A MORPHOSYNTAX SKETCH OF KOLA

AN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE OF ARU, EASTERN INDONESIA

David de Winne
S1279963

M(A) Thesis for MA Linguistics: Language Diversity (2012-2013)
Leiden University
20 ECTS

Supervisor: Dr. Antoinette Schapper
Second Reader: Dr. Aone Van Engelenhoven

Submitted 5th of July 2013

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not exist in any shape or form without the help of Dr. Antoinette Schapper, to whom I am infinitely grateful. She graciously took me under her wing as her '*padawan learner*' despite her busy schedule, helping me to become a better linguist and writer. She read and re-read all my drafts, offering insightful comments and pushed me to strive for perfection in my own work. Her feedback and support has been invaluable. This thesis is all the better for it.

Special thanks to Richard Olson for sharing his Kola data and for checking my translations. My grammatical analysis would have been a lot poorer without some of that data, especially my discussion on morphosyntactic alignment.

My sincere thanks to others:

Benjamin Daigle and Amy de Jong, my 'linguistic buddies' who proof-read my work and offered improvements. I have been blessed by their friendship, kindness and generosity right from the beginning of my masters program, which has helped this challenging year go down a little easier.

Jennifer Harper, Carin Boone and Jermy Balukh for their spiritual encouragement, fellowship and prayers during this year.

My gratitude to my family who have put up with this 'linguistic habit' of mine, and for giving me the wonderful opportunity to study in Leiden. To my Dad, a man of many interests, who first piqued my curiosity in linguistics and started me on this journey.

Lastly, to Rosie, thank you for unwavering support and steadfast belief in me. I couldn't have done this on my own.

CONTENTS

i List of Tables

ii List of Diagrams

iii List of Appendices

iv A Note on Orthography, Conventions and Source Material

I have adopted the conventions used in Takata & Takata (1992:46) regarding the orthography of Kola. They are listed below. See Takata & Takata (1992) for further

information.

PHONEMES	VARIANTS	ORTHOGRAPHY/ GRAPHEMES
/b/	[b]	{b}
/t/	[k]	{k}
/d/	[d]	{d}
/d/	[ɾ]†	{r}
/k/	[k]	{k}
/g/	[g]	{g}
/ɸ/	[ɸ], [β]	{p}
/r/	[r]	{r}
/f/	[f]	{f}
/s/	[s]	{s}
/h/	[h]	{h}
/l/	[l]	{l}
/w/	[w]	{w}
/m/	[m]	{m}
/n/	[n]	{n}
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	{ng}
/j/	[j], [ʒ]	{y}
/e/	[e]	{e}
/a/	[a]	{a}
/o/	[o]	{o}
/i/	[i], [ɪ]	{i}
u	[u], [ɨ]	{u}

Table 0: Orthography Conventions

†[ɾ] is not discussed at all in Takata & Takata (1992) except on page 46 in an identical table. Van Engelenhoven (1993) writes that is it unusual to represent two allophones with different symbols, but gives Rick Nivens' (pers. Comm. In van Engelenhoven 1993:13) explanation "it is probably motivated by the fact that speakers of Kola are typically bilingual in Indonesian, in which /d/ and /r/ are phonemic".

One of the conventions that I use in this sketch are the symbols †, ‡ to indicate any

footnotes on tables, rather than the asterisk * which is traditionally used in linguistics to mark a sentence as ungrammatical.

Inaccurate Translations

The phrase book (Takata et al. 1991) like any work, has several inconsistencies and often does not provide the best translation of the actual Kola sentences. Often the English translation has been derived from the accompanying Malay (or vice versa), rather than from the Kola text itself. Naturally, this matter is highly subjective, thus in my 3-line glosses where appropriate, I include my own interpretation between curly parenthesis {}, to better aid the translation and the reader's understanding.

Note that the translation provided for the two texts (Appendix B and C) of Richard Olson is my own – and not from a native Kola speaker. Hence it is not entirely accurate and is incomplete in some areas.

Variation in Spelling

I have tried to be consistent with spelling, even though Takata et al. (1991) often allows for quite a bit of 'free variation'. Furthermore, certain words in Richard Olson's texts (i.e. Appendix B & C) differ significantly from Takata et al. 1991. I stuck mostly to Takata et al. (1991)'s conventions since I have no access to any sound files of Kola, however when quoting Richard Olson's texts, I use his spelling conventions to avoid changing any of his work. I list several major inconsistencies and discrepancies below.

1. Long Vowels. Richard Olson indicates long vowels in his texts – which Takata & Takata (1992)'s phonology paper is silent about. In this respect, I follow Takata's conventions and do not mark any long vowels. More investigation into Kola's phonology is needed.

2. Ambiguous Segments In Word Final Positions. Takata & Takata (1992:39) write that semi-vowels (i.e. glides) can be interpreted as vowels or glides when they occur in word final position. This is reflected in the orthography in Takata et al. (1991), where occasionally words such as {maw}, {taw}, {pay} are written as {mau}, {tau}, {pai}. Richard Olson's preference is for the latter. I have chosen to use the former in my sketch, using the glides rather than give the reader the (wrong) impression that there are diphthongs in Kola. However, as mentioned earlier, I have not changed any of Richard Olson's spelling in appendix B & C.

3. Uncertain Morpheme Boundaries. Occasionally certain words in Takata et al. (1991) appear affixed together. In some instances, it is clear that that there is a genuine typographical error – and I make the correction. In other cases, I am unable to ascertain if it is an error or something more complex. When the latter occurs in an example in this sketch, I make it explicit for the reader through footnote or in my discussion.

v Abbreviations

~	Indicate the boundary between reduplicated segments
?	Indicates that the author is unable to provide translation for the word
1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
ACT	Actor (A and S argument of an active verb)
ANI	Animate Gender
DEM	Demonstrative
DIR	Directional
DIST	Distal
FUT	Future
INA	Inanimate Gender
INCEP	Inceptive Aspect *ikaraman*
INTR	Intransitiviser prefix *-h-*
IPFV	Imperfective Aspect
LOC	Locative Case
NEG	Negation
NEG.IMP	Negative Imperative *kanaka*
NEG.INCEP	Negative Inceptive *tafan*
NMLZ	Nominaliser *yeh-*
PAT	P argument
PFV	Perfective Aspect
POSS	Possession
PL	Plural
PLE	Plural exclusive
PLI	Plural inclusive
PROX	Proximal
RED	Reduplicated Form
SG	Singular
STV	Stative S (S argument of a stative verb)
UND	Undergoer

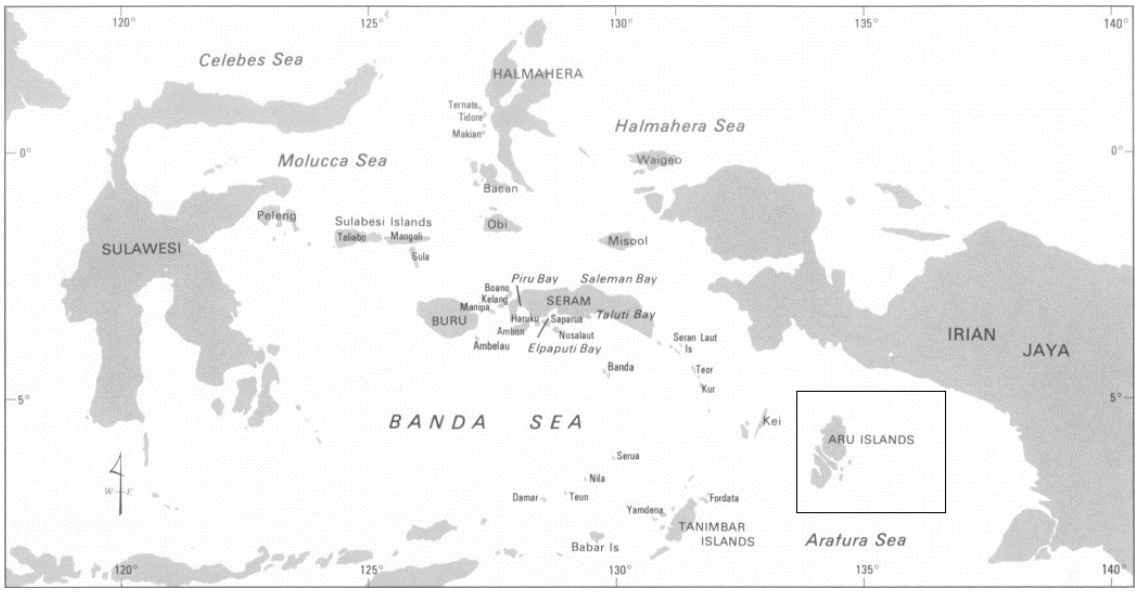
Other common abbreviations used

NP	Noun Phrase
PP	Prepositional Phrase
SVC	Serial Verb Construction

1 Introduction

1.1 Language Information

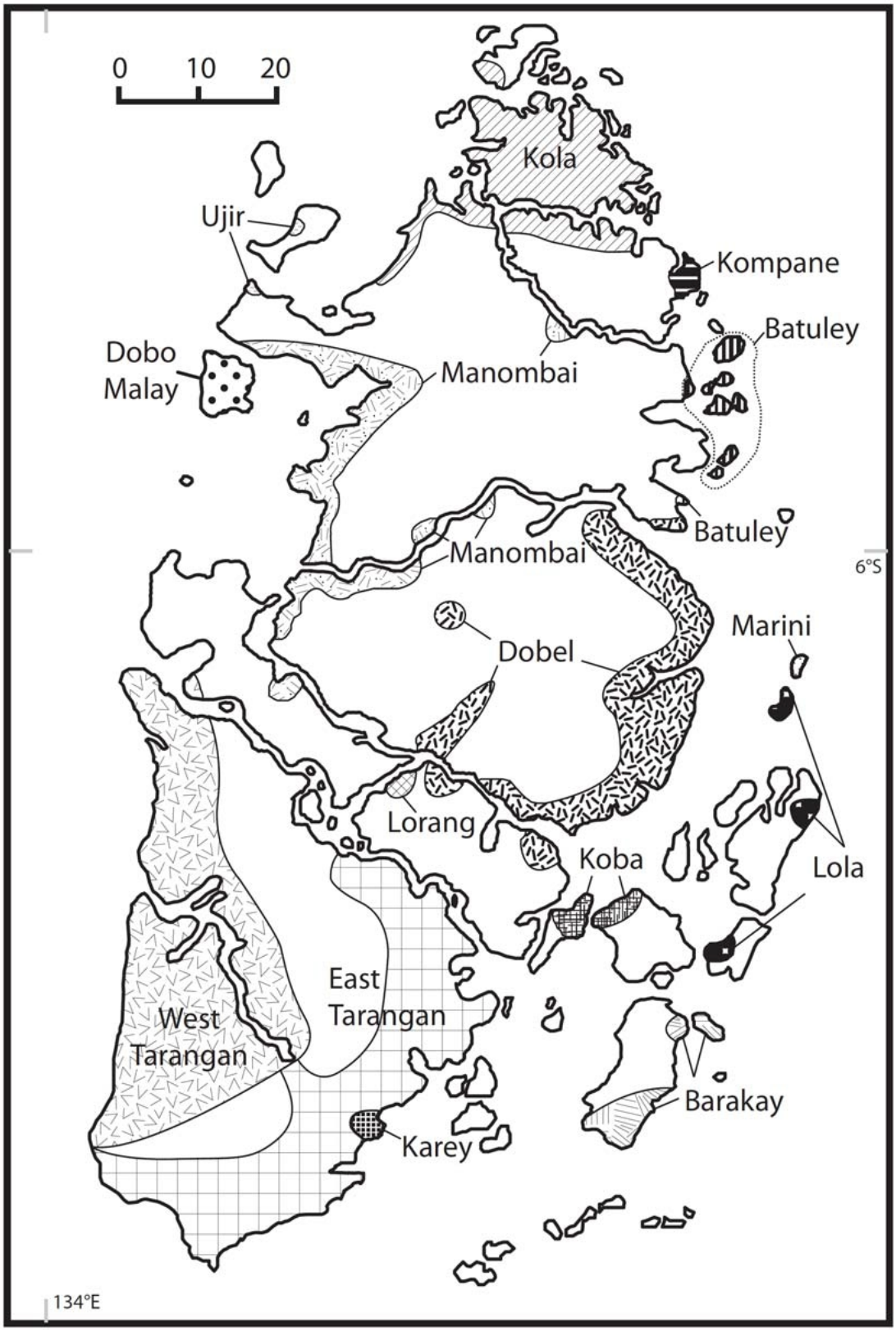
Kola (ISO 639-3: kvv) is a language spoken on the northern part of the Aru archipelago, South-eastern Maluku, Indonesia. Map 1 below shows the region of Western Indonesia and the province of Maluku (Moluccas) to which Aru belongs. There are around 7400 speakers in 22 villages, and language use is vigorous (Ethnologue).



Map 1: Moluccas, Western Indonesia. Aru Islands encircled (Collins 1982:76)

Kola is an Austronesian language belonging to the Aru language sub-group, which is a member of the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian superstock of languages. Kola is related to the 13 other Aru languages, most notably Kompane and Ujir, sharing approximately 77% and 70% lexical similarity respectively (Hughes 1987:94).

Map 2 on the next page shows the Aru archipelago. It also has all the 14 different language groups distinguished and the areas where they are spoken demarcated on the map. The reader will observe that Kola is spoken in the northern-most parts of the islands.



Map 2: Aru Islands

1.2 Previous Work

There is no grammar of Kola. Early work consists of word-lists and surveys, such as Collins (1982) and Hughes (1987). Subsequent work is more concrete and descriptive, consisting of a phonology sketch (Takata & Takata 1992) and a morphology and reduplication sketch (Takata 1992). A phrasebook (Takata et al. 1991) was also published which contained scripted everyday dialogues with English and Indonesian translations.

1.2.1 Early Work: Collins (1982) & Hughes (1987)

Collins (1982:131) is a study on the languages of Maluku. He did not detail his method but writes that his analysis is based on data collected during fieldwork. This consists of basic vocabulary (in varying quantities of 400-3000 words), syntactic paradigms and recorded stories and dialogues. Based on his analysis of the Aru islands, he postulated that there were only five main languages, with others classed as dialects of these five: Kola, Ujir, Dobel, Barakai and Wokam-Tarangan. His genetic classification of the Aru languages split them into three groups, and he proposed some regular sound changes between them.

Hughes (1987) provides a lexicostatistic analysis of language data from the islands of Kei, Tanimbar and Aru. It employs the comparative method, looking at cognate sets of lexical items to discover similarity between the different languages. This was based on a 203 word list, loosely based on the Swadesh 200 word list. In all, the study collected 51 word lists, 22 from Aru. Borrowed words were not eliminated, as the study was more concerned with intelligibility and synchronic relationships, rather than the historical/diachronic relationship between the languages. Based on this analysis, Hughes (1987) was able to propose more concrete genetic relationships between the languages of this region, expanding on and correcting Collins (1982). Hughes' (1987:90) conclusion of the Aru Family is that it is a "stock-level isolate grouping within the Central Malayo-Polynesian Superstock.".

Note that Hughes (1987) only proposed 12 Aru languages, excluding Koba and Mariri which were thought to have been dialects of Dobel and Batuley respectively. According to Hughes' (1987:75) classification, only languages with at least 80% lexical similarity can be labelled dialects of the same language. With regard to Kola, only three Kola villages—Warialau, Kulaha and Mohang Sel were surveyed, all of which spoke a different dialect. Based on this combined data, Kola shares 77% lexical similarity with Kompane – its closest language neighbour. Hughes (1987: 98) notes the need for more investigation in the other 19 villages in order to obtain a better understanding of the dialectal situation in Kola.

1.2.2 1990s

In the early 90s, three publications on Kola were produced by Yuko and Masihiro Takata, presumably from the result of a three year period (1988-1991) of data collection in the Kola village of Marlasi, a village on the East coast of Kola island (Takata 1992:47).

Takata & Takata (1992), a phonology sketch, covers a list and description of phonemes and their allophones, stress patterns, consonant structure and phonological word structure. It also includes a description of reduplication, which is expanded upon in Takata (1992) albeit from a grammatical and more functional point of view.

Takata (1992) is a morphological sketch. It covers major word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions etc. It also includes a discussion of reduplication – phonological patterns, and its grammatical function.

Takata et al. (1991) is a phrasebook, produced by SIL International in Ambon, Indonesia. It consists of around 389 utterances of dialogue, over 9 topics and 70 sub-topics, ranging from animals to food to occupations. The sentences were scripted (as opposed to spontaneously obtained) and elicited using a framework written in Indonesian. This framework has been used by SIL, with some variation, to elicit data for phrase books in other languages such as Fordata (e.g. *Fordatan Conversations*, Elath 1990.) In Takata et al. (1991), each of the Kola sentences has a corresponding translation in both English and Indonesian. None of the Kola utterances are glossed. In addition, a brief grammatical sketch of ten pages is included at the back of the phrase book, replicating some of the discussion found in Takata (1992).

1.2.3 2000s

Alune & Sulinama (2006) have written a 36-page pictorial trilingual dictionary (Kola-Indonesian-English), produced by SIL International. It contains a little over a hundred words in various categories such as fruits, animals, tools etc.

Currently there is no one actively working on Kola. Richard Olson, working with Wycliffe Bible Translators completed a data collection project on Kola, but the project has ended. He has since moved to Ambon and the status of archiving the Kola data is incomplete.

1.3 This Sketch

This sketch is primarily based on the analysis of the conversation utterances in the phrasebook, Takata et al. (1991). A copy of the glossed utterances can be found in Appendix A. Unless explicitly mentioned, all examples in my sketch are drawn from this corpus of utterances. In addition, I have made use of two glossed Kola texts by Richard Olson. The first text, Text 1 in Appendix B: *Dadom Kupal* (DK) 'Making Baskets', is an oral recount of how to weave rice winnowing baskets from pandan[1] leaves, while the second text, Text 2 in Appendix C, *Wahakpakau tau Laluh* (WTL) 'The Turtle and The Frog' is a folk story. I have also used information and data from Takata & Takata (1992) and Takata (1992) to supplement and further my understanding and analysis. Where I have used examples from these two papers by the Takatas, I reference it and make this explicit to the reader.

1 Also known as *screwpine*.

As this paper is based on secondary data rather than primary research from fieldwork, there are some gaps in this sketch and quite a lot of questions left unanswered. I do not intend for it to be a completely comprehensive tool, rather a starting point for field linguists.

One crucial area that is not addressed is dialectal variation. Although Takata et al. (1991) does not explicitly mention which dialect was used for the phrase book, I assume it is the Marlasi dialect, since the Takatas were based there. I have do not have any information on other dialects of Kola, or the extent of variation among the dialects.

2 Nouns, Pronouns & Noun Phrases

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the Noun Phrase (NP) and all of its following components: nouns (§ 2.2), pronouns (§2.3), demonstratives (§2.4), numerals (§2.5), quantifiers (§2.6) and attributive verbs and relative clauses (§2.7). I will also discuss nominal possession, especially the possessive classification and the possessive phrase in (§2.8). To begin with, I will introduce the NP.

The NP functions primarily as the subject or object of a predicate, and can form part of a prepositional phrase. It has the following structure as seen in Diagram 1 below.

N_{HEAD}(-)PL Attr/RC Num/Quant/Dem

Diagram 1: NP Template

The NP is a head-initial structure. (N_{HEAD}) is the noun head of the NP. The plural marker (PL) is found either suffixed (-) to the noun head or unsuffixed and appearing directly adjacent to it. Attributive Verbs (Attr) or Relative Clauses (RC) are both reduplicated verbs that function attributively, modifying the noun head. Numerals (Num) and Quantifiers (Quant) and Demonstratives (Dem) appear closer to the extreme right edge of the phrase. I use the forward slash / to separate elements asI am uncertain of the specific ordering of these elements since I have no examples of all the elements occurring together in a phrase.

All elements in diagram 1 above are optional, including the noun head. This means the NP can be elided entirely elided in a clause. See chapter 6 for the full discussion. Many other elements can stand in for the noun head. I illustrate this property with the following examples. Examples (2.1a&b) consist of two lines of dialogue between two speakers. The first (2.1a) lists off a series of nouns (bananas, beans etc.). In (2.1b), these nouns are replaced by the quantifier *haba* 'many', which is able to function as the NP, without a head noun, as this element is anaphorically retrievable.

(2.1a)	*ak*	*kas*	*muk,*	*kapuwak*	*taw*	*karwir*
	1SG	1SG.plant	banana	beans	and	vegetables
	'I plant bananas, beans and vegetables.'					

(2.1b)	[Ø	***haba***]$_{NP}$	*samayah?*
		many	good
	'Are they doing well?'		

Likewise, in example (2.1c) below, the plural marker appears able to function as the head of the NP, since the information regarding the nominal referent (i.e. noun head) is

anaphorically retrievable from the surrounding discourse.

(2.1c) *ihi* *moha* *ku-kabala* [Ø ***ye***]$_{NP}$
yes today 1SG.ACT-catch PL
'Yes, today I caught a lot.'
(Context: 'a lot' here refers to fish.)

Similarly, example (2.2) below shows a numeral standing in place of the noun head, since the information regarding the nominal referent is anaphorically retrievable from discourse context.

(2.2) [Ø ***otni***]$_{NP}$ *manguh-ni*
one.ANI sick-3SG.STV
'One is sick.'

Of all the elements present in the NP, I have found evidence that all can stand in for the noun head except for the verbal modifiers (attributes and relative clauses). I have no data on these verbal elements behaving as the head of a noun phrase, although I suspect that it is impossible for a relative clause to be present without the head noun that it is dependent on.

2.2 Nouns and Nominal Properties

Nouns typically function as the head of a NP. NPs in turn, form the arguments in a clause. I have boldfaced the NP in the S argument position in example (2.3) and likewise in the P argument position in example (2.4) to illustrate this property.

S S-V
(2.3) [***guru***]$_{NP}$ *da-bana* *aka* *Dobo* *motak*
teacher 3PL.ACT-go for PLACE all
'All the teachers have gone to Dobo.'

A A-V P
(2.4) *ni* *a-fah* [***em***]$_{NP}$
3SG 3SG.ACT-find pearl
'He goes finding mother pearls' {'He finds pearls'}

As seen in the NP template in diagram 1, nouns possess the ability to be modified by other elements such as demonstratives, numerals, reduplicated verbs and quantifiers – all of which will be discussed in their individual subsections in this chapter.

In addition, nouns can combine with other nouns to form compounds nouns.

Examples (2.5) and (2.6) show a left-headed compound. That is, the noun on the left is the head, while the noun on the rightmost edge modifies the head. I suspect that the head noun in the compound will provide the gender classification for the compound, but I have no data to support this.

(2.5) *nagan* *am-wa* [*wakah* *siglaga?*]$_{NN}$
QST 2SG.ACT-have medicine worm
'Do you have worm medicine?'

(2.6) [*pip* *re*]$_{NN}$
pig jungle
'wild pig'

Examples (2.7a&b) show right headed compounds. The noun on the right edge of the compound is the head. In these examples, there is a part-whole relationship between the two nouns.

			N_{WHOLE}	N_{HEAD}
(2.7a)	*da-namrisah*	*na*	[*kay*	*ran*]$_{NN}$
	3PL.ACT-play	LOC	tree	branch

'{They} played in the branches of the trees {tree branch}'

			N_{WHOLE}	N_{HEAD}
(2.7b)	*weh*	*puyfay*	[*panua*	*abil?*]$_{NN}$
	water	dried	village	inside

'Is the water dried inside the village?'

2.2.1 Nominal classification

Nominal Classification is a morphosyntactic system which imposes a classification on the nominal lexicon, possibly to some extent via the classification of the nominal referent (Seifart 2010). One of the defining characteristics of Kola nouns is that they have inherent classificatory properties. Kola nouns are lexically specified for the noun class(es) they are assigned to. The first kind of classification is nominal gender (ANIMATE vs INANIMATE) and the second, possessive classification (alienable vs inalienable). These two properties are covert; that is, they are not morphologically marked on the noun itself, rather the interaction of a noun with various modifiers reveals the noun's classification.

These two properties are linked according to Takata (1992:48) who writes that the property of inalienability is a subclass of the ANIMATE gender. This relationship is displayed in Table 1 below. The number of ticks is representative of the number of nouns that fall into a category based on the classificatory properties. Note that according to Takata (1992),

no INANIMATE nouns can be inalienably possessed.

	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
Alienable Possession	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
Inalienable Possession	✓	-

Table 1: Relationship between noun classificatory properties - Gender and Alienability

2.2.1.1 Nominal gender

Nouns are divided between two genders: ANIMATE or INANIMATE. Takata (1992:47-48), writes that the "nouns may be intuitively classified..." into their gender classes, with some exceptions. Some nouns that are biologically inanimate are classed as ANIMATE, such as *netak* 'axe'. My analysis of the data also revealed that plants (including fruits and vegetables), despite being biologically animate, are classed as INANIMATE. See section 2.2.1.1.1 for a list of these exceptions.

ANIMATE	**INANIMATE**
Humans	Plants
Human Body Parts	Buildings
Kinship Terms, *ngahan* 'Name'	Vehicles
Animals	Items
...	...

Table 2: ANIMATE and INANIMATE noun classification

This ANIMATE/INANIMATE distinction is morphologically distinguished in four ways. 1) on numerals, 2) on pronominal demonstrative and 3) on adnominal demonstratives, and 4) on stative verbs in a stative verbal clause. I illustrate these four ways below with some examples.

1: On Numerals

In examples (2.8a&b), the numeral modifies the elided head noun. Note that the numeral takes on a different form depending on the animacy class of the noun that it represents – in (2.8a), the target *ot* is marked for INANIMATE agreement, while in (2.8b) the target *otni* is marked for ANIMATE agreement. In both examples, the controller is elided.

(2.8a) [Ø ***ot***]$_{NP}$ *aka* *hayba?*
one.INA for how.much
'How much is one?'
(Context: Someone is selling a broom; 'One' here refers to a broom)

(2.8b) [***otni***]$_{NP}$ *manguh-ni*
one.ANI sick-3SG.STV
'One is sick.'
(Context: Mothers inquiring the health of each others' children; 'One' here refers to a child.)

Examples (2.9a&b) shows the numeral modifying a noun as part of a NP. In example (2.9a), the gender is marked on the target *limi* 'five.ANI', while the controller is *em* 'pearl'. In example (2.9b), the gender is marked on the target *lima* 'five.INA', while the controller is *tuh* 'skewer'

(2.9a) *takan-i* *moha* *iya* *aka* *anum* *nal* [*em* ***limi***]$_{NP}$
usually-3SG today one for 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl five.ANI
'He usually finds above five pearls a day.'

(2.9b) *ku-wang* [*tuh* ***lima***]$_{NP}$ *taw* *ku-faha* *tare*
1SG.ACT-sell skewer five.INA and 1SG.ACT-eat some
'...I will sell five skewers and I myself will eat some.'

A full paradigm of the numerals (both ANIMATE and INANIMATE) is given in section 2.5, Table 7 and is also available in Takata (1992:52).

2: On Pronominal Demonstratives

Demonstratives distinguish between ANIMATE and INANIMATE forms. The following two examples reflect this and the animacy hierarchy outlined in Table 2. Example (2.10) shows that fruits (i.e. breadfruit in this example) are marked as INANIMATE, while animals (i.e. shark) in example (2.11) are marked as ANIMATE. See section 2.4 on pronouns for a full paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns.

Example (2.10) shows gender marked on the target *an* 'this.PROX.INA', while the controller is *kuluh* 'breadfruit'. In example (2.11), the target is *nen* 'that.PROX.ANI', while the controller is *yu* 'shark'.

(2.10) ***an*** *kuluh.* *Kuluh* *da-nay* *haye* *ram*
this.PROX.INA breadfruit breadfruit 3PL.ACT-boil then FUT
da-ka
3PL.ACT-eat
'This is breadfruit. its nuts must be boiled before being eaten.'

(2.11) ***nen*** *yu.* *ak* *ku-weh* *kakin*
that.PROX.ANI shark 1SG 1SG.ACT-dry these.DIST
'This is a shark. I dry them in the sun.'

3: On Adnominal Demonstratives

Kola has another full set of adnominal demonstratives which Takata (1992) labels "demonstrative adjectives" following an older tradition of descriptive linguistics. I will discuss them in detail in section 2.4.2. Like pronominal demonstratives, the adnominal demonstratives are also made distinct for animacy, as seen in these two examples below. In example (2.12), gender is marked on the target *ne* 'that.PROX.ANI' while the controller is *wawa* 'child'.

(2.12) *ak* *ta* *ku-ma* *ku-so* *wawa* ***ne***
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT-see child that.PROX.ANI
'I will go and see the child.'

In example (2.13), gender is marked on the target *e* 'that.PROX.INA' while the controller is *utan* 'garden'.

(2.13) *mas* *ye* *na* *utan* ***e?***
2SG.plant what LOC garden that.PROX.INA
'What do you plant in {the} garden?'

4: On Stative verbs acting as predicates

Stative verbs can be suffixed with verbal person-marking stative S suffixes (see chapter 3 on Verbs) when they function as predicates. This suffixation only occurs when the S argument is ANIMATE (either pronoun or an NP). If the S argument is INANIMATE then the stative verb is not suffixed as seen in example (2.15). In example (2.14), the gender controller is *netak* 'axe' and the target is the suffixation of *-ni* '3SG.STV' on the stative verb.

(2.14) [*netak tuybay ne*]$_{NP}$ *samay<i>h-i-**ni:***[2]
axe new that.PROX.ANI good<3SG>-i-3SG.STV
'Is your new axe good?'

(2.15) [*haha*]$_{NP}$ *samayah-Ø?*
many good
'Are they well?'
(Context: Inquiring after the speaker's vegetable patch. c.f. Table 2 – plants are INANIMATE.)

2.2.1.1.1 Exceptional Gender Assignment

As mentioned earlier, Takata (1992:48) writes that the distinction between ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender can be determined intuitively, but there are some exceptions to the semantic assignment of gender. Table 3 below presents nouns in my corpus which have inanimate referents but are classed as ANIMATE gender.

Noun	**Gloss**	**Noun**	**Gloss**
pulan	'month/moon'	*pat* †	'stone'
nahak	'year'	*em*	'pearl'
yam ‡	'hour'	*netak*	'axe'
menit ‡	'minute'	*beda*	'machete'
nasa †	'basket'	*wawauh*	'sago.pounder'
tubuh	'tummy/belly'	*kabehal* †	'tongue'
peba /papa	'mouth'	*lugi* †	'face'
mata †	'eye'	*nofan*	'tooth'
lima †	'hand'	*ai<>tul*	'leg'
ngahan	'name'	*ai<>tubih*†	'leg calf'
ai<>rey †	'knee'	*ai<>meta*†	'ankle'

Table 3: Unusual ANIMATE gender assignment

† The information regarding the gender of this noun is taken from Takata (1992), as I do not have any information on it in my corpus.

‡ Uncertain gender status. See examples and explanation below.

2 There are two processes happening here. The first is a vowel root change from /a/ to /i/, which is infixed in the final vowel of the verb, producing *saymay<i>h*. This occurs as the 'old', historical system for marking the 3SG was with a root change, rather than suffixation with verbal person-marking morphology. The suffix *-i-* that occurs between the stem and the stative S suffix is probably an epenthetic vowel that aids pronounciation and avoids the complex onset syllable constraint *CCV.

Examining the nouns in table 3, one can divide them into 4 major groups:

i) Important tools (axe, machete, sago pounder etc.)
ii) Body parts (including *nghan* 'name')
iii) Units of time (minute, hour, month etc.)
iv) Certain naturally occurring elements, perhaps of importance to the community (stone, pearl)

I postulate some reasons here for the classification of these items as ANIMATE. Items in group i) have a strong link with their users, and are instrumental in villagers' lives for everyday tasks. It is not so unusual that they should be classed as ANIMATE. As for group ii) body parts, while not biologically animate on their own, they also have a strong physical link with speakers, and they can be seen an extension of a person. *Ngahan* 'name' can be seen as as a psychological extension of oneself, with regard to identity of the speaker.

Items in group iii) are somewhat disputed given the problematic examples (2.16-2.18) below. I am uncertain why these items would be considered animate. Likewise, for items in group iv), I have insufficient examples and ethno-cultural information to make any judgements.

The following examples below aim to show the discrepancy that I have found in my own corpus over the words *yam* 'hour', and *pulan* 'month'. For each word, I contrast examples where the same word is marked with ANIMATE gender morphology and where it is marked with INANIMATE gender morphology.

yam 'hour'

(2.16a) *ko* *kama* *tinipit* *ma-h-payalfil* *yaw* [*yam* ***lasi***]$_{NP}$
because 1PLE last.night 1PLE.ACT-INTR-talk until hour three.**ANI**
'...because we were chatting last night until 3 O' clock.'

(2.16b) [*yam* ***kafarua*** *mopini*]$_{NP}$
hour eight.**INA** half
'At half past seven.'

pulan 'month'

(2.17a) *ni* *a-mina* *e* [*pulan* ***rui***]$_{NP}$
3SG 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA month two.**ANI**
'He stays there two months.'

(2.17b) *palaw* *e* *a-min* *e* [*pulan* ***kafi***]$_{NP}$
house that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay that. PROX.INA month four.**ANI**
'That house has been there four months.'

For example (2.17c), there is a possible explanation for the marking of *pulan* as INANIMATE. The numerals modifying *pulan* do not indicate a duration (as they do in example 2.17b), but rather they indicate a specific calender month i.e. November. This semantic distinction may be the cause for the different animacy marking.

(2.17c) *Takan a-yuf ban* [*pulan* ***fuh*** *mo ot*]$_{NP}$
usually 3SG.ACT-blow from month ten.**INA** plus one.INA
'The west wind usually starts in November {lit. the eleventh month}.'

In addition, I have found a puzzling example of the word *menit* 'minute', marked with half ANIMATE and half INANIMATE numerals as seen in example (2.18) below. I suspect that this might be a typographical error.

menit 'minute'
(2.18) *ku-yamuh nawyaw menit* ***fuh*** *mo* ***limi***
1SG.ACT-walk.on.foot distance minute ten.INA plus five.ANI
'About fifteen minutes on foot.'

On a related note, I have noticed two unusual occurrences of INANIMATE gender marking when the nominal referent is clearly human and thus should be marked as ANIMATE. The first is example (2.19) below, a three line dialogue. Here the demonstrative pronoun used is in its INANIMATE form, but the nominal referent is clearly animate from the discourse context.

(2.19a) *en ifa?*
that.PROX.INA who
'Who is that?'

(2.19b) *en Yohanes*
that. PROX.INA NAME
'That is Yohanes.'

(2.19c) *en kanang wawa*
that. PROX.INA 1SG.POSS child
'It's my friend.'

Secondly, example (2.20) shows head noun *tamata* 'person', with different animacy marking. It is typically marked as ANIMATE as seen in example (2.20a), but in the example (2.20b) below, it is marked as INANIMATE. More investigation is needed.

(2.20a) *tamata* *ne* *a-wang-{y}i*
person that.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT
'That man does {sell bananas}.'

(2.20b) *meste* *tamata* *patin* *hat* *kafa*
perhaps person human hundred four.INA
'About 400 of them.'

2.2.2 Nominal Plural Marker

Kola has two plural markers: *ye* and *ka* and possibly a third *ke*. Only *ka* appears in Olson's texts. Any discussion of *ke* and *ka* or *ye* functioning as plural markers is practically absent in Takata (1992).

Ka

ka is a plural marker. Examples (2.21 and 2.22) show *ka* suffixed to the noun it modifies, triggering a plural interpretation to the noun.

(2.21) *ku-tok* *kol* *kirawin-**ka***
1SG.ACT-debranch 1SG.get pandanus-PL
'I remove the branches, taking the pandan leaves.' (DK 002)

(2.22) *iri* *da-pun-yi* *ko* *dal* *ida*
3PL 3PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT because 3PL.get 3PL.POSS
*kala-**ka*** *ko* *da-wang*
skin-PL because 3PL.ACT-sell
'They killed it to take a skin for sale.' {'They killed them to get their skins to sell'}

In example (2.23), I am uncertain of the exact meaning of *-yika*. Note that *-yi* marks the 3PL in the P-marking paradigm as well as the stative S paradigm. This combination of *-yi* with *-ka* could perhaps mark totality, i.e. 'all your children'.

(2.23) *kem* *wawa-**yika*** *doka-ba?*
2PL.POSS child-? 3PL.say/want-where
'How are your children?'

Example (2.2.4) shows *ka* suffixed to a personal pronoun. This suggests that *ka* is also an associative plural marker.

(2.24) *Tomas-**ka*** *da-mina* *palaw* *e*
NAME-PL 3PL.ACT-stay house that.PROX.INA
'Tomas' family lives there.'

ka can occur in a NP without a noun head, as example (2.25) shows it appearing in the P argument slot of the verb.

(2.25) *ak* *ta* *ku-pu{a}* [Ø ***ka***]$_{NP}$ *re* *palaw*
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-carry PL DIR house
'... I will take them home.'

Note that the plural marker *ka* shares the same form as the adnominal demonstrative 'these.PROX', from which the plural marker could have possibly been derived. Whether or not these are indeed two separate items can be easily determined by an example showing both the plural marker and the demonstrative modifying a noun as part of an NP. I have no examples of this – more investigation is needed.

Ke

The form *ke* is a plural marker but it is also an adnominal demonstrative, 'those.PROX'. This makes it difficult to identify the plural marker's occurrence in my corpus, because if unsuffixed to the noun, it occupies the same syntactic slot that the demonstrative would appear in. Semantically, the demonstrative *ke* also encodes plural meaning. Example (2.26) shows *ke* suffixed to the noun *tamata*.

(2.26) *tamata-**ke*** *da-l-talah* *e* *da-manam*
person-PL 3PL.ACT-RED-sit that.PROX.INA 3PL.ACT-eat
'The people who sat there ate.' (Takata 1992:63)

All the following examples below show the form *ke* appearing after the head noun, unsuffixed. Because of the ambiguity between the plural marker and the demonstrative, I have glossed them as 'those.PROX'. More analysis and data is needed in order to label them as a plural marker in their own right.

(2.27) [*panen* ***ke***]$_{NP}$ *da-dom* *doka-ba*
bird.sp those.PROX 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where
'How is the bird of paradise?' {What are the bird of paradise like?'}

(2.28) *ak* *ta* *ku-nay* [*muk* *momah* ***ke***]$_{NP}$
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-boil banana unripe those.PROX
'I will cook the green bananas.'

(2.29) *am-pua* [*ika* ***ke***]$_{NP}$ *mil* *ya* *muk-baka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-carry fish those.PROX return and.then 2SG.use-? what
'What will you make after you take it home?'

(2.30) *warfer* *ni* *a-baca* *suhat* *ne* *ka* [*lomala*
headman 3SG 3SG.ACT-read letter that.PROX.ANI DIR people
ke]$_{NP}$ *at-motak*
those.PROX RED-all
'The headman, {he} will read {the letter} to everyone.'

I have no examples of *ke* functioning pronominally, unlike the example (2.25) of *ka* which would lend more credence to *ke*'s status as a plural marker.

Ye

ye always appears right of the head noun, within the NP. I have found one example (2.32) where it is suffixed to the head noun, but in all other instances (2.33-2.34), it is unsuffixed.

(2.32) *kahmeh-**ye*** *taw* *na* *wawa-**ye*** *tawin* *aka*
relatives-PL and 3SG.POSS child-PL neighbour for
da-h-gola
3PL.ACT-INTR-bury
'Her relatives and friends will {bury her}.'

(2.34) *moha* [*na* *wawa* ***ye***]$_{NP}$ *da-hasi* *re* *ko*
today 3SG.POSS child PL 3PL.ACT-visit DIR because
da-papa-ni {*i*}*da* *palaw*
3PL.ACT-bring-3SG.PAT 3PL.POSS house
'Today, his friends {visiting him because} they are bringing him {back to their house}.'

(2.35) *ralim* *uk,* *taw* [*yukih* ***ye***]$_{NP}$ *a-lih* *ko* *anam*
tasty very and fin PL 3SG.ACT-? because 3SG.do/cause
peli
expensive
'{Its meat is} very tasty and its fin{s} are very expensive.

Notably as seen in examples (2.36 and 2.37) below, it is also pronominal, appearing without a head noun.

(2.36) *ihi* *moha* *ku-kabala* [Ø ***ye***]$_{NP}$
yes today 1SG.ACT-catch PL
'Yes, I caught a lot.'
(Context: a lot = fish)

(2.37) *ku-pua* [Ø ***ye***]$_{NP}$ *ku-mil* *ya* ...
1SG.ACT-carry PL 1SG.ACT-return and.then
'I will take them home and...'
(Context: them = fish)

Based on these sentences alone (as I have no other data available), I suspect that *ye* can only modify human or ANIMATE referents. In addition, it differs from *ka* 'PL' as it does not appear to be suffixal, but a free particle (possibly a clitic) with one exception (i.e. example 2.34).

With regard to its historical development, it is interesting to note that the word *ye* in Dobel marks the 3rd person plural undergoer enclitic. Dobel numerals can be suffixed with undergoer enclitics when they enumerate human nouns. Since Dobel and Kola share a common ancestor language, there is a chance this word *ye* may have grammaticalised into a plural marker for animates in Kola. More diachronic investigation is required. I list here two examples from Dobel.

(2.38) *ʔodar* *dubu-**ye***
woman six-3PL.UND
'Six women.' (Hughes 2000:157)

(2.39) *tamatu ʔurafi* *na* *yera-**ye***
person ten and nine-3PL.UND
'Nineteen people.' (Hughes 2000:157)

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal/Free Pronouns

Table 4 shows the paradigm of Personal/Free Pronouns. They are marked for person and number. There is also a distinction in the 1st person plural between inclusive plural and exclusive plural.

	Singular	Plural
1	*ak*	*kama* (exc)
		sita (inc)
2	*ka*	*kema*
3	*ni*	*iri*

Table 4: Personal/Free Pronouns

According to Takata (1992), these pronouns are optional as the verb is obligatorily marked for agreement with the Actor prefixes or stative S suffixes. Examples (2.40-2.42) below illustrate this variation. This then would make Kola a pro-drop language.

(2.40) *ak* *ku-balayar* *relih*
1SG 1SG.ACT-study vernacular
'I am studying the local language.'

(2.41) *ku-balayar* *relih*
1SG.ACT-study vernacular
'I am studying the local language.'

Example (2.42) shows a stative verb that can occur without a free pronoun.

(2.42a) *sowih-ni*
die-3SG.STV
'She is dead.'

(2.42b) *Tanga, ni* *sowih-ni* *ahataha*
NEG 3SG die-3SG.STV suddenly
'No, she died suddenly.'

Takata (1992:49-50) calls them subject pronouns. This is misleading as they can replace any of the three S, A, and P arguments of a predicate, although they are unmarked for their grammatical role. I give four examples below with the pronoun *ni* '3SG'.

Active S Argument

(2.43a) ***ni*** *nal-ban* *kam* *panua*
3SG 3SG.get-from 1PLE.POSS village
'He's from our village'

Stative S Argument

(2.43b) *ayohe!* ***Ni*** *maguh-ni*
DSC 3SG sick-3SG.STV
'Gosh. Was she sick?'

A Argument

(2.43c) ***ni*** *a-fah* *em*
3SG 3SG.ACT-find pearl
'He hunts pearls.'

P Argument

(2.43d) *a-gur* ***ni*** *aka* *ye?*
3SG.ACT-beat 3SG for what
'Why did he beat her?'

In addition these pronouns can replace the oblique argument (i.e. in a PP) without any inflection or change in form, as illustrated in example (2.44).

(2.44) *iri* *da-dom* *doka-ba* *aka* ***ni***
3PL 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where for 3SG
'What will they do to him?'

I have no evidence that pronouns can be modified i.e. by any sort of verbal person/number marking morphology. Thus they are pronouns that truly substitute for whole NPs and not merely a sub-class of nouns.

2.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives form a closed word class. They are marked for both nominal gender and number. There are two sub-classes of demonstratives, pronominals and adnominals.

2.4.1 Pronominal Demonstratives

As their label suggests, these demonstrative pronouns serve dual functions – as demonstratives and also as pronouns (standing in place of a noun or noun phrase). Examining table 5 below, the reader will note that there are two basic forms that correspond to 'this' and 'that' in English. They are specified for 3 features – singular/plural, ANIMATE/ INANIMATE and proximal/distal to produce a total of 16 possible forms. In reality, there are less forms due to defective cells i.e. 'these.DIST.ANI' form is absent.

Table 5 shows the paradigm of pronominal demonstratives, which I have copied from Takata (1992) as well as the phrase book's sketch grammar. However, I wonder if a better way to represent these demonstrative pronouns would be with a four way distinction

of proximal, mesioproximal, mesiodistal, distal, rather than this/that, proximal/distal. Naturally, I am unable to test this hypothesis without a native speaker consultant. Further investigation is needed.

		SINGULAR (this/that)		PLURAL (these/those)	
		Inanimate	**Animate**	**Inanimate**	**Animate**
This	**Proximal**	*an*	*nan*	*ikan*	*ikar*
	Distal	*akin*	*nekin*	*ikakin*	-
That	**Proximal**	*en/arin*	*nen/nerin*	*iken/karin*	*iker/ken*
	Distal	*ekin*	*nerikin*	*ikekin/karikin*	*kekin*

Table 5: Pronominal Demonstratives (adapted from Takata 1992:50)

Note that there is some variation in the forms e.g. *iken/karin, ikekin/karikin*. Takata does not explain the reason for the variation. It could be speaker or even dialectal variation. More investigation is needed.

The examples (2.45) and (2.46) below illustrate that these forms are pronouns, since they replace the NP in the post-verbal object slot.

(2.45) ***nan*** *takan* *da-ka-ni*
this.PROX.ANI usually 3PL.ACT-eat-3SG.PAT
'Can you eat it?'

(2.46) *ihi* *mol* ***akin***
yes, 2SG.get this.DIST.INA
'Yes, take these.'

I call the reader's attention to the following examples (2.47-2.50). These demonstrate the use of the demonstrative *akin* which has special status as it is often used pronominally to stand in for a location. Note how *akin* appears in the P argument slot, replacing the locational description that should occur in that same position.

(2.47) *nansin* *a-ban* ***akin*** *aka* *Wahkolamah*
like 3SG.ACT-from this.DIST.INA for PLACE
'About as far as it is from this {place} to Kolamar.'

(2.48) *ifa* *a-h-wang* *muk* *na* ***akin?***
who 3SG.ACT-INTR-sell banana LOC this.DIST.INA
'Who sells bananas here?'

(2.49) *am-wa* *masin* *na* ***akin?***
2SG.ACT-have salt LOC this.DIST.INA
'Do you have any salt here?'

(2.50) *pue* *damin* *mah* *da-na* ***akin*** *te* *tanga*
croc 3PL.ACT-stay ? 3PL.ACT-LOC this.DIST.INA or NEG
'Are there still crocodiles in there {or not}?'

2.4.2 Adnominal Demonstratives

Takata (1992:51) calls this set of adnominal demonstratives, "demonstrative adjectives", (also known as demonstrative determiners in some linguistic traditions).

Table 6 below gives the full paradigm of these forms. Note that there is some overlap in form with the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns i.e *ekin, kekin*, and that no distinction between ANIMATE and INANIMATE is made for the plural forms.

		SINGULAR (this/that)		PLURAL (these/those)	
		Inanimate	**Animate**	**Inanimate**	**Animate**
THIS	**Proximal**	*a*	*na*	*ka*	*ka*
	Distal	*akin*	*nakin*	*kakin*	*kakin*
THAT	**Proximal**	*e*	*ne*	*ke*	*ke*
	Distal	*ekin*	*nekin*	*kekin*	*kekin*

Table 6: Adnominal Demonstratives (adapted from Takata 1992)

I give some examples below to show their demonstrative function. Observe how they form part of the NP, by modifying the head noun.

(2.52) [*ika* ***nekin***]$_{NP}$ *ar-nar* *ni* *ba?*
fish this.DIST.ANI RED-long 3SG where
'How long was this fish?'

(2.53) *tanga* *bisa.* [*Boka* ***ekin***]$_{NP}$ *kehi* *uk*
NEG can canoe that.DIST.INA rotten very
'{It's} not possible. That boat is too rotten.'

What I have observed in my data, however, seems to suggest that these adnominal demonstratives can also function pronominally, contradicting Takata's (1992) analysis. I give all the examples of this behaviour below. I have picked only the forms that do not overlap with the demonstrative pronoun set and thus can prove this point. Whether this is a typographical error due to the close similarities in form, it can only be solved through further linguistic investigation.

(2.54) *Milton* *a-fe* [Ø ***na***]$_{NP}$
NAME 3SG.ACT-shoot this.PROX.ANI
'Milton shot it.'

(2.55) *ak* *koka* *ku-wang* [Ø ***kakin***]$_{NP}$ *na* *Dobo*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-sell these.DIST LOC PLACE
'I want to sell these at {in} Dobo'

(2.56) *nen* *yu* *ak* *ku-weh* [Ø ***kakin***]$_{NP}$
that.PROX.ANI shark 1SG 1SG.ACT-dry these.DIST
'This is a shark. I dry them in the sun.'

(2.57) *mu-weh* ***kakin*** *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-dry these.DIST for what
'Why are you drying them?'

While the rest of the examples have shown the adnominal demonstratives replacing the P argument of the verb, example (2.58) shows it replacing the A argument of the verb.

(2.58) ***ne*** *a-min{a}* *kanang* *palaw*
this.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-stay 1SG.POSS house
'It's at my house.'

In addition, the form *e* 'that.PROX.INA' shares a similar property as *akin* 'this.DIST.INA', in that it is often used to replace a locational description, much like the English 'there'. Note in the following examples below how *e* appears in the P argument slot, as it replaces the locational description that should occur post verbally.

(2.59) *ni* *a-mina* [Ø ***e***]$_{NP}$ *pulan* *rui*
3SG 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA month two.ANI
'He stays there two months.'

(2.60) *ni* *yawba* *a-mina* [Ø *e?*]$_{NP}$
3SG when 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA
'How long will he stay there?'

(2.61) *palaw* *e* *yawba* *a-min{a}* [Ø *e?*]$_{NP}$
house that.PROX.INA when 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA
'How long has {that house} been there?

2.5 Numerals

Numerals can modify nouns as part of a NP, or function as predicates in a clause (see Chapter 6 on Non-verbal Predication). Two sets of numerals exist, ordinal and cardinal numerals. Both sets are specified for gender. Takata (1992:52) writes that the ordinal numerals are derived from their cardinal equivalents through reduplication. Table 7 below shows the full paradigm of numerals, both cardinal and ordinal.

CARDINAL NUMBERS		
	INANIMATE	ANIMATE
1	*ot*	*otni*
2	*rua*	*rui*
3	*las*	*lasi*
4	*kafa*	*kafi*
5	*lima*	*limi*
6	*dum*	*dubi*
7	*dubam*	*dubabi*
8	*kafarua*	*kafarui*
9	*tera*	*teri*
10	*fuh*	*fuhi*

ORDINAL NUMBERS		
	INANIMATE	ANIMATE
first	*atot*	*atotni*
second	*rarua*	*rarui*
third	*aslas*	*aslasi*
fourth	*afkafa*	*afkafi*
fifth	*amlima*	*amlimi*
sixth	*amdum*	*abdubi*
seventh	*dumbam*	*dubababi*
eight	*kafararua*	*kafararui*
ninth	*artera*	*arteri*
tenth	*ahfuh*	*ahfuhi*

Table 7: Ordinal and Cardinal Numerals (1-10)

For numbers higher than ten, Kola uses these basic numbers with the word *mo* 'plus'. I give some examples below. See Takata (1992:52) for more examples.

(2.62) *fuh* *mo* *ot*
ten.INA plus one.INA
'Eleven.'

For cardinal numbers, only the last numeral is marked as cardinal, as seen in example (2.63) below. *fuh-rua* 'twenty" is ordinal while *ra-rua* 'second' is cardinal. The resulting numeral is thus a cardinal numeral.

(2.63) *fuh-rua* *mo* ***ra-rua***
ten.INA -two.INA plus second.INA
'Twenty second.' (Takata 1992:52)

Numerals function as modifiers of nouns in a noun phrase. In addition, cardinal numerals can also function pronominally, standing in place of a noun in a clause. Example (2.64) below illustrates both these properties. The numeral four *kafa* modifies a head noun *tuh* 'skewer', while *ot* 'one' is functioning pronominally. NPs are marked in square brackets.

(2.64) *ku-wang-yi* *ya* *da-kel* *dal* [*tuh* ***kafa***]$_{NP}$
1S.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT and.then 3PL.ACT-buy 3PL.get skewer four.INA
ya *ku-pu{a}* [***ot***]$_{NP}$ *ku-mil*
and.then 1SG.ACT-carry one.INA 1SG.ACT-return
'They bought fours skewers and I took one home.'

Example (2.65) further illustrates the pronominal function of numerals, which was already mentioned in section 2.2.

(2.65) *ot* *aka* *hayba{y}?*
one.INA for how.much
'How much is one?'
(Context: one = a broom)

Examples (2.66) and (2.67) below show an ordinal numeral in usage. Here, they function as a modifier of the head noun. I am uncertain if ordinal numerals can also be used pronominally – since these are the only examples that I have of its usage.

(2.66) *tamata* ***ra~rui*** *ne*
person RED~two that.PROX.ANI
'The second person.' (Takata 1992:66)

(2.67) *iya* *am-pua* *tuh* ***at~ot*** *te* *mil*
one 2SG.ACT-prepare skewer RED-one or return
ya *mol-dom* *ye?*
and.then 2SG.get-make what
'What did you make after you took the skewer home?'

2.5.1 The number one: *ot*, *yena* and *iya*

Kola has four words that can be translated into English as 'one'. We have already seen two of these words, *ot* 'one.INA' and *otni* 'one.ANI'. The word *ot* 'one' can also function adverbially, akin to the English equivalent 'together'. See the following example (2.68) below, unfortunately the only example I have from my corpus of this particular usage.

(2.68) *kema* *mi-min* *ot?*
2PL 2PL.ACT-stay one.INA
'Do you all live together?'

There are also two other words *yena* and *iya,* both of which mean 'one'. They differ from *ot* in that there are no gender forms. They function more as indefinite articles. This is not uncommon, as noted in Heine and Kuteva (2002:220), who document this common pathway of grammaticalisation (Numeral one > indefinite article). Observe their usage in the following examples. They all modify a head noun, as part of a NP.

(2.69) *mol* [*aryur* ***yena***]$_{NP}$ *ka-ng* *ko* *ku-dom*
2SG.get fork one DIR-1SG.PAT because 1SG.ACT-make
buda
please
'Give me {a} fork, I would like to try some.'

(2.70) [*suhat* ***yena***]$_{NP}$ *a-ma* *ban* *camat*
letter one 3SG.ACT-come from government
'A letter just arrived from the sub-district officer.'

(2.71) *ak* *ku-rena* *ka* *rapitika* *am-reh* *mol* [*ika*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hear 2SG yesterday 2SG.ACT-catch 2SG.get fish
ah-lah *arnar* ***yena?***]$_{NP}$
RED-big long one
'I heard that you caught a big {long} fish yesterday?'

I include examples (2.72a&b) to demonstrate the numerical function of *iya*. In (2.72a) it is clearly functioning as a numeral, whereas in (2.67b), the function leans towards an

indefinite article.

(2.72a)	*ot*	*aka*	*hibu*	***iya***	*mo*	*hat*	*lima*
	one.INA	for	thousand	one	plus	hundred	five.INA
	'One for one thousand five hundred rupiah.'						

(2.72b)	*dasi*	*palaw*	***iya***
	3PL.ACT.enter	house	one
	'They entered a house.'		(WTL 037)

2.6 Quantifiers

I have only found three quantifiers in my data. They are *haba* 'many', *motak* 'all' and *tare* 'some'. Despite having similar semantics, their properties and syntactic behaviour differ from each other. I will discuss each quantifier separately.

***Motak* 'all'**

motak in example (2.73a) occurs after the head noun, as one would expect from a quantifier and based on the NP template.

(2.73a)	*ka*	*mu-h-wang*	[*aklakuh*	***motak?***]$_{NP}$	
	2SG	2SG.ACT-INTR-sell	broom	all	
	'Did you sell all your brooms?'				

In example (2.73b), *motak* appears dislocated from the noun it modifies, much like a floating quantifier.

(2.73b)	*guru*	*da-bana*	*aka*	*Dobo*	***motak***
	teacher	3PL.ACT-go	for	PLACE	all
	'All the teachers have gone to Dobo.'				

Example (2.73c) shows *motak* reduplicated. I am uncertain of this reason for this, given the myriad of functions reduplication has. The reduplication could perhaps indicate distributive meaning (i.e. '...read the letter to every single person').

(2.73c)	*warfer*	*ni*	*a-baca*	*suhat*	*ne*	*ka*	[*lomala*
	headman	3SG	3SG.ACT-read	letter	that.PROX.ANI	DIR	people
	ke[3]	***at-motak***]$_{NP}$					
	those.PROX	RED-all					

3 This could also be glossed as a plural mark PL. See my discussion on the plural marker ke in section 2.2.2.

'The headman, {he} will read {the letter} to everyone.'

These are the only three examples in my corpus – I suspect that *motak* is a floating quantifier that functions on a higher level than the phrase it modifies.

***Tare* 'some'**

tare 'some' modifies the noun in examples (2.74a-2.74d), appearing to the left of the head noun *ika* 'fish' in example (2.74a), and left of the head noun *tai* 'dung' in (2.74b).

(2.74a) *mu-tabey* *tasi* *ya* *mol* [*ika* ***tare***]$_{NP}$
2SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod and.then 2SG.get fish some
te tanga?
or NEG
'Did you fish a lot of fish?' {'Did you go fishing and catch some or not?'}

(2.74b) *a-lalu* *a-soo* [*tai* ***tare***]$_{NP}$
3SG.ACT-go.down 3SG.ACT-see dung some
'...He looked down and saw some dung(s)' (WTL 031)

However, it can also occur in an NP without the Noun Head, as illustrated by example (2.74c) and (2.74d) below.

(2.74c) ... *ku-wang* *tuh* *lima* *taw* *ku-faha* [***tare***]$_{NP}$
... 1SG.ACT-sell skewer five.INA and 1SG.ACT-eat some
'I sold five skewers and I myself will eat some.'

(2.74d) *inah* *ram* *ku-pua* *kurtas,* *kitap,* *pinsil* *taw* [***tare***]$_{NP}$
tomorrow FUT 1SG.ACT-prepare paper book pencil and some
tu.
again
'Tomorrow, I'll get everything ready, including paper, {books}, pencils {etc.}.'

***Haba* 'many'**

haba 'many' can occur in an NP without a Noun Head, as mentioned earlier in section 2.1 and as illustrated by example (2.75a) below.

(2.75a) ***haba*** *samayah?*
many good
'Are they doing well?'

In addition, based on Olson's texts, it appears to function predicatively as well in example

(2.75b), and take verbal affix morphology in example (2.75c) when S/A is ANIMATE.

(2.75b) *wir* *koni* *na* ***haha***
leaf only this.PROX.ANI many
'Only this {type of} leaf is abundant.' (DK 026)

(2.75c) *wara* *tamata* ***haha-yi*** *tang* *da-dom* *da-leen*
so.that person many-3PL.PAT NEG 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.ACT-correct
'Many people don't do it correctly.' (DK 032)

Based on these examples above, we can observe that *haha* has verbal properties but is not a verb, because in example (2.75a) we would expect *haha* to be reduplicated in order to function attributively – yet *haha* appears unreduplicated (see the following section 2.7 on attributive verbs). This suggests that it belongs to another word class such as quantifiers.

2.7 Attributes and Relative Clauses

When verbs are reduplicated, they create a dependency relationship, with the NP as the head and the reduplicated verb as the dependant. Reduplicated active verbs create a structure can that be interpreted as a relative clause, while reduplicated stative verbs act like adjectives (or also Relative clause) in a noun phrase.

2.7.1 Attributes

Stative verbs as mentioned earlier can function attributively, modifying nouns, when they are reduplicated. I give a few examples below, where the verb is found to the right of the head noun that it modifies.

(2.76) *weh* *maw* *puy* *ko* *lahaw* ***ah-lah***
water PFV gone because sun RED-big
'The water is dried because it is droughty.'

(2.77) *ak* *ku-fah* *nuh* ***ah<at>but***
1SG 1SG.ACT-find coconut <RED>hard
'I'm looking for a hard coconut' (Takata 1992:64)

Example (2.78) illustrates that animacy has no effect on the reduplicated stative verb. Both example (2.78a) and (2.78b) show the same verb *tubay* 'new' behaving attributively. However, the noun being modified in (2.78a) is INANIMATE, while in (2.78b) it is ANIMATE. When stative verbs behave predicatively, they make a distinction between ANIMATE and INANIMATE arguments, as seen on the stative verb *samayah* in (2.78b) which is suffixed with stative S suffixes. See chapter 3 on verbs for more information about

differential marking on stative verbs.

(2.78a) *palaw* ***tu<y>bay*** *e* *a-min{a}* *ri*
house <RED>new that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'There's a new house over there.'

(2.78b) *netak* ***tu<y>bay*** *ne* *samay<i>h-i-ni*
axe <RED>new that.PROX.ANI good<3SG>-i-3SG.STV
'Is your new axe good?'

2.7.2 Relative Clauses

The following examples show a reduplicated active verb that forms part of an NP, modifying the head noun that appears to the left of the verb. In each of the following examples from Takata (1992), I have marked the relative clause in parenthesis. Note that the reduplicated active verb retains the verbal person-marking affixes (Actor prefixes/ P suffix), unlike the stative verbs which lose them as illustrated in example (2.78) i.e. *tu<y>bay-Ø*.

Subject (S) Relativised

(2.79) *tamata-ke* [*da-l-talah* *e*]$_{RC}$ *da-manam*
person-PL 3PL.ACT-RED-sit that.PROX.INA 3PL.ACT-eat
'The people who sat there ate.' (Takata 1992:63)

Direct Object (P) Relativised

(2.80) *ni* *a-utuh* *tamata* [*a-l-mala-yi*]$_{RC}$
3SG 3SG.ACT-call person 3SG.ACT-RED-want-3PL.PAT
'He called the people whom he wanted.' (Takata 1992:63)

Indirect Object/Oblique NP Relativised

(2.81) *Yon* *a-puraka* *na* *doyik-ka* *aka* *doktor*
NAME 3SG.ACT-use 3SG.POSS money-PL for doctor
[*da-k-wakih-ni*]$_{RC}$
3PL.ACT-RED-treat-3SG.PAT
'John used his money for the doctors who treated him.' (Takata 1992:63)

(2.82) *iri* *da-talah* *na* *Kres* [*a-l-talah* *ekin*]$_{RC}$
3PL 3PL.ACT-sit LOC NAME 3SG.ACT-RED-sit that.DIST.INA
'They sat where Kres sat.' (Takata 1992:63)

2.8 Adnominal Possession

Possession is a property of nouns; only nouns can be possessed. I have not found any possessive pronouns, only adnominal possession in Kola. Takata (1992b:48) writes that there is further subset of the ANIMATE class distinction – between alienable and inalienable possession, with kinship and body part nouns falling into the latter category. There may be other words that are also inalienable. Table 8 illustrates this classification.

INALIENABLE	**ALIENABLE**
Kinship Terms	All other nouns
Body Parts	
…	

Table 8: Semantic Classification of Alienability

This distinction is marked by a separate paradigm for each type as well as a difference in syntactic position. I discuss each type of possession in the following sections.

2.8.1 Inalienable Possession

Inalienable possessors are expressed through compounding, with person suffixes attached directly on to the possessed noun. Table 9 below shows the paradigm for inalienable possession.

	INALIENABLE POSSESSION	
	Singular	**Plural**
1	*-ng*	*-ma* (ex)
		-sita (in)
2	*-m*	*-mi*
3	*Ø / <i>*	*-di*

Table 9: Inalienable Possession Paradigm

Note that the third person inalienable possession is typically zero marked e.g. Ø, but can also be marked with a substitution in the vowel of the final syllable in a word. CVC#→ C<i>C# – which Takata (1991) writes is due to the genetic relationship with other Aru languages – this is a trace of the old system that still remains in Kola.

In table 10 below I give a simple possession phrase inflected for all persons. I also give some further examples with other nouns that are classified as INALIENABLE.

EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
ngahan-ng Milton	My name is Milton
ngahan-ka Milton	Your name is Milton
ngah<i>n Milton	His/her name is Milton
ngahan-ma Milton	Our (exc) names are Milton
ngahan-sita Milton	Our (inc) names are Milton
ngahan-mi Milton	Your (pl) names are Milton
ngahan-di Milton	Their names are Milton

Table 10: Inalienable Possessive Phrase Example

Note in the following examples (2.83-2.85) below how the forms from table 10 are affixed to the nouns they modify.

(2.83) *Apner* *manguh-ni,* [*tub<**i**>h*]$_{\text{POSS}}$ *ahmimah*
NAME sick-3SG.STV tummy<3SG.POSS> bloated
'Apner's sick, his tummy is bloated.'
**tubuh* = 'tummy'

(2.84) *ka* *ina-**m*** *ye* *ama-**m*** *ngahan-**di***
2SG mother-2SG.POSS and father-2SG.POSS name-3PL.POSS
ba?
where
'What are your parents' names?

(2.85) *Tina* *auh* *a-len* *a<**y**>tul*
name 3SG.cut 3SG.ACT-go <3SG.POSS>foot
'Tina cut her {foot}.'

Table 11 below shows all the words that belong to the inalienable class, as found in my corpus. This table also includes data from Takata (1992).

NOUNS	GLOSS	NOUNS	GLOSS
ngahan-	'name'	*lima-*	'hand'
ama-	'father'	*tubuh-*	'tummy'
ina-	'mother'	*ai<>tubuh* ‡†	'calf'
abu<>fer ‡	'grandfather'	*ai<>tul* ‡	'foot/leg'
abu<>siha ‡†	'grandmfother'	*nofan-*	'teeth'
kaka-	'older sibling'	*ai<>rey* ‡†	'knee'
wel-	'younger sibling'	*ai<>meta* ‡†	'ankle'
lugi-†	'face'	*papa-*	'mouth'
kabehal- †	'tongue'	...	...

Table 11: All inalienably possessed roots in corpus

‡ This word is unusual, in that the inalienable suffixes are infixed.

† This example is taken from Takata (1992:48-49).

Note that the following words in example (2.86) do not belong to the inalienable class even though they are kinship terms (Takata 1992:66). I am uncertain as to the reason for this exception. Perhaps they are considered 'roles' that one can assume rather than strict familial ties e.g. father, mother etc.

(2.86) *wawa* 'child/friend'
warfer 'husband'
wasiha 'wife'

Certain nouns as indicated in table 11 above share the irregular 3rd person system of infixation rather than being suffixed, but for all persons, not just the 3rd person. Examples (2.87) and (2.88) below show the possessive marker used as an infix instead of being suffixed to the end of the word. Note that in example (2.88), the infix in *ai<>tul* is realised as /y/ due to vowel coalescence. For more information on Kola Vowel Coalescence, see Takata & Takata (1992:44).

(2.87) *abu<ng>fer*
grandfather<1SG.POSS>
'My grandfather'

abu<m>fer
grandfather<2SG.POSS>
'Your grandfather'

(2.88) *a<y>tul*
foot<3SG.POSS>
'his foot'

a<m>tul
foot<2SG.POSS>
'your foot'

2.8.2 Alienable Possession

Table 12 below shows the paradigm for the alienable possession forms.

	Alienable Possession	
	Singular	**Plural**
1	*kanang*	*kama* (exc)
		sita (inc)
2	*kanam*	*kem*
3	*na*	*ida*

Table 12: Alienable Possessive Paradigm

Alienable possessors are marked indirectly by means of a possessor word that is specified for person and number. The possessor word occurs before the possessed noun, with no other element coming between it and the possessed noun. Here are some examples.

(2.89) [***Na*** *palaw*]$_{\text{POSS}}$ *a-min{a}* *ri*
3SG.POSS house 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'His house is over there.'

(2.90) [***kanang*** *boka*]$_{\text{POSS}}$ *a-tulak*
1SG.POSS canoe 3SG.ACT-hole
'My boat has a hole {sprung a hole/leak}.'

(2.91) *buda* *ma* *ku-so* [***kanam*** *sum*]$_{\text{POSS}}$
please come 1SG.ACT-see 2SG.POSS wound
'Let me look at your cut.'

(2.92) [***kem*** *wawa-yika*]$_{\text{POSS}}$ *doka-ba?*
2PL.POSS child-PL 3PL.say/want-where
'How are your children?'

When the possessor is a proper noun or a full NP rather than a pronoun, then it is also expressed indirectly and phrasally, as illustrated below in examples (2.93-2.94). The proper noun or full NP appears before the possessive pronoun.

(2.93) [*Duaida* ***na*** *anting-anting* *ka*]$_{\text{NP}}$
God 3SG.POSS earrings PL
'God's earrings.' (WTL 008)

(2.94) [*panua* ***ida*** *warfer*]$_{NP}$ *Yabumir*
village 3PL.POSS headman NAME
'Their village headman is Yabumir.' {'The village's headman is Yabumir'}

3 Verbs: Verb Morphology and Verb Classes

In this chapter, I begin by discuss the unique properties of the verb word class such as their ability to take person marking morphology and modify nouns when reduplicated (§3.1). I then focus on discussing morphological alignment and explaining the status of Kola as an active alignment language in §3.2. I then discuss verb types in §3.3, looking at intransitives, monotransitives and ditransitives. I summarise the status of Kola's morphological alignment in §3.4. Finally, I discuss the form and function of the intransitiviser prefix *-h-* in §3.5.

3.0 Preliminary Definitions

I employ Comrie's (1978, 1989) terminology of labelling core arguments S, A & P, where S refers to the sole argument of an intransitive verb, A refers to the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb and P refers to the most-patient like argument of a transitive verb. I also employ Haspelmath's (2005) terminology for labelling semantic arguments of ditransitive clauses, where R is the recipient-like argument, and T, the theme-like argument (or indirect object and direct object respectively in older linguistic traditions).

I also use the terms 'active' and 'stative' when describing verbs. Active (also known as dynamic) and stative (also known as static) are aspectual categories of verbs (Crystal 2003:433). These terms are typically defined by two sets of criteria: syntax and semantics. Active and stative verbs usually have different syntactic properties. For example, in English, stative verbs cannot occur in progressive or imperative form, while active verbs can. From a semantic point of view, active verbs typically encode activity and processes, while stative verbs express states of affairs or inactive cognitive processes.

I add to this definition the criteria of arguments and their theta roles – Active verbs imply that the subject of the verb is the agent or actor, while stative verbs imply the subject of the verb is an experiencer or patient instead. When I use the term 'actor', I refer to both the arguments S and A of an *active* verb.

3.1 Properties of Verbs

Verbs are a distinct (i.e. separate from nouns) open word class and function primarily as the predicate of a verbal clause. Verbs can be divided into two broad classes, active verbs and stative verbs. They can be differentiated by the type of person marking morphology affixation that they can take. Active verbs are *almost* always obligatorily marked with actor prefixes, while stative verbs are marked with the stative S suffixes (See section 3.2 for verb morphology paradigms). Note that the ability to take person-number marking morphology is a key defining characteristic of all verbs. I illustrate this property with a linear verb structure diagram. Elements in parentheses are optional.

ACTOR PREFIX + (INTR -*h*-) + VERB ROOT + (P SUFFIX)

Diagram 2: Active Verb Structure (for regular verbs only)

VERB ROOT + STATIVE S SUFFIX

Diagram 3: Stative Verb Structure (for ANIMATE S Referents only)

Another defining property of verbs is the ability to modify nouns when reduplicated. This was discussed in section 2.7. I include here two examples purely to emphasise this characteristic of verbs. See section 2.7 for more details.

Active Verb

(3.1) *tamata-ke* [***da-l-talah*** *e*]$_{RC}$ *da-manam*
person-PL 3PL.ACT-RED-sit there 3PL.ACT-eat
'The people who sat there ate.' {'the sitting people ate'.} (Takata 1992:63)

Stative Verb

(3.2) *ak* *ku-fah* [*nuh* ***ah<at>but***]$_{NP}$
1SG 1SG.ACT-find coconut <RED>hard
'I'm looking for a hard coconut.' (Takata 1992:64)

3.1.1 Verb Classification

Within the class of active verbs, they can be further divided into 2 subclasses – regular verbs and irregular verbs. Regular verbs are agglutinating, taking the form as seen in in Diagram 2. Most verbs that I have found in my corpus belong to this class.

Irregular verbs are fusional morphs where the actor prefix has fused with the verb root. Prefixation with the -*h*- intransitiviser is thus impossible. In addition the verb cannot take any P suffixes, although according to Takata (1992), there is one exception – the verb *kom* '1SG.cause'. Table 13 below shows the inflectional paradigms of seven common irregular verbs.

GLOSS	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PLE	1PLI	2PL	3PL
Meet/Reach	*kit*	*mit*	*anit*	*mit*	*tit*	*minit*	*dit*
Get	*koki*	*moki*	*anaki*	*maki*	*taki*	*minaki*	*daki*
Wear	*ken*	*men*	*anen*	*men*	*ten*	*minen*	*den*
Do/Cause	*kom*	*mom*	*anam*	*mam*	*tam*	*minam*	*dam*
Get	*kol*	*mol*	*anal /nal*	*mal*	*tal*	*minal*	*dal*
Say/Want	*koka*	*moka*	*noka*	*maka*	*taka*	*minoka*	*doka*
Use	*kuk*	*muk*	*uk*	*mak*	*tak*	*miuk*	*duk*

Table 13: Seven Irregular Verb Paradigms

Notably, this irregular class contains some verbs that have a high frequency in my data, and also carry extra grammatical functions (quotative, instrumentive etc.) other than their verbal semantics. This is in line with Bybee (1985)'s Type and Token frequency theory, which postulates that irregular verbs are maintained in a language due to their high frequency of usage. I will discuss these 'extra' functions in chapter 5 on complex predication.

3.1.2 Lack of an Adjective Class

My analysis of the verbal person-number marking morphology differs from that of Takata (1992). Takata describes stative verbs as 'adjectives'. Richard Olson, based on his glossing in his texts, treats 'adjectives' as stative verbs (i.e. namely based on his gloss 'vs', Verb Stative).

Indeed, this class of words carry Dixon's (1982:16) seven adjectival notions/criteria of dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value and speed. However, I favour the term 'stative verb' over 'adjective' as there are more morphosyntatic similarities between the behaviour of stative verbs and active verbs in Kola. I present my argument here with three points of reasoning.

1. Both active verbs and stative verbs can function predicatively and attributively.
2. When functioning predicatively, both take person-number marking morphology agreement (with restrictions due to animacy- stative verbs only take agreement when the argument is ANIMATE).
3. When functioning attributively, both active and stative verbs must be reduplicated.

Typically in languages that possess a real adjective class, adjectives behave differently from verbs in either/both their attributive or predicative function. Thus, to group verbs and stative verbs together as a single word category makes more sense since their behaviours are

very similar. Using the term 'adjective' implies that the behaviour of this stative verb class is significantly different from the active verb class – which is untrue.

The exact label of the word class is not strictly important – we could have a compromise between my analysis and Takata's (1992) label of 'adjective' and term this class of words 'adjectival verbs' instead. However, I employ the term 'stative' to be consistent with Hughes (2000), who uses this distinction of active and stative to describe the verbs in Dobel.

3.2 Person-Number Marking Verbal Affixes

Tables 15, 16 and 17 below show the paradigms of the person-number marking morphology. Table 14 shows the paradigm of actor marking prefixes which are glossed as 'ACT'. Table 15 shows the P marking suffixes which are glossed as 'PAT'. Table 16 shows the stative S suffixes paradigm which are glossed as 'STV'. The forms in the Actor and P marking paradigms are found on active verbs, while the forms from the Stative S marking paradigm are found only on stative verbs.

	Actor Marking Paradigm	
	Singular	**Plural**
1	*ku-*	*ma-* (exc)
		ta- (inc)
2	***am-/ mu-***	*mi-*
3	*a-*	*da-*

Table 14: Actor-Prefixes

	P Marking Paradigm	
	Singular	**Plural**
1	*-ng*	*-ma* (exc)
		-sita (inc)
2	*-m /(-**ka**)*	*-kem*
3	*-ni*	*-da /-**yi***

Table 15: P suffixes

	Stative S Marking Paradigm	
	Singular	**Plural**
1	*-ng*	*-kam* (exc)
		-sita (inc)
2	*-ka*	*-kem*
3	*-ni*	*-yi /-**di***

Table 16: Stative S suffixes

In the three tables above, cells which have more than one form are separated by a forward slash, which indicates that the forms are variants of each other. There are four instances of variation.

However, while this variation is claimed by Takata (1992) to exist, I found it

limited only to the 2nd person singular in the Actor marking paradigm *am-/mu-*. Takata writes that the variation in the Actor paradigm of the 2nd person singular (*am-/mu-*) is motivated by phonological constraints such as stress placement and consonant quality (Takata 1992:54). However, it is not clear what the variation in the other instances is motivated by – it could be speaker or even dialectal variation.

In all other cases of 'variation' – 3rd person plural in both the P marking (*-da/-yi*) and stative S (*-yi/-di*) marking paradigms – I have indicated the form in bold that I have actually found in my corpus.

Regarding the variation in the P marking paradigm, Takata (1992) does not actually write that there is variation in the second person singular form—she only provides the form *-m*. However, I have not found any instances of this form in my data, instead finding solely the use of *-ka*. The reader will recall that the form *-ka* is similar to the 2nd person singular pronoun (Table 4 in section 2.3), as it is most likely derived from that. More investigation is needed to ascertain if *-m* is really part of the P marking paradigm. For now, I leave both forms in the paradigm as they may be variants.

Note that there is some overlap of forms, especially between the Stative S and the P suffixes. The only form that is completely different is the 1st person plural exclusive which is *-kam* in the stative S paradigm, while in the P marking paradigm it is *-ma*. In addition to the 2nd person singular *-ka*, the 3rd person plural form *-yi* is also identical between the Stative S and P paradigms. Since the Stative S paradigm is more stable, while the P paradigm has more variation, this could suggest incipient paradigm collapse as speakers slowly conflate the two paradigms into one for cognitive/socio-pragmatic reasons.

3.3 Verb Types

3.3.1 Intransitive verbs

In Kola, intransitive verbs can be either stative verbs or active verbs. All stative verbs are intransitive, while only some active verbs are intransitive. (See 3.3.2 on active transitive verbs.)

The single argument of the verb is S. The S argument, when explicitly marked with a pronoun or NP, precedes the verb. However, the type of person-number marking differs between active and stative verbs. Active verbs are marked with the actor prefixes in Table 14, while stative verbs are marked with stative S suffixes in Table 16.

Active Verb

	S			V
(3.3a)	*Meki*	*taw*	*Sara*	***da**-tawa.*
	NAME	and	NAME	3PL.ACT-marry

'Meki and Sarah are married.'

Stative Verb

	S		V
(3.3b)	*kanang*	*wawa*	*manguh-**ni***
	1SG.POSS	child	sick-3SG.STV
	'My child is sick.'		

In addition, as mentioned earlier, there is differential agreement on intransitive verbs for ANIMATE nouns. I give two examples here with the same stative verb, *samayah* 'good'. I have only been able to observe this phenomenon with stative verbs. Observe how the INANIMATE S is not co-referenced on the verb in (3.4b).

ANIMATE Stative S

(3.4a)	*netak*	*tu<y>bay*	*ne*	*samay<i>h-i-**ni***
	axe	<RED>new	that.PROX.ANI	good<3SG>-i-3SG.STV
	'Is your new axe good?'			

INANIMATE Stative S

(3.4b)	*haba*	*samayah?*
	many	good-Ø
	'Are they good?' {Context: they = plants}	

3.3.2 Monotransitive Verbs

The two arguments of the mono-transitive verbs are A and P. Only active verbs can be mono-transitive. In a basic, unmarked clause the A argument precedes the verb while the P argument follows the verb. On the verb itself, the A argument is cross-referenced with the actor prefixes from table 14. The P argument can be pronominally suffixed with the P marking suffixes from table 15. I give two examples below, the first (3.5a) where the verb is not marked with a P marking suffix, and the second, (3.5b) where the P argument is marked pronominally on the verb with a P marking suffix.

	A-V	**P**
(3.5a)	*da-ka*	*hatudu*
	3PL.ACT-eat	sago.pudding
	'{They} eat sago pudding.'	

A-V-P

(3.5b)	*mu-h-naw-ng*
	2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT
	'You teach me.'

There is no differential marking of the **P** argument with regard to animacy, as I illustrate below with these two instances of the same verb in examples (3.6a&b).

ANIMATE **P**

(3.6a) *ak* *koka* *ku-kel* *netak*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-buy axe
'I wanted to buy an axe.'

INANIMATE **P**

(3.6b) *da-h-kel* *muk*
3PL.ACT-INTR-buy banana
'{They buy} bananas.'

However, I am uncertain if the same is true for the marking of the A argument with active verbs, or if it is even possible for an INANIMATE noun to be the A of an active verb predicate. I have no examples of this in my corpus. More investigation is needed.

3.3.3 Ditransitive verbs

The three arguments of a ditransitive verb are A, R and T. In Haspelmath's (2005) alignment types of ditransitives, Kola has indirective alignment: T is treated morphosyntactically the same as the P of a mono-transitive verb. That is, it is found in the same position as P would be – directly after the verb. I do not know if T can be expressed pronominally with the P-marking suffixes on the verb because I have no examples of this. R is treated differently from T and mono-transitive P. It must appear as a complement of a preposition within a prepositional phrase. Where T is unexpressed, R can be treated as the direct object and need not be introduced by a preposition.

Table 17 shows the ditransitive verbs I have found so far in my corpus. Based on my data and that of Takata's (1992), there do not appear to be any strictly ditransitive verbs (i.e. that have a fixed valency of 3) – as arguments can often be elided. Takata (1992) writes that the verbs *kol* and *koki* change their meaning from 'get' to 'give' when there are three arguments.

DITRANSITIVE VERB	**GLOSS**
keh	give
kol	1SG.get
koki	1SG.get

Table 17: Ditransitive Verbs

Examples (3.7a and 3.7b) show T occurring post-verbally, directly after the verb. R is

introduced by the preposition *ka* 'DIR'.

	A		**A-V**	**T**		**R**
(3.7a)	*ak*	*karam*	*kol*	*masin*	*ku-ka*	*ka.*
	1SG	later	1SG.get	salt	1SG.ACT-DIR	2SG
	'I'll {give some salt to you}.'					

	A		**A-V**	**T**		**R**
(3.7b)	*ak*	*koka*	*ku-h-keh*[4]	*ika*	*ku-ka*	*ka*
	1SG	1SG.say/want	1SG.ACT-INTR-give	fish	1SG.ACT-DIR	2SG
	'I want to give you these fish.'					

T is often omitted if it is clear from the discourse context. Example (3.8) shows this ellipsis of **T**.

	A-V		**T**	**R**	
(3.8)	*ku-h-keh*[1]	*Ø*	*kanang*	*palaw*	*tawin-ye*
	1SG.ACT-INTR-give		1SG.POSS	house	neighbour-PL
	'...I gave them to my neighbours.'				
	(Context: them = skewers of fish)				

Takata (1992:57) describes special properties of two irregular verbs *anal* '3SG.get' and *anaki* '3SG.get'. When these verbs take an indirect object, their meaning becomes 'to give', rather than 'to get'. In addition, they display a specificity for number. *anal* takes singular direct objects, while *anaki* takes plural direct objects. Both examples below are taken from Takata (1992), as I could find no clear illustrations of this phenomenon in my own data.

	T		**A**	**V**	**R**
(3.9a)	*ika*	*ke,*	*Kres*	***anaki***	*ka-ni*
	fish	those.PROX	NAME	3SG.get	DIR-3SG.PAT
	'These fish, Kres gave to him.'				

	T		**A**	**V**		**R**
(3.9b)	*Ika*	*ne,*	*ak*	***kol***	*ka*	*Kres*
	fish	that.PROX.ANI	1SG	1SG.get	DIR	NAME
	'This fish, I gave to Kres.'					(Takata 1992:57)

4 An alternative analysis of this word might be:
ku-h-keh
1SG.ACT-RED-give

As seen above, the verb in example (3.9a) takes a plural direct object while in (3.9b), the direct object is singular. Since both examples show nouns modified by demonstratives that inflect for number (that vs those), these are definitely not perfect examples to illustrate the unique properties of these two verbs. Unfortunately, without more examples, I cannot further my discussion on these verbs' unique properties. More research is necessary.

I mentioned earlier that there are no strict ditransitive verbs. Example (3.10) below further illustrates this. Observe how R is encoded in a separate clause from the verb that it is dependent to. This suggests that while the meaning of *mol* here is clearly 'to give' and verb should be trivalent, R does not need to be part of the same clause as the verb. This unusual construction deserves more analysis – which again, I am unable to do so with only one example.

	A-V	**T**		**R**	
(3.10)	[***mol***	*muk*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$	*ya*	[*ka-ng*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$	*ko*
	2SG.get	banana	and.then	DIR-1SG.PAT	because
	[*ku-ka*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$				
	1SG.ACT-eat				
	'Give me a banana because I want to eat.'				

3.4 Superfluous Agreement Marking

There are some instances in my corpus where the 3rd person singular is doubly marked on a verb. I have only observed this phenomenon with the 3rd person singular. Examples (3.11a-c) all show a stative verb that is suffixed with stative S suffixes. In addition, a root vowel change occurs. /i/ is infixed into the verb root replacing the final closed syllable vowel in the word. This infixation of /i/ is part of an older morphological system that was probably present in Proto-Aru. This system still exists in Dobel to mark the 3rd person singular neutral undergoer enclitic on verbs (Hughes 2000:140). I suspect that traces of this still remain in Kola.

(3.11a) *nagan* *rar**<i>**f-ni?*
QST <3SG>fever-3SG.STV
'Does he have malaria?'

(3.11b) *netak* *tu<y>bay* *ne* *samay**<i>**h-i-ni*
axe <RED>new that.PROX.ANI good**<3SG>**-i[5]-3SG.STV
'Is your new axe good?'

5 I suspect that the *-i-* is an epenthetic vowel that appears to avoid violating syllable constraints.

(3.11c) *otni* *wanlu<i>n-{n}i*[6] *taw* *otni*
one.ANI be.male<3SG>-3SG.STV and one.ANI
kodih-i[7]*-ni*
be.female-i-3SG.STV
'One brother and one sister.'

3.5 Summary of Kola Alignment

Based on the analysis of the various verbal paradigms and the description and behaviour of the verb types – I propose that Kola has active alignment. This means that all actors, whether S or A, are treated the same when they are arguments of an active verb. Undergoers are differentiated on the basis of their syntactic role. When S is the argument of a stative verb and animate, it is marked with a different paradigm from the actors, i.e. the stative S suffixes. P is treated differently from both A and S and has its own paradigm of affixes. Diagram 4 below summarises this relationship.

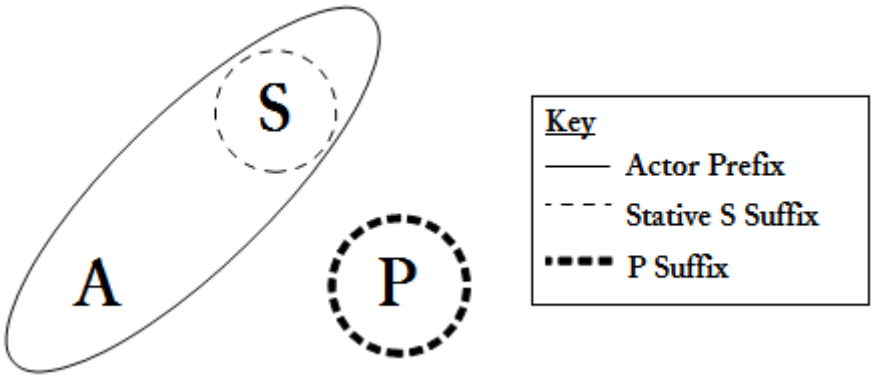


Diagram 4: Kola intransitive-monotransitive alignment

With regard to ditransitive alignment, the picture is less complex. Kola has indirective alignment (Haspelmath 2005). This is because T is treated the same way as mono-transitive P with regard to syntactic position (and possibly pronominal marking on the verb). R is treated differently from either T or P. Diagram 5 below shows the alignment of the ditransitive clause in Kola.

6 The root *wanluan* interacts with the 3rd person singular Stative S suffix *-ni* through Consonant Coalescence (Takata & Takata 1992:44) and loses its initial nasal consonant /n/. I re-insert it in curly parenthesis {n} .

7 Again, I suspect that the *-i-* is an epenthetic vowel that appears to avoid violating syllable constraints.

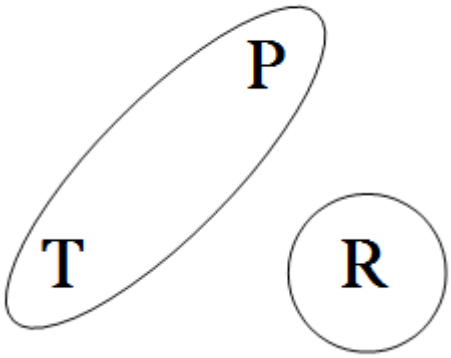


Diagram 5: Kola mono-ditransitive alignment

3.6 Issues in the Status of the Paradigms

3.6.1 Analysis for Separate P marking and Stative S marking Paradigms

My analysis of the person-number marking morphology differs from both Takata (1992) and Richard Olson. As mentioned earlier, Takata treats stative verbs as adjectives. She describes the Stative S marking paradigm of suffixes as Adjective Person Markers (Takata 1992:53). Richard Olson conflates the Stative S and the P marking paradigms into a single paradigm which he terms the undergoer (based on his glosses in his texts).

My position is that the paradigm of stative S suffixes is separate from the P marking paradigm, and that the good deal of similarity is likely due to historical reasons. This conclusion is based on two pieces of evidence from the behaviour of the paradigms: (1) The differential pronominal and/or agreement behaviour of the verbal affixes, and (2) How the verbal affixes treat animate NP arguments.

1.Differential status as pronouns versus agreement.

The actor prefixes and stative S suffixes are both agreement and pronominal markers – since they are nearly always marked on the verb, whether or not an overt NP or pronoun appears in the argument position of the clause.

In the examples below, I show the same verb with and without an explicitly marked S/A argument NP. Examples (3.12a) and (3.13a) show arguments of the verb that are overtly expressed either through pronouns or full NPs, while examples (3.12b) and (3.13b) only show the verb without any overt S/A arguments. Note however that the verb remains affixed with the verbal person-number marking morphology in all instances.

Active intransitive verb

(3.12a) *ak* ***ku-balayar*** *relih*
1SG 1SG.ACT-study vernacular
'I am studying the local language.'

(3.12b) ***ku-balayar*** *relih*
1SG.ACT-study vernacular
'I am studying the local language.'

Stative intransitive verb

(3.13a) *Magareta* *ikaraman* ***sowih-ni***
NAME INCEP die-3SG.STV
'Margaret just died.'

(3.13b) ***sowih-ni***
die-3SG.STV
'She is dead.'

However, the P marking suffix is pronominal in nature since an active verb is only ever marked with the P suffix when no explicit object NP follows the verb. I illustrate this property with examples (3.14a&b) below. Again the same verb is found in both examples, but in (3.14a) it is unsuffixed since the P argument of the verb is an overt NP. Conversely, in example (3.14b) the verb is suffixed with the P marking suffixes because the NP is not expressed. This indicates that these suffixes are pronominal and not agreement markers.

(3.14a) *moka* *am-wang-**Ø*** [*ika* *kekin?*]$_{NP}$
2SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-sell fish those.DIST.ANI
'Would you like to sell {those fish}?'

(3.14b) *ak* *tanga* *ku-wang-**{y}i***
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT
'I don't want to sell them.'

2. Animacy and Verbal Affixes

As mentioned earlier, stative S suffixes only appear on the stative verb when the argument is ANIMATE. I illustrate this with two examples of the same verb *eta* 'tall'. Observe how *eta* is suffixed in (3.15a) but unsuffixed in (3.15b).

(3.15a) *ak* ***eta**-ng.* (**ANIMATE S**)
1SG tall-1SG.STV
'I am tall.'

(3.15b) [*nuh* *ekin*]$_{NP}$ ***eta.*** (**INANIMATE S**)
coconut that.DIST.INA tall
'That coconut tree is tall.' (Takata 1992:54)

Their behaviour differs from the P suffixes as they are not affected by animacy constraints. Examples (3.16a&b) show that animacy has no effect on whether a P argument can be marked on the verb. This suggests that they are not from the same paradigm.

(3.16a) *ina-ng* *takan* *a-faw-**{y}i***
mother-1SG.POSS usually 3SG.ACT-fry-3PL.PAT
'My mother can fry {the sago grubs}.' (**ANIMATE P**)

(3.16b) *tamata ne* *a-wang-**{y}i***
person that.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT
'That man does {sell bananas}.' (**INANIMATE P**)

Thus, these two pieces of evidence suggest that while the forms in the stative S and P marking paradigms are very similar, their behaviour is significantly different to warrant them as separate paradigms. Naturally, there is some conflicting evidence that I explain below.

Recall that the only form that was different between the Stative S and P paradigms was the 1st person plural. Note that nowhere in my corpus or in Olson's texts have I found any examples of the 1st person plural form of either the stative S paradigm or the P marking paradigm. Only in Takata (1992) is there a sole example, example (3.17) below, showing the Stative S suffix form *-kam* being used on the irregular active verb *kom* '1SG.do/cause', rather than the *-ma* of the P marking paradigm.

(3.17) *iri* *da-yol* *doka* *"kanaka* *mom-**kam***
3PL 3PL.ACT-beg 3PL.say/want NEG.IMP 2SG.do/cause-1**PL.STV**
ma-bana."
1PL.ACT-go
'They begged, "Don't make us go." ' (Takata 1992:58)

Takata (1992:58) writes specifically that the irregular 'do/cause' verb *kom* "is sometimes suffixed with an object suffix {i.e. a P suffix} when the object is obvious in the discourse context", which contradicts the type of suffixing found in example (3.17) above. This usage of the 'wrong' suffix casts doubt on the existence of the two separate paradigms of tables 16 and 17, and implies that they are the same. Naturally this is only one isolated example and cannot prove a general trend.

What is needed here to disprove my position for a separate paradigm is perhaps evidence that the actor prefixes have animacy restrictions just like the stative S suffixes. For example, where the A argument of an active verb is INANIMATE, i.e. 'The rope hit the man'. This would then suggest that differential subject marking is not a property unique to the stative S paradigm. I have no concrete examples of this occurring in my data and this

may even be impossible/ungrammatical for Kola speakers. What would also be useful is more data showing the behaviour two paradigms of P and Stative S for all persons. More investigation is needed.

3.6.2 Issues with Actor marking Prefixes

It would appear that Kola treats all actors (Active S & A) the same, even if the actor is not really agent-like. The division between active and stative is not immediately apparent – it is language specific and requires much more investigation (beyond the scope of this paper) to determine the semantic division and the way different verbs are perceived. I present some verbs in table 18.

Verb	**Gloss**
mina	'stay'
kaywa	'suffer'
lalu	'be.born'
yebuh	'be.dirty'

Table 18: Active verbs that do not have Agents as Actors

For instance, in example (3.18) below, *utan* is clearly not an agent yet it is treated like one as the verb takes actor marking prefixes. This is likely a unique property of this verb. More discussion on the verb *mina* 'stay' can be found in section 4.5.

(3.18) *kanam* *utan* *a-mina* *ba?*
2SG.POSS garden 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is your garden?'

Likewise in (3.19), the actor *anis* 'baby' is not exactly the agent of the verb *lalu* 'be.born', yet the verb is marked for agreement with the actor prefixes.

(3.19) *yawba* *anis* *a-lalu?*
when baby 3SG.ACT-be.born
'When was the baby born?'

(3.20) *kali-m* *a-h-ab-yebuh*
body-2SG.POSS 3SG.ACT-INTR-RED-be.dirty
'Your body is very dirty.' (Takata 1992:62)

3.6.3 Absence of Prefixation on some Active Verbs

As mentioned earlier in Section 3.1.1, active verbs are almost always prefixed with the Actor marking prefixes. There are a handful of cases where they are not marked. At the current time of writing, I have yet to discover a cause for this absence of prefixing, although I suspect that it could be pragmatically motivated or have some other grammatical function. I give some examples below.

Examples (3.21 & 3.22) below show prefix-less verbs appearing in short brief questions, which suggests that this phenomena is motivated by pragmatics – speakers may omit the verbal prefixation when it clear from the context who is being addressed, or since it requires less effort to articulate.

(3.21) *ta* *wahoh* ***ma?***
FUT afternoon come
'Could you come this afternoon?'

(3.22) *yawba* ***mil?***
when return
'When are you coming back?'

Examples (3.23 & 3.24) below both show a different context where the absence of prefixation occurs, that is, in a serial verb construction (SVC). Note that all the other verbs in the SVC are prefixed. It would then be possible to omit the Actor prefix on the second verb, since SVCs share the same person and number as they function as a single predicate. This requires less effort on the speaker's part.

(3.23) *baye* *da-tolduk* *yaw* *babiya* *a-pan* ***talah*** *na*
then 3PL.ACT-wait until sago.flour 3SG.ACT-fall sit LOC
garat *abil*
container inside
'They wait for the sago to settle out (separate) in the container.'

(3.24) *moka* *mela* ***dom*** *ye?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.take make what
'Where do you want to use it?'

Examples (3.25a&b) below also show a verb without Actor prefixing, but there appears to be an imperative reading in these sentences. Note, however, that I have found no evidence for a morphological imperative in Kola. More investigation is needed.

(3.25a) ***ma*** *mu-h-naw-ng* *relih*
come 2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT language
'...come teach me your language.'

(3.25b) *buda* ***ma*** *ku-dom*
please come 1SG.ACT-make
'Now I try.'

3.7 *-h-* Intransitiviser

The *-h-* prefix is a feature of regular active verbs only. The reader will recall diagram 2 shown earlier which shows the intransitiviser prefixed directly to the verb root in the second prefixable position. I repeat diagram 2 below.

ACTOR PREFIX + (**INTR *-h-***) + VERB ROOT + (P SUFFIX)

Diagram 2: Typical active verb morpheme structure (Regular Verbs only)

Certain active verbs that are innately intransitive (i.e. not labile verbs) carry the intransitiviser prefix obligatorily. Takata (1992) identifies four of these verbs (marked with †) and I add three more from my corpus although there are probably more. Naturally, not all intransitive verbs are obligatorily marked with the *-h-* prefix.

(3.26) †*h-nom* 'to take a path' *h-nin* 'sleep'
†*h-lang* 'to speak' *h-naw* 'teach'
†*h-ngak* 'to cough *h-asi* 'visit'
†*h-yamuh* 'to walk'

Takata (1992:54) writes that the prefix "stresses the action of the verb, and is suggestive of a generic or unspecified object". Conversely, a verb without the intransitivising prefix stresses "the action of the verb as applied to a specific object".

This does not mean that the *-h-* prefixed verb cannot take a syntactic object (as will be seen in the examples below). Rather, the transitivity of the verb has decreased due to a number of different factors. Here I appeal to Hopper & Thompson's (1980) continuum of transitivity. Hopper & Thompson identify 10 sets of criteria (1980:252) for transitivity, each a "different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another". In particular, I wish to highlight several of the criteria that are applicable to Kola and the analysis of the *-h-* prefix function as an intransitiviser or a reducer of transitivity.

Out of the ten criteria, two are most relevant towards the analysis of example (3.27a&b)

below. I will briefly summarise Hopper & Thompson's explanations for both criteria.

ASPECT. Whether an action has a discernible endpoint, i.e. telic or atelic.
INDIVIDUATION OF P ARGUMENT. – Distinctness of the patient. Patients which are proper, human/animate, concrete, singular, referential/definite are more individuated compared to patients who are common, inanimate, abstract, plural and non-referential.

Takata (1992:55) provides two good examples contrasting the same verb and P argument noun phrase. Example (3.27a) has a verb prefixed with *-h-* intransitiviser, while example (3.27b) does not.

(3.27a) *ni* *takan* ***a-h-dom*** *boka*
3SG usually 3SG.ACT-INTR-make canoe
'He often makes canoes.' (generic)

(3.27b) *ni* *bisa* ***a-dom*** *boka* *tu<y>bay*
3SG can 3SG.ACT-make canoe <RED>new
'He can make a new canoe.' (specific) (Takata 1992:55)

Example (3.27b) is more transitive/higher in the transitivity continuum than example (3.27a), because it displays the following properties:

ASPECT: Telic – the action has a clear end point compared to example (3.27a).
INDIVIDUATION OF P: Highly individuated. P argument is singular, concrete and more referential than the P argument of example (3.27a).

I include some more examples below. Examples (3.28a&b) share the same verb to allow for a similar comparison as in examples (3.27a&b). (3.28a) is low transitivity due to the low INDIVIDUATION of the P argument *ika* 'fish'.

(3.28a) *ni* *a-bana* ***a-h-fah*** *ika*
3SG 3SG.ACT-go 3SG.ACT-INTR-find fish
'He's going fishing.' (generic)

(3.28b) *moka* ***am-fah*** *boka* *tu<y>bay?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-find canoe <RED>new
'Would you like a new canoe?' (specific)

Naturally, with different examples, different criteria from Hopper & Thompson need to be used to explain the use of the *-h-* intransitiviser. For instance in example (3.29) below, the

action of attending the event is more like a state of being, rather than an action being transferred from one participant to another. Thus, the sentence is low on transitivity due to KINESIS. This area of morphology deserves much more detailed investigation beyond the scope of this sketch.

(3.29) *ak* *ta* *ku-tuhi* *ma-h-loy* *aplopi*
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-attend 1PLE.ACT-INTR-hang flag
tanggal *17* *Agustus*
celebration 17 month
'I'm going to attend the 17th of August celebration.'

4 Prepositions, Prepositional Phrases & Locative Expressions

4.1 Introduction

Prepositions are a closed word class in Kola. Prepositions head prepositional phrases. I present the linear structure of the PP in diagram 6 below. Only prepositions (PREP) can serve as the head of a PP. In addition, as the diagram shows, the PREP can be optionally affixed with agreement using the verbal person-number marking morphology of actor prefixes or P suffixes. Where marked by an actor prefix, the referent is the same as the S/A of the main verb. The PP is left headed, and the NP complement (NP_{COMPL}) is found to the right of the preposition. The NP_{COMPL} is optional if it is marked on the preposition as a P suffix i.e. AGR_P.

(AGR_A) - **PREP** - (AGR_P) (NP_{COMPL})

Diagram 6: Prepositional Phrase Structure

The NP_{COMPL} can consist of just a demonstrative, since the Noun Head can be elided (see section 2.1). Example (4.1) below shows *akin* 'this.DIST.INA' forming the complement of the locative preposition *na* 'LOC'.

(4.1)	*pue*	*da-min{a}*	*mah*	[*da-**na***	[***akin***]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$	*te*	*tanga*
	croc	3PL.ACT.stay	river	3PL.ACT-LOC	this.DIST.INA	or	NEG
	'Are there crocodiles {in the river} in this place or not?'						

In Kola, PPs typically encode information such as location, direction, purpose or cause. In addition, some prepositions also serve to introduce oblique arguments of the verb, such as the indirect object etc., as well as introduce a new clause (see section 4.3.5 on the preposition *aka*).

The rest of this chapter covers a discussion of the morphological behaviour of prepositions (§4.2), followed by a discussion of their semantic function (§4.3). I then look at locative words – words that encode prepositional-like meaning but are nominal in nature (§4.4). Finally, I discuss locational verbs *mina* and *loti* (§4.5) as well as other verbal-preposition constructions (§4.6).

4.2 Person-Number Morphology on Prepositions.

Some prepositions can be marked with prefixes and/or suffixes, specified for both person and number. I give the paradigm below in table 19.

	Actor-Prefixes	**P suffixes**
1SG	*ku-*	*-ng*
2SG	*am-/mu-*	*-m/-ka*
3SG	*a-*	*-ni*
1PLE	*ma-*	*-ma*
1PLI	*ta-*	*-sita*
2PL	*mi-*	*-kem*
3PL	*da-*	*-da/-yi*

Table 19: Person-Number affixes found on Prepositions

Note that these are the same sets of affixes found on verbs, namely the actor prefixes and the P suffixes. Their behaviour on prepositions is also similar in that the actor prefixes mark agreement (with the actor of the verb in the clause) while the P suffixes are pronominal – that is a P suffix occurs on a preposition when no NP complement is expressed.

However, one important distinction is that according to Takata (1992:60), this affixation is typically optional. This distinguishes prepositions from verbs, as verbs are typically obligatorily affixed with the person-number marking morphology.

4.2.1 Usage of Affixes with Prepositions

I now present some examples of this affixation on all the prepositions in my corpus that can be affixed. For each preposition, I give the example of an unaffixed preposition first, followed by examples of the preposition affixed in all possible combinations (i.e. prefixed, suffixed or both).

Ka 'DIR'

ka can be marked with either the actor prefix or the P suffix. I have no examples of both affixes occurring together on the preposition. Example (4.2a) below shows the unaffixed form of the preposition. Example (4.2b) shows *ka* prefixed with *ku-* '1SG.ACT-', which agrees with the A argument of the clause. Example (4.2c) shows *ka* suffixed with *-ng* '-1SG.PAT', which is pronominal, standing in place of the R (Recipient-like) argument of the clause.

(4.2a) *warfer* *ni* *a-baca* *suhat* *ne* [***ka*** [*lomala*
headman 3SG 3SG.ACT-read letter that.PROX.ANI DIR people
ke *at-motak*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
those.PROX RED-all
'The headman, {he} will read {the letter to all the people}.'

	A	**A-V**		**T**	**A-Prep**	**R**
(4.2b)	*ak*	*koka*	*ku-h-keh*	*ika*	[***ku-ka***	[*ka*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	1SG	1SG.say/want	1SG.ACT-INTR-give	fish	1SG.ACT-DIR	2SG

'I want to give these fish to you.'

	A-V	**T**		**Prep-R**		
(4.2c)	*mol*	*muk*	*ya*	[***ka***-[***ng***	Ø]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *ko*	*ku-ka*
	2SG.get	banana	and.then	DIR-1SG.PAT	because	1SG.ACT-eat

'Give me a banana because I want to eat.'

Na 'LOC'

na can only be prefixed with the actor prefixes. Example (4.3a) shows the unaffixed form of the preposition *na* while (4.3b) shows the preposition prefixed with *da-* '3PL.ACT-', which agrees with the A argument of the clause.

(4.3a) *yam* *hayba{y}* *mu-takfaka-ng* [***na*** [*palaw*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
hour how.many 2SG.ACT-wait-1SG.PAT LOC house
'When would you like me to visit to the house?'

	A	**A-V**		**A-Prep**	**NP**		
(4.3b)	*pue*	*da-min{a}*	*mah*	[*da-**na***	[*akin*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$	*te*	*tanga*
	croc	3PL.ACT-stay	river	3PL.ACT-LOC	this.DIST.INA	or	NEG

'Are there crocodiles {in the river} in this place or not?'

Pay 'from'

pay can be prefixed and/or suffixed with an actor prefix and P suffix. Example (4.4a) shows the unaffixed form of the preposition. Example (4.4b) shows *pay* prefixed with an Actor prefix, which agrees with the actor of the clause.

(4.4a) ... *taw* *nof<i>n* *ka* *lebih* *anam* *peli* [***pay*** [*tama*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
and teeth<3SG.POSS> PL more 3SG.do/cause expensive from meat
'... and the tusk are more expensive from the meat...'

	A	**A-V**	**P**	**A-Prep**	**NP**
(4.4b)	*ak*	*kela*	*Ø*	[***ku-pay***	[*lapah*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	1SG	1SG.take		1SG.ACT-from	trap
	'I caught it in a trap.'				

Example (4.4c) shows the preposition suffixed pronominally with the P suffix *-ng* '1SG.PAT', which encodes the source.

	A-V	**P**	**Prep-NP$_{SOURCE}$**	**NP$_{SOURCE}$**
(4.4.c)	*a-yol*	*ampung*	[***pay***-[***ng***	*Ø*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	3SG.ACT-beg	forgiveness	from-1SG.PAT	
	'He begged forgiveness from me.'			(Takata 1992:59)

Example (4.4d) shows the preposition affixed with both an actor prefix and P suffix. P is the thing being begged (which is elided), while the PP encodes the person from whom it is begged.

	A	**A-V**	**P**	**A-Prep-NP$_{SOURCE}$**	
(4.4d)	*ak*	*ku-yol*	*Ø*	[***ku-pay***-[***ka***	*Ø*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	1SG	1SG.ACT-beg		1SG.ACT-from-2SG.PAT	
	'I beg you.'				(Takata 1992:60)

Ban 'from'

ban is only found unaffixed or prefixed with the actor prefixes. Example (4.5a) shows the unaffixed form of the preposition, while example (4.5b) show the prefixed preposition agreeing with the actor of the main verb in the clause.

(4.5a)	*ka*	*moha*	*mol*	[***ban***	[*ba?*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	2SG	today	2SG.get	from	where
	'Where are you coming from?'				

	A	**A-V**	**A-Prep**	**NP**
(4.5b)	*ak*	*kol*	[***ku-ban***	[*Kabufin*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	1SG	1SG.get	1SG.ACT-from	PLACE
	'I am from Kabufin.'			

Wa 'about'

wa is found either unaffixed, prefixed with actor prefixes or sandwiched between the actor prefix and the P suffix. I have no examples of *wa* occurring suffixed with a P suffix only. Example (4.6a) shows the unaffixed preposition.

(4.6a) *kema* *mi-h-payalfil* [***wa*** [*ye?*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
2PL 2PL.ACT-INTR-talk about what?
'What did you talk about?'

Example (4.6b) below shows *wa* prefixed with the Actor prefix *ma-* '1PLE.ACT-' , while (4.6c) show the preposition occurring between an actor prefix and a P suffix.

	A-V	**A-Prep**	**NP**	
(4.6b)	*ma-h-pa<y>alfil*	[***ma-wa***	[*kama*	*silokla*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	1PLE-INTR-<RED>talk	1PLE.ACT-about	1PLE.POSS	school
	'We talked about our school.'			

	A	**A-V**	**A-V-P**	**P**
(4.6c)	*iri*	*da-kut*	[***da-wa-***[***ni***	Ø]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	3PL	3PL.ACT-tell	3PL.ACT-about-3PL.PAT	
	'They told about him.'			

Aka 'for/to
aka is typically found unaffixed. Example (4.7a) below shows *aka* is unaffixed.

(4.7a) *am-bana* [***aka*** [*ba?*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
2SG.ACT-go for where
'Where are you going?'

Takata (1992:67) writes that *aka* is never affixed at all. However, this is contradicted by several examples in my corpus where it is found suffixed, such as (4.7b) and even an example (4.7c) in Takata (1992) where it is suffixed, but only with the P suffixes.

	A-V	**T**		**Prep-R**	**R**		
(4.7b)	*mol*	*tama*	*ke*	[***aka-***[***ng***	Ø]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$	*se.*	
	2SG.give	meat	those	for-1SG.PAT		please	
	'Give those meats to me.'						(WTL 052)

	A	**A-V**	**Prep-P**	**P**
(4.7c)	*iri*	*dit*	[***aka-***[***ni***	Ø]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
	3PL	3PL.meet	for-3SG.PAT	
	'They met him.'			(Takata 1992:58)

4.2.2 Summary and Frequency Table

To summarise, I present a frequency table that indicates how many times a preposition is

affixed and with what type of affixation. Numerals not in parentheses represent the frequency based on examples from my corpus and Richard Olson's data. Numerals in parentheses represent a total including examples from Takata (1992). I have chosen to include examples from Takata (1992) because they give a better picture of what type of affixation is possible with prepositions. As the reader can see from the table below, my corpus lacks data on the circumfixation of prepositions (both actor prefixing and P suffixing).

The reader will notice that I have included the preposition *re* in the table below. *re* 'DIR' is always unaffixed which is why it was not included in the previous section. I discuss its function in section 4.3.1.

	With Actor prefix	**With P suffix**	**Both Actor prefix & P suffix**	**No affixation**
re	0	0	0	4
ka	2 (3)	3 (4)	0 (1)	3
na	1 (2)	0	0	18
pay	2 (3)	0 (1)	0 (1)	5
aka	0	2 (3)	0	62
wa	1	0	0 (1)	1
ban	3	0	0	3

Table 20: Frequency of prepositions with agreement affixation

Based on table 20, it appears that more prepositions can occur with Actor prefixes compared to P suffixes (5 versus 3). Only 3 prepositions occur with both types of agreement affixation. Overall, affixation of prepositions is infrequent, at least in the data that I have seen. It may be higher in free speech or other contexts. A larger corpus of data is needed.

4.3 Preposition Functions

In table 21 below, I list all the prepositions I have found in my data, along with a brief explanation of their function.

Preposition Form	Translation & Function
re	'to' Directional
ka	'to' Directional
na	'at' Locative
pay	'from' Source
ban	'from' Source
wa	'about' Cause
aka	'to' Directional
	'for' Purposive

Table 21: Prepositions

In the following subsections, I will discuss the various prepositions according to their function and illustrate them with examples.

4.3.1 Directional

The directional can be marked with three different prepositions: *aka*, *re* and *ka*. They mark the goal which can be a location or animate recipient. Example (4.8) below shows *aka* in use, encoding an inanimate goal, while the rest of the examples (4.9-4.11) show *aka* encoding an animate recipient – which is either suffixed to the preposition (4.9 & 4.10) or appears as a full NP (4.11).

(4.8) *Nansin* *a-ban* *akin* [***aka*** [*Wahkolamah*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
like 3SG.ACT-from this.DIST.INA for PLACE
'About as far as it is from here to Kolamar.'

(4.9) *tanga* *mo* *ta* *a-h-tiba* *ya* *ku-bana*
NEG but FUT 3SG.ACT-INTR-weave and.then 1SG.ACT-go
[***aka***-[*ni*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *ku-tihi* *ma-h-nin*
for-3SG.PAT 1SG.ACT-join 1PLE.ACT-INTR-sleep
'No while she's weaving I'll go to her and we'll fall asleep together.' (DK 020)

(4.10) *mol* *tama* *ke* [***aka***-[***ng***]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *se.*
2SG.get meat those.PROX for-1SG.PAT please
'Give those meats to me.' (WTL 052)

(4.11) *mi-pua* *Tina* [***aka*** [*Mantri*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *minam* *am~yamih*
2PL.ACT-carry NAME for matron 2PL.do/cause RED-quick
'Take her quickly to the health worker.'

aka differs from *re*, as based on the three examples I have, *re* is never used to introduce any animate referents. Semantically, the complement of *re* is always the goal. Examples (4.12-4.14) all show inanimate goal NP complements.

(4.12) *ak* *ta* *ku-pu{a}* *ka* [*re* [*palaw*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-cary PL DIR house
'I will bring them home.'

(4.13) *hansip* *dela* *ko* *da-pua-ni* [***re*** [*Dobo*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
police 3PL.take because 3PL.ACT-carry-3SG.PAT DIR PLACE
'The village police will arrest him and take him to Dobo.'

(4.14) *haye* *da-pua* [***re*** [*web*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *ram* *da-hem* *na*
then 3PL.ACT-carry DIR water FUT 3PL.ACT-rinse LOC
garat
container
'{then} They carry sawdust to water {and} they rinse it in the sago rinsing stand.'

ka differs from *re* and *aka* again, as based on the nine examples in my corpus, *ka* never introduces an inanimate NP complement. Example (4.15) shows *ka* introducing an NP that is an addressee, while example (4.16) shows *ka* introducing the semantic recipient, both of which are animate.

(4.15) *iri* *da-yaf* [***da-ka*** [*Tina*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
3PL 3PL.ACT-speak 3PL.ACT-DIR NAME
'They spoke to Tina.' (Takata 1992:59)

(4.16) *mol* *aryur* *yena* [***ka***-[***ng***]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *ko* *ku-dom* *buda*
2SG.get fork one DIR-1SG.PAT because 1SG.ACT-make please
'Give me the fork, I would like to try some.'

In addition, unlike *re, ka* never seems to be used in a clause with a motion verb. There is one potential counter-example to this statement (example 4.17 below). The motion verb could have been elided in the sentence. Alternatively, I offer my own free translation in curly parenthesis that does not require an elided verb.

(4.17) ... *meste* *tamata* *regal-di* [***ka***-[*ni*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
perhaps person be.enemy-3PL.STV DIR-3SG.PAT
'...perhaps an enemy is coming towards him...' {'A person is an enemy toward him'}

4.3.2 Locative

Semantically the preposition *na* encodes the NP complement as a 'location container', restricting the action of the verb to within the container and not outside of it. Observe the following examples.

(4.18) *ifa* *a-h-wang* *muk* [***na*** [*akin?*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
who 3SG.ACT-INTR-sell banana LOC this.DIST.INA
'Who sells bananas here?'

(4.19) *ak* *koka* *ku-wang* *kakin* [***na*** [*Dobo*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-sell these.DIST LOC PLACE
'I want to sell these in Dobo.'

I have two examples (4.20 & 4.21) below that show the verb *mina* 'stay' with the prefixed preposition. This prefixation is contrasted with examples (4.18-19) above which show the preposition *na* unaffixed. I suspect that with certain verbs there tends to be more exuberant agreement as if the verb and preposition were occurring together in a SVC.

(4.20) *pue* *da-min{a}* *mah* [*da-**na*** [*akin*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *te* *tanga*
croc 3PL.ACT-stay river 3PL.ACT-LOC this.DIST.INA or NEG
'Are there crocodiles {in the river} in this place or not?'

(4.21) *iri* *da-mina* [*da-**na*** [*kanang* *palaw*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
3PL 3PL.ACT-stay 3PL.ACT-LOC 1SG.POSS house
'They are staying at my house.' (Takata 1992: 59)

4.3.3 Source

Source expresses the locational start point of a motion/state/event in an abstract or concrete sense. It can be marked with two prepositions, *ban* and *pay*. *pay* can introduce an inanimate (example 4.22 & 4.23) or an animate referent (example 4.24 & 4.25) source.

(4.22) *pep* *ne* *wanlu<i>n-ni* *kela* [*ku-**pay*** [*re*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
pig that.PROX.ANI be.male<3SG>-3SG.STV 1SG.take 1SG.ACT-from jungle
'The pig is a boar I caught in the jungle.'

(4.23) *ak* *kela* [*ku-**pay*** [*lapah*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
1SG 1SG.take 1SG.ACT-from trap
'I caught it in a trap.'

(4.24) *a-yol* *ampung* [***pay***-[*ng*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
3SG.ACT-beg forgiveness from-1SG.PAT
'He begged forgiveness from me.' (Takata 1992:59)

(4.25) *ak* *ku-yol* [*ku-**pay***-[*ka*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
1SG 1SG.ACT-beg 1SG.ACT-from-2SG.PAT
'I beg you.' (Takata 1992:60)

ban differs from *pay* as it introduces locational sources more often. I have one example below that could potentially be an animate referent- *camat* 'government' or 'district officer'. Naturally, this could refer to the office as an institution, rather than the district officer as a person.

(4.26) *suhat* *yeha* *a-ma* [***ban*** [*camat*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
letter one 3SG.ACT-come from government
'A letter came from the sub-district officer.'

Examples (4.27 and 4.28) show *ban* introducing physical locations as a source rather than people (cf. Examples 4.24-4.25) or things (cf. Example 4.23).

(4.27) *ak* *moha* *kol* *ku-ban* *law*
1SG today 1SG.get 1SG.ACT-from sea
'I came from the sea.'

(4.28) *nansin* *a-ban* *akin* *aka* *Wahkolamah*
like 3SG.ACT-from this.DIST.INA for PLACE
'About as far as it is from here to Kolamar.'

In addition, *ban* often appears with irregular verb *kol* '1SG.get', as seen in example (4.29) below. In example (4.30), the preposition can also be marked with both the 'get' verb and the prefix *ku-* '1SG.ACT-'. More examples of this type of construction can be found in Section 4.6.

(4.29) *ka* *mol-*[***ban*** [*panua ba?*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
2SG 2SG.get-from village where
'Where are you from?'

(4.30) *ak* *kol-ku-*[***ban*** [*Kabufin*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
1SG 1SG.get-1SG.ACT-from PLACE
'I am from Kabufin.'

Unlike *pay*, *ban* can also indicate a temporal boundary for an event. I have only one example of this occurrence. More investigation is required.

(4.31) *takan* *a-yuf* [***ban*** [*pulan fuh* *mo* *ot*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
usually 3SG.ACT-blow from month eleven.INA plus one.INA
'{The west wind} usually blows {beginning from} November.'

4.3.4 Cause

The preposition *wa* 'about' indicates cause. It is used to introduce new content information concerning the action of the verb. The NP complement can be either ANIMATE (4.32) or INANIMATE (4.33).

(4.32) *iri* *da-kut* [***da-wa-***[***ni***]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
3PL 3PL.ACT-tell 3PL.ACT-about-3PL.PAT
'They told about him.'

(4.33) *ma-h-payayfil* [***ma-***[***wa*** *kama* *sikola*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
2PL.ACT-INTR-chat 1PLE.ACT-about 1PLE.POSS school
'We talked about our school.'

4.3.5 Purposive

Only the preposition *aka* can indicate purpose. It can also be used to introduce a new clause, as seen in examples (4.36) and (4.37). See chapter 8 on clause structure for more on sentence structure and conjoining clauses. Note that example (4.34) also has another PP within the NP complement of *aka*.

(4.34) *da-bana* [***aka*** [*yeh-yawan* *na* *Dobo*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
3PL.ACT-go for NMLZ-meet LOC PLACE
'Going for a meeting in Dobo.'

(4.35) *anren* [***aka*** [*akaw* *fin*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
near for sago pounding
'Near the place sago is pounded.'

(4.36) *en* *lonceng* [***aka*** [*da-sanbayang*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$]
that.PROX.INA bell for 3PL.ACT-worship
'It's the bell for the church.'

(4.37) *takan-i* *moha* *iya* [***aka*** [*a-num* *nal* *em* *limi*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$]
usually-? today one for 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl five.ANI
'Usually he finds above 5 pearls a day.'

In addition, *aka*, operating under its semantic capacity to mark the purposive, combines with the question word *ye* 'what' in clause final position which can be translated as 'why'. More on question formation can be found in chapter 5.

(4.38) *mu-weh* *kakin* *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-dry these.DIST for what
'Why are you drying them?'

4.4 Locational Nouns

In addition to the preposition in table 21, there is also a set of words that mark location, as seen in table 22 below.

LOCATIONAL NOUNS	GLOSS
anren	'near'
mawah †	'above/top'
mir †	'back
abil	'inside'
mona †	'front'

Table 22: Locational Nouns

† Not found in my corpus, only in Takata (1992:60).

Takata (1992:60) writes that the locative words in table 22 such as *anren* 'near' etc. are not true prepositions because they modify nouns. She gives the following three part example of (4.39). Example (4.39a) is a grammatical sentence, but the two prepositions do not behave equally as seen in example (4.39b), which is ungrammatical.

(4.39a) [*na* [*abil*]$_{\text{NP}}$]$_{\text{PP}}$
LOC inside
'At inside.'

(4.39b) *na abil palaw
LOC inside house

We can analyse the construction *palaw abil* (4.37c) as a left headed compound noun showing a part-whole relationship. (See Section 2.2 on noun-noun compounds.)

(4.39c) [na [palaw abil]$_{NN}$]$_{PP}$
LOC house inside
'At the inside of the house.' (Takata 1992:60)

There is not a lot of information on these locational words and I am unable to report if they possess any other special properties. I include here examples (4.40- 4.42), which are all the data I have on the locational nouns of table 22.

(4.40) a-talah muk ka [na [mawah.]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
3SG.ACT-sit banana PL LOC top
'The bananas were at the top {of the tree}.' (WTL 50)

(4.41) weh puyfay panua abil?
water dried village inside
'Is the water inside the village dried {up}?'

The noun *anren* 'near' seems to always occur with the preposition *aka*, based on the three examples (all listed below) that I have in my corpus. I suspect they function together since *anren* as a noun cannot be the head of a PP, it requires a preposition to introduce the additional information in the form of a noun complement.

(4.42a) ***anren*** *aka akaw fin*
near for sago place
'Near the place where sago is pounded.'

(4.42b) *ni maw a-h-fukan a-len palaw* ***anren*** *aka gereya*
3SG PFV 3SG.ACT-INTR-move 3SG.ACT-go house near for church
'He moved to a house near church.'

(4.42c) *kanang utan a-min ri,* ***anren*** *aka tayrey*
1SG.POSS garden 3SG.ACT-stay over.there near for river
'My garden is over there, near the river.'

4.5 Locative Verbs

4.5.1 *-mina* 'stay'

The verb *mina* 'stay' is a bivalent verb that encodes locations as P. It is unique as it does not have a semantic agent but nonetheless has active agreement. As mentioned previously in chapter 3, this suggests that Kola treats all A arguments as actors whether or not they are agent-like. Notably, as a bivalent verb, the P argument often marks locational information, which with other verbs would be have been encoded as an oblique argument instead.

Examples (4.43-4.44) show a more semantic agent-like A argument as the actor of the verb.

(4.43) *ifa* ***a-mina*** *palaw e?*
Who 3SG.ACT-stay house that.PROX.INA
'Who lives there? {in that house}?'

For example (4.44), I am uncertain if P is elided or if the verb can have a temporal P i.e. *pulan lasi.*

(4.44) *ak* *maw* ***ku-mina*** *pulan* *lasi*
1SG PFV 1SG.ACT-stay month three.ANI
'I've been here three months.'

In the next few examples below, the A argument is less agent-like.

(4.45) *kanam* *utan* ***a-mina*** *ba?*
2SG.POSS garden 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is your garden?'

(4.46) *palaw* *tuybay* *e* ***a-min***[8] *ri*
house new that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'There is a new house over there.'

(4.47) *ne* ***a-min*** *kanang* *palaw*
this.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-stay 1SG.POSS house
'It's at my house.' {Context: It = axe}

Example (4.48) is unusual as it shows P elided, while all the other instances of *mina* have

8 There appears to be some morphological alternation with the forms (*amina* vs *amin*). I am still uncertain as to the exact morphosyntactic/phonological trigger for these forms, or if there is a more complex reason for the alternation.

been with two arguments. The A argument is modified by a nominalised, reduplicated verb *yehangwang*. I am uncertain of the precise meaning of this form *yehangwang*.

(4.48) *nagan muk yeh-ang-wang* ***da-mina?***
QST banana NMLZ-RED-sell 3PL.ACT-stay
'Do you have bananas for sale here?'

4.5.2 *Loti-* 'be.at'

The verb *loti* is a bivalent stative verb that encodes location in the P argument. This verb is exceptional as I have only encountered intransitive stative verbs in my corpus, yet *loti* appears to be taking two arguments while being morphologically marked with stative S suffixes. The A argument of the verb is referenced with Stative S suffixes that are suffixed to the verb. I only have a few examples of this verb which I give below, nearly all are with the 3rd person singular as the A. I am unable to ascertain how the verb behaves differently if A is INANIMATE.

(4.49) *nagan* ***loti-ni*** [*ba?*]$_{NP}$
QST be.at-3SG.STV where
'Where is she?'

(4.50) *ni* ***loti-ni*** [*re*]$_{NP}$, *haye ram a-palaw*
3SG be.at-3SG.STV jungle then FUT 3SG.ACT-house
'She's in the {jungle}, she'll be home soon.'

(4.51) *kanam wayfer* ***loti-ni*** [*ba?*]$_{NP}$
2SG.POSS husband be.at-3SG.STV where?
'Where is your husband?'

Example (4.52) below is slightly unusual as the verb appears to be suffixed incorrectly/incompletely. This might be either a typographic error or a result of some complex phonological interaction of the root with the Stative S suffix. We should expect the 3PL.STV form *-yi/-di* suffixed to the verb.

(4.52) *iri moha* ***loti-n*** [*ba?*]$_{NP}$
3PL today be.at-? where
'Where are they now?'

Other than the morphological and classificatory differences, *loti* and *mina* also appear to have slightly different semantic connotations. Usage of *mina* suggests the A stays in a location P for a longer period of time, while *loti* suggests that A stays in a location for a

brief period only. One could perhaps compare the difference in these two verbs to the distinction in Spanish between the verbs *ser* and *estar*, both of which can be translated as 'to be' in English, but have different semantic properties.

4.6 Affixation with Verbs

The preposition *ban* 'from' has unique properties unlike other prepositions. It occurs affixed to verbs, specifically to the verb *kol* '1SG.get'. When *ban* and the verb *kol* '1SG.get' (inflected for person and number) are affixed, the meaning created is a locative expression. This construction appears to have a similar function to the location verbs described in section 4.5. Observe its usage in the following examples (4.53-4.55).

(4.53) ***mol-ban*** *ba?*
2SG.get-from where
'What village are you from?'

(4.54) *ni* ***nal-ban*** *ba?*
3SG 3SG.get-from where
'Where is he from?'

(4.55) *ni* ***nal-ban*** *kam* *panua*
3SG 3SG.get-from 1PLE.POSS village
'He's from our village.'

Naturally, this affixation could be a transcription error or preference – future research should carefully test if these two words are actually affixed or merely juxtaposed. I have two possible analyses of this construction.

The first is to see this construction as a kind of preserved serial verb construction, with the verbal-preposition construction functioning as a single predicate. It could be described as a 'source copula' or 'source construction', and can be translated as 'be.from'. This is due to the historical development of prepositions which grammaticalised from verbs.

Another possible analysis would be to see *ban* as developing into a source case marker for the get verb. The two words have grammaticalised into a single complex verb-verb compound. Overall, more investigation is needed with this special construction.

5 The Clause

5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers clause structure, beginning with basic clause structure of verbal and non-verbal predicates in §5.2. I discus the structure of marked (or derived) clauses in §5.3. I also look at elision in the clause, which arguments can be omitted in §5.4, and the generic actor in §5.5. In §5.6 I discuss negation. In §5.7, I discuss imperative clauses, and in 5.8, interrogative clauses. Finally in §5.9, I briefly discuss some elements of Kola discourse such as greetings and discourse particles.

5.2 Basic Clause Structure

I focus here solely on the order of predicates relative to their arguments, ignoring any other morphosyntactic factors that affect clause structure, such as alignment. The reader should see chapter 3 for a discussion of morphological alignment.

5.2.1 Verbal Predicates

Example (5.1) below shows a declarative, non negative verbal clause. The basic constituent order is AVP. With intransitive active verbs, the constituent order is still SV, as illustrated by example (5.2).

	A		**V**	**P**
(5.1)	*pep*	*ne*	*anam*	*nof<i>n*
	pig	this.PROX.ANI	3SG.do/cause	teeth<3SG.POSS>
	'This pig has tusks.'			

	S		**S-V**
(5.2)	*ak*	*moha*	*ku-mil*
	1SG	today	1SG.ACT-return
	'I'm going home now.'		

S, A and P can be omitted if they are pronouns, since the verb is marked with pronominal agreement (as discussed in section 2.3). Even in this scenario, the order of the constituents marked on the verb is still AVP, as illustrated by the following example (5.3).

	A-V-P
(5.3)	*Mu-h-naw-ng*
	2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.STV
	'Teach me.' {'You teach me.'}

Likewise stative verbs without an expressed subject show the order as V Stative S, since the cross-referencing on the verb is with the Stative S paradigm and is suffixed to the verb

root. I include example (5.4b) as a comparison to example (5.4a).

	S	**V-S**
(5.4a)	Ø	*sowih-**ni***
		dead-3SG.STV
	'He's dead.'	

		S	**V-S**	
(5.4b)	*tanga,*	*ni*	*sowih-ni*	*ahataha*
	NEG	3SG	die-3SG.STV	suddenly
	'No, she died suddenly.'			

Note there is no distinction in syntax if S is a pronoun or a full NP. Example (5.5) below shows S as a full NP with the same syntactic configuration of arguments as (5.4b).

	S		**V-S**
(5.5)	*Magareta*	*ikaraman*	*sowih-ni*
	NAME	INCEP	die-3SG.STV
	'Margaret just died.'		

With ditransitive verbs, the direct object (T) precedes the indirect object (R). See the following two examples. The indirect object (R) is introduced as an oblique argument, headed with a preposition as part of a PP. I have not found any instances of PPs carrying the indirect object being fronted to clause initial position, neither have I observed any instances of R preceding T.

	A		**V**	**T**		**R**
(5.6)	*ak*	*koka*	*ku-h-keh*[9]	*ika*	*ku-ka*	*ka*
	1SG	1SG.say/want	1SG.ACT-INTR-give	fish	1SG.ACT-DIR	2SG
	'I want to give these fish to you.'					

	A-V	**T**		**R**
(5.7)	*mol*	*aryur*	*yena*	*ka-ng ...*
	2SG.get	fork	one	DIR-1SG.PAT
	'Give me a fork...'			

5.2.2 Non-Verbal Predicates

Kola lacks a copula verb, so a non-verbal predicate is juxtaposed to the subject of the

9 I am uncertain if the *-h-* is the INTR, or reduplicated verb *h-keh* with the intial vowel lost due to the phonological vowel interaction with the 1SG.ACT *ku-*.

predicate. Non verbal predicates can be NPs or numerals. However the constituent order is still S initial. Examples (5.8) and (5.9) below have NPs as predicates while examples (5.10) and (5.11) have a numeral as a predicate. I mark the predicates in boldface.

Nominal Predicates

(5.8) [*panua ida* *warfer*]$_{NP}$ [***Yabumir***]$_{NP}$
village 3PL.POSS headman name
'The village headman is Yabumir.'

(5.9) [*an*]$_{NP}$ [*kuluh*]$_{NP}$
this.PROX.INA breadfruit
'This is breadfruit.'

Numeral Predication

(5.10) [*ak* *wel-ng*]$_{NP}$ ***rui***
1SG younger.sibling-1SG.POSS two.ANI
'I have two younger siblings.' {lit. 'My younger siblings are two.'}

(5.11) [*ak*[10] *kaka-ng* *ye*]$_{NP}$ ***lasi***
1SG older.sibling-1SG.POSS PL three.ANI
'I have three older brothers and sisters.' {lit. 'my older siblings are three.'}

Unfortunately, I have no examples of an INANIMATE numeral functioning predicatively. I suspect their behaviour is identical since no distinction is made with nominal predicates (see examples 5.8 & 5.9).

5.3 Marked Order

There are two strategies for marked clauses in Kola, one where the subject of the clause is emphasised, and the other where the object of the clause is emphasised.

5.3.1 Subject Topicalisation

Left dislocation of elements (or Topicalisation) can occur in Kola. Example (5.12) below shows the A argument *warfer* placed outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause, since the pre-verbal subject slot is already filled by the pronoun *ni*. This means the subject is doubly expressed. I term this construction Subject Topicalisation, since it appears to focus and emphasis the subject (S/A) of the clause. In example (5.12), it is the A argument that is topicalised.

10 The presence of *ak* '1SG' is unusual because it does not usually form part of the possessive phrase.

	A_i	A_i	A_i+V	T			R
(5.12)	***Warfer***	[***ni***	***a****-baca*	*suhat*	*ne*	*ka*	*lomala*
	headman	3SG	3SG.ACT-read	letter	that.PROX.ANI	DIR	people
	ke		*at-motak*]$_{CLAUSE}$				
	those.PROX		RED-all				
	'The headman, {he} will read it to everyone.'						

Example (5.13) reflects a similar structure, as stative S is expressed outside the clause, with left dislocation through a full NP *abu<m>fer,* as well as being marked within the clause with the 3SG pronoun *ni*. Here the stative S argument is topicalised.

	S_i	S_i			V+Stative S_i
(5.13)	***abu<m>fer***	[***ni***	*itu*	*e*	*reri-**ni***]$_{CLAUSE}$
	grandfather<2SG.POSS>	3SG	?	that.PROX.INA	alive-3SG.STV
	'{Your grandfather}, is he still alive?'				

I do not have an example of active S topicalisation, although I assume that it is entirely possible for this construction to occur since I have examples of both A and stative S topicalisation.

5.3.2 Object Fronting

NPs in the object position, i.e. the post-verbal NPs can be moved to front of the clause, presumably for emphasis or topicalisation. This is less common in my corpus and I have fewer instances of this occurring. Examples (5.14) and (5.15) show the semantic object of the verb being fronted to the beginning of the clause.

	P_i		A+V+P_i	
(5.14)	*nan*	*takan*	*da-ka-ni*	
	this.PROX.ANI	usually	3PL.ACT-eat-3SG.PAT	
	'Can you eat it?' {This, they usually eat it?}			[it=seacow=3SG.PAT]

	P_i	A+V			A+V
(5.15)	*kuluh*	*da-nay*	***baye***	*ram*	*da-ka*
	breadfruit	3PL.ACT-boil	then	FUT	3PL.ACT-eat
	'Breadfruit {nuts} must be boiled then they can be eaten.'				

Example (5.16) shows P_i of a SVC being fronted before the verb (and subject) of the clause.

	$\mathbf{P_i}$		**A+V**	**A+V**	$\mathbf{P_j}$
(5.16)	*barang*	*e*	***dal***	***da-dom***	*ye?*
	word	that.PROX.INA	3PL.get	3PL.ACT-make	what

'What do you use that tool for?' {lit. 'They get that tool to make what?'}

5.4 Elision

Elision concerns which elements of a clause can be omitted completely, if anaphorically retrievable in the discourse context. Both stative S and P can be elided although the latter is more common. I am uncertain if A or active S can be elided due to limitations in animacy and agentive restrictions. In the following examples, I use the Ø symbol to indicate where the argument should have been.

Stative S Elided

(5.17)	$[Ø]_{NP}$	*ralim*	*te*	*tanga*
		tasty	or	NEG

'Is it tasty or not?'

P Elided

(5.18a)	*yawba*	*bisa*	*a-dom*	$[Ø]_{NP}$?
	when	can	3SG.ACT-make	

'When can he do it?'

(5.18b)	*ihi,*	*ku-wang*	$[Ø]_{NP}$	*am-yamih*
	yes	1SG.ACT-sell		RED-quick

'Yes, I sold them quickly.'

(5.18c)	*ihi,*	*buda*	*am-ka*	$[Ø]_{NP}$
	yes	please	2SG.ACT-eat	

'Yes, {please} try some.'

Example (5.19) shows a SVC, which could permit a P argument in several positions which I have indicated in the example with the null symbol (Ø).

(5.19)	*a-len*	*da-m-dom*	Ø	*da-l-mil?*	Ø	
	3SG.ACT-go	3PL.ACT-RED-make		3PL.ACT-RED-return		

'Can it be fixed?'

5.5 Generic Actor 3PL

Based on the analysis of several examples, it appears that Kola permits a generic or unspecified actor. This is encoded through the 3rd person plural. I have only found

examples of this with active verbs. I show some examples below which clearly imply a generic actor.

(5.20) *ngah<i>n* *wawauh.* *Nekin* ***del{a}***
name<3SG.POSS> pounder that.DIST.ANI 3PL.take
da-h-gur
3PL.ACT-INTR-beat
'It's a pounder. {One} uses {it} for pounding {sago}.'

(5.21) ***da-h-koh*** *aldala* *aka* ***da-h-yawan***
3PL.ACT-RED-ring bell for 3PL.ACT-INTR-meet
'It's a bell for a village meeting.' {Lit. They're ringing the bell for them to meet.'}

(5.22) *en* *lonceng* *aka* ***da-sanbayang***
that.PROX.INA bell for 3PL.ACT-worship
'It's a bell for church.'

(5.23) *yam* *hayba* ***da-h-loy*** *aplopi*?
hour how.many 3PL.ACT-INTR-hang flag
'When does it start?'

(5.24) *ak* *tafan* *ku-ka* *hatudu.* *Takan* ***da-ka***
1SG NEG.INCEP 1SG.ACT-eat sago.pudding usually 3PL.ACT-eat
doka-ba?
3PL.say/want-where
'I have never eaten sago pudding. How does {one} usually eat it?'

5.6 Negation

There are three types of negation marking in Kola. *tanga* or *tang* is used for verbs and also to negate clauses except for the imperative. *tafan* 'NEG.INCEP' is used to negate clauses. *kanaka* marks the negative imperative, 'NEG.IMP' which I will discuss in the negative imperative in section 5.7 on imperatives.

5.6.1 *Tanga*

Negation occurs before the verb, either directly before the main verb (5.25a) or in a clause initial position (5.25b). This is the same for transitive verbs as seen in example (5.25c).

	S	NEG	S-V				
(5.25a)	*ak*	***tanga***	*ku-gawa,*	*lahkanam*	*iri*	*da-takfakah*	*motor.*
	1SG	NEG	1SG.ACT-know	maybe	3PL	3PL.ACT-wait	boat
	'I don't know, they may be waiting for a boat now.'						

	NEG	S-V		
(5.25b)	***tanga***	*am-num*	*aka*	*ye?*
	NEG	2SG.ACT-dive	for	what?
	'Why haven't you dived?'			

	A	NEG	A-V-P
(5.25c)	*ak*	*tanga*	*ku-wang-{y}i.*
	1SG	NEG	1SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT
	'I don't want to sell them.'		

It can also modify stative verbs, such as *yoba* in example (5.26) below.

						NEG	V-S		
(5.26)	*noko*	*moha*	*rua*	*tu*	*mo*	***tanga***	*yoba-ni,*	*ma*	*tu*
	if	today	two.INA	again	but	NEG	healthy-3SG.STV	come	again
	'If he is not {healthy again} in two days, come back.'								

It can modify other adverbs. In the example below, it modifies the modal adverb *bisa* 'can'. For more on adverbs, see chapter 6.

(5.27)	***tanga***	*bisa.*	*Boka*	*ekin*	*kehi*	*uk*
	NEG	can	canoe	that.DIST.INA	rotten	very
	'{It's} not possible. That boat is too rotten.'					

Unfortunately I have no evidence that suggests that *tanga* can also negate nouns or NPs. I am uncertain how nominal negation occurs. More investigation is needed here.

5.6.2 *Tafan*

tafan 'NEG.INCEP' indicates an action, event or state has not (yet) or never been performed.

(5.28a)	***tafan***	*ku-num*
	NEG.INCEP	1SG.ACT-dive
	'I have not yet dived.'	

(5.28b) *ak* ***tafan*** *ku-ka* *hatudu.*
1SG NEG.INCEP 1SG.ACT-eat sago.pudding
'I have never eaten sago pudding.'

tafan can often be combined with *tu* 'again/yet' which emphasises the incomplete action. There is an implication that the action/event will be performed/occur sometime in the future.

(5.29a) *ak* ***tafan*** ***tu*** *ku-ka* *karwir* *muk* *kalpola.*
1SG NEG.INCEP again 1SG.ACT-eat vegetables banana flower
'I have not {/never} eaten banana flowers.'

(5.29b) *ak* ***tafan*** ***tu*** *ku-tawa*
1SG NEG.INCEP again 1SG.ACT-marry
'I am not yet married.'

tafan often appears in a tag clause - *te tafan*, creating a yes/no interrogative. See section 5.8.1 for more discussion on this.

(5.30) *maw* *am-so* *panen* *te* ***tafan***
PFV 2SG.ACT-see bird sp. or NEG.INCEP
'Have you ever seen a bird of paradise?'

5.7 Imperatives

5.7.1 Strategies for Imperative Marking

Verbs are not morphologically marked for the imperative. Takata et al. (1991:94) write that prosody is used instead to communicate the imperative. Typically, an imperative sentence has its intonation "peak{ing} on the stressed syllable of the final word".

Examples (5.31a&b) are declarative clauses, but based on the translation provided by Takata et al. (1991), they can be interpreted as imperatives. In Kola, this will most likely be conveyed through prosodic cues.

(5.31a) *mu-h-naw-ng*
2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT
'Teach me.'

(5.31b) *am-yaf-mil*
2SG.ACT-say-repeat
'Say it again.'

In addition, I also potentially identify two other strategies for conveying an imperative clause. The first is to use a politeness term such as the word *buda* 'please/first' or *se* 'please'. *buda* can be used before or after the main verb. I have nine instances of *buda* in my corpus; seven instances show *buda* used before the verb and two show *buda* being used after the verb.

Example (5.32a) shows *buda* appearing before the verb, while (5.32b) shows *buda* appearing after the verb.

(5.32a) *ihi,* ***buda*** *am-ka*
yes please 2SG.ACT-eat
'Yes, try some.'

(5.32b) *mu-takfaka* ***buda.*** *Ak* *karam* *kol* *masin* *ku-ka* *ka.*
2SG.ACT-wait please 1SG later 1SG.get salt 1SG.ACT-DIR 2SG
'Just a minute. I'll get the salt for you.'

se is predominantly found in the post-verbal position as seen in examples (5.33a&b) below.

(5.33a) *mi-onam* *lala* ***se***
2PL.ACT-drink hot.drink please
'Please have tea.'

(5.33b) *masi* *se*
2SG.enter please
'Come in.'

Out of nine examples, eight show *se* in the clause-final position. I have one counter example, example (5.34) below, which shows *se* occurring in pre-verbal position. However, I am uncertain if the clause is in the imperative mood.

(5.34) *se* *yoba*
please be.healthy
'That's good.'

Examples (5.35a&b) below show *se* being used as part of what I suspect is a lexicalised/idiomatic farewell greeting. This suggests that *se* can be used in a wider context, other than to mark imperatives.

(5.35a) *mom* *se*
2SG.do/cause please
'Good bye.'

(5.35b) *ihi* *se*
yes please
'Thank you.'

Secondly, I mentioned earlier how certain active verbs appear without any actor prefixes and could potentially be analysed as having imperative function. I only have clear examples of this with the verb *ma* 'come'. Example (5.36a) shows the unprefixed active verb *ma* 'come' that should be prefixed with an actor marking prefix *am-* '2SG.ACT-'.

(5.36a) ***ma*** *mu-h-naw-ng* *relih*
come 2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT language
'...come teach me your language.'

Likewise for example (5.36b) below, the verb *ma* is unprefixed and has an imperative interpretation.

(5.36b) *noko* *moha* *rua* *tu* *mo* *tanga* *yoba-ni,* ***ma*** *tu*
if today two.INA again but NEG healthy-3SG.STV come again
'If he is not better in two days, come back.'

More investigation is needed here to determine if this is truly an imperative marking strategy.

5.7.2 Negative Imperative

kanaka 'NEG.IMP' is used in clause initial position to convey a negative imperative. I only have two examples of this word in my corpus, which I give below.

(5.37a) *ni* *a-h-lang* ***"kanaka*** *am-tawa* *mol*
3SG 3SG.ACT-INTR-speak NEG.IMP 2SG.ACT-marry2SG.get
kanang *wawa"*
1SG.POSS child
'She said, "Don't marry my daughter."'

(5.37b) ***kanaka*** *mu-mel-ng*
NEG.IMP 2SG.ACT-laugh-1SG.PAT
'Don't you laugh at me.' (Takata et al. 1991:94)

5.8 Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses can be divided into two categories: Yes/No (or Polar) questions and Information questions.

5.8.1 Yes/No Questions

There are three strategies for marking polar questions: using prosodic cues, ending a clause/sentence with a tag question (e.g. 'or not?'), and finally using the interrogative marker *nagan*.

5.8.1.1 Change in Intonation

Takata et al. (1991:94) write that a change in intonation can trigger a declarative sentence to be interpreted as an interrogative. Declarative sentences have falling intonation, while interrogative sentences have rising intonation. The following two examples are unmarked morphologically – and can be expressed as either declarative or interrogative depending on the prosodic delivery of the utterance.

(5.38a)	*mu-gawa*	*tamata*	*kekin*	*mom*	*sa<y>mayah?*
	2SG.ACT-know	person	those.DIST	2SG.do	<RED>good
	'Do you understand those people all right?'				

(5.38b)	*moka*	*mu-manam?*
	2SG.say/want	2SG.ACT-food
	'Would you like to eat?'	

5.8.1.2 Tag Questions

A declarative clause can be marked as an interrogative when a tag phrase is juxtaposed at the end of the clause. There are two tag phrases, *te tanga* 'or NEG' and *te tafan* 'or NEG.INCEP'. Examples (5.39a&b) below illustrate the usage of *te tanga*.

(5.39a)	*maw*	*am-so-yi*	***te***	***tanga?***
	PFV	2SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT	or	NEG
	'Did you see {them or not}?'			

(5.39b)	*kema*	*mi-pun-yi*	***te***	***tanga?***
	2PL	2PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT	or	NEG
	'Did you kill {them or not}?'			

Examples (5.40a-c) illustrate the usage of *te tafan*. I suspect it has a more restricted usage compared to *te tanga,* since three out of the four examples I have in my data show *te tafan* being used when there is already a perfective marker *maw* in the clause.

(5.40a) *maw* *am-so* *panen* ***te*** ***tafan?***
PFV 2SG.ACT-see bird.sp or NEG.INCEP
'Have you ever seen a bird of paradise?'

(5.40b) *Milton* *maw* *am-tawa* ***te*** ***tafan***
NAME PFV 2SG.ACT-marry or NEG.INCEP
'Milton are you {already} married {or not yet}?'

(5.40c) *maw* *am-num* ***te*** ***tafan?***
PFV 2SG.ACT-dive or NEG.INCEP
'Have you ever dived?'

Example (5.41) shows *te tafan* occurring in a clause without *maw* 'PFV'. More investigation is needed to determine other differences between *te tafan* and *te tanga*.

(5.41) *ka* *am-tawa* ***te*** ***tafan?***
2SG 2SG.ACT-marry or NEG.INCEP
'Are you married or not yet?' (Takata et al. 1991:95)

Note that *te* is a conjunction and can occur on its own, linking two clauses together, for instance in example (5.42) below. See more on *te* in Chapter 8.

(5.42) *ni* *a-bayaring* *te* *a-tabey* *tasi?*
3SG 3SG.ACT-cast.net or 3SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod
'Is he using a net or a hook and line?'

5.8.1.3 *Nagan*

nagan appears clause initially and changes an otherwise declarative clause into a yes/no question. I give the following examples (5.43a-5.43d), each of which shows *nagan* in clause-initial position marking a polar question. (5.43a-c) show stative verbal clauses, while (5.43d) shows an active verb clause.

(5.43a) ***nagan*** *ralim?*
QST tasty
'Is it delicious?'

(5.43b) ***nagan*** *rar<i>f-ni?*
QST fever<3SG>-3SG.STV
'Does he have malaria?'

(5.43c) ***nagan*** *kanah-ka?*
QST hungry-2SG.STV
'Are you hungry?'

(5.43d) ***nagan*** *am-wa* *wakah* *siglaga?*
QST 2SG.ACT-have medicine worm
'Do you have worm medicine?'

5.8.3 Information/Open Questions

There are several wh-question words in Kola, and some overlap with regard to their function. I list these out in a table below with a rough English translation. These interrogative markers generally appear in either clause initial (or pre-verbal) or in clause final position (or post-verbal position).

FORM	GLOSS	CLAUSE POSITION	PRONOMINAL
ifa	Who	syntax dependent	yes
yawba	When	initial	yes
wayama + (ye)	What (with *ye*)	initial	yes
ba	Where	final	yes
haybay	How.many	syntax dependent	yes
ye	what	final	yes

Table 23: Interrogative Markers

In the table above, I indicate that some of these items behave pronominally. That is, they occur *in situ*, standing in the space/gap in the clause that will be filled by the new information in the reply. I illustrate this property with an example (5.44) which shows the question and answer exchange. Note how *ye* 'what' appears in the NP slot, and the same slot is filled with the new information in the reply (both marked in bold).

(5.44a) *ka* *am-wang* [*aklakuh* ***ye?***]$_{NP}$
2SG 2SG.ACT-sell broom what
'What sort of broom did you sell?'

(5.44b) *ak* *kuwang* [*aklakuh* ***uhat***]$_{NP}$
1SG 1SG.ACT-sell brooms palm
'I sold brooms made of the leaves of palm trees.'

I now discuss each interrogative marker individually with examples below.

***Ifa* 'who'**

ifa can occur in either clause initial/pre-verbal position or clause final position depending on whether *ifa* questions the A, S or P arguments of the predicate. I only have examples of *ifa* replacing the A and P arguments, as well as the argument of a nominal predicate.

In examples (5.45a) and (5.45b), *ifa* appears in pre-verbal position as it questions the A argument of the verb.

	A	**A-V**	**P**
(5.45a)	*moha*	***ifa***	*a-yaka*	*boka?*
	today	who	3SG.ACT-keep	canoe
	'Who keeps the canoe {these days}?'			

	A	**A-V**	**P**		
(5.45b)	***ifa***	*a-h-wang*	*muk*	*na*	*akin?*
	who	3SG.ACT-INTR-sell	banana	LOC	this.DIST.INA
	'Who sells bananans here?'				

In example (5.45c), *ifa* questions the P of the bivalent verb *tuh* 'accompany'.

	A-V	**P**
(5.45c)	*am-tuh*	***ifa?***
	2SG.ACT-accompany	who
	'Who will you go with?'	

In example (5.46), this sentence is essentially an equative clause. *ifa* fills the slot of the nominal predicate.

(5.46)	[*panua ida*	*warfer*]$_{NP}$	[***ifa?***]$_{NP}$
	village 3PL.POSS	headman	who
	'Who is their village headman?'		

***Yawba* 'when'**

yawba 'when' appears clause initially and when used, indicates a request for temporal information.

(5.47)	*adu?*	*yawba*	*iri*	*da-tawa?*
	DSC	when	3PL	3PL.ACT-marry
	'Really? When did they marry?'			

It is also pronominal in its nature, as illustrated by examples (5.48a&b), which shows a

question and answer exchange. Note how the word *yawba* in (5.48a) is replaced by the temporal adverbial phrase *mohan monri* in (5.48b), in the same position, before the verb *bana* 'go'.

(5.48a) *yawba am-bana aka Dobo?*
when 2SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'When did you go to Dobo?'

(5.48b) *mohan monri ku-bana aka Dobo*
two.days.ago 1SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'I went two days ago.'

***Wayama* 'what'**

wayama 'what' occurs in clause initial position. I have three example of its usage, examples (5.49a-c), in which it questions the P of the verb. Example (5.49a) shows *wayama* questioning one of the P arguments of the SVC construction. I use the (Ø) symbol to indicate where the NP would be placed in the reply.

	P_i		**A-V**		**V-P_j**
(5.49a)	*wayama*	*takan*	*mu-h-fan*	(Ø)	*muk-ribul*
	what	usually	2SG.ACT-INTR-shoot		2SG.use-arrow

'What will you shoot with your arrow?'

Sometimes *wayama* is used together with *ye* 'what'. Of the 3 examples I have of *wayama*'s usage, two are found together with *ye*. I am uncertain what meaning or effect this generates. It could be used to emphasise the question since both *wayama* and *ye* have similar semantics. More investigation is needed.

(5.49b) *wayama mu-dom ye?*
what 2SG.ACT-make what
'What are you making?'

(5.49c) *wayama am-dom*[11] *ye?*
what 2SG.ACT-make what
'What are you making?'

***Ba* 'where'**

11 Earlier in Chapter 3, I wrote that the variation of *am-/mu-* forms of the 2nd person singular actor marking prefixes were determined by phonological conditions of stress and consonant quality. This example suggests otherwise as the phonological conditions are identical to the preceeding example (7.27). This may be typographical error. More investigation needed.

ba 'where' marks questions that request locational information. Examples (5.50a&b) show monotransitive verbs where P encodes a location.

(5.50a) *kanam* *utan* *a-mina* ***ba?***
2SG.POSS garden 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is your garden?'

(5.50b) *ka* *ta* *am-len* ***ba?***
2SG FUT 2SG.ACT-go where
'Where are you going?'

Examples (5.51a) and (5.51b) below are interesting as *ba* appears within a prepositional phrase. Since locations are often encoded in prepositional phrases, it is not surprising to find *ba* in this syntactic position.

(5.51a) *am-dom* *lapah* *na* ***ba?***
2SG.ACT-make trap LOC where
'Where did you set the trap?'

(5.51b) *am-bana* *aka* ***ba?***
2SG.ACT-go for where
'Where are you going {to}?'

***Haybay* 'how.many'**

haybay 'how.many' is used pronominally in the place of a numeral modifying a noun. This can be used to ask quantities of an item (example 5.52a) or the age of a speaker (example 5.52b).

(5.52a) *takan* *a-num* *{a}nal* *em* ***haybay***
usually 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl how.many
'Usually how many pearls does he find?'

(5.52b) *kanam* *wawa* *na* *nahak* ***haybay?***
2SG.POSS child 3SG.POSS year how.many
'How old is your child?'

Examples (5.53a&b) show a dialogue requesting for the time. Note how *haybay* fills the modifier slot after the noun *yam* 'hour', and is replaced with a numeral in the reply in (5.53b).

(5.53a) *yam* ***hayba{y}*** *da-h-loy* *aplopi?*
hour how.many 3PL.ACT-INTR-hang flag
'When does its start?'

(5.53b) *yam* *kafarua* *mopini*
hour eight.INA half
'At half past seven.'

***Ye* 'what'**

ye 'what' is a clause final interrogative that is pronominal in its function. It can appear in a PP, as seen in (5.54).

(5.54) *kema* *mi-h-payalfil* [*wa* ***ye?***$]_{NP}]_{PP}$
2PL 2PL.ACT-INTR-talk about what
'What did you talk about?'

It can question the P of the verb as seen in examples (5.55a) and (5.55b) below.

				A-V	**P**
(5.55a)	*barang*	*e*	*dal*	*da-dom*	***ye?***
	word	that.prox.ina	3PL.get	3PL.ACT-make	what

'What do you use that tool for?'

	A-V	**P**			
(5.55b)	*mas*	***ye***	*na*	*utan*	*e?*
	2SG.plant	what	LOC	garden	that.PROX.INA

'What do you plant in your garden?'

In example (5.56), *ye* replaces a noun that is part of a compound noun.

(5.56) *am-paki* ***ye*** *kala* *aka* *titir?*
2SG.ACT-use what skin for drum
'What skin will you use for the drum?'

5.8.4 Complex Interrogative Construction

A complex interrogative construction is composed of more than one word. I have found two of these in Kola: one which can be translated as 'how' and another as 'why'.

5.8.4.1 *Noka+ba* 'how'

This construction consists of the irregular active verb *noka* '3SG.say/want' suffixed with *ba*

'where'. The 'say/want' verb is inflected with reference to the actor of the main verb of the clause or to the NP that is S or A. This is often translated by Takata et al. (1991) as 'how', and marks a manner question. Note that in all the examples given below, this construction nearly always appears clause finally.

(5.57a) *ka* *mauh* *mu-len* *a<m>tul* ***moka-ba?***
2SG 2SG.cut 2SG.ACT-go <2SG.POSS>leg 2SG.say/want-where
'How did you cut yourself?'

(5.57b) *'feh'* *mi-yaf* *minal* *Malay* ***minoka-ba?***
'fish' 2PL.ACT-say 2PL.get Malay 2PL.say/want-where
'What is the meaning of 'feh' in Malay?'

Example (5.58) shows the 'how' construction appearing after the main verb *dom* 'make' but not in clause final position.

(5.58) *iri* *da-dom* ***doka-ba*** *aka* *ni?*
3PL 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where for 3SG
'What will they do with him?' / {'How will they deal with him?'}

Examples (5.59a&b) have no main verb, but the NP in the S/A argument position is clearly a 3rd person (plural/singular) argument which is referenced in the 'how' construction.

(5.59a) *kem* *wawa-yika* ***doka-ba?***
2PL.POSS child-? 3PL.say/want-where
'How are your children?'

(5.59b) *en* ***noka-ba?***
that.PROX.INA 3SG.say/want-where
'How did he get possessed?' {lit. 'How is that?'}

In example (5.60) there are two clauses, one main clause and one embedded clause. The 'how' construction *moka-ba* is part of the embedded clause and thus inflects for the 2nd person singular referencing the actor of the embedded verb *yaf* 'say'.

(5.60) [*moha maw ku-gawa*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ [*am-yaf barang e*
today PFV 1SG.ACT-know 2SG.ACT-say word that.PROX.INA
moka-ba]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
2SG.say/want-where
'Now I know how {you} say it.'

Examples (5.61a&b) show how to ask for translation examples from a foreign language (in this case Malay) into Kola, using the 'how' construction. I am uncertain what precise purpose the word *ngahan* 'name' serves in (5.61a&b). Notably *ngahan* is absent in example (5.62).

(5.61a) *mu-pay ngahan* ***moka-ba?***
2SG.ACT-say NAME 2sg.say/want-where
'How do you say?'

(5.61b) *mi-pay ngahan "air"* ***minoka-ba***
2PL.ACT-speak name "water" 2PL.say/want-where
'How do you say "water" {in your language}?'

(5.62) *Wahkolamah yuyih doka "pisau" doka-ba?*
PLACE folk 3PL.say/want knife 3PL.say/want-where
'How do people of Kolamar say "knife"?'

This 'how' construction is also used as a conventionalised greeting. Example (5.63) is a greeting when two people meet.

(5.63) *mi-talah* ***minoka-ba?***
2PL.ACT-sit 2PL.say/want-where
'How are you?' {lit. 'How do you sit?'}

5.8.4.2 *Aka Ye* 'why'

aka ye can be translated as 'for what' or 'why' much like French's *pour-quoi* 'why'. This is due to *aka*'s function as a purposive preposition. This construction appears in clausal final position.

(5.64a) *da-h-yawan* ***aka ye?***
3PL.ACT-INTR-meet for what
'Why are they meeting?'

(5.64b) *ka* *ma* ***aka*** *ye?*
2SG come for what
'Why have you come?'

While generally the meaning 'why' is generated periphrastically by both elements *aka* and *ye*, I have found one example where *ye* acts on its own, but still gives the meaning of 'why' to the sentence rather than 'what' compared to the examples above. This example (5.65) below is rather odd anyway due to the position of *moha* 'today' in the clause. I would expect to find *moha* occurring before the verb *bana* 'go' not after it. See Section 6.2.1 for more about *moha*.

(5.65) *am-ban{a}* *moha* ***ye*** *na* *law*
2SG.ACT-go today what LOC sea
'Why did you go the sea?'

5.9 Discourse

5.9.1 Greetings

Here are some greetings that I have found in my corpus. Example (5.66) shows the common greeting for 'hello'. It is rather unusual as it literally translates as 'that house'. This probably reflects ethno-cultural practices that I am unaware of.

(5.66) *palaw* *e*
house that.PROX.INA
'Hello' {lit. 'That house.'}

Examples (5.67a&b) show an exchange between two participants, one inquiring after the other's well being (5.67a) and the standard reply (5.67b).

(5.67a) *mi-talah* *minoka-ba?*
2PL.ACT-sit 2PL.say,want-where
'How are you?' {lit. How do you sit?}

(5.67b) *kama* *tanga* *taka*[12] *tare*
1PLE NEG 2PLE.say/want some
'I'm fine.' {lit. 'We want nothing.'}

The farewell salutation can be specified for number, as illustrated by these two examples

12 I suspect that this might be an error and should read as *maka* '1PLE.say/want', since the S argument is kama 1PLE. However, as I only have one example of this greeting and given its unique pragmatic status, it may have a special morphological/syntactic construction.

(5.68a&b). In (5.68a) it is singular and in (5.68b) it is plural.

(5.68a) *mom* *se*
2SG.do/cause please
'Goodbye.'

(5.68b) *minam* *se*
2PL.do/cause please
'Goodbye.'

5.9.2 Discourse Particles

There are two discourse particles, and I have three examples of their usage in my corpus. Table 24 shows two particles with a translation.

DISCOURSE PARTICLE	TRANSLATION
adu	'really' / Disbelief, Exclamation
ayohe	'gosh' / Surprise

Table 24: Discourse Particles

Example (5.69) shows the particle *adu*. I suspect this maybe an Indonesian loan, as there is a similar particle *waduh* that is used to express emotions of disbelief or exclamation.

(5.69) *adu?* *yawba* *iri* *da-tawa?*
DSC when 3PL 3PL.ACT-marry
'Really? When did they marry?'

Examples (5.70a&b) show the particle *ayohe* in usage. It signals a slightly negative emotional interpretation of the sentence that follows it.

(5.70a) *ayohe!* *ni* *maguh-ni?*
DSC 3SG sick-3SG.STV
'Oh no! Was she sick?'

(5.70b) *ayohe.* *Muk* *wobah* *maw* *puy,* *da-mina* *akin*
DSC banana ripe PFV gone 3PL.ACT-stay this.DIST.INA
kituwe *mahi*
still dry
'Oh no. The ripe bananas are all gone, there are only the green ones left.'

6 Verbal & Clausal Modifiers

6.1 Introduction

Verbal and clausal modifiers consist of a wide variety of items, some of which may be nouns or adverbs, which can be grouped together by their syntactic behaviour and function. Generally, members modify the verb or the clause itself. I have divided the modifiers into two broad groups. The first group (§6.2) consists of temporal adverbs, aspect adverbs (§6.3) and modal adverbs (§6.4), all of which modify the verb/clause to place the action, state or event within a framework of time. The second group consists of a 'mixed bag' of verbal and clausal modifiers such adverbs of manner (§6.5) and locational (§6.6) adverbs. Unlike the first group, they do not share a common function.

These modifiers are also unified by their common syntactic position. We can divide all verbal and clausal modifiers into two broad categories – those that occur pre-verbally and those that occur post-verbally. Exceptions naturally apply; there are also some modifiers which freely appear in a variety of positions.

Pre-verbal modifiers (MOD) appear either in the first position of the clause (marked with subscript 1) or between the pronoun (PRO) and main verb of the clause (marked with subscript 2). Below in Diagram 7, I present a linear representation of modified clause elements in parenthesis are optional.

(MOD)$_1$ (PRO/NP) **(MOD)$_2$** VERB

Diagram 7: Pre-verbal Adverb Position within a clause

More than one pre-verbal modifier can modify a clause. They can stack in either position, as seen in (6.1a&b). Most of the verbal/clausal modifiers in Kola are pre-verbal.

(6.1a) *ak* ***yaw*** ***ram*** *ku-gawa* *barang ekin*
1SG until FUT 1SG.ACT-know word that.DIST.INA
'I {understand that word now}'

(6.1b) ***moha*** ***ram*** *ku-h-nin* *kom* *sa<y>mayah*
today FUT 1SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 1SG.do <RED>good
'I want to sleep well to{day}'

There is some variability in the position of the pre-verbal modifier. In example (6.2) below, it appears in the middle of a serial verb construction.

(6.2) *kama maka moha ma-yamuh*[13]
1PLE 1PLE.say/want today 1PLE.ACT-walk
'We are going now.'

Post-verbal modifiers appear in clause final position. Despite various elements (NP, PP) occurring between the modifier (MOD) and the main verb, the modifier modifies the verbal element. From observations of my data, post-verbal modifiers are less common in Kola. See diagram 8 below that shows the position of the post-verbal modifier in a clause.

(PRO/NP) VERB (NP) (PP) **MOD**

Diagram 8: Post-verbal Adverb Position within a clause

(6.3) *kama ma-talah panua* ***koni***
1PLE 1PLE.ACT-sit village just
'We just sit in the village.'

Recall that there are no adjectives in Kola. *kehi* 'rotten' is a stative verb and *uk* 'very' is a post-verbal adverb that modifies the stative verb of the clause.

(6.4) *Boka ekin kehi* ***uk***
canoe that.DIST.INA rotten very
'The boat is very rotten.'

The locational adverb *ri* 'over.there' is an exception to the structure found in diagram 8, often appearing directly after the verb or within a PP. Here in example (6.5), it appears between a SVC construction.

(6.5) *a-nit aas pu*[14]*, aas pu* ***ri*** *{a}nal*
3SG.ACT-go.to 3SG.plant carry 3SG.plant carry over.there 3SG.get
tau a-taah laluh
and 3SG.ACT-call frog.sp
'He went and planted {his dung} over there, and called out to the frog.'
(WTL 019)

Kola is a tense-less language, akin to Malay or Mandarin Chinese. Notions of time and

13 An alternative analysis of this sentence would be to see it as a complex sentence made up of two clauses, one a complement to the verb *maka.*
[*Kama maka* [*moha ma-yamuh*]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$

14 Note that the lack of verbal Actor prefixing on the verb. As mentioned in Chapter 3, there are sometimes exceptions to the prefixing of Actor prefixes on verbs. I am uncertain of the cause of this.

action are represented by modifiers which can be nouns but most are what we can label adverbs. These temporal modifiers can be classed into several categories, each representing a different strategy that is available for the speaker to indicate actions in the past or future.

6.2 Adverbs of Time

Aspect can be marked with a temporal marker. These temporal markers code for semantic notions of time. See table 25 below for the various temporal markers in my corpus. Note that these are all nouns.

TEMPORAL ADVERB	GLOSS
moha	'today/now/day'
sabantar	'now/moment'
inah	'tomorrow'
rapitika	'yesterday'
mohiya	'later/someday'
mohan monri	'the day before yesterday'
tinipit	'last night'
lahapupin / lahawpupin / lahwpupin †	'noon time'
pit	'tonight/night'
wahoh	'afternoon'

Table 25: Temporal adverbs

† Uncertainty over the exact spelling of this word.

Note that these temporal adverbs are nouns. Examples (6.6-6.8) show the temporal markers modified by demonstratives, which is a nominal property and thus illustrates their nominal status. In example (6.6), *sabantar* is a Malay word and has probably been borrowed into Kola.

(6.6) ***sabantar*** *a* *ku-mil*
now this.PROX.INA 1SG.ACT-return
'I'm going home now.'

(6.7) ***lahapupin*** *a* *a-lalu*
noon this.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-born
'{He was born this afternoon}.'

(6.8) ***pit*** *a* *ram* *ku-ma*
night this.PROX.INA FUT 1SG.ACT-come
'I'll come tonight.'

Below I include examples, one for each form. Note that <u>all</u> temporal markers are of the pre-verbal type. Note also how the presence of the temporal marker gives rise to a past, present or future interpretation of the clause.

(6.9) *ak* ***moha*** *ku-mil*
1SG today 1SG.ACT-return
'I'm going home now.'

(6.10) ***inah*** *ak* *ku-len* *sikolah*
tomorrow 1SG 1SG.ACT-go school
'I'll go to school tomorrow.'

(6.11) *ni* ***rapitika*** *a-bana* *aka* *Yedan*
3SG yesterday 3SG.ACT-go for place
'He went yesterday to Yedan.'

(6.12) ***mohiya*** *ram* *ku-ma*
later FUT 1SG.ACT-come
'I'll come back later.'

(6.13) ***tinipit*** *mu-h-nin* *mom* *sa<y>mayah* *te* *tanga?*
last.night 2SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 2SG.do/cause <RED>good or NEG
'Did you sleep well last night?'

(6.14) *ta* ***wahoh*** *ma-palaw*
FUT afternoon 1PLE.ACT-home
'No, we will come back this afternoon.'

mohan monri is a temporal adverbial phrase. I am uncertain of the gloss for individual words.

(6.15) *iri* ***mohan monri*** *da-tawa*
3PL two.days.ago 3PL.ACT-marry
'They married two days ago.'

6.3 Aspect Adverbs

Aspect is concerned with how an action, event or state relates to the flow of time. More importantly, aspect is concerned with the status of completion of an action. Below in table 26, I give a full list of the aspect adverbs and their functions. All aspect adverbs are of the pre-verbal type.

ASPECT ADVERBS	GLOSS
maw	perfective PFV
ikaraman	inceptive INCEP
nitiwe	imperfective IPFV
ram	future FUT
ta	future FUT

Table 26: Aspect Adverbs

6.3.1 Perfective

The perfective aspect indicates an action, event or state that is completed. In Kola the perfective *maw* marks a completed action or event.

(6.16) *ak* ***maw*** *ku-mina* *pulan* *lasi*
1SG PFV 1SG.ACT-stay month three.ANI
'I have been here for three months.'

(6.17) *iri* *rapitika* ***maw*** *da-hasi* *re*
3PL yesterday PFV 3PL.ACT-visit jungle
'Yesterday, they went to the jungle.'

(6.18) *nagan* *ka* ***maw*** *rapitika* *am-len* *sikola*
QST 2SG PFV yesterday 2SG.ACT-go school
'Did you go to school yesterday?'

Example (6.19) is interesting as it shows *maw* in an empty clause, although its presence modifies the verb *bana* of the following sentence, thus changing the aspectual interpretation of the entire sentence.

(6.19) [***maw***], [*ak* *ku-bana* *aka* *Ambon*]
PFV 1SG 1SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'Yes, I've been to Ambon.'

6.3.2 Inceptive

Similarly, *ikaraman* marks a recent change of state or the beginning of a new action. I have termed it the Inceptive or INCEP in the gloss. See the following examples which illustrate its usage.

(6.20) *Magareta* ***ikaraman*** *sowih-ni*
NAME INCEP dead-3SG.STV
'Magareta just died.'

(6.21) *ni* ***ikaraman*** *tamata* *dasi-ni*
3SG INCEP person 3PL.enter-3SG.PAT
'He's just been possessed {by demons}.'

Example (6.22) shows that *ikaraman* can also modify an active verb.

(6.22) *ak* ***ikaraman*** *ku-balayar* *relih*
1SG INCEP 1SG.ACT-study vernacular
'I have just begun studying the local language.'

6.3.3 Imperfective

Similarly, *nitiwe* 'IPFV' indicates that the action, event or state is ongoing.

(6.23) *Alfons* ***nitiwe*** *a-yaka* *boka*
NAME IPFV 3SG.ACT-keep canoe
'Alfons still keeps the boat.'

(6.24) *ni* ***nitiwe*** *a-mina* *na* *palaw* *awyaw* *e?*
3SG IPFV 3SG.ACT-stay LOC house same that.PROX.INA
'Does he still live in that same house?'

6.3.4 Future

There are two aspect markers that convey futurity, *ram* and *ta*. *ram* is often found with the conjunction *haye* 'then', unlike *ta* which I have not found occurring together with *haye*. See chapter 8 for a discussion on *haye*.

I suspect that *ram* conveys more of an irrealis future meaning compared to *ta*. *ram* is often found in sentences where it appears in a second clause giving it a different temporal frame compared to the first clause. For instance, in example (6.25) below, there is an irrealis future in the second clause which is introduced by *ram*.

(6.25) [*ni* *loti-ni* *re,*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ [*haye* ***ram*** *a-palaw*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3SG be.at-3SG.STV jungle then FUT 3SG.ACT-house
'She's at the garden and will be home shortly.'

(6.26) *ina-ng* *takan* *a-fawi*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ [***ram*** *kama* *ma-ka-y{i}*
mother-1SG.POSS usually 3SG.ACT-fry FUT 1PLE 1PLE.ACT-eat-3PL.PAT
taw *hatudu*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
and sago.pudding
'My mother can cook them and we can eat them with sago pudding.'

There is also a more general future/prospective aspect meaning conveyed by *ram* as seen in examples (6.27-6.28) below.

(6.27) *pit* *a* ***ram*** *ku-ma*
night this.PROX.INA FUT 1SG.ACT-come
'Tonight I'll come.'

(6.28) *moha* *ram* *ku-h-nin* *kom* *sa<y>mayah*
today FUT 1SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 1SG.do/cause <RED>good
'I want to sleep well tonight.'

ta behaves more like a future-marking adverb, or a prospective aspect adverb. It indicates the actor's intentions to perform an action or event, as seen in the following examples (6.29-6.31).

(6.29) *padeta* *ta* *a-h-lang*
pastor FUT 3SG.ACT-INTR-speak
'The pastor will speak.'

(6.30) *ka* ***ta*** *am-len* *ba?*
2SG FUT 2SG.ACT-go where?
'Where are you going?'

(6.31) *tanga,* *ta* *wahoh* *ma-palaw*
NEG FUT afternoon 1PLE.ACT-house
'No, we'll come back this afternoon.'

Granted, the difference between irrealis and future-marking is a fine grained one with much overlap. More research is needed here to determine the differences between the future-marking adverbs *ta* and *ram*.

6.4 Modal Adverbs

Modal adverbs are words that convey notions of modality. Modality is a category of linguistic meaning that expresses possibility and necessity. Table 27 below shows different adverbs that convey a wide variety of meanings. I will discuss each of their functions individually. Note that all modal adverbs are of the pre-verbal type.

MODAL ADVERBS	TRANSLATION
bisa	'can'
takan	'usually' / Indicates possibility
lahkanam	'maybe'
meste	'perhaps'

Table 27: Modal Adverbs

***Bisa* 'can'**

bisa 'can' looks like Indonesian loanword, probably borrowed into Kola. It indicates potential, ability or permission. As such, its usage often gives a future reading to the clause, which can be seen in examples (6.33 & 6.34).

(6.32) ***bisa*** *ku-yol-ni* *kanam* *beda?*
can 1SG.ACT-beg-3SG.PAT 2SG.POSS machete
'Can I borrow your machete?'

(6.33) *yawba* ***bisa*** *a-dom?*
when can 3SG.ACT-make
'When can he do it?'

(6.34) ***bisa*** *mu-h-naw-ng* *relih*
can 2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT vernacular
'Can you teach me?'

(6.35) *... ya* *kema* ***bisa*** *mi-bana* *aka* *Dobo* *te* *tanga?*
and.then 2PL can 2PL.ACT-go for PLACE or NEG
'...then can you travel/go to Dobo or not?'

***Takan* 'usually'**

takan 'usually' conveys a habitual action as well as possibility. The following examples (6.36-6.38) are more indicative of the habitual meaning.

(6.36) ***takan*** *a-num* *nal* *em* *haybay*
usually 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl how.many
'Usually, how many pearls does he find?'

(6.37) ***takan*** *a-bayaring* *tawi*
usually 3SG.ACT-net net
'Usually he fishes with a net.'

(6.38) ***takan*** *mu-h-dom* *hatudu* *mokaba?*
usually 2SG.ACT-INTR-make sago.pudding 3SG.say/want-where
'How do you make sago pudding?'

Examples (6.39 – 6.41) on the other hand convey more of a meaning of possibility or potential. Naturally there is some fluid overlap between the two meanings.

(6.39) *ihi,* *ifa* ***takan*** *a-dom* *boka* *tu<y>bay?*
yes who usually 3SG.ACT-make canoe <RED>new
'Yes, who can make a new canoe?'

(6.40) *nan* ***takan*** *da-ka-ni?*
this.PROX.ANI usually 3PL.ACT-eat-3SG.PAT
'Can you eat it?' {lit. They normally eat this?}

(6.41) *kema* ***takan*** *mi-yaf* *lain?*
2PL usually 2PL.ACT-say meaning?
'Does it have any other meanings?'

***Meste* 'perhaps'**

meste indicates that the speaker is uncertain of the propositional content of the utterance. I list all the examples of its usage from my corpus below.

(6.42) ***meste*** *tamata* *patin* *hat* *kafa*
perhaps person human hundred four.INA
'About 400 hundred teachers.'

(6.43) *ak* *ku-rena* *ko* ***meste*** *tamata* *regal-di*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hear because perhaps person enemy-3PL.STV
ka-ni *taw* ***meste*** *hantu* *dasi-ni*
DIR-3SG.PAT and perhaps ghost 3PL.enter-3SG.PAT
'I hear that perhaps {enemies} or ghost{s} are coming and possessing him.'

***Lahkanam* 'maybe'**

Likewise *lahkanam* also indicates that the propositional content of the utterance is uncertain. I present my single example of its usage. I am uncertain how it differs from *meste*.

(6.44) *ak* *tanga* *ku-gawa,* ***lahkanam*** *iri* *da-takfakah* *motor.*
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-know maybe 3PL 3PL.ACT-wait boat
'I don't know. They {might} be waiting for a boat.'

6.5 Adverbs of Manner

Kola has several other adverbs that mark manner of action. I list them in the following table below.

ADVERB	TRANSLATION/FUNCTION	POSITION
uk	'very'	Post-verbal
koni	'just'	Post-verbal
suma	'only'	Pre-verbal †
sagalde	'almost'	Post-verbal †
ahataha	'suddenly'	Post-verbal †
tu	'again/yet'	Both

Table 28: Adverbs of Manner

† I have only one example of this form – thus these labels may not be entirely accurate.

***Uk* 'very'**

uk 'very' is a post verbal adverb that modifies verbs. It augments and intensifies the action or state of the verb. Based on the four examples in my corpus (given below), it would appear that it only modifies stative verbs. Recall that none of the stative verbs take agreement when S is INANIMATE, which is the case in all four examples below.

(6.45) *ralim* ***uk,*** *taw* *yukih* *ye* *a-lih* *ko*
be.tasty very and fin PL 3SG.ACT-? because
anam *peli*
3SG.do/cause expensive
'Very tasty, and its fin is very expensive.' (Context: Shark meat)

(6.46) *i-manam* *a* *ralim* ***uk***
?-food this.PROX.INA be.tasty very
'This food is very tasty.'

(6.47) *boka* *ekin* *kehi* ***uk***
canoe that.DIST.INA be.rotten very
'The canoe is very rotten.'

(6.48) *relih-ka*[15] *pesi* ***uk***
vernacular-2SG.PAT difficult very
'{Your} language is very difficult.'

***Koni* 'just'**

I have only two examples of this adverb *koni* 'just'. Based on these examples, it would appear to be a post-verbal type, and it indicates a limitation of the action of the verb.

(6.49) *kama* *ma-talah* *panua* *koni*
1PLE 1PLE.ACT-sit village just
'We just stay in our village.'

(6.50) *ku-h-a<m>yamuh* *koni*
1SG.ACT-INTR-<RED>walk just
'I just {wander around aimlessly}.'

***Suma* 'only'**

I have only have one example of this adverb, which occurs pre-verbally, but with similar semantics to *koni*.

(6.51) *tanga,* *suma* *ku-so* *tamata* *da-pun-yi*
NEG only 1SG.ACT-see person 3PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT
'No, I only saw the men kill {them}.'

***Sagalde* 'almost'**

I also have only one example of this manner adverb *sagalde* 'almost'. Here it modifies the stative verb *wam* 'quiet', occurring in post-verbal position.

(6.52) *...ya* *laluh* *wam-ni* *sagalde.*
and.then frog.sp quiet-3SG.STV almost
'...And the frog was quite a quiet person.' (WTL 001)

15 Unusual possessive marking on a noun. 2SG.POSS should be either *relih-m* (INALIENABLE) or *kanam relih* (ALIENABLE).

***Ahataha* 'suddenly'**

Again, I have only one example of this manner adverb *ahataha* 'suddenly'. Here it modifies the stative verb *sowih* 'die', occurring in post-verbal position.

(6.53) *tanga, ni sowih-ni ahataha*
NEG 3SG die-3SG.STV suddenly
'No, she died suddenly.'

***Tu* 'again'**

tu 'again' can also mean 'yet'. It has more flexibility in its syntactic position, appearing both pre-verbally and post-verbally. It has a variety of meanings. Typically it indicates a repetition of the action, as illustrated by the following two examples.

(6.54) *mu-manam* ***tu****?*
2SG.ACT-eat again
'Would you like some more {food}?' {lit. 'You eat again?'}

(6.55) *haye baka iya da-h-a<m>yamuh* ***tu****.*
then time one 3PL.ACT-INTR-<RED>walk again
'Then, one time, they wandered again.' (WTL 016)

(6.56) *ya mohiya* ***tu*** *da-h-a<m>yamuh*
and.then someday again 3PL.ACT-INTR-<RED>walk
'Another day, they wandered again.' (WTL 030)

(6.57) *noko moha rua* ***tu*** *mo tanga yoba-ni, ma* ***tu***
if today two.INA again but NEG healthy-3SG.STV come again
'If he is not better in two days, come back.'

As mentioned in Section 5.6.2, *tu* is often used with the negative inceptive *tafan*, where the meaning of *tu* is better translated as 'yet', and serves to emphasise the imperfective nature of the verb.

(6.58) *ak tafan* ***tu*** *ku-tawa*
1SG NEG.INCEP again 1SG.ACT-marry
'I am not yet married.'

There are also some instances where I am uncertain of its precise function, for example in (6.59) below where it appears in a clause final position, modifying the clause *taw tare* 'and some'. *tu* could perhaps function here as a conjunction like 'also'.

(6.59) *inah* *ram* *ku-pua* *kurtas,* *kitap,* *pinsil* *taw* *tare*
tomorrow FUT 1SG.ACT-carry paper book pencil and some
tu
again
'Tomorrow, I'll {prepare} everything, including paper, {books} and pencils {etc.}.'

6.6 Adverb of Location

In addition to the adverbs of manner, there is also one adverb of location found in Kola, *ri* 'over.there'. I am unable to determine the degree of deictic distance that this adverb encodes, whether proximal or distal. Examples (6.60-6.61) show *ri* occurring after the verb.

(6.60) *na* *palaw* *a-min* ***ri***
3SG.POSS house 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'His house is over there.'

(6.61) *kanang* *utan* *a-min* ***ri,*** *an-ren* *aka* *ta<y>rey*
1SG.POSS garden 1SG.ACT-stay over.there near for <RED>river
'My garden is over there, near by the river.'

As mentioned earlier, *ri* does not behave like the other post-verbal adverbs, it can also occur within a prepositional phrase as seen in example (6.62-6.63) below.

(6.62) *am-bana* [*aka* ***ri***]$_{PP}$ *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-go for over.there for what
'Why did you go {over there}?'

(6.63) *noke* *ram* *seen* *ta* *muk* [*ka* ***ri.***]$_{PP}$
if FUT travel.food FUT banana DIR over.there
'The bananas would be provisions for their travels.' (WTL 047)

It can even occur within a SVC as seen in example (6.64) below.

(6.64) *a-nit* *aas* *pu,* *aas* *pu* ***ri***
{a}nal 3SG.ACT-go.to 3SG.plant carry 3SG.plant carry
over.there 3SG.get *tau* *a-taah* *laluh*
and 3SG.ACT-call frog.sp
'He went and planted {his dung} over there, and called out to the frog.'
(WTL019)

Also puzzling is *ri* 's behaviour in example (6.65), where it seems to introduce a location *re*

'jungle'. One could analyse this as *ri* modifying an NP i.e.' the jungle over there', but I would expect to find the head noun *re* 'jungle' preceding *ri*, since the NP template's structure is left headed.

(6.65) *Piter a-fala* ***ri*** *re aka ye?*
NAME 3SG.ACT-run over.there jungle for what?
'Why did Peter run to the jungle?'

7 Complex Predication

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses serial verb constructions (SVC) (§7.2), where two or more verbs act as a single predicate. I will also discuss two of the functions of the causative verb *kom* '1SG.do/cause' in §7.3.

7.2 Serial Verb Constructions

Kola verbs can form a sequence of 2 or 3 verbs which can be termed a serial verb construction. I appeal to Aikenvald (2006:1)'s definition of SVCs.

> A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a mono-verbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. SVCs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own. Within an SVC, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.

Kola SVCs fit all the requirements of Aikenvald's description (since it is extremely general) – except for the claim that SVCs have similar intonational properties. This is an aspect of phonetics that I am unable to test for and thus can make no comment. Further investigation is needed.

7.2.1 Form

In my corpus, I have only found active verbs forming part of a SVC. The typical Kola SVC consists of two verbs, although constructions with three verbs are possible but uncommon in my corpus. The verbs are usually only prefixed with actor prefixes, even though they may or may not be intransitive. Adverbs can occur within the SVC, since they do not change the argument of the second verb, as seen in example (7.1) below.

(7.1) *kama maka* ***moba*** *ma-yamuh*[16]
1PLE 1PLE.say/want today 1PLE.ACT-walk
'We're going now.'

16 As mentioned earlier in footnote 13, an alternative analysis of this sentence would be to see it as a complex sentence made up of two clauses, one a complement to the verb *maka*. More investigation is needed.
[*Kama maka* [*moba ma-yamuh*]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$

7.2.2 Type & Function

SVCs in Kola can be grouped according to the types of verbs that participates in the construction and the semantics of the resulting SVC. In the following subsection, I will detail each of the types I have found. A summary can be found in table 29 below.

SVC Type	First Verb	Second Verb
Motion + Action	*bana* 'go' / ma 'come'	...†
Desire + Action	*koka* '1SG.want'	...
	...	*koka* '1SG.want'
Action + Get 'Result Serialisation'	...	*kol* '1SG.get'
	kol '1SG.get'	...
Dynamic Action	...	Any Motion Verb
Quotative	Speech Verbs	*koka* 'say/want'
Instrumentive	...	*muk* '1SG.use'

Table 29: Types of Serial Verb Constructions

† Cells with '...' represent a free range of verb choice – unlike cells which are filled.

7.2.2.1 Motion-Action Serialisation

The motion verbs *bana* 'go' and *ma* 'come' are often used together with a second verb to indicate motion (physical/metaphorical) towards the performance of the action of the second verb. I list some examples below. *bana* and *ma* function as deictic indicators of the second action. SVCs with *bana* 'go' imply that the action of the second verb is taking place away from the speaker.

(7.2) ***a-bana*** ***a-num***
3SG.ACT-go 3SG.ACT-dive
'He went diving.'

(7.3) *ni* ***a-bana*** ***anal*** *nuh* *yeh-a-faha*
3SG 3SG.ACT-go 3SG.get coconut NMLZ-3SG.ACT-eat
'He went to get kopra.'

(7.4) *ni* ***a-bana*** ***a-h-fah*** *ika*
3SG 3SG.ACT-go 3SG.ACT-INTR-find fish
'He went fishing.'

Conversely, SVCs with *ma* 'come' imply that the action of the second verb is taking place

towards the direction of the speaker. Thus, in example (7.5) below, the action of visiting is taking place closer to the hearer rather than the speaker.

(7.5) *ak* ***ku-ma*** ***ku-basi***
1SG 1SG.ACT-come 1SG.ACT-visit
'I am coming to visit.'

7.2.2.2 Desire Serialisation

This serial construction employs the verb *koka* '1SG.say/want' along with another verb, to indicate desire or intention to perform the action of the second verb. Because of the notions of intentionality and desire, there is a futurity reading to these sentences, akin to use of the 'going + VERB' construction in English or 'aller + VERB' in French. See the following examples.

(7.6) *ak* ***koka*** ***ku-bana*** *aka* *kanam* *palaw*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-go for 2SG.POSS house
'I am going to your house.'

(7.7) ***moka*** ***am-wang*** *ika* *kekin?*
2SG.want 2SG.ACT-sell fish those.DIST.ANI
'Would you like to sell those fish?'

(7.8) *kama* ***maka*** *moba* ***ma-yamuh***
1PLE 1PLE.say/want today 1PLE.ACT-walk
'We're going now.'

Example (7.9) below shows a three verb SVC, combining two types of SVCs (Desire-Motion and Motion-Action).

(7.9) *ak* ***koka*** ***ku-bana*** ***ku-b-gur***
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT-INTR-beat
'I am {going to go} pound sago.'

Note that the desire verb can also appear in the second position suffixed with the question marker *ba* 'where'. Examples (7.10) and (7.11) show the verb *dom* 'make' with *doka* '3PL.say/want', which still carries the meaning of futurity of action. The suffixation of *ba* to *doka* creates a complex interrogative. See chapter 5 on interrogatives for more details.

(7.10) *iri* ***da-dom*** ***doka-ba*** *aka* *ni?*
3PL 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where for 3SG
'What will they do with him?'

(7.11) *panen ke* ***da-dom*** ***doka-ba?***
bird.sp those.PROX 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where
'What did the birds do?'

7.2.2.3 'Get' / Result Serialisation

This construction combines an action with the verb 'to get' *kol* '1SG.get'. This serialisation type indicates a relationship between the action of the first verb and the result verb 'get' upon an object. For instance, in example (7.12), the action of diving results in the 'getting' of pearls, while in example (7.13), it is the action of catching that results in the 'getting' of fish.

(7.12) *takan* ***a-num*** ***nal*** *em* *haybay*
usually 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl how.many
'Usually how many pearls do you find?'

(7.13) *... ka* *rapitika* ***am-reh*** ***mol*** *ika* *ah-lah*
2SG yesterday 2SG.ACT-catch 2SG.get fish RED-big
ar-nar *yena?*
RED-long one
'... yesterday you caught a big long fish?'

The verb *tawa* 'marry' often appears as a SVC, as the act of marrying is linked to the result of getting a woman, as seen in example (7.14 and 7.15) below.

(7.14) *ni* *a-h-lang* *"kanaka* ***am-tawa*** ***mol***
3SG 3SG.ACT-INTR-speak NEG.IMP 2SG.ACT-marry 2SG.get
kanang wawa"
1SG.POSS child
'She said, "Don't marry my daughter".'

(7.15) *ni* ***a-tawa*** ***anal*** *Mina*
3SG 3SG.ACT-marry 3SG.get NAME
'He married Mina.' (Takata 1992:60)

Example (7.16) is a three verb SVC, again combining the Desire + Action serialisation with Action + Get serialisation.

(7.16)	*ak*	***koka***	***ku-tukar***	*ika*	***kol***	*masin*
	1SG	1SG.say/want	1SG.ACT-trade	fish	1SG.get	salt
	'I'd like to trade these fish for salt.'					

7.2.2.3.1 Alternative Meaning in the 'Get'/Result Serialisation

However, the meaning of the 'Get' Serialisation can be more abstract, especially when there are two NPs, each appearing after one verb in the SVC, as seen in the following examples (7.19-7.20). Here the meaning generated highlights the relationship between the first NP and the second NP – but in the opposite direction. The NP found after the action verb is the result of the action, while the 'get' verb introduces the object necessary for the result. For instance, in example (7.17) below the first NP *ribul* 'arrow' is the result of the second NP's *ye* 'what' (pronominal for bamboo) involvement in the action of the verb *dom* 'make'.

	Action V	**NP_1**	**Get**	**NP_2**
(7.17)	***am-dom***	*ribul*	***mol***	*ye?*
	2SG.ACT-make	arrow	2SG.get	what
	'What kind of arrow are you making?' {lit. 'You make arrow using what?'}			

Likewise in the reply, example (7.18) shows the same structure.

		Action V	**NP_1**	**Get**	**NP_2**
(7.18)	*ak*	***ku-dom***	*ni*	***kol***	*bom*
	1SG	1SG.ACT-make	3SG	1SG.get	bamboo
	'I'm making a bamboo arrow.' {Lit. 'I make it using bamboo'}				

7.2.2.3.2 Alternative Order of Verbs in 'Get'/Result Serialisation

Typically the 'get' verb is placed in second position in a SVC. However, it can also be placed in first position. The meaning generated is still result – orientated, but is closer to the alternative meaning outlined above in section 7.2.2.3.1.

	NP_1		**Get**	**Make**	**NP_2**
(7.19)	*barang*	*e*	***dal***	***da-dom***	*ye?*
	word	that.PROX.INA	3PL.get	3PL.ACT-make	what
	'What do you use that tool for?' {lit. 'They get that tool to make what?'}				

Examples (7.20) and (7.21) below are unusual because the 'get' verb seems fused with *dom* 'make'. Based on these two examples, I suspect that this fusion of verbs in the SVC occurs when the NP that should occur before or between the SVC is elided.

			NP_1			
(7.20)	*... takan*	*ma-wang*	*nof<i>n*		*ka*	[*aka*
	usually	1PLE.ACT-sell	teeth<3SG.POSS>		PL	for
	Get+Make		**NP_2**			
	dal-da-dom		*supa*]			
	3PL.get-3PL.ACT-make		pipes			
	'... we can sell them for making cigarette pipes.'					

				NP_1			
(7.21)	*iya*	*am-pua*		*tuh*	*at-ot*	*te*	*mil*
	one	2SG.ACT-prepare		skewer	<RED>one.INA	or	return
			Get+Make	**NP_2**			
	ya		***mol-dom***	*ye?*			
	and.then		2SG.get-make	what			
	'What did you make {/do} after you took the skewer home?'						

In both examples, NP_1 is found outside of the SVC construction even though it plays a role in the meanings generated by the SVCs – which are literally {'Get teeth Make pipes'} and {'Get skewer Make what'} respectively for (7.20) and (7.21). The NP_1 is elided from the SVCs because it is anaphorically retrievable from the sentence context. Contrast examples (7.20) and (7.21) with example (7.19) above where NP_1 appears directly before the 'Get' verb. As a result, no affixation of the two verbs *dal* and *dom* occurs in (7.19).

In summary, while this alternative meaning of the 'Get' Serialisation and alternative order of the verbs differs from the basic form that I outlined above, there is still the underlying semantics of a result serialisation, of one action leading to a result in the other action.

7.2.2.4 Dynamic Action Serialisation

This serialisation differs from the motion-action serialisation in section 7.2.2.1 because it implies that the action itself involves motion (dynamic action) as opposed to a motion towards or away from an action. In this SVC, the first verb is an action verb, and the second verb is a motion verb which emphasises that the action of the first verb involves movement.

I have found two examples of verb serialisation with the verb *len* 'go'. The first example appears straightforward, in that the act of moving *fukan* 'move' is linked to a physical shifting of location, hence the usage of *len* 'go'.

(7.22) *tanga, ni maw* ***a-b-fukan*** ***a-len*** *palaw anren aka*
NEG 3SG PFV 3SG.ACT-INTR-move 3SG.ACT-go house near for
gereya
church
'No, he has moved to a house near the church.'

However, in this second example (7.23) below, the act of cutting oneself is a far more static activity – which then has little connection with the usage of the verb *len* 'go'. Perhaps this implies that the action of Tina's cutting is large or serious – the cut was a dynamic motion. More investigation is needed.

(7.23) *Tina* ***auh*** ***a-len*** *a<y>tul*
NAME 3SG.cut 3SG.ACT-go <3SG.POSS>leg
'Tina cut herself.'

Example (7.24) shows the verb *yaru* 'cut' with the motion verb *lewi* 'go around'. The meaning generated by this SVC implies that the action of cutting grass will occur dynamically, going round the speaker's house.

(7.24) *ak koka kela* ***ku-yaru*** *ur* ***ku-lewi***
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.take 1SG.ACT-cut grass 1SG.ACT-go.around
kanang palaw
1SG.POSS house
'I want to take {the machete} to cut the grass around my house.'

7.2.2.5 Quotative

The verb *koka* '1SG.say/want' is used with other verbs of speech to mark the quotative. Note that the verb can occur on its own, as seen in the following example.

(7.25) *wahkolamah yuyih* ***doka*** *"pisau"* *doka-ba*
PLACE folk 3PL.say/want knife 3PL.say/want-where
'How do the people of Kolamar say “knife”?'

However, other verbs of speech, such as *pay* 'say', *yaf* 'say' must be followed by the verb *koka* '1SG.say/want', which functions here as a quotative. The first two examples (7.26) and (7.27), show *maka* 'say' used with other verbs of communication.

(7.26) *kama* ***ma-yaf*** ***maka*** *"sero"*
1PLE 1PLE.ACT-say 1PLE.say/want fishtrap
'It means “fishtrap”.'

(7.27) ***ma-pay*** *ngahan* ***maka*** *"weh"*
1PLE.ACT-say name 1PLE.say/want water
'We say "water".'

I have found one counter-example (7.28) below in my corpus, where a quote was introduced without the use of the verb *koka* '1SG.say/want'. More investigation is needed into the optionality of this construction.

(7.28) *ni* ***a-h-lang*** *"kanaka* *am-tawa* *mol*
3SG 3SG.ACT-INTR-speak NEG.IMP 2SG.ACT-marry 2SG.get
kanang *wawa"*
1SG.POSS child
'She said, "Don't marry my daughter".'

7.2.2.6 Instrumentive

The verb *kuk* '1SG.use' forms part of a SVC with other action verbs, and is used to mark the instrumentive. Examples (7.39) and (7.30) illustrate this function. Example (7.29) is unusual because the verb and noun are affixed to each other. Again, this is the sole example of this behaviour of *kuk* '1SG.use' in my corpus, so I am unable to state if this is a simple typographic error or something more interesting – although comparing it with example (7.30) from Takata (1992), I would say it is likely to be the former.

(7.29) *wayama* *takan* ***mu-h-fan*** ***muk****-ribul?*
what usually 2SG.ACT-INTR-shoot 2SG.use-arrow
'What will you shoot with your arrow?'

(7.30) *ak* ***ku-pu*** *pep* ***kuk*** *beda*
1SG 1SG.ACT-kill pig 1SG.use machete
'I kill a pig with a bushknife.' (Takata 1992:60)

7.3 Causative SVC

The causative is marked with the verb *kom* '1SG.do/cause'. The construction takes the following structure as shown below. The causative verb (marked as V_{CAUS}) precedes the embedded clause. The object (P) of the causative verb is the subject (S/A) of the embedded verb clause. Optional elements (indicated in parenthesis) can modify the clause, such as an Object NP or a PP.

NP_{SUBJ} V_{CAUS} [$NP_{OBJ/SUBJ}$ V_{EMBED} (NP), (PP)]$_{EMBED}$

Diagram 9: Causative Construction Linear Structure

(7.31) *ak* ***kom*** *tamata ne* ***a-bana*** *aka* *Dobo*
1SG 1SG.do/cause person that.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'I caused the person to go to Dobo.' (Takata 1992:58)

(7.32) *ni* ***anam*** *na* *wawa* ***a-pu***
3SG 3SG.do/cause 3SG.POSS child 3SG.ACT-fall
'He dropped his child.' ('He caused his child's fall.') (Takata 1992:58)

7.3.1 Causative + Stative Verb Construction

In addition, the causative verb can combine with a reduplicated stative verb in a true dependency relationship to modify the main verb of the sentence, much like an adverb in English. See the following examples.

(7.33) *mu-h-nin* ***mom*** ***sa<y>mayah***
2SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 2SG.do/cause <RED>good
'Sleep well.'

(7.34) *mi-pua* *Tina* *aka* *Mantri* ***minam*** ***am~yamih***
2PL.ACT-carry NAME for matron 2PL.do/cause RED-quick
'Take her quickly to the health worker.'

(7.35) *buda* *am-yafmil* ***mom*** ***bu<b>tebi***
please 2SG.ACT-repeat 2SG.do/cause <RED>gentle
'Please say it again slowly.'

I have found an example (7.36) where a reduplicated stative verb was introduced as a verbal modifier without the use of the causative verb. Whether this instance is unique, or it is the case that reduplicated stative verbs can introduced with a head (i.e. causative verb), can only be answered through more investigation.

(7.36) *ihi,* *ku-wang* ***am~yamih***
yes 1SG.ACT-sell RED-quick
'Yes, I sold them quickly.'

8 Clause Combining

8.1 Introduction

This chapter covers how clauses are combined to form sentences. In §8.2, I look at conjunctions in Kola and describe their usage and function. In §8.3, I look at complement clauses.

8.2 Conjoining

Two or more independent clauses can be linked either through juxtaposition or with several different conjunctions depending on their function and the relationship between the two clauses. The term independent here refers to the clause being able to 'stand on its own', to function independently and grammatically without the need for any other supporting clauses.

In example (8.1) below, two clauses marked with parentheses [ ]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ are linked without any conjunctions. The use of the future marker *ram* also helps to give separate sets of temporal frames for the two verbs in the sentence (one action occurring after the other).

(8.1)	[*ina-ng*	*takan*		*a-faw-{y}i*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$	[*ram*	*kama*
	mother-1SG.POSS	usually		3SG.ACT-cook-3PL.PAT	FUT	1PLE
	ma-ka-y{i}		*tau*	*hatudu*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$		
	1PLE.ACT-eat-3PL.PAT		and	pudding		
	'My mother can cook them and we can eat them with sago pudding.'					

Table 30 below shows the conjunctions that I have found in my corpus. I detail their function and usage with examples below.

CONJUNCTION	TRANSLATION	RELATIONSHIP / FUNCTION
taw / tau	'and', 'as'	Addition, Sequential
ya	'and.then'	Addition, Sequential
haye	'then', 'next'	Sequential
ko	'because', 'then'	Cause
mo	'but'	Contrastive
tapi	'but'	Contrastive
noko	if	Condition
te	'or'	Alternative
aka †	'for'	Cause/ Purposive

Table 30: Conjunctions

† This word is actually a preposition, rather than a conjunction. I have included it here for reasons that

will become apparent later.

***Taw* 'and'**

The conjunction *taw* 'and' can be used to link two or more clauses, as illustrated in the following examples. Examples (8.2 -8.3) show *taw* in between two clauses.

(8.2) [*otni* *wanlu<i>n-ni*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***taw*** [*otni* *kodih-i-ni*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
one.ANI be.male<3SG>-3SG.STV and one.ANI be.female-i-3SG.STV
'One is male and one is female.'

(8.3) *ihi* [*takan* *ta-ka-yi,*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***taw*** [*nof<i>n* *ka* *lebih*
yes usually 1PLE.ACT-eat-3PL.PAT and teeth<3SG.POSS> PL more
anam *peli* *pay* *tama*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3SG.do/cause expensive from meat
'Yes, we can eat them. And the tusks are more expensive than the meat.'

Example (8.4) shows *taw* linking two clauses with the help of another conjunction *haye,* which seems to be able to work with other conjunctions. More discussion on *haye* to follow in its own section.

(8.4) [*ni* *aring-ni*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***taw*** *haye* [*yowih-ni*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3SG fever-3SG.STV and then chill-3SG.STV
'He has fever and chills.'

The following examples also illustrate other meanings of *taw*. It can also mean 'as', as seen in example (8.5).

(8.5) *iri* *da-pay* *ngahan barang* *kekin* *tanga* *sama* ***taw*** *kama*
3PL 3PL.ACT-say name word those.DIST NEG same and 1PLE
'They say some words {that are} not the same as us.'

The main difference between *taw* and *ya* appears to be that only *taw* can be used to conjoin NPs. I have not observed this property with *ya,* which can only conjoin clauses.

(8.6) [*ak* *kas* [*muk*]$_{\text{NP}}$, [*kapuwak*]$_{\text{NP}}$ ***taw*** [*karwir*]$_{\text{NP}}$]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
1SG 1SG.plant banana beans and vegetables
'I plant bananas, beans and {other} vegetables.'

***Ya* 'and.then'**

ya is also used to conjoin two or more clauses. Often it implies a sequential relationship

between the two clause (i.e. one event occurring before the next).

(8.7) [*am-wang-yi*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***ya*** [*da-kel-yi* *te* *tanga?*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
2SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT and.then 3PL.ACT-buy-3PL.PAT or NEG
'Did they buy fish when you sold it {or not}?' {lit. 'You sold fish, and they bought them or not?'}

(8.8) [*ak* *ku-h-yaru* *ur*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***ya*** [*kauh* *ku-len*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-cut grass and.then 1SG.cut 1SG.ACT-go
'I was cutting the grass and then I cut myself.'

***Haye* 'then'**

Usage of *haye* 'then' indicates a sequential relationship between two clauses. The following example below show two separate actions that are implied to occur sequentially due to the presence of *haye*.

(8.9) [*ni* *loti-ni* *re*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$, ***haye*** [*ram* *a-palaw*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3SG be.at-3SG.STV jungle then FUT 3SG.ACT-house
'She's in the garden, she'll be home later.'

haye also displays an unusual property in that it is sometimes used together with other conjunctions such as *taw* 'and' or *ya* 'and.then', both of which carry the same sequential function as *haye*. I am uncertain what function or effect this juxtaposition of two conjunctions has. Examples (8.10) and (8.11) are part of a longer sequence of discourse where the speaker describes a series of events, which is why *haye* is found in clause initial position rather than between two clauses.

(8.10) ***haye*** ***taw*** *da-sanbayang*
then and 3PL.ACT-worship
'Then church will start soon.'

(8.11) ***haye*** ***ya*** *ku-behi-ni*
then and.then 1SG.ACT-scrape-3SG.PAT
'Then I scrape it.'

haye often occurs in a clause marked with the aspect marker *ram* 'FUT'. This is because of the sequential function of *haye;* it indicates that one clause occurs after the other. By using *ram* at the start of a new clause, it gives a different temporal frame to the second clause compared to the first clause. Observe its usage in the following examples.

(8.12) [*kuluh* *da-nay*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***haye*** [***ram*** *da-ka*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
breadfruit 3PL.ACT-boil then FUT 3PL.ACT-eat
'Breadfruit {nuts} must be boiled then they can be eaten.'

(8.13) [*da-fat* *habiya* *da-fe* *loyang* *ah-lah*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***haye*** [***ram***
3PL.ACT-fold sago 3PL.ACT-put.into bowl RED-big then FUT
dal *weh* *da-fan*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3PL.get water 3PL.ACT-?
'First you put sago flour in a large bowl, then you slowly add boiling water...'

One possible alternative analysis would be to classify *haye* as a temporal adverb rather than as a conjunction, because it often indicates a different temporal frame, even without the occurrence of *ram*. More investigation is needed.

***Ko* 'because'**

ko 'because' is used to indicate a relationship of causality between two sentences. Observe its usage in the following two examples. The second clause which is linked with *ko* carries the explanation for the first clause.

(8.14) [*ak* *lahwpupin* *tanga* *ku-ma*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***ko*** [*ku-len*
1SG noon.time NEG 1SG.ACT-come because 1SG.ACT-go
Wahkolamah]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
PLACE
'I cannot come today because I'm going to Kolamar.'

(8.15) [*ak* *tanga* *ku-num*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***ko*** [*takah-ng* *pidi*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-dive because ear-1SG.POSS pain
'I don't dive because I have an earache.'

***Mo* 'but'**

mo 'but' indicates contrast between the two clauses. The examples (8.16-8.17) below use *mo* to emphasise a contrast between the two clauses. Note that *mo* also has other meanings – it can be used to add two numerals together (see section 2.5).

(8.16) [*ihi,* *da-mina,ika*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***mo*** [*maw* *puy*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
yes 3PL.ACT-stay but PFV gone
'Yes there are {crocodiles there} but {they're} already gone.'

Example (8.17) shows *mo* contrasting two clauses. What is interesting is the presence of the negation marker *tanga* before *mo*. It seems to emphasise the irrealis nature of the first

clause – i.e. the event of going to school did not occur.

(8.17) [*ak* *koka* *ku-len* *sikola*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ *tanga* ***mo*** [*moha*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-go school NEG but today
ku-h-fah *ika*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
1SG.ACT-INTR-find fish
'I wanted to go to school but {today} I {have} to go fishing.'

Tapi **'but'**

tapi also means 'but'. This word is probably an Indonesian loanword borrowed into Kola. It expresses contrast between the two clauses, as seen in example (8.18) below. This is the only example I have of its usage – I am uncertain if there are more complex differences between *tapi* and *mo*.

(8.18) *ihi,* [*barang kekin* *tanga* *sama* *ma-<f>yaf*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ *tapi*
yes word those.DIST NEG same 1PLE.ACT-<RED>say but
[*ma-gawa*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
1PLE.ACT-know
'Yes, there are a few words that are not the same but we know {them}.'

Noko **'if'**

noko 'if' is used to indicate a conditional relationship between two clauses. I have only one example from my corpus, example (8.19) below. Here the first clause introduces a condition for the second clause's event.

(8.19) [*noko* *moha* *rua* *tu* *mo* *tanga* *yoba-ni,*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ [*ma*
if today two.INA again but NEG healthy-3SG.STV come
tu]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
again
'If he is not better in two days, come back.'

Te **'or'**

te 'or' expresses disconjunction, signalling an alternative relationship (i.e. one or the other) between two clauses. Observe its usage below in examples (8.20-8.21) where it appears between two clauses.

(8.20) [*ni* *a-bayaring*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***te*** [*a-tabey* *tasi*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3SG 3SG.ACT-cast.net or 3SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod
'Is he using a net or a hook and line?'

(8.21) [*pep* *ne* *wanluin-ni*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ ***te*** [*kodih-ni?*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
pig this.PROX.ANI be.male-3SG.STV or be.female-3SG.STV
'Is the pig a boar or a sow?'

***Aka* 'for'**

Finally, *aka* in its meaning as 'for', although not actually a conjunction, deserves a mention here because it is often used to combine clauses when there is a relationship of causality or purpose.

(8.22) [*ak* *ko* *ku-pua* *aklakuh*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ *aka* [*ku-ng-wang*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
1SG because 1SG.ACT-carry broom for 1SG.ACT-<RED>-sell
'I also took brooms to sell.'

In examples (8.23-8.25) the clause that is introduced by *aka* is marked with the generic 3PL actor.

(8.23) *da-h-koh* *aldala* *aka* [*da-h-yawan*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3PL.ACT-RED-ring bell for 3PL.ACT-INTR-meet
'It's a bell for a village meeting.'

(8.24) [*en* *lonceng*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ *aka* [*da-sanbayang*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
that.PROX.INA bell for 3PL.ACT-worship
'It's a bell for church.'

(8.25) [*kama* *takan* *ma-wang* *nof<i>n* *ka*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$ *aka*
1PLE usually 1PLE.ACT-sell teeth<3SG.POSS> PL for
[*dal-da-dom* *supa*]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
3PL.get-3PL.ACT-make pipe
'We can sell the tusks for making pipes.'

8.3 Complement Clauses

Certain verbs can take a clause in argument position. I give some examples below in Table 31 – but there may be more that I have yet to discover. Note that it may be possible for these verbs to take a P argument instead of a complement clause – I have only one example of this (example 8.30).

COMPLEMENT CLAUSE TAKING VERBS	GLOSS
rena	hear
so	see
arap	hope
…	...

Table 31: Verbs that can take complement clauses as arguments

There is no complementizer in Kola. A complement clause can be introduced through juxtaposition, as seen in the following three examples (6.43-6.45). Observe how the complement clause, marked as [ ]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$, has its own aspect and that the clause expresses its subject directly – i.e. it is not restricted to that of the matrix clause.

(8.26) [*ak* *ku-rena*] [*ka* *rapitika* *am-reh* *mol*
1sg 1SG.ACT-hear 2SG yesterday 2SG.ACT-catch 2SG.get
ika *ah-lah* *ar-nar* *yena?*]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$
fish RED-big RED-long one
'I heard you caught a big long fish yesterday.'

(8.27) [*ak* *ku-rena* [*ko* ***meste*** *tamata* *regal-di*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hear because perhaps person enemy-3PL.STV
ka-ni *taw* ***meste*** *hantu* *dasi-ni*]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
DIR-3SG.PAT and perhaps ghost 3PL.enter-3SG.PAT
'I hear that perhaps {enemies} or ghost{s} are coming and possessing him.'

(8.28) [*ak* *ku-h-arap* [*pit* *a* *mu-h-nin*
1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-hope night this.PROX.INA 2SG.ACT-INTR-sleep
mom *sa<y>mayah*]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
2SG.do <RED>good
'I hope that you sleep well tonight.'

(8.29) *tanga,*[*suma* *ku-so* [*tamata* *da-pun-yi*]$_{\text{COMPLEMENT}}$]$_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
NEG only 1SG.ACT-see person 3PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT
'No I only saw the men kill {the crocodiles}.'

Example (8.30) shows the verb *so* 'see' with an NP as a P argument rather than a complement clause.

(8.30) *ak* *ta* *kuma* *ku-so* *wawa* *ne*
1SG FUT 1SG-come 1SG.ACT-see child that.PROX.ANI
'I will go and see the child.'

9 Derivation & Reduplication

This chapter details two morphological processes in Kola, derivation (§9.1) and reduplication (§9.2). I present the phonological rules of reduplication and then look its various functions.

9.1 Derivation

9.1.1 Nominal Derivation

Nouns can be derived from active verbs, with the use of the nominalising prefix *yeh-* 'NMLZ'.

(9.1)	*gola*	'to bury'	*yeh-gola*	'burial'
(9.2)	*yawan*	'to meet'	*yeh-yawan*	'meeting'

Nouns can also be derived from reduplication of stative verbs, typically forming abstract nouns.

(9.3)	*samayah*	'good'	*sa<y>mayah*	'goodness'
(9.4)	*butebi*	'gentle'	*bu<b>tebi*	'gentleness'

9.1.2 Verbal Derivation

New verbs can be formed by prefixing a noun with an Actor prefix (and also a P suffix if applicable). The resulting verb meaning is related to its nominal semantics. Here are some examples from my data.

(9.5)	*manam*	'food'	*a-manam*	'(S)he eats.'
	palaw	'house'	*ma-palaw*	'We (exc) return home.'
	netak	'axe'	*ku-netak*	'I carve.'
	sikolah	'school'	*da-sikolah*	'They attend school/class.'
	tulak	'hole	*a-tulak*	'It has sprung a hole.'
	weh	'water'	*ku-weh*	'I dry something in the sun.'

9.2 Reduplication

9.2.1 Rules

Reduplication in Kola is rather complex. There is no full reduplication, only partial. Typically, the last consonant of the stressed syllable is reduplicated and prefixed/infixed to the stressed syllable. There are 3 types or rules of reduplication. Only stressed syllables participate in reduplication, contributing the material for the reduplicant. The structure of the root form of the syllable determines which rule of reduplication it will undergo (Takata & Takata 1992:44).

Rule 1 is the basic reduplication process. If a stressed closed syllable is preceded by an open syllable with the sequence V.'C_1VC_2, then the final consonant is reduplicated to

give the structure VC_2.'C_1VC_2 . I give some examples below.

Rule 1:(Takata & Takata 1992:45)

CV.'CVC_2	/tu.'bay/	>	CVC_2.CVC_2	/tuy.'bay/	'new'
CV.'CVC_2.V	/bu.'tebi/	>	CVC_2.'CVC_2.V	/bub.'tebi/	'gentle'
CV.'CVC_2.VC	/sa.'may.ah/	>	CVC_2.'CVC_2.VC	/say.'may.ah/	'good'

If rule 1 reduplication does not apply, then rule 2 reduplication occurs. If the root form has the sequence '(C_1)VC_2 [17], then the final consonant of the first closed syllable is reduplicated and prefixed with a dummy vowel /a/ to give structure *a*C_2'.(C_1)VC_2.

Rule 2: stressed syllable preceded by an open syllable (Takata & Takata 1992:45)

V.'C_1V	/eta/	*a*.C_1V.C_1V	/a'teta/	'tall'
'CVC_1	/nar/	*a*C_1.'CVC_1	/ar.'nar/	'long'
V.'C_1VC	/ariŋ/	*a*.'C_1V.C_1VC	/a.'ra.riŋ/	'hot'
'CVC_1.VC	/bos.il/	*a*C_1'CVC_1.VC	/as.bos.il/	'small'

When the closed syllable precedes the stressed syllable, the reduplicated part is infixed between the stressed syllable and the preceding closed syllable.

Rule 2: stressed syllable preceded by a closed syllable(Takata & Takata 1992:45)

VC.'CVC_1	/ah.'but/	V.C*a*C_1.'CVC_1	/ahat'but/	'hard'
VC.'CVC_1.V	/ah.'tad.a/	V.C*a*C_1.CVC_1V	/ahad'tada/	'throw down'

If rule 2 does not apply, then rule 3 is applied; initial consonant reduplication. A dummy vowel /a/ is inserted after the reduplicated consonant, so C_1V becomes C_1aC_1V.

Rule 3: (Takata & Takata 1992:45)

C_1V.V	/'pui/	C_1a.'C_1V.V	/pa.'pui/	'fruit(s)'
C_1V.VC	/'rein/	C_1a.'C_1V.VC	/ra.'rein/	'clever'

If the stressed syllable is preceded by an open syllable, again the reduplicant is infixed between the stressed syllable and the open syllable.

Rule 3:(Takata & Takata 1992:45)

CV.'CV.V	/pa'nua/	CV.C*a*.'CV.V	/pana'nua/	'village/villages'
CV.'CV.VC	/takuan/	CV.C*a*.'CV.VC	/taka'kuan/	'deaf''

Table 32 below summarises the various rules with an example for each rule.

17 Brackets indicate that the onset consonant C_1 is optional.

	Root Form	Reduplicated	Examples	
Rule 1	(C)V'.C_1VC_2	(C)VC_2.'C_1VC_2	*tu.'bay* 'new'	*tuy.'bay* 'new'
Rule 2	'(C_1)VC_2	*a*C_2'.(C_1)VC_2	'*nar* 'long'	*ar.'nar* 'long'
Rule 3	'C_1V	C_1*a*'C_1V	'*pui* 'fruit'	*pa.'pui* 'fruits'

Table 32: Kola Reduplication Phonological Rules

9.2.2 Function

There are numerous functions of reduplication in Kola. This can sometimes to lead to ambiguity in the meaning of reduplicated element. I separate the function according to word class (noun, verb, numerals). I do not have so many examples of reduplication in all its various functions in my corpus, so most of the examples here are taken from Takata (1992). Takata (1992:65) notes that "reduplication is often omitted in daily conversation" – which is probably the reason for their poor representation in my corpus.

9.2.2.1 Nominal Derivation

As mentioned earlier in section 9.1 on derivation, reduplication can cause a shift in word class membership. Below I illustrate the various pathways of derivation with some examples of each type.

Active Verb > Noun

(9.6) *lang* 'speak' > *ang-lang* 'language'
(9.7) *lakuh* 'sweep' > *ah-lakuh* 'broom'

Stative Verb > Noun

(9.8) *butebi* 'gentle' > *bu-b-tebi* 'gentleness'
(9.9) *samayah* 'good' > *sa-y-mayah* 'goodness'

9.2.2.2 Nominal Reduplication

There are three functions of nominal reduplication: Plurality, Intensification, Modifier-formation.

Plurality

Reduplication of nouns adds plural meaning. Here are some examples, taken from Takata (1992:62.)

(9.10) *palaw* 'house' > *al-palaw* 'houses'
(9.11) *panua* 'village' > *pa-na-nua* 'villages'
(9.12) *pui* 'fruit > *pa-pui* 'fruits'

Intensification

Nominal meaning can also be intensified through reduplication. Both examples are taken from Takata (1992:62).

(9.13) *loba* 'baby' > *ab-loba* 'new born baby'
(9.14) *afral* 'morning' > *af-al-ral* 'early morning'

Modifier Formation

Reduplication of some nouns can change their syntactic placement, function and occasionally their semantics, allowing them to function as modifiers of nouns without changing their word class. For instance when *mona* 'front' is reduplicated, its semantics and syntactic configuration changes. *an-mona* means 'last' and it modifies nouns rather than being a noun.

(9.15) *nahak* *an-mona* *ne*
year RED-front that.INA
'Last year.' (Takata 1992:65)

(9.16) *taga* *ai-al-tul*
shackle 3SG.POSS-RED-leg
'his leg shackle.' (Takata 1992:65)

9.2.2.3 Verbal reduplication

Verbal reduplication has five functions: it can signal intensification, aimlessness and reciprocity. Reduplication also allows verbs to modify nouns, and to form comparison clauses.

Intensification

Like nouns, verbs can be reduplicated to indicate intensification – but of the action itself. Takata (1992) gives one example.

(9.17) *kali-m* *a-h-ab-yebuh*
body-2SG.POSS 3SG.ACT-INTR-RED-dirt
'Your body is very dirty.' (Takata 1992:62)

Aimlessness

Reduplication of the verb can also indicate 'aimlessness' of the action – that the intended purpose of the action is not performed.

(9.18) *ku-h-am-yamuh* *koni*
1SG.ACT-INTR-RED-walk only
'Just walking around.' {'I am just wandering/going for a stroll.'}

(9.19) *ma-h-p<ay>ayfil* *ma-wa* *kama* *silokla*
1PLE.ACT-INTR-<RED>talk 1PLE.ACT-about 1PLE.POSS school
'We chatted about our school.'

Reciprocity

Reduplication of the verb can indicate reciprocity of the action, a common function of reduplication in other languages.

(9.20) *da-h-ar-gur-yi*
3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-hit-3PL.PAT
'They hit each other.' (Takta 1992:62)

Modifiers of Nouns

As mentioned earlier in chapters 2 and 3, when active verbs are reduplicated, they modify the nominal element they accede, which Takata (1992:63) interprets as relative clause construction.

S Relativised

(9.21) *tamata-ke* [*da-l-talah* *e*]$_{RC}$ *da-manam*
person-PL 3PL.ACT-RED-sit there 3PL.ACT-eat
'The people who sat there ate.' (Takata 1992:63)

P Relativised

(9.22) *Ni* *a-utuh* *tamata* [*a-l-mala-yi*]$_{RC}$
3SG 3SG.ACT-call person 3SG.ACT-RED-want-3PL.PAT
'He called the people whom he wanted.' (Takata 1992:63)

Oblique NP Relativised

(9.23) *Yon* *a-puraka* *na* *doyik-ka* *aka*
NAME 3SG.ACT-use 3SG.POSS money-PL for
doktor [*da-k-wakih-ni*]$_{RC}$
doctor 3PL.ACT-RED-treat
'John used his money for the doctors who treated him.' (Takata 1992:63)

(9.24) *iri* *da-talah* *na* [*Kres* *a-l-talah* *ekin*]$_{RC}$
3PL 3PL.ACT-sit LOC NAME 3SG.ACT-RED-sit that.DIST.INA
'They sat where Kres sat.' (Takata 1992:63)

Stative verbs, as mentioned earlier in section 2.5 can function attributively, modifying nouns when they are reduplicated. In each of the examples below, I give both the unreduplicated and the reduplicated form to contrast their syntactic function.

ahbut 'hard' > *ah<at>but* 'hard'

(9.25) *nuh* *ekin* ***ahbut***
coconut that.DIST.INA hard
'That coconut is hard.' (Takata 1992:64)

(9.26) *ak* *ku-fah* *nuh* ***ah<at>but***
1SG 1SG.ACT-find coconut <RED>-hard
'I'm looking for a hard coconut.' (Takata 1992:64)

tubay 'new' > *tu<y>bay* 'new'

(9.27) *motor* *e* ***tubay***
motor that.PROX.INA new
'That motor is new.' (Takta 1992:64)

(9.28) *palaw* ***tu<y>bay*** *e* *a-min* *ri*
house <RED>new that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'There's a new house over there.'

samayah 'good' > *sa<y>mayah* 'goodness'

(9.29) *haha* ***samayah***
many good
'Are they doing well?'

(9.30) *ak* *ku-ban* *yaw* *Ambon* *ku-rasa* ***sa<y>mayah***
1SG 1SG.ACT-go until PLACE 1SG.ACT-feel <RED>good
'I felt fine in Ambon.'

Comparison Clauses

The reduplication of stative verbs can be used to form a comparison clause. According to Takata (1992:65), this construction is only permissible if the quality compared is equal for both arguments.

(9.31) *ni* *ar~nar~ni* *lima-ng*
3SG RED~long-3SG.STV hand-1SG.POSS
'Was it as long as my hand?' (Takata 1992:65)

(9.32) *ni* *at~eta~ni* *ak*
3SG RED~tall-3SG.STV 1SG
'He is as tall as me.' (Takata 1992:65)

9.2.2.4 Numeral Reduplication

The reduplication of cardinal numerals creates an ordinal numeral. See section 2.4 on numerals for both sets of ordinal and cardinal numerals in table 7. Unfortunately, I only have one example of an ordinal numeral in use, so I am uncertain of any difference in syntactic behaviour.

(9.33) *ot* 'one.INA' > *at~ot* 'first.INA'

(9.34) *tamata* *ra~rui* *ne*
person RED~two that.PROX.ANI
'The second person.' (Takata 1992:66)

10 Conclusion

Whilst this thesis has significantly expanded on the previous literature on Kola, it has unfortunately been been limited by the small corpus and the lack of informants. However, my hope is that despite the brevity of this thesis, other linguists will be able to use my analysis to develop a more detailed description of Kola. In this chapter, I will summarise this thesis (§10.1), and briefly present some typological insights into two features of Kola (§10.2) that may be of interest to typologists.

10.1 Summary

In chapter 2, I detailed the structure of the NP and described its the constituent elements. One area that was discussed in detail was the nominal gender system. In chapter 3, I discussed the properties of verbs and focused on morphosyntactic alignment system. I also expanded on Takata's (1992) analysis and proposed a class of stative verbs as opposed to adjectives. In chapter 4, I discussed the form and function of prepositions, with special regard to the person-number affixation that occurs with some prepositions.

In chapter 5, I shifted the focus from word classes to syntax, and examined Kola's clause structure. I discussed declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. In chapter 6, I examined verbal and clausal modifiers, looking at different adverbs that have aspectual, temporal, manner and locational function. In chapter 7, I discussed serial verb constructions in Kola, listing several different combinations (or types) that I had found in my corpus. In chapter 8, I moved from looking at the clause to sentences, and discussed clause conjoining strategies. Finally in chapter 9, I returned to morphology and outlined the derivation and reduplication processes in Kola.

10.2 Typological Perspectives

Out of the numerous features of Kola, I have picked two that I think are unique and will be of most interest to typologists. In the following subsections, I briefly describe the feature and then look at what typologists have observed about this feature in surrounding languages and within the Austronesian language family.

10.2.1 Gender

According to Takata (1992), Kola nouns are classified into two genders, ANIMATE – comprising of human plus animals and INANIMATE – the rest. There are some exceptions within the ANIMATE class, which I have discussed in section 2.2.1.1.1. This division between ANIMATE/INANIMATE does not extend to pronouns in Kola. Gender is not marked on the noun itself but on the elements that modify the noun with the NP.

Kola's gender distinction is unusual considering its status as an Austronesian language. Siewierska (2008) notes that gender hardly occurs in Austronesian languages. However, Kola's gender status is not unusual for its location. Schapper (2010) argues that gender is an areal feature of Eastern Indonesia through multiple instances of contact with

the Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages in the area.

One of the languages discussed in Schapper's (2010) survey of gender in Eastern Indonesia is Biak. Biak is an Austronesian language spoken around Cenderwasih Bay, Papua. Like Kola, Biak's gender distinction separates ANIMATES (human and animals) from INANIMATES (rest). What is more interesting however, is van Heuvel's (2006:101-102) discussion of nouns with exceptional gender assignment, which differs from Kola's list (cf. Table 3). While my discussion of these exceptional nouns in Kola is quite brief compared to van Heuvel's, I will attempt to summarise these differences in table 33 below.

Category	**KOLA**	**BIAK**
Tools	ANIMATE (axe, basket, machete)	ANIMATE (spear, spoon, fish spear)
Kinship Terms	ANIMATE (mother, father)	ANIMATE (parent)
Body Parts	ANIMATE	ANIMATE Only for bodyparts that occur in pairs (hands/eyes/feet)
Units of Time	Occasionally ANIMATE	- †
Some natural elements (perhaps of importance to the community)	ANIMATE (Stone, Pearls)	ANIMATE (Gold, Glass)
Small products of plant, tree or animals	INANIMATE	ANIMATE
Small edible items	-†	ANIMATE
Alcoholic drinks	-†	ANIMATE

Table 33: Exceptional Gender Assignment in Kola and Biak

† I do not have sufficient information to determine if these are classed as ANIMATE or INANIMATE.

Table 33 shows that Biak has many domains where nouns are classified as ANIMATE where they would be classified as INANIMATE in Kola. The size and edibility of an item seem to play a major role in determining the animacy of a noun in Biak. Both Kola and Biak classify precious materials as ANIMATE. Regarding the domain of tools, van Heuval writes that spears, spoons and fish spears are considered ANIMATE because of the material they are made from, unlike in Kola. In Kola, tools like machetes, axes and baskets are classified as ANIMATE because of their regular usage and the close link that they have with their users, as if they were extra body parts or an extension of the self.

It would be interesting to compare this phenomenon across more languages, although much more Kola data needs to be collected before a proper comparison can be made.

10.2 Morphosyntactic Alignment

As detailed in chapter 3, Kola's alignment system is an active/stative system, in relation to the morphosyntactic behaviour of S. There are two classes of intransitive verbs: active verbs and stative verbs. When S is marked on an active verb, the verb is marked with actor prefixes, which are also used to mark A on transitive verbs. When S is marked on a stative verb, the verb is marked with stative S suffixes – which according to my analysis are significantly different from the P marking suffixes.

Thus the alignment system is determined by the inherent aspect of the predicate, whether it encodes a state or action/event. In most cases, stative S is a non-volitional participant, while active S is a volitional participant. However, there are a handful of verbs that do not observe this – they mark S/A as an actor while the semantics of the verb indicate that S/A are not actors but non-volitional participants.

Given Kola's close genetic relationship with Dobel, I will compare Kola's alignment system with that of Dobel's. According to Hughes (2000), Dobel makes the similar distinction to Kola, marking S like A when the verb encodes an event, and marking S like P when the verb encodes a state. Unlike Kola, stative S and P in Dobel are marked with the same paradigm of undergoer enclitics.

The majority of non-active verbs in Dobel encode semantic states, while active verbs encode events. However, like Kola, there are some non-active verbs that encode semantic events. There are also some active verbs where S is clearly not an actor, yet the verb references them with the actor proclitic. These are all lexically determined.

For instance, examples (10.1a&b) both show the verb 'die' in Dobel (10.1a) and Kola (10.1b). In Dobel, the 'die' verb is marked with actor proclitic, while in Kola, it is marked with a stative S suffix. Semantically, 'die' is a verb that encodes a semantic state, and is non-volitional – yet Dobel marks S as an actor.

Dobel, Hughes (2000:143)

(10.1a)	*tamatu ssoba-ni*	*ne*	*ʔa-kwoy*	*ti*
	peron RED-good-3SG.ANI.UND	DEM	3SG.ACT-die	PFV
	'That good person has died.'			

Kola

(10.1b)	*sowih-ni*
	die-3SG.STV
	'She is dead.'

Dobel also shares a similar property with Kola with regard to gender and agreement. In both languages, non-active (stative) verbs are not marked with undergoer suffixes/enclitics when the referent is INANIMATE. I give an example of Dobel in (10.2), which shows an

ANIMATE S in (10.2a) and an INANIMATE S in (10.2b). Observe how the verb is unmarked (i.e. there is no undergoer enclitic) in (10.2b). This is similar to Kola, as I have shown in Chapter 3.

Dobel, Hughes (2000:139)

(10.2a) *tamatu ne soba-**ni***
person DEM good-3SG.ANI.UND
'that person is good;

(10.2b) *k^{w}alar ne soba-**Ø***
house DEM good
'That house is good.'

In Dobel, this also extends to numerals. In Kola, numerals are inflected for animacy but not with the verbal person-number affixes. In Dobel, numerals are cliticized with the undergoer enclitics but only when the noun head is ANIMATE and human. If it is ANIMATE but non-human, as seen in example (10.3c), then an animate marker *ʔay-* is prefixed to the numeral.

(10.3a) *kwalar ʔawa*
house four
'four houses.'

(10.3b) *tamatu ʔawa-ye*
person four-3PL.UND
'four people'

(10.3c) *k^{w}oyar ʔay-ʔawa*
dog ANI-four
'Four dogs.'
(Hughes 2000:139)

In conclusion, whilst Kola and Dobel are genetically related, they share slightly different morphosyntatic alignment systems, with regard to the treatment of stative/non-active S. The difference in the marking of S in unusual verbs like 'to die' is worth exploring in more detail, especially with regard to other languages of Aru.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aikenvald, A. (2006). 'Serial verb constructions in a typological perspective', pp. 1-87 of Aikhenvald and Dixon eds. *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology*. OUP.

Alune, Tim & Sulinama, Yayasan. (2006). *Kamus Bergambar: Bahasa Kola, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Inggris*. Nivens, Richard J., Jock Hughes, Asnat Djabumir, Fredek Tubay & Junus Tubay (trans.). Dobo, Indonesia. Hak Cipta SIL International.

Bybee, Joan, L. (1985). *Morphology:* A Study of the relation between meaning and form. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Collins, James (1982). 'Linguistic Research in Maluka: A Report of recent field-work." Oceanic Linguistics 50: 73-150.

Comrie, Bernard (1978). 'Ergativity'. In Winfred P. Lehmann, ed.: *Syntactic Typology: Studies in the Phenomenology of Language*, 329–394. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Comrie, Bernard. (1989). *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crystal, David (2003). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics.* 5th ed. Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing.

Dixon, R.M.W. (1982). *Where Have All the Adjectives Gone?* and other essays in Semantics and Syntax. Berlin: Mouton Publishers.

Elath, Barto. (1990). *Tfamalik Afa Na'a Vaidida. Percakapan Bahasa Fordata. Fordatan Conversations.* Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Haspelmath, Martin (2005). "Argument marking in ditransitive alignment types." Linguistic *Discovery* 3.1:1-21 .

Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania (2002). *World lexicon of grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopper, Paul J.; Sandra A. Thompson (1980). "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse". *Language* 56 (2): 251–299.

Hughes, Jock (1987). "The language of Kei, Tanimbar & Aru: a lexicostatistic classification. In S.Dardjowidjojo, ed. Miscellanous Studies of Indonesian and other languages in Indoneisa. Part IX. Nusa 27:71-111.

Hughes, Jock (2000). 'The morphology of Dobel, Aru, with special reference to reduplication.' *Pacific Linguistics* 503.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.), (2013). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Seventeenth edition.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.

Nivens, Richard. (1993). 'Reduplication in Four dialects of West Tarangan.' in *Oceanic Linguistics*, Vol. 32, No 2 (Winter 1993), pp 353-388. University of Hawaii Press.

Schapper, A. (2010). 'Neuter Gender in Eastern Indonesia.' in *Oceanic Linguistics*, Volume

49, number 2 December.
Seifart, Frank. (2010). Nominal Classification. *Language & Linguistics Compass* 4, no. 8: 719-736.
Siewierska, A. 2008. Gender distinctions in independent personal pronouns. In *The World Atlas of Language Structures online*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie, ch. 44. Available online at http://wals.info/feature/44.
Takata, Yuko. (1992). Kola Word Structure and Morphology. *NUSA* 34:
Takata, Masahiro and Takata, Yuko. (1992). Kola Phonology. *NUSA* 34: 31-46
Takata, Masahiro; Takata, Yuko; Watapuhan, Milton. (1991). *Dahlang Dal Kola Relih. Percakapan Dalam Bahasa Kola*: Kola Conversations. Universitas Pattimura & SIL Ambon
van Engelenhoven, A. (1993). Book Review, Phonological Studies in Four Languages of Maluku Cakalele, 4.
van Heuvel, Wilco. (2006). *Biak, description of an Austronesian language of Papua*. Utrecht: LOT.

Appendix A

Appendix A is the main source of all my corpus. As explained in the foreword and introduction, I have glossed all the sentences in Takata et al (1991). There are 483 lines of text, including titles and subtitles. Below, I show all the sentences as three-lined examples. The first line is the text itself with morpheme boundaries. The second line is the gloss line, using the abbreviations from the abbreviations list on page v. The third line is a free translation provided by Takata et al (1991).

Where I have edited the original text or the free translation line, I indicate it with curly parenthesis { }. This editing is to remove typographic errors or to provide a better translation. I use footnotes to point out unusual phenomenona or potential typographic errors. I also use the question mark on the gloss line to indicate a gap in my knowledge – I am unable to provide a good translation for that particular word.

Unit 1: Language Learning

(1) *ku-balayar relih*
1SG.ACT-study language
'I am studying {the} local language.'

Unit 1.1

(2) *mu-h-naw-ng*
2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT
'Teach me.'

(3) *ak ikaraman ku-balayar relih*
1SG INCEP 1SG.ACT-study language
'I've just begun studying {the} local language.'

(4) *bisa mu-h-naw-ng relih?*
can 2SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT language
'Can you teach me {the} local language?'

(5) *ihi, ak bisa ku-h-naw-ka*
yes 1SG can 1SG.ACT-INTR-teach-2SG.PAT
'Yes, I can teach you.'

Unit 1.2

(6) *ku-balayar relih*
1SG.ACT-study language
'I am studying {the} local language.'

(7) *ak ku-balayar relih*
1SG 1SG.ACT-study language
'I am studying {the} local language.'

(8) *ak maw ku-mina pulan lasi*
1SG PFV 1SG.ACT-stay month three.ANI
'I have been here three months.'

(9) *ka mu-h-lang mom sa<y>mayah*
2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-speak 2SG.do/cause <RED>good
'You speak well.'

(10) *relih-ka pesi uk*
language-2SG.POSS difficult very
'Your language is very difficult.'

(11) *tanga, lihm-kam*[18] *tanga pesi*
NEG ?-1PLE.POSS NEG difficult
'No, our language isn't difficult.'

Unit 1.3

(12) *ku-yol-ka*
1SG.ACT-beg-2SG.PAT
'Please help me.' {Lit. 'I beg you.'}

(13) *ak ku-yol-ka ma mu-h-naw-ng relih*
1SG 1SG.ACT-beg-2SG.PAT come 2SG.ACT-teach-1SG.PAT language
'I beg you, come teach me your language.'

18 The form *lihm* looks suspiciously like a truncated or reduced form of the word *relih* 'language'. The addition of the morpheme *-m-* in *lihm* is unusual and may be a typographical error. Furthermore, the suffixation of the inalienable possessive 1PLE.POSS is actually the wrong form and should be *-ma*. This may be an example of free variation or something more complex.

(14) *yam* *hayba{y}* *mu-takfaka-ng* *na* *palaw?*
hour how.many 2SG.ACT-wait-1SG.PAT LOC house
'{What time should I wait for you at your house?}'

(15) *ta* *wahoh* *ma?*
FUT afternoon come
'Could you come this afternoon?'

(16) *ak* *lawpupin* *tanga* *ku-ma* *ko* *ku-len* *Wahkolamah*
1SG noon NEG 1SG.ACT-come because 1SG.ACT-GO PLACE
'I cannot come {this afternoon} because I'm going to Kolamar.'

(17) *pit* *a* *ram* *ku-ma*
night this.PROX.INA FUT 1SG.ACT-come
'I'll come tonight.'

(18) *ak* *karam* *ku-naw-ka*
1SG later 1SG.ACT-teach-2SG.PAT
'{I'll teach you later.}'

(19) *inah* *ram* *ku-pua* *kurtas,* *kitap,* *pinsil* *taw* *tare* *tu.*
tomorrow FUT 1SG.ACT-carry paper book pencil and some again
'Tomorrow, I'll get everything ready including paper and pencils {etc.}'

Unit 1.4

(20) *am-yaf-mil*
2SG.ACT-say-return
'Say it again.'

(21) *buda* *am-yaf-mil* *barang* *ekin*
please 2SG.ACT-say-return word that.DIST.INA
'Please say that word again.'

(22) *buda* *ma* *ku-dom*
please come 1SG.ACT-make
'Now I try it.'

(23) *tini* *ku-yaf* *ekin* *a-len?*
whether 1SG.ACT-say that.DIST.INA 3SG.ACT-correct
'Did it say it correctly?'

(24) *a-len* *ka<y>haytare*
3SG.ACT-correct <RED>close
'You were close.'

(25) *buda* *am-yaf-mil* *mom* *bu<b>tebi*
please 2SG.ACT-say-return 2SG.do/cause <RED>gentle
'Please say it again slowly.'

(26) *moha* *maw* *ku-gawa* *am-yaf* *barang* *e*
today PFV 1SG.ACT-know 2SG.ACT-say word that.PROX.INA
moka-ba
2SG.say/want-where
'Now I understand how you say that word.'

Unit 1.5

(27) *mu-pay* *ngahan* *moka-ba?*
2SG.ACT-say name 2SG.say/want-ba
'How do you say?'

(28) *mi-pay* *ngahan* *"air"* *minoka-ba?*
2PL.ACT-say name water 2PL.say/want-where
'How do you guys say "water" in your language?'

(29) *ma-pay* *ngahan* *{maka}*[19] *"weh"*
1PLE.ACT-say name 1PLE.say/want water
'We say "weh".'

(30) *Wahkolamah* *yuyih* *doka* *"pisau"* *doka-ba?*
PLACE folk 3PL.say/want knife 3PL.say/want-where
'How do people of Kolamar say "knife"?'

19 This was editted from the original *moka* '2SG.say/want', which I suspected to be a typographical error. I have done the same in example (37), (39) and (100).

(31) *da-yaf* *doka* *"turuk"*
3PL.ACT-say 3PL.say/want knife
'They say "turuk".'

(32) *iri* *da-pay* *ngahan* *barang* *kekin* *tanga* *sama*
3PL 3PL.ACT-say name word those.DIST NEG same
taw *kama*
and 1PLE
'They say some words differently from us.'

(33) *mu-gawa* *tamata* *kekin* *mom* *sa<y>mayah?*
2SG.ACT-know person those.DIST.ANI 2SG.do/cause <RED>good
'Do you understand those people all right?'

(34) *ihi* *barang* *kekin* *tanga* *sama* *ma-f-yaf* *tapi*
yes word those.DIST NEG same 1PLE.ACT-RED-say but
ma-gawa
1PLE.ACT-know
'Yes, there are a few different words, but we know them all.'

Unit 1.6

(35) *mi-yaf* *lain*
2PL.ACT-say meaning
'Meaning.'

(36) *'feh'* *mi-yaf* *minal* *Malay* *minoka-ba*
feh 2PL.ACT-say 2PL.get Malay 2PL.say/want-where
'What is the meaning of feh in Malay?'

(37) *kama* *ma-yaf* *{maka}* *“sero”*
1PLE 1PLE.ACT-say 1PLE.say/want sero
'It means “fish-trap”.'

(38) *kema* *takan* *mi-yaf* *lain*
2PL usually 2PL.ACT-say meaning
'Does it have any other meanings?'

(39) *takan kama ma-yaf {maka} "kangguru"*
usually 1PLE 1PLE.ACT-say 1PLE.say/want kangguru
'Yes, another meaning is "kangeroo".'

Unit 2: Getting Accquainted

(40) *kanang belaka*
1SG.POSS spine/backside
'My {neighbourhood}[20]'

Unit 2.1

(41) *panua ida warfer*
village 3PL.POSS headman
'The village's headman.'

(42) *panua ida warfer ifa?*
village 3PL.POSS headman who
'Who is the village's headman?'

(43) *panua ida warfer Yabumir*
village 3PL.POSS headman NAME
'The village's headman is Yabumir.'

(44) *na palaw a-min ba?*
3SG.POSS house 3SG.ACT-stay where?
'Where is his house?'

(45) *na palaw a-min ri*
3SG.POSS house 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'His house is over there.'

Unit 2.2

(46) *ngaban-ka ifa?*
name-2SG.POSS who
'What is your name?'

20 This phrase has idiomatic meaning. The translation provided by Takata et al (1991) for this sentence is 'Getting accquainted'. Based on the content of Unit 2, I offer the translation of example (40) as 'My neighbourhood' or perhaps 'My community'. *Belaka* according to Richard Olson's note means 'back' or 'spine', but this word is found always found inalienably possessed as *belaka-ng*, while here it is alienably possessed, which suggests it has a different meaning.

(47) *ngahan-ka* *ifa?*
name-2SG.POSS who
'What is your name?'

(48) *ngahan-ng* *Milton*
name-1SG.POSS NAME
'My name is Milton.'

(49) *Milton,* *maw* *am-tawa* *te* *tafan?*
NAME PFV 2SG.ACT-marry or NEG.INCEP
'Milton, are you married?'

(50) *ak* *tafan* *tu* *ku-tawa*
1sg NEG.INCEP again 1SG.ACT-marry
'I am not yet married.'

Unit 2.3

(51) *mol-ban* *ba?*
2SG.get-from where
'Where are you from?'

(52) *ka* *mol-ban* *panua* *ba?*
2SG 2SG.get-from village where
'What village are you from?'

(53) *ak* *kol-ku-ban* *Kabufin*
1SG 1SG.get-1SG.ACT-fromPLACE
'I am from Kabufin.'

(54) *panua* *e* *a-min* *ba?*
village that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is that?'

(55) *a-min* *ri*
3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'It's over in that direction.'

(56) *panua* *e* *nawyaw* *ba?*
village that.PROX.INA distance where
'How far is it?'

(57) *nansin* *a-ban* *akin* *aka* *Wahkolamah*
like 3SG.ACT-from this.DIST.INA for PLACE
'About as far as it is from here to Kolamar.'

Unit 2.4

(58) *ina-m* *ye* *ama-m*
mother-2SG.POSS and father-2SG.POSS
'Parents'

(59) *ka* *ina-m* *ye* *ama-m* *ngahan-di* *ba?*
2SG mother-2SG.POSS and father-2SG.POSS name-3PL.POSS where?
'What are your parents' names?'

(60) *ama-ng* *ngah<i>n* *Yohanes*
father-1SG.POSS name<3SG.POSS> NAME
'My father's name is Yohanes.'

(61) *ina-ng* *ngah<i>n* *Mina*
mother-1SG.POSS name<3SG.POSS> NAME
'My mother's name is Mina.'

(62) *abu<m>fer* *ni* *itu* *e* *reri-ni?*
<2SG.POSS>grandfather 3SG ?[21] that.PROX.INA alive-3SG.STV
'Is your grandfather still alive?'

(63) *ihi,* *ni* *itu* *e* *matihi* *ma-mina*
yes 3SG ? that.PROX.INA ? 1PLE.ACT-stay
'Yes, he is living with us.'

21 *itu* may be derived from *kituwe* 'IPFV/still', but I am unsure of this and have left it unglossed.

Unit 2.5

(64) *kaka-m* *taw* *wel-u*[22]*-m*
older.sibling-2SG.POSS and younger.sibling-u-2SG.POSS
'Older siblings and younger siblings.'

(65) *ka* *kaka-m* *ye* *haybay?*
2SG older.sibling-2SG.POSS PL how.many
'How many older siblings do you have?'

(66) *ak* *kaka-ng* *ye* *lasi*
1SG older.sibling-1SG.POSS PL three.ANI
'I have three older siblings.'

(67) *kaka-ng* *rui* *wanluan-di* *taw* *otni*
older.sibling-2SG.POSS two.ANI be.male-3PL.STV and one.ANI
kodih-ni
be.female-3SG.STV
'Two older brothers and one older sister.'

(68) *ka* *wel-m* *ye* *haybay?*
2SG younger.sibling-2SG.POSS PL how.many
'How many younger siblings do you have?'

(69) *ak* *wel-ng* *ye* *rui*
1SG younger.sibling-1SG.POSS PL two.ANI
'I have two younger siblings.'

(70) *otni* *wanlu<i>n-{n}i*[23] *taw* *otni* *kodih-i-ni*[24]
one.ani be.male<3SG>-3SG.STV and one.ANI be.female-i-3SG.STV
'One brother and one sister.'

22 Epenthetic vowel /u/ inserted between the root *wel-* and the possessive suffix *-m* to aid pronunciation and also complex consonant cluster constraint.

23 The root wanluan has its final vowel /a/ replaced by /i/ because it is inflected for the 3rd person singular. The 3rd person singular Stative S suffix also interacts with the root, and loses its initial nasal consonant /n/.

24 Epenthetic vowel /i/ inserted between the root kodih and 3rd personal singular stative S suffix, perhaps to indicate the 3rd person.

(71) *kema* *mi-min* *ot?*
2PL 2PL.ACT-stay one.INA
'Do you all live together?'

(72) *ihi* *kama* *ma-min* *ot*
yes 1PLE 1PLE.ACT-stay one.INA
'Yes, we all live together.'

Unit 2.6

(73) *wawa*
child
'Friend.'

(74) *en* *ifa?*
that.PROX.INA who
'Who is that?'

(75) *en* *Yohanes*
that.PROX.INA NAME
'That's Yohanes.'

(76) *en* *kanang* *wawa*
that.PROX.INA 1SG.POSS child
'It's my friend.'

(77) *ni* *nal-banba?*
3SG 3SG.get-from where
'Where is he from?'

(78) *ni* *nal-ban* *kam* *panua*
3SG 3SG.get-from 1PLE.POSS village
'He's from our village.'

Unit 3: Visiting

(79) *palaw* *e*
house that.PROX.INA
'Hello!'

Unit 3.1

(80) *ku-hasi*
1SG.ACT-visit
'I'm visiting.'

(81) *am-bana* *aka* *ba?*
2SG.ACT-go for where
'Where are you going?'

(82) *ak* *koka* *ku-bana* *aka* *kanam* *palaw*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-go for 1SG.POSS house
'I am going to your house.'

(83) *ka* *ma* *aka* *ye?*
2SG come for what
'Why have you come?

(84) *ak* *ku-ma* *ku-hasi*
1SG 1SG.ACT-come 1SG.ACT-visit
'I am coming to visit.'

Unit 3.2

(85) *Eli* *a-mina?*
NAME 3SG.ACT-stay
Is Eli at home?'

(86) *masi* *se*
2SG.enter please
'Please come in.'

(87) *Eli* *a-mina* *te* *tanga?*
NAME 3SG.ACT-stay or NEG
'Is Eli at home or not?'

(88) *tanga*
NEG
'No.'

(89) *nagan* *loti-ni* *ba?*
QST be.at-3SG.STV where
'Where is she?'

(90) *ni* *loti-ni* *re,* *haye* *ram* *a-palaw*
3SG be.at-3SG.STV jungle then FUT 3SG.ACT-house
'She's at the garden, and will be home shortly.'

(91) *mohiya* *ram* *ku-ma*
later FUT 1SG.ACT-come
'I'll come back later.'

Unit 3.5

(92) *mom* *se*
2SG.do/cause please
'Goodbye.'

(93) *kama* *moka* *moha* *ma-yamuh*
1PLE 1PLE.say/want today 1PLE.ACT-walk
'We are going now.'

(94) *moka* *am-len* *ba?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-go where
'Where are you going?'

(95) *ku-h-am-yamuh* *koni*
1SG.ACT-INTR-RED-walk only
'Just walking around.'

(96) *minam* *se*
2PL.do/cause please
'Have a good walk/goodbye.'

Unit 3.4

(97) *kem* *wawa-yi*[25]*-ka* *doka-ba?*
2PL.POSS child-?-PL 3PL.say/want-where
'How are your children?'

25 Uncertain status of the morpheme. Typically *-yi* is the 3pl.pat suffix and is found on verb, not on nouns.

(98) *palaw e*
house that.PROX.INA
'Hello.'

(99) *mi-talah minoka-ba?*
2PL.ACT-sit 2PL.say/want-where
'How are you?' {lit. How do you sit?'}

(100) *kama tanga {maka} tare*
1PLE NEG 1PLE.say/want some
'{We're} fine.'

(101) *kem wawa-yi-ka doka-ba?*
2PL.POSS child-?-PL 3PL.say/want-where
'How are your children?'

(102) *otni manguh-ni*
one.ANI sick-3SG.STV
'One is sick.'

(103) *ni-kaywa*[26] *manguh ye?*
?-suffer sick what
'What kind of sickness does he have?'

(104) *rar<i>f-ni*
<3SG>fever-3SG.STV
'He has fever.'

Unit 3.5

(105) *palaw tu<y>bay*
house <RED>new
'New house.'

26 Unusual prefixation on this verb. If the verb is an active verb, it should be prefixed with the actor prefix *a-*. If it a stative verb, it should be suffixed with the Stative S suffix *-ni*. However, here we find it prefixed with *ni-*. This may be a typographic error.

(106) *palaw* *tu<y>bay* *e* *a-min* *ri*
house <RED>new that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay over.there
'There is a new house over there.'

(107) *palaw* *e* *yawba* *a-min* *e?*
house that.PROX.INA when 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA
'How long has it been there?'

(108) *palaw* *e* *a-min* *e* *pulan* *kafi*
house that.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA month four.ANI
'That house has been there four months.'

(109) *ifa* *a-mina* *palaw* *e?*
who 3SG.ACT-stay house that.PROX.INA
'Who stays in that house?'

(110) *Tomas-ka* *da-mina* *palaw* *e*
NAME-PL 3PL.ACT-stay house that.PROX.INA
'Tomas' family lives there.'

Unit 3.6

(111) *ni* *rapitika* *a-bana*
3SG yesterday 3SG.ACT-go
'He left yesterday.'

(112) *Tomas* *a-min{a}* *ba?*
NAME 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is Tomas?'

(113) *ni* *rapitika* *a-bana* *aka* *Yedan*
3SG yesterday 3SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'He went yesterday to Yedan.'

(114) *ni* *a-bana* *aka* *ye?*
3SG 3SG.ACT-go for what
'Why did he go?'

(115) *ni* *a-bana* *anal* *nuh* *yeh-a-faha*
3SG 3SG.ACT-go 3SG.get coconut NMLZ-3SG.ACT-eat
'He went to get Kopra.'

(116) *ni* *yawba* *a-mina* *e?*
3SG when 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA
'How long will he stay there?'

(117) *ni* *a-mina* *e* *pulan* *rui*
3SG 3SG.ACT-stay that.PROX.INA month two.ANI
'He will stay there two months.'

Unit 3.7

(118) *mu-h-nin* *mom* *sa<y>mayah*
2SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 2SG.do/cause <RED>good
'Sleep well.'

(119) *tinipit* *mu-h-nin* *mom* *sa<y>mayah* *te* *tanga?*
last.night 2SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 2SG.do/cause <RED>good or NEG
'Did you sleep well last night?'

(120) *tanga,* *ko* *kama* *tinipit* *ma-h-payalfil* *yaw* *yam*
NEG because 1PLE last.night 1PLE.ACT-INTR-talk until hour
lasi
three.ANI
'No, because we were talking last night until 3 O' clock.'

(121) *kema* *mi-h-payalfil* *wa* *ye?*
2PL 2PL.ACT-INTR-talk about what
'What did you talk about?'

(122) *ma-h-pa<y>aylfil* *ma-wa* *kama* *silokla*
1PLE.ACT-INTR-<RED>talk 1PLE.ACT-about 1PLE.POSS school
'We were talking about our school.'

(123) *moha* *ram* *ku-h-nin* *kom* *sa<y>mayah*
today FUT 1SG.ACT-INTR-sleep 1SG.do/cause <RED>good
'I want to sleep well tonight.'

(124) *ak* *ku-h-arap* *pit* *a* *mu-h-nin*
1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-hope night this.PROX.INA 2SG.ACT-INTR-sleep
mom *sa<y>mayah*
2SG.do/cause <RED>good
'I hope you can sleep well tonight.'

Unit 3.7

(125) *ku-mil*
1SG.ACT-return
'I'm going home.'

(126) *ak* *moha* *ku-mil*
1SG today 1SG.ACT-return
'I'm going home now.'

(127) *yawba* *mil?*
when return
'When are you coming back?'

(128) *ihi* *karam* *ku-ma*
yes later 1SG.ACT-come
'I'll come back later.'

(129) *sabantar* *a* *ku-mil*
moment this.PROX.INA 1SG.ACT-return
'I'm going home now.'

(130) *mom* *se*
2SG.do/cause please
'Goodbye.'

Unit 4: Work

(131) *da-dom*
3PL.ACT-make
'Work.' {lit. They make}

Unit 4.1

(132) *am-num*
2SG.ACT-dive
'Diving.'

(133) *maw* *am-num* *te* *tafan?*
PFV 2SG.ACT-dive or NEG.INCEP
'Have you dived yet?'

(134) *tafan* *ku-num*
NEG.INCEP 1SG.ACT-dive
'I have not yet dived.'

(135) *tanga* *am-num* *aka* *ye?*
NEG 2SG.ACT-dive for what
'Why have you not yet dived?'

(136) *ak* *tanga* *ku-num* *ko* *takah-ng* *pidi*
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-dive because ear-1SG.POSS pain
'I'm not diving because my ear hurts.'

Unit 4.2

(137) *a-bana* *a-num*
3SG.ACT-go 3SG.ACT-dive
'He went diving.'

(138) *kanam* *wayfer* *loti-ni* *ba?*
2SG.POSS husband be.at-3SG.STV where
'Where is your husband?'

(139) *kanang* *wayfer* *a-bana* *a-num*
1SG.POSS husband 3SG.ACT-go 3SG.ACT-dive
'My husband went diving.'

(140) *ni* *a-num* *aka* *ye?*
3SG 3SG.ACT-dive for what
'Why does he dive?'

(141) *ni* *a-fah* *em*
3SG 3SG.ACT-find pearl
'He goes finding pearls.'

(142) *takan* *a-num* *nal* *em* *haybay?*
usually 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl how.many
'Usually how many pearls does he find?'

(143) *takan-i*[27] *moha* *iya* *aka* *a-num* *nal* *em* *limi*
usually-i today one for 3SG.ACT-dive 3SG.get pearl five.ANI
'Usually, he finds about five pearls everyday.'

Unit 4.3

(144) *da-h-fah* *ika*
3PL.ACT-INTR-find fish
'They fish.'

(145) *kanam* *wayfer* *loti-ni* *ba?*
2SG.POSS husband be.at-3SG.STV where?
'Where is your husband?'

(146) *ni* *a-bana* *a-h-fah* *ika*
3SG 3SG.ACT-go 3SG.ACT-INTR-find fish
'He's going fishing.'

(147) *ni* *a-bayaring* *te* *a-tabey* *tasi?*
3SG 3SG.ACT-cast.net or 3SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod
'Is he using a net or a hook and line?'

(148) *ni* *a-tabey* *tasi*
3SG 3SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod
'He's using a hook and line.'

(149) *takan* *a-bayaring* *tawi*
usually 3SG.ACT-cast.net net
'Often he uses a net.'

27 I am uncertain what function this extra *-i* suffix serve.

Unit 4.4

(150) *ika* *ah-lah*
fish RED-big
'Big fish.'

(151) *ak* *ku-rena* *ka* *rapitika* *am-reh* *mol* *ika* *ah-lah*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hear 2SG yesterday 2SG.ACT-catch 2SG.get fish RED-bi
ar-nar *yena*
RED-long one
'I heard yesterday you caught a big long fish.'

(152) *ika* *nekin* *arnar-ni* *ba?*
fish that.DIST.ANI RED-long-3SG.STV where
'How long was it?'

(153) *ni* *ar-nar-ni* *lima-ng?*
3SG RED-long-3SG.STV hand-1SG.POSS
'Was it as long as my hand?'

(154) *tanga.* *ne* *ar-nar-ni* *akin*
NEG this.PROX.ANI RED-long-3SG.STV this.DIST.INA
'No. It was really long. Like this.'

(155) *peba* *puki* *nayer* *sika*
mouth hair like cat
'It had whiskers like a cat.'

(156) *ihi* *nen* *ika* *uy*
yes that.PROX.ANI fish catfish
'Oh it was a catfish.'

Unit 4.5

(157) *da-tabey* *tasi*
3PL.ACT-angle fishing.rod
'Fishing.'

(158) *ka* *moha* *mol* *ban* *ba?*
2SG today 2SG.get from where
'Where are you coming from?'

(159) *ak* *moha* *kol* *ku-ban* *law*
1SG today 1SG.get 1SG.ACT-from sea
'I came from the sea.'

(160) *am-ban{a}* *moha* *ye* *na* *law?*
2SG.ACT-go today what LOC sea
'Why did you go to the sea?'

(161) *ku-ban{a}* *ku-tabey* *tasi*
1SG.CT-go 1SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod
'I went out to angle.'

(162) *mu-tabey* *tasi* *ya* *mol* *ika* *tare* *te* *tanga?*
2SG.ACT-angle fishing.rod and.then 2SG.getfish some or NEG
'Did you fish a lot of fish?'

(163) *ihi* *moha* *ku-kabala* *ye*
yes today 1SG.ACT-catch PL
'Yes, I caught a lot.'

(164) *am-pua* *ika* *ke* *mil* *ya* *mukbaka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-carry fish PL return and.then ? what
'What will you make after you them home?'

(165) *ku-pua* *ye* *ku-mil* *ya* *ku-wang* *tuh*
1SG.ACT-carry PL 1SG.ACT-return and.then 1SG.ACT-sell skewer
lima *taw* *ku-faha* *tare*
five.INA and 1SG.ACT-eat some
'I will take them home and then I will sell five skewers and I myself will eat some.'

(166) *am-wang-yi* *ya* *da-kel-yi* *te* *tanga?*
2SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT and 3SG.ACT-buy-3SG.PAT or NEG
'Did they buy fish when you sold them?'

(167) *ku-wang-yi* *ya* *da-kel* *dal* *tuh*
1SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT and.then 3PL.ACT-buy 3PL.get skewer
kafa *ya* *ku-pu{a}* *ot* *ku-mil*
four.INA and.then 1SG.ACT-carry one.INA 1SG.return
'They bought four skewers and I took one home.'

(168) *iya* *am-pua* *tuh* *at-ot* *te* *mil* *ya*
one 2SG.ACT-carry skewer first or return and.then
mol-dom *ye?*
2SG.get-make what
'What did you make after you took the skewer home?'

(169) *ku-h-ku-mil* *ya* *ku-h-keh*
1SG.ACT-INTR-1SG.ACT-return and.then 1SG.ACT-INTR-give
kanang *palaw* *tawin-ye*
1SG.POSS house neighbour-PL
'I took them home and gave them to my neighbours.'

(170) *se* *yoba*
please healthy
'That's good.'

(171) *ihi* *yoba*
yes healthy
'Yes, good.'

Unit 4.6

(172) *da-guruh* *akaw*
3PL.ACT-pound sago.tree
'Pounding sago.'

(173) *barang*[28] *e* *dal* *da-dom* *ye?*
word that.PROX.INA 3PL.get 3PL.ACT-make what
'What do you use that tool for?'

28 *barang* can mean 'word' or 'thing'.

(174) *ngah<i>n* *wawauh.* *Nekin* *del{a}* *da-gur*
name<3SG.POSS> pounder that.DIST.INA 3PL.take 3PL.ACT-beat
'It's called a *wawauh*. It's used for pounding sago.'

(175) *haye* *dipuk*
then 3PL.cut.down
'After they divide a sago tree in two.'

(176) *haye* *da-gur* *dal* *iya* *da-tut* *ram* *a-len*
then 3PL.ACT-beat 3PL.getone 3PL.ACT-? FUT 3SG.ACT-go
habiya
sago.flour
'They pound with it and they pound with it until it becomes sawdust.'

(177) *haye* *da-pua* *re* *weh* *ram* *da-hem* *na* *garat*
then 3PL.ACT-carry DIR water FUT 3PL.ACT-rinse LOC container
'They carry sawdust to water, they rinse it in the sago rinising stand.'

(178) *haye* *da-tolduk* *yaw* *habiya* *a-pan* *talah* *na*
then 3PL.ACT-wait until sago.flour 3SG.ACT-fall sit LOC
garat *abil*
container inside
'They wait for the sago to settle out in the container.'

Unit 4.7

(179) *da-ban{a}* *da-h-gur*
3PL.ACT-go 3PL.ACT-INTR-beat
'Going to pound {sago}.'

(180) *kema* *am-len* *ba?*
2PL 2SG.ACT-go where
'Where are you going?'

(181) *ak* *ku-len* *re*
1SG 1SG.ACT-go jungle
'I'm going to the jungle.'

(182) *am-bana* *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-go for what
'What are you going for?'

(183) *ak* *koka* *ku-bana* *ku-h-gur*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT-INTR-beat
'I'm going to pound {sago}.'

(184) *yawba* *mil?*
when return
'When you coming back?'

(185) *lahapupin* *ku-mil*
noon 1SG.ACT-return
'I'll be back noontime.'

(186) *mom* *se*
2SG.do/cause please
'Goodbye.'

Unit 4.8

(187) *utan*
garden
'Garden.'

(188) *kanam* *utan* *a-mina* *ba?*
2SG.POSS garden 3SG.ACT-stay where?
'Where is your garden?'

(189) *kanang* *utan* *a-min{a}* *ri,* *anren* *aka* *tayrey*
1SG.POSS garden 3SG.ACT-stay over.there near for river
'My garden is over there, near to the river.'

(190) *mas* *ye* *na* *utan* *e?*
2SG.plant what LOC garden that.PROX.INA
'What do you plant in the garden?'

(191) *ak* *kas* *muk* *kapuwak* *taw* *karwir*
1SG 1SG.plant banana beans and vegetables
'I plant bananas, beans and vegetables.'

(192) *haba* *samayah?*
many good
'Are they doing well?'

(193) *ihi*
yes
'Yes.'

Unit 4.9

(194) *ak* *ku-len* *utan*
1SG 1SG.ACT-go garden
'I'm going to the garden.'

(195) *mori*[29] *ba?*
2SG.get.over.there where
'Where are you going?'

(196) *ak* *ku-len* *utan*
1SG 1SG.ACT-go garden
'I'm going to the garden.'

(197) *am-tuh* *ifa?*
2SG.ACT-accompany who
'Who will you go with?'

(198) *ku-tuh* *kanang* *wasiha*
1SG.ACT-accompany 1SG.POSS wife
'I will go with my wife.'

(199) *kema* *mi-h-nin* *re?*
2PL 2PL.ACT-INTR-sleep jungle
'Will you stay overnight in the jungle?'

29 This form *mori* is a result of homorganic consonant coalescence. The underlying form is /mol + ri/. /l/ and /r/ coalesces to become /r/ (Takata & Takata 1992:44)

(200) *tanga, ta wahoh ma-palaw*
NEG FUT afternoon 1PLE.ACT-house
'No, we'll come back this afternoon.'

Unit 4.10

(201) *titir*
drum
'Drum.'

(202) *wayama mu-dom ye?*
what 2SG.ACT-make what
'What are you making?'

(203) *ak ku-dom titir*
1SG 1SG.ACT-make drum
'I'm making a drum.'

(204) *am-dom tulak na yehrui moka-ba?*
2SG.ACT-make hole LOC centre 2SG.say/want-where
'How do you make the hole in the centre?'

(205) *ak ku-netak yehrui*
1SG 1SG.ACT-carve centre
'I carve the middle.'

(206) *haye ya ku-behi-ni*
then and.then 1SG.ACT-scrape-3SG.PAT
'Then, I scrape it.'

(207) *am-pak{a}i ye kala aka titir?*
2SG.ACT-use what skin for drum
'What will you use for the drum skin?'

(208) *ak ku-pakai rusa kala feh kala taw pep kala*
1SG 1SG.ACT-use deer skin kangaroo skin and pig skin
'I use a deer skin, a kangeroo skin and a pig skin.'

Unit 4.11

(209) *wayama* *am-dom* *ye?*
what 2SG.ACT-make what
'What are you making?'

(210) *ak* *ku-dom* *ribul*
1SG 1SG.ACT-make arrow
'I'm making an arrow.'

(211) *am-dom* *ribul* *mol* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-make arrow 2SG.get what
'What kind of arrow are you making?'

(212) *ak* *ku-dom* *ni* *kol* *bom*
1SG 1SG.ACT-make 3SG 1SG.get bamboo
'I'm making a bamboo arrow.'

(213) *wayama* *takan* *mu-h-fan* *muk-ribul?*
what usually 2SG.ACT-INTR-shoot 2SG.use-arrow
'What will you shoot with your arrow?'

(214) *ak* *takan* *ku-fan* *kudeh,* *pep* *taw* *moduh*
1SG usually 1SG.ACT-shoot cassowary pig and kus-kus
'I usually shoot cassowaries, wild pigs and kus-kus.'

Unit 4.12

(215) *ku-balayar*
1SG.ACT-study
'I study.'

(216) *nagan* *ka* *maw* *rapitika* *am-len* *sikola?*
QST 2SG PFV yesterday 2SG.ACT-go school
'Did you go to school yesterday?'

(217) *ak* *koka* *ku-len* *sikola* *tanga* *mo* *moha*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-go school NEG but today
ku-h-fah *ika*
1SG.ACT-INTR-find fish
'I wanted to go to school, but had to go fishing.'

(218) *yawba* *am-len* *sikola?*
when 2SG.ACT-go school
'When will you go to school?'

(219) *inah* *ak* *ku-len* *sikolah*[30]
tomorrow 1SG 1SG.ACT-go school
'I will go tomorrow.'

Unit 4.13

(220) *a-yaka* *boka*
3SG.ACT-keep canoe
'Keeper of the ferry.'

(221) *moha* *ifa* *a-yaka* *boka?*
today who 3SG.ACT-keep canoe
'Who keeps the canoe these days?'

(222) *Alfons* *nitiwe* *a-yaka* *boka*
NAME IPFV 3SG.ACT-keep canoe
'Alfons still keeps the canoe.'

(223) *ni* *nitiwe* *a-mina* *na* *palaw* *awyaw* *e?*
3SG IPFV 3SG.ACT-stay LOC house same that.PROX.INA
'Does he still live in the same house?'

(224) *tanga* *ni* *maw* *a-h-fukan* *a-len* *palaw* *anren* *aka*
NEG 3SG PFV 3SG.ACT-INTR-move 3SG.ACT-go house near for
gereya
church
'No, he has moved to a house near the church.'

30 Quite a few different spellings of the word for school. I am uncertain which is actually correct so I have avoiding editing them.

Unit 5: Village Life

(225) *na* *panua*
LOC village
'{in the} village.'

Unit 5.1

(226) *da-h-yawan*
3PL.ACT-INTR-meet
'Village meeting.'

(227) *da-h-koh* *aldala* *aka* *ye?*
3PL.ACT-INTR-ring bell for what
'Why are they ringing the bell?'

(228) *da-h-koh* *aldala* *aka* *da-h-yawan*
3PL.ACT-INTR-ring bell for 3PL.ACT-INTR-meet
'It's a bell for a village meeting.'

(229) *da-h-yawan* *aka* *ye?*
3PL.ACT-INTR-meet for what
'Why are they having a meeting?'

(230) *suhat* *yena* *a-ma* *ban* *camat*
letter one 3SG.ACT-come from government
'A letter came from the sub-district officer.'

(231) *warfer* *ni* *a-baca* *suhat* *ne* *ka* *lomala*
headman 3SG 3SG.ACT-read letter that.PROX.ANI DIR people
ke *at-motak*
those.PROX RED-all
'The headman, he will read it to everyone.'

Unit 5.2

(232) *a-gur*
3SG.ACT-beat
'Beating.'

(233) *Piter* *a-fala* *ri* *re* *aka* *ye?*
NAME 3SG.ACT-run over.there jungle for what
'Why did Piter run to the jungle?'

(234) *ni* *a-gur* *yanin* *wa<h>siha-ni*
3SG 3SG.ACT-beat in.law <RED>wife-3SG.PAT
'He beat his mother-in-law.'

(235) *a-gur* *ni* *aka* *ye?*
3SG.ACT-beat 3SG for what
'Why did he beat her?'

(236) *ni* *a-h-lang* *"kanaka* *am-tawa* *mol*
3SG 3SG-INTR-speak NEG.IMP 2SG.ACT-marry 2SG.get
kanang wawa
1SG.POSS child
'She said "Don't marry my daughter".'

(237) *iri* *da-dom* *doka-ba* *aka* *ni?*
3PL 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where for 3SG
'What will they do with him?'

(238) *hansip* *dela* *ko* *da-pua-ni* *re* *Dobo*
police 3PL.take because 3PL.ACT-carry-3SG.PAT DIR PLACE
'The village police will arrest him and take him to Dobo.'

Unit 5.3

(239) *da-tawa*
3PL.ACT-marry
'Wedding.'

(240) *Meki* *taw* *Sara* *da-tawa*
NAME and NAME 3PL.ACT-marry
'Meki and Sara are married.'

(241) *adu?* *yawba* *iri* *da-tawa?*
DSC when 3PL 3PL.ACT-marry
'Really? When did they marry?'

(242) *iri* *moha* *loti-n*[31] *ba?*
3PL today be.at-? where
'Where are they now?'

(243) *iri* *rapitika* *maw* *da-hasi* *re*
3PL yesterday PFV 3PL.ACT-visit jungle
'They went up into the jungle yesterday.'

Unit 5.4

(244) *wawa* *altilih* *tu<y>bay*
child small <RED>new
'New baby.'

(245) *Sara* *maw* *anis* *moha* *a-lalu*
NAME PFV baby today 3SG-be.born
'Sara had her baby today.'

(246) *yawba* *anis* *a-lalu?*
when baby 3SG.ACT-be.born
'When was he born?'

(247) *lahapupin* *a* *a-lalu*
afternoon this.PROX.INA 3SG.ACT-be.born
'This afternoon.'

(248) *ni* *a-lalu* *na* *ba?*
3SG 3SG.ACT-be.born LOC where
'Where was he born?'

(249) *ni* *a-lalu* *na* *palaw*
3SG 3SG.ACT-be.born LOC house
'He was born at home.'

31 This is unusual as the verb is suffixed incorrectly/incompletely. This might be either a typographic error or a result of some complex phonological interaction of the root with the stative S suffix. We should expect the 3PL.STV form *-yi/-di* suffixed to the verb.

(250) *ak* *ta* *ku-ma* *ku-so* *wawa* *ne*
1SG FUT 1SG-come 1SG.ACT-see child that.PROX.ANI
'I will go and see the child.'

Unit 5.5

(251) *sowih-ni*
die-3SG.STV
'Death.'

(252) *repahiwi* *aka* *ye?*
noise for what
'What is that noise?'

(253) *Magareta* *ikaraman* *sowih-ni*
NAME INCEP die-3SG.STV
'Margareta just died.'

(254) *kahmeh-ye* *da-tan*
relative-PL 3PL.ACT-wail
'Her relatives are wailing.'

(255) *ayohe!* *Ni* *maguh-ni?*
DSC 3SG sick-3SG.STV
'Gosh. Was she sick?'

(256) *tanga,* *ni* *sowih-ni* *ahataha*
NEG 3SG die-3SG.STV suddenly
'No, she just died.'

Unit 5.6

(257) *da-h-gola*
3PL.ACT-INTR-bury
'Burial.'

(258) *iri* *yawba* *da-ban* *da-gola* *ni?*
3PL when 3PL.ACT-go 3PL.ACT-bury 3SG
'When will they go and bury her?'

(259) *inah* *af<al>ral* *ram* *da-gola* *ni*
tomorrow <RED>morning FUT 3PL.ACT-BURY 3SG
'They will bury her {early} tomorrow morning.'

(260) *ifa* *ta* *tawi{n}-ni* *aka* *yeh-gola?*
who FUT follow-3SG.STV for NMLZ-burial
'Who will attend the burial?'

(261) *kahmeh-ye* *taw* *na* *wawa-ye* *tawin* *aka*
relative-PL and 3SG.POSS child-PL neighbour aka
da-h-gola
3PL.ACT-INTR-burial
'Her relatives, friends and neighbours will go.'

(262) *iri* *da-dom* *baun* *duk* *ye?*
3PL 3PL.ACT-make coffin 3PL.use what
'What will they use for the coffin?'

(263) *iri* *da-dom* *duk* *kay*
3PL 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.use wood
'They use wood.'

Unit 5.7

(264) *gareya*
church
'Church.'

(265) *da-koh* *lonceng* *aka* *ye?*
3PL.ACT-ring bell for what
'Why are they ringing the bell?'

(266) *en* *lonceng* *aka* *da-sanbayang*
that.PROX.INA bell for 3PL.ACT-worship
'It's the bell for church.'

(267) *haye* *taw* *da-sanbayang*
then and 3PL.ACT-worship
'Church will start soon.'

(268) *ifa* *ta* *a-pua-yi*
who FUT 3SG.ACT-carry-3PL.PAT
'Who is going to preach?'

(269) *padeta* *ta* *a-h-lang*
pastor FUT 3SG.ACT-INTR-speak
'The pastor will speak.'

Unit 5.8

(270) *da-h-loy* *aplopi*
3PL.ACT-INTR-hang flag
'August 17th.' {Lit. 'Hanging the flag' – independance day}

(271) *ka* *ta* *am-len* *ba?*
2SG FUT 2SG.ACT-go where
'Where are you going?'

(272) *ak* *ta* *ku-tuhi* *ma-h-loy* *aplopi* *tanggal*
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-attend 1PLE.ACT-INTR-hang flag celebration
17 *Agustus*
17 August
'I'm going to attend the 17th of August celebration'

(273) *yam* *hayba* *da-h-loy* *aplopi?*
hour how.many 3PL.ACT-INTR-hang flag
'When does its start?'

(274) *yam* *kafarua* *mopini*
hour eight.INA half
'At half past seven.'

Unit 5.9

(275) *tamata* *dasi-ni*
person 3PL.enter-3SG.PAT
'Demon possession.'

(276) *en* *ye?*
that.PROX.INA what
'What is that?'

(277) *ni* *ikaraman* *tamata* *dasi-ni*
3SG INCEP person 3PL.enter-3SG.PAT
'He's just been possessed by a demon.'

(278) *en* *noka-ba?*
that.PROX.INA 3SG.say/want-where
'{How did that happen?}'

(279) *ak* *tang* *ku-gawa.* *Ak* *ku-rena* *ko* *meste* *tamata*
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-know. 1SG 1SG.ACT-hear because perhaps person
regal-di *ka-ni* *taw* *meste* *hantu* *dasi-ni*
be.enemy-3PL.STV DIR-3SG.PAT and perhaps ghost 3PL.enter-3PL.PAT
'I'm not sure. I hear that perhaps an enemy or a ghost is coming.'

Unit 6: Borrowing and Buying

(280) *da-yol* *taw* *da-kel*
3PL.ACT-beg and 3PL.ACT-buy
'Begging and buying.'

Unit 6.1

(281) *beda*
machete
'Machete.'

(282) *kanam* *beda* *a-min{a}* *ba?*
2SG.POSS machete 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is your machete?'

(283) *ne* *a-min{a}* *kanang* *palaw*
this.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-stay 1SG.POSS house
'It's at my house.'

(284) *bisa* *ku-yol-ni* *kanam* *beda?*
can 1SG.ACT-beg-3SG.PAT 2SG.POSS machete
'Can I borrow your machete?'

(285) *moka* *mela* *dom* *ye?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.take make what?
'Where do you want to use it?'

(286) *ak* *koka* *kela* *ku-yaru* *ur* *ku-lewi*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.take 1SG.ACT-cut grass 1SG.ACT-go.around
kanang *palaw*
1SG.POSS house
'I want to use it to cut the grass around my house.'

Unit 6.2

(287) *ku-h-tukar* *manam*
1SG.ACT-INTR-trade food
'I am trading food.'

(288) *palaw* *e*
house that.PROX.INA
'Hello.'

(289) *masi* *se*
2SG.enter please
'Come in.'

(290) *ak* *koka* *ku-h-keh*[32] *ika* *ku-ka* *ka*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-INTR-give fish 1SG.ACT-DIR 2SG
'I want to give you these fish.'

(291) *moka* *am-wang* *ika* *kekin?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-sell fish those.DIST.ANI
'Would you like to sell them?'

32 An alternative glossing of this word could be:
ku-h-keh
1SG.ACT-RED-give

(292) *ak* *tanga* *ku-wang-yi.* *Am-wa* *masin* *na* *akin?*
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT 2SG.ACT-have salt LOC this.DIST.INA
'I don't want to sell them. Do you have any salt?'

(293) *ihi* *a-mina*
yes 3SG.ACT-stay
'Yes, I have.'

(294) *ak* *koka* *ku-tukar* *ika* *kol* *masin*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-trade fish 1SG.get salt
'I'd like to trade these fish for salt.'

(295) *mu-takfaka* *buda.* *Ak* *karam* *kol* *masin* *ku-ka* *ka*
2SG.ACT-wait please 1SG later 1SG.get salt 1SG.ACT-DIR 2SG
'Please wait. I'll get the salt for you.'

Unit 6.3

(296) *aka* *Dobo*
for PLACE
'To Dobo.'

(297) *yawba* *am-bana* *aka* *Dobo?*
when 2SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'When did you go to Dobo?'

(298) *mohan* *monri* *ku-bana* *aka* *Dobo*
two.days.ago 1SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'I went two days ago.'

(299) *am-bana* *aka* *ri* *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-go for over.there for what
'Why did you go?'

(300) *ak* *koka* *ku-kel* *netak*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-buy axe
'I wanted to buy an axe.'

(301) *ak* *ko* *ku-pua* *aklakuh* *aka* *ku-ng-wang*
1SG because 1SG.ACT-carry brooms for 1SG.ACT-RED-sell
'I also took brooms to sell.'

(302) *netak* *tu<y>bay* *ne* *samay<i>h-i-ni?*
axe <RED>new that.PROX.ANI good<3SG>-i-3SG.STV[33]
'Is your new axe good?'

(303) *ihi* *samay<i>h-ni*
yes good<3SG>-3SG.STV
'Yes it's good.'

Unit 6.4

(304) *da-bana* *aka* *yeh-yawan* *na* *Dobo*
3PL.ACT-go for NMLZ-meet LOC PLACE
'Going for a meeting in Dobo.'

(305) *moha* *tanga* *da-sikolah* *aka* *ye?*
today NEG 3PL.ACT-school for what
'Why do they not have a class today?'

(306) *guru* *da-bana* *aka* *Dobo* *motak*
teacher 3PL.ACT-go for PLACE all
'All the teachers have gone to Dobo.'

(307) *iri* *da-bana* *aka* *Dobo* *aka* *ye?*
3PL 3PL.ACT-go for PLACE for what
'Why have they gone to Dobo?'

(308) *iri* *da-bana* *aka* *yeh-yawan* *na* *Dobo*
3PL 3PL.ACT-go for NMLZ-meet LOC PLACE
'They went for a program in Dobo.'

(309) *guru* *haybay* *da-h-yawan*
teacher how.many 3PL.ACT-INTR-meet
'How many teachers are attending it?'

33 I suspect that the -i- is an epenthetic vowel that appears due to syllable constraints.

(310) *meste* *tamata patin* *hat* *kafa*
perhaps person human hundred four.INA
'About four hundred teachers.'

(311) *yawba* *iri* *da-mil?*
when 3PL 3PL.ACT-return
'When will they come back?'

(312) *ak* *tanga* *ku-gawa,* *lahkanam* *iri* *da-takfakah* *motor*
1SG NEG 1SG.ACT-know maybe 3PL 3PL.ACT-wait boat
'I don't know, maybe they're waiting for a boat now.'

Unit 6.5

(313) *am-bana* *aka* *Ambon*
2SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'You go to Ambon.'

(314) *maw* *am-bana* *aka* *Ambon?*
PFV 2SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'Have you been to Ambon?'

(315) *maw,* *ak* *ku-bana* *aka* *Ambon*
PFV 1SG 1SG.ACT-go for PLACE
'Yes, I've been to Ambon.'

(316) *am-bana* *aka* *Ambon* *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-go for PLACE for what
'Why did you go to Ambon?'

(317) *ku-ban{a}* *ko* *ku-sikolah*
1SG.ACT-go because 1SG.ACT-school
'I went for school.'

(318) *am-ban{a}* *yaw* *Ambon* *am-rasa* *{m}oka-ba?*
2SG.ACT-go until PLACE 2SG.ACT-feel 2SG.say/want-where
'How did you feel in Ambon?'

(319) *ak* *ku-bana* *yaw* *Ambon* *ku-rasa* *sa<y>mayah*
1SG 1SG.ACT-go until PLACE 1SG.ACT-feel <RED>good
'I felt fine in Ambon.'

Unit 6.6

(320) *anun* *paha*
wind west
'The West Wind.'

(321) *yawba* *anun* *paha* *a-yuf*
when wind west 3SG.ACT-blow
'When does the west wind blow?'

(322) *Takan* *anun* *paha* *a-yuf,* *ya* *kema* *bisa* *mi-bana*
usually wind west 3SG.ACT-blow and.then 2PL can 2PL.ACT-go
aka *Dobo* *te* *tanga?*
for PLACE or NEG
'Can you go to Dobo when the west wind blows?'

(323) *kama* *tanga* *bisa* *ma-len* *Dobo* *ko* *anun* *paha* *yabin* *taw*
1PLE NEG can 1PLE.ACT-go PLACE because wind west hard and
madel *ah-lah.* *Kama* *ma-talah* *panua* *koni*
waves RED-big 1PLE 1PLE.ACT-sit village only
'We can't go to Dobo because the wind is strong and the waves are big. We just stay in our village.'

Unit 6.7

(324) *weh* *puyfay*
water dried
'Water is dried.'

(325) *am-len* *ba?*
2SG.ACT-go where
'Where are you going?'

(326) *ak* *ku-hasi* *re* *ko* *ku-h-nom*
1SG 1SG.ACT-visit jungle because 1SG.ACT-INTR-bathe
'I am going to the jungle to bathe.'

(327) *weh* *puyfay* *panua* *abil?*
water dried village inside
'Is the water dried inside the village?'

(328) *weh* *maw* *puy* *ko* *lahaw* *ah-lah*
water PFV dried because sun RED-big
'The water is dried because it is droughty.'

(329) *weh* *e* *nawyaw* *a-bana* *ba* *aka* *ba?*
water that.PROX.INA distance 3SG.ACT-go where for where
'How far is it to the water place in the jungle?'

(330) *ku-yamuh* *nawyaw* *menit* *fuh* *mo* *limi*
1SG.ACT-walk distance minute ten.INA plus five.ANI
'About 15 minutes on foot.'

Unit 6.8

(331) *aklakuh*
broom
'Brooms.'

(332) *ka* *mu-h-wang* *aklakuh* *motak?*
2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-sell broom all
'Did you sell all your brooms?'

(333) *ihi* *ku-wang* *am-yamih*
yes 1SG.ACT-sell RED-quick
'Yes, I sold them quickly.'

(334) *ka* *am-wang* *aklakuh* *ye?*
2SG 2SG.ACT-sell broom what
'What kind of brooms did you sell?'

(335) *ak* *ku-wang* *aklakuh* *uhat*
1SG 1SG.ACT-sell brooms palm
'I sold brooms made from palm leaves.'

(336) *ot* *aka* *hayba{y}?*
one.INA for how.many
'How much is one?'

(337) *ot* *aka* *hibu* *iya* *mo* *hat* *lima*
one.INA for thousand one plus hundred five.ina
'One for 1500 rupiah.'

Unit 6.9

(338) *da-h-kel* *muk*
3PL.ACT-INTR-buy banana
'Buying bananas.'

(339) *ifa* *a-h-wang* *muk* *na* *akin?*
who 3SG.ACT-INTR-sell banana LOC this.DIST.INA
'Who sells bananas here?'

(340) *tamata ne* *a-wang-{y}i*
person that.PROX.ANI 3SG.ACT-sell-3PL.PAT
'That man does.'

(341) *ak* *koka* *ku-h-kel*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-INTR-buy
'I want to buy bananas.'

(342) *nagan* *muk* *yeh-ang-wang* *da-mina?*
QST banana NMLZ-RED-sell 3PL.ACT-stay
'Do you have bananas for sale here?'

(343) *ihi* *da-mina*
yes 3PL.ACT-stay
'Yes, I do.'

(344) *pelin* *haybay?*
price how.many
'How much are they?'

(345) *fahuk*[34] *iya* *aka* *hat* *lima*
bunch one for hundred five.INA
'One {bunch} for five hundred.'

Unit 6.10

(346) *boka*
canoe
'Canoe.'

(347) *kanang* *boka* *a-tulak*
1SG.POSS canoe 1SG.ACT-hole
'My boat's got a hole.'

(348) *a-len* *da-m-dom* *da-l-mil*
3SG.ACT-go 3PL.ACT-RED-make 3PL.ACT-RED-return
'Can it be fixed?'

(349) *tanga* *bisa* *boka* *ekin* *kehi* *uk*
NEG can canoe that.DIST.INA rotten very
'Can not. The boat is too rotten.'

(350) *moka* *am-fah* *boka* *tu<y>bay?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-find canoe <RED>new
'Would you like a new canoe?'

(351) *ihi,* *ifa* *takan* *a-dom* *boka* *tu<y>bay?*
yes who usually 3SG.ACT-make canoe <RED>new
'Yes, who can make a new canoe?'

(352) *ama-ng* *takan* *a-dom*
father-1SG.POSS usually 3SG.ACT-make
'My father can make one.'

(353) *ni* *takan* *a-h-dom* *boka*
3SG usually 3SG.ACT-INTR-make canoe
'He likes to make canoes.'

34 I suspect that this may be some sort of classifier, used for bananas i.e. A comb of bananas/a bunch of bananas. Takata originally translated this word as 'hand'.

(354) *yawba bisa a-dom?*
when can 3SG.ACT-make
'When can he do it?'

Unit 7: Food

(355) *a-manam*
3SG.ACT-eat
'Eating.'

Unit 7.1

(356) *ak kanah-ng*
1SG hungry-1SG.STV
'I am hungry.'

(357) *nagan kanah-ka?*
QST hungry-2SG.STV
'Are you hungry?'

(358) *ihi ak kanah-u-ng*[35]
yes 1SG hungry-u-1SG.STV
'Yes, I am hungry.'

(359) *moka mu-manam?*
2SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-eat
'Would you like to eat?'

(360) *ihi*
yes
'Yes.'

(361) *i-manam a ralim uk*
?-food this.PROX.INA be.tasty very
'This food is very tasty.'

35 The -u- is an epenthetic vowel inserted to aid pronunication due to syllable constraint. However, based on other examples where it is not found, I am uncertain how regular this process is.

(362) *mu-manam* *tu?*
2SG.ACT-eat again
'You want some more?'

(363) *ihi* *yoba.* *Ak* *maw* *tubuh-ng*
yes be.healthy 1SG PFV stomach-1SG.STV
'No thank you, I'm full.'

Unit 7.2

(364) *lapair*
sago.grubs
'Sago grubs.'

(365) *mi-ma* *ko* *mi-so* *ikar* *ye*
2PL.ACT-come because 2PL.ACT-see these.PROX.ANI PL
da-min{a} *akaw* *akin*
3PL.ACT-stay sago.tree this.DIST.INA
'Come and see what is in this sago tree.'

(366) *ken* *ye?* *Buda* *ma* *ku-so*
those.PROX.ANI what please come 1SG.ACT-see
'What are those, let me see.'

(367) *ihi* *lapair* *kekin* *ay-hay.* *Ak* *ta* *ku-pu{a}*
yes sago.grubs those.DIST.ANI many 1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-carry
ka *re* *palaw*
PL DIR house
'Here are lots of sago grubs. I will bring them home.'

(368) *ina-ng* *takan* *a-fawi* *ram* *kama* *ma-ka-y{i}*
mother-1SG.POSS usually 3SG.ACT-fry FUT 1PLE 1PLE.ACT-eat-3PL.PAT
taw *hatudu*
and sago.pudding
'My mother can cook them and we can eat them with sago pudding.'

Unit 7.3

(369) *hatudu*
sago.pudding
'Sago pudding.'

(370) *ka* *am-dom* *ye?*
2SG 2SG.ACT-make what
'What are you making?'

(371) *ak* *ku-dom* *hatudu*
1SG 1SG.ACT-make sago.pudding
'I'm making sago pudding.'

(372) *takan* *mu-h-dom* *hatudu* *{m}oka-ba?*
usually 2SG.ACT-INTR-make sago.pudding 2SG.say/want-where
'How do you make sago pudding?'

(373) *da-fat* *habiya* *da-fe* *loyang* *ah-lah* *haye*
3PL.ACT-fold sago.flour 3PL.ACT-put.into bowl RED-big then
ram *dal* *weh* *da-fan* *ram* *da-pel*
FUT 3PL.get water 3PL.ACT-? FUT 3PL.ACT-mix
da-nawdel, *haye* *ram* *da-ka* *hatudu* *ekin*
3PL.ACT-mix then FUT 3PL.ACT-eat sago.pudding that.DIST.INA
'First you put sago flour in a large bowl. Then you slowly add boiling water while stirring. Then you can eat the sago pudding.'

(374) *nagan* *ralim?*
QST be.tasty
'Is it tasty?'

(375) *ihi* *buda* *am-ka*
yes please 2SG.ACT-eat
'Yes, try some.'

Unit 7.4

(376) *da-ka* *hatudu*
3PL.ACT-eat sago.pudding
'Eating sago pudding.'

(377) *buda* *am-ka* *akin*
please 2SG.ACT-eat this.DIST.INA
'Here, try eating some.'

(378) *ak* *tafan* *ku-ka* *hatudu.* *Takan* *da-ka*
1SG NEG.INCEP 1SG.ACT-eat sago.pudding usually 3PL.ACT-eat
doka-ba?
3PL.say/want-where
'I have never eaten sago pudding. How does {one normally} eat it?'

(379) *nokakin* *mol* *aryur* *aka* *hatudu* *ekin*
like.this 2SG.get spoon for sago.pudding that.DIST.INA
'You eat it like this. You get a sago fork and scoop out some sago pudding.'

(380) *mol* *hatudu* *ekin* *ko* *aryur* *mol*
2SG.get sago.pudding that.DIST.INA because spoon 2SG.get
iya *a<m>tela*[36]
one <2SG.POSS>lips
'Eat the sago pudding off the fork using your lips.'

(381) *mol* *aryur* *yena* *ka-ng* *ko* *ku-dom* *buda*
2SG.get spoon one DIR-1SG.PAT because 1SG.ACT-make please
'Give me the fork, I would like to try some.'

Unit 7.5

(382) *muk* *wobah*
banana ripe
'Ripe bananas.'

(383) *ak* *kanah-u-ng.* *Mol* *muk* *ya* *ka-ng*
1SG hungry-u-1SG.STV 2SG.get banana and.then DIR-1SG.PAT
ko *ku-ka*
because 1SG.ACT-eat
'I'm hungry. Give me a banana to eat.'

36 I am uncertain how this should be glossed.

(384) *ayohe. Muk wobah maw puy, da-mina akin kituwe mahi*
DSC banana ripe PFV gone 3PL.ACT-stay this.DIST.INA still dry
'Oh dear. All the ripe bananas are gone, there's only green ones left.'

(385) *ak ta ku-nay muk momah*
1SG FUT 1SG.ACT-boil banana unripe
'I will cook the green bananas.'

(386) *yoba, ko ta ku-ka muk mamah kekin*
be.healthy because FUT 1SG.ACT-eat banana cooked those.DIST
'Good, I'll eat the cooked ones.'

Unit 7.6

(387) *kuluh puy*
breadfruit nuts
'Breadfruit nuts.'

(388) *an ye?*
this.PROX.INA why
'What's this?'

(389) *an kuluh. Kuluh da-nay haye ram da-ka*
this.PROX.INA breadfruit breadfruit 3PL.ACT-boil then FUT 3PL.ACT-eat
'This is breadfruit. It must be boiled before it can be eaten.'

(390) *ralim te tanga?*
be.tasty or NEG
'Is it good?'

(391) *ihi ralim nasin kacang tana*
yes be.tasty taste peanut.nuts
'Yes, it's good and tastes like peanuts.'

Unit 7.7

(392) *da-manam* *pit*
3PL.ACT-eat night
'Supper.'

(393) *tinipit* *am-ka* *ye?*
last.night 2SG.ACT-eat what
'What did you eat last night?'

(394) *tinipit* *ku-ka* *fahi* *taw* *karwir*
last.night 1SG.ACT-eat rice and vegetables
'Last night, I ate rice and vegetables.'

(395) *ak* *ku-ka* *karwir* *muk* *kalpola*
1SG 1SG.ACT-eat vegetables banana flower
'I ate banana flowers.'

(396) *ak* *tafan* *tu* *ku-ka* *karwir* *muk* *kalpola.*
1SG NEG.INCEP again 1SG.ACT-eat vegetables banana flower
Nasin *ye?*
taste what
'I've never eaten banana flowers. What do they taste like?'

(397) *ralim* *nansin* *karwir* *kapuak*
be.tasty like vegetable long.beans
'It tastes like long beans.'

Unit 8: Birds And Animals

(398) *man* *taw* *binatang*
bird and animal
'Birds and Animals.'

Unit 8.1

(399) *maw* *am-so* *panen* *te* *tafan?*
PFV 2SG.ACT-see bird sp. or NEG.INCEP
'Have you ever seen a bird of paradise?'

(400) *ihi* *maw* *ku-so-yi*
yes PFV 1SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT
'Yes, I have seen it.'

(401) *yawba* *am-so* *panen?*
when 2SG.ACT-see bird.sp
'When did you see it?'

(402) *ku-so-yi* *ku-pu* *asbosal-ng*
1SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT 1SG.ACT-? be.young-1SG.STV
'I saw it when I was young.'

(403) *panen* *ke* *da-dom* *doka-ba?*
bird.sp PL 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.say/want-where
'How was the bird of paradise?'

(404) *da-namrisah* *na* *kay* *ran*
3PL.ACT-play LOC tree branch
'He played in the branches of the trees.'

(405) *da-namrisah* *aka* *ye?*
3PL.ACT-play for what
'Why did he play?'

(406) *da-namrisah* *mo* *da-tah* *na* *wawa* *ye*
3PL.ACT-play but 3PL.ACT-call 3SG.POSS child PL
'He played to call his friends.'

Unit 8.2

(407) *pue*
crocodile
'Crocodiles.'

(408) *pue* *da-min{a}* *mah* *da-na* *akin* *te* *tanga?*
crocodile 3PL.ACT-stay river 3PL.ACT-LOC this.DIST.ANI or NEG
'Are there crocodiles there?'

(409) *ihi* *da-mina,* *mo* *maw* *puy*
yes 3PL.ACT-stay but PFV gone
'Yes, there were, but they're all gone.'

(410) *maw* *am-so-yi* *te* *tanga?*
PFV 2SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT or NEG
'Did you see them?'

(411) *ihi* *maw* *ku-so-yi*
yes PFV 1SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT
'Yes, I saw them.'

(412) *yawba* *mu-so-yi?*
when 2SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT
'When did you see them?'

(413) *ku-so-yi* *ku-pu* *nabak* *anmona* *ne*
1SG.ACT-see-3PL.PAT 1SG.ACT-? year last that.PROX.ANI
'I saw them last year.'

(414) *kema* *mi-pun-yi* *te* *tanga?*
2PL 2PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT or NEG
'Did you kill them?'

(415) *tanga,* *suma* *ku-so* *tamata* *da-pun-yi*
NEG only 1SG.ACT-see person 3PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT
'No, I only saw the men kill them.'

(416) *iri* *da-pun-yi* *aka* *ye?*
3PL 3PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT for what
'Why did they kill them?'

(417) *iri* *da-pun-yi* *ko* *dal* *ida* *kala-ka*
3PL 3PL.ACT-kill-3PL.PAT because 3PL.get 3PL.POSS skin-PL
ko *da-wang*
because 3PL.ACT-sell
'They killed them to take their skins to sell.'

Unit 8.3

(418) *kudeh*
cassowary
'Cassowary.'

(419) *am-ren* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-announce what
'What's the news?'

(420) *ak* *ku-ren* *way* *kudeh*
1SG 1SG.ACT-announce news cassowary
'I'm bringing news about a cassowary.'

(421) *ifa* *a-p<i>n?*
who 3SG.ACT-kill<3SG>
'Who killed it?'

(422) *Milton* *a-fe* *na*
NAME 3SG.ACT-shoot this.PROX.ANI
'Milton shot it.'

(423) *na* *ba?*
LOC where
'Where?'

(424) *na* *re*
LOC jungle
'In the jungle.'

Unit 8.4

(425) *yu*
shark
'Shark.'

(426) *nan* *ye?*
this.PROX.ANI what
'What's that?'

(427) *nen* *yu.* *Ak* *ku-weh* *kakin*
that.PROX.ANI shark 1SG 1SG.ACT-dry these.DIST
'This is shark. I am drying it in the sun.'

(428) *mu-weh* *kakin* *aka* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-dry these.DIST for what
'Why are you drying them?'

(429) *ak* *koka* *ku-wang* *kakin* *na* *Dobo*
1SG 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-sell these.DIST LOC PLACE
'I want to sell these in Dobo.'

(430) *tama* *kakin* *ralim* *nayer* *ye?*
meat these.DIST tasty like what
'How is the taste of the meat?'

(431) *ralim* *uk,* *taw* *yukih* *ye* *alih* *ko* *anam*
tasty very and fin PL ? because 3SG.do/cause
peli
expensive
'Very good, and its fins are very expensive.'

Unit 8.5

(432) *riyu*
seacow
'Seacow.'

(433) *nan* *ye?*
this.PROX.ANI what
'What is this?'

(434) *nan* *riyu*
this.PROX.ANI seacow
'This is seacow.'

(435) *nan* *takan* *da-ka-ni?*
this.PROX.ANI usually 3PL.ACT-eat-3SG.PAT
'Can you eat it?'

(436) *ihi* *takan* *ta-ka-yi,* *taw* *nof<i>n* *ka*
yes usually 1PLI.ACT-eat-3PL.PAT and teeth<3SG.POSS> PL
lebih *anam* *peli* *pay* *tama,* *ko* *kama*
more 3SG.do/cause expensive from meat because 1PLE
takan *ma-wang* *nof<i>n* *ka* *aka* *dal-da-dom*
usually 1PLE.ACT-sell teeth<3SG.POSS> PL for 3PL.get-3PL.ACT-make
supa.
pipes
'Yes, we can. And the tusks are more expensive because we can sell them for making cigarette pipes.'

Unit 8.6

(437) *pip* *re*
pig jungle
'Wild pig.'

(438) *am-ren* *way* *ye?*
2SG.ACT-announce news what
'What's the news?'

(439) *ak* *ku-ren* *way* *pip*
1SG 1SG.ACT-announce news pig
'The news is about the pig.'

(440) *pep* *ne* *wanlu<i>n-ni* *te* *kodih-ni?*
pig this.PROX.ANI be.male<3SG>-3SG.STV or be.female-3SG.STV
'Is the pig a boar or a sow?'

(441) *pep* *ne* *wanlu<i>n-ni* *kela* *ku-pay*
pig this.PROX.ANI be.male<3SG>-3SG.STV 1SG.take 1SG.ACT-from
re
jungle
'It's a boar that I caught in the jungle.'

(442) *pep* *ne* *anam* *nof<i>n* *te* *tanga?*
pig this.PROX.ANI 3SG.do/cause teeth<3SG.POSS> or NEG
'Did this pig have tusks?'

(443) *ihi, pep ne anam nof<i>n. Ak kela*
yes pig this.PROX.ANI 3SG.do/cause teeth<3SG.POSS> 1SG 1SG.take
ku-pay lapah
1SG.ACT-from trap
'Yes, it had tusks. I caught it in a trap.'

(444) *am-dom lapah na ba?*
2SG.ACT-make trap LOC where
'Where did you set the trap?'

(445) *anren aka akaw fin*
near for sago.tree place
'Near the place where sago is pounded.'

Unit 9: Sickness

(446) *manguh*
be.sick
'Sickness.'

Unit 9.1

(447) *raraf*
fever
'Malaria.'

(448) *palaw e*
house that.PROX.INA
'Hello.'

(449) *masi se.*
2SG.enter please
'Come in.'

(450) *kanang wawa manguh-ni.*
1SG.POSS child be.sick-3SG.STV
'My child is sick.'

(451) *a-kaywa* *manguh* *ye?*
3SG.ACT-suffer be.sick what
'What is wrong?'

(452) *ni* *aring-ni* *taw* *haye* *yowih-ni.*
3SG fever-3SG.STV and then chills-3SG.STV
'He has fever and chills.'

(453) *ni* *tanga* *noka* *aka* *hatudu*
3SG NEG 3SG.say/want for sago.pudding
'He does not want {to eat} sago pudding.'

(454) *nagan* *rar<i>f-ni?*
QST <3SG>fever-3SG.STV
'Does he have malaria?'

(455) *nagen,* *am-wa* *wakah?*
maybe 2SG.ACT-have medicine
'Maybe. do you have medicine?'

(456) *ihi* *mol* *akin.*
yes 2SG.get this.DIST.INA
'Yes, take these.'

(457) *noko* *moha* *rua* *tu* *mo* *tanga* *yoba-ni* *ma* *tu*
if today two.INA again but NEG healthy-3SG.STV come again
'If he is not better in two days, come back.'

(458) *ihi* *se*
yes please
'Thank you very much.'

Unit 9.2

(459) *auh* *a-len* *a<y>tul*[37]
3SG.cut 3SG.ACT-go <3SG.POSS>foot
'She cut herself.'

37 Underlying form is /ai<i>tul/. Vowel Coalescence occurs resulting in a glide. Output form is thus /a<y>tul/.

(460) *Tina* *auh* *a-len* *a<y>tul*
NAME 3SG.cut 3SG.ACT-go <3SG.POSS>foot
'Tina cut herself.'

(461) *mi-puwa*[38] *Tina* *aka* *mantri* *minam* *am-yamih*
2PL.ACT-carry NAME for matron 2PL.do/cause RED-quick
'Take her quickly to the health worker.'

(462) *ka* *mauh* *am-len* *a<m>tul* *moka-ba*
2SG 2SG.cut 2SG.ACT-go <2SG.POSS>leg 2SG.say/want-where
'How did you cut {your leg}?'

(463) *ak* *ku-h-yaru* *ur* *ya* *kauh* *ku-len*
1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-cut grass and.then 1SG.cut 1SG.ACT-go
'I was cutting grass and cut myself.'

(464) *buda* *ma* *ku-so* *kanam* *sum*
please come 1SG.ACT-see 2SG.POSS wound
'Let me look at your cut.'

Unit 9.3

(465) *tub<i>h* *pidi*
<3SG.POSS>belly pain
'Stomach ache.'

(466) *Apner* *manguh-ni* *tub<i>h* *ahmimah*
NAME sick-3SG.STV <3SG.POSS>belly bloated
'Apner is very sick. His stomach is bloated.'

(467) *Apner* *a-mina* *ba?*
NAME 3SG.ACT-stay where
'Where is Apner?

38 I think this verb *puwa* is identical to *pua* 'carry' – with a glide inserted between the two vowels.

(468) *moha* *na* *wawa* *ye* *da-hasi* *re* *ko*
today 3SG.POSS child PL 3PL.ACT-visit jungle because
da-papa-ni *ida* *palaw*
3PL.ACT-bring-3SG.PAT 3PL.POSS house
'Today his friends are bringing him here.'

Unit 9.4

(469) *fera afan*
diarrhea
'Diarrhea.'

(470) *kanang* *wawa* *manguh-ni*
1SG.POSS child be.sick-3SG.STV
'My child is sick.'

(471) *ni-kaywa*[39] *manguh* *ye?*
?-suffer sick what
'What's wrong?'

(472) *fera afan*
diarrhea
'Diarrhea.'

(473) *yawba* *fera afan?*
when diarrhea
'When did the diarrhea begin?'

(474) *rapitika*
yesterday
'Yesterday.'

(475) *nagen.* *rar<i>f-ni* *tawi*[40]*?*
maybe <3SG>fever-3SG.STV follow
'Does he have a fever?'

39 Unusual prefixation on this verb. If the verb is an active verb, it should be prefixed with the actor prefix *a-*. If it a stative verb, it should be suffixed with the Stative S suffix *-ni*. However, here we find it prefixed with *ni-*. This may be a typographic error.

40 This word can also mean 'with'. I am uncertain of which sense is being used here.

(477) *tanga* *ni* *tanga* *rar<i>f-ni.*
NEG 3SG NEG <3SG>fever-3SG.STV
'No, he doesn't have a fever.'

Unit 9.5

(478) *siglaga*
worm
'Worms.'

(479) *kanang* *wawa* *a-kaywa* *siglaga*
1SG.POSS child 3SG.ACT-suffer worm
'My child has worms.'

(480) *nagan* *am-wa* *wakah* *siglaga*
QST 2SG.ACT-have medicine worm
'Do you have worm medicine?'

(481) *ihi* *ku-wa.*
yes 1SG.ACT-have
'Yes, I have.'

(482) *kanam* *wawa* *na* *nahak* *haybay?*
2SG.POSS child 3SG.POSS year how.many
'How old is your child?'

(483) *na* *nahak* *rui.*
3SG.POSS year two.ANI
'Two years.'

Appendix B

Text 1: *Dadom Kupal* (trans. Making rice winnowing baskets)

This is a elicitated story or monologue kindly provided by Richard Olson. It has been transcribed and glossed by him. I have included my own free translation that is somewhat incomplete given my lack of access to a native speaker. Some of my translations are not accurate since they are idiomatic phrases which I have no understanding of.

I have not changed the spelling of the original (Kola) text line but I have edited the glosses to be consistent with my own conventions (except in a few ambigious cases). Significantly, I have implemented my own analysis with regard to the morphosyntactic alignment and verbal affixes (see chapter 3). Thus, I have glossed the person marking morphemes on stative verbs as stative S suffixes STV. Similarily on active verbs, prepositions and other elements that are marked with verbal marking, I have employed my own glosses of actor prefix ACT and P suffixes PAT.

(1) *doka ak moha ku-tok kirawin*
3PL.if 1SG today 1SG.ACT-debranch pandanus
'Now I debranch the pandan plant.'

(2) *ku-tok kol kirawin ka*
1SG.ACT-debranch 1SG.get pandanus PL
'I debranch {the plant} taking the pandan {leaves}.'

(3) *haye ya ku-ruruk*
then and.then 1SG.ACT-gather
'Then I gather {them}.'

(4) *ku-ruruk ya ram kol rihi ku-pai*
1SG.ACT-gather and.then FUT 1SG.get thorn 1SG.ACT-eliminate
'I gather them and remove the thorns'

(5) *kol rihi ku-pai haye ram ku-lai, ket*
1SG.get thorn 1SG.ACT-eliminate then FUT 1SG.ACT-heat light
ef ah-lah ko ku-lai
fire RED-big because 1SG.ACT-heat
'I remove the thorns, and light a big fire to get some heat.'

(6) *ku-ket* *kol* *ef* *ku-lai* *kol* *ram* *ku-weh*
1SG.ACT-light 1SG.get fire 1SG.ACT-heat 1SG.get FUT 1SG.ACT-dry
'I light a fire to get some heat to dry {the leaves}.'

(7) *ku-weh* *ko* *abu-long-an* *ram* *ku-palum*
1SG.ACT-dry because grandfather-rice.mortar-NMLZ FUT 1SG.ACT-?
'I dry them ... {some sort of process or idiomatic expression}'

(8) *ku-palum* *kol* *ya* *ku-weh* *tu* *wara* *lokih*
1SG.ACT-? 1SG.getand.then 1SG.ACT-dry again in.order.to white
'I....in order for them to be dry till they are white.'

(9) *haye* *ram* *ku-siah*
then FUT 1SG.ACT-?
'Then I will...'

(10) *noke*
like.that
'So its like that.'

(11) *"Ya* *m-balajar* *pai* *ifa?"*
and.then 2SG.ACT-learn from who
'Who did you learn this from?'

(12) *ak* *ku-balajar* *pai* *abu-ng* *wa<h>siha* *ka*
1SG 1SG.ACT-learn from grandparent-1SG.POSS <RED>old.woman PL
'I learnt it from my grandmothers.'

(13) *abu-ng* *wa<h>siha* *ramau* *sooh-di* *o*
grandparent-1SG.POSS <RED>old.woman already dead-3PL.STV DSC
ina-ng *tahpuhan* *mo* *ina-ng* *ramau* *sowih-ni*
mother-1SG.POSSmiddle while mother-1SG.POSS already dead-3SG.STV
ya
and.then
'My grandmother is dead, Oh my mother she is also dead.'

(14) *ina-ng* *mir* *yena* *a-dom* *kupal*
mother-1SG.POSS youngest one 3SG.ACT-make k.o. basket
'My mother the youngest one, she made baskets.'

(15) *ak* *ku-bana* *ko* *ku-talah* *ka* *tan-ni*
1SG 1SG.ACT-go because 1SG.ACT-sit DIR onto-3SG.PAT
ku-soo-ni
1SG.ACT-see-3SG.PAT
'I would go and sit near her and watch her.'

(16) *"Ina-ng* *mir* *ak* *koka* *ku-talah* *ke*
mother-1SG.POSS youngest 1SG.say/want 1SG.ACT-sit those.PROX
ku-silal *kupal*
1SG.ACT-observe k.o. basket
'My mother – I would sit there and observe her making baskets.'

(17) *a-noka* *"mom* *se,* *noka* *m-silal* *mo*
3SG.ACT-3SG.say/want 2SG.do/cause please if 2SG.ACT-observe while
reein-ka
clever-2SG.STV
'She would say "If you observe me, you'll be clever".'

(18) *ram* *tam-dom* *yena* *mo* *a-leen*
FUT 1PL.ACT-make one and 3SG.ACT-correct
'Then we would make one together and she would correct me.'

(19) *noka* *mu-silal* *mo* *tanga* *ya* *tanga*
if 2SG.ACT-observe while NEG and.then NEG
'If you don't observe, you cannot do it.'

(20) *tanga* *mo* *ta* *a-h-tiba* *ya* *ku-bana*
NEG while FUT 3SG.ACT-INTR-weave and.then 1SG.ACT-go
aka-ni *ku-tihi* *ma-h-nin*
FOR-3SG.PAT 1SG.ACT-join 1PL.ACT-INTR-sleep
'No, but she would weave and I would go and join her and we would fall asleep together.'

(21) *ku-silal-ni*
1SG.ACT-observe-3SG.PAT
'I observed her.'

(22) *en* *tang* *ku-yamuh* *ku-silal* *bekai* *na*
that.PROX.INA NEG 1SG.ACT-walk 1SG.ACT-observe goods this.PROX.ANI
'Not only that, I walk around {town} I also observe other people's goods.'

(23) *ak* *ku-dom* *koke* *ku-tiba* *yena* *ya*
1SG 1SG.act-make 1SG.like.that 1SG.ACT-weave one and.then
ku-tiba *kela* *ya* *ramau* *ku-gawa*
1SG.ACT-weave 1SG.take and.then already 1SG.ACT-know
'I make and weave a basket like {what I see other's have done} and then I know how to do it.'

(24) *ya* *kanang* *wawa* *ka* *tang* *da-gawa* *Moni* *Meski*
and.then 1SG.POSS child PL NEG 3PL.ACT-know NAME NAME
'My children Moni, Meski, they don't know know {how to weave}.'

(25) *tang* *da-tiba* *da-leen* *a-soo* *rawin* *panlan*
NEG 3PL.ACT-weave 3PL.ACT-correct 3SG.ACT-see sheet quiet
'They don't weave well. {Some idiomatic expression here regarding 'quiet sheet'}

(26) *wir* *koni* *na* *haba*
leaf only this.PROX.ANI many
'Only this leaf is many.' {Again, some idiomatic expression that I am unable to translate}

(27) *ta-sual* *ta-sai* *iya* *ramau* *al-ni*
1PLI.ACT-hold 1PLI.ACT-to.wrong one already mistake-3sg.stv
'We already made one mistake.'

(28) *nan* *ku-fee-ni* *tang* *ku-tokih-ni*
this.PROX.ANI 1SG.ACT-onto-3SG.PAT NEG 1SG.ACT-step.on-3SG.PAT
mo *takan* *da-tokuh* *da-tan-ni* *ya*
while usually 3PL.ACT-step.on 3PL.ACT-onto-3SG.PAT and.then
'This I usually don't step on it, but they usually do step on it.' {Perhaps the speaker was illustrating some action at this point}

(29) *pesi-ng* *pui* *ko* *ta* *a-raiwai-ni*
difficult-1SG.STV gone because FUT 3SG.ACT-turn-3SG.PAT
'It's difficult for me, because I am growing old'

(30) *noka* *m-fee-ni* *mom* *tokih* *mu-raiwai-ka*
if 2SG.ACT-onto-3SG.PAT 2SG.do/cause step.on 2SG.ACT-turn-2SG.PAT
{I am unable to provide an accurate translation for this example}

(31) *aisut-ni* *ko* *mu-lewi-ni* *mo* *ne*
after-3SG.PAT because 2SG.ACT-go.around-3SG.PAT while that.PROX.ANI
a-h-nin *papa*
3SG.ACT-INTR-sleep floor
'After that you go around it and it sleeps on the floor.'

(32) *wara* *tamata haha-yi* *tang* *da-dom* *da-leen*
in.order.to person many-3PL.STV NEG 3PL.ACT-make 3PL.ACT-correct
ko *dam* *pesi* *kirawain* *ka*
because 3PL.do/cause difficult pandanus PL
'Many people do not make baskets correctly because it is difficutlt to work with pandan leaves.'

(33) *ya* *pui*
and.then gone
'The end.'

Appendix C

Text 2: *Wahakpakau tau laluh* (trans. The Turtle and The Frog)

This text is also kindly provided by Richard Olson. I have kept the original spelling in the text line, but have changed a few glosses to be consistent with appendix A and my analysis in general, like text 1 in appendix B. The free translations are my own and have been checked by Richard. There are, however a few examples which I am unable provide an accurate translation for.

(1) *wahakpakau*[41] *tau* *laluh*[42] *ya* *laluh* *wam-ni* *sagalde*
turtle and frog and.then frog stupid-3SG.STV almost
'The turtle and the frog, the frog was quite a stupid person.'

(2) *ya* *takan* *ko* *wahakpakau* *budi-ni*
and.then usually because turtle lie-3SG.STV
'And the turtle would often tell the frog lies.'

(3) *ya* *takan* *da-h-am-yamuh* *wara* *da-mina*
and.then usually 3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk in.order.to 3PL.ACT-stay
palau *ot*
house one.INA
'One day, they wandered looking for somewhere to stay.'

(4) *da-mina* *palau* *ot* *ya* *noke* *da-h-am-yamuh*
3PL.ACT-stay house one.INA and.then like.that 3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk
'They stayed in one house and then move on.'

(5) *da-h-am-yamuh* *ya* *noka* *laluh* *ma* *buda*
3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk and.then 3SG.say/want frog come first
'They wandered and then the turtle said “Frog, come please”.'

(6) *ma* *ko* *am-soo* *barang* *ka* *am-soo* *bekai*
come because 2SG.ACT-see word PL 2SG.ACT-see goods
kakin
these.DIST
'Come and look at these things, see these goods.'

41 *wahakpakau* actually means 'freshwater turtle'. I have glossed it simply as 'turtle' to save space.

42 *laluh* is a specific species of frog. Again, I have glossed it simply as 'frog' to save space.

(7) *ke* *noka* *a-soo* *tapuan* *ka* *noka* *iker*
DSC if 3SG.ACT-see bee PL 3SG.say/want those.PROX.ANI
ye *ne*
what that.PROX.ANI
'The frog saw some bees, and said “Eh, what are those?”.'

(8) *noka* *en* *Duaida* *na* *anting-anting* *ka takih leh*
3SG.say/want that God 3SG.POSS earring PL ear leaf.shoot
'The turtle said 'These are God's earlobes”.'

(9) *takan* *tamata,* *takan* *fayah* *dal* *da-fee*
usually person usually DSC 3PL.get 3PL.ACT-put.into
takah-di
ear-3PL.POSS
'Usually people take one and puts them on their ears.'

(10) *noka* *mit* *se* *ka* *mol* *yena*
3SG.say/want 2SG.go.to please for 2SG.get one
'Go on, take one.'

(11) *mol* *yena* *ko* *mu-fee* *takah*
2SG.getone because 2SG.act-put.into ear
'Take one and put it in your ear.'

(12) *noka* *tu* *anit* *a-sual* *tapuan* *ka* *dal* *da-soo*
if again 3SG.go.to 3SG.act-hold bee PL 3PL.get3PL.act-see
da-fee-ni *ya* *da-kaha-ni*
3PL.ACT-put.into-3SG.PAT and.then 3PL.ACT-bite-3SG.PAT
'So, the frog went and grabbed at the bees but they saw him and stung him'

(13) *da-kaha-ni* *ya* *a-fala* *noka*
3PL.ACT-bite-3SG.PAT and.then 3SG.ACT-run 3SG.say/want
iker *tapuan*
those.PROX.ANI bee
'The bees bite him and he ran, saying “Those are bees!”.'

(14) *doke* *iker* *tapuan*
3PL.like.that those.PROX.ANI bee
'Bees are like that.'

(15) *lahau* *en* *Duaida* *na* *anting-anting* *ka-ma*
sun that.PROX.INA God 3SG.POSS earrings 1PLE.act-come
takih *leh*
ear leaf.shoot
'That day we came to God's earrings earlobes.' {'That was the story of God's earlobes.'}

(16) *haye* *baka* *iya* *da-h-am-yamuh*
then time one 3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk
'One time they were wandering.'

(17) *da-h-am-yamuh* *tu* *ya* *mit* *aka*
3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk again and.then 2SG.go.to for
wahakpakau *noka* *se* *mu-tafaka* *ko* *ku-leen*
turtle 3SG.say/want please 2SG.act-wait because 1SG.ACT-go
ri *buda*
over.there first
'They wandered again, the turtle said {to the frog} "Please wait while I go over there first".'

(18) *faka-ni* *faka-ni* *padahal* *a-bana* *uguh*
wait-3SG.STV wait-3SG.STV whereas 3SG.ACT-go defecate
'The frog waited and waited while the turtle defecated.'

(19) *a-ban* *uguh* *ya* *haye* *aas* *a-pua*
3SG.ACT-go defecate and.then then 3SG.plant 3SG.ACT-carry
rei *tai* *ko* *pake* *fayah* *kai* *ar-wir* *toh*
DIR dung because use DSC tree RED-leaf DSC
anit *aas* *pu,* *aas* *pu* *ri* *nal*
3SG.go.to 3SG.plant carry 3SG.plant carry over.there 3SG.get
tau *a-taah* *laluh*
and 3SG.ACT-call frog
'{the turtle} he went and defecated and then he carried his dung and planted bits of it around {somewhere}. And he called out to the frog.'

(20) *“laluh ma buda”*
frog come please
“Frog come here!”

(21) *noka aka ye?*
3SG.say/want for what
'The frog said “Why?”.'

(22) *noka ma am-soo kooi ne*
3SG.say/want come 2SG.ACT-see mole.rat that.PROX.ANI
'The turtle said “Come and see the mole rat”

(23) *kooi anyinlau nakin na ribal,*
mole.rat large this.DIST.ANI 3SG.POSS enter.shelter
ribal ihumi
enter.shelter nest
'It’s {the dung pile with leaves and sticks arranged about it} the home/nest of a huge mole rat.'

(24) *ma wara m-tara-ni*
come in.order.to 2SG.ACT-chop-3SG.PAT
'Come and chop him!'

(25) *ya a-pua beda nit*
and.then 3SG.ACT-carry machete 3SG.go.to
'So {frog} went, carrying the machete.'

(26) *a-pua beda-ni*[43] *nit a-tara fee a*
3SG.ACT-carry machete-3SG 3SG.go.to 3SG.ACT-chop onto this.PROX.INA
padahal ken tai
whereas those.PROX.ANI dung
'So he carried his bushknife and went to chop the dung.'

43 This is unusual marking. 3rd person singular inalienably possessed nouns are either zero marked or marked with the infix <i> which replaces the final vowel in a close syllable. Here, because the shape of beda is CV.CV, there is no closed syllable for this process to occur. *-ni* is the 3SG.PAT or 3SG.STV form.

(27) *a-tara* *pota*
3SG.ACT-chop split.into.two
'He chopped it in two.'

(28) *a-tara* *pota* *noka* *o* *ke* *ken*
3SG.ACT-chop split.into.two 3SG.say/want DSC VOC those.PROX.ANI
tai *ka* *m-budi-ng*
dung PL 2SG.ACT-lie-1SG.PAT
'He chopped it in two, and said “Hey those are dung, you lied to me.”

(29) *noka* *ai* *ak* *kokalah* *ken* *kooi*
3SG.say/want hey 1SG 1SG.think those.PROX.ANI mole.rat
'The turtle said “hey I thought it was a mole rat”.'

(30) *ya* *haye* *mohiya* *ya* *da-h-am-yamuh*
and.then then some.day and.then 3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk
tu
again
'Another day, they were wandering again.'

(31) *da-h-am-yamuh* *tu* *noka* *laluh* *da-h-am-yamuh*
3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk again if frog 3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk
da-ban *yau* *tare* *a-lalu* *a-soo*
3PL.ACT-go until around 3SG.ACT-go.down 3SG.ACT-see
tai *tare*
dung some
'They wandered again when {the frog} {while} they were walking, he went down and saw some dungs.'

(32) *tai* *tare* *noka* *wahakpakau* *kan* *ye* *na?*
dung some 3SG.say/want turtle ? what this.PROX.ANI
'There were several dungs and {the frog} said "Turtle, what is this?".'

(33) *noka* *ken* *o* *Duaida* *na* *minyak* *rambut*
3SG.say/want ? DSC God 3SG.POSS oil hair
ka *na-ng* *wangi* *ka*
for 3SG.POSS-1SG.PAT fragrant PL
'The turtle said “O, that’s God’s fragrant hair oil”.'

(34) *takan* *dal* *da-fee* *ulin*
usually 3PL.get 3PL.ACT-put.into head
'Usually one takes it and puts it on their heads.'

(35) *ya* *anal,* *anal* *pake*
and.then 3SG.get 3SG.get use
'So the frog took it and put it on his head.'

(36) *pake* *tau* *noka* *da-luan* *dasi* *palau*
use and if 3PL.ACT-do 3PL.enter house
'They both did it and they entered a house.'

(37) *dasi* *palau* *iya*
3PL.enter house one
'They entered a house.'

(38) *dit* *tafan* *tu* *dal* *reh* *mo* *mau* *da-fah*
go NEG.INCEP again 3PL.get there while PFV 3PL.ACT-find
yuhun *aupawin*
smell stink
'They had not been there {in the house} long, when {already the people in the house} smelled their stink.'

(39) *doka* *"eh* *wahakpakau* *m-pake* *ini* *mu-lalu*
3PL.say/want DSC turtle 2SG.ACT-use this 2SG.ACT-go.down
ko *tai* *koni* *ka*
because dung only PL
'They said, "Eh turtle, get out because you stink of dung".'

(40) *mu-lalu* *ka*[44] *pawi-ka*
2SG.ACT-go.down because stink-2SG.STV
'Go away because you stink!'

(41) *da-kafu*
3PL.ACT-?
{Unable to provide a translation}

44 Unusual spelling – I suspect that this should be spelt as *ko*.

(42) *doka* *wahakpakau* *budi* *na* *lang* *noka* *kena*
3PL.say/ant turtle lie 3SG.POSS speak 3SG.say/want friend
minyak *rambut*
oil hair
'They said, turtle he speaks lies to his friend about oily hair.' {Uncertain translation}

(43) *ya* *mohiya* *tu* *da-h-am-yamuh*
and.then one.day again 3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk
'Another day, they were wandering again.'

(44) *da-h-am-yamuh* *ya* *dit* *aka* *muk* *yena* *muk*
3PL.ACT-INTR-RED-walk and.then 3PL.go for banana one banana
wobah *toh*
ripe DSC
'They walked and then they came to a banana tree with ripe bananas.'

(45) *muk* *yena* *mo* *wobah* *ya* *luh* *tar-bisa* *asi-ni*
banana one while ripe and.then frog NEG-can climb-3SG.STV
m[45]*-talah* *papa*
2SG.ACT-sit ground
'There was one ripe banana but the frog couldn't climb so he sat on the ground.'

(46) *ya* *wahakpakau* *asi*
and.then turtle climb
'The turtle climbed the tree.'

(47) *noke* *ram* *seen* *ta* *muk* *ka* *ri*
if FUT travel.food fut banana DIR over.there
'The bananas would be provisions for their travels.'

45 This should probably be *a-* '3SG.ACT' rather than *m-* '2SG.ACT', since the referrent is the frog.

(48) *wahakpakau* *noka* *m-talah* *papa* *se* *karam*
turtle 3SG.say/want 2SG.ACT-sit ground please later
kasi *mom* *karam* *ku-bagi-ka* *karam*
3SG.older.sibling 2SG.do/cause later 1SG.ACT-divide-2SG.PAT later
ku-keeh-ka
1SG.ACT-give-2SG.PAT
'The turtle said {to the frog}, “You sit on the ground please, later brother {me} will divide{the spoils} which I will give to you”.'

(49) *ya* *wahakpakau* *asi* *nasin* *a-talah* *a*
and.then turtle climb like 3SG.ACT-sit this.PROX.INA
a-talah *muk*
3SG.ACT-sit banana
'The turtle climbed the tree...{Unable to provide accurate translation}.'

(50) *a-talah* *muk* *ka* *na* *mawah*
3SG.ACT-sit banana PL 3SG.POSS top
'The bananas were sat atop the tree.'

(51) *muk* *ka* *na* *mawah* *ya* *ta*[46]*-ka* *uk* *tama*
banana PL 3SG.POSS top and.then 1PLI.ACT-eat very meat
ke *a-tabei* *pai* *ke* *ka* *fee*
those.PROX 3SG.ACT-throw.away from those.PROX DIR onto
a *laluh*
this.PROX.INA frog
'The bananas were sat atop the tree and {?we?} ate only the banana flesh, throwing away {the skins} down to the frog.'

(52) *noka* *ya* *mol* *tama* *ke* *aka-ng* *se*
3SG.say/want and.then 2SG.get meat those.PROX for-1SG.PAT please
'The frog said, “Give some banana flesh to me please!”.'

46 I suspect this should be marked as *a-* '1SG.ACT' rather than *ta-* '1PLI.ACT', since the referent is the turtle.

(53) *ka* *ma* *muk* *ku-ka* *ya* *tu* *m-ka* *pai*
2SG come banana 1SG.ACT-eat and.then again 2SG.ACT-eat from
ke
those.PROX
'{The turtle replied}, “I eat and then you eat from those {the skins that I threw down to you}”.'

(54) *ka* *haye* *ram* *ku-bagi-ka*
2SG then FUT 1SG.ACT-divide-2SG.PAT
'See, I am sharing with you.'

(55) *a-ka*
3SG.ACT-eat
'He {the turtle} ate.'

(56) *a-ka* *tabah*[47] *ke* *ram* *a-lalu*
3SG.ACT-eat ? those.PROX FUT 3SG.ACT-descend
'He ate the bananas, and then he descended from the tree.'

(57) *a-lalu*
3SG.ACT-descend
'He climbed down.'

(58) *ya* *pui*
and.then gone
'The end.'

47 *tabah* means seeds, but Richard Olson has informed me that this is probably a mistake from a poor recording and subsquent transcription.