Quantifiers

Taba quantifiers were defined in chapter 4 as nominals which can occur as the heads of measure phrases. Measure phrases have the function of quantifying referents of some sort. Measure phrases are formally noun phrases: they may occur as attributes of another noun phrase or they may occur on their own. There are two sub-categories of quantifiers: numerals, which must co-occur with classifiers (as shown in (1)), or measure nouns (as seen in (2)). In (1) and (2), both measure phrases occur as attributes of a higher noun phrase.

(1)  
   I  not  yan  sishot  
      i  n=ot  yan  sis=hot  
      3sg  3sg=take  fish  CLASS=four  
      'He caught four fish.'

(2)  
   Kam  um  lloci  
      k=am  um  lloci  
      1sg=see  house  many  
      'I see many houses.'

In (3), the measure phrase occurs on its own, with no referential higher noun phrase. Here, the measure phrase matlu indicates that any two people would be needed to pick up the ellipsed Undergoer, a very large fish.¹

(3)  
   Matlu  llewit  
      mat=lu  l=lewit  
      CLASS=two  3pl=carry  
      'Two people (were needed) to carry (the fish).'

¹ Although if this example were spoken in isolation, it would mean simply 'two people carry it', in the context in which it was uttered there was a clear implication that 'two people would be needed to carry it'. The example comes from the first text in the appendices.
Measure phrases can have a fairly complex structure of their own, but quantifiers may occur on their own as the heads of noun phrases. This chapter is divided into four sections:

- The general structure of the quantifier phrase
- Independent quantifiers
- Numerals and classifiers
- Other matters

### 10.1 Structure of the measure phrase

Rules outlining the basic structure of the measure phrase (MP) are given in figure 10.1.

\[
\text{MP} \rightarrow \text{(duga)} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{(NumP) + Measure N} \\
\text{NumP} \\
\text{MP + MP}
\end{array} \right\} \text{(le)}
\]

\[
\text{NumP} \rightarrow \text{CLASS-Num (CONJ Num)}
\]

**Figure 10.1 Structure of the measure phrase**

More detailed explanation of the different structures of quantifier phrases encountered are found in the following sections.

### 10.2 General quantifiers

The general quantifiers form a closed set, and include such nouns as the following:

- *palo* ‘half’
- *lomo* ‘other / some’
- *moto* ‘a little’
- *nol* ‘nothing’
- etc.
Some example sentences, with general quantifiers functioning as measure phrases in their own right are given in (4) to (7) below.

(4) *Lomo* *ltala* *wog* *te* *lagawil.*
   lomo l=ltala wog te l=lagawil
   other 3pl=meet canoe NEG 3pl=swim
   'Others who didn’t find canoes swam.’

(5) *Turus* manusia lam nol,
    turus manusia l=am nol
    direct people 3pl=see nothing
   'So the people saw nothing.’

(6) *Indadi* ada ni halongkak Taba moto nak.
    indadi ada ni ha-longka-k Taba moto nak
    so exist 3sg.POSS CAUS-weave-APPL Taba a.little again
   'So there is a weaving in of a little (Malay) with Taba again.’

(7) *Nalusa* ni poyo palo nangotes
    n=ha-lusa ni poyo palo n=angotes
    3sg=CAUS-say 3sg.POSS head half 3sg=not.want
   'He doesn’t want to say he’s crazy.’
   [lit. ‘he doesn’t want to say he has half a head.]

10.3 Numerals and classifiers

Whenever Taba speakers wish to count something, they must always use classifiers which indicate something about the nature of the things being counted together with the numerals that encode the actual quantity. This is illustrated in (8) where the classifier *kop* (an independent word rather than a proclitic) is used indicating that small grains of some stuff are being counted.

(8) *Gocila* *kop* sio
    gocila kop sio
    corn CLASS nine
   'Nine grains of corn’

Dixon (1986) discusses in detail the distinction between noun-class (including gender) systems, and noun classification systems. He proposes that the most salient distinction between noun class systems and noun classification systems is that in a noun class system, each individual noun is ascribed to just one class, and this class is invariant no matter what the properties of the actual referent of the noun. In classifier systems, on the other hand, properties of the actual entity referred to by the noun, or the function or intended use of the referent is the crucial factor in determining which classification is appropriate.
The Taba system is an example of true noun classification, as can be seen in examples (9) and (10) where two different classifiers are used with the noun *amplop* ‘envelope’. In (9), the classifier *mot=* is used, because the envelopes being referred to are *small* flat quadrangular things, while in (10) the default classifier *p-* is used because the envelopes being referred to are *large* ones.

(9) *amplop*  *motwonam*
   *amplop*  *mot*=*wonam*
   *envelope*  *CLASS=*six
   ‘six normal sized envelopes’

(10) *amplop*  *pwonam*
   *amplop*  *p-wonam*
   *envelope*  *CLASS=*six
   ‘six envelopes [of A4 size]’

The most commonly used classifiers are quantifier phrase proclitics. Some of the classifiers are also independent words which have their own lexical meanings in addition to their classifying function.

A full listing of all the classifiers I have information on is given below, along with glosses and references to where the forms are discussed. Those classifiers that are formally classed as proclitics are indicated as such by the equals sign ‘=’ following them, and those categorised as prefixes are indicated as such by a following hyphen ‘-’. Note that the forms which are not formally classed as proclitics do, however, sometimes cliticise onto the numerals which follow them.3 (See chapter 3 for a discussion of the notions of ‘affix’, ‘clitic’ and ‘word’, etc.)

- *p-*  default  §10.3.2.1
- *ha=*  intervals of measurement  §10.3.2.2
- *i-*  single animate  §10.3.2.3; §10.3.2.4
- *mat=*  more than one human  §10.3.2.3
- *sis=*  from 2-9 animals  §10.3.2.4
- *beit=*  multiples of 10 animals  §10.3.2.4
- *mot=*  small square flat thin things  §10.3.2.5
- *goha*  things assembled together  §10.3.2.6

---

2 See §10.3.2.6 for a detailed discussion of *mot=.*
3 Although these forms sometimes cliticise, they cannot be formally classed as proclitics because they always bear stress (when affixes and clitics in Taba never bear stress). Further discussion of these points is found in chapter 3.
• *wato* small oblong shaped things §10.3.2.7
• *hola* piece of wood / stick §10.3.2.8
• *luklik* rolled up things §10.3.2.9
• *ai* trees §10.3.2.10
• *awa* stalks §10.3.2.11
• *ising* 'hand' §10.3.2.12
• *kop* grains §10.3.2.13
• *boka* skewer §10.3.2.14
• *coat* bundle §10.3.2.15
• *lof* armspan §10.3.2.16
• *tonat* ten armspans §10.3.2.17
• *odo* joints (of bamboo) §10.3.2.18
• *opa* days before §10.3.2.19
• *opo* days ahead §10.3.2.20

The following discussion is divided into five sections:

• We discuss the internal structure of classifier-numeral constructions. I will argue that only the roots for the numerals one to nine are best described structurally as numeral roots. Higher numerals are made up of extra classifiers which are preposed to the roots.

• Each of the classifiers for which I have information is discussed in turn. A variety of topics which pertain to individual classifiers will be treated. Foremost of these is the semantics of each classifier. Classifier choice is determined by what kind of thing is referred to by the nominals which are being counted. In addition to classifier semantics, the status of each classifier as a prefix, a clitic, or an independent word will be considered, and any other notable features relating to individual classifiers will also be discussed.

• Ordinal numbers are discussed.

• Word classes derived from classifiers are described. These are the various forms of the quantificational interrogative and the various forms of the paucal quantifier *X-si-so-ak-no* CLASS-si-one-ALL-there 'a few'.

• We discuss variation in classifier use according to the age of the speaker. The classifier system appears to be one of the more complex areas of Taba grammar which is being simplified under the impact of
Malay in contemporary Taba. The impact of Malay on Taba is discussed in more general terms in §1.4.4.

10.3.1 Internal structure of classifier-numeral collocations

Taba has a base ten counting system. The roots for the numerals 1-9 are given in (11).

(11) -so one
    -lu two
    -tol three
    -hot four
    -lim five
    -wonam six
    -hit seven
    -wal eight
    -sio nine

Taba numerals must always co-occur with a classifier which is preposed to the numeral root. There is no Taba numeral for ‘zero’. Although the concept can be expressed in a variety of ways, eg. nel ‘nothing’ and in constructions using te ‘negative particle’, these words do not require classifiers and thus do not enter the same paradigmatic relationships as do other members of the numeral class.

The forms of numbers with the default classifier p- (probably derived ultimately from PAN *buah ‘fruit’) are given in (12).

(12) pso p-lu p-tol
     p-so CLASS-one CLASS-two CLASS-three
     CLASS-four two (pieces of fruit, etc.) three (pieces of fruit, etc.)
     CLASS-seven
     CLASS-eight
     CLASS-nine
     CLASS-nine

phot plim pwonam
p-hot p-lim p-wonam
CLASS-four CLASS-five CLASS-six
four (pieces of fruit, etc.) five (pieces of fruit, etc.) six (pieces of fruit, etc.)

phit pwal psio
p-hit p-wal p-sio
CLASS-seven CLASS-eight CLASS-nine
seven (pieces of fruit, etc.) eight (pieces of fruit, etc.) nine (pieces of fruit, etc.)
The forms of numerals from ‘one’ to ‘nine’, with i- and sis-, the classifiers for animals\textsuperscript{4} are given in (13).

(13) \begin{align*}
\text{iso} & \quad \text{silhu} & \quad \text{sithol} \\
\text{i=so} & \quad \text{sis=lu} & \quad \text{sis=tol} \\
\text{CLASS=one} & \quad \text{CLASS=two} & \quad \text{CLASS=three} \\
\text{‘one (animal)’} & \quad \text{‘two (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘three (animals)’}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{sishot} & \quad \text{silhim} & \quad \text{sisoenam} \\
\text{sis=hot} & \quad \text{sis=lim} & \quad \text{sis=wonam} \\
\text{CLASS=four} & \quad \text{CLASS=five} & \quad \text{CLASS=six} \\
\text{‘four (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘five (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘six (animals)’}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{sishit} & \quad \text{siswal} & \quad \text{sishio} \\
\text{sis=hit} & \quad \text{sis=wal} & \quad \text{sis=sio} \\
\text{CLASS=seven} & \quad \text{CLASS=eight} & \quad \text{CLASS=nine} \\
\text{‘seven (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘eight (animals)’} & \quad \text{‘nine (animals)’}
\end{align*}

In the sections which follow the formation of numbers higher than nine will be discussed as follows:

- simple multiples of ten
- simple multiples of a hundred
- simple multiples of a thousand
- complex numbers
- borrowed patterns for counting a million and more

10.3.1.1 Multiples of ten

Multiples of ten are constructed as measure phrases of the form:

\text{CLASS-(CLASS)-(CLASS)+num}

where \text{num} = a numeral from 1-9. For example, with 10’s of animals, the classifier \text{beit} ‘group of animals’ is used. (Although in the constructions referred to here, \text{beit} occurs with the specific meaning ‘ten animals’, its use as a classifier for quantifying higher numbers of animals, e.g. see §10.3.1.2 on multiples of a hundred, suggests that the most accurate general translation is ‘group of animals’.)\textsuperscript{5} \text{Beit} is preposed to numeral roots specifying the multiple of ten referred to as in (14).

\textsuperscript{4} Here, sis- has been given the not strictly accurate label ‘animal classifier’ although there are a few other things that are also counted using this classifier. See §10.3.2.4 for details.

\textsuperscript{5} Beit is also a verb meaning ‘to sew’ as well as being a numeral classifier. In Taba discourse,
More generally, a generic ‘-ty’ form is based upon the classifiers yo + ha where yo ‘ten’ combines with the measure classifier ha. Illustrative examples are given in (25) where the default forms of the numbers ‘ten’, ‘twenty’ and ‘thirty’ are given.

The forms seen in (25) are notable for the fact that two different classifiers are employed in their make-up. The first of these, yo, is the classifier which literally means ‘ten’. The second has the same form as the measure classifier ha= which is used (amongst other things) for reference to intervals of measurement, time etc. (see §10.3.2.2 for details). Thus, yo haso ‘ten’ for example, could probably be glossed as ‘ten times one’.

Except for the numbers referring to animals, all other multiples of ten are formed using the same elements as shown in (15), with the further addition of the classifier appropriate to the class of enumerated entities referred to. This classifier is preposed to the default forms shown above. To refer to ten intervals of measurement, for example, the ha= classifier is added to yo haso, as in (16).

The most common animals to be referred to in large numbers are most certainly fish. (Taba speakers are unlikely to have control of tens of any other animal at a time.) The use of beit as a classifier presumably derives from the common practice of sewing bunches of about ten fishes together by the mouth in order to carry them.
To refer to twenty people, the human classifier *mat= (see §10.3.2.3) is preposed to the default form in (15) according to the same pattern as that seen in (16).

(17) mapin  matyo  halu
     mapin  mat=yo  ha=lu
     woman   CLASS-CLASS(ten)   CLASS(times)=two
             ‘twenty women’

It can be seen that the default numeral classifier *p- is distinguished from the other individual classifiers in that it does not appear preposed to *yo ‘ten’ as do the others. (Nor is it preposed to the classifiers *utin ‘hundred’ and *calan ‘thousand’ like the other ones as will be seen below.) This fact is clearly related to the fact that *p- has as its scope just the numeral roots to which it is prefixed, while all of the other classifiers have phrasal scope (see §10.3.1.5 below).

10.3.1.2 Multiples of a hundred

Multiples of a hundred are formed in a fairly analogous way to the multiples of ten discussed above (with a couple of exceptions to be discussed below).

The classifier for ‘hundred’ is *utin. This is derived from the verb -*utin ‘to gather’. The default forms for ‘one hundred’, ‘two hundred’ and ‘three hundred’ (pieces of fruit, etc.) are illustrated in (18).

(18) a. *utin          co
     utin           so
     CLASS(hundred) one
           ‘one hundred’

b. *utin          lu
     utin           lu
     CLASS(hundred) two
           ‘two hundred’

c. *utin          toli
     utin           toli
     CLASS(hundred) three
           ‘three hundred’

One difference between ‘tens formation’ and ‘hundreds formation’ can be seen in the above examples: the classifier *utin ‘hundred’ occurs preposed directly to the numeral referring to the multiple of a hundred, without the intervening *ha- measure classifier used with *yo ‘ten’.
Except for animals, all other kinds of referents are handled in much the same way as they are for the ‘ten’ classifier. Example (19) illustrates the ha= interval of measurement classifier and (20) shows the human classifier mat=.

(19) meter hautin hot
    meter ha=utin hot
    metre CLASS= hundred four
    ‘four hundred metres’

(20) mon matutin co
    mon mat=utin so
    man CLASS= hundred one
    ‘a hundred men’

For animals, rather than the classifier sis= used with the lower numerals, the classifier beit= is used (as it is for all of the higher numbers). This is exemplified in (21).

(21) yan beitutin co
    yan beit=utin so
    fish CLASS= hundred one
    ‘a hundred fish’

10.3.1.3 Multiples of a thousand

For ‘thousand’, the classifier calan is used. For referring to entities for which the default classifier is appropriate, the classifier calan is used on its own as in (22) and (23).

(22) Tabako ni pli calan co
    tabako ni pli calan so
    cigarettes 3sg.POSS price CLASS(thousand) one
    ‘Cigarettes are one thousand [rupiahs].’

(23) Frak ni pli calan utin wonam
    ticket 3sg.POSS price thousand hundred six
    ‘The ticket costs six hundred thousand [rupiahs].’

For other classifications, the normal classifiers are preposed to calan, as seen in (24), where mot=, the classifier for small flat oblong things is used.

(24) waji motcalan co
    waji mot=calan so
    rice, cake CLASS=CLASS(thousand) one
    ‘a thousand waji cakes’
As when referring to hundreds of animals, the classifier *beit* is preposed to calan when referring to thousands, as illustrated in (25)

(25) \[ \text{nener} \quad \text{beitcalan} \quad \text{lu} \]
\[ \text{nener} \quad \text{beit=calan} \quad \text{lu} \]
\[ \text{baby.milk.fish} \quad \text{CLASS=thousand} \quad \text{two} \]
\['two thousand baby milk fish'\]

10.3.1.4 Complex numbers

In this section we will discuss the formation of numbers between the simple multiples of ten, a hundred and a thousand discussed above. In essence, the numbers appropriate for simple multiples and the numbers from 1-9 are conjoined with the conjunction *lo* 'and'.

The numbers from eleven to nineteen, twenty-one to twenty-nine, etc. are formed by conjoining the appropriate elements from the 'ten times' series of numbers with appropriate elements from the 'one to nine' series of numbers, as illustrated in (26) to (28).

(26) \[ \text{yo} \quad \text{haso} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{psso} \]
\[ \text{yo} \quad \text{h=so} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{p-so} \]
\[ \text{CLASS(ten) CLASS(times)=one and CLASS-one} \]
\['eleven (pieces of fruit, etc.)'\]

(27) \[ \text{matyo} \quad \text{hahot} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{matlu} \]
\[ \text{mat=yo} \quad \text{ha=hot} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{mat=lu} \]
\[ \text{CLASS(person)=CLASS(ten) CLASS(times)=four and CLASS=two} \]
\['forty-two (people)'\]

(28) \[ \text{beitlu} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{silhim} \]
\[ \text{beit=lu} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{sis-lim} \]
\[ \text{CLASS(ten)=two and CLASS-five} \]
\['twenty-five (animals)'\]

Numbers between the exact multiples of a hundred are formed by conjoining the appropriately classified multiples of a hundred with other appropriately classified elements, as for the numbers involving multiples of ten, again using the conjunction *lo* 'and', as in (29) and (30).

\[ \text{More details on the conjunction of quantifiers can be found in §10.3.1.5.} \]
(29) *matutin* co lo *matyo* haso lo *matwal*
mat=utin so lo mat=yu ha=so lo mat=wal
CLASS=one and CLASS=ten CLASS=one and CLASS=three
‘a hundred and eighteen (people)’

(30) *heitutin* lu lo *heitwal* lo *sithol*
heit=utin lu lo heit=wal lo sis=tol
CLASS=two and CLASS=ten CLASS=three
‘two hundred and eighty-three (animals)’

Between exact multiples of a thousand, again, much the same pattern is found:

(31) *taun hacalan* co lo *hautin* cio lo
taun ha=calan so lo ha=utin sio lo
year CLASS=thousand one and CLASS=one

hayo hasio lo *hawonam*
ha=yo ha=sio lo ha=wonam
CLASS=ten times=nine and CLASS=six

‘the year nineteen ninety-six’

(32) *Calan* utin CLASS=one *lim* lo yo
CLASS=thousand CLASS=one

ha=lu lo p-lim lo utin wonam lo
CLASS=two CLASS=five

yo ha=lim lo p-so
CLASS=ten CLASS=five

‘525,651.’

A further problem concerning the formation of complex numbers needs to be mentioned. The use of conjunctions as in (31) and (32) above can lead to some apparent ambiguities. Examples (33) and (34), for example, although they have the same surface realisation of phonological segments, mean quite different things.

(33) *calan* yo haso lo pso
[calan yo ha=su] lo p-so
CLASS=thousand ten times=one and CLASS=one
‘ten thousand and one’

(34) *calan* yo haso lo pso
[yo ha=su] lo p-so
CLASS=thousand ten times=one and CLASS=one
‘eleven thousand’
The potential ambiguity can be resolved by the use of appropriate intonation, usually a short pause with a non-terminal rising contour at the point where the highest structural level of conjunction is found (i.e. where the brackets are placed in the above examples).

10.3.1.5 The scope of classifiers

All of the classifiers (except the default classifier $p$-) have scope over entire quantifier phrases rather than just over the numerals they co-occur with. Note example (35) for instance where the measure classifier $ha$ occurs only once before the conjoined elements $so$ ‘two’ and $lu$ ‘three’ and has scope over the whole collocation.

(35) $ha = [so\quad pa\quad lu]$
CLASS=[one or two]
‘once or twice’

In (36) the same kind of structure is seen with the human classifier $mat$=.

(36) $mat = [lu\quad pa\quad tol]$
CLASS=[two or three]
‘two or three people’

The default classifier $p$-, on the other hand, only has scope over the numeral root to which it is prefixed. Thus, example (37) is ungrammatical.

(37) * $kapaya\quad ptol\quad pa\quad hot$
kapaya $p$-tol $pa\quad hot$
pawpaw CLASS-three or four
‘Three or four pawpaws.’

The notion ‘three or four pawpaws’ is expressed as shown in (38) where $p$- is prefixed to both numeral roots.

(38) $kapaya\quad ptol\quad pa\quad phot$
kapaya $p$-tol $pa\quad p$-hot
pawpaw CLASS-three or CLASS-four
‘Three or four pawpaws.’

Presumably the fact that $p$- only has scope over numeral roots also relates to the non-occurrence of $p$- before the multiple classifiers $yo$ ‘ten’, $utin$ ‘hundred’ and $calan$ ‘thousand’ discussed above.
10.3.1.6 Higher numbers

Any number up to 999,999 can be formed on indigenous Taba patterns, as discussed above. For numbers of a million or more, however, the Malay borrowing *juta* ‘million’ is used as a noun as in (39).

(39) *juta* phot
    juta p-hot
    million CLASS-four
    ‘four million’

Once numbers of this magnitude are being used, the Taba classifier system tends to break down, and there is some variability in the forms produced by native speakers, presumably because *juta* is seen as a ‘foreign’ borrowing. Some further notes on variability in classifier use are found in §10.3.5.

10.3.1.7 Conjoined numbers and non-numeral quantifiers

Numbers may be conjoined with some of the general quantifiers, as seen in (40) to (42).

(40) *top* hayo haso lo palo
    top ha=yo ha=so lo palo
    hour CLASS-ten times=one and half
    ‘half past ten’

(41) *calan* co lo lomo
    calan co lo lomo
    (CLASS)thousand one and other
    ‘more than a thousand’

(42) *utin* lu lo moto
    utin lu lo moto
    CLASS(hundred) two and little
    ‘two hundred and a bit’

10.3.2 The individual classifiers

In this section, I will deal in turn with each of the Taba classifiers for which I have sufficient information. I have collected data on twenty classifiers which are discussed here, but there are probably further low frequency classifiers which I have not heard used. A list of all the classifiers that have been encountered was given in the introductory part of §10.3 above.
For each classifier, I will discuss its semantic contributions and note whether
the classifier takes the form of an affix, a proclitic or an independent word. Finally, any morphophonemic peculiarities will be considered.

There are four very common groups of classifiers (the default classifier \( p- \), the measure classifier \( ha- \), the human classifiers \( i= \) and \( mat= \) and the animal classifiers \( i=, sis=, \) and \( bêt \)) which are treated at some length first. Following these, the other (considerably less frequent) classifiers are each treated briefly. There is no morphologically conditioned variation in any of the latter.

### 10.3.2.1 The default classifier \( p- \)

This form is used for any countable object for which none of the other classifiers is applicable. It is gradually encroaching on the territory of other classifiers which are falling out of use by younger speakers (see §10.3.5). The default classifier is a prefix with no morphophonemic peculiarities.

Taba is rather unusual in that numeral roots can never appear without a classifier. In any situation where there is no clear semantic basis for choosing a classifier it is the \( p- \) prefix which is utilised. Such situations include the act of counting, when the person counting has no particular objects in mind (as children might do when learning to count). The forms of the numbers from one to ten are as given in (43).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
psō & plu & ptol \\
4 & 5 & 6 \\
phōt & plīm & pwonam \\
7 & 8 & 9 \\
phūt & pwal & psō \\
10 & & \\
yō haso & & \\
\end{array}
\]

As can be seen above, all of the numbers from one to nine are simply created by prefixing the segment \( p- \) to the numeral roots. There is no morphophonemic variation to account for. A few example sentences, showing some of the range of types of referents which can be counted using the \( p- \) default classifier are given in (44) to (46).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
Irson & ni & komo & ni & myao & pwonam \\
Irson & ni & komo & ni & myao & p-wonam \\
Irson & 3sg.POSS & hand & 3sg.POSS & digit & CLASS-six \\
\end{array}
\]

'Irson has six fingers.'

---

7 See chapter 3 for a discussion of the terms 'affix', 'clitic' and 'word' as they are used in this description.
(45) tanggal yo haso lo pwal
tanggal yo ha=so lo p-wal
date ten times=one and CLASS-eight
'The date was the eighteenth.'

(46) Kampung plu le lekat te
kampung p-lu le lekat te
village CLASS-two only be.broken NEG
'Only two villages were not damaged.'

10.3.2.2 The ‘measure’ classifier ha=

The forms of the numbers from one to ten using ha= are illustrated in (47).
Ha= takes the form of a proclitic and it is never stressed. There is no
morphophonemic variation to account for.

(47)  1 ha=so  2 ha=lu  3 ha=tol
     4 ha=hot  5 ha=lim  6 ha=wonam
     7 ha=hit  8 ha=wal  9 ha=sto
     10 ha=yo ha=so

The classifier ha= is used for a variety of purposes. Most of the things it
refers to are measurements of one kind or another. Typical nouns it is used
with are liter ‘litre’, meter ‘metre’, taun ‘year’, minggu ‘week’, top ‘hour’. There
are some complications with respect to this characterisation of the functions of
ha=, however. A number of units of measurement function as classifiers in their
own right, and those that I know of will each be discussed separately. There are
also a few units of measure which are usually classified with the default
classifier p=. Ha= is generally only used with time words, such as those
discussed above, when they are used to refer to an interval of time rather than
to a specific time. A fuller discussion of the use of classifiers with time words is
found below.

The classifier ha= is also traditionally used in Taba to mark ordinal numbers,
although younger speakers usually use the Malay ordinals instead (see §10.3.3
for discussion of ordinal numbers). A further function of the ha= classifier is to
mark adverbiale quantification, eg. ‘once’, ‘twice’, etc.

An initial two examples of ha classifying ‘official’ units of measurement:
‘litres’ and ‘metres’, are found in (48) and (49).

(48) Liter halu
    liter ha=lu
    litre CLASS=two
    'two litres'
It should be noted that the ha= classifier is appropriate not only when an officially sanctioned ‘modern’ unit of measurement such as the litre or the metre is utilised, but also when a variety of ad-hoc measurements are used. An example of this can be seen in (50).

(50) Ember halu
    ember ha=lú
    bucket CLASS=two
    ‘two buckets full (of something)’

Note the contrast with (51) where p- is used to refer to two buckets (rather than to the extent of their contents ‘two buckets full).

(51) Ember plu
    ember p-lu
    bucket CLASS=two
    ‘two buckets’

As just mentioned, not all units of measurement are marked with the classifier ha=. Some traditional measures, e.g. lof ‘armspan’ tonat ‘ten armspans’ are classifiers in their own right (see §10.3.2.16 and §10.3.2.17), but others, e.g. song ‘handspan’ require the ha= classifier as in (62).

(52) Song halu
    song ha=lú
    handspan CLASS=two
    ‘two handspans’

A few measure words (e.g. jam ‘hour’) use the default classifier p-, but these measurements tend to be recently introduced terms, and the use of p- here seems to be related to the simplification of the classifier system which is going on under the impact of Malay (see §10.3.5).
For the most part, quantified intervals of time, except for *jam* ‘hour’
mentioned above, *ngan* ‘day’ and *pait* ‘month’ use the classifier *ha*. For *taun* ‘year’ the *ha* classifier is used, as in (53).

(53) I nani taun hayo hahot lo
     i n-ha-ni taun ha=yo ha=hot lo
     3sg 3sg-CAUS-POSS.3sg year CLASS=ten CLASS=four and

     hahot do
     ha=hot do
     CLASS=four REAL
     ‘He’s forty-four years old.’

Interestingly, *ha* is used with *taun* ‘year’ whether there is an interval of time
being referred to (as in (53) above) or whether it is a specific year being referred
to. In (54), what is being referred to is the date of utterance - the year 1994.

(54) taun hacalan co lo utin cio lo
     taun ha=salan so lo utin sio lo
     year CLASS=thousand one and hundred nine and

     hayo hasio lo hahot
     ha=yo ha=sio lo ha=hot
     CLASS=ten CLASS=nine and CLASS=four
     ‘the year nineteen ninety-four’

Adverbial quantification using the *ha* measure classifier is illustrated in (55).

(55) Ngan iso halu
     ngan i=so ha=lu
     day CLASS=one CLASS=two
     ‘twice a day’

Finally, it is worth noting that *ha* is encountered in a few common
lexicalised forms. In the general quantifier *hasole* ‘all’, *ha* is simply part of a
lexicalised compound and does not need to be used with reference to
measurements per se. In (56) it is used to refer to ‘all of you (people)’.

(56) hasole meu
    ha-so-le meu
    CLASS=one-only 2pl
    ‘all of you (people)’

In (57) the reduplicated adverbially employed quantifier *haso haso* ‘often’ is
shown.

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8 *Ngan* ‘day’ and *pait* ‘month’ are both quantified with the ‘animal’ classifier *sis-*. See §10.3.2.4.
10.3.2.3 The human classifiers \textit{i-} and \textit{mat=}

When counting human beings, the prefix \textit{i-} is used to form the numeral 'one', but the proclitic \textit{mat=} is used for numbers higher than one. \textit{i-} is categorised as a prefix while \textit{mat=} is a proclitic.\footnote{The classifier \textit{i-} might more aptly be labelled the 'single animate' classifier since it is also used for one animal. \textit{i-} is categorised as a prefix since it must always occur with the root \textit{-so} when reference is made to a single animate. \textit{Mat=}, on the other hand, is classed as a proclitic because it only need occur attached to the first element of a quantifier phrase (see §10.3.1.5).} There is no morphophonemic variation to account for. The forms of the derived forms are as follows:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
1 & \textit{i-so} & 2 \textit{mat=lu} \\
4 & \textit{mat=hot} & 5 \textit{mat=lim} \\
7 & \textit{mat=hit} & 8 \textit{mat=wal} \\
10 & \textit{mat=yo ha=so} & 3 \textit{mat=tol} \\
6 & \textit{mat=wonam} & 9 \textit{mat=cio}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Any noun used to refer to humans which is being quantified will take a numeral with this classifier. The human classifier, however, is most commonly used when there is no overt head noun. Some examples are given in (59) to (61).

(59) \textit{Sebenanya matlu ada yak.}
  sebenanya \textit{mat=lu} ada yak
  truthfully \textit{CLASS=two} with \textit{1sg}
  'In fact, two people including me.'

(60) \textit{wang gulo iso}
  \textit{wang gulo i-so}
  child \textit{CLASS=one}
  'one baby'

(61) \textit{Kot yan iso e mat=lu}
  \textit{k-ot yan i=so e mat=lu}
  \textit{1sg-catch} fish \textit{CLASS=one} FOC \textit{CLASS=two}
  \textit{llewit.}
  \textit{l=lewit}
  3pl=carry.on.shoulder.with.pole
  'I caught one fish and two people had to carry it on a pole over their shoulders.'
As discussed in chapter 7, only humans are normally marked for grammatical Number: thus it is only when the classifier *mat* occurs that marking for grammatical Number is a relevant issue. The plural enclitic *=si* usually occurs attached to the noun itself, with the classified number following as in (62), but the plural enclitic may also be attached to the number as in (63).

(62) **mapinci**
    **mattol**
    mapin=si  mat=tol
    woman=PL  CLASS=three
    ‘three women’

(63) **mapin**  **mattolci**
    mapin mat=tol=si
    woman  CLASS=three=PL
    ‘three women’

10.3.2.4 The ‘animal’ classifiers *i*, *sis=*, *beit*

The label ‘animal’ classifier could be a little misleading here. While generally used to count animals, these classifiers are also used for counting days and months, whether counting specific days and months, or counting intervals of time measured in days or months. *i*- is used for a single animal (or day or month), *sis=* is used for from two to nine animals, days, or months, while *beit* is used for larger numbers. The forms of the numbers from one to ten are given in (64).

(64)  1   iso                      2   silhu                      3   sithol
      4   sishot                   5   silhim                     6   sisoenam
      7   sishit                   8   siswal                     9   sishio
      10  beit co

As can be seen above, there is a considerable amount of morphophonemic variation in the form of the classifier *sis=*. This variation is discussed in detail in §2.7.5. *i*- is categorised as a prefix, *sis=* as a proclitic, and *beit* as an independent word.

Some examples utilising the *sis-* classifier to count animals are seen in (65) through (67).

(65) **Yak**  **kanik**
    yak   k-ha-nik
    1sg   1sg-CAUS-1sg.POSS
    ‘I own three goats.’
(66) *Not* yan iso le
    n-o
t 3sg-catch fish CLASS=one only
    ‘He only caught one fish.’

(67) *Galala* sishot da
    galala sis=hot da
cockatoo CLASS=four DIST
    ‘There are four cockatoos.’

As already mentioned, the time words *ngan* ‘day’ and *pait* ‘month’ are also quantified using the ‘animal’ classifier. The reasons for this are not fully understood, but the fact that these nouns also refer to ‘the sun’ and ‘the moon’ respectively suggests that the sun and moon may once have had some kind of mythical significance as animals.¹⁰ As stated above, whether the units of time being measured are intervals (as in (68)) or instances of specific days or months (as in (69)), the ‘animal’ classifiers are used in each case.

(68) *Ndadi* polo ngan pait cilhu pa tol turus...
    n-dadi polo ngan pait sis=lu pa tol turus
    3sg-become[thus] if sun month CLASS=two or three direct
    ‘So if there was sun for two or three months right through...’

(69) *Ngan* iso yak kwom nak
    ngan i=so yak k-wom nak
day CLASS=one 1sg 1sg-come again
    ‘One day I’ll come back.’

**10.3.2.5 *mot* = ‘small square flat thin & cut’**

This classifier is used for small square flat thin things that have been cut or sliced such as *waji* ‘square shaped glutinous rice cakes’, *roti* ‘slices of bread’, and *kartas* ‘sheets of paper’. *Mot*= is a procitic and there is no morphophonemic variation to account for. An example is given in (70).

(70) *Kamkum pappido* ni gisai motlu
    kamkum pappido ni gisai mot-lu
    kamkum pappido 3sg.POSS end-flap CLASS=two
    ‘A kamkum pappido (kind of woven picnic rice container made from coconut leaves named after the breast (*pappido*) of the *kamkum* bird) has two end-flaps’.

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¹⁰ No traditional stories reflecting the putative prehistorical mythical status of the sun and the moon as animals are remembered by any of the Taba speakers I have questioned about this issue. I am unaware whether or not other groups from the Halmahera region have such stories. Taba speakers appear to have ‘lost’ many of their traditional stories, something probably attributable to the fact that they have followed Islam for many centuries now (see chapter 1 for more details on Taba history).
10.3.2.6 goha ‘assembled together’

This classifier is used when counting groups of things that have been gathered together. Goha is an independent word. The groups of things assembled together could include fruit which has been gathered together into a pile, as in (71).

(71) ngnge   goha   lu
      ngnge   goha   lu
      kanari.nut CLASS two
‘two piles of canarium nuts’

Example (72) comes from a popular Taba song which says that the people of Kayoa and Makian islands are one people.

(72) Ni turunan noma noma e tit e goha
     ni turunan no-ma no-ma e tit e goha
     3sg.POSS ancestor there-VEN there-VEN FOC 1pl.incl FOC CLASS
so tit le
so tit le
one 1pl.incl only

‘From the time of the ancestors down, we have been one people.’

10.3.2.7 wato ‘small oblong shaped (not cut or sliced)’

The classifier wato- is used with small oblong shaped things, such as gadis ‘matches’, atom ‘pens’, and baku ‘sago cakes’ amongst other things. It is an independent word. The crucial distinction between things classified with mot= and those classified with wato seems to be that those classified with mot= have been cut or sliced while this classified with wato have not. Sago cakes (often jocularly referred to as kaset Taba ‘Makianese cassettes’) are formed in molds while the waji cakes discussed in §10.3.2.5 are cut into slices after baking. Some examples of the classifier are found in (73) and (74).

(73) Yak kanik        gadis wato so
     yak k=ha-ni-k     gadis wato so
     1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS-1sg lighter CLASS one
     ‘I have a match’

11 Cf. gadis pso ‘cigarette lighter’.
(74)  I non duga baku wato so
     i n=on duga baku wato so
     3sg 3sg=eat only sago.cake CLASS one
     'He only ate one sago cake'.

10.3.2.8 *hola* 'piece of wood / stick'

While the classifier *wato* is used for short thin sticks, such as matches, the classifier *hola* is used for longer stick-like things, such as lengths of firewood. *Hola* is another independent word.

(75)  ai  hola  so
     ai  hola  so
     wood CLASS one
     'A stick of wood (usually a length of firewood).'

10.3.2.9 *luklik* 'rolled up'

This classifier is used for long thin things that have been rolled up, such as cigarettes, as seen in (76). The classifier is derived from the verb *luklik* 'to roll something' and it is an independent word.

(76)  Tabako  luklik  so?
     tabako  luklik  so
     cigarette CLASS one
     'May I have a cigarette?'

10.3.2.10 *ai* 'tree'

This classifier is an independent word used to count trees and comes from the word *ai* 'tree'. It is also to count some things that are associated with trees. Example (77) shows a very common use of this classifier, for counting large stalks of bananas (which grow only one to a tree).

(77)  loka  ai  lu
     loka  ai  lu
     banana CLASS two
     'Two stalks of bananas.'

10.3.2.11 *awa* 'stalk'

This classifier, an independent word, is used to count bunches of fruit which grow together on a stalk, such as *ngnge* 'kanari nuts' as seen in (78). The form *awa* is also an independent noun meaning 'stalk'.
(78) *Ngnge  awa  so  pso  le.*
    *ngnge  awa  so  p-so  le*
    *kanari.nut  CLASS-one  CLASS-one  only  *
    *‘There’s only one kanari nut on one bunch.’*

10.3.2.12 *ising* ‘hand’

As far as I am aware, this classifier can only be used to refer to ‘hands of bananas’ as in (79). It is an independent word.

(79) *Loka  ising  so*
    *loka  ising  so*
    *banana  CLASS  one*
    *‘one hand of bananas’*

10.3.2.13 *kop* ‘grain’

This classifier is used to refer to grains of things, such as grains of rice and corn as illustrated in (80). It is an independent word.

(80) *gocila  kop  yo  haso*
    *gocila  kop  yo  ha=so*
    *corn  CLASS  ten  times=one*
    *ten grains of corn*

10.3.2.14 *boka* ‘skewer’

The classifier *boka* is an independent word used when counting things skewered on a stick, as in (81).

(81) *sate  boka  so*
    *sate  boka  so*
    *sate  CLASS  one*
    *‘one stick of sate’*

10.3.2.15 *coat* ‘bundle’

The classifier *coat* is used when counting bundles of things such as firewood, as in (82). It is categorised as a word.

(82) *Kyat  coat  lu  akle  tapin  li*
    *k=yat  coat  lu  ak-le  tapin  li*
    *1sg=carry  CLASS  two  ALL-land  kitchen  LOC*
    *‘I’m carrying two bundles (of firewood) to the kitchen.’*
10.3.2.16 *lof* 'armspan'

This is a traditional unit of measurement which functions itself as a classifier and is an independent word. Some traditional units of measurement (the ones discussed here and below) are formally categorised as classifiers. Others, such as *song* 'width of handspan', are not classifiers, but canonical nouns, themselves having to be classified by the general measure classifier *ha-* (see §10.3.2.2 above). One *lof* is equivalent to the distance between the tips of two outstretched arms. The classifier is illustrated in (83).

(83) *Kurusi ni mlongan lof so lo lomo*

chair 3sg.POSS length CLASS one and other

'The chair is over a handspan long.'

10.3.2.17 *tonat* 'ten armspans'

This classifier is another traditional unit of measurement, equivalent to ten armspans (or *lof*). It too is an independent word.

(84) *tonat co sama lo lof yo ha=so*

CLASS one same as CLASS ten CLASS=one

'A *tonat* is the same as ten *lof*.'

10.3.2.18 *odo* 'interval between “knuckles” of bamboo'

This classifier is another unit of measurement, used exclusively as far as I can tell for referring to lengths of bamboo (an extremely common building material). One *odo* is the distance between two of the 'knuckles' of a piece of bamboo. (See figure 10.2.)

![Figure 10.2 Distance measured by the *odo*](image-url)

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**Figure 10.2 Distance measured by the *odo***
(85) *odo* lu
    odo lu
    CLASS two
    'a piece of bamboo two ‘knuckle-spans’ long’

10.3.2.19 *op*o ‘days in future’

The classifier *op*o- only ever appears with the noun *ngan* ‘day’ and it can only be used with the numeral *so* ‘one’. It is not necessary to overtly mention the head noun *ngan* ‘day’. It is used to refer to a day in the future, i.e. ‘tomorrow’ or ‘the next day’, as seen in (86).

(86) *(Ngan) opo so*(
    (ngan) opo so
    (day) CLASS one
    ‘tomorrow / the next day’

A cliticised compound using *op*o *so* can be used to refer to ‘the day after tomorrow’ or ‘two days later’.

(87) *Opo sokik opo so*  
    opo so-okik opo so  
    CLASS one-be.finished CLASS one  
    ‘The day after tomorrow / ‘two days later’

10.3.2.20 *op*a ‘days in past’

This classifier is used to refer to days in the past. It differs from *op*o in that any number of days can be specified. Its use is illustrated in (88) to (90).

(88) *opa so*  
    opa so  
    CLASS one  
    ‘yesterday’

(89) *opa lu*  
    opa lu  
    CLASS two  
    ‘the day before yesterday’

(90) *opa lim*  
    opa lim  
    CLASS five  
    ‘five days ago’

Other lexicalised combinations can also be used to refer to days in the past. An example is given in (91).
10.3.2.21 Some other classifiers found outside the Waikyon dialect

In addition to the classifiers discussed above, all of which occur in the Waikyon dialect, I have also encountered a couple of other classifiers which are used by Waigitang speakers, but not by those from Waikyon. I am not sure whether or not these are used in other Taba speaking areas.

The first of these is *glong* used to count 'major' stalks of fruit such as kanari nuts. Figure 10.3 shows how the kanari fruit grows and which parts of the stalk structure are referred to by the use of the classifiers *glong* and *awa*. (cf. §10.3.2.11 on *awa* in Waikyon).

![Diagram of kanari fruit structure with classifiers](image)

Figure 10.3 Use of the classifiers *glong* and *awa* in Waigitang

The other classifier used in Waigitang but not in Waikyon is *sop*, used to count very thin sheets, e.g. of paper. The use of *sop* is illustrated in (92).

(92) *Kartas sop lu*

paper CLASS two

'two sheets of paper'

10.3.3 Ordinal numbers

Traditionally, the ordinal numbers are formed by using the *ha* interval of measurement classifier. Ordinal numbers serve to rank a referent, or some
referents according to precedence with respect to some generally presupposed scale. Illustrative examples are given in (93) and (94).

(93) Haso, yak ada Om Nur
    ha=so yak ada Om Nur
    CLASS=one me and Uncle Nur
    'The first were myself and Om Nur.'

(94) We halu da e de yak kon
    we ha=lu da e de yak k=on
    mango CLASS=two DIST FOC RES 1sg 1sg=eat
    'The second mango is for me to eat.'

Note that the adverbial quantifiers haso ‘once’, halu ‘twice’, etc. also take the same form as the ordinal numbers shown above. (See §10.3.2.2 for details).

Amongst many younger speakers, the traditional Taba forms of the ordinal numbers are no longer in use. Most younger speakers use more or less exclusively the North Mouluccan Malay ordinal numbers (some of which are illustrated in (95)) rather than the Taba ones.

(95) partama ‘first’
    kadua ‘second’
    katiga ‘third’
    kaampat ‘fourth’
    kalima ‘fifth’
    etc.

The wider topic of intergenerational variation in classifier use will be the subject of §10.3.5.

10.3.4 Other lexemes derived from classifiers

There are two further classes of lexemes which are derived using classifiers. These are the ‘quantificational interrogatives’ and the ‘paucal quantifiers’. Each of these classes requires a preposed classifier, selected according to the same semantic parameters as those used when counting things. Each of these minor word classes is discussed in turn below.

10.3.4.1 Quantificational interrogative forms

While interrogative words are discussed in general terms in §15.1.2.1, the quantificational interrogatives have some peculiarities of their own which are discussed here. Quantificational interrogatives are formed by preposing the
appropriate classifier to the quantificational interrogative root *iso* ‘how many’. In example (96) *iso* occurs with the default classifier *p*.

(96) \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{We} & \text{p} & \text{iso} & e? \\
&\text{we} & \text{p-iso} & e? \\
&\text{mango} & \text{CLASS-how.many} & \text{FOC} \\
&\text{‘How many mangoes are there?’}
\end{align*}
\]

All of the classifiers discussed in §10.3.3 can be used with the quantificational interrogative, including the higher numeral classifiers. A few further examples are given in (97). (As with other interrogative forms, the quantificational interrogatives very commonly occur with the postponed focus marker *e*.)

(97) \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{calan} & \text{p} & \text{iso} & \text{e}? & \text{How many thousand (rupiah)?} \\
&matiso & \text{e}? & \text{How many (people)?} \\
&\text{Haiso} & \text{e}? & \text{How long?}
\end{align*}
\]

10.3.4.2 Pauca! quantifiers

The second of these minor lexical classes is the class of pauca! quantifiers. Pauca! quantifiers are used to refer to ‘a few of something’. In example (106) the pauca! quantifier stem *isoakno* (consisting of the interrogative root to which the allative locative *akno* ‘to there’ (see §11.2.2.2) has been cliticised) occurs with the classifier *mat* to refer to a few human beings. (Sometimes the cliticised pauca! stem is reduced to *isokno*.)

(98) \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Matisoakno} & \text{le} \\
&\text{mat=iso-ak-no} & \text{le} \\
&\text{CLASS=how.many-ALL-there} & \text{only} \\
&\text{‘There were only a few people.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Again, the choice of an appropriate form for the pauca! quantifier depends on the same semantic characteristics as for the numeral-classifier forms discussed above. A few further illustrative examples are given in (99).

(99) \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{løf isoakno} & \text{a few armspans} \\
&\text{duga pisokno} & \text{a few (eg. pieces of fruit)} \\
&\text{ngan cisisokno} & \text{a few days}
\end{align*}
\]

10.3.5 Intergenerational variation in classifier use

Amongst younger Taba speakers the complexities of the classifier system are starting to fall apart under the influence of Malay. Although the most frequent classifiers (except perhaps for the measure classifier *ha*) still generally tend to
be used most of the time, the less frequent classifiers are hardly used at all, either being replaced by the default $p$-classifier or by a Malay equivalent. The measure classifier is usually replaced by the default classifier $p$-, particularly when a measure word is itself borrowed from Malay. Some examples are given in (100) and (101).

(100) a. **older speakers’ usage:**
   \[ \text{Top} \quad ha=so \]
   strike \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{one} \quad \text{‘One o’clock’} \]

b. **younger speakers’ usage:**
   \[ \text{Jam} \quad p-so \]
   hour \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{one} \quad \text{‘One o’clock’} \]

(101) a. **older speakers’ usage:**
   \[ \text{Meter} \quad ha=lu \]
   metre \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \quad \text{‘two metres’} \]

b. **younger speakers’ usage:**
   \[ \text{meter} \quad p-lu \]
   metre \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \quad \text{‘two metres’} \]

Younger speakers will sometimes not even accept as grammatical collocations such as that illustrated in (102a) presumably not properly understanding the semantic distinction on which the difference between e.g. ‘buckets’ and ‘buckets full’ discussed in more detail in §10.3.2.2 above is based. The author was once ‘corrected’ by a younger speaker for using the $ha= \text{form}$ in this semantic context. (The embarrassed younger speaker was then berated by an older villager for not knowing how to speak Taba ‘properly’ any more.)

(102) a. **older speakers’ usage:**
   \[ \text{Ember} \quad ha=lu \]
   bucket \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \quad \text{‘two buckets full’} \]

   \[ \text{cf.} \]
   \[ \text{Ember} \quad p-lu \]
   bucket \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \quad \text{‘two buckets’} \]

b. **younger speakers’ usage:**
   \[ \text{Ember} \quad p-lu \]
   bucket \quad \text{CLASS}=\text{two} \quad \text{‘two buckets full / two buckets’} \]

A variety of the less frequent Taba classifiers are often simply replaced by the default classifier $p$-, as illustrated in (103).
(103) a. **older speakers’ usage:**

   *Amplop*  *mot=wonam*
   envelope  CLASS=six
   ‘six envelopes’

b. **younger speakers’ usage:**

   *Amplop*  *p-wonam*
   envelope  CLASS-six
   ‘six envelopes’

In other cases, less frequent Taba classifier are replaced by their Malay equivalents. When this occurs, the Malay classifier is used not with the Taba numeral root, but with a Taba numeral root to which the default classifier is prefixed, as in (104), where there appear to be two classifiers.

(104) Tabako  batang  *pso?*
    tabako  batang  *p-so*
    cigarette  CLASS (trunk)  CLASS-one
    ‘May I have a cigarette?’

Given the frequent use of Malay classifiers in contexts similar to that seen in (104), it is my belief that many younger speakers no longer perceive the default *p-* classifier as a classifier at all, but as part of the numeral root.

### 10.4 Other matters

In the final section of this chapter, we discuss a few final issues which relate to quantifiers and their use.

#### 10.4.1 Modifying quantifier phrases

Three modifiers of quantifier phrases are discussed here. The first two, *duga* and *le* can both be translated into English as ‘only’ and are discussed in §10.4.1.1. The third *nyoa* ‘almost’ is discussed in §10.4.1.2.

**10.4.1.1 *duga* and *le* ‘only’**

Both *duga* and *le* occur as quantificational modifiers of noun phrase and they both emphasise the speaker’s attitude that whatever is referred to is of a minimal quantity. They can be translated into English as ‘only’. *Duga* occurs at the beginning of the phrase concerned, while *le* occurs at the end of it. They are illustrated in (105) and (106).
(105) Duga  iso   nwom
    duga  i-so  nwom
only   CLASS=one  3sg=come
'Only one person came.'

(106) Nam  matlu  le
    n=am  mat=lu  le
    3sg=see  CLASS=two  only
'He saw only two (people).'

To add emphasis to the speaker’s attitude that a minimal quantity is being
referred to, both duga and le can be used in the same quantifier phrase.

(107) Kot  duga  yan  iso  le
    k=ot  duga  yan  i=so  le
    1sg=catch  only  fish  CLASS=one  only
'I only caught one fish.'

Both duga and le can also occur as modifiers of whole clauses. See §14.3.2 on
duga and §14.4.1 on le.

10.4.1.2 nyoa ‘almost’

Nyoa is a particle that can be translated into English as ‘almost’. This particle
is related to the independent verb yoa ‘to search’. The verb can be used on its
own, with the literal meaning ‘to search’, but it also often occurs in serial verb
constructions where it has an aspectual meaning of ‘almost’ (see §12.2.5.3). The
modifier of the quantifier phrase nyoa differs from the verb in that it always has
fossilised 3sg cross-referencing although it never has any actual arguments.
Nyoa, with fossilised 3sg cross-referencing also occurs as a modifier of whole
clauses (see §14.3.5). When nyoa is used as a modifier of a quantifier phrase, it
always occurs immediately preceding the quantifier it qualifies.

(108) Ndodak  um  nyoa  yo  halu  lo  lomo
    n=dod-ak  um  nyoa  yo  ha=lu  lo  lomo
    3sg=ask-APPL  house  almost  ten  CLASS=two  and  other
It claimed almost twenty-something houses.’

(109) Ktala  yan  banden  nyoa  beitutin  co
    k=tala  yan  banden  nyoa  beit=utin  so
    1sg=meet  fish  milk.fish  almost  CLASS=hundred  one
'I got nearly a hundred milk fish.'
10.4.2 ‘indefinite’ use of CLASS-so

Examples of the number ‘one’ being used to refer to indefinites are commonly encountered in Taba discourse. An illustrative example is given in (110).

(110) Kapal ya pso nuso lawe
       Kapal ya p-so n=uso la-we
       ship up CLASS-one 3sg=steer sea-at
       ‘There was a ship steering along seawards.’

Some other examples of this kind of use of the number ‘one’ were encountered in previous sections. See examples (61) and (69) repeated below as (111) and (112). In (111), CLASS-so performs an introductory function, marking the fish referred to as both indefinite and specific.

(111) Kot yan iso e mat=lu
       k=ot yan i-so e mat=lu
       1sg=catch fish CLASS-one FOC CLASS=two

llewit.
l=lewit
3pl=carry.on.shoulder.with.pole
‘I caught one fish and two people had to carry it on a pole over their shoulders.’

CLASS-so also occurs in a few idiomatic phrases such as the one illustrated in (112).

(112) Ngan iso yak kwom nak
       ngan i-so yak k-wom nak
day CLASS-one 1sg 1sg-come again
‘One day I’ll come back.’

10.4.3 Archaic numerals

In addition to the quantificational system outlined above, there is also an archaic set of numbers remembered by many Taba speakers. I was unable to ascertain what purpose this archaic set of numbers had within the Taba quantificational system. The forms I was told about are listed in (113). Some of these forms clearly bear a relationship with the normal numeral roots discussed above (those for ‘two’ and ‘seven’), but the sources of the others remain obscure along with their functions.12

12 Note, however, that the final stress on many of the forms as well as the alveopalatal affricates
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>picú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pilú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pitia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>bokotó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ngaitó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>vigitó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mathét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kabeláng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ragimoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dolapecu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

found in *picú* 'one' and *dolapecu* 'ten' suggest that the words themselves may be borrowed.
This chapter discusses the demonstrative and directional systems of Taba. Both of these subsystems function to mark deixis within the language in various ways. Taba is a language which has very little morphology in most domains: one of the things that makes the demonstratives and directionals interesting is that both the demonstrative and directional roots can enter into a variety of derivations to create new words.

The chapter is divided into three sections.

In section §11.1, an overview of the semantics and morphosyntax of the demonstrative system of Taba is provided. Taba has a two way demonstrative split signalled by the roots *ne*, which roughly speaking indicates proximity to the speaker, and *da / dia* which roughly indicate distance from the speaker. *Da* is an optionally shorten form of *dia*. Each of these roots enters into a variety of morphological paradigms.

Section §11.2 deals with directionals. Taba has a set of five directional roots, rough equivalents of which can be found in all of the languages of the Halmahera region and a few languages beyond. These are *po*, roughly translatable as ‘down’, *ya ‘up’, la ‘seawards’, le ‘landwards’ and *no ‘there*. Again, each of these roots enters into a number of morphological paradigms which will be discussed here.

Finally, section §11.3 provides a discussion of aspects of the Taba deictic system in more general terms, looking at how the demonstratives and some of the directionals function together to mark deixis.
11.1 Demonstratives

A paradigm of the attested words formed from the demonstrative roots is set out in figure 11.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root forms</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>da / dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ine</td>
<td>idia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similitative nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘biasa’</td>
<td>sine</td>
<td>sidia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘alus’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kasar’</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>adia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tane</td>
<td>tadia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tadine</td>
<td>taddia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hatadine</td>
<td>hatadia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dodine</td>
<td>dodia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.1 Taba demonstrative paradigm

In §11.1.1 we discuss the root demonstratives and characterise more fully their meanings, in §11.1.2 we discuss the derived forms, and in §11.1.3 we will look at some of the ways forms from the different paradigmatic sets can be combined syntagmatically. An overview of the demonstratives’ deictic role in Taba discourse is provided in §11.3.

11.1.1 Root forms

The core meanings of the demonstrative roots are best characterised in terms of deixis with respect to the speaker. In simple terms, the demonstratives can be said to indicate physical proximity or distance, as well as textual proximity or distance, temporal proximity or distance and also such things as a speaker’s perceived emotional or spiritual distance from something. The demonstrative roots make up a closed paradigmatic class, based on their combinability into complex forms as outlined in figure 11.1 above. When the root forms occur as self-standing particles, they occur immediately following the noun phrases which they index.

Example (1) illustrates the use of ne (= ‘this’, proximal, glossed ‘PROX’) to indicate physical proximity.
(1) Kurusi ne kyat Keten nak.
kurusi ne k=yat Keten nak
chair PROX 1sg=take Moti also
'I also took these chairs to Moti'.

Example (2) illustrates the use of *dia* (= 'that' distal, glossed 'DIST') while (3) illustrates the use of its more commonly encountered shortened form *da*.

(2) Termasuk Rabudayosi dia
termasuk Rabudayo=si dia
including Rabudayo=pl DIST
'Including those people from Rabudayo'.

(3) Kabin *da*, yak kanik
kabin da yak k=ha-nik
goat DIST 1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sgPOSS
'That goat, I own that it.'

In addition to the spatial uses of the demonstratives illustrated in the examples above, it is also very common for demonstratives to be used to represent other kinds of proximity or distance. In example (4), it is the speaker's attitude of attachment to a place that is signalled by the proximal demonstrative. This example was collected in Ternate, about 50 kilometres from Makian, but the speaker was Makianese.

(4) Polo Taba ne mdudi, cilaka.
polo taba ne mdudi cilaka
if Makian PROX sunk disaster
'If Makian had sunk, it would have been a disaster'.

In perhaps all languages, demonstratives can be used to point to previously mentioned participants in a discourse. This is also true in Taba. In (5), *ne* qualifies *dukon* 'the eruption' which is the general topic of the discourse.¹

(5) Ndadi *dukon* ne taun halim do.
ndadi *dukon* ne taun ha=lim do
so eruption PROX year CLASS=five REAL
'So the eruption was five years ago'.

Further evidence that physical proximity of the speaker *per se* is not the sole characteristic that determines whether one or the other demonstrative is used is provided in (6), where the speaker refers to something held in his hand with the

¹ Textual deixis is one of the functions of the demonstrative roots, but this function is more often carried by the directional root *ya* 'up'.
distal demonstrative *da*. In this example, it is not altogether clear whether the motivation for using *da* is that the object referred to is invisible, or whether there has been a shift in perspective from the speaker’s orientation to that of the addressee (in this case a small child). It is possible that both of the putative motivations have some relevance.

(6)  *Kagugum pu dae?*  
k=ha-gugum pu da=e  
1sg=CAUS-fist what DIST=FOC  
‘What am I holding in my fist?’

Example (6) also illustrates some of the range of nominal types which can be indexed by the demonstratives. In (6) it is the interrogative pronoun *pu* ‘what’ which is being qualified. Example (7) shows the 1pl.excl pronoun *tit* as the indexed nominal.

(7)  *Polo tit ne than...*  
polo tit ne t=han...  
if 1pl.incl PROX 1pl.incl=go  
‘If we here go...’

The core meanings of the demonstratives can be best characterised simply in terms of perceived proximity to the speaker (*ne*) versus perceived distance from the speaker (*da / diu*). The exact type of proximity entailed is impossible to characterise more precisely without reference to the discourse context in which one or other of the demonstrative roots are used, and further exploration of these issues will be left until section §11.3 where the use of each demonstrative in discourse will be examined more closely.

The issue is complicated by the fact that demonstrative roots are not the only forms able to be used to index noun phrases deictically. Although the demonstrative roots clearly compose a closed paradigmatic word class (as evidenced by the common morphological paradigms entered into by each of the forms shown in figure 11.1 above), on the basis of syntagmatic evidence, the demonstrative roots belong to a slightly enlarged word of ‘deictics’, consisting of themselves, plus the directional root *ya* ‘up’, which is also sometimes used with has a similar deictic indexing function. When used deictically, *ya* indicates some kind of relevance to both speaker and hearer. Its deictic use is exemplified in (8) where it shows its affiliation with the demonstrative roots in terms of both its position within the noun phrase, and in terms of its deictic function. (The directional roots are discussed in detail in §11.2.)
A more detailed examination of the functions of all the deictics is found in §11.3.

### 11.1.2 Derived forms

Figure 11.1 showed a number of derived forms constructed from the demonstrative roots. Each set of derived forms is discussed separately below.

#### 11.1.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Figure 11.1 showed the set of demonstrative pronouns which are repeated along with rough English translations for each in (8):

(9) (a) \( \text{ine} \) i-ne

\( \text{sg-PROX} \)

‘this (near speaker)’

(b) \( \text{sine} \) si-ne

\( \text{pl-PROX} \)

‘these (near speaker)’

(c) \( \text{ida} / \text{idia} \)

\( \text{i-da} / \text{i-dia} \)

\( \text{3sg-DIST} / \text{sg-DIST} \)

‘that (near hearer)’

(d) \( \text{sida} / \text{sidia} \)

\( \text{si-da} / \text{si-dia} \)

\( \text{pl-DIST} / \text{pl-DIST} \)

‘those (near hearer)’

A descriptive issue arises from the characterisation of these forms as composing a distinct class of demonstrative pronouns rather than as simply modified versions of the 3 sg. and 3pl. pronouns to which demonstrative suffixes have been attached. A number of arguments can be advanced for setting up a distinct synchronic class of demonstrative pronouns (although it is no doubt true that the diachronic origins of the complex forms are as combinations of the third person pronouns and the demonstrative roots).

Phonologically, it is clear that the demonstrative component of the complex forms are the roots rather than the putative pronominal parts. As discussed in §2.4 stress in Taba is generally unaffected by affixation. It is the demonstrative components of the complex forms shown above which attract stress while the prefixes do not: \( \text{iné, sine, idá, sidá, idia, sidia} \). Although the first and second person pronouns may be qualified by the demonstrative roots, the pronouns and the demonstratives occur as separate phonological words, each attracting
stress. An example with the 1sg. pronoun qualified by the proximate demonstrative *ne* is given in (10).

(10) \( \text{Yak ne, polo yak kanig yakin wolat,} \)
\( \text{Yak ne, polo yak k=ha-nig yakin wolat,} \)
\( \text{1sg PROX if 1sg 1sg=CAUS-1sg.POSS memory sea,} \)

\( \text{yan non hia} \)
\( \text{yan n=on hia} \)
\( \text{fish 3sg=eat be.good} \)
\( \text{‘Me here, if I understand the sea, the fish will really go for this (i.e. eat this bait).’} \)

The most important piece of evidence for seeing the demonstrative pronouns as a distinct word class is the fact that the ordinary pronouns can only refer to animates (§7.3.1), while the demonstrative pronouns can have inanimate reference. This is illustrated in (11) (where *ine* refers to some chairs) and (12) (where *idia* refers to some luggage).

(11) \( \text{Ine ma kyat Keten nak,} \)
\( \text{i-ne ma k=yat Keten nak} \)
\( \text{3sg-PROX well 1sg=take Moti also} \)
\( \text{‘This stuff I took to Moti too’} \)

(12) \( \text{Idia Tarnate li ya} \)
\( \text{i-dia Tarnate li ya} \)
\( \text{3sg-DIST Ternate LOC up} \)
\( \text{‘Is that for (to go to) Ternate.’} \)

Demonstrative pronouns have a similar function to that of the animate pronouns when they refer to inanimates. They can also be used in most of the functional domains of ordinary nouns (i.e. they can constitute complete noun phrases). In (13), *idia* refers to the Makianese eruption which is said to have set off a tidal wave.

(13) \( \text{Idia ni laylu nwom lawe} \)
\( \text{i-dia ni laylu n=wom la-we} \)
\( \text{3sg-DIST 3sg.POSS wave 3sg=come sea-ESS} \)
\( \text{‘Its wave came up to here’} \)

The demonstrative pronouns are frequently used to point to earlier participants in a discourse, including the general topic of a whole discourse as in (13) above. They can also be used for temporal deixis as in (14).

(14) \( \text{Idia Minggu} \)
\( \text{i-dia Minggu} \)
\( \text{3sg-DIST Sunday} \)
\( \text{‘That was Sunday.’} \)
In (15), reference is made to a whole sequence of previously described events.

(15) Lai tam idia
lai t-am i-dia
just 1-pl.incl=see 3-sg-DIST
'We had just seen all of this (for the first time).'

11.1.2.2 Demonstrative locative nouns

The locative nouns formed from the demonstratives are shown in figure 11.1 are repeated in (16). They are formed by prefixing a- to the demonstrative roots (there is no shortened form of the distal demonstrative found with this construction). The prefix a- does not occur anywhere else in Taba morphology.

(16) (a) ane
    a-ne
    LOC-PROX
    'here'

(b) adia
    a-dia
    LOC-DIST
    'there'

Although the forms are clearly composed of an a- prefix and the demonstrative roots, they will from here on be simply glossed as 'here' and 'there'. Some examples of ane 'here' in sentences are shown in (17) and (18).

(17) Yak e klongo ane
    yak e k=tlongo a-ne
    1-sg FOC 1-sg=live LOC-PROX
    'Me, I live here'.

(18) Si ane te
    si a-ne te
    3-pl LOC-PROX NEG
    'He wasn't here'.

In my corpus, adia 'there' occurs far less frequently than ane 'here'. This is probably because the deictic space signified by adia is further subdivided many times by the directionals to be discussed in §11.2. When adia is used, the location it refers to is often further qualified by one of the directionals, as illustrated in (19).

(19) Tabako adia kurusi ni lawe lama
    tabako a-dia kurusi ni la-we la-ma
    cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3-sg.POSS sea-ESS sea-VEN
    'The cigarettes are there just away from the seawards side of the chair'.
11.1.2.3 Similative forms

The final forms that need to be discussed here are what I have dubbed the ‘similative’ forms. Many Austronesian languages have forms analogous to these (e.g. Indonesian beg-ini ‘like this’ and beg-itu ‘like that’). What makes the Taba forms interesting is the fact that there are so many of them. Taba speakers generally explain the differences between these forms as registral differences. A listing of the forms, along with an indication of the register label ascribed to each by Taba speakers is given in figure 11.2 where biasa = ‘normal’, alus = ‘fine’ or ‘respectful’, and kasar = ‘coarse’ (see chapter 1 for more discussion of register in Taba).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biasa</td>
<td>tane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alus</td>
<td>tadine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hatadine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasar</td>
<td>dodine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.2 Similative demonstratives according to perceived register

The similative forms are often encountered as single word utterances, when knowledge of the preceding discourse context is required to provide an appropriate English translation.

(20) Tadia!
    ta-dia
    SIM-DIST
    ‘It’s done like that!’ , ‘I’ve done it!’ , ‘Tadaa!’ [or in French, Voilà!], etc.

The forms may also be used adverbially following whatever verb they mark similitude with respect to.

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2 While it is clear that there are registral differences between the forms, there also appear to be modal and aspectual differences associated with each of them. The ta- initial forms most commonly refer to the results of processes for which any agentivity is irrelevant, much like ta- derived verbs (§8.4). The ‘kasar’ do- initial forms are often used to refer to situations where the speaker has done something properly, while the addressee has either not done anything at all or has done something improperly. There may be some connection between these forms and the do realis marker (§14.1.1) with the perceived relative impoliteness stemming from this connection: Dodia! ‘That is the real way of doing it (stupid!)’. Detailed examination of the contextual use of the similative nouns awaits further study.
11.2 Directionals

Five basic semantic categories can be distinguished in the Taba directional system: *ya*, glossed here roughly as ‘up’, *po* roughly ‘down’, *la* roughly ‘sea’, *le* roughly ‘land’, and *no* roughly ‘there’ or ‘across’\(^3\). Affixes may also be attached to the roots to indicate motion towards a particular direction, motion from a direction, and position in a direction. The roots can also be nominalised to indicate parts of something that are oriented in a particular direction. Although all of the roots can clearly be ascribed the basic meanings given above, these must be understood in a Makianese socio-cultural context: direct translations into their directional English equivalents will often have nonsensical interpretations. A basic outline of the meanings of Taba directionals is given here, but the reader is referred to Bowden (1997) for more details.

After providing a listing of the roots and their derived forms, we discuss the meanings of the directional roots within the Makianese socio-cultural context (§11.2.1). Next, we discuss the semantico-syntactic functions of each of the derived paradigmatic classes of directionals (§11.2.2). Finally, we discuss some ‘complex directionals’, where two or more derived forms are used together (§11.2.3).

A complete listing of all the Taba directionals is found in figure 11.3. The ‘essive’ forms are those which refer to static location in a particular direction, ‘allatives’ are those which refer to motion towards a direction, and the ‘venitives’ are those which refer to movement away from a direction.

---

\(^3\) The meanings of directionals will be discussed in more detail below. Although ‘there’ is a very rough approximation at best of the meaning of *no*, I have adopted this gloss since Taba speakers always translate the term into Malay as *sana* ‘there’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>ya (up)</th>
<th>po (down)</th>
<th>la (sea)</th>
<th>le (land)</th>
<th>no (there)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESSive</td>
<td>yase</td>
<td>pope</td>
<td>laue</td>
<td>lewe</td>
<td>noge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLative</td>
<td>attia</td>
<td>appo</td>
<td>akla</td>
<td>akle</td>
<td>akno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VENitive</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>poma</td>
<td>lama</td>
<td>lema</td>
<td>noma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMinalised</td>
<td>tattubo⁴</td>
<td>umpo</td>
<td>kla</td>
<td>kle</td>
<td>kno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.3 Taba directional paradigm

11.2.1 Meanings of directionals

The directional systems of languages from the North Maluku area have been of interest to many researchers, both linguists and anthropologists, who have worked in the area. Amongst the works discussing North Moluccan directionals are Teljeur’s (1987) study of Giman orientation, Taylor’s (1984) study of Tobelo, and Yoshida’s (1980) general survey of directionals of the region, focussing particularly on Galela. In this section we sketch out the basic meanings of the Taba directionals. Bowden (1997) discusses the Taba system in more detail.

The Taba directionals are used to refer to the location of some entity (the ‘figure’) with respect to some contextually determined reference point (the ‘ground’). (See Talmy (1983) for a detailed discussion of the notions of ‘figure’ and ‘ground’.) The reader should bear in mind throughout the following discussion that these directional terms are usually the only way that Taba speakers have for specifying the location of one object with respect to another. The meanings of the Taba directionals are best understood by examining their uses within three partially overlapping scalar domains:

- small scale: within a house or within a neighbourhood
- medium scale: on and nearby Makian island
- large scale: in the wider world

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⁴ Note that this is a suppletive form, based on the root *tub* ‘to grow’, and literally meaning the ‘top’ or the ‘thing with which (something) grows towards something’. The form is derived through instrumental reduplication (§7.1.2.1) of the applied locative form (§8.3.3) of *tub*. 

*tattubo*  
tat-tub-o  
RED-grow-LOC  
NOM:up ['top' / 'the thing with which something grows towards something']
11.2.1.1 Orientation within a house, or within a neighbourhood.

The clearest case of small scale orientation is within about the limits of a house. Within a house, the small-scale orientation system is always used.

Within the house, horizontal direction is indicated by the use of the roots *la* 'seawards' and *le* 'landwards' for objects that lie along a landwards - seawards axis, and by using *no* 'there' or 'across' for objects lying along the orthogonal horizontal axis. The roots *ya* 'up' and *po* 'down' are used exclusively for vertical orientation.

Figure 11.4 shows how the directions work inside a house. The categories shown here equally apply in other locations where the scale is of a similar magnitude. The wall at the left of the diagram looks landwards.

![Diagram of orientation within a house](image)

**Figure 11.4 Direction within a house**

Whenever people want to specify the position of an object relative to something else within a house, or over a small distance, they use forms from the directional paradigm. Examples (22) to (24) illustrate the use of some of the terms. For clarity in this exposition, none of these examples come from spontaneous conversation, but were elicited by holding a packet of cigarettes in a variety of positions relative to a chair, and asking a Taba speaker to simply tell me where the cigarettes were. The translations given here do not make any attempt at idiomatic English, but try to preserve some of the flavour of the Taba expression.
The cigarettes referred to in (22) are located at one of the sides of the chair which is not facing either the sea or the interior of the island. (This could also be at the ‘front’ or the ‘back’ of the chair depending on its orientation with respect to the seawards - landwards axis.) The normal English translation for this sentence would depend on the speaker’s position with respect to the chair and the cigarettes, and also on the orientation of the chair with respect to the speaker. Depending on all of these factors, then, the sentence might be translated as ‘the cigarettes are beside the chair’, ‘the cigarettes are in front of the chair’, ‘the cigarettes are behind the chair’, etc. In Taba, the relative location of the speaker and the orientation of the chair are totally irrelevant to the description of the situation.

Example (23) shows how a situation where the cigarettes are above the chair could be described.

Finally, (24) shows what a Taba speaker would say if the cigarettes were located on the landwards side of the chair. As with example (22), the relative location of the speaker and the orientation of the chair are irrelevant, and any of the English translations offered for (22) could also apply here, depending on the location of the speaker and the orientation of the chair.

As we can see from the above discussion, the directionals refer to relative locations that are fixed with respect to the direction of the land and the sea. In the terms of Levinson (1992) the Taba directional system is thus an ‘absolute’ system rather than a ‘relative’ one such as found in English.

Some of the situations described above could equally well be described using other ‘relative’ coding devices. Example (25) shows one such possibility.
(25) Tabako adia kurusi ni soda li
tabako a-dia kurusi ni soda li
cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3sg.POSS face LOC
‘The cigarettes are there, on the front of the chair’.

Notice, though, if a Taba speaker were to use this sentence, the cigarettes would have to be actually attached to the front surface of the chair. To translate the English ‘the cigarettes are in front of the chair’ the word soda (literally ‘face’) cannot be used because it can only apply to a part of something. To express the English ‘the cigarettes are in front of the chair’ requires something like (22), (24) or (26) below, depending on the orientation of the chair and the location of the speaker.

(26) Tabako adia kurusi ni lawe lama li
tabako a-dia kurusi ni la-we la-ma li
cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3sg.POSS sea-ESS sea-VEN LOC
‘The cigarettes are in front of the chair’.

Before going on to examine the use of directionals on a larger scale, it is worth pointing out that different directionals can be combined in quite complex ways in order to more accurately pinpoint the position of an object. One such example is given in (27).

(27) Tabako adia kurusi ni lae.lama pope
tabako a-dia kurusi ni la-we.la-ma po-pe
cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3sg.POSS sea-ESS,sea-VEN down-ESS
‘The cigarettes are there, in the space below and away from the seawards side of the chair’.

It is worth reiterating that this way of indicating orientation is the default way in Taba: words like soda ‘face / front’ and poto ‘buttocks / back’ are used as an exception, and not as a rule. Furthermore, such metaphorical devices are restricted in use to reference to parts of things that are orientated in a particular direction.

Examples (28) and (29), taken from spontaneous conversation should reinforce the point. Example (28) is advice from a chess match spectator to one of the protagonists, and (29) is a set of directions for the hotel where the referent was staying in Ternate. Sentences like these abound in everyday conversation.

(28) Joloso polo nim kuda lawe
jou-lo-so polo ni-m kuda la-we
good-and-one if POSS-2sg knight sea-ESS
‘Better (to move) your seawards knight’.
11.2.1.2 Intermediate scale orientation

The zone of transition between the small and intermediate scales begins as soon as we step outside the house and continues roughly as far as the next village. From beyond the next village we are clearly into the intermediate scale. As with the transition between small-scale orientation and intermediate, likewise, there is no clear-cut distinction between intermediate and large-scale orientation.

Because this is a fairly complex system, and because my data as it applies to other locations where Taba speakers live is incomplete, I will conduct all of the discussion as if we are located in the Kota section of Waikyon village, (Bahasa Indonesia Ngofakiaha). A map of Makian island and the areas adjacent to it is provided in figure 11.5. Waikyon is by far the largest village on Makian island: in many ways it would be more accurate to call Waikyon a town. Being the old capital or _ibu kota_ of the Makian Kecamatan (subdistrict), Waikyon is really a collection of eight adjoining villages or perhaps ‘sub-villages’, and Kota is at their northern end. In daily life the people of Kota have quite intensive contact with those of Gorup, Dalam, and Walo (‘sub-villages’ to the south), and Rabudayo (the next village to the north of them). These places all fall into the transition zone between the small and intermediate scales of orientation. Beyond Walo to the south lie the ‘subvillages’ of Gitan, Kiowor, Matantengin and Sangapati, and beyond them the village of Samsuma. Beyond Rabudayo to the west is Waigitang. When referring to locations in any of these villages we use the intermediate zone system. Continuing south past Samsuma we remain in the intermediate zone until we reach the village of Mailoa. Carrying on west past Mailoa we come to Bobawa, and we are into another transition zone: the zone between the intermediate and the world-wide scales of orientation. When we travel anticlockwise past Waigitang, we arrive in Sabale, and again we are into the transition zone. The whole of the west coast of Makian between Sabale and Bobawa likewise falls into the transition zone.
Figure 11.5 Map showing areas within intermediate directional zone
The Makianese are not confined to their island, however. In fact, they have quite an extensive interaction with the sea. Not surprisingly, perhaps, some areas on other islands also fall into the intermediate zone, or the transitional areas between intermediate and world-wide scales. The areas concerned are the coast of Halmahera immediately east of Makian, and the islands of Moti and Kayoa.

On the map in figure 11.5, transitional zones have been shaded. That these zones are transitional can be seen from the fact that within them, there is indeterminacy about which directions are used. All the villages on the western side of Makian island lie either yase ‘upwards’ or noge ‘there’. The adjacent parts of Halmahera island can be either leve ‘landwards’ or noge ‘there’ while the southern tip of the southwestern peninsula is yase ‘up’. Although Moti is marked as leve ‘seaward’ on the map, it is only the Tabo speaking villages in the south of the island that are unequivocally leve. In the Tidoran speaking villages on Moti’s northern side, again there is indeterminacy. These villages can be either leve ‘seaward’ or pope ‘down’. In the transitional zone between small and intermediate scales of orientation, Rabudayo is either yase ‘up’ or noge ‘there’, while the villages to Kota’s immediate south are either pope ‘down’ or noge ‘there’. In this zone, it is clearly the term noge ‘there’ which is carried over from the small-scale orientation system. As in the house, direction parallel to the seashore is noge ‘there’. Having determined which of the terms is the intermediate one in the zone between small and intermediate scales, directional reference to places within the intermediate system is quite straightforward.

From Kota, when someone follows the path anticlockwise around the island, he or she is going attia ‘upwards’. Going clockwise is going appo ‘downwards’. If the transitional zones are treated as intermediate, we can go attia ‘upwards’ anticlockwise as far as Bobawa, and appo ‘downwards’ clockwise as far as Mailoa. It is probably significant that all of the villages lying in the transition zone on Makian island are villages where the West Makian language is spoken. None of the Tabo speaking villages lie in this transition zone. I will have more to say about the status of Mailoa village as the last point in a ‘downwards’ direction from Kota later.

When leaving Makian island, and going to places at a reasonably close distance (again, all mostly Tabo speaking areas), we can either go aklta ‘seaward’ to Kayoa and Moti islands, or akle ‘landwards’ to Halmahera. It might seem odd at first that Halmahera should be ‘landwards’. This is not quite so odd, though, if we consider that Halmahera is by far the biggest land mass in
the North Maluku area. There are also other reasons for according Halmahera a special status which I will return to later. Finally, the top of the mountain on Makian island is *yase* 'up'. A schematic summary of intermediate scale direction appears on figure 11.5.

11.2.1.3 World-wide orientation

It is now time to look at orientation as it applies to the rest of the world. Having seen how the transitional areas work, we are free to look at just the clear-cut cases of world-wide orientation. A summary of the relevant categories appears in figure 11.6.

![Figure 11.6 Taba world-wide orientation](image)

From Makian, we head *appo* 'downwards' as far as Ternate and we head *attia* 'upwards' along the same axis, but in the opposite direction, past Bacan and Gane Timur as far as Gebe. We go *akno* 'there' to places on Halmahera outside the intermediate scale zone, and *akno* 'there' (or sometimes also *akla* 'seawards') to North Sulawesi and Irian Jaya. Anywhere else in the world is *lawe* 'seawards'. Returning to Makian from other places which are 'there' from Makian is usually going *noge* 'there', but sometimes people say *yase* 'up'. From Ternate, one always goes *attia* 'up' to Makian, and from Gebe, Gane Timur and Bacan we head *appo* 'downwards'.

Interestingly, this same system works in much the same way whether people are speaking Taba or North Moluccan Malay. Other languages in the Halmahera region have roughly comparable systems, all of those of which I am aware distinguishing much the same categories as Taba (although some languages divide up the space referred to by nage ‘there’ in Taba into two directions).

Most strikingly, all of the local language systems distinguish an up-down axis that correlates quite closely with the Taba one. While Taba speakers go appo ‘downwards’ only as far as Ternate, speakers of Tobelo (Taylor, 1984) continue ‘downwards’ further north along the coast. Taba speakers only go attia ‘upwards’ as far as Gebe, but the Giman, who live on the eastern side of the southern peninsula of Halmahera, keep going ‘upwards’ through the Raja Ampat islands to Irian Jaya. The axis does not just end here, though. It seems that at least some languages from Irian Jaya also use some of the same terms and extend the axis further. The Biak, as Kamma (1947, 1:364-370) relates, have had a centuries long tradition of contact with Ternate, and Held (1957) points out that the Waropen of Cenderawasi Bay also participated in the trade. According to Held (1957:45-46) the Waropen go ‘upwards’ as they move away from Halmahera along the coast of Cenderawasi Bay, and ‘downwards’ as they move towards Halmahera.

11.2.1.4 Making coherence of the three scales together

The first thing that needs to be done in order to make coherence of all the scales together is to recognise the importance of the concept pope ‘downwards’ and its wider implications. We also need to recognise that historically, Taba speakers have probably borrowed their world-wide orientational system from another language, most likely Ternatan which, as I have said was for a long time the lingua franca of the area (see chapter 1). The importance of pope ‘downwards’ in the system then becomes quite obvious. Since one can only travel appo ‘downwards’ as far as Ternate, and since Ternate has had such a strong influence on Taba speakers, ‘downward’ travel appo is also travel towards the centre (see Andaya, 1993 for extensive discussion of Ternate as the centre of the North Maluku region).

In seeking to make some connections between the world-wide orientation system and the intermediate scale one, it might be useful to look to the place that is ultimately pope ‘down’ within the intermediate system, Mailoa. Mailoa does, indeed seem to have a special significance to Taba speakers. It is common
currency amongst other speakers that the people of Mailoa are always the most refined (*alus*) in both their speech, and in their manners. I have not yet met any Taba speakers who would disagree with this assessment, no matter what village they come from. While there is not the space to review all of the historical evidence here (the interested reader is referred to Bowden (1997) for further details) it appears that the first speakers of Taba to arrive on Makian island in the seventeenth century first landed at Mailoa and over the ensuing years gradually spread northwards around the coast from that spot.

On one level at least, *pope* 'downwards' has the same significance in both the world-wide orientational system and the intermediate one: going *appo* 'down' is going towards the metaphorical centre. As Ternate is 'down', so is Mailoa. The rest of the intermediate scale system makes sense if we consider that it probably had its genesis on the Halmahera mainland, somewhere near the present-day town of Payahe where it seems that Taba speakers originally came from. (Again, see Bowden (1997) for further justification of this point.) From Payahe (where Taba speakers are still the dominant ethnic group in spite of a large influx of people from other areas), Kayoa, Makian and Moti are all in a seawards direction (the up-down axis from Ternate down to Bacan and Gane Timur, etc. cuts these islands out). All that contemporary Taba speakers are doing is retaining their ancestors' usages for the direction of Kayoa and Moti, where these still makes some sense. Of course, it would make no sense at all to think of the island which is home as lying seawards. It does still make sense, though, to see Halmahera as landwards. It is clearly visible from Makian as a long mountain covered strip of land in the medium distance on all but the most overcast days.

And so, we have made some kind of sense of the system as a whole, seeing some logic behind the seemingly arbitrary assignment of directions to places. We still haven't seen exactly why 'down' should be associated with the centre: the fact that one travels downwards to return home from the gardens at the end of the day may also be related.

Before we turn our attention to the various paradigmatic classes formed from the directional roots, it should be pointed out that the above explanation of how the Taba directionals mean what they do should not be taken as any kind of claim about how speakers of the language actually perceive all the directions, although parts of the just outlined explanation may have a place in people's
conceptions. Rather, the explanation should be taken as just that: an explanation of how the Taba directionals came to mean what they do today.

11.2.2 Paradigmatic classes of directionals

Directional roots are rarely used without one of the affixes illustrated above in figure 11.3. The only directional roots to occur without any affixes attached to them are *ya* ‘up’, and *po* ‘down’. These unaffixed uses are the most clearly deictic uses of the directionals.

*Po* ‘down’ occurs when referring to unknown locations, away from both speaker and hearer as in the common Taba greeting illustrated in (30).

(30) Hhan po lo e?
    b=han po lo e
    2pl=go down where FOC
    ‘Where are you going?’

This greeting is used no matter what direction the addressee is moving in, even if it is clear they are moving in, say, an ‘upwards’ or ‘seaward’ direction. The purely directional sense of ‘down’ is clearly not intended, although this usage of *po* no doubt has connotations of politeness associated with its meaning of being ‘at the centre’ or ‘in a hallowed place’.

*Ya* ‘up’, when used in its unaffixed form is very strongly deictic, being used to index expressions, the referents of which are known to both speaker and hearer. It can be used to index both noun phrases and adpositional phrases. In many instances of its use, it could perhaps be glossed with the colloquial English expression ‘you know’. A preliminary illustration, where *ya* indexes a postpositional locative phrase is given in (31).

(31) yak ksagal akno UnHair li ya.
    yak k=sagal ak-no UnHair li ya
    1sg 1sg=step ALL-there Universitas Khairun LOC up
    ‘I walked to UnHair (a place we both know about).’

In (32), *ya* refers to a time in the past when people were unable to see anything and points back to a previous point in the discourse where this period of time was mentioned.

(32) Am no1 ya.
    a=am no1 ya
    1excl.pl=see nothing up
    ‘We couldn’t see anything then (at that time).’
In (33), further discourse deictic use of ya can be seen.

(33) Malai yap yap um ni llo ya, mlongan tane.
Malai yap yap um ni llo ya mlongan ta-ne
so ash house 3sg.POSS inside up deep SIM-PROX
‘So, the ash inside the houses (you know) was as deep as this’.

The use of ya as a deictic marker is discussed more fully in §11.3.

As we saw in figure 11.3, there are four affixes which combine with the
directional, creating nineteen derived forms. (The nominalisation of ya ‘up’ is
suppletive). I have labelled these the essive forms (expressing static location),
the allative forms (expressing movement towards a direction), and the venitive
forms (expressing movement away from a direction) in addition to the
nominalised forms which generally refer to parts of things oriented in a
particular direction. Each of the sets of derived forms will be discussed in turn.
The simplest (and first to be discussed) are the nominalised forms.

11.2.2.1 Nominalised directionals

The nominalised terms sometimes refer to an area closely adjacent to and
lying in a particular direction vis-a-vis the ground object in relation to which
relative location is being measured, but most commonly they refer to parts of
objects that are oriented in a particular direction. Nominalised directionals are
obligatorily possessed by the noun referring to the ground with which location
is being expressed relative to. This is the case whether the nominalised
directional refers to a part of the ground or to an area of space adjacent to it.
Examples (34) through (36) provide illustrations.

(34) Malai a-ne Waikyon seng ni tattubo,
Malai then LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha roofing iron 3sg.POSS NOM:up

yap yap kamudu-kamudu tane
ash kamudu-kamudu ta-ne
thick-thick SIM-PROX

‘Anyway, here in Ngofakiaha on top of the roofing iron there was ash as thick as
this’.

(35) Kapal ya pso nuso lawe Botan ni
Kapal ship up CLASS-one 3sg=follow sea-ESS Halmahera 3sg.POSS
umpo lawe
um-po la-we
NOM-down sea-ESS

'There was a ship following along underneath Halmahera.'

(36) I ntongo ‘Happy Restaurant’ ni kle
i n=tongo ‘Happy Restaurant’ ni k-le
3sg 3sg=stay ‘Happy Restaurant’ 3sg.POSS NOM-land
‘He’s staying landwards from the ‘Happy Restaurant’.

11.2.2.2 Allative directionals

The allative prefix attached to a directional signifies movement towards a particular direction, as in (37) and (38).

(37) Yan ni poyo nhan appo ni ggowo
yan ni poyo n=han ap-po ni ggowo
fish 3sg.POSS head 3sg=go ALL-down 3sg.POSS neck
‘The fish's head goes down to its neck’ [instructions on how to break a (big) fish's neck and kill it]

(38) Han akno ni dawalatci de ncio ni
goa ALL-there 3sg.POSS girlfriend=PL RES 3sg=shit-APPL 3sg.POSS

calana de namliak tit,
calana de n=amlih-ak tit
trousers RES 3sg=laugh-APPL 1pl.incl
‘If you go there to your girlfriend's place and shit your trousers she'll laugh at you.’

The derived allative forms may function in two ways: on their own as postverbal adjuncts, as in (39) and (40), or at the head of a locative phrase, with a noun phrase as its adjunct, as in (41) or with a prepositional phrase as its adjunct as in (42) below.

(39) Ncopang akla
n= sopang ak-la
3sg=descend ALL-sea
It descended to the sea

(40) Malai lhan appo
Malai l=han ap-po
then 3pl=go ALL-down
Then they went downwards

Sentences such as (40) are very commonly heard in everyday conversation. Often, a specific destination, lying 'downwards' from the departure point is
pragmatically recoverable in a sentence like (40). If the destination is not
in ferrable, a locative NP may follow the allative directional as in (41), or a
postpositional locative phrase may follow as in (42).

(41) Lhan appo Gitan
     l=han ap-po Gitan
     3pl=go ALL-down Gitan
They went down to Gitan.

(42) Lelahod, lhan appo solo li
     l=alhod l=han ap-po solo li
     3pl=run 3pl=go ALL-down beach LOC
They ran, they went down to the beach.

The allative prefix seems to have been derived from the applicative suffix -ak.
Speakers appear to have reanalysed the word boundaries between the affix and
a following directional particle. A full justification of this is beyond the scope of
the present chapter, but some evidence can be seen from the fact that allative
directionals must always follow the verbs they qualify, while venitive
directionals, with just the opposite meaning, are much freer to float from one
end of a clause to the other.

11.2.2.3 Venitive directionals

The derived venitives are able to occupy a wider range of syntactic positions
than their allative counterparts. Venitive directionals have an opposite meaning
to the allatives. They signify motion from a particular direction, as in (43) and
(44), where they serve to modify verbs on their own. In (43), the directional
precedes the verb it modifies, while in (44) it follows.

(43) Noma noma turus manusia lwom
     no-ma no-ma turus manusia l=wow
     there-VEN there-VEN direct people 3pl=come
     'From here and there the people came.'

(44) Nyoa khan lama, polisi lthan yak.
     n=yoa k=han la-ma polisi=si l=tahan yak
     3sg=search(almost) 1sg=go sea-VEN police=PL 3pl=find 1sg
     'I'd almost come back from Moti when the police found me.'

Note that the Taba verb han 'go' is not inherently deictic in the same way that English 'go' is.
While 'going' in English always entails movement away from some presupposed deictic
centre, this is not the case in Taba. In the example above, the speaker is sitting on Makian
island as he speaks, the place that he came to from Moti. While in English 'I went to here
When venitives have locative noun phrases, or locative postpositional phrases as their adjuncts, they always follow their adjuncts rather than preceding them as do allatives. Examples of this are found in (45) and (46).

(45) Tarnate
I nhan Tarnate poma
i n=han Tarnate po-ma
3sg 3sg=go Tarnate down-from
He came from Ternate.

(46) Nub
daddoba
n=tub dad-doba li po-ma
3sg=grow NOM-garden (earth) LOC down-from
'It grows from down in the earth.'

Sometimes, the venitives directionals can appear without any verb at all (something that again the allatives cannot do). Sentence (47) exemplifies this.

(47) Motor
Payahe lema yak.
motor Payahe le-ma yak
boat Payahe land-from 1sg
'I came on the boat from Payahe.'

The venitive directional suffix probably derives from PAN *maRi 'come'. 'Persistence' (see Hopper, 1988) of its putative original verbal functions would probably provide further explanation for the differences in the syntactic distribution of allative and venitive derivations.

11.2.2.4 Essive directionals

The essive forms have a wider range of functions than any of the other derived directionals. As with the other directionals, they can be used as an adjunct to the verb, either alone, as in (48), or together with a locative phrase, as in (49). They can also occur after a verb, as in (48) and (49), or they may precede it as in (50).

(48) Sama lo John nalusa ni abu nwom lawe.
Sama lo John n=ha-lusa ni abu n=wom la-we
same as John 3sg=CAUS-say 3sg.POSS ash 3sg=come sea-ESS
'Just like you (John) said the ash (from the eruption) fell in Australia.'

In (48), the fact that 'seaward' was referring to Australia was able to be recovered pragmatically.

from Moti' is semantically anomalous, the Taba equivalent with han is not. Taba wom 'come' on the other hand is inherently deictic in a parallel way to English 'come', signifying motion towards a presumed deictic centre.
(49) *Atobik* | *Om* | *Nur* | *pope* | *Dalam* | *dia.*  
   a=tobi-ak | Om | Nur | po-pe | Dalam | dia  
   1pl.excl=land-APPL | Uncle | Nur | down-ESS | Dalam | DIST  
   ‘We let Om Nur off (the boat) down there in Dalam.’

(50) *Yase* | *taplod*  
   ya-se | ta-plod  
   up-ESS | PASS-erupt  
   ‘It erupted up there’.

When used in a possessive construction, the essive locative signifies location in a space adjacent to the possessing ground nominal, as in (51) which refers to the location of a bat.

(51) *Ni* | *moglo* | *ni* | *yase*  
   ni | moglo | ni | ya-se  
   3sg.POSS | branch | 3sg.POSS | up-ESS  
   ‘Above the branch’.

The essive directionals can also be used attributively, to modify a noun phrase, expressing the location of the noun as in (52).

(52) *Poto* | *pope* | *me* | *tasiak* | *i*  
   poto | po-pe | me | ta-slo-ak | i  
   bum | down-ESS | well | PASS-shit-APPL | 3sg  
   ‘Your bum down there shits itself’.

### 11.2.2.5 Complex directionals

Venitive directionals can be used together with essive forms to form complex directionals. They must be combinations of two forms each having the same directional root. They are optionally cliticised compounds. Complex directionals are of two different, but obviously related sorts.

The first are obligatorily possessed, and signify a position in space in a particular direction, away from their possessed ground’s location. The position signified is further away than it would have been had the essive directional been used alone as in (52) above. This sort is exemplified in (53) where it refers to the space seawards from the table.

(53) *Bal* | *adia* | *meja* | *ni* | *lawe* | *lama*  
   bal | a-dia | meja | ni | la-we | la-ma  
   ball | LOC-DIST | table | 3sg.POSS | down-ESS | down-VEN  
   ‘The ball is seawards from the table.’
The sentence is repeated, with the cliticised form of the complex directional in (54).

(54) Bal adia meja ni laelama
    ball LOC-DIST table 3sg.POSS down-ESS.down-VEN
    ‘The ball is seawards from the table.’

The second sort of complex directional refers to movement from a direction signified by an initial essive directional. The movement is encoded by a venitive directional with the same directional root as in its preceding essive. This is illustrated in (55).

(55) Moda pope poma
    wind down-ESS down-VEN
    ‘Southerly wind (if in Kota, northerly if out at sea)’.

It is clear that in the construction illustrated in (55) there is a connection with sentences like those in (53) and (54), another probable example of the persistence of verbal properties in the venitive forms.

11.2.3 Compounds with directionals

A few compounds which have been formed with directionals are mentioned here. All of the compounds I am aware of are formed with po the root meaning ‘down’, and refer to future times. Some examples are given in (56) and (57).

(56) mawoippo
    mawowo-ap-po
    light-ALL-down
    ‘the next day’

(57) motopo
    moto-ap-po
    a little-ALL-down
    ‘In a short while / a short time later’

11.3 Deictic particles

Deixis refers to the use of linguistic expressions whose interpretation depends on aspects of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur. Fillmore (1971:35) defines deixis as follows:
Deixis is the name given to uses of items and categories of lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterances are produced. These details include especially the identity of the participants in the communicating situation, their locations and orientation in space, whatever on-going indexing acts the participants may be performing, and the time at which the utterance containing the item is produced...

In this section we provide a brief overview of the functions of three deictic particles which come from the demonstrative and directional paradigms. The three particles which are used to deictically index an NP within a text are the proximate demonstrative *ne*, the distal demonstrative *dia* (or its shortened form *da*), as well as the directional root *ya* 'up'. While the deictic functions of all of these particles have been touched on at various points of this chapter, a brief review of the functions of all of them is conducted here to facilitate comparisons between the properties of each. A rough, and somewhat simplified indication of their deictic functions is given in figure 11.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne 'PROX'</th>
<th>indicates perceived proximity to the speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dia</em> / <em>da</em> 'DIST'</td>
<td>indicates perceived distance from the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ya</em> 'up'</td>
<td>indicates that whatever is indexed by the particle is known to both the speaker and the hearer, but not part of the immediate linguistic context.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.7 Deictic functions of *ne*, *dia/da*, and *ya*

The first two rows from the above table illustrate particles which often have clear counterparts in other languages: *ne* is roughly equivalent to English ‘this’ while *dia* / *da* is roughly equivalent to English ‘that’. The third row encodes a deictic category that is perhaps not so familiar, *ya* ‘up’ being more or less exclusively reserved for pointing to things that are not a part of the immediate linguistic context at all, but presumed to be known to both speaker and hearer. *Ya* ‘up’ also has a counterpart *po* ‘down’ which can be used to refer to places that are unknown, as in the compounds illustrated in (56) and (57) above. *Po* is also used in expressions such as the common Taba greeting *hhan po lo e?* ‘where are you going?’ (lit. you are going down to where?), but its use is much more restricted to that of *ya* and it will not be discussed further here.

In order to better illustrate the functions of the deictic markers, a count of each type of deictic marker found in text two of appendix two has been made.
This text begins with a description of how a garden house or *sedi* was built, and what the names of its parts are. After discussion of the roof thatching made from sago leaves, the text turns into a discussion of all the things that sago is used for and a set of instructions for processing sago as food is given. This text was selected for this count, because deictic reference was made to a number of objects that were actually visible at the time the text was recorded as well as to things that were not visible, but known by various participants. Figure 11.8 provides a summary of the deictic particles used. Along with the demonstrative roots and the directional root *ya* have also been included a count of some derived demonstrative forms. The form *ne* ‘PROX’ was not counted in a few instances where it occurs as part of the lexicalised compound *lai mo ne* ‘recently’ (lit. ‘just come this’). Derived similitive forms (§11.1.2.3) were not included in the count because they cannot always be linked with any particular referent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>‘up’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>ane</em></td>
<td><em>ine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visible</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reference established previous IU</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reference established 2-10 IUs earlier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reference established more than 10 IUs earlier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generic referent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referent neither visible nor established in preceding discourse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.8 Summary of deictic use in *Sedi ada baku* text

A number of things stand out rather clearly from figure 11.8.

The first is a very strong preference for the proximal derived forms to be used to refer to things that are visible. Out of a total of 42 visible referents marked deictically, 36 of them were indexed by *ne* ‘PROX’ or something derived from it. No visible referents are indexed with *ya* ‘up’.

Also very strong is the preference for referents already established within the text to be marked by one of the distal derived forms. Out of ten deictic uses which pointed to referents established within the preceding discourse, fully eight were indexed with one of the distal derived forms. Only one instance
each of ne and ya were found. It is clearly noteworthy that the only instance of ne being thus used occurred when the referent had been established in the preceding intonation unit, and that the only instance of ya being thus used was when reference had been established fully 20 intonation units earlier.

Ya is overwhelmingly used (7 times out of 9) in order to establish initial reference to something that is known to both speaker and hearer, but which has not yet been introduced into the immediate linguistic context. The only other instance of this kind of deictic function exhibited by one of the other deictics occurred with the proximate root ne ‘this’ to refer the speaker’s canoe that the large tube used to process sago was being compared with. This referent could actually be seen as much more obviously part of any linguistic context involving the person speaking here: he is well known as an obsessive fisherman with an out of the ordinary interest in maintaining and using his canoe. The canoe could thus be expected to be much more readily retrievable than most potential referents from outside the immediate linguistic context.

While a simple count of deictic tokens from one text cannot be expected to provide a definitive account of their range of uses, the count just discussed does match closely with my general impressions about the kinds of uses to which the deictic markers are put.

Example (58) is a small segment of the text, where some of the things discussed above can be seen more clearly close-up.

(58) Odo lai mo ne noge loka li ya...
      Odo lai mo ne no-ge loka li ya
     on the other hand just before PROX there-ESS banana LOC up

duga polo ya?.. Idia tenti.. Tenti loka ni llo... Polo
     duga polo ya i-dia tenti tenti loka ni llo polo
     only half up DEM-DIST tenti tenti banana 3sg.POSS inside if

tane sedi... Ada ni pungan.. Idia ni
    ta-ne sedi ada ni pungan i-dia ni
   SIM-PROX sedi with 3sg.POSS ridge-pole DEM-DIST 3sg.POSS

sso sedi.. Tapi duga polo duga polo le... tenti.. Tadia.
sso sedi tapi duga polo duga polo le tenti ta-dia
name sedi but only if only side only tenti SIM-DIST

‘On the other hand, just before, over there in the bananas... only a half, you know? That’s a ‘teni’. A ‘teni’ in the bananas. If it’s like this it’s a sedi. With a ridge-pole. That’s called a ‘sedi’.. But if it’s only half a structure... it’s a ‘teni’.. like that.’
The first instance of *ne 'PROX' occurs within the lexicalised compound *lai mo ne 'recently / just before' and was not counted. The next deictic particle used is *ya 'up', first in *loka li ya 'at the bananas', and then in *duga palo ya 'just a half'. Here, the speaker is referring to a place that all of the protagonists in the conversation had been to not long before the text was recorded. On the way to the gardens we had stopped at a small bunch of banana trees where a half-sized garden shelter or *tenti had been built. The speaker is contrasting the full-sized *sedi with the half-sized *tenti we had just seen. The *tenti had not been discussed before within this text, nor was it visible from where the test was recorded, but the speaker presumed that its existence, and that of the bunch of banana trees where it was located would be remembered by those being addressed. Once the *tenti structure had been established as a referent within the text, the speaker used the derived distal form *idia 'that' to refer to the *tenti: *idia *tenti 'that is a *tenti'.

The next demonstrative used is in the similitive form *tane 'like this'. While the similitive forms were not included in the count given in figure 11.8, the use of the proximal similitive *tane here is consistent with the functions for each of the particles so far outlined. Here, the speaker is referring to the visible full-sized *sedi structure which is the main topic of this narrative *polo *tane *sedi 'if it's like this it's a *sedi'.

The next demonstrative *idia is used not to refer to the particular *sedi which was visible at the time of utterance, but to the *sedi as a generic type of structure: *idia *ni *sso *sedi 'that is called a *sedi'. By this stage of the narrative, the *sedi is well established as a structure type so it is appropriate in naming it to use the distal demonstrative form.

The final use of a derived demonstrative in this text shows a very common use of the distal similitive *tadia. Here *tadia is used to close this sequence of text and offer a summary of what has just been said, *tadia 'it's like that.'
Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are constructions in which 'a sequence of two or more verbs...in various (rather strong) ways together act like a single verb' (Durie 1996:290).

Some examples from Taba, where sequences of verbs appear to be acting like single verbs are given in (1) - (7).¹

1. **Nhan ait hu**
   
   n=han ait hu
   3sg=go ascend CONT
   'He's going up.' [generally to the gardens]

2. **Ncopang nmul tesu**
   
   n=sopang n=mul te-su
   3sg=descend 3sg=return NEG-POT
   'He hasn't come back down yet.' [would usually refer to return from the gardens]

3. **Nbabas welik nmot do**
   
   n=babas welik n=mot do
   3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
   'It bit the pig dead.'

4. **Npun bobay npake sandal**
   
   n=pun bobay n=pake sandal
   3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong
   'He killed the mosquito with a thong.'

5. **Ncurat nulang**
   
   n=surat n=ulang
   3sg=write 3sg=do.again
   'She wrote it again.'

¹ The discussion in this chapter draws heavily from ideas presented in Durie (1996).
(6) Notik si ladoi
   n=ot-ik si l=ha-doi
   3sg=take-APPL[give] 3pl 3pl=CAUS-look
   'She showed it to him.'

(7) Nwosal máddodang
    n=woosal máddodang
    3sg=stand be.straight
    'He's standing up straight.'

(8) Sagala bum dumik
    stuff be.lost be.exhausted
    'Our stuff was completely lost.'

A detailed justification for labelling all of the examples presented above as
'serial verb constructions' (henceforth SVCs) is given in §12.1. A functional
typology of SVCs in Taba is provided in §12.2.

12.1 Cross-linguistic features of SVCs and Taba SVCs

Although there appear to be some restrictions on which major subcategories
of verb types co-occur in SVCs (e.g. no sequences of two ditransitive verbs are
encountered in the corpus), there are very few such restrictions. The examples
above illustrate a fairly wide variety of types. Examples (1), (2) and (5) illustrate
sequences of Actor intransitive verbs. Example (3) shows a transitive verb
followed by an Actor intransitive. Example (4) illustrates the co-occurrence of
two transitive verbs while (6) shows a ditransitive followed by a transitive.
Example (7) shows an Actor intransitive followed by an Undergoer intransitive
and finally (8) shows two Undergoer intransitives.

Where two verbs sharing the same Actor argument cooccur in a SVC, the first
verb in the sequence is obligatorily cross-referenced for the number and person
of the Actor, but cross-referencing of the second verb is optional. Compare (1)
above where the second verb ait 'to ascend' is not cross-referenced for its
agentive argument with the equivalent sentence (9) below where it is.

(9) Nhan nait hu
    n=han n=ait hu
    3sg=go 3sg=ascend CONT
    '(S)he's going up.' [generally to the gardens]
While both verbs in the SVCs illustrated in (2), (4) and (5) above were cross-referenced for their Actors, the otherwise equivalent examples in (10) - (12) only have cross-referencing on the initial verb in the sequence.

(10) Ncopang mul tesu
n=sopang mul te-su
3sg=descend return NEG-POT
'(S)he hasn’t come back down yet.’ [would also usually refer to return from the gardens]

(11) Npun bobay pake sandal
n=pun bobay pake sandal
3sg=kill mosquito use thong
'He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

(12) Ncurat ulang
n=surat ulang
3sg=write do.again
'She wrote it again.’

I have not been able to find any difference in meaning between the two types of structure. Neither are there any intonational differences. The construction with cross-referencing of both verbs in the sequence appears to be simply correlated with slower, more careful speech registers while that with cross-referencing of only the first verb occurs in faster, more casual speech. Note that when two verbs in a SVC have different Actor arguments, both must be cross-referenced as in (3) and (6) above.

Durie (1996:291) outlines some key cross-linguistic characteristics of SVCs:

- a single serial verb complex describes what is conceptualized as a single event: this is repeatedly reported to be a clear intuition of native speakers, and can be demonstrated through semantic analysis. It follows from this that a serial verb complex can often best be translated into a non-serializing language using a single, mono-valent clause.

- the serial complex has shared tense, aspect, modality and polarity: this is often reflected in a single morphological realization of these operators...or in obligatory concord across the verbs...

- serial verbs ‘share’ at least one and possibly more arguments.

- intonational properties of a clause within serialization are those of a mono-verbal clause...
• the complex takes only one subject/external argument.

• when serialization results in a complex of more than two arguments, the configuration of arguments corresponds closely to the kinds of configurations of arguments + adjuncts found for single clauses in non-serializing languages.

• there is a very strong diachronic tendency to lexicalization and grammaticization of the meaning of serial complexes: this involve treating the whole serial complex as a single lexical(ized) item, or ‘demotion’ of the meaning and grammatical status of one of the verbs to that of a modifier or case-marker.

Each one of these characteristics identified by Durie will be addressed with respect to the Taba constructions below.

12.1.1 SVCs describe single events

It has often been noted by people writing on verb serialisation that SVCs fulfill a function in serialising languages similar to that of individual verbs in languages without serialisation. SVCs thus describe what native speakers conceptualise as single events with the individual verbs referring to subcomponents of those events. (Here, the term ‘event’ is used to refer to both states and what are traditionally called ‘events’.)

An example such as (3) above, repeated as (13) below, is thus best translated into English as ‘It bit the pig dead’ or ‘it bit the pig to death’ rather than, say, ‘it bit the pig and the pig died’ or ‘it bit the pig and killed it’.

(13) Nhabas welik nmot do
    n=babas welik n=mot do
    3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
    ‘It bit the pig dead.’

The conceptual unity of (13) can be best illustrated by comparing it with (14) where two distinct events (one of biting and the other of killing) are referred to.
Here, the pause after welik ‘pig’ and the appearance of i ‘3sg’ referring to the pig after namot indicate that there are two clauses.2

(14) Nhabas welik, namot i  
n=babas welik n=ha-mot i  
3sg=bite pig 3sg=CAUS-die 3sg  
‘It bit the pig and killed it.’

The death referred to in (13) must have come about as a direct and immediate consequence of the pig’s being bitten while this need not have been the case with the death referred to in (14). In (14) there may have been a considerable period of time elapsed between the biting and the pig’s eventual death by bleeding. In fact, the pig need not even have died as a direct consequence of having been bitten (e.g. as by loss of blood). Its death may have occurred as a quite indirect consequence of having been bitten (as would be the case, say, if the bite wound had gone septic and the death had occurred much later as a consequence of the infection).

This same kind of conceptual unity is displayed in example (4) above which is best given a uniclausual translation into English (as in ‘he killed the mosquito with a thong’).

12.1.2 Shared tense, aspect, modality and polarity

Examples (1) to (3) above (repeated as (15) to (17) below) all show some of these characteristic SVC features.3

(15) Nhan ait hu  
n=han ait hu  
3sg=go ascend CONT  
‘(S)he’s going up.’

(16) Ncopang nmul tesu  
n=sopang n=mul te-su  
3sg=descend 3sg=return NEG-POT  
‘(S)he hasn’t come back down yet.’ [would also usually refer to someone’s returning from the gardens]

---

2 It is not the co-occurrence of two transitive verbs sharing the same Actor and Undergoer which disqualifies this example as a SVC. See §12.2.3 for further examples of this type.

3 See chapter 14 for discussion of tense, aspect, modality etc.
(17) *Nbapas weilik nmot do*

*n=bapas welik n=mot do*

*3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL*

'It bit the pig dead.'

In (15) the continuous particle *hu* (see §14.1.2) must be understood as qualifying the whole serial verb complex (i.e. both 'going' and 'ascending' must be in progress at the same time).

In (16), *tesu* is a compound marker of both negative polarity and 'potential' modality (see §14.2.3.3). Although neither descent nor return have yet occurred, the speaker expects such an event including both subcomponents to occur soon. Again, such non-occurrence and expectation must be understood as applying to the whole unitary event referred to by the entire SVC and not just a part of it. For example, the agent cannot be understood as having already begun his or her descent but not yet to have returned. It would thus be much more likely to hear such an utterance somewhere that the speaker would know that neither component of the event had yet begun, for example in the gardens.

Likewise, realis modality is entailed for the whole event described in (17) and not just for either component of that event.

### 12.1.3 Sharing of arguments

All verbs in Taba SVCs share at least one of their arguments. This restriction can be further tightened in so far as the Taba corpus is concerned to say that each of the verbs in a Taba SVC must share at least one of their core arguments. There do not appear to be any other categorical restrictions on the particular grammatical relations arguments bear with respect to each of the verbs in the construction. A variety of possibilities were illustrated in the initial examples given in (1) to (8) at the beginning of this chapter. (1), (2) and (5), for example, illustrate sequences of Actor intransitive verbs which share the same Actor arguments.

Example (7), repeated below as (18) shows a sequence of an Actor intransitive verb and an Undergoer intransitive which both share their sole arguments.

(18) *Nwosal máddodang*

*n=wosal máddodang*

*3sg=stand be.straight*

'He's standing up straight.'
Example (3), repeated as (19) below shows a sequence of a transitive verb followed by an Actor intransitive in which the Undergoer of the initial transitive verb is coreferential with the Actor argument of the following intransitive verb.

(19) \( Nbabas \) welik \( nmot \) do  
     \( n=babas \) welik \( n=mot \) do  
     3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL  
     'It bit the pig dead.'

In (4), repeated as (20), the agent of the initial transitive verb is the same argument as the Actor of the subsequent transitive verb.

(20) \( Npun \) bobay npake sandal  
     \( n=pun \) bobay \( n=pake \) sandal  
     3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong  
     'He killed the mosquito with a thong.'

Example (8), repeated as (21) shows coreferential Undergoers of serial Undergoer intransitives.

(21) \( Sagala \) bum dumik  
     stuff be.lost be.exhausted  
     'Our stuff was completely lost.'

Finally, example (6) above which is repeated below as (22) illustrates a more complex situation where two arguments are shared by each of the constituent verbs.

(22) \( Notik \) si ladoi  
     \( n=ot-ik \) si \( l=ha-doi \)  
     3sg=take-APPL[give] 3pl 3pl=CAUS-look  
     'She showed it to him.'

In this example, the initial verb is ditransitive and both its recipient and its theme (its primary and secondary Undergoers) are arguments of the second verb in the series: its agent and its patient (Actor and Undergoer) respectively.

Other possible ways of sharing arguments will be encountered in the following sections.

12.1.4 No embedding or complementation

Taba often has little overt marking of either embedding or complementation (see chapter 16) so this requirement for serial verbs is a little more difficult to demonstrate convincingly than the others of Durie’s criteria. A number of
characteristic features of constructions involving embedded clauses can be found, however, which set them apart from those labelled here as SVCs.

One of the most notable features of main verbs which take clausal complements is that in general they are strictly subcategorised for clausal complements. The individual verbs found in serial constructions are not. A verb such as *halusa* ‘to say’, for example, always has a clausal complement as illustrated in (23).

(23) *Nalusa* \ nhan \ do  
    n=ha-lusa \ n=han \ do  
    3sg=CAUS-say \ 3sg=go \ REAL  
    ‘He said “he’s gone”’.

While the clausal complement of a verb like *halusa* is omissible in certain contexts (i.e. when it can be presumed to be retrievable anaphorically by a hearer) this is a situation parallel to that of, say, the ‘obligatory’ Undergoer of a transitive verb which can also be omitted under similar circumstances. This is not the case with SVCs where the verbs involved do not ordinarily require clausal complements.

Another characteristic feature of clausal complements in Taba is that they always follow the verbs of which they are complements. It is hard to see how such a criterion could be applied to the putative SVCs in Taba given the existence of pairs of sentences such as (1) and (2) above repeated as (24) and (25).

(24) *Nhan* \ ait \ hu  
    n=han \ ait \ hu  
    3sg=go \ ascend \ CONT  
    ‘(S)he’s going up.’ [generally to the gardens]

(25) *Ncopang* \ nmul \ tesu  
    n=sopang \ n=mul \ te-su  
    3sg=descend \ 3sg=return \ NEG-POT  
    ‘(S)he hasn’t come back down yet.’

The problem can be stated thus: ‘Is it the generalised motion verb which takes the specific verb as its complement (as one would probably expect from the semantics of the constructions) or vice versa?’ In (24) the general motion verb comes first and is followed by the verb specifying the direction of motion while in (25) it is the other way around. The most straightforward way to treat the constructions illustrated in (24) and (25) is in seeing them as having
codependent verbs of equal syntactic 'weight'. The ordering in each case can be ascribed to iconic principles: the component of the event which occurs first in real life comes first in the SVC while the component of the event which comes last in real life also comes last in the construction. Durie (1996:330) points out that all serialising languages have such iconic ordering principles.

Other reasons for viewing SVCs as distinct from embedded constructions are touched on in other parts of §12.1. Some of these are made explicit below.

While there is a requirement for SVCs that the individual verbs contained within them must share at least one core argument (see §12.1.3), there is no such requirement for complement clauses. Taking (23) above as an example again, the complement clause may or may not have as its Actor the Actor of nalusa. Out of context, the sentence is thus ambiguous as to whether there is only one person both 'saying' and 'going' or different people performing each action (see §16.3.1.1 on 'direct' vs 'indirect' reported speech).

Just as the SVC requirement for coreferentiality of at least one argument is not met in the complement clause construction, likewise the requirement for TAM and modality to have scope over the whole SVC is not met in complement clause constructions. Again, (23) is ambiguous in a way that a SVC marked as realis would not be: (23) could refer to a situation in which someone really said that some person was going with do 'realis' having scope over the mother clause, or to a situation in which someone said that same person had really gone, with do 'realis' having scope over just the daughter clause.

A further diagnostic for distinguishing between SVCs and complement clause constructions is discussed in the next section: the characteristic intonational features associated with each.

### 12.1.5 Intonation in SVCs

Verbs containing SVCs characteristically have the same intonational properties as do mono-verbal clauses. Taba declarative clauses generally have a falling intonation over the last elements of the clause and speakers frequently pause at their completion. This is characteristic of clauses containing SVCs just as it is of clauses containing monoverbal clauses. Contrast (26), showing the characteristic intonation associated with a serial verb clause with that shown in (27) which is an example of simple clause chaining, showing juxtaposed clauses.
(26) Than tronda pope ploili
t=han t=ronda po-pe Ploili
1pl.incl=go 1pl.incl=stroll down-ESS Peleri
'We went strolling in Peleri.'

(27) Motor nwom... nbantu... n=yl manua
motor n=wom... n=abantu... n=yl manua
motor.boat 3sg=come 3sg=help 3sg=carry people
'Boats came... they helped... they took people away.'

12.1.6 SVCs take only one external argument

The requirement that serial verb complexes take only one subject / external argument does not entail that individual verbs within a SVC cannot have different subjects, but that the complex taken as a whole has only one subject. In Taba, of course, this requirement must be adjusted, and we will assume that SVCs must have only one Actor argument. Example (3) above, which includes a SVC with each constituent verb subcategorised for a distinct Actor, is repeated below as (28).

(28) Nbabas welik n=mot do
n=babas welik n=mot do
3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
'It bit the pig dead.'

Welik 'pig' is the NP that would normally be subcategorised as the Actor of mot 'die'. It is also the argument that would be subcategorised as Undergoer of the first verb babas 'bite'. Babas 'bite' has an ellipsed argument as what would be its Actor: in this case the dog which actually bit the pig. The dog is cross-referenced on babas with the proclitic n= '3sg'. It is the Actor of babas 'bite' (i.e the dog) which functions as Actor of the whole SVC, while welik 'pig' functions as Undergoer of the whole construction.

Evidence for the privileged syntactic status of the ellipsed argument can be seen in (29) where the hitherto omitted NP has been overtly mentioned and is
also relativised (see §16.4 for discussion of relative clauses). In all of the examples which follow, relative clauses are given in bold type.

(29) Nyo ni sso * Gorango nbabas welik nmot
    nyo ni sso Gorango n=babas welik n=mot
dog 3sg.POSS name ‘Shark’ 3sg=bite pig 3sg=die
‘A dog called ‘Shark’ bit the pig dead.’

While it is perfectly acceptable to form a relative clause with the Actor of the whole SVC as its head, as in (29), it is not acceptable to form a relative clause with welik ‘pig’ as its head and maintain the serial reading.4

(30) * Nbabas welik bakan nmot
    n=babas welik bakan n=mot
    3sg=bite pig be.big 3sg=die

The elements used in (30) above may co-occur in the order given, but if they do, a multiclusal reading (with characteristic multiclusal intonation and reference to separately conceived events) ensues.

(31) Nbabas welik bakan. Nmot
    n=babas welik bakan n=mot
    3sg=bite pig be.big 3sg=die
‘It bit a big pig. The pig died.’

Note that the restriction on relativising an Undergoer such as welik above is not a restriction on relativising Undergoers of SVCs per se. Rather, it is a restriction on relativising the nominal elements which occur between the verbs of a SVC. Example (32) shows relativisation of the instrumental argument sandal ‘thong’. Note that sandal appears at the outer edge of the matrix clause containing the SVC. Thus, it is not affected by the constraint.

(32) Npun bobay npake sandal ntua lai mo ya
    n=pun bobay n=pake sandal n=tua lai mo ya
    3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong 3sg=buy just come up(recently)
‘He killed the mosquito with the thong he just bought.’

---

4 All instances of Undergoer intransitive verbs being used attributively in Taba are relative clauses. See §16.4 for discussion.
12.1.7 Configuration of SVC arguments resembles configuration of core arguments plus adjuncts in non-serialising languages

Durie’s criterion relating to characteristic alignment of more than two arguments in an SVC might be modified to read that not only do they resemble the configuration of the arguments of verbs plus adjuncts in non-serialising languages, but that they also resemble the configuration of the (more than 2) arguments of applicative verbs in the languages which have them. Such resemblances can all be seen internal to Taba itself where some of the serial verb constructions have rough translation equivalents of both types. (Applicative morphology is discussed in §8.3.2 and §8.3.3; adpositional phrases are discussed in chapter 13.) Example (4) had three arguments associated with it and it is repeated below as (33).

(33)  
Npun  bobay  npake  sandal  
n=pun  bobay  n=pake  sandal  
3sg=kill  mosquito  3sg=use  thong  
‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

Contrast (33) with (34) in which the instrument is licensed by an applicative suffix and (35) where it is licensed by an adposition.

(34)  
Npunak  bobay  sandal  
n=pun-ak  bobay  sandal  
3sg=kill-ak  mosquito  thong  
‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

(35)  
Npun  bobay  ada  sandal  
n=pun  bobay  ada  sandal  
3sg=kill  mosquito  with  thong  
‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

12.1.8 Strong tendency to lexicalisation and grammaticalisation

Durie (1996:322) points out that verb serialisation is universally characterised by heavy lexicalisation of particular verb combinations. He says ‘this is because the typing of events is matched by stereotyping of verb combinations used to represent those events’. The first two sentences illustrated at the beginning of this chapter (repeated below as (36) and (37)) are sentences which generally have quite lexicalised readings.
Every time I heard anyone use one of these combinations, they were always referring to either someone's going to work in the gardens or their return from the gardens. (Taba villages are all located almost at sea level, close to the beach, while the gardens are all located at higher altitudes, spread up the sides of the mountain behind the villages.)

In an earlier paper, Durie (1988b:3) discusses the diachronic instability of many serial verb combinations. These sometimes show a centripetal tendency for one of the verbs to pull in and become bound to another verb, in which case it may come to be reanalysed as a verbal affix. With other combinations, a centrifugal tendency for one of the verbs to pull away from the other is evidenced: in this case the verb that pulls away may eventually be reanalysed as a case marker or adposition.

There is evidence of both kinds of diachronic instability at work in Taba. The centripetal tendency is apparent with SVCs having the verb han 'go' as their first element. With the examples so far cited of SVCs with initial han (repeated below as (38) and (39)) the meaning of the independent verb han 'go' is still quite clearly apparent when it occurs in the combination.

(38) Nhan ait hu
n=han ait hu
3sg=go ascend CONT
'(S)he's going up.' [usually means going up to work in the gardens]

(39) Ncopang nmul tesu
n=sopang n=mul te-su
3sg=descend 3sg=return NEG-POT
'(S)he hasn't come back down yet.' [usually means returning from work in the gardens]

Many more such examples where going is entailed in the meaning of the combination could be given. In some combinations, however, the independent meaning 'go' is not so readily apparent. This is the case in (40) which has semantic parallels with the English expression 'go to sleep'.

(40) Than tronda
t=han t=ronda
1pl.incl=go 1pl.incl=stroll
'We go strolling around.'
(40)  *Nhan tuli*
    \[n=\text{han} \quad \text{tuli}\]
    \[3\text{sg}=\text{go} \quad \text{sleep}\]
    \[\text{‘(S)he’s going to sleep.’}\]

Such an utterance could refer to a situation where the person referred to is either going off to his/her room in order to sleep, or in which s/he is already in bed and in the process of falling asleep. Sometimes, however, the following construction is used to refer to the situation where the referent is in the process of falling asleep, or is actually asleep:

(41)  *Nantuli*
    \[n=\text{han-tuli}\]
    \[3\text{sg}=\text{INCH-sleep}\]
    \[\text{‘(S)he’s asleep / falling asleep.’}\]

In (41), not only has *han* been bleached of its lexical meaning, it has also become phonologically fused to the other verb from the original sequence: no longer carrying stress, the initial /h/ of *han*- is now subject to unstressed /h/ deletion (see §2.7.1) and now functions as a prefix with a more general ‘inchoative’ meaning. A number of other derived forms are found with this prefix (see §8.5.1 for more details).

The Taba corpus also contains abundant evidence for the centrifugal tendency of some SVC combinations identified by Durie. This notably affects the verb *pake* ‘to use/wear’ which is itself a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. Serialisation is highly productive in North Moluccan Malay, and it is probable that *pake*’s serial function of licensing an instrument (see §12.2.4) was borrowed into Taba at the same time as the form itself was borrowed. The example of *pake* already encountered in (4) above and repeated as (42) below is without doubt a verb: it is cross-referenced by the 3sg proclitic *n=*

(42)  *Npun bobay npake sandal*
    \[n=\text{pun} \quad \text{bobay} \quad n=\text{pake} \quad \text{sandal}\]
    \[3\text{sg}=\text{kill} \quad \text{mosquito} \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{use} \quad \text{thong}\]
    \[\text{‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’}\]
As discussed in §12.1, cross-referencing of the Actor is optional for the second verb in a SVC containing an initial verb with a coreferential Actor. Example (43) then, can also be interpreted as containing a SVC.\footnote{As discussed in §12.1.5, the mono-clausal reading is dependent on characteristic monoclausal intonation. Given the appropriate intonation, a bi-clausal reading is also possible.}

(43) \textit{Npun \textit{bobay} \textit{pake \textit{sandal}}
\hspace{1cm}\textit{n=pun \textit{bobay} \textit{pake \textit{sandal}}
\hspace{1cm}3sg=kill \textit{mosquito} \textit{use thong}
\hspace{1cm}‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’}

In example (44), however, \textit{pake} must be considered a preposition. Here the PP \textit{pake sandal} ‘with a thong’ has been fronted to the clausal focus position, a position not available for cross-referenced and unambiguously serial \textit{npake}.

(44) \textit{pake \textit{sandal}, \textit{npun} \textit{bobay}
\hspace{1cm}\textit{pake \textit{sandal} n=pun \textit{bobay}
\hspace{1cm}with \textit{thong} 3sg=kill \textit{mosquito}
\hspace{1cm}‘It was with a thong he killed the mosquito.’}

Further discussion of the preposition \textit{pake} is found in §13.2.4.

A tendency for some of the verbs involved in ‘manner serialisation’ to behave more like auxiliary modals is discussed in §12.2.5.

\section*{12.2 A functional typology of Taba SVCs}

Durie (1996:330ff.) attempts to provide a universal typology of serial verb construction types. Not all of the construction types identified by Durie are found in Taba. The following list of Taba SVC types is based on his classification, except for those which have been labelled here ‘adverbial’ serialisation:

- motion serialisation
- cause-effect serialisation
- causative serialisation
- instrumental serialisation
- adverbial serialisation

Each of these will be discussed in turn below.
12.2.1 Motion serialisation

Motion serialisation is very productive in Taba. These constructions may involve an initial verb of motion followed by some other verb, each of the verbs having the same agent, as in (45).

(45) Nhan ntono ni dawalat
n=han n=tono ni dawalat
3sg=go 3sg=look.at 3sg.POSS girlfriend
'He's gone to see his girlfriend.'

Motion serialisation may also occur with the verb of motion coming last. In these constructions too, the agent of each verb is coreferential, as illustrated in (46).

(46) Ntua yan mmul
n=tua yan 3sg=mul
3sg=buy fish 3sg=return
'He's returned from buying fish.'

Although motion SVCs have been encountered which include Actor intransitives, transitives and ditransitives as the non-motion verb, none with Undergoer intransitives have been identified in the corpus.

Durie's account for the iconic ordering of verbs within motion serialisation constructions predicts that a verb describing motion leading up to a subsequent component of an event will always occur first, while a verb describing motion subsequent to some other sub-component of an event will always occur second. This prediction is borne out by the all of the examples from the Taba corpus. Example (45) illustrates the first kind of construction while (46) illustrates the second.

12.2.2 Cause-effect serialisation

Cause-effect serialisation was seen in example (3) which is repeated as (47).

(47) Nbabas welik nmot do
n=babas welik n=mot do
3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL
'It bit the pig dead.'

In all of the examples of cause-effect serialisation encountered in the corpus, the first verb encodes a cause and the second verb encodes an effect (just as Durie's iconic account of ordering principles would predict). Also common to
all of the cause-effect combinations is the fact that the first verb is a transitive verb which has as its patient an argument of the second verb. Transitive verbs, Actor intransitives and Undergoer intransitives are all found in second position. An Actor intransitive verb was seen in (47). Example (48) illustrates the occurrence of an Undergoer intransitive verb (which has as its sole argument the patient of the first verb) in second position.

(48) Ntotas  nik  kos  bulang
    n=totas  nik  kos  bulang
    3sg=wash  1sg.POSS T-shirt be.white
    'She washed my T-shirt white.'

An example of a transitive verb in second position is seen in (49). Here the patient of the first verb is the agent of the second and the second verb again refers to what happened as a result of the first. In this example, the undergoer of the second verb is the milk that was burped up as a result of the baby’s back being hit.

(49) Ni  mamasi  nwet  i  nggaleitik  susu
    ni  mama=si  n=wet  i  n=galeit-ik  susu
    3sg.POSS mother=PL  3sg=hit  3sg  3sg=burp-APPL milk
    'His mother hit him and he burped up milk / his mother burped milk from him.'

When transitive verbs occur in second position, a variety of argument alignments are possible: example (50) shows the transitive counterpart of the second verb illustrated in (48). With this example, the agent of the first verb in the complex is also the agent of the second verb and both patients are also coreferential.

(50) Ntotas  nik  kos  nabulang
    n=totas  nik  kos  n=ha-bulang
    3sg=wash  1sg.POSS T-shirt  3sg=CAUS-be.white
    'She washed my T-shirt white.'

Cause-effect serialisation is clearly distinguishable from mutli-clausal cause-effect constructions in which a subordinate effect clause is always marked with the resultative / purposive subordinating conjunction de as illustrated in (51). This construction is treated at more length in §16.5.1.

(51) Ntotas  nik  kos  de  nabulang
    n=totas  nik  kos  de  n=ha-bulang
    3sg=wash  1sg.POSS T-shirt  RES  3sg=CAUS-be.white
    'She washed my T-shirt in order to whiten it.'
12.2.3 Causative serialisation

Causative serialisation differs from cause-effect serialisation in that only a very general causative meaning is entailed by the first verb in the construction: the specific nature of the cause is not mentioned. As with cause-effect serialisation, the verb referring to causation occurs first. In all of the Taba examples causation is encoded by the multimorphemic ditransitive verb *otik* ‘give’. The construction does not occur very frequently in Taba. In (61) two of the arguments of *otik* ‘give’ are also arguments of the second verb *adoi* ‘look at / inspect’. The theme of *otik* is the patient of the second verb and what would be the recipient of the independent verb *otik* (but which now has to be seen as some kind of more generalised goal of the complex construction) is the agent of the second verb.

(52) Kotik si ladoi
     k=ot-ik si l=ha-doi
     1sg=get-APPL(give) 3pl 3pl=CAUS-look.at
     ‘I showed it to him.’

Example (53) appears to be a straight calque from North Moluccan Malay where *kase tau* ‘give know’ is the normal way to say ‘teach’. In North Moluccan Malay the use of *kase* ‘give’ in SVCs is undoubtedly the most frequent way of expressing causation.

(53) Alho notik munak?
    alho n=ot-ik m=unak
     who 3sg=get-APPL(give) 2sg=know
     ‘Who taught you? / who let you know?’

12.2.4 Instrumental serialisation

Instrumental serialisation has been illustrated at a number of points in this chapter. Example (4), repeated as (54) illustrates the construction.

(54) Npun bobay npake sandal
    n=pun bobay n=pake sandal
     3sg=kill mosquito 3sg=use thong
     ‘He killed the mosquito with a thong.’

---

6 Taba has no root ditransitive verbs: see §8.3.2.3 & §8.3.3.4 for discussion.
In these constructions, the first verb refers to an activity of some sort. Its agent is also the agent of the second verb, always the NMM borrowing *pake* 'to use / wear'. The undergoer argument of *pake* (i.e. the thing used) becomes the instrumental argument of the entire SVC. The Taba instrumental constructions are noteworthy in that they do not follow the iconic ordering principle proposed by Durie (1996:335) who suggests that the verbs licensing instruments always occur first in the SVCS of other languages that have instrumental serialisation.

It is possible that such constructions were derived from historical manner serialisation constructions in North Moluccan Malay, but it is clear that they have never had such a function in Taba: both the verb and this particular function of it appear to have been borrowed quite recently from North Moluccan Malay. (Although the construction is used quite frequently by younger Taba speakers, it is rarely used by the older Makianese.)

*pake* is a form which appears to be under quite strong pressures to grammaticalise into a preposition as was noted in §12.1.8. The prepositional functions of *pake* are discussed in more detail in §13.2.4.

### 12.2.5 Adverbial serialisation

Adverbial serialisation in Taba is a classification which includes Durie's 'manner serialisation' and a number of other SVC types which occur in the Taba corpus. According to Durie (1996:336), manner serialisation involves one serial verb which describes the manner in which an action described by the other verb is performed. In Taba there are also a number of SVCS in which one serial verb qualifies the meaning of the other in a variety of different ways: adding aspectual information or providing some kind of evaluation, often modal, of the action described by the other verb.

#### 12.2.5.1 Manner serialisation

Manner serialisation was illustrated in example (7) above repeated below as (55). (In all of the examples of adverbial serialisation which follow, the independent meaning of each verb is given first. After this, any adverbial meaning is glossed in parentheses.)
(55) *Nwosal máddodang*
   n=nwosal máddodang
   3sg=stand be.straight (straight)
   'He's standing up straight.'

In Taba, we often encounter examples where one verb describes the nature of a state expressed by the other verb. Such a situation was encountered in (8) above repeated as (56).

(56) *Sagala bum dumik*
   stuff be.lost be.exhausted
   'Our stuff was completely lost.'

Manner serialisation in Taba almost invariably involves an initial transitive or Actor intransitive verb encoding some action or activity and a second Undergoer intransitive verb which describes the manner in which the activity was carried out. This situation is further exemplified in (57) to (59). (The serial verb combination in question is shown in bold in (59), where both clauses in a complex subordinating structure consist of SVCs.)

(57) *Nopa dumik i*
   n=opa dumik i
   3sg=fly be.exhausted 3sg
   'They have all flown away.' [referring to a flock of birds]

(58) *Mpe hia do*
   m=pe hia do
   2sg=make be.good(well) REAL
   'You can make them well.'

(59) *Mina nhan tuli de npangin makoai tedo*
    Mina n=nhan tuli de n= pangin makoai te-do
    Mina 3sg=go sleep RES 3sg= wake.up be.hot(feel.sick) NEG-REAL
    'Mina has gone to sleep so that she'll wake up not sick.'

A few examples of manner serialisation involving two Undergoer intransitive verbs have been noted in the corpus. All of the ones encountered so far have included one of two verbs as the second verb encoding manner: either the verb *dumik* 'be exhausted / used up', or the verb *kwat* 'be strong' (borrowed from North Moluccan Malay and functioning simply as an emphatic marker in serial constructions). One example of *dumik* was given in (57) above; a further example is provided in (60).

(60) *Um, harta lekat dumik*
    house property be.broken be.exhausted
    'Houses, property, they were completely broken.'
*Kwat* is shown as an independent verb in (61), and as the second element in a serial verb construction in (62) and (63). In (62), it occurs with the Actor intransitive verb *kiu* ‘to be frightened’, while in (63) it occurs with the Undergoer intransitive *mhas* ‘to be sick / sore’.

(61) **Dukon** Taba *kwat*
eruption Makian be.strong
‘The Makianese eruption was powerful.’

(62) **Lkiu** *kwat*
l=kiu kwat
3pl=be.frightened be.strong (EMPH)
‘They were really frightened.’

(63) **Wwe** *mhas* *kwat*.
wwe mhas kwat
leg be.sore be.strong (EMPH)
‘My leg is really sore.’

Only one example of a second Actor intransitive verb describing manner has been encountered. It is illustrated in (64) where it describes the resulting state of the (ellipsisd) patient of the first verb. (The ellipsed argument in this case was the gas pressure lamp which the author was incapable of bringing to light properly again!) Note that although *ncol* is morphsyntactically classified as an Actor intransitive, it has a stative meaning.

(64) **John** naladai *ncol*
John n=ha-ladai n=sol
John 3sg=CAUS-fix 3sg=be.different(wrong)
‘You’ve fixed it wrong John.’

### 12.2.5.2 Modal serialisation

Example (65) illustrates what might be called ‘modal serialisation’. In the following example the second verb *kahate* ‘I am unable’ provides an evaluation of the speaker’s belief that he is incapable of constructing a rice container from coconut leaves.

(65) **Kpe** *kahate*
k=pe k=ahate
1sg=make 1sg=be.unable
‘I can make them.’

All of the verbs which provide a modal evaluation of ability occur after the verb to which the evaluation of ability applies. The verbs involved are:
-ahan ‘to be able’
-ahate(s) ‘to be unable’
mampo ‘to be able

The first two of these, -ahan and -ahate(s) are indigenous Taba words. The final modal evaluator mampo is a borrowing from North Maluku Malay. Each of these forms is discussed below.

-ahan

This modal evaluative verb means ‘to be able’ and it is the only one of the three which can occur either as the first verb in the sequence, or as the second verb. It is shown as an independent verb in (66).

(66) Tiukal mai tahan.
    t=tukal mai t=ahan
    1pl.incl=change well 1pl.incl=be.able
    ‘Changing it, well we can.’

In (67), -ahan is shown in the second position in a serial verb construction.

(67) Npe nahan
    n=pe n=ahan
    3sg=do 3sg=be.able
    ‘He can do it.’

In (68), ahan is illustrated in the initial position of a SVC.

(68) Wwe nahan ncagal
    wwe n=ahan n=sagal
    leg 3sg=be.able 3sg=step
    ‘My leg would be able to walk.’

-ahate(s)

This verb always occurs in the second position of a SVC and provides an evaluation that whatever is described by the first verb is not possible. Such impossibility of action may stem from either a lack of ability or a lack of permission. This form appears to have been derived historically as a result of the negative particle te having fused onto ahan (see above) from which the final nasal has disappeared. It is attested in a variety of forms. Firstly, it can occur as either an Actor verb (§4.2) as in (69), or as a passivised agentless Undergoer intransitive (§8.4) as in (70).
Both -ahate and tahate are also encountered with a final 's' segment as -ahates and tahates. These forms clearly have a connection to the complex negative potential particle tesu described in §14.2.3.3. The forms with a final -s indicate (as does tesu) that although something might be impossible at the time referred to, there is a belief on the part of the speaker that this will not always be the case, and that either a future potentiality will arise or that there was once a past potentiality for such an event to occur.

The distinction between potential ability to do something in the future and no potential ability is seen clearly in examples (72) and (73) which each refer to the fact that a child is not permitted to smoke cigarettes. In the first of these, the child referred to is a girl: under the norms of Taba culture, one would expect that she (as a girl) will never be permitted to smoke cigarettes. In the second of these examples, however, referring to a young boy, there is a belief encoded that although he is currently forbidden from smoking, once he reaches a sufficient age he will then be allowed to take up the habit.

The form mampo 'be able' is found less frequently than its rough semantic equivalent ahan and it is always found in final position when used in a serial
construction. It can also be used as an independent verb. *Mampo* is classified as an Undergoer intransitive verb, and it differs in meaning from *ahan* to the extent that it can only be used to refer to ability and not to permission. It is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay, and used mostly by younger speakers. It is first illustrated in (74) as an independent verb and then in (75) as part of a serial construction.

(74)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Mampo} & \text{pa} & \text{te}? \\
\text{be.able} & \text{or} & \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘Can you do it or not?’}
\end{array}
\]

(75)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Adhar} & \text{nagawil} & \text{mampo!} \\
\text{Adhar} & \text{n=ha-gawil} & \text{mampo} \\
\text{Adhar} & \text{3sg=CAUS-swim} & \text{be.able} \\
\text{‘Adhar can swim!’}
\end{array}
\]

12.2.5.3 Aspectual serialisation

The following example illustrates what might be called ‘aspectual serialisation’. Here, the verb *yoa* ‘to search’ has the lexicalised aspectual meaning ‘almost’. This construction is noteworthy in that the lexically secondary verb occurs before the lexically primary verb, in contradistinction to the situation seen above for true ‘manner serialisation’.

(76)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Myoa} & \text{mhan} \\
\text{m=yoa} & \text{m=han} \\
\text{2sg=search(almost)} & \text{2sg=go} \\
\text{‘You’ve almost gone.’}
\end{array}
\]

If an independent Actor noun phrase is used in this construction, it precedes the entire SVC, as in (76).

(77)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Au} & \text{myoa} & \text{mhan} \\
\text{Au} & \text{m=yoa} & \text{m=han} \\
\text{2sg} & \text{2sg=search(almost)} & \text{2sg=go} \\
\text{‘You’ve almost gone.’}
\end{array}
\]

*Nyoa* is also found as an invariant particle with fossilised 3sg cross-referencing, where it can also be translated into English as ‘almost’. The particle functions as either a modifier of quantifier phrases (§10.4.1.2) or as a modifier of whole clauses (§14.3.5).

Another kind of aspectual serialisation is often encountered with the verb *okik* ‘be finished’ as the second verb in a serial construction.
(78) *Kahon* okik do
k=ha-hon okik do
1sg=CAUS-eat be.finished REAL
'I have finished eating.'

Serial *okik* is often found in the first clause of a paratactic sequence of clauses (see §16.1) where it serves to show that whatever is referred to in the second clause of a sequence has occurred or will occur after whatever is referred to in the second clause has been finished.

(79) *Kahon* okik, *khan* akla
k=ha-hon okik  k=han ak-la
1sg=CAUS-eat be.finished 1sg=go ALL-sea
'Once I have finished eating, I will go seawards.'
Adpositional phrases

Taba has one very productive locative postposition, and five prepositions, all more marginal, which mark other case roles:

- *li* locative postposition
- *untuk* beneficial preposition
- *pake* instrumental preposition
- *ada* comitative/instrumental preposition
- *lo* simulative preposition
- *tutik* ‘until’; preposition

The possessive ligature *ni* could also be formally categorised as a preposition, but it is not discussed in this chapter. See chapter 9 on possession for details.

The locative postposition *li* (glossed simply ‘LOC’) is shown in (1). (All of the adpositional phrases in the initial examples are given in bold type.)

(1)  Plang  ntaggil  noge  ni  soda  li  
     plang  n=tagil  no-ge  ni  soda  li  
     fly  3sg=walk  there-ESS  3sg.POSS  face  LOC  
     ‘There’s a fly walking there on his face.’

Two of the prepositions are very recently borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, and are hardly used at all by older Taba speakers, who employ a variety of different strategies for marking the same roles marked by these prepositions. The beneficiary marking preposition *untuk*, glossed ‘BEN’ is shown in (2). It is recently borrowed from NMM *untuk* which has the same function.
(2) Npe doba untuk ni mamasi
   n=pe doba untuk ni mama=si
   3sg=make garden BEN 3sg.POSS mother=PL
   ‘He’s preparing a garden for his mother.’

The other recent borrowing is the instrumental marking pake, glossed ‘INST’. In NMM pake is a verb meaning ‘to use, wear’. In NMM pake is commonly used in serial verb constructions where it contributes an instrumental role, and it is this function of pake which was first borrowed into Taba (see §12.2.4). In Taba pake is undergoing a grammaticalisation process from serial verb to preposition. In some instances it is classified as a serial verb, and in other cases it is classified as a preposition. The role of pake as a serial verb is discussed in §12.2.4. It is seen operating as a preposition in (3).

(3) Npunak kolay pake peda
    n=pun-ak kolay pake peda
    3sg=kill-APPL snake INST machete
    ‘He killed the snake with a machete.’

The third Taba preposition is ada, used as a comitative or instrumental marker. Ada also occurs as a conjunction meaning ‘and, with’ (see §7.2.6 & §16.2.2). The NMM existential verb ada ‘exist’ has also been borrowed into Taba and a sometimes complex web of overlapping functions results in contemporary Taba usage (see §13.2.1 below). The prepositional use of ada (glossed ‘with’) is illustrated in (4).

(4) Lwom ada kapal motor
    l=wom ada kapal motor
    3pl=come with ship engine
    ‘They came with motorised ships.’

The preposition lo is a similitative marker (glossed ‘SIM’). Lo also occurs as a conjunction meaning ‘and’ (see §7.2.6 & §16.2.1). Its use is illustrated in (5).

(5) Samalo yak
    same SIM 1sg
    ‘The same as me.’

The final preposition tutik ‘until / towards’ also occurs as a subordinating conjunction (§16.5.3). It is illustrated, occurring as a preposition, in (6).
Adpositional phrases may function syntactically in a variety of ways:

- as predicates
- as complements
- as adjuncts
- as attributes

Examples (1) and (5) above illustrate adpositional phrases occurring as complements: in (1) as a complement of the possessive ligature \textit{ni}, and in (5) as complement of the Undergoer intransitive verb \textit{sama} ‘be the same’. (Similative adpositional phrases always occur as complements of \textit{sama}.) Examples (2), (3), (4) and (6) above exemplify the most common syntactic function of adpositional phrases: as adjuncts within a clause. Adpositional phrases also occur as predicates themselves, as in (7), or as the adjuncts of directional predicates, as in (8). These syntactic functions are discussed in more detail in §4.1.2.2 and §5.4.

(7) Oci \textit{e} Ternate \textit{li}  
Oci FOC Ternate LOC  
‘Oci is in Ternate.’

(8) Banda, si noge Rauf \textit{li}  
Banda si no-ge Rauf \textit{li}  
Banda 3pl there-ESS Rauf LOC  
‘Banda is there at Rauf’s place.’

The use of a locative postpositional phrase as the attribute of a noun phrase is illustrated in (9). This kind of adpositional phrase is treated in this description as another kind of predicative adpositional phrase: this time used in an attributive relative clause (see §16.4).

(9) Nim \textit{seminar} Ambon \textit{li}, \textit{ni} hasil \textit{do} ha  
2sg.POSS \textit{seminar} Ambon LOC, 3sg.POSS outcome REAL CAUS  
\textit{pu e?} what \textit{FOC}  
‘How did your seminar in Ambon go?’
Details of the kinds of complements taken by each adposition, along with further details on each are given below: the postposition is discussed in §13.1, and the prepositions are treated in §13.2. In §13.3 adpositionally licensed arguments are contrasted with arguments licensed by applicative suffixes and in §13.4 there is a brief discussion of the typological peculiarities inherent in Taba having both a postposition and prepositions.

### 13.1 Postposition

Taba has one postposition, *li*, which always occurs as the head of a postpositional phrase and always takes a noun phrase as its complement. The postposition usually has a very generalised locative meaning, being translatable into English 'at', 'in', or 'on', etc. *Li* is most commonly used to allow non-locative nouns to function as locatives. ('Locatives' are a subcategory of Taba nouns with a distinctive set of associated syntactic functions. They are discussed in §4.1.2.) Occasionally, the *li* postposition occurs with place names (i.e. nouns that are inherently locative). The use of *li* in these environments is optional, and probably determined by discourse factors that are not fully understood. Sometimes *li* is also used to mark nouns as having a more general oblique status.

Locative postpositional phrases may function syntactically as predicates themselves, or they may occur as the adjuncts or complements of some other predicate: either verbal (see chapter 8) or locative (chapter 11). As the complements of locative phrases, they may appear with directional or demonstratives as the predicate heads. When they appear as adjuncts or complements, postpositional phrases usually occur after the predicate. They can, however, also occur in the fronted preclausal position (see §6.3.1).

The use of a locative postpositional phrase as the adjunct of a verbal clause is illustrated in (10). Here, although there is a lexicalised meaning 'Thank you very much', the locative phrase is acting as a circumstantial adjunct, literally 'I give much thanks to God about you'.

```
(10)    Kdod  sukur    lloci  au    li
       k=dod  sukur    lloci  au    li
       1sg=ask  thanks.be.to.God  much  2sg  LOC
       'I thank you very much.'
```
If a noun is not inherently locative, it can be licensed as locative in one of two ways: it can occur in an adjunct locative phrase licensed by li, or it can occur as the complement of a locative verb, licensed by the applicative suffix -o (see §8.3.3). Contrast examples (11) and (12) below which both have the same referential meaning.

(11) \(N\text{batalon} \quad k\text{urus} \quad l\) 
\(n=b\text{atalon} \quad k\text{urus} \quad l\) 
\(3\text{sg}=s\text{it} \quad c\text{hair} \quad L\text{OC}\) 
'He's sitting on the chair.'

(12) \(N\text{batalono} \quad k\text{urus}\) 
\(n=b\text{atalon-o} \quad k\text{urus}\) 
\(3\text{sg}=s\text{it-APPL} \quad c\text{hair}\) 
'He's sitting on the chair.'

The use of a li phrase as the complement of a verbal clause is illustrated in (13). (In this example maduga is an Actor intransitive verb which requires an oblique argument. The verb is formed by causativising the quantificational modifier duga 'only' (see §10.4.1.1 & §14.3.2) and a complement li phrase is required to indicate what nim wlo 'your heart' is only for.)

(13) \(M\text{alusa} \quad n\text{im} \quad w\text{lo} \quad m\text{aduga} \quad y\text{ak} \quad l\) 
\(m=\text{ha-lusa} \quad n\text{im} \quad w\text{lo} \quad m=\text{ha-duga} \quad y\text{ak} \quad l\) 
\(2\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-say} \quad 2\text{sg.POSS} \text{ liver} \quad 2\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-only} \quad 1\text{sg} \quad L\text{OC}\) 
'You said your heart was only for me.'

As noted above, li phrases can also act as predicates, and they can occur as the complements of locative predicates. The li phrase as locative predicate was exemplified in (7) above and is further exemplified in (14).

(14) \(N\text{im} \quad t\text{abako} \quad m\text{eja} \quad l\) 
\(2\text{sg.POSS} \text{ cigarettes} \quad t\text{able} \quad L\text{OC}\) 
'Your cigarettes are on the table.'

The use of the li phrases as complement of a directional locative predicate was illustrated in (8) above. It is shown as the complement of a demonstrative locative predicate in (15) below.

(15) \(N\text{im} \quad t\text{abako} \quad a\text{dia} \quad m\text{eja} \quad l\) 
\(2\text{sg.POSS} \text{ cigarettes} \quad t\text{here} \quad t\text{able} \quad L\text{OC}\) 
'Your cigarettes are there on the table.'

Further discussion of locative predicates is found in §5.3.2.3 and §5.4.
13.2 Prepositions

The meanings and uses of each of the Taba prepositions are discussed individually below.

13.2.1 Ada

As a preposition, ada ‘with’ marks both companions and instruments. The borrowed form pake is also used to mark instruments (see §13.2.4). Ada also has a less frequent use as a marker of differences between noun phrases and this will be discussed at the end of this section. Unless otherwise indicated, all of the discussion here relates to its use as a comitative or instrumental marker.

Ada phrases usually occur postverbally. They can also occur in the preclausal orientational position (see §6.3.1). Ada prepositional phrases marking instruments and companions always occur as adjuncts to a clause. Some verbs are subcategorised directly for instruments or companions, but these are always licensed by the applicative suffix -Vk. (The relationship between prepositional and applicative licensing of instruments and companions is discussed in more detail in §13.3 below.)

Since both companions and instruments can be marked by the same preposition, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish clearly which semantic role is involved in a given utterance. Example (16), where ada is glossed ‘with’ is one example of such uncertainty.

(16) Lwom ada kapal motor
l=wom ada kapal motor
3pl=come with ship engine
‘They came with motor boats.’ / ‘They came by motor boat.’

Sometimes, because of pragmatic considerations and / or a verb’s semantics, it is easier to tell whether an instrumental or a comitative meaning is intended. In (17), the verbal semantics of pun ‘to kill’ suggests the instrumental reading.

(17) Npun bobay ada ni sandal do
n=pun bobay ada ni sandal do
3sg=kill mosquito with 3sg.POSS thongs REAL
‘He killed the mosquito with his sandal.’
In (18), it is pragmatic considerations that force the comitative reading. One presumes that the Actor here did not use his wife as an instrument of his coming (by, for example being piggy-backed).

(18) *Nwom ada ni mapin*
    n=wom ada ni mapin
    3sg=come with 3sg.POSS wife
    'He came with his wife.'

It was noted in the introduction to this chapter that *ada* has a variety of partially overlapping functions. The prepositional uses of *ada* seem to derive from the still attested uses as a conjunction (see §16.2.2). This development is presumed to have arisen in contexts such as the one illustrated in (18) above. Although this example looks like a fairly unequivocal usage of *ada* as a comitative preposition, the following example shows how the readiness Taba exhibits for ellipsing expressions that are easily retrievable could have led to the reinterpretation of *ada* as a preposition.

(19) *Yak khan ada nik lomo (nhan)*
    yak k=han ada nik lomo (n=han)
    1sg 1sg=go with 1sg.POSS friend (3sg=go)
    'I went and my friend (went).'

In addition to its role as both conjunction and preposition in Taba, *ada* also occurs in North Moluccan Malay as an existential verb meaning 'there is/are'.

This function is being borrowed into Taba. Examples such as the following show how interpretation as either a predicative prepositional phrase, or as an existential verb can be made with the same token of *ada*.

(20) *Ada pipis, thaji te, trugi*
    ada pipis t=thaji te t=trugi
    with/exist money 1pl.incl=haji NEG 1pl.incl=lose
    'If we are with money and we don't go on the haji, we lose.' / 'If there is money, and we don't go on the haji, we lose.'

North Moluccan Malay has itself adopted *ada* to serve as a progressive marker, in addition to its use as an existential verb comparable to that of

---

1 Taba itself has no indigenous existential verb and borrowed Malay *ada* is widely used by Taba speakers today. Indigenous Taba existential constructions are discussed in §5.1.
Standard Indonesian. This borrowed usage of ada has also occasionally been noted in Taba. In (21) is found an example of ada being used to indicate that an activity is continuous and ongoing. Ironically, the example comes from a recording made of one person’s disparaging comments about the degree to which Malay has affected contemporary Taba.

(21)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Indadi} & \text{ada} & \text{lalongkak} & \text{Malayu} & \text{nak.} \\
\text{indadi} & \text{ada} & \text{l=ha-longka-k} & \text{Malayu} & \text{nak} \\
\text{so} & \text{PROG 3pl=CAUS-weave-APPL} & \text{Malay} & \text{also} \\
\end{array}
\]

'So they're mixing it up with Malay again.'

It was noted at the beginning of this section that comitative and instrumental noun phrases can be licensed by the applicative suffix -Vk as well as prepositionally. The rules of Taba grammar actually allow instruments and companions to be marked with both ada and -Vk at the same time. Examples (22) to (24) could all be used to refer to the same event.

(22)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Npun} & \text{kolay} & \text{ada} & \text{peda} \\
n=pun & \text{kolay} & \text{ada} & \text{peda} \\
3sg=kill & \text{snake} & \text{with} & \text{machete} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He killed the snake with a machete.'

(23)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Npunak} & \text{kolay} & \text{peda} \\
n=pun-ak & \text{kolay} & \text{peda} \\
3sg=kill-APPL & \text{snake} & \text{machete} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He killed the snake with a machete.'

(24)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Npunak} & \text{kolay} & \text{ada} & \text{peda} \\
n=pun-ak & \text{kolay} & \text{ada} & \text{peda} \\
3sg=kill-APPL & \text{snake} & \text{with} & \text{machete} \\
\end{array}
\]

'He killed the snake with a machete.'

This dual licensing of arguments is discussed further in §13.3.

Ada is also sometimes used as a marker of differences between noun phrases. With this function it introduces a complement to verbal expressions such as

\[\text{Voorhoeve (1983a:5) discusses the use of ada as a progressive marker in North Moluccan Malay. He cites examples such as the following:} \]

\[\text{Satu saat... ada bikin rame} \]
\[\text{one moment are make merry} \]
\[\text{‘One day (they) were making merry.’} \]
maleo and sol ‘be different’. In these constructions, which all have an Actor noun phrase preceding the verbal expression in addition to the prepositional objects which follow ada, the prepositional object is the standard for comparison and the Actor noun phrase is the referent for which difference from that standard is being asserted. Examples (25) and (26) illustrate this use of ada.

(25) Baraci maleo ada Indonesyasi
    barat=si maleo ada Indonesya=si
    west=PL be.different from Indonesia=PL
    ‘Westerners are different from Indonesians.’

(26) Idia n maka sol ada ine
    i-dia n=maka sol ada i-ne
    DEM-REM 3sg=RECIP be.different from DEM-PROX
    ‘That is different from this.’

13.2.2 Lo

The preposition lo is a simulative marker. It always appears as a complement of the verb sama ‘to be the same’. The object of the preposition is the standard for comparison and the Actor of sama is the thing for which similarity to that standard is being asserted.

(27) Oci sama lo Iswan le
    Oci be.the.same as Iswan only
    ‘Oci is just the same as Iswan.’

13.2.3 Untuk

Untuk is used by younger Taba speakers to mark beneficiaries and can conveniently be translated into English as ‘for’. It is a rather recent borrowing from North Moluccan Malay and it is hardly ever used by older Taba speakers.

---

3 While both maleo and sol have been glossed as ‘be different’ there are quite distinct ways of using these forms. Maleo is a Undergoer intransitive verb (see §4.2 and -sol is an Actor intransitive (§4.2). Maleo is often encountered as a nominalisation meaning ‘other’ while -sol is frequently found with invariant third person cross-referencing and a lexicalised meaning in the form n sol ‘wrong / incorrect’. When used with the meaning ‘be different’ it almost invariably co-occurs with the reciprocal marker maka (see §6.6).

4 Very few pure beneficiary arguments are ever found in Taba discourse, and ‘pure’ indigenous Taba has a paucity of means available for expressing them. There is only one attested example of a verb which can license a beneficiary with -o applicative derivation (see
Unmarked adpositional phrases including *untuk* occur postverbally. They can also occur in the fronted preclausal position (see §6.3.1). *Untuk* prepositional phrases always occur as adjuncts to a clause. (There are no underived verbs that I am aware of which require a beneficial argument to be expressed.) The use of *untuk* is illustrated in (28) where the prepositional phrase is found in the preverbal focus position.

(28) *Untuk yak, masure hasole, lao ne.*
     untuk yak masure hasole lao ne
     for 1sg good all bait PROX
     ‘For me... they’re all good, these baits.’

### 13.2.4 Pake

The preposition *pake* is used to mark instrument noun phrases and it is a fairly recent borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. In NMM it is a verb meaning ‘to use, wear’ and it is frequently used as the second verb in serial verb constructions where it is used to mark instruments. Tab a *pake* is only occasionally used by older speakers but frequent use is found amongst younger people. It has been classified as both a ‘preposition’ and a serial verb in this description since it can function in both ways in Taba. *Pake* can also be used as an independent transitive verb meaning ‘to use, wear’ as in NMM. Such usage is illustrated in (29).

---

§8.3.3. A more common strategy for introducing a beneficiary is to use a resultative subordinate clause (see §16.5.1), e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
I \quad npe \quad de \quad notik \quad yak \\
i \quad n=pe \quad de \quad n=ot-ik \quad yak \\
3sg3sg=makeRES \quad 3sg=take-APPL \quad 1sg \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He’s making it in order to give it to me.’ = ‘He’s making it for me.’

Note, however, that no noun phrase which is simply a beneficiary can be introduced in this manner, and that the nature of the benefit being referred to must be specified in somewhat more detail than in English and many other languages. In the example above such benefit is that *I* receive whatever it is that the agent has made and *I* thus appear as a recipient argument licensed by the -ik applicative suffix. To translate something like the English ‘He sang a song for me’ using a purposive subordinate clause, again the exact nature of the benefit (i.e. ‘in order that I hear it’) would need to be made explicit.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
I \quad nyanyi \quad lagu \quad de \quad yak \quad kmalongak \\
i \quad n=nyanyi \quad lagu \quad de \quad yak \quad k=malongo-ak \\
3sg \quad 3sg=sing \quad song \quad RES \quad 1sg \quad 1sg=hear-APPL \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He’s singing a song in order that I hear it.’ = ‘He’s singing a song for me.’
(29) *Mpernah mpace lawe do?*
   m=pernah m=pake la-we do
   2sg=ever 2sg=use sea-ESS REAL
   'Have you ever used it in Australia?'

As with most of the other Taba prepositions, *pake* prepositional phrases usually occur postverbally as in (30).

(30) *Hwet i pake senter lo*
    h=wet i pake senter lo
    2pl=hit 3sg with torch IMP
    'Hit him with the torch!'

In constructions such as that shown in (30), it is very difficult to distinguish prepositional *pake* from the serial verb with the same form. Agent cross-referencing of the second verb in a serial construction is optional if first and second verb in the construction share the same agent (see §12.1), so the lack of cross-referencing in (30) cannot be taken as diagnostic of a prepositional classification for *pake*. In example (31), however, *pake* is unambiguously prepositional, the whole prepositional phrase having been fronted.

(31) *Pake senter, hwet i lo*
    pake senter h=wet i lo
    with torch 2pl=hit 3sg IMP
    'With the torch, hit him!'

*Pake* prepositional phrases always occur as adjuncts to a clause. As discussed with respect to *ada* 'with' (§13.2.1), while some verbs are subcategorised for instruments, their complements are always licensed by the applicative suffix -Vk. As also discussed with respect to *ada* prepositional clauses, instruments licensed by the applicative -Vk can also be marked within the same clause by *pake*. Such double licensing of arguments is discussed at more length in §13.3. Examples (32) and (33) can be used in much the same contexts as (30) and (31).

(32) *Hwetik i senter lo*
    h=wet-ik i senter lo
    2pl=hit-APPL 3sg torch IMP
    'Hit him with the torch!'

(33) *Hwetik i pake senter lo*
    h=wet-ik i pake senter lo
    2pl=hit-APPL 3sg with torch IMP
    'Hit him with the torch!'
Sometimes, *pake* and *ada* can be used interchangeably to mark instruments. Thus, (34) and (35) could also be used in the same context as (30) to (33) above.

(34) \[ Hwet \ i \ ada \ senter \ lo \]
\[ h=\text{wet} \ i \ ada \ senter \ lo \]
\[ 2\text{pl}=\text{hit} \ 3\text{sg} \ \text{with} \ \text{torch} \ \text{IMP} \]
\[ '\text{Hit him with the torch!}' \]

(35) \[ Hwetik \ i \ ada \ senter \ lo \]
\[ h=\text{wet-ik} \ i \ ada \ senter \ lo \]
\[ 2\text{pl}=\text{hit-APPL} \ 3\text{sg} \ \text{with} \ \text{torch} \ \text{IMP} \]
\[ '\text{Hit him with the torch!}' \]

When functioning as a preposition in Taba, *pake* still retains what is no doubt one of its verbal characteristics in that it can only be used with deliberately wielded instruments, as opposed to *ada* (see §13.2.1 above) and the applicative - *Vk* which can both be used to mark accidentally employed instruments. Where an accidentally employed instrument is referred to, either simple applicative marking and/or the preposition *ada* must be used as in (36).

(36) \[ Oci \ nlikok \ manik \ ada \ ni \ sapatu \]
\[ Oci \ n=\text{liko-k} \ manik \ ada \ ni \ sapatu \]
\[ Oci \ 3\text{sg}=\text{tread.on-APPL} \ \text{chicken with} \ 3\text{sg.POSS} \ \text{shoe} \]
\[ 'Oci trod on the chicken with his shoe.' \]

The *pake* marked equivalent of (36) would be quite unusual, entailing as it does that Oci deliberately trod on the chicken.

(37) \[ ? \ Oci \ nlikok \ manik \ pake \ ni \ sapatu \]
\[ Oci \ n=\text{liko-k} \ manik \ pake \ ni \ sapatu \]
\[ Oci \ 3\text{sg}=\text{tread.on-APPL} \ \text{chicken with} \ 3\text{sg.POSS} \ \text{shoe} \]
\[ 'Oci trod on the chicken with his shoe [on purpose].' \]

13.2.5 *Tutik*(ma)

*Tutik* and its variant form *tutikma* occur both as preposition and as subordinating conjunction (see §16.5.3). In either guise, the Taba forms can be roughly translated into English as ‘until’. As prepositions, they act as the head of either adjunct locative or adjunct temporal clauses, indicating that some motion has been performed until a certain place has been reached, or that any kind of activity has been performed until a certain point in time. The *tutikma* variant is used to show that the distance moved, or the interval of time referred to is somewhat longer than would be the case if the simple *tutik* form had been
used. *Tutikma* is illustrated heading a locative adjunct clause in (38), and *tutik* is shown with a temporal adjunct in (39).

(38) **Lomo latala wog te, lagawil tutikma lawe wolat halaim.**
lomo l=tala wog te l=agawil tutikma la-we wolat halaim other 3pl=meet canoe NEG 3pl=swim until sea-at sea middle
‘Others who couldn’t find canoes swam until they were right out in the middle of the sea.’

(39) **Malai kamolam tutik mawoappo.**
Malai k=amolam tutik mawoappo then 1sg=be.hungry until the.next.day
‘So then I was hungry until the next day.’

### 13.3 Applicative vs. adpositional argument licensing

In Taba, a variety of means are available for licensing arguments such as instruments, companions, locations, etc.

Locative arguments, for example, can be licensed with either the -o applicative (§8.3.3) or the postposition *li* (§13.1), as seen in examples (11) and (12) repeated below as (40) and (41).

(40) **Nbatchon kurusi li**
n=battalon kurusi li
3sg=sit chair LOC
‘He’s sitting on the chair.’

(41) **Nbatchono kurusi**
n=battalon-o kurusi
3sg=sit-APPL chair
‘He’s sitting on the chair.’

The beneficiary licensed by the -o applicative in (42) can also be introduced with the preposition *untuk*, as in (43).5

(42) **Ntopo John ngnge**
n=top-o John ngnge
3sg=crack-APPL John canarium.nut
‘He’s cracking canarium nuts for John.’

---

5 This example of a beneficiary licensed by the applicative suffix is the only one of its kind found in the corpus. See §8.3.3 and footnote 4 above for more discussion.
(43)  \( N_{top} \quad n_{ngnge} \quad u_{n\text{ntuk} \, J\text{ohn}} \)
\( n=\text{top} \quad n_{ngnge} \quad u_{n\text{ntuk} \, J\text{ohn}} \)
\( 3\text{sg}=\text{crack} \quad \text{canarium,} \text{nut} \quad \text{BEN} \, J\text{ohn} \)
'He's cracking canarium nuts for John.'

Instruments may be licensed in a number of different ways: by the
applicative suffix \(-V_k\) (§8.3.2), serial verb \(p\text{ake}\) (§12.2.4) and prepositions \(a\text{da}\)
(§13.2.1) and \(p\text{ake}\) (§13.2.4). All of the following examples could thus be used to
refer to the same real-world event if \(Oc_i\) is understood as having deliberately
trodden on the chicken involved. (See §12.2.4 on serial verb \(p\text{ake}\) and §13.2.4 on
prepositional \(p\text{ake}\) for discussion on the requirement for deliberate action.)

(44)  **Applicative licensing**

\( Oc_i \quad n_{liko} \quad m\text{anik} \quad s\text{apatu.} \)
\( Oc_i \quad n=\text{liko-}k \quad m\text{anik} \quad s\text{apatu} \)
\( Oc_i \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{tread.on-APPL} \quad c\text{hicken} \quad s\text{hoe} \)
'\( Oc_i \) trod on the chicken with his shoe'.

(45)  **Serial verb licensing**

\( Oc_i \quad n_{liko} \quad m\text{anik} \quad n_{p\text{ake}} \quad s\text{apatu.} \)
\( Oc_i \quad n=\text{liko} \quad m\text{anik} \quad n=p\text{ake} \quad s\text{apatu} \)
\( Oc_i \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{tread.on} \quad c\text{hicken} \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{use} \quad s\text{hoe} \)
'\( Oc_i \) trod on the chicken with his shoe'.

(46)  **Prepositional licensing with \(p\text{ake}\)**

\( Oc_i \quad n_{liko} \quad m\text{anik} \quad p\text{ake} \quad s\text{apatu.} \)
\( Oc_i \quad n=\text{liko-}k \quad m\text{anik} \quad p\text{ake} \quad s\text{apatu} \)
\( Oc_i \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{tread.on} \quad c\text{hicken} \quad \text{INST} \quad s\text{hoe} \)
'\( Oc_i \) trod on the chicken with his shoe'.

(47)  **Prepositional licensing with \(a\text{da}\)**

\( Oc_i \quad n_{liko} \quad m\text{anik} \quad a\text{da} \quad s\text{apatu.} \)
\( Oc_i \quad n=\text{liko} \quad m\text{anik} \quad a\text{da} \quad s\text{apatu} \)
\( Oc_i \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{tread.on} \quad c\text{hicken} \quad w\text{ith} \quad s\text{hoe} \)
'\( Oc_i \) trod on the chicken with his shoe'.

With respect to the instrument \(s\text{apatu} \) 'shoe' shown in (44) to (47), there are
still further ways of referring to the same real-world event using both
applicative and prepositional licensing of the instrument.
(48) **Double licensing of instrument with both applicative and preposition *pake***

\[
\begin{align*}
Oci & \quad nlikok & \quad manik & \quad pake & \quad sapatu. \\
Oci & \quad n=liko-k & \quad manik & \quad pake & \quad sapatu \\
Oci & \quad 3sg=tread.on-APPL & \quad chicken & \quad INST & \quad shoe
\end{align*}
\]

‘Oci trod on the chicken with his shoe’.

(49) **Double licensing of instrument with both applicative and preposition *ada***

\[
\begin{align*}
Oci & \quad nlikok & \quad manik & \quad ada & \quad sapatu. \\
Oci & \quad n=liko-k & \quad manik & \quad ada & \quad sapatu \\
Oci & \quad 3sg=tread.on-APPL & \quad chicken & \quad with & \quad shoe
\end{align*}
\]

‘Oci trod on the chicken with his shoe’.

The same kinds of possibilities exist for the instruments in bivalent intransitive constructions (§8.3.2.1) can also have arguments that are optionally licensed by adpositions. Compare (50) and (51).

(50) **Licensing of instrument with applicative**

\[
\begin{align*}
Loka & \quad posak & \quad niwi \\
loka & \quad posa-k & \quad niwi \\
banana & \quad be.boiled-APPL & \quad coconut
\end{align*}
\]

‘The banana is boiled in coconut.’

(51) **Licensing of instrument with both applicative and preposition *ada***

\[
\begin{align*}
Loka & \quad posak & \quad ada & \quad niwi \\
loka & \quad posa-k & \quad ada & \quad niwi \\
banana & \quad be.boiled-APPL & \quad with & \quad coconut
\end{align*}
\]

‘The banana has been boiled with coconut.’

Note, however, that in these cases, instruments cannot just be marked by an adposition. This feature of Taba grammar is probably connected with the fact that the preposition *ada* is heterosemos with the conjunction *ada* ‘and’ (§7.2.6, §16.2.2). The preposition *pake* cannot be used with bivalent intransitives. Since bivalent intransitives have no agent, whatever is marked as instrument in these constructions cannot be ‘deliberately wielded’ (§13.2.4). Example (52) shows the way an underived Undergoer verb along with *ada* would be interpreted.

(52) \[
\begin{align*}
Loka & \quad posa & \quad ada & \quad niwi \\
banana & \quad be.boiled \quad and \quad with & \quad coconut & \quad ‘Boiled \quad banana \quad and \quad coconut.’
\end{align*}
\]

There are some restrictions on which kinds of arguments can receive double marking. Locative arguments such as *kurusī* ‘chair’ seen in examples (40) and (41) above, for example, can only receive one or other kind of marking, but not
both. This only holds true for -o applicatives that have been derived from intransitive stems, however. When the -o applicative has derived a ditransitive verb from a transitive stem, the applied argument can be doubly marked.

(53) **Licensing of location with postposition**

\[
\begin{align*}
Ntek & \quad woya & \quad botol & \quad li \\
n=tek & \quad woya & \quad botol & \quad li \\
3sg=sooap & \quad water & \quad bottle & \quad LOC \\
'& \quad He's \quad scooping \quad out \quad water \quad from \quad the \quad bottle.'
\end{align*}
\]

(54) **Licensing of location with -o applicative**

\[
\begin{align*}
Nteko & \quad woya & \quad botol \\
n=tek-o & \quad woya & \quad botol \\
3sg=sooap-APPL & \quad water & \quad bottle \\
'& \quad He's \quad scooping \quad out \quad water \quad from \quad the \quad bottle.'
\end{align*}
\]

(55) **Licensing of location with both postposition and -o applicative**

\[
\begin{align*}
Nteko & \quad woya & \quad botol & \quad li \\
n=tek-o & \quad woya & \quad botol & \quad li \\
3sg=sooap-APPL & \quad water & \quad bottle & \quad LOC \\
'& \quad He's \quad scooping \quad out \quad water \quad from \quad the \quad bottle.'
\end{align*}
\]

The existence of doubly-licensed arguments such as those just seen must be viewed as problematic for a movement-based account of applicative affixes as advanced by Baker (1988). Baker suggests that in languages with applicatives underlying adpositions have been subjected to obligatory movement rules and appear on the surface as bound affixes, attached to derived verbs which then license arguments to appear in core, rather than oblique roles. The problem for Baker’s account that the Taba data presents is that in examples such as (48) and (49) above, the putative ‘underlying’ adposition has manifestly not moved anywhere.

The exact reasons for speakers choosing applicative licensing over adpositional, adpositional licensing over applicative, or indeed choosing to use both kinds of licensing at the same time, remain obscure. Presumably the choice is governed by semantic and / or discourse factors that are not as yet properly understood and must await further study.
13.4 Postposition and prepositions: typological implications

According to Greenberg (1966) and a number of other commentators (amongst them Lehmann 1978, Vennemann 1984 and Dryer 1988, 1992) most languages which have a basic word order whereby verbs precede their objects also have prepositions rather than postpositions. One of the implications of this finding (although not often mentioned explicitly) is that most languages have either prepositions or postpositions, but not both. The fact that Taba has both prepositions, and a postposition clearly needs some explanation.

Being a language with basic verb - object order, Taba would be expected to have prepositions rather than postpositions, but as it has been mentioned at various points of the grammar, Taba has been subject to rather extensive influence from the postpositional non-Austronesian languages spoken around it.6 From the description of Taba adpositions so far given, it can be seen that the locative postposition is of far greater antiquity than any of the prepositions, which all appear to be relatively recent innovations in the language. It seems then, that the fact that the locative adposition is a postposition is attributable to areal influences that have been operating for a considerable period of time throughout the language’s history, as is the ‘reversed genitive’ which Taba shares with most of the Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia. While most of the Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia are prepositional, the fact that Taba was probably once exclusively postpositional should not be all that surprising given its much greater proximity to a relatively large number of non-Austronesian languages than most of the other Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia, and its rather intensive contact with Ternate. The diachronic origins of locative *li are not yet known, but Sawai (Jacqui Whisler, n.d.) has a locative marking enclitic -lo which is possibly cognate.

As we have seen, the Taba prepositions all appear to be fairly recent innovations in the language. As far as beneficiary marking *untuk is concerned,

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*While only the non-Austronesian languages spoken in the north-eastern part of Halmahera now have SOV order and all the rest have SVO (Voorhoeve, 1983b:22), presumably the SVO languages have undergone a historical change from SOV under the influence of the Austronesian languages.*
its origins as a direct borrowing from the Malay preposition *untuk* are clear enough and need no further explanation. We have already seen that the status of instrumental marking *pake* as a preposition is still somewhat equivocal in Taba, it having clearly had its origins as the second element in a serial verb construction in North Moluccan Malay, where serial verbs are commonly used to introduce oblique elements to a clause.

While both *untuk* and *pake* have their origins in Malay, *ada* (as a preposition) has emerged as a result of Taba internal grammaticalisation processes operating on the conjunction *ada* ‘and, with’. A few examples illustrating the kinds of discourse context wherein a ‘progression’ from a purely conjunctional morphosyntactic role to a purely prepositional one is believed to have been effected are given in §13.2.1.

*Lo* has a much more restricted use as a similitative preposition, and although it is not at all clear how it may have arisen as a preposition in Taba, its prepositional uses may also have some connection with its function as a conjunction (see §16.2.1). Like *lo*, *tutik* ‘until’ also occurs as a conjunction (see §16.5.3). It is not clear at this stage, however, whether *tutik* had its origins as a conjunction or as a preposition.
Clausal modifiers

A variety of simple predicate types are introduced in chapter 5. The central components of each of these clause types are treated in detail at various points of the grammar: verbs are discussed in chapter 8, nouns in chapter 7, adpositional phrases in chapter 13, locatives in chapters 7 and 11, quantifiers in chapter 10. Serial verbs, which function as the complex heads of simple verbal clauses, and which can be used to modify predications in a number of ways are discussed in chapter 12. An overview of clause-level syntax is presented in chapter 6.

In this chapter we examine a number of modifiers of simple declarative clauses. Non-declarative sentence types are discussed in chapter 15, and 'complex syntax', which involves constructions in which more than one clause combine together in a variety of ways is discussed in chapter 16.

In §14.1 we examine the realis mood particle *do* and the continuative aspect particle *hu*. Section §14.2 takes up the question of negation in Taba, while the next two sections deal with some particles that can be used to modify clauses in various ways. Modifiers which occur before their clausal heads are discussed in §14.3 while modifiers which occur after their clausal heads are discussed in §14.4. Finally, in §14.5 we discuss the role of the focus particle *e*.

**14.1 Mood and aspect**

Taba has two optional particles which can be used to mark realis mood and continuative aspect: *do* and *hu* respectively. Each is discussed in turn below. Some general notes on the scope of the particles follow this discussion.
14.1.1 Realis mood *do*

Realis mood is optionally marked with the particle *do*, which occurs immediately after any other elements of a clause, except for the continuative particle *hu* (§14.1.2). Any kind of clause, whether verbal or not (see chapter 5 for detailed discussion of Taba clause types) can be marked as realis.

Realis mood indicates that the state or event referred to by the clause is taking place, or has taken place at the time of the speech act when it is used, or at some other time referred to by that speech act. In Taba, the realis particle can also be used in conjunction with the negative particle *te* (§14.2.1) to emphasise the reality of some state or event’s non-occurrence. When it is used in negative clauses, however, the negative particle *te* and the realis particle *do* cliticise and a complex negative realis particle *tedo* is used (§14.2.3.1).

In example (1), *do* indicates the reality of volcanic ash’s wide dispersal at the time the speaker had returned to Moti island.

(1)  

```
Kmul Keten okik yapyp yapyp dumik do
k=mul Keten okik yapyp dumik do
1sg=return Moti be.finished ash be.complete REAL

Once I had got back to Moti, ash was everywhere.
```

Example (2) is a commonly heard polite way of bidding goodbye to someone the speaker might be visiting. Here, *do* simply indicates that the speaker is at that moment in the process of leaving.

(2)  

```
Khan do
k=han do
1sg=go REAL
'I'm going.'
```

As mentioned above, realis mood is not obligatorily marked. Example (3) refers to an actual event that occurred in the past, but here no overt realis marking is used.

(3)  

```
Lait dumik si
L=ait dumik si
3pl=ascend be.complete 3pl
'Everyone ran upwards.'
```

Examples (1) and (2) above both show verbal clauses marked as realis: (1) with an Undergoer intransitive and (2) with an Actor intransitive. Example (4) shows a possessive verbal clause (§9.2) marked as realis.
Modification of basic clause structure

(4) \( I \ nani \ badan \ da \ do. \)
\[ i \ n=ha-ni \ badan \ da \ do \]
3sg 3sg=CAUS-POSS body DIST REAL
'It already has that body.’ [referring to a half-built house]

Example (5) and (6) both show nominal quantifier predicates marked as realis.

(5) \( Bobokno, \ dukon \ Taba \ hawal \ pa \)
\[ bo-bo-ak-no \ dukon \ Taba \ ha-wal \ pa \]
formerly-formerly-to-there eruption Makian CLASS=eight or
\[ sio \ do. \]
sio do
nine REAL
'From way back in the past up to that time, Makian has erupted eight or nine times already.'

(6) \( Manusia \ lloci \ do \)
people many REAL
'There are already a lot of people.'

An example of realis mood applied to a clause headed by a serial verb construction (chapter 12) is given in (7).

(7) \( Nim \ disertas \ msurat \ dumik \ do \ pa \ tesu? \)
\[ nim \ disertasi \ m=surat \ dumik \ do \ pa \ te-su \]
2sg.POSS dissertation 2sg=write be.complete REAL or NEG-POT
'Your dissertation, have you finished writing it or not yet?'

14.1.2 Continuative aspect \( hu \)

Continuative aspect is optionally marked with the particle \( hu \), which always occurs clause-finally. As with realis mood, any kind of clause, whether verbal or not (see chapter 5 for detailed discussion of Taba clause types) can be marked as continuative.

Continuative aspect indicates that the state or event referred to by the clause is still in the process of happening at time of the speech act when it is used, or at some time referred to by that speech act. As with the realis marker \( do \), the continuative particle \( hu \) can also be used in conjunction with the negative particle \( te \) (§14.2.1) to which it cliticises as the complex negative particle \( tehu \) (§14.2.3.2). The complex particle indicates that something has not yet occurred but may occur in the future.
In example (8), *hu* qualifies a directional predicate. Here, it refers to the fact that the argument of the clause *si* was still in an 'upwards' location (see §11.2.1) at the time of other events being referred to in a narrative.

(8) \[ Si\ yase\ hu\ ]
    \[ si\ ya-se\ hu\ ]
    \[ 3pl\ up-ESS\ CONT\ ]
    'He was still up (in the neighbouring village).'

In (9), an Undergoer intransitive clause, *hu* indicates that the peanuts referred to were still small at the time of utterance.

(9) \[ Bonci\ ne\ kutu-kutu\ hu\ ]
    \[ peanut\ PROX\ small-small\ CONT\ ]
    'These peanuts are still small.'

As has been mentioned, the marking of continuous aspect is optional. Example (10), with no aspect marked, could equally have been used to refer to the same state as that described in (9).

(10) \[ Bonci\ ne\ kutu-kutu\ ]
    \[ peanut\ PROX\ small-small\ ]
    'These peanuts are small.'

Examples (8) and (9) show continuative aspect marked on directional and Undergoer intransitive predicates respectively. Examples (11) to (13) illustrate the co-occurrence of *hu* with a variety of different predicate types: nominal, ambient and ditransitive respectively.

(11) \[ Si\ mahasiswa\ hu\ ]
    \[ 3pl\ student\ CONT\ ]
    'He's still a student.'

(12) \[ Makoa\ hu\ ]
    \[ be.hot\ CONT\ ]
    'It's still hot.'

(13) \[ Nwetik\ yak\ bbuk\ hu\ ]
    \[ n=wt-ik\ yak\ bbuk\ hu\ ]
    \[ 3sg=hit-APPL\ 1sg\ book\ CONT\ ]
    'He's hitting me with a book.'

The realis marker *do* and the continuative particle *hu* are occasionally found used together in the same clause. When thus found, *do* always precedes *hu*. The effect of both *do* and *hu* being used in the same clause is to emphasise the reality of some continuous activity. Example (14), for example, was uttered in
response to another person's bemoaning the fact that someone who was expected to visit had not arrived. By using both particles the speaker can be more emphatic about stressing the fact that the person expected was still in the process of coming.

(14) \( Nwom \quad do \quad hu \)
\( n=wom \quad do \quad hu \)
\( 3\text{sg}=\text{come} \quad \text{REAL} \quad \text{CONT} \)
‘He’s still coming.’

14.1.3 Scope of do and hu

The clause-final position of the modal and aspectual particles can lead to ambiguities in scope occurring when they are used with complex clauses (chapter 16). Example (15), for example, is ambiguous as to whether \( hu \) refers to the embedded clause as Kacarita \( [kwom \ ane] \ hu \) ‘I said “I am coming here”’, or to the whole complex \( [Kacarita \ kwom \ ane] \ hu \) ‘I was saying “I came here”’.

(15) Kacarita \( \quad \kwom \quad \ane \quad hu \)
\( k=\text{ha-carita} \quad k=wom \quad a-ne \quad hu \)
\( 1\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-talk} \quad 1\text{sg}=\text{come} \quad \text{ESS-PROX} \quad \text{CONT} \)
‘I said “I am coming here”.’ / ‘I was saying “I came here”.’

The same principle of scopal ambiguity applies to complex structures marked with \( do \) ‘realis’.

(16) Kacarita \( \quad \kwom \quad \ane \quad do \)
\( k=\text{ha-carita} \quad k=wom \quad a-ne \quad do \)
\( 1\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-talk} \quad 1\text{sg}=\text{come} \quad \text{ESS-PROX} \quad \text{REAL} \)
‘I was saying “I came here”.’ / ‘I said “I am coming here”’.

14.2 Negation

Distinct strategies are used to negate declarative and imperative clauses in Taba. Declaratives are negated by the particle \( te \) (§14.2.1) which can also be used on its own with the meaning ‘no’. Imperatives are negated using the serial verb \( oik \), which also occurs as an independent verb with the meaning ‘to leave behind’ (§14.2.2).
14.2.1 te

The particle *te* 'not / no' is used to negate declarative clauses. *Te* can also be used on its own with the meaning 'no' (see §15.1.1.2 on responding to yes / no questions). The particle *te* follows any other elements of the clause except for the modal and aspektual particles. (When used in conjunction with the modal and aspektual particles, these cliticise onto *te* producing complex negative particles which are discussed in §14.2.3).

An example of negation of an Actor intransitive clause is seen in (17), while negation of an Undergoer intransitive and of a bivalent intransitive clause (to select only a few from among the possibilities) are given in (18) and (19) respectively.

(17) a. Nhan akla
    n=han ak-la
    3sg=go ALL-sea
    'She's going seawards.'

    b. Nhan akla *te*
       n=han ak-la te
       3sg=go ALL-sea NEG
       'She's not going seawards.'

(18) a. *Idia* bakan kwat
       i-dia bakan kwat
       DEM-DIST be.big be.strong
       'That's really big.'

    b. *Idia* bakan kwat *te*
       i-dia bakan kwat te
       DEM-DIST be.big be.strong NEG
       'That's not really big.'

(19) a. *Nik* calana kudak asfal
       nik calana kuda-k asfal
       1sg.POSS trousers be.black-APPL bitumen
       'My trousers are blackened with bitumen.'

       *Nik* calana kudak asfal *te*
       nik calana kuda-k asfal te
       1sg.POSS trousers be.black-APPL bitumen NEG
       'My trousers are not blackened with bitumen.'

As was the case with the clause-final modal and aspektual particles discussed in §14.1 above, negation of complex syntactic structures can lead to ambiguities in the scope of negation. Note example (20) below where *te* can have scope over
just the complement clause *khan* 'I'm going' or over the whole complex of matrix clause and complement clause *kalusa khan* 'I said I'm going.'

(20) *Kalusá khan te*
    k=ha-lusa  k=han te
    1sg=CAUS-say  1sg=go NEG
'I said I'm not going./' 'I didn't say I'm going.'

In negative existential clauses, *te* can operate as a predicator in its own right, serving to assert the non-existence of something. It sometimes occurs simply juxtaposed to the noun phrase which refers to whatever the non-existence of is being asserted as in (21).

(21) *Nik dawalat te*
    nik   dawalat te
    1sg.POSS girlfriend NEG
'I don't have a girlfriend.'

More commonly, however, a discourse marker (see §16.7) intervenes between the noun phrase and *te*. The discourse marker generally expresses something about the relationship between the non-existence of whatever is referred to and some aspect of the previous discourse context.

(22) *Te mai te; gula mai te; kofi mai te*
    tea but NEG sugar but NEG coffee but NEG
'There's no tea; there's no sugar; there's no coffee.'

In the above example, *mai* (also occurring as a conjunction meaning 'but', and discussed as a discourse marker in §16.7.1) functions to show that the non-existence of tea, sugar and coffee may be counter to one's expectations that a normal household would normally have tea, sugar and coffee available if there had not been a serious lack of money to spend on such things.

14.2.2 *oik*

In order to negate imperative clauses (see §15.2), the admonitive particle *oik* (glossed 'ADMON') is used. (*Oik* is homophonous with an independent verb meaning 'to leave (something) behind'.) It is illustrated in (23) where it is seen with its admonitive function.
Negation of imperatives is discussed further in §15.2.2.

14.2.3 Complex negative modal / aspectual particles

Taba has three complex negative modal / aspectual particles:

- *tedo* ‘realis negative’
- *tehu* ‘continuative negative’
- *tesu* ‘potential negative’

Each of these complex particles is discussed in turn below.

14.2.3.1 *tedo* (realis negative)

The complex negative particle *tedo* is a compound of the negative particle *te* and the realis marker *do*. Its use serves to make the negation more emphatic than would be the case if only the simple negator *te* were used. In (24), the speaker is talking about the effects of his drunkenness which had been related in an earlier part of the narrative: that he *really* didn’t know a thing about what had happened.

(24) Kunak *tedo.*

  k=unak te-do
  1sg=know NEG-REAL
  ‘I didn’t know anything.’

In (25), the speaker is relating one of the effects of the eruption of Mt. Kiebsei: the volcanic crater lake no longer contains any water after the eruption of 1988 had sent its contents down the side of the mountain.

(25) *Oras ne ni woya tedo*

  oras ne ni woya te-do
  time PROX 3sg.POSS water NEG-REAL
  ‘Nowadays it doesn’t have any water in it.’
In (26), the use of *tedo* rather than simple *te* serves to emphasize the absolute nature of the prohibition against making palm wine in a Muslim community.

(26) *Mai ane lpeik suguer tedo.*
    mai a-ne l=pe-ik suguer te-do
    but DEM-PROX 3pl=make-APPL palm wine NEG-REAL
    'But here they don't make palm wine with it any more.'

14.2.3.2 *tehu* (continuative negative)

The continuative negative *tehu* is composed of the simple negative marker *te* and the continuous aspectual particle *hu*. Its meaning can be rendered most straight-forwardly into English as 'not yet', 'still not', or 'not up to the relevant point in time'. Such 'relevant point in time' can be the time of utterance or some other time referred to by the utterance. In contrast to the negative potential marker *tehu* (§14.2.3.2) there are no expectations about the likelihood of any negated event or state's future occurrence expressed.

(27) *Manganco ne dukon tehu*
    manganco ne dukon te-hu
    long.time PROX eruption NEG-CONT
    'For a long time there hadn't been an eruption.'

Often *tehu* is found at the end of the first clause in a paratactic sequence of clauses (§16.1), where its function is to mark that whatever is referred to by the first clause had not happened at the time of the event referred to by the main clause.

(28) *Karna taplod tehu, manusia loas do.*
    karna ta-plod te-hu manusia l=oaas do
    because PASS-erupt NEG-CONT people 3pl=flee REAL
    'Because the mountain had still not erupted when everyone fled.'

14.2.3.3 *tesu* (potential negative)

The potential negative is formed by the suffixation of *-su* to the negative marker *te*. *Su* is not otherwise attested on its own.1 *Tesu* has a similar meaning to *tehu* (§14.2.3.2), but in addition to the meaning of *tehu* 'not yet', 'not up to the

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1 See, however §12.2.5.2 on the modal serial verb *-ahate(s)* where the final optional 's' of this form is clearly related to *-su.*
relevant point in time, *tesu* encodes an expectation that the event referred to will indeed occur at some time in the future.

\[
(29) \quad \text{Sedi ne dumik tesu.}
\]
\[
\text{sedi ne dumik te-su}
\]
\[
garden.shelter PROX be.complete NEG-POT
\]
\['This garden shelter is not yet finished.' [but I expect it to be finished later]
\]

As with *tehu* (§14.2.3.2) *tesu* is often found at the end of the first clause in a paratactic sequence of clauses (§16.1), where it indicates that whatever is referred to in the first clause had not happened at the time of the event referred to by the second clause. Its use in this situation also encodes an expectation that whatever is referred to by the first clause should have been expected to come to pass. Note that such an expectation does not need to have actually been fulfilled: in (30) subsequent sections of the narrative from which this example is taken make it clear that the breakfast referred to never was cooked in reality. The use of *tesu* here entails that the speaker had an expectation that breakfast would be cooked up until the time of the eruption referred to in the second clause.

\[
(30) \quad \text{Hadala mosa tesu, taplod haso nak.}
\]
\[
\text{hadala mosa te-su ta-plod ha-so nak}
\]
\['breakfast be.cooked NEG-POT PASS-erupt CLASS=one also'
\]
\['Breakfast was still not cooked (although I had every expectation that it would be) when it erupted again.]
\]

### 14.3 Pre-head modifiers

A variety of modifiers which usually occur before the head of a predication are discussed in this section. These are:

- *lai* ‘just, recently’
- *duga* ‘only’
- *male* ‘must’
- *lebe* ‘more’
- *nyoa* ‘almost’

Each of the above forms is discussed in turn below.
14.3.1 *lai* ‘just’, ‘recently’

To express that something has occurred in the recent past, the particle *lai* is used before the verb and any cross-referencing prefix.

(31) *Banda* *lai* *nwom*
    *Banda* *lai* n=wom
    *Banda* just 3sg=come
    ‘Banda has just come.’

(32) *Ole, lai* *ktanoan.*
    *ole* *lai* k=tanoan
    *yes* just 1sg=remember
    ‘Oh yes, I just remembered.’

*lai* very often occurs in clauses with the imperative verb *mo* ‘come here’ (see §15.2.1.1 for discussion of *mo*). Such clauses occur postposed to a nominalised clause which acts as the sole argument of *mo*. Such use of the combination *lai mo* also indicates that something has occurred in the recent past but suggests a slightly longer interval of time than does *lai* on its own as above.

(33) *Banda* *nwom* *lai* *mo*
    *Banda* n=wom *lai* *mo*
    *Banda* 3sg=come just come
    ‘Banda has come just recently.’

The *lai mo* phrase often occurs in relative clauses (see §16.4) as in (34) below. Here, *lai mo* has a quite general meaning, in this case referring to the fact that the speaker had just recently been discussing palm sugar.

(34) *Nou* *lai* *mo* *ya, ni* *sasai* *e i-ne*
    *nou* *lai* *mo* ya ni sasai e i-ne
    palm.sugar just come up 3sg.POSS broom FOC DEM-PROX
    You know palm sugar we have just been talking about, this is a broom made from it.’

*lai mo* clauses can also be nominalised themselves, and these nominalised clauses function as temporal adverbials which have relatively free word order with respect to the rest of the clause. Such a nominalisation is illustrated in (53) where evidence for nominalisation can be seen from the fact that *lai mo* has been qualified with the proximal demonstrative *ne*. It is not clear what differences there are in meaning between (33) and (35).
(35) Banda  
Banda  
Banda  
'Banda has come just recently.'

Lai can also be used as in paratactic clause sequences (see §16.1), where its meaning is 'as soon as'. When used like this, it occurs before any other elements of the first clause, and the construction means 'as soon as' whatever is referred to in the first clause has happened, whatever is referred to by the second clause will occur.

(36) Lai  Ahmad nwom,  kaluso  si 
    lai  Ahmad  n=wom  k=ha-lusa-o  si 
as soon as  Ahmad  3sg=come  3sg=CAUS-say-APPL 3sg 
'As soon as Ahmad comes, I’ll tell him.'

14.3.2 duga ‘only’

Duga ‘only’ can be used as a modifier of both NPs and predicates. Its nominal modifying function was discussed in §10.4.1.1. It also occurs with clauses and its use entails an evaluation that whatever is referred to in the clause is somehow small or of little significance. It can be used with a variety of different types of predicates. In (37) it is seen with a verbal predicate and in (38) and (39) with nominal predicates.

(37) Duga  ktoanam  idia 
duga  k=toanam  i-dia 
only  1sg=plant  DEM-DIST 
'I only planted that.'

(38) Ine  duga  bonci  kopso  le 
i-ne  duga  bonci  kop-so  le 
DEM-PROX  only  peanut  CLASS-one  only 
'This (comes from) just one peanut.'

(39) Ane  duga  yak  ada  Enku Janwar. 
a-ne  duga  yak  ada  Enku Janwar 
LOC-PROX  only  1sg  and  Enku Janwar 
'Here, there was only me and Enku Janwar.'

Duga is illustrated having scope over a complex paratactic structure (see §16.1) in (40).
Modification of basic clause structure

(40) **Indadi** Taba mai alusa ‘nou’. **Duga** polo ni
indadi Taba mai a=ha-lusa nou duga polo ni
so Taba well 1pl.excl=CAUS-say nou only if 3sg.POSS

wola, bahasa ‘amit’.
wola bahasa amit
rope language amit
'So in Taba we call it (type of tree) “nou”. Only if (we’re talking about) its rope, the word is “amit”.'

**Duga** also occurs as a discourse marker (see §16.7.3).

### 14.3.3 male ‘must’

**Male** is used to provide an evaluation that whatever is referred to in the clause must occur. It occurs in front of all other elements from a clause.

(41) **Janela** hataosak tahate.. **male** tcakal...
janela ha-ta-o-sa-k tahate male t=tcakal
window CAUS-PASS-open-APPL impossible must 1pl.incl=smash
'Windows couldn’t be opened with anything... we had to smash them...'

(42) **Male** alhad ait.
Male a=alhad ait
must 1pl.excl=run ascend
We had to run up the mountain.

In (43), **male** is shown between a fronted noun phrase and the rest of the clause.

(43) **Am** male atohang...
am male a=tohang
1pl.excl must 1pl.excl=try
'We must try.'

### 14.3.4 lebe ‘more (than)’ & comparative constructions

**Lebe** is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay which means ‘more’ or ‘more than’, and it is used to form comparative constructions. It appears only with verbal predications, and it occurs after any independent pre-predicate nominal elements but before the predicate itself.

(44) **Iswan** lebe nunak
Iswan lebe n=unak
Iswan more 3sg=know
'Iswan knows more.'
An explicit standard of comparison is often given for lebe clauses. When such an explicit standard of comparison is provided, noun phrases referring to those people or things which are being compared all appear in the preclausal fronted position. They can be either simply listed as in (45) or conjoined as in (46).

(45) Iswan, maleosi: Iswan lebe nunak
    Iswan maleo=si Iswan lebe n=unak
    Iswan other=PL Iswan more 3sg=know
    ‘Iswan knows more than the others.’

(46) Iswan lo Banda lo Nyong: Iswan lebe nunak
    Iswan lo Banda lo Nyong Iswan lebe n=unak
    Iswan and Banda and Nyong Iswan more 3sg=know
    ‘Iswan knows more than Banda or Nyong.’

While lebe only occurs with verbal predicates, it can occur in any kind of verbal clause, and the standards of comparison can fill any syntactic role within that clause. In examples (44) to (46) above, it is the SA argument of an Actor intransitive verb which is compared. A variety of exemplary clause types, with arguments bearing a variety of different syntactic roles are illustrated below. In (47), it is the SO argument of an Undergoer intransitive verb.

(47) Mesel ne lo mesel da: idia lebe mlongan
    mesel ne lo mesel da i-dia lebe mlongan
    wall PROX and wall DIST DEM-DIST more be.long
    ‘This wall and that wall: that one is longer.’ ['That wall is longer than this.’]

Ditransitive clauses with lebe are shown in (48) - (50). In (48), the standard of comparison has the role of Actor of the ditransitive clause. In (49), the standard of comparison has the role of primary Undergoer, while in (50), it has the role of secondary Undergoer. Note, as in (48), that the exact manner in which ‘Banda gives me fish’ more than Iswan must be determined pragmatically, e.g. Banda gives me more fish vs. Banda gives me fish more frequently, etc.

(48) Banda lo Iswan: Banda lebe notik yak yan
    Banda lo Iswan Banda lebe n=ot-ik yak yan
    Banda and Iswan Banda more 3sg=APPL(give) 1sg fish
    ‘Banda gives me more fish than Iswan / Banda gives me fish more often than Iswan, etc.’

(49) Yak lo au: Banda lebe notik yak yan
    yak lo au Banda lebe n=ot-ik yak yan
    1sg and 2sg Banda more 3sg=APPL(give) 1sg fish
    ‘Banda gives me more fish than he gives you / more often than he does you, etc.’
Modification of basic clause structure

(50) Yan lo nge: Banda lebe notik yak yan
       yan lo nge Banda lebe n=ot-ik yak yan
       fish and kanari.nuts Banda more 3sg=get-APPL(give) 1sg fish
'Banda gives me more fish than kanari nuts / more often than kanari nuts, etc.'

A final example, showing the standard of comparison taking the role of an adjunct is given in (51).

(51) Attia, appo: Ahmed lebe nhan appo
at-ya ap-po Ahmad lebe n=h-an ap-po
ALL-up ALL-down Ahmad more 3sg=go ALL-down
'A Ahmad goes more downwards than upwards.'

14.3.5 nyoa 'almost'

The particle nyoa 'almost' is related to the independent transitive verb yoa 'to look for something'. Yoa is also commonly used in serial verb constructions where it has an aspectual meaning of 'almost' (see §12.2.5.3). The particle differs from the serial verb in several respects:

- The particle nyoa has invariant fossilised 3sg cross-referencing with n= while cross-referencing of the serial verb changes according the number and person of the Actor argument involved.

- The particle nyoa can be used to modify a variety of structures. In this section we discuss its role in qualifying whole clauses. Its role in modifying quantifier phrases is discussed in §10.4.1.2.

- Whereas serial yoa occurs after any pre-verbal independent nominals but before the second verb used in the construction, the particle nyoa can appear before prepredicate nouns.

Contrast the independent verb yoa in (52) with the particle nyoa in (53) and serial nyoa in (54).

(52) Lyoa daerah aman.
l=yoa daerah aman
3pl=look.for area safe
'They looked for somewhere safe.'

(53) Nyoa Ahmad nwom...
nyoa Ahmad n=wom
almost Ahmad 3sg=come
'It's almost time for Ahmad to come.'
(54) Ahmad nyoa
    Ahmad n=yoa
    3sg=search(almost)
    ‘Ahmad has almost come.’

In example (53) above and (55) below, the particle *nyoa*, like serial *yoa*, provides an aspectual meaning, showing that some activity was almost, but not quite completed.

(55) Nyoa khan lama polisi si ltahan yak.
    nyoa k=han la-ma polisi=si l=ltahan yak
    almost 1sg=go sea=VEN police=PL 3pl=find 1sg
    ‘I had almost left Moti when the police grabbed me.’

Whenever the particle *nyoa* occurs as the first element of the clause it is read as having scope over the whole clause, and thus always contributes an aspectual meaning. Compare the meanings of (56), where *nyoa* occurs in clause-initial position, with (57), where quantifier modifying *nyoa* (see §10.4.1.2) occurs immediately preceding the quantifier clause *beitutin co* ‘a hundred’, and has scope just over the quantifier phrase.

(56) Nyoa ktala yan banden beitutin co
    nyoa k=ktala yan banden beit=utin so
    almost 1sg=meet fish milk.fish CLASS=hundred one
    ‘I almost got a hundred milk fish.’ [perhaps spoken in a context where the speaker’s aim had been to collect a hundred milk fish but that aim had not quite been fulfilled]

(57) Ktala yan banden nyoa beitutin co
    k=ktala yan banden nyoa beit=utin so
    1sg=meet fish milk.fish almost CLASS=hundred one
    ‘I got almost a hundred milk fish.’ [perhaps spoken in a context where the speaker had no particular number of milk fish in mind that s/he wanted to collect, but on counting them discovered that there were almost a hundred of them]

A final example of the particle *nyoa* operating at a clausal level is given in (58). *Nyoa* is used here as a conventionalised marker of politeness in a request. This conventionalised politeness strategy using *nyoa* is discussed further in §15.2.1.

(58) Nyoa John mbaca basa Inggeris da.
    nyoa John m=mbaca basa Inggeris da
    almost John 2sg=read language English DIST
    ‘Can you read this English here John.’
14.4 Post-head modifiers

Three modifiers which usually occur after the head of a predication are discussed in this section. These are:

- *le* ‘only’
- *nak* ‘also / too’
- *ndara* ‘more than / too much’

Each of the above forms is discussed in turn below.

14.4.1 *le* ‘only’

Like *duga* ‘only’ discussed in §14.3.2 above, *le*, also ‘only’ can be used as a modifier of both NPs and predicates. Its nominal modifying function is discussed in §10.4.1. It also occurs postpredicatively, when its use entails an evaluation that whatever is referred to in the clause is somehow small or of little significance. In (59) it is first exemplified having scope over just a noun phrase.

(59) *Kampung* plu *le* lekat te.
    kampung p-lu le lekat te
    ‘Village CLASS-two only be.broken NEG
    ‘Only two villages weren’t broken.’

In (60) it is illustrated in post-predicate position, having scope over just the verb *mot* ‘to die’. In this example, referring to the number of deaths occasioned by the Makianese eruption of 1988, the speaker is emphasising how fortunate the Makianese had been that only one death had occured as a result of the eruption.

(60) *Ndadi* nmot le da iso.
    Ndadi n=mot le da i-so
    ‘So 3sg=die only DIST CLASS-one
    ‘So the only death there was one person.’

In (61), *le* occurs at the end of the whole clause having an Undergoer intransitive verb as its head, and it has scope over the whole clause. Here it is used to emphasise that the size of what is being referred to was really quite small.
(61) *Bakan* tane le.
    bakan ta-ne le
    be.big SIM-PROX only
    'It was only as big as this.'

In (62) it again occurs at the end of a clause, this time headed by an Actor
intransitive verb.

(62) *Liatae* le
    l=tiatae le
    3pl=lie only
    'They're just lying.'

I have heard this sentence actually used by two different speakers on two
different occasions, in each case with quite different pragmatically invited
interpretations. The first instance of its use came at the end of a long narrative
describing the speaker's experiences during and after the Makianese eruption.
This particular individual was the only person who stayed on Makian
throughout the eruption, and when this sentence was uttered he had just
finished telling me that other people might tell me different stories about the
eruption from the story he had just told me. *Le*, as it is used in (81), then, serves
to belittle any other story-tellers who were too timid to stay behind and see
what really did happen, while the speaker, having stayed behind, was the only
person who knew the real story of what had gone on.\(^2\) On the second occasion I
heard this sentence, it was uttered by the parent of a child who was upset and
crying at the recent behaviour of another child. On this occasion, the use of *le*
'only' invited the implication that since what had been said was unimportant,
the crying child should not allow it to upset him.

In example (63), *le* is used as part of a formulaic apology used in semi-formal
speeches by Taba speakers. Here it functions partly pragmatically, and partly
by convention as a politeness marker.

---

\(^2\) That the speaker had been successful in constructing this implication on this occasion was
evidenced at a later date when I was engaged in checking my transcription of the story. One
of the people who was present while I was going over the transcription had previously been
recorded relating his version of the events surrounding the eruption, and his reaction to this
part of the story I was checking provided ample evidence that he, at least, was not pleased at
the invited inference.
14.4.2 nak ‘in addition / also / again’

The post-predicate modifier nak ‘in addition’ is translated into English in a variety of ways depending on context as ‘also’, ‘too’, ‘again’, etc. Its use entails that what is described in the clause in which it is used be somehow in addition to previously stated actuality or previously held expectations. It always occurs as the final element of the clause in which it is found.

(64) Lomo nyat ci Jailolo... ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo nak.
      lomo n=yat si Jailolo ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo nak
other 3sg=take 3pl Jailolo and district district other also
      ‘Others they took to Jailolo and also to other districts.

(65) Malai tmaka tala surat li nak.
      Malai t=maka tala surat li nak
      then 1pl.incl=RECIPI meet letter LOC also
      ‘Then we’ll meet up by letter again.’

(66) Kurusi ne kyat Keten nak....
      kurusi ne k=yat Keten nak
   chair PROX 1sg=take Moti also
      ‘These chairs I also took to Moti.’

(67) Kapal Jepang nwom nak
      kapal jepang n=wom nak
   ship Japan 3sg=come also
      ‘Japanese ships came too.’

14.4.3 ndara ‘too much’

Ndara, like the other post-predicate particles so far discussed also occurs post-predicatively, and after any post-predicate arguments or adjuncts, but it occurs before either of the other post-predicate particles discussed in §14.4.1 and §14.4.2. It has the meaning ‘too much’. It is initially exemplified in (68), a sentence used to describe how the children of Kota village spent too much time bothering the author while he was attempting to work at his notes.

(68) Wangsi l’tumo i ndara
       wang=si l=tum-o i ndara
    child=PL 3pl=follow-APPL 3sg too.much
      ‘The kids follow him too much.’
In (69), *ndara* is seen in a more complicated construction, where it modifies a clause that has already been negated, and is itself modified with *nak* ‘also’ (§14.4.2). This sentence explains why the largest of the ferries which brought passengers to Makian island had ceased services: amongst other reasons, that there were not enough people catching the boat to make the service economically viable.

(69) **Manusia l̃tumo i te ndara nak**  
**manusia l̃tumo i te ndara nak**  
people 3pl=follow-APPL 3sg te too.much also  
‘People didn’t catch (the boat) enough either.’ [lit. ‘people didn’t catch it too much as well.’]

Example (70) shows *ndara* used in a subordinate clause construction. Here, although *ndara* might be better translated into English as ‘so many’ rather than ‘too many’, there is still clearly an entailment that an overabundance of questioning has led to the state of confusion or disorientation.

(70) **Hkutan ndara de k=bingung**  
**h̃kutan ndara de k=bingung**  
2pl=ask too.much RES 1sg=be.disorientated  
‘You ask so many questions that I get confused.’

### 14.5 The focus particle *e*

In Taba discourse it is possible to encode the fact that a speaker wishes to give more informational prominence to some constituent of a sentence, or of the discourse, than to any other element. Such ‘focussing’ is done by adding the particle *e* (glossed ‘FOC’) immediately following the constituent that is to receive greater prominence. Often, when *e* is used to focus a noun phrase within a sentence, the most appropriate English translation would take the form of a cleft construction.

(71) **Yak e kpe capat**  
**yak e k=pe capat**  
1sg FOC 1sg=make fast  
‘As for me, I make them fast.’

Any constituent except for a particle can be focussed, whether nominal, verbal, clausal or whatever. The focus marker is very commonly encountered in information questions (§15.1.2), where the element referring to the unknown
information is almost invariably focused. In (72), the focussed element is the
noun phrase pu da ‘that what’.

(72) Mpe ya pu da e?
    m=pe ya pu da e
    2sg=make up what DIST FOC
    ‘What’s that you’re making?’

In (73), the focussed element is the postpositional locative phrase lo li ‘where’.

(73) Mhan po lo li e?
    m=han po lo li e
    2sg=go down where LOC FOC
    ‘Where are you going?’

In (74) and (75), more locatives, this time an inherently locative noun Taba
‘Makian’, and a derived directional pope ‘in a “downwards” location’ are
focussed.

(74) Ine Botan.. ada Keten le... Tapi Taba e te...
    i-ne Botan ada Keten le tapi Taba e te
    DEM-PROX Halmahera and Moti only but Makian FOC NEG
    ‘This is only found on Halmahera... and Moti... but as for Makian, it’s not.’

(75) Pope e de Ahmad lo John lhan byos li ya...
    po-pe e de Ahmad lo John l=han l=ysos li ya
down-ESS FOC RES Ahmad and John 3pl=go 3pl=swim LOC up
    ‘In that ‘downwards location”, where Ahmad and John went swimming, there.’

Example (76) shows a whole clause being focussed.

(76) Talomas e tpeke ni kadut ne...
    t=ha-lomas e t=peke ni kadut ne
    1pl.incl=CAUS-force.water.through FOC 1pl.incl=use 3sg.POSS sack PROX
    ‘When we force water through (talomas), we use one of these sacks for it.’

As mentioned above, any constituent of a sentence except for a particle can
be focussed. This fact leads to ambiguities arising in situations where e
immediately follows a low-level constituent which is itself a component of a
higher-level constituent which has other component elements preceding it.
Example (77), then, is ambiguous as to whether it is the noun phrase idia ‘that’
or the whole clause of which idia is a constituent, i.e. kaklida idia, ‘that is hard’
which is in focus.
(77) *Turus kaklida idia e... bulang masure nak...
turus kaklida i-dia e bulang masure nak
then be.hard DEM-DIST FOC white be.beautiful again
‘Then that’s hard... a beautiful white again.’

A more thorough description of the exact discourse conditions under which the focus particle *e* is used awaits a detailed study of Taba discourse.
Questions and requests

This chapter deals with some of the means available to Taba speakers for asking questions and making requests or issuing commands. While Taba has no morphosyntactic marking of what might be thought of as modality, the speech acts of ‘asking questions’ and ‘making requests’ or ‘issuing commands’ can be clearly distinguished on a number of grounds, including the fact that they are named types of utterances in Taba itself. These speech acts can all be performed with varying degrees of directness and indirectness.

- *kutan*  ‘to ask’  asking questions
- *dod*  ‘to request’  making requests
- *sulak*  ‘to tell someone to do something’  issuing commands

The different sentence types are marked in a mixture of different ways: by intonation, and through the use of particles and some morphology.

Questions are discussed in §15.1. Two different kinds of questions can be distinguished: alternative questions (of which yes / no polarity questions are one variety), and what I have called ‘information questions’ which utilise *wh*-words, or ‘epistememes’ (see Mushin, 1995). This section has been labelled ‘asking questions’ rather than ‘interrogative mood’ because one of the most important strategies available for asking questions is simply intonation, rather than the use of any particular morphosyntactic or lexical devices.

Commands and requests are treated in §15.2. These are distinguished according to degree of politeness: more indirect means are generally marked as more polite than more direct means.
15.1 Asking questions

Two quite different kinds of questions need to be distinguished. The first type are labelled 'alternative questions'. These include (but are not limited to) yes/no questions. Through uttering an alternative question, a speaker asks which of a number of propositions (most commonly two) is true. The second type we call information questions. In these, information is sought, but not in terms of alternatives. Note that asking questions does not necessarily involve the use of any 'interrogative mood': the most common device for asking alternative questions is simply the use of appropriate intonation: no special morphosyntactic or lexical marking is required.

15.1.1 Alternative questions

The most common alternative questions are those which seek either an affirmation or a denial of a proposition (i.e. yes/no questions), but they are by no means the only kinds of alternatives that can be posed. A questioner may propose two or more distinct propositions as alternatives, and expect a response affirming any one of them, as in (5) and (6).

(1) *Ntongo* Keten pa *ntongo* Tarnate?
   n=tongo Keten pa n=tongo Tarnate
   3sg=live Moti or 3sg=live Ternate
   ’Does she live on Moti or does she live in Ternate?’

(2) *Nhan* appo pa *attia?*
   n=han ak-po pa at-tia
   3sg=go ALL-down or ALL-up
   ’Did she go downwards or upwards?’

There are two quite different kinds of formal devices used to signal alternative questions. These are intonational and lexical respectively. In examples (1) and (2) the fact that these utterances are questions would be signalled solely by intonation. With a characteristically assertive intonation (§2.6) they are interpreted as statements of fact. In (3) an assertive intonation pattern (actually two conjoined assertive intonation patterns; see §16.2 on conjoined clauses) is associated with the sentence from (1).
(3) *Ntongo Keten pa  ntongo Tarnate*

'She either lives on Moti or she lives in Ternate.'

In (4), with characteristically inquiring intonation contours (starting at a fairly low pitch then rising sharply and staying high until the end of the clause), the sentence is treated as a question.

(4) *Ntongo Keten pa  ntongo Tarnate?*

'Does she live on Moti or does she live in Ternate?'

Yes / no questions can be signalled with a similar intonation. This will be discussed in more detail below in §15.2.1.1. Yes / no questions can also be posed using tags which are derived from the alternative construction outlined above. These are discussed in §15.2.1.2.

### 15.1.1.1 Prosodic devices

The prosodic devices available for questioning the truth of an utterance are all unmarked for the expectations of the speaker as to the answer, although there may only be parts of the proposition which are in question. These parts may be marked prosodically. When the veracity of the whole proposition is being questioned, this is signalled by a rising intonation, as illustrated in (5). The pitch of the utterance starts out at a mid level and stays level throughout most of the utterance until it rises markedly towards the end of the utterance. High pitch is maintained for the very final part of the utterance.

(5) *Iswan nahagak i?*

'Is Iswan kidding him?'

The example shown in (5) questions the veracity of the whole proposition *Iswan nahagak i* 'Iswan is kidding him'; various parts of the proposition may also
be questioned by stressing them. (The phonological correlates of stress are discussed in §2.4.) If the speaker knows that someone is kidding, but they are not sure who is doing the kidding, they can stress the full noun phrase Iswan to ascertain whether it was Iswan or someone else who was responsible, as in (6).

(6) Iswan nahagak i?
   Is Iswan (rather than someone else) kidding him?

If the questioner knows that Iswan did something and they want to ascertain whether or not he was kidding someone, the the verb nahagak receives stress, as in (7).

(7) Iswan nahagak i?
   Is Iswan kidding (as opposed to doing something else to) him?

To question whether or not a particular individual has been affected by Iswan’s kidding, the Undergoer may be stressed.

(8) Iswan nahagak Oci?
   Is Iswan kidding Oci (rather than someone else)?

15.1.1.2 Lexical devices

Aside from signalling yes / no questions by intonation, there are two common strategies which involve the use of tags. Each encodes slightly different expectations for the value of the response on the part of the interrogator. They are illustrated in (9) and (10).

(9) Nhan pa te?
    n=han pa te
    3sg=go or NEG
    ‘Did he go or not?’
(10) *Nhan pa ne?*
n=han pa ne
3sg=go or PROX
‘He went didn’t he?’

The use of the tag *pa te* ‘or not’ as in (9) carries no anticipation of a specific response, either positive or negative. However, when the tag *pa ne* ‘or this’ is used as in (10), a positive response is expected.

Utterances with each tag characteristically have different intonation contours. With *pa te*, which signals anticipation of a specific response, the utterance usually has the same intonation contour as a lexically unmarked but intonationally marked yes / no question, i.e. the utterance begins at a mid-level pitch, staying level until towards the end of the utterance where it rises sharply and then stays high until the utterance is completed. This is illustrated in (11).

![Graph](image)

(11) *Nhan pa te?*
‘Did he go or not?’

With *pa ne*, where an affirmation is expected, the utterance characteristically has the intonation of an assertion.

![Graph](image)

(12) *Nhan pa ne?*
‘He went, didn’t he?’

The tag *pa* ‘or’ is sometimes used to question the veracity of a proposition, but it often functions more in line with the information questions to be discussed below. It is illustrated in (13).

(13) *Nhan pa?*
n=han pa
3sg=go or
‘Did he go or what?’

The intonation given to the utterance in (17) is that of an incomplete question. As with other questions, the utterance begins at a mid-level and rises sharply towards the end. As shown in (14), however, there is no final plateau.
(14) *Nhan pa?*  
'Did he go or what?'

While questions using the simple tag *pa* 'or' can be interpreted as requests to ascertain the veracity of a proposition, they are in a sense incomplete both prosodically and syntactically (*pa* 'or' is a conjunction and usually requires a complement). These questions generally imply that the speaker doubts the veracity of the proposition involved, and thus seeks further information on the exact nature of either the event or the participants involved. A normal response to (13) and (14), therefore, would more likely be along the lines of (15) (the presupposition of which is 'no, he has not gone'), rather than in the form of a simple assertion or denial.

(15) *Ntongo lewe*  
*n=ntong le-we*  
*3sg=stay sea-ESS*  
'He's staying seawards.'

**Responding to yes / no questions**

Languages of the world differ in respect to what is meant by an answer of either 'yes' or 'no' to a yes / no question. In some languages a 'yes' indicates that the polarity of the state of affairs being questioned is positive and a 'no' indicates that the polarity is negative. In other languages a 'yes' indicates that the polarity of the question is affirmed and a 'no' indicates that the polarity of the question is denied. English is of the first type, while Taba is of the second. The distinction is best illustrated by some examples.

(16) **Positive polarity question:**  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masodas} & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ne}? \\
m=ha-sodas & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{ne} \\
2sg=CAUS-suck & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{PROX} \\
'\text{Do you smoke?}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jou} & \quad \text{Ole} & \quad \text{Te} \\
\text{Yes (I do smoke)} & \quad \text{Yes (I do smoke)} & \quad \text{No (I don't smoke)}
\end{align*}
\]

The kinds of answers given to a question like that in (16) are essentially the same in both English and Taba. The question is unmarked for polarity and is
thus framed as a positive question. Where differences emerge is in replying to questions phrased with negative polarity, as in (17).

(17) **Negative polarity question:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masodas} & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{te} ? \\
m=\text{ha-sodas} & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{te} \\
2\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-suck} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘Do you smoke or not?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jou} & \quad \text{Yes (I do not smoke)} \\
\text{Ole} & \quad \text{Yes (I do not smoke)} \\
\text{Te} & \quad \text{No (I do smoke)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Although there is no expectation of either a positive or negative reply on the part of the questioner in (17), the part of the utterance which signals the question (the tag) has negative polarity, and it is to this polarity which the respondent must reply.

Two distinct Taba forms have been given which are both translated into English as ‘yes’. \textit{Jou} (a borrowing from Ternatan in which it means literally ‘Lord’) is a polite form used when responding to people older than oneself, while \textit{ole} is a neutral form. \textit{Te} is unmarked for politeness. In addition to \textit{te}, a negative response can also be given with one of the complex negative modal / aspectual particles \textit{tedo} ‘negative realis’, \textit{tehu} ‘negative continuous’ and \textit{tesu} ‘negative potential’. The differences in meaning between each of these forms is discussed in §14.2.3.

**Yes / no questions with complex negative modal / aspectual tags**

Yes / no questions can be made with the complex negative particles \textit{tedo}, \textit{tehu} and \textit{tesu} as well as with the \textit{pa te} ‘or not’ tag. As discussed in §14.2.3, these particles encode modal and aspectual meanings in addition to their negative meanings. The differences in meaning between bare \textit{pa te} tags and tags formed with the complex negative particles are predictable on the basis of the meanings of the complex particles. Their use is exemplified in (18) - (20).

(18) **Negative polarity question with \textit{tedo} (negative realis):**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masodas} & \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tedo} ? \\
m=\text{ha-sodas} & \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{te-do} \\
2\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-suck} & \quad \text{CONT} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{NEG-REAL} \\
\text{‘Are you still smoking or have you given up?’}
\end{align*}
\]
(19) Negative polarity question with tehu (negative continuous):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masodas} & \quad \text{do} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tehu} \\
\text{m=ha-sodas} & \quad \text{do} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{te-hu} \\
2\text{sg=CAUS-suck} & \quad \text{REAL or NEG-CONT}
\end{align*}
\]

'Are you smoking or not?' (No expectation that the person addressed either will or
will not be smoking at some time in the future)

(20) Negative polarity question with tesu (negative potential):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masodas} & \quad \text{do} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{tesu} \\
\text{m=ha-sodas} & \quad \text{do} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{te-su} \\
2\text{sg=CAUS-suck} & \quad \text{REAL or NEG-POT}
\end{align*}
\]

'Are you smoking or not yet?' (Encodes an expectation that the person addressed
will be smoking at some time in the future)

15.1.2 Information questions

We have already seen that the conjunction pa 'or' can be used to seek more
detailed information than a simple yes / no response. As we have seen, the
actual information provided is to be determined by the respondent. Taba also
has a few informational question words (often called interrogatives, 'wh-'
words or sometimes 'epistememes', see Mushin, 1995) and these are discussed
here.\(^1\) We first discuss the range of forms found in Taba which can be used
with this questioning function (§15.1.2.1), then we discuss their syntactic
distribution (§15.1.2.2). Finally we discuss the use of some interrogatives as
indefinites (§15.1.2.3).

15.1.2.1 Forms of interrogatives

Taba has three root forms which belong in this class, and a number of
derived forms. The root forms are listed in (21), and sentential examples using
each of them are provided in (22) to (23).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lo} & \quad \text{where} \\
\text{alho} & \quad \text{who} \\
\text{pu} & \quad \text{what}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) Some of these forms can also have other functions. See §15.1.2.3 for discussion of these.
In addition to these there is a form meaning ‘how’, or sometimes ‘why’, derived by adding the causative prefix ha- (§8.3.1) to the form pu ‘what’. This derived form, hapu is shown in example (25).

(25) Polo oras ne keadaan
    polo oras ne keadaan
    when\(^3\) time PROX happenings

    do hapue?
    do ha=pu=e
    REAL CAUS=what=FOC
    ‘How are things at Khairun University these days?’

    Hapu is also sometimes used to ask ‘how much’ something costs.

(26) Hapu e htu\(\)a e?
    ha-pu e h=tua e
    CAUS-what(how.much) FOC 2pl=buy FOC
    How much does it cost to buy?

There are also a fairly large number of other forms which are more commonly used to ask about quantities. Most of these can be translated as ‘how many’ and they derive from the numeral root so ‘one’ with a preposed i which signals membership of the class of interrogatives, and with a numeral classifier prefixed to that. The exact form of the classifier depends on the nature of the

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\(^2\) e is the focus marker which is almost invariably encliticised onto epistememes when they are used to question the identity of some clausal participant. See §3.2 for discussion of cliticisation and §14.5 for further discussion of the focus particle.

\(^3\) Polo is a complementiser meaning ‘when’ or ‘if’. Its function is quite distinct from that of the question word poiso ‘when’ to be discussed shortly.
thing to be quantified. A few of the most common are exemplified in (27) to (30), but the forms are treated at length in §10.3.2.

(27) *matiso lhan do?*
    mat-i-so =han do
    CLASS-INT-one 3pl=go REAL
    'How many (people) have gone?'

(28) *Sisso ember ni llo?*
    sih-i-so ember ni llo
    CLASS-INT-one bucket 3sg.POSS inside
    'How many (fish) are there in the bucket?'

(29) *haiso mhan appo?*
    ha-i-so m=han ak-po
    CLASS-INT-one 2sg=go ALL-down
    'How many times have you gone down (to Ternate)?'

(30) *Pisoe?*
    p-i-so=e
    CLASS-INT-one=FOC
    'How many (pieces of fruit, etc.) are there?'

Poiso is an interrogative form meaning 'when' which also appears to be derived from a numeral root with the preposed interrogative marker i but with no classifier. Instead of the classifier the directional root po 'down' is prefixed as in (31).

(31) *Poiso ntobi?*
    po-i-so n=tobi
    down-INT-one 3sg=arrive
    'When will she arrive?'

### 15.1.2.2 Distribution of interrogatives in questions

Interrogative pronouns may take the part of virtually any participant in a clause: there are no restrictions on the syntactic role of the questioned noun. The interrogative simply takes up the clausal position of the element that is being questioned. Taba has no syntactic process analogous to wh-movement in English. In all of the example sentences which follow in this section, the characteristic questioning intonation described above in §15.1.1 is adopted. This

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4 Po, generally meaning 'down' is also used to refer to unknown locations, as when it is used with the locative interrogative lo illustrated in (22) above and in a few other forms discussed in §11.3 on textual deixis.
intonational pattern is illustrated in example (32) below and assumed as far as subsequent examples are concerned.  

Interrogatives may take the place of an Actor as in (32).

(32) Alho nalusa dae?  
alho n=ha-lusa da=e  
who 3sg=CAUS-say DIST=FOC  
‘Who said that?’

Interrogatives may also take the place of an Undergoer as in (33).

(33) Kagugum pu dae?  
k=ha-gugum pu da=e  
1sg=CAUS-fist what DIST=FOC  
‘What am I holding in my fist?’

They may take the place of secondary applied Undergoers, as in (34).

(34) Oci nlkop manik ya pu?  
Oci n=likok manik ya pu  
Oci 3sg=tread.on chicken up what  
‘What did Oci tread on the chicken with?’

They may also question various kinds of predicates: a nominal predicate in (35), and a verbal one in (36).

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

(36) Mpe pu dae  
m=pe pu da=e  
2sg=do what DIST=FOC  
‘What are you doing there?’

---

5 Many of the example sentences in this section could also be pronounced with the unmarked intonational pattern described in §2.6. With this intonation the sentences do not function as questions but as statements and the interrogatives involved function as indefinite pronouns. This function of interrogatives is discussed in §15.1.2.3.
Note however, that although the nature of an activity can be questioned, as in (36) above, there is no interrogative which can itself be classified as a verb. The dummy verb pe ‘do / make’ is required to fill the verbal slot.

Interrogatives can also question the identity of various oblique elements: a locative adjunct in (37), a temporal one in (38), and a manner adjunct in (39).

(37) Mhan po loe?
m=han po lo=e
down 2sg=go down where=FOC
‘Where are you going?’

(38) Poiso mmul?
po-i-so mm=mul
down-INT one 2sg=return
‘When are you returning?’

(39) Yak kpolas nik frak hapue?
yak k=polas nik frak ha-pu=e
1sg 1sg=pay 1sg.POSS passage CAUS what=FOC
‘How do I pay for my ticket?’

Interrogatives can also be used as the possessor or the possessed in possessive constructions as illustrated in (40) and (41) respectively.

(40) Alho ni?
alho ni
who 3sg.POSS
‘Whose is it?’

(41) Idham ni pue?
Idham ni pu=e
Idham 3sg.POSS what=FOC
‘It’s Idham’s what?’

We have seen that interrogatives (when viewed as a unitary form class) are nominals which can be used in any of the syntactic slots which are available to other nominals. When viewed individually, however, a few restrictions apply. These restrictions follow from the semantic attributes of the participants normally found in particular syntactic slots. For example, the interrogative alho ‘who’ can be used in any of the places that noun phrases with human referents are found: as Actor, Undergoer, instrument, and possessor. Use as possessee or as adjunct is unattested in the corpus, because arguments with human referents rarely appear in these positions. The interrogative lo ‘where’ is much more restricted. It questions the identity of a location, and locative nouns have a relatively restricted syntactic distribution (see chapter 4 for more details).
15.1.2.3 Indefinite use of interrogative words

All of the interrogative words mentioned above can also be used as indefinites. Indefinites are words which can be used to refer to things whose exact identity is not made explicit by the speaker. Indefinites can be translated into English as ‘something’, ‘someone’, ‘somehow’, ‘somewhere’, etc. The difference between interrogative and indefinite meanings of each form are signalled intonationally: the interrogatives are used in utterances that are prosodically marked as questions (§15.1) while the indefinites are used in utterances that are prosodically unmarked (§2.6). The forms that can be used, along with their interrogative and indefinite meanings are:

- **lo**  ‘where’  ‘somewhere’
- **alho**  ‘who’  ‘someone’
- **hapu**  ‘how’  ‘somehow’
- **CLASS-i-so**  ‘how many’  ‘a number’
- **poiso**  ‘when’  ‘sometime’
- **pu**  ‘what’  ‘something’

Each of these forms is exemplified as an indefinite below.

(42) \textit{Nhan po lo li e.}
n=han po lo li e
3sg=go down where LOC FOC
‘He went somewhere.’

(43) \textit{Alho nalusa da.}
alho n=ha-lusa da
who 3sg=CAUS-say DIST
‘Someone said that.’

(44) \textit{Yak kpolas nik frak hapue.}
yak k=polas nik frak ha-pu=e
1sg 1sg=pay 1sg.POSS passage CAUS-what=FOC
‘I’ll pay for my ticket somehow.’

(45) \textit{Matiso lhan do.}
mat-i-so l=han do
CLASS-INT-one 3pl=go REAL
‘A number (of people) have gone.’

(46) \textit{Ntobi poiso.}
n=tobi po-i-so
3sg=arrive down-INT-one
‘She will arrive sometime.’
Although "pu" ‘what’ is sometimes used to refer to indefinites (47), there is also another form "ponco" ‘thingummybob’ which is probably more commonly encountered in actual discourse (48).

(47) Kagugum pu dae.
    k=ha-gugum pu da=e
    lsg=CAUS-fist what DIST=FOC
    ‘I’m holding something in my fist.’

(48) Kagugum ponco ne.
    k=ha-gugum ponco ne
    lsg=CAUS-fist thingummybob PROX
    ‘I’m holding this thingummybob in my fist.’

15.2 Requests and commands

There are a number of grammatical strategies available to Taba speakers for making requests or commands, including use of the imperative particle lo and the admonitive oik. The imperative and the admonitive are exemplified in (49) and (50) respectively.

(49) Imperative voice

    hamot lo!
    h=ha-mot lo
    2pl=CAUS-die IMP
    ‘Turn it off!’

(50) Admonitive voice

    We mhonas hasopik oik!
    we mhonas h=ha-sop-ik oik
    foot sick 2pl=CAUS-shower-APPL ADMON
    ‘Don’t get your sick foot wet!’

As is no doubt the case in all languages, a rather large variety of means are available to speakers for issuing commands and making requests. More or less direct strategies for doing this encode varying degrees of politeness.

Varying degrees of politeness in Taba requests are best understood through the theory of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). In Brown and Levinson’s framework, there is an assumption that ‘model persons’ from any culture have both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ ‘face’ requirements, but that the degree of importance attached to each kind of face requirement will differ from one culture to another. ‘Face’ is defined as the public self-image that every
member of a group wants to claim for him or herself, which consists of both negative face and positive face. Negative face concerns one’s freedom to action and the freedom from imposition by others. Positive face concerns the positive consistent self-image or personality claimed by interactants; this crucially includes the desire that one’s positive self-image will be appreciated and approved of by others.

1. without redressive action (boldly)
   - on record
   - with redressive action
     - 2. positive politeness
     - 3. negative politeness
   - 4. off record
     - 5. Don’t do the FTA

**Figure 15.1 Speaker choices for minimising threat of face (after Brown and Levinson, 1987)**

It is a basic assumption of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory that certain kinds of actions performed by people intrinsically threaten the face of others, and that when such face threatening acts are performed, speakers often adopt strategies which are designed to minimise the degree of threat involved. Issuing commands and making requests always involves a threat to the hearer’s negative face requirements because compliance with such speech acts by the hearer always means that an imposition has been posed. On the other hand, compliance with a speaker’s request also allows the hearer to demonstrate their positive face by performing whatever action is requested of them. When a speaker has a desire to perform a face threatening act such as making a request, there are always a range of options available to them for lessening the degree of the threat, and languages usually have a variety of conventionalised means for reducing the threat of an act. Figure 15.1 illustrates how the politeness strategies adopted by speakers vary in accordance with the degree of estimated risk of loss of face associated with a face threatening act.

The greater the risk posed by any face-threatening act, the higher will be the number of the threat-reducing strategy shown in figure 15.1. If the proposed act
is a particularly severe threat to the hearer’s face, the speaker can choose not to perform the act (strategy 5). If a speaker decides to proceed with the act, s/he can choose to perform the act in a variety of ways. Where there is a very small degree of assessed risk of threat to face, the speaker can choose to perform the act without any reductive action at all (strategy 1). In English, a request of this type to, say, close a window would be something direct, such as ‘Close the window!’ Positive politeness strategies (appealing to the hearer’s good image of him / herself) can also be adopted in order to reduce any threat (strategy 2). English requests using strategy 2 can use overt markers of positive politeness such as ‘please’ (e.g. ‘Close the window, please’), or other indications of solidarity on the part of the speaker towards the hearer (e.g. ‘Let’s close the window’). Negative politeness strategies (strategy 3 above) generally involve relatively conventionalised indirect ways of making requests, e.g. ‘Can you close the window.’ Off-record strategies are even more indirect, and not conventionalised in the same way that those employing negative politeness strategies are. By making a request ‘off-record’, the speaker allows the hearer to ignore any implied request. When a speaker might say something like ‘It’s very cold in here’, an addressee is given the option of ignoring any implied request to close a window altogether.

In the following sections, we examine Taba commands and requests in some detail, using Brown and Levinson’s framework as a means of elucidating the differences between some of the strategies available to Taba speakers.

### 15.2.1 Positive commands and requests

The construction exemplified in (49), and repeated below as (51), utilising the imperative particle lo, is only one of the strategies available to Taba speakers for issuing commands or making requests.

(51) \begin{align*}
\text{Hamot} & \quad \text{lo!} \\
\text{h=ha-mot} & \quad \text{lo} \\
\text{2pl}=\text{CAUS-die} & \quad \text{IMP} \\
\text{‘Turn it off!’} & \\
\end{align*}

Commands may also be made by simply using an active verb without any overt marking with the imperative particle, as in (52). Note that the imperative particle lo is a marker of positive politeness and the construction illustrated in (51) is marked as more polite than the unadorned construction in (52).
(52) *Mhan akle!*
   m=han ak-le
   2sg=go ALL-land
   ‘Go home! (Go landwards)’

The continuative aspect particle *hu* is often used in situations where a degree of urgency is imputed and the softening effect of the polite imperative particle is not required.

(53) *Motik yak hu*
   m=ot-ik yak hu
   2sg=take-APPL 1sg CONT
   ‘Give it to me!’

This strategy for issuing commands is even more abrupt and less polite than either of the previously mentioned ones. The construction relies for its effect on the imputation that the addressee is already in fact doing the action encoded by the verb, but has not yet completed it. The implication is that the speaker expects the act to be done, and done immediately. It is thus the least polite of the strategies we have seen so far.

The three constructions we have seen so far can thus be put on a continuum from most polite to least polite as in (54).

(54) Least polite $\uparrow$ *hu* $\downarrow$ No particle
    Most polite $\downarrow$ *lo*

There is a strong association in actual Taba usage between plural ‘respectful’ nominal cross-referencing of verbs (see chapter 7) and the use of the polite imperative marker, on the one hand, and neutral singular cross-referencing (again, see chapter 7) without the polite imperative marker on the other. It is possible to use neutral singular Actor cross-referencing on the verb with concurrent use of *lo* (perhaps when issuing commands to children), but politeness rules virtually dictate that the particle must be used whenever respectful plural cross-referencing is appropriate. Commands which include the continuative aspect marker *hu* have only been encountered in either

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6 Note that verbal cross-referencing of an actor is always obligatory with imperative constructions. Imperatives are only used when the speaker believes that the possibility of action is under the control of the addressee, and any such activity will be encoded by an active verb rather than a stative one.
situations involving a fair degree of urgency, or when adults tell children what to do.

Of course, as in all languages, there are a large number of other ways of asking someone to do something by using less direct means. The above introduced constructions are at the same time the most direct, and in many senses the most highly conventionalised. There are however, a variety of other relatively conventionalised means available to Taba speakers for making requests. Here, we will only look at a few of the most highly conventionalised strategies for making requests. Amongst the negative politeness strategies used by Taba speakers are what I will call the ‘POSS-suka’ construction, and a minimisation of the imposition through the addition of the softener moto ‘a little’. Positive strategies include the the nyoa ‘almost’ construction and the use of inclusive first person cross-referencing. A final construction, the polo ‘if’ ‘in-subordinate’ clause construction is more difficult to classify as either a positive or negative strategy. It is discussed further below.

The ‘POSS-suka’ construction is illustrated in (55).\(^7\)

(55) \(\text{Mmeu suka } \text{hmul?} \)
 memeu suka h=mul
 2pl-POSS desire 2pl=return
 ‘Do you want to go back?’

This construction is reminiscent of the English construction in sentences such as ‘do you want to close the window?’ which is a fairly conventionalised request. The Taba construction is differentiated from an assertion by having characteristic interrogative intonation. The construction is quite conventional in Taba, as well as English, but the appropriate conditions for its use are different in each language. In general, the degree of imposition of a request needs to be much higher to use this strategy in Taba than in English. A request to do something like closing a window would generally be made using one of the more overt strategies discussed above (probably using the lo particle). For Taba speakers, such a request would be expected to be obeyed readily easily and no major threat to the hearer’s face would be perceived. The ‘POSS-suka’ construction is thus generally reserved for situations where there is a higher

\(^7\) The ‘POSS-suka’ construction is the normal way of expressing a wish or desire in Taba (see §16.3.2). The verb \textit{mau} can also be used with this function, but \textit{mau} is a recent borrowing from Malay and its use is quite restricted, especially among older speakers.
likelihood of refusal, where the need for a face saving strategy is of greater importance. It is often used on occasions where younger people (either adults or children) address elderly addressees, since the elderly are owed much greater deference, out of respect for their old age, than people of one’s own age.

Minimisation of the imposition through the use of moto ‘a little’ is illustrated in (56). The effect of this construction depends on the softening effect of moto which serves to suggest that the imposition of the request is only a small one. (In the example below, the explanation of why the speaker wishes to be given the screwdriver, given in the subordinate resultative / purposive clause de kaladaik masin ‘so that I can fix the engine with it,’ also serves to further legitimate the request.)

(56) Motik yak oben ya moto de
m=ot-ik yak oben ya moto de
2sg=get-APPL(give) 1sg screwdriver up little RES
kaladaik masin.
k=ha-ladai-k masin
1sg=make.good-APPL engine

‘Give me the screwdriver (a little) so I can fix the engine with it.’

The nyoa construction for making requests appeals to in-group solidarity by suggesting that the addressee has already almost carried out the request. It is thus, in Brown and Levinson’s terms, a positive politeness strategy. Utterances using this politeness strategy generally have the characteristic intonation of a question. The construction is illustrated in (57).

(57) Nyoa John mbaca basa Ingeris da.
nyoa John m=baca basa Ingeris da
almost John 2sg=read language English REM
‘Can you read that English there John.’

Inclusive verbal cross-referencing is another device that can be used to make polite requests. It is shown in (58).

(58) Than
t=han
1pl.incl=go
‘Let’s go.’

Requests made with the use of inclusive verbal cross-referencing are again differentiated from assertions by intonation. As we would expect, it is most commonly used when the speaker intends to perform the action along with the
addressee, but it can also be used when it is clear that the speaker has no intention of joining in whatever activity is proposed. The use of the inclusive form implies solidarity with the addressee on the part of the speaker. It is thus most appropriate when there is a risk that the addressee might feel that his or her face could be threatened by the request. In Brown and Levinson’s terms, this is a strategy involving the use of positive politeness, in this case achieved by using indications of in-group solidarity.

The final conventionalised request making construction to be discussed here is what we might call the *polo* ‘if’ ‘insubordinate’ clause construction. This is illustrated in (59).

(59)  

\[
\text{polo Ahmad nyol} \\
\text{polo Ahmad n=yl} \\
\text{if Ahmad 3sg=gt} \\
\text{‘If you could get it, Ahmad.’}
\]

This construction works by assigning the request to what appears to be a subordinate clause marked by the subordinating conjunction *polo* ‘if’. While *polo* is normally used to mark subordinate clauses (see §16.5.2), here it is used in front of the only clause in the construction; a clause which we might call an ‘insubordinate’ clause. When this construction is used, there is an implied invitation to the addressee to construct the missing main clause for him or herself. Although this construction appears on the surface to consist of a subordinate clause, from which a main clause has been ellipsed, what is going on cannot truely be thought of as ellipsis, since in most circumstances there is no way of telling what the putative ellapsed clause might be: hence the label ‘insubordination’.

All of the last discussed strategies for making requests are used when a face-threatening act is at risk, but it should be noted that the conditions for their most appropriate use are somewhat skewed. The ‘POSS-suka’ construction most clearly addresses the threat to the speaker’s face if a request is refused, while the inclusive strategy, the *nyoa* construction, and the *polo* ‘insubordinate’ construction address the threat to the addressee’s face caused by the imposition. Compared with speakers of English, Taba speakers tend to use a great many more positive politeness strategies and a great many less negative ones. The fact that the ‘POSS-suka’ construction is much less frequently than the other strategies bears this out.
15.2.1.1 *Mo*: an inherently imperative verb

Before leaving the topic of positive commands and requests, one verb form which is marked as exclusively imperative needs to be mentioned. That form is illustrated in (60).

(60) *Mo!*
    come here
    ‘Come here!’

As far as I am aware, *mo* is the only verb which is marked as always imperative. It is always used in situations where little perceived threat to face exists. It is most commonly heard by adults addressing children, but it is also sometimes used between adults. Note that a further form *mo* has been identified which seems to be related to the imperative verb discussed here. This related form occurs only in relative clauses, where it is always qualified by the adverbial particle *lai* ‘just’, and it where it is used to refer to something that has just recently been mentioned or just recently been part of the context or context of the communicative event in some way. Relative clauses are discussed in §16.4.

15.2.2 Negative requests

Again, in making requests not to do something, a number of strategies are available to Taba speakers. They range from the highly conventional to the ad-hoc. Negative requests are quite a bit less frequent than positive ones. This is a matter of both the absolute number of tokens in discourse, and of the number of grammatical devices available for making them. In this section we will simply mention the admonitive particle *oik* quite briefly. The use of the admonitive is shown in (61) and (62).

(61) *Shobak*   *yak*   *oik*
    h=sob-ak   yak   oik
    2pl=throw-APPL 1sg  ADMON
    ‘Don’t throw me (into the water).’

(62) *Hmomsak*   *mmeu*   *calana*   *oik*
    h=momas-ak   mmeu   calana   oik
    2pl=wipe-APPL 2pl.POSS trousers  ADMON
    ‘Don’t wipe (it) with your trousers.’

In addition to the admonitive particle *oik*, there is also an independent verb *oik* which means ‘to be left behind’. It is shown in (63).
(63) \textit{Krasa} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{mapot} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{polo} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{koik} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{au}

k=rasa \hspace{0.5cm} mapot \hspace{0.5cm} polo \hspace{0.5cm} k=oik \hspace{0.5cm} au

1sg=feel heavy if \hspace{0.5cm} 1sg=leave.behind \hspace{0.5cm} 2sg

'I(my heart) will feel heavy if I leave you.'

The admonitive particle \textit{oik} differs from the independent verb \textit{oik}, in that the verb requires obligatory Actor cross-referencing while the particle is never cross-referenced.

\textit{Oik} is also often encountered as a nominalisation with the meaning 'remainder / residue'. This is illustrated in (64).

(64) \textit{Sukur} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{lloci} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{masi ada ni} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{oik} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{ni} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{lomo}

sukur \hspace{0.5cm} lloci \hspace{0.5cm} masi ada ni \hspace{0.5cm} oik \hspace{0.5cm} ni \hspace{0.5cm} lomo

thanks many still exist 3sg.POSS residue 3sg.POSS others

'Many thanks that there were still others left behind.'

Negation of both declarative and imperative clauses is treated in more detail in §14.2, where further discussion of \textit{oik} can be found.
Interclausal relations

The bulk of this chapter is concerned with the ways in which simple clauses may be combined into larger cohesive units which might be called sentences. Although defining the notion of ‘the clause’ is relatively straightforward, the notion of ‘the sentence’ in Taba, as in other languages is much more problematic. While many multiclausal constructions are readily easy to characterise as ‘sentences’ – one of the clauses included in the multiclausal construction may be incomplete without the addition of another clause – other multiclausal constructions may simply consist of strings of simple clauses strung together, the only formal indication that they are cohesive multiclausal units is their intonation.

Example (1) shows a multiclausal construction which is relatively easy to characterise as a sentence. This is a complement clause construction, where the initial nominal predication *ni suka* ‘his desire’ is subcategorised for a clausal argument, in this case *non kapaya* ‘he eats pawpaw’. Here, the initial *ni suka* predication *requires* another predication to follow it.

(1) \[ \begin{array}{llll}
    Ni & suka & non & kapaya \\
    ni & suka & n=on & kapaya \\
    3sg.POSS & desire & 3sg=eat & pawpaw \\
    \end{array} \]

    ‘He likes to eat pawpaw.’

Example (2), on the other hand consists of a string of two clauses, *ihan appo Gitan* ‘they went down to Gitan’ and *lyoa daerah aman* ‘they were looking for somewhere safe’. Except for the incomplete rising intonation associated with the first clause, each of these clauses can be seen as complete in their own right.
(2) *Lhan* appo *Gitan,* *lyoa* daerah aman.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
l=&\text{han} & \text{ap-po} & \text{Gitan} & l=&\text{yoa} & \text{daerah} & \text{aman} \\
3\text{pl}=\text{go} & \text{ALL-down} & \text{Gitan} & 3\text{pl}=\text{search} & \text{area} & \text{safe} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘They went down to Gitan, they were looking for somewhere safe.’

It is usual in discussion of multicausal constructions to make a primary distinction between co-ordination and subordination. In co-ordinate clause structures each of the conjoined clauses is seen as having equivalent syntactic and semantic weight, while in subordinate clause structures one of the clauses involved is seen as dependent on, or subordinate to the other clause in some way. Although it is possible to clearly assign some multicausal constructions to a co-ordinate category and other constructions to a subordinate one, other multicausal constructions are not so readily assignable to one or other category. See Matthiessen and Thompson (1988) for general discussion of the difficulties inherent in such a distinction.

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate clear cases of co-ordination and subordination respectively. In (3), the first clause, *lmaka yoa* ‘they looked for each other’ is explicitly conjoined to the following clause *lmaka tala* ‘they met each other’ with the co-ordinating conjunction *malai* ‘then / and then’. Each of the clauses involved here is an independent clause in its own right, and neither of them is in any way dependent on the other.

(3) *Lmaka* yoa, *malai* *lmaka* tala,
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
l=&\text{maka} & yoa & malai & l=&\text{maka} & tala \\
3\text{pl}=\text{RECIP} & \text{search} & \text{then} & 3\text{pl}=\text{RECIP} & \text{find} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘They looked for each other then they found each other.’

In (4), on the other hand, the subordinating conjunction *polo* ‘if’ marks the initial clause *John nam,* ‘John sees it’ as subordinate to the following clause *nheran* ‘he would be astonished’. In this example the intial clause is syntactically subordinate to the second clause: the addition of *polo* in front of it entails that another clause is required to complete the construction. It is also semantically subordinate to the second clause in that it provides the background condition which must be fulfilled in order for the second clause to be true.

(4) *Ine* polo *John* nam nheran.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i-ne & \text{polo} & \text{John} & n=am & n=\text{heran} \\
\text{DEM-PROX} & \text{if} & \text{John} & 3\text{sg}=\text{see} & 3\text{sg}=\text{be.astonished} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘If John saw it he would be astonished.’
Example (2) above, repeated below as (5), is much harder to classify as either a co-ordinate or a subordinate structure. In this, as in many other multiclausal constructions, the meaningful relationship between the clauses involved is implied rhetorically rather than through the use of any explicit coding device (see Mann and Thompson (1987) on ‘Rhetorical Structure Theory’). With the first reading ‘they went down to Gitan and they looked for somewhere safe’, the relationship between the clauses is one of co-ordination: neither of the clauses involved is subordinate to the other in any way. With the second pragmatically inferrable meaning, where what is referred to by the second clause is read as the cause of what is referred to by the first clause, the second clause lyoa daerah aman ‘they were looking for somewhere safe’ is semantically subordinate to the first clause in the structure. In much the same way that the clause polo John nam in (4) above provides a background condition for the the second clause, nheran ‘he would be astonished’, here lyoa daerah aman ‘they were looking for somewhere safe’ provides a background condition: the reason they went down to Gitan.

(5) Lhan appo Gitan, lyoa daerah aman.
   l=han ap-po Gitan l=yoa daerah aman
   3pl=go ALL-down Gitan 3pl=search area safe
   ‘They went down to Gitan, and they looked for somewhere safe / They went down to Gitan because they were looking for somewhere safe.’

In general, the multiclausal constructions which are most difficult to classify as either co-ordinate or subordinate constructions are those which, like (5) above, consist of strings of otherwise complete clauses which are sequenced without any overt lexical marking of the relationship between them (cf. Matthiessen and Thompson, 1988). Such constructions might be called ‘paratactic’ constructions.

The first section of this chapter deals with parataxis. Section §16.2 deals with co-ordination: the process whereby two clauses of equal syntactic and semantic weight are conjoined by interposing a co-ordinating conjunction between them. Section §16.3 examines complementation, §16.4 discusses relativisation, and §16.5 looks at subordinate clauses which are explicitly marked as subordinate by subordinating conjunctions. A discussion of iconicity in Taba multiclausal constructions is found in §16.6.

The final section of the chapter moves its focus beyond the level of the sentence. In this section we examine the functions of a word-class labelled ‘discourse connectors’. Rather than serving to signal the relationship between individual clauses as do conjunctions, discourse connectors orient the clause
they appear in with respect to the preceding discourse, or sometimes even to the general discourse context. While many of the discourse connectors discussed here can also occur as conjunctions, others occur only as discourse connectors, and others still may have yet different functions again.

### 16.1 Parataxis

Paratactic constructions have no overt marking of either co-ordination or subordination: they are simply sequences of clauses strung together without any significant pauses between them, and with no terminal intonational contour until the end of the final clause in the sequence. The relationship in meaning between them is determined pragmatically. Most commonly, the implied meaning is temporal sequence: what is described in the first clause occurs first, and what is described in subsequent clauses follows at a later time. Usually, in addition to simple temporal sequence of events there is some implied connection between the events, as perhaps threads of a narrative.

(6) *Nyoa khan lama, polisi polisi si l=tahan yak*

nyoa k=han la-ma polisi=si l=tahan yak
almost 1sg=go sea-VEN police=PL 3pl=find 1sg
'I'd almost come back (from Moti) when the police found me.'

(7) *Amul am lama Taba, ayol sagala*

a=mul am la-ma Taba a=yol sagala
1pl.excl=return 1pl.excl sea-VEN Makian 1pl.excl=yol sagala
'We returned from seawards (i.e. Moti island) to Makian and we fetched stuff.'

(8) *Nwom nidi um li tesu, taplod haso nak*

n=wom ni-di um li te-su ta-plod ha=so nak
3sg=come POSS-3pl house LOC NEG-POT PASS-erupt CLASS=one again
'He hadn’t yet arrived at their house when it erupted once again.'

Often a causal relationship is implied, wherein whatever is reported in the first clause or clauses is to be viewed as the cause of whatever is reported in subsequent clauses. Example (9) is taken from a Taba pop song. The singer is bemoaning the fact that the parents of his beloved do not feel that he is worthy of their daughter’s attentions. In the first (complex) clause, he reports that the parents wish to choose a different man for their daughter.1 This fact is

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1 See §16.3.1.2 for discussion of the 'POSS suka complement clause' construction.
construed as the cause of what is reported in the second clause, i.e. that the daughter stays obedient to her parents wishes and rejects her suitor’s attentions.

(9) Nidi suka lpili mon maleo, mtagal
nidi suka l=pili mon maleo m=tagal
3pl.POSS desire 3pl=choose husband other 2sg=perch

mta’at
m=ta’at
2sg=be.obedient

‘They want to choose a different man, you remain obedient.’

A causal implication is also seen in (10), taken from text 2 of the appendices. Here the speaker first explains that he has not yet found the thatch required to finish constructing the roof of his garden shelter, the reason for the second clause, that he has not yet completed the construction.

(10) Ktala yotas tesu, kpe tesu.
k=tala yotas te-su k=pe te-su
1sg=find thatch NEG-POT 1sg=make NEG-POT
‘But I haven’t found any thatch yet, so I haven’t made it yet.’

In some cases paratactic structures include more overt marking of the semantic relationship between the juxtaposed clauses. Such marking may include both lexical and intonational devices. In (11) below, the close bond between each of the four clauses seen is signalled by a rising, non-terminal intonation at the end of each one. The fact that there is a temporal sequence of events corresponding to the temporal sequence of clauses is further signalled by the use of the serial verb okik ‘be finished’ (see §12.2.5.3) at the end of the first two clauses, yol sagala okik ‘fetching stuff finished’, and saplik okik ‘loading it finished’. The events reported in the final two clauses here, si lhan ‘they go’ and yak e ktongo ane ‘as for me, I stay’ are actually cotemporaneous.

(11) Yol sagala okik, saplik okik, si lhan, yak
yol sagala okik sapil-ik okik si l=han yak
fetch stuff be.finished board-APPL be.finished 3pl 3pl=go 1sg

e ktongo ane.
e k=tongo a-ne
FOC 1sg=stay DEM-PROX

‘Fetching stuff finished, stowing it on board finished, they go, as for me, I stay here.’
When the above example was spoken, there was actually a flat (but not falling) intonation at the end of si lhan, rather than the rising intonation found at the end of the two preceding clauses. The quite complex possibilities for using intonation to signal different kinds of semantic relationships between juxtaposed clauses are not well understood. Further study of intonation remains to be done.

We have already seen that the implied relationship between paratactic sequences of clauses can be one of either co-ordination or of subordination. When the sequence of clauses signals temporal precedence of one event over another, a coordinate relationship pertains between the juxtaposed clauses.

(12) Manusia Keten Tafaga lhan lama, laoblak
    manusia Keten Tafaga l=han la-ma l=ha-obal-k
    people Moti Tafaga 3pl=go sea-VEN 3pl=CAUS-call-APPL

    manteri bidan
    manteri bidan
    nurse midwife

‘People from Tafaga, Moti went back from seawards and called for a midwife.’

(13) Lwom wolat halaim, lam nol.
    l=wom wolat halaim l=am nol
    3pl=come sea middle 3pl=see nothing

‘They came to the middle of the sea and they saw nothing.’

A relationship of co-ordination is also involved when the juxtaposed clauses refer to cotemporaneous events or states.

(14) Mon i Keten, mapin i Botan, mon i
    mon i Keten mapin i Botan mon i
    husband 3sg Moti wife 3sg Halmahera husband 3sg

    Botan, mapin i Keten
    Botan mapin i keten
    Halmahera wife 3sg Moti

‘A husband was on Moti, the wife on Halmahera; a husband on Halmahera, the wife on Moti.’

If one of the juxtaposed clauses expresses a condition under which whatever is referred to by the other clause is to be fulfilled, or if one clause expresses the cause of the other clause, then either the condition clause is subordinate to the fulfillment clause or the cause clause is subordinate to the result clause. Example (15) below is ambiguous between these two readings. With either implication, the initial clause here is subordinate to the following one.
15) Masyarakat masure, ncol l= maka haluso.
masyarakat masure n= sol l=maka ha-lusa-o
people good 3sg= be. wrong 3pl= RECIP CAUS-say-APPL
‘If people are good, when something is wrong, they will tell each other.’ /
‘Because people are good, when something is wrong they will tell each other.’

16.2 Co-ordination

Co-ordinate clauses are joined explicitly with a conjunction between each clause and each co-ordinated clause is of equal syntactic weight: no one clause as more syntactic prominence than any other. In this section we deal with five indigenous Taba conjunctions first, and conclude by discussing two rather commonly used conjunctions borrowed from North Moluccan Malay. These conjunctions, with rough English translations for each, are:

- *lo* ‘and’
- *ada* ‘and’
- *ma / mai / me* ‘but’
- *pa* ‘or’
- *malai* ‘then’
- *turus* ‘then straight away’
- *tapi* ‘but’

This section concludes with a discussion of co-reference in co-ordinate clauses.

16.2.1 *lo* ‘and’

The conjunction *lo* can be translated into English as ‘and’.

16) Lhan appo dumik lo wang gulo myasi lo
l=han ap-po dumik lo wang gulo myasi lo
3pl=go ALL-down be.complete and child baby small and

mamatuosi lhan dumik
mamatu=si l=han dumik
old people=PL 3pl=go be.complete

‘They went down and babies, children and old people all went.’

As with English ‘and’, pragmatically inferrable meanings for *lo* are often available. In (17), there is implied temporal precedence of one clause over: the vent referred to in the first clause would normally be expected to have
occurred before the event referred to in the second clause. Sometimes, also as in (17), there is an implied subordinating function available for lo: in this case a (subordinating) causal reading whereby the first conjoined clause is taken as the cause for the second clause.

(17) Mina namtat lo nayok
    Mina n=ha-mtat lo n=ha-yok
    Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall and 3sg=CAUS-cry
    'Mina fell over and cried.'

Although one can hear such utterances as (17) in Taba discourse, such uses of lo are relatively rare. Generally, when Taba speakers have a causal meaning in mind, they either make the intended causal relationship explicit, as in (18), where the subordinating conjunction ndadi ‘so’ (§16.5.4) is used, or they use either paratactic or serial verb constructions as in (19) and (20). (Note that the only observable difference between the paratactic and the serial structures here is the pause between each of the separate clauses in the paratactic structure. For more on serialisation, see chapter 12.)

(18) Mina namtat ndadi nayok
    Mina n=ha-mtat ndadi n=ha-yok
    Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall so 3sg=CAUS-cry
    'Mina fell over so she cried.'

(19) Mina namtat, nayok
    Mina n=ha-mtat n=ha-yok
    Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall 3sg=CAUS-cry
    'Mina fell over, she cried.'

(20) Mina namtat nayok
    Mina n=ha-mtat n=ha-yok
    Mina 3sg=CAUS-fall 3sg=CAUS-cry
    'Mina fell over and cried.'

In addition to its function of conjoining clauses, lo can also be used to conjoin a range of other structures such as noun phrases, including quantifiers (see chapters 7 and 10).

(21) Ndodak um nyoa yo halu lo lomo
    n=dod-ak um nyoa yo ha=ju lo lomo
    3sg=ask-APPL house almost ten CLASS=two and other
    'It claimed almost more than twenty houses.'
16.2.2 *ada* ‘and’

The conjunction *ada*, like *lo*, is most simply translated into English as ‘and’. While *ada* and *lo* can be used to conjoin both clauses and other smaller structural units (as English ‘and’ can be used), there appears to be a preference in actual discourse for using *ada* to conjoin clauses, and for using *lo* to conjoin structures such as noun phrases. The discussion of pragmatically inferrable readings for *lo* given in §16.2.1 above applies equally to *ada*. The use of *ada* is shown in (22).

(22) *Indadimu lomo lmul ne ada latala hu*
    indadi-mu lomo l=mul ne ada l=ha-tala hu
    so-then other 3pl=return PROX and 3pl=CAUS-meet CONT
    ‘So some have come back now and they met up with each other again.’

In (23), *ada* conjoins two clauses into a complex multiclausal unit which functions adverbially to provide the setting for the following main clause of a paratactic structure.

(23) *Gunung nmeletus ada nmeletus tehuh ne panas halu*
    gunung n=meletus ada n=meletus te-hu ne panas ha=lu
    mountain 3sg=erupt and 3sg=erupt NEG-CONT PROX hot CLASS=two
    ‘Between the mountain erupting and it not having erupted again, there were two hot seasons.’

*Ada* also occurs as an instrumental or comitative marking preposition (see §13.2.1).

(24) *Nwom ada ni mapin*
    n=wom ada ni mapin
    3sg=come with 3sg.POSS wife
    ‘He came with his wife.’

16.2.3 *ma /mai / me* ‘but’

The forms *ma*, *mai*, and *me* appear to be in free variation: each of them expresses the fact that whatever is referred to in the second conjoined clause is at odds with any expectations that might arise as a result of what is referred to by the first clause.

(25) *Ngan ni soda magun-magun, ma taplod.*
    nган ni soda magun-magun ma ta-plod
    day 3sg.POSS face silent-silent but PASS-erupt
    ‘The next day everything was quiet, but (the mountain) was erupting.’
(26) Idia taplod kwat mai ngiat te
i-dia ta-plod kwat mai n=giat te
DEM-REM PASS-erupt EMPH but 3sg=shake NEG
It was erupting hugely, but it didn’t shake.’ (i.e. there was no earthquake)

(27) Lhan me lalusa lhan te
l=han me l=ha-lusa l=han te
3pl=go but 3pl=CAUS-say 3pl=go NEG
‘They went but they said they didn’t go.’

The forms ma, mai and me are also commonly encountered as discourse connectors, where they also generally function to signal that whatever follows them may be contrary to one’s expectations (§16.7.1). As discourse connectors, an appropriate English translation for them is often ‘well’. In these constructions they are commonly found interposed between a fronted noun phrase and the rest of the clause.

(28) Ine ma kyat Keten nak
i-ne ma k=yat Keten nak
DEM-PROX well 1sg=take Moti also
‘This stuff, well I took it to Moti too.’

(29) Polo tcung um li, boa me taosak tahate
polo t=sung um li boa me t=ha-osak tahate
if 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door well 1pl.incl=CAUS-open be.impossible
‘If we went into the house, well it was impossible to open the doors.’

(30) Berarti tit mai yapyap ntala tit
berarti tit mai yapyap n=tala tit
means 1pl.incl well ash 3sg=meet 1pl.incl
‘What I mean is, as for us, we would be covered in ash.’

16.2.4 pa ‘or’

Although pa ‘or’ is most commonly found conjoining noun phrases (§7.2.6) or in forming alternative questions (§15.1.1), it is also sometimes used to conjoin clauses. Its use with the clause conjoining function is exemplified in (31).

(31) Ntongo Keten pa ntongo Tarnate?
n=tongo Keten pa n=tongo Tarnate
3sg=live Moti or 3sg=live Ternate
‘She either lives on Moti or she lives in Ternate.’

In (32), pa is illustrated conjoining two clauses where the second clause is identical to the first except for its polarity and modality. Except for tesu, which marks negative polarity and potential mood, the rest of the second clause has
been ellipsed. The conjoined structure here occurs inside a larger paratactic structure with the final clause yase taplod ‘it erupted up there’.

(32) Lwom nidi um li pa tesu, yase taplod.
l=wom nidi um li pa te-su ya-se ta-plod
3pl=come POSS.3pl house LOC or NEG-POT up-at PASS-erupt
‘He had either got to his house or not yet, when it erupted up there.’

16.2.5 malai ‘then’

The conjunction malai means ‘then’ or ‘and then’. It explicitly signals that whatever is referred to in the second conjoined clause occurs after what is referred to by the first.

(33) Lmaka yoa, malai lmaka tala, lmaka buak malai
l=maka yoa malai l=maka tala l=maka buak malai
3pl=RECIP search then 3pl=RECIP meet 3pl=RECIP hug then
layok.
l=ayok
3pl=cry

‘They looked for each other then they met up; they hugged each other then they cried.’

An implied causal relationship between what is expressed in the first clause and what is expressed in the second is often available.

(34) Ndadi taplod malai lalhod.
ndadi ta-plod malai l=alhod
so PASS-erupt then 3pl=run
‘So it erupted and then they ran.’

Malai is also often seen as a discourse connector, again often translatable into English as ‘then’ or ‘afterwards’ (§16.7.2). As a discourse connector, malai may occur clause-internally (35), or clause-initially (36).

(35) Duga kampung Kota ada Mailoa malai lekat te
duga kampung Kota ada Mailoa malai lekat te
only village Kota and Mailoa then be.broken NEG
‘Only Kota and Mailoa villages, then, were not ruined.’

When it occurs clause-initially, it serves much the same function as conjunctive malai in signifying that whatever is referred to in the following clause comes after whatever has already been referred to. However, it relates the following clause to the preceding discourse rather than just to the preceding
clause. (See §16.7.2 for further discussion of this function of malai, as well as discussion of some extended uses of the form when used as a discourse connector.)

\[(36) \quad \text{Malai a-ne Waikyon seng ni tattubo yapyap} \]
\[\text{malai LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha roofing.iron 3sg.POSS top ash} \]
\[\text{kamudu-kamudu tane} \]
\[\text{kamudu-kamudu ta-ne} \]
\[\text{thick-thick SIM-PROX} \]

‘Afterwards, here in Ngofakiaha, the top of the roofing iron had ash as thick as this.’

16.2.6 turus ‘then’

The conjunction turus is borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, but it is quite widely used by Taba speakers. Like malai (§16.2.4), it is also used to signify that whatever is referred to in the second clause occurs after whatever is referred to in the first clause, but turus generally signifies a shorter interval of time between the conjoined events than does malai.

\[(37) \quad \text{Ulan kwat turus ni kihis ncopang} \]
\[\text{ulan kwat turus ni kihis n=sopang} \]
\[\text{rain EMPH direct 3sg.POSS flood 3sg=descend} \]

‘There was strong rain and straight away a flood descended.’

16.2.7 tapi ‘but’

Tapi ‘but’ is borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, and it also occurs as a discourse connector (§16.7.10). Its use as a conjunction is illustrated in (38) and (39).

\[(38) \quad \text{Dukon Taba kwat tapi ngiat te.} \]
\[\text{dukon Taba kwat tapi n=giat te} \]
\[\text{eruption Makian be.strong but 3sg=shake NEG} \]
\[\text{Makian’s eruption was huge, but there was no shaking (i.e. no earthquake).’} \]

\[(39) \quad \text{Polo a-ne Waikyon, tasakal tapi lloci te.} \]
\[\text{polo a-ne Waikyon ta-sakal tapi lloci te} \]
\[\text{if LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha PASS-smash but a lot NEG} \]

‘As for here in Ngofakiaha, stuff was smashed, but not a lot.’
16.2.8 Coreference in co-ordinate structures

Coreference rules in co-ordinate structures are sensitive to whether the arguments in each clause are the Actors, primary Undergoers, or secondary Undergoers in each clause. Coreferential arguments sharing the same role cannot be overtly expressed in the second conjoined clause; coreferential arguments which have different roles in each clause must be overtly expressed in the second clause. Example (40) is ungrammatical because the person who is sick is encoded as Undergoer, and the (omitted) coreferential cryer in the following co-ordinate clause is encoded as Actor.

(40) * Irianti mhonas lo nayok
    Irianti mhonas lo n=ayok
    Irianti be.sick and 3sg=cry

This example can be resurrected as in (41), where the person who is sick is now encoded as Actor and no conflict between roles ensues.

(41) Irianti namhonas lo nayok
    Irianti n=ha-mhonas lo n=ayok
    Irianti 3sg=CAUS-be.sick and 3sg=cry
    'Irianti is sick and she's crying.'

(40) can also be resurrected by making overt reference to Irianti in the second clause.

(42) Irianti mhonas lo i nayok
    Irianti mhonas lo i n=ayok
    Irianti be.sick and 3sg 3sg=cry
    'Irianti is sick and she's crying.'

(43) is ungrammatical because what is encoded as Actor in the first clause has been expressed as Undergoer of the second clause.

(43) * Oci nmatat lo tabhes
    Oci n=ha-mtat lo ta-bhes
    Oci 3sg=CAUS-fall and PASS-shred

(43) can be resurrected by making Oci the Undergoer of the first clause as in (44) or by making him Actor of the second clause as in (45).

(44) Oci mtat lo tabhes
    Oci mtat lo ta-bhes
    Oci fall and PASS-shred
    'Oci fell over and skinned himself.'
(45) Oci namtat lo natabhes
Oci n=ha-mtat lo n=ha-ta-bhes
Oci 3sg=CAUS-fall and 3sg=CAUS-PASS-shred
‘Oci fell over and skinned himself.’

(45) would be generally preferred over (44) because of the general preference for encoding the sole animate arguments of intransitive clauses as Actors rather than as Undergoers (§4.2.1.6), but (43) is not expressly ruled out. (43) can also be resurrected by making overt reference to Oci in the second conjoined clause.

(46) Oci namtat lo tabhes i
Oci n=ha-mtat lo ta-bhes i
Oci 3sg=CAUS-fall and PASS-shred 3sg
‘Oci fell over and skinned himself.’

The same rules we have seen applying for Actors and primary Undergoers in the above examples also apply to secondary Undergoers. Example (47) is only grammatical if it is understood that Iswan kills Irianti with the torch referred to in the first clause.

(47) Irianti wetik i senter lo Iswan punak i
Irianti wet-ik i senter lo Iswan pun-ak i
Irianti hit-APPL 3sg torch and Iswan kill-APPL 3sg
‘Irianti hit Iswan with the torch and Iswan killed her with it.’

If Iswan had used any other instrument in killing Irianti, the instrument would need to be referred to overtly.

(48) Irianti wetik i senter lo Iswan punak i i sodik
Irianti wet-ik i senter lo Iswan pun-ak i i sodik
Irianti hit-APPL 3sg torch and Iswan kill-APPL 3sg spoon
‘Irianti hit Iswan with the torch and Iswan killed her with a spoon.’

The rules just outlined sometimes lead to semantic interpretations of sentences which would be pragmatically implausible if the rules did not exist. Example (49) is only acceptable if Acan, the person doing the hitting, is also the person crying. The reading one would otherwise suppose to be pragmatically preferable, where the person who has been hit is the same as the person crying, is not available, because the referent has different roles in each clause.

(49) Acan nwet i lo nayok
Acan n=wat i lo n=ayok
Acan 3sg=hit 3sg and 3sg=cry
‘Acan hit him and Acan cried.’ [only possible if Acan is the one crying, not if the person who got hit is crying]
16.3 Complement clauses

A number of constructions are encountered in Taba where predicates of various kinds are required to take complement clauses as arguments. In discussing such clauses it is useful to make a distinction between ‘main clauses’, which are the clauses that require clausal constituents to occur with them, and ‘complement clauses’, which are the clauses occurring as embedded constituents of main clauses.

There is no obligatory overt marker of complementation in Taba, although some people very occasionally use the complementiser bi after the main clause and before the complement clause. (The use of bi appears to be more common in dialects other than that of Waikyon.) In general, the main clause simply occurs first, and it is followed by the complement clause. Each type of complement clause structure is given preliminary exemplification in (50) and (51).

(50) Malusa \( m=ha-lusa \) \( bi \) \( polo \) \( mwas \) \( do \) \( malcom \) \( ya \) \( ni \)
2sg=CAUS-say COMP if 2sg=develop REAL 2sg=send 1sg 3sg.POSS

\( foto \) \( ya \).
\( foto \) \( ya \)
\( photograph \) \( up \)

‘You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs (of the situation just described).’

(51) Malusa \( m=ha-lusa \) \( polo \) \( mwas \) \( do \) \( malcom \) \( ya \) \( ni \)
2sg=CAUS-say if 2sg=develop REAL 2sg=send 1sg 3sg.POSS

\( foto \) \( ya \).
\( foto \) \( ya \)
\( photograph \) \( up \)

‘You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs (of the situation just described).’

In many languages, the structure of complement clauses can be quite different from the structure of main clauses, e.g. with infinitival complement clauses or complement clauses whose subjects are ‘raised’ to the object position of the main clause. However, in Taba all complement clauses occur in the same form that they would be expected to take as main clauses.
The rest of this section is organised according to the kinds of main clauses within which complement clauses are embedded. First to be discussed are main clauses with verbs as their heads which take complements; second to be discussed are complement-taking possessive clauses. These are the only kinds of main clauses taking complement clauses that have been identified. There are no restrictions on the types of clauses which can occur as complements.

16.3.1 Verbs with complement clauses

The most commonly encountered verbs requiring complement clauses can be loosely characterised as expressing beliefs and abilities. All of these verbs require at least an Actor argument in addition to the complement clause. Some also require an Undergoer. There are no restrictions on what kinds of clauses may appear as their complements. The verb bafikir ‘to think’ is illustrated with a clausal complement in (52). The complement clauses in the following examples are illustrated in bold type.

(52) Kba\textit{fikir} nd\textit{adi} te
    k=bafikir n=dadi te
    1sg=think 3sg=become NEG
    ‘I think it won’t work.’

The verbs h\textit{aga} ‘to be clever at something’ is shown in (53). Ability is also often expressed in modal serial verb constructions (§12.2.5.2).

(53) Bib e n\textit{agara} n\textit{alawa} c\textit{atur}
    Bib e n=ha-gara n=ha-lawa catur
    Bib FOC 3sg=CAUS-be.clever 3sg=CAUS-play chess
    ‘Bib is clever at playing chess.’

Speech act verbs with complement clauses are very common:

(54) L\textit{acarita} i n\textit{yeit} i n\textit{yeit’}
    l=ka-carita i n=yeit i n=yeit
    3pl=CAUS-story 3sg 3sg=throw 3sg 3sg=throw
    ‘They say, “It (the mountain) was throwing (rocks, ash, etc. up in the air), it was throwing”.’

(55) N\textit{kutan} ‘\textit{du\textit{mik}} do \textit{pa} tes\textit{u}?’
    n=kuta dumik do pa te-su
    3sg=ask be.finished REAL or NEG-POT
    ‘He asked “are they finished or not yet?”’.

(56) H\textit{alusa} ‘\textit{du\textit{mik}} do!’
    h=ha-lusa dumik do
    2pl=CAUS-say be.finished REAL
    ‘Say “they’re finished!”’.
Verbs that occur in main clauses may be subcategorised for just a complement clause in addition to their Actors, or for both an Undergoer and a clausal complement. Contrast (56) above with (57) below.

(57) *Haluso* &nbsp;&nbsp; *si* ‘*dumik* *do!’
    h=ha-lusa-o &nbsp;&nbsp; si *dumik* do
    2pl=CAUS-say-APPL 3pl be.finished REAL
’Tell them “they’re finished!”.’

Some verbs of perception which are normally subcategorised as transitive verbs taking an Undergoer can also occur with complement clauses in place of their Undergoers. Such verbs include *am* ‘see’, *tono* ‘to watch’, *malongak* ‘to listen to’, etc. Some illustrations are given in (58) to (60).

(58) *Nam* &nbsp;&nbsp; *yak* *khan*
    n=am *yak* k=han
    3sg=see 1sg 1sg=go
’He saw me going.’

(59) *Ktono* &nbsp;&nbsp; *wangsi* *lalawa*
    k=tono *wang=si* l=ha-lawa
    1sg=watch child=PL 3pl=CAUS-play
’I am watching the children play.’

(60) *Lmalongak* &nbsp;&nbsp; *Iswan* *nyanyi*
    l=malongo-k *lswan* n=nyanyi
    3pl=hear-APPL *lswan* 3sg=sing
’They are listening to lswan sing.’

16.3.1.1 Direct vs indirect reported speech

The complement clauses of speech act verbs can express either direct or indirect speech. In (61) below the complement clause use the deictic orientation of the person whose speech is being reported (i.e direct speech) while in (62) the deictic orientation of the complement clause has shifted to the perspective of the person who is reporting the speech act (i.e. indirect speech).

(61) **Direct reported speech (declarative)**

    *Nalusa* &nbsp;&nbsp; ‘*khan*’
    n=ha-lusa k=han
    3sg=CAUS-say 1sg=go
’He said, “I’m going”.’
(62) **Indirect reported speech (declarative)**

\[ Nalusa \quad nhan \]
\[ n=ha-lusa \quad n=h-an \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-say} \quad 3\text{sg}=\text{go} \]
\[ 'He said that he was going.' \]

No overt marker is required to distinguish between direct and indirect reported speech with verbs such as *halusa* or *hacarita* above, when they have declarative clauses as their complements.

When the speech act being reported is not encoded by a declarative clause, however, there are formally marked differences between direct and indirect speech. Compare (55) above, repeated as (63) below with (64). Here the reported speech event is a question.

(63) **Direct reported speech (interrogative)**

\[ Nkutan \quad 'dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad tesu? \]
\[ n=kutan \quad dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad te-su \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{ask} \quad \text{be.finished} \quad \text{REAL or NEG-POT} \]
\[ 'He asked "are they finished or not yet?".' \]

(64) **Indirect reported speech (interrogative)**

\[ Nkutan \quad polo \quad dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad tesu \]
\[ n=kutan \quad polo \quad dumik \quad do \quad pa \quad te-su \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{ask} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{be.finished} \quad \text{REAL or NEG-POT} \]
\[ 'He asked whether or not they were finished yet.' \]

Indirect reports of interrogative speech acts must be referred to using a subordinate clause marked by *polo* ‘if / whether’ (see also §16.5.2). With indirect reports of imperatives, the ‘resultative’ marker *de* ‘so that / in order that’ (see also §16.5.1) is used. Contrast example (65) showing directly reported speech with (66) where an indirectly reported imperative speech act is shown.

(65) **Direct reported speech (imperative)**

\[ Nculak \quad wangsi \quad hmul \quad akle! \]
\[ n=sul-ak \quad wang=si \quad h=mul \quad ak-le \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{order-APPL} \quad \text{child=PL} \quad 2\text{pl}=\text{return} \quad \text{ALL-land} \]
\[ 'He told the children "Go home!".' \]

(66) **Indirect reported speech (imperative)**

\[ Nculak \quad wangsi \quad de \quad hmul \quad akle! \]
\[ n=sul-ak \quad wang=si \quad de \quad l=mul \quad ak-le \]
\[ 3\text{sg}=\text{order-APPL} \quad \text{child=PL} \quad \text{RES} \quad 3\text{pl}=\text{return} \quad \text{ALL-land} \]
\[ 'He told the children to go home.' \]
16.3.2 Possessive clause - complement clause constructions

Possessive clause - complement clause constructions are used to refer to desires and plans, etc. In these constructions, the initial possessive main clause refers to the nature of the desire or plan and the following complement clause refers to the desired / planned outcome.

By far the most commonly encountered possessive clauses taking complements involve a main predication which can be labelled ni- suka ‘POSS desire’. This construction is illustrated in (67).

(67) Nidi suka l=pili mon maleo
     nidi suka l=pili mon maleo
     3pl.POSS desire 3pl=choose man different

‘They want to choose a different man.’

In this construction one of the possessive particles (see §9.1) is used to refer to the person who has the desire and qualifies the NP head suka ‘desire’. A complement clause occurs after the POSS suka combination, expressing whatever the possessor’s desire is. In (67) above, the complement clause has an Actor that is coreferential with the Actor of the main possessive clause. There are, however, no coreference restrictions with this construction, as illustrated in (68), where main and complement clauses share no arguments in common.

(68) Ni suka kmul
     ni suka k=mul
     3sg.POSS desire 1sg=return

‘She wants me to return.’

In (69), the Undergoer of the subordinate clause nik alamat ‘my address’ appears at the front of the complement clause, but not at the beginning of the complex structure.

---

2 The expression of a desire for something is sometimes achieved by younger Taba speakers with the verb mau ‘to want’ (borrowed from North Moluccan Malay). This is used in a verb-complement construction (see §16.3.1).

Nmau nhan ap po
n=mau n=han ap-po
3sg=want 3sg=go ALL-down
‘She wants to go to Ternate.’
Although (69) only shows fronting within the subordinate clause, the Undergoer of a complement clause may also occur at the front of the whole complex structure as in (70). The discourse factors which might be likely to condition the appearance of the Undergoer in each fronted position are not well understood.

Although other complement taking possessive clauses have been encountered in the corpus in addition to those involving the noun suka ‘desire’, these are quite infrequent. Example (71) shows a possessive complement taking clause with rencana ‘plan’, which is a Malay borrowing. Note that in this example the verb tongo ‘to stay’ has been ellipsed from the complement clause.

16.4 Relativisation

Relative clauses modify nouns. Taba relative clauses (except headless relatives, see §16.4.2) always immediately follow the nouns which they modify, whatever the role of that noun phrase in either the relative clause or its head. Usually there is no overt marker of relativisation but sometimes the relativiser yang, borrowed from North Moluccan Malay occurs before the relative clause. The relative clauses in all the examples which follow are indicated in bold type.
Taba has no class of adjectives. All instances of attributive use of Undergoer intransitive verbs, as in (73), are treated here as relative clauses. Such relative clauses are very common in the corpus.

(73) Am atala ngan makoai
     am =tala ngan makoai
     lpl.excl lpl.excl=meet sun be.hot

'We encountered the sun which was hot.'

We approach this description of Taba relative clauses by first delineating the kinds of relative clauses found in Taba. In §16.4.1 we discuss relative clauses which have overt nominal heads and in §16.4.2 we discuss headless relative clauses (or nominalisation). Finally (§16.4.3) we turn our attention to the kinds of matrix clauses within which relative clauses are embedded.

16.4.1 Relative clause types

A relativised noun can be either an argument or an adjunct of the relative clause of which it is head. However, there is a strong preference in actual discourse for relativised argument to be either $S_A$ or $S_O$. $S_O$ appears to be marginally preferred over $S_A$, presumably at least in part because all attributive uses of Undergoer intransitives occur with this relation. Occurrences of relativised Undergoers and adjuncts are quite rare.

In (74) and (75), the relativised argument is the Actor of a transitive verb within the relative clause.

(74) Yak kanig lomo polisi do lgotal yak
     Yak k=ha-nig lomo polisi do l=gotal yak
     1sg  1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg friend police self 3pl=grab 1sg

suko sel.
suk-o sel
insert-APPL cell

'I have a policeman friend who himself grabbed me and stuck me in a cell.'

(75) Nam mon nwomak lai mo ya
     n=am mon n=wom-ak lai mo ya
     3sg=see man 3sg=come-APPL just recent up

'He saw the man who just came with it.'

In (76), the relativised argument is the Undergoer of the transitive possessive verb.
(76)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{I} & \text{natabhes} & \text{i} \\
\text{i} & \text{n=ha-ta-bhes} & \text{i} \\
3\text{sg} & 3\text{sg}=\text{CAUS-PASS-peel} & 3\text{sg} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{daldilo}
\text{daldilo}
\text{He skinned his knee.}

As mentioned above, the relativised arguments are usually either \(S_A\) or \(S_O\) of the relative clause. Examples (77) and (78) show a relativised \(S_A\).

(77)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Malai} & \text{yang} & \text{leebak} & \text{Taba} & \text{lalhod} & \text{gunung} & \text{li} & \text{dumik} \\
\text{Malai} & \text{yang} & \text{l=sebak} & \text{Taba} & \text{l=alhod} & \text{gunung} & \text{li} & \text{dumik} \\
\text{then} & \text{REL} & 3\text{pl}=\text{near} & \text{Makian} & 3\text{pl}=\text{run} & \text{mountain} & \text{LOC} & \text{be.complete} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘Then, whoever was near Makian, all of them ran up the mountain.’}

(78)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Lcayang} & \text{mamatuosi} & \text{ltagil} & \text{lahates} & \text{do} \\
\text{l=sayang} & \text{mamatuosi} & \text{l=tagil} & \text{l=ahates} & \text{do} \\
3\text{pl}=\text{love} & \text{old people=PL} & 3\text{pl}=\text{walk} & 3\text{pl}=\text{impossible} & \text{REAL} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘They loved the old people who can’t walk any more.’}

Example (79) shows a relativised \(S_O\).

(79)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Lyat} & \text{wog} & \text{tadola} & \text{pso} \\
\text{l=yat} & \text{wog} & \text{ta-dola} & \text{p-so} \\
3\text{pl}=\text{take} & \text{canoe PASS-make.hole} & \text{CLASS-one} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘They took a canoe that was holed.’}

Example (80) again shows a relativised \(S_O\) argument, but in this case the relative clause consists of a serial verb construction with only one Undergoer argument.

(80)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Ktala} & \text{pupi} & \text{midin} & \text{midno} \\
\text{k=ta} & \text{pupi} & \text{midin} & \text{midino} \\
1\text{sg}=\text{meet} & \text{sago.porridge be.cold} & \text{be.cold-APPL(gone cold)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘I found sago porridge that had gone cold.’}

In (81), the relativised noun phrase \text{yan bakan ‘a fish that was huge’, is an unattached NP occurring before the main clause.}

(81)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Yan bakan,} & \text{matlu} & \text{llewit} \\
\text{yan bakan} & \text{mat=lu} & \text{l=llewit} \\
\text{fish be.big} & \text{CLASS=two} & 3\text{pl}=\text{carry on shoulders with a pole} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘A huge fish, two people would have to carry it on a pole.’}

Note that the relative clause can also take non-verbal forms, as in (82) which has a locative relative clause, and (83), which has a nominal possessive relative clause.
(82) Atoban si yang ane malai ayol si a=toaban si yang a-ne malai a=yo si
1pl.excl=wait 3pl REL DEM-PROX then 1pl.excl=fetch 3pl
'We waited for those who were here then we fetched them.'

(83) Lomo lposak wog ni poto te.
lomo l=poas-k wog ni poto te
other 3pl=row-APPL. canoe 3sg.POSS rear end NEG
'Others rowed canoes without sterns.'

Example (84) shows a relativised adjunct.

(84) Lta/a ai mamatuosi ltagil ada
l=tala ai mamatu=si l=tagil ada
3pl=find stick old.people=PL 3pl=walk with
'He found a stick that old people walk with.'

All of the arguments of ditransitive clauses can also be relativised, including their secondary Undergoers. However, the relativised argument of the ditransitive clause is obligatorily marked adpositionally even though adpositional marking is otherwise optional (§13.3).

(85) Banda nyat peda npunak kolay ada
Banda n=yat peda n=pun-ak kolay ada
Banda 3sg=carry machete 3sg=kill-APPL snake with
'Banda is carrying the machete he killed the snake with.'

cf.

(86) * Banda nyat peda npunak kolay
Banda n=yat peda n=pun-ak kolay
Banda 3sg=carry machete 3sg=kill-APPL snake

One exception to this rule exists: the theme of a 'transfer ditransitive' verb cannot be marked adpositionally and is not marked as such in this construction.

(87) Lahon yan mon ya lwagik lai mo ya
l=ha-hon yan mon ya l=wag-ik lai mo ya
3pl=CAUS-eat fish man up 3pl=sell-APPL just come up
'They’re eating the fish the man just sold them.'

I have no data relating to relativisation of the secondary Undergoers of bivalent intransitive verbs.
16.4.2 Headless relative clauses (nominalisation)

We have already encountered a few examples of headless relative clauses in the preceding sections. Headless relative clauses occur frequently in Taba discourse. These constructions could have been given the label 'nominalisations' and treated separately from other relative clause types, but the strong parallels between headless relative clauses and other relative clause types suggest that all relative clauses, whether containing an overt head or not, should be treated together. Although headless relative clauses appear at first glance to be clausal in nature, they are clearly identifiable as nominals since they can occur as the arguments of predicators which normally require nominal arguments, as in (88). Examples such as (88) are distinguishable from paratactic structures on the grounds of intonation: the whole utterance here occurs within a single intonation contour. Headless relative clauses in the examples which follow are shown in bold type. Their nominal meaning is shown in parentheses in the interlinear glosses.

(88) Lagah
l=ha-gah
3pl=CAUS-steal(thieves) 3pl=go Mado LOC
'Thieves have been to Mado's place.'

Headless relative clauses are sometimes explicitly marked as nominals by either having yang (a relativiser borrowed from North Maluccan Malay) preposed to them, as in (89), or by being followed by one of the deictic particles (§11.3), as in (90).

(89) Malai yang lcebak Taba lalhod gunung li dumik.
Malai yang l=sebak Taba l=alhod gunung li dumik
then REL 3pl=near Makian 3pl=run mountain LOC be.complete
'Then, whoever was near Makian, all of them ran up the mountain.'

(90) Nasodas ne
n=asodas ne
3sg=smoke PROX
'This person smoking.'

Headless relative clauses can also occur in possessive constructions, as in (91) and (92).

(91) Taplod ni bohiya Juma jan sabalas.
ta-plod ni bohiya Juma jan sabalas
PASS-erupt(erection) 3sg.POSS first.time Friday hour eleven
'Its first eruption was on Friday at eleven o'clock.'
(92) **Do John** nim mlongan ne
    do John nim mlongan ne
SIM ‘John’ 2sg.POSS be.tall(tallness) PROX
‘Like John’s tallness.’

Quite a few headless relative clauses have lexicalised nominal meanings in addition to their productive meanings. Examples (91) and (92) above illustrate such lexicalised forms as do (93) to (95) below.

(93) **lagah**
    l=ha-gah
    3pl=CAUS-steal
    ‘thief’

(94) **Lape**
    l=ha-pe
    3pl=CAUS-make house
    ‘House builder.’

(95) **Bonci ni dungko**
    bonci ni dumik-o
    peanut 3sg.POSS be.finished-APPL(remainder)
    duga blek susu
    only can milk

    haso
    ha=so
    CLASS=one

    The remainder of the peanuts make up just one milk-can full.’

Many of the Taba headless relative clauses found in the corpus, especially those that are more heavily lexicalised, express notions that would be translated into English as abstract nouns. This syntactic process appears to be the most favoured way for deriving such abstract nouns as those seen in (91), (92), and (95) above.

### 16.4.3 Matrix clause types

While there appear to be no categorial restrictions on the syntactic role of the relativised noun within the matrix clause, there does seem to be a notable preference for relativising on noun phrases which normally occur at the end of the matrix clause rather than on nouns which occur in earlier positions. By far the most commonly relativised position is that of the Undergoer of a transitive matrix clause. Preliminary illustrations of relative clauses modifying the Undergoer of a transitive matrix clause are given in (96) to (98).
(96) *Kon kapaya moda*
   k=on kapaya moda
   1.sg=eat pawpaw be.ripe
   ‘I ate ripe pawpaw.’

(97) *Lyat wog tadola pso.*
   l=yat wog ta-dola p-so
   3.pl=take canoe PASS-make.hole CLASS-one
   ‘They took a canoe that was holed.’

(98) *I natabhes i nani dalilolo*
    i n=ha-ta-bhes i n=ha-ni dalilolo
    3sg 3sg=CAUS-PASS-peel 3sg 3sg=CAUS-3sg.POSS knee
    ‘He skinned his knee.’

In (99), the main clause has a possessive verbal construction, and the thing possessed, formally the Undergoer of the transitive possessive verb, is modified by a relative clause.

(99) *Yak kanig lomo polisi do 'gotal yak*
    Yak k=ha-nig lomo polisi do l=gotal yak
    1.sg 1.sg=CAUS-POSS.1.sg friend police self 3.pl=grab 1.sg

    *suko sel.*
    suk-o sel
    insert-APPL cell

    ‘I have a policeman friend who himself grabbed me and stuck me in the cell.

In (100) it is a noun occurring as a postverbal locative adjunct which is the head of the relative clause.

(100) *Lomo nyat ci Jailolo ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo naka*
    lomo n=yat si Jailolo ada kecamatan kecamatan maleo naka
    other 3sg=take 3pl Jailolo and district district be.other also
    ‘Others, they took to Jailolo and also to other districts.’ [lit. ‘to districts that are different’]
(101) Malai yang lcebak Taba lalhod gunung li dumik.
    Malai yang l=sebhak Taba l=alhod gunung li dumik
    then REL 3pl=run Makian 3pl=run mountain LOC be.complete
    ‘Then, whoever was near Makian, all of them ran up the mountain.’

(102) Mon ntagil ya nunap
    mon nntagil ya un=map
    man 3sg=walk up 3sg=yawn
    ‘This man who is walking is yawning / This walking man is yawning.’

Although yang is most commonly found when the noun modified by a
relative clause occurs before the verb of the matrix clause, it is also occasionally
encountered with postverbal relativised nominals.

(103) Atoban si yang a-ne malai ayol si
    a=to ban si yang a-ne malai a=yo l si
    1pl.excl=wait 3pl REL DEM-PROX then 1pl.excl=fetch 3pl
    ‘We waited for those who were here then we fetched them.’

16.5 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are used to conjoin two clause that can otherwise
occur as independent clauses in such a way that one of the conjoined clauses
(the subordinate clause) occurs a constituent of the other (main) clause.
Subordinating conjunctions encode a variety of different meanings which make
explicit the nature of the connection between the two conjoined events or states
referred to. These conjunctions, with rough English translation equivalents for
each, are:

- **de** ‘in order that / so that’
- **polo** ‘if / when’
- **tutik(ma)** ‘until’
- **ndadi** ‘so’
- **karna** ‘because’

The first four of the above forms are indigenous Taba words while the last
one appears to be a fairly recent borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. Each
of the conjunctions is discussed in turn below.

16.5.1 de ‘so that’ / ‘in order that’

The conjunction de is used to introduce resultative clauses. The results
expressed in the clauses introduced by de can be either results that some agent
deliberately sets out to achieve (purposive) or results that were achieved with no deliberate effort on any agent’s part. *De* can generally be translated into English as ‘so that’ or ‘in order that’ and it is glossed here as ‘RES’ (resultative). It is initially exemplified in (104), where the first clause has a lexicalised headless relative clause as its Undergoer.

(104) *Ktoban hadala de kadala.*
    k=toban ha-dala de k=hadala
    1sg=wait CAUS-breakfast(breakfast) RES 1sg=CAUS-breakfast
    ‘I wait for breakfast (to be ready) so I can eat breakfast.’

As discussed in §16.5.1, *de* is also used as a complementiser for indirectly reported imperative speech acts. Contrast (59) and (60) above, repeated below as (105) and (106).

(105) **Direct reported speech**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ncukak</th>
<th>wangsi</th>
<th>bmul</th>
<th>akle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n=sul-ak</td>
<td>wang=si</td>
<td>h=mul</td>
<td>ak-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg=order-APPL</td>
<td>child=PL</td>
<td>2pl=return</td>
<td>ALL-land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He told the children “Go home!”.’

(106) **Indirect reported speech (de as complementiser)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ncukak</th>
<th>wangsi</th>
<th>de bmul</th>
<th>akle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n=sul-ak</td>
<td>wang=side</td>
<td>l=mul</td>
<td>ak-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg=order-APPL</td>
<td>child=PL</td>
<td>RES</td>
<td>3pl=return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He told the children to go home.’

Examples (107) and (108) show resultative clauses that are involved in more complex multiclausal constructions. In (107), the resultative clause is included in a subordinate *polo* ‘if’ clause, itself embedded within a quantifying nominal clause.

(107) *Polo ttoanam blek de bonci ni mili hia, lloci*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>polo t=toanam</th>
<th>blek de bonci ni mili hia</th>
<th>lloci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>if 1pl.incl=plant RES peanut 3sg.POSS shoot be good many</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘If we plant cans (of peanuts) so that the shoots are good, there’ll be lots (of peanuts).’

In (108), one resultative clause is embedded in another resultative clause. Note that the outer resultative clause is marked by the complex subordinator, *de malai* ‘in order that then’. This construction is often used when a speaker wishes to suggest that the result of an embedded clause may be brought about after a longer interval of time than would be the case if *de* had been used alone.
(108) Yak kharap mbalas de yak kunak de malai
yak k=harap m=balas de yak k=unak de malai
1sg 1sg=hope 2sg=reply RES 1sg 1sg=know RES then

ksurat nak.
k=surat nak
1sg=write again

'I hope you will reply so that I’ll know so that then I’ll write again.'

Note that de can be used with any kind of result clause. Example (109) shows de with an ambient result clause.

(109) Maosak janela de mawowo.
m=ha-osak janela de mawowo
2sg=CAUS-open window RES light
‘Open the window so the light comes in.’

Most of the examples given so far show result clauses where it might be felt that what is referred to in the result clause may have been a deliberately aimed for purpose. Example (110) illustrates a clearly non-purposive result reading with de. This example referred to one of my Taba speaking consultant’s inability to be certain about his grammaticality judgements after prolonged questioning by the author.

(110) Mkutan turus de i nbingun.
m=kutan turus de i n=bingun
2sg=ask all.the.time RES 3sg 3sg=disoriented
‘You ask so many questions that he’s disoriented.’

16.5.2 polo ‘if’ / ‘when’

Polo is used to introduce subordinate clauses which refer to a condition that needs to be fulfilled before whatever is referred to in the main clause can take place. Such a condition can be one that is either expected, or unexpected by the speaker. There is no distinction marked between realis or irrealis conditionals. Polo can be translated into English as either ‘if’ or ‘when’, depending on context. The polo clause can occur either before or after the main clause, although there is a strong preference in discourse for it to occur first. In (98) the polo clause refers to something that never occurred in reality, and the main clause refers to something that would have happened if the condition referred to in the polo clause had actually occurred.
(111) Polo yap yap ntala John, takloli John te.
polo yap yap n=ntala John t=ha-kol John te
If ash 3sg=meet John 1pl.incl=CAUS-know John NEG
‘If John had been covered in ash, we wouldn’t have recognised John.’

Example (112) refers to a condition that the person writing a letter in this case had every expectation of occurring (i.e. the writer presumed that I had probably already developed the photographs he was referring to). In this case, polo has been translated into English as ‘once’.

(112) Malusa bi polo mwas do malcoma yak
m=ha-lusa bi polo m=was do mi=alcoma yak
2sg=CAUS-say COMP when 2sg=develop REAL 2sg=send 1sg
ni foto.
ni foto
3sg.POSS photograph

‘You said that once they were developed you would send me the photographs (of the situation just discussed).’

In (113), polo refers to a condition that had already arisen and been encountered by the speaker.

(113) Polo tsung um li, bou me taosak
polo t=sung um li bou me t=ha-osak
when 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door well 1pl.incl=CAUS-open

tahate do
tahate do
be.impossible REAL

‘When we entered the house, well we couldn’t open the doors.’

In (114), the polo clause refers to a general (timeless) condition which must occur if the substance referred to here is able to be labelled tapa ‘thatch’.

(114) Ine polo tpe tadia, ni sso tapa
i-ne polo t=pe ta-dia ni sso tapa
DEM-PROX if 1pl.incl=make SIM-REM. 3sg.POSS name thatch
This, if we make it like this, it’s called ‘tapa’ (thatch).’

Example (115) shows the polo conditional clause occurring after the result clause. It is very unusual to see this ordering in unplanned discourse: this example is taken from a highly planned genre: in this case a pop song.
Another important use of polo is to introduce indirectly reported interrogative speech acts. Compare (57) above, repeated as (116) below, which shows a directly reported interrogative speech act, with (58) above, repeated below as (117), which shows an indirectly reported speech act. See §16.3.1.1 for more discussion of this construction.

(116) Direct reported speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nkutan</th>
<th>‘dumik’</th>
<th>do</th>
<th>pa</th>
<th>tesu?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n=kutan</td>
<td>dumik</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>te-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg=ask</td>
<td>be.exhausted</td>
<td>REAL</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>NEG-POT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He asked “are they finished or not yet?”’

(117) Indirect reported speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nkutan</th>
<th>polo</th>
<th>dumik</th>
<th>do</th>
<th>pa</th>
<th>tesu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n=kutan</td>
<td>polo</td>
<td>dumik</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>te-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg=ask</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>be.exhausted</td>
<td>REAL</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>NEG-POT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He asked whether or not they were finished yet.’

16.5.3 tutik(ka) ‘until’

Tutik and its variant form tutikma can both be translated into English as ‘until’. These forms occur as subordinating conjunctions and as prepositions (§13.2.5), as well as in the role of discourse connectors (§16.7.6). Tutik is illustrated as a conjunction in (118) and tutikma in (119). Tutikma generally indicates that a longer interval of time has elapsed between what is referred to in the first and second clauses than tutik does.

(118) Wangsi la lalawa kwat tutik yak nik poyo mhonas
      wang=si l=ha-lawa kwat tutik yak nik poyo mhonas
     child=PL 3pl=CAUS-play EMPH until 1sg 1sg.POSS head be.sick

‘The kids were playing (loudly and boisterously) until I had a headache.’

(119) Ngan ngan nlah nlah, tutikma llocisi.
      ngan ngan n=lah n=lah tutikma lloci=si
day day 3sg=grow 3sg=grow until many=PL

‘Day by day it grew and it grew, until there were a lot of people.’
16.5.4 ndadi ‘so’

Ndadi is a conjunction used to conjoin an initial clause referring to some cause and a second clause referring to the result of that cause. It can be translated into English as ‘so’. It is not nearly as frequent as its close equivalent in meaning de (§16.5.1) and appears to be more appropriate for situations when there is a less immediate connection between the cause and the result, as perhaps if an interval of time intervenes between the events described in the cause and result clauses. Ndadi derives from the verb dadi ‘to become’ to which the 3sg cross-referencing proclitic n= has been attached. Ndadi, and variants of it also occur as discourse connectors (§16.7.4).

(120) Ni reng tadopas ndadi ni of neopalik.
    ni reng ta-dopas ndadi ni ol n=sopal-ik
    3sg.POSS seal PASS-perish so 3sg.POSS oil 3sg=grow.out-APPL
‘Its seal is perished so oil leaks out of it.’

The cause referred to in the initial clause may be something that has already occurred as in (120) above, or it may be some hypothetical cause which would have come about if whatever is referred to by the second clause had come to pass, as illustrated in (121).

(121) Wah Taba ne, mdudi ndadi woya nea.
    wah Taba ne mdudi ndadi woya n=so
    island Makian PROX sink so water 3sg=rise
‘Makian island here, might have sunk in which case the water would rise.’

16.5.5 karna ‘because’

Karna is a form borrowed from North Moluccan Malay which can be translated into English as ‘because’. The clause introduced by karna encodes the cause, and the unmarked clause refers to the result of that cause. Either the cause clause or the result clause may occur first, but it is more common for the cause clause to come first (see §16.6 for discussion of this point). Karna also occurs as a discourse connector (§16.7.11).

(122) Lomosi, layok karna lkiu kwat.
    lomo=si l=ayok karna l=kiu kwat
    other=PL 3pl=cry because 3pl=scared EMPH
‘Others, they cried because they were terrified.’

(123) Sagala bum te karna yak ada nik motor
    sagala bum te karna yak ada nik motor.
    stuff lost NEG because 1sg with 1sg.POSS boat
‘Nothing was lost because I (took things away) with my boat.’
16.6 Iconicity in multi-clausal constructions

A noteworthy feature of multi-clausal constructions in Taba is an overwhelming preference for the iconic ordering of the clauses involved. In general, if one clause refers to something which occurs in the real world before whatever is referred to by the other clause, the clause referring to the first event is placed before the clause referring to the second event. This strong iconic principle means that, in general, conditions under which something might occur are expressed before the possible result, causes are expressed before results, etc. Whereas a language like English has abundant resources available which allow speakers to use non-iconic ordering of clauses, Taba has a relative paucity of such devices.

As already mentioned in §16.5.2, while it is possible to express a condition after its ensuing result, as illustrated in (115) above, repeated below as (125), such non-iconic ordering is rarely encountered in actual discourse. Example (125) is taken from a song’s lyrics, and in unplanned discourse, as opposed to planned discourse, such non-iconic ordering is almost never seen.

(125) Krasa mapot polo koik au
k=rasa mapot polo k=oik au
1sg=feel heavy when 1sg=leave.behind 2sg
'I (my heart) will feel(s) heavy if I leave you.'

It is far more usual to see the condition expressed first and the potential result of that condition expressed second as in (126).

(126) Polo tcung um li, boa me tosa tahate do.
polo t=sung um li boa me t=osoa tahate do
if 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door but 1pl.incl=open be.impossible REAL
'If we went into the houses, well it was impossible to open the doors.'

In English, it is relatively simple to express the result of a cause first, and the cause second, as illustrated in (127).

(127) He went to the shop because he had run out of cigarettes.
It is equally possible in English to express the cause first and the result second.

(128) He had run out of cigarettes so he went to the shop.

In traditional Taba usage, it is impossible to express a cause after expressing the result of that cause, unlike the English example shown in (127). Using indigenous Taba forms, only the second kind of ordering is possible.

(129) Ni tabako dumik do ndindi nhan appo
     ni tabako dumik do ndindi n=han ap-po
     3sg.POSS cigarettes be.finished REAL so 3sg=go ALL-down

\[ \text{toko li} \]
\[ \text{toko li} \]
\[ \text{shop LOC} \]

'His cigarettes were finished so he went down to the shop.'

It is possible to use non-iconic ordering of clauses in contemporary Taba usage, but only by using the borrowed form \textit{karna} 'because'.

(130) Nhan appo toko li karna ni tabako
     n=han ap-po toko li karna ni tabako
     3sg=go ALL-down shop LOC because 3sg.POSS cigarettes

\[ \text{dumik do} \]
\[ \text{dumik do} \]
\[ \text{be.finished REAL} \]

'His cigarettes were finished so he went down to the shop.'

16.7 Discourse connectors

It was noted in the introduction to this chapter that real discourse occurs in such a way that there can be varying degrees of tightness in the bonds which link individual clauses. The constructions discussed up to this point of the chapter can all be thought of as exhibiting a reasonably close degree of bonding between individual clauses. In this section we turn our attention to a diverse set of forms which serve to draw links between the clause they occur in and more general aspects of the discourse context. Such links can be drawn between the clause involved and something which was mentioned earlier in a discourse, or between the clause involved and some presupposition on the part of the speaker, or some presupposition presumed by the speaker to be held by the
addressee. Many of the forms to be discussed here also occur with other syntactic functions: quite a large number also occur as conjunctions, for example. Discourse connectors usually occur before the rest of the clause to which they are intonationally bound. A few exceptions to this generalisation will be mentioned as we proceed.

Although a detailed study of Taba discourse connectors is beyond the scope of this grammar, some of the most common forms are discussed here. A few less common discourse connectors which occur in the texts appended to the description are also discussed briefly. The forms to be discussed, along with a rough indication of each form’s meaning, are:

- **mai / me** ‘contrary to indications’
- **malai** ‘then’
- **(i)ndadi(mu)** ‘and so’
- **odo** ‘on the other hand / contrary to indications’
- **tutik(ma)** ‘until / and then / eventually’
- **pu pu ma** ‘but what if...’
- **de (supaya)** ‘so eventually’
- **turus** ‘so / then’
- **tapi** ‘but’
- **karna** ‘because’
- **tee** ‘if not’

A few of the forms shown above (along with some of the conjunctions seen in earlier sections of this chapter) will be seen to consist of a root with a postposed form, either *ma* or *mu*. The forms that include *ma* or *mu* all indicate a more distant connection with the preceding discourse than do the forms without *ma* or *mu*. The *ma / mu* element probably derives ultimately from PAN *maRi* ‘come’, as presumably does the venitive directional affix *-ma* (§11.2.2.3).

### 16.7.1 **mai ~ me** ‘contrary to expectations’

*Mai*, and its variant form *me* are used to express the fact that whatever is referred to subsequently is in some way contrary to expectations that might otherwise be held by either the speaker or the addressee. *Mai* and *me* both also occur as co-ordinating conjunctions (§16.2.3). These are given preliminary exemplification in (131), where *mai* occurs clause-initially. When this utterance was made it clearly consisted of two distinct, non-conjoined clauses since each
of the clauses was marked with a falling terminal intonation contour, and there was a reasonably lengthy pause between each of the clauses shown.

(131) **Bonci ine... Mai kutu-kutu hu.**
    bonci i-ne    mai kutu-kutu    hu
    peanut DEM-PROX but small-small CONT
    'These are peanuts. But they’re still small.'

In addition to occurring clause-initially, **mai** is often found occurring between a fronted orientational element (see §6.3.1) and the rest of the clause. When it is used in this position, it signals that with respect to whatever is referred to by the fronted expression, whatever is referred to by the rest of the clause may be contrary to one’s expectations.

(132) **Indadi Taba mai alusa nou...**
    indadi Taba mai a-ha-lusa nou
    so Taba well 1pl.excl=CAUS-say palm.sugar-tree
    'So in Taba, on the other hand, we say "nou".', i.e. 'nou' is the name for the palm-sugar tree, which, as the speaker had just pointed out has a fibrous extract called 'amit' which is used for making rope]

Example (133) is a commonly heard jocular expression used by Taba speakers to refer to what being in a state of poverty can be like. Here, the contrast is between the poverty stricken state and what would be preferable: having coffe, tea and sugar.

(133) **Te mai te, gula mai te, kofi mai te**
    tea well NEG sugar well NEG coffee well NEG
    'There’s no tea, there’s no sugar, there’s no coffee.'

### 16.7.2 malai ‘then’

Malai ‘then’ occurs as a co-ordinating conjunction (§16.2.5), in addition to occurring as a discourse connector. Its meanings in both guises are fairly similar: it is most commonly used as a discourse connector to indicate that an interval of time has elapsed between something previously referred to and whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces. Although usually translatable into English as ‘then’, a variety of different translations are possible depending on context.

(134) **Malai a-ne Waikyon seng ni tattubo yapyap**
    malai a-ne Waikyon seng ni tattubo yapyap
    then LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha roofing.iron 3sg.POSS top ash
kamudu-kamudu  tane
kamudu-kamudu  ta-ne
thick-thick  SIM-PROX

'Afterwards, here in Ngofakiaha, the top of the roofing iron had ash as thick as this.'

As well as indicating that an interval of time has passed, malai can also be used to signal a shift in topic. Such usage is illustrated in (139), where malai occurs twice. This example comes from the second text found in the appendices where the speaker is explaining how a sedi 'garden shelter' is made and describing its various parts. In its first occurrence malai appears as a co-ordinating conjunction, linking the clauses tpaït 'we dig' and ttoanam appo saisua 'we plant posts'. At the same time as this part of the utterance was being made, the speaker was pointing to the upright posts of the sedi which had been planted in holes in the ground. The second use of malai occurs because the speaker had switched his attention to the beams which were bound to the uprights just referred to.

(135) Tpaït  malai  ttoanam  appo  saisua  malai...
t=paït  malai  t=toanam  ap-po  saisua  malai
1pl.incl=dig  then  1pl.incl=plant  ALL-down posts  then

ine  paipowo,
i-ne  paipowo
DEM-PROX  width-wise beam

We dig, then we plant the posts (in the holes). And so, anyway, this is the beam across the width of the platform'

A final example of malai is given in (136). This example illustrates a common formulaic farewell, and although it can be interpreted literally as referring to the interval of time between the time of utterance and the presumed future meeting, here it also functions pragmatically to signal a shift in topic and to show that the current conversation is about to end.

(136) Malai  tmaka  tala  nak
malai  t=maka  tala  nak
then  1pl.incl=RECIP  meet again
'See you later.'

16.7.3(i)ndadi(mu) 'and so / and then'

This discourse connector is related to the subordinating conjunction ndadi 'so' (§16.5.4) and has a number of variant forms: ndadi, indadi, ndadimu and
*indadimu*. The basic functions of this discourse connector are to signal that either whatever is referred to in the clause preceded by it has been caused by something previously referred to, or that what is about to be referred to constitutes a change of topic. It is also often used to indicate that whatever follows is in some way a summing up of what has been referred to in the previous discourse. Any differences in meaning between each of the variant forms are not well understood. In (137) *indadi* and *ndadi* point to a change in topic.

(137) *Tbitta*  
\[ t=\text{bitta} \quad \text{okik} \quad \text{turus} \quad \text{tcor} \quad \text{turus} \quad \text{ton.} \quad \text{Indadi} \]
\[ 1\text{pl.incl}=\text{wrap} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{then} \quad 1\text{pl.incl}=\text{bake} \quad \text{then} \quad 1\text{pl.incl}=\text{eat} \quad \text{so} \]

\[ t=\text{pe-ik} \quad \text{pupi} \quad \text{ya te?} \quad \text{Ndadi} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{carita} \quad \text{lloci} \]
\[ 1\text{pl.incl}=\text{make-APPL} \quad \text{bapeda} \quad \text{up NEG} \quad \text{so} \quad 3\text{sg.POSS} \quad \text{story} \quad \text{many} \]

‘Once wrapping it is done, then we bake it, then we eat it. Then we make bapeda with it, you know? So, there is a lot to say about sago.’

In (138), *ndadimu* is used to signal a change in topic. This example comes from the eruption text in the appendices and clearly shows a shift in the speaker’s focus from people’s reactions to the eruption, *layok* ‘they cried’ (which was probably not a noiseless activity), to the nature of the eruption itself *magun-magun* ‘it was totally silent’.

(138) *Layok*  
\[ l=\text{ayok} \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{liiu} \quad \text{kwat.} \quad \text{Ndadimu, magun-magun.} \]
\[ 3\text{pl.=cry} \quad \text{because} \quad 3\text{pl.=scared} \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{silent-silent} \]

‘They cried because they were very scared. So, anyway... it was totally quiet.’

Example (139) comes from the same text. This utterance was made towards the end of a long description of the speaker’s experiences during the eruption, and is used to both sum up the preceding discourse and to signal a major change in topic, from the events of the eruption itself to the events which followed people’s return to Makian island.

(139) *Indadi*  
\[ \text{dukon} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{taun} \quad \text{halim} \quad \text{do.} \]
\[ \text{so} \quad \text{eruption} \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{year} \quad \text{CLASS=five} \quad \text{REAL} \]

‘So anyway, the eruption was five years ago now.’
16.7.4 *odo* ‘on the other hand / contrary to expectations’

*Odo* signals a change in topic and also indicates that whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces may be contrary to the hearer’s expectations. It can often be translated into English as ‘on the other hand’.

(140)  *Kso ine ane. Odo ine*

1sg=climb DEM-PROX LOC-PROX on.the.other.hand DEM-PROX

tco tahates.
t=so tahates
1pl.incl=climb impossible

‘I climbed this here. On the other hand, climbing this would be impossible.’

(141)  *Ine ai. Odo ine, balul,*

i-ne ai odo i-ne balul
DEM-PROX wood on.the.other.hand DEM-PROX bamboo

‘This is wood. On the other hand, this is bamboo.’

*Odo*, in addition to its function as a discourse connector, also occurs as an Undergoer intransitive verb meaning ‘not necessary’, as illustrated in (142).

(142)  *Malai polo tosak ni wokno odo, ada*

Malai polo t=osak ni wokno odo, ada
then if 1pl.incl=open 3sg.POSS flesh not.necessary exist

ni sso: Tpe lepa.
ni sso t=pe lepa
3sg.POSS name 1pl.incl=make sago.wrapping

‘Then if it’s not necessary to open up its fruit, that has a name too. We make a wrapping.’

16.7.5 *tutik* (*ma*) ‘until / and then / eventually’

*Tutik* (*ma*) is a discourse connector related to the conjunction *tutik* ‘until’ (§16.5.3) and it serves to indicate that whatever is referred to in the clause following it has been brought about as an eventual result of whatever precedes it in the discourse.

(143)  *Karna wah Taba ni daddoba kaklida. karna wah Taba ni dad-doeba kaklida. because island Makian 3sg.POSS RED-garden(earth) hard*
16.7.6 pu pu ma 'but what if'

Pu pu ma can be translated into English as 'but what if...'. It is a fairly low frequency form which is created from reduplicated pu 'what' and ma, which is discussed in the introduction to §16.7. In (144), it occurs preposed to the clause following the idiomatic expression mot oik lo le! 'just leave it alone!'.

(144) Mot oik lo le! Pu pu ma male tanong
mot oik lo le pu pu ma male t=ha-nong
die leave.behind IMP only what if must 1pl.incl=CAUS-quarrel

tatut aah... Mot oik lo le
  t=ha-tut aah mot oik lo le
  1pl.incl=CAUS-hit aah die leave.behind IMP just

Just leave it alone! What if we have to quarrel and fight, aah... Just leave it alone!

16.7.7 de (supaya) 'so eventually'

De most commonly occurs as a subordinating conjunction which introduces resultative and purposive clauses (§16.5.1). Supaya, with which it sometimes co-occurs as a discourse connector is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay meaning 'in order that'. As a discourse connector, de (supaya) can have quite a wide range of meanings. It is commonly used to show that whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces may be considered as somehow being a result of whatever has been referred to in the earlier discourse.

(145) Tcuko tane mai tape tane.
tane mai t=ha-pe 1pl.incl=CAUS-make SIM-PROX
  t=han-o SIM-PROX then 1pl.incl=CAUS-make

Desupaya namolam turus ine!
turus i-ne 3sg=hungry all the time DEM-PROX

de supaya RES in order that

'We put it in like this then we do this. So that the fish will be hungry, then this!' (makes gesture with bait showing how the fish will be caught)
In (146), it is again used to point to a result of the earlier discourse. This time, however, it is not a result of what was referred to in the previous discourse, but rather a result of the discourse having been uttered: that the author would now know how to refer to the activity of thatching yotas leaf.

(146) *Ine polo tpe tadia, ni sso tapa,
  i-ne polo t=pe ta-dia ni sso tapa
DEM-PROX if 1pl.incl=make SIM-REM 3sg.POSS name thatch

  tapa yotas. Detkutan John: hpe ya pu dae?
  tapa yotas de t=kutan John h=pe ya pu da=e
thatch k.o.leaf So 1pl.incl=ask John 2pl=make up what REM=FOC

Katapa
k=ha-tapa yotas.
1sg=CAUS-thatch k.o.leaf

‘This, if we make it like this, that’s called tapa (‘thatch’). Yotas thatch. So now we can ask John, ‘what are you doing?’ ‘I’m thatching yotas.’

16.7.8 *turus ‘so / then’*

Like the conjunction turus (§16.2.6), the discourse connector *turus* also indicates that whatever follows in the clause it introduces occurs immediately or soon after whatever has been referred to prior to that point. The distinction between conjunctive and discourse connecting turus is not, in reality, all that clear-cut. The difference is marked simply by different intonation patterns: one terminal falling contour with conjunctive turus (147); two falling contours with the discourse connector (148).

(147) *Dongo turus talusa akno haso dongat.
dongat-o turus t=ha-lusa ak-no ha=so dongat
platform-APPL then 1pl.incl=CAUS-say ALL-there CLASS=one bed
‘We lay them on the platform, then we call that thing up there the bed.’

(148) *Gamos hu, woya nantobi. Turus kaklida idia.
gamos hu woya n=an-tobi turus kaklida i-dia
dry CONT water 3sg=INCREMENT-descend then hard DEM-REM
‘While it’s still drying there’s water falling out of it. Then it hardens.’

16.7.9 *tapi ‘but / however’*

*Tapi ‘but’,* borrowed from North Moluccan Malay, occurs as both a conjunction (§16.2.7) and as a discourse connector. As with turus (§16.7.8), the difference between conjunctive and discourse connecting tapi is most clearly
signalled intonationally. When used as a discourse connector, its function is to signal that whatever follows contradicts the expectations that the speaker surmises for the hearer, whether because of what has already been said in the discourse, or because of any extra-textual matters of context.

In (149), the first use of tapi is to spell out a general class of exceptions to what has just been said: the thing pointed to by the speaker is a kind of garden house (with two sloping sides to its roof) known as a sedi, but other kinds of garden houses which have only one side to their rooves are known as tenti. The second use of tapi points to something exceptional, not evident in the text itself up to this point, but obvious to the hearer observing the sedi: that it still only has one side to its roof, because the speaker has not yet obtained the necessary materials to thatch it.

(149) Idia ni sso sedi. Tapi, duga polo duga palo
DEM-REM 3sg.POSS name sedi tapi duga polo duga palo
le: tenti. Tadia. Ni pun gan pso le, nhan
le tenti ta-dia ni pun gan p-so le n=han
only tenti SIM-REM 3sg.POSS ridge-pole CLASS-one only 3sg=go

akno ta-dia. Tapi k=hala yotas tesu, kpe tesu.
ak-no ta-dia tapi k=tala yotas te-su k=pe te-su
ALL-there SIM-REM but 1sg=find thatch NEG-POT 1sg-make NEG-POT

‘That thing’s name is ‘sedi’. But, just if there’s only one side to it: tenti. Like that. It’s only got one ridge-pole, it extends out there like that. But I haven’t found any thatch yet, I haven’t made it yet.

16.7.10 karna ‘because’

The discourse connector karna (borrowed from North Moluccan Malay) functions in much the same way as the subordinating conjunction karna (§16.5.5), except that the clause to which it is preposed is not intonationally bound to its preceding clause. Like the conjunction it can be simply translated into English as ‘because’. When used as a discourse connector it generally introduces causes that are expressed as afterthoughts, and thus there is generally non-iconic ordering with respect to any previously expressed caused result.

(150) Mai n=giat te. Karna wah Taba ni
mai n=giat te karna wah Taba ni
but 3sg=shake NEG because island Makian 3sg.POSS
daddoba kaklida.
dad-doba kaklida
RED-garden(earth) hard

‘But it didn’t shake. Because Makian island has hard earth.’

16.7.11 tee ‘if not’

The discourse connector tee ‘if not’ has been mentioned in §2.3.1 as a form wherein vowel length is exceptionally marked. Always occurring clause-initially, it contrasts with the negative particle te ‘not’ (§14.2.1), which always occurs at the end of a clause. Its use indicates that if whatever has been referred to in the preceding discourse does not eventuate, then whatever is referred to in the clause it introduces will ensue as a result.

(151) Ahia... Tee tapakat
ahia tee ta-pakat
be.careful if.not PASS-break
‘Be careful! if you don’t, it will get broken.’

(152) Nhan appo do. Tee ni yan banden nmot
n=han ap-po do tee ni yan banden n=mot
3sg=go ALL-down REAL if.not 3sg.POSS fish milkfish 3sg=die
‘He’s already gone (to sell his fish). If he hadn’t the fish would have died.’

Note that the negative polarity of tee is with respect to the polarity of the preceding text. If the preceding text is expressed with positive polarity as in (151) and (152) above, tee indicates that what follows it would occur if the event referred to in the preceding text did not happen. If the preceding text is expressed with negative polarity, as in (153) below, tee indicates that what follows it would occur if what is referred to in the preceding text did happen.

(153) Meu komo hnomasak meu calana oik. Tee kabot.
meu komo h=nomas-ak meu calana oik tee kabot
2pl hand 2pl=wipe-APPL 2pl trousers ADMON if.not dirty
‘Your hands, don’t wipe them on your trousers. If you do, your trousers will get dirty.’

On responding to yes / no polar questions, see §15.1.1.2.
References


References


Appendices

This grammar contains two appendices: a word list, and a collection of texts.

The first appendix is a modified Swadesh 200 word list of basic vocabulary, included to facilitate comparisons between Taba and other Austronesian languages.

The second appendix is a collection of texts from a variety of different genres. The first of these is a narrative telling of one speaker’s experiences during and after the Makianese eruption of 1988. The second is a description of how a sedi (garden shelter) is constructed and how sago is processed. The third text is a transcription of a conversation, and the final text is of a riddle, a popular oral genre amongst Taba speakers. This text has been included not only because it comes from a distinct genre different from the other texts, but also because it illustrates the use of a number of excretion verbs, a subcategory of verbs with somewhat unusual double-agreement marking (see §8.2.3 for discussion).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Swadesh 200 Word List</th>
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<td>all</td>
<td>hasole</td>
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<td>and</td>
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<td>animal</td>
<td>haiwan</td>
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<td>ashes</td>
<td>yap yap</td>
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<td>at</td>
<td>li</td>
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<td>back</td>
<td>taggulo</td>
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<td>bad</td>
<td>gaco</td>
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<td>bark</td>
<td>(ai ni) liko</td>
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<td>because</td>
<td>karna</td>
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<td>belly</td>
<td>bingo</td>
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<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>bak an / lollol</td>
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<td>bird</td>
<td>burung7</td>
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<td>bite</td>
<td>-babas</td>
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in
kill
knee
know
lake
laugh
leaf
leftside
leg
lie (down)
live
liver
long
louse
man / male
many
meat (flesh)
moon
mother
mountain
mouth
name
narrow
near
neck
new
night
nose
not
old
one
other
person
play
pull
push
rain
red
right (correct)
rightside
river
road
root
rope
rotten
round
rub
salt
sand

ni lo / li²⁵
-pun
pappuko
-unak
talaga
- (ha)mlih
llu
balit
we
-hantuli
-antub
wulo
mlongan
kut
mon
lloci
wokno
bulan
mama
uto
sumo
ssol
kokoloto
-sebak / dakin
ggowo
powo
galmumit
hungo
te
matuo²³
p-so²⁴
maleo²⁵
manusia²⁵
-halawa
-togal
rujuk
ulan
makot
tuo
woyan
songai
lolan
wowo
wola
lekto²⁶
babboka
-mesek
yasin
nyanyana
say
scratch
sea
see
seed
sew
sharp
short
sing
sit
skin
sky
sleep
small
smell
smoke
smooth
snake
snow
some
spit
split
squeeze
stab (pierce)
stand
star
stick
stone
straight
suck
sun
swell
swim
tail
that
there
they
thick
thin
think
this
thou
three
throw
tie

tongue
tooth
tree
turn
-(ha)lusa
-gak
-wolat
-am
-kowo
-beit
-non²¹
-pokal
-nyanyi
-battalón
-kulit
-langit
-antolal
-kutu
-hotan
-yaso
-tabasail
-kolay
—
pisoakno²²
-(ha)idis
-tatal
-ohal
-tusa
-wosal
-battól
-ai
-lalai
-maddodang
-sodas
-ngan
-bos
-hagawil²⁶
-kaku
-dia
-adia
-si
-kamudu
-mnihis
-bafikir
-ne
-au
-p-tol²⁷
-yoit
-halika
-pleio
-lalho
-ai
-bale
Swadesh 200 word list

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<tr>
<th>two</th>
<th>p-lu²⁹</th>
<th>who</th>
<th>alhó</th>
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<td>vomit</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>mnopa</td>
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<td>walk</td>
<td>-tagil</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>mapin</td>
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<td>makoai</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>moda</td>
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<td>wash</td>
<td>-was / -totas³⁰</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>hayko³¹</td>
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<td>water</td>
<td>woya³²</td>
<td>wipe</td>
<td>-momas</td>
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<td>tit</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl.)</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>mapin</td>
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<tr>
<td>wet</td>
<td>kabús</td>
<td>woods</td>
<td>uat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>let</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>lo (li)³³</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>meu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>poiso</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>taun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>bulang</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>makninis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Both the stative verb *mtat* and its causativised active counterpart *-hamtat* are encountered. See §4.2.1 for some discussion of the differences between these two forms.

2 The root for 'father' is *baba* but this is almost invariably encountered marked for plurality since all human referents older than the speaker (to whom respect is therefore owed) are grammatically plural. See §7.3.3 for discussion of the grammatical category of number.

3 More properly *-kiu* is 'to be frightened'.

4 *liko* means 'skin' or 'bark'. To specify 'bark' in particular Taba speakers say *ai ni liko* 'tree skin'.

5 This form is composed as follows: *p-iso-ak-no* 'CLASS-few-ALL-there'. See §x.x.x for further details.

6 *karna* is a borrowing from North Moluccan Malay. Taba has no indigenous means of expressing the concept 'because'. In Taba syntax, there is a strong tendency to avoid subordinating structures and iconic ordering is very strongly preferred. Thus, rather than saying something according to the schema 'RESULT because CAUSE', indigenous Taba structures insist upon the iconic ordering 'CAUSE thus RESULT'. 'Thus' is *dadi*, polysemous with 'become'. See chapter <X> for more details on clause combining.

7 As with most languages from Maluku, Taba has no indigenous generic word for 'bird'. To express the generic 'bird' Taba speakers use the Malay *burung*. Again as with many languages from Maluku, the PAN form *manuk* is reflected in the form for 'chicken', in Taba *manik*.

8 This form is composed of the default classifier *p-* prefixed to the numeral root *hot* 'four'. See chapter 12 for a discussion of quantifiers.

9 Choosing between these lexemes in translating English 'give' is rather complicated. See §x.x.x for a discussion of this problem.

10 Although *hia* is clearly the best indigenous translation for 'good', this is rather problematical. The forms *masure* and *sterek* could also be given as translations for 'good'. *Hia* is an adverbial which modifies a whole predicate, and cannot be used to qualify a single noun, but it does have a fairly context-free meaning of 'good' or perhaps 'well'. While both *masure* and *sterek* can be used to modify single nouns, their meanings are both somewhat specialised: *masure* is closer in meaning to 'beautiful' and *sterek* has a close relationship with the idea 'strong'. (It derives from the Dutch *sterk* 'strong'.)

11 *lobilobi* refers to 'rain clouds', while *mayas* refers to 'white clouds'
12 Kakle refers to head hair while håttulo refers to body hair. (Håttulo also refers to ‘feathers’.)

13 i is non-specific as to gender. It is also translatable as ‘she’.

14 There is no single lexeme expressing the concept ‘dull’ in Taba. The concept ‘sharp’ is expressed as n-on (lit. 3sg-eat ‘it eats’). To express the concept ‘dull’, this is negated: non le (lit. ‘it doesn’t eat’).

15 See §x.x.x for a detailed discussion of interrogative words.

16 Mon also means ‘man’.

17 Daddoba is dad-doba ‘NOM-garden’ or literally ‘the thing with which one makes gardens’. See §x.x.x for details on instrumental nominalisation.

18 The forms -on and -ahon are used to refer to slightly different kinds of situations. -ahon is probably a lexicalised causative derivation of -on and refers to eating a main meal which generally includes either (nowadays) rice or (traditionally) sago. -on is usually reserved for eating snacks.

19 Taba speakers will never refer to ‘eggs’ without specifying what kind of eggs they are referring to. Tolo has been adopted (presumably euphemistically) as the name for ‘testicles’ and the bare form is thus avoided when referring to ‘eggs’. Manik ni tolo refers to ‘chicken eggs’ (manik ni tolo ‘chicken POSS egg’).

20 Li is the general locative postposition. Lo is a locative noun meaning ‘inside’. See §x.x.x for details.

21 See footnote (14).

22 See footnote (5).

23 Matuo refers specifically to ‘old people’. Other words for ‘old’ are matua ‘old non-human animates’, banbolo ‘old inanimate things’.

24 See footnote (8).

25 Manusia is inherently plural (i.e. it means ‘people’). There is no singular translation for ‘person’.

26 Hagawol means specifically ‘to swim’. Yes means ‘to bathe in the sea’

27 See footnote (8).

28 This word is derived from lekat ‘be bad / broken’. See §x.x.x for discussion of the derivational process.

29 See footnote (8).

30 Was refers to ‘washing ones body’. Totas refers to ‘washing clothes, dishes’.

31 Hayko also means ‘shoulder’.

32 Woya refers to ‘fresh water’. ‘Salt (sea) water’ is takis.

33 Lo ‘where’ generally co-occurs with the locative postposition lì.
Ahmad ni carita dukon

(Ahmad's eruption story)

The eruption... Makian's eruption: the date... the date was the eighteenth, it was twelve o'clock. It was dark, dark... All of a sudden, the people were startled, they were frightened.

Then... they went down. They went down to Gitan. It was almost a safe area. Somewhere safe... Gitan. They came down to Gitan, Kiowor, Matantengin, Sangapati...
Tutikma  mawoappo...  aah,  motor  nwom....  Motor  nwom..
tutikma  mawowo-ak-po  aah  motor  n=worn  motor  n=worn
until  light-ALL-down  aah  boat  3sg=come  boat  3sg=come

nbantu  nyol  manusia...  Malai...  lomo  nyat  ci   Botan..
nbantu  n=yol  manusia  Malai  lomo  n=yat  si  Botan
3sg=help  3sg=fetch  people  then  some  3sg=take  3pl  Halmahera

lomo  nyat  ci  Tarnate..  lomo  nyat  ci   Keten..  lomo
lomo  n=yat  si  Tarnate  lomo  n=yat  si  Keten  lomo
other  3sg=take  3pl  Ternate  other  3sg=take  3pl  Moti  other

nyat  ci  Malifut..  lomo  nyat  ci   Bacan...  aah..  lomo
nyat  ci  Malifut  lomo  n=yat  si  Bacan  aah  lomo
3sg=take  3pl  Malifut  other  3sg=take  3pl  Bacan  aah  other

nyat  ci  Dore..  lomo  nyat  ci   Jailolo...  ada  kecamatan
nyat  ci  Dore  lomo  n=yat  si  Jailolo  ada  kecamatan
3sg=take  3pl  Tidore  other  3sg=take  3pl  Jailolo  and  district

kecamatan  maleo  nak..
kecamatan  maleo  nak
district  other  also

Until the next day, aah... boats came, boats came to help, to fetch people. Then...
some they took to Halmahera, others they took to Ternate, others they took to
Moti. Some they took to Malifut, others they took to Bacan, others they took to
Tidore, others they took to Jailolo and also to other districts.

Malai...  ni  woso  ahad  haso..  malai  taplod....
Malai  ni  woso  ahad  ha=so  malai  ta-plod
then  3sg.POSS  side  week  CLASS=one  then  PASS-erupt

Then, for a week, the mountain erupted.

Turus..  manusia  lkiu...  manusia  lkiu..  Keten  lkiu..
Turus  manusia  l=kiiu  manusia  l=kiiu  Keten  l=kiiu
directly  people  3pl=scared  people  3pl=scared  Moti  3sg=scared

Botan  lkiu..  Tarnate  lkiu..  Malifut  lkiu..
Botan  l=kiiu  Tarnate  l=kiiu  Malifut  l=kiiu
Halmahera  3sg=scared  Ternate  3pl=scared  Malifut  3pl=scared

pokoknya..  kecamatan  kecamatan  lkiu  dumik...  Ada  layok.
pokoknya  kecamatan  kecamatan  l=kiiu  dumik  ada  l=ayok
generally  district  district  3pl=scared  be.complete  and  3pl=cri

So people were scared, people were scared. Moti was scared. Halmahera was
scared. Ternate was scared. Malifut was scared. All the districts were totally
scared, and they cried.

Karna  ni  nganco  ne...  lam  dukon  tehu..  lunak
karna  ni  nganso  ne  l=am  dukon  te-bu  l=unak
because  3sg.POSS  length  PROX  3pl=see  eruption  NEG-CONT  3pl=know
Ahmad ni carita dukon 'Ahmad’s eruption story' narrative

dukon tehu ngnai mo ne... malai lunak.
dukon te-hu ngnai lai mo ne malai l=unak
eruption NEG-CONT day just come PROX then 3pl=know

Because, for how long was it they hadn’t seen an eruption... They didn’t yet know (about) eruptions. That day just come, then they knew.

Ngal ni soda... magun-magun ma taploa.
ngal ni soda magun-magun ma ta-plod
day 3sg.POSS face silent-silent but PASS-erupt

The next day, it was totally silent, but (the mountain) was erupting.

Malai... masi ada manusa kampung li hu
Malai masi ada manusia kampung li hu
then still exist people village LOC CONT

Then... there were still people in the village.

Indadi... taploa malai lahid.
indadi ta-plod malai l=alhid
so PASS-erupt then 3pl=run

So it was erupting... then... they ran

Lahid... han appo solo li
l=alhid l=han ap-po solo li
3pl-run 3pl=go ALL-down beach LOC

They ran... they went down... to the beach.

Itala wog... te.
l=ita lal wog te
3pl=meet canoe NEG

They didn’t find canoes.

Lomo Itala wog... lcapilo.
lomo l=ita lal wog l=sapil-o
some 3pl=meet canoe 3pl=board-APPL

Some people found canoes... they got on them.

Lomo Itala wog te... lagawil.
lomo l=ita lal wog te l=agawil
other 3pl=meet canoe NEG 3pl=swim

Others who didn’t find canoes... they swam.

Tutikma laue... wolat halaim.
tutikma la-we wolat halaim
until sea-ESS sea middle

(They swam) out to sea... in the middle of the sea.
Lomo... lomosi... lakawatol... nidi calana taholo.
lomo lomo=si l=ha-kawatol nidi calana ta-hola-o
other other=PL 3pl=CAUS-naked 3pl.POSS trousers PASS-shred-APPL

Others... other people... they were naked... their trousers shredded up.

Lomosi... layok... karna... lkiu kwat. Waktu idia.. dukon ya.
lomo=si l=ayok karna l=kiu kwat waktu i-dia dukon ya
other=PL 3pl=cry because 3pl=scared EMPH time DEM-REM eruption up

Others... they were crying... because... they were terrified. That time, during this eruption (I've been telling you about).

Indadimu... magun-magun... mayas.. mayas... mayas n=fatii ma-loi
indadimu magun-magun mayas mayas mayas n=fati ma-lol
So silent-silent smoke smoke smoke 3sg=cover STAT-big

dumik
dumik
be.complete

So... it was completely silent... smoke... smoke... smoke completely enveloped everything.

Ndadi tmaka am te... amaka am te.
Ndadi t=maka am te a=maka am te
so 1pl.incl=RECIP see NEG 1pl.excl=RECIP see NEG

So we couldn't see each other... we didn't see each other.

Biar.. ncebak... ndakin... tapi tmaka am te.
biar n=sebak n=dakin tapi t=maka am te
although 3sg=near 3sg=close but 1pl.incl=RECIP see NEG

Although someone might be close, near, but we couldn't see each other.

Karna.. ponco... ya pu? Mayas... mayas.. yapyap... mayas yapyap
karna ponco ya pu mayas mayas yapyap mayas mayas yapyap
because thingamajig up what smoke smoke ash smoke ash

Because, what's that stuff? Smoke... smoke.. ash.. ashy smoke.

Jadi amaka am te... Malai polo tit a-ne... kampung
Jadi a=maka am te Malai polo tit a-ne kampung
so 1pl.excl=RECIP see NEG then if 1pl.incl LOC-PROX village

li berarti tit mai... yapyap ntala tit.
li berarti tit mai yapyap n=tala tit
LOC means 1pl.incl then ash 3sg=meet 1pl.incl

We couldn't see each other... So if you and I were here... in the village... that would mean... that we... ash would be all over us.

Jadi takloll i te.
Jadi ta-klol i te
so PASS-recognise 3sg NEG

So, no-one could be recognised.
Polo yapyap natala John... takol John te.
polo yapyap n=tala John ta-kkol John te
if ash 3sg=meet John PASS-recognise John NEG

If the ash had gotten on John, John wouldn’t be recognised.

Ndadi... dukon Taba memang kwat. Dukon Taba kwat... tapi
Ndadi dukon Taba memang kwat dukon Taba kwat tapi
so eruption Makian indeed strong eruption Makian EMPH but

ngiat te ngiat te... ngiat te
n=giat te n=giat te n=giat te
3sg=shake NEG 3sg=shake NEG 3sg=shake NEG

So... the Makianese eruption was indeed strong. Makian’s eruption was strong...
but it didn’t shake [there was no earthquake] it didn’t shake... it didn’t shake.

Biar taplod kwat.. kwat... mai ngiat te.
Biar ta-plod kwat kwat mai n=giat te
allow PASS-erupt strong strong but 3sg=shake NEG

Allow that the eruption was huge, huge... but (the earth) did not tremble.

Karna wah Taba... ni.. ni.. daddoba kaklida.
karna wah Taba ni ni dad-doba kaklida
because island Makian 3sg.POSS 3sg.POSS RED-garden[earth] hard

tutikma lpe ni sso Gunung Keibesi.
tutikma l=pe ni sso gunung Kei-besi
until 3pl=make 3sg.POSS name mountain mount-iron

Because Makian island’s earth is hard. So much so that they made its name Mt.
Keibesi [Keibesi is the name of ther mountain on Makian island. Besi is Malay
for iron; kei is Ternatan for mountain].

Malai yase... gunung ni llo... ada telaga.
Malai ya-se gunung ni llo ada telaga
then up-ESS mountain 3sg.POSS inside exist lake

So up there... inside the mountain... there was a lake

Woya ni mlongan... ni dalam... ya tujuh meter.
Woya ni mlongan ni dalam ya tujuh meter
water 3sg.POSS deep POSS deep up seven meter

The depth of the water... its depth was seven metres.

Tapi.. oras ne.. ni woya te-do. Yapyap nton do..
tapi oras ne ni woya te-do yapyap n=ton do
but time PROX 3sg.POSS water NEG-REAL ash 3sg=cover REAL

Duga misili-misili.
Duga misili-misili
only little-little

But now... there’s no more water. Ash has covered it. There’s just a little left.
Tapi... ngango-ngango... akan ni woya nmul
but long.time-long.time will[Malay] 3sg.POSS water 3sg=return

Bobokno... dukon Taba... ha=wal... hayo
bo-bo-ak-no eruption Makian CLASS=class eight CLASS=ten
formerly-formerly-ALL-the

hoso do
ha=so do
CLASS=one REAL

From way back in the past... Makianese eruptions... eight times... ten times already.

Malai... noge... bagian barat... yase... bagian barat. Tapsek
Malai no-ge bagian barat ya-se bagian barat ta-pes-Vk
then there-ESS side west up-ESS side west PASS-shatter-APPL

dumik... Lekat dumik... Tapsek dumik.
dumik lekat dumik ta-pes-Vk dumik
be.complete be.broken be.complete PASS-shatter-APPL be.complete

Lekat dumik... Um... harta... Manusia lmot te.
lekat dumik Um harta manusia l=mo te
be.broken be.complete house property people 3pl=die NEG

So... over there... on the western side... up there... on the western side. Everything was completely shattered. Completely broken. Houses. Property. People didn’t die.

Karna... taplod tehu... manusia laos do.
karna ta-plod te-hu manusia l=oa do
because PASS-erupt NEG-CONT people 3pl=flee REAL

Because, before the mountain erupted, people had already fled.

Malai waktu dukon. okik appo... niwi... ai... ai n=not
Malai waktu dukon okik ap-po niwi... ai... ai n=not
then time eruption finish ALL-down coconut tree tree 3sg=die

dumik... ai me tam te-do. Niwi... n=not... ada
dumik ai me te-do niwi n=not ada
be.complete tree also 1pl.incl=see NEG-REAL coconut 3sg=die with

ni oik tiplo tiplo.
ni oik tiplo tiplo
3sg.POSS be.left.behind half half

Then, after the eruption had finished... coconuts... trees... the trees were all dead... the trees, we couldn’t see them any more. The coconuts were dead, and only a few [a half of a half] were left.
Malai... yap yap um ni llo ya. mlongan tane.
Malai yap yap um ni llo ya mlongan ta-ne
then ash house 3sg.Poss inside up deep SIM-PROX

Then... the ash inside the houses... it was deep like this [showing depth with gesture]

Ndadi boa hataosak tahate... boa hataosak
Ndadi boa ha-ta-osak-k tahate boa ha-ta-osak
so door CAUS-PASS-open-APPL impossible door CAUS-open

tahate do Janela hataosak tahate.. male
be.impossible REAL window CAUS-PASS-open-APPL tahate male

tcakal... Polo tcung um li... boa me
1pl.incl=smash if 1pl.incl=enter house LOC door well

thaosak tahate do... male tcakal.
t=ha-osak impossible do male t=sakal
1pl.incl=CAUS-open-APPL impossible REAL must 1pl.incl=smash

So, doors just couldn’t be opened with anything... doors just couldn’t be opened with anything... windows couldn’t be opened with anything... we had to smash them... if we entered a house... well we couldn’t open the doors with anything... we had to smash them.

Seng me tasakal dumik.... Pokoknya ni oik
Seng me ta-sakal dumik pokoknya ni oik
roofing.iron also PASS-smash be.complete generally 3sg.Poss be.left.behind

ni badan ni oik ni badan Manusia
ni badan ni oik
3sg.Poss body 3sg.Poss be.left.behind 3sg.Poss body people

lмот te.
l=mot te
3pl=die NEG

All the roofing iron was smashed. Usually, just the frame of the house was left. just the frame was left. No-one died.

Polo a-ne Waikyon... tasakal tapi lloci te.
polo a-ne Waikyon ta-sakal tapi lloci te
if LOC-PROX Ngofakiaha PASS-smash but a lot NEG

As far as Ngofakiaha here is concerned... it was smashed up, but not so bad.

Malai... kampung kampung.. Taba ne... wah Taba ne... lekat
Malai kampung kampung Taba ne wah Taba ne lekat
then village village Makian PROX island Makian PROX broken

hasole. Duga kampung Kota.. ada Mailoa... malai lekat te.
hasole duga kampung Kota ada Mailoa malai lekat te
all only village Kota and Mailoa then broken NEG
Kampung  plu le lekat te.
kampung  p-lu le lekat te
village CLASS-two only be.broken NEG

So, the villages of Makian here, here on Makian island were all broken. Only
Kota and Mailoa villages were not ruined... Only two villages that weren’t ruined.

Malai sagala um um li... alhod... oik... bum dumik..
Malai sagala um house li a=alhod oik bum dumik.
then stuff house house LOC Ipl.excl=run left.behind lost. be.complete

And the stuff in the houses that we had run from and left behind... completely lost.

Polo no-ge... Taba. bagian barat... barang-barang um ni llo...
polo no-ge Taba bagian barat barang-barang um ni llo
if there-ESS Makian side west stuff-stuff house 3sg.POSS inside

oik ya... Dia lekat dumik... Yapyap nton
oik ya i-dia lekat dumik yapyap n-ton
left.behind up DEM-REM be.broken be.complete ash 3sg-cover

dumik
dumik
be.complete

But over there on the western side of Makian, the stuff inside the houses... that had
been left behind... That was completely ruined. Ash covered it completely.

Ine polo John mam... mheran.
i-ne polo John m=am m=heran
DEM-PROX if John 2sg=see 2sg=be.shocked

If you saw this John, you’d be astonished.

Tapi... polo John... mhan Tarnate... mbale Taba... malai tit
tapi polo John m=han Tarnate m=bale Taba malai tit
but when John 2sg=go Ternate 2sg=return Makian then 1pl.incl

than t=tono.. ttagil t=tono.
t=han t=tono t=tagil t=tono
1pl.incl=go 1pl.incl=look 1pl.incl=walk 1pl.incl=look

But... when you’ve gone gone to Ternate and returned, then we’ll go and take a
look. We’ll walk and look.

Yak. ada nik mapin.. aoas Keten... Sagala bum te .. karna...
yak ada nik mapin a=aoas Keten sagala bum te karna
1sg and 1sg.POSS wife Ipl.excl=flee Moti stuff lost NEG because

yak ada nik motor.
yak ada nik motor
1sg with 1sg.POSS boat

Me and my wife... we fled to Moti. Our stuff wasn’t lost.. because... I had my
boat.
Ine mai kyat Keten nak... kurusi ne
i-ne mai k=yat Keten nak kurusi ne
DEM-PROX also 1sg=take Moti also chair PROX

kyat Keten nak... Malai kyat lama... kmulak.
k=yat Keten nak Malai k=yat la-ma k=mul-ak
1sg=take Moti also then 1sg=take sea-VEN 1sg=return-APPL

This, well I took this to Moti too. These chairs I took to Moti as well. Then (later) I brought them back. I returned with them.

Malai ane Waikyon... seng ni tattubo... yapyap
Malai a-ne Waikyon seng ni tattubo yapyap
then LOC-PROX Ngofakihaa roofing iron 3sg.POSS NOM.up ash

kamudu. Kamudu tane.
kamadu kamudu ta-ne.

thick thick SIM-PROX

Anyway, here in Ngofakihaa... on top of the roofing iron... the ash was thick... It was as thick as this [making gesture]

Malai ualan... ualan kwat... malalai... ntiobik... ndodak
Malai ualan ualan kwat malalai n=tobi-k n=dod-ak
then rain rain EMPH then 3sg=land-APPL 3sg=ask-APPL

Then... rain fell... really heavy rain. Then... it landed (with the ash). It asked for our houses and wealth with that ash.

Gunung meletus tehuh... gunung meletus... ada nmeletus tehuh...
gunung meletus tehuh gunung meletus ada n=meletus tehuh
mountain erupt NEG-CONT mountain erupt and 3sg=erupt NEG-CONT

npe panas... halu.
n=pe panas ha=lu
3sg=make hot CLASS=two

Without the mountain erupting... between the mountain erupting... and not erupting again [the period spent on Moti before returning to Makian again] there were two hot [dry] seasons.

Ndadi polo... ngan... ngan pait cilhu pa thol... Turus
Ndadi polo ngan ngan pait sis=lu pa (sis)=tol turus
so if sun sun month CLASS=two or CLASS=three then

pala coklat cengke mati...
pala coklat cengke mati
nutmeg cocoa cloves die

So... if... there is sun... if there's only sun [i.e. no rain] for two or three months... then nutmeg, cocoa, cloves... they all die.

Polo ngan pait cilhu pa thol... berarti.. cengke..
polo ngan pait sis=lu pa (sis)=tol berarti cengke
if sun month CLASS=two or CLASS=three means cloves
If there is just sun for two or three months, that means that cloves, nutmeg, cocoa, canarium all die. If they die, then the people, we go hungry.

So, anyway, for two weeks there was heavy rain... then the flood came down.

Then it went seawards. It descended towards the sea. It smashed houses... the edges of the flooding.

It claimed over twenty houses there in Gorup, the flood did in Walo also... in Dalam it also claimed houses.
Australi mai nbantu... Nbanu peakan.
Australia mai n=bantu 3sg=help peakan
Australia well 3sg=help 3sg=help clothes

Then... the government gave help... help. Including Australia. Australia helped too... Australia gave clothes.

Pamarinta notik... nghon... notik udam... aah.
pamarinta n=ot-ik ng-hon n=ot-ik udam aah
government 3sg=catch-APPL NOM-eat 3sg=catch-APPL medicine aah

jaminan untuk masyarakat. loas dukon.
jaminan untuk masyarakat l=oaas dukon
welfare for people 3pl=flee eruption

The government gave... food... it gave medicine... aah... welfare for the people who had fled the eruption.

Malai ada. pamarinta polisi tentara lwom
Malai ada pamarinta polisi tentara l=wom
then exist government police army 3pl=come

Then the government... the police and the army came.

Oik de manusia lnakal... lagah... ada maleo-maleo.
oik de manusia l=nakal l=ha-gah ada maleo-maleo
lest RES people 3pl=misbehave 3pl=CAUS-theft and other-other

To ensure that people did not misbehave... steal... and other stuff.

Noma noma... turus manusia lwom keluarga pso
no-ma no-ma turus manusia l=wom keluarga p-so
there-VEN there-VEN direct people 3pl=come family CLASS-one

nwom... nanti nlah nlah.
n=wom nanti n=lah n=lah
3sg=come day 3sg=grow 3sg=grow

From one place and another then, people came, one family came. Then it grew and it grew.

Indadi dukon ne... taun halim do.
indadi dukon ne taun ha=lim do
thus eruption PROX year CLASS=five REAL

So the eruption... it was five years ago.

Galmumit... galmumit turus manusia lam ya nol... nol.
galmumit galmumit turus manusia l=am ya nol nol
dark dark direct people 3pl=see up nothing nothing

Manusia Keten... Tafaga... than lama laoblak... manteri
manusia Keten Tafaga l=han la-ma l=ha-obV1-ak manteri
people Moti Tafaga 3pl=go sea-VEN 3pl=CAUS-call-APPL nurse
It was dark... so dark... and what the people could see of it... was nothing. People from Tafaga village on Moti... they came in from seawards and they called out to us... a midwife... she came as far as out there at sea. She couldn’t see anything.

So, the people were scared... people cried... all of them.

They ran just anywhere. We didn’t have a clue.

Then... we remembered... safe areas... safe areas.

Aah... Gitan Kiowor Matantengin Sanagapati.
Aah... Gitan Kiowor Matantengin Sanagapati.
Aah... Gitan Kiowor Matantengin Sanagapati.

Aah... Gitan, Kiowor, Matantengin, Sanagapati.

Then, people told other people to go... all of them... They all went down...
Adult, baby, small child, adult, old person... they all went.
The next day... no... already that night... that night... some had fled already. Including Rabudayo. All of those people had already fled to Moti.

Others... other people there... others... other people there until the next day at three o’clock. The next day at three o’clock... then the government assistance came.

They came... with motorised ships... ships... Japanese wood ships... lots of them... lots of them. They came... This transport... Lots and lots of them... help... ships... ships... The Japanese came too.

Whatever... they unloaded whatever... they unloaded whatever... husband, wife, who knows... The husband on Moti... the wife on Halmahera... the husband on Halmahera... the wife on Moti...
We looked for each other... we looked for each other... then we met each other... we cried and hugged each other and cried... We were distressed about our beloved children... we were distressed over the beloved babies and small children this high... and over the old people who couldn’t walk any more.

Makian back then... at the time of the eruption... it was so dangerous and we sacrificed so much.

When we couldn’t see anything then... that was Sunday night. The next day was Monday. Then... it was here it was erupting... but the people from Moti had all fled too.

People from Halmahera also ran... they ran up... to the mountains... to the mountains.

In all the villages close to Makian... everyone ran for the mountains.
They were so scared lest Makian here. Makian island here... would sink... and then the water would rise. They were scared lest it sink... so they ran up into the mountains.

Then... all of our goats and chickens... goats and chickens... we ran off and left all of them behind... So whoever... whoever came... could have slaughtered whatever they wanted to.

But the cocoa was ripe, the clove trees were old, the kanaris were old, the nutmeg was old. We left all of it behind! Because we just ran off.

But... what I’ve just been talking about... it was all God’s plan.
But... praise be to the Lord that there was still some stuff left behind.

Later... some of us who had returned here... and we found this stuff again... then... we collected it so that it could be eaten and drunk. Thanks to God.

So... here (on Makian)... it’s quiet now... there are less people now... less people now... they all fled to live... in other districts now... so it’s quiet here.

Not many people any more. But if we wait... for a long time... there will be lots of people... the same as before.

There’s no government... But... it’s safe... looking after each other works well... If it’s not working like that, tell each other about it.
Supaya... tantub lai mo ya.. birahi.
supaya t-antub lai mo ya birahi
in order that 1pl.incl-live just back up good

So that... the way we live I've just been talking about... it's good.

Mot oik lo le!
mot oik lo le
die leave.behind IMP only

Just leave it alone!

Pupuma male tanong tatut aah... Mot
pupuma male t=ha-nong t=ha-tut aah mot
what if must 1pl.incl=CAUS-quarrel 1pl.incl=CAUS-hit aah die

oik lo le!
oik lo le
leave.behind IMP only

What if we have to quarrel and fight, aah... just leave it alone!

Hasole da manusia tit tatur... Tatur hio..
hasole da manusia tit t=atur t=atur hia-o
all REM people 1pl.incl 1pl.incl=plan 1pl.incl=plan be.good-APPL

e de hio.. tatur lekto e de
e de hia-o t=atur lekat-o e de
FOC in.order.that be.good-APPL 1pl.incl=plan be.bad-APPL FOC in.order.that

lekto.
lekat-o
be.bad-APPL

That's the way us people aim to do things... If we plan for good to happen for
others, that means that good will happen to us.. if we plan for bad to happen to
others, that means bad will happen to us.
Sedi ada baku

(Garden shelters and sago)

This sedi isn’t finished yet... I still have to top up its thatch on top there. Its thatch. That (is its thatch).

This is a sedi... this is wood... On the other hand this... this is bamboo.. over there.

Chop the wood first... then.. we make posts with it... once the posts are finished.. we dig... then we bury the posts into the ground... then.. this... the width-wise beam... the width wise beam... the bed's width-wise beam.
Once the length-wise beam is finished, then we build on up higher... we build the platform. Build the platform, then we call that platform the bed. Aah, Aah, you asked John whether you had finished making the bed or not... It’s finished.

Figure A.1. Parts of a sedi ‘garden house’

So this, what’s going down. It’s also a post. Posts. There are platform posts. House posts.
Saisua um ine.. dongat ine.
saisua um i-ne dongat i-ne
post house DEM-PROX platform DEM-PROX

This is a house post.. this a platform one.

Malai saisua um ni tattubo... ine.. hahom...
Malai saisua um ni tattubo i-ne hahom
then posts house 3SG.POSS NOM.up DEM-PROX roof-beam

Nhan ak-la ada hahom.. ine me hahom.. idia me
n=han ak-la ada hahom i-ne me hahom i-dia me
3sg=go ALL-sea exist roof-beam DEM-PROX also roof-beam DEM-DIST also

hahom... Yase yama idia.. pungan.
hahom ya-se ya-ma i-dia pungan
roof-beam up-ESS up-VEN DEM-DIST ridge-pole

Then on top of the house posts, these are the roof beams. These things extending out seawards, these are roof beams. This here is a roof-beam too, and that there is also a roof-beam... Coming down from up there... that’s the ridge-pole.

Ngan iso John nwom ya.. yak kalusa kso
ngan i-so John n=wom ya yak k=ha-lusa k=so
day CLASS-one John 3sg=come up 1sg 1sg=CAUS-say 1sg=climb

pungan ya.. pope um li ya.. Kso ine ane.
pungan ya po-pe um li ya k=so i-ne ane
ridge-pole up down-ESS house LOC up 1sg=climb DEM-PROX here

One day when you came around John... I said ‘I’m climbing the ridge-pole’... down at the house... I climbed this here.

Odo ine tco thanes.. Tco e
odo i-ne t=so tahates t=so e
on the other hand DEM-PROX 1pl.incl=climb impossible 1pl.incl-climb FOC

Taobat tit...
t=ha-OBAT tit
1pl.incl=CAUS-sore 1pl.incl

On the other hand we can’t climb this... Climb it and we’ll do ourselves some damage.

Ada ine.. balul nak.. ada ni sso husus nak..
ada i-ne balul nak ada ni sso husus nak
and DEM-PROX bamboo too with 3SG.POSS name specific also

Ni sso... aah... paipo pungan... Idia...
Ni sso aah paipo pungan i-dia paipo pungan
3SG.POSS name aah beam ridge-pole DEM-DIST beam ridge-pole

And this.. it’s bamboo too... with its own name too... it’s called... aah.. the ridge-pole beam... that... the ridge-pole beam.

Ine ni yotas... ni yotas.. ni yotas.. ni yotas
i-ne ni yotas ni yotas ni yotas
DEM-PROX 3SG.POSS k.o.leaf 3SG.POSS k.o.leaf 3SG.POSS k.o.leaf
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>malai</th>
<th>tapa</th>
<th>ine</th>
<th>polo</th>
<th>tpe</th>
<th>tadia.. ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>thatch</td>
<td>DEM-PROX</td>
<td>if 1pl.incl=make</td>
<td>SIM-DIST 3SG.POSS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sso</td>
<td>tapa..</td>
<td>tapa</td>
<td>yotas..</td>
<td>De</td>
<td>hkutan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>thatch</td>
<td>thatch k.o.leaf</td>
<td>RES 2pl=ask</td>
<td>John 2sg=make up what</td>
<td></td>
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<td>da</td>
<td>e?</td>
<td>Katapa</td>
<td>yotas. Kpeik..</td>
<td>um doba li..</td>
<td></td>
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<td>da</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>k=ha-tapa</td>
<td>yotas k=pe-ik</td>
<td>um doba li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>FOC 1sg=CAUS-thatch k.o.leaf 1sg=make-APPL</td>
<td>house gardens LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atau kpeik</td>
<td>sedi..Po lo li? Doba li.. uat..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atau</td>
<td>k=pe-ik</td>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>po lo li doba li uat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>1sg=make-APPL</td>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>down where gardens LOC</td>
<td>forest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sama lo i-ne.. ni yotas
Sama lo i-ne ni yotas
be.same as DEM-PROX 3SG.POSS k.o.leaf

This is its thatch.. its thatch.. its thatch.. then the 'tapa', this, if we make it like that, it's called 'tapa'. thatch 'tapa'. So, John, you ask.. 'what's that you're making'?.. I'm bundling up thatch into pieces. I'm using them to make a garden house.. or I'm using them to make a sedi. 'Where'?.. In the gardens in the forest.. The same as this.. its thatch.

Um li.. ni yotas nak.. tpeik um.. um
Um li ni yotas nak t=pe-ik um um
house LOC 3SG.POSS k.o.leaf also 1pl.incl=make-APPL house house

solo li ya.. um.. Polo uat.. sedi.
solo li ya um polo uat sedi
beach LOC up house if forest sedi

On a house, it's also a thatch, we use it to make houses.. houses like those by the beach.. a house.. if it's in the forest.. it's a sedi.

Odo lai mo ne noge loka li ya.. duga palo
Odo lai mo ne no-ge loka li ya duga palo
on the other hand just before PROX there-ESS banana LOC up only half

ya? Idia tenti.. Tenti loka ni llo.. Polo tane
ya i-dia tenti tenti loka ni llo polo ta-ne
up DEM-DIST 'tenti' 'tenti' banana 3SG.POSS inside if SIM-PROX

sedi.. Ada ni punggan.. Idia ni sso sedi..
sedi ada ni pungan i-dia ni sso sedi
sedi with 3SG.POSS ridge-pole DEM-DIST 3SG.POSS name sedi

Tapi duga polo duga polo le.. tenti.. Tadia.
tapi duga polo duga polo le tenti ta-dia
but only if only side only tenti SIM-DIST

On the other hand, just before, over there in the bananas.. only a half, you know? That's a 'tenti'. A 'tenti' in the bananas. If it's like this it's a sedi. With a ridge-pole. That's called a 'sedi'.. But if it's only half a structure.. it's a 'tenti'.. like that.
Sedi ada baku 'Garden shelters and sago' description & instructions

Tapi kta la ni yotas tesu. kpe tesu.
tapi k=tala ni yotas te-su k=pe te-su
but lsg=find 3SG.POSS k.o.leaf NEG-POT 1sg=make NEG-POT

But I haven’t found any thatch for it yet so I haven’t finished making it yet.

Ine baku.. baku. sagu.. Malai ine.. bobo.. Aah bobo
i-ne baku baku sagu malai i-ne bobo aah bobo
DEM-PROX sago sago then DEM-PROX pandanus aah pandanus

This is sago... sago... 'sagu'... then this is pandanus... aah pandanus.

Ine ada ine mnaka sol.. Bobo ane..
i-ne ada i-ne n=maka sol bobo a-ne
DEM-PROX and DEM-PROX 3sg=RECIP be.different pandanus LOC-PROX

ni sapyo... ni wokno te... Duga ni llu.. malai
ni sapyo ni wokno te Duga ni llu malai
3sg.POSS fruit 3SG.POSS flesh NEG only 3SG.POSS

[pointing at different kinds of leaves on roof] This and this are different to each other. Pandanus here, it doesn’t have any fruit, any flesh. Only its leaves: we gather the leaves and use them to make houses... aah... pandanus.

Ine Botan. ada Keten le.. Tapi Taba e te... Aah
i-ne Botan ada Keten le tapi Taba e te aah
DEM-PROX Halmahera and Moti only but Makian FOC NEG aah

Polo baku e ada.. Pope e de Ahmad lo John lhan
Polo baku e ada po-pe e de Ahmad lo John l=han
if sago FOC exist down-ESS FOC RES Ahmad and John 3pl=go

Lyos li ya.. Adia ada.. odo ine.. Taba
l=lyos li ya a-dia ada odo i-ne Taba
3pl=swim LOC up LOC-DIST exist on the other hand DEM-PROX Makian

e te... Duga Keten.. Payaha... Adia ada...
e te Duga Keten Payaha a-dia ada
FOC NEG only Moti Payaha LOC-DIST exist

This is only (from) Halmahera and Moti... but not from Makian... Aah, but as for sago, there is sago here. Down there where Ahmad and John went swimming you know... there is sago there... but as for this... not on Makian... only Moti.. Payaha... There’s pandanus there.

Odo baku e ton hu.. Tapi ine ni
Odo baku e ton hu tapi i-ne ni
on the other hand sago FOC 1pl.incl=eat CONT but DEM-PROX 3SG.POSS

Sapo aon te.. Odo ine.. ni wokno..
sapo a=on te Odo i-ne ni wokno
fruit 1pl.excl=eat NEG as for this DEM-PROX 3SG.POSS flesh

Tpakat bakan-bakan sama lo ai ne. Tpaket... okik
t=tpakat bakan-bakan sama lo ai ne t=tpakat okik
1pl.incl=split be.big-be.big same as wood PROX 1pl.incl=split be.finished
As for sago, we eat it all the time. But this stuff's fruit, we don't eat it at all. On the other hand, this stuff's flesh [sago], we split it... really big, big just like this piece of wood here. Once we've split it, then we pound it. When we've finished pounding it, then we force water through it. After we've forced water through it we wrap it up. Once we've wrapped it, then we bake it, then we eat it.

Indadi... tpeik  pupi  ya  te?  Indadi  ni  carita
indadi  t=pe-ik  pupi  ya  te  indadi  ni  carita
so  lpl.incl=make-APPL  bapeda  up  NEG  so  3SG.POSS  story

illoci...
illoci
lots

Then we make bapeda with it, you know? So there's a lot to say about sago...
Ni ggowo ni sso gotir... Samalo wog ne...
ni ggowo ni sso gotir sama lo wog ne
3SG.POSS place 3SG.POSS name gotir same as canoe PROX

ni ggowo ni sso gotir... Tapi i nani
ni ggowo ni sso gotir tapi i n=ha-ni
3SG.POSS place 3SG.POSS name gotir but 3sg 3sg=CAUS-3SG.POSS

badan da do... Malai tabersio...
badan da do Malai t=ha-bersih-o
body DIST REAL then 1pl.incl=CAUS-be.clean-APPL then
malai

tpeik... Sama lo wog ne.
t=pe-ik Sama lo wog ne
1pl.incl-make=APPL same as canoe PROX

Aah... the place this is done is called a 'gotir'. The same as this canoe... the place this is done is called a 'gotir'. But the canoe already has a 'body' on it... Then we clean it out then we use it to make (sago)... the same as this canoe.

Talomas e tpake ni kadut
t=ha-lomas e t=pa ke ni kadut
1pl.incl=CAUS-force.water.through FOC 1pl.incl=use 3SG.POSS sack

ne... Kadut... Lne da... aah... Ni sso baku..
ne kadut i-ne da aah ni sso baku
PROX sack DEM-PROX DIST aah 3SG.POSS name saga

Untuk baku.. ni manitap dobo...
untuk baku ni manitap dobo
for saga 3SG.POSS work lots

For forcing water through it, we use this sack here... a sack... this here... aah... it’s called sago... for (making) sago... there’s an awful lot of work...

Malai polo... tosak ni wokno odo... ada
Malai polo t=osak ni wokno odo ada
then if 1pl.incl=open 3SG.POSS flesh not.necessary exist

ni sso... Tpe lepa...
ni sso t=pe lepa lepa
3SG.POSS name 1pl.incl=make lepa sugo.wrapping 1pl.incl=make sago.wrapping

okik.. malai tasipang...
okik malai t=ha-sipang Tasipang...
be.finished then 1pl.incl=CAUS-take.from.wrapping 1pl.incl=CAUS-unwrap

tgono ni ggowo li dia... Tgono ni
t=gon o ni ggowo li dia t=gon o ni
1pl.incl=place 3SG.POSS place LOC DIST 1pl.incl=place 3SG.POSS

ggowo li dia okik... gamos... malai tpe ulang
ggowo li dia okik gamos malai t=pe ulang
place LOC DIST be.finished dry then 1pl.incl=make repeat

hasilo nak... Tbitta hasilo nak... Atom li ya...
ha=so nak t=bita ha=so nak Atom li ya
CLASS=one again 1pl.incl=wrap CLASS-one again tube LOC up
Bakboka maruse do...
Bakboka maruse do
circle good REAL

Then if we don’t have to open it up, that has a name too. We make lepa (a wrapping). When we’ve made lepa then we take it out of the wrapping. When we take it out of its wrappin we put it in its place there. Once we’ve done that, we dry it. then we do it all one more time... We wrap it again... In the tube... then it’s in beautiful circles.

Polo gamos... manganco mai lekat te... Gamos hu... malai woya
polo gamos manganco mai lekat te gamos hu malai woya
dry long.time then bad NEG dry CONT then water

nanotobi... turus kaklida idia e... bulang masure nak...
n=han-tobi turus kaklida i-dia e bulang masure nak
3sg=INCH-fall then hard DEM-DIST FOC white good again

Tpeik baku nak... Indadi ni sso baku...
t=pe-ik baku nak indadi ni sso baku
1pl.incl=make-APPL sago again so 3SG.POSS name sago

Tpeik baku ton i-ak... Tcowo...
t=pe-ik baku t=on nak t=sowo
1pl.incl=make-APPL sago 1pl.incl=eat also 1pl.incl=soak.in.hot.water

tpeik pupi...
t=pe-ik pupi
1pl.incl=make-APPL bapeda

When it’s dry, then it won’t go off for a long time... while it’s still drying then there’s water falling out of it, then it hardens, it does. It goes a beautiful white again. We use it to make sago again. So, this stuff is called ‘baku’... we make sago with it and we eat it too... When we soak it in hot water, we make bapeda ‘sago porridge’ with it.

Odo ine da.. malai ni.. hasil duga
Odo i-ne da malai ni hasil duga
on the other hand DEM-PROX DIST then 3SG.POSS produce only

untuk tyoa ni llu ne... Odo ine
untuk t=tyoa ni llu ne Odo i-ne
for 1pl.incl=search 3SG.POSS leaf PROX on the other hand DEM-PROX

da e, ni hasil lloci... ine...
da e ni hasil lloci i-ne
DIST FOC 3SG.POSS produce lots DEM-PROX

As for this here, then it’s only use is to look for its leaves here. But as for this (sago), it has lots of uses. This.
Text Three (Conversation)

Ola

(Baits)

This text is a transcript of a conversation recorded when I produced a bag of plastic fish-baits which I had brought to Makian from Australia while on my second field trip. The conversants are myself (John), a 37 year old Makianese man (Banda) and a 15 year old Makianese youth (Iswan). Both of the Makianese are, like all Makianese, fluent in North Moluccan Malay. Each turn by a new conversant has been numbered from (1) to (49). In the first part of the conversation, the most salient topic is a comparison of which kinds of baits are available in the regional centre of Ternate and which ones I had been able to buy in Australia. At turns (32) and (33) the conversation has been interrupted by young children who are making a lot of noise outside. Following on from this first interruption, the main focus of the conversation is on figuring out how the baits should be attached to fishing lines and used. Finally, the conversation is interrupted again by the same unruly children at line (49).

As this text illustrates natural conversation, there are a number of places where false starts, etc. have resulted in incomplete clauses being uttered, and in one or two places, less than perfect Taba grammar.

1. Banda
   Ine...
   i-ne
   DEM-PROX

   John
   m=tua
   2sg=buy

   mtua
   la-we
   sea-ESS

   "These, did you buy them in Australia John?"
2. John  
Ole.
ole
yes
'Yes.'

3. Banda  
Berarti,  
po-pe  
te.  
I-ne  
l-wag-ik  
po-pe
means  
down-ESS  
NEG  
3sg-PROX  
3pl=sell-APPL  
down-ESS
mai  
te  
mai?  
Berarti  
barang  
ne  
mahal  
John.
mai  
te  
mai  
berarti  
barang  
ne  
mahal  
John
though  
NEG  
means  
goods  
PROX  
expensive  
John
'That means not in Ternate. They sell these down in Ternate, though

don't they? That means these things were expensive John.'

4. Iswan  
Hapu  
e  
htua  
e?
ha-pu  
e  
h= tua  
e
CAUS-what(how.much)  
FOC  
2pl=buy  
FOC
How much did they cost to buy?

5. John  
Kmalingak....  
Ntonololan?
k=maling-ak  
Ntonololan
1sg=forget-APPL  
lizard
'I forget... Is this a lizard?'

6. Banda  
Ntonololan.
Ntonololan
lizard
'It's a lizard.'

7. John  
Ole.
ole
yes
'Yes.'

8. Banda  
Ntonololan  
idia.
ntonololan  
i-dia
lizard  
DEM-REM
'That's a lizard.'

9. Iswan  
I-ne  
ya  
pu?  
Ya  
pu  
da  
i-ne  
da
I-ne  
ya  
pu  
ya  
pu  
da  
i-ne  
da
DEM-PROX  
up  
what  
up  
what  
DIST  
DEM-PROX  
DIST
I-ne  
ya  
pu  
ne?
i-ne  
ya  
pu  
ne
DEM-PROX  
up  
what  
PROX
'What's this? What's that one there? What's this one?'

1 Notonololan is a compound, n-tono.lolan, literally 'it watches the road.'
Saisuak Ekh te
squid Ekh NEG

'It's a squid. Ekh! No.'

11. Iswan *Saisuak te.* *Idia saisauk do.*
Saisuak te i-dia saisauk do
squid NEG DEM-REM squid REAL

'It's not a squid. That one's a squid.'

12. Banda *Saisuak te.*
Saisuak te
squid NEG

'It's not a squid.'

13. Iswan *Ine lape masure kwat... Ine kolai...*
 i-ne l=ha-pe masure kwat i-ne kolai
DEM-PROX 3pl=CAUS-make good EMPH DEM-PROX snake

*Ine te. Ine ya pu da? Ine ya*
 i-ne te i-ne ya pu da i-ne ya
DEM-PROX NEG DEM-PROX up what DIST DEM-PROX up

*pu ne John?*
pu ne John
what PROX John

'They've made these great. This is a snake. This isn't. What is this one there? What's this thing John?'

14. John *Kunak te.*
k=unak te
1sg=know NEG

'I don't know.'

15. Banda *Ya pu da e?*
 ya pu da e
up what DIST FOC

'What's that?'

16. John *Ya pu?*
y a pu
up what

'What?'

17. Iswan *Ine.*
i-ne
DEM-PROX

'This.'

i-ne
DEM-PROX

'This.'
19. John  
**Kunak te... kunak ni sso te.**
\[k=unak te k=unak ni sso te\]
\[1sg=know NEG 1sg=know 3sg.POSS name NEG\]

'I don’t know. I don’t know what it’s called.'

20. Iswan  
**Lpe lpake kauto.**
\[l=pe l=pake kaut-o\]
\[3pl=make 3pl=use insert-APPL\]

'They use it to stick the bait onto.'

21. Banda  
**Lawe ine... Ternate te John e?**
\[la-we i-ne Ternate te John e\]
\[sea-ESS DEM-PROX Ternate NEG John FOC\]

'This is from Australia? Not from Ternate, eh John?'

22. John  
**Ternate te.**
\[Ternate te\]
\[Ternate NEG\]

'Not from Ternate.'

23. Banda  
**Te.**
\[te\]
\[NEG\]

'No.'

24. Iswan  
**Lawe.**
\[la-we\]
\[sea-ESS\]

'From Australia...'

25. Banda  
**Yang model ine, suntung, aah. Ine ada.**
\[yang model i-ne suntung aah i-ne ada\]
\[REL model DEM-PROX squid aah DEM-PROX exist\]

'This model here... the squid... They have got this one (in Ternate).'

26. John  
**Ine ada?**
\[i-ne ada\]
\[DEM-PROX exist\]

'They do have this one?'

27. Banda  
**Tapi ni model tane te. Ni model**
\[tapi ni model ta-ne te ni model\]
\[but 3sg.POSS model SIM-PROX NEG 3sg.POSS model\]
\[ine te. Lai kam. Khusus anesi,\]
\[i-ne te. tai k=am Khusus a-ne=si\]
\[DEM-PROX NEG just 1sg=see especially LOC-PROX=PL\]

\[lam te dumiksi hu.\]
\[i=am te dumik=si hu\]
\[3pl=see NEG be.complete=3pl CONT\]

'But not this sort (of bait). Not this sort. I've only just seen this one. People from here, they've never seen this sort, any of them.'
28. John  
Ole.  
ole  
yes  
Yes.

29. Banda  
Lai John nwomak ne.  
lai John n=wom-ak ne  
just John 3sg=come-APPL PROX  
‘Until now that you’ve just come with it, John.’

30. Iswan  
Manusia ldodo i dumik  
manusia l=dod-o i dumik  
people 3pl=ask.for-APPL 3sg be.complete  
‘People will ask him for them until they’re all gone.’

31. Banda  
Polo ldodo John hotik si oik  
polo l=dod-o John h=ot-ik si oik  
if 3pl=ask.for-APPL John 2pl=catch-APPL 3pl ADMON  

hu. Dodia.  
hu do-dia  
CONT REAL-REM  
‘If they ask you for them John... Don’t give them to them yet. There.’

32. Iswan  
Llebang kwat.  
Llebang kwat  
noise EMPH  
‘What a huge noise!’

33. Banda  
Kurang ajar e! Ahmad lwom malai, kasoak  
kurang ajar e Ahmad l=wom malai k=ha-so-ak  
less learned FOC Ahmad 3pl=come then 1sg=CAUS-exit-APPL  

si de l...  
si de l  
3pl RES 3pl  
‘That’s totally uncouth! When Ahmad comes... I’ll go out with him so that he’ll....’

34. Iswan  
Oh, ine sithol ne sama e? Mai i  
Oh i-ne sis=tol ne sama e mai i  
Oh DEM-PROX CLASS=three PROX same FOC well 3sg  

bulang ada ya pu? Mai iso ne da malai...  
bulang ada ya pu mai i-so ne da malai  
be.whit e and up what well CLASS-one PROX DIST then  

Ine tpake hasole hasole non. Coba kam.  
i-ne t=pake hasole hasole n=on Coba k=am  
DEM-PROX 1pl.incl=use all all 3sg=eat try 1sg=see  
‘Oh... These three here are the same eh? But we have this one with what? But this one there then... We use this one and they’ll eat the whole of it. Let me see....’
35. Banda  

Hsuy-o  
1-ne  
DEM-PROX

Touch this.

36. Iswan  

Tck  tck  tck  Lpake  bahasa  Inggeris...  Mai  tam
Tck  tck  tck  l=pake  bahasa  Inggeris  Mai  t=am
Tck  tck  tck  3pl=use  language  English  but  1pl.incl=see

ni  gambar hia...
ni  gambar hia
3sg.POSS  picture  able

Tckh...  tckh...  tckh. They use English! But we can see its picture.

37. Banda  

Ine  polo  lau  a-ne,  ni  model  ine
i-ne  polo  lau  a-ne  ni  model  i-ne
DEM-PROX  if  bait  LOC-PROX  3sg.POSS  model  DEM-PROX

te  te  NEG

This, as far as this bait is concerned, its not this model.'

38. Iswan  

Tgono  ni  sumo  ni  sumo  li  hasole
1pl.incl=place  3sg.POSS  mouth  3sg.POSS  mouth  LOC  all

Om  Banda  e?
Om  Banda  e
Uncle  Banda  FOC

We put it into their mouths completely Om Banda, eh?

39. Banda  

Polo  untuk  yak,  masure  hasole  lau  ine.
polo  untuk  yak  masure  hasole  lau  i-ne
if  for  1sg  good  all  bait  DEM-PROX

As far as I’m concerned... They’re all good, these baits.

40. Iswan  

Odo  ine,  ine  toh?  Ni  im,
Odo  i-ne  i-ne  toh  ni  im
on.the.other.hand  DEM-PROX  DEM-PROX  isn’t it?  3sg.POSS  line

3sg.POSS  line  e,  tgono  a-ne  toh?
3sg.POSS  line  FOC  1pl.incl=place  LOC-PROX  isn’t it?

Tgono  a-ne  mai  ni  awil  e
1pl.incl=place  LOC-PROX  well  3sg.POSS  hook  FOC

Tgono  i  ni  halaim  ne.
1pl.incl=place  3sg  3sg.POSS  middle  PROX

But as for these ones, these ones here? Its line, its line, we put it here, don’t we? We put it in here, its hook, we put it straight through the middle of it here.'
41. Banda  

Tapi, polo untuk yak kanig yakin wolat...
polish, if for 1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg memory sea
but if for 1sg 1sg=CAUS-POSS.1sg memory sea

Yan non hia. Ine. Ada seperti suntung, macam
yan n=on hia i-ne ada seperti suntung macam
fish 3sg=eat be.good 3sg-PROX and such.as squid type

suntung.. Ine.. sithol ne.
suntung i-ne sis=tol ne
squid DEM-PROX CLASS=three PROX

But, if I remember the sea... fish will love eating these. these, and ones like the squid... like the squid... these... these three.

42. John  

Ole.
ole
yes

Okay.

43. Iswan  

Ine tpace pu ya do mai ne? Ine
i-ne t=pake pu ya do mai ne i-ne
DEM-PROX 1pl.incl=use what up REAL well PROX DEM-PROX

do magoro tpace pu ne do ine da.
do magoro t=pake pu ne do i-ne da
self be.stretchy 1pl.incl=use what PROX REAL DEM-PROX DIST

Ngoro i?
n=goro i
3sg=stretch 3sg

"But this one here, what do we use with this? This elastic one, what do we use it with this one there? Is it supposed to stretch?"

44. John  

Kunak te.
k=unak te
1sg=know NEG

I don’t know.

45. Banda  

John pernah npake lawe do... ada e?
John pernah n=pake la-we do ada e
John ever 3sg=use sea-ESS REAL with FOC

"Have you ever used them in Australia, John? With these?"

46. John  

Tehu. Mai yak kam toko li... kbafigir Banda
te-hu mai yak k=am toko li k=bafikir Banda
NEG-CONT well 1sg 1sg=see shop LOC 1sg=think Banda

ni suka ntohang.
ni suka n=tohang
3sg.POSS like 3sg=try

"Not yet. But I saw them in the shop, and I thought Banda would like to try them."
47. Banda  Mai  ntuo.
    mai  n=tuo
    well  3sg=true

    That's true.

48. Iswan  Mai  ni  awil  ine  e?
    mai  ni  awil  i-ne  e
    well  3sg.POSS  hook  DEM-PROX  FOC

    'But its hook is this one here, is it?'

49. Banda  Hei!  Alho  ni  sso  ni  do?  Acan?
    Hei  alho  ni  sso  ni  do  Acan
    Hey!  who  3sg.POSS  name  3sg.POSS  REAL  Acan

    Mteklak  soak  i  do!
    mtekal-ak  so-ak  i  do
    slap-APPL  exit-APPL  3sg  REAL

    'Hey! What's the name of the person who's making that noise? Acan?
    Throw a few slaps at him wih something!'
Text Four:  (a riddle)

Nim wwe mhonas...

(Your leg is sore...)

The following text consists of (a) the asking of a riddle, and (b), the explanation of why the author's response (that he would elect to go to sleep) was the wrong choice.

(a) John ni wwe mhonas... nim wwe nalusa 'mhonas'.
John ni wwe mhonas... nim wwe n=alusa mhonas.
John 3sg.POSS leg sore... 2sg.POSS leg 3sg=say sick
Nim pappuko me nalusa 'mhonas'. Bingo n=namolam.
nim pappuko me n=alusa mhonas. Bingo n=amolam.
2sg.POSS knee well 3sg=say sick. Stomach 3sg=hungry
Wlo nmau nhan Poto pope nmau nhan nciwi.
wlo n=mau n=han Poto po-pe n=mau n=han n=cio-i.
heart 3sg=want 3sg=go anus down-ESS 3sg=want 3sg=go 3sg=shit-3sg
Sumo nalusa 'khan'. Mto nuyak, poyo mhonas, wlo
Sumo n=alusa k=han. Mto n=uyak, poyo mhonas, wlo
mouth 3sg=say 1sg=go eye 3sg-tired head be.sick heart
nmau nhan... mtumo e loe?
n=mau n=han, m=tumo e lo=e?
3sg=want 3sg=go 2sg-follow FOC where=FOC?

'John, your leg is sore. Your leg says 'sick'. Your knee says 'sick'. Stomach is hungry. Heart wants to go. Anus down there wants to go for a shit. Mouth says I'm going'. Eyes are tired, head is sick, heart wants to go, which do you follow? Anus down there is about to shit itself. Which do you follow?
'Your anus down there shits itself! John wants to go to sleep while his insides have stopped working. If you go to your girlfriend's place you'll shit your trousers and she'll laugh at us. She won't like it! You have to shit and then go for a walk. Shit our trousers? Crazy!!! If we don't shit our trousers, we'll shit our mattress. Its no good!'
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