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Marian Klamer

A GRAMMAR OF TEIWA

A Grammar of Teiwa

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A Grammar of Teiwa

by

Marian Klamer

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
1p	1st person plural
1pe	1st person plural exclusive
1pi	1st person plural inclusive
1s	1st person singular
2p	2nd person plural
2s	2nd person singular
3p	3rd person plural
3s	3rd person singular
AFFIRM	adverb marking affirmative (<i>be'</i>)
APPL	applicative
CONT	continuative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DU	dual
EXCL	exclamation
FORTHC	forthcoming/future topic
FOC	focus (marked with <i>la</i>)
IND	Indonesian/Malay loan
k.o.	kind of
NEG	negator
OBL	oblique
PRV	perfective
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PRSP	prospective ('not yet, still')
RDP	reduplication
REAL	realis
sb, sth	somebody, something
SEQ	sequential marker
SIM	simultaneous marker
TAG	tag
TOP	topic (marked with <i>ta</i>)
UNCERT	adverb marking uncertainty

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0. Introduction

This chapter presents an introduction to the Teiwa language and its speakers, the geography of the islands of Pantar and Alor, the linguistic situation on these islands, and the research on which this grammar is based.

1.1. Teiwa: affiliation, location, and number of speakers

Teiwa (Ethnologue code twe, referred to as *Tewa*, Gordon 2005) is a non-Austronesian ('Papuan') language spoken on Pantar island, just north of Timor island, in Eastern Indonesia. See figure 1.1.

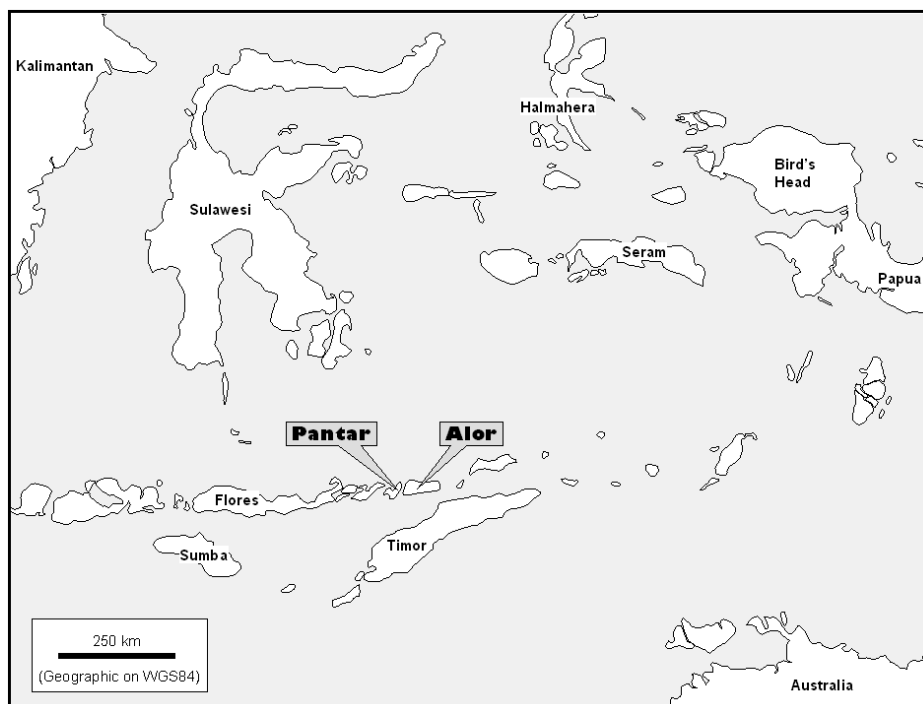


Figure 1.1. Location of Pantar and Alor in Indonesia

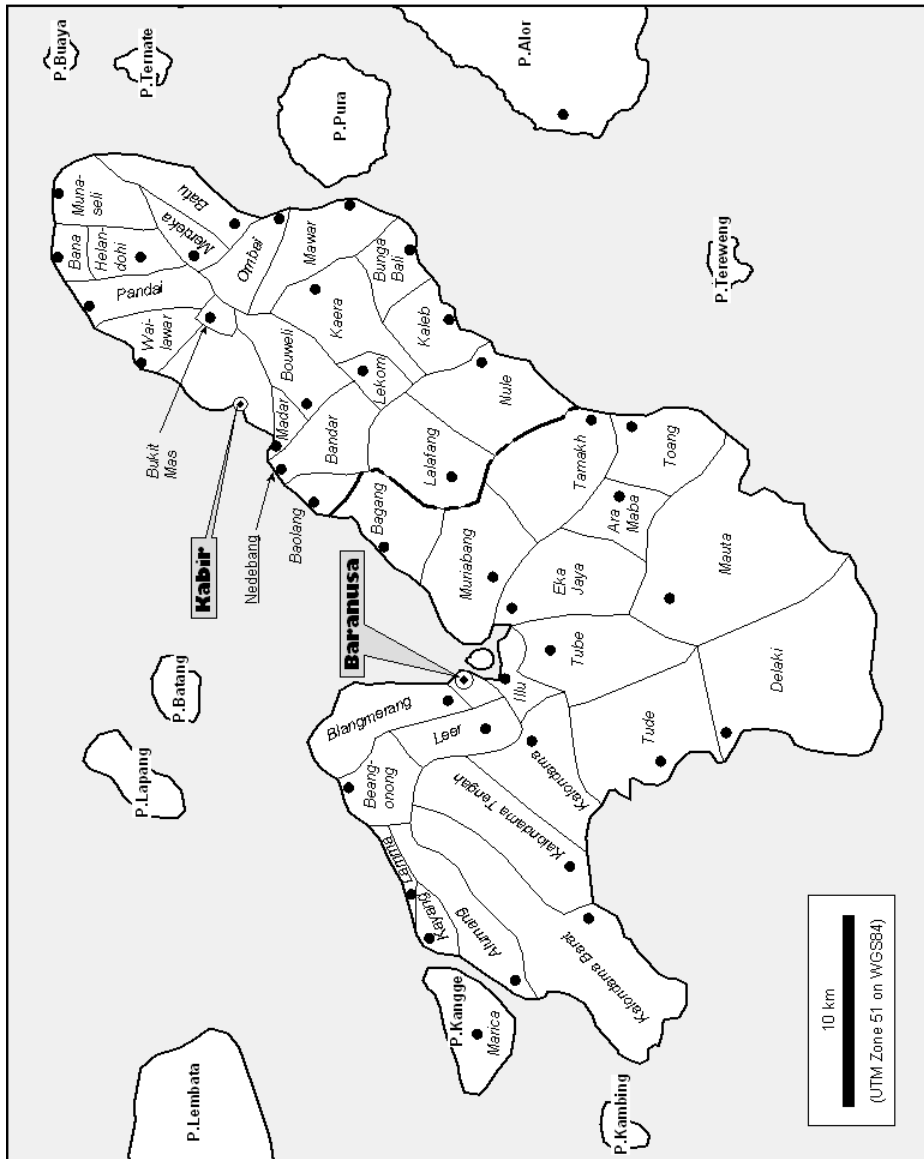


Figure 1.2. Desa's on Pantar. (Source: The Alor Regency Governmental Administration Map, 2003.)

While the long distance relationships of the languages of Alor and Pantar remain to be established, they have been hypothesized to belong to the Trans New Guinea (TNG) family of Papuan languages (references include Capell 1969, Stokhof 1975, Pawley 1998, 2001; Ross 2005:22-24). (More on this in section 1.7 below.) Apart from a short word list in Stokhof (1975), no previous documentation on Teiwa exists. Teiwa is spoken by approximately 4,000 speakers who live in the *desa*'s Lebang, Boweli, Kaleb, Nule, Kabir and Madar, located in the north-western part of Pantar island. See Figure 1.2. Most of the data in this study come from speakers who live in Madar, located at the coast, some 3 kilometer west of Kabir. In May 2007, Madar had 460 registered inhabitants.²

On Pantar, languages do not have a single generally accepted logonym. A language can be referred to with the name of the major clan that speaks it, and/or by the name of the (ancestor) village where it is, or used to be spoken. Teiwa is the name of a geneological unit that comprises a cluster of (sub-?) clans with the same ancestors. I will refer to the Teiwa 'clan', with the understanding that it is actually a 'super'-clan as it comprises several 'sub'-clans (see section 1.6 for details). In Indonesian, *Bahasa Teiwa* 'the Teiwa language' refers to the language spoken by this group. *Teiwa* is a nominal compound (*tei wa* 'tree leaf'),³ but speakers cannot explain why this compound is used as their clan name. Teiwa is also referred to as *Bahasa Lebang* 'the Lebang language', as the village of Lebang is traditionally considered the most important, central location of the Teiwa speakers and their ancestors. In general, when the Teiwa refer to their own language, for example to contrast it with the national language Indonesian, they call it *pitarau* '1p.inclusive-language', that is, "our language".

Teiwa is an endangered language. The present generation of adults still uses Teiwa at home and when talking to other Teiwa speaking adults, but they typically switch to Malay/Indonesian when addressing children. This is especially the case in marriages where the parents speak different languages. Children playing outside usually speak Malay/Indonesian amongst each other, Teiwa words and expressions are used occasionally. Only in Lebang did I hear Teiwa being used all the time, by adults as well as children. On the market in Kabir, Teiwa is used among Teiwa adults, and Malay/Indonesian in interactions with others. In church, Teiwa was used until the 1970's, but nowadays Malay/Indonesian is used. In school, Indonesian is used.

1.2. Geography of Pantar and Alor

Pantar is part of the *Kepulauan Alor*, a group of two major and several lesser islets⁴ constituting the Alor-Pantar *kabupaten* 'regency' in the province *Nusa*

Tenggara Timur (NTT), Lesser Sunda Islands, Indonesia, between the Flores and Savu seas.

The largest island of the group is Alor (2,330 square km, Cribb 2000:3), the two major mountains of which, Kolana/Koya-Koya (1,765 metres) and Muna (1,440 metres), are both old volcanoes. Pantar is the second largest island of the Alor group, and lies about 72 km north of Timor, across the Ombai Strait. It is 50 km long north-south and 11 to 29 km wide east-west, and it has an area of 693 square km (Cribb 2000:3). A central mountain range (660 m) divides the island in two parts, and descends steeply to the coasts. In Southern Pantar there is a volcano with two tops, one is called Delaki (1,018 metres) and the other Sirung (1,318 metres).

In the course of history, Alor and Pantar have been given various names. Since the 16th century Alor has also been referred to as Terra Alta (Portuguese for ‘high land’), Mallua and Ombai (cf. Vatter 1932). The origin of the name Alor is unknown, and there exist various folk etymologies for it. In one of these, Alor is considered to be derived from *Allurung*, the name of the Islam community living on the North West coast of Alor’s Bird’s Head (Alorese: *allu* ‘river’, *rung* ‘together’; “those living together at the river”). Not all ethnic groups accept the name Alor as name for the entire island. For some groups (e.g. the Hamap), Alor only refers to the Muslim region in the North western part of the island (Rodemeier 2006).

Pantar island has been referred to as *Pandai*, *Bar(a)nusa* or *Galiyao*. *Pantar* is a fairly recent name; for many centuries, Pantar was referred to by the two main regions of the island Pandai or Baranusa. Both regions are the centres of Islamic kingdoms. In the lyrics of lego-lego dances performed by the Teiwa speakers, Pantar is referred to as *Galiyawa*. According to local consultants, this has been the case ‘at least since the Dutch period’, i.e. before WWII. Others groups use *Galiyao* to refer to Pantar island. In fact, *Galiyawa/Galiyao* is used to refer to an alliance of five Muslim kingdoms on Alor and Pantar — Baranusa, Pandai, Alor, Blagar and Kui (Rodemeier 1995, 2006). We thus find the name *Galiyawa/Galiyao* used to refer to an alliance of five Muslim kingdoms, or to a subset of them. In the latter (subset) interpretation, it may refer to Pantar only, or to Alor only.

One version of the folk etymology for the name Pantar is a version I heard from various Teiwa people in Madar in 2004 and 2007.⁵ A long time ago, there were visitors who arrived on the island and met a woman on the beach. The woman was making ropes to twine a basket, and the visitors asked her in Malay “What is the name of this island?”. Because the woman didn’t understand Malay, she thought they were asking what she was making, so she responded: “*Pang tar*” (*pang* ‘basket’, *tar* ‘rope’), i.e. “basket rope”. This is the reason why these visitors thought the name of island is *Pantar*, and that this name is now the Indonesian name for the island.

In 1930, the population of the Alor archipelago was estimated at 90,000 people (Bouman 1943), and in 1976 at 130,000 people (Steinhauer and Stokhof 1976). Since then, the population has grown to 158,188 people (population density: 55.22 people / km², percentage of NTT province population: 4.27%) (Census 2000). The capital town Kalabahi on Alor island has approx. 21,000 inhabitants. In 2005, Pantar had about 40,000 inhabitants. Most people on the islands live in villages or hamlets. A village typically has several hundreds of inhabitants rather than thousands.

Alor and Pantar have a dry season lasting from April till October. July and August are the coolest months. In August and September the fields dry up. October and November are the hottest months. The fields are then prepared for the wet season, with the most heavy rainfall in January and February. May and June are the harvesting months. The period between September–November is the *musim lapar* ‘hunger season’; in this period, many have only two meals a day.

In the past the population of Alor and Pantar used to be hunters and gatherers, nowadays, they are farmers or, in coastal areas, fishermen.⁶ On Pantar, the *ladang* ‘shifting cultivation’ system is still used quite often: people slash and burn a piece of (secondary) jungle, clear it, and plant it with a selection of food crops. The main food crops are rice, corn, cassava, and sweet potato; peanuts and mung beans are also grown. After the land is used for a couple of years, it is left to recover about ten years.

In addition to *ladang* with food crops, the people also have permanent gardens (Indonesian *mamar*) with cash crops such as coconuts, coffee, candle nut (‘*Aleurites moluccana*’), cashew (‘*Anacardium occidentale*’), cocoa, and vanilla. Livestock are pigs, goats and chicken.⁷ The Teiwa occasionally catch fish with a spear, but most of the fish eaten by the Teiwa is bought from others, for example, the Bajo *orang laut* ‘sea people’, fishermen who live in Labuan Bajo, a Muslim village close to Kabir.⁸

One version of the Teiwa oral history (told to me in 2004) has it that the Teiwa originally came from Ambon (“Ambon Batu Merah”), and landed on the South coast of Pantar.⁹ As newcomers they had to buy bamboo and grass to build houses from the original inhabitants of that area — the “Luaq”, who allegedly were born out of the earth. The Teiwa had no access to water, which they therefore also had to buy from the Luaq. The Teiwa did not mix with the Luaq, and from the coast they moved up into the mountains where they settled in Lebang, the ancestor village of the Teiwa, which is located on approximately 600 meters altitude and 18 kilometers up into the mountains; from Madar, this is a hike of about 5 hours.

Over the past century, the Teiwa population of the village Madar has moved five times, starting from a location high up in the mountains moving more and more downwards towards the coast. Today, the following five

villages are still remembered as previous locations of Teiwa speakers, although they no longer exist: *Lalagasang*, *Uyan Uwaad* (lit. ‘big mountain’), *Atob Gom* (lit. ‘inside the *atob*’, a kind of tree), *Mudan Boi* (*mudan* ‘kind of tree’, *boi* ‘river’), and *Wagan*.

The Teiwa moved to the current location of *Madar* right at the coast and next to the coastal road in the early 1970’s, for the following reasons: (i) Because water was becoming scarce in the mountain villages. For example, in Lebang, nowadays there is only one small well that provides water for the entire village, for only a few hours a day. (ii) Because the national government wanted the indigenous populations to live in more accessible locations, closer to the coast and next to the road,¹⁰ and (iii) To prevent (Islam) newcomers settling on Teiwa land next to the coast.

There are less than a handful of cars on Pantar. Generally, transport is by foot, boat, or motorbike. In earlier times, people would sail from Kabir to the capital Kalabahi (Alor) in their own small canoes. Such a trip took about 14 hours if the wind was right, and was typically done at night (between 6 pm and 8 am), using the sea’s current. Since 1970-1971, the first motorized canoes arrived on Pantar and a weekly connection between Kabir and Kalabahi (on Wednesdays) was established. Nowadays, passenger motorboats between Kabir and Kalabahi go about 5 times a week. These are wooden boats of about 20 m long, that move 30 to 40 passengers sitting on the deck, as well as goods and supplies. The journey takes about 6 hours.

Electricity was introduced in Madar in 1982-1983. In theory, it is available between 6 pm and 5 am. (On Fridays and Sundays also from 5 am to 2 pm, to facilitate religious services). However, fuel supplies from Kalabahi are irregular, so that electricity may only be available for 3 or 4 nights a week (or not at all). As of 2005, Kabir has a (land line) telephone connection and several telephones. Since 2006, there is also network coverage for mobile phones. However, as the transmitting station for the mobile network is powered by a generator that also depends on fuel supplies from Kalabahi, the mobile phone network is usually down.

Pantar island is part of the district (*kabupaten*) Alor-Pantar. The district head’s (*bupati*) office is in Kalabahi. In 2005, Pantar has been divided into two under-districts or *kecamatan*: *Pantar Timor* ‘East Pantar’ and *Pantar Barat* ‘West Pantar’, indicated by a thick line just above the middle of figure 1.2 (south of the *desa*’s Baoloang, Lalafang and Nule). The *desa* names on this map are the names for the Indonesian administrative units as they are used on the *Kabupaten Alor Peta Administrasi Pemerintahan* (2003) (‘The Alor Regency Governmental Administration Map’). One *desa* can comprise several villages. The name of a *desa* may be identical to the name of (one of) the village(s), but it may also be a different name altogether.

In Indonesia, government subsidies for infrastructure, health care, schools, and the like, are distributed through the districts. As Pantar is not an independent *kabupaten*, it has no district head to represent the interests of the island, and an often heard complaint is that only a fraction of the government subsidies ever reach Pantar.

On Pantar, every *desa* ‘village’ has a primary school. Secondary schools are found in the larger towns, e.g. in Kabir, Baranusa, and Tamalabang. Such towns also have one or more shops, and a health care centre (*puskesmas*). There is one bank on the island, in Baranusa (west Pantar). At the time of writing, there is no post office, hospital, hotel or restaurant on Pantar.

1.3. Current linguistic situation on Alor and Pantar

The indigenous languages of the Alor archipelago are all non-Austronesian (also referred to as ‘Papuan’), with the exception of Bahasa Alor, ‘the Alor language’, also referred to as ‘Alorese’, which belongs to the Austronesian family.¹¹ A recent immigrant community like the Bajau/Bajo (see footnote 8) also speaks an Austronesian language. Two varieties of Malay are spoken on the islands: Alor Malay (Baird et. al., 2004), which is a Malay dialect derived from Pidgin (or ‘Bazaar’) Malay (cf. Adelaar and Prentice 1996), and standard Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia. Standard Indonesian is taught in schools and used during official occasions, Alor Malay is used in informal contexts. For most speakers, the two varieties are not different languages, but different registers: Malay is the low informal register; Indonesian is the high and formal register.

The exact number of non-Austronesian languages or dialects spoken on Alor and Pantar remains elusive. Estimates in earlier sources vary widely, and the languages names listed in older reference works such as Vatter (1932:275) and Bouman (1943) show little overlap. The more recent reference works Stokhof (1975) and Grimes et. al. (1997) do not agree either. One reason for the confusion is that on Alor and Pantar, languages do not have a single generally accepted logonym. As mentioned in section 1.1 above, a language is referred to either by using the name of the major clan that speaks it, or by the name of the (ancestor) village(s) where it is (or used to be) spoken. As a result, many residents of Alor and Pantar would claim that each village and/or each clan has its own separate language.

Bearing in mind the elusive nature of any language counts on Alor and Pantar, research on Alor (carried out between 2003-2008 by Louise Baird and František Kratochvíl) suggests that the 14 languages listed in (1) are spoken on Alor. Their Ethnologue code (Gordon 2005) is given in brackets.

(1) Languages spoken on Alor (Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) code in brackets)

Abui (abz)(Kratochvíl 2007),
 Adang (adn) (Haan 2001),
 Alorese/Bahasa Alor) (aol) (Klamer 2007, forthcoming b),
 Blagar (beu) (Steinhauer 1993, 1995),
 Hamap (hmu)
 Kabola (klz) (Stokhof 1987)
 Kafoa (kpu)
 Kamang (woi) (referred to as Woisika in Stokhof 1983)
 Klon (kyo) (referred to as Kelon in Gordon 2005) (Baird 2008)
 Kui (kvd)
 Kula (tpg) (also known as Tanglapui)
 Reta (ret) (referred to as Retta in Gordon 2005)
 Sawila (swt) (also known as Tanglapui)
 Wersing (swt)

The location of these languages is presented on figure 1.3.

However, note that some of these languages are more similar than others, and some could even be dialects of each other. For example, Adang and Kabola are much more similar than Klon and Abui are, and Kula and Sawila appear to be dialects (perhaps of Tanglapui). More research is needed to establish more exact names and counts.

Recent research on Pantar island (carried out between 2003-2007 by Gary Holton and myself) has led to a tentative list of ten languages that are spoken on Pantar and the islands Ternate, Buaya, Pura, Tereweng, Kambing and Kangge (see figure 1.4). The list is given in (2), the Ethnologue code of the languages (Gordon 2005) is given in brackets. Note that Alorese is also spoken on Alor island (see (1) above). The approximate locations of the languages are given on figure 1.4.

(2) Languages spoken on Pantar and surrounding islands

Teiwa (twe) (referred to as Tewa in Gordon 2005)
 Western Pantar (with the dialects of Mauta, Lamma, and Tubbe) (lev)¹²
 Alorese/Bahasa Alor (several dialects, including Baranusa and Muna)
 (Klamer forthcoming b)(aol)
 Blagar (beu)
 Kroku (not listed in Gordon 2005)
 Deing (also referred to as Diang) (not listed in Gordon 2005)

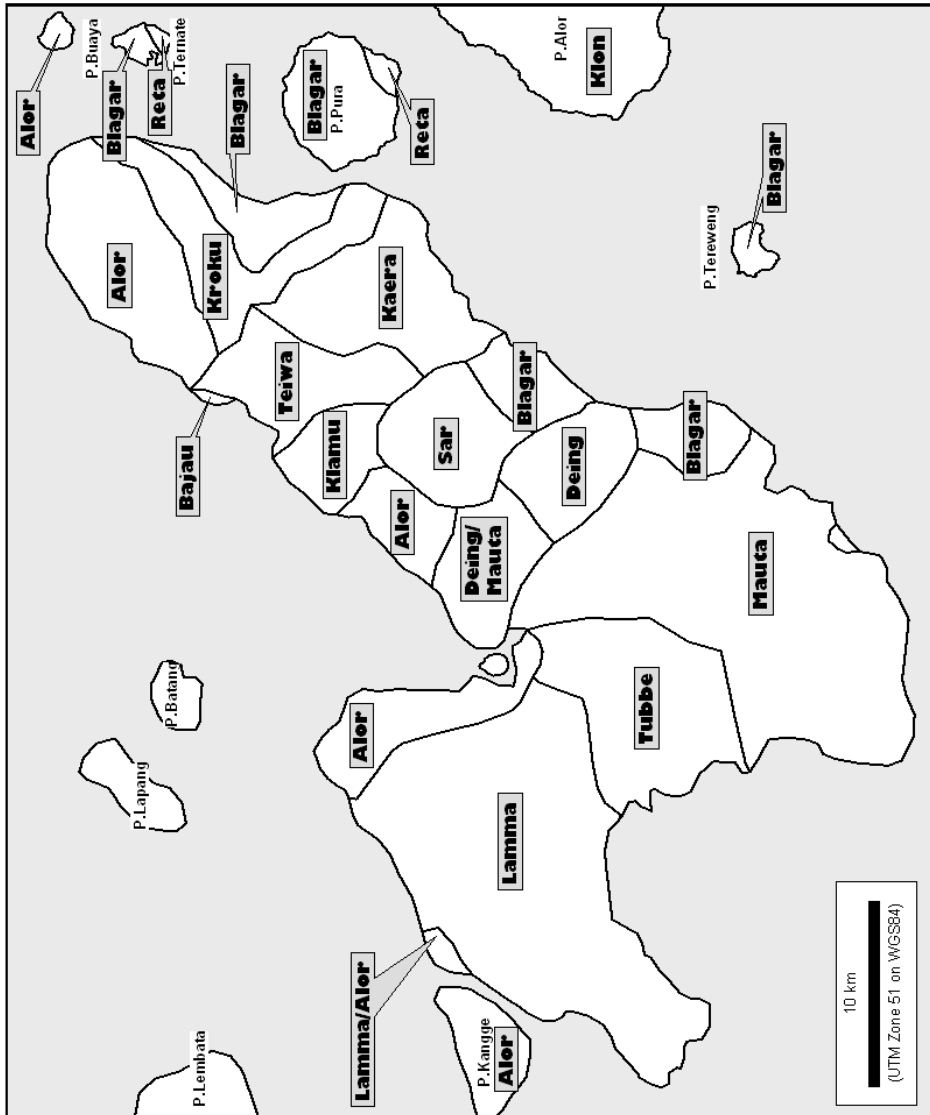


Figure 1.4. Languages of Pantar and surrounding islands

Sar (not listed in Gordon 2005)
 Nedebang/Klamu (nec)
 Kaera (not listed in Gordon 2005)
 Bajau (bdl)
 Reta (ret)

The linguistic information represented on figure 1.4 is not authoritative.¹³ It is based on the information I was given by local consultants.¹⁴ Working with a group of Teiwa consultants in 2004 I asked them the question “Regarding *desa X* [using a *desa* name as indicated on figure 1.2], would you know, or recall, what language is spoken by most of the people over there?”. The result was a sketch of the linguistic situation of only Pantar’s north and northwest coast, since Teiwa speakers, who live in northwest Pantar, hardly ever travel across the island and are therefore less sure about the linguistic situation on Pantar’s east and southeast coast. In 2007, while collecting data in the *desa*’s Bunga Bali and Kaleb in east Pantar, I went through the same procedure, again using the *desa* names on figure 1.2. Here I asked the question “Regarding *desa X*, would you know, or recall, what language is spoken by most of the people over there?” to a group of about ten middle-aged and elderly men, and the question typically led to extensive discussion among the consultants. One reason for this is that for most of the *desa*’s the linguistic picture is not so clear: as the result of mixed marriages, migrations, etc. there are usually several languages spoken in one *desa*. When the consultants reached a consensus about the language spoken by the majority of people in a particular village, this was the name I put on the map. A week later I went to Madar on the northwest coast again, and double-checked the data for the language map that I had collected there in 2004. Finally, Gary Holton kindly provided information about the linguistic situation in west Pantar that is based on his own fieldwork there. The logonyms on the map sometimes refer to the name of the (major) clan, in other cases, to the name of the (traditional) main village. In this, I have followed the preferences of the consultants.

In what follows I review the information and references available for the languages mentioned on figure 1.3. Teiwa, the topic of the present grammar, is mentioned in Stokhof 1975 and Grimes et.al. (1997) with the name Tewa. Apart from the present work, other recent work on Teiwa includes Klamer and Kratochvíl (2006), Klamer (2009) and Klamer (forthcoming a). Western Pantar is spoken throughout most Western Pantar by approximately 10,000 speakers. In the literature this language is also known as Lamma (Stokhof 1975; Grimes et. al 1997). Holton (2004, 2009) uses the name Western Pantar, since Lamma refers to just one of the three principal Western Pantar dialects, the other two being Mauta and Tubbe. These names correspond to distinct clans. Historically Western Pantar speakers occupied only the interior of the

island, and today Western Pantar is spoken throughout the interior of Western Pantar and along the southwestern and northwestern coast of Pantar.

The language referred to as Alorese is a dialect group spoken in pockets along northern Pantar, as well as along the coast of the Bird's Head of Alor, and on the islands Ternate and Buaya (Stokhof 1975:8-9).¹⁵ It has approximately 25,000 speakers (Grimes et.al. 1997) and Stokhof (1975:8) and Grimes et.al. (1997:57) suggest that it was used as the language of wider communication in the Alor-Pantar region till at least the mid 1970's.¹⁶ While this may have been true for the coastal parts of Alor and Pantar, Alorese did not make inroads into the more remote, mountainous areas.¹⁷ The vocabulary of Alorese is Austronesian and the language is classified as belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of this family. A grammar sketch of Alorese is Klamer (forthcoming b). Stokhof (1975:9) and Steinhauer (1993:645) suggest that Alorese is a dialect of Lamaholot, a language spoken on the eastern tip of Flores and on western Solor, and also referred to as Lamalera (Keraf 1978) or Solor (Arndt 1937, Bouman 1943). Grimes et.al. (1997:57), however, state that Alorese has often been thought to be a dialect of Lamaholot because in the past, speakers of Alorese used to be bilingual in Lamaholot, the trade language used in the east Flores-Solor region. In Klamer (2007, forthcoming b) I compared the Lamaholot word list in Keraf (1978) with an Alorese word list (in the dialect of Baranusa on Pantar) collected on fieldwork in 2003, and concluded that there is about 50% lexical similarity in the basic vocabulary of Lamaholot and the Baranusa dialect of Alorese. This suggests that these two lects are different languages, not dialects.

Blagar is spoken on the islands Pura, Tereweng and Ternate, as well as on the east coast of Pantar by approx. 10,000 speakers (Steinhauer 1993). On Alor, Pura and Ternate, there are also Reta-speaking communities.

Kroku (also known as *Nabagening* lit. 'Do what?') is spoken in villages along the northeast coast opposite the islands of Ternate and Pura, as well as a little further inland. This may be the same language as the language referred to as Bukalabang in Steinhauer 1995.¹⁸

Deing (also referred to Diang) and Sar are spoken in the central and western part of the island. Previous sources have mentioned Deing and Teiwa as dialects of the same language, and Deing speakers report being able to understand Teiwa (Gary Holton, p.c. 2007). Teiwa and Sar have about 60% lexical similarity,¹⁹ and Deing, which is spoken in the same area (cf. Vatter 1932: 263, who describes Lebang as part of the Deing-speaking area) may be part of the same language chain.

In contrast to this, Nedebang, the immediate neighbour of Teiwa, is reported to be "very different" from the other languages surrounding it.²⁰ Holton (2004) reports that Nedebang is spoken in the villages of Balungada and Baulang and in Air Panas, which is administratively part of Balungada but

located one km. from the main village. Holton estimates the number of fluent speakers of Nedebang at about 200 (in 2004). The logonym Nedebang refers to the name of an ancestral village and is widely recognized by speakers, though some prefer the logonym Klamu, the name of the clan. The Klamu people moved from Nedebang to the coast “some time before Indonesian independence”, probably in the 1930’s. The ‘status aparte’ of the Nedebang according to Teiwa speakers may also have to do with the fact that relations between the Nedebang and the Teiwa were extremely hostile in the past, until about 150-200 years ago.

The language Kaera (also referred to by the clan name Dorit) is spoken by approximately 10,000 people on the east coast of Pantar (my fieldnotes, 2007). Although it is — in the Pantar context — a relatively big language, Kaera has not been mentioned in previous sources. Kaera is the name of the ancestor village (now deserted). The other logonym of the language is Dorit, the name of the clan that is considered as the most important one of a group of clans speaking this language. This name has also not featured in previous sources.

Bajo/Bajau is the Austronesian language of the coastal nomadic communities located through most of Indonesia, also referred to as ‘sea gypsies’, who came from Sulawesi, through Flores, and settled on the coast near Kabir in the 1950’s, with a second wave of Bajo arriving in 1999, from East Timor. Bajo/Bajau communities are also found on Alor, and elsewhere throughout Indonesia (cf. Verheijen 1986, Walton 1986).

1.4. Notes on the history of Alor and Pantar

The Alor archipelago was part of pre-colonial trading routes that existed between Timor, the Moluccas, Java, Sulawesi, China, Vietnam, and India. The influence of the Hindu-Javanese empire Majapahit also included Pantar and Alor in the 14th century (Cribb 2000:87, Rodemeier 2006). Long before the arrival of the European colonizers, precious silk from Gujarat (West India) was brought to Alor/Pantar. The first Indian textiles must have reached Pantar between the 12th century, when it started to be produced in Gujarat, and the 14th century (Rodemeier 2006:69). Majapahit is traditionally said to have fallen in 1478 (Cribb 2000: 87).

Around 1460, Islam arrived in the North-West Moluccan islands Tidore and Ternate (Cribb 2000:44), and the subsequent islamisation of the empires of Tidore and Ternate was also to include the 72 islands that were ruled by them — among which probably Pantar and Alor.

Old maps from the colonial times of the 15-16th centuries suggest that it was not common knowledge that Alor and Pantar were two separate islands. Portuguese and other merchants, sailing from the Moluccas and Makassar in

the north to the islands of Timor and Sumba in the south to buy wax, sandalwood, and slaves used to pass the islands between Lembata and Pantar,²¹ that is, west of Pantar. Another route they followed was east of Alor.

As Pantar and Alor are geographically located between Larantuka and Dili, two settlements established by the Portuguese in the 16th century, it is no surprise to find some Portuguese missionary activities in Alor beginning in 1561. While the Portuguese made some ‘treaties’²² with local rulers, their influence remained limited to some coastal regions in Pantar and the western part of Alor.

Some fifty black Portuguese soldiers (originating from Africa) travelled from Larantuka in East Flores and landed on Pantar in 1717 and build a settlement and a church in Pandai (Coolhaas 1979:297, Rodemeier 2006:78). From there they moved on to Alor. In the 19th century, Alor still remained part of a trade network with traders from Buton, Kupang, and Makassar, among others. For example, in 1851, every year more than 100 vessels came to the island to buy rice, corn and wax (Van Lynden 1851:333).

In a treaty negotiated in 1854 and ratified in 1859, Portugal ceded all its historical claims on Alor and Pantar (as well as Flores and Solor) to the Dutch, in exchange for the Dutch Pulau Kambing (Ataúru) north of Dili, Timor. The Dutch established a military post in Alor in 1860. During the following decades, the Dutch involvement with Alor remained limited: they stationed a “Posthouder” at the mouth of the Kabola bay around 1861 and basically left it at that. Only in 1910, under Governor-General Van Heutz, did the Dutch start a military campaign to put local rulers in Alor under Dutch control. The population was disarmed (Barnes 1974:10), and on campaign, the Dutch army also carried out a census. The figures of this census were used to levy taxes in the form of unpaid labour (*heerendiensten*) by the population (Dietrich 1985:279). Using these taxes, the capital Kalabahi and the roads radiating from it were built in 1906 (Nieuwenkamp 1922:71). In 1906, the Dutch also opened two schools in Alor Kecil and Dulolong in west Alor. In the 1920’s the *Nederlands Zendingsgenootschap* (NZG) ‘Dutch Missionary Society’ opened schools on Pantar. In the Dutch schools, the language of education was Malay, as elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies. On Pantar in the 1920’s, tax was also paid by labour, and many roads were built. The labourers were supervised by *kneko* (<Dutch *knecht* ‘servant’) or *opas* (<Dutch *oppasser* ‘caretaker’) from other regions. Today, many of these roads are still in use, in more or less the same shape; most of them are useful as motorbike and horse trails but too narrow for cars.

The Japanese occupation of Alor and Pantar lasted from 1942-1945. Most elderly people tell stories about the cruel and barbarious treatment of local people by members of the Japanese army, as well as the lack of food and clothes during those years. Until 1945, there were regular revolts from local

rulers (see the reports in Van Gaalen 1945: 2-9); and only after World War II was the presence of Dutch law generally accepted. With the declaration of independence in 1945, Alor and Pantar became part of the *Republik Indonesia*.

Today, the Dutch cultural influence is most visible in Kalabahi, and in the Kabola peninsula. This is probably because the Dutch administration and schools were located there. But even there the effects of the Dutch education remained rather limited: in 1937 (after having been a Dutch colony for more than 60 years!), only 7.5% of the children on Alor were going to school (2,089 out of a total population of 28,063 boys and girls, Van Gaalen 1945: 24, 41a).

1.5. Religion

Nowadays, the majority of the people on Alor and Pantar are protestant Christians and members of one of the *Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor* (GMIT) churches.²³ Islam is the minority religion on Alor and Pantar. Muslims and Christians coexist peacefully on the island; ethnic or religious conflicts appear to be absent. People living in one village typically have common ancestors; many villages are mainly Christian, some villages are mainly Muslim.²⁴ The traditional animist religion(s) adhered to on Alor and Pantar are not mentioned in the official statistics.

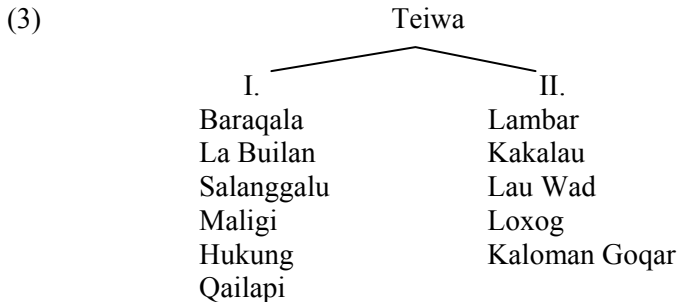
The coastal populations of Alor and Pantar (among which today's speakers of Bahasa Alor) became islamized in the 16th century under influence of the Tidore sultanate (see section 1.4 above).

According to some elderly consultants in Madar (west Pantar, fieldnotes 2004), indigenous Christian evangelists from the island of Roti established the GMIT churches in Pantar in the 19th century, well before the Dutch came to the island. People in Abangiwang (east Pantar, fieldnotes 2007) told me that the christian churches on Pantar were only established in the 1920's by Dutch missionaries. Since 1906, missionaries from the *Indische Kerk* (the Dutch Reformed Church in the East Indies) were working on Alor (Fox 1980: 242). The Dutch missionaries in the Alor Archipelago were Binckhuyzen (1916-1920), Van Dalen (1922-1924), Akkerman (1924-1926), Vermeulen (1926-1927), Boeken Kruger (1928-1935), Feunekes (1936-1939) and Mollema (1941-1942) (Rodemeier 2006: 83); from the sources it is unclear if apart from going to Alor, some of them also went to Pantar.

The catholic mission only expanded in the years after 1965, when adherents to the traditional animist religion(s) (i.e., anyone who was not a Christian, Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist), was considered a communist and as such an enemy of the state. As enemies of the state were subject to capital punishment, most of those who had remained animists under the Dutch converted to the catholic faith to avoid such punishment.

1.6. Anthropological notes

The Teiwa live in exogamous patrilineal clans: children belong to their father's clan. Teiwa is the name of a cluster of (sub-)clans with the same ancestors. The Teiwa branch out into two different geneological supergroups (or moieties). Each moiety contains several clans, the names of which are given in (3).



Further, each clan consists of several families, not listed here. Intermarriage is not allowed within a moiety, but it is allowed across the two moieties and outside the tribe. In war, the two moieties are natural allies, and they will not fight each other.

Figure 1.5 (overleaf) represents the kin terms used by the Teiwa. They refer to the terms for members of ego's own clan. In this figure, ego is female; I have no data for a male ego. The terms *na-gas qai* 'my sister' and *n-ian qai* 'my brother' refer to one's siblings as well as to the offspring of mother's sister and father's brother, the classificatory siblings. Ego's father's brother is referred to as *n-oma* 'my father', and ego's mother's sister is referred to as *na-xala* 'my mother'. They are the classificatory parents, and their offspring are classificatory siblings. The kinship system is thus based on cross-cousins: children of same-sex siblings are classed as siblings, whereas children of opposite-sex siblings are cross-cousins. Classificatory siblings are (of course) not allowed to marry each other. Mother's brother (*n-umer*) and father's sister (*na-xaler*) are part of other clans. The terms *n-ian* 'female cousin' and *na-dias* 'male cousin' refer to their offspring.

The children of ego's sister are considered as her own children, and referred to as *n-oqai* 'my-child'. These children consider each other as brothers and sisters and are not allowed to marry each other. The offspring of ego's brother however, are referred to as *na-rat (emaq)* (daughter) and *na'ii* (son), and as these children belong to another clan they are the potential wives and husbands of ego's children — in fact, they are considered the perfect choice for a spouse.

Marriage is patrilocal; women marry into the clan of their husband. In marriage, the groom's dowry is called *go'oi paxal* (the literal meaning of this expression is unknown). The *go'oi paxal* consists of metal gongs and *moko*. The father of the bride becomes the owner of the gongs and *moko*.

Moko are bronze kettle drums, and they are used as dowry throughout Alor and Pantar. Some of the *moko* are very old, and on the basis of their shapes and decorations they are generally assumed to originate from the Dong-Son culture of Vietnam (400-100 BC). How they came to Alor/Pantar is unknown (cf. Higham 1996). The ancient *moko* are referred to in Indonesian as *moko tanah* 'earth drums' because they were excavated, or found in caves. Many *moko*, however, seem to be of more recent origin, and were probably made in Java in the 19th century (Nieuwenkamp 1919a,b). Since 1860, *moko*'s were forged in Gresik, close to Surabaya (cf. Vatter 1932:239). Traders from Makassar imported these drums to Alor and Pantar, where they are called *moko makassar/jawa* 'Makassar/Javanese drums' or *moko baru* 'new drums'. Many *moko* were collected and destroyed by the Dutch administration in the 1920's and 1930's (Nieuwenkamp 1922) (compare Bernet Kempers 1988).

The bride's family pays the groom's family with *in qas taraxa* (lit. 'thing torn bury', i.e. 'torn things to bury'), which consists of traditional woven cloth, women's clothes such as *kebaya* 'women's shirt', and jewelry. Silk cloth called *patola* may also be part of the bride's dowry. This silk originates from Gujarat in West India, and a lot of it was imported from India to Eastern Indonesia by European merchants in the 18th century. However, it was already in use before then: Rodemeier (2006) reconstructs that the first silk *patola* must have reached Pantar already between the 12th and 14th century, through connections between the Hindu-Javanese kingdom Majapahit and the kingdom Munaseli in Tanjung Muna on Pantar (cf. Klamer forthcoming b).

Polygamy was allowed until the 1960's, when the church forbade it.

Traditional inheritance rules are as follows. When a man dies, his eldest son inherits all his possessions (which may include land, money, traditional cloth, and jewelry). However, when the son is not yet an adult, his father's younger brother will be responsible for the inheritance until he reaches adulthood. A daughter has, or will become a member of her husband's clan, and will not inherit anything because it would effectively mean that the inheritance goes to her husband's clan. When a woman dies, the inheritance stays with her husband, and if he dies, it goes to their eldest son.

Each clan has a *kepala suku* 'clan head' (Indonesian). This is a hereditary title, which goes from father to eldest son. Clearly, the daughter of a clan head cannot inherit her father's title, as she will move out of the clan when she marries. Traditionally, the clan head lived in a *rumah adat* 'traditional (community) house' (Indonesian), but such houses are no longer in use today.²⁵

Each *desa* (usually a cluster of several hamlets) also has a *kepala desa* ‘village head’. Village heads represent the local government, and are elected every four years. A woman can be elected as village head — in Pantar there are a few examples of female village heads.

The naming practice is as follows. When an individual is asked for his/her name, the first name given is the name of the tribe, then one’s given name, followed by the father’s family name. For example, *Teiwa Jance Wa’ang* refers to an individual from the Teiwa clan named Jance, who through his father belongs to the family Wa’ang. A given name such as *Jance* is given when a baby is eight days old, by the parents. Spouses are referred to as *emaq* ‘wife’ and *misi* ‘husband’.

Children are addressed and referred to by their given name, or with the (alienable) noun *bif* ‘younger sibling’, which has a generic reference in contrast to the inalienable noun *-oqai*: *n-oqai* ‘my child’. A group of children can be addressed and referred to with *biar (kriman)* ‘children’.²⁶

Family members are referred to by with the terms given in figure 1.5, and not by their given names, as this is considered bad manners.²⁷ Siblings as a group (female and male) are referred to as *dan ni’ir*, and addressed as *bawe*. My (classificatory) siblings I address with *matu’* when they are older, and with *bif* when they are younger. A sibling of the same sex is addressed as *ka’au*.²⁸

To be polite, the given names of older, respected people are preceded by *Kri* ‘Mr’ for men, and *Quaf* ‘Mrs’ for women. For example, *Kri Aser* ‘Mr Aser’, *Quaf Mani* ‘Mrs Mani’. This is done in reference, by family as well as non-family members. To address an elderly family member, one uses the term *na-rata* ‘my grandmother/father’. An elderly man that is not part of one’s family can be addressed with *na-ree* ‘1sg-elderly/respected man’ or with *Kri* ‘Sir’ and an elderly woman that is not family can be addressed with *Quaf* ‘Madam’.

The following age groups have different terms of address and reference. Children up to 12 years old are *biar kriman* (plural addressee/referent) or *bif* (singular). Adolescents are *bog biar* or *bog wal* ‘teenagers’ (unspecified for sex). An unmarried woman is *eqar hovar*, an unmarried man is *masar hovar*.²⁹

One of the major cultural expressions found all over Alor and Pantar are the *lego-lego* dances, called *soxai* ‘traditional dance’ in Teiwa. *Soxai* dances are performed on festive occasions, such as weddings, the arrival of important guests, or the harvesting of rice. Some of the dances are warrior dances that used to be performed when the men returned from war with neighbouring clans in former days. *Soxai* dances typically start at dusk, and continue till dawn. The dances are performed by chains or circles of people, with arms locked, slowly moving sideways circling the village dance place. Traditionally, the dance place was a sacred place made by a circle of rocks

around a big tree, and the *soxai* was a sacred dance. Nowadays, the dances no longer have a sacred or ritual meaning, and can also be held on an open square in the middle of the village. The music is performed by a band of 3 to 4 men who are standing in the middle of the circle, and hit various types and sizes of drums and gongs. Some of the dancing men and women wear ankle belts with small bells.

In most of the traditional Pantar dances women and men form separate chains: a circle of women moves in the middle, and the men are circling around them. There are also dances where men and women form a joint circle, these are the more popular ones today. Ideally, the dancers wear a traditional outfit. For the men this is a warrior's outfit of a short sarong (above the knees) and a bare chest, wearing a traditional cloth or a band of chicken feathers around the head. The women wear long woven sarongs and shirts and may have wooden, beaded adornments in their hair and around their head. Two men holding swords lead the line of dancers. On the rhythmical music of the gongs and drums, one leading man yells a line of the lyrics of a certain particular *soxai* 'traditional dance', and the dancers respond in chorus. The lyrics of the dances are only known by a few elderly men (approx. 40 years and up), and these men typically travel around the villages to act as the leading singer of the *lego-lego*. The lyrics of the dances performed by Teiwa people, are in Lamma, one of the dialects of West Pantar, spoken in Southwest Pantar. I did not meet anyone who could translate the lyrics. I have not heard about dances with lyrics in Teiwa. When asked about the origin of the Lamma lyrics, the consultants suggested: "Maybe they mean that in former times there were cultural connections between the Lamma and the Teiwa speakers. But we don't know anything about this anymore."

1.7. On the genetic affiliation of the languages of Pantar and Alor

Eastern Indonesia is the meeting ground of languages belonging to the Austronesian and Papuan language families. The Austronesian (AN) language family is a well-defined group, but the term 'Papuan' is generally used as a cover term for the perhaps 800 languages spoken in New Guinea and its vicinity that are not Austronesian (Ross 2005:15). The label 'Papuan' is generally considered to be synonymous with 'non-Austronesian' (NAN), and says nothing about the genealogical ties between the languages.³⁰

The non-Austronesian ('Papuan') languages of the Alor archipelago are clearly related to each other, as indicated by their very similar pronominal paradigms (Stokhof 1975), as well as the many cognates and regular sound correspondences found across the group (Klamer, et.al. 2009, Holton et. al. 2009).

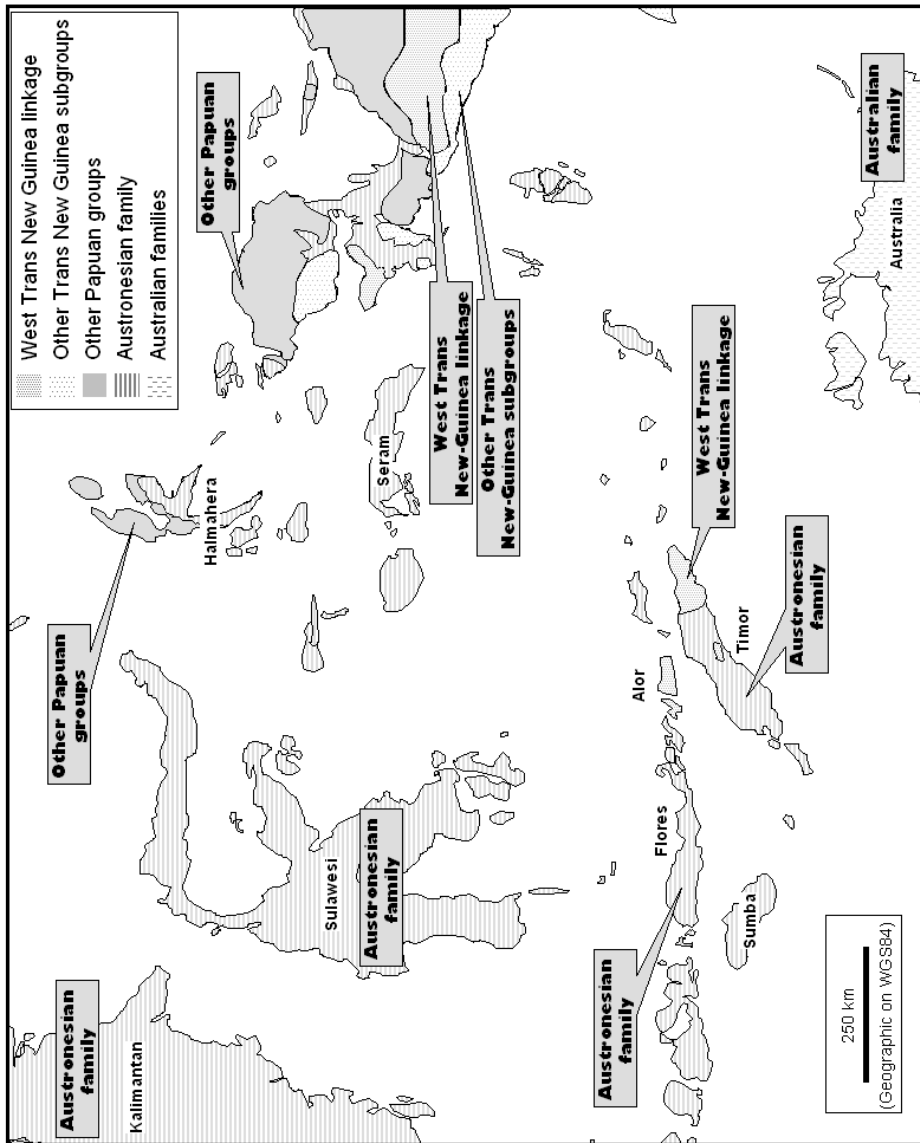


Figure 1.6. Austronesian and non-Austronesian ('Papuan') language families in E Indonesia, after Ross (2005: 10, 31).

While the Alor-Pantar languages are clearly non-Austronesian, their long distance genetic relationship to other non-Austronesian/Papuan languages remains controversial. Located some 1,000 km from their nearest Papuan neighbour on the New Guinea mainland, they are considered the most distant westerly Papuan outlier.

Papuan languages are both lexically and morpho-syntactically a highly heterogeneous group, and due to lack of shared vocabularies, the familiar methods of lexical comparison are often hard to apply in comparative studies of these languages. (For discussion and references, see Foley 1986, 2000). This in itself is not a surprise, since most successful reconstructions in other language families go back only as far as approximately 6,000 to maximally 10,000 years (Nichols 1998:128), and have benefited from both archaeological and historical linguistic evidence. By contrast, the language(s) from which the present-day Papuan languages descend may have been present in eastern Indonesia East Nusantara for some 40,000 years.³¹ This is far too long ago to apply the comparative method.

Within the heterogeneous group of Papuan languages, various genealogical units have been suggested. Wurm (1982) proposed five major phyla of ‘Papuan’ languages (as well as six minor ones and a number of isolates). More conservative estimates (e.g. Foley 1986) suggest that there are at least 60 different Papuan families, some consisting of only a few members or even isolates. The largest family of Papuan languages that has been proposed is the Trans New Guinea (TNG) family, with about 300 languages (Ross 1995b, 2005). With two million speakers, this family comprises about half the Papuan speaking population (Foley 2000:363).

Using pronominal evidence only, the Papuan languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar are hypothesized to be members of this large Trans New Guinea family in Ross (2005:35-36) (see figure 1.6). Ross assigns them to the ‘West Trans New Guinea linkage’, which embraces three areas: the western part or the main cordillera of New Guinea (Wissel Lakes, Dani), the Bomberai Peninsula of the Bird’s Head, and parts of Timor, Alor and Pantar.

The group of languages is labeled a ‘linkage’ in the sense of Ross (1988:9-11) because it has resulted from the gradual diversification of (part of) an earlier dialect chain rather than from a discrete protolanguage. A linkage is characterized by a pattern of overlapping innovations. The languages of the Dani, Wissel Lakes, West Bomberai and East Timor microgroups all reflect an innovation whereby **ani* ‘I’ has replaced pTNG **na*. However, this innovation is not reflected in the West Timor-Alor-Pantar microgroup. On the other hand, the West Bomberai, East Timor and West Timor-Alor-Pantar microgroups all reflect an innovative form **bi* ‘we’ (Ross 2005:36). So the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages share one pronominal retention with some

members of the linkage, and one pronominal innovation with other members of the linkage (see also Ch. 3, section 3.2).³²

Ross (2005) presents evidence that the homeland of the TNG family is located somewhere in the eastern highlands of New Guinea. If the outlier languages in Pantar-Alor indeed belong to the TNG family, they must have spread (as a result of language shift, or by means of people's migrations starting about 6,000 BP, Ross 2005: 41) from the eastern part of the New Guinea mainland, all the way to Pantar, Alor, and Timor, reaching the area perhaps 4,500-4,000 BP (Bellwood 1997:123, Pawley 1998:684-5, Ross 2005:42). One conventional view is thus that the Papuan outliers in Pantar-Alor and Timor represent remnant populations of an east-west expansion of Papuan languages that predated the Austronesian intervention (see also Pawley 1998:684-5, Foley 2000).

Another view is to assume that these patches of Papuan languages (and their putative relatives of the South Bird's Head and Bomberai peninsula) are ancestral to the TNG family, and remnants of ancient populations that had arrived by a migration wave that occurred around 20,000 BP from Wallacea into Sahul, through the Lesser Sunda islands, onto present-day north Australia and Aru island, with a northward trek into the New Guinean highlands, the ancestors of the TNG speakers (see also note 31, and Dunn and Reesink 2007). In this scenario, the Alor Pantar languages are stay-behind descendants of the TNG precursors. This view is also expressed in Klamer et.al. (2008), who point to the circumstantial evidence which can be found in the human genetic information that is available for this area. This genetic information shows that there is indeed an ancient connection between Timor and Halmahera regions and the Papuan mainland New Guinea. For example, Capelli et al. (2001) report a study which included a population sample from the Bird's Head. Its results identified a haplogroup of the Y chromosome that is mainly restricted to Melanesia. Outside Melanesia it has a high frequency in Alor, and Capelli et al. (2001) relate this to the presence of Papuan languages in the region of Timor and the smaller islands of Alor and Pantar. The same study (Capelli et al. 2001:435) also reports deep splits between mainland Southeast Asian, insular Southeast Asian, and Melanesian Y chromosomes – with Polynesians closely associated with the Melanesian clusters, suggesting that this split may have happened at 12,000 BP or earlier. Because this haplogroup is also found in Australia, it suggests a common ancestry for Australia and Melanesia. Kayser et al. (2003) found four haplogroups on the Y-chromosome that most likely arose in Melanesia, before the Austronesian expansion. They have a distribution of high frequencies in the Highlands of New Guinea, and three of them are also found in eastern Indonesia (Nusa Tenggara) and the Moluccas, with higher frequencies in Papuan speaking populations than in Austronesian speaking groups.

In conclusion, the issue remains unsettled whether the Papuan languages presently spoken in the Timor-Alor-Pantar are the result of east-west migrations from the New Guinea highlands between 6,000 and 4,000 BP, or whether they are remnants of an earlier population that had migrated west-east some 20,000 years ago through the Lesser Sunda islands, with a subsequent trek into the highlands of New Guinea.

To complicate matters, there is no reason to assume that the present-day languages on Alor, Pantar and Timor are the descendants of a single group of prehistoric populations, or the result of a single wave of migrations. Rather, it is far more plausible that they constitute a complex mix of prehistoric populations and various east-west migrations. Moreover, within historic times, there have also been numerous migrations going on between the various islands of eastern Indonesia.

As one illustration of this latter point, consider the Papuan languages in the eastern part of East Timor: Makasai, Oirata, and Fataluku. There is clear evidence that these languages post-date the arrival of the Austronesians, and were probably the result of a back-migration from the Bomberai peninsula. One type of evidence is archaeological, and comes from rock art motives found in various archaeological sites in East Timor. Most of these sites are found on the eastern part of East Timor (see O'Connor 2003, Figure 1, p. 97), in areas that are currently populated by communities speaking a Papuan language. However, the rock art motives found in these sites show significant stylistic affinities with painted art elsewhere in the Western Pacific. In the Pacific sites, the art co-occurs with Austronesian settlements that postdate the Austronesian expansion (O'Connor 2003:109). What this suggests is that the eastern part of East Timor was previously occupied by speakers of (an) Austronesian language(s), and that non-Austronesian speakers moved into that area in historic times (2,000 years ago, or later, O'Connor 2003: 118). Anthropological evidence presented in McWilliam (2004) confirms this: Fataluku, a Papuan language on the eastern tip of East Timor, was adopted into an Austronesian speaking culture that already existed there before.³³

A much more recent migration of Papuan speakers into another area of eastern Indonesia is the case presented in Bouman (1943: 484), who reports the oral tradition according to which the Tanglapui (non-Austronesian) in east Alor descend from immigrants from Timor, and came to Alor about 15 generations ago [in 1943]. Bouman also reports that the coastal populations in central and east Alor are descendants from immigrants from Kisar, Timor, as well as Ende (Bouman 1943: 485). Oral traditions like this may suggest that populations (and their languages) as they are found in certain locations today do not necessarily descend from ancient populations in that same location.

Clearly, the migratory and linguistic interactions between non-Austronesian and Austronesian populations in East Nusantara has been

ongoing and complex. While there is general consensus that Papuan populations in Alor and Pantar are pre-historic and predate the arrival of the Austronesians, individual non-Austronesian languages may be the result of migration that took place in historic, or even recent, times.

1.8. The general typological profile of Teiwa

Teiwa has eight vowels /i, i:, u, u:, a, a, ε, ɔ/, and twenty consonants. The consonants include a velar, uvular and a glottal stop, as well as an contrast between a pharyngeal and a glottal fricative that is exceptional for the languages of Eastern Indonesia (cf. Hajek 2009).³⁴ Stress is trochaic. A prosodic word contains at most three syllables, maximally one of which — the final one — is heavy; and it has at most three morae. Words with two or more heavy syllables, and/or more than three morae, are analysed as prosodic word compounds (Ch. 2).

With a preverbal subject and object, clause-final verbs, negations and conjunctions, Teiwa is syntactically head-final. Word order is rather fixed. The first clause of (4) illustrates SV constituent order, the second illustrates APV order.³⁵

- (4) *Qau a ta ewar mis. Mis-an a ta man pi'i.*
 good 3s TOP return sit sit-REAL 3s TOP grass twine
 ‘So she sits down again. Sitting she twines grass’

Teiwa has accusative alignment: S and A are treated alike, as opposed to P.³⁶ The grammatical relations subject and object are formally identified by choice of pronoun as well as constituent order (Ch. 3, 4, 11). A Teiwa verb has maximally one grammatical object, which can have various semantic roles, including patient, theme, location, goal, source, recipient, benefactive, and comitative.

Teiwa has a number of word order characteristics that are typical for verb-final languages (see Dryer 2007a and the references cited there). First, Teiwa negations always occur in post-predicate position, as illustrated in (5):

- (5) *Na iman ga-pak-an iman suk-an maan.*
 1s they 3s-call- REAL they exit.come.down- REAL NEG
 ‘I called them [but] they didn’t come out’

Second, the indigenous conjunctions of the language occur in clause final position, or, if they do not belong to either of the clauses they link, they are

prosodically grouped with the first conjunct; see Ch. 10, section 10.4 for discussion and illustrations.

Another feature related to the head-final character of Teiwa is that in nominal possessive constructions, possessors always precedes their possessee, as in (6):

- (6) *Rai ga-yaf*
king 3s-house
'The king's house'

In non-possessed NPs, however, the noun is the initial element, as illustrated in (7) and (8). This order does not correlate with the general head-final (OV) order of Teiwa, although postnominal adjectives and demonstratives are not unusual in languages that are otherwise head-final (compare Dryer 1992, and see Chapter 5).

- (7) *Xaf uwaad*
fish big
'A big fish'
- (8) *Uy a*
person PROX
'This person'

Teiwa comparative constructions are bi-clausal (see Ch. 6, section 6.11): two non-verbal clauses are linked by the markers (M) *daga(r)* 'be like, compared with', *mo* 'as' or a combination of them *mo daga(r)*.³⁷ In (9), the comparative marker *dagar* 'like' is used. Observe that the object of comparison (Obj) is the subject in the first clause, and the standard of comparison (St) is the subject in the second clause. The clauses are linked by the comparative marker. (Clause boundaries are indicated by square brackets.)

- (9) [*Gelas a xa'a tab ii*]
glass PROX this truly red
Obj Adj
'This glass is more red (Lit. 'This glass [is] really red')

dagar [*ga-af'o ga'an di oxoran*]
be.like 3s-over.there 3s only thus
M St
than that one over there.'

- (12) *Pi pi-krian i er a gula' sin.*
 1pi 1pi-work PROX make 3s finish first
 'We first finish our work here'

Teiwa lacks a dedicated relative clause construction. In order to modify a head noun, it is marked with the focus marker *la*. The focus marker is employed to mark the information which the speaker intends to introduce into the discourse. Focus expressions are typically followed by pragmatically presupposed propositions (see Chapter 11). The sentences in (13) illustrate some basic features of Teiwa focus NPs. First, they are pragmatically rather than grammatically determined: the clause in (13a) is grammatical but has no focus NP, compare (13b,c) which each contain a different focus NP. Second, the semantic role of a focus NP is variable: it may be an agent, (13b), an addressee, (13c), a location, (14), or a temporal setting, (15).

- (13) a. *Rai na-soi ga-kamadal ga-boxan tas.*
 king 1S-order 3S-belt 3S-guard stand
 'The king ordered me to guard his belt'
- b. [*Rai la*] *na-soi ga-kamadal ga-boxan tas.*
 king FOC 1S-order 3S-belt 3S-guard stand
 'The king ordered me to guard his belt'
- c. *Rai [na la] soi ga-kamadal ga-boxan tas.*
 king 1S FOC order 3S-belt 3S-guard stand
 'I was ordered by the king to guard his belt'
- (14) *Yi [amidan la] g-om ma ga-uyan?*
 2p what FOC 3S-inside come 3S-search
 'Where (lit. in what) are you searching it?'
- (15) *Na riaq a na'*
 1S fear 3S maybe
 'I fear that maybe'
- [wad teran la] a min-an ga-x.*
 today midnight FOC 3S die-REAL 3S-possess
 he'll die tonight'

Clauses following a focus NP function as relative clauses. This is expected because cross-linguistically, restrictive relative clauses are typically reserved for the coding of pragmatically presupposed propositions (cf. Lambrecht

1994:51). However, this does not imply that the Teiwa focus marker *la* is a relative marker, because it occurs in grammatical contexts where a relative clause marker would never be expected to appear. An illustration is (16), where *la* marks the serial verb construction *biran aria* ‘run arrive’ as the focus expression.

- (16) *Iman una’ tup-an,*
 they also get.up-REAL
 They also got up,

[*bir-an aria’ la*] *maraqai Lau Uwaad Bir...*
 run-REAL arrive FOC up L. U. B.
ran (to) arrive up there at *Lau Uwaad Bir...*

In sum, despite the fact that there is some functional overlap between focus NP — presupposition constructions in Teiwa, and complex NPs containing a relative clause in other languages, the marker *la* in Teiwa marks focus, and Teiwa lacks dedicated relative clause constructions.

Teiwa has no adpositions (Ch. 3, section 3.0, Ch. 9, section 9.7). The language makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (SVCs). In this work, Teiwa SVCs are defined as two or more verbs that occur in combination without an overt marker of coordination or syntactic dependency, and share minimally one argument (the grammatical subject) which is expressed maximally once. Teiwa SVCs share adverbs and negators. Verbs in SVCs express various adverbial notions, mark modality and aspect, and are used to introduce additional participants in the clause. In particular the deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’ is used frequently with a variety of different functions that developed through a process of grammaticalization (see Klamer 2009). One of its functions is to introduce additional participants in the clause with variable semantic roles, including goals, sources, locations, instruments, as well as displaced themes (Ch. 9).

With respect to its morphological profile, Teiwa appears to be a language towards the isolating end of the continuum. Inflectional prefixes index the person and number features of animate objects on the verb; subjects and inanimate objects are not indexed on the verb. Teiwa has only one verbal suffix *-(a)n* (Ch. 7, section 7.1). This suffix marks realis status on verbs (glossed as ‘REAL’). Teiwa has a limited number of nominal and verbal compounds (Ch. 3, section 3.1.2, and 3.3.11), and no dedicated morphology to derive nominals, although a secondary function of the 3rd person possessor prefix *ga-* is to nominalize adjectives, locational nouns, adverbs, and question words (Ch. 3, section 3.1.3). The language has only one verbal derivational prefix: applicative *un-*, which is no longer productive (Ch. 3, section 3.3.12).

Teiwa nouns do not inflect for number, gender or case. The person and number of a possessor is expressed with a prefix on the possessed noun, as in (6) and (12) above. Alienable and inalienable possession are distinguished: in alienable possession, the possessor prefix is optional, in inalienable possession, it is obligatory. When a possessor is emphasized, a long pronoun is used for an alienable possessor and a short one for an inalienable possessor (Ch. 5, section 5.2).

Teiwa has no morpho-syntactically marked passive construction. Agent subjects may be pragmatically ‘back-grounded’ by using the generic noun *hala* ‘others, unknown people’. *Hala* expresses an unspecified subject (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007a: 354). An illustration is (17). An alternative English translation of this sentence would be one with a passive: ‘He was given raw rice, some water was brought [to him], he was told to eat’.

- (17) ...*hala qar weg mat ma ga-mian*,
 others rice raw take come 3s-put.at
 ‘...others gave him raw rice,

yir la pin ma hala wa qau ga-soi na...
 water FOC hold come others say good 3s-order eat
 water [was] brought [to him], they told him to eat...’

Note that in such constructions, *hala* is the grammatical subject: it occurs in subject position, and the morpho-syntax of the sentence is identical to main declarative clauses with an overt subject. The subject-backgrounding effect is caused only by the generic, unspecific referential properties of the subject noun *hala*. The fore-grounding of objects, the other function of a passive, is done in Teiwa by marking objects as focus expressions (with the marker *la*), or by moving them to a contrastive focus position (Ch. 11). Patients can also become the subject of middle constructions (Ch. 3, section 3.3.4).

In conclusion, Teiwa phonology, morphology and syntax are relatively simple. Clauses are often combined by juxtaposition or by coordinating conjunctions. Serial verb constructions are very much used. There are no morpho-syntactically marked subordinated clauses (such as complement clauses and relative clauses). The language has no passive, no case marking, and no adpositions.

1.9. The typological profile of Teiwa in the Papuan context

How does the morphology and syntax of Teiwa compare to the typological profile of other Papuan or Non-Austronesian languages? Papuan languages,

although not a genealogical class, share a number of characteristics that may point to a ‘closer affinity between these languages’ (Wurm 1982:36). This affinity could be genealogical in origin, but it could also be the result of language contact and language mixing (Wurm 1982, Foley 1986).

Foley (2000) and Aikhenvald and Stebbins (2007) include overviews of general ‘Papuan’ characteristics. Here I list here only a few general ones, including those that are of particular relevance for Teiwa.

The great majority of Papuan languages have only a single liquid phoneme, while a phonemic distinction between /r/ and /l/ is the rule for Austronesian languages. Teiwa has both liquid phonemes. Gender is commonly marked (Foley 2000:371) in Papuan languages, case marking is less common; Teiwa has neither. Most Papuan languages have at least one bound pronominal for subjects. This may be a prefix or a suffix, but is usually a suffix (Foley 2000:377). Teiwa subjects are free pronouns that precede object and verb. Syntactically, however, Teiwa shares with other Papuan languages the fact that it is overwhelmingly head-final, with OV constituent order, final negations, and final conjunctions (see section 1.8). And just like many Papuan languages make extensive use of serial verb constructions (Foley 2000: 385, Aikhenvald and Stebbins 2007:252-253), Teiwa does too. However, other features that have been mentioned as typical for Papuan languages are absent in Teiwa. They include: clause chaining (often with a concomitant switch reference system), a morphological contrast between ‘medial’ and ‘final’ verbs (as found in most core members of the TNG family, Pawley 2005: 91), the presence of subordinated or dependent (‘medial’) clauses, as well as a (relatively) rich system of inflectional and derivational affixes. In general, Teiwa is morpho-syntactically simpler than many other Papuan languages.

However, Teiwa distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession, a distinction found in a number of different Papuan families, and present in virtually all the Papuan languages of eastern Indonesia (with the exception of some in North Halmahera). This distinction is argued to be a typical Papuan trait in Klamer et.al. (2008). Another feature that is arguably Papuan and also found in Teiwa is the order ‘possessor-possesum’ in a possessive noun phrase.³⁹ In Teiwa, possessors occur before the possessed noun whenever the possessor is expressed by a full noun (phrase) and the possessive relation is inalienable, see Ch. 5).

Also, in Teiwa, as in most of the other Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar, we find an opposition inclusive-exclusive for the first person plural. While this distinction is a general feature of Austronesian languages (reconstructed even for Proto-Austronesian), it is not generally found in Papuan languages spoken in the interior of New Guinea, and is arguably the most noticeable Austronesian feature that diffused into the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar (Klamer et.al. 2008). Finally, Teiwa shows traces of a

quinary numeral system, which is common among Papuan languages (Aikhenvald and Stebbins 2007:245).

1.10. The research

1.10.1. Methodological approach, data collection and fieldwork

The data for this book have been collected on site in three periods of fieldwork. The first fieldwork took place from mid May 2003 to mid August 2003. The second fieldwork was a period of three weeks in July-August 2004. The third period was a brief visit of three days, in May 2007. In all the fieldwork periods, several native speaker consultants (see the list in (18) provided invaluable help.

The corpus used for this grammar contains seven narrative texts. In June 2003, several short stories were recorded with native speakers of Teiwa living in Kalabahi (Alor). A month later, in July 2003, the longer narrative texts and a conversation were collected in Madar on Pantar. As traditional narratives make up the oral literature, and are an important part of the cultural heritage of Pantar communities, these are easy texts to collect. In addition to the texts and a conversation, the corpus consists of the data that is listed in section 1.10.2 below.

In order to obtain visual as well as audio data of the language, all recordings were made using a Sony digital video camera with an external microphone. The transcriptions and translations of all the texts were made in Kalabahi, between June and August, 2003. The main assistant for the transcriptions and initial translations was Lorens Titing (born 1981), a native speaker of Teiwa who was a student of English language and literature in Kalabahi at the time. Paradigms, morphological phenomena and syntactic structures that could not be discovered through texts, were elicited using Indonesian as the intermediate language. The glossed and translated texts were then entered into Toolbox, and a Toolbox lexicon was compiled.

In the spring of 2004 a first analysis and a first sketch of the grammar of Teiwa was written. In July-August 2004, I returned to Madar (Pantar) with about 100 pages of questions about the material in my corpus, as well as additional questions and topics for elicitation. For three weeks I worked through these questions and topics with the help of a group of consultants. Every day had about 7-8 hours of consultation sessions (in the morning, afternoon, and sometimes also in the evening), with variable groups of two-four native speakers, in changing configurations. During the academic year 2005-2006 several draft chapters were written. These were revised and some

additional chapters written during the academic year 2006-2007. In May 2007, I returned to Madar for a visit of a few days, in order to check the form and semantics of the 1,320 items in the Teiwa word list, and to collect lexical items for some specific semantic domains, including kinship terms, weather expressions and locative expressions. During these days I worked for a total of about 20 hours with groups of 3-5 consultants. The pre-final draft of the grammar was completed between February and May 2008, and the final draft in April and May 2009. Mr Amos Sir did a final check of the word list in June 2009, and send his corrections and suggestions by email.

The main consultants of the research, as well as their sociolinguistic profiles are listed in (18).

(18) Main consultants in the research and their sociolinguistic profile

Mr Aser Pering (1959). Place of birth: Madar. Stayed in Madar all his life. Schooling: Junior high school (*SMP*). Occupation: Village Head (*Kepala desa*) and farmer. Other language besides Teiwa: Indonesian/Malay. Speaks Teiwa with his wife, and Malay/Indonesian with his children.

Mr Lorens Titing (1981). Place of birth: Madar, kampong Padang. Schooling: Senior high school (1997-2000) on Pantar. University (Universitas Kristen Artha Wancana, Kalabahi branch), English language and literature from 2001-2005 in Kalabahi. Occupation in 2003-2004: student. Other languages besides Teiwa: Indonesian/Malay, some English. Language used when in Kalabahi: Indonesian/Malay. Both parents are Teiwa speakers. Used Teiwa with his parents and siblings in Pantar when he visits them occasionally.

Mr Justus Wa'ang (1957) [only remotely related to M. Wa'ang]. Place of birth: Madar. Stayed in Madar almost all of his life. Schooling: Senior high school (SMA, 1984). Lived and worked in Kupang (Timor) from 1984-1988. Current occupation: Farmer. Other language besides Teiwa: Indonesian/Malay. The language of his wife is Kroku, and he speaks Indonesian/Malay with her and his children. His wife speaks Kroku or Indonesian/Malay with him, and Kroku with the children.

Mr Menason Wa'ang (1969). Place of birth: Tamalabang, desa Kaleb. Stayed in Madar almost all of his life. Schooling: Junior high school (SMP) in Kaleb, senior high school (SMA) in Kabir (1983). Lived and worked in Kupang (Timor) from 1983-1988. Current occupation: Farmer. Other language besides Teiwa: Indonesian/Malay. His wife is also a Teiwa speaker. The languages used at home are Indonesian/Malay and Teiwa.

1.10.2. The corpus

The Teiwa corpus consists of the recordings listed below; with a total recording time of about 2,5 hours. Some metadata are given in table 1.1. Note that the corpus also contains 628 records with ‘Additional utterances’.

These include elicited sentences and expressions and utterances that consultants provided spontaneously as additional information when we were discussing the transcribed texts, and utterances that I overheard when they were used around me. The Teiwa lexicon used for this study consists of 1,312 words. The sociolinguistic profile of the speakers is given in (19).

(19) Speakers on the recordings⁴⁰ and their sociolinguistic profile:

Mr Paulus Kai (1939). Place of birth: desa Madar (in a village up in the mountains). Schooling: primary school. Occupation: Farmer. Other language: Indonesian/Malay. Came to live at the coast in 1971. Stayed in Madar all his life. His parents both spoke Teiwa.

Mr Seprianus Pering [brother of Aser Pering] (1969). Place of birth: Madar. Stayed in Madar all his life. Schooling: SMP (partly). Occupation: Farmer. Other languages: Indonesian/Malay. Wife speaks Kroku, but is also fluent in Teiwa. Speaks Teiwa and Indonesian/Malay with his wife. Speaks Indonesian/Malay with his children, as they do not really speak Teiwa. Wife speaks Kroku with the children.

Mr Amos Sir (1959). Place of birth: Lebang (Pantar). Schooling: University, English language and literature. Current occupation: Teacher and Head of the senior high school in Kabir (Pantar). Other languages: Indonesian, English. His parents were both Teiwa speakers, his mother also spoke Sar. Stayed in various places as a child (Lebang, Nedebang, Tamalabang). For education, he lived in Kalabahi (3 years), and Kupang (5 years). He worked in Kalabahi for 12 years. His wife and children live in Kalabahi. Language used with his wife (Adang speaker) is Indonesian/Malay. With his children he speaks Indonesian/Malay. They understand Adang, but do not know Teiwa.

Mr Aser Pering, and Mr Lorens Titing – see (18) above.

Table 1.1. The Teiwa Corpus

Topic	Genre	Speaker	Date of Recording	Place of Recording	Length (hh:mm) No. of items
33 Survey sentences	elicited sentences	F. Titing	13-06-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	6:39
226-item extended Swadesh list	elicited words	A. Sir	04-06-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	22:34
Selection of the Holle word lists ⁴¹	elicited words	F. Titing	13-06-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	13:18
Frog Story ⁴²	children's picture book	F. Titing	23-06-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	7:37
Locative expressions	elicited expressions	F. Titing	23-06-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	2:01
Monkey and Goat	fable	A. Sir	04-06-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	10:56
The Baraqala Clan	traditional narrative	P. Kai	04-07-2003	Madar, Pantar	7:36
Father with two children	traditional narrative	S. Pering	04-07-2003	Madar, Pantar	9:07
King with three wives	traditional narrative	S. Pering	04-07-2003	Madar, Pantar	9:53
The predecessors of the Loxoq clan	traditional narrative	A. Pering	04-07-2003	Madar, Pantar	6:17
The refugees from Sangbal	traditional narrative	P. Kai	04-07-2003	Madar, Pantar	10:58
Conversation	conversation	P. Kai, M. Wa'ang, Y. Wa'ang, B. Titing	04-07-2003	Madar, Pantar	4:44
Minimal pairs		F. Titing	18-07-2003	Kalabahi, Alor	11:24
Our eldest brother Jesus	religious song	Various singers	08-08-2004	Madar, Pantar	8 lines
My soul is crying	religious song	Various singers	08-08-2004	Madar, Pantar	30 lines
I go with Jesus	religious song	Various singers	08-08-2004	Madar, Pantar	4 lines
Additional utterances		Various speakers	2003, 2004, 2007	Kalabahi & Madar	628 records
Lexicon		Various sources	2003, 2004, 2007	Kalabahi & Madar	1,312 items

1.10.3. Data archiving

The transcribed texts and elicited material are archived as Toolbox files. These files contain the recorded text materials in an annotated form, with glosses and translations in Indonesian and English. The digital recordings are stored in the form of mini-DV tapes, with copies in MPEG files. Electronic copies of the recordings will be deposited at the IMDI archive that is maintained at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.0. Introduction

Teiwa has eight vowels /i, i:, u, u:, a, a, ε, ɔ/ and twenty consonants. The consonants include a velar, uvular and a glottal stop, as well as an contrast between a pharyngeal and a glottal fricative that is exceptional for the languages of Eastern Indonesia (cf. Hajek, in press).

The consonants and vowels are discussed in section 2.1. Section 2.2 describes the structure of the syllable and stress assignment. Teiwa syllables have an optional onset, and may be open or closed. Phonemic consonant clusters with a second liquid consonant occur only in the onset position of stressed syllables. Stress is trochaic. A syllable rhyme contains maximally three segments and up to three morae. In section 2.3, the Teiwa prosodic word is described. A Teiwa prosodic word contains up to three syllables, and maximally one of these — the final one — is a heavy syllable. It has at most three morae. Words with two or more heavy syllables, and/or more than three morae are analysed as prosodic word compounds, as discussed in section 2.4. Section 2.5 presents the form and semantics of reduplication, section 2.6 describes the orthographic conventions that are used in this grammar, and section 2.7 provides a summary.

2.1. Segments

2.1.1. Segment inventory

Teiwa has 20 consonants. The inventory of consonant phonemes is given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Teiwa consonant phonemes (orthographic representation in brackets).

	bilab	lab	cor	pal	vel	uvul	phar	glot
Stops	p, b		t, d		k, g	q (q)		ʔ (ʔ)
Nasals	m		n		ŋ (ng)			
Fricatives	ɸ (f)	v	s				ħ (x)	h (h)
Approximant	w			j (y)				
Liquids			r, l					

Teiwa has five cardinal vowels, of which the high ones /i, u/ also show a contrast in length. The vowel inventory is given in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Teiwa vowel phonemes (orthographic representation in brackets).

	Front	Central	Back
High / Close	/i / /i:/ (ii)		/u/ /u:/ (uu)
Mid	/ε/ (e)		/ɔ/ (o)
Low / Open	/a/ (aa)	/a/ (a)	

The vowel /a/ has a long and a short allophone [a] and [a:]. In orthography, the /a/ is represented as with a double symbol *aa*, to contrast it with the short back open vowel /a/, which is orthographically represented as *a* (see also section 2.1.3.1). The vowels /ε, ɔ/ are represented as *e* and *o*. They may be pronounced as phonetically long when they occur in closed syllables (see section 2.1.3.3).

2.1.2. Description of the consonants

The fricatives /ϕ, v/ are low in frequency. The pairs in (1) demonstrate the phonemic contrast between them, but evidence for their separate phonemic status is limited, as the voiced fricative /v/ only occurs in about 10 words in my word list of over 1300 items. The allophones of /v/ are [v] and [f]. The voiceless counterpart of this sound is the bilabial fricative /ϕ/. The allophones of this latter sound are [ϕ] and [p]. In the orthography, [ϕ] is represented as *f*, following the preference of Teiwa speakers.

(1)	Word	Phonetic transcription	Translation
	<i>yivat</i>	[ji.'vaʔ]	‘wounded’
	<i>yi-fat</i>	[ʔji.ϕaʔ], [ʔji.paʔ]	‘your (pl) legs’
	2p-leg		
	<i>na-ʔin</i>	[na.ϕɪn]	‘catch me’
	1s-catch		
	<i>na-vɪm.'bui</i>	[,na.vɪm.'bui]	‘my nose’
	1s-nose		
	<i>ga-livi</i>	[ga.li.vi], [ga.li.fi]	‘his/her tongue’
	3s-tongue		

Teiwa has a phonemic contrast between a velar, uvular and a glottal stop, as well as a contrast between a pharyngeal and a glottal fricative. This is exceptional in comparison to the contrasts found in other languages of Alor and Pantar. Moreover, the pharyngeal fricatives /ħ ʕ/ are rare in the world's languages, and as they are reported to occur primarily amongst Caucasian and Semitic languages (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:167-169) it is surprising to find them in East Indonesia (cf. Hajek 2009).

The velar, uvular, pharyngeal and glottal consonants are generally contrastive in onset and coda position, but the distribution of the glottal stop and fricative /h/ has some restrictions which are discussed in section 2.2.2.

The phonemic contrasts in onset position are demonstrated by the minimal pairs in (2), the contrasts in coda position are illustrated by the minimal pairs in (3). Vowel-initial words have a glottal stop as onset. As there are no minimal pairs with and without a word-initial glottal stop, I analyse the glottal stop as not phonemic in onset position (but see the discussion in section 2.2.2). Note that word-final stops are not audibly released.

(2) Contrasts between velar, uvular, pharyngeal and glottal consonants in onset position

Word	Phonetic transcription	Translation
<i>hala'</i>	[ʰa.laʔ]	'classifier for thin objects (board, cloth)'
<i>hala</i>	[ha.'la]	'others, unknown people'
<i>xala'</i>	[ħɜ.'laʔ] ¹	'mother'
<i>galal</i>	[ga.'lal]	'look alike'
<i>qalas</i>	[qa.'las]	'be split'
<i>xer</i>	[ħɛr]	'chant'
<i>her</i>	[hɛr]	'base (of a tree)'
<i>xaf</i>	[ħaf]	'fish'
<i>hafan</i>	[ha.'fan]	'village'
<i>xai</i>	[ħɜj]	'canoe'
<i>ha'an</i>	[ʰa.ʔan]	'you'
<i>kai</i>	[kaj]	'stalk, stem'
<i>g-oqai</i>	[gɔ.'qai]	'1s-child'

<i>qasan</i>	[qa.'s-an]	'be torn-REAL, be broken-REAL'
<i>hasan</i>	[ha.'san]	'last sip of a drink' (trad. palm wine)
<i>kasi</i>	['ka.si]	'papaya'
<i>ga-xas</i>	['ga.ħɜs]	'3s-manure'

(3) Contrasts between velar, uvular, pharyngeal and glottal consonants in coda position

Word	Phonetic transcription	Translation
<i>ba</i>	[ba]	Sequential conjunction
<i>ba'</i>	[baʔ]	'to fall'
<i>bax</i>	[baħ]	'to hit (drum)'
<i>baq</i>	[baq̄]	'body'
<i>bag</i>	[baɡ]	'seed'
<i>bak</i>	[baʔ]	'container' (<Ind <i>bak</i> < Dutch <i>bak</i>)
<i>pak</i>	[paʔ]	'to call'
<i>iga'</i>	[i.'gaʔ]	'(unexpectedly) many'
<i>saxa'</i>	[sə.'ħɜʔ]	'chicken'
<i>xat</i>	[ħɜʔ]	'louse (on animals)'
<i>hasak</i>	[ha.'saʔ]	'empty'
<i>musaq</i>	[mu.'saq̄]	'shattered'
<i>miaaq</i>	[mi.'a:q̄]	'weeds/leaves'
<i>miaag</i>	[mi.'a:ɡ]	'yesterday'
<i>miaq</i>	['mi.aq̄]	'white'
<i>wuraq</i>	[wu.'raq̄]	'search'
<i>wurax</i>	[wu.'rɜħ]	'rattan'

The glottal stop is phonemic in word-medial and word final position, as shown in (4) and (5).

(4) Evidence that the glottal stop is phonemic in word-medial position

Word	Phonetic transcription	Translation
<i>paan</i>	['pa:n]	'areca nut'
<i>pa'an</i>	[pa.'ʔan]	'short drum'
<i>liin</i>	['li:n]	'invite'
<i>li'in</i>	['li.'ʔin]	'their (elsewhere)' (possessive pronoun)
<i>tuk</i>	['tu:k]	'short'
<i>t-uuk</i>	['tu:ʔk]	'distr-heart' > '(every)one's heart(s)'
<i>tu'uk</i>	[tu.'ʔu:k]	'knock'
<i>g-om</i>	['gɔ:m]	'3s-inside'
<i>gon</i>	['gɔ:n]	'gong'
<i>g-o'on</i>	['gɔ.'ʔɔn]	'3s-head'
<i>de'</i>	['de:ʔ]	'burn'
<i>de'er</i>	[dɛ.'ʔɛr]	'jump up'

(5) Evidence that the glottal stop is phonemic in word-final position

Word	Phonetic transcription	Translation
<i>ba</i>	[ba]	Sequential conjunction
<i>ba'</i>	[baʔ]	'fall'
<i>i'</i>	[iʔ]	'be sick'
<i>ii'</i>	[i:ʔ]	'red'
<i>si'</i>	[siʔ]	'wash (things)'
<i>sii</i>	[si:]	'bite'
<i>sii'</i>	[si:ʔ]	'spoon'

In contrast to Indonesian, Teiwa has no voiced palatal stop /j/. Some of the Indonesian loans which contain this segment have been nativised and adapted to Teiwa phonology. The segment is sometimes adapted as a glide /j/, as in *yu'al* [ju.'ʔal] 'give away people', which derives from a (presumably old) loan from Malay/Indonesian *jual* [ʔju.a] 'sell'.² Sometimes the palatal affricate is simply deleted, as in *garia* [ga.'ri.a] 'church', from Malay/Indonesian *gereja* [gə.'rɛ.ʃa] 'church'. (Nowadays, the Indonesian word *gereja* is used more often than *garia*.)

Teiwa distinguishes between /l/ and /r/, as in the minimal pair *xol* [ħʌ:l] ‘first’ versus *xor* [ħʌ:r] ‘lime’.³ The contrast between /l, r/ is found in all the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar. (Many Papuan languages of New Guinea do not make this contrast, see Foley 1986, 2000).

Teiwa has a phonetic process whereby the place of a nasal assimilates with the place of the following stop, as illustrated in (6). Nasals also fuse with following liquids, as illustrated in (7).

- (6) *h-unbangan* > *h-u[m]bangan* ‘2s-ask.of’, ‘ask of you’⁴
- (7) *ga’an la* ‘3s Focus’ > *gaa[l]a* ‘s/he who..., the one who...’

2.1.3. Description of the vowels

2.1.3.1. General description

Teiwa has eight vowels /i, i:, u, u:, a, a:, ε, ɔ/. The mid vowels /ε, ɔ/ are raised and somewhat closed, approaching lowered [e, o]. The mid vowels do not have phonemically long counterparts, but they can be phonetically long when they occur in closed syllables, see section 2.1.3.3 below.

The allophones of /a/ are [a] and [a:]. The allophones of /a/ are [a] and [ɜ]. (The latter allophone [ɜ] is only found following a pharyngeal fricative, see section 2.1.3.4.). The phonemic contrast between /a/ and /a/ is illustrated in (8). Phonetically, the contrast may be realised as a contrast in vowel quality and/or length. The vowels in (8a,b) contrast only in vowel quality. The vowels in (8c-e) contrast in vowel quality as well as in length.

- (8) /a/ versus /a/
- | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>qau</i> | [qaw] | ‘good’ |
| | <i>qaau</i> | [qaw] | ‘blossom, flower in tree or shrub’ |
| b. | <i>baq</i> | [baq̄] | ‘body’ |
| | <i>baaq</i> | [baq̄] | ‘hole’ |
| c. | <i>wad</i> | [wad̄] | ‘today’ |
| | <i>uwaad</i> | [u.wa:d̄] | ‘big’ |
| d. | <i>rax</i> | [raħ] | ‘cooking pot, jar’ |
| | <i>raax</i> | [ra:ħ] | ‘rice (as crop)’ |

e.	<i>au</i>	[aw]	‘grasshopper’
	<i>aa</i>	[a:w]	‘k.o. yam, edible tuber’

In the orthography of Teiwa, /a/ is represented as *a*. It contrasts with /a/, which is represented as *aa*. Although, as we have seen, /a/ may be phonetically realised as long, and is orthographically represented with a double symbol, it is not analysed as *phonemically* long. The main reason for this is that in vowel sequences, /a/ behaves like the short vowels, and unlike the long high vowels /i:, u:/ (see section 2.2.3).

2.1.3.2. Long lexical vowels

The long vowels only occur in stressed syllables and are phonetically about twice as long as their short counterpart. For example, in the monosyllabic pair *kil* ‘powder’ and *kiil* ‘ring, stick, stalk’ in (9), the duration of *kil* is about 0.15 seconds, while *kiil* is 0.4 seconds. The minimal pairs in (9)-(10) demonstrate the phonemic status of the long-short distinction for the high vowels.

(9) /i/ versus /i:/

<i>i</i>	[iʔ]	‘sick’
<i>ii</i>	[i:ʔ]	‘red’
<i>kil</i>	[kil]	‘powder’
<i>kiil</i>	[ki:l]	‘ring, stick, stalk’

(10) /u/ versus /u:/

<i>bun</i>	[bun]	‘one piece’
<i>buun</i>	[bu:n]	‘smoke’
<i>mud</i>	[muɖ]	‘fur, body hair’
<i>muud</i>	[mu:ɖ]	‘lemon’

I have not attested minimal pairs showing a phonemic length contrast for the mid vowels /ɔ, ε/ but both vowels can be realised as phonetically long, see section 2.1.3.3.

Both long and short vowels occur in closed (CVC) syllables. The vowels /a, ɑ, ɔ, ε/ can occur in sequences with the (short) high vowels /i, u/ (including those instances where /a/ is phonetically long, and pronounced as

[a:], but the lexically long vowels /i:/ and /u:/ cannot occur in one syllable with another vowel (see section 2.2.3 below).

2.1.3.3. Phonetically long vowels

The vowel /a/ may be phonetically realised as long; this was discussed in section 2.1.3.1 above. The mid vowels /ɔ, ε/, while not phonemically long, may be pronounced as long when they are part of a closed (CVC) syllable. Particularly when words consisting of such a syllable are uttered in isolation, the vowel may be pronounced as long, as illustrated in (11a). However, when the words are used as part of a compound, or in a phrase, the vowel is pronounced as short, as illustrated in (11b). The examples in (16a) show that lengthening does not occur when the syllable coda is a glottal stop, and the items in (16b) show that lengthening does not occur in open or unstressed syllables.

(11)	a.	<i>gon</i>	[gɔ:n]	‘gong’
		<i>met</i>	[mɛ:t]	‘betelvine’
		<i>bof</i>	[bɔ:f]	‘wave’
		<i>peq</i>	[pɛ:q]	‘high’
	b.	<i>gon bax</i>	[gɔm.'bɑħ]	‘hit a drum’
		<i>bofge'er</i>	['bɔf.gə.ʔɛr]	‘beach’
	c.	<i>gi-xo'</i>	[gi.'ħʌʔ]	‘bark at them’
		3p-bark		
		<i>moxo'</i>	[mə.'ħʌʔ]	‘earth’
	d.	<i>wan axolar</i>	[,wan ʔa.'ħʌ.lar]	‘stream off edge’
		be stream.off.edge		
		<i>xogo'</i>	[ħʌ.'gɔʔ]	‘to want’

Many verbs consisting of a CVC stem also alternate the length of their stem vowel. In an underived stem, the vowel is part of a single closed CVC syllable and is pronounced as long, similar to the items in (11). However, when the verb stem is inflected with a Realis suffix, the stem vowel becomes part of an open CV syllable and is pronounced as short. Some examples are given in (12).⁵

(12)	<i>tod</i> ‘rub’	[tɔ:d]	<i>tod-an</i> ‘rub-REAL’	[tɔ.dan]
	<i>tub</i> ‘point (to)’	[tu:b]	<i>tub-an</i> ‘point-REAL’	[tu.ban]
	<i>de</i> ‘burn’	[dɛ:ʔ]	<i>de-en</i> ‘point-REAL’	[dɛ.ʔɛn]

Finally, we also find phonetically long vowels as the result of fusion of two vowels. This happens in disyllabic stems where both syllables have an identical vowel, and are separated only by a glottal stop. In such stems, the two syllables may be contracted to become a single syllable with a long vowel. An example is (13), where *gi-xo'o-n* may be pronounced as [gi.'hʌ.ʔʌn] or as [gi.'hʌ:n].

(13)	<i>Na</i>	<i>gi-xo'o-n</i>
	1s	3p-put.properly
	‘I put them [down] properly’ (e.g. put toddlers who fell asleep at the foot end of the bed right with their heads on the pillow)	

2.1.3.4. Vowels and the phonetic effects of the pharyngeal fricative

Following a pharyngeal fricative /ħ/, the phonetic realisation of the vowels /u, a, ɔ/ is changed as in (14a-c).⁶ In general, the pharyngeal fricative has a centralizing, unrounding effect on the vowels that follow it, in a stressed syllable. Examples are given in (15a-c).

(14)	a.	close, back, rounded /u/	> close, central, unrounded [ɨ]
	b.	open, back, unrounded /a/	> open-mid, central, unrounded [ɜ]
	c.	open-mid, back, rounded /ɔ/	> open-mid, back, unrounded [ʌ]
(15)	a.	<i>luxun</i> [lɨ.'hɨn]	‘high’
		<i>laxu'u</i> [la.'hɨʔɨ], [la.'hɨ:]	‘that one there’
		<i>muxui</i> [mɨ.'hɨi]	‘banana’
		<i>xuri</i> [hɨ.'ri]	‘quiet (without voice or movement)’
	b.	<i>xala'</i> [hɜ.'laʔ]	‘mother’
		<i>xai</i> [hɜi]	‘canoe’
		<i>ga-xas</i> [ga.hɜs]	‘3s-manure’
		<i>saxa'</i> [sɜ.'hɜʔ]	‘chicken’
	c.	<i>xor</i> [hʌ:r]	‘lime, chalk’
		<i>moxod</i> [mɜ.'hʌ:d]	‘drop (on purpose)’

<i>gi-xo</i> '	[gi.'ħʌʔ]	'3p-bark' > 'bark at them'
<i>moxo</i> '	[mə.'ħʌʔ]	'earth'

Mid vowels following a pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ may also be centralized and unrounded. Illustrations are given in (16). The examples also show a lengthened vowel: mid vowels may be pronounced as long in closed syllables (see section 2.1.3.3).

(16) a.	<i>xor</i>	[ħʌ:r]	'lime, chalk'
	<i>xol</i>	[ħʌ:l]	'first'
	<i>moxod</i>	[mə.'ħʌ:d]	'drop (on purpose)'

In sum, the laryngeal fricative has a centralizing, unrounding effect on the stressed vowels that follow it. Furthermore, it has a vowel lengthening effect when it is followed by /ɔ/. /ɔ/ is lengthened when it is part of a closed syllable. In open syllables and when the coda is a glottal stop, the lengthening effect does not occur.

2.2. The syllable

2.2.1. Syllable structure

Teiwa syllables have an optional onset, and may be open or closed. An overview of the Teiwa syllable types is given in (17). The syllable in (17a) is light, the remaining syllables, as well as those in (18) are heavy.

(17)		Onset	Nucleus	Coda
a.		(C)	V	
b.		(C)	V:	
c.		(C)	V	V[high]
d.		(C)	V	C
e.		(C)	V:	C
f.	*	(C)	V V[high]	C
g.	*	(C)	V	V:
h.	*	(C)	V:	V

A Teiwa syllable rhyme thus has maximally three positions (a long vowel followed by a consonant coda, (17e)). A Teiwa onset commonly consists of one consonant, but it can also contain a consonant cluster, with a liquid as second consonant. The complex onset is represented in (18). Note that glides,

2.2.2. Consonant phonotactics and consonant clusters

All Teiwa consonants can occur as word-internal onset, and all but the glottal stop and the velar nasal can occur as word-initial onset. This is shown in Table 2.3. Vowels in word-initial position are phonetically preceded by a glottal stop, but the glottal stop is never phonemic in word-initial position.

Table 2.3. Teiwa consonants as onset (x = attested, - = unattested)

Onset	p	b	t	d	k	g	q	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	r	l	ɸ	v	s	h	ħ	w	j
Word-initial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Word-medial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 2.4 shows the Teiwa consonants according to their syllable coda position. A coda occurs only at the end of a prosodic word.

Table 2.4. Teiwa consonants as coda (x = attested, - = unattested)

Coda	p	b	t	d	k	g	q	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	r	l	ɸ	v	s	h	ħ	w	j
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	-

Consider the shaded boxes in Table 2.4. First, the glides /w, j/ never occur in coda position. However, in a syllable with a sequence of two vowels [V_{high}], the high vowels are realised as [w] or [j] in coda position; see (17c).

Second, /v/ does not occur as coda, unlike /ɸ/. This suggests that the voice distinction between the labial fricatives is neutralised at the end of words.

Third, the glottal fricative /h/ does not occur as coda, while the pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ does, so the place distinction between the two fricatives is neutralized at the end of words.

I note here that the glottal consonant /h/ is largely in complementary distribution with the glottal stop. On the one hand, /h/ is predominantly word-initial: the word list of over 1340 items contains only one word-medial /h/,⁸ and /h/ is never used as a coda. Indonesian loan words ending in /h/ that are adapted to Teiwa phonology, replace the final /h/ with a glottal stop (e.g. *susah* ‘trouble’ > [su.saʔ]). On the other hand, /ʔ/ is very frequently used as word-medial onset as well as coda (see (4) and (5) above for examples). The restricted distribution of /h/ and its (almost) complementarity with the distribution of /ʔ/ may be reason to entertain the analysis that Teiwa has only one glottal phoneme [ʔ], and no phoneme [h]. In word initial position both segments are found (there is at least one minimal pair *usaq* [ʔusaq] ‘dirty’ versus *husaq* [husaq] ‘open, loose’, so we need to account for these. In section 2.1.2, I proposed that the glottal stop, while it is phonemic in word medial and

word final position, is not phonemic in word initial position: word-initially, it is inserted as an epenthetic consonant in vowel-initial words. As an alternative, we could say that the glottal stop is phonemic in all its positions, including word initially, while the fricative /h/ in word initial position is an epenthetic consonant inserted in vowel initial roots.⁹ In this analysis, the /h/ would no longer be a consonant phoneme of Teiwa (and its rare occurrence in word medial position might be an allophone of /ʔ/).

In this work, however, I assume that /h/ is phonemic in Teiwa. One reason for this is that /h/ has a rather important morpho-syntactic function as the (single) consonant that is used for second person referent marking: it is the initial consonant of the pronoun used for subject, object and possessor marking (*ha'an*), and it is also used in object and possessor marking prefixes (*h-* or *ha-*) (see Ch. 3, section 3.2.1). The heavy grammatical load of *h* ties in with the psychological reality this sound appears to have for speakers: no speaker would ever consider words starting with *h* as somehow being vowel initial. For example, they would never write *hala* ‘others’ as *ala*, or *hasak* ‘empty’ as *asak*, and when confronted with these words in writing they do not recognize them as representing [hala] or [hasak]. On the other hand, speakers do talk about words with an initial glottal stop as “words starting with a vowel”, and they also write them as such consistently, i.e. without an initial (glottal stop) consonant.¹⁰

Consonant clusters are found only in word-initial position. The second consonant in a cluster is always a liquid /l, r/. Examples are given in (21a). Observe that (phonemic) consonant clusters only occur in stressed syllables. In careful speech, the clusters can be broken up by an epenthetic vowel. For example, *dru* may be pronounced as [ʔdru] or as [dæ.'ru]. The epenthetic vowel is a central unrounded vowel: ə, ɨ, or ɜ. It cannot be stressed.

- (21) a.
- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>dru'</i> | ‘wash face’ |
| <i>kri</i> | ‘respected old man’, ‘ancestor’, ‘Mr’ |
| <i>bru</i> | ‘left over’ |
| <i>wrer</i> | ‘climb up (e.g. a tree)’ |
| <i>grod</i> | ‘carry on head’ |
| ' <i>klita</i> ' | ‘grubby, dirty’ |
| ' <i>grixi</i> ' | ‘a bit’ |
| ' <i>kriman</i> ' | ‘small’ |
| ' <i>bluking</i> ' | ‘arrow’ |
| ' <i>qluus</i> ' | ‘deaf’ |
| ' <i>trunan</i> ' | ‘roll, roll over’ |
| ' <i>sluan</i> ' | ‘glass, mug’ |
| ' <i>srunan</i> ' | ‘stick into something’ |

In contrast, words like those in (22) cannot be analysed as containing a consonant cluster /ql/ or /bl/ in the initial syllable (with an optional epenthetic vowel). This is because stress is on the final syllable in the words in (22), not on the first. The first syllable contains a lexical vowel, which may be phonetically reduced to schwa, but cannot be omitted.

(22)	<i>qalixil</i>	[qə.li.'hil]	*[kli.'hil]	'itchy, gruff'
	<i>bulanqul</i>	[bə.laŋ.'qul]	*[blaŋ.'qul]	'sky'

The schwa is not phonemic in Teiwa. Lexical vowels that occur between a stop and a liquid and are unstressed, can be reduced to schwa, but they cannot be deleted, as shown in (23).

(23)	<i>bali</i>	[bə.'li]	*[bli]	'see'
	<i>beli</i>	[bə.'li]	*[bli]	'borrow'

More examples of words with a reduced lexical vowel are given in (24). The schwa as a reduced lexical vowel is unlike the epenthetic vowel discussed above. Lexical vowels, even if they are reduced, project a separate syllable and are usually not deleted, as indicated in (24a). But in an unstressed sequence /səfV.../ the lexical vowel may be deleted, as shown in (24b). Note that the syllable with the phonetic consonant cluster is unstressed, unlike the phonemic clusters in (21).

(24)	a.	<i>bangən</i>	[bə.'ŋɜn]	*[bŋən]	'to live'
	b.	<i>sefilax</i>	[sə.fi.'lɑħ]	[sfi.'lɑħ]	'cut with bamboo'
		<i>sefuran</i>	[sə.fu.'ran]	[sfu.'ran]	'tornado'

2.2.3. Vowel sequences

A Teiwa word can contain a sequence of maximally two vowels. The attested vowel sequences are given in table 2.5. The vowel sequences marked with <*> have not been attested. Observe that only the short high vowels /i, u/ combine with other vowels: the other short vowels do not combine with each other, and the long high vowels /i:, u:/ do not occur in vowel sequences either. While /a, a/ can be both first and second vowel in a sequence, the mid vowels /ɛ, ɔ/ can only be the first vowel in a vowel sequence, and never the second one.

Table 2.5. Vowel sequences in Teiwa

V1\V2	u	i	a	a	ɛ	ɔ
	<i>monosyllabic</i>		<i>disyllabic</i>			
u	–	ui	ua	ua	*uɛ	*uɔ
i	iu	–	ia	ia	*iɛ	*iɔ
a	au	ai	–	–	*aɛ	*aɔ
a	au	ai	–	–	*aɛ	*aɔ
ɛ	ɛu	ɛi	*ɛa	*ɛa	–	*ɛɔ
ɔ	ɔu	ɔi	*ɔa	*ɔa	*ɔɛ	–

A minimal pair contrasting /a/ and /a/ in a vowel sequence is (25):

- (25) *uaa* /u.a/ [u.'wa:] 'crush'
ua' /u.aʔ/ [u.'waʔ] 'hit (with fist)'

Example (25) also illustrates that a vowel sequence [V_{high} V] is pronounced as disyllabic. In contrast, a vowel sequence [V V_{high}] is pronounced as monosyllabic: the high vowel becomes the syllable coda (and the mid vowels /ɛ, ɔ/ are heightened to [e, o]). Illustrations are given in (26).

- (26) a. *nuan* [nu.'wan] *[nwan] 'cloth'
tian [ti.'jan] *[tjan] 'long'
miaag [mi.'jaŋ] *[mjaŋ] 'yesterday'
- b. *baai* [ba:j] 'bunch'
bai [baj] 'pig'
aau [a:w] 'k.o. yam, edible tuber'
wan yaau [ja:w] 'agree'
au [aw] 'grasshopper'
wei [wej] 'to bathe'
tafeu [ta.'few] 'to fight against'
soi [soj] 'to order'
wou [wow] 'mango'

Recall that in Teiwa orthography the vowel /a/ is represented as <aa> to contrast it with /a/, which is represented as <a>. As a result, many words in this book contain the letter strings *aau*, *uaa*, *aai*, and *iaa*. Examples include *uaa* 'crush' in (25), *miaag* 'yesterday' in (26a), and *baai*, *aau* and *yaau* in

(26b). Importantly, such words do not constitute counterexamples to the generalisation stated above that only short vowels combine with /i, u/, because as phonemically, the vowel represented as <aa> is short /a/ (see also section 2.1.3.1).

The frequencies of the various vowel combinations differ. In Table 2.6, the numbers refer to the number of word (types) that contain the sequence in my word list. The most frequent by far are /ai, au, ua, ia/.

Table 2.6. Frequencies of vowel sequences as attested in 1340-item word list

V1\V2	u	i	a	a
	<i>monosyllabic</i>		<i>disyllabic</i>	
u	–	ui 12	ua 20+	ua 1
i	iu 3	–	ia 35+	ia 3
a	au 30+	ai 60+	–	–
a	au 4	ai 5	–	–
ε	εu 1	εi 11		
ɔ	ɔu 2	ɔi 6		

2.2.4. Stress assignment

2.2.4.1. Basic patterns

Teiwa stress is trochaic. In a word with two or three light syllables, the penultimate syllable is stressed. This is illustrated in (27) and (40).

(27) Stress is trochaic

- a. 'L L
- | | |
|--------|---------------------------|
| 'gi.sa | 'to damage' |
| 'ba.li | 'wash' |
| 'di.ku | 'trousers' |
| 'pu.lu | 'blunt' |
| 'si.fi | 'instrument to make fire' |
| 'ha.le | 'yes' |
| 'he.la | 'pull' |

- b. L 'L L¹¹
pi. 'xi. ri 'sharp'
a. 'fu. ri 'cocoon'

There are a few disyllabic LL words with an exceptional stress pattern; an example is *bali* [bæ.'li] 'see', *beli* [bæ.'li] 'borrow'. I assume that such forms are lexicalised as such.¹²

Of the monomorphemic, disyllabic words, words with a light and a heavy syllable (LH) are the majority. These words show a mixed stress pattern. From a list of 81 (monomorphemic) LH words that were tested for their stress pattern in isolation, 33 followed the trochaic pattern, i.e. had penultimate stress, while 48 had quantity sensitive stress, i.e. stress on the heavy syllable. Examples are given in (28).

- (28) a. LH words with trochaic stress

'L	H	
'de.	qai	'white'
'he.	nar	'wind'
'ma.	xan	'sharp'
'yi.	lag	'who'
'to.	gar	'cry loudly'

- b. LH words with quantity sensitive stress

L	'H	
ba.	'naq	'puddle, pond'
pa.	'naat	'send'
xo.	'go'	'want, wish'
sa.	'xa'	'chicken'
yi.	'ran	'how many'

Trisyllabic words with two light syllables and one heavy (LLH) also show a mixed stress pattern. The number of monomorphemic words with three syllables is limited.¹³ Checking the stress pattern of some 20 words, the number of words with trochaic stress about the same as those with quantity sensitive stress. (There are also a few forms with stress on the initial syllable.) Examples are given in (29). Some words allow both stress patterns, e.g. *wuria* 'carry on shoulder'.

(29) a. LLH words with trochaic stress

L	'L	H	
<i>a.</i>	<i>'xo.</i>	<i>ran</i>	'like that'
<i>ta.</i>	<i>'fa.</i>	<i>par</i>	'flutter'
<i>ha.</i>	<i>'ra.</i>	<i>san</i>	'small cabin, shelter'
<i>a.</i>	<i>'di.</i>	<i>man</i>	'sink'
<i>wu.</i>	<i>'ri.</i>	<i>a'</i>	'carry on shoulder'
<i>Sa.</i>	<i>'ngu.</i>	<i>bal</i>	'place name Sangubal'

b. LLH words with quantity sensitive stress

L	L	'H	
<i>pa.</i>	<i>xa.</i>	<i>'ran</i>	'smooth'
<i>a.</i>	<i>mi.</i>	<i>'dan</i>	'what'
<i>sa.</i>	<i>xa.</i>	<i>'kar</i>	'stiff, not fluent'
<i>ba.</i>	<i>tu.</i>	<i>'kan</i>	'kind of brown lizzard'
<i>wu.</i>	<i>ri.</i>	<i>'a'</i>	'carry on shoulder'

In sum, the basic stress pattern of Teiwa is trochaic, and is illustrated in (27)). However, when a word contains a heavy syllable, the trochaic pattern can be established in two ways: by counting (two) syllables, or by counting (two) morae. When the stress assignment algorithm 'counts' syllables, stress is on the penultimate syllable. When, on the other hand, it counts morae, stress is assigned to the heavy syllable since that contains two morae; and thus a moraic trochaic foot is formed. The two competing ways to assign trochaic stress can also be seen in the (near) minimal pairs given in (30).

(30) Minimal pairs showing lexical stress

<i>wurax</i>	[wu.'rah]	'rattan'
<i>wurax</i>	['wu.rah]	'have a dispute'
<i>miaaq</i>	[mi.'ja:q]	'weeds/leafs'
<i>miaag</i>	[mi.'ja:g]	'yesterday'
<i>miaq</i>	['mi.jaq]	'white'

Teiwa stress is thus basically trochaic: words with two or three light syllables always get penultimate stress. When a word contains a heavy syllable, the trochae may be established either by counting syllables, or by counting morae.

2.2.4.2. *Stress and the Realis suffix*

The Realis suffix *-an* (or its allomorphs, see Ch. 7, section 7.1) attaches to verbal stems, and forms a heavy, closed syllable. However, the final heavy syllable that is formed with this suffix systematically fails to get stress. In (30), the lefthand word is a verb inflected with *-an*, with no stress on the final heavy syllable; the righthand word is a monomorphemic form with stress on the final heavy syllable.

(31) *yir-an* ['ji.ran] ‘fly-REAL’ versus *yiran* /ji.'ran/ ‘how many’

In sum, when a final heavy syllable consists of a Realis suffix (*-an* or one of its allomorphs), the derived word always gets penultimate stress — stress remains where it was originally; the suffix is not part of the domain of word stress assignment.

2.2.4.3. *Stress and possessor prefixes*

Nouns can be prefixed with possessor prefixes, and body part nouns are obligatorily prefixed for their possessor (see also Ch. 5, section 5.2). The possessive paradigm is:

(32) Possessor prefixes

1s	<i>n(a)-</i>
2s	<i>h(a)-</i>
3s	<i>g(a)-, a-</i>
1p.e	<i>n(i)-</i>
1p.i	<i>p(i)-</i>
1p.generic	<i>t(a)-</i>
2p	<i>y(i)-</i>
3p	<i>g(i)-, a-, ga-</i>
Distributive	<i>ta-</i>

Possessive prefixes are thus either a consonant, or a light (CV) syllable. A possessor prefix that is attached to a noun always attracts stress, as illustrated in (33):

(33) 'ta-xas ‘(every) one’s dirt/shit’ (*ta-'xas)

The stress pattern of nouns with possessor prefixes is also illustrated by the contrast between the stressed possessive prefix *a-* and the (homophonous) free pronoun *a*. A minimal pair is given in (34). (34a) contains a possessed noun, with a stressed possessor prefix (and secondary stress on the final syllable of *yivar*). In contrast, (34b) contains a short (free) pronoun *na* (which encodes the subject of the sentence). In this context, word stress is on the final syllable of the noun *yivar* [yi.'var] 'dog' (the object), and secondary stress is on the pronoun *na* (indicated by <,>.)

- (34) a. 'Na-yi, var wan box-an
1s-dog be guard-REAL
'Guard my dog'
- b. ,Na yi'var wan box-an
1s dog be guard-REAL
'I guard the/a dog'

A similar contrast can be seen in (35) with *bangan* [bə.'ŋan] 'life' and *bangan* ['ba.ŋan] 'ask': the possessive prefix *na-* in (35a) gets main stress, and secondary stress is on the final syllable of *bangan*; the free pronoun *na* in (35b) does not get stress. (35c) gives the words in context.

- (35) a. Na-bangan ['na.bə.ŋan] 'my life'
1s-life
- b. Na bangan [na'ba.ŋan] 'I ask (someone)'
1s ask
- c. Na bangan na-bangan qau [na'ba.ŋan 'na.bə.ŋan 'qaw]
1s ask 1s-life good
'I ask for a good life'/'I ask that my life is good'

If the possessive prefix formed a single prosodic word with their base, this would be a trisyllabic word with a final heavy syllable. Such words get regular stress on their final heavy syllable in Teiwa, i.e. we would expect the stress pattern to be identical to the pattern of e.g. *adi'man* 'sink' in (40g) below. In (34a), this would yield *na-yi'var*, in (35a) *na-ba'ngan*; contrary to what we find. Instead, main stress being assigned obligatorily to the initial syllable, the possessive prefix. This suggests that the possessive prefix and its base (*yivar/bangan*) do not form a single prosodic word, but rather two separate prosodic words. The prefix and the base are separate prosodic domains, and

the inflected word is a prosodic compound, with a stress pattern that is identical to that of the prosodic compounds; see the prosodic compounds in (47) below.

However, when a nominal stem is vowel-initial, the possessor prefix is just a consonant (see Ch. 5, section 5.2.2). In such cases, the possessive prefix becomes the onset of the first syllable and stress remains on its original position in the stem. An illustration is (36); compare this with (33) above.

(36) *t-a.'xas* ‘(every) one’s reflection’ (*a'xas* = ‘reflection’) (**'t-axas*)

2.2.4.4. Stress and object prefixes

Animate objects and nominal possessors are encoded with identical pronominal prefixes, except for the third person singular (Ch. 3, section 3.2.1). That is, the prefixes of the paradigm in (32) are also used to mark animate objects, except for the 3sg prefix *a-*, which never marks objects. However, in contrast to possessor prefixes, object prefixes are not stressed: word stress is on the penultimate syllable of the verb, as the examples in (37) and (38a) show. In contrast, the possessor prefix in (38b) is stressed.

(37) *Ga-fin-an* [gə.'fi.nan] *['ga.fi.nan]
 3s-catch-REAL
 ‘Catch him/her/it’

(38) a. *Ga-regan* [gə.'regan] *['ga.re.gan]
 3s-ask-REAL
 ‘Ask him/her/it’

b. *ga-ti'* ['ga.ti?] *['ga.'ti?]
 3s-bottom
 ‘Her/his/its bottom’

The same stress pattern applies for verbs with a derivational prefix. Teiwa has a few verbs that are derived with the prefix *un-* (see Ch. 3, section 3.3.13). When these derived verbs take an object prefix, the consonantal prefix is used (because the prefix starts with a vowel), and stress remains on the penultimate (heavy) syllable of the stem (cf. section 2.2.4.1 above):

(39) a. *H-un-bangan* [hum.'ba.ŋan]
 2s-APPL-ask.for
 ‘Ask of you’

- b. *N-un-mu'lax* [nun.mu.'laŋ]
 1pe- APPL-help
 'Help us'

2.3. The prosodic word

The prosodic (phonological) word is the unit that is the domain of stress assignment. Teiwa has a few words that consist of just one vowel, but these are functional items (e.g. *a* / *u* 'Proximate / Distal demonstrative') which cannot have word stress, and form a prosodic unit with the preceding word. Neither are there prosodic words that consist of a single long vowel (**aa, *ii, *uu*); a long vowel can only form a prosodic word as part of a syllable with an onset and/or a coda.

A Teiwa prosodic word thus consists of minimally a CV syllable, and this is also the minimal lexical word. A prosodic word has up to three syllables. In (40), an overview is given of the prosodic words found in Teiwa, the syllables are characterised as light (L) or heavy (H).

- (40) Possible prosodic words in Teiwa
- | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|--|
| a. | L | | | <i>na</i> 'eat' |
| b. | H | | | <i>or</i> 'bee', <i>bof</i> 'wave' |
| | | | | <i>ii</i> 'red', <i>qaaf</i> 'plate to toast corn' |
| c. | 'L | L | | <i>di.'ku</i> 'trousers' |
| d. | 'L | H | | <i>'he.nar</i> 'wind' |
| e. | L | 'H | | <i>sa.'xa</i> 'chicken', <i>u'waad</i> 'big' ¹⁴ |
| f. | L | 'L | L | <i>a.'fu.ri</i> 'cocoon' |
| g. | L | 'L | H | <i>a.'di.man</i> 'sink' |
| h. | L | L | 'H | <i>pa.xa.'ran</i> 'smooth' |

(41) Some impossible prosodic words in Teiwa

a.	* H	L		* <i>mau.gi</i>
b.	* L	H	L	* <i>a.mau.ki</i>
c.	* L	L	H	* <i>ka.no.buui</i>
			CV:V	

The impossible words in (41) reflect certain restrictions on the structure of prosodic words. First, a heavy syllable cannot occur to the left of a light syllable, therefore, a monomorphemic disyllabic word cannot begin with a heavy syllable, (41a), and a trisyllabic word cannot have a heavy syllable as penultimate (41b). Second, the maximal number of morae in a word is three, (41b-c), and a syllable rhyme has maximally 3 segment positions (41c). The impossible words in (41a-b) also illustrate that the shape of Teiwa prosodic words is determined by the trochaic stress pattern. In (41a-b) a light syllable must be skipped at the right edge before a trochaic foot can be created, and as this goes against the stress pattern, such words do not occur.

The Teiwa corpus also contains forms with an initial heavy (closed) syllable, e.g. H H or H L. However, these words all belong to one of the following three categories:

(i) They are non-native forms: borrowed from languages which allow initial CVC syllables such as Indonesian or Adang (*qar.bau* ‘water buffalo’ < Indonesian *kerbau*; *sampe* ‘arrive’ < Indonesian *sampai* ‘until, arrived’; *Otfai* ‘place name’ < from Adang *Otfai*).

(ii) They are multi-morphemic verbs, although synchronically they may no longer be considered as such. These include the verbs that contain a fossilised applicative prefix *un-* (*g-un-ba* ‘3s-Apppl-fall’, and *g-un-dagar* ‘3s-Apppl-turn.face.towards’ (see Ch. 3, section 3.3.13).

(iii) They are nouns that are lexicalised compounds: *in dan* ‘anything’ (from *in* ‘it.thing’ + *dan* ‘part’), *in qas* ‘clothes’ (from *in* ‘it.thing’ + *qas* ‘bad’), *vinbui* ‘nose’ (from *vin* (unknown etymology) + *bui* ‘betelnut’).

In sum, the Teiwa words that have an initial heavy (closed) syllable are not counterevidence to the constraint that the initial syllable of a prosodic word can only be light in Teiwa, because they are either borrowed words, or they are morphologically complex.

In conclusion, a Teiwa prosodic word contains at most three syllables, maximally one of which — the final one — is heavy; and it has at most three morae. Words with two or more heavy syllables, and/or four or more morae analysed as prosodic word compounds. This is further discussed in the next section.

2.4. Prosodic compounds

The prosodic words discussed in the previous section use a subset of all the logically possible combinations of syllables listed in (17) and (18). Some impossible combinations were given in (41). Additional syllable combinations that are not attested as prosodic words are listed in (42).

- (42) a. * H L L
 b. * H L H
 c. * H H
 d. * L H H
 e. * H H H

However, the Teiwa lexicon does contain words with the syllable combinations in (42a-c): HLL, HLH and HH. Such words are analysed as prosodic compounds here. Examples are (43)-(45). Primary stress in these words is on the initial (leftmost) syllable.

- (43) 'H L L
 'mau. lu. ku 'monkey'
 'Qau. tu. ru 'name of place'

- (44) 'H L H
 'mau. qu. bar 'frog'

- (45) 'H H
 'kui. 'ii 'kind of plant'
 'blu. king 'arrow'

The initial stress of these words is remarkable, because (monomorphemic) words in Teiwa normally have primary stress on their rightmost foot (see section 2.2.4.1); that is, they are prosodically right-headed. In contrast, the forms in (43)-(45) are prosodically left-headed.

The head-initial stress pattern of the words in (43)-(45) is identical to the stress pattern of words that are transparent morphological compounds: in a nominal or numeral compound the initial (leftmost) member gets primary stress, and is thus the prosodic head (see Ch. 3, section 3.1.2, and 3.8). This is illustrated in (46):

- (46) *'yes nerig* 'eight' (lit. 'five' + 'three')
 'war g-et 'sun' (lit. 'day' + '3s-eye')

So, even though the words in (43)-(45) are not transparently multi-morphemic, they are larger than monomorphemic words, and are stressed in the same way as semantically transparent morphological compounds. Therefore I analyse them as prosodic compounds.

Finally, there are also a few LLH trisyllabic words with initial stress; examples are given in (47). (The majority of LLH words have the stress pattern described in (29a-b) above).

(47) LLH with stress is on the initial syllable

'L	L	H	
' <i>ta.</i>	<i>xa.</i>	<i>ran</i>	'how'
' <i>gi.</i>	<i>ga.</i>	<i>lal</i>	'why'
' <i>Sa.</i>	<i>ngu.</i>	<i>bal</i>	'place name Sangubal'

These words are also analysed as prosodic compounds. It may well be that historically they were also morphological compounds, which have been lexicalised.

2.5. Reduplication

Teiwa reduplication expresses the increased intensity and/or ongoing nature of the event or property expressed by the word. Verbs, adverbs, adjectives, numerals, as well as a few nouns can be reduplicated. Teiwa reduplication is thus a morphological process.

Productive reduplication involves copying the entire stem, as illustrated in (48a-c). When verbs have a Realis suffix, this suffix is part of the reduplicated base, as illustrated in (48d-g). Realis suffixes are only found on verbs — words of other categories cannot be inflected for Realis state.

(48) Reduplications with verbal base

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>tewar-tewar</i>
RDP-walk | 'walk on and on' ¹⁵ |
| b. | <i>tib-tib</i>
RDP-provide.for | 'exactly enough' |
| c. | <i>haqax-haqax</i>
RDP-breathe | 'take a few rests' |

- d. *tii'in-tii'-in* 'being asleep', 'sleep on and on'
RDP-[sleep-REAL]
- e. *miran-mir-an* 'climb on and on', 'continue to climb'
RDP-[ascend-REAL]
- f. *moxodan-moxod-an* 'let fall, drop down'
RDP-[drop-REAL]
- g. *kiidan-kiid-an* 'cry on and on'
RDP-[cry-REAL]

Semantically, the repetitions in (49) are similar to reduplications:

- (49) *tewar-tewar-tewar* 'walk on and on'
RDP-RDP-walk
- bali-bali-bali* 'watch different things happening'
RDP-RDP-see

In (50) reduplications with an adjectival base are illustrated. Observe that (50b-d) have a Realis suffix attached to the entire reduplication (e.g. (50b): [*qa'an-qa'an*]-*an* '[RDP-black]-REAL'). That is, the base is reduplicated, but not the Realis suffix. Since verbs but not adjectives can be inflected with a Realis suffix, this pattern suggests that reduplication first turns the adjective base into a verb, and the derived verb is then inflected for Realis.

- (50) Full reduplications with adjectival base
- a. *musaq-musaq* 'very much shattered'
RDP-shattered
- b. *qa'an-qa'an-an* 'be black-REAL' > 'something black'
[RDP-black-]_V-REAL
- c. *pug-pug-an* 'be circular-REAL' > 'something circular'
[RDP-circular-]_V-REAL
- d. *kal-kal-an* 'be slow-REAL' > 'slowly'
[RDP-slow-]_V-REAL

In (51) and (52), adjective reduplications in sentence context are illustrated:

(51) ...*bali si in nuk qa'an-qa'an-an banaq g-om me'*.
 see SIM it.thing one [RDP-black]-REAL puddle 3s-inside be.in
 ...he saw something black inside the puddle.'

(52) *Qau ba yivar iraxau a-manak*
 good SEQ dog 3.DU 3s-master
 So the dog and his master

kal-kalan yix-in gula',...
 [RDP-slow]-REAL descend-REAL finish
 slowly went down,...

(53) illustrates reduplicated adverbials (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.5.3), and (54) illustrates reduplications of numeral bases (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.8). Reduplicated numerals in sentence context are illustrated in (55).

(53) Full reduplications with adverbial base

wek-wek 'behind'
 RDP-behind

bas-bas 'usually'
 RDP-tomorrow

bes-bes 'good morning' (lit. morning-morning)
 RDP-morning

tad-tad 'together'

(54) Full reduplications with numeral base

nuk-nuk 'one by one'
 RDP-one

raq-raq 'two by two'
 RDP-two

yerig-yerig 'three by three'
 RDP-three

- (55) *Iman nuk-nuk / raq-raq / yerig-yerig aria-n.*
 they RDP-one RDP-two RDP-three arrive-REAL
 ‘They arrive one by one / two by two / three by three’

In (56) illustrations of reduplicated nouns are given. Noun reduplications typically express attributive or adverbial notions, as in (56). Nouns are not reduplicated to express plurality or distributivity.

- (56) Full reduplications with nominal base

mug-mug ‘be hilly’
 RDP-mountain.top

war-war ‘day after day’
 RDP-day

In general, Teiwa reduplications are reduplications of the entire stem; there is no productive process whereby a syllable is reduplicated. However, there are some lexicalised reduplicative forms that copy the initial syllable of the stem. An example is the adverb *mol-molas* ‘in fact’. I analyse such forms as lexicalised reduplications, because the base *mol(as)* is not used as an independent word, and has no independent meaning.

2.6. Orthographic conventions

In the choice of symbols for the Teiwa phonemes I followed the rules ‘letters are better than non-letters’ and ‘one sound corresponds to one symbol’ (Baird and Klamer 2006).

The Teiwa glottal stop is phonemic and has a high functional load. It contrasts with the uvular stop [q], which is represented as *q*. Although it is better to use a letter symbol than a non-letter symbol, in Teiwa the non-letter symbol <’> represents the glottal stop because *q* is already used to represent the uvular stop. As only phonemic segments are orthographically represented, the glottal stop is only written at the end of words and intervocalically, but not at the beginning of words, because it is not phonemic in word-initial position.

The spelling of the pharyngeal fricative /h/ and the uvular stop /q/ has been a topic of discussion throughout the field sessions. Teiwa speakers often mention that these sounds are unique for Teiwa.¹⁶ Most speakers are hesitant to write in Teiwa “because the alphabet has no letters for /h/ and /q/”. The orthographic problems were in fact the reason why Teiwa speakers invited me to work on their language. Some speakers spontaneously write /h/ as /kh/,

following the Indonesian spelling of the velar fricative /x/, another option is to represent it with the unused letter *x*. During the last fieldwork I presented the main consultants with a list of words in two alternative spellings (for example *kham - xam* ('milk'), *khai - xai* ('canoe'), *khaf - xaf* ('fish')) and asked them which of the two they preferred and why. In the discussion that followed, the consultants pointed out that Indonesian /x/ and Teiwa /h/ are indeed very different sounds, and that it should be a good idea to make this distinction clear by using *x* rather than *kh*. Note also that in Indonesian, the fricative /x/ occurs only in a limited set of loan words (mainly Arab), while Teiwa /h/ is a frequently used native sound. As the choice to represent /h/ as *x* is also in line with the 'one sound-one symbol' rule and enhances readability, this is what was decided upon.

The bilabial voiceless fricative /ɸ/ is represented as *f*, to reflect that it is the voiceless counterpart of /v/, and in this it follows the speaker's intuitions and preferences.

The phonemically long vowels /i:/ and /u:/ are represented with double symbols: *ii*, *uu*. The front open vowel /a/ is also represented as *aa*, to contrast it with /a/, which is represented as *a*. Note however that although /a/ may be phonetically realised as long, phonemically it is not long (see section 2.1.3.1). The mid vowels /ɔ, ε/ may be pronounced as long when they occur in a closed (CVC) syllable, but as they are not phonemically long, they are represented with a single symbol (*o* and *e*).

The representation of the semivowels follows Indonesian conventions. The semivowels /i/ and /u/ are written as consonants *y* and *w* when they precede another vowel; for example: *yaxar* 'laugh', *walas* 'tell'. A semivowel that follows another vowel is written as a vowel; for example: *bai* 'pig', *muxui* 'banana'.¹⁷ A semivowel in between vowels functions as syllable onset and is therefore written as a consonant; for example: *ayas* 'throw', *itoyan* 'earthquake'.

In Teiwa running texts (e.g. in the story books yet to be published), object and possessor prefixes are written as one word with the verb/noun they attach to, since together these constitute a syntactic word: no other item can ever come in between the prefix and the verb/noun it attaches to. Examples are *gawei* /ga-wei/ '3s-bathe', *noqai* /n-oqai/ '1s-child'. In this grammar, however, for expository reasons, a prefix will be separated from its base with a hyphen.

Subject pronouns, both long and short forms, are grammatically free forms which can be separated from the verb by various items, including object nouns. Therefore they are written as separate words, even if they consist of only one vowel, e.g. *a* '3s'.

Small function words, such as the demonstratives and the deictic verb *ma* that functions as an oblique marker or the simultaneous conjunction *si* ‘SIM’ are always written as separate words.

The realis suffix *-an* always attaches to verbs and in this book is separated from the verb with a hyphen. Reduplicative forms, both full and partial, are separated from each other by a hyphen, following Indonesian spelling conventions. For more discussion on the orthography of the languages of Alor and Pantar, see Baird and Klamer (2006).

2.7. Summary

Teiwa syllables have an optional onset, and may be open or closed. Some consonants only occur in onset position, others only in coda position. Phonemic consonant clusters only occur in the onset position of a stressed syllable, and in such clusters the second consonant is a liquid. Long vowels and vowel sequences occur only in stressed syllables. Vowel sequences always contain one high vowel. When the first vowel in a sequence is high, it projects a separate syllable, when the second is high, it becomes the syllable coda. Stress is trochaic. A Teiwa prosodic word contains at most three syllables, maximally one of which — the final one — is heavy. The initial syllable of a prosodic word can only be light. Words with two or more heavy syllables, and/or more than three morae are analysed as prosodic word compounds. The initial member of the prosodic compound gets main stress and is thus the prosodic head.

Chapter 3

Word classes

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter I describe the major and minor categories of Teiwa. For the major and open word classes of nouns (section 3.1), verbs (section 3.3), adjectives (section 3.4) and adverbs (section 3.5), I discuss the grammatical features which define them. Teiwa does not have adpositions. In section 1, noun classes, nominal compounds and nominalisations are discussed, followed by the pronoun paradigms in section 3.2. In section 3.3, I describe various lexical classes of verbs, using morpho-syntactic as well as semantic/functional criteria. Adjectives are described in section 3.4. Teiwa adjectives share some properties with nouns — for example, they often have a possessor prefix and are nominalized in that way. Adverbs are the topic of section 3.5. Teiwa adverbs are distinct from nouns, verbs, and adjectives in that they cannot be used predicatively. The language does not have many adverbs; adverbial notions may also be expressed by verbs in serial verb constructions. Some adverbs are (historically) related to verbs. Demonstratives and deictics are discussed in section 3.6, spatial deictics in section 3.7, numerals in section 3.8, nominal quantifiers in section 3.9, conjunctions in section 3.10, question words in section 3.11, topic markers in section 3.12, time expressions in section 3.13, weather expressions in section 3.14, and words for cardinal directions and left/right in section 3.15. Finally, section 3.16 presents miscellaneous items such as yes/no words, exclamations, tags, hesitation markers and everyday idiomatic expressions.

3.1. Nouns

3.1.1. Classes of nouns

Nouns typically occur as the head of an NP, and function as clausal arguments. Nouns can also be used predicatively (see Ch. 6, section 6.1). Except for a few lexicalized expressions, Teiwa nouns are not regularly reduplicated (see Ch. 2, section 2.5), and this sets them apart from the verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

Based on their distributional properties, several classes of Teiwa nouns can be distinguished. Proper names (i.e., personal names and place names) cannot

be modified, and are therefore distinct from common nouns. Some examples of proper names mentioned in the Teiwa corpus are given in (1).

- (1) a. Examples of names for male persons:
Edi, Goli, Lius, Marten, Mase, Nabas, Ribu, Unu, Bui Lan, Samperan, Yance
- b. Examples of names for female persons:
Bruang, Leti, Lol, Malai, Mani, Sam
- c. Examples of family names:
Biri, Blegar, Bolang, Bui, Lau, Perang, Qoli, Ribu, Serang, Unu, Wa'ang
- d. Examples of clan names:
Barawasi, Burilak, Loxoq, Perang Tubi, Salanggalu, Teiwa', Qailipi
- e. Names of place names:
Mau Kotor, Pan Kotor, Bursi'in, Otfai, Qauturu, Kalambas (=Kalabahi)

The class of common nouns is divided into nouns whose possessor is 'alienable', and nouns with an 'inalienable' possessor. Examples of alienable nouns are *yaf* 'house', *kon* 'shirt', *qavif* 'goat'. The class of inalienable nouns includes body part nouns and kinship terms. Alienable and inalienable nouns have formally distinct possessive constructions (see Ch. 5, section 5.2.2). Inalienable nouns have an obligatory prefix. Speakers do not recognize them as possible words without this prefix. In contrast, alienable nouns can occur without a possessor prefix. In addition, alienable possessors are emphasized with an additional long pronoun; inalienable possessors are emphasized with an additional short pronoun (see Ch. 5, section 5.2.3.1).

A third noun class of Teiwa is the class of locational nouns. Examples include *wanan* 'side', *fan* 'front', *siban* 'behind', *ragan* 'outside', the inalienable noun *g-om* '3s-inside', *tag* 'up(stairs), above speaker (relatively close)', *yuun* 'down(stairs), below speaker (relatively close)'.¹ Illustrations of locational nouns in sentence contexts are provided in (2)-(4):

- (2) *Uy ragan me'.*
people outside be.in
'Some people are outside' / 'Someone is outside'.

- (3) *Lius ita'a me'?* *A uyan me'*.
 Lius where be.in 3s mountain be.in
 'Where is Lius? He is in the mountains'
- (4) *A tag me'*. *A yuun me'*.
 3s up be.in 3s down be.in
 'He is upstairs. He is downstairs'

Locational nouns can modify another noun in an NP by using a possessor prefix, as in (5a). (See also Ch. 5, section 5.3.3). In this example, the noun *axala* 'his mother' is the "Ground", and is marked as the grammatical possessor of the locational noun *siban* 'behind'. In (5b) the possessed locational noun is used independently.

- (5) a. *Bif g-oqai un a-xala' ga-siban ma o'on.*
 child 3s-child PROG 3s-mother 3s-behind come hide
 'Her child is hiding behind his mother'
- b. *Bif g-oqai un ga-siban ma o'on.*
 child 3s-child PROG 3s-behind come hide
 'Her child is hiding behind her'

Count and mass nouns can be distinguished, as usual, by their countability, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. *Uy nuk* b. * *Hala nuk*
 person one others one
 'One person'

Within the class of mass nouns, liquids and non-liquids take different quantifiers, as illustrated in (7)-(8):

- (7) a. *Yir kuuk* b. * *Yir grix*
 water a.bit(liquid) water a.bit(non.liquid)
 'A bit of water'
- (8) a. *Qar grix* b. * *Qar kuuk*
 rice a.bit(non.liquid) rice a.bit(liquid)
 'A bit of rice'

Plurality of nouns is indicated by the plural word *non*, as in (9) (see section 3.9 below, and Ch. 5, section 5.5.2).

- (9) *Mauqubar* *g-oqai* *non*
 frog 3s-child PL
 ‘Baby frogs’

Distinctions in the animacy, liquidity, edibility or countability of nouns do not trigger different nominal inflections. The animacy of nominal referents does, however, play a role in how objects are indexed on verbs. This is discussed in section 3.2 below, and Ch. 4, section 4.4.

3.1.2. Nominal compounds

A compound is a single word or lexeme which consists of more than one root. In a canonical compound, the composing roots are not separable by other words, and neither are they inflected separately. Often, the original meaning of one, or both, of the roots in a compound is lost. The meaning of a compound is often not a sum of the meaning of its parts. Nominal compounds function as heads of NPs. In Teiwa nominal compounds, the initial (leftmost) member gets primary stress (Ch. 2, section 2.3 and 2.4), though there are exceptions. In this section, I distinguish between nominal compounds and lexicalized NPs. The former are single words or lexemes that contain more than one root, the latter are phrases that became idiomatic expressions and lexicalized as such.

Nominal compounds in Teiwa combine two nouns, where one noun modifies the other (the head). The head follows the modifier, i.e. they are head-final. Illustrations are given in (10).

(10) Head-final [N N] collocations: compounds

<i>an</i>	<i>wad</i>	‘market day’
market	day	
<i>bukal</i>	<i>tar</i>	‘basket rope; rope to make baskets with’
basket	rope	
<i>wat</i>	<i>kul</i>	‘coconut shell’
coconut	shell	
<i>xam</i>	<i>yir</i>	‘milk’
breast	water	
<i>na-fat</i>	<i>kuu’</i>	‘my knee’
1s-leg	joint	

The head-final character of the nominal collocations in (10) makes them different from regular [NN] NPs, i.e. NPs which contain a modifier that is a noun, because such NPs are always head-initial (Ch. 5, section 5.1). The collocations in (10) do, however, have the same order as possessive [N poss-N] NPs, as illustrated in (11).

- (11) *Bif* *g-o'on*
 small.child 3s-head
 'A child's head'

However, possessive NPs are recognised by the possessor prefix on the head noun: the prefix *g-* in (11) (see Ch. 5, section 5.2). This distinguishes head-final possessive NPs like the one in (11) from head-final compounds like those in (10). In other words, the [NN] compounds in (10) differ from regular [NN] NPs by their word order, and they differ from possessive [N poss-N] NPs because their head is uninflected. Following this definition, idiomatic constructions with an inflected head such as (12) are lexicalized possessive NPs:

- (12) *War* *g-et*
 day 3s-eye
 'sun'

Teiwa also has head-initial [NN] collocations with idiosyncratic meanings. Examples are given in (13). These are structurally identical to regular [NN] NPs like *war pug* 'stone round' > 'a round stone', and can thus be seen as lexicalized NPs.

(13) Head-initial [N N] collocations: lexicalized NPs

<i>g-et</i> 3s-eye	<i>bag</i> seed	'his eyes'
<i>in</i> thing	<i>dan</i> part	'anything'
<i>weg</i> door	<i>eqar</i> woman	'back door'
<i>weg</i> door	<i>masar</i> man	'front door'

<i>xal</i>	<i>kir</i>	‘drizzle’
rain	bone	

Teiwa also has head-initial [NN] idioms whose semantics is more regular or transparent; illustrations are given in (14). These are also considered lexicalized NPs.

(14) Head-initial nominal collocations with regular semantics

<i>nuan</i>	<i>kian</i>	‘k.o. cloth’
cloth	woven.cloth	
<i>wut</i>	<i>ras</i>	‘jungle’
wood	jungle	
<i>uy</i>	<i>hara’</i>	‘fatherless child’
person	orphan.without.father	
<i>na-er</i>	<i>tuban</i>	‘my lips’
1s-edge	mouth	

Finally, [NA] collocations are illustrated in (15), and [NV] collocations in (16). Idiomatic nominal expressions like these are rare in Teiwa, and appear mainly as kin terms, as in (15), or refer to the cardinal directions East and West, as in (16). Note that the latter two expressions contain a verb that is inflected for Realis (cf. Ch. 7, section 7.1). Structurally, the idioms in (15) are lexicalized NPs, and the idioms in (16) are lexicalized subject-predicate combinations.

- (15) a. *na-xala’ sam*
 1s-mother small
 ‘my aunt; mother’s younger sister’
- b. *na-xala’ uwaad*
 1s-mother big
 ‘my aunt; mother’s older sister’
- c. *n-oma’ sam*
 1s-father small
 ‘my uncle; father’s younger brother’

- d. *n-oma'* *uwaad*
 1s-father big
 'my uncle; father's older brother'

- (16) a. *war ba'-an* b. *war daa-n*
 sun fall-REAL sun ascend-REAL
 'West' 'East'

Relating to the head-final compounds in (10) one could also ask whether these should indeed be analyzed as single lexemes (compounds), or rather as idiomatic, lexicalized NPs. Recall that head-final NPs in Teiwa are otherwise always possessive. In possessive NPs, the possessor is indexed on the head noun with a prefix (see (11)). As the head-final collocations in (10) lack such a possessor prefix, this makes them formally distinct from the canonical possessed NPs. If we analysed them as head-final NPs (not compounds), we would have to assume a third structural type of NP in Teiwa: a head-final NP without a possessive prefix.

Here I will not assume this, but rather analyse the collocations in (10) as morphologically complex single words that consist of two roots, i.e., as compounds. One argument is that, unlike what may be found in regular NPs, the members of the expressions in (10) cannot be separated by other words while retaining their meaning, as illustrated in (17a-c). This suggests that they are lexical units.²

- (17) a.* *bof uwaad ge'er*
 wave big edge
- b. *bof uwaad ga-ge'er*
 wave big 3s-edge
 'A big wave's edge'
- c.* *wat sam kul*
 coconut small shell
- d. *wat sam ga-kul*
 coconut small 3s-shell
 'A small coconut's shell'

To conclude, the head-final nominal collocations in (10) are analysed as a separate morphological entity, a compound, because their structural properties differ from both regular NPs, which are head-initial, and from possessed NPs, which have an inflected head.

There are also multi-word nominal expressions where one member has no independent meaning. In (18) some examples are given. These words consist of two prosodic words (see Ch. 2, section 2.3), but one of the words has no independent meaning, as indicated by the question mark in the gloss.

(18) Nominal expressions where one member has no independent meaning

<i>g-or</i> 3s-tail	<i>pahas</i> ?	‘his backbone’
<i>nuan</i> cloth	<i>senai</i> ?	‘scarf’
<i>g-et</i> 3s-eye	<i>qa’ar</i> ?	‘tears’
<i>yas</i> bad	<i>paat</i> ³ ?	‘misfortune’
<i>n-usan</i> 1s-?	<i>bag</i> seed	‘my teeth’
<i>ga-vin</i> 3s-?	<i>bui</i> betelnut	‘his nose’
<i>yar</i> ?	<i>g-et</i> 3s-eye	‘dance place’
<i>biar</i> ?	<i>kriman</i> small ⁴	‘children (general)’
<i>n-uar</i> 1s-?	<i>wa’</i> leaf	‘my ear(s)’

Finally, there are [NN] compounds where the conjoined elements have no dependency relation. Examples are given in (19). In ‘dvanda’ compounds the referent is plural (19a-b), in appositional compounds (19c), it is singular.

(19) ‘Dvanda’ and appositional nominal compounds

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| a. | <i>nadan</i> | <i>na’ir</i> | ‘brothers and sisters’ |
| | brother | sister | |
| b. | <i>n-oma’</i> | <i>na-xala’</i> | ‘my parents’ |
| | 1s-father | 1s-mother | |
| c. | <i>yit</i> | <i>nara’</i> | ‘name of clan or rank’ |
| | name | name | |

In sum, nominal compounds in Teiwa are head-final, as in (10). They are analysed as a separate morphological entity, a compound, because their word order differs from the one that is used in regular NPs, and is reflected in the [NN], [NA] and [NV] idiomatic expressions in (13)-(16). Nominal compounds differ from head-final [N poss-N] possessed NPs, because their head is not inflected.

3.1.3. Derived nominals

Teiwa nominals can be derived by prefixing root forms with the 3sg possessor prefix *ga-*. The roots of such nominalisations are adjectives, locational nouns, adverbs, or question words. Some examples are listed in (20).

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------|------------------|
| (20) | <i>ga-yas</i> | 3s-bad | the bad one(s) |
| | <i>ga-qa’an</i> | 3s-black | the black one(s) |
| | <i>ga-kriman</i> | 3s-small | the small one(s) |
| | <i>ga-tian</i> | 3s-long | the long one(s) |
| | <i>ga-tapas</i> | 3s-same | the same one(s) |
| | <i>ga-yuun</i> | 3s-below | the ones below |
| | <i>ga-tur</i> | 3s-formerly | the former ones |
| | <i>ga-dan</i> | 3s-part | the other(s) |
| | <i>ga-ta’a</i> | 3s-which | which one(s) |

Derived nominals typically function as nominal attributes in NPs, as illustrated in (21a-b), but they can also occur as independent nominal heads, as illustrated in (22b).

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| (21) | a. | <i>Bai</i> | <i>ga-ta’a</i> | <i>la</i> | <i>mat?</i> |
| | | pig | 3s-where | FOC | take |
| | | ‘Get which pig?’ | | | |

- b. *Bai ga-afo*
 pig 3s-over there
 ‘The pig over there’
- (22) a. *Na war pug bali*
 1s stone round see
 ‘I see a round stone’
- b. *Na ga-pug bali.*
 1s 3s-round see
 ‘I see a round one’

When the prefix *ga-* is found on verbs, it usually indexes third person singular of the object on the verb (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.3 below), but it can also nominalize them. An example is *ga-aria-n* ‘his arriving’ in (58).

- (23) *Uy ga-aria-n ga’an u yilag?*
 person 3s-arrive-REAL 3s DIST who
 ‘Who [is] that person who arrived?’

Nominalized verbs are rare in the corpus, which contains only three tokens of them (cf. section 3.3.1 below). Additional discussion and examples of derived nominals is provided in Ch. 5, section 5.3.2; see also Ch. 8, section 8.2.4.3.

3.2. Pronouns

Teiwa has several paradigms of pronouns. This section presents an overview of them. First, the paradigms of pronouns encoding subject, object and possessor are presented (section 3.2.1). Then the pronouns that are used less frequently are discussed: the dual pronouns (3.2.2), the pronouns referring to ‘X and they’ (3.2.3), those referring to ‘X alone’ (3.2.4), and those referring to ‘X as a group of...’ (3.2.5).

3.2.1. Subject, object and possessor pronouns

This section presents the paradigms of the subject, object and possessor pronouns, and compares their forms. The paradigms contain two forms with a referential function that is cross-linguistically less common: *i' in / gi' in* '3p elsewhere' and *ta'an* 'distributive'. Their function will be described in detail in this section. Additional discussion on pronominal encoding of subjects, objects, and possessors can be found in Ch. 4, section 4.2.1, 2.2, and Ch. 5, section 5.2.1. and 5.2.3.1.

The Papuan languages of Pantar and Alor generally have a two-way distinction in the first person plural (exclusive/inclusive), which is expressed by pronouns containing the consonants <*n*> and <*p*>. Teiwa *ni('in)* and *pi('in)* are illustrations of this pattern. SIMilar forms in languages of Alor and Pantar are listed in Stokhof (1975:17), and found in Adang (Haan 2000), Abui (Kratochvil 2007) and Klön (Baird 2008).

The theme vowel for singulars is <*a*> and for plurals <*i*>, which is also a common feature of the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar. Note also that the second syllable of the long pronouns in Teiwa is a copy of the theme vowel plus <*n*>. In the general shape of the paradigm, the form *iman* represents an exceptional form. It is related to the paradigm discussed in section 3.2.5.

(24) Subject pronouns (see Ch. 4, section 4.2.1)

	Long subject pronoun	Short subject pronoun
1s	<i>na'an</i>	<i>na</i>
2s	<i>ha'an</i>	<i>ha</i>
3s	<i>a'an</i>	<i>a</i>
1p.exclusive	<i>ni'in</i>	<i>ni</i>
1p.inclusive	<i>pi'in</i>	<i>pi</i>
2p	<i>yi'in</i>	<i>yi</i>
3p	<i>iman</i>	<i>i, a</i>
3p.elsewhere ⁵	<i>i'in</i>	<i>i, a</i>
distributive	<i>ta'an</i>	<i>ta</i>

In the paradigm of short subject pronouns, the third plural can be expressed with either *i* or *a*. While *a* is the original third singular form, it can also be used for plurals, and thus seems to be developing into a third person pronoun that is unmarked for number.

The segmental make-up of the short subject pronoun forms is identical to that of the object prefixes in (25). Unlike the object prefixes, however, the short subject pronouns project separate nominal constituents – they are neither prefixes nor clitics, but reduced pronouns that function as independent words (see also Ch. 4, section 4.2.1).

The object pronouns are almost identical to the (long) subject pronouns, but not quite: the third person forms are distinct: *a'an* versus *ga'an* in the singular, *i'in* versus *gi'in* in the plural.

(25) Object pronouns and prefixes (see Ch. 4, section 4.2.2)

	Object pronoun	Object prefix
1s	<i>na'an</i>	<i>n(a)-</i>
2s	<i>ha'an</i>	<i>h(a)-</i>
3s	<i>ga'an</i>	<i>g(a)-, gə-</i>
1p.exclusive	<i>ni'in</i>	<i>n(i)-</i>
1p.inclusive	<i>pi'in</i>	<i>p(i)-</i>
2p	<i>yi'in</i>	<i>y(i)-</i>
3p	<i>iman</i>	<i>g(i)-, ga-</i>
3p.elsewhere	<i>gi'in</i>	<i>g(i)-</i>
distributive	<i>ta'an</i>	<i>t(a)-</i>

The object prefixes have animate referents (humans or animals), the object pronouns may be used to refer to both animate and inanimate objects (see also section 3.3.2 below). The object prefixes have two allomorphs: a syllabic form and a consonantal form.⁶ The two allomorphs are regularly distributed: syllabic prefixes attach to consonant-initial verbs, consonantal prefixes attach to vowel-initial verbs (see Ch. 4, section 4.2.2 for examples).

The number distinction is neutralized when the third person object prefix *ga-* is used: it may refer to a singular object when the verb is consonant-initial, or to a plural object. If this prefix is used, the object's number may be further specified by an additional pronoun (*ga'an* for the singular, *iman* for the plural) or by adding the plural word *non* to the object NP. (See section 3.9 below and Ch. 5, section 5.5.2).

The object pronouns in (25) differ from the possessor marking pronouns in (26) in the third person singular form (*ga'an* versus *a'an*) (Ch. 5, section 5.2.3). A secondary function of the object pronoun *ga'an* is to mark new discourse participants (Ch. 11, section 11.1).

(26) Possessor pronouns and prefixes (see Ch. 5, section 5.2.1, 5.2.3)

	Long pronoun	Short pronoun	Prefix
1s	<i>na'an</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>n(a)-</i>
2s	<i>ha'an</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>h(a)-</i>
3s	<i>a'an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>g(a)-, a⁻⁷</i>
1pe	<i>ni'in</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>n(i)-</i>
1pi	<i>pi'in</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>p(i)-</i>
2p	<i>yi'in</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>y(i)-</i>
3p	<i>iman</i>	-	<i>g(i)-, a-, ga-</i>
3p.elsewhere	<i>gi'in</i>	-	-
distributive	<i>ta'an</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>t(a)-</i>

As observed above, the form *iman* represents an exceptional form in comparison to the shape of the other forms in the paradigms. *Iman* is related to the paradigm that refers to groups of a certain number 'X as a group of...', discussed in section 3.2.5 below. Its referential function is the unmarked 3rd person plural. The other 3rd person plural forms (*i'in* and *gi'in*) are subject and object forms that have a regular shape, but a marked referential function. *I'in* and *gi'in* refer to a group of people outside the physical and/or narrative context, translated as 'elsewhere' here. In practice, the use of these pronouns typically implies that the speaker cannot see the referents because they are at a different location, or existed at a different time. In (27), *iman* is the unmarked, standard form for 'they', while *i'in* in (28) refers explicitly to referents that are at a different location, and not seen by the speaker.

(27) *Iman* *g-oqai* *ga-wei*.
 they 3s.child 3s-bathe
 'They bathe/have bathed his child'

(28) *I'in* *g-oqai* *ga-wei*.
 they.elsewhere 3s-child 3s-bathe
 'They (elsewhere) bathe/have bathed his child'

Another illustration of the contrast *iman/i'in* is (29), where two distinct groups are involved, each in a different location: one group of singers in the church and one group of auditors outside the church. Since the speaker refers to the auditors with the 'common' third person pronoun *iman*, and to the singers with *i'in*, it is clear that the singers are not seen by him, and therefore that the speaker is located outside the church.

- (29) *Iman a wuraq si i'in gereja ma daar.*
 they 3s hear SIM they.elsewhere church(IND) come sing
 'They_j heard them_k singing in the church'
 [the speaker is outside the church]

The fact that *i'in* refers to a group located elsewhere necessarily implies that it cannot be used to talk about participants that are visible to the speaker. This is illustrated in (30). The referents of *iman* in the second clause decided not to descend from the house. But since in the story they were seen sitting inside their house while being called, they cannot be referred to with *i'in* in this particular context, as indicated.

- (30) *Iman ga-soi suk,*
 they 3s-order come.down
 'They ordered them to descend [from their house],
- iman (*i'in) suk-an man.*
 they they.elsewhere come.down-REAL NEG
 they did not come down.'

Another pronoun with a referential function that is cross-linguistically less common is the pronoun *ta'an* and its short forms *ta* and *ta-*. I analyse this pronoun as having a 'distributive' function, in the sense that it refers to a (non-collective) plurality of human referents, as illustrated in (31). The pronoun is often used in reciprocal contexts, as in (32) (see Ch. 4, section 4.8).

- (31) *Ta'an tara' mis!*
 DISTR be.in.a.row⁸ sit
 '[Let's] sit in a row!' (lit. 'Each (one) sits in a row!')
- (32) *Iqap ta'an he'en ma tii'.*
 3s & they DISTR close come sleep
 'They sleep close to each other'

Ta- also functions as a default possessive prefix. This is especially useful for inalienable nouns that are used out of context, for example, as citation forms or in word lists. In such cases, *ta-* refers to a non-specified and variable group of human possessors. An illustration is *ta-tan* '(each) one's hand(s), everyone's hand(s), people's hands in general'. In (33), the inalienable noun is *-uar wa* 'ear(s)' and the prefix refers to a non-specified group of possessors. In (34), the prefix has the same function with the alienable noun *yaf* 'house':

- (33) *Rai bas ga'an a t-uar wa' taxar*
king tomorrow 3s 3s DISTR-ear⁹ cut
‘The king will cut off everyone’s ear(s) tomorrow’
- (34) *Xal yaa-n ba iman gi sampai wa gi*
rain come-REAL SIM they go till (IND) go go
‘As it was raining, they went away till (they) got
- ta-yaf me' eran waal...*
DISTR-house be.in that.mentioned
into their (various) houses...’

T(a)- can only refer to human possessors, and therefore (35a) is grammatical, while (35b) is odd, because humans do not have horns:

- (35) a. *Ga-dexen* b.?* *Ta-dexen*
3s-horn DISTR-horn
‘Its horns’ Not good for: ‘Our horns’

Cognates of *ta('an)* are also found in other languages of Alor and Pantar. For example, Adang has a 1st person plural distributive prefix *ta-* (Haan 2000:38), Klön has 1st person Undergoer prefixes with *t-* (*t-*, *to-*, *tin-*, *te-*) (Baird 2008) and Abui has the distributive Undergoer prefixes *ta-te-*, and *to-* (Kratochvíl 2007). Cognates of this pronoun are also found in Blagar (Steinhauer 1993:151) and West Pantar (Holton p.c.). For more illustrations of the possessive use of *ta-*, see Ch. 5, section 5.2.2.

In addition to the possessive pronoun forms given in (26), there is also a possessive pronoun *li'in* that marks the plurality of the possessor NP. *Li'in* can only be used as an adnominal modifier in an NP and is therefore not a member of the paradigm in (26). The function of *li'in* is illustrated in (36a-b), where it modifies the noun *uy* ‘person’ to give it a plural possessor interpretation (see also Ch. 5, section 5.2.2.3).

- (36) a. *Uy ga-yaf*
person 3s-house
‘Someone’s house, a person’s house’
- b. *Uy li'in ga-yaf*
person their 3s-house
‘People’s house(s)’

3.2.2. Dual pronouns

Teiwa has a set of dual pronouns that can be used to encode subjects and to conjoin nominals. The paradigm is given in (37). The form *raxau* to which the pronominal forms are attached has no independent meaning.

(37) Dual pronouns

1p.exclusive-DU	(1e.DU)	<i>ni-raxau</i>	‘we two (excluding you)’
1p.inclusive-DU	(1p.DU)	<i>pi-raxau</i>	‘we two (including you)’
2p.DU	(2.DU)	<i>yi-raxau</i>	‘you two’
3p.DU	(3.DU)	<i>i-raxau</i>	‘they two’

Dual pronouns encoding subjects are illustrated in (38)-(39) (see also Ch. 4 section 4.11). Dual pronouns conjoining nominals are illustrated in (40)-41) (see also Ch. 5, section 5.7).

- (38) *Niraxau ina, yi-raxau ina.*
 1e.DU eat 2.DU eat
 ‘We two eat, you two eat’

- (39) *War nuk ga’an u iraxau ta gi*
 day one 3s DIST 3.DU TOP go
 ‘One day, the two of them go’

*muxui muban gu-uyan*¹⁰
 banana ripe 3s-look.for
 looking for ripe bananas’

- (40) *Ga-yit Pan Kotor iraxau Mau Kotor.*
 3s-name Pan Kotor 3.DU Mau Kotor
 ‘Their names were Pan Kotor and Mau Kotor’

- (41) *Qau ba yivar iraxau a-manak*
 good SEQ dog 3.DU 3s-master
 ‘So the dog and his master’

kal-kal-an yix-in gula’,...
 RDP-slow-REAL descend-REAL finish
 slowly went down,...’

3.2.3. 'X and they' pronouns

The pronominal paradigm referred to here as 'X and they' pronouns has a referent that is in the company of others. The forms are based on a (semantically empty) base form *-qap*, as in (42). Examples of sentences where these pronouns are subject, are (43)-(46).¹¹

(42) 'X & they' pronouns

2s & they	<i>h-iqap</i>	'you & they'
3 & they	<i>ø-iqap</i>	's/he/they & they'
1 & they	<i>n-iqap</i>	'I/we (excluding you) & they'
1pinclusive & they	<i>p-iqap</i>	'we (including you) & they'
2p & they	<i>y-iqap</i>	'you (pl) & they'

(43) *Iqap maxar pin.*
 3s&they garden hold
 'S/he works in the garden with them'

(44) *H-iqap maxar pin.*
 2s&they garden hold
 'You work in the garden with them'

(45) *N-iqap maxar pin.*
 1&they garden hold
 'I/we work in the garden with them'

(46) *P-iqap maxar pin.*
 1pi&they garden hold
 'All of us work in the garden' (lit. 'We and they work in the garden')

3.2.4. 'X alone' pronouns

The 'X alone' pronouns are used to make explicit that the referent is alone. They are derived from the root *qai* 'only, just' (alternative form *qayaq*). Note that the prefix used here has the form of the short subject pronouns *a-* and *i-*.

(47) 'X alone' pronouns

1s-only	<i>na-qai</i>	'I alone'
2s-only	<i>ha-qai</i>	'you alone'

3s-only	<i>a-qai</i>	‘he alone’
1p.exclusive-only	<i>ni-qai</i>	‘we (excluding you) alone’
1p.inclusive-only	<i>pi-qai</i>	‘we (including you) alone’
2p-only	<i>yi-qai</i>	‘you (pl) alone’
3p-only	<i>i-qai</i>	‘they alone’

An illustration of how these forms are used to encode a subject is (48):

- (48) *Ni'in ni-qai ta gi.*
 we.excl 1pe-only TOP go
 ‘We alone go’

3.2.5. ‘X as a group of ...’ pronouns

Teiwa also has a paradigm of plural pronouns that function to refer to a certain number of people in a group. The forms are based on the meaningless root *-man*, and combine with numerals. They function as subjects in the clause. The group can be any number: three, four, five, etcetera, as illustrated in (50)-(52).

- (49) ‘X as a group of’ pronouns

1p.exclusive	<i>ni-man</i> x	‘we (excluding you) as group of <i>x</i> numbers’
1p.inclusive	<i>pi-man</i> x	‘we (including you) as group of <i>x</i> numbers’
2p	<i>yi-man</i> x	‘you (pl) as group of <i>x</i> numbers’
3p	<i>i-man</i> x	‘they as group of <i>x</i> numbers’

- (50) *Pi-man ut ina.*
 1pe-man four eat
 ‘The four of us (not including you) eat’

- (51) *Ni-man yerig ina.*
 1pi-man three eat
 ‘The three of us (including you) eat’

- (52) *Iman yusan ina.*
 they five eat
 ‘The five of them eat’

Recall from section 3.2.1 that the *iman* is also (and more commonly) used to encode 3rd plural subjects, objects and possessors. Unlike *iman* the other regular subject/object/possessor pronouns cannot be used to express groups of

certain numbers. In other words, expressions like the following are ungrammatical:

- (53)* *Pi'in / Yi'in yusan ina.*
 1pe 2p five eat
 Intended reading: 'The five of us / the five of you eat.'

3.2.6. Pronouns for inanimate entities: *i* 'it.place' and *in* 'it.thing'

Teiwa has two pronouns that refer to third person referents that are inanimate: the pronoun *i* 'it.place' refers to a location, and the pronoun *in* 'it.thing' refers to an entity. In (54) the entity pronoun *in* is illustrated, in (55) the location pronoun *i*.

- (54) *Qau ba ha in ga-buri,*
 good SEQ 2s it.thing 3s-repair
 'You repair it for him,...'

- (55) *Gigala miaag*
 why yesterday
 'Why

iman war ma i wan tar-an?
 they stone come it.place be throw-REAL
 did they throw stones there yesterday?'

The location pronoun *i* is also used in some weather expressions, see section 3.14 below. A cognate of this form is the prefix *i-* which is found in expressions for various times of the day, illustrated in section 3.13 below. The prefix *i-* is also present in the question word *i-ta'a* 'where', literally 'it.place-which' (Ch. 8, section 8.2.4.4).

3.3. Verbs

3.3.1. Introduction

The class of Teiwa verbs is distinct from nouns, adjectives and adverbs in the following respects. Verbs are the only word class that may be inflected with a Realis suffix, and take object prefixes. Verbs canonically head VPs and function as predicates. In this respect, they are distinct from adverbs, because

adverbs cannot be used predicatively. Nouns and adjectives can function as predicates in Teiwa (Ch. 6), but such predicates cannot take a realis suffix. Unlike nouns (section 3.1 above), verbs cannot function as arguments. Unlike adjectives (section 3.4), underived verbs cannot function as adnominal modifiers. In (56) and (57) the adnominal use of an underived adjective is contrasted with a verb: in this position, a verb functions predicatively.

- (56) a. N Adj b. N V
ti' *baxari* *ti'* *de'*
 grass yellow grass burn(t)
 'Yellow grass' 'Burn grass' (Not: 'Burnt grass')
- (57) a. N Adj b. N V
tar *tian* *tar* *pua'*
 rope long rope snapped
 'A long rope' 'Snap a rope' (Not: 'A snapped rope')

Verbs can be used as adnominal modifiers only when they are nominalised, i.e., have a possessor prefix (3.1.3 above). This is illustrated in (58) and (59). The latter example also illustrates the use of *a-* as a possessor prefix (compare the paradigm in (26)).

- (58) *Uy* *ga-aria-n* *ga'an* *u* *yilag?*
 person 3s-arrive 3s DIST who
 'Who (is) that person who arrived?'
- (59) *Kri* *Sir* *a-tewar*¹² *ga'an* *axoran...*
 Mr Sir 3s-walk 3s like.this
 'Mr Sir walks like this:...' (lit. 'Mr Sir's walking is like this:...')

However, nominalised verbs are very rare in the corpus. Canonically, and typically, verbs are used as predicates, as illustrated in (60a), compare (60b) and (57b). In contrast to this, nominalised adjectives are very frequent in the corpus (section 3.4).

- (60) a. *Tar* *a* *pua'* *tau.* b. *Tar* *pua-n.*
 rope 3s snap PRF rope snap-REAL
 'The rope [is] snapped' 'The rope snaps'

Another distinction between verbs and adjectives is that verbs can be the morphological head of a verbal compound (section 3.3.12), but that there are no adjectival compounds in Teiwa. (Nominal compounds exist, section 3.1.2).

Now the structural distinctions between verbs and the other major word classes of Teiwa have been discussed, the remainder of this section describes lexical classes of verbs in the language. In section 3.3.2, three groups of verbs are described, using the morpho-syntactic feature of object encoding. In the other sections I present brief overviews of particular semantic types of verbs and the constructions in which they appear: experiencer predicates consisting of a verb and a body part noun *-om* ‘inside’ (3.3.3), reflexive-like verbs (3.3.4), ‘middle’ verbs (3.3.5), verbs for involuntary events (3.3.6), utterance verbs (3.3.7), verbs of perception (3.3.8), verbs of cognition (3.3.9), and sound verbs (3.3.10). In section 3.3.11 I mention some verb classes that are discussed elsewhere, and in section 3.3.12 verbal compounds (or compound verbs) are described.

3.3.2. Verb classes based on object encoding

Teiwa has intransitive and transitive verbs. The intransitives do not have an object, and the transitive verbs have a single grammatical object. These mono-transitive verbs encode animate and inanimate objects differently. They are divided into classes according to the way they encode their object. Class one (i) expresses the object with an object marking prefix on the verb, while the separate NP constituent may optionally be present too. Class two (ii) encodes the object as a separate nominal constituent, and forbids it to be encoded with a prefix. Examples of both verb classes are given in (61) and (62). (See also Ch. 4, section 4.2.) The object of the verbs in (61) is animate. The object of the verbs in (62) is inanimate. The lists are based on an investigation of my (limited) corpus and are not exhaustive.

- (61) Examples from transitive verb class (i): verbs with object prefix, and an animate object

<i>an</i>	‘give sb’ ¹³	<i>regan</i>	‘ask sb’
<i>'an</i>	‘sell to sb’	<i>rian</i>	‘look after sb’
<i>ayas</i>	‘throw at sb’	<i>sas</i>	‘feed sb’
<i>bun</i>	‘answer sb’; follow sb’	<i>soi</i>	‘order sb’
<i>fin</i>	‘catch sb’	<i>tiar</i>	‘chase sb’
<i>lal</i>	‘show to sb’	<i>ua'</i>	‘hit sb’
<i>liin</i>	‘invite sb’	<i>'uam</i>	‘teach sb’
<i>mian</i>	‘put at sb (animate location)’	<i>walas</i>	‘tell sb’
<i>pak</i>	‘call sb’	<i>wei</i>	‘bathe sb’
<i>panaat</i>	‘send to sb’		

- (62) Examples from transitive class (ii): verbs without object prefix, and an inanimate object

<i>bali</i>	‘see sth’	<i>ol</i>	‘buy sth’
<i>bangan</i>	‘ask for / request sth’	<i>paai</i>	‘cut sth in many small pieces’
<i>boqai</i>	‘cut up sth’ (e.g. fish, pig)	<i>pin</i>	‘hold sth’
<i>diib</i>	‘push sth with effort into cramped space’ (theme object)	<i>put</i>	‘cut off’ (grass, small trees)
<i>digan</i>	‘push forcefully into sth’ (location object)	<i>qap</i>	‘carve out sth’
<i>dumar</i>	‘push away sth’	<i>qas</i>	‘split sth’
<i>ga</i>	‘take sth along’	<i>sabar</i>	‘close off sth’
<i>hela</i>	‘pull sth’	<i>su’an</i>	‘cut off sth’ (e.g. corn from stem)
<i>kiqax</i>	‘shake out sth’	<i>tare’</i>	‘shake sth from container’
<i>kiri</i>	‘pull sth’	<i>tanat</i>	‘place on sth’
<i>mat</i>	‘take sth’	<i>taxar</i>	‘cut sth in two’
<i>me’</i>	‘be in some place’	<i>tian</i>	‘carry sth on head or shoulder’
<i>moxod</i>	‘drop sth’ (on purpose)	<i>tiwan</i>	‘carry sth with a stick on the shoulders of two people’
<i>na</i>	‘eat sth’	<i>yia</i>	‘put sth’

The sentences in (63)-(65) illustrate how verbs of class (i) take an object prefix that refers to an animate entity. In (63)-(64) the object is an animal, in (65)-(66) it is a person. The object NP is underlined. It is not obligatory; the 3rd person singular prefix is.

- (63) *A qavif ga-uyan gi si...*
 3 goat 3s-search go SIM
 ‘He went searching for [a] goat...’

- (64) *A yivar ga-walas a wa...*
 3s dog 3s-tell 3s say
 ‘He told [his] dog...’

- (65) *Rai ga’an u ma nuk a tup-an*
 king 3s DIST come one 3s get.up-REAL
 ‘That king one [day] got up

a emaq u ga-walas,
 3s wife DIST 3s-tell
 [and] said to that wife [of his],

a wa a mau tewar por awan ta gi.
 3s say 3s want(IND) walk island far TOP go
 he said he wanted to go to an island far away.'

- (66) *A g-oqai ga-bun.*
 3s 3s-child 3s-answer
 'He answers his child'

Examples (67), (69), and (70) illustrate verbs of class (ii), with inanimate objects. The object NPs are underlined. Unlike object NPs with animate referents, the object NPs with inanimate referents are not optional. In (67), the object of the locational verb *me'* 'be in' is *an* 'market'.

- (67) *Iman yix-in gi-in ga'an ta gi*
 they descend-Rls go-Rls 3s TOP go
 'They went down

an me' ewar daa si,...
market be.in return ascend SIM
 to the market and climbed up again,...

In this analysis, *me'* is a transitive verb and takes a bare object. Alternatively, one could call *me'* a copular verb and consider the location *an* 'market' as the non-verbal predicate. This suggests that such constructions are comparable to clauses with non-verbal (nominal, adjectival, numeral, quantifier) predicates. In Teiwa, however, these non-verbal clauses do not contain copulas (Ch. 6, section 6.1-6.4), so that the copular verb *me'* is only used in locational clauses. Locational clauses can also contain the verb *yias* 'put at/in', and both *me'* and *yias* combine with a nominal constituent expressing the location (see Ch. 6, section 6.5), which is analysed here as their grammatical object. In this respect, locational clauses are unlike clauses with non-verbal predicates.

Locational verbs are also unlike the deictic verb *gi* 'go', which is intransitive (Ch. 9, section 9.4 and 9.5). As a result, when *gi* occurs with a goal expressions, this must be marked as an oblique with *ma*, as illustrated for *gi* in (68). Locations that are the complement of *me'* or *yias* are bare constituents.

- (68) *A wa xa'a:* “*Ma pi-maran ma gi.*”
 3s say this come 1pi-hut come (Obl)¹⁴ go
 ‘She said: “Let’s go to our hut”’

In (69), the object is *ixaf uwaad* ‘their big fish’. It is inanimate because it is dead, and is expressed with an independent object NP. It cannot be encoded with a prefix.

- (69) ...*i'in i-xaf uwaad la boqai dau-an na.*
 they.elsewhere 3p-fish big FOC cut.up cook-REAL eat
 ‘...they cut up their big fish, cooked and ate [it]’

In (70), the object of *bangan* ‘ask for’ is inanimate *miaaq* ‘leaf’.¹⁵

- (70) *Qavif la nuk tur soxai xer ta wa:*
 goat FOC one formerly traditional.dance shout TOP say
 ‘The first goat sings (lit. shouts) and dances saying:

“*qavif meee-meee miaaq bangan na yaa-aaa oooo.*”
 goat meee-meee leaf ask.for eat descend-EXCL EXCL
 “goat meee-meee, [you] ask for leaves to eat, come do-own ooooh” ’

In Teiwa, the absence of an object prefix correlates strongly with the inanimate character of the object referent. I investigated 32 transitive verbs that occurred without an object prefix, for 28 of these the object was inanimate (an entity or a place).¹⁶

Some transitive verbs belong to both class (i) and class (ii). Such verbs can either have an animate object, and encode it with a prefix, or an inanimate object, and encode it as an independent constituent. Examples of such verbs are given in (71).

- (71) Transitive class (iia): verbs with a prefixed animate or free inanimate object

mai ‘save sth’ ; ‘keep for sb’
mar ‘take / get sth’; ‘follow sb’

Transitive class (iiib): verbs with a prefixed animate or inanimate object

uyan ‘look for somebody, search something’
sar ‘see, notice somebody, something’

An illustration is (72). The fact that the meaning of (72a-b) is different is relevant; (72b) could not mean ‘I take him/her’.

- (72) a. *Na ga'an mar.*
 1s 3s take
 ‘I take / get it’
- b. *Na ga-mar.*
 1s 3s-take
 ‘I follow him/her’

In addition, there are a few verbs that select an animate or inanimate object, and encode both of them as verbal prefixes. They are given in (74). Such verbs express an inanimate object using the canonical object prefix (otherwise used to index animate objects), and they express the animate object with a prefix containing a glottal stop consonant. The object prefixes are given in (73). Since 1st and 2nd person referents are intrinsically animate, there are only distinct allomorphs for 3rd person referents.

- (73) Third person object prefixes marking [+/- animate]

3sg inanimate object	3sg animate object
<i>ga-</i> [ga, ga]	<i>ga'-</i> [gaʔ, gaʔ]
<i>ge-</i> [gə]	
<i>g-</i>	

The contrasts are illustrated in (74).

- (74) Transitive verb class (iv): verbs with prefixes for animate and inanimate object

<i>wulul</i>		‘speak, talk, tell’
<i>ga'-wulul</i>	[gaʔwulul]	‘talk with sb, tell sb’
<i>ga-wulul</i>	[gawulul]	‘talk about sth, tell sth’
<i>wultag</i>		‘talk’
<i>ga'-wultag</i>	[gaʔwultag]	‘talk to sb, talk about sb, tell sb’
<i>ga-wultag</i>	[gawultag], [gultag]	‘talk about sth’

<i>tewar</i>		‘go, walk’
<i>ga'-tewar</i>	[gaʔtewar]	‘go/walk together with sb’
<i>ga-tewar</i>	[gatewar], [gətewar]	‘his (manner of) walking’
<i>kiid</i>		‘cry’
<i>ga-kiid</i>	[gaki:d]	‘cry with/for sb’
<i>ge-kiid</i>	[gəki:d]	‘cry about something’
<i>tad</i>		
<i>ga'-tad</i>	[gaʔtad]	‘hit, strike, touch sb’ ¹⁷
<i>ga-tad</i>	[gatad], [gətad]	‘hit, strike at sth’

In (75) it is illustrated how *wulul* ‘talk’ can encode an animate and an inanimate object with a prefix:

- (75) a. *Ha gi ga'-wulul.*
 2s go 3.anim-talk
 ‘You go tell him / You go talk with him’
- b. *Ha gi ga-wulul.*
 2s go 3s-talk
 ‘You go tell it!’

In (76a) the verb *tewar* is used in an intransitive construction. In (76b) it takes an animate object, a comitative, that is marked with a prefix. (The additional noun *emaq* ‘wife’ is grammatically optional; without it the sentence would mean ‘Mr Sir walks with someone’.) In (76c) the verb is nominalized with a possessive prefix.

- (76) a. *Kri Sir tewar.*
 Mr Sir walk
 ‘Mr Sir goes / walks’
- b. *Kri Sir emaq ga'-tewar*
 Mr Sir wife 3.animate-walk
 ‘Mr Sir goes / walks with his wife’
- c. *Kri Sir ga-tewar ga'an a xoran*
 Mr Sir 3s-walk 3s 3s like.this
 ‘Mr Sir walks like this’

To distinguish animate and inanimate objects by the choice of the prefix is a minority pattern; I have only attested this pattern with the 5 verbs illustrated here.

Note that objects can be locations in Teiwa, for example with the transitive locative verb *me* ‘be in’ in (77) where the location *hafan* ‘village’ is the object.

- (77) Uy ga'am hafan me'-en ba aria'.
 person 3s village be.in- REAL SEQ arrive
 ‘That person arrives from the village’
 (Lit. ‘... is at the village then arrives’)

Another example is the existential verb *wan* ‘to be/exist (at)’. When this verb is used in existential constructions it has a single theme argument, as in (78), but in a transitive construction, it can have an additional location object: in (79), *bo'oi* is the theme, and *hafan ga'an u* ‘that village’ the location. (See also Ch. 6, section 6.6 and 6.7, Ch. 9, section 9.6.4.).

- (78) *wan* <theme>
Qar wan.
 rice be
 ‘There is rice’

- (79) *wan* <theme, location>
Hafan ga'an u bo'oi wan le maan? Bo'oi wan maan.
 village 3s that river be or NEG river be NEG
 ‘Is there a river at that village or not?’ ‘There is not’

Sometimes locations are marked with a prefix. For example in (80), the verbs *mir* ‘go up’ and *daa* ‘ascend’ both have an object prefix. It is unclear whether this refers to the inanimate object *hafan* ‘village’ or that it rather has an animate referent because the inhabitants of the village are referred to. More research of locations marked as prefixes is necessary.

- (80) *Hala qalixil hala tup-an*
 others angry others get.up-REAL
 ‘So the angry people get up’
- saran xogo' daa mir-an hafan u ga-mir.*
 find want ascend go.up-REAL village DIST 3s-go.up
 they want to come, go up to that village.

Daa si taxaran ga-daa gasaai...
 ascend SIM how 3s-come.up cannot
 Come up... how to come up there, [they] can't... ’

In sum, Teiwa has intransitive and transitive verbs. The transitive verbs have maximally one object. (In Ch. 4, section 4.6 it is discussed how events with three participants are expressed in Teiwa.) This object is either animate (class i) or inanimate (class ii). A few verbs can select either (class iii). Yet another small class of verbs (class iv) index both animate and inanimate objects on the verb, using distinct prefixes for each.

3.3.3. Experiencer predicates with the body part noun *-om* ‘inside’

Teiwa has a set of phrasal verbs that contain the body part noun *-om* ‘inside’. These verbs express bodily and cognitive experiences/processes. Examples are given in (81). The body part noun is obligatorily possessed and must have a possessor prefix, here *n-* ‘1s’. (The actual pronunciation of *om mai* and *om garegan* is given in the second column; it is a contraction of the morphological forms.)

(81)	<i>n-om quun</i>	[nɔm'qu:n]	‘I am smart/clever’
	1s-inside be.sure		
	<i>n-om qau</i>	[nɔm'qau]	‘I am happy’
	1s-inside good		
	<i>n-om siis</i>	[nɔm'si:s]	‘I am thirsty’ ¹⁸
	1s-inside dry		
	<i>n-om par</i>	[nɔm'par]	‘I am annoyed (at s.b)’
	1s-inside defeated		
	<i>n-om qalixil</i>	[nɔmqalixil]	‘I am angry’
	1s-inside itchy		
	<i>n-om mai</i>	[nɔ'mai]	‘I am planning / I plan’
	1s-inside store/keep		
	<i>n-om bangən</i>	[nɔm'bangən]	‘I want/like’
	1s-inside see		
	<i>n-om ga-regan</i>	[nɔmgre'gan]	‘I think/say to myself’
	1s-inside 3s-ask		
	<i>n-om ga-i'</i>	[nɔmga'ʔiʔ]	‘I feel pity for him’
	1s-inside 3s-sick		

In (82), an example of a full paradigm is given of the phrasal verb *om mai* ‘to plan’:

(82)	<i>Na</i>	<i>n-om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘I plan’
	1s	1s-inside	store/keep	
	<i>Ha</i>	<i>h-om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘You plan’
	2s	2s-inside	store/keep	
	<i>A</i>	<i>(g-)om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘He plans’
	3s	3s-inside	store/keep	
	<i>Ni</i>	<i>n-om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘We (incl) plan’
	1pe	1pe-inside	store/keep	
	<i>Pi</i>	<i>p-om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘We (excl) plan’
	1pi	1pi-inside	store/keep	
	<i>Yi</i>	<i>y-om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘You plan’
	2p	2p-inside	store/keep	
	<i>I</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>mai</i>	‘They plan’
	3p	inside	store/keep	

If *-om* is not used as part of a phrasal verb, it expresses (oblique) locations (with the verb *ma* ‘come’ as oblique marker). This is illustrated in (83)-(84):

(83) *Haliwai yaa nuan g-om ma gi...*
 black.ant descend cloth 3s-inside come go
 ‘Black ants go down inside the sarong,...’

(84) *...banaq g-om nuk ma tii’,...*
 puddle 3s-inside one come sleep
 ‘...lie in a puddle...’

Verbal expressions that combine with the noun *-om* are phrasal verbs, not verbal compounds. The evidence for this is that the verb and noun project separate syntactic phrases in a clause. This can, for example, be seen in the comparative construction in (85) (cf. Ch. 6, section 6.11). In (85a) the verb and the noun *-om* are adjacent, but in (85b) they are separated by the adverb *tab* ‘surely’, and in (85c) they are separated by both the negative verb *paat* ‘not know’, and the verb *ma* ‘come’ (which is used as an oblique marker here).

(85) a. *Uy ga’an u g-om quun*
 person 3s DIST 3s-inside be.sure
 ‘That person is smart’

- b. *Uy ga'an u*
 person 3s DIST
 'That person'

g-om tab quun ha ga-xa'a di a xoran
3s-inside truly be.sure then 3s-this just 3s thus
 is smarter than this one'

- c. *Uy ga'an u g-om paat ma quun*
 person 3s DIST 3s-inside not.know come be.sure
 'That person is the smartest'

When *-om* is part of an experiencer phrasal verb, it may also be encoded as an oblique constituent, with the verb *ma* functioning as an oblique marker. This is illustrated in (86). The literal translation of the expression in (86) would be '...therefore I am good at my inside' > '...therefore I am happy'. Another illustration of *-om* as oblique is (89).

- (86) *"E... na'an ga'an rai g-oqai eqar ma*
 EXCL I 3s king 3s-child woman come
 "Well, the king gave me his daughter

na-mian ga-sas g-ax,
 1s-put.at 3s-feed 3s-possession
 to marry

ga'an la na n-om ma qau-qau-an."
 3s FOC 1s 1s-inside come RDP-good-REAL
 therefore I am happy."

When they are used in a clause, the single argument of phrasal verb constructions with the noun *-om* is morphosyntactically expressed as the possessor of *-om*: it is referred to by the possessor prefix and the coreferent pronoun. (87) illustrates this for a first person singular argument, (88) for a third person plural.

- (87) *Na'an n-om siis.*
 I 1s-inside dry
 'I'm thirsty'

- (88) *Iman ma na-walas a wa xa'a*
 they come 1s-tell 3s say this
 'They told me

amidan la iman g-om bangan.
 what FOC they 3s-inside ask.for
 what they liked'

Third person possessors are optionally marked on *-om*, as shown in (89)-(90), where it lacks a possessor prefix.

- (89) *Ta g-oqai raq i la,*
 TOP 3s-child two FORTHC FOC
 'And these two children,

wan om ma ga-regan si
 be inside come 3s-ask SIM
 she thinks about them (lit. she asks about them at her inside) and

daga g-om ga'-i' xoran ba tup-an
 like 3s-inside 3s-sick thus SEQ get.up-REAL
 feels pity so she gets up, ...'

- (90) *Qau ba iman mis-an om mai: "..."*
 good SEQ they sit-REAL inside store
 'So they sat down and thought: "...'

Finally, experiencer phrasal predicates can also be used in a transitive construction. In such contexts, the (animate) object is indexed by a prefix on the verb, as illustrated in (91). (Note that in this example, the vowel of the prefix *ga-* is reduced to schwa.) Again, this shows that the verb and *om* do not form one (compound) word, but are separate words.

- (91)
- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1s | <i>Na</i> | <i>n-om</i> | <i>ge-par</i> | 'I am angry at him/someone' |
| 2s | <i>Ha</i> | <i>h-om</i> | <i>ge-par</i> | 'You are angry at him/someone' |
| 3s | <i>A</i> | <i>(g-)om</i> | <i>ge-par</i> | 'He is angry at him/someone' |
| 1pi | <i>Ni</i> | <i>n-om</i> | <i>ge-par</i> | 'We (incl) are angry at him/someone' |
| 1pe | <i>Pi</i> | <i>p-om</i> | <i>yi-par</i> | 'We (excl) are angry at you (pl)' |
| 2p | <i>Yi</i> | <i>y-om</i> | <i>pi-par</i> | 'You (sg) are angry at us (excl)' |
| 3p | <i>Iman / i</i> | <i>g-om</i> | <i>ge-par</i> | 'They are angry at him/someone' |

The phrasal verb *-om ga-regan* ‘think’ has only one argument semantically (an experiencer argument) but is used in a syntactically transitive construction. In this construction, the object prefix on the verb indexes the possessed noun *-om* as the object. That is, the literal translation of the expression *na nom garegan* ‘I think’ is “I ask my inside”. The full paradigm is given in (92).

(92)	1s	<i>Na</i>	<i>n-om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘I think’
	2s	<i>Ha</i>	<i>h-om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘You think’
	3s	<i>A</i>	<i>(g-)om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘He thinks’
	1pi	<i>Ni</i>	<i>n-om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘We (incl) think’
	1pe	<i>Pi</i>	<i>p-om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘We (excl) think’
	2p	<i>Yi</i>	<i>y-om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘You think’
	3p	<i>Iman / i</i>	<i>g-om</i>	<i>ga-regan</i>	‘They think’

Not all cognition verbs combine with the noun *om*; section 3.3.8 mentions other types of cognition verbs. In addition, some verbs of cognition appear in ‘reflexive-like’ constructions, e.g. *ufan* ‘forget’, as discussed in section 3.3.4.

3.3.4. ‘Reflexive’ verbs

A few Teiwa verbs resemble in some ways the ‘reflexive’ verbs found in other languages. With a first and second person subject, these verbs are grammatically transitive, and take an object prefix that has the same referent as the subject. Examples of such verbs are *o'on* ‘hide’, *-ewar* ‘return’ and *-ufan* ‘forget’. In (93)-(96) the verb *-o'on* ‘hide’ is illustrated.

(93) *Na n-o'on?*
 1s 1s-hide
 ‘Shall I hide?’

(94) *Miaag na n-o'on-an...*
 yesterday 1s 1s-hide-REAL
 ‘Yesterday I hid myself [when...]

(95) *Ha h-o'on!*
 2s 2s-hide
 ‘Hide yourself!’

(96) *Pi p-o'on.*
 1pi 1pi-hide
 ‘We hide’

In (97)-(99) the verb *ewar* ‘return’ is illustrated.

- (97) *Na'an n-ewar.*
 come 1s-return
 ‘I [not you] went home’
- (98) *War yiran si ha ta h-ewar gi?*
 day how.many SIM 2s TOP 2s-return go
 ‘How long will you stay?’ (lit. ‘How many days before you return?’)
- (99) *Qau p-ewar gi.*
 good 1pi-return go
 ‘Let’s go home’

With a third person subject, the verb does not take an object prefix, i.e., is not grammatically transitive. This is illustrated in (100)-(101), which are intransitive clauses containing the verb *ewar* ‘return’.

- (100) *Qau a ta ewar mis.*
 good 3s TOP return sit
 ‘So she sits down again’
- (101) *Or non ewar.*
 bee PL return
 ‘The bees [have] returned’

If we affixed a third person object prefix on *ewar*, it would refer to the goal: ‘to return [something] to someone’, as illustrated in (102):

- (102) *Kri Nabas ma in ga'an g-ewar mar-an.*
 Mr Nabas come it.thing 3s 3s-return take-REAL
 ‘Mr Nabas took that thing back [to someone]’

The paradigm of the verb *-ufan* ‘forget’ is given in (103). The single argument of this verb is expressed twice: as a object prefix on the verb, and as an oblique argument marked with *ma* (Ch. 9, section 9.5). In (103)-(104), the object prefix and the oblique subject have the same referent. But in (105), the object prefix on *-ufan* refers to the benefactive.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----------|-----------|---------------|--|--------------------|
| (103) | 1s | <i>Na</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>n-ufan</i> | | ‘I forget’ |
| | 2s | <i>Ha</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>h-ufan</i> | | ‘You forget’ |
| | 3s | <i>A</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>ufan</i> | | ‘He forgets’ |
| | 1pi | <i>Ni</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>n-ufan</i> | | ‘We (incl) forget’ |
| | 1pe | <i>Pi</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>p-ufan</i> | | ‘We (excl) forget’ |
| | 2p | <i>Yi</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>y-ufan</i> | | ‘You forget’ |
| | 3p | <i>I</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>ufan</i> | | ‘They forget’ |
- (104) *Na ma n-ufan kertas pin-an ma.*
 1s come 1s-forget paper(IND) hold-REAL come
 ‘I forgot to bring paper with me’
- (105) *A ma h-ufan susu ol-an maan.*
 3s come 2s-forget milk(IND) buy-REAL NEG
 ‘He forgot to buy milk for you’

In sum, Teiwa has a few verbs reminiscent of ‘reflexive’ verbs. Because their object is not necessarily coreferent with the agent subject, they are different from the more canonical reflexive verbs found in other languages. In some contexts, their object prefix may refer to another participant, such as an experiencer (103)-(104), a goal (102) or a benefactive (105). Further research is necessary to establish the exact grammatical properties of these verbs. (Ch. 4, section 4.8 describes how reflexive notions are expressed that involve the inalienably possessed noun *-exan* ‘self’).

3.3.5. Verbs in middle constructions

A middle construction is one that expresses a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the patient, rather than as an action carried out by an agent (Payne 1997: 216). A middle construction is unlike a passive as it does not entail the existence of an agent (Keenan and Dryer 2007: 353). (An English example is the verb *sink* in *The ship sinks*.) The Teiwa verbs that are used in middle constructions do not undergo any overt derivation, nor do they use any overt operator. I use the term ‘middle’ construction to capture the functional similarity between the intransitive constructions formed with these verbs and the morphologically derived ‘middle’ constructions in other languages.

Examples of Teiwa middle verbs include *dekal* ‘break (in pieces)’, *ari* ‘break (in two)’, *pua* ‘snap’ and *adiman* ‘to sink sth, drown sb’. When they are used transitively, the verbs have an agent and a patient, as in (106a), (107a) and (109a). The agent is the addressee of the imperative in (108a). A

patient can be implied, as in (106b), but patients can also be expressed as the single (overt) argument of the clause, as in (106c) and (107b). In these cases, there is no agent implied, and the refers to (the results of) a process or involuntary process, rather than an activity.

- (106) a. *Iman toples dekal gula*'.
 they jar break finish
 'They broke the jar'
- b. *Iman dekal gula*'.
 they break finish
 'They broke [sth]'
- c. *Toples ga'an u dekal gula*'.
 jar 3s DIST break finish
 'That jar is broken [in pieces]'
- (107) a. *Ha'an meja ga-fat ari*'.
 2s table 3s-leg break
 'You broke that table leg!'
- b. *Na-fat ari*'.
 3s-leg break
 'My leg is broken (in two)'
- (108) a. *Tar pua*!
 rope snap
 'Snap the rope!'
- b. *Tar pua-n tau*.
 rope snap-REAL PRF
 'The rope snaps already/has snapped already'
- (109) a. *Iman g-adiman tau*.
 they 3s-drown PRF
 'They drowned him'
- b. *Xai adiman*
 canoe drown
 'A canoe sinks' / 'A drowned/sunken canoe'

In sum, Teiwa middle constructions involve transitive verbs that are used intransitively: the transitive patient is expressed as the undergoer subject of an intransitive clause. Subject and verbs in middle constructions do not have special morpho-syntactic encoding.¹⁹

Teiwa also has optionally transitive verbs, that basically express an intransitive activity but can have an optional animate object. They are discussed in Ch. 4, section 4.5.

3.3.6. Verbs for involuntary events

The S of an intransitive verb that denotes an involuntary event (as in the constructions discussed in 3.4) is not morphosyntactically encoded in any special way. It is expressed in the same way as the argument of volitional verbs (e.g. *sogar* ‘cry loudly’): with a preverbal pronoun or NP. Examples of intransitive verbs for involuntary events include *min* ‘die’, *i* ‘be sick’, and *trunan* ‘roll’²⁰. The latter is illustrated in (110), its subject is *kotan u* ‘that spin top’. (See also Ch. 4.)

- (110) ...*kotan u dumar moxod-an si a wa*
 spin.top DIST push drop-REAL SIM 3s go
 ‘...[her brother] pushed away [and] dropped that spin top, while [it]
- yaqai ewar trunan yix ta gi gula’ a wa:...*
 down.below return roll descend TOP go finish 3s say
 went back down, rolled down, she [the girl] said:...’

3.3.7. Utterance verbs

Verbs expressing verbal actions include the verbs in (111).

- (111) *wa* ‘say’²¹
taxani ‘inquire, ask for information’
bangan ‘request, ask for sth’
regan ‘ask sb’
walas ‘tell sb’
pak ‘call sb’
wan hamar ‘pray for sb’
fai ‘swear at sb’
liin ‘invite sb’
soi ‘order sb’

The quote verb *wa* is discussed in Ch. 10, section 10.1.1.1, and will not be discussed here. The verbs *taxani* ‘inquire, ask for information’ and *bangani* ‘request, ask for something’ typically take an inanimate object: the information or item asked for. The other utterance verbs in (111) have an animate object that refers to the addressee. The utterance itself is not marked as a verbal argument, but is rather expressed as a juxtaposed clause. (See also Ch. 10, section 10.1). In other words, the utterance verbs never have more than one grammatical object (the addressee); the utterance itself is never the grammatical object.

The sentences below illustrate how some of these verbs are used in context. *Regan* ‘ask someone’ has an animate object which is prefixed to the verb, as shown in (112a). For this verb, the item being asked is typically a quote. This quote is juxtaposed to the clause with *regan*, as shown in (112a). The quote itself is not a syntactic object of *regan*. This can be seen when the question refers to an item, such as ‘everything’ in (112b). In this case, the item is introduced as part of a serial verb construction with its own separate predicate, the existential verb *wan* ‘be’. Crucially, then, it is not allowed to have two objects appear with one predicate *regan*, as shown in (112c). If *regan* has an object, it is the (animate) addressee, which is marked on the verb with a prefix. (Serial verb constructions where the verb *wan* introduces an additional argument into the clause are further discussed in Ch. 9, section 9.6.4.).

- (112) a. *A iman ga-regan: “Amidan la xu’u?”*
 3s they 3s-ask what FOC that.one
 ‘He asks them: “What is that?”’
- b. *Aga’ wan ga-regan*
 everything be 3s-ask
 ‘Ask him everything’
- c.* *Na ga’an ga-regan*
 1s 3s 3s-ask
 Intended reading: ‘I ask it [from] him’

The verb *walas* ‘tell someone’ was illustrated in (88), repeated as (113) for convenience. Again the question asked is expressed as a juxtaposed clause.

- (113) *Iman ma na-walas a wa xa’a*
 they come 1s-tell 3s say this
 ‘They told me

amidan la iman g-om bangan.
 what FOC they 3s-inside ask.for
 what they liked'

The verb *taxani* 'ask for information' is intransitive, as in (59).

- (114) *Na taxani.*
 1s inquire
 'I inquire/ask for information'

Taxani combines with the verb *wan* 'be' in a serial verb construction to introduce the participant about whom information is sought. Examples of this are given in Ch. 9, section 9.6.4, see also Ch. 10., section 10.1.1.2.

The verb *bangan* 'ask for something' is used to express requests for certain items. Its object is an inanimate entity, rather than a proposition or quote. An illustration of this verb in a clause is (115); the object is *xar or* 'embers, burning coals'.

- (115) *I na gula' si,*
 3p eat finish SIM
 'While they ate,

nuk-nuk aria-n ta xar or bangan,
 RDP-one arrive-real TOP fire.wood coal ask
 one by one they came asking for embers,

xar or bangan a wa: "E! ..."
 fire.wood coal ask 3s say EXCL
 they asked for burning coal saying: "Hey!"

The verb *pak* 'call someone' always has an animate object, the addressee, as in (116):

- (116) *Ah... na iman ga-pak-an iman suk-an maan ba...*
 EXCL 1s they 3s-call-REAL they come.down-REAL NEG SEQ
 'Ah... I called them [but] they did not come out [of the house] so...'

The complex *wan hamar* 'pray' (lit. 'exist pray') can be used in an intransitive construction, as in (117), or a transitive one, as in (118), where the object is a benefactive (see also Ch. 10, section 10.1.1.2).

(117) *Na wan hamar.*

1s pray
'I pray'

(118) *A uy i wan hamar ma walas ba a bis.*
3s person FORTHC pray come tell SEQ 3s healthy
'He prayed for this person to get better'

The verb *fai* 'swear at' is a transitive verb (the intransitive verb 'to swear' is *bayan*). The object of *fai* is the person sworn at, as illustrated in (119):

(119) *Yix-in gi-n bo'oi ma yix-in si,*
descend-REAL go-REAL river come descend-REAL SIM
'While [they] were going down to the river,

uy iman gi-fai-an: "Ha-fi bun!"
person they 3p-swear.at-REAL 2s-penis one.piece
someone insulted them: "You pieces of prick!"

Control utterance verbs such as *liin* 'invite someone' or *soi* 'order someone' do not take a complement clause, but rather occur in serial verb constructions. This is illustrated in (120). The object of *liin* 'invite' is animate and refers to the invitee in (120a). It is co-referent with the (implied) argument of the second verb, as in (120b).

(120) a. *A pi-liin.*
3s 1pi-invite
'He invites us'

b. *A pi-liin muxui na.*
3s 1pi-invite banana eat
'He invites us to eat bananas'

Similarly, the object of *soi* 'order' is the person ordered, and it is co-referent with the argument of the second verb, e.g. *tup* 'wake up' in the paradigm in (121):

(121) *soi tup* 'to order (someone) to wake up'

Na ga-soi tup
1s 3s-order wake.up 'I wake him up'

<i>Ha</i>	<i>na-soi</i>	<i>tup</i>	
2s	1s-order	wake.up	‘You wake me up’
<i>A</i>	<i>na-soi</i>	<i>tup</i>	
3s	1s-order	wake.up	‘He wakes me up’
<i>Ni</i>	<i>ha-soi</i>	<i>tup</i>	
1pe	2s-order	wake.up	‘We (excl) wake you (sg) up’
<i>Pi</i>	<i>gi-soi</i>	<i>tup</i>	
1pi	3p-order	wake.up	‘We (incl) wake them up’
<i>Yi</i>	<i>ga-soi</i>	<i>tup</i>	
2p	3s-order	wake.up	‘You (pl) wake him up’
<i>I</i>	<i>pi-soi</i>	<i>tup</i>	
3p	1pi-order	wake.up	‘They wake us (incl) up’

For additional discussion of constructions with utterance verbs, see Ch. 9, section 9.6.4, and Ch. 10, section 10.1.1.

3.3.8. Verbs of perception

Verbs of perception are *bali* ‘see’, *sar* ‘notice’, and *wuraq* ‘hear’. These are transitive verbs that take nominal objects, as illustrated in (122)-(125). The object need not be expressed, as in (123).

- (122) *Na na-fan bali.*
 1s 1s-face see
 ‘I see my face / I see myself’
- (123) *Na awan tas bali.*
 1s far stand see
 ‘I stood watching far off’
- (124) *Gigala ba beban pi xaf ga-saran maan?*
 why SEQ last.night 1pi fish 3s-notice NEG
 ‘Why didn’t we catch fish last night?’

- (125) *A iman ga-daar xer*
 3s they 3s-sing shout
 ‘He heard their voices singing loudly

gereja me'-en u ga-sik wuraq.
 church(IND) be.in-REAL DIST 3s-voice hear
 in church’

The verb *uri* ‘look around searchingly’ describes a particular manner of looking around. It is intransitive, as illustrated in the imperative clause in (126). (*Na-siban ma* is an oblique location, see Ch. 9, section 9.5).

- (126) *Na-siban ma uri wa!*
 1s-behind come look.around.searchingly go
 ‘[You] search behind me!’

To conclude, perception verbs not take complement clauses (for further information, see Ch. 10, section 10.1.2). Typically, these verbs are followed by a coordinating conjunction and/or an intonational break, followed by the perceived event in an independent, coordinated clause. An illustration with *bali* ‘see’ is given in (127).

- (127) *...iman uri wa bali si,*
 they look.around.searchingly go see SIM
 ‘...they look around searchingly and see

tei baq nuk la un baq yaa, iman bali si...
 wood body one FOC PROG body descend they see SIM
 a trunk, there is a trunk, [they] descend and see...’

3.3.9. Verbs of cognition

Teiwa has two types of cognition verbs: monomorphemic, simple verbs, as in (128a), and morphologically complex verbs, as in (128b-d). These verbs will be illustrated below. The complex verbs are also discussed in the sections indicated in (128).

(128) Morphological structure of cognition verbs

a.	Simple	<i>arar</i> <i>riag</i> <i>rasa</i>	‘be afraid’ ‘fear’ ‘feel, think’ (IND)
b.	With <i>om</i> ‘inside’ Section 3.3.3 above	<i>om mai</i> (> <i>omai</i>) inside store	‘plan’
		<i>wan om ma ga-regan</i> be inside come 3s-ask	‘think about x’
c.	With <i>wan</i> ‘be’ Ch. 9, section 9.6.4	<i>wan kruan</i> be know	‘know’
		<i>wan penai</i> be touch	‘touch’
d.	With <i>ma</i> ‘come’ Ch. 10 section 10.1.3	<i>ma ba</i> come fall <i>ma -ufan</i> come forget	‘understand’ ‘forget’
		<i>ma ’ena</i> come remember	‘remember’

In this section I describe verbs of cognition with nominal arguments. The examples (129)-(131) illustrate how morphologically simple cognition verbs are used with nominal arguments.

(129) ...*ba ta gadan non ga’an*
SEQ TOP others PL 3s
‘...so the other people

qui ga-arar ba tup-an bir,...
caterpillar 3s-be. afraid SEQ get.up-REAL run
were afraid of the caterpillars and got up and ran away...’

(130) *Iman mus liar ga-arar*
they torch light 3s-be.afraid
‘They were scared of the torch lights

bir-an yaf g-om ma gi.
 run-REAL house 3s-inside come go
 [and] ran into their houses'

- (131) *Xu'u ga'an na rasa pi-x bo... amidan...*
 that 3s 1s feel(IND) 1pi-possession maybe what
 'That I feel [is] perhaps ours... ehm...' (i.e. our language, Teiwa)

In (132) the verb *riaq* combines with a proposition; in a serial verb construction. This is discussed in Ch. 10, section 10.1.3.

- (132) "Na *riaq a min.*" "Maan, a *min-an maan!*"
 1s fear 3s die NEG 3s die-REAL NEG
 'I fear he will die.' "No, he won't die!"

Some illustrations of complex cognition verbs combining with *-om* 'inside' are (133)-(135):

- (133) *A'an omai (< om mai)*
 3s plan inside save
 'HE is planning [not you]'

- (134) *Qau ba iman mis-an omai,*
 good SEQ they sit-REAL plan
 'So they sat thinking:

ga'an i pi er-an taxaran?
 3s FORTHC 1pi do-REAL how
 How shall we do this?'

- (135) *Ta g-oqai raq i la,*
 TOP 3s-child two FORTHC FOC
 'And these two children,

wan om ma ga-regan si
 be inside come 3s-ask SIM
 she thinks about them (lit. she asks about them at her inside) and

daga g-om ga'-i' xoran ba tup-an...
 like 3s-inside 3s-sick thus SEQ get.up-REAL
 feels pity so she gets up, ...'

The complex verb *wan kruan* ‘know’ is a lexicalized compound verb (Ch. 9, section 9.6.4). Its object may animate, (136), or inanimate, (137) but it can also be implied/unexpressed, (138).

- (136) *Iman ga'an wan kruan*
 they 3s be know
 ‘They know him’
- (137) *Iman in xu'u wan kruan.*
 they it.thing that be know
 ‘They know that’
- (138) *Yilag la wan kruan tau?*
 who FOC be know PRF
 ‘Who knows [this] already?’

In (139) the complex verb *wan penai* ‘touch’ is illustrated with a nominal object.

- (139) *A ta Bot yis la wan penai-an na,...*
 3s TOP k.o.lemon.tree fruit FOC be touch-REAL eat
 ‘She touched the lemon fruits and ate [them],...’

While the verbs of cognition discussed above all encode the experiencer as the clausal subject, there are also some cognition verbs that encode it as an oblique argument. In (140), the verb *ma ba'an* ‘understand’ introduces the person who understands as an oblique (with the verb *ma*). That is, the literal translation of (140) ‘to understand’ into Teiwa is ‘to fall on someone’:

- (140) *Yilag la ma ba'-an tau?*
 who FOC come/OBL fall-REAL PRF
 ‘Who understands this already?’

Ma -ufan ‘forget’ encodes the experiencer (the person forgetting) as an oblique constituent, and this oblique argument has the same referent as the object prefix on the verb (see also section 3.3.3. above). This is illustrated in (141). Because *-ufan* is intransitive, the thing forgotten (here *sen* ‘money’) can only be introduced into the clause with its own predicate, here *pinan ma* ‘hold come’ (Ch. 9, section 9.6.1).

- (141) *Na ma n-ufan sen pin-an ma.*
 1s come/OBL 1s-forget money(IND) hold-REAL come
 ‘I forgot to bring money with me’

However, with the intransitive verb *'ena* ‘forget’, *ma* does not encode the experiencer as oblique, but rather the person/item that is remembered. This is illustrated in (142) and (143a) — compare the ungrammaticality of an object without *ma* in (143b).

- (142) *A tur ma na'an ma a 'ena*
 3s former come 1s come 3s remember
 ‘From former [times] he remembers me’

- (143) a. *Ha amidan la ma ha 'ena?*
 2s what FOC come 2s remember
 ‘What do you remember?’

- b.* *Ha amidan ha 'ena?*
 2s what 2s remember

3.3.10. Sound verbs

Teiwa has a set of sound verbs. Some refer to sounds calling or chasing animals around the house; others are onomatopaeic forms for animal sounds or to refer to sounds that objects make in the material world. The list in (144) gives some frequently used forms that I have attested; it is not exhaustive.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|---|
| (144) | <i>aga-aga</i> | sound to call dog |
| | <i>ago-ago</i> | sound to call dog (remote) |
| | <i>sika</i> | sound to chase away dog |
| | <i>sumax</i> | sound to chase away goat |
| | <i>burax</i> | sound to chase away chickens |
| | <i>kuru-kuru</i> | sound to call chickens |
| | <i>xo'</i> | to bark (dog) |
| | <i>ox</i> | to grunt (pig) |
| | <i>qau</i> | to scream (pig) |
| | <i>hong</i> | dog's sound (‘woof’) |
| | <i>kokoko</i> | chicken's sound (‘tock-tock’) |
| | <i>quququ</i> | ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’ |
| | <i>me'eh</i> | goat's sound |
| | <i>paq</i> | sound of a rock that is crushing corn ²² |

<i>qabunggat</i>	splashing sound of rock in water
<i>tadunggat</i>	dry sound of rock falling on land
<i>saxa'</i>	flapping sound of something light falling (e.g. sandals on street)

3.3.11. Verb classes discussed elsewhere in the grammar

The Teiwa verbs that are not discussed in this chapter can be roughly divided into two types. First, there are the ‘major’ verbs, belonging to semantically and grammatically unrestricted classes, which denote activities, and bodily postures. They are discussed in Ch. 9, section 9.2 and 9.4. Then there are the ‘minor’ verbs, from grammatically or semantically restricted classes. Typical ‘minor’ verbs are the modality and aspect verbs discussed in Ch. 7, section 7.2-7.3 and Ch. 8, section 8.1. Another class of frequently used minor verbs are the deictic verbs, discussed in Ch. 9, section 9.4 and 9.5.

3.3.12. Verbal compounds

Teiwa has verbal compounds that consist of a noun/nominal and a verb. Illustrations are given in (145). The final element is the morphological head as it determines the category of the derivation.

(145) <i>fat wan</i> leg be	‘walk’
<i>yis wan</i> fruit be	‘bear fruit’
<i>ga-fan iga'</i> 3s-face hide	‘bury’

Teiwa also has some lexicalized serial verb constructions where *wan* ‘be’ is the first verb and combines with another verb. These are discussed in Ch. 9, section 9.6.4.

3.3.13. Applicative verbs

Teiwa has a number of applicative verbs. They are derived by prefixing *un-* to a transitive or an intransitive verbal base, as illustrated in (146). (The final nasal of the prefix *un-* is variably pronounced as [m] or [n], i.e. assimilates to

the place of articulation of the following consonant. If the following consonant is [m], however, the place distinction between the two nasals is maintained, cf. *g-un-mulax* ‘help him/her’ in (146c). Therefore I assume that the underlying form of the prefix is *un-*.²³) The derived verbs all have an animate object (recipient, benefactive, comitative, location or source) which is prefixed to the verb.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--|--|
| (146) | a. | <i>bangan</i>
<i>g-u[m]-bangan</i>
3S-APPL-ask.for | ‘ask for something’

‘ask from him/her’ |
| | b. | <i>paxai</i>
<i>g-u[m]-paxai</i>
APPL-divide | ‘divide (something)’

‘share with him/her’
(lit. ‘divide for him/her’) |
| | c. | <i>ba’</i>
<i>g- u[m]-ba’</i>
3S-APPL-fall | ‘fall’

‘meet him/her’ (lit. ‘fall at him/her?’) |
| | d. | <i>dagar</i>
<i>g- u[n]-dagar</i>
3S-APPL-be.visible | ‘be visible/clear, be like’

‘turn face towards him/her’
(lit. ‘be visible to him/her’) |
| | e. | <i>mulax</i>
<i>g- u[n]-mulax</i>
3S-APPL-help | (no independent meaning)

‘help him/her’ |

The applicative derivation is not productive: the number of applicative verbs is limited — those in (146) and (154) are all the applicative verbs found in my corpus — and many derived forms are no longer semantically transparent: for the forms in (146a-b) speakers still see a connection between the base and its derivation, but not for those in (146c-d). (146e) *mulax* is only used as part of the derived word and has no independent meaning. An illustration of the use of this form is (147).

- (147) *Iman ga’an*
they 3s
‘They

biar iman g-un-mulax ga-x wan maan.
 child they 3s-APPL-help 3s-possession be NEG
 don't have children to help them at home'

Observe that in (146a-b), the base is transitive and the derived verb has an animate object, while the object of the base was inanimate. In (146c-d), the base is intransitive and the derivation adds an animate object. For the transitive base verbs, it is unclear whether the argument that is introduced by *un-* is added to the original object (thus resulting in a ditransitive verb),²⁴ or whether it replaces it. The derivations with *bangan* in (148)-(151) suggest an additional (source) object, but those with *paxai* 'divide' in (152)-(153) do not.

- (148) a. *Ma na'an bangan.*
 come I ask.for
 'Come ask for me' [e.g. when you need help; 1s = patient]
- b. *A daa n-um-bangan*
 3s ascend 1s-APPL-ask.for
 'He comes up to ask me [for/about sth]'
 Alternative reading: 'He comes to ask sth from me' [1s=source]
- (149) a. *Na da ga'an bangan.*
 I come 3s ask.for
 'I come to ask for him' [3s = patient]
- b. *Na da g-um-bangan.*
 I come 3s-APPL-ask.for
 'I come to ask him'
 Alternative reading: 'I come to ask sth from him' [3s = source]
- (150) a. *Na gi'in bangan.*
 I they ask.for
 'I ask for them' [3p = patient]
- b. *Na wa gi-um-bangan*²⁵
 I say 3p-APPL-ask.for
 'I ask them things' [3p = source]
- (151) *H- um- bangan dum-dum.*
 2s- APPL- ask.for RDP-much
 'Thank you very much' (Lit. '[I] ask very much of you').

The examples with *paxai* in (152)-(153) suggest that the applicative does not add an object, since the derived verb has only one (benefactive) object, and the shared (theme) object must be introduced with its own predicate, e.g. *ma* ‘come’ in (153).

- (152) a. *Ha wa ni-paxai!*
 2s come 1pe- divide
 ‘You divide us!’ [e.g., in groups].
- b. *Ma n-um-paxai, na ma h-um-paxai.*
 come 1s-APPL-divide 1s come 2s-APPL-divide
 ‘Share with me, (then) I’ll share with you’
- c. *Um-paxai!*
 APPL- divide
 ‘Share!’ (Not good for: ‘Divide!’)
- (153) a. *Na sen ma y-um-paxai.*
 I money come 2p-APPL-divide
 ‘I share money with you’
- b.* *Na sen y-um-paxai.*
 I money 2p-APPL-divide

The verbs in (154) have a distributive prefix as their object. Here the prefix functions to express a reciprocal notion (see section 3.2.1 above and Ch. 4, section 4.8). The semantic role of this new object is variable: it may be a comitative or a locational object, as suggested by the two possible translations of (154a). In (154b), the semantics of the derived verb *um-pinan* are not transparently related to the base verb *pinan* ‘hold something’. When the verb has a distributive object it is interpreted as a reciprocal ‘go holding each other (i.e., go together)’. To express the comitative object of this derived verb, it takes another (animate) object prefix. An illustration of this use is the example in (155), taken from a Teiwa religious song.

- (154) a. *yiri* ‘crawl’
- t- u[n]-yiri* ‘crawl around with/
 DISTR-crawl on top of each other’

- b. *pin* ‘hold sth’
- t- u[m]-pin-an* ‘go together’
DISTR-APPL-hold-REAL (lit. ‘go holding each other’)
- ga’-t-um-pin-an*
3s.anim-DISTR-APPL-hold-REAL ‘go together with sb’

- (155) *Na Yesus ga’- t-um-pin-an*
I Jesus 3s.anim- DISTR-APPL-hold-REAL
‘I go with Jesus’

ga-gula’ wan maan.
3s-finish be NEG
forever’

In sum, the few applicative verbs in Teiwa are unproductive, lexicalized forms. They all have an animate object. The semantic role of this object varies. Being limited in number, applicatives do not play an important role in the encoding of ditransitives (see Ch. 4, section 4.6).

3.4. Adjectives

Teiwa has an open class of adjectives. The adjectives cover the usual semantic domains. Some examples are listed in (156). The adjectives form their own word class. This section presents the properties that distinguish adjectives from verbs, nouns, and adverbs.

- (156) Teiwa adjectives

Age	<i>qas</i>	‘old’ (things, e.g. clothes)
	<i>toyan</i>	‘old’ (age)
	<i>sib</i>	‘new’
	<i>bog</i>	‘young, unripe’
Dimension or size	<i>uwaad</i>	‘big’ (things)
	<i>sam</i>	‘small’ (things)
	<i>tian</i>	‘long’
	<i>tuk</i>	‘short’ (thing)
Shape	<i>pug</i>	‘round, circular’
Value	<i>qau</i>	‘good’
	<i>yas</i>	‘bad, poor’

Colour	<i>miaq</i>	‘white’
	<i>qa’an</i>	‘black’
	<i>ii’</i>	‘red’
	<i>baxari</i>	‘yellow’
	<i>ayogar</i>	‘green’
	<i>biru</i>	‘blue’ (IND)
Physical characteristic	<i>tu’um</i>	‘thick’
	<i>hasak</i>	‘empty’
	<i>bik</i>	‘satisfied, full’
	<i>siis</i>	‘dry’
	<i>qalo’</i>	‘wet’
	<i>og</i>	‘hot’
	<i>qiya’au</i>	‘cold; wind’
	<i>klita’</i>	‘grubby’
	<i>blaqas</i>	‘wet and dirty’ (e.g. from mud)
	<i>masuai</i>	‘clean’
Human propensity	<i>tiaq</i>	‘hungry’
	<i>qud</i>	‘sleepy’
	<i>bunar</i>	‘drunk’
	<i>muding</i>	‘healthy, strong’
	<i>par</i>	‘defeated’
	<i>boda’</i>	‘stupid’
	<i>qalixil</i>	‘itchy’
	<i>qluus</i>	‘deaf’
	<i>faxa’</i>	‘humble’
	<i>qo-qo’oi</i>	‘silent, quiet’
Speed	<i>wula’</i>	‘fast, quick’ (speed)
	<i>silak</i>	‘hard, fast, strong’ (activity)
Order	<i>tur</i>	‘former’
	<i>wek</i>	‘next, following’

The canonical function of adjectives is to modify nouns, and they occur as nominal attributes in NPs. This is illustrated in (157a-b) (and in (15a) and (57a) above). (See also Ch. 5, section 5.1). As is typical for Papuan languages, Teiwa NPs are not very ‘heavy’, and adjectives do not commonly form complex Adjective Prases. My corpus contains only a few examples of NPs with more than one adjective, and the second one of them is always *yas* ‘bad’, as in (157b). It functions as a modifier of the adjective (here *bunar* ‘drunk’) and has therefore an adverbial function (see section 3.5.5 below).²⁶ *Yas* alone functions as an adjective, as shown in (157c).

- (157) a. *Uy bunar*
 person drunk
 ‘(A) drunk person(s)’
- b. *A’an [uy bunar yas].*
 3s person drunk bad
 ‘He [is] a real drunk’
- c. *G-et yas*
 3s-eye bad
 ‘Blind eyes’

Like verbs, adjectives can be used predicatively. This is illustrated in (158)-(162). Adjectival predicates are further discussed in Ch. 6, section 6.2.

- (158) *Iman ga-tarau a asaman.*
 they 3s-language 3s same
 ‘Their language is the same’
- (159) *Na-to’ bik.*
 1s-stomach satisfied
 ‘I’m full’
- (160) *Taxaran ba ha-fan baar klita’?*
 how SEQ 2s-face grubby
 ‘How come your face is grubby?’
- (161) *Qaas uwaad, qaas sam.*
 half/side big half/side small
 ‘One side [is] big, one side [is] small’
- (162) *Gelas xa’a ii’ maan.*
 glass (IND) this red NEG
 ‘This glass [is] not red’ (Also: ‘This glass is less red’)

Adjectival predicates are negated (as usual, see Ch. 8, section 8.1), with a final negator *maan*, as in (162). Adjectival predicates are modified by adverbs, like verbal predicates. The major difference between adjectival predicates and predicates with intransitive verbs is that adjectival predicates cannot take a realis marker while intransitive verbs can.

Adjectives also occur frequently with a possessor prefix. Such ‘possessed’ adjectives are derived nominals and they are used as independent nominal

expressions, as illustrated in (163a) and (164a), or as nominal attributes, as illustrated in (163b) and (164b). The use of possessive prefixes on adjectives is different from the use of possessive prefixes on nouns: on adjectives, the prefix functions to derive a nominal as in (163a)-(164a) by marking a kind of “part-whole” relation that is still explicit in constructions like (163b)-(164b). On nouns the prefix has no category changing function, and refers to possessors. (See also section 3.1.3 above, and Ch. 5, section 5.3.2).²⁷

The semantics of an NP with a nominalised (‘possessed’) adjective and one with an underived (bare) adjective is different: an NP with a nominalised (‘possessed’) adjective refers to a definite, specific entity out of a larger set; while an NP with a bare adjective has an indefinite referent. This is illustrated in (163c)-(164c). Example (164d) illustrates the adverbial use of *tab* modifying the adjective *tian* ‘long’.

- (163) a. *Ga-bunar* *a’an!*
 3s-drunken 3s
 ‘The drunk one [is] he!’
- b. *Uy* *ga-bunar*
 person 3s-drunken
 ‘Of the people the drunk one’
- c. *Uy* *bunar*
 person drunk
 ‘A drunk person/ drunk people’
- (164) a. *Na’an,* *ga-tian.*
 1s 3s-long
 ‘For me, the long(er) one’
- b. *Tar* *ga-tian*
 rope 3s-long
 ‘The long(er) one of the ropes; the long(er) rope’ (Answer to
 question: which of the ropes do you want?)
- c. *Tar* *tian*
 rope long
 ‘A long rope’
- d. *Tar* *tab* *tian*
 rope truly long
 ‘The longest rope’

Adjectives cannot be inflected for Realis; only verbs can. This is shown in (166b). Like verbs and adverbs, adjectives may be reduplicated, as in (165)-(166a). The fact that the reduplications in (165)-(166a) take a Realis suffix suggests that these forms are verbs; i.e. the reduplication has a verbalizing function (Ch. 2, section 2.5). This needs to be investigated further.

(165) *Ba qo'-qo'oi-an ta tup-an*
 SEQ RDP-silent-REAL TOP get.up-REAL
 'So silently she got up

ta diling ma o'on ma mian gula'
 TOP cloth.to.carry.baby come head come put.at finish
 put the cloth with the baby around her neck (lit. at her head),

a di walas a wa xa'a,
 3s just say 3s say this
 and just said this:

pi-hafan afo'o tarau nuk ba pi gi.
 1pi-village over.there language one SEQ go go
 there are problems (lit. language) in our village so let's go.'

(166) a. *Gi ta banaq g-om ga'an bali si*
 go TOP puddle 3s-inside 3s see SIM
 '[When he] went inside the puddle he saw

in nuk qa'an-qa'an-an banaq g-om me'.
 it.thing one RDP-black-REAL puddle 3s-inside be.in
 something black inside the puddle.'

b.* *...bali si in nuk qa'an-an*
 see SIM it.thing one black-REAL

A unique property of adjectives is that they can occur as predicates in comparative/superlative clauses. Illustrations are the clauses in (167)-(169). Note that the subject *uy ga'an u* is unspecified for number: it can have a plural or singular referent. For more discussion of comparative/superlative constructions, see Ch. 6, section 6.11.

- (167) *Uy ga'an u boda' asaman.*
 person 3s DIST stupid same
 'Those people are equally stupid'
- (168) *Uy ga'an u tab boda'.*
 person 3s DIST truly stupid
 'That person is more stupid' (Lit. 'That person is truly stupid')
- (169) *Uy ga'an u paat ma boda', kamuki a'an.*
 person 3s DIST not.know come stupid stupid 3s
 'That person is the most stupid')

3.5. Adverbs

Adverbs are words that function to modify constituents other than nouns. Unlike verbs, nouns, and adjectives, adverbs cannot be used predicatively. In this section, different types of adverbs are described according to their function: marking modality (3.5.1), aspect (3.5.2), manner (3.5.3), time (3.5.4) and degree (3.5.5). A few adverbs do not belong to any of these types; they include *una'* 'also', illustrated in (170) and (171), and *yip* 'also, too', illustrated in (171)-(172).

- (170) *Ga-yivar una' un war her ma tii'.*
 3s-dog also CONT stone bottom come sleep
 'His dog also slept at the bottom of a rock'
- (171) *...iman una' a ta iman ga-soi ga-yir yip ol,*
 they also 3s TOP they 3s-order 3s-water too buy
 '...they also told them to also buy water
- ga-petan ga'an una' ol...*
 3s-bamboo 3s also buy
 and buy bamboo too'
- (172) *Na'an yip!*
 1s too
 'Me too!'

Regarding the position of adverbs, various patterns exist, as is usual for verb-final languages (Dryer 2007a:81). Most of the adverbs express modality,

aspect or temporal expressions. There are very few manner and degree adverbs. Modality, aspect, manner, and degree are also expressed through verbs in serial verb constructions (Ch. 9, section 9.7 contains an overview; see also Ch. 7, section 7.2).

3.5.1. Modality adverbs

Modality adverbs express the speaker's attitude towards the event (certainty, (un)expectedness, possibility, truth, etc.). They may also be referred to as epistemic adverbs. The modality/epistemic adverbs attested in my corpus are given in (173). The adverbs *maq*, *tab*, *di* and *na'* precede the predicate they modify, while *bo* and *be'* follow it.

(173) Teiwa modality adverbs

<i>maq</i>	'let it not be' (marking apprehensiveness)
<i>tab</i>	'truly, indeed'
<i>di</i>	'just' ²⁸
<i>na'</i>	'possibly'
<i>bo</i>	'maybe, perhaps' (marking uncertainty)
<i>be'</i>	'indeed' (marking affirmative)

In (174)-(179) it is illustrated how the modality adverbs are used in context.

(174) *Yi'in una' dan maq tarau g-om me'.*
 you also part let.it.not.be language 3s-inside be.in
 'Don't you also get involved'

(175) *A ta exer-an eran waal*
 3s TOP shout-REAL that.mentioned
 'It [chicken] crowed

tab ga-xala' eran ta g-et qau.
truly 3s-mother that.one TOP 3s-eye good
 and indeed his mother's eyes became well again'

(176) *A di walas a wa: "..."*
 3s just tell 3s say
 'He just says: "...'

- (177) *Ha'an ha na' guru ga-qau.*
 you 2s possibly guru ga-qau.
 'You can be/become a good teacher'
- (178) *Xoran bo? Xoran be'.*
 thus Uncert thus Affirm
 'Maybe like that? Yes, like that'
- (179) *Yo, mam qau na wa-n be'.*
 yes right good 1s go-REAL Affirm
 'Yes, if so, I'll go'

In Teiwa, modality can also be expressed by verbs in a serial verb construction (Ch. 7, section 7.2).²⁹ I have not found robust distinctions (formal or functional) between sentence/clause level modality adverbs, and modality verbs that modify a verb or VP.

3.5.2. Aspectual adverbs

Aspect in Teiwa is marked by verbs or adverbs (see Ch. 7, section 7.3). The aspectual adverbs that occur in my corpus are listed in (180).

(180) Teiwa aspectual adverbs

<i>tau</i>	Perfective (PRF) ('already')
<i>yed</i>	Prospective (PRSP) ('not yet, still')
<i>pati</i>	Progressive (PROG)
<i>un</i>	Continuative (CONT)
<i>terus</i> (IND)	'continuously'

The positions of the aspectual adverbs vary: *tau* 'PRF', *pati* 'PROG' and *terus* 'continuously' always follow the predicate, and *yed* also follows the predicate, but can be fronted and then immediately follows the subject (compare (181)-(182) below). *Un* 'Continuative' precedes the predicate, and it can either precede or follow the object if there is one, see (188) below. *Un* is the only aspectual adverb that does not follow the predicate.

The function of the *yed* 'Prospective' is to anticipate (look forward to) the beginning or the end of an event/state. For example, in (181) the possession of vegetables is anticipated, and *yed* is translated as 'not yet'. In (182) the end of the event of frogs sitting in a hole is anticipated, and now *yed* is translated as

‘still’. The aspectual distinction that anticipates the beginning or end of an event/state is referred to as ‘Prospective aspect’ here.

(181) *Iman ga-wutan wa' wan yed.*
 they 3s-vegetables leaf be PRSP
 ‘They do not have vegetables yet’ (lit. Their vegetables don't exist yet.)

(182) *Iman yed banaq gom ma mis...*
 they PRSP puddle 3s-inside come sit
 ‘They are still sitting inside the puddle...’

In (183a-b) the contrast between Perfective *tau* and Prospective *yed* is illustrated. The interpretation of *yed* does not depend on its position, as is illustrated in (183b-c).

- (183) a. *Ni min-an tau.*
 1pe die-REAL PRF
 ‘We’ve died already’
- b. *Ni min-an yed.*
 1pe die-REAL PRSP
 ‘We don’t die yet / We still don’t die’
- c. *Ni yed min-an.*
 1pe PRSP die-REAL
 ‘We don’t die yet / We still don’t die’

The adverb *un* modifies both stative and active predicates for Continuative aspect. Typically, it modifies posture verbs such as *tii* ‘sleep/lie down’, as illustrated in (184) and (185). However, it can also modify active verbs, as illustrated in (186) where it modifies active *tewar* ‘walk’. In (187) the Progressive adverb *pati* is illustrated. *Pati* modifies dynamic events and activities; unlike *un* it cannot modify stative predicates.

(184) *Tii'-in, iqa'an ga'an u*
 sleep-REAL dark 3s DIST
 ‘Sleeping... that night

a *un tii'-in si ilan mir.*
 3s CONT sleep-REAL SIM grow.up ascend
 while he was sleeping something came up [to him]...’

- (185) *Ga-yivar war her ma un tii'.*
 3s-dog stone bottom come CONT sleep
 'His dog is lying at the bottom of a rock'
- (186) *Ha si ga-gas qai ga'an u*
 EXCL SIM 3s-sister 3s DIST
 'But that sister
- un tewar kotan ga-miar ba,*
CONT walk spin.top 3s-play SEQ
 is walking playing spin top,
- a ta tup-an wa... amidan... mir.*
 3s TOP get.up-REAL go what ascend
 he gets up and goes... what... goes up'
- (187) a. *Iman aria-n iguagi aria-n uri si,*
 they arrive-REAL spy.on arrive-REAL look.searchingly SIM
 'They arrived [and] watched arrived [and] looked around searchingly,
- b. *bai qavif non saxa' rau,*
 pig goat PL chicken civet.cat
 [the] pigs, goats, chicken, civet cats,
- kamau, la a-tan pin-an soxai pati.*
 cat FOC 3s-hand hold-REAL dance PROG
 house cats who were holding hands while dancing'

In general, *un* has scope over the verb plus its object. When the object is indexed on the verb with a prefix, *un* occurs in front of the prefixed verb, but if there is an (additional) object NP, *un* can also occur in front of object NP. The alternative positions of *un* are illustrated in (188).

- (188) *Ta rus waal (un) bif*
 TOP deer that.mentioned CONT child
 '[While] that deer [with] the child
- (un) ga-bir-an gi ma saf nuk wan moxod*
 CONT 3s-run-REAL go come river.bank one be drop
 was running away [he] dropped it on a riverbank'

Finally, (189) illustrates the aspectual adverb *terus*, borrowed from Indonesian/Malay. It follows the verb.

- (189) *Tapi ga-manak ga'an kiid-an terus.*
 but(IND) 3s-master 3s cry-REAL continuously(IND)
 'But his master went on crying'

3.5.3. Manner adverbs or verbs

Teiwa has few (if any) manner adverbs. In Teiwa, manner is typically expressed through a verb in a serial verb construction, e.g. *uri* in (190), or by a word such as *muding* 'strong' that is sometimes used as an adjective, as in (191a), and sometimes as an adverb, as in (191b).

- (190) *Iman aria-n uri si,...*
 they arrive-REAL look.around.searchingly SIM
 'They arrived [and] looked around searchingly...'

- (191) a. *Kri muding*
 respected.old.man strong
 'A strong old man'

- b. *A muding bir-an.*
 3s strong run-REAL
 'He runs fast'

The following examples illustrate the words *kal-kalan*, *human-human* and *asaman-saman* as possible manner adverbs.

- (192) a. *...a-yivar ga-walas a wa: "Ha siga' ga'an",*
 3s-dog 3s-tell 3s say 2s be.quiet 3s
 '...[he] told his dog saying: "You be quiet",

- b. *iman kal-kal-an wa ma palan bali si,...*
 they RDP-slow-REAL go come inspect see SIM
 they slowly came down to inspect, then...'

- (193) *Qau a ta human-human suk.*
 good 3s TOP RDP-slowly descend.exit
 'Then he went down slowly'

- (194) *Pi asaman-saman Pantar ma³⁰ gi.*
 Ipi RDP-together Pantar come go
 ‘We go to Pantar together’

Given the fact that manner is commonly expressed by verbs in Teiwa and there are so few manner adverbs, I leave open the option that the adverbs discussed here are in fact verbs. As manner verbs, they are the minor verbs in asymmetrical serial verb constructions (Ch. 9, section 9.3).

One indication that the manner adverbs are (related to) verbs, or have a verbal source, are the manner adverb/verb *tad-tad* ‘together, at the same time’ and its verbal counterpart *tad* ‘strike at’, as illustrated in (195a-b). The conceptual connection between the verbal meaning of *tad* ‘strike at, hit at, touch at’ and the adverbial meaning ‘together’ may be that the participants of an activity such as ‘running together’ may be close to each other and hence be perceived as to (almost) touch each other.

- (195) a. *Tad-tad bir.*
RDP-together run
 ‘Run together’
- b. *Ga'-tad!*³¹
 3s.anim-strike.at
 ‘Strike at him! / Hit him!’ (e.g. with a ball in a game)

Note that the fact that the adverbs are reduplicated does not imply that they must be verbs, because adverbs can also be reduplicated in Teiwa. The temporal adverbs discussed in the next section (3.5.4) are also illustrations of this.

3.5.4. Temporal adverbs

A list of temporal adverbs is given in (196). In addition, some idiomatic expressions that can be used as adverbials are listed in (197). See also section 3.13 below.

- (196) Temporal adverbs

<i>wad</i>	‘today’
<i>wad qai</i>	‘just now, a short while ago’ (Lit. ‘today just’)
<i>miaag</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>bas</i>	‘tomorrow’

<i>bas-bas</i>	‘usually’
<i>yes-yes</i>	‘suddenly’ ³²
<i>tiraq</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>xara’</i>	‘now’

(197) Temporal expressions

<i>at nuk</i>	‘24 hours ago’
24.hours one	
<i>at raq</i>	‘two days ago’
24.hours two	
<i>at yerig</i>	‘three days ago’
24.hours three	
<i>g-at yiran</i>	‘several days ago’
3s-24.hours how.many	
<i>wur nuk wad gi-n</i>	‘one month ago’
month one day go-REAL	
<i>tun nuk wad gi-n</i>	‘one year ago’
year one day go-REAL	

In general, temporal adverbs occur at clause boundaries, typically at the beginning of the clause. For example, in (198), the temporal expression *wad qai* ‘just now’ precedes the conjunction *ba*:

- (198) *Wad qai ba a sampe*
just.now SEQ 3s arrive(IND)
 ‘He arrived just now’

In (199), the adverb *yes-yes* ‘suddenly’ is also clause-initial, preceding the focussed subject:

- (199) *Yes-yes a ta... amidan...*
suddenly 3s FOC what
 ‘Suddenly he... ehm...’

war upar mar a ta ma ga-ayas,
 stone pebble take 3s TOP come 3s-throw
 took a pebble and threw it at him,

xoran sampai ma yerig ata
 thus until come three and
 three times like that, and [then]

a'an ma iman g-un-dagar, a ta wa...
 3s come they 3s-APPL-be.visible³³ 3s TOP say
 he showed him his face saying...'

In (200)-(201), the temporal adverb precedes the subject, in (202)-(203) it follows the subject but still precedes the object.

(200) *Ya, miaag na g-un-ba'.*
 yes yesterday 1s 3s-APPL-fall
 'Yes, I met him yesterday'

(201) *...xoran si bas ni ta ga-yix,*
 thus SIM tomorrow 1pe TOP 3s-descend
 'If so we'll take them down tomorrow'

iliar ni ta ga-yix
 day.break 1pe TOP 3s-descend
 at daybreak we'll take them down'

(202) *Pi bas-bas soxai xer tag.*
 1pi usually dance shout count
 'We usually chant [the words of that] dance'

(203) *Yivar miaag na'an sii.*
 dog yesterday 1s bite
 'A dog bit me yesterday'

In (204), the temporal adverb *xara'* immediately follows the clause topic:

(204) *Lau Uwaad Bir la xara' un wurax laman*
 Lau Uwaad Bir FOC now CONT dispute quarrel
 'Lau Uwaad Bir [where people are] now having disputes,

ga'an pi g-ultag a si ga'an Burilak ga-x
 3s 1pi 3s-talk 3s SIM 3s name 3s-possession
 that place is, we say, the Burilak [clan]'s possession'

In sum, there is not a fixed position for clausal adverbs, though they tend to occur at the beginning of the clause. While they can precede or follow conjunctions, topics, and subjects, they typically precede the object and the verb.

3.5.5. Degree adverbs

Teiwa has very few degree adverbs (like “extremely” in English). Instead, degree notions are expressed with words that also have other functions. For example, ‘very, extremely’ is expressed as *yas*, which is also used as an adjective meaning ‘bad’ (section 3.4 above). An illustration is (171). The notion ‘truly, indeed’ is expressed as the modality adverb *tab* (Ch. 7, section 7.2) which is also used in comparisons (cf. Ch. 6, section 6.11). In illustration with *tab* is (206). The notion ‘very much’ is expressed by *dum*, or a reduplication thereof. It is illustrated in (205) and (207). (*Dum* also functions as an adnominal quantifier, see section 3.9 below.)

(205) *Tona’ dum yas*
gather much very
‘Very much/A lot has been gathered’

(206) *Pi-matu’ Yesus ga-sayan la tab ma uwaad*
1pi-older.sibling Jesus 3s-love FOC truly come big
‘The love of our brother Jesus is really endless’

(207) *H-un-bangan dum-dum!*
2s-App-ask RDP-much
‘Thank you (sg.) very much!’ (lit. ‘[I] ask very much of you’)

In sum, the words that function as degree adverbs also have other functions in Teiwa.

3.6. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions such as English *this* and *that*. They indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation with respect to the deictic centre, which is roughly equivalent to the speaker’s location at the time of the utterance (Diessel 2005a: 170). Teiwa demonstratives can be divided (following Diessel 2005b) into adnominal demonstratives, which accompany a coreferential noun and cannot substitute for a noun (phrase) (section 3.6.1), and pronominal demonstratives, which can accompany a noun, but also substitute for a noun (phrase) (section 3.6.2).

- b.* *Kri li'in i*
 old.man their FORTHC
 Not good for: 'This ancestor of theirs'

In the text fragment (212), the focus constituent *goqai raq* 'two children' is marked as forthcoming topic.

- (212) ...*ta g-oqai raq i la...*
 TOP³⁵ 3s-child two FORTHC FOC
 '...these two children whom...'

wan om ma ga-regan si
 be inside come 3s-ask SIM
 she thinks about (lit. 'her inside comes to ask about them')

dagar g-om ga-i' xoran ba...
 be.like 3s-inside 3s-sick like.this SEQ
 [and] for whom she feels pity' (lit. 'her inside is sick for them')....

Another marker with a demonstrative function in discourse is the word *waal* 'that one, the one mentioned previously'. *Waal* marks referents that are known to both speaker and hearer, and in texts it refers to participants that have been introduced before, as illustrated in (91). It sometimes combines with the demonstrative-like element *eran* (Ch. 9, section 9.6.3) (See also Ch. 11, section 11.5.)

- (213) *Ta rus waal un bif*
 TOP deer that.mentioned CONT child
 '[While] that deer [with] the child

ga-bir-an gi ma saf nuk wan moxod
 3s-run-REAL go come river.bank one be drop
 was running away [he] dropped it on a riverbank'

Adnominal demonstratives canonically combine with nouns or noun phrase constituents. They cannot be used as independent referring expressions. In this respect they are distinct from the pronominal demonstratives discussed in the next section.

3.6.2. Pronominal demonstratives

Teiwa has several pronominal demonstratives, or demonstrative pronouns. They are listed in (214), with their approximate translations. Clearly, *xa'a* 'this' and *xu'u* 'that' are related to the adnominal demonstrative forms *a* 'Proximal' and *u* 'Distal' discussed in the previous section. Alternative forms are also given in (214a): the monosyllabic forms are fast speech varieties of the disyllabic ones; the three-syllabic alternative forms are seldomly used. As the function of the alternative forms is identical, this grammar will spell these words consistently as *xa'a* or *xu'u*. The demonstrative pronouns *laxa'a/laxu'u* in (214b) are fixed combinations of the focus marker *la* and the demonstrative pronouns. They are only used as nominal predicates (see below).

- (214) a. *xa'a* 'this, this one' (alternative forms: *axa'a*, *axaa*, *xaa*, *xa*)
 xu'u 'that, that one' (alternative forms: *uxu'u*, *uxuu*, *xuu*, *xu*)
- b. *laxa'a* 'this one here'
 laxu'u 'that one there' (alternative form: *luxu'u*)

Like the adnominal demonstratives *a* and *u*, the pronouns *xa'a* and *xu'u* mark proximity / distance as well as definiteness. Unlike adnominal demonstratives, which only modify nouns, as in (215a), the demonstrative pronouns can also function as nominal predicates, as in (215b) and (216).

- (215) a. *In yas u*
 it.thing bad DIST
 'That bad thing'
- b. [*In yas*] *xu'u*
 it.thing bad that
 'That [is] a bad thing' (Lit. 'A bad thing [is] that')
- (216) *Maan, ni'in ni-qar xu'u.*
 NEG we.exc 1pe- cooked.rice that
 'No, that [is] our food' (Lit. 'Our food [is] that')

Demonstrative pronouns can also function as clausal arguments, as in (217a), and be marked as clause topic, as in (217b).

- (217) a. *Xa'a /xu'u mar!*
 this.one that.one take
 'Take this one / that one!'

- b. *Xa'a la mar!*
 this.one FOC take
 'Take this one!' (Lit. 'This one [is the one to] take')

Finally, they can also function as adnominal modifiers when they are possessed (have a possessive prefix). This is illustrated in (218). In this way, the demonstrative pronoun can refer to an entity from a set.

- (218) *Ris ga-xa'a*
 k.o.crocodile 3s-this
 'This crocodile (out of a set/group)'
- (219) *Meja ga-xu'u mat.*
 table (IND) 3s-that.one take
 'Take that table (out of the tables available)'

My corpus does not contain demonstrative pronouns used as possessors. Whether expressions like 'you broke the table's leg' in (220a) can be replaced by 'you broke that one's leg' in (220b) remains to be investigated. (See also Ch. 5, section 5.2.)

- (220) a. *Ha'an meja ga-fat ari'.*
 you table (IND) 3s-leg break
 'You broke the table's leg'
- b.?
Ha'an xu'u ga-fat ari'.
 you that.one 3s-leg break
 'You broke that one's leg'

In (221a), the use of the demonstrative pronoun *laxa'a* is illustrated. *Laxa'a* is a fixed combination of the focus marker *la* and the demonstrative pronoun *xa'a*, compare (221b). *Laxu'u* is derived in a similar way.

- (221) a. *Ris laxa'a?*
 k.o. crocodile this.one.here
 '[Is] this one here a *ris* crocodile?'
- b. *Ris la xa'a?*
 k.o. crocodile FOC this.one
 '[Is] this one here a *ris* crocodile?'

Unlike the demonstrative pronouns *xa'a* and *xu'u*, the derived demonstratives *laxa'a* and *laxu'u* cannot modify other nouns. They can occur as clausal arguments, but when they are used as such they function to refer to entities introduced earlier in the discourse. In (342), *laxu'u* 'that one there' refers to a chant that was recited in the preceding discourse: the protagonist was told to chant it, and now climbs up to do just that. In (223), *laxu'u* is used in a fixed expression to close a narrative, and refers to the entire preceding discourse.

(222) ..*ta mi a luxun mis-an gula'*
 TOP go.up 3s high sit-REAL finish
 'He went up to sit upstairs,

a mulai daar uas-an laxu'u.
 3s begin sing lift-REAL that.one.there
 then he began to sing that' (the chant mentioned previously)

(223) *Gula' laxu'u*
 finish that.one.there
 'The end' (lit. 'Finished [is] that one')

Laxa'a 'this one' also refers to an entity introduced earlier but now this entity is also close to the speaker. This is illustrated in (224), an utterance used by a boy presenting the bird he shot to an adult. *Laxa'a* refers back to *dei waal la* 'that mentioned bird' and he is showing it to the listener.

(224) "*Dei waal la*
 bird that.mentioned FOC
 "That bird

na gaal-an pin ma laxa'a."
 1s shoot.with.arrow- REAL hold come this.one.here
 I shot I bring [it is] this one."

Laxu'u and *laxa'a* are also used as nominal predicates, as in (225).

(225) *Iman a wa xa'a: "Ga'an laxa'a!" ("Ga'an laxu'u!")*
 they 3 way this 3s this.one.here 3s that.one.there
 They said: "this one [is] the one!" ("that one [is] the one!")

The grammatical properties of *laxu'u* and *laxa'a* in their discourse function remain to be further investigated.

The demonstrative pronouns *xa'a* and *xu'u* also occur in combination with the pronoun *i* 'it.place' (cf. section 3.2.6 above) to express locations: *i xa'a* '(over)here' and *i xu'u* '(over)there'.

The 3rd person object pronoun *ga'an* has a secondary function as a demonstrative pronoun. In (226) it encodes the subject of a nominal predicate. In (227)-(230) it functions as an adnominal demonstrative marking a known entity, or an entity that has been introduced into the discourse before.

(226) *Ga'an na-kon.*
3s 1s-shirt
'That [one] is my shirt'

(227) *Uy ga'an bas gi.*
person 3s tomorrow go
'That person leaves tomorrow'

(228) *Uy kri nuk ga'an u...*
person respected.old.man one 3s DIST
'That particular ancestor...'

(229) *Ga-manak ga'an...*
3s-master 3s
'That master of his...'

(230) *Ma g-ewar mar! Ma in ga'an g-ewar mar!*
come 3s-return take come thing 3s 3s-return take
'Take [it] back to him! Take that thing back to him!'

As a demonstrative with a discourse function, *ga'an* is frequently used in texts to keep track of referents that have been introduced before. An example is (231):

(231) *...ta ga-dan non ga'an qui ga'-ara' ba*
...TOP 3s-part PL 3s caterpillar 3s-scared SEQ
'...those others got scared of the caterpillars

tup-an bir, tup-an bir-an wan si,
get.up-REAL run get.up-REAL run-REAL be SIM
and got up [and] ran away, while getting up and running away,

ta ga-wek dan ga'an a wa xa'a:...
 TOP 3s-following part 3s 3s say this:...
 'those others [following] behind said this:...'

Ga'an also co-occurs with pronouns to add emphasis. This is illustrated in (232)-(233). In both sentences, the NP *na'an ga'an* is also marked as 'Forthcoming topic' with the demonstrative root form *i* (cf. Ch. 11 section 11.5).

(232) *E! Na'an ga'an i xara' ga'an na qayaq;*
 EXCL I 3s FORTHC now 3s I alone
 'Hey! Me here now, I am alone;

na'an ta hara' yas si...
 I TOP orphan bad SIM
 I am a poor orphan and...'

(233) *Qau a atang:*
 good 3 do.once.again
 'Then he went again:

"Ni'in ga'an i ni-dan ni-ir wan maan..."
 we.excl 3s FORTHC 1pe-other 1pe-sibling be NEG
 "We here don't have siblings..."'

In sum, *ga'an* is a 3rd person object pronoun but it has a function in discourse as a demonstrative pronoun that keeps track of previously introduced referents or emphasizes them.

Teiwa has another word with a similar demonstrative function: *waal* 'the one just mentioned' (Ch. 11, section 11.5). Many of the properties of *waal* are still unclear, so I only present a sketch of the contrast between *waal* and *ga'an*. Like *ga'an*, *waal* marks referents that are known to both speaker and hearer, and in texts it typically refers to referents that are known. But unlike *ga'an*, *waal* has no pronominal function. The translations of (234) and (235) given an indication of the subtle semantic contrast between *ga'an* and *waal*.

(234) *Uyaq ga'an u gi tau.*
 person 3s DIST go PRF
 'That person over there went [off] already'

- (235) *Uyaq waal gi tau.*
 person that.mentioned go PRF
 ‘The person [we just mentioned] went [off] already’

Ga’an and *waal* can co-occur in NPs. In such cases, *ga’an* has scope over *waal*, as in (236):

- (236) *...rus waal ga’an...*
 deer that.mentioned 3s
 ‘...that deer just mentioned...’

Waal also combines with the verb *er-an* ‘do/make-Real’³⁶ into the phrasal expression *eran waal*, which is sometimes shortened to *eran*. *Eran waal* has a determining function like *waal*: ‘that (just) mentioned’.

- (237) *Yix-in la yir eran waal*
 descend-REAL FOC water that.just.mentioned
 ‘[They] went down [and] the water just mentioned’
- ta a’an ma ta’ baq uwaad...*
 TOP 3s come sea body big
 had become a big sea...’

Some additional illustrations of how *ga’an* and *waal* function in multi-clause sequences are given in Ch. 11, section 11.5.

3.7. Spatial deictics

In this section, the most commonly used spatial deictic elements of Teiwa are discussed. They are given in (238). *Tag*, *yuun*, and *yaqai* are nominal elements; they typically function as the (locational) argument of a location verb such as *me* ‘be in’. The word class of the other deictics is yet unclear.

- (238) *tag* ‘up, uphill, upstairs’
yuun ‘down, downhill, downstairs’
- awan* ‘far, far away’
he’en ‘near, nearby’
- afo, afo’o* ‘over there’
ifo, ifo’o ‘over there (invisible)’

maraqai 'up, above (from speaker)'
yaqai 'down, below (from speaker)'

Awan and *he'en* typically function as predicate modifiers. However, unlike adverbs, they can also take a possessor prefix and function as adnominal modifiers – in this respect they thus behave like adjectives and nouns (see sections 3.1.3, 3.2.1, and 3.4 above). In (239) *awan* has no prefix, in (240) it has a possessive prefix. In (241)-(242) illustrations are given of *he'en* 'close' without and with a possessor prefix.

(239) *A bir-an gi awan-awan tas-an gula*,
 3s run-REAL go RDP-far stand-REAL finish
 'She runs far away, stands still,

a tas-an bali.
 3s stand-REAL see
 stands to watch'

(240) *Ga-hafan ixa'a ga-awan.*
 3s-village over.here 3s-far
 'His village is far from here'

(241) *Na sekola he'en me'.*
 1s school near be.in
 'I live near the school'

(242) *Gi gi gi ta bif waal gi*
 go go go TOP child that.mentioned go
 'Run run run, that child goes

war uwaad nuk ga-he'en ma tas,
 stone big one 3s-close come stand
 stands close to a a big rock,

ga-luxun ma tas.
 3s-high come tas
 stands on it...'

The spatial deictics *afo/afo'o* 'over there' and *ifo/ifo'o* 'over there (invisible)' refer to distant locations. With *afo* the location is potentially visible, with *ifo* it is not. This is illustrated in (243)-(244).

- (243) a. *A wa xa'a afo'o ga'an senaar g-esan*
 3s say this over there 3s devil 3s-place
 'He said that over there (distant but not too far away, invisible) is the devil's place'
- b. *A wa xa'a ifo'o ga'an senaar g-esan*
 3s say this over there 3s devil 3s-place
 'He said that over there is the devil's place (far away, invisible)'
- (244) a. *Maan, ni'in ni-qar afo'o le.*
 NEG 1pe 1pe-rice over there or
 'No our food is over there (not so far away, potentially visible)'
- b. *Maan, ni'in ni-qar afo'o le.*
 NEG 1pe 1pe-rice over there or
 'No, our food is over there (far away, invisible)'

The spatial deictic can have a different scope, depending on its position. This is illustrated for *afo* in (245):

- (245) a. *Ah! Yilag la afo [un [hafan ma] mis-an]?*
 EXCL who FOC over there CONT village come sit-REAL
 'Ah, who is the one staying over there in the village?'
- b. *Yilag la [un [[hafan afo] ma] mis-an]?*
 who FOC CONT village over there come sit-REAL
 'Who is staying in the village over there?'

Like adjectives, *afo/ifo* can modify nouns in bare form, as in (245b). They can also be nominalised with a possessive prefix and function as a nominal modifier like that, as illustrated in (246a). With such a possessive prefix, they can also be independent nominals, as in (246b). In these respects, *afo/ifo* are thus adjective-like elements.

- (246) a. *Uy ga-afo taxar pati, ga-ifo maan.*
 person 3s-over there dance PROG 3s-over there NEG
 'The people over there [visible] are dancing, the ones over there [invisible] are not'

- b. *Ga-afo taxar pati, ga-ifo (ga-afo) maan.*
3s-over there dance PROG 3s-over there NEG
 ‘Some of them over there [visible] are dancing, some of them
 over there [invisible] are not’

Unlike the other deictics discussed in this section, *maraqai* ‘up, above (from speaker), and *yaqai* ‘down, below (from speaker)’ cannot take a possessive prefix. This suggests that they are unlike nouns, and also unlike adjectives. Examples are given in (247)-(251). In (247)-(248), the verb *me* ‘be in’ is optionally present. If it is used, it has *yaqai Qalambas/maraqai Otfai* as locational objects. If it is not used, *yaqai Qalambas/maraqai Otfai* are the non-verbal predicates of the clauses.

- (247) *A yaqai Kalambas (me).*
 3s down Kalabahi be.in
 ‘He is down in Kalabahi’

- (248) *A maraqai Otfai (me).*
 3s up Otfai be.in
 ‘He’s up in Otfai’

- (249) *A maraqai uyan me.*
 3s up mountain be.in
 ‘He’s up in the mountains’

- (250) *A maraqai yaf g-om me.*
 3s up house 3s-inside be.in
 ‘He’s upstairs in the house’

- (251) ...*kotan u dumar moxod-an si*
 spin.top DIST push drop-REAL SIM
 ‘...[her brother] pushed away [and] dropped that spin top,

a wa yaqai ewar trunan yix
 3s go down.below return roll descend
 while [it] went back down, rolled

ta gi gula’ a wa: “...”
 TOP go finish 3s say
 down, she [the girl] said: “...”

Maraqai and *yaqai* can also be used as predicates on their own, as shown in (252).

- (252) *Uy nuk un maraqai?*
 person one CONT up
 ‘Is that person up there?’

Generally, adverbs cannot be predicates in Teiwa. As the properties of *maraqai* and *yaqai* these are not nominal and not adjectival either, they may be analysed as verbs, adpositions, or as a special type of locational adverbs. The adpositional analysis is the least compelling, since in their predicative use they do not have “objects”. Furthermore, as Teiwa otherwise lacks adpositions, the class of adpositions would only contain these two members. It may be that *maraqai* and *yaqai* are a couple of locational adverbs that can be predicates while other adverbs cannot.³⁷

Maraqai and *yaqai* refer to upward and downward locations that may be close as well as (very) remote. For example, *yaqai* refers to the provincial capital Kupang on Timor island, as well as to cities on Java. *Maraqai* cannot be used for these places, nor can the deictic nominals *tag* ‘up’ or *yuun* ‘down’. This implies two things: (i) The default vertical orientation for remote locations is downwards. This could reflect the fact that Teiwa speakers originally come from Lebang, a village located high up in the mountains. (ii) *Maraqai/yaqai* and *tag/yuun* differ in the dimension of distance. This remains to be investigated further.

Spatial deictics do not generally combine with each other, but *afo’o/ifo’o* combine with *maraqai* and *yaqai*, thus forming a deictic phrase, as illustrated in (253).

- (253) “...*ba ha yix.*
 SEQ 2s descend
 ‘...so you descend.

Ga’an la yaqai afo’o ba ha yix.”
 3s FOC down over there SEQ 2s descend
 [To] that one down below over there you descend’

- (254) *Ewar aria’, hafan me’*,
 return arrive village be.in
 ‘He returned, got to the village,

a taxani, boo hafan maraqai afo,...
 3s inquire.about.s.th EXCL village up over there
 he asked: “Hey that village up there...”

This concludes the description of the spatial deictics. A more detailed investigation of their functions, grammatical properties and mutual interactions is left for future research. (Demonstratives and the deictics derived from them are discussed in section 3.6.)

3.8. Numerals

The basic numerals of Teiwa are given in (255). (Ch. 5, section 5.5.1 describes how they are used in the NP.) The Teiwa numerals shows traces of a quinary (base-5) system, e.g. 7 *yes haraq* = 5 *yes* +2 *haraq*, 8=5+3, 9=5+4. These numerals are analysed as numeral compounds, as are the forms with *qaar* ‘ten’ and *rug* ‘-teen’. *Rug* is a morpheme that is only used in numerals between ten and twenty. *Ratu* ‘hundred’ and *ribu* ‘thousand’ are borrowed from Indonesian. Numerals also occur with pronouns in the expressions ‘X as a group of’. These are discussed in section 3.2.5 above.

(255) Teiwa numerals

1	<i>nuk</i>
2	<i>raq / haraq</i>
3	<i>yarig / yerig</i>
4	<i>ut</i>
5	<i>yusan</i>
6	<i>tiam</i>
7	<i>yes haraq / yes raq</i> five two
8	<i>yes nerig</i> five three
9	<i>yes na'ut</i> five four
10	<i>qaar nuk</i> ten one
11	<i>qaar nuk rug nuk</i> ten one -teen one
12	<i>qaar nuk rug raq</i> ten one -teen two

13	<i>qaar nuk rug yerig</i> ten one -teen three
14	<i>qaar nuk rug ut</i> ten one -teen four
15	<i>qaar nuk rug yusan</i> ten one -teen five
16	<i>qaar nuk rug tiam</i> ten one -teen six
17	<i>qaar nuk rug yes rax</i> ten one -teen five two
18	<i>qaar nuk rug yes nerig</i> ten one -teen five three
19	<i>qaar nuk rug yes na 'ut</i> ten one -teen five four
20	<i>qaar raq</i> ten two
30	<i>qaar rig</i> ten three
40	<i>qaar ut</i> ten four
50	<i>qaar yusan</i> ten five
100	<i>ratu nuk, haratu</i> hundred (IND) one
101	<i>ratu nuk rug nuk</i> hundred one -teen one
111	<i>ratu nuk qaar nuk rug nuk</i> hundred one ten one -teen one
1000	<i>ribu nuk</i> thousand one
1100	<i>ribu nuk ratu nuk</i> thousand one hundred one
1999	<i>ribu haratu yes na 'ut qaar yes na 'ut rug yes na 'ut</i> thousand hundred five four ten five four -teen five four

Counting of people and animals is done without a numeral classifier. This is illustrated in (257)-(259). Objects may be counted using a classifying noun. This is illustrated in (261)-(264).

(256)	<i>Mauqubar qaar nuk rug raq.</i> frog ten one -teen two 'Twelve frogs'
-------	---

- (257) *Uy nuk*
 person one
 ‘One person / A person / Someone’
- (258) *Biar haraq ga’an tii’.*
 children two 3s lie.down
 ‘The two children sleep’
- (259) *Muxui muban nuk*
 banana ripe one
 ‘One ripe banana’

Examples of nominal classifiers include those in (260), some illustrations follow.

- (260) *hala’* classifier for thin objects, such as board or cloth
yis classifier for fruits with a cylindrical shape
quu’ classifier for fruits with a roundish shape
bag classifier for small round objects (lit. ‘seed’)
- (261) *Hala’ qap raq*
 sheet board two
 ‘Two pieces of board’
- (262) *Teqar yis ut*
 cassave fruit.cylindrical two
 ‘Two (pieces of) cassave’
- (263) *Kasi quu’ yerig*
 papaya fruit.round three
 ‘Three papaya’s’
- (264) *Qaas bag ut*
 bean seed four
 ‘Four bean seeds’

Notions as ‘one by one’ are expressed using reduplicated numerals, as in (265):

- (265) *Iman nuk-nuk / raq-raq / yerig-yerig aria-n*
 they RDP-one RDP-two RDP-three arrive-REAL
 ‘They arrive one by one / two by two / three by three’

Ordinals like ‘the third’ in *the third time* and adverbial notions like *three times* are expressed in a construction with the deictic verb *ma* ‘come’ (Ch. 9, section 9.5).

- (266) *Iman tag-an gi ma-yarig*
 they count-REAL go come-three
 ‘They counted three times / until the third time...’

- (267) *Xoran sampai ga-ma-yarig,...*
 thus until(IND) 3s-come-three
 ‘Like that three times / until the third time,...’

Numerals can be used as independent nominals, as illustrated for *nuk* ‘one’ in (268).

- (268) *Jadi eqar raq ga’an u*
 so (IND) wife two 3s DIST
 ‘So these two wives,

nuk ga’an ga-yit Bui Lan nuk ga’an ga-yit Samperan
 one 3s 3s-name Bui Lan one 3s 3s-name Samperan
 one was named Bui Lan, the other’s name [was] Samperan’

When *nuk* ‘one’ follows a focus NP, it can mean ‘the other’, as shown in (269):

- (269) *Qavif la nuk tur soxai xer ta wa: “...”*
 goat FOC one former dance shout TOP say
 ‘The other goat starts singing/shouting saying: “...”’

There are two words that can be used to refer to the notion ‘half’: *qaas* ‘side, half’, and (*a*)*baq* ‘half’. *Abaq* is a quantifier (see section 3.9), *qaas* is nominal: it is the subject of the non-verbal clauses in (271). In (272) it is an adnominal modifier.

- (270) *Yir sluan abaq.*
 water glass half
 ‘Half a glass of water’

- (271) *Qaas uwaad, qaas sam.*
 side big side small
 ‘One side [is] big, one side [is] small’
- (272) *Bo’oi nuk hafan qaas me’.*
 river one village side be.in
 ‘There’s a river at the village side (i.e. next to the village)’

3.9. Nominal quantifiers and the plural word *non*

The quantifying word with the most generic meaning is *non*. *Non* indicates plurality in the preceding noun and is thus a ‘plural word’ in Dryer’s (2007b: 98-99) terminology. *Non* is a separate word, but it functions similar to plural affixes used in other languages. For example, if we have been talking about a set of goats, then (273) would be a natural question. Other illustrations containing the plural word *non* in this chapter are (101), (129), (187b) and (231).

- (273) *Qavif non ita’a ma gi?*
 goat PL where come go
 ‘Where did the goats go to?’

Quantifiers function to indicate the quantity of elements referred to by the noun phrase. It remains to be investigated if nominal quantifiers are grammatically distinct from numerals; they are discussed in a separate section here for expository reasons. A list of quantifiers is given in (274). Ch. 5, section 5.5.2 discusses how they are used in NPs.

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| (274) <i>dum</i> | much/many (‘collective’) |
| <i>iga’</i> | many (more than expected) |
| <i>inau</i> | many |
| <i>aga’</i> | all |
| <i>grixi</i> | a bit, a few (countable objects) |
| <i>kuuk</i> | a bit (only for liquids) |
| <i>geneg</i> | a few, a bit |
| <i>helan</i> | less |
| <i>abaq</i> | half |

Where *non* indicates plurality, the word *dum* indicates quantity. This is illustrated in (275). *Non* also differs from *dum* in that *dum* can be used as a degree adverb (see section 3.5.5), while *non* only modifies nouns.

- (275) a. *Buku non*
 book PL
 ‘Books’
- b. *Buku dum*
 book many
 ‘Many books’

The examples in (276) also illustrate the contrast between the plural word *non* and the quantifier *dum*:

- (276) a. *Saxa’ non*
 chicken PL
 ‘Chickens’
- b. *Saxa’ dum*
 chicken many
 ‘Many chickens’

And (277) refers to a quantity of goats, in contrast to (273) above:

- (277) *Qavif dum arwan me’.*
 goat many old.garden be.in
 ‘There are many goats in the garden’

Note that plural versus quantification meaning difference also applies for mass nouns, as illustrated in (278)-(279). When a mass noun occurs with *non*, the implication is that there is more than one object containing that mass.

- (278) a. *Yir non*
 water PL
 ‘Water in several glasses’ (Not good for: ‘much water’)
- b. *Yir dum*
 water much
 ‘Much water, a lot of water’
- (279) a. *Qar non*
 rice PL
 ‘Several plates of rice’ (Not good for: ‘A lot of rice’)

- b. *Qar bag non*
 rice seed PL
 ‘Many rice seeds’
- c. *Qar dum*
 rice much
 ‘A lot of rice’

When a quantity is less than desired, the quantifier *helan* ‘less’ is used, as when a child complains about the amount of rice on his plate:

- (280) *Helan xa’a!*
 less this
 ‘This is not enough! / This is too little!’

A large quantity may be unexpected, in which case *iga’* is used, as illustrated in (281). Or it may be unwanted, in which case *inau-inau* is used, as in (282) and (286).

- (281) *Uyaq iga’ un mis.*
 person unexpectedly.many CONT sit
 ‘Unexpectedly many people are sitting there’

- (282) *Uyaq inau-inau un mis.*
 person too.many CONT sit
 ‘Too many people are sitting there’ (e.g. How can we feed them all?)

- (283) *A wa her ma wa gula’*,
 3s go tree come go finish
 ‘He went to that coconut tree,

wat inau-inau yian ga’an aga’ heka’ gula’,
 coconut too.many put 3s all twine.coconut.skin finish
 too many coconuts [were there], [he] twined ropes of them all,

a ma tan wan pin-an eran waal u
 3s come hand be hold-REAL that.mentioned DIST
 he came [home] holding those

ixi raq.
 bunch.of.4.coconuts two
 two bunches of four coconuts.’

Aga 'all' can be used for countable and uncountable nouns, as in (284)-(285):

(284) *Yaf aga'*
house all
'All the houses'

(285) ...*yir aga' ma siis.*
water all come dry
'...and all the water became dry'

Kuuk 'a bit' is a quantifier reserved for liquids. *Grixi* and *geneg* 'a bit' are used for non-liquids:

(286) *Yir kuuk (*grixi) ma na-mian.*
water a.bit a.bit come 1s-put.at
'Give me a bit of water'

(287) *Qar grixi (*kuuk) ma na-mian.*
rice a.bit a.bit come 1s-put.at
'Give me a bit of rice'

Quantifiers can be modified by the adverb *qai* 'just, only' and make up a quantifier phrase. This is illustrated in (288)-(289). (In section 3.2.4 above pronouns modified with *qai* are discussed.)

(288) *Qar di grixi/geneg qai ma na-mian.*
rice only a.bit/a.bit only come 1s-put.at
'Give me just a little bit of rice'

(289) *Uy di grixi. Uyaq di grixi qai.*
people just a.bit people just a.bit just
'Just a few people. Only a few people'

Bare quantifiers can be used as a verbal argument, as in (290):

(290) *Iga' un mis, iga' un tii'.*
unexpectedly.many CONT sit unexpectedly.many CONT sleep
'Many [people] are sitting, many are lying down'

3.10. Conjunctions

In this section, the conjunctions are listed by their functions, Ch. 10 discusses them in more detail. Teiwa clauses are coordinated by the conjunction *ata(ng)* ‘and’ and the disjunction *le* ‘or’ (Ch. 10, section 10.4.1). Semantically, these conjunctions belong to neither of the clauses they link, but intonationally they are grouped with the first conjunct. (Another function of *ata* is to conjoin nominals, as in *Rini ata Yance* ‘Rini and Yance’, see Ch. 5, section 5.7). In addition, Teiwa has two conjunctions that mark temporal connections between equivalent clauses: *si* ‘SIM’ expresses that the clauses refer to ‘simultaneous’ events, and *ba* ‘SEQ’ expresses that the clauses refer to ‘sequential’ events (Ch. 10, section 10.4.2). Further, there are words and phrases used to structure the discourse, including *ha* ‘then’, *ha si* ‘but’, *olag si* ‘so that’ (Ch. 10, section 10.5). Some conjunctions that are used in the texts have been borrowed from Malay/Indonesian; examples include *jadi* ‘so’, *lalu* ‘then’, *tapi* ‘but’, and *karena* ‘because’ (Ch. 10, section 10.6).

3.11. Question words

The Teiwa question words are *yilag* ‘who’, *amidan* ‘what’, *ta’a* ‘which’, *ita’a* ‘where’, *tal* ‘how much’, *yiran* ‘how many’, *gigala* ‘why’, and *taxaran* ‘how’. Their use in non-verbal clauses is discussed in Ch. 6, section 6.10; their use in general is discussed in Ch. 8, section 8.2.

3.12. Markers for Focus and Topic

Teiwa has a dedicated focus marker *la*. *La* follows the phrase it governs and typically marks new information focus. It is further discussed in Ch. 11, section 11.3. Focused constituents are new information, just being introduced into the discourse. In contrast to this, topics are closely related with given or old information. In Teiwa, the topic marker *ta* functions to encode topic discontinuity by announcing a new topic or reintroducing one that was introduced previously. It is discussed in Ch. 11, section 11.4.

3.13. Time expressions

Teiwa time expressions are illustrated in (291). When they modify the predicate they typically occur at the end of the clause, as shown in (294)-(295). *Minggu* and *tun* are loans from Indonesian/Malay.

- (291) *war* 'day' (the light part of a day)
war taran 'night' (the dark part of a day) (*taran* 'middle of night')
at 'a 24 hour's period'
minggu 'week' (IND)
wur 'moon, month'
tun 'year' (< IND *tahun* 'year')

War and *taran* are nouns that can be the subject of a clause, as illustrated in (292). This expression is used to explain the length of a stay, e.g. how long one has been away from home (here: four days and nights). The nominal *at* is used to refer to a 24 hour period, and is illustrated in (293).

- (292) *War taran ga'an tag-an at ut.*
 day night 3s count-REAL 24.hours four
 'Those days and nights were (lit. counted) four 24 hour periods'
- (293) *G-at³⁸ qaar nuk rug raq.*
 3s-24.hours ten one ten two
 'Twelve days ago' (Lit. 'Its twelve 24 hour periods').

Additional examples with *taran* 'middle of night', *minggu* 'week' and *tun* 'tahun' are (294)-(296):

- (294) *Qau iman gi tii'-in taran masaman,...*
 good they go lie.down-REAL middle.of.night half
 'So they slept till the middle of the night,...
- (295) *Qau ba mauluku ga'an ta bir-an*
 good SEQ monkey 3s TOP run-REAL
 'So the monkey ran home
- gi o'on-an gi wan minggu nuk.*
 go hide-REAL go be week one
 and hid for one week.'
- (296) *Tun ribu haratu yes na'ut qaar yes nerig rug*
 year thousand hundred nine ten eight -teen
 'In the year
- yes raq ga'an... itoyan uwaad pi-por me'.*
 seven 3s earthquake big Ipi-island be.in
 1987... a big earthquake occurred on our island.'

In (297), expressions for the various times of the day are given. One of them is illustrated in a clause in (299). Note that six of the time expressions listed here start with an initial *i*. I analyse this as a prefix that is cognate to the pronoun *i* ‘it.place’, which is used as third person pronoun to refer to places. (299)-(300) present evidence for this analysis.

(297) Times of the day

Times of the day	Gloss	Translation
<i>bes</i>	morning	‘morning’
<i>bes qai</i>	morning only	‘early morning’
<i>war og</i>	day hot	‘midday’
<i>i-uran</i>	it.place-?	‘around midday’
<i>i-bayar</i>	it.place-afternoon	‘afternoon (4-6 pm)’
<i>i-qa’an</i>	it.place-black	‘evening (6-10 pm)’
<i>taran masaman</i>	middle.of.night half	‘night (10 pm-4 am)’
<i>i-liar</i>	it.place-light	‘daybreak’
<i>i-liran he’en</i>	it.place-? close	‘4-5 am when the sky gets light’
<i>i-balaqar</i>	it.place-?	‘5-6 am just before sunrise’
<i>sali war get</i>	appear day 3s-eye	‘5-6 am when the sun appears’
<i>wur paq-an</i>	moon expand-REAL	‘when the moon comes up’
<i>wur daa-n</i>	moon ascend-REAL	‘when the moon comes up’
<i>miaag bes</i>	yesterday morning	‘yesterday morning’
<i>beban</i>	last night	‘last night’
<i>bas bes</i>	tomorrow morning	‘tomorrow morning’

(298) *Sematar wur daa-n si*
 in.a.moment(IND) moon ascend-REAL SIM
 ‘In a moment when the moon comes up’

na ga-yaf ma mir.
 1s 3s-house come ascend
 ‘I’ll go to his house’

The prefix *i-* has a function to make the time expressions predicative, and it is related to the pronoun *i* ‘it.place’, as illustrated in:

(299) *Bayar he’en ba, tewar bil-bli.*
 afternoon near SEQ walk be.careful
 ‘It’s near late afternoon [i.e., it’s getting dark], so walk carefully’

- (300) *I bayar.*
 it.place afternoon
 ‘It is late afternoon (now)’

Time expressions are also used in greetings, as in:

- (301) *N-oma’ iqa’an. N-oma’ bes-bes.*
 1s-father evening 1s-father morning
 ‘Goodnight father.’ ‘Good morning father.’

Na-xala’ war og. Na-xala’ ibayar.
 1s-mother day hot 1s-mother afternoon
 ‘Good day mother.’ ‘Good afternoon mother.’

- (302) Days of the week

<i>war ga-ma-nuk</i>	or <i>war nuk</i>	Monday
day 3s-come-one		
<i>war ga-ma-raq</i>	<i>war raq</i>	Tuesday
day 3s-come-two		
<i>war ga-ma-yerig</i>	<i>war yerig</i>	Wednesday
day 3s-come-three		
<i>war ga-ma-ut</i>	<i>war ut</i>	Thursday
day 3s-come-four		
<i>war ga-ma-yusan</i>	<i>war yusan</i>	Friday
day 3s-come-five		
<i>war ga-ma-tiam</i>	<i>war tiam</i>	Saturday
day 3s-come-six		
<i>war ga-ma-yesraq</i>	<i>war yesraq</i>	Sunday
day 3s-come-seven	day seven	
	<i>war minggu</i>	Sunday
	day week (IND)	

The additional word for Sunday *war minggu* is a calque from *hari minggu* (‘day [of the] week’) in Indonesian.

- (303) Units of several weeks

At yes haraq ‘One week’ (‘seven 24 hours periods’)
 24.hours five two

<i>At qaar nuk rug ut</i>	‘Two weeks’ (14 24 hours periods’)
24.hours ten one -teen four	
<i>At qaar raq rug nuk</i>	‘Three weeks’ (‘21 24 hours periods’)
24h ten two -teen one	
<i>At qaar raq rug yes nerig</i>	‘Four weeks’ (‘28 24 hours periods’)
24h ten two -teen five three	

In (304) the seasons of the year are listed. These names refer to the yearly cycle of preparing the land, sowing the crop, harvesting it and feasting with related clans.

(304) Months/seasons of the year

Sar *wur*
 clan.name month
 Month of the feast of the Sar clan (approx. January)

Mom *wur*
 k.o.insect month
 Month of the *mom* (a black insect); a dangerous month in which we should be careful when walking and eating (approx. February)

Biat *wur*
 mango month
 Month of the mango; the month when the mango seeds start to grow (approx. March)

Si' *wur*
 stake month
 Month of the stakes, the month when the grass is ripe and flowers and the wind from the east is strong (approx. April)

Qes mot Lauan Dian Lau wur
 The month of the Qes Mot, Lauan and Dian Lau clans (approx. May)

Kalam Ariaq wur
 The month of the Kalam and the Ariaq clans (approx. June)

Igan Lax wur
 The month of the big feast (approx. July)

Berang gor-an *deqai* *de'en wur*
 cut fell-REAL clean.old.garden burn month
 The months when we prepare the gardens (August, September, October)

Harix wur, *ur wur,* *qu'ux au* *wur*
 clean.garden month field month k.o.cassava month
 The month when we clean the gardens for the new crops and the *qu'ux au* starts to grow (approx. November)

Tapan gadan wur
 dig sow month
 The month when we plant the gardens (approx. December)

3.14. Weather expressions

Teiwa weather expressions have a referential subject, with a verbal or nominal predicate. The referential subjects in the following illustrations include *xal* 'rain' or *qiya'au* 'cold; wind', *war get* 'sun', *henar* 'wind' *ribat* 'hurricane', *sefuran* 'tornado', *idilan* 'hail stone', *dilan* 'thunder', *ki* 'lightning'. There are no weather verbs in Teiwa.

(305) *Xal ta yaa.*
 rain TOP descends
 'It rains'

(306) *Miaag bes xal yia.*
 yesterday morning rain put.at
 'Yesterday morning it rained'

(307) *Miaag bes xal kir-an*
 yesterday morning rain bone-REAL
 'Yesterday morning it drizzled'

(308) *Xal wad yia.*
 rain today put.at
 'Today it rains' (Lit. 'Rain is put at today')

(309) *Xal braak*
 rain spray.around
 'Rain sprays' (appears, showers, and disappears again within minutes)

- (310) *War g-et un a xu' u.*
 day 3s-eye CONT 3s that
 'The sun shines'
- (311) *War g-et wan maan.*
 day 3s-eye be NEG
 'It is cloudy' (Lit. 'There is no sun')
- (312) *Qiya'au i pui*
 wind it.place blow
 'The wind blows'
- (313) *Henar i wan yias*
 wind it.place be put
 'There is a rather strong wind'
- (314) *Ribat tas.*
 hurricane stand
 'There's a hurricane'
- (315) *Sefuran yas tas.*
 tornado bad stand
 'There's a tornado'
- (316) *Idilan tu'uk mar.*
 hail.stone knock take
 'There's a hailstorm' (lit. 'Hailstones knock')
- (317) Question: *Amidan la duxu' u?*
 what FOC thunder DIST
 'What is that thunder there?'
- Answer: *In duxu' ilan ga'an u*
 it.thing thunder grow.up 3s DIST
 'That thunder
- xal yia-n ga-x.*
 rain put-REAL 3s-possession
 comes from the rain'

- (318) *Dilan tu'uk mar ga'an ki' ba'-an ga-x.*
 thunder knock take 3s lightning fall-REAL 3s-possession
 'After the thundering there will be lightning'
- (319) *Dilan sig*
 thunder sound
 'Sound of thunder'
- (320) *I tafaxa' ma ga-fiar.*
 it.place light.sky come 3s-surround
 'The sky lightens up [but no lightning strikes yet]'
- (321) *Yi yitar ga-laman si, bil-bli, braam bun.*
 2p road 3s-quarrel SIM be.careful dusty be.subsequent³⁹
 'If you negotiate the road, be careful, it is dusty' (Lit. 'dust will follow').

3.15. Cardinal directions; left and right

The cardinal directions are given in (323). The word *trodan* refers to the south, but also means 'diagonal', as in (323). This may be related to where Teiwa speakers are located on Pantar island: for example, going south from Madar implies crossing the island diagonally. The words for East and West relate to the sun's coming up and going down.

- (322) *Begar. Trodan. War daa-n. War ba'-an.*
 north south day ascend-REAL day fall-REAL
 'North. South. East. West.'
- (323) *Mat ga-trodan mai.*
 take 3s-diagonal save
 'Make it/him lie diagonally'
- (324) *Ixir wan. Yidan wan.*
 left be right be
 'Left. Right.'
- (325) *H-ewar yidan wan. H-ewar ixir wan.*
 2s-return right be 2s-return left be
 'You turn right. You turn left'

- (326) *Ixir wan mis.*
 left be sit
 ‘Sit left, on the left (side)’
- (327) *Ixir wan ga’an yed yas.*
 left be 3s PRSP bad
 ‘The left side/part is still bad’

3.16. Yes, no, exclamations, tags, hesitation markers, idioms

A positive response to a question is *hale* or *yo* ‘yes’, a negative one *maan* ‘NEG(ATOR)’ or *ha’e* ‘no’. Unlike *hale*, which can only be used as response, *maan* is the general negator in Teiwa (see Ch. 8, section 8.1).

- (328) *Hale, hanya iman ga’an un wek aria’ to.*
 yes only(IND) they 3s PROG later arrive surely(IND)
 ‘Yes, only those that came afterwards, right’
- (329) *Maan, ha in er, qau ba ha in er.*
 NEG 2s it.thing make good SEQ 2s it.thing make
 ‘No, you did it, so you fix it’
- (330) Question: *Name, ha’an n-oqai g-unba’?*
 Sir 2s 1s-child 3s-meet
 ‘Sir, did you see (lit. meet) my child?’
- Answer a. *Yo, miaag ba na g-unba’.* / *Yo be’.*
 yes yesterday SEQ 1s 3s-meet yes Affirm
 ‘Yes, I saw (lit. met) him yesterday’ / ‘Yes’
- Answer b. *Ha’e, na g-unba’-an maan.* / *Ha’e ba.*
 no 1s 3s-meet-REAL NEG No SEQ
 ‘No, I didn’t see (lit. meet) him’ / ‘No’
- (331) *Yo, mam xoran.*
 yes right like.that
 ‘Yes that’s right’

Tags include the word *to* in (328). This tag is also used in Indonesian (*toh*), and in the Malay variety spoken on Pantar/Alor. It is a Dutch loan (<Dutch

toch ‘surely, indeed’, Jones 2007). The negator *maan* can also be used as a tag, as illustrated in (332).

- (332) *Iman ta hafan u ga-mir-an, maan?*
 they TOP village DIST 3s-go.up-REAL NEG
 ‘They didn’t go up to that village, did they?’

The disjunction *le* ‘or’ is also used as a tag:

- (333) *Ga’an Kri li’in u le!*
 3s respected.old.man their DIST or
 ‘That was their ancestor (old respected clan member), right!’

- (334) *Ta ga-fur le.*
 TOP 3s-turn or
 ‘You fix it, hey!’

Hesitation markers are *amidan* ‘what’, or *amidan badan* ‘what’ (*badan* has no lexical meaning). Illustrations of the use of this marker in this chapter are (131), (186), and (199) above. Another hesitation marker, attested only once, is *max*. It has no lexical meaning.

- (335) *Max... bir-an nuk-nuk bir-an aria’.*
 ehm run-REAL RDP-one run-REAL arrive
 ‘Ehm... one by one they came running’

Exclamations include simple *e/eh*, or *o/oh*, with similar functions as in English. In addition, Teiwa has the following exclamations with more specific meanings:

- (336) *Bifa!* Exclamation when being startled
Seh! Exclamation of disappointment
Yeh! Exclamation of lament
Bil-bli! Be careful!
Hena! Watch out!

Greetings are listed in (337), see also section 3.13 above.

- (337) *Bes-bes! Iqa’an! War og! Ibayar!*
 RDP-morning evening day hot afternoon
 ‘Good morning! Good evening! Good day! Good afternoon!’

Ways to take leave when visiting someone are (338) and (339):

(338) *Na qayaq gi.*
 1s alone go
 ‘Excuse me’ (said when taking leave) (lit. ‘I go alone’)

(339) *Na qai gi.*
 1s only go
 ‘Excuse me’ (lit. ‘I just go’)

When saying goodbye while walking along with someone else, an expression with the distributive pronoun *ta’an* (see section 3.2) can be used, as in (340):

(340) *Ta’an paxai.*
 DISTR split
 ‘Bye now’

Thanking a person can be done using the expression in (341). (The pronominal prefix is of course a 2nd person plural form *y-* when more than one person is being thanked):

(341) *H-un-bangan dum-dum!*
 2s-App-ask RDP-much
 ‘Thank you (sg.) very much!’ (lit. ‘[I] ask very much of you’)

And finally, narratives typically end with the fixed expression:

(342) *Gula’ laxu’u*
 finish that.one.there
 ‘The end’ (lit. ‘Finished [is] that one’)

3.17. Summary

The major and open word classes in Teiwa are nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Teiwa does not have a class of adpositions. Teiwa verbs are distinct from nouns, adjectives and adverbs in the following respects: (i) only verbs may be inflected with a Realis suffix, (ii) only verbs take object prefixes, (iii) verbs canonically head VPs, and (iv) verbs canonically function as predicates. Adverbs are unlike verbs because they cannot be used predicatively. Nouns and adjectives can function as predicates, and be modified by adverbs, but non-verbal predicates cannot take an object prefix or a Realis suffix. Unlike nouns, verbs cannot function as verbal arguments. Unlike adjectives, (underived) verbs cannot function as adnominal modifiers. Teiwa adjectives are like nouns in that they often appear with a possessor prefix, and are nominalized in that way. Teiwa NPs are typically ‘light’: NPs with more than one adjective are extremely rare. As adnominal modifiers, adjectives follow the noun. Teiwa adverbs are distinct from both nouns, verbs, and adjectives because they cannot function as predicates. There are adverbs that precede the predicate, and adverbs that follow it, as is usual for verb-final languages (Dryer 2007a:81). The number of adverbs is limited. Most of the adverbs express modality, or aspect; there are very few manner and degree adverbs. Adverbial notions are also expressed by verbs in serial verb constructions (see Ch. 9, section 9.7). Some adverbs are historically related to verbs. The word classes to which the demonstrative and deictic items belong are mixed, and the categorization of some of these items remains yet unclear.

Chapter 4

Grammatical relations

4.0. Introduction

This chapter describes how the grammatical relations in Teiwa are encoded. Grammatical relations are syntactic relations between arguments and predicates. In Teiwa, the relation ‘subject’ comprises the actor argument of a transitive verb (A) and the single argument of an intransitive predicate (S), while the ‘object’ is the non-actor argument of a transitive verb (P).¹ These two grammatical relations are formally identified in Teiwa by constituent order, as well as by choosing pronouns from the subject or object paradigm. Teiwa has no case marking on NPs. In this chapter, basic constituent order is discussed in section 4.1, and the pronouns that encode subjects and objects are presented in section 4.2. Section 4.3 shows that transitive and intransitive subjects (A and S) are encoded in a similar way. In section 4.4, the encoding of objects (P) is discussed. Teiwa distinguishes animate and inanimate objects: as a rule, animate objects are indexed on the verb, and inanimate objects are not. In section 4.5, the fact that a number of verbs are used in intransitive as well as transitive constructions is discussed. Such ‘optionally transitive’ verbs can take an object prefix without having to undergo a (morphological) derivation first. Their prefixed object is always animate. The semantic role of the prefixed animate objects is variable, and includes patients, recipients, locations, goals, and comitatives. In section 4.6, the only (optionally) ditransitive verb found in Teiwa (*an* ‘give’) is discussed. This section also describes how events with an agent, recipient and a displaced theme are encoded. The most productive strategy is to use a serial verb construction, and one of the verbs frequently used in such serializations is the deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’ (see also Ch. 9, section 9.5). Section 4.7 describes “reflexive”-like constructions with the noun *-exan* ‘self’. Section 4.8 discusses how the distributive pronoun *ta’an* functions in reciprocal constructions. Section 4.9 describes how the ‘3 plural elsewhere’ pronouns *i’in* and *gi’in* function as subject or object. In section 4.10, it is illustrated how the pronouns from the special pronoun paradigms (Ch. 3, section 3.2.3-3.2.5) function as subjects in a clause.

4.1. Basic constituent order

The basic and unmarked constituent order of Teiwa is SV for intransitive clauses and APV for transitive clauses. This order is illustrated in (1), where the A of the second verb *tu'uk* is coreferential with the S of the first verb *yaa* 'come down'. In (2), the subject is a pronominal, and the object a lexical NP.

- (1)
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|-------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| S | V | A | P | V |
| [... <i>ki uwaad nuk</i>] | <i>yaa</i> | \emptyset | [<i>bif ga'an</i>] | <i>tu'uk...</i> |
| eagle big one | descend | | child 3s | knock |
- '... a big eagle came down [and] picked that child...'

- (2)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A | P | V |
| ... <i>gau ba a</i> | [<i>a-sepatu gas</i>] | <i>usan ga-luxun-luxun ta</i> |
| good SEQ 3s | 3s-shoe(IND) split lift | 3s-RDP-high TOP |
- '...so he lifts up one side of a shoe very high while

S	V
<i>a xer-an</i>	<i>pati.</i>
3s yell-REAL	PROG

he is yelling'

This order is quite rigid. Subjects can only occur in preverbal position, and if there is an overt object, they precede it. In order to be marked as foci, subjects are marked with sentence accent or with the focus marker *la*, or as long instead of short pronouns (see Ch. 11, section 11.2). Unlike subjects, objects can be moved to an alternative position to get focus: they can precede the subject, resulting in the order PAV. This PAV order is not found frequently in texts because in Teiwa, contextual ellipsis of shared arguments across clauses is common so that given/known participants are often left unexpressed after they have been introduced. As a result, it is also possible to focus an object by simply expressing it as an overt constituent (and leaving the subject unexpressed) without employing the alternative word order option (see also Ch. 9, section 9.1). A second and even less frequently attested pattern of marked constituent order is when a pronominal object follows the verb, resulting in AVP_{pronoun} word order. Lexical objects do not occur in postverbal position. The AVP_{pronoun} order is not regularly attested in texts. It is typically found in isolated utterances when a pronominal object gets contrastive focus (see Ch. 11, section 11.2 for examples and discussion).

4.2. Personal pronouns

4.2.1. Subject pronouns

Teiwa pronominal subjects are encoded with long or short pronouns; both types occupy the same position in the clause. They are given in (3). Both paradigms express transitive agents (A) and intransitive subjects (S) (Ch. 3, section 3.2.1.).

(3) Subject pronouns

	Long form	Short form
1s	<i>na'an</i>	<i>na</i>
2s	<i>ha'an</i>	<i>ha</i>
3s	<i>a'an</i>	<i>a</i>
1p.exclusive	<i>ni'in</i>	<i>ni</i>
1p.inclusive	<i>pi'in</i>	<i>pi</i>
2p	<i>yi'in</i>	<i>yi</i>
3p	<i>iman²</i>	<i>i, a</i>
3p.elsewhere	<i>i'in</i>	<i>i, a</i>
distributive ³	<i>ta'an</i>	<i>ta</i>

The short subject pronoun forms are identical to the object prefixes in (8), but they differ in that the short subject forms are reduced pronouns that function as independent words, and can be separated from the verb, while the short objects forms are verbal prefixes. Example (4) shows a short subject pronoun as a separate constituent: it is marked as clause topic with *ta*, and is separated from the verb by *ita ma* 'from where' and the object NP *in i* 'this thing'.

- (4) ...*na ta ita'a ma*
 1s TOP where come
 '[...as for] me, where
- in i mar-an laxa'a?*
 it.thing FORTHC take-REAL this.one.here
 do I get this thing from?

The textual frequency of long and short subject pronouns does not appear to be markedly different. However, there is a functional contrast between the

two forms. This is illustrated in (5). Long forms are typically used to express contrastive focus, as in (5b), and occur as focus NP marked with *la*, as in (5c), while short forms as in (5a) are never used in these contexts.

- (5) a. *Na hamar.*
 I pray
 'I pray'
- b. *Na'an hamar.*
 I pray
 'I pray [not you]'
- c. *Na'an la hamar.*
 I FOC pray
 'I am the one who prays'

Further illustrations of contexts where long subject pronouns are preferred to short ones are (6) and (7a). In (6), the long pronoun is used in the answer to mark contrastive focus. In (7a), the long pronoun subject is the focus NP, the short pronoun subject in (7b) is not.

- (6) *Yilag la kiid? Na'an kiid.*
 who FOC cry I cry
 'Who cried?' 'I cried [not he]'
- (7) a. *Na'an la g-oqai ga-regan.*
 I FOC 3s-child 3s-ask
 'I [am the one who] asked his child'
- b. *Na g-oqai ga-regan.*
 I 3s-child 3s-ask
 'I asked his child'

Apart from the subject pronouns discussed here, subjects can also be expressed using special sets of pronouns. This is discussed in section 4.10 below.

4.2.2. Object pronouns and prefixes

A pronominal object is expressed as a free pronoun or a verbal prefix. For third person referents, a free pronoun is used if it is inanimate. If it is animate,

it is expressed with a verbal prefix, and an optional additional NP. First and second person prefixes can combine with an additional free pronoun to mark focus. The pronoun forms are given in (8) (see also Ch. 3, section 3.2). The encoding of animate objects with prefixes on the verb is further discussed in section 4.4 below.

(8) Object pronouns and prefixes

	Free pronoun	Prefix
1s	<i>na'an</i>	<i>n(a)-</i>
2s	<i>ha'an</i>	<i>h(a)-</i>
3s	<i>ga'an</i>	<i>g(a)-, gə-</i>
1p.exclusive	<i>ni'in</i>	<i>n(i)-</i>
1p.inclusive	<i>pi'in</i>	<i>p(i)-</i>
2p	<i>yi'in</i>	<i>y(i)-</i>
3p	<i>iman</i>	<i>g(i)-, ga-</i>
3p.elsewhere	<i>gi'in</i>	<i>g(i)-</i>
distributive	<i>ta'an</i>	<i>t(a)-</i>

The 1st and 2nd person forms of the object and subject pronouns are identical (compare (3) and (8)), but the third person forms are different. The object pronoun paradigms are almost identical to the possessive pronoun paradigms: only the third person singular forms are different.

The third person singular object pronoun *ga'an* also has a function as a demonstrative pronoun (Ch. 3, section 3.6.2). The object prefixes have a syllabic and a consonantal form. Syllabic prefixes attach to consonant-initial verbs, consonantal prefixes attach to vowel-initial verbs. (9)-(10) illustrate the consonant-initial verb *liin* 'invite', (11)-(13) illustrate the vowel-initial verb *ua* 'hit'.

(9)	1s	<i>na- liin</i>	'invite me'
	2s	<i>ha- liin</i>	'invite you'
	3s	<i>ga- liin</i>	'invite him/her'
	1p.exclusive	<i>ma- liin</i>	'invite us.exc'
	1p.inclusive	<i>pa- liin</i>	'invite us.incl'
	2p	<i>ya- liin</i>	'invite you.pl'
	3p	<i>a- liin</i>	'invite them'

(10)	<i>A pi-liin.</i>
	3s 1pi-invite
	'He invited us'

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| (11) | 1s | <i>n-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit me' |
| | 2s | <i>h-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit you' |
| | 3s | <i>g-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit him/her' |
| | 1p.exclusive | <i>m-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit us (excl)' |
| | 1p.inclusive | <i>p-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit us (incl)' |
| | 2p | <i>y-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit you (pl)' |
| | 3p | <i>g-</i> | <i>ua'</i> | 'hit them' |
- (12) *Sematar* *na h-ua'!*
in.a.moment(IND) I 2s-hit
'I'll hit you!'
- (13) *Iman p-ua'*.
they 1pi-hit
'They hit us'

Observe that consonantal prefixes for 3rd person do not have the vowel by which they can be distinguished for number. To specify the number of such objects, the 3rd person plural free pronoun can be used in addition, as illustrated in (15).

- (14) *Na g-ua'*.
I 3-hit
'I hit him'
- (15) *Na iman g-ua'*.
I they 3-hit
'I hit them'

Ga'an is the 3rd person sg object pronoun, as illustrated in (8). However, it frequently functions as a demonstrative pronoun with specific discourse functions. This is discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.6.2.

4.3. The encoding of subjects

Teiwa A and S are both encoded by pronouns from the same paradigms, given in (3). This is illustrated in (16), which contains an A, and (17)-(19), which all contain an S. In serial verb constructions with shared subjects, coreference relations exist between both S and A type subjects, with no formal distinction between the two.

- (16) *A gi-regan.*
 3s 3p-ask
 ‘He asks them’
- (17) *A her.*
 3s climb
 ‘He climbs up’
- (18) *A min.*
 3s dead
 ‘He is dead’
- (19) *Ha-fat a wuran? A wuran.*
 2s-leg 3s swell/swollen 3s swell/swollen
 ‘Is your leg swollen? [Yes,] it is swollen’

Teiwa intransitive verbs refer to states (e.g. *mis* ‘sit’), or to dynamic events (volitional, e.g. *bir* ‘run’, or non-volitional, e.g. *ba* ‘fall’). In general, the semantics of a Teiwa intransitive verb is irrelevant for the encoding of S: except for a few verbs of cognition (see Ch. 3, section 3.3.9), S is always marked in the same way as A. In particular, Teiwa does not make a formal distinction between an S that is a volitional, active participant, as in (17), and an S that is a non-volitional undergoer, as in (18)-(19). The S of a non-verbal predicate is expressed in the same way, as shown in (20). (See also Ch. 6).

- (20) *Tur a ibar, xara’ a pegawai.*
 formerly 3s work.garden now 3s civil.servant (IND)
 ‘Formerly he was a farmer, now he’s a civil servant’

In sum, Teiwa does not show semantic alignment. In this respect it is different from other languages in Alor-Pantar, such as Abui (Kratochvíl, 2007), Klon (Baird 2005, 2008) and Western Pantar (Holton 2005).⁴

An illustration of a lexical S is *xafuwaad* ‘a big fish’ in the second clause of (21):

- (21) *Qau iman ta yix-ei.*
 good they TOP descend-REAL
 ‘So they went down’

i xer-an yix-ei, gi si,
 3p shout-REAL descend-REAL go SIM
 while they (were) shouting, going down,

xaf uwaad mulai daa, tiri a mulai
fish big begin(IND) ascend float 3s begin(IND)
 a big fish came, floating up it began

uy a xer-an non ga-fai-an "Ha-fi bun!"
 person 3s shout-REAL PL 3s-swear-REAL 2s-penis one.piece
 yelling [and] swearing at the people "You piece of prick!"

Let us now consider how A is expressed. In (22)-(23) A is pronominal, in (24) there are two lexical NPs: *ris ga'an u* 'that crocodile' is the A of *tag* 'count', *kamau ga'an u* 'that cat' is the A of *bax* 'hit'.

(22) *Ha'an meja ga-fat ari'.*
you table 3s-leg break
 'You broke that table leg'

(23) *Gi ana' maan si, qafilat ga daa tiri,*
 go long.time NEG SIM arrow take.along come.up float
 'Going [down] not very long, it floats up with the arrows,

iman mulai i-xaf uwaad parat gula',
they begin(IND) 3p-fish big tie finish
 they begin to tie their big fish,

qauba tiwan aria'.
 so.that carry.on.head arrive
 arrive carrying it on their head'

(24) *Ah... ris ga'an u, bui tag,*
 EXCL crocodile 3s DIST drum count
 'Eh... that crocodile hit⁵ the long drum,

kamau ga'an u gong bax.
cat 3s DIST gong hit
 that cat hit the gong'

In sum, S and A are expressed identically in Teiwa, and the language does not make a formal distinction between S's that are semantically more actor-like and those that are more undergoer-like.

4.4. The encoding of objects

The basic position of Teiwa objects is following the subject, preceding the verb. When objects are focused (or emphasized), they can also occur in other positions, as was briefly explained in section 4.1 above (see also Ch. 11, section 11.2). Teiwa transitive verbs have maximally one object.⁶ Third person objects are either animate or inanimate (see Ch. 3, section 3.3.2). Since first and second person referents are intrinsically animate, the animacy distinction is only relevant for third person referents. Animate objects are expressed by verbal prefixes that mark person and number, and an optional lexical NP may be added to make the referent more clear, and/or to disambiguate it. An additional pronoun may be used for focus. First and second person prefixes can also combine with an additional free pronoun to mark focus. Inanimate objects are expressed as free constituents; lexical nouns (Noun Phrases), or pronouns.

In (25), the animate object of *sas* 'feed' is marked with a 3rd sg verbal prefix *ga-*, the noun *bif* 'child' is optionally used to specify/disambiguate the referent. In (26), the inanimate object of *na* 'eat' is expressed as the NP *qar* 'rice' – and it cannot be indexed on the verb because it is inanimate.

(25) *Na bif ga-sas.*
 I child 3s-feed
 'I feed the child'

(26) *Uy ga'an qar na. (*...ga-na)*
 person 3s rice eat
 'That person eats rice'

NPs that refer to inanimate objects may contain the pronoun *in* 'it.thing', an illustration is (4) above. An inanimate locational object may be expressed with the pronoun *i* 'it.place' (Ch. 2, section 2.2.6).

In (27), the object of *liin* 'invite' is animate and prefixed, the object of *na* 'eat' is inanimate, and cannot be expressed by a prefix.

(27) *A pi-liin muxui na*
 3s 1p.i-invite banana eat
 'He invited us to eat bananas'

Third person objects, singular or plural, may all be marked with the prefix *ga-*; the 3rd plural prefix *gi-* is used less frequently. (But *ga-* will be glossed consistently as 3rd person singular, reflecting its canonical function.) To disambiguate a plural referent of *ga-*, the pronoun *iman* ‘they’ may be added, as shown in (28a).⁷ (28b) shows that this pronoun cannot occur on its own with reference to an animate object – it must accompany an object prefix, since animate objects must be indexed on the verb.

- (28) a. *A iman ga-regan*
 3s they 3-ask
 ‘S/he asks them’
- b. * *A iman regan*
 3 they ask
 ‘S/he asks them’

The animacy of the referents encoded by the prefixes is taken literally. In (29a), the definite, human object of ‘to bury’ is expressed with a pronoun, since a dead person is inanimate. This object cannot be marked with a prefix, as shown in (29b), which was rejected by consultants as having the “very strange” meaning that a living person was to be buried.

- (29) a. *Na ta ma ga’an taraxa’*
 1s TOP come 3s bury
 ‘I come to bury him’
- b. * *Na ta ma ga-taraxa’*
 1s TOP come 3s-bury
 Intended reading: ‘I come to bury him’

The following excerpt illustrates how prefixes refer to *qui* ‘caterpillars’ as the animate object of *na* ‘eat’, *tama* ‘taste’ and *kiid* ‘cry’. (*Na* ‘eat’ cannot take an object prefix; presumably because food is normally not animate.)

- (30) *Iman yerig ina karena bif g-oqai ga’an u,*
 they three eat because (IND) child 3s-child 3s DIST
 ‘The three of them ate [and] because that small child
- qui na ga-tama’ wan karuan jadi...*
caterpillar eat 3s-taste be know so(IND)
 knew that eating caterpillars tastes good so...

qui gula' una' a paksa ga-kiid
 caterpillar finish also 3s force(IND) 3-cry
 when the caterpillars were finished he nagged (and) cried for them'

Animate objects can thus be expressed with a prefix and an additional NP, as illustrated in (28b) above, in (31) below. In this respect they differ from inanimates, which can only be expressed once, as a lexical NP.

- (31) *Xa'a ma ha-bif ga-mai*
 this come 2s-child 3s-save
 'This I save for your child'

Another example is (32), where in the second last clause the animate object of *saran* 'find' is marked by *ga-* '3' as well as by *xaf uwaad ga'an* 'that big fish'.

- (32) *Boqai dau-an i'in hasan*
 cut.up cook-REAL 3p.elsewhere last.drink
 '... cut [it], cook [it], they finish their drinks,

uyan waal non mir-an si,
 mountain that.mentioned PL ascend-REAL SIM
 [then] those mountain [people] come up [from the market],

bifa uy non ga'an wa an ma gi-n maan
 startled person PL 3s go market come go-REAL NEG
 startled [they say]: "Those people did not go to the market

iman xaf uwaad ga'an ita'a ma ga-sar-an la
 they fish big 3s where come 3s-notice-REAL FOC
 where did they find this big fish, the one

iman boqai duan laxa'a?
 they cut cook this.one.here
 they cut and cook, the one overhere?"

Some verbs allow either an inanimate or an animate object. An example is the verb *mar*. When its object is inanimate, as in (33a), it is expressed as a free constituent, and *mar* is interpreted as 'to take something'. When the object is animate, it is encoded with a prefix, and the verb means 'to follow someone', as in (33b) and (34).

(33) a. *Na ga'an mar*
 1s 3s take
 'I take/get it'

b. *Na ga-mar*
 1s 3s-follow
 'I follow him/her'

(34) *Hala sar-an yaa an ma gi si,*
 others notice-REAL descend market come go SIM
 '...see other (people) going down to the market,

i'in ga'an ta un wek-wek
 they.elsewhere 3s TOP CONT RDP-later
 these others (come) later,

hala ga-mar yaa bo'oi g-om ga'an, ...
 others 3s-follow come.down river 3s-inside 3s
 follow the others down into the river,...

For more discussion of how transitive verbs differ in the encoding of their object, see Ch. 3, section 3.3.2.

4.5. Optionally transitive verbs; the semantic roles of objects

Some verbs are used in intransitive as well as transitive constructions. This is illustrated for *bir* 'run', used as an intransitive in (35) and as a transitive in (36). I assume that these verbs basically express intransitive events, and can be used in a transitive construction when an additional animate object is involved (typically a comitative object).

(35) *Uy nuk a bir-an*
 person one 3 run-REAL
 'Someone is running'

(36) *Ta rus waal bif*
 TOP deer that.mentioned child
 '[While] that deer [with] the child

un ga-bir-an gi ma saf nuk wan moxod
 CONT 3s-run-REAL go come river.bank one be drop
 was running away [he] dropped it on a riverbank'

Additional illustrations of verbs that can be used as intransitive or transitive with an animate, comitative object are *yix* 'go down' in (37), and *aria* 'arrive' in (38).

- (37) ...*ga-xala' g-oma' non ta mulai,*
 3s-mother 3-father PL TOP begin(IND)
 '...the parents began,

iman ta ga-samar gula'
 they TOP 3s-dress.up finish
 they dressed them up,

ta ga'-yix ta gi haraq-haraq aga' ta
 TOP 3s-descend TOP go RDP-two finish TOP
 went down with the two of them,

ga'-yix ta gi...
3s-descend TOP go
 went down with them...'

- (38) *Ha yilag ga'-aria'?* *Na Lorens ga'-aria'*
 you who 3s-arrive I Lorens 3s-arrive
 'With whom did you arrive? I arrived with Lorens'

The posture verb *mis* 'sit' can occur with an object prefix that has two distinct interpretations: in (39) it means 'to marry; lit. to sit with someone', in (40) it means 'to give birth; lit. to sit for someone'.⁸

- (39) *Xoran, olag si na'an la g-oqai eqar ga-mis*
 thus so.that SIM I FOC 3s- female 3s-sit
 child
 'That way I'll be the one who marries his daughter'

- (40) ...*sampai ta bif ga-mis,*
 till(IND) TOP child 3s-sit
 '...until she gave birth to a child,

bif ga-mis-an eran si g-oqai masar
 child 3s-sit-REAL that SIM 3s-child male
 the child she gave birth to was a boy'

In sum, while most verbs are either transitive or intransitive, some verbs may occur in both constructions. Such verbs can take an object prefix without having to undergo a (morphological) derivation first. Their prefixed object is always animate.⁹

The animacy, not the semantic role of the object, determines whether or not it is indexed on the verb.¹⁰ Semantically, object prefixes are patients, recipients, benefactives, locations, goals, sources, or comitatives, but their animacy is the only crucial determiner of verbal indexing. Object encoding patterns like these are in line with crosslinguistic observations on how animacy can affect agreement patterns (see Comrie 1989, Siewierska 2004, among others, for discussion and exemplification).¹¹ As agreement is sensitive to the discourse prominence of arguments, and animate objects have more discourse prominence than inanimate ones, animate participants are more eligible to be indexed on the verb.

4.6. The verb *an* 'give' and other events with three participants

If Teiwa has only mono-transitive verbs, how does it express events that have three participants: an agent, a patient / theme, and a benefactive / recipient / goal?¹² Cross-linguistically, such constructions often involve "double objects", but in Teiwa each of the two objects appears with its own predicate in a serial verb construction. In what follows, I will refer to these objects as '(displaced) theme' / 'object of transfer', and 'recipient'.

For example, *mian* 'put at', illustrated in (41), and *ayas* 'throw at', illustrated in (42), have a single object (the recipient). The object of transfer is expressed in a separate serial verb construction: in (41), *sen* 'money' is the argument of intransitive *ma* 'come' (used as an oblique marker here)¹³ and in (42), *war upar* 'pebble' is the argument of transitive *mar* 'take'.

- (41) *Uy ga'an sen ma ga-mian*
 person 3s money come 3s-put.at
 'That person gave¹⁴ him/her money'
 (Lit. 'That person, money comes, puts at her/him')

- (42) *Yes-yes a ta war upar mar*
 suddenly 3s TOP stone pebble take
 'Suddenly he took a pebble'

a ta ma ga-ayas xoran sampai ma yerig...
 3s TOP come 3s-throw.at like.this till(IND) come three
 ‘and threw it at him again, three times [he did] like this...’

Teiwa has only one verb that may be used as a ditransitive. This is the verb *an* ‘give’. An illustration is (43), where the theme is *sen* ‘money’ and the recipient is *noma* ‘my father’, (crossreferenced on the verb with *g-* ‘3s’). Both are arguments of a single predicate.

(43) *Uy ga’an u ma sen n-oma’ g-an*
 person 3s DIST come money 1s-father 3s-give
 ‘That person comes to give my father money’

Constructions like these, where two bare object NPs appear in a single clause, do not occur in the spontaneous speech of my corpus, and were only used in elicitation contexts. If they are grammatical, they are marginal. In the corpus, clauses with *an* have a recipient as their single object, leaving the theme unexpressed. An illustration is the second clause of (44), where *iman* ‘they’ is the recipient (indexed on the verb), and there is no overt object of transfer.

(44) *Ga-manak ga’an u xu’u maan ba*
 3s-master 3s DIST that.one NEG SEQ
 ‘That master of his was not there so

ni ma iman g-an maan, un yias-an...
 1p.i come they 3p-give NEG CONT put-REAL
 we didn’t give [it] to them, [but] put [it]...’ (i.e. put it away, kept it)

Alternatively, the transferred object may be expressed with its own, separate predicate. An example is (46), where it is introduced as the subject of the intransitive deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’. The resulting sentence is a serial verb construction {A [S V₁] P V₂}. Grammatically, *sen* is the single argument (S) of the deictic V₁ *ma* (i.e., ‘money comes here’), but in a serial verb construction with *an* ‘give’, *sen* is interpreted as a transferred object, and *ma* functions as an oblique marker (Ch. 9, section 9.5). This strategy is further discussed below.

(45) *Uy ga’an u sen ma n-oma’ g-an*
 person 3s DIST [money come] 1s-father 3s-give
 ‘That person gave money to my father’

A transferred object can also be introduced by another verb than *ma* ‘come (here)’. This is illustrated in (46), where the displaced object *ga-dan* ‘the others, the rest’ is introduced by the transitive verb *pin* ‘hold’, while *an* functions as a monotransitive verb, indexing the recipient.

- (46) *Wat ga'an a mar-an pin,*
 coconut 3s 3s take-REAL hold
 ‘Those coconuts he took,
 “*Ga-dan pin daa na-xala' g-an a na*”
 3s-part hold come.up 1s-mother 3s-give 3s eat
 “The rest [those I won’t eat] [I] take up to give to my mum to eat””

In sum, *an* ‘give’ can occur in a clause with two bare objects in the order A – displaced theme – recipient – V, but such constructions are marginal at best. In most contexts, *an* encodes the recipient as its (single) animate object, and the displaced theme is introduced with its own predicate, resulting in a serial verb construction.

The general strategy is thus that Teiwa events with three participants introduce the recipient and the displaced theme each with its own verb. This results in serial verb constructions where the first verb introduces the theme, and the second verb, which is semantically the major verb of the clause, introduces the recipient. In most cases, the verb introducing the theme is the intransitive deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’, as in (47b).

- (47) a. *Na bif ga-sas*
 1s child 3s-feed
 ‘I feed the child’
 b. *Na qar ma bif ga-sas*
 1s cooked.rice come child 3s-feed
 ‘I feed the child rice’ / ‘I feed rice to the child’

That *ma* synchronically functions as a separate deictic verb can be seen in (43), and (48):¹⁵

- (48) *Ha'an la ma le na'an la wa?*
 2sg FOC come or 1sg FOC go
 ‘Are you coming [here] or am I going [to you]?’

In (49), the theme ‘money’ is introduced with *ma* ‘come’, and the recipient ‘my father’ is the animate object of *mian* ‘put at’ that is indexed on the verb.

Note that the constituent order in this sentence is not canonical: the NP encoding the recipient is fronted to clause initial position to mark contrastive focus, and it precedes the subject that is marked as the focus constituent with *la*.

- (49) [N-oma'] [uy ga'an u la] sen ma ga-mian
 1s-father person 3s DIST FOC money come 3sg-put.at
 '[It's] that person who gave money to my dad'

Themes introduced by *ma* may also be a focus constituent, as shown in (50):

- (50) [Xas la] ma ga-mian na
 manure FOC come 3s-put.at eat
 'Shit [is what they] gave him to eat'

In (51), the verb *'an* 'sell to someone'¹⁶ has an animate recipient, which can be implied, as in (51a), or be indexed on the verb, as in (51b). If the theme is also expressed, it must be introduced with *ma*, even if the recipient is not expressed (see (51a,c)). Without *ma*, the clause becomes ungrammatical, (51c,d).

- (51) a. Na buku ma 'an-an
 I book(IND) come sell-REAL
 'I sell books'
- b. Na buku ma ga-'an-an
 I book(IND) come 3s-sell-REAL
 'I sell the book to him'
- c.* Na buku 'an-an
 I book(IND) sell-REAL
 Not good for: 'I sell books'
- d.* Na buku ga-'an-an
 I book(IND) 3s-sell-REAL
 Not good for: 'I sell books to him'

In (52a) the verb *mian* 'to put at someone' has an animate recipient object *bif* 'younger sibling'. The ungrammaticality of (52b) shows that the theme *yir* 'water' has to be introduced with *ma*. (52c) shows that the recipient *bif* cannot be introduced with *ma*.

- (52) a. *Na-xala' yir ma bif ga-mian hufa'*
 1s-mother water come younger.sibling 3s-put.at drink
 'My mum gives water to the child to drink'
- b.* *Na-xala' yir bif ga-mian hufa'*
 1s-mother water younger.sibling 3s-put.at drink
- c.* *Na-xala' yir bif ma ga-mian hufa'*
 1s-mother water younger.sibling come 3s-put.at drink

The semantics of *mian* 'put at someone' and *an* 'give' are similar in that both verbs express the physical transfer to an animate entity (a person), and can be used in the same pragmatic contexts. Consultants explained that both verbs have a person as recipient object but that the recipient object of *mian* is perceived more like a place where the transferred entity is "put at". The verb *mian* can for example also be used when something is put at someone's feet, in someone's house or on someone's desk. The intended recipient does not necessarily receive it personally in his own hands. But the object of *an* 'give' is a "true" recipient who is actively involved in the transfer event, for example because he reaches out to receive the entity and holds it in his hands. The animate object of *mian* 'put at' is thus perceived as the (human) location where the entity is transferred to, while the object of *an* 'give' is a more canonical type of recipient. Often, the transferred entity is left unexpressed in constructions with *mian*, to be inferred from the context, as in (53):

- (53) *Na ha-mian.*
 1s 2s-put.at
 'I give [it/something] to you'

The sentence in (54) illustrates the verb *tanat* 'to place/put on sth'. *Tanat* is a transfer verb just like *an* 'give' and *mian* 'put at', but where *an* and *mian* take animate objects, *tanat* takes an inanimate one, a physical location. In (54), *afat ki' uwaad* 'his big toe' is the (single) location object of *tanat*. *Tab ga'an* 'that spear' is the transferred object, and is introduced with *ma*. If we analyse this sentence analogous to the constructions in e.g. (52), the locational object 'his big toe' is the "recipient" object, and 'that spear' the displaced theme.

- (54) *A [tab ga'an ma]_{theme}*
 3s spear 3s come
 'He places [the point of] that spear'

[*a-fat ki’ uwaad*]^{“recipient”} *tanat olaxhamar*
 3s-foot toe big place.on.sth recite.poetry
 on his big toe and recites poetry’

An additional illustration where *ma* introduces a displaced theme is (31) above. Entities introduced by *ma* also include patients of inspection (objects pointed out or shown), as in (55), and instruments, as in (56).

(55) *Yitar ga-qau ma na-lal-an!*
 road 3s-good come 1s-show-REAL
 ‘[You] show me the right way!’

(56) *Si’ ma na-mian na ma ina.*
 spoon come 1s-put.at 1s come eat
 ‘Give me a spoon to eat’

In Ch. 9, section 9.5.3 it is described that the argument introduced by *ma* can in fact have many more semantic roles.

Finally, it is also possible to have a construction where the recipient is encoded as the possessor of the displaced theme. This is illustrated in (57), where *na-* ‘1s’ is grammatically the possessor of *indan* ‘something’, and semantically the recipient of it.¹⁷

(57) *Ha na-indan pin-an maan?*
 2s 1s-something hold-REAL NEG
 ‘Did you bring something for me?’ (Lit. ‘Don’t you hold my-something?’)

In conclusion, Teiwa has only one verb (*an* ‘give’) that can occur in a (marginal or less grammatical) double object construction. In events with three participants, displaced themes are either implied, or introduced with separate verbs in serial verb constructions. One of the verbs involved in such serializations is the deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’. Crosslinguistically, this is an unusual verb type, as serial verb constructions introducing displaced themes typically involve a verb like ‘take’ (Comrie et. al., forthcoming). Synchronically, *ma* functions an oblique marker that signals the presence of an extra object (Ch. 9, section 9.5.3).¹⁸ Teiwa is thus developing constructions with so-called ‘secundative’ alignment, where the displaced theme is the secondary object, and is distinct from the primary object (patient and recipient). The order of the object-like participants in serial verb constructions is always theme-recipient.

4.7. “Reflexive” constructions

The construction that expresses reflexive notions in Teiwa involves an inalienably possessed noun *exan* ‘self’. *Exan* denotes the coreferential argument of a reflexive predicate, and the person and number of the agent is marked with a possessive prefix. In third person, *exan* does not get a possessive prefix. Illustrations are given in (58).

- (58) a. *Na n-exan na var*
 1s 1s-self 1s kill
 ‘I kill myself’
- b. *Ha h-exan ha var*
 2s 2s-self 2s kill
 ‘You kill yourself’
- c. *A exan a var*
 3s self 3s kill
 ‘S/he kills her/himself’
- d. *Ni n-exan ni var*
 1p.e 1p.e-self 1p.e kill
 ‘We (excluding you) kill ourselves’
- f. *Pi p-exan pi var*
 1p.i 1p.i-self 1p.i kill
 ‘We (including you) kill ourselves’
- g. *Yi y-exan yi var*
 2p 2p-self 2p kill
 ‘You (pl) kill yourselves’
- h. *I exan a var*
 3p self 3s kill
 ‘They kill themselves’

A construction with *exan* differs from a plain transitive construction. First, animate objects are always marked by a prefix on the verb, as in the transitive clause (59a), but the object *exan* cannot be indexed on the verb, as in (59b).

- (59) a. *Na na-qavif ga-var*
 I 3s-goat 3s-kill
 'I kill my goat'
- b.* *Na n-exan na-var*
 1s 1s-self 1s-kill
 Intended reading: 'I kill myself'

Given the homophony that exists between 1st and 2nd person subject short pronouns and object prefixes (see (3) and (8)), the preverbal pronoun *na* in (59b) might also be analysed as an object prefix. For evidence that the pronoun directly preceding the verb is indeed a (short) subject rather than a (prefixed) object we therefore have to look at constructions that involve a third person pronoun, with different forms for objects (*ga-/gi-*) and subjects (*a/i*). In (60), a construction with *exan* and a third person pronoun is given. The ungrammaticality of **ga-var* shows that it is ungrammatical to have a 3rd person object *ga-* indexed on the verb in this context. Instead, a short subject pronoun *a* must be used.

- (60) *A exan a (*ga-) var*
 3s self 3s.SUBJ 3s.OBJ kill
 'S/he kills her/himself'

This is then the second way in which reflexives are different from plain transitives: the agent is marked twice; once at the beginning of the clause, preceding *exan*, and again before the verb.

It should also be noted that constructions with *exan* are not 'reflexive' in the strictest sense because they express more generally the notion of doing something without help or company, as illustrated in (61).

- (61) *exan wei* 'bathe by oneself'
exan tas 'stand by oneself'
exan mis 'sit by oneself'
exan tii' 'sleep by oneself'

Unfortunately, I have no data on ditransitive constructions with *exan*.

4.8. The distributive pronoun *ta'an* in reciprocal constructions

The pronoun *ta'an* ‘Distributive’ is a pronoun that refers to a (non-collective) plurality of human referents. In (62)-(63) it refers to plural, non-collective human referents, in (64)-(65) it functions as a reciprocal pronoun.

- (62) *Ta'an paxai!*
 DISTR split
 ‘Bye now!’ (Lit. ‘Each (of us) splits’)
- (63) *Ma ta-fin!*
 come DISTR-catch
 ‘Catch each one (of us/them)!’
- (64) *Iqap ta'an er.*
 3 & they DISTR do
 ‘They are angry at each other’ (Lit. ‘He and they do each other’)
- (65) *Yiraxau ta'an he'en ma tii'?*
 2.DU DISTR close come sleep
 ‘You two sleep together / next to each other?’

In addition, the distributive prefix *ta-* may be used in nominal contexts, where it is interpreted as an impersonal, non-specified, human possessor, as in *ta-tan* ‘each one’s hand(s)’, and *ta-yaf* ‘each one’s house(s)’. *Ta-* is used as a default possessive prefix especially when inalienable nouns are used out of context, for example, in lists. It has always a human referent. (*Ta'an* and *ta-* are further discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.2.1).

4.9. *I'in* and *gi'in* “3rd plural elsewhere” as subject and object

Third person plural subjects can be expressed by either *iman* or *i'in*. *Iman* is the canonical, standard form (and is used to mark objects as well). In contrast, *i'in* / *gi'in* have a special referential function, and refer to a group of people that is not at the same physical location as the speaker, translated as ‘they elsewhere’ (Ch. 3, section 3.2.1). *I'in* is the subject form, *gi'in* the object and possessor form.

Sentence (66a) is a textual example where *i'in* makes explicit that the speakers (“we”), two orphans, were not at the same location as those that were counting the people. The orphans were neglected in the counts because the

counters did not notice them. In contrast, the elicited sentence (66b) refers to the counters as *iman*, and consultants explained that now the orphans and the counters may, or may not have been in the same location, but the reason that the orphans were not counted was not because they were in a different location, as was the case in (66a).

- (66) a. *Hala ni'in ma i'in wan tag-an maan*
 others 1p.e come 3p.elsewhere be count-REAL NEG
 'The others, they did not count us' [because we were not there].
- b. *Hala ni'in ma iman wan tag-an maan*
 others 1p.e come they be count-REAL NEG
 'The others, they did not count us' [because they didn't want to].

The possessor function of *gi'in* is discussed in Ch. 5, section 5.2.3.

4.10. Special pronouns as subjects

Teiwa has several sets of special pronouns (Ch. 3, section 3.2.2-3.2.5). In this section I illustrate how they are used as subject. In (67) and (68), dual pronouns encode subjects.¹⁹

- (67) *I-raxau a-kawan aria' wad.*
 3-DU 3s-friend (IND) arrive today
 'He came with his friend today'

- (68) *Yi-raxau ta'an er?*
 2-DU DISTR make
 'Are you two angry at each other?'

In (69), an illustration with an 'X and they' pronoun as subject is given (Ch. 3, section 3.2.3):

- (69) *Iqap ta'an er.*
 3s & they DISTR make
 'He is angry with them' / 'He and they are angry at each other'

In (70), an 'X alone' pronoun is the subject (Ch. 3, section 3.2.4).

- (70) *“Ha’an brenti, na’an na-qai soxai ta wa”*
 you stop(IND) I 1s-just dance TOP say
 “You stop, I’ll recite the dance alone”

Finally, (71) illustrates an ‘X as a group of...’ pronoun as subject (Ch. 3, section 3.2.5):

- (71) *Pi-man ut ina*
 1p.e-group four eat
 ‘The four of us [excluding you] eat’

4.11. Summary

In Teiwa, the relation ‘subject’ comprises the actor argument of a transitive verb (A) and the single argument of an intransitive predicate (S), while the ‘object’ is the non-actor argument of a transitive verb (P). Basic constituent order is APV for transitive clauses and SV for intransitives. A and S are encoded in a similar way. The grammatical relations subject and object are formally identified in Teiwa by constituent order, as well as by choosing pronouns from either the subject or the object paradigm. These paradigms differ in the third person singular and plural forms. Teiwa has no case marking on NPs. Teiwa objects with an animate referent are expressed with a verbal prefix (a subject NP may optionally be added), while inanimate objects are always expressed as free constituents. Some verbs are used in intransitive and transitive constructions and can take an object prefix without having to undergo a (morphological) derivation first; their object is always animate. The semantic (‘thematic’) role of prefixed animate objects includes patients, recipients, locations, goals, and comitatives. Teiwa has only one (optionally) di-transitive verb: *an* ‘give’. Events with an agent, recipient and a displaced theme are expressed in serial verb constructions. One of the verbs frequently used in such serializations is the deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’. Teiwa “reflexive”-like constructions involve the noun *exan* ‘self’, and reciprocal constructions use the distributive pronoun *ta’an* as subject.

Chapter 5

The Noun Phrase

5.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the Teiwa Noun Phrase (NP). In possessive NPs, the possessor precedes the head noun. In NPs where a noun modifies another noun, the modifier also precedes the head. Numerals, demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers and the plural word *non* follow the head noun.

Teiwa distinguishes between alienably possessed nouns (such as *yaf* ‘house’, *kon* ‘shirt’, *qavif* ‘goat’), and inalienably possessed nouns (body part nouns and kinship terms) (section 5.2.2). In addition to these two noun classes, there is also a class of locational nouns (section 5.3.3).

Teiwa Nouns and NPs are not marked for case or gender. There are distinct pronominal paradigms for possessors, subjects and objects. In this chapter the possessor pronouns are discussed (section 5.2.3). (The subject and object pronouns are discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.2 and Ch. 4, section 4.2).

There is no number marking on nouns or NPs. Plurality is expressed with the plural word *non*, while quantifiers and numerals express amounts of entities (see section 5.5). Without the plural or quantifying words, the interpretation of nominals may be singular or plural, depending on the context.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In section 5.1, I briefly discuss the structure of non-possessive and possessive NPs.¹ Section 5.2 describes adnominal possession. It discusses the possessor-marking prefixes (5.2.1), the formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (5.2.2.), various types of pronouns marking possessors (5.2.3), and how possession can be questioned (5.2.4). Section 5.3 discusses further details of NPs with adnominal attributes: adjectives (5.3.1), derived nominals (5.3.2), and locational nouns (5.3.3). In section 5.4, I discuss how demonstratives and pronouns function as nominal determiners. In section 5.5, nominal quantification is discussed, based on numerals (5.5.1) and other quantifying expressions (5.5.2). The structure of the NP is summarised in section 5.6. Finally, section 5.7 describes nominal conjunction and disjunction.

5.1. Overview: The structure of NPs

Non-possessive NPs are illustrated in (1)-(6). A possessed NPs is illustrated in (7). In non-possessed NPs, the modifier follows the head, in possessed NPs

the modifier precedes the head. Adnominal demonstratives occur at the end of the NP, as illustrated in (6) (see section 5.4 and 5.6 below). Example (7) and (12) show that possessor marking prefixes are identical to object marking prefixes.

- (1) N + N

Wat her
tree bottom
'Bottom of a tree'

- (2) N + Adjective

Xaf uwaad
fish big
'[A] big fish'

- (3) N + Numeral

War bag raq
stone seed two
'Two pebbles/small stones'

- (4) N + Quantifier

Uy dum
person many
'Many people'

- (5) N + Plural word

Haliwai non
black.ant PL
'Black ants'

- (6) N + Demonstrative

In a
it.thing PROX
'This thing'

(7) N_{Possessor} + N_{Possessed}

Uy *ga-yaf*
 person 3s-house
 ‘Someone’s house’ (lit. ‘A person’s house’)

In the next section the possessive NPs are described in more detail, and sections 5.3-5.5 present more details on the structure of non-possessive NPs.

5.2. Adnominal possession

The possessor in a possessed NP precedes the possessee. The possessor can be a lexical noun or a pronoun, and is always crossreferenced on the possessed noun by a prefix, as illustrated in (7) above and (8)-(10) below. Free possessor pronouns may be used to emphasize the possessor and occur in addition to the possessor prefix.

(8) *Gi'in* *gi-tarau*
 they.elsewhere² 3p-language
 ‘Their (elsewhere) language’

(9) *Yivar* *ga-manak*
 dog 3s-master
 ‘The dog’s master’

(10) *Rai* *g-esan* *ga-yaman*
 king 3s-place 3s-throne
 ‘The king’s palace’ (lit. The king’s throne’s place)

The forms and functions of the possessor prefixes are further discussed in section 5.2.1. Section 5.2.2 discusses how they are used in the marking of alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. Section 5.2.3 provides more details about how the possessor prefixes and pronouns may be combined in a NP.

5.2.1. Possessor-marking prefixes

The possessor prefixes mark alienable and inalienable possession. The paradigm in (11) shows that the prefix has two allomorphs: a form with a vowel, and a consonantal form. The consonantal form attaches to vowel-initial roots.

(11) Possessor marking prefixes

1s	<i>n(a)-</i>
2s	<i>ha)-</i>
3s	<i>g(a)-, a-</i>
1p.exclusive	<i>n(i)-</i>
1p.inclusive	<i>p(i)-</i>
2p	<i>y(i)-</i>
3p	<i>g(i)-, a-, ga-</i>
Distributive	<i>ta-</i>

The possessor prefixes are formally identical to the prefixes that mark grammatical objects. This is illustrated in (12). In *ga-kamadal* ‘his belt’ the prefix *ga-* refers to the possessor, in *ga-buxun* ‘guard for him’ to an object.

- (12) *Ee, rai ga-kamadal.*
 EXCL king 3s-belt
 ‘Well, [that’s] the king’s belt.’

Rai na-soi ga-kamadal ga-box-an tas.
 king 1s-order 3s-belt 3s-guard-REAL stand
 The king ordered me to guard his belt for him’

For first and second persons the possessor is usually encoded by only a prefix, as in (13) and (14). Third person possessors allow more variation and are often expressed with an additional possessor pronoun or a lexical noun. This has the function of making the possessor more explicit, especially when it is plural, compare (15a,b).

- (13) *Ha-qavif*
 2s-goat
 ‘Your goat(s)’

- (14) *Pi pi-karian i er a gula’ sin.*
 we 1pi-work FORTHC make 3s finish just
 ‘We just finish our work here first’

- (15) a. *Ga-yaf*
 3s-house
 ‘His/her/their house’

- b. *Iman ga-yaf*
 they 3s-house
 ‘Their house’

In everyday speech, the third person prefixes *a-* and *ga-* can be used interchangeably, as in (16). In a single sentence, on the same lexeme, either forms may be used: *manak* ‘master’ in (17) has both *a-* and *ga-*.

- (16) a. *A-xala’*
 3s-mother
 ‘His/her/their mother’

- b. *Ga-xala’*
 3s-mother
 ‘His/her/their mother’

- (17) *Yivar waal a xer-an a-manak ga’an he’en ma*
 dog that 3s shout-REAL 3s-master 3s close come
 ‘That dog yells coming close to his master’

a xer-an ta ga-manak una’ g-om ga-i ba,...
 3s shout-REAL TOP 3s-master also 3s-inside 3s-sick SEQ
 ‘yells so that his master also has pity,...’

Although *a-* and *ga-* have singular referents, they may also refer to plurals: in running texts, *ga-* and *a-* occur in free variation with *gi-*, which is an exclusively plural prefix. It seems that *gi-* is on its way to becoming obsolete, and is being replaced with *a-* or *ga-*. (18) illustrates a plural possessor coded by *a-*, (19) one coded by *gi-* (the latter is an elicited sentence). Additional examples illustrating the contrast between *gi-* and *ga-* are (40a-b) and (41a-b).

- (18) *Iman i’in ma perat ta pin a-yaf ma*
 they they.elsewhere come tie TOP hold 3s-house come
 ‘They tie [it] up and bring it up to their house’

mir-an mulai boqai dau-an laxu’u.
 ascend-REAL begin cut.up cook-REAL that.one.there
 and start to cut [it] up and cook it’

- (19) *Gi’in gi-qar wan le maan?*
 they 3p-rice be or NEG
 ‘Do they have rice or not?’

If *a-* or *ga-* are used in their third person function only, i.e., without encoding number, plural and singular referents can be distinguished by an adding a lexical noun, or the pronoun *iman* ‘they’, as in (15b) above.

However, *a-* and *ga-* have not yet lost their number coding properties entirely: speakers still recognize that the plural use of these forms is “not how it actually should be”. The glosses of *a-* and *ga-* will therefore be ‘3s’, rather than ‘3’.

5.2.2. Alienable and inalienable possession

In alienable possession the possessor prefix is optional; in inalienable possession it is obligatory. Inalienably and alienably possessed nouns also use different pronouns to emphasize their possessor: short possessor pronouns emphasize inalienables, long ones emphasize alienables.

In fact, Teiwa speakers only recognise inalienable nouns as possible words when they occur with a possessor prefix. For example, when I went through the word list and read out the inalienable noun *-tan* ‘hand’, the four consultants present insisted that there was no word *tan* in their language. Only with a possessive prefix, for example, *na-tan* ‘1s-hand’, ‘my hand’, did they recognise the word. This implies that, when inalienable nouns are used out of context and lack a possessor referent (as in citations, lists, or in general statements) they must occur with a ‘default’ possessive prefix. The default possessive prefix is the first plural generic form *ta-* ‘distributive’, or the third person singular prefix *ga-*.

I shall now first describe the possession of alienable nouns, followed by the possession of inalienable nouns. Alienable nouns that are possessed take a pronominal prefix marking their possessor, which can be nominal or pronominal. Free possessor pronouns always combine with a possessive prefix on the possessed noun. Alienable nouns take a prefix from the possessive paradigm given in (20). While the inalienable nouns can only occur with possessive prefixes (cf. above), the alienable nouns (like *yaf* in (20)) are free forms that can also be used in non-possessed contexts.

(20) *yaf* ‘house’ [+alienable]

1s	<i>na-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘my house’
2s	<i>ha-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘your house’
3s	<i>ga-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘his/her house’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘our (excl) house’
1p.inclusive	<i>pi-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘our (incl) house’
2p	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘your (pl) house’

3p	<i>gi-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘their house’
distributive	<i>ta-</i>	<i>yaf</i>	‘our (generic)/ everyone’s house(s)’

Identical paradigms apply to other alienable nouns, e.g. the ones in (21). Semantic distinctions regarding animacy, edibility or countability are irrelevant for the use of the possessor prefix.

(21)	<i>raax</i>	‘rice (as crop)’	[+ alienable, -animate, +edible, -countable]
	<i>saxa</i>	‘chicken’	[+ alienable, +animate, +edible, +countable]
	<i>diku</i>	‘trousers’	[+ alienable, -animate, -edible, +countable]

Teiwa has two types of inalienable nouns: body part nouns and kinship terms. Both types have an obligatory possessor prefix, that is, they never occur in non-possessed contexts. This is indicated by the hyphen preceding the noun in the paradigms below. The paradigm in (22) illustrates a consonant-initial body part noun. Identical paradigms are used for other consonant-initial body part nouns, e.g. those in (23):

(22) *-tan* ‘hand’ [-alienable, body part]

1s	<i>na</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘my hand’
2s	<i>ha</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘your hand’
3s	<i>ga</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘his/her hand’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘our (excl) hands’
1p.inclusive	<i>pi</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘our (incl) hands’
2p	<i>yi</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘your (pl) hands’
3p	<i>gi</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘their hands’
distributive	<i>ta</i>	<i>-tan</i>	‘our (generic) hands, everyone’s hands’

(23) Consonant-initial body part nouns

<i>-fat</i>	‘foot, leg’
<i>-fat kuu</i>	‘knee’ (lit. leg joint)
<i>-xaai</i>	‘lungs’
<i>-vinbui</i>	‘nose’
<i>-ruxui</i>	‘intestines, guts’
<i>-to</i>	‘stomach’
<i>-fan baar</i>	‘face’

Vowel-initial body part nouns take the consonantal form of the possessor prefix, as illustrated in (24). The same paradigm is used for other vowel-initial body part nouns, for example those in (25).

(24) *-o'on* 'head' [-alienable, body part]

1s	<i>n</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'my head'
2s	<i>h</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'your head'
3s	<i>g</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'his/her head'
1p.exclusive	<i>n</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'our (excl) heads'
1p.inclusive	<i>p</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'our (incl) heads'
2p	<i>y</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'your (pl) heads'
3p	<i>g</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'their (pl) heads'
distributive	<i>t</i>	<i>-o'on</i>	'our / (every)one's head'

(25) Vowel-initial body part nouns

<i>-o'on wa'</i>	'hair' (lit. head leaf)
<i>-aa'</i>	'mouth'
<i>-et</i>	'eye'
<i>-et bag</i>	'eyeball' (lit. eye seed)
<i>-or</i>	'tail'
<i>-or to'oi</i>	'navel'
<i>-uuk</i>	'heart'
<i>-om</i>	'liver'

Some body part nouns show idiosyncrasies in their possessive paradigm. An example is (26), which uses the consonantal prefix in most forms, but in the 1st plural exclusive, and the 3rd plural, a full prefix is used.

(26) *-uar wa'* [u`war `wa?] 'ear'

			<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1s	<i>n</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[nuwar wa?] *[na?ar wa?] *[nar wa?]	'my ear(s)'
2s	<i>h</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[huwar wa?]	'your ear(s)'
3s	<i>g</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[guwar wa?]	'his/her ear(s)'
1p.exclusive	<i>ni</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[niwar wa?], *[nuwar wa?]	'our (excl) ear(s)'
1p.inclusive	<i>p</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[puwar wa?]	'our (incl) ear(s)'
2p	<i>y</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[juwar wa?]	'your (pl) ears'
3p	<i>gi</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[giwar wa?], *[guwar wa?]	'their ears'
distributive	<i>t</i>	<i>-uar wa'</i>	[tuwar wa?]	'our/(every)one's ears'

The explanation for this exceptional pattern appears to be the avoidance of homophony. Blindly attaching the consonantal prefix to all the forms would result in homophonous forms for the 1st singular and 1st plural exclusive, and for the 3rd person singular and plural referents.

Like body part nouns, kinship terms have an obligatory possessive prefix, so that they belong to the class of inalienable nouns. Consonant-initial alienable nouns use the full prefix, as illustrated in (27). Vowel-initial forms use consonantal prefixes, as shown in (28) and (29).

(27) *-xala* ‘mother’ [-alienable, family relation]

1s	<i>na</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘my mother’
2s	<i>ha</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘your mother’
3s	<i>ga</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘his/her mother’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘our (exc) mother’
1p.inclusive	<i>pi</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘our (inc) mother’
2p	<i>yi</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘your (pl) mother’
3p	<i>gi</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘their mother’
distributive	<i>ta</i>	<i>-xala</i>	‘our mother, (every)one’s mother’

Two additional examples of words with similar paradigms are *-misi* ‘husband’ and *-nawar* [na`war] ‘grandchild’.

The kinship terms in (28) and (29) are vowel-initial, and take the consonantal prefix except when that results in homophonous forms. Homophony is avoided by using the full prefix for the 1pexclusive and 3p form (cf. the discussion of *uar wa*’ in (26) above).

(28) *-oma* ‘father’

			<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1s	<i>n</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[nomaʔ]	‘my father’
2s	<i>h</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[homaʔ]	‘your father’
3s	<i>g</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[gomaʔ]	‘his/her father’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[nimaʔ] *[nomaʔ]	‘our (exc) father’
1p.inclusive	<i>p</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[pomaʔ]	‘our (inc) father’
2p	<i>y</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[jomaʔ]	‘your father’
3p	<i>gi</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[gimaʔ] *[gomaʔ]	‘their father’
distributive	<i>t</i>	<i>-oma</i>	[tomaʔ]	‘our/(every)one’s father’

(29) *-oqai* ‘child’

			<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1s	<i>n</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[noqai]	‘my child’
2s	<i>h</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[hoqai]	‘your child’
3s	<i>g</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[goqai]	‘his/her child’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[niqai]*[noqai]	‘our (exc) child’
1p.inclusive	<i>p</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[poqai]	‘our (inc) child’
2p	<i>y</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[yoqai]	‘your (pl) child’
3p	<i>gi</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[giqai] [goqai]	‘their child’
distributive	<i>t</i>	<i>-oqai</i>	[toqai]	‘our/(every)one’s child(ren)’

Speakers pointed out to me that not all kinship nouns are classified as inalienable. The noun *emaq* ‘wife’, for example, has an optional prefix, and thus classifies as alienable. In (30) the possessive paradigm of *emaq* is given. Note that, although *emaq* is vowel-initial, the prefix chosen is not the consonantal form. It seems that consonantal prefixes occur with inalienable nouns, and not with alienable ones. However, my corpus does not contain possessed vowel-initial alienable nouns, so it remains to be investigated whether this is a tendency or a categorical distinction between the two noun classes.

(30) *emaq* ‘wife’

			<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1s	<i>na-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[naemaq] *[nemaq]	‘my wife’
2s	<i>ha-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[haemaq] *[emaq]	‘your wife’
3s	<i>ga-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[gaemaq] *[gemaq]	‘his wife’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[niemaq] *[nemaq]	‘our (exc) wives’
1p.inclusive	<i>pi-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[piemaq] *[pemaq]	‘our (inc) wives’
2p	<i>yi-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[jiemaq] *[yemaq]	‘your (pl) wife’
3p	<i>gi-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[giemaq] *[gemaq]	‘their wives’
distributive	<i>ta-</i>	<i>emaq</i>	[taemaq] *[temaq]	‘our/(every)one’s wife(s)’

One inalienable noun must be especially mentioned here: the noun *-om* ‘inside’. When this noun refers to the inside of people it may be translated as ‘inside’, ‘feelings’, ‘thoughts’ or ‘opinion’. It occurs in phrasal expressions for bodily and cognitive experiences/processes (Ch. 3, section 3.3.3). In the following paradigm, *-om* has a possessor prefix as well as a free possessor pronoun, but the free pronoun is optional.

(31) *-om* ‘inside’

1s	<i>na</i>	<i>n-om</i>	‘my inside/feelings’
2s	<i>ha</i>	<i>h-om</i>	‘your inside/feelings’
3s	<i>ga</i>	<i>g-om</i>	‘his inside/feelings’
1p.exclusive	<i>ni</i>	<i>n-om</i>	‘our (exc) inside/feelings’
1p.inclusive	<i>pi</i>	<i>p-om</i>	‘our (inc) inside/feelings’
2p	<i>yi</i>	<i>y-om</i>	‘your inside/feelings’
3p	<i>gi</i>	<i>g-om</i>	‘their inside/feelings’
distributive	<i>ta</i>	<i>t-om</i>	‘our/(every)one’s inside/feelings’

(32) *Na n-om ga-regan...*
1s 1s-inside 3s-ask
‘I think’ (lit. ‘I ask my inside’)

5.2.3. Possessive pronouns

Apart from possessive prefixes, Teiwa also has free possessive pronouns – in both long and short forms. These are independent pronouns that may co-occur with the possessive prefixes. They function to emphasize the possessor, as described in 2.3.1.

Teiwa has an additional set of pronouns that do not add emphasis, but function as possessive nominal predicates (as in ‘it is mine’) or as nominal attributes. These forms are morphologically complex, and consist of a possessive prefix attached to the nominal root *-x* ‘possession’. They are described in section 5.2.3.2.

5.2.3.1. *Free possessive pronouns*

The free possessive pronouns come in long and short forms, as given in (33). They function to emphasize the possessor, and double the possessor prefix on the noun. The short pronoun paradigm is a subset of the forms used as prefixes, see (11) above. The short pronoun can only be used to emphasize an inalienably possessed noun. Alienable possessed nouns combine with a long pronoun for emphasis.

(33) Possessor pronouns: long and short

	Long	Short
1s	<i>na'an</i>	<i>na</i>
2s	<i>ha'an</i>	<i>ha</i>
3s	<i>a'an</i>	<i>a</i>
1p.exclusive	<i>ni'in</i>	<i>ni</i>
1p.inclusive	<i>pi'in</i>	<i>pi</i>
2p	<i>yi'in</i>	<i>yi</i>
3p	<i>iman</i>	-
3p.elsewhere	<i>gi'in</i>	-
distributive ³	<i>ta'an</i>	<i>ta</i>

The long possessor pronouns differ from the subject pronouns in the third person plural elsewhere form: possessor *gi'in* vs subject *i'in*. They differ from the object pronouns in the third person singular: possessor *a'an* vs object *ga'an*. (In Ch. 3, section 3.2.1 all three paradigms are given.) So the 3sg pronoun *a'an* encodes 3sg possessors and subjects, but not objects; while the 3pl.elsewhere *gi'in* encodes possessors and objects, but not subjects (see Ch. 3, section 3.2.1; Ch. 4, section 4.2.1-4.2.2).

While there are two long pronouns for the 3pl possessor (*iman*, *gi'in*), there is no short one. *Iman* marks subjects, objects and possessors and is translatable as 'they/them/their (as a group)'. *Gi'in* marks objects and possessors outside the speech location. It is translatable as 'them/their (elsewhere)'. *Gi'in* only marks objects and possessors, the corresponding subject pronoun is *i'in* 'they (elsewhere)'. Of the two pronouns *iman* and *gi'in*, *gi'in* has the most specific reading. This is illustrated in (34) and (35).

- (34) a. *Iman gi-qar / ga-qar wan le maan?*
 they 3p- rice / 3s-rice be or NEG
 'Do they have rice?' (Lit. Does their rice exist or not?)
- b. *Gi'in gi-qar wan le maan?*
 they.elsewhere 3p-rice wan le NEG
 'Do they (elsewhere) have rice?' (e.g. people in other building)
- (35) a. *Iman gi-tarau* b. *Gi-tarau*
 they 3p-language 3p-language
 'Their language' 'Their language'

- c. *Gi'in* *gi-tarau*
 they.elsewhere 3p-language
 'The language of people elsewhere'

The third person singular pronoun *a'an* encodes possessors and subjects. Its possessor function is illustrated in (36a-b).

- (36) a. *A'an ga-qar* b. *Ga-qar*
 he 3s-rice 3s-rice
 'His rice' 'His rice'
- c.* *A'an qar* d.* *Qar a'an*
 he rice rice he

The third person singular object pronoun *ga'an* cannot encode possessors. It expresses objects, and also has a (derived) function as a demonstrative pronoun. This is illustrated in (37). (See Ch. 3, section 3.6.2).

- (37) a. *Ga'an qar*
 3s rice
 'That [is] rice' (Not good for: 'His rice').
- b. *Qar ga'an*
 rice 3s
 'That rice' (Not good for: 'His rice')

As mentioned above, free possessor pronouns may be used to emphasize the possessors. This is illustrated for the alienable noun *qar* 'cooked rice, food' in (38)-(40). The possessor pronoun is grammatically optional (compare the (a-b) examples), and precedes the possessed item (see the (c) examples). The possessor cannot be expressed with a free pronoun only (see the (d-e) examples).

- (38) a. *Na'an na-qar* b. *Na-qar* c.* *Na-qar na'an*
 I 1s-rice 1s-rice 1s-rice I
 'My rice' 'My rice'
- d.* *Na'an qar* e.* *Qar na'an*
 I rice rice I
- (39) a. *Ha'an ha-qar* b. *Ha-qar*
 you 2s-rice 2s-rice
 'Your rice' 'Your rice'

- c. * *Ha'an qar* d.* *Qar ha'an*
 you rice rice you
- (40) a. *Iman gi-qar* b. *Gi-qar*
 they 3p-rice 3p-rice
 'Their rice' 'Their rice'
- c. * *Iman qar* d. * *Qar iman*
 they rice rice they
- e. * *Gi'in qar* f. * *Qar gi'in*
 they.elsewhere rice rice they.elsewhere

In (41), the pronoun *iman* functions to disambiguate the singular/plural interpretation of *ga-* in (41a) (see section 5.2.1).

- (41) a. *Iman ga-qar* b. *Ga-qar*
 they 3s-rice 3s-rice
 'Their rice' 'Their/his/her rice'

Inalienably possessed nouns use the short pronoun to emphasize the possessor. This is illustrated for *-oqai* 'child' in (42) and (43). The possessor of inalienable nouns cannot be marked with a long pronoun, as (43d-e) show.

- (42) *Na n-oqai ga'an i!*
 I 1s-child 3s TOP
 'Oh this child of mine!' (Exclamation expressing irritation)
- (43) a. *N-oqai* b. *Na n-oqai*
 1s-child I 1s-child
 'My child' 'My child'
- d. * *Na'an n-oqai* e.* *N-oqai na'an*
 I 1s-child 1s-child I

Body part nouns like *-fat* 'foot, leg' have identical possessor marking properties as kin terms and are not discussed separately here.

5.2.3.2. *Derived possessive pronouns*

In addition to the possessor pronouns that function to emphasize the possessor (section 5.2.3.1), Teiwa has a set of morphologically derived possessive pronouns. They are given in (44). These pronominal possessor forms are derived from the nominal base *-x* ‘possession’ with a prefix crossreferencing the possessor.

(44) Derived possessive pronouns

<i>na-x</i>	‘mine’	lit. ‘my possession’
<i>ha-x</i>	‘yours’	lit. ‘your possession’
<i>ga-x</i>	‘his/hers’	lit. ‘his/her/its possession’
<i>ni-x</i>	‘ours’	lit. ‘our (excl) possession’
<i>pi-x</i>	‘ours’	lit. ‘our (incl) possession’
<i>yi-x</i>	‘yours’ (pl)	lit. ‘your (pl) possession’
<i>gi-x</i>	‘theirs’	lit. ‘their possession’

Evidence that the forms based on *-x* are indeed nominal is presented in (45)-(47), where they function as (part of) nominal arguments of verbs. In (45), *kri u ga-x* ‘that respected old man’s advice’ is the nominal object of *mar* ‘follow’, and is crossreferenced on the verb with the prefix *ga-*. In (46), *na-x* ‘my possession’ is the nominal subject of the adjectival predicate *qau* ‘good’. In (47), *ha-x* ‘yours’ is the object of *moxodan* ‘drop’ (and is moved to clause-initial position).

(45) *Iman una’ kri u ga-x ga-mar.*
 they also respected.old.man DIST 3s-possession 3s-follow
 ‘So they followed that respected old man’s [advice]’

(46) *N-ax qau.*
 1s-possession good
 ‘I’m satisfied’ / ‘I have enough’ (Lit. ‘Mine [is] good’)

(47) *Jadi ha ixa’a ma warax, na wrer-an mir,*
 so (IND) 2s here come wait 1s climb-REAL go.up
 ‘So you wait here, I’ll climb [the tree],

ha-x insi na moxod-an ma ha-mian.
2s-possession maybe 1s drop-REAL come 2s-put.at
 yours [i.e. your bananas] I’ll drop for you’

The possessed forms with *-x* can be used as possessive (nominal) predicates, as in (48), where *na-x* ‘mine’ is the nominal predicate:

- (48) *Meet* *ga'an* *na-x*
 betel.vine 3s 1s-possession
 ‘That betel vine [is] mine’

They can also combine with a nominal possessor, as in (45) above, and (49a) below, where *ga-x* ‘his’ is the possessed nominal head; compare with the possessed head *ga-yaf* ‘his house’ in (49b).

- (49) a. *Kri* *John* *ga-x*
 Mr John 3s-possession
 ‘Mr John’s’ [advice, possession] is good
- b. *Kri* *John* *ga-yaf*
 Mr John 3s-house
 ‘Mr John’s house’

In (50) some possessed nominal predicates are given, to demonstrate the semantic contrast between a nominal predicate consisting of an NP with a possessed noun, as in (50a-b), and one with a nominal predicate consisting of a derived possessive pronoun with *-x*, as in (50c).

- (50) a. *Ga'an* *ha-kon*.
 3s 2s-shirt
 ‘That [is] your shirt’
- b. *Kon* *ga'an* *ha-kon*
 shirt 3s 2s-shirt
 ‘That shirt [is] your shirt’
- c. *Kon* *ga'an* *ha-x*
 shirt 3s 2s-possession
 ‘That shirt is yours’

Possessive pronouns derived from *-x* ‘possession’ often function as nominal predicates following a demonstrative focus constituent with the marker *la*, as in (51):

(51)	<i>xu'u la na-x</i>	that FOC 1s-possession	'that [is] mine'
	<i>xu'u la ha-x</i>	that FOC 2s-possession	'that [is] yours'
	<i>xu'u la ga-x</i>	that FOC 3s-possession	'that [is] his'
	<i>xu'u la ni-x</i>	that FOC 1pe-possession	'that [is] ours (excl)'
	<i>xu'u la pi-x</i>	that FOC 1pi-possession	'that [is] ours (incl)'
	<i>xu'u la yi-x</i>	that FOC 2p-possession	'that [is] yours (pl)'
	<i>xu'u la gi-x</i>	that FOC 3p-possession	'that [is] theirs'

In sum, Teiwa marks possession with possessive prefixes. Alienable nouns can occur in contexts where they are not possessed, while inalienable nouns are always obligatorily possessed and cannot occur without a possessive prefix. Free pronouns emphasize or disambiguate possessors (long forms for alienables, short forms for inalienables). A set of morphologically derived nominals -x 'possession' function as possessive pronouns.

5.2.3.3. *The possessive pronoun li'in 'their'*

Li'in is a possessive pronoun whose function is to encode that the referent of the possessor NP is plural. *Li'in* can only be used as an adnominal modifier in a possessor NP. Illustrations are (52a-b):

- (52) a. *Uy ga-yaf*
 person 3s-house
 'A person's house, someone's house'
- b. *Uy li'in ga-yaf*
 person their 3s-house
 'People's house(s)'

The distributional properties of *li'in* differ from the plural possessive pronouns *iman* and *gi'in* (section 5.2.3.1) since the latter are independent pronouns that are coreferential to the possessor prefix, while *li'in* cannot be used independently, but only has a adnominal modifier function. This is shown in (53a-b). The contrast between (52b) and (52c) also illustrates the different distribution of *iman* and *li'in*.

- (53) a. *Iman / gi'in ga-yaf*
 they / they 3s-house
 'Their house(s)'

b. * *Li'in* *ga-yaf*
 their 3s-house
 Intended reading: 'Their house(s)'

c. * *Uy* *iman* *ga-yaf*
 person they 3s-house

Li'in is also different from the derived possessive pronoun *gi-x* (section 5.2.3.2) that can also be used as independent pronoun and as nominal predicates, while *li'in* is an adnominal modifier.

The distributional properties of *li'in* are comparable to those of other post-nominal modifiers such as the plural word *non*, illustrated in (54) (see Ch. 3, section 3.9, and section 5.5.2 below). *Non* expresses the plurality of the preceding noun, while *li'in* marks the preceding noun as a plural possessor, compare (54) with (52b).

(54) [*Uy non*] *ga-yaf*
 person PL 3s-house
 'Several people's house(s)'

A possessor NP that contains *li'in* can be used independently, and the possessee can remain implied/unexpressed, as illustrated in (55)-(56):

(55) *Marten Ribu li'in a...*
 Marten Ribu their PROX
 'those of Marten Ribu', 'the group belonging to Marten Ribu'

(56) ...*ga-xala'* *li'in* *a* *wa:...*
 3s-mother their 3s say
 ...their mum said:...

If the referent of the possessor is plural, *li'in* or *iman* can be used, as shown in (57). However, both examples have different coreference relations: in (57a) the possessor prefix refers to 'your parents', in (57b) the possessor prefix refers to 'they'.

(57) a. ...[*ha-xala' h-oma' li'in*]_i *ga*₁-*hafan* *ga'an*
 2s-mother 2s-father their 3s-village 3s
 '...that village of your (sg) parents'

- b. ...[*ha-xala' h-oma'*] *iman_j ga_j-hafan ga'an*
 2s-mother 2s-father they 3s-village 3s
 '...your (sg) parents, that village of theirs'

5.2.4. Questioning possession

Yilag 'who' questions human referents: subjects, objects or possessors (Ch. 8, section 8.2.4.1). When it questions ownership, *yilag* is the possessor of an NP, as illustrated in (34).

- (58) *Yilag ga-kon / g-oqai / ga-yivar?*
 who 3s-shirt 3s-child 3s-dog
 'Whose shirt / child / dog?'

A possessed NP with *yilag* may be marked as sentence focus with *la*, as illustrated in (59), where the focus constituent questions the object of *tir-an* 'chase-REAL'.

- (59) *Yilag g-oqai la wad ge'ef yivar ga-tir-an xu'u?*
 who 3s-child FOC day just.now dog 3s-chase-REAL that
 'Whose child did that dog chase yesterday?'

More discussion on questions about possession is given in Ch. 6, section 6.7; Ch. 8, section 8.2.

5.3. Nominal attributes

In this section I describe how adjectives, nouns and derived nominals function to modify NPs. Demonstratives and quantifiers are discussed in section 5.4 and 5.5 below.

5.3.1. Adjectives as nominal attributes

A noun can be modified by a simple (underived) adjective. The head noun occurs in initial position, and may be a simple noun, as in (60), a nominal compound, as in (61),⁴ or a possessed noun, as in (62).

(60) *Mauqubar qa'an*
 frog black
 'A black frog'

(61) [*Xai tag*] *kariman*
 passenger boat small
 'A small ferry' (lit. 'small passenger boat')

(62) *Ni-kon ii' wan yed.*
 1pe-shirt red be not.yet
 'We don't have (a) red shirt(s) yet' (Lit. 'Our red shirt(s) are not yet')

NPs containing a noun and an adjective can modify another noun, as illustrated in (63).

(63) [*Xat uwaad*] *her*
 k.o.tree big stem
 'the stem of a big Xat tree'

However, such constructions are extremely rare in the corpus (see also Ch. 3, section 3.4). Nouns with adjectival attributes can be further modified by numerals and demonstratives:

(64) *Quaf yas nuk ga'an a hafan me'...*
 grandmother bad one 3s 3s village be.in
 'That one poor grandmother stayed in the village...'

5.3.2. Derived nominals as nominal attributes

Apart from being modified by simple adjectives, a noun can also take a morphologically derived nominal as its attribute. Such derived nominal attributes are formed by attaching the 3rd sg possessor prefix *ga-* to adjectives (68b-c), adverbs (65) and (66b), question words (66a), verbs (67), pronouns, (69), or locational nouns (71) (see also Ch. 3, section 3.1.3).

(65) *Uy ga-tur*
 person 3s-former
 ‘Person / people of former days’

(66) a. *Bai ga-ta’a la mat?* b. *Bai ga-afo*
 pig 3s-where FOC take pig 3s-over there
 ‘Get which pig?’ ‘The pig over there’

(67) ...[*uy ga-aria-n u*]NP
 person 3s-arrive-REAL DIST
 ‘...[among] those people arriving

g-unpaxai g-unpaxai sampai gula’.
 3s-divide 3s-divide till (IND) finish
 [it] was divided and divided till [it was] finished.’

In adjective *pug* ‘round’ in (68a) is the base for the nominalisation *ga-pug* ‘a/the round one’ in (68b). This nominalised form modifies another noun in (68c). An NP like (68c) refers to the intersection of two sets of entities (stones and round objects). The speaker refers to a round stone out of a pile of stones. NPs like these contrast with constructions where the nominal referent is focussed, as in (68d).

(68) a. *War pug*
 stone round
 ‘(A) round stone’

b. *Ga-pug*
 3s-round
 ‘A/the round one’

c. *War ga-pug*
 stone 3s-round
 ‘A/the round one of the stones’ [of various shapes]

- d. *War la pug*
 stone FOC round
 ‘A/the stone that is round’

An NP can contain more than one *ga-* nominalisation. In (69) the nominalisations *ga-ma-yerig* and *ga-ga’an* function as attributes of *ga-emaq* ‘his wife’.

- (69) ...*tapi* [[[*ga-emaq ga-ma-yerig*]
 but (IND) 3s-wife 3s-come-three
 ‘But that third wife of his

ga-ga’an] *u*] NP *baq haraq...*
 3s-3s DIST body two
 was pregnant...’ (Lit. ... (was) two bodies).

In sum, base words of various word classes may be nominalised with *ga-*. As nominalised forms, they can function as attributes within NPs. Adjectives can function as nominal attributes in both underived and nominalised form, but verbs and adverbs must always be nominalised first before they can modify a noun in an NP.

5.3.3. Locational nouns as nominal attributes

Lacking adpositions, Teiwa makes extensive use of locational nouns to denote locations. Examples of such nouns include *wanan* ‘that side’, *yuun* ‘down/below’, *tag* ‘up’, *muka* ‘front’ (from BI *muka* ‘face, front’), *fan* ‘front’, *siban* ‘behind’, *awan* ‘far’, *luxun* ‘high’ *tag* ‘up’, and the inalienable noun *gom* ‘3-inside’. Locational nouns are categorised as nouns because they can function as the (locational) argument of a verb such as *me* ‘be.in’, as illustrated in (2) (for discussion of location verbs, see also Ch. 3, section 3.3.2).

- (70) *Qavif un wanan me*.
 goat PROG that.side be.in
 ‘Goat is [standing at] that side’

Locational nouns can head NPs, as shown in (71). In this clause, the locational NP *meja ga-wanan* ‘the table’s side’ functions as the predicate, and *muud* ‘lemon’ is the subject. In the locational NP, the initial noun *meja* is

grammatically the possessor of the locational noun and marked with *ga-* on that noun. The locational noun *gawanān* is the head of the possessive NP.

- (71) *Muud un [meja ga-wanan]_{NP}*
 lemon PROG table 3s-that.side
 ‘The lemon [is] beside the table’ (lit. ‘...[is at] the table’s side’)

A locational noun does not need to appear with a possessor, see (70). In (72) and (73) the loan word *muka* ‘front’ is used as locational noun. In (72a) it combines with a possessive prefix and the possessor *Lius*, in (73) it has only the possessor prefix.

- (72) *Tami un Lius ga-muka ma yia.*
 tamarind PROG Lius 3s-front (IND) come put
 ‘The tamarind is in front of Lius’

- (73) *Tami un ga-muka ma yia.*
 tamarind PROG 3s-front (IND) come put
 ‘The tamarind is in front of him’

The following excerpt illustrates how locational nouns express locations in texts:

- (74) *Gi gi gi ta bif waal gi*
 go go go TOP small.child that.mentioned go
 ‘Go go go, that small child runs away,
- war uwaad nuk ga-he’en ma tas,*
 stone big one 3s-close come stand
 stands close to a big rock,
- ga-luxun ma tas, ga-luxun ma tas-an,*
3s-high come stand 3s-high come stand-REAL
 stands on top of it, standing on top of it,
- laxu’u si ki’ yip di ga-mar pati.*
 that.one.there SIM eagle also only 3s-follow PROG
 the eagle just keeps on following him’

In this excerpt, *ga-he’en* is a nominalisation; it has a possessive prefix. However, in other contexts, *he’en* ‘close’ may be used as a verb, and take an object prefix. The same applies to the word *luxun*, as is clear from the minimal

pairs in (75) and (76) that were spontaneously provided by speakers explaining how the different prefixes related to a difference in meaning. In the (a) examples, the prefix *ga-* is a possessive prefix, marking the relation between “Ground” and location, in the (b) examples *ge-* cross-references the inanimate object of a verb (see also Ch. 4, section 4.4.)

- (75) a. *Meja ga-luxun*
table (IND) 3s-high
'On top of the table'
- b. *Meja ge-luxun g-er-an.*
table (IND) 3s-high 3s-make-REAL
'Lift up the table'
- (76) a. *Hafan ga-luxun*
village 3s-high
'Above/over the village'
- b. *Ha-fan ge-luxun.*
2s-face 3s-high
'Lift up your face!' / 'Look up!'

In other words, it is possible that (some of) the items classified here as locational ‘nouns’ are in fact multifunctional items that can be used as either nouns or verbs, depending on the prefix they take. This needs further investigation.

5.4. Demonstratives as nominal determiners

Teiwa has three adnominal demonstratives: *u* ‘Distal’, *a* ‘Proximate’, and *i* ‘Forthcoming’ (see Ch. 3, section 3.6.1). The forms *u* and *a* function to determine the location of nominal entities in space and time as either distal or proximate with respect to the speaker. The demonstrative *i* ‘Forthc(oming)’ refers to entities in forthcoming events in the discourse. Examples are in (77).

- (77) a. *Saxa' qa'an u*
chicken black DIST
- ma pin suk-an gula'...*
come hold exit.come.down-REAL finish
'[He] came down holding that black chicken...'

- b. *Saxa' qa'an a*
 chicken black PROX

ma pin suk-an gula'...
 come hold exit.come.down-REAL finish
 '[He] came down holding that this chicken...'

- c. *Saxa' qa'an i*
 chicken black FORTHC

ma pin suk-an gula'...
 come hold exit.come.down-REAL finish
 'It is this black chicken he came down holding...'

Phonologically, the adnominal demonstratives form one prosodic word with the word preceding them. If this word ends in a consonant, the demonstrative is simply attached to it, as in (78a-b). If it ends in a vowel, a glottal stop is inserted between the two vowels, as in (78c).

- (78) a. *In u yas* ('inu)_ω (yas)_ω
 it.thing DIST bad
 'That thing is bad'
- b. *In yas u* (in)_ω ('yasu)_ω
 it.thing bad DIST
 'That bad thing'
- c. *In qau u* (in)_ω ('qauʔu)_ω
 it.thing good DIST
 'That good thing'

Adnominal demonstratives can modify complex NPs, as in (79). These are both answers to questions and to make them sound less “blunt” they contain the conjunction *le* which functions as a ‘softening’ tag here (see section 5.7 below). In (79a) the speaker points to a bowl of rice on a table remote from him. In (79b) he points to a bowl he has in his hands.

- (79) a. *Maan, ni'in ni-qar u le.*
 NEG we.excl 1pe-rice DIST OR
 'No, that is our rice' [it is over there on the table]

- b. *Maan, ni'in ni-qar a le.*
 NEG we.excl 1pe-rice PROX or
 'No, this is our rice' [referring to a bowl of rice I have in my hand]

Teiwa demonstrative pronouns *xa'a* 'this, this one' and *xu'u* 'that, that one' contain the forms *a* and *u* which are used as adnominal demonstratives. They mark proximity *versus* distance from the speaker, as well as definiteness. Pronominal demonstratives replace noun (phrases), as in (80), and they can be used as nominal attributes, as illustrated in (81).

- (80) *Xa'a /xu'u mar!*
 this.one that.one take
 'Take this/that one!'

- (81) *Yivar xa'a / xu'u*
 dog this / that
 'This/that dog'

For additional discussion and examples, see Ch. 3, section 3.6.2. This concludes the description of the demonstratives. A more detailed investigation of their functions and mutual interaction is left for future research.

5.5. Nominal quantifiers and the plural word *non*

5.5.1. Numerals

Numerals follow the noun plus its attribute. The numeral *nuk* has grammaticalized in an indefinite marker. This is illustrated in examples (82)-(83). Example (84) contains *yerig* 'three'. A list of Teiwa numerals is given in Ch. 3, section 3.8.

- (82) *Uy nuk*
 person one
 'Someone'
- (83) *Quaf yas nuk*
 grandmother bad one
 'A poor grandmother'

- (84) *H-uar wa' gigala er-an ba baq yerig?*
 2s-ear why make-REAL SEQ hole three
 'Why are there three holes in your ear?' (Lit. 'Why make your ear then 3 holes?')

Numerals are within the scope of the demonstratives, as illustrated in (85) and (86). The forms *eran* and *eran waal* are used as demonstratives in (86)-(87) (Ch. 3, section 3.6.1; Ch. 9, section 9.6.3; Ch. 11, section 11.5) and have scope over the numerals.

- (85) *War nuk ga'an u,*
 day one 3s DIST
 'That one day,

iman aria' mis-an ta uri...
 they arrive sit-REAL TOP look.searchingly
 they came to investigate,...'

- (86) *Uy raq eran u*
 person two that.one DIST
 'Those two people just mentioned'

- (87) *Biar raq eran waal*
 children two that.one mentioned
 'Those two children just mentioned'

In (88) below and (85) above, the pronoun *ga'an* has a demonstrative function (Ch. 3, section 3.6.2).

- (88) ...*gi gi...* [*tan qui ga-siis nuk ga'an ga-sar.*
 go go k.o. rattan 3s-dry one 3s 3s-notice
 '...walking on...[they] noticed that (particular) kind of dry *tan qui*
 rattan'

Numerals can also modify pronouns, as in (89).

- (89) *Iman yerig ina...*
 they three eat
 'The three of them eat...'

Numerals can also occur as an NP without a noun (Ch. 3, section 3.8). This is illustrated in (90).

- (90) *Hale, Sibaribori eran ma taxa'*
 yes clan.name that.one come add
 'Yes, the clan Sibaribori added

wan si ta qaar nuk le.
 be SIM FOC ten one or
 eleven [chants to the inventory of traditional chants]

An NP can also contain an numeral and a demonstrative pronoun, as illustrated in x with *nuk xa'a* 'this one'. My corpus has no examples of NPs that contain a numeral and adnominal demonstrative (e.g. ?? *raq u* 'two DIST' for 'those two').

- (91) *A wa "in i in baru ba nuk xa'a*
 3s say it.thing FORTHC it.thing new(IND) SEQ one this
 He says "It's [a] new thing, this one"

5.5.2. The plural word *non* and adnominal quantifiers

Adnominal quantifiers follow the noun they quantify. (For a list of quantifiers and a discussion of their semantics, see Ch. 3, section 3.9). The quantifier with the most generic meaning is the plural word *non*. It indicates the plurality in the preceding noun, as in (92).

- (92) *Uyaq non un mis.*
 person PL PROG sit
 'Various people were sitting here'

Where *non* indicates plurality, *uyaq non* means 'various people'. In contrast, the quantifier *dum* expresses quantity, as illustrated in (93).

- (93) *Uyaq dum un mis.*
 person many PROG sit
 'Many people were sitting there'

A noun followed by the plural word *non* can be further modified by other quantifiers. An example is the possessive NP in (94), which has two more quantifiers:

- (94) *Qau ba yivar iraxau a-manak*
 good SEQ dog 3.DU 3s-master
 ‘So the dog and his master’

kal-kal-an yixei-n gula’
 Rdp-slow-REAL go.down-REAL finish
 slowly went down

bali si katak g-oqai non aga’ iga’
 see SIM frog 3s-child PL all many.unexpected
 [and] saw unexpectedly many little frogs

un mis-an piling.
 PROG sit-REAL line.up
 sitting lined up’

Quantifiers can also be the attribute of pronouns, as in (95):

- (95) *Pi’in aga’*
 1pi all
 ‘All of us’

Quantifiers may occur as NPs without a noun, as in (95).

- (96) *Aga’ bir-an tau.*
 all run-REAL PRF
 ‘All [of them] ran away’

A noun can be extracted out of a quantified NP, as illustrated in (97a-b). However, a quantifier cannot be extracted from the NP it quantifies, as shown in (97c), and a quantified NP with an extracted noun must precede the predicate, as shown in (97d).

- (97) a. *A [wat wa’ gixi]_{NP} ma tona’.*
 3s coconut leaf a.bit come gather
 ‘He collects a bit of coconut leaves’
- b. *Wat wa’ a [t gixi]_{NP} ma tona’.*
coconut leaf 3s a.bit come gather
 ‘Coconut leaves he collects a few’

- c.* *Grixi a wat wa' ma tona'.*
a.bit 3s coconut leaf come gather
- d.* *Wat wa' a ma tona' grixi*
coconut leaf 3s come gather a.bit

Quantifiers can combine with other modifiers, as in (98) and (99). Such constructions are rare in the corpus as NPs are typically light (see also Ch. 3, section 3.4).

- (98) *War uwaad grixi*
 stone big a.bit
 '(A) few big stones'

- (99) *bali si katak g-oqai non aga' iga'*
 see SIM frog 3s-child PL all many.unexpected
 [and] saw unexpectedly many little frogs

un mis-an piling.
 PROG sit-REAL line.up
 sitting lined up'

5.6. The structure of NPs: summary

In possessive NPs, the possessor precedes the head. In NPs where a noun modifies another noun, the modifier also precedes the head. Numerals, demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers or plural words follow the noun. A typical Teiwa NP contains one head noun and maximally one adnominal modifier (noun, adjective, derived nominal, demonstrative pronoun). Additional elements in the NP include numerals, the plural word, quantifiers, and adnominal demonstratives. Adnominal demonstratives mark NPs as definite. They may combine with derived nominals as in (100). An adnominal demonstrative is always the final element of an NP, as in (101).

- (100) *[[Rai xu'u]_{NP} ga-kanoro']_{NP}*
 king that 3s-character
 'That king's character'

- (101) *...[dan ga-wek bir-an aria-n]_{NP} ga'an]_{NP} u]_{NP,...}*
 part 3s-later run-REAL arrive-REAL 3s DIST
 'Those who came running later...'

5.7. Nominal conjunction and disjunction

Ata ‘and’ conjoins nominals and clauses. Here, I only discuss nominal conjunction. (For examples of clausal conjunction, see Ch. 10). *Ata* functions as a nominal conjunction in (102) and (103a).

(102) ...*qavif ata mauluku, i ta hultag*.
 goat and monkey 3p TOP talk
 ‘...(when) goat and monkey talked together’

(103) a. *Tei ata man yip ol*
 wood and grass also buy
 ‘Buy wood and also grass’

b.* *Tei ol ata man (yip) ol*.
 wood buy and grass also buy
 Not good for: ‘Buy wood and (also) buy grass’

Another way to express nominal conjunction is by using dual pronouns, such as *niraxau* ‘1DUexcl’ ‘we two excluding you’, *piraxau* ‘1.DU.inclusive’ > ‘we two including you’, *yiraxau* ‘2.DU’ ‘you two’, and *iraxau* 3.DU ‘they two’. (See Ch. 3, section 3.2.2). The canonical function of dual pronouns is to encode mark verbal arguments, but in (104)-(105) they conjoin nominals (names).

(104) *Rini iraxau Yance*
 Rini 3.DU Yance
 ‘Rini and Yance’

(105) a. *Ga-yit Yance iraxau Tomas*
 3s-name Yance 3.DU Tomas
 ‘Their names are Yance and Tomas’

b. *Ni-yit Rini niraxau Yance*
 1pe-name Rini 1.DU.excl Yance
 ‘Our names are Rini and Yance’

Note that the dual pronoun expresses both the number of referents in the coordinated noun phrase, and the person of the possessor (3rd person plural in (105a) *versus* ‘1st person plural in (105b)).

The deictic verb *ma* can also function as a nominal conjunction, as shown in (106). (Other functions of *ma* are discussed in Ch. 9, section 9.5.)

- (106) *Rini ma Yance.*
 Rini come Yance
 ‘Rini and Yance’

Finally, nominals may be conjoined through a serial verb construction with the verb *taxa* ‘add’. In (107), *taxa* is used as a single verb in the imperative. In (108) it combines with other verbs in a serial verb construction.

- (107) *Atang gelas nuk ma taxa’!*
 do.once.again glass one come add
 ‘Add again one glass!’

The construction with *taxa* ‘add’ in (108) functions to conjoin nominals (‘a child with his mother and father’), although literally it translates as ‘a child came *adding* to his mother and father’.

- (108) ...*ha ga-wek aria-n g-oqai nuk*
 then 3s-behind arrive-REAL 3s-child one
 ‘...and later arrived a child

ma ga-xala’ g-oma’ taxa’
 come 3s-mother 3s-father add
 with his mother and father,

un wek-wek aria-n ga’an,...
 while behind-behind arrive-REAL 3s
 arriving at the very end, ...’

Similarly, in (109) the literal translation of the sentence is ‘only one person came *adding* (his) wife, *adding* his only child, coming (to) those who were running behind’.

- (109) ...*hanya uy nuk qai*
 only (IND) person one just
 ‘...just one person,

ma emaq taxa’ g-oqai bag nuk ma ga’an taxa’
 come wife add 3s-child seed one come 3s add
 came with his wife and only child,

ga'an u bir-an un wek-wek.
 3s that run-REAL while Rdp-behind
 those that were running behind'

Some items are culturally considered as an entity and are not separated by a conjunction. Examples are the types of drums used in traditional dances (110); certain domesticated animals (111); and one's parents (112).

(110) ...*hala bui pa'an aga' ma ga-mian.*
 other kettle.drum k.o. short drum all come 3s-put
 '...others gave him a kettle drum and a short drum'

(111) *Bai qavif ga-buxun.*
 pig goat 3s-guard
 'Guard pigs and goats'

(112) *Ga-xala' g-oma'*
 3s-mother 3s-father
 'His mum and dad'

Nominals are disjoined by *le* 'or', as in (113)-(114). *Le* is also used to disjoin verbs, as in (115), and it functions as a clausal conjunction (cf. Ch. 10, section 10.4.1). Another function of *le* is as a 'softening' tag. This may be used when correcting someone else, as in (116), in questions, as in (117), or to make a particular answer sound politer, as in (79) above.

(113) *Yaf le rabax.*
 house or stable
 'House or stable'

(114) *Uyaq le yivar*
 person or dog
 'Man (lit. person) or dog'

(115) *Tii' le tas*
 lie.down or stand
 'Lie down or stand up'

(116) *Ga-xapan yed le, musti qaar nuk rug raq.*
 3s-compensate still or must (IND) ten one -teen two
 'There are still more of them, aren't there, in fact there are twelve'

- (117) *Ga'an Kri li'in u le e!*
 3s respected.old.man their that or EXCL
 'That was their ancestor, right?'

In conclusion, apart from being conjoined by a conjunction, nominals may also be conjoined by dual pronouns or a serial verb construction with *taxa'* 'add'. Nominal disjunction is done by *le* which also functions as softening tag.

Chapter 6

Non-verbal clauses

6.0. Introduction

Like verbal clauses, Teiwa non-verbal clauses are head-final. A non-verbal predicate follows its argument, and is followed by a negation.¹ Teiwa has no copula. In this chapter I discuss clauses with various types of non-verbal predicates, as well as that have a verbal predicate but refer to states rather than events or activities.

The first four sections are organised according to the (non-verbal) category of the predicate: Nominal predicates in section 6.1, Adjectival predicates in section 6.2, Numeral predicates in section 6.3, and Quantifier predicates in section 6.4. The other sections are organised according to the semantics of the clause: Locational clauses in section 6.5, Existential clauses in section 6.6, Possessive clauses in section 6.7, and Presentative clauses in section 6.8. Locational and existential clauses in Teiwa contain a verbal predicate and are included here because they refer to states rather than events. The sections 6.1-6.8 concern declarative, affirmative clauses. In section 6.9, the negation of nominal and adjectival clauses is discussed. Section 6.10 describes interrogative non-verbal predicates. In section 6.11, comparative and superlative clauses are discussed.

6.1. Nominal predicates

Nominal constituents can be used as predicates in equative clauses ('S is N/NP'). Such clauses have a static reading, and the subject precedes the predicate, as in (1). The two nominal constituents that make up the clause are juxtaposed, there is never a copular or auxiliary verb involved. Nominal predicates can be modified by adverbs. For example, in (2), the modality adverb *di* 'only, just' modifies the nominal predicate 'the child of a big *dias* fish'.²

- (1) *Na'an uy hara'*,
1s person orphan.without.father
'I am a fatherless child,

na'an uy bin.
 1s person orphan.without.mother
 I am a motherless child.

Na qayak; na'an ta hara' yas.
 1s alone 1s TOP orphan.without.father bad
 I am alone; I am a poor orphan'

- (2) *...xaq ta pin, pin daa ma*
 tip TOP hold hold ascend come
 '...took its tip, took it up,

isis ma yia-n si
 land come put-REAL SIM
 put it on the ground [and]

in di dias kupan g-oqai
 it.thing only k.o.fish 3s-child
 it was only the child of a big *dias* fish

maraqai un bunar tewar,..
 up while flutter walk
 fluttering upthere,..'

The subject in nominal clauses can be anything that can be the subject of a verbal clause (a lexical NP or a pronoun). When it is a pronoun, the pronoun can be long or short, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

- (3) *A'an guru qau.*
 3s teacher good.
 'He is a good teacher'

- (4) *Xara' a pegawai (tapi) tur a ibar.³*
 now 3s civil.servant but(IND) formerly 3s work.garden
 'Now he's a civil servant, (but) formerly he was a farmer'

The subject is also a pronoun in (5) and in two possible answers to this question, (6) and (7). It may also be an NP with a adnominal demonstrative *xa'a* 'this, this one', as in (8).

(5) *Ga'an Kri li'in u le!*
 3s Mr their DIST or
 'That was their ancestor⁴ over there, right?'

(6) *Ga'an u le.*
 3s DIST or
 'That's him (over there)'

(7) *Ga'an la xa'a.*
 3s FOC this.one
 'She/he/this is the one'

(8) *Xa'a ga'an xam, xa'a ga'an maan.*
 this 3s milk this 3s NEG
 'This is milk, this is not'

An equative clause may combine with a serial verb construction:

(9) *...bif ga'-mis-an er-an si g-oqai masar.*
 child 3s-sit-REAL make-REAL SIM 3s-child male
 '...the child she gave birth to (lit. the child she sat for) (was) a boy'

When clauses with a nominal predicate have a dynamic reading and indicate a change of state ('S becomes N/NP'), a verb is used. In (10), the verb *dagar* 'be like' is followed by the standard of comparison *yivar* 'dog'. This is not a canonical transitive construction, as an object normally precedes the verb in Teiwa.

(10) *Iman ta dagar yivar xoran.*
 they TOP be.like dog thus
 'They became [like] dogs already'

In (11) and (12) the deictic verb *ma* 'come' is used. *Ma* is an intransitive verb, its argument is *a'an* in both examples.

(11) *...palan qas maan, a'an ma mosan.*
 split.bamboo NEG 3s come sword.
 '...(it was) no longer a bamboo, it had become a sword'

(12) *Yir eran waal ta*
 water that.mentioned TOP
 'That water [=lake]

a'an ma ta' baq uwaad un yias-an tiri.
 3s come sea hole big CONT put.at-REAL float
 it became a big floating sea' (lit. 'big sea hole, being put afloat')

Ma forms a complex predicate with *mosan* 'sword' in (11) and with *ta' baq uwaad* 'big sea hole' in (12). (See Ch. 9, section 9.5 for a discussion of various other functions of *ma*).

6.2. Adjectival predicates

Adjectival predicates such as (13a) express property concepts ('S is Adjective'). Equative clauses with adjectival predicates are structurally identical to equative clauses with nominal predicates – they have no copular verb and the subject precedes the predicate. Naturally, such adjectival predicates are related to NPs with an adjectival modifier, as shown in (13a-b).

However, (13a) is an NP with an adjective, and (13b) is a clause with a subject (*wat xu'u*) and a predicate (*yas*). These two constituents are separated with an intonational break: the intonation rises on *xu'u*, and is then low again, while the phrase in (13a) has no rising intonation.

- (13) a. (— —)
Wat yas
 coconut bad
 'A bad coconut'
- b. (— /) (—)
Wat xu'u yas
 coconut that bad
 'That coconut is bad'

The following are some additional illustrations of clauses with adjectival predicates (see also Ch. 3, section 3.4).

- (14) *Yaf xa'a ga'an uwaad / sam*
 house this 3s big / small
 'This house is big / small'
- (15) *Na'an qau.*
 I good
 'I'm satisfied / I have enough'

- (16) *Ha-guru qau.*
 2s-teacher good
 ‘Your teacher is good’
- (17) *Komputer ga’an qau!*
 computer 3s good
 ‘That computer is good’

Adjectival predicates may be modified by adverbs; (18) illustrates the modality adverb *bo* ‘maybe’, and (19) the aspectual adverb *yed* ‘still; not yet (Prospective)’ (see also Ch. 3, section 3.4; Ch. 7, section 7.2 and 7.3).

- (18) *A wa: “Ha’an i bunar bo?”*
 3s say 2s FORTHC drunk maybe
 ‘He said: “Are you perhaps crazy (lit. drunk)?”’
- (19) *Bif yed sam si a tewar tau.*
 child PRSP small SIM 3s walk PRF
 ‘The child is still small [but] he walks already’

Furthermore, an adjectival predicate can be modified for degree by encoding the subject as a short pronoun, as illustrated in (20) and (21). This effect can be seen by comparing the contrasting sentences (22a-b). A long subject pronoun cannot be used to modify adjectival predicates for degree, cf. (23).

- (20) *In a qau.*
 thing 3s good
 ‘This thing is rather good’
- (21) *Bif yed a sam si tewar tau.*
 child PRSP 3s small SIM walk PRF
 ‘The child is still rather small but (he) walks already’
- (22) a. *Yaf xa’a uwaad.*
 house this big
 ‘This house is big’
- b. *Yaf xa’a a uwaad.*
 house this 3s big
 ‘This house is rather big’

- (23) * *Yaf xa'a a'an uwaad.*
 house this 3s big
 'This house is rather big'

Clauses indicating a change of state ('S becomes Adjective') use the verb *ma* 'come' (compare (12) above):

- (24) ...*yir aga' ma siis.*
 water all come dry
 '...(and) all the water has become dry'

6.3. Numeral predicates

This section describes how numerals are used predicatively. (The numeral class is described in Ch. 3, section 3.8.) When a numeral is part of an NP, as in (25), it functions as nominal attribute (Ch. 5, section 5.5.1). In a parallel analysis, the numeral in (26) can be seen as the attribute of *iman* 'they'. However, in an alternative analysis, *iman* is the subject of a numeral predicate *raq* 'two', as in (27) (where it also crossreferences the NP *biar kriman* 'children').

- (25) *Biar kriman raq*
 Child small two
 'Two children'
- (26) [*Biar kriman*]_{NP} [*iman raq*]_{NP}
 child small they two
 'Two children' (Lit. 'Children two of them')
- (27) [*Biar kriman*]_{NP} *iman* Subject *raq* Predicate
child small they two
 'Two children' (Lit. 'Children they (are) two')

This structural ambiguity is also seen in (28a), and is resolved in (28b). In (28b), the subject of the numeral predicate is expressed twice, with *iman* and the additional short pronoun *a*. As a result, the numeral is unambiguously treated as a predicate. The strategy of using an additional short pronoun to express the subject, in addition to the full NP, is often used with numeral predicates. (The numeral *nuk* has grammaticalized in an indefinite marker in (28), see Ch. 5, section 5.5.1.)

- (28) a. [*Uy kri nuk g-oqai*] *iman raq.*
 person Mr one 3s-child they two
 ‘A man had two children’ (lit. ‘Children of a man they [are] two’)
- b. [*Uy kri nuk g-oqai*] *iman a raq.*
 person Mr one 3s-child they 3s two
 ‘A man had two children’

The pronoun *iman* ‘they’ can also be left out, as illustrated by the question in (29a). The affirmative answer to this question is (29b).

- (29) a. *G-oqai a raq?*
 3s-child 3s two
 ‘His children are two?’
- b. *A tab raq.*
 3s indeed two
 ‘They are indeed two’

6.4. Quantifier predicates

Predicates consisting of quantifiers express notions of quantities (‘S is Q’, ‘There are Q of S’). The clauses in which such predicates appear are structurally identical to nominal clauses (see also Ch. 5, section 5.5.2)

- (30) *Ga-qavif di geneg qai.*
 3s-goat only a.few just
 ‘He has only a few goats’ (lit. ‘His goats are only a few’)
- (31) *Ga-qavif di grixì qai.*
 3s-goat only few just
 ‘He has only a few goats’

6.5. Locational clauses

Locational clauses express a relation between a located entity ('Figure') and a location in space ('Ground'). A typical locational clause is one that replies to the prompt question 'Where is X?', as in (32), which questions the location of a person. The location of (movable) objects is questioned as in (40) below.

In Teiwa, locational clauses are verbal; the relation between the Figure and the Ground is expressed with a verb. Some example answers to (32) are (33) (where *a'an* 'he' is optional) and (34). A verb that is often used in locational clauses is *me* 'be in'.⁵

(32) *Bapa ita'a me'?*
 father(Ind) where be.in
 'Where is father?'

(33) *Yaqai (a'an) me'.*
 down.below 3s be.in
 'Down below is he'

(34) *A uyan me'.*
 3s mountain be.in
 'He is in the mountains' (or: 'He lives in the mountains')

In a Teiwa locational clause, the Ground is often expressed as a locational noun (Ch. 3, section 3.1.1; Ch. 5 section 5.3.3), as in (33) and (46), or a common noun, as in (34), or by a combination of these, as in (35)-(37):

(35) *A mug qaas me'.*
 3s hill.top side be.in
 'He lives at the other side of the hill'

(36) *A mug luxun me'.*
 3s hill.top high be.in
 'He lives on the hilltop'

(37) *Bo'oi nuk hafan qaas me'.*
 river one village side be.in
 'There's a river next to the village'

The Ground may also be a combination of the demonstrative pronouns *xa'a* and *xu'u* with the pronoun *i* 'it.place', see *i xa'a* '(over) here' in (38) and *i xu'u* '(over) there' in (39) (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.2.6).

- (38) *Sampai i xa'a me' ta*
 until(IND) it.place this.one be.in TOP
 'Until overhere,

cerita ga'an ta abis.
 story(IND) 3s TOP finished(IND)
 the story is finished'

- (39) *Eqar masar nuk i xu'u me-n ba...*
 woman man one it.place that.one be.in-REAL SEQ
 'A man and woman were over there and...

The relation between Figure and Ground verb is expressed with a locational verb; in (33)-(39) this is the verb *me'* 'be in'. In answers to questions about movable objects, as in (40), the verb *yia* 'put at' can also be used, as illustrated in (41)-(43).

- (40) *Muud ita'a ma yia?*
 lemon where come put.at
 'Where is the lemon?' (Lit. 'Where is the lemon put at?')

- (41) *Muud un meja ta yia.*
 lemon PROG table(IND) TOP put.at
 'The lemon is on the table'

- (42) *Muud un meja luxun ta yia.*
 lemon PROG table(IND) high TOP put.at
 'The lemon is on top of the table'

- (43) *Muud un meja yuun ma yia.*
 lemon PROG table(IND) down come put.at
 'The lemon is underneath the table'

The verb *yias* 'put at' is also often used in locational clauses, as in (44). There is a semantic difference between the use of *yias* and *me'*, compare (44) and (45).

- (44) *Amidan la qa'an meja ga-yuun yias-an?*
 what FOC black table 3s-down put.at-REAL
 'What is that black [thing] put under the table?'

- (45) *Amidan la qa'an meja ga-yuun me-n?*
 what FOC black table 3s-down be.in-REAL
 'What is that black [thing] under the table?'

Locational clauses can also contain posture verbs such as *tas* 'stand', *mis* 'sit' and *hor* 'hang'. In such cases, the Ground itself is part of an oblique expression with *ma* (Ch. 9, section 9.5.3). Illustration of locative expressions with *tas* 'stand' are (46)-(47), an illustration with *hor* 'hang' is (48).⁶

- (46) *A tag ma tas.*
 3s upstairs come stand
 'He stands high up' (upstairs).
- (47) *Tei nuk mug luxun ma tas.*
 tree one hill.top high come stand
 'There is a tree on top of the mountain'
- (48) *Na-tas i luxun ma hor.*
 1s-bag(IND) it.place high come hang
 'My bag hangs high up' (e.g. high on a wall)

The previous examples were all static (non-dynamic) locations. When a Figure has a dynamic location, for example, when it is involved in an activity or a motion, it co-occurs with a verb that expresses the dynamic event, such as *o'on* 'hide' in (49) and *tiri* 'float' in (50). The Ground is marked as oblique with *ma*.

- (49) *Bif g-oqai un a-xala' ga-siban ma o'on.*
 child 3s-child CONT 3s-mother 3s-back come hide
 'Her child is hiding behind his mother's back'
- (50) *Xai ta' luxun ma tiri.*
 canoe sea high come float
 'A canoe is floating on the sea'

Observe that the notions expressed by adpositions in the locative constructions of languages such as Dutch or English are nominal elements in Teiwa (Ch. 3, section 3.1.1; Ch. 5 section 5.3.3).

6.6. Existential clauses

Existential clauses express the notion ‘There is N’, or ‘N exists’. One type of existential clauses expresses existence without a location, another type expresses existence with a location. In Teiwa, existential clauses without a location are verbal, and use the verb *wan* ‘to be, exist’, as illustrated in (51)-(52). The Indonesian/Malay loan verb *ada* ‘be’ is also used in this function.

- (51) *Qar wan.*
 cooked.rice be
 ‘There is rice’ / ‘Rice exist’
- (52) *Qar wan le maan? Qar wan maan.*
 rice be or NEG rice be NEG
 ‘Is there (any) rice?’ ‘There is no rice’
- (53) *...mauqubar waal ada maan.*
 frog that.mentioned be(Ind) NEG
 ‘...that frog is not there / doesn’t exist’

Existential clauses with *wan* can also express possession, as in (54)-(55); this is discussed in section 6.7 below.⁷

- (54) *Bo’oi yir wan.*
 river water be
 ‘The river has water’ Or: ‘There is water in the river’
- (55) *Bo’oi yir wan maan.*
 river water be NEG
 ‘A river without water’
- (56) is an idiomatic expression containing an existential predicate with *wan*:
- (56) *Uy ga’an u [uy yit wan] [nara’ wan]*
 person 3s DIST person name be name be
 ‘That person is rich’ (lit. ‘That person is a person whose names exists’)

Existential clauses can also contain a location; an illustration is (57). In many languages, existential clauses with a location are used to introduce something into a discourse. In Teiwa, existential clauses are not used in this function. Instead, locational clauses (see section 6.5 above) may function as

such, as illustrated in (58). (But see also the discussion of presentative clauses in section 6.8 below; and Ch. 11, section 11.1.)

- (57) *Hafan ga'an u bo'oi wan le maan? Bo'oi wan.*
 village 3s DIST river be or NEG river be
 'Is there a river at that village or not? There is'
- (58) *Wat her nuk un yaf ga-siban ma tas.*
 coconut tree one PROG house 3s-behind come stand
 'There is/was a coconut tree behind the house'

Sentence (59) illustrates an idiomatic expression where the subject is *war get* 'sun' and the pronominal demonstrative *xu'u* 'that one' (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.6.2) is the predicate. The negative counterpart of this expression contains the existential verb *wan*, as shown in (60).

- (59) *War g-et un a xu'u*
 day 3s-eye CONT 3s that.one
 'The sun shines' (Lit. 'The sun [is being] that one')
- (60) *War g-et wan maan*
 day 3s-eye be NEG
 'There is no sun' (i.e. 'It is cloudy')

6.7. Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses express the notion 'Possessor has N'. In Teiwa, two strategies can be used to express possession. The first is to use the existential verb *wan* that was discussed in the previous section, as illustrated in (61).

- (61) *Gi'in gi-qar wan le maan?*
 they.elsewhere 3p-rice wan le NEG
 'Do they have rice or not?' (Lit. 'Does their rice exist or not?')

Wan also occurs in a construction with two NPs, illustrated in (62)-(63); this looks like a transitive construction. The same construction is used in (54)-(55) above.

- (62) *Kri Sir mayan wan.*
 Mr Sir long.body.hair be
 'Mr Sir has long body hair'

- (63) *Qau a atang ni'in ga'an i*
 then 3s once.again 1pe 3s FORTHC
 'Then he went again: "We here

ni-dan ni-ir wan maan le,
 1pe-part 1pe-sibling be NEG or
 don't have siblings, (it's) only the two of us,

niraxau na-xala' qai.
 1.DU.excl 1s-mother just
 (me and) my mother"

The second strategy to express possession is to use a nominal clause. In such clauses, the possessor is part of the nominal predicate, as illustrated in (64) and (65).

- (64) *Ga'an n-oqai.*
 3s 1s-child
 'He is my child'

- (65) *Xu'u ga'an ni-met, xa'a ga'an ha-met*
 that 3s 1pe-betelvine this 3s 2s-betelvine
 'That is our betelvine, this is yours'

In (66), which answers the question 'Whose motorbike is that?', the possessor *ni'in* has contrastive focus and is marked as a focus constituent.

- (66) *Ni'in la ni-motor ga'an.*
 we TOP 1pe-motorbike 3s
 'That motorbike is ours'

Possession can also be expressed by a clause containing a nominal predicate that consists of a derived possessive pronoun, based on the noun *-x* 'possession'.⁸ The paradigm is given in (67). (See Ch. 5, section 5.2.3.2).

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| (67) | <i>na-x</i> | 'mine' | lit. my possession |
| | <i>ha-x</i> | 'yours' | lit. your possession |
| | <i>ga-x</i> | 'his/hers' | lit. his possession |
| | <i>ni-x</i> | 'ours' | lit. our (excl) possession |
| | <i>pi-x</i> | 'ours' | lit. our (incl) possession |
| | <i>yi-x</i> | 'yours' (pl) | lit. your (pl) possession |
| | <i>gi-x</i> | 'theirs' | lit. their possession |

In (68) *na-x* ‘mine’ functions as a nominal predicate:

- (68) *Meet ga'an na-x.*
 betelvine 3s 1s-possession
 ‘That betelvine is mine’

In the NP in (69a) the form *ga-x* ‘his/hers’ functions just like the possessed noun in the NP in (69b). In (69c), it combines with another possessed noun.

- (69) a. *Hala ga-x*
 other 3s-possession
 ‘Someone else’s possession’
- b. *Hala ga-tarau*
 other 3s-language
 ‘Someone else’s language’
- c. [*Hala ga-x*] *ga-tarau*]
 other 3s-possession 3s-language
 ‘Someone else’s language’

Yet another strategy to express possession is illustrated in (28a-b) in section 6.3 above.

Finally, note that possessive constructions in Teiwa do not express the notion of ‘containment’, as the following question and answers show:

- (70) Q: *Bo'oi yir tod le maan?*
 river water flow or NEG
 ‘Does the river have water or not?’ (Lit. ‘The river flows (with) water or not?’)

- (71) A1: *Bo'oi yir tod.*
 river water flow
 ‘The river has water’ (Lit. ‘The river flows (with) water’)

- (72) A2: *Bo'oi yir wan.*
 river water be
 ‘The river has (contains) water’ (Lit. ‘Water is in the river’)

6.8. Presentative clauses

Presentative clauses present an item like ‘There/here is (an) X’. In the presentative construction in (73), the presented NP *uy kri nuk* is indefinite and is modified by the pronoun *ga’an* as well as the adnominal distal demonstrative *u*. One function of *ga’an* (apart from its object pronoun function) is to introduce new participants into discourse (Ch.11, section 11.1).

- (73) *Uy kri nuk ga’an u, g-oqai iman raq,*
 person Mr one 3s DIST 3s-child they two
 ‘There was a man (lit. ‘That one man’), he had two children,

eqar nuk, masar nuk.
 woman one man one
 one woman, one man’

In (74), *uy masar nuk* is indefinite and also modified by *ga’an*.

- (74) *Uy masar nuk ga’an ga-yit Yance.*
 person male one 3s 3s-name Yance
 ‘There was a man named John’ (lit. ‘That one man his name (was) John’)

In (73), the clause has a numeral predicate (*raq*), in (74), it has a nominal predicate (*Yance*). The presented NPs are the possessors of the subjects of these non-verbal predicates.

6.9. Negative non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal predicates are negated like verbal predicates, using the negator *maan*, which is clause-final. In (75)-(77), negative equation is illustrated.

- (75) *Xa’a ga’an xam maan, xa’a ga’an tuax.*
 this 3s milk NEG this 3s palm.wine
 ‘This is not milk, this is palm wine’
- (76) *Ha’an guru maan.*
 you.sg teacher NEG
 ‘You are not a teacher’

- (77) *Gelas axa'a ii' maan.*
 glass(IND) this red NEG
 'This glass is not red'

Locational clauses are also negated with *maan*. The locational verb can disappear in such contexts: while in (78b,c) the verb *me'* is used in combination with the Ground *i xu'u* 'over there', the negated locational clause in (78d) contains *i xu'u* 'over there' but no verb is present. Whether it is obligatory to leave out the locational verb in negated locational clauses remains to be further investigated.

- (78) a. *Iman ta ga-mar gi gi ta,*
 they TOP 3s-follow go go TOP
 They go follow,
- piat g-om nuk ma gi si,*
 k.o.bamboo 3s-inside one come go SIM
 getting inside a bamboo tree,
- b. *ta gi sampai i xu'u me',*
 TOP go till(IND) it.place that.one be.in
 till they get over there,
- c. *gi wa i xu'u me' ta,*
 go go.close it.place that.one be.in TOP
 [and when] they get there,
- d. *yivar eran ta i xu'u maan.*
 dog that.mentioned TOP it.place that NEG
 that dog is not there'

Existential clauses are also negated with *maan* (cf. Ch. 8, section 8.1); the verb is retained.

- (79) *Uy wan maan.*
 person be NEG
 'There are no people'
- (80) *Qar wan maan.*
 rice be NEG
 'There is no rice'

When possessive clauses are negated, they express the absence of ownership. In (81)-(85) some examples of such clauses are given. Note that the negator *maan* is absent when the Prospective aspect adverb *yed* is used.

- (81) *Motor qa'an xu'u ga'an na-x,*
 motorbike(IND) black that 3s 1p-possession
 'That black motorbike is mine,

ha-x maan.
 2s-possession NEG
 not yours'
- (82) *Ni-kon ii' wan maan.*
 1pe-shirt red be NEG
 'We don't have (a) red shirt(s)'
- (83) *Ni-kon ii' wan yed.*
 1pe-shirt red be PRSP
 'We don't have (a) red shirt(s) yet'
- (84) *Maan, n-oqai wan yed.*
 NEG 1-child be PRSP
 'No, I don't have children yet' [because I am not married]
- (85) *Iman ga-wutan wa' wan yed.*
 they 3s-vegetables leaf be PRSP
 'They don't have vegetables yet'

Compare the absence of ownership in (84) with the negated event in (86):

- (86) *N-oqai non yed aria-n yed.*
 1s-child Pl PRSP arrive-REAL PRSP
 'My children have not arrived yet'
 [I am married but I have no children yet]

Negative clauses are further discussed in Ch. 8, section 8.1.

6.10. Interrogative non-verbal clauses

This section presents an overview of non-verbal interrogative clauses, organised according to the semantic function of the clause. For an overview of interrogatives in general (verbal and non-verbal; polar and content questions), see Ch. 8, section 8.2.

Questioning identity

(87) *Uy ga'an u yilag?*
 person 3s that who
 'Who is that person?'

(88) *In u amidan?*
 thing DIST what
 'What is that thing?'

Questioning identity and/or property

(89) *Yivar ga-ta'a la wad bes na-ka'au ga-tiar?*
 dog 3s-which FOC today morning 1s-brother 3s-chase
 'Which dog chased my brother this morning?' (e.g. our own, or the neighbours?)

(90) *Yivar amidan la wad bes na-ka'au ga-tiar?*
 dog what FOC today morning 1s-brother 3s-chase
 'What [kind of] dog chased my brother this morning?'
 (e.g. a big, black, small dog?)

(91) *Amidan ga-yivar...?*
 what 3s-dog
 'Which dog?' (Implication: you know there is no dog around here)

(92) *Tarau taxaran?*⁹
 language how
 'What [kind of] language/word/sentence?' (e.g. long, short, loud?)

(93) *Tarau ga-yitar taxaran?*
 language 3s-meaning how
 'What does that sentence/word mean?'

- (94) *Tarau amidan?*
 language what
 ‘Which language/word/sentence?’ (e.g. Indonesian or Teiwa?)
- (95) *Amidan ga-tarau?*
 what 3s-language
 ‘Which language/word/sentence?’ (Emphatic repetition of question (94))
- (96) *Wad hari amidan?*
 today day what
 ‘What day is today?’
- (97) *Ha-yit amidan?*
 2s-name what
 ‘What is your name?’

In the exchange in (105), observed while men were shifting tables in a room to prepare for a meeting, an imperative is followed by a question, which is followed by an imperative with contrastive focus.

- (98) a. *Meja ga-xu'u mat!*
 table(IND) 3s-that take
 Take that table!
- b. *Meja ga-ta'a la mat?*
 table(IND) 3s-which FOC take
 Take which table?
- c. *Meja ga-xu'u la mat!*
 table 3s-that FOC take
 Take that table!

Questioning quantity

- (99) *War yiran?* b.* *Yiran war?*
 day how.many how.many day
 ‘How many days?’
- (100) *Tal inau?*
 how.much so.and.so.much
 ‘How much?’

Questioning number

- (101) *G-oqai a haraq? Atab haraq.*
 3s-child 3s two truly two
 ‘Are the children [with] two? Yes, indeed two’
- (102) *G-oqai u iman a haraq?*
 3s-child DIST they 3s two
 ‘Are there two of those children?’
 (Lit. Those children are they [with] two?)

Questioning location

- (103) *A ita’a?*
 3s where
 ‘Where is he?’
- (104) *N-oma’ ita’a me’?*
 1s-father where be.in
 ‘Where is my father?’
- (105) *Ita’a ga-yir / ga-uyaq / ga-yivar ga-kopi / ga-qas?*
 where 3s-water 3s-person 3s-dog 3s-coffee 3s-bean
 ‘Water/people/a dog/coffee/beans from where?’

Questioning existence

- (106) *Qar wan le maan?*
 rice be or NEG
 ‘Is there [any] rice?’

Questioning possession

- (107) *Yilag ga-yivar?*
 who 3s-dog
 ‘Whose dog?’
- (108) *Saxa’ i yilag ga-saxa’?*
 chicken FORTHC who 3s-chicken
 ‘This chicken is whose chicken?’

- (109) *Saxa' i yilag ga-x?*
 chicken FORTHC who 3s-possession
 'This chicken, who owns [it]?'

 (110) *Ga'an h-oqai?*
 3s 2s-child
 'Is he your child?'

 (111) *Xu'u la ha-x?*
 that FOC 2s-possession
 'Is that yours?'

6.11. Comparative and superlative clauses

In comparative and superlative constructions, one object (the object of comparison) is compared with another object (the standard of comparison). First I discuss clauses that only contain an object of comparison. Such clauses are the ones most often used for comparisons, since the standard of comparison is generally known from the context. They are illustrated in (112)-(119). Examples (120)-(122) also contain the standard of comparison.

To express 'equality', the verb *asaman* '(be) same' is used. The subject of this verb has a plural interpretation, as illustrated in (113). In contrast, (114) shows that the adverb *tab* 'truly' occurs in unequal comparisons, with a singular subject. Additional illustrations with *asaman* and *tab* are (115)-(116).

- (112) *Yaf xa'a ga'an sam.*
 house this 3s small
 'This house is small'

 (113) *Yaf xa'a sam asaman.*
 house this small same
 'These houses are equally small.'

 (114) *Yaf xa'a tab sam.*
 house this truly small
 'This house is smaller'

 (115) *Uy ga'an u boda' asaman.*
 person 3s DIST stupid same
 'Those people are equally stupid'

- (116) *Uy ga'an u tab boda'.*
 person 3s DIST truly stupid
 'That person is more stupid'

In Teiwa, the superlative is not morpho-syntactically related to the comparative; it is discussed here for functional reasons. The superlative allows for two constructions. One employs a serial verb construction with the negative verb *paat* 'not know' (cf. Ch. 8, section 8.1) and *ma* (Ch. 9, section 9.5). This is illustrated in (117) and (118).

- (117) *Yaf xa'a paat ma sam.*
 house this not.know come small
 'This house is the smallest'

- (118) *Uy ga'an u paat ma boda', kamuki a'an.*
 person 3s DIST not.know come stupid stupid 3s
 'That person is the most stupid'

The other superlative uses the existential verb *wan* 'exist' (cf. Ch. 9, section 9.6.4), as illustrated in (119). Observe that the subject in (119) is also expressed by the pronoun *a'an*. The comparative and superlative constructions discussed here can be used for all adjectival predicates.

- (119) *Yaf xa'a a'an wan sam.*
 house this 3s be small
 'This house it is the smallest [of all]'

In the examples above, only the object of comparison is mentioned, and the standard of comparison is implied. However, it is also possible to mention the standard of comparison explicitly. A standard of comparison must be introduced by the comparative particles *mo* '(such) as' or *daga(r)* 'like', or a combination of them, *mo daga(r)*, or by the discourse marker *ha* 'then' (chapter 10).

- (120) *Gelas axa'a ga-gelal mo ga-afo'o oxoran.*
 glass(IND) this.one 3s-colours as 3s-there thus
 'This glass has the same colour as that one'

- (121) *Gelas axa'a tab ii' dagar ga-afo'o oxoran maan.*
 glass this truly red like 3s-there thus Neg
 'This glass is very red, unlike the glass over there'

- (122) *Gelas axa'a tab ii' ha ga-afo'o ga'an di oxoran.*
 glass this.one truly red then 3s-there 3s only thus
 'This glass is more red than that one over there'
 ('This glass is truly red and the one over there is only so-so')

Exclamations that refer to extreme qualities of an entity contain a noun followed by a nominalised adjective,¹⁰ as illustrated in (123).

- (123) *Yir ga-uwaad!!*
 Water 3s-big
 'The water is *so* huge!!'
 [Exclamation e.g. about an unusually large pond]

6.12. Summary

Teiwa non-verbal clauses are predicate-final, like verbal clauses. Teiwa non-verbal predicates are based on (pro)nominal, adjectival, numeral and quantifier predicates. Teiwa has no copular verb to use with these non-verbal predicates. Locational clauses express a relation between a located entity ('Figure') and a location in space ('Ground'). The Ground is nominal, and a locational clause often contains at least one verb. Existential clauses express the notion 'there is N', or 'N exists'. In Teiwa, they are verbal, and the verb *wan* 'to be, exist' is used. Possessive clauses express the notion 'possessor has N'. Teiwa has various strategies to express possession, including a verbal one using the existential verb *wan* 'to be', and a nominal one where the possessor is part of the nominal predicate. Possession can also be expressed by a nominal clause with a derived possessive pronoun (based on the noun *-x* 'possession') as predicate. Presentative clauses are non-verbal, and presented NPs are the possessors of the subjects of these non-verbal predicates. Non-verbal predicates are negated like verbal predicates, using the negator *maan*, which is clause-final.

Chapter 7

Verbal clauses: The marking of Reality status, Modality and Aspect

7.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of verbal clauses, focusing in particular on the marking of Reality status, Modality and Aspect. As the least familiar grammatical category of the three, I first discuss the notion of Reality status.

Reality status “can be understood as the grammaticalized expression of an event or state in either the real world or in some hypothesised, but not real, world. Prototypically the realis component of the category asserts that an event or state is located in the real world, while irrealis events or states are perceived as being located in an alternative hypothetical or imagined world, but not the real world” (Elliott 2000:81). The marking of “reality status” as proposed in Elliott (2000) is similar to the marking of “status” as proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984: 213-215) and in Foley 1986, since in all these cases, the marking indicates whether or not an event has been realized. Elliott (2000: 66-67) describes the realis/irrealis distinction as follows: “A REALIS proposition prototypically asserts that an event or state is an actualised or certain fact of reality; an IRREALIS proposition prototypically implies that an event belongs to the realm of the imagined or hypothetical, and as such it constitutes a potential or possible event but it is not an observable fact of reality”. Others refer to realis/irrealis distinctions that are similar to the ones discussed here, as instances of ‘modality’ marking (see for example Roberts 1990, Mithun 1995). In the grammar of Teiwa, however, ‘modality’ and ‘reality status’ refer to two sets of concepts that are logically quite distinct, and have a different morpho-syntactic expression. Modality reflects how a speaker qualifies a proposition and is expressed by modality verbs and adverbs, while reality status signals the status of a proposition in the real world, and is expressed by verbal inflection. In fact, reality status is the only category marked by verbal inflection in Teiwa.

The category ‘reality status’ is not only different from ‘modality’ but should also be distinguished from the grammatical category ‘mood’. In its most common interpretation, ‘mood’ is the grammatical category that distinguishes between different speech act types, such as ‘indicative mood’ expressed by declarative sentences, ‘interrogative mood’ expressed by questions, and ‘imperative mood’ expressed by commands. (The various moods or ‘speech act types’ in Teiwa are discussed in Chapter 8.) Below we

will see that there is mutual interaction between the reality status of a verb and the speech act type of the clause that verb belongs to. For example, in Teiwa imperatives, realis verbs are never used, because imperatives by nature refer to events that have not been ‘actualized’ at the time of utterance, i.e., the events expressed in imperatives are never ‘a certain fact of reality’.

This chapter is structured as follows. In section 7.1, I discuss the marking of ‘reality status’. After a general introduction on the distinctions encoded by the realis suffix, I discuss its functions and its structural properties. Section 7.2 presents an overview of how modality is expressed by verbs and adverbs. Section 7.3 contains an overview on the marking of aspect by verbs and adverbs. Other types of predicate modifications, such as marking their manner, time, and degree, are discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.5.

7.1. The marking of Reality status

7.1.1. Introduction

A Teiwa clause may have a verbal or a non-verbal predicate, but this section only considers verbal predicates, because only verbs may be inflected for realis. Verbal predicates have heads from different classes of intransitive and mono-transitive verbs; ditransitive verbs do not exist in Teiwa (see Ch. 4, section 4.4 and 4.6).

Reality status expresses whether an event has been realized (‘realis status’) or not (‘irrealis status’).¹ ‘Realis’ status is marked with the verbal suffix *-(a)n* or one of its allomorphs, see (1). ‘Irrealis’ is not marked on the verb. Thus, a bare verb stem has two functions in Teiwa: it is either an irrealis verb form, or it is unmarked for reality status.

Below we will see that, apart from its function to mark ‘realized’ events, the realis inflection is also used to signal which events are the main events in the narrative, i.e. are foregrounded in the discourse. That is, realis verbs are not used in a clause that describes e.g. the background, setting or manner of another event. The discourse function of the Teiwa realis suffix sometimes overrules its function as reality status marking function. This is discussed in section 7.1.1.2 below.

Not all verbs can take a realis marker; realis status is typically marked on activity verbs. Verbs that never take a realis marker include aspectual verbs such as *mulai* ‘begin’ or *gula* ‘finish’, the existential verb *wan* ‘be, exist’, or modality verbs like *xogo* ‘want’ or *gasaai* ‘cannot’ (see section 7.1.3 below).

Realis status is marked with the suffix *-(a)n* or one of its allomorphs, given in (1).

(1) Allomorphs of the realis suffix, with some example verbs

a. **-an***tot-an* 'stream'*kiid-an* 'cry'*er-an* 'do/make'*bir-an* 'run'*tas-an* 'stand'*tup-an* 'get up'*ga-fin-an* 'catch him/animal'*pin-an* 'hold'*wrer-an* 'climb'*yias-an* 'put at'**-n***na-n* 'eat'*daa-n* 'ascend'*yaa-n* 'descend'²*sii-n* 'bite'*gi-n* 'go'b. **-an***ba'-an* 'fall'*su'-an* 'cut off'**-en***me'-en* 'be in'*de'-en* 'burn'*paye'-en* 'wrap.around/twist'*tare'-en* 'shake out'**-in***tii'-in* 'sleep'*beli'-in* 'borrow'*yix-in* 'descend'³

The verb's final syllable determines which allomorph is chosen. Verbs ending in a closed syllable take the VC suffix *-an*, verbs ending in an open syllable take the consonantal suffix *-n*. This pattern accounts for the majority of verbs, and is illustrated in (1a). Verbs ending in a glottal stop consonant, such as those in (1b), form a third class. On the one hand, they behave like all the other verbs that end in a closed syllable because they select the -VC suffix. However, their suffix vowel is not /a/ but rather has vowel harmony with the stem vowel. It shares its place features with the preceding stem vowel: a verb stem with a non-front vowel /a, u, o/ selects a suffix with *-an*, a [front, mid] stem vowel /e/ selects suffix *-en* [ɛn], and a [front, high] stem vowel /i/ selects suffix *-in* [in].

In the following sections, I discuss the functions of the realis suffix (7.1.2), followed by its structural properties (7.1.3). A summary of the features of *-an* is presented in 7.1.4.

7.1.2. Functions of the Realis suffix *-(a)n*

The canonical function of the realis suffix in Teiwa is to classify an event as being located in the real world. A realis suffix is used in ‘realized’, ‘actualized’ event that are part of simple declarative clauses, and have indicative mood. This section presents some examples of this canonical function.

The exchange in (2) starts with a leave-taking formula standardly used when going home at the end of the day. The verb in the utterance (2a) is marked with a realis suffix and cannot be a bare verb stem (indicating irrealis) because it refers to an event that is actually taking place: “Now it is getting dark, (and) we are going”. It is followed by the response in (2b), which standardly contains an imperative verb. This verb cannot be realis because the event of walking is not yet actualized.

- (2) a. *Iqa'an ni gi-n (*gi) e.*
 dark 1pe go-REAL EXCL
 A: ‘Now [it’s getting] dark, we are going’
- b. *Yo, iqa'an ba tewar (*tewar-an)*
 yes dark SEQ walk walk-REAL
 B: ‘Yes [it’s getting] dark so go!’

In (3a) the verb *tii* ‘sleep’ refers to a purposive event which has not yet been actualized, and is irrealis. In (3b) the event is actualized, — as also indicated by the temporal adjunct *ana* ‘long time’ — , and now the verb *tii* ‘sleep’ has a realis suffix.

- (3) a. *Mauluku ma wat wa' g-om ma yiri tii'.*
 monkey come coconut leaf 3s-inside come crawl sleep
 ‘Monkey crawls into the [heap of] coconut leaves to sleep [there]’
- b. *Mauluku ma wat wa' g-om ma*
 monkey come coconut leaf 3s-inside come
 ‘Monkey crawled into the [heap of] coconut leaves
- yiri tii'-in ana tau.*
 crawl sleep-REAL long.time PRF
 [and] slept [there] for a long time’

The question in (4a) refers to whether the event of an animal dying has actually been realized. As it is not yet established as an actual fact (or believed to be so) the verb cannot take a realis marker, and a bare, irrealis verb form must be used. The affirmative answer in (4b) confirms that the event is factual and realized, and now the verb is obligatorily marked with a realis suffix.

- (4) a. *He, min?* (**min-an*)
 hey die die-REAL
 ‘Hey, (is it) dead?’
- b. *Hale, bai min-an tau.* (**min*)
 yes pig die-REAL PRF die
 ‘Yes, the pig died already/is already dead’

However, when the verb *min* ‘to die’ does not refer to a particular event but is used to express a general truth, it cannot be realis. This is illustrated in (5a), where it is claimed that humans and pigs are mortal. This contrasts with (5b), where the speaker hears some screaming, and asks whether the voice is from a dying person or a dying pig. In (5b), the realis suffix is used, because an event that is actually happening is being questioned. Note the use of the demonstrative *laxu’u* here, which also positions the event in actual time and space. In (5b) the speaker asserts that someone is dying, shows that ‘real’ or ‘actualized’ events include those the speaker asserts to be real.

- (5) a. *Uyaq ata bai la min.* (**min-an*)
 person and pig Foc die die-REAL
 ‘People and pigs die’
- b. *Uyaq le bai la min-an (*min) laxu’u?*
 person or pig Foc die-REAL die that.one.there
 ‘Is that a person or a pig dying over there?’

A Teiwa speaker can thus use the realis marker to signal events that are factual and realized, but also events that (s)he asserts to be factual and realized.

7.1.2.1. The moods of irrealis verb forms

This section describes how Reality status and mood interact in Teiwa. Irrealis verb forms occur in the following moods: imperative, hortative, intentional, obligational, conditional, apprehensional, and hypothetical.

In imperatives, events are not actualized, so that imperative verbs cannot be marked realis, as illustrated in (6)-(7) (see also Ch. 8, section 8.3):

(6) *Qau ba ha min. (*min-an)*
 good SEQ 2s die die-REAL
 ‘Drop dead!’

(7) *Ha siga'! (*siga'-an)*
 2s be.quiet be.quiet-REAL
 ‘You be quiet’

Hortative, intentional, obligational, conditional, apprehensional, and hypothetical clauses also refer to non-actualized events and can thus do not contain a realis verb form either. The following are some illustrations.

Hortative:

(8) *Ma pi-maran ma gi (*gi-n).*
 come 1pi-hut come go go-REAL
 ‘Let’s go to our hut’

Intentional:

(9) *Na noxo' an ma gi (*gi-n)*
 1s want market come go go-REAL
 ‘I want to go to the market’

Obligational:

(10) *Na musti an ma gi (*gi-n)*
 1s must (IND) market come go go-REAL
 ‘I must go to the market’

Conditional:

- (11) *Ha yi igan si ta ma walas*
 EXCL 2p harvest.feast SIM TOP come tell
 ‘Hey when you have your harvest feast, let us know

*ni ta aria’ (*aria-n).*
 1pe TOP arrive arrive-REAL
 [so] we can attend (lit. arrive)’

Apprehensional (‘don’t let it be that...’):

- (12) *Na-rat qai non, hala wa*
 1s-grandchild child PL people say
 ‘‘Grandchildren, people say

ha-rata’ ga ixa’a
 2s-grandmother take.along over.here
 your grandmother was brought

ma daa-n ga’an u, yi ga-sar le maan,
 come ascend-REAL 3s DIST 2p 3s-notice or NEG
 up here, did you notice her or not,

*yi’in una’ maq na (*na-n).*
 2p also let.it.not.be⁴ eat (*eat-REAL)
 let it not be that you also ate her.’’

Hypothetical (‘if only...’):

- (13) *...mol-molas a wa di ga-tafeu (*tafeu-n) le di...*
 RDP-actually 3s say just 3s-beat beat-REAL or just
 ‘...if only he had just punished his child...’

What these modalities have in common is that all of them refer to imaginary or hypothetical situations which have not yet been actualized, and hence they cannot be expressed as realis. However, Teiwa also has categories that can be marked as either realis, or irrealis. These will be discussed in the next section.

7.1.2.2. *Realis or irrealis in future and past tense*

In general, future events tend to be expressed as irrealis in Teiwa, because they are not actualized yet. However, future events may also be marked realis, to assert that the speaker is convinced that the event will happen. This assertive use of the realis suffix is illustrated in (14)-(16). In (14), which is a line from a religious hymn, a realis verb form is used to assert a belief or conviction:

- (14) ...*bas ma tiraq*
 tomorrow come day.after.tomorrow
 ‘...tomorrow [or] the day after,
- bangan ga-gula’ ga-x wan maan,*
 live 3s-finish 3s-possession be NEG
 eternal life (Lit. life that has no finish)
- ga’an a ga-sar-an pati.*
 3s 3s 3s-find-REAL PROG
 he will be finding it’

In (15)), a realis verb expresses the threat of someone climbing into a house on stilts:

- (15) ...*a wa xa’a: “O ga’an ha’an ha min-an*
 3s say this EXCL 3s you 2s die-REAL
 ‘...he said: “Oh you will die,
- na daa-n u...”*
 1s ascend-REAL DIST
 I am coming up...”’

Similarly, when a speaker is convinced that something happened, a realis verb is used, even though the event may not actually have happened after all. This is illustrated in (16)). In the story, the dog had an accident and is found by its master who is convinced that it is dead – which turns out not to be so. (Note that the modality adverb *quun* ‘surely’ expresses the notion that the speaker is sure that the dog is dead.)

- (16) *Yivar ga-manak a wa:*
 do 3s-master 3s say
 ‘The dog’s master says:

“*Se! Na-yivar quun min-an tau, e.*”
 EXCL 1s-dog surely die-REAL PRF EXCL
 “Oh my! Surely my dog is dead now, hey”

These examples show that realis may be used in present, past and future tense, when the event is factual and real, but also when it is asserted/believed by the speaker to be real.

7.1.2.3. *Realis or irrealis in interrogatives*

If a question refers to an event that the speaker is unsure about whether it is factual, then an irrealis verb form is used. When the speaker is sure that the questioned event is a fact, a realis verb is used. Examples are (17)-(18). In (17a) it is not a fact that the bananas were stolen - they could have disappeared in another way – and an irrealis verb form is used. In (17b), the speaker is witnessing the theft (note the use of the demonstrative *laxu ’u*) and asks who the thief is; here a realis verb form is used. In the response in (17c), a factual event is reported, with a realis verb form. The realis suffix is used here to present a given event as strongly asserted and real.

- (17) a. *Yilag la na-muxui taxau? (*taxau-an)*
 who FOC 1s-bananan steal (steal-REAL)
 ‘Who stole my bananas?’
- b. *Yilag la na-muxui taxau-an (*taxau) laxu ’u?*
 who FOC 1s-bananan steal-REAL steal that.one.there
 ‘Who is the one stealing my bananas over there?’
- c. *Isak la ha-muxui taxau-an! (*taxau)*
 Isak FOC 2s-banana steal-REAL
 ‘Isak stole your bananas!’ (I saw it)

In (18a), the speaker does not know where the addressee is or will be going to, and an irrealis form of ‘go’ is used. In (18b), the speaker actually sees the addressee going, and the realis form of ‘go’ is used. Observe again that *laxu ’u* functions to locate the event in actual space and time.

- (18) a. *Ha mat gi? (*gi-n)*
 2s take go go-REAL
 ‘Where are you going?’ (commonly used greeting)

- b. *Ha mat gi-n (*gi) laxu'u?*
 2s take go-REAL go that.one.there
 'Where are you going over there?' (i.e., now I see you walking in a particular direction)

In conclusion, interrogatives can have a realis or irrealis verb form. When they question an event of which the speaker has no factual information, the verb is irrealis; when they question something the speaker has factual knowledge about, the verb is realis. Temporal and locative adverbs like *ana* 'long time', *afo('o)* 'over there', and demonstrative pronouns such as *laxu'u* 'that one over there' (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.6.2) accompany the realis suffix to locate the event in time and space, and thus function to make it factual and real.

7.1.2.4. Realis or irrealis in prohibitives

Teiwa prohibitives are expressed with the prohibitive verb *gaxai* 'do not' (Ch. 8, section 8.3.2). When a prohibitive clause refers to an event that is not yet actualised, the verb is irrealis:

- (19) *Wat wrer (*wrer-an) gaxai!*
 coconut climb climb-REAL do.not
 'Don't climb the coconut [tree]!' [addressee is not yet climbing]

However, prohibitives can also contain a realis verb. At first sight this seems difficult to reconcile with the real vs. imaginary split of realis-irrealis marking: how can something that is prohibited be 'real'? However, a prohibitive can refer to an actualized, 'real' event when something that is already happening, must stop. This is illustrated in (20) (where the context is given in brackets). The realis in (20b) implies that the repairs which are already taking place must stop, for example, because they are done in the wrong way. Another example is (21), where a person who is running is told to stop.

- (20) a. *Ha in er.*
 2s it.thing make
 'You fix it' (I ask you to repair my bike sometime in the future)

- b. *Ha in er-an xoran gaxai.*
 2s it.thing make-REAL thus do.not
 ‘Don’t fix it like that!’
 [I see that you are repairing my bike in the wrong way]

- (21) a. *Bir!* b. *Bir-an gaxai!*
 run run-REAL do.not
 ‘Run!’ ‘Don’t run!’ [I see you running, tell you to stop]

In other words, the use of the realis verb in a prohibitive implies that the event is already taking place and should stop.

7.1.2.5. *Realis or irrealis in negations*

The majority of negated clauses in Teiwa contain a realis verb, as in (22), and declare “X did not happen”. However, there are also negations which do not contain a realis verb, as in (23), which also declare that “X did not happen”. The irrealis verb in (23) is unexpected, since it is a fact that the speaker did not meet the person referred to. A negated event can thus be either realis or irrealis.

- (22) ...*iman ta ga-mian na-n maan,*...
 they TOP 3s-give eat-REAL NEG
 ‘...they did not give her to eat...’

- (23) *Maan, na g-unba’ (*g-unba’-an) maan.*
 NEG 1s 3s-meet 3s-meet-REAL NEG
 ‘No, I haven’t met / seen him’

Negation is the one domain of Teiwa grammar where the attested realis/irrealis marking cannot be reconciled with the factual/asserted vs. imaginary split. I leave this issue open here.

7.1.3. *Realis and the marking of important narrative events*

The second important function of the Realis suffix is to mark important, salient narrative events: events that constitute the main narrative line contain realis verbs. Realis verbs are not used in clauses that describe the background, setting or manner of another event. I shall illustrate this here.

Sentence (24) contains three clauses. In clause #1 the verb *aria* ‘arrive’ expresses the background/setting for the following two clauses in which the narrative develops. In clause #1 the verb is not inflected, in clauses #2 and #3 the verbs express the action continuity and are realis forms.

- (24) [*Yaa aria*]₁, [*iman mis-an bali si*]₂,
 descend arrive they sit-REAL see SIM
 ‘[While others were] coming down, they were sitting watching

[*uy non waal*
 person PL that.mentioned
 finding all those people

i sar-an yaa aria-n...]₃
 it.place find-REAL descend arrive-REAL
 over there coming down [towards them]’

In (25) it is illustrated how uninflected verbs depict background events while the main narrative events are marked with realis verbs. In (25a) the focus is on two events: the boy not sitting for a long time and the ancestor arriving. Both *misan* ‘sit’ and *arian* ‘arrive’ are realis:

- (25)a. *Qau atang* [*mis-an ana’ maan*]
 good once.again sit-REAL long.time NEG
 ‘Then again, ehm, [he] did not sit for a long time [and]

[*g-oma’ ta aria-n...*]
 3s-father TOP arrive-REAL
 his father arrived...

In (25b), the first clause contains a realis verb *misan* ‘sit’ and hence expresses the factual, main event; while the second clause contains a serial verb construction expressing an intention to go to sleep, and is background.

- b. [*a mis-an wan iqa’an*] [*a ta mir tii’...*]
 3s sit-REAL be dark 3s TOP ascend sleep
 ...he sat [around] till dark, he went up to sleep...

In (25c), an explanation is given for why the boy went up to sleep. As background information, it does not contain realis verbs:

- c. *a'an ga'an hala ga-soi mi daxan luxun ma tii'*.
 3s 3s people 3s-order ascend attic high come sleep
 he was told by others to go up to sleep up in the attic.

The next primary event is that the boy is sleeping: both the first and second verb in (25d) are realis *ti'in* 'sleep'. The fact that there is someone coming up to him is expressed as a secondary event in the last clause of (25d): the serial verbs are not marked realis and there is no overt agent. The boy is still the discourse topic.

- d. [*Ti'-in,* *[iqa'an ga'an u a un tii'-in]*
sleep-REAL dark 3s DIST 3s CONT sleep-REAL
 Sleeping... that night he was sleeping
- si* *[ilan⁵ mir].*
 SIM grow.up ascend
 while [something] came up [to him].

The perspective of the story remains with the sleeping boy, and in (25e) sleeping and coming up are repeated as background information for what follows; no realis forms are used:

- e. *A'an ga'an i luxun ma tii' ilan...*
 3s 3s it.place high come sleep grow.up
 He slept upstairs [lit. at a high place], [someone] came up...

In the first clause of (25f) the boy's lying down is presented as the main event; and then the narrative perspective change to the activities of the intruder coming up to the attic: *miran* 'ascend' is marked realis and repeated three times...

- f. *a tii'-in bali si ilan mir-an*
 3s sleep-REAL see SIM grow.up ascend-REAL
 he slept,⁶ saw [someone] coming up
- mir-an mir-an...*
ascend-REAL ascend-REAL
 coming up coming up...

...followed by an intermediate event where the intruder hits the attic floor in (25g)...

- g. *sampai daxan ga-tii' do'...*
 until(IND) attic 3s-base strike
 until it struck [against] the attic's floor...

...after which the perspective is back to the boy who's tears are falling down: the first verb *ba'an* in (25h) expresses the main event and is realis; the second *ba'* repeats this event as background information for what follows:

- h. *g-et qa'ar ba'-an yaa ta ba' si...*
 3s-eye tear fall-REAL descend TOP fall SIM
 his tears were falling down, while [they] fell...

In (25i), the intruder backs off, changes shape, and falls asleep. This situation continues till daybreak, in (25j).

- i. *ewar yix ta gi] [a'an ma uyaq un tii']*.
return descend TOP go 3s come person CONT sleep
 [the intruder] backed off became a human being [and] slept
- j. *Xoran sampai wan iliar wad.*
 like.that till(IND) be daybreak day.
 Like that till daybreak.'

That the verbs in (25i) are not marked realis is unexpected, for they express major narrative events. I have no explanation for this.

In general, the illustrations discussed above show that the discourse function of the realis suffix typically overlaps with its realis marking function: actualized events are typically also the main events in a narrative. On the other hand, the illustrations also show that a narrative may contain actualized events that do not contain realis verb forms: examples include the verbs in (25g, i).

The reason is that the discourse function of the suffix overrules the grammatical 'actualization' function when there is a clash between the two functions. (For example, an actualized event that represents the background for another event which is more important in the discourse will not be marked realis.)

As a result, actualized events may be expressed with uninflected verbs. This is illustrated in (26) (from the Baraqala clan story, see the Appendix). In (26b), the verbs *parat* 'tie' refers to an actualized event, but is not marked realis. This is because (26b) as a whole actually sketches the background of the events in (26a) and (26c), where the verbs 'descend' in (26a), 'descend' and 'shout' in (26c) are marked realis. Similarly, 'descend', 'go', and 'swear at' in (26d) are marked realis, representing major narrative events.

(26) a. *Iman yix-ei yaqai yir g-or an ma gi.*
 they descend-REAL below water 3s-tail market come go
 ‘They went down to the market at the mouth (lit. tail) of the river.

b. *Jadi iman i xu’u ma hafan parat*
 so(IND) they it.place that come village tie
 So they build (lit. tied) a village

iman yir g-or an ma gi...
 they water 3s-tail market come go
 [and] they went to the market at the mouth of the river.

c. *Bes qai iman mulai an ma gi*
 morning just they begin(IND) market come go
 Early morning they went to the market,

yix-in yaqai i xer-an wa yix ta gi.
 descend-REAL below it.place shout-REAL go descend top go
 while going down the hill they were yelling.

d. *Yix-in gi-n bo’oi ma yix-ei si,*
 descend-REAL go-real river come descend-REAL SIM
 Going down to the river, descending,

uy iman gi-fai-an:
 person they 3p-swear at
 someone insulted them: ...’

In sum, a realis verb cannot occur in a background clause, even when it refers to an actualized event. I assume that in such cases, the bare verb is not interpreted as irrealis, but as neutral, and unmarked for Reality status. Thus, bare verb stems in Teiwa have two possible interpretations: they either express irrealis status, or are neutral/unmarked for status.

7.1.4. Distributional properties of realis verbs

A Teiwa clause often contains more than one verb (see Ch. 9). Not every clause contains a verb that is inflected for realis: clauses can only contain bare verbs. Not all verbs can take a realis marker: realis status is typically marked on activity verbs. Verbs that never take a realis marker include aspectual verbs such as *mulai* ‘begin (Ind)’ or *gula* ‘finish’, the existential verb *wan* ‘be,

exist' (cf. Ch. 9, section 9.6.4, Ch. 6, section 6.6 and 6.7), or modality verbs like *xogo* 'want' or *gasaai* 'cannot' (see section 7.2 below).

Although many clauses contain only one realis verb, this is not a syntactic restriction; to have two or more realis verbs in a clause are also possible. An illustration is (27), where both the running and the hiding are presented as important narrative events.

- (27) *Qau ba mauluku ga'an ta bir-an gi*
 good SEQ monkey 3s TOP run-REAL go
 'So that monkey ran away'

o'on-an gi tau sampai a minggu nuk
hide-REAL go PRF till 3s week one
 [and] hid for one week'

In (28), it is described how a bird that has been shot dies falling down from a tree. The three verbs represent events that are considered equally important. (Note that (28) is part of a clause sequence, and is connected to subsequent clauses by *ba* 'SEQ').

- (28) *A ta min-an ba'-an suk-an ba...*
 3s TOP die-real fall-REAL exit.come.down-REAL SEQ
 'It died falling down out of [a tree]...'

Additional examples of clauses with more than one realis verb can be found throughout this book, in particular in the chapters 9, 10, and 11.

Regarding the grammatical position of inflected verbs in the clause the following observation can be made. A realis verb can be the final verb of a clause, unless the clause in which it occurs is utterance-final. This restriction is an effect of the discourse function of the realis inflection as the marker of main narrative events, because a clause which constitutes the main narrative line typically does not occur at the end of an utterance. In other words, the distributional restriction that realis verbs do not occur utterance-final position reflects their discourse function, and is not a syntactic restriction.

An illustration of this is (29), where the question 'Who is the one over there staying in the village' is a clause, and ends in the final inflected verb *mis-an* 'sit'. This is possible because it is uttered in the middle of an utterance and is followed by other clauses. In contrast, the verb at the end of the utterance, *ga-aria* 'arrive at someone' cannot be inflected for realis because it is not followed by (an)other clause(s).

(29) ...*ga-xala'* *li'in* *a* *wa:*
 3s-mother their 3s say
 'Their mum just said:

"Ah! Yilag la afo'o
 EXCL who TOP over there
 "Ah! who is the one over there

un hafan ma mis-an ba
 CONT village come sit-REAL SEQ
 staying in the village,

hari hasak maxar hasak si
 k.o.garden empty k.o.garden empty SIM
 all the gardens are empty so

ha'an atang amidan wurak-an ga-aria'(-an).*
 you do.once.again what look.for-REAL 3s-arrive (-REAL)
 what do you come here looking for again?"

In sum, a Teiwa clause may have no realis verb, or one, or several. Realis verbs can, and do, occur at the end of clauses and sentences, but their discourse function prohibits their occurrence at the end of an utterance.

7.1.5. Summary

The Teiwa realis inflection is used to mark events as actualized events, and realis verbs refer to events that the speaker construes as located in the real world, or the world that the speaker believes to be real. The realis suffix thus has an evidential function when it mark assertions and beliefs, as in (14)-(16) above. The discourse function of the realis inflection is to mark main narrative events.

Verbs expressing events located in the imagination and/or in an unreal world are not marked for realis, because such events are not actualized, and are not part of the world that the speaker believes to be real. Teiwa Realis/irrealis marking cross-cuts different modalities and speech acts.

Teiwa realis is marked as a verbal suffix, while irrealis is the default form and has no expression on the verb. Bare verb stems are thus either irrealis, or unmarked for reality status.



7.2. The marking of Modality

Modality “characterizes the speaker’s estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, intention or ability to perform it” (Foley and Van Valin 1984:214). Modality differs from Reality status. With Modality, the speaker qualifies an event or proposition, and communicates a particular attitude towards it, such as necessity, possibility (epistemic modality), obligation or permission (deontic modality) (Elliott 2000:69). With Realis status, the speaker signals whether the proposition is part of the real world (realis), or of some other world (irrealis). These two sets of concepts are logically distinct, and in Teiwa they are expressed differently in morpho-syntax: while reality status is marked by a suffix on the verb, modality is expressed by verbs and adverbs (see also Ch. 3, section 3.5.1, and Ch. 9, section 9.7). The most frequently attested modality verbs are in (30).

(30) Teiwa modality verbs

<i>xogo</i> ’	‘want’ (positive intention)
<i>mau</i> (IND)	‘want’ (positive intention)
<i>naxa</i> ’	‘not want’ (negative intention)
<i>molas</i>	‘be real, be true’
<i>quun</i>	‘be certain, be sure’
<i>qau</i> ⁷	‘be good (at), be able to, know how to’ (ability)
<i>paat</i>	‘not be able to, not know’ (disability)
<i>musti</i> (IND)	‘must’ (obligation)
<i>fa</i>	‘try’
<i>gaxai</i>	‘do not, should not, must not’ (prohibition)
<i>gasaai</i>	‘cannot’

The intentional verb *xogo*’ and the Indonesian/Malay borrowing *mau* are used as synonyms. The loan *musti* has no direct translational equivalent; in Teiwa obligations are expressed by using a particular idiomatic construction (see Ch. 8, section 8.3)

Modality verbs occur both before and after the major verb. The verbs *xogo*’, *naxa*’, *molas* and *quun* always precede the major verb, while the ability verb *qau* and the negative verbs *paat*, *gaxai* and *gasaai* follow it (see Ch. 8, section 8.1). The examples (31)-(41) illustrate how modality verbs are used in context. The illustrations follow roughly the order of the verbs given in (30).

- (31) *Hala qalixil hala tup-an sar-an*
 others angry others get.up-REAL find-REAL
 ‘So the angry people (lit. unknown others) got up [and]
- xogo’ daa mir-an hafan u ga-mir.*
want ascend ascend village DIST 3s-ascend
 wanted to come up go up to that village’
- (32) *Ni naxa’ patan maan.*
 Ipe not.want pay.back NEG
 ‘We don’t want to pay (it) back’
- 33) *...n-om g-om ga’an wan siin molas*
 ...1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be cleanse be.real
 ‘...cleanse my heart exactly
- ha ma walas xoran.*
 2s come tell thus
 as you promised’
- (34) *Yivar ga-manak a wa:*
 do 3s-master 3s say
 The dog’s master says:
- “Se! Na-yivar quun min-an tau, e.”*
 Excl 1s-dog surely die-REAL PRF EXCL
 ‘‘Oh my! My dog is surely dead now, hey.’’
- (35) *Na sekola ma gi-n qau.*
 1s school come go-REAL good
 ‘I can go to school’
- Cf. *Na sekola ma gi.*
 1s school come go
 Cf. ‘I go to school’
- (36) *Ha’an tei wrer-an paat...*
 you tree climb-REAL not.know
 ‘You don’t know how to climb a tree...’

- (37) *Yi fa uri hafan ma gi sin.*
 2p try look.at village come go just
 ‘You just try looking towards the village’
- (38) *Ga-baq ga’an a-dan wan gaxai.*
 3s-body 3s 3s-part be do.not
 ‘There should not be holes in it’ [said of a building]. (Lit. Its body should not have parts.)
- (39) *Bil-bli xar or ga-miar gaxai,*
 be.careful ember 3s-play do.not
 ‘Be careful, don’t play with embers,
- pi-yaf xarwar-an (*xarwar) g-ax*
 1pi-house burn-REAL burn 3s-possession
 our house will burn down’
- (40) *Daa si taxaran ga-daa, gasaai.*
 ascend SIM how 3s-ascend cannot
 ‘Come up, how to come up (to him), (they) can’t’
- (41) *Gasaai ba, gau.*
 cannot SEQ good
 ‘It’s impossible, and that’s it’

Finally, some idiomatic constructions with the possessive nominal *ga-x* ‘his/her/its possession’ (cf. Ch. 5, section 5.2.3.2) must be mentioned here because of their function. Constructions with *gax* not only express possession, but also potential or hypothetical future events. This is illustrated in (42)-(44).

- (42) *Iman goxo’ ga-fin-an ga-x...*
 they want 3s-catch-REAL 3s-possession
 ‘They want to catch it’
- (43) a. *Tar a pua-n ga-x.*
 rope 3s snap-REAL 3s-possession
 ‘[Watch out] the rope will snap’
 b. *Tar a pua’ tau.*
 rope 3s snap PRF
 ‘The rope snapped’

c. *Tar pua-n*
 rope snap-REAL
 ‘The rope snaps/is snapping’

d. *Tar pua’!*
 rope snap
 ‘(Make) the rope snap!’

(44) *A bir-an ga-x.*
 3s run-REAL 3s-possession
 ‘He will run away’

It is possible to analyse clauses ending in the possessed noun *gax* as nominalized clauses. This is further discussed in Ch. 10, section 10.2.

The Teiwa modality adverbs attested in my corpus are given in (45). (See also Ch. 3, section 3.5.1.) The adverbs *maq tab*, *di* and *na* precede the predicate they modify, *bo* and *be*’ follow it.

(45) Teiwa modality adverbs

<i>maq</i>	‘let it not be’ (apprehensive mood)
<i>tab</i>	‘truly, indeed’
<i>di</i>	‘just’
<i>na’</i>	‘possibly’
<i>bo</i>	‘maybe, perhaps’ (uncertainty)
<i>be’</i>	‘indeed’ (affirmative)

The adverb *maq* is illustrated in (12)) above. The remaining adverbs are illustrated in (46)-(50), following the order of the items in (45). Note that (46) also contains the aspectual adverbs *un* ‘Cont(inuative)’ and *pai* ‘Prog(ressive)’.

(46) *A yix-ei si ga-gas qai ga’an*
 3s descend-REAL SIM 3s-sister child 3s
 ‘He went down, that sister of his was indeed sitting

a tab un mis-an qar tap-an pai,... a...
 3s truly CONT sit-REAL rice pound-REAL PROG EXCL
 pounding rice, eh...

qa-xala' ga'an un mis-an batar uaa.
 3s-mother 3s CONT sit-REAL corn crush
 that mum of his was sitting crushing corn'

- (47) ...*bali si ga-yivar g-et bag di balax-balax...*
 see SIM 3s-dog 3s-eye seed just RDP-stare.up
 '...and sees that the eyes of his dog are just staring up...'

- (48) *Na wan kruan yi na' aria-n maan.*
 1s think 2p possibly arrive-REAL NEG
 'I know that you will not come'

- (49) *Xoran si pi-tarau, Teiwa,*
 thus SIM 1pi-language Teiwa
 'So our language, Teiwa,

ga-tarau ga-quun laxu'u bo,
 3s-language 3s-be.sure that.one.there UNCERT
 could actually perhaps be

quun Sibori non?
 surely Sibori PL
 from the Sibori [clan]?'

- (50) *Na bali be'.*
 1s see AFFIRM
 'I'm ready to watch'

7.3. The marking of Aspect

Aspect in Teiwa is typically marked by adverbs, but verbs are also used. The aspectual verbs are given in (51). These verbs can also be used as independent predicates, unlike the aspectual adverbs in (60). *Atang, suug, mulai, usan* and *tup* precede the major verb, the verb *gula* 'finish' follows it. (See also Ch. 9, section 9.7.)

- (51) Teiwa aspectual verbs

ata(ng) 'do once again, start again'
suug 'continue'
mulai 'begin' (Malay/Indonesian)

usan 'begin, start'; literally 'lift (up)'
tup 'begin, start; literally 'stand up, get up'
gula 'finish'

The aspectual verb *ata(ng)* 'do once again, start once again', is illustrated in (52), and it combines with *suug* 'continue' in (53).

(52) *A un atang war upar mar*
 3s CONT do.once.again pebble stone take
 'Again he took a pebble'

a ta ma iman ga-ayas.
 3s TOP come they 3s-throw
 [and] threw [it] at him'

(53) *Na atang buku ma suug-an baca.*
 1s do.once.again book(IND) come continue-REAL read(IND)
 'I continue again reading the book'

The aspectual interpretation of the verb *usan* 'lift up' in (54) is derived from its literal interpretation, as illustrated in (55).

(54) *...yix-in a si usan togar si...*
 descend-REAL 3s SIM lift cry.loudly SIM
 '...going down she started crying loudly...'

(55) *Paksa qau ba a ta wa*
 have.to(IND) good SEQ 3s a go
 'He had to go closer,

iman yias-an ma ga-tan mi-mia' si,
 they put.at-REAL come 3s-hand RDP-fill SIM
 put burning coal in their hands,

ga-tan og ba a pin bir-an gi yitar me',
 3s-hand hot SEQ 3s hold run-REAL go road be.in
 so their hands got hot so they ran away with it till on the road,

gasaai ba a ta ma nuan kian sayar
 cannot SEQ 3s TOP come clutch woven.cloth tip
 impossible, so they lifted the tip of their sarong

usan daa ma mia'.
lift ascend come fill
 to let it be filled [with burning coal]'

The inchoative-posture verb *tup* 'stand up, get up' can also be used to express an aspectual notion. In (56) it expresses that the running started then and there; that is, the sentence cannot be translated as 'the people of the village were running / had been running away'. (In (58), it is used as an inchoative posture verb.)

- (56) *Uyaq hafan me'-en ga'an aga' tup-an bir-an...*
 person village be.in-Real 3s all get.up-Real run-Real
 'All the people who were in the village started to run away...'

Of the aspectual verbs, *gula'* 'finish' is the one used most frequently. *Gula'* marks the accomplishment of an event and occurs clause-finally. It is typically followed by an intonational break (a falling intonation and/or a pause). The clause that follows *gula'* expresses the subsequent event. The accomplishment marking function of *gula'* 'finish' is illustrated in (57)-(59).

- (57) *A bir-an gi awan awan tas-an gula',*
 3s run-REAL go far.away far.away stand-REAL finish
 'She ran far far away,

a tas-an bali.
 3s stand-REAL see
 [and then] she stood still to watch'

- (58) *War nuk ga'an a tup-an gula' a ta gi.*
 day one 3s 3s get.up-REAL finish 3s TOP go
 'One day he got up [and] went away'

- (59) *A wa si par nuk un tei luxun mis-an ba*
 3s go SIM pigeon one CONT tree high sit-REAL SEQ
 'He went [away], there was a pigeon sitting on top of a tree

a upas mar-an gula'
 3s arrow take-REAL finish
 he took his arrows

a hutan ga-susan gula', a gaal-an.
 3s bow 3s-tighten.ropes finish 3s shoot.with.arrow- REAL
 he tightened the bow's rope, he shot'

As the examples show, aspectual verbs can occur in serial verb constructions; these are discussed in chapter 9.

Aspectual adverbs express various types of aspectual distinctions, as shown in (60). (See also Ch. 3, section 3.5.2). They are referred to as adverbs because they function as predicate modifiers, and cannot be used predicatively. I have not assumed a word class of particles in Teiwa, but if such a class exists, these words could also be referred to as 'aspect particles'.

(60) Teiwa aspectual adverbs

<i>tau</i>	Perfective (PRF) ('already')
<i>yed</i>	Prospective (PRSP) ('not yet, still')
<i>pati</i>	Progressive (PROG)
<i>un</i>	Continuative (CONT)
<i>terus (IND)</i>	'continuously'

In (61)-(62), the contrast between perfective *tau* 'already' and prospective *yed* is illustrated.

(61) *A karian gula' tau.*
 3s work finish PRF
 'He has finished working'

(62) a. *A yed karian yed.*
 3s not.yet/still work PRSP
 'He has not come to work yet'

b. *A yed karian dapat*
 3s PRSP work find (IND)
 'He has not found work yet'

Pati 'Progressive' marks progressive aspect. The contrast with perfective *tau* is illustrated in (63a-b).

(63) a. *A karian pati.*
 3s work PROG
 'He is working'

- b. *A karian tau.*
 3s work PRF
 ‘He works already’ (i.e. he has started work).

- (64) *Aduh! Bali yaf xarwar-an pati.*
 Excl see house burn PROG
 ‘Oh! Look that house is on fire’

The adverb *un* marks continuative aspect: the predicate refers to a state, position, location, or activity that continues. This is illustrated in (65). In (65a), the verb *tii’* is modified by *un*, and refers to an ongoing event, in (65b), the predicate is unspecified for aspect.

- (65) a. *Biar haraq ga’an un tii’,*
 child two 3s CONT sleep
 ‘The two children were asleep,

un tii’ qau ba a iman ga-regan...
CONT sleep good SEQ 3s they 3s-ask
 [they were] asleep and he began to ask them...’
- b. *Biar haraq ga’an tii’.*
 child two 3s sleep
 ‘The two children sleep/slept’

Typically, *un* modifies posture verbs such as *tii’* ‘sleep/lie down’, as in the above examples (other examples are *tas* ‘stand’ and *mis* ‘sit’). However, *un* also modifies locative predicates quite often, as in (66). It can also mark activity predicates as ongoing, continuous events. This is illustrated in (67) with the verb *te* ‘walk’, and in (68) with the verbs *bunar* ‘flutter’ and *tewar* ‘walk’.

- (66) a. *Qavif un wanan me’.*
 goat CONT that.side be.at
 ‘That goat is standing (lit. being) at that side’
- b. *Qavif wanan me’.*
 goat that.side be.at
 ‘Goat is at that side’

(67) *Qaai ga'an un te a mahar pin.*
 crow 3s CONT walk 3s new.garden hold
 'That crow was on his way (lit. walking) to work in his garden'

(68) ...*a pin mir isis ma ma yaa*
 3s hold ascend land come come descend
 '... they take it up and put it on the shore'

la dias kupan uwaad qai
 FOC k.o.fish big just
 it is just a big fish

ba'-an yaa un bunar, un tewar.
 fall-REAL descend CONT flutter CONT walk
 that falls down fluttering and walking'

Finally, the adverb *terus* 'continuously' is a loan from Indonesian/Malay. It is used very frequently by speakers of all generations.

(69) *Ga-luxun ma tas-an,*
 3s-high come stand-REAL
 '(He was) standing on top of it,

tapi ki una' ga-tiar-an terus.
 but eagle also 3s-chase-real continuously
 but the eagle continued to chase him'

7.4. Summary

In this chapter, the marking of reality status, modality and aspect in Teiwa has been described. (Other types of predicate modifications are discussed in the Ch. 3, section 3.5.) Reality status marking encodes events as being located in the real or unreal world. In Teiwa, this is done with an inflectional suffix that marks a verb as 'realis'.

In Teiwa, modality and reality status are different notions that refer to distinct concepts: with modality marking a speaker qualifies an event and communicates a particular attitude towards it (necessity, possibility, obligation or permission), while a speaker uses the realis suffix to encode the event as actualized (or not, by leaving out the suffix). Teiwa modality is marked with a set of modality verbs, and/or modality adverbs, and realis state with an inflectional suffix.

Aspect is typically marked by aspectual adverbs, though verbs are also used. In particular the verb *gula* 'finish' occurs frequently to mark accomplished events. The adverbs function to mark perfective, prospective, progressive, stative and continuative aspect.

Chapter 8

Negative, interrogative, and imperative clauses

8.0. Introduction

This chapter describes how the major types of negative and non-declarative speech acts are expressed grammatically in Teiwa. Section 8.1 describes clausal negation. Section 8.2 discusses interrogative clauses, distinguishing polar questions (8.2.1), alternative questions (8.2.2), tag questions (8.2.3) and content questions (8.2.4). Section 8.3 describes imperatives (8.3.1) and prohibitives (8.3.2).

Teiwa verbs may be marked for reality status by an inflectional suffix (Ch. 7, section 7.1). Often, this realis suffix is used in simple declarative clauses to express indicative mood, and encodes the event denoted by the verb as being actualized and located in the real world. Verbs expressing events in a hypothetical or imagined world are not inflected for realis. In this chapter, we will see that verbs inflected for realis status are also found in negations (section 8.1), interrogatives (section 8.2.5), and prohibitives (section 8.3.2). However, realis verbs are not found in imperatives (8.3.1).

8.1. Negation

Verbal and non-verbal predicates are negated with the negator *maan* ‘Neg’. Another strategy for negation is to use negative (auxiliary) verbs; this is discussed below.

The negator *maan* follows the predicate; it cannot occur before it. In(1), a nominal predicate is negated (cf. Ch. 6, section 6.1 and 6.9). The following clauses have a verbal predicate. The clauses in (2) and (3) illustrate negated existence because the verb is *wan* ‘be’. The existential construction also functions to express possession in Teiwa (Ch. 6, section 6.6 and 6.7).

(1) *Xa'a ga'an xam maan, xa'a ga'an tuax.*
this 3s milk NEG this 3s palm.wine
‘This is not milk, this is palm wine’

(2) *Xai wan maan.* (Compare: *Xai wan*)
canoe be NEG canoe be
‘There is no canoe.’ (Compare: ‘There is a canoe’)

- (3) *Ni-kon ii' wan maan.*
 1pe-shirt red be NEG
 'We don't have a red shirt' (lit. 'Our red shirt is not')

The negator cannot precede the predicate, as shown in (4)-(5):

- (4) *'..si a'an (*maan) yip ga-sig maan,*
 SIM 3s NEG also 3s-sound NEG
 '...and he did not [make a] sound either,

a qo'-qo'oy-an tii'.
 3s RDP-be.silent-REAL sleep
 he lay down silently'

- (5) *(*Maan) suk-an maan, kri u*
 NEG exit.descend-REAL NEG Mr DIST
 'They didn't come out, that grandfather

*pakan- pak-an (*maan) suk-an maan*
 RDP- call-REAL NEG exit.come.down-REAL NEG
 called and called but no-one came out,

qau ba wa gi hafan srar.
 good SEQ go go village edge
 so they went [away] to the edge of the village'

- (6) *Ha'an bali maan laxu'u ga'an tarau ga-x.*
 you see NEG that.one.there 3s language 3s-possession
 'You're not allowed to see that [because] there are problems'
 (lit. '...because it has language')

The negator has scope over an entire serial verb construction, and must appear at the end of it, as shown in (7):

- (7) *...iman ta ga-mian (*maan) na-n maan,...*
 they TOP 3s-give NEG eat-REAL NEG
 '...they did not give her to eat...'

Negative responses to questions are illustrated in (8b) and (9). The first *maan* is the negative response, the second *maan* negates the predicate. (In (9), this is an idiomatic serial verb construction *puan yaa* 'snap descend' > 'to cheat'.) Section 8.2 below contains more examples of questions and answers.

- (8) a. *Nome ha'an n-oqai g-un-ba'?*
 Sir you 1s-child 3s-APPL-fall
 'Sir, did you see my child?'
- b. *Maan, na g-un-ba' maan.*
 NEG 1s 3s-APPL-fall NEG
 'No, I haven't seen him'
- (9) *A wa: "Maan,*
 3s say NEG
 'He said: "No,
- na ha'an pua-n yaa qai maan ba,*
 1s you snap-REAL descend just NEG SEQ
 I'm not cheating you, so
- ha-tan ga-husaq e na suk."*
 2s-hand 3s-open EXCL 1s exit.come.down
 open your hand hey [so] I [can] come down" ' "

Another strategy for negation is to use negative (auxiliary) verbs. Teiwa has three of such verbs: *paat* 'not know', *gasaai* 'cannot', and the prohibitive verb *gaxai* 'do not'. Illustrations are given in (10)-(12). With these verbs, speakers express lack of knowledge, lack of ability, or prohibitives. The verbs are clause-final and cannot co-occur with the negator *maan*. They may have their own subject, as in (10), or share it with one or more other verbs in a serial verb construction, as in (11)-(12). Prohibitives are further discussed in section 8.3.2 below.

- (10) *Iman a wa iman paat, pi-soxai le, pi-pantun le.*
 they 3s say they not.know 1pi-dance or 1pi-song or
 'They say they don't know our dances or our songs'
- (11) *E! In i ga'an or qai ba in og*
 EXCL thing PROX 3s coal just SEQ thing hot
 'Hey! This is just burning coal, hot stuff
- ba na ma yi-mian gasaai ba yi mir...*
 SEQ 1s come 2p-put.at cannot SEQ 2p ascend
 so I cannot give it to you so you go up...

in nuk pin aria' pi ma mia' si
 thing one hold arrive 1pi come fill SIM
 bring something [e.g. a container] here, we will fill it and

yi ta pin gi.
 2p TOP hold go
 you take it with you'

- (12) *Ha-dan er-an xoran gaxai.*
 2s-part do-REAL thus do.not
 'Don't do like that'

The negative verbs mentioned above all occupy the canonical clause-final position for verbs. (13a) shows that they cannot occur clause-initially. However, they can occur in a dislocated position preceding the clause, as illustrated in (13b). In this position, the verb is followed by an intonational break. (In addition, the noun *dan* 'part' is used; see section 8.3.2 for a discussion of its function in negative clauses.)

- (13) a.* *Gaxai er-an xoran.*
 do.not do-REAL thus
 Intended reading: 'Don't do like that.'
- b. *Gaxai, ha-dan er-an xoran.*
 do.not 2-part do-REAL thus
 'Don't, don't do like that'

An exceptional negative verb is *naxa* 'not want', illustrated in (14). This verb must occur before another verb and is thus the only negative verb that is not clause-final. It also differs from the other negative verbs because it co-occurs with the negator *maan* while the other negative verbs cannot combine with *maan*.

- (14) *Ni naxa' min-an maan, si a'an la a er-an.*
 1pe not.want die-REAL NEG SIM 3s FOC 3s do-REAL
 'While we don't want to die, he wil do [it]' (i.e. he will kill us)

The adverb *maq* 'let it not be' expresses apprehensive modality and is illustrated in (15).

- (15) *Yi'in una' dan maq tarau g-om me'.*
 you.pl also part let.it.not.be language 3s-inside be.in
 'Don't you get into trouble (lit. 'get into language') as well'

More illustrations with negative verbs are given in Ch. 7, section 7.2, where they are discussed as members of the class of modality verbs.

Note that in some of the examples above the verbs were inflected for realis, while other negative clauses did not contain realis verbs (see Ch. 7, section 7.1). Unlike what is the case in many other languages, a negated event is thus not necessarily irrealis in Teiwa, but can be either realis or irrealis.¹

8.2. Interrogative clauses: questions and answers

This section describes the structure of interrogative clauses, both verbal and non-verbal. (See also Ch. 6, section 6.10). Four types of interrogative clauses are discussed: polar (yes-no) questions (8.2.1), alternative questions (8.2.2), tag questions (8.2.3) and content (informative) questions (8.2.4). The content questions are described according to the interrogative word used in them: *yilag* 'who', *amidan* 'what', *ta'a* 'which', *ita'a* 'where' and *yiran* 'how many', *gigala* 'why', and *taxaran* 'how'.

8.2.1. Polar questions

Polar questions, also referred to as 'yes-no' questions, are interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is either "yes" or "no". Teiwa polar questions have no distinctive word order, nor do they involve a special particle. Yes-no questions may have a final rising pitch, but the rise is less extreme than in e.g. English. Often there is no rising intonation, so that questions sound as declaratives. They are recognized as questions by the pragmatics of the situation. This is illustrated by the question-answer pair in (16), a piece of conversation between several Teiwa speakers. One man asks the question ending in *...aga' gom me'*; these words are all uttered at the same (low) pitch level. Despite the non-distinctive intonation, the utterance is interpreted as a question, and the immediate answers by someone else starts with *Hale,* 'Yes,....'

- (16) Q: *Oh, kalau pi'in Perang Tubi ga'an u*
 EXCL if (IND) we P. T. DIST
 'Oh, if we are that Perang Tubi [clan]

termasuk Burilak aga' g-om me'.
 include(IND) B. all 3s-inside stay
 that includes everyone from the Burilak [clan]'

A: *Hale, hanya iman ga'an un wek aria', to.*
 yes only(IND) they 3s Prog later arrive right
 'Yes, [but] only those that came afterwards, right'

Additional examples of polar questions are given in (17)-(19). The affirmative words are *hale/ ha'e* 'yes' and *yo* 'yes'.

(17) Q: *Nome, ha'an n-oqai g-un-ba'?*
 Sir you 1s-child 3s-meet
 'Sir, did you meet my child?'

A: *Yo, miaag ba na g-unba'. /... g-unba'-an.*
 yes yesterday SEQ 1s 3s-meet 3s-meet-REAL
 'Yes, I met him yesterday'

In (18), the modality particle *be'* expresses affirmation, in response to a question which contains the modality adverb *bo* 'maybe' (cf. Ch. 7, section 7.2). This affirmative particle is also used in (19a). It is not obligatory in affirmative answers, as shown in (19b).

(18) Q: *Xoran bo?* A: *Xoran be'.*
 thus maybe thus AFFIRM
 Q: 'Maybe like that?' A: 'Yes like that'

(19) Q: *Ha'an la ma?* A: *Yo be' / Ha'e ba.*
 2s FOC come yes AFFIRM yes SEQ
 Q: 'Are you coming (here)?' A: 'OK' / 'Sure'.

8.2.2. Alternative questions

Alternative questions are closely related to polar questions (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). An illustration is the exchange in (20). The (embedded) alternative question in (20a) gets a negative response in (20b), and an affirmative one in (20c).

- (20) a. *A xoran si, yi ga-sar le maan.*
 3s thus SIM 2p 3s-find or NEG
 ‘If so, did you find her or not?’
- b. *Maan le.*
 NEG or
 ‘No’
- c. *Atab le.*
 truly or
 ‘Sure’

Another question that poses an alternative is given in (21), with a possible response.

- (21) *Ina tau, le yed? Yed.*
 eat PRF or PRSP PRSP
 ‘Have you eaten already or not yet?’ ‘Not yet’

Finally, in the following conversation a goat and a monkey ask each other an alternative question:

- (22) *A wa: “Ha’an la wrer le na’an?” Mauluku a wa:*
 3s say 2s FOC climb or I monkey 3s say
 ‘(Goat) says “Do you climb the tree, or I?” Monkey says:

“Ha’an la tei wrer-an qau
 you FOC tree climb-REAL good
 “Can you climb the tree

le na’an la tei wrer-an qau?
 or I FOC tree climb-REAL good
 or shall (lit. can) I climb it?”’

An example of an alternative question where the first part is a content question is (43) below.

8.2.3. Tag questions

Tag questions in Teiwa typically have a rising pitch on the tag. My corpus contains only two types of tags: the negator *maan* (see section 8.1) and the

conjunction *le* ‘or’. *Maan* may be preceded by a pause, as in (23) and (25), but it can also be one intonation unit with the predicate, as in (24). The conjunction *le* ‘or’ is not preceded by a pause, and is optionally followed by an exclamative marker such as *e*, as illustrated in (26).

(23) *Iman ta hafan u ga-mir-an, maan?*
 they TOP village DIST 3s-ascend-REAL NEG
 ‘They climbed to the village, didn’t they?’

(24) *Ha na-indan pin-an maan?*
 2s 1s-anything hold-REAL NEG
 ‘You brought me something, didn’t you?’

(25) *Mam, maan?*
 right NEG
 ‘It’s alright, isn’t it? / It’s OK, right?’

(26) *Ga’an kri li’in u le e?*
 3s ancestor their DIST or EXCL
 ‘That was their ancestor, right?’

All these questions expect a ‘yes’ answer.

8.2.4. Content (‘information’) questions

Content questions are questions that are not answered by yes or no, and contain an interrogative phrase. This section describes the structure of content questions, and is organised according to the question word used. A semantically organised overview of questions about identity, property, quantity, number, location, existence as well as possession is presented in Ch. 6, section 6.10.

The words used to question grammatical subjects and objects are *yilag* ‘who’, which has a human referent (8.2.4.1), and *amidan* ‘what’, whose referent is not human (8.2.4.2). In verbal clauses, these interrogatives are often marked as clause focus and typically occur in initial position. There is no good evidence to assume that an interrogative focus constituent is ‘moved’ out of the clause: questioned subjects and objects can still be expressed pronominally in the clause. Illustrations include (30), (31), (32), (33) and (35) below.

Other interrogative words are *ta’a* ‘which’, to question the identity of a nominal referent (8.2.4.3); *ita’a* ‘where’, to question a location (8.2.4.4); *gigala(l)* ‘why’ to question a reason or motivation (8.2.4.5); *taxaran* ‘how’, to

question manner (8.2.4.6), and *yiran* ‘how many’, to question a quantity (8.2.4.7).

8.2.4.1. *Yilag* ‘who’

Yilag ‘who’ questions human referents, and is marked as focus constituent by the marker *la*. In (27)-(28) *yilag* questions an intransitive subject, in (29) a transitive agent.

- (27) *Yilag la bas ewar gi,*
 who FOC tomorrow return go
 ‘Who will go home tomorrow,

yilag la tiraq si ta ewar gi?
 who FOC day.after SIM TOP return go
 ‘who will go home the day after?’

- (28) *Miaag² yilag la ibaq ma ba’?*
 yesterday who FOC hole come fall
 ‘Who fell into the hole yesterday?’

- (29) *Yilag la na-muxui taxau?*
 who FOC 1s-banana steal
 ‘Who stole my bananas?’

In (30), *yilag* questions the subject of a serial verb construction that contains an intransitive and a transitive verb. Observe that the clause also contains a resumptive pronoun for the questioned subject: the pronominal *a* ‘3s’.

- (30) ...*yilag la a ma g-aria-n*
 who FOC 3s come 3s-arrive-REAL
 ‘...who comes to him...’ (lit. ‘who he comes (and) arrives at him’)

In (31)-(32), *yilag* questions patient objects, and in (33) a comitative object.³ Note that all of the questioned objects are also marked by a pronominal prefix on the verb. This is because animate objects are regularly prefixed to the verb (Ch. 4, section 4.4).

- (31) *Yilag la a miaag g-ua'?*
 who FOC 3s yesterday 3s-hit
 'Who did he hit yesterday?'
- (32) *Yilag la wad ge'ef yivar ga-tiar-an xu'u?*
 who FOC today just.now dog 3s-chase-REAL that.one
 'Who did the dog chase just now?'
- (33) *Ha yilag ga'-aria'?* *Na Lorens ga'-aria'.*
 2s who 3s.anim-arrive 1s Lorens 3s.anim-arrive
 'With whom did you arrive?' 'I arrived with Lorens'

While *yilag* is typically marked as a focus constituent, as in (27)-(32), this is not an obligatory strategy: *yilag* is not part of a focus constituent in (33).

In (34), *yilag* is the predicate:

- (34) [*Uy ga-aria-n ga'an u*] *yilag?*
 person 3s-arrive-REAL 3s DIST who
 'Who are those people that arrived?'
 (lit. 'Those arriving people are who?')

A focus constituent with *yilag* is not external to the clause: in (35), it is preceded by the subject as well as two temporal adjuncts (observe that a resumptive pronoun follows the focus constituent).

- (35) *Ha wad ge'ef yilag la ha g-u'an?*
 2s today just.now who FOC 2s 3s-cradle
 'You, just now today, who did you carry in your arms?'

In other words, there is no evidence that Teiwa focus constituents are 'moved' or 'dislocated' to a clause-external position (see also Ch. 11, section 11.3). The fact that interrogative phrases often occur clause-initially is because they typically express contrastive focus with the focus marker *la*, and such constituents tend to occur at the beginning of clauses.

Yilag also functions to question possession; both alienable and inalienable, as in (36)-(39). In this function, *yilag* is the possessor of a noun, not a focus constituent (cf. Ch. 5, section 5.2 and 5.7, Ch. 6, section 6.10). The possessed NP may be marked as focus, as illustrated in (37)-(38)

- (36) *Yilag ga-kon / g-oqai / ga-yivar?*
 who 3s-shirt 3s-child 3s-dog
 'Whose shirt / child / dog?'

(37) *Yilag g-o'on wa' la yia-n xa'a?*
 who 3s-head leaf FOC put-REAL this
 'Whose hair is scattered around here?'

(38) *Yilag ga-yaf la xu'u?*
 who 3s-house FOC that.one
 'Whose house is that one (over there)?'

In (39), the focus constituent is the object of *tiar-an* 'chase-REAL' and contains *yilag* as possessor.

(39) *Yilag g-oqai la wad ge'ef yivar ga-tiar-an xu'u?*
 who 3s-child FOC yesterday just.now dog 3s-chase-REAL that
 'Whose child did the dog chase just now?'

In sum, when *yilag* questions the identity of human subjects and (patient) objects, it is typically marked as a focus constituent with *la*. There is no evidence that focus constituents marked with *la* are clause-external (see Ch. 11, section 11.3).

8.2.4.2. Amidan 'what'

Amidan 'what' questions the identity of non-human referents. The referent is usually an entity, as in (40)-(42), but it may also be an event, as in (43), or an animal, as in (58).

Amidan questions an intransitive subject in (40)-(43), an object in (44)-(48), and the subject of a nominal predicate in (49). Questions where *amidan* refers to a transitive subject are not expected to occur because the referent of *amidan* is inanimate, and transitive subjects are animate.

(40) *Amidan la tei luxun hor-an u?*
 what FOC wood high hang-REAL DIST
 'What is that hanging up the tree?'

(41) *Amidan la buun afo? Yaf!*
 what FOC smoke over there house
 'What is smoking over there?' 'A house!'

(42) *Amidan la wad ge'ef*
 what FOC today just.now
 'What just now

tami luxun ma ba'-an suk?
 tamarind high come fall-REAL exit.come.down
 fell out of the tamarind tree?'

- (43) *Amidan la qau, tii' le karian?*
 what FOC good sleep or work
 'What is better, sleeping or working?'

- (44) *Ka'au, ha amidan la er-an laxu'u?*
 younger.sibling 2s what FOC make-REAL that.one.there
 'Little brother/sister, what are you doing there?'

- (45) *Yi ma aria-n amidan la mar?*
 2p come arrive-REAL what FOC take
 'You come to take what?'

- (46) *Bes yi'in amidan (wan) belajar?*
 morning 2p what be learn(IND)
 'What did you learn/study this morning?'

Na Teiwa' tarau do'or.
 1s Teiwa language collect.liquid
 I learned/studied Teiwa.'⁴

- (47) *Iman ma na-walas a wa xa'a*
 3p come 1s-tell 3s say this
 'They came to tell me (saying this)

amidan la iman g-om-bangan
 what FOC 3p 3s-inside-ask.for
 what they liked'

- (48) *Ha amidan la ma ha-'ena?*
 2s what FOC come 2s-remember
 'What do you remember?'

- (49) *A ga-regan ga'an "Amidan la xu'u?" *Amidan xu'u?*
 3s 3s-ask 3s what FOC that what that
 'He asks him: "What is that?"'

Like *yilag*, *amidan* is often marked as a focus constituent with *la*, as illustrated in (40)-(49) above. Observe that in (44), the agent subject pronoun

ha precedes the object *amidan*, which is marked with *la*. This shows that the interrogative focus can occur in a clause-internal position. (This sentence is also evidence that *la* is not a relative clause marker.)⁵

Although in the corpus *amidan* is typically marked as focus, this is not obligatory. In (50a) *amidan* is marked as focus — the standard way to ask this question. However, when the same question is repeated, *amidan* has no focus marker, as shown in (50b). (51) and (52) are additional illustrations that the focus marking of *amidan* is determined pragmatically rather than syntactically.

(50) a. *Nome, ha amidan la bangan?*
 Sir 2s what FOC ask.for
 ‘Sir, what are you asking for?’

b. *Nome, ha amidan bangan?*
 Sir 2s what ask.for
 ‘Sir, what are you asking for?’

(51) *Hari hasak maxar hasak si*
 garden empty new.garden empty SIM
 ‘The gardens and fields⁶ are empty so

ha’an atang amidan wraak-an ga-aria’.
 you once.again what search.for-REAL 3s-arrive
 what would you come searching for once again?’

Regarding the semantic roles of the object that *amidan* refers to, the following can be observed. Often, the object it refers to is a semantic patient or theme, as in (44)-(51). However, the questioned objects may also have other semantic roles. For example, in (52), the object is a comitative. The verb *wan* in a serial verb construction functions to introduce an inanimate object (location/goal/comitative); it is never a patient (Ch. 9, section 9.6.4).

(52) *Ha mis-an amidan wan blau-an laxa’a.*
 2s sit-REAL what be chat-REAL this.one.here
 ‘You sit chatting about what?’

In the minimally contrasting sentences (53)-(55) the semantic roles of the questioned object vary from patient, instrument to location, depending on the serial verb construction in which it occurs. The deictic verb *ma* ‘come’ marks instruments and locations as obliques. This verb has developed a variety of other synchronic functions as well (Ch. 9, section 9.5).

- (53) *Yi amidan la ga-uyan*
2p what FOC 3s-search.for
'What are you searching for?'
- (54) *Yi amidan la ma ga-uyan?*
2p what FOC come 3s-search.for
'With what are you searching?'
- (55) *Yi amidan la g-om ma ga-uyan*
2p what FOC 3s-inside come 3s-search.for
'Where are you searching in?' (i.e., in which thing are you searching?)

Amidan is the predicate in the non-verbal clauses in (56)-(60):

- (56) *Ha-nara' / ha-yit amidan?*⁷
2s-name / 2s-name what
'What is your name?'
- (57) *In u amidan?*
thing DIST what
'What is that thing?'
- (58) *Yivar amidan?*
dog what
'What (kind of) dog?' (i.e. black, small, big?)
- (59) *Tarau amidan?*
language what
'Which language/word/sentence?'
- (60) *Wad war amidan? Wad Minggu wan.*
today day what today Sunday be
'What day is today?' 'Today is Sunday'

Finally, *amidan* is used as a hesitation marker, or 'filler' of pauses. In such cases it is grammatically optional, and can (optionally) co-occur with the word *badan* 'thingy'.

- (61) *Yes-yes a ta amidan (badan) war upar mar*
RDP-suddenly 3s TOP what 'thingy' stone pebble take
'Suddenly he took... ehm... a pebble,

a ta ma ga-ayas.
 3s TOP come 3s-throw
 he threw [it] at him'

In sum, *amidan* questions non-human referents that are grammatical subjects or objects and have various semantic roles. With verbal predicates it is typically marked as focus and occupies the initial position of the clause, though this is not obligatory. In non-verbal clauses, *amidan* is the predicate.

8.2.4.3. Ta'a 'which'

In its underived form, *ta'a* 'which' questions the identity of a nominal referent. In (62) it is part of the subject focus expression, together with the noun it modifies. In (63), the noun is the subject, and *ta'a* functions as predicate.

(62) *Xar ta'a la buun afo?*
 fire.wood which FOC smoke over there
 'Which fire is smoking over there?'

(63) *Rai la ta'a?*
 king FOC which
 'Which king?'

Ta'a is frequently attested with a possessor prefix. An illustration is (64) (compare with (63)). In such constructions, *ta'a* modifies the preceding noun, and forms a complex NP with it (Ch. 5, section 5.3.2). Similar constructions are (65) and (66).

(64) *Rai ga-ta'a?*
 king 3s-which
 'Which king' / 'Which of the king(s)?'

(65) *Hafan / uyaq / yivar / kopi ga-ta'a?*
 village person dog coffee(IND) 3s-which
 'Which village/person /dog/ coffee?'

(66) *Meja ga-ta'a la mar?*
 table (IND) 3s-which FOC take
 'Which table [do we] get?'

As a possessed nominal, *ga-ta'a* can occur on its own, and be marked as focus constituent, as shown in (67)-(68).

- (67) *Ga-ta'a la un gi?*
 3s-which FOC CONT go
 'Which one is going?'

- (68) *...ta ga-xala' ta wan penai-an*
 TOP 3s-mother TOP be touch-REAL
 '...so his mum felt

ga-ta'a la qau si xu'u ga'an iman ta na.
 3s-which FOC good SIM that 3s they TOP eat
 which ones were good, and those they ate'

In sum, *ta'a* 'which' is a nominal element that often occurs with a possessive prefix.

8.2.4.4. *Ita'a* 'where'

Ita'a 'where', used to question locations, is also a nominal element. Consisting of the stem *ta'a* 'which' and the locational prefix *i-*, it is a morphologically complex word. The prefix *i* is cognate to the pronoun *i* 'it.place' as illustrated in (69) (Ch. 3, section 3.2.6).

- (69) *Gi ta ma un i ta serun-an*
 go TOP come CONT it.place TOP stick.into-REAL
 'She comes home [and] sticks [it] somewhere

un ma i ta tii'...
 CONT come it.place TOP sleep
 sticks it into some place and goes to sleep there...'

Despite its morphological complexity, *ita'a* 'where' functions as one word and is glossed as 'where' in this book. In (70), *ita'a* functions as a nominal predicate and has a human subject. In (71) it is the (locational) object of the transitive location verb *me*'.

- (70) *Iman ita'a?*
 they where
 'Where are they?'

- (71) *Bapa ita'a me'? Maraqai.*
 father(IND) where be.at up
 'Where is father?' 'Upstairs'

In (72)-(74), *ita'a* is fronted and becomes the possessor of a possessive NP which questions the origin or location of particular objects. Note that *ita'a ga-hafan* 'a village from where' in (73) contrasts with *hafan ga-ta'a* 'which village' in (65) above. In (65) *ita'a* is grammatically a possessed nominal that functions as an adnominal modifier, in (73), it is the possessor of the location (i.e. the origin) of the village.

- (72) *Ita'a ga-yir / ga-uyaq / ga-yivar / ga-qas?*
 where 3s-water 3s-person 3s-dog 3s-bean
 'Water/a person/people/a dog/beans from where?'

- (73) *A taxani bo hafan maraqai afo'o*
 3s ask.for.information maybe village up over there
 'He asked perhaps the village upthere,

ita'a ga-hafan la maraqai ma yia?
 where 3s-village FOC up come put
 from where is that village that is build up there?' (i.e., it wasn't there before)

In (74) the NP *ita'a ga-yir* 'water of where' is the object NP of the transitive verb *saran* 'find':

- (74) *Pi ta ita'a ga-yir la nuk ga-sar-an si*
 1pi TOP where 3s-water FOC one 3s-find-REAL SIM
 'Where do we find water so

pi ta bisa hufa'?
 1pi TOP can(IND) drink
 we can drink?'

When it combines with an intransitive verb, *ita'a* must be encoded as an oblique locative constituent. Such constituents are marked with *ma*; illustrations are (75)-(78). (The analysis that the verb *ma* developed into an oblique marker is motivated in Ch. 9, section 9.5.2).

- (75) *Ita'a ma buun?*
 where come smoke
 'Where is [it] smoking?' (Lit. 'Smoking [is] at where?')
- (76) *(Ha) ita'a ma gi? Ifo'o ma gi.*
 2s where come go over there come go
 'Where are you going?' '[I'm] going over there'
- (77) *Muud ita'a ma yia?*
 lemon where come put.at
 'Where's the lemon?'

Muud un meja luxun ta yia.
 lemon CONT table(IND) high TOP put.at
 'The lemon is (put) on the table'
- (78) *Qavif non ita'a ma gi?*
 goat PL where come go
 'Where did the goats go to?'

Transitive verbs that have a patient/theme object, also mark a location as an oblique constituent, using *ma* as an oblique marker. This strategy is also used when the location is questioned with *ita'a*, as shown in (79)-(81). Note that in such constructions, patient/theme objects are often known from the context and left unexpressed, as is the case in (79)-(80).

- (79) *Na ta ita'a ma mar?*
 1s TOP where come take
 'I get [it] from where?'
- (80) *Ha ita'a ma moxod?*
 2s where come drop
 'Where did you drop [it]?'
- (81) *...iman xaf uwaad ga'an ita'a ma ga-sar-an la...*
 they fish big 3s where come 3s-find-REAL FOC
 '...where did they find that big fish...'

iman boqai dau-an laxa'a?
 they cut.up cook-REAL this.one.here
 (the one) they cut up and cooked?'

8.2.4.5. Yiran 'how many' and tal inau 'how much'

Quantities are questioned with *yiran* 'how many' as illustrated in (82)-(84). *Yiran* obligatorily follows the head noun of the NP. A quantified NP may optionally contain a classifying noun, such as *bag* 'seed' in (84). Quantities of mass nouns are questioned with *tal inau* 'how much', as in (85).

(82) *War yiran?*
day how.many
'How many days?'

(83) *War yiran si ha ta h-ewar gi?*
day how.many SIM 2s TOP 2s-return go
'How many days will you stay?' (Lit. 'How many days before you go back?')

(84) *Bai (bag) yiran min?*
pig seed how.many die
'How many pigs died?'

(85) *Qar tal inau?*
rice how.much much
'How much rice?'

8.2.4.6. Gigala(l) 'why'

The word *gigala(l)* 'why' questions reasons and motivations. It typically precedes the conjunction *ba*, as in (86a), i.e. occupies a clause-external position (unlike the question words *yilag* 'who' and *amidan* 'what'.). The examples (86b), (87) and (89) show that the conjunction is not obligatorily present.

(86) a. *Gigala ba ha-kiid?* b. *Gigala ha-kiid?*
why SEQ 2s-cry why 2s-cry
Why do you cry? 'Why do you cry?'

(87) *Gigala ha aria-n maan?*
why 2s arrive-REAL NEG
'Why didn't you come?'

- (88) *Gigala (ba) beban pi-xaf ga-sar-an maan?*
 why SEQ last.night 1pi-fish 3s-find-REAL NEG
 ‘Why didn’t [we] catch fish last night?’
- (89) *Gigala (ba) yi toko ma*
 why SEQ 2p shop(IND) come
 ‘Why didn’t you
- raax dig ol-an maan?*
 rice (as crop) buy-REAL NEG
 buy unhusked rice at the shop?’
- Gigala* may also occur at the end of a clause, as in (90). In (91) it occurs in a clause-external initial position, followed by a temporal adverb and a subject pronoun.
- (90) *Ha in ni-mian gigala?*
 2s it.thing 1pe-give why
 ‘Why do you give us this thing?’ (i.e., what do you want in return for it?)
- (91) *Gigala miaag iman war ma i wan tar-an?*
 why yesterday they stone come it.place be throw-REAL
 ‘Why did they throw stones there yesterday?’

8.2.4.7. Taxaran ‘how’

The word *taxaran* questions the manner of an event or state, as in (92)-(93).

- (92) *Qau ba iman mis-an omai...*
 good SEQ they sit-REAL think
 ‘So they sat and thought:
- ga’an i pi er-an taxaran?*
 3s it.thing 1pi make-REAL how
 ‘How shall we do this?’”
- (93) *Xoran, na-mian na bax-an bali si taxaran.*
 thus 1s-give I hit-REAL see SIM how
 ‘If so, give me [the drum] I hit [it] to find out how [it works].

In (93), it questions a reason:

- (94) *Taxaran ba ha-fan baar klita'?*
 how SEQ 2s-face dirty
 'How come your face is dirty?' (e.g. from sweat and dust)

In (95), it is used in a question and an affirmative statement, the distinction is only intonational.

- (95) a. *Taxaran ba gasaai?*
 how SEQ cannot
 'Why is it impossible?'
 b. *Taxaran ba gasaai... ya...*
 how SEQ cannot yes
 'Why... that's impossible... yes...'

Taxaran it is also used to question *tarau* 'language/word/sentence', as in (96)-(97).

- (96) *Tarau taxaran?*⁸
 language how
 'What kind of language/talk/words?'
 (97) *Tarau ga-yitar taxaran?*
 language 3s-road how
 'What does that sentence/word mean?'
 (Lit. 'How is the road of this language?')

As the examples show, *taxaran* occurs sentence-finally as well as sentence-initially. In sentence-initial position it is followed by the sequential conjunction *ba*.

8.2.4.8. Overview

The following minimally contrasting examples present an overview of how ownership, property, identity, location, and an entity's origin are questioned in Teiwa. (See also Ch. 6, section 6.10).

- (98) *Yilag ga-yivar?*
 who 3s-dog
 'Whose dog?'
- (99) *Yivar amidan?*
 dog what
 'What [kind of] dog?' (e.g., black, big?)
- (100) *Yivar ga-ta'a? * Ta'a ga-yivar*
 dog 3s-which which 3s-dog
 'Which dog?'
- (101) *Amidan ga-yivar?*
 what 3s-dog
 'Which dog?' (Implication: you know there is no dog around here)
- (102) *Yivar ita'a?*
 dog where
 'Where's the dog?'
- (103) *Ita'a ga-yivar?*
 where 3s-dog
 'A dog from where?'

8.2.5. Interrogatives and Realis inflection

Interrogative clauses sometimes contain verbs inflected for realis, and sometimes uninflected verbs. When the question refers to an event or state that is factual because it is presently going on, or because it has been witnessed, the realis marker is used. However, an uninflected verb form is used when the question has a more general interpretation, referring to something that may, or may not, have taken place at some unspecified place or time.

The contrast between questions with uninflected and realis verbs is illustrated in (104a-b) and (105a-b). The implication of using an irrealis verb in (104a) is that the bananas were stolen is not considered a fact – they could

have disappeared in another way. In (104b), however, the speaker is witnessing the theft and asks who the thief is; here a realis verb form is used. In (104c) too, a factual event is reported, with a realis verb form. (See also Ch. 7, section 7.1.)

- (104) a. *Yilag la na-muxui taxau (*-an)?*
 who FOC 1s-bananan steal
 ‘Who stole my bananas?’
- b. *Yilag la na-muxui taxau-an (*taxau) laxu’u?*
 who FOC 1s-bananan steal-REAL that.one.there
 ‘Who is the one stealing my bananas over there?’
- c. *Isak la ha-muxui taxau-an (*taxau)!*
 Isak FOC 2s-banana steal-REAL
 ‘Isak stole your bananas!’

In (105a), the verb is irrealis because the event of ‘going’ has not yet been realized, while in (105b), the question concerns the ongoing event of ‘going’ so that the verb is marked realis.

- (105) a. *Ha h-om ita’a ma gi? (*gi-n)*
 2s 2s-inside where come go
 ‘Where do you want to go?’ (asking about plans before leaving)
- b. *Ha h-om ita’a ma gi-n (*gi) laxu’u?*
 2s 2s-inside where come go-REAL that.one.there
 ‘Where do you want to go now?’
 (asking for a suggestion while walking together)

Note that the (a-b) sentences in (104) and (105) only differ in the inflection of the verb and in the presence of the demonstrative pronoun *la xu’u* ‘that one there’ (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.6.2). This pronoun locates the proposition in space, so that it becomes factual and real.

The other item that can be used to locate a proposition in space, and thereby make it factual and real, is the spatical deictic *afo(’o)* ‘over there’. The function of *afo* is illustrated in (106b) (and (41) and (62) above) (see also Ch. 3, section 3.7).

- (106) a. *Yilag la un hafan ma mis? (*mis-an)*
 who FOC CONT village come sit
 ‘Who is the one staying in the village?’

b. *Ah! Yilag la afo*
 EXCL who FOC over there
 ‘Ah! Who is [that] over there

*un hafan ma mis-an (*mis) ba...*
 CONT village come sit-REAL SEQ
 ‘staying in the village...’

In (107)-(108), the interrogative is based on a negation. Both examples contain a realis verb: a negative event can be encoded as an actualized event. Note that these are not tag questions: the negator *maan* has falling pitch here, but when it is used as a tag, it has rising pitch, cf. (23)-(25) above.

(107) *Gigala (ba) yi toko ma*
 why SEQ 2p shop(IND) come
 ‘Why didn’t you buy

raax dig ol-an maan?
 unhusked.rice buy-REAL NEG
 (unhusked) rice at the shop?’

(108) *Ha’an bir-an maan?*
 you run-REAL NEG
 ‘Don’t you run?’ / ‘Aren’t you running?’

In sum, interrogatives may or may not contain realis verbs, depending on whether or not the question refers to actualized event (cf. Ch. 7, section 7.1). When a question more generally refers to something that may or may not have taken place at some unspecified place or time, an uninflected verb form is used. Interrogatives of negative clauses contain a realis verb because the non-occurrence of some event is also a factual event.

8.3. Imperative clauses: commands, invitations, obligations

8.3.1. Imperatives

This section describes the various ways in which commands, invitations and suggestions are expressed. Imperative clauses have no special word order or morphology; structurally they are declarative constructions with a second person subject, as illustrated in (109a-b). (109c) shows that addressees are optionally expressed and can also be omitted. Verbs in imperative clauses cannot take a realis inflection, as in (109d). This is because imperatives by nature refer to events that are not realized at the time of utterance (Cf. Ch. 7, section 7.1).

- (109) a. *Na siga'*. b. *Ha siga'!*
 3s be.quiet 2s be.quiet
 'He is quiet' 'You are quiet'/'You be quiet!'
- c. *Siga'!* d.* *Ha siga'-an!*
 be.quiet 2s be.quiet-REAL
 'Be quiet!'

Hortatives have no special structure either; they contrast with imperatives by using a first plural inclusive instead of a second person pronoun, as illustrated in (110).

- (110) *Pi ina.* Compare: *Na ina.*
 1pe eat 1s eat
 'Let's eat' 'I eat'

In (111)-(114), the addressee is expressed with a second person pronoun, the imperatives in (117)-(116) lack an overt addressee. The illustrations contain intransitive verbs as well as transitive verbs. The argument marking in imperatives follows the patterns of declaratives.

- (111) *Ba ha di tewar!*
 SEQ 2s only walk
 'You just keep walking!'
- (112) *Ha gi g-ua'!* (**gua-n*)
 2s go 3s-hit
 'You go hit him!'

- (113) *Iman ga-fin-an gula' iman ta a wa:*
 they 3s-catch-REAL finish they TOP 3s say
 'When they had caught it they said:

“*Yi ta mis (*-an) e...*”
 2p TOP sit EXCL
 “You sit hey...”

- (114) *Jadi ha ixa'a ma warax, na wrer-an mir...*
 so(IND) 2s over.here come wait 1s climb-REAL ascend
 ‘So you wait here, I’ll climb [the tree],...’

- (115) *Wa g-ua'!*
 go 3s-hit
 ‘Go hit him!’

- (116) *Wat gas!*
 coconut split
 ‘Split the coconut!’

The adverb *sin* ‘just, only’ is used to soften commands and make them sound more polite:

- (117) *Wa sin.*
 go just
 ‘Please go away’

- (118) *Warax sin.*
 stop just
 ‘Please stop (here)’ (e.g. when asking a driver to stop)

One characteristic to be noted in relation to imperatives and hortatives is the fact that the deictic verb *ma* ‘come’ is often used to mark commands or suggestions. Illustrations are (119)-(125); (119) is intransitive, the other examples are transitive. In Ch. 9, section 9.5, it is argued that in these contexts, *ma* may still be interpreted as a deictic verb, indicating movement towards the speaker, as in (119). However, in (120)-(125), the interpretation of *ma* has become more abstract, as a movement towards a future situation. (For more discussion of this function of *ma*, see Ch. 9, section 9.5.2.)

- (119) *Si a wa xa'a:* “*Yo, mam qau ma mis (*mis-an).*”
 SIM 3s say this yes true good come sit
 So he said this: “OK, come sit down.”
- (120) *Ma ga-wulul!*
 come 3s-tell
 ‘Tell him!’
- (121) *Ma ga-sas!*
 come 3s-feed
 ‘Feed him!’
- (122) *Ma taxa'!*
 come add
 ‘Take some more!’
- (123) *Xa'a ma ha-bif ga-mai.*
 this.one come 2s-younger.sibling 3s-save
 ‘Save this for your younger sibling’
- (124) *Ma g-ewar mar! Ma in ga'an g-ewar mar!*
 come 3s-return take come thing 3s 3s-return take
 ‘Take it back! Take that thing back!’
- (125) a. *Yir la ma pin!*
 water FOC come hold
 ‘Take [the/some] water!’
- b. *Yir la pin ma!*
 water FOC hold come
 Bring [the/some] water [here]!

Obligations are expressed using an idiomatic construction with the noun *dan* ‘part’. An illustration is (126): the object is *ha-dan* ‘your part’, which may be interpreted in this context as ‘your obligation’. The possessor of *dan* refers to the addressee of the obligation.

- (126) *Hamar ma walas le, ha-dan er-an xoran.*
 pray come tell or 2s-part make-REAL thus
 ‘You should pray’ (Lit. ‘Saying prayers, make that your obligation’)

In other words, an obligation like “You should do X” is expressed in Teiwa as “do X, make your obligation thus”. The negation of such obligations is discussed in the section on prohibitives, section 8.3.2 below.

Some imperatives and hortatives in the corpus employ the complex conjunction *qau ba* ‘good SEQ’. This sequence is typically used to connect resulting event clauses, as in (127) (see Ch. 10, section 10.4.2). However, *qau ba* also functions to encode commands (polite (128) or impolite (129)), and hortatives (130). It can be abbreviated to *qau* as shown in (131).

- (127) *Biar haraq ga’an un tii’*,
 child two 3s CONT sleep
 ‘The two children were sleeping,

un tii’ qau ba a iman ga-regan...
 CONT lie.down good SEQ 3s they 3s-ask
 while sleeping he began to ask them...’

- (128) *Qau ba ina!*
 good SEQ eat
 ‘Please eat!’

- (129) *Qau ba ha min!*
 good SEQ 2s die
 ‘Drop dead!’

- (130) *Qau pi ewar gi.*
 good 1pi return go
 ‘Let’s return home’

- (131) *Xoran, ya, xoran mam qau weg saxe’!* (**saxe’-en*)
 thus yes thus right good door open.door
 ‘Well, yes, in that case, open the door!’

8.3.2. Prohibitives

Prohibitives are negative imperatives. In Teiwa they employ the final verb *gaxai* ‘do not’ (or its longer form: *gaxa’ai*). In contrast to imperatives, as in (132a) and (133a), a prohibitive clause may contain a realis verb, as in (132b) and (133b). The use of the realis verb in these particular contexts implies that the prohibitive refers to something that is actually taking place but must stop; compare the contexts of (132a-b), (133a-b). When a prohibitive refers to a

event that has not (yet) been actualised, the verb is not inflected for realis, as illustrated in (134).

- (132) a. *Bir!* b. *Bir-an* *gaxai!*
 run run-REAL do.not
 ‘Run!’ ‘Don’t run!’ (addressee is running and must stop)
- (133) a. *Ha in er.*
 2s it.thing make
 ‘You fix it’ (e.g. repair a bike sometime in the future)
- b. *Ha in er-an xoran gaxai.*
 2s it.thing make-REAL thus do.not
 ‘Don’t fix it like that!’ (e.g. said while addressee is making wrong repairs)
- (134) *Wat wrer gaxai!*
 coconut climb do.not
 ‘Don’t climb the coconut (tree)!’ (addressee is not yet climbing)

In addition to *gaxai* ‘do not’, prohibitives often employ the idiomatic expression with the possessed noun *dan* ‘part’, interpreted as ‘duty’, or ‘obligation’. This noun is also used in obligations, cf. (126) above. Examples are (135)-(136).

- (135) *Ga-bunar a-dan aria-n gaxai.*
 3s-drunken 3s-part arrive-REAL do.not
 ‘Drunks are not allowed’ (lit. ‘The duty of drunks is not to arrive’)
- (136) *Ha-dan na-pak-an gaxai.*
 2s-part 1s-call-REAL do.not
 ‘Don’t call me’ (Lit. ‘Your obligation is not to call me’)

The examples (137)-(138) show that in prohibitives with *dan*, either *dan* or *gaxai* can be omitted. The negative interpretation of expressions like those in (138) must be conventionalised since the clause does not contain a negative operator (neither a negative verb nor the negator *maan*).

- (137) a. *Ha-dan er-an xoran.*
 2s-part make-REAL thus
 ‘Don’t do that / Don’t act like that’

- b. *Er-an xoran gaxai.*
 make-REAL thus do.not
 ‘Don’t do that / Don’t act like that’

- (138) *Gi-dan / pi-dan / a-dan er-an xoran.*
 3p-part 1pi-part 3s-part make-REAL thus
 ‘They/we/he shouldn’t do like that’

Dan itself is a nominal element, and not a negator or a negative verb. It is the subject of *wan* ‘be’ in (139). It typically occurs in negative contexts.

- (139) *Ga-baq ga’an a dan wan gaxai.*
 3s-body 3s 3s part be do.not
 ‘There should not be holes’ (Lit. ‘Its body should not have parts’)

Unlike the negative operators, *dan* only occurs before the predicate, as in (140), and unlike the negative verb *gaxai* it cannot be used predicatively, as shown in (141).

- (140) * *Ha er-an xoran dan.*
 2s make-REAL thus part
- (141) *Ha gaxai!* * *Ha dan!*
 2s do.not 2s part
 ‘Don’t!’

In sum, Teiwa prohibitives and obligations often contain the noun *dan* ‘part’. In these contexts it is interpreted as ‘duty’ or ‘obligation’. *Dan* can also occur without a negative operator in idiomatic negative expressions.

Chapter 9

Serial verb constructions

9.0. Introduction

A Teiwa clause is defined here as the morphosyntactic unit that minimally contains one predicate and its argument(s); the argument(s) may be overtly expressed, or undergo contextual ellipsis (section 9.1 below; Ch. 11, section 11.1). A sentence contains minimally one clause. In addition, a sentence may contain one or more dislocated constituents (see (11b), (12) for illustrations), as well as aspectual and modality adverbs (as in (11)).

As is typical for Papuan languages, Teiwa makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (henceforth abbreviated as SVCs). In this description, SVCs are analysed syntactically as mono-clausal constructions. SVCs are larger than (minimal) clauses because they contains at least two verbs rather than one, but they are smaller than sentences because they are not clearly multi-clausal and do not contain dislocated constituents. In the examples below SVCs are underlined, and their boundaries indicated by square brackets '[]'. Clause boundaries are given as '{ }' where this is relevant for the discussion.

Crosslinguistically, SVCs are often characterised as grammatical units that consist of two or more separate verbs and describes what is conceptualised as a single event. In section 9.1 the key characteristics that define Teiwa SVCs as one grammatical unit are investigated. It is argued that the criterion 'conceptualized single event' is difficult to use in defining Teiwa SVCs. Teiwa SVCs do not form a new (compound) word, as an object constituent may intervene. Most SVCs consist of two verbs, some have three. In sections 9.2 and 9.3 I present an overview of the different types of SVCs found in Teiwa, using the notions 'symmetrical' and 'asymmetrical' combinations of verbs (Aikhenvald 2006). Symmetrical SVCs (section 9.2) consist of two or more verbs from semantically and grammatically unrestricted classes, so-called 'major' verbs. In symmetrical SVCs all verbs have equal status and none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole. In Teiwa, a canonical major verb is a verb denoting an activity¹ or a posture. Asymmetrical SVCs (section 9.3) include at least one verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class, a 'minor' verb. Typical minor verbs are modality and aspectual verbs (see Ch. 7, sections 7.2-7.3; Ch. 8, section 8.1, and section 9.7.2-9.7.3 below), as well as deictic verbs. Section 9.4 discusses the class of deictic verbs, and how they combine into SVCs. In section 9.5, the variable functions of one particular deictic verb, the

verb *ma* ‘come (here)’ are described and analyzed. In section 9.6, it is described how asymmetrical SVCs introduce participants. Section 9.7 is an overview of the various notions expressed by Teiwa SVCs, with reference to the relevant chapters and sections. Section 9.8 presents a summary and conclusions.

9.1. General characteristics of Teiwa serial verb constructions

SVCs are notoriously difficult to define (cf. Crowley 2002: 8-19), but the key characteristics of SVCs typically include the following (See Foley and Olson 1985, Durie 1997, Crowley 2002, Aikenvald 2006):

- (i) intonational properties of a mono-verbal clause,
- (ii) no possibility of pausing within an SVC
 - (iii) no overt marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency,
- (iv) at least one shared argument,
- (v) only one subject or external argument,
 - (vi) shared aspect, modality, tense and polarity markers and values,
 - (vii) strong tendency to lexicalization of the entire SVC and/or grammaticalization of one or more verbs in the SVC.

In this section I describe the morpho-syntactic characteristics of SVCs in Teiwa referring to criteria (i)-(vi). Criteria (i-ii) are only mentioned in passing for lack of a detailed analysis of Teiwa sentence intonation and pause breaks. Regarding criterion (vii), the Teiwa data suggest that some asymmetrical SVCs tend to grammaticalize, and some symmetrical SVCs tend to lexicalize. This issue is addressed in section 9.5 (the verb *ma* ‘come’), and section 9.6 (the verbs *pin* ‘hold’, *mat* ‘take’, *er* ‘do’, and *wan* ‘be, exist’). The discussion in this section will focus on characteristics (iii)-(vi), and is structured in this order.

Teiwa clauses are often separated from each other by a falling intonation on the final verb of the first clause, and/or a pause, and/or a conjunction. Such clause boundary markers cannot be inserted between the verbs in an SVC. The examples below illustrate the contrast between a clause boundary marked by the conjunction *ba* ‘SEQ’ (marking clauses as sequential events) in (1), and SVCs that do not have such a conjunction in (2).

- (1) a. *A ta min-an ba ba’.*
 3s TOP die- REAL SEQ fall
 ‘He died then fell’

- b. *A ta ba'-an ba min.*
 3s TOP fall-REAL SEQ die
 'He fell then died'

The SVC in (2a) can be used to describe the event of someone who died because he fell down, e.g. from a coconut tree. (Compare (1b), where the person died shortly afterwards.) In contrast, the SVC in (2b) describes someone who is dying (e.g. because of a heart attack) and is falling (e.g. out of a tree) as a result of this. So the SVC in (2a) describes a sequence of (sub)events, while the SVC in (2b) describes simultaneous (sub)events.

- (2) a. *A ta min-an ba'.*
 3s TOP [die-REAL fall]
 'He died falling [down]'
- b. *A ta ba'-an min-an*
 3s TOP [fall-REAL die-REAL]
 'He fell [down] dying'

Note that Teiwa conjunctions are coordinating, and that Teiwa verbs do not have overt markings that would qualify them as embedded or subordinate (see Ch. 10, section 10.1-10.3). Teiwa has no morphological distinction between, for example, finite and non-finite verbs, medial and final verb forms, and Teiwa verbs are not inflected for tense, aspect or mood. The only verbal inflection found in the language is the Realis suffix, but this morpheme does not play a role in marking verbs as embedded (see Ch. 7, section 7.1).

Examples (3)-(4) illustrate the contrast between separate clauses and SVCs. Both sentences contain the verbs *pin* 'hold' and *aria* 'arrive', but in (3b), these verbs belong to different clauses (are separated by a pause, represented by a comma; and occur with their own subject) while in (4b), they are part of one SVC (no pause, and a shared subject).

- (3) a. {*A in qap-an qap-an qap-an gula'*}
 3s thing cut.out-REAL cut.out- REAL cut.out- REAL finish
 'He cut cut cut the thing,
- b. {*ma six me'-en gula'*} {*a in ta pin*},
 come bamboo [be.in- REAL finish] 3s thing TOP hold
 then put it into a bamboo (container), took it,

{*a ta aria*'}
 3s TOP arrive
 [and] brought it (home)'

- (4) a. {...*betukan xaxlar ga'an non a gaal-an*},
 garden.lizard house.lizard 3s PL 3s shoot-REAL
 '...garden and house lizards he shot,

- b. {*yeski' ga-x maan ba*}
 crab 3s-possession NEG SEQ
 if not crabs too then

{*amidan aga' gaal-an pin aria*'}
 what all shoot-REAL [take arrive]
 everything [he] shot [he] brought home'

In (5), the simultaneous event conjunction *si* 'SIM' marks the boundary between the first and second clause. According to criterion (iv) and (v) above, verbs in a SVC should share at least one of their arguments, and this shared argument should be expressed maximally once. The first clause in (5a) thus contains a SVC, as the verbs *tas-an bali* 'stand watching' share a single subject which is expressed once. (However, because Teiwa allows contextual ellipsis across clauses, condition (iv) and (v) are necessary but not sufficient criteria to characterise a Teiwa SVC, as explained below.) There is no further argument sharing between the predicates of (5a-b) – and each of the predicates in (5b) has its own pronominal subject. For that reason, (5b) is analysed as consisting of two separate clauses, although they are not separated by a pause or a conjunction.

- (5) a. {*A tas-an bali si*},
 3s [stand- REAL see] SIM
 'While she stands watching,

- b. {*moxo' di a tafik a tafik*}
 earth only 3s crack 3s crack
 the earth just cracks [and] cracks,

{*a bali eran waal u*}.
 3s see that.one that.mentioned that
 she sees that.'

However, shared and/or unexpressed arguments are not a unique property of SVCs in Teiwa, since the language also allows considerable contextual ellipsis of shared arguments across clauses: discourse participants with a given/known discourse status can be tracked by (short) pronouns, but may also be unexpressed, which results in zero anaphora across clauses (Ch. 11, section 11.1).

As a result, we frequently find verbs with unexpressed argument(s) that are coreferential with an argument verb in the preceding clause. An example of this is (4) above, where the subject of a clause (4b) is unexpressed and coreferential with the subject of clause (4a). Another illustration is (6) below, where the subject of (6b) *wat u ga-tane* ‘kick that coconut’² has the same referent as the subject of the SVC *mat ma* in (6a), and is ellipsed because it is known from the context.

- (6) a. {*...uy quaf eran ta*
 person grandmother that TOP
 ‘...that grandmother
- om qalixil ta*} {*a-fat mat ma*},
 inside angry TOP 3s-foot [take come]
 was angry and with (lit. taking) her foot
- b. {*wat u ga-tane’ si..*}
 coconut DIST 3s-kick SIM
 kicked that coconut, then...’

Similarly, the clause in (7b) has an ellipsed subject that is understood to be identical to the one in (7a). The ellipsis takes place across two different clauses which are separated by an intonational break.

- (7) a. {*...hala qar weg mat ma ga-mian*},
 others rice raw [take come 3s-put.at]
 ‘...she was given uncooked rice,
- b. {*yir la pin ma...*}
 water FOC [hold come]
 water [they] brought...’

To conclude, because Teiwa allows contextual ellipsis (or zero anaphora) across clauses, the criteria that a SVC should have at least one shared argument (iv), and only one subject (v) are necessary but not sufficient criteria

to characterise a Teiwa SVC: they must be combined with one or more of the other criteria.

In the introduction above it was mentioned that crosslinguistically, SVCs “describe what is conceptualised as a single event”. Teiwa events are marked as separate when arguments are expressed separately even though they share the same referent. This is illustrated in (8) and (9). In (8a-b), the subjects of *hufa* ‘drink’ and *weian* ‘bathe’ have the same referent but are expressed separately (as *iman* ‘they’ in (8a) and as *a* ‘3rd person’ in (8b)), thus making explicit that the verbs denote separate events.

- (8) a. {*...iman ta hufa*’},
 they TOP drink
 ‘...they drank
- b. {*ma a wei-an, i-nuan, i-kian non*},
 come 3s bathe-REAL 3p-cloth³ 3p-cloth PL
 and they bathed [and washed] their clothes,
- c. {*wan bali-in gula*’}, {*iman tup-an a gi*}...
 be [see-REAL finish] they get.up 3s go
 having finished, they got up and they went...’

In a similar way, the subjects of the verbs *tupan* and *pin gi* in (9a) have the same referent that is expressed twice, so that (9a) presents a sequence of two separate events. *Pin gi* is a SVC, but as it does not share its argument with *tupan*, there are two separate clauses in (9a). A similar observation can be made for (9b).

- (9) a. {*Ba a ta tup-an*} {*a pin gi*},
 SEQ 3s TOP get.up-REAL 3s [hold go]
 ‘So he got up and left,
- b. {*a’an ta gi*} {*a awan tau*},...
 3s TOP go 3s far PRF
 he went [and] he was already far away...’

In sum, the overt expression of arguments and the presence of clause boundary markers help to define what Teiwa speakers conceptualize as separate events, and encode as separate clauses. It is however hard to identify a Teiwa SVC using the ‘single event’ criterion, because objective criteria for what speakers conceptualize as such a single event are lacking.

This point is illustrated in (10), which contains seven verbs, all of which share the same subject (expressed once as a ‘3s’), while the object *get bag* ‘his eye’ is shared by all three of the transitive verbs in the sentence. The pause indicates a clause boundary between (10a) and (10b).

- (10) a. {*A tup-an tas-an* *g-et bag duki gula*},
 3s [get.up- REAL stand- REAL] 3-eye seed [pry.out finish]
 ‘She stood up pried out his eye,
- b. {*mat ma a qar una’ na*}.
 [take come] 3s rice also eat
 took [it] she ate [it] with rice’

How do we know which of the events denoted by the verbs in (10) form a single (complex) event together, and which constitute separate events? The square brackets suggest some possible SVC boundaries, but there is no *a priori* reason why exactly these verb combinations are ‘conceptualized’ as single rather than separate events. For example, speakers may also consider *tupan* ‘get up’ and *tas-an* ‘stand’ in (10a), and/or *mat* ‘take’ and *ma* ‘come’ in (10b) as separate events. The conclusion is that an objective criterion to decide when a Teiwa speaker conceptualizes multiple verb combinations as a ‘single’ event is lacking.

However, it is possible to define single events on the basis of morpho-syntactic criteria when we consider the scope of adverbs and negators over multiple verb combinations — this is criterion (vi) mentioned above. I assume that the verbs of one SVC are modified by a single such operator. This is illustrated in (11). In (11b), the modality adverb *atab* ‘truly’ has scope over ‘sit pounding rice’, and the aspectual adverbs *un* ‘Continuative’ and *pati* ‘Progressive’ mark the aspect of this SVC. In (11c), *un* has scope over ‘sit crushing corn’, and in (11d), *tau* ‘Perfective’, marks perfective aspect of the SVC ‘gone to cut palm wine to take along’.

- (11) a. {*A yix-in si*}, {*ga-gasqai ga’an*}
 3s descend- REAL SIM 3s-sister 3s
 ‘While he went down, his sister
- b. *atab un mis-an qar tapan pati*},
 truly CONT [sit- REAL] rice [pound] PROG
 [was] actually still sitting pounding rice,

c. {*ga-xala' ga'an un mis-an batar uaa*}.
 3s-mother 3s CONT [sit- REAL corn crush]
 his mum she was sitting crushing corn.

d. {*Ha... g-oma' eran⁴ ga'an*}
 EXCL 3s-father that.one 3s
 Hey... that father of his

gi tuax paian ga gi tau}.
 [go palm.wine cut take.along go] PRF
 had gone to cut palm wine to take along'

The negator *maan* has scope over both verbs in the SVC in (12). (Note that this SVC expresses a cause-effect sequence of subevents: *mian* 'put at' and *nan* 'eat' have a different subject referent; see section 9.7.1 below.)

(12) {*...muxui eran ga'an u*}
 banana that.one 3s that
 '...that banana

iman ta ga-mian na-n maan}...
 they TOP 3s-put.at eat- REAL NEG
 they did not give her to eat,...'

Maan can have scope over several verbs while still excluding one or more verbs in the sentence. This is illustrated in (13a-b), where the initial verb *ma* 'come' is the only predicate that is not negated. The literal translation of this sentence is 'He came [not to make even one misfortune come towards us]'. It is analysed as a sequence of two clauses. Note that the subject *a* '3sg' is shared across the clauses, and not marked overtly in (13b).

(13) a. {*A ma*} {*yas pat nuk yip*}
 3s come misfortune one also
 'He came

b. *er-an ma pi-honan maan*}.
 [make- REAL come lpi-go.towards] NEG
 not to do any harm to us'

Juxtaposed verbs must share at least one argument to be analysed as SVCs, otherwise they are separate clauses. In such contexts, the scope of the negator is limited to the clause it belongs to. This is illustrated in (14). The negator

maan occurs at the end of a clause and has scope over *sukan* ‘exit come down’, but not over *pakan* ‘call’ because these verbs do not share their arguments and thus do not constitute a SVC. Strictly speaking, then, (14a) consist of three juxtaposed clauses.

- (14) a. {*Suk-an* *maan*} {*kri* *pakan-pak-an*}
 exit.descend- REAL NEG Mr⁵ RDP-call- REAL
 ‘{They} didn’t come out, that man called and called,
- {*suk-an* *maan*},
 exit.descend- REAL NEG
 [they did] not come out,
- b. {*qau* *ba* *wa* *gi* *hafan* *srar*}.
 good SEQ [go go]⁶ village edge
 so [he] went away to the edge of the village’

Regarding the syntax of SVCs, the following generalizations apply. SVCs may combine two or more verbs, both transitive and intransitive, in any combination. Above we have seen examples of SVCs which combine two intransitives in (2) and (10a), combinations of two transitive verbs in (11d), combinations of an intransitive V1 and a transitive V2 in (11b,c) and combinations of transitive V1 and intransitive V2 in (3a), (6a), (7a,b), (10a), (13) and (31).

When a SVC contains a transitive verb with an overt object, the object directly precedes that transitive verb. So, if V1 is intransitive and V2 transitive, the object NP occurs before its predicate, in between the verbs; resulting in the order represented in (15a) below. Because of the object position in between the verbs, Teiwa SVCs are not (re-)analysed as compound verbs; exceptions are the lexicalised combinations with the verb *wan* ‘be, exist’, see section 9.6.4. When both verbs are transitive and have a shared object, the object precedes both verbs, resulting in the order (15b), illustrated in (11d) above (this example shows that an SVC may involve more than two verbs; here we concentrate on the two transitives). When the transitive verb precedes the intransitive, the order is as in (15c), illustrated in (18b).

- (15) a. subj_{V1/V2} V1_{intrans} obj_{V2} V2_{trans}
 b. subj_{V1/V2} obj_{V1/V2} V1_{trans} V2_{trans}
 c. subj_{V1/V2} obj_{V1} V1_{trans} V2_{intrans}

Whether the referent of the object is animate or inanimate does not influence the position of an object NP. (The marking of animate and inanimate objects is discussed in Ch. 4, section 4.4.)

In sum, Teiwa SVCs are two or more verbs that occur in combination without an overt marker of subordination, coordination or syntactic dependency, and share minimally one argument (the subject), which is expressed maximally once. As SVCs are not the only configurations where shared arguments can be left unexpressed, this feature alone does not define Teiwa SVCs: they can only be defined with one or more of the following additional criteria: absence of a pause between the verbs, and shared aspect, modality, tense and polarity markers and values. The notion ‘conceptualization of single events’ is less useful in defining which multi-verb sequences denote single events in Teiwa, because objective criteria to characterize such ‘conceptualizations’ are lacking. Teiwa SVCs do not form a compound.

9.2. Symmetrical SVCs

Symmetrical SVCs consist of two or more verbs from semantically and grammatically unrestricted classes, so-called ‘major’ verbs. In symmetrical SVCs all verbs have equal status in that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole. Symmetrical SVCs in Teiwa express simultaneous or subsequent subevents. In (16)-(18), the combined verbs express simultaneous subevents.

- (16) a. *Iman aria-n iguagi*
 they [arrive- REAL spy.on]
 ‘They came [to] spy on

aria-n uri si,
arrive- REAL look.searchingly SIM
 came [and] looked intensely,

- b. *bai qavif non saxa' rau,*
 pig goat PL chicken civet.cat
 [the] pigs, goats, chicken, civet cats,

kamau, la a-tan pin-an soxai pati.
 cat Top 3s-hand [hold- REAL dance] PROG
 cats, who were holding hands while dancing’

In (17), the SVC refers to sins that are confessed while praying, in (18), the goat shouts while dancing.

- (17) ...*iman hamar ma⁷ walas le...*
 they [pray come tell] or
 ‘...they [should] pray and confess [it], right...’

- (18) *Qavif la nuk tur soxai xer ta wa:*
 goat Top one former [dance shout] TOP way
 ‘The first goat starts to dance and recite saying:

‘qavif meee-meee miaaq bangan na yaa aa oo!’
 goat EXCL leaf [ask.for eat descend] EXCL EXCL
 ‘goat meee-meee, [we] ask leafs come down [for us] to eat aah ooh!’

Verbs in symmetrical SVCs may also denote events that occur in sequence, as illustrated in (19) and (20). The order of the verbs reflects the temporal sequence of the activities.

- (19) *Iman i'in ma perat ta*
 they they.elsewhere [come tie] TOP
 ‘They tie [it] up and

pin ayaf ma mir-an
 [hold house come ascend-REAL]
 bring it up to their house

mulai boqai dau-an laxu'u.
 [begin cut.up cook-REAL] that.one.there
 start to cut [it] up and cook it’

- (20) *A ta in u bag nuk ma ga-mian na gula'*
 3s TOP thing that seed one [come 3s-put.at eat finish]
 ‘He gave one seed of that stuff to [the chicken] to eat,

ga-soi a exer-an waal,
 3s-order 3s call- REAL that.mentioned
 ordered him to crow,

yaf ga'an non aga' un tas-an piling.
 house 3s PL all CONT [stand-REAL line.up]
 [and] many houses stood lined up’

Symmetrical SVCs that denote sequential or simultaneous events frequently contain a posture verb. Some examples of Teiwa posture verbs are given in (21).

(21) Teiwa posture verbs

tii 'lie down; sleep'
hor 'hang'
mis 'sit'
tas 'stand, be standing'
yia '(be) put, (be) spread out'

Symmetrical SVCs where a posture verb combines with an activity verb are frequently attested; examples are (22)-(26). The posture can precede or follow the activity verb.

(22) ...*ga-gasqai ga'an*
 3s-sister 3s
 '...his sister

a tab un mis-an qar tap-an pati,
 3s truly CONT [sit- REAL] rice pound- REAL PROG
 was actually sitting pounding rice,

ga-xala' ga'an un mis-an batar uaa.
 3s-mother 3s CONT [sit- REAL] corn crush]
 and his mum was sitting crushing corn'

(23) "*Amidan la xu'u?*" "*Ee, rai ga-kamadal.*"
 what FOC that EXCL king 3s-belt
 "What is that?" "Oh, the king's belt."

Rai na-soi ga-kamadal ga-boxan tas."
 king 1s-order 3s-belt 3s-guard stand]
 The king ordered me to guard his belt."

(24) ...*si a'an yip ga-sik maan,*
 SIM 3s also 3s-voice NEG
 '...while he did not make a sound either,

a qo'- qo'oi-an tii'.
 3s [RDP- silent-REAL lie.down]
 he lay down silently.'

- (25) *Tei baq wrer-an mir si,*
 wood body climb-REAL ascend SIM
 'They climbed on the tree trunk,

mauqubar la yaqai in tona' mis-an.
 frog Top down.below it.thing [gather sit-REAL]
 frogs were down below sitting [huddled] together'

- (26) ...*ta dan ga'an u o'on-an mis,*...
 TOP part 3s that [hide-REAL sit]
 '...others were sitting hiding,...'

In sum, Teiwa symmetrical SVCs contain two major verbs and express synonymous, simultaneous or sequential events. Symmetrical SVCs often contain verbs that denote activities or bodily postures.

9.3. Asymmetrical SVCs

Asymmetrical SVCs are serial constructions that contain at least one verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class of 'minor' verbs which express a modification of the event. Modality and aspect verbs are typical minor verbs in Teiwa (Ch. 7, section 7.2 and 7.3), as are deictic verbs (section 9.4 below). However, we will see below that deictic verbs may also be used as major verbs, so that the major/minor verb distinction is not a categorical one.

SVCs with deictic verbs are used to express directions in space, as illustrated in (27), where *gi* 'go' expresses the direction of running.

- (27) *A bir-an gi awan tas-an gula',*
 3s [run-REAL go] far [stand-REAL finish]
 He runs away [and] stands far,

a tas-an bali.
 3s [stand-REAL see]
 he stands [still] to watch.

Spatial direction extends to temporal direction so that *sukan gi* in (28) may be interpreted as marking the result / consequence of the sinking. Deictic verbs and their use in SVCs are further discussed in section 9.4.

- (28) *Ewar o'on adiman suk-an gi.*
 turn.around head [sink exit.come.down- REAL go]
 'Turning around, [his] head goes sinking down again'

Teiwa also has asymmetrical SVCs that function to add participants, such as locations, instruments, goals, displaced themes and comitatives. Many locations are marked with an SVC containing the deictic verb *ma* 'come'. This is illustrated in (29), where *ma* adds *yaf gom* 'inside the house' and *luar* 'outside' as locations. In (30), the verb *ma* marks *yivar* 'dream' as the instrument ("channel") by which the message is told. In section 9.5.3, it is explained how the verb *ma* could develop its oblique marking function.

- (29) *Biar non yaf g-om ma igamiar ba*
 children PL [house 3-inside come play] SEQ
 'The children were playing inside so

na iman ga-soi luar ma igamiar.
 1s they 3-order [outside(IND) come play]
 I told them to play outside'

- (30) *...si yivar ma walas tau le,*
 SIM [dream come tell] PRF or
 '...but (he) was told already in/through a dream,

musti iman ga-yaf er-an si,...
 must(IND) they 3-house make- REAL SIM
 they had to make a house,...

SVCs with the transitive verb *pin* 'hold' introduce comitative participants. An illustration is (31). These constructions are further discussed in section 9.6.1.

- (31) *...iman gon quan pin te,...*
 they [gong drum hold walk]
 '...they walked [off] with the gong and drum...'

SVCs with transitive *mat* 'take' introduce instruments, as discussed in section 9.6.2, and illustrated in (32):

- (32) *Ped mat ma man taxar.*
 [machete take come grass cut]
 ‘Cut the grass with a machete’

SVCs with *er* ‘make, do’ introduce temporal and locational constituents (see 6.3), as illustrated in (33a), where it marks the temporal constituent *tun nuk* ‘one year’. The literal translation of the SVC is ‘(they) walk coming here making their year one’ > ‘they walk for one year’.

- (33) a. *Te-te ma ga-tun nuk er*
 [RDP-walk come 3s-year one make]
 ‘[They] walk and walk for one year’
- b. *uy quaf eran a ta min.*
 person grandmother that.one 3s TOP die
 [then] that grandmother – she dies’

Finally, SVCs with the intransitive verb *wan* ‘be, exist’ introduce participants of various semantic kinds, such as location, goal, source, or comitative. An illustration is given in (34). The verb *taxani* ‘ask for information, inquire’ is used as an independent intransitive verb in (34a), but in (34b), the existential verb *wan* introduces the participant about whom information is sought. SVCs with *wan* are further described in section 9.6.3.

- (34) a. *Na taxani.*
 1s ask.for.information
 ‘I ask for information / I inquire’
- b. *Na wa Kri Titing wan taxani.*
 1s go Mr Titing [be ask.for.information]
 ‘I go find out about Mr Titing’

In sum, asymmetrical SVCs contain at least one major and one minor verb. The minor verb expresses modality or aspect (Ch. 7, section 7.2 and 7.3), or, when it is a deictic verb, it imparts the direction-of-motion of the activity described by the major verb. Asymmetrical SVCs with the minor verbs *ma* ‘come’, *pin* ‘hold’, *mat* ‘take’, *er* ‘do, make’ and *wan* ‘be, exist’ function to introduce additional participants into the clause.

9.4. SVCs with deictic verbs

Most frequently attested in the corpus are SVCs containing a deictic verb. SVCs with deictic verbs are asymmetrical. The minor deictic verb imparts the direction-of-motion specification to the construction. Examples of deictic verbs are given in (35).

(35) Teiwa deictic verbs

<i>ma</i>	‘come (towards Deictic Centre (DC))’
<i>gi</i>	‘go (from DC)’
<i>wa</i>	‘go (from DC; not far)’
<i>daa</i>	‘ascend (towards DC); rise’
<i>mir</i>	‘ascend (from DC)’
<i>yaa</i>	‘descend (towards DC)’
<i>yix</i>	‘descend (from DC)’
<i>aria’</i>	‘come, arrive (at DC)’
<i>ba’</i>	‘fall (undergo vertical motion)’

The verb *ma* ‘come (towards deictic centre (DC))’ has developed a number of different synchronic functions and is discussed separately in section 9.5. The present section focuses on describing how the other deictic verbs are used. The contrast between *ma* and *aria’* is that *aria’* implies that the motion has reached its endpoint at the DC, while *ma* leaves this open. The contrast between *wa* and *gi* is that *wa* specifically refers to going a relatively short distance, while *gi* can be used for any distance away from the DC. This contrast is illustrated in (36) and (37).

(36) *Wa g-ua’!*
 [go 3s-hit]
 ‘Go hit him!’ (Implication: He is close)

(37) *Ha gi g-ua’!*
 2s [go 3s-hit]
 ‘You go hit him!’ (Implication: He is far away)

Following general insights on the semantics of deictic verbs, I assume that at the lexical semantic level, the Teiwa deictic verbs consist of two distinct semantic components: (i) a motion component and (ii) a deictic component (see Talmy 1985, Wilkins and Hill 1995, among others). The motion component specifies the motion. The deictic component contains further information on the motion’s ‘elevational’ Orientation as ‘unmarked’ (or

‘horizontal’), versus ‘vertical’, the motion’s Ground (which is the deictic centre, DC), as well as the motion’s Path, as being oriented towards or away from the DC, or as being unrelated to the DC. The DC is often pragmatically interpreted to be the speaker, and is often the understood beginning or endpoint of the motion. The semantic distinctions expressed by the deictic verbs are represented in Figure 9.1-9.4 below.

Observe in Figure 9.1 that both *gi* and *wa* refer to a horizontal motion away from the DC, but that *wa* refers to a relatively short distance, while *gi* is unmarked for distance. Figure 9.2 represents the fact that the verb *gi* also refers to a motion with a direction that is unrelated to the DC. Figure 9.3 represents four verbs expressing vertical motions relative to the DC. The verb *ba* ‘fall’ expresses a (downward) motion unrelated to the DC, as represented in Figure 9.4.

Motion component: MOVE

Deictic component: Path has unmarked (horizontal) orientation

Path is oriented towards Ground: *ma* ‘come (towards DC),
aria’ ‘come, arrive (at DC)’

Path reaches Ground: *aria*’ ‘arrive (at DC)’

Path is oriented away from Ground: *wa* ‘go (not far)’, *gi* ‘go’

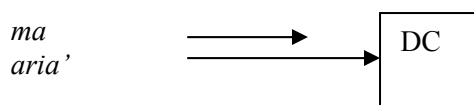


Figure 9.1

Motion component: MOVE

Deictic component: Path has unmarked (horizontal) orientation

Path is *not* relative to Ground

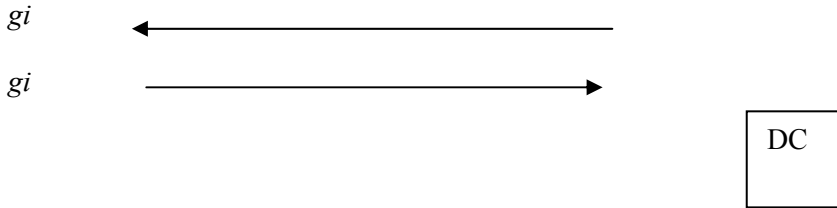


Figure 9.2

Motion component: MOVE

Deictic component: Path has vertical orientation: down/up

Path is oriented towards Ground:

down: *yaa* 'descend (towards DC)',

up: *daa* 'ascend (towards DC); rise'

Path is oriented away from Ground:

down: *yix* 'descend (from DC)'

up: *mir* 'ascend (from DC)'

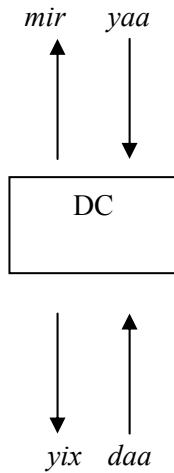


Figure 9.3.

Motion component: MOVE

Deictic component: Path has marked (vertical) orientation: down

Path is not relative to Ground: *ba'* 'fall'



Figure 9.4.

In the corpus, some of the deictic verbs are used as each other's semantic opposite. Some attested pairs are given in (38).

- (38) *ma* ~ *wa* 'come ~ go'
gi ~ *aria* 'go ~ arrive'
ba' ~ *daa* 'go down, fall ~ go up'
yix ~ *daa* 'come down ~ go up'

The verb *gi* indicates a physical direction, as illustrated in (37) above, or a temporal direction, which is interpreted as a purpose, as illustrated in (39). In (39) and (40), *wa* and *gi* occur together, though in opposite orders. In (39) the verb *gi* specifies the direction / purpose of going, in (40), *wa* specifies that the going is not too far.

- (39) *Ni wa gi amidan la bangan?*
 1pe [go go] what FOC ask.so
 'We go away to ask [someone] for what?'

- (40) ...*ta gi sampai ixu'u me'*,
 TOP go till (IND) over.there be.in
 '...they went till [they] got over there,

gi wa ixu'u me'
 [go go] over.there be.in
 going [and] getting there,

ta yivar eran ta ixu'u maan.
 TOP dog that TOP over there NEG
 the dog [was] no longer there'

Synchronically, the verb *wa* is most often used as a quotative verb: a verb that introduces direct or indirect speech, as in (41), or thoughts, as in (42). Synchronically, *wa* is mostly used in its quotative verb function (see Ch. 10, section 10.3.1)⁸ and the verb *gi* is typically used to express the notion ‘to go’. However, example (43) shows that *wa* can be used as an independent deictic verb as well.

- (41) *‘Maan’ a wa xara’*: *‘Naree maan...’*
 NEG 3s say now grandfather NEG
 ‘No’ he said now: ‘Grandfather no...’

- (42) *Ta war a wa xa’a weg eran*
 TOP stone 3s say this door that.one
 ‘[So] that stone which she thought was the door,

ga’an ta belan mar,
 3s TOP [turn.around take]
 she pushed,

i sabar qau ta yix ta gi...
 it.place close.off good TOP [descend TOP go]
 closed it and went down,...’

- (43) *Iman ta wa maran me’-en...*
 They TOP [go hut be.in- REAL]
 ‘They went to stay in the hut...’

When a deictic verb follows a major verb, its deictic function is the more prominent one, and the verb functions to indicate the direction of the event. This is illustrated in (44) and (45).

- (44) *Rus waal a de’er daa...*
 deer that.one 3s [jump ascend]
 ‘That deer jumps up...’

- (45) *Qau ba mauluku ga’an*
 good SEQ monkey that.one
 ‘So that monkey

ta [bir-an gi o’on-an gi] tau
 TOP run-REAL go hide-REAL go PRF
 ran away [and] hid

sampai a minggu nuk
till 3s week(IND) one
for one week'

Another example is (46a), where the deictic verb *ba'* follows the major verb and is not interpreted as 'fall' but rather specifies the direction of the jumping as being downwards.

- (46) a. *Yivar waal a de'er ba'-an*
dog that.mentioned 3s [jump fall- REAL]
'So the dog jumps down

a ta ga-fat i usaq ba,
3s TOP 3s-foot PROX free SEQ
his feet free,

- b. *ta ba'-an suk*
TOP [fall- REAL exit.descend]
falls out of it,⁹

- c. *ta ba'-an yaa moxo' g-om ma yia.*
TOP [fall- REAL descend] [earth 3s-inside come be.put]
falls down landing on the ground'

When a deictic verb precedes the major verb, its motion component remains as prominent as its deictic component. This is illustrated in (46b-c), where *ba'* 'fall' is used in its literal sense, a motion plus a direction, while the following deictic verb specifies the direction of the falling.

In (47), the deictic verb *gi* also precedes the other verbs, and retains its full motion and deictic semantics.

- (47) *Gi deqai er-an waal,...*
[go clean.up.garden do- REAL] that.mentioned
'[They] went to clean the garden [like that],...[then something happened]

When deictic verbs are combined with posture verbs, they usually express motion as well as deictic orientation, both as V1, as in (48), and as V2, as in (49).

- (48) *Qau iman gi tii'-in taran masaman...*
good they [go sleep- REAL] night half
'They went to sleep till the middle of the night,...

- (49) *Bees nuk er, a ta tup-an gi te...*
 morning one make 3s TOP [get.up-REAL go walk]
 ‘One morning, he gets up goes walking,...’

This suggest that, although deictic verbs usually occur as minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs, they form symmetrical SVCs when combined with posture verbs.

9.5. The variable functions of *ma* ‘come (towards DC)’¹⁰

9.5.0. Introduction

Unlike the other deictic verbs, *ma* has developed a large number of different synchronic functions. Apart from functioning as a deictic verb, *ma* marks changes of state, intentions, future tense, hortatives, and imperatives; in addition, it functions as a kind of conjunction indicating that time has elapsed between the events expressed by subsequent clauses; and finally, it is used as an oblique marker that introduces participants into the clause. In the sections below, these functions will be described. I also propose that the various functions should be analysed as surface manifestations of a single lexical item *ma*, their functions being determined by the grammatical context in which *ma* is used. The following two contextual factors will be argued to play a crucial role in the variable interpretations of *ma*: (i) the animacy value of the argument of *ma*, and (ii), whether or not *ma* appears in a SVC and is followed by another verb. If the synchronic functions of *ma* are seen as contextualized meanings that depend on the grammatical context in which *ma* is used, this explains why this item has so many, and such variable functions.

In the analysis I distinguish between two levels of semantics: (i) the level of lexical semantics; and (ii) the level of contextualized meanings, or pragmatics. At the level of lexical semantics, *ma* is analyzed as a predicate with a single, semantically unspecified argument. Its semantics consist of a motion component and a deictic component (see section 9.4).

Below I suggest that the variable functions of *ma* can be divided into three broad types, depending on the grammatical context of *ma* and the animacy value of its argument. The first type of function is found when *ma* is used as an independent predicate of a clause. In such contexts it is interpreted as a deictic verb when the argument is animate, and as a change-of-state verb when the argument is inanimate.

However, as soon as it occurs in serial verb constructions, *ma* is found in other functions. One class of such functions is when *ma* has an animate argument and occurs in an SVC: it is then interpreted as a tense/mood marker, or as a conjunction. When *ma* has an inanimate argument and occurs in an SVC, however, its function becomes different altogether: it now marks oblique participants. Semantically, these obliques are quite varied, and include locations, instruments, goals, displaced themes and comitatives. Their interpretation depends on the semantics of the major verb in the SVC.

In section 9.5.1 I first discuss the possible origin of *ma* and its cognates in neighbouring languages. I also propose a formal representation of the lexical semantics of Teiwa *ma*, and suggest how its lexical meaning should be distinguished from its contextualized meanings. This serves as the background for the next two sections, in which the variable functions of *ma* are described, and where I argue for an analysis where the lexical semantics of *ma* is reinterpreted under influence of its structural context. In section 9.5.2, I discuss this analysis for constructions where *ma* has an animate argument; in section 9.5.3 this is done for constructions where *ma* has an inanimate argument. Section 9.5.4 sums up the conclusions.

9.5.1. Lexical semantics versus contextualized meanings of *ma*

The origin of the *ma* is unclear: apparent cognates of it are found in the non-Austronesian as well as the Austronesian languages spoken in the area. Some examples are listed in (50). The reconstructed Austronesian (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) form for ‘to come’ is **maRi* ‘to come’. It is thus possible that the verb *ma/man/mai/ma’u* in the languages of the Alor/Pantar/Timor area is of Austronesian origin. However, the formal similarity may also be accidental.

(50) Possible cognates of *ma*¹¹

a. In neighbouring non-Austronesian languages

Kaera: *ma* ‘come’ (Klamer, in press)

West Pantar (Lamma): *ma* ‘come’ (Gary Holton, p.c. 2006)

Adang: *ma* ‘come (from a short distance)’ (Haan 2001: 248)

Klon: *ma* ‘come’ (Baird 2008.)

Abui: *me* ‘come’ (Kratochvil 2007)

Kafoa: *mai* ‘come’, Hamap: *ma* ‘come’ (Baird 2003)

Bunak (E Timor): *man* ‘come’ (field notes 2002)

Makasae (E Timor): *ma’u* ‘come’ (Huber 2008)

- b. In neighbouring Austronesian languages (fieldnotes 2002, 2003)

Alorese (Alor) *mene* ‘come by’

Tetun Terik (C Timor) *mai* ‘come’ (Van Klinken 1999:262)

Mambai (E Timor) *ma*, Tokodede (E Timor) *mai*

Kemak (E Timor) *mai*, Lakalei (E Timor) *man*

Idate (E Timor) *ma*

As mentioned in section 9.4, it is commonly assumed that the meanings of deictic verbs like *ma* can be decomposed into more basic elements. Current theories of predicate decomposition usually have one or more primitive predicates that represent the meaning of the verb and act as argument-taking functions. (For an overview, see Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005.) In such models, the number of argument positions associated to predicates may vary from one to three, their hierarchical organization may differ (e.g. as internal vs. external argument), as well as the syntactic category or their semantic features.

I analyze *ma* as a one-place verb, and propose that its single argument is semantically unspecified. I further distinguish between one level of semantics that is concerned with the stored communicable information associated with conventional signs (often referred to as ‘lexical semantics’), and another level of semantics which is concerned with the final interpretation of utterances and their parts in particular contexts (often referred to as ‘contextualized meanings’ or ‘pragmatics’). Under this view, *ma* can be characterized in lexical semantic terms, independently of other lexical items. But its functions and the way it is pragmatically interpreted, i.e., its contextualized meaning, depend on its grammatical context and may therefore be variable. Why it is relevant to make a distinction between the lexical semantics and the contextualized meanings of *ma* will become clear when the various synchronic functions of *ma* are discussed.

The verb *ma* can be used as an independent verb, or as part of a serial verb construction. When it is used as an independent verb, i.e., as the single verb of a clause, it expresses both a motion and an orientation towards the Deictic Centre (DC). The DC is the understood endpoint of the motion. This use of *ma* is illustrated in (51) and (52).

- (51) *Ha'an la ma le na'an la wa?*
 2s FOC come or I FOC go
 ‘Are you coming [to me] or am I going?’

- (52) *Wa sin. Ma sin.*
 go just come just
 ‘Please go away’ ‘Please come here’

The lexical semantic components of *ma* can be represented schematically as in (53).

- (53) *ma*: <x> MOVE [DC (Goal; Endpoint)]

That is, *ma* expresses a motion with the DC as destination or ‘goal’; and since the motion ends there, the DC is also its endpoint. (See Wilkins and Hill 1995 for exemplification of this distinction). Being intransitive, *ma* takes a single argument <x>. As mentioned above, I assume that the semantics of this argument is unspecified, i.e., the lexical conceptual representation of *ma* contains no specification(s) of the semantic role of its argument as e.g. agent, patient, location, instrument, etc. Rather, I assume that the argument’s semantic interpretation is contextually determined.

Of course, a typical argument of *ma* is animate, as illustrated in (51). However, this is not because *ma* is lexically specified to have such an argument, but because the MOVE component of *ma* forces the figure <x> to be canonically interpreted as a moving entity. But the verb *ma* can also occur with an inanimate argument, as in (54), where the referent of *a’an* is a thing.

- (54) ...*palanqas maan, a’an ma mosan.*
 split.bamboo NEG 3s come sword
 ‘...it wasn’t a bamboo, it had become a sword’

In grammatical contexts like (54), the argument of *ma* is inanimate and the nominal predicate *mosan* ‘sword’ is the DC (‘goal’ and ‘endpoint’). As a result, MOVE must be reinterpreted as a change of state predicate, whereby an inanimate figure (metaphorically) moves towards a certain state:

- (55) *ma*: <*inanimate*> MOVE [DC = nominal predicate]

The reinterpretation of motion verbs into change-of-state predicates is cross-linguistically widely attested (cf. English ‘come’ > ‘become’). For *ma* I assume that such a re-interpretation does not involve a change in the lexical semantics of *ma*, but is entirely determined by the grammatical context of this item. When *ma* combines with an inanimate, non-moving argument and with a stative nominal predicate, there is no way that MOVE could ever be interpreted as expressing a physical motion, and the closest interpretation that

remains available in this type of context is to view *ma* as a change-of-state predicate.

To conclude, *ma* can occur with an animate and inanimate argument, and the animacy value of its argument is one of the contextual factors that determines its interpretation as either a deictic verb or as a change-of-state predicate.

In the following sections, the various functions of *ma* will be discussed. In section 9.5.2, *ma* is described as a marker of movement in time when it functions as a grammatical tense/mood marker ('venitive', intentions, hortatives, imperatives) and as a conjunction. This function of *ma* is seen when it has an animate argument. In section 9.5.3, its function as oblique marker is described, and this function of *ma* is seen when it has an inanimate argument. In general, the animacy value of the argument of *ma* and the grammatical context in which *ma* appears determine its various interpretations.

9.5.2. *Ma* as a marker of movement in time

When *ma* occurs with an animate argument in a serial verb construction, it can be used to mark events that are to going to take place in the future.¹² This is illustrated in (56a), compare (56b). The example in (57a) shows that it is also used to express intentions; compare (57b).

- (56) a. *Ha ma nili pat-an.*
 2s [come debt pay.back]-REAL
 'You will pay back the debt'
- b. *Ha nili pat-an.*
 2s debt pay.back-REAL
 'You pay back the debt'
- (57) a. *Na ma walas?*
 1s [come tell]
 'Shall I tell the secret?'
- b. *Na walas?*
 1s tell
 'Do I talk?' (Not good for: 'Shall I tell?')

In these contexts, *ma* still functions to express a motion, but now it can be interpreted as expressing movement in time: the figure is moving towards a temporal endpoint rather than a physical one. Such a temporal interpretation of *ma* is possible since the meaning component MOVE in itself does not say anything about the dimension in which the movement takes place. When the grammatical context is such that the component DC is the event depicted by the (major) verb (or verb phrase), clearly the endpoint of the ‘movement’ is a point in time when that particular event takes place. This is the function of *ma* in (56)-(57). In (58a), *ma* functions to mark an imperative clause.¹³ In such contexts, the verb is interpreted even more broadly as a movement towards a situation that takes place in the future.

- (58) a. *Ma na-walas* b.* *Na-walas!*
 [come 1s-tell] 1s-tell
 ‘Talk with me!’

Ma in (56) is glossed as ‘come’, to indicate that it is the same item as the one used in (51). The argument of *ma* is animate, and is thus moving, in space and/or in time. The only difference between the function of *ma* in (51) and in (56) is that in the former, *ma* is an independent verb, while in the latter, it is part of a SVC and shares its argument with another verb. The other verb is the major verb of the SVC and is semantically the more important one of the two. In other words, (56) is about arriving at a situation of paying back debt / looking / talking / going, rather than about arriving at a literal geographical location. The more abstract temporal interpretation of *ma* is also witnessed when it is interpreted to mark a time lapse between events. Consider (59): (59c-d) are both possible sequences to (59a-b), but (59c) contains an extra *ma*, which functions as a conjunction, in (59d) it does not appear.¹⁴

- (59) a. ...*qavif ga’an hala ta ga-fin-an*,
 goat 3s others TOP 3s-catch- REAL
 ‘... that goat was caught by them,
- b. *qavif ga’an bir-an ku’at maan ba*
 goat 3s run- REAL strong(IND) NEG SEQ
 the goat couldn’t run fast so
- c. *hala ta gi er-an gula’*
 others TOP [go do- REAL finish]
 other people went to do [it]

ma haraba ma gad.
 [come stable come put]
 'then put [it] in a stable.'

- d. ..*hala ta gi er-an gula'*
 others TOP [go do- REAL finish]
 '...other people went to do [it]

haraba ma gad.
 stable come put]
 put [it] in a stable.'

In (59c), the two events <people went to do (it)> and <(people) put (a goat) in a stable> are separated by *ma*, which marks a time lapse between the two events (x “then” y). For example, there could have been a time lapse when the people first caught the goat, and then first had a smoke before putting it in the stable. In contrast, in (59d) there is no overt marker to indicate that time elapsed between the two events. Note that *ma* in (59c) is grammatically still a verb: it has ‘other people’ as its animate argument, an argument it shares with *gi eran* ‘go do’, *gula* ‘finish’ and *gad* ‘put’. But *ma* can also be (re-)interpreted to here as a kind of coordinating conjunction (‘then’), linking two separate clauses.¹⁵

In sum, when *ma* is used in a serial verb construction with an animate argument, it behaves as a verb. It combines with a major verb (or verb phrase) as sketched in (60):

(60) <animate> MOVE

Deictic Centre: <i>pay debt</i> <i>talk</i> <i>look</i> <i>put in a stable</i>
--

In such contexts, the goal/endpoint of the movement is the situation when a particular event takes place. That is, *ma* functions as a marker of intentions, hortatives, imperatives, and time lapses between events when it occurs in a grammatical context which allows that its meaning be generalised to a movement in time.

The functions of *ma* discussed in this section are cross-linguistically quite commonly found as grammaticalizations of the verb ‘come’. Heine and Kuteva (2002:68-70, 78) mention that ‘come’ often develops into a ‘venitive’ comparable to (57a), a ‘hortative’, comparable to (58a) or a ‘consecutive’, comparable to (59a). They also mention ‘come to’ as a common source for

future markers, comparable to (56a). Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 268-269) present an analysis of motion verbs developing functions as markers of future, intentions, and imperatives in various languages. In the case of *ma*, there is no reason (yet) to say that synchronically, the verb has developed into a set of different functional items. In the analysis presented here, one and the same lexical item is used in example (51), but the functional interpretation of this item depends on the grammatical context in which it appears.

Pragmatically, *ma* functions as a marker of intentions, hortatives, imperatives, and grammatically it is similar to a conjunction. However, this interpretation is only possible when its grammatical context allows it: it can only happen when *ma* has an animate argument, and when it is followed by a constituent expressing an event/proposition (a verb, verbal phrase, or a clause). Further, the reanalysis of *ma* is enabled by more general morpho-syntactic properties of Teiwa; these are listed in section 9.5.4 below.

9.5.3. *Ma* as oblique marker

This section considers constructions where *ma* is used with an inanimate argument, and where it is the minor verb in a SVC. In such constructions, it functions to mark participants as oblique constituents.

I assume that the oblique marking function of *ma* is derived from its verbal use (rather than vice versa) because related languages, such as West Pantar (Gary Holton, p.c. 2006), Kaera (Klamer, in press) and Klon (Baird 2008) also have a deictic verb *ma*, but do not use this verb as an oblique marker. (Instead, the oblique marker in these languages is *mi*.)

Teiwa has no ditransitive verbs (*an* ‘give’ may be an exception), so that a single verb can have maximally two (core) arguments. Additional participant(s) are introduced with another predicate (which is one of the reasons why SVCs are used so heavily in Teiwa), as discussed in section 9.6 below. When *ma* has an inanimate argument, it also functions to introduce an additional participant, which it marks as an oblique. Semantically, this oblique may be a location, an instrument, or a displaced theme (‘object of transfer’).

In (61) *ma* marks a location: the place where the object (a frog) is kept. In (62) and (63) *ma* also encode a location; in this case it is the place where the subject is standing. (Example (29) above is another illustration of *ma* marking a location.)

- (61) ...*bif* *g-oqai* *nuk* *mauqubar* *ga-fin-an* *gula*
 child 3s-child one frog 3s-catch- REAL finish
 ‘...a small child caught a frog’

pin aria' toples g-om ma ga-rian.
hold arrive jar 3-inside come 3s-look.after
 brought it home, kept it in a jar'

- (62) ...*war uwaad nuk ga-he'en ma tas...*
 rock big one 3s-close come stand
 '...(he) stands close to a big rock...'

- (63) *Tami un Lius ga-siban ma yia / ...ma tas*
 tamarind.tree while Lius 3s-behind come be.put come stand
 'The tamarind tree is / stands behind Lius'

In (64) *ma* introduces the goal of the event of 'falling down':

- (64) ...*ba'-an yaa saf her ma yaa,*
fall- REAL descend river.bank bottom.part come descend
 '... [after] falling down into to the river,

rus waal ta bir-an gi...
 deer that.mentioned TOP run- REAL go
 that deer ran away...'

In (65) it introduces the source:

- (65) *Sangubal ma bir-an daa.*
 Sangubal. come run- REAL ascend
 'The refugee(s) who ran up from Sangubal'

In (66a) the role of *katak* 'frog (IND)' is ambiguous: it may be the location/goal or patient of inspection; in (66b) the role of *get bag* 'eyes' is equally ambiguous: it may be the location/goal or the inanimate patient of the biting. If 'bite' had an animate object, it would be marked by a verbal prefix, as shown in (67).

- (66) a. ...*banaq g-om bali wa*
 puddle 3-inside see go
 '...goes looking inside the puddle

katak ma palan si,
 frog come inspect SIM
 inspecting the frog,

- b. *katak waal ta daa*
 frog that.mentioned TOP ascend
 and that frog gets up

g-et bag ma sii.
 3-eye seed come bite
 bites his eyes’

- (67) *Katak ga-sii.*
 frog 3s-bite
 ‘A frog bites him’

In (68), *ma* marks the instrument of ‘cut’:

- (68) *Uy nuk ped ma tei taxar*
 person one machete come wood cut
 ‘Someone cuts wood with a machete’

Instruments must be introduced by *ma*, as shown by the contrast between (69a-b).

- (69) a. *Na ma tei bun ma yivar g-ua’*
 I come wood piece come dog 3s-hit
 ‘I’ll hit the dog with a stick’

- b.* *Na ma tei bun yivar g-ua’*
 I come wood piece dog 3s-hit

Finally, the oblique marker *ma* also marks displaced themes (or ‘objects of transfer’). Transfer verbs such as *mian* ‘put at’ or *sas* ‘feed’ are mono-transitive with the semantic recipient as their object.¹⁶ Objects of transfer are introduced with *ma*, as shown in (70), (71), and (72). (70a) contains the verb *mian* ‘to put/place at someone’, a transitive verb with a benefactive/recipient as its (single) object. The transferred object must be introduced as an oblique with *ma*, as shown in (70b); the recipient cannot be marked as an oblique, as shown in (70c).

- (70) a. *Na-xala’ yir ma bif ga-mian hufa’.*
 1s-mother water come younger.sibling 3s-put.at drink
 ‘My mum gives water to the child to drink’

b. * *Na-xala' yir bif ga-mian hufa'.*
 1s-mother water younger.sibling 3s-put.at drink

c. * *Na-xala' yir bif ma ga-mian hufa'.*
 1s-mother water younger.sibling come 3s-put.at drink

(71) *Si' ma na-mian na ma ina.*
 spoon come 1s-put.at 1s come eat
 'Give me a spoon to eat'

The sentence in (72) also contains a transitive location verb, but in this case the verb takes an inanimate locational object: *tanat* 'to place/put on something'. The NP *afat ki* 'his big toe' is the core (locational) object,¹⁷ while the thing placed, *tab ga'an* 'that spear', is marked as an oblique object with *ma*.

(72) *A tab ga'an ma*
 3s spear 3s come
 'As he places that spear

a-fat ki' uwaad tanat olaxhamar
 3s-foot toe big place.on.something recite.poetry
 on his big toe [he] recites poetry'

Additional illustrations of verbs with an oblique constituent marking displaced themes (objects of transfer) are (73) and (74):

(73) *A ta war upar ma ga-ayas.*
 3s TOP rock pebble come 3s-throw.at
 'He throws pebbles at him'

(74) *Xa'a ma ha-bif ga-mai.*
 this.one come 2s- younger.sibling 3s-save
 'Save this for your younger sibling(s)'

Entities introduced by *ma* are not limited to objects of transfer, but also include objects pointed out or shown, as in (75):

(75) *Yitar ga-qau ma na-lal-an*
 road 3s-good come 1s-show- REAL
 '[You] show me the right way'

Note that the participants introduced by *ma* are all inanimate. How then are additional animate participants marked? For example, how would the animate displaced theme in *She gave me the child* be expressed?

Additional animate objects can only be introduced by a separate verb. This is illustrated in (76a), where *pin* 'hold' introduces the object of transfer *biar kriman* 'small children'; the subject of *pin* 'hold' is *hala* 'others, other people'. (SVCs with *pin* 'hold' also introduce inanimate participants, cf. 6.1 below.) Additional animate participants cannot be marked oblique with *ma*, as shown in (76b), nor can they be expressed as second object, as shown in (76c).

- (76) a. *Jadi hala biar kriman la*
 so others children small FOC
 'So other people brought some children here and gave them to us...'

pin aria' ma ni-mian...
hold arrive come lpe-put.at

- b. * *Jadi hala biar kriman ma ni-mian*
 so others children small come lpe-put.at

- c. * *Jadi hala biar kriman ni-mian*
 so others children small lpe-put.at

Note that the subject *hala* is shared by all the verbs in the SVC in (76a), including the pre-final verb *ma*: since this *ma* has an animate argument, it functions as a conjunction that marks a time lapse between events, cf. its similar function in (59a) above.

In conclusion, *ma* marks oblique participants, and the semantic role of these participants varies depending on the meaning of the other verb in the SVC. For example, when the oblique combines with 'stand' or 'descend', it marks a location (as in (62), (63) and (64)), when it combines with the verb 'bite' it marks the location/goal of biting (as in (66b)); when it combines with the verb 'cut' or 'hit' it marks an instrument (as in (68)-(69a)), when it combines with the verb 'to give someone', 'to place on something', 'to throw at', 'to save for', or 'to show someone' marks a displaced theme or object of transfer (as in (70a) and (71)-(75)). In other words, *ma* productively introduces various types of inanimate participants whose specific semantics are largely determined by semantics of the major verb in the SVC.

The oblique marking function of *ma* is related to its lexical semantics as follows. *Ma* combines with an inanimate argument as represented in (77). Because the argument is inanimate, it is impossible to interpret *ma* here as a

predicate of motion. That is, the semantic component MOVE cannot be part of the contextualised interpretation of *ma* here, and the deictic component is the one that prevails. Since there is no motion involved, the DC is not interpreted as goal or endpoint, but simply as a static location.

(77) <*inanimate*> ~~MOVE~~ DC (static location)

As a result, the interpretation of an oblique construction with *ma* is something like “inanimate argument <x> is located at DC”. What is the DC here? When *ma* is followed by a major verb, the DC is the event expressed by that major verb (phrase). The oblique marking of *ma* is thus interpreted as something like “<x> is located at the event reported here”. As an illustration, consider (78). Here, the DC is the scene depicted by *a ga-ayas* ‘he throws at him’. At this DC, an additional participant is located, namely *war upar* ‘pebble’, the inanimate argument of *ma*. This additional participant is pragmatically interpreted as the object of *ayas* ‘throw at’.

(78) *A ta war upar ma ga-ayas.*
 3s TOP rock pebble come 3s-throw.at
 ‘He throws pebbles at him’

We thus distinguish between the lexical semantics of *ma*, and the contextual interpretation it can get in particular grammatical contexts. In this way, it is possible to account for the fact that a single item is used as a deictic verb, a change-of-state verb, a tense/aspect marker, a conjunction, and as a marker of oblique constituents, indicating static locations. I have suggested how these functions are related to the two lexical semantic components of *ma*, and thus to each other, and how they can shift depending on grammatical context.

Because the analysis presented here refers to the grammatical context of *ma*, it is implied that *ma* does not get to function as an oblique marker by accident, or that it is a function that developed randomly. First, because it can only happen when *ma* occurs with an inanimate argument. Second, *ma* must be followed by a major verb (phrase) in a SVC. And third, the oblique marking interpretation of *ma* is enabled by the more general structural properties of the grammar of Teiwa listed in the next section.

9.5.4. Conclusions

The word *ma* has the following functions:

- as a deictic verb, as in (51)-(52);
- as a change-of-state verb, as in (54);
- as a marker of intentions, hortatives, and imperatives, as in (56)-(58)
- as a conjunction that indicates a time lapse between subsequent events, as in (59c);
- as marker of obliques, as in (61)-(75), and (78).

I have argued that these different synchronic functions are in fact contextualized meanings of a single item, i.e. meanings that depend on the grammatical context in which *ma* appears. Since the context of *ma* is variable, its functions are too. Two contextual factors were identified as playing a crucial role in the variable interpretation of *ma*: (a) the animacy value of its argument, and (b) whether or not *ma* appears in a SVC, i.e., is followed by a major verb. In addition, certain particular grammatical characteristics of Teiwa enable the reinterpretation of *ma*, which include the following:¹⁸

- (i) the productiveness of serialization;
- (ii) the absence of syntactic subordination and/or a distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms, which enables easy re-interpretation of verb forms into grammatical morphemes; and
- (iii) the predominantly ‘left-branching’ character of Teiwa (where branching constituents precede non-branching constituents, see Dryer 1992), so that [NP *ma*] phrases preceding a verb may be reinterpreted as branching PP-like constituents.
- (iv) the absence of inflection markers for (future) tense or irrealis mood, so that the tense/mood interpretation of *ma* need not compete with pre-existing morphemes.

The synchronic functions of *ma* may be divided in three classes, according to the two contextual factors involved. As the single verb of a clause, *ma* functions as a deictic or change-of-state verb (function class 1). However, in SVCs *ma* gets other functions: with an animate argument, it is interpreted as a tense/mood marker, or a conjunction marking a time lapse (function class 2). With an inanimate argument, *ma* functions as an oblique, marking locations, instruments and displaced themes (function class 3).

Oblique constituents in Teiwa are always inanimate. Comitatives are animate, and an event may involve an animate object of transfer (as in *Give the baby to me*), but neither of these is expressed as an oblique with *ma*. Both are introduced with a separate verb *pin* ‘hold’ (section 9.6.1)¹⁹ Animate arguments that have no core argument status are introduced with a separate verb, and cannot be marked with *ma*. The animacy value of arguments thus

plays a crucial role in how they are grammatically encoded.²⁰ In addition, the animacy value of the argument of *ma* is crucial to determine which of the various functional interpretations of *ma* applies in a certain context.

9.6. Serial verb constructions introducing participants

9.6.0. Introduction

In section 9.5.3 above, it is described that SVCs with *ma* may be used to mark additional participants as oblique constituents. The present section describes four additional types of SVCs whose function is to introduce additional participants into the clause. The transitive verb *pin* ‘hold’ (section 9.6.1) introduces comitative participants. The verb *mat* ‘take’ (section 9.6.2) introduces instruments or patients. The verb *er* ‘make, do’ (section 9.6.3) introduces temporal or locational constituents. The verb *wan* ‘be, exist’ (section 9.6.4) introduces locations, goals, sources or comitatives. This section is organised according to the verb that introduces the additional participant. For an overview of the introduced participants according to their semantic roles, see section 9.7.4.

9.6.1. With transitive verb *pin* ‘hold’

The verb *pin* ‘hold’ is a transitive verb. Its canonical object is a small thing, animal or child that is held in one’s hands or arms. An illustration of its use as a transitive verb ‘to hold’ is (79) below; a similar example is (16b) above.

(79) *G-et bag ma sii ba*
 3-eye seed [come bite] SEQ
 ‘[It] bites his eyes so

ata g-et bag ta pin-an kiid-an pati,
 and 3-eye seed TOP [hold- REAL cry- REAL] PROG
 and he holds his eyes while crying,

ga-yivar ga’an un tei luxun goxo’ pati.
 3s-dog 3s CONT tree high bark PROG
 while his dog is still barking up the tree’

In SVCs, *pin* can also function to introduce a comitative or accompanying participant, as illustrated in (80)-(82). *Pin* still has the semantics of ‘to hold’; it is not bleached.

(80) *A ped pin gi.*
 3s machete [hold go]
 ‘He takes along a machete’ (lit. ‘He holds a machete goes’)

(81) *Na ped pin arwan ma gi.*
 1s machete [hold garden come go]
 ‘I bring a machete to the garden’

(82) *Na ma n-ufan sen pin-an ma.*
 1s [come 1s-forget money hold-REAL come]
 ‘I forgot to bring money’

The major verb in an SVC with *pin* is often a deictic verb (see section 9.4 above); the combinations that are most frequently used are given in (83), along with their literal and free translations.

(83) SVC literal translation free translation
pin gi hold go ‘take sth along/away’
pin wa hold go (close) ‘take sth along/away(not far)’
pin ma hold come (here) ‘bring sth (here)’
pin aria hold arrive ‘bring sth’

In (84a-b), *pin wa* and *pin ma* express contrasting directions, corresponding with the contrasting perspective of the narrator in (84a) and the protagonist quoted in (84b):

(84) a. *A ta mat-an gula’ ta pin wa gula’.*
 3s TOP take- REAL finish TOP [hold go finish]
 ‘He gets it and takes it along,

b. “*dei waal la*
 bird that.mentioned FOC
 “that bird

na gaal-an pin ma laxa’a’.
 1s [shoot.with.arrow -REAL hold come] this.one.here
 I shot [I] bring (here)”

In (85a), it is illustrated that *ma* expresses a direction when it is the final verb of the SVC, but not when it is the initial verb, as in (85b).

- (85) a. *Yir la pin ma!*
 water Top [hold come]
 ‘Bring (some) water (here)!’
- b. *Yir la ma pin!*
 water Top [come hold]
 ‘Take (some) water!’

In (86) *pin* combines with the activity verb *bir* ‘run’, and marks the object that is taken along while running.

- (86) ...*ba rus waal ga’an pin bir-an gi gi...*
 SEQ deer that.mentioned 3s [hold run-REAL go go]
 ‘...then that deer runs away with [it]...’

In general, *pin* and the verb following it express a single event (or two simultaneous subevents). When an SVC with *pin* is preceded by yet another verb, this additional verb expresses a separate event. This is illustrated in (87b), where *ga’-uyan* ‘look for him’ precedes *pin aria*’ and (87d), where *ya’ siis mat* ‘take a dry bamboo’ precedes *pin arian*. In both cases, the SVC *pin aria(n)* expresses the subsequent event.

- (87) a. *Naree maan, xoran si ma ha gi*
 grandfather NEG thus SIM come 2s go
 ‘Grandfather no, if so you go’
- b. *ya’ siis nuk ga-uyan pin aria’*,
 k.o.small.bamboo dry one [3s-look.for hold arrive]
 look for dry bamboo to bring here
- c. *ta uy quaf eran ta tup-an gi,*
 TOP person grandmother²¹ that.one TOP [get.up-REAL go]
 then the old woman went
- d. *ya’ siis mat pin aria-n gula’*
 k.o.small.bamboo dry [take hold arrive-REAL finish]
 to get a small dry bamboo, brought it there,

- e. *qau a ta qas.*
 good 3s TOP break
 then [the child] broke it in pieces'

Note that comitative participants introduced by *pin* are always non-volitional. To express the company of a volitional participant, other strategies are used. One strategy is to use a plural subject from the pronominal paradigm that expresses a subject in the company of others. These pronouns have a base *-iqap* 'and they' prefixed with the person/number marker (See Ch. 3, section 3.2.3), an illustration is the subject *hiqap* 'you and they' in (88).

- (88) *H-iqap maxar pin.*
 2s-& they new.garden hold
 'You manage the new garden with them' (lit. 'You and they hold the new garden').

Another strategy is to express the comitative participant as the animate object of the verb. This is discussed in Ch. 4, section 4.4 and 4.5. An illustration is (89).

- (89) *Kri Sir emaq ga'-tewar.*
 Mr Sir wife 3s.anim-walk
 'Mr. Sir goes with his wife'

In sum, *pin* typically occurs in a SVC with a deictic verb, and then it introduces a non-volitional comitative participant that is small enough to be carried. In case the entity is too big to be carried, and is e.g. held or touched while standing on its own, a SVC with *wan* 'be' must be used. This is discussed in section 9.6.4.

9.6.2. With transitive verb *mat* 'take'

The verb *mat* 'take' introduces an instrument or a displaced theme, and is connected to the following event by the verb *ma*. In (90), (91a) and (92a) it introduces an instrument. (Sentence (6) above contains a similar construction.) In these SVCs *ma* is obligatory, while *mat* can be left out, as shown in the b. examples. (Note that in (92), the patient object is also indexed on the verb because it is animate.)

- (90) ...*ga-wai ga'an mat ma a wei-an...*
 3s-blood 3s [take come] 3s bathe-REAL
 '...he will wash with his blood...'
- (91) a. *Ped mat ma man taxar.*
 machete [take come grass cut]
 'Get a machete to cut the grass'
- b. *Pet ma man pai.*
 machete [come grass cut]
 'Cut the grass with a machete'
- (92) a. *Tei mat ma yivar g-ua'.*
 wood [take come dog 3s-hit]
 'Get a stick to hit the dog'
- b. *Tei ma yivar g-ua'.*
 wood [come dog 3s-hit]
 'Hit the dog with a stick'

Like *pin* 'hold' (discussed in 6.1), *mat* expresses the seizure of an object. *Mat* is less grammaticalised than *pin* (cf. the SVCs in (83)). The contrast between *mat ma* 'take something' and *pin ma* 'bring something' is illustrated in (93).

- (93) ...*hala qar weg mat ma ga-mian,*
 others rice raw [take come 3s-give]
 '...people took raw rice gave it to him,
- yir la pin ma hala wa qau ga-soi na...*
 water Top [hold come] others go good [3s-order eat]
 water [was] brought people told him to eat...

Note also that the argument introduced by *mat ma* is a displaced theme, as in (93) or an instrument, as in (92)), while *pin ma* only introduces comitatives. In (94), it is illustrated that SVCs with *pin* and *mat* may occur in combination.

- (94) *Iman ta ma pin gi mat ma,*
 they TOP [come hold go] [take come]
 'They brought [her] away, took [her] to

bot *yuun* *nuk* *ga'an* *ma* *gad.*
 k.o.lemon.tree down one 3s [come let.go]
 a *Bot* lemon tree left her underneath it'

9.6.3. With transitive verb *er* 'make, do'

The transitive verb *er* 'to make, do' functions as an independent verb in (95), where it has the subject *iman* 'they' and the object *ga-yaf* 'their house'.

(95) ...*si* *yivar* *ma* *walas* *tau* *le,*
 SIM dream [come tell] PRF or
 '...(he) was told already in a dream,

musti *iman* *ga-yaf* *er-an* *si...*
 must(IND) they 3-house make-REAL SIM
 they had to make their house...'

However, *er* also functions to introduce constituents that express temporal or locational notions. In such contexts, the interpretation of "making something" is completely abstract. An illustration is (96a), where the object of *er* 'make' is the temporal noun *iliar* 'daybreak'. The subject "makes the daybreak" while he is walking. Note that this analysis implies that in Teiwa, temporal nouns are grammatical arguments (here, as object of transitive *er*), not adjuncts. In this way, the SVC with *er* in (96a) expresses the temporal setting for the next clause (96b). (The function of *eran* as it is used in (96b) is explained below.)

(96) a. *A* *ta* *te-te* *ma* *a* *gi* *iliar* *er,*
 3s TOP [RDP-walk come] 3s [go daybreak make]
 'He walks and walks till at daybreak,

 b. *bif* *masar* *eran* *u* *ga-gas* *qai* *a* *ta* *min.*
 child male that.one that 3s-sister 3s TOP die
 that boy – his sister she dies'

In (97) it is illustrated that *er* can also introduce locational settings. In this example, it has the place name *Yir Pan Get* as its object.²²

(97) *Jadi* [*Yir* *Pan* *Get* *er-an*]_{VP} *ga'an* *u...*
 so(IND) Yir Pan Get make-REAL 3s that
 'So at that (place) *Yir Pan Get*,...'

Analogous to constructions like (96a) where *er* marks temporal settings by taking a temporal noun as its complement, its complement may also be a verb. This is illustrated in (98). In this sentence, the SVC with *eran* marks the temporal setting for the next clause by having *tupan* as its complement (“she gets up doing (like) that...”).

- (98) *A tup-an nuan kiqax gula’*
 3s get.up-REAL cloth [shake.out finish]
 ‘She gets up shakes out her sarong,

a tup-an er-an waal
 3s get.up-REAL make that.mentioned
 she gets up doing like that,

moxo’ tafiyak a wuraq si gon pa’an gi...
 earth crack 3s hear SIM gong short.drum go
 [then] the earth cracks she hears the sounds of gongs and drums...’

In its inflected realis form, the verb *eran* has also developed a function as a demonstrative-like element that marks participants that were introduced before. In this function, *eran* is glossed (inadequately) as ‘that one’, and can combine with *waal* ‘that one, the one mentioned previously’.²³ Illustrations are given in (99) and (100) below. In (99), *eran waal* marks the subject NP *wat qut* ‘coconut sprout’ as a participant that has been introduced before. (A similar example is (11d) above.)

- (99) *Xoran ta qut-an mir-an mir-an*
 thus TOP [sprout- REAL ascend- REAL ascend- REAL]
 ‘So he climbs up (lit. ‘sprouts’) climbing climbing

sampai mir-an,
 till(IND) ascend- REAL
 climbing till

wat qut eran waal ta
 coconut sprout that.one that.mentioned TOP
 till that coconut sprout (mentioned before)

moxo’ ma dufar mir.
 earth [come slip.away ascend]
 perforated the earth.²⁴

In (100c), *eran* re-introduces two participants that were mentioned previously: ‘that woman’, and ‘that banana’. Semantically these are the recipient and the displaced theme of the clauses in (100d-e). Note that the recipient ‘that woman’ occurs at a focus position in (100c), preceding the subject in (100d) (cf. Chapter 11, section 11.2), where it is crossreferenced with the object prefix on *mian*. The theme ‘that banana’ semantically belongs to the first clause in (100e), but is also expressed in (100c).

- (100) a. *Ba a ta tup-an a pin gi,*
 SEQ 3s TOP get.up- REAL 3s [hold go]
 ‘Then he got up and he left taking [something] along,

a’an ta gi awan tau
 3s TOP go far PRF
 he was already far away

- b. *wan si iman ta tup-an,*
 be SIM they TOP get.up- REAL
 and when they got up,

- c. *uy eqar eran u,*
 person woman that.one that
 that woman,

muxui eran ga’an u
 banana that.one 3s DIST
 that banana,

- d. *iman ta ga-mian na-n maan,*
 they TOP [3s-give eat- REAL] NEG
 they did not give her [it] to eat,...’

- e. *iman qe’en na iman la ga-yis na*
 they [peel eat] they Foc 3s-fruit eat
 they peeled [and] ate [it], they ate the fruit

ga-xas la ma ga-mian na.
 3s-dirt Foc come 3s-put.at eat
 [and] the peels they gave [her] to eat.

In (96b) above, *eran* also marks a re-introduced participant: ‘that boy’. This participant is the grammatical possessor of the subject ‘his sister’.

While it may be hard to see a relation between the verbal use of *er* discussed above and the demonstrative function of *eran* (*waal*) in (96b), (99) and (100), I suggest that the two functions are diachronically related as follows. Developing out of its literal interpretation ‘do, make’, the more abstract interpretation of *er* ‘doing (like) that’ in constructions introducing temporal or locational (adjunct-like) notions in (96) and (97) may have led to its re-interpretation as an element that can mark various kinds of nominal constituents as re-introduced participants, that can occur in focused positions.

It should also be mentioned here that Teiwa also has constructions where *er* functions to express causative concepts (see also Ch. 10, section 10.3). Examples are (101)-(102). In such constructions, the verb *er* ‘make’ typically has an inanimate object, and the referent of this object is identical to the referent of the subject of the next verb.²⁵ The subject of the next verb is obligatorily expressed with a pronoun, as the starred brackets indicate.

(101) *Ha ma na-xala' g-unmulax g-et yas er *(a) qau*
 2s come 1s-mother 3s-help 3-eye bad make 3s good
 ‘You come help my mother make her blind eyes well’

(102) *Na motor er-an *(a) sig.*
 1s motorbike (IND) make- REAL 3s live
 ‘I switch on the motorbike’ (lit. ‘I make the motorbike it lives’)

(103) *Na motor er-an *(a) masuai.*
 1s motorbike (IND) make- REAL 3s clean
 ‘I clean the motorbike’ (lit. ‘I make the motorbike it is clean’)

Note that the shared participant is expressed twice as a lexical NP (*get yas/motor*) and once as a pronoun (*a*). In the causative interpretation, *er* and the next verb therefore do not have a shared argument, so that (101)-(103) should not be analysed as SVCs but as sequences of clauses (see section 9.1 above, and Ch. 10, section 10.3).

9.6.4. With (in)transitive *wan* ‘to be, exist (at)’

The verb *wan* ‘to be, exist’ can be used as an independent existential verb, as in (105) (see also Ch. 6, section 6.6 and 6.7). The existential verb can be used in constructions with one argument, as in (104), as well as in constructions like the one in the first clause of (105), where *bo’oi* ‘river’ is the <theme>, and *hafan ga’an u* ‘that village’ is the <location> object.

(104) wan <theme>
Qar wan.
 rice be
 ‘There is rice’

(105) wan <theme, location>
Hafan ga’an u bo’oi wan le maan? Bo’oi wan.
 village 3s DIST river be or NEG river be
 ‘Is there a river at that village or not?’ ‘There is.’

The existential verb *wan* can also express possession (where the <location> is interpreted as the possessor, and the <theme> as the possessee, see Ch. 6, section 6.7). *Wan* is also used in superlative constructions (Ch. 5, section 5.11). Sometimes, *wan* combines with a clause-like constituent. This function of *wan* is illustrated in (106a), and it contrasts with the clause in (106b), where the existential verb is not used.

(106) a. *N-oma’ min-an wan u²⁶ le...*
 1s-father [die- REAL be] DIST or
 ‘At the time of my father’s dying...’

b. *N-oma’ min-an u la...*
 1s-father die- REAL DIST FOC
 ‘[It was] my father’s dying that...’ (e.g. ...caused a lot of trouble)

The present section describes how *wan* functions in SVCs. In (107) a list is given of the SVCs with *wan* found in my corpus. The first column presents the major verb of the SVC, and its translation as independent verb is given in the second column. The third column shows how it combines with *wan*. As the examples illustrate, *wan* typically combines with verbs denoting activities or events; combinations with stative or locational verbs have not been attested. In the fourth column, the translation of the SVC is given.

When *wan* combines with an intransitive verb (107a), both verbs share the <theme> argument, while the <location> argument of *wan* is added. Semantically this can be a location, goal, comitative — more generally, it may be referred to as the ‘circumstantial object’ of the construction. In (107) it is represented as *x*.

In the combinations in (107b), *wan* combines with a transitive verb and *y* represents the original patient object. An additional argument *x* is introduced by *wan*. This is again a circumstantial object that can have a variety of semantic roles, although it is never a patient; for reasons explained below.

(107)	<i>verb</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>SVC</i>	<i>translation</i>
a.	<i>igan</i>	‘have party’	<i>wan igan</i>	‘have party because of/about x’
	<i>hadan</i>	‘reach’	<i>wan hadan</i>	‘reach at x, go by x’
	<i>taxani</i>	‘ask for information’	<i>wan taxani</i>	‘ask information about x’
	<i>suk</i>	‘exit come down’	<i>wan suk</i>	‘tell (about) x’
	<i>blau</i>	‘chat’	<i>wan blau</i>	‘chat about x’
	<i>hor</i>	‘hang’	<i>wan hor</i>	‘hang sth around x’
	<i>xawar</i>	‘sigh (noun/verb)’	<i>wan xawar</i>	‘to long for x’
	<i>ba’</i>	‘fall’	<i>wan ba’</i>	‘strike at x’
b.	<i>ben</i>	‘carve y’	<i>wan ben</i>	‘work on x’
	<i>teqai</i>	‘clean up y’	<i>wan teqai</i>	‘clean up y around x’
	<i>de’</i>	‘burn y’	<i>wan de’</i>	‘burn x along with y’
	<i>pin</i>	‘hold y’	<i>wan pin</i>	‘hold y at x, take hold of x’
	<i>moxod</i>	‘drop y’	<i>wan moxod</i>	‘drop y from x’
	<i>perat</i>	‘tie y’	<i>wan perat</i>	‘tie y to x’

How *wan* combines with intransitive verbs is illustrated in (108). In (108a) the verb *hadan* ‘reach’ is an independent intransitive verb, in (108b) *wan* is an independent verb, and in (108c), the two verbs are combined, so that now the argument of *wan* expresses the goal/location of *hafan* ‘reach’. The ungrammaticality of (108d) shows that the goal/location *hafan* can only be expressed by combining *hadan* with *wan*; that is, *hadan* is truly intransitive when it is used independently.

- (108) a. *Na hadan tau.*
 1s reach PRF
 ‘I have landed / come on land’ (Lit. ‘I have reached somewhere’)
- b. *Hafan wan.*
 village be
 ‘A village exists’, ‘There is a village’
- c. *Na hafan wan hadan tau.*
 1s village [be reach] PRF
 ‘I have arrived at / reached the village’

- d.* *Na hafan hadan tau.*
 I village reach PRF

Another illustration of *wan* combining with an intransitive verb is (109). The verb *taxani* ‘ask for information, inquire’ can be used as an independent verb, as in (109a), while in (109b), *wan* has introduced the participant about whom information is sought. This argument may be left implicit, as shown in (109c).

- (109) a. *Na taxani*
 1s ask.for.information
 ‘I ask for information’ / ‘I inquire’
- b. *Na wa Kri Titing wan taxani.*
 1s [go Mr Titing be ask.for.information]
 ‘I’ll find out about Mr Titing’
- c. *Na wa wan taxani.*
 1s [go be ask.for.information]
 ‘I’ll enquire about something’

We can formalize the combination of *wan* with an intransitive verb to form a SVC as in (110a-b). Let us call the single argument of the major intransitive verb $\langle s \rangle$. As explained above, the arguments of *wan* are $\langle \textit{theme, location} \rangle$. In an SVC, the single argument of the major verb and the theme of *wan* are expressed as the shared subject of the SVC. The location argument of *wan* becomes the grammatical object of the SVC.

- (110) a. two independent verbs: $V_{\textit{intransitive}} \langle s \rangle$; $wan \langle \textit{theme, location} \rangle$

- b. in serial verb construction [*wan V*] $\langle s, \textit{theme, location} \rangle$
-

As the syntactic object is in fact the location argument of an existential verb, we do not expect that it can ever be interpreted as a semantic patient. This explains why the object referred to as *x* in the translations in (107) is a not a patient, but rather a “circumstantial” object.

When *wan* combines with a transitive verb, it also introduces a locational object. This is illustrated in (111), where the transitive verb *parat* ‘tie’ has the

object *tal* ‘rope’ in (111a). The location where the rope is tied is introduced by *wan* in (111b). This participant is a location and not a patient: it cannot be expressed as the patient object of *parat* ‘tie’, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (111c).

- (111) a. *Ha wa tal parat.*
 2s [go rope tie]
 ‘You go tie the rope’
- b. *Ha wa bui wan tal parat.*
 2s [go betelnut be rope tie]
 ‘You go tie the rope to the betelnut tree’
- c.* *Ha wa bui parat.*
 2s go betelnut tie

Another illustration of a transitive verb combined with *wan* is (112). In (112a), *na’an* ‘me’ is the patient object of *de’* ‘burn’. In (112b), a serial construction with *wan* is used, and now the interpretation of the sentence is that I am burned along with something else, that is, a circumstantial object is added. This object is left implicit, being known or deducible from the narrative context.

- (112) a. *A na’an de’-en*
 3s I burn-REAL
 ‘He burns me’
- b. *A na’an wan de’-en.*
 3s [I be burn-REAL]
 ‘He burns me [along] with something [else]’

In (113a), *Pan her* ‘stem of a candle nut tree’ is the object of *deqai*, a verb referring to the cutting of vegetation in the process of cleaning a field for gardening. In (113b), *Pan her* is the argument of *wan*, and now expresses the location where the cleaning was done, and the patient object of *deqai* is not overtly expressed. In other words, the contrast between (113a-b) is that in (113a) the stem of the tree itself was cleaned away, while in (113b) other things (such as shrubs and weeds) around the stem of the tree were cleaned away. The stem of the tree is the patient argument of *deqai* in (113a), while in (113b) it is the location argument introduced by *wan*.

- (113) a. *Na Pan her deqai.*
 1s candle.nut base clean.up
 ‘I cut and clean away the stem of the candle nut tree’
- b. *Na Pan her wan deqai.*
 1s [candle.nut base be clean.up]
 ‘I cut and clean [s.th.] around the stem of the candle nut tree’

As a final example, consider the combination of *wan* with the transitive verb *pin* ‘hold’ in (114)-(115). *Pin* canonically takes as its patient an object that can be carried or held in one’s arms, e.g. a small object or animal (section 9.6.1). To express the notion of holding on to an object that cannot be carried along but is rather standing on its own, *pin* has to be combined with *wan*. This is why in (114) the serial construction *wan pin* is used. The context of the narrative from which this sentence is taken (the Frog Story) we know that the object that is touched in (114) is a large tree trunk.

- (114) *Iman... wa wan pin-an...*
 they [go be hold-REAL]
 They... go [close] [to] touch [it]...

In (115), also from the Frog Story, the protagonist (a little boy) is standing on a deer’s head holding on to its horns thinking these are sticks of dry wood. So the serial construction *wan pin* could also be translated as ‘hold on to something’. The grammatical object of the serial verb construction is the circumstantial object introduced by *wan* (ellipsed here, but deducible from the context) while the patient object of *pin* is absent.

- (115) *A wan pin-an tas a xer-an pati...*
 3s [be hold-REAL stand] 3s shout PROG
 He stands holding on to [them] while he is yelling...

In sum, I analyse the construction where *wan* combines with a transitive verb as in (116). I assume that the major transitive verb in the SVC has two arguments <agent, patient>, and *wan* has two arguments <theme, location>, see (116a). When the verbs combine, maximally three of these four participants may be expressed; an illustration is (111b) above. In most cases however, a clause will only have two overt participants, as illustrated in (112b) and (113b) above, and the grammatical object may be either the patient, as in (112b), or the theme of *wan*, as in (113b). Neither is expressed obligatorily, as shown in (114)-(115). The location argument of *wan* is never expressed.

- (116) a. two independent verbs:
 $V_{\text{transitive}} < \text{agent, patient} >$; $\text{wan} < \text{theme, location} >$
- b. in SVC [wan V]:
 $< \text{agent, patient, theme, location} >$
- | | | |
|------|-----|-----|
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | OBJ |

Given that *wan* in SVCs introduces a circumstantial, location-like participant, the question may be asked how this function compares with the oblique marking function of the verb *ma*. In section 9.5.3 it is described that one of the functions of *ma* in SVCs is to mark locations and goals as oblique constituents. Is there a difference between the locations and goals marked with *ma* and those marked with *wan*?

The contrasting sentences in (117) illustrate that indeed, there seems to be a semantic difference between the types of locations/goals marked by *ma* and *wan*. Also compare the SVC with *ma* in (118) with the one in (111b) above.

- (117) a. *In nuk tei luxun ma hor.*
 it.thing one [tree high come hang]
 ‘Something hangs high in the tree’
- b. *In nuk yivar ga-taax wan hor...*
 it.thing one [dog 3s-throat be hang]
 ‘Something hangs around the dog’s throat’
- (118) *Jadi iman ixu’u ma hafan parat,*
 so(IND) they [over.there come village tie]
 ‘So over there they build a village,

iman yir g-or an ma gi.
 they [water 3-tail market come go]
 they went to the market at the mouth (lit. tail) of the river’

The difference is that the arguments introduced by *wan* all have locational semantics, while those introduced by *ma* are semantically unspecified: they may be locations but may also have other semantic functions, such as instruments.

As a final note on the function of *wan* in SVCs it must be mentioned here that in some contexts, *wan* is used as an aspectual marker that expresses continuative aspect. This use of the existential verb *wan* is comparable to the

aspectual use of the Malay existential verb *ada* ‘be’ (cf. Adelaar and Prentice 1996, Baird et al. 2004). Illustrations are (8b) above, and (119) below. Both sentences in (119) are responses to the question ‘What are you doing?’, but (119a) would be the answer of e.g. a parent minding his/her own children, while (119b) could be the answer of e.g. someone who happens to be babysitting for a few hours.

- (119) a. *Na bif g-oqai ga-boxan.*
 1s child 3-child 3s-guard
 ‘I mind the children’ (regular, long term occupation)
- b. *Na bif g-oqai wan boxan.*
 1s [child 3-child be guard]
 ‘I am minding the children’ (not my own; temporary occupation)
- c.* *Na wan bif g-oqai (ga-)boxan*
 1s be child 3s-child 3s-guard

Observe that *wan* does not introduce an additional participant here: *bif goqai* ‘children’ is the patient in both (119a) and (119b). In this respect, SVCs where *wan* has an aspectual marking function are different from SVCs where *wan* adds a participant, as in (111b), (112b) and (113b).

Finally, *wan* also occurs in lexicalised verb combinations. In (120) some examples are given. These are considered lexicalised combinations because the major verbs cannot be used without *wan*, and speakers insist that they are also meaningless without *wan*. (An exception is the base noun *yivar* ‘dream’, which can be used separately, as shown in (30)). When these expressions are used in a clause, the two verbs must remain adjacent and they cannot be separated by an object, even if the second verb is transitive, and the object overt. The object always precedes both verbs, as in (122)-(124), which is why I analyse them as compound verbs. Verbs with *wan* are always monotransitive (as are all the Teiwa transitive verbs). Illustrations are given in (121)-(124).

(120) *lexicalised verb combinations with wan*

<i>wan omar</i>	‘be surprised’ ²⁷
<i>wan kruan</i>	‘know’
<i>wan xawar</i>	‘desire, look for’
<i>wan yivar</i>	‘dream’
<i>wan seran</i>	‘surround’
<i>wan penai</i>	‘touch, feel, take’
<i>wan yaau</i>	‘agree’

wan tub 'light a fire'
wan we' 'call out to someone'

- (121) *A'an ma mosan, aa,*
 3s come sword EXCL
 'It had become a sword, ah,

iman una' wan omar ga-x,...
 they also be.surprised 3s-possession
 they were also surprised,...

- (122) *Iman ga'an wan kruan. Iman in uxu'u wan kruan.*
 they 3s know they it.thing that know
 'They know him' 'They know that thing'

- (123) *O, maan, ni ge'ef*
 EXCL NEG 1pe a.while.ago
 'Oh, no, it was when a while ago

in yir wan xawar i la yivar nuk
 it.thing water desire FORTHC FOC dog one
 we were looking for this water when a dog

gi-n ga ga'an la ga...
 go-REAL take.along 3s FOC take.along
 went along and we followed it,...

- (124) *A ta Bot yis la wan penai-an na,...*
 3s TOP k.o.lemon.tree fruit FOC [touch-REAL eat]
 'She takes the Bot fruits [to] eat them,...

Another kind of lexicalisation with *wan* is given in (125). Note that *wan* is the final rather the initial element in these lexicalised expressions.

- (125) *Yidan wan, ixir wan*
 right be left be
 'Right side, left side'

9.7. Notions expressed by serial verb constructions: an overview

9.7.0. Introduction

This section presents an overview of the notions that can be expressed by Teiwa SVCs. The examples are presented here with only a brief indication of their function, and reference to the chapter and section where they are discussed in more detail.

9.7.1. “Adverbial” notions expressed by serial verb constructions

Most of these serial verb constructions expressing adverbial notions are symmetrical serial verb constructions (section 9.2 above). In constructions where the V2 indicates a direction, that verb is a deictic verb (section 9.3 and 9.4 above). Note that Teiwa also has various types of adverbs. These are discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.5 and Ch. 7, section 7.2 and 7.3.

V2 indicates a purpose ‘X in order to Y’:

- (126) *Mauluku ma wat wa g-om ma yiri tii’.*
 monkey [come coconut leaf 3-inside come crawl sleep]
 ‘Monkey crawled into the [heap of] coconut leaves to sleep’

V2 with negation indicates a counterfactual: ‘X but Y’:

- (127) *Suk-an maan*
 exit.come.down- REAL NEG
 ‘They didn’t come out,
- kri u pak-an pak-an suk-an maan,*
 Mr DIST [call- REAL call- REAL exit.come.down- REAL] NEG
 that grandfather called and called [but] no-one came out,...’

V1 expresses a manner: ‘do X like Y’:

- (128) *...iman uri wa bali si,*
 they [look.around.searchingly go see] SIM
 ‘...they go looking around searchingly seeing

tei baq nuk la un baq yaa, iman bali si...
 wood body one FOC PROG body descend they see SIM
 a trunk, there is a trunk, [they] descend and see...'

V1 expresses a time: 'when X, Y':

- (129) *Ba ha qavif paai-an ga'an geneg na-mian!*
 SEQ 2s [goat cut.up-REAL 3s a.bit 1s-put.at]
 '[When] you cut up the goat give me a bit!'

V1 and V2 express simultaneous events: 'X while Y':

- (130) *Qavif la nuk tur soxai xer ta wa:*
 goat FOC one former [dance shout] TOP say
 The first goat starts to dance [and] recite (lit. 'shout') saying:

V1 and V2 express sequential events: 'X then Y', including cause-effect 'switch subject' SVCs:

- (131) *Iman i'in ma perat ta*
 they they.elsewhere [come tie] TOP
 'They come tie [it] up,

pin ayaf ma mir-an
 [hold house come ascend-REAL]
 bring [it] up to their house

mulai boqai dau-an laxu'u.
 begin(IND) [cut.up cook-REAL that.one.there]
 start to cut [it] up [then] cook [it]'

V2 indicates a direction ('up/down/away/by/....' etc.) (section 9.3 and 9.4):

- (132) *Rus waal a de'er daa...*
 deer that.one 3s [jump ascend]
 'That deer jumps up...'

9.7.2. Modality expressed by serial verb constructions

Imperative/hortative: ‘(let’s) do X’ (section 9.5):

- (133) *Ma pi-maran ma gi.*
 [come 1pi-hut come go]
 ‘Let’s go to our hut’

Intention: ‘want to do X’ (Ch. 7, section 7.2):

- (134) *Na mau an ma gi.*
 1s [want(IND) market come go]
 ‘I want to go to the market’

Obligation: ‘must/should do X’ (Ch. 7, section 7.2):

- (135) *Na musti an ma gi*
 1s [must (IND) market come go]
 ‘I must go to the market’

Ability: ‘can do X’ (Ch. 7, section 7.2):

- (136) *Na sekola ma gi-n qau.*
 1s [school(IND) come go- REAL (be)good]
 ‘I am able to go to school’

9.7.3. Aspect marked by serial verb constructions

See also Ch. 7, section 7.3. ‘Start doing X’:

- (137) ...*yix-in a si usan togar si...*
 descend- REAL 3s SIM [lift.up cry.loudly] SIM
 ..going down she started crying loudly (lit. ‘...she lifted up loud crying’).

- (138) *A tup-an tas-an g-et bag duki gula’*
 3s [get.up stand- REAL] 3-eye seed pry.out finish
 ‘He stood up pried out her eye,

mat ma a qar una’ na.
 take come 3s rice also eat
 took [it] then he ate it with rice’

‘Continue doing X’:

- (139) *Na atang buku ma suug-an baca.*
 1s do.once.again [book(Ind) come continue- REAL read(IND)]
 ‘I will continue reading the book again’

‘Finish doing X’:

- (140) *A bir-an gi awan awan tas-an gula’.*
 3s [run- REAL go] far.away far.away [stand- REAL finish]
 ‘She ran far away

a tas-an bali.
 3s [stand- REAL see]
 [and] stood watching’

9.7.4. Semantic roles of participants introduced by serial verb constructions

A displaced theme (object of transfer) may be introduced by the verbs *mar* ‘take; follow’ or *mat* ‘take’ (section 9.6.2), or as an argument of the deictic verb *ma* ‘come’ (section 9.5.3).

- (141) *Na meet mar-an ha-mian.*
 1s [betelvine take- REAL 2s-put.at]
 ‘I give you some betelvine’

- (142) *Ui ga’an u sen ma n-oma’ g-an.*
 person 3s DIST [money come 1s-father 3s-give]
 ‘That person gave money to my father’

A goal is introduced as the argument of the deictic verb *ma* ‘come’ (section 9.5.3).

- (143) *Uy non ga’an wa an ma gi-n maan.*
 person PL 3s [go market come go- REAL] NEG
 ‘Those people did not go to the market’

A source is introduced as the argument of the deictic verb *ma* ‘come’ (section 9.5.3).

- (144) *Na ta ita'a ma in i mar-an*
 1s TOP [where come thing it.thing take-REAL]
 'I - from where [would I] take this thing...'

A location is introduced as the argument of the deictic verb *ma* 'come' (section 9.5.3) or as the object of *er* 'do, make' (section 9.6.3)

- (145) *Biar non yaf g-om ma igamiar ba*
 children PL [house 3-inside come play] SEQ
 'The children were playing inside the house so

na iman ga-soi luar ma igamiar.
 1s [they 3-order outside(IND) come play]
 'I told them to play outside'

- (146) *Jadi Yir Pan Get er-an ga'an u,...*
 so(IND) Yir Pan Get make-REAL 3s that
 So at that [place] Yir Pan Get,...

An instrument is introduced by the verb *mat* 'take' (section 9.6.2)

- (147) *Ped mat ma man taxar.*
 [machete take come grass cut]
 'Cut the grass with a machete'

A comitative participant is introduced by the verb *pin* 'hold' (section 9.6.1), or encoded as object prefix (Ch. 4, section 4.5).

- (148) *...iman gon quan pin te,...*
 they [gong drum hold walk]
 '...they walked away with the gong and drum...'

A circumstance (location/goal/source/comitative) can also be introduced by the verb *wan* 'exist' (section 9.6.4):

- (149) *Na wa Kri Titing wan taxani.*
 1s [go Mr Titing be ask.for.information]
 'I go find out about Mr Titing'

A nominal referring to time can be introduced by the verb *er* 'do' (section 9.6.3):

- (150) *A ta te-te ma a gi liar er...*
 3s TOP [RDP-walk come] 3s [go daybreak make]
 ‘He walks and walks till at daybreak, ...’

9.8. Summary and conclusions

Teiwa SVCs are monoclausal constructions on a level between a simple clause and a sentence. They are larger than (minimal) clauses because they contain at least two verbs, and they are smaller than sentences because they are not multi-clausal and do not contain dislocated constituents. Teiwa SVCs are characterised as multi-verb constructions which lack an overt marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency, share at least one argument (which is expressed maximally once), and also share aspect and modality adverbs, as well as negators. Teiwa has symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs. Symmetrical SVCs consist of verbs from semantically and grammatically unrestricted classes, so-called ‘major’ verbs. In Teiwa, canonical major verbs are verbs denoting activities or postures. Asymmetrical SVCs include at least one verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class, a ‘minor’ verb, and the typical minor verbs in Teiwa are the verbs for modality and aspect (discussed in Ch.7), as well as the deictic verbs.

The deictic verb *ma* ‘come (here)’ is used in many different functions. Its variable functions depend on the grammatical context in which it is used. The animacy value of its argument and whether or not it appears in a SVC are identified as crucial factors in its variable interpretation, apart from the fact that Teiwa also has certain particular grammatical characteristics that enable the reinterpretation of *ma*.

Asymmetrical SVCs with the verbs *ma* ‘come’, *pin* ‘hold’, *mat* ‘take’, *er* ‘do, make’ and *wan* ‘be, exist’ function to introduce additional participants of various semantic types into the clause.

Chapter 10

Clause combinations

10.0. Introduction

This chapter describes how Teiwa clauses are combined in discourse, and the words that are used to do this. Teiwa discourse is characterized by strings of clauses that can be connected by a conjunction or discourse linker, or separated by an intonational break, while there are also clauses that are merely juxtaposed to each other under a single intonation contour.

The semantic relation between such juxtaposed clauses is dependent on their context. For example, in (1) the second clause expresses the result of the first clause, in (2) the supposed result, and in (3) the ‘reason’ for the negative first clause.

- (1) *Na motor er-an a sig.*
 1s motorbike make-REAL 3s live
 ‘I switch on the motorbike’
- (2) *Bil-bli xar or ga-miar pi-yaf xarwar-an.*
 be.careful ember 3s-play 1pi-house burn-REAL
 ‘Be careful, [if] you play with embers our house will burn down’
- (3) *Ha’an bali maan laxu’u ga’an tarau ga-x.*
 you see NEG that.one.there 3s language 3s-possession
 ‘That one you’re not allowed to see [because] there are problems’¹

Every clause in a sequence of clauses has its own negation, as illustrated in (4):

- (4) a. *Na iman ga-pak-an iman suk-an maan.*
 1s they 3s-call-REAL they exit.come.down NEG
 ‘I called them [but] they didn’t come out’
- b. *Na iman ga-pak-an maan,*
 1s they 3s-call-REAL NEG
 ‘I didn’t call them’

iman yed suk-an.
 they PRSP exit.come.down-REAL
 [but] they still came out'

The quotes occur with utterance verbs, and they are juxtaposed to the clause with the utterance verb. This is illustrated in (5), which contains a direct quote:

- (5) ...*ga-xala'* *li'in a wa:*
 3s-mother their 3s say
 'Their mum said:
 "Ah! *Yilag la bas ewar gi?*"
 EXCL who FOC tomorrow return go
 "Hey! Who will go tomorrow?"'

The quote in example (6) gets an 'indirect' interpretation because a third person pronoun ('Yesterday *he* carried a child') is used instead of the second person that would be used in a direct quote.

- (6) *A miaag bif g-oqai g-u'an yilag la*
 3s yesterday child 3s-child 3s-cradle who FOC
 'Who asked him if he carried a child
miaag ga-regan?
 yesterday 3s-ask
 yesterday?'

The literal translation of this sentence is "'Yesterday he carried a child", who asked him yesterday?'. The utterance verb *regan* 'ask' is a mono-transitive verb with a single animate (human) object (cf. Ch. 4, section 4.4). The complete sentence consists of two juxtaposed clauses: both of the verbs *g-u'an* '3s-cradle' and *ga-regan* '3s-ask' occur in their canonical clause-final position, and the clause topic *yilag la* 'who FOC' occupies its usual clause-initial position in the second clause. (Quotative constructions are discussed in more detail below, see section 10.1.1.1.).

Traditionally, three types of subordinate clauses are distinguished: complement clauses, which function as NPs, relative clauses, which function as modifiers of NPs, and adverbial clauses, that function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses (cf. Thompson, Longacre, Hwang 2007).²

A complement clause has the internal constituent structure of a clause, functions as core argument of a higher or matrix clause, and describes a

proposition (e.g. a fact, an activity, or a state) (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2006:15, Noonan 2007:52). Morpho-syntactically, it may be marked by (i) a subordinating morpheme, (ii) a special verb form, and (iii) word order. Teiwa appears neither to have dedicated subordinating morpheme(s), nor special subordinated verb form(s).

Semantically, the matrix verb and its (semantic) arguments form a unit, so complement clauses are semantic arguments of their main verb. Cross-linguistically, complement clauses occur with certain semantic predicate types, including utterance and immediate perception and cognition predicates. Such predicates are referred to as complement taking predicates (CTPs). In section 10.1 it is described how CTPs combine with clausal complements. How clauses combine to express purpose and causation is described in section 10.2 and 10.3.

Teiwa clauses are coordinated by the conjunction *ata* ‘and’ and the disjunction *le* ‘or’ (section 10.4.1). Semantically, *ata* and *le* belong to neither of the clauses they link, but intonationally they are grouped with the first conjunct. In addition, Teiwa has two conjunctions that mark temporal connections between equivalent clauses (*si* ‘Simultaneous’ and *ba* ‘Sequential’). The temporal interpretation of these conjunctions may be extended so that they function as (semantically) subordinating conjunctions marking an adverbial subordinate clause (section 10.4.2). Typically, however, adverbial notions are expressed by serial verb constructions in Teiwa (see Ch. 9, section 9.7 for an overview of the functions of serial verb constructions).

In addition to conjunctions linking clauses, Teiwa has also words and phrases that are used to structure the discourse. These are discussed in section 10.5. Conjunctions borrowed from Malay/Indonesian are the topic of section 10.6. Section 10.7 provides a summary.

It must be stressed that the descriptions and analyses presented in this chapter are preliminary: they build on a corpus of limited size, and I have not been able to work on this topic with speakers in the field. Further detailed investigations in Teiwa clause combinations therefore remain necessary.

10.1. Complement clauses

This section describes how three semantic types of complement taking predicates combine with clausal complements. Utterance verbs are discussed in section 10.1.1, followed by verbs of perception in section 10.1.2, and verbs of cognition in section 10.1.3.

10.1.1. Utterance verbs

An important class of verbs that cross-linguistically often select complement clauses are the utterance verbs (Ch. 3, section 3.3.7). In Teiwa, these verbs occur in juxtaposition with the utterance itself. The verb *wa* ‘say’ is used to report speech in direct or indirect quotes. It is also used as a deictic verb meaning ‘go (from deictic centre)’, see Ch. 9, section 9.4, and example (71) above. However, its function as quotative verb is much more common than its deictic function. In the present section, quotative constructions with *wa* are first discussed (10.1.1.1), followed by multi-clause combinations with other utterance verbs (10.1.1.2).

10.1.1.1. Quotative constructions with *wa* ‘say’

A quotative construction with *wa* can be used to report speech, as illustrated in (7).

- (7) *A wa “hafan afo’o la yia pin”.*
 3s say village over.there FOC put hold
 ‘He said “The village over there always fights”’
 Or: ‘He said [that] the village over there always fights’

Direct and indirect speech are formally distinguished by pronominal reference, as illustrated in (10) and (12) below. Quotative constructions also report thoughts as ‘internal’ speech, as in (8) and (9).³

- (8) *Na wa a aria-n maan.*
 1s say 3s arrive-REAL NEG
 ‘I don’t think he will come’ / ‘I think he will not come’

In (9), *wa* also introduces a thought. The person who is going down sees a crow, which is actually a clan ancestor in disguise. In (9) this is expressed as ‘[There is] an ancestor, he says “this [is] a crow”’.

- (9) *A wa yix-in eran waal u,*
 3s go descend-REAL like.that DIST
 ‘[When] he goes down like that,
- uy kri nuk ga’an,*
 person Mr one 3s
 [there is] that ancestor,⁴

a wa xa'a qaai.
 3s say this crow
 he thinks [is] a crow.

Qaai ga'an un te a maxar pin.
 crow 3s CONT walk 3s new.garden hold
 That crow is walking to open a new garden'

Some additional examples with quotative constructions are (10)-(12):

- (10) *A mir-an mir-an ta*
 3s ascend-REAL ascend-REAL TOP
 'She goes up

bui u wrer-an mir,
 betelnut DIST climb-REAL ascend
 climbs that betelnut [tree],

a wa i'an qai ga-mar mir.
 3s say brother 3s-follow ascend
 saying she follows Brother going up'

- (11) *Ni naxa' pat-an maan si*
 1pe not.want pay.back-REAL NEG SIM
 'While we didn't want to pay [it] back

a wa xa'a di pat.
 3s say this only pay.back
 [but] he said just pay it back'

- (12) *Tapi pernah na iman ga-regan ba*
 but(IND) before(IND) 1s they 3s-ask SEQ
 'But I ever asked them [about this]

iman a wa iman paat,
 they 3s say they not.know
 and they said they didn't know

pi-soxai le, pi-pantun le.
 1pi-dance or 1pi-poem(IND) or
 our traditional dances or our poems'

Illustrations of quotative constructions given elsewhere in this chapter are (5), (82), (84), (86), (90), and (91).

10.1.1.2. Other utterance verbs

Besides the quotative verb *wa* ‘say’, Teiwa has utterance verbs like *regan* ‘ask something’, *bangan* ‘ask for something, request’, *walas* ‘tell someone’, *taxani* ‘inquire’, *liin* ‘invite someone’, *soi* ‘order someone’, and *wan hamar* ‘pray (for someone)’ (Ch. 3, section 3.3.7). In the present section I describe how these verbs combine with a clause that contains the utterance itself.

Regan ‘ask someone (for/about something)’ has the addressee as its grammatical object, while the question that is asked is expressed in a separate clause. Illustrations are (13) and (14). Note that the question has no morpho-syntactic marking suggesting it is formally different from a main clause (e.g. a change in word order or a different verb form or a special subordinating conjunction).

- (13) *A ni-regan gigalal ba ni aria-n maan.*
 3s 1pe-ask why SEQ 1pe arrive-REAL NEG
 ‘He asked us why we did not come’

- (14) *A miaag bif g-oqai g-u’an yilag la*
 3s yesterday child 3s-child 3s-cradle who FOC
 ‘Who asked him if he carried a child’

miaag ga-regan?
 yesterday 3s-ask
 yesterday?’

Bangan ‘request, ask for something’ has an inanimate entity as its complement — the requested object, as illustrated in (15) (Ch. 3, section 3.3.7). This object can occur in postverbal position, as illustrated in (16).

- (15) *Ha amidan la bangan? Na sen bangan.*
 2s what FOC ask.for 1s money ask.for
 ‘What do you ask for?’ ‘I ask for money’

- (16) *Na bangan na-bangan qau.*
 1s ask.for 1s-life good
 ‘I ask for a good life’

This is remarkable, because in general, lexical objects in Teiwa must precede the verb; only pronominal objects can follow the verb in order to get contrastive focus (cf. Ch. 11, section 11.2). Note that the construction in (16) is ambiguous. We can analyse *na-bangan qau* ‘my good life’ as the item requested by *bangan* ‘ask for’, but it is also possible to analyse *na-bangan qau* as a non-verbal clause ‘my life [is] good’, where *na-bangan* is the subject of the predicate *qau* ‘be good’. It is also possible to consider *na-bangan* as simultaneously referring to both the object of ‘ask for’ and the subject of *qau*.

Another construction where *bangan* is followed by its object is illustrated in (17). This is not analysed as a serial verb construction because the verbs do not share their subject (see Ch. 9, section 9.1). In (17) *Kri Bas* is the object of V1 and the subject of V2, resulting in the configuration [subj V1 obj_{V1}/subj_{V2} V2].

- (17) *Na bangan Kri Bas n-un-mulax geneg.*
 1s ask.for Mr Bas 1s-APP-help a.bit
 ‘I ask Mr Bas to help me a bit’
 (Lit. ‘I ask for Mr Bas [he] helps me a bit’)

The utterance verb *walas* ‘tell someone’ has one object, the addressee, which is marked with a prefix. (Teiwa has only mono-transitive verbs, see Ch. 4, section 4.6.) The utterance clause itself is juxtaposed to the clause containing *walas*. In most cases, *walas* is followed by the quotative construction *a wa* ‘s/he says’, as illustrated in (18)-(20):

- (18) *Rai ga’an u ma nuk*
 king 3s DIST come one
 ‘That king one [day]

a tup-an a emaq u ga-walas,
 3s get.up-REAL 3s wife DIST 3s-tell
 he got up [and] said to his wife,

a wa a mau tewar por awan ta gi.
 3s say 3s want(IND) walk island far TOP go
 he said he wanted to go to an island far away’

- (19) *Iman wa wan pin-an, yivar manak a wa,*
 they go be hold-REAL dog master 3s say
 ‘They came closer to touch [it], then the dog’s master said,

a-yivar ga-walas a wa "ha siga' ga'an,..."
 3s-dog 3s-say 3s say 2s be.quiet 3s
 he told his dog "you be quiet there,..."

- (20) *Si amidan badan, qavif a walas*
 Mr(IND) what goat 3s tell
 'Mr ehm... goat tells [him]

a wa "na bali be'."
 3s say I see AFFIRM
 he says "I'm ready to watch"

In (21) the speech verb *wa* is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *xa'a* referring to the reported speech event. This pattern is often used in quotes.

- (21) *Iman ma na-walas a wa xa'a*
 they come 1s-tell 3s say this
 'They told me saying [this:]

amidan la iman g-om. bangan
 what FOC they 3s-inside ask
 what they liked.'

There is also an intransitive utterance verb in Teiwa: *taxani* 'ask for information, inquire', illustrated in (22).

- (22) *Na taxani.*
 1s inquire
 'I inquire/ask for information'

To introduce the participant about whom information is sought into the clause, *taxani* combines with *wan* 'be' in a serial verb construction (Ch. 9, section 9.6.4). The clause containing *taxani* and the quote clause are juxtaposed, as illustrated in (23).

- (23) *Ewar aria', hafan me', a taxani,*
 return arrive village be.in 3s inquire
 'He came back, got to the village and inquired,

"boo hafan maraqai afo, ..."
 maybe village up over there
 "Maybe that village up there,..."

The utterance verb *liin* ‘invite’ has the addressee as its single object. In (24), this object is expressed as the verbal prefix *ga-*. The subject of the following clause is *a* ‘3s’. Both expressions refer to the same participant (the child).

- (24) *Qau a ta ga-liin unaxai wat a wa,*
 good 3s TOP 3s-invite over.there coconut 3s go
 ‘Then he [the ancestor] invited him [the child] to go to the coconut tree next door,

wrer-an eran ga’an a ta her ma wa.
 climb-REAL that.one 3s 3s TOP stem come go
 the one [the child] had climbed, and he [the child] went there’

The verb *soi* ‘order (someone)’ has an animate object. In (25) the object *gaxala’ sam* ‘her younger sister’ is cross-referenced on the verb with the prefix *ga-*. This object is also the agent subject of the next predicate (*wei* ‘bathe’), and this subject is not overtly expressed in (25).

- (25) *Ga-rata’ ga-xala’ sam ga-soi n-oqai ga-wei.*
 3s-grandmother 3s-mother small⁵ 3s-order 1s-child 3s-bathe
 ‘[The baby’s]_j grandmother ordered her_j aunt to bathe my child’

It is also possible to mark the subject of a predicate following *soi* overtly, as shown in (26), where the brackets around the pronominal subject *a* in (26b) indicate its optionality.

- (26) a. *A atang si ta ga-soi*
 3s once.again SIM TOP 3s-order
 ‘Once again he ordered him
- b. (a) *exer-an er-an si uyaq di iga’*
 3s crow-REAL make-REAL SIM person only many
 to crow and create very many people’

10.1.2. Verbs of perception

Two perception verbs that are frequently used are *bali* ‘see’ and *wuraq* ‘hear’. These verbs are transitive verbs that can take a nominal object (see Ch. 3, section 3.3.8). They can also introduce a perceived event as their object.

In general, the clause that expresses the perceived event combines with the clause containing the perception verb in a multi-clause construction where the clause boundary is marked by a coordinating conjunction and/or an intonational break. An illustration is (27), where *bali* ‘see’ in (27a), has the perceived event in (27b) as its complement. Note that the complement clause is formally identical as the main clause. The NP *hala ga’an* ‘those others’ is the grammatical subject of *wan jag* ‘guard (someone)’.

- (27) a. *Ti’-in-tii’-in ta mauqubar ga’an a bali si*
 RDP-lie.down-REAL TOP frog 3s 3s see SIM
 ‘[While they are] sleeping that frog sees that
- b. *hala ga’an wan jag maan.*
 others 3s be guard(IND) NEG
 those others are not guarding [him]’

In (28a), *bali* introduces the proposition ‘the bottle is empty’, the NP *toples waal* ‘that bottle’ is the subject of the predicate *hasak tau* ‘already empty’. In (28b), the NP *toples* has been moved to the clause containing *bali*. It is now the object of *bali*, and occurs in the position preceding the subject. This position is used to focus objects (Ch. 11, section 11.2).

- (28) a. *A tii’in bali si*
 3 lie.down-REAL see SIM
 ‘He lies [there] and sees [that]
- toples waal hasak tau.*
 bottle that.mentioned empty already
 that bottle is already empty
- b. *Qau ba a de’er ba’an gula’*,
 good SEQ 3 jump fall-REAL finish
 So he jumps down,
- toples a bali si hasak tau,...*
 bottle 3 see SIM empty already
 a bottle he sees is already empty, ...’

A similar alternation is illustrated in (29), where the subject (S) of the second clause (*bif goqai* ‘his child’) in (29a) is alternatively expressed as the (focused) object of the first clause in (29b). When the object is analysed as the object of *bali* ‘see’, and placed in its canonical preverbal position, as in (29c),

the grammaticality of the sentence becomes questionable, and it has become unclear how to interpret the subject of the second clause.

- (29) a. *A bali si bif-g-oqai miaag*
 3s see SIM 3s-child yesterday
 ‘He saw that his child

tei luxun wan ba'-an suk.
 tree high be fall-REAL exit.come.down
 fell from a high tree yesterday’

- b. *Bif-g-oqai a bali si miaag*
3s-child 3s see SIM yesterday
 ‘His child he saw

tei luxun wan ba'-an suk.
 tree high be fall-REAL exit.come.down
 falling from a high tree yesterday’

- c.? *A bif-g-oqai bali si miaag*
 3s 3s-child see SIM yesterday
 ‘He saw his child

tei luxun wan ba'-an suk.
 tree high be fall-REAL exit.come.down
 while [he] fell down from the high tree yesterday’

In the unmarked case, the S of the second clause would be interpreted as coreferent with the transitive subject (A) of the preceding clause. However, in this particular example that would render an unnatural sequence of events: to report seeing a child falling from a tree is less strange than to report falling from a tree while seeing a child.⁶ As a result, there is a clash between the syntactic and the pragmatic interpretation of S in the second clause. To disambiguate, the object is therefore put in the focused object position preceding the A subject of the first clause, or it is expressed as the overt S subject of the second clause.

In (30) it is illustrated how the verb *wuraq* ‘hear’ combines with a perceived event.

- (30) *A wuraq si iman un gereja ma daar-an.*
 3s hear SIM they CONT church come sing-REAL
 ‘He heard them singing in the church’

I expect that in this case, the S *iman* ‘they’ of the second clause can also be expressed as the emphasized object of the first clause and occur in pre-subject position (i.e., *Iman a wuraq si un gereja ma daran*). This needs to be checked with speakers.

10.1.3. Verbs of cognition

As described in Ch. 3, section 3.3.9, Teiwa verbs of cognition are morphologically simple or complex. This section presents a brief description of how simple and complex verbs of cognition introduce events. In (31), the simple cognition verb *riaq* ‘fear’ is illustrated. It is followed by a juxtaposed clause.

- (31) *Na riaq a na' wad teran la*
 1s fear 3s possibly today middle.of.night FOC
 ‘I fear that he tonight in the middle of the night
- a min-an ga-x.*
 3s die-REAL 3s-possession
 is going to die.’

The verb *rasa* ‘feel, think, suspect’ is a loan from Indonesian, and refers to mental as well as physical sensations. In (32) it expresses a mental sensation and is followed by a clause with a nominal predicate (*pi-x* ‘ours’), in (33) it expresses a physical sensation and is followed by a sequence of verbal clauses.

- (32) *Xu'u ga'an na rasa pi-x bo... amidan...*
 that.one 3s 1s feel(IND) 1pi-possession maybe what
 ‘That I think is maybe ours... ehm...’
- (33) *G-oqai taxar-taxar,*
 3s-child RDP-dance.of.women
 ‘Her daughter [who] was dancing and dancing,
- rasa a dagar mo bali si xam i diir,...*
 feel(IND) 3s be.like as see SIM breast 3p locked.up
 felt as if it was like her breasts were swollen,...

Morphologically complex cognition verbs are those verbs that combine the noun *om* ‘inside’ with a verb. Such phrasal cognition verbs function to express

physical as well as cognitive experiences or processes (cf. Ch. 3, section 3.3.3). Examples are *om mai* ‘plan’ (lit. ‘store inside’) and ‘*om ga-regan* ‘think’ (lit. ‘ask inside’), illustrated in (34).

- (34) *Iman mis-an wan om mai om ga-regan*
 they sit-REAL be inside store inside 3s-ask
 ‘They sat planning thinking

taxaran si pi ta in i er?
 how SIM 1pi TOP it.thing FORTHC make
 ‘How shall we do it?’

Another type of morphologically complex verbs combine with the existential verb *wan* ‘be, exist’ (see Ch. 9, section 9.6.4). *Wan kruan* ‘know’ is a verb of cognition that is such a lexicalised compound verb. The complement of *wan kruan* is animate or inanimate and it does not need to be expressed. In (35), it is not expressed, and *wan kruan* is followed by a complement clause.

- (35) *Na wan kruan yi na’ aria-n maan.*
 1s know⁷ 2p possibly arrive-REAL NEG
 ‘I know you will not come’

In (36) the subject of *wan kruan* is *bif goqai* ‘his child’, who knows that caterpillars are tasty, so after he has finished eating them, he cries for more. In this sentence, *wan kruan* is preceded by the clause describing what the child knows: *qui na ga-tama* ‘to eat caterpillars is tasty to him’.

- (36) *Iman yerig i na*
 they three 3p eat
 ‘The three of them ate

karena bif goqai ga’an u...
 because(IND) 3s-child 3s DIST
 because that child of his,

qui na ga-tama’ wan kruan jadi...
 caterpillar eat 3s-be.tasty know so(IND)
 to eat caterpillars is tasty to him he knows so...

qui gula’ una’ a paksa ga-kiid.
 caterpillar finish also 3s force(IND) 3s-cry
 when the caterpillars were finished he cried for more of them’

In (36), *wan penai* ‘feel, touch’ is used to express a physical sensation, and is followed by a clause with a focussed question followed by a non-verbal predicate.

- (37) ...*ta ga-xala’ ta*
 TOP 3s-mother TOP
 ‘...so his mum
- wan penai-an ta’a la qau si*
 be touch-REAL which FOC good SIM
 felt which ones were good,
- xu’ u ga’an iman ta na.*
 that 3s they TOP eat
 [and] those they ate’

While the verbs of cognition discussed above all have experiencers encoded as subjects, there are also a few that encode the experiencer as an oblique. For example, in (38), *ma ba’an* ‘understand’ is literally translated as ‘fall on him’. In a sense, the item that is taught — here referred to as *ga’an* ‘3s’ — ‘falls on’ the person understanding it.

- (38) *Amidan la hala ma ga-uam ga’an*
 what FOC others come 3s-teach 3s
 ‘What other people have taught him
- a ma ba’an yed*
 3s come fall-REAL PRSP
 he doesn’t understand yet’

The oblique marker *ma* is derived from the intransitive deictic verb ‘come (to deictic centre)’, as explained in Ch. 6, section 6.5. We can thus say that diachronically, cognition verbs with an oblique experiencer are derived from serial verb constructions that have the deictic verb *ma* as the first verb.

There are a few Teiwa verbs (see Ch. 3, section 3.3.4) which resemble in some ways the ‘reflexive’ verbs found in other languages. These verbs take an object prefix that refers to the same entity as the subject. Examples are *o’on* ‘hide’, *ewar* ‘return’ and *ufan* ‘forget’.

The latter verb *ufan* is a special case because its subject is expressed as an object prefix and an oblique argument, as illustrated in (39). That is, the person forgetting (*na* ‘1s’) is marked as an oblique constituent with *ma*, and it has the same referent as the object prefix on the verb. The item that is

forgotten can only be introduced into the clause as the object of a separate predicate, here *pinan*.

- (39) *Na ma n-ufan sen pin-an ma.*
 1s come 1s-forget money hold-REAL come
 ‘I forgot to bring money’

However, if the event involves a benefactive participant, then that participant is marked as the verbal object, and the experiencer is only encoded as an oblique.

- (40) *A ma h-ufan susu ol-an maan.*
 3s come 2-forget milk(IND) buy-REAL NEG
 ‘He forgot to buy milk for you’

In sum, we have seen that there are various types of verbs of cognition in Teiwa. The morphologically simple transitive verbs and the lexicalised compound verbs with *wan* ‘be’ mark their experiencer as subjects. Some cognition verbs occur in fixed (lexicalised) combinations with *ma*, and they mark the experiencer as an oblique. The verb *ufan* ‘forget’ is an exceptional case because it can mark the experiencer both as oblique and as object on the verb. When cognition verbs introduce events, their complements are expressed as separate clauses or serial verb constructions.

10.2. Clause combinations expressing purpose

This section describes constructions that are used to express purposive notions. In general, purpose constructions are serial verb constructions. This is illustrated in (41), where mother gives tea to the child with the purpose that the child drinks it. The recipient object of the first verb (*bif* ‘child’) is the (implied) subject of the second verb *hufa* ‘drink’.

- (41) *Mama te ma bif ga-mian hufa’.*
 mother(IND) tea(IND) come child 3s-give drink
 ‘Mum gives the child tea to drink’

There is, however, a particular purpose construction that has a special syntactic format. These are constructions that express that one lacks a certain instrument or location to do something, for example “not have money to buy something”, “not have tools to build something”. Such constructions combine

the possessive nominal form *ga-x* ‘3s-possession’ with a negated existential construction using *wan maan* ‘be NEG’.

I first present some illustrations of this construction in (42)-(44). Next I will explain how these constructions can be analysed. Observe that all of them are transitive clauses built around the existential verb *wan*: all the clauses contain two NPs as indicated by the brackets.

- (42) *Ni'in*_{NP} [*sen qar ol-an na-n ga-x*]_{NP}
 1pe money rice buy-REAL eat-REAL 3s-possession
 ‘We don’t have money to buy rice to eat’

wan maan.
 be NEG

- (43) [*Ni'in ga'an*]_{NP}
 1pe 3s
 ‘We here

[*ni-yaf ni-li ma tii'-in ga-x*]_{NP}
 1pe-house 1pe-room come sleep-REAL 3s-possession
 do not have a house nor a room to sleep in’

wan maan.
 be NEG

- (44) [*Iman ga'an*]_{NP} [*biar iman g-un-mulax ga-x*]_{NP}
 they 3s child they 3-APP-help 3s-possession
 ‘They here don’t have children to help them [at home]’

wan maan.
 be NEG

I analyse these constructions as containing a nominal clausal constituent that is headed by the possessive element *ga-x*. In previous chapters, it has been argued that *ga-x* is formally a possessed noun. This noun can function as a nominal predicate, as illustrated in (40), or as an attribute to another noun, as illustrated in (46) (see Ch. 5, section 5.2.3.2).

- (45) *Met ga'an ga-x.*
 betelvine 3s 3s-possession
 ‘That betelvine is his [possession]’

- (46) *Hala ga-x.*
 others 3s-possession
 ‘Someone else’s possession’

In other words, constructions headed by *ga-x* are syntactically nominal constituents. Analogously, the constituents headed by *ga-x* in (42)-(44) are nominal phrases.

These nominal constituents function as the theme argument of the existential verb *wan* (cf. Ch. 9, section 9.6.4). The core function of *wan* is to express existence, as in (47a). Possession can also be encoded as “existence at a certain location” by using the verb *wan* in a transitive construction, as illustrated in (47b). (See Ch. 6, section 6.7 and 6.8). The theme participant is the possessee, the location participant is the possessor.

- (47) a. *Yir*_{Theme} *wan.* *Yir*_{Theme} *wan maan.*
 water be water be NEG
 ‘There is water’ ‘There is no water’
- b. *Bo’oi*_{Location (Possessor)} *yir*_{Theme (Possessee)} *wan.*
 river water be
 ‘The river has water’ (Lit. ‘Water exists (in) the river’)

In (48), the notions of nominal possession with *ga-x* and existence with *wan* are combined. The pronoun *ni’in* encodes the location (possessor), the NP *sen gax* is the existential theme (possessee):

- (48) *Ni’in*_{Location (Possessor)} [*sen ga-x*]_{Theme (Possessee)} *wan maan.*
 Ipe money 3s-possession be NEG
 ‘We do not have money’ (Lit. ‘Money’s possession does not exist (at) us’).

To this construction, a purpose can be added. This is illustrated in (49), where a purpose for the money is added, thus deriving a nominal constituent with an embedded VP [*qar olan*] ‘buy rice’ in (49).

- (49) *Ni’in*_{Location} [*sen [qar olan]*]_{VP} *ga-x*_{Theme}
 Ipe money rice buy-REAL 3s-possession
 ‘We do not have money to buy rice’
 (Lit. ‘[Money to buy rice’s possession] does not exist (at) us’).

wan maan.
be NEG

And in (50), the existential theme constituent even includes oblique locations marked with *ma*.

- (50) *Ni'in*_{Location} [*ni-yaf ni-li ma tii'-in ga-x*]_{Theme}
1pe 1pe-house 1pe-room come sleep-REAL 3s-possession
'We do not have a house or room to sleep in'
(Lit. 'Our house our room to sleep in's possession does not exist (at) us')

wan maan.
be NEG

In sum, in the particular construction discussed here, we find a nominalised clausal constituent that is headed by the possessive nominal element *ga-x*. To my knowledge, this is the only type of nominalised clause Teiwa has and it occurs only in this construction.

10.3. Clause combinations expressing causative

Causative concepts are expressed analytically by a sequence of two clauses, one of which contains the verb *er* 'make, do' (Ch. 9, section 9.6.3). In (52) and (44), the first clause expresses the cause of the second: I 'make' the motorbike so that it lives, we 'do' our work so it is finished.

- (51) *Pi pi-karian i er a gula' sin.*
1pi 1pi-work it.place make 3s finish first
'We first finish our work here'

- (52) *Na motor er-an a sig.*
1s motorbike make-REAL 3 live
'I switch on the motorbike'

- (53) *Ha er a qau.*
2s make 3s good
'You make it well'

Because the subject in the second clause must be obligatorily expressed, these combinations are sequences of clauses, not serial verb constructions. Teiwa has one particular serial verb construction that can express cause-effect

sequences of events, a construction with *mian* ‘put at someone’ (see Ch. 9, section 9.2, and 9.7.1).

10.4. Conjunctions

Teiwa clauses are coordinated by the conjunction *ata* ‘and’ and the disjunction *le* ‘or’. Semantically, *ata* and *le* belong to neither of the clauses they link, but intonationally they are grouped with the first conjunct. *Ata* and *le* are discussed in section 10.4.1.

Teiwa also has conjunctions to mark temporal connections between equivalent clauses: *si* marks that event X and Y are simultaneous, *ba* marks that event X and Y are subsequent events. The temporal interpretation of both conjunctions can be semantically extended in which case they function to express that the preceding clause / constituent is the background information (temporal setting, background condition or cause, etcetera) for the following clause. This is discussed in section 10.4.2.

10.4.1. Coordinate conjunction *ata(ng)* ‘and’ and disjunction *le* ‘or’

The coordinating conjunction *ata* ‘and’ functions to conjoin events and entities. An example of its nominal conjunctive function is *Rini ata Yance* ‘Rini and Yance’ (cf. Ch. 5, section 5.7). The word *atang* that is used as an aspectual verb ‘do (once) again’ in (54)-(55) is related to the conjunction *ata* (see Ch. 7, section 7.3).

(54) *Atang gelas nuk ma taxa’!*
do.once.again glass one come add
‘Have another glass!’

(55) *A atang!*
3s do.once.again
‘[Do] it once again!’

In (56)-(57), *ata* links two clauses.

(56) *War ga’an ga-rupa mo*
rock 3s 3s-shape(IND) as
‘That rock has the shape of

bui pa'an ata tafan her un tas-an.
 betelnut short.drum and pole base CONT stand.REAL
 a *bui pa'an* gong and there is also a pole standing there.'

- (57) *Yes-yes a ta... amidan...*
 suddenly 3s TOP what
 'Suddenly he took... ehm...

war upar mar a ta ma ga-ayas,
 stone pebble take 3s TOP come 3s-throw
 a pebble and threw it at him,

xoran sampai ma yerig ata
 thus until come three and
 three times [he did that],

a'an ma iman g-un-dagar...
 3s come they 3-APP-be.visible⁸
 and [then] he revealed himself...'

In (58), *ata* occurs between a subject and the rest of the clause.

- (58) *Ba a mir-an a-kotan ga'an*
 SEQ 3 climb-REAL 3s-spin.top 3s
 'So she climbed up

yeru-n mit wa amidan,
 push-REAL climb go what
 pushing her spin top, ehm,

ga-tal luxun mian si g-i'an qai ga'an ata,
 3s-rope high put.at SIM 3s-brother 3s and
 put it on the rope ladder then her brother and,

kotan u dumar moxod-an si a wa
 spin.top DIST push.away drop-REAL SIM 3s go
 [he] pushed away and dropped that spin top so it went

yaqai ewar trunan yix ta gi gula' a wa:..
 down.below return roll.over descend TOP go finish 3s say
 rolling back down below then she said: "..."

The conjunction *ata* can follow the temporal conjunction *ba* ‘Sequential’. This is illustrated in (59), where the boy grabs his eyes after he has been bitten by a frog:

- (59) *Katak waal g-et bag ma sii ma ta...*
 frog(IND) that.mentioned 3-eye seed come bite come TOP
 ‘That frog bites his eyes...’

g-et bag ma sii ba ata
 3-eye seed come bite SEQ and
 bites his eyes and then

g-et bag ta pin-an kiid-an pati
 3-eye seed TOP hold-REAL cry-REAL PROG
 he grabs his eyes crying,

ga-yivar ga’an un tei luxun goxo’ pati.
 3s-dog 3s CONT tree high bark PROG
 while the dog is barking up the tree’

The conjunction *le* disjoins nominals (as in *yaf le rabax* ‘house or stable’) or verbs (as in *tii’ le tas* ‘lie down or stand up’) (Ch. 5, section 5.7). In between clauses, *le* expresses disjunctive or adversative events (“X or Y”, “X but Y”), as illustrated in (60)- (63):

- (60) *Ha’an la tei wreer-an qau le*
 you FOC tree climb-REAL good or
 ‘Can you climb the tree or

na’an la tei wreer-an qau?
 I FOC tree climb-REAL good
 can I climb the tree?’

- (61) *Ga-xap-an yed le,*
 3s-compensate-REAL PRSP or
 ‘It’s not yet all,

ga-molas si qaar nuk rug raq si ta ga-xap-an.
 3s-actually SIM twelve SIM TOP 3s-compensate-REAL
 there are actually twelve [poems that] make it complete’

- (62) *Jadi waktu igan yei xu'u ga'an*
 so(IND) time(IND) harvest.feast promise that 3s
 'So at the time of that planned harvest feast

iman aria-n ta si
 they arrive-REAL TOP SIM
 they came,

yivar ma walas tau le,
 dream come tell already or
 but [he] was already told in a dream [that]

musti iman ga-yaf er-an si,
 must(IND) they 3s-house do-REAL SIM
 they had to make a house,

musti er-an yip axa'.
 must(IND) do-REAL total
 a complete [one]'

- (63) *Qau a atang*
 good 3s do.once again
 'Then he went again:

"Ni'in ga'an i ni-dan ni-ir wan maan
 we.excl 3s FORTHC 1pe-other 1pe-sibling be NEG
 "We here don't have siblings..."

le niraxau na-xala' qai."
 or 1.DU 1s-mother just
 [there is] just us two, mother [and child]'"

The disjunction *le* can directly follow the negation *maan*, to express the prohibitive notion 'don't [do it], or else':

- (64) *Maan le, rai om qalixil.*
 NEG or king inside itchy
 'Don't [do it], or the king will be angry' (lit. 'the king's inside [will be] itchy')

Another function of *le* is as a 'softening' tag; this is discussed in Ch. 5, section 5.7.

Semantically, *ata* and *le* belong to neither of the clauses they link. But if there is an intonational break between the two clauses, then the conjunction is grouped with the first conjunct, and occurs in final position. Illustrations are (58) and (61)-(62).

10.4.2. Temporal conjunctions *si* ‘Simultaneous’ and *ba* ‘Sequential’

The conjunctions *si* ‘SIM’ and *ba* ‘SEQ’ mark the temporal connection between clauses. If the first clause is referred to as X, and the second as Y, *si* functions to mark that “X and Y are simultaneous events”, or “X is a state simultaneous to Y”. Depending on the discourse context, the link between X and Y may get more specific interpretations, including: “X is the time/temporal setting for Y” > “while X, Y occurs/happens”, which in turn can sometimes lead to the interpretation “X is the condition for Y”. Some illustrations of the use of *si* are (65)-(67).

- (65) *Yaa aria’, iman mis-an bali si,*
 descend arrive they sit-REAL see SIM
 ‘[While others were] coming down, they were sitting watching

uy non waal i
 person PL that.mentioned FORTHC
 while noticing all those people

sar-an yaa aria-n...
 notice-REAL descend arrive-REAL
 coming down [towards them]’

- (66) *Qui yaa ma xa’a si i wan tad.*
 caterpillar descend come this SIM 3p surround
 ‘Caterpillars came down surrounding them/swarming around them’

- (67) *E! In i ga’an or qai ba in og*
 EXCL thing PROX 3s coal just SEQ thing hot
 ‘Hey! This is just burning coal, hot stuff

ba na ma yi-mian gasaai ba yi mi...
 SEQ 1s come 2p-put.at cannot SEQ 2p ascend
 so I cannot give it to you so you go up...

in nuk pin aria' pi ma mia' si
 thing one hold arrive 1pi come fill SIM
 bring something [e.g. a container] here, we will fill it and

yi ta pin gi.
 2p TOP hold go
 you take it along'

- (68) *Ni naxa' min-an maan si*
 1pe not.want die-REAL NEG SIM
 'While we did not want to die

a'an la a er-an.
 3s FOC 3s do-REAL
 he did it [i.e. he killed us]'

Illustrations with *si* elsewhere in this chapter include (11), (26)-(30), (33)-(34), (37), (61), and (80).

The conjunction *ba* links two clauses X and Y as expressing sequential propositions: "X and Y are subsequent events", "X happens first, then Y". The link may be further interpreted as "Y is the result/consequence of X", "X so that Y", "X is the reason/condition for Y", "because of X, Y happens/is the case". Illustrations are given in (69)-(72):

- (69) *Uy ga'an hafan me'-an ba aria'.*
 person 3s village be.in-REAL SEQ arrive
 'That person arrives from the village'
 (lit. 'That person was in the village then arrives')

- (70) *A uy i wan hamar ma walas ba a bis.*
 3s person PROX prayer come tell SEQ 3s healthy
 'He prayed for this person [so] he would get better'

- (71) *...xam i diir ba, a walas*
 breast 3p locked.up SEQ 3s tell
 '...her breasts were swollen [so] she said:

"bif i xam hufa' maan wan iyet-iyet wa,...
 child FORTHC breast drink NEG be long.time go
 "the child has not drunk milk for a long time,..."'

- (72) ...*qavif ga'an hala ta ga-fin-an*,
 goat 3s others TOP 3s-catch-REAL
 '... that goat was caught by them,

qavif ga'an bir-an ku'at maan ba
 goat 3s run-REAL strong(IND) NEG SEQ
 the goat couldn't run fast [so / then]

hala ta gi er-an gula' ma haraba ma gad.
 others TOP go do-REAL finish come stable come⁹ put
 people went to get [it] put [it] in a stable'

In my corpus, *ba* is the most frequently used conjunction. Not only does it link verbal clauses, as in the above examples, it also functions to link other types of constituents. For example, in the first line of (67) above, *ba* connects two nominal predicates: 'This is just burning coal *ba* hot stuff'. *Ba* can also link a clause with a predicative time expression to a following clause, as illustrated in (73), i.e. functions to mark an adverbial clause expressing time.

- (73) *Bayar he'en ba, tewar bil-bli.*
 late.afternoon near SEQ walk be.careful
 '[Because it is] almost late afternoon [i.e., it's getting dark], walk carefully'

Ba often links the question words *gigala(l)* 'why' and *taxaran* 'how' to the clause they question, as illustrated in (74) (see also Ch. 8, section 8.2.4.6 and 8.2.4.7). In this way, *ba* is used in contexts that express reason or manner.

- (74) *A ni-regan gigala ba ni aria-n maan.*
 3s 1pe-ask why SEQ 1pe arrive-REAL NEG
 'He asked us why we did not come'

Another context where *ba* may be used is in so-called 'tail-head' linking constructions.¹⁰ A tail-head construction is illustrated in (75): the two clauses are connected by repeating the final part ('tail') of the first clause (*suk* 'come down' in (75a)) as the initial part ('head') of the next clause (*sukan* 'come down-REAL' in (75b)). In (75b), *ba* encodes that *coming down* lead to *falling from the river bank*.

- (75) a. *Ta ba'-an suk ga-yivar una' ta*
 TOP fall-REAL exit.come.down 3s-dog also TOP

‘He falls down and his dog also
ga-mar ba’-an suk.
 3s-take fall-REAL exit. come.down
 falls down (lit. ‘it is taken along falling down...’)

- b. *Suk-an ba ba’-an yaa*
 come.down-REAL SEQ fall-REAL descend
 [Having] falling down

saf her ma yaa
 river.bank base come descend
 from the river bank

- c. *rus waal ta bir-an gi.*
 deer that.mentioned TOP run-REAL go
 that deer runs away.’

Illustrations of *ba* presented elsewhere in this chapter include (12), (13), (59), (76), (80), and (83).

In sum, the conjunctions *si* and *ba* both mark temporal connections between clauses. *Si* marks that “X and Y are simultaneous events”, or “X is a state simultaneous to Y”. More specific interpretations of *si* include “X is the time/temporal setting for Y” > “while X, Y occurs/happens”, which in turn can sometimes lead to the interpretation “X is the condition for Y”. The conjunction *ba* functions to mark that “X and Y are subsequent events”, “X happens first, then Y”. The link expressed by *ba* may be further interpreted as “Y is the result/consequence of X”, “X so that Y”, “X is the reason for Y”, “because of X, Y happens/is the case”. Both conjunctions function to express a temporal connection between two equivalent clauses (for example, *si* in the third line of (67) and *ba* in (72)). The temporal interpretation can be semantically extended, and then the conjunctions function to express that the preceding clause / constituent expresses the background information (temporal setting, background condition or cause, etcetera) for the following clause. For example, the function of *si* in (68) and *ba* in (73) is similar to marking an adverbial subordinate clause (‘while...’, ‘because...’).

10.5. Words and phrases used as discourse markers

The conjunctions discussed in the previous section all link phrases or clauses. In this section, words and phrases are discussed that function to mark the beginning of a different section in discourse. Unlike the conjunctions *ha* and

si, which occur in between clauses, and intonationally belong to the preceding clause, the words and phrases discussed here only occurs at the beginning of clauses / sentences. The sequential discourse marker *ha* is described in section 10.5.1, while section 10.5.2 briefly presents a number of complex discourse markers with their functions.

10.5.1. Sequential discourse event: *ha* ‘then’

The word *ha* ‘then’ occurs at the beginning of a new clause or sentence to mark it as a new stage in the discourse. In (76), *ha* introduces the clause that refers to a new stage in the discourse, following the stay underneath the *bur* palms:

- (76) *A bur-bur ma tii’*,
 3s RDP-k.o.palm come lie.down
 ‘They stayed underneath the *bur* palms,
- ha ga-wek aria-n g-oxai*,
 then 3s-behind arrive-REAL 3s-child,
 then later a child arrived,
- nuk ma ga-xala’ g-oma’ taxa’*
 one come 3s-mother 3s-father add
 he came with his mother and father,
- un wek-wek aria-n ga’an*,
 PROG RDP-behind arrive-REAL 3s
 arriving at the very end,
- aria’ iman hadan si*,
 arrive they meet SIM
 arriving they
- hala ga’an tur aria-n ba*,
 others 3s former arrive-REAL SEQ
 met others who had arrived earlier,
- yaf ma tii’, bur-bur una’ ma tii’*.
 house come lie.down RDP-k.o.palm also come lie.down
 and also slept under the palm trees’

In (77), the first clause describes that a coconut sprouts, while the clause marked with *ha* describes the next stage when the coconut tree is fully grown and old, and falls down.

- (77) *Ga-qut ga'an burar ma*
 3s-sprout 3s spray come
 'Its sprout grew (lit. sprayed)

bof goxonan ixa'a ma aria',
 wave point.to over.here come arrive
 pointing to the waves [of the sea],

ha *ga-her ma ga-baq aga' yis-an yis-an ta*
 then 3s-stem come 3s-body all put-REAL put-REAL TOP
 then the stem and the trunk everything

bui una' esan ta taxaa.
 betelnut also place TOP fall.down
 as well as the betelnut fell down'

Note that *ha* is also used to link clauses to express a comparison, as illustrated in (78) (see Ch. 6, section 6.11).

- (78) *Gelas a xa'a tab ii' ha*
 glass PROX this truly red then
 'This glass is more red than

ga-afo'o ga'an di oxoran.
 3s-over there 3s only thus
 the one over there'

While both *ha* 'then' and *ba* 'SEQ' express events occurring in sequence, *ha* only occurs in sentence or clause-initial position, unlike *ba*; and the function of *ha* is to structure discourse, not to link clauses.

10.5.2. Complex discourse markers

The conjunctions *si* 'SIM' and *ba* 'SEQ' (discussed in section 10.4.2 above) may be combined with other words. As part of such complex markers, they occur in clause initial position, and function as discourse structuring devices.

In this section I list the complex markers that have been attested in my corpus and briefly indicate their functions.

10.5.2.1. *Simultaneous or adversative event: ha si ‘but’, laxu’u si ‘but’*

When *si* ‘SIM’ combines with the discourse marker *ha* ‘then’, the resulting complex marker expresses a simultaneous or adversative event. Consultants explained that *ha si* can be replaced with the conjunction *tapi* ‘but’, a loan from Indonesian/Malay, or with an expression containing the demonstrative pronoun *laxu’u si* ‘that.one SIM’. This is illustrated in example (79).

(79) *Gi gi gi ta bif waal gi*
 go go go TOP small.child that.mentioned go
 ‘Go go go, that small child runs away,

war uwaad nuk ga-he’en ma tas,
 stone big one 3s-close come stand
 stands close to a big rock,

ga-luxun ma tas,
 3s-high come stand
 stands on top of it,

ga-luxun ma tas-an,
 3s-high come stand-REAL
 stands on top of it,

ha / laxu’u si ki’ yip di ga-mar pati.
 then / that.one.there SIM eagle also only 3s-follow PROG
 but the eagle just keeps following him’

In other contexts, *ha si* may be translated as ‘at the same time’, as illustrated in (80):

(80) *...a mulai daar usan laxu’u,*
 3s begin(IND) sing lift that.one.there
 ...he began to sing that (song),

daar usan a wa: bui hela midan
 sing lift 3s say betelnut pull plant
 started singing saying: “pinang come up”

Ha si *ga-gas qai* *ga'an u*
 then SIM 3s-female.younger.sibling 3s DIST
 At the same time, that younger sister of his

un te kotan ga-miar ba,
 CONT walk spin.top 3s-play SEQ
 is walking playing spin top,

a ta tup-an wa amidan mir.
 3s TOP get.up-REAL go what climb
 then he gets up, ehm, and climbs [it]'

10.5.2.2. Consequent event: *olag si* 'so that'

The category and meaning of the word *olag* in *olag si* 'so that' is unclear; it is not an independent word and only occurs in combination with *si*. *Olag si* marks a clause / sentence as the consequence of another event. In (81), 'I can marry his daughter' is the consequence of 'you burn me':

(81) *E... qau na'an, na'an la gom ma tii'*,
 EXCL good I I FOC 3-inside come lie.down
 'Hey, well I, I'll be the one who lies inside,

ha na'an wan de'.
 you I be burn
 you burn me.

Xoran, olag si na'an la g-oqai eqar ga-mis.
 thus so that I FOC 3-child female 3s-marry
 So that I'll be the one who marries his daughter'

10.5.2.3. Sequential event: *wan si* 'then' (lit. 'be SIM')

In (82) *si* combines with the verb *wan* 'be' to mark a sequential event.

(82) *A g-oqai eqar masar nuk ga'an*
 3s 3-child female male one 3s
 'That girl and boy

ta bir-an o'on-an,
 TOP run-REAL hide-REAL
 ran away to hide,

wan si ta ma taxa' ma taxa' la
 be SIM TOP come add come add FOC
 then there came more and more (offspring of them), they

iman ga'an ga-nara' ga'an la a wa xa'a
 they 3s 3s-name 3s FOC 3s say this
 gave them a name, saying this,

amidan Burilak eran u.
 what B. that.one DIST
 ehm, these are Burilak'

10.5.2.4. Resulting event: *qau ba* 'so then' (lit. 'good SEQ')

In (83)-(84) *ba* combines with the adjective *qau* 'good'¹¹ to mark a resulting event. *Qau ba* is also used in imperative/hortative clauses, where it can also be abbreviated to *qau* (see Ch. 8, section 8.3.1).

(83) *Aria' tau, qau ba pi gi.*
 arrive finish good SEQ 1pincl go
 '[He] has arrived already, so we can go'

(84) *Qau ba a ta wa xoran:*
 good SEQ 3s TOP say thus
 'So he said:

Yo! Mam qau na wa-n be'.
 yes true good I go-REAL AFFIRM
 'Yes, if that is so I'll go''

Qau ba is often abbreviated to *qau*, as in (85):

(85) *...haliwai dan axa'a maan. Qau a ta ewar mis.*
 black.ant other this.one NEG good 3s TOP return sit.
 '...there are no black ants. So she sits down again'

10.5.2.5. Presupposed event: *mam qau* ‘if so’ (lit. ‘true good’)

The phrase *mam qau* ‘true good’ consists of two adjectives. It marks that the event of the preceding clause / sentence is presupposed to the event of the following one. An illustration is (86), see also (83) above.

- (86) *A wa xa’a:* “Yo, ***mam qau*** *ma mis.*”
 3s say this yes true good come sit
 ‘He said: “OK, so come here and sit down” ’

- (87) *Xoran, ya, xoran mam qau weg saxe’.*
 thus yes thus true good door open.door
 ‘Well, yes, in that case open the door.’

10.6. Borrowed conjunctions

This section briefly illustrates the conjunctions that Teiwa has borrowed from Indonesian/Malay.

10.6.1. *Jadi* ‘so’ (<Malay/Indonesian *jadi* ‘so’)

Although Teiwa has various indigenous expressions for this, the Malay/Indonesian conjunction *jadi* ‘so’ is used frequently.

- (88) “*Ha’an un wek jadi i yaxalat ma tii’*,”
 you PROG behind so(IND) outside come lie.down
 “‘You came later so [you] sleep outside,’”

iliar ga’an u a mulai gi te-tei wraak.
 daybreak 3s DIST 3s begin (IND) go RDP-wood search
 at daybreak they [lit. he] begin to search for wood’

- (89) *Iman yixei yaqai*
 they descend.REAL down.below
 ‘They went down

yir g-or an ma gi.
 water 3s-tail market come go
 to the market at the mouth of the river’

Jadi *iman i xu'u ma hafan parat*
 so they over.there come village tie
 'So overthere they built a village'

iman yir g-or an ma gi.
 they water 3s-tail market come go
 [and] they went to the market at the mouth of the river'

10.6.2. *Lalu* 'then' (<Indonesian/Malay *lalu* 'then')

Lalu 'then' is also a loan from Indonesian/Malay, but is used much less frequently than e.g. *jadi*. An indigenous expression for this notion in clause initial position would be *wan si*, in clause final position it would be *ba*.

- (90) *Qau a ta human-human suk.*
 good 3s TOP RDP-slowly exit.come.down
 'So he climbed down slowly.'

Suk-an lalu uy kri eran
 exit.come.down then(IND) person Mr that.one
 Climbing down, that grandfather

a hutan ma ga-husaq gula'
 3s bow come 3s-loose finish
 freed [his neck] from the bow,¹²

a wa xa'a: ma pi-maran ma gi.
 3s say this come 1pi-hut come go
 he said: "Come here, let's go to our hut [i.e. my house]."

- (91) *Iman ta wa maran me'-en*
 they TOP go hut stay.in-REAL
 'They went to stay in the hut'

lalu a ta amidan a wa xoran:
 then(IND) 3s TOP what 3s say thus
 then he, ehm, he said this:

"Ha na amidan bangan una' si na ma ha-mian."
 you I what ask also SIM I come 2s-give
 "Whatever you ask me, I will give it to you"

10.6.3. *Tapi* ‘but’ (< Malay/Indonesian *(te)tapi* ‘but’)

The borrowed conjunction *tapi* can be replaced by the indigenous complex conjunctions *ha si* or *laxu’u si* ‘but’ (see section 10.2.3.1).

- (92) *Gi gi gi gi*
 go go go go
 ‘Go go go go’

tapi or *ga’an iman ga-tiar-an terus.*
 but(IND) bee 3s they 3s-chase-REAL continuously(IND)
 but the bees keep chasing him’

10.6.4. *Karena* ‘because’ (< Malay/Indonesian *karena* ‘because’)

Karena ‘because’ is not used very frequently. Often, cause and effect relations between clauses are not overtly marked, as illustrated by (3) above. The sequential conjunction *ba* can also be interpreted to mark cause and effect, as illustrated in (71)-(72) above. The loan *karena* ‘because’ is illustrated in (93):

- (93) *Iman yerig ina karena bif g-oqai ga’an u,*
 they three eat because(IND) child 3-child 3s DIST
 ‘The three of them ate (and) because that small child

qui na ga-tama’ wan kruan jadi...
 caterpillar eat 3s-taste know so(IND)
 knew that eating caterpillars tastes good...

qui gula’ una’ a paksa ga-kiid.
 caterpillar finish also 3s force(IND) 3s-cry
 so when the caterpillars were finished he nagged (and) cried for them’

10.7. Summary and conclusions

Teiwa discourse is generally characterized by strings of clauses that can be connected by a conjunction or discourse linker, or separated by an intonational break, while there are also clauses that are merely juxtaposed to each other under a single intonation contour. Where other languages express complex events or event modification by using morpho-syntactically marked subordinated clauses or distinct verb forms (e.g. medial versus final verbs, infinite vs. finite verbs, main verbs and converbs), Teiwa typically employs

simple juxtaposition of clauses, clauses linked by coordinating or temporal conjunctions, and serial verb constructions to express such notions.

The clause combining properties of Teiwa are different from what is generally found in Papuan languages. Many Papuan languages make use of switch reference systems, which are not found in Teiwa. Foley (1997: 515) claims that all Papuan languages possess subordinate embedded clauses, which, as we have seen, are not easy to define morpho-syntactically in Teiwa (except for the nominalised construction discussed in section 10.2). In addition, it is sometimes claimed that relative clause constructions in Papuan languages express adverbial notions such as condition and reason (cf. Foley 1986: 201), but Teiwa lacks relative clauses altogether (Chapter 11, section 11.3).

Chapter 11

Information structure

11.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a sketch of some aspects of Teiwa ‘information packaging’ (Chafe 1976) or ‘information structure’ (Lambrecht 1994). The information structure of a sentence is the formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in a discourse (Lambrecht 1994:5).¹ That is, in discourse, speakers can assume that there is information about already mentioned events and participants common to both them and their addressees, but other information which is not. The structuring of sentences along these parameters is called ‘information structure’ (cf. Foley 2007: 403).

Crosslinguistically, information structure can be formally manifested in different ways: in aspects of prosodic structure such as focus stress; in special grammatical markers for topic or focus; in the form of nominal constituents and the ordering of such constituents in the sentence; in the form of complex grammatical constructions such as passives or antipassives; and in certain choices between related lexical items. A selection of these formal manifestations of information structure are found in Teiwa and discussed in this chapter. Here, I focus on those aspects of Teiwa information structure that I found most striking when I was examining and analysing the texts in my corpus. Note that the formal domain of information structure is the clause or sentence, so that the organisation of Teiwa discourse will not be discussed here.

The chapter is structured as follows. In section 11.1, I address the question how discourse participants are introduced in Teiwa texts. In section 11.2, I describe how constituents get contrastive or identificational focus by placing them in alternative positions in the clause, and by using long rather than short pronouns. In section 11.3, I describe the formal and functional characteristics of focus expressions marked with the focus marker *la*. *La* follows the phrase it governs and typically marks new information focus. While focused constituents are new information, just being introduced into the discourse, topics are closely related with given or old information. Section 11.4 describes the topic marker *ta*, which functions to encode topic discontinuity by announcing a new topic or reintroducing one that was introduced previously. In section 11.5, I briefly indicate the discourse function of two demonstratives that are frequently used in texts: *i*, which marks a forthcoming topic, and *waal* ‘the one mentioned’, which refers to participants that have been introduced before.

11.1. The introduction of discourse participants

New discourse participants are nominal constituents (NPs) that occur with various modifiers, including *nuk* ‘one’, which marks indefinite NPs (Ch. 5, section 5.5.1), and *u* ‘Distal’, which marks definite NPs (Ch. 3, section 3.6.1).

New discourse participants are introduced into the discourse by their own separate predicate: a verb of motion, posture, a deictic verb, or the existential verb *pas* ‘be exactly’.² After they have been introduced, the now given/known participants are referred to by short pronouns, or are not expressed at all, which results in zero anaphora across clauses.

An illustration of how participants are introduced is the paragraph given in (1). This is the opening paragraph of a traditional narrative about a group of refugees from the place *Sangubal*. The first clause (1a) presents the temporal setting and the location *Sangubal* with the deictic verb *ma* ‘come’, (1b) introduces the group of refugees (from *Sangubal*) with the verb *biran* ‘run’, (1c) introduces a man and his wife as the next participants, each with their own verb (*ma* ‘come’, *taxa* ‘add’), (1d) introduces their only child as another participant with the same two verbs, and the final clause (1e) explains that those three came behind the initial group of refugees.

- (1) a. *Tur yaqai Sangubal ma*
 former down.below Sangubal come
 ‘Formerly down from Sangubal
- bir-an daa-n ga’an u,*
 run-REAL ascend 3s DIST
 [people] came running up over there,
- b. *uyaq aga’ bir-an tur tur tur gula’*
 person all run-REAL former former former finish
 first all [the] people ran up,
- c. *hanya uy nuk qai ma emaq taxa’*
 only(IND) person one just come wife add
 only one person with his wife
- d. *g-oqai bag nuk ma ga’an taxa’*
 3s-child seed one come 3s add
 and with his only child

- e. *ga'an u bir-an un wek-wek.*
 3s DIST run-REAL while RDP-behind
 'those were running behind.'

The NPs in (1b-d) *uyaq aga* 'all people', *uy nuk* 'one person', *emaq* 'wife', *goqai bag nuk* 'only child' are indefinites, while the NP *ga'an u* 'those' in (1e) refers back to the participants in (1c-d) and is definite.

In (2), the first line of a story about a Teiwa king is given. Here, the loan verb *pas* 'be exactly' is used in a presentative construction: the NP *rai nuk ga-emaq* 'a king's wives' is the subject of the predicate *pas yerig* '(were) exactly three'.

- (2) *Rai nuk ga-emaq ta pas yerig.*
 king one 3s-wife TOP be.exactly three
 'A king had exactly three wives' (Lit. 'A king's wives were exactly three').

In (3), the first paragraph of the Frog Story is given. In (3a), the loan *pas* 'be exactly' is also used as an existential predicate in a presentative construction; it presents the temporal setting of the story. In (3b-c), the main characters of the story are introduced in a transitive clause: *bif g-oqai nuk* 'a boy' caught *mauqubar* 'frog', and brought it home, and is now keeping it in a jar. Both NPs are indefinite.

- (3) a. *Ga-ta'a tur qa'an nuk pas wur bogan,*
 3s-which former black one be.exact moon moon.sickle
 'Formerly, one night [when] there was a moon sickle,
- b. *bif g-oqai nuk mauqubar ga-fin-an gula'*
 child 3s-child one frog 3s-catch-REAL finish
 a small child caught a frog,
- pin aria' ma*
 hold arrive come
 brought it home and
- c. *toples g-om ma ga-rian*
 jar 3s-inside come 3S-take.care.of.sb
 kept it in a jar'

The illustrations in (4) and (5) are also from the Frog Story, and illustrate how new participants are introduced into an ongoing narrative. In (4), an eagle

is introduced as a new discourse participant with the deictic verbal predicate *yaa* ‘descend’, in a serial construction that expresses how the bird attacks the boy:

- (4) ...*ana maan si ki uwaad nuk*
 long.time NEG SIM eagle big one
 ‘[he sits]...not for long when a big eagle
- yaa bif ga’an tu’uk...*
 descend child 3s knock
 comes down and picks (lit. knocks) that child’

The Frog Story also contains an episode where the boy accidentally grabs the horns of a deer while assuming that he is holding sticks of wood. In (5a), the deer horns are introduced as new participant with their own verbal predicate *daa tas-an* ‘ascend stand-REAL’ > ‘stand upright’. As mentioned previously, known participants are often elided across clauses (see Ch. 4). In (5b), reference to the boy is tracked with the 3sg short pronoun *a*, while the deer horns are not expressed: because they have been introduced in the previous clause they can be omitted.

- (5) a. *Rus ga-dexen un daa tas-an ga’an*
 deer 3s-horn while ascend stand 3s
 ‘deer horns are sticking up,
- a wan pin.*
 3s be hold
 he holds them.
- b. *A wan pin a wa tei siis ba*
 3s be hold 3s say wood dry SEQ
 He holds [them] he thinks it is dry wood so
- a wan pin to.*
 3s be hold Excl
 he holds [them], hey.’

The sentences (6a-d) are from an episode from a story about the ‘Baraqala clan’. In this episode, people have caught the big fish that has been insulting them, and take it to the village to cook and eat it. In (6a), the topic subject is tracked with the pronoun *iman* ‘they’, and the big fish is the lexical object of *parat* ‘tie’. As known participants, they are not expressed again in (6b-c). But

in (6d), the object *batar* ‘corn’ is introduced as a new participant, and *batar* is now the given/known topic which is elided in (6e)-(6f).

- (6) a. ...*iman mulai i xaf uwaad parat gula*,
 they begin(IND) 3p fish big tie finish
 ‘...they start to tie the big fish,
- b. *qau ba tiwan aria*’.
 good SEQ carry.with.two people arrive
 then carry it [home] between them.
- c. *Tiwan aria’ hafan me*’,
 carry.with.two.people arrive village be.in
 Carrying [it] between them [they] arrive in the village,
- d. *yaf her ga-xap-an*
 house base 3s-compensate-REAL
 each household
- mulai batar su’an ma tona’ pin aria*’,
 begin(IND) corn cut.off come gather hold arrive
 starts cutting and gathering corn,
- e. *iman mulai wan ma tona’ tap-an numi*,
 they begin be come gather pound-REAL sift
 they start to gather, pound and sift [it],
- f. *tafag-an dau-an*
 wrap.up-REAL cook-REAL
 wrap and cook [it],
- iman mulai wan tona’ soxai*.
 they begin be gather dance
 they begin to gather for dancing’

Another way to introduce a new participant is by modifying the NP with the pronoun *ga’an*.³ In the story about the Refugees from Sangubal, people build a village, and an old grandmother is introduced as the one who guards the gongs and drums, as in (7). The NP *quaf yas nuk* ‘a poor grandmother’ is modified with the pronoun *ga’an*. This NP has a discourse function similar to the presentative construction ‘now there was this granny in the village...’ in English.

11.2. The marking of contrastive or identificational focus

It is generally recognized that there are two types of focus: new information focus and contrastive or identificational focus. The focus expressions discussed in this section are mainly contrastive or identificational. They are encoded by focal accent, variable constituent order and/or by the use of long pronouns. In addition, Teiwa also has a dedicated focus marker *la*, which is discussed in section 11.3.

As explained in Chapter 4, section 4.1, the basic and unmarked constituent order of Teiwa verbal clauses is Subject-Object-Verb (or APV) for transitive clauses, and Subject-Verb (or SV) for intransitives. Non-verbal clauses have a Subject-Predicate order. Object pronouns follow the verb, resulting in the order Subject-Verb-Object_{pronoun}. This is further discussed below.

Lexical subjects are marked as foci using sentence accent, or with the marker *la* (cf. section 11.3). Pronominal subjects get contrastive focus by using a long pronoun form instead of a short one (see Ch. 4, section 4.2.1). Unlike pronominal objects, pronominal subjects do not occupy a special position in order to get focus. Illustrations of long pronouns marking subjects with contrastive focus are (9)-(10). Note that (9) also shows that the constituent with contrastive focus is not necessarily the same as the constituent with the focus marker *la*: in (9) contrastive focus is on the pronominal subject *na'an*, while the object *qar u* 'that rice' is the focused constituent that is marked with *la*. Note that the subject is expressed twice: with a clause-initial long pronoun as well as a short pronoun preceding the verb.

- (9) *Na'an qar u la na na.*
 I rice DIST FOC 1s eat
 'I [not you] eat that rice'

In (10), the emphasised subject is also expressed twice, with the long pronoun *ni'in* as well as the short one *ni*. In this way, it is expressed that we are leaving, while you stay to repair the thing.

- (10) *Qau ba ha in ga-buri,*
 good SEQ 2s it.thing 3s-repair
 'You repair it for him,
- ni'in ni gi laxa'a ba ha in ga-buri.*
 we.excl 1pe go this.one.here SEQ 2s it.thing 3s-repair
we are going but this one here you repair it for him'

In (11), contrastive focus is on the possessor, which is expressed with the long pronoun *ni'in*. In this example, the possessor is also marked as the focus constituent with *la*.

- (11) *Ni'in la ni-motor ga'an.*
 we.excl FOC 1pe-motorbike 3s
 'That motorbike is ours' (Answer to the question: Whose motorbike is that?)

Objects can get focus by focal accent, and/or by moving them to a position preceding the subject. This is illustrated in the second line of (13), where *ni'in* '1p.excl' precedes the subject *iman* 'they'. Illustrations (12) and (14) are given to provide the context of (13) in an episode of the Baraqala clan story.

- (12) "Na-rat qai non, hala wa ha-rata' ga'an
 1s-grandchild child PL people say 2s-grandmother 3s
 "Grandchildren, people say that grandmother of yours

ixa'a ma daa-n ga'an u,
 over.here come ascend-REAL 3s DIST
 came up here,

yi ga-sar le maan, yi'in una' maq na."
 2p 3s-notice or NEG you.pl also let.it.not.be⁴ eat
 did you see her or not, let it not be that you also ate her."'

- (13) "Maan, ni'in ga'an hala wa
 NEG 1p.e 3s others say
 "No, we here, people say

uy hara' uy bin,
 person without.father person without.mother
 we are poor orphans,

hala ni'in ma iman wan tag-an maan."
 others 1p.e come they be count-REAL NEG
 others, us, they did not count."'

- (14) *Jadi hala [pur bag kariman la]*
 so people corn seed small FOC
 'So small corn seeds

pin aria' ma ni-mian na,
hold arrive come 1pe-give eat
people gave us to eat,

i'in [i-xaf uwaad la] boqai dau-an na.
they.elsewhere 3p-fish big FOC cut.up cook-REAL eat
their big fish they cut [and] cooked and ate [it]'

Additional illustrations of object in focus positions are (15), (16), (17) and (18).

- (15) *Tei siis a wan pin-an pati,*
wood dry 3 be hold-REAL REAL
'Dry wood he holds,

pada hal rus ga-dexen.
in.fact(IND) deer 3-horn
[but] in fact [it's] deer's horns'

- (16) *Yaa aria', iman mis-an bali si,*
descend arrive they sit-REAL see SIM
'Having come down, they sat [and] saw

uy non waal i sar-an yaa aria-n.
person PL that.mentioned 3p notice-REAL descend arrive-REAL
those people, they noticed [them] coming down'

- (17) *Iman soxai-soxai wa ba'-an si,*
they RDP-dance go fall-REAL SIM
'They danced and danced till the end,

hala yer get masuk
others dance.place enter(IND)
others entered the dance place,

[bai qavif ga'an aga'] hala tutax.
pig goat 3s all others chop
all those pigs and goats were chopped [up] by others'

In (18), the object *nuk qai* 'just one' is fronted, and in addition it is marked with a prefix on the verb *fin* 'catch'.

- (18) *Iman goxo' ga-fin-an ga-x ba,*
 they want 3s-catch-REAL 3s-possession SEQ
 'They want to catch it,

iman iguagi yix-in,
 they spy.on go.down-REAL
 they go down slowly

ga-fin si nuk qai iman ga-fin,
 3s-catch SIM one only they 3s-catch
 to catch it, just one they catch,

ga-dan aga' bir.
 3s-part all run
 the others all run away'

The marked Object-Subject-Verb order is not found frequently in running texts, as given/known participants are often left unexpressed ('ellipsed') after they have been introduced. Therefore it is also possible to emphasize an object by simply expressing it as an overt constituent (leaving the subject unexpressed). The result is a transitive clause with an object constituent preceding the verb, and no overt subject. Objects can also get focus by making them the focus constituent with the marker *la*. This is discussed in section 11.3 below.

A second marked constituent order is the order where the object follows the verb (Subject-Verb-Object). This order is not regularly attested in texts either. It is found most typically in isolated utterances when a pronominal object gets contrastive focus. An illustration is (19). In (19a-b), the object is inanimate, in (19c-d), it is animate and encoded by a prefix (cf. Ch. 4). In both cases, contrastive focus is expressed by moving the pronoun to post-verbal position. It is not possible to emphasize object pronouns in (unmarked) preverbal position. This is shown in (19e). In contrast, when the object is lexical, it must precede the verb; lexical objects cannot occur post-verbally, as illustrated in (20).

- (19) a. *Na ga'an mar.*
 1s 3s take
 'I take/get it'
- b. *Na mar-an ga'an.*
 1s take-REAL 3s
 'I take/get it'

- c. *Na ga-mar.*
 1s 3s-take
 'I follow him'
- d. *Na ga-mar ga'an.*
 1s 3s-follow 3s
 'I follow him [not you]'
- e.* *Na ga'an ga-mar.*
 1s 3s 3s-take/follow

- (20)* *Na mar-an in u.*
 1s take-REAL it.thing DIST
 Not good for: 'I take that thing' (not this one)

Apart from moving the object to a marked position (preceding the subject or following the verb), an animate object can get contrastive focus by using a full pronoun instead of a pronominal prefix. This is illustrated by the contrast between (21a-b): the full pronoun is used to mark contrastive emphasis in (21b).

- (21) a. *Miaag yivar ga-sii.*
 yesterday dog 3s-bite
 'Yesterday a dog bit him'
- b. *Miaag yivar ga'an sii.*
 yesterday dog him bite
 'Yesterday a dog bit him [not me]'

Animate objects can also be focused by doubling the prefix with a (postverbal) pronoun. This is shown in (19d) and (22).

- (22) *Na ga-furan ga'an.*
 I 3s-turn 3s
 'I just turned him [around]'

However, object pronouns cannot double lexical NPs. Sentence (23) is ungrammatical because the NP *ha-bif* 'your child' is doubled by the object pronoun *ga'an*.

- (23) * *Xa'a ma ha-bif ga'an mai.*
 this.one come 2s-child 3s save
 Not good for: 'This I save for him, your child'

A third strategy to focus participants is to 'dislocate' them, by moving them to a position outside the clause. As conjunctions occur at clause boundaries (see Ch. 10, section 10.4), I assume that a constituent which is followed by a conjunction and a clause occurs in a position external to that clause — i.e. is a dislocated constituent. Example (24) illustrates an subject in dislocated position, and (25) contains a dislocated object: both are followed by a conjunction.⁵

- (24) *Ha'an si i-kiid-an terus!*
 you SIM 3p-cry-REAL continuously
 'You are crying for them all the time!'
- (25) *Xas ba nang na-n!*
 manure SEQ I⁶ eat-REAL
 'Shit [is what] I eat!'

In sum, subjects get contrastive focus by focal accent, and/or by expressing them with an (additional) long pronoun, and this strategy may also be used to emphasize animate objects. Otherwise, object focus is expressed by moving the object to the position preceding the subject (or, in case it is a pronoun, to a postverbal position), or by dislocating it to a position preceding the conjunction. Finally, both subjects and objects can be marked as focused constituent by the focus marker *la*. This strategy is discussed in the next section.

11.3. Focus expressions marked by *la* ‘Focus’

Teiwa focus expressions are marked with *la*. *La* follows the phrase it governs and typically marks new information focus. Teiwa focus expressions with *la* are grammatical constituents that are part of the clause. They are core arguments or adjuncts and can occur in various positions within the clause. In this section, the major syntactic and semantic properties of Teiwa foci with *la* will be discussed.

The sentences in (26) illustrate some basic features of Teiwa focus expressions. First, a clause or sentence does not need to have a grammatically marked focus: (26a) does not have one. This is because focus expressions are pragmatically rather than grammatically determined. Second, the semantic role of the focus constituent is variable: it may be an agent, as in (26b), or an addressee, as in (26c). In fact, focus expressions can have many other semantic roles, an overview is given below. Third, subjects are often marked as focus, but objects can also be focus expressions. When an object is marked as a focus, it does not need to move to a different clausal position in the clause, as shown in (26c), where the object focus remains in its original preverbal position. However, a focus object may optionally be moved to the position preceding the subject to get contrastive focus. This is illustrated in (31) below. (See also section 11.2 above.)

- (26) a. *Rai na-soi ga-kamadal ga-buxun tas.*
king 1s-order 3s-belt 3s-guard stand
‘The king ordered me to guard his belt’
- b. [*Rai la*] *na-soi ga-kamadal ga-buxun tas.*
king FOC 1s-order 3s-belt 3s-guard stand
‘The king ordered me to guard his belt’
- c. *Rai [na la] soi ga-kamadal ga-buxun tas*
king 1s FOC order 3s-belt 3s-guard stand
‘I was ordered by the king to guard his belt’

That Teiwa focus expressions can be clause-internal is also illustrated in (27), where the question word *taxaran* ‘how’ (see Ch. 8, section 8.2.4.7) is followed by the conjunction *ba* and the object focus NP ‘its peels’ follows the subject and the adverb *di* ‘only’. The clause ends with the verb *mian* ‘give’.

- (27) *Taxaran ba ha di [ga-kuwai la] ma na-mian?*
how SEQ 2s only 3s-peel FOC come 1s-give
‘Why do you only give me its peels?’

A focus constituent in Teiwa may of course consist of more than one word, but recall that Teiwa NPs are typically quite light (see Ch. 3, section 3.4; Ch. 5, section 5.5) so that multi-word foci are not frequently attested. In the first clause of (28), the focus expression is ‘small corn seeds’. This is the (transferred) object of ‘give’.⁷ In the second clause of (28), the focus expression is ‘their big fish’ — the (patient) object of ‘cut up and cook’.

- (28) *Jadi hala [pur bag kariman la]*
 so people corn seed small FOC
 ‘So small corn seeds

pin aria’ ma ni-mian na,
 hold arrive come 1pe-give eat
 people gave us to eat,

i’in [i-xaf uwaad la] boqai dau-an na.
 they.elsewhere 3p-fish big FOC cut.up cook-REAL eat
 their big fish they cut, cooked and ate [it]’

In interrogative sentences, the question words *yilag* ‘who’ and *amidan* ‘what’ are natural instances of focus, and therefore they are often marked as such with *la*. An illustration is (29), where *yilag* ‘who’ is the focus expression. More discussion and examples of question words in focus constructions can be found in Ch. 8, section 8.2.4. Example (29) also shows that focus constituents with question words do not need to occur in a special position (clause-external, or clause-initial): *yilag la* is a patient focus that is preceded by the agent subject *ha* ‘you’, as well as temporal adjunct *wad ge’ef* ‘earlier today’.

- (29) *Ha wad ge’ef [yilag la] ha g-u’an?*
 2s today just.now who FOC 2s 3s-cradle
 ‘You earlier today, who did you have in your arms?’

Observe also that the given information in (29) (*ha g-u’an* ‘you cradle him’) contains resumptive pronouns for both the subject and the object. This is an optional strategy. In (30), the focus expression is mentioned only once, with no resumptive pronoun in the given information *na galan* ‘I shot’.

- (30) *[...dei waal la] na gaal-an pin ma...*
 bird that.mentioned FOC 1s shoot-REAL hold come
 ‘...that bird I just shot I bring ...’

Focus expressions may have various kinds of semantic roles with respect to the predicate. They may be agents, (26b), patients, (30), addressees, (26c), transferred objects, (27) and (28) but also benefactives, (29), recipients, (31), and instruments, (32).

- (31) [*Bif* *u* *la*] *na-xala'* *yir* *ma* *ga-mian* *hufa'*.
 child DIST FOC 1s-mother water come 3s-give drink
 'That child my mother gave water to drink'
- (32) *Yi* [*amidan* *la*] *ma* *ga-uyan?*
 2p what FOC come 3s-search
 'With what are you searching?'

Focus constituents may also express locations, (33) and (34):

- (33) *Yi* [*amidan* *la*] *g-om* *ma* *ga-uyan?*
 2p what FOC 3s-inside come 3s-search
 'Where (lit. what) are you searching it in?'
- (34) [*War* *ma* *paq* *ga'an* *la*] *ga-hafan...*
 stone come sound.of.crushing.corn 3s FOC 3s-village
 '[At] the sound of stones crushing corn [is] his village...'

Focus expressions can also mark temporal settings, as in (35). In this example, the focus constituent consists of the two temporal adverbs *wad teran* 'today midnight', and is preceded by the subject *a* '3s' and the adverb *na* 'possibly'.

- (35) *Na* *riaq* *a* *na'* [*wad* *teran* *la*]
 1s fear 3s possibly today midnight FOC
 'I fear [that] tonight
- a* *min-an* *ga-x*.
 3s die-REAL 3s-possession
 he may die'

In the above examples, the focus marker structure is employed to mark participants or the temporal/spatial setting of the event as new information. It may also mark contrastive focus, as illustrated in (36)-(38).

- (36) [Na-fat la] *ari*'
 1s-foot FOC break
 '[Its] my leg [that is] broken' (i.e. not my hand)
- (37) [Uy la] *aria-n...*
 people FOC arrive-REAL
 'The people who arrived...' (i.e. not those who were here already)
- (38) "E... *qau na'an*,
 Excl good I
 'Ehm, well I, I'll [be the one who]
- [na'an la] *g-om ma tii' ha na'an wan de'*
 I FOC 3s-inside come sleep 2s I be burn
 lies inside [and] you burn me along [with it]'

Nominal possessors may also be marked as focus expressions. This is illustrated in (39). While in the previous examples the given information was a verbal predicate or a clause, (39) shows that it may also be a nominal entity.

- (39) [Ni'in la] *ni-motor ga'an*.
 we.excl FOC 1pe-motorbike 3s
 'That motorbike is ours' (Answer to: Whose motorbike is that?)

In (40a) and (41a), NPs with an adjectival attribute are illustrated. In (40b) and (41b), the noun is new information focus and the given information is adjectival. For comparison I also added the nominal constituents in (40c) and (41c), where the noun takes a attribute that is morphologically derived from an adjective (see Ch. 3, section 3.1.3; Ch. 5, section 5.3.2).

- (40) a. *Kri muding*.
 respected.old.man strong
 'A strong old man'
- b. [*Kri la*] *muding*.
 respected.old.man FOC strong
 'An old man that is strong'
- c. *Kri ga-muding*.
 respected.old.man 3s-strong
 'Of the old men the strong one'

- (41) a. *Mauqubar qa'an.*
 frog black
 'A black frog'
- b. [*Mauqubar la*] *qa'an.*
 frog FOC black
 'A frog that is black'
- c. *Mauqubar ga-qa'an.*
 frog black
 'Of the frogs the black one'

The focus expressions with *la* are often nominal, referring to participants of the event; or adverbial, referring to the temporal or locational setting of the event, as discussed above. However, *la* may also mark a verbal predicate as focus constituent, as in (42), or a serial verb construction, as in (43). In (42), the predicate-focus structure is the pragmatic new information about the topic-subject that is expressed by a demonstrative pronoun. In (43), the predicate-focus expression is followed by a locational expression.⁸

- (42) [*Gula' la*] *xu'u.*
 finish FOC that.one
 'The end' (Lit. 'Finished [is] that')
- (43) *Iman una' tup-an, [bir-an aria' la]*
 they also get.up-REAL run-REAL arrive FOC
 'They also got up, ran [to] arrive'
- maraqai Lau Uwaad Bir...*
 up L. U. B.
 upthere at *Lau Uwaad Bir...*'

In constructions where the focus is a nominal constituent, and is directly followed by a clause, *la* may seem to function as a relative clause marker. However, as we have seen in the previous discussion, the distribution of focus marker *la* is not at all identical to that of a relative clause marker. First, *la* does not only mark nominals: it also marks adverbial and verbal constituents. Second, the constituent that follows *la* does not need to be a clause, but may also be pronominal or locational expression, as illustrated in (42)-(43).

In some contexts, the focus marker *la* is developing into a conjunction that links (parts of) clauses to each other. A potential context for such a reanalysis

is when *la* is used to mark an event as clause focus, as in (43) above. Another example where *la* has a conjunction-like function is (44):

- (44) ...*a ta ma usan*
 3s TOP come lift
 ‘...he lifted [them] up
- silak-lak ma moxod-an la*
 hard come drop-REAL FOC
 dropped [them] down hard,
- wat iga’ un yia.*
 coconut many CONT put
 [so that] many coconuts spread about’

La can mark entire clauses as focus expressions when it occurs in combination with perception verbs such as *bali* ‘see’. In (45), the ‘canonical’ focus marking is illustrated, where the focus constituent is *or* ‘bee’, the grammatical object of *bali* ‘see’ and the subject of *ba’an yaa* ‘fall down’. In (46), however, *la* marks the preceding clause *a bali* as clause-focus structure, and now *la* functions as a clause-linking element.

- (45) ...*a bali si [or la] ba’an yaa.*
 3s see SIM bee FOC fall-REAL descend
 ‘...he sees bees falling down...’
- (46) [*...a bali la*] *xaf uwaad...*
 3s see FOC fish big
 ‘...he sees [that] it’s a big fish...’ / ‘...[what] he sees [is] a big fish...’

Finally, the corpus also contains instances where *la* occurs in clause-initial position, in which case it can no longer be analysed as a marker of a grammatical constituent, simply because it does not form a grammatical phrase with the constituent it governs. This is illustrated in (47), where *la* follows an intonational break, and occurs as first element in the next clause. In this context, it functions as a clause-initial coordinator. It now indicates a succession (causal or conditional) between the event expressed in the previous clause, and the one in the clause following it.

- (47) ...*Yir li’ ga’an*
 water red 3s
 ‘...red water

karena uy quaf ga'an u ga-wai,
 because(IND) person ancestor 3s DIST 3s-blood
 because of the blood of those ancestors,

la hala wa Yir li'.
 FOC/so.that people say water red
 so people call it Red Water'

In conclusion, the focus marker *la* marks a variety of constituents a foci: nominal constituents with various semantic roles, as well as verbs and serial verb constructions. *La* has developed a secondary function as a clause linker that marks a causal/conditional sequence of clauses.

11.4. The switch topic marker *ta* ‘Topic’

Topic entities are the ‘entities previously known to the hearer, which it is the function of the sentence to provide some further information about’ (Andrews 2007:149), or ‘the [conceptual or referential] frame within which the rest of the predication holds’ (cf. Li and Thompson 1976, cited in Payne 1997: 270). A topic expression is ‘the linguistic materials referring to the entities that the sentence is about’ (Andrews 2007:149).

When discourse evokes the same referents over and over again, this is referred to as topic continuity. Its converse, topic discontinuity, refers to the introduction of new referents (Payne 1997:344). In Teiwa, the particle *ta* functions to announce a new topic or to reintroduce one that was introduced previously but has not been mentioned for some clauses. Constituents with *ta* express a contrastive, non-presupposed topic, that is, they point to a discontinuity or shift of topic. In this respect, Teiwa topics resemble topicalization and left-dislocation constructions in languages like English, which also function to express contrastive, non-presupposed topics. In English, such topics are typically separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational break, and a topicalized constituent is expressed in the clause by a resumptive pronoun. In contrast to this, the topic expression in Teiwa is not separated intonationally from the clause, and is never referred to by a resumptive pronoun in the clause.

The topic marker *ta* marks nominal constituents and refers to nominal participants as well as verbal constituents, and thus it encodes both entities and events as non-presupposed, new topics.

The multi-clause sentences in (48) illustrate the function of topic constituents in Teiwa. In (48a), the person praying is also the one who gets better (that is, he prays for someone else in order to make himself better) and

no topic shift is marked. In (48b-c), however, the person prays for someone else to get better, and in this contexts, the topic marker is used to enforce an interpretation where the subjects of the two clauses have explicitly distinct referents.

- (48) a. *A uy i wan hamar*
 3s person FORTHC be pray
 ‘He prayed for this person

ma walas ba a bis
 come tell SEQ 3s healthy
 so he [himself] would get better’

- b. *A uy i wan hamar*
 3s person FORTHC be pray
 ‘He prayed for this person

ma walas ba a ta bis
 come tell SEQ 3s TOP healthy
 so he [this other person] would get better’

- c. *A uy i wan hamar*
 3s person FORTHC be pray
 ‘He prayed for this person

ma walas ba uy ta bis
 come tell SEQ person TOP healthy
 so this person would get better’

By marking a topic shift, *ta* thus functions to express discontinuity in the expected anaphoric relations of a sentence, and is functionally related to the phenomena of switch reference or different subject marking across clauses (cf. Lambrecht 1994:325).

In (49), *ta* signals that the referent of the second *yilag* ‘who’ is different from the first, as indicated by the subscripts. (Both question words are focus expressions marked with *la* ‘Focus’.)

- (49) *Yilag la bas ewar gi,*
 who FOC tomorrow return go
 ‘Who_j will return tomorrow,

yilag la tiraq si ta ewar gi?
 who FOC next.day SIM TOP return go
 who_k will return the day after?’

Apart from its topic shifting function, *ta* can mark an event as conditional for the next event: “Given event x *ta* event y”. In this respect, it seems to have a similar clause linking function as *la*. But unlike *la*, which typically operates in the clausal domain, *ta* is typically used in discourse structures that are larger than the clause.

Another difference between *la* and *ta* is that the function and frequency of *la* appears fairly stable across the various individual speakers in my corpus, while this is not at all the case for *ta*. For example, the narrator of the Frog Story uses *ta* about eight times more frequently than the narrator of the Baraqala clan story, and in most contexts where it is used in the Frog Story, *ta* does not mark a topic shift but rather appears to function as a clause-linking element (see also the discussion below; the Frog Story text is provided in the appendix). These individual variations in the use of *ta* may reflect a difference between the generations of speakers — the Frog Story was told by a speaker under 20, the Baraqala clan story was told by a person over 60 — but they may also be due to other factors. As the frequency and function of *ta* appear to be varied within and across the texts in my corpus, I have not been able to establish its exact function. My working hypothesis is the one explained above: that *ta* functions as topic announcing or topic shifting marker.

Grammatically, *ta* follows the constituent it marks. In most cases, *ta* marks pronouns as shifted topics, as in (50). Unlike what the English translation suggests, Teiwa topic constituent are not separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational break.

- (50) [*Na ta*] *ita’a ma in i mar-an?*
 1s TOP where come it.thing FORTHC take-REAL
 ‘As for me, where would I get this stuff from?’

Ta can also mark a lexical NP, as illustrated in (51a). (Here the use of *waal* ‘the one mentioned’ makes explicit that the jar is a known referent, see section 11.5 below). While in the typical case, *ta* marks subjects as shifted topics, in (51a) the new topic is a location (the jar).

- (51) a. [*Toples waal ta*] *g-o’on bu’.*
 jar that.mentioned TOP 3s-head stuck
 ‘As for the (mentioned) bottle, his head is stuck [in it].’

- b. *Yivar waal a xer-an*
 dog that.mentioned 3s yell-REAL
 That dog yells
- c. *a-manak ga'an he'en ma a xer-an pati,*
 3s-master 3s close come 3s yell-REAL REAL
 [and] moving closer to his master it is yelling
- d. *ta ga-manak una' g-om ga'-i' ba...*
 TOP 3s-master also 3s-inside 3s-sick SEQ
 so that his master feels pity'

As mentioned previously, *ta* also has a clause linking function. This is illustrated in (51d), where *ta* does not mark a topic expression but rather functions as a clause linking device. The interclausal function of the topic marker *ta* may be characterised as marking the discontinuity or asymmetry of events in discourse. It can be paraphrased as 'given the state of affairs x, y' (cf. De Vries 2006: 815). The events marked by *ta* are often activities or states, but they can also be locational or temporal expressions. In (51c), the marker *ta* indicates that the preceding event (i.e., the dog's yelling close to his master) is the 'setting' for the following event (i.e., its master feeling pity). The causal or conditional nature of the relation between the two events in (51c) is contextually inferred. In fact, the semantic relation between a clause preceding *ta* and one following it may be quite variable, as the example in (52) shows. Here the events connected by *ta* (i.e. the boy lifting up his shoe very high and the boy yelling) are happening simultaneously:

- (52) *...a a-sepatu qaas uas-an*
 3s 3s-shoe(IND) split lift-REAL
 '...he lifts up the side of his shoe

ga-luxun-luxun ta a xer-an pati.
 3s-RDP-high TOP 3s yell-REAL PROG
 very high while he is yelling.'

In other words, in (51c) as well as in (52), the event preceding *ta* is presented as the 'setting' of the event following it, but the semantic relation may be variable: in (51c) there is a causal relation, in (52) there is a relation of simultaneousness.⁹

If considered in certain isolated sentences out of context, a clause with a topic expression can get a particular aspectual reading which contrasts with the interpretation of the clause without a topic expression. This is illustrated

by the out-of-context sentence pairs in (53). In contrast to (53a), consultants gave (53b) a present tense or inceptive reading. Similar contrastive readings were provided for (54) and (55). I analyse this as an effect of the topic introducing / shifting function of *ta*.

- (53) a. *Mauluku ma*
 monkey come
 ‘Monkey

wat wa’ g-om ma yiri tii’.
 coconut leaf 3s-inside come crawl lie.down
 has crawled into the coconut leaves and sleeps [there]’
- b. *Mauluku ta*
 monkey TOP
 ‘Monkey

ma wat wa’ g-om ma yiri tii’.
 come coconut leaf 3s-inside come crawl lie.down
 [starts to] crawl into the coconut leaves to sleep [there][just now]’
- (54) a. *Qavif bir-an gi.*
 goat run-REAL go
 ‘Goat runs away/Goat has run away’
- b. *Qavif ta bir-an gi.*
 goat TOP run-REAL go
 ‘Goat starts to run away’
- (55) a. *Or non ewar*
 bee PL return
 ‘Many bees return/have returned’
- b. *Or non ta ewar*
 bee PL TOP return
 ‘Many bees start to return’

In (56), both sentences contain topic expressions with *ta*, but the marker is used for different constituents, which yields a different interpretation. In (56a), ‘going’ is the non-presupposed topic, and therefore ‘he’ has not yet arrived at the hole. In (56b), the pronoun *ga’an* ‘he’ is marked as the non-presupposed

topic, and as this is the agent looking inside the hole, it is implied that he has already arrived at the hole now.

- (56) a. *Gi ta banaq g-om ga'an bali si...*
 go TOP puddle 3s-inside 3s see SIM
 '[He] goes to look inside the puddle...' (he is not yet there)
- b. *Gi banaq g-om ga'an ta bali si...*
 go puddle 3s-inside 3s TOP see SIM
 '[He] goes and looks inside the puddle ...' (he is there now)

In sum, expressions marked by *ta* are discontinuous, non-presupposed topics. Unlike *la*, which typically operates in the clausal domain, *ta* is often used in narrative structures larger than the clause. The function and frequency of *ta* varies much across speakers. Some speakers use *ta* in almost every sentence, and then its topic marking function is less clear than with speakers who use it occasionally.

Both the focus expression with *la*, and the topic expression with *ta* may occur in a single sentence. If this is the case, then *ta* marks a topic shift, and *la* marks the clause focus, as illustrated in (49) above and (57) below. (57) contains one topic expression and two focus constituents:

- (57) *Ni ta pi xal yaa la gi wan xara' la xa'a.*
 1pe TOP go rain descend FOC go be now FOC this
 '[When] we went rain started coming down till now'

Many aspects of the functions of *ta* and *la* and how they interact are still unclear, and must remain a topic for further research.

11.5. Other elements with a discourse function

The word *waal* 'the one mentioned previously, that one mentioned' has a demonstrative function (Ch. 3, section 3.6.1). It marks referents that are known to both speaker and hearer, and in texts it refers to participants that have been introduced before. The utterances in (58)-(59) illustrate its use.

- (58) a. [*Toples waal ta*] *g-o'on bu'.*
 jar that.mentioned TOP 3s-head stuck
 'As for the (mentioned) bottle, his head is stuck [in it].'

- b. *Yivar waal a xer-an*
 dog that.mentioned 3s yell-REAL
 The dog yells
- c. *a-manak ga'an he'en ma a xer-an pati,*
 3s-master 3s close come 3s yell-REAL REAL
 [and] moving closer to his master it is yelling
- d. *ta ga-manak una' g-om ga'-i' ba...*
 TOP 3s-master also 3s-inside 3s-sick SEQ
 so that his master feels pity...'

(59) *yivar waal a de'er ba'-an*
 dog that.mentioned 3s jump fall-REAL
 'that dog jumps down,

a de'er ba'-an gula'
 3s jump fall-REAL finish
 he jumps down,

ta ga-fat i husaq ba
 TOP 3s-feet 3p open SEQ
 his feet wide,

ta ba'-an suk...
 TOP fall-REAL exit.come.down
 falls down...'

Another marker with a discourse function is the demonstrative *i* 'Forthcoming topic'. This item refers to forthcoming or future topics. It encodes that a particular referent will become the topic of the following clause(s). (See also chapter 3, section 3.6.1). It is illustrated in (60), where *yir* 'water' is marked as the forthcoming topic.

(60) *Ba iman ta*
 SEQ they TOP
 'So they

yir i la ma trus-an,
 water FORTHC FOC come investigate-REAL
 were looking for water,

“*ga’an pi ta ita’a ga-yir la...*
 3s 1pi TOP where 3s-water FOC
 “where do we [find] water,

nuk ga-sar-an si pi ta bisa hufa’.”
 one 3s-notice-REAL SIM 1pi TOP can(IND) drink
 find one [well/water hole] so we can drink.”

Another illustration is (61), where the pronoun *ga’an* ‘3s’ is marked as the future topic.

- (61) *Qau ba iman mis-an omai,*
 good SEQ they sit-REAL plan
 ‘So they sat (down) to plan:

ga’an i pi er-an taxaran.
 3s FORTHC 1pi do-REAL how
 ‘How shall we do this?’ (lit. ‘This we do how?’)

The use of *waal* and *i* in discourse must also remain a topic for further study.

11.6. Summary and conclusions

Teiwa new discourse participants are introduced as indefinite NPs, with their own separate predicate. After being introduced, discourse participants have a given/known status and can be tracked by (short) pronouns, or they may be left unexpressed, resulting in zero anaphora across clauses. Teiwa subjects get contrastive focus or emphasis by expressing them with an (additional) long pronoun. This strategy may also be used to focus objects that are animate. Otherwise, objects are focused by moving them to a position preceding the subject, or, in case it the object is pronominal, following the verb. Objects can also be dislocated to a position preceding the conjunction. Subjects as well as objects may be marked as focused constituents with the focus marker *la*. The marker *la* marks various constituents a foci, including nominal constituents, verbs and serial verb constructions. *La* typically operates in the clausal domain but has also developed a secondary function as a clause linker that marks a

causal/conditional sequence of clauses. The marker *ta* introduces new, non-presupposed topics. It also has a clause-linking function. The demonstrative *waal* 'that one mentioned' marks referents known to both speaker and hearer, and in texts it refers to participants that have been introduced before. The demonstrative *i* marks forthcoming or future topics.

Appendix I

Texts

0. Introduction

The texts below follow the orthographic conventions explained in Chapter 2, section 2.6. The following transcription conventions have been applied. Complete utterances are numbered separately. They end in a falling contour and a pause, which is indicated with a number sign (#). Intonational phrases are indicated by a slash /. An intonational phrase is separated from the following phrase by level or rising intonation which signals that there is more to come, and/or a pause. Most orthographic lines represent a separate intonational phrase; sometimes the phrase continues on the next line for lack of space. Hesitation pauses are indicated by +.

1. Frog Story

The Frog Story was elicited with the picture book ‘Frog where are you’, by Mercer Meyer (Puffin Books, 1969). Speaker: Lorens Titing (m, born 1981). The recording was made on 23 June 2003, in Kalabahi, Alor island.

- (1) *Cerita mauqubar #*
story frog
Frog story.

- (2) *Ga-ta'a tur qa'an nuk pas wur bogan #*
3s-which former black one be.exact moon moon.sickle
Formerly, one nigh [when] there was a moon sickle,

bif g-oqai nuk / mauqubar ga-fin-an gula' pin aria' ma /
child 3s-child one frog 3s-catch-REAL finish hold arrive come
a small child caught a frog, brought it home and

toples g-om ma ga-rian #
jar(IND) 3s-inside come 3s-take.care.of.sb
kept it in a jar.

- (3) *Ma toples g-om mian gula' /*
come jar(IND) 3s-inside put.at finish
After putting [it] in a jar,

mis-an ga-buxun-buxun / geg-an maan si gayivar una' ma /
 sit-REAL 3s-RDP-guard short.time-REAL NEG SIM 3s-dog also come
 [he] sits down to guard it and shortly his dog also comes

toples g-om ma palan #
 jar(IND) 3s-inside come inspect
 looks inside the jar.

- (4) *Iman ta mis-an ga-buxun ta g-et qud /*
 they TOP sit-REAL 3s-guard TOP 3s-eye be.sleepy
 They sit watching till their eyes become sleepy,

bif waal ta mit tii' /
 child that.mentioned TOP ascend sleep
 shortly the dog also climbs up to sleep,

a mit tii'in si ga-yivar una' ta mit /
 3s ascend sleep-REAL SIM 3s-dog also TOP ascend
 the child climbs [on the bed] to sleep and his dog also climbs up,

iqap ta'an he'en ma tii' #
 3 & they DISTR close come sleep
 they sleep close to each other.

- (5) *Tii'-in tii'-in, ta mauqubar ga'an a bali si /*
 RDP-sleep-REAL TOP frog 3s 3s see SIM
 [They] sleep and sleep, and the frog sees

hala ga'an wan jag maan #
 others 3s be guard(IND) NEG
 [that] no-one is guarding [him].

- (6) *Ba a ta tup-an a de'er ba'-an gi #*
 SEQ 3s TOP get.up-REAL 3s jump fall-REAL go
 So he gets up, jumps down and goes.

- (7) *Bif waal tii'in-tii'-in ta /*
 child that.mentioned RDP-sleep-REAL TOP
 The child sleeps and sleeps,

hareqan tup bali si / mauqubar waal ada maan #
 be.startled get.up see SIM frog that.mentioned be(IND) NEG
 startled [he] wakes up and sees [that] the frog is not there.

- (8) *A tii'-in bali si toples waal hasak tau #*
 3s lie.down-REAL see SIM jar(IND) that.mentioned empty PRF
 He lies down [and] sees that the jar is empty.

Qau ba a de'er ba'an gula' /
 good SEQ 3s jump fall-REAL finish
 So he jumps down,

toples a bali si hasak tau / qau ba /
 jar(IND) 3s see SIM empty PRF good SEQ
 sees that the jar is empty so

a a-sepatu qaas uas-an / ga-luxun-luxun ta a xer-an pati #
 3s 3s-shoe(IND) side lift-REAL 3s-RDP-high TOP 3s yell-REAL PROG
 he lifts up the side of his shoe very high while he is yelling.

- (9) *Wan si ga-yivar una' /*
 be SIM 3s-dog also
 Then his dog also

a de'er ba'-an suk-an gula' o'on ma /
 3s jump fall-REAL exit.come.down-REAL finish head come
 jumps down and [its] head

toples g-om ma yarun /
 jar(IND) 3s-inside come shove
 [he] shoves in the jar,

o'on ma toples g-om me'-en ba #
 head come jar(IND) 3s-inside be.(in)-REAL SEQ
 his head in the jar.

- (10) *Toples waal ta g-o'on bu' #*
 jar(IND) that.mentioned TOP 3s-head stuck
 That jar, his head is stuck [in it].

- (11) *Yivar waal a xer-an /*
 dog that.mentioned 3s yell-REAL
 The dog yells,

a-manak ga'an he'en ma a xer-an pati /
 3s-master 3s close come 3s yell-REAL PROG
 moving closer to his master it is yelling

ta ga-manak una' g-om ga'-i' ba +
 TOP 3s-master also 3s-inside 3s-sick SEQ
 so that his master also feels pity,...

- (12) *yivar waal a de'er ba'-an / a de'er ba'-an gula' /*
 dog that.mentioned 3s jump fall-REAL 3s jump fall-REAL finish
 that dog jumps down, jumps down,

ta ga-fat i husaq ba /
 TOP 3s-foot 3p open SEQ
 his feet wide,

ta ba'-an suk /
 TOP fall-REAL exit.come.down
 falls down,

ta ba'-an suk-an yaa moxo' g-om ma yia #
 TOP fall-REAL exit.come.down-REAL descend earth 3s-inside come put.at
 falls down on the ground.

- (13) *Ga-manak waal ta yaa yivar bali si /*
 3s-master that.mentioned TOP descend dog see SIM
 His master goes down and sees [the] dog

toples waal aga' dekal gula' /
 jar(IND) that.mentioned all split finish
 [and] that jar broken,

dekal musaq-musaq #
 split RDP-shattered
 broken and shattered.

- (14) *Yivar manak waal / yaa a-yivar g-u'an-an gula' /*
 dog master that.mentioned descend 3s-dog 3s-cradle-REAL finish
 The dog's master goes down cradles his dog

bali si ga-yivar g-et bag di blax-blax ta /
 see SIM 3s-dog 3s-eye seed only RDP-stare.up TOP
 sees that its eyes are just staring up and

ga-livi una' tian-tian-an un hor #
 3s-tongue also RDP-long-REAL CONT hang
 its tongue is also hanging long [out of its mouth].

- (15) *Yivar manak a wa / "Seh, na-yivar quun min-an tau, e" #*
 dog master 3s say Excl 1s-dog sure die-REAL PRF hey
 The dog's master says: "Oh my, maybe my dog is already dead, hey."
- (16) *A ma-n gula' a-yivar g-u'an-an tas-an /*
 3scome-REAL finish 3s-dog 3s-cradle-REAL stand-REAL
 He comes, stands cradling his dog
- kiidan-kiid-an gula' / iman ta gi #*
 RDP-cry-REAL finish they TOP go
 crying and crying then they go.
- (17) *Gi ta + banaq g-om ga'an bali si /*
 go TOP puddle 3s-inside 3s see SIM
 Go... inside the puddle he sees,
- inuk ga'an qa'an-qa'an-an / banaq g-om me' tii' #*
 something 3s RDP-black-REAL puddle 3s-inside be.(in) lie.down
 something black, lying inside the puddle.
- (18) *Yivar iqap a-manak wa bali si /*
 dog 3s&they 3s-master go see SIM
 The dog and its master go watch,
- katak ga'an + eh + mauqubar la banaq g-om ma tii' #*
 frog(IND) 3s eh frog TOP puddle 3s-inside come sleep
 the frogs are lying inside the puddle.
- (19) *A bali si / inuk ga'an pug-pug-an tei luxun ma hor #*
 3s see SIM something 3s RDP-circular-REAL tree high come hang
 He sees something round hanging up in a tree.
- (20) *Yivar ga'an ta mit +*
 dog 3s TOP ascend
 the dog [jumps] up against [it]...
- Yivar ga'an ta + i goxo'-goxo' /*
 dog 3s TOP it.place RDP-bark
 the dog barks at it
- yivar manak ga'an ta wa / banaq g-om ma /*
 dog master 3s TOP go puddle 3s-inside come
 the dog's master goes to the puddle

katak u bali /
 frog(IND) DIST see
 sees those frogs

katak waal ta daa g-et bag ma sii #
 frog(IND) that.mentioned TOP ascend 3s-eye seed come bite
 that frog jumps and bites his eyes.

- (21) *G-et bag ma sii ma ta +*
 3s-eye seed come bite come TOP
 Bites his eyes...

g-et bag ma sii /
 3s-eye seed come bite
 bites his eyes

ba ata g-et bag ta pin-an kiid-an pati /
 SEQ and 3s-eye seed TOP hold-REAL cry-REAL PROG
 so he grabs his eyes crying,

ga-yivar ga'an un /
 3s-dog 3s CONT
 while his dog

tei luxun goxo' pati #
 tree high bark PROG
 is barking up the tree.

- (22) *Tapi ga-manak ga'an kiid-an terus #*
 but(IND) 3s-master 3s cry-REAL continuously(IND)
 But his master goes on crying.

Kiidan-kiid-an ta / ga-yivar a'an tei luxun goxo' /
 RDP-cry-REAL TOP 3s-dog 3s tree high bark
 Crying while his dog is barking up the tree...

- (23) *ta inuk ga-tei luxun ma hor-an ga'an /*
 TOP something 3s-tree high come hang-REAL 3s
 something hanging from the tree

ba'-an yaa bali si /
 fall-REAL descend see SIM
 is coming down [he] sees

or la ba'-an yaa #
 bee TOP fall-REAL descend
 bees that are coming down.

- (24) *Yaa-n ta or waal ta or ga'an sii-n ba /*
 descend-REAL TOP bee that.mentioned TOP bee 3s bite-REAL SEQ
 Coming down those bees bite him and

katak una' ta bir-an gi /
 frog(IND) also TOP run-REAL go
 the frog also runs away,

bif waal ta bir-an / yes uwaad nuk luxun ma mis #
 child that.mentioned TOP run-REAL banyan.tree big one high come sit
 that child runs [and] gets to sit high in a big banyan tree.

- (25) *Yes luxun ma misan-mis-an /*
 banyan.tree high come RDP-sit-REAL
 High in the banyan tree he sits

ana' maan si ki uwaad nuk yaa / bif ga'an tu'uk #
 long.time NEG SIM eagle big one descend child 3s knock
 not long [after that] a big eagle comes down and picks the child.

- (26) *Bif waal ta ba'-an yaa /*
 child that.mentioned TOP fall-REAL descend
 That child falls down,

yes her ma un tii' /
 banyan.tree base come CONT lie.down
 lies down under the banyan tree,

ta ga-yivar una' ta bir-an gi #
 TOP 3s-dog also TOP run-REAL go
 its dog also runs away.

- (27) *Bir-an gi + gi gi gi /*
 run-REAL go go go go
 Go running... go go go

tapi or ga'an iman ga-tiar-an terus #
 but(IND) bee 3s they 3s-chase-REAL continuously(IND)
 but the bees keep chasing them.

- (28) *Gi gi gi ta bif waal /*
 go go go TOP child that.mentioned
 Go go go that child

gi war uwaad nuk ga-he'en / ga-luxun ma tas #
 go stone big one 3s-close 3s-high come stand
 goes stands close to on top of a big rock.

- (29) *Ga-luxun ma tas-an / ki una' ga-tiar-an terus #*
 3s-high come stand-REAL eagle also 3s-chase-REAL continuously(IND)
 Stands on top of it, the eagle keeps chasing him.

- (30) *Ki una' ga-tiar-an gi /*
 eagle also 3s-chase-REAL go
 The eagle is chasing him,

rus ga-dexen / un daa tas-an ga'an a wan pin #
 deer 3s-horns CONT ascend stand-REAL 3s 3s be hold
 deer horns are sticking up, he holds on to them.

A wan pin a wa / tei siis ba a wan pin to #
 3s be hold 3s say tree dry SEQ 3s be hold EXCL
 He holds on to [them] he thinks [it is] dry wood so he holds on to [them], hey.

- (31) *A wan pin-an tas a xer-an pati /*
 3s be hold-REAL stand 3s yell-REAL PROG
 He stands holding on to [them] while he is yelling,

tapi ki ga'an un ga-yivar / yip un war he'en ma tii' #
 but(IND) eagle 3s CONT 3s-dog also CONT stone close come lie.down
 but that eagle... his dog is also lying close to the rock.

- (32) *Tei siis a wan pin-an pati / pada hal rus ga-dexen #*
 tree dry 3s be hold-REAL PROG in.fact(BI) deer 3s-horn
 He holds the dry wood, but in fact it's the deer's horns.

Rus ga-dexen wan pin-an / a xer-an pati si +
 deer 3s-horn be hold-REAL 3s yell-REAL PROG SIM
 He hold the horns yelling...

- (33) *Rus waal a de'er daa / bif waal ta /*
 deer that.mentioned 3s jump ascend child that.mentioned TOP
 That deer jumps up, the child

rus g-o'on kul ta tii'-in /
 deer 3s-head deep TOP lie.down-REAL
 is lying on the deer's head,

g-o'on kul ta tii'-in ba /
 3s-head deep TOP lie.down-REAL SEQ
 lying on its head then

rus waal ga'an pin bir-an gi gi /
 deer that.mentioned 3s hold run-REAL go go
 the deer runs away taking him along

ta ga-yivar una' ta tup-an / rus ga-tiar-an pati #
 TOP 3s-dog also TOP get.up-REAL deer 3s-chase-REAL PROG
 and his dog also gets up chasing the deer.

- (34) *Ta rus waal bif un ga-bir-an gi ma /*
 TOP deer that.mentioned child CONT 3s-run-REAL go come
 So that deer takes the child to

saf nuk wan moxod #
 river.bank one be drop
 a river bank and drops it.

- (35) *Ta ba'-an suk ga-yivar una' ta /*
 TOP fall-REAL exit.come.down 3s-dog also TOP
 He falls and his dog

ga-mar ba'-an suk #
 3s-follow fall-REAL exit.come.down
 also falls into it.

- (36) *Suk-an ba ba'-an yaa saf her ma yaa /*
 exit.come.down-REAL SEQ fall-REAL descend river.bank base come descend
 Fall down from the river bank,

rus waal ta bir-an gi #
 deer that.mentioned TOP run-REAL go
 that deer runs away.

- (37) *Bir-an gi + iman ba'-an yix ta +*
 run-REAL go they fall-REAL descend TOP
 Runs away... they fall down...

banaq g-om nuk ma tii' #
 puddle 3s-inside one come lie.down
 lie in the puddle.

- (38) *Banaq g-om ma tii' /*
 puddle 3s-inside come lie.down
 Lie in the puddle,

ga-yivar una' ta tup-an / a-manak ga-dia' luxun ta mis #
 3s-dog also TOP get.up-REAL 3s-master 3s-shoulder high TOP sit
 his dog also gets up, sits on his master's shoulder.

- (39) *Iman yed banaq g-om / ma mis iman uri wa bali si /*
 they PRSP puddle 3s-inside come sit they look go see SIM
 They are still sitting inside the puddle they look forward and see

tei baq nuk la un baq yaa / iman bali si /
 tree body one TOP CONT body descend they see SIM
 one tree trunk, [they] come down see the hole:

- (40) *"Amidan la qa'an-qa'an-an / una' qai tei baq ta yias afo" #*
 what TOP RDP-black-REAL also only tree body TOP put over.there
 "What is that black thing put on the treetrunk overthere."

- (41) *Iman wa bali si +*
 they go see SIM
 They go looking...

iman wa bali si +
 they go see SIM
 they go looking...

wan pin-an wa / yivar manak a wa /
 be hold-REAL go dog master 3s say
 go [close] [to] touch [it], the dog's master says,

a-yivar ga-walas a wa "ha siga' ga'an" /
 3s-dog 3s-tell 3s say 2s be.quiet 3s
 tells his dog: "You be quiet",

iman kal-kal-an wa ma palan bali si /
 they RDP-slow-REAL go come inspect see SIM
 they slowly come to inspect, then...

tei baq wrer-an mit si,
 tree body climb-REAL ascend SIM
 climb on the tree trunk,

katak eh + mauqubar la yaqai in tona' mis-an #
 frog(IND) eh frog TOP down.below it.thing gather sit-REAL
 frogs are down below sitting [huddled] together.

- (42) *Qau ba yivar iraxau a-manak / kal-kal-an yix-in gula' /*
 good SEQ dog 3.DU 3s-master RDP-slow-REAL descend-REAL finish
 So the dog and his master, slowly go down,

bali si katak / g-oqai non aga' iga' un mis-an piling #
 see SIM frog(IND) 3s-child PL all many CONT sit-REAL line.up
 see a lot of little frogs sitting lined up.

- (43) *Iman xogo' ga-fin-an g-ax ba /*
 they want 3s-catch-REAL 3s-possession SEQ
 They want to catch it,

iman g-uagi yix-in / ga-fin si /
 they 3s-creep.up.on.so descend-REAL 3s-catch SIM
 they creep up on it catch it,

nuk qai iman ga-fin / ga-dan aga' bir #
 one only they 3s-catch 3s-part all run
 only one they catch, the others all run away.

- (44) *Iman mauqubar g-oqai nuk / ga-finan gula' ta bir-an pin gi /*
 they frog 3s-child one 3s-catch-REAL finish TOP run-REAL hold go
 They catch one little frog and run away with it,

ga-dan ga'an non ta / mis-an ga'an bali pati #
 3s-part 3s PL TOP sit-REAL 3s see PROG
 the others sit watching.

- (45) *Iman ga-finan gula' iman ta a wa /*
 they 3s-catch-REAL finish they TOP 3s say
 After they caught it they said:

"yi ta mis e ni'in ta gi laxa'a" #
 2p TOP sit Excl 1pi TOP go this.one.here
 "You stay hey, and we go".

- (46) *Qau ba iman ta / mauqubar g-oqai pin bir-an gi /*
 good SEQ they TOP frog 3s-child hold run-REAL go
 So they hold the little frog and go,

ga-dan ga'an ta / mis-an iman ga'an bali pati #
 3s-part 3s TOP sit-REAL they 3s see PROG
 the others sit watching them.

- (47) *Sampai i xa'a me' ta cerita ga'an ta abis #*
 until(IND) it.place this.one be.(in) TOP story(IND) 3s TOP finished(IND)
 Until here, the story is finished.

2. “The Baraqala Clan”

Speaker: Paulus Kai (68). The recording was made on 4 July, 2003, in Madar, Pantar.

- (1) *Tur maraqai Pal siis her wan /*
 former up k.o.tree(maleleuca) dry tree be
 Formerly, up there close to the dry Pal tree,

saf tas-an ga'an u / i xu'u ga'an tur hauan bir. #
 river.bank stand-REAL 3s DIST it.place that 3s former flat.place flat
 where there is a riverbank, that place used to be flat.

- (2) *Hauan bir /*
 flat.place flat
 At that flat place,

Baraqala non ga-tur waal i xu'u ma hafan parat. #
 clan.name PL 3s-former that.mentioned it.place that.one come village to.tie
 the ancestors of the Baraqala's build a village.

- (3) *Iman yix-ei yaqai / yir g-or an ma gi. #*
 they descend-REAL down.below water 3s-tail market come go
 They went down to the market at the mouth of the river.

- (4) *Jadi iman i xu'u ma hafan parat*
 so they it.place that come village to.tie
 So they build a village

iman yir g-or an ma gi... /
 they water 3s-tail market come go
 they went to the market at the mouth of the river.

Bes qai iman mulai an ma gi
 morning just they begin(IND) market come go
 Early morning they went to the market,

yix-in yaqai i xer-an wa yix ta gi. /
 descend-REAL down.below 3p shout-REAL go descend TOP go
 while going down (the hill) they were yelling.

- (5) *Yix-in gi-n bo'oi ma yix-ei si #*
 descend-REAL go-REAL river come descend-REAL SIM
 Going down to the river, descending,

uy iman gi-fai-an: #
 person they 3p-swear.at-REAL
 someone insulted them:

- (6) *"Ha-fi bun" # ma hari ma a xer-an yix ta gi. #*
 2s-penis one.piece come k.o.garden come 3s shout-REAL descend TOP go
 "You piece of prick!", they came at the garden, he shouted while [they were]
 going down.

- (7) *Yix-ei ana' maan an ewar daa, /*
 descend-REAL long.time Neg market return ascend
 [They] hadn't been down at the market long, they went back up,

iman daa-n una' + i xer-an daa aria'. #
 they ascend-REAL also 3p shout-REAL ascend arrive
 they went up, shouting while coming up.

- (8) *Iman daa aria' si, / daa esan u me' si, /*
 they ascend arrive SIM ascend place DIST be.(in)SIM
 Arriving up there at that same place,

uy iman gi-faian. #
 person they 3p-swear.at-REAL
 someone was insulting them.

- (9) *A xoran iman tag-an gi ma yerig, / ga-ma-yerig ga'an u, #*
 3s thus they count-REAL 3p come three 3s-come-three 3s DIST
 Thus it happened three times (lit. they counted come third), by the third time,

- (10) *bes qai ga'an u uy nuk gi / a o'on-an mis. #*
 morning only 3s DIST person one go 3s hide-REAL sit
 that early morning one person went over there and hid himself.

- (11) *Sampai + waktu hala her, /*
 till(IND) time(IND) others climb.up
 Till the time that others came up,

hala igan batar na igan soxai /
 others harvest.feast corn eat harvest.feast trad.dance
 when they had their corn harvest feast the harvest feast with dancing

bas xoran. /
 tomorrow thus
 would be the next day.

Iman ta + uy nuk ga-soi a o'on-an / in u ta guagi.#
 they TOP person one 3s-order 3s hide-REAL it.thing DIST TOP watch
 They send one person to lay in ambush and watch out [for the person who was shouting the insults].

- (12) *Qau iman + ta yix-ei i xer-an yix-ei / gi si, /*
 good they TOP descend-REAL 3p shout-REAL descend-REAL go SIM
 So they went down shouting, going down...

xaf uwaad mulai daa, /
 fish big begin(IND) ascend
 a big fish came

tiri a mulai uy a xer-an
 float 3s begin(IND) person 3s shout-REAL
 floating up it began yelling [and]

non ga-fai-an "ha-fi bun!" /
 PL 3s-swear.at-REAL 2s-penis one.piece
 swearing at them "you piece of prick!"

Ewar o'on adiman suk-an gi. #
 return head sink exit.come.down-REAL go
 Then its head went under again.

- (13) *Iman ga yix-ei gi-n ga'an /*
 they take.along descend-REAL go-REAL 3s
 They went down like that

ta gi an me' ewar daa si, /
 TOP go market be.(in) return ascend SIM
 to go to the market and returned climbing up,

daa i xer-an si in u a ta mulai daa, #
 ascend 3p shout-REAL SIM it.thing DIST 3s TOP begin(IND) come.up
 ascended shouting and that thing [the fish] came up

ata iman ga-x ga-bun +
 once.again they 3s-possession 3s-answer
 once again it answered them

iman ga-fai-an "ha-fi bun, ha-fi bun" si hala #
 they 3s-swear.at-REAL 2s-penis one.piece 2s-penis one.piece SIM others
 insulting them "You piece of prick, you piece of prick" while others

qafulat xoran tewar si, /
 k.o.arrow thus walk SIM
 [they] shot it [lit. thus an arrow walked],

qafulat ga wa suk-an yix ta gi laxu'u. #
 k.o.arrow take.along go exit.come.down-REAL descend TOP go that.one
 that arrow went down with it.

- (14) *Gi gi ana' maan si, / qafulat ga daa tiri, #*
 go go long.time NEG SIM k.o.arrow take.along ascend float
 Going down not for very long, [it] floats up with the arrow,

- (15) *Iman mulai + i xaf uwaad parat gula', #*
 they begin(IND) 3p fish big to.tie finish
 they start tying the big fish,

gau ba tiwan aria'. #
 good SEQ carry.with.two.people arrive
 then carry it home between them.

- (16) *Tiwan aria' hafan me', #*
 carry.with.two.people arrive village be.(in)
 Carrying it between them they arrive in the village,

yaf her ga-xap-an mulai batar +
 house base 3s-compensate-REAL begin(IND) corn
 each house starts cutting

su'an ma tona' pin aria', #
 cut.off come gather hold arrive
 and gathering corn,

iman mulai / wan ma tona' tap-an numi, /
 they begin(IND) be come gather pound-REAL sift
 they start to gather, pound and sift [it],

tap-an numi / tafag-an dau-an /
 pound-REAL sift wrap.up-REAL cook-REAL
 wrap it up, cook it,

iman mulai wan tona' soxai. #
 they begin(IND) be gather trad.dance
 they begin to gather for dancing.

- (17) *I xaf uwaad boqai iin ga-sas soxai, /*
 3p fish big cut.up they(elsewhere) 3s-feed trad.dance
 They cut the big fish, fed themselves and danced,

soxai-soxai teran masaman, /
 RDP-trad.dance middle.of.night half
 danced and danced till the middle of the night,

mus mulai wut ma liar sar-an aria'. #
 torch begin(IND) forest come light notice-REAL arrive
 then they noticed shining torches approaching from the forest.

- (18) *Mus iyei wan tub her wan tub sar-an aria'. /*
 torch tip light.fire tree light.fire notice-REAL arrive
 Burning torches burning tree stems they arrived.

Iman mus liar ga-arar
 they torch light 3s- be.scared
 They were scared of the torchlights

bir-an sar-an yaf g-om ma gi. #
 run-REAL notice-REAL house 3s-inside come go
 ran into their houses.

- (19) *Yix-ei mis-an hala sar-an aria'*
 descend-REAL sit-REAL others notice-REAL arrive
 The arrivals sat down and (called)

"Nian na-rat non oh!" #
 1s-brother 1s-grandchild PL oh
 "Hey brothers, grandchildren!"

"Ni'in la aria-n ba / sar-an suk pi soxai." #
 we(excl) FOC arrive-REAL SEQ notice-REAL exit.come.down 1pi trad.dance
 "It's us who arrived, so come down and let's dance."

- (20) Suk-an maan #
 exit.come.down-REAL NEG
 They didn't come out,

kri u pak-an pak-an suk-an maan /
 Mr DIST call-REAL call-REAL exit.come.down - REAL NEG
 that grandfather called and called but no-one came out,

qau ba wa gi hafan sarar. /
 good SEQ go go village edge
 so he went away to the village's edge.

- (21) Biar haraq ga'an + un tii' /
 children two 3s CONT sleep
 Two children were sleeping,

un tii' qau ba a iman ga-regan: /
 CONT sleep good SEQ 3s they 3s-ask
 sleeping he asked them:

- (22) Na-rat qai non, /
 1s-grandchild PL
 "Grandchildren,

hala wad ha-rata' ga i xa'a ma daa-n ga'an u, /
 others today 2s-grandparent 3s it.place this come ascend-REAL 3s DIST
 people (say) that grandmother was brought here,

yi ga-sar le maan, / yi'in una' maq na." #
 2p 3s-notice or NEG you.pl also let.it.not.be eat
 did you find her or not, don't let it be that you also ate her."

- (23) "Maan, / ni'in ga'an hala wa uy hara' uy bin, /
 NEG we(excl) 3s others say person fatherless.child person motherless
 "No, the people say we are poor orphans,

hala ni'in ma iman wan tag-an maan". #
 others we(excl) come they be count-REAL NEG
 others, us, they did not count us."

(24) *Jadi hala + pur bag kriman la pin aria' ma ni-mian na, /*
 so others k.o.corn.seed small FOC hold arrive come 1p-give eat
 "So the people only gave us some small corn seeds to eat,

i'in i-xaf uwaad la boqai dau-an na. #
 they(elsewhere) 3p-fish big FOC cut.up cook-REAL eat
 they cut their big fish, cooked and ate it."

(25) *A na iman ga-pak-an iman suk-an maan ba /*
 EXCL 1s they 3s-call-REAL they exit.come.down-REAL NEG SEQ
 "I called them and they did not want to come out

ana'-an kalau + na unaxai + ma punan si yi-war +
 long.time-REAL if(IND) 1s over.there come call.loudly SIM 2p-stone +
 so in a moment when I call overthere, your stone,

yi-tutax ga'an pin wa ma /
 2p-fireplace 3s hold go come
 you take that fire place [stone] of yours

bo'oi g-om ma moxod-an si ita'a la ma moxod,... /
 river 3s-inside come drop-REAL SIM where FOC come drop
 drop it in the river, and where it drops,...

si ga'an i xu'u la ma yi de'er, /
 SIM 3s it.place that.one FOC come 2p jump
 ...that is the place where you jump,

ita'a la ma qabunggat
 where FOC come plunging.sound.of.rock.in.water
 where it sounds "kabung",

si yi-dan i xu'u ma yi de'er gaxa'ai. #
 SIM 2p-part it.place that.one come 2p jump do.not
 you shouldn't jump there.

(26) *Iman una' + kri u ga-x ga-mar. #*
 they also Mr DIST 3s-possession 3s-follow
 They followed that grandfather's [advice].

(27) *Iman wuraq si / kri un unaxai #*
 they hear SIM Mr CONT over.there
 They heard grandfather calling over there,

pak-an iman ga-soi suk iman suk-an maan. /
 call-REAL they 3s-order exit.come.down they exit.come.down-REAL NEG
 ordering them to come out but they didn't come out.

A mulai olax hamar yir g-et ma tas /
 3s begin(IND) recite.poetry water 3s-eye come stand
 He started to recite standing at the well [i.e.the place where the fish was caught]

A tab ga'an ma a-fat ki' uwaad tanat olax hamar. #
 3s spear 3s come 3s-foot toe big place.on.st. recite.poetry
 As he places that spear on his big toe [he] recites poetry.

(28) *"Tup aa i deqang ooo-a-o*
 get.up EXCL it.place come.in EXCL
 "Get up aa and come in here ooo-a-o"

yir abang deqang aaa-o ". #
 water village come.in EXCL
 water come into the village aaa-o."

(29) *Iman una' a de'er wa / tutax ma /*
 they also 3s jump go fireplace come
 They [the two children] also jumped away, the fire place stone

qas wan moxod-an si, /
 close be drop-REAL SIM
 [they] threw aside,

tadunggat, / manan una' ma qabunggat, /
 dry.sound that.side also come plunging.sound.of. rock.in.water
 it sounded "tadunggat", not "qabunggat",

iman ga-tadunggat-an ma a de'er. #
 they 3s-dry.sound-REAL come 3s jump
 so they jumped on the place that sounded "tadunggat" (a dry place)

(30) *Iman bir-an gi-n ba # gi maraqai #*
 they run-REAL go-REAL SEQ go up
 They ran up, and up there

xat her wan igun liar ga'an hala wa Xat Uwaad Her. #
 k.o.tree base be caught.by.daylight 3s others say k.o.tree big base
 at the base of the *xat* tree daylight broke, a place still called Base of Big Xat Tree.

- (31) *Xat uwaad her igun liar ga'an la /*
 k.o.tree big base caught.by.daylight 3s FOC
 At the big Xat tree daylight broke

un tas-an / hafan ga'an u /
 CONT stand-REAL village 3s DIST
 at that hamlet where

kri i xu'u ma olax hamar ba
 Mr it.place that.one come recite.poetry SEQ
 the ancestor recited poetry

yir daa a'an ma tian gi la fo'o. #
 water ascend 3s come long go FOC there
 the water came up [and washed] it away.

- (32) *Gi yaqai + hala wa Yir Tafan ma tasan le a +*
 go down.below others say water pole come stand-REAL or ehm
 So that down below they call it the Water Pole or ehm...

amidan + Yir Pan G-et. /
 what water Pan 3-eye
 what... Pan Well.

- (33) *Jadi Yir Pan G-et eran ga'an u, /*
 so(IND) water Pan 3-eye that.mentioned 3s DIST
 So at that Pan Well

tafan ga'an un tas-an yis ata tafan ga'an u, /
 pole 3s CONT stand-REAL fruit and pole 3s DIST
 there is that pole standing [in the water] bearing fruit,

bui pa'an aga' + un yir g-om ma yia. #
 betelnut k.o.fruit all CONT water 3s-inside come put.at
 that pole bears betelnut and *pa'an* (fruits shaped like drums)

- (34) *War un yia-n ga / yias-an ga'an non*
 stone CONT put.at-REAL 3s put-REAL 3s PL
 Rocks are in the water,

ga-rupa mo / bui pa'an ata tafan her / un tas-an. #
 3s-be.shaped as betelnut short.drum and pole base CONT stand-REAL
 shaped as a betelnut and a short drum and a pole is standing there.

(35) *Jadi i xu'u ga'an u /*
 so(IND) it.place that.one 3s DIST
 So that place [is]

Baraqala hafan yas i xu'u ga'an tur hauan. #
 clan.name village bad it.place that.one 3s former flat.place
 poor village Baraqala, a place [that was] formerly flat.

Tapi karena yir daa hafan mar-an wan si /
 but(IND) because(IND) water ascend village take-REAL be SIM
 But because the water came up taking the village,

saf la un tas-an. #
 gorge FOC CONT stand-REAL
 it became a gorge.

(36) *Gula' la xu'u.#*
 finish FOC that
 The end.

3. Songs

3.1. *Pimatu' Yesus* 'Our brother Jesus'

Teiwa religious song, performed by a choir on Sunday 8 August 2004 in the church in Madar.

(1) *Pi-matu' Yesus.*
 1pi-older.sibling Jesus
 Our eldest brother Jesus

(2) *Pi-matu' Yesus ga-sayan la tab ma uwaad #*
 1pi- older.sibling Jesus 3s-love(IND) FOC truly come big
 Jesus, our eldest brother, his love is endless

(3) *a ma yas paat nuk yip er-an ma pi-honan maan #*
 3s come misfortune one also make-REAL come 1pi-come.to NEG
 He came not to do any harm to us

(4) *Pi'in la qai eran yas paat ma ga-honan, /*
 1p.i FOC just that.mentioned misfortune come 3s-come.to
We are the ones that did wrong to him,

a ma susa' ga'-tad. #
 3s come trouble(IND) 3s-be.struck
 he came to be struck by trouble.

- (5) *Hala ga gi maraqai Pra war g-et me'-en, /*
 others 3s go up Pra day 3s-eye be.in-REAL
 He was taken up to the scull place (*Pra war get*),

mat ma tei wan qayan hor-an yias-an ta min. #
 take come tree be tie hang-REAL put-REAL TOP die
 taken to be hung on the cross till he died.

- (6) *Ga-wai ga'an yias-an tot-an, yilag la a ma g-aria-n /*
 3s-blood 3s put-REAL stream-REAL who FOC 3scome 3s-arrive-REAL
 His blood streamed, whoever comes to him

ga-wai ga'an mat ma a wei-an /
 3s-blood 3s take come 3s bathe-REAL
 his blood [he] will take to wash [him/her] with

bas ma tiraq bangan ga-gula' ga-x wan maan, /
 tomorrow come next.day live 3s-finish 3s-possession be NEG
 tomorrow, the day after, he will get life with no end

ga'an a ga-sar-an pati. #
 3s 3s 3s-find-REAL PROG
 that is what he will find.

3.2. *Noma'* 'My father'

Teiwa religious song, performed by a choir on Sunday 8 August 2004 in the church in Madar.

- (1) *N-oma'... / n-orman ga'an kiid-an pati, /*
 1s-father 1s-soul 3s cry-REAL PROG
 Father, my soul is crying,

n-orman a'an wan sayan, /
 1s-soul 3s be love(IND)
 my soul is sorrowful,

na gasaai g-om ma tii'-in. #
 1s cannot 3s-inside come lie.down-REAL
 I am lying in sins.

- (2) *N-oma'...* / *na karian ga'an gasaai,* /
 1s-father 1s work 3s cannot
 Father, I have sinned,

na gasaai tab ma in dum, /
 1s cannot truly come it.thing much
 I did so many sins,

wan na n-om ga-luxun. #
 be 1s 1s- inside 3s-high
 and I am also proud.

- (3) *N-oma'...* / *na ha-fat yuun me'-en na gasaai wan yan-an,* /
 1s-father 1s 2s-foot down be.(in)-REAL 1s cannot be put-REAL
 Father, I am under your feet, clean my sins away,

n-om g-om ga'an wan yan-an. #
 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be put-REAL
 clean my heart.

- (4) *N-oma'...* / *na n-om g-om ga-wayan,* /
 1s-father 1s 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s-change
 Father, change my heart,

yitar ga-qau ma na-lal-an, /
 road 3s-good come 1s-show-REAL
 show me the right ways

na ma bangan g-unba'. #
 1s come live 3s-meet
 [and] I will live (lit. meet life)

- (5) *Qiya'au qau sib pliri n-om g-om ga'an wan yan-an,* /
 wind good new shine 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be put-REAL
 Holy Spirit cleanse my heart (lit. put new shining at my inside)

dagar ha ma walas xoran /
 be.like 2s come tell thus
 as you promised

un suran ma ha-tanau g-om me'. #
 CONT write come 2s-give.advice 3s-inside be.(in)
 written in your word.

- (6) *Qiya'au qau sib pliri n-om g-om ga'an wan si*
 wind good new brilliant 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be SIM
 Holy Spirit cleanse my heart as

molas ha ma walas xoran /
 actually 2s come tell thus
 you really promised

un suran ha-tanau g-om me'. #
 CONT write 2s-give.advice 3s- inside be.(in)
 written in your word.

- (7) *N-oma'... / n-orman ga'an kiid-an pati, /*
 1s-father 1s-soul 3s cry-REAL PROG
 Father, my soul is crying,

n-orman a'an wan sayan, /
 1s-soul 3s be love(IND)
 my soul is sorrowful,

na gasaai g-om ma tii'-in. #
 1s cannot 3s-inside come lie.down-REAL
 I am lying in sins.

- (8) *N-oma'... / na karian ga'an gasaai / na gasaai tab ma in dum*
 1s-father 1s work 3s cannot 1s cannot truly come it.thing much
 Father, I have sinned, I did so many sins,

wan na n-om ga-luxun #
 be 1s 1s-inside 3s-high
 and I am also proud.

- (9) *N-oma'... / na ha-fat yuun me'-en na gasaai wan yan-an, /*
 1s-father 1s 2s-foot down be.(in)-REAL 1s cannot be put-REAL
 Father, I am under your feet, clean my sins away,

n-om g-om ga'an wan yan-an. #
 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be put-REAL
 clean my heart.

- (10) *N-oma'... / na n-om g-om ga-wayan, /*
 1s-father 1s 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s-change
 Father, change my heart,

yitar ga-qau ma na-lal-an, /
 road 3s-good come 1s-show-REAL
 show me the right ways

na ma bangan g-unba'. #
 1s come live 3s-meet
 [and] I will live (lit. meet life)

- (11) *Qiya'au qau sib pliri n-om g-om ga'an wan si*
 wind good new brilliant 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be SIM
 Holy Spirit cleanse my heart as

molas ha ma walas xoran /
 actually 2s come tell thus
 you really promised

un suran ha-tanau g-om me'. #
 CONT write 2s-give.advice 3s- inside be.(in)
 written in your word.

- (12) *Qiya'au qau sib pliri n-om g-om ga'an wan si*
 wind good new brilliant 1s-inside 3s-inside 3s be SIM
 Holy Spirit cleanse my heart as

molas ha ma walas xoran /
 actually 2s come tell thus
 you really promised

un suran ha-tanau g-om me'. #
 CONT write 2s-give.advice 3s- inside be.(in)
 written in your word.

Appendix II

Word lists

0. Introduction

The following two sections provide a Teiwa-English and an English-Teiwa word list. Incidental phonetic transcriptions are provided in square brackets.

Items with an initial hyphen are inalienable nouns. These are morphologically bound roots that can only be used with an obligatory possessor prefix. Items with final hyphens are prefixes.

A description of the vowels and consonants, their orthography and their pronunciation is given in Chapter 2, section 2.1. Orthographic conventions are explained in Ch. 2, section 2.6. Loan words from Indonesian / Malay are indicated with the abbreviation (IND); ‘sb’ = ‘somebody’, sth = ‘something’.

1. Teiwa-English

A

<i>a</i>	proximate
<i>a</i>	he/she subject
<i>a-</i>	he/she object or possessor
<i>a'an</i>	he/she
<i>-aa'</i>	mouth
<i>aau</i>	k.o. yam
<i>abaaq</i>	half
<i>abis</i>	finished (IND)
<i>ada</i>	be (IND)
<i>adang</i>	not necessary
<i>adik</i>	younger sibling (IND)
<i>adiman</i>	sink
<i>afa-afa'an</i>	in all directions; strange
<i>afo</i>	that (one) over there
<i>afo'o</i>	see <i>afo</i>
<i>afuri</i>	cocoon
<i>aga-aga</i>	sound to call dog
<i>aga'</i>	all
<i>ago-ago</i>	sound to call dog (from far away)
<i>alila'</i>	roll
<i>amidan</i>	what
<i>amulang</i>	name of Barawasi clan member
<i>'an</i>	sell to sb

<i>an</i>	see <i>a'an</i>
<i>an</i>	give to sb
<i>an</i>	market
<i>-an</i> (<i>-'an</i> , <i>-in</i> , <i>-en</i> , <i>-n</i>)	Realis suffix (with allomorphs)
<i>ana'</i>	long time (opposite of <i>geg</i>)
<i>ar</i>	garden (old, already existing)
<i>arar</i>	be scared
<i>ari'</i>	break
<i>aria'</i>	arrive, come
<i>arti</i>	meaning (IND)
<i>arwan</i>	see <i>ar</i>
<i>asaman</i>	be the same
<i>asaman-saman</i>	together
<i>at</i>	a 24 hours period: a night and a day
<i>ata</i>	and
<i>ata(ng)</i>	do once again
<i>atukan</i>	hatch
<i>-au</i>	jaw
<i>au</i>	grasshopper
<i>-au mayan</i>	beard
<i>awan</i>	far
<i>axa</i>	see <i>xa'a</i>
<i>axa'a</i>	see <i>xa'a</i>
<i>axaa</i>	see <i>xa'a</i>
<i>axaran</i>	see <i>xoran</i>
<i>axoran</i>	see <i>xoran</i>
<i>ayas</i>	throw at sb
<i>ayogar</i>	green

B

<i>ba</i>	sequential marker
<i>ba'</i>	fall
<i>ba'i</i>	grandfather
<i>baai</i>	bunch
<i>baaq</i>	hole (general)
<i>badan g-et</i>	grave
<i>baƒ</i>	pendant (traditional)
<i>bag</i>	seed
<i>bai</i>	pig
<i>bak</i>	container (< Dutch <i>bak</i>)
<i>bali</i> [ba.'li]	see
<i>banang</i>	see <i>bangan</i>
<i>banaq</i>	puddle
<i>banar</i>	very (much)
<i>bang qrawas</i>	carry with rope around neck
<i>bangan</i> ['ba.ŋan]	ask for

<i>bangan</i> [ba.'ŋan]	live
<i>bapa</i>	father (IND)
<i>baq</i>	body
<i>baq</i>	see <i>abaq</i>
<i>baqar</i>	swollen
<i>bar</i>	instrument to get palm wine from tree
<i>bar</i>	pull.out
<i>barak</i>	scatter(ed)
<i>Baraqala</i>	name of a clan
<i>Barawasi</i>	name of a clan
<i>baru</i>	new (IND)
<i>bas</i>	tomorrow
<i>bas bes</i>	tomorrow morning
<i>bas-bas</i>	usual(ly)
<i>bat</i>	wound
<i>bat get</i>	see <i>bat</i>
<i>Batan</i>	name of a particular river location
<i>batar</i>	corn
<i>batukan</i>	see <i>betukan</i>
<i>bawe</i>	sibling
<i>bax</i>	hit (drum)
<i>bax</i>	slash, cut into
<i>baxaai</i>	crocodile (salt water)
<i>baxari</i>	yellow
<i>bayan</i>	swear; abuse
<i>bayar</i>	afternoon
<i>be'</i>	indeed
<i>be'er</i>	private parts; <i>ga-be'er</i> 'taboo'
<i>be'er get</i>	taboo/secret place
<i>beban</i>	last night
<i>begar</i>	north
<i>belan</i>	turn (over)
<i>belaqas</i>	mud
<i>beli'</i>	borrow
<i>ben</i>	tools; make tools
<i>benaq get</i>	lake
<i>bener</i>	too
<i>bengan</i>	see <i>bangan</i>
<i>benoqan</i>	nag, pester
<i>bes</i>	morning
<i>bes-bes</i>	good morning
<i>betanqar</i>	sweet potato
<i>betukan</i>	garden lizard
<i>biar</i>	children; sea current
<i>biar kriman</i>	see <i>biar</i>
<i>biasa</i>	usually (IND)

<i>bif</i>	child (small)
<i>bif</i>	younger sibling (term of address); child
<i>bif g-oqai</i>	child (lit. 'child 3s-offspring')
<i>bif ga'-mis</i>	deliver a baby (lit. 'sit for a child')
<i>bifa!</i>	exclamation of being startled
<i>bik</i>	satisfied
<i>bil-bli</i>	be careful
<i>bin</i>	motherless child
<i>bir</i>	collect, pick up sth by putting hands into it; only used for uncountable small objects e.g. sugar, rice; compare <i>tona'</i> .
<i>bir</i>	run; flat (object)
<i>Biri</i>	name of a family
<i>biru</i>	blue (IND)
<i>bis</i>	be(come) healthy
<i>bis</i>	mat
<i>bisa</i>	can (IND)
<i>blaqas</i>	wet and dirty, e.g. from mud; cf. <i>klita'</i>
<i>blau</i>	chat
<i>blax-blax</i>	stare up
<i>Blegar</i>	name of a family
<i>bli</i>	wash
<i>bluking</i>	k.o. bamboo arrow with sharp tips at the top, used to shoot fish, lizards etc.; cheap and dispensible; synonym <i>upas</i>
<i>bo</i>	maybe
<i>bo'oi</i>	river
<i>boda'</i>	stupid
<i>bof</i>	see baf
<i>bof</i>	wave
<i>bof ge-'er</i>	beach
<i>bog</i>	young, unripe (e.g. coconut, teenager)
<i>bog biar</i>	teenager (12-15 years)
<i>bog wal</i>	youngster
<i>bogan</i>	moon sickle
<i>bogatag</i>	rainy season
<i>Bolang</i>	name of a family
<i>boqai</i>	cut up (tree, wood, big fish)
<i>bot</i>	k.o. lemon tree
<i>boxan</i>	k.o. bee-like insect
<i>braak</i>	spray around
<i>braam</i>	dust
<i>bragan</i>	unripe banana
<i>brenti</i>	stop (IND)
<i>bru</i>	left over (e.g. <i>qar bru</i> 'left over rice')
<i>bru-bru</i>	sliced; in pieces
<i>Bruang</i>	name of a person (female)
<i>bu'</i>	be stuck

<i>buayan</i>	cloth to carry a child in
<i>bufa'an</i>	insect
<i>Bui</i>	name of a family
<i>bui</i>	betelnut
<i>bui</i>	k.o. long drum
<i>bui sii</i>	chew betelnut
<i>bui tag</i>	hit a long drum
<i>bukal</i>	basket
<i>bukal tar</i>	basket's rope
<i>buku</i>	book (IND)
<i>bulanqul</i>	sky
<i>bun</i>	to answer sb; to follow sb
<i>bun</i>	one piece
<i>bunar</i>	drunk; crazy
<i>bur</i>	k.o. palm
<i>burar</i>	spray
<i>burax</i>	sound to chase away chicken
<i>Burilak</i>	name of clan
<i>Bursi'in</i>	name of place
<i>buun</i>	smoke
<i>buxun</i>	guard

C

<i>cerita</i>	story (IND)
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D

<i>daa</i>	ascend (towards deictic centre)
<i>daam</i>	snake
<i>daar bub</i>	curse sb
<i>daar-an gemelan</i>	praise
<i>daar, ge-daar her</i>	sing; initial song in a dance
<i>daga(r)</i>	be like; appear (sometimes used as 'to feel, become clear')
<i>dai</i>	bird
<i>dan</i>	part (see also <i>ga-dan</i>)
<i>-dan ni'ir</i>	siblings
<i>dau</i>	cook, boil
<i>daxan</i>	attic
<i>de'</i>	burn
<i>de'er</i>	jump
<i>dei</i>	see <i>dai</i>
<i>dei tag</i>	tell a story
<i>dekal</i>	to split
<i>deqai</i>	clean up a garden
<i>deqang</i>	come in
<i>-dexen</i>	horns
<i>di</i>	only

<i>di' braam</i>	dust
<i>dia'</i> ['di.aʔ]	k.o. thorny weed
<i>-dia'</i> [di.'aʔ]	shoulder
<i>-dias</i>	male cross-cousin (FZS, MBS)
<i>dias</i>	k.o. fish
<i>dias kupan</i>	see dias
<i>digan</i>	push forcefully into; to force open
<i>diib</i>	push into a small hole
<i>diir</i>	locked up
<i>diku</i>	trousers
<i>dilan</i>	thunder
<i>diling</i>	cloth to carry child in
<i>do'or</i>	collect liquid
<i>dru'</i>	wash face
<i>du'un</i>	make.hole
<i>dufar</i>	slip away
<i>duki</i>	pry out with force
<i>dum</i>	much
<i>dumar</i>	push, push away
<i>dur</i>	mouse
<i>duxu'</i>	sound of sth. heavy falling down; thundering sound
<i>e'er ma laman</i>	dispute (see also <i>laman</i> , <i>wurax</i>)

E

<i>Edi</i>	name of a person (male)
<i>emaq</i>	wife
<i>emaq bif</i>	daughter in law
<i>'ena</i>	remember
<i>eqan</i>	pull out
<i>eqar</i>	woman
<i>eqar hovar</i>	girl, young lady (17 years and up, unmarried)
<i>er</i>	make
<i>-'er tuban</i>	lips
<i>eran</i>	that mentioned
<i>eran masuai</i>	make clean
<i>esan</i>	place
<i>-et</i>	eye
<i>-et uri</i>	wake up (lit. eye see)
<i>ewar</i>	return, go home
<i>exan, exen</i>	self
<i>exer</i>	see <i>xer</i>

F

<i>fa</i>	try
<i>fai</i>	swear at sb
<i>fan, fan baar</i>	face

<i>far</i>	kill
<i>fat</i>	foot
<i>fat ki'</i>	toe
<i>fat ku'</i>	knee
<i>fat wan</i>	walk
<i>faxa'</i>	humble
<i>faxai</i>	crown of a palm tree
<i>fi</i>	penis
<i>fiar</i>	surround
<i>fin</i>	catch
<i>fo'o</i>	see afo
<i>fur</i>	turn

G

<i>ga-, g-, ga'-</i>	he/she object or possessor
<i>ga'an</i>	he/she
<i>g-at yiran</i>	a few days ago
<i>g-ax</i>	his, her (3s-possession)
<i>g-ax min</i>	stink, smell
<i>ga</i>	take along
<i>ga</i>	see <i>ga'an</i>
<i>ga-dan</i>	other(s) (see also <i>dan</i>)
<i>ga-fan iga'</i>	bury (lit. '3s-face hide')
<i>ga-sas g-ax</i>	marry (polite form)(3s-feed 3s-possession)
<i>ga'-mis</i>	marry
<i>gad</i>	let go, put
<i>gafar</i>	bank; an edge of river, ravine, ditch
<i>gafilax</i>	fold
<i>gaal</i>	shoot with an arrow
<i>galal</i>	be or look alike
<i>Galiyawa</i>	Pantar
<i>garan</i>	collect sth falling in a container (e.g. water from spring)
<i>garas</i>	more
<i>-gas qai</i>	sister (younger)
<i>-gas qai matu'</i>	sister (older)
<i>gasaai</i>	cannot
<i>gaxa'ai, gaxai</i>	do not
<i>gaxas</i>	reflection, mirror image
<i>ge-lal</i>	colour (see <i>lal</i>)
<i>ge'ef</i>	a while ago (an hour or more ago but still on the same day)
<i>geg</i>	short time (opposite of <i>ana'</i>)
<i>gelas</i>	glass (IND)
<i>geneg [gneg]</i>	a bit
<i>gereja</i>	church (IND)
<i>get qa'ar</i>	tears
<i>get yas</i>	blind

<i>get, ga-get</i>	lid, its lid
<i>gi</i>	go
<i>gi</i>	they
<i>gi-</i>	them, their (object or possessor)
<i>gi'in</i>	they elsewhere
<i>gigalal</i> ['giglal]	why
<i>gisa'</i>	damage(d)
<i>go'oi paxal</i>	groom's dowry payment (gongs and kettledrums)
<i>gola'</i>	bottle
<i>gom</i>	its inside
<i>gom ga-i'</i>	feel pity
<i>gom mai</i> [go'mai]	think, plan
<i>gom par</i>	defeated, annoyed
<i>gom qalixil</i>	angry, annoyed
<i>gom quun</i>	clever, understand
<i>gomai</i>	see <i>gom mai</i>
<i>gon</i>	gong
<i>gor</i>	to fell; cut down
<i>goxo'</i>	bark
<i>goxol</i>	young, small bamboo
<i>goxonan</i>	point to; towards; pay/supply with materials for a celebration
<i>grixi</i>	a bit
<i>grod</i>	carry on head
<i>gula</i>	sugar (IND)
<i>gula'</i>	finish
<i>gunba'</i>	meet
<i>guru</i>	teacher (IND)

H

<i>h-, ha-</i>	you (singular) (object or possessor)
<i>ha</i>	you (singular) (subject) see <i>ha'an</i>
<i>ha</i>	exclamation
<i>ha</i>	then
<i>ha yo</i>	who knows
<i>ha'an</i>	you (singular)
<i>ha'e</i>	yes
<i>hadan</i>	reach; arrive at
<i>hadar</i>	stairs
<i>hafan</i>	village
<i>hafan ga-saran</i>	village edge
<i>hala</i>	others
<i>hala'</i>	classifier for thin objects, such as board or cloth
<i>hale</i>	yes; of course
<i>haliwai</i>	k.o. black ant
<i>hamar</i>	pray
<i>hanad</i>	dragon

<i>haqax</i>	breathe
<i>hara'</i>	fatherless child
<i>hara' bin</i>	orphan
<i>haran hasak</i>	sky
<i>haranbor</i>	dragon, see <i>ranbor</i>
<i>haraq</i>	two, see <i>raq</i>
<i>harasan</i>	day shelter (cf. <i>maran</i> 'shelter to sleep overnight')
<i>haratu</i>	hundred, see <i>ratu</i>
<i>hareqan</i>	be startled, see <i>reqan</i>
<i>hari</i>	garden, orchard: place with fruit trees (coconut, banana)
<i>hasak</i>	empty (said of e.g. bag, glass)
<i>hasan</i>	final sip of a drink
<i>hata'</i>	old (said of e.g. clothes)
<i>hauan</i>	flat place
<i>hax</i>	your
<i>hayan</i>	dew
<i>he</i>	exclamation
<i>he'en</i>	close
<i>heka'</i>	twine a rope using the skin of coconuts
<i>hela</i>	pull (upwards) (IND)
<i>helan</i>	less
<i>hena!</i>	watch out!
<i>henar</i>	wind
<i>her</i>	bottom part, base (opposite of <i>kul</i>)
<i>hiqap</i>	you and they
<i>hisar</i>	salt
<i>hodar</i>	hit a large drum in a slow rhythm; synonym of <i>soi</i> .
<i>holan</i>	endeavour, look for food
<i>honan</i>	come to
<i>hong</i>	dog's sound ('woof')
<i>hor</i>	hang
<i>hoyan</i>	almost
<i>hub</i>	sweet
<i>hufa'</i>	drink
<i>Hukung</i>	name of a clan
<i>human</i>	slowly
<i>human-human</i>	see <i>human</i>
<i>husaq</i>	open, loose
<i>hutan</i>	bow

I

<i>i</i>	forthcoming topic
<i>i</i>	it (place)
<i>i</i>	3p (subject)
<i>i bag</i>	cleared land, ready to be used as garden
<i>i balaqar</i>	morning, 5-6 am just before sunrise

<i>i bar</i>	work in garden
<i>i bayar</i>	afternoon, 4-6 pm
<i>i dilan</i>	hail stone
<i>i gaal</i>	shoot with arrow
<i>i gesi</i>	edge/border of garden
<i>i guagi</i>	spy (on)
<i>i liar</i>	daybreak
<i>i liran he'en</i>	4-5 am when the sky becomes lighter
<i>I miran</i>	East Pantar
<i>i sis</i>	land (noun)
<i>i ta'a, ita</i>	where
<i>i tafaxa'</i>	light sky just before lightning strikes
<i>i toyan</i>	earthquake
<i>i uran</i>	around midday
<i>i wraak</i>	hunt
<i>i xi</i>	bunch of 4 coconuts
<i>i yaxalat</i>	outside
<i>i yixin</i>	west Pantar
<i>i'</i>	sick
<i>-i'an</i>	female cross-cousin (MBD, FZS).
<i>-i'an qai</i>	brother (also classificatory: MZS and FBS)
<i>-i'an qai ga'ik</i>	younger brother
<i>i'in</i>	they (elsewhere)
<i>ifo, ifo'o</i>	over there (invisible)
<i>iga' [i'iga?]</i>	hide.s.t./s.b.
<i>iga' [i'ga?]</i>	many (unexpectedly)
<i>igan</i>	harvest feast
<i>igun liar</i>	caught by daylight
<i>ii'</i>	red
<i>iid</i>	world
<i>iid por</i>	see <i>iid</i>
<i>ik uwaad</i>	be/have siblings
<i>ilan</i>	grow up
<i>ilan tas</i>	stand up (lit. 'grow up stand')
<i>iman</i>	they
<i>in</i>	it (pronoun referring to things)
<i>in nuk</i>	something (lit. 'it (thing) one'), see <i>inuk</i>
<i>ina</i>	see <i>na</i>
<i>inau</i>	much
<i>indan</i>	anything (if used as question: 'Any news?'/ 'How's life?')
<i>inqas</i>	clothes, clothing
<i>inqas taraxa'</i>	bride's dowry (traditional woven cloth, women's clothes)
<i>inuk</i>	something, see <i>in nuk</i>
<i>iqua'an</i>	night
<i>iqap</i>	s/he and they
<i>iraxau</i>	3 dualis, the two of them

<i>is</i>	k.o.bird
<i>isan</i>	plug (noun)
<i>ixir</i>	left
<i>ixir</i>	k.o. thin bamboo
<i>ixir wan</i>	left part
<i>iyei</i>	tip
<i>iyet-iyet</i>	long time

K

<i>ka'au</i>	older sibling (also used for 'friend': <i>na-ka'au</i> 'my friend')
<i>kai</i>	stalk, stem
<i>Kakalau</i>	name of clan
<i>kal-kalan</i>	slowly
<i>kalau</i>	if (IND)
<i>Kaloman Goqar</i>	name of clan
<i>kalu</i>	if (IND), see <i>kalau</i>
<i>kamadal</i>	belt
<i>kamau</i>	cat
<i>kamau wut gax</i>	k.o. wild cat
<i>kami</i>	old respected men
<i>kamuki</i>	stupid
<i>kanoro'</i>	character
<i>kapal yiran</i>	air plane
<i>karan</i>	angry
<i>karena</i>	because (IND)
<i>karian, krian</i>	work
<i>kasi</i>	papaya
<i>kawan</i>	friend (IND)
<i>ki</i>	eagle, hawk
<i>ki gusan</i>	thunder
<i>ki son</i>	male eagle/hawk
<i>ki'</i>	finger
<i>ki'</i>	lightning
<i>kian</i>	cloth (thick, black woven cloth, worn by women)
<i>kiid</i>	cry
<i>kiil</i>	ring, stalk, stick
<i>kikar</i>	scratch, scabies
<i>kil</i>	powder
<i>kiqax</i>	shake out
<i>kir</i>	bone; vein of leaf
<i>kir</i>	comb (traditional, made of bone)
<i>kiri</i>	pull
<i>klet</i>	dress (n) (< Dutch <i>kleed</i> [kle:t] 'dress' (archaic))
<i>klita'</i>	dirty, sweaty, grubby, dusty, compare <i>blaqas</i>
<i>ko'</i>	meat
<i>kokis</i>	cake (< Dutch <i>koekjes</i>)

<i>kokoko</i>	chicken's sound ('tock-tock')
<i>kon</i>	shirt
<i>kotan</i>	spin top
<i>kri</i>	Mr, Sir, term of address for respected and/or elderly man
<i>kriman</i>	small (used for small objects such as stones, coconuts, also children, cf. <i>sam</i>)
<i>kru</i>	cheer
<i>ku'aan</i>	louse (on humans)
<i>ku'ui</i>	tie sth (e.g. tie a rope to a wall)
<i>ku'us</i>	pick leaves (one by one)
<i>kui'ii</i>	k.o. plant in forest
<i>kul</i>	deep (said of e.g. lake, wound)
<i>-kuras</i>	nail, claw
<i>kurukuru</i>	sound to call chicken
<i>kuu'</i>	joints
<i>kuuk</i>	a bit (liquid)
<i>kuwai</i>	skin

L

<i>la</i>	focus marker
<i>La Builan</i>	name of clan
<i>lada'</i>	red paper
<i>lal</i>	show
<i>lala'</i>	misery; porridge
<i>lalu</i>	then (IND)
<i>-laman</i>	mouth
<i>laman</i>	quarrel
<i>laman</i>	oppose, dispute (see <i>wurax</i>)
<i>Lambar</i>	name of a clan
<i>Lau</i>	name of a family
<i>lau</i>	ginger
<i>Lau Uwaad</i>	name of a clan
<i>laxa</i>	see <i>laxa'a</i>
<i>laxa'a</i>	this one here
<i>laxu</i>	see <i>laxu'u</i>
<i>laxu'u</i>	that one there
<i>le</i>	or
<i>lema</i>	bowl made out of coconut shell, food container, plate
<i>Leti</i>	name of person (female)
<i>li'gom</i>	room
<i>li'in</i>	their
<i>liar</i>	light
<i>liin</i>	invite
<i>lisi</i>	arrow with thin, bearded metal tip, used to shoot birds, mice
<i>Lius</i>	name of person (male)
<i>-livi</i>	tongue

<i>Lol</i>	name of person (female)
<i>Loxoq</i>	name of clan
<i>luar</i>	outside (IND)
<i>luxun</i>	high
M	
<i>ma</i>	come (here)
<i>ma lalan</i>	show to
<i>ma mia'</i>	make, let enter
<i>ma taxa'</i>	increase
<i>ma yias</i>	to glue
<i>maafar</i>	fog
<i>maan</i>	negation
<i>madilan dumar</i>	thundering sound (also of gongs)
<i>-mag</i>	throat
<i>mai</i>	to save, to store
<i>Malai</i>	name of a person (female)
<i>malas</i>	beautiful
<i>Maligi</i>	name of a clan
<i>mam</i>	right, then
<i>mam xoran</i>	that's right, in that case
<i>mama</i>	mother (IND)
<i>man</i>	grass
<i>manaf</i> [mnaf]	cloud, fog
<i>manak</i> [mnak]	master
<i>manan</i>	this side
<i>manas</i>	satisfied
<i>Mani</i>	name of a person (female)
<i>manuququru</i>	k.o. seed that looks like rice
<i>maq</i>	let it not be (modal adverb)
<i>maq-maq</i>	silent
<i>mar</i>	take
<i>maran</i>	shelter (big, to sleep in; compare <i>harasan</i>)
<i>maraqai</i>	up
<i>maro'</i>	have bad eyesight
<i>Marten</i>	name of a person (male)
<i>masaman</i>	half
<i>masar</i>	male, man
<i>masara havar</i>	young man
<i>Mase</i>	name of a family
<i>masil</i>	salty
<i>masuai</i>	clean, make clean
<i>mat</i>	take
<i>matu'</i>	older sibling
<i>Mau</i>	name of a family
<i>mau</i>	want (IND)

<i>mauluku</i>	monkey
<i>mauqubar</i>	frog
<i>maxa'</i>	bitter
<i>maxan</i> ['ma.xan]	sharp, fierce
<i>maxan</i> [ma.'xan]	apple shaped fruit (<i>Spondias dulcis</i>)
<i>maxar</i>	new garden
<i>mayan</i>	have hair, be hairy
<i>me'</i>	be (in)
<i>me'eh</i>	sound of goats
<i>meja</i>	table (IND)
<i>melimi</i>	fine (said of cloth, thread); weak
<i>met</i>	betel vine
<i>mia'</i>	fill
<i>miaag</i>	yesterday
<i>miaag bes</i>	yesterday morning
<i>miaaq</i>	leaf(s), esp. those eaten by animals
<i>mian</i>	put at
<i>miaq</i>	white
<i>miar</i>	eel
<i>miar</i>	play
<i>midan</i>	to plant
<i>mika'</i>	kiss (by rubbing noses)
<i>mim</i>	sniff at
<i>min</i>	die
<i>minggu</i>	week (IND)
<i>mir</i>	ascend
<i>mis</i>	sit
<i>lisi</i>	husband
<i>mit</i>	ascend (Sar language)
<i>mo</i>	as, (such) as (used in comparisons)
<i>mo daga</i>	see <i>mo</i>
<i>mol-molas</i>	see <i>molas</i>
<i>molas</i>	actually
<i>mosan</i>	sword
<i>motor</i>	motorbike (IND)
<i>moxo'</i>	earth
<i>moxod</i>	drop, let go
<i>mu'ux</i>	house lizard
<i>muban</i>	ripe
<i>mud</i>	body hair, fur (humans/animals)
<i>muding</i>	strong, healthy
<i>mug</i>	top.of.mountain
<i>mug-mug</i>	hilly
<i>mulai</i>	begin
<i>mulax</i>	help
<i>muling</i>	weak

<i>muman</i>	nightmare
<i>mun lis</i>	stink
<i>muni</i>	kiss and cuddle
<i>mus</i>	torch
<i>mus afur</i>	ash from torch
<i>musaq</i>	shattered
<i>musti</i>	must (IND)
<i>muud</i>	lemon
<i>muun</i>	rotten
<i>muxui</i>	banana
<i>n-oma' sam</i>	my uncle (father's younger brother)
<i>n-oma' uwaad</i>	my uncle (father's elder brother)
<i>n-oqai iik</i>	my youngest sibling/child

N

<i>na</i>	eat
<i>na</i>	I
<i>na-, n-</i>	me, my (object or possessor)
<i>na'an</i>	I
<i>na-dan na-'ir</i>	“(my) brothers and sisters” (addressing an audience)
<i>na-qai</i>	only I
<i>na-x</i>	mine
<i>na'</i>	possibly
<i>Nabas</i>	name of a person (male)
<i>nak</i>	jackfruit
<i>nang</i>	see <i>na</i> ‘1sg’
<i>nara'</i>	name of a clan
<i>narat emaq</i>	my brother's daughter
<i>naree</i>	my grandfather
<i>nawar</i>	my grandchild
<i>naxa'</i>	not.want
<i>ni</i>	we (excluding you)
<i>ni-, n-</i>	we (excluding you) (object or possessor)
<i>ni-qai</i>	only we (excluding you)
<i>ni-x</i>	ours
<i>ni'in</i>	we (excluding you)
<i>niman</i>	we (excluding you) as a group
<i>niqap</i>	we (excluding you) and they
<i>niraxau</i>	the two of us (excluding you)
<i>nome</i>	Sir
<i>non</i>	plural word
<i>noqai</i>	my child
<i>nor</i>	tie
<i>nuan</i>	cloth
<i>nuan senai [snaj]</i>	scarf
<i>nuk</i>	one

<i>numi</i>	sift
<i>numi</i>	steam food

O

<i>-o'on</i>	head
<i>o'on</i>	hide oneself
<i>-o'on wa'</i>	hair
<i>og</i>	hot
<i>oh</i>	oh (exclamation)
<i>oke</i>	OK (<Eng)
<i>ol</i>	buy
<i>olag (si), ulag (si)</i>	so that
<i>olax hamar</i>	recite poetry
<i>-om</i>	inside
<i>om</i>	uncle (Ind < Dutch <i>oom</i>)
<i>-om bangan</i>	want
<i>-om gkalixi</i>	angry
<i>-om garegan</i>	think
<i>-om mai</i>	plan, think about
<i>-om quun</i>	clever
<i>-oma'</i>	father
<i>oman-oman</i>	slowly
<i>-oqai</i>	child
<i>-or</i>	tail
<i>or</i>	bee
<i>or</i>	glowing coal, cf. <i>tabaku or</i> 'sigaret tip'
<i>-or pahas</i>	backbone
<i>-or to'oi</i>	navel
<i>-orman</i>	soul
<i>os</i>	throw away
<i>otar</i>	worm
<i>Otfai</i>	name place
<i>ox</i>	grunt of pig
<i>oxon</i>	face each other
<i>oxoran</i>	see <i>xoran</i>

P

<i>p-</i>	us, our (including you) (object and possessor)
<i>pa'an</i>	short drum
<i>paai</i>	cut in pieces, slaughter
<i>paan</i>	kemiri nut (<i>Aleurites moluccana</i>)
<i>paat</i>	not know
<i>pada hal</i>	in fact (IND)
<i>pag</i>	go down
<i>pak</i>	call so
<i>pake</i>	use

<i>paksa</i>	to force (IND)
<i>pal</i>	k.o. tree (Maleleuca)
<i>palan</i>	inspect, peep at
<i>palan qas</i>	split bamboo
<i>Pan Kotor</i>	name of a place
<i>panaat [pnaat]</i>	send
<i>Pantar</i>	Pantar
<i>pantun</i>	traditional poem (IND)
<i>paq</i>	sound of crushing corn
<i>paqan</i>	appear, expand, blossom
<i>par</i>	defeated
<i>par</i>	pidgeon
<i>par</i>	scorpion
<i>parat</i>	to tie, wrap up, tie up (e.g. wrap packet with rope; tie up a gate; tie up a pig for transport)
<i>pas</i>	be exact
<i>pat</i>	pay back
<i>pati</i>	progressive
<i>paxai</i>	divide
<i>paxaran</i>	smooth
<i>paye'</i>	wrap around, twist, roll up
<i>pe'en</i>	near
<i>ped</i>	machete
<i>pedil</i>	shoot
<i>pegawai</i>	civil servant (IND)
<i>pen ii</i>	stem
<i>pen</i>	cucumber
<i>penai [pnaɨ]</i>	touch
<i>peq</i>	tall, high
<i>Peran Tubi</i>	name of a clan
<i>Perang</i>	name of a family
<i>petan</i>	thick bamboo
<i>petan kei</i>	branch of thick bamboo
<i>petek</i>	lighter (IND)
<i>peti [pe'ti]</i>	taste
<i>pi</i>	we (including you) subject
<i>pi-</i>	us, our (including you) object and possessor
<i>pi-qai</i>	only we (including you)
<i>pi-x</i>	theirs
<i>pi'i</i>	twine
<i>pi'in</i>	we (including you)
<i>pial</i>	arrow
<i>piat</i>	k.o. small bamboo
<i>piling</i>	line up
<i>piman</i>	we (including you) as a group
<i>pin</i>	hold

<i>piqap</i>	we (including you) and they
<i>piraxau</i>	we two including you, i.e. you and me
<i>pixiri</i>	sharp
<i>pliri</i>	shining, brilliant
<i>por</i>	island
<i>pru'</i>	wring
<i>pu'</i>	suck, to smoke
<i>pua'</i>	snap
<i>puan yaqai</i>	cheat
<i>pug</i>	circular
<i>pui</i>	blow
<i>pulu</i>	blunt
<i>punan</i>	call loudly
<i>pur</i>	k.o.corn
<i>put</i>	cut off (small trees, grass) synonym of <i>sa'agar</i>

Q

<i>qa'</i>	hard skin of e.g. betelnut, compare <i>xas</i> .
<i>qa'an</i>	black
<i>qaaf</i>	k.o. plate to toast corn on
<i>qaai</i>	crow
<i>qaaq</i>	to stab, be itchy
<i>qaar nuk</i>	ten
<i>qaar nuk rug nuk</i>	eleven
<i>qaar nuk rug raq</i>	twelve
<i>qaar nuk rug tiam</i>	sixteen
<i>qaar nuk rug ut</i>	fourteen
<i>qaar nuk rug yerig</i>	thirteen
<i>qaar nuk rug yesnerig</i>	eighteen
<i>qaar nuk rug yesnu'ut</i>	nineteen
<i>qaar nuk rug yesraq</i>	seventeen
<i>qaar nuk rug yusan</i>	fifteen
<i>qaar raq</i>	twenty
<i>qaar ut</i>	forty
<i>qaar yirig (qar rig)</i>	thirty
<i>qaar yirig rug nuk</i>	thirty one
<i>qaar yusan</i>	fifty
<i>qaas</i>	side, half; bean
<i>qaau</i>	flower (of tree, shrub), blossom
<i>qab</i>	spear with a large metal blade, to fight human enemies
<i>qabunggat</i>	sound of a rock plunging into water
<i>qafulat</i>	arrow with large metal blade; to hunt deer or pigs
<i>qafulat yis</i>	arrow tip made of iron
<i>qafur</i>	dust (e.g. from dry grass; saw dust)
<i>qai</i>	just, only
<i>Qailapi</i>	name of a clan

<i>Qalambas</i>	Kalabahi
<i>qalas</i>	split
<i>qalixil</i>	itchy, gruff
<i>qalo'</i>	wet
<i>qanat</i>	leech
<i>qap</i>	carve out
<i>qar</i>	food, rice
<i>qar dig</i>	rice (uncooked)
<i>qar siran</i>	to fry rice
<i>qar xo'</i>	rice without a side dish
<i>qar-an</i>	cooked (also used in <i>in qaran</i> : thing that is paid for, thing for which there is no debt)
<i>qarbau</i>	water buffalo (< Ind <i>kerbau</i>)
<i>qas</i>	(be) close; part
<i>qas</i>	torn, split, break, broken
<i>qau</i>	good, friend, finish
<i>qau</i>	scream (pigs)
<i>qauba</i>	so (that)
<i>Qauturu</i>	name of a place
<i>qavai</i> ['qavaj]	press, mould
<i>qavai</i> [qa'vaj] [qvaj]	flying snake
<i>qavif</i>	goat
<i>qayan</i>	tie
<i>qayaq</i>	alone
<i>qe'ei</i>	thorn
<i>qe'en</i>	peel
<i>qi'</i>	pick fruit
<i>qiya'au</i>	cold wind
<i>qluus</i>	deaf
<i>qo-qo'oi</i>	silent
<i>Qoli</i>	name of a family
<i>Qoliribu</i>	name of a person (male)
<i>qoqas</i>	coral reef on land
<i>qraan</i>	canary
<i>qu'</i>	sap from plants
<i>qu'us</i>	pluck leaves
<i>quaf</i>	grandmother
<i>quan, qu'an</i>	drum (traditional)
<i>qud</i>	be sleepy
<i>qui</i>	caterpillar
<i>qul</i>	top part (opposite of <i>her</i>)
<i>quququ</i>	cock-a-doodle-do
<i>quri</i>	be sleepy
<i>qut</i>	sprout, grow up
<i>quu'</i>	fruit
<i>quun</i>	be sure

R

<i>ra'</i>	orphan, widow
<i>ra' bin</i>	orphan
<i>raa</i>	deliver a baby
<i>raax</i>	rice as crop
<i>raax dig</i>	unhusked rice
<i>rabax</i>	stable
<i>ragan</i>	outside
<i>rai</i>	king
<i>rak</i>	shelves (Ind < Dutch <i>rek</i>)
<i>ranbor</i>	dragon, see <i>haranbor</i>
<i>raq</i>	two, see <i>haraq</i>
<i>rat qai</i>	grandchild
<i>rata'</i>	grandparent
<i>rata' eqar</i>	grandmother
<i>rata' masar</i>	grandfather
<i>ratu</i>	hundred (< Ind (<i>se</i>) <i>ratus</i>)
<i>ratu nuk</i>	one hundred
<i>ratu nuk qar nuk rug nuk</i>	one hundred eleven
<i>ratu nuk rug nuk</i>	one hundred and one
<i>rau</i>	civet cat
<i>rax</i>	pot, jar
<i>regan</i>	ask
<i>regan</i>	outside
<i>reqan</i>	be startled, see <i>hareqan</i>
<i>rian</i>	take care of sb
<i>riaq</i>	fear
<i>ribat</i>	hurricane
<i>Ribu</i>	name of a family
<i>ribu</i>	one thousand (1000)
<i>ribu nuk ratu nuk</i>	one thousand one hundred (1100)
<i>ris</i>	land crocodile
<i>rix pin</i>	clean a garden (by removing weeds and shrubbery)
<i>rixin</i>	small ant
<i>rok</i>	root
<i>rududu</i>	thundering sound
<i>rug</i>	-teen
<i>rupa</i>	be shaped (IND)
<i>rus</i>	deer
<i>ruxui</i>	intestines, guts

S

<i>sa'agar</i>	cut off (grass, small trees), synonym of <i>put</i>
<i>sabar</i>	close off, plug up
<i>saf</i>	(river) bank, gorge

<i>sak</i>	roasted
<i>Salanggalu</i>	name of clan
<i>sali war get</i>	morning time between 5-6 am when the sun comes up
<i>Sam</i>	name of a person (female)
<i>sam</i>	small (e.g. house, chair, car); compare <i>kriman</i>)
<i>samar</i>	dress neatly
<i>sampai, sampe</i>	till, arrive (IND)
<i>Samperan</i>	name of a person (male)
<i>Sangubal</i>	name of a place
<i>sapi</i>	cow (IND)
<i>saqal</i>	with zest
<i>sar</i>	find, notice
<i>sarar</i>	edge, border between a village and the forest
<i>sas</i>	feed
<i>sax</i>	demarcation
<i>saxa'</i>	chicken
<i>saxa'</i>	sound of sth light falling
<i>saxa' exer</i>	crow (chicken)
<i>saxakar</i>	stiff
<i>saxe'</i>	open a door
<i>sayan</i>	love
<i>sayar</i>	tip of sth (generic)
<i>sefilax</i> [sfilax]	cut with bamboo
<i>sefuran</i> [sfuran]	tornado
<i>seh</i>	exclamation of disappointment
<i>sematar</i>	in a moment (<Ind <i>sebentar</i>)
<i>sen</i>	money (Ind < Dutch <i>cent</i>)
<i>senaar</i>	devil
<i>sepatu</i>	shoe
<i>serang</i>	name of a family
<i>si</i>	Simultaneous marker
<i>si'</i>	wash things
<i>si'ar</i>	knife
<i>siaan</i>	circular plank attached to house pole to prevent mice from climbing in
<i>sib</i>	new
<i>siban</i>	behind
<i>sibari</i>	k.o. tree
<i>sifi</i>	instrument to make fire
<i>sig</i>	sound
<i>sigar'</i>	be quiet, used in Ha <i>sigar'</i> ! "You be quiet!"
<i>sii</i>	bite
<i>sii'</i>	spoon
<i>-siif</i>	back (of body)
<i>siir</i>	name of a person
<i>siis</i>	dry

<i>sik</i>	voice (n/v), make sound (also used for mechanical sounds from e.g. cars, tape recorders)
<i>sika</i>	sound to chase away dogs
<i>silak</i>	fast, hard
<i>sin</i>	Chinese
<i>sin</i>	just, only
<i>sir</i>	name of a family
<i>sir</i>	fry
<i>six</i>	bamboo container
<i>skola</i>	school (< Ind <i>sekola</i>)
<i>sladan</i>	cloth
<i>sli</i>	traditional cloth worn around the waist (approx. 3 m long)
<i>sluan</i>	traditional bamboo mug
<i>soi</i>	hit a drum
<i>soi</i>	order
<i>soi tup</i>	wake up sb
<i>sox</i>	sound to chase away pigs
<i>soxai</i>	traditional dance, generic (cf. <i>taxar</i>)
<i>srunan</i>	stick into sth
<i>su'an</i>	cut off
<i>su'uk</i>	tell sth to sb
<i>sua'</i>	separate/cut off/drop things, e.g. coconut, fruits, leaves by cutting them from the stem; cf. <i>moxod</i>
<i>suk</i>	exit come down (e.g. come out of a house on stilts)
<i>sumax</i>	sound chase away goats
<i>suran</i>	write (<IND <i>surat</i> 'letter?')
<i>sus</i>	fine, ground
<i>sus</i>	tighten a rope
<i>susa'</i>	trouble
<i>susu</i>	milk (IND)
<i>suug</i>	continue
<i>suxur</i>	heavy

T

<i>ta</i>	topic marker
<i>ta mai</i>	lay down, put on
<i>ta mi</i>	put down (thing)
<i>ta nat</i>	place on sth
<i>ta-</i>	distributive object, possessor
<i>ta'</i>	sea
<i>ta'a</i>	which
<i>ta'an</i>	distributive pronoun
<i>ta'an qap</i>	bamboo shell
<i>ta'an qui</i>	bamboo worm
<i>-taar</i>	vagina
<i>-taax</i>	throat, neck

<i>tab</i>	truly
<i>tab</i>	spear
<i>tabaku</i>	tobacco, sigaret (IND)
<i>tabaku or</i>	sigaret tip
<i>taban</i>	slave
<i>tad</i>	receive, strike at, be hit/struck (e.g. by an illness, a stone)
<i>tad-tad</i>	together
<i>tadunggat</i>	dry sound
<i>taf</i>	rainbow
<i>tafaag</i>	wrap (noun)
<i>tafan</i>	pole
<i>tafapar</i>	flutter
<i>tafeu</i>	fight against, e.g. <i>pi-tafeu</i> 'we fight against each other'
<i>tafiyak, tafik</i>	cracked
<i>tafulan</i>	let rest a problematic issue
<i>tag</i>	count
<i>tag</i>	k.o.drum
<i>tag</i>	up
<i>tai kuwai</i>	bark
<i>tal</i>	clean
<i>tal inau</i>	how much
<i>tama'</i>	fat
<i>tama'</i>	tasty
<i>tamai</i>	put on sth
<i>tami</i>	tamarind
<i>-tan</i>	hand
<i>-tan ki'</i>	finger
<i>-tan ku</i>	elbow
<i>tan qui</i>	k.o. rattan
<i>tanan</i>	half ripe
<i>tanau</i>	give advice
<i>tane'</i>	kick sideways
<i>tap</i>	pound, dig a hole
<i>tapi</i>	but (IND)
<i>tar</i>	swim
<i>tar</i>	wing
<i>tar, tal</i>	rope
<i>tara'</i>	broken in pieces
<i>tarai</i>	choose
<i>tarau</i> ['taraw]	muscle
<i>tarau</i> [ta'raw], [traw]	language
<i>tarau do'or</i>	learn a language
<i>tarau her nuk</i>	story, word
<i>taraxa'</i>	bury
<i>tare'</i>	shake out (rice from bamboo container; water out of child who almost drowned)

<i>tas</i>	stand
<i>tatax</i>	chop
<i>tau</i>	mug made out of coconut shell
<i>tau</i>	perfective
<i>tawenan</i>	family that is traditionally appropriate to marry
<i>tax</i>	flying lizard
<i>taxaa</i>	fall down
<i>taxaau</i>	steal
<i>taxam</i>	forked
<i>taxani</i>	ask about sth
<i>taxaqar</i>	to address
<i>taxar</i>	cut (hard material, e.g. tree, wood, iron)
<i>taxar</i>	traditional dance of women (cf. <i>soxai</i>)
<i>taxaran</i>	how
<i>te</i>	tea (IND)
<i>tefug</i> [tfug]	narrow
<i>tei</i>	carry hanging (e.g. rope hanging from the head; cf. <i>waria</i>)
<i>tei</i>	tree, wood
<i>tei qar, teqar</i>	cassava
<i>tei tenai</i>	base/bottom of pole (the base of one pole must touch the top of the other pole, even if they are lying horizontal)
<i>tei-teian</i>	spread over entire place
<i>teiwa'</i>	clan name
<i>telag</i>	wide
<i>teluk</i>	bay (IND)
<i>teqas-teqas</i>	tired (from working hard)
<i>teran</i>	middle of night
<i>terus</i>	continuously
<i>tetan</i>	fall (by itself)
<i>tewar, te</i>	walk
<i>-ti</i>	bottom
<i>ti'</i>	grass
<i>tiaam</i>	six
<i>t-ian ta-gas</i>	be each other's brothers and sisters
<i>tian</i>	long
<i>tiaq</i>	hungry
<i>tiar</i>	chase sb; change
<i>tib, ga-tib-tib</i>	provide for; be exactly enough
<i>tii'</i>	lie down, sleep
<i>tini</i>	branches of a forking stem
<i>tiraq</i>	day after tomorrow
<i>tiri</i>	float
<i>tiu</i>	steam/cook food in a bamboo tube
<i>tiwan</i>	carry with two persons, e.g. with a pole resting on the shoulders
<i>-to'</i>	stomach

<i>tod</i>	rub
<i>-tof</i>	egg
<i>togar</i>	cry loudly (women)
<i>tona'</i>	collect, gather larger objects (compare <i>bir</i>)
<i>toples</i>	jar (Ind < Du <i>stopfles</i>)
<i>tot</i>	stream, flow
<i>toxol</i>	make sound while laying eggs
<i>toyan</i>	old (age)
<i>trodan</i>	diagonal or south (looking from Madar to the south is looking diagonally across the island)
<i>trunan</i>	roll over
<i>trus</i>	investigate
<i>tu'ar</i>	plate made of wood
<i>tu'ar qlet</i>	plate made of pumpkin skin
<i>tu'uk</i>	knock
<i>tu'um</i>	thick
<i>tuax</i>	palm wine
<i>tub</i>	point (to)
<i>tuk</i>	short
<i>tukar</i>	stick
<i>tuku</i>	bent down
<i>tun</i>	year
<i>tun mulax</i>	help
<i>tup</i>	get up
<i>tup-an tas</i>	stand up
<i>tur</i>	former
<i>tutax</i>	chop up
<i>tutax</i>	fireplace
<i>tuwar</i>	slash

U

<i>u</i>	distal
<i>u'an</i>	hold in ones arms, cradle
<i>ua'</i>	hit
<i>uaa</i>	crush
<i>uagi</i>	creep up on sb, spy on sb, watch carefully
<i>uam</i>	teach
<i>-uar baaq</i>	ear hole
<i>-uar wa'</i>	auricle
<i>uas, us</i>	lift
<i>ufan</i>	forget
<i>ultag</i>	talk
<i>umbangan</i>	ask of sb
<i>umer</i>	uncle
<i>un</i>	continuative
<i>un-</i>	applicative prefix

<i>una'</i>	also
<i>unaxai</i>	over there
<i>undagar</i>	turn face towards
<i>Unu</i>	name of a family
<i>upar</i>	pebble
<i>upas</i>	k.o. bamboo arrow with a round of tips at the top, used to shoot birds or fish, synonym of <i>bluking</i>
<i>ur</i>	open field
<i>uri</i>	watch, guard, see
<i>uri beli</i>	look searchingly
<i>uri da</i>	look upwards
<i>uri gi</i>	look far
<i>uri mir</i>	look up
<i>uri suk</i>	look downwards
<i>uri wa</i>	look forward
<i>uri ya</i>	look down
<i>uri yix</i>	look downwards
<i>-usan, -usan bag</i>	teeth
<i>usaq</i>	dirty
<i>ut</i>	four
<i>utan</i>	pry out
<i>-uuk</i>	heart
<i>-uwa' mud</i>	moustache
<i>uwaad</i>	big
<i>uwi</i>	steam
<i>uy</i>	person
<i>uy kir men</i>	person carrying a heavy load
<i>uyan</i>	footprint
<i>uyan</i>	mountain
<i>uyan</i>	search, follow a trace
<i>yuaq</i>	humans

V

<i>vinbui</i>	nose
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W

<i>wa</i>	go
<i>wa</i>	say
<i>wa'</i>	leaf
<i>Wa'ang</i>	name of family
<i>waal</i>	that just mentioned
<i>wad</i>	today
<i>wad qai</i>	just now
<i>wai</i>	blood
<i>waktu</i>	time (IND)
<i>wal</i>	be full

<i>walas</i>	tell
<i>wan</i>	be
<i>wan axawar</i>	to long for sth
<i>wan axolar</i>	stream off an edge
<i>wan ba'</i>	strike
<i>wan bali'in</i>	wash clothes
<i>wan be'</i>	be
<i>wan ben</i>	work on, carve wood (e.g. work as a carpenter)
<i>wan boxan</i>	guard
<i>wan deqai</i>	dig up
<i>wan g-uagi</i>	watch, mind, look after sb
<i>wan hamar</i>	say a magic formula
<i>wan jag</i>	guard
<i>wan kruan</i>	know
<i>wan omar</i>	be surprised
<i>wan pak</i>	snap at, tell sb off
<i>wan penai</i>	touch, feel, synonym of wan pinan
<i>wan pinan</i>	touch, feel, synonym of wan penai
<i>wan su'uk</i>	to tell about
<i>wan tad</i>	surround
<i>wan tar</i>	throw at
<i>wan tot</i>	drip, flow down
<i>wan tub</i>	light a fire or torch
<i>wan we'</i>	call out to sb
<i>wan wurax</i>	reply subsequently (e.g. in a chant)
<i>wan yaau</i>	agree
<i>wan yivar, yivar</i>	dream (about)
<i>wanan</i>	that side
<i>wansi</i>	then
<i>war</i>	day
<i>war</i>	stone
<i>war ba'an</i>	West
<i>war daan</i>	East
<i>war gama'ut</i>	Thursday
<i>war gamanuk</i>	Monday
<i>war gamaraq</i>	Tuesday
<i>war gamatiam</i>	Saturday
<i>war gamayerig</i>	Wednesday
<i>war gamayesraq</i>	Sunday
<i>war gamayusan</i>	Friday
<i>war get</i>	sun
<i>war og</i>	midday
<i>war taran</i>	day and night
<i>waran</i>	swell/swollen
<i>warax</i>	wait (for)
<i>waria'</i>	carry on one shoulder

<i>wat</i>	coconut
<i>wat kul</i>	coconut.shell
<i>watol</i>	antique cloth
<i>wayan</i>	change
<i>wayan</i>	roof of <i>lontar</i> leaf
<i>weg</i>	door
<i>weg</i>	
<i>weg eqar</i>	back door (used by women)
<i>weg masar</i>	front door
<i>weg</i>	raw, unripe (e.g. uncooked rice, unripe corn)
<i>wei</i>	bathe
<i>wou</i>	mango
<i>wraak</i>	search (for sth lost, try to make money, look for food)
<i>wrer</i>	climb (up)
<i>wudan</i>	dry in sun
<i>wula'</i>	fast
<i>wultag</i>	talk
<i>wunaxai</i>	over there
<i>wur</i>	moon
<i>wuraq</i>	hear
<i>wurax</i>	have a dispute, fight verbally
<i>wurax</i>	rattan
<i>wurax laman</i>	see <i>wurax</i>
<i>wut</i>	forest
<i>wut ras</i>	jungle
<i>wutan wa'</i>	vegetables

X

<i>xa'a</i>	this
<i>xaai</i>	lungs; <i>pua ya xaai</i> 'disappoint, cheat'
<i>xaan</i>	dig
<i>xaf</i>	fish
<i>xag</i>	joint
<i>xag</i>	pick leaves (in bunches) (compare <i>ku'us</i>)
<i>xai</i>	boat
<i>xai tag</i>	passengers boat
<i>xal</i>	rain
<i>-xala'</i>	mother
<i>-xala' sam</i>	aunt (mother's younger sister)
<i>-xala' uwaad</i>	aunt (mother's elder sister)
<i>-xalat</i>	armpit
<i>-xaler</i>	aunt
<i>xam</i>	breast
<i>xam yir</i>	milk
<i>xap</i>	compensate, support
<i>xar</i>	fire wood

<i>xar or</i>	ember
<i>xar war</i>	burned
<i>xara'</i>	now
<i>xas</i>	soft skin of fruit (e.g. banana); manure, dirt
<i>Xat</i>	k.o.tree
<i>xat</i>	louse (on animals)
<i>xat</i>	octopus
<i>xawar</i>	desire, sigh
<i>xax lar</i>	green house lizard
<i>xer</i>	yell, shout, chant, cry aloud, see <i>exer</i>
<i>xo'</i>	bark
<i>xo'</i>	put correctly
<i>xogo'</i>	to want sth that is difficult to get
<i>xoi</i>	rice pestle
<i>xol</i>	first
<i>xol tag</i>	first time
<i>xonan</i>	face sb
<i>xor</i>	lime
<i>xoran, oxoran, axoran,</i>	thus; like this/that
<i>axaran</i>	
<i>xoran si</i>	if so
<i>xoxon</i>	see <i>oxon</i>
<i>xu'u, uxu'u, uxuu</i>	that
<i>xuri</i>	quiet (voice/movement)

Y

<i>y-</i>	you (plural)
<i>ya'</i>	k.o. bamboo, as thick as an arm,
<i>yaa</i>	descend
<i>yaau</i>	ankle bells worn by women when dancing
<i>yaf</i>	house
<i>yaman</i>	stay
<i>yan</i>	put
<i>Yance</i>	name of a person (male)
<i>yaqai</i>	down below
<i>yar get, yer get</i>	dance place
<i>yarun</i>	shove
<i>yas</i>	bad
<i>yas paat</i>	misfortune
<i>yaxar</i>	laugh
<i>yed</i>	prospective
<i>yeh</i>	exclamation of lament
<i>yei</i>	promise
<i>yerig</i>	three
<i>yeru'</i>	hand away, distribute
<i>yes</i>	banyan tree

<i>yes ki'</i>	crab
<i>yes nerig</i>	eight
<i>yes nu'ut</i>	nine
<i>yes raq</i>	seven
<i>yes-yes</i>	suddenly
<i>Yesus</i>	Jesus (IND)
<i>yi</i>	you (plural) subject
<i>yi-</i>	you (plural) object and possessor
<i>yi'</i>	roast
<i>yi'in</i>	you (plural)
<i>yia, yias, yisi</i>	put, put (at)
<i>yia' pin</i>	to wage war
<i>yidan</i>	right
<i>yidan wan</i>	right side
<i>yigan</i>	hole in ground
<i>yigar</i>	vomit
<i>yilag</i>	who
<i>yilar</i>	k.o. tree
<i>yiman</i>	you as a group
<i>yimi</i>	fine comb, made of bamboo, cf. <i>kir</i>
<i>yip</i>	also
<i>yip axa'</i>	total, all
<i>yiqap</i>	you (plural) and they
<i>yir</i>	fly
<i>yir</i>	water
<i>yir si'</i>	pool in a river bed
<i>yiran</i>	how many
<i>yiraxau</i>	you two
<i>yiri</i>	crawl
<i>yis</i>	fruit
<i>yis wan</i>	bear fruit
<i>yit</i>	first name
<i>yit nara'</i>	name of a clan
<i>yitar</i>	meaning
<i>yitar</i>	road
<i>yivar</i>	dog
<i>yivar, wan yivar</i>	dream (about)
<i>yivat</i>	wounded
<i>yix</i>	descend
<i>yixei-yixei</i>	mountain tops
<i>yo</i>	yes
<i>yu'alan</i>	give away or sell useless people
<i>yusan</i>	five
<i>yuun</i>	down

2. English-Teiwa

A

a bit, a few	<i>geneg</i> [gneg]
a bit, a few	<i>grixi</i>
a bit (liquid)	<i>kuuk</i>
a while ago	<i>ge'ef</i>
actually	<i>molas, mol-molas</i>
to address	<i>taxaqar</i>
afternoon	<i>bayar</i>
afternoon (4-6 pm)	<i>i bayar</i>
agree	<i>wan yaau</i>
air plane	<i>kapal yiran</i>
all	<i>aga'</i>
almost	<i>hoyan</i>
alone	<i>qayaq</i>
also	<i>una'</i>
also	<i>yip</i>
and	<i>ata</i>
angry	<i>karan</i>
angry, annoyed	<i>-om gaxalixi</i>
ankle bells	<i>yaau</i>
answer sb; follow sb	<i>bun</i>
k.o. black ant	<i>haliwai</i>
small ant	<i>rixin</i>
antique.cloth	<i>watol</i>
anything	<i>indan</i>
appear, expand, blossom	<i>paqan</i>
apple shaped fruit (<i>Spondias dulcis</i>)	<i>maxan</i> [ma'xan]
applicative prefix	<i>un-</i>
arm	<i>-tan, see hand</i>
armpit	<i>-xalat</i>
around midday	<i>i uran</i>
arrive	<i>aria'</i>
arrow	<i>pial</i>
arrow used to shoot birds or fish	<i>upas</i>
arrow used to shoot birds or fish	<i>bluking</i>
arrow tip made of iron	<i>qafulat yis</i>
arrow to hunt large animals	<i>qafulat</i>
arrow used to shoot birds or mice	<i>lisi</i>
as (such)	<i>mo, mo daga, dagar</i>
ascend	<i>mir</i>
ascend	<i>mit</i> (Sar language)
ascend (towards deictic centre)	<i>daa</i>
ash from torch	<i>mus afur</i>

ask
 ask about sth
 ask for
 ask of sb
 attic
 aunt
 aunt (mother's elder sister)
 aunt (mother's younger sister)
 auricle

regan
taxani
bangan ['bangan]
umbangan
daxan
-xaler
-xala' uwaad
-xala' sam
-uar wa'

B

back (of body)
 back door (used by women)
 backbone
 bad
 k.o. small bamboo
 thick bamboo
 k.o. thin bamboo
 young, small bamboo
 bamboo container
 bamboo shell
 bamboo worm
 k.o. bamboo as thick as an arm
 banana
 unripe banana
 bank; an edge of river, ravine, ditch
 banyan tree
 bark
 bark of a tree
 basket
 basket's rope
 bathe
 bay (IND)
 be, exist
 be (in)
 be
 beach
 bean
 bear fruit
 beard
 beautiful
 because
 bee
 k.o. bee-like insect
 begin
 behind

-siif
weg eqar
-or pahas
yas
piat
petan
ixir
goxol
six
ta'an qap
ta'an qui
ya'
muxui
bragan
gafar
yes
goxo', xo'
tai kuwai
bukal
bukal tar
wei
teluk
wan, wan be'
me'
ada (IND)
bof ge-'er
qaas
yis wan
-au mayan
malas
karena (IND)
or
boxan
mulai
siban

behind; be last, later, the one following behind	<i>wek</i>
belt	<i>kamadal</i>
bent down	<i>tuku</i>
betelvine	<i>met</i>
betelnut	<i>bui</i>
big	<i>uwaaad</i>
bird	<i>dai</i>
k.o.bird	<i>is</i>
bite	<i>sii</i>
bitter	<i>maxa'</i>
black	<i>qa'an</i>
blind	<i>get yas</i>
have bad eyesight	<i>maro'</i>
blood	<i>wai</i>
blow	<i>pui</i>
blue	<i>biru (IND)</i>
blunt	<i>pulu</i>
boat	<i>xai</i>
passengers boat	<i>xai tag</i>
body	<i>baq</i>
bone; vein of leaf	<i>kir</i>
book	<i>buku (IND)</i>
borrow	<i>beli'</i>
bottle	<i>gola'</i>
bottom	<i>-ti</i>
bottom, base of an object	<i>her</i>
bottom end of pole	<i>tei tenai</i>
bow	<i>hutan</i>
bowl made of coconut shell, food container, plate	<i>lema</i>
branch of thick bamboo	<i>petan kei</i>
branches of a forking stem	<i>tini</i>
break	<i>ari'</i>
breast	<i>xam</i>
breathe	<i>haqax</i>
bride's dowry	<i>inqas taraxa'</i>
broken in pieces	<i>tara'</i>
my brothers and sisters (addressing an audience)	<i>na-dan na-'ir</i>
younger brother	<i>-i'an qai ga'ik</i>
brother (also classificatory: MZS and FBS)	<i>-i'an qai</i>
my brother's daughter	<i>na-rat emaq</i>
be each other's brothers and sisters	<i>t-ian ta-gas</i>
bunch	<i>baai</i>
bunch of 4 coconuts	<i>i xi</i>
burn	<i>de'</i>
burned	<i>xar war</i>
bury	<i>taraxa'</i>

bury
but
buy

ga-fan iga'
tapi (IND)
ol

C

cake
call loudly
call out to sb
call sb
can
canary
cannot
be careful
carry hanging
carry on head
carry on one shoulder
carry with two persons, pole resting on shoulders
carry with a rope around the neck
carve out
cassava
cat
wild cat
catch
caterpillar
caught by daylight
change
poem, chant
character
chase sb; change
chat
cheat
cheer
chew betelnut
chicken
chicken's sound ('tock-tock')
child
my child
child
child (small)
motherless child
children
Chinese
choose
chop
chop up
church

kokis (< Dutch *koekjes*)
punan
wan we'
pak
bisa (IND)
qraan
gasaai
bil-bli
tei
grod
waria'
tiwan
bang qrawas
qap
tei qar, teqar
kamau
kamau wut gax
fin
qui
igun liar
wayan
pantun (IND)
kanoro'
tiar
blau
puan yaqai
krui
bui sii
saxa'
kokoko
-oqai
noqai
bif g-oqai
bif
bin (*uy bin*)
biar, biar kriman
sin
tarai
tatax
tutax
gereja (IND)

circular	<i>pug</i>
circular plank attached to pole of house to prevent mice from climbing in	<i>siaan</i>
civet cat	<i>rau</i>
civil servant	<i>pegawai</i> (IND)
classifier for thin objects, such as board or cloth	<i>hala'</i>
clean	<i>tal</i>
clean a garden (by removing weeds and shrubbery)	<i>rix pin</i>
clean up a garden	<i>deqai</i>
clean, make clean	<i>masuai</i>
cleared land, ready to be used as garden	<i>i bag</i>
clever, understand	<i>-om quun</i>
climb (up)	<i>wrer</i>
(be) close; part	<i>qas</i>
close	<i>he'en</i>
close off, plug up	<i>sabar</i>
cloth	<i>nuan</i>
cloth	<i>sladan</i>
traditional cloth worn around the waist	<i>sli</i>
cloth (thick black woven cloth, worn by women)	<i>kian</i>
cloth to carry a child in	<i>buayan</i>
cloth to carry child in	<i>diling</i>
clothes, clothing	<i>inqas</i>
cloud, fog	<i>manaf</i> [mnaʃ]
cock-a-doodle-do	<i>quququ</i>
coconut	<i>wat</i>
coconut shell	<i>wat kul</i>
cocoon	<i>afuri</i>
collect liquid	<i>do'or</i>
collect or pick up small/uncountable objects	<i>bir</i>
collect sth falling in a container	<i>garan</i>
collect, gather (larger objects)	<i>tona'</i>
colour	<i>ge-lal</i>
comb made of bone	<i>kir</i>
comb made of bamboo (fine)	<i>yimi</i>
come (here)	<i>ma</i>
come in	<i>deqang</i>
come to	<i>honan</i>
compensate, support	<i>xap</i>
container	<i>bak</i> (< Dutch <i>bak</i>)
continuative	<i>un</i>
continue	<i>suug</i>
continuously	<i>terus</i>
cook, boil	<i>dau</i>
cooked	<i>qar-an; in qaran</i> 'thing for which there is no debt'

coral reef on land	<i>qoqas</i>
corn	<i>batar</i>
k.o.corn	<i>pur</i>
count	<i>tag</i>
cow	<i>sapi (IND)</i>
crab	<i>yes ki'</i>
cracked	<i>tafiyak, tafik</i>
crawl	<i>yiri</i>
creep up on sb, spy on sb, watch carefully	<i>uagi</i>
crocodile (land crocodile)	<i>ris</i>
crocodile (salt water crocodile)	<i>baxaai</i>
cross-cousin (female) (MBD, FZS).	<i>-i'an</i>
cross-cousin (male) (FZS, MBS)	<i>-dias</i>
crow	<i>qaai</i>
crow (chicken sound)	<i>saxa' exer</i>
crown of a palm tree	<i>faxai</i>
crush	<i>uaa</i>
cry	<i>kiid</i>
cry loudly (women)	<i>togar</i>
cucumber	<i>pen</i>
curse sb	<i>daar bub</i>
cut (hard material)	<i>taxar</i>
cut in pieces, slaughter	<i>paai</i>
cut off	<i>su'an</i>
cut off (grass, small trees)	<i>sa'agar, put</i>
cut up (tree, wood, big fish)	<i>boqai</i>
cut with bamboo	<i>sefilax [sfilax]</i>

D

damage(d)	<i>gisa'</i>
dance: traditional dance of women	<i>taxar</i>
dance: traditional dance, generic	<i>soxai</i>
dance place	<i>yar get, yer get</i>
daughter in law	<i>emaq bif</i>
a few days ago	<i>g-at yiran</i>
day	<i>war</i>
day after tomorrow	<i>tiraq</i>
day and night	<i>war taran</i>
daybreak	<i>i liar</i>
deaf	<i>qluus</i>
deep (said of e.g. lake, wound)	<i>kul</i>
deer	<i>rus</i>
defeated, annoyed	<i>par, -om par</i>
deliver a baby (coarse)	<i>raa</i>
deliver a baby (polite)	<i>bif ga'-mis (lit. 'sit for a child')</i>
demarcation	<i>sax</i>

descend	<i>yaa</i>
descend	<i>yix</i>
desire, sigh	<i>xawar</i>
devil	<i>senaar</i>
dew	<i>hayan</i>
die	<i>min</i>
dig	<i>xaan</i>
dig up	<i>wan deqai</i>
dirty	<i>usaq</i>
dirty, sweaty, grubby, dusty	<i>klita'</i>
dirty and wet (e.g. from mud)	<i>blaqas</i>
have a dispute, fight verbally	<i>wurax, wurax laman</i>
dispute	<i>e'er ma laman</i>
distal marker	<i>u</i>
distributive object, possessor	<i>ta-</i>
distributive pronoun	<i>ta'an</i>
divide	<i>paxai</i>
do not	<i>gaxa'ai, gaxai</i>
do once again	<i>ata(ng)</i>
dog	<i>yivar</i>
dog's sound ('woof')	<i>hong</i>
door	<i>weg</i>
down	<i>yuun</i>
down below	<i>yaqai</i>
dragon	<i>hanad</i>
dragon	<i>ranbor, haranbor</i>
dream (about)	<i>yivar, wan yivar</i>
dress (n)	<i>klet</i> (<Dutch archaic <i>kleed</i> [kle:t])
dress neatly	<i>samar</i>
drink	<i>hufa'</i>
drip, flow down	<i>wan tot</i>
drip, let go	<i>moxod</i>
k.o.drum	<i>tag</i>
drum (traditional)	<i>quan, qu'an</i>
drunk; crazy	<i>bunar</i>
dry	<i>siis</i>
dry in sun	<i>wudan</i>
dry sound	<i>tadunggat</i>
dust	<i>braam, di' braam</i>
dust (e.g. from dry grass or saw dust)	<i>qafur</i>
E	
eagle, hawk	<i>ki</i>
eagle, hawk (male)	<i>ki son</i>
ear hole	<i>-uar baaq</i>
earth	<i>moxo'</i>

earthquake	<i>i toyan</i>
East	<i>war daan</i>
East Pantar	<i>I miran</i>
eat	<i>na, ina</i>
edge, border between a village and the forest	<i>sarar</i>
edge, border of garden	<i>i gesi</i>
eel	<i>miar</i>
egg	<i>-tof</i>
eight	<i>yes nerig</i>
eighteen	<i>qaar nuk rug yesnerig</i>
elbow	<i>-tan ku</i>
eleven	<i>qaar nuk rug nuk</i>
ember	<i>xar or</i>
empty (said of e.g. bag, glass)	<i>hasak</i>
endeavour, look for food	<i>holan</i>
be exact	<i>pas</i>
exclamation	<i>ha, he</i>
exclamation of being startled	<i>bifa!</i>
exclamation of disappointment	<i>seh</i>
exclamation of lament	<i>yeh</i>
exit come down from e.g. house on stilts	<i>suk</i>
eye	<i>-et</i>

F

face	<i>fan, fan baar</i>
face each other	<i>oxon, xoxon</i>
face sb	<i>xonan</i>
fall	<i>ba'</i>
fall (by itself)	<i>tetan</i>
fall down	<i>taxaa</i>
family that is appropriate to marry	<i>tawenan</i>
far	<i>awan</i>
fast	<i>wula'</i>
fat	<i>tama'</i>
father	<i>-oma'</i>
father	<i>bapa (IND)</i>
fatherless child	<i>hara'</i>
fear	<i>riag</i>
feed	<i>sas</i>
feel pity	<i>gom ga-i'</i>
to fell; cut down	<i>gor</i>
fifteen	<i>qaar nuk rug yusan</i>
fifty	<i>qaar yusan</i>
fight against	<i>tafeu</i>
fill	<i>mia'</i>
final sip of a drink	<i>hasan</i>

find, notice	<i>sar</i>
fine (said of cloth, thread); weak	<i>melimi</i>
fine, ground	<i>sus</i>
finger	<i>-tan ki', ki'</i>
finish(ed)	<i>gula'</i>
finished	<i>abis (IND)</i>
fire wood	<i>xar</i>
fireplace	<i>tutax</i>
first	<i>xol</i>
first time	<i>xol tag</i>
fish	<i>xaf</i>
k.o. fish	<i>dias, dias kupan</i>
five	<i>yusan</i>
flat	<i>bir</i>
flat place	<i>hauan</i>
float	<i>tiri</i>
flower, blossom	<i>qaau</i>
flutter	<i>tafapar</i>
fly	<i>yir</i>
focus marker	<i>la</i>
fog	<i>maafar</i>
fold	<i>gafilax</i>
food, rice	<i>qar</i>
foot	<i>fat</i>
footprint	<i>uyan</i>
to force	<i>paksa (IND)</i>
forest	<i>wut</i>
forget	<i>ufan</i>
forked	<i>taxam</i>
former	<i>tur</i>
forthcoming topic	<i>i</i>
forty	<i>qaar ut</i>
four	<i>ut</i>
fourteen	<i>qaar nuk rug ut</i>
Friday	<i>war gamayusan</i>
friend	<i>kawan (IND)</i>
frog	<i>mauqubar</i>
front door	<i>weg masar</i>
fruit	<i>quu'</i>
fruit	<i>yis</i>
fry	<i>sir</i>
full	<i>wal</i>

G

garden (old, already existing)	<i>ar, ar wan</i>
garden with fruit trees (coconut, banana, etc.)	<i>hari</i>

get up	<i>tup</i>
ginger	<i>lau</i>
girl, young lady (17 years and up, unmarried)	<i>eqar hovar</i>
give advice	<i>tanau</i>
give away or sell useless people	<i>yu'alan</i>
give to sb	<i>an</i>
glass	<i>gelas</i> (IND)
glowing coal	<i>or</i>
to glue	<i>ma yias</i>
go	<i>gi</i>
go (not far)	<i>wa</i>
go down	<i>pag</i>
goat	<i>qavif</i>
gong	<i>gon</i>
good morning	<i>bes-bes</i>
good, friend, finish	<i>qau</i>
grandchild	<i>rat qai</i>
my grandchild	<i>na-war</i>
grandfather	<i>ba'i</i>
grandfather	<i>rata' masar</i>
my grandfather	<i>naree</i>
grandmother	<i>quaf</i>
grandmother	<i>rata' eqar</i>
grandparent	<i>rata'</i>
grass	<i>man</i>
grass	<i>ti'</i>
grasshopper	<i>au</i>
grave	<i>badan g-et</i>
green	<i>ayogar</i>
groom's dowry payment (gongs and kettledrums)	<i>go'oi paxal</i>
grow up	<i>ilan</i>
grunt of pig	<i>ox</i>
guard	<i>buxun</i>
guard	<i>wan boxan</i>
guard	<i>wan jag</i>

H

hail stone	<i>i dilan</i>
hair	<i>-o'on wa'</i>
body hair, fur (humans, animals)	<i>mud</i>
half	<i>abaq, baq</i>
half	<i>masaman</i>
half ripe	<i>tanam</i>
hand	<i>-tan</i>
hand away, distribute	<i>yeru'</i>
hang	<i>hor</i>

hard, fast	<i>silak</i>
harvest feast	<i>igan</i>
hatch	<i>atukan</i>
have hair, be hairy	<i>mayan</i>
s/he	<i>a</i>
s/he	<i>ga'an</i>
s/he object or possessor	<i>ga-, ga'-, g-, a-</i>
s/he and they	<i>iqap</i>
s/he	<i>a'an</i>
his, her	<i>g-ax</i>
head	<i>-o'on</i>
be(come) healthy	<i>bis</i>
hear	<i>wuraq</i>
heart	<i>-uuk</i>
heavy	<i>suxur</i>
help	<i>mulax</i>
help	<i>tun mulax</i>
hide oneself	<i>o'on</i>
hide st/sb	<i>iga'</i>
high	<i>luxun</i>
hilly	<i>mug-mug</i>
hit	<i>ua'</i>
hit	<i>bax</i>
hit a big drum in a slow rhythm	<i>soi, hodar</i>
hit a long drum	<i>bui tag</i>
hold	<i>pin</i>
hold in ones arms, cradle	<i>u'an</i>
hole (general)	<i>baaq</i>
hole in ground	<i>yigan</i>
horns	<i>-dexen</i>
hot	<i>og</i>
house	<i>yaf</i>
how	<i>taxaran</i>
how many	<i>yiran</i>
how much	<i>tal inau</i>
humans	<i>uyaq</i>
humble	<i>faxa'</i>
one hundred	<i>ratu nuk</i>
hundred	<i>ratu, haratu (< Ind (se)ratus)</i>
one hundred and one	<i>ratu nuk rug nuk</i>
one hundred eleven	<i>ratu nuk qar nuk rug nuk</i>
hungry	<i>tiaq</i>
hunt	<i>i wraak</i>
hurricane	<i>ribat</i>
husband	<i>misi</i>
hut, shelter (for the day)	<i>harasan</i>

hut, shelter (to stay overnight)

*maran***I**

I

na'an

I

na, nang

me, my (object or possessor)

na-, n-

only me

na-qai

mine

na-x

my youngest sibling/child

n-oqai iik

if

kalau (IND)

if so

xoran si

in a moment

sematar (<Ind sebentar?)

in all directions; strange

afa-afa'an

in fact

pada hal (IND)

increase

ma taxa'

indeed

be'

insect

bufaan

inside

-om

inspect, peep at

palan

instrument to make fire

sifi

instrument to get palm wine from tree

bar

intestines, guts

ruxui

investigate

trus

invite

liin

island

por

it (referring to a place)

i

it (referring to an object)

in

itchy, gruff

qalixil

its inside

*g-om***J**

jackfruit

nak

jar

toples (Ind < Du stopfles)

jaw

-au

Jesus

Yesus (IND)

joint

xag

joints

kuu'

jump

de'er

jungle

wut ras

just now

wad qai

just, only

qai

just, only

*sin***K**

Kalabahi

*Qalambas*kemiri nut (*Aleurites moluccana*)*paan*

kick sideways
kill
king
kiss by rubbing noses
kiss and cuddle
knee
knife
knock
know

tane'
far
rai
mika'
muni
fat ku'
si'ar
tu'uk
wan kruan

L

lake
land (n)
language, word, story
last night
laugh
lay down, put on
leaf
leaf(s), esp. those eaten by animals
learn a language
leech
left
left part
left over
lemon
k.o. lemon tree
less
let go, put
let it not be (modal adverb)
let a problem rest
lid, its lid
lie down
lift
light (n)
light a fire or torch
light sky just before lightning strikes
lighter
lightning
be like, appear
lime
line up
lips
live
lizard: green house lizard
house lizard
flying lizard

benaq get
i sis
tarau [ta'raw], [traw]
beban
yaxar
ta mai
wa'
miaaq
tarau do'or
qanat
ixir
ixir wan
bru, qar bru 'left over rice'
muud
bot
helan
gad
maq
tafulan
get, ga-get
tii'
uas, us
liar
wan tub
i tafaxa'
petek (IND)
ki'
daga(r)
xor
piling
-'er tuban
bangan [ba'ngan]
xax lar
mu'ux
tax

garden lizard
 locked up
 long
 k.o. long drum
 to long for sth
 long time
 long time
 look down
 look downwards
 look downwards
 look far
 look forward
 look searchingly
 look up
 look upwards
 louse (on animals)
 louse (on humans)
 love
 lungs

M

machete
 make
 make clean
 make sound while laying eggs
 make, let enter
 make hole
 male, man
 young man
 mango
 manure, dirt
 many (unexpectedly)
 market
 marry
 marry (polite form)
 master
 mat
 maybe
 meaning
 meaning
 meat
 meet
 midday
 milk
 milk
 misery; porridge

betukan, batukan
diir
tian
bui
wan axawar
ana'
iyet-iyet
uri ya
uri suk
uri yix
uri gi
uri wa
uri beli
uri mir
uri da
xat
ku'aan
sayan
xaai

ped
er
eran masuai
toxol
ma mia'
du'un
masar
masara havar
wou
xas
iga'
an
ga'-mis
ga-sas g-ax
manak [mnak]
bis
bo
yitar
arti (IND)
ko'
gunba'
war og
susu (IND)
xam yir
lala'

misfortune
 Monday
 money
 monkey
 moon
 moon sickle
 more
 morning
 4-5 am when the sky becomes lighter
 5-6 am just before sunrise
 time between 5-6 am when the sun comes up
 mother
 mother
 motorbike
 mountain
 mountain tops
 mouse
 moustache
 mouth
 mouth
 much
 much
 mud
 mug (traditional, made of bamboo)
 mug (traditional, made of coconut shell)
 muscle
 must

N

nag, pester
 nail, claw
 name
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan
 name of a clan

yas pat
war gamanuk
sen (Ind < Dutch *cent*)
maulukku
wur
bogan
garas
bes
i liran he'en
i balaqar
sali war get
-xala'
mama (IND)
motor (IND)
uyan
yixei-yixei
dur
-uwa' mud
-aa'
-laman
dum
inau
belaqas
sluan
tau
tarau ['taraw]
musti (IND)

benoqan
-kuras
yit
Hukung
Lambar
Lau Uwaad
Maligi
nara'
Peran Tubi
Qailapi
yit nara'
Burilak
Kakalau
Kaloman Goqar
La Builan
Loxoq
Salanggalu

name of a clan	<i>Baraqala</i>
name of a clan	<i>Barawasi</i>
name of a clan	<i>Teiwa'</i>
name of a family	<i>Biri</i>
name of a family	<i>Blegar</i>
name of a family	<i>Bolang</i>
name of a family	<i>Bui</i>
name of a family	<i>Lau</i>
name of a family	<i>Mase</i>
name of a family	<i>Mau</i>
name of a family	<i>Perang</i>
name of a family	<i>Qoli</i>
name of a family	<i>Ribu</i>
name of a family	<i>Serang</i>
name of a family	<i>Sir</i>
name of a family	<i>Unu</i>
name of a family	<i>Wa'ang</i>
name of a particular river location	<i>Batan</i>
name of a person	<i>Siir</i>
name of a person (female)	<i>Bruang</i>
name of a person (female)	<i>Sam</i>
name of a person (female)	<i>Leti</i>
name of a person (female)	<i>Lol</i>
name of a person (female)	<i>Malai</i>
name of a person (female)	<i>Mani</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Edi</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Marten</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Nabas</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Qoliribu</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Samperan</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Yance</i>
name of a person (male)	<i>Lius</i>
name of a place	<i>Pan Kotor</i>
name of a place	<i>Qauturu</i>
name of a place	<i>Sangubal</i>
name of a place	<i>Bursi'in</i>
name of a place	<i>Otfai</i>
name of a Barawasi clan member	<i>Amulalang</i>
narrow	<i>tefug</i> [tfug]
navel	<i>-or to'oi</i>
near	<i>pe'en</i>
negation	<i>maan</i>
new	<i>sib</i>
new	<i>baru</i> (IND)
new garden	<i>maxar</i>
night	<i>iqa'an</i>

middle of night
 nightmare
 nine
 nineteen
 North
 nose
 not know
 not necessary
 not want
 now

teran
muman
yes nu 'ut
qaar nuk rug yesnu 'ut
begar
vinbui
paat
adang
naxa'
xara'

O

octopus
 OK
 old (age)
 old (said of things)
 old respected men
 one
 one 24-hours period; a night and a day
 only
 only (used in pronouns)
 open a door
 open field
 open, loose
 oppose, dispute
 or
 be or look alike
 order
 orphan
 orphan, widow
 other(s)
 others
 outside
 outside
 outside
 over there
 over there (invisible)

xat
oke (<Eng)
toyan
hata'
kami
nuk
at
di
-qai
saxe'
ur
husaq
laman
le
galal
soi
hara' bin, ra' bin
ra'
ga-dan
hala
i yaxalat
ragan, regan
luar (IND)
unaxai, wunaxai
ifo, ifo'o

P

palm, kind of
 palm wine
 Pantar
 Pantar
 papaya
 part
 pay back

bur
tuax
Galiyawa
Pantar
kasi
dan
pat

pebble	<i>upar</i>
peel	<i>qe'en</i>
pendant (traditional)	<i>baf</i>
penis	<i>fi</i>
person	<i>uy</i>
person carrying a heavy load	<i>uy kir men</i>
pick fruit	<i>qi'</i>
pick leaves (in bunches)	<i>xag</i>
pick leaves (one by one)	<i>ku'us</i>
pidgeon	<i>par</i>
piece, one piece	<i>bun</i>
pig	<i>bai</i>
place	<i>esan</i>
to place on sth	<i>ta nat</i>
plan, think about	<i>-om mai, -omai</i>
to plant	<i>midan</i>
k.o. plant in forest	<i>kui'ii</i>
plate made of pumpkin skin	<i>tu'ar qlet</i>
plate made of wood	<i>tu'ar</i>
plate to toast corn on	<i>qaaf</i>
play	<i>miar</i>
pluck leaves	<i>qu'us</i>
plug (n)	<i>isan</i>
plural word	<i>non</i>
point (to)	<i>tub</i>
point to; pay/supply with materials for celebration	<i>goxonan</i>
pole	<i>tafan</i>
pool in a river bed	<i>yir si'</i>
possibly	<i>na'</i>
pot, jar	<i>rax</i>
pound, dig a hole	<i>tap</i>
powder	<i>kil</i>
praise	<i>daar-an gemelan</i>
pray	<i>hamar</i>
press, mould	<i>qavai ['qavaj]</i>
perfective	<i>tau</i>
private parts	<i>be'er; ga-be'er 'taboo'</i>
progressive	<i>pati</i>
promise	<i>yei</i>
prospective	<i>yed</i>
provide for; be exactly enough	<i>tib, ga-tib-tib</i>
proximate	<i>a</i>
pry out	<i>utan</i>
pry out with force	<i>duki</i>
puddle	<i>banaq</i>
pull	<i>kiri</i>

pull upwards
 pull out
 pull out
 push forcefully into; to force open
 push into a small hole
 push, push away
 put at
 put correctly
 put down (thing)
 put on sth
 put, put (at)

hela (IND)
eqan
bar
digan
diiib
dumar
mian
xo'
ta mi
tamai
yia, yias, yisi, yan

Q

quarrel
 quiet (voice/movement)
 be quiet

laman
xuri
sigá'

R

rain
 rainbow
 rainy season
 k.o. rattan
 rattan
 raw, unripe
 reach; arrive at
 realis suffix
 receive, strike at, be hit, be struck
 recite poetry
 red
 red paper
 reflection, mirror image
 remember
 reply subsequently (in a chant)
 respected old man, Mr
 return, go home
 rice (as crop)
 rice (unhusked)
 rice (uncooked)
 rice pestle
 rice without a side dish
 right
 right side
 right, then
 ring, stalk, stick
 ripe
 river

xal
taf
bogatag
tan qui
wurax
weg; in weg 'thing in debt'
hadan
-an, -'an, -in, -en, -n
tad
olax hamar
ii'
lada'
gaxas
'ena
wan wurax
kri
ewar
raax
raax dig
qar dig
xoi
qar xo'
yidan
yidan wan
mam
kiil
muban
bo'oi

river bank
road
roast
roasted
roll
roll over
roof of lontar leaf
room
root
rope
rotten
rub
run

saf
yitar
yi'
sak
alila'
trunan
wayan
li' gom
rok
tar, tal
muun
tod
bir

S

salt
salty
same, be the same
sap from plants
satisfied
satisfied
Saturday
to save, store
say
say a magic formula
be scared
scarf
scatter(ed)
school
scorpion
scratch, scabies
scream (pigs)
sea current
sea
search, look for sth
search, follow a trace
seed
k.o.seed that looks like rice
self
sell to sb
send
separate/cut off things
sequential marker
seven
seventeen
shake out

hisar
masil
asaman
qu'
bik
manas
war gamatiam
mai
wa
wan hamar
arar
nuan senai [snaj]
barak
skola (< Ind sekola)
par
kikar
qau
biar
ta'
wraak
uyan
bag
manuququru
exan, exen
'an
panaat [pnaat]
sua'
ba
yes raq
qaar nuk rug yesraq
kiqax

shake out of (e.g. rice from container, water out of child that almost drowned)	<i>tare'</i>
be shaped	<i>rupa</i> (IND)
sharp	<i>pixiri</i>
sharp, fierce	<i>maxan</i> ['maxan]
shattered	<i>musaq</i>
shelves (Ind < Dutch rek)	<i>rak</i>
shining, brilliant	<i>pliri</i>
shirt	<i>kon</i>
shoe	<i>sepatu</i>
shoot	<i>pedil</i>
shoot with an arrow	<i>gaal, i gaal</i>
short	<i>tuk</i>
short drum	<i>pa'an</i>
short time	<i>geg</i> (opposite of <i>ana'</i>)
shoulder	<i>-dia'</i>
shove	<i>yarun</i>
show	<i>lal</i>
show to	<i>ma lalan</i>
sibling: older	<i>matu'</i>
sibling: younger	<i>adik</i> (IND)
sibling	<i>bawe</i>
older sibling, friend	<i>ka'au</i>
younger sibling (term of address); child	<i>bif</i>
be/have siblings	<i>ik uwaad</i>
siblings	<i>-dan ni'ir</i>
sick	<i>i'</i>
side, half	<i>qaas</i>
sift	<i>numi</i>
sigaret tip	<i>tabaku or</i>
silent	<i>maq-maq</i>
silent	<i>qo-qo'oi</i>
simultaneous marker	<i>si</i>
sing	<i>daar</i>
sink	<i>adiman</i>
Sir	<i>nome</i>
sister (older)	<i>-gas qai matu'</i>
sister (younger)	<i>-gas qai</i>
sit	<i>mis</i>
six	<i>tiaam</i>
sixteen	<i>qaar nuk rug tiam</i>
skin	<i>kuwai</i>
soft skin of e.g. banana; manure, dirt	<i>xas</i>
hard skin of e.g. betel nut, rice	<i>qa'</i>
sky	<i>bulanqul</i>
sky	<i>haran hasak</i>

slash	<i>tuwar</i>
slash, cut into	<i>bax</i>
slave	<i>taban</i>
sleep; lie down	<i>tii'</i>
be sleepy	<i>qud</i>
be sleepy	<i>quri</i>
sliced; in pieces	<i>bru-bru</i>
slip away	<i>dufar</i>
slowly	<i>human</i>
slowly	<i>kal-kalan</i>
slowly	<i>oman-oman</i>
small (used for small objects and children)	<i>kriman</i>
small (used for larger objects, e.g. house, chair, car)	<i>sam</i>
smoke	<i>buun</i>
smooth	<i>paxaran</i>
flying snake	<i>qavai [qa'vaj] [qvaj]</i>
snake	<i>daam</i>
snap	<i>pua'</i>
snap at, tell sb off	<i>wan pak</i>
sniff at	<i>mim</i>
so	<i>jadi (IND)</i>
so that	<i>olag (si), ulag (si)</i>
so (that)	<i>qauba</i>
something	<i>in nuk, inuk</i>
soul	<i>-orman</i>
sound	<i>sig</i>
sound of a rock plunging into water	<i>qabunggat</i>
sound of crushing corn	<i>paq</i>
sound of goats	<i>me'eh</i>
sound of sth light falling	<i>saxa'</i>
sound of sth. heavy falling; thundering sound	<i>duxu'</i>
sound to call chicken	<i>kurukuru</i>
sound to call dog	<i>aga-aga</i>
sound to call dog from far away	<i>ago-ago</i>
sound to chase away chicken	<i>burax</i>
sound to chase away dogs	<i>sika</i>
sound to chase away goats	<i>sumax</i>
sound to chase away pigs	<i>sox</i>
South, diagonal	<i>trodan</i>
spear	<i>tab</i>
spear with a large metal blade, used to fight enemies	<i>qab</i>
spin top	<i>kotan</i>
split	<i>qalas</i>
to split	<i>dekal</i>
split bamboo	<i>palan qas</i>
spoon	<i>sii'</i>

spray	<i>burar</i>
spray around	<i>braak</i>
spread over entire place	<i>tei-teian</i>
sprout, grow up	<i>qut</i>
spy (on)	<i>i guagi</i>
to stab, to be itchy	<i>qaaq</i>
stable	<i>rabax</i>
stairs	<i>hadar</i>
stalk, stem	<i>kai</i>
stand	<i>tas</i>
stand up (lit. get up stand)	<i>tup-an tas</i>
stand up (lit. grow up stand))	<i>ilan tas</i>
stare up	<i>blax-blax</i>
be startled	<i>reqan, hareqan</i>
stay	<i>yaman</i>
steal	<i>taxaau</i>
steam	<i>uwi</i>
to steam food	<i>numi</i>
to steam/cook food in a bamboo tube	<i>tiu</i>
stem	<i>pen ii</i>
stick	<i>tukar</i>
stick into sth	<i>srunan</i>
stiff	<i>saxakar</i>
stink	<i>mun lis</i>
stink, smell	<i>g-ax min</i>
stomach	<i>-to'</i>
stone	<i>war</i>
stop	<i>brenti</i> (<Ind <i>berhenti</i>)
story	<i>cerita</i> (IND)
story, word, language	<i>tarau, tarau her nuk</i>
stream off an edge	<i>wan axolar</i>
stream, flow	<i>tot</i>
strike	<i>wan ba'</i>
strong, healthy	<i>muding</i>
be stuck	<i>bu'</i>
stupid	<i>boda'</i> (<Ind <i>bodoh</i>)
stupid	<i>kamuki</i>
suck, to smoke	<i>pu'</i>
suddenly	<i>yes-yes</i>
sugar	<i>gula</i> (IND)
sun	<i>war get</i>
Sunday	<i>war gamayesraq</i>
be sure, surely	<i>quun</i>
be surprised	<i>wan omar</i>
surround	<i>fjar</i>
surround	<i>wan tad</i>

swear at sb
 swear; abuse
 sweet
 sweet potato
 swell, swollen
 swim
 swollen
 sword

fai
bayan
hub
betanqar
waran
tar
baqar
mosan

T

table
 taboo/secret place
 tail
 take
 take along
 take care of sb
 talk
 tall, high
 tamarind
 taste
 tasty
 tea
 teach
 teacher
 tears
 -teen
 teenager (12-15 years)
 teeth
 tell
 tell a story
 to tell about
 tell sth to someone
 ten
 that
 that (one) over there
 that just mentioned
 that mentioned
 that one there
 that side
 that's right, in that case
 their
 then
 then
 then
 the two of them
 they

meja (IND)
be'er get
-or
mar, mat
ga
rian
ultag, wultag
peq
tami
peti [pe'ti]
tama'
te (IND)
uam
guru (IND)
get qa'ar
rug
bog biar
-usan, -usan bag
walas
dei tag
wan su'uk
su'uk
qaar nuk
xu'u, uxu'u, uxuu
afo, afo'o, fo'o
waal
eran
laxu'u, laxu
wanan
mam xoran
li'in
ha
wansi
lalu (IND)
iraxau
gi

they (subject)	<i>i</i>
them, their- object or possessor	<i>gi-</i>
theirs	<i>pi-x</i>
they	<i>iman</i>
they (elsewhere)	<i>i'in</i>
they (elsewhere)	<i>gi'in</i>
thick	<i>tu'um</i>
think	<i>-om garegan</i>
think, plan	<i>gom mai [go'mai]</i>
thirteen	<i>qaar nuk rug yerig</i>
thirty	<i>qaar yirig, qaar rig</i>
thirty one	<i>qaar yirig rug nuk</i>
this	<i>xa'a, axa'a, axa</i>
this one here	<i>laxa'a, laxa</i>
this side	<i>manan</i>
thorn	<i>qe'ei</i>
one thousand (1000)	<i>ribu</i>
one thousand one hundred (1100)	<i>ribu nuk ratu nuk</i>
three	<i>yerig</i>
throat	<i>-mag</i>
throat, neck	<i>-taax</i>
throw at	<i>wan tar</i>
throw at sb	<i>ayas</i>
throw away	<i>os</i>
thunder	<i>dilan</i>
thunder	<i>ki gusan</i>
thundering sound (also of gongs)	<i>madilan dumar</i>
thundering sound	<i>rududu</i>
Thursday	<i>war gama'ut</i>
thus; like this, like that	<i>xoran, oxoran, axoran, axaran</i>
tie	<i>nor</i>
tie	<i>qayan</i>
to tie (up)	<i>parat</i>
tie sth (e.g. tie a rope to a wall)	<i>ku'ui</i>
tighten a rope	<i>sus</i>
till, arrive	<i>sampai, sampe</i>
time	<i>waktu (IND)</i>
tip	<i>iyei</i>
tip of sth (generic)	<i>sayar</i>
tired (from working hard)	<i>teqas-teqas</i>
tobacco, sigaret	<i>tabaku (IND)</i>
today	<i>wad</i>
toe	<i>fat ki'</i>
together	<i>asaman-saman</i>
together	<i>tad-tad</i>
tomorrow	<i>bas</i>

tomorrow morning	<i>bas bes</i>
tongue	<i>-livi</i>
too	<i>bener</i>
tools; make tools	<i>ben</i>
top of mountain	<i>mug</i>
top part	<i>qul</i>
Topic marker	<i>ta</i>
torch	<i>mus</i>
torn, split, break, broken	<i>qas</i>
tornado	<i>sefuran</i> [sfuran]
total, all	<i>yip axa'</i>
touch	<i>penai</i> [pnaj]
touch, feel, synonym of wan penai	<i>wan pinan</i>
touch, feel, synonym of wan pinan	<i>wan penai</i>
tree, wood	<i>tei</i>
k.o. tree	<i>sibari</i>
k.o. tree	<i>xat</i>
k.o. tree	<i>yilar</i>
k.o. tree	<i>pal</i>
trouble	<i>susa'</i> (IND)
trousers	<i>diku</i>
truly	<i>tab</i>
try	<i>fa</i>
Tuesday	<i>war gamaraq</i>
turn	<i>fur</i>
turn (over)	<i>belan</i>
turn face towards	<i>undagar</i>
twelve	<i>qaar nuk rug raq</i>
twenty	<i>qaar raq</i>
twine	<i>pi'i</i>
twine a rope of the skin of coconuts	<i>heka'</i>
two, see haraq	<i>raq, haraq</i>
U	
uncle	<i>umer</i>
my uncle (father's elder brother)	<i>n-oma' uwaad</i>
my uncle (father's younger brother)	<i>n-oma' sam</i>
uncle	<i>om</i> (Ind < Dutch <i>oom</i>)
up	<i>maraqai</i>
up	<i>tag</i>
use	<i>pake</i> (IND)
usual(ly)	<i>bas-bas</i>
usually	<i>biasa</i> (IND)
V	
vagina	<i>-taar</i>
vegetables	<i>wutan wa'</i>

very (much)
village
village edge
voice (n/v), make sound
vomit

banar
hafan
hafan ga-saran
sik
yigar

W

wage war
wait (for)
wake up
wake up someone
walk
walk, go
want
want
want sth that is difficult to get
wash
wash clothes
wash face
wash things
watch out!
watch, guard, see
watch, mind, look after someone
water
water buffalo
wave
we (excluding you)
we (excluding you) object, possessor
we (excluding you)
we (excluding you) and they
the two of us excluding you
only we (excluding you)
ours (exclusive)
we (excluding you) as a group
we (including you) subject
we (including you) subject
we (including you) object, possessor
we two; you and me
we (including you) and they
we (including you) as a group
only we (including you)
weak
Wednesday
k.o. thorny weed
week (IND)
West

yia' pin
warax
-et uri
soi tup
fat wan
tewar, te
-om bangan
mau (IND)
xogo'
bli
wan bali'in
dru'
si'
hena!
uri
wan g-uagi
yir
qarbau (< Ind kerbau)
bof, baf
ni
ni-, n-
ni'in
niqap
niraxau
ni-qai
ni-x
niman
pi
pi'in
pi-, p-
piraxau
piqap
piman
pi-qai
muling
war gamayerig
dia'
minggu
war ba'an

West Pantar	<i>i yixin</i>
wet	<i>qalo'</i>
what	<i>amidan</i>
where	<i>i ta'a, ita</i>
which	<i>ta'a</i>
white	<i>miaq</i>
who	<i>yilag</i>
who knows	<i>ha yo</i>
why	<i>gigalal ['giglal]</i>
wide	<i>telag</i>
wife	<i>emaq</i>
wind, cold wind	<i>qiya'au</i>
wind	<i>henar</i>
wing	<i>tar</i>
with zest	<i>saqal</i>
woman	<i>eqar</i>
work	<i>karian, krian</i>
work in garden	<i>i bar</i>
work on, carve	<i>wan ben</i>
world	<i>iid, idd por</i>
worm	<i>otar</i>
wound	<i>bat, bat get</i>
wounded	<i>yivat</i>
a wrap	<i>tafaag</i>
wrap around, twist, roll up	<i>paye'</i>
wrap up, tie up	<i>parat</i>
wring	<i>pru'</i>
write	<i>suran</i>

Y

k.o. yam	<i>aau</i>
year	<i>tun</i>
yell, shout, chant, cry aloud	<i>xer, exer</i>
yellow	<i>baxari</i>
yes	<i>ha'e, yo</i>
yes; of course	<i>hale</i>
yesterday	<i>miaag</i>
yesterday morning	<i>miaag bes</i>
you (plural) subject	<i>yi'in, yi</i>
you plural, object or possessor	<i>y-, yi-</i>
you two	<i>yiraxau</i>
you (plural) and they	<i>yiqap</i>
you (plural) as a group	<i>yiman</i>
you (singular) subject	<i>ha'an, ha</i>
you (singular), object or possessor	<i>h-, ha-</i>
your (sg)	<i>hax</i>

you and they
young, unripe (e.g. coconut, teenager)
youngster

hiqap
bog
bog wal

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Considering the number of inhabitants of these villages in recent census figures (*Penduduk Kabupaten Alor 2001; Hasil Registrasi, Badan Pusat Statistik, 2002. Kalabahi, Alor*), the language could be estimated to have 5,000 speakers, but as none of the villages is monolingual (e.g. in Nule, the languages Blagar and Sar are also spoken, and in Kabir, the Alor language is also spoken), my consultants estimated the number of speakers to be about 3,000-4,000.
2. The *desa* Madar is divided into two *kampong* 'hamlets': *Padang Pasir* (Indonesian for 'Sand Field'), and *Pandang Merpati* (Indonesian for 'Merpati (k.o. bird) Field').
3. Note that the word *wa* [waʔ] 'leaf' ends in a glottal stop, and word final glottal stops are phonemic in Teiwa. However, the glottal stop is not marked in the orthography of the language name because non-Teiwa speakers appear to systematically overlook the symbol <'> at word end.
4. These are: Kepa, Buaya, Rusa, Ternate, Pura, Tereweng, Kambing, Kangge, Lapang and Batang.
5. This version is widely known and reported in west Pantar as well (Gary Holton, p.c., 2007).
6. See also Kratochvíl (2007:3) and Baird (2008).
7. Sensus Penduduk 2000, *Statistik Potensi Desa Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur*, Jakarta, Badan Pusat Statistik.
8. In 1955 the Bajo came from Sulawesi to Pantar, in 1999 another group of Bajo arrived from East Timor (Keilbart 2006).
9. Indeed, there is evidence that the Teiwa have been in contact with Mauta and Lamma speakers, currently living in the southwestern half of Pantar, as many of the lyrics that accompany the Teiwa lego-lego dances contain expressions in Mauta or Lamma. Teiwa speakers do not understand these expressions, and no-one was able to explain when and how they became part of their oral tradition (see section 1.6).
10. The water problem, and the remote location of Lebang were also the reasons why my fieldwork took place in Madar and not in Lebang.
11. Klamer (forthcoming b) is a grammatical sketch of the language.
12. Gordon 2005 lists the name 'Lamma', however, research by Gary Holton suggests that this term more properly refers to just one of three major dialects, the others being Tubbe and Mauta; see also Gary Holton's website on the Western Pantar language, <http://www.faculty.uaf.edu/ffgmh1/pantar/> (last accessed April 13, 2009).
13. Nor are the *desa* borders.
14. It would obviously be much better to carry out a linguistic survey of the entire island. My estimation is that such a survey would take a single researcher about

three months, as many of the villages are only accessible by foot. My time in the field was too limited to carry out such a survey.

15. The language *Kadire Senaing* ‘What we understand’ referred to in Rodemeier (2006) is an Austronesian language that originates from the Majapahit kingdom Munaseli on Pantar, and is to all appearances a dialect of Alor.
16. One of the Teiwa consultants, Mr A. Pering, also informed me that before Indonesia became independent, Alor was used as the lingua franca, and e.g. to become a village head, one had to be fluent in Alor. In the 1950s Indonesian became obligatory in schools, and took over the role of Alor as lingua franca.
17. For example, Susanne Rodemeier (p.c. 2007) mentions that at the northcoast of Pantar, at Tanjung Muna, Alor did reach the mountainous villages Helangdohi and Hirangbako.
18. ‘Do what?’ is translated as *Naba gening* in Bukalabang (Steinhauer p.c., 2008).
19. This percentage is based on the comparison of a 262-item extended Swadesh word list for Sar (collected by Louise Baird in 2003), and Teiwa (my own records). A quick count shows that 161 of the words are identical or very similar.
20. One big difference is the existence of a stative/active distinction, with stative intransitive verbs employing a distinct pronoun paradigm, as in West Pantar (Holton 2004). Teiwa has no such distinction.
21. The oldest written information about Pantar is provided by the logbook of Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian naval cadet who sailed to the Moluccas in the first half of the 16th century on the ship *Victoria*, which was part of the fleet lead by Fernão de Magalhães. A recent reprint of his logbook is Pigafetta 1994. Le Roux (1929) reconstructs the Magalhães (or Magellan) voyage as leading through the Alor straits, between Pantar and Lembata.
22. The Portuguese influence was limited to “handing out Portuguese flags to some coastal rulers, among others those of Koei, Mataroe, Batoelolong, Kolana” (Van Gaalen 1945: 2).
23. ‘Christian Evangelical Churches on Timor’.
24. In contrast to this, the *Online Encyclopaedia Britannica* claims that ‘the population is mostly Muslim, together with a few Christians’. I do not think that anyone on Pantar would subscribe to this view.
25. In many villages, nowadays the church functions as the former *rumah adat*: it used to formally receive guests, to perform welcome and leavetaking rituals, and to have celebrations and community meetings.
26. *Kriman* is used to indicate a plurality of small and round objects, such as stones, coconuts, or children. (In contrast, the adjectives *sam* ‘small’ and *uwaad* ‘big’ indicate the size of singular objects.)
27. Approximate English translation of recurrent terms in figure 1.5: *n-ian qai* ‘my brother’, *na-gas qai* ‘my sister’, *n-oqai* ‘my child’, *masar* ‘male’, *eqar* ‘female’, *n-oma* ‘my father’, *na-xala* ‘my mother’, *n-umer* ‘my uncle’, *na-xaler* ‘my aunt’, *n-ian* ‘my female cousin’, *na-dias* ‘my male cousin’, *na-rat* ‘my niece, my grandchild’, *na-’ii* ‘my nephew’, *uwaad* ‘big’, *sam* ‘small’, *na-rata* ‘my grandparent’, *qai* ‘child’.
28. I have no data on how to address one’s sibling of different sex.

29. The meaning of *bog* and *hovar* is unknown. *Biar* ‘child’, *kriman* ‘plurality of small roundish objects’, *wal* ‘big (for singular object)’, *eqar* ‘woman, female’, *masar* ‘man, male’.
30. Parts of this section have also been published as Klamer and Ewing (2009).
31. The earliest traces of the first humans in what became the Indonesian archipelago date from about 40,000 years ago (BP), and are most probably the ancestors of modern Melanesians, Australian Aborigines and the Negrito communities of the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines. Due to climatic changes, human settlement became concentrated in the drier eastern part of the archipelago (compare Birdsell 1977, Cribb 2000).
32. Malcolm Ross (p.c., december 2007) points out that to validate his hypothesis regarding the TNG affiliation of the Alor-Pantar-West Timor languages, one needs to show that they have shared features which properly demonstrate the link between these ‘outlier’ languages and the TNG languages of mainland New Guinea. Such features must be (i) unlikely to have been borrowed and (ii) unlikely to have arisen independently by chance. The only shared features which would satisfy these criteria are paradigms of bound morphemes (as presented in Ross 2005), and/or a sufficient quantity of shared basic vocabulary with regular sound correspondences. The lexical evidence for the link between the outlier languages and TNG is rather weak (cf. Pawley 1998:683; 2001). In Pawley (2001, 2005) about 200 reconstructed proto-TNG forms are given, and how much of these have corresponding forms in Alor-Pantar is subject of ongoing research (Holton, Klamer and Kratochvíl 2009).
33. Likewise, Voorhoeve (1989) reports a tradition of Fataluku, according to which they originally came from the Kei islands in the east (Capell 1972), and he presents evidence that previous east-west maritime contacts had existed between Kei, and speakers of the language Iha in south west Papua, on the New Guinea mainland.
34. In Teiwa orthography, <q> represents a voiceless uvular stop, <’> is glottal stop, and <x> a voiceless pharyngeal fricative.
35. S = single argument of intransitive clauses; A = agent-like argument of transitive clauses, P= patient-like argument of transitive clauses.
36. In this respect, Teiwa differs from the other languages in the Alor/Pantar area that show semantic alignment (Klamer 2008), such as Abui (Kratochvíl 2007), Klón (Baird 2005, 2008) and Western Pantar (Holton 2008).
37. The discourse marker *ha* ‘then’ can also be used as comparative marker, see Ch. 10, section 10.5.1.
38. Teiwa does not make a morphological distinction between main and dependent verb forms either.
39. See Grimes (1991:287, 495-506) who suggests that when this order is found in the Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia, this is due to contact with the non-Austronesian languages of the area, a suggestion further supported in Klamer et.al. (2008).
40. Mr S. Pering was also an occasional consultant in 2004, and Mr A. Sir has been acting as occasional consultant throughout the research, in 2003, 2004 and 2007.

41. *Holle lists: vocabularies in languages of Indonesia*, edited by W.A.L. Stokhof in cooperation with Lia Saleh-Bronckhorst. (Special publications: Materials in languages of Indonesia). Canberra: Pacific linguistics.
42. 'Frog where are you', by Mercer Meyer, Puffin Books, 1969.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. The consonant /h/ has a centralizing effect on the vowel that follows it, so that /a/ is realised as [ɜ]. See section 2.1.3.4. below.
2. *Yu'al* can be translated as 'to give away (people)', and I assume that it is an old loan because it specifically refers to the old custom of sending / giving away people that are useless to the clan. They can be send to anyone interested, without dowry or payment. Formerly the word also referred to selling people as slaves to e.g. the Baranusa in West Pantar. The word for selling goods is 'an.
3. The vowel /o/ is pronounced as [ʌ] when it follows a pharyngeal fricative, see section 2.1.3.4.
4. The prefix *un-* is an applicative prefix that is no longer productive, see Ch. 3, section 3.3.13.
5. The function and form of the Realis suffix is discussed in Ch. 7, section 7.1.
6. The vowel features used in (14) follow the ones that are used in the Reference charts of the Handbook of the International Phonetic Association 1999, published by Cambridge University Press, p. 202.
7. Note that orthographic *aa* does not represent a long vowel, but the vowel [a] (in contrast to the vowel [a] which is represented as *a* (2.1.3.1).
8. In the nominal compound *g-or pahas* '3s-bone back' > 'his backbone'.
9. This suggestion was made by Matthew Dryer (p.c., 2009).
10. Note that the symbol for a glottal stop is known from Indonesian <' >, and speakers spontaneously write down the glottal stop when it is phonemic in word medial and word final position.
11. Observe that the final syllable in these words contains a high vowel. I have not attested words with mid/low vowels in this position.
12. Synchronically the vowel in the final syllable of these exceptional words is short. Historically, the syllable may have been heavy and have attracted stress either because the vowel was long (see below), or because it had a glottal stop as coda (compare *beli* [be'liʔ] 'borrow').
13. In fact, not all of these may be mono-morphemic, some may turn out to be lexicalised compounds.
14. Recall that *aa* represents /a/ and is not a phonemically long vowel (section 2.1.3.1).
15. The abbreviated form of the verb *tewar* is *te*, and this can also be reduplicated: *te-te* 'walk on and on'.
16. Some would jokingly add that these sounds make Teiwa sound like *bahasa babi* 'pig's language'.
17. The only exception is the word *uy* 'person', because this noun is an abbreviated form of *uyaq* 'person'.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Spatial expressions that are not nominal are discussed in section 3.7 below.
2. The NPs in (17b-d) are formed in analogy to other possessive structures in the corpus and I assume them to be correct, but they have not checked with native speakers.
3. *Paat* is also used as a negative verb ‘not know’, see (85) below. If this verb is used here, it is unclear how the compound became nominal. *Yas* is an adjective that can also be used as an adverb (section 3.4, and section 3.5.5).
4. *Kriman* ‘small’, is only used for smallish, round objects.
5. The ‘3p.elsewhere’ subject pronoun *i’in* and object pronoun *gi’in* are also discussed in Ch. 4, section 4.10.
6. The additional third person form *gə-* has a limited distribution, which is described in Ch. 4, section 4.4.2.
7. The use of *a-* as possessor morpheme is illustrated in (59).
8. *Tara’* is also used with the meaning ‘broken (in pieces)’, as in *wat tara’* ‘a coconut broken in pieces’.
9. *Uar wa’* ‘ear’ is a compound (*uar* ‘?’ + *wa’* ‘leaf’).
10. The object prefix on the verb *uyan* ‘look for sth/sb’ can refer to animate or inanimate objects, and has a variable shape (*ga-/gu-*). I have not been able to investigate this further.
11. In Ch. 9, section 9.6.1, it is explained that *-iqap* pronouns can also encode volitional comitative participants.
12. Consultants commented that *a-tewar* is synonymous with *ga-tewar*, both can be used here.
13. ‘Sb’= ‘somebody’ refers to animates (people as well as animals), in contrast to ‘sth.’=‘something’.
14. The oblique marking function of *ma* is discussed in Ch. 9, section 9.5.3.
15. I have no data if *bangan* can also take an animate object in contexts like ‘to ask for a child’. The verb for asking which regularly takes an animate object is *regan* ‘ask somebody’.
16. In the language Kaera, spoken in east Pantar, verbs of the “prefixless” class generally take both types of objects: animates and inanimates (Klamer 2009).
17. *Tad* is a process verb, its subject is an undergoer rather than an actor, and it is used e.g. in contexts like ‘this ball will strike/hit him’ (cf. Indonesian *kena*). The English action verb ‘hit’ is *-ua*, as in *na g-ua* ‘I hit him’.
18. Other human propensities are expressed as adjectives — ‘be thirsty’ is also an adjective (*tiaq*), see section 3.3 below for more examples.
19. Teiwa also lacks a morpho-syntactically marked passive construction. Agent subjects may be pragmatically ‘back-grounded’ by using the generic noun *hala* ‘others, unknown people’, which expresses an unspecified subject (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007: 354). Ch. 1, section 1.8 sketches some Teiwa functional equivalents for the passive.
20. *Alila’* ‘to roll something’ is a transitive action verb.
21. *Wa* is also used as a deictic verb ‘go from here (not far)’ (Ch. 9, section 9.4).

22. Before it is cooked, corn is crushed manually by smashing it with a piece of rock on a rock slate. This makes a typical slapping noise [pak] which is referred to as *paq*.
23. My corpus does not contain instances of applicative verbs where the prefix is followed by a vowel or a non-dental/labial consonant.
24. Ch. 4 section 4.6 describes the marking of events with three participants.
25. Alternative pronunciation: [gum]bangan.
26. Another adverbial modifying adjectives is *tab* ‘truly’, illustrated in (164c) below.
27. It is not possible to have two possessed nouns in an NP without a possessor prefix: **ga-tarau ga-’asaman* ‘3s-language 3s-same’.
28. That *di* is an adverb modifying the predicate — and not e.g. an attribute modifying e.g. the subject — is also evident from (i) (compare the wrong translation):
 - (i) *Ba ha di tewar.*
 SEQ 2s only walk
 ‘You just keep walking’ (Not good for: ‘Just/only you keep walking’)
29. The category Modality is distinct from the category of Reality status, see Ch. 7, section 7.0.
30. In serial verb constructions, the verb *ma* can function as an oblique marker, see Ch. 9, section 9.5.3.
31. *Tad* has an animate third person prefix *ga*’, see section 3.3.1 above.
32. The meaning of the base form *yes* is unclear; a semantically unrelated base noun is *yes* ‘banyan tree’.
33. Verbal derivations with *un-* are applicatives, and discussed in section 3.3.12 above.
34. Comparable to the difference, in colloquial English, between the phrases *this guy* and *a guy* in the sentence *I met {this/a guy} from Heidelberg on the train*: ‘By using the phrase *this guy*, the speaker signals her intention to add further information about the person in question, while in the version containing *a guy* such an intention is not expressed.’ (Lambrecht 1994:83).
35. *Ta* marks switched topics, but here it functions as a clause linking device. Its interclausal function may be characterised as marking the discontinuity or asymmetry of events in discourse (Ch. 11, section 11.4).
36. Ch. 9, section 9.6.3.
37. Matthew Dryer (p.c. 2009) notes that in English, only a few adverbs, like *there*, *outside* etc. can occur as complement of *be*: *He is there*, vs **He is slowly*. It is very common cross-linguistically that locational adverbs can be predicates while other adverbs cannot.
38. Consultants explained that the possessive prefix on *-at* indicates that it refers to the past.
39. The verb *bun* may also be used as ‘to answer, reply’.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. For the use of A, S, and P to refer to these arguments, see e.g. Comrie (1989).
2. The form *iman* originates from a pronominal paradigm that refers to groups of particular numbers, see Ch. 3, section 3.2.5.
3. The distributive pronoun *ta'an* 'each one' is discussed in more detail in Ch. 3, section 3.2.1.
4. Klamer (2008) presents an overview of semantic alignment in Eastern Indonesia, including languages of Alor.
5. *Tag* 'count' is translated as 'hit', since in this story the crocodile hits a drum. The semantic relation between 'to count' and 'to hit' is that in the process of counting objects, each of them may be hit on by the person counting.
6. In section 4.6 below it is discussed how events with three participants are expressed.
7. However, *ga-* has not yet lost their number coding properties, and speakers distinguish the plural use of these forms from the is "not how it should be". The glosses of *a-* and *ga-* will therefore be '3s', rather than '3'.
8. Mothers give birth in crouching or kneeling position; i.e. they "sit for" the child to be born.
9. Teiwa also has verbs that occur in middle constructions, see Ch. 3, section 3.3.4. In these constructions, a transitive patient has become an intransitive subject, and no agent is implied.
10. See also Klamer and Kratochvíl (2006). Examples of Trans New Guinea languages with animate object marking are Usan (Reesink 1987:108-109) and Nggem (Etherington 2002). In all the examples of verbal object agreement in Papuan languages presented by Foley (2000:378-379) the object affixes have animate referents.
11. Differential encoding of animate and inanimate objects is part of a broader pattern also known as 'differential object marking', see Aissen (2003), and Malchukov (2008), among others.
12. Parts of this section have been published separately as Klamer (forthc.a).
13. See Ch. 9 section 9.5.3 on the oblique marking function of *ma*.
14. The verb *mian* 'put at' with its locative object often occurs in constructions whose most natural translation into English would be 'to give to someone'. However, *mian* literally means 'put at', and contrasts with the *-an* 'give (something) to someone'.
15. The deictic verb function is but one of the many synchronic functions of *ma* in Teiwa, see Ch. 9, section 9.5.
16. Note the initial glottal stop consonant of this verb (it is not homophonous with *an* 'give').
17. Comrie et. al. (forthcoming) refer to this type of construction as an 'adnominal ditransitive construction'.
18. Locations are often the objects of transitive locative verbs such as *me* 'be at location X' (cf. Ch. 3), i.e. locations are not always oblique / introduced with *ma*.
19. Dual pronouns are also used for nominal conjunction, see Ch. 5, section 5.7.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Possessive clauses are discussed in Ch. 6, section 6.7.
2. The form *i'in* 'they.elsewhere' refers to a group of people outside the physical and/or narrative context, see Ch. 3, section 3.2.1, and Ch. 4, section 4.10.
3. The distributive pronoun *ta'an / ta* is discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.2.1.
4. The distinction between NN compounds and NPs is discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.1.2.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. In interrogatives, the question words *yilag* 'who' and *amidan* 'what' can occur in argument or in predicate position. As expected, interrogative words in argument position are initial, while in predicate position, they are final (see Ch. 8, section 8.2).
2. Words meaning 'only' often modify NPs in argument position (as in e.g. *Only Thomas is cute*). My corpus only contains examples where *di* modifies predicates; there are no instances where *di* modifies argument NPs.
3. *Tapi* 'but (IND)' is optional. The order of the two clauses may also be reversed:
 - (i) *Tur a ibar, xara' a pegawai.*
 formerly 3s work.garden now 3s civil.servant (IND)
 'Formerly he was a farmer, now he's a civil servant'
4. *Kri* is used to refer to a respected old man; in the context of this conversation, this is an ancestor.
5. The question 'Where is X' may of course also be answered more briefly; for example, with only a locational adverb:
 - (i) *Maraqai. Tag. Unaxai. Yuun.*
 up up over there down
 'Up (far from here)' 'Upstairs' 'Over there' 'Downstairs'
6. Note however that in (43), the non-posture verb *yia* 'put at' also combines with an oblique Ground expression; this pattern remains to be further investigated.
7. The verb *wan* is also used in compound verbs, see Ch. 3, section 3.3.12, and Ch. 9, section 9.6.4.
8. Since possessor and object prefixes are identical in shape, the question may be raised if the derivations from *-x* are indeed nominals, or rather verbs with obligatory object prefixes. Evidence for the nominal status of *-x* is presented in Ch. 5, section 5.2.3.2. In Ch. 7, section 7.2, it is discussed how idiomatic constructions with derived possessives with *-x* are used to express hypothetical or potential events.
9. Compare: *yivar amidan* 'what kind of dog'; *amidan* 'what' cannot be used to refer to *tarau*.
10. Nominalised adjectives have a possessive prefix, see Ch. 3, section 3.1.3 and 3.4.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. Similar realis/irrealis markers have been attested in other Papuan languages, for example Amele (Roberts 1990).
2. *Yix* ‘descend from deictic centre’ versus *yaa* ‘descend towards deictic centre’.
3. *Yixei* is the alternative form of *yix-in* that is often used in texts.
4. *Maq* is a modality adverb, see section 7.2 below.
5. *Ilan* refers to a slow motion upwards, out of a covered area. For example, the motion of a growing plant pushing slowly through the top layer of soil is referred to as *ilan*. In the context of the present narrative, the verb is used to refer to an unseen enemy who is slowly climbing up to the attic where the boy is sleeping.
6. *Tii* means both ‘sleep’ and ‘lie down’.
7. Apart from being used as a modality verb, *qau* is also used as a conjunction-like element. In this function it occurs clause-initially. See also Ch. 10, section 10.5.2.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. However, Teiwa is not the only language where reality status is unaffected by negation. For example, Manam, an Austronesian (Oceanic) language spoken on islands off the north coast of mainland Papua New Guinea (Lichtenberk 1983) is analysed in similar terms by Elliott (2000).
2. *Miaag* ‘yesterday’ can also follow the focus constituent [*yilag la*].
3. This is one of the strategies to express comitative participants. For further discussion on the encoding of objects, see Chapter 4, section 4.4-4.6, and Ch. 9, section 9.6.
4. The verb *do’or* ‘collect liquid’ expresses the metaphor where the words learned are collected like a liquid poured into a person.
5. If *la* were a relative clause marker, the (object) relative clause would have *amidan* as its head, but then it would not have a subject, since *ha* ‘2s’ precedes *amidan* (see also Ch. 11, section 11.3).
6. A new garden is a field that has been cleared from shrubs and trees.
7. *Yilag* cannot be used to question names.
8. Compare: *yivar amidan* ‘what kind of dog’ and * *tarau amidan*, not good for ‘what kind of language’.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. A few activity verbs (as well as one existential verb) function as minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs, see section 9.6 below.
2. Observe that the object of *tane* ‘kick’ is marked with a verbal prefix in this clause. This is an exception to the rule that only animate objects are prefixed, while inanimate objects are typically expressed as separate constituents (cf. Ch.

- 4, section 4.4). An explanation for the exceptional object marking in (6b) might be that by kicking the coconut, it is set in motion, and thereby becomes ‘animate’ in some sense. This pattern of object marking is found more regularly in Kaera, a related language on East Pantar, where the inanimate objects of semantically appropriate verbs like ‘catch’ are marked like animate objects (with a verbal prefix) because the object is moving through the air. (Data are from my own fieldwork on Kaera, 2007).
3. *Nuan* and *kian* are different kinds of cloth worn as long skirts by women.
 4. The function of *eran* is explained in section 9.6.3, where it is analysed as being related to the verb *er* ‘make, do’.
 5. *Kri* refers to respected old men.
 6. This is an instance of nearly synonymous verb serialization. The distinction between *wa* and *gi* is explained in section 9.4 below.
 7. How the deictic verb *ma* is used in a context like this is explained in section 9.5.2.
 8. I analyse the quotative function of *wa* as historically derived from the deictic function. Compare the colloquial use of English ‘go’ instead of ‘say’ in e.g. *And then she went “Ugh!”*).
 9. The verb *suk* expresses a movement out of an elevated enclosed environment such as a house on stilts, or a tree with leafy branches.
 10. Parts of this section have also appeared as Klamer (in press), where the functions of Teiwa *ma* are contrasted with the functions of the cognate verb *ma* in Kaera, a related language spoken on East Pantar.
 11. Where no source is indicated, the data are from my own fieldnotes, collected through surveys in East Timor in 2003, and in Alor in 2004.
 12. Note that this is just one of the ways to mark future events. Another way to do this is e.g. using a construction with the noun *-x* ‘possession’ (Ch. 7, section 7.2). The construction is used with inanimate and animate subjects.

(i) a.	<i>Tar a pua' tau</i>	vs. b.	<i>Tar a pua-n ga-x</i>
	rope 3s snap PRF		rope 3s snap- REAL 3s-possession
	‘The rope snapped/has snapped’		‘The rope will snap’
 - | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|--------|----------------------------|
| (ii) a. | <i>A bir-an tau</i> | vs. b. | <i>A bir-an ga-x</i> |
| | 3s run- REAL PRF | | 3s run- REAL 3s-possession |
| | ‘He ran/has run [away]’ | | ‘He will run [away]’ |
 13. More illustrations of imperatives with *ma* are given in Ch. 8, section 8.3.
 14. *Ma* may also function as a nominal conjunction, as illustrated below, cf. Ch. 5, section 5.7.

(i)	<i>Rini ma Yance.</i>
	Rini come Yance
	‘Rini and Yance’
 15. Note that Austronesian has a proto-form **ma* ‘and’. In the analysis presented here, I assume that the conjoining function of *ma* is but one of the many contextualised interpretations of the deictic verb *ma*, a verb which may be related to the AN proto-form **ma*Ri ‘come’, as pointed out in section 9.5.1. In

- other words, I do not find it plausible that (only) in its conjoining function *ma* originates from a separate Austronesian loan **ma* ‘and’.
16. The verbs *wulul* ‘speak, talk, tell’ and *wultag* ‘talk’ can select an animate or an inanimate object, see Ch. 3, section 3.3.2.
 17. Teiwa locational verbs take locational objects; illustrations with the locational verb *me* ‘be in X’ are (3b), (40) and (43).
 18. Durie (1988:20) mentions factors very similar to the ones suggested here as factors which ‘constrain’ the development of prepositions out of verbs in Oceanic languages.
 19. Some optionally transitive verbs also take an animate object prefix that refers to a comitative (Ch. 4, section 4.5).
 20. This suggests that the ‘Animacy Hierarchy’ (cf. Comrie 1989: 185, 191) not only influences the way ‘grammatical’ cases (such as nominative and accusative) develop, but also how ‘non-grammatical’ cases (such as locative and instrumental) come into being.
 21. It is unclear why the actor who is a male in the preceding discourse, is now referred to as a female.
 22. The verbal phrase is nominal because of the demonstrative pronoun *ga’an* (cf. Ch 5, section 5.4).
 23. *Waal* has a demonstrative function in discourse. It marks referents that are known to both speaker and hearer, and in texts it refers to participants that have been introduced before (Ch. 3, section 3.6.1; Ch. 11, section 11.5).
 24. *Moxo’ ma dufar mir* ‘make the earth slip away (i.e. perforate it) by growing upwards.’
 25. As animate objects are prefixed to verbs, they are expressed as object prefixes in causative constructions, e.g. *Na’an ga-tii* ‘I him-sleep’ > “I make him sleep, I put him to sleep”.
 26. An adnominal demonstrative functions to locate entities in time and space; here it locates a proposition in time.
 27. Cognition verbs are also discussed in Ch. 3, section 3.3.9, Ch. 10, section 10.3.3.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Lit. ‘...because it has language’, i.e., is something that is being talked, a problematic issue.
2. Teiwa has no relative clauses to modify a head noun. Instead, a focus construction with the marker *la* is used, where the clause following the focussed constituent modifies it. See Ch. 11, section 11.3.
3. A similar use of quotative constructions in some Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia is discussed in Klamer (2002).
4. Lit. ‘that respected old man’, interpreted in the context of this narrative as ‘clan ancestor’.
5. *Na-xala sam* ‘my mother’s younger sister’.

6. In order to express the latter event sequence, I expect that the sentence would start with the most important event of the two: ‘He fell down a tree yesterday *si* he saw his child’, but I have not checked this with speakers.
7. *Wan kruan* ‘know’ cannot be negated, instead the negative verb *paat* ‘not know’ is used, see (12) above. See Ch. 8, section 8.1 for further discussion and references of negative verbs.
8. See Ch. 3, section 3.3.12 for verbal derivations with *un-*.
9. *Ma* ‘come’ functions as an oblique marker here, cf. Ch. 9, section 9.5.
10. The term tail-head linkage is from Thurman (1975). Tail-head linkage is extremely common in Papuan languages, especially in narrative texts (Foley 1986: 201), but, although my corpus contains examples of it, it is not very frequent in Teiwa, and not further discussed here.
11. Cf. *Qiya’au qau* ‘wind good’ > ‘Holy Spirit’ and Ch.3, section 3.4.
12. A bow was put around his neck when he was climbing up into the house, attempting to attack.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. Lambrecht (1994:5) refers to information structure as “that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.”
2. *Pas* is borrowed from Indonesian/Malay *pas* ‘to fit; exact’ (< Dutch *passen*) (Jones 2007: 235)
3. *Ga’an* is also used as object pronoun, see Ch. 3, section 3.2.1.
4. *Maq* is one of the modality adverbs, see Ch. 3, section 3.5.1.
5. Such dislocated constituents may optionally be expressed by a resumptive pronoun within the clause.
6. *Nang* is an alternative form for *na’an*, apparently used to increase the formal distinction between the pronoun and the similar sounding verb *nan* ‘eat’ that follows it.
7. Transferred objects are marked as obliques by the deictic verb *ma*, see Ch. 9, section 9.5.3.
8. The corpus contains fewer predicate-focus structures with *la* than argument-focus structures with *la* because the prototypical function of predicates is to provide new information: the predicate-focus structure is the unmarked pragmatic articulation (Lambrecht 1994:228).
9. It is extremely common to find conditional uses of topic-marked clauses in Papuan languages (see Haiman 1978, Reesink 1994, De Vries 2006, among others). The diachronic process where a topic marker develops into a clause linker has been observed for other Papuan and Austronesian (Oceanic) languages. One illustrative example is Bilua, a Papuan language of the Solomon islands, which has a topic marker *ti/ta* that has developed into a causal coordinator (Obata 2003: 239-244, 251-259). The fact that Teiwa *ta*

seems to have a secondary function as a clause linker thus reflects a pattern found in other languages of the Pacific.

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