphorically to refer to parts of non-human entities. When reference is made to human body parts, although expression of a possessor is common, it is not required, as seen in (21) and (22).

(21) *Soda tabhes*  
     soda ta-bhes  
     face DETR-shred  
     ‘His face is shredded up.’  

(22) *Wwe mhonas*  
     leg be.sick  
     ‘My leg is sore.’  

Some nouns which refer to subsidiary body parts (i.e. things which are themselves parts of some larger part) such as *myao* ‘digit’ and *wilo* ‘lip’ seen above in (17) and (18) never occur without reference to whatever they themselves are parts of. The particularly close association between things such as ‘lips’ and ‘digits’ and the mouths and hands or feet to which they are attached is evidenced by the fact that when many Taba speakers write these words, they write them with *ni* prefixed to the noun referring to the part concerned as *nimyao, niwilo*, etc.3

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3 See Dixon (1988:126) for a discussion of something similar with *ni* in Boumaa Fijian. Dixon states that *ni* in Boumaa Fijian is an ‘associative particle’ and not a possessive marker since it has an associative function clearly distinct from that of possession as marked by a variety of different
9.1.2 Associative function of the possessive

Related to the obligatorily possessed subsidiary body parts are a variety of 'subsidiary' entities which are seen as having a close relationship with some other possessing entity. These include, for example, the parts of trees which are always possessed by the noun ai 'tree'.

(23) Ai ni wowo
    tree 3sg.POSS root
    'the root (of the tree)'

They also include a variety of things which are viewed as inherently associated with something else more salient as illustrated in (24) to (28).

(24) gelas ni ngahin
    glass 3sg.POSS saucer
    'saucer'.

(25) kobit ni sarung
    knife 3sg.POSS sheath
    'sheath' (for knife)

(26) Kabin ni wayo
    goat 3sg.POSS baby
    'Kid'

(27) Lusing ni oda
    mortar 3sg.POSS pestle
    'Pestle'

(28) Manik ni tolo
    chicken 3sg.POSS egg
    'Chicken egg'\(^4\)

Similar constructions in other Austronesian languages have often been distinguished from true possessive constructions as 'associative NPs' or some such label. (Dixon (1988:124), for example states that in Boumaa Fijian ni is not a true possessive marker and 'is most appropriately glossed not by 'of', but as 'associated with'.) The Taba forms are also perhaps better glossed as 'associated with' at times, but it is hard to find any language internal grounds for distinguishing any 'possessive' ni- from an 'associative' ni-. While uninflected ni with a third person singular possessor is more commonly encountered with an 'associated

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\(^4\) Presumably the obligatory possession of tolo 'egg' with whatever laid it (cf. also blewin ni tolo 'megapode egg', kolay ni tolo 'snake egg', etc.) is also related to the fact that tolo is used to refer euphemistically to male genitals.
with' meaning, the associative meaning can also be found with inflected forms. Compare (29) with '3sg' ni and (30) with '1sg' nik.

(29) Pala ni oras
    nutmeg 3sg.POSS season
    'Nutmeg season'

(30) Yak nik oras
    yak nik oras
    1sg 1sg.POSS time
    'My time'

### 9.1.3 Possessor-raising

Although the status of the possessed entity as the syntactic head of the possessive construction is normally quite clear, there are circumstances in which the possessor has head-like qualities. Contrast example (31) where the ‘possessed entity’ nik mapin ‘my wife’ triggers cross-referencing on the verb han ‘go’ with (32) where the ellipsed possessor au ‘2sg’ triggers cross-referencing on the verb haduga ‘to only be for’. All of the instances of possessor raising found in the corpus affect possessed parts of things, where while the part itself is the logical argument of the verb, it is the possessor of the part which gets treated in some way as the head of the construction. In (32), the possessor triggers agreement on the verb haduga ‘to be only for’, while in (33), a reflexive construction, it is the jug which possesses the spout that is marked by the pronominal copy as reflexive Undergoer (see §6.5 on reflexive constructions).

(31) Yak nik mapin nhan appo
    yak ni-k mapin n=han ap-po
    1sg 1sg.POSS wife 3sg=go ALL-down
    'My wife has gone to Temate.'

(32) Malusa nim wlo maduga yak li
    m=ha-lusa ni-m wlo m=ha-duga yak li
    2sg=CAUS-say 2sg.POSS liver 2sg=CAUS-only 1sg LOC
    'You say your heart is only for me.'

(33) Ni sumo ncaplak i
    ni sumo n-sapal-k i
    3sg.POSS mouth/spout 3sg-stick.out-APPL 3sg
    'Its spout sticks out on itself.'

Possessor-raising is also encountered in reciprocal clauses (§6.6). In example (34), verbal cross-referencing marks the human Actors of lmaka takik ‘to bang together’, although it is the possessed body parts ‘heads’ of the Actors which have actually come into contact.
9.1.4 Predicative use of adnominal forms

As discussed in §5.3.2.5 the adnominal possessive forms may also be used predicatively.

(35) *Manik* da *Rauf* ni

chicken DIST Raaf 3sg.POSS

‘That chicken is Rauf’s.’

(36) *Um* da *si nidi

house DIST 3pl 3pl.POSS

‘That house is theirs.’

Sometimes, when adnominal possessive markers occur in the same clause as nouns modified by relative clauses (§16.4), ambiguities can arise. Example (34) is ambiguous between the two readings given. (The part of the utterance which must be regarded as the predicate is in each case given in bold.)

(37) a. *Sandal kuda ni liko bulang*

thong black 3sg.POSS skin be.white

‘The black thong has a white top.’

OR

b. *Sandal kuda ni liko bulang*

thong black COMP skin be.white

‘The top of the black thong is white’.

(37a) is an adnominal possessive clause. Here, *bulang* ‘white’ is a relative clause which modifies the Undergoer of the clause *liko* ‘skin’. (37b) is an Undergoer intransitive clause with the Undergoer intransitive predicate *bulang* ‘be white’. Here the argument is *sandal kuda ni liko* ‘the top of the black thong’. In this case *kuda* ‘be.black’ is a relative clause which modifies the possessor noun *sandal* ‘thong’.

9.2 Verbal possession

For the most part, verbal possession is signalled by attaching the causative prefix *ha-* to the possessive adnominal possessive forms, and by prefixing Actor cross-referencing markers to the resulting construction. The possessor becomes Actor of the clause and the thing possessed becomes the Undergoer. The inflected possessive verbs are shown in table 9.2.
Table 9.2 Possessive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Agreement</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Adnominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sing.</td>
<td>yak kanik</td>
<td>1 pl. exclusive</td>
<td>(am) amam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sing.</td>
<td>au manim</td>
<td>1 pl. inclusive</td>
<td>(tit) tanit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sing.</td>
<td>i nani</td>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>(meu) memeu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>(si) lanidi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the verb forms here (except the 2nd person plural form) can be decomposed into three component parts: an agreement marker, a causative prefix, and the adnominal form. Some examples are:

(38) *Kabin da yak kanik*

kabin da yak k=ha-nik

‘That goat, I own it’.

(39) *Au manim niwi do*

au m=ha-nim niwi do

‘You already have a coconut’.

(40) *I nani bbuk lloci*

i n=ha-ni bbuk lloci

‘He has a lot of books’.

(41) *Tit tanit yan te*

tit t=ha-nit yan te

‘We don’t have any fish’.

(42) *Am amam tabako bitta ptol*

am a=ha-amam tabako bitta p-tol

‘We’ve got three packets of cigarettes’.

(43) *Meu memeu atom lloci do*

meu memeu atom lloci do

‘You’ve already got lots of pens’.

---

5 The Actor pronouns are shown in parentheses.
According to Heine (1997) the Taba method of forming a possessive verb, is typologically very unusual. In his extensive survey of possessive verb formation, the use of causative marking with adnominal forms did not occur in any other language. It appears that the reason for this construction being rather unusual cross-linguistically is not so much that it is such an implausible source on any cognitive grounds, but that the preconditions for its existence are not met in other languages. We have seen that the POSSESSOR-POSSESSED order of Taba possessive noun phrases is typologically unusual in AVO languages (§6.1.2.8). A verbal possessive clause requires the possessor to assume Actor position and the possessed to assume Undergoer position. Taba is one of the few languages where this order is the same as for in adnominal constructions. Without this precondition existing in other languages, the adaptation of adnominal forms to serve as predicative markers is not surprisingly rather unusual. See Bowden (1995) for more discussion of this.

As we have seen, it is possible to use both the possessive verb and the adnominal possessive markers predicatively (§5.3.2.5 & §9.1.4) in Taba. The exact discourse conditions under which one kind of predicative possessive marking is preferred over another are not well understood at present and await further research.
Taba quantifiers were defined in chapter 4 as nominals which can occur as the heads of measure phrases. Measure phrases have the function of quantifying referents of some sort. Measure phrases are formally noun phrases: they may occur as attributes of another noun phrase or they may occur on their own. There are two sub-categories of quantifiers: numerals, which must co-occur with classifiers (as shown in (1)), or measure nouns (as seen in (2)). In (1) and (2), both measure phrases occur as attributes of a higher noun phrase. Classifiers can be either independent nouns, proclitics, or in one case a true prefix.

(1) \( I \) not yan sishot
\( i \ n=ot \ y an \ sis=hot \)
\( 3 sg \ 3 sg=take \ fish \ CLASS=four \)
'He caught four fish.'

(2) Karn urn lloci
\( k=am \ urn \ lloci \)
\( 1 sg=see \ house \ many \)
'I see many houses.'

In (3), the measure phrase occurs on its own, with no referential higher noun phrase. Here, the measure phrase matlu indicates that any two people would be needed to pick up the ellipsed Undergoer, a very large fish. (Although if this example were spoken in isolation, it would mean simply 'two people carry it', in the context in which it was uttered there was a clear implication that 'two people would be needed to carry it'.)

(3) Matlu llewit
\( mat=lu \ l=lewit \)
\( CLASS=two \ 3 pl=carry \)
'Two people (were needed) to carry (the fish).'
Measure phrases can have a fairly complex structure of their own, but quantifiers may occur on their own as the heads of noun phrases. This chapter is divided into four sections:

- The general structure of the quantifier phrase
- Independent quantifiers
- Numerals and classifiers
- Other matters

### 10.1 Structure of the measure phrase

Rules outlining the basic structure of the measure phrase (MP) are given in figure 10.1.

\[ MP \rightarrow (duga) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NumP}) + \text{Measure N} \\ \text{NumP} \\ \text{MP} + \text{MP} \end{array} \right\} \]

\[ \text{NumP} \rightarrow \text{CLASS-Num (CONJ Num)} \]

Figure 10.1 Structure of the measure phrase

More detailed explanation of the different structures of quantifier phrases encountered are found in the following sections.

### 10.2 General quantifiers

The general quantifiers form a closed set, and include such nouns as the following:

- *palo* ‘half’
- *lomo* ‘other / some’
- *moto* ‘a little’
- *nol* ‘nothing’
- *lloci* ‘many / much’
  etc.

Some example sentences, with general quantifiers functioning as measure phrases in their own right are given in (4) to (7) below. Quantifiers appear in bold type.

(4)  
\textbf{Lomo l=tlala wog te l=lagawil.}  
\text{lo=mo} l=\text{tala} \ wog \ te \ l=\text{lagawil}  
\text{other} \ 3\text{pl}=\text{meet} \ \text{canoe} \ \text{NEG} \ 3\text{pl}=\text{swim}  
‘Others who didn't find canoes swam.’
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(5) *Turus manusia lam nol,*
   turus manusia l=am nol
direct people 3pl=see nothing
'So the people saw nothing.'

(6) *Indadi ada ni halongkak Taba moto nak.*
   indadi ada ni ha-longka-k Taba moto nak
so exist 3sg.POSS CAUS-weave-APPL Taba a.little again
So there is a weaving in of a little (Malay) with Taba again.'

(7) *Nalusa ni poyo palo nangotes*
   n=ha-lusa ni poyo palo n=angotes
3sg=CAUS-say 3sg.POSS head half 3sg=not.want
'He doesn't want to say he's crazy.'
   [lit. 'he doesn’t want to say he has half a head.]

10.3 Numerals and classifiers

Whenever Taba speakers wish to count something, they must always use classifiers which indicate something about the nature of the things being counted together with the numerals that encode the actual quantity. This is illustrated in (8) where the classifier *kop* (an independent noun meaning ‘grain’) is used indicating that small grains of some stuff are being counted.

(8) *Gocila kop sio*
   gocila kop sio
corn CLASS nine
'Nine grains of corn'

Dixon (1986) discusses in detail the distinction between noun-class (including gender) systems, and noun classification systems. He proposes that the most salient distinction between noun class systems and noun classification systems is that in a noun class system, each individual noun is ascribed to just one class, and this class is invariant no matter what the properties of the actual referent of the noun. In classifier systems, on the other hand, properties of the actual entity referred to by the noun, or the function or intended use of the referent is the crucial factor in determining which classification is appropriate.

The Taba system is an example of true noun classification, as can be seen in examples (9) and (10) where two different classifiers are used with the noun *amplop* ‘envelope’. In (9), the classifier *mot=* is used, because the envelopes being referred to are small flat quadrangular things, while in (10) the default classifier *p* is used because the envelopes being referred to are large ones.

(9) *amplop motwonam*
   amplop mot=wonam
envelope CLASS=six
'six normal sized envelopes'

1 See §10.3.2.6 for a detailed discussion of *mot=.*
The most commonly used classifiers are quantifier phrase proclitics. Some of the classifiers are also independent words which have their own lexical meanings in addition to their classifying function.

A full listing of all the classifiers I have information on is given below, along with glosses and references to where the forms are discussed. Those classifiers that are formally classed as proclitics are indicated as such by the equals sign '=' following them, and those categorised as prefixes are indicated as such by a following hyphen '-'. Note that the forms which are not formally classed as proclitics do, however, sometimes cliticise onto the numerals which follow them.² (See chapter 3 for a discussion of the notions of 'affix', 'clitic' and 'word', etc.)

- **p-** default §10.3.2.1
- **ha=** intervals of measurement §10.3.2.2
- **i-** single animate §10.3.2.3; §10.3.2.4
- **mat=** more than one human §10.3.2.3
- **sis=** from 2-9 animals §10.3.2.4
- **bett=** multiples of 10 animals §10.3.2.4
- **mot=** small square flat thin things §10.3.2.5
- **goha** things assembled together §10.3.2.6
- **wato** small oblong shaped things §10.3.2.7
- **hola** piece of wood / stick §10.3.2.8
- **luklik** rolled up things §10.3.2.9
- **ai** trees §10.3.2.10
- **awa** stalks §10.3.2.11
- **ising** 'hand' §10.3.2.12
- **kop** grains §10.3.2.13
- **boka** skewer §10.3.2.14
- **coat** bundle §10.3.2.15
- **lof** armspan §10.3.2.16
- **tonat** ten armspans §10.3.2.17
- **odo** joints (of bamboo) §10.3.2.18
- **opa** days before §10.3.2.19
- **opo** days ahead §10.3.2.20

The following discussion is divided into five sections:

- We discuss the internal structure of classifier-numeral constructions. I will argue that only the roots for the numerals one to nine are best described structurally as numeral roots. Higher numerals are made up of extra classifiers which are preposed to the roots.

² Although these forms sometimes cliticise, they cannot be formally classed as proclitics because they always bear stress (when affixes and clitics in Taba never bear stress). Further discussion of cliticisation is found in §3.2.
• Each of the classifiers for which I have information is discussed in turn. A variety of topics which pertain to individual classifiers will be treated. Foremost of these is the semantics of each classifier. Classifier choice is determined by what kind of thing is referred to by the nominals which are being counted. In addition to classifier semantics, the status of each classifier as a prefix, a clitic, or an independent word will be considered, and any other notable features relating to individual classifiers will also be discussed.
• Ordinal numbers are discussed.
• Word classes derived from classifiers are described. These are the various forms of the quantificational interrogative and the various forms of the paucal quantifier X-si-so-ak-no CLASS-si-one-ALL-there 'a few'.
• We discuss variation in classifier use according to the age of the speaker. The classifier system appears to be one of the more complex areas of Taba grammar which is being simplified under the impact of Malay in contemporary Taba. The impact of Malay on Taba is discussed in more general terms in §1.5.4.

10.3.1 Internal structure of classifier-numeral collocations
Taba has a base ten counting system. The roots for the numerals 1-9 are given in (11).

(11)  
-\textit{so} & one  
-\textit{lu} & two  
-\textit{tol} & three  
-\textit{hot} & four  
-\textit{lim} & five  
-\textit{wonam/oenam} & six  
-\textit{hit} & seven  
-\textit{wal} & eight  
-\textit{sio} & nine

Taba numerals must always co-occur with a classifier which is preposed to the numeral root. There is no Taba numeral for 'zero'. Although the concept can be expressed in a variety of ways, e.g. \textit{nol} 'nothing' and in constructions using \textit{te} 'negative particle', these words do not require classifiers and thus do not enter the same paradigmatic relationships as do other members of the numeral class.

The forms of numbers with the default classifier \textit{p-} (probably derived ultimately from PAN *\textit{buah} 'fruit') are given in (12).

(12)  
\textit{ps} & \textit{pso} & \textit{pl} & \textit{ptol}  
\textit{pso} & \textit{plu} & \textit{p-tol}  
\textit{CLASS-one} & \textit{one} (piece of fruit, etc.)  
\textit{plu} & \textit{two} (pieces of fruit, etc.)  
\textit{CLASS-three} & \textit{three} (pieces of fruit, etc.)  
\textit{phot} & \textit{p-wonam}  
\textit{p-hot} & \textit{p-wonam}  
\textit{CLASS-five} & \textit{five} (pieces of fruit, etc.)  
\textit{plim} & \textit{CLASS-six}  
\textit{CLASS-six} & \textit{six} (pieces of fruit, etc.)
The forms of numerals from ‘one’ to ‘nine’, with i- and sis-, the classifiers for animals\(^3\) are given in (13).

\[(13)\]
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{iso} & \text{silhu} & \text{sithol} \\
\text{i}=\text{so} & \text{sis}=\text{lu} & \text{sis}=\text{tol} \\
\text{CLASS}=\text{one} & \text{CLASS}=\text{two} & \text{CLASS}=\text{three} \\
\text{‘one (animal)’} & \text{‘two (animals)’} & \text{‘three (animals)’} \\
\text{sishot} & \text{silhim} & \text{sisoenam} \\
\text{sis}=\text{hot} & \text{sis}=\text{lim} & \text{sis}=\text{wonam} \\
\text{CLASS}=\text{four} & \text{CLASS}=\text{five} & \text{CLASS}=\text{six} \\
\text{‘four (animals)’} & \text{‘five (animals)’} & \text{‘six (animals)’} \\
\text{sishit} & \text{siswal} & \text{sishio} \\
\text{sis}=\text{hit} & \text{sis}=\text{wal} & \text{sis}=\text{sio} \\
\text{CLASS}=\text{seven} & \text{CLASS}=\text{eight} & \text{CLASS}=\text{nine} \\
\text{‘seven (animals)’} & \text{‘eight (animals)’} & \text{‘nine (animals)’} \\
\end{array}
\]

In the sections which follow the formation of numbers higher than nine will be discussed as follows:

- simple multiples of ten
- simple multiples of a hundred
- simple multiples of a thousand
- complex numbers
- borrowed patterns for counting a million and more

### 10.3.1.1 Multiples of ten

Multiples of ten are constructed as measure phrases of the form:

\[
\text{CLASS-(CLASS)-(CLASS)+num}
\]

where num = a numeral from 1-9. For example, with 10’s of animals, the classifier beit ‘group of animals’ is used. (Although in the constructions referred to here, beit occurs with the specific meaning ‘ten animals’, its use as a classifier for quantifying higher numbers of animals, e.g. see §10.3.1.2 on multiples of a hundred, suggests that the most accurate general translation is ‘group of animals’.)\(^4\) Be it is preposed to numeral roots specifying the multiple of ten referred to as in (14).

---

\(^3\) Here, sis- has been given the label ‘animal classifier’ even though there are a few other things that are also counted using this classifier. See §10.3.2.4 for details.

\(^4\) Beit is also a verb meaning ‘to sew’ as well as being a numeral classifier. In Taba discourse, the most common animals to be referred to in large numbers are most certainly fish. (Traditionally,
More generally, a generic ‘-ty’ form is based upon the classifiers \( \text{yo} + \text{ha} \) where \( \text{yo} \) ‘ten’ combines with the measure classifier \( \text{ha} \). Illustrative examples are given in (15) where the default forms of the numbers ‘ten’, ‘twenty’ and ‘thirty’ are given.

\[
\begin{align*}
(14) & \quad \text{beit} & \quad \text{co} & \quad \text{beit} & \quad \text{lu} & \quad \text{beit} & \quad \text{tol} \\
& \quad \text{beit} & \quad \text{so} & \quad \text{beit} & \quad \text{lu} & \quad \text{beit} & \quad \text{tol} \\
& \quad \text{CLASS}(\text{ten}) \text{ one} & \quad \text{CLASS}(\text{ten}) \text{ two} & \quad \text{CLASS}(\text{ten}) \text{ three} \\
& \quad \text{‘ten (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘twenty (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘thirty (animals)’}
\end{align*}
\]

The forms seen in (25) are notable for the fact that two different classifiers are employed in their make-up. The first of these, \( \text{yo} \), is the classifier which literally means ‘ten’. The second has the same form as the measure classifier \( \text{ha} = \) which is used (amongst other things) for reference to intervals of measurement, time etc. (see §10.3.2.2 for details). Thus, \( \text{yo haso ‘ten’} \) for example, could probably be glossed as ‘ten times one’.

Except for the numbers referring to animals, all other multiples of ten are formed using the same elements as shown in (15), with the further addition of the classifier appropriate to the class of enumerated entities referred to. This classifier is preposed to the default forms shown above. To refer to ten intervals of measurement, for example, the \( \text{ha} = \) classifier is added to \( \text{yo haso} \), as in (16).

\[
\begin{align*}
(16) & \quad \text{Top hayo haso} \\
& \quad \text{Top ha=yo ha=so} \\
& \quad \text{hour CLASS=CLASS(\text{ten}) CLASS(times)=one} \\
& \quad \text{‘ten o’clock’}
\end{align*}
\]

To refer to twenty people, the human classifier \( \text{mat=} \) (see §10.3.2.3) is preposed to the default form in (15) according to the same pattern as that seen in (16).

\[
\begin{align*}
(17) & \quad \text{mapin matyo halu} \\
& \quad \text{mapin mat=yo ha=lu} \\
& \quad \text{woman CLASS-CLASS(\text{ten}) CLASS(times)=two} \\
& \quad \text{‘twenty women’}
\end{align*}
\]

It can be seen that the default numeral classifier \( p- \) is distinguished from the other individual classifiers in that it does not appear preposed to \( \text{yo ‘ten’} \) as do the others. (Nor is

---

Taba speakers are unlikely to have control of tens of many other animals at a time.) The use of \( \text{beit} \) as a classifier presumably derives from the common practice of sewing bunches of about ten fishes together by the mouth in order to carry them.
it preposed to the classifiers *utin* ‘hundred’ and *calan* ‘thousand’ like the other ones as will be seen below.) This fact is clearly related to the fact that *p-* has as its scope just the numeral roots to which it is prefixed, while all of the other classifiers have phrasal scope (see §10.3.1.5 below).

### 10.3.1.2 Multiples of a hundred

Multiples of a hundred are formed in a fairly analogous way to the multiples of ten discussed above (with a couple of exceptions to be discussed below).

The classifier for ‘hundred’ is *utin*. This is derived from the verb *-utin* ‘to gather’. The default forms for ‘one hundred’, ‘two hundred’ and ‘three hundred’ (pieces of fruit, etc.) are illustrated in (18).

(18) a. *utin co*
   *utin so*
   CLASS(hundred) one
   ‘one hundred’

b. *utin lu*
   *utin lu*
   CLASS(hundred) two
   ‘two hundred’

c. *utin tol*
   *utin tol*
   CLASS(hundred) three
   ‘three hundred’

One difference between ‘tens formation’ and ‘hundreds formation’ can be seen in the above examples: the classifier *utin* ‘hundred’ occurs preposed directly to the numeral referring to the multiple of a hundred, without the intervening *ha-* measure classifier used with *yo* ‘ten’.

Except for animals, all other kinds of referents are handled in much the same way as they are for the ‘ten’ classifier. Example (19) illustrates the *ha=* interval of measurement classifier and (20) shows the human classifier *mat=*

(19) *meter hautin hot*
   *meter ha=utin hot*
   metre CLASS=hundred four
   ‘four hundred metres’

(20) *mon matutin co*
   *mon mat=utin so*
   man CLASS=hundred one
   ‘a hundred men’

For animals, rather than the classifier *sis=* used with the lower numerals, the classifier *beit=* is used (as it is for all of the higher numbers). This is exemplified in (21).
10.3.1.3 Multiples of a thousand

For ‘thousand’, the classifier *calan* is used. For referring to entities for which the default classifier is appropriate, the classifier *calan* is used on its own as in (22) and (23).

(22) *Tabako ni pli calan co*

\[
\text{cigarettes 3sg.POSS price CLASS(thousand) one}
\]

‘Cigarettes are one thousand [rupiahs].’

(23) *Frak ni pli calan utin wonam*

\[
\text{ticket 3sg.POSS price thousand hundred six}
\]

‘The ticket costs six hundred thousand [rupiahs].’

For other classifications, the normal classifiers are preposed to *calan*, as seen in (24), where *mot=*, the classifier for small flat oblong things is used.

(24) *waji mot calan so*

\[
\text{rice.cake CLASS=CLASS(thousand) one}
\]

‘a thousand *waji* cakes’

As when referring to hundreds of animals, the classifier *beit* is preposed to *calan* when referring to thousands, as illustrated in (25)

(25) *nener beitcalan lu*

\[
\text{baby.milk.fish CLASS=thousand two}
\]

‘two thousand baby milk fish’

10.3.1.4 Complex numbers

In this section we will discuss the formation of numbers between the simple multiples of ten, a hundred and a thousand discussed above. In essence, the numbers appropriate for simple multiples and the numbers from 1-9 are conjoined with the conjunction *lo* ‘and’.

The numbers from eleven to nineteen, twenty-one to twenty-nine, etc. are formed by conjoining the appropriate elements from the ‘ten times’ series of numbers with appropriate elements from the ‘one to nine’ series of numbers, as illustrated in (26) to (28).
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(26) yo haso lo pso
    yo ha=so lo p-so
    CLASS(ten) CLASS(times)=one and CLASS=one
    ‘eleven (pieces of fruit, etc.)’

(27) matyo hahot lo matlu
    mat=yo ha=hot lo mat=lu
    CLASS(person)=CLASS(ten) CLASS(times)=four and CLASS=two
    ‘forty-two (people)’

(28) beitlu lo silhim
    beit=lu lo sis-lim
    CLASS(ten)=two and CLASS=five
    ‘twenty-five (animals)’

Numbers between the exact multiples of a hundred are formed by conjoining the appropriately classified multiples of a hundred with other appropriately classified elements, as for the numbers involving multiples of ten, again using the conjunction lo ‘and’, as in (29) and (30).

(29) matutin co lo matyo haso lo matwal
    mat=utin so lo mat=yo ha=so lo mat=wal
    CLASS=hundred one and CLASS=ten CLASS=one and CLASS=eight
    ‘a hundred and eighteen (people)’

(30) beitutin lu lo beitwal lo sithol
    beit=utin lu lo beit=wal lo sis=tol
    CLASS=hundred two and CLASS(ten)=eight and CLASS=three
    ‘two hundred and eighty-three (animals)’

Between exact multiples of a thousand, again, much the same pattern is found:

(31) taun hacalan co lo hautin cio lo
    taun ha=calan so lo ha=utin sio lo
    year CLASS=thousand one and CLASS=hundred nine and

    hayo hasio lo hawl
    ha=yo ha=sio lo ha=wal
    CLASS=ten times=nine and CLASS=eight

    ‘the year nineteen ninety-eight’

(32) Calan utin lim lo yo
    CLASS(thousand) CLASS(hundred) five and (CLASS)ten

    ha=lu lo p-lim lo utin wonam lo
    CLASS=two and CLASS=five and CLASS(hundred) six and
A further problem concerning the formation of complex numbers needs to be mentioned. The use of conjunctions as in (31) and (32) above can lead to some apparent ambiguities. Examples (33) and (34), for example, although they have the same surface realisation of phonological segments, mean quite different things.

(33) calan yo haso lo pso
    [calan yo ha=so] lo p-so
    'ten thousand and one'

(34) calan yo haso lo pso
    calan [yo ha=so lo p-so]
    'eleven thousand'

The potential ambiguity can be resolved by the use of appropriate intonation, usually a short pause with a non-terminal rising contour at the point where the highest structural level of conjunction is found (i.e. where the brackets are placed in the above examples).

10.3.1.5 The scope of classifiers

All of the classifiers (except the default classifier p-) have scope over entire quantifier phrases rather than just over the numerals they co-occur with. Note example (35) for instance where the measure classifier ha occurs only once before the conjoined elements so 'two' and lu 'three' and has scope over the whole collocation.

(35) ha=[so pa lu]
    CLASS=[one or two]
    'once or twice'

In (36) the same kind of structure is seen with the human classifier mat=

(36) mat=[lu pa tol]
    CLASS=[two or three]
    'two or three people'

The default classifier p-, on the other hand, only has scope over the numeral root to which it is prefixed. Thus, example (37) is ungrammatical.

(37) * kapaya ptol pa hot
    kapaya p-tol pa hot
    pawpaw CLASS-three or four
    'Three or four pawpaws.'
The notion ‘three or four pawpaws’ is expressed as shown in (38) where \( p \)- is prefixed to both numeral roots.

(38) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{kapaya} & \text{ptol} & \text{pa} & \text{phot} \\
\text{kapaya} & \text{p-tol} & \text{pa} & \text{p-hot} \\
\text{pawpaw} & \text{CLASS-three} & \text{or} & \text{CLASS-four} \\
\end{array} \]

\( \text{‘Three or four pawpaws.’} \)

Presumably the fact that \( p \)- only has scope over numeral roots also relates to the non-occurrence of \( p \)- before the multiple classifiers \( yo \) ‘ten’, \( utin \) ‘hundred’ and \( calan \) ‘thousand’ discussed above.

10.3.1.6 Higher numbers

Any number up to 999,999 can be formed on indigenous Taba patterns, as discussed above. For numbers of a million or more, however, the Malay borrowing \( juta \) ‘million’ is used as a noun as in (39).

(39) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{juta} & \text{phot} \\
\text{juta} & \text{p-hot} \\
\text{million} & \text{CLASS-four} \\
\end{array} \]

\( \text{‘four million’} \)

Once numbers of this magnitude are being used, the Taba classifier system tends to break down, and there is some variability in the forms produced by native speakers, presumably because \( juta \) is seen as a ‘foreign’ borrowing. Some further notes on variability in classifier use are found in §10.3.5.

10.3.1.7 Conjoined numbers and non-numeral quantifiers

Numbers may be conjoined with some of the general quantifiers, as seen in (40) to (42).

(40) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{top} & \text{hayo} & \text{haso} & \text{lo} & \text{palo} \\
\text{top} & \text{ha}=\text{yo} & \text{ha}=\text{so} & \text{lo} & \text{palo} \\
\text{hour} & \text{CLASS-ten} & \text{times}=\text{one and half} \\
\text{‘half past ten’} \\
\end{array} \]

(41) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{calan} & \text{co} & \text{lo} & \text{lomo} \\
\text{calan} & \text{co} & \text{lo} & \text{lomo} \\
\text{(CLASS)thousand} & \text{one} & \text{and} & \text{other} \\
\text{‘more than a thousand’} \\
\end{array} \]

(42) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{utin} & \text{lu} & \text{lo} & \text{moto} \\
\text{utin} & \text{lu} & \text{lo} & \text{moto} \\
\text{CLASS(hundred) two} & \text{and} & \text{little} \\
\text{‘two hundred and a bit’} \\
\end{array} \]
10.3.2 The individual classifiers

In this section, I will deal in turn with each of the Taba classifiers for which I have sufficient information. I have collected data on twenty classifiers which are discussed here, but there are probably further low frequency classifiers which I have not heard used. A list of all the classifiers that have been encountered was given in the introductory part of §10.3 above.

For each classifier, I will discuss its semantic contributions and note whether the classifier takes the form of an affix, a proclitic or an independent word. Finally, any morphophonemic peculiarities will be considered.

There are four very common groups of classifiers (the default classifier p-, the measure classifier ha=, the human classifiers i= and mat= and the animal classifiers i=, sis=, and beit) which are treated at some length first. Following these, the other (considerably less frequent) classifiers are each treated briefly. There is no morphologically conditioned variation in any of the latter.

10.3.2.1 The default classifier p-

This form is used for any countable object for which none of the other classifiers is applicable. It is gradually encroaching on the territory of other classifiers which are falling out of use by younger speakers (see §10.3.5). The default classifier is a prefix with no morphophonemic peculiarities.

Taba is rather unusual in that numeral roots can never appear without a classifier. In any situation where there is no clear semantic basis for choosing a classifier it is the p- prefix which is utilised. Such situations include the act of counting, when the person counting has no particular objects in mind (as children might do when learning to count). The forms of the numbers from one to ten are as given in (43).

(43) 1  pso  2  plu  3  ptol
      4  phot  5  plim  6  pwonam
      7  phit  8  pwal  9  psio
      10 yo haso

As can be seen above, all of the numbers from one to nine are simply created by prefixing the segment p- to the numeral roots. A few example sentences, showing some of the range of types of referents which can be counted using the p- default classifier are given in (44) to (46).

(44)  Irson ni komo ni myao pwonam
      Irson ni komo ni myao p-wonam
      Irson 3sg.POSS hand 3sg.POSS digit CLASS-six
      ‘Irson has six fingers.’

(45)  tanggal yo haso lo pwal
       tanggal yo ha=so lo p-wal
       date ten times=one and CLASS-eight
       ‘The date was the eighteenth.’

7 See chapter 3 for a discussion of the terms ‘affix’, ‘clitic’ and ‘word’ as they are used in this description.
Only two villages were not damaged.

10.3.2.2 The 'measure' classifier *ha=* 

The forms of the numbers from one to ten using *ha=* are illustrated in (47). *Ha=* takes the form of a proclitic and it is never stressed. There is no morphophonemic variation to account for.

(47) 1 *ha*=so 2 *ha*=lu 3 *ha*=tol
4 *ha*=hot 5 *ha*=lim 6 *ha*=wonam
7 *ha*=hit 8 *ha*=wal 9 *ha*=sio
10 *ha*=yo *ha*=so

The classifier *ha=* is used for a variety of purposes. Most of the things it refers to are measurements of one kind or another. Typical nouns it is used with are *liter* 'litre', *meter* 'metre', *taun* 'year', *minggu* 'week', *top* 'hour'. There are some complications with respect to this characterisation of the functions of *ha=*, however. A number of units of measurement function as classifiers in their own right, and those that I know of will each be discussed separately. There are also a few units of measure which are usually classified with the default classifier *p=*. *Ha=* is generally only used with time words, such as those discussed above, when they are used to refer to an interval of time rather than to a specific time. A fuller discussion of the use of classifiers with time words is found below.

The classifier *ha=* is also traditionally used in Taba to mark ordinal numbers, although younger speakers usually use the Malay ordinals instead (see §10.3.3 for discussion of ordinal numbers). A further function of the *ha=* classifier is to mark adverbial quantification, eg. 'once', 'twice', etc.

An initial two examples of *ha* classifying 'official' units of measurement: 'litres' and 'metres', are found in (48) and (49).

(48) **Liter** *halu*

    *liter* *ha*=lu
    *litre* CLASS=two
    'two litres'

(49) **Meter** *hautin**

    *meter* *ha*=utin *co* *lo* *hayo* *halim* *lo*
    *metre* CLASS=one and CLASS=ten CLASS=five and

    *halim*
    *ha*=lim
    CLASS=five
    'one hundred and fifty-five metres'
It should be noted that the \textit{ha} classifier is appropriate not only when an officially sanctioned ‘modern’ unit of measurement such as the litre or the metre is utilised, but also when a variety of ad-hoc measurements are used. An example of this can be seen in (50).

(50) \textit{Ember halu}
\begin{align*}
\text{ember} & \quad \text{ha} = \text{lu} \\
\text{bucket} & \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \\
& \quad \text{‘two buckets full (of something)’}
\end{align*}

Note the contrast with (51) where \textit{p-} is used to refer to two buckets (rather than to the extent of their contents ‘two buckets full’).

(51) \textit{Ember plu}
\begin{align*}
\text{ember} & \quad \text{p-lu} \\
\text{bucket} & \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \\
& \quad \text{‘two buckets’}
\end{align*}

As just mentioned, not all units of measurement are marked with the classifier \textit{ha}=. Some traditional measures, e.g. \textit{lof} ‘armspan’ \textit{tonat} ‘ten armspans’ are classifiers in their own right (see §10.3.2.16 and §10.3.2.17), but others, eg. \textit{song} ‘handspan’ require the \textit{ha} classifier as in (62).

(52) \textit{Song halu}
\begin{align*}
\text{song} & \quad \text{ha} = \text{lu} \\
\text{handspan} & \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \\
& \quad \text{‘two handspans’}
\end{align*}

A few measure words (eg. \textit{jam} ‘hour’) use the default classifier \textit{p-}, but these measurements tend to be recently introduced terms, and the use of \textit{p-} here seems to be related to the simplification of the classifier system which is going on under the impact of Malay (see §10.3.5).

For the most part, quantified intervals of time, except for \textit{jam} ‘hour’ mentioned above, \textit{ngan} ‘day’ and \textit{pait} ‘month’ use the classifier \textit{ha}.\footnote{\textit{Ngan} ‘day’ and \textit{pait} ‘month’ are both quantified with the ‘animal’ classifier \textit{sis-}. See §10.3.2.4.} For \textit{taun} ‘year’ the \textit{ha} classifier is used, as in (53).

(53) \textit{i nani taun hayo hahot lo}
\begin{align*}
i & \quad \text{3sg} \\
\text{n-ha-ni} & \quad \text{taun} \\
\text{ha} & \quad \text{ha}=\text{yo} \\
\text{ha} & \quad \text{ha}=\text{hot} \\
\text{lo} & \quad \text{lo} \\
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{hahot} & \quad \text{do} \\
\text{ha} & \quad \text{ha}=\text{hot} \\
\text{do} & \quad \text{REAL} \\
\text{CLASS}=\text{four} & \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{four} \\
& \quad \text{and} \\
\text{‘He’s forty-four years old.’}
\end{align*}
Interestingly, *ha* is used with *taun* 'year' whether there is an interval of time being referred to (as in (53) above) or whether it is a specific year being referred to. In (54), what is being referred to is the date of utterance - the year 1994.

(54) *taun* *hacalan* *co* *lo* *utin* *cio* *lo*

*taun* *ha=calan* *so* *lo* *utin* *sio* *lo*

*year* *CLASS=thousand* *one* *and* *hundred* *nine* *and*

*hayo* *hasio* *lo* *hahot*

*ha=yo* *ha=sio* *lo* *ha=hot*

*CLASS=ten* *CLASS=nine* *and* *CLASS=four*

‘the year nineteen ninety-four’

Adverbial quantification using the *ha=* measure classifier is illustrated in (55).

(55) *Ngan* *iso* *halu*

*ngan* *i=so* *ha=lu*

*day* *CLASS=one* *CLASS=two*

‘twice a day’

Finally, it is worth noting that *ha=* is encountered in a few common lexicalised forms. In the general quantifier *hasole* ‘all’, *ha=* is simply part of a lexicalised compound and does not need to be used with reference to measurements per se. In (56) it is used to refer to ‘all of you (people)’.

(56) *hasole* *meu*

*ha-so-le* *meu*

*CLASS=one-only 2pl*

‘all of you (people)’

In (57) the reduplicated adverbially employed quantifier *haso haso* ‘often’ is shown.

(57) *haso-* *haso*

*ha-so* *ha-so*

*CLASS=one* *CLASS=one*

‘often’

10.3.2.3 The human classifiers *i*- and *mat=*

When counting human beings, the prefix *i*- is used to form the numeral ‘one’, but the procilitic *mat=* is used for numbers higher than one. *I-* is categorised as a prefix while *mat=* is a proclitic. There is no morphophonemic variation to account for. The forms of the derived forms are as follows:

---

9 The classifier *i*- might more aptly be labelled the ‘single animate’ classifier since it is also used for one animal. *I-* is categorised as a prefix since it must always occur with the root -*so* when reference is made to a single animate. *Mat=*, on the other hand, is classed as a proclitic because it only need occur attached to the first element of a quantifier phrase (see §10.3.1.5).
Any noun used to refer to humans which is being quantified will take a numeral with this classifier. The human classifier, however, is most commonly used when there is no overt head noun. Some examples are given in (59) to (61).

(59) Sebenarnya matlu ada yak.
    sebenarnya mat=lu ada yak
    truthfully CLASS=two with 1sg
    ‘In fact, two people including me.’

(60) wang gulo iso
    wang gulo i-so
    child baby CLASS=one
    ‘one baby’

(61) Kot yan iso e mat=lu
    k-ot yan i=so e mat=lu
    1sg=catch fish CLASS=one FOC CLASS=two

    llewit.
    l=lewit
    3pl=carry.on.shoulder.with.pole
    ‘I caught one fish and two people had to carry it on a pole over their shoulders.’

As discussed in chapter 7, only humans are normally marked for grammatical Number: thus it is only when the classifier mat occurs that marking for grammatical Number is a relevant issue. The plural enclitic =si usually occurs attached to the noun itself, with the classified number following as in (62), but the plural enclitic is occasionally encountered attached to the number as in (63).

(62) mapinci mattol
    mapin=si mat=tol
    woman=PL CLASS=three
    ‘three women’

(63) mapin mattolci
    mapin mat=tol=si
    woman CLASS=three=PL
    ‘three women’

10.3.2.4 The ‘animal’ classifiers i-, sis-, beit

The label ‘animal’ classifier could be a little misleading here. While generally used to count animals, these classifiers are also used for counting days and months, whether
counting specific days and months, or counting intervals of time measured in days or months. *I*- is used for a single animal (or day or month), *sis=* is used for from two to nine animals, days, or months, while *beit* is used for larger numbers. The forms of the numbers from one to ten are given in (64).

(64) 1  iso  2  silhu  3  sithol  
  4  sishot  5  silhim  6  sisoenam  
  7  sishit  8  siswal  9  sishio  
  10  beit  co

As can be seen above, there is a considerable amount of morphophonemic variation in the form of the classifier *sis*-. This variation is discussed in detail in §2.7.5. *I*- is categorised as a prefix, *sis* as a proclitic, and *beit* as an independent word.

Some examples utilising the *sis*- classifier to count animals are seen in (65) through (67).

(65) Yak  kanik  kabin  sithol  
yak  k-ha-nik  kabin  sis=tol  
1sg  1sg-CAUS-1sg.POSS  goat  CLASS=three  
'I own three goats.'

(66) Not  yan  iso  le  
n=ot  yan  i=so  le  
3sg-catch  fish  CLASS=one  only  
'He only caught one fish.'

(67) Galala  sishot  da  
galala  sis=hot  da  
cockatoo  CLASS=four  DIST  
'Those four cockatoos.'

As already mentioned, the time words *ngan* ‘day’ and *pait* ‘month’ are also quantified using the ‘animal’ classifier. The reasons for this are not fully understood, but the fact that these nouns also refer to ‘the sun’ and ‘the moon’ respectively suggests that the sun and moon may once have had some kind of mythical significance as animals.\(^{10}\) As stated above, whether the units of time being measured are intervals (as in (68)) or instances of specific days or months (as in (69)), the ‘animal’ classifiers are used in each case.

(68) Ndadi  polo  ngan  pait  cilhu  pa  tol  turus...  
n=dadi  polo  ngan  pait  sis=lu  pa  tol  turus  
3sg-become[thus]  if  sun  month  CLASS=two  or  three  throughout  
'So if there was sun for two or three months right through...'

\(^{10}\) No traditional stories reflecting the putative prehistorical mythical status of the sun and the moon as animals are remembered by any of the Taba speakers I have questioned about this issue. I am unaware whether or not other groups from the Halmahera region have such stories. Taba speakers appear to have ‘lost’ many of their traditional stories, something probably attributable to the fact that they have followed Islam for many centuries now (see chapter 1 for more details on Taba history).
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Ngan iso yak kwom nak
ngan i=so yak k-wom nak
day CLASS=one 1sg 1sg-come again
‘One day I’ll come back.’

10.3.2.5 mot= ‘small square flat thin & cut’

This classifier is used for small square flat thin things that have been cut or sliced such as waji ‘square shaped glutinous rice cakes’, roti ‘slices of bread’, and kartas ‘sheets of paper’. Mot= is a proclitic and there is no morphophonemic variation to account for. An example is given in (70).

(70) Kamkum pappido ni gisai motlu
kamkum pappido ni gisai mot-lu
kamkum pappido 3sg.POSS end-flap CLASS-two
‘A kamkum pappido (kind of woven picnic rice container made from coconut leaves named after the breast (pappido) of the kamkum bird) has two end-flaps’.

10.3.2.6 goha ‘assembled together’

This classifier is used when counting groups of things that have been gathered together. Goha is an independent word. The groups of things assembled together could include fruit which has been gathered together into a pile, as in (71).

(71) ngnge goha lu
ngnge goha lu
kanari.nut CLASS two
‘two piles of canarium nuts’

Example (72) comes from a popular Taba song which says that the people of Kayoa and Makian islands are one people.

(72) Ni turunan noma noma e tit e goha
ni turunan no-ma no-ma e tit e goha
3sg.POSS ancestor there-VEN there-VEN FOC 1pl.incl FOC CLASS
so tit le
so tit le
one 1pl.incl only
‘From the time of the ancestors down, we have been one people.’

10.3.2.7 wato ‘small oblong shaped (not cut or sliced)’

The classifier wato- is used with small oblong shaped things, such as gadis ‘matches’, atom ‘pens’, and baku ‘sago cakes’ amongst other things. It is an independent word. The crucial distinction between things classified with mot= and those classified with wato seems to be that those classified with mot= have been cut or sliced while this classified with wato have not. Sago cakes (often jocularly referred to as kaset Taba ‘Makianese cassettes’) are formed in
molds while the *waji* cakes discussed in §10.3.2.5 are cut into slices after baking. Some examples of the classifier are found in (73) and (74).

(73)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yak kanik} & \quad \text{gadis wato so} \\
\text{yak k=ha-ni-k} & \quad \text{gadis wato so} \\
\text{1sg} & \quad \text{1sg=CAUS-POSS-1sg} \\
\text{lighter CLASS} & \quad \text{one} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘I have a match’\(^{11}\).

(74)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I} & \quad \text{non duga baku wato so} \\
\text{i n=on duga baku wato so} \\
\text{3sg} & \quad \text{3sg=eat only sago.cake CLASS} & \quad \text{one} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘He only ate one sago cake’.

10.3.2.8 *hola* ‘piece of wood / stick’

While the classifier *wato* is used for short thin sticks, such as matches, the classifier *hola* is used for longer stick-like things, such as lengths of firewood. Hola is another independent word.

(75)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ai hola so} \\
\text{ai hola so} \\
\text{wood CLASS} & \quad \text{one} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘A stick of wood (usually a length of firewood).’

10.3.2.9 *luklik* ‘rolled up’

This classifier is used for long thin things that have been rolled up, such as cigarettes, as seen in (76). The classifier is derived from the verb *luklik* ‘to roll something’ and it is an independent word.

(76)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tabako luklik so?} \\
\text{tabako luklik so} \\
\text{cigarette CLASS} & \quad \text{one} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘May I have a cigarette?’

10.3.2.10 *ai* ‘tree’

This classifier is an independent word used to count trees and comes from the word *ai* ‘tree’. It is also to count some things that are associated with trees. Example (77) shows a very common use of this classifier, for counting large stalks of bananas (which grow only one to a tree).

(77)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{loka ai lu} \\
\text{loka ai lu} \\
\text{banana CLASS two} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Two stalks of bananas.’

\(^{11}\) Cf. *gadis psa* ‘cigarette lighter’.
10.3.2.11 *awa* ‘stalk’

This classifier, an independent word, is used to count bunches of fruit which grow together on a stalk, such as *ngnge* ‘kanari nuts’ as seen in (78). The form *awa* is also an independent noun meaning ‘stalk’.

(78) *Ngnge* *awa* so *pso* le.

*ngnge* *awa* so *p-so* le

kanari.nut CLASS one CLASS-one only

‘There’s only one kanari nut on one bunch.’

10.3.2.12 *ising* ‘hand’

As far as I am aware, this classifier can only be used to refer to ‘hands of bananas’ as in (79). It is an independent word.

(79) *Loka ising* so

*loka* *ising* so

banana CLASS one

‘one hand of bananas’

10.3.2.13 *kop* ‘grain’

This classifier is used to refer to grains of things, such as grains of rice and corn as illustrated in (80). It is an independent word.

(80) *Gocila kop* yo *haso*

*gocila* *kop* yo *ha=so*

corn CLASS ten times=one

ten grains of corn

10.3.2.14 *boka* ‘skewer’

The classifier *boka* is an independent word used when counting things skewered on a stick, as in (81).

(81) *Sate boka* so

*sate* *boka* so

sate CLASS one

‘one stick of sate’

10.3.2.15 *coat* ‘bundle’

The classifier *coat* is used when counting bundles of things such as firewood, as in (82). It is categorised as a word.
10.3.2.16 lof ‘armspan’

This is a traditional unit of measurement which functions itself as a classifier and is an independent word. Some traditional units of measurement (the ones discussed here and below) are formally categorised as classifiers. Others, such as song ‘width of handspan’, are not classifiers, but canonical nouns, themselves having to be classified by the general measure classifier ha- (see §10.3.2.2 above). One lof is equivalent to the distance between the tips of two outstretched arms. The classifier is illustrated in (83).

(83) Kurusi ni mlongan lof so lo lomo
kurusi ni mlongan lof so lo lomo
chair 3sg.POSS length CLASS one and other
‘The chair is over a handspan long.’

10.3.2.17 tonat ‘ten armspans’

This classifier is another traditional unit of measurement, equivalent to ten armspans (or lof). It too is an independent word.

(84) tonat co sama lo lof yo ha=so
tonat so sama lo lof yo ha=so
CLASS one same as CLASS ten CLASS=one
‘A tonat is the same as ten lof.’

10.3.2.18 odo ‘interval between “knuckles” of bamboo’

This classifier is another unit of measurement, used exclusively as far as I can tell for referring to lengths of bamboo (an extremely common building material). One odo is the distance between two of the ‘knuckles’ of a piece of bamboo. (See figure 10.2.)
10.3.2.19 *opo* ‘days in future’

The classifier *opo* only ever appears with the noun *ngan* ‘day’ and it can only be used with the numeral *so* ‘one’. It is not necessary to overtly mention the head noun *ngan* ‘day’. It is used to refer to a day in the future, i.e. ‘tomorrow’ or ‘the next day’, as seen in (86).

\[(86)\]  
\[
\text{(Ngan) } \text{opo so} \]  
\[
\text{(ngan) } \text{opo so} \]  
\[
\text{(day) CLASS one} \]  
\[
\text{‘tomorrow / the next day’} \]

A cliticised compound using *opo so* can be used to refer to ‘the day after tomorrow’ or ‘two days later’.

\[(87)\]  
\[
\text{Opo sokik opo so} \]  
\[
\text{opo so-okik opo so} \]  
\[
\text{CLASS one-be. finished CLASS one} \]  
\[
\text{‘The day after tomorrow / ‘two days later’} \]

10.3.2.20 *opa* ‘days in past’

This classifier is used to refer to days in the past. It differs from *opo* in that any number of days can be specified. Its use is illustrated in (88) to (90).

\[(88)\]  
\[
\text{opa so} \]  
\[
\text{opa so} \]  
\[
\text{CLASS one} \]  
\[
\text{‘yesterday’} \]

\[(89)\]  
\[
\text{opa lu} \]  
\[
\text{opa lu} \]  
\[
\text{CLASS two} \]  
\[
\text{‘the day before yesterday’} \]

\[(90)\]  
\[
\text{opa lim} \]  
\[
\text{opa lim} \]  
\[
\text{CLASS five} \]  
\[
\text{‘five days ago’} \]

Other lexicalised combinations can also be used to refer to days in the past. An example is given in (91).
10.3.2.21 Some other classifiers found outside the Waikyon dialect

In addition to the classifiers discussed above, all of which occur in the Waikyon dialect, I have also encountered a couple of other classifiers which are used by Waigitang speakers, but not by those from Waikyon. I am not sure whether or not these are used in other Taba speaking areas.

The first of these is sop, used to count very thin sheets, e.g. of paper. The use of sop is illustrated in (92).

(92) Kartas sop lu
    kartas sop lu
    paper CLASS two
    ‘two sheets of paper’

The other classifier used in Waigitang but not in Waikyon is glong used to count ‘major’ stalks of fruit such as kanari nuts. Figure 10.3 shows how the kanari fruit grows and which parts of the stalk structure are referred to by the use of the classifiers glong and awa. (cf. §10.3.2.11 on awa in Waikyon).

Figure 10.3 Use of the classifiers glong and awa in Waigitang

10.3.3 Ordinal numbers

Traditionally, the ordinal numbers are formed by using the ha= interval of measurement classifier. Ordinal numbers serve to rank a referent, or some referents according to precedence with respect to some generally presupposed scale. Illustrative examples are given in (93) and (94).
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(93) *Haso, yak ada Om Nur*

*ha=so yak ada Om Nur*

*CLASS=one me and Uncle Nur*

‘The first were myself and Om Nur.’

(94) *We halu da e de yak kon*

*we ha=lu da e de yak k=on*

*mango CLASS=two DIST FOC RES 1sg 1sg=eat*

‘The second mango is for me to eat.’

Note that the adverbial quantifiers *haso* ‘once’, *halu* ‘twice’, etc. also take the same form as the ordinal numbers shown above. (See §10.3.2.2 for details).

Amongst many younger speakers, the traditional Taba forms of the ordinal numbers are no longer in use. Most younger speakers use more or less exclusively the North Moluccan Malay ordinal numbers (some of which are illustrated in (95)) rather than the Taba ones.

(95) *partama* ‘first’

*kadua* ‘second’

*katiga* ‘third’

*kaampat* ‘fourth’

*kalima* ‘fifth’

etc.

The wider topic of intergenerational variation in classifier use will be the subject of §10.3.5.

10.3.4 Other lexemes derived from classifiers

There are two further classes of lexemes which are derived using classifiers. These are the ‘quantificational interrogatives’ and the ‘paucal quantifiers’. Each of these classes requires a preposed classifier, selected according to the same semantic parameters as those used when counting things. Each of these minor word classes is discussed in turn below.

10.3.4.1 Quantificational interrogative forms

While interrogative words are discussed in general terms in §15.1.2.1, the quantificational interrogatives have some peculiarities of their own which are discussed here. Quantificational interrogatives are formed by preposing the appropriate classifier to the quantificational interrogative root *iso* ‘how many’. In example (96) *iso* occurs with the default classifier *p-.*

(96) *We piso e?*

*we p-iso e?*

*mango CLASS=how.many FOC*

‘How many mangoes are there?’

All of the classifiers discussed in §10.3.3 can be used with the quantificational interrogative, including the higher numeral classifiers. A few further examples are given in
(97). (As with other interrogative forms, the quantificational interrogsatives very commonly occur with the postposed focus marker e.)

(97)  
calan piso e?  How many thousand (rupiah)?
matiso e?  How many (people)?
Haiso e?  How long?

10.3.4.2 Paucal quantifiers

The second of these minor lexical classes is the class of paucal quantifiers. Paucal quantifiers are used to refer to ‘a few of something’. In example (106) the paucal quantifier stem isoakno (consisting of the interrogative root to which the allative locative akno ‘to there’ (see §11.2.2.2) has been cliticised) occurs with the classifier mat to refer to a few human beings. (Sometimes the cliticised paucal stem is reduced to isokno.)

(98)  
Matisoakno  le
mat=iso-ak-no  le
CLASS=how.many-ALL-there only
‘There were only a few people.’

Again, the choice of an appropriate form for the paucal quantifier depends on the same semantic characteristics as for the numeral-classifier forms discussed above. A few further illustrative examples are given in (99).

(99)  
lof isoakno  a few armspans
duga pisokno  only a few (e.g. pieces of fruit)
ngan cisisokno  a few days

10.3.5 Intergenerational variation in classifier use

Amongst younger Taba speakers the complexities of the classifier system are starting to fall apart under the influence of Malay. Although the most frequent classifiers (except perhaps for the measure classifier ha=) still generally tend to be used most of the time, the less frequent classifiers are hardly used at all, either being replaced by the default p- classifier or by a Malay equivalent. The measure classifier is usually replaced by the default classifier p-, particularly when a measure word is itself borrowed from Malay. Some examples are given in (100) and (101).

(100) a. older speakers’ usage:
   Top  ha=so
   strike  CLASS=one
   ‘One o’clock’

   b. younger speakers’ usage:
      Jam  p-so
      hour  CLASS-one
      ‘One o’clock’
(101) a. older speakers’ usage:

   
   Meter ha=lu
   metre CLASS=two
   ‘two metres’

   b. younger speakers’ usage:

   meter p-lu
   metre CLASS-two
   ‘two metres’

Younger speakers will sometimes not even accept as grammatical collocations such as that illustrated in (102a) presumably not properly understanding the semantic distinction on which the difference between e.g. ‘buckets’ and ‘buckets full’ discussed in more detail in §10.3.2.2 above is based. The author was once ‘corrected’ by a younger speaker for using the ha= form in this semantic context. (The embarrassed younger speaker was then berated by an older villager for not knowing how to speak Taba ‘properly’ any more.)

(102) a. older speakers’ usage:  

   Ember ha=lu
   bucket CLASS=two
   ‘two buckets full’

   b. younger speakers’ usage:

   Ember p-lu
   bucket CLASS-two
   ‘two buckets full / two buckets’

   cf.

   Ember p-lu
   bucket CLASS-two
   ‘two buckets’

A variety of the less frequent Taba classifiers are often simply replaced by the default classifier p-, as illustrated in (103).

(103) a. older speakers’ usage:

   Amplop mot=wonam
   envelope CLASS=six
   ‘six envelopes’

   b. younger speakers’ usage:

   Amplop p-wonam
   envelope CLASS-six
   ‘six envelopes’

In other cases, less frequent Taba classifier are replaced by their Malay equivalents. When this occurs, the Malay classifier is used not with the Taba numeral root, but with a Taba numeral root to which the default classifier is prefixed, as in (104), where there appear to be two classifiers.
Given the frequent use of Malay classifiers in contexts similar to that seen in (104), it is my belief that many younger speakers no longer perceive the default p- classifier as a classifier at all, but as part of the numeral root. This was borne out on one occasion when the author was attempting to explain some of the historical connections between Taba and the Polynesian languages by pointing to similarities between numeral roots in Maori and Taba. A number of the younger Taba speakers present found it difficult to think of the Taba numeral roots in isolation from the prefixed p- classifier, while older people present had little difficulty perceiving the roots as entities in themselves.

10.4 Other matters

In the final section of this chapter, we discuss a few final issues which relate to quantifiers and their use.

10.4.1 Modifying quantifier phrases

Three modifiers of quantifier phrases are discussed here. The first two, duga and le can both be translated into English as ‘only’ and are discussed in §10.4.1.1. The third nyoa ‘almost’ is discussed in §10.4.1.2.

10.4.1.1 duga and le ‘only’

Both duga and le occur as quantificational modifiers of noun phrase and they both emphasise the speaker’s attitude that whatever is referred to is of a minimal quantity. They can be translated into English as ‘only’. Duga occurs at the beginning of the phrase concerned, while le occurs at the end of it. They are illustrated in (105) and (106).

(105) Duga iso nwom
     duga i-so n=wom
     only CLASS-one 3sg=come
     ‘Only one person came.’

(106) Nam matlu le
     n=am mat=lu le
     3sg=see CLASS=two only
     ‘He saw only two (people).’

To add emphasis to the speaker’s attitude that a minimal quantity is being referred to, both duga and le can be used in the same quantifier phrase.
Both *duga* and *le* can also occur as modifiers of whole clauses. See §14.3.2 on *duga* and §14.4.1 on *le*.

### 10.4.1.2 *nyoa* ‘almost’

*Nyoa* is a particle that can be translated into English as ‘almost’. This particle is related to the independent verb *yoa* ‘to search’. The verb can be used on its own, with the literal meaning ‘to search’, but it also often occurs in serial verb constructions where it has an aspectual meaning of ‘almost’ (see §12.2.5.3). The modifier of the quantifier phrase *nyoa* differs from the verb in that it always has fossilised 3sg cross-referencing although it never has any actual arguments. *Nyoa*, with fossilised 3sg cross-referencing also occurs as a modifier of whole clauses (see §14.3.5). When *nyoa* is used as a modifier of a quantifier phrase, it always occurs immediately preceding the quantifier it qualifies.

### 10.4.2 Presentative use of CLASS-so

Examples of the number ‘one’ being used with a presentative function are commonly encountered in Taba discourse. When used presentatively, CLASS-so introduces a new indefinite referent to a discourse. An illustrative example is given in (110).

Some other examples of this kind of use of the number ‘one’ were encountered in previous sections. See examples (61) and (69) repeated below as (111) and (112). In (111), CLASS-so performs a similar introductory function, marking the fish referred to as both indefinite and specific.

---

(107) *Kot duga yan iso le*

\[k=ot \text{ duga yan } i=so \text{ le}\]

\[1\text{sg}=\text{catch only fish CLASS}=\text{one only}\]

‘I only caught one (measly) fish.’

(108) *Ndodak um nyoa yo halu lo lomo*

\[n=dod-ak \text{ um nyoa yo } ha=lu \text{ lo lomo}\]

\[3\text{sg}=\text{ask-APPL house almost ten CLASS}=\text{two and other}\]

‘It claimed almost twenty-something houses.’

(109) *Ktala yan banden nyoa beitutin co*

\[k=tala yan banden nyoa beit=utin so\]

\[1\text{sg}=\text{meet fish milk.fish almost CLASS}=\text{hundred one}\]

‘I got nearly a hundred milk fish.’

(110) *Kapal ya pso nuso lave*

\[Kapal ya p-so n=uso la=we\]

\[\text{ship up CLASS}=\text{one 3sg}=\text{steer sea-at}\]

‘There was a ship steering along seawards.’

(111) *Kot yan iso e mat=lu*

\[k=ot \text{ yan i-so } e \text{ mat}=\text{lu}\]

\[1\text{sg}=\text{catch fish CLASS}=\text{one FOC CLASS}=\text{two}\]
I caught one fish and two people had to carry it on a pole over their shoulders.’

CLASS-so also occurs in a few idiomatic phrases such as the one illustrated in (112).

(112) Ngan iso yak kwom nak
      ngan i-so yak k-wom nak
day CLASS-one 1sg 1sg-come again

‘One day I’ll come back.’

10.4.3 Archaic numerals

In addition to the quantificational system outlined above, there is also an archaic set of numbers remembered by many Taba speakers. I was unable to ascertain what purpose this archaic set of numbers had within the Taba quantificational system. The forms I was told about are listed in (113). Some of these forms clearly bear a relationship with the normal numeral roots discussed above (those for ‘two’ and ‘seven’); ragimoi ‘nine’ has similarities with Ternatan nyagimo ‘ten’. The sources of the others remain obscure along with their functions.\(^{12}\)

(113) 1 picú
      2 pilú
      3 pitia
      4 bokotó
      5 ngaitó
      6 tigitó
      7 mathét
      8 kabelung
      9 ragimoi
     10 dolapecu

---
\(^{12}\) Note, however, that the final stress on many of the forms as well as the alveopalatal affricates found in picú ‘one’ and dolapecu ‘ten’ suggest that other words may have been borrowed.
This chapter discusses the demonstrative and directional systems of Taba. Both of these subsystems function to mark deixis within the language in various ways. Taba is a language which has very little morphology in most domains: one of the things that makes the demonstratives and directionals interesting is that both the demonstrative and directional roots can enter into a variety of derivations to create new words.

The chapter is divided into three sections.

In section §11.1, an overview of the semantics and morphosyntax of the demonstrative system of Taba is provided. Taba has a two way demonstrative split signalled by the roots ne, which roughly speaking indicates proximity to the speaker, and da / dia which roughly indicate distance from the speaker. Da is an optionally shortened form of dia. Each of these roots enters into a variety of morphological paradigms.

Section §11.2 deals with directionals. Taba has a set of five directional roots, rough equivalents of which can be found in all of the languages of the Halmahera region and a few languages beyond. These are po, roughly translatable as ‘down’, ya ‘up’, le ‘seawards’, le ‘landwards’ and no ‘there’. Again, each of these roots enters into a number of morphological paradigms which will be discussed here.

Finally, section §11.3 provides a discussion of aspects of the Taba deictic system in more general terms, looking at how the demonstratives the directional ya ‘up’ function together to mark deixis.

11.1 Demonstratives

A paradigm of the attested words formed from the demonstrative roots is set out in table 11.1.

In §11.1.1 we discuss the root demonstratives and characterise more fully their meanings, in §11.1.2 we discuss the derived forms, and in §11.1.3 we will look at some of the ways forms from the different paradigmatic sets can be combined syntagmatically. An overview of the demonstratives’ deictic role in Taba discourse is provided in §11.3.
11.1.1 Root forms

The core meanings of the demonstrative roots are best characterised in terms of deixis with respect to the speaker. In simple terms, the demonstratives can be said to indicate physical proximity or distance, as well as textual proximity or distance, temporal proximity or distance and also such things as a speaker’s perceived emotional or spiritual distance from something. The demonstrative roots make up a closed paradigmatic class, based on their combinability into complex forms as outlined in figure 11.1 above. When the root forms occur as self-standing particles, they occur immediately following the noun phrases which they index.

Example (1) illustrates the use of *ne* (= ‘this’, proximal, glossed ‘PROX’) to indicate physical proximity.

(1) **Kurusi ne kyat Keten nak.**
kurusi ne k=yat Keten nak
chair PROX 1sg=take Moti also
‘I also took these chairs to Moti’.

Example (2) illustrates the use of *dia* (= ‘that’ distal, glossed ‘DIST’) while (3) illustrates the use of its more commonly encountered shortened form *da*.

(2) **Termasuk Rabudayosi dia**
termasuk Rabudayo=si dia
including Rabudayo=pl DIST
‘Including those people from Rabudayo’.

(3) **Kabin da, yak kanik**
kabin da yak k=ha-nik
goat DIST 1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sgPOSS
‘That goat, I own it.’
In perhaps all languages, demonstratives can be used to point to previously mentioned participants in a discourse. This is also true in Taba. In (4), *ne* qualifies *dukon* 'the eruption' which is the general topic of the discourse.¹

(4) Ndadi *dukon* *ne* taun halim do.
    ndadi *dukon* *ne* taun ha=lim do
    so eruption PROX year CLASS=five REAL
    'So the eruption was five years ago'.

In addition to the spatial uses of the demonstratives illustrated in the examples above, it is also very common for demonstratives to be used to represent other kinds of proximity or distance, such as a speaker's perceived emotional involvement with something. Often, it is difficult to disentangle what could be different motivations for using a demonstrative in some instances. Example (5) is perhaps ambiguous between an affective reading or an anaphoric reading. This example was collected in Ternate, about 50 kilometres from Makian, but the speaker was Makianese.

(5) Polo *Taba* *ne* mdudi, cilaka.
    polo *taba* *ne* mdudi cilaka
    if Makian PROX sunk disaster
    'If Makian had sunk, it would have been a disaster'.

Further evidence that physical proximity of the speaker *per se* is not the sole characteristic that determines whether one or the other demonstrative is used is provided in (6), where the speaker refers to something held in his hand with the distal demonstrative *da*. In this example, it is not altogether clear whether the motivation for using *da* is that the object referred to is invisible, or whether there has been a shift in perspective from the speaker's orientation to that of the addressee (in this case a small child). It is possible that both of the putative motivations have some relevance.

(6) *Kagugum* *pu* dae?
    k=ha-*gugum* *pu* da=e
    isg=CAUS-fist what DIST=FOC
    'What am I holding in my fist?'

Example (6) also illustrates some of the range of nominal types which can be indexed by the demonstratives. In (6) it is the interrogative pronoun *pu* 'what' which is being qualified. Example (7) shows the 1pl.excl pronoun *tit* as the indexed nominal.

(7) Polo *tit* *ne* than...
    polo *tit* *ne* t=han...
    if 1pl.incl PROX 1pl.incl=go
    'If we here go...'

¹ Textual deixis is one of the functions of the demonstrative roots, but this function is also carried by the directional root *ya* 'up'.
The core meanings of the demonstratives can be best characterised simply in terms of perceived proximity to the speaker (ne) versus perceived distance from the speaker (da / dia). The exact type of proximity entailed is impossible to characterise more precisely without reference to the discourse context in which one or other of the demonstrative roots are used, and further exploration of these issues will be left until section §11.3 where the use of each demonstrative in discourse will be examined more closely.

The issue is complicated by the fact that demonstrative roots are not the only forms able to be used to index noun phrases deictically. Although the demonstrative roots clearly compose a closed paradigmatic word class (as evidenced by the common morphological paradigms entered into by each of the forms shown in figure 11.1 above), on the basis of syntagmatic evidence, the demonstrative roots belong to a slightly enlarged class of ‘deictics’, consisting of themselves, plus the directional root ya ‘up’, which is also sometimes used with a similar deictic indexing function. When used deictically, ya indicates some kind of relevance to both speaker and hearer, that the speaker expects the hearer to know what s/he is talking about. The form has what can be called a ‘recognitional’ function (cf. Himmelmann, 1996: 230ff). Its deictic use is exemplified in (8) where it shows its affiliation with the demonstrative roots in terms of both its position within the noun phrase, and in terms of its deictic function. (The directional roots are discussed in detail in §11.2.)

\[
\text{(8) Malcoma yak ni foto ya}
\]

\[
\text{m=alcoma yak ni foto ya}
\]

\[
\text{2sg=send 1sg 3sg.POSS photograph REC}
\]

\[
\text{‘Send me the photographs (that I have just referred to, and which we both know about).’}
\]

A more detailed examination of the functions of all the deictics is found in §11.3.

### 11.1.2 Derived forms

Figure 11.1 showed a number of derived forms constructed from the demonstrative roots. Each set of derived forms is discussed separately below.

#### 11.1.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Figure 11.1 showed the set of demonstrative pronouns which are repeated along with rough English translations for each in (8):

\[
\text{(9) a. ine i-ne sg-PROX ‘this (near speaker)’}
\]

\[
\text{b. sine si-ne pl-PROX ‘these (near speaker)’}
\]

\[
\text{c. ida / idia i-da / i-dia 3sg-DIST / sg-DIST ‘that (away from speaker)’}
\]

\[
\text{d. sida / sidia si-da / si-dia pl-DIST / pl-DIST ‘those (away from speaker)’}
\]

A descriptive issue arises from the characterisation of these forms as composing a distinct class of demonstrative pronouns rather than as simply modified versions of the 3 sg. and 3pl.
pronouns to which demonstrative suffixes have been attached. A number of arguments can be advanced for setting up a distinct synchronic class of demonstrative pronouns (although it is no doubt true that the diachronic origins of the complex forms are as combinations of the third person pronouns and the demonstrative roots).

Phonologically, it is clear that the demonstrative component of the complex forms are the roots rather than the putative pronominal parts. As discussed in §2.4 stress in Taba is generally unaffected by affixation. It is the demonstrative components of the complex forms shown above which attract stress while the prefixes do not: iné, siné, idá, sidá, idia, sidia. Although the first and second person pronouns may be qualified by the demonstrative roots, the pronouns and the demonstratives occur as separate phonological words, each attracting stress. An example with the 1sg. pronoun qualified by the proximate demonstrative ne is given in (10).

(10) Yak ne, polo yak kanig yakin wolat,
yak ne, polo yak k=ha-nig yakin wolat,
1sg PROX if 1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sg.POSS memory sea,

yan non hia
yan n=on hia
fish 3sg=eat be.good
‘Me here, if I understand the sea, the fish will really go for this (i.e. eat this bait).’

The most important piece of evidence for seeing the demonstrative pronouns as a distinct word class is the fact that the ordinary pronouns can only refer to animates (§7.3.1), while the demonstrative pronouns can also have inanimate reference. This is illustrated in (11) (where iné refers to a chair) and (12) (where idia refers to some luggage).

(11) Iné ma kyat Keten nak,
i-ne ma k=yat Keten nak
3sg-PROX well 1sg=take Moti also
‘This stuff I took to Moti too’.

(12) Idia Tarnate li ya
i-dia Tarnate li ya
3sg-DIST Ternate LOC REC
‘Is that for (to go to) Ternate.’

Demonstrative pronouns have a similar function to that of the animate pronouns when they refer to inanimates. They can also be used in most of the functional domains of ordinary nouns (i.e they can constitute complete noun phrases). In (13), idia refers to the Makianese eruption which is said to have set off a tidal wave.

(13) Idia ni laylu nwom lawe
i-dia ni laylu n=wom la-we
3sg-DIST 3sg.POSS wave 3sg=come sea-ESS
‘Its wave came up to here’.
The demonstrative pronouns are frequently used to point to earlier participants in a discourse, including the general topic of a whole discourse as in (13) above. They can also be used for temporal deixis as in (14).

(14) *Idia* Minggu
i-dia Minggu
3sg-DIST Sunday
‘That was Sunday.’

In (15), reference is made to a whole sequence of previously described events.

(15) Lai tam *idia*
lai t=am i-dia
just 1pl.incl=see 3sg-DIST
‘We had just seen all of this (for the first time).’

11.1.2.2 Demonstrative locative nouns

The locative nouns formed from the demonstratives are shown in figure 11.1 and repeated in (16). They are formed by prefixing a- to the demonstrative roots (there is no shortened form of the distal demonstrative found with this construction). These forms can conveniently be translated into English as ‘here’ and ‘there’. The prefix a- does not occur anywhere else in Taba morphology.

(16) (a) *ane*  (b) *adia*  
a-ne  a-dia
LOC-PROX  LOC-DIST
‘here’  ‘there’

Some examples of *ane* ‘here’ in sentences are shown in (17) and (18).

(17) *Yak e* ktongo *ane*
yak e k=tongo a-ne
1sg FOC 1sg=live LOC-PROX
‘Me, I live here’.

(18) *Si* *ane* te
si a-ne te
3pl LOC-PROX NEG
‘He wasn’t here’.

In my corpus, *adia* ‘there’ occurs far less frequently than *ane* ‘here’. This is probably because the deictic space signified by *adia* is further subdivided many times by the directionals to be discussed in §11.2. When *adia* is used, the location it refers to is often further qualified by one or more of the directionals, as illustrated in (19).
11.1.2.3 Similative forms

The final forms that need to be discussed here are what I have dubbed the 'similative' forms. Many Austronesian languages have forms analogous to these (e.g. Indonesian beg-ini 'like this' and beg-itu 'like that'). What makes the Taba forms interesting is the fact that there are so many of them. Taba speakers generally explain the differences between these forms as registeral differences. A listing of the forms, along with an indication of the register label ascribed to each by Taba speakers is given in table 11.2 where biasa = 'normal', alus = 'fine' or 'respectful', and kasar = 'coarse' (see §1.5.2) for more discussion of register in Taba). 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biasa</td>
<td>tane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alus</td>
<td>tadine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasar</td>
<td>dodine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tadia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taddia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hatadia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dodia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.2 Similative demonstratives according to perceived register

The similative forms are sometimes encountered as single word utterances. Most often seen in this role are the distal forms. A knowledge of the preceding discourse context is required to provide an appropriate English translation.

(20) *Tadial*
ta-dia SIM-DIST
'It's done like that!', 'I've done it!', 'Tadaa!' [or in French, *Voilà!*, etc.

The forms may also be used adverbially following whatever verb they mark similitude with respect to.

2 While it is clear that there are registeral differences between the forms, there also appear to be modal and aspectual differences associated with each of them. The *ta-* initial forms most commonly refer to the results of processes for which any agentivity is irrelevant, much like *ta-* derived verbs (§8.4). The 'kasar' *do-* initial forms are often used to refer to situations where the speaker has done something properly, while the addressee has either not done anything at all or has done something improperly. There may be some connection between these forms and the *do* realis marker (§14.1.1) with the perceived relative impoliteness stemming from this connection: *Dodia!* 'That is the real way of doing it (stupid)!'. Detailed examination of the contextual use of the similative nouns awaits further study.
11.2 Directionals

Five basic semantic categories can be distinguished in the Taba directional system: ya, glossed here roughly as 'up', po roughly 'down', la roughly 'sea', le roughly 'land', and no roughly 'there'. Affixes may also be attached to the roots to indicate motion towards a particular direction, motion from a direction, and position in a direction. The roots can also be nominalised to indicate parts of something that are oriented in a particular direction. Although all of the roots can clearly be ascribed the basic meanings given above, these must be understood in a Makianese socio-cultural context: direct translations into their directional English equivalents will often have nonsensical interpretations. A basic outline of the meanings of Taba directionals is given here, but the reader is referred to Bowden (1997) for more details.

After providing a listing of the roots and their derived forms, we discuss the meanings of the directional roots within the Makianese socio-cultural context (§11.2.1). Next, we discuss the semantico-syntactic functions of each of the derived paradigmatic classes of directionals (§11.2.2). Finally, we discuss some 'complex directionals', where two or more derived forms are used together (§11.2.3).

A complete listing of all the Taba directionals is found in table 11.3. The 'essive' forms are those which refer to static location in a particular direction, 'allatives' are those which refer to motion towards a direction, and the 'venitives' are those which refer to movement away from a direction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>ya (up)</th>
<th>po (down)</th>
<th>la (sea)</th>
<th>le (land)</th>
<th>no (there)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESSive</td>
<td>yase</td>
<td>pope</td>
<td>lawe</td>
<td>lewe</td>
<td>noge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLative</td>
<td>attia</td>
<td>appo</td>
<td>akla</td>
<td>akle</td>
<td>akno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VENitive</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>poma</td>
<td>lama</td>
<td>lema</td>
<td>noma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMinalised</td>
<td>tattubo</td>
<td>umpo</td>
<td>kla</td>
<td>kle</td>
<td>kno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.3 Taba directional paradigm

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3 The meanings of directionals will be discussed in more detail below. Although 'there' is a very rough approximation at best of the meaning of no, I have adopted this gloss since Taba speakers always translate the term into Malay as sana 'there'.

4 Note that this is a suppletive form, based on the root tub 'to grow', and literally meaning the 'top' or the 'thing with which (something) grows towards something'. The form is derived through instrumental reduplication (§7.1.2.1) of the applied locative form (§8.3.3) of tub.

reddo
   tat-tub-o
NOM:up [ 'top' / 'the thing with which something grows towards something' ]
11.2.1 Meanings of directionals

The directional systems of languages from the North Maluku area have been of interest to many researchers, both linguists and anthropologists, who have worked in the area. Amongst the works discussing North Moluccan directionals are Teljeur’s (1987) study of Giman orientation, Taylor’s (1984) study of Tobelo, Shelden’s (1991) discussion of Galela, and Yoshida’s (1980) general survey of directionals of the region, also focussing on Galela. In this section we sketch out the basic meanings of the Taba directionals. Bowden (1997) discusses the Taba system in more detail.

The Taba directionals are used to refer to the location of some entity (the ‘figure’) with respect to some contextually determined reference point (the ‘ground’). (See Talmy (1983) for a detailed discussion of the notions of ‘figure’ and ‘ground’.) The reader should bear in mind throughout the following discussion that these directional terms are usually the only way that Taba speakers have for specifying the location of one object with respect to another. The meanings of the Taba directionals are best understood by examining their uses within three partially overlapping scalar domains:

- small scale: within a house or within a neighbourhood
- medium scale: on and nearby Makian island
- large scale: in the wider world

11.2.1.1 Orientation within a house, or within a neighbourhood.

The clearest case of small scale orientation is within about the limits of a house. Within a house, the small-scale orientation system is always used.

Within the house, horizontal direction is indicated by the use of the roots la ‘seawards’ and le ‘landwards’ for objects that lie along a landwards - seawards axis, and by using no ‘there’ for objects lying along the orthogonal horizontal axis. The roots ya ‘up’ and po ‘down’ are used exclusively for vertical orientation.

Figure 11.1 shows how the directions work inside a house. The categories shown here equally apply in other locations where the scale is of a similar magnitude. The wall at the left of the diagram looks landwards.

Whenever people want to specify the position of an object relative to something else within a house, or over a small distance, they use forms from the directional paradigm. Examples (22) to (24) illustrate the use of some of the terms. For clarity in this exposition, none of these examples come from spontaneous conversation, but were elicited by holding a packet of cigarettes in a variety of positions relative to a chair, and asking a Taba speaker to simply tell me where the cigarettes were. The translations given here do not make any attempt at idiomatic English, but try to preserve some of the flavour of the Taba expression.

(22) Tabako adia kurusi ni noge noma li
   cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3sg.POSS there-ESS there-VEN LOC
   ‘The cigarettes are in the space away from that side of the chair’.
The cigarettes referred to in (22) are located at one of the sides of the chair which is not facing either the sea or the interior of the island. (This could also be at the ‘front’ or the ‘back’ of the chair depending on its orientation with respect to the seawards - landwards axis.) The normal English translation for this sentence would depend on the speaker’s position with respect to the chair and the cigarettes, and also on the orientation of the chair with respect to the speaker. Depending on all of these factors, then, the sentence might be translated as ‘the cigarettes are beside the chair’, ‘the cigarettes are in front of the chair’, ‘the cigarettes are behind the chair’, etc. In Taba, the relative location of the speaker and the orientation of the chair are totally irrelevant to the description of the situation.

Example (23) shows how a situation where the cigarettes are above the chair could be described. Note, as pointed out in §4.1.2, that the essive directionals are a subcategory of nominals: here, yase occurs in a possessive NP.

(23) **Tabako adia kurusi ni yase**  
*tabako a-dia kurusi ni ya-se*  
cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3sg.POSS up-ESS  
‘The cigarettes are there, on the chair’.

Finally, (24) shows what a Taba speaker would say if the cigarettes were located on the landwards side of the chair. As with example (22), the relative location of the speaker and the orientation of the chair are irrelevant, and any of the English translations offered for (22) could also apply here, depending on the location of the speaker and the orientation of the chair.
As we can see from the above discussion, the directionals refer to relative locations that are fixed with respect to the direction of the land and the sea. In the terms of Levinson (1992) the Taba directional system is thus an ‘absolute’ system rather than a ‘relative’ one such as found in English.

Some of the situations described above could equally well be described using other ‘relative’ coding devices. Example (25) shows one such possibility.

(25) Tabako adia kurusi ni soda li

‘The cigarettes are there, on the front of the chair’.

Notice, though, if a Taba speaker were to use this sentence, the cigarettes would have to be actually attached to the front surface of the chair. To translate the English ‘the cigarettes are in front of the chair’ the word *soda* (literally ‘face’) cannot be used because it can only apply to a part of something. To express the English ‘the cigarettes are in front of the chair’ requires something like (22), (24) or (26) below, depending on the orientation of the chair and the location of the speaker.

(26) Tabako adia kurusi ni lave lama li

‘The cigarettes are in front of the chair’.

Before going on to examine the use of directionals on a larger scale, it is worth pointing out that different directionals can be combined in quite complex ways in order to more accurately pinpoint the position of an object. One such example is given in (27).

(27) Tabako adia kurusi ni lae.lama pope

‘The cigarettes are there, in the space below and away from the seawards side of the chair’.

It is worth reiterating that this way of indicating orientation is the default way in Taba: words like *soda* ‘face / front’ and *poto* ‘buttocks / back’ are used as an exception, and not as a rule. Furthermore, such metaphorical devices are restricted in use to reference to parts of things that are orientated in a particular direction.

Examples (28) and (29), taken from spontaneous conversation should reinforce the point. Example (28) is advice from a chess match spectator to one of the protagonists, and (29) is a set of directions for the hotel where the referent was staying in Ternate. Sentences like these abound in everyday conversation.
Joloso polo nim kuda lawe
jou-lo-so polo ni-m kuda la-we
good-and-one if POSS-2sg knight sea-ESS
'Better (to move) your seawards knight'.

I n'tongo 'Happy Restaurant' ni kle
i n=tongo 'Happy Restaurant' ni k-le
3sg 3sg=stay 'Happy Restaurant' 3sg.POSS NOM-land
'He's staying landwards from the "Happy Restaurant"'.

11.2.1.2 Intermediate scale orientation

The zone of transition between the small and intermediate scales begins as soon as we step outside the house and continues roughly as far as the next village. From beyond the next village we are clearly into the intermediate scale. As with the transition between small-scale orientation and intermediate, likewise, there is no clear-cut distinction between intermediate and large-scale orientation.

Because this is a fairly complex system, and because my data as it applies to other locations where Taba speakers live is incomplete, I will conduct all of the discussion as if we are located in the Kota section of Waikyon village, (Bahasa Indonesia Ngofàkiaha). A map of Makian island and the areas adjacent to it is provided in figure 11.5. Waikyon is by far the largest village on Makian island: in many ways it would be more accurate to call Waikyon a town. Being the old capital or ibu kota of the Makian Kecamatan (subdistrict), Waikyon is really a collection of eight adjoining villages or perhaps 'sub-villages', and Kota is at their northern end. In daily life the people of Kota have quite intensive contact with those of Gorup, Dalam, and Walo ('sub-villages' to the south), and Rabudayo (the next village to the north of them). These places all fall into the transition zone between the small and intermediate scales of orientation. Beyond Walo to the south lie the 'subvillages' of Gitan, Kiowor, Matantengan and Sangapati, and beyond them the village of Samsuma. Beyond Rabudayo to the west is Waigitang. When referring to locations in any of these villages we use the intermediate zone system. Continuing south past Samsuma we remain in the intermediate zone until we reach the village of Mailoa. Carrying on west past Mailoa we come to Bobawa, and we are into another transition zone: the zone between the intermediate and the world-wide scales of orientation. When we travel anticlockwise past Waigitan, we arrive in Sabale, and again we are into the transition zone. The whole of the west coast of Makian between Sabale and Bobawa likewise falls into the transition zone.

The Makianese are not confined to their island, however. In fact, they have quite an extensive interaction with the sea. Not surprisingly, perhaps, some areas on other islands also fall into the intermediate zone, or the transitional areas between intermediate and world-wide scales. The areas concerned are the coast of Halmahera immediately east of Makian, and the islands of Moti and Kayoa.

On map 11.1, transitional zones have been shaded. That these zones are transitional can be seen from the fact that within them, there is indeterminacy about which directions are used. All the villages on the western side of Makian island lie either yase 'upwards' or noge 'there'. The adjacent parts of Halmahera island can be either lewe 'landwards' or noge 'there' while the southern tip of the southwestern peninsular is yase 'up'. Although Moti is marked as lawe 'seawards' on the map, it is only the Taba speaking villages in the south of
Map 11.1 Map showing areas within intermediate directional zone
the island that are unequivocally lawe. In the Tidoran speaking villages on Moti's northern side, again there is indeterminacy. These villages can be either lawe ‘seawards’ or pope ‘down’. In the transitional zone between small and intermediate scales of orientation, Rabudayo is either yase ‘up’ or noge ‘there’, while the villages to Kota’s immediate south are either pope ‘down’ or noge ‘there’. In this zone, it is clearly the term noge ‘there’ which is carried over from the small-scale orientation system. As in the house, direction parallel to the seashore is noge ‘there’. Having determined which of the terms is the intermediate one in the zone between small and intermediate scales, directional reference to places within the intermediate system is quite straightforward.

From Kota, when someone follows the path anticlockwise around the island, he or she is going attia ‘upwards’. Going clockwise is going appo ‘downwards’. If the transitional zones are treated as intermediate, we can go attia ‘upwards’ anticlockwise as far as Bobawa, and appo ‘downwards’ clockwise as far as Mailoa. It is probably significant that all of the villages lying in the transition zone on Makian island are villages where the West Makian language is spoken. None of the Taba speaking villages lie in this transition zone. I will have more to say about the status of Mailoa village as the last point in a ‘downwards’ direction from Kota later.

When leaving Makian island, and going to places at a reasonably close distance (again, all mostly Taba speaking areas), we can either go akla ‘seawards’ to Kayoa and Moti islands, or akle ‘landwards’ to Halmahera. It might seem odd at first that Halmahera should be ‘landwards’. This is not quite so odd, though, if we consider that Halmahera is by far the biggest land mass in the North Maluku area. There are also other reasons for according Halmahera a special status which I will return to later. Finally, the top of the mountain on Makian island is yase ‘up’. A schematic summary of intermediate scale direction appears in figure 11.5.

11.2.1.3 World-wide orientation

It is now time to look at orientation as it applies to the rest of the world. Having seen how the transitional areas work, we are free to look at just the clear-cut cases of world-wide orientation. A summary of the relevant categories appears in map 11.2.

From Makian, we head appo ‘downwards’ as far as Ternate and we head attia ‘upwards’ along the same axis, but in the opposite direction, past Bacan and Gane Timur as far as Gebe. We go akno ‘there’ to places on Halmahera outside the intermediate scale zone, and akno ‘there’ (or sometimes also akla ‘seawards’) to North Sulawesi and Irian Jaya. Anywhere else in the world is lawe ‘seawards’. Returning to Makian from other places which are ‘there’ from Makian is usually going noge ‘there’, but sometimes people say yase ‘up’. From Ternate, one always goes attia ‘up’ to Makian, and from Gebe, Gane Timur and Bacan we head appo ‘downwards’.

Interestingly, this same system works in much the same way whether people are speaking Taba or North Moluccan Malay. Other languages in the Halmahera region have roughly comparable systems, all of those of which I am aware distinguishing much the same categories as Taba (although some languages divide up the space referred to by noge ‘there’ in Taba into two directions).

Most strikingly, all of the local language systems distinguish an up-down axis that correlates quite closely with the Taba one. While Taba speakers go appo ‘downwards’ only as far as Ternate, speakers of Tobelo (Taylor, 1984) continue ‘downwards’ further north along the coast. Taba speakers only go attia ‘upwards’ as far as Gebe, but the Giman, who live on
the eastern side of the southern peninsular of Halmahera, keep going ‘upwards’ through the Raja Ampat islands to Irian Jaya (Teljeur, 1983). The axis does not just end here, though. It seems that at least some languages from Irian Jaya also use some of the same terms and extend the axis further. The Biak, as Kamma (1947, 1:364-370) relates, have had a centuries long tradition of contact with Ternate, and Held (1957) points out that the Waropen of Cenderawasi Bay also participated in the trade. According to Held (1957:45-46) the Waropen go ‘upwards’ as they move away from Halmahera along the coast of Cenderawasi Bay, and ‘downwards’ as they move towards Halmahera.

Map 11.2 Taba world-wide orientation

11.2.1.4 Making coherence of the three scales together

The first thing that needs to be done in order to make coherence of all the scales together is to recognise the importance of the concept *pope* ‘downwards’ and its wider implications. We also need to recognise that historically, Taba speakers have probably borrowed their world-wide orientational system from another language, most likely Ternatan which, as I have said was for a long time the lingua franca of the area (§1.5.4). The importance of *pope* ‘downwards’ in the system then becomes quite obvious. Since one can only travel *appo* ‘downwards’ as far as Ternate, and since Ternate has had such a strong influence on Taba speakers, ‘downward’ travel *appo* is also travel towards the centre (see Andaya, 1993 for extensive discussion of Ternate as the centre of the North Maluku region).

In seeking to make some connections between the world-wide orientation system and the intermediate scale one, it might be useful to look to the place that is ultimately *pope* ‘down’ within the intermediate system, Mailoa. Mailoa does, indeed seem to have a special significance to Taba speakers. It is common currency amongst other speakers that the people of Mailoa are always the most refined (*alus*) in both their speech, and in their manners. I
have not yet met any Taba speakers who would disagree with this assessment, no matter what village they come from. While there is not the space to review all of the historical evidence here (the interested reader is referred to Bowden (1997) for further details) it appears that the first speakers of Taba to arrive on Makian island in the seventeenth century first landed at Mailoa and over the ensuing years gradually spread northwards around the coast from that spot.

On one level at least, pope 'downwards' has the same significance in both the world-wide orientational system and the intermediate one: going appo 'down' is going towards the metaphorical centre. As Ternate is 'down', so is Mailoa. The rest of the intermediate scale system makes sense if we consider that it probably had its genesis on the Halmahera mainland, somewhere near the present-day town of Payahe where it seems that Taba speakers originally came from. (Again, see Bowden (1997) for further justification of this point.) From Payahe (where Taba speakers are still the dominant ethnic group in spite of a large influx of people from other areas), Kayoa, Makian and Moti are all in a seawards direction (the up-down axis from Ternate down to Bacan and Gane Timur, etc. cuts these islands out). All that contemporary Taba speakers are doing is retaining their ancestors' usages for the direction of Kayoa and Moti, where these still makes some sense. Of course, it would make no sense at all to think of the island which is home as lying seawards. It does still make sense, though, to see Halmahera as landwards. It is clearly visible from Makian as a long mountain covered strip of land in the medium distance on all but the most overcast days.

And so, we have made some kind of sense of the system as a whole, seeing some logic behind the seemingly arbitrary assignment of directions to places. We still haven't seen exactly why 'down' should be associated with the centre: the fact that one travels downwards to return home from the gardens at the end of the day may also be related.

Before we turn our attention to the various paradigmatic classes formed from the directional roots, it should be pointed out that the above explanation of how the Taba directionals mean what they do should not be taken as any kind of claim about how speakers of the language actually perceive all the directions, although parts of the just outlined explanation may have a place in people's conceptions. Rather, the explanation should be taken as just that: an explanation of how the Taba directionals came to mean what they do today.

11.2.2 Paradigmatic classes of directionals

Directional roots are rarely used without one of the affixes illustrated above in figure 11.3. The only directional roots to occur without any affixes attached to them are ya 'up', and po 'down'. These unaffixed uses are the most clearly deictic uses of the directionals.

Po 'down' occurs when referring to unknown locations, away from both speaker and hearer as in the common Taba greeting illustrated in (30).

(30) Hhan po lo e?
   h=han po lo e
   2pl=go down where FOC
   'Where are you going?'
This greeting is used no matter what direction the addressee is moving in, even if it is clear they are moving in, say, an ‘upwards’ or ‘seawards’ direction. The purely directional sense of ‘down’ is clearly not intended, although this usage of po no doubt has connotations of politeness associated with its meaning of being ‘at the centre’ or ‘in a hallowed place’.

Ya ‘up’, when used in its unaffixed form is very strongly deictic, being used to index expressions, the referents of which are known to both speaker and hearer. It can be used to index both noun phrases and adpositional phrases. In many instances of its use, it could perhaps be glossed with the colloquial English expression ‘you know’. In the terminology used by Himmelmann (1996) it is a ‘recognitional’, similar in function to deictic forms found in many Australian languages. A preliminary illustration, where ya indexes a postpositional locative phrase is given in (31).

(31) \[ \text{yak ksag'al akno UnHair li ya.} \]
\[ \text{yak k=sag'al ak-no UnHair li ya} \]
\[ \text{1sg 1sg=step ALL-there Universitas Khairun LOC REC} \]
\[ 'I walked to UnHair (a place we both know about).’ \]

In (32), ya refers to a time in the past when people were unable to see anything and points back to a previous point in the discourse where this period of time was mentioned.

(32) \[ \text{Am nol ya.} \]
\[ a=am nol ya \]
\[ \text{1excl.pl=see nothing REC} \]
\[ 'We couldn’t see anything then (at that time).’ \]

In (33), further deictic use of ya can be seen.

(33) \[ \text{Malai yapyap um ni llo ya, mlongan tane.} \]
\[ \text{Malai yapyap um ni llo ya mlongan ta-ne} \]
\[ \text{so ash house 3sg.POSS inside REC deep SIM-PROX} \]
\[ 'So, the ash inside the houses (you know) was as deep as this’. \]

The use of ya as a deictic marker is discussed more fully in §11.3.

As we saw in figure 11.3, there are four affixes which combine with the directionals, creating nineteen derived forms. (The nominalisation of ya ‘up’ is suppletive). I have labelled these the essive forms (expressing static location), the allative forms (expressing movement towards a direction), and the venitive forms (expressing movement away from a direction) in addition to the nominalised forms which generally refer to parts of things oriented in a particular direction. Each of the sets of derived forms will be discussed in turn. The simplest (and first to be discussed) are the nominalised forms.

11.2.2.1 Nominalised directionals

The nominalised terms sometimes refer to an area closely adjacent to and lying in a particular direction vis-a-vis the ground object in relation to which relative location is being measured, but most commonly they refer to parts of objects that are oriented in a particular direction. Nominalised directionals are obligatorily possessed by the noun referring to the ground with which location is being expressed relative to. This is the case whether the
nominalised directional refers to a part of the ground or to an area of space adjacent to it. Examples (34) through (36) provide illustrations.

(34) Malai ane \textit{Waikyon seng ni tattubo,}  
Malai a-ne \textit{Waikyon seng ni tattubo}  
then LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha roofing iron 3sg.POSS NOM:up  
yapyap kamudu-kamudu tane  
yapyap kamudu-kamudu ta-ne  
ash thick-thick SIM-PROX  

‘Anyway, here in Ngofakiaha on top of the roofing iron there was ash as thick as this.’

(35) Kapal ya pso nuso lawe Botan ni  
Kapal ya p-so n=uso la-we Botan ni  
ship REC CLASS-one 3sg=follow sea-ESS Halmahera 3sg.POSS  
umpo lawe  
um-po la-we  
NOM-down sea-ESS  

‘There was a ship following along underneath Halmahera.’

(36) I ntongo ‘Happy Restaurant’ ni kle  
i n=tongo ‘Happy Restaurant’ ni k-le  
3sg 3sg=stay ‘Happy Restaurant’ 3sg.POSS NOM-land  

‘He’s staying landwards from the ‘Happy Restaurant’.

\textbf{11.2.2.2 Allative directionals}

The allative prefix attached to a directional signifies movement towards a particular direction, as in (37) and (38).

(37) Yan ni poyo nhan appo ni ggowo  
yan n=han ap-po ni ggowo  
fish 3sg.POSS head 3sg=go ALL-down 3sg.POSS neck  
‘The fish’s head goes down to its neck’ [instructions on how to break a (big) fish’s neck and kill it]

(38) Han akno ni dawalatci de ncio ni  
han ak-no ni dawalat=si de n=sio-o ni  
go ALL-there 3sg.POSS girlfriend=PL RES 3sg=shit-APPL 3sg.POSS  

calana de namliak tit,  
calana de n=amlih-ak tit  
trousers RES 3sg=laugh-APPL 1pl.incl  

‘Go there to his girlfriend’s and shit his trousers and she’ll laugh at us.’
The derived allative forms may function in two ways: on their own as postverbal adjuncts, as in (39) and (40), or at the head of a locative phrase, with a locative noun phrase as its adjunct, as in (41) or with a locative postpositional phrase as its adjunct as in (42) below.

(39) \textit{NCopang ak-la}  
\textit{n=sopang ak-\text{-la}}  
\textit{3sg=descend~ALL\text{-sea}}  
It descended to the sea

(40) \textit{Malai lhan appo}  
\textit{Malai l=han ap-po}  
\textit{then~3pl=go~ALL\text{-down}}  
Then they went downwards

Sentences such as (40) are very commonly heard in everyday conversation. Often, a specific destination, lying ‘downwards’ from the departure point is pragmatically recoverable in a sentence like (40). If the destination is not inferrable, a locative NP may follow the allative directional as in (41), or a postpositional locative phrase may follow as in (42).

(41) \textit{Lhan appo Gitan}  
\textit{l=han ap-po Gitan}  
\textit{3pl=go~ALL\text{-down}~Gitan}  
They went down to Gitan.

(42) \textit{Lalhod, lhan appo solo li}  
\textit{l=alhod l=han ap-po solo li}  
\textit{3pl=run~3pl=go~ALL\text{-down}~beach~LOC}  
They ran, they went down to the beach.

The allative prefix has probably been derived historically from the same source as the applicative suffix -\textit{ak}. Although the exact details of how this may have occurred are unknown some evidence that this scenario is likely to have happened can be seen from the fact that allative directionals must always follow the verbs they qualify, while venitive directionals, with just the opposite meaning, are much freer to float from one end of a clause to the other.

11.2.2.3 Venitive directionals

The derived venitives are able to occupy a wider range of syntactic positions than their allative counterparts. Venitive directionals have an opposite meaning to the allatives. They signify motion from a particular direction, as in (43) and (44), where they serve to modify verbs on their own. In (43), the directional precedes the verb it modifies, while in (44) it follows.
When venitives have locative noun phrases, or locative postpositional phrases as their adjuncts, they always follow their adjuncts rather than preceding them as do allatives. Examples of this are found in (45) and (46).

(45) I nhan Tarnate poma
i n=han Tarnate p=ma
3sg 3sg=go Ternate down-from
He came from Ternate.

(46) Ntub daddoba li poma
n=tub d=do-doba li p=ma
3sg grow NOM-garden (earth) LOC down-from
'It grows from down in the earth.'

Sometimes, the venitives directionals can appear without any verb at all (something that again the allatives cannot do). Sentence (47) exemplifies this.

(47) Motor Payahe lema yak.
motor Payahe l=ma yak
boat Payahe land-from 1sg
'I came on the boat from Payahe.'

The venitive directional suffix probably derives from PAN *maRi ‘come’. ‘Persistence’ (see Hopper, 1988) of its putative original verbal functions would probably provide further explanation for the differences in the syntactic distribution of allative and venitive derivations.

11.2.2.4 Essive directionals

The essive forms have a wider range of functions than any of the other derived directionals. As with the other directionals, they can be used as an adjunct to the verb, either

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5 Note that the Taba verb han ‘go’ is not inherently deictic in the same way that English ‘go’ is. While ‘going’ in English always entails movement away from some presupposed deictic centre, this is not the case in Taba. In the example above, the speaker is sitting on Makian island as he speaks, the place that he came to from Moti. While in English ‘I went to here from Moti’ is semantically anomalous, the Taba equivalent with han is not. Taba wom ‘come’ on the other hand is inherently deictic in a parallel way to English ‘come’, signifying motion towards a presumed deictic centre.
alone, as in (48), or together with a locative phrase, as in (49). They can also occur after a verb, as in (48) and (49), or they may precede it as in (50).

(48) Sama lo John nalusa ni abu nwom lawe.  
Sama lo John n=ha-lusa ni abu n=wom la-we  
same as John 3sg=CAUS-say 3sg.POSS ash 3sg=come sea-ESS  
'Just like you (John) said the ash (from the eruption) fell in Australia.'

In (48), the fact that ‘seawards’ was referring to Australia was able to be recovered pragmatically.

(49) Atobik Om Nur pope Dalam dia.  
a=tobi-ak Om Nur po-pe Dalam dia  
1pl.excl=la nd-APPL Uncle Nur down-ESS Dalam DIST  
'We let Om Nur off (the boat) down there in Dalam.'

(50) Yase taplod  
ya-se ta-plod  
up-ESS DETR-erupt  
'It erupted up there'.

When used in a possessive construction, the essive locative signifies location in a space adjacent to the possessing ground nominal, as in (51) which refers to the location of a bat which was asleep in a tree.6

(51) Ni moglo ni yase  
ni moglo ni ya-se  
3sg.POSS branch 3sg.POSS up-ESS  
'Above the branch'.

The essive directionals can also be used attributively, to modify a noun phrase, expressing the location of the noun as in (52).

(52) Poto pope me tasiak i  
poto po-pe me ta-sio-ak i  
bum down-ESS well DETR-shit-APPL 3sg  
'Your bum down there shits itself'.

11.2.2.5 Complex directionals

Venitive directionals can be used together with essive forms to form complex directionals. They must be combinations of two forms each having the same directional root. They are

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6 Yase here is clearly a noun (cf. §4.1.2) but differs from ‘nominalised’ (and obligatorily possessed) tattubo (§11.2.2.1) in that it refers in this example to a space above the branch, while an equivalent example with tattubo would refer to the top part of the branch. Natural English translations for the different sentences would be ‘above the branch’ and ‘on top of the branch’.
optionally cliticised compounds. Complex directionals are of two different, but obviously related sorts.

The first are obligatorily possessed, and signify a position in space in a particular direction, away from their possessed ground’s location. The position signified is further away than it would have been had the essive directional been used alone as in (52) above. This sort is exemplified in (53) where it refers to the space seawards from the table.

(53) **Bal adia meja ni lawe lama**
    bal a-dia meja ni la-we la-ma
    ball LOC-DIST table 3sg.POSS down-ESS down-VEN
    ‘The ball is seawards from the table.’

The sentence is repeated, with the cliticised form of the complex directional in (54).

(54) **Bal adia meja ni laelama**
    bal a-dia meja ni la-we.la-ma
    ball LOC-DIST table 3sg.POSS down-ESS.down-VEN
    ‘The ball is seawards from the table.’

The second sort of complex directional refers to movement from a direction signified by an initial essive directional. The movement is encoded by a venitive directional with the same directional root as in its preceding essive. This is illustrated in (55).

(55) **Moda pope poma**
    moda po-pe po-ma
    wind down-ESS down-VEN
    ‘Southerly wind (if in Kota, northerly if out at sea).’

It is clear that in the construction illustrated in (55) there is a connection with sentences like those in (53) and (54), another probable example of the persistence of verbal properties in the venitive forms.

### 11.2.3 Compounds with directionals

A few compounds which have been formed with directionals are mentioned here. All of the compounds I am aware of are formed with *po* the root meaning ‘down’, and refer to future times. Some examples are given in (56) and (57).

(56) **mawoappo**
    mawowo-ap-po
    light-ALL-down
    ‘the next day’

(57) **motopo**
    moto-ap-po
    a little-ALL-down
    ‘In a short while / a short time later’
11.3 Deictic particles

Deixis refers to the use of linguistic expressions whose interpretation depends on aspects of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur. Fillmore (1971:35) defines deixis as follows:

Deixis is the name given to uses of items and categories of lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterances are produced. These details include especially the identity of the participants in the communicating situation, their locations and orientation in space, whatever on-going indexing acts the participants may be performing, and the time at which the utterance containing the item is produced...

In this section we provide a brief overview of the functions of three deictic particles which come from the demonstrative and directional paradigms. The three particles which are used to deictically index an NP within a text are the proximate demonstrative *ne*, the distal demonstrative *dia* (or its shortened form *da*), as well as the directional root *ya* ‘up’. While the deictic functions of all of these particles have been touched on at various points of this chapter, a brief review of the functions of all of them is conducted here to facilitate comparisons between the properties of each. A rough, and somewhat simplified indication of their deictic functions is given in table 11.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic Particle</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em> ‘PROX’</td>
<td>proximate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dia</em> / <em>da</em> ‘DIST’</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ya</em> ‘up’</td>
<td>recognitional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

indicating perceived proximity to the speaker
indicating perceived distance from the speaker
indicates that whatever is indexed by the particle is known to both the speaker and the hearer, but not part of the immediate linguistic context.

The first two rows from the above table illustrate particles which often have clear counterparts in other languages: *ne* is roughly equivalent to English ‘this’ while *dia* / *da* is roughly equivalent to English ‘that’. The third row encodes a deictic category that is perhaps not so familiar, *ya* ‘up’ being more or less exclusively reserved for pointing to things that are not a part of the immediate linguistic context at all, but presumed to be known to both speaker and hearer.

In order to better illustrate the functions of the deictic markers, a count of each type of deictic marker found in text two of appendix two has been made. This text begins with a description of how a garden house or *sedi* was built, and what the names of its parts are. After discussion of the roof thatching made from sago leaves, the text turns into a discussion of all the things that sago is used for and a set of instructions for processing sago as food is given. This text was selected for this count, because deictic reference was made to a number of objects that were actually visible at the time the text was recorded as well as to things that were not visible, but known by various participants. Table 11.5 provides a summary of the deictic particles used. Along with the demonstrative roots and the directional root *ya* have also been included a count of some derived demonstrative forms. The form *ne* ‘PROX’ was
not counted in a few instances where it occurs as part of the lexicalised compound lai mo ne 'recently' (lit. 'just come this'). Derived similitive forms (§11.1.2.3) were not included in the count because they cannot always be linked with any particular referent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>‘up’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ahe</td>
<td>ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da/</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>idia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| visible       | 6   | 2   | 28  | 2   | 4   |
| reference established previous IU | 2   | 2   | 3   |      | 1   |
| reference established 2-10 IUs earlier | 1   |      |      |      |      |
| reference established more than 10 IUs earlier | 1   |      |      |      | 1   |
| generic referent | 1   | 1   | 1   |      |      |
| referent neither visible nor established in preceding discourse | 1   |      |      | 7   |      |
| other |      |      |      | 1   |      |

Table 11.5 Summary of deictic use in Sedi ada baku text

A number of things stand out rather clearly from figure 11.8. The first is a very strong preference for the proximal derived forms to be used to refer to things that are visible. Out of a total of 42 visible referents marked deictically, 36 of them were indexed by ne 'PROX' or something derived from it. No visible referents are indexed with ya 'up'.

Also very strong is the preference for referents already established within the text to be marked by one of the distal derived forms. Out of nine deictic uses which pointed to referents established within the preceding discourse, eight were indexed with one of the distal derived forms. Only one instance of ya was found. It is clearly noteworthy that the only instance of ya being thus used was when reference had been established fully 20 intonation units earlier.

Ya is overwhelmingly used (7 times out of 9) in order to establish initial reference to something that is known to both speaker and hearer, but which has not yet been introduced into the immediate linguistic context. The only other instance of this kind of deictic function exhibited by one of the other deictics occurred with the proximate root ne 'this' to refer the speaker's canoe that the large tube used to process sago was being compared with. This referent could actually be seen as much more obviously part of any linguistic context involving the person speaking here: he is well known as an obsessive fisherman with an out of the ordinary interest in maintaining and using his canoe. The canoe could thus be expected to be much more readily retrievable than most potential referents from outside the immediate linguistic context.

While a simple count of deictic tokens from one text cannot be expected to provide a definitive account of their range of uses, the count just discussed does match closely with my general impressions about the kinds of uses to which the deictic markers are put.
Example (58) is a small segment of the text, where some of the things discussed above can be seen more clearly close-up.

(58) Odo *lai mo ne noge loka li ya...*  
Odo on the other hand just before PROX there-ESS banana LOC REC

duga palo ya?..  
duga palo ya only half REC

Idia  
Idia i-dia DEM-DIST
tenti tenti tenti loka ni llo... Polo
tenti tenti banana 3sg.POSS inside if

Ta-ne sedi... Ada ni pungan.. Idia ni  
ta-ne sedi ada ni pungan i-dia ni

SIM-PROX sedi with 3sg.POSS ridge-pole DEM-DIST 3sg.POSS

sso sedi.. Tapi duga polo duga polo le... tenti.. Tadia.  
sso sedi tapi duga polo duga polo le tenti ta-dia

name sedi but only if only side only tenti SIM-DIST

‘On the other hand, just before, over there in the bananas... that only half one, you remember? That’s a ‘tenti’. A ‘tenti’ in the bananas. If it’s like this it’s a sedi. With a ridge-pole. That’s called a ‘sedi’.. But if it’s only half a structure... it’s a ‘tenti’.. like that.’

The first instance of *ne* ‘PROX’ occurs within the lexicalised compound *lai mo ne* ‘recently / just before’ and was not counted. The next deictic particle used is *ya* ‘up’, first in *loka li ya* ‘at the bananas’, and then in *duga palo ya* ‘just a half’. Here, the speaker is referring to a place that all of the protagonists in the conversation had been to not long before the text was recorded. On the way to the gardens we had stopped at a small bunch of banana trees where a half-sized garden shelter or *tenti* had been built. The speaker is contrasting the full-sized *sedi* with the half-sized *tenti* we had seen earlier. The *tenti* had not been discussed before within this text, nor was it visible from where the text was recorded, but the speaker presumed that its existence, and that of the bunch of banana trees where it was located would be remembered by those being addressed. Once the *tenti* structure had been established as a referent within the text, the speaker used the derived distal form *idia* ‘that’ to refer to the *tenti: idia tenti ‘that is a tenti’.*

The next demonstrative used is in the similitive form *tane* ‘like this’. While the similitive forms were not included in the count given in figure 11.8, the use of the proximal similitive *tane* here is consistent with the functions for each of the particles so far outlined. Here, the speaker is referring to the visible full-sized *sedi* structure which is the main topic of this narrative *polo tane, sedi ‘if it’s like this it’s a sedi.’*

The next demonstrative *idia* is used not to refer to the particular *sedi* which was visible at the time of utterance, but to the *sedi* as a generic type of structure: *idia ni sso sedi* ‘that is called a sedi’. By this stage of the narrative, the *sedi* is well established as a structure type so it is appropriate in naming it to use the distal demonstrative form.

The final use of a derived demonstrative in this text shows a very common use of the distal similitive *tadia*. Here *tadia* is used to close this sequence of text and offer a summary of what has just been said, *tadia ‘it’s like that.’*
Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are constructions in which ‘a sequence of two or more verbs...in various (rather strong) ways together act like a single verb’ (Durie 1996:290).

Some examples from Taba, where sequences of verbs appear to be acting like single verbs are given in (1) - (7).

(1) *Nhan ait tesu*
   n=han ait te-su
   3sg=go ascend NEG-POT
   ‘(S)he hasn’t yet gone up.’ [generally to the gardens]

(2) *Ncopang nmul hu*
   n=sopang n=mul hu
   3sg=descend 3sg=return CONT
   ‘(S)he’s still coming back down.’ [would also usually refer to return from the gardens]

(3) *Nbabas welik nmot do*
   n=babas welik n=mot do
   3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
   ‘It bit the pig dead.’

(4) *Npun bobay npake sandal*
   n=pun bobay n=pake sandal
   3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong
   ‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

(5) *Ncurat nulang*
   n=surat n=ulang
   3sg=write 3sg=do.again
   ‘She wrote it again.’
Although there appear to be some restrictions on which major subcategories of verb types co-occur in SVCs (e.g. no sequences of two ditransitive verbs are encountered in the corpus), there are very few such restrictions. The examples above illustrate a fairly wide variety of types. Examples (1), (2) and (5) illustrate sequences of Actor intransitive verbs. Example (3) shows a transitive verb followed by an Actor intransitive. Example (4) illustrates the co-occurrence of two transitive verbs while (6) shows a ditransitive followed by a transitive. Example (7) shows an Actor intransitive followed by an Undergoer intransitive and finally (8) shows two Undergoer intransitives.

A detailed justification for labelling all of the examples presented above as ‘serial verb constructions’ (henceforth SVCs) is given in §12.1. A functional typology of SVCs in Taba is provided in §12.2.

### 12.1 Cross-linguistic features of SVCs and Taba SVCs

Durie (1996:291) outlines some key cross-linguistic characteristics of SVCs:

- a single serial verb complex describes what is conceptualized as a single event: this is repeatedly reported to be a clear intuition of native speakers, and can be demonstrated through semantic analysis. It follows from this that a serial verb complex can often best be translated into a non-serializing language using a single, mono-valent clause.

- the serial complex has shared tense, aspect, modality and polarity: this is often reflected in a single morphological realization of these operators...or in obligatory concord across the verbs...

- serial verbs ‘share’ at least one and possibly more arguments.

- intonational properties of a clause within serialization are those of a mono-verbal clause...

- the complex takes only one subject/external argument.
• when serialization results in a complex of more than two arguments, the configuration of arguments corresponds closely to the kinds of configurations of arguments + adjuncts found for single clauses in non-serializing languages.

• there is a very strong diachronic tendency to lexicalization and grammaticization of the meaning of serial complexes: this involve treating the whole serial complex as a single lexical(ized) item, or ‘demotion’ of the meaning and grammatical status of one of the verbs to that of a modifier or case-marker.

Each one of these characteristics identified by Durie will be addressed with respect to the Taba constructions below.

12.1.1 SVCs describe single events

It has often been noted by people writing on verb serialisation that SVCs fulfill a function in serialising languages similar to that of individual verbs in languages without serialisation. SVCs thus describe what native speakers conceptualise as single events with the individual verbs referring to subcomponents of those events. (Here, the term ‘event’ is used to refer to both states and what are traditionally called ‘events’.)

An example such as (3) above, repeated as (9) below, is thus best translated into English as ‘It bit the pig dead’ or ‘it bit the pig to death’ rather than, say, ‘it bit the pig and the pig died’ or ‘it bit the pig and killed it’.

(9) \[\text{Nbabas welik n=mbot do} \]
\[n=babas welik n=mbot do\]
\[3\text{sg}=\text{bite pig } 3\text{sg}=\text{die REAL}\]
\[\text{‘It bit the pig dead.’}\]

The conceptual unity of (9) can be best illustrated by comparing it with (10) where two distinct events (one of biting and the other of killing) are referred to. Here, the pause after \textit{welik} ‘pig’ and the appearance of \textit{i} ‘3sg’ referring to the pig after \textit{namot} indicate that there are two clauses.\footnote{It is not the co-occurrence of two transitive verbs sharing the same Actor and Undergoer which disqualifies this example as a SVC. See §12.2.3 for further examples of this type.}

(10) \[\text{Nbabas welik, namot i} \]
\[n=babas welik n=ha-mot i\]
\[3\text{sg}=\text{bite pig } 3\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-die } 3\text{sg}\]
\[\text{‘It bit the pig and killed it.’}\]

The death referred to in (9) must have come about as a direct and immediate consequence of the pig’s being bitten while this need not have been the case with the death referred to in (10). In (10) there may have been a considerable period of time elapsed between the biting and the pig’s eventual death by bleeding. In fact, the pig need not even have died as a direct consequence of having been bitten (e.g. as by loss of blood). Its death may have occurred as a quite indirect consequence of having been bitten (as would be the case, say, if the bite...}
wound had gone septic and the death had occurred much later as a consequence of the infection.

This same kind of conceptual unity is displayed in example (4) above which is best given a uniclausal translation into English (as in 'he killed the mosquito with a thong').

### 12.1.2 Shared tense, aspect, modality and polarity

Examples (1) to (3) above (repeated as (11) to (13) below) all show some of these characteristic SVC features.²

(11) *Nhan ait tesu*
    
    \[
    n=han ait te-su
    \]
    
    3sg=go ascend NEG-POT
    
    '(S)he hasn’t yet gone up.'

(12) *Ncopang nmul hu*
    
    \[
    n=sopang n=mul hu
    \]
    
    3sg=descend 3sg=return CONT
    
    '(S)he’s still coming back down.'

(13) *Nbabas welik nmot do*
    
    \[
    n=babas welik n=mot do
    \]
    
    3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
    
    'It bit the pig dead.'

In (11), *tesu* is a compound marker of both negative polarity and ‘potential’ modality (see §14.2.3.3). Although neither going nor ascending have yet occurred, the speaker expects such an event including both subcomponents to occur soon. Again, such non-occurrence and expectation must be understood as applying to the whole unitary event referred to by the entire SVC and not just a part of it. For example, the agent cannot be understood as having already left but not yet having started to ascend. It would thus be much more likely to hear such an utterance somewhere that the speaker would know that neither component of the event had yet begun, for example at home before the Actor referred to had left for the gardens.

In (12) the continuous particle *hu* (see §14.1.2) must be understood as qualifying the whole serial verb complex (i.e. both ‘descending’ and ‘returning’ must be in progress at the same time).

Likewise, realis modality is entailed for the whole event described in (13) and not just for either component of that event.

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² See chapter 14 for discussion of tense, aspect, modality etc.
12.1.3 Sharing of arguments

All verbs in Taba SVCs share at least one of their arguments. This restriction can be further tightened insofar as the Taba corpus is concerned to say that each of the verbs in a Taba SVC must share at least one of their core arguments. There do not appear to be any other categorical restrictions on the particular grammatical relations arguments bear with respect to each of the verbs in the construction. A variety of possibilities were illustrated in the initial examples given in (1) to (8) at the beginning of this chapter.

Example (3), repeated as (14) below shows a sequence of a transitive verb followed by an Actor intransitive in which the Undergoer of the initial transitive verb is coreferential with the Actor argument of the following intransitive verb.

\[(14) \text{Nbabas welik nmot do} \]
\[n=babas welik n=mot do \]
\[3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL\]
\"It bit the pig dead.\"

Example (8), repeated as (15) shows coreferential Undergoers of serial Undergoer intransitives.

\[(15) \text{Sagala bum dumik} \]
\[\text{stuff be.lost be.exhausted} \]
\"Our stuff was completely lost.\"

Finally, example (6) above which is repeated below as (16) illustrates a more complex situation where two arguments are shared by each of the constituent verbs.

\[(16) \text{Notik si ladoi} \]
\[n=ot-ik si l=ha-doi \]
\[3sg=take-APPL[give] 3pl l=CAUS-look \]
\"She showed it to him.\"

In this example, the initial verb is ditransitive and both its recipient and its theme (its primary and secondary Undergoers) are arguments of the second verb in the series: its agent and its patient (Actor and Undergoer) respectively.

In (4), repeated as (17), the agent of the initial transitive verb is the same argument as the Actor of the subsequent transitive verb.

\[(17) \text{Npun bobay npake sandal} \]
\[n=pun bobay n=pake sandal \]
\[3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong \]
\"He killed the mosquito with a thong.\"

In the first few examples which were presented in this section, none of the coreferential arguments were simultaneously the subcategorised for Actors of both the verbs in the sequence. In SVCs with non-coreferential Actors, the Actor argument of each verb is obligatorily cross-referenced on both of the verbs in the sequence. Example (17) above,
though, has the same Actor associated with each verb. The person ‘killing the mosquito’ is also the person ‘using the thong’. When both verbs in a SVC share the same Actor, cross-referencing of the Actor on the second verb is optional. (18) below, then, is also grammatical.

(18) Npun bobay pake sandal
n=pun bobay pake sandal
3sg=kill mosquito use thong
’He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

This same characteristic of SVCs with each verb sharing the same Actor can also be illustrated with respect to examples (1) and (2) as presented at the beginning of this chapter. Compare (1) with (19) and (2) with (20). In (19), the coreferential argument is cross-referenced on both verbs in the sequence while it was only cross-referenced on the initial verbs in (1).

(19) Nhan nait tesu
n=han n=ait te-su
3sg=go 3sg=ascend NEG-POT
’(S)he hasn’t yet gone up.’

In (20), the coreferential argument is only cross-referenced on the initial verb, while in otherwise identical (2) it was cross-referenced on both verbs.

(20) Ncopang mul hu
n=sopang mul hu
3sg=descend return CONT
’(S)he’s still coming back down.’

I have not been able to find any difference in meaning between the two types of structure. Neither are there any intonational differences. The construction with cross-referencing of both verbs in the sequence appears to be simply correlated with slower, more careful speech registers while that with cross-referencing of only the first verb occurs in faster, more casual speech. A detailed study of the discourse contexts in which one or other pattern of cross-referencing is used might throw further light on the matter, but that is beyond the scope of the present description. Note that when two verbs in a SVC have different Actor arguments, both must be cross-referenced (as was illustrated in (3) and (6) above).

A related problem concerns the differential realisation of the coreferential arguments found in SVCs consisting of an initial Actor intransitive verb which is followed by a second Undergoer intransitive verb. Compare (7) above, repeated as (21) below, with (22), where the sole argument of the SVC is marked twice: first by the Actor cross-referencing proclitic n= which is attached to the first (Actor intransitive) verb, and then by the Undergoer referring pronominal i which occurs after the second (Undergoer intransitive) verb.

(21) Nwosal máddodang
n=wosal máddodang
3sg=stand be.straight
’He’s standing up straight.’
A number of observations can be made about the structures illustrated here.

First, in both examples, we can see an Undergoer intransitive verb occurring with what looks like a human argument, even though we claimed in §4.2.1.6 that it was generally a requirement of verbs having a single human argument that they occur as Actor intransitives. If we were only to encounter examples such as (21), we could possibly by-step the problem by labelling the structures as examples of what Crowley (1987) calls ‘ambient serialisation’ in his description of verbs serialisation in Paamese. Ambient serialisation, according to Crowley (1987: 49), refers to ‘a construction in which a verb is serialised to another verb, but in which there is no specific referent associated with the subject of the serialised verb, and the verbs simply describes a general predication’ (cf. §5.1 on ‘ambient clauses’ in Taba).3 Another way out of the problem would be to say that these structures are not really examples of SVCs at all, but rather, given the strong tendency towards lexicalisation and grammaticalisation found with SVCs (§12.1.8), the second verb in (21) maddodang ‘be straight’ has been reanalysed as an adverb.

While adopting these kinds of approaches would work for explaining (21), something else is certainly required for (22), where reference is made explicitly to the Undergoer argument by means of the Undergoer referring pronominal i occurring after maddodang.4 In fact, these examples suggest (as foreshadowed in §4.2.1.6) that the requirement for a single human argument of an intransitive predicator to have an Actor may actually be a stipulation that needs to be made about clauses rather than about verbs. If we were to adopt this view, there would be no problem since in each of the clauses occurring above, there is an overtly realised Actor in each case, i.e. the argument cross-referenced on the initial verb with the proclitic n=.

Structures such as that seen in (22) then, would be treated in a similar way to the verbs of excretion (§8.2.3), where the sole argument is realised twice, both as Actor and as Undergoer of the verb. It was pointed out in §8.2.3 that the pattern of double cross-referencing found on verbs of excretion resembled rather closely the pattern found in Taba reflexive constructions (as, in fact does the pattern illustrated in (22). It was further pointed out that reflexive morphosyntax is a common way of marking ‘middle voice’ as discussed by Kemmer (1993) and that the verbs of excretion fitted neatly into her category of ‘body middle’ verbs which often attract middle voice in languages from around the world.

It should be pointed out that double cross-referencing in Taba SVCs is rather rare in natural discourse. This is hardly surprising, given that (except for the verbs of excretion) overt reference to any Undergoer is never obligatory as long as the referent is readily retrievable by the hearer. In these examples, ready retrievability is never an issue since the

3 Of course, if we adopted this approach we would also have to abandon Durie’s requirement that the verbs in a SVC must share at least one argument. Perhaps Durie’s requirement should be amended to state that ‘the verbs in a SVC must share at least one argument if they all have any’ to account for the kinds of examples cited by Crowley in any case.

4 While we will not be appealing to any notions of ambient serialisation in this description, we will later see that there is a tendency for some of the elements in Taba SVCs to get reanalysed as adverbials (see §12.2.5).
argument must be cross-referenced on the initial Actor intransitive verb in any case. The few examples I have collected where over reference is made to the same argument twice do all fit neatly into Kemmer's close of 'body middle' meanings and are probably best analysed as examples of a similar (but not identical) clause type to those seen with the verbs of excretion (§8.2.3).

12.1.4 No embedding or complementation

Taba often has little overt marking of either embedding or complementation (see chapter 16) so this requirement for serial verbs is a little more difficult to demonstrate convincingly than the others of Durie’s criteria. In those cases where there is overt marking of embedded clauses, it is quite straightforward to show that they are distinct from SVCs. In example (23), for example, de ‘so that’ is a subordinating conjunction that which marks the clause natotas as subordinate to the initial clause nyol calana (§16.5.1).

(23) Nyol calana de natotas
    n=yol calana de n=ha-totas
    3sg=take trousers RES 3sg=CAUS-wash
    ‘She took the trousers so she could wash them.’

A similar construction involving a SVC, but where both taking the trousers and washing them were conceived of as a unitary event is illustrated in (24) where there is no marking of subordination.

(24) Nyol calana natotas
    n=yol calana n=ha-totas
    3sg=take trousers 3sg=CAUS-wash
    ‘She took the trousers and washed them.’

A number of characteristic features of constructions involving embedded clauses which are not overtly marked as such can also be found, which set them apart from those labelled here as SVCs.

One of the most notable features of main verbs which take clausal complements having no overt marking of their complement status is that in general, the verbs which take such clausal complements are strictly subcategorised for their complements. The individual verbs found in serial constructions are not. A verb such as halusa ‘to say’, for example, always has a clausal complement as illustrated in (25).

(25) Nalusa nhan do
    n=ha-lusa n=han do
    3sg=CAUS-say 3sg=go REAL
    ‘He said “he’s gone”.’

While the clausal complement of a verb like halusa is omissible in certain contexts (i.e. when it can be presumed to be retrievable anaphorically by a hearer) this is a situation parallel to that of, say, the ‘obligatory’ Undergoer of a transitive verb which can also be omitted under similar circumstances. This is not the case with SVCs where the verbs involved do not ordinarily require clausal complements.
Another characteristic feature of clausal complements in Taba is that they always follow the verbs of which they are complements. It is hard to see how such a criterion could be applied to the putative SVCs in Taba given the existence of pairs of sentences such as (1) and (2) above repeated as (26) and (27).

(26) $Nhan\ ait\ tesu$
    \[n=han\ ait\ te-su\]
    3sg=go ascend NEG-POT
    ‘(S)he hasn’t yet gone up.’

(27) $Ncopang\ nmul\ hu$
    \[n=sopang\ n=mul\ hu\]
    3sg=descend 3sg=return CONT
    ‘(S)he’s still coming back down.’

The problem can be stated thus: ‘Is it the generalised motion verb which takes the specific verb as its complement (as one would probably expect from the semantics of the constructions) or vice versa?’ In (26) the general motion verb comes first and is followed by the verb specifying the direction of motion while in (27) it is the other way around. The most straight-forward way to treat the constructions illustrated in (26) and (27) is in seeing them as having codependent verbs of equal syntactic ‘weight’. The ordering in each case can be ascribed to iconic principles: the component of the event which occurs first in real life comes first in the SVC while the component of the event which comes last in real life also comes last in the construction. Durie (1996:330) points out that all serialising languages have such iconic ordering principles.

While there is a requirement for SVCs that the individual verbs contained within them must share at least one core argument (see §12.1.3), there is no such requirement for complement clauses. Taking (25) above as an example again, the complement clause may or may not have as its Actor the Actor of $nalusa$. Out of context, the sentence is thus ambiguous as to whether there is only one person both ‘saying’ and ‘going’ or different people performing each action (see §16.3.1.1 on ‘direct’ vs ‘indirect’ reported speech).

Just as the SVC requirement for coreferentiality of at least one argument is not met in the complement clause construction, likewise the requirement for TAM and modality to have scope over the whole SVC is not met in complement clause constructions. Again, (25) is ambiguous in a way that a SVC marked as realis would not be: (25) could refer to a situation in which someone really said that some person was going with $do$ ‘realis’ having scope over the mother clause, or to a situation in which someone said that same person had really gone, with $do$ ‘realis’ having scope over just the daughter clause.

12.1.5 Intonation in SVCs

Verbs containing SVCs characteristically have the same intonational properties as do mono-verbal clauses. Taba declarative clauses generally have a falling intonation over the last elements of the clause and speakers frequently pause at their completion. This is characteristic of clauses containing SVCs just as it is of clauses containing monoverbal clauses. Contrast (28), showing the characteristic intonation associated with a serial verb clause with that shown in (29) which is an example of simple clause chaining, showing juxtaposed clauses.
(28) *Than tronda pope ploili*
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{t=han} & \text{t=ronda} & \text{po-pe} & \text{Ploili} \\
\text{1pl.incl=go} & \text{1pl.incl=stroll} & \text{down-ESS} & \text{Peleri}
\end{array}
\]

‘We went strolling in Peleri.’

(29) *Motor nwom... nbantu... nyol manusia*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{motor} & \text{n=wom...} & \text{n=bantu...} & \text{n=yol} \\
\text{motor.boat} & \text{3sg=come} & \text{3sg=help} & \text{3sg=carry people}
\end{array}
\]

‘Boats came... they helped... they took people away.’

12.1.6 SVCs take only one external argument

The requirement that serial verb complexes take only one subject / external argument does not entail that individual verbs within a SVC cannot have different subjects, but that the complex taken as a whole has only one subject. In Taba, of course, this requirement must be adjusted, and we will assume that SVCs must have only one Actor argument. Example (3) above, which includes a SVC with each constituent verb subcategorised for a distinct Actor, is repeated below as (30).

(30) *Nbabas welik nmot do*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{n=babas} & \text{welik} & \text{n=mot} & \text{do} \\
\text{3sg=bite pig} & \text{3sg=die} & \text{REAL}
\end{array}
\]

‘It bit the pig dead.’

*Welik ‘pig’* is the NP that would normally be subcategorised as the Actor of *mot ‘die’*. It is also the argument that would be subcategorised as Undergoer of the first verb *babas ‘bite’*. *Babas ‘bite’* has an ellipsed argument as what would be its Actor: in this case the dog which actually bit the pig. The dog is cross-referenced on *babas* with the proclitic *n= ‘3sg’*. It is the Actor of *babas ‘bite’* (i.e the dog) which functions as Actor of the whole SVC, while *welik ‘pig’* functions as Undergoer of the whole construction.

Evidence for the privileged syntactic status of the ellipsed argument can be seen in (31) where the hitherto omitted NP has been overtly mentioned and is also relativised (see §16.4 for discussion of relative clauses). In all of the examples which follow, relative clauses are given in bold type.
While it is perfectly acceptable (and quite normal) to form a relative clause with the Actor of the whole SVC as its head, as in (31), it is generally unacceptable to form a relative clause with *welik* ‘pig’ as its head and maintain the serial reading.\(^5\)

(32)  
\[ \text{Nbabas welik bakan n=mot} \]  
\[ n=babas welik bakan n=mot \]  
\[ 3sg=bite pig be.big 3sg=die \]  

The elements used in (32) above may easily co-occur in the order given, but if they do, a multiclausal reading (with characteristic multiclausal intonation and reference to separately conceived events) normally ensues.

(33)  
\[ \text{Nbabas welik bakan. Nmot} \]  
\[ n=babas welik bakan n=mot \]  
\[ 3sg=bite pig be.big 3sg=die \]  

‘It bit a big pig. The pig died.’

Note that the restriction on relativising an Undergoer such as *welik* above is not a restriction on relativising Undergoers of SVCs per se. Rather, it is a restriction on relativising the nominal elements which occur between the verbs of a SVC. Speakers seem to avoid such constructions because they mean that too much linguistic material in one phonological sequence inhibits the serial reading. To get around this problem, speakers would characteristically ‘front’ the whole complex noun phrase so that it appears outside the domain of the SVC itself.

Example (34) shows relativisation of the instrumental argument *sandal* ‘thong’. Note that *sandal* appears at the outer edge of the matrix clause containing the SVC. Thus, it is not affected by the constraint.

(34)  
\[ \text{Npun bobay npake sandal ntua lai mo ya} \]  
\[ n=pun bobay n=pake sandal n=tua lai mo ya \]  
\[ 3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong 3sg=buy just come up(recently) \]  

‘He killed the mosquito with the thong he just bought.’

### 12.1.7 Configuration of SVC arguments resembles configuration of core arguments plus adjuncts in non-serialising languages

Durie’s criterion relating to characteristic alignment of more than two arguments in an SVC might be modified to read that not only do they resemble the configuration of the arguments of verbs plus adjuncts in non-serialising languages, but that they also resemble

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\(^5\) All instances of Undergoer intransitive verbs being used attributively in Taba are relative clauses. See §16.4 for discussion.
the configuration of the (more than 2) arguments of applicative verbs in the languages which have them. Such resemblances can all be seen internal to Taba itself where some of the serial verb constructions have rough translation equivalents of both types. (Applicative morphology is discussed in §8.3.2 and §8.3.3; adpositional phrases are discussed in chapter 13.) Example (4) had three arguments associated with it and it is repeated below as (35).

(35) \text{npun} \text{ bobay npake sandal} \\
\text{n=pun bobay n=pake sandal} \\
3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong \\
‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

Contrast (35) with (36) in which the instrument is licensed by an applicative suffix and (37) where it is licensed by an adposition.

(36) \text{npunak bobay sandal} \\
\text{n=pun-ak bobay sandal} \\
3sg=kill-ak mosquito thong \\
‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

(37) \text{npun bobay ada sandal} \\
\text{n=pun bobay ada sandal} \\
3sg=kill mosquito with thong \\
‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

More parallels between Taba SVCs and other verbal constructions within the language were mentioned in the last part of §12.3, when we discussed SVCs in which a single referent is marked twice within the clause, as in (38) below.

(38) \text{nopa dumik i} \\
\text{n=opa dumik} \\
3sg=fly be. finished (completely) 3sg \\
‘They have all flown off.’

These constructions, too, have their analogues with the class of ‘verbs of excretion’ that are discussed in §8.2.3.

12.1.8 Strong tendency to lexicalisation and grammaticalisation

Durie (1996:322) points out that verb serialisation is universally characterised by heavy lexicalisation of particular verb combinations. He says ‘this is because the typing of events is matched by stereotyping of verb combinations used to represent those events’. The first two sentences illustrated at the beginning of this chapter (repeated below as (39) and (40)) are sentences which generally have quite lexicalised readings.

(39) \text{nhan ait tesu} \\
\text{n=han ait te-su} \\
3sg=go ascend NEG-POT \\
‘(S)he hasn’t yet gone up.’ [‘S/he hasn’t gone to work in the gardens yet.’]
Every time I heard anyone use one of these combinations, they were always referring to either someone’s going to work in the gardens or their return from the gardens. (Taba villages are all located almost at sea level, close to the beach, while the gardens are all located at higher altitudes, spread up the sides of the mountain behind the villages.)

In an earlier paper, Durie (1988b:3) discusses the diachronic instability of many serial verb combinations. These sometimes show a centripetal tendency for one of the verbs to pull in and become bound to another verb, in which case it may come to be reanalysed as a verbal affix. With other combinations, a centrifugal tendency for one of the verbs to pull away from the other is evidenced: in this case the verb that pulls away may eventually be reanalysed as a case marker or adposition.

There is evidence of both kinds of diachronic instability at work in Taba. The centripetal tendency is apparent with SVCs having the verb han ‘go’ as their first element. With the examples so far cited of SVCs with initial han (repeated below as (41) and (42)) the meaning of the independent verb han ‘go’ is still quite clearly apparent when it occurs in the combination.

\[(41) \text{Nhan ait} \]
\n\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{n=han ait} \\
3\text{sh}=\text{go ascend}
\end{array}
\]

‘He’s going upwards.’

\[(42) \text{Than tronda} \]
\n\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{t=han t=ronda} \\
1\text{ pl.incl}=\text{go 1 pl.incl}=\text{stroll}
\end{array}
\]

‘We go strolling around.’

Many more such examples where going is entailed in the meaning of the combination could be given. In some combinations, however, the independent meaning ‘go’ is not so readily apparent. This is the case in (43) which has semantic parallels with the English expression ‘go to sleep’.

\[(43) \text{Nhan tuli} \]
\n\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{n=han tuli} \\
3\text{sg}=\text{go sleep}
\end{array}
\]

‘(S)he’s going to sleep.’

Such an utterance could refer to a situation where the person referred to is either going off to his/her room in order to sleep, or in which s/he is already in bed and in the process of falling asleep. Sometimes, however, the following construction is used to refer to the situation where the referent is in the process of falling asleep, or is actually asleep:
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(44) *Nantuli*
   
   n=han-tuli
   3sg=INCH-sleep
   '((S)he’s asleep / falling asleep.)

In (44), not only has *han* been bleached of its lexical meaning, it has also become phonologically fused to the other verb from the original sequence: no longer carrying stress, the initial /h/ of *han-* is now subject to unstressed /h/ deletion (see §2.7.1) and now functions as a prefix with a more general ‘inchoative’ meaning. A number of other derived forms are found with this prefix (see §8.5.1 for more details).

The Taba corpus also contains abundant evidence for the centrifugal tendency of some SVC combinations identified by Durie. This notably affects the verb *pake* ‘to use/wear’ which is itself a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. Serialisation is highly productive in North Moluccan Malay, and it is probable that *pake*’s serial function of licensing an instrument (see §12.2.4) was borrowed into Taba at the same time as the form itself was borrowed. The example of *pake* already encountered in (4) above and repeated as (45) below is without doubt a verb: it is cross-referenced by the 3sg proclitic *n=*

(45) *Npun bobay npake sandal*

   n=pun bobay n=pake sandal
   3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong
   ‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

As discussed in §12.1, cross-referencing of the Actor is optional for the second verb in a SVC containing an initial verb with a coreferential Actor. Example (46) then, can also be interpreted as containing a SVC.6

(46) *Npun bobay pake sandal*

   n=pun bobay pake sandal
   3sg=kill mosquito use thong
   ‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

In example (47), however, *pake* must be considered a preposition. Here the PP *pake sandal* ‘with a thong’ has been fronted to the clausal focus position, a position not available for cross-referenced and unambiguously serial *npake*.

(47) *pake sandal, npun bobay*

   pake sandal n=pun bobay
   with thong 3sg=kill mosquito
   ‘It was with a thong he killed the mosquito.’

Further discussion of the preposition *pake* is found in §13.2.4.

A few of the grammatical particles that modify clauses which are discussed in chapter 14, while no longer having verbal status and while not functioning as serial verbs in contemporary Taba, seem to have their origins in serial verbs constructions. One noteworthy

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6 As discussed in §12.1.5, the mono-clausal reading is dependent on characteristic monoclusal intonation. Given the appropriate intonation, a bi-clausal reading is also possible.
example of this is concerns the ‘admonitive’ particle oik (§14.2.2). In contemporary Taba, oik occurs as both a transitive verb meaning ‘to leave something behind’ and also as the admonitive particle which serves to negate an imperative clause. The first form of oik is illustrated in (48) and the second in (49).

(48) Loik hasole a-ne
   l-oik hasole a-ne
   3pl-leave.behind everything LOC-PROX
   ‘They left everything behind here.’

(49) Mpe oik!
   m-pe oik
   2sg-do ADMON
   ‘Don’t do it!’

Although the independent verb oik is only occasionally encountered in motion serialisation in my corpus, and aside from its occurrence as the admonitive particle, has not been found in imperatives, the admonitive reading presumably derives from its use in serial verbs constructions that were employed in imperative clauses where oik was used metaphorically to refer to not performing an action rather than to literally ‘leaving something behind’, perhaps in a way somewhat analogous to dialectal English ‘leave it out’!

A tendency towards grammaticalisation is quite apparent with many of the verbs involved in ‘adverbial serialisation’ that are discussed in §12.2.5 as well. The tokens which refer to the manners in which actions are carried out in ‘manner serialisation’ (§12.2.5.1) are perhaps being reanalysed as adverbs in some cases, and the verbs which describe aspect in ‘aspectual serialisation’ (§12.2.5.3) are possibly better seen simply as aspect markers analogous to the particle hu ‘continuous marker’ discussed in §14.1.2.

12.2 A functional typology of Taba SVCs

Durie (1996:330ff.) attempts to provide a universal typology of serial verb construction types. Not all of the construction types identified by Durie are found in Taba. The following list of Taba SVC types is based on his classification, except for those which have been labelled here ‘adverbial’ serialisation:

- **motion** serialisation
- **cause-effect** serialisation
- **causative** serialisation
- **instrumental** serialisation
- adverbial serialisation

Each of these will be discussed in turn below.
12.2.1 Motion serialisation

Motion serialisation is very productive in Taba. These constructions may involve an initial verb of directional motion followed by some other verb describing an action of some sort, each of the verbs having the same agent, as in (50).

(50) *Nmul* ntono ni *dawalat*
    n=mul n=tono ni dawalat
    3sg=return 3sg=look.at 3sg.POSS girlfriend
    'He’s come back to see his girlfriend.'

Motion serialisation may also occur with the directional following the verb which describes an action. In these constructions too, the agent of each verb is coreferential, as illustrated in (51).

(51) *Ntua* yan *nmul*
    n=tua yan 3sg=mul
    3sg=buy fish 3sg=return
    'He’s returned from buying fish.'

The Taba verb han ‘to go’ is not deictic in the same way as English ‘go’ and might in fact better be glossed as simply ‘move’. Whenever it occurs in a motion serialisation it precedes any other verb that is included. In (52) it precedes an action verb while as we saw in (1), which is repeated as (53) below, it can also precede a verb which encodes a specific direction.

(52) *Nhan* tatua yan
    n=han ta-tua yan
    3sg=go DETR-buy fish
    'He’s gone to buy fish.'

(53) *Nhan* ait tesu
    n=han ait te-su
    3sg=go ascend NEG-POT
    '(S)he hasn’t yet gone up.'

Although motion SVCs have been encountered which include Actor intransitives, transitives and ditransitives as the non-motion verb, none with Undergoer intransitives have been identified in the corpus.

Durie’s account for the iconic ordering of verbs within motion serialisation constructions predicts that a verb describing motion leading up to a subsequent component of an event will always occur first, while a verb describing motion subsequent to some other sub-component of an event will always occur second. This prediction is borne out by the all of the examples from the Taba corpus. Example (50) illustrates the first kind of construction while (51) illustrates the second, while (52) and (53) also both illustrate motions which occur as the first sub-component of an event.
12.2.2 Cause-effect serialisation

Cause-effect serialisation was seen in example (3) which is repeated as (54).

(54) Nbabas welik nmot do
    n=babas welik n=mot do    3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
    ‘It bit the pig dead.’

In all of the examples of cause-effect serialisation encountered in the corpus, the first verb encodes a cause and the second verb encodes an effect (just as Durie’s iconic account of ordering principles would predict). Also common to all of the cause-effect combinations is the fact that the first verb is a transitive verb which has as its patient an argument of the second verb. Transitive verbs, Actor intransitives and Undergoer intransitives are all found in second position. An Actor intransitive verb was seen in (54). Example (55) illustrates the occurrence of an Undergoer intransitive verb (which has as its sole argument the patient of the first verb) in second position.

(55) Ntotas nik kos bulang
    n=totas nik kos bulang    3sg=wash 1sg.POSS T-shirt be.white
    ‘She washed my T-shirt white.’

An example of a transitive verb in second position is seen in (56). Here the patient of the first verb is the agent of the second and the second verb again refers to what happened as a result of the first. In this example, the undergoer of the second verb is the milk that was burped up as a result of the baby’s back being hit.

(56) Ni mamasi nwet i nggaleitik susu
    ni mama=si n=wet i n=galeit-ik susu
    3sg.POSS mother=PL 3sg=hit 3sg 3sg=burp-APPL milk
    ‘His mother hit him and he burped up milk / his mother burped milk from him.’

When transitive verbs occur in second position, a variety of argument alignments are possible: example (57) shows the transitive counterpart of the second verb illustrated in (55). With this example, the agent of the first verb in the complex is also the agent of the second verb and both patients are also coreferrntial. It is not clear what any difference in meaning between the two examples might entail.

(57) Ntotas nik kos nabulang
    n=totas nik kos n=ha-bulang
    3sg=wash 1sg.POSS T-shirt 3sg=CAUS-be.white
    ‘She washed my T-shirt white.’

Cause-effect serialisation is clearly distinguishable from multi-clausal cause-effect constructions in which a subordinate effect clause is always marked with the resultative / purposive subordinating conjunction de as illustrated in (58). This construction is treated at more length in §16.5.1.
12.2.3 Causative serialisation

Causative serialisation differs from cause-effect serialisation in that only a very general causative meaning is entailed by the first verb in the construction: the specific nature of the cause is not mentioned. As with cause-effect serialisation, the verb referring to causation occurs first. In all of the Taba examples causation is encoded by the multimorphemic ditransitive verb *otik* ‘give’. The construction does not occur very frequently in Taba. In (57) two of the arguments of *otik* ‘give’ are also arguments of the second verb *adoi* ‘look at / inspect’. The theme (secondary Undergoer) of *otik* is the patient (sole Undergoer) of the second verb and what would be the recipient (or primary Undergoer) of the independent verb *otik* is the agent (Actor) of the second verb.

(59) **Kotik**

k=ot-ik

1 sg=get-APPL(give)

'I showed it to him.'

In example (59) above, the first verb in the construction still has a very clear meaning of ‘giving’ entailed, since there actually is a transfer of possession of some theme that is referred to here. It also occurs in a few examples where there is no actual transfer of possession of any physical object. Example (60) appears to be a straight calque from North Moluccan Malay where *kase tau* ‘give know’ is the normal way to say ‘teach’. In North Moluccan Malay the use of *kase* ‘give’ in SVCs is undoubtedly the most frequent way of expressing causation.

(60) **Alho notik munak?**

alho n=ot-ik m=unak

who 3sg=get-APPL(give) 2sg=know

‘Who taught you? / who let you know?’

12.2.4 Instrumental serialisation

Instrumental serialisation has been illustrated at a number of points in this chapter. Example (4), repeated as (61) illustrates the construction.

(61) **Npun bobay npake sandal**

n=pun bobay n=pake sandal

3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong

‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

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7 Taba has no root ditransitive verbs: see §8.3.2.3 & §8.3.3.4 for discussion.
In these constructions, the first verb refers to an activity of some sort. Its agent is also the agent of the second verb, always the NMM borrowing \textit{pake} 'to use / wear'. The undergoer argument of \textit{pake} (i.e. the thing used) becomes the instrumental argument of the entire SVC. The Taba instrumental constructions are noteworthy in that they do not follow the iconic ordering principle proposed by Durie (1996:335) who suggests that the verbs licensing instruments always occur first in the SVCs of other languages that have instrumental serialisation.

It is probably noteworthy that in many languages which have instrumental serialisation, the verb which licenses the instrument has an independent meaning of 'get', while the independent meaning of the Taba verb having this function is 'use'. Presumably, under Durie's iconic ordering principle for SVCs, any 'getting' of an instrument must precede the action which is accomplished by means of that instrument. A 'use' verb may not be under such constraints, since use of an instrument occurs at the same time as the action is carried out, and necessarily follows any 'getting' of that instrument.

It is possible that these Taba constructions were derived from historical manner serialisation constructions in North Moluccan Malay, but it is clear that they have never had such a function in Taba: both the verb and this particular function of it appear to have been borrowed quite recently from North Moluccan Malay. (Although the construction is used quite frequently by younger Taba speakers, it is rarely used by the older Makianese.)

\textit{Pake} is a form which appears to be under quite strong pressures to grammaticalise into a preposition as was noted in §12.1.8. The prepositional functions of \textit{pake} are discussed in more detail in §13.2.4.

\section*{12.2.5 Adverbial serialisation}

Adverbial serialisation in Taba is a classification which includes Durie's 'manner serialisation' and a number of other SVC types which occur in the Taba corpus. According to Durie (1996:336), manner serialisation involves one serial verb which describes the manner in which an action described by the other verb is performed. In Taba there are also a number of SVCs in which one serial verb qualifies the meaning of the other in a variety of different ways: adding aspectual information or providing some kind of evaluation, often modal, of the action described by the other verb. In many of the constructions discussed in the following sections, the verb which functions adverbially to qualify the meaning of the semantically main verb in some way exhibits tendencies towards grammaticalisation: those discussed under 'manner serialisation' towards reanalysis as adverbs, and those discussed under aspectual serialisation as plain aspect markers.

\subsection*{12.2.5.1 Manner serialisation}

Manner serialisation was illustrated in example (7) above repeated below as (62). (In all of the examples of adverbial serialisation which follow, the independent meaning of each verb is given first. After this, any adverbial meaning is glossed in parentheses.)

\begin{verbatim}
(62) Nwosal máddodang
   n=wosal máddodang
   3sg=stand be.straight (straight)
   'He's standing up straight.'
\end{verbatim}
In Taba, we often encounter examples where one verb describes the nature of a state expressed by the other verb. Such a situation was encountered in (8) above repeated as (63).

(63) Sagala bum dumik  
stuff be.lost be.exhausted  
‘Our stuff was completely lost.’

Manner serialisation in Taba almost invariably involves an initial transitive or Actor intransitive verb encoding some action or activity and a second Undergoer intransitive verb which describes the manner in which the activity was carried out. This situation is further exemplified in (64) to (66). (The serial verb combination in question is shown in bold in (66), where both clauses in a complex subordinating structure consist of SVCs.)

(64) Nopa dumik i  
n=opa dumik i  
3sg=fly be.exhausted 3sg  
‘They have all flown away.’ [referring to a flock of birds]

(65) Mpe hia do  
m=pe hia do  
2sg=make be.good(well) REAL  
‘You can make them well.’

(66) Mina nhan tuli de npangin makoai te-do  
Mina n=hahon tuli de n=pangin makoai te-do  
Mina 3sg=go sleep RES 3sg=wake.up be.hot(feel.sick) NEG-REAL  
‘Mina has gone to sleep so that she’ll wake up not sick.’

Note that the constructions shown in this section with dumik are clearly distinct from those with okik discussed in §12.2.5.3. While both dumik and okik can sometimes be translated into English as ‘finished’, dumik actually refers to the exhaustion of a quantity of things while okik refers to the endpoint in time of an activity. Dumik would thus be translated into Malay as ‘habis’ and okik as ‘selesai’. This point can be made clear with respect to serial verb constructions in which both of the forms are used. In the first example below, with dumik, there is an entailment that the person eating has eaten until all the available food was exhausted. It may be that the eater in this case will actually continue eating if more food is found, and thus, although he may have eaten everything that is so far available, he may not yet have finished eating.

Na hon dumik do  
n=hahon dumik do  
3sg=eat be.exhausted REAL  
‘He’s eaten everything.’

In the second example, there is no entailment that all the available food has been eaten, merely that the eater referred to has ceased eating; there may still be leftover food on his plate for instance.

Na hon okik do  
n=hahon okik do  
3sg=eat be.finished REAL  
‘He’s finished eating.’
A few examples of manner serialisation involving two Undergoer intransitive verbs have been noted in the corpus. In all of these examples, the sole argument of the predication is an inanimate, as we would expect given the rules for determination of whether an intransitive predicator should be an Actor oriented or an Undergoer oriented one (§4.2.1.6). All of the ones encountered so far have included one of two verbs as the second verb encoding manner: either the verb *dumik* ‘be exhausted / used up’, or the verb *kwat* ‘be strong’ (borrowed from North Moluccan Malay and functioning simply as an emphatic marker in serial constructions). One example of *dumik* was given in (64) above; a further example is provided in (67).

(67) **Urn, harta lekat dumik**

   house property be.broken be.exhausted
   ‘Houses, property, they were completely broken.’

*Kwat* is shown as an independent verb in (68), and as the second element in a serial verb construction in (69) and (70). In (69), it occurs with the Actor intransitive verb *kiu* ‘to be frightened’, while in (70) it occurs with the Undergoer intransitive *mhonas* ‘to be sick / sore’.

(68) **Dukon Taba kwat**

     eruption Makian be.strong
   ‘The Makianese eruption was powerful.’

(69) **Lkiu kwat**

     l=kiiu kwat
     3pl=be.frightened be.strong (EMPH)
   ‘They were really frightened.’

(70) **Wwe mho nas kwat.**

     wwe mho nas kwat
     leg be.sore be.strong (EMPH)
   ‘My leg is really sore.’

Only one example of a second Actor intransitive verb describing manner has been encountered. It is illustrated in (71) where it describes the resulting state of the (ellipsed) patient of the first verb. (The ellipsed argument in this case was the gas pressure lamp which the author was incapable of bringing to light properly again!) Note that although *ncol* is morphosyntactically classified as an Actor intransitive, it has a stative meaning.

(71) **John naladai ncol**

     John n=ha-ladai n=sol
     John 3sg=CAUS-fix 3sg=be.different(wrong)
   ‘You’ve fixed it wrong John.’

At first sight it might appear that most of the second verbs in these sequences may not really have any arguments at all, and that the constructions might better be analysed as what Crowley (1987) calls ‘ambient serialisation’. Detailed reasons for seeing at least some of the examples of this type as involving verbs with real arguments are given in §12.1.3. Given the propensity for serial verbs to be involved in lexicalisation and grammaticalisation discussed
in §12.1.8, it could equally be argued that any examples which show manner elements without real arguments could be thought of as involving a small emergent class of adverbs in Taba. Further support for this notion could be drawn from the fact that other verbs providing the 'adverbial' meanings in adverbial serialisation discussed under §12.2.5.3 are also under some pressure towards grammaticalisation, albeit in different directions from that hypothesised here for 'manner serialisation'. The issue will have to remain unresolved for the moment.

12.2.5.2 Modal serialisation

Example (72) illustrates what might be called 'modal serialisation'. In the following example the second verb *kahate* 'I am unable' provides an evaluation of the speaker's belief that he is incapable of constructing a rice container from coconut leaves.

(72) *Kpe kahate*
    k=pe k=ahate
    lsg=make lsg=be.unable
    'I can't make them.'

All of the verbs which provide a modal evaluation of ability occur after the verb to which the evaluation of ability applies. *Ahan* 'be able' can also occur before the verb which describes what the protagonist is able to do. The verbs involved are:

- *-ahan* 'to be able'
- *-ahate(s)* 'to be unable'
- *mampo* 'to be able'

The first two of these, -ahan and -ahate(s) are indigenous Taba words. The final modal evaluator mampo is a borrowing from North Maluku Malay. Each of these forms is discussed below.

**-ahan**

This modal evaluative verb means 'to be able' and it is the only one of the three which can occur either as the first verb in the sequence, or as the second verb. It is shown as an independent verb in (73).

(73) *Ttukal mai tahan.*
    t=tukal mai t=ahan
    lpl.incl=change well lpl.incl=be.able
    'Changing it, well we can.'

In (74), -ahan is shown in the second position in a serial verb construction.

(74) *Npe nahan*
    n=pe n=ahan
    3sg=do 3sg=be.able
    'He can do it.'

In (75), ahan is illustrated in the initial position of a SVC.
This verb always occurs in the second position of a SVC and provides an evaluation that whatever is described by the first verb is not possible. Such impossibility of action may stem from either a lack of ability or a lack of permission. This form appears to have been derived historically as a result of the negative particle te having fused onto ahan (see above) from which the final nasal has disappeared. It is attested in a variety of forms. Firstly, it can occur as either an Actor verb (§4.2) as in (76), or as an agentless Undergoer intransitive with the detransitivising prefix ta- (§8.4) as in (77).

(76) Ada mamatuosi tagil lahate do
    ada mamatuu=si tagil l=ahate do
    and oldpeople=PL walk 3pl=be.unable REAL
    ‘...and old.people who can’t walk any more.’

(77) Ndadi boa hataosak tahate...
    Ndadi boa ha-ta-osa-k ta-ahate
    so door CAUS-DETR-open-APPL DETR-be.unable
    ‘So the doors couldn’t be opened.’

Both -ahate and tahate are also encountered with a final ‘s’ segment as -ahates and tahates. These forms clearly have a connection to the complex negative potential particle tesu described in §14.2.3.3. The forms with a final -s indicate (as does tesu) that although something might be impossible at the time referred to, there is a belief on the part of the speaker that this will not always be the case, and that either a future potentiality will arise or that there was once a past potentiality for such an event to occur.

(78) Ahan ahate-s.
    a=han a=ahate-s
    1pl.excl=go 1pl.excl=be.unable-POT
    ‘We couldn’t go.’ [but one would expect that we might be able to go in the future]

The distinction between potential ability to do something in the future and no potential ability is seen clearly in examples (79) and (80) which each refer to the fact that a child is not permitted to smoke cigarettes. In the first of these, the child referred to is a girl: under the norms of Taba culture, one would expect that she (as a girl) will never be permitted to smoke cigarettes. In the second of these examples, however, referring to a young boy, there is a belief encoded that although he is currently forbidden from smoking, once he reaches a sufficient age he will then be allowed to take up the habit.

(79) Irianti nasodas nahate.
    Irianti n=ha-sodas n=ahate
    ‘Irianti is not allowed to smoke.’
Iswan nasodas nahates.
Iswan n=ha-sodas n=ahate-s
Iswan 3sg=CAUS-suck[smoke] 3sg=be.unable-POT
‘Iswan is not allowed to smoke (now. But he will be allowed to in the future).’

**mampo**

The form *mampo* ‘be able’ is found less frequently than its rough semantic equivalent *ahan* and it is always found in final position when used in a serial construction. It can also be used as an independent verb. *Mampo* is classified as an Undergoer intransitive verb, and it differs in meaning from *ahan* to the extent that it can only be used to refer to ability and not to permission. It is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay, and used mostly by younger speakers. It is first illustrated in (81) as an independent verb and then in (82) as part of a serial construction.

(81) **Mampo pa te?**
be.able or NEG
‘Can you do it or not?’

(82) **Adhar nagawil**
Adhar n=ha-gawil mampo
Adhar 3sg=CAUS-swim be.able
‘Adhar can swim!’

12.2.5.3 Aspectual serialisation

The following example illustrates what might be called ‘aspectual serialisation’. Here, the verb *yoa* ‘to search’ has the lexicalised aspectual meaning ‘almost’. This construction is noteworthy in that the lexically secondary verb occurs before the lexically primary verb, in contradistinction to the situation seen above for true ‘manner serialisation’.

(83) **Myoa**
2sg=sea rch(almost)
2sg=go
‘You’ve almost gone.’

If an independent Actor noun phrase is used in this construction, it precedes the entire SVC, as in (84).

(84) **Au myoa**
2sg 2sg=search(almost) 2sg=go
‘You’ve almost gone.’

*Nyoa* is also found as an invariant particle with fossilised 3sg cross-referencing, where it can also be translated into English as ‘almost’. The particle functions as either a modifier of quantifier phrases (§10.4.1.2) or as a modifier of whole clauses (§14.3.5), and can thus be seen as constituting another example of the strong tendency towards lexicalisation and grammaticalisation (§12.1.8) that is at play with serial verb constructions.
Another kind of aspectual serialisation is often encountered with the verb *okik* ‘be finished’ as the second verb in a serial construction.

(85) **Kahon**     *okik do*
     k=ha-hon  *okik do*
     1sg=CAUS-eat *be.finished* REAL
     ‘I have finished eating.’

Serial *okik* is often found in the first clause of a paratactic sequence of clauses (see §16.1) where it serves to show that whatever is referred to in the second clause of a sequence has occurred or will occur after whatever is referred to in the second clause has been finished. Taba has no temporal conjunctions meaning either ‘before’ or ‘after’ so example (86) illustrates the normal way that Taba speakers refer to temporal precedence of one event over another. See §16.6 for a discussion of iconicity in multiclausal constructions in Taba.

(86) **Kahon**     *okik, khan akla*
     k=ha-hon  *okik*   k=han  *ak-la*
     1sg=CAUS-eat *be.finished* 1sg=go  ALL-sea
     ‘Once I have finished eating, I will go seawards.’
Adpositional phrases

Taba has one very productive locative postposition, and five prepositions, all more marginal, which mark other case roles:

- **li**
- **untuk**
- **pake**
- **ada**
- **lo**
- **tutik**

The possessive ligature *ni* could also be formally categorised as a preposition, but it is not discussed in this chapter. See chapter 9 on possession for details.

The locative postposition *li* (glossed simply ‘LOC’) is shown in (1). (All of the adpositional phrases in the initial examples are given in bold type.)

(1) *Plang ntaggil noge ni soda li*
    *plang n=tagil no-ge ni soda li*
    *fly 3sg=walk there-ESS 3sg.POSS face LOC*
    ‘There’s a fly walking there on his face.’

Two of the prepositions are very recently borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, and are hardly used at all by older Taba speakers, who employ a variety of different strategies for marking the same roles marked by these prepositions. The beneficiary marking preposition *untuk*, glossed ‘BEN’ is shown in (2). It is recently borrowed from NMM *untuk* which has the same function.

(2) *Npe doba untuk ni mamasi*
    *n=pe doba untuk ni mama=si*
    *3sg=make garden BEN 3sg.POSS mother=PL*
    ‘He’s preparing a garden for his mother.’
The other recent borrowing is the instrumental marking pake, glossed ‘INST’. In NMM pake is a verb meaning ‘to use, wear’. In NMM pake is commonly used in serial verb constructions where it contributes an instrumental role, and it is this function of pake which was first borrowed into Taba (see §12.2.4). In Taba pake is undergoing a grammaticalisation process from serial verb to preposition. In some instances it is classified as a serial verb, and in other cases it is classified as a preposition. The role of pake as a serial verb is discussed in §12.2.4. It is seen operating as a preposition in (3).

\[(3)\] Npunak kolay pake peda
\[n=pun-ak\] kolay pake peda
3sg=kill-APPL snake INST machete
‘He killed the snake with a machete.’

The third Taba preposition is ada, used as a comitative or instrumental marker. Ada also occurs as a conjunction meaning ‘and, with’ (see §7.2.6 & §16.2.2). The NMM existential verb ada ‘exist’ has also been borrowed into Taba and a sometimes complex web of overlapping functions results in contemporary Taba usage (see §13.2.1 below). The prepositional use of ada (glossed ‘with’) is illustrated in (4).

\[(4)\] Lwom ada kapal motor
\[l=wom\] ada kapal motor
3pl=come with ship engine
‘They came with motorised ships.’

The preposition lo is a similative marker (glossed ‘SIM’). Lo also occurs as a conjunction meaning ‘and’ (see §7.2.6 & §16.2.1). Its use is illustrated in (5).

\[(5)\] Sama lo yak
same SIM 1sg
‘The same as me.’

The final preposition tutik ‘until / towards’ also occurs as a subordinating conjunction (§16.5.3). It is illustrated, occurring as a preposition, in (6).

\[(6)\] Lomo ltala wog te lagawil tutikma lawe wolat halaim.
lomo l=tala wog te l=agawil tutikma la-we wolat halaim
other 3pl=meet canoe NEG 3pl=swim until sea-ESS sea middle
‘Others who couldn’t find canoes swam until they were right out in the middle of the sea.’

Adpositional phrases may function syntactically in a variety of ways:

- as predicates
- as complements
- as adjuncts
- as attributes

Examples (1) and (5) above illustrate adpositional phrases occurring as complements: in (1) as a complement of the possessive ligature ni, and in (5) as complement of the Undergoer
intransitive verb sama 'be the same'. (Similar adpositional phrases always occur as complements of sama.) Examples (2), (3), (4) and (6) above exemplify the most common syntactic function of adpositional phrases: as an adjunct within a clause. Adpositional phrases also occur as predicates themselves, as in (7), or as the adjuncts of directional predicates, as in (8). These syntactic functions are discussed in more detail in §4.1.2.2 and §5.4.

(7) Oci e Tarnate li
Oci FOC Ternate LOC
‘Oci is in Ternate.’

(8) Banda, si noge Rauf li
Banda si no-ge Rauf li
Banda 3pl there-ESS Rauf LOC
‘Banda is there at Rauf’s place.’

The use of a locative postpositional phrase as the attribute of a noun phrase is illustrated in (9). This kind of adpositional phrase is treated as another kind of predicative adpositional phrase: this time used in an attributive relative clause (see §16.4).

(9) Nim 2sg.POSS seminar Ambon li, ni hasil do ha
2sg.POSS seminar Ambon LOC, 3sg.POSS outcome REAL CAUS
pu e?
what FOC

‘How did your seminar in Ambon go?’

Further discussion, including details of the kinds of complements taken by each adposition are given below: the postposition is discussed in §13.1, and the prepositions are treated in §13.2. A brief discussion of the typological peculiarities inherent in Taba having both a postposition and prepositions is found in §6.1.2.8.

13.1 Postposition

Taba has one postposition, li, which always occurs as the head of a postpositional phrase and always takes a noun phrase as its complement. The postposition usually has a very generalised locative meaning, being translatable into English ‘at’, ‘in’, or ‘on’, etc. Li is most commonly used to allow non-locative nouns to function as locatives. (‘Locatives’ are a subcategory of Taba nouns with a distinctive set of associated syntactic functions. They are discussed in §4.1.2.) Occasionally, the li postposition occurs with place names (i.e. nouns that are inherently locative). The use of li in these environments is optional, and probably determined by discourse factors that are not fully understood. Sometimes li is also used to mark nouns as having a more general oblique status.

Locative postpositional phrases may function syntactically as predicates themselves, or they may occur as the adjuncts or complements of some other predicate: either verbal (see
chapter 8) or locative (chapter 11). As the complements of locative phrases, they may appear with directionals or demonstratives as the predicate heads. When they appear as adjuncts or complements, postpositional phrases usually occur after the predicate. They can, however, also occur in the fronted preclausal position (see §6.3.1).

The use of a locative postpositional phrase as the adjunct of a verbal clause is illustrated in (10). Here, although there is a lexicalised meaning ‘Thank you very much’, the locative phrase is acting as a circumstantial adjunct, literally ‘I give much thanks to God about you’.

(10) Kdad sukur lloci au li
    k=dod sukur lloci au li
    1sg=ask thanks.be.to.God much 2sg LOC
    ‘I thank you very much.’

If a noun is not inherently locative, it can be licensed as locative in one of two ways: it can occur in an adjunct locative phrase licensed by li, or it can occur as the complement of a locative verb, licensed by the applicative suffix -0 (see §§8.3.3). Contrast examples (11) and (12) below which both have the same referential meaning.

(11) Nbattalon kurusi li
    n=battalon kurusi li
    3sg=sit chair LOC
    ‘He’s sitting on the chair.’

(12) Nbattalono kurusi
    n=battalon-o kurusi
    3sg=sit-APPL chair
    ‘He’s sitting on the chair.’

The use of a li phrase as the complement of a verbal clause is illustrated in (13). (In this example maduga is an Actor intransitive verb which requires an oblique argument. The verb is formed by causativising the quantificational modifier duga ‘only’ (see §10.4.1.1 & §14.3.2) and a complement li phrase is required to indicate what nim wlo ‘your heart’ is only for.)

(13) Malusa nim wlo maduga yak li
    m=ha-lusa nim wlo m=ha-duga yak li
    2sg=CAUS-say 2sg.POSS liver 2sg=CAUS-only 1sg LOC
    ‘You said your heart was only for me.’

As noted above, li phrases can also act as predicates, and they can occur as the complements of locative predicates. The li phrase as locative predicate was exemplified in (7) above and is further exemplified in (14).

(14) Nim tabako meja li
    2sg.POSS cigarettes table LOC
    ‘Your cigarettes are on the table.’
The use of the *li* phrases as complement of a directional locative predicate was illustrated in (8) above. It is shown as the complement of a demonstrative locative predicate in (15) below.

(15) \[ Nim \quad tabako \quad adia \quad meja \quad li \]
    \[ 2sg.POSS \quad cigarettes \quad there \quad table \quad LOC\]
    *'Your cigarettes are there on the table.'*

Further discussion of locative predicates is found in §5.3.2.3 and §5.4.

### 13.2 Prepositions

The meanings and uses of each of the Taba prepositions are discussed individually below.

#### 13.2.1 *Ada*

As a preposition, *ada* 'with' marks both companions and instruments. The borrowed form *pake* is also used to mark instruments (see §13.2.4). *Ada* also has a less frequent use as a marker of differences between noun phrases and this will be discussed at the end of this section. Unless otherwise indicated, all of the discussion here relates to its use as a comitative or instrumental marker.

*Ada* phrases usually occur postverbally. They can also occur in the preclausal orientational position (see §6.3.1). *Ada* prepositional phrases marking instruments and companions usually occur as adjuncts to a clause. Some verbs are subcategorised directly for instruments or companions, but these are always licensed by the applicative suffix \(-Vk\), even though the instruments may be additionally marked by adpositions (see §6.4.1.3).

Since both companions and instruments can be marked by the same preposition, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish clearly which semantic role is involved in a given utterance. Example (16), where *ada* is glossed 'with' is one example of such uncertainty.

(16) \[ Lwom \quad ada \quad kapal \quad motor \]
    \[ 3pl=come \quad with \quad ship \quad engine\]
    *'They came with motor boats.' / 'They came by motor boat.'*

Sometimes, because of pragmatic considerations and / or a verb's semantics, it is easier to tell whether an instrumental or a comitative meaning is intended. In (17), the verbal semantics of *pun* 'to kill' suggests the instrumental reading.

(17) \[ Npun \quad bobay \quad ada \quad ni \quad sandal \quad do \]
    \[ 3sg=kill \quad mosquito \quad with \quad 3sg.POSS \quad thongs \quad REAL\]
    *'He killed the mosquito with his sandal.'*

In (18), it is pragmatic considerations that force the comitative reading. One presumes that the Actor here did not use his wife as an instrument of his coming (by, for example being piggy-backed).
It was noted in the introduction to this chapter that ada has a variety of partially overlapping functions. The prepositional uses of ada seem to derive from the still attested uses as a conjunction (see §16.2.2). This development is presumed to have arisen in contexts such as the one illustrated in (18) above. Although this example looks like a fairly unequivocal usage of ada as a comitative preposition, the following example shows how the readiness Taba exhibits for ellipsing expressions that are easily retrievable could have led to the reinterpretation of ada as a preposition.

(19) Yak khan ada nik lomo (nhan)  
    yak k=han ada nik lomo (n=han)  
    1sg 1sg=go with 1sg.POSS friend (3sg=go)  
    ‘I went and my friend (went).’

In addition to its role as both conjunction and preposition in Taba, ada also occurs in North Moluccan Malay as an existential verb meaning ‘there is/are’.¹ This function is being borrowed into Taba. Examples such as the following show how interpretation as either a predicative prepositional phrase, or as an existential verb can be made with the same token of ada.

(20) Ada pipis, thaji te, trugi  
    ada pipis t=haji te t=rugi  
    with/exist money 1pl.incl=haji NEG 1pl.incl=lose  
    ‘If we are with money and we don’t go on the haji, we lose.’ / ‘If there is money, and we don’t go on the haji, we lose.’

North Moluccan Malay has itself adopted ada to serve as a progressive marker, in addition to its use as an existential verb comparable to that of Standard Indonesian.² This borrowed usage of ada has also occasionally been noted in Taba. In (21) is found an example of ada being used to indicate that an activity is continuous and ongoing. Ironically, the example comes from a recording made of one person’s disparaging comments about the degree to which Malay has affected contemporary Taba.

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¹ Taba itself has no indigenous existential verb and borrowed Malay ada is widely used by Taba speakers today. Indigenous Taba existential constructions are discussed in §5.1.

² Voorhoeve (1983a:5) discusses the use of ada as a progressive marker in North Moluccan Malay. He cites examples such as the following:

    Satu saat... ada bikin rame  
    one moment are make merry  
    ‘One day (they) were making merry.’
It was noted at the beginning of this section that comitative and instrumental noun phrases can be licensed by the applicative suffix \(-Vk\) as well as prepositionally. The rules of Taba grammar actually allow instruments and companions to be marked with both \(ada\) and \(-Vk\) at the same time. Examples (22) to (24) could all be used to refer to the same event.

(22)  \(Npun\) \(kolay\) \(ada\) \(peda\)  
\(n=pun\) \(kolay\) \(ada\) \(peda\)  
3sg=kill snake with machete  
'He killed the snake with a machete.'

(23)  \(Npunak\) \(kolay\) \(peda\)  
\(n=pun-ak\) \(kolay\) \(peda\)  
3sg=kill-APPL snake machete  
'He killed the snake with a machete.'

(24)  \(Npunak\) \(kolay\) \(ada\) \(peda\)  
\(n=pun-ak\) \(kolay\) \(ada\) \(peda\)  
3sg=kill-APPL snake with machete  
'He killed the snake with a machete.'

Ada is also sometimes used as a marker of differences between noun phrases. With this function it introduces a complement to verbal expressions such as \(maleo\) and \(sol\) 'be different'. In these constructions, which all have an Actor noun phrase preceding the verbal expression in addition to the prepositional objects which follow \(ada\), the prepositional object is the standard for comparison and the Actor noun phrase is the referent for which difference from that standard is being asserted. Examples (25) and (26) illustrate this use of \(ada\).

(25)  \(Baraci\) \(maleo\) \(ada\) \(Indonesyasi\)  
\(barat=si\) \(maleo\) \(ada\) \(Indonesya=si\)  
west=PL be.different from Indonesia=PL  
'Westerners are different from Indonesians.'

(26)  \(Ine\) \(mmaka\) \(sol\) \(ada\) \(idia\)  
i-ne \(n=maka\) \(sol\) \(ada\) \(i-dia\)  
DEM-PROX 3sg=RECIP be.different from DEM-DIST  
'This is different from that.'

While both \(maleo\) and \(sol\) have been glossed as 'be different' there are quite distinct ways of using these forms. \(Maleo\) is a Undergoer intransitive verb (see §4.2) and \(-sol\) is an Actor intransitive (§4.2). \(Maleo\) is often encountered as a nominalisation meaning 'other' while \(-sol\) is frequently found with invariant third person cross-referencing and a lexicalised meaning in the form \(ncol\) 'wrong / incorrect'. When used with the meaning 'be different' it almost invariably co-occurs with the reciprocal marker \(maka\) (see §6.6).
13.2.2 Lo

The preposition \(lo\) is a simulative marker. It always appears as a complement of the verb \(sama\) ‘to be the same’. The object of the preposition is the standard for comparison and the Actor of \(sama\) is the thing for which similarity to that standard is being asserted.

(27) \(Oci \ sama \ lo \ Iswan \ le\)
   Oci be.the.same as Iswan only
   ‘Oci is just the same as Iswan.’

13.2.3 Untuk

\(Untuk\) is used by younger Taba speakers to mark beneficiaries and can conveniently be translated into English as ‘for’. It is a rather recent borrowing from North Moluccan Malay and it is hardly ever used by older Taba speakers.\(^4\)

Unmarked adpositional phrases including \(untuk\) occur postverbally. They can also occur in the fronted preclausal position (see §6.3.1). \(Untuk\) prepositional phrases always occur as adjuncts to a clause. (There are no underived verbs that I am aware of which require a beneficial argument to be expressed.) The use of \(untuk\) is illustrated in (28) where the prepositional phrase is found in the preverbal focus position.

(28) \(Untuk \ \ yak, \ \ masure \ \ hasole, \ \ lao \ \ ne.\)
   
   untuk yak masure hasole lao ne
   for 1sg good all bait PROX
   ‘For me... they’re all good, these baits.’

\(^4\) No unequivocally pure beneficiary arguments are ever found in Taba discourse. There is only one attested example of a verb which licenses what might be thought of as a beneficiary with \(-o\) applicative derivation (see §8.3.3), and in this example, the benefactive reading can easily be seen as a rather weak extension from the locative role usually licensed by \(-o\). A more common strategy for introducing a beneficiary is to use a resultative subordinate clause (see §16.5.1), e.g.

\[\begin{align*}
I & \ npe \ \ de \ \ notik \ \ yak \\
3sg & \ 3sg=make \ \ RES \ \ 3sg=take-APPL \ \ 1sg
\end{align*}\]

‘He’s making it in order to give it to me.’ = ‘He’s making it for me.’

Note, however, that no noun phrase which is simply a beneficiary can be introduced in this manner, and that the nature of the benefit being referred to must be specified in somewhat more detail than in English and many other languages. In the example above such benefit is that ‘I receive whatever it is that the agent has made’ and ‘I’ thus appear as a recipient argument licensed by the \(-ik\) applicative suffix. To translate something like the English ‘he sang a song for me’ using a purposive subordinate clause, again the exact nature of the benefit (i.e. ‘in order that I hear it’) would need to be made explicit.

\[\begin{align*}
I & \ nnyanyi \ \ lagu \ \ de \ \ yak \ \ kmalongak \\
3sg & \ 3sg=sing \ \ song \ \ RES \ \ 1sg \ \ 1sg=hear-APPL
\end{align*}\]

‘He’s singing a song in order that I hear it.’ = ‘He’s singing a song for me.’
13.2.4 Pake

The preposition *pake* is used to mark instrument noun phrases and it is a fairly recent borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. In NMM it is a verb meaning ‘to use, wear’ and it is frequently used as the second verb in serial verb constructions where it is used to mark instruments. Taba *pake* is only occasionally used by older speakers but frequent use is found amongst younger people. It has been classified as both a ‘preposition’ and a serial verb in this description since it can function in both ways in Taba. *Pake* can also be used as as an independent transitive verb meaning ‘to use, wear’ as in NMM. Such usage is illustrated in (29).

(29) *Mpernah mpake lawe do?*
\begin{verbatim}
m=pernah m=pare la-we do
2sg=ever 2sg=use sea-ESS REAL
\end{verbatim}
‘Have you ever used it in Australia?’

As with most of the other Taba prepositions, *pake* prepositional phrases usually occur postverbally as in (30).

(30) *Hwet i pake senter lo*
\begin{verbatim}
h=wet pake senter 10
2pl=hit 3sg with torch IMP
\end{verbatim}
‘Hit him with the torch!’

In constructions such as that shown in (30), it is very difficult to distinguish prepositional *pake* from the serial verb with the same form. Agent cross-referencing of the second verb in a serial construction is optional if first and second verb in the construction share the same agent (see §12.1), so the lack of cross-referencing in (30) cannot be taken as diagnostic of a prepositional classification for *pake*. In example (31), however, *pake* is unambiguously prepositional, the whole prepositional phrase having been fronted.

(31) *Pake senter, hwet i lo*
\begin{verbatim}
pake senter h=wet i lo
with torch 2pl=hit 3sg IMP
\end{verbatim}
‘With the torch, hit him!’

*Pake* prepositional phrases always occur as adjuncts to a clause. As discussed with respect to *ada* ‘with’ (§13.2.1), while some verbs are subcategorised for instruments, their complements are always licensed by the applicative suffix -*Vk*. As also discussed with respect to *ada* prepositional clauses, instruments licensed by the applicative -*Vk* can also be marked within the same clause by *pake*. Examples (32) and (33) can be used in much the same contexts as (30) and (31).

(32) *Hwetik i senter lo*
\begin{verbatim}
h=wet-ik i senter lo
2pl=hit-APPL 3sg torch IMP
\end{verbatim}
‘Hit him with the torch!’
(33) Hwetik       i     pake       senter       lo
     h=wet-ik     i     pake       senter       lo
 2pl=hit-APPL 3sg with torch IMP
‘Hit him with the torch!’

Sometimes, *pake* and *ada* can be used interchangeably to mark instruments. Thus, (34) and (35) could also be used in the same context as (30) to (33) above.

(34) Hweti       i     ada       senter       lo
     h=wet-i     ada       senter       lo
 2pl=hit 3sg with torch IMP
‘Hit him with the torch!’

(35) Hwetik       i     ada       senter       lo
     h=wet-ik     i     ada       senter       lo
 2pl=hit-APPL 3sg with torch IMP
‘Hit him with the torch!’

When functioning as a preposition in Taba, *pake* still retains what is no doubt one of its verbal characteristics in that it can only be used with deliberately wielded instruments, as opposed to *ada* (see §13.2.1 above) and the applicative -V*k* which can both be used to mark accidentally employed instruments. Where an accidentally employed instrument is referred to, either simple applicative marking and/or the preposition *ada* must be used as in (36).

(36) Oci       nlikok       manik       ada       ni       sapatu
     Oci 3sg=trav-APPL chicken with 3sg.POSS shoe
‘Oci trot on the chicken with his shoe.’

The *pake* marked equivalent of (36) would be quite unusual, entailing as it does that Oci deliberately trot on the chicken.

(37) ? Oci       nlikok       manik       pake       ni       sapatu
     Oci 3sg=trav-APPL chicken with 3sg.POSS shoe
‘Oci trot on the chicken with his shoe [on purpose].’

13.2.5 Tutik(ma)

*Tutik* and its variant form *tutikma* occur both as preposition and as subordinating conjunction (see §16.5.3). In either guise, the Taba forms can be roughly translated into English as ‘until’. As prepositions, they act as the head of either adjunct locative or adjunct temporal clauses, indicating that some motion has been performed until a certain place has been reached, or that any kind of activity has been performed until a certain point in time. The *tutikma* variant is used to show that the distance moved, or the interval of time referred to is somewhat longer than would be the case if the simple *tutik* form had been used. *Tutikma* is illustrated heading a locative adjunct clause in (38), and *tutik* is shown with a temporal adjunct in (39).
(38) *Lomo litala wog te, lagawil tutikma lawe wolat halaim.*

lomo l=tala wog te l=agawil tutikma la-we wolat halaim
other 3pl=meet canoe NEG 3pl=swim until sea-at sea middle
‘Others who couldn’t find canoes swam until they were right out in the middle of the sea.’

(39) *Malai kamolam tutik mawoappo.*

Malai k=amolam tutik mawoappo
then 1sg=be.hungry until the.next.day
‘So then I was hungry until the next day.’
In this chapter we examine a number of modifiers of simple clauses. Non-declarative sentence types are discussed more fully in chapter 15, and 'complex syntax', which involves constructions in which more than one clause combine together in a variety of ways is discussed in chapter 16.

In §14.1 we examine the realis mood particle *do* and the continuative aspect particle *hu*. Section §14.2 takes up the question of negation in Taba, while the next two sections deal with some particles that can be used to modify clauses in various ways. Modifiers which occur before their clausal heads are discussed in §14.3 while modifiers which occur after their clausal heads are discussed in §14.4. Finally, in §14.5 we discuss the role of the focus particle *e*.

### 14.1 Mood and aspect

Taba has two optional particles which can be used to mark realis mood and continuative aspect: *do* and *hu* respectively. Each is discussed in turn below. Some general notes on the scope of the particles follow this discussion.

#### 14.1.1 Realis mood *do*

Realis mood is optionally marked with the particle *do*, which occurs immediately after any other elements of a clause, except for the continuative particle *hu* (§14.1.2). Any kind of clause, whether verbal or not (see chapter 5 for detailed discussion of Taba clause types) can be marked as realis.

Realis mood indicates that the state or event referred to by the clause is taking place, or has taken place at the time of the speech act when it is used, or at some other time referred to by that speech act. In Taba, the realis particle can also be used in conjunction with the negative particle *te* (§14.2.1) to emphasise the reality of some state or event's non-occurrence.
When it is used in negative clauses, however, the negative particle te and the realis particle do cliticise and a complex negative realis particle tedo is used (§14.2.3.1).

In example (1), do indicates the reality of volcanic ash’s wide dispersal at the time the speaker had returned to Moti island.

(1) Kmul Keten okik yapyap dumik do
   k=mul Keten okik yapyap dumik do
   1sg=return Moti be.finished ash be.complete REAL
   ‘Once I had got back to Moti, ash was everywhere.’

Example (2) is a commonly heard polite way of bidding goodbye to someone the speaker might be visiting. Here, do simply indicates that the speaker is at that moment in the process of leaving.

(2) Khan do
   k=han do
   1sg=go REAL
   ‘I’m going.’

As mentioned above, realis mood is not obligatorily marked. Example (3) refers to an actual event that occurred in the past, but here no overt realis marking is used.

(3) Lait dumik si
   L=ait dumik si
   3pl=ascend be.complete 3pl
   ‘Everyone ran upwards.’

Examples (1) and (2) above both show verbal clauses marked as realis: (1) with an Undergoer intransitive and (2) with an Actor intransitive. Example (4) shows a possessive verbal clause (§9.2) marked as realis.

(4) I nani badan da do.
   i n=ha-ni badan da do
   3sg=CAUS-POSS body DIST REAL
   ‘It already has that body.’ [referring to a half-built house]

Example (5) and (6) both show nominal quantifier predicates marked as realis.

(5) Bobokno, dukon Taba hawal pa
    bo-bo-ak-no dukon Taba ha=wal pa
    formerly-formerly-to-there eruption Makian CLASS=eight or

    sio do.
    sio do
    nine REAL
    ‘From way back in the past up to that time, Makian has erupted eight or nine times already.’
(6) *Manusia lloci do*
person many REAL
‘There are already a lot of people.’

An example of realis mood applied to a clause headed by a serial verb construction (chapter 12) is given in (7).

(7) *Nim disertasi msurat dumik do pa tesu?*
nom dissertation write be.complete REAL or NEG-POT
‘Your dissertation, have you finished writing it or not yet?’

### 14.1.2 Continuative aspect *hu*

Continuative aspect is optionally marked with the particle *hu*, which always occurs clause-finally. As with realis mood, any kind of clause, whether verbal or not (see chapter 5 for detailed discussion of Taba clause types) can be marked as continuative.

Continuative aspect indicates that the state or event referred to by the clause is still in the process of happening at time of the speech act when it is used, or at some time referred to by that speech act. As with the realis marker *do*, the continuative particle *hu* can also be used in conjunction with the negative particle *te* (§14.2.1) to which it cliticises as the complex negative particle *tehu* (§14.2.3.2). The complex particle indicates that something has not yet occurred but may occur in the future.

In example (8), *hu* qualifies a directional predicate. Here, it refers to the fact that the argument of the clause *si* was still in an ‘upwards’ location (see §11.2.1) at the time of other events being referred to in a narrative.

(8) *Siyase hu*
si up-ESS CONT
‘He was still up (in the neighbouring village).’

In (9), an Undergoer intransitive clause, *hu* indicates that the peanuts referred to were still small at the time of utterance.

(9) *Bonci ne kutu-kutu hu*
peanut PROX small-small CONT
‘These peanuts are still small.’

As has been mentioned, the marking of continuous aspect is optional. Example (10), with no aspect marked, could equally have been used to refer to the same state as that described in (9).

(10) *Bonci ne kutu-kutu*
peanut PROX small-small
‘These peanuts are small.’
Examples (8) and (9) show continuative aspect marked on directional and Undergoer intransitive predicates respectively. Examples (11) to (13) illustrate the co-occurrence of *hu* with a variety of different predicate types: nominal, ambient and ditransitive respectively.

(11) *Si mahasiswa hu*  
*3pl student CONT*  
'He’s still a student.'

(12) *Makoai hu*  
*be.hot CONT*  
'It’s still hot.'

(13) *Nwetik yak bbuk hu*  
*n=wet-ik yak bbuk hu*  
*3sg=hit-APPL 1sg book CONT*  
'He’s hitting me with a book.'

The realis marker *do* and the continuative particle *hu* are occasionally found used together in the same clause. When thus found, *do* always precedes *hu*. The effect of both *do* and *hu* being used in the same clause is to emphasise the reality of some continuous activity. Example (14), for example, was uttered in response to another person’s bemoaning the fact that someone who was expected to visit had not arrived. By using both particles the speaker can be more emphatic about stressing the fact that the person expected was still in the process of coming.

(14) *I nwom do hu*  
*i nwom do hu*  
*3sg 3sg=come REAL CONT*  
'He’s still coming.'

### 14.1.3 Scope of *do* and *hu*

The clause-final position of the modal and aspectual particles can lead to ambiguities in scope occurring when they are used with complex clauses (chapter 16). Example (15), for example is ambiguous as to whether *hu* refers to the embedded clause as *Kacarita [[kwom ane] hu] ‘I said “I am coming here”’, or to the whole complex [[*Kacarita kwom ane] hu] ‘I was saying “I came here”’.

(15) *Kacarita kwom ane hu*  
*k=ha-carita k=wom a-ne hu*  
*1sg=CAUS-talk 1sg=come ESS-PROX CONT*  
'‘I said “I am coming here”’, / ‘I was saying “I came here”’.

The same principle of scopal ambiguity applies to complex structures marked with *do* ‘realis’.
14.2 Negation

Distinct strategies are used to negate declarative and imperative clauses in Taba. Declaratives are negated by the particle *te* (§14.2.1) which can also be used on its own with the meaning ‘no’. Imperatives are negated using the admonitive particle *oik*, which also occurs as an independent verb with the meaning ‘to leave behind’ (§14.2.2).

14.2.1 *te*

The particle *te* ‘not / no’ is used to negate declarative clauses. *Te* can also be used on its own with the meaning ‘no’ (see §15.1.1.2 on responding to yes / no questions). The particle *te* follows any other elements of the clause except for the modal and aspectual particles. (When used in conjunction with the modal and aspectual particles, these cliticise onto *te* producing complex negative particles which are discussed in §14.2.3).

An example of negation of an Actor intransitive clause is seen in (17), while negation of an Undergoer intransitive and of a non-Actor bivalent clause (to select only a few from among the possibilities) are given in (18) and (19) respectively.

(17) a. *Nhan akla*
   n=han ak-la
   3sg=go ALL-sea
   ‘She’s going seawards.’

   b. *Nhan akla te*
   n=han ak-la te
   3sg=go ALL-sea NEG
   ‘She’s not going seawards.’

(18) a. *Idia bakan kwat*
   i-dia bakan kwat
   DEM-DIST be.big be.strong
   ‘That’s really big.’

   b. *Idia bakan kwat te*
   i-dia bakan kwat te
   DEM-DIST be.big be.strong NEG
   ‘That’s not really big.’
(19) a. Nik calana kudak asfal
    nik calana kuda-k asfal
    1sg.POSS trousers be.black-APPL bitumen
    ‘My trousers are blackened with bitumen.’

b. Nik calana kudak asfal te
    nik calana kuda-k asfal te
    1sg.POSS trousers be.black-APPL bitumen NEG
    ‘My trousers are not blackened with bitumen.’

As was the case with the clause-final modal and aspectual particles discussed in §14.1 above, negation of complex syntactic structures can lead to ambiguities in the scope of negation. Note example (20) below where te can have scope over just the complement clause khan ‘I’m going’ or over the whole complex of matrix clause and complement clause kalusa khan ‘I said I’m going.’

(20) Kalusa khan te
    k=ha-lusa k=han te
    1sg=CAUS-say 1sg=go NEG
    ‘I said I’m not going.’ / ‘I didn’t say I’m going.’

In negative existential clauses, te can operate as a predicator in its own right, serving to assert the non-existence of something. It sometimes occurs simply juxtaposed to the noun phrase which refers to whatever the non-existence of is being asserted as in (21).

(21) Nik dawalat te
    nik dawalat te
    1sg.POSS girlfriend NEG
    ‘I don’t have a girlfriend.’

More commonly, however, a discourse marker (see §16.7) intervenes between the noun phrase and te. The discourse marker generally expresses something about the relationship between the non-existence of whatever is referred to and some aspect of the previous discourse context, or it expresses some attitude of the speaker towards the proposition.

(22) Te mai te; gula mai te; kofi mai te
    tea but NEG sugar but NEG coffee but NEG
    ‘There’s no tea; there’s no sugar; there’s no coffee.’

In the above example, mai (also occurring as a conjunction meaning ‘but’, and discussed as a discourse marker in §16.7.1) functions to show that the non-existence of tea, sugar and coffee may be counter to one’s expectations that a normal household would normally have tea, sugar and coffee available if there had not been a serious lack of money to spend on such things.
14.2.2 *oik*

In order to negate imperative clauses (see §15.2), the admonitive particle *oik* (glossed ‘ADMON’) is used. (*Oik* is homophonous with an independent verb meaning ‘to leave (something) behind’). It is illustrated in (23) where it is seen with its admonitive function.

(23) *Hmomas meu komo mai hmomsak meu calana oik*

*h=momas meu komo mai h=momas-ak meu calana oik*

*2pl=wipe 2pl.POSS hand but 2pl=wipe-APPL 2pl.POSS trousers ADMON*

‘Wipe your hands, but don’t wipe them with your trousers.’

The independent transitive verb *oik* ‘to leave something behind’ is shown in (24).

(24) *Nim suka moik nim sagala a-ne?*

*nim suka m=oik nim sagala a-ne*

*2sg.POSS desire 2sg=leave.behind 2sg.POSS stuff LOC-PROX*

‘Do you want to leave your stuff behind here?’

Negation of imperatives is discussed further in §15.2.2.

14.2.3 Complex negative modal / aspectual particles

Taba has three complex negative modal / aspectual particles:

- *tedo* ‘realis negative’
- *tehu* ‘continuative negative’
- *tesu* ‘potential negative’

Each of these complex particles is discussed in turn below.

14.2.3.1 *tedo* (realis negative)

The complex negative particle *tedo* is a compound of the negative particle *te* and the realis marker *do*. Its use serves to make the negation more emphatic than would be the case if only the simple negator *te* were used. In (25), the speaker is talking about the effects of his drunkenness which had been related in an earlier part of the narrative: that he *really* didn’t know a thing about what had happened.

(25) *Kunak tedo. k=unak te-do*

*1sg=know NEG-REAL*

‘I didn’t know anything.’

In (26), the speaker is relating one of the effects of the eruption of Mt. Kiebesi: the volcanic crater lake no longer contains any water after the eruption of 1988 had sent its contents down the side of the mountain.
(26) Oras ne ni woya tedo
oras ne ni woya te-do
time PROX 3sg.POSS water NEG-REAL
'Nowadays it doesn’t have any water in it.’

In (27), the use of *tedo* rather than simple *te* serves to emphasize the absolute nature of the prohibition against making palm wine in a Muslim community.

(27) Mai ane lpeik saguer tedo.
mai a-ne l=pe-ik saguer te-do
but DEM-PROX 3pl=make-APPL palm wine NEG-REAL
‘But here they don’t make palm wine with it any more.’

14.2.3.2 *tehu* (continuative negative)

The continuative negative *tehu* is composed of the simple negative marker *te* and the continuous aspectual particle *hu*. Its meaning can be rendered most straightforwardly into English as ‘not yet’, ‘still not’, or ‘not up to the relevant point in time’. Such ‘relevant point in time’ can be the time of utterance or some other time referred to by the utterance. In contrast to the negative potential marker *tesu* (§14.2.3.3) there are no expectations about the likelihood of any negated event or state’s future occurrence expressed.

(28) Manganco ne dukon tehu
manganco ne dukon te-hu
long.time PROX eruption NEG-CONT
‘For a long time there hadn’t been an eruption.’

Often *tehu* is found at the end of the first clause in a paratactic sequence of clauses (§16.1), where its function is to mark that whatever is referred to by the first clause had not happened at the time of the event referred to by the main clause.

(29) Karna taplod tehu, manusia loas do.
karna ta-plod te-hu manusia l=oas do
because DETR-erupt NEG-CONT people 3pl=flee REAL
‘Because the mountain had still not erupted when everyone fled.’

14.2.3.3 *tesu* (potential negative)

The potential negative is formed by the suffixation of *-su* to the negative marker *te*. *Su* is not otherwise attested on its own.1 *Tesu* has a similar meaning to *tehu* (§14.2.3.2), but in addition to the meaning of *tehu* ‘not yet’, ‘not up to the relevant point in time’, *tesu* encodes an expectation that the event referred to will indeed occur at some time in the future.

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1 See, however §12.2.5.2 on the modal serial verb *-ahate(s)* where the final optional ‘s’ of this form is clearly related to *-su*. 
As with *tehu* (§14.2.3.2) *tesu* is often found at the end of the first clause in a paratactic sequence of clauses (§16.1), where it indicates that whatever is referred to in the first clause had not happened at the time of the event referred to by the second clause. Its use in this situation also encodes an expectation that whatever is referred to by the first clause should have been expected to come to pass. Note that such an expectation does not need to have actually been fulfilled: in (31) subsequent sections of the narrative from which this example is taken make it clear that the breakfast referred to never was cooked in reality. The use of *tesu* here entails that the speaker had an expectation that breakfast would be cooked up until the time of the eruption referred to in the second clause.

(31) *Hadala mosa tesu, taplod haso nak.*

hadala mosa te-su ta-plod ha=so nak
breakfast be.cooked NEG-POT DETR-erupt CLASS=one also
‘Breakfast was still not cooked (although I had every expectation that it would be) when it erupted again.’

14.3 Pre-head modifiers

A variety of modifiers which usually occur before the head of a predication are discussed in this section. Although the forms discussed here usually occur in front of the rest of the clause, they can sometimes be found in other places too. Details on individual modifiers are found in the sections where they are discussed. The forms discussed are:

- **lai** ‘just’, ‘recently’
- **duga** ‘only’
- **male** ‘must’
- **lebe** ‘more’
- **nyoa** ‘almost’

14.3.1 *lai* ‘just’, ‘recently’

To express that something has occurred in the recent past, the particle *lai* is used before the verb and any cross-referencing prefix.

(32) *Banda lai nwom*

Banda lai n=wom
Banda just 3sg=come
‘Banda has just come.’
(33) Ole, lai k=ktanoan.
   ole lai k=tanoan
   yes just 1sg=remember
   ‘Oh yes, I just remembered.’

Lai very often occurs in clauses with the imperative verb mo ‘come here’ (see §15.2.1.1 for discussion of mo). Such clauses can occur postposed to a nominalised clause which acts as the sole argument of mo. Such use of the combination lai mo also indicates that something has occurred in the recent past but suggests a slightly longer interval of time than does lai on its own as above.

(34) Banda nwom lai mo
   Banda n=wom lai mo
   Banda 3sg=come just come
   ‘Banda has come just recently.’ [lit. ‘Banda’s coming has just come.’]

The lai mo phrase can also occur in relative clauses (see §16.4) as in (35) below. Here, lai mo has a quite general meaning, in this case referring to the fact that the speaker had just recently been discussing palm sugar.

(35) Nou lai mo ya, ni sasai e ine
   nou lai mo ya ni sasai e i-ne
   palm.sugar just come REC 3sg.POSS broom FOC DEM-PROX
   ‘You know palm sugar we have just been talking about, this is a broom made from it.’
   [Lit. ‘Palm sugar that has just come (into the ambit of our conversation), its broom is this.’]

Lai mo clauses can also be nominalised themselves, and these nominalised clauses function as temporal adverbials which have relatively free word order with respect to the rest of the clause. Such a nominalisation is illustrated in (36) where evidence for nominalisation can be seen from the fact that lai mo has been qualified with the proximal demonstrative ne. It is not clear what differences there are in meaning between (34) and (36).

(36) Banda nwom lai mo ne
   Banda n=wom lai mo ne
   Banda 3sg=come just come PROX
   ‘Banda came just recently.’

The relatively free word order of these constructions is exemplified in (37), where the temporal adverbial noun phrase occurs in front of the clause itself.

(37) Lai mo ne, Banda nwom
   lai mo ne Banda n=wom
   just come PROX Banda 3sg=come
   ‘Just recently, Banda came.’

Lai can also be used as in paratactic clause sequences (see §16.1), where its meaning is ‘as soon as’. When used like this, it occurs before any other elements of the first clause, and the
construction means ‘as soon as’ whatever is referred to in the first clause has happened, whatever is referred to by the second clause will occur.

(38) \textit{Lai Ahmad nwom, kaluso si}\n\textit{lai Ahmad n=wom k=ha-lusa-o si}
as soon as Ahmad 3sg=come 3sg=CAUS-say-APPL 3sg
‘As soon as Ahmad comes, I’ll tell him.’

14.3.2 \textit{duga ‘only’}

\textit{Duga ‘only’} can be used as a modifier of both NPs and predicates. Its nominal modifying function was discussed in §10.4.1.1. It also occurs with clauses and its use entails an evaluation that whatever is referred to in the clause is somehow small or of little significance. It can be used with a variety of different types of predicates. In (40) it is seen with a verbal predicate and in (41) and (42) with nominal predicates.

(40) \textit{Duga ktoanam idia}\n\textit{duga k=toanam i-dia}
only 1sg=plant DEM-DIST
‘I only planted that.’

(41) \textit{I-ne duga bonci kopso le}\n\textit{DEM-PROX only peanut CLASS-one only}
‘This (comes from) just one peanut.’

(42) \textit{Ane duga yak ada Enku Janwar.}\n\textit{LOC-PROX only 1sg and Enku Janwar}
‘Here, there was only me and Enku Janwar.’

\textit{Duga} is illustrated having scope over a complex paratactic structure (see §16.1) in (43).

(43) \textit{Indadi Taba mai alusa ‘nou’. Duga polo ni}\n\textit{indadi Taba mai a=ha-lusa nou duga polo ni}
so Taba well 1pl.excl=CAUS-say nou only if 3sg.POSS

\textit{wola, bahasa ‘amit’}.
\textit{wola bahasa amit}
\textit{rope language amit}
‘So in Taba we call it (type of tree) “nou”. Only if (we’re talking about) its rope, the word is “amit”.

\textit{Duga} also occurs as a discourse marker (see §16.7.3).
**14.3.3 male ‘must’**

*Male* is used to provide an evaluation that whatever is referred to in the clause must occur. It most commonly occurs in front of all other elements from a clause, but it can also occur in other positions.

(44) *Janela hataosak tahate. male tcakal...*  
janela ha-ta-os-ak tahate male t=sakal  
*window CAUS-DET open-APPL impossible must 1pl.incl=smash*  
‘Windows couldn’t be opened with anything... we had to smash them...’

(45) *Male alhod ait.*  
Male a=alhod ait  
must 1pl.excl=run ascend  
We had to run up the mountain.

In (46), *male* is shown between a full noun phrase referring to the clause’s Actor and the rest of the clause.

(46) *Am male atohang...*  
am male a=tohang  
1pl.excl must 1pl.excl=try  
‘We must try.’

In (47), it occurs before the full NP referring to the Actor.

(47) *Male au mhan mtono si...*  
male au m=han m=tono si  
must 2sg 2sg=go 2sg=see 3pl  
‘You have to go and see them.’

*Male* can also be used as an independent intonation unit where it expresses an evaluation that something previously referred to, or something that is assumed by both speaker and addressee must be done.

(48) *Npe tane... male*  
n=pe ta-ne male  
3sg=do SIM-PROX must  
‘He does it like this. He has to.’

**14.3.4 lebe ‘more (than)’ & comparative constructions**

*Lebe* is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay which means ‘more’ or ‘more than’, and it is used to form comparative constructions. It appears only with verbal predications, and it occurs after any independent pre-predicate nominal elements but before the predicate itself.
(49) **Iswan lebe nunak**

Iswan lebe n=unak
Iswan more 3sg=know
‘I swan knows more.’

An explicit standard of comparison is often given for lebe clauses. When such an explicit standard of comparison is provided, noun phrases referring to those people or things which are being compared all appear in the preclausal fronted position. They can be either simply listed as in (50) or conjoined as in (51).

(50) **Iswan, maleosi: Iswan lebe nunak**

Iswan maleo=si Iswan lebe n=unak
Iswan other=PL Iswan more 3sg=know
‘I swan knows more than the others.’

(51) **Iswan lo Banda lo Nyong: Iswan lebe nunak**

Iswan lo Banda lo Nyong Iswan lebe n=unak
Iswan and Banda and Nyong Iswan more 3sg=know
‘I swan knows more than Banda or Nyong.’

While lebe only occurs with verbal predicates, it can occur in any kind of verbal clause, and the standards of comparison can fill any syntactic role within that clause. In examples (49) to (51) above, it is the SA argument of an Actor intransitive verb which is compared. A variety of exemplary clause types, with arguments bearing a variety of different syntactic roles are illustrated below. In (52), it is the SO argument of an Undergoer intransitive verb.

(52) **Mesel ne lo mesel da: idia lebe mlongan**

mesel ne lo mesel da i-dia lebe mlongan
wall PROX and wall DIST DEM-DIST more be.long
‘This wall and that wall: that one is longer.’ [‘That wall is longer than this.’]

Ditransitive clauses with lebe are shown in (53) - (44). In (53), the standard of comparison has the role of Actor of the ditransitive clause. In (54), the standard of comparison has the role of primary Undergoer, while in (55), it has the role of secondary Undergoer. Note, as in (53), that the exact manner in which ‘Banda gives me fish’ more than Iswan must be determined pragmatically, e.g. Banda gives me more fish vs. Banda gives me fish more frequently, etc.

(53) **Banda lo Iswan: Banda lebe notik yak yan**

Banda lo Iswan Banda lebe n=ot-ik yak yan
Banda and Iswan Banda more 3sg=get-APPL(give) 1sg fish
‘Banda gives me more fish than Iswan / Banda gives me fish more often than Iswan, etc.’

(54) **Yak lo au: Banda lebe notik yak yan**

yak lo au Banda lebe n=ot-ik yak yan
1sg and 2sg Banda more 3sg=get-APPL(give) 1sg fish
‘Banda gives me more fish than he gives you / more often than he does you, etc.’
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(55) Yan lo ngnge: Banda lebe notik yak yan
yan lo ngnge Banda lebe n=ot-ik yak yan
fish and kanari.nuts Banda more 3sg=get-APPL(give) ls g fish
‘Banda gives me more fish than kanari nuts / more often than kanari nuts, etc.’

A final example, showing the standard of comparison taking the role of an adjunct is given in (56).

(56) Attia, appo: Ahmed lebe nhan appo
at-ya ap-po Ahmad lebe n=han ap-po
ALL-up ALL-down Ahmad more 3sg=go ALL-down
‘Ahmad goes more downwards than upwards.’

14.3.5 nyoa ‘almost’

The particle nyoa ‘almost’ is related to the independent transitive verb yoa ‘to look for something’. Yoa is also commonly used in serial verb constructions where it has an aspectual meaning of ‘almost’ (see §12.2.5.3). The particle differs from the serial verb in several respects:

- The particle nyoa has invariant fossilised 3sg cross-referencing with n= while cross-referencing of the serial verb changes according the number and person of the Actor argument involved.

- The particle nyoa can be used to modify a variety of structures. In this section we discuss its role in qualifying whole clauses. Its role in modifying quantifier phrases is discussed in §10.4.1.2.

- Whereas serial yoa occurs after any pre-verbal independent nominals but before the second verb used in the construction, the particle nyoa can appear before prepredicate nouns.

Contrast the independent verb yoa in (57) with the particle nyoa in (58) and serial nyoa in (59).

(57) Lyoa daerah aman.
l=yoa daerah aman
3pl=look.f or area safe
‘They looked for somewhere safe.’

(58) Nyoa Ahmad nwom...
nyoa Ahmad n=wom
almost Ahmad 3sg=come
‘It’s almost time for Ahmad to come.’
In example (59) above and (60) below, the particle *nyoa*, like serial *yoa*, provides an aspectual meaning, showing that some activity was almost, but not quite completed.

(59) *Ahmad nyoa nwom...*
*Ahmad n=yoa n=wom*
*Ahmad 3sg=search(almost) 3sg=come*

‘Ahmad has almost come.’

Whenever the particle *nyoa* occurs as the first element of the clause it is read as having scope over the whole clause, and thus always contributes an aspectual meaning. Compare the meanings of (61), where *nyoa* occurs in clause-initial position, with (62), where quantifier modifying *nyoa* (see §10.4.1.2) occurs immediately preceding the quantifier clause *beitutin co ‘a hundred’*, and has scope just over the quantifier phrase.

(60) *Nyoa khan lama polisi=ltahan yak.*
*n=yoa k=han l=ma polisi=si l=tahan yak*
*almost 1sg=go sea-VEN police=PL 3pl=find 1sg*

‘I had almost left Moti when the police grabbed me.’

(61) *Nyoa ktala yan banden beitutin co*
*n=yoa k=tala yan banden beit=utin so*
*almost 1sg=meet fish milk.fish CLASS=hundred one*

‘I almost got a hundred milk fish.’ [perhaps spoken in a context where the speaker’s aim had been to collect a hundred milk fish but that aim had not quite been fulfilled]

(62) *Ktala yan banden nyoa beitutin co*
*k=tala yan banden nyoa beit=utin so*
*1sg=meet fish milk.fish almost CLASS=hundred one*

‘I got almost a hundred milk fish.’ [perhaps spoken in a context where the speaker had no particular number of milk fish in mind that s/he wanted to collect, but on counting them discovered that there were almost a hundred of them]

A final example of the particle *nyoa* operating at a clausal level is given in (63). *Nyoa* is used here as a conventionalised marker of politeness in a request. This conventionalised politeness strategy using *nyoa* is discussed further in §15.2.1.

(63) *Nyoa John mbaca basa Inggeris da.*
*n=yoa John m=mbaca basa Inggeris da*
*almost John 2sg=read language English DIST*

‘Can you read this English here John.’

14.4 Post-head modifiers

Three modifiers which usually occur after the head of a predication are discussed in this section. These are:
Each of the above forms is discussed in turn below.

14.4.1 le ‘only’

Like duga ‘only’ discussed in §14.3.2 above, le, also ‘only’ can be used as a modifier of both NPs and predicates. Its nominal modifying function is discussed in §10.4.1. It also occurs postpredicatively, when its use entails an evaluation that whatever is referred to in the clause is somehow small or of little significance. In (64) it is first exemplified having scope over just a noun phrase.

(64) Kampung plu le lekat te. kampung p-lu le lekat te village CLASS-two only be.broken NEG ‘Only two villages weren’t broken.’

In (65) it is illustrated in post-predicate position, having scope over just the verb mot ‘to die’. In this example, referring to the number of deaths occasioned by the Makianese eruption of 1988, the speaker is emphasising how fortunate the Makianese had been that only one death had occurred as a result of the eruption.

(65) Ndadi nmot le da iso. Nndadi n=mot le da i-so so 3sg=die only DIST CLASS-one ‘So the only death there was one person.’

In (66), le occurs at the end of the whole clause having an Undergoer intransitive verb as its head, and it has scope over the whole clause. Here it is used to emphasise that the size of what is being referred to was really quite small.

(66) Bakan tane le. bakan ta-ne le be.big SIM-PROX only ‘It was only as big as this.’

In (67) it again occurs at the end of a clause, this time headed by an Actor intransitive verb.

(67) Ltaitae le l=taitae le 3pl=lue only ‘They’re just lying.’

I have heard this sentence actually used on different occasions, with quite different pragmatically invited interpretations. One instance of its use, for example, came at the end
of a long narrative describing the speaker’s experiences during and after the Makianese eruption. This particular individual was the only person who stayed on Makian throughout the eruption, and when this sentence was uttered he had just finished telling me that other people might tell me different stories about the eruption from the story he had just told me. Le, as it is used in (67), then, serves to belittle any other story-tellers who were too timid to stay behind and see what really did happen, while the speaker, having stayed behind, was the only person who knew the real story of what had gone on.2 On another occasion this sentence was uttered by the parent of a crying child who was upset about the recent behaviour of another child. On this occasion, the use of le ‘only’ invited the implication that since what had been said was unimportant, the crying child should not allow it to upset him.

In example (68), le is used as part of a formulaic apology used in semi-formal speeches by Taba speakers. Here it functions partly pragmatically, and partly by convention as a politeness marker.

(68) Kdodo au maaf le.  
\[ k=\text{dod-o} \quad \text{au} \quad \text{maaf} \quad \text{le} \]  
\[ l_{1\text{sg}}=\text{ask.for-APPL} \quad 2_{\text{sg}} \quad \text{forgiveness} \quad \text{only} \]  
‘I just say I’m sorry.’

### 14.4.2 nak ‘in addition / also / again’

The post-predicate modifier nak ‘in addition’ is translated into English in a variety of ways depending on context as ‘also’, ‘too’, ‘again’, etc. Its use entails that what is described in the clause in which it is used be somehow in addition to previously stated actuality or previously held expectations. It always occurs as the final element of the clause in which it is found.

(69) Lomo nyat ci Jailolo... ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo nak.  
\[ l_{\text{omo}} \quad n=\text{yat} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{Jailolo} \quad \text{ada} \quad \text{kecamatan kecamatan} \quad \text{maleo} \quad \text{nak} \]  
\[ \text{other} \quad 3_{\text{sg}}=\text{take 3pl Jailolo and district district} \quad \text{other also} \]  
‘Others they took to Jailolo and also to other districts.’

(70) Malai tmaka tala surat li nak.  
\[ \text{Malai} \quad t=maka \quad \text{tala surat li} \quad \text{nak} \]  
\[ \text{then} \quad 1_{\text{pl.incl}}=\text{RECIP meet letter LOC also} \]  
‘Then we’ll meet up by letter again.’

(71) Kurusi ne kyat Keten nak....  
\[ \text{kurus} \quad n=\text{kyat} \quad \text{Keten} \quad \text{nak} \]  
\[ \text{chair} \quad \text{PROX} \quad 1_{\text{sg}}=\text{take Moti also} \]  
‘These chairs I also took to Moti.’

---

2 That the speaker had been successful in constructing this implication on this occasion was evidenced at a later date when I was engaged in checking my transcription of the story. One of the people who was present while I was going over the transcription had previously been recorded relating his version of the events surrounding the eruption, and his reaction to this part of the story I was checking provided ample evidence that he, at least, was not pleased at the invited inference.
14.4.3 **ndara 'too much'**

*Ndara*, like the other post-predicate particles so far discussed also occurs post-predicatively, and after any post-predicate arguments or adjuncts, but it occurs before either *le* (§14.4.1) or *nak* (§14.4.2). It has the meaning 'too much'. It is initially exemplified in (73), a sentence used to describe how the children of Kota village spent too much time bothering the author while he was attempting to work at his notes.

(73) **Manusia ltumo i te ndara nak**

manusla l=tum-o i te ndara nak
people 3pl=follow-APPL 3sg te too.much also
‘People didn’t catch (the boat) enough either.’ [lit. ‘people didn’t catch it too much as well.’]

Example (75) shows *ndara* used in a subordinate clause construction. Here, although *ndara* might be better translated into English as 'so many' rather than 'too many', there is still clearly an entailment that an overabundance of questioning has led to the state of confusion or disorientation.

(75) **Hkutan ndara de k=bingung**

h=kutan ndara de k=bingung
2pl=ask too.much RES 1sg=be.disorientated
‘You ask so many questions that I get confused.’

14.5 **The focus particle e**

In Taba discourse it is possible to encode the fact that a speaker wishes to give more informational prominence to some constituent of a sentence, or of the discourse, than to any other element. Such 'focussing' is done by adding the particle *e* (glossed 'FOC') immediately following the constituent that is to receive greater prominence. The discussion of *e* presented here is very preliminary in nature. The actual conditions under which *e* is used are quite
complex and a great deal more work needs to be done in order to understand them properly. One of the complicating factors is that e also occurs as an epenthetic vowel (§2.3.2.4) which also appears to be used as a rhythmic device in certain situations. The distribution of e, then, appears to be conditioned by a complex bundle of features, both phonological, and discourse - syntax related, and a complete understanding of the form must await a much more detailed study than this one.

Often, when e is used to focus a noun phrase within a sentence, the most appropriate English translation would take the form of a cleft construction.

(76) Yak e kpe capat
yak e k=pe capat
1sg FOC 1sg=make fast
‘As for me, I make them fast.’

Any constituent except for a particle can be focussed, whether nominal, verbal, clausal or whatever. The focus marker is very commonly encountered in information questions (§15.1.2), where the element referring to the unknown information is almost invariably focused. In (77), the focussed element is the noun phrase pu da ‘that what’.

(77) Mpe ya pu da e?
m=pe ya pu da e
2sg=make up what DIST FOC
‘What’s that you’re making?’

In (78), the focussed element is the postpositional locative phrase lo li ‘where’.

(78) Mhan po lo li e?
m=han po lo li e
2sg=go down where LOC FOC
‘Where are you going?’

In (79) and (80), more locatives, this time an inherently locative noun Taba ‘Makian’, and a derived directional pope ‘in a “downwards” location’ are focussed.

(79) Ine Botan... ada Keten le... Tapi Taba e te...
i-ne Botan ada Keten le tapi Taba e te
DEM-PROX Halmahera and Moti only but Makian FOC NEG
‘This is only found on Halmahera... and Moti... but as for Makian, it’s not.’

(80) Pope e de Ahmad lo John lhan lyos li ya...
p-o-pe e de Ahmad lo John l=han l=yos li ya
down-ESS FOC RES Ahmad and John 3pl=go 3pl=swim LOC REC
‘In that “downwards location”, where Ahmad and John went swimming, there.’

Example (81) shows a whole clause being focussed.
(81) *Talomas e tpake ni kadut ne...*  
\[ \text{t=ha-lomas e t=pake ni kadut ne} \]  
1pl.incl=CAUS-force.water.through FOC 1pl.incl=use 3sg.POSS sack PROX  
'When we force water through (*talomas*), we use one of these sacks for it.'

As mentioned above, any constituent of a sentence except for a particle can be focused. This fact leads to ambiguities arising in situations where \( e \) immediately follows a low-level constituent which is itself a component of a higher-level constituent which has other component elements preceding it. Example (82), then, is ambiguous as to whether it is the noun phrase *idía* 'that' or the whole clause of which *idía* is a constituent, i.e. *kaklida idía*, 'that is hard' which is in focus.

(82) *Turus kaklida idía e... bulang masure nak...*  
\[ \text{turus kaklida i-dia e bulang masure nak} \]  
then be.hard DEM-DIST FOC white be.beautiful again  
'Then that's hard... a beautiful white again.'

A more thorough description of the exact discourse conditions under which the focus particle \( e \) is used awaits a detailed study of Taba discourse.
Questions and requests

This chapter deals with some of the means available to Taba speakers for asking questions and making requests or issuing commands. While Taba has no morphosyntactic marking of what might be thought of as modality, the speech acts of ‘asking questions’ and ‘making requests’ or ‘issuing commands’ can be clearly distinguished on a number of grounds, including the fact that they are named types of utterances in Taba itself. These speech acts can all be performed with varying degrees of directness and indirectness.

- **kutan** ‘to ask’
- **dod** ‘to request’
- **sulak** ‘to tell someone to do something’

The different sentence types are marked in a mixture of different ways: by intonation, and through the use of particles and some morphology.

Questions are discussed in §15.1. Two different kinds of questions can be distinguished: alternative questions (of which yes / no polarity questions are one variety), and what I have called ‘information questions’ which utilise wh- words, or ‘epistememes’ (see Mushin, 1995). This section has been labelled ‘asking questions’ rather than ‘interrogative mood’ because one of the most important strategies available for asking questions is simply intonation, rather than the use of any particular morphosyntactic or lexical devices.

Commands and requests are treated in §15.2. These are distinguished according to degree of politeness: more indirect means are generally marked as more polite than more direct means.

### 15.1 Asking questions

Two quite different kinds of questions need to be distinguished. The first type are labelled ‘alternative questions’. These include (but are not limited to) yes / no questions. Through uttering an alternative question, a speaker asks which of a number of propositions (most
commonly two) is true. The second type we call information questions. In these, information is sought, but not in terms of alternatives. Note that asking questions does not necessarily involve the use of any ‘interrogative mood’: the most common device for asking alternative questions is simply the use of appropriate intonation: no special morphosyntactic or lexical marking is required.

### 15.1.1 Alternative questions

The most common alternative questions are those which seek either an affirmation or a denial of a proposition (i.e. yes / no questions), but they are by no means the only kinds of alternatives that can be posed. A questioner may propose two or more distinct propositions as alternatives, and expect a response affirming any one of them, as in (5) and (6).

(1) *Ntongo Keten pa ntongo Tarnate?*
   
   n=tongo Keten pa n=tongo Tarnate
   
   3sg=live Moti or 3sg=live Ternate
   
   ‘Does she live on Moti or does she live in Ternate?’

(2) *Nhan appo pa attia?*
   
   n=han ak-po pa at-tia
   
   3sg=go ALL-down or ALL-up
   
   ‘Did she go downwards or upwards?’

There are two quite different kinds of formal devices used to signal alternative questions. These are intonational and lexical respectively. In examples (1) and (2) the fact that these utterances are questions would be signalled solely by intonation. With a characteristically assertive intonation pattern (actually two conjoined assertive intonation patterns; see §16.2 on conjoined clauses) is associated with the sentence from (1).

![Intonation pattern](image)

(3) *Ntongo Keten pa ntongo Tarnate*
   
   ‘She either lives on Moti or she lives in Ternate.’

In (4), with characteristically inquiring intonation contours (starting at a fairly low pitch then rising sharply and staying high until the end of the clause), the sentence is treated as a question.

![Intonation pattern](image)

(4) *Ntongo Keten pa ntongo Tarnate?*
   
   ‘Does she live on Moti or does she live in Ternate?’
Yes / no questions can be signalled with a similar intonation. This will be discussed in more detail below in §15.2.1.1. Yes / no questions can also be posed using tags which are derived from the alternative construction outlined above. These are discussed in §15.2.1.2.

15.1.1.1 Prosodic devices

The prosodic devices available for questioning the truth of an utterance are all unmarked for the expectations of the speaker as to the answer, although there may only be parts of the proposition which are in question. These parts may be marked prosodically. When the veracity of the whole proposition is being questioned, this is signalled by a rising intonation, as illustrated in (5). The pitch of the utterance starts out at a mid level and stays level throughout most of the utterance until it rises markedly towards the end of the utterance. High pitch is maintained for the very final part of the utterance.

(5) *Iswan nahagak i?*
    ‘Is Iswan kidding him?’

The example shown in (5) questions the veracity of the whole proposition *Iswan nahagak i* ‘Iswan is kidding him’; various parts of the proposition may also be questioned by stressing them. (The phonological correlates of stress are discussed in §2.4.) If the speaker knows that someone is kidding, but they are not sure who is doing the kidding, they can stress the full noun phrase *Iswan* to ascertain whether it was Iswan or someone else who was responsible, as in (6).

(6) *Iswan nahagak i?*
    Is Iswan (rather than someone else) kidding him?

If the questioner knows that Iswan did something and they want to ascertain whether or not he was kidding someone, the the verb *nahagak* receives stress, as in (7).

(7) *Iswan nahagak i?*
    Is Iswan kidding (as opposed to doing something else to) him?

To question whether or not a particular individual has been affected by Iswan’s kidding, the Undergoer may be stressed.
(8) *Iswan nahagak Oci?*
   Is Iswan kidding Oci (rather than someone else)?

15.1.1.2 Lexical devices

Aside from signalling yes / no questions by intonation, there are two common strategies which involve the use of tags. Each encodes slightly different expectations for the value of the response on the part of the interrogator. They are illustrated in (9) and (10).

(9) *Nhan pa te?*
   \[ n=han \ pa\ te \]
   \[ 3sg=go \ or \ NEG \]
   'Did he go or not?'

(10) *Nhan pa ne?*
   \[ n=han \ pa\ ne \]
   \[ 3sg=go \ or \ PROX \]
   'He went didn’t he?'

The use of the tag *pa te* ‘or not’ as in (9) carries no anticipation of a specific response, either positive or negative. However, when the tag *pa ne* ‘or this’ is used as in (10), a positive response is expected.

Utterances with each tag characteristically have different intonation contours. With *pa te*, the utterance usually has the same intonation contour as a lexically unmarked but intonationally marked yes / no question, i.e. the utterance begins at a mid-level pitch, staying level until towards the end of the utterance where it rises sharply and then stays high until the utterance is completed. This is illustrated in (11).

(11) *Nhan pa te?*
    'Did he go or not?'

With *pa ne*, where an affirmation is expected, the utterance characteristically has the intonation of an assertion.

(12) *Nhan pa ne?*
    'He went, didn’t he?'
The tag *pa* ‘or’ is sometimes used to question the veracity of a proposition, but it often functions more in line with the information questions to be discussed below. It is illustrated in (13).

(13) *Nhan pa?*
    n=han pa
    3sg=go or
    ‘Did he go or what?’

The intonation given to the utterance in (17) is that of an incomplete question. As with other questions, the utterance begins at a mid-level and rises sharply towards the end. As shown in (14), however, there is no final plateau.

(14) *Nhan pa?*
    ‘Did he go or what?’

While questions using the simple tag *pa* ‘or’ can be interpreted as requests to ascertain the veracity of a proposition, they are in a sense incomplete both prosodically and syntactically (*pa* ‘or’ is a conjunction and usually requires a complement). These questions generally imply that the speaker doubts the veracity of the proposition involved, and thus seeks further information on the exact nature of either the event or the participants involved. A normal response to (13) and (14), therefore, would more likely be along the lines of (15) (the presupposition of which is ‘no, he has not gone’), rather than in the form of a simple assertion or denial.

(15) *Ntongo lewe*
    n=tongo le-we
    3sg=stay sea-ESS
    ‘He’s staying seawards.’

**Responding to yes / no questions**

Languages of the world differ in respect to what is meant by an answer of either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to a yes / no question. In some languages a ‘yes’ indicates that the polarity of the state of affairs being questioned is positive and a ‘no’ indicates that the polarity is negative. In other languages a ‘yes’ indicates that the polarity of the question is affirmed and a ‘no’ indicates that the polarity of the question is denied. English is of the first type, while Taba is of the second. The distinction is best illustrated by some examples.
(16) **Positive polarity question:**

\[
\text{Masodas } \quad \text{pa ne?}
\]

\[
m=\text{ha-sodas} \quad \text{pa ne}
\]

\[
2\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-suck} \quad \text{or PROX}
\]

‘Do you smoke?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jou</th>
<th>Ole</th>
<th>Te</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes (I do smoke)</td>
<td>Yes (I do smoke)</td>
<td>No (I don’t smoke)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kinds of answers given to a question like that in (16) are essentially the same in both English and Taba. The question is unmarked for polarity and is thus framed as a positive question. Where differences emerge is in replying to questions phrased with negative polarity, as in (17).

(17) **Negative polarity question:**

\[
\text{Masodas } \quad \text{pa te?}
\]

\[
m=\text{ha-sodas} \quad \text{pa te}
\]

\[
2\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-suck} \quad \text{or NEG}
\]

‘Do you smoke or not?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jou</th>
<th>Ole</th>
<th>Te</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes (I do not smoke)</td>
<td>Yes (I do not smoke)</td>
<td>No (I do smoke)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there is no expectation of either a positive or negative reply on the part of the questioner in (17), the part of the utterance which signals the question (the tag) has negative polarity, and it is to this polarity which the respondent must reply.

Two distinct Taba forms have been given which are both translated into English as ‘yes’. 

*Jou* (a borrowing from Tematan in which it means literally ‘Lord’) is a polite form used when responding to people older than oneself, while *ole* is a neutral form. *Te* is unmarked for politeness. In addition to *te*, a negative response can also be given with one of the complex negative modal / aspectual particles *tedo* ‘negative realis’, *tehu* ‘negative continuous’ and *tesu* ‘negative potential’. The differences in meaning between each of these forms is discussed in §14.2.3.

**Yes / no questions with complex negative modal / aspectual tags**

Yes / no questions can be made with the complex negative particles *tedo*, *tehu* and *tesu* as well as with the *pa te* ‘or not’ tag. As discussed in §14.2.3, these particles encode modal and aspectual meanings in addition to their negative meanings. The differences in meaning between bare *pa te* tags and tags formed with the complex negative particles are predictable on the basis of the meanings of the complex particles. Their use is exemplified in (18) - (20).
15.1.2 Information questions

We have already seen that the conjunction pa ‘or’ can be used to seek more detailed information than a simple yes / no response. As we have seen, the actual information provided is to be determined by the respondent. Taba also has a few informational question words (often called interogatives, ‘wh-’ words or sometimes ‘epistememes’, see Mushin, 1995) and these are discussed here.¹ We first discuss the range of forms found in Taba which can be used with this questioning function (§15.1.2.1), then we discuss their syntactic distribution (§15.1.2.2). Finally we discuss the use of some interogatives as indefinites (§15.1.2.3).

15.1.2.1 Forms of interogatives

Taba has three root forms which belong in this class, and a number of derived forms. The root forms are listed in (21), and sentential examples using each of them are provided in (22) to (23).

(21) lo where
     alho who
     pu what

¹ Some of these forms can also have other functions. See §15.1.2.3 for discussion of these.
(22) Mhan po loe?
m=han po lo=e
2sg=go down where=FOC2
'Where are you going?'

(23) Mmeu sso alhoe?
memeu sso alho=e
2pl.POSS name who=FOC
'What is your name?'

(24) Ya pu dae?
ya pu da=e
REC what DIST=FOC
'What is that?'

In addition to these there is a form meaning 'how', or sometimes 'why', derived by adding the causative prefix ha- (§8.3.1) to the form pu 'what'. This derived form, hapu is shown in example (25).

(25) Polo oras ne keadaan Universitas Khairun
polo oras ne keadaan Universitas Khairun
when3 time PROX happenings university Khairun
do hapue?
do ha=pu=e
REAL CAUS=what=FOC
'How are things at Khairun University these days?'

Hapu is also sometimes used to ask 'how much' something costs.

(26) Hapu e htauae?
ha-pu e h=tua e
CAUS what how.much FOC 2pl=buy FOC
How much does it cost to buy?

There are also a fairly large number of other forms which are more commonly used to ask about quantities. Most of these can be translated as 'how many' and they derive from the numeral root so 'one' with a preposed i which signals membership of the class of interrogatives, and with a numeral classifier prefixed to that. The exact form of the classifier depends on the nature of the thing to be quantified. A few of the most common are exemplified in (27) to (30), but the forms are treated at length in §10.3.2.

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2 e is the focus marker which is almost invariably encliticised onto epistememes when they are used to question the identity of some clausal participant. See §3.2 for discussion of cliticisation and §14.5 for further discussion of the focus particle.

3 Polo is a complementiser meaning 'when' or 'if'. Its function is quite distinct from that of the question word poiso 'when' to be discussed shortly.
Questions and requests

(27) *Matiso* lhan do?
mat-i-so l=han do
CLASS-INT-one 3pl=go REAL
‘How many (people) have gone?’

(28) *Sisso* ember ni llo?
sih-i-so ember ni llo
CLASS-INT-one bucket 3sg.POSS inside
‘How many (fish) are there in the bucket?’

(29) *haiso* mhan appo?
ha-i-so m=han ak-po
CLASS-INT-one 2sg=go ALL-down
How many times have you gone down (to Ternate)?’

(30) *Piso?*
p-i-so=e
CLASS-INT-one=FOC
‘How many (pieces of fruit, etc.) are there?

Poiso is an interrogative form meaning ‘when’ which also appears to be derived from a numeral root with the preposed interrogative marker *i* but with no classifier. Instead of the classifier the directional root *po* ‘down’ is prefixed as in (31).

(31) *Pioso* ntobi?
po-i-so n=tobi
down-INT-one 3sg=arrive
‘When will she arrive?’

15.1.2.2 Distribution of interrogatives in questions

Interrogative pronouns may take the part of virtually any participant in a clause: there are no restrictions on the syntactic role of the questioned noun. The interrogative simply takes up the clausal position of the element that is being questioned. Taba has no syntactic process analogous to wh-movement in English. In all of the example sentences which follow in this section, the characteristic questioning intonation described above in §15.1.1 is adopted. This intonational pattern is illustrated in example (32) below and assumed as far as subsequent examples are concerned.

Interrogatives may take the place of an Actor as in (32).

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4 Po, generally meaning ‘down’ is also used to refer to unknown locations, as when it is used with the locative interrogative *lo* illustrated in (22) above and in a few other forms discussed in §11.3 on textual deixis.

5 Many of the example sentences in this section could also be pronounced with the unmarked intonational pattern described in §2.6. With this intonation the sentences do not function as questions but as statements and the interrogatives involved function as indefinite pronouns. This function of interrogatives is discussed in §15.1.2.3.
Interrogatives may also take the place of a single Undergoer as in (33).

(33) *Kagugum pu dae?*
   
   k=ha-gugum pu da=e
   
   1sg=CAUS-fist what DIST=FOC
   
   ‘What am I holding in my fist?’

They may take the place of a secondary Undergoer, as in (34).

(34) *I nwentik i ya pu?*
   
   i n=wet-ik i ya pu
   
   3sg 3sg=hit-APPL 3sg REC what
   
   ‘What did she hit him with?’

They may also question various kinds of predicates: a nominal predicate in (35), and a verbal one in (36).

(35) *Ni sso alhoe?*
   
   ni sso alho=e
   
   3sg.POSS name who=FOC
   
   ‘What is her name?’

(36) *Mpe pu dae*
   
   m=pe pu da=e
   
   2sg=do what DIST=FOC
   
   ‘What are you doing there?’

Note however, that although the nature of an activity can be questioned, as in (36) above, there is no interrogative which can itself be classified as a verb. The dummy verb *pe* ‘do / make’ is required to fill the verbal slot.

Interrogatives can also question the identity of various oblique elements: a locative adjunct in (37), a temporal one in (38), and a manner adjunct in (39).

(37) *Mhan po loe?*
   
   m=han po lo=e
   
   2sg=go down where=FOC
   
   ‘Where are you going?’
Interrogatives can also be used as the possessor or the possessed in possessive constructions as illustrated in (40) and (41) respectively.

(40)  *Alho ni?*  
  alho  ni  
  ‘Whose is it?’

(41)  *Idham ni pu=e?*  
  Idham  ni  pu=e  
  Idham  3sg.POSS  what=FOC  
  ‘It’s Idham’s what?’

We have seen that interrogatives (when viewed as a unitary form class) are nominals which can be used in any of the syntactic slots which are available to other nominals. When viewed individually, however, a few restrictions apply. These restrictions follow from the semantic attributes of the participants normally found in particular syntactic slots. For example, the interrogative *alho* ‘who’ can be used in any of the places that noun phrases with human referents are found: as Actor, Undergoer, instrument, and possessor. Use as possessee or as adjunct is unattested in the corpus, because arguments with human referents rarely appear in these positions. The interrogative *lo* ‘where’ is much more restricted. It questions the identity of a location, and locative nouns have a relatively restricted syntactic distribution (see §4.1.2 for more details).

15.1.2.3 Indefinite use of interrogative words

All of the interrogative words mentioned above can also be used as indefinites. Indefinites are words which can be used to refer to things whose exact identity is not made explicit by the speaker. Indefinites can be translated into English as ‘something’, ‘someone’, ‘somehow’, ‘somewhere’, etc. The difference between interrogative and indefinite meanings of each form are signalled intonationally: the interrogatives are used in utterances that are prosodically marked as questions (§15.1) while the indefinites are used in utterances that are prosodically unmarked (§2.6). The forms that can be used, along with their interrogative and indefinite meanings are:

- *lo*  ‘where’  ‘somewhere’
- *alho*  ‘who’  ‘someone’
- *hapu*  ‘how’  ‘somehow’
- *CLASS-i-so*  ‘how many’  ‘a number’
• poiso ‘when’ ‘sometime’
• pu ‘what’ ‘something’

Each of these forms is exemplified as an indefinite below.

(42) Nhan po lo li e.
  n=han po lo li e
  3sg=go down where LOC FOC
  ‘He went somewhere.’

(43) Alho nalusa da.
  alho n=ha-lusa da
  who 3sg=CAUS-say DIST
  ‘Someone said that.’

(44) Yak kpolas nik frak hapue.
  yak k=polas nik frak ha-pu=e
  1sg 1sg=pay 1sg.POSS passage CAUS-what=FOC
  ‘I’ll pay for my ticket somehow.’

(45) Matiso lhan do.
  mat-i-so l=han do
  CLASS-INT-one 3pl=go REAL
  ‘A number (of people) have gone.’

(46) Ntobi poiso.
  n=tobi po-i-so
  3sg=arrive down-INT-one
  ‘She will arrive sometime.’

Although pu ‘what’ is sometimes used to refer to indefinites (47), there is also another form ponco ‘thingummybob’ which is probably more commonly encountered in actual discourse (48).

(47) Kagugum pu dae.
  k=ha-gugum pu da=e
  1sg=CAUS-fist what DIST=FOC
  ‘I’m holding something in my fist.’

(48) Kagugum ponco ne.
  k=ha-gugum ponco ne
  1sg=CAUS-fist thingummybob PROX
  ‘I’m holding this thingummybob in my fist.’
15.2 Requests and commands

There are a number of grammatical strategies available to Taba speakers for making requests or commands, including use of the imperative particle lo and the admonitive oik. The imperative and the admonitive are exemplified in (49) and (50) respectively.

(49) Imperative voice

\[ \text{hamot} \quad \text{lo!} \]
\[ h=\text{ha-mot} \quad \text{lo} \]
\[ 2\text{pl}=\text{CAUS-die} \quad \text{IMP} \]
‘Turn it off!’

(50) Admonitive voice

\[ \text{We mhonas hasopik oik!} \]
\[ \text{we mhonas} \quad h=\text{ha-sop-ik} \quad \text{oik} \]
\[ \text{foot sick} \quad 2\text{pl}=\text{CAUS-shower-APPL ADMON} \]
‘Don’t get your sick foot wet!’

As is no doubt the case in all languages, a rather large variety of means are available to speakers for issuing commands and making requests. More or less direct strategies for doing this encode varying degrees of politeness.

Varying degrees of politeness in Taba requests are best understood through the theory of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). In Brown and Levinson’s framework, there is an assumption that ‘model persons’ from any culture have both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ ‘face’ requirements, but that the degree of importance attached to each kind of face requirement will differ from one culture to another. ‘Face’ is defined as the public self-image that every member of a group wants to claim for him or herself, which consists of both negative face and positive face. Negative face concerns one’s freedom to action and the freedom from imposition by others. Positive face concerns the positive consistent self-image or personality claimed by interactants; this crucially includes the desire that one’s positive self-image will be appreciated and approved of by others.

It is a basic assumption of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory that certain kinds of actions performed by people intrinsically threaten the face of others, and that when such face threatening acts are performed, speakers often adopt strategies which are designed to minimise the degree of threat involved. Issuing commands and making requests always involves a threat to the hearer’s negative face requirements because compliance with such speech acts by the hearer always means that an imposition has been posed. On the other hand, compliance with a speaker’s request also allows the hearer to demonstrate their positive face by performing whatever action is requested of them. When a speaker has a desire to perform a face threatening act such as making a request, there are always a range of options available to them for lessening the degree of the threat, and languages usually have a variety of conventionalised means for reducing the threat of an act. Figure 15.1 illustrates how the politeness strategies adopted by speakers vary in accordance with the degree of estimated risk of loss of face associated with a face threatening act.
The greater the risk posed by any face-threatening act, the higher will be the number of the threat-reducing strategy shown in figure 15.1. If the proposed act is a particularly severe threat to the hearer’s face, the speaker can choose not to perform the act (strategy 5). If a speaker decides to proceed with the act, s/he can choose to perform the act in a variety of ways. Where there is a very small degree of assessed risk of threat to face, the speaker can choose to perform the act without any redressive action at all (strategy 1). In English, a request of this type to, say, close a window would be something direct, such as ‘Close the window!’ Positive politeness strategies (appealing to the hearer’s good image of him / herself) can also be adopted in order to reduce any threat (strategy 2). English requests using strategy 2 can use overt markers of positive politeness such as ‘please’ (e.g. ‘Close the window, please’), or other indications of solidarity on the part of the speaker towards the hearer (e.g. ‘Let’s close the window’). Negative politeness strategies (strategy 3 above) generally involve relatively conventionalised indirect ways of making requests, e.g. ‘Can you close the window.’ Off-record strategies are even more indirect, and not conventionalised in the same way that those employing negative politeness strategies are. By making a request ‘off-record’, the speaker allows the hearer to ignore any implied request. When a speaker might say something like ‘It’s very cold in here’, an addressee is given the option of ignoring any implied request to close a window altogether.

In the following sections, we examine Taba commands and requests in some detail, using Brown and Levinson’s framework as a means of elucidating the differences between some of the strategies available to Taba speakers.

15.2.1 Positive commands and requests

The construction exemplified in (49), and repeated below as (51), utilising the imperative particle lo, is only one of the strategies available to Taba speakers for issuing commands or making requests.
(51) *Hamot lo!*
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   h= & \text{ha-mot} \\
   2\text{pl}= & \text{CAUS-die} \\
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘Turn it off!’

Commands may also be made by simply using an active verb without any overt marking with the imperative particle, as in (52). Note that the imperative particle *lo* is a marker of positive politeness and the construction illustrated in (51) is marked as more polite than the unadorned construction in (52).

(52) *Mhanakle!*
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   m= & \text{han ak-le} \\
   2\text{sg}= & \text{go ALL-land} \\
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘Go home! (Go landwards)’

The continuative aspect particle *hu* is often used in situations where a degree of urgency is imputed and the softening effect of the polite imperative particle is not required.

(53) *Motik yak hu*
   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   m= & \text{ot-ik} \\
   2\text{sg}= & \text{take-APPL} \\
   \end{array}
   \]
   ‘Give it to me!’

This strategy for issuing commands is even more abrupt and less polite than either of the previously mentioned ones. The construction relies for its effect on the imputation that the addressee is already in fact doing the action encoded by the verb, but has not yet completed it. The implication is that the speaker expects the act to be done, and done immediately. It is thus the least polite of the strategies we have seen so far.

The three constructions we have seen so far can thus be put on a continuum from most polite to least polite as in (54).

(54) Least polite \(\uparrow\)
    \[
    \begin{array}{ll}
    hu & \text{No particle} \\
    \end{array}
    \]

Most polite \(\downarrow\)

There is a strong association in actual Taba usage between plural ‘respectful’ nominal cross-referencing of verbs (see chapter 7) and the use of the polite imperative marker, on the one hand, and neutral singular cross-referencing (again, see chapter 7) without the polite imperative marker on the other. It is possible to use neutral singular Actor cross-referencing on the verb with concurrent use of *lo* (perhaps when issuing commands to children), but politeness rules virtually dictate that the particle must be used whenever respectful plural cross-referencing is appropriate. Commands which include the continuative aspect marker *hu* have only been encountered in either situations involving a fair degree of urgency, or when adults tell children what to do.

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6 Note that verbal cross-referencing of an actor is always obligatory with imperative constructions. Imperatives are only used when the speaker believes that the possibility of action is under the control of the addressee, and any such activity will be encoded by a verb with an Actor.
Of course, as in all languages, there are a large number of other ways of asking someone to do something by using less direct means. The above introduced constructions are at the same time the most direct, and in many senses the most highly conventionalised. There are however, a variety of other relatively conventionalised means available to Taba speakers for making requests. Here, we will only look at a few of the most highly conventionalised strategies for making requests. Amongst the negative politeness strategies used by Taba speakers are what I will call the ‘POSS-suka’ construction, and a minimisation of the imposition through the addition of the softener moto ‘a little’. Positive strategies include the nyoa ‘almost’ construction and the use of inclusive first person cross-referencing. A final construction, the polo ‘if’ ‘in-subordinate’ clause construction is more difficult to classify as either a positive or negative strategy. It is discussed further below.

The ‘POSS-suka’ construction is illustrated in (55).

(55) Mmeu suka hmul?
memeu suka h=mul
2pl-POSS desire 2pl=return
‘Do you want to go back?’

This construction is reminiscent of the English construction in sentences such as ‘do you want to close the window?’ which is a fairly conventionalised request. The Taba construction is differentiated from an assertion by having characteristic interrogative intonation. The construction is quite conventional in Taba, as well as English, but the appropriate conditions for its use are different in each language. In general, the degree of imposition of a request needs to be much higher to use this strategy in Taba than in English. A request to do something like closing a window would generally be made using one of the more overt strategies discussed above (probably using the lo particle). For Taba speakers, such a request would be expected to be obeyed readily easily and no major threat to the hearer’s face would be perceived. The ‘POSS-suka’ construction is thus generally reserved for situations where there is a higher likelihood of refusal, where the need for a face saving strategy is of greater importance. It is often used on occasions where younger people (either adults or children) address elderly addressees, since the elderly are owed much greater deference, out of respect for their old age, than people of one’s own age.

Minimisation of the imposition through the use of moto ‘a little’ is illustrated in (56). The effect of this construction depends on the softening effect of moto which serves to suggest that the imposition of the request is only a small one. (In the example below, the explanation of why the speaker wishes to be given the screwdriver, given in the subordinate resultative / purposive clause de kaladak masin ‘so that I can fix the engine with it’, also serves to further legitimate the request.)

(56) Motik yak oben ya moto de
m=ot-ik yak oben ya moto de
2sg=APPL(give) 1sg screwdriver REC little RES

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The ‘POSS-suka’ construction is the normal way of expressing a wish or desire in Taba (see §16.3.2). The verb mau can also be used with this function, but mau is a recent borrowing from Malay and its use is quite restricted, especially among older speakers.
Kaladaik masin.
 k=ha-ladai-k masin
 1sg=make.good-APPL engine

‘Give me the screwdriver (a little) so I can fix the engine with it.’

The nyoa construction for making requests appeals to in-group solidarity by suggesting that the addressee has already almost carried out the request. It is thus, in Brown and Levinson’s terms, a positive politeness strategy. Utterances using this politeness strategy generally have the characteristic intonation of a question. The construction is illustrated in (57).

(57) Nyoa John mbaca basa Inggeris da.
  nyoa John m=baca basa Inggeris da
  almost John 2sg=read language English DIST
‘Can you read that English there John.’

Inclusive verbal cross-referencing is another device that can be used to make polite requests. It is shown in (58).

(58) Than
t=han
 1pl.incl=go
‘Let’s go.’

Requests made with the use of inclusive verbal cross-referencing are again differentiated from assertions by intonation. As we would expect, it is most commonly used when the speaker intends to perform the action along with the addressee, but it can also be used when it is clear that the speaker has no intention of joining in whatever activity is proposed. The use of the inclusive form implies solidarity with the addressee on the part of the speaker. It is thus most appropriate when there is a risk that the addressee might feel that his or her face could be threatened by the request. In Brown and Levinson’s terms, this is a strategy involving the use of positive politeness, in this case achieved by using indications of in-group solidarity.

The final conventionalised request making construction to be discussed here is what we might call the polo ‘if’ ‘insubordinate’ clause construction. This is illustrated in (59).

(59) Polo Ahmad nyol
  polo Ahmad n=yol
  if Ahmad 3sg=get
‘If you could get it, Ahmad.’

This construction works by assigning the request to what appears to be a subordinate clause marked by the subordinating conjunction polo ‘if’. While polo is normally used to mark subordinate clauses (see §16.5.2), here it is used in front of the only clause in the construction; a clause which we might call an ‘insubordinate’ clause. When this construction is used, there is an implied invitation to the addressee to construct the missing main clause for him or herself. Although this construction appears on the surface to consist of a
subordinate clause, from which a main clause has been ellipsed, what is going on cannot truly be thought of as ellipsis, since in most circumstances there is no way of telling what the putative ellipsed clause might be: hence the label 'insubordination'.

All of the last discussed strategies for making requests are used when a face-threatening act is at risk, but it should be noted that the conditions for their most appropriate use are somewhat skewed. The 'POSS-suka' construction most clearly addresses the threat to the speaker's face if a request is refused, while the inclusive strategy, the nyoa construction, and the polo 'insubordinate' construction address the threat to the addressee's face caused by the imposition. Compared with speakers of English, Taba speakers tend to use a great many more positive politeness strategies and a great many less negative ones. The fact that the 'POSS-suka' construction is much less frequently than the other strategies bears this out.

15.2.1.1 Mo: an inherently imperative verb

Before leaving the topic of positive commands and requests, one verb form which is marked as exclusively imperative needs to be mentioned. That form is illustrated in (60).

(60) Mo!
    come.here
    'Come here!'

As far as I am aware, mo is the only verb which is marked as always imperative. It is always used in situations where little perceived threat to face exists. It is most commonly heard by adults addressing children, but it is also sometimes used between adults. Note that a further form mo has been identified which seems to be related to the imperative verb discussed here. This related form only occurs along with the adverbial particle lai 'just' (§14.3.1), and it where it is used to refer to something that has just recently been mentioned or just recently been part of the context or cotext of the communicative event in some way.

15.2.2 Negative requests

Again, in making requests not to do something, a number of strategies are available to Taba speakers. They range from the highly conventional to the ad-hoc. Negative requests are quite a bit less frequent than positive ones. This is a matter of both the absolute number of tokens in discourse, and of the number of grammatical devices available for making them. In this section we will simply mention the admonitive particle oik quite briefly. The use of the admonitive is shown in (61) and (62).

(61) Shobak yak oik
    h=sob-ak yak oik
    2pl=throw-APPL 1sg ADMON
    'Don’t throw me (into the water).'

(62) Hmomsak mmeu calana oik
    h=momas-ak mmeu calana oik
    2pl=wipe-APPL 2pl.POSS trousers ADMON
    'Don’t wipe (it) with your trousers.'
In addition to the admonitive particle *oik*, there is also an independent verb *oik* which means ‘to be left behind’. It is shown in (63).

(63) \( \text{Krasa mapot polo koik au} \)
\( k=\text{rasa mapot polo k=oi k au} \)
\( 1 \text{sg}=\text{feel heavy if} \quad 1 \text{sg}=\text{leave.behind} \quad 2 \text{sg} \)
\( 'I(\text{my heart}) \text{will feel heavy if I leave you.}' \)

The admonitive particle *oik* differs from the independent verb *oik*, in that the verb requires obligatory Actor cross-referencing while the particle is never cross-referenced. The negative imperative particle *oik* has presumably developed historically from serial verb constructions including the independent verb *oik*, with many of the verbal characteristics of *oik* having been bleached from the form (§12.1.8).

*Oik* is also often encountered as a nominalisation with the meaning ‘remainder / residue’. This is illustrated in (64).

(64) \( \text{Sukur lloci masi ada ni oik ni lomo} \)
\( \text{sukur lloci masi ada ni oik ni lomo} \)
\( \text{thanks many still exist 3sg.POSS residue 3sg.POSS others} \)
\( '\text{Many thanks that there were still others left behind.}' \)

Negation of both declarative and imperative clauses is treated in more detail in §14.2, where further discussion of *oik* can be found.
The bulk of this chapter is concerned with the ways in which simple clauses may be combined into larger cohesive units which might be called sentences. Although defining the notion of ‘the clause’ is relatively straightforward, the notion of ‘the sentence’ in Taba, as in other languages is much more problematic. While many multiclausal constructions are fairly easy to characterise as ‘sentences’ – one of the clauses included in the multiclausal construction may be incomplete without the addition of another clause – other multiclausal constructions may simply consist of strings of simple clauses strung together, the only formal indication that they are cohesive multiclausal units being their intonation.

Example (1) shows a multiclausal construction which is relatively easy to characterise as a sentence. This is a complement clause construction, where the initial nominal predication *ni suka* ‘his desire’ is subcategorised for a clausal argument, in this case *non kapaya* ‘he eats pawpaw’. Here, the initial *ni suka* predication *requires* another predication to follow it.

(1) *Ni suka non kapaya*

*ni suka n=on kapaya*

3sg.POSS desire 3sg=eat pawpaw

‘He likes to eat pawpaw.’

Example (2), on the other hand consists of a string of two clauses, *lhan appo Gitan* ‘they went down to Gitan’ and *lyoa daerah aman* ‘they were looking for somewhere safe’. Except for the incomplete rising intonation associated with the first clause, each of these clauses can be seen as complete in their own right.
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(2) Lhan appo Gitan, lyoa daerah aman.

l=han ap-po Gitan l=yoa daerah aman
3pl=go ALL-down Gitan 3pl=search area safe
‘They went down to Gitan, they were looking for somewhere safe.’

It is usual in discussion of multiclusal constructions to make a primary distinction between co-ordination and subordination. In co-ordinate clause structures each of the conjoined clauses is seen as having equivalent syntactic and semantic weight, while in subordinate clause structures one of the clauses involved is seen as dependent on, or subordinate to the other clause in some way. Although it is possible to clearly assign some multiclusal constructions to a co-ordinate category and other constructions to a subordinate one, other multiclusal constructions are not so readily assignable to one or other category. See Matthiessen and Thompson (1988) for general discussion of the difficulties inherent in such a distinction.

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate co-ordination and subordination respectively. In (3), the first clause, lmaka yoa ‘they looked for each other’ is explicitly conjoined to the following clause lmaka tala ‘they met each other’ with the co-ordinating conjunction malai ‘then / and then’. Each of the clauses involved here is an independent clause in its own right, and neither of them is in any way dependent on the other.

(3) Lmaka yoa, malai lmaka tala,

l=maka yoa malai l=maka tala
3pl=RECIP search then 3pl=RECIP find
‘They looked for each other then they found each other.’

In (4), on the other hand, the subordinating conjunction polo ‘if’ marks the initial clause John nam, ‘John sees it’ as subordinate to the following clause nheran ‘he would be astonished’. In this example the intial clause is syntactically subordinate to the second clause: the addition of polo in front of it means that another clause is required to complete the construction. The first clause is also semantically subordinate to the second clause in that it provides the background condition which must be fulfilled in order for the second clause to be true.

(4) Ine... polo John nam.. nheran.

i-ne polo John n=am n=heran
DEM-PROX if John 3sg=see 3sg=be.astonished
‘If John saw it he would be astonished.’

While a rough distinction between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses for Taba can be made on the basis of semantic considerations, finding any clear morphosyntactic evidence for such a distinction is not easy. In some cases, such as in example (2) above, even clear semantic evidence is not available. In this, as in many other multiclusal constructions, the meaningful relationship between the clauses involved is implied rhetorically rather than through the use of any explicit coding device (see Mann and Thompson (1987) on ‘Rhetorical Structure Theory’). With the first reading ‘they went down to Gitan and they looked for
somewhere safe', the relationship between the clauses is one of co-ordination: neither of the clauses involved is subordinate to the other in any way. With the second pragmatically inferrable meaning, where what is referred to by the second clause is read as the cause of what is referred to by the first clause, the second clause *lyoa daerah aman* ‘they were looking for somewhere safe’ is semantically subordinate to the first clause in the structure. In much the same way that the clause *polo john nam* in (4) above provides a background condition for the the second clause, *nheran* ‘he would be astonished’, here *lyoa daerah aman* ‘they were looking for somewhere safe’ provides a background condition: the reason they went down to Gitan.

In general, the multiclausal constructions which are most difficult to classify as either co-ordinate or subordinate constructions are those which, like (2) above, consist of strings of otherwise complete clauses which are sequenced without any overt lexical marking of the relationship between them (cf. Matthiessen and Thompson, 1988). Such constructions might be called ‘paratactic’ constructions.

The first section of this chapter deals with parataxis. Section §16.2 deals with co-ordination: the process whereby two clauses of equal syntactic and semantic weight are conjoined by interposing a co-ordinating conjunction between them. Section §16.3 examines subordinate clauses which are explicitly marked as such through the use of subordinating conjunctions. While there is not any real morphosyntactic evidence for a distinction between subordination and co-ordination, in general semantic considerations can be used to motivate a distinction so each type is discussed separately. Section §16.4 discusses complementation, and §16.5 looks at relativisation. A discussion of iconicity in Taba multiclausal constructions is found in §16.6.

The final section of the chapter moves its focus beyond the level of the sentence. In this section we examine the functions of a word-class labelled ‘discourse connectors’. Rather than serving to signal the relationship between individual clauses as do conjunctions, discourse connectors orient the clause they appear in with respect to the preceding discourse, or sometimes even to the general discourse context. While many of the discourse connectors discussed here can also occur as conjunctions, others occur only as discourse connectors, and others still may have yet different functions again.

### 16.1 Parataxis

Paratactic constructions have no overt marking of either co-ordination or subordination: they are simply sequences of clauses strung together without any significant pauses between them, and with no terminal intonational contour until the end of the final clause in the sequence. The relationship in meaning between them is determined pragmatically. Most commonly, the implied meaning is temporal sequence: what is described in the first clause occurs first, and what is described in subsequent clauses follows at a later time. Usually, in addition to simple temporal sequence of events there is some implied connection between the events, as perhaps threads of a narrative.

(5) *Nyoa khan lama, polisisi ltahan yak*

   *nyoa k=han la-ma polisi=si l=tahan yak*

   *almost 1sg=go sea-VEN police=PL 3pl=find 1sg*

   ‘I’d almost come back (from Moti) when the police found me.’
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(6) Amul am lama Taba, ayol sagala
a=mul am la-ma Taba a=yo1 sagala
1pl.excl=return 1pl.excl sea-VEN Makian 1pl.excl=yol sagala
‘We returned from seawards (i.e. Moti island) to Makian and we fetched stuff.’

(7) Nwom nidi um li tesu, taplod haso nak
n=wom ni-di um li te-su ta-plod ha=so nak
3sg=come POSS-3pl house LOC NEG-POT DETR-erupt CLASS=one again
‘He hadn’t yet arrived at their house when it erupted once again.’

Often a causal relationship is implied, wherein whatever is reported in (usually) the first clause or clauses is to be viewed as the cause of whatever is reported in subsequent clauses. Example (9) is taken from a Taba pop song. The singer is bemoaning the fact that the parents of his beloved do not feel that he is worthy of their daughter’s attentions. In the first (complex) clause, he reports that the parents wish to choose a different man for their daughter.1 This fact is construed as the cause of what is reported in the second clause, i.e. that the daughter stays obedient to her parents wishes and rejects her suitor’s attentions.

(8) Di suka lpili mon maleo, mtagal
di suka l=pili mon maleo m=tagal
3pl.POSS desire 3pl=choose husband other 2sg=perch

mta’at
m=ta’at
2sg=be.obedient

‘They want to choose a different man, you remain obedient.’

A causal implication is also seen in (10), taken from text 2 of the appendices. Here the speaker first explains that he has not yet found the thatch required to finish constructing the roof of his garden shelter, the reason for the second clause, that he has not yet completed the construction.

(9) Ktala yotas tesu, kpe tesu.
k=tala yotas te-su k=pe te-su
1sg=find thatch NEG-POT 1sg=make NEG-POT
‘But I haven’t found any thatch yet, so I haven’t made it yet.’

In some cases paratactic structures include more overt marking of the semantic relationship between the juxtaposed clauses. Such marking may include both lexical and intonational devices. In (11) below, the close bond between each of the four clauses seen is signalled by a rising, non-terminal intonation at the end of each one. The fact that there is a temporal sequence of events corresponding to the temporal sequence of clauses is further signalled by the use of the serial verb okik ‘be finished’ (see §12.2.5.3) at the end of the first two clauses, yol sagala okik ‘fetching stuff finished’, and saplik okik ‘loading it finished’. The

1 See §16.3.1.2 for discussion of the ‘POSS suka complement clause’ construction.
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events reported in the final two clauses here, *si lhan* ‘they go’ and *yak e ktongo ane* ‘as for me, I stay’ are actually cotemporaneous.

(10) *Yol sagala okik, saplik okik, si lhan, yak*
yol sagala okik sapil-ik okik si l=han yak
fetch stuff be.finished board-APPL be.finished 3pl 3pl=go 1sg

e *ktongo ane.*
e k=tongo a-ne
FOC 1sg=stay DEM-PROX

‘Fetching stuff finished, stowing it on board finished, they go, as for me, I stay here.’

When the above example was spoken, there was actually a flat (but not falling) intonation at the end of *si lhan*, rather than the rising intonation found at the end of the two preceding clauses. The quite complex possibilities for using intonation to signal different kinds of semantic relationships between juxtaposed clauses are not well understood. Further study of intonation remains to be done.

We have already seen that the implied relationship between paratactic sequences of clauses can be one of either co-ordination or of subordination. When the sequence of clauses signals temporal precedence of one event over another, a coordinate relationship pertains between the juxtaposed clauses.

(11) *Manusia Keten Tafaga lhan lama, laoblak*
manusia Keten Tafaga l=han la-ma l=ha-obal-k
people Moti Tafaga 3pl=go sea-VEN 3pl=CAUS-call-APPL

*manteri bidan*
*nurse midwife*

‘People from Tafaga, Moti went back from seawards and called for a midwife.’

(12) *Lwom wolat halaim, lam nol.*
l=wom wolat hal aim l=am nol
3pl=come sea middle 3pl=see nothing

‘They came to the middle of the sea and they saw nothing.’

A relationship of co-ordination is also involved when the juxtaposed clauses refer to cotemporaneous events or states.

(13) *Mon i Keten, mapin i Botan, mon i*
mon i Keten mapin i Botan mon i
husband 3sg Moti wife 3sg Halmahera husband 3sg
Botan, mapin i Keten
Botan mapin i keten
Halmahera wife 3sg Moti

‘A husband was on Moti, the wife on Halmahera; a husband on Halmahera, the wife on Moti.’

If one of the juxtaposed clauses expresses a condition under which whatever is referred to by the other clause is to be fulfilled, or if one clause expresses the cause of the other clause, then either the condition clause is subordinate to the fulfillment clause or the cause clause is subordinate to the result clause. Example (14) below is ambiguous between these two readings. With either implication, the initial clause here is subordinate to the following one.

(14) Masyarakat masure, neal lmaka haluso.
people good 3sg=be. wrong 3p1=RECIP CAUS-say-APPL
‘If people are good, when something is wrong, they will tell each other.’ / ‘Because people are good, when something is wrong they will tell each other.’

16.2 Co-ordinating conjunctions

Co-ordinate clauses are explicitly joined with a conjunction between each clause. While a clear distinction between subordinating and co-ordinating conjunctions is difficult to defend on morphosyntactic grounds, there is nevertheless a much better case to be made on semantic grounds. For this reason, separate discussion of each type of conjunction is made. Subordinating conjunctions are discussed in §16.3. In this section we deal with five indigenous Taba conjunctions first, and conclude by discussing two rather commonly used conjunctions borrowed from North Moluccan Malay. A number of the conjunctions discussed here also occur as discourse markers (§16.7). The co-ordinating conjunctions, with rough English translations for each, are:

- lo ‘and’
- ada ‘and’
- ma / mai / me ‘but’
- pa ‘or’
- malai ‘then’
- turus ‘then straight away’
- tapi ‘but’

This section concludes with a discussion of co-reference in co-ordinate clauses.

16.2.1 lo ‘and’

The conjunction lo can be translated into English as ‘and’.
(15) Lhan appo dumik lo wang gulo myasi lo
l=han ap-po dumik lo wang gulo myasi lo
3pl=go ALL-down be.complete and child baby small and
mamatuosi lhan dumik
mamatu=si l=han dumik
old.people=PL 3pl=go be.complete

‘They went down and babies, children and old people all went.’

As with English ‘and’, pragmatically inferrable meanings for lo are often available. In (16), there is implied temporal precedence of one clause over: the event referred to in the first clause would normally be expected to have occurred before the event referred to in the second clause. Sometimes, also as in (16), there is an implied subordinating function available for lo: in this case a (subordinating) causal reading whereby the first conjoined clause is taken as the cause for the second clause.

(16) Mina namtat lo nayok
Mina n=ha-mtat lo n=ha-yok
Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall and 3sg=CAUS-cry
‘Mina fell over and cried.’

Although one can hear such utterances as (16) in Taba discourse, such uses of lo are relatively rare. Generally, when Taba speakers have a causal meaning in mind, they either make the intended causal relationship explicit, as in (17), where the subordinating conjunction ndadi ‘so’ (§16.5.4) is used, or they use either paratactic or serial verb constructions as in (18) and (19). (Note that the only formal difference between the paratactic and the serial structures given here is the pause between each of the separate clauses in the paratactic structure. For more on serialisation, see chapter 12.)

(17) Mina namtat ndadi nayok
Mina n=ha-mtat ndadi n=ha-yok
Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall so 3sg=CAUS-cry
‘Mina fell over so she cried.’

(18) Mina namtat, nayok
Mina n=ha-mtat n=ha-yok
Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall 3sg=CAUS-cry
‘Mina fell over, she cried.’

(19) Mina namtat nayok
Mina n=ha-mtat n=ha-yok
Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall 3sg=CAUS-cry
‘Mina fell over and cried.’

In addition to its function of conjoining clauses, lo can also be used to conjoin a range of other structures such as noun phrases, including quantifiers (see chapters 7 and 10).
(20) Ndodak um nyoa yo halu lo lomo
n=dod-ak um nyoa yo ha=lu lo lomo
3sg=ask-APPL house almost ten CLASS=two and other
‘It claimed almost more than twenty houses.’

16.2.2 ada ‘and’

The conjunction ada, like lo, is most simply translated into English as ‘and’. While ada and lo can be used to conjoin both clauses and other smaller structural units (as English ‘and’ can be used), there appears to be a preference in actual discourse for using ada to conjoin clauses, and for using lo to conjoin structures such as noun phrases. The discussion of pragmatically inferrable readings for lo given in §16.2.1 above applies equally to ada. The use of ada is shown in (21).

(21) Indadimu lomo lmul ne ada latala hu
indadi-mu lomo l=mul ne ada l=ha-tala hu
so-then other 3pl=return PROX and 3pl=CAUS-meet CONT
‘So some have come back now and they met up with each other again.’

In (22), ada conjoins two clauses into a complex multiclausal unit which functions adverbially to provide the setting for the following main clause of a para tactic structure.

(22) Gunung nmeletus ada nmeletus tehu ne panas halu
gunung n=meletus ada n=meletus te-hu ne panas ha=lu
mountain 3sg=erupt and 3sg=erupt NEG-CONT PROX hot CLASS=two
‘Between the mountain erupting and it not having erupted again, there were two hot seasons.’

Ada also occurs as an instrumental or comitative marking preposition (see §13.2.1).

(23) Nwom ada ni mapin
n=wom ada ni mapm
3sg=come with 3sg.POSS wife
‘He came with his wife.’

16.2.3 ma /mai / me ‘but’

The forms ma, mai, and me appear to be in free variation: each of them expresses the fact that whatever is referred to in the second conjoined clause is at odds with any expectations that might arise as a result of what is referred to by the first clause.

(24) Ngan ni soda magun-magun, ma taplod.
ngan ni soda magun-magun ma ta-plod
day 3sg.POSS face silent-silent but DETR-erupt
‘The next day everything was quiet, but (the mountain) was erupting.’
(25) *Idia* taplod kwat mai *ngiat* te
   i-dia ta-plod kwat mai n=giat te
   DEM-REM DETR-erupt EMPH but 3sg=shake NEG
   It was erupting hugely, but it didn't shake. (i.e. there was no earthquake)

(26) *Lhan* me lalusa *lhan* te
   l=han me l=ha-lusa l=han te
   3pl=go but 3pl=CAUS-say 3pl=go NEG
   'They went but they said they didn’t go.'

The forms *ma*, *mai* and *me* are also commonly encountered as discourse connectors, where they also generally function to signal that whatever follows them may be contrary to one’s expectations (§16.7.1).

16.2.4 *pa* ‘or’

Although *pa* ‘or’ is most commonly found conjoining noun phrases (§7.2.6) or in forming alternative questions (§15.1.1), it is also sometimes used to conjoin clauses. Its use with the clause conjoing function is exemplified in (27).

(27) *Ntongo Ketene* *pa* *ntongo Tarnate?*
   n=tongo Ketene pa n=tongo Tarnate
   3sg=live Moti or 3sg=live Ternate
   'She either lives on Moti or she lives in Ternate."

In (28), *pa* is illustrated conjoining two clauses where the second clause is identical to the first except for its polarity and modality. Except for *tesu*, which marks negative polarity and potential mood, the rest of the second clause has been ellipsed. The conjoined structure here occurs inside a larger paratactic structure with the final clause *yase taplod* ‘it erupted up there’.

(28) *Lwom nidi um li pa* *tesu*, *yase taplod.*
   l=wom nidi um li pa te-su ya-se ta-plod
   3pl=come POSS.3pl house LOC or NEG-POT up-at DETR-erupt
   'He had either got to his house or not yet, when it erupted up there."

16.2.5 *malai* ‘then’

The conjunction *malai* means ‘then’ or ‘and then’. It explicitly signals that whatever is referred to in the second conjoined clause occurs after what is referred to by the first.

(29) *Lmaka yoa, malai l maka* tala, *lmaka buak* malai
   l=maka yoa malai l=maka tala l=maka buak malai
   3pl=RECIP search then 3pl=RECIP meet 3pl=RECIP hug then
‘They looked for each other then they met up; they hugged each other then they cried.’

An implied causal relationship between what is expressed in the first clause and what is expressed in the second is often available.

(30) *Ndadi taplod *malai lalhod.*
\[
\text{Ndadi ta-plod} \quad \text{malai l=alhod} \\
\text{so DETR-erupt then 3pl=run}
\]
‘So it erupted and then they ran.’

*Malai* is also often seen as a discourse connector, again often translatable into English as ‘then’ or ‘afterwards’ (§16.7.2).

16.2.6 **turus** ‘then’

The conjunction *turus* is borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, but it is quite widely used by Taba speakers. Like *malai* (§16.2.4), it is also used to signify that whatever is referred to in the second clause occurs after whatever is referred to in the first clause, but *turus* generally signifies a shorter interval of time between the conjoined events than does *malai*.

(31) *Ulan kwat turus ni kihis ncopang.*
\[
\text{ulan kwat turus ni} \quad \text{kihis n=sopang} \\
\text{rain EMPH direct 3sg.POSS flood 3sg=descend}
\]
‘There was strong rain and straight away a flood descended.’

16.2.7 **tapi** ‘but’

*Tapi* ‘but’ is borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, and it also occurs as a discourse connector (§16.7.10). Its use as a conjunction is illustrated in (32) and (33).

(32) *Dukon Taba kwat tapi ngiat te.*
\[
\text{dukon Taba kwat tapi n=giat te} \\
\text{eruption Makian be.strong but 3sg=shake NEG}
\]
Makian’s eruption was huge, but there was no shaking (i.e. no earthquake).

(33) *Polo anne Waikyon, tasakal tapi lloci te.*
\[
\text{polo a-ne Waikyon ta-sakal tapi lloci te} \\
\text{if LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha DETR-smash but a lot NEG}
\]
‘As for here in Ngofakiaha, stuff was smashed, but not a lot.’

16.2.8 **Syntactic restrictions in co-ordinate structures**

There do not appear to be any real syntactic restrictions against any particular kinds of co-ordination. Clauses of any type maybe conjoined together, whatever the subcategories of
verbs (or even nouns) they have occurring as their heads. A few illustrative examples are given in (34) to (37).

(34) **Co-ordination of Actor intransitive + Actor intransitive**

\[
\begin{align*}
Irianti & \text{namhonas} & lo & nayok \\
& n=ha-mhonas & lo & n=ayok \\
& 3sg=CAUS-be.sick & & 3sg=cry \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Irianti is sick and she’s crying.'

(35) **Co-ordination of transitive reflexive clause + Actor intransitive with transitive complement clause**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Manganco} & \text{ do... tit tmaka am te ada yak} \\
\text{long} & \text{ REAL 1pl.incl 1pl.incl=RECIP see NEG and 1sg} \\
\text{kpikir} & \text{ au mmailingak yak do,} \\
\text{k=pi} & \text{kir au m=mailing-ak yak do} \\
\text{1sg=think 2sg 2sg-forget-APPL 1sg REAL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'It’s been a long time, we haven’t seen each other and I though you had already forgotten me.'

(36) **Co-ordination of nominal clause and Undergoer intransitive**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bonci} & \text{ ine mai kutukutu hu.} \\
\text{bonci} & \text{i-ne mai kutu.kutu hu} \\
\text{peanut DEM-PROX but small small CONT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'These are peanuts but they are still small.'

(37) **Co-ordination of Actor intransitive + Undergoer intransitive\(^2\)**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Malai... kamolam mai amseh kwat...} \\
\text{Malai} & \text{k=amolam mai amseh kwat} \\
\text{then 1sg=be.hungry but be.drunk EMPH} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then I was hungry but really drunk...’

Just as there appear to be no restrictions in the kinds of clauses that can be conjoined, neither do there appear to be any restrictions regarding coreference across clauses. Ellipsis is common in many Taba clauses (§6.2), and ellipsis of any shared arguments is also possible in Taba co-ordinate clauses, as can be seen in (34) above, where two Actor arguments are ellipsed, in (36) where the argument of a nominal clause is overtly expressed, but its coreferential Undergoer argument in the following clause has been ellipsed, and also in (37)

\(^2\) Note that in §4.2.1.6, it was asserted that human arguments of intransitive verbal predicates always occur as Actors except in a few quite marginal and exceptional cases. The human as Undergoer of \textit{amseh} ‘drunk’ is exactly one of these exceptional cases here. Taba speakers often refer to drunks as Undergoers of the Undergoer intransitive \textit{amseh}, largely because, as muslims, they view drunkenness as ‘less than fully human behaviour’.
where the hungry drunk never gets overt expression, either as Actor in the first clause, nor as Undergoer in the second.

While ellipsis of coreferential arguments from co-ordinate clauses is rather common, it is never obligatory, again, whatever the role of the argument concerned. In (38) we have an example where overt expression of two co-ordinated Actor expressions in conjoined clauses occurs.

(38) *Yak k*tal*$a* pada tanggal 30-3-96 *ada yak k*ba$ca* do
yak k=tala pada tanggal 30-3-96 ada yak k=baca do
1sg 1sg=get on date 30-3-96 and 1sg 1sg=read REAL
‘I got (your letter) on 30 March 1996 and I have already read it.’

In (39), we have an example of coordination of two clauses where both (coreferential) Actor arguments are ellipsed.

(39) *Kalcomak* *nik salam nim keluarga hasole ada*
Kalcomak nik salam nim keluarga hasole ada
K=al coma-k nik salam nim keluarga hasole ada
1sg=send-APPL 1sg.POSS greetings 2sg.POSS family all and
kalcomak nik salam nim dawalat si nak
k=al coma-k nik salam nim dawalat si nak
1sg=send-APPL 1sg.POSS greetings 2sg.POSS girlfriend PL also
‘I send my greetings to all your family and I also send my greetings to your girlfriend.’

Finally, in (40), we have an example of co-ordination where the Undergoer of the first clause nik alamat ‘my address’ is coreferential with the Actor of the second clause from which it has been ellipsed.

(40) *Oras ne yak kpindah alamat do ada nbokak*
oras ne yak k=pindah alamat do ada n=bokak
time PROX 1sg 1sg=move address REAL and 3sg=be.close.to

nik Universitas li
nik Universitas li
1sg.POSS university LOC
‘Now I have shifted address and it’s close to my university.’

16.3 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are used to conjoin two clause in such a way that one of the conjoined clauses (the subordinate clause) occurs a constituent of the other (main) clause. While morphosyntactic evidence for a distinction between subordination and co-ordination is weak, semantic evidence does provide some grounds for making a distinction between the two categories. Subordinating conjunctions encode a variety of different meanings which

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3 It is noteworthy that of the six ‘subordinating’ conjunctions listed here three are borrowings from North Moluccan Malay. Taba is generally characterised as having loose connections between
make explicit the nature of the connection between the two conjoined events or states referred to. These conjunctions, with rough English translation equivalents for each, are:

- **de** 'in order that / so that'
- **polo** 'if / when'
- **tutik(ma)** 'until'
- **ndadi** 'so'
- **karna** 'because'
- **sebab** 'because'

The first four of the above forms are indigenous Taba words while the last two appear to be fairly recent borrowings from North Moluccan Malay. Each of the conjunctions is discussed in turn below.

### 16.3.1 de 'so that' / 'in order that'

The conjunction *de* is used to introduce resultative clauses. The results expressed in the clauses introduced by *de* can be either results that some agent deliberately sets out to achieve (purposive) or results that were achieved with no deliberate effort on any agent's part. *De* can generally be translated into English as 'so that' or 'in order that' and it is glossed here as 'RES' (resultative). It is initially exemplified in (41), where the first clause has a lexicalised headless relative clause as its Undergoer.

(41) *Ktoban hadala de kadala.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k=toban} \quad \text{ha-dala} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{k=ha-dala} \\
\text{lsg=wait} \quad \text{CAUS-breakfast(breakfast)} \quad \text{RES} \quad \text{lsg=CAUS-breakfast} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I wait for breakfast (to be ready) so I can eat breakfast.'

As discussed in §16.4.1.1, *de* is also used as a complementiser for indirectly reported imperative speech acts.

(42) **Direct reported speech**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nculak} \quad \text{wangsi} \quad \text{hmul} \quad \text{akle!} \\
\text{n=sul-ak} \quad \text{wang=si} \quad \text{h=mul} \quad \text{ak-le} \\
\text{3sg=order-APPL} \quad \text{child=PL} \quad \text{2pl=return} \quad \text{ALL-land} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He told the children “Go home!”.'
(43) **Indirect reported speech (de as complementiser)**

\[
\text{Nculak wangsi de lmul akle}
\]

3sg=order-APPL child=PL RES 3pl=return ALL=land

‘He told the children to go home.’

Examples (44) and (45) show resultative clauses that are involved in more complex multiclausal constructions. In (44), the resultative clause is included in a subordinate polo ‘if’ clause, itself embedded within a quantifying nominal clause.

(44) \[
Polo ttoanam blek de bonci ni mdi hia, lloci
\]

if 1pl.incl=plant can RES peanut 3sg.POSS shoot be.good many

‘If we plant cans (of peanuts) so that the shoots are good, there’ll be lots (of peanuts).’

In (45), one resultative clause is embedded in another resultative clause. Note that the outer resultative clause is marked by the complex subordinator, de malai ‘in order that then’. This construction is often used when a speaker wishes to suggest that the result of an embedded clause may be brought about after a longer interval of time than would be the case if de had been used alone.

(45) \[
Yak kharap mbalas de yak kunak de malai
\]

ksurat nak.

‘I hope you will reply so that I’ll know so that then I’ll write again.’

Note that de can be used with any kind of result clause. Example (46) shows de with an ambient result clause.

(46) \[
Maosak janela de mawowo.
\]

‘Open the window so the light comes in.’

Most of the examples given so far show result clauses where it might be felt that what is referred to in the result clause may have been a deliberately aimed for purpose. Example (47) illustrates a clearly non-purposive result reading with de. This example referred to one of my Taba speaking consultant’s inability to be certain about his grammaticality judgements after prolonged questioning by the author.
16.3.2 *polo* ‘if’ /‘when’

*Polo* is used to introduce subordinate clauses which refer to a condition that needs to be fulfilled before whatever is referred to in the main clause can take place. Such a condition can be one that is either expected, or unexpected by the speaker. There is no distinction marked between realis or irrealis conditionals. *Polo* can be translated into English as either ‘if’ or ‘when’, depending on context. The *polo* clause can occur either before or after the main clause, although there is a strong preference in discourse for it to occur first. In (48) the *polo* clause refers to something that never occurred in reality, and the main clause refers to something that would have happened if the condition referred to in the *polo* clause had actually been fulfilled.

(48) *Polo yap yap n tala John, taklol John te.*

If ash 3sg=meet John 1pl.incl=CAUS-know John NEG

‘If John had been covered in ash, we wouldn’t have recognised John.’

Example (49) refers to a condition that the person writing a letter in this case had every expectation of occurring (i.e. the writer presumed that I had probably already developed the photographs he was referring to). In this case, *polo* has been translated into English as ‘once’.

(49) *Malusa bi polo mwas do malcoma yak*

ni foto.

ni foto

3sg.POSS photograph

‘You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs (of the situation just discussed).’

In (50), *polo* refers to a condition that had already arisen and been encountered by the speaker.

(50) *Polo tcung um li, boa me taosak*

when 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door well 1pl.incl=CAUS-open
‘When we entered the house, well we couldn’t open the doors.’

In (51), the *polo* clause refers to a general (timeless) condition which must occur if the substance referred to here is able to be labelled *tapa* ‘thatch’.

(51) \[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Ine} & \text{polo} & \text{tpe} & \text{ta-dia} & \text{ni} & \text{sso} & \text{tapa} \\
i-ne & polo & t-pe & ta-dia & ni & sso & tapa \\
\end{array}
\]

DEM-PROX if 1pl.incl=make SIM-REM, 3sg.POSS name thatch

This, if we make it like this, it’s called ‘tapa’ (thatch).’

Example (52) shows the *polo* conditional clause occurring after the result clause. It is very unusual to see this ordering in unplanned discourse: this example is taken from a local pop song.

(52) \[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Krasa} & \text{mapot} & \text{polo} & \text{koik} & \text{au} \\
k=rasa & mapot & polo & k=oik & au \\
1sg=feel heavy when 1sg=leave.behind 2sg \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I (my heart) will feel(s) heavy if I leave you.’

Another important use of *polo* is to introduce indirectly reported interrogative speech acts. Compare (53) below, which shows a directly reported interrogative speech act, with (54), which shows an indirectly reported speech act. See §16.3.1.1 for more discussion of this construction.

(53) **Direct reported speech**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Yak} & \text{kkutan} & i & \text{mhan} & \text{appo} & \text{pa te?} \\
yak & k=kutan & i & m=han & ap-po & pa te \\
1sg & 1sg=ask & 3sg & 2sg=go & ALL-down or NEG \\
I asked him “are you going down (to Temate) or not?”.
\end{array}
\]

(54) **Indirect reported speech**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Yak} & \text{kkutan} & i & \text{polo} & \text{nhan} & \text{appo} & \text{pa te} \\
yak & k=kutan & i & polo & n=han & ap-po & pa te \\
1sg & 1sg=ask & 3sg & if & 3sg=go & ALL-down or NEG \\
I asked him whether he was going down (to Ternate) or not.’
\end{array}
\]

16.3.3 *tutik(ma)* ‘until’

*Tutik* and its variant form *tutikma* can both be translated into English as ‘until’. These forms occur as subordinating conjunctions and as prepositions (§13.2.5), as well as in the role of discourse connectors (§16.7.6). *Tutik* is illustrated as a conjunction in (55) and *tutikma* in
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(56). Tutikma generally indicates that a longer interval of time has elapsed between what is referred to in the first and second clauses than tutik does.

Wangsi lalawa kwat tutik yak nik poyo mnonas
child=PL EMPH until 1sg.POSS head be.sick
'The kids were playing (loudly and boisterously) until I had a headache.'

Ngan ngan nlah nlah, tutikma llocisi.
day day until many=PL
'Day by day it grew and it grew, until there were a lot of people.'

16.3.4 ndadi ‘so’

Ndadi is a conjunction used to conjoin an initial clause referring to some cause and a second clause referring to the result of that cause. It can be translated into English as ‘so’. It is not nearly as frequent as its close equivalent in meaning de (§16.3.1) and appears to be more appropriate for situations when there is a less immediate connection between the cause and the result, as perhaps if an interval of time intervenes between the events described in the cause and result clauses. Ndadi derives from the verb dadi ‘to become’ to which the 3sg cross-referencing proclitic n= has been attached. Ndadi, and variants of it also occur as discourse connectors (§16.7.4).

Ni reng tadopas ndadi ni ol ncopalik.
3sg.POSS DETR-perish so 3sg.POSS oil 3sg= grow.out-APPL
'It's seal is perished so oil leaks out of it.'

The cause referred to in the initial clause may be something that has already occurred as in (57) above, or it may be some hypothetical cause which would have come about if whatever is referred to by the second clause had come to pass, as illustrated in (58).

Wah Taba ne, mdudi ndadi woya nco.
island Makian PROX sink so water 3sg= rise
'Makian island here, might have sunk in which case the water would rise.'

16.3.5 karna ‘because’

Karna is a form borrowed from North Moluccan Malay which can be translated into English as ‘because’. The clause introduced by karna encodes the cause, and the unmarked clause refers to the result of that cause. Either the cause clause or the result clause may occur first, but it is more common for the cause clause to come first (see §16.6 for more discussion of this point). Karna also occurs as a discourse connector (§16.7.11).
Lomosi, layok karna lkiu kwat.
other=PL 3pl=cry because 3pl=scared EMPH
‘Others, they cried because they were terrified.’

Sagala bum te karna yak ada nik motor
stuff lost NEG because 1 sg with 1 sg.POSS boat
‘Nothing was lost because I (took things away) with my boat.’

Karna au ya mnagara aboyam, mot lloci
because 2 sg REC 2 sg=be.clever fishing 2 sg=catch many
‘Because you had are good at fishing, you caught a lot of fish.’

16.3.6 sebab / sabab ‘because’

Sebab or sabab is another Malay loan meaning ‘because’ which is occasionally used by Taba speakers, although quite a bit less frequently than karna. It is generally used by speakers whose Taba is quite heavily Malayicised, as (113) shows.4

Kbahagia kwat, sebab au masi mtanoan yak
1 sg=be.happy be.strong because 2 sg still 2 sg=remember 1 sg
‘I’m really happy because you still remember me.’

16.4 Complement clauses

A number of constructions are encountered in Taba where predicates of various kinds take complement clauses as arguments. In discussing such clauses it is useful to make a distinction between ‘main clauses’, which are the clauses that require clausal constituents to occur with them, and ‘complement clauses’, which are the clauses occurring as embedded constituents of main clauses.

In many languages, the structure of complement clauses can be quite different from the structure of main clauses, e.g. with infinitival complement clauses or complement clauses whose subjects are ‘raised’ to the object position of the main clause. However, in Taba all complement clauses occur in the same form that they would be expected to take as main clauses. There are no non-finite clauses in these constructions.

There is no obligatory overt marker of complementation in Taba, except (in certain circumstances discussed in §16.4.1.1 below) with some speech act verbs that occur as the heads of main clauses. There is also an optional complementiser bi which some people occasionally use between a main clause and its complement clause. (The use of bi appears to be more common in dialects other than that of Waikyon.) In general, the main clause simply

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4 In this example bahagia, kwat, sebab and masih are all Malay borrowings. Although kwat is widely used by probably all Taba speakers, bahagia and in particular masih would only be found in heavily Malayicised speech.
occurs first, and it is followed by the complement clause. Each type of complement clause structure is given preliminary exemplification in (63) and (64).

(63) Malusa bi polo mwas do malcoma yak ni
m=ha-lusa bi polo m=was do m=alcoma yak ni
2sg=CAUS-say COMP if 2sg=develop REAL 2sg=send 1sg 3sg.POSS

foto ya.
photo(REC) ya

‘You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs (of the situation just described).’

(64) Malusa polo mwas do malcoma yak ni
m=ha-lusa polo m=was do m=alcoma yak ni
2sg=CAUS-say if 2sg=develop REAL 2sg=send 1sg 3sg.POSS

foto ya.
photo(REC) ya

‘You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs (of the situation just described).’

The rest of this section is organised according to the kinds of main clauses within which complement clauses are embedded. First to be discussed are main clauses with verbs as their heads which take complements; second to be discussed are complement-taking possessive clauses. These are the only kinds of main clauses taking complement clauses that have been identified. There are no restrictions on the types of clauses which can occur as complements.

16.4.1 Verbs with complement clauses

The most commonly encountered verbs requiring complement clauses can be loosely characterised as expressing beliefs and abilities. All of these verbs require at least an Actor argument in addition to the complement clause. Some also require an Undergoer. There are no restrictions on what kinds of clauses may appear as their complements. The verb *ba fikir* ‘to think’ is illustrated with a clausal complement in (65). The complement clauses in the following examples are illustrated in bold type.

(65) Kba fikir ndadi te
k=bafikir n=dadi te
1sg=think 3sg=become NEG
‘I think it won’t work.’

The verbs *hagara* ‘to be clever at something’ is shown in (66). Ability is also often expressed in modal serial verb constructions (§12.2.5.2).
Speech act verbs with complement clauses are very common:

(66) `Bib è nagara nálawa catur`
Bib FOC 3sg=CAUS-be.clever 3sg=CAUS-play chess
‘Bib is clever at playing chess.’

(67) `Lacarita ‘í nyéit í nyéit’`
l=ha-carita i n=yeit i n=yeit
3pl=CAUS-story 3sg 3sg=throw 3sg 3sg=throw
‘They say, “It (the mountain) was throwing (rocks, ash, etc. up in the air), it was throwing.”’

(68) `Nkutan ‘dumik do pa tesu?’`
n=kuta dumik do pa te-su
3sg=ask be.finished REAL or NEG-POT
‘He asked “are they finished or not yet?”.’

(69) `Halusa ‘dumik do!’`
h=ha-lusa dumik do
2pl=CAUS-say be.finished REAL
‘Say “they’re finished!”.’

Verbs that occur in main clauses may be subcategorised for just a complement clause in addition to their Actors, or for both an Undergoer and a clausal complement. Contrast (69) above with (46) below.

(70) `Haluso si ‘dumik do!’`
h=ha-lusa-o si dumik do
2pl=CAUS-say-APPL 3pl be.finished REAL
‘Tell them “they’re finished!”.’

Some verbs of perception which are normally subcategorised as transitive verbs taking an Undergoer can also occur with complement clauses in place of their Undergoers. Such verbs include am ‘see’, tono ‘to watch’, malongak ‘to listen to’, etc. Some illustrations are given in (71) to (73).

(71) `Nam yak khan`
n=am yak k=han
3sg=see 1sg 1sg=go
‘He saw me going.’

(72) `Ktono wangsi lalawa`
k=tono wang=si l=ha-lawa
1sg=watch child=PL 3pl=CAUS-play
‘I am watching the children play.’
16.4.1.1 Direct vs indirect reported speech

The complement clauses of speech act verbs can express either direct or indirect speech. In (74) below the complement clause uses the deictic orientation of the person whose speech is being reported (i.e. direct speech) while in (75) the deictic orientation of the complement clause has shifted to the perspective of the person who is reporting the speech act (i.e. indirect speech).

(74) Direct reported speech (declarative)

\[ Nalusa \quad 'khan' \]
\[ n=ha-lusa \quad k=han \]
\[ 3sg=CAUS-sa \quad 1sg=go \]
\[ ‘He said, “I’m going”.’ \]

(75) Indirect reported speech (declarative)

\[ Nalusa \quad nhan \]
\[ n=ha-lusa \quad n=han \]
\[ 3sg=CAUS-sa \quad 3sg=go \]
\[ ‘He said that he was going.’ \]

No overt marker is required to distinguish between direct and indirect reported speech with verbs such as *halusa* or *hacarita* above, when they have declarative clauses as their complements.

When the speech act being reported is not encoded by a declarative clause, however, there are formally marked differences between direct and indirect speech. Compare (68) above, repeated as (76) below with (77). Here the reported speech event is a question.

(76) Direct reported speech (interrogative)

\[ Nkutan \quad ‘dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad tesu? \]
\[ n=kutan \quad dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad te-su \]
\[ 3sg=ask \quad be.\quad finished \quad REAL \quad or \quad NEG-POT \]
\[ ‘He asked “are they finished or not yet?”.’ \]

(77) Indirect reported speech (interrogative)

\[ Nkutan \quad polo \quad dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad tesu \]
\[ n=kutan \quad polo \quad dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad te-su \]
\[ 3sg=ask \quad if \quad be.\quad finished \quad REAL \quad or \quad NEG-POT \]
\[ ‘He asked whether or not they were finished yet.’ \]
Indirect reports of interrogative speech acts must be referred to using a subordinate clause marked by *polo* 'if / whether' (see also §16.3.2). With indirect reports of imperatives, the 'resultative' marker *de* 'so that / in order that' (see also §16.3.1) is used. Contrast example (78) showing directly reported speech with (79) where an indirectly reported imperative speech act is shown.

(78) **Direct reported speech (imperative)**

&nulak &wangsi &hmul &kle!
\n3sg=order-APPL &child=PL &2pl=return &ALL-land

'He told the children "Go home!".'

(79) **Indirect reported speech (imperative)**

&nulak &wangsi &de &hmul &kle.
\n3sg=order-APPL &child=PL &RES &3pl=return &ALL-land

'He told the children to go home.'

16.4.2 Possessive clause - complement clause constructions

Possessive clause - complement clause constructions are used to refer to desires and plans, etc. In these constructions, the initial possessive main clause refers to the nature of the desire or plan and the following complement clause refers to the desired / planned outcome.

By far the most commonly encountered possessive clauses taking complements involve a main predication which can be labelled *ni*-suka 'POSS desire'. This construction is illustrated in (80).

(80) **Di suka lpili mon maleo**

di &suka &l=pili &mon &maleo
\n3pl.POSS &desire &3pl=choose &man &different

'They want to choose a diferent man.'

In this construction one of the possessive ligatures (see §9.1) is used to refer to the person who has the desire and qualifies the NP head *suka* 'desire'. A complement clause occurs after the POSS *suka* combination, expressing whatever the possessor's desire is. In (80) above, the complement clause has an Actor that is coreferential with the Actor of the main possessive clause. There are, however, no coreference restrictions with this construction, as illustrated in (81), where main and complement clauses share no arguments in common.

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5 The expression of a desire for something is sometimes achieved by younger Taba speakers with the verb *mau* 'to want' (borrowed from North Moluccan Malay). This is used in a verb - complement construction (see §16.3.1).

&nmau &nhan &appo
\n3sg=want &3sg=go &ALL-down

'She wants to go to Ternate.'
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(81) Ni suka kmul
ni suka k=mul
3sg.POSS desire 1sg=return
'She wants me to return.'

In (82), the Undergoer of the subordinate clause nik alamat 'my address' appears at the front of the complement clause, but not at the beginning of the complex structure.

(82) Nidi suka nik alamat lunak do
nidi suka nik alamat l=unak do
3pl.POSS like 1sg.POSS address 3pl=know REAL
'They want to know my address.'

Although (82) only shows fronting within the subordinate clause, the Undergoer of a complement clause may also occur at the front of the whole complex structure as in (83). The discourse factors which might be likely to condition the appearance of the Undergoer in each fronted position are not well understood.

(83) Nik alamat, nidi suka lunak do
nik alamat nidi suka l=unak do
1sg.POSS address 3pl.POSS like 3pl=know REAL
'They want to know my address.'

Although other complement taking possessive clauses have been encountered in the corpus in addition to those involving the noun suka 'desire', these are quite infrequent. Example (84) shows a possessive complement taking clause with rencana 'plan', which is a Malay borrowing. Note that in this example the verb tongo 'to stay' has been ellipsed from the complement clause.

(84) Nik rencana minggu haso lo lomo malai kbale
nik rencana minggu ha=s o lo lomo malai k=bale
1sg.POSS plan week CLASS=one and other then 1sg=return

Tarnate
Tarnate
Ternate

'My plan (is to stay) a week and a bit and then return to Ternate.'

16.5 Relativisation

Relative clauses modify nouns. Taba relative clauses (except headless relatives, see §16.4.2) always immediately follow the nouns which they modify, whatever the role of that noun phrase in either the relative clause or the main clause. Usually there is no overt marker of relativisation but sometimes the relativiser yang, borrowed from North Moluccan Malay occurs before the relative clause. The relative clauses in all the examples which follow are indicated in bold type.
(85) Lcayang mamatuosi itagil lahates do.
   l=sayang mamatu=si l=tagil l=ahates do
   3pl=love old.people=PL 3pl=walk 3pl=impossible REAL
   ‘They loved the old people who can’t walk any more.’

Taba has no class of adjectives. All instances of attributive use of Undergoer intransitive verbs, as in (86), are treated here as relative clauses. Such relative clauses are very common in the corpus.

(86) Am atala ngan makoai
    am  a=tala ngan makoai
   1pl.excl 1pl.excl=meet sun be.hot
   ‘We encountered the sun which was hot / We encountered a hot sun.’

We approach this description of Taba relative clauses by first delineating the kinds of relative clauses found in Taba. In §16.5.1 we discuss relative clauses which have overt nominal heads and in §16.5.2 we discuss headless relative clauses (or nominalisation). Finally (§16.5.3) we turn our attention to the kinds of matrix clauses within which relative clauses are embedded.

16.5.1 Relative clause types

A relativised noun must be an argument of the relative clause of which it is head. Adjuncts cannot be relativised. In discourse, there is a strong preference in for relativised argument to be either $S_A$ or $S_O$. $S_O$ appears to be marginally preferred over $S_A$, presumably at least in part because all attributive uses of Undergoer intransitives occur with this relation. Occurrences of relativised Undergoers of other clause types are quite rare, but by no means impossible.

In (87) and (88), the relativised argument is the Actor of a transitive verb within the relative clause.

(87) Yak kanig lomo polisi do suko sel.
    Yak  k=ha-nig lomo polisi do suko sel
   1sg  1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg friend police self insert-APPL cell

   ‘I have a policeman friend who himself grabbed me and stuck me in a cell.’

(88) Nam mon nwomak lai mo ya
    n=am mon n=wom-ak lai mo ya
   3sg=see man 3sg=come-APPL just recent REC
   ‘He saw the man who just came with it.’

In (89), the relativised argument is the Undergoer of the transitive possessive verb.
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(89)  

I
natabhes
 i
nani
daldilo

i  n=ha-ta-bhes  i  n=ha-ni  daldilo
3sg  3sg=CAUS-DETR-peel  3sg  3sg=CAUS-3sg.POSS  knee

‘He skinned his knee.’

As mentioned above, the relativised arguments are usually either $S_A$ or $S_O$ of the relative clause. Example (90) shows a relativised $S_A$.

(90)  

Lcayang
mamatuosi
itagil
lahates
do.

l=sayang mamatuo=si  l=tagil  l=ahates  do
3pl=love  old.people=PL  3pl=walk  3pl=impossible  REAL

‘They loved the old people who can’t walk any more.’

Example (91) shows a relativised $S_O$.

(91)  

Lyat
wog
tadola
pso.

l=yat  wog  ta-dola  p-so
3pl=take  canoe  DETR-make.hole  CLASS-one

‘They took a canoe that was holed.’

Example (92) again shows a relativised $S_O$ argument, but in this case the relative clause consists of a serial verb construction with only one Undergoer argument.

(92)  

Ktala
pupi
midin
midno,

k=tala  pupi  midin  midin-o
1sg=meet  sago.porridge  be.cold  be.cold-APPL(gone cold)

‘I found sago porridge that had gone cold.’

In (93), the relativised noun phrase *yan bakan* ‘a fish that was huge’, is an unattached NP occurring before the main clause.

(93)  

Yan bakan, matlu  llewit

yan bakan  mat=lu  l=lewit
fish  be.big  CLASS=two  3pl=carry on shoulders with a pole

‘A huge fish, two people would have to carry it on a pole.’

Note that the relative clause can also take non-verbal forms. In (94) there is a locative relative clause.

(94)  

Atoban  si  yang  ane  malai  ayol  si

a=toban  si  yang  a-ne  malai  a=yol  si
1pl.excl=wait  3pl  REL  DEM-PROX  then  1pl.excl=fetch  3pl

‘We waited for those who were here then we fetched them.’

Example (95) shows a nominal possessive relative clause.
Example (96) shows a relativised remote Undergoer.

All of the arguments of ditransitive clauses can be relativised, including their secondary Undergoers. However, relativised remote Undergoers of ditransitive clauses (and of semi-transitives as seen above in (96)) are obligatorily marked adpositionally even though adpositional marking is otherwise optional.

Close secondary undergoers are not marked apositionally when they occur as the head of a relative clause.

16.5.2 Headless relative clauses (nominalisation)

We have already encountered a few examples of headless relative clauses in the preceding sections. Headless relative clauses occur frequently in Taba discourse. These constructions could have been given the label ‘nominalisations’ and treated separately from other relative clause types, but the strong parallels between headless relative clauses and other relative clause types suggest that all relative clauses, whether containing an overt head or not, should be treated together. Although headless relative clauses appear at first glance to be clausal in nature, they are clearly identifiable as nominals since they can occur as the arguments of predicates which normally require nominal arguments, as in (100). Examples such as (100) are distinguishable from paratactic structures on the grounds of intonation: the whole utterance here occurs within a single intonation contour. Headless relative clauses in the
examples which follow are shown in bold type. Their nominal meaning is shown in parentheses in the interlinear glosses.

(100) *Lagah* *lhan* Mado *li*  
l=ha-gah  
3pl=CAUS-steal(thieves) 3pl=go Mado LOC  
'Thieves have been to Mado’s place.'

Headless relative clauses are sometimes explicitly marked as nominals by either having *yang* (a relativiser borrowed from North Moluccan Malay) preposed to them, as in (101), or by being followed by one of the deictic particles (§11.3), as in (102).

(101) *Malai* *yang* *lcebak* *Taba* *lahod* gunung *li* dumik.  
Malai yang l=sebak Taba l=alhod gunung li dumik  
then REL 3pl=near Makian 3pl=run mountain LOC be.complete  
'Then, whoever was near Makian, all of them ran up the mountain.'

(102) *Nasodas* ne  
n=asodas ne  
3sg=smoke PROX  
'This person smoking.'

Headless relative clauses can also occur in possessive constructions, as in (103) and (104).

(103) *Taplod* ni bohiya Jumat jam sabalas.  
ta-plod ni bohiya Jumat jam sabalas  
DETR-erupt(eration) 3sg.POSS first.time Friday hour eleven  
'It its first eruption was on Friday at eleven o’clock.'

(104) *Do John* nim *mlongan* ne  
do John nim mlongan ne  
SIM ‘John’ 2sg.POSS be.tall(tallness) PROX  
‘Like John’s tallness.’

Quite a few headless relative clauses have lexicalised nominal meanings in addition to their productive meanings. Examples (103) and (104) above illustrate such lexicalised forms as do (105) to (107) below.

(105) *lagah*  
l=ha-gah  
3pl=CAUS-steal  
'thief'

(106) *Lape* um  
l=ha-pe um  
3pl=CAUS-make house  
'House builder.'
The remainder of the peanuts make up just one milk-can full.

Many of the Taba headless relative clauses found in the corpus, especially those that are more heavily lexicalised, express notions that would be translated into English as abstract nouns. This syntactic process appears to be the most favoured way for deriving such abstract nouns as those seen in (79), (80), and (83) above.

16.5.3 Matrix clause types

While there appear to be no categorial restrictions on the syntactic role of the relativised noun within the matrix clause, there does seem to be a notable preference for relativising on noun phrases which normally occur at the end of the matrix clause rather than on nouns which occur in earlier positions. By far the most commonly relativised position is that of the Undergoer of a transitive matrix clause. Preliminary illustrations of relative clauses modifying the Undergoer of a transitive matrix clause are given in (108) to (110).

(108) Kon kapaya moda
    k=on kapaya moda
    1sg=eat pawpaw be.ripe
    ‘I ate ripe pawpaw.’

(109) Lyat wog tadola pso.
    l=yat wog ta-dola p-so
    3pl=take canoe DETR-make.hole CLASS-one
    ‘They took a canoe that was holed.’

(110) I natabhes i nani daldilo
    i n=ha-ta-bhes i n=ha-ni daldilo
    3sg 3sg=CAUS-DETR-peel 3sg 3sg=CAUS-3sg.POSS knee
    ‘He skinned his knee.’

In (111), the main clause has a possessive verbal construction, and the thing possessed, formally the Undergoer of the transitive possessive verb, is modified by a relative clause.

(111) Yak kanig lomo polisi do lgotal yak
    Yak k=ha-nig lomo polisi do l=gotal yak
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg friend police self 3pl=grab 1sg

haso
ha=so
CLASS=one

The remainder of the peanuts make up just one milk-can full.

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    3pl=take canoe DETR-make.hole CLASS-one
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    i n=ha-ta-bhes i n=ha-ni daldilo
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(111) Yak kanig lomo polisi do lgotal yak
    Yak k=ha-nig lomo polisi do l=gotal yak
    1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg friend police self 3pl=grab 1sg
suko sel.
suk-o sel
insert-APPL cell

'I have a policeman friend who himself grabbed me and stuck me in the cell.

In (112) it is a noun occuring as a postverbal locative adjunct which is the head of the relative clause.

(112) Lomo nyat ci Jailolo ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo nak.
    lomo n=yat si Jailolo ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo nak
other 3sg=take 3pl Jailolo and district district be. other also
‘Others, they took to Jailolo and also to other districts.’ [lit. ‘to districts that are different’]

If nouns which normally occupy clausal positions other than the final one are relativised on, there is a very strong preference in natural Taba discourse for them to be shifted to the preclausal orientational slot (§6.3.1), which then contains the head noun as well as its relative clause. As with any NP occupying this slot, an intonational break intervenes between the relative clause and the matrix clause. When these preverbal nominals head relative clauses, there is a preference in discourse for inserting either the borrowed relativiser yang between the head noun and the relative clause or for adding a deictic particle (§11.3) after the whole complex noun phrase. In (113), a headless relative clause, the borrowed North Moluccan Malay relativiser yang occurs before the relative clause itself and in (114) the deictic ‘recognitional’ particle ya is interposed between the head noun and the following relative clause.

(113) Malai yang Icebak Taba lalhod gunung li dumik.
    Malai yang l=sebak Taba l=alhod gunung li dumik
then REL 3pl=near Makian 3pl=run mountain LOC be. complete
‘Then, whoever was near Makian, all of them ran up the mountain.’

(114) Mon ntagil ya nmap
    mon n=tagil ya n=map
man 3sg=walk REC 3sg=yawn
‘This man who is walking is yawning / This walking man is yawning.’

Although yang is most commonly found when the noun modified by a relative clause occurs before the verb of the matrix clause, it is also occasionally encountered with postverbal relativised nominals.

(115) Atohan si yang ane malai ayol si
    a=tohan si yang a-ne malai a=yol si
1pl.excl=wait 3pl REL DEM-PROX then 1pl.excl=fetch 3pl
‘We waited for those who were here then we fetched them.’
16.6 Iconicity in multi-clausal constructions

A noteworthy feature of multi-clausal constructions in Taba is an overwhelming preference for the iconic ordering of the clauses involved. In general, if one clause refers to something which occurs in the real world before whatever is referred to by the other clause, the clause referring to the first event is placed before the clause referring to the second event. This strong iconic principle means that, in general, conditions under which something might occur are expressed before the possible result, causes are expressed before results, etc. Whereas a language like English has abundant resources available which allow speakers to use non-iconic ordering of clauses, Taba has a relative paucity of such devices.

As already mentioned in §16.3.2, while it is possible to express a condition after its ensuing result, as illustrated in (116) below, such non-iconic ordering is rarely encountered in actual discourse. Example (116) is taken from a song’s lyrics, and in unplanned discourse, as opposed to planned discourse, such non-iconic ordering is almost never seen.

(116) Krasa mapot polo koik au
k=rasa mapot polo k=oi k au
lsg=feel heavy when lsg=leave.behind 2sg
‘I (my heart) will feel(s) heavy if I leave you.’

It is far more usual to see the condition expressed first and the potential result of that condition expressed second as in (117).

(117) Polo ulan tane, Yase buko kwat.
polo ulan ta-ne ya-se buko kwat
if rain SIM-PROX up-ESS noise be.strong
‘If it’s raining like this, there will be a lot of noise above.’

In English, it is relatively simple to express the result of a cause first, and the cause second, as illustrated in (118).

(118) He went to the shop because he had run out of milk.

It is equally possible in English to express the cause first and the result second.

(119) He had run out of milk so he went to the shop.

In traditional Taba usage, it is impossible to express a cause after expressing the result of that cause, unlike the English example shown in (118). Using indigenous Taba forms, only the second kind of ordering is possible.

(120) Ni tabako dumik do ndadi nhan appo
ni tabako dumik do ndadi n=han ap-po
3sg.POSS cigarettes be.exhausted REAL so 3sg=go ALL-down
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It is possible to use non-iconic ordering of clauses in contemporary Taba usage, but only by using the borrowed form *karna* ‘because’.

(121) Ṉhan appo toko li karna ni tabako
n=han ap-po toko li karna ni tabako
3sg=go ALL-down shop LOC because 3sg.POSS cigarettes

dumik do
dumik do
be.finished REAL

‘His cigarettes were finished so he went down to the shop.’

16.7 Discourse connectors

It was noted in the introduction to this chapter that real discourse occurs in such a way that there can be varying degrees of tightness in the bonds which link individual clauses. The constructions discussed up to this point of the chapter can all be thought of as exhibiting a reasonably close degree of bonding between individual clauses. In this section we turn our attention to a diverse set of forms which serve to draw links between the clause they occur in and more general aspects of the discourse context. Such links can be drawn between the clause involved and something which was mentioned earlier in a discourse, or between the clause involved and some presupposition on the part of the speaker, or some presupposition presumed by the speaker to be held by the addressee. Many of the forms to be discussed here also occur with other syntactic functions: quite a large number also occur as conjunctions, for example. Discourse connectors usually occur before the rest of the clause to which they are intonationally bound. A few exceptions to this generalisation will be mentioned as we proceed.

Although a detailed study of Taba discourse connectors is beyond the scope of this grammar, some of the most common forms are discussed here. A few less common discourse connectors which occur in the texts appended to the description are also discussed briefly. The forms to be discussed, along with a rough indication of each form’s meaning, are:

- **mai / me** ‘contrary to indications’
- **malai** ‘then’
- **(i)ndadi(mu)** ‘and so’
- **odo** ‘on the other hand / contrary to indications’
- **tutik(ma)** ‘until / and then / eventually’
- **pu pu ma** ‘but what if...’
- **de (supaya)** ‘so eventually’
• turus ‘so / then’
• tapi ‘but’
• karna ‘because’
• tee ‘if not’

A few of the forms shown above (along with some of the conjunctions seen in earlier sections of this chapter) will be seen to consist of a root with a postposed form, either ma or mu. The forms that include ma or mu all indicate a more distant connection with the preceding discourse than do the forms without ma or mu. The ma / mu element probably derives ultimately from PAN *maRi ‘come’, as presumably does the venitive directional affix -ma (§11.2.2.3).

16.7.1 mai ~ me ‘contrary to expectations’

Mai, and its variant form me are used to express the fact that whatever is referred to subsequently is in some way contrary to expectations that might otherwise be held by either the speaker or the addressee. Mai and me both also occur as co-ordinating conjunctions (§16.2.3). These are given preliminary exemplification in (122), where mai occurs clause-initially. When this utterance was made it clearly consisted of two distinct, non-conjoined clauses since each of the clauses was marked with a falling terminal intonation contour, and there was a reasonably lengthy pause between each of the clauses shown.

(122) Bonci ine... Mai kutu-kutu hu.
bonci i-ne mai kutu-kutu hu
peanut DEM-PROX but small small CONT
‘These are peanuts. But they’re still small.’

In addition to occurring clause-initially, mai is often found occurring between a fronted orientational element (see §6.3.1) and the rest of the clause. When it is used in this position, it signals that with respect to whatever is referred to by the fronted expression, whatever is referred to by the rest of the clause may be contrary to one’s expectations.

(123) Indadi Taba mai alusa nou....
indadi Taba mai a=ha-lusa nou
so Taba well 1pl.excl=CAUS-say palm.sugar-tree
‘So in Taba, on the other hand, we say “nou”.’ [i.e ‘nou’ is the name for the palm-sugar tree, which, as the speaker had just pointed out has a fibrous extract called ‘amit’ which is used for making rope]

Example (124) is a commonly heard jocular expression used by Taba speakers to refer to what being in a state of poverty can be like. Here, the contrast is between the poverty stricken state and what would be preferable: having coffee, tea and sugar.

(124) Te mai te, gula mai te, kof\i\ mai te
tea well NEG sugar well NEG coffee well NEG
‘There’s no tea, there’s no sugar, there’s no coffee.’
16.7.2 malai ‘then’

Malai ‘then’ occurs as a co-ordinating conjunction (§16.2.5), in addition to occurring as a discourse connector. Its meanings in both guises are fairly similar: it is most commonly used as a discourse connector to indicate that an interval of time has elapsed between something previously referred to and whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces. Although usually translatable into English as ‘then’, a variety of different translations are possible depending on context.

(125) Malai  ane  Waikyon  seng  ni  tattubo  yapyap
malai  a-ne  Waikyon  seng  ni  tattubo  yapyap
then  LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha roofing.iron  3sg.POSS top  ash

kamudu-kamudu  tane
kamudu-kamudu  ta-ne
thick-thick  SIM-PROX

‘Afterwards, here in Ngofakiaha, the top of the roofing iron had ash as thick as this.’

As well as indicating that an interval of time has passed, malai can also be used to signal a shift in topic. Such usage is illustrated in (126), where malai occurs twice. This example comes from the second text found in the appendices where the speaker is explaining how a sedi ‘garden shelter’ is made and describing its various parts. In its first occurrence malai appears as a co-ordinating conjunction, linking the clauses tpaït ‘we dig’ and ttooanam appo saisua ‘we plant posts’. At the same time as this part of the utterance was being made, the speaker was pointing to the upright posts of the sedi which had been planted in holes in the ground. The second use of malai occurs because the speaker had switched his attention to the beams which were bound to the uprights just referred to.

(126) Tpaït  malai  ttooanam  appo  saisua.  malai...
t=paït malai  t=toanam  ap-po  saisua  malai
1pl.incl=dig then  1pl.incl=plant  ALL-down  posts  then

ine  paipowo,
i-ne  paipowo
DEM-PROX  width-wise  beam

We dig, then we plant the posts (in the holes). And so, anyway, this is the beam across the width of the platform.’

A final example of malai is given in (127). This example illustrates a common formulaic farewell, and although it can be interpreted literally as referring to the interval of time between the time of utterance and the presumed future meeting, here it also functions pragmatically to signal a shift in topic and to show that the current conversation is about to end.
(127) Malai tmaka tala nak
malai t=maka tala nak
then 1pl.incl=RECIP meet again
‘See you later.’

16.7.3(1)ndadi(mu) ‘and so / and then’

This discourse connector is related to the subordinating conjunction *ndadi* ‘so’ (§16.3.4) and has a number of variant forms: *ndadi, indadi, ndadimu* and *indadimu*. The basic functions of this discourse connector are to signal that either whatever is referred to in the clause preceded by it has been caused by something previously referred to, or that what is about to be referred to constitutes a change of topic. It is also often used to indicate that whatever follows is in some way a summing up of what has been referred to in the previous discourse. Any differences in meaning between each of the variant forms are not well understood. In (128) *indadi* and *ndadi* point to a change in topic.

(128) Tbitta okik, turus tcor, turus ton. Indadi
   t=bitta okik turus t=sor turus t=on indadi
   1pl.incl=wrap finish then 1pl.incl=bake then 1pl.incl=eat so
   tpeik pupi ya te? Ndadi ni carita lloci
   t=pe-ik pupi ya te ndadi ni carita lloci
   1pl.incl=make-APPL bapeda REC NEG so 3sg.POSS story many

‘Once wrapping it is done, then we bake it, then we eat it. Then we make bapeda with it, you know? So, there is a lot to say about sago.’

In (129), *ndadimu* is used to signal a change in topic. This example comes from the eruption text in the appendices and clearly shows a shift in the speaker’s focus from people’s reactions to the eruption, *layok* ‘they cried’ (which was probably not a noiseless activity), to the nature of the eruption itself *magun-magun* ‘it was totally silent’.

(129) Layok karna lkiu kwat. Ndadimu, magun-magun.
   l=ayok karna l=kiu kwat ndadimu magun-magun
   3pl=cry because 3pl=scared EMPH so silent-silent
   ‘They cried because they were very scared. So, anyway... it was totally quiet.’

Example (130) comes from the same text. This utterance was made towards the end of a long description of the speaker’s experiences during the eruption, and is used to both sum up the preceding discourse and to signal a major change in topic, from the events of the eruption itself to the events which followed people’s return to Makian island.

(130) Indadi dukon ne taun halim do.
   indadi dukon ne taun ha=lim do
   so eruption PROX year CLASS=five REAL
   ‘So anyway, the eruption was five years ago now.’
16.7.4 *odo* ‘on the other hand / contrary to expectations’

*Odo* signals a change in topic and also indicates that whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces may be contrary to the hearer’s expectations. It can often be translated into English as ‘on the other hand’.

(131) *Kso ine ane. Odo ine*

\[k=so \quad i-ne \quad a-ne \quad odo \quad i-ne\]

1sg=climb DEM-PROX LOC-PROX on.the.other.hand DEM-PROX

\[t=so \quad tahates.\]

1pl.incl=climb impossible

‘I climbed this here. On the other hand, climbing this would be impossible.’

(132) *Ine ai. Odo ine, balul,*

\[i-ne \quad ai \quad odo \quad i-ne \quad balul\]

DEM-PROX wood on.the.other.hand DEM-PROX bamboo

‘This is wood. On the other hand, this is bamboo.’

*Odo*, in addition to its function as a discourse connector, also occurs as an Undergoer intransitive verb meaning ‘not necessary’, as illustrated in (133).

(133) *Malai polo tosak ni wokno odo, ada*

\[Malai \quad polo \quad t=osak \quad ni \quad wokno \quad odo, \quad ada\]

then if 1pl.incl=open 3sg.POSS flesh not.necessary exist

\[ni \quad sso: \quad Tpe \quad lepa.\]

3sg.POSS name 1pl.incl=make sago.wrapping

‘Then if it’s not necessary to open up its fruit, that has a name too. We make a wrapping.’

16.7.5 *tutik(ma)‘until / and then / eventually’*

*Tutik(ma)* is a discourse connector related to the conjunction *tutik ‘until’* (§16.2.3) and it serves to indicate that whatever is referred to in the clause following it has been brought about as an eventual result of whatever precedes it in the discourse.

(134) *Karna wah Taba ni daddoba kaklida. karna wah Taba ni dad-doba kaklida*

because island Makian 3sg.POSS RED-garden(earth) hard
Tutikma lpe ni sso Keibesi.
tutikma l=pe ni sso Kei-besi
until 3pl=make 3sg.POSS name ‘Kei’-iron

‘Because Makian island has hard earth. So much so that they made its name Kiei-besi (Besi is NMM for iron; Kieibesi is the name of the mountain on Makian).’

16.7.6 *pu pu ma* ‘but what if’

*Pu pu ma* can be translated into English as ‘but what if...’. It is a fairly low frequency form which is created from reduplicated *pu* ‘what’ and *ma*, which is discussed in the introduction to §16.7. In (135), it occurs preposed to the clause following the idiomatic expression *mot oik lo le! ‘just leave it alone!’*.

(135) Mot oik lo le! Pu pu ma male tanong
mot oik lo le pu pu ma male t=ha-nong
die leave.behind IMP only what if must 1pl.incl=CAUS- quarrel

tatut aah... Mot oik lo le
t=ha-tut aah mot oik lo le
1pl.incl=CAUS-hit aah die leave.behind IMP just

Just leave it alone! What if we have to quarrel and fight, aah... Just leave it alone!

16.7.7 *de (supaya)* ‘so eventually’

*De* most commonly occurs as a subordinating conjunction which introduces resultative and purposive clauses (§16.2.1). *Supaya*, with which it sometimes co-occurs as a discourse connector is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay meaning ‘in order that’. As a discourse connector, *de (supaya)* can have quite a wide range of meanings. It is commonly used to show that whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces may be considered as somehow being a result of whatever has been referred to in the earlier discourse.

(136) Tcuko tane mai tape tane.
t=suk-o ta-ne mai t=ha-pe ta-ne
1pl.incl=insert-APPL SIM-PROX then 1pl.incl=CAUS-make SIM-PROX

De supaya namolam turus ine!
de supaya n=amolam turus i-ne
RES in order that 3sg=hungry all the time DEM-PROX

‘We put it in like this then we do this. So that the fish will be hungry, then this!’ (makes gesture with bait showing how the fish will be caught)

In (137), it is again used to point to a result of the earlier discourse. This time, however, it is not a result of what was referred to in the previous discourse, but rather a result of the discourse having been uttered: that the author would now know how to refer to the activity of thatching *yotás* leaf.
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(137) Ine polo tpe tadia, ni sso tapa,
i-ne polo t=pe ta-dia ni sso tapa
DEM-PROX if 1pl.incl=make SIM-REM 3sg.POSS name thatch

tapa yotas. De ikutan John: hpe ya pu dae?
thatch k.o.leaf So 1pl.incl=ask John 2pl=make REC what REM=FOC

Katapa yotas.
k=ha-tapa yotas
1sg=CAUS-thatch k.o.leaf

‘This, if we make it like this, that’s called tapa (‘thatch’). Yotas thatch. So now we can ask John, ‘what are you doing?’ ‘I’m thatching yotas.’

16.7.8 turus ‘so / then’

Like the conjunction turus (§16.2.6), the discourse connector turus also indicates that whatever follows in the clause it introduces occurs immediately or soon after whatever has been referred to prior to that point. The distinction between conjunctive and discourse connecting turus is not, in reality, all that clear-cut. The difference is marked simply by different intonation patterns: one terminal falling contour with conjunctive turus (138); two falling contours with the discourse connector (139).

(138) Dongto turus talusa akno haso dongat.
dongat-o turus t=ha-lusa ak-no ha=so dongat
platform-APPL then 1pl.incl=CAUS-say ALL-there CLASS=one bed
‘We lay them on the platform, then we call that thing up there the bed.’

(139) Gamos hu, woya nantobi. Turus kaklida idia.
gamos hu woya n=an-tobi turus kaklida i-dia
dry CONT water 3sg=INCH-descend then hard DEM-REM
‘While it’s still drying there’s water falling out of it. Then it hardens.’

16.7.9 tapi ‘but / however’

Tapi ‘but’, borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, occurs as both a conjunction (§16.2.7) and as a discourse connector. As with turus (§16.7.8), the difference between conjunctive and discourse connecting tapi is most clearly signalled intonationally. When used as a discourse connector, its function is to signal that whatever follows contradicts the expectations that the speaker surmises for the hearer, whether because of what has already been said in the discourse, or because of any extra-textual matters of context.

In (140), the first use of tapi is to spell out a general class of exceptions to what has just been said: the thing pointed to by the speaker is a kind of garden house (with two sloping sides to its roof) known as a sedi, but other kinds of garden houses which have only one side to their roofs are known as tenti. The second use of tapi points to something exceptional, not evident in the text itself up to this point, but obvious to the hearer observing the sedi: that
it still only has one side to its roof, because the speaker has not yet obtained the necessary materials to thatch it.

(140) *Idia* ni sso sedi. *Tapi, duga polo duga palo*

DEM-REM 3sg.POSS name sedi but only if only half

le: *tenti. Tadia. Ni pungan pso le, nhan*

le tenti ta-dia ni pungan p-so le n=han
only tenti SIM-REM 3sg.POSS ridge-pole CLASS-one only 3sg=go

*akno* tadia. *Tapi ktala yotas tesu, kpe tesu.*

ak-no ta-dia tapi k=tala yotas te-su k=pe te-su
ALL-there SIM-REM but 1sg=find thatch NEG-POT 1sg-make NEG-POT

‘That thing’s name is ‘sedi’. But, just if there’s only one side to it: tenti. Like that. It’s only got one ridge-pole, it extends out there like that. But I haven’t found any thatch yet, I haven’t made it yet.

16.7.10 *karna* ‘because’

The discourse connector *karna* (borrowed from North Moluccan Malay) functions in much the same way as the subordinating conjunction *karna* (§16.3.5), except that the clause to which it is preposed is not intonationally bound to its preceding clause. Like the conjunction it can be simply translated into English as ‘because’. When used as a discourse connector it generally introduces causes that are expressed as afterthoughts, and thus there is generally non-iconic ordering with respect to any previously expressed caused result.

(141) *Mai ngiat te. Karna wah Taba ni*

mai n=giat te karna wah Taba ni
but 3sg=shake NEG because island Makian 3sg.POSS

*daddoba* kaklida.

dad-doba kaklida
RED-garden(earth) hard

‘But it didn’t shake. Because Makian island has hard earth.’

16.7.11 *tee* ‘if not’

The discourse connector *tee* ‘if not’ has been mentioned in §2.3.1 as a form wherein vowel length is exceptionally marked. Always occurring clause-initially, it contrasts with the negative particle *te* ‘not’ (§14.2.1), which always occurs at the end of a clause. Its use indicates that if whatever has been referred to in the preceding discourse does not eventuate, then whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces will ensue as a result.
(142) \textit{Ahia... Tee tapakat}
\begin{align*}
\text{ahia} & \quad \text{tee} \quad \text{ta-pakat} \\
& \quad \text{be careful if not DETR-break}
\end{align*}
\begin{quote}
‘Be careful! if you don’t, it will get broken.’
\end{quote}

(143) \textit{Nhan appo do. Tee ni yan banden nmot}
\begin{align*}
\text{n=han} & \quad \text{ap-po} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{tee} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{yan} \quad \text{banden} \quad \text{n=mot} \\
& \quad \text{3sg=go ALL-down REAL if not 3sg.POSS fish milkfish 3sg=die}
\end{align*}
\begin{quote}
‘He’s already gone (to sell his fish). If he hadn’t the fish would have died.’
\end{quote}

Note that the negative polarity of \textit{tee} is with respect to the polarity of the preceding text. If the preceding text is expressed with positive polarity as in (142) and (143) above, \textit{tee} indicates that what follows it \textit{would} occur if the event referred to in the preceding text did \textit{not} happen. If the preceding text is expressed with negative polarity, as in (144) below, \textit{tee} indicates that what follows it \textit{would} occur if what is referred to in the preceding text \textit{did} happen.

(144) \textit{Meu komo hmomsak meu calana oik. Tee kabot.}
\begin{align*}
\text{meu komo} & \quad \text{h=momas-ak} \quad \text{meu} \quad \text{calana} \quad \text{oik} \quad \text{tee} \quad \text{kabot} \\
& \quad \text{2pl hand 2pl=wipe-APPL 2pl trousers ADMON if not dirty}
\end{align*}
\begin{quote}
‘Your hands, don’t wipe them on your trousers. If you do, your trousers will get dirty.’
\end{quote}

On responding to yes / no polar questions, see §15.1.1.2.
Appendices

This grammar contains two appendices: a word list, and a collection of texts.
The first appendix is a modified Swadesh 200 word list of basic vocabulary, included to facilitate comparisons between Taba and other Austronesian languages.
The second appendix is a collection of texts from a variety of different genres. The first of these is a narrative telling of one speaker's experiences during and after the Makianese eruption of 1988. The second is a description of how a sedi (garden shelter) is constructed and how sago is processed. The third text is a transcription of a conversation, and the final text is of a riddle, a popular oral genre amongst Taba speakers. This text has been included not only because it comes from a distinct genre different from the other texts, but also because it illustrates the use of a number of excretion verbs, a subcategory of verbs with somewhat unusual double-agreement marking (see §8.2.3 for discussion).
# Swadesh 200 word list

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<th>all</th>
<th>hasole</th>
<th>dull (not sharp)</th>
<th>non te¹</th>
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<td>and</td>
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<td>at</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-on / -ahon³</td>
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<td>back</td>
<td>taggulo</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>(manik ni) tolo⁴</td>
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<td>mto</td>
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<td>bark</td>
<td>(ai ni) liko⁵</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>(-ha)mtat⁶</td>
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<td>because</td>
<td>karna²</td>
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<td>dry</td>
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<td>poyo</td>
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¹ te | ² tta | ³ ak | ⁴ lo | ⁵ n | ⁶ a | ⁷ ke | ⁸ n | ⁹ t | ¹⁰ k | ¹¹ w | ¹² m | ¹³ s | ¹⁴ c | ¹⁵ j | ¹⁶ j | ¹⁷ j
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<td>mouth</td>
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<td>sand</td>
<td>nyanyana</td>
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<td>say</td>
<td>-(ha)lusa</td>
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<td>scratch</td>
<td>-gak</td>
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<td>sea</td>
<td>wolat</td>
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<td>see</td>
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<td>seed</td>
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<td>-ohal</td>
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<td>-tusa</td>
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<td>-wosal</td>
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<td>bato</td>
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<td>ai</td>
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<td>maddodang</td>
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<td>suck</td>
<td>-sodas</td>
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<td>three</td>
<td>p-tol</td>
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There is no single lexeme expressing the concept 'dull' in Taba. The concept 'sharp' is expressed as \( n\text{-on} \) (lit. 3sg-eat 'it eats'). To express the concept 'dull', this is negated: \( \text{non te} \) (lit. 'it doesn't eat').

\[ \text{daddoba is dad-doba 'NOM-garden' or literally 'the thing with which one makes gardens'. See } \S7.1.2.1 \text{ for details on instrumental nominalisation.} \]

The forms \(-on\) and \(-ahon\) are used to refer to slightly different kinds of situations. \(-ahoni\) is probably a lexicalised causative derivation of \(-on\) and refers to eating a main meal which generally includes either (nowadays) rice or (traditionally) sago. \(-on\) is usually reserved for eating snacks.

Taba speakers will never refer to 'eggs' without specifying what kind of eggs they are referring to. \( \text{tolo} \) has been adopted (presumably euphemistically) as the name for 'testicles' and the bare form is thus avoided when referring to 'eggs'. \( \text{Manik ni tolo} \) refers to 'chicken eggs' (\( \text{manik ni tolo} \) 'chicken POSS egg').

\[ \text{liko} \] means 'skin' or 'bark'. To specify 'bark' in particular Taba speakers say \( \text{ai ni liko} \) 'tree POSS skin'.

Both the stative verb \( \text{mtat} \) and its causativised active counterpart \( \text{-hamtat} \) are encountered. See \( \S4.2.1 \) for some discussion of the differences between these two forms.

\( \text{kama} \) is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. Taba has no indigenous means of expressing the concept 'because'. In Taba syntax, there is a strong tendency to avoid subordinating structures and iconic ordering is very strongly preferred. Thus, rather than saying something according to the schema 'RESULT because CAUSE', indigenous Taba structures insist upon the iconic ordering 'CAUSE thus RESULT'. 'Thus' is \( \text{dadi} \), polysemous with 'become'. See chapter 16 for more details on clause combining.

The root for 'father' is \( \text{baba} \) but this is almost invariably encountered marked for plurality since all human referents older than the speaker (to whom respect is therefore owed) are grammatically plural. See \( \S7.3.3 \) for discussion of the grammatical category of number.

As with most languages from Maluku, Taba has no indigenous generic word for 'bird'. To express the generic 'bird' Taba speakers use the Malay \( \text{burung} \). Again as with many languages from Maluku, the PAN form *\( \text{manuk} \) is reflected in the form for 'chicken', in Taba \( \text{manik} \).
More properly -kiu is ‘to be frightened’.

This form is composed as follows: p-iso-ak-no ‘CLASS-few-ALL-there’. See §10.3.4.2 for further details.

lobilobi refers to ‘rain clouds’, while mayas refers to ‘white clouds’

This form is composed of the default classifier p- prefixed to the numeral root hot ‘four’. See chapter 12 for a discussion of quantifiers.

Choosing between these lexemes in translating English ‘give’ is rather complicated. See §8.3.2.3 for a discussion of this problem.

Although hia is clearly the best indigenous translation for ‘good’, this is a little problematical. The forms masure and sterek could also be given as translations for ‘good’, their meanings are both somewhat specialised: masure is closer in meaning to ‘beautiful’ and sterek has a close relationship with the idea ‘strong’. (It comes from the Dutch sterk ‘strong’.)

Kakle refers to head hair while hättulo refers to body hair. (Hättulo also refers to ‘leathers’.)

i is non-specific as to gender. It is also translatable as ‘she’.

This word is derived from lekat ‘be bad / broken’. See §8.3.3.2 for a discussion of ‘process oriented’ Undergoer intransitive derivation.

See §15.1.2 for a detailed discussion of interrogative words.

Mon also means ‘man’.

Li is the general locative postposition (§13.1). Lo is a locative noun meaning ‘inside’.

See footnote (14).

See footnote (5).

matua refers specifically to ‘old people’. Other words for ‘old’ are matua ‘old non-human animates’, banbono ‘old inanimate things’.

hagawil means specifically ‘to swim’. yos means ‘to bathe in the sea’

See footnote (8).

Manusia is inherently plural (i.e. it means ‘people’). There is no singular translation for ‘person’.

See footnote (8).

Lo ‘where’ generally co-occurs with the locative postposition li.

See footnote (8).

Hayko also means ‘shoulder’.

Was refers to ‘washing ones body’. Totas refers to ‘washing clothes, dishes’.

Woya refers to ‘fresh water’. ‘Salt (sea) water’ is takis.
Ahmad ni carita dukon

(Ahmad’s eruption story)

The eruption... Makian’s eruption: the date... the date was the eighteenth, it was twelve o’clock. It was dark, dark... All of a sudden, the people were startled, they were frightened.

Malai.. lhan appo.. Lhan appo Gitan... Lyoa daerah.. aman
then 3pl=go ALL-down 3pl=go ALL-down Gitan 3sg=search area safe
Then they went down. They went down to Gitan. They were looking for somewhere safe... somewhere safe... Gitan. They came down to Gitan, Kiowor, Matantengin, Sangapati... 

Until the next day, aah... boats came, boats came to help, to fetch people. Then... some they took to Halmahera, others they took to Ternate, others they took to Moti. Some they took to Malifut, others they took to Bacan, others they took to Tidore, others they took to Jailolo and also to other districts.
ldiuk dumik... Ada layok.
l=kiu dumik ada l=ayok
3pl=scared be.complete and 3pl=cry

So people were scared, people were scared. Moti was scared. Halmahera was scared. Ternate was scared. Malifut was scared. All the districts were totally scared, and they cried.

Karna ni nganco ne... lam dukon tehu... lunak dukon
karna ni nganso ne l=am dukon te-hu l=unak dukon
because 3sg.POSS length PROX 3pl=see eruption NEG-CONT 3pl=know eruption

Because, for how long was it they hadn’t seen an eruption... They didn’t yet know (about) eruptions. That day just come, then they knew.

Ngan ni soda... magun-magun ma taplod.
ngan ni soda magun-magun ma ta-plod
day 3sg.POSS face silent-silent but DETR-erupt

The next day, it was totally silent, but (the mountain) was erupting.

Malai... masi ada.. manusia.. kampung li hu.
Malai masi ada manusia kampung li hu
then still exist people village LOC CONT

Then... there were still people in the village.

Indadi.. taplod malai.. lalhod.
indadi ta-plod malai l=alhod
so DETR-erupt then 3pl=run

So it was erupting... then... they ran

Lalhod... lhan appo.. solo li. ltala wog... te.
l=alhod l=han ap-po solo li l=tala wog te
3pl=run 3pl=go ALL-down beach LOC 3pl=meet canoe NEG

They ran... they went down... to the beach. They didn’t find canoes.

Lomo ltala wog... lcaplo.
lomo l=tala wog l=sapil-o
some 3pl=meet canoe 3pl=board-APPL

Some people found canoes... they got on them.
Ahmad ni carita dukon 'Ahmad’s eruption story' (narrative) 417

Lomo ltala wog te... lagawil.
lomo l=tala wog te l=agawil
other 3pl=meet canoe NEG 3pl=swim

Others who didn’t find canoes... they swam.

Tutikma lawe... wolat halaim.
tutikma la-we wolat halaim
until sea-ESS sea middle

(They swam) right out to sea... to the middle of the sea.

Lomo... lomosi... lakawatol... nidi calana taholo.
lomo lomo=si l=ha-kawatol nidi calana ta-hola-o
other other=PL 3pl=CAUS-naked 3pl.POSS trousers DETR-shred-APPL

Others... other people... they were naked... their trousers shredded up.

Lomosi... layok.... karna... lkiu kwat. Waktu idia.. dukon ya.
lomo=si l=ayok karna l=kiu kwat waktu i-dia dukon ya
other=PL 3pl=cry because 3pl=scared EMPH time DEM-REM eruption REC

Others... they were crying... because... they were terrified. That time, during this eruption (I’ve been telling you about).

Indadimu... magun-magun... mayas.. mayas... mayas nfati.. malol dumik
indadimu magun-magun mayas mayas mayas n=fati ma-lol dumik
So silent-silent smoke smoke smoke completely enveloped everything.

Ndadi tmaka am te... amaka am te.
Ndadi t=maka am te a=maka am te
so 1pl.incl=RECIP see NEG 1pl.excl=RECIP see NEG

So we couldn’t see each other... we didn’t see each other.

Biar.. ncebak... ndakin... tapi tmaka am te.
biar n=sebak n=dakìn tapi t=maka am te
although 3sg=near 3sg=close but 1pl.incl=RECIP see NEG

Although someone might be close, near, we still couldn’t see each other.

Karna.. ponco.. ya pu? Mayas... mayas.. yapyap.. mayas yapyap
karna ponco ya pu mayas mayas yapyap mayas yapyap
because thingamajig REC what smoke smoke ash smoke ash
Because, what's that stuff? Smoke... smoke.. ash.. ashy smoke.

We couldn't see each other... So if you and I were here... in the village... that would mean... that we... ash would be all over us.

So, we couldn't recognise anyone.

If the ash had gotten on John, we wouldn't recognise John.

So... the Makianese eruption was indeed strong. Makian's eruption was strong.. but it didn't shake [there was no earthquake] it didn't shake... it didn't shake.

It is true that the eruption was huge, huge... but (the earth) did not tremble.
Because Makian island’s earth is hard. So much so that they made its name Mt. Keibesi [Keibesi is the name of the mountain on Makian island. Besi is Malay for iron; kei is Ternatan for mountain].

Malai yase... gunung ni llo... ada talaga.
Malai ya-se gunung ni llo ada talaga
then up-ESS mountain 3sg.POSS inside exist lake

So up there... inside the mountain... there was a lake

Woya ni mlongan... ni dalam... ya tujuh meter.
Woya ni mlongan ni dalam ya tujuh meter
water 3sg.POSS deep POSS deep REC seven meter

The depth of the water... its depth was seven metres.

Tapi.. oras ne.. ni woya te-do. Yapyap nton do.. Duga
tapi oras ne ni woya te-do yap yap n-ton do Duga
but time PROX 3sg.POSS water NEG-REAL ash 3sg=cover REAL only

misili-misili.
misili-misili
little-little

But now... there’s no more water. Ash has covered it. There’s just a little left.

Tapi... nganco-nganco... akan ni woya nmul
tapi nganso-nganso akan ni woya n=mul
but long.time-long.time will[Malay] 3sg.POSS water 3sg=return

But, after a long time the rain will return.

Bobokno... dukon Taba... hawal... hayo
bo-bo-ak-no dukon Taba ha=wal ha=yo
formerly-formerly-ALL-there eruption Makian CLASS=eight CLASS=ten

haso do
ha=so do
CLASS=one REAL

From way back in the past... Makianese eruptions... eight times... ten times already.
harta. Manusia l=mot te.

harta manusia l=mot te.

property people 3pl=die NEG

So... over there... on the western side... up there... on the western side. Everything was completely shattered. Everything was completely broken. Completely shattered. Completely broken. Houses. Property. People didn’t die.

Karna.. taplod tehu... manusia loas do.
karna ta-plod te-hu manusia l=oas do

because DETR-erupt NEG-CONT people 3pl=flee REAL

Because, before the mountain erupted, people had already fled.

Malai waktu dukon. okik appo... niwi... ai... ai n=mot dumik...

Malai waktu dukon okik ap-po niwi... ai... ai n=mot dumik
then time eruption finish ALL-down coconut tree tree 3sg=die be.complete

ai me tam tendedo. Niwi.. n=mot... ada ni oik
ai me t=am te-do niwi n=mot ada ni oik

Because, before the mountain erupted, people had already fled.

Then, after the eruption had finished... coconuts... trees... the trees were all dead... the trees, we couldn’t see them any more. The coconuts were dead, and only a few [a half of a half] were left.

Malai... yapyap um ni llo ya.. mlongan tane.

Malai yapyap um ni llo ya mlongan ta-ne
then ash house 3sg.POSS inside REC deep SIM-PROX

Then... the ash inside the houses... it was deep like this [showing depth with gesture]

Ndadi boa hataosak tahate... boa hataosak

Ndadi boa ha-ta-osak tahate boa ha-ta-osak
so door CAUS-DETTR-open-APPL impossible door CAUS-DETTR-open

tahate do.. Janela hataosak tahate.. male t=akal...
tahate do janela ha-ta-osak tahate male t=sakal
be.impossible REAL window CAUS-DETTR-open-APPL impossible must 1pl.incl=smash

Polo t=ung um li... boa me taosak tahate
polo t=sung um li boa me t=ha-osak impossible
if 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door well 1pl.incl=CAUS-open-APPL impossible
So, doors just couldn't be opened with anything... doors just couldn't be opened with anything... windows couldn't be opened with anything... we had to smash them... if we entered a house... well we couldn't open the doors with anything... we had to smash them.

All the roofing iron was smashed. Usually, just the frame of the house was left. No-one died.

As far as Ngofakiaha here is concerned... it was smashed up, but not so bad.

So, the villages of Makian here, here on Makian island were all broken. Only Kota and Mailoa villages were not ruined... Only two villages that weren't ruined.

And the stuff in the houses that we had run from and left behind... it was completely lost.
But over there on the western side of Makian, the stuff inside the houses... that had been left behind... That was completely ruined. Ash covered it completely.

If you saw this John, you'd be astonished. But... when you've gone gone to Ternate and returned, then we'll go and take a look. We'll walk and look.

Me and my wife... we fled to Moti. Our stuff wasn't lost.. because... I had my boat.

This, well I took this to Moti too. These chairs I took to Moti as well. Then (later) I brought them back. I returned with them.
Anyway, here in Ngofakiaha... on top of the roofing iron... the ash was thick... It was as thick as this [making gesture]

Malai... ulan... ulan kwat... malai... ntok... ndok
Malai ulan ulan kwat malai n=tobi-k n=dod-ak
then rain rain EMPH then 3sg=land-APPL 3sg=ask-APPL

Then... rain fell... really heavy rain. Then... it landed (with the ash). It asked (for our houses and wealth) with that ash.

Gunung nmeletus tehu...
Gunung n=meletus te-hu
mountain 3sg=erupt NEG-CONT

npe panas... halu.
3sg=make hot CLASS=two

The mountain didn’t erupt again... between the mountain erupting... and not erupting again [the period spent on Moti before returning to Makian again] there were two hot [dry] seasons.

Ndadi... polo... ngan... ngan pait cilhu pa thol... Turus pala
Ndadi polo ngan ngan pait sis=lu pa (sis)=tol turus pala
so if sun sun month CLASS=two or (CLASS)=three then nutmeg
coklat cengke mati...
coklat cengke mati
cocoa cloves die

So... if... there is sun... if there’s only sun [i.e. no rain] for two or three months... then nutmeg, cocoa, cloves... they all die.

Polo ngan pait cilhu pa thol... berarti... cengke... pala
Polo ngan pait sis=lu pa (sis)=tol berarti cengke pala
if sun month CLASS=two or (CLASS)=three means cloves nutmegs
coklat... ngnge... nmot dumik... Polo nmot do... manusia tit
coklat ngnge n=mot dumik polo n=mot do manusia tit
cocoa canarium 3pl=die be.complete if 3sg=die REAL people 1pl.incl
tamolam.
t=amolam
1pl.incl=hungry
If there is just sun for two or three months, that means that cloves, nutmeg, cocoa, canarium all die. If they die, then people, we go hungry.

Malai ni woso ahad... halu... ulan kwat... turus ni kihis
Malai ni woso ahad ha=lu ulan kwat turus ni kihis so 3sg.POSS side week CLASS=two rain be.strong then 3sg.POSS flood

ncopang. Ni sso... lahar midin.
n=sopang ni sso lahar midin 3sg=descend POSS name lava be.cold

So, anyway, after two weeks there was heavy rain... then the flood came down. It's called lava cold.

Turus nhan akla... ncopang akla... ncakal um... kihis ni likso
turus n=han ak-la n=sopang ak-la n=sakal um kihis ni likso direct 3sg=go ALL-sea 3sg=descend ALL-sea 3sg=smash house flood 3sg.POSS edge

Ndodak um nyoa yo halu lo lomo no-ge kihis Gorup
n=dod-ak um nyoa yo ha=lu lo lomo no-ge kihis Gorup 3sg=ask-APPL house almost ten CLASS=two and other there-ESS flood Gorup

ya... kihis Walo mai... Dalam mai... ndodak um nak
ya kihis Walo mai Dalam mai n=dod-ak um nak REC flood Walo also Dalam also 3sg=ask-APPL house also

Then it went seawards. It descended towards the sea. It smashed houses... the edges of the flood. It claimed over twenty houses there in Gorup, the flood did.in Walo also... in Dalam it also claimed houses.

Malai... pamarinta.. notik... bantuan... bantuan.. Termasuk Australi Australi
Malai pamarinta n=ot-ik bantuan bantuan termasuk Australi Australia then government 3sg=take-APPL help help including Australia Australia

mai nbantu... Nbantu pakean. Pamarinta notik... nghon.. notik
mai n=bantu 3sg=help pakean pamarinta n=ot-ik ng-hon n=ot-ik well 3sg=help 3sg=help clothes government 3sg=catch-APPL NOM-eat 3sg=get-APPL

udam... aah.. jaminan untuk masyarakat.. loas dukon.
udam aah jaminan untuk masyarakat l=oas dukon medicine aah welfare for people 3pl=flee eruption

Then... the government gave help... help.. Including Australia. Australia helped too... Australia gave clothes. The government gave... food.. it gave medicine... aah... welfare for the people who had fled the eruption.

Malai ada.. pamarinta.. polisi tentara... lwom Oik de manusia
Malai ada pamarinta polisi tentara l=wom oik de manusia then exist government police army 3pl=come lest RES people
Ahmad ni carita dukon 'Ahmad's eruption story' (narrative)

lnakal... lagah... ada maleo-maleo.
l=nakal l=ha-gah ada maleo-maleo
3pl=misbehave 3pl=CAUS-theft and other-other

Then there was the government... the police and the army came. To ensure that people did not misbehave... steal... and other stuff.

Noma noma... turus.. manusia lwom.. keluarga pso nwom
no-ma no-ma turus manusia l=wom keluarga p-so n=wom
there-VEN there-VEN direct people 3pl=come family CLASS-one 3sg=come

nanti nlah nlah
nanti n=lah n=lah
day 3sg=grow 3sg=grow

From one place and another then, people came, one family came. Then it grew and it grew.

Indadi dukon ne... taun halim do.
indadi dukon ne taun ha=lim do
thus eruption PROX year CLASS=five REAL

So the eruption... it was five years ago.

Galmumit.. galmumit.. turus manusia lam ya nol.. nol. Manusia Keten..
galmumit galmumit turus manusia l=am ya nol nol manusia Keten
dark dark direct people 3pl=see REC nothing nothing people Moti

Tafaga... lhan lama laoblak.... manteri bidan lwom wolat
Tafaga l=han la-ma l=ha-obVl-ak manteri bidan l=wom wolat
Tafaga 3pl=go sea-VEN 3pl=CAUS-call-APPL nurse midwife 3pl=come sea

halaim.. lam nol.
halaim l=am nol
middle 3pl=see nothing

It was dark... so dark... and what the people could see of it... was nothing. People from Tafaga village on Moti... they came in from seawards and they called out to us... a midwife... she came as far as out there at sea. She couldn’t see anything.

Turus manusia lkiu... Manusia layok... dumik... Lalhod po lo
turus manusia l=kiu manusia l=ayok dumik l=alhod po lo
so people 3pl=scared people 3pl=cry be.complete 3pl=run down where

li e. Aunak tedo.
li e a=unak te-do
LOC FOC 1pl.excl=know NEG-REAL

So, the people were scared... people cried.. all of them. They ran just anywhere. We didn’t have a clue.
Then we remembered... safe areas... safe areas. Aah... Gitan, Kiowor, Matantengin, Sanagapati. Then, people they told other people to go... all of them... They all went down... Adult, baby, small child, adult, old person... they all went.

The next day... no... already that night... that night... some had already fled. Including Rabudayo. Those people had fled to Moti.

The next day... no... already that night... that night... some had already fled. Including Rabudayo. Those people had fled to Moti.
Others... other people there... others... those other people... until the next day at three o’clock. The next day at three o’clock... then the government assistance came. They came... with motorised ships... ships... Japanese wood ships... lots of them... lots of them. They came... This transport... Lots and lots of them... help... ships... ships... The Japanese came too.

Whatever... they unloaded whatever... they unloaded whatever... husband, wife, we didn’t know... The husband on Moti... the wife on Halmahera... the husband on Halmahera... the wife on Moti...

We looked for each other... we looked for each other... then we met each other... we cried and hugged each other and cried... We were distressed about our beloved children... we were distressed over the beloved babies and small children this high... and over the old people who couldn’t walk any more.

Makian back then... at the time of the eruption... it was perilous sacrifice.
When we couldn’t see anything then... that... was Sunday night. The next day was Monday. Then... it was erupting here... and the people from Moti had all fled too.

People from Halmahera also ran... they ran up... the mountain... to the mountains.

In all the villages close to Makian... everyone ran for the mountains.

They were so scared lest.. Makian here, Makian island here.. would sink... and then the water would rise... They were scared lest it sink... so they ran up into the mountains.

So then... all of our goats and chickens... goats and chickens... we had run off and left all of them behind... So just whoever.. whoever came.. could have slaughtered whatever they wanted to.
The cocoa was ripe, the clove trees were old, the kanarium was old, the nutmeg was old too. We left all of it behind! Because we just ran off.

But... what I've just been talking about... it was all God's plan

Mere mortals... we can't understand.

But... praise be to the Lord that there was still some stuff left behind.

Later... some of us who had returned here... and we found this stuff again... then... we collected it so that it could be eaten and drunk. Thanks to God.

Malai... ane da... sunyi do... manusia kurang do... manusia kurang do... then here REM quiet REAL people less REAL people less REAL

loas l=tongo... kecamatan kecamatan maleo li do... ndadi ane sunyi

So... here (on Makian)... it’s quiet now... there are less people now... they all fled to live... in other districts now... so it’s quiet here.

Lloci te-do... tapi ttoban polo.. nganco lo nganco... akan
lloci te-do tapi ttoban polo nganco lo nganco akan
a lot NEG-REAL but 1pl.incl=wait when sun-rise and sun-rise will

manusia lloci.. sama lo bo.
manusia lloci sama lo bo
people many same as formerly

Not many people any more. But if we wait... for a long time... there will be lots of people... the same as before.

Ni pamarinta te... Tapi.. aman... maka yat masure.. Ncol
ni pamarinta te tapi aman maka yat masure nsol
POSS government NEG but safe RECIP carry good be.wrong

maka haluso
maka ha-lusa-o
RECIP CAUS-say-APPL

There’s no government... But... it’s safe... we can look after each other... If something’s bad we tell each other.

Supaya... tantub lai mo ya.. birahi.
supaya t-antub lai mo ya birahi
in order that 1pl.incl-live just back REC good

So that... the way we live I’ve just been talking about... it’s good.

Mot oik lo le! Pupuma male tanong tatut
mot oik lo le pupuma male t=ha-nong t=ha-tut
die leave.behind IMP only what if must 1pl.incl=CAUS-quarrel 1pl.incl=CAUS-hit

aah... Mot oik lo le!
aah mot oik lo le
aah die leave.behind IMP only

Just leave it alone! What if we have to quarrel and fight, aah... just leave it alone!

Hasole da manusia tit tatur... Tatur hio.. e de
hasole da manusia tit t=atur t=atur hia-o e de
all REM people 1pl.incl 1pl.incl=plan 1pl.incl=plan be.good-APPL FOC RES
hio.. tatur lekto e de lekto.
hibia o t=atur lekat-o e de lekto-o
be.good-APPL 1pl.incl=plan be.bad-APPL FOC RES be.bad-APPL
That’s the way us people aim to do things... If we plan for good to happen for others, that means that good will happen to us. If we plan for bad to happen to others, that means bad will happen to us.
## Text Two: (description & instructions)

**Sedi ada baku**

(Garden shelters and sago)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sedi</th>
<th>ne</th>
<th>dumik</th>
<th>tesu...</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>kalah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>dumik</td>
<td>te-su</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>k=halah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garden.shelter</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>be.complete</td>
<td>NEG-CONT</td>
<td>must</td>
<td>lsg=CAUS-top.up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni</th>
<th>yotas</th>
<th>yase</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>Ni</th>
<th>yotas</th>
<th>Idia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>yotas</td>
<td>ya-se</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>yotas</td>
<td>i-dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.POSS</td>
<td>k.o.leaf</td>
<td>up-ESS</td>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>3sg.POSS</td>
<td>k.o.leaf</td>
<td>DEM-DIST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This sedi isn’t finished yet... I still have to top up its thatch on top there. Its thatch. That (is its thatch).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ine</th>
<th>sedi</th>
<th>ne...</th>
<th>Ine</th>
<th>ai...</th>
<th>Odo...</th>
<th>ine...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-ne</td>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>i-ne</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>odo</td>
<td>i-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM-PROX</td>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>DEM-PROX</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>on. the other hand</td>
<td>DEM-PROX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**balul**

balul no-ge
bamboo there-ESS

This is a sedi... this is wood... On the other hand this... this is bamboo.. over there.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hola</th>
<th>ai</th>
<th>bo...</th>
<th>malai</th>
<th>tpeik</th>
<th>saisua...</th>
<th>Saisua</th>
<th>okik...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hola</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>malai</td>
<td>t=pe-ik</td>
<td>saisua</td>
<td>saisua</td>
<td>okik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>1pl.incl=make-APPL</td>
<td>posts</td>
<td>posts</td>
<td>be.finished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First we get lengths of wood... then... we make posts with them... once the posts are finished... we dig... then we bury the posts into the ground... then... this... the width-wise beam... the width wise beam... the bed’s width-wise beam.

Once the length-wise beam is finished, then we build on up higher... we build the platform... build the platform, then we call that platform the bed. Aah, Aah, you asked John whether you had finished making the bed or not... It’s finished.
Indadi ine... nhan appo... saisua nak... Saisua... saisua
indadi i-ne n=han ap-po saisua nak saisua saisua
so DEM-PROX 3sg=go ALL-down post also posts posts
dongat. saisua um...
dongat saisua um
platform posts house

So this, what’s going down.. it’s also a post.. posts. There are platform posts.. house posts.

Saisua um ine... dongat ine.
saisua um i-ne dongat i-ne
post house DEM-PROX platform DEM-PROX

This is a house post.. this a platform one.

Malai saisua um ni tattubo... ine... hahom...
Malai saisua um ni tattubo i-ne hahom
then posts house 3sg.POSS NOM.up DEM-PROX roof-beam

Nhan akla ada hahom.. ine me hahom.. idia me
n=han ak-la ada hahom i-ne me hahom i-dia me
3sg=go ALL-sea exist roof-beam DEM-PROX also roof-beam DEM-DIST also

hahom... Yase yama idia.. pungan.
hahom ya-se ya-ma i-dia pungan
roof-beam up-ESS up-VEN DEM-DIST ridge-pole

Then on top of the house posts, these are the roof beams. These things extending out seawards, these are roof beams. This here is a roof-beam too, and that there is also a roof-beam... Coming down from up there.. that’s the ridge-pole.

Ngan iso John nwom ya... yak kalusa kso
ngan i-so John n=wom ya yak k=ha-lusa k=so
day CLASS-one John 3sg=come REC 1sg 1sg=CAUS-say 1sg=climb

pungan ya... pope um li ya... Kso ine ane.
pungan ya po-peum li ya k=so i-ne ane
ridge-pole REC down-ESS houseLOC REC 1sg=climb DEM-PROX here

One day when you came around John... I said ‘I’m climbing the ridge-pole’... down at the house... I climbed this here.

Odo ine tco tahates... Tco e
odo i-ne t=so tahates t=so e
on the other hand DEM-PROX 1pl.incl=climb impossible 1pl.incl-climb FOC

taobat tit...
t=ha-obat tit
1pl.incl=CAUS-sore 1pl.incl
On the other hand we can’t climb this... Climb it and we’ll do ourselves some damage.

And this... it’s bamboo too... with its own name too... it’s called... aah... the ridge-pole beam... that... the ridge-pole beam.

This is its thatch... its thatch... then the ‘tapa’, this, if we make it like that, it’s called ‘tapa’. thatch ‘tapa’. So, John, you ask... ‘what’s that you’re making?’... I’m bundling up thatch into pieces. I’m using them to make... a garden house... or I’m using them to make a sedi... ‘Where?’... In the gardens... in the forest... The same as this... its thatch.
On a house, it’s also thatch, we use it to make houses... houses like those by the beach... a
house... if it’s in the forest... it’s a sedi.

On the other hand, just before, over there in the bananas... only a half, you know? That’s
a ‘tenti’. A ‘tenti’ in the bananas. If it’s like this it’s a sedi. With a ridge-pole. That’s
called a ‘sedi’... But if it’s only half a structure... it’s a ‘tenti’... like that.

But I haven’t found any thatch for it yet so I haven’t finished making it yet.

This is sago... sago... ‘sagu’... then this is pandanus... aah pandanus.

Pandanus here, it doesn’t have any fruit, any flesh.. Only its leaves: we gather the
leaves and use them to make houses... aah... pandanus.
Sedi ada baku 'Garden shelters and sago' description & instructions

Ine Botan... ada Keten le... Tapi Tab e... te... Aah
i-ne Botan ada Keten le tapi Tab e te aah
DEM-PROX Halmahera and Moti only but Makian FOC NEG aah

polo baku e ada... Pope e de Ahmad lo John lhan
polo baku e ada po-pe e de Ahmad lo John l=han
if sago FOC exist down-ESS FOC RES Ahmad and John 3pl=go

lyos li ya... Adia ada... odo ine... Taba
l=ys li ya a-dia ada odo i-ne Taba
3pl=swim LOC REC LOC-DIST exist on the other hand DEM-PROX Makian

e te... Duga Keten... Payahe... Adia ada...
e te Duga Keten Payahe a-dia ada
FOC NEG only Moti Payahe LOC-DIST exist

This is only (from) Halmahera and Moti... but not from Makian... Aah, but as for sago, there is sago here. Down there where Ahmad and John went swimming you know... there is sago there... but as for this... not on Makian... only Moti.. Payahe... There’s pandanus there.

Odo baku e ton hu... Tapi ine ni
Odo baku e ton hu tapi i-ne ni
on the other hand sago FOC l=pl.incl=eat CONT but DEM-PROX 3sg.POSS

sapo aon te... Odo ine ni wokno.
sapo a=on te Odo i-ne ni wokno
fruit l=pl.excl=eat NEG as for this DEM-PROX 3sg.POSS flesh

tpakat bakan-bakan sama lo ai ne. Tpakat... okik
t=pl.incl=split be.big-be.big same as wood PROX l=pl.incl=split be.finished

malai... tcaki... Tcaki okik malai
malai t=saki t=saki okik malai
then l=pl.incl=pound be.finished then

tlomas... Tlomas okik malai
t=pl.incl=pound okik malai
1pl.incl-force.water.through be.finished then

tbitta... Tbitta okik turus tcor... turus ton
t=bita t=bita okik turus t=sor turus t=on
1pl.incl=wrap 1pl.incl=wrap be.finished directly 1pl.incl=bake directly 1pl.incl=eat

As for sago, we eat it all the time. But this stuff’s fruit, we don’t eat it at all. On the other hand, this stuff’s flesh [sago], we split it... really big, big just like this piece of wood here. Once we’ve split it, then we pound it. When we’ve finished pounding it, then we force water through it. After we’ve forced water through it we wrap it up. Once we’ve wrapped it, then we bake it, then we eat it.
Then we make bapeda with it, you know? So there’s a lot to say about sago...

We pound it... but first we chop it... when we’ve chopped it... we split it... Once we’ve split it then we pound it... Once we’ve pounded it... there’s its residue too... we put that in a sack... We push water through it...

Aah... once we’ve forced water through it then we wrap it.

Aah... the place this is done is called a ‘gotir’. The same as this canoe... the place this is done is called a ‘gotir’. But the canoe already has a ‘body’ on it... Then we clean it out then we use it to make (sago)... the same as this canoe.
Sedi ada baku 'Garden shelters and sago' description & instructions

ne... Kadut... Ine da aah... Ni sso baku...
ne kadut i-ne da aah ni sso baku

PROX sack DEM-PROX DIST aah 3sg.POSS name sago

Untuk baku... ni manitap dobo...
untuk baku ni manitap dobo

for sago 3sg.POSS work lots

For forcing water through it, we use this sack here... a sack... this here... aah.. it's called sago.. for (making) sago... there's an awful lot of work...

Malai polo... tosak ni wokno odo.. ada ni sso...
Malai polo t=osak ni wokno odo ada ni sso
then if 1pl.incl=open 3sg.POSS flesh not.necessary exist 3sg.POSS name

Tpe lepa... Tpe lepa okik.. malai
t=pe lepa t=pe lepa okik malai
1pl.incl=make sago.wrapping 1pl.incl=make sago.wrapping be.finished then

tasipang... Tasipang... tgonon ni
Tpe lepa... Tasipang... tgonon
1pl.incl=CAUS-take.from.wrapping 1pl.incl=CAUS-unwrap 1pl.incl=place 3sg.POSS

ggowo li dia... Tgono ni ggowo li dia okik...
ggowo li dia t=gonon ni ggowo li dia okik
place LOC DIST 1pl.incl=place 3sg.POSS place LOC DIST be.finished

gamos... malai tpe ulang haso nak... Tbitta haso
gamos malai t=pe ulang ha=so nak t=bitta ha=so
dry then 1pl.incl=make repeat CLASS=one again 1pl.incl=wrap CLASS-one

nak... Atom li ya... Bakboka masure do...
nak Atom li ya Bakboka masure do
again tube LOC REC circle good REAL

Then if we don't have to open it up, that has a name too. We make lepa (a wrapping). When we’ve made lepa then we take it out of the wrapping. When we take it out of its wrappin we put it in its place there. Once we’ve done that, we dry it. then we do it all one more time... We wrap it again... In the tube... then it’s in beautiful circles.

Polo gamos... manganco mai lekat te... Gamos hu.. malai woya
Polo gamos manganco mai lekat te gamos hu malai woya
when dry long.time then bad NEG dry CONT then water

nantobi... turus kaklida idia e... bulang masure nak...
n=han-tobi turus kaklida i-dia e bulang masure nak
3sg=INCH-f all then hard DEM-DIST FOC white good again

Tpeik baku nak... Indadi ni sso baku...
Tpeik baku nak indadi ni sso baku
1pl.incl=make-APPL sago again so 3sg.POSS name sago
When it’s dry, then it won’t go off for a long time... while it’s still drying then there’s water falling out of it, then it hardens, it does. It goes a beautiful white again. We use it to make sago again. So, this stuff is called ‘baku’... we make sago with it and we eat it too. When we soak it in hot water, we make bapeda ‘sago porridge’ with it.

As for this here, then it’s only use is to look for its leaves here. But as for this (sago), it has lots of uses. This.
This text is a transcript of a conversation recorded when I produced a bag of plastic fish-baits which I had brought to Makian from Australia while on my second field trip. The conversants are myself (John), a 37 year old Makianese man (Banda) and a 15 year old Makianese youth (Iswan). Both of the Makianese are, like all Makianese, fluent in North Moluccan Malay. Each turn by a new conversant has been numbered from (1) to (49). In the first part of the conversation, the most salient topic is a comparison of which kinds of baits are available in the regional centre of Ternate and which ones I had been able to buy in Australia. At turns (32) and (33) the conversation has been interrupted by young children who are making a lot of noise outside. Following on from this first interruption, the main focus of the conversation is on figuring out how the baits should be attached to fishing lines and used. Finally, the conversation is interrupted again by the same unruly children at line (49).

As this text illustrates natural conversation, there are a number of places where false starts, etc. have resulted in incomplete clauses being uttered, and in one or two places, less than perfect Taba grammar.

1. Banda  

   Ine...  John  mtua  lawe?
   i-ne  John  m= tua  la-we
   DEM-PROX John  2sg=buy  sea-ESS

   ‘These, did you buy them in Australia John?’
2. John  
Ole.
ole
yes
‘Yes.’

3. Banda  
Berarti, pope te i-ne lwagik pope
berarti po-pe te i-ne l=wag-ik po-pe
means down-ESS NEG 3sg-PROX 3pl=sell-APPL down-ESS

mai te mai? Berarti barang ne mahal John.
mai te mai berarti barang ne mahal John
though NEG though means goods PROX expensive John

‘That means not in Ternate. They sell these down in Ternate, though don’t they? That means these things were expensive John.’

4. Iswan  
Hapu e htuae?
ha-pu e h=tua e
CAUS-what(how.much) FOC 2pl=buy FOC

How much did they cost to buy?

5. John  
Kmalingak.... Ntonololan?
k=maling-ak Ntonololan¹
Isg=forget-APPL lizard

‘I forget... Is this a lizard?’

6. Banda  
Ntonololan.
Ntonololan
lizard

‘It’s a lizard.’

7. John  
Ole.
ole
yes
‘Yes.’

8. Banda  
Ntonololan idia.
ntonololan i-dia
lizard DEM-DIST

‘That’s a lizard.’

9. Iswan  
Ine ya pu? Ya pu da ine da?
l-ne ya pu ya pu da i-ne da
DEM-PROX REC what REC what DIST DEM-PROX DIST

¹ Ntonololan is a compound, n-tono.lolan, literally ‘it watches the road.’
Ine ya pu ne?

DEM-PROX REC what PROX

‘What’s this? What’s that one there? What’s this one?’


Saisuak Ekh te
squad Ekh NEG

‘It’s a squid. Ekh! No.’

11. Iswan Saisuak te. Idia saisuak do.

Saisuak te i-dia saisuak do
squad NEG DEM-DIST squid REAL

‘It’s not a squid. That one’s a squid.’


Saisuak te
squad NEG

‘It’s not a squid.’

13. Iswan Ine lape masure kwat... Ine kolai...

DEM-PROX 3p=CAUS-make good EMPH DEM-PROX snake

i-ne te i-ne ya pu da? Ine ya

DEM-PROX NEG DEM-PROX REC what DIST DEM-PROX REC

pu ne John?

pu ne John
what PROX John

‘They’ve made these great. This is a snake. This isn’t. What is this one there?
What’s this thing John?’


k=unak te
1sg=know NEG

‘I don’t know.’
15. Banda *Ya pu da e?*
   ya pu da e
   REC what DIST FOC
   ‘What’s that?’

16. John *Ya pu?*
   ya pu
   REC what
   ‘What?’

17. Iswan *Ine.*
   i-ne
   DEM-PROX
   ‘This.’

   i-ne
   DEM-PROX
   ‘This.’

19. John *Kunak te... kunak ni sso te.*
   k=unak te k=unak ni sso te
   1sg=know NEG 1sg=know 3sg.POSS name NEG
   ‘I don’t know. I don’t know what it’s called.’

20. Iswan *Lpe lpake kauto.*
   l=pe l=pake kaut-o
   3pl-make 3pl=use insert-APPL
   ‘They use it to stick the bait onto.’

21. Banda *Lawe ine... Ternate te John e?*
   la-we i-ne Ternate te John e
   sea-ESS DEM-PROX Ternate NEG John FOC
   ‘This is from Australia? Not from Ternate, eh John?’

22. John *Ternate te.*
   Ternate te
   Ternate NEG
   ‘Not from Ternate.’

23. Banda *Te.*
   te
   NEG
   ‘No.’
24. Iswan  Lawe.
  la-we
  sea-ESS
  ‘From Australia...’

yang model i-ne suntung aah i-ne ada
REL model DEM-PROX squid aah DEM-PROX exist
  ‘This model here... the squid... They have got this one (in Ternate).’

26. John  Ine ada?
i-ne ada
DEM-PROX exist
  ‘They do have this one?’

27. Banda  Tapi ni model tane te. Ni model
tapi ni model ta-ne te ni model
but 3sg.POSS model SIM-PROX NEG 3sg.POSS model
ine te. Lai kam. Khusus anesi,
i-ne te lai k=am Khusus a-ne=si
DEM-PROX NEG just 1sg=see especially LOC-PROX=PL
lam te dumiksi hu.
l=am te dumik=si hu
3pl=see NEG be.complete=3pl CONT
  ‘But not this sort (of bait). Not this sort. I’ve only just seen this one. People
from here, they’ve never seen this sort, any of them.’

ole
yes
  Yes.

lai John n=wom-ak ne
just John 3sg=come-APPL PROX
  ‘Until now that you’ve just come with it, John.’

30. Iswan  Manusia ldodo i dumik
manusia l=dod-o i dumik
people 3pl-ask.for-APPL 3sg be.complete
  ‘People will ask him for them until they’re all gone.’
31. Banda  Polo Idodo  John, hotik  si  oik
  polo  l=dod-o  John  h=ot-ik  si  oik
  if  3pl=ask.for-APPL John  2pl=catch-APPL  3pl  ADMON

  hu.  Dodia.
  hu  do-dia
  CONT  REAL-REM

  'If they ask you for them John... Don't give them to them yet. There.'

32. Iswan  Llebang kwat.
  Llebang kwat
  noise  EMPH

  'What a huge noise!'

33. Banda  Kurang ajar e! Ahmad lwom malai, kasoak
  kurang ajar e  Ahmad  l=wom  malai  k=ha-so-ak
  less  learned  FOC  Ahmad  3pl=come  then  1sg=CAUS-exit-APPL

  si  de  l...
  si  de  l
  3pl  RES  3pl

  'That's totally uncouth! When Ahmad comes... I'll go out with him so that
  he'll....'

34. Iswan  Oh, ine  sithol  ne  sama e? Mai i
  Oh  i-ne  sis=tol  ne  sama  e  mai  i
  Oh  DEM-PROX  CLASS=three  PROX  same  FOC  well  3sg

  bulang ada ya pu? Mai iso  ne  da  malai...
  bulang ada ya pu  mai  i-so  ne  da  malai
  be.white  and  REC  what  well  CLASS-one  PROX  DIST  then

  Ine  t=pake  hasole  hasole  non.  Coba  kam.
  i-ne  t=pake  hasole  hasole  n=on  Coba  k=am
  DEM-PROX  1pl.incl=use  all  all  3sg=eat  try  1sg=see

  'Oh... These three here are the same eh? But we have this one with what? But
  this one there then... We use this one and they'll eat the whole of it. Let me
  see...'

35. Banda  Hsuyo  ine.
  h=suy-o  i-ne
  2pl=touch-APPL  DEM-PROX

  'Touch this.'
Ola ‘baits’ (conversation) 447

36. Iswan  
Tck, tck, tck. Lpake bahasa Inggeris... Mai tam  
Tck tck tck l=pake bahasa Inggeris Mai t=am  
Tck tck tck 3pl=use language English but 1pl.incl=see

ni gambar hia...
ni gambar hia
3sg.POSS picture able

Tck... tchk... tchk. They use English! But we can see its picture.

37. Banda  
Ine polo lau ane, ni model ine te  
i-ne polo lau a-ne ni model i-ne te
DEM-PROX if bait LOC-PROX 3sg.POSS model DEM-PROX NEG

‘This, as far as this bait is concerned, its not this model.’

38. Iswan  
Tgono ni sumo ni sumo li hasole  
t=gono ni sumo ni sumo li hasole
1pl.incl=place 3sg.POSS mouth 3sg.POSS mouth LOC all

Om Banda e?  
Om Banda e  
Uncle Banda FOC

We put it into their mouths completely Om Banda, eh?

39. Banda  
Polo untuk yak, masure hasole lau ine.  
polo untuk yak masure hasole lau i-ne
if for 1sg good all bait DEM-PROX

‘As far as I’m concerned... They’re all good, these baits.’

40. Iswan  
Odo ine, ine toh? Ni im,  
Odo i-ne i-ne toh ni im
on.the.other.hand DEM-PROX DEM-PROX isn’t it? 3sg.POSS line

ni im e, tgono ane toh?  
ni im e t=gono a-ne toh
3sg.POSS line FOC 1pl.incl=place LOC-PROX isn’t it?

Tgono ane mai ni awil e  
t=gono a-ne mai ni awil e
1pl.incl=place LOC-PROX well 3sg.POSS hook FOC

tgono i ni halaim ne.  
t=gono i ni halaim ne
1pl.incl=place 3sg 3sg.POSS middle PROX

‘But as for these ones, these ones here? Its line, its line, we put it here, don’t we? We put it in here, its hook, we put it straight through the middle of it here.’
41. Banda  
Tapi, polo untuk yak kanig yakin wolat...  
tapi polo untuk yak k=ha-nig yakin wolat  
but if for 1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg memory sea  

Yan non hia. Ine. Ada seperti suntung, macam  
yan n=on hia i-ne ada seperti suntung macam  
fish 3sg=eat be.good 3sg-PROX and such.as squid type  

suntung. Ine. sithol ne.  
suntung i-ne sis=tol ne  
squid DEM-PROX CLASS=three PROX  
But, if I remember the sea... fish will love eating these. these, and ones like the  
squid... like the squid... these... these three.

42. John  
Ole.  
ole  
yes  
Okay.

43. Iswan  
Ine tpake pu ya do mai ne? Ine  
i-ne t=pace pu ya do mai ne i-ne  
DEM-PROX 1pl.incl=use what REC REAL well PROX DEM-PROX  
do magoro tpake pu ne do ine da.  
do magoro t=pace pu ne do i-ne da  
self be.stretchy 1pl.incl=use what PROX REAL DEM-PROX DIST  

Ngoro i?  
n=goro i  
3sg=stretch 3sg  
‘But this one here, what do we use with this? This elastic one, what do we use  
it with this one there? Is it supposed to stretch?’

44. John  
Kunak te.  
k=unak te  
1sg=know NEG  
I don’t know.

45. Banda  
John pernah npake lawe do... ada e?  
John pernah n=pake la-we do ada e  
John ever 3sg=use sea-ESS REAL with FOC  
‘Have you ever used them in Australia, John? With these?’

46. John  
Tehu. Mai yak kam toko li... kbaﬁkir Banda  
te-hu mai yak k=am toko li k=baﬁkir Banda  
NEG-CONT well 1sg 1sg=see shop LOC 1sg=think Banda
ni    suka    ntohang.
ni    suka    n=tohang
3sg.POSS    like    3sg=try

‘Not yet. But I saw them in the shop, and I thought Banda would like to try them.’

47. Banda Mai    ntuo.
mai    n=tuo
well    3sg=true

That’s true.

48. Iswan Mai    ni    awil    ine    e?
mai    ni    awil    i-ne    e
well    3sg.POSS    hook    DEM-PROX    FOC

‘But its hook is this one here, is it?’

49. Banda Hei!    Alho    ni    sso    ni    do?    Acan?
Hei    alho    ni    sso    ni    do    Acan
Hey!    who    3sg.POSS    name    3sg.POSS    REAL    Acan

Mteklak    soak    i    do!
mtekal-ak    so-ak    i    do
slap-APPL    exit-APPL    3sg    REAL

‘Hey! What’s the name of the person who’s making that noise? Acan? Throw a few slaps at him with something!’
Text Four:  (a riddle)

Nim wwe mhonas...

(Your leg is sore...)

The following text consists of (a) the asking of a riddle, and (b), the explanation of why the author’s response (that he would elect to go to sleep) was the wrong choice.

(a) John ni wwe mhonas... nim wwe n=alus a mhonas.
John 3sg.POSS leg sore... 2sg.POSS leg 3sg=say sick

Nim pappuko me n=alus a mhonas. Bingo namolam.
im pappuko me n=alus a mhonas. Bingo n=amolam.
2sg.POSS knee well 3sg=say sick. Stomach 3sg=hungry

Wlo n=mau n=han Poto po-ge n=mau n=han n=cio-i.
heart 3sg=want 3sg=go anus down-ESS 3sg=want 3sg=go 3sg=shit-3sg

Sumo n=alusa ‘khan’. Mto n=uyak, poyo mhonas, wlo
Sumo n=alusa k=han. Mto n=uyak, poyo mhonas, wlo
mouth 3sg=say 1sg=go eye 3sg-tired head be.sick heart

n=mau n=han... mtumo e loe?
n=mau n=han, m=tumo e lo=e?
3sg=want 3sg=go 2sg=follow FOC where=FOC?

‘John, your leg is sore. Your leg says ‘sick’. Your knee says ‘sick’. Stomach is hungry. Heart wants to go. Anus down there wants to go for a shit. Mouth says ‘I’m going’. Eyes are tired, head is sick, heart wants to go, which do you follow? Anus down there is about to shit itself. Which do you follow?’
'Your anus down there shits itself! John wants to go to sleep while his insides have stopped working. If you go to your girlfriend's place you'll shit your trousers and she'll laugh at us. She won't like it! You have to shit and then go for a walk. Shit our trousers? Crazy!!! If we don't shit our trousers, we'll shit our mattress. Its no good!'