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INTRODUCTION

Eight of the papers of the present volume (those of Father D.G. Arms, René van den Berg, Beatrice Clayre, Donna Evans, Nikolaus Himmelmann, Paul R. Kroeger, Ülo Sirk and Hein Steinhauer) were original contributions to the Sixth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (6ICAL), held in Honolulu from 20 to 25 May 1991. Two others (those of Barbara Friberg and Aone van Engelenhoven) are direct offsprings of their 6ICAL contributions. All papers deal with morphological problems in non-Oceanic Austronesian languages.

Father Arms' contribution is a synchronic description of the verbal system of Sindangan Subanen, a focus-type language from Central Mindanao (Philippines). Paul Kroeger deals with a similar type of language (Kimarangang Dusun from Sabah, Malaysia). In his contribution Kroeger shows that in addition to a focus-marking system, Kimarangang Dusun also marks the argument which is presented as Undergoer of the action in the given situation. Such a system could well be a transition to a Malay-like system, in which the Undergoer – non-Undergoer opposition has replaced a former focus system. A synchronic survey of what has remained of the old focus system in the languages of Borneo is presented in the contribution of Beatrice Clayre.

Similar problems are tackled by van den Berg and Himmelmann for languages of Central and Southern Sulawesi (Indonesia). Here the focus system has been replaced to varying degrees by person marking on the verb, in the various languages concerned. In their contributions they each sketch a possible diachronic scenario which explains the current situation. What for Himmelmann is representative of the final stage of his scenario, is for van den Berg the starting point of his. Van den Berg's and Himmelmann's papers are balanced by two synchronic studies of Sulawesi languages. Barbara Friberg's contribution is a detailed description of the curious behaviour of the person markers in Konjo, a typical representative of the ergativoid languages of South Sulawesi. Donna Evans describes the formation of causatives in Kaili, a language of Central Sulawesi. Sulawesi languages are again prominent in the third diachronic study presented in this volume by Ülo Sirk. It deals with the rise and subsequent development of the verbal suffixes **-i* and **-akən* in Western Austronesian languages.

As a counterpoint to these studies on Western Austronesian languages the volume is supplemented with two papers on languages further east. The paper by van Engelenhoven discusses the intricate matter of syntactic boundary markers in Letinese (Southern Moluccas), dealing in passing with the highly typical phenomenon of morphosyntactic chaining of words, which involves both internal and external metathesis of phonemes. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Second Moluccan Conference, held in Honolulu in 1992.

Similar and related phenomena are the topic of Steinhauer's contribution, which deals with (internal) metathesis and truncation as a regular morphological process in Dawanese, the main language of West Timor (Indonesia).

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CATEGORIES OF THE SINDANGAN SUBANEN VERB

D.G. ARMS

1. INTRODUCTION

The Subanen subgroup of languages spoken in the Zamboanga peninsula of Western Mindanao is an important group in both terms of geographical extent and number of speakers. The subgroup can be divided into: 1) Siocon (Western) Subanen; 2) Lapuyan (Southern) Subanen; 3) Sindangan (Central) Subanen; 4) Tuboy (Northern) Subanen; and 5) Salug (Eastern) Subanen.¹

Not a great deal is available on any of these languages. There is no substantial grammar. Two dictionaries are well advanced however, and a few linguistic articles have been produced. This paper, falling into the latter category, provides an overview and discussion of the basic verbal paradigm for Sindangan Subanen.

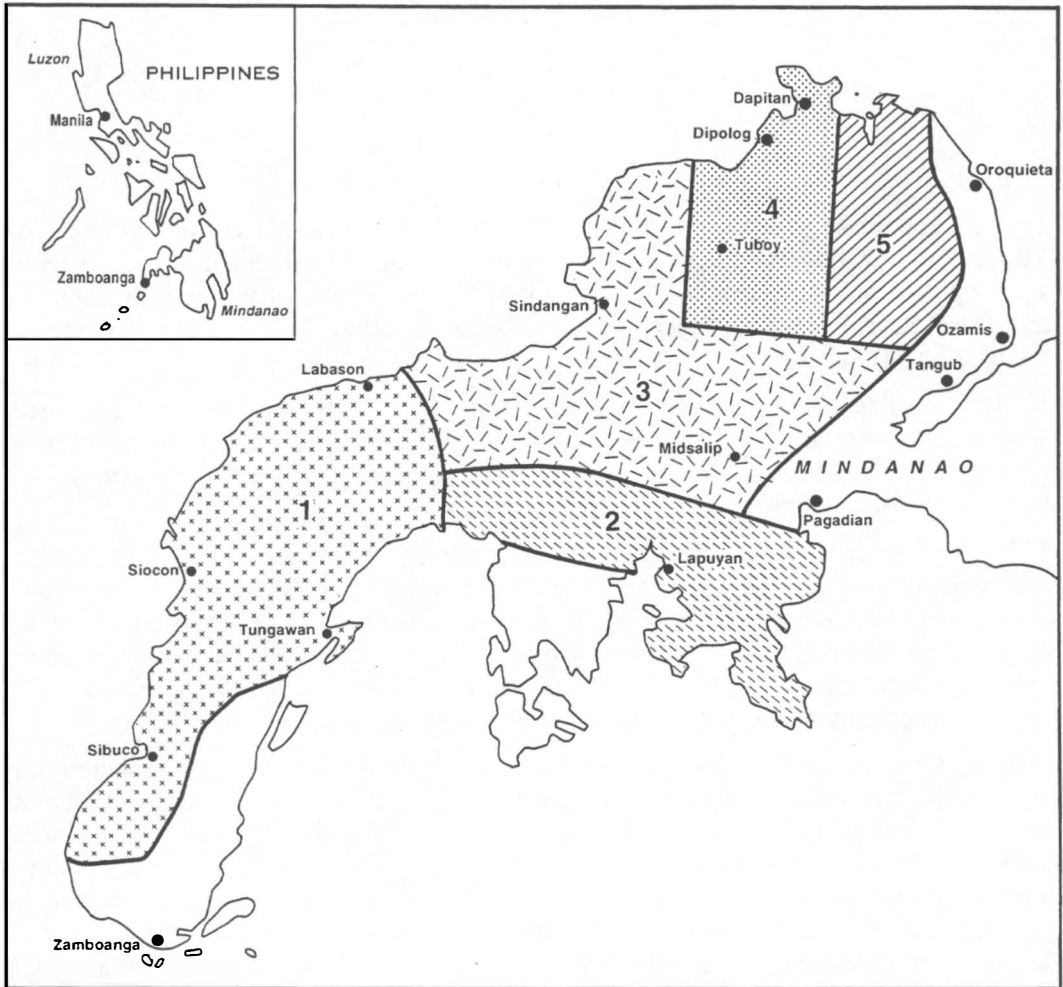
My work with Sindangan Subanen has been of quite limited duration, spanning only a twelve-month period spent in and around the small town of Midsalip,² which is in the south-eastern part of the area in which Sindangan Subanen is spoken. It was not possible for me to do a study of the wider Sindangan area. Judging, however, from casual contact with other Sindangan Subanens and my perusal of some written materials, the grammatical points made here are valid, with only minor variations, for Sindangan Subanen as a whole.

Many Cebuano speakers have migrated into the Sindangan Subanen area, especially in this century, their cultural values and farming methods having a large influence. At first, the Cebuanos were largely confined to the coastal areas, many of the Subanens moving back inland. In the last forty years, logging has contributed greatly to a further influx. As the forests were felled, many Cebuano speakers occupied large areas of the cleared land, penetrating further and further inland. The partial dislodgement of Subanens caused by this has been increased by military operations since the early 1980s. Through force, fear, financial or other pressure, many Subanens have moved from their original land. As a result, the Midsalip area (among others) harbours Subanens from different parts of the Sindangan

¹ The names in parentheses are alternatives for the respective languages (see map). I am indebted to Robert and Felicia Brichoux of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for much of the information on the map and about the different Subanen languages. I am also grateful to them and to Hein Steinhauer for many helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

² I am very grateful to the members of the Catholic parish of Midsalip, and particularly to those involved in the Subanen ministry, for the hospitality and sundry help given to me during my stay in the area. A very special tribute of thanks is due to my chief informant, Mercedes Barcinal (née Tumaras), for her outstanding expertise, enthusiasm, and patience in reflecting on and explaining her language.

Subanen area, and some from outside it. The contact with Cebuano has for its part resulted in many borrowings from Cebuano into Sindangan Subanen.³



MAP: THE SUBANEN LANGUAGES OF THE ZAMBOANGA PENINSULA

2. OVERVIEW OF VERBAL CATEGORIES

The basic categories and subcategories involved in the conjugation of the Subanen verb are as follows:⁴

³ Henceforward 'Subanen' refers to 'Sindangan Subanen' unless context indicates otherwise.

⁴ The phonemes of Subanen are: *a b d e g i k l m n ŋ p r s t u w y*?, though some dialects (distant from Midsalip, and unfamiliar to me) lack the relatively new phoneme /r/. Points to note about the phonology are: /b/ and /d/ are frequently imploded (the conditions for this are beyond the scope of this paper); the sequence *dy* is realised as the affricate [dʒ]; /k/ is a very back velar stop or fricative, or a pharyngeal fricative [ħ]; /e/ is a high-mid central unrounded vowel [ɨ]. There has been slight variation over the years in writing Subanen. Points to note about the orthography used in this paper (as distinct from most Subanen publications) are: [r] will always be written as /r/ even though for morphophonemic reasons it

Focus	Agent	-um-
	Patient	-en/Ø
	Location	-an
	Instrument	Ø
Tense	Future	Ø
	Past	-in-
	Infinitive	(retention, modification or loss of focus affixes)
Causation	Ordinary	Ø
	Ordinary/Mediate	pe-
	Mediate	pepe-
Number	Simple	Ø
	Multiple	(pe)ŋ/-em-
Aspect	Punctual	Ø
	Durative	peg-
Mood	Volitional	Ø
	Potential	me-

It will be noted that each of the above categories has a morphologically unmarked (zero) subcategory. I have named these subcategories in accordance with the contrastive meaning usually attributed to them. However, the lack of formal marking does suggest an analysis whereby the zero forms are regarded as meaning simply 'not the other(s)', (e.g. 'non-potential' (rather than 'volitional') for aspect). A stronger claim would be that the zero forms are actually semantically unmarked for the category in question, for example, what is termed punctual above for aspect really makes no distinction between punctual and durative but is usable for either. This claim is generally true for number, but hardly for the other categories, though some usages suggest that this may once have been the case. The way aspect is employed, for example, is hard to explain, and instrument focus covers a mixed bag of relationships (see §10).

Some additional verbal categories will be treated briefly in §9.⁵

could be interpreted as a conditioned allophone of /d/ in most cases; /ŋ/ and /ŋ/ are written with those symbols, and not with the symbols *ng* and *ŋ*; /ŋ/ is conventionally not written before vowel-initial words as it is mostly predictable there – however, its absence (in the very limited set of vowel initial 'clitics') is indicated with a reverse apostrophe, `.

⁵ The reader is likely to find it useful to consult the Appendix regularly from this point on, for the paradigms it contains illustrate most of the descriptions given.

3. FOCUS

The four focuses⁶ of Subanen and their respective morphemes are as follows:

Agent	-um-
Patient	-en (or $\emptyset$)
Location	-an
Instrument	$\emptyset$

We will first consider what happens phonologically when these morphemes are attached to verbs, and then briefly consider their functions.

3.1 AGENT FOCUS -um-

The agent focus infix, -um-, is inserted before the first vowel (V) of a verb stem. Thus *tawag* 'call' plus -um- gives *tumawag*. An additional rule applies, however, to stems beginning with *p*, *b* or a vowel:⁷

Rule 1: $\left. \begin{array}{l} pV \\ bV \\ V \end{array} \right\} \dots + \text{-um-} \Rightarrow mV\dots$

Thus from *putuk* 'cut', *baba* 'carry (on back)', and *ugas* 'wash' we get respectively *mutuk*, *maba*, *mugas*, not **pumutuk*, **bumaba*, **umugas*. This rule is very important for understanding the form taken by the prefixes *peg-*, *pekig-* (see §9.1), *peŋ-*, and in some cases *pe-*, in agent focus. What at first sight seem like special agent forms for these prefixes (*meg-*, *mekig-*, *meŋ* and *me-*) are simply the result of applying the above rule. For example, taking the verb *bali*? 'break (elongated object)' in agent focus durative aspect, we get:

-um- + *peg-* + *bali*? $\Rightarrow$ -um- + *pegbali*? $\Rightarrow$ *megbali*?

Another rule applies to stems whose first vowel is *e* followed by a consonant (C):⁸

Rule 2: -um- + ...eC... $\Rightarrow$...uuC...

Thus *tendel* 'push' and *desen* 'press down' become *tuundel* and *duusen*.⁹ It is to be noted that Rule 2 applies after Rule 1, for the latter removes certain forms from its domain. Thus from *bekla*? 'split' and *eksip* 'trim' we get *mekla*? and *meksip*, not **buukla*? and **uuksip*.

⁶ Some alternative names for these focuses are:
Actor, Source, Provenient, Nominative (= Agent);
Object, Goal, Inertant, Accusative (= Patient);
Benefactive, Referent, Terminal, Dative (= Location);
Comitative, Accessory, Associative, Ablative (=Instrument).

⁷ 'Stem' is used here as distinct from 'root'. A stem may be a root alone or with affixes. For stems beginning with a vowel, Rule 1 constitutes an example of initial vowel loss – loss of the *u* of the infix which has been forced into initial position. For the other stems, Rule 1 expresses a reduction induced no doubt by the proximity of the bilabial nasal of the infix to the bilabial stop of the stem.

⁸ This rule is optional in dialects near the border of Salug Subanen where it is absent; perhaps also in some other dialects. Regrettably, I will have to employ the vague phrases 'in some dialects' and 'for some speakers' a few times in this paper to cover variants whose geographical extent is unknown to me. The population shift referred to in the Introduction makes dialect identification all the more difficult.

⁹ There is no contrast in Subanen between *u* and *ew*. Phonetically, the sound pronounced usually seems closer to *u* than to *ew*, and that is the way it is conventionally written. It certainly seems preferable to write *u* before a consonant and before itself (*u*), for *w* does not occur there. However, before the vowels *a* and *i* and word finally, *ew* would seem to be the preferable representation. The rules for stress (not treated

Roots beginning with a nasal, and some others, do not conform to the above rules for agent focus. These will be considered in §5.2.

3.2 PATIENT FOCUS -en/Ø

The patient focus suffix occurs in two forms. We will consider here the -en form only. The Ø form will be discussed in §4.2, §4.3.2, §8.2 and §10. The suffix -en, by adding a syllable to the stem, brings about a change to an *a* in the antepenultimate (third to last) syllable if the *a* is followed by a consonant and not preceded by another vowel. In such a case, *a* becomes *e*.¹⁰

Rule 3:
$$\begin{matrix} C \\ \# \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} C \\ \# \end{matrix}} \right\} aC... \implies \begin{matrix} C \\ \# \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} C \\ \# \end{matrix}} \right\} eC... \text{(if the } a \text{ is in third to last syllable)}$$

Therefore, from the roots *basal* 'play gong (with two small sticks)' and *dapi?* 'slap' we get *besalen* and *depi?en*.

In some dialects (including the Midsalip area), roots beginning with the vowel *e* drop their first syllable (or at least the *e*) when -en is appended:

Rule 4: $\#e(C)... \implies \#...$

The verb *ektad* 'slice up' therefore becomes *taren* (or *ktaren*); *ekut* 'scratch' becomes *kuten*.¹¹ This rule applies after Rule 3, such that two-syllable roots beginning with *a* are also affected. The verb *ami?* 'eat with hands', for example, first becomes *emi?en* by Rule 3, then must further change to *mi?en* by Rule 4.

When appended to a stem terminating in a vowel, the vowel of the suffix -en assimilates to that vowel:

Rule 5: $...V + -en \implies ...VVn$

The stems *punditi* 'punch', *lala* 'weave (bamboo, etc.)', and *bayu* 'pound (in mortar)' plus -en become *punditiin*, *lelaan* and *biuun* (that is, *beyuun*, see Rule 3 and fn. 9). A similar rule applies to stems terminating in *aw* or *ay*:

Rule 6:
$$\begin{matrix} ... \\ \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} aw + -en \\ ay \end{matrix} \right. \implies \begin{matrix} ... \\ \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} aun \\ ain \end{matrix} \right.$$

Thus *tunaw* 'melt' and *patay* 'kill' become *tunaun* and *petain*.

in this paper) and Rule 2 function as if the underlying form was indeed *ew*. For example, the verb roots conventionally written as *tuad* 'climb (uphill)' and *luas* 'take off (clothes)' seem at first irregular (*tuuwad* and *luuwas*) in the agent focus forms being discussed here, but if the roots are written instead as *tewad* and *lewas*, the agent focus forms can be seen as following Rule 2 quite regularly. What is said here regarding *u* and *ew* applies correspondingly to *i* and *ey*. Rule 7 is the affected rule in this case, not Rule 2.

¹⁰ Rule 3 is not just a rule for verb formation but a general phonological rule of Subanen. Though there are some forms with antepenultimate *a*, these are comparatively few in number, quite possibly deriving from more recent borrowing or Cebuano influence. Since the canonical form of Subanen words has two syllables, and prefixes typically occur therefore in antepenultimate position, this *a* to *e* rule explains in one go why the prefixes that occur in Cebuano as *ka-*, *ma-*, *pa-*, *pag-*, *paŋ-*, etc. all occur in Subanen with *e*.

¹¹ Such shortening also takes place in the patient imperative (cf. §4.3.2) providing monosyllables (e.g. (*k*)*tad* and *kub*). These monosyllabic forms may also be used for the agent and instrument imperatives.

3.3 LOCATION FOCUS -*an*

The location focus suffix *-an* triggers the same *a* to *e* rule (Rule 3) as *-en*, as well as the same dialect rule (Rule 4). There are no other special features associated with this suffix.

3.4 INSTRUMENT FOCUS Ø

There is no affix for instrument focus in Subanen, the naked stem alone being used (except for verbs beginning with *e* which optionally¹² add a prothetic *g*). The simplest and most probable explanation for this is that the reconstructed Austronesian **iSi-* prefix has been lost (see §10).

The grammar of the four focuses in Subanen is on the whole very similar to their grammar in other Philippine languages.¹³ Below is a contrastive set of examples:¹⁴

- (1) *Sumulat `ug bulpin nug nalan ku di gayu.*¹⁵ [Agent]
 write 1SG.NM pen of.NM name 1SG on NM.tree
 I will write my name on the tree with a pen.
- (2) *Sulaten kug bulpin sug nalan ku di gayu.* [Patient]
 write 1SG.NM pen FM.NM name 1SG on NM.tree
 I will write my name on the tree with a pen.
- (3) *Sulatan kug bulpin nug nalan ku su gayu.* [Location]
 write 1SG.NM pen of.NM name 1SG FM NM.tree
 I will write my name on the tree with a pen.
- (4) *Sulat `u sug bulpin nug nalan ku di gayu.* [Instrument]
 write 1SG FM.NM pen of.NM name 1SG on NM.tree
 I will write my name on the tree with a pen.

Apart from a special use of the patient focus (to be considered in §9.9), the instrument focus is the only one requiring additional comment in this paper.

The instrument focus has a variety of uses in Philippine languages. It may indicate:

¹² For some speakers, at least in the Midsalip area, the option seems to have gone; the prothetic *g* is strongly preferred.

¹³ However, unlike many of these languages, both definite and indefinite noun phrases can, with some limitations, occur in focused or unfocused position in Subanen; cf. Brichoux (1984).

¹⁴ The four examples have been devised for illustrative purposes. It is not usual to have so many roles (cases) in a sentence. Most verbs do not permit it, and for those that do, the resultant sentences often sound awkward.

¹⁵ The following conventions apply in examples:

- The noun-marker *g*, and its phonologically conditioned allomorphs *k*, *d* and *ŋ*, are joined orthographically to the noun or to the preceding word according to common Subanen practice (based on principles of syllabification).
- The noun marker is glossed as NM, the focus marker as FM, and the plural marker as PM; SG (singular), PL (plural), INC (inclusive), EXC (exclusive), and 1, 2 or 3 (first, second or third person) are used for pronouns. The various subcategories that are the subject of this paper are *not* usually glossed (so as to avoid clutter). However, where it is felt desirable, past tense is glossed as PAST, mediate causation as CAUS, number as NUM, durative aspect as DUR, and potential mood as POT.
- Underlining in the translation indicates what is in focus.
- An item in square brackets to the side of an example indicates either the focus, the particular usage or the verb root for that example, as relevant.

- (a) an instrument proper (example (4));
- (b) the 'underlying patient' of a causative verb (example (5));
- (c) the object of a verb of saying (example (6));
- (d) an object directed away from the agent (example (7));
- (e) a verb's 'oblique' relationship to an adjective or noun.¹⁶

- (5) *Pititi?`en dinaan suk sera?.* [titi?]¹⁷
 CAUS.PAST.roast 3SG to.1SG FM.NM fish
 She had me roast the fish.
- (6) *Talu? nilan dini Ampelek lema? su gasal keni.* [talut?]
 say 3PL to Ampelek tomorrow FM NM.story this
 They will tell this story to Ampelek tomorrow.
- (7) *Begay nami riniu suk pilak.* [begay]
 give 1PL.EXC to.2PL FM.NM money
 We'll give you the money.

What is interesting is that some of these functions are absent in Subanen, either because they never developed or have been replaced. The instrumental (a) and the 'underlying patient' (b) uses are in full swing. Usage (c), however, is in free alternation with use of the patient focus (*telu?en* for *talut?* in example (6)). Example (7) contains one of the very few verbs (*bayad* 'pay' is another) that I have found that exclusively employ usage (d) in Subanen. A few others employ it (e.g. *andam* 'prepare', *dagan* 'sell'), but, like the verbs of saying above, in free variation with patient focus. Other verbs which one might expect (on the basis of some other Philippine languages) to employ instrument focus use patient focus instead.¹⁸ Usage (e) employs different grammatical structures, not instrument focus.

4. TENSE

The three tenses¹⁹ of Subanen and their respective morphemes are as follows:

Future	Ø
Past	-in-
Infinitive	(retention, modification or loss of focus affixes)

It can be seen that the future is the unmarked subcategory here. Formally, the infinitive may at times appear more unmarked than the future, due to the dropping of certain focus affixes. Analytically however, the infinitive seems best explained in terms of a process applied to other forms. Of the subcategories listed in §2, it is the only one to operate in this way.

¹⁶ The 'underlying patient' use is clarified in §5.2. The 'oblique' use can be exemplified from Cebuano: *Init rangitrabahu* 'run. 'It is too hot to work.', and *Ikalipay niya ang akung pag-abut*. 'Don't be sad because of his death.'

¹⁷ This is the first instance of square brackets being used to indicate the verb root (see fn. 14).

¹⁸ For example: *betag* 'put', *pidlak* 'throw', *bilin* 'leave behind', *lebeḡ* 'bury', *ated* 'convey', *erek* 'plant (rice)', *sendig* 'lean (something) against', *tengal* 'stick out', *tendu?* 'point'. Instrument focus may be found with such verbs, but in Subanen it is instrument in the literal sense – usage (a), not usage (d). Kerr (1965:25) gives a similar list of verbs for Cotabato Manobo, all employed according to usage (d).

¹⁹ 'Prospective' (or 'action not begun') and 'retrospective' (or 'action begun') might be more accurate names than 'future' and 'past'. The latter commonly used names must be understood in the loose sense in which they are often applied in other Philippine languages. The 'infinitive' might also be termed the 'gerund(ive)', 'participle', 'subjunctive', 'oblique', 'dependent' or 'irrealis'.

4.1 FUTURE

No special comment is required regarding the future. Both future and past tenses function much as in Cebuano and many other Philippine languages. It should be noted that there is also a special present continuous usage. This will be dealt with in §7.2.

4.2 PAST

The past infix *-in-* is inserted before the first vowel of a verb stem, for example, the roots *tai?* 'sew' and *silig* 'sweep' become in instrument focus past tense *tinai?* and *sinilig*. The infix *-um-* is also inserted in this position (see §3.1). When both occur together, *-um-* precedes *-in-*, yielding *-umin-*,²⁰ and it is inserted before Rule 2, where relevant, applies.

Just like the agent focus infix *-um-*, *-in-* gets modified when the first vowel of the stem is *e* followed by a consonant (cf. Rule 2):

Rule 7: *-in- + ...eC... ==> ...iiC...*

The roots *bentul* 'beat (with stick)' *siak* 'split (wood) along grain' (that is, *seyak*, cf. fn. 9), and *ekdak* 'launder' become in instrument focus past tense *biintul*, *siiyak* and *iikdak* (or *giikdak* – verb stems beginning with *i* may take a prothetic *g*). A special point to note is that in location focus, verb roots with penultimate *a* first undergo the *a* to *e* rule (Rule 3), then Rule (7). Thus for *sanduk* 'ladle' we get:

-in- + sanduk + -an ==> -in- + sendukan ==> siindukan

The past tense form of all the prefixes listed in §2 (and their derived *m-* forms, see §3.1) has *i* substituting for the unmarked *e* (yielding *pi-*, *pipe-*, *piŋ-*, *pig-* and *mi-*). Rule 7 of itself is not enough to account for these forms, since it yields *ii*, not *i*. The following additional rule is therefore necessary:

Rule 8: *ii ==> i* (in prefixes)

Though the condition 'in prefixes' may appear ad hoc, it is not unreasonable to posit such vowel reduction in commonly occurring morphemes where difference in vowel length is unlikely to be contrastive.²¹

It is to be noted that the past tense form for patient focus uses the $\emptyset$ allomorph of that focus, not *-en*. Thus from *pusil* 'shoot (with a rifle)' we get the past *pinusil* (not **pinusilen*) as against the future *pusilen*. This will be further discussed in §10.

4.3 INFINITIVE

It is useful to distinguish five uses for the infinitive form in Subanen:

²⁰ The dialect of the Guliktep, Niu Katipunan area (20-30km north of Midsalip) is amazingly free. Provided Rule 1 could not be applied to the *-um-*, these two infixes can occur in either order, with Rules 2 and 7 applying optionally as well (where relevant). From the root *gebek* 'run', therefore, we can get four different forms for 'he ran' (agent focus): *guminebek*, *gumiibek*, *ginumebek* and *ginuubek*.

²¹ Vowel length has a very low functional load in Subanen and, like the vowel diphthongs *ai*, *au*, etc., has generally come about through loss of a medial consonant (particularly *k*, *ʔ* and *h*). More problematic for Rule 8 are the dialects which do not have Rule 7 applying to verb roots. Their prefixes show the same forms in the past tense. However, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Rules 7 and 8 could have applied in these dialects to the prefixes only.

- (a) positive imperative;
- (b) negative imperative;
- (c) negative past;
- (d) dependent on other verbs or adjectives;
- (e) subsequent to preposed adverbials.²²

The different focuses do not quite agree as to which of these are in fact expressed by the infinitive. Nor do they agree as to the process for deriving their respective infinitive forms.

4.3.1 AGENT INFINITIVE

The infinitive in agent focus is formed by dropping the agent infix *-um-*. It consists therefore of the bare stem. It is employed for usages (a) and (b) above, and is the normal and preferred form for usage (c) as well. However, the future form can also be found for (c):

- (8) *Da? ilan lakted* (or *lumakted*). [lakted] [usage (c)]
 not.past 3PL go.direct
They did not go direct.

For usages (d) and (e), the infinitive is *never* used in agent focus, only the future.

4.3.2 PATIENT INFINITIVE

The infinitive in patient focus is formed by changing the *-en* suffix to *-ay*. There is an important exception however: the positive imperative employs the $\emptyset$ allomorph suffix instead and subjects it to no process. In other words, the positive imperative consists of the bare verb stem – just like the agent focus imperative (and the instrument focus imperative, see §4.6):

- (9) *Igin mu sug bukag di dliu.* [igin] [usage (a)]
 push 2SG FM.NM basket to NM.behind
 Push the basket behind (you).

The true patient infinitive (that is, the *-ay* form) is employed for the other usages. However, usage (e) also permits the future, but it is less preferred:

- (10) *Dig binaal nami imuray* (or *imuren*) *sug niug buus.*
 in.NM field 1PL.EXC pick.up FM.NM coconut later
 [imud] [usage (e)]
 In the field we'll pick up the coconut later.

²² Usages (d) and (e) are generalised statements. There are limitations, beyond the scope of this paper, as to which preposed adverbials or higher-node verbs or adjectives require the infinitive, and under what conditions. It should be noted too that the infinitive is only employed in usage (e) in reference to 'future' time. The ordinary past tense form is used in reference to the 'past'. Analytically, what these five usages have in common is a higher node verb phrase.

4.3.3 LOCATION INFINITIVE

The infinitive in location focus is formed by changing the *-an* suffix to *-ay*. This makes it homophonous with the patient infinitive. It is employed for all five usages above, but, as for patient focus, usage (e) also permits the future, though it is less preferred.

- (11) *Mitubus nilan baalay ya'ag dendam.* [tubus & baal] [usage (d)]
 POT.PAST.finish 3PL make 2SG.NM mat
 They've finished making a mat for you.

4.3.4 INSTRUMENT INFINITIVE

The infinitive in instrument focus has exactly the same form as the future, namely the stem of the verb. There is no question then of alternation between the two. It is employed for all five usages.²³

- (12) *Di' niu barut su ŋa dlansaŋ dik pasek kinu?* [barut] [usage (b)]
 not 2PL extract FM PM NM.nail to.NM post that.right.near.you
 Don't pull out the nails from that post.

5. CAUSATION

The type of causation involved in an action is indicated in Subanen as follows:

Ordinary	Ø
Ordinary/Mediate	<i>pe-</i>
Mediate	<i>pepe-</i>

5.1 ORDINARY Ø

Causation is either ordinary (or 'immediate', that is, the agent performs the action directly) or mediate (that is, the agent gets someone else to perform the action). Ordinary causation is indicated by Ø.

5.2 ORDINARY *pe-*

Although *pe-* is generally perceived as a marker of *mediate* causation, one of its functions in Subanen is to mark *ordinary* causation for a certain subset of forms. These are numerals, verbs indicating a direction, some verb stems beginning with *l*, and all verb stems beginning with a nasal.

- (13) *Perua'en ku begay `u rini'a.* [dua' & begay]
 two 1SG give 1SG to.2SG
 I'll double my gift to you.

²³ Of course one could claim that there is no instrument infinitive, only an instrument future. Or one could claim that there are only two infinitives (the stem alone and the stem plus *-ay*) which are used across the focuses according to the specific rules given. The explanation I have adopted seems to me to be the simplest, but the homophonies and irregularities in the system certainly warrant more study.

- (14) *Pebibaŋ ka.* [bibaŋ]
 left 2SG
 — Go left.²⁴
- (15) *Peligaʔen ʔen suk suluʔ.* [ligaʔ]
 light 3SG FM.NM light
 He will put on the light.
- (16) *Pinaik ʔu suŋ manga.* [naik]
 PAST.climb 1SG FM.NM mango
 I climbed up for the mango.

For numerals and directionals (examples (13) and (14)), *pe-* has the function of making verbs out of other parts of speech. Thus the numerals are a class on their own, while *bibaŋ* occurs also as a noun. Other directionals include all the deictics (e.g. *miria iin kalabuŋ* 'he went there yesterday', from *dia* 'there nearby'), and placenames (e.g. *mekpeSubaʔan* 'let's head off for Subaʔan'). For the few verb stems beginning with *l* that take *pe-* (15), perhaps there was once a phonological reason. Now, such verbs are merely irregular.²⁶ With regard to verb stems beginning with a nasal (16), the use of *pe-* is compulsory if a prefix or infix is to be employed, otherwise optional. (One suspects therefore that it is the prefixes, and particularly the infixes *-um-* and *-in-* containing nasals, that are responsible for the development of these *pe-* forms for dissimilatory reasons.) Thus for instance in agent focus, instead of the regular insertion of *-um-* to a verb like *naik* (yielding **numaik*), *pe-* is added and then *-um-* added to the new form *penaik*. By the application of Rule 1, this gives the actually occurring agent focus form, *menaik*. Similarly, rather than have a past tense patient focus form **ninaik*, *pe-* is again added and the past tense Rules 7 and 8 applied, yielding *pinaik*. (But for the future tense patient focus form, for example, since there is no prefix or infix, we have either *naiken* or *penaik*.)

Three other verbs, *panaw* 'go', *puliʔ* 'return' and *dateŋ* 'arrive', may be conveniently considered here. They are irregular in agent focus in that their roots do not undergo Rule 1. Instead they also take *me-* (e.g. *mpanaw*).²⁷ The origin of this *me-* is unclear. It may derive from *pe-* and *-um-* as above, or from the *-um-* infix in some other way, or indeed may be a different morpheme altogether.

With adjectives (statives) also, *pe-* is used to indicate *ordinary* causation:

- (17) *(Pe)taasen ni Niknik sug dendin.* [taas]
 long of Nick FM.NM wall
 a. Nick lengthened the wall.
 b. Nick made the wall long(er).

²⁴ The underlining here indicates that the agent 'you' is in focus.

²⁵ Placenames follow the rule in §5.5 (second paragraph). The punctual aspect form, *meSubaʔan*, is not possible.

²⁶ However, in some cases the *pe-* may have been used to further derive the verb. Thus there is also a plain verb *ligaʔ* meaning 'light', but it is restricted to lighting a physical fire.

²⁷ When *me-* is added to the two verbs beginning with *p*, it can be realised in different ways according to the rule given for a different *me-* in §8.2. The irregularity of these verbs would seem to have something to do with the initial consonant of the root. The verb *dateŋ*, which is similarly irregular in Sabah Murut (Prentice 1965:143), actually operates in agent focus as if the *d* were a *b* or *p*, following either Rule 1 to yield *mateŋ*, or the rule given here to yield *merateŋ*.

Adjectives (statives) like *taas* form a distinct subclass (cf. §9.6). They may be turned into normal verbs by being put directly into the verbal paradigm (cf. *taasen* in (17)), by using *pe-* instead (cf. *petaasen* in (17)), or by the use of *si-* (cf. *peksitaasen* in (54)). Any difference in nuance is as little as in the two English translations. There seems to be a slight preference for the *pe-* forms.

5.3 MEDIATE *pe-*²⁸

With most verbs, *pe-* indicates mediate causation: the agent gets someone else to perform the action. In this usage, there is an important realignment of case functions. What was the original *patient* (18) in a sentence of ordinary causation is now treated as an *instrument* (19). The person being caused to act now becomes the *patient* (20), and the causer the *agent*:²⁹

- (18) *Titi'en ni Litu sug babuy di gapuy.* [Patient]
 roast of Litu FM.NM pig on NM.fire
 Litu will roast the pig over the fire.
- (19) *Petiti' ni Tanilu dini Litu sug babuy di gapuy.* [Instrument]
 roast of Daniel to Litu FM.NM pig on NM.fire
 Daniel will get Litu to roast the pig over the fire.
- (20) *Petiti'en ni Tanilu si Litug babuy di gapuy.* [Patient]
 roast of Daniel FM Litu.NM pig on NM.fire
 Daniel will get Litu to roast the pig over the fire.

5.4 MEDIATE *pepe-*

Although I have written *pepe-* as a separate prefix, it is best regarded as two applications of the simple *pe-* prefix. Since *pe-* loses its 'normal' meaning of mediate causation in the usages referred to in §5.2, it has to be applied a second time to such forms if that meaning is to be conveyed. Compare (21) with (16), and (22) with (17):

- (21) *Pepenaiken kuṅ manga si Litu.*
 climb.for 1SG.NM mango FM Litu
 I got Litu to climb up for the mangoes.
- (22) *Pepetaasen `en si Niknik dig dendiṅ.*
 long 3SG FM Nick to.NM wall
 He got Nick to lengthen the wall.

Pepe- may also be used with the verbs that function according to §5.3 (the large majority). In this usage it has the same meaning as simple *pe-*. It does *not* convey a further level of causality,³⁰ nor does it seem to be intensive.

²⁸ An analysis could be suggested where there are two separate *pe-*'s: *pe*₁ 'ordinary causation' and *pe*₂ 'mediate causation'. I prefer however to treat the two as subsenses of the one *pe-* because of the closeness of meaning and because of the behaviour of *pepe-* (cf. §5.4, especially the end).

²⁹ A *location* does not undergo change and is not therefore illustrated.

³⁰ That is, it does not mean 'A got B to get C to do...'. Such complex levels of causation are reported for some Philippine languages (cf. Porter 1977:118).

5.5 *pe-* BEFORE VOWELS

Special rules govern *pe-* before vowels. Before *a*, *i* and *u*, it becomes *pa-* (e.g. *paalap* from *alap* 'get', and *painum* from *inum* 'drink'). Before *e*, the *e* is dropped (e.g. *pegbed* from *egbed* 'bind'). This applies too to stems that have undergone the *a* to *e* rule (Rule 3), the *pe-* being added before the whole *e* syllable is lost by Rule 4 (e.g. *pelapen* from *pe-* plus *alap* plus *-en*). When the past tense form *pi-* occurs before *e*, the *e* becomes *i* (e.g. *piigbed* from *egbed*). Instead of the above, the option exists of inserting a glottal stop between *pe-* and *e*, *pa-* and *a*, and *pi-* and *e*. A glottal stop *must* be inserted between *pi-* and *i* (e.g. *piʔindeg* from *indeg* 'stand').

When *pe-* is employed in the uses described in §5.2 (see example (17)), 5.3 (and consequently 5.4 also), the expected agent focus form in *me-* cannot occur. The form for durative aspect (cf. §7.2) is used instead.³¹ Thus *metitiʔ* is not possible in (23), which is the agent focus equivalent of examples (19) and (20):

- (23) *Mekpetitiʔ babuy si Tanilu dini Litu di gapuy.* [Agent]
 roast pig FM Daniel to Litu on NM.fire
Daniel will get Litu to roast the pig over the fire.

The reason for this prohibition would appear to be the need to avoid an unacceptable level of ambiguity. A *me-* form for the mediate causation of §5.3 would be homophonous with the form for potential mood (cf. §8), and (24) would be ambiguous between the meaning below and 'Daniel got some roasting done':

- (24) *Mititiʔ si Tanilu.*
 POT.PAST.roast FM Daniel
Daniel was roasted.

The adjectives (statives) could be even more ambiguous. They have a special form in *me-* (cf. §9.6). Example (25) would be ambiguous between the meaning below and 'Nick will make Caesar taller':

- (25) *Metaas si Niknik dini Sisa.* [taas]
 long FM Nick to Caesar
Nick is taller than Caesar.

Of course languages do not always move in the direction of disambiguation. Sometimes indeed the contrary:

- (26) *Mekpelembuʔ su dlibun dini Susan.* [lembuʔ]
 fat FM NM.woman to Susan
The woman made Susan fat.

By the rules (cf. example (17)), this sentence should mean as given, but it can receive another interpretation: 'The woman got Susan to make her fat'. Such a meaning would be unambiguously conveyed by the 'double' causative with *pepe-*, *mekpepelembuʔ*. However, an ambiguity seems to have crept in above from the fact that adjectives (statives) can undergo the full verbal paradigm. Speakers therefore sometimes seem to 'forget' the special rules for adjectives (statives) like *lembuʔ* and treat them in sentences like (26) as if they were ordinary verbs (cf. also §9.6).

³¹ However, the agent focus imperative is permitted (e.g. *petitiʔ*). This supports the following argument positing ambiguity.

There is another special use of *pe-* (again with no *me-* form possible) to provide a present continuous 'tense'. This will be considered in §7.2.

6. NUMBER

Number is conveyed in Subanen by the following morphemes:

Simple	Ø
Multiple	<i>peŋ-</i> (or <i>ŋ-</i> or <i>-em-</i>)

6.1 SIMPLE Ø

The term 'simple' here is not meant to imply 'singular'. It refers rather to the fact that the verb form itself does not draw attention to any frequency in the action or to the number of the participants (it is semantically unmarked, §2). Other parts of the sentence may, however, do so:

- (27) *Kanudiin minayam*³² *su ŋag begutaw nu ŋag babuy talun ditu.*
 formerly hunt FM PM.NM youth of PM.NM pig wild there
 Formerly the young men used to hunt wild pig there.

6.2 MULTIPLE *peŋ-*

By contrast to the above, the number affixes indicate multiplicity in the action, either because one agent performs an act a number of times or on a number of objects, or because a number of agents perform an act (or perform it a number of times or on a number of objects). The verb form for (27) would be *miŋayam* (see next paragraph and examples (28) - (30)).

As in other Philippine languages, the initial phoneme of the verb stem determines the precise form taken by *peŋ-*. In Subanen, the *ŋ* changes in order to be homorganic with the following consonant if any, and then that consonant (with the exception of *l* and most instances of *g*) has the option of dropping. It usually does so (see examples below).³³ By the same process as already illustrated in Rule 1, *peŋ-* becomes *meŋ-* in agent focus.

In (27) the nouns were marked as plural (*ŋa*). Such marking is optional for inanimates when using the *peŋ-* form. The prefix itself is clear enough indication of plurality. It is not necessary to have a *ŋa* before *suub* in (28):

- (28) *Peneluyen `en suk suub.* [saluy]
 buy 3SG FM.NM clothes
 She will buy clothes.

The *peŋ-* form often occurs in constructions which appear intransitive. In (29) there are multiple acts of washing, or, alternatively, multiple implied objects:

³² The verb here is *ayam* to which *-um-* and *-in-* have been added (cf. §4.2 and Rule 1).

³³ Dropping the initial consonant of the verb stem, however, creates many homophones, and it is in these circumstances that one is more likely to encounter the fuller forms, for example, *memberes* 'make pregnant' and *memperes* 'make hot' rather than *memeres*, which could mean either. Verbs beginning with *l* never drop the *l*, and in some dialects the *ŋ* does not become homorganic with it either. Another occasion when the initial consonant never drops is when *peŋ-* comes before the causative prefix *pe-* (cf. §9). The resulting form is always *pempe-*, not *peme-*.

- (29) *Megekda*k* iin.* [ekda*k*]
 wash 3SG
She will do the washing.

As for *pe-* (cf. §5.5), there is a special use of *peŋ-* to provide a present continuous 'tense'. This will be considered in §7.2.

6.3 MULTIPLE *ŋ-*

The prefix *ŋ-* can be used with the same meaning as *peŋ-*:

- (30) *Naluy `a nuk sagiŋ.* [saluy]
 buy 2SG of.NM banana
 — Buy the bananas.

It follows the same rules as already given for *peŋ-* in §6.2 with the exception that the consonant of the verb stem *must* drop.³⁴ However, since verbs to which *ŋ-* has been added have thereby become verb stems beginning with a nasal, the rules elucidated in §5.2 will apply to it. In other words, *pe-* must be further added whenever another prefix or infix is employed (giving us the same form as above: *peŋ-*). For some dialects outside the Midsalip area, the *ŋ-* form is rare or impossible. Some speakers say it is a short version of the *peŋ-* form. This could be. However, there is also the possibility that it is the original form (see also §10).

6.3 MULTIPLE *-em-*

The infix *-em-* has the same meaning as *peŋ-* and *ŋ-*, but occurs only in verbs that have received one or more of the prefixes listed in §2 (with the exception of *ŋ-*). It is inserted before the first vowel of the verb stem, after the infixes *-um-* and *-in-* if they occur, and before Rule 7 applies. By the rules already given, quite a few reductions (compressions) can occur. For example, when *peg-*, *-um-*, *-in-* and *-em-* occur together, they reduce to *mimeg-* (cf. Rules 1, 7 and 8). Curiously, although *-em-* cannot occur with *ŋ-*, it can occur with *peŋ-* even though it is synonymous with it. The use of the two forms together does not seem to be more intensive:

- (31) *Pemenaluy `a nuk sagiŋ.* [-em- + *peŋ-* + *saluy*]
 buy 2SG of.NM banana
 — Buy the bananas.

7. ASPECT

Aspect is conveyed in Subanen as follows:

Punctual	Ø
Durative	<i>peg-</i>

'Punctual' means that the action is viewed as occurring at a point of time (even if the action is in fact drawn out). By contrast, 'durative' views the action as taking place over a period.

³⁴ This is not true, however, for verbs beginning with *l* and for most beginning with *g*. The simple *ŋ-* form cannot be used with such verbs, only *peŋ-*.

Though the labels are convenient and give a broad picture of the difference between the two aspects, they are in fact rather more complex than this. The punctual tends to look at an action in isolation and as of relevance to an individual; the durative tends to look at an action as part of a set and as of relevance to a group.³⁵ Aspectual contrast is illustrated in examples (32) - (37)

7.1 PUNCTUAL Ø

The unmarked aspect in Subanen is punctual in meaning. Most examples so far have employed this aspect.

7.2 DURATIVE *peg-*

As already illustrated in Rule 1, the durative prefix *peg-* becomes *meg-* in agent focus. It also undergoes some phonological changes in certain environments. Its final *g* is devoiced before voiceless consonants, and frequently becomes *d*, in the Midsalip area at least, before *l*, *y* and *d*.³⁶

Since in Subanen doubled consonants do not occur within morphemes and tend also to be simplified between them, a difficulty arises when *peg-* is due to be prefixed to stems beginning with *g* or *k*. Simplifying the doubled consonants that would arise, would make the *peg-* form indistinguishable from the *pe-* form (and the *meg-* form indistinguishable from the *me-* form of the potential mood, see §8). To overcome this problem, Subanen inserts an extra syllable *-le-* between the *peg-* prefix and the stem. Thus from *kusut* 'rub between hands' we get *medlekusut*.³⁷

The problems of *g* and *k* verbs, however, do not end there. The marker of nouns in Subanen is the morpheme *g*. When noun stems begin with a vowel, this *g* is prefixed to them. Sometimes, however, this *g* gets reinterpreted as if it were a part of the original noun stem. The verb corresponding to such a form therefore will sometimes be treated as if it really began with *g*. For example, from *eked* 'tie' (*geked* 'thing to tie with') we get in durative aspect both *megeked* and *medlegeked*. A few stems that do genuinely begin in *g* also behave this way (e.g. *megelat* and *medlegelat* from *gelat* 'wait'). The problem for *k* verbs is somewhat different. This phoneme has been dropped from initial position in a few roots (e.g. *aan* 'eat'), and is merely optional there in others (e.g. *kilas* or *ilas* 'divide up').³⁸ For such verbs, the durative aspect forms will compulsorily or optionally use *k* instead of *g* (e.g. respectively, *mekaan* (only) and *mekilas*, *medlekilas* or *megilas*). The lexicon simply has to indicate which forms apply to which verbs.

Below are some examples of aspect use:

(32) *Suminayaw si Ginti? kagebii.* [sayaw]

³⁵ A distinction similar to 'singular' versus 'plural' seems to be involved.

³⁶ For some of these speakers, one of the *d*'s is then dropped but the other retains a [d] pronunciation (normally, /d/ changes to /r/ intervocalically for such speakers). Thus the addition of *mig-* 'durative' and *mi-* 'potential' (cf. §8) to *daap* 'catch' is realised by them as *midaap* 'he caught' and *miraap* 'he was caught', respectively. This reinforces their newly developed phoneme /r/.

³⁷ Or *megelekusut*, if the *d* rule is not applied. For some verbs and some speakers, the *-le-* may (or must) become *-li-* (e.g. *medligebek*, from *gebek* 'run'). This seems to be for dissimilatory reasons.

³⁸ Some of the alternative forms have become semantically specialised (e.g. *ilas* meaning 'share' rather than just 'divide up').

- (33) *Miksawaw si Ginti? kagebii.*
 dance FM Ginti last.night
Ginti danced last night.

Though it is adequate to translate these sentences the same way in English, there is a difference in nuance. In (32), the woman concerned (Ginti) danced once, or her multiple dancing is conceived of as a unit, or she was the only one to dance. In (33) she danced over a longish period (at least from the speaker's viewpoint), or danced a number of times, or her dancing was one act of dancing among others.

- (34) *Tumiiwar `u dig bentud.* [tuad]
 (35) *Miktuar `u dig bentud.*
 climb 1SG in.NM mountain
 I went up into the mountain country.

In (34) there is just one mountain, or the journey is conceived of as basically one. In (35) the journey is seen as a long one – one of many ups and downs (many climbs) – or the person went in more than once.

- (36) *Malek ita.* [alek]
 (37) *Megalek ita.*
 kiss 1PL.INC
We will kiss.

In these two examples the translation is not really adequate. In (36) the implication is that we will kiss other people. In (37), it is that we will kiss each other. This seems to be a particular application of the individual versus group relevance referred to above. If, however, a patient is added to these examples (e.g. *dinilan* 'to.them'), the difference in meaning reverts to being equivalent to the previous examples.

As pointed out in §5.5, there is no punctual aspect form in agent focus when the *pe*-prefix is used for mediate causation or with adjectives (statives). That is, for example, there is no form **metiti?* but only *mekpetiti?* 'cause to roast' agent focus. Although, therefore, there is no punctual/durative contrast for such forms in agent focus, the normal aspect distinction is maintained in the other focuses.

The prefix *peg-* is also frequently used to give the meaning of 'present continuous', but there is no corresponding 'past continuous' form, *pig-*:

- (38) *Pektu?un `u ŋa dlibru kitu.* [tu?un]
 study 1SG PM NM.book that.distant
 I'm studying those books.

In agent focus the present continuous form is the same as the infinitive, and there is formally a three-way contrast in 'tense' (e.g. *mektu?un* (future), *pektu?un* (present continuous), and *miktu?un* (past)). In the other focuses, there is only a two-way formal contrast but all three meanings are still carried (e.g. (in patient focus) *pektu?unen* (future, or present continuous), and *piktu?un* (past)).³⁹

³⁹ It can be seen in examples (38), (39) and (40), that the extra 'present continuous' form of agent focus is the same as the agent infinitive. Whereas the agent infinitive lacks some of the uses of the other focus infinitives (cf. §4.3.1), we would seem to have an additional use for it here, but only on *peg-*, *peŋ-* and the relevant *pe-* forms.

At first sight it is tempting to attribute this 'present continuous' meaning to the 'durative' meaning of *peg-*. However, as noted in §5.5 and §6.2, *pe-* (in its ordinary causation usage) and *peŋ-* can also express 'present continuous' (as well as, in the latter case, 'multiple'). Again there is no corresponding 'past continuous' form, *pi-* or *piŋ-*. The possible 'tense' contrasts are the same as for *peg-* (*menaik*, *penaik*, *minaik* and *meŋabaŋ*, *peŋabaŋ*, *miŋabaŋ* for the agent focus examples below).

- (39) *Penaik suk pater `en diŋ niug.* [naik]
 climb FM.NM brother 3SG at.NM coconut
His brother is climbing the coconut palm.
- (40) *Peŋabaŋ su ŋa gembata? dig besakan `en.* [abaŋ]
 help FM PM child in.NM field 3SG
The children are helping in his rice-field.

Even though the 'present continuous' meaning is encountered far more often with *peg-* forms, it would appear to reside more with the *pe-* element than with *peg-* (see §10).

8. MOOD

The two moods of Subanen are:

Volitional	Ø
Potential	<i>me-</i>

8.1 VOLITIONAL Ø

The unmarked subcategory of mood indicates that an action is willed – that it is deliberate. All examples so far in this paper have been cast in this mood, except for (11) and (24).

8.2 POTENTIAL *me-*

The *me-* prefix indicates potentiality, and is fully comparable with the equivalent category in many other Philippine languages. There are two main meanings expressed by this mood: 1) something has or had the ability to happen, and 2) something will happen or has happened unintentionally (examples below).

The *me-* prefix takes a special form in agent focus, namely *meke-*. While it may be tempting to regard *ke-* as an allomorph of the agent focus marker *-um-*, it obviously has no phonological relationship to it. Thus, the behaviour of *ke-* in the infinitive (see below), and the existence of the morpheme *ke-* of §9.9, argue for considering *meke-* as a portmanteau morpheme (potential mood, agent focus).

- (41) *Mekeraag su dlimensad kiin.* [daag]
 topple FM NM.rooster that.near.you
That rooster of yours can win.

In potential mood, no matter what other affixes also occur, only the Ø form of the patient focus morpheme is used, never the *-en* form. This fact will be reconsidered in §10.

- (42) *Mbuuŋ ku sug bandi inisenan gasi.* [buuŋ & isen]
 break 1SG FM.NM pitcher fill NM.rice.wine
 I can break the pitcher of rice-wine.

There are no special points to note about the location and instrument focus in potential mood.

The rules given for *pe-* before vowels in §5.5 apply also to *me-* (and (*me*)*ke-*). When *me-* is added to stems beginning with *b* or *p*, we get variant forms. Thus from *pesel* 'squeeze' we can get *mepesel*, *empesel*, *mpesel* or just *pesel*. The first two are very careful pronunciations (e.g. for foreigners). The *mpesel* form is probably the standard (cf. also *mbuuŋ* in 42),⁴⁰ but the short form (*pesel*) is not rare, at least round Midsalip.

Some special points need to be noted about the infinitive in potential mood. There are no imperatives (usages (a) and (b) of §4.3) in potential mood. The agent focus infinitive may be the same as the future, but it is preferable to drop the initial *me-*:

- (43) *Daʔ pa (me)kebaal.* [baaʔ]
 not.past yet do
He hasn't been able to do it yet.

In potential mood, the patient infinitive uses the $\emptyset$ allomorph of patient focus just as the patient future does (as mentioned above). It does not show the *-ay* form of volitional mood (cf. §4.3.2). The location infinitive of potential mood, however, does use the *-ay* form of volitional mood. In potential (as in volitional) mood, the instrument infinitive is the same as the instrument future.

9. COMBINATIONS AND SOME ADDITIONAL AFFIXES

The six basic verbal categories have been treated in §3 - §8. In principle, all conceivable combinations of the subcategories (marked and unmarked) may occur. In practice, there may be some limitations to this due to semantic incongruence, the awkwardness of the very marked forms, or the particular grammatical properties of individual verbs (some verbs are 'defective'). When a number of the marked forms of the categories occur together, they do so in a set order, except that the positions of tense and focus may change depending on whether suffixed or infixes are used.

- (44) *Mipekpempetutuŋ ku rini Lumabas su ŋa gayu.*
m-i-pek-pem-pe-tutuŋ- $\emptyset$
 MOOD-PAST-ASPECT-NUM-CAUS-burn-FOCUS
 burn 1SG to Lumabas FM PM NM.tree
 I had Lumabas burning the trees.

There are only a few special rules to be noted in making these combinations. When *peŋ-* occurs before *pe-* (as in 44), the *p* of the causative prefix *pe-* is not free to drop (cf. §6.2 and fn. 33). When *meke-* occurs with durative aspect (*peg-*), the combination reduces to *mekeg-*.

⁴⁰ The *m* of such forms often causes a preceding glottal stop to drop. Thus instead of *saʔmpesel* 'if it can be squeezed', we get *sam pesel* (sometimes written as *sam pesel*).

(or *mekedle-* before roots beginning with *g* or *k*, cf. §7.2). When it occurs with the multiple marker (*peŋ-*), the combination may occur in full, or may reduce to *mekeŋ-*.⁴¹

- (45) *Mikegabaŋ iin gupia di ŋak timuʔay.* [abaŋ]
 POT.PAST.DUR.help 3SG very to PM.NM leader
 He used to help the leaders greatly.

In §9.1 - §9.9 are a number of verbal affixes that fall outside the set so far considered. They are less frequently encountered, or else are restricted in their co-occurrence with other verbal affixes.

9.1 COMITATIVE *pekig-*

This prefix, occurring most frequently in agent focus (*mekig-*), means 'do with someone'. The final *g* undergoes the same phonological alternations as given in §7.2 for *peg-*.

- (46) *Mekikpanaw ʔita dini Anita ditu dlunsud.* [panaw]
 walk 1PL.INC to Anita to.there NM.town
 Let's walk together with Anita to town.

This prefix is very similar in form to the combination *mekeg-*. For some speakers in the Midsalip area at least, there is occasionally confusion, *mekeg-* being used instead of *mekig-*. This could be for articulatory reasons, as *i* next to *k* and *g* is pronounced further back in the mouth.

9.2 HABITUAL PLACE *-an*

This suffix, the same form as used to mark location focus, can be added to a few verbs to indicate the habitual place of an action:

- (47) *Menaasendawan*⁴² ʔita di dlənaʔ. [taasendaw]
 NUM.lunch 1PL.INC in NM.kitchen
 Let's eat lunch regularly in the kitchen.

The same sentence could be used without the *-an* suffix but would lose thereby the meaning of 'regularly'. It would refer to a one-off lunch.

9.3 TEMPORARY BEHAVIOUR *-in-*

This infix, the same in form as the infix for past tense, seems to be used only in conjunction with durative aspect. It indicates an action or state of limited duration. It is used in an extended sense with the name of a people, where it means to use their language. It is inserted before the first vowel of the root (not stem).

⁴¹ Another way of putting this is to say that either the *peŋ-* or *ŋ-* form may be used with *meke-*. However, having *ŋ-* here is against the normal rule (cf. §6.3), prohibiting its use when other prefixes or infixes occur.

⁴² The verb is actually the multiple form of *taasendaw* 'noon' (from *taas* 'high' and *endaw* 'sun, day').

- (48) *Medinupar*⁴³ `ilan gupia dig beklug. [dupar]
 DUR.do.mischief 3PL very at.NM religious.festival
They misbehaved terribly during the ‘beklug’.
- (49) *Meksinubaaenen* `ita sa? megbinisaya??
 DUR.Subanen 1PL.INC or DUR.Visayan
 Will we speak Subanen or Visayan?

9.4 HABITUAL -eC-

This infix is a form of semi-reduplication. Its consonant (indicated by *C*) must be the same as the initial consonant of the root to which it is attached. If the root begins with a vowel, *g* is employed as the consonant.⁴⁴ The infix means 'do habitually, occupationally'. It usually occurs with durative aspect, but has been noted occurring too with punctual aspect forms where this did not involve putting infixes into the reduplicated element.

- (50) *Meksesulat si Niniņ di gupisina.* [sulat]
 DUR.write FM Nining at NM.office
 Nining is secretary in an office.

9.5 RECIPROCAL -in- (or -eC-)...-ay

Either of the two infixes just discussed may occur with *-ay* (the infinitival form of *-an*) to provide a meaning of 'do to each other'. There does not appear to be any difference of nuance between them.

- (51) *Miginilekay* (or *migegilekay*) *suk tulisan dua?* [*ilek*]
 DUR.stab FM.NM robber two
 The two robbers stabbed each other.

9.6 STATIVE *me-*

A particular set of forms in the vocabulary (which we can call adjectives or statives) takes this prefix to indicate 'being in such-and-such a state'. With but a very few exceptions, the prefix can not be omitted when this meaning is required.

- (52) *Metaas su gedan nug balay kia?* [taas]
 high FM NM.ladder of.NM house that.right.nearby
 The ladder of that house is high.

It is at first tempting to regard this *me-* as identical with the *me-* meaning 'potential' in patient focus. It undergoes basically the same phonological rules (cf. §8.2), and the 'future' meaning of the potential seems to become more timeless (stative-like) because it expresses the mere possibility that something will be done. There *is* a meaning difference nonetheless.

⁴³ Or *megdinupan* (cf. §7.2). The pronoun *ʔilan* here (and *ʔita* in surrounding examples) has been written with the reverse apostrophe. They are non-emphatic forms. They may also occur without it, which turns them into emphatic forms, pronounced with initial glottal stop (see the end of fn. 4).

44 One could posit this form as a reduplicated prefix (Ce-) rather than infix (-eC-), rewording the rules accordingly. I have no conclusive evidence yet one way or the other, but I prefer the infix explanation in view of the patterning in §9.5.

and there are also a couple of formal ones. Firstly, there is a distinct plural form for statives, consisting of inserting a morpheme *-ke-* between *me-* and the root (e.g. *meketaas*). It is an optional form which may be used in reference to plural items, whether or not their noun phrases have any plural marking. Secondly, for roots beginning with *b* or *p* (e.g. *bagel* 'big'), there is contrast between the potential and stative forms. Whereas the potential form is, for example, *mbagel* 'will become big' (cf. §8.2), the stative is *gembagel*.⁴⁵

As already indicated, adjectives (statives) can take the full range of verbal forms. However, the patient role does not often occur in agent focus for these verbs, and when it is so lacking, the action of the (stative) verb is directed towards the agent, not towards some other party. Thus if *babuy* is omitted from (53), the meaning becomes 'Mario will grow fat, Mario will fatten'.

- (53) *Luumbu? babuy si Maryu.* [-um- + lembu?]
 fat pig FM Mario
Mario will fatten the pig.

This change of role is undoubtedly the underlying cause of the different readings for the causatives of statives (see §5.5).

9.7 EFFECTIVE *si-*

This prefix, occurring directly before the root, indicates that an action is deliberately brought about. It is used particularly with statives, but also with some other verbs where the inherent action of the verb is usually unintended (see 55). The form is very much like a causative, and is a popular way of putting a stative through the verb paradigm. It occurs chiefly with durative aspect (54), but may occur without it in some constructions (55).

- (54) *Peksitaasen ni Niknik sug dendin.* [taas]
 long of Nick FM.NM wall
 a. Nick lengthened the wall.
 b. Nick made the wall long(er).
- (55) *Di? `a silabu?.* [labu?]
 not 2SG fall
 — Take care not to fall.

When an *i* vowel is in the next syllable, *si-* becomes *se-* in a few verbs (e.g. *seliḡaway* from *liḡaw* 'forget'). The rule becomes obligatory when the syllable *begins* with *i*, but the *se-* must then further change to *sa-* (e.g. *meksaika?* from *ika?* 'small').⁴⁶

9.8 NOMINALISER *ke-*

This prefix can be added to any verb or adjective root to nominalise it (e.g. *ketuad* 'climbing', *kebagel* 'bigness'). It cannot co-occur with the aspect, tense or mood markers, but it occurs freely with the other three categories (e.g. *kektuad*, *kenuad* and *kepetuad* – the marked aspect, number and causative forms respectively of *tuad*). Note how *ke-* replaces the

⁴⁵ An interesting question is: Is this *g* prothetic, or does it derive from the noun-marker? (see discussion in §10). The plural is regular (e.g. *mekebagel*).

⁴⁶ This latter rule is a normal one applying also to *me-* and *pe-*, cf. §5.5 and §8.2.

pe- of the respective morphemes. We will return to this in §10. Before vowels, *ke-* behaves like *pe-* and *me-* (cf. §5.5).

9.9 IMMINENCE, FEELING *ke-*

A special construction is used to convey a particular idea of 'imminence, feeling'. A prefix *ke-* (or *k-* or $\emptyset$, by rules that seem lexically determined) is added to a verb in patient focus, the person undergoing the feeling being the focused patient. The meaning is 'be on the verge of, feel like'. This *ke-* may also inflect, like the *ke-* above, for the three categories there mentioned. It is probably related, however, not to that *ke-* but to the one occurring in the potential agent focus (cf. §8.2). It also inflects for past tense, but *-in-*, or *-ii-* if Rule 7 applies, are the occurring forms, never the *-i-* of Rule 8. This may indicate a certain marginality in its prefixal status. Though the verbs employed in this construction are very frequently verbs of bodily function, it would appear most verbs can occur in it, (see example (57)).

- (56) *Tinulug* (or *kiitulug*) *su gembata[?] sinegay `en dumuru[?]* [tulug & duru[?]]
 sleep FM child while 3SG suckle
The child fell asleep while suckling.
- (57) *Keputuken `u gayu.* [putuk]
 cut 1SG NM.tree
 I feel like cutting down a tree.

10. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In their attempt to account for the development of focus in Philippine languages, Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) propose that the focuses have developed from nominalisations. In Subanen there is no instrument focus affix. It is the unmarked focus. This raises the possibility that it never had such an affix. One could then suggest that this unmarked 'nominalisation' we now call 'instrument' originally expressed the semantically unmarked role (in a split ergative language) of 'patient', the basic case relation. As different focuses (including *-en*, the patient suffix) developed, they peeled off certain semantic relationships, leaving our present 'instrument' with a very mixed bag of such relationships.⁴⁷

Such a proposition, however, can hardly stand. It would cut the Subanen languages off in an unrealistic way from the other languages of the Philippine group. What must surely have happened is that, as stated in §3.4, Subanen had the reconstructed instrument prefix **iSi-* like other Philippine languages, but then lost it. It could, nevertheless, have been the last focus affix to develop, in which case the line of development suggested above could still have some validity.

The fact that Subanen has lost the original instrument prefix and lacks some of the uses for instrument focus that some other Philippine languages have bears a closer look. If the two phenomena are related, it could mean that the narrower semantic range for instrument in Subanen represents an older situation; the lack of an affix has tended to sideline this focus

⁴⁷ These include a number that still look very patient-like in many Philippine languages, cf. §3.4. In this context it is worth noting that when verbal roots are used as nouns in Subanen, they usually refer to patients or instruments (on a lexically determined basis).

and prevent new uses for it. Alternatively, it could mean that the loss of the affix has resulted in the decay also of instrument usage – the instrumental form does not perhaps stand out sufficiently clearly. Which, if either, of these theories is closer to the truth I do not know.

In tracing the history of the patient focus marker *-en* and the past tense marker *-in-*, Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) propose ‘future effect’ and ‘perfective’ as the early meanings of these forms; these meanings certainly appear related to aspect, not to focus. They mention (1982:162) that “it is possible that both **ni-* and **-en* had begun to function as markers of verbal aspect in Proto-Austronesian, but if so, they had not become complementary allomorphs of ‘Object Focus’ in the way that their descendants now have”. The problem seems to be this alleged complementarity. Are they, and were they ever, in true complementarity? It would not seem difficult to reconstruct **ni-* (*-in-*) as a tense or aspect marker in its own right without reference to **-en*. The only problem then would be to find an adequate explanation for the limited distribution of modern *-en*.

What suggests itself from Subanen is ‘phonological accretion’. In clauses with patient focus, the agent usually follows the verb immediately. In Subanen (and equivalently in many other Philippine languages), the marker of such an agent is the genitive marker, *ni* (personal), *nu* (other). Most of the corresponding pronouns too begin with *n*. What could have happened then is that this *n*, so frequently appearing straight after the ‘original’ patient focus verb (the bare root), became reinterpreted as belonging to that verb, and an epenthetic *e* developed to consolidate the change. *E* is in fact the weakest of the vowels and still has epenthetic uses in Subanen. This did not mean the loss of the *n* on the agent markers. When the verb and agent marker are separated, both *n*’s are pronounced; when not, the two adjacent *n*’s are pronounced as only one, even across the morpheme boundary (as is still the case for the Subanen of today).

But why then is there no *-en* on the past tense patient focus form? The answer is that phonological rules of this kind are not interested in semantics but in euphony. It would be more likely for *-en* to accrete to a two-syllable stem than to an already inflected three-syllable one. A supporting argument for *-en* being an accretion is that it does *not* occur in potential mood. Expressed agents are not at all common in potential mood, as the meaning often indicates that the action took place unintentionally or that the agent is unknown. So *n* did not occur frequently enough in this position to accrete.

To turn to a different matter, this paper has presented the prefixes *pe-*, *peŋ-* and *peg-* as if they were three totally different non-composite forms. However, when we look at the nominalised forms *ke-*, *keŋ-* and *keg-* (§9.8) and the potential mood agent focus forms *meke-*, *mekeŋ-* and *mekeg-* (§9), a different analysis presents itself.⁴⁸ *Pe-* itself is of course a single morpheme, but the other two would seem to be composed of *pe-* (ordinary causation) plus, respectively, *ŋ* and *g*.

Where do these two latter morphemes come from? This requires more study. One can point out, however, that along with *ŋ-* ‘multiple’, we have the Subanen marker *ŋa* ‘plural’. Regarding *g*, Subanen does also have a noun marker *g* that occurs in most phrases using common nouns. It is hard to see, though, how it could be related to the *g* employed for durative aspect.

⁴⁸ Further corroborative evidence is contained in §7.2 where it is shown that the meaning of ‘present continuous’ is associated with the *pe-* of these prefixes.

As already indicated Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) relate the evolution of focus in Austronesian to nominalisations. All the Subanen languages have the above-mentioned special noun marker, *g*. If this is an old retention, we might expect to find some traces of it in the focus system. If it is an innovation, we might nevertheless find some of the old patterns of focus development being re-enacted.

The possible incorporation of the noun marker *g* into the verbal paradigm warrants further study. All verbs beginning with *e* and *i* (including when the past tense morpheme takes up initial position) have the option of a prothetic *g* when they are not prefixed (see §3.4, 4.2 and paradigm 5 of the Appendix). There is certainly a very strong tendency in some speakers to avoid starting a word with *e*, but it is hard to see what the problem is for *i*. There are other prothetic uses too of *g* in Subanen (see fn. 45). One wonders whether such uses may have ultimately derived from the nominal one.

APPENDIX: VERBAL PARADIGMS

These paradigms illustrate the possible combinations of the six basic verbal categories: mood, aspect, number, causation, tense, focus. (The minor subcategories of §9 are not included.) A few options have been indicated, but it is not practical to include all such options in the paradigms.

Focus is given in the rows, tense in the columns. The other four categories are presented in their various combinations in sixteen different charts. The sixteen combinations are the following, using *tisen* 'pack down' in actor focus (patient focus for no.2) as an illustration:

1. Voluntary, punctual, simple, ordinary	: <i>tumisen</i> ,...
2. Voluntary, punctual, simple, mediate	: <i>--</i> , <i>petisenen</i> ,...
3. Voluntary, punctual, multiple, ordinary	: <i>menisen</i> ,...
4. Voluntary, punctual, multiple, mediate	: <i>mempetisen</i> ,...
5. Voluntary, durative, simple, ordinary	: <i>mektisen</i> ,...
6. Voluntary, durative, simple, mediate	: <i>mekpetisen</i> ,...
7. Voluntary, durative, multiple, ordinary	: <i>mekpenisen</i> ,...
8. Voluntary, durative, multiple, mediate	: <i>mekpempetisen</i> ,...
9. Potential, punctual, simple, ordinary	: <i>meketisen</i> ,...
10. Potential, punctual, simple, mediate	: <i>mekepetisen</i> ,...
11. Potential, punctual, multiple, ordinary	: <i>meke(pe)nisen</i> ,...
12. Potential, punctual, multiple, mediate	: <i>mekepmpetisen</i> ,...
13. Potential, durative, simple, ordinary	: <i>mekektisen</i> ,...
14. Potential, durative, simple, mediate	: <i>mekekpetisen</i> ,...
15. Potential, durative, multiple, ordinary	: <i>mekekpenisen</i> ,...
16. Potential, durative, multiple, mediate	: <i>mekekpempetisen</i> ,...

The following paradigms for seven different verbs provide detailed charts for only five of the above combinations (nos 1, 2, 3, 5 and 9), but the others are easily deducible from these five. It only needs to be noted that for nos 13-16, the *mekeg-* of agent focus (from *meke-* plus *peg-*) becomes *mepeg-* (*me-* plus *peg-*) for the other focuses (cf. §9); also, there is no option in these other focuses of dropping the *pe* in no. 11.

The *-ay* form of the patient infinitive has been entered in the paradigms in volitional mood. This is the infinitival form used for most purposes. However, an asterisk has been added to

alert the reader of the alternate Ø form that must be used for the imperative (see §4.3.2). Agent focus has been left blank in chart 2 in accordance with what is said in §5.5.

As noted in §9, not all verbs admit of the entire paradigm. Some verbs are 'defective'. In addition, the more heavily marked forms for any verb, especially nos 12 and 16, are rare, and for some verbs (or speakers) may be more theoretical possibilities than occurring expressions.

1. *sulat* 'write'

		Future	Past	Infinitive
1.	Agent	<i>sumulat</i>	<i>suminulat</i>	<i>sulat</i>
	Patient	<i>sulaten</i>	<i>sinulat</i>	<i>sulatay*</i>
	Location	<i>sulatan</i>	<i>sinulatan</i>	<i>sulatay</i>
	Instrument	<i>sulat</i>	<i>sinulat</i>	<i>sulat</i>
2.	Agent	---	---	---
	Patient	<i>pesulaten</i>	<i>pisulat</i>	<i>pesulatay*</i>
	Location	<i>pesulatan</i>	<i>pisulatan</i>	<i>pesulatay</i>
	Instrument	<i>pesulat</i>	<i>pisulat</i>	<i>pesulat</i>
3.	Agent	<i>menulat</i>	<i>minulat</i>	<i>penulat</i>
	Patient	<i>penulaten</i>	<i>pinulat</i>	<i>penulatay*</i>
	Location	<i>penulatan</i>	<i>pinulatan</i>	<i>penulatay</i>
	Instrument	<i>penulat</i>	<i>pinulat</i>	<i>penulat</i>
4.	Agent	<i>mempesulat, ...</i>		
5.	Agent	<i>meksulat</i>	<i>miksulat</i>	<i>peksulat</i>
	Patient	<i>peksulaten</i>	<i>piksulat</i>	<i>peksulatay*</i>
	Location	<i>peksulatan</i>	<i>piksulatan</i>	<i>peksulatay</i>
	Instrument	<i>peksulat</i>	<i>piksulat</i>	<i>peksulat</i>
6.	Agent	<i>mekpesulat, ...</i>		
7.	Agent	<i>mekpenulat, ...</i>		
8.	Agent	<i>mekpempesulat, ...</i>		
9.	Agent	<i>mekesulat</i>	<i>mikesulat</i>	<i>(me)kesulat</i>
	Patient	<i>mesulat</i>	<i>misulat</i>	<i>mesulat</i>
	Location	<i>mesulatan</i>	<i>misulatan</i>	<i>mesulatay</i>
	Instrument	<i>mesulat</i>	<i>misulat</i>	<i>mesulat</i>
10.	Agent	<i>mekepesulat, ...</i>		
11.	Agent	<i>meke(pe)nulat, ...</i>		
12.	Agent	<i>mekepempesulat, ...</i>		
13.	Agent	<i>mekeksulat, ...</i>		
14.	Agent	<i>mekekpesulat, ...</i>		
15.	Agent	<i>mekekpenulat, ...</i>		
16.	Agent	<i>mekekpempesulat, ...</i>		

2. *galin* 'grind'

	Future	Past	Infinitive
1. Agent	<i>gumalin</i>	<i>guminalin</i>	<i>galin</i>
Patient	<i>gelinen</i>	<i>ginalin</i>	<i>gelinay*</i>
Location	<i>gelinan</i>	<i>giilinan</i>	<i>gelinay</i>
Instrument	<i>galin</i>	<i>ginalin</i>	<i>galin</i>
2. Agent	---	---	---
Patient	<i>pegelinen</i>	<i>pigalin</i>	<i>pegelinay*</i>
Location	<i>pegelinan</i>	<i>pigelinan</i>	<i>pegelinay</i>
Instrument	<i>pegalin</i>	<i>pigalin</i>	<i>pegalin</i>
3. Agent	<i>mengalin</i>	<i>mingalin</i>	<i>pengalin</i>
Patient	<i>pengelinen</i>	<i>pingalin</i>	<i>pengelinay*</i>
Location	<i>pengelinan</i>	<i>pingelinan</i>	<i>pengelinay</i>
Instrument	<i>pengalin</i>	<i>pingalin</i>	<i>pengalin</i>
4. Agent	<i>mempegalin, ...</i>		
5. Agent	<i>medlegalin</i>	<i>midlegalin</i>	<i>pedlegalin</i>
Patient	<i>pedlegelinen</i>	<i>pidlegalin</i>	<i>pedlegelinay*</i>
Location	<i>pedlegelinan</i>	<i>pidlegelinan</i>	<i>pedlegelinay</i>
Instrument	<i>pedlegalin</i>	<i>pidlegalin</i>	<i>pedlegalin</i>
6. Agent	<i>mekpegalin, ...</i>		
7. Agent	<i>mekpengalin, ...</i>		
8. Agent	<i>mekpempgalin, ...</i>		
9. Agent	<i>mekegalin</i>	<i>mikegalin</i>	<i>(me)kegalin</i>
Patient	<i>megalin</i>	<i>migalin</i>	<i>megalin</i>
Location	<i>megelinan</i>	<i>migelinan</i>	<i>megelinay</i>
Instrument	<i>megalin</i>	<i>migalin</i>	<i>megalin</i>
10. Agent	<i>mekepegalin, ...</i>		
11. Agent	<i>meke(pe)ngalin, ...</i>		
12. Agent	<i>mekepempgalin, ...</i>		
13. Agent	<i>mekedlegalin, ...</i>		
14. Agent	<i>mekekpegalin, ...</i>		
15. Agent	<i>mekekpengalin, ...</i>		
16. Agent	<i>mekekpempgalin, ...</i>		

3. *buku* 'knot'

	Future	Past	Infinitive
1. Agent	<i>muku</i>	<i>minuku</i>	<i>buku</i>
Patient	<i>bukuun</i>	<i>binuku</i>	<i>bukuay*</i>
Location	<i>bukuan</i>	<i>binukuan</i>	<i>bukuay</i>
Instrument	<i>buku</i>	<i>binuku</i>	<i>buku</i>

2.	Agent	---	---	---
	Patient	<i>pebukuun</i>	<i>pibuku</i>	<i>pebukuay*</i>
	Location	<i>pebukuan</i>	<i>pibukuan</i>	<i>pebukuay</i>
	Instrument	<i>pebuku</i>	<i>pibuku</i>	<i>pebuku</i>
3.	Agent	<i>memuku</i>	<i>mimuku</i>	<i>pemuku</i>
	Patient	<i>pemukuun</i>	<i>pimuku</i>	<i>pemukuay*</i>
	Location	<i>pemukuan</i>	<i>pimukuan</i>	<i>pemukuay</i>
	Instrument	<i>pemuku</i>	<i>pimuku</i>	<i>pemuku</i>
4.	Agent	<i>mempebuku, ...</i>		
5.	Agent	<i>megbuku</i>	<i>migbuku</i>	<i>pegbuku</i>
	Patient	<i>pegbukuun</i>	<i>pigbuku</i>	<i>pegbukuay*</i>
	Location	<i>pegbukuan</i>	<i>pigbukuan</i>	<i>pegbukuay</i>
	Instrument	<i>pegbuku</i>	<i>pigbuku</i>	<i>pegbuku</i>
6.	Agent	<i>mekpebuku, ...</i>		
7.	Agent	<i>mekpemuku, ...</i>		
8.	Agent	<i>mekpempebuku, ...</i>		
9.	Agent	<i>mekebuku</i>	<i>mikebuku</i>	<i>(me)kebuku</i>
	Patient	<i>(m)buku</i>	<i>mibuku</i>	<i>(m)buku</i>
	Location	<i>(m)bukuan</i>	<i>mibukuan</i>	<i>(m)bukuay</i>
	Instrument	<i>(m)buku</i>	<i>mibuku</i>	<i>(m)buku</i>
10.	Agent	<i>mekepebuku, ...</i>		
11.	Agent	<i>meke(pe)muku, ...</i>		
12.	Agent	<i>mekepempebuku, ...</i>		
13.	Agent	<i>mekegbuku, ...</i>		
14.	Agent	<i>mekekpebuku, ...</i>		
15.	Agent	<i>mekekpemuku, ...</i>		
16.	Agent	<i>mekekpempebuku, ...</i>		

4. *naug* 'climb down'

		Future	Past	Infinitive
1.	Agent	<i>menaug</i>	<i>minaug</i>	<i>(pe)naug</i>
	Patient	<i>(pe)naugen</i>	<i>pinaug</i>	<i>(pe)naugay*</i>
	Location	<i>(pe)naugan</i>	<i>pinaugan</i>	<i>(pe)naugay</i>
	Instrument	<i>(pe)naug</i>	<i>pinaug</i>	<i>(pe)naug</i>
2.	Agent	---	---	---
	Patient	<i>pepenaugen</i>	<i>pipenaug</i>	<i>pepenaugay*</i>
	Location	<i>pepenaugan</i>	<i>pipenaugan</i>	<i>pepenaugay</i>
	Instrument	<i>pepenaug</i>	<i>pipenaug</i>	<i>pepenaug</i>

3.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mempenaug</i> <i>pempenaugen</i> <i>pempenaugan</i> <i>pempenaug</i>	<i>mimpenaug</i> <i>pimpenaug</i> <i>pimpenaugan</i> <i>pimpenaug</i>	<i>pempenaug</i> <i>pempenaugay*</i> <i>pempenaugay</i> <i>pempenaug</i>
4.	Agent	<i>mempepenaug, ...</i>		
5.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mekpenaug</i> <i>pekpenaugen</i> <i>pekpenaugan</i> <i>pekpenaug</i>	<i>mikpenaug</i> <i>pikpenaug</i> <i>pikpenaugan</i> <i>pikpenaug</i>	<i>pekpenaug</i> <i>pekpenaugay*</i> <i>pekpenaugay</i> <i>pekpenaug</i>
6.	Agent	<i>mekpepenaug, ...</i>		
7.	Agent	<i>mekpempenaug, ...</i>		
8.	Agent	<i>mekpempepenaug, ...</i>		
9.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mekepenaug</i> <i>mepenaug</i> <i>mepenaugan</i> <i>mepenaug</i>	<i>mikepenaug</i> <i>mipenaug</i> <i>mipenaugan</i> <i>mipenaug</i>	<i>(me)kepenaug</i> <i>mepenaug</i> <i>mepenaugay</i> <i>mepenaug</i>
10.	Agent	<i>mekepepenaug, ...</i>		
11.	Agent	<i>meke(pe)mpenaug, ...</i>		
12.	Agent	<i>mekepempenaug, ...</i>		
13.	Agent	<i>mekekpenaug, ...</i>		
14.	Agent	<i>mekekpepenaug, ...</i>		
15.	Agent	<i>mekekpempenaug, ...</i>		
16.	Agent	<i>mekekpempepenaug, ...</i>		

5. *inlu?* 'clear off, clean up'

		Future	Past	Infinitive
1.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>minlu?</i> <i>(g)inlu?en</i> <i>(g)inlu?an</i> <i>(g)inlu?</i>	<i>mininlu?</i> <i>(g)ininlu?</i> <i>(g)ininlu?an</i> <i>(g)ininlu?</i>	<i>(g)inlu?</i> <i>(g)inlu?ay*</i> <i>(g)inlu?ay</i> <i>(g)inlu?</i>
2.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>painlu?en</i> <i>painlu?an</i> <i>painlu?</i>	<i>pi?inlu?</i> <i>pi?inlu?an</i> <i>pi?inlu?</i>	<i>painlu?ay*</i> <i>painlu?ay</i> <i>painlu?</i>
3.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mejinlu?</i> <i>pejinlu?en</i> <i>pejinlu?an</i> <i>pejinlu?</i>	<i>mijinlu?</i> <i>pijinlu?</i> <i>pijinlu?an</i> <i>pijinlu?</i>	<i>pejinlu?</i> <i>pejinlu?ay*</i> <i>pejinlu?ay</i> <i>pejinlu?</i>
4.	Agent	<i>mempainlu?, ...</i>		

5.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>meginlu?</i> <i>peginlu?en</i> <i>peginlu?an</i> <i>peginlu?</i>	<i>miginlu?</i> <i>piginlu?</i> <i>piginlu?an</i> <i>piginlu?</i>	<i>peginlu?</i> <i>peginlu?ay*</i> <i>peginlu?ay</i> <i>peginlu?</i>
6.	Agent	<i>mekpainlu?, ...</i>		
7.	Agent	<i>mekpeginlu?, ...</i>		
8.	Agent	<i>mekpempainlu?, ...</i>		
9.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mekainlu?</i> <i>mainlu?</i> <i>mainlu?an</i> <i>mainlu?</i>	<i>mikainlu?</i> <i>mi?inlu?</i> <i>mi?inlu?an</i> <i>mi?inlu?</i>	<i>(me)kainlu?</i> <i>mainlu?</i> <i>mainlu?ay</i> <i>mainlu?</i>
10.	Agent	<i>mekepainlu?, ...</i>		
11.	Agent	<i>meke(pe)ginlu?, ...</i>		
12.	Agent	<i>mekepempainlu?, ...</i>		
13.	Agent	<i>mekeginlu?, ...</i>		
14.	Agent	<i>mekekpainlu?, ...</i>		
15.	Agent	<i>mekekpeginlu?, ...</i>		
16.	Agent	<i>mekekpempainlu?, ...</i>		

6. *ektad* 'chop up'

		Future	Past	Infinitive
1.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mektad</i> <i>(k)taren</i> <i>(k)taran</i> <i>(g)ektad</i>	<i>miiktad</i> <i>(g)iiktad</i> <i>(g)iiktaran</i> <i>(g)iiktad</i>	<i>(((g)e)k)tad</i> <i>(k)taray*</i> <i>(k)taray</i> <i>(((g)e)k)tad</i>
2.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	--- <i>pektaren</i> <i>pektaran</i> <i>pektad</i>	--- <i>piiktad</i> <i>piiktaran</i> <i>piiktad</i>	--- <i>pektaray*</i> <i>pektaray</i> <i>pektad</i>
3.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mejektad</i> <i>pejektaren</i> <i>pejektaran</i> <i>pejektad</i>	<i>mijektad</i> <i>pijektad</i> <i>pijektaran</i> <i>pijektad</i>	<i>pejektad</i> <i>pejektaray*</i> <i>pejektaray</i> <i>pejektad</i>
4.	Agent	<i>mempektad, ...</i>		
5.	Agent Patient Location Instrument	<i>mejektad</i> <i>pejektaren</i> <i>pejektaran</i> <i>pejektad</i>	<i>migejektad</i> <i>pigejektad</i> <i>pigejektaran</i> <i>pigejektad</i>	<i>pejektad</i> <i>pejektaray*</i> <i>pejektaray</i> <i>pejektad</i>
6.	Agent	<i>mekpektad, ...</i>		

7.	Agent	<i>mekpepektad, ...</i>		
8.	Agent	<i>mekpempektad, ...</i>		
9.	Agent	<i>mekektad</i>	<i>mikektad</i>	<i>(me)kektad</i>
	Patient	<i>mektad</i>	<i>miiktad</i>	<i>mektad</i>
	Location	<i>mektaran</i>	<i>miiktaran</i>	<i>mektaray</i>
	Instrument	<i>mektad</i>	<i>miiktad</i>	<i>mektad</i>
10.	Agent	<i>mekepektad, ...</i>		
11.	Agent	<i>meke(pe)pektad, ...</i>		
12.	Agent	<i>mekepempektad, ...</i>		
13.	Agent	<i>mekepektad, ...</i>		
14.	Agent	<i>mekekpektad, ...</i>		
15.	Agent	<i>mekekpepektad, ...</i>		
16.	Agent	<i>mekekpempektad, ...</i>		

7. *ated* 'convey'

		Future	Past	Infinitive
1.	Agent	<i>mated</i>	<i>minated</i>	<i>ated</i>
	Patient	<i>teren</i>	<i>(g)inated</i>	<i>teray*</i>
	Location	<i>teran</i>	<i>(g)iiteran</i>	<i>teray</i>
	Instrument	<i>ated</i>	<i>(g)inated</i>	<i>ated</i>
2.	Agent	---	---	---
	Patient	<i>peteren</i>	<i>piated</i>	<i>peteray*</i>
	Location	<i>peteran</i>	<i>piiteran</i>	<i>peteray</i>
	Instrument	<i>paated</i>	<i>piated</i>	<i>paated</i>
3.	Agent	<i>meɲated</i>	<i>miɲated</i>	<i>peɲated</i>
	Patient	<i>peɲeteren</i>	<i>piɲated</i>	<i>peɲeteray*</i>
	Location	<i>peɲeteran</i>	<i>piɲeteran</i>	<i>peɲeteray</i>
	Instrument	<i>peɲated</i>	<i>piɲated</i>	<i>peɲated</i>
4.	Agent	<i>mempaated, ...</i>		
5.	Agent	<i>megated</i>	<i>migated</i>	<i>pegated</i>
	Patient	<i>peɲeteren</i>	<i>piɲated</i>	<i>peɲeteray*</i>
	Location	<i>peɲeteran</i>	<i>piɲeteran</i>	<i>peɲeteray</i>
	Instrument	<i>pegated</i>	<i>piɲated</i>	<i>pegated</i>
6.	Agent	<i>mekpaated, ...</i>		
7.	Agent	<i>mekpeɲated, ...</i>		
8.	Agent	<i>mekpempaated, ...</i>		
9.	Agent	<i>mekaated</i>	<i>mikaated</i>	<i>(me)kaated</i>
	Patient	<i>maated</i>	<i>miated</i>	<i>maated</i>
	Location	<i>meteran</i>	<i>miiteran</i>	<i>meteray</i>
	Instrument	<i>maated</i>	<i>miated</i>	<i>maated</i>

10. Agent *mekepaated*, ...
11. Agent *meke(pe)ŋated*, ...
12. Agent *mekepempaated*, ...
13. Agent *mekegated*, ...
14. Agent *mekekpaated*, ...
15. Agent *mekekpeŋated*, ...
16. Agent *mekekpempaated*, ...

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THE MORPHOLOGY OF AFFECTEDNESS IN KIMARAGANG DUSUN

PAUL R. KROEGER

1. INTRODUCTION

Kimaragang Dusun is a Philippine-type language, a member of the Dusunic family, spoken in Sabah, East Malaysia.¹ This paper examines the function of two verbal prefixes in Kimaragang, *po-* and *poN-*. I will refer to them as 'affectedness prefixes', for reasons which will become clear below. Both prefixes have cognate forms in a large number of Western Austronesian languages. *PoN-* appears in a variety of languages as a marker of 'transitivity' and has sometimes been analysed as an antipassive marker. *Po-* is homophonous with the causative prefix *po-*. While this is clearly no accident in historical terms, I do not believe that the two are related synchronically in Kimaragang.² The following examples present a minimal contrast between these prefixes:³

- (1) a. Ø-*po-suwang okuh ditih sada sid pata'an*.⁴
AV-U_n-enter 1SG.NOM this.ACC fish DAT basket
I will put this fish in the basket.
- b. *Monuwang (m-poN-suwang)*⁵ *okuh do pata'an do sada*.
AV-U_t-enter 1SG.NOM ACC basket ACC fish
I will fill a basket with fish.

One difference between the two examples is that the goal argument, the basket, gets accusative case in (1b) but dative case in (1a). There is a corresponding semantic difference between the two sentences as well. The form Ø-*po-suwang* in (1a) could be used for a single fish, or for any specified number of fish, whether or not the basket was completely filled. The form *monuwang* in (1b) could never be used for a single fish; it requires that the basket be completely filled, and implies that there is an indefinite and large amount of fish available.

In this paper a series of morphological alternations in Kimaragang, like that shown in (1), is discussed. Each of these alternations is correlated with particular semantic contrasts;

¹ For a description of Kimaragang verbal morphology, see Kroeger (1988a, 1988b, 1990). The terminology used in the 1988 papers for labelling the voice- and case-marking affixes is quite different from that used in the present paper, but this should not be a major source of confusion if the reader is forewarned.

² Some support for this suggestion is derived from causative forms in closely related languages, e.g. Penampang Kadazan, in which both *po-*s appear simultaneously. David Zorc (pers.comm.) has suggested to me that the affectedness prefix *po-* may be a reflex of PAN **paG-*, rather than the causative **pa-*.

³ For list of abbreviations and symbols used in this paper see Appendix.

⁴ The Active Voice marker is always represented by a Ø-allomorph before the prefix *po-*, whether in causative constructions or in non-causative examples like (1a).

⁵ When the surface form of a verb is not morphologically transparent, the underlying morphemic representation is shown in parentheses.

however, the specific nature of these contrasts varies considerably, depending on the semantic class of the verb and the specific argument types involved. In order to understand the observed patterns, it is necessary to distinguish 'thematic' roles, like agent, theme and goal, from the notion of 'affectedness'. The function of prefixes *po-* and *poN-* in Kimaragang is to index the semantic role of the 'affected' argument, or more precisely, of the Undergoer.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE ANALYSIS

2.1 THEMATIC ROLES VERSUS ACTION ROLES

The relation between the Actor and the Undergoer of a clause, using the terms roughly in the sense intended by Foley and Van Valin (1984), will be crucial to our discussion. The Undergoer is the entity which the speaker views as being primarily acted upon by the Actor. Following Jackendoff (1987, 1990), I will assume that the semantic properties of a verb's arguments are encoded on two separate 'tiers'. Information about motion and location is encoded on the *thematic tier*. The *action tier* represents the relationship between an Actor and the object acted upon, that is, the Undergoer.⁶

Let us return to the examples in (1). The verb *suwang* takes three arguments, which bear the roles of agent, theme and goal on the thematic tier. Either the theme or the goal may be viewed as the entity acted upon (i.e. the Undergoer). The prefix *po-* signals that the theme (the fish) is the Undergoer, while *poN-* signals that the goal (the basket) is the Undergoer. Thus the two sentences in (1a) and (1b) involve the same thematic relations but different alignments between action tier (Act.T) and thematic tier (Th.T). I will represent these two possible alignments as follows (A = Actor; U = Undergoer):

<i>po-suwang</i>	<Agent Theme Goal>	OR	<i>poN-suwang</i>	<Agent Theme Goal>	[Th.T]
	A U			A U	[Act.T]

The alternation in the identity of the Undergoer has both semantic and morphological effects. As noted above, when the goal is the Undergoer, it must be interpreted as completely affected by the action and must take accusative case. Otherwise the goal takes dative case. When the theme is the Undergoer, it must be interpreted as being individuated as well as completely affected.

This paper examines a number of alternations in which there is both morphological and semantic evidence of a shift in the identity of the Undergoer. In each case, it will be seen that the thematic role assignments of the arguments remain invariant. That is, a change in Undergoer does not involve a change in thematic role. This implies that the relation between Actor and 'acted upon' cannot be defined in terms of thematic relations, and must be represented separately.

2.2 VOICE AND CASE IN KIMARAGANG

In Kimaragang, as in most Philippine-type languages, any argument of the verb can be selected as subject. A definite Undergoer will normally be selected as subject unless some other argument of the clause is extracted. Non-subject arguments carry semantically

⁶ Jackendoff refers to the entity acted upon as the 'Patient'.

determined case marking that reflects their thematic role, but subjects always carry nominative case. The case-marking particles of Kimaragang are summarised as follows:⁷

	Nominative	Genitive/Accusative	Dative/Locative
Definite	<i>i(t)</i>	<i>di(t)</i>	<i>sid</i>
Indefinite	<i>o(t)</i>	<i>do(t)</i>	<i>sid</i>

The thematic relationship of the subject argument to the predicate is signalled by a voice- (or 'focus-') marking affix on the verb. The use of the voice markers in Kimaragang is illustrated in the following examples. In each case, the subject is underlined:

- (2) a. *Mangalapak (m-poN-lapak) okuh do niyuw.*
 AV-U_t-split 1SG.NOM ACC coconut
 I will split a coconut / some coconuts.
- b. *Lapak-on kuh it niyuw.*
 split-OV 1SG.GEN NOM coconut
 I will split the coconut(s).
- c. *Lapak-an kuh do niyuw it wogok.*
 split-DV 1SG.GEN ACC coconut NOM pig
 I will split some coconuts for the pigs (to eat).
- d. *Nokuroh.tu' n⁸-i-lapak nuh do niyuw inoh dangol*
 why PST-IV-split 2SG.GEN ACC coconut that.NOM bush.knife
kuh?
 my
 Why did you use my bush knife to split coconuts?

In example (2a), the Active Voice marker (*m-*) signals that the agent ('I') is subject, and so must be marked with nominative case. Default case assignment marks the patient ('coconut') as accusative. In example (2b), the Objective Voice marker (*-on*) indicates that the patient is the subject, and the agent takes its default case marking, genitive. In example (2c), the Dative Voice marker (*-an*) indicates that the subject is a Beneficiary. The agent takes genitive case and the patient accusative. In example (2d), the Instrumental Voice marker (*i-*) indicates that the subject is an instrument.

The Instrumental Voice is used not only for instruments, as in (2d), but also for 'Displaced Themes' (Rappaport & Levin 1986).⁹ This term refers to arguments of transitive

⁷ The genitive and accusative cases are distinguished only in pronominal forms, but for ease of exposition I will gloss non-pronominal noun phrases as accusative or genitive case depending on which form a pronominal argument would take in that same position. Another possible analysis would be to say that non-pronominal objects take genitive case, while pronominal objects take accusative case. This pattern finds parallels in other Philippine-type languages. For example, in Tagalog definite animate objects take dative case, while indefinite and most inanimate objects take genitive case.

⁸ Past tense is marked by an infix, *-in-*, which reduces to *n-* before vowels; non-past tense is morphologically unmarked. The corresponding affix in Tagalog and many other Philippine languages has been analysed as marking realis aspect, rather than tense, but Kimaragang appears to use it as a true tense marker. One manifestation of the difference is that the infix appears in simple present or present progressive forms in Tagalog (e.g. *b-in-i-bigy-an* 'is being given') whereas it is absent in the corresponding Kimaragang form (*taak-an*).

⁹ Rappaport and Levin (p.22) point out that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for Instruments and Displaced Themes to be realised in the same way (e.g. by the same prepositions). See references cited in their footnote 22.

or ditransitive verbs which involve a change of location or possession on the part of their theme (e.g. 'give', 'throw', 'hang up', 'plant', 'put away', etc.). We will use a distinct thematic role label, 'theme', for the Displaced Theme (i.e. the argument to which motion is imparted).

The normal association between thematic roles, case and voice markers is summarised in the following table:

Voice marker	Active (<i>m-</i>)	Objective (<i>-on</i>)	Instrumental (<i>i-</i>)	Dative (<i>-an</i>)
Default case	Genitive	Accusative	Accusative	Dative
Theta roles	Agent	Patient	Instrument Theme	Recipient Goal Benefactive ¹⁰

The prefixes *po-* and *poN-* appear on the verb only when the Undergoer is not the subject of the clause. The generalisation that determines which of the two prefixes appears in any given context is the following: *poN-* appears when the Undergoer is also the endpoint of the action; *po-* appears when the Undergoer is distinct from the endpoint of the action.¹¹ For this reason I have glossed these prefixes as 'U_t' (for 'terminal Undergoer') and 'U_n' (for 'non-terminal Undergoer') respectively. The identity of the endpoint is determined by the thematic tier. In example (1), the goal (the basket) is the endpoint of the action, since the action is complete when the theme (the fish) reaches the basket. Thus in (1b), the verb carries the prefix *poN-* because the Undergoer is the goal, the endpoint of the action. In (1a), the verb carries the prefix *po-* because the Undergoer is a non-endpoint, the theme.

In events of the source-theme-goal type, the goal is the endpoint of the action because the event is conceived of as being complete when the theme reaches the goal. In agent-patient type events, it is the state of the patient which delimits the action. The event is complete when the patient has been impinged on (for verbs like 'hit'), undergone a change of state (for verbs like 'kill' and 'split'), created (for verbs like 'build'), etc. Thus patients are endpoints but themes are not. This fact means that non-subject patient Undergoers will require that the verb carry the prefix *poN-* whereas non-subject theme Undergoers require the prefix *po-*.

3. DATIVE ALTERNATION

In this section the morphological and semantic correlates of an alternation in Undergoer choice are illustrated by the verb *ta'ak* 'give'. This verb takes three arguments which bear the thematic roles of agent, theme and goal. Once again, either the theme or goal may be selected

¹⁰ Non-subject Benefactives may take accusative case, but such constructions are rare and almost always involve the first person singular beneficiary. These constructions are discussed in §4.3.

¹¹ This may seem to be an unusual conditioning factor, but it is certainly not unheard of. A very similar condition determines the choice of 'goal voice' versus 'intermediary voice' in Malagasy (Keenan 1976:258).

as Undergoer. The following examples provide a minimal contrast very similar to that in example (1).

- (3) a. Ø-*pa-ta'ak okuh do siin sid tanak kuh.*
 AV-U_n-give 1SG.NOM ACC money DAT child my
 I give money to my child.
- b. *Mana'ak (m-poN-ta'ak) okuh di tanak kuh do siin.*
 AV-U_t-give 1SG.NOM ACC child my ACC money
 I give my child money.

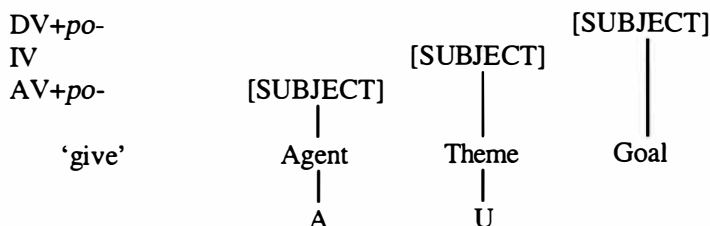
Once again, the alternation between *po-* and *poN-* correlates with a contrast between dative and accusative marking on the goal noun phrase. And once again, there are corresponding semantic contrasts between the two sentences (to be discussed below). The prefix *po-* is used when the theme is Undergoer (3a), and *poN-* when the goal is Undergoer (3b), since the goal is the endpoint of the event.

Although the Undergoer is the preferred choice of subject, subject-selection is formally independent of Undergoer-selection. Thus the verb may carry any of three possible voice markings no matter whether the theme or goal is selected as Undergoer. The possible forms of the verb when the theme is selected as Undergoer are illustrated in the following examples:

- (4) a. Ø-*pa-ta'ak okuh do siin sid tanak kuh.*
 AV-U_n-give 1SG.NOM ACC money DAT child my
 I give money to my child.
- b. *I-ta'ak kuh itih siin sid tanak kuh.*
 IV-give 1SG.GEN this.NOM money DAT child my
 I will give this money to my child.
- c. *Isai ot pa-taak-an¹² do siin?*
 who NOM U_n-give-DV ACC money
 To whom should contributions be given? (e.g. at a funeral)

All of these examples have the same Undergoer, namely the theme. But in each the subject is different: the agent in (4a), the theme in (4b) and the goal in (4c). When the Undergoer is selected as subject, as in (4b), the verb does not carry any affectedness prefix. In the other two examples the Undergoer is not the subject; the verb must carry the affectedness prefix *po-*, since the theme is not the endpoint of the action.

The alignment of roles in the preceding examples is summarised as follows:

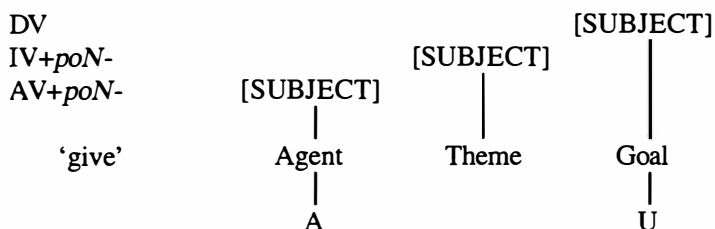


Now let us consider the possible forms of the verb when the goal is selected as Undergoer:

¹² The glottal stop in *ta'ak* and similar forms is not pronounced when a suffix is added.

- (5) a. *Mana'ak (m-poN-ta'ak) okuh di tanak kuh do siin.*
 AV-U_T-give 1SG.NOM ACC child my ACC money
 I give my child money.
- b. *Taak-an kuh i tanak kuh do siin.*
 give-DV 1SG.GEN NOM child my ACC money
 I will give my child money.
- c. *Nunuh ot pana'ak (Ø-poN-ta'ak) nuh ong orugi koh?*
 what NOM IV-U_T-give 2SG.GEN if fined 2SG.NOM
 What will you give if you have to pay a fine?

In each of these examples the Undergoer is the goal. The subject is the agent in (5a), the goal in (5b) and the theme in (5c). Since the Undergoer is the subject in (5b), no affectedness prefix appears on the verb. In the other two examples the verb must carry the affectedness prefix *poN-*, since the Undergoer is not the subject but is the endpoint of the action (the goal). The alignment of roles in these examples is summarised as follows:



There is a clear semantic contrast between the theme-Undergoer and goal-Undergoer constructions which is independent of changes in voice marking. Even though both argument structure configurations allow three different morphological expressions, depending on which argument is selected as subject, the semantic restrictions depend only on the choice of Undergoer.

The effect of the event on the Undergoer is the dominant factor in determining the interpretation assigned to the verb (in this case, 'give'). When the theme is selected as Undergoer, it is the theme's change of position, movement from the giver to the givee, which is the most salient component of meaning. When the goal is selected as Undergoer, the goal's change from non-ownership to ownership of the theme is the central element. Thus the alternation in the identity of the Undergoer gives rise to two different senses of the verb 'give' which have different entailments. The first sense entails change of physical possession while the second sense entails change of ownership.

When the theme is selected as Undergoer, as in (4), the verb may imply mere physical handing-over rather than actual transfer of ownership. Thus the form *Ø-pa-ta'ak* in (4a) could be used in reference to a delivery boy, or to some dignitary who is asked to hand out prizes. It does not imply that the Actor is the original owner of the thing being given, or that the recipient acquires ownership. In contrast, the form *m-poN-ta'ak* in (5a) can only be used when the Actor is the original owner of the thing given. It must imply transfer of ownership, but need not entail change of physical location. In contexts where change of ownership is explicitly intended, *Ø-pa-ta'ak* is impossible:

- (6) *Minokianu okuh do siin sid YB*
 asked.for 1SG.NOM ACC money DAT assemblyman

nga' amu yalo *mana'ak* (*m-poN-ta'ak*) / *Ø-*pa-ta'ak*.
but not 3SG.NOM AV-U_I-give AV-U_n-give

I asked the assemblyman for some money, but he wouldn't give me any.

Similarly, *taak-an* (as in example (5b)) marks an affected recipient as subject. In this construction the recipient must actually gain ownership of what he is given. In contrast, *pa-taak-an* is used for a non-affected recipient subject who gains physical possession but not necessarily ownership, as in example (4c). This form could be used about someone who is collecting money on behalf of another person, for example, a family friend who accepts donations at a funeral.

This analysis predicts that themes which cannot be physically moved should resist being selected as Undergoers. That is, since the theme-Undergoer sense of the verb entails a change of physical possession, themes which cannot be passed from one person to another should not be eligible to be Undergoers. This prediction is confirmed by examples like the following. The noun *tana'* is ambiguous between the meanings 'land' and 'dirt'. Since a piece of land cannot be physically moved (at least, not by human agency), only the latter sense is available when the verb is marked as taking a theme-Undergoer, as in (7b).¹³

- (7) a. *Mana'ak* (*m-poN-ta'ak*) *okuh* *dikau* *do* *tana'*.
 AV-U_I-give 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC ACC earth
 I will give you some land.
- b. *Ø-pa-ta'ak* *okuh* *dikau* *do* *tana'*.
 AV-U_n-give 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC ACC earth
 I will hand you some dirt (*land).

4. APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section several constructions involving an exceptional (or marked) assignment of the Undergoer role are discussed (i.e. an argument is selected as Undergoer which is not normally projected onto the action tier). These are referred to as applicative constructions.

In contrast with applicative formation in Bantu, or in other Western Austronesian languages such as Malay, Chamorro and Sama, there is no applicative morpheme as such in Kimaragang. Morphologically, there is no difference between applicatives and the locative- or dative-type alternations discussed in §2 and §3. Applicative formation is an operation on argument structure which has both morphological and semantic consequences of the kind illustrated above.

4.1 INSTRUMENTAL APPLICATIVES

For ditransitive verbs like 'give', there seems to be no preferred choice of Undergoer. Either the theme or the goal are equally likely to be projected onto the action tier. But for transitive verbs which take a patient, like the one illustrated in example (2), the patient is the strongly favoured choice for Undergoer. Patients are inherently acted upon. Thus, when the agent is selected as subject, the prefix *poN-* must appear on the verb, signalling that the non-subject Undergoer is a patient. When the patient is selected as subject (as is normally the case

¹³ Thanks to Jim Johansson and Janama Lontubon for confirming this prediction.

if the patient is definite), its role is encoded by the voice marker (Objective Voice) and no prefix appears on the verb. An example of this pattern was seen in example (2).

Verbs of this type have an optional instrument role. Non-subject instruments take accusative case, as illustrated in (8a). The instrument may also be selected as subject, as in (8b).

- (8) a. *Lapak-on kuh do kapak ilo' niyuw kuh.*
 split-OV 1SG.GEN ACC axe that.NOM coconut my
 I will split my coconuts with an axe.
- b. *Tongoh ot pangalapak (Ø-poN-lapak) nuh dilo' niyuw?*
 what NOM IV-U_I-split 2SG.GEN that.ACC coconuts
 What will you split those coconuts with?

In (8b), the instrument is selected as subject by the use of Instrumental Voice. Since the patient is still the Undergoer, the prefix *poN-* must also appear on the verb. Under unusual circumstances, the instrument (rather than the patient) may be encoded as the affected argument, as in (9). In these examples, the implication is that the action will be harmful to the instrument (the bush knife). (Another such example was seen in (2d).) Since the Undergoer (the instrument) is selected as subject in these examples, no affectedness prefix appears on the verb. Thus (8b) and (9) provide a minimal contrast of the non-affected versus affected instrument constructions. The voice marking of the verb remains constant. The only difference in the verbal morphology is the presence versus absence of the prefix *poN-*.

- (9) a. *Noko-rasang okuh dialo tu'*
 PERF-angry 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC because
n-i-tibas do pampang it dangol kuh.
 PST-IV-slash ACC stone NOM bush.knife my
 I got angry at him for slashing a rock with my bush knife.
- b. *Nokuroh.tu' n-i-ansap nuh do poring*
 why PST-IV-scrape 2SG.GEN ACC bamboo
inoh dangol kuh?
 that.NOM bush.knife my
 Why did you use my bush knife to scrape bamboo?

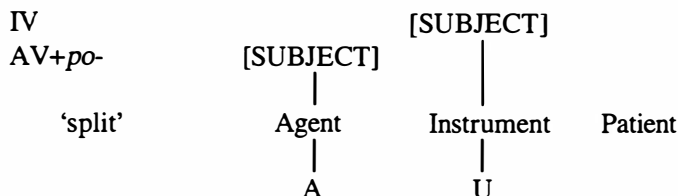
In (9) the instrument is viewed as the primary affected object and encoded as Undergoer, via the process of instrumental applicative formation. This process results in a marked assignment of the Undergoer role, since the instrument is not normally projected onto the action tier. If the instrumental Undergoer in this construction is not selected as subject, the verb must carry the prefix *po-*, since the instrument is not the endpoint of the action. The following examples, in which the Actor is selected as subject, again illustrate the contrast between non-affected instrument (10) and affected instrument (11):

- (10) *Mangalapak (m-poN-lapak) okuh do niyuw.*
 AV-U_I-split 1SG.NOM ACC coconut
 I will split a coconut / some coconuts.
- (11) a. *Ø-pa-lapak okuh poh ditih kapak nuh do niyuw.*
 AV-U_n-split 1SG.NOM yet this.ACC axe your ACC coconut
 I will (or 'Let me') split some coconuts with your axe.

- b. Ø-*po-tibas okuh poh ditih dangol nuh do pampang.*
 AV-U_n-slash 1SG.NOM yet this.ACC bush.knife your ACC stone
 I will slash a stone with your bushknife.

The sentences in (11) carry the implication that the speaker wants to test the sharpness or strength of the instrument; the action is primarily directed at the instrument, rather than the patient. Since the instrument is the Undergoer, the verb carries the prefix *po-*, in contrast to (10) where the prefix *poN-* indicates that the patient is the Undergoer.

The argument structure of the instrumental applicatives in (9) and (11) is summarised in as follows:



4.2 LOCATIVE APPLICATIVES

A number of unergative verbs which take optional locative arguments can be transitive by marking the locative as an Undergoer. For example, the stem *ogom* normally means 'sit'; the transitive form of the verb, with an affected locative argument, means 'sit on'. The stem *odop* normally means 'sleep'; the transitive form means 'sleep at'. The stem *tulud* normally means 'fly'; the transitive form means 'lunge' or 'dive at'. I will analyse these derived transitive verbs as locative applicative forms.

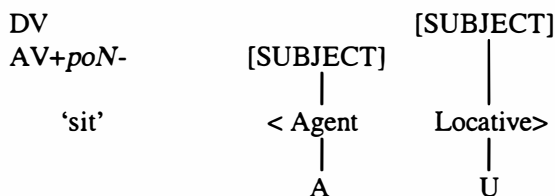
Since there is no Undergoer in the intransitive form of the verb, the Actor is normally selected as subject, as in (12), and no affectedness prefix appears on the verb. In the transitive form of the verb, the Undergoer (the applied locative argument) is the preferred choice of subject; but under some circumstances (e.g. relative clauses, Wh- questions or cleft sentences) the Actor-subject form may occur, as in (13). In such cases the prefix *poN-* is obligatory, since the locative Undergoer is the endpoint of the event. Thus the following examples provide a minimal contrast between the transitive form of the verb with no affectedness prefix (12) and the transitive form of the verb with *poN-* (13).

- (12) a. *M-odop okuh poh.*
 AV-sleep 1SG.NOM yet
 I'm going to sleep now.
- b. *M-ogom-ogom yalo sid rinantay.*
 AV-DUP-sit 3SG.NOM DAT floor
 He is sitting on the floor.
- (13) *Ong kapayig koh, isai ot mongodop (m-poN-odop)*
 if go.out you.SG who NOM AV-U_t-sleep
dilot walai nuh?
 that.ACC house your
 If you go out, who sleeps at (i.e. guards) your house?

Even in the intransitive use of the verb, locatives are eligible for subject selection, especially when, as in (14), the locative element is extracted. Again, no affectedness prefix is required on the verb because there is no Undergoer.¹⁴ In the locative applicative construction, which derives the affected transitive meanings of these verbs, the locative argument becomes an Undergoer, and is therefore the preferred choice as subject. When the locative is selected as subject, the verb takes Dative Voice, as in (15).

- (14) a. *Sid disai ot odop-on nuh?*
 at whose NOM sleep-LV 2SG.GEN
 Whose house will you sleep at?
- b. *Siomboh ot ogom-on kuh?*
 where NOM sit-LV 1SG.GEN
 Where shall I sit?
- (15) a. *Nagaman (n-ogom-an) kuh it tupi nuh.*
 PST-sit-DV 1SG.GEN NOM hat your
 I sat on your hat.
- b. *Naadapan (n-o-odop-an) noh dialo itih lamin ditih.*
 PST-STAT-sleep-DV already 3SG.ACC this.NOM room this
 He once slept in this room.

The argument structure of the locative applicative examples is summarised as follows:



4.3 BENEFACTIVE APPLICATIVES

The following examples illustrate two possible uses of Dative Voice. In (16a) the subject is a benefactive while in (16b) the subject is a locative.

- (16) a. *Lapak-an kuh do niyuw it wogok.*
 split-DV 1SG.GEN ACC coconut NOM pig
 I will split some coconuts for the pigs (to eat).
- b. *Siomboh pangalapakan (poN-lapak-an) nuh do niyuw?*
 where U_I-split-DV 2SG.GEN ACC coconut
 Where do you split coconuts?

Notice the crucial difference between (16a) and (16b): both constructions use the same voice marker, but the verb in (16a) has no prefix. This means that the Undergoer in (16a) is actually the subject (i.e. the benefactive). This conclusion is supported by a semantic restriction on benefactives in constructions like (16a) which is similar to the semantic

¹⁴ When the locative argument is selected as subject, as in (14), the verb carries a special Locative Voice marker, which is homophonous with the Objective Voice marker. The Locative Voice marker fails to delete in past tense forms, unlike the Objective Voice affix.

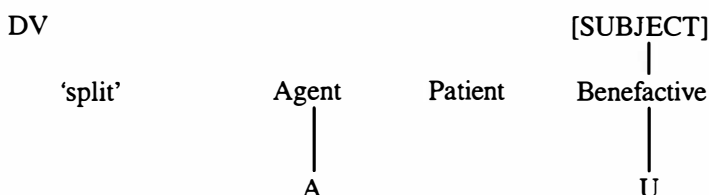
constraint on dative alternation discussed in §3, namely that a benefactive Undergoer must always be a recipient in some sense.

In example (16a) the pigs are the eventual recipients of the coconut. Non-Undergoer benefactives may be either recipients or merely someone on whose behalf an action is performed.¹⁵ Thus sentences like (17) are apparently ambiguous. They seem to allow either the reading on which the benefactive (in this case the speaker) wants the coconuts split for some purpose (e.g. to make copra), without splitting them himself (the 'on behalf of' reading); or the reading on which the speaker wants to eat the coconut meat (recipient reading). But the 'on-behalf-of' reading is the preferred one.

- (17) *Lapak-o' dogo' itih niyuw!*
 split-OV/IMP 1SG.ACC this.NOM coconut
 Split this/these coconut(s) for me!

When the benefactive is the Undergoer, as in (16a), it is conceived of as being the entity primarily acted upon. The effect of the action on the benefactive, rather than the patient, is of primary concern. For example, (16a) might be paraphrased as 'Feed the pigs (by means of splitting some coconuts)', while (17) might be paraphrased as 'Split this coconut (as a favour to me)'. In order to be viewed as 'acted upon', a benefactive must come into possession of something. Thus in contrast to the potential ambiguity of examples like (17), in a benefactive applicative only the recipient reading is possible.

The configuration of thematic- and action-tier relations in (16a), which is the result of benefactive applicative formation, is the following:



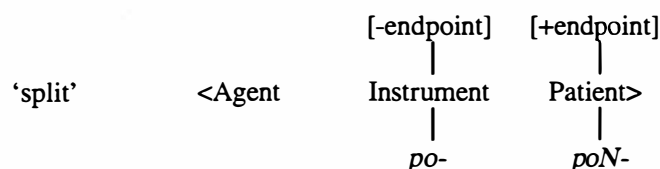
Benefactive applicatives in Kimaragang appear to impose a special constraint on subject selection, namely that the new Undergoer (i.e. the benefactive) must *always* be selected as subject. One consequence of this constraint is that non-subject benefactives, like that in (17), are never Undergoers. As we saw in the preceding sections, instrumental and locative applicatives are *not* subject to this constraint; in these constructions the applied argument (the new Undergoer) may be either subject or object, as expected.

The analysis presented here suggests a fairly natural explanation for the constraint on benefactive applicatives in terms of morphological blocking. Since applied benefactives have the semantic properties of recipients, they are endpoints; the event is complete when the benefactive (e.g. 'the pigs' in (16a)) has received the result of the agent's action on the patient ('the coconuts'). But patients, as we noted in §2, are also endpoints. Thus a non-subject benefactive Undergoer would require the same morphology on the verb (*poN-*) as a non-subject patient Undergoer does in basic (non-applicative) constructions. That is, the form *poN-V* would be ambiguous between the basic patient-Undergoer argument structure and the applicative benefactive-Undergoer argument structure. This potential ambiguity does

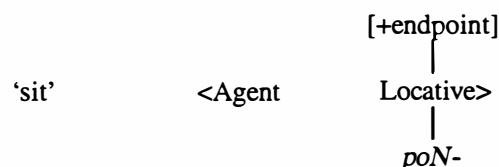
¹⁵ These non-affected Benefactives are rare, and take accusative case when they occur. The vast majority are pronominal forms, usually first person singular as in example (17); but non-pronominal examples can be constructed as well.

not arise in instrumental and locative applicatives, as illustrated in the following diagram. For each type of predicate, the diagram shows which prefix would be required on the verb if a given argument appeared as a non-subject Undergoer:

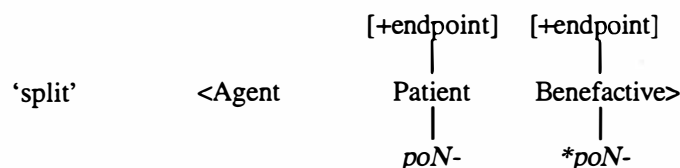
Instrumental Applicative



Locative Applicative



Benefactive Applicative



It is only in the benefactive applicative construction that we find two different arguments 'competing' for the same prefix. The patient-Undergoer construction takes precedence over the benefactive-Undergoer construction, perhaps because the patient is an obligatory argument while the benefactive is always optional. When there is no benefactive present, the form *poN-V* will always select the patient as Undergoer. Thus the only way for the grammar to avoid ambiguity is to ensure that, when both patient and benefactive are present, the form *poN-V* still selects the patient as Undergoer. Note that the 'blocking' effect does not prevent benefactives from becoming Undergoers (as in benefactive applicatives), but only from becoming non-subject Undergoers. This fact suggests that the constraint does not apply to argument structure, but is purely morphological in nature.

In summary, applicative formation creates an argument structure with a marked choice of Undergoer. The semantic effects are slightly different for each of the three types of applicative, but in each case there are clear semantic differences between the applicative and non-applicative forms. However, there is no morphological marker for applicative formation, that is, no single morpheme which is present in applicative constructions but lacking in non-applicative constructions. And once again, the morphological evidence (invariance of voice-marking categories) indicates that a change in affectedness relations does not involve a change in thematic roles.

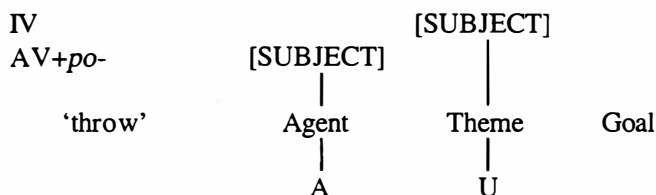
5. 'THROW' VERSUS 'THROW-AT'

The analysis developed in the preceding sections enables us to give a coherent account of the morphosyntactic behaviour of several classes of verbs which would otherwise appear

quite anomalous. One such class involves a group of verbs with meanings similar to 'throw'. Consider the following examples involving the roots *pilay* 'throw' and *tokon* 'hurl (as a spear)':

- (18) a. *Ø-po-tokon okuh do tandus.*
 AV-U_n-hurl 1SG.NOM ACC spear
 I will throw a spear.
- b. *Amu elo' yalo Ø-po-pilay do bula.*
 not know 3SG.NOM AV-U_n-throw ACC ball
 He doesn't know how to throw a ball.
- (19) a. *I-tokon kuh itih tandus nuh sid gowuton.*
 IV-hurl 1SG.GEN this.NOM spear your DAT jungle
 I will throw your spear into the bush.
- b. *Ababak ot kasa ong i-pilai sid pampang.*
 break NOM bottle if IV-throw DAT rock
 A bottle will break if thrown against a rock.

The morphological pattern of these examples indicates that the theme is linked to the Undergoer role. When the agent is selected as subject (example 18), the verb must carry the prefix *po-*, since the Undergoer (the theme) is not the subject. When the theme is selected as subject (example 19), the verb carries only the Instrumental Voice marker. These patterns are summarised as follows:



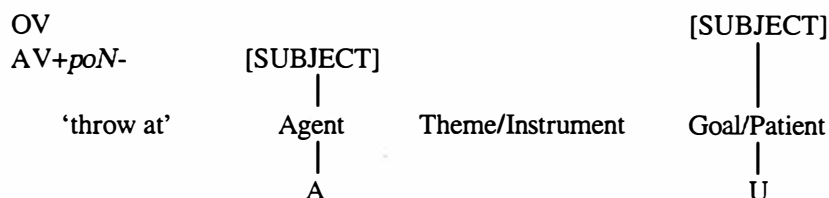
Our analysis also explains why the verbal affixation in the following examples (*poN-* in (20) and Objective Voice in (21)) requires that the Undergoer be interpreted as the target, not the missile:

- (20) a. *Monokon (m-poN-tokon) okuh do kanas.*
 AV-U_t-hurl 1SG.NOM ACC wild.pig
 I will spear a wild pig. (not *I will hurl a wild pig.)
- b. *Momilay (m-poN-pilay) okuh poh do mangga.*
 AV-U_t-throw 1SG.NOM yet ACC mango
 I will throw something at mangoes (to knock them down).
 (not *I will throw a mango.)
- (21) a. *Tokon-on kuh i kanas do poring.*
 hurl-OV 1SG.GEN NOM wild.pig ACC bamboo
 I will spear the wild pig with bamboo.

- b. *Pilay-on tekaw (kuh-ikaw)¹⁶ do pampang!*
 throw-OV 1SG.GEN-2SG.NOM ACC stone
 I'm going to throw stones at you!

In (19), the target (i.e. the thing thrown at) gets dative case, the default case-assignment for goals. But when the target is selected as Undergoer, it gets accusative case as in example (20). The verb in (20) carries the prefix *poN-* as expected, since the target is clearly the endpoint of the action. When the target is selected as subject (example 21), the verb takes Objective Voice rather than Dative Voice. This suggests that it carries the patient thematic role, instead of (or in addition to?) that of goal. This fact may be derivable from the semantics of patient and goal, but for the moment we will simply assume that there are two distinct argument structures associated with such roots in the lexicon, one meaning 'throw' and the other meaning 'throw at'.

In the 'throw at' sense of these verbs, the target is the entity acted upon. The missile in these examples may carry either the theme or instrument role – the two cannot be distinguished here, because both roles get default accusative case. The argument structure of these examples is as follows:



6. 'SEMI-TRANSITIVE' VERBS

There is a small class of verbs in Kimaragang that are semantically transitive but seem to be morphologically intransitive. I refer to these as 'semi-transitive' verbs. This class includes the stems *sambat* 'meet', *waya* 'follow' or 'accompany', *sombol* 'visit', *susuy* 'walk along' or 'walk over', etc. The equivalent verbs in Polynesian are a subset of the class which Chung (1978) refers to as 'middle' verbs, as distinct from the 'canonical transitive' verbs. Chung (pp.47-48) states, 'Middle clauses exhibit a...case pattern which resembles that used for intransitive clauses containing an oblique NP'.

The status of grammatical objects in Philippine languages is a controversial issue. In most of these languages it is difficult to point to clear language-internal evidence of 'objecthood' properties, partly because of the unique voice system which does not include any traditional rule of passive. However, I identify the second arguments of semi-transitive verbs as grammatical objects (when they are not selected as subject) because they are obligatory arguments which always receive accusative case marking. These properties distinguish them from non-Undergoer instruments (which get accusative case but are not obligatory) on the one hand and non-Undergoer goals or locatives (which may be obligatory but take dative case) on the other.

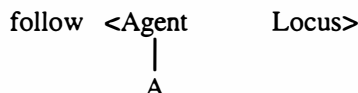
¹⁶ The form *tekaw* is a phonologically irregular contraction of the pronouns *kuh* (1SG.GEN) and *ikaw* (2SG.NOM). It is used, like the form *kita* in Tagalog, when there is a first person singular Actor and a second person singular Undergoer-subject.

In Kimaragang, there are two morphological peculiarities of the semi-transitive verbs. Firstly, even though these verbs take a direct object, the prefix *poN-* does not appear. In this respect, they are similar to intransitive verbs. Secondly, the agent of these verbs is the default choice for subject assignment (as with intransitive verbs) even when the second argument (i.e. the object) is definite. The second argument of the verb is selected as subject primarily in relative clauses, cleft sentences or Wh- questions (as in (22b)). When this happens, the verb is marked for Locative Voice. This pattern is illustrated with the stem *waya* 'accompany':

- (22) a. *Maya (m-waya) okuh dikaw.*
 AV-follow 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC
 I will come with you.
- b. *Isay ot woyo'on (waya-on) nuh t-um-alob?*
 who NOM follow-LV 2SG.GEN [-AV-market]
 Who will you go to market with?

Both of the morphological irregularities mentioned above can be explained by assuming that the second argument of these verbs is not projected onto the action tier (i.e. not marked as being an Undergoer). Because there is no Undergoer, no prefix will be required (or permitted) on the verb no matter which argument is selected as subject. Since the second argument is not an Undergoer, it will not have priority in subject selection even if it is definite. Thus the form of the verb found in (22a) will be the most frequent.

It is not clear what thematic role label is appropriate for the second argument of these verbs. Most of them seem related to goal- or path-like notions. For now I will simply use the label 'Locus' for these arguments, pending a more satisfying semantic analysis of this class of verbs. Note that 'Locus' must be distinguished from the 'locative' role of the unergative verbs in §4.2.



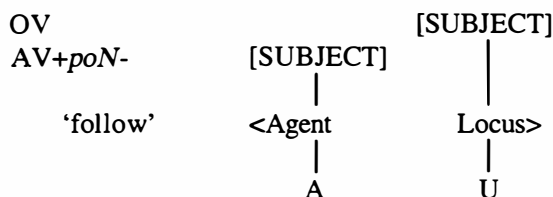
The claim that the second arguments of verbs like 'follow', 'meet', 'visit', etc. are not affected, as suggested by the above representation, seems reasonable on semantic grounds. Confirmation of this claim comes from the fact that the same stems can appear in affected (or true transitive) forms as well, with morphology which marks the second argument as being an Undergoer and corresponding changes in meaning. For example, the semi-transitive verb *waya* normally means 'follow' or 'accompany'. In its affected or transitive form, the verb takes on the meaning of 'escort', either for protection or encouragement. Compare the following (transitive) examples with the semi-transitive examples in (22) involving the same stem:¹⁷

¹⁷ Notice that the verb form used in (22b) and (23a) is ambiguous between the affected and non-affected meanings of the verb. This ambiguity is eliminated in the past tense, where the Objective Voice marker is replaced by a zero-allomorph, as in (a) below. This zero-allomorph is the regular marker of Objective Voice in past tense forms in most if not all Philippine languages. However, as mentioned in fn.14, the Locative Voice marker *-on* does not delete in past tense, as illustrated in (b).

a. *W-in-aya-Ø okuh dialo muli kosodoy.*
 [-PST-follow-OV 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC go.home last.night]
 He escorted me home last night.

- (23) a. *Kada kosusa, woyo'on (waya-on) tekaw(kuh-ikaw).*
 don't worry follow-OV 1SG.GEN-2SG.NOM
 Don't be afraid, I will escort you (e.g. at night).
- b. *Yokuh ot mamaya (m-poN-way) di Janama ong manansawo.*
 1SG.TOP NOM AV-U_t-follow ACC Janama if get.married
 I am the one who will escort Janama when he gets married (i.e. I will be the best man at Janama's wedding).

In the transitive sense of the verb, it is the second argument which is the normal choice of subject. The Actor may be selected as subject, primarily in relative clauses, Wh- questions or cleft sentences as in (23b). But if so, the verb must carry the prefix *poN-* (crucially absent in (22a)). Both of these facts, together with the semantic contrast, suggest that the Locus in example (23) is an Undergoer. The argument structure for (23) is as follows:



7. UNDERGOER VERSUS 'OBJECT'

I did not make reference to the notion 'object' in §2 to define the function of the affectedness prefixes. We could try to simplify the definition somewhat by treating the affectedness prefixes, *po-* and *poN-*, as some kind of object-agreement marker:

poN- signals that the direct object is the endpoint of the action; *po-* signals that the direct object is distinct from the endpoint of the action.

In most cases, this formulation makes the correct predictions since when the Undergoer is selected as subject, there is no direct object. But in order to adopt this approach, one would have to assume that the objects of semi-transitive verbs are not direct objects, but rather some kind of restricted or secondary object. The morphological and semantic contrasts discussed in the preceding section strongly suggest that the objects of semi-transitive verbs (in their basic senses) are not Undergoers. If I am correct in analysing them as grammatical objects, then the rule governing the use of the affectedness prefixes must make reference to the category 'Undergoer' rather than 'direct object'.

Given the correlation noted by Jackendoff (1987) between Undergoers and direct objects in English, one might ask whether it is possible to dispense with the notion of Undergoer entirely. That is, if we adopt the assumption that the objects of semi-transitive verbs are not direct objects, then the notion of grammatical object might be enough to account for the morphological and semantic effects described above. Specifically, one might propose a 'rule of interpretation' of the sort argued *against* by Rappaport and Levin (1986:14-15) which

would assign an affected reading to the direct internal argument (i.e. the subject or direct object).¹⁸

But this approach has the effect of removing affectedness entirely from the semantic representation, which seems to be counter-intuitive. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the rule of interpretation could be stated in any insightful way strictly in terms of grammatical relations. One would have to say something like the following:

Interpret the action as primarily affecting the direct object, if any. Otherwise, interpret the action as primarily affecting the subject, unless the verb is intransitive or semi-transitive.

This formulation obviously misses the underlying generalisation which can only be stated in terms of some notion equivalent to Undergoer. Similarly, under the ergative analysis proposed by Gerdts (1988) and Payne (1982), one could treat *po-* and *poN-* as being antipassive prefixes. But to make this analysis work, one would have to assume that the initial 2 is always the argument I have labelled the Undergoer. Alternations of the kind discussed in the previous sections would have to involve changes in the identity of the initial 2 (i.e. Undergoer), just as in the analysis I have offered above. Whether we express these as alternations in the linking to the direct internal argument position, initial 2 relation, or Undergoer, the effect is the same. They are alternations at the level of argument structure, which have systematic effects on both the morphosyntax and the semantics.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	Actor	PERF	perfective aspect (= past stative)
ACC	accusative case	PST	past tense
AV	active voice	SG	singular
DAT	dative case	STAT	stative aspect
DUP	reduplication	TOP	topic
DV	dative voice	U	Undergoer
GEN	genitive case	U _t	terminal Undergoer
IMP	imperative	U _n	non-terminal Undergoer
IV	instrumental voice	[-	initial consonant of root (preceding infix)
LV	locative voice	x-y	morpheme boundary
NOM	nominative case	x.y	separates multi-word glosses
OV	objective voice		

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b. *Ih Jim ot w-in-oyo-on kuh m-ongoi sid kadai.*
 PN Jim NOM [-PST-follow-LV 1SG.GEN AV-go LOC shop
 It was Jim that I went to town with.

¹⁸ Of course, in their framework the direct internal argument at D-structure corresponds almost perfectly to what I have labelled the Undergoer.

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THE CHANGING FACE OF FOCUS IN THE LANGUAGES OF BORNEO

BEATRICE CLAYRE

1. INTRODUCTION

At the Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics in 1978, Paz Buenaventura Naylor suggested that focus, rather than subject, transitivity or case was the organising principle that underlay verbal predication, not only in Philippine-type languages but in other Austronesian languages as well (Naylor 1978:395). At the fourth conference, Otto Christian Dahl made the interesting point that although the Austronesian languages of Madagascar have a developed focus system, similar to that found in the Philippines, their nearest known relative, the Ma'anyan language spoken in south-east Borneo, appears to have lost it (see Dahl 1986:21,37). The aim of this paper is to show that a focus system is present in the languages of Borneo,¹ although it is generally in a much reduced form and less overtly marked than in Philippine-type languages.

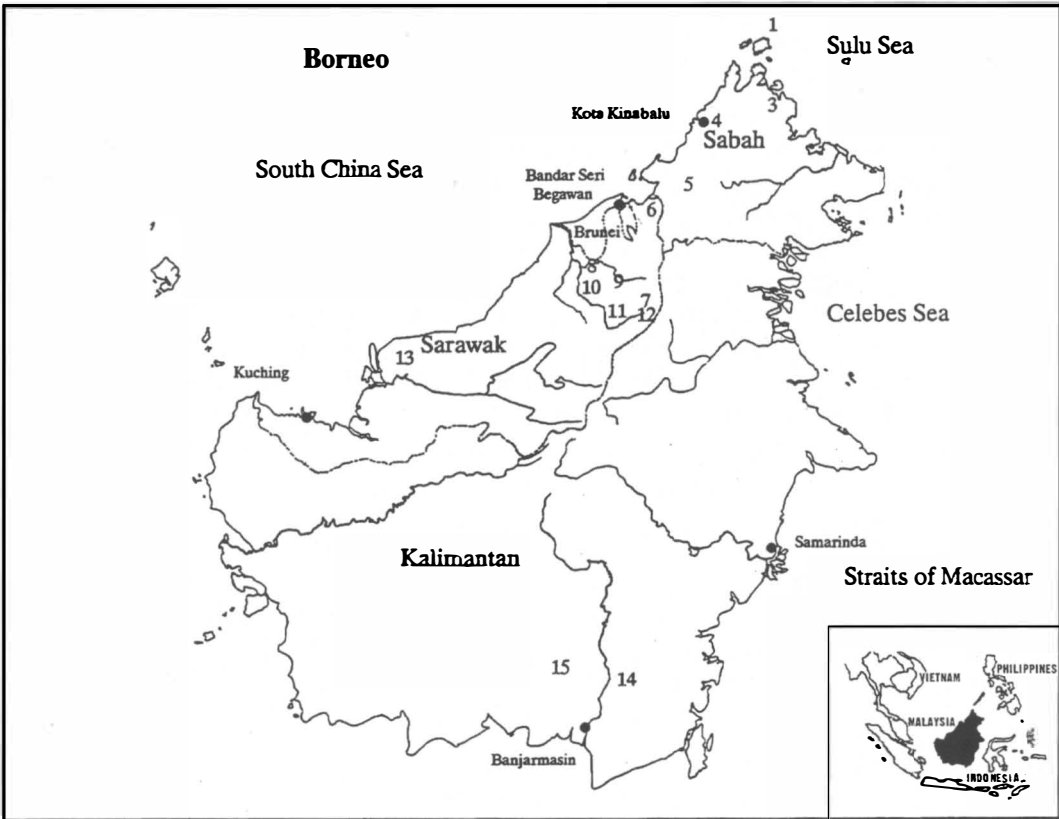
1.1 THE LANGUAGES

The survey of focus followed a detailed study of two related languages, Lun Bawang and Sa'ban, belonging to a language group which Hudson called the Apo Duat group (Hudson 1978:25). These two languages, although lexically 75 per cent cognate (Clayre, B. 1972:146), are markedly different both phonologically and morphosyntactically. Between them, these two languages reflect most of the patterns of change which can be observed in the focus systems of the languages of Borneo.

Fifteen languages were examined in the survey. They are from three different areas: Sabah, north-central Sarawak, and south-east Kalimantan (see map). With the exception of the two from Kalimantan, the languages were chosen on the basis of personal experience, or of access to reliable grammatical information. Of the two Kalimantan languages, Ma'anyan was chosen for the Malagasy connection, and Ngaju because it is spoken in the same region, and a published grammar was available for it. It might appear from the map that a large area of central Borneo had been omitted in this survey. In fact, the languages spoken there mostly belong to the Kayan-Kenyah group (Hudson 1978:28-32), four members of which, Kayan, Murik, Lepo Ké and Penan, were included among the languages examined in north-central Sarawak. The main area not represented in the survey is south-west Borneo where many of

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the award of a Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy, and of a grant from the Committee for South-East Asian Studies of the British Academy, which enabled me to carry out research on the languages of Sarawak. I wish to thank David Moody and Hein Steinhauer whose helpful comments at different stages in the preparation of this paper have led to an improved version. Thanks are also due to William Howery of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for initial preparation of the map, and to the Sarawak Museum for every assistance.

the languages, for example Iban, belong to the Malayic Dayak group (Hudson 1978:18-19). Details of the languages referred to in this paper, together with information on the sources used, are given in Appendix 1. The main languages examined, and the abbreviations used for them in the tables, are listed in Table 1.²



MAP: LANGUAGES IN BORNEO

1	Bonggi	(BI)	9	Penan	(PE)
2	Kimaragang	(KM)	10	Kayan	(KA)
3	Tombonuo	(TO)	11	Murik	(MU)
4	Coastal Kadazan	(CK)	12	Lepo Ké	(LK)
5	Timugon	(TM)	13	Melanau	(ML)
6	Lun Bawang	(LB)	14	Ma'anyan	(MA)
7	Sa'ban	(SA)	15	Ngaju	(NG)
8	Berawan	(BR)			

² For Sabah, I have followed the language classification of King and King (1984); for Sarawak and Kalimantan, that of Hudson (1978).

TABLE 1: ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGE NAMES

SABAH	Language	Language group
BI	Bonggi	Isolate
CK	Coastal Kadazan	Dusunic
KM	Kimaragang	Dusunic
TM	Timugon	Murutic
TO	Tombonuo	Paitanic
SARAWAK		
BR	Berawan	Rejang-Baram
KA	Kayan	Kayan
LB	Lun Bawang	Apo Duat
LK	Lepo Ké	Kenyah
ML	Melanau	Rejang-Baram
MU	Murik	Kayan
PE	Penan	Kenyah
SA	Sa'ban	Apo Duat
KALIMANTAN		
MA	Ma'anyan	East Barito
NG	Ngaju	West Barito

1.2 FOCUS

It became increasingly clear during this survey that a focus system does not operate in a vacuum. Focus marking, whether nominal or verbal, is interrelated with other syntactic and morphological features, which are themselves still imperfectly understood. These include factors such as the relationship between focus and aspect, the role played by verbal semantics, and the question of transitivity or ergativity. There are also examples of an interrelation between focus and phonological features. In a survey such as this, it would be impossible to take account of all these factors. It is, therefore, restricted by and large to nominal and verbal focus marking in main clauses containing eventive verbs.

The term 'focus' is used in Philippine-type languages, to describe a system of voice marking, by which a single nominal element in each verbal clause is morphologically marked for special prominence. The prototypical Philippine focus system, of which Tagalog may be regarded as a classic example, has four or more possible focus constructions, usually actor, goal, benefactive or locative, and instrument. The focused item³ in each clause is clearly indicated by the affixes on the verb and the case-markers of the nominal arguments.

1.3 ORGANISATION OF THE PAPER

In describing focus in the languages of Borneo, the marking of nominal arguments, including pronoun systems and word order (§2), is first discussed, followed by the system of verb affixation employed in the various languages studied (§3). In §4, a particular type of

³ In the literature on focus, the focused nominal has been variously called 'subject', 'topic', 'trigger' and more recently, following Foley and Van Valin (1984) 'pivot'.

focus construction recorded in several languages of central north Sarawak is discussed. Section 5 summarises some of the more interesting patterns to emerge from the survey, and comments on the position of Sa'ban in relation to Lun Bawang and certain other languages of the area.

2. THE MARKING OF NOMINAL ARGUMENTS

2.1 NOUNS OR NOUN PHRASES

Noun markers precede the head noun in noun phrases. Their primary function is to indicate the relationships, in terms of focus, of the noun phrases within the clause. They have other functions too, but since these do not relate to focus they are not discussed here.⁴ In Tagalog, the focused noun phrase is signalled by the marker, *ang*, the non-focused noun in the core argument by *ng*, and locative or benefactive by *sa*. Personal names are marked similarly by *si*, *ni* and *kay* respectively.

In the Dusunic and Paitanic languages of Sabah, generally speaking, the distinction, reflected in the noun markers, is between focused and non-focused noun phrases, whether they are common nouns or personal names.⁵ The markers used in four languages of Sabah are listed in Table 2. Only the Murutic language, Timugon, distinguishes between a non-focused actor, and a non-focused, non-actor nominal. In some of the Sabah languages, Timugon or Tombonuo for example, the focused noun phrase is signalled by the absence of a marker. In other words, the focused noun phrase is unmarked. Isolates, such as Bonggi or Ida'an, have no markers for common nouns, whether focused or not,⁶ but Bonggi, does mark personal names. In Bonggi, the absence of focus marking on the core nominals (actor and undergoer) means that word order becomes important: focused noun phrases usually occur in prepredicate position (Boutin 1988a:4; 1988b:58).

TABLE 2: NOUN MARKERS IN LANGUAGES OF SABAH

		Focus	Non-focus actor	Non-focus non-actor
TM	common noun	—	<i>ru</i>	<i>ra</i>
	personal name	<i>i</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ra</i>
CK	common noun	<i>i, o</i>	<i>di, do</i>	<i>di, do</i>
	personal name	<i>i, zi</i>	<i>di</i>	—
TO	common noun	—	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>
	personal name	<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
BI	common noun	—	—	—
	personal name	<i>si</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>dii, i</i>

In Lun Bawang, there are no noun markers with common nouns. Personal names may be marked by *i* or *ni*, but these no longer relate to the focus system, as I presume they once

⁴ A full description of the forms and functions of noun markers in the languages of Sabah is given in Boutin (1991).

⁵ In Dusunic languages, the noun markers also signal definite and indefinite nouns. Definite is signalled by *i* or *di*, according to the focus, and similarly indefinite by *o* and *do* (Clayre, B. 1967:116; Boutin 1988b:57).

⁶ Non-core or oblique arguments are marked by the appropriate prepositions.

did.⁷ In all the other languages examined in this survey, those of Sarawak and Kalimantan, common nouns were unmarked. In other words, noun phrases in these languages carry no marker to distinguish the focused from the non-focused arguments of a clause. Focus in these languages is signalled by word order, cross-referenced by the verb affix. This will be discussed in §2.3.

Demonstratives behave in a similar way to noun markers. In the Dusunic languages of Sabah, for example, they distinguish between focused and non-focused nouns (Clayre, B. 1970:195). In Lun Bawang and the other languages of Sarawak, demonstratives do not distinguish focus. They have two forms: a long form or a short form, for example in Lun Bawang 'that' occurs as *ineh* or *neh*. The short form usually follows the nominal.

2.2 PRONOUNS

A feature of focus languages is the presence of several sets of pronouns, the use of which parallels the use of markers in noun phrases. In a typical Philippine language such as Tagalog, there will be at least three sets of pronouns. One set is used when the pronoun is the focused element in the clause. A second set is used for non-focused actors (this set is usually the same as the possessive pronoun set). The third set is used for non-focus, non-actor pronouns. Many languages have a further set used for emphasis, but since their primary function is not to mark focus they are not included in this survey.

2.2.1 SABAH

Sabah languages typically have three pronoun sets, as does Lun Bawang spoken in northern Sarawak. These sets are sometimes described in terms of syntactic case, as nominative, genitive and accusative (Boutin 1991), corresponding to sets I, II and III in Table 3.⁸ Boutin suggests that at one time all the languages probably had two basic sets of pronouns with a case marker being used for the accusative set (i.e. set III), as at present in Tombonuo. The case marker cliticised to the following host pronoun and was reinterpreted as part of the pronoun, thus forming a new pronoun set (Boutin 1991). The use of the different pronoun sets is illustrated in examples (1) - (3) from the Lun Bawang language. In these examples *ui* (1), and *ieh* (2) and (3) are focus pronouns of set I; *ku* (3) and *neh* (1) are non-focus actor pronouns of set II; and *negku* (2) and *neneh* (3) are non-focus, non-actor pronouns of set III. Examples (1) and (3) are undergoer focus clauses, example (2) is actor focus.⁹ The pronouns are underlined.

- (1) Ui *b-in-abe*h neh.
1SG.FOC R-CM-carry 3SG.NF
He carried me.

- (2) Ieh *n-ier* negku.
3SG.FOC AF-see 1SG.NF.NA
He sees me.

⁷ Their present use is not yet fully understood, but *ni* is, among other things, an oblique marker.

⁸ Boutin (1991) provides full lists of the pronouns for fifteen Sabah languages.

⁹ For a list of abbreviations used in the examples see Appendix 2.

- (3) *In-apung* ku ieh rat neneh.
 CM-hide 1SG.NF 3SG.FOC from 3SG.NF.NA
 I hid it from him.

TABLE 3: PRONOUN SETS IN LANGUAGES OF NORTH BORNEO

Set I: Focus pronouns (nominative)

Pronoun	BI	TO	KM	TM	LB
1SG	<i>ou</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>okuh</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>ui</i>
2SG	<i>aha</i>	<i>ko, ikau</i>	<i>koh, ikaw</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>iko</i>
3SG	<i>sia</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>yalo</i>	<i>io</i>	<i>ieh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kiti</i>	<i>toko</i>	<i>tokou</i>	<i>takau</i>	<i>tau</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ih</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>okoi</i>	<i>akai</i>	<i>kai</i>
2PL	<i>uhu</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>ikoo, kou</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>muyuh</i>
3PL	<i>sigelama</i>	<i>nosiro</i>	<i>yaalo</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>ideh</i>

Set II: Non-focus actor pronouns (genitive)

1SG	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuh</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
2SG	<i>nu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nuh</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mu</i>
3SG	<i>ngia</i>	<i>niyo</i>	<i>yoh, dialo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>neh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ti</i>	<i>toko</i>	–	<i>takau</i>	<i>tau</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>mi</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>yah</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>kai</i>
2PL	<i>nyu</i>	<i>nuyu</i>	<i>duyuh</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>muyuh</i>
3PL	<i>sigelama</i>	<i>nosiro</i>	–	<i>nilo</i>	<i>deh</i>

Set III: Non-focus, non-actor pronouns (accusative)

1SG	<i>diaadn</i>	<i>so aku</i>	<i>dogon</i>	<i>raki'</i>	<i>negku</i>
2SG	<i>diha</i>	<i>so ikau, ko</i>	<i>dikaw</i>	<i>rurun</i>	<i>nemu</i>
3SG	<i>ngia</i>	<i>so iyo</i>	<i>dialo</i>	<i>riso</i>	<i>neneh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>dihiti</i>	<i>so toko</i>	<i>daton</i>	<i>ritakau</i>	<i>netau</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>dih</i>	<i>so kai</i>	<i>dagai</i>	<i>ramon</i>	<i>nekai</i>
2PL	<i>dihu</i>	<i>so kou</i>	<i>dikoo</i>	<i>ramuyun</i>	<i>nemuyuh</i>
3PL	<i>sigelama</i>	<i>so nosiro</i>	<i>daalo</i>	<i>risilo</i>	<i>nede</i>

Data sources for Table 3: BI, TO – Boutin (1988a:5, 1991); TM – Brewis and Levinsohn (1991:30); KM – Kroeger (1988:220); LB – personal notes.

2.2.2 NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

In the languages of Sarawak, there are two basic sets of pronouns (see Table 4), which cannot be described in terms of syntactic case, since set I pronouns are used for the undergoer, regardless of whether or not the undergoer is in focus, and for the focused actor. Pronouns of set II (the genitive set), are used for the non-focused actor. Thus pronouns representing the undergoer are taken from set I, whereas pronouns representing the actor are split between sets I and II depending on the focus. This situation contrasts with that in many of the Sabah languages, where pronouns representing the undergoer are also split, but between sets I and III, depending on the focus. Oblique case is signalled by a preposition before the pronoun. The pronoun may be a member of set I or set II, depending on the

language,¹⁰ and sometimes they are fused. The phrase 'to me' is rendered in Berawan, Penan and Sa'ban respectively as follows: *ngaan akkoh* (set I), *ngan ké'* (set II), and *né'éek* (fused).

TABLE 4: PRONOUN SETS IN LANGUAGES OF SARAWAK

Set I: Undergoer and focused actor

Pronoun	BR	PE	ML	KA	MU	LK	SA
1SG	<i>akkoh</i>	<i>akeu', ku'</i>	<i>akou</i>	<i>akui, kui</i>	<i>aku'</i>	<i>aké</i>	<i>éek</i>
2SG	<i>noh</i>	<i>ka'au, ko'</i>	<i>ka'au</i>	<i>ika', ka'</i>	<i>ika'</i>	<i>iko'</i>	<i>céh</i>
3SG	<i>jah</i>	<i>iah, éh</i>	<i>nyin</i>	<i>iha', ha'</i>	<i>iha'</i>	<i>iah</i>	<i>ieh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kittah</i>	<i>itam, tam</i>	<i>telou</i>	<i>itam, tam</i>	<i>itam</i>	<i>ilu'</i>	<i>taem</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kamméh</i>	<i>amé, mé</i>	<i>kamei</i>	<i>kamé'</i>	<i>kami'</i>	<i>amé'</i>	<i>amai</i>
2PL	<i>kaam</i>	<i>ka'ah, keh</i>	<i>kelou</i>	<i>ikam, kam</i>	<i>kelo'</i>	<i>ikam</i>	<i>ciem</i>
3PL	<i>irah</i>	<i>irah, réh</i>	<i>luin</i>	<i>daha'</i>	<i>laha'</i>	<i>idah</i>	<i>deh</i>

Set II: Non-focused actor and genitive

1SG	<i>koh</i>	<i>ké'</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>kui, -k</i>	<i>ku, -k</i>	<i>ké'</i>	<i>éek, (-')</i>
2SG	<i>noh</i>	<i>ke'</i> (-m)	<i>ka'au</i> [nəw]	<i>ka'</i> -m	<i>ka'</i> -m	<i>ko'</i>	<i>céh</i> (-m)
3SG	<i>nyih</i>	<i>néh</i>	<i>nyin</i>	<i>na'</i>	<i>na'</i>	<i>oniah</i>	<i>ieh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kittah</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>telou</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>lu'</i>	<i>taem</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kamméh</i>	<i>mé</i>	<i>kamei</i>	<i>amé'</i>	<i>kami'</i>	<i>mé'</i>	<i>amai</i>
2PL	<i>kaam</i>	<i>keh</i>	<i>kelou</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kelo</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>ciem</i>
3PL	<i>irah</i>	<i>réh</i>	<i>luin</i>	<i>daha'</i>	<i>laha</i>	<i>dah</i>	<i>deh</i>

Notes on Table 4: Round brackets indicate fossilised pronouns. Square brackets indicate information from another dialect. Data sources: KA – Clayre and Cubit (1974:48); ML – I.F. Clayre (1972:120); PE – Clayre and Britza (1967); BR, MU, SA and LK – personal notes.

In addition to singular and plural pronouns, the languages of north-central Sarawak have a dual and often a trial set of pronouns,¹¹ but they do not inflect for focus.

In Kayan and Penan, the pronouns of set I have a long and short form, but the use of these forms is not governed by the rules of focus.¹²

In Mukah Melanau, the distinction between the two sets of pronouns is reduced to the first two singular pronouns, (Blust 1988:154) but in Dalat Melanau the distinction is maintained in the first person singular only (Clayre, I.F. 1973b:245).

In Sa'ban there is only one set of pronouns which is used for both actor and undergoer, regardless of the focus. This was not always the case, however, for in Sa'ban the fossilised remnants of an earlier set of genitive and non-focused actor pronouns is still discernible in the language. A few nouns, such as *hnaen* 'mother', or *ppuen* 'grandparent', have a form

¹⁰ The reason for this difference has not yet been identified.

¹¹ Trial usually includes from 3 to about 10 people, and overlaps with the use of the plural pronoun.

¹² As a general rule, long forms occur clause initially, or before the verb, and short forms occur in second position in the clause, or following the verb, but this rule is not absolute, and short forms do occur before the verb and long forms can follow it. For example in Penan, 'I climbed' can occur as *akeu' mukat*, *mukat akeu'*, or *mukat ku'*, but when an undergoer is added the pronoun must precede the verb. '(Then) I climbed that tree' is *akeu' mukat kayeu' nah*, or (Boh) *ku' mukat kayeu' nah*. **Mukat ku' kayeu' nah* is unacceptable, since it would mean 'the tree climbed me'. See §2.3.

hnaem meaning 'your mother', or *ppuem* 'your grandparent'. A few verbs, such as *mraey* 'give' and *aro* 'do' or 'make', have preserved an undergoer focus imperative in *riem* 'be given!' and *uem* 'be made!' or 'be done!'. The final *m* in these words must reflect the second person singular, genitive pronoun *mu* or *nu* found today in Lun Bawang and other languages of Borneo (Tables 3 - 5).

A similar fossilisation occurs with some kindred terms in Penan, for example, *tuken* 'elder sibling', and *tukem* 'your elder sibling'.¹³ In Kayan and Murik the first and second person singular pronouns occur as *-k* and *-m* on certain verbs in undergoer focus constructions, for example, *kena-k* 'done by me' and *kena-m* 'done by you', which occurs in both Kayan and Murik.

Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the use of these pronouns in Penan, and (6) - (8) in Berawan. *Akeu'* and *iah* in (4) are examples of pronouns of set I, *neh* in (5) is a non-focus actor pronoun, and *ngan ké'* in (5) is an oblique with a pronoun of set II. Example (4) is in actor focus and (5) is in undergoer focus. In the Berawan examples, *jah* and *akkoh* (6) are pronouns of set I and *koh* (7) and (8) is a non-focus actor pronoun of set II. Example (6) is in actor focus, (7) and (8) in undergoer focus. Example (8) contains an oblique with a pronoun of set I. In examples (4) - (8) the pronouns have been glossed with the number of the set to which they belong, not with their role in focus. The pronouns are underlined.

- (4) Akeu' *ny-oho'* iah *bj babui.*
1SG.I AF-order 3SG.I carry pig
I told him to carry the pig.
- (5) *Inah bua' nena' neh ngan ké'.*
that fruit give 3SG.II OBL 1SG.II
He gave that fruit to me.
- (6) Jah *m-ango akkoh.*
3SG.I AF-hit 1SG.I
He hit me.
- (7) *Accoh n-ango koh.*
dog CM-hit 1S.II
I hit the dog.
- (8) *N-icun koh ngaan jah lu'ong.*
CM-give 1SG.II OBL 3SG.I fruit
I give the fruit to him.

Examples (9) - (11) illustrate the use of these pronouns in Sa'ban. Example (9) is in actor focus, (10) and (11) in undergoer focus. The pronouns are underlined.

- (9) Éek *n-nal ieh.*
1SG AF-see 3SG
I see him.
- (10) Éek *i-nal ieh.*
1SG CM-see 3SG
He saw me.

¹³ I am grateful to Professor Rodney Needham for drawing my attention to this, and other examples, from Penan.

- (11) *Búl nolnai i-raey ieh ncéh.*
 shirt this CM-give 3SG OBL.2SG
 He gave this shirt to you.

2.2.3 SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

In the Ma'anyan and Ngaju languages of south-east Borneo, the sets of pronouns function in a similar way to those found in the languages of Sarawak (Table 5), although Epple noted that in Ngaju, third person singular pronouns of set II could be used as the object of an active (actor focus) verb. This is illustrated in example (13), (Epple 1933:14). The oblique case is formed, as in the languages of Sarawak, by preposing a preposition. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate the use of these pronouns in Ngaju. Example (12) is taken from Hardeland (1858), and (13) from Epple (1933). Both clauses are in actor focus. The morpheme break in the verb in (13) is omitted because of uncertainty regarding the break. The pronouns are underlined and the number of the set to which they belong is given. Both Hardeland and Epple seem to regard the pronouns of set II, at least the singular ones, as clitics. It has not been possible to check this.

TABLE 5: PRONOUN SETS IN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

Pronoun	MA		NG	
	Set I	Set II	Set I	Set II
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>ku</i>
2SG	<i>hanyu'</i>	<i>-nu</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>-m</i>
3SG	<i>hanyi</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>-e</i>
1PL.INC	<i>takem</i>	<i>takem</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ita</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>ikai</i>	<i>ikai</i>
2PL	<i>naun</i>	<i>naun</i>	<i>keton</i>	<i>keton</i>
3PL	<i>here</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>awen</i>	<i>awen</i>

Data sources: Ma'anyan – Sunderman (1912); Ngaju – Hardeland (1858); Epple (1933).

- (12) *Aku m-ita ikau.*
 1SG.I AF-see 2SG.I
 I see you.

- (13) *Mamukul-e.*
 AF.beat- 3SG.II
 Beat him.

Of the other languages spoken in this area, Tawoyan, Lawangan, Ot Danum and Bayan have pronouns sets, similar to Ngaju or Ma'anyan, but Bawo, like Sa'ban, appears to have one set only.

2.2.4 OVERVIEW

The use of different sets of pronouns to signal focused and non-focused nominals is a very useful device. Few languages of Borneo, however, maintain the distinction throughout all the persons of the pronoun sets. In Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan, most languages

show little or no distinction in the plural pronouns between sets I and II, while Sa'ban has effectively lost set II altogether, only traces of its former presence in the language remaining. The same is probably true of Lepo Ké, although I have insufficient data to demonstrate it. In Sabah the distinction is maintained through most, but not all, of the pronouns.

An examination of the tables shows that the first pronoun to be neutralised is the first person plural inclusive, quickly followed by the third person plural. The first and second person singular pronouns were the most consistent. Among the pronouns of set II, the first person, in all the languages examined, was always a form of *ku*. The second person was most commonly a form of *mu* or *nu*, but in Kayan, Murik, Penan and Sa'ban it survived only as a clitic on some verbs or nouns. It was not recorded in Lepo Ké.

In none of the languages examined, were any examples noted of preclitic pronouns, such as are common in the languages of Sulawesi, and Indonesia (Wolff 1981:85; van den Berg, this volume).

2.3 WORD ORDER

In Dusunic, Paitanic and Murutic languages, the relationships of the nominal phrases within a clause are made perfectly clear by the affixation on the verb, and by the nominal or pronominal marking. Although these languages may have four or more focus types (Boutin 1988b:63), there are adequate signals within the clause to permit a relatively flexible word order.

In Lun Bawang, the situation is different. There are three focus types: actor, undergoer and instrument. The role of the focused noun phrase is signalled by the verbal affix, but with the exception of pronouns, none of the arguments in the clause is marked in any way. In the absence of overt marking, the correct interpretation of relationships within the clause becomes dependent on word order. In transitive clauses the position immediately following the verb is restricted to the non-focused core argument.¹⁴ In actor focus clauses, the undergoer occurs immediately after the verb. In undergoer focus clauses, the actor occurs immediately after the verb. In Lun Bawang, nothing may occur between the verb and the non-focused core argument, not even an adverb, particle or preposition. This effectively means that, in Lun Bawang the non-focused actor can never occur with an agent marker. The position of the focused core argument is more flexible, and it may occur before the verb (examples (14) and (15)), or later in the sentence following the verb and the non-focused core argument (examples (16), (37) and (38)). Instrument focus is less common than actor or undergoer focus. In all the examples in my corpus, the focused instrument always occurred clause finally following all other nominal phrases, including obliques.

Examples (14) - (17) illustrate the use of word order in Lun Bawang. Example (14) is an actor focus clause, and the non-focused undergoer follows the verb. Examples (15) and (16) are undergoer focus clauses in which the non-focused actor follows the verb. In example (15) the focused undergoer occurs before the verb, and in (16), it follows the non-focused actor. Example (17) is an instrument focus clause, the non-focused actor follows the verb, and the focused instrument occurs clause finally, following the core argument. In (15), the

¹⁴ This rule applies equally to nouns or pronouns, but since nouns are not marked (other than by word order) for focus, the relationships are more clearly seen in sentences containing pronouns. It is for this reason that pronouns feature so frequently in my examples rather than nouns.

verb is unmarked for undergoer focus, but marked for completed action. Underlining indicates the non-focused core argument.

- (14) *Ui m-aré kuyu nih neneh.*
1SG.FOC AF-give shirt this OBL.3SG
I give this shirt to him.
- (15) *Kuyu nih b-i-ré ku neneh.*
shirt this R-CM-give 1SG.NF OBL.3SG
I gave this shirt to him.
- (16) *Na meria', dedat-en ku ulu mu napeh.*
no be.noisy beat-UF 1SG.NF head your later
Don't make a noise, or I will beat your head later.
- (17) *Ping-akan ku ubi sudu' nih.*
IF-eat 1SG.NF ubi spoon this
I'll use this spoon to eat the ubi.

In the other languages of Sarawak, only the two core arguments of actor and undergoer may be focused. There are no noun markers. Relationships within the clause are signalled by the verb affix, and by word order. In all these languages the word order is consistent: the non-focused core nominal immediately follows the verb.

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate this pattern in Sa'ban, a language which cannot use pronouns to signal focus relationships. In both examples the non-focused core argument follows the verb.

Examples (18) - (21) illustrate the same word order in Penan. The non-focused core argument indicated by underlining immediately follows the verb. Example (18) is in actor focus, (19) in undergoer focus. Examples (20) and (21) are in actor and undergoer focus respectively. They illustrate constructions in which the focused nominal follows the non-focused nominal. Note that if the construction were **bj ku' babui*, it would mean 'the pig carries me'. In (20) the verb *bj* 'carry' is unaffixed in actor focus, and in (21) it is unmarked for undergoer focus, but marked for completed action.

- (18) *Akeu' p-akan anak ko' nah.*
1SG.FOC CAUS-eat child your EMPH
I fed your child.
- (19) *N-akan ké' tenéh anak ko' rit de'.*
CM-eat 1SG.NF already child your just now
I have just fed your child.
- (20) *Bj babui ku'.*
carry wild.pig 1SG.FOC
I carry the wild pig.
- (21) *Ne-bj ké' babui.*
CM-carry 1SG.NF wild.pig
I carried the wild pig.

In Sa'ban and Penan, the focused nominal may occur before the verb or following the non-focused core argument, but the preferred position is before the verb. In Berawan, the focused undergoer may occur before the verb, or following the non-focused actor, but the

focused actor is restricted to a preverbal position. In all these languages (Lun Bawang, Sa'ban, Penan and Berawan) it is unacceptable to insert anything between the verb and the following non-focused core argument, not even an adverb or particle.

In Melanau and the languages of south-east Kalimantan, the non-focused core argument follows the verb, as in the languages of Sarawak. The preferred position for the focused nominal seems to be before the verb. It was not possible to check if it could occur elsewhere.

Examples (22) and (23) are from Ma'anyan (Sundermann 1912:216); examples (24) and (25) from Ot Danum (Budi Santoso et al. 1984-85). Examples (22) and (24) are in actor focus, (23) and (25) in undergoer focus. The verb in (23) is an unaffixed root. The non-focused core arguments are underlined.

- (22) *Aku haut ng-alap ni.*
 1SG.FOC already AF-take 3SG.NF
 I have taken it.
- (23) *Surat hia haut alap ku.*
 book this already take 1SG.NF
 I have taken the book.
- (24) *Ahku nonge kunci aang Ali.*
 1SG.FOC give key to Ali
 I give the key to Ali.
- (25) *Ahku k-an-awat iyo atuh.*
 1SG.NF R-CM-help 3SG.NF this
 This person helped me.

Examples (26) and (27) are from Sa'ban. They illustrate the importance of word order to signal relationships within the clause. In (26) the verb affix which indicates completed action also implies undergoer focus so the pronoun following the verb is the non-focused actor. In (27) the affix indicates actor focus so the pronoun following the verb is the non-focused undergoer (compare examples (9) and (10)). The non-focused argument following the verb is underlined.

- (26) *Yuet noknai i-toe' ék.*
 monkey this CM-drop 1SG
 I dropped the monkey.
- (27) *Yuet noknai n-toe' ék.*
 monkey this AF-drop 1SG
 The monkey dropped me.

In some languages, such as Sa'ban or Penan, where the nominals are unmarked for focus, there are examples of verbs occurring without affixes or with the same affixation in both actor and undergoer focus constructions. In such cases an understanding of the clause is wholly dependent on word order. Examples (48) and (49) illustrate this.

Word order in Dusunic or Murutic languages may be flexible, but I would suggest that, in fact, in non-actor focus clauses the non-focused actor commonly follows the verb. Kroeger (1988:239) notes that non-focused actor pronouns occur in clause-second position. The pattern does not appear to be as rigid as in Lun Bawang, since in some languages, particles may occur between the verb and the non-focused actor. Examples (28) - (30) from

Kimaragang, Tombonuo and Timugon respectively, illustrate the occurrence of non-focused actor pronouns, immediately following the verb. They are underlined.

- (28) *Patay-on kuh it wulanut.*
kill-UF 1SG.NF NM.FOC snake
I will kill the snake.
- (29) *Waal-on ku walo*i* tu.*
make-UF 1SG.NF house this
I am making this house.
- (30) *Pimping-on mai kou.*
thrash-UF 1PL.EXC.NF 2SG.FOC
We will thrash you.

3. VERB AFFIXATION

In focus languages, the semantic role of the nominal is cross-referenced by the verbal affix. These affixes are remarkably consistent across the range of Western Austronesian languages, and occur too in the languages of Borneo. This paper examines the focus affixation of eventive verbs in main clauses.

3.1 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN THE LANGUAGES OF SABAH

The focus affixation of verbs in the languages of Sabah has been admirably summarised by Boutin (1988b). He concludes that the most common focus types are actor (AF), undergoer (UF) and benefactive (BF), followed by instrument (IF) or locative (LF). The affixation associated with these focus types is summarised in Table 6, which is based on Boutin (1988b:63).

TABLE 6: FOCUS AFFIXES OF FIVE LANGUAGES OF SABAH

Language	AF	UF	BF	IF	LF
BI	<i>ng-, g-</i>	<i>-Vdn</i>	<i>-adn</i>	<i>pVN</i>	—
CK	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	—	—
KM	<i>m-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>poN-</i>	<i>poN--an</i>
TO	<i>m-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>i-</i>	—
TM	<i>ma-, -um-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>redup</i>	<i>-an</i>

In Dusunic languages, the actor focus *m-*, an allomorph of *-um-*, is found in intransitive verbs; *m-* occurs before vowel-initial roots and *-um-* is infix following the initial consonant of consonant-initial roots. In transitive verbs, actor-focus marker *m-* merges with the transitive prefix *poN-* to give *moN-*, the final nasal of which assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root, or occurs as *ng-* before vowels (Hurlbut 1988:43; Kroeger 1988:222). A similar situation obtains in Timugon (Brewis & Levinsohn 1991:31-32). In the Dusunic, Murutic and Paitanic languages of Sabah, the focus affixes combine with other affixes of aspect and the like, to produce a rich and highly complex inventory of affixation (see, for example, Prentice 1971; Hurlbut 1988). Examples (31) - (34) are simple clauses chosen to illustrate the use of the focus affixes in Tombonuo. Example (31) is in actor focus, signalled by the *m-* prefix on the verb and the use of a focus

pronoun for the actor. The affix *poN-* signals a transitive verb. Example (32) is in undergoer focus signalled by the *-on* suffix, and the undergoer is unmarked. Example (33) is in benefactive focus (King calls it referent focus) signalled by the suffix *-an* on the verb and by the occurrence of a focus pronoun for the indirect object. Example (34) is in instrument focus signalled by the *i-* prefix and by the zero marking on the instrument. In the examples, the focus affix and the focused argument are underlined.

- (31) Mongalap (*m-poN-alap*) aku *nu* *undalo*.
 AF-TR-take 1SG.FOC NM.NF net
 I will take the net.
- (32) Lostik-on *ku* pompulu *no*.
 catapult-UF 1SG.NF FOC.bird SP
 I will shoot the bird (with a catapult).
- (33) Woli-an *niyo* aku *nu* *gitar*.
 sell-BF 3SG.NF 1SG.FOC NM.NF guitar
 He will sell me the guitar.
- (34) I-waal *ku* papan *tu*.
 IF-build 1SG.NF FOC.wood this
 I am building with this wood.

3.2 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN LUN BAWANG

In Lun Bawang, there are three sets of pronouns, but no noun markers. The non-focused argument follows the verb. There are three types of focus: actor, undergoer and instrument (Clayre, B. 1991).

The typical actor-focus affix *-um-* of Philippine-type languages occurs in Lun Bawang, usually as *-em-* (*m-* with vowel-initial roots) but, like Dusun and Timugon, only with intransitive verbs: for example, *l-em-angui* 'swim' (example (35)) or *t-um-ui* 'wake'. Another group of intransitive verbs in Lun Bawang is distinguished by its lack of affixation in actor-focus contexts, for example, *rudap* 'sleep' (example (36)) or *upun* 'run'. Completed action is signalled by prefixing *ne-* to the verb, for example, *nelemangui* and *nupun*.

In transitive verbs, actor focus is signalled by a nasal prefix *N-* which is phonologically conditioned by the initial phoneme of the root. Roots with initial stops replace the stop by a homorganic nasal, roots beginning with *l* or *r* take *nge-*, roots beginning with a vowel take *ng-*.¹⁵ Completed action in actor focus is signalled by prefixing *ne-* to the verb stem marked for actor focus, for example, *maré/nemaré* from the root *baré* 'give', or *ngerarak/nengerarak* from the root *rarak* 'tear'.

Undergoer focus is marked by the suffix *-en* if the action is uncompleted, for example, *barén* 'be given'. If the action is completed undergoer focus is unmarked, but completed action is marked by *-in-* which is infixed following the initial consonant of the root or prefixed to vowel-initial roots.¹⁶ In certain disyllabic roots beginning with a consonant in

¹⁵ Verb roots beginning with *j* or *s* are uncommon in Lun Bawang, and there is some variation in the realisation of the *N-* prefix occurring with them.

¹⁶ In Lun Bawang, the completed action infix, *-in-*, is restricted to undergoer-focus constructions. It is not found in actor or instrument focus, where completed action is signalled by *ne-* prefixed to all other prefixes. This contrasts with, for example, Coastal Kadazan where *-in-* marks completed action across the

which the first vowel is *a* or *ə*, this infix is realised as *-i-* replacing that vowel.¹⁷ These allomorphs are illustrated in Table 7. It is typical of Lun Bawang and other languages of north-central Sarawak, that the undergoer in undergoer-focus clauses is definite.

TABLE 7: ALLOMORPHS OF *-in-* IN LUN BAWANG

Root	<i>-in-</i>	
<i>baré</i>	<i>biré</i>	give
<i>bulu'</i>	<i>b-in-ulu'</i>	cut
<i>anid</i>	<i>in-anid</i>	share

In instrument focus the verb is marked by the prefix *piN-* to which the prefix *ne-* is added to indicate completed action, for example, *pimeli/hepimeli* from the root *beli* 'buy' (see example (39)).

Lun Bawang focus affixes are summarised in Table 8.

TABLE 8: FOCUS AFFIXES IN LUN BAWANG

Verb	Aspect	AF	UF	IF
Intransitive	UCM	stem, <i>-em-</i> , <i>m-</i>	—	—
Intransitive	CM	<i>ne-stem</i> , <i>ne--em-</i> , <i>m-</i>	—	—
Transitive	UCM	<i>N-</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>piN-</i>
Transitive	CM	<i>ne-N-</i>	<i>-in-</i> , <i>-i-</i> , <i>in-</i>	<i>ne-piN-</i>

Examples (35) - (39) illustrate the use of these focus affixes in Lun Bawang. Examples (35) and (36) are actor-focus intransitive verbs, in (35) the verb is marked by the infix *-em-*, in (36) it occurs as an unaffixed root. Example (37) is in actor focus. The verb is marked by an *N-* prefix; the focused actor is a pronoun of set I. Example (38) is in undergoer focus. The verb is marked by the suffix *-en*, and the non-focused actor is a pronoun of set II. The instrument in this example is marked as an oblique by the preposition *ku* 'with'. Example (39) is in instrument focus. The verb is marked by the prefix *piN-*, and the focused instrument is unmarked (contrast (39) with (38) where the non-focused instrument is marked as an oblique). The non-focused actor in (38) and (39) is a pronoun of set II. Notice that in all the examples of transitive clauses, the non-focused core-argument follows immediately after the verb. The focus affixes and the focused nominals are underlined.

range of focus types, occurring infixed in the verb root or, if there are prefixes, following the initial consonant of the outermost prefix. This situation is illustrated by the following examples with the root *pigis* 'slice' from Ranau Dusun (Clayre, B. 1967:120-121,125):

Root	aspect	AF	UF	BF
<i>pigis</i>	UCM	<i>m-om-igis</i>	<i>pigis-on</i>	<i>pigis-an</i>
	CM	<i>m-in-om-igis</i>	<i>p-in-igis</i>	<i>p-in-igis-an</i>

Because in many Austronesian languages *-in-* signals perfective aspect in all focus types, this affix is often interpreted as marking perfective aspect rather than undergoer focus. According to this interpretation, undergoer focus is unmarked when the verb is in perfective aspect. Naylor has drawn attention, however, to the fact that in Tagalog *-in-* occurs with non-actor focuses, and suggests that it signals non-actor orientation (Naylor 1975:73). In this paper, the position adopted is that undergoer focus is unmarked (a view strengthened by the not uncommon occurrence of undergoer-focused verbs as unaffixed roots), and that *-in-* (or *-en-*) signals completed action or aspect.

¹⁷ A similar form occurs in Bonggi (Boutin 1988a:9); Melanau (Clayre, I.F. 1972:193-194, 1973b:253); Iida'an (Moody 1991:141), and I have noted occasional examples in Berawan.

- (35) *L-em-angui ieh neh.*
R-AF-swim 3SG.FOC PT
He is swimming.
- (36) *Anid-anid malem ui rudap pukul pulu'.*
each-each night 1SG.FOC sleep strike ten
Every night I go to sleep at ten o'clock.
- (37) *Ngekeb (N-kekeb) lacang nih ui atun.*
AF-cover pot this 1SG.FOC before
I'll cover this pot first.
- (38) *Beli-en ku lal neh ku usin nih.*
buy-UF 1SG.NF hen that OBL money this
I'll buy that hen with this money.
- (39) *Pimeli (piN-beli) ku lal usin nih.*
IF-buy 1SG.NF hen money this
I'll buy the hen with this money.

In Lun Bawang, the focus affixes described above do not combine with other affixes as they do in many of the languages of Sabah. In Dusunic languages, for example, the focus affixes may occur with affixes indicating reciprocal action, repetitive action, petitive action, pretence action and so on (Clayre, B. 1970:196; Forschner 1978:19-20; Hurlbut 1988:54-64; Miller 1985:149-150).

Three prefixes in Lun Bawang which were not considered in this survey because they do not occur with the typical focus affixes are: *peri-* repetitive action, *pe-* reciprocal action, and *si-* pretence action.

3.3 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN SA'BAN

Sa'ban has no noun markers, and only one set of pronouns. The non-focused argument follows the verb, but the focused argument is flexible and may occur before the verb or later in the clause (see §2.3 and examples (26) and (27)). Focus affixation in Sa'ban is much simpler than in Lun Bawang, since many affixes have been lost. There are two focus types: actor and undergoer. There is no instrument focus in Sa'ban.

Actor-focus intransitive verbs, which are characterised by the *-em-* infix in Lun Bawang, usually occur as roots in Sa'ban. Some verbs have a prefix *m-* but its occurrence is not yet predictable. Table 9 gives examples of intransitive verbs which take the *-em-* infix in Lun Bawang, and the corresponding Sa'ban verbs which occur as roots.

TABLE 9: INTRANSITIVE VERBS IN LUN BAWANG AND SA'BAN

Lun Bawang	Sa'ban	
<i>t-em-ulud</i>	<i>hlút</i>	fly
<i>l-em-aba</i>	<i>laba</i>	pass
<i>t-um-ui</i>	<i>to'oi</i>	wake, get up
<i>k-um-an</i>	<i>maen</i>	eat
<i>d-em-amu</i>	<i>lamu</i>	weed
<i>r-em-urut</i>	<i>hroen</i>	descend

<i>s-em-ua'</i>	<i>siwa</i>	substitute
<i>g-em-io</i>	<i>jjiew</i>	move (of body part)

Actor focus in transitive verbs in Sa'ban is manifested by a diversity of prefixation. The most common prefix is a homorganic nasal preceding the initial consonant of the root, but *m-*, *la-* and gemination of initial consonants of the root also occur.¹⁸ A few roots, such as *alaek* 'take', occur without any affixation. Table 10 illustrates verbs in their actor-focus form in Sa'ban, together with the equivalent verb form in Lun Bawang.

TABLE 10: ACTOR FOCUS VERBS IN LUN BAWANG AND SA'BAN

Lun Bawang	Sa'ban	
<i>ngalap</i>	<i>alaek</i>	take
<i>ngabet</i>	<i>mabet</i>	tie
<i>ngerut</i>	<i>laruet</i>	sew
<i>maté</i>	<i>mataey</i>	die
<i>ngaté</i>	<i>mataey</i>	kill
<i>maman</i>	<i>mmaen</i>	feed
<i>maré</i>	<i>mraey</i>	give
<i>nelen</i>	<i>mlan</i>	swallow
<i>nibu</i>	<i>mbeu</i>	plant
<i>ngecuk</i>	<i>nsúek</i>	order
<i>ngetep</i>	<i>ntap</i>	bite
<i>ngiup</i>	<i>nyop</i>	blow
<i>ngekeb</i>	<i>ngkap</i>	cover
<i>nakap</i>	<i>ngkaep</i>	search
<i>mano</i>	<i>nnaew</i>	steal
<i>nier</i>	<i>nnal</i>	see
<i>nupak</i>	<i>mmét</i>	kick
<i>narak</i>	<i>rraek</i>	tear
<i>ngepid</i>	<i>llit</i>	entwine

There is no affix to signal completed action in actor focus in Sa'ban. If it is necessary to indicate that the action of the verb has already happened the word *pi* 'already' is used, as in example (40).

- (40) *Nnu' pi n-tung ma' deh yai.*
 enemies already AF-burn house their yonder
 Enemies had burnt their house yonder.

In Sa'ban, undergoer focus occurs almost exclusively in completed aspect. Only two examples of verbs in non-completed aspect, and undergoer focus have been recorded. They occur with the suffix *-en*, similar to the Lun Bawang suffix, but in Sa'ban the form has become fossilised. The two verbs which retain this suffix, *ri-en* 'be given' and *u-en* 'be done' or 'be made', are also among the very few verbs which retain an imperative construction in undergoer focus, which incorporates the fossilised remains of an earlier genitive pronoun set, as in *riem* 'be given!', and *uem* 'be done!' or 'be made!' (see §2.2.2).

¹⁸ Sa'ban verb morphology is still being studied. The use of the prefix *la-* may relate to a prefix *le-* which is found in Kayan and Murik.

The use of *uen* will be discussed in §4 since it is used in the formation of other undergoer-focus constructions. Example (41) illustrates the use of a verb in undergoer focus and non-completed aspect. The actor, being non-focused, occupies the position immediately following the verb.

- (41) *Ri-en deh si' angah, si' anak wéet.*
 give-UF 3PL one plate one child ladle
 A plate and a small ladle will be given.

Undergoer-focus verbs signal completed aspect by adding the prefix *i-* to the root. Roots which begin with the vowel *a*, take the prefix *y-*. Examples (42) - (44) illustrate undergoer-focus constructions with the completed action prefix *i-* or *y-*, indicated by underlining.

- (42) *Ken pah si' éek réek i-raey tama né 'éek?*
 Q where one 1SG beer CM-give father to me
 Where is the portion of beer father gave to me?
- (43) *Alút noknai y-abet éek.*
 boat this CM-tie 1SG
 I tied up this boat.
- (44) *Nueng anak éek y-amét ieh.*
 face child my CM-scratch 3SG
 He scratched my child's face.

Focus signals in Sa'ban are very limited. There are no markers on the nominals, and no distinctive sets of pronouns. Affixes mark most, but not all actor-focus transitive verbs. Undergoer focus is unmarked, except for the rare occurrences of this focus in uncompleted aspect; *i-* occurs on undergoer-focus verbs in completed aspect. Word order becomes critical for signalling the focal relationships within the clause. This means that Sa'ban shows a move from a morphological marking of focus to a syntactic marking. Word order in Sa'ban follows the pattern discussed earlier in §2.3. The non-focused core argument follows immediately after the verb, while the focused argument has more flexibility. Examples (26) and (27) illustrate the importance of word order in Sa'ban. In (26) the verb is in undergoer focus, and is marked for completed aspect, in (27) it is in actor focus marked by *n-*. In both examples, the non-focused nominal follows the verb (see also examples (9) and (10)).

3.4 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN PENAN

In Penan, there are no noun markers. There are two sets of pronouns (Table 4). Word order is important: the non-focused core argument follows the verb, but the focused nominal may occur before the verb or following the non-focused core argument (examples (18) - (21), and §2.3).

The situation with regard to focus affixation, particularly actor-focus affixation, is complex in Penan, and this account is preliminary, based on an examination of some 300 verbs.

Penan roots are typically disyllabic, but they are very difficult to isolate. The most common actor-focus prefix with transitive, eventive verbs is *m-*, which presumably occurs mostly with vowel-initial roots, since there is little clear evidence for the replacement of initial bilabials by *m-*. Roots beginning with *t*, *s*, *k* or *g* (often noun roots) replace the initial

consonant by a homorganic nasal *n-*, *ny-* [ɲ] or *ng-* [ŋ]. A number of roots occur in actor focus without any affixation, for example *alā* 'take' or *bj* 'carry on the back' (examples (4) and (20)). Roots beginning with *j*, *l*, *r* and *v* [β] prefix *nge-* to the root making them trisyllabic. In many cases *nge-* appears to be a transitivity marker (particularly with stative roots), for example *diva* 'low' and *ngediva* 'to lower'. Another prefix which functions as a transitivity marker (or a one-event causative) is *pe-*, which can also produce a trisyllabic verb.

Completed action in actor focus is not marked by an affix, the word *lepah* 'already' is used before the verb (see fn. 20).

In my data undergoer-focus constructions rarely occurred in non-past contexts. In the few examples recorded, the verb was unmarked for either focus or aspect, while in the case of the verb *alā* 'take' the root occurred in a reduced form as seen in example (47) where *lā* is the undergoer focus, non-completed aspect form of *alā*.

Completed aspect in undergoer focus is signalled by *n-*, *ne-* or *-en-*: *n-* replaces the actor-focus prefix *m-* (example (5)), *ne-* is prefixed to bilabial initial roots which occur as unaffixed roots in actor focus (in my data, these are mostly monosyllabic roots, see example (21)), and *-en-* occurs in other disyllabic roots. It is, however, a curious fact that *-en-* occurs predominantly with roots beginning with *t*, *s* or *k*.¹⁹ If the *nge-* prefix forms a verb of three syllables, *-en-* does not occur, instead *nge-* is replaced by *ke-* (Table 11). Verbs with the prefix *pe-* remain unchanged in this aspect (examples (48) and (49)).

The infix *-en-* must, like its counterpart in Lun Bawang, be a reflex of PAN **-in-*. In Penan, this infix which only occurs in undergoer-focus contexts, is restricted to disyllabic roots and, for reasons which are not yet understood, is limited largely to roots beginning with *t*, *s* and *k*. Otherwise this affix occurs as the prefix *n-* and less commonly as *ne-*.

Another unusual feature of the use of the *-en-* infix in Penan is that, despite its basic meaning of completed aspect, it can occur with the particle *juk* 'future intention' to indicate action to be completed in the future (example (50)).

Table 11 provides examples of the actor and undergoer focus forms of Penan verbs. Notice that the verbs *nga'at* 'bite' and *ta'an* 'see', are unmarked in undergoer focus and completed aspect. This is typical of the rare *g* initial roots but unusual for a *t* initial root.

TABLE 11: PENAN VERBS

Actor focus (UCM aspect)	Undergoer focus (CM aspect)	
<i>mena'</i>	<i>nena', na'</i>	give
<i>nokok</i>	<i>tenokok</i>	peck
<i>nekelak</i>	<i>tekelak</i>	chase
<i>nyatek</i>	<i>senatek</i>	cut (with parang)
<i>nyekipak</i>	<i>sekipak</i>	carry over shoulder
<i>ngamit</i>	<i>kenamit</i>	hold
<i>ngelepu</i>	<i>kelepu</i>	set free
<i>nga'at</i>	<i>ga'at</i>	bite
<i>ngejeret</i>	<i>kejeret</i>	tie
<i>ngelawan</i>	<i>kelawan</i>	fight back

¹⁹ I recorded only three examples of *-en-* with roots not beginning with *t*, *s* or *k*. Two of these were stative roots: *b-en-ila* 'split' and *p-en-atai* 'killed'. The third example was *p-en-itah* 'searched'.

<i>ngeripen</i>	<i>keripen</i>	enslave
<i>ngevelé'</i>	<i>kevelé'</i>	choose
<i>ala</i>	<i>nalā</i>	take
<i>bĭ</i>	<i>nebĭ</i>	carry on back
<i>na'at</i>	<i>ta'an</i>	see
<i>petawang</i>	<i>petawang</i>	lose something
<i>ngediva'</i>	<i>kediva'</i>	lower something

Examples (45) - (49) illustrate the use of actor- and undergoer-focus constructions in Penan. Example (45) is an actor-focus clause. The verb is not affixed, but the use of a set I pronoun for the actor signals that the actor is in focus, and the undergoer follows the verb. Note that if the actor had been a proper name, the focus would have been signalled by word order alone. Example (46) is in undergoer focus. The verb affix *n-* indicates completed aspect, and the non-focused actor, a pronoun of set II, follows the verb. Example (47) is also in undergoer focus but with non-completed aspect. The verb occurs as a reduced root, and the non-focused actor, a pronoun of set II, follows the verb. Examples (48) and (49) illustrate a verb root prefixed with the causative prefix *pe-* which does not change for undergoer focus (48). The focused nominal is indicated by word order, and by the pronoun sets. In example (48) the actor is a pronoun of set II, the non-focused actor set, and it occurs in the non-focused position following the verb (i.e. undergoer focus). In example (49) the actor is a pronoun of set I and precedes the verb (i.e. actor focus). Example (50) illustrates the use of *juk*, meaning 'future intention', in an undergoer-focus construction in which the head verb, *benila*, is marked with the completed aspect infix, *-en-*.

- (45) *Akeu' ala bā lem bolo'.*
1SG.FOC take water in bamboo (container)
I fetch water in the bamboo container.
- (46) *Bā inah n-ala ké' lem bolo'.*
water that CM-take 1SG.NF in bamboo (container)
I fetched the water in the bamboo container.
- (47) *Bā inah nah dā lā ké' éh.*
water that EMPH FUT take 1SG.NF 3SG.FOC
I'll take that water later on.
- (48) *Aseu' ké' pe-tawang néh tong tana.*
dog my TR-lose 3SG.NF in forest
He lost (deliberately) my dog in the forest.
- (49) *Iah pe-tawang aseu' ké' tong tana.*
3SG.FOC TR-lose dog my in forest
He lost (deliberately) my dog in the forest.
- (50) *Pina bolq nah juk b-en-ila ké'.*
several bamboo that intend R-CM-split 1SG.NF
I intend to split those bamboo canes.

Another type of undergoer-focus construction found in Penan will be discussed in §4.

3.5 BERAWAN

Berawan has two focus types: actor and undergoer. There are no noun markers, but there are two sets of pronouns, of which set II indicates the non-focused actor (Table 4). The non-focused nominal follows the verb. The focused actor is restricted to a preverbal position, but the focused undergoer has more flexibility (see §2.3).

Perhaps because the focused actor is syntactically marked by its preverbal position, focus marking on the verb is less important in Berawan. Certainly Berawan demonstrates a greater variation in actor-focus forms than any of the languages already described. This study is still at a preliminary stage and, as with Penan, difficulties have been encountered in trying to isolate the roots. Table 12 provides examples of Berawan verb affixation.

In three-quarters of the verbs studied, actor focus is signalled by an *N*-prefix: *n*-, *ny*- [ɲ] and *ng*- [ŋ] replace initial *t*, *s* and *k* respectively, while *m*- (the most common prefix) occurs presumably with vowel-initial roots, and possibly with roots beginning with a bilabial stop. *Nge*- occurs before initial *j*, *l* or *r*.

Two other groups of verbs are marked in actor focus by an initial *k* or initial *p*, for example *kicun*, 'give' and *pukaa* 'search' (Table 12). Still other verbs, such as *dikka* 'hold' occur as roots.

Intransitive verbs can be transitivised by adding *nge*- or *pe*- to the root.²⁰ These seem to be mostly stative roots, for example, *ngelubin* from the root *lubin* 'roll'.

Completed action in actor focus is not marked by an affix, the word *pengah*, 'finished', 'already' is used before the verb.²¹

Undergoer focus is unmarked. No non-completed action forms have yet been recorded. Completed action in undergoer focus is signalled in most cases by *-en*- or *n*-: *-en*- occurs with roots beginning with *t*, *s* or *k* which have an *N*-prefix in actor focus; *n*- replaces the actor-focus markers *m*-, *k*- or *p*- described above (examples (6) - (8)). If prefixation with *nge*- forms a verb of more than two syllables, the *-en*- infix does not occur in completed aspect, but the *nge*- prefix is replaced by *ke*- (examples (51) and (52)). There are a few examples of verbs where the vowel of the first syllable changes to *i* in completed aspect and undergoer focus, for example *tammang/timmang* 'fell a tree', or *mengan/bingan* 'strangle'. A fossilised example of the PAN infix **-in-* is found in *k-in-an* 'be eaten'. Table 12 gives examples of the types of verb affixation just described.

²⁰ Some verbs in Berawan seem to be able to take both prefixes, for example, *ngelako* and *pelako* are transitive forms of the intransitive root *lako* 'to peel'. My Berawan helper was unable to distinguish any difference between them.

²¹ *Pangah* can also be used in Lun Bawang to indicate action that is already finished or completed. In Melanau, the particle *nga* is used in the same way. *Pengah* is probably cognate with *pongo* in Timugon, and *pungo* in Ida'an which are verb roots meaning 'finish'. The Lundayeh dialect of Lun Bawang has a verb *mangeh* 'finish'. In Bonggi, an auxiliary verb *punga* is used to indicate finished action. Both Timugon and Ida'an have a verb root *lupus*. In Timugon, it inflects and means 'finish'; in Ida'an, it has the sense of 'already' and marks the completion of activity. *Lepah* in Penan (and also in other Kenyah dialects) may be a cognate root. I am grateful to Michael Boutin, Richard Brewis and David Moody for providing the information on Bonggi, Timugon and Ida'an.

TABLE 12: EXAMPLES OF BERAUAN VERB AFFIXATION

Actor Focus (UCM aspect)	Undergoer focus (CM aspect)	
<i>nappan</i>	<i>tenappan</i>	slap
<i>nyippau'</i>	<i>senippau'</i>	shoot with blowpipe
<i>ngeppéh</i>	<i>kenéppéh</i>	squeeze between finger and thumb
<i>ngeleppé'</i>	<i>keleppé'</i>	fold
<i>murau</i>	<i>nurau</i>	make
<i>mango</i>	<i>nango</i>	beat, hit
<i>kicun</i>	<i>nicun</i>	give
<i>pukaa'</i>	<i>nukaa'</i>	search
<i>kuman</i>	<i>kinan</i>	eat
<i>nammang</i>	<i>timmang</i>	fell tree
<i>dikka'</i>	<i>dikka'</i>	hold, grab
<i>pelutto'</i>	<i>pelutto'</i>	float (transitive)
<i>ngeliliin</i>	<i>keliliin</i>	wind, coil (transitive)

Examples (51) - (54) illustrate actor and undergoer clause structure in Berawan. Examples (51) and (53) are in actor focus. In (51) the prefix *nge-* is added to the root *leppé'* 'fold', in (53) *n-* replaces the initial *t* of the root *tallah* 'slash'. Both roots are nouns. Examples (52) and (54) are in undergoer focus. In (52) the affixed verb consists of more than two syllables so completed aspect is signalled by the change of *nge-* to *ke-*. In (54) the root is infixed with *-en-* to indicate completed aspect. In all the examples, the non-focused core argument follows the verb.

- (51) *Akkoh ngeleppé' (nge-leppé') yuun.*
 1SG.FOC AF-fold sarong
 I fold the sarong.
- (52) *Yuun keleppé' koh.*
 sarong fold 1SG.NF
 I folded the sarong.
- (53) *Akkoh nallah (n-tallah) kajjuh.*
 1SG.FOC AF-slash wood
 I cut the wood (by slashing)
- (54) *Kajjuh tu t-en-allah koh nyaan puko'.*
 wood this R-CM-slash 1SG.NF with parang
 I slashed the wood with a parang.

3.6 OTHER LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

3.6.1 MELANAU

This account of Dalat Melanau is based on I.F. Clayre (1972). In Melanau, noun phrases are unmarked for focus, and the distinction between focus pronouns (set I) and non-focused actor pronouns (set II), is marked only in the first person singular (§2.2.2; Table 4). The non-focused core argument follows the verb, and the 'focal nominal' is said to take clause-

initial position (p.335). While this seems to be true of the focused actor, it is clear that the focused undergoer may occur following the verb and the non-focused actor (pp.445-446).

Two focus types are distinguished: actor and undergoer. Clayre divides transitive verbs into two main groups according to their affixation. He calls these MNP verbs and UIE verbs. In actor focus, MNP verbs take one of the following affixes: *m-*, *me-*, *-em-* or *meN-*.²² There is no affix to signal completed aspect in actor focus, this is indicated by the word *nga'*. The use of undergoer focus in non-completed aspect does not seem to be a very common construction. Clayre (p.194) records one example of a verb used with the suffix *-en*, otherwise, the verb seems to occur as an unaffixed root.²³ Completed aspect in undergoer focus is signalled by one of the following affixes: *n-*, *ne-* or *-en-* (p.165). The UIE verbs are characterised by a vowel change, which both Clayre and Blust call an ablaut (Clayre, I.F. 1972:129, 190; Blust 1974b:170, 1988:166). In actor focus the first vowel of the root is replaced by *u*, while in undergoer focus, completed aspect is signalled by the replacement of the same vowel by *i*. The root vowel of these verbs is a schwa, and this form occurs in undergoer-focus clauses without an actor. Table 13 illustrates some examples of verb affixation in Melanau.

TABLE 13: EXAMPLES OF MELANAU VERB AFFIXATION

Actor Focus (UCM aspect)	Undergoer Focus (CM aspect)	
<i>makup</i>	<i>nakup</i>	scoop up
<i>mebin</i>	<i>nebin</i>	carry on back
<i>melei</i>	<i>benelei</i>	buy
<i>memiti</i>	<i>peniti</i>	send
<i>menyabit</i>	<i>senabit</i>	hang up
<i>kemakan</i>	<i>kenakan</i>	feed (transitive)
<i>subit</i>	<i>sibit</i>	tear

Clayre (pp.355-356) argues that benefactive, dative and locative focus are also present in Melanau. In these cases, the verb is marked as for undergoer focus, and the benefactive, dative or locative nominals occur in the "focal position" at the front of the clause, but stripped of the prepositions that would mark them as obliques elsewhere in the clause (example (59)).

Examples (55) - (61) illustrate the use of some of these affixes in Dalat Melanau.²⁴ In examples (55), (57) and (60) the verb is in actor focus, represented by the affix *m-* or by the *u* ablaut. Examples (56), (58) and (61) illustrate the verb in undergoer focus, in which completed aspect is marked by *n-*, *-en-* and *i* respectively. Example (59) illustrates Clayre's

²² Iain Clayre (1972:149-150) describes the following as allomorphs of the *me-* affix:
me- affixed to polysyllabic, vowel-initial stems.
meng- affixed to some polysyllabic, vowel-initial stems.
meN- affixed to polysyllabic stems with voiceless initial consonants. *N-* is a homorganic nasal, which replaces the initial consonant.
meN-/em- (in apparent free fluctuation) affixed to polysyllabic stems with initial velars, *k* or *g*
meN-/me- affixed to polysyllabic stems with initial *b*.
me-/em- (in apparent free fluctuation), affixed to polysyllabic stems with initial *j*.
me- affixed to all monosyllabic stems, and to polysyllabic stems with initial liquid or nasal.
-em- elsewhere.

²³ This focus and aspect is not discussed in I.F. Clayre (1972).

²⁴ The examples are taken from I.F. Clayre (1973b:245, 261, 264).

benefactive focus, where the oblique nominal, *a pedih*, occurs without any oblique marking, clause initially, in the "focal position".

- (55) *Akou m-atu' pedeng.*
1SG.FOC AF-pick.up sword
I pick up the sword.
- (56) *Pedeng n-atu' kou.*
sword CM-pick.up 1SG.NF
I picked up the sword.
- (57) *Akou m-elei ubat 'ih gim a pedih.*
1SG.FOC AF-buy medicine this OBL person sick
I buy this medicine for a sick person.
- (58) *Ubat 'ih b-en-lei kou gim a pedih.*
medicine this R-CM-buy 1SG.NF OBL person sick
I bought this medicine for a sick person.
- (59) *A pedih b-en-lei kou ubat 'ih.*
person sick R-CM-buy 1SG.NF medicine this
I bought this medicine for a sick person.
- (60) *Akou s-u-bit bajou 'ih peba' pakou.*
1SG.FOC R-AF-tear shirt this use nail
I tore this shirt with a nail.
- (61) *Bajou 'ih s-i-bit kou peba' pakou.*
shirt this R-CM-tear 1SG.NF use nail
I tore this shirt with a nail.

3.6.2 OTHER LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

Of the remaining languages investigated in north-central Sarawak, undergoer focus in Kayan is constructed rather differently and is discussed in §4. In Lepo' Ké and Murik no undergoer focus construction of the type described above could be elicited. Undergoer focus in these languages is also discussed in §4.

3.7 THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

Since I have had no contact with the languages of this area, the conclusions reached from a study of the published materials available to me, are tentative and fairly general. Nevertheless, the evidence seems to indicate many similarities with the north-central Sarawak languages. It has already been established that in Ma'anyan, Ngaju and other Barito languages of south-east Kalimantan there are two classes of pronouns (Table 5), and that word order is significant (§2.3). The languages appear to make use of a greater range of affixes than is the case in central Sarawak, a fact which requires more investigation than was possible in this survey. Transitive verb, actor focus is signalled in Ma'anyan by prefixes such as *mi-*, *nang-* or *ng-*, and in Ngaju, by *m-*, *ma-* or *maN-*.²⁵ Completed action is

²⁵ In Ma'anyan, *nang-* occurs before roots with initial *r* or *g*, *mi-* or *ng-* occur mostly in free variation before roots with initial *h* or an initial vowel, and *ng-* occurs elsewhere. *Ng-* also forms a homorganic

indicated in Ma'anyan by the word *haut* 'already', 'done' (Sundermann 1912), and in Ngaju by *jari* 'have' (Epple 1933).

In undergoer focus, completed aspect is marked by *i-* in Ngaju,²⁶ and *na-* in Ma'anyan. Unaffixed roots also occur in undergoer-focus constructions, but they are not systematically described in any of the publications. They seem to occur in uncompleted aspect constructions, and in undergoer-focus imperatives, but they also appear to be used in other types of undergoer-focus construction (Gudai 1988:219; Hardeland 1858; Sundermann 1912; Epple 1933). The publications of the Language Department of Palangkaraya University show that similar forms exist in other languages of that area. Ot Danum, for example, marks actor focus by an *N-* prefix and completed action in undergoer focus by the affixes *iN-* or *-an-*.

3.8 SUMMARY

Table 14 is a summary of the most typical affixes used to signal focus and aspect in transitive verbs in the languages of north-central Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan.

TABLE 14: TYPICAL FOCUS AND ASPECT AFFIXES IN LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK AND SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

Language	Aspect	Actor Focus	Undergoer Focus
Lun Bawang	UCM	<i>N-</i>	<i>-en</i>
	CM	<i>ne-</i>	<i>-in-, in-, -i-</i>
Sa'ban	UCM	<i>N-, la-,</i> gemination	(<i>-en</i>)
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>i-</i>
Berawan	UCM	<i>N-, k-, p-</i>	not known
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>n-, -en-, -i-</i>
Penan	UCM	<i>N-</i>	root
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>n-, ne-, -en-</i>
Melanau	UCM	<i>m-, me-, -em-</i> <i>meN-, -u-</i>	root, <i>-e-</i>
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>n-, ne-, -en-, -i-</i>
Ma'anyan	UCM	<i>mi-, nang-, ng-</i>	root
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>-na-</i>
Ngaju	UCM	<i>m-, ma-, maN-</i>	root
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>i-</i>

4. FOCUS: AN ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTION

An alternative way of producing an undergoer-focus construction was noticed in Lun Bawang and Sa'ban. This construction, which involves the use of the verb 'make' or 'do' as

nasal prefix replacing initial *b, n* or *k* (Gudai 1988). In Ngaju, the final nasal of *maN-* also represents a homorganic nasal which replaces initial *p, d, t, s* and *k* (Epple 1933).

²⁶ The prefix *i-* is omitted if it would produce a four-syllable word (Epple 1933).

a modal verb, was later found to be present in other languages of north-central Sarawak.²⁷ Table 15 lists the actor- and undergoer-focus forms of the verb 'make' in eight of the languages of north-central Sarawak.

TABLE 15: THE VERB 'MAKE' IN LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

Language	Actor Focus		Undergoer Focus	
	(UCM)	(CM)	(UCM)	(CM)
Lun Bawang (Long Semado)	<i>nganau</i>	<i>nenganau</i>	<i>ruen</i>	<i>(t)inau</i>
Lun Bawang (Trusan)	<i>ngaru'</i>	<i>nengaru'</i>	<i>ruen</i>	<i>tinaru</i>
Kelabit	<i>naru'</i>	<i>nenaru'</i>	<i>tu'en</i>	<i>senaru'</i> <i>saru'</i>
Sa'ban	<i>aro'</i>	-	<i>uen</i> <i>an</i>	<i>aro'</i>
Berawan	<i>murau</i>	-	<i>urau</i> <i>uten</i>	<i>nurau</i>
Penan	<i>maneu'</i>	-	-	<i>naneu'</i> <i>neu'</i>
Murik	<i>na</i>	-	<i>uen</i>	<i>en</i>
Kayan	<i>na</i>	-	-	<i>en</i>

4.1 LUN BAWANG

Focus in Lun Bawang is clearly signalled. The affixation on the verb signals the nominal which is in focus, and the nominal phrase itself may be identified by word order and, in the case of pronouns, by their set. There is, however, another type of undergoer-focus construction in Lun Bawang, which uses the verb *taru'* 'make' or 'do' as a modal verb.²⁸ In this construction, the head verb with actor-focus affixation, follows the modal verb which is affixed for undergoer focus, and the non-focused actor:

make (UF) + non-focused actor + head verb (AF)

The occurrence of undergoer focus in the modal verb has the effect of cancelling the actor-focus signals occurring on the head verb.

Examples (62) - (65) illustrate the use of the verb 'make' in Lun Bawang (Long Semado dialect). In examples (62) and (63) the verb *nganau* 'make' occurs in straightforward actor-focus constructions. In Examples (64) and (65), the verb 'make' is used as a modal verb to form an undergoer-focus construction (indicated by underlining). In example (64) the verb *ruen* occurs in non-completed aspect and is followed by the non-focused actor. In example (65) the verb *i-nau* is marked for completed aspect. The head verb in both examples occurs in actor-focus form.

²⁷ Further study of this construction, since this paper was presented at 6ICAL, suggests that it is more typical of stative verbs. It does, however, occur with eventive verbs (particularly in Sa'ban) as the examples show.

²⁸ The verb 'make' in Lun Bawang shows unusual dialectal variation (Table 15). The examples in the text are from the Long Semado dialect.

- (62) *Idi ideh ng-anau ace kukud dawan.*
 then 3PL.FOC AF-make one leg tripod
 Then they make a cooking tripod.
- (63) *Ui ng-anau neneh sedia' luun pagkung dei'.*
 1SG.FOC AF-make 3SG.NF.NA ready on mountain there
 I'll make her ready on the mountain there.
- (64) *Ru-en ku ng-isu' kilu' luk nan dalam neh.*
 make-UF 1SG.NF AF-change bend which exist road it
 I'll change the bend in the road.
- (65) *I-nau ku ng-egkar tarob di iamo na kelabil di buro.*
 UF-make 1SG.NF AF-shake blanket SP but not cockroach SP run.away
 I shook the blanket but the cockroach did not go away.

4.2 SA'BAN

The construction with the verb 'make' is less common in Lun Bawang than in other languages of the Apo Duat group, especially Sa'ban. The reason for this may be that other Apo Duat languages, such as Kelabit and Sa'ban, have a smaller inventory of affixes than Lun Bawang. Whereas in Lun Bawang, the focus of the modal verb is very clearly signalled by its affixes, in Sa'ban it is not. The verb *aro'* 'make' is marked only for undergoer focus in non-completed aspect (i.e. *u-en*, Table 15). Because of this, and the fact that Sa'ban has only one set of pronouns, the relationships within the clause are less obvious than in Lun Bawang. The construction is, however, parallel in both languages.

In Sa'ban, as in Lun Bawang, there are straightforward actor-focus constructions. This is illustrated in examples (66) and (67) where the verb *aro'* occurs as an unaffixed root with the actor pronoun preceding the verb, and the undergoer (the non-focused nominal) following the verb. *Aro'* can also be used with a causative meaning before an actor-focus verb. This is illustrated in example (68).

- (66) *Deh aro' nguen ieh.*
 3PL.FOC make coffin his
 They make his coffin.
- (67) *Dei deh aro' réek.*
 then 3PL.FOC make rice.beer
 Then they make rice beer.
- (68) *Éek aro' anak diep.*
 1SG.FOC make child sleep
 I put the child to sleep (bed).

Undergoer focus constructions with *aro'* in Sa'ban are parallel to undergoer-focus constructions with *ruen* or *inau* in Lun Bawang. *Aro'* occurs as a modal verb followed in the

non-focus position by an actor, the head verb follows with actor-focus affixation.²⁹ If the action of the verb is not yet completed *an* occurs.³⁰

Examples (69) - (71) illustrate the construction with *aro'*, (72) and (73) with *an*. The head verbs in (69) and (70), *mo'oi* and *ntok*, occur with actor-focus affixation. The non-focused actors, *deh* and *lun*, follow *aro'*. Example (71) is a stative construction which also uses *aro'* as a modal verb. The head verbs in examples (72) and (73), *mpaeng* and *lanét*, are in actor focus, the non-focused actors which follow *an* are *éék* and *ieh* respectively. The construction with *aro'* or *an* is underlined.

- (69) *Aro' deh m-o'oi lueng pangat noknah.*
made 3PL AF-raise post post that
They raise the *lueng* (ceremonial) post.
- (70) *Oh, si' céh hnaen ai, aro' lun n-tok lem yoeng tah leu*
oh one you mother SP made people AF-pound in rice.mortar also head
hnae-m, am tah ieh m-ataey.
mother-your not yet she AF-die
Oh, as for your mother, her head has even been pounded in a rice mortar, but she is not yet dead.
- (71) *Ieh m-roet aro' éék.*
3SG STAT-wound made 1SG
He was wounded by me.
- (72) *Ayeu noknai an ieh m-paeng.*
tree this make 3SG AF-cut.down
He will cut down this tree.
- (73) *Aka noknai an ieh l-anét.*³¹
pig this make 3SG AF-skin
He will skin this pig.

4.3 PENAN AND BERAHAN

An undergoer-focus construction involving the use of the verb 'make' as a modal verb, followed by a non-focused actor and a main verb, occurs in both Penan and Berawan. It is not very common in either language, and seems to occur most commonly with stative or intransitive verbs.

Examples (74) - (76) illustrate the use of this undergoer-focus construction in Penan, and (77) - (79) in Berawan. In all these examples, the actor is a non-focus pronoun of set II. Example (79) is an imperative in undergoer focus. The whole verb phrase is underlined.

- (74) *Alut ineh kaham neu' ké.*
boat that capsized made 1SG.NF
I capsized the boat.

²⁹ Or with the actor-focus form of the verb, since not all verbs in Sa'ban are affixed in actor focus (Table 11).

³⁰ *An* [ʌn] is presumably a Sa'ban contraction of *uen*, but it is very close to the Kayan *en* [ən] and occurs in a parallel type of construction, as seen in examples (80), (81), (87) and (88).

³¹ The inspiration for this example came from Blust (1977:41).

- (75) *Babui ineh pe-kulit neu' ké'.*
 pig that TR- skin made 1SG.NF
 I skinned that pig.
- (76) *Jah suhat neu' ké'.*
 3SG.FOC wound made 1SG.NF
 He was wounded by me.
- (77) *Jah suyeh nurau koh.*
 3SG.FOC wound made 1SG.NF
 He was wounded by me.
- (78) *Lagilaan neh pe-kennam nurau koh.*
 door that TR-close made 1SG.NF
 I closed that door.
- (79) *Uten noh ng-ena biwih.*
 make 2SG.NF AF-skin pig
 You skin the pig.

4.4 KAYAN, MURIK AND LEPO KÉ

None of these languages has a convincing undergoer focus of the type described in §3. A common clause type in Kayan, however, is an undergoer-focus construction formed with the word *en*.³² In this construction *en* is followed by a non-focused actor, and then by the head verb. The undergoer may precede or follow the *en* phrase. Example (80) illustrates the use of the *en* construction (underlined), which is closely paralleled by the Sa'ban example (81), and similar to the Penan example (75).

- (80) *Bavui anan en na' manit.*
 pig that en 3SG.NF skin
 He skins that pig.
- (81) *Aka noknai an ieh lanét.*
 pig this an 3SG skin
 He will skin this pig.

Murik is a member of the Kayan language group (Hudson 1978:32). An undergoer-focus construction using *en* also occurs in Murik, similar in every way to the Kayan examples, except that it cannot be used with all verbs. It could not be elicited, for example, with *manit* 'to skin'.

This construction is illustrated in examples (82) - (88), of which, (82) - (84) are from Murik, (85) - (87) from Kayan, and (88) from Sa'ban. Although, Murik and Kayan do not have undergoer-focus constructions of the type discussed in §3, they do have constructions similar to the actor focus of other languages of the area, together with verb prefixes, which in other languages would be typical of actor focus. Such prefixes (*ng-* and *n-*) are seen in examples (82), (84), (85) and (87). The pronouns following *en* in both the Murik and Kayan examples belong to the non-focused actor set (set II, Table 4). The *en* phrase is underlined.

³² See Clayre and Cubit (1974:55) where it is unfortunately called the 'action sentence' type.

- (82) *En na' ngaem i aruk re.*³³
en 3SG.NF capsize PT boat PT
 He capsized the boat.
- (83) *En na' tebang i na kayeu re.*
en 3SG.NF cut.down PT PT tree PT
 He cut down the tree.
- (84) *En na' nasa' i na uma re.*
en 3SG.NF destroy PT PT house PT
 He destroyed the house.
- (85) *En na' ngaham haruk anan.*
en 3SG.NF capsize boat that
 He capsized the boat.
- (86) *En na' teveng na kayo anan.*
en 3SG.NF cut.down PT tree that
 He cut down the tree.
- (87) *En na' nasa' uma anan.*
en 3SG.NF destroy house that
 He destroyed that house.
- (88) *An ieh laet ma' noknah.*
an 3SG destroy house that
 He destroyed that house.

The similarity of *en* phrases in Kayan and Murik to those with *aro'* in Sa'ban, and to related constructions in other languages from this area of Sarawak, suggests that *en* in Kayan and Murik, may originally have been an undergoer-focus form of the verb 'make'. This verb occurs today in both Kayan and Murik as *na*, as illustrated in example (89) from Kayan.

- (89) *Akui na uma.*
 1SG.FOC make house
 I make a house.

It is probable that both Kayan and Murik formerly had a more developed focus system (the verb affixes suggest this), but that all that survives of it today is the construction with *en* and some fossilised examples.

Lepo Ké does not have an undergoer-focus construction comparable either to the type discussed in §3, or to that formed with the verb 'make'. Brief encounters with two further Kenyah dialects gave similar negative results.³⁴ On the other hand, Penan, also a Kenyah language (Needham 1972:177; Blust 1974b:255-256) has both types of undergoer-focus construction. The evidence from Penan suggests therefore, that at one time Kenyah also had some type of focus system.³⁵ Despite the fact that Kenyah is one of the main language

³³ I am not able to explain further the particles *i*, *re* and *na*, which occur in the Murik clauses. In my data they occur only in this type of undergoer-focus construction. Similar-looking particles occur in Penan where they are used in anaphoric reference, or to indicate degrees of past time.

³⁴ The two Kenyah dialects were: Lepo La'an from the Baram, and Melasan from the Bahau River, Kalimantan.

³⁵ After preparing this paper, I had an opportunity to check Sebop, a Kenyah language closely related to Western Penan. It showed evidence of a focus system similar to that found in Eastern Penan.

groups of central Borneo, very little is known about the structure of the language. It would appear from Lepo Ké, however, that the focus system has been lost in Kenyah to a greater extent than it has been in Ma'anyan.

5. COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 THE BORNEO SITUATION

5.1.1 FOCUS TYPES

The Dusunic, Murutic and Paitanic languages of Sabah, like the languages of the Philippines, have four or more focus types (§3.1).³⁶ In the languages of Sarawak, with the exception of Lun Bawang, the number of possible focus constructions is reduced to two: the core arguments of actor and undergoer. This means that it is only necessary to mark one of the arguments for focus. In these languages, undergoer focus is commonly unmarked. Similarly, because there is only a two-way distinction in aspect marking (completed or non-completed action) only one need be marked. Actor-focus verbs are commonly unmarked for aspect, while undergoer-focus verbs are marked by *-in-* or one of its related forms. As a result, the main contrast in the verb morphology is between actor-focus verbs unmarked for aspect, and unmarked undergoer-focus verbs marked for completed aspect. This was not always the case in these languages: fossilised affixes, such as the *-en* suffix on verbs like *ri-en* 'be given' in Sa'ban, *kan-en* 'be eaten' in Berawan or *sud-en* 'be followed' in Melanau, suggest that at an earlier stage these languages also had a more complex system.

Lun Bawang, situated geographically between the languages of Sabah and the languages of north-central Sarawak, has three focus types: actor, undergoer and instrument, but the affixation for instrument focus has more in common with the actor-focus affixes than with the undergoer-focus affixes. The languages of south-east Kalimantan seem to pattern like the languages of north-central Sarawak.

5.1.2 FOCUS AFFIXATION

On the whole, the Sabah languages retain the basic Philippine-type focus affixes (Table 6). In north-central Sarawak, the reduction in focus types has led to a reduction in the number of affixes. It is characteristic of this group of languages, and also of the languages of south-east Kalimantan, that actor focus is signalled by an *N-* prefix, and completed aspect in undergoer focus by *-en-* or *ne-* (Table 14). Lun Bawang, alone among the languages of Sarawak, retains the suffix signalling undergoer focus in uncompleted aspect (*-en*), and the imperative suffixes in undergoer focus (Clayre, B. 1991:420-423). The infixes *-um-* and *-in-*, common in the Sabah languages, seem to be being lost in the languages of north-central Sarawak.

In the Dusunic and Murutic languages of Sabah, and in Lun Bawang, *-um-* (or *-em-* in Lun Bawang) is restricted to intransitive (actor focus) verbs (§3.1 and §3.2). This is also the case in the Malagasy languages (Dahl, pers.comm.). In Melanau *-um-* is preserved in the ablaut *u* and as *-em-*, both of which occur with transitive as well as intransitive verbs. In other languages *-um-* occurs, mostly as *-em-*, but is non-productive; *-um-* is fossilised in *k-um-an* 'eat' in Lun Bawang, Penan, Berawan, Ngaju and Bolongan.

³⁶ Only three focus types are recognised in Coastal Kadazan (Boutin 1988b:63).

In the Dusunic and Murutic languages of Sabah, *-in-* marks completed action in actor and non-actor focus clauses (Boutin 1988b:67-68; Brewis & Levinsohn 1991:31; Hurlbut 1988:31; Kroeger 1990:111-113). In Lun Bawang, *-in-* is restricted to verbs in undergoer focus (see fn.15). In Penan and Berawan it occurs as *-en-*, but it is restricted to disyllabic roots which mostly have an initial *t*, *s* or *k* (§3.4 and §3.5). In many languages of north-central Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan it is being replaced by the prefix *n-/ne-* or, as in the case of three-syllable Penan or Berawan verbs, lost altogether (see Tables 11 and 12).

In Lun Bawang, completed action in actor focus (and instrument focus) is signalled by the prefix *ne-*. There is no prefix in any of the languages of north-central Sarawak, or of south-east Kalimantan to signal this aspect in actor focus. Instead, completed action is indicated by words, such as *pengeh* in Berawan, or *lepah* in Penan, which both have the sense of 'already' (see fn.20). They occur before the verb which is marked by *N-* or some other actor-focus prefix.³⁷

Undergoer focus occurs predominantly with verbs marked for completed aspect (i.e for punctiliar action). Since the undergoer in these clauses is definite, it means that this construction brings both event and undergoer into sharp definition.

5.1.3 NOMINAL MARKING FOR FOCUS

The Sabah languages have a smaller inventory of noun markers than typical Philippine languages such as Tagalog. In north-central Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan there are no markers for common nouns. Some languages have markers for personal nouns, but these no longer follow the rules of focus. With few exceptions, pronoun sets across Borneo distinguish focused from non-focused singular pronouns, while plural pronouns are distinguished only in the Sabah languages (see §2.2.4).

The lack of nominal markers to signal focal relationships within the clause increases the importance of word order. The languages of north-central Sarawak consistently place the non-focused argument immediately after the verb. This pattern is also apparent in the languages of south-east Kalimantan, as seen in the available publications. The same pattern occurs in the Malagasy languages where the non-focused nouns always follow the verb (Dahl, pers.comm.). The focused argument in Malagasy occurs clause finally (compare with the focused instrument in Lun Bawang), but it can be placed at the beginning of the clause followed by the word *dia* (Dahl, pers.comm.). In north-central Sarawak the position of the focused argument is more flexible (see §2.3) and is probably determined by the rules of discourse, but this was not investigated further at this stage. It is evident, however, that in these languages the preferred position for a focused actor is before the verb, while in Berawan it is the only position permitted to a focused actor. This is not surprising since in Berawan, a *k-* or *n-* prefix can signal either actor focus (non-completed action) or completed action in undergoer focus depending on the verb root (compare *nammag* and *nango* or *kicun* and *kinan* in Table 12). Word order in such situations is important.

³⁷ *Pangeh* has also been recorded with verbs affixed for completed aspect in undergoer focus!

5.1.4 OBLIQUE AGENTS

It is typical of Philippine-type languages that the non-focused actor is not 'demoted' or introduced by an oblique. The languages of north-central Sarawak conform to this pattern, and the same pattern can be observed in the languages of south-east Kalimantan. In the latter area, however, some of the languages such as Tawoyan or Ot Danum also employ an oblique construction to introduce the non-focused actor or agent. In Ma'anyan, Darmansyah Gudai records the presence of an agent marker *daya*, the use of which is optional unless the verb and the agent are separated by another constituent. If the verb has no affix then the agent (the non-focused actor) must follow the verb (Gudai 1988:215, 219). This marker belongs, presumably, to a later stage in the development of the language. At the northern tip of Borneo there is another language, Bonggi, in which a non-focused actor may be introduced by an oblique. There the agent marker is *ga'* (Boutin 1988a:5). In the examples given by Boutin, it occurs predominantly with stative verbs. It may be significant, therefore, that in north-central Sarawak it is predominantly stative verbs which are found in the construction described here in §4.

5.1.5 MA'ANYAN

It is clear that Ma'anyan no longer has a complex focus system of the type still conserved by the Malagasy languages. It has not, however, lost the focus system altogether, but has retained elements of the system in relation to the two-core arguments of actor and undergoer. In this respect it shares many features not only with neighbouring languages, but also with languages of north-central Sarawak. This suggests that the processes of change which have affected Ma'anyan have been common to many languages of Kalimantan and Sarawak. Focus exists in Ma'anyan today, not in the classic Philippine form, but rather in a form which shares many features with languages spoken in north-central Sarawak.

5.2 THE SA'BAN SITUATION

Sa'ban and Lun Bawang belong to the same language group, but Lun Bawang has been shown to share many features with the languages of Sabah, whereas Sa'ban shares features with the north-central Sarawak languages, and even with Kayan and Murik. In 1974, Blust (1974b:251) commented on the "rapid, drastic and sometimes quite peculiar sound changes" which have taken place in Sa'ban. It can now be seen that changes affected the grammatical system too, resulting in a marked loss in the number of affixes, pronouns and focus types, together with changes in word order. Other Apo Duat languages, such as Kelabit, also show some loss of affixes, but none to the extent of Sa'ban.

This survey has revealed certain parallels between Sa'ban and the Kayanic language group. Sa'ban first and second person plural pronouns are closer to Kayan than to Lun Bawang (Table 4), and Sa'ban, along with the Kayanic languages, has lost the second person singular pronoun *mu* (§2.2.4). Then there are the similarities between the use of *an* or *aro'* in Sa'ban and the use of *en* in Murik and Kayan (§4.4).

The Murik were the traditional allies of the Sa'ban. They separated sometime towards the end of the last century, when some of the Murik people migrated into the Baram area, and others moved elsewhere in Kalimantan (Ngau Jalong 1989). The memory of the alliance is still strong among the Sa'ban people who often say that they are related to the Murik. The

Kenyah Lepo Ké have also had a long association with the Sa'ban, earlier in the region of the upper Bahau in Kalimantan, and now in the upper Baram area of Sarawak. Before migrating to Sarawak, the Sa'ban were relatively isolated from the speakers of other Apo Duat languages. In fact, their nearest Apo Duat neighbours to the north, the Long Ilo (Lengilu') people, were their traditional enemies.

In view of the fact that both Murik and Lepo Ké show little evidence today of a developed focus system, it seems likely that the loss of affixes and the loosening of the focus structure in Sa'ban can be attributed, at least in part, to areal pressure following the long association of the Sa'ban with the Murik and possibly the Lepo Ké.

APPENDIX 1: LANGUAGES AND SOURCES

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Bawo | A north-east Barito language of south-east Kalimantan. My only source was a mimeographed publication of the University of Palangkaraya (Rus Andianto et al. 1985-86). I am grateful to Sian Jay of St Antony's College, Oxford for drawing my attention to the publications of this university. |
| Bayan | A language of south-east Kalimantan (Andriastuti 1984-85). |
| Berawan (BR) | A minority language spoken on two tributaries of the Baram River in Sarawak: the Tutoh and the Tinjar. I am grateful to Timo Beliwán, Jacob Melai and Denny Belawing Wan (all from Long Terawan) for their help in this language. Use was also made of a word list compiled by Proctor (1979). |
| Bonggi (BI) | A language isolate spoken on the island of Banggi, off the north coast of Sabah. I am grateful to Michael Boutin of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information concerning this language. See also Boutin (1988a). |
| Coastal Kadazan (CK) | A Dusunic language spoken on the west coast of Sabah around Penampang and Papar. I am grateful to John and Carolyn Miller of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on this language. Other Kadazan languages referred to in this paper are Eastern Kadazan, spoken in the Labuk-Sugut, Sandakan and Kinabatangan districts of Sabah (Hurlbut 1988); Ranau Dusun, spoken around Ranau (Clayre, B. 1967, 1970); Rungus spoken on the Kudat Peninsula (Forschner 1978). See also Kimaragang. |
| Ida'an | A language isolate spoken on the south-east coast of Sabah. I am grateful to David Moody of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on this language. |
| Kayan (KA) | A Kayanic language spoken in central Sarawak and Kalimantan. The examples used in this paper are from the Uma Pu and Uma Peliau dialects. I worked in this language in 1966 (Clayre, B. 1970; Clayre & Cubit 1974). I am grateful to Long of Long Bedian for recent help in the language. See also Blust (1977). |

- Kimaragang (KM) A Dusunic language spoken at the south end of the Pitas Peninsula in north-west Sabah. I am grateful to Paul Kroeger of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on this language. See also Kroeger (1988, 1990).
- Lepo' Ké (LK) A Kenyah dialect spoken on the headwaters of the Baram River in Sarawak, and the headwaters of the Bahau River in Indonesia. I am grateful to Tama Gerawat, originally from Long Malong, for his help with the language.
- Lun Bawang (LB) An Apo Duat language spoken in the north of Sarawak and over the border in Kalimantan. A group in south-west Sabah (where they are called Lundayeh) have migrated there in recent times from Indonesia. I worked on the language at various periods between 1969 and 1973, and more recently from December to March 1990-91 (Clayre, B. 1970, 1972, 1991). I gratefully acknowledge the award of a Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy, and of a grant from the Committee for South-East Asian Studies of the British Academy which enabled me to carry out this research in 1990-91. Many Lun Bawang have helped me with their language, but Semion Lalung and John Labo deserve special mention and grateful thanks for their patience and help.
- Ma'anyan (MA) An East Barito language spoken to the east of the mid-Barito River in south-east Kalimantan. The only source available to me, when I was preparing this paper for 6ICAL, was Sundermann's account published in 1912. I have since seen the dissertation by Darmansyah H. Gudai, and have consequently been able to amplify some of the information in the present text.
- Melanau (ML) A language of coastal Sarawak, in the Third and Fourth divisions. Hudson (1978) classified it as belonging to the Rejang Baram group of languages. Blust (1974b) places it in his North Sarawak group. Sources used in this study: I.F. Clayre (1972, 1973b); Blust (1988).
- Murik (MU) A Kayanic language now spoken in two long houses on the Baram River. The Murik (also Ngurek) came originally from the upper Bahau in Kalimantan, where they were the traditional allies of the Sa'ban. I am grateful to Philip Saging Lejau of Long Semiang for his help with the language. I also used Blust (1974a).
- Ngaju (NG) A West Barito language spoken west of the Barito River in south-east Kalimantan. The only sources available to me were Hardeland (1858) and Eppele (1933).
- Ot Danum A north-west Barito language spoken in the upper reaches of the Barito River in Kalimantan (Budi Santoso et al. 1984-85).
- Penan (PE) The language (Kenyah group) of a nomadic people known as Eastern Penan. They live on the east side of the Baram River

between the Brunei border and the Kelabit Highlands (Clayre, B. 1970; Needham 1972:176-180). In 1967, together with Marjorie Britza, I prepared an outline grammar of Penan, which is currently being revised for publication in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*. I am particularly grateful to Garen Jengan, originally of Long Lamai, for his help with the language.

- Sa'ban (SA) An Apo Duat language spoken on the headwaters of the Baram River in Sarawak. The Sa'ban have migrated there in recent years, from the upper reaches of the Bahau River in Kalimantan. I lived in the Sa'ban village of Long Banga' for eighteen months in 1967-68 (Clayre, B. 1970, 1972; Clayre, I.F. 1973a). More recently a Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy and a grant from the Committee for South-East Asian Studies of the British Academy made it possible for me to return to Sarawak to complete a study of focus in the Sa'ban language. I am grateful to the many Sa'ban who have helped me learn their language, but particularly to Balan Usat who worked with me in 1967-68, and again in 1990-91.
- Tawoyan A north-east Barito language spoken in central and south-east Kalimantan (Yos Ngabut et al. 1984-85).
- Timugon (TM) A Murutic language spoken in the district of Tenom, Sabah. Described by Prentice (1971). I am grateful to Richard Brewis of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who provided me with all the data on Timugon used in this paper.
- Tombonuo (TO) A Paitanic language spoken in the Labuk-Sugut and Pitas districts of Sabah. I am grateful to Julie King of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on the language.

APPENDIX 2: ABBREVIATIONS

AF	actor focus	NM	noun marker
BF	benefactive focus	OBL	oblique
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CM	completed action	PT	particle
EMPH	emphatic	Q	interrogative
EXC	exclusive	R	consonant of root preceding an infix
FOC	focused item	SG	singular
FUT	future	SP	specific, definite
IF	instrument focus	STAT	stative
INC	inclusive	TR	transitive
LF	locative focus	UCM	uncompleted action
NA	non-actor	UF	undergoer focus
NF	non-focused		

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THE DEMISE OF FOCUS AND THE SPREAD OF CONJUGATED VERBS IN SULAWESI

RENÉ VAN DEN BERG

1. INTRODUCTION¹

This article deals with the so-called conjugated verbs in a number of Sulawesi languages. It shows how these languages, which I believe belong to a single supergroup to be called Celebic, differ in the use they make of conjugated forms and how these differences can be accounted for in a diachronic scenario in which the conjugated forms are shown to have arisen from irrealis goal-focus markers. All the languages show unique developments in this area, and these developments are traced down in some detail. It is shown that in every case where conjugated forms have expanded their function, this has happened to the detriment of the focus system. At the same time, the interrelationship of conjugated forms and passive functions or strategies in these languages is explored.

In §1 and §2 some introductory information is provided on conjugated verbs and passive strategies, while §3 deals with the Proto Celebic focus system as I reconstruct it. Before moving into the body of the paper, I briefly substantiate my claim about the existence of a Celebic supergroup in §4. The central part of the paper is found in §5, where seven Sulawesi languages are treated in detail; these languages are Kaili, Uma, Kulawi, Pamona, Wolio, Muna and Padoe. Finally, in §6 I present a summary, some conclusions and remaining questions.

2. CONJUGATED VERBS

It is appropriate to start with a note on terminology. What do we mean by 'conjugated verbs'? The term itself is a translation from Dutch (*vervoegde vormen*), as used in older literature, and refers to those verbs that are marked for person and number by an affix on that verb. Indonesian examples include *ku-pukul* 'I hit' and *kau-pukul* 'you hit', but also *melihat-nya* 'see him/her/it'. In the first two examples, the prefix (or preclitic) marks the subject, whereas in the third example the suffix (or enclitic) marks the object. Agent suffixes in passive forms are excluded (e.g. *-nya* in *di-pukul-nya*). These conjugated verbs are widespread in Austronesian, although they are virtually absent in Formosa, Philippines, northern and central Borneo, northern Sulawesi and Polynesia. Large parts of Indonesia and Oceania do have them, although the forms are often different and the functions not similar.

¹ I wish to thank Michael Martens, Ülo Sirk and Hein Steinhauer for their comments which led to an improved version of this paper.

Conjugated verbs have been the object of a number of studies in prewar Austronesian linguistics. It is not my purpose to review the literature here, but mention should at least be made of Jonker (1911), Esser (1929) and Haaksma (1933). Jonker draws examples from many western Austronesian languages in his attempt to prove that conjugated forms are 'old' and should be reconstructed for the protolanguage. Esser claims the opposite. In his view conjugated verbs are a secondary development and should not be assigned a great time-depth. Haaksma tries to avoid the controversy by presenting an overview of pronominal forms in all the Austronesian languages that were then known to have conjugated verbs. His work is impressive for its breadth and for his careful attempts to explain the origin of all the morphemes that he encounters. It is severely hampered, however, by his failure to discuss the function of conjugated forms in a given language in any depth. Being too much preoccupied with form, function with him fades away into the area of the unknown or even the uninteresting.

As I hope to show, a proper understanding of the function of conjugated forms is an important key to reconstructing a plausible protosystem. These functions vary from one language to another. In some languages conjugated verbs are organised in a nominative-accusative system, other languages show an ergative-absolutive organisation. Still others have mixed systems, or show other peculiarities. All these facts have to be considered in a careful study of the history of these forms.

For the Celebic languages, I claim that the present variety in functions can be most simply and elegantly explained by positing a two-way focus system in both realis and irrealis mode for Proto Celebic (see §4). The conjugated forms filled the irrealis goal-focus slot and have stayed there or have 'gained terrain'. Notably they became plain 'active' forms in some languages, thereby causing the focus system to collapse. Generally, we will see that the functional expansion of conjugated verbs is to the detriment of the old focus system. More precisely, conjugated verbs were part of the goal focus but in many languages have become the sole focus. Notice that I do not deal with conjugated forms in other Austronesian languages, nor with the origin of the Proto Celebic system. These questions will only be touched upon in §6.

Because of the differences in function (and sometimes in form as well) it is necessary to come up with adequate terminology for cognate forms. In this article I use the following codes for the pronominal sets that need discussion:

1. set F: free pronouns;
2. set P: agent-possessive suffixes (P marks a possessive on a noun and an agent in a goal-focus construction);
3. set A: preclitics or prefixes on the verb marking subject or agent;
4. set B: enclitics or suffixes on the verb marking subject or object.

In other words, Indonesian *ku-* belongs to set A, whereas *-nya* belongs to both P and B. Basically the sets are positionally defined. Notice that not all languages under discussion have all these sets; Kaili, for instance, lacks set B. On the other hand, some of the languages under discussion have other person-marking sets besides these four. Since those sets are not essential to the arguments developed here, but represent secondary developments, they will consequently be ignored. These sets include indirect object suffixes (Muna, Padoe), additive suffixes (Padoe) and commiserative suffixes (Uma).

3. PASSIVE STRATEGIES

As outlined in more detail below, conjugated forms filled the irrealis goal-focus slot in Proto Celebic. In other words, they were employed in goal focus or 'passive' clauses with pronominal agents. In some of the daughter languages (notably Kulawi and Kaili) they can still be seen functioning in this way. In many other languages their usage has been extended into active domains, most notably in the Muna-Buton group. In Muna and Wolio the conjugated forms have lost every trace of being passive; they behave like plain actives in every respect. This leads to the following question: if passive has been reanalysed as active, what strategies does the language then employ to perform a 'passive' function? By passive function I mean the foregrounding of the patient and/or the backgrounding of the agent (see, for example, Shibatani (1985) and Keenan (1985) on this topic). As will be seen, two common passive strategies for languages that have lost goal focus are the following:

- inverse word order with nominal agents;
- generalised third person plural prefix for agentless or impersonal passives.

Although in both cases there is no overt passive morphology (and hence such languages lack a real morphological passive), I will still employ the term 'passive strategy', which is therefore to be understood as 'patient foregrounding and agent-backgrounding strategy'.

4. THE PROTO CELEBIC FOCUS SYSTEM

Of all the linguistic areas in western Austronesia, Sulawesi is maybe the area where we can most clearly see the demise of the focus system and the spread of verbal conjugation. In this respect it is an ideal testing ground for theories of grammatical change. The present variety of forms and functions, to be outlined in §5, can be accounted for by positing the following system as a starting point.²

		REALIS	IRREALIS
ACTOR FOCUS (three classes)		<i>ne-V</i>	<i>me-V</i>
		<i>na-V</i>	<i>ma-V</i>
		<i>no-V</i>	<i>mo-V</i>
GOAL FOCUS	1SG	<i>ni-V-ku</i> / <i>V[in]-ku</i>	<i>ku-V</i>
	2SG	<i>ni-V-mu</i>	<i>mu-V</i>
	3SG	<i>ni-V-nya</i>	<i>na-V</i>
	1PL.INC	<i>ni-V-ta</i>	<i>ta-V</i>
	1PL.EXC	<i>ni-V-kami/mami</i>	<i>ki-V</i>
	2PL	<i>ni-V-miu</i>	<i>mi-V</i>
	3PL	<i>ni-V-ra</i>	<i>ra-V</i>

The following comments need to be made about this chart:

1. Proto Celebic had a two-way focus system (actor and goal focus). As in the modern languages that still have these two foci, focus selection was to a large extent determined by discourse considerations. Specifically goal focus was used when the agent was known and the goal was definite, often in clauses forming the backbone of a story. See Barr (1988b) for a good discussion of focus in Da'a.

² For list of abbreviations used in this paper see Appendix.

2. The two modes (realis and irrealis) functioned most likely as they still do in Kaili and Kulawi. The realis marks the past and present, whereas the irrealis marks future, intent and contrafactuals. Some languages have lost the realis/irrealis distinction (Uma, Pamona, Wolio), whereas in other languages the contrast surfaces in pronominal elements (Padoe, Muna). In Muna the irrealis is also used after negators, which is probably a later local innovation.
3. The three classes for actor focus are tentative. Most modern Celebic languages have verb classes marked by *ma-/mo-/me-* (sometimes accompanied by prenasalisation), some of which appear to have semantic or grammatical correlates (notably transitivity), but usually with a large degree of randomness. Data from the Tomini-Tolitoli languages suggest that these classes may have developed from an earlier partial vowel harmony system. This question remains to be explored. It is also possible that there was a fourth class, marked by zero.
4. In order to simplify matters, I have not included the verbal markers for intransitives, nor the specific verbal morphology that is used to mark transitivity in actor focus. This whole area has not yet been approached from a comparative point of view, and it seems wiser to me to deal with one topic at a time. I am fully aware that for this reason the chart (and this paper in general) is an oversimplification of all the issues involved.
5. It appears that in the realis goal focus there was variation between the prefix *ni-* and the infix *-in-*.
6. Three pronominal sets are reconstructable: a set of free pronouns (F), possessive/agentive suffixes (P), and preclitic/prefixed agent markers (A). I have not attempted to reconstruct the F set. Also, in this paper I am not concerned with formal changes that have taken place in sets A and P (e.g. prenasalisation, politeness shifts, paradigm crossovers etc.). That must remain the topic of a separate study. Secondary uses of pronominal forms (especially the polite use of first person inclusive) will not be indicated in the charts, nor illustrated in the examples.
7. Set A is only used on transitive verbs (goal focus) in the irrealis mode. I call this use of set A: 'pronominal goal focus (irrealis)'. A further simplification in the discussion is that 'person-hopping' (i.e. the moving of set A or set B to, for example, a preverbal negator or conjunction) is also ignored.

In the remainder of this paper I use the term C-verbs to refer to conjugated verbs marked by set A. For the *me-/ma-/mo-*verbs (actor focus irrealis in Proto Celebic) I will reserve the term U-verbs (U for 'unmarked for person'). Ni-verbs are self-explanatory. Agent and patient are semantic functions, subject and object are grammatical categories, although I also use 'subject' for the sole argument of an intransitive verb. In order not to depart too much from established terminology, I use Actor Focus (AF) and Goal Focus (GF), rather than agent, patient or undergoer.

Daughter languages frequently show the following developments:

1. C-verbs widen their usage; they move into the realis domain and also into the AF domain. Hence they gradually become unmarked active forms.
2. Ni-verbs are either restricted in usage or lost. Even when Ni-verbs are lost, daughter languages often still show traces of *ni-* in result nouns derived from verbs (e.g. Uma

dinapa 'hunted game', from *dapa* 'to hunt, chase'). Such relics will not be considered in the following discussion.

3. U-verbs also come to perform more specific functions.
4. A new set B emerges in postverbal position, marking the patient and sometimes the subject of an intransitive. The basis for not reconstructing set B is admittedly rather weak, as this set is found in almost all of the languages of the three subgroups. However, it does not occur in Kaili nor in Pamona, and at this point it seems easier to account for its rise than for its loss. Given the existence of set A in the protolanguage, the rise of set B enclitics from reduced free pronouns is a natural process that undoubtedly occurred very early in the history of the Bungku-Mori-Tolaki and Muna-Buton languages. The loss of set B in some of the Kaili-Pamona languages would be a completely unmotivated change, running against the tide of rising person-marking systems. Therefore I will assume in this paper that set B was not part of Proto Celebic, although upon further investigation this position may need to be abandoned.

The changes outlined above can be attributed to two causes:

1. The system itself was unstable. C-verbs especially were unusual in that they performed a passive function (goal focus irrealis) while at the same time obligatorily marking the agent. This is unexpected, since in goal focus the agent is backgrounded and typically often not mentioned at all. My hypothesis is that exactly because of this obligatory presence of the pronominal agent, there was a tendency for these C-verbs to move into more active domains.
2. It appears that the loss of the realis/irrealis distinction in the AF occurred earlier than in the GF. Hence an undesirable anomaly in the paradigm arose: a mode distinction in GF, but not in AF. This tension was resolved by the loss of the mode contrast in GF through either complete loss of Ni-verbs or through a rearrangement of the functions of Ni-verbs and C-verbs.

Before we move into the actual descriptions of the languages involved, it is necessary to briefly substantiate my claims about the existence of a Celebic group of languages.

5. SUBGROUPS IN SULAWESI AND THE CELEBIC LANGUAGES

Nowadays nine primary subgroups are usually distinguished in Sulawesi (cf. Noorduyn 1991):

1. Sangiric. 2. Minahasan. 3. Gorontalo-Mongondic. 4. Tomini-Tolitoli. 5. Kaili-Pamona. 6. Saluan. 7. Bungku-Mori-Tolaki. 8. Muna-Buton. 9. South Sulawesi. While the position of some languages is still uncertain (e.g. Wotu, Lemolang, Banggai – the latter may be an isolate), the evidence for most subgroups is fairly clear. In fact, a large amount of comparative work has led to the reconstruction of the protolanguages of five of these groups: Proto Sangiric (Sneddon 1984), Proto Minahasan (Sneddon 1978), Proto Gorontalo-Mongondic (Usup 1986), Proto Kaili-Pamona (Martens 1990) and Proto South Sulawesi (Mills 1975).

Although no published comparative work has been done on the Bungku-Mori-Tolaki and the Muna-Buton groups, initial investigations seem to suggest that these two groups constitute a higher order supergroup together with the Kaili-Pamona languages. I will call this supergroup Celebic, referring to the old Portuguese-Dutch name for Sulawesi. It could

well be the case that the Tomini-Tolitoli and the Saluan languages are part of this Celebic group, but for the present I leave this question open. The name Celebic is chosen because I believe this supergroup is the most indigenous to Sulawesi. In a recent article, Blust (1991) has shown that the Gorontalo-Mongondic languages form part of the Greater Central Philippine group of languages, whereas the South Sulawesi languages are most probably immigrants. Mills (1975:28) dates this immigration in the latter half of the first millennium BC. Notice that my position differs from that of Martens (1990), who believes that all of the languages of central, south-east and south Sulawesi form a unique subgroup, derived from a protolanguage that he calls, following Mills, Proto Sulawesi. As I see it, there is insufficient evidence for linking the South Sulawesi group to the Celebic group, although the two groups have obviously influenced each other (examples are given below).

This is not the place to present convincing evidence for the Celebic supergroup (comprising Kaili-Pamona, Bungku-Mori-Tolaki and Muna-Buton), the more so as the putative Muna-Buton group is still an uncertain entity and may well turn out to be a non-entity. However, I will present a few phonological innovations that these languages share, as a starting point for further investigations into the nature of Proto Celebic (hereafter PCel):

- (a) loss of all final consonants except glottal stop;
- (b) merger of PMP **ay* and **ey* as PCel **e*;
- (c) merger of PMP **e* and **aw* as PCel **o* (there are notable exceptions, especially in Kaili and Wolio, possibly due to borrowing or later changes).

Other common features of these languages, possibly attributable to PCel are:

- (a) Almost all languages have a five-vowel system.
- (b) Prenasalised stops behave as unit phonemes (these are also found in initial position).
- (c) There are no consonant clusters.
- (d) There is a dislike of palatal consonants (most notably in Bungku-Mori-Tolaki and Muna-Buton). Exceptions are mostly found in the Kaili-Pamona group, where Pamona especially has many palatals, partly from the change PCel **l* > *y*. Pamona is also the only Celebic language that has retained the distinction between PCel **n* and **ny*. In all other languages these sounds have merged to *n*.
- (e) Stress is penultimate.
- (f) The groups share certain lenition tendencies: **s* -> *h*; **b* -> *w*; **k* -> *s*.

Although there are some exceptions to these statements (e.g. Laiyolo does have final consonants, Bada has six vowels and Rampi seven, and Tukangbesi has geminate consonants), these can usually be explained by borrowing or as later developments.

As further research is done on these languages and their immediate ancestors, more evidence may come to light linking these groups together. Also, their subgrouping relationship remains to be worked out. Phonological developments seem to suggest a closer relationship between Bungku-Mori-Tolaki and Muna-Buton as against Kaili-Pamona. For the present purpose, enough has been said on this topic. Let us now turn back to the real topic of this article: the conjugated forms in these languages.

6. DATA FROM SEVEN SULAWESI LANGUAGES

In the following sections I present data on seven Sulawesi languages, four of which are from the Kaili-Pamona group (Kaili, Kulawi, Uma and Pamona), two from the Muna-Buton group (Wolio and Muna) and one from the Bungku-Mori-Tolaki group (Padoe). In chart form the pronominal forms are first presented, after which the main uses of set A and set B (if present) are discussed. Then passive strategies are treated, followed by a summary of the way in which this language differs from the PCell system and where the innovations occurred.

6.1 KAILI

Data from Kaili (Da'a dialect, with Ledo dialect in brackets) are drawn from Esser (1934), Barr (1988a,b) and Evans (pers.comm.). Kaili is a member of the Kaili-Pamona microgroup and spoken in the town of Palu and its vicinity.

	F	P	A	B
1SG	<i>aku</i> (<i>yaku</i>)	<i>-ku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	-
2SG	<i>iko</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>mu-</i>	-
3SG	<i>i'a</i> (<i>ia</i>)	<i>-na</i>	-	-
1PL.INC	<i>kita</i>	<i>-ta</i>	-	-
1PL.EXC	<i>kami</i>	<i>(-)kami</i>	-	-
2PL	<i>komi</i> (<i>komi</i>)	<i>-mu/-mi</i> (<i>-miu</i>)	- (<i>nu-</i>)	-
3PL	<i>ira</i>	<i>ira/-ra</i> (<i>-ra</i>)	-	-

As can be seen from the chart, Kaili is fairly close to what is reconstructed for Proto Celebic, the major difference being the limited usage of set A for only first and second person singular. I call this system: 'limited pronominal goal focus (irrealis)'. The Kaili system (and its innovations) is best understood by means of showing the morphosyntax of goal focus.

A basic distinction is made between realis and irrealis for both actor and goal focus. Whereas in AF *n-* marks realis and *m-* marks irrealis, the situation is more complex in GF. Realis GF is invariably marked with the prefix *ni-* on the verb (therefore glossed as GF/REAL: Goal Focus/Realis). Three possibilities exist for agent marking:

- pronominal agent: possessive suffix (set P);
- nominal agent: introduced by *nu* (sometimes called a genitive marker);
- no agent: no marking except the prefix *ni-*.

Examples of these three categories are:

- (1) *Buku e'i da'a-pa ni-basa-ku.*
book this not-yet GF/REAL-read-1SG
I haven't read this book yet.
- (2) *Ni-raga nu asu wawu.*
GF/REAL-chase AG dog pig
The pig was chased by the dog.
- (3) *Ni-paka-belo-mo jaula etu.*
GF/REAL-CAUS-good-PERF floor that
The floor was fixed.

Irrealis GF shows a number of very interesting phenomena. Usually the prefix *ra-* is employed to mark irrealis GF, and, as was the case with realis GF, pronominal agents are marked by set P, nominal agents are introduced by *nu*, and agentless constructions are unmarked. However, when the pronominal agent is first or second person singular, set A prefixes are used (*ku-* and *mu-*). A dichotomy can thus be observed between first and second person singular and all other persons. The following four situations can therefore be distinguished for irrealis GF:

- (a) *ra-V* with no agent (agentless passive);
- (b) *ra-V nu* with nominal agent;
- (c) *ra-V* with possessive suffixes (1PL, 2PL, 3SG, 3PL also?);
- (d) *ku-V*, *mu-V* for 1SG and 2SG pronominal agents.

The following examples illustrate these constructions:

- (4) *Duria etu kana ra-paka-nawu.*
durian that must GF/IRR-CAUS-fall
That durian must be dropped.
- (5) *Nuapa ra-pakau-na ka kita kana ra-tuki-ta.*
what GF/IRR-command-3SG to 1PL.INC must GF/IRR-follow-1PL.INC
Whatever he commands us we must obey.
- (6) *Da'a ma-mala aku mu-raga!*
not IRR-able 1SG 2SG-chase
You can't chase ME!
- (7) *Ane da'a iko ku-raga...*
if not 2SG 1SG-chase
If I can't chase YOU...

In his preliminary analysis of these forms, Barr (1988a:39-40) does not mention the fact that *ku-* and *mu-* are irrealis GF forms. His conclusion is that they indicate "highly intimate, informal direct speech".

In Ledo the second plural *nu-* is also used in these constructions, although according to Evans (pers.comm.) this is mostly limited to older speakers. Younger Ledo speakers tend to use the form *ra-V-miu* instead of *nu-V*.

There is no need to present separate information on passive strategies in Kaili, as this function is performed by the goal-focus markers.

The relationship between focus and conjugated forms has undergone the following innovations from PCel to Kaili. The Irrealis GF has undergone a major change, namely the reanalysis of *ra-* from a third person plural pronominal marker to a GF marker. This development is typologically well known (see, for example, Haspelmath 1990). On the analogy of the realis GF marked by *ni-*, pronominal agents were then supplied in suffix forms. First and second person singular, occupying the highest position on the person/animacy hierarchy, have resisted this construction and therefore continue the old PCel situation where set A marked irrealis GF. In other words, set A has given way to set P. As we will see, Kaili is unique in the Celebic group in that it has not extended its usage of C-

forms. Ledo appears to reflect an older stage of the language where the second person plural form is still used, albeit only by older speakers.

In this respect my analysis differs from that of Himmelmann (this volume), who regards the Kaili *ku-* and *mu-* forms as representing an incipient stage in the development of conjugated forms. A parallel is found in Totoli where only *ku-* occurs in the irrealis GF slot, which can be regarded as either the first or the last stage of development. It is hard to make definite statements here, but one piece of evidence is that in Pendau, one of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages and related to Totoli, the regular irrealis GF marker is *ro-* (underlyingly, allomorphs caused by partial vowel harmony are *re-* and *ra-*; see Quick 1989). As in Kaili, this almost certainly goes back to a third person plural set A prefix, suggesting an earlier complete paradigm. However, since the relationship between the Celebic languages and the Tomini-Tolitoli languages is far from clear, it may well be that my own and Himmelmann's positions are both correct: Kaili regressive, and Totoli incipient in C-forms. Such a scenario whereby Kaili was influenced by the neighbouring Tomini-Tolitoli languages would also explain its aberrant position within the Celebic group with regard to C-verbs.

6.2 UMA

Uma is spoken in the mountainous interior of western Central Sulawesi, well to the south of Kaili. All Uma data are drawn from Esser (1964) and Martens (1988a,b,c).

	F	P	A	B
1SG	<i>aku'</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-a</i>
2SG	<i>iko</i>	<i>-nu</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>-ko</i>
3SG	<i>hi'a</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-i</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kita'</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kai'</i>	<i>-kai</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-kai</i>
2PL	<i>koi'</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-koi</i>
3PL	<i>hira'</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>-ra</i>

Martens has convincingly shown that the person-marking system in Uma is ergatively organised. In other words, pronominal 'subjects' of intransitives and 'objects' of transitives are coded similarly (as set B, which might be called 'absolutive'). Ergativity is only shown in this area of Uma grammar: there is no case marking on nouns, nor is there any evidence of syntactic ergativity. There is no realis/irrealis distinction in Uma.

The uses of sets A and B can be summarised as follows:

- A is used for — the agent of transitives in goal-focus with definite goals (Martens: "non-topic actor");
- B is used for — the agent of transitives with indefinite objects;
 — the subject of intransitives;
 — and the (definite) patient of transitives.

Examples of these uses are:

- (8) *Mo-keno-a.*
 INT-run-1SG
 I am running.

- (9) *Nu-weba'-a.*
2SG-hit-1SG
You hit me.
- (10) *Ku-koni'-ko.*
1SG-eat-2SG
I eat you.
- (11) *M-po-'oli tomi to bo'u-a.*
AF-TRS-buy house REL new-1SG
I (will) buy a new house.

In (8) we see a set B enclitic used to mark the pronominal subject of an intransitive verb, whereas the same form *-a* in (9) marks the patient. In (9) and (10) the set A preclitic marks the agent of a transitive verb. In (11) a transitive verb is found, but since the patient is indefinite, the pronominal agent is marked by set B. Notice that in this last example the enclitic *-a* is not found on the verb but at the end of the whole patient noun phrase. This is an example of 'indefinite noun incorporation'. Similarly, these clitics can also move to preverbal negators.

Notice that set A is still used in the PCel way, but – because of the presence of set B – it can now be termed 'ergative'. Formally and functionally, very little has happened, and the label 'ergative' should therefore not obscure the basic continuity of the system.

Uma still has U-verbs (verbs unmarked for person). A careful analysis of all the facts by Martens led him to the conclusion that these U-verbs can still be called Actor Focus, and the verbs employing set A Goal Focus. However, the crucial point is the division of labour between GF-verbs and AF-verbs. The following cases can be distinguished:

- GF is the unmarked construction for transitive verbs with pronominal agents and definite patients, as in (9) and (10);
- AF occurs with nominal agents in transitive constructions, as in (12);
- AF occurs in relative and cleft clauses, complement verbs and non-initial verbs, as illustrated in (13) and (14).

- (12) *Ntinapu m-po-wangu tomi-na hi Bulu'.*
Ntinapu AF-TRS-build house-3SG at Bulu'
Ntinapu built his house at Bulu'.
- (13) *Hi'a to m-po-weba'-a.*
3SG REL AF-TRS-hit-1SG
He is the one that hit me.
- (14) *Tumai-a-ma m-po-pali'-ko.*
come-1SG-PERF AF-TRS-search-2SG
I've come searching for you.

Notice that transitive verbs in AF are marked by *m-po-*.

The Uma data can also be approached from a different perspective. What are the passive strategies that this language employs? This question is all the more interesting as Uma does not make use of Ni-verbs.

First of all, with patient foregrounding pronominal agents are marked by set A, which is a continuation of the PCel system. Some more examples are:

- (15) *Tomi to ku-'oli lompe' lia.*
house REL 1SG-buy nice very
The house that I bought is very nice.

- (16) *Buku toi ko'ia ki-basa.*
book this not.yet 1PL.EXC-read
This book we haven't read.

Secondly, with nominal agents inverse word order is employed. Regular word order is SVO or VSO, but in goal-focus construction with nominal agents OVS order is found. Notice that set A marker *na-* must cross-reference the agent.

- (17) *Manu'-na na-pa-nako tuaka-na.*
chicken-3SG 3SG-TRS-steal brother-3SG
His chickens had been stolen by his brother.

Finally, the third person plural A marker *ra-* can mark an unspecified agent, in which case the sentence is functionally equivalent to and can be translated as an English passive:

- (18) *Ra-weba'.*
3PL-hit
1. They hit (him).
2. He was hit.
- (19) *Kumpe toe ra-babehi ngkai kuluma kaju to ra-hanga' nunu'.*
barkcloth this 3PL-make from skin tree REL 3PL-name nunu'
1. This barkcloth is made from the bark of a tree called *nunu'*.
2. This barkcloth they make from the bark of a tree they call *nunu'*.

Summarising then, the following innovations have taken place in the history from PCel to Uma:

1. The realis/irrealis distinction was lost, both in AF and GF; in AF the *m*-verbs survived and displaced the *n*-verbs; in GF the prefix *ni-* was lost completely.
2. Set A has continued in its primary function as pronominal goal focus. Its use was only widened to cover the old realis domain.
3. A new set B has come into existence. This set B is very likely the result of reduced free pronouns in postverbal position. The details of this development remain to be worked out. Notice that the ergative system is completely dependent on the usage of set B, not on set A, which, as I said above, has not really changed in function. The ergative organisation of set B is very likely the result of influence from South Sulawesi languages, where the ergativity in the pronominal systems is very widespread (see Friberg 1991) and can possibly even be attributed to Proto South Sulawesi.

6.3 KULAWI

Data on Kulawi (also referred to as Moma, and sometimes considered a Kaili dialect) are from Adriani and Esser (1939). This language is spoken in the area located between Kaili and Uma.

	F	P	A	B
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-a</i>
2SG	<i>iko</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>nu-/mu-</i>	<i>-ko</i>
3SG	<i>hia</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-i</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kita</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kami</i>	<i>-kami</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-kami</i>
2PL	<i>komi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>ni-/mi-</i>	<i>-komi</i>
3PL	<i>hira</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>-ra</i>

Barr (1988a:39) also gives data for Moma, but since his is a limited paradigm and one form differs (*koi-* for *ni-/mi-*) it must represent a different speech variety.

The usage of sets A and B in Kulawi is roughly similar to Uma. Again we have an ergative-absolutive organisation of these pronominal forms:

- A – agent of transitive verbs with definite patient (goal-focus);
- B – subject of intransitives;
 - agent of transitives with indefinite patient;
 - patient of (definite) transitives.

Since this usage has been illustrated for Uma, I will not repeat any Kulawi examples here.

The most salient difference with Uma is that Kulawi has retained the realis/irrealis distinction, which was lost in Uma. The most important points of difference with Kaili are the use of the full A-set for pronominal goal focus (irrealis) and the existence of set B, which is lacking in Kaili. In other words, Kulawi presents a neat combination of some of the traits of Kaili and Uma, while at the same time being very close to the PCell system that I propose. Kulawi constructions can best be illustrated by showing the morphosyntax of goal focus.

Realis GF is marked by the prefix *i-* (reflex of *ni-*) on the verb. Set P (if present) marks the agent:

- (20) *Moma i-epe-ku ka-rata-mu.*
 not GF/REAL-hear-1SG NOM-come-2SG
 I haven't heard (about) your arrival.
- (21) *Wula ilodo ba hangkua tauna i-huku.*
 month last Q how.many people GF/REAL-punish
 Last month some people were punished.

I have not found examples of nominal agents in realis GF.

Irrealis GF is marked by set A for pronominal agents. Since *ra-V* is the general passive, *ra-V-ra* is used for third person plural pronominal agents (as in Kaili, presumably on the analogy of realis *i-V-ra*). Examples of irrealis GF are:

- (22) *I-uli-ku nu-wai mara.*
 GF/REAL-think-1SG 2SG-give for.nothing
 I thought you would give it for nothing.
- (23) *Na-koni tana.*
 3SG-eat earth
 The earth will devour (him).

- (24) *Ane ma-ria balu-balu-ku ra-keni lako i lemba...*
 if IRR-be good-good-1SG GF/IRR-carry from LOC lowland
 If I have goods that are to be carried from the lowland...
- (25) *Ne ra-epe-ra ngana.*
 NEG GF/IRR-hear-3PL child
 Let the children not hear it.

Example (22) shows both realis GF (*i-uli-ku*) and irrealis GF (*nu-war*) in the same sentence. In the latter form and in (23) no patient is specified, as third person singular pronominal enclitics are frequently omitted; *na-* is coreferential with *tana*. Example (24) illustrates a general or agentless passive, whereas in (25) we can see the double *ra* marking on the verb with third person plural agents. It is not clear to me whether a plural nominal agent always triggers the enclitic *-ra* and whether *ra-V-ra* can occur without nominal agent.

Occasionally other double marking forms are found in the irrealis such as *ra-V-na*. Adriani and Esser (1939, II:11) note: "These forms are imitations of Kaili and should therefore be avoided". Whether or not this is actual influence from Kaili, it does show how the Kaili system outlined in §6.1 came into being: next to *na-V*, *ra-V-na* was used, until *na-V* disappeared completely.

By having both full pronominal marking as well as a clear focus system, Kulawi violates the second of Himmelmann's (this volume, p.132) generalisations: "the presence of a complete paradigm of pronominal *prefixes* correlates with the absence of a Philippine-type 'focus'/mood system".

The innovations that have taken place in Kulawi are the following:

- (a) rise of set B with absolutive orientation (thus giving set A an ergative interpretation);
- (b) double marking on third person plural.

All in all, Kulawi is of prime interest because it shows how the Uma and Kaili systems, which differ markedly, can be accounted for diachronically. This scenario also provides an answer to the questions of Martens (1988a:236) about the historical development of the differences between Daa and Uma: "Did Uma lose the realis and irrealis prefixes first, then pull the non-topic actor pronouns [=set A] up to the front of the verb? Or did Uma start pulling the non-topic actor pronouns to the front, thus displacing the prefixes marking realis and irrealis?" I hope I have shown that the answer to both these questions is negative. Uma did lose the realis/irrealis system, but set A was already present in GF.

6.4 PAMONA

Pamona, which used to be called Bare'e, was studied extensively by the linguist-translator Adriani. Data for this language are drawn from Adriani (1909, 1931).

	F	P	A	B
1SG	<i>yaku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	-
2SG	<i>siko</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>nu-</i>	-
3SG	<i>si'a</i>	<i>-nya</i>	<i>na-</i>	-
1PL.INC	<i>kita</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ta-</i>	-
1PL.EXC	<i>kami</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>ka-</i>	-
2PL	<i>komi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>ni-/ndi-</i>	-
3PL	<i>si'a</i>	<i>-nya/-a</i>	<i>nda-/ra-</i>	-

Pamona is the only language to have a palatal nasal for the third person possessive. Since this represents a retention from PAN, I reconstruct it for PCel as well, although the palatal nasal merged with the alveolar nasal in every other Celebic language.

The Pamona person-marking system can be characterised as 'nominative-only and consecutive', for the following reasons:

- (a) only transitive verbs get set A, both with definite and indefinite patients (therefore nominative-only);
- (b) intransitives are usually not marked for subject, except in consecutive linking, in which case they need a 'primary derivation' (*pa-/pe-/po-* or *ka-*) first as a basis. The major difference with Kulawi and Uma is that these languages only allow set A marking on verbs when the patient is definite (a prerequisite for goal-focus selection). Kaili apparently allows non-definite patients in GF, but most of the GF examples in Barr (1988b) are with definite patients. In Pamona, however, definiteness does not seem to play a role. Any transitive verb with pronominal agent is marked with set A, irrespective of the definiteness of the patient, as in the following examples:

- (26) a. *Nu-koni wawu?*
2SG-eat pig
Do you eat pork?
- b. *Ku-koni*
1SG-eat
Yes, I do.

The patient *wawu* in (26a) is indefinite, yet the verb is marked with *nu-*. Notice that in (26b) the patient is definite, and because obvious from the context, not mentioned overtly (compare (22) - (23) above).

Consecutive linking is illustrated in the following two examples:

- (27) *Ma-eka raya-nya, pai na-po-lonco.*
ADJ-afraid heart-3SG and 3SG-PD-run
He was afraid, so he ran away.
- (28) *Sabu ka-pe-rapi, ka-ka-buya.*
soap 1PL.EXC-TRS-ask 1PL.EXC-PD-white
We ask for soap, that we may be white.

Notice the 'primary derivation' (PD) on the intransitive verb *lonco* 'run' and adjective *buya* 'white'. These PD affixes serve to make the verb 'ready', so to speak, for receiving the subject prefix.

Now, let us look at passive strategies in this language, which, like Uma, has lost Ni-verbs:

The first strategy is the use of the third person plural prefix *nda-* (dialectally *ra-*) for agentless or general passives. Again, as in Kaili and Uma, we notice the trend for the third person plural prefix to be used in a passive function:

- (29) *jaya anu bare'e-mo nda-lulu*
 road REL not-PERF 3PL-follow
 1. a road that can no longer be taken
 2. a road one can no longer take

The second strategy is the inverse construction, whereby the patient is put in clause-initial position and the nominal agent is marked by the agentive marker *nu* or prenasalisation (the choice between these two depends on the initial phoneme of the next word). Notice that the agent is obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb by *na-*:

- (30) *Ana-ku na-pa-tuwu n-tama-nya.*
 child-1SG 3SG-CAUS-live AG-uncle-3SG
 My child is raised by his uncle.

The patient can also be found clause-finally, after the agent:

- (31) *Na-kita-mo nu asu pue-nya.*
 3SG-see-PERF AG dog master-3SG
 1. The dog has seen its master.
 2. The master was seen by his dog.

With pronominal agents the inverse is also an option to foreground the patient:

- (32) *Labu-ku ku-keni-ka i Ta Mati.*
 machete-1SG 1SG-bring-to PM Ta Mati
 I took my machete to Ta Mati.

The following changes have occurred from PCel to Pamona:

1. The realis/irrealis distinction was lost, both in AF and in GF. As in Uma, only *m*-verbs survived in AF, whereas in GF the prefix *ni-* was lost completely. According to Martens (1990), some Pamona dialects have retained the realis/irrealis distinction marked by *m-/n-*.
2. Whereas in Kaili, Kulawi and Uma the distinction between AF and GF was maintained, Pamona has shifted to a position whereby any pronominal agent of a transitive verb is marked by set A, irrespective of the definiteness of the patient. Thus set A functions as a real nominative, and these verbs can be considered true actives.
3. Intransitive verbs in consecutive linking also receive set A. This has very likely happened under the influence of South Sulawesi languages, where consecutive linking is common.
4. Because set A now functions in active constructions, passive functions are now primarily realised through word order (with nominal agents) or by means of generalised third person plural markers (when agentless).

Finally, it is surprising that in Pamona we do not find set B. Given the active use of set A, the rise of set B to mark objects would be expected. Its absence in this language is one of my main reasons for not reconstructing set B for Proto Celebic.

6.5 WOLIO

With Wolio, the former court language of the Buton sultanate, we leave the Kaili-Pamona languages, and move into the Muna-Buton group. As noted above, the evidential basis for the Muna-Buton group has never been provided. Wolio data are from Anceaux (1952).

	F	P	A	B
1SG	<i>iaku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-aku</i>
2SG	<i>(ing)koo</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-ko</i>
3SG	<i>incia</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a</i>
1PL.INC	<i>(ing)kita</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ta-</i>	-
1PL.EXC	<i>(ing)kami</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-kami</i>
2PL	<i>(ing)komiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-komiu</i>
3PL	<i>(manga) incia</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a</i>

The Wolio system is relatively straightforward. Wolio uses set A for nominatives (subjects) on both transitive and intransitive verbs, whereas set B is used for accusatives (objects). I will call it 'nominative-accusative'. Notice that Wolio (and Muna as well) lack a set B form for first person plural inclusive. In its place a non-pronominal prefix is used (Wolio *manga*-, Muna *fo*-). Examples of the usage of set A and set B are:

- (33) *A-lingka*
3SG/PL
1. He/she/it goes.
2. They go.
- (34) *U-kande-a*
2SG-eat-3SG
You eat it.
- (35) *A-ma-oge mpuu o ana-ana sii.*
3SG-ADJ-big very ART child this
This child is very big.

Notice the use of set A on intransitive verbs in (33) and (35) and the subject-agreement in (35). All verbs are therefore marked for person, unless they are participles in relative clauses. This is a new situation that we have not yet encountered. It appears that Wolio has gone all the way: set A is used for every verb, irrespective of transitivity or definiteness.

As for passive strategies, the following means are available in Wolio:

1. Prefix *to-* for agentless passives both intentional and unintentional:

- (36) *A-to-bawa i banua.*
3PL/SG-PASS-bring LOC house
1. They are brought to the house.
2. S/he was brought to the house.
- (37) *A-to-pa-mbuli-mo manga ana-ana humai.*
3PL-PASS-CAUS-return-PERF PLUR child this
These children are sent back home.

2. Inverse order (OVS), with subject and object-agreement on the verb:

- (38) *Bulu-na pani-na a-hobuti-a La Ndoke-ndoke.*
feather-3SG wing-3SG 3SG-pull.out-3SG ART RED-monkey
The feathers of his wings had been pulled out by Monkey.

- (39) *A-kande-aku wurake.*
 3SG-eat-1SG vampire
 I have been eaten by a vampire.

3. Prefix *i-* in object relative passive (either attributive or in in clefts) (these verbs can be called 'passive participles'):

- (40) *kamba-kamba i-tobe-na i dala*
 RED-flower P.PART-pick-3PL LOC road
 flowers picked along the road side

- (41) *Opea sadia i-kande-mu?*
 what always P.PART-eat-2SG
 What do you usually eat?

The innovations in Wolio are summarised as follows:

1. The realis/irrealis distinction was lost: in AF only *m*-verbs survived; in GF *ni*-verbs were 'locked up' in a limited area of their former GF function, namely relative clauses (and clefts).
2. Set A spread from transitive verbs with definite patient to all-transitives and then to intransitives; hence all active verbs are marked with set A.
3. Set B arose to fill the gap of object functions.
4. The prefix *to-* (originally non-volitional or accidental) came to be used as the marker of agentless passives.

6.6 MUNA

Muna is another member of the putative Muna-Buton group. Data for this language are taken from van den Berg (1989).

	F	P	A		B
			realis	irrealis	
1SG	<i>inodi</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-kanau</i>
2SG	<i>(i)hintu</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>-ko</i>
3SG	<i>anoa</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-e</i>
1PL.INC	<i>intaidi</i>	<i>-nto</i>	<i>do-</i>	<i>da-</i>	-
1PL.EXC	<i>insaidi</i>	<i>-mani</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-kasami</i>
2PL	<i>ihintuumu</i>	<i>-Vmu</i>	<i>o-Vmu</i>	<i>o-Vmu</i>	<i>-koomu</i>
3PL	<i>andoa</i>	<i>-ndo</i>	<i>do-</i>	<i>da-</i>	<i>-da</i>

Notes on the chart:

1. The given A-set is only for verb class *a-*. There are two other verb classes (*ae-* and *ao-*) each with different subject markers, historically the result of fusion with affixes *-me-* and *-mo-* (for synchronic details, see van den Berg (1989); for a diachronic perspective see van den Berg (1991)).
2. Realis is used for past and present, irrealis for future/intentions and after negators.

Like Wolio, the person-marking in the Muna system is also nominative-accusative. Set A is used both as subject of transitives and intransitives, whereas set B is used as object of transitives. With nominal subjects there is agreement.

- (42) *Kamokula-ku do-mate-mo.*
 old-1SG 3PL-die-PERF
 My parents have died.

In (42), the intransitive verb *mate* is inflected for third person plural subject by set A prefix *do-*, which is coreferential with the nominal subject *kamokulaku*.

- (43) *O-wora-e-mo?*
 2SG-see-3SG-PERF
 Have you seen him/her/it?

In (43) we find both set A and set B on the transitive verb *wora* 'see'.

The difference between set A realis and irrealis can be observed in the following examples:

- (44) a. *No-buri-e.*
 3SG-write-3SG
 1. He writes it.
 2. He wrote it.
 b. *Na-buri-e.*
 3SG-write-3SG
 He will write it.

Muna does not have passive morphology in main clauses. The following passive strategies are employed in this language.

Firstly, inverse word order (OVS) with object-agreement:

- (45) *O dahu no-fumaa kenta.*
 ART dog 3SG-eat fish
 The dog ate a fish.
 (46) *O kenta no-fumaa-e dahu.*
 ART fish 3SG-eat-it dog
 The fish was eaten by a dog.

Example (45) illustrates a regular SVO clause, whereas (46) has inverse word order OSV and object agreement (*-e* is coreferential with *o kenta*). This serves to foreground the fish (e.g. because of its importance in a story) and to background the dog (e.g. because he is new or unimportant); hence the sentence is best translated as a passive. From the translation it may appear that *o* is translated as 'the'. Definiteness, however, is not the function of *o* (see van den Berg (1989) for a full discussion).

Secondly, backgrounded and/or unimportant human agents are often referred to by third person plural subjects (from set A):

- (47) *Do-sepa-kanau.*
 3PL-kick-1SG
 1. They kicked me.
 2. I was kicked.

Thirdly, in relative clauses where the object is relativised, Ni-verbs (variant *ne-*) are used (I have called these 'passive participles') as illustrated in (48) and (49):

- (48) *Kenta ne-fumaa-no dahu no-bhala.*
 fish P.PART-eat-3SG dog 3SG-big
 The fish that the dog ate was big.
- (49) *Lambu ni-gholi-ku miina na-bhala.*
 house P.PART-buy-1SG not 3SG-big
 The house that I bought is not big.

In summary, the following innovations have taken place in Muna:

1. The realis/irrealis opposition in GF and AF has been lost, but surfaced later on the subject markers (two sets A, but only partially different). The distribution between realis and irrealis functions has changed somewhat, irrealis now being reserved for future/intentions and after negators.
2. There have been many formal changes in set A (e.g. the replacement of **ku-* by *a-*).
3. The opposition between AF and GF has been lost in main clauses, C-forms having taken over completely in main clauses, presumably first on transitive verbs than also on intransitive verbs.
4. Ni-verbs marking goal focus have been retained in a small 'corner' of the language, namely in relative clauses.
5. U-verbs (verbs unmarked for person) have also been retained for special usages, namely imperatives and active participles.
6. Set B has developed for object marking.

This scenario also accounts for the typological oddity of the definiteness shift (DS) in Muna. In a nutshell, the DS states that a transitive verb belonging to class *ae-* will move to class *a-* when it has a definite object. Class *a-*, however, is typically filled by stative intransitive verbs. How is this to be explained? The answer is relatively straightforward. As we saw, transitive verbs with definite patients already received set A in PCel; the spread to transitives with indefinite patients and intransitives occurred much later. The crucial point is that with definite patients, there was no marker *-me-* or *-mo-* on the verb, set A being directly prefixed. On the other hand, with indefinite patients and intransitives these verbal markers were always there, even when set A finally spread to these forms. Subsequently *a-me-* reduced to *ae-*, and so the dichotomy remained between definite patients (class *a-*) and indefinite patients (class *ae-*). The fact that class *a-* is also and typically filled by stative intransitive verbs reflects the fact that many of these intransitive verbs were so-called 'bare' or unmarked, displaying no verbal marker. Hence, the definiteness shift is not a shift towards intransitivity, but merely a diachronic coincidence.

6.7 PADOE

With Padoe, considered by Esser to be a Mori dialect, we move into our third microgroup, namely the Bungku-Mori-Tolaki group of languages. This group is undoubtedly the most complex in the area of person marking, as is witnessed by Esser's impressive array of pronominal forms in Tinompo Mori (Esser 1927:119-120) and the complexities of Padoe as described by Vuorinen (1991), to be illustrated below.

I should point out that because of this complexity, some of Vuorinen's conclusions are tentative. When the synchronic facts are hardly clear, diachronic statements are even more prone to failure. For one thing, I have not been able to make a detailed comparison of Vuorinen's analysis against Esser's (1927) and Magnetti-Barsel's (1984) treatment of Tinompo Mori. However, I believe Vuorinen's analysis to be generally sound, with only occasionally some lacunae.

In contrast to all earlier languages, Padoe has six sets of pronominals. In addition to the regular set P, it has two free sets, one unmarked (F) and one specifically used for irrealis purposes (Fi). Then, in addition to set A, two sets B can be distinguished. Although formally these are very similar, there are both formal and semantic differences, explained below.

	F	Fi	P	A	B-1	B-2
1SG	<i>iaku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>-nggu</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-aku</i>	<i>-aku</i>
2SG	<i>iiko</i>	<i>iko</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>au- (u-)</i>	<i>-iko</i>	<i>-iko</i>
3SG	<i>umono</i>	<i>o(no), lo'o</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>-o(to), -lo'o</i>	<i>-o</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ikito</i>	<i>kito</i>	<i>-ndo</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>-kito</i>	<i>-kito</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ikami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-kami</i>	<i>-kami</i>
2PL	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>komiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>	<i>ai- (i-)</i>	<i>-komiu</i>	<i>-komiu</i>
3PL	<i>umboro</i>	<i>iro, lo'iro</i>	<i>-ro</i>	<i>ro-</i>	<i>-iro, -lo'iro</i>	<i>-iro</i>

Note: Set B-2 has four allomorphic sets: *-aku/-'aku/-haku/-ngangu*, etc., that are lexically determined (very likely the initial consonants are retentions of older verb-final consonants); set B-1 does not have these.

The Padoe person-marking system makes reference to the following syntactic-semantic parameters:

1. transitivity of the verb;
2. definiteness of the patient and/or the adjunct (temporal or locative phrase);
3. prominence or emphasis of a constituent;
4. mood: realis, irrealis or unmarked.

I will not treat in any detail the free sets (F and Fi), as this distinction is very clearly an innovation in Padoe that falls outside the scope of the present paper. Also, I ignore the additive set and the indirect object set. Instead, I will focus on set A and set B and on passive strategies.

Set A is used in the following two cases:

Firstly, as agent of transitive verbs in which case the patient or adjunct is prominent (not necessarily definite). Mood is unmarked. If the patient is definite then also set B-2 is present with 'object agreement'; if the patient is indefinite then a verbal marker *po(N)-* is attached to the verb. Examples are:

- (50) *Ku-nahu-o inehu la'a.*
 1SG-cook-3SG vegetables that
 I cooked those vegetables.

- (51) *Ai pamutu la'a ku-po-nahu inehu.*
 in wok that 1SG-VM-cook vegetables
 In that wok I cook vegetables.

In both (50) and (51) the transitive verb *nahu* 'to cook' is used. The use of *ku-* signals unmarked mood. Because the patient is definite in (50) there is object agreement (*-o* from set B-2). In (51) the patient is indefinite, but here the adjunct (locative phrase) is prominent and definite. This is signalled by the verbal marker *po-*.

Secondly, set A can also mark the subject of intransitive verbs when the adjunct is prominent. Again the verbal marker *po-* is present.

- (52) *Inderio ro-po-turi?*
 where 3PL-VM-sleep
 Where will they sleep?

The importance of the adjunct constituent is obviously an innovation in Padoe.

As for set B-1, this is used for subject of intransitives with realis mood:

- (53) *Mate-o-to io uma-no.*
 die-3SG-CMP ART father-3SG
 His father has (already) died.

And finally, set B-2 is used for the patient of transitive verbs, both as pronominal patient only and also in combination with definite patients, as illustrated in (50).

- (54) *Ki-rodo-hiro.*
 1PL.EXC-hit-3PL
 We hit them.

Although set B-1 and set B-2 are virtually identical in the chart, there are important formal differences, the major one being the existence of four sets of allomorphs for set B-2. Set B-1 only uses one form. Notice, for example, the form *-hiro* in (54), with initial *h*; this suggests that set B-2 represents an older situation, and set B-1 an innovation.

So far, it seems that Padoe exhibits a somewhat mixed system that does not neatly fall into a typological category. It has aspects of an ergative system, but the formal differences between B-1 and B-2 argue against strict ergativity. Furthermore, aspectual or modal distinctions play an important role. For instance, for an intransitive with irrealis mood a form from set Fi will have to be used, as in (55), rather than set A or set B.

- (55) *Iro l[um]eko ai Tomata.*
 3PL VM.go to Tomata
 They will go to Tomata.

Let us now look at passive strategies in Padoe. A very conspicuous feature of Padoe in this respect is the use of the verbs marked with the infix *-in-*. Their first main use is for agentless passives, as in the following examples.

- (56) *Umono t[in]anu hiewi.*
 3SG PASS.bury yesterday
 1. HE was buried yesterday.
 2. It was he that was buried yesterday.

- (57) *Ono t[in]anu owundu-olo.*
 3SG PASS.bury short-day
 He will be buried in the afternoon.

Notice the mood difference in these clauses. In (56) set F is used, hence unmarked mood with a prominent subject, whereas in (57) set Fi is seen, giving the clause irrealis mood (but not subject prominence). For example:

- (58) *Ikomiū kee h[in]enu ai sala?*
 2PL Q PASS.hit PREP road
 1. Were YOU hit on the road?
 2. Was it you that was hit on the road?
- (59) *komiū-po h[in]enu ai sala*
 2PL-CND PASS.hit PREP road
 if you are hit on the road

When neither subject prominence nor irrealis mood is to be indicated, these passive forms are treated like intransitive verbs and can thus receive set B-1, which marks realis mood:

- (60) *T[in]anu-o-to.*
 PASS.bury-3SG-CMP
 He has (already) been buried.
- (61) *H[in]enu-komiū-to kee ai sala?*
 PASS.hit-2PL-CMP Q PREP road
 Were you hit on the road?

As with other intransitives, there may be adjunct prominence (but again unmarked mood) in which case set A is used:

- (62) *Olo nie kee no-t[in]anu?*
 day this Q 3SG-PASS.bury
 Will he be buried today?
- (63) *Inderio ai-h[in]enu?*
 where 2PL-PASS.hit
 Where were you hit?

In summary, the following situations can be distinguished for these agentless Ni-verbs:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) unmarked mood, subject prominence | (free pronoun, F) |
| (b) irrealis mood, no prominence | (irrealis free pronoun, Fi) |
| (c) realis mood, no prominence | (subject enclitics, B-1) |
| (d) unmarked mood, adjunct prominence | (subject proclitics, A) |

Furthermore, these passive verbs can also be used in agented constructions in which case pronominal agents are indicated by set P. These constructions, however, are reserved for relative and possibly equative clauses. Mood is unmarked for these examples:

- (64) *Raha henu in-oli-nggu moiko ngako.*
 house REL PASS-buy-1SG nice very
 The house that I bought is very nice.

- (65) *N[in]ahu-nggu inehu la'a.*
 PASS.cook-1SG vegetables that
 Those vegetables were cooked by me.

The pragmatic status of (65) is not clear. Is this a cleft, to be properly translated as 'those vegetables are the ones cooked by me' giving contrastive emphasis to the subject? Vuorinen does not mention this point, but Esser (1933:352) seems to suggest that this is the case for similar constructions in Tinompo Mori.

It should also be noted that relative clauses also make use of set A, as the following example shows:

- (66) *Raha henu ku-oli-'o moiko ngako.*
 house REL 1SG-buy-3SG nice very
 The house that I bought is very nice.

The difference between (64) and (66) is not made clear by Vuorinen. Possibly there is a mood distinction, but this is speculation.

Having looked at person marking and the use of *-in-*verbs, let us now summarise and expand our findings about passive strategies in Padoe. The clearest case of a passive strategy is presented by the agentless passive marked by *-in-*. But what about backgrounded agents in main clauses, both nominal and pronominal? Similar to Uma, Wolio and Muna, the inverse construction is employed (OVS), with obligatory subject and object agreement (set A and set B-2), as illustrated below:

- (67) *Manu nie no-nako-'o kaka-nggu.*
 chicken this 3SG-catch-3SG older.sibling-1SG
 1. This chicken was caught by my brother.
 2. My brother caught this chicken.
- (68) *Ine-no no-kaburu-'o ai wiwi sala.*
 mother-3SG 3SG-bury-3SG LOC side road
 1. He buried his mother by the road.
 2. His mother was buried by him by the road.

As was shown in (51), an indefinite patient requires the verbal marker *po-*, also in the inverse:

- (69) *Inehu mbio au-po-nahu?*
 vegetables what 2SG-VM-cook
 What vegetables are you cooking?

A summary of all the innovations that have occurred in Padoe is complicated. However, the following points are fairly clear:

1. The realis/irrealis distinction was lost on verbs, but present in different pronoun sets for intransitives (Fi for irrealis versus B-1 for realis).
2. The focus system has given way to full person marking, Ni-forms now being restricted to agentless passives and relative and cleft constructions.
3. Set B-2 arose to mark objects. Probably an earlier nominative-accusative system (set A and set B-2) moved to a partial ergative system, in which one allomorph (the new set B-1) has begun to mark subject of intransitive (realis mood).

4. The agentless Ni-passive is treated as an intransitive and can therefore be used with set Fi, set B-1 and set A (with adjunct-emphasis).

5. The adjunct is treated as a core grammatical category influencing person and transitivity marking on the verb.

7. SUMMARY

The following chart summarises some of the distinctive traits of the languages that have been discussed. It presents in chart form the pronominal sets that these languages use to mark: (a) the pronominal agent of a transitive verb with definite patient; (b) the agent of a transitive verb with an indefinite patient; (c) the pronominal subject of an intransitive verb; and (d) the patient of a transitive verb.

	Kaili	Uma	Kulawi	Pamona	Wolio	Muna	Padoe
TR.DEF.AG	A ¹	A	A	A	A	A	A
TR.IND.AG	-	B	B	A	A	A	A ²
INT.S	-	B	B	(A) ³	A	A	A ² /B1
Patient	-	B	B	-	A	B	B-2
REAL/IRR	1 ¹	3	1	3	3	2	2

Notes:

¹ Only 1SG and 2SG; for all other persons *ra*-.

² Only with adjunct prominence.

³ Only in 'consecutive linking'.

Realis/irrealis distinction codes are:

- (1) present in AF by *n-/m-*, in GF by *ni-/in-*(realis) and by set A as preclitics on verbs (irrealis);
- (2) absent as a verbal category, but present in subject affixes and/or free pronouns;
- (3) altogether absent.

At the risk of being repetitive I offer again a summary of what I believe is the most likely diachronic scenario.

1. The Proto Celebic system was very much like Kulawi (without set B) having both realis and irrealis actor-focus and goal-focus forms, illustrated by the verb *oli* 'to buy':

	ACTOR FOCUS	GOAL FOCUS
REALIS (1SG)	<i>ne-oli</i>	<i>ni-oli-ku/in-oli-ku</i> (Ni-verbs)
IRREALIS (1SG)	<i>me-oli</i> (U-verbs)	<i>ku-oli</i> (C-verbs)

2. The loss of the realis/irrealis distinctions in the AF led to a breakdown and a redistribution of the GF realis and irrealis forms. In some languages (Uma, Pamona) Ni-forms were lost altogether, in others (Muna, Wolio, Padoe) the forms were maintained but the old function specialised in dependent clauses (relative, cleft). In the case of Padoe, agentless Ni-verbs were treated as intransitives.

3. At the same time, in almost all of these languages the C-forms started to gain ground at the cost of U-verbs. Conjugation (set A) spread to transitive verbs with indefinite objects and even to intransitive verbs. U-verbs 'withdrew' to AF with nominal agents and also to marked constructions such as relative and cleft clauses and complement verbs. In this way these conjugated verbs gradually became unmarked actives (Uma, Pamona, Wolio, Muna), first only with (unstressed) pronominal subjects of transitive verbs, later with all verbs, and ultimately with full agreement between a noun phrase and the subject marker (Muna, Wolio). This might be called a 'passive to active drift', with a concurrent functional change of set A marking agent to set A marking subject.

4. Set B developed from reduced free pronouns and functioned on either a nominative-absolutive basis (Muna, Wolio) or on an ergative-absolutive basis (Uma, Kulawi). Padoe has a mixed (split) system (three-way), divided on the basis of mood.

Of course, certain issues have not been addressed and many questions remain unanswered. These include the marking of transitivity and the function of 'primary derivation', the importance of word order and the rise of subject agreement as shown in Wolio and Muna, to mention just a few. Also, one may wonder about the origin of the PCel system. Is the formal overlap between set A and set P a coincidence? If not, how are we to account for it? It seems very likely that set A is a prefixed form of set P (and not a reduced set of free pronouns), although the forms are not fully identical. Have these forms moved to preverbal position because they were first suffixed to preverbs (negators, question words, etc.)? A detailed study of such processes is called for.

This leads to the issue of possible similar developments in other Austronesian subgroups with verbal conjugation. In Sulawesi itself, the South Sulawesi languages offer a wealth of information on conjugated forms, although their systems are remarkably similar. And there is Malay, Batak, Aceh, Old Javanese, to name just a few in Western Austronesian. A careful comparison of conjugated verbs in these languages may help solve the puzzle of the growth and spread of these forms in so large an area of the Austronesian world, of which Sulawesi is only a small, but nonetheless interesting part.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS

A	preclitic/prefixed agent markers	I	irrealis
ADJ	adjective	INC	inclusive
AF	actor focus	IND	indefinite
AG	agent marker	INT	intransitive
ART	article	IRR	irrealis
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative
CMP	completive	NEG	negator
CND	conditional	NOM	nominaliser
C-verbs	conjugated verbs	P	possessive/agentive suffixes
DEF	definite	PASS	passive
DS	definiteness shift	PCel	Proto Celebic
EXC	exclusive	PD	primary derivation
F	free pronouns	PERF	perfective
Fi	free pronouns (irrealis)	PL	plural
GF	goal focus	PLUR	plural marker

PM	person marker	REL	relative marker
PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian	S	subject
P.PART	passive participles	SG	singular
Q	question marker	TRS	transitiviser
REAL	realis	U-verbs	unmarked verbs
RED	reduplication	VM	verbal marker

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PERSON MARKING AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN SULAWESI

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1. INTRODUCTION

In Sulawesi a large variety of systems of grammatical relations is said to exist: northern languages (e.g. the Minahassan and Sangiric groups) have a Philippine-type 'focus'¹ marking (see Sneddon 1975); South Sulawesi languages such as Bugis and Makasar exhibit 'ergative'² traits (see Friberg 1991); and south-eastern Muna has a very complex subject-inflection on the verb (see van den Berg 1989). Since these different types are all contiguous to each other geographically one might wonder whether there are any transitional types and what the interrelation between the different systems might be.

In this paper I present data from three Central Sulawesi languages, two of which, Totoli and Da'a, may be analysed in terms of a 'focus-system', the third, Uma, showing 'ergative' traits. As for genetic affiliation, Uma and Da'a belong to the Kaili-Pamona group, and Totoli to the Tomini-Tolitoli group. The Kaili-Pamona and the Tomini-Tolitoli groups are definitely related to each other, but it has not yet been established whether they form a higher-order subgroup within Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP). Data on Uma and Da'a are from Michael Martens and Don Barr, respectively (see references); the presentation also closely follows their analysis. The data on Totoli are my own.

An attempt is made to show how the devices used in establishing grammatical relations found in these three languages are related to each other. Particular attention is given to prefixed pronominal forms, since, as will be seen, so-called 'ergativity' in Sulawesi is intimately linked to these prefixes.

My approach is based on the concepts of grammaticalisation theory (compare, for example, Lehmann (1982), Bybee & Dahl (1989), Traugott & Heine, eds (1991)). This includes the hypothesis that the notion of a *system* of grammatical relations is only of limited use and that it might be preferable to conceive of grammatical relations as being brought about by grammatical formatives (*grams* in the terminology of Bybee and associates) which

¹ For lack of a widely accepted alternative, I continue to use this term despite the fact that it is quite generally agreed upon that the term 'focus' is a misnomer. In general linguistics it is used to refer to the pragmatic phenomenon of highlighting new or contrastive information. 'Focus' affixes in Philippine languages do not have such a highlighting function. For further comments, see Appendix 1.

² I am also somewhat reluctant to use the term 'ergative'. This is due to the fact that in the last decade an inflationary use has been made of this term, so that it can no longer be assumed that it has an unequivocal and specific meaning apart from the technical definition it might be given within a particular framework. I prefer defining 'ergative' as a nominal case-form (i.e. the case-form of the ACTOR in a transitive event). Nevertheless, I will also have to use the term in its broader and vaguer sense in order to discuss the issues addressed in the literature.

are relatively independent of each other. The present paper both exemplifies and expands upon this approach, the question of grammatical relations being hitherto neglected within grammaticalisation research.

In §2 the Uma state of affairs (to avoid the term 'system') is presented, with particular emphasis on the fact that Uma exhibits both person marking and vestiges of 'focus' marking. In §3 some of the theoretical issues involved in labelling the Uma state of affairs 'ergative' are addressed and the hypothesis is advanced that 'ergativity' in Uma is a transitional phenomenon caused by the interaction of person marking and 'focus' marking grams. To support this hypothesis, data from Totoli and Da'a, both of which display incipient stages of person marking, is presented in §4. An attempt is made to show that Totoli, Da'a and Uma represent different stages in the rise of person marking in Austronesian languages, and that the Uma state of affairs is best understood from this perspective. To fully corroborate the hypothesis it would be necessary to present a typology and history of person marking in the Austronesian family. This is very briefly hinted at in the last section.

Throughout the paper Aceh and Manam are referred to as prototypical representatives of Austronesian person marking languages. No data is presented from these languages, however, since it is assumed that they are both fairly well known and easily accessible through the excellent grammars by Lichtenberk (1983) and Durie (1985). Furthermore, a basic familiarity with Tagalog is presumed which is referred to as a representative of a 'focus' marking language.

2. 'ERGATIVITY' IN UMA

Let us first take a look at Uma. Table I shows the four series of pronouns found in Uma (see Martens 1988a:169):³

TABLE 1: UMA PRONOUNS

	Clitic	Non-topic actor	Possessive	Independent
1SG	-a	ku-	-ku	aku'
2SG	-ko	nu-	-nu/-mu	iko
3SG	-i	na-	-na	hi'a
1PL.INCL	-ta	ta-	-ta	kita'
1PL.EXCL	-kai/kami	ki-	-kai/kami	kai'/kami'
2PL	-koi/komi	ni-	-ni/-mi	koi'/komi'
3PL	-ra	ra-	-ra	hira'

Table 2 shows how the core grammatical relations are marked on the predicate (see Martens 1988a:175):

TABLE 2: UMA BASIC VERB TYPES

INTRANS	mo-/Ø	Stem	clitic pronoun (=S)
TRANS ₁	non-topic actor prefix	Stem	clitic pronoun (=P)
TRANS ₂	mpo- ⁴ /N-	Stem	clitic pronoun (=A or P)

As can readily be seen, two of the pronominal series play an essential part in the paradigm. The grammatical function of full noun phrases (NPs) is not marked by any particles

³ For list of abbreviations used in this paper see Appendix 2.

⁴ More precisely, as stated by Martens (1988a:175), this is N- ACTOR-'focus' + po- TRANSITIVE.

whatsoever within the NP (i.e. there are no equivalents to Tagalog *ang/ng* or Samoan case markers), nor is word order used to indicate grammatical relations. Thus, the verbal affixes are the major elements in establishing grammatical relations. Intransitive predicates take a prefix and the single central participant is marked by the (post-)clitic pronoun, as in (1):

- (1) *Mo-keno-a.*
INT-run-1SG
I am running.

With transitive predicates, the ACTOR is marked by a pronominal prefix, while the UNDERGOER is marked by the postclitic pronoun, as in (2):

- (2) *Na-weba'-a.*
3SG-hit-1SG
He hits me.

The prefixes are person markers, that is, they may cross-reference or index (see Lichtenberk 1983:107) an argument co-occurring in the same clause, while the postclitics do not co-occur with a full NP:

- (3) *Ku-koni' loka'-na.*
1SG-eat banana-3SG.POSS
I eat her/his bananas.
- (4) *Na-manyu tobine-na pae toe.*
3SG-pound woman-3SG.POSS rice DEM
His wife pounded the rice.

In (4) *na-* is coreferential with *tobinena*, while both *loka'na* in (3) and *pae toe* in (4) are not cross-referenced with the verb. This, by the way, is one major difference between Uma and South Sulawesi 'ergative' languages, which are otherwise very similar. In the following example from Konjo (see Friberg 1991) the postclitic *-i* cross-references *asunna*:

- KONJO (1) *Kupeppe'i asunna Puang Baco.*
ku-peppe'-i asu-na Puang Baco
1SG-hit-3SG dog-3SG.POSS title Baco
I hit Mr Baco's dog.

The distribution of postclitic and prefixed pronominal forms is the same as that of absolutive and ergative case-forms in morphologically ergative languages. In terms of the grammatical relations hierarchy (cf. Comrie 1989; Croft 1990), postclitics mark the S and P functions, while the prefixes are used for transitive ACTORS only (A-function). Is Uma then an 'ergative' language?

The second transitive construction (TRANS₂ in Table 2) is somewhat difficult to account for with respect to the hypothesis that Uma is an 'ergative' language. In this construction a (non-pronominal) prefix marks the fact that an ACTOR is involved in the event, quite similar to what is called ACTOR-'focus' (ACF) in Philippine languages. Example (5) illustrates this construction along with its alternative which contains a pronominal prefix. Note that in (5a) there is no pronominal marker on the predicate; in (5b) the ACTOR-NP (*Ntinapu*) is optional:

- (5) a. *Ntinapu mpo-wangu tomi-na hi Bulu'.*
 Ntinapu ACF-build house-3SG.POSS at Bulu'
 Ntinapu built his house at Bulu'.
- b. *Na-wangu (Ntinapu) tomi-na hi Bulu'.*
 3SG-build (Ntinapu) house-3SG.POSS at Bulu'
 Ntinapu built his house at Bulu'.

The ACF construction is used in backgrounding clauses (cf. Martens 1988a:251ff.) as well as in subordinate constituents, for example, relative clauses and verbal complements. Thus, it is both formally and functionally very similar to the Philippine ACF construction.

There is, however, evidence to support the claim that it is no longer a 'true' ACF construction. Postclitics may be used with ACF predicates, but their syntactic role is not fixed. They may denote ACTORS or UNDERGOERS:

- (6) *Hema to mpo-weba'-ko?*
 who REL ACF-hit-2SG
 Who hit you?
- (7) *Mpo-hilo-i romeha' sakaea.*
 ACF-see-3SG two boat
 He saw two boats.

In (6) the clitic (-ko) marks an UNDERGOER, in (7) the clitic (-i) marks an ACTOR. Example (7) is restricted to contexts where the UNDERGOER is specific, but indefinite.⁵ Example (6) provides evidence against a 'focus' analysis in that a topic pronoun in a 'true' ACF construction cannot denote anything but an ACTOR (one would expect some oblique form to be used for the UNDERGOER). That the postclitic may refer to an UNDERGOER is probably due to the fact that in Uma postclitics generally denote absolutive. Thus, in (6) two 'systems' seem to be mixed: the prefix belongs to a 'focus' system and the suffix to an ergative-absolutive one.

In Konjo, a 'dialect' of Makasar, the two constructions exemplified in (6) and (7) have been further differentiated (that is, grammaticalised). A Konjo verb may be prefixed with *ang₁-* (triggers nasal substitution) which then optionally takes postclitics for ACTORS, no definite UNDERGOER being allowed. Friberg (1991) calls this 'Actor Focus Transitive':

- KONJO (2) *Angganrei Baco loka.*
ang-kanre-i Baco loka
 ACF-eat-3SG Baco banana
 Baco eats bananas.

Another prefix, *ang₂-* (not triggering nasal substitution), which Friberg calls 'Goal Focus Transitive', takes the postclitic for UNDERGOERS, which are usually definite:

- KONJO (3) *Nakke angkanrei lokanna.*
Nakke ang-kanre-i loka-na
 1SG UGF-eat-3SG banana-3SG.POSS
 I eat his banana.

⁵ Non-specific UNDERGOERS are usually incorporated into the predicate expression, for example:

Ng-koni' loka'-a.
 ACF-eat banana-1SG
 I am eating bananas.

Martens (1988a-c) demonstrates that both an 'ergative' analysis and a 'focus' analysis are possible for Uma transitive constructions. According to the 'focus' analysis, TRANS₁ is called *transitive goal-focus* and TRANS₂ *transitive actor-focus*. In an 'ergative' analysis, TRANS₂ constructions would be analysed as antipassives. Both analyses have their drawbacks.

With an 'ergative' analysis, the antipassive solution is problematic, since the UNDERGOER (P) is not marked as an oblique participant (which is especially awkward in examples such as (6) where it is definite and specific).

The 'focus' analysis, on the other hand, remains silent about the important differences to the Philippine-type 'focus' marking. In this type of marking the category of person does not play a role, but 'focus' marking is intimately linked to modal distinctions (REALIS/IRREALIS). In Uma, the category of person is of central importance and modal distinctions do not play a role. Philippine-type NPs are marked by particles, Uma NPs are unmarked. While in Philippine-type languages the non-topic actor clitics⁶ are identical to the possessive clitics, in Uma the two series are differentiated by their position. The Uma pronominal prefixes allow us to clearly establish a class of transitive verbs, a category which is difficult, if not impossible, to define in languages such as Tagalog. Nevertheless, there is a certain similarity between these languages, and what we need is an analysis that accounts for both the similarities and the differences.

3. GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND GRAMMATICAL FORMATIVES

Many more fundamental issues are involved in trying to account for the Uma facts in terms of *systems* of grammatical relations. To mention just one: in recent years it has been claimed that Philippine-type languages are 'ergative' (both from a discourse point of view as well as within the relational grammar framework (compare the contributions in McGinn (1988)). According to this view, the differences should be considered minor ones of surface forms. Uma could be considered just as much an 'ergative' language as any Philippine language, with some idiosyncracies regarding the position and function of pronominal clitics/affixes. But then, as hinted at above, if the term 'ergative' is used in such a broad fashion one may doubt whether it tells us anything except that a language so characterised is different from English in some way.

To put the question in a more typological perspective: is it useful to call Samoan, Tagalog and Uma 'ergative', when they do not have many surface phenomena in common? I myself cannot detect many similarities between Uma and Samoan, which should be the case if they were both 'ergative'. In Samoan an ergative case marker (*e*) exists, but in Uma there is no trace of case marking for core participants whatsoever. Furthermore, Samoan does not exhibit a single trace of Philippine-type 'focus' marking, but in contrast to Uma does exhibit a very prominent, albeit 'mysterious', transitive suffix (see Mosel 1985:62ff.). No pronominal postclitics exist in Samoan, and the series of pronominal proclitics differs substantially in both form and function from the Uma pronominal prefixes. Thus, to call both Samoan and Uma 'ergative' is to gloss over substantial differences; in particular, the central role played by pronominal prefixes and clitics in Uma would remain unaccounted for.

⁶ Compare the Tagalog *ng*-forms (= possessive/non-topic actor):
ko, mo, niya, nita, natin, namin, ninyo, nila.

Uma seems to be much more similar to a language such as Aceh in that it does not have NP markers (for core participants) and in its extensive use of pronominal clitics/affixes. For the same reason there is a certain degree of similarity with Melanesian languages, such as Manam. A possible objection to this kind of reasoning might be: the fact that Uma, Aceh and Manam share a lack of NP markers and extensive use of pronominal clitics/affixes is of no particular importance, since the use of the pronouns follows three different 'systems' (Uma is 'ergative', Aceh 'active' (see Durie 1987), and Manam 'accusative'). But such an objection implies a fundamental difference between these languages and obscures the fact that since the three 'systems' are 'realised' in these languages in the same way (i.e. by pronominal affixes/clitics), it is fairly easy to conceive of transitions between them: in order to get from the Uma to the Aceh state of affairs, the use of the pronominal prefixes has to be expanded to cover all ACTORS, which in turn would have repercussions for the use of the clitics and the TRANS₂ prefix. The transition from Uma to Manam would consist in expanding the use of the pronominal prefixes to cover intransitive subjects (the S-function), and restricting the use of the clitics to transitive UNDERGOERS (the P-function). It is much more complex to conceive of a possible transition between Uma and Samoan given the differences mentioned above. It is in this sense that I would hold that Uma is much more similar to Aceh and Manam than to an 'ergative' language such as Samoan.

This notion of (typological) similarity with respect to grammatical relations is, of course, not the standard one. It is based on the following hypothesis: instead of dealing with grammatical relations in terms of overall systems, it seems more useful to treat them in more local and surface oriented terms, that is, to start with the grammatical formatives involved.⁷ As for Austronesian languages, at least the following basic classes of grammatical formatives involved in establishing grammatical relations exist:

- a) transitivity related (that is, applicative) suffixes on the predicate expression (*-i, *-aken);
- b) affixes which are 'focus'/voice related ('focus' in turn being closely related to modal distinctions (REALIS/IRREALIS));
- c) pronominal affixes and clitics on the predicate expression, such as the Uma prefixes and clitics;
- d) NP markers (or case-forms, if you prefer to call them that); here one may further differentiate between NP markers clearly denoting semantic roles, such as the various locative and directional markers attested in many Austronesian languages, or the ergative marker *e* in Samoan and those which are not clearly affiliated with one particular semantic role, such as Tagalog *ang* and *ng*;
- e) auxiliaries/particles in pre-predicate position expressing tense-aspect-mood, negation, etc., as widely attested in Oceanic languages.

All but class (c) (pronominal affixes and clitics) have been claimed to reflect features of Proto Austronesian morphosyntax (cf. Dahl 1976; Foley 1976; Wolff 1980; Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982). Therefore, I think, most researchers will agree that these are the major features with respect to which there is variation in morphosyntax across the Austronesian family.

⁷ Compare van Valin (1981) who already pointed out that languages exhibiting ergative traits have no system of grammatical relations in common.

Instead of assuming that the interaction of these grammatical formatives is governed by some coherent (underlying) system, it seems more appropriate to treat them as relatively independent and meaningful elements and to make it an empirical task to show how these formatives interact in establishing what we are used to calling grammatical relations. Note in particular that the phrase *class of grammatical formatives* has been used here in a rather loose sense. It should also be considered an empirical task to show that a certain number of grammatical formatives having similar forms and functions in fact constitute a class (or paradigm). Recall, for example, that prepositional elements in Oceanic languages are so heterogeneous that they are not treated in any two grammars alike (see Durie 1988; Ross 1988:133ff.). In the same vein, labels such as *case marking language* or *person marking language* are simply used to indicate that in a given language prominent use is made of a class of grammatical formatives of the kind indicated. They do not entail the claim that two languages with the same label are necessarily similar in any other respect (that is, *person marking languages* do not constitute a holistic type). Typologically interesting similarity depends on the degree to which a certain class of formatives is grammaticalised and on the kinds of formatives it interacts with. Whether there is any such interaction on a typologically relevant level at all is also an empirical issue (person marking does not necessarily exclude case marking and vice versa). As an example, note that Uma and South Sulawesi languages are not unique in displaying ergative traits with respect to person marking only (i.e. core NPs are not case marked). Mayan languages are very similar to Sulawesi languages in this regard (see Martens 1988b:270f.). Both groups also exhibit verbal affixes signalling passive⁸ – an unusual fact for ‘ergative’ languages. Whether this is merely accidental or points to some deeper typological similarity remains to be investigated.⁹

Applying this approach to the present investigation of the pronominal prefixes in Uma we may state the following:

- 1) The series of pronominal prefixes in Uma marks neither Goal-‘focus’ nor ergative case, but is first and foremost a series marking the category person on the predicate.
- 2) A person marker provides information about the NP to which a predicate expression is related; it represents the NP on the predicate expression.
- 3) A ‘focus’ marker changes a predicate expression in such a way that it (by itself) denotes one of its arguments (for example, it changes *eat* to *eater*, *eatory*, etc.).
- 4) The difference between person marking and ‘focus’ marking pertains to the fact that the former marks dependency relations (for example, between a verb and its core arguments), while the latter changes the orientation of an expression and is more similar to certain nominalisation strategies.¹⁰ Thus, the presence of person markers makes Uma similar to other languages with pronominal prefixes and, at the same time, sharply distinguishes it from ‘focus’ marking languages.

Since, however, there are also vestiges of ‘focus’ marking in Uma (the TRANS₂ prefix), we must raise the following questions: 1) How is it possible that both ‘focus’ marking and person marking co-occur in the same language? 2) Why are the pronominal prefixes in Uma

⁸ This does not occur in Uma; for the South Sulawesi languages, see Friberg (1991).

⁹ There is possibly a substantial difference in that Mayan languages display up to four passive affixes plus an antipassive morpheme, while South Sulawesi languages only have one passive morpheme.

¹⁰ See Appendix 1. For a brief account of the difference between person marking and case marking, see Lehmann (1988:63f.).

restricted to marking person for TRANSITIVE ACTORS only? The answers to these two questions are interconnected.

There is, I hold, a morphological explanation for the supposedly 'ergative' character of the Uma prefixes (and this is also valid for personal prefixes in South Sulawesi languages and in various other WMP languages). That is, the 'ergative' character is due to the interaction with 'focus' prefixes. It is the slot that they occupy in the present prefix paradigm of Uma verbs that 'limits' them to expressing TRANSITIVE ACTORS (more precisely, ACTORS in highly transitive, foregrounded events). And it is the basic make-up of the prefix paradigm in Uma that makes Uma similar to 'focus' marking languages.

How can this claim be corroborated? One piece of evidence would be variation with respect to the pronominal prefixes, which shows that they are not restricted to expressing a TRANSITIVE ACTOR. This is not the case in Uma, but such variation occurs in the otherwise very similar South Sulawesi languages. Friberg (1991, §5) shows that in these languages a pronominal prefix (instead of the expected postclitic) has to be used with *intransitive* verbs, in case they are preceded by a negation marker or temporal/location adverbials. Compare the following example from Bugis:

- BUGIS a. *Lao-ka'*
 go-1SG
 I go.
- b. *De' u-lao.*
 NEG 1SG-go
 I don't go.

This clearly shows that the so-called 'ergative' prefixes are not restricted to the TRANSITIVE ACTOR function. Rather, a purely formal fact, that is, the occurrence of an element in pre-predicate position, also seems to be relevant. Note, incidentally, that this fact, together with the fact that the pronominal postclitics in South Sulawesi languages may cross-reference NPs (see the Konjo example above), is strong evidence for the claim that person marking in South Sulawesi languages is more grammaticalised than in Uma. This in turn shows that the hypothesised transition from Uma to the Manam state of affairs hinted at above is not purely speculative.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to further corroborate the claim with synchronic data from Uma, since here no variation with respect to the pronominal prefixes occurs. But the dynamics of the Uma 'system' and its transitional character become evident when we compare it with data from Totoli and Da'a. In both languages, 'focus' grams are the most important verbal affixes. Pronominal prefixes also exist, but their overall relevance is marginal due to the fact that the paradigm is not complete. They show, however, similar characteristics to the Uma prefixes. Thus, what I have to show is this:

- 1) There are closely related languages where pronominal prefixes displaying properties similar to the Uma prefixes occur.
- 2) The 'ergative' character of these prefixes is due to their interaction with the 'focus'/mood prefixes.
- 3) It is reasonable to assume that the Uma state of affairs evolved from this or a similar scenario.

When this comparison has been made it will become obvious that there is not much point in discussing whether or not Uma is 'ergative'. Instead one should take the Uma personal prefixes for what they are, that is, person markers that happen to be restricted to marking TRANSITIVE ACTORS.

4. STAGES OF PERSON MARKING IN TOTOLI, DA'A AND UMA

Totoli, a language spoken in northern Central Sulawesi, does not have NP markers for core relations. Word order is basically free, that is, it is governed by discourse considerations.¹¹ These two features are shared by Da'a and Uma. The verbal morphology can be characterised as rudimentary 'focus' marking, minimal with respect to central grammatical relations (compared to Philippine languages), but quite extensive with regard to phenomena of control, such as intentionality, ability, etc. Only the main affixes are shown in Table 3:

TABLE 3: TOTOLI 'FOCUS'/MOOD PARADIGM¹²

	REALIS	IRREALIS
STAT	<i>nV</i> - ¹³	<i>mV</i> -
ACF	<i>nVN</i> -, <i>nVg</i> -/ <i>nV</i> -	<i>mVN</i> -, <i>mVg</i> -/ <i>mV</i> - ¹⁴
UGF	<i>ni</i> - ¹⁵	—
UGF _i	<i>ni--an</i>	<i>-an</i>

The use of the 'focus'/mood affixes (ACF REALIS/IRREALIS, UGF REALIS, and indirect UGF REALIS/IRREALIS) is illustrated by the following examples:

- (8) *I-mponu ia nen-teleb-mo dei bbi bonto...*
 PN-turtle DEM ACF.REAL-smooth-already PREP side lake
 The turtle began to level (the ground) on the shore of the lake...
- (9) *...ma-kko mag-ala anak sagin.*
 ACF.IRR-go ACF.IRR-take child banana
 (They agreed) to go and get banana seedlings.
- (10) *Laus ni-tedang-na batang sagin itu.*
 CONJ REAL-climb-3SG.POSS stem banana DEM
 At once he climbed the banana shrub.
- (11) *Laus ni-tonga-an-na i-mponu...*
 CONJ REAL-ask-UGF_i-3SG.POSS PN-turtle
 Then he asked the turtle...

¹¹ The clause-initial position is the topic position. In verb-initial clauses, when there are two full lexical NPs following the verb (rare!), the ACTOR precedes a specific UNDERGOER. If the UNDERGOER is non-specific/generic, it follows immediately after the verb.

¹² I use the terms REALIS/IRREALIS since they are established for Philippine languages and languages in Sulawesi. Barr (1988a:78) characterises the factors involved for Da'a in the following way:

REALIS: "Past, completed action, a state or action already existing or occurring, a characteristic which is real, existing, fact, fully actualised."

IRREALIS: "Non-past action, hypothetical, not yet realised action or state, a characteristic not yet real, not fully actualised. In this respect irrealis shares some features of subjunctive."

¹³ The basic quality of the vowel is /o/ and there is vowel harmony with non-high vowels (i.e. /e/ and /a/).

¹⁴ *mVg*- is used with vowel-initial stems, while *mV*- is used with consonant-initial stems.

¹⁵ The infix *-in-* as allomorph of *ni-* is extremely rare.

- (12) ...*lambot-an anu ni-loba-ku!*
 remember-UGF; that REAL-inform-1SG.POSS
 ...remember what I told (you)!

Strictly speaking, there is no affix for UGF IRREALIS. Note that this slot in the paradigm given in Table 3 is empty. In the most common contexts for IRREALIS mood, such as imperative and embedded predicates involving an UNDERGOER as a central participant, the suffix *-i* is used:

- (13) *Mponu, turung-i (ai) aku, engan!*
 turtle help-IMP DIR 1SG buddy
 Turtle, help me, buddy!
- (14) ...*kumali ma-laus jampang-i-ta.*
 so.that STAT-easy take.care.of-SUBJ.TR-1PL.INCL.POSS
 ...so that it (the garden) is easy for us to take care of.

But this suffix *-i* does not signal UGF IRREALIS, because:

– it is generally used in imperatives, that is, it is not limited to transitive predicates:

- (15) *Olat-i-mo pomoo!*
 wait-IMP-already first
 Wait first (here)!

– it is also compatible with the ACF prefixes:

- (16) *Maala kamú monurung-i aku?*
 possible 2PL ACF.REAL.help-SUBJ.TR 1SG
 Can you help me?

– it does not signal IRREALIS, since it is compatible with the /n/-variants of the ACF prefixes:

- (17) ...*sabab na-nga-jampang-i-mo gauan sisia itu.*
 cause ACF.REAL-PL-take.care.of-SUBJ.TR-TAM garden 3PL DEM
 ...because they took care of their gardens.

Thus, *-i* is not part of the 'focus' system and, as the last example shows, only partially fits into the REALIS/IRREALIS distinction.¹⁶ Therefore, UGF IRREALIS is not signalled by an affix. It remains to be investigated whether it can be shown that the bare stem of a transitive predicate has an inherent UNDERGOER orientation.

Turning now to the pronouns, there are two series of pronouns, as shown in Table 4. One series consists of suffixes/postclitics marking the POSSESSOR and the ACTOR in UGF constructions, and the other consists of free forms which are used elsewhere. The examples given above illustrate their use.

¹⁶ Note, incidentally, that the interaction between the 'focus' affixes and this suffix could have been taken as another example for the claim that grammatical relation marking arises from the interaction of basically independent grams.

TABLE 4: TOTOLI PRONOUNS¹⁷

	FREE	POSSESSOR/ACTOR
1SG	<i>aku/yaku</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2SG	<i>kau</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3SG	<i>isia</i>	<i>-na</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kita</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>
2PL	<i>kamú</i>	<i>kamú</i>
3PL	<i>sisia</i>	<i>sisia</i>

This should suffice as background information for our main point, namely that, in some contexts, the first person singular ACTOR is marked by the prefix *ku-* rather than by the free form or the suffix; compare example (18) with example (12):

- (18) ...*kode ingga ku-loba-an ngalan-na.*
 only NEG 1SG-inform-UGF; name-3SG.POSS
 ...but I won't tell (you) his name.

The relevance of this form for Totoli grammar is not central,¹⁸ since its use is obviously limited to propositions which include a reference to the speaker. Furthermore, *ku-* is not a polite form for first person singular (*kami* or *botuon iya* 'this slave' are used instead). Thus it occurs only in informal, familiar conversations and direct speech sequences of narratives. Though this is the main characteristic of this form, there are several other properties which are of interest in the present context:

- a) being limited to first person singular it occurs in a sort of 'paradigmatic' relation with constructions involving an unprefixed form + person suffix/postclitic:

- (19) *Ingga ku-koto-i.*
 NEG 1SG-know-SUBJ.TR
 I don't know.
Ingga koto-i-mu?
 NEG know-SUBJ.TR-2SG.POSS
 You (singular) don't know?

¹⁷ Some of the possessive pronouns are suffixes (indicated by a hyphen), the others are identical to the free forms. The suffixes (all of which are monosyllables) cause the stress to move to the final syllable of the stem, i.e. suffixed forms receive regular penultimate stress.

¹⁸ Note that this construction does not seem to be simply due to interference with Indonesian, where we find a similar construction. I have the following reasons for making this claim:

- it is used by speakers who do not know Indonesian;
- in some of the more prominent contexts, such as negation, I have never come across a construction with a suffixed first person singular (and I have elicited the clause 'I don't know' close to 100 times all over the Tomini-Tolitoli area);
- if the construction was 'borrowed' from Indonesian (or Buginese) one would expect that the second person would have been 'borrowed' too;
- the Indonesian construction is not very polite and is confined to familiar conversation. Since Indonesian in the area is primarily used as the language of formal, official interaction, it is not reasonable to assume that the *ku*-construction is often used (I, at least, did not hear it - usually *kita ini* was used for referring to oneself).

Ingga koto-i-na.
 NEG know-SUBJ.TR-3SG.POSS
 He doesn't know.

Ingga koto-i kami.
 NEG know-SUBJ.TR 1PL.EXCL
 We don't know.

Ingga koto-i kamú?
 NEG know-SUBJ.TR 2PL
 You don't know?

- b) it is in complementary distribution with the ACF prefixes and the REALIS prefix *ni-*;
- c) it is limited to transitive constructions;
- d) it is compatible with both the *-an* and the *-i* suffix; compare examples (18), (19) and (20):

- (20) ...*mau boko-na ingga ku-been-an kau.*
 though peel-3SG.POSS NEG 1SG-give-UGF_i 2SG
 ...even its (the banana's) peel I won't give you.

Thus, morphologically it looks like a 'focus'/mood prefix for UGF IRREALIS. Note, however, that its distribution is not identical to that of the UGF REALIS prefix *ni-*, since it may co-occur with the suffix *-i*, a property it shares with the ACTOR prefixes.

The contexts it appears in also closely match the semantics of a UGF IRREALIS prefix. It occurs most commonly after negation (see example (19)) and modal auxiliaries:

- (21) *Kodoong ku-takol-i buki¹⁹ iya.*
 want 1SG-climb-SUBJ.TR mountain DEM
 I want to climb this mountain.

The UNDERGOER orientation is more difficult to show. A case in point may be the fact that it occurs after topicalised constituents:

- (22) ...*dumudu ku-benji...*
 sprout 1SG-tear
 ...the sprouts I have torn out...

Note that in the example just given the action referred to has definitely taken place at the time of speaking and would thus be expected to be marked for REALIS (as in example (12)).

In the overwhelming majority of cases the *ku*-prefixed form occurs after a clause-initial element, but it may also occur in clause-initial position:

- (23) *Ku-kaan sagin-na.*
 1SG-eat banana-3SG.POSS
 I eat his bananas.

Thus, although the *ku*-prefix closely matches a UGF IRREALIS prefix both formally and semantically, the correspondence is still only partial.

¹⁹ [•] marks an overlong, high-pitched vowel, overlength and pitch being an allophonic realisation of /l/ in word-final position. For a brief sketch of Totoli phonology, see Himmelmann (1991b).

The fact that there is no complete match is not surprising, if you recall that this prefix has a meaning and category of its own, that is, informal first person singular. First person singular pronouns are not inherently designated to signal either UGF IRREALIS or TRANSITIVE ACTOR.²⁰ Thus, the association with these meanings must be due either to the position which the prefix occupies in the 'focus'/mood paradigm or to the construction which provided the original context for preposing a first person singular pronoun.

The factors that gave rise to the prefixing of *ku-* are not yet fully understood, but the following scenario does not seem improbable. The basis for becoming part of the system at all is the fact that *ku-* occupies a formal slot that is generally unoccupied in Philippine-type 'focus'/mood paradigms. Remember that for UGF IRREALIS forms there is no prefix. Most likely, the occurrence of another element in pre-predicate position, for example, a negation marker, has been instrumental, prior postclitics then being reanalysed as preclitics (see Martens 1988a:230, fnn.4, 32). In Philippine languages clitics occur immediately after the first (full) word in the constituent they belong to (Wackernagel's position). Thus the negation marker, various auxiliaries, and adverbials which occur in pre-predicate position cause pronominal clitics to also move into pre-predicate position. Compare the following Tagalog example with (18) above:

TAGALOG	<i>Hindi ko</i>	<i>sasabi-hin</i>	<i>ang pangalan niya.</i>
NEG	1SG.POSS	IRR.IMPF.tell-UGF	SPEC name 3SG.POSS
	I will not tell (you) his name.		

But this cannot be the only cause, since we would then expect to find prefixes for all persons and not just for first person singular. Thus, we also have to take into account other factors that might make first person singular especially prone to reanalysis. There is, on the one hand, its form, which is monosyllabic and lacks the nasal so characteristic of the other forms in the possessive series.²¹ And, on the other hand, there is the special pragmatics of first person singular as a speech act participant, and one would have to investigate whether this favours a preposed position.²² But it is not necessary to pursue this further now, since for the present discussion the important point is that there is a language where only one pronominal form is prefixed. This allows us to make the following point: although the prefix *ku-* does not totally fit the unoccupied UGF IRREALIS slot in the 'focus'/mood paradigm in Totoli, it is so closely linked to it that it cannot be analysed as totally unrelated to the

²⁰ The association with UGF and TRANSITIVE ACTOR is a somewhat more complex issue, because in many Austronesian languages the possessive series of pronouns is also associated with the transitive actor function. Since many series of preposed pronominal forms in Sulawesi are formally closely related to the possessive/agentive series, one might argue that they are preposed possessive/agentive pronouns. In this case, the association with UGF and TRANSITIVE ACTOR would have 'existed before'. What is still important in any case is the fact that with *ku-* there is a grammatical formative exclusively associated with a transitive actor function, i.e. it no longer has the possessive function.

²¹ We do not know what the possessive series looked like at the time this reanalysis occurred. Recall that in Tagalog (cf. fn.6) and many other Philippine languages, all possessive forms except the first person singular involve a nasal. If the possessive series was similar to the one found today in Totoli, one would expect to find first person plural inclusive *-ta* to have been simultaneously reanalysed (given the assumption that the segmental make-up was instrumental in the reanalysis).

Furthermore, since we do not know when the reanalysis occurred and what Tomini-Tolitoli languages looked like at that time we cannot exclude the possibility that *ku-* instead of being a reanalysed possessive form is a shortened form of the free form *aku*, since these also shift in Philippine languages.

²² To this end, one would have to make a detailed study of informal conversation, which is obviously quite difficult. The use in narratives is probably not very telling in that it is only an imitation of informal conversation.

'focus'/mood system. In this sense, the prefix occupies a slot in the 'focus'/mood paradigm. This in turn has consequences for the prefix itself, as well as for the 'focus'/mood paradigm:

- (a) As for *ku-*, the place in the paradigm strengthens the association with the functions UGF IRREALIS/TRANSITIVE ACTOR, whatever the original reason may have been for putting it in pre-predicate position. Since there are prefixes for UGF REALIS and ACF, it appears to be 'morphologically' limited to the UGF IRREALIS slot.²³
- (b) The category person is generally not a part of a 'focus'/mood paradigm. To the degree a pronominal prefix becomes incorporated into the paradigm it also changes the basic make-up of the predicate expression. Person markers may cross-reference NPs, something which cannot be done by 'focus' markers (see above). Further changes may be correlated with this, for example, in the present case the fact that – as distinct from the 'true' 'focus'/mood prefixes – *ku-* is compatible with both suffixes (*-an* and *-i*).

In Totoli these consequences only appear in outline form. They are not of great importance to the overall 'system', since here the series of preposed pronominal forms is restricted to *ku-*, which in turn is severely restrained pragmatically (informal first person singular). But this only strengthens my main claim: It would be very awkward to attribute the prefixing of *ku-* to an underlying 'ergative' system, since this would considerably complicate the statement of Totoli morphosyntax which otherwise may be analysed straightforwardly in terms of 'focus' marking. It seems more reasonable to explain it in 'local' terms (i.e. factors related to its form and its pragmatic status as a device of informal reference to the speaker). Nevertheless, the TRANSITIVE ACTOR function associated with the pronominal prefixes in Uma is already present at this incipient stage. It is therefore not very difficult to see how the series of pronominal prefixes in Uma may have developed from such an initial state by completing the paradigm and specializing on one of the associated functions mentioned. That is, Totoli and Uma represent different stages in the process of the 'intrusion' of person markers into the 'focus'/mood paradigm.²⁴ And the presence of the other prefixes 'restricts' them to expressing TRANSITIVE ACTORS.²⁵

Further evidence for the proposed development comes from Da'a, which is genetically closely linked to Uma but, with regard to the inventory of grammatical formatives, much closer to Totoli.

²³ This entails the hypothesis that a major factor in the association of *ku-* with the IRREALIS slot is the fact that in Totoli the principal allomorph for UGF REALIS is the prefix (*ni-*) rather than the infix (*-in-*), the latter being prevalent in the Philippine languages. In Paiwan (see §5), where the infix is the single allomorph for REALIS, the pronominal prefixes are equally common both in REALIS and IRREALIS contexts.

²⁴ Note that I do not claim that Totoli has preserved certain aspects of a protolanguage from which both Uma and Totoli are derived. The claim is that they represent different stages in the development of a series of pronominal prefixes which may have independently occurred in their respective ancestors.

²⁵ Of course, one possible objection against this account is to claim (see van den Berg, this volume) that the *ku-* prefix in Totoli, rather than presenting an incipient stage, is a leftover of a 'complete' paradigm of person markers for UGF IRREALIS. But then, the Totoli state of affairs would hold for all Tomini-Tolitoli languages investigated to date. Thus the 'leftover-scenario' would have to be defended at the subgroup level. Since, however, nobody so far has proposed to reconstruct a series of pronominal prefixes for Proto Austronesian or for WMP, I can not see how one could substantiate such a claim. On the contrary, the fact that a large amount of variation occurs with respect to pronominal prefixes in WMP (both with regard to the completeness of the paradigm and the actual forms used) makes it more probable to view pronominal prefixation as a (recent) innovation.

Table 5 presents the 'focus'/mood paradigm of Da'a (see Barr 1988a:13,19):

TABLE 5: DA'A 'FOCUS'/MOOD PARADIGM

	REALIS	IRREALIS
INT/STAT	<i>na-/no-/ne-</i>	<i>ma-/mo-/me-</i>
ACF	<i>naN-/noN-/neN-</i>	<i>maN-/moN-/meN-</i>
UGF	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ra-</i>

Examples (24) - (27) illustrate their use (see Barr 1988a:19ff.):

- (24) *Na-lau-mo ira mpaka ri potomu.*
 INT.REAL-go-PERF 3PL to market
 They went to the market.
- (25) *Aku mang-goni loka.*
 1SG ACF.IRR-eat banana
 I eat bananas.
- (26) *Ni-oli-ku ose etu.*
 UGF.REAL-buy-1SG rice DEM
 The rice was bought by me.
- (27) *Loka etu ma-tasa kana ra-koni.*
 banana DEM STAT.IRR-ripe must UGF.IRR-eat
 (When) that banana is ripe it must be eaten.

As Table 6 shows, pronominal prefixes, called proclitics by Barr (1988a:39), exist in Da'a for first *and* second singular. In the related Moma dialect there are also prefixes for first and second plural (in parentheses in Table 6).²⁶

TABLE 6: DA'A PRONOUNS

	Focused Phrase	Actor Proclitics	Possessive/ Actor Enclitics
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2SG	<i>iko</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3SG	<i>i'a</i>	--	<i>-na</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kita</i>	<i>(ta-)</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kami</i>	-	<i>kami</i>
2PL	<i>komi</i>	<i>(koi-)</i>	<i>-mu/-mi</i>
3PL	<i>ira</i>		<i>ira/-ra</i>

The use of the proclitics is, of course, again limited to highly informal conversation and direct speech within narratives and, as the following example (see Barr 1988a:40) shows, is common in IRREALIS contexts:

- (28) *Da'a ma-mala aku mu-raga.*
 not STAT.IRR-able 1SG 2SG-chase
 You can't chase me.

²⁶ According to van den Berg (this volume), Moma (Kulawi) has a complete set of pronominal prefixes.

Ma-mala ku-raga.
 STAT.IRR-able 1SG-chase
 I can chase (you).

Ane da'a iko ku-raga ma-gese mompe we'i.
 if not 2SG 1SG-chase ACF.IRR-rub medicine like.this
 If (you claim) I can't chase you rub this medicine on like this.

Thus, Da'a shows that the paradigm of personal prefixes may be completed step by step. Without being able to spell out the details,²⁷ I hope the data presented are sufficient to support my claim that the transition from Da'a to Uma requires expansion of the use of pronominal prefixes, rather than alteration of the system of grammatical relations, the 'ergative' trait of Uma pronominal prefixes therefore being nothing but an 'accident'. It is the position of the pronominal prefixes and, linked to their position, the interaction with the 'focus'/mood prefixes that accounts for their 'ergative' character.

'Ergativity' in Uma, then, is primarily a morphological phenomenon. Note, however, that it is not 'merely' morphological, since the 'intrusion' of pronominal affixes into the 'focus'/mood paradigm also changes the make-up of verbal expressions in these languages. The main differences between 'focus' markers and person markers have been briefly hinted at above. We may here add that the occurrence of pronominal affixes, depending on the degree to which they become obligatory, makes it necessary to distinguish between transitive and intransitive classes of verbs. There is no need to do this in a language such as Tagalog where it is hardly possible to morphosyntactically define the class of verbs (see Appendix 1). Of course, there are also many other factors that distinguish languages such as Tagalog and Uma, for example the presence of NP-markers and the REALIS/IRREALIS distinction in Tagalog. Another important difference pertains to the clitic pronouns ('Topic' in Tagalog, S/P-function in Uma) and the possessive pronouns (identical to non-topic ACTORS in Tagalog, in Uma never expressing non-topic ACTORS, but in some constructions expressing UNDERGOERS (see Martens 1988a:224ff.)). In order to fully understand the transition between Tagalog and the various person marking languages dealt with in this paper, investigations similar to the one presented here for pronominal prefixes would be required for the other grammatical formatives mentioned.

Although the interaction of pronominal prefixes with other prefixes has been at the centre of the present account, the fact should not be overlooked that there is a dynamics to the development of the pronominal prefixes that is basically independent of the other grams in pre-predicate position. There is, for example, no need to fill the empty UGF IRREALIS slot in a Philippine-type 'focus'/mood paradigm. Instead of prefixing *ku-* in Totoli, a first person singular postclitic could be used, as with the other persons. There is also no necessity to complete the pronominal prefix paradigm. If it happens in the step-by-step fashion suggested by the data from Totoli, Da'a and Uma, it must involve the pragmatics of person, a category

²⁷ Note that in Da'a a UGF IRREALIS prefix occurs which seems to be an innovation. On the one hand, this complicates an account of the historical development in that the occurrence of this prefix has to be explained. On the other hand, however, it simplifies it, since the fact that there is a special prefix for UGF IRREALIS makes the association between pronominal prefixes and IRREALIS less strong than in Totoli, which in turn underscores their function as ACTOR prefixes.

Note that the UGF IRREALIS marker in Da'a is identical to the third person plural prefix in Uma. In Uma this is also used as a prefix for non-specific actors; cf. Martens (1988a:182, example 73).

which is fundamentally independent of 'focus', voice, transitivity, etc.²⁸ The completion of the paradigm, furthermore, does not necessarily have to be done with forms from the possessive series. A prefixed *ku-* could also be interpreted as a shortened form of *aku*, and in this case the paradigm would be completed from the independent series (as exemplified by Indonesian *kau-baca*).

To sum up the discussion of Uma: Uma is a person marking language where the person markers are still squeezed into a skeleton 'focus' marking paradigm (note that mood has been lost in the process). It represents a certain stage in the grammaticalisation of person markers in an Austronesian language and it does not seem improbable to suppose that they will be further grammaticalised into subject prefixes (as in Melanesian languages) or into 'active' prefixes (as in Aceh). That is, in the same way that it was possible to link Totoli, Da'a and Uma as representatives of different stages of the intrusion of person marking into a 'focus' marking paradigm it will, I assume, be possible to find other languages which represent intermediate steps in the process of further expansion of person marking, which would then provide a grammaticalisational link of Uma with Manam or Aceh. Muna, for example, could well represent an intermediary stage between Uma and Manam (see van den Berg 1989, and this volume).

5. A BRIEF LOOK AT PREPOSED PERSON MARKING IN AUSTRONESIAN

To further support this 'prediction' and clarify the status of pronominal affixation, I am presently preparing a survey of pronominal prefixes and proclitics throughout the Austronesian family (*preposed pronominal forms* will be used hereafter to cover both prefixes and proclitics). This survey is intended to expand and revise the two major works on pronominal prefixes published thus far (Jonker 1911; Haaksma 1933), both of which concentrate on the languages of Indonesia. In the following I will briefly report some of the observations made so far. Supporting as well as contradicting evidence is more than welcome.

As is well known, there is large variation with regard to the number of preposed pronominal forms throughout the family. Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages often have complete paradigms of preposed pronominal forms, though two types may be further distinguished: Central Malayo-Polynesian, South Halmahera West New Guinea and Melanesian languages usually have prefixes or even highly fused verb-initial conjugations, while Eastern Oceanic languages generally have a series of proclitics. In Formosan and Philippine languages (including Malagasy and the Philippine-type languages of Sabah and Sarawak), preposed pronominal forms do not seem to exist, an exception being Paiwanic. We find the following partial paradigm of pronominal prefixes (data from Egli 1990):

PAIWAN	after Negation/sa	
1SG	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ke-</i>
2SG	<i>su-</i>	<i>su-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>nia-</i>	<i>ne-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>tja-</i>	<i>tje-</i>
2PL	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-</i>

²⁸ It is for this reason that I have listed pronominal affixes as one of the basic classes of grammatical formatives in Austronesian in §3.

These prefixes may also be used for marking the possessor:

PAIWAN	<i>ku-kama</i>	my father
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Paiwan also shows that there is no intrinsic reason for the fact that pronominal prefixes may not be combined with the REALIS marker in Totoli:

PAIWAN	<i>Su-k-in-an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>vaqu.</i>
	2SG-REAL-eat	SPEC	millet
	You have eaten millet.		

Instead, this has to be due to the fact that the REALIS prefix is the main allomorph in Totoli (see fn.23).

Although complete paradigms of prefixes also occur in WMP 'border' languages such as the South and South-Eastern Sulawesi languages, the Barrier Island languages, and Aceh, the remaining WMP languages usually do not have complete paradigms of *prefixes*, but rather forms for first person singular, or first person singular and plural, or first and second person only.

The completeness of the paradigm clearly follows the *person hierarchy*, with first person ranked highest. That is, the presence of third person preposed pronominal forms implies the presence of first and second person forms, the presence of second person implies the presence of a first person.

Despite this vast amount of variation,²⁹ at least three generalisations seem possible:

- 1) Preposed pronominal forms usually denote ACTORS or NOMINATIVES (S/A function in terms of the grammatical relations hierarchy), but never exclusively denote UNDERGOERS or ABSOLUTIVES. Furthermore, preposed pronominal forms may express/cross-reference the POSSESSOR. This is found, for example, in Paiwanic (see above) and the languages of the Molucca and Lesser Sunda Islands.
- 2) The presence of a complete paradigm of pronominal *prefixes* correlates with the absence of a Philippine-type 'focus'/mood system.
- 3) Preposed pronominal forms are sometimes linked with modal distinctions. For example, Manam has REALIS and IRREALIS forms for subject prefixes, Muna has REALIS and IRREALIS conjugations, and the prefixed pronominal series in Palauan is called hypothetical by Josephs (1975). (DeWolf (1976) argues that they exclusively occur in subordinate constructions.)

None of these observations pertains to properties that may be considered universal characteristics of pronominal forms in general or preposed pronominal forms in particular. That is, though there are many languages where subjects are marked by prefixes, there are also many languages where they are marked by suffixes.³⁰ There are also some languages where personal prefixes mark objects or UNDERGOERS. Thus, the properties just mentioned represent empirical facts about Austronesian preposed pronominal forms, and it is

²⁹ This, incidentally, points to the fact that preposed pronominal forms are relatively new innovations within the Austronesian family. As mentioned above, so far no preposed pronominal forms have been reconstructed for Proto Austronesian.

³⁰ Statistically, there is a strong tendency for suffixing or postposing grams in the languages of the world (cf. Hawkins & Gilligan 1988; Hall 1988; Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990). With regard to person marking, however, the data are still unclear (cf. Hawkins & Gilligan 1988:225, fn.4).

tempting to look for a unified account which explains both these general characteristics and the enormous variation that is encountered.

If you look at the data from Totoli again, many of the features just mentioned are associated with the prefix *ku-*. Note in particular the association with IRREALIS which we have not pursued further in this paper. Though I suspect that a similar scenario for the development of preposed pronominal forms may be adequate for other parts of the family, it does not seem reasonable to claim that it holds for the whole Austronesian family. Given the Paiwan case and present assumptions on subgrouping (see Blust 1990), it seems more likely that the prefixing of pronouns started at the subgroup level, and that different factors triggered and controlled the development.

APPENDIX 1: A NOTE ON THE SEMANTICS OF 'FOCUS'

The so-called 'focus' affixes in Philippine languages do not have a pragmatic highlighting function. Instead they are functionally similar to nominalising affixes in other languages (compare, among many others, Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982:147f.)). To call them nominalising affixes, however, is not very revealing as long as it is not explained why in a language such as Tagalog practically all predicates appear in a 'nominalised' form. Furthermore, it is necessary to delimit more precisely the derivational process involved, since many different nominalisation strategies are found in the languages of the world. In particular, it is necessary to make a difference between the morphosyntactic and the semantic aspects pertaining to nominalisations.

As for morphosyntax, the term nominalisation implies a change with regard to the part of speech of a given item: a verb is turned into a noun and this means that the morphosyntactic properties of the word (its distribution, affixation, etc.) change. In Tagalog it is difficult to show that anything of this sort happens in 'focus' affixation, since it is not clear how nouns and verbs can be defined morphosyntactically. Is the base-form a verb? How can this be shown if it is hardly ever used without affixation? Is there any morphosyntactic slot that can be filled by verbs (or nouns) only? So far I have not been able to find a satisfactory definition for nouns and verbs in Tagalog and it seems preferable to follow Bloomfield and to call both of them full words. Thus, to call 'focus' affixes nominalising affixes seems misleading, since it cannot be shown that there are any verbs to begin with (for details, see Himmelmann (1987:72ff., 1991a)).

There is, however, a similarity to the semantic side of certain nominalising strategies. What 'focus' affixes do is to change the orientation of a given word in such a way that it may be used to refer to one of the participants involved in the state of affairs denoted by the base-form of the word. This also holds for those nominalising affixes in Indo-European languages that derive *nomina agentis*, *nomina acti* (*patientis*), *nomina loci*, *nomina instrumenti* from verbs.

Lehmann (1984:151f.), who introduced the term 'orientation' ("Ausrichtung") for this process, characterises it in the following way: There are different types of nominalisation strategies in Indo-European languages. In one of these types, resulting in *nomina actionis*, the core arguments of the former verb may still be added as adnominal modifiers, as in *Peter's employing of my brother*. Here the nominalised verb (*employing*) simply refers to a state of affairs, no orientation being implied. In another nominalisation strategy, the expression for the state of affairs is oriented towards one of the participants involved in the

process of employing and then actually denotes that participant, for example, *employer* which involves orientation towards the ACTOR (*nomina agentis*). As a result, the ACTOR-argument of the verb *employ* can no longer be added as an adnominal modifier, that is, *Peter's employer* can not mean that Peter was the agent of the employing. In order to express this (with the nominalised form), one would have to use an equational construction such as *Peter is the employer of my brother*. Note that the same construction is impossible with *nomina actionis* (**Peter is the employing of my brother*). Thus, the two nominalisation strategies differ in the way they deal with the argument slots of the underlying verb. The former basically leaves them untouched, while in the latter strategy one of the argument slots is filled by the orientational affix and can thus no longer be filled by a nominal expression.³¹ Note that this difference pertains to the semantic relationality of the items involved: morphosyntactically – and this pertains to both strategies – the nominalised forms no longer have argument slots that have to be filled obligatorily. *Baking is not one of my favourite activities* is a well-formed expression, while *bakes that banana cake* is not.

Of course, there are many differences between such nominalising affixes in Indo-European languages and the Tagalog 'focus' affixes with regard to productivity and the specific semantics involved. But apart from the fundamental difference that Tagalog 'focus' affixes are not nominalising in terms of morphosyntax, the overall similarity in the function of these affixes is conspicuous. This is also shown by the fact that Tagalog clause structure can be imitated fairly well by translations involving nominalisations such as EATER, EATERY/EATING-PLACE, or 'EATEE'/THAT-EATEN (see DeWolf 1988:156ff.). For a detailed analysis of Tagalog 'focus' affixation along these lines, see Himmelmann (1987:92ff., 1991a). A similar, somewhat more formal approach to 'focus' has been proposed by Foley (1991).

APPENDIX 2: ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	absolutive	PERF	perfective
ACF	actor-'focus'	PL	plural
CONJ	conjunction	PN	proper noun
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessor
DIR	directional	PREP	preposition
ERG	ergative	REAL	realis
EXCL	exclusive	REL	relative
FOC	focus marker	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SPEC	specific article
IMPF	imperfective	STAT	stative
INCL	inclusive	SUBJ	subjunctive
INT	intransitive	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
IRR	irrealis	TR	transitive
NP	noun phrase	UGF	undergoer-'focus'
NEG	negation		

³¹ DiSciullo and Williams (1987:40f.) call this "control of an argument by an affix".

i	indirect
S	single argument of intransitive predicate
A	ACTOR of transitive predicate
P	UNDERGOER of transitive predicate
v•	overlong vowel

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KONJO'S PERIPATETIC PERSON MARKERS

BARBARA FRIBERG

1. INTRODUCTION

Konjo designates the language of some 200,000 people living in South Sulawesi. It lies between the dominant Bugis and Makasar languages, and has frequently been called a dialect of Makasar. Konjo shares a number of features with both Bugis and Makasar, but as a member of the Makasar family of languages, it is more closely related to Makasar (and family member Selayar). Konjo reflects many features of the Makasar language, yet there are numerous distinctions, many of which are a result of Bugis influence on the language.

Within Konjo there are two major dialects, termed mountain and coastal Konjo. These notes reflect the coastal Konjo language situation. Coastal Konjo consists of four sub-districts located along the eastern coast of Bulukumba district. This paper is based on intermittent fieldwork done in the twin villages of Jannaya and Kalimporo in Kajang sub-district from 1985 to 1991.

2. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

In order to adequately describe the function of person markers in Konjo a number of related issues are dealt with in this paper. The subjects of ergativity and transitivity are discussed first as they are relevant to Konjo and its relation to other languages in the area. Throughout the paper an attempt is made to comment on related languages and to some degree on their analyses as they differ from Konjo.

Focus, topic and prominence are also discussed as basic factors determining the placement of Konjo person markers. Konjo word order is presented as a basis for discussing variant orderings arising from considerations of focus and topic.

The major part of the paper deals with verbal modifiers and how they affect person markers. Verbal juxtaposition is touched on in contrast to verbal modifiers. Negatives, temporal adverbials and complex clauses all result in a divergence from the normal pattern of affix placement in Konjo and are discussed thoroughly.

Passives, imperatives and completive *-mo* will be discussed to show how they function in relation to person marking.

2.1 ERGATIVITY

The issue of ergativity has been much debated, and depending on the latest article read, one vacillates between viewing Konjo (and other related languages in the area) as an ergative-type language and viewing it as an accusative-type language. Anderson's (1976:23)¹ notion of subject in languages where ergativity is evident is helpful, as is Dixon's (1979) general treatise on ergativity.

There is no doubt that Konjo is *morphologically ergative* in that the cross-referencing clitics affixed to the verb clearly divide into ergative and absolutive forms. The person-marker clitics referring to the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb have one set of morphemes and are suffixed to the verb, while the person-marker clitics referring to the subject of a transitive verb have a different set of morphemes, which are prefixed to the verb. Chart 1 gives the person markers, free pronouns and possessives found in Konjo.

CHART 1: CLITIC PERSON MARKERS, FREE PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVES

	Proclitics (/Ergative)	Enclitics (/Absolutive)	Free Pronouns	Possessives
1SG/1PL.EXC ²	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>nakke</i>	<i>-ku</i>
1PL.INC ² /2H	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>gitte</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2F	<i>nu-</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>-nu</i>
3	<i>na-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>-na</i>

Syntactically, however, free-form nominals have no case-marking distinctions and function nominative/accusatively. The subject of the clause is distinguished from the object either by word order or context. Free-form pronouns occur mainly for emphasis in Konjo or as the subject of an equative clause. The person-marker clitics serve to clarify what the semantic subject (and object) of the verb are. In many cases even the third-person nominal subject (and object) are clear from discourse and need not be overtly stated. Since the person markers carry such a heavy load in designating the participants of a clause, it is easy to want to classify Konjo as an 'ergative language'.

It is quite clear that Konjo does not meet the requirements of Marantz's Ergativity Hypothesis (1984) which states that in an ergative language the agent has the deep-structure role of object and the patient has the deep-structure role of subject. (It is questionable whether even the oft-cited ergative language Dyirbal meets the requirements.) Konjo does not

¹ "The notion of subject in ergative languages is, despite the morphological indications which appear to indicate otherwise, essentially the same as that in accusative languages...there is in fact no reason to expect the notion of subject to be related in a maximally simple way to morphological category." Dyirbal is an exception, where a distinctively 'ergative' notion of subject "is analogous to the usual 'accusative' notion, but which is inapplicable to the vast majority of morphologically ergative languages".

² The Konjo pronominal system differentiates only person, not number or gender. The charted distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive arises from context; it is not an inherent part of the pronominal system. The use of first person reflects the fact that the speaker excludes the hearer, while the use of second person honorific reflects his inclusion. For purposes of glossing, only the person will be indicated as 1, 2F, 2H, 3 unless there is a clear case of first person plural (which is extremely rare in the examples - (1PL.INC, 1PL.EXC).

even have the evidence as in Dyirbal that complement or relative clauses require an ergative or antipassive pattern (Dixon 1979: 127-130).³

Martens (1988) shows how ergativity in Uma relates to a focus system found in Philippine languages. He treats person markers as pronouns and thus leans towards viewing Uma as an ergative language. He uses goal and actor focus and calls the set of neutral, unmarked pronouns in Uma the absolutive pronouns. He succeeds in showing that Uma is morphologically ergative, very similar to Konjo.

Himmelmann (this volume) presents an interesting viewpoint asserting that to try to class Sulawesi languages in terms of either a focus system or an ergative system leaves a number of important issues unaccounted for from a typological perspective. Instead of dealing with grammatical relations in terms of overall systems, he finds it more useful to treat them in more local and surface-oriented terms such as the grammatical formatives involved. Based on this premise, he goes on to show that the person markers normally referred to as 'ergative' are in fact simply prefixes marking the ACTOR.⁴ He claims that person markers on the verb stem are an 'intrusion' into the 'focus'/mood paradigm, a relatively recent innovation within the Austronesian family.

I choose neither to abandon ergativity nor to consider it a syntactic factor which would typify Konjo as an ergative language. An ergative/absolutive system functions at the morphological level. Thus I will talk about ergativity as a major morphological process in Konjo, yet use the terms 'subject' and 'object' (on a syntactic level) as would normally be used of a nominative/accusative language.⁵

2.2 TRANSITIVITY

The primary concern in an ergative system is the *transitivity* of the verb. As Givón (1984:151) expresses it, such a system "abides neither by the pragmatics of 'subject' nor by the semantics of agent/non-agent. Rather, it abides roughly...by the **transitivity** of the clause". Konjo refers to the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb by the same morpheme, but the subject of a transitive verb by a different morpheme, however transitivity may be defined pragmatically on the basis of degree of affectedness of the patient. From a Konjo perspective a clause is considered 'transitive' only if the object is something specifically referred to, regardless of any assumption of prior familiarity. In Konjo transitivity (i.e. that which requires a proclitic person marker) is distinguished on the basis of a parameter of object definiteness (Hopper & Thompson 1980:259, 288). The fact that the verb implies two participants yet only focuses on one is signalled by the verbaliser prefix *ang-*: *a-* is used for semantically intransitive active verbs; *a-* is used with statives.

³ Larsen (1987) shows that Quiché is syntactically ergative, but in a way that has not been previously recognised: NPs in S-function in Quiché are syntactically like NPs in O-function for the simple reason that they are both direct objects, i.e. they are both dominated by VP in S-structure. If we compare similar structures in Konjo to those cited by Larsen for Quiché, we see that a nominative/accusative system functions in all cases for Konjo.

⁴ In fact this view is not satisfactory for Konjo, since the same prefixed person markers sometimes designate the patient of the verb, as will be discussed later in this paper.

⁵ Subject and object are used here in the most traditional sense, i.e. the subject is the participant in a clause that performs the action (or is in a given state) of the verb while the object is that which receives the action of the verb.

CHART 2: VERBALISERS IN KONJO

<i>ang-</i>	transitive verbaliser
<i>ang-</i>	definite verbaliser ⁶
<i>ni-</i>	passive verbaliser
<i>a'-</i>	intransitive active verbaliser
<i>a-</i>	stative verbaliser

If Konjo were to be viewed as having a syntactically ergative system, then we would have to class as *antipassive* those clauses which have an inherently transitive verb but which require an absolutive person-marker referent to the subject (as discussed in §3.1.1). This fits the criterion that the antipassive construction is used in situations where the object is indefinite; however, the criterion that the patient is marked by an oblique is never met in Konjo. If transitivity is defined for Konjo in terms of object definiteness, then there are no syntactic antipassive forms. Rather object focus versus subject focus as defined below differentiates transitivity for all situations.

2.3 KONJO WORD ORDER

Before discussing issues of focus and topicalisation, it will be helpful to look at Konjo word order. One could say (as has been said of several Sulawesi languages) that Konjo has relatively free word order. We will, however, posit that Konjo basic word order is VSO, with many alternate orders depending on which element of the clause is prominent or which is being topicalised. (In Konjo the topicalised item is that element under discussion, and it occurs in clause-initial position.)

Consider first clauses with only one participant. The unmarked order is verb followed by subject (example 1). If the subject is topicalised it occurs before the verb (example 2).

- (1) *A'lampai* (Amir).
VRi.go.3ABS Amir
He (Amir) goes.
- (2) *Amir a'lampa*.
Amir VRi.go
Amir goes.

In clauses where there are two (or more) participants the order is VSO. This fact is not based on statistics; in fact a clause with VSO word order is rarely found in texts or conversations. In examples such as (3) and (4) there is nothing in the clause which would clarify which of the two items is the subject (or object), nor is either participant prominent or the topic of the discourse. Konjo speakers will choose the meaning given (i.e. the first noun is subject) based on the fact that they perceive the subject to be the item which occurs first following the verb.

⁶ Although the definite verbaliser *ang-* is the same phonetic shape as the transitive verbaliser *ang-*, the former does not phonologically affect the verb root, while the latter does. Compare examples (11) and (19b). See Friberg and Friberg (1991) for details.

- (3) *Napeppe'i* Amir asungku.
 3ERG.hit.3ABS Amir dog.1POSS
 Amir hit my dog.
- (4) *Naittej* asua meonga.
 3ERG.see.3ABS dog.DEF cat.DEF
 The dog saw the cat.

It is quite common for the subject to follow the object, in which case the context clarifies the participants.

- (5) *Naallej* tasi'ku meonga.
 3ERG.take.3ABS bag.1POSS cat.DEF
 The cat took my bag.
- (6) *Naondangi* meonga asua.
 3ERG.chase.3ABS cat.DEF dog.DEF
 The dog chased the cat.

Technically in (6) 'the cat' is in subject position, yet everyone knows that dogs chase cats, not vice versa. Without recourse to higher-level discourse distinctions, one would have to conclude from examples such as (7a) and (7b) that the order of the subject and object vary freely. (These sentences occurred in the same paragraph with similar contexts.)

- (7) a. ...*iamintu* punna *nasambangi* tulu' bangkenga.
 3PRO.3CMP.that if 3ERG.trip.3ABS rope leg.DEF
 ...it's if the rope trips the foot.
- b. ...*iamintu nasambangi bangkenga tulu'*.
 ...it's the rope tripping the foot.

Usually context or the meaning of the verb will suffice to indicate which participant is which, but in the case of names or pronouns a device of adding an *i*-prefix to the subject⁷ is used.

- (8) *Nabetaj* Ali *iAmir*.
 3ERG.beat.3ABS Ali PI.Amir
 Amir beat Ali.
- (9) *Nakanrej* lokaku *iAmir*.
 3ERG.eat.3ABS banana.1POSS PI.Amir
 Amir ate my banana.

Either the subject or object can be fronted as topic. Example (10) is the unmarked word order; the subject is topic in (11); the object is topic in (12).

- (10) *Nakanrej* Amir lokaku.
 3ERG.eat.3ABS Amir banana.1POSS
 Amir ate/is eating my banana.
- (11) Amir *angkanrej* lokaku.
 Amir VRd.eat.3ABS banana.1POSS
 (It is) Amir (who) ate my banana.

⁷ It marks other than subject in certain constructions, but its full use is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (12) *Lokaku nakanre* (Amir).
 banana.1POSS 3ERG.eat Amir
 (It was) my banana he (/Amir) ate.

3. KONJO PERSON MARKERS AS USED IN VARIOUS TYPES OF CLAUSES

Before getting into a detailed discussion of focus, topic and prominence and how they factor into the placement of Konjo person markers, it will be helpful to clarify the interaction between the person markers and the subjects and objects they refer to. Konjo requires the presence of the person markers under normal conditions even if both the subject and object are fully specified in the clause. Note the correspondence between the person markers and the subjects (and objects) in examples (1) and (3)-(11) where the ergative form refers to the subject in a transitive clause and the absolutive form refers to the object in a transitive clause and the subject in an intransitive clause. (The person marker referring to the subject in (2) and (11) and the object in (12) is missing because of topicalisation as discussed in §3.2.)

A few more examples will serve to show that free pronouns function syntactically the same as the free nominals. However, since the person markers clearly specify the participants for first and second person, the pronoun is used to add emphasis to the subject or object involved.

- (13) *Lamminroma nakke.*
 FUT.VRi⁸.return.1CMP⁹ 1PRO
 I (emphatic) am returning home.
- (14) *Igitte a'lampa.*
 PI.2(H)PRO VRi.go
 You (emphatic) go.
- (15) *Inakke ansareko doi'.*
 PI.1PRO VRd.give.2(F)ABS money
 I (emphatic) give you money.
- (16) *Angngura na inakke kisare doi' lohe kamua?*
 why CMPL PI.1PRO 2(H)ERG.give money much very
 Why is it to me (emphatic) you are giving so much money?
- (17) *Injo nisessaanga nakke, nasuroa*
 that PASS.hard.BEN.1ABS 1PRO 3ERG.order.1ABS
a'bela' karaenga borong tuju hetto.
 VRi.slash king.DEF forest seven hectare
 I (emphatic) was given a hard time: the king ordered me to slash seven
 hectares of forest.

Example (13) illustrates the free pronoun being added for emphasis. In (14) the free pronoun is also emphasised, and it is topicalised. In (15) the pronoun is the subject of the

⁸ *a'*- plus vowel-initial roots usually becomes *amm-*; therefore, *a'+intro* = *amminro*.

⁹ We are considering the enclitic person markers in combination with the aspect markers (*-ja*, *-pa*, *-mo*) as a single unit. Thus *-ma* is glossed 1CMP rather than CMP-1ABS. These behave as simple enclitics and function as a unit in most situations.

transitive clause and is topicalised, while in (16) the topicalised pronoun is the indirect object. Example (17) illustrates the free pronoun used in a passive construction.

3.1 FOCUS

A basic distinguishing factor for Konjo clause types is *focus*. Focus in the sense used in this paper distinguishes between subject and object at the syntactic level. *Subject focus* implies that there is no object or that the object is not relevant to the action at hand. *Object focus* implies that there is a specifically referred-to object. Subject focus requires an 'absolutive' enclitic referent to the subject. Object focus requires an 'ergative' proclitic referent to the subject while the object is referred to by an 'absolutive' enclitic. Although this seems somewhat awkward, it could be viewed as a system where the unmarked form (i.e. the subject in subject focus and the object in object focus) is referred to by an 'absolutive' morpheme while the marked form is referred to by an 'ergative' morpheme.

3.1.1 SUBJECT FOCUS

Clauses in subject focus are characterised by the absolutive person-marker enclitic and a verbal prefix indicating whether the verb is inherently transitive or intransitive: *ang-* marks transitive; *a'-* marks intransitive active; *a-* marks stative.

- (18) a. A'dappo'a.
VRi.fall.1ABS
I fell.
- b. A'dappokako *kau!*
VRi.fall.WRN.2(F)ABS 2(F)PRO
You're going to fall!
- (19) a. Angnganrei (*Amir*) (*loka*).
VRt.eat.3ABS Amir banana
He (Amir) is eating (bananas).
- b. *Amir angnganre loka*.
Amir VRt.eat banana
Amir is eating bananas.
- (20) a. Angngittea *jangang-jangang*.
VRt.see.1ABS bird
I see some birds.
- b. Angngittei *Siti ana'-ana'*.
VRt.see.3ABS Siti children
Siti sees some children.
- (21) a. Arannua.
VRs.happy.1ABS
I am happy.
- b. Alarroj *Puang Amin*.
VRs.angry.3ABS title Amin
Mr Amin is angry.

- (22) *Langnginranga* *berangta*.
 FUT.VRt.borrow.1ABS knife.2(H)POSS
 I want to borrow (one of) your knives.
- (23) a. *A'cidongi* *Puang Amin*.
 VRi.sit.3ABS title Amin
 Mr Amin is sitting down.
- b. *Puang Amin a'cidong*.
 title Amin VRi.sit
 Mr Amin is sitting down.

Regardless of the inherent transitivity of the verb, all of the above clauses are viewed as intransitive constructions since there is either no object or the object is indefinite. Note that in (19), (20) and (22) there are two participants for an inherently transitive verb, and in (22) the object could even be viewed as specific. In all of these constructions the object is out of focus so does not meet the requirements for a transitive construction. Only absolutive forms are used to refer to the subject. The ergative proclitics are not found, and there is no definite object referent.

These types of constructions could be viewed as antipassive, but the antipassive analysis is not justified in Konjo. In Bambam (Campbell 1989), as well as other South Sulawesi languages, there is more evidence for antipassive constructions. Prototypically these are characterised in Bambam as *always* specifying an object and requiring the *um-* prefix. Campbell labels as non-prototypical intransitives those action verbs which have no object or which incorporate the object; these are prefixed with *mam-* or *maq-*. In Konjo both of these constructions take the same *ang-* prefix, the presence or absence of an object being irrelevant. Compare examples from Konjo (24a, 25a) and Bambam (24b, 25b):

- (24) a. *Ambacaa* (*bo'-bo'*).
 VRt.read.1ABS book
 I'm reading (a book).
- b. *Mambataä* (*suha'*).
 INT.read.1ABS book
 I'm reading (a book).
- (25) a. *Langngallea* *bo'-bo'ta*.
 FUT.VRt.take.1ABS book.2(H)POSS
 I'm about to take one of your books.
- b. *Lamualaä* *suha'mu*.
 FUT.ABS.take.1ABS book.2(F)POSS
 I'm about to take one of your books.

Examples (19b) and (23b) both have a subject which is topicalised. Note that in both cases the subject is fronted and the verbal enclitic referring to the subject is missing.

3.1.2 OBJECT FOCUS

Object focus is characterised by a clearly specified object (albeit possibly in some earlier discourse or in full view of the participants). Two participants are expected with a transitive

verb and in the Konjo system the referent to the object of a transitive verb is the absolutive enclitic, while the referent to the subject is the ergative proclitic. Compare (28) where the object is in focus with (22) which is in subject focus.

- (26) a. *Kuittej balla'na.*
 1ERG.see.3ABS house.3POSS
 I see his house.
- b. *Balla'na kuite.*
 house.3POSS 1ERG.see
 His house I see.
- (27) a. *Nahajui balla'na (iBaco') ri Kalimporo.*
 3ERG.make.3ABS house.3POSS PI.Baco' PREP Kalimporo
 He (Baco') is building his house in Kalimporo.
- b. *iBaco' anghajui balla'na ri Kalimporo.*
 PI.Baco' VRd.make.3ABS house.3POSS PREP Kalimporo
 (It was) Baco' (who) built his house in Kalimporo.
- c. *Balla'na to'ji nahaju iBaco'.*
 house.3POSS ADD.3LIM 3ERG.make PI.Baco'
 Baco' built his own house.
- (28) *Lakuinrangi berangta.*
 FUT.1ERG.borrow.3ABS knife.2(H)POSS
 I want to borrow your knife (specifically indicated).

3.2 TOPICALISATION

We digress here to discuss topicalisation in more detail. A number of examples have already been discussed (2,11,12,14-16,19b,23b), where the item which is the current topic of discourse is fronted. In every case, the topic appears as the first element in the clause.

Virtually any element in the clause can be topicalised, but so far we have only seen subject and object topicalisation. In example (27b) the subject is topicalised, but in (26b) and (27c) the object is topicalised. Note that when the object is topicalised (fronted) in a subject-focus clause, it follows the same pattern as when the subject is topicalised in a subject-focus clause (see (19b), (23b)), that is, the topic occurs first in the clause and the enclitic on the verb is missing. However, when the subject is topicalised in a transitive construction (i.e. object focus) the enclitic remains intact and the definite verbaliser *ang-* is prefixed to the verb rather than the proclitic person marker.

In terms of person markers which cross-reference the subject and object, it may be said that this referencing is cataphoric. In other words, the person marker refers to a subject or object which follows the verb. If the subject or object precedes the verb (as in topicalisation), then the clitic referent to that item is missing.

Besides the normal discourse feature of fronting whatever item is the topic under discussion, there are other constructions which require topicalisation. The most common of these are questions, and thus also responses to these questions. In examples (29a-c) and (30a-b) the focused item is also topic, and thus the enclitic is absent. Examples (30c-d) show the subject as topic in an object-focus clause, so the proclitic is replaced by a definite verbaliser.

- (29) a. *Apa kihaju?*
 what 2(H)ERG.make
 What are you doing?
- b. *Apa nakanre ri ele'na?*
 what 3ERG.eat PREP morning.3POSS
 What does he eat in the morning?
- c. *Lamejahaji¹⁰ nakanre ri ele'na.*
 sweet.potato.3LIM 3ERG.eat PREP morning.3POSS
 He just eats sweet potatoes in the morning.
- (30) a. *Inai la'lampa muko?*
 PI.who FUT.VRi.go tomorrow
 Who is going tomorrow?
- b. *Inakke la'lampa muko.*
 PI.1PRO FUT.VRi.go tomorrow
 I'm the one going tomorrow.
- c. *Inai angkanrej lamejahaku?*
 PI.who VRd.eat.3ABS sweet.potato.1POSS
 Who ate my sweet potatoes?
- d. *IAlI angkanrej lamejahata.*
 PI.Ali VRd.eat.3ABS sweet.potato.2(H)POSS
 Ali ate your sweet potatoes.

The following two sentences illustrate a situation where the object is fronted to show contrast. In (31) it is 'the goat which he takes care of' (not some other), while in (32) it is 'I here' who is being talked about (not someone else).

- (31) *Injo bembe nakalahakia mana'mi rua*
 that goat 3ERG.shepherd.DEF gave.birth.3CMP two
ana'na.
 child.3POSS
 The goat he took care of gave birth to two kids.
- (32) *Inakke minni nakuangang, mingka [apa]*
 PI.1PRO 3CMP.this 3ERG.say.TRS but what
napa'pihalang injo pulisia...
 3ERG.answer.BEN that police.DEF
 It was I they were talking about, but (what) did the police respond...

¹⁰ The ergative construction with an indefinite object would seem to be irregular here (*lamejaha* 'sweet potato'). However, since what is eaten is the topic being questioned, it in effect becomes something specifically referred to. Note example (19a) in contrast to (11) and (12). If the question were asked *Apa nahaju Amir?* (What is Amir doing?), the answer would be a clause in subject focus: *Angnganrei loka* (He's eating bananas). But if the question was *Apa nakanre Amir?* (What is Amir eating?), a specific response (albeit here an indefinite object) is expected and it is topicalised: *Loka nakanre* (He's eating bananas).

Another example of this construction involves the verb *sa'ring* 'to feel'. In order to express how one feels the adjective must be fronted, followed by the verb which takes the proclitic form of the person marker.

- (33) a. *Angngura kisa'ring?*
 how 2(H)ERG.feel
 How do you feel?
- b. *Haji' kusa'ring.*
 good 1ERG.feel
 I feel good.
- c. *Puang Barbara kusa'ring.*
 title Barbara 1ERG.feel
 I feel (so good about) Barbara.
- (34) *Rannu nyahana nasa'ring saba' rie'ja*
 happy spirit.3POSS 3ERG.feel because have.LIM
nauppaangi kanre bembena.
 3ERG.find.BEN.3ABS food goat.3POSS
 He felt very happy (lit. happy in heart he felt) because he found fodder for his goat.
- (35) *Kaminang sanna' posona nasa'ring punna hattu*
 most very breathless.3POSS 3ERG.feel if time
timoroi...
 east.wind.3ABS
 He felt the most worn-out during the dry season...

4. VERBAL MODIFIERS

There are several types of verbal modifiers which are of interest in dealing with Konjo person markers. *Preverbal modifiers* consist of several varieties. Location and manner adverbials function as a group, while negatives, the question why and temporal adverbials form a separate group which functions in quite a different way. Temporal and modal auxiliaries behave in many ways like the location and manner adverbials, yet have a separate function. The set of *postverbal modifiers* is very limited and behaves in a manner all its own. Each of these will be dealt with separately.

Verbal juxtaposition allows for a variety of interesting modifications. These will be presented but no attempt will be made to give a detailed analysis.

4.1 LOCATION AND MANNER ADVERBIALS

This set of adverbials may occur either before or after the verb in a clause. Used as questions, these always precede the verb. Examples of some of the common adverbials in this group are:

Location		Manner	
<i>kunjo</i>	there	<i>ita'</i>	quickly
<i>kunni</i>	here	<i>mallng</i>	slowly, long time
<i>ri Mangkasara</i>	at Ujung Pandang	<i>kuttu</i>	lazy
<i>ante'</i>	where?	<i>sarro</i>	hard
<i>ilalang</i>	inside	<i>pintallung</i>	three times

When a location or manner adverbial precedes the verb the absolutive person marker is suffixed to it. In (36a), (37a) and (39a) the location or manner of the action is not prominent in any way, so the adverbial follows the predicate. In the other examples the location or manner is fronted in the clause either to give it prominence or because it is the topic.¹¹

- (36) a. *Anjamaa* *kunjo*.
VRt.work.1ABS there
I work there.
- b. *Ante'ko* *anjama*.
where.2(F)ABS VRt.work
Where do you work?
- c. *Kunjoa* *anjama*.
there.1ABS VRt.work
There (is where) I work.
- (37) a. *Kuitteko* *kunjo*.
1ERG.see.2(F)ABS there
I saw you there.
- b. *Kunjoko* *kuitte*.
there.2(F)ABS 1ERG.see
There (is where) I saw you.
- c. *Kunjoa* *angngitteko*.
there.1ABS VRd.see.2(F)ABS
There (is where) I saw you.
- (38) *Nakua* *gurunna* *galasi annang*, "*Kunniko*
3ERG.say teacher.3POSS grade six here.2(F)ABS
lakusuro *nai'* *ammenteng rioloanna*
FUT.1ERG.command up VRi.stand in.front.3POSS

¹¹ Note the interplay between three different methods of focusing on various elements in the sentence: subject/object focus is the basic dichotomy for all clauses; subject/object topic (§3.2) gives a second dichotomy; fronting of other elements in the clause is the third method used. One could refer to the fronting of location and manner adverbials (among others) as location or manner being topic in a given discourse. But clauses with fronted verbal modifiers can further be subdivided dependent on subject or object as topic. Since the discourse considerations which need to be dealt with to further clarify the various types of prominence are beyond the scope of this paper, we are using the term prominence in a rather vague way.

urangnu *a'pidato''*.

friend.2(F)POSS VRi.give.speech

His sixth grade teacher said, "Here I will have you stand in front of your friends and give a speech".

- (39) a. *Lamminroko* *ita'*.
FUT.VRi.return.2(F)ABS quickly
You will quickly return.
- b. *Ita'ko* *amminro*.
quickly.2(F)ABS VRi.return
Quickly return! / Quickly you returned.
- c. *Mallingmako* *tinro*.
long.time.2(F)CMP sleep
(It was) a long time you slept.
- d. *Kuttui* *anjama*.
lazy.3ABS VRt.work
He is lazy about working.¹²

Note that the ergative person marker (referring to the actor) remains prefixed to the verb (37b, 38), indicating that the object is the topic under discussion, not the subject. In (37c) the subject is the topic so the enclitic referring to the object remains suffixed to the verb.

4.2 POSTVERBAL MODIFIERS

Another set of phrase-level adverbials always follow the verb (examples 40-42).¹³ This set consists of the following adverbials:

<i>to'</i>	ADD(also)	<i>sarring</i>	intense
<i>toje'</i>	really	<i>poleang</i>	again
<i>ngase'ase'</i>	all together		

If one of these postverbal modifiers occurs, the absolutive suffix is attached to it rather than the verb.

- (40) a. *La'lampa* *to'a*.
FUT.VRi.go ADD.1ABS
I also will go.
- b. *Anjama* *sarringa*.
VRt.work hard.1ABS
I work really hard.

¹² Although theoretically any location or manner adverbial could follow the verb, some adverbials are prominent by virtue of the fact that they occur. In Konjo one would not talk about someone being lazy about working unless his laziness were the topic being discussed.

¹³ *to'* (and a few other phrase-level adverbials which follow the verb) will follow the auxiliary or other adverbial if there is one, rather than the verb.

- a) *Antama'to'i*. *A'ra'to'i antama'*.
He's also going in. He also wants to go in.
- b) *A'lampa'to'i*. *Anre'to'na'lampa*.
He's also going. He's not going either.

(absolutive fronting with negatives is discussed in §4.4.1)

- c. *Napakahaji'* *ngase'i*.¹⁴
 3ERG.CAUS.good all.3ABS
 He fixed all of them.
- (41) *Na alleang nakuta'nang poleanga injo papekanga...*
 and then 3ERG.question again.1ABS that fisherman.DEF
 Then the fisherman asked me again... (lit. Then he asked me again, that fisherman...)
- (42) *...mingka injo bembea talia bembena, nunakalahaki*
 but that goat.DEF not goat.3POSS REL.3ERG.shepherd
to'ji, a'ra' to'i rie' bembena.
 ADD.3LIM want ADD.3ABS have goat.3POSS
 ...but that goat was not his goat – it was just one he was shepherding; he also wanted his own goat.

4.3 AUXILIARIES

Auxiliaries function like the location and manner adverbials in that the absolutive person marker is suffixed to the auxiliary rather than to the verb. Unlike the adverbials, the auxiliaries never follow the verb. In terms of phrase structure, the adverbials follow the verb and may be fronted for prominence, but the auxiliaries precede the verb. Common auxiliaries divide into temporal and modal auxiliaries:

- | | Temporal | | Modal | |
|--|---------------|-------------|----------------|----------|
| | <i>maeng</i> | already | <i>a'ra'</i> | want |
| | <i>biasa</i> | usually | <i>kulle</i> | can |
| | <i>suang</i> | often | <i>ma'ring</i> | able |
| | <i>tappa'</i> | immediately | <i>anda</i> | not want |
- (43) a. *A'ra'a a'lampa.*
 want.1ABS VRi.go
 I want to go.
- b. *A'kulleko a'lopi?*
 VRi.can.2(F)ABS VRi.boat
 Can you ride in a boat?
- (44) a. *A'ra'ja natulung.*
 want.1LIM 3ERG.help
 He just wants to help me.
- b. *Ma'ringji kupake.*
 permit.3LIM 1ERG.wear
 I am permitted to wear it.

¹⁴ One could contend that *ngase'* is not an adverbial at all but rather some sort of pronoun modifier meaning 'all of'. But since it functions as the postverbal adverbs, it is grouped with them for ease of discussion.

- c. *Kulleja nutunrangi?*
can.1LIM 2(F)ERG.assist
Can you help me?
- (45) *Maengi angnganre iJama' a'parri-parrimi*
already.3ABS VRt.eat PI.Jama' VRi.hurriedly.3CMP
napansulu' bembena.
3ERG.CAUS.exit goat.3POSS
When Jama' had eaten, he hurriedly put his goats out.
- (46) *Punna anre' jamaangku maraeng, biasai*
if NEG work.1POSS different usually.3ABS
kusung bicara Konjo.
1ERG.arrange language Konjo
If I don't have any other work, I usually work on Konjo data.
- (47) *Manna Baco', suanga natulung.*
even Baco' often.1ABS 3ERG.help
Even Baco', he often helps me.

In the above examples the absolutive enclitic always attaches to the auxiliary, whether it refers to the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause. This may be viewed as the unmarked case, that is, the subject in subject focus and the object in object focus is the topic under discussion. However, there are also marked cases where the subject of an object-focused clause is the topic under discussion. Compare the forms in (44) with those in (48):

- (48) a. *A'ra'ji antulunga.*
want.3LIM VRd.help.1ABS
He just wants to help me. (cf. 44a)
- b. *Ma'ringja ampakei.*
permit.1LIM VRd.wear.3ERG
I am permitted to wear it. (cf. 44b)
- c. *A'kullejako antunrangia?*
VRi.can.2(F)LIM VRd.assist.1ABS
Can you help me? (cf. 44c)

With the forms in (44) the object of the transitive clause is the topic, such that (44a) could be glossed as 'It's me he wants to help'. The subject is the topic under discussion in (48a-c), such that (48a) could be glossed 'It is he who wants to help me'. Such an English gloss is somewhat misleading, because topicalisation as found in English would be expressed quite differently in Konjo.¹⁵ Instead the difference between subject and object topic is more subtle and highly dependent on the context of the discourse.

¹⁵ *Nakke a'ra' natulung.*

1PRO want 3ERG.help

would be the equivalent of 'It's me he wants to help'. Here the free pronoun is added for emphasis and fronted for topic. As would be expected the object referent enclitic is missing.

4.4 ADVERBIALS WHICH REQUIRE PROCLITIC PERSON MARKERS (PROCLITICISATION)

Negatives, the question word *why?/how?* and temporal adverbials all share the same feature in Konjo with respect to person markers. Instead of taking the absolutive enclitic as the other adverbials and the auxiliaries do, these adverbials require that the proclitic form of the person marker be affixed in front of the item which follows it in the clause. Since this phenomenon occurs frequently, we will use the term *procliticisation* to refer to it in this paper. In a number of Sulawesi languages the negatives act as normal adverbials and take an enclitic form of the person marker, but several of the languages require the proclitic form with temporals. This is one of the interesting areas where these languages diverge.

4.4.1 NEGATIVES

In theory the negative focus should act like the other adverbial forms which occur before the verb, but in fact it doesn't. Because the negative lexeme *anre'* functions both as a simple negator as well as a negative existential, it cannot simply take the absolutive person-marker suffix without changing the meaning of the clause.

- (49) a. *A'lampa*
VRi.go.1ABS
I am going.
- b. *Anre'a*
NEG.1ABS
I'm not (here).
- c. *Anre' ku'lampa. (*anre'a a'lampa)*
NEG 1ERG.VRi.go
I'm not going.

Some have tried to explain this procliticisation in terms of a split-ergative system,¹⁶ but that seems to cloud the issue. Although the abbreviation ERG is used for ease in glossing, these proclitics are not necessarily the subject of a transitive verb. There are cases where it is the subject of an intransitive verb, and even the object of a transitive verb (as will be seen later). In Konjo when an adverbial (or auxiliary) precedes the verb as part of the verb phrase, it receives the absolutive suffix form which would normally attach to the verb. But the Konjo negative *anre'* takes the absolutive suffix form only when it functions as an existential. Since the fronted person marker cannot be suffixed to the preverbal modifier in this case, it is realised instead as a prefix on the verb. These prefixed forms are the same as the ergative person markers.

- (50) a. *Angnganrea; Anre' kungnganre.*
VRt.eat.1ABS NEG 1ERG.VRt.eat
I am eating; I am not eating.

¹⁶ Matti (in press) and Valkama (in press) both explain this as split ergative, that is, with the negative the ergative system no longer functions, but rather a nominative system, where the subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs is cross-referenced by the proclitic person marker. However, such proclitics in fact precede the verbaliser, when one exists, and thus act quite differently from their counterpart in the ergative system which could be said to substitute for the verbaliser. Neither Mamasa nor Duri have clear examples of double proclitics as discussed in §6.1, examples (93) and (94).

- b. *Kukanrej;* *Anre' kukanrej.*
 1ERG.eat.3ABS NEG 1ERG.eat.3ABS
 I am eating it; I am not eating it.
- (51) a. *Ammaria;* *Anre' kummari.*
 VRi.stop.1ABS NEG 1ERG.VRi.stop
 I stopped; I didn't stop.
- b. *Asarroj* *bosia.*
 VRs.hard.3ABS rain.DEF
 It's raining hard.
- c. *Rupa'na anre' nasarro bosia.*
 hopefully NEG 3ERG.hard rain.DEF
 Hopefully it won't rain hard.
- (52) *Anre'pa kimaeng angnganre?*
 NEG.ICMP 2(H)ERG.already VRt.eat
 Haven't you eaten yet?
- (53) *Manna anre' na'kulle kunaha-naha...*
 even NEG 3ERG.VRi.can 1ABS.think.about
 Even if I couldn't remember it...

Note that with intransitive forms (i.e. non-object focus (50a), (51a)) these prefixes do not replace the verbaliser *a'* or *ang-*, rather they force the *a* vowel to be reduced.¹⁷ Thus in (50a) *kungnganre* = *ku-* + *ang-* + *kanre*. In the above examples the transitive (object focus (50b)) forms remain as they would occur without the negative. The person marker is prefixed to an adverbial in (52) and (53).

4.4.2 'WHY?' *angngura*

The question adverbial *angngura* meaning 'why?' or 'how is it?' functions like the negative adverbial in that it cannot take the absolutive person marker without changing the meaning of the clause. Again procliticisation is required.

- (54) *Angngura numange ri kamponna taua na*
 why 2(F)ERG.towards PREP village.3POSS people.DEF CMPL
anre' kamua sura'nu lante?
 NEG very letter.2(F)POSS arrive
 Why did you go to another area and no letters ever arrived from you?
- (55) *Angngura nalohe kamua kappala sijalu-jalu irate ri*
 why 3ERG.many very ships REC.lined.up above PREP
tujunna langi'a?
 base.3POSS sky.DEF
 Why are there so many ships lined up on the horizon?

¹⁷ Examples (51b-c) are stative verbs, so the *a-* verbaliser is simply reduced. In deliberate speech the *a-* vowel may be retained for any of the verbalisers.

- (56) *Angngura* *namalling* *allante* *kappalaya?*
 why 3ERG.long.time VRi.arrive ship.DEF
 Why did the ship take so long to arrive?
- (57) *Angngura* *naondangi* *bahia?*
 why 3ERG.chase.3ABS pig.DEF
 Why did you chase the pig?
- (58) *Angngura* *nuerai* *doi'nu?*
 why 2(F)ERG.request.3ABS money.2(F)POSS
 Why are you asking for your money?
- (59) *Nakuamo* *iPadosa*, "*Angngura* *nihuno* *katingaloo?*"
 3ERG.say.CMP PI.Padosa why PASS.kill fly.DEF
 Padosa said, "Why are the flies being killed?"

Unlike the negative, *angngura* may also take an absolutive person marker to clarify what is being questioned. The person marker referring to what is being questioned may be the same as either the subject or object of the verb or it may be a neutral third person *-i* referring to the activity in question (see (60a), (61b)). If that being questioned is the same as the subject or object then the person marker is repeated.

- (60) a. *A'dabbungki*
 VRi.fall.2(H)ABS
 You fell down.
- b. *Angnguraj* *ki'dabbung?*
 why.3ABS 2(H)ERG.VRi.fall
 Why did you fall? (lit. How is it that you fell?)
- c. *Angnguraki* *ki'dabbung?*
 why.2(H)ABS 2(H)ERG.VRi.fall
 Why did you fall? (lit. How is it with you that you fell?)
- (61) a. *Angnguraj* *kipeppe'a?*
 why.3ABS 2(H)ERG.hit.1ABS
 Why (is it) you are hitting me?
- b. *Angnguraki* *kipeppe'a?*
 why.2(H)ABS 2(H)ERG.hit.1ABS
 Why are you hitting me? (lit. How is it with you that you are hitting me?)
- c. *Angnguraa* *kipeppe'a?*
 why.1ABS 2(H)ERG.hit.1ABS
 Why are you hitting me? (lit. How is it with me that you are hitting me?)
- d. **angnguraa kipeppe'*

Examples (60c) and (61b) show the subject person marker *ki* repeated, while (61c) shows the object person marker *a* repeated. Unlike previous adverbials where the person marker appears only once either affixed to the adverbial or to the verb, this construction requires the relevant person marker to be affixed both to the adverbial as well as to the verb. Thus (61d) is ungrammatical. This use of *angngura* may well have to be viewed as two clauses,

angngura forming the first clause and the following verb phrase a second clause. Other possibilities will be discussed in §6.2.

4.4.3 TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS

The presence of a time adverbial before the verb also requires procliticisation. Consider the following examples of time focus (square brackets [] are used in (64) and (65) to set off the time phrase):

- (62) a. *A'lampaa sikarie'.*
VRi.go.1ABS yesterday
I went yesterday.
- b. *Sikarie' ku'lampa.*
yesterday 1ERG.VRi.go
Yesterday I went.
- c. *Sikuranna ki'lampa?*
when (past) 2(H)ERG.VRi.go
When did you leave?
- d. *Sikuraya kimmintro?*
when (future) 2(H)ERG.VRi.return
When will you return?
- (63) a. *Langnganrea.*
FUT.VRt.eat.1ABS
I'm about to eat.
- b. *Sinampe'pa kungnganre.*
in.a.while 1ERG.VRt.eat
I will eat in a little while.
- c. *Sinampe'pa kukanrej lokanu.*
in.a.while 1ERG.eat.3ABS banana.2(F)POSS
I will (definitely) eat your banana in a little while.
- (64) [*Punna ele'i*] *na'lampa ri sikolaya, anre'*
if morning.3ABS 3ERG.VRi.go PREP school.DEF NEG
namaeng angnganre ele',
3ERG.ever VRt.eat morning
[If in the morning] when he went to school, he hadn't ever eaten breakfast.
- (65) [*Lanteku to'pa ri balla'ku ri tette'*
arrive.1POSS ADD.1CMP PREP house.1POSS PREP hour
limaya ri karahie'na] kunampa angnganre,
five.DEF PREP afternoon.3POSS 1ERG.then VRt.eat
[ri bangnginaji] kungnganre ri Bantaeng.
PREP night.3POSS.3LIM 1ERG.VRt.eat PREP Bantaeng
[When I finally arrived at my house at five o'clock in the afternoon] only then
did I eat; [the evening before] I had eaten in Bantaeng.

Two phenomena are apparent in conjunction with time adverbials. The time word may be 'possessed' as in (62c) *sikuranna* 'it's when?' or (65) *lanteku* 'my having arrived' and *bangnginaji* 'its night/the night before'. Or the time word may act as a kind of existential as in (63b) *sinampe'pa* '(it will happen) in a little while'. Neither phenomenon lends itself readily to clear explanation without a lot more information about the historical relationship between possessives and 'ergative' person markers. Suffice it to say that these phenomena function consistently in Konjo forcing the person marker to be prefixed to the verb (or verb phrase as in (65)).

4.5 AUXILIARY VERSUS VERBAL JUXTAPOSITION

There are several different possibilities with respect to the occurrence of two or more verbs or auxiliaries coming together in a clause. In examples (60) - (61) we encountered a construction where the adverbial *angngura* did not function as a preverbal modifier, but rather a separate clause. This is a relatively uncommon construction where there is verbal juxtaposition¹⁸ with complementation of that which is being questioned (e.g. (61b) is questioning 'how is it with you' and the complement is 'you are hitting me').

A similar construction of interest involves what could be termed 'transitive auxiliaries'. Consider the following examples:

- (66) a. *Kutungkai ampeppe'i asunnu.*
 1ERG.purposely VRd.hit.3ABS dog.2(F)POSS
 I purposely hit your dog.
- b. *Kutungkai kupeppe'.*
 1ERG.purposely.3ABS 1ERG.hit
 I purposely hit it. (absolute fronted)
- c. *Natungkai a'lampa.*
 3ERG.purposely.3ABS VRi.go
 He purposely went. (lit. He purposed it.)
- d. *Kutungkaiko kusuro a'lampa.*
 1ERG.purposely.2(F)ABS 1ERG.command VRi.go
 I purposely told you to go.
- (67) a. *Kukullei ambalasako.*
 1ERG.can.3ABS VRd.respond.2(F)ABS
 I can respond to you.¹⁹
- b. *Kukulleko kubalasa.*
 1ERG.can.2(F)ABS 1ERG.respond
 I can respond to you. (absolute fronted)

¹⁸ See van den Berg (1989:234-242) for a discussion of this subject.

¹⁹ *Kulle* often functions as a normal auxiliary (43b, 44c, 48c, 53) meaning 'can'. Functioning here as a 'transitive auxiliary' it has a slightly different meaning, that of having some control over the ability to do a given thing.

- c. *Kukullei* *kubalasako*.
1ERG.can.3ABS 1ERG.respond.2(F)ABS
I can (do it) respond to you.
- (68) a. *Naare'a* *angngitteko*.
3ERG.think.1ABS VRd.see.2(F)ABS
He thought it was I who saw you. (subject topic)
- b. *Naare'ko* *kuitte*.
3ERG.think.2(F)ABS 1ERG.see
He thought it was you I saw.
- c. *Naare'i* *kuitteko*.
3ERG.think.3ABS 1ERG.see.2(F)ABS
He thought (it was) that I saw you.
- (69) *Karuapa tau na nikullei ambule'i*
eight.ICMP person CMPL PASS.can.3ABS VRd.carry.3ABS
injo juku' lompoo.
that fish big.DEF
Only when there are eight people can that big fish be carried.
- (70) *Nakellai to'ja anrongku antama' ri*
3ERG.permit.TRS ADD.1LIM mother.1POSS enter PREP
SMP.
middle.school
My mother herself encouraged me to enter junior high school.
- (71) *Anre' minto'mo nikellai amminro ri*
NEG CMP.ADD.CMP PASS.permit.TRS.3ABS VRi.return PREP
kamponna.
village.3POSS
He also wasn't even permitted to return to his village.
- (72) *Anre' nakellaenga injo anrong alleku*
NEG 3ERG.permit.TRS.1ABS that mother take.1POSS
a'lampa kale-kale.
VRi.go alone
My adopted mother there wouldn't let me go by myself.

These function like other auxiliaries, except that the auxiliary has transitive person marking. The difference between parts a and b in (66) - (68) is topic, as mentioned in examples (48a-c). In forms such as (67c) and (68c), it appears that the auxiliary is functioning as a separate verb and thus has its own person marking (i.e. the absolutive person marker is found on both the auxiliary and the main verb). This phenomenon comes under the category of verbal juxtaposition in the form of object complementation, where the enclitic *-i* refers to the entire following complement clause. Note that unlike the complementation that occurs with the question *angngura*, only the third person may be the object of the verbs *kulle* and *are'* when they take the complement.

There is much more that could be presented in conjunction with verbal juxtaposition, complementation and verbal conjoining. However, we will leave the subject with the above comments.

5. COMPLEX VERBAL MODIFIERS

It is very common for more than one element to precede the verb in a verb phrase. The absolutive enclitic will normally be suffixed to the first element (or prefixed to the second following a negative). If a postverbal adverbial occurs the absolutive will be suffixed to it (see also footnote 13).

Chart 3 gives the order of preference for absolutive affixation (ERG- equals the proclitic; -ABS equals the enclitic):

CHART 3: ABSOLUTIVE²⁰ CLITIC POSITION

NEG } TIME } WHY }	(ERG-)	AUX } MANNER } LOCATION }	(-ABS)	VERB (-ABS)	POST-VERBAL } Adverbials } (PVA) }	(-ABS)
	1		2	4		3

It is theoretically possible to have several other combinations, such as WHY with TIME or LOCATION with AUX, etc. However, in the Konjo clause it would seem that other techniques are employed instead so that the load on the verb phrase doesn't become too heavy. Besides expected techniques such as splitting up clauses, a device that is frequently used is the *na* complementiser (see §6.1). Examples follow for each of these positions (the positions are noted in square brackets [] as appropriate):

Position 1:

- (73) *Rie'mo se're hattu nangngera doa tang nasa'ring*
have.CMP one time 3ERG.VRt.request pray NEG 3ERG.feel

paua...
tell.DEF

One time when they were praying, without realising their words...

[TIME (ERG-)VERB]

[NEG (ERG-)VERB]

- (74) *Mukopi ku'kulle a'lampa ri*
tomorrow.ICMP 1ERG.VRi.can VRi.go PREP

padedde' bulaenga.
NMS.knock gold.DEF

Tomorrow I can go to the goldsmith.

[TIME (ERG-)AUX VERB]

- (75) *Anre'mo nasa'ringi ta'burusu ere*
NEG.CMP 3ERG.feel.3ABS NVOL.overflow water

²⁰ Absolutive here denotes the function of the person marker (i.e. the referent to the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause).

matanna anronna, mingka naparrangi
 eye.3POSS mother.3POSS but 3ERG.endure.3ABS

koddeka niitiei ri ana'na na
 suppose.WRN PASS.see.3ABS PREP child.3POSS and

nakua "Angngurai kisara amma?"

3ERG.say why.3ABS 2(H)ERG.sad mother

Without realising it his mother's tears were flowing, but she held them back

[NEG (ERG-)VERB]

lest she be seen by her children and they ask, "Why are you sad, mother?"

[WHY(-ABS) (ERG-)VERB]

- (76) *Punna maingmi nakke paua kupansulu' anre'*
 if already.3CMP 1PRO word.DEF 1ERG.CAUS.exit NEG

na'kulle kupinra.

3ERG.VRi.can 1ERG.change

If I have uttered a word, I cannot change it.

[NEG (ERG-)AUX (ERG-)VERB]

- (77) *Injo pangngamaseanna siurang pammettana ri*
 that NMS.pity.NMS.3POSS REC.with NMS.love.3POSS PREP

nakke anre' nakukullei kubalasa.

1PRO NEG 3ERG.1ERG.can.3ABS 1ERG.repay

Her sympathy and love for me I can never repay.

[NEG (ERG-)(ERG-)AUX (ERG-)VERB]

- (78) *...manna nikura, anre' nakullei nitora', anre'*
 even PASS.how NEG 3ERG.can.3ABS PASS.hit NEG

to' na nakabbang.

ADD CMPL 3ERG.harm

...no matter what, he couldn't be hit, he also couldn't be harmed.

[NEG (ERG-)AUX VERB]

A few notes are in order: a) In (75) the clause *anre'mo nasa'ringi* is transitive with subject topic (cf. 50b) so the negative appears not to affect the person markers; b) in (76) the clause *anre' na'kulle kupinra* is also transitive, but the object is topic, so the object referent is prefixed to the auxiliary while the subject referent remains prefixed to the main verb; c) in (77) the auxiliary *kullei* is of the transitive kind, so it takes the proclitic person marker; also the object is topic so it must also be prefixed to the auxiliary, with the result that there are two proclitics on the auxiliary as well as the expected proclitic on the verb; d) in (78) the *ni*-passive is found, but its effect is insignificant. It is the use of the 'transitive auxiliary' *kulle*

which affects the position of the person markers.²¹ In the second clause of (78) the use of *to'* after *anre'* is without a person marker because it is separated from the following clause by *na* complementiser.

Position 2:

- (79) *Mingka punna angnganrei balahoa, biasai nakanre*
 but if VRt.eat.3ABS rat.DEF usual.3ABS 3ERG.eat
balaho punna kurangi erena.
 rat if less.3ABS water.3POSS
 But when the rats eat, they usually eat it if there's not enough water.
 [AUX(-ABS) (ERG-)VERB]
- (80) *Alla-taalaji intu a'kulle ansareki apa-apa*
 God.3LIM that VRi.can VRd.give.1PL.INC.ABS whatever
nikaa'rakia.
 PASS.ADJ.want.TRS.DEF
 Because God can give us whatever is desired.
 [AUX VERB(-ABS)] (underlyingly [AUX(-ABS) VERB(-ABS)])
- (81) *Sanggenna nakua karaenga, "Inai angkullei*
 until.3POSS 3ERG.say king.DEF PI.who VRd.can.3ABS
ansaurui inni bali antama'a..."
 VRd.defeat.3ABS this enemy enter.DEF
 At which time the king said, "Whoever can defeat this enemy who has come in..."
 [AUX VERB(-ABS)] (actually [AUX(-ABS) VERB(-ABS)])
- (82) *Punna kullea nuhuno, jariko*
 if can.1ABS 2(F)ERG.kill happen.2(F)ABS
intu antama'.
 that enter
 Only if you kill me will you be able to enter (my village).
 [AUX(-ABS) (ERG-)VERB]

Notes: a) The auxiliary in (80) does not take the subject referent enclitic because the subject is a free preverbal nominal *Alla-taalaji intu*. Note also in this case the auxiliary takes the intransitive verbaliser *a'*, while the verb takes the definite-object verbaliser *ang-*; b) in contrast to (80), the auxiliary in (81) is transitive, and thus requires the transitive verbaliser – in this case the definite-object verbaliser – because of the free nominal subject *inai*. This same verbaliser *ang-* is also required on the verb.

²¹ It may be of interest to follow through the formation of this construction. The basic clause would be *nitora'* 'he was hit'. The auxiliary 'can' could be added in two ways. The first uses the normal auxiliary in intransitive form *a'kullej nitora'* 'he could be hit (or he could not be, depending on whether someone wanted to or not)'. If this form is then negated, the enclitic *-i* becomes proclitic *na-* and is prefixed to the auxiliary – *anre' na'kullej nitora'* 'he could not be hit (for some reason)'. The second possibility is to use the 'transitive auxiliary' form which requires both a proclitic and an enclitic on the auxiliary – *nakullej nitora'* 'he could be hit (i.e. he was not invincible)'. If this form is negated the auxiliary remains as it is – *anre' nakullej nitora'* 'he could not be hit (i.e. he was invincible)'.

Position 3:

- (83) *Punna anre' nanumari, kuhuno ngase'i.*
 if NEG 3ERG.run 1ERG.kill all.3ABS
 If they don't run, I will kill them all.
 [(ERG-)VERB PVA(-ABS)]
- (84) *Nakua, "Kisuro ngase'mi amminro injo*
 3ERG.say 2(H)ERG.order all.3CMP VRi.return that
joa'ta taunta..."
 king's.man.2(H)POSS person.2(H)POSS
 He said, "Order all of them to go home, your men and companions..."
 [(ERG-)VERB PVA(-ABS)]
- (85) *Injo tasse'rea kalibbong biasa to'i nipasilamung*
 that CTP.one.DEF hole usual ADD.3ABS PASS.plant.with
bataraya siurangang bue.
 corn.DEF REC.with bean
 In each of the holes the corn is also usually planted together with beans.
 [AUX PVA(-ABS) VERB]
- (86) *...assuro a'baju to'i tanru'.*
 VRi.order VRi.make ADD.3ABS horn
 ...have them also make horns.
 [VERB VERB PVA(-ABS)]
- (87) *Na alleang nakuta'nang poleanga injo papekanga*
 and then 3ERG.ask again.1ABS that fisherman.DEF
nakupihalii angkua...
 3ERG.1ERG.answer.TRS VRt.say
 Then the fisherman asked me again and I answered him saying...
 [(ERG-)VERB PVA(-ABS)]

Notes: a) example (85) is an example of postverbal adverbials following the auxiliary rather than the verb; *biasa to'i*; b) juxtaposed verbs are common in Konjo, although the type found in (86) is not discussed specifically in this paper.

6. COMPLEX CLAUSES

In this section let us consider three types of complex clauses which are significant in discussing person markers. All of these employ the conjunction *na*, but with different meanings. A temporal clause may be linked to the action that follows by *na*; a complement of the question *angngura* is introduced by *na*; two coordinate clauses are linked by *na*. While there are other types of complex clauses, these three serve to illustrate the form and position of person markers in such clauses.²²

²² See Sirk (1983:91-94) for a discussion of similar constructions in Bugis.

6.1 CONSECUTIVE LINKING

In §4.4.3 several examples were given where the time adverbial was actually a temporal clause. In (65) the use of the possessive following the verb in these situations was introduced. The subordinate time clause may be followed by a complementiser *na* meaning 'then, when' or 'when it happened that'. Without going into the semantic distinctions between those temporal clauses which employ the *na* complementiser and those which don't, we will look at the structure of those with the *na* complementiser.

- (88) [*Injo hattua ri naungku ri kajua*] *na*
 that time.DEF PREP down.1POSS PREP tree.DEF CMPL
kunai' ri lopinna...
 1ERG.up PREP boat.3POSS
 [At that time when I got down from the tree], then I got into their boat...
- (89) [*Narapi'i sihulang*] *na kumminro*
 3ERG.reach.3ABS one.month CMPL 1ERG.VRi.return
battu a'pangngaji ri masigi'a...
 from VRi.CAUS.VRt.chant PREP mosque.DEF
 [It had been a month] when (it happened that) I was returning from teaching chanting at the mosque...
- (90) [*Ruama minggu lanteku*] *na*
 two.1CMP week arrive.1POSS CMPL
kungngu'rangi angkua labbusumi cutiku...
 1ERG.VRt.remember VRt.say finish.3CMP leave.1POSS
 [It was two weeks after my arrival] when I remembered that my vacation was over...
- (91) [*Minrona iLe'leng battu ri kokonna*] *na*
 return.3POSS PI.Le'leng from PREP field.3POSS CMPL
napeppe'i ana'na.
 3ERG.hit.3ABS child.3POSS
 [After Le'leng came back from his field], then he hit his child.
- (92) [*Lantenamo ri balla*] *na*
 arrive.3POSS.CMP PREP house CMPL
nahuntulangmi anronna a'cidong...
 3ERG.discover.3CMP mother.3POSS VRi.sit
 [He had arrived at the house] when he discovered his mother sitting...
- (93) [*Kulle kapang rie'a sampulo bangngi a'pangngajara*
 can maybe have.1ABS ten night VRi.CAUS.VRt.teach
pangngajiang ri masigi'a], *na*
 NMS.VRt.chant.NMS PREP mosque.DEF CMPL
kunamaei pole injo sumpae' kapala
 1ERG.3ERG.come.TRs again that earlier head

desana...

village.3POSS

[I'd been teaching Koranic chanting about ten nights in the mosque] when he approached me again, that village chief earlier referred to...

- (94) [*Ri galasi appa'a*] *na kunataba garring sarro...*
 PREP class four.1ABS CMPL 1ERG.3ERG.hit sick hard
 [I was in fourth grade] when a serious illness struck me (lit. me it struck)...

In these sentences there are examples of procliticisation. With intransitive clauses, the person marker is procliticised as would be expected when there is a fronted temporal adverbial (89) - (90). As has been seen (63c), a preverbal time adverbial does not necessitate absolutive fronting with transitive clauses. The same is true with subordinate temporal clauses. In (91) and (92) the person markers are as they would be on the verb if it occurred by itself. But now note that in (93) and (94) there are two person markers prefixed to the verb (phrase). Again the notion of topic clarifies the difference between (91) and (92) and sentences where the object person marker is fronted (93) and (94). In subject focus the subject is by default also the topic, but in object focus either the subject or object may be the topic of the discourse. In (91) and (92) the subject is topic so the object referent is suffixed to the verb as is the unmarked case. In (93) and (94) the first person is already prominent in the subordinate clause and the topic under discussion, so, as the object of the main clause, it must be fronted. Since procliticisation is required if the absolutive is fronted in these constructions, the result is the unusual phenomenon of two proclitic person markers juxtaposed before the verb (the object referent prefixed to the subject referent). It would be very difficult to refer to this as a nominative/accusative manifestation of person markers in a split-ergative system,²³ that is, subordinate temporal clauses forcing a nominative form in an otherwise ergative/absolutive system. Rather, it is the result of procliticisation (i.e. a clitic which has been fronted as topic and which cannot be suffixed to the temporal clause as would be expected in this system).

6.2 COMPLEMENTATION

A form of complementation was seen above with the verb 'to think' *are'* (68c), but there was no complementiser. The question 'why?' *angngura* commonly takes a complement with *na* as the complementiser. In examples (54) - (59) we saw how *angngura* was used as a preverbal modifier similar to negatives and temporal adverbials. The use of the complementiser *na* questions the reason for the entire following clause as a unit action while its absence questions (focuses on) the word immediately following, usually a verb or adjective.

- (95) *Angnguraj na nuisse'i angkua*
 why.3ABS CMPL 2(F)ERG.know.3ABS VRt.say
iami inni tau toaku?
 3PRO.3CMP this person old.1POSS
 How is it that you know that these are my parents?
- (96) *Nakuamo iHaking, "Angngura na*
 3ERG.say.CMP PI.Haking why CMPL

²³ This is an extension of the concept as discussed in fn. 16.

- kisarea* *pole doi'?*
 2(H)ERG.give.1ABS again money
 Haking said, "Why are you giving me money again?"
- (97) *Angngura na nua'ra' kamua amminahang ri*
 why CMPL 2F.ERG.want very VRi.follow PREP
purinannu?
 uncle.2(F)POSS
 Why ever did you want to follow your uncle?
- (98) *Angngura na nunahoja?*
 why CMPL 2(F)ERG.3ERG.look.for
 Why is it you he's looking for?

6.3 COORDINATE CLAUSES

The conjunction *na* is also used to connect the two clauses in a simultaneous-action construction, but with the meaning 'and'. In (101) the conjunction is missing (an option when a nominal intervenes) and the two clauses are juxtaposed with the same simultaneous action meaning.

- (99) *A'pallua na kussassa.*
 VRi.cook.1ABS and 1ERG.VRi.laundry
 I am cooking and washing clothes (at the same time).
- (100) *Adinginga na kuhambang.*
 VRs.cold.1ABS and 1ERG.hot
 I am cold and hot (at the same time).
- (101) *Maeng injo naraka'ma anrongku kunahau.*
 already that 3ERG.hug.1CMP mother.1POSS 1ERG.3ERG.kiss
 After that my mother hugged me and she kissed me.
- (102) *Napakanrea na kunapainung.*
 3ERG.feed.1ABS and 1ERG.3ERG.give.drink
 He fed me and he gave me a drink.
- (103) *Kupakanrei na kupainungi.*
 1ERG.feed.3ABS and 1ERG.give.drink.3ABS
 I fed him and I gave him a drink.
- (104) *Sabbara toi' na naparrang punna rie'*
 patient ADD.3ABS and 3ERG.endure if have
 angngelle'-ngelle'i.
 VRt.ridicule.3ABS
 He was also patient and he endured it if there were those who made fun of him.

Without an understanding of how topic functions in these constructions and with limited data, one might speculate that simultaneous action evokes a nominative/accusative structure (as does Matti, in press). But added data such as in (103) clearly show that there are also

absolutive/ergative forms of simultaneous action. Again topic is the distinguishing factor, such that the topic referent must be fronted in the second clause. In (103) the subject is topic and thus already preverbally marked, whereas in (102) the object as topic is fronted.

7. OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS

The following three constructions – passive, imperative and completive *-mo* – have been encountered in various examples throughout this paper, but have not yet been clarified. They are presented here to show how they affect person marking in Konjo.

7.1 PASSIVES

In his paper 'The demise of focus and the spread of conjugated verbs in Sulawesi' van den Berg (this volume) explores the interrelationship between conjugated forms and passive strategies in several Sulawesi languages. In terms of his analysis, Konjo would be said to have retained the *ni*-form which now indicates a passive construction. In Bambam (Campbell 1989), as in Padoe, the passive construction is without exception agentless and functions as an intransitive verb. In Konjo, passive functions as English speakers would 'expect' it to, that is, the patient becomes the subject, a passive prefix *ni-* replaces the actor prefix and the actor is demoted to an oblique phrase or dropped altogether.²⁴

- (105) a. *Kupeppe'ko*.
IERG.hit.2(F)ABS
I hit you.
- b. *Nipeppe'ko* (ri *nakke*).
PASS.hit.2(F)ABS PREP 1PRO
You were hit (by me).
- c. *Ulunna nipeppe'*.
head.3POSS PASS.hit
His head was hit/ he was hit on the head.
- (106) *Nakke nieranga a'lampa ri balla' garringa*
1PRO PASS.take.1ABS VRi.go PREP house sick.DEF
nisuro paressa...
PASS.command examine
I was taken to the hospital and (they) were told to check me...
- (107) *IHakingji nisuro a'kammi' balla'*.
PI.Haking.3LIM PASS.command VRi.guard house
Only Haking was told to guard the house.

²⁴ Although it is possible to have the actor designated by an oblique phrase, this is not the norm. In a procedural text on working ricefields from which example (108) is taken, over 80 per cent of the verbs are passive form – a common discourse feature of descriptive texts – and not one of them specifies the actor, which is obviously 'we' the hearers. However, in narrative texts it is not uncommon that the agent will be supplied in a passive construction (such as (113) and (114)). An overt agent may also be supplied to clarify a situation which might otherwise not be obvious (*Nibetai Ali ri Amir*. 'Ali was beaten by Amir').

- (108) *Jari punna maengi nitahuri pare*
 so if already.3ABS PASS.scatter.TRS paddly
niallemi nisebo'...
 PASS.take.3CMP PASS.mud.cover
 Once the rice seed has been scattered, it is taken and covered with mud...
- (109) *Mingka anre' nipauangi angkua anre' nama'ring...*
 but NEG PASS.tell.BEN.3ABS VRt.say NEG 3ERG.permit
 But he wasn't told that it wasn't permitted...
- (110) *Ante'i pakua punna nikellaengi ammantang*
 where.3ABS thus if PASS.permit.TRS.3ABS VRi.stay
ri balla'a?
 PREP house.DEF
 How about it if she is forced to stay at the house?
- (111) *[Naia injo hattua ri ansulu'kumo ri balla'*
 and.3PRO that time.DEF PREP exit.1POSS.CMP PREP house
garringa] na kunipainro mae ri balla'
 sick.DEF CMPL 1ERG.PASS.CAUS.return come PREP house
nukusehaya...
 REL.1ERG.rent.DEF
 [It was at the time of my getting out of the hospital] that I was taken back to
 the house which I was renting...
- (112) *Assambajangko ri anre'napa*
 VRi.pray.2(F)ABS PREP NEG.3POSS.ICMP
nunisambajangi.
 2(F)ERG.PASS.pray.TRS
 Pray before you are prayed over.
- (113) *Injo tau ruaya na nitobo' ri karaenga anre'*
 that person two.DEF CMPL PASS.stab PREP king NEG
sala-salanna.
 wrong.3POSS
 The two who were stabbed by the king didn't do anything wrong.
- (114) *Niallemi iHaking ri patanna kappala*
 PASS.take.3CMP PI.Haking PREP owner.3POSS boat
nampa nierang a'lampa...
 then PASS.carry VRi.go
 Haking was taken by the owner of the boat and then taken...
- (115) *Apa nisessaangko?*
 what PASS.difficult.BEN.2(F)ABS
 What are you being made frustrated about?
- (116) *Lohemo buanganna nihalliangi iHaking,*
 much.CMP kind.3POSS PASS.buy.BEN.3ABS PI.Haking

sangka'mi *pake-pakena*, *kare'-karenaang*
complete.3CMP clothes.3POSS toys

a'bu'a'-buangangmi *nipa'riekangi*.
VRi.various.kinds.3CMP PASS.CAUS.VRi.have.BEN.3ABS

All kinds of things were bought for Haking, his clothes were complete, and all kinds of toys were got for him.

- (117) *Arami* *niahangangi*, *karaeng*.
don't.3CMP PASS.bury.PROH king
Don't let him be buried, king.

The *ni*- passive prefix functions as any of the verbaliser prefixes, substituting as it were for the actor prefix.²⁵ Note that in (108) the adverbial *maeng* takes the absolutive suffix as normal even though this is a passive construction. In (111) and (112) the subordinate time clause requires procliticisation as expected. Example (105c) is an example of topicalisation; as expected the enclitic is missing. Examples (113) and (114) have overt agents introduced by the preposition *ri*. In (115) and (116) the object of the clause is topicalised, the agent is missing and it is the indirect object which has become the surface subject of the clause.

7.2 IMPERATIVES

In Konjo only the second person proclitic person marker may be deleted in an imperative construction, never the absolutive enclitic. One might therefore argue that this is evidence that Konjo is an ergative language. Recall, however, that second person free pronouns only occur as emphasis while the person markers indicate the person of subject and object. Since any deletion of second person is a morphological function, not a syntactic function, the fact that Konjo has a morphologically ergative system is again reinforced.

- (118) a. *Lampako!* / *Lampamako!*
go.2(F)ABS go.2(F)CMP
Go! Go!

- b. *Peppe'i!*
hit.3ABS
Hit it!

- (119) a. *Dahu saa!*
give mild.IMP.1ABS
Give it to me!

²⁵ It is interesting to note this passive construction in light of the controversy about the role of passive in ergative languages. In Konjo the passive prefix could be viewed simply as another ergative prefix person marker meaning 'someone'. Contrast *naittea* 'he saw me' with *niiitea* 'someone saw me (or I was seen)'. In Mamuju (Strømme, in press) *ni*- not only marks passive, but it also marks second person honorific and first person inclusive in the ergative set. In Konjo, however, since it is possible to specify an oblique actor (albeit textually less frequent), we could view passive as an intransitive construction, the syntactic object becoming subject and the clause losing its transitivity, thus taking the absolutive suffix, *nitobo'j ri karaenga* 'he was stabbed by the king'. In either case there is no change in the status of the participants, that is, the absolutive person marker remains unchanged (there is no case marking for the free-form nominals). Since the semantic object of the verb does not change and the morphological form remains absolutive, how does one view the transitivity of the verb?

- b. *Amminro sako!*
VRi.return mild.IMP.2(F)ABS
Return home!
- (120) a. *Sarea bo'-bo'ta!*
give.1ABS book.2(H)POSS
Give me one of your books!
- b. *Kisarea bo'-bo'ta!*
2(H)ERG.give.1ABS book.2(H)POSS
Give me one of your books!

In both the normal imperative (118) and the softened imperative (indicated by the *sa* form in (119) the absolutive suffixes remain intact, while the prefixed person markers are normally deleted (see (118b) and (119a)). Whereas deletion of the prefixed person markers is the norm, they need not be deleted (120). The second form would be considered more polite (as an inferior to his superior).

7.3 COMPLETIVE *-mo*

In general the Konjo completive *-mo* functions together with a person marker (*-ma* 1CMP, *-mako* 2(F)CMP, *-maki* 2(H)CMP or 1PL.INC.CMP, *-mi* 3CMP). If the completive morpheme occurs, it follows the movement patterns of the peripatetic person markers.²⁶ The completive marker *-mo* may also function independently. If so, its usual discourse function is to advance the story-line. The presence of *-mo* suffixed to a verb always forces the absolutive enclitic to be fronted and prefixed to the front of the verb.

- (121) *Nakuamo iJama' ilalang ri atinna*
3ERG.say.CMP PI.Jama' PREP.inside PREP heart.3POSS
rannui nyahaku...
happy.3ABS breath.1POSS
Jama' said to himself, I'm really happy...
- (122) *Nanipauangmo karaenga ri Paratihi angkua...*
3ERG.PASS.tell.BEN.CMP king.DEF PREP Paratihi VRt.say
The king of Paratihi was told saying...
- (123) *Kunapeppe'mo Ali. (normally napeppe'a)*
1ERG.3ERG.hit.CMP Ali
Ali hit me.
- (124) *Nakupammulaimo bica'-bicaranna*
3ERG.1ERG.CAUS.VRt.begin.TRS.CMP talk.about.3POSS

²⁶ Although outside the scope of this paper, it is interesting to note that the completive marker *-mo*, as well as the incompletive *-pa* and the limiter *-ja*, do not prefix to the verb as the absolutives do in cases of negative or temporal adverbials (*Sikurayapa nu'lampa?* 'When will you be leaving?'; *Anre'mo na'kulle angngitiei* 'He couldn't see it anymore.'). Rather a neutral form (*-mo* CMP, *-pa* ICMP, *-ja* LIM) is suffixed to the adverbial – *anre'ja* 'nothing'.

assarupu'a.

VRi.field.work.DEF

I will begin the story of working the fields.

- (125) ...*naiami* *injo* *narie'* *ngase'mo* *ana'-ana'*
and.3PRO.3CMP that 3ERG.have all.CMP children

buru'nea *battu* *annattaki.*

male.DEF come VRt.cut.TRS

...and so all the young men have come to cut the corn.

Completive *-mo* occurs frequently with certain key words such as *rie'* 'to be', *anre'* 'not', *maeng* 'ever', but only when it occurs with the verb does it affect person-marker clitics.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is abundantly evident that the movement of Konjo person-marker clitics plays a significant role in signalling various types of focus as well as topicality. Without an understanding of how focus and topic (as described in this paper) interact there is little hope of unravelling the complexities of Konjo syntax and discourse. This has been an attempt to present a reasonable analysis of Konjo person-marker clitics.

Several basic conclusions can be summarised:

1) Konjo has a clear ergative/absolutive system functioning morphologically in all aspects of the syntax. Procliticisation is not due to a split-ergative system.

2) Transitivity is defined in terms of the definiteness of the object. As a semantic concept antipassive plays a role, but syntactically there are no antipassive constructions in Konjo.

3) Focus is defined as the syntactic pivot of a sentence (i.e. intransitive clauses are in subject focus, transitive clauses are in object focus). Much of the burden for specifying the subject or object is on the person markers.

4) Topicality plays a strategic role in Konjo. Not only are free-form nominals topicalised by fronting, but also the person markers referring to the subject or object as topic are also fronted. With intransitive clauses this is seen in the absolutive moving to precede the verb if there are elements which modify the verb (39d). With transitive clauses this is seen in two ways: (a) when object is topic, if the absolutive can be suffixed to a preverbal element, it will be (47); otherwise it is procliticised (102). This results in the unusual occurrence of two 'ergative' person markers on a verb; (b) when subject is topic, the subject referent will either be evident in prior discourse (11) or be suffixed to a preverbal element (48a), the definite object verbaliser *ang-* prefixed to the verb, and the object referent suffixed to the verb.

Considerably more analysis is needed to clearly identify when person markers are omitted. It has been shown in this paper (§3.2) that when a free-form nominal topic is fronted, its absolutive referent is omitted. There are many situations in complex clauses where the person marker is omitted, having been specified in some other part of the sentence, but rules governing such omissions must await future analysis.

Having clarified the issues of focus and topic, we are now prepared to look more carefully at several other discourse features, including among others: (a) the role of *-mo* in advancing the story-line; (b) the choice of subject or object as topic; (c) the use of free pronouns for

emphasis; and (d) the clarification of when the completive, incomplete, and limiter clitics are used and how they relate to each other.

There is also an appeal to try to unravel the question of where the clitic person markers came from. If one were to look at them as equal to free-form nominals, the whole question of syntactic ergativity would have to be reconsidered. One might conjecture that what seems to be a rather confusing mesh of an ergative/absolutive morphological system with a nominative/accusative syntactic system merely reflects the diverse makeup of the Konjo people whose peripatetic history gives evidence of contact with various peoples and languages. Given more in-depth analysis of the discourse, this beautifully complex language will yield to clear explanation.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	absolutive (suffix/enclitic) person marker
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjective marker for derivations (<i>ka-</i>)
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CMP	completive (<i>-mo</i> , <i>-ma</i> , <i>-mi</i> , <i>-mako</i> , <i>-maki</i>)
CMPL	complementiser (<i>na-</i>)
CTP	count prefix (<i>ta'-</i>)
DEF	definite (determiner) (<i>-a</i>)
ERG	ergative (prefix/proclitic) person marker
EXC	exclusive
F	familiar
FUT	future (<i>la-</i>)
H	honorific
ICMP	incomplete (<i>-pa</i> , <i>-pi</i> , <i>-pako</i> , <i>-paki</i>)
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive
INT	intransitive
LIM	limiter (<i>-ja</i> , <i>-ji</i> , <i>-jako</i> , <i>-jaki</i>)
NEG	negative (<i>anre'</i>)
NMS	nominaliser (<i>pa-</i> , <i>-ang</i>)
NVOL	non-volitional action (<i>ta'-</i>)
PASS	passive (<i>ni-</i>)
PI	person identifier (for proper names or pronouns – <i>i-</i>)
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	(general) preposition (<i>ri'</i>)
PRO	(free-form) pronoun
PROH	prohibitiser (<i>-i</i>)
PVA	postverbal adverb
REC	reciprocal (<i>si-</i>)
REL	relative (clause designator <i>nu-</i>)

TRS	transitiviser (-i, -ang)
VRd	definite verbaliser (transitive with definite object ang-)
VRi	intransitive (active) verbaliser (a'-)
VRs	(intransitive) stative verbaliser (a-)
VRt	transitive verbaliser (ang-)
WRN	warning suffix (-a)

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CAUSATION IN KAILI

DONNA EVANS

1. INTRODUCTION¹

Kaili is an Austronesian language found in central Sulawesi (Celebes) in Indonesia. It is also known as West Torajan in some of the older literature. Kaili is spoken by over 300,000 people and has six main dialects, the largest and most prestigious of which is Ledo. This paper is based on fieldwork done in the Ledo dialect between 1987 and 1990. Some general work was done on the Kaili language by Dutch linguists earlier in the century, notably S.J. Esser who wrote a brief grammar sketch entitled *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Ledo-taal* in 1934. In the last two decades a few Indonesian linguists have described aspects of the phonology and morphology of Kaili. The issue of causatives, however, has not yet been addressed.

The purpose of this paper is to examine causative structure and valency change in Kaili particularly in light of Comrie's "Hierarchy of Grammatical Relations" (Comrie 1981).

2. DEFINITION OF CAUSATION

2.1 DEFINITION

In his introductory chapter Shibatani (1976) says that causatives are based on two events, one of which occurred before the other. Had the first not occurred, neither would the second, the first being deemed responsible for the occurrence of the second.

According to Lyons (1977:490) the two semantic notions of *causality* and *agency* are integral to a definition of causation. An agent by his actions causes a situation to exist. Lyons notes that situations can also be seen as causing other situations.

Other semantic parameters of causation include direct versus indirect causation, such as whether the agent directly intervened or worked through another medium. The degree of control by the agent varies also from coercive on the one extreme to permissive on the other. Talmy (1985) lists nine types of causative meaning which can be incorporated into the verb root, including the notion of intentional versus unintentional and the notion of self-agentive.

Syntactically causatives involve an increase in valency. But not all increases in valency can be considered causatives. According to Comrie (1985) languages typically express

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causativity in three ways: syntactically, morphologically and lexically. Which of these strategies or combination of strategies a given language uses will vary. English, for example, uses mainly syntactic and lexical strategies. The strategies used by Kaili will be discussed in §4.1.

Various attempts at defining causation have been made. All agree that there must be a semantic element of causality and an increase in valency of +1. In addition, the subject of the non-causative is demoted in the corresponding causative construction.

2.2 TYPES OF CAUSATION

Analytic, or syntactic causatives are those in which the semantic meaning of causality is expressed in a different predicate than that expressing the event/action that is caused. This is usually done with the use of auxiliary causative verbs. In English this is exemplified by sentences such as:

(a) I caused the book to fall.

(b) I made him come home.

The causality is expressed by the predicates *caused* and *made*.

In Kaili there are few if any predicates expressing mainly causality, thus the strategy of analytic causatives is rarely if ever used. There is no predicate meaning 'to cause', thus this type of causative is basically non-productive. The closest to syntactic causatives would be sentences such as the following:²

(1) *Ia nomba-tudu ira mom-buka wamba.*
 3SG REAL-order 3PL IRR-open door.
 He ordered them to open the door.

(2) *I Ona ni-tagi mo-more ri dala.*
 PM Ona PASS.R-forbid IRR-play PREP road
 Ona was forbidden to play in the road.

But it could be argued that these are not true causatives in that the second predicate does not necessarily occur, that is, although he ordered the door to be opened, it may be that they ignored the order and didn't after all open the door.

Morphological causatives are those in which the predicate expressing the resultant event/action has undergone a derivational process which expresses the causality. This is the type of causative that is perhaps the most interesting. English does not have this type of causative but in Kaili it is the main strategy used. Shibatani (1976) claims that isolating languages tend to use auxiliary causative verbs and that agglutinating languages, such as Kaili, tend to use affixes.

The causative in Kaili is derived from the non-causative by one of several affixes. The resulting causative predicate has a valency of one higher than the non-causative form. It is this type of causative that is the focus of this paper. Note the following examples:

² For list of abbreviations used in this paper see Appendix.

- (3) *I Lius nom-pa-kande manu.*
PM Lius REAL-CAUS-eat chicken
Lius fed (caused to eat) the chickens.
- (4) *I Doe nom-pa-tuwu titi.*
PM Doe REAL-CAUS-live duck
Doe raises (causes to live) ducks.
- (5) *Topom-pempe nom-paka-belo pajeko.*
person-pound REAL-CAUS-good plough
The blacksmith fixed (caused to be good) the plough.
- (6) *Ngana haitu ni-popa-turu ri bangku.*
child hat PASS.R-CAUS-sleep on bench.
That child was caused to sleep on the bench.

The third strategy languages use to express causation is lexical. In English this is very common with words such as *kill* 'cause to die', where *kill* has no morphological relation to *die*. Languages vary as to how this strategy is used. Comrie (1985:333) suggests that lexical causatives will typically indicate more immediate or direct causation than will analytic causatives.

Lexical causatives in Kaili also occur but to a far lesser extent than in English. For example the word *ne-like* means to 'cause someone to wake up'. *Like* is very different morphologically from *mbangu*, the root word for 'wake up'. One could add causative morphology to *mbangu* and get the same meaning *nom-pope-mbangu* 'cause to awaken'. The lexical item *ne-like* implies a more direct causation than the morphological causative, that is, *nompopembangu* could be done via an intermediary while *nelike* implies direct intervention by the subject. The most interesting causatives in Kaili are of course the morphological forms. But before continuing this discussion it is necessary to give a short description of Kaili verbs and properties of their arguments.

3. DESCRIPTION OF KAILI VERBS

3.1 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Kaili verbs can be divided into three categories according to whether the basic verbal prefix takes an *a*, *e* or *o*. Although some derived forms show a neutralisation of these categories, often the categories are upheld throughout other affixations that may occur on the basic stem. For example:

- (7) a. *nang-ova* to run
b. *nom-po-pang-ova* to cause to run
- (8) a. *no-gade* to sell
b. *ni-po-gade* to be sold
- (9) a. *ne-mbangu* to awaken
b. *ni-po-pe-mbangu* to cause to awaken

These categories are not entirely ad hoc, there is often a semantic and/or syntactic difference. Some verb roots may occur with more than one type of prefix, with a corresponding difference in meaning and/or transitivity. For example:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>na-ngande</i> | to eat |
| | <i>ne-kande</i> | to cut into (as iron cuts wood) |
| | <i>no-kande-si</i> | to eat someone else's food |

The word *nangande* is transitive and may have up to two arguments, while *ne-kande* is intransitive.

One of the outstanding features of Kaili verb morphology is the realis/irrealis distinction. This feature is indicated by the prefixes *no-/ne-/na-* (realis) and *mo-/me-/ma-* (irrealis):

- (11) *Yaku ma-ngande bau maile.*
 1SG IRR-eat fish tomorrow
 I will eat fish tomorrow.
- (12) *Ira da no-lipa-lipa.*
 3PL still REAL-walk-DUP
 They are still walking around.

A second important feature is that of the actor focus versus object focus system. This is similar morphologically to the active versus passive distinction in Indonesian except that the Kaili prefixes are fused with the realis/irrealis. For purposes of this discussion these affixes will be referred to as active/passive. The prefixes *mo-/me-/ma-*, *no-/ne-/na-* are active (actor focus) while *ni-* is passive (object focus)/realis and *ra-* is passive (object focus)/irrealis.

- (13) a. *Ni-kande-ku loka riavi.*
 PASS.R-eat-1SG banana yesterday
 [The] bananas were eaten by me yesterday.
- b. *Ra-kande-na loka haitu.*
 PASS.IRR-eat-3SG banana that
 That banana will be eaten by him.

The imperative form typically has a *p-* replacing the nasal and of course is not inflected for realis/irrealis:

- (14) *Pa-ngande-mo!*
 IMP-eat-COMP
 Eat!

Nasal accretion often occurs as well between the actor focus prefixes and following affixes or the verb stem. This sometimes appears to indicate transitivity but further study needs to be done. For this discussion this nasal will be written as part of the prefix.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (15) | <i>ne-guru</i> | to study |
| | <i>nom-pa-guru</i> | to teach (some subject) |
| | <i>no-pa-guru</i> | to teach |
| | <i>nom-peki-povia</i> | to request that something be made |

For a fuller description of the verb morphology of Kaili, see Barr (1988). This describes the verb of the Da'a dialect of Kaili and is much the same as Ledo, with a few minor differences. For a listing of co-occurrence of affixes in Ledo see Sofyan (1980).

3.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Word order is very important in Kaili in determining the grammatical function of the argument of a verb. In the active (actor focus) clauses the direct object must follow the verb. The subject may come before the verb (SVO) or it may occur after the direct object (VOS), with the latter being more common:

- (16) a. *Yaku na-ngande loka.*
1SG REAL-eat banana
I eat bananas.
- b. *Na-ngande loka yaku.*
REAL-eat banana 1SG
I eat bananas.

When passivised (object focus), the old subject *yaku* becomes a pronominal suffix on the verb, and the new subject *loka* may either occur before the verb or after the object, the latter being more common. Thus (16a) and (16b) would be written as:

- (17) a. *Ni-kande-ku loka.*
PASS.R-eat-1SG banana
Bananas were eaten by me.
- b. *Loka ni-kande-ku*
banana PASS.R-eat-1SG
Bananas were eaten by me.
- c. *Ni-kande n-tona loka.*
PASS.R-eat GEN-people banana
Bananas were eaten by people.
- d. *Loka ni-kande n-tona.*
banana PASS.R-eat GEN-people
Bananas were eaten by people.

Another relevant feature is that of relativisation. In Ledo only subjects can be relativised, thus to relativise a non-subject noun that noun must be moved into a subject position. This is typically accomplished by passivisation. Note the following examples:

- (18) a. *Langgai haitu no-boba tuei-ku.*
man that REAL-hit younger.sibling-1SG
That man hit my sister.
- b. *Yaku nang-gita langgai no-boba tuei-ku.*
1SG REAL-see man REAL-hit younger.sibling-1SG
I saw the man that hit my sister.
- c. *Yaku nang-gita tuei-ku ni-boba nu langgai*
1SG REAL-see younger.sibling-1SG PASS.R-hit GEN man
haitu.
that
I saw my sister who was hit by that man.

Oblique (that is, non-direct) objects in Kaili typically occur as prepositional phrases, as shown in the following example:

- (19) a. *Ira no-via pokova ka ia.*
 3PL REAL-make stretcher for 3SG
 They made a stretcher for him.

The recipient/benefactive oblique object *ia* can undergo a raising process (similar to dative movement in English) where it becomes the direct object and can then be passivised, and subsequently relativised. Raised objects of this sort add a suffix *-ka* to the verb. (There is no clear category of indirect objects in Kaili as all non-direct objects must take a preposition.) See the following examples:

- b. *Ira nom-po-via-ka ia pokova.*
 3PL REAL-TRS-make-OBL 3SG stretcher
 They made him a stretcher.
- c. *Ia ni-po-via-ka-ra pokova.*
 3SG PASS.R-TRS-make-OBL-3PL stretcher
 He was made a stretcher by them.
- d. *Yaku nang-gita tona ni-po-via-ka pokova.*
 1SG REAL-see people PASS.R-TRS-make-OBL stretcher
 I saw the man for whom a stretcher was made.

The fate of the original direct object is of interest, as we shall see later in §4.2. That original direct object must give up its post-verbal position to the raised oblique object. It is interesting to note that the original direct object *pokova* can still be passivised as shown in (19e). We will return to this in §5.

- e. *Pokova hitu ni-po-via-ka-ra (ka ia).*
 stretcher this PASS.R-TRS-make-OBL-3PL for 3SG
 This stretcher was made by them for someone (him).

4. CAUSATIVES IN KAILI

4.1 CAUSATIVE AFFIXES

There are five types of affixes in Kaili which fulfill the requirements for being causative, that is, an action by the agent results in some other action or event, syntactically the valency is increased by one, and the subject is demoted.

4.1.1 *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* can be added to intransitive verbs with the result that the verb becomes transitive and the new subject noun phrase can be said to be responsible for the resulting action. Semantically the 'subjects' of the intransitive forms could be said to be undergoers rather than agents and thus it could be argued that the *pa-* prefix merely transitivises the verb and thus is not a true causative. Nevertheless, the resulting transitive predicates do fulfill the requirements for causative as given in §3. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

- (20) a. *Domo na-tuwu i Jamaludi.*
 no.longer REAL-live PM Jamaludi
 Jamaludi is no longer living.

- b. *I Doe nom-pa-tuwu titi.*
PM Doe REAL-CAUS-live duck
Doe raises (causes to live) ducks.
- (21) a. *Yaku ne-sua ri ara banua.*
1SG REAL-enter PREP inside house
I entered into the house.
- b. *Yaku nom-pa-sua taono ri valombo.*
1SG REAL-CAUS-enter parang PREP sheath
I put the parang into (caused it to enter) the sheath.
- (22) a. *I Pina na-pola ri sikola.*
PM Pina REAL-arrive PREP school
Pina arrived at school.
- b. *I Tarsaa nom-pa-pola kareba ri sikola.*
PM Tarsaa REAL-CAUS-arrive news PREP school
Tarsaa caused the news to arrive at the school.

4.1.2 *popo-/popa-/pope-*

The prefix *po-* combined with the derived transitivisers *po-/pa-/pe-* is perhaps the most common form of the causative construction in Kaili. The following sets of example sentences show the derivational process. There appear to be constraints on how many arguments can appear in the active case, thus a few examples are given using the passive.

- (23) a. *No-berei-mo i Dula.*
REAL-spouse-COMP PM Dula
Dula is already married.
- b. *Ia nom-po-berei i Ani.*
3SG REAL-TRS-spouse PM Ani
He married Ani.
- c. *Totua-na nom-po-po-berei ia.*
parent-3SG REAL-CAUS-TRS-spouse 3SG
His parents married him off (caused him to marry).
- d. *I Dula ni-po-po-berei n-totua-na.*
PM Dula PASS.R-CAUS-TRS-spouse GEN-parent-3SG
Dula was married off by his parents.

Example (23) shows the derivational process. The verb is derived from the noun *berei* meaning 'spouse'. The basic verbal form (intransitive) is *no-berei*, as in (23a). To transitivise it (i.e. to add an argument) the prefix *po-* is added to form sentence (23b). This sentence cannot really be regarded as causative either semantically or syntactically. Though one could in this case perhaps argue that Dula 'caused' Ani to become a spouse, the sense seems to be merely stating to whom Dula was married. Syntactically, the subject of (23a) is still the subject in (23b); it has not been demoted. Without the *po-* prefix which transitivises the verb, it is not possible to say who Dula married except by using a prepositional phrase, as in (23e):

- e. *Dula no-berei nte i Ani.*
 Dula REAL-marry with PM Ani
 Dula married (with) Ani.

Thus (23b) is a transitive clause but not causative. In (23c), however, the subject in (23b) has been demoted and a new subject, the causer, has been added. There is a semantic meaning of causing Dula to get married. That Dula has become the direct object of (23c) is shown by (23d) in that it can be passivised.

Not all verb forms show such a clear derivation, however. For example, in (24) and (25) there is no intermediate verb form with just the transitiviser *po-/pe-/pa-*, perhaps because *kita* is already transitive, and it is hard to conceive of *kalelo* having an additional argument in any but a causative sense. In both examples the final *popa-/popo-* does occur with an added argument, a causative meaning and a demoted subject:

- (24) a. *Ia nang-gita malaeka.*
 3SG REAL-see angel
 He saw the angel.
- b. *Malaeka nom-popo-kita karo-na mboto ka nabi.*
 angel REAL-CAUS-see body-3SG own to prophet
 The angel showed himself to the prophet.
- c. *Ia nom-pa-kita karo-na.*
 3SG REAL-TRS-see body-3SG
 He shows himself.
- (25) a. *Ngana no-kalelo.*
 child REAL-move
 The child moved.
- b. *Ia nom-popo-kalelo uwe.*
 3SG REAL-CAUS-move water
 He agitated (caused to move) the water.

Other examples are:

- (26) a. *I Doe no-balu.*
 PM Doe REAL-sell
 Doe sells.
- b. *I Doe nom-po-balu ose.*
 PM Doe REAL-TRS-sell rice
 Doe sells rice.
- c. *Yaku mom-popo-balu i Doe ose.*
 1SG IRR-CAUS-sell PM Doe rice
 I will cause Doe to sell rice.
- (27) a. *Doe no-dekei roti ka i Jemi.*
 Doe REAL-give cake to PM Jemi
 Doe gave cake to Jemi.
- b. *Yaku nom-popo-dekei roti ka i Jemi.*
 1SG REAL-CAUS-give cake to PM Jemi
 I caused cake to be given to Jemi.

- c. *Doe ni-popo-dekei-ku roti ka i Jemi.*
 Doe PASS.R-CAUS-give-1SG cake to PM Jemi
 Doe was caused by me to give cake to Jemi.
- (28) a. *I Ni no-tulisi sura.*
 PM Ni REAL-write letter
 Ni writes a letter.
- b. *Yaku nom-popo-tulisi i Ni sura.*
 1SG REAL-CAUS-write PM Ni letter
 I caused Ni to write a letter.
- c. *I Ni ni-popo-tulisi-ku sura.*
 PM Ni PASS.R-CAUS-write-1SG letter
 Ni was caused by me to write a letter.
- d. *Sura ni-popo-tulisi-ku i Ni.*
 letter PASS.R-CAUS-write-1SG PM Ni
 The letter was caused by me to be written by Ni.
- (29) a. *Yaku na-nau dako ri tangga.*
 1SG REAL-descend from PREP ladder
 I came down the ladder.
- b. *Yaku nom-pa-nau tangga.*
 1SG REAL-TRS-descend ladder
 I descended the ladder.
- c. *Tangga ni-pa-nau-ku.*
 ladder PASS.R-TRS-descend-1SG
 The ladder was descended by me.
- d. *I Niko nom-popa-nau peti.*
 PM Niko REAL-CAUS-descend trunk
 Niko lowered the trunk.

Note that both the original direct object and the causee which is demoted to direct object in the causative can be passivised in (28c) and (28d).

4.1.3 *paka-*

Transitive verbs with causative meaning can be derived from adjectives by the addition of the prefix *paka-*. Note the following examples:

- (30) a. *na-gasa* clean
 b. *nom-paka-gasa* to clean
- (31) a. *na-luo* wide
 b. *nom-paka-luo* widen
- (32) a. *na-dua* sick
 b. *nom-paka-dua* make sick

This affix could perhaps be analysed as the causative *pa-* and the nominaliser *ka-*. Thus the derivation would be from an adjective *na-X* to a noun *ka-X* to a verb *nom-pa-ka-X*.

However, the *paka*- analysis is simpler and makes it unnecessary to posit hypothetical derived forms which may not be attestable. Affixes similar to *paka*- are widely found in other Austronesian languages as well.

4.1.4 -[C]aka

There is a set of suffixes in Kaili which may be added to intransitive verb roots. The result is a transitive verb and it frequently has a causative relationship. It also has a semantic notion of movement of the object. Again, as with many other intransitive verbs, their subjects can be considered undergoers rather than agents, and with the addition of the -[C]aka suffix the direct object is the undergoer.

The most common reflexes are *-aka*, *-saka*, *-raka*, *-taka* but also attested are *-naka*, *-laka*, *-baka*, *-maka*. The suffixes are not in free variation. Certain verbs take one form of this suffix. There appears to be no semantic or syntactic motivation for the different forms, but rather an ad hoc categorisation of verbs. Perhaps the form of this affix reflects word-final consonants that were lost in the dim age of some protolanguage. This affix is not productive; not every verb has a corresponding form. Note the following sets of examples:

- (33) a. *Ngana haitu ne-suvu dako ri sikola.*
child that REAL-go.out from PREP school
That child came out of the school.
- b. *I Nasi ni-suvu-raka nu guru dako ri sikola.*
PM Nasi PASS.R-go.out-TRS GEN teacher from PREP school
Nasi was made to leave the school by the teacher.
- (34) a. *Na-navu taipa.*
REAL-fall mango
The mango fell.
- b. *Yaku no-mba-navu-saka taipa ka iko.*
1SG REAL-DEFOC-fall-TRS mango to 2SG
I made the mango fall to you.
- (35) a. *I Nasi ne-tabuni ri banua.*
PM Nasi REAL-hide PREP house
Nasi hides in the house.
- b. *Ia ni-tabuni-aka n-tina-na*
3SG PASS.R-hide-TRS GEN-mother-3SG
He was hidden by his mother.

Some occurrences of this suffix, however, do not have a semantic element of causation, but only of motion. There is a +1 change in valency, that is, an argument is added, but it is usually a direct object that is added and it clearly is the undergoer.

- (36) a. *Uwe nang-ga-buntu dako ri karona.*
water REAL-NOM-flood from PREP river
The water floods from the river.
- b. *Ni-buntu-laka-mo nu uwe walesu pangane.*
PASS.R-flood-TRS-COMP GEN water rat that
The rat was overwhelmed by the water.

- (37) a. *I Rina no-veulu.*
PM Rina REAL-spit
Rina spits.
- b. *I Rina no-mba-veulu-saka pakuli.*
PM Rina REAL-DEFOC-spit-TRS medicine
Rina spat out the medicine.
- (38) a. *Kita mosi-ntomu vai.*
1PL.INC REC.IRR-meet again
We will meet again.
- b. *Hau kita ma-ntomu-naka i Eve.*
go 1PL.INC IRR-meet-TRS PM Eve
Let's go and visit Eve.

4.1.5 *peki-/meki-/neki-*

This set of prefixes is most interesting because it appears to be a valency-reducing causative construction. A basic non-causative verb such as occurs in (39a) can be derived to form (39b) by the addition of the *neki*-prefix. The old subject *Tira* is demoted from subject position and a new subject, the causer, is introduced. Thus semantically, there is an increase in valency. However, the old subject (the causee) normally does not appear in the resulting derived sentence (39b) and if one wishes to state the causee overtly, it must be done with a prepositional phrase as in (39c). Thus while semantically valency is increased, syntactically it is not.

- (39) a. *I Tira no-dau baju.*
PM Tira REAL-sew dress
Tira sews dresses.
- b. *Yaku meki-dau baju.*
1SG REQ.IRR-sew dress
I will ask that a dress be sewn.
- c. *Yaku mom-peki-dau baju nte Tira.*
1SG IRR-REQ-sew dress with Tira
I will ask Tira to sew a dress.
- (40) a. *Ira no-mba-nini tobuoro tumai.*
3PL REAL-DEFOC-lead person.blind here
They led the blind man here.
- b. *Sando nom-peki-nini tobuoro tumai.*
doctor REAL-REQ-lead person.blind here
The shaman asked that the blind man be led to here.
- (41) a. *Ia nom-paka-belo dua-ra.*
3SG REAL-CAUS-good disease-3PL
He healed (made good) their diseases.
- b. *Ira nom-peki-paka-belo dua-ra.*
3PL REAL-REQ-CAUS-good sickness-3PL
They requested that he cause their diseases to be good (to heal them).

This prefix is called the 'requestive' because it requests that something be done by another person. What is asserted is that the action was *requested*, not necessarily that the action did indeed take place. It could be argued that this prefix is not a causative because it does not fill all the requirements. However, it does have a causative meaning, the subject of the basic sentence is demoted from the subject position, and although there is no increase in valency syntactically, there is an increase in valency *semantically*.

4.2 SUBJECT DEMOTION

Morphological causatives typically alter the expression of the causee. The subject of the corresponding non-causative sentence is no longer the subject of the causative sentence. Sometimes the causee is omitted in the causative clause, though this results in loss of information. In Ledo this would occur only when it is clear from the context what the causee is. More typically, the causee is demoted from the subject position to the direct object position or the oblique object position. Comrie (1981) proposes that there is a hierarchy of positions a causee would move to:

SU => DO => IO => Oblique

The causer becomes the subject of the causative sentence and the causee then moves to the next highest position that is not already filled. Thus when an intransitive clause becomes causative, the causee moves from the subject position to the direct object position. In a transitive clause, the subject would move to the indirect object position because the direct object position would already be filled. This hierarchy is the same as that proposed in the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy (see Keenan & Comrie 1977).

Some languages allow doubling on the indirect object position. Doubling on the direct object position has been attested but is rare. Doubling on the subject position is very rare if it occurs at all. In the case of obliques, the choice of obliques is restricted. If a causee appears higher on the hierarchy than expected, Comrie posits that it has to do with the degree of control the causee has over the event:

instrumental > dative > accusative
greater <-----control-----> less

The next section discusses subject demotion in Kaili causatives in relation to Comrie's proposals. Since Kaili has no clear indirect object, one would expect the hierarchy in Kaili to look like the following:

SU => DO => Oblique

4.2.1 INTRANSITIVE SU => DO

Causatives in Kaili which are derived from intransitive verbs clearly show the subject being demoted to direct object. The 'new' direct object can be put into the object focus by passivisation of the verb. Note the following examples:

- (42) a. *Nan-teo manu.*
REAL-peck chicken
SU
The chickens peck.

- b. *Yaku nom-pa-teo manu.*
 1SG REAL-CAUS-peck chicken
 SU DO
 I feed (cause to peck) the chickens.
- c. *Manu ni-pa-teo-ku.*
 chicken PASS.R-CAUS-peck-1SG
 SU
 The chickens were fed by me.
- (43) a. *Ne-mbangu ia.*
 REAL-get.up 3SG
 SU
 He gets up.
- b. *Tina-na nom-pope-mbangu ia.*
 mother-3SG REAL-CAUS-get.up 3SG
 SU DO
 His mother causes him to get up.
- c. *Ia ni-pope-mbangu n-tina-na.*
 3SG PASS.R-CAUS-get.up GEN-mother-3SG
 SU
 He was caused to get up by his mother.
- (44) a. *Ia no-ngare bo ne-karawemba.*
 3SG REAL-yell and REAL-convulse
 SU
 He shouted and convulsed.
- b. *Anu daa nom-popo-ngare bo nom-pope-karavemba ia.*
 thing evil REAL-CAUS-yell and REAL-CAUS-convulse 3SG
 SU DO
 An evil spirit made him yell and convulse.
- c. *Ia ni-popo-ngare bo ni-pope-karavemba nu anu*
 3SG PASS.R-CAUS-yell and PASS.R-CAUS-convulse GEN thing
 SU
daa.
 evil
 He was made to cry and convulse by an evil spirit.

4.2.2 TRANSITIVE SU => OBLIQUE

Transitive clauses are those which take a subject and a direct object. One would expect the demoted subject in this case to move to the oblique object position. In the following examples, that is exactly what happens:

- (45) a. *Ia nang-epe tesa n-totua.*
 3SG REAL-hear talk GEN-elder
 SU DO
 He heard the talk of the elders.

- b. *Ira nom-popa-epe kareba ka ia.*
 3PL REAL-CAUS-hear news to 3SG
 SU DO OBL
 They made him hear the news.
- (46) a. *Toma Yondo no-pempe taono.*
 Papa Yondo REAL-forged machete
 SU DO
 Papa Yondo forges machetes.
- b. *Yaku nom-peki-pempe taono nte Toma Yondo.*
 1SG REAL-REQ-forged machete with Papa Yondo
 SU DO OBL
 I request Papa Yondo to forge a machete.
- (47) a. *I Ele nang-gita buku.*
 PM Ele REAL-see book
 SU DO
 Ele sees the book.
- b. *Yaku nom-popa-kita buku ka i Ele.*
 1SG REAL-CAUS-see book to PM Ele
 SU DO OBL
 I showed the book to Ele.
- c. *Buku hitu ni-popa-kita-ku ka i Ele.*
 book this PASS.R-CAUS-see-1SG to PM Ele
 SU OBL
 This book was shown by me to Ele.

4.2.3 TRANSITIVE SU => DO

In some causatives derived from transitive verbs however, the subject is demoted to the direct object and not to the oblique object position as would be expected. It is difficult to find examples of transitive sentences that have more than one oblique argument. The difficulty seems to lie in it being difficult to unambiguously mark more than three arguments. It is usually awkward in Kaili to have more than one oblique mentioned in the same sentence and this also applies to causatives. In the following example, the oblique object cannot be included naturally in the causative:

- (48) a. *I Ni no-tulisi sura ka tina-na.*
 PM Ni REAL-write letter to mother-3SG
 SU DO OBL
 Ni wrote a letter to her mother.
- b. *Yaku nom-popo-tulisi i Ni sura.*
 1SG REAL-CAUS-write PM Ni letter
 SU DO DO
 I had Ni write a letter.

- c. *I Ni ni-popo-tulisi-ku sura.*
 PM Ni PASS.R-CAUS-write-1SG letter
 SU DO
 Ni was made by me to write a letter.
- d. *Sura hitu ni-popo-tulisi-ku i Ni.*
 letter this PASS.R-CAUS-write-1SG PM Ni
 SU DO
 This letter I had Ni write.

Note that the subject of the non-causative sentence (48a) is demoted to what looks like a direct object position in (48b). There is no prepositional phrase, characteristic of an oblique object. Both the original direct object and the new direct object can be passivised (48c, 48d), with no appearance of *-ka* characteristic of a raised oblique object. In examples (48a) - (48d), the oblique is retained (probably because two of the arguments are pronouns):

- (49) a. *Komiu no-mba-dekei buku ka i Ni.*
 2PL REAL-DEFOC-give book to PM Ni
 SU DO OBL
 You gave the book to Ni.
- b. *Yaku nom-popo-dekei komiu buku ka i Ni.*
 1SG REAL-CAUS-give 2PL book to PM Ni
 SU DO DO OBL
 I made you give a book to Ni.
- c. *Komiu ni-popo-dekei-ku buku ka i Ni.*
 2PL PASS.R-CAUS-give-1SG book to PM Ni
 SU DO OBL
 You were caused by me to give the book to Ni.
- d. *Buku hitu ni-popo-dekei-ku komiu (ka i Ni).*
 book this PASS.R-CAUS-give-1SG 2PL to PM Ni
 SU DO OBL
 This book was made by me to be given (to Ni) by you.

5. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

It can be seen from the above discussion that Kaili has several types of affix which have some causative meaning and which increase valency of the verb and induce subject demotion. While intransitive verbs are fairly easily 'causativised', the transitive verbs are less readily causativised due to problems in unambiguous argument identification. For most causatives, subject demotion occurs as predicted by Comrie's proposed hierarchy, that is, the subject of an intransitive is demoted to direct object in the causative construction, and the subject of some transitive clauses is demoted to oblique object.

In the case of other transitive clauses it is less clear. From examples (48a) - (48d), it appears that the subject of some transitive clauses may be demoted to direct object rather than to oblique object. This is shown by the fact that both the direct object and the former subject of the non-causative sentence can be passivised, that is, put into object focus.

It is not entirely clear why examples (45) - (47) and (48) - (49) undergo different subject demotion processes. It may perhaps be due to a difference in the semantic role of the causee. In examples (45) and (47) the causee is an experiencer, and in (46) the causee is the presumed recipient of the request. In examples (48) and (49), however, the causee is semantically the patient. Thus there may be a semantic rather than a syntactic motivation for the two demotion types.

It is rather unusual for demoted subjects to double up on the direct object position, and it goes against the proposed hierarchy. Comrie (1981:171) states that "nearly all languages allowing this possibility [i.e. doubling on the direct object position] in causative constructions are languages that otherwise allow clauses to have two accusative objects". While Kaili normally does not allow for two direct object in unmarked clauses, examples (19c) - (19e) show that the raised benefactive/recipient *-ka* marked form occupies the direct object position as does the original direct object; both can be passivised and relativised. Thus it appears that doubling on the direct object position is available in Kaili for certain complex constructions. Further study is also needed to determine what precisely are the limitations on the number and type of arguments of verbs that can be expressed naturally in one sentence.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS

C	consonant
CAUS	causative
COMP	completive
DEFOC	defocus
DO	direct object
DUP	reduplication
GEN	genitive, object of a passive
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis on active clauses (or 'actor focus')
NOM	nominaliser
OBL	oblique object
PASS.IRR	irrealis on passive clauses (or 'goal focus')
PASS.R	realis on passive clauses (or 'goal focus')
PL	plural
PM	person marker
PREP	general preposition
REAL	realis on active clauses (or 'actor focus')
REC	reciprocal
REQ	requestive
SG	singular
SU	subject
TRS	transitiviser
X	base word

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ON THE HISTORY OF TRANSITIVE VERB SUFFIXES IN THE LANGUAGES OF WESTERN INDONESIA

ÜLO SIRK

1. INTRODUCTION

If we try to map the distribution of the most salient features of verbal morphology characterising sizeable groups of languages within the Austronesian (AN) family, the lack of congruency of these morphological isoglosses with the putative high-order subgroups of the family will hardly escape our notice. In particular, the two types based on such features in Pawley and Reid's (1980) paper conflict sharply with Blust's subgrouping of the AN languages (Blust 1977 and subsequent works). Pawley and Reid's Philippine type proves to cover the three first-order subgroups situated on Formosa and a part of Blust's Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) subgroup belonging to the fourth first-order subgroup, Malayo-Polynesian (MP); at the same time, the Oceanic type suggested by Pawley and Reid unites a number of languages belonging to various immediate and non-immediate subdivisions within MP, from the Oceanic subgroup to the remainder of WMP. No doubt, Blust's scheme is still open to dispute. However, even if we reject it, the problem remains. For example, if we seek the earliest split in the family between Western and Eastern Austronesian (or Non-Oceanic and Oceanic), the demarcation line separating the Philippine and Oceanic types will obviously lie far from the boundary between the two supposed first-order subgroups, and the Oceanic *type* will not simply be confined to the Eastern (or Oceanic) *subgroup* of the family. In fact, among the high-order subgrouping schemes so far proposed for AN, I cannot name even a single one compatible with Pawley and Reid's types.

Pawley and Reid argue that the two Oceanic-type transitive verb formants reconstructed as **-i* and **-aken* were already present in Proto Austronesian (PAN), although possibly not yet as suffixes but as prepositions. In their view, these markers were peculiar to active sentences, while passive sentences made use of certain other markers now reflected by affixes of passive (non-Actor) foci in Philippine-type languages.

The theory developed by Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) differs considerably from the views which were advocated by Pawley and Reid (1980). In particular, the three authors argue in 1982 that PAN was a split ergative language where voice distinctions, weakly pronounced in verbal sentences, were more developed in non-verbal clauses (nominalisations), and that the Philippine-type focus markers arose from PAN noun-deriving affixes.

Among the recent works that have paid considerable attention to the evolution of AN verb morphology, mention must be made of Harvey's (1982) paper dealing with high-order subgroups in AN, in which the author attempts to build clause structures for PAN. In his opinion, there were both stative and active clauses, the latter subdivided into Actor Focus

(AF) and Patient Focus (PF) clauses. Among the AF clauses he distinguishes three subtypes (here named proceeding from the affixes added to the verb): (a) without any affix, (b) with **-i*, and (c) with **-akən*.¹ The PF counterparts of these subtypes would look as follows: (a) with **ən* (or in case the infix **-in-* is present, without any suffix), (b) with **-an*, and (c) with **si-* (in the widely accepted transcription it would be **Si-*). That is, as the point of departure of Austronesian evolution Harvey posits a system which distinguished active and passive but made use in these voices of different sets of relation-marking affixes. In this respect his point of view is fairly close to that expressed by Pawley and Reid (1980), and differs sharply from what is suggested by the same authors, together with Starosta, in 1982.

At the same time, all three papers have some traits in common. All of them disagree, to a greater or lesser degree, with the view that the PAN verbal morphology was completely of Philippine type (the last-mentioned view seems to underlie Wolff's (1973) reconstruction of the verbal inflection in PAN).

The inventory of Philippine-type focus-marking affixes which is examined in two of the three papers is practically limited to the affixes occurring in the most simple perfective and non-perfective forms (Wolff unites these forms under the label 'independent'). Only Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) make considerable attempts to take into account other forms too (in particular, some of those labelled by Wolff 'dependent' and 'subjunctive'). Nevertheless, some suffixes found in the Philippine-Formosan area and apparently having cognates in some remote parts of the Austronesian world (*-ay*, *-aw*, also *-u*) are not mentioned at all, while what is said about *-a* (pp.155-156) can hardly be considered adequate.²

All three papers pay some attention to the morpheme reconstructed as **akən* (see fn.1). No verbal affix or preposition reducible to this protoform is known from the languages of the Philippines and Formosa. Nevertheless, in Pawley and Reid (1980) and in Harvey (1982) **akən* is treated as a PAN element. In the opinion of Pawley and Reid **akən* was probably a preposition on the PAN level and became a verbal affix somewhat later, whilst Harvey argues that **-akən* was already an affix on the PAN level. However, Starosta, Pawley and Reid do not make their position clear. On the one hand, they mention the preposition **akən* (admittedly, not ascribing it in so many words to any time level), and demonstrate it in the

¹ Harvey symbolises the reconstructed medial (in all likelihood, schwa-like) vowel with *ə*, most other modern authors (among them Pawley and Reid) with *e*. In this paper I use *ə* (also in examples from daughter languages such as Malay, where the standard spelling does not differentiate a schwa from a mid-front vowel).

² The relations between the suffixes, which in many languages of Formosa and the Philippines, in Makasar, Javanese, Enggano, Malagasy, etc. have the phonemic shape *-a* (in Kendayan and Selako *-a'*), seem to be rather complex. In §4 I proceed from Wolff's scheme that postulates for a deep (PAN or near-PAN) level two *-a*-suffixes, one of which is assigned to the active subjunctive (I use the term 'irrealis') and the other to the direct passive (in my paper: GF) dependent. However, this scheme of two *-a*'s is certainly open to dispute. The suffix *-ay* (in Wolff (1973): the local passive subjunctive marker) has been reported from several languages of the Philippines and Formosa; I also agree with Wolff (p.91) that the Javanese optative suffix *-nel-e* may be cognate with *-ay*. The suffix *-aw* (not mentioned by Wolff, but evidently being the GF (direct passive) counterpart of *-ay*) is found in several languages of Formosa. In particular, Puyuma and Paiwan have both *-aw* and *-u*, which apparently casts doubt on Dahl's (1978:390) claim that Saaroa *-u* is cognate with *-aw* and *-au* of certain other Formosan languages. But Dahl is certainly right in assuming that the Malagasy imperative suffix *-o* (in Merina pronounced [u]) is reducible to both **-aw* and **-u*. Interestingly, the imperative suffix *-u* has been reported from Wotu (Sande et al. 1986:48-49). Wotu *-u*, as far as I can judge, reflects **-u* rather than **-aw*. Does this mean that vestiges of the early (PAN or near-PAN) imperative suffix *-u* have survived in a few languages of Formosa, in Wotu and in Malagasy?

diagram on pp.155-156.³ On the other hand, the authors claim (p.156) that in Philippine and Formosan languages the most common exponent of the verb-deriving process under discussion is "a reflex of **a* rather than of **aken*".

In this connection, we should remember that Ras (1970) argues that in three languages of Western Indonesia – (Javanese, Madurese and Malay) the suffix represented by Malay *-kan* (Javanese *-ake/-akən*, Madurese *-agh*) is relatively recent compared to *-i* (Madurese *-è*) and *-an*. However, with regard to Javanese Ras's argument must be rejected as inconclusive.⁴ I am not prepared to evaluate his work concerning Madurese, but Ras is certainly right as far as Malay is concerned; this part of his reasoning is also accepted by Adelaar (1984:409-410, 1985:176), who states that in Proto Malayic there was no verbal suffix reducible to *akAn*,⁵ but that there was a preposition of this shape.

It should be emphasised that the inventory of the shapes of transitive verb suffixes to be met with in those AN languages which lack the Philippine-type focus system is much richer than one might suppose judging from what has been published so far on AN comparative-historical grammar. In particular, instead of looking for putative reflexes of a single protoform **(-)jakən* (or **akAn*) we ought to speak of a number of suffixes, the historical relations between which are not easy to unravel.

The intention of this paper is to make a contribution to the historical study of transitive verb suffixes found in the languages of the western part of Indonesia, together with the Malay Peninsula, but with the exception of areas where languages show clear-cut verbal foci (that is, northern parts of Sulawesi and Kalimantan). In Blust's subgrouping scheme, all the languages to be considered here belong to the WMP subgroup. I shall examine the transitivity suffixes of two widespread functional types, namely:

(a) the suffixes typically used when the verb-object relation is local (or applicative); for these suffixes, which may be exemplified by Standard Malay *-i*, I use the term 'location-oriented'; and

(b) the suffixes which (like Standard Malay *-kan*), in concrete cases of their use, express various shades of verb-object relation which cannot easily be united under a single formula: from the semantic side, the object may be the recipient of the action, a beneficiary, an instrument, a concomitant, a referent, the reason of the action, etc.; moreover, in many languages the same suffix is used to derive causative verbs. Here I call the suffixes in question 'complex'.

³ True, the syntactic function attributed to this **akən*, which emerges from the diagram, seems to me unlikely. More argument would have been expected in the given case.

⁴ Ras (1970:432-436) attempts to prove the lesser antiquity of *-ake/-akən* and *-ipun* compared to most other Javanese suffixes, among them *-i*, *-ən* and *-an*, by means of a thorough study of vowel allophones in suffix-bearing words. Both *-akən* and *-ake* prove to influence the vocalism of the base in the same way. As is well known, *-akən* was in extensive use in Old Javanese, while *-ake* has not been reported from there at all (of course it is possible that *-ake* existed in some dialects which were not fixed in writing). Old Javanese also made use of *-i*, *-ən* and *-an*. The crucial point is that the morphophonological rules of adding *-akən* to bases have changed since the Old Javanese period (see Nothofer 1980, I:172). Hence the subphonemic details observable in Modern Javanese are of no relevance to the problem of historical relations between *-akən* and *-i* (and other monosyllabic suffixes). If so, it is equally impossible on this basis to make any statements about the historical position of *-ake*.

⁵ **A* means: "**a* or **ə* ; disambiguation is impossible on the material of the given low-order group like Malayic languages, South Sulawesi languages and sim. (but the ambiguity can, in principle, be removed by comparison between groups)". I shall use the same symbol.

As far as is possible at this stage of research, I shall discuss the origin of some of the suffix shapes to be found in languages of Western Indonesia, but most of the explanations suggested here are of a preliminary and tentative nature (in particular, this applies to my attempt in §4 to build an ancient paradigm).

2. LOCATION-ORIENTED TRANSITIVISING SUFFIXES

The suffix *-i*,⁶ the most widespread one among the location-oriented suffixes in Western Indonesia, is phonetically identical with the *-i* occurring in various Philippine languages in dependent and/or imperative forms of Local Focus (LF; in some languages of Formosa in Goal Focus (GF) too).

At the same time, in various languages of Western Indonesia we encounter *-an*. It is practically the only location-oriented verb suffix in the Sundanese language. In contrast to Sundanese, where *-an* is used irrespective of voice (cf. *ngadiukan* (active), *didiukan* (passive) 'sit on..., occupy', derived from *diuk* 'sit'), some other languages employ this suffix only in passive forms marked with reflexes of **-in-* and **ka-*. The model *-in-...-an* was a rule in Old Javanese and is still used in Toba Batak. Compare:

OLD JAVANESE

active:	<i>anglangkahi</i>	pass by, pass over
passive:	<i>linangkahan</i> (root: <i>langkah</i>)	

TOBA BATAK

active:	<i>manortori</i>	to dance (where?)
di-passive:	<i>ditortori</i>	
-in-passive:	<i>tinortoran</i> (root: <i>tortor</i>)	

The model reducible to **ka-...-an* is in use in a number of languages, but usually the words which show it are not passive forms but independent intransitive verbs with a passive shade of meaning, for example, Malay *kəmalaman*, Modern Javanese *kəwəngen*, Toba Batak *habornginan* 'be overtaken by the nightfall' (derived from the noun meaning 'night', respectively, *malam*, *wəngi*, *borngin*). Passive forms with reflexes of **ka-...-an* are encountered in the same languages which make use of *-in-...-an* (e.g. next to Old Javanese *linangkahan* we might have cited the other passive form of the given verb: *kalangkahan*), but in contrast to the *-in-...-an* model they have retained considerable productivity in Modern Javanese.

Both Old and Modern Javanese make use of the combination *-an-i* which appears after stems ending in a vowel and is modified according to sandhi rules. For example, here are the derivatives from the root word *laku* (which in both Old and Modern Javanese has the meaning 'going, course'):

OLD JAVANESE

active:	<i>anglakwani</i> , <i>lumakwani</i>	take one's course along... (over..., etc.)
passive:	<i>linakwan</i>	

⁶ I maintain that the suffix *-in* of Balinese, Sasak and Jakarta Malay has arisen from the contamination of the location-oriented suffixes *-i* and *-an*, but space does not allow me to present my arguments here.

MODERN JAVANESE

active: *nglakoni*

go away from...

passive: *dilakoni*

Suppose we had been able to cite for both areas, Western Indonesia and the Philippines (together with Formosa), only one comparable shape of a location-oriented suffix, evidently the task of proving their cognacy would have been hampered by the phonological weakness (shortness) of these morphemes. Moreover, the location preposition *i* found in several languages of Western Indonesia (also in Old Javanese) might be taken as a piece of evidence in favour of the idea that the transitive verb suffix *-i* found in this area may have developed independently of the Philippine-Formosan suffix *-i*. However, the fact that *both* areas display two suffixes, *-i* and *-an*, evidently reduces the probability of pure coincidence. An extra argument for cognacy of *-i* found in the two areas is yielded by the structure of passive forms. Noticeably the Philippine languages are also characterised by the non-combinability of *-in-* and *ka-* with *-i* within one word form. As regards *-in-*, its non-combinability with *-i* is not explicable from the functions that the affixes in question fulfil in Western Indonesia. Some clarity, however, can be introduced if we consider the semantic functions that *-in-* and *-i* have retained in the Philippines and Formosa. There, *-in-* and its vestiges in active voice prefixes (i.e. the *n-* visible in *na-*, *nang-*, etc. which is extremely widespread, and also Maranao *-i-*, and certain vowel change patterns like Butuanon *a : i*, Kapampangan *a : e*) do not mark any voice but express the meaning of realis or perfective, that is, respectively, the action is conceived as really taking place or having taken place. At the same time, the dependent (in particular, negatable) and imperative forms where *-i* appears clearly do not describe such situations. In view of these facts I maintain that the suffix *-i*, widespread in languages of western Indonesia, is cognate with the *-i* visible in dependent and/or imperative forms of a number of Philippine and Formosan languages.

3. COMPLEX TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

Both from the formal and the functional side, the complex suffixes exhibit much more variety than the location-oriented ones. From the formal side, the complex suffixes can be grouped in various ways. Here I single out three types:

- (i) K-suffixes – monosyllabic suffixes beginning with a reflex of **k* (usually *k*);
- (ii) AK-suffixes – disyllabic,⁷ beginning with a reflex of **a* (usually *a*) which is followed by a reflex of **k*;
- (iii) AN-suffixes – reducible to **-an*, **-An* or **-a[C]*.⁸

I admit that the place of some suffixes (e.g. Seko *-ing*) in this classification remains unclear.

⁷ I am aware of only one monosyllabic suffix connectible with the AK type. This is Modern Javanese *-[a]/[k]na* (appearing in the standard language in the imperative; in dialects, widely in the indicative as well). In this notation, *[a]* symbolises the sandhial change taking place in case the base ends in a vowel; after consonant-final bases this *[a]* leaves no trace. *[k]* is similarly lost after a consonant, but if the base ends in a vowel, *[k]* is usually represented by a glottal stop. For example, in East Java (Probolinggo and other areas) the verbs derived by means of this suffix include *-tuko'na* 'buy for s.o.' and *-tandurna* 'plant (s.th.)', the bases being, respectively, *tuku* and *tandur* (Soedjito et al. 1981:164 ff.). Undoubtedly the suffix *-[a]/[k]na* goes back to the combination of *-akən* with the irrealis marker *-a*.

⁸ In this paper, the letter C symbolises any consonant except the glides (*y*, *w*).

3.1 K-SUFFIXES AND AK-SUFFIXES

Within these types we can distinguish between a few groups, which can be arranged into two series, I and II, intersecting the types. These series are defined by the final part of the suffix, subsequent to the segment reflecting **k*, as follows:

Series I – the final part is reducible to *-*ən* or *-*An*, or in the languages which have undergone final attrition, to *-*ə*[C] or *-*A*[C]; and

Series II – the final part is reducible to *-*ay*.

Table 1 contains a few examples of the various possibilities:

TABLE 1: INTERSECTION OF TYPES AND SERIES OF SUFFIXES

Type	Series	Shape in various languages
<u>K</u>	I	Sunda - <i>kön</i> , Kroe, Banggai, Balantak - <i>kon</i> , Toba Batak - <i>hon</i> , Pamona (= Bare'e) - <i>ka</i>
<u>K</u>	II	Modern Javanese dialectal - <i>ke</i>
<u>AK</u>	I	Old Javanese and Modern Javanese (Krama) - <i>akən</i> , Banjarese - <i>akan</i> , Pamona - <i>aka</i> , Tinompo Mori - <i>ako</i> ₁ and - <i>ako</i> ₂ ⁹
<u>AK</u>	II	Modern Javanese (Ngoko) - <i>ake</i> , Mentawai - <i>ake</i> , ¹⁰ Madurese - <i>aghi</i> ¹¹

Sometimes a complex suffix cannot be assigned to either of these two series. For example, Iban -*ka* certainly belongs to the K-type, but to neither series I nor series II.

Usually a language or dialect has only one complex suffix that can express a number of different meanings. The characteristic meanings of the suffix that are apparently met with

⁹ Tinompo Mori -*ako*₁ and -*ako*₂ (functionally corresponding, respectively, to Pamona -*ka* and -*aka*) differ in their ways of linking with the word base and require different forms of certain pronominal morphemes following the suffix.

¹⁰ The Mentawai language has the verb *ake* 'give'. Adriani (1928:81) supposes that this *ake* should be the source of the suffix -*ake*. To me this conjecture seems unlikely. Rather we might imagine an exactly contrary development, along the following lines: once there was a verb with the suffix -*ake* (or however it might have sounded in pre-Mentawai), which subsequently lost its root morpheme, so that the suffix was changed into a word base. In particular, the widespread AN root **bəRəy* 'give' would have become something like **be* in pre-Mentawai. The connection of this root with the nasal prefix would have given **me*, and this **me* in a word like **me-ake* might have been conceived as a prefix.

¹¹ The forms with *gh* in most varieties of the Madurese language have evidently arisen as a result of the metanalysis of the former suffixes -*ake* (on Madura Island) and -*akən* (on Kangean Island): the final segments, *e* and *ən* respectively, were analysed as short suffixes before which, according to the rule examined by Ras (1970:436-437), base-final *tenu*es change into aspirates (cf. -*òròk* > -*òròghi* 'to increase'). This wrong analysis was apparently facilitated by the place of the accent which, even if not contrastive in Madurese, usually falls on the penult: so in words with the old suffixes -*ake* and -*akən* the position of the suffix-medial *k* vis-à-vis the accent was the same as that of the base-final *k* in words with a monosyllabic suffix (cf. the presumed early **-òròki* which became -*òròghi*). In Bawean Madurese the suffix -*akən* has remained unchanged. The form -*aghi* which is, besides -*aghi*, attested in the western dialects of Madurese, seems to be due to adding -*n*. This conjecture is justified by the fact that in the same dialects the location-oriented suffix, usually -*è*, often sounds -*en* (see Kiliaan 1897, I:5ff.). The source of the final -*n* is unclear.

everywhere include: benefactive (i.e. the action denoted by the suffix-bearing verb is carried out for the benefit of someone, e.g. 'buy for someone'); instrumental (e.g. 'wash with something'); comitative (especially with the semantic shade of taking or carrying somebody, or something, with oneself when moving (e.g. when flying away); also various other situations of doing something together with somebody or something), and causal-final (i.e. the action is carried out because of something, in view of something, or for something, in order that some event might take place, etc.). In addition, in the majority of the languages which have *one* complex suffix, this suffix also expresses the causative (in the broadest sense, including permissive) meaning. In the Malayic group, and in numerous other languages situated west of Sulawesi (e.g. in the Batak languages, in Sundanese, in Old and Modern Javanese), the causative meaning shows itself very frequently; at least in some languages (like Malay) it is the numerically dominant meaning. Matters stand differently in the central and southern parts of the Sulawesi region. While the causative meaning of the complex suffix, even if atypical of the South Sulawesi languages, sometimes appears there (e.g. Makasar *jariang* 'bring about, vivify' from *jari* 'take place'), it seems to be still less frequent in Wolio and practically absent from Muna. At the same time, some of the better-known languages of the Kaili-Pamona group and Mori (data are insufficient for other Bungku-Tolaki languages) make use of *two* suffixes, one of which expresses the benefactive, causal, instrumental and comitative meanings (and various shades contiguous to them), and the other renders either some kind of 'non-close' relation between the action and what is made the object of the verb (e.g. it is assumed that the action affects the object only superficially)¹² or the permissive ('weak causative') relation (typical causatives in these languages are not derived suffixally). Here are a few examples from Pamona:

- (a) *-ka*: *-keni* 'bring, or carry, with oneself', *-kenika* 'bring, or carry, with oneself for the benefit of...'
-koni 'eat', *-konika* 'eat together with...(e.g. together with some other food)'
-sayu 'cut away', *-sayuka* 'cut away with...(e.g. with a machete)'
- (b) *-aka*: *lapa* 'free, loose', *-lapasaka* 'to let free, let loose' (vs the true causative *-pakalapa* 'to free, liberate')

3.1.1 HISTORICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE *K*- AND *AK*-TYPE SUFFIXES

The historical relations between the various forms (types, series) of suffixes are undoubtedly complex and cannot be analysed here in detail. I will make only a few comments.

The opinion that the original form of the morpheme was **akən* has in fact not yet been sufficiently substantiated. The preposition of this shape (Adelaar's Proto Malayic **akAn*) seems to be mainly limited to a few Malayic-group languages (Ngaju *akan* is held to be a Malay loan). At the same time, putative *kən* apparently opens wider horizons for comparison. For example, we should note the Gayō preposition *kən* ('to, towards, for, etc.'), the oblique marker of personal nouns *kan* (also *kən*) reported from a number of Philippine languages, and the segment *kan-* beginning oblique forms of pronouns in Puyuma (Formosa). The final *-n* of these morphemes may continue an original ligature or article-like morpheme. If so, we are entitled to include into the comparison the preposition *ka ~ kə* of

¹² For details and examples see Adriani (1931:304-305).

Malayic languages, the preposition *ko* (of wide semantics, covering the fields 'towards, for, etc.') in Mongondow, the Saaroa (Formosa) oblique marker *ka*, and so on. (As to the vocalism, in a great number of languages the pre-stress **a* changes into *ə*; in Mongondow earlier **ə* has regularly given *o*.)

Series II (-*kay*, -*akay*) may possibly go back to the combination of the early preposition or oblique marker *ka* with the well-known personal article *i*.

3.1.2 THE ORIGIN OF INITIAL A OF THE AK-TYPE SUFFIXES

However, any thought that the older form of the suffix should not have contained the initial *a*, gives rise to the question: from where has this *a* appeared? Admittedly we are on shaky ground here. These pieces of evidence come to mind at once:

(a) the opposition of the suffixes -*aka* versus -*ka* in Pamona and in closely related languages (also -*ako* versus -*ko* in Mori dialects) where the longer member can express a kind of causative meaning; further, the causative meaning of the reflexes of **-akən* and **-akay* which is widespread in languages where no opposition like this is observable;

(b) the preposition *akan* in Malay.¹³

We can hardly deny the possibility that the -*aka*-verbs in Pamona which render the permissive meaning have lost the causative prefix *pa-*. The affixal combination **pa-...-aka* would be expected in view of the other meaning of Pamona -*aka*, apparently reducible to some kind of 'non-close' relation between the action and the object. It is possible that such a combination was really in use some time, but *pa-* was later dropped from permission-expressing derivatives (it may have proven superfluous due to some restriction of the use of the 'non-close'-expressing -*aka*). If so, the opposition noted under (a) would be of no relevance at all to the problem.

The semantic similarity of complex suffixes (Pamona -*aka* and analogous forms, of course, excluded) with the Malay preposition *akan* is considerable, but does not cover the causative meaning of the suffixes. The preposition in question seems to be etymologically related to *ka*, and if this conjecture is true, we shall also face the problem of the origin of the segment *a*. Conceivably, Proto Malayic **akAn* may have descended from a junction of two original prepositions, **a* and **ka*, the former possibly being cognate with the locative marker *a* reported from several Minahasan languages.

However, the causative meaning of the complex suffixes remains a stumbling block here too. How might an original preposition or oblique marker have acquired the function of deriving causative verbs? So far I do not see any likely explanation aside from a *deus ex machina* hypothesis assuming the loss of an earlier prefixal segment.

So it appears that on the basis of the material that has been examined so far, it is impossible to say anything about the origin of the *a*-segment of AK-suffixes. The third type, the AN-suffixes, proves to be more enlightening.

¹³ Malay also has the preverb *akan* mainly expressing the idea of futurity, but it can be compared with the Iban particle of similar use (the Iban preposition functionally corresponding to Malay *akan* is *ka*). In view of this difference in functional counterparts, the Malay preposition and preverb might be considered to be historically different. However, the problem is certainly knotty. For example, Muna *so* (possibly from **ka(n)*) functions both as a preposition (such as 'for') and as a future marker (see van den Berg 1989:143-144).

3.2 AN-SUFFIXES

Suffixes assignable to this type are met with in the South Sulawesi languages (Proto South Sulawesi **-An*), in some isolects of the Malayic group (Selako and Kendayan *-an* ~ *-atn*,¹⁴ Orang Darat Malay *-ön* ~ *-ödən* ~ *-n*, Minangkabau dialectal *-an*), in Gayō (*-ön* < **-An*), in Simalur (*-an*, apparently < **-an*), and in Sama-Bajau (*-ang* < **-an*). With some hesitation about the earlier final we can add to this list the suffix *-a* of a few final-eroded languages of the Sulawesi region (Bada, Napu, Laiyolo). Conceivably (the argument for this conjecture, however, cannot be presented in this paper), Balinese and Sasak *-ang* also descends from an earlier *-an*.

3.2.1 HOW HAVE THE AN-SUFFIXES ARISEN?

3.2.1.1 POSSIBLE RELATION TO THE K- AND AK-SUFFIXES

First of all, one might think of the omission of **k* in some earlier **-kAn* as the source of the AN-suffixes. The situation in Minangkabau and in Malay, where among close dialects some show *-kan*, others *-an* or *-ön*, seems to favour such a conjecture. Further, Banggai *-kon* has the allomorph *-on* which appears after most stem-final consonants (e.g. *mantaap* 'to touch, be shut', *mantaapon* 'to shut (trans.)').¹⁵ After vowels, the suffix has the shape *-kon* (e.g. *mongkita* 'see', *mongkitakon* 'to show'). From the languages and dialects making use of AN-suffixes, I cannot cite any suffixal forms beginning with *k*,¹⁶ what appears after vowels there is either the unaltered suffix or *-n* or a connective (hiatus-preventing) consonant (in final-eroded languages not infrequently the old stem-final, reappearing before vowel-initial suffixes). As far as is known, the loss of non-final *k* is not a regular process in any of the AN-suffix languages.¹⁷ However, what about the probability of an analogical levelling which supplants *k*-initial forms of a suffix following a vowel by *k*-less forms? This change seems to be phonetically 'uneasy' in that 'comfortable' segments 'vowel + *k* + vowel' are replaced by the segments 'vowel + vowel' which involve a hiatus (in any case, they had to

¹⁴ Judging by the scant data available for Selako and Kendayan, the distribution of the allomorphs *-an* and *-atn* in these languages seems to follow the general rule applying to final nasals (which, it is true, may have exceptions, at least in Selako). This rule is as follows: the final nasal is preploded (as in *-atn*; cf. Selako *buatn* 'moon' < **bulan*) when the nearest preceding consonant, not belonging to a certain list of consonants which are to be omitted by this count, is *not* an 'old' nasal. The list of consonants to be omitted certainly includes *h*, the glottal stop ('), possibly also *l*, *r*, *y* and *w* (my material is insufficient for a clear-cut decision). By 'old' nasals I mean the nasals that do not continue earlier nasal + stop clusters. The 'old' nasals can be exemplified by *m* in Selako *uma* 'swidden' (from **quma*) while in Selako *timu* 'arise' (from **timbu*) *m* does not belong to this category. In all likelihood, this rule operates as a result of the progressive nasalisation of vowels which has been described for a number of languages of Indonesia and for several dialects of Peninsular Malay (Court 1970; Court is right in assuming the wide distribution of post-nasal nasalisation of vowels in languages of Indonesia, but his idea that this process may even take place in all languages of Indonesia is too far-fetched. After 1970, the post-nasal nasalisation has been noted for Uma Juman and for Salayarese, but the detailed phonetic descriptions of Timugon Murut and Tondano make no mention of this phenomenon). In a few isolects (particularly in some of those situated in the western part of Kalimantan) a final nasal cannot follow a non-nasalised vowel immediately, and between them there appears a weak homorganic stop (in other words, the nasal becomes preploded).

¹⁵ I give only a general outline of the phenomenon. For details, see van den Bergh (1953:138-139).

¹⁶ Admittedly, my data for Minangkabau dialects are rather scanty.

¹⁷ In Buginese, non-final *k* is frequently, even if not regularly, dropped. This Buginese idiosyncrasy, however, is of no relevance to the reconstruction, as the Proto South Sulawesi **-An* is reconstructable from a number of languages where *k* is nearly always retained.

involve it at the initial stage of their development). Therefore it is unlikely that such analogical levelling has taken place in a number of widely separated languages.

The spread of AN-suffixes comprising a number of widely scattered areas can probably be best accounted for by the hypothesis that these suffixes constitute an archaic feature which was, in most languages, replaced by K- and/or AK-suffixes.¹⁸

Some pieces of indirect evidence in favour of the historical priority of the AN-suffixes before other types of suffixes come from Wolio and Muna. In the Wolio language, comparatives are formed by means of *-aka* (Anceaux 1952: *-aka*₄), for example, *maoge* 'be great', *maogeaka* 'be greater'. I am not aware of such a use of AK- or K-suffixes in other languages. A number of languages, however, make use of *-an* (or its regular reflex) in comparatives. This model is found in the South Sulawesi languages, in Balinese, Madurese, Gayō, the Batak languages, etc. (an example from Buginese: *malampe* 'long', *malamperang* 'longer'). Judging by the wide and sectioned area of the comparative-forming *-an*, we must be dealing with a rather old (even if probably not PAN) phenomenon. It seems natural that the AK-suffix which came to replace a transitive verb suffix *-a(n)* of pre-Wolio or early Wolio should have extended its range at the expense of another *-a(n)* which was similarly used in predicative words (the noun suffix *-a*, also from **-an*, has survived in Wolio).

With somewhat less assurance, we may also point out the *-aka* (Anceaux 1952: *-aka*₁) marking the predicate in two types of subordinate clauses. One of them is the semantically final clause following the sentence's main clause. Judging by the texts added to this (1952) grammar, this type of *-aka*-clause does not occur frequently. It is conceivable that at some early stage the predicate of such a final clause (or the first word of its predicate group) was followed by the old irrealis marker *-a* (which survives in a number of languages, from Atayal to Javanese, Kendayan and Malagasy, and not infrequently appears in final clauses), and that further this *-a* was replaced by *-aka*. If this replacement has really taken place, it would date the introduction of *-aka* into Wolio: this suffix should have been introduced after the loss of final *-n*. But *-aka* seems to be more frequently used in temporal clauses preceding the main clause. Of course, the irrealis marker may also have occurred in temporal clauses (imaginably, when a high degree of uncertainty was expressed). Nevertheless, the last conjecture gives the impression of being somewhat far-flung.

In Muna the postposed marker phonetically identical with the complex suffix (*-ghoo*) is used in purpose and adhortative clauses (van den Berg 1989:264, 285). For both clause types we can hypothesise an earlier *-a* which should later be replaced by *-ghoo* (whatever its origin). So we have some reason to think that prior to *-ghoo* Muna had also *-a* in the role of the complex suffix (this putative *-a* would have been the regular reflex of **-an*). However, the Muna evidence in favour of the historical priority of the AN-suffixes is apparently somewhat weakened by the fact that Muna has the clitic *-a* (see van den Berg 1989:8.5, 9.22) which at least in its most characteristic (even if optional) usage, namely when it co-occurs with negators (being attached to the negated word(s)) may continue the former irrealis marker **-a*. Van den Berg (pers.comm. 1991) drew my attention to this possible etymology.

¹⁸ One might also think that the AK-suffixes have arisen from some coalescence of AN-suffixes with K-suffixes (say, *-an* + *-kan*); this would mean that the AN-suffix was not replaced, the K-suffix was simply added. Had such a development indeed taken place, we might expect to find *-ngk-* or a regular reflex of this cluster within the AK-suffix. But I am not aware of any examples of this kind. Hence the idea of coalescence of AN-suffixes with K-suffixes is probably not defensible, at least beyond the languages which have regularly lost final *-n* (such as the Kaili-Pamona group).

Provided the clitic *-a* did not appear in Muna (e.g. by borrowing) subsequent to the spread of *-ghoo*, we are compelled to assume that *not all* word-final morphemes sounding as *-a* were replaced by *-ghoo*: that process should have been arrested halfway.

3.2.1.2 RELATION TO THE DEPENDENT IF SUFFIX

I admit that the origin of the *AN*-suffixes is highly problematic. Nonetheless I would like to suggest here that these suffixes probably continue the Instrumental Focus (IF) dependent form suffix **-an*, which survives in a number of languages of the Philippine-Formosa area.¹⁹ My argument for this conjecture is as follows.

The semantic parallelism of the derivatives formed by means of complex suffixes with IF is quite considerable. According to Wolff (1973:79), there is reason to believe that in the protolanguage "the instrumental passive referred to foci of at least three meanings: (1) focus which is the instrument or the means of the action; (2) focus which is the beneficiary of the action; (3) focus which is the direct recipient of the action". Regarding (3), Wolff notes that in the languages on the data of which his study is based the instrumental passive form "is typically used in the case of verbs which refer to an action of conveying, or doing something in a direction away from the agent", but he admits the existence of a considerable number of exceptions to the last rule. Dahl (1978:386) writes that in comparable cases in Malagasy the movement referred to is not always away from the actor.

Among the three points marked out by Wolff, (1) and (2) find their direct correspondence in the instrumental and benefactive meanings of West Indonesian complex suffixes, whilst point (3) reminds us of the use of complex suffixes when the object is somehow moved, or displaced, as a result of the action; this usage is widespread in Western Indonesia. Furthermore, the causal meaning that is not infrequently expressed by verbs bearing complex suffixes in Western Indonesia is also encountered among the shades of meaning of the IF (e.g. Tagalog *mag-alaala* 'try to remember', *ialaala* 'remember because of s.th. or s.o.').

From the meaning of displacement one can, theoretically, build a bridge to the causative meaning. However, we must take into account that a complex suffix expresses the causative meaning when it is added to a word (usually to an adjective, an intransitive verb or a noun) which denotes the state to be reached as a result of the act of causation (e.g. Gayō *kōl* 'big', *kōlōn* 'make (cause to be) big'; Makasar *karaeng* 'prince', *karaengang* 'regard s.o. as a prince').

Such a relation would certainly be strange for a Philippine-type IF. There the verb base might be expected to be the name of the action (e.g. 'give (s.th.)', 'buy (for s.o., or to use s.th. to buy)', 'remember (because of s.th. or s.o.)'), but not the result of the action. Indeed causative verbs of Philippine and Formosan languages are not derived by means of IF affixes. As a rule, they have a special prefix, usually *pa-*, which should be regarded as the bearer of the causative meaning.

¹⁹ The suffix *-an* of the future form of Associate Focus in Timugon Murut (Prentice 1971) may be cognate with IF *-an*. Characteristically, in a number of West Bisayan languages and dialects (Aklanon, etc.) the IF *-an*, in contrast to the LF *-an*, is an ultima-accent suffix (which means that it always requires the accent on itself; see Zorc 1977:65-66, 119, 136-137). This specific relation of the IF *-an* to the accent may be a reminiscence of the period when this *an* was an independent word. If so, it seems to strengthen the case for the cognacy of the IF *-an* with the Atayal preverb *an* (the possibility of this cognacy was in fact already noted by Wolff (1973:88) who called Atayal *an* a prefix). In addition, Wolff's conjecture (1973:80-81) that the IF **-an* is reflected in Javanese does not seem to me to be defensible.

Nevertheless it appears that a bridge between the IF and the causative verbs can be built. Noticeably any action carried out by means of an instrument (in the broadest sense) can be viewed as a kind of causation: as if the instrument were caused to carry out the action named by the verb base. From here, IF affixes may have spread to cover other situations where an action (and further, a state, quality) is called forth by someone. So it is not unthinkable that an IF affix has become a means of deriving causative verbs. In view of what was just said, for the AN-suffixes, compared with the K- and AK-types, we have somewhat more right to suppose that the suffix has acquired the causative meaning per se, independently from the omission of an old causative prefix. It is also conceivable that when AN-suffixes were replaced by other types of suffixes, the causative meaning spread by analogy to the replacing suffixes.²⁰

Further, a certain degree of parallelism with the location-oriented suffixes seems noteworthy. Among the latter the suffix *-i*, widespread and undoubtedly ancient in Western Indonesia, belongs to the dependent form in the Philippines and Formosa. Provided that the etymology of the AN-suffixes suggested here is accepted the picture will be similar in the domain of complex suffixes.

4. WHAT WAS THE PARADIGM LIKE?

If I am correct in my reasoning here, it follows that in some early post-PMP stage language(s) the dependent forms must have had an incentive to pass over into the category of independent (in Wolff's (1973) terminology) forms. Perhaps such an incentive can be discovered in the use of dependent forms. In many languages these forms are employed after certain preverbs, most frequently after negators, but also often after various other words preceding the verb (e.g. question-words such as 'where', 'when', certain conjunctions, and particles meaning something like 'indeed'). In case the agent is denoted by a pronominal morpheme, this morpheme follows the preverb, not the verb. Compare the following two sentences in Cebuano (from Rafael 1976:119):

affirmative : *Nagustúqan niyá si Pedro.* He liked/likes Pedro.

negative: *Waláq niyá kagustúqi si Pedro.* He did/does not like Pedro.

(the pronominal morpheme (with the meaning like 'by him') is *niyá*; *waláq* is a negator)

I think that the rule just exemplified has been decisive for the rise of so-called 'conjugated forms' which are widespread in the WMP languages situated south of the Philippine region (but these forms seem to be almost absent from the non-Malayic languages of Kalimantan). The development of the conjugated forms (Dutch *vervoegde vormen*) has been discussed in literature already several times, and I do not intend to go into details here.²¹ I emphasise,

²⁰ Unfortunately I cannot cite any evidence clearly supporting the last conjecture. Such evidence might have come from some language making use of both AN- and K- or AK-suffixes, but I am not aware of such cases. It is imaginable that the initial *a* in the Kaili-Pamona suffix *-aka* (discussed above) continues the suffix **-an* to which *-ka* was added *after* the loss of the final *-n* (this loss is regular in Kaili-Pamona languages). But so far I am not able to bring forward any clear evidence in favour of this development.

²¹ It is interesting that in some languages of the Kaili-Pamona group conjugated forms are typically used to express the connotation of futurity or irrealis in the broadest sense; compare Kulawi *ku-tudu* 'I shall (will, want to, am about to, etc.) order' and *i-tudu-ku* 'I order, (have) ordered, etc.' (*ku* pronominal morpheme; *i-* (historically) passive prefix). So far I have not found any data for the use of dependent forms with futurity-bound preverbs in Philippine languages.

however, that if conjugated forms have really evolved from constructions with preverbs, these forms should naturally bear dependent-form suffixes.

I suggest that in some stage subsequent to the PMP node of Blust's Austronesian family tree but antedating the separation of Central and Eastern MP,²² the verb paradigm included both 'independent' forms of several foci (one active and probably three passive ones) and conjugated forms corresponding to the passive foci. The nuclear part of this hypothetical paradigm (not including potential-accidental forms, imperatives, hortatives or the like) may have looked as set out in Table 2 (PM – pronominal morpheme; N – nasalisation on a morpheme boundary; in columns 1 and 2 the form preceding a semicolon is non-perfective (in Wolff's terminology: nonpast), while the perfective (Wolff: past) form follows it).

TABLE 2: NUCLEAR PARADIGM

1. Actor Focus	2. Passive Focus	3. Conjugated Forms
V- <i>um</i> -erb; V- <i>um-in</i> -erb <i>ma</i> -N-Verb; <i>m-in-a</i> -N-Verb (etc.?)	Verb- <i>an</i> ; V- <i>in</i> -erb (GF)	PM-Verb~PM-Verb- <i>a</i> (?) (GF)
---	Verb- <i>an</i> ; V- <i>in</i> -erb- <i>an</i> (LF)	PM-Verb- <i>i</i> (LF)
---	<i>i</i> -Verb; <i>in-i</i> -Verb (?) (IF)	PM-Verb- <i>an</i> (IF)
Independent forms		Dependent forms

Such a paradigm would naturally have offered ample opportunities for analogical changes: particularly, suffixes could be unified between columns 2 and 3, and the empty cells in column 1 could be filled (it is just the latter change that would have resulted in the emergence of the distinctively West Indonesian type of verbal morphology).

Ousting the AN-suffix would have been quite expected in the situation just hypothesised. Supposedly, the IF dependent form with -*an* was most often replaced by a GF dependent form, which automatically entailed the introduction of an oblique marker. I suppose that this oblique marker was *ka* (together with article-like morphemes: *ka i* before personal nouns and *ka n* before non-personal ones). For example, the sentence rendering the idea 'I bought rice for my father' would have sounded approximately like **ku-bəli-an bəRas ama-ng-ku* before the change in question, and **ku-bəli(-a?) ka i ama-ng-ku bəRas* after it. Moreover, the marker *ka* (+ *i* or *n*) was captured by the verb.

Noticeably, in a number of Philippine languages the GF dependent form bears the suffix -*a*. Was that suffix present in the reconstructable conjugated form? Its presence is no necessity, however, primarily because it is possible that the focus system was in an early post-PMP stage not yet fully developed. Further, it is possible that some link was felt between the -*a* in question and the irrealis marker -*a*; if so, -*a* was probably dropped in

²² Complex transitive suffixes or their fossilised vestiges are found in a number of languages of Oceania (where the AK-type seems to appear most frequently) and of Eastern Indonesia (especially the K-type?).

conjugated forms lacking any clear irrealis connotation. After all, the active form without *-a* may have served as an analogical shape for the conjugated form in any case, even independently of a 'popular etymology'. So it seems likely that the *-a* in question was in some cases (or in some dialects) present while in other instances absent. If so, this 'fugitive' *-a* may turn out to be a clue to the problem of the existence of two types of suffixes, the K-type and the AK-type.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Actor Focus
AN	Austronesian (but not in the combinations: <u>AN</u> -suffix, <u>AN</u> -type)
C	consonant
GF	Goal Focus
IF	Instrumental Focus
LF	Local Focus
MP	Malayo-Polynesian
N	nasalisation (on a morpheme boundary)
PAN	Proto Austronesian
PF	Patient Focus (according to Harvey 1982)
PM	pronominal morpheme
PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian
s.o.	someone
s.th.	something
WMP	Western Malayo-Polynesian

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METATHESIS AND THE QUEST FOR DEFINITENESS IN THE LETI OF TUTUKEI (EAST-INDONESIA)

AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

1. INTRODUCTION¹

In van Engelenhoven (1991) I presented a preliminary report on the morphophonological linking devices *Apocope* and *Metathesis* (A&M) in the Tutukei communalect of the Leti language.² As was demonstrated, A&M appears to be of major importance in the morphological and syntactic processes of this language.

Besides its morphophonological aspect, the syntactic consequences of A&M especially were discussed. The concatenation of grammatical words across phrase boundaries and its effects on the status of the phonological word considerably hampered constituent analysis in 1991. Several syntactic types of A&M were described and it was suggested that they exhibited different kinds of incorporation. The A&M rules are summarised in Appendix 2.

In this paper I intend to answer two questions:

1. Why do grammatical words concatenate?
2. What is the function of the indexer in concatenation?

2. THE INDEXER

In van Engelenhoven (1994) an 'indexing suffix' (indexer, glossed DEX) /e/ was introduced. The indexer marks definiteness of clause constituents and is restricted to stems with final /a/. It is mutually exclusive with the *final suffix* {o} on the sentence-final constituent which marks the indicative mood (IND).³

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------|
| (1) | a. <i>I:na?</i> | (A) fish? |
| | b. <i>ian-o</i> | (a) fish |
| | c. <i>I:n-e?</i> | The fish? |
| | d. <i>i:n-e</i> | the fish |

¹ Fieldwork was carried out on Leti Island in 1989 and 1990 under the auspices of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (L.I.P.I. no. 4917/S.K./1989) in the framework of the author's research for his doctoral dissertation which was financed by the Netherlands foundation for the advancement of tropical research (W.O.T.R.O; grant no.W38-51). I thank Dr G. Reesink and Dr H. Steinhauer for their useful comments on earlier drafts of this paper which was read at the Second International Maluku Research Conference, Honolulu, July 29 - August 1.

² Spoken on the island with the same name off the easternmost tip of Timor in the south-western Molucca Islands.

³ Examples (1) and (2) are minimal clauses that constitute comments on an extra-linguistic topic: '(It is)...'.

It is incompatible with stems that have a final high vowel. Here it is the absence of the final suffix which indicates that the sentence-final word is definite:

- (2) a. *βatu?* (A/the) stone?
 b. *βatu-o* (a) stone
 c. *βatu* the stone

On both transitive and intransitive verbal phrases (VPs) the indexer indicates 'verbal definiteness'.⁴ This is exemplified by the intransitive verb *ntiβla* 'it flaps' (3a) versus its indefinite counterpart (3b):

- (3) a. *Ntiβl-e.* It flaps.
 b. *Ntiβal-o.* It kind of flaps.

Indexer inflection of transitive VPs signals ellipted or dislocated objects:

- (4) *Ro:n-e.* They eat (it).

Indexer inflection is attested with all kinds of stems,⁵ except with *βaβa* 'to be named', *mana* 'because', *masjalo* 'it ought' and lexicalised verb + clitic constructions such as:⁶

- (5) a. *N-kak=la-e.*
 3SG-grasp=go-DEX
 He grasps it.
 b. **N-kak-e la-e*
 3SG-grasp-DEX go-DEX

Human nouns can be marked for plurality by /ra/ which requires an indexer:⁷

- (6) *N-kak=la puat-era.*
 3SG-grasp=go woman:DEX-PL
 He grasps the women.
 (7) *N-kak=la myani-ra.*
 3SG-grasp=go man:DEX-PL
 He grasps the men.

Plurality is inflected on the predicator rather than on the subject, exemplified below by *puat-e* 'the woman/women' (8a). In order to be inflected with the plural suffix, the subject must be dislocated (8b):

- (8) a. *Puat-e r-ɔ:n-e i:n-e.*
 woman-DEX 3PL-eat-DEX fish-DEX
 The women eat the fish.

⁴ This is a tentative label parallel to indexer inflection on noun phrases (NPs). For a discussion, see van Engelenhoven (1993, 1994, 1995). For the time being verbal indefiniteness will be indicated here in the glosses by 'kind of'.

⁵ In Rumkeser and its dependency Riskei where the bulk of the research was done, *mek* 'only' was never inflected with an indexer. I did attest *mek-e* with informants from eastern Tutukei. It is still unclear whether the Rumkeser-Riskei case is to be considered as a kind of western sociolect anomaly or not.

⁶ For abbreviations and symbols used in this paper see Appendix 1.

⁷ Although /ra/ is suggested as a segment of a bisyllabic *-Vra* suffix in van Engelenhoven (1995), the analysis of an indexer + plural suffix combination (van Engelenhoven 1993) is preferred here.

- b. *Puat-er=de* *r-ɔ:n-e* *i:n-e*.
 woman:DEX-PL=END 3PL-eat-DEX fish-DEX
 The women, they eat the fish.

3. ADHESION, COHESION AND INCORPORATION

3.1 ADHESION: LINKING AT THE PHRASE LEVEL

Adhesion refers to the obligatory linking of unequal elements in a phrase, for example, Noun=Modifier=Adverb:

- (9) *R-ɔ:n-e* *ian=memetam=daβr-e* *βali-o*.
 3PL-eat-DEX fish=black=vicious-DEX also-IND
 They eat the very black fish also.
- (10) a. *N-βali* *βat≈m≈ɥ≈ermer=laβarresi* *salmek-o*.
 3SG-turn:DEX stone≈red=extreme:DEX already-IND
 He turns the reddest stone already.

Equal phrase constituents, for example two adjectives, are apposed and have in principle indexer inflection:

- b. *N-βali* *βat≈m≈ɥ≈ermer-e* *lalaβn-e* *salmek-o*.
 3SG-turn:DEX stone≈red-DEX big-DEX already-IND
 He turns the red, big stone already.

To specify the (in)definiteness of the apposed adjectival NP, it is placed in an embedded clause by adding an endophoric subject:

- c. *N-βali* *βat≈m≈ɥ≈ermer-e* *lalaβn-e~de* *salmek-o*.
 3SG-turn:DEX stone≈red-DEX [big-DEX~END] already-IND
 He turns the red stone which is big already. (lit. He turns the red stone, it is a big one, already.)
- d. *N-βali* *βat≈m≈ɥ≈ermer-e* *lalaβan=de* *salmek-o*.
 3SG-turn:DEX stone≈red-DEX [big=END] already-IND
 He turns the red stone which is biggish already. (lit. He turns the red stone, it is a biggish one, already.)

3.2 COHESION: LINKING AT THE CLAUSE LEVEL

With *cohesion* is meant the linking of clause constituents. Cohesion is triggered when the host constituent is indefinite and blocked when it is definite. Example (11) concerns stems with final /a/ which may exhibit indexer inflection to signal definiteness; example (12) concerns stems with final high vowels where definiteness is indicated by absence of A&M.

In (a) all constituents are indefinite which results in cohesion between the VP, the object and the adverbial phrase:

- (11) a. *R-ɔ:n=ian=βali-o*.
 3PL-eat=fish=also-IND
 They kind of eat a fish also.

- (12) a. *N-βal≈β≈i≈as≈s≈u≈almek-o.*⁸
 3SG-turn≈stone≈already-IND
 He kind of turns a stone already.

In (b) the VP is 'definite' and thus case blocks cohesion. The object is still indefinite and coheres to the adverb, respectively *βali* 'also' and *salmeka* 'already':

- (11) b. *R-ɔ:n-e* *ian=βali-o.*
 3PL-eat-DEX fish=also-IND
 They eat a fish also.
- (12) b. *N-βali* *βas≈s≈u≈almek-o.*
 3SG-turn:DEX stone≈already-IND
 He turns a stone already.

In (c) the VP is 'indefinite' and therefore coheres to the object. The object itself is definite and does not cohere to the adverb:

- (11) c. *R-ɔ:n=i:n-e* *βali-o.*
 3PL-eat=fish-DEX also-IND
 They kind of eat the fish also.
- (12) c. *N-βal≈β≈i≈atu* *salmək-o.*
 3SG-turn≈stone:DEX already-IND
 He kind of turns the stone already.

In (d) the VP and the object are both definite and none of the phrases are linked:

- (11) d. *R-ɔ:n-e* *i:n-e* *βali-o.*
 3PL-eat-DEX fish-DEX also-IND
 They eat the fish also.
- (12) d. *N-βali* *βatu* *salmek-o.*
 3SG-turn:DEX stone:DEX already-IND
 He turns the stone already.

Cohesion does not occur between a predicate and a preceding subject:

- (13) *Lara n-tiβal-o.*
 sail 3SG-flap-IND
 A sail kind of flaps.

In equational clauses nouns are preferred as subjects over pronouns:⁹

- (14) *βatu* *sai-o.*
 stone:DEX this-IND
 This is the stone. (lit. The stone is this.)
- (15) a. *Mak-den=Nuβeβn-e-ra* *ir-o.*
 [REL-stay=Nuwewang]-DEX-PL they-IND
 They are the Nuwewangese. (lit. The ones who stay in Nuwewang are they.)

⁸ Tutukeian Leti has an optional sandhi rule *t > s / _ s*.

⁹ Endophoric subjects are restricted to apposed clauses as discussed in §3.1 (see examples 10c and d).

- b. *Mak-den=Nuβeβn=ir-o.*

[REL-stay=Nuwewang]=they-IND

They are Nuwewangese. (lit. Who stay in Nuwewang are they.)

Precliticisation of pronouns to intransitive verbal predicates indicates dynamic situations and allows indexer inflection (16a) versus its unindexed counterpart (16b):

- (16) a. *Ha^ˆna-pperat-e.*

this^ˆ3SG-heavy-DEX

This becomes strong.

- b. *Ha^ˆna-pperat-o.*

this^ˆ3SG-heavy-IND

This is kind of strong.

To refer to stative situations, the VP is nominalised by means of possessive suffixation or demonstrative determination. Both are mutually exclusive with indexer inflection. Possessive suffixation signals absolute states.¹⁰ Note the predicative pronoun in the following example due to the nominal subject rule in equational clauses described above:

- (16) c. *Pperat-ne sai-o.*

heavy-POSS this-IND

This is heavy. (lit. Its heaviness is this.)

Demonstrative determination indicates contingent states:

- d. *Na-pperas=sai-o.*

[3SG-heavy=this]-IND

This is heavy (for the moment) (lit. he being heavy here).

3.3 INCORPORATION

In van Engelenhoven (1991) cohesion was wrongly interpreted as a kind of incorporation. *Incorporation* refers to the phenomenon of combining two lexical morphemes, a verb and a noun, into a single nominal compound. It has been attested only with transitive verbs which accept the nominalising infix (NOM).¹¹ When nominalised these verbs can be placed in an oblique phrase where concatenation of former objects is obligatory. This construction has a progressive aspectual meaning: 'X is/are at [...]'.¹²

- (17) a. *R-ela i-ɔ:n-ian=βali-o.*

3PL-be.at [NOM-eat-fish]=also-IND

They are kind of eating fish (lit. fish-eating) also.

- b. *R-ela i-ɔ:n-i:n-e βali-o.*

3PL-be.at [NOM-eat-fish]-DEX also-IND

They are eating fish also.

¹⁰ The terms absolute and contingent state have been adopted from Comrie (1981:103-104).

¹¹ The nominalising morpheme has five allomorphs which are partly phonologically and partly lexically conditioned. In the examples given it occurs as either the infix *-ni-* or the prefix *i-*. I refer to van Engelenhoven (1995) where it is discussed at length.

- (18) a. *N-ela β-ni-al~β~i~as≈s≈u≈almek-o.*
 3SG-be.at [NOM-turn~stone]=already-IND
 He is kind of turning stones (lit. stone-turning) already.
- b. *N-ela β-ni-al~β~i~atu salmek-o.*
 3SG-be.at [NOM-turn~stone]:DEX already-IND
 He is turning stones already.

Constructions exhibiting incorporation do not allow *adverbial emphasis*: the insertion of a clause-final adverb into the VP. In this case the adverb no longer modifies the entire clause but only the VP which is then focused. In the following example the adverb *salmeka* 'already' is inserted at the end of the VP. Note, that the verb *βali* 'to turn' and the adverb exhibit A&M (adhesion, see §3.1), and, that 'verbal definiteness' is indicated through indexer inflection on the adverb (18c) versus its unindexed counterpart where the object *βatu* 'stone' coheres to the predicate (18d):

- (18) c. *N-βal≈s≈i≈almek-e βatu-o.*
 3SG-turn≈already-DEX stone-IND
 He already turns a stone.
- d. *N-βal≈s≈i≈almek=βatu-o.*
 3SG-turn≈already=stone-IND
 He already turns a stone kind of.

4. CONCLUSION

It has been shown, that A&M, the main linking device on the word level (19a), is also used on the phrase level (= adhesion) (19b), and the clause level (= cohesion) (19c):

- (19) a. *rai* 'continent' + *laβna* '(to be) big' => *Ra~l~i~aβna* 'Timor'
- b. *rai* + *lalaβna* 'big' => *ra≈l≈i≈alaβna* 'big continent'
- c. *Raliαβna* 'Timor' + *βali* 'also' + *sai* 'this' =>
Raliαβan=βal≈s≈i≈ai (Timor=also≈this)? Is this also Timor?

Adhesion differs from cohesion in that the first indicates shared phrase membership of linked constituents (§3.1), whereas the latter signals indefiniteness of clause constituents (§3.2). Incorporation is restricted to certain verbs which use the nominalising infix to mark the progressive aspect (§3.3).

The discourse conditions which trigger cohesion need further investigation. Thus far, the collected text material suggests that cohesion is obligatory in sentence-initial clauses which summarise the content of the preceding paragraph. Cohesion must not be interpreted as a kind of truncation, which is an accidental feature of inaccurate or fast speech where the final vowel of a root or phonological word is deleted. Unlike cohesion, which explicitly indicates indefiniteness, truncation does not have sandhi and is ambiguous for definiteness (i.e. truncation rather blocks A&M).¹²

¹² Leti does not allow a sequence of more than two consonants. In the case of VCCV#CV, V:CV#CCV and VCV#CCV truncation is thus automatically blocked.

- (20) *R-ɔ:n' i:n' βali-o.*
 3PL-eat fish also-IND
 1. They eat a/the fish also.
 2. They kind of eat a/the fish also.
- (21) *N-βal' βat' salmek-o.*
 3SG-turn stone already-IND
 1. He turns a/the stone already.
 2. He kind of turns a/the stone already.

APPENDIX 1: ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

-	apocope, internal metathesis on the morpheme level
~	external metathesis on the morpheme level
=	apocope, internal metathesis on the phrase/clause level
≈	external metathesis on the phrase/clause level
(	cliticisation without A&M
:	not overtly marked semantic element X
i	glide
[]	phrase boundary
'	truncation
=>	triggers, becomes
A&M	Apocope and Metathesis
DEX	indexer
END	endophora
IND	indicative
NOM	nominalising infix
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REL	relative
SG	singular

APPENDIX 2: A&M RULES

The following chart illustrates the changes in the host component (X) if followed by a guest component (Y)¹³ which does not begin with a consonant cluster (CC) or a consonant followed by a glide (CÇ). Each structural type is followed by an example. V in guest components can also be read as V:. In the final column host and guest component intertwine. The change of a high vowel into the corresponding glide has not been indicated in the structural type notation, as it is a predictable correlate of stress (van Engelenhoven 1995). The feature [±high] refers to the immediately preceding vowel.

¹³ By guest component and host component are meant, respectively, the rightside morpheme and the leftside morpheme between which A&M takes place.

initial part of Y	V[-high]		V[+high]	ÇV	C ₃ V ₃ [+high]	C ₃ V ₃ [-high]
final part of X	suffix /o/	E:LU 'Eul, Eulan (X)'	UNA 'base, trunk (of X)'	UETRA 'Wetar, Wetarese (X)'	DI 'the (X) now'	DE 'the (X) once'
V ₁ a	V ₁					
LPIA 'k.o. tree'	<i>lpi-o</i>	<i>lpi-e:lu</i>	<i>lpi-una</i>	<i>lpi-uetra</i>	<i>lpi-di</i>	<i>lpi-de</i>
V ₁ C ₁ a	V ₁ C ₁					
ORA 'bamboo'	<i>or-o</i>	<i>or-e:lu</i>	<i>or-una</i>	<i>or-uetra</i>	<i>or-di</i>	<i>or-de</i>
V ₁ :C ₁ a	V ₁ aC ₁	V ₁ :C ₁		V ₁ aC ₁ ¹⁴		
VU:RA 'mountain'	<i>vu-ar-o</i>	<i>vu:r-e:lu</i>	<i>vu:r-una</i>	<i>vu-ar-uetra</i>	<i>vu-ar-di</i>	<i>vu-ar-de</i>
C ₁ C ₂ a	C ₁ aC ₂	C ₁ C ₂		C ₁ aC ₂		
UPRA 'k.o. tree'	<i>up-ar-o</i>	<i>up-r-e:lu</i>	<i>up-r-una</i>	<i>up-ar-uetra</i>	<i>up-ar-di</i>	<i>up-ar-de</i>
V ₁ V ₂ [+high]	V ₁ V ₂		V ₁			V ₁ ~C ₃ ~V ₂ ~V ₃
KIU 'k.o. tree'	<i>kiu-o</i>	<i>kiu-e:lu</i>	<i>ki-una</i>	<i>ki-uetra</i>	<i>ki-di</i>	<i>ki~d~u~e</i>
V ₁ C ₁ V ₂ [+high]	V ₁ C ₁ V ₂		V ₁ C ₁			V ₁ C ₁ ~C ₃ ~V ₂ ~V ₃
PELI 'kapok'	<i>pe-li-o</i>	<i>pe-li-e:lu</i>	<i>pe-li-una</i>	<i>pe-li-uetra</i>	<i>pe-li-di</i>	<i>pe-li~d~i~e</i>
a:C ₁ V ₁ [+high]	aV ₁ C ₁	a:C ₁ V ₁	a:C ₁	aV ₁ C ₁		
KA:MI 'k.o. tree'	<i>kaim-o</i>	<i>ka:mi-e:lu</i>	<i>ka:m-una</i>	<i>kaim-uetra</i>	<i>kaim-di</i>	<i>kaim-de</i>
V ₁ :C ₁ V ₂ (V ₁ 2=[+high])	V ₁ V ₂ C ₁ ¹⁵	V ₁ :C ₁ V ₂	V ₁ :C ₁			
NU:NU 'banyan'	<i>nu:n-o</i>	<i>nu:nu-e:lu</i>	<i>nu:n-una</i>	<i>nu:n-uetra</i>	<i>nu:n-di</i>	<i>nu:n-de</i>
C ₁ C ₂ V ₁ [+high]	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂	C ₁ C ₂ V ₁	C ₁ C ₂	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂		
URNU 'bread-fruit tree'	<i>urun-o</i>	<i>urnu-e:lu</i>	<i>urn-una</i>	<i>urun-uetra</i>	<i>urun-di</i>	<i>urun-de</i>

¹⁴ If V₁ = a, then V₁a > a: (e.g. *la:ra* 'sweet sop' + *uetra* > *la:r-uetr*).

¹⁵ If V₁ = V₂, then V₁V₂ > V₁:

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MORPHEMIC METATHESIS IN DAWANESE (TIMOR)

HEIN STEINHAUER

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM AND SCOPE

In current introductions to general linguistics and inventories of possible morphological processes metathesis tends to be overlooked. In one of his contributions, to Greenberg's series on *Universals of human language*, entitled "A typological view of metathesis", Russell Ultan (1978) points to the fact that metathesis as a historical process is less sporadic and more widespread than is generally assumed. As a synchronic, morphological process, however, the phenomenon seems to be quite restricted. The only examples Ultan (pp.377, 380) indicates are Sierra Miwok, where it is related to the patterning of short and long syllables within the word, and Rotuman, where "completive" versus "incompletive" forms of the verb are marked by inversion of final CV₂/V₁ if V₂ is more sonorous than V₁. To his Rotuman example (*leka* (completive) versus *leak* or *lyak* (incompletive) 'go') Ultan (p.377) adds the remark that "this type of metathesis appears to be fairly common in AUSTRONESIAN" and that "among others it is also found in KWARA'AE, ROWA and KUPANGESE".

In his contribution to the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics Don Laycock (1982) presents some data from Austronesian languages concerning metathesis. His main aim is to describe and explain the historical process of metathesis as it appears in Ririo (Western Solomon Islands), but other languages are mentioned in passing. Most of his examples represent diachronic phenomena, but he also adduces two cases of synchronic metathesis. Besides Rotuman, "the classic citation for AN metathesis" (Laycock 1982:272), he briefly discusses Timorese¹ in this connection. He gives (p.269) 17 word pairs excerpted from Middelkoop (1950), not always with a correct translation of the contextless Dutch glosses in this source. To this list Laycock (p.270) adds the comment that "Middelkoop provides no further information, or data", but he infers that "the difference between the forms is syntactic". In an addendum to his paper, however, he quotes 10¹/₂ word pairs from

¹ The language has been known as Timorese since Jonker (1906). In later sources the name 'Dawanese' (*Bahasa Dawan*) is used. According to speakers along the border with the Tetun-speaking area it is a derogatory exonym, used by Tetun speakers. They therefore prefer 'Timorese'. Other speakers, including my main informant, object to this term, however, since it would include Tetun and other languages. The term 'Atoni' as name of the language is likewise rejected by Dawanese, since it means 'man, human being' in their language. According to footnote 18 on the reverse of map 40 in Wurm and Hattori (1983) the language is known as 'Vaikenu' or 'Ambenu' in the former Portuguese enclave in West Timor, while otherwise "the people themselves refer to their language as *uab atoni pah meto* 'the language of the people of the dry land'". However, following my main informant (who also acknowledges the endonym *quab meto* 'dry language') and current Indonesian usage I adopt the term 'Dawanese'. (For typographical reasons I use *q*, /*q*/ and [q] throughout this paper to indicate glottal stop.)

fieldnotes by R.A. Blust on "Atoni (Timorese)", 6¹/₂ of which show metathesis. He further adds (p.279) Blust's comment that "the metathesised forms are to be regarded as 'normal' speech, the underlying forms as 'careful speech', with no syntactic difference between them". Laycock does not indicate which dialect Blust took his fieldnotes from (some of his forms differ from mine), but in the dialect which I had access to metathesis is systematic, and fulfilling (as Laycock assumed) a clear syntactic function.

I was put on the track of metathesis by Aone van Engelenhoven, who, in a paper written in 1987 but only recently published (Engelenhoven 1995) presents evidence for a close relationship between the Austronesian languages of the south-western islands of the Moluccas and of Timor, while in an unpublished paper written at the same time (Engelenhoven 1987) he demonstrates the all-permeating character of metathesis in Letinese phrase structure. His contribution to this volume shows that Letinese qualifies to replace Rotuman as the classic citation for Austronesian metathesis; Dawanese does not lag far behind.

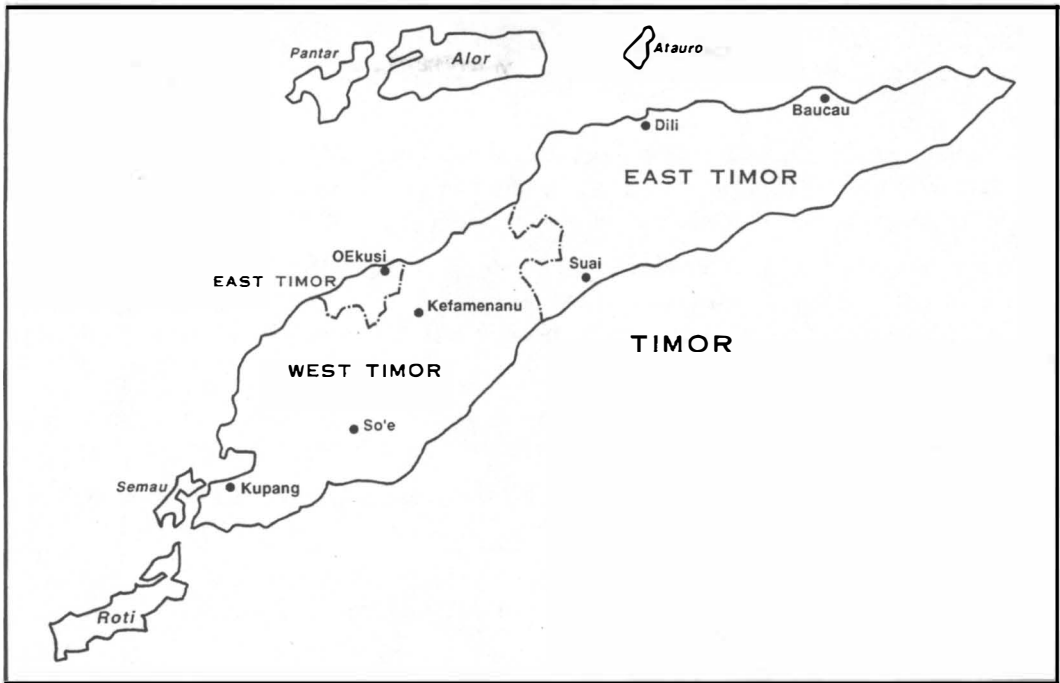
As metathesis in Dawanese is closely related to other morphological processes, a complete picture of its function would require a total description of Dawanese morphology. However, that would obviously exceed the scope of this paper, which is a first report on ongoing research. There are still quite a lot of aspects in Dawanese morphology, especially verbal morphology, which I do not even partially understand.² Therefore, I shall confine myself to a few general observations on metathesis in Dawanese, while presenting a more detailed picture on nominal morphology. Given the uncertain nature of the spelling and phonemic analyses in all previous studies, the discussion on morphology has to be preceded by some introductory remarks on the phonology of the Nilulat dialect (see §2).

1.2 DAWANESE

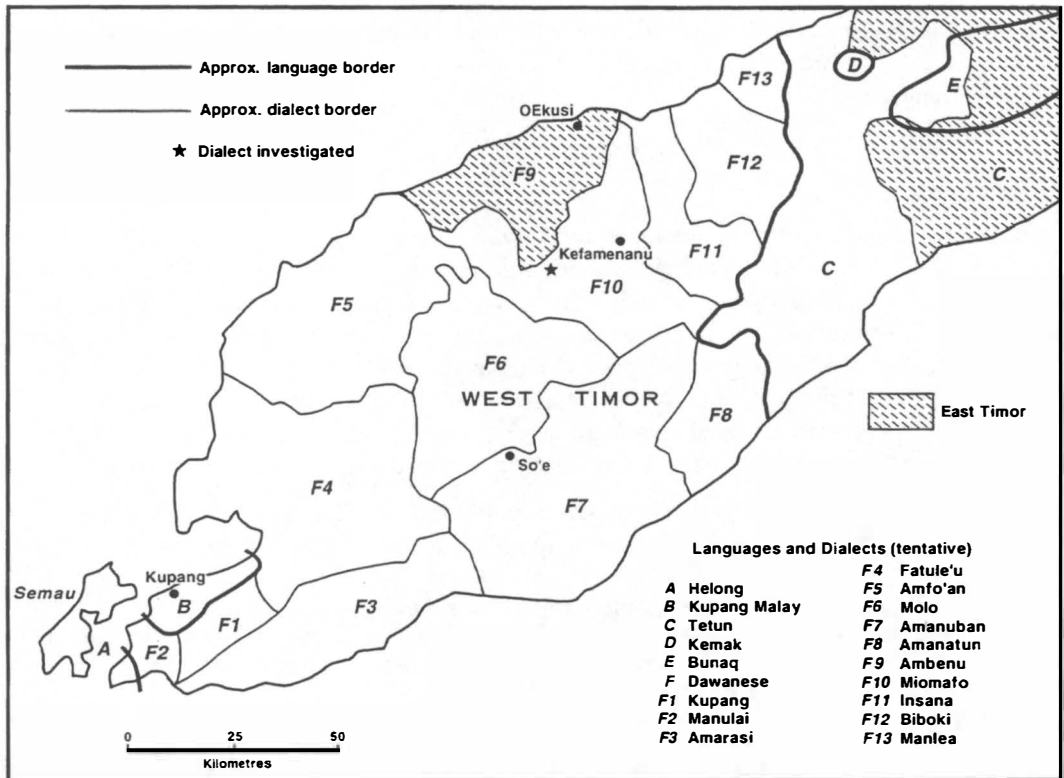
Dawanese is spoken by the inhabitants of the East Timorese enclave OEKusi [qpe kusi] in West Timor and by the majority of the West Timorese. The estimated number of speakers varies in recent sources between "approximately" 514,096 speakers (Bait et al. 1988:9), around 600,000 (Tarno et al. 1989:1; Sanga 1990:96), 650,000 (Wurm & Hattori 1983, map 40), and over 750,000 (Sanga 1989:ii). The figure of Wurm and Hattori seems to be a reasonable average. Census figures of 1980 show that the percentage of the population of the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (which includes West Timor) which does not know Indonesian is above the national average. It seems to be a fair guess therefore that 30 - 40 per cent of the adult Dawanese are (still) monolingual.

Dawanese borders in the East on Tetun, and in the West on Kupang Malay and Helong (see Wurm and Hattori (1983, map 40) and the two maps in this paper). Along the old main road between Kupang and the Dutch colonial strongholds in the interior, speakers of Rotinese (and of Kupang Malay) form a majority or at least a considerable minority in the larger settlements. With the opening up of the interior following the Indonesianisation of East Timor the influence of Kupang Malay and Standard Indonesian is growing.

² This paper was originally written in April 1991 and slightly revised a few months later. Since then I have been able to collect more data on the verbal system, resulting in Steinhauer (1993).



MAP 1: THE TIMOR AREA



MAP 2: LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS OF WEST TIMOR

The language is divided into several dialects, which according to all sources are mutually understandable. The number and specification of the dialects in the various sources differ, however.³

Middelkoop (1950) does not give a list of dialects, but words and constructions in his grammar which are deviant or special according to unspecified criteria are indicated as Amarasi, Amanatun, Amanuban, Fatule'u, Ro'ic,⁴ Molo and Amfo'an.

Sanga (1990:96) distinguishes eleven ethnic groups apparently based on administrative criteria: Amarasi, Fatuleu, Amfoang, Amanuban, Amanatun, Molo, Miomafo, Insana, Biboki, Manlea and Ambanu (instead of Ambenu); it is not clear whether there are (also) linguistic criteria for his division.

Most authors mention ten dialects: Bait et al. (1988:249) distinguish: Amarasi, Amanuban, Amanatun, Manulai, Kupang, Miomafo, Manlea, Insana, Biboki and Molo.

Tarno et al. (1989:1) present the following specification: Biboki, Malea (for Manlea apparently), Molo, Amanatun, Amanuban, Miomafo, Amarasi, Kupang and Manulai.

Kusi (1990:15) mentions "sejumlah dialek...seperti:" (a number of dialects...such as:) Amarasi, Amfoan, Amanuban, Amanatun, Molo, Miomafo, Insana, Biboki, Manlea and Ambenu.

Talul (1988:2) only discusses the dialects of the regency of North Central Timor, where he distinguishes "three broad dialects...Biboki, Insana and Miomafo".

Wurm and Hattori (1983, map 40) distinguish only seven dialects: Amarasi, Amfoan-Fatuleu-Amabi, Amanuban-Amanatun, Mollo-Miomafo, Biboki-Insana, Ambenu (Vaikenu) and Kusa-Manlea.⁵

1.3 SOURCES

Given the number of sources available today, Dawanese can claim to be one of the better languages of the area studied. However, none of these sources should be consulted without reservation. Capell (1944-45) presents data from various languages, among them Dawanese (called West Timorese), which are mainly of a comparative nature. Speaking of Rotinese and Helongese (called the language of Kupang) he observes (1945:28) that "phonetically, the most outstanding is the habit of inverting the last vowel and consonant of a word"; the examples he gives "are isolated words relatively few in number, whereas in...W[est] T[imorese]...it is possible to invert on a much larger scale and to a certain extent at will".

The first description of Dawanese (Middelkoop 1950) suffers from a serious lack of structure and of structuralism. The author's approach is one of free association. In many

³ In the following survey I use the spelling applied by the various authors.

⁴ The original Dutch is 'Ro'isch'. I have not been able to identify this dialect. Given the *r* in the name of the dialect, it must be either in the neighbourhood of Kupang (Amarasi, Kupang, Manulai), or in the extreme north-east (Manlea). All other dialects have */r/* instead of */r/*.

⁵ The name and location of this latter dialect does not find support in the literature, and was unknown to my informant. Schulte-Nordholt (1971:232), however, seems to distinguish two Manleas when he mentions "princesses from Manlea, a small principality situated on the border between north-eastern Beboki [instead of Biboki; H.S.] and North Belu, and from Manlea in South Belu...". Probably the second Manlea is a misprint for Mandeo which appears in the indicated area on nineteenth century maps. On one of these maps, reproduced in Schulte-Nordholt (1971, opposite p.161) Koesa and Mandeo are indicated as two adjacent tiny princedoms in the central border area between Dutch and Portuguese Timor.

respects his grammar is incomplete, while the rich information it does contain is highly heterogeneous: daily and ceremonial language are rarely kept apart, and often it is not clear which dialect is being discussed. But the most aggravating shortcoming is that no effort has been made to be consistent in the spelling, especially with regard to the notation of the glottal stop (‘ or zero), and of the mid vowels, *ê* representing [ɛ], and *ò* [ɔ], but *e* [e, ɛ] and also [ə], while *o* represents [o] and also [ɔ]. On metathesis Middelkoop (p.400) has only one half page. It is said to be “algemeen voorkomend” (commonly occurring), but apart from the examples quoted by Laycock no information as to form and function is presented.

The Indonesian studies after Middelkoop (Bait et al. 1988; Kusi 1990; Sanga 1989; Talul 1988; Tarno et al. 1989) are linguistically more sophisticated, but they lack the broad factual scope Middelkoop had acquired after a lifelong study of language and culture as a missionary. None of these studies comes close to a comprehensive description of a Dawanese dialect, but in some respects they complement each other, if only because they deal with different dialects.

On metathesis all sources are brief and superficial:

Bait et al. (1988: 81) give five examples with the comment that “dalam bahasa Dawan terdapat kebiasaan pengubahan bentuk dengan cara metatesis...ini hanya merupakan kebiasaan saja sehingga bersifat mana suka dan tidak membawa perubahan fungsi, peran, atau pun artinya” (in Dawanese the habit exists of changing forms through metathesis... this is just a habit so that it is optional and does not cause any change of function, role, or meaning).

Sanga (1990) agrees with Bait et al. He discusses metathesis in a short paragraph (pp. 240-241), observes that it is very productive in Dawanese, but claims that it is “bersifat manasuka dan tidak mengakibatkan suatu perubahan makna, fungsi maupun peran. Manfaat yang terasa hanyalah menjadi penunak [probably: pelunak] bunyi saja” (optional and not resulting in a change of meaning, function or role. Its only noticeable use is that it serves euphony).

Kusi (1990:54) mentions metathesis once in passing, but examples are found in several places in his study, always in combination with suffixation.

Tarno et al. (1989:151, 154-154) are more explicit. The examples concern stems with and without suffixes. About the existing patterns information is confined to the observation (p.151) that (in bisyllabic words) “pergeseran bunyi bisa terjadi jika bunyi silabik suku pertama dengan suku kedua berbeda” (metathesis can occur if the vowels of the first and second syllables differ). As to the function of metathesis information is likewise brief. One syntactic opposition is given: *in ka ansuli* ‘he doesn’t answer’ versus *in ansuil au nak* ‘he answers my words’. Combined with the prefix *ma-* presence or absence of metathesis is shown to make a clear semantic difference, such as in *maneku* ‘eaten up’ versus *maneuk* ‘to eat together’.

Talul (1988:54) mentions metathesis only once, in connection with one of the plural allomorphs with nouns, but in discussing other types of suffixation he presents many examples of it, while in one set of forms without suffixation (pp.45, 61-62) presence versus

absence of metathesis mark attributive versus predicative functions: *au telo* 'my conceit' versus *au teol* 'I am proud'.⁶

The Indonesian sources have an uncertain phonology in common, while they are all more or less hampered by inconsistencies in spelling and a high percentage of typing errors. As mentioned they deal with different dialects: Kusi (1990) with Miomafo; Talul (1988) with a Miomafo subdialect; Bait et al. (1988) and Tarno et al. (1989) with Molo (which is claimed to be the most prestigious dialect); while Sanga (1990:474) as appears from his map seems to have made use of data from various dialect areas, to wit from East Miomafo and Insani (nine villages around the town of Kefamenanu [kefa mnanuq]), from South Molo and West Amanuban (six villages around the town of So'e [soqe]), and from South Amfoang and Amarasi (one village each).

In this paper metathesis is discussed in the dialect of Miss Floribertha Lake. She was born (in 1964) and raised in the Miomafo village of Nilulat, *kabupaten* Timor Tengah Utara, today about one hour by public transport from the district's capital Kefamenanu (see Map 2). From 1979 she studied in Kupang, the capital of the province, where she now teaches English at the Catholic University. I started working with her there in early January 1991 for about one week. Fortunately, she was selected to follow a two-year library course in Jakarta, which enabled me to have regular sessions with her from March of that year. Needless to say, this paper would not have been written without her constant and always cheerful help.

2. PHONOLOGY

The Nilulat dialect distinguishes the following consonants as set out in Table 1.

TABLE 1: CONSONANTS

	stop		fricative		nasal	lateral
	voiceless	voiced, lax	voiceless			
labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>		<i>m</i>	
alveolar	<i>t</i>		<i>s</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>
palatal		<i>j</i>				
velar	<i>k</i>					
glottal	<i>q</i>		<i>h</i>			

The nasals, lateral and voiceless fricatives occur with the approximately common phonetic value in all positions.

The voiced and lax /b/ and /j/, however, have unexpected allophones:

/b/ is a voiced and lax bilabial stop in non-final position if not followed by a high vowel; in other positions its realisation tends to become slightly fricative;

/j/ is a voiced and lax palatal affricate in prevocalic position; syllable-finally the realisation becomes fricative ([ʃ]).

⁶ The glosses are Talul's. In the dialect of my informant the opposition is [qau telɔk] 'my conceit' versus [qau qteɔl] 'I am conceited' (see below).

In the following discussion of the vowels of Nilulat Dawanese I refer to syllables. The number of syllables corresponds with the number of vowels in a (phonological) word. The phonological word, however, does not correspond with the grammatical word. In general, phonetic syllable boundaries do not correspond with grammatical boundaries. Compare the following grammatical and phonetic notations of the same sentence. In the grammatical notation words are separated by spaces, spelling is phonemic and word-medial morpheme boundaries are marked by a hyphen. In the phonetic notation syllable boundaries are indicated by +, while stress is marked by the symbol ' before the stressed vowel.

- (1) *Qina n-qote qnak-f-ini.*
 [qi+nan+q'ɔ+tɛq+n'ak+fi+ni]
 3SG 3SG-cut head-GENERIC-PL.DEF
 He/she cuts heads.

The system of vowels is set out in Table 2.

TABLE 2: VOWELS

		unrounded		rounded
		front	central	back
high		<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
higher mid	mid	<i>é</i>		<i>ó</i>
lower mid		<i>è</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>		

The opposition lower versus higher mid is only valid in stressed final-stem syllables. In other positions this opposition is neutralised. Consequently, /e/ and /o/ are archiphonemes. The phonemisation of [e, ɛ, o, ɔ] is a recent phenomenon, resulting from apocope of vowels which originally conditioned different allophones of the mid vowel in the original penult. Minimal pairs are:

- (2) *Qau qót.* I am burning.⁷ (underlying stem -otu)
Qau qòt. I am cutting. (underlying stem -qote)
Qau qhéł. I am slicing. (underlying stem -heli)
Qau qhèł. I am pulling. (underlying stem -hela)

The high, mid and low vowels have allophony:

/a/ is realised as low central unrounded, but is slightly backed in closed syllables especially before /q/;

/i/ and /u/ are generally high, but they are lowered to a low [ɪ, ʊ] or a high [e, o] in a final syllable if the preceding syllable contains a mid vowel (/e, o/);

/e/ and /o/ are realised relatively high ([e]) in open non-final syllables if the following syllable contains a high vowel; syllable-final /e/ is likewise relatively high if it is immediately

⁷ Forms such as these seem to be typical of transitive verbs used intransitively, i.e. with a general but implicit object ('things'). Among other things the relation with intransitive verbs deserves further research.

followed or preceded by /o/, such as in *qau neok* ([neɔk]) 'my neck' and *noe* ([nœ] 1. 'soft', 2. 'river' (truncated form)); in all other positions /e/ and /o/ are relatively low, such as in *noel* ([nœl]) 'river' (free form), *tepo* ([tɛpɔ] 'to hit' (underlying stem and object focus form), *nope* ([nɔpɛ]) 'cloud', *qume* ([qumɛ]) 'house', *metan* ([metan]) 'black'.

Sequences of like consonants separated by a word boundary are usually pronounced as a single consonant (e.g. *qmakaq* 'rice' + *qi* 'this' is realised as [qmakaq'i] (cf. *qmakaq nae* [qmakaq n'ae] 'that rice'), *hit tót* 'we (inclusive) burn' as [hit'ot], etc). Within the word there are cases of double consonants (/kk, mm/ [k:, m:]), which are the result of morphological processes (see the paradigms of the inalienable nouns in §4.2).

Stress always falls on the lexical stem, and usually on its penult. Some seemingly polysyllabic stems are stressed on the final syllable, apparently because they originally consisted of a monosyllabic stem and a petrified prefix (e.g. *man'ap* 'quick', *bif'el* 'perempuan').⁸ Stress may indicate a difference in the morphological build-up of otherwise identical words. For example:

- (3) *qume* [q'umɛ] 'house', *qumen* [q'umen] 'houses', versus
*qu-mèn*⁹ [qum'en] 'I am ill' (stem *-mèn*)

Final stressed syllables are usually lengthened, but this length is not phonemic. There are no words beginning with a vowel.

3. METATHESIS

As already stated, metathesis in Dawanese occurs with all major word classes. It is formally conditioned by morphological structure of the word and phonemic structure of the root. Where it has an independent semantic function it can be said to mark certain types of syntactic cohesion, or to put it more semantically, it signals, together with word order, that a subclass of the appropriate referents of the lexical unit in question is meant.

A few examples suffice to show the effect of metathesis with words other than nouns. Nouns will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| (4) | a. | <i>Noni mnatu qina n-lomi.</i> | Gold money he likes. |
| | | money gold 3SG 3SG-like | |
| | b. | <i>Qina n-loim noni mnatu.</i> | He likes gold money. |
| (5) | a. | <i>Qau q-mepu ma q-tòk.</i> | I work and sit. |
| | | 1SG 1SG-work and 1SG-sit | |
| | b. | <i>Qau q-meup tòk.</i> | I work sitting. |
| (6) | a. | <i>Qau q-mép.</i> | I work. |
| | b. | <i>Qau q-meup maqtaniq.</i> | I work hard. |
| (7) | a. | <i>Penaq qi qau q-ipu.</i> | This corn I break off. |
| | | corn this 1SG 1SG-break | |
| | b. | <i>Qau q-iup penaq qi.</i> | I break off this corn. |

⁸ The proclitic *bi* is used before proper names of women who are of a lower social status than the speaker. The male equivalent is *ni*.

⁹ In some of the examples morpheme boundaries are indicated. They are marked by a hyphen.

- (8) a. *liqan mone* boy
 child male
- b. *liqan moen qahinet* smart boy

4. NOUNS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Based on the possibilities of expressing possession Dawanese nouns can be divided into inalienables (in general denoting parts of a whole), and other nouns. In expressing possession the following pronominal forms play a part:

SG	1	<i>qau</i>	<i>kau</i>	- <i>k</i>
	2	<i>ho</i>	<i>ko</i>	- <i>m</i>
	3	<i>qin</i>	- <i>e</i> , $\emptyset$	- <i>n</i>
PL	1+2	<i>hit</i>	<i>kit</i>	- <i>k</i>
	1+3	<i>hai</i>	<i>kai</i>	- <i>m</i>
	2	<i>hi</i>	<i>ki</i>	- <i>m</i>
	3	<i>sin</i>	<i>sin</i>	- <i>k</i>

The forms of the first column are also used as subjects:

- (9) *Qau qtup.* I sleep.
- (10) *Qau qteop qasu.* I hit the dog.

The forms of the second column are used as objects; for a pronominal third person singular object the suffix *-e* is used to replace the final /a/ of verbs whose stem ends in that vowel; other transitive verbs use the unmodified verbal stem (without a suffix, but with the appropriate prefixes for the subject) to indicate a third person singular object:

- (11) a. *Ho mteop kau.* You (SG) hit me.
- b. *Qau qtepo.* I hit him.

The suffixes of the third column (*-k*, etc.) mark inalienable possession.

4.2 INALIENABLE NOUNS

Inalienable nouns are characterised by the following paradigm:

- 1) stem + suffix of the third column; this suffix indicates number and person of the whole to which the referent of the stem belongs;
- 2) stem + suffix *-f*, indicating generic reference;
- 3) stem with modification (where phonologically applicable), to be discussed below.

The most salient examples of inalienable nouns in Dawanese are those that indicate a part of the body, but words like 'edge' (*nini* -) and 'branch' (*toe* -) are also inalienable. It should be stressed that kinship 'terms' are not inalienables in Dawanese: they are not part of the

possessor. Nominalised adjectives on the other hand are, and are treated as such. Below follow the paradigms for 'lip' (*lulu-*), 'head' (*qnaka-*), 'ear' (*luke-*) and 'leg' (*hae-*).

possessor	lip	head	ear	leg
SG 1	<i>qau luluk</i>	<i>qau qnakak</i>	<i>qau lukek</i>	<i>qau haek</i>
2	<i>ho lulum</i>	<i>ho qnakam</i>	<i>ho lukem</i>	<i>ho haem</i>
3	<i>qin lulun</i>	<i>qina qnakan</i>	<i>qin luken</i>	<i>qin haen</i>
PL 1+2	<i>hit luluk</i>	<i>hita qnakak</i>	<i>hit lukek</i>	<i>hithaek</i>
1+3	<i>hai lulum/ lulmini</i>	<i>hai qnakam/ qnakmini</i>	<i>hailukem/ luikmini</i>	<i>hai haem/ haemini</i>
2	<i>hi lulum/ lulmini</i>	<i>hi qnakam/ qnakmini</i>	<i>hi lukem/ luikmini</i>	<i>hi haem/ haemini</i>
3	<i>sin luluk/ lulkini</i>	<i>sina qnakak/ qnakkini</i>	<i>sin lukek/ luikkini</i>	<i>sin haek/ haekini</i>
generic	<i>luluf/ lulfini</i>	<i>qnakaf/ qnakfini</i>	<i>lukef/ luikfini</i>	<i>haef/ haefini</i>
(modified) stem	<i>lulu/lul</i>	<i>qnaka/qnak</i>	<i>luke/luik</i>	<i>hae</i>

The forms with the ending *-ini* denote plurality and definiteness. It is not yet clear to me whether there is a semantic difference between the alternatives for specific plural possessors (1+3, 2, 3) and why the choice does not exist for a first person inclusive possessor.

The following paradigms are derived from adjectival stems: 'conceit' (*telo-*) from *-teol* 'conceited'; 'whiteness' (*muti-*) from *mutiq* 'white'; and 'length' (*mnanu-*) from *mnanuq* 'long'.

possessor	conceit	whiteness	length
SG 1	<i>qau telok</i>	<i>qau mutik</i>	<i>qau mnanuk</i>
2	<i>ho telom</i>	<i>ho mutim</i>	<i>ho mnanum</i>
3	<i>qin telon</i>	<i>qin mutin</i>	<i>qina mnanun</i>
PL 1+2	<i>hit telok</i>	<i>hit mutik</i>	<i>hita mnanuk</i>
1+3	<i>hai telom/ teolmini</i>	<i>hai mutim/ mutimini</i>	<i>hai mnanum/ mnaonmini</i>
2	<i>hi telom/ teolmini</i>	<i>hi mutim/ mutimini</i>	<i>hi mnanum/ mnaonmini</i>
3	<i>sin telok/ teolkini</i>	<i>sin mutik/ mutikini</i>	<i>sina mnanuk/ mnaonkini</i>
generic	<i>telof/teolfini</i>	<i>mutif/muitfini</i>	<i>mnanuf/mnaonfini</i>

As is apparent from the above paradigms the personal suffixes show syncretism. That is why the forms are usually preceded by the free forms of the personal pronouns; in the above paradigms they are always those used for subjects. As shown in example (12) the 'subject' forms of the pronouns should also be used in object position if their function is possessive:

- (12) *Qau haek natik ho qnakam.* My foot kicks your head.

Only where the context is thought to be sufficiently unambiguous by the speaker are these free pronominal forms left out.

The free forms of the personal pronouns whose stems end in /a/ (*qina*, *sina*, *hita*) drop this /a/ unless followed by a word beginning with a consonant cluster.¹⁰

The generic forms of the inalienable nouns are used when the possessor is not presented as a 'whole' but as a type. Compare:

- (13) *bibi qnakaf* head of a goat/goat's head
 (14) *bibi qina qnakan* head of a (specific) goat

The generic forms of the inalienable nouns are also used to express 'real' possession, that is, possession of the non-part-whole type, preceded by an expression indicating the possessor. For example:

- (15) *qau qnakaf*
 my head (the one I just cut off, the one Nancy is cooking for me, etc.)

The modified stems of the inalienable nouns are used as the first part of compounds (16), and if followed by an adjectival or nominal attribute (17 and 18). For example:

- (16) a. *qau qnak nafuk*
 my hair (lit. head hair, an inalienable compound)
 b. *qina qnak nafun* his hair
 (17) a. *Ho qnak mutiq ko.* You are white-headed.
 2SG head white 2SG
 b. *ho qnak mutiq* your white head
 2SG head white
 c. *Qina qnaka mtasaq.* He is red-headed./his red head
 3SG head red
 (18) a. *qau luik qahinet* my right ear
 1SG ear the.one.who.knows
 b. *sin luik qamontini* their left ears
 3PL ear the.stupid.ones

As example (17) illustrates, there is a difference between clause and phrase indicating part-whole possession with inalienable nouns followed by an attribute for non-third person possessor (i.e. for those persons for which the object pronouns begin with /k/). For a third person possessor, however, the forms *qin(a)* and *sin(a)* precede the nominal expression, while no 'object' form follows, so that the choice between clause and phrase becomes a matter of context.

Alienable nouns do not have the possibility of expressing possession by suffixation. The only possible pattern is preposition of the 'subject' forms of the personal pronoun for all persons. Compare the following examples:

¹⁰ This phenomenon is part of a more general rule. All polysyllabic stems ending in /-a/ drop this /-a/, unless they are followed by a consonantal suffix or by a word which begins with a consonant cluster.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (19) | <i>qau qasu; qin qasu</i> | my dog; his/her/its dog |
| (20) | <i>qau qaos mutiq</i> | my white dog |
| (21) | <i>qau qaos qahinet</i> | my clever dog |

4.3 MODIFICATION

Several cases of modification have been exemplified, both with inalienables and with other nouns. Modification of nouns (apocope and/or metathesis) occurs before the plural suffix *-in* and the 'definite suffix' *-e*, and before attributes (but not before demonstratives), dependent on certain morphological and phonemic conditions. Before discussing the rules of modification in detail, the most productive types of nominal derivation should be introduced. They all involve addition of a consonant to a verbal stem. Verbal stems are found by subtracting the prefix *n-* and the suffix *-n* from the form for the third person plural subject.¹¹ For example:

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|----------|--------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| (22) | <i>Qau qòt.</i> | I cut. | <i>Sina nqoten</i> | They cut. | (< stem <i>-qote</i>) |
| (23) | <i>Qau qót.</i> | I burn. | <i>Sin notun</i> | They burn. | (< stem <i>-otu</i>) |
| (24) | <i>Qau qtòk.</i> | I sit. | <i>Sina ntokon</i> | They sit. | (< stem <i>-toko</i>) |
| (25) | <i>Qau qtup.</i> | I sleep. | <i>Sina ntupan</i> | They sleep. | (< stem <i>-tupa</i>) |
| (26) | <i>Qau qlóm.</i> | I like. | <i>Sina nlomin</i> | They like. | (< stem <i>-lomi</i>) |

The most productive nominalising derivations are:¹²

- (i) stem + *-t* or *-s*, roughly used to indicate the result of the activity expressed by the corresponding verb; the suffix *-s* is used instead of *-t* after stems which contain a phoneme /t/ already (e.g. *tokos* 'position' (from *-toko* 'to sit'), *lomit* 'wish, liking, love' (from *-lomi* 'to like'))).
- (ii) *qa-* + stem + *-t* or *-s*, used to indicate the actor of the activity expressed by the verb in question; the choice between *-t* and *-s* is subject to the same conditions as in (i) (e.g. *qatokos* 'someone who sits, inhabitant', *qalomit* 'fan, lover', *qameput* 'worker' (from *-mepu* 'to work'))).
- (iii) *qa-* + stem + suffix *-b*, used to indicate the causer (but not the actor) of the activity expressed by the verb (e.g. *qatupab* 'someone who puts to sleep' (from *-tupa* 'to sleep'))).
- (iv) *q-* + stem + *-q*, indicating the instrument of the activity of the corresponding verb (e.g. *qtokoq* 'chair' (from *-toko* 'to sit'), *qume qhanaq* 'kitchen' (lit. house for cooking, from *-hana* 'to cook'))).

Modification does not occur if the stem is monosyllabic and ends in a vowel, such as *ma-* 'tongue', *tu-* 'knee', or if it ends in a sequence of two vowels, such as *hae-* 'leg, foot'. It does occur systematically, however, with:

¹¹ For a third person plural subject verbs have two forms. One is the same as the forms for the other persons; the other has the suffix *-n*, if not followed by an object which begins with a consonant cluster. But in the latter case the stem form (without modification) is used for all persons (see below).

¹² What follows is a rough generalisation. There are exceptions and deviations. And there are more types of derivation, some of which may turn out to be productive as well.

(a) polysyllabic stems ending in one vowel; and

(b) polysyllabic stems ending in a consonant (stems ending in a consonant cluster do not exist; monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant undergo modification only to a limited extent, that is, they are only able to drop the final consonant).

Nominal stems ending in a vowel are not modified if they are followed by an attribute beginning with a consonant cluster. For example:

(27) *qumemtasq* red house

(28) *nonimnatu* gold (*mnatu*) money

If they are followed by an attribute beginning with a single consonant, the following changes take place:

$\dots V_2 C_1 V_1 \# + \# C_n V_n \dots > \dots V_2 C_1 C_n V_n \dots$

if $V_1 = /a/$ or if V_1 and V_2 are either both [back] or both [front]. For example:

(29) *qnaka* 'head' + *mutiq* 'white' > *qnak mutiq* 'white head' (e.g. in *qatoin qnak mutiq* 'white-headed person', (vs *qnaka mtasq* 'red head'))

(30) *mata* 'eye' + *bilu* 'blue' > *mat bilu* 'blue eye' (vs *mata qnaek* 'big eye')

(31) *bibi* 'goat' + *fuij* 'wild' > *bib fuij* 'wild goat' (vs *bibi qnaek* 'big goat')

(32) *teke* 'gecko' + *matel* 'green' > *tek matel* 'green gecko' (vs *teke mtasq* 'red gecko')

(33) *kolo* 'bird' + *bilu* 'blue' > *kol bilu* 'blue bird' (vs *kolo mnanuq* 'high bird')

(34) *kulu* 'teacher' + *mone* 'male' > *kul mone* 'male teacher' (vs *kulu qnaek* 'big teacher')

(35) *sibe* 'worm' + *mutiq* 'white' > *sib mutiq* 'white worm' (vs *sibe mtasq* 'red worm')

(36) *bebi* 'duck' + *kase* 'foreign' > *béb kase* 'bioindustrial duck' (vs *bebi qnaek* 'big duck')

(37) *qopu* 'hole' + *manuaf* 'wide' > *qóp manuaf* 'large hole' (vs *qopu mtasq* 'red hole')

(With the vowel pattern $\dots C/u/C/o/\#$ no example has been found to date.)

Otherwise $\dots V_2 C_1 V_1 \# + \# C_n V_n \dots > \dots V_2 V_1^+ C_1 C_n V_n \dots$

in which V_1^+ relates to V_1 as follows:

a. if $V_2 = [\text{high}]$ and $V_1 = [\text{mid}]$, then V_1^+ is raised to [high]. For example:

(38) *qume* 'house' + *fatu* 'stone' > *quim fatu* 'house of stone', *luke* 'ear' + *qapetas* 'wet' > *luik qapetas* 'wet ear' (vs *qume qnaek* 'big house', *luke qnaek* 'big ear')

(39) *kilo* 'kilogram, kilometre' + *mastenaq* 'half' > *kiul mastenaq* 'one half kilogram/kilometre'

b. if $V_2 = /a/$ and $V_1 = [\text{high}]$, then V_1^+ is lowered to [mid]. For example:

- (40) *fafi* 'pig' + *metan* 'black' > *faef metan* 'black pig' (vs *fafi mpòk* 'fat pig')
- (41) *qasu* 'dog' + *fequ* 'new' > *qaos fequ* 'new dog' (vs *qasu qnaek* 'big dog')
- c. otherwise $V_1^+ = V_1$. For example:
- (42) *nope* 'cloud' + *matel* 'green' > *noep matel* 'green cloud' (vs *nope mtasaq* 'red cloud')
- (43) *nenò* 'sky' + *bilu* 'blue' > *neon bilu* 'blue sky' (vs *nenò mtasaq* 'red sky')
- (44) *noni* 'money' + *kase* 'foreign' > *noin kase* 'foreign money' (vs *noni mnatu* 'gold money')
- (45) *nesu* 'door opening' + *manuaf* 'broad' > *neus manuaf* 'wide door opening' (vs *nesu mnanuq* 'high door opening')
- (46) *laso* 'poison' + *maputuq* 'hot' > *laos maputuq* 'hot poison' (vs *laso mtasaq* 'red poison')
- (47) *bale* 'place' + *qalekot* 'good' > *bael qalekot* 'good place' (vs *bale mnasiq* 'old place')
- (48) *nifu* 'pool' + *bilu* 'blue' > *niuf bilu* 'blue pool' (vs *nifu mtasaq* 'red pool')
- (49) *suqi-* 'chin' + *metan* 'black' > *suiq metan* 'black chin' (vs *suqi mnanuq* 'broad chin')

If the stem (whether derived or not) ends in a consonant the consonant is dropped before an attribute (but, again, not before a demonstrative). The resulting secondary stem remains unmodified if the attribute begins with a consonant cluster. If the attribute begins with a single consonant, the secondary stem undergoes modification according to the same conditions and with the same results as set out above for stems ending in a vowel. For example:

- (50) *sit* 'song' + *qalekot* 'good' > *si qalekot* 'nice song'
- (51) *tob* 'people' + *labit* 'Indonesian' > *to labit* 'the Indonesian people'
- (52) *botil* 'bottle' + *fequ* 'new' > *boit fequ* 'new bottle' (vs *boti qnaek* 'big bottle')
- (53) *gameput* 'worker' + *mutiq* 'white' > *gameup mutiq* 'white worker' (vs *gamepu mnasiq* 'old worker')
- (54) *noel* 'river' + *mutiq* 'white' > *noe mutiq* 'white river' (likewise *noe mtasaq* 'red river')
- (55) *lalan* 'road' + *manuaf* 'wide' > *lal manuaf* 'wide road' (vs *lala qnaek* 'big road')
- (56) *qtoq* 'chair' + *bilu* 'blue' > *qtòk bilu* 'blue chair' (vs *qtoq mnanuq* 'high chair')

4.6 PLURALISATION AND DEFINITENESS

As became clear from the paradigms of the inalienable nouns given above, nouns can be pluralised by an affix.¹³ This holds not only for inalienables, but also for other nouns. However, it is not the noun itself which is affixed but the noun + attributes (if any). If this complex ends in a vowel *-n* is added. If it ends in a consonant *-in* is added (with the additional suffix *-i* in positions other than before a demonstrative or a personal pronoun). The part of the word before that final consonant is treated as a secondary stem which undergoes the appropriate modification for stems ending in a vowel. For example:

- (57) *liqanaq* 'child', *liqanqin* 'children', *liqanqin qi* 'these children', *hai liqanqini* 1. 'our (exclusive) children', 2. 'we are the children', *hai liqanqin* 'we are children'
- (58) *liqan mone* 'boy', *liqan monen* 'boys', *liqan moen qameput* 'working boy', *liqan moen qameuptini* 'the working boys'
- (59) *qume* 'house', *qumen* 'houses', *quim fequ* 'new house', *quim fequn* 'new houses', *quim mutiq* 'white house', *quim muitqin(i)* '(the) white houses'

When the attribute is nominal the resulting construction is ambiguous. Compare:

- (60) *qau qsòs qume* 'I buy a house', *qau qsòs qumen* 'I buy houses', *qasosat* 'buyer', *qasòstín(i)* '(the) buyers'
- (61) *qasosat qume* 'buyer of a house', *qasòs qumen* 1. 'buyer of houses', 2. 'buyers of a house', 3. 'buyers of houses'

Mutatis mutandis the same seems to hold before the suffix *-e* for nominal constructions (nouns, nouns + non-demonstrative attribute) which end in a consonant (including those with the plural suffix *-n*). This suffix also adds a notion of definiteness.¹⁴ For example:

- (62) *Qasòste ntup.* The buyer sleeps.
- (63) *Boitle mutiq.* The bottle is white.
- (64) *Quimne mutiq.* The houses are white.

5. CONCLUSION

With its systematic use of metathesis as a means of marking 'syntactic' cohesion, Dawanese morphology shows some rare typological features. Within Austronesian languages, however, the type is not unique: it is found (perhaps even more elaborated) in other Austronesian languages in the area (such as Letinese) and it developed independently elsewhere in the Austronesian world, with a comparable function (notably in Rotuman).

Typologically Dawanese shows some striking similarities with French. Both languages show phonological concatenation of grammatical words, while subtraction and modification with all major word classes are the morphological rule rather than the exception.

Ultan (1978) asserts that metathesis has phonetic origins. The same is obviously true of subtraction. Historically both processes imply weakening of the phonemic integrity of the lexical word. For Dawanese and French this weakening is also apparent from the

¹³ Plurality is implied if a numeral is present: *qume meseq* 'one house', *qume tén* 'three houses'.

¹⁴ Further research into the function and distribution of this suffix is necessary.

development of phonological words which do not coincide with grammatical words. It seems likely that there is a typological relation between both developments.

However, it is also possible to look at the Dawanese facts from another angle. The apparent weakening of the phonological integrity of lexical words by the modification processes can be claimed to be counterbalanced by the creation of lexical border signals. The main effect of the modification processes is that consonant, and also vowel, clusters are formed. The former occur around, immediately before (in the case of the suffix *-in(i)*), or immediately after the border of a lexical morpheme; the latter mainly occur somewhere between such borders.

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