

Toratán (Ratahan)

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for grammatical categories

AFM	AFFIRMATION PARTICLE	NR	NOMINALISER (see §3.4.4)
AV	AGENT VOICE (see §4.1)	ORD	ORDINAL NUMBER (see §3.5)
AND	ANDATIVE (see §5)	p	PLURAL (PRONOUN)
CAU	CAUSATIVE (see §3.3.4)	PL	PLURAL (PARTICLE)
CON	CONJUNCTION	PN	PROPER NOUN (see §3.3.2)
CMP	COMPLEMENTISER (see §4.2)	POT	POTENTIAL (see §4.3.1)
CPL	COMPLETIVE (see §3.4)	PROX	PROXIMAL
CV	CONVEYANCE VOICE (see §4.1)	PST	PAST (see §4.1)
d	DUAL	PV	PATIENT VOICE (see §4.1)
DEM	DEMONSTRATIVE (see §5)	R	(MONOSYLLABIC) REDUPLICATION (see §§2.2.3, 4.5)
DIR	DIRECTIONAL PARTICLE (see §5)	RD	BISYLLABIC REDUPLICATION (see §§2.2.3, 4.5)
DIST	DISTAL	RF	FULL ROOT REDUPLICATION (see §§2.2.3, 4.5)
EX	EXCLUSIVE	RPRT	REPORTATIVE
FOC	FOCUS PARTICLE	s	SINGULAR
GN	GENITIVE (see §§3.2.1, 3.3.2)	SF	STEM-FORMING AFFIX (see §4.2)
IMP	IMPERATIVE (see §§3.2.2, 4.1.2)	SG	SINGULAR
IN	INCLUSIVE	ST	STATIVE (see §4.3.2)
INTJ	INTERJECTION	UNIT	see §3.5
INVOL	INVOLUNTARY ACTION (see §4.3.1)	VN	VERBAL NOUN (see §4.7.3)
LK	LINKER (for <i>si</i> see §3.2.4)	XHST	EXHAUSTIVE STATIVE (see §4.3.2.2)
LV	LOCAL VOICE (see §4.1)		
LOC	LOCATIVE (see §§3.2.1, 3.3.2)		
MT	MOTION (see §5)		

Other conventions

I:	interlocutor
NC	cluster consisting of an oral consonant preceded by a homorganic nasal (see §2.2.1.1)
< >	false start
//	phonemic representation; in text line: uncertain segment
/?/	unidentifiable segments
[]	phonetic representation
\	final boundary tone
	non-final boundary tone
-	morpheme boundary; in text line: truncated word
=	clitic boundary

Map

Map drawn by Neville Minch (Cartography, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University)

Kata pengantar

Dengan ini kami persembahkan sebuah pengantar untuk bahasa Ratahan atau bahasa Toratán, sebutan orang Ratahan sendiri untuk bahasa mereka. Bahasa ini dipergunakan di Kecamatan Ratahan, Sulawesi Utara. Bahasa ini hampir punah dan sebagai bahasa pergaulan sehari-hari hanya dipakai di beberapa desa, itupun hanya merupakan minoritas kecil dari semua penduduknya. Penutur bahasa Toratán sekarang semuanya berasal dari generasi yang paling tua. Sejak lebih dari tigapuluh tahun yang lalu, anak-anak kecil tidak lagi memakai bahasa Toratán, dan jarang sekali ada orang di bawah usia 50 yang bisa berbahasa Toratán dengan baik. Mudah diperkirakan bahwa dalam beberapa tahun lagi tidak akan ada lagi orang yang memakai bahasa Toratán, dan tidak lama kemudian penutur terakhir bahasa itu akan meninggal dan bahasa Toratán akan punah untuk selama-lamanya.

Namun demikian bahasa Toratan tidak boleh dianggap remeh. Alasannya begini: di samping halnya bahasa merupakan perantara kebudayaan, dan kalau suatu bahasa lenyap, sebagian besar dari kebudayaan umat penuturnya ikut lenyap pula, juga musti dipertimbangkan bahwa bahasa penggantinya (pada umumnya bahasa Indonesia, tapi di Sulawesi Utara yang dipergunakan adalah bahasa Indonesia logat Manado) tidak mampu mengekspresikan ciri-ciri khas kebudayaan yang terkandung dalam bahasa aslinya. Mungkin bahasa Toratán tidak sanggup memberikan keuntungan komersial ataupun pekerjaan yang layak bagi penuturnya, akan tetapi bagi bangsa Indonesia dan khususnya bagi penduduk asli Kecamatan Ratahan, keturunan dari penutur bahasa Toratán dan pewaris kebudayaan Toratán yang pantas dibanggakan, bahasa ini merupakan inti sari dari identitasnya.

Oleh karena itu pantas kalau kita berusaha untuk mendokumentasikan bahasa ini dan mengawetkan pengetahuan kita mengenai bahasa ini mumpung belum lenyap dari dunia dan masih mungkin dikerjakan. Oleh karena itu kami mengupayakan gambaran singkat dari tata bahasanya, serta beberapa teks dan penjelasan isinya, yang diambil dari rekaman suara penutur bahasa Toratán yang sudah lanjut usia. Buku kecil ini hanya dapat memberikan garis besar dari suatu bahasa yang kaya dan tak terhingga isinya. Hal ini kami anggap sebagai langkah awal dalam usaha mengawetkan pengetahuan mengenai bahasa Toratán. Atau boleh juga dianggap bahwa kamus Bapak Apeles Kolinug merupakan langkah pertamanya dan buku kami ini yang kedua. Tapi kedua langkah itu tak lebih dari langkah untuk penerangan ke arah kesempurnaannya. Hanya segelintir dari keseluruhannya yang sempat tersampaikan, baik mengenai perbendaharaan kata-kata mau pun mengenai struktur dan kekhususan morfologis dari bahasa Toratán. Kamus Kolinug banyak membantu dalam memberikan penjelasan yang dapat kami gunakan dalam penyusunan tata bahasa singkat ini. Tapi masih banyak yang perlu digali: bukan saja kebanyakan kata-kata bahasa Toratán belum didaftarkan, tapi juga contoh-contohnya masih perlu dilengkapi, dan sistem imbuhanpun masih perlu diberi perincian untuk setiap akar kata. Singkatnya masih banyak pekerjaan mengumpulkan data yang tersisa. Karena itu, adalah harapan dan doa kami agar buku kecil yang dipersembahkan ini dapat menjadi landasan dan titik tolak bagi pakar-pakar lain untuk menambah, memperbaiki dan menyempurnakan pengetahuan kita mengenai bahasa Toratán, sebelum bahasa ini lenyap untuk selama-lamanya. Hendaknya penjelasan kami ini dapat digunakan sebagai penerangan bagi pakar-pakar yang datang sesudah kami. Dengan demikian akan berkembanglah suatu gambaran sintaksis, morfologi dan perbendaharaan kata-kata Toratan yang lengkap. Demikian pula, dapatlah bahasa dan kebudayaan Ratahan diselamatkan dari kepunahan agar dapat memperkaya kehidupan generasi mendatang dan memberikan arti pada identitasnya.

Usaha kami untuk menyusun tata bahasa singkat ini menjadi lebih mudah dan menyenangkan karena keramahan dan kemurahan hati penduduk Wongkay dan Pangu, kedua desa yang kami kunjungi dalam penelitian kami. Banyak sekali penduduk kedua desa ini yang nama mereka pantas disebutkan di sini, karena selain membuat kunjungan kami menyenangkan,

juga telah banyak membantu dalam pekerjaan membuat rekaman dan menuliskannya, khususnya orang-orang dan keluarga berikut ini. Di Wongkay kami diperkenalkan dan dijamu oleh keluarga Gijoh. Khususnya Bapak Drs. Hendrijk (Obe') Gijoh yang mengantar kami ke Wongkay beberapa kali dan menolong kami dalam penulisan cerita yang direkam. Rekaman kami di Wongkay diceritakan oleh Bapak Elisa Sandag dan almarhum Bapak Mateus Wohos (Om Tau). Kami juga mendapat rekaman dari almarhum Bapak Bertus Anto di Wongkay dan bantuan penulisannya dari almarhum Bapak Wempi Kosakoy dan anaknya Bapak Bernie Kosakoy. Di Pangu kami dijamu oleh keluarga Bapak Aurelius (Orel) Potalangi dan banyak mendapat bantuan berupa penjelasan sejumlah naskah (transkripsi rekaman) dan penulisannya dari keluarga Kosakoy di Pangu dan Bapak Ulrich Potalangi, Sekretaris Desa Pangu. Kami sangat menghargai ketulusan dan kemurahan hati orang-orang ini dalam menerima dua orang asing di tengah-tengah masyarakat mereka dengan segala fasilitas dan kenyamanan yang mereka sediakan tanpa mengharapkan balasan apapun. Semoga kebaikan hati mereka dapat dibalas dengan pelestarian bahasa yang menjadi darah daging kebudayaan mereka.

1. Background information

Ratahan is spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia, about 150 kilometres south of Manado in the district of that name which stretches inland from Bentenan on the southern coast (see map). We will call this language by the native designation, *Toratán*, in order not to confuse it with the name of the district (*kecamatan*) and district seat which are also named *Ratahan*.

The *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* (Tryon 1994:235), quoting Barbara Grimes' *Ethnologue* (1988), lists 30,000 speakers. This is probably based on the population of the district. In fact there are considerably fewer speakers, since for all intents and purposes, *Toratán* is now spoken only in three villages, i.e. Pangu, Wioi, and Wongkay. And even in those villages there are few people who use the language habitually. It is estimated that now only 500 good speakers of *Toratán* are left, mostly over 60 years of age, and a few thousand semi-speakers. See Wolff (in print) for further details regarding the on-going decline of this language.

We might speculate that the etymology of the name 'Ratahan' is a root *rata* 'plains', which Kolinug (1990) defines as 'level'. It may well have meant plains, since there are cognates with that meaning in Indonesian (*datar* 'level land') and the Philippines (Cebuano *dátag* 'plains'). *Toratán* would thus mean 'the people of the plains'.

Our interest was drawn to *Toratán* because of its unusual affiliation and because it has hardly been worked on. It is clearly most closely related to Bantik, spoken in Manado, and to the other Sangiric languages, spoken further north, and forms a subgroup together with them as opposed to the Minahasan languages, the other languages spoken in the area.¹ To date, only one language of the Sangiric subgroup, Sangirese, has been documented in some detail (Adriani 1893, Maryott 1979 and elsewhere).

The Sangirese and Bantik-speaking populations have physical features which distinguish them from the Minahasans, and often it is possible by a cursory inspection of physiognomy to decide that a certain person is of Minahasan ancestry and another of Sangirese or Bantik ancestry. Interestingly, the natives of the district of Ratahan have physical features reminding one of the Sangirese as opposed to the Minahasan. *Toratán* is separated from its cogenitors by a wide area in which three Minahasan languages, Tombulu, Tondano, and Tontemboan, are spoken. The obvious historical question which presents itself is how a Sangiric group might come to be located in an isolated mountain area at a considerable distance from its cogenitors. Unfortunately, language death is well advanced throughout the area, not only in *Toratán* but also in the bordering communities which speak Tontemboan and Tonsawang, and the possibilities for obtaining linguistic documentation for historical facts will soon be gone.

This study is based mainly on our own fieldwork but takes into account the small amount of work which has been done on the language. Noorduyn (1991:9-23) provides a comprehensive overview of research on Sangiric languages up to 1990. We are aware of only three more recent additions to this bibliography: Kolinug's (1990) dictionary which provided us substantial information (see below) and the language survey of North Sulawesi by Merrifield and Salea (1996). In addition there is a 1993 dissertation on the morphology of Bantik by Bawole.

We spent short periods (mostly week-ends) on several occasions in the summers of 1996, 1997, and 1998 in Pangu and Wongkay. The population of both villages were unusually helpful and cooperative, and although part of the time we visited the district were times of extreme economic hardship, people refused recompense for services or for hosting us with the best they had to offer and in fact loaded us with presents upon our departure. Many of the older people who were good speakers of the language contributed to our study. Our principal contributors in Wongkay were the older members of the Gijoh family, who also hosted us

¹ For detailed discussion of the Sangiric and Minhasan subgroups see Sneddon (1984) and (1980), respectively.

while we were in Wongkay and the Kosakoy family, especially the late Wempi Kosakoy (born 1932) and his son Bernie. We also had help from other people in Wongkay, including Daniel Sandag, the village head. In Pangu we had help from many quarters, most particularly the Potalangi family including Aurelius (Orel) Potalangi, who hosted us there, and his cousin Ulrich Potalangi (born 1943), who was of tremendous help in transcribing and translating our recordings. Our most extensive oral texts came from two older people from Wongkay – the late Mateus Wohos ('Om Tau') born 1919 and Elisa Sandag (born in the early 1920's). Our introduction to the area and language came from Hendrijk ('Obe') Gijoh, from Wongkay, who is a lecturer in the Animal Science Faculty at Universitas Sam Ratulangi.

What we report here is preliminary in status. We have spent little time in the area and have only been able to work through and understand a small body of texts. Our primary data base for this study is a corpus of about one hour of spontaneous speech. Most of this corpus was recorded on two occasions in Wongkay in a fairly relaxed setting, with between 6 and 20 Toratán (semi-)speakers present. The primary speakers are Om Tau and Elisa, with occasional questions and interjections from other parties. There are about 30 minutes conversation between these two, reminiscing about the olden times, in particular the Per mesta rebellion (see §6.3). Om Tau also contributed two narratives (approximately 15 minutes) which were recorded on the same occasions but were clearly framed as narratives performed for the purpose of recording. Two short versions of the well-known monkey and turtle story were contributed by Bernie Kosakoy in Wongkay and Henrietta Kosakoy in Pangu. These stories were recorded in the speakers' homes with family members as audience. Finally, there are about 15 minutes of spontaneous conversation between the village head, Hendrijk Gijoh, and Jontje Wahongan, dealing with current concerns in the village such as the price of produce and crop failures. However, we have made little use of this recording here, because extended stretches of this conversation involved semi-speakers. These recordings were transcribed and translated with the help of Ulrich Potalangi and Hendrijk Gijoh.

Apart from elicitation, which in general involved transformations of structures found in the recorded corpus, there are two further sources of data for this study. One is a partial translation of the New Testament,² amounting to 90 pages, which we used primarily in order to be able to present contextualised examples for all the forms of the verbal paradigms proposed in Chapter 4. The other is Kolinug's (1990) dictionary which provides a great deal of information, in particular a substantial number of short example clauses and phrases. Furthermore, he regularly lists different derivations for verbal roots which facilitated the establishment of morphological regularities. In general, this dictionary has proven to be reliable in presenting the phonological shape of the forms and in the definitions (not a mean feat for a school teacher without any formal training in linguistics, who started this dictionary when he was about sixty to keep him occupied in his retirement). In one way, however, this dictionary could be a source of errors: stress is hardly ever indicated in the Indonesian-Ratahan portion of the dictionary, and occasionally is omitted in the Ratahan-Indonesian portion.

The majority of the examples used throughout this work comes from our corpus of spontaneous speech, of which excerpts are added at the end. These examples have been cleared of all information which would distract from the grammatical point which is illustrated with the example (such as pauses, hesitations, unclear segments, etc). Note that close to half of our examples come from the third text in Chapter 6. The reader interested in critically evaluating our choices in cleaning up the examples may find there a richer representation of a given example in its discursive context, which includes intonation unit boundaries, pauses, etc.

For examples from the corpus, no source is indicated. All other examples are accompanied by a reference to their source.

² *I Yesus to manalamat si kau*, published (1995?) by the *Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia* (Jln. Salemba Raya 12, Jakarta, ISBN 979-463-341-0).

All examples are accompanied by an English gloss line and a free (idiomatic) translation which also tries to convey something of the context in which the example occurred (unless, of course, it is an elicited example). In addition, most examples are accompanied by a line representing the morphemic make-up of the example. This line represents all lexical and grammatical elements in what we conceive to be their standard (or underlying) form, while the topmost line of each example represents a given element as it was produced in this particular context.

The contents of this study are dictated by the information to which we had access. We cover in basic outline, but not in detail, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Typologically, Toratán resembles the languages of the Philippines, and the verbal morphology, which we discuss in Chapter 4, shows many of the categories typical for Philippine languages. Much of the Toratán affixational morphology is, in fact, clearly cognate with affixes in Philippine languages. With regard to noun phrase marking, pronominal clitics, and word order, however, there are differences from the Philippine languages, as will be seen in Chapter 3. Furthermore, a system of markers for spatial deixis exists in Toratán which is more elaborate than that commonly found in neighbouring languages. These markers are found in almost every clause, usually in a syntactic position and function which is only open to them. Like most other Toratán roots, they also allow for verbal derivations. We have devoted the final chapter to the analysis of these forms.

2. Phonology and Morphology

This section provides some basic information on the sounds and sound-related processes of Toratán. It is not intended to be a comprehensive statement of Toratán phonology. The statement of the segmental phonemes is based on Sneddon (1984:23f), who also provides further information on the historical processes leading to the present-day system. As for the morphology, only the most basic and pervasive processes are treated. Sound processes related to clitics are discussed in the relevant sections of Chapter 3.

2.1 Segmental phonemes and orthography

2.1.1 Consonants

Table 1 provides an overview of the Toratán consonantal phonemes. Parentheses indicate a special phonemic status (either the distribution is limited and/or the sound in question only occurs in loans). Note that the phonemes in this table are represented by standard IPA symbols. Their orthographic representation differs in some points (cf. §2.1.4).


	BILABIAL	DENTAL-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOP	v p	t	(c)	k	
	vd (b)	(d)	(j)	(g)	
FRICATIVE	v	s		x	(h)
	vd β				
NASAL	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
LATERAL		l			
FLAP		r			
GLIDE	(w)		y		

Table 1: The consonantal phonemes of Toratán (v| = voiceless, vd = voiced)

In discussing Toratán phonology it should be kept in mind that all Toratán speakers are also speakers of Manado Malay (with various degrees of fluency), and loans from Malay are generally not adapted to Toratán phonology.

The following consonantal phonemes require some comments with regard to their allophones and/or their distribution. Unless otherwise noted, all phonemes occur in word initial, medial, and final positions:

(a) Voiced Stops

The voiced stops (/b/, /d/, /j/, /g/) occur in relatively few words, all of which most probably are loans, such as *bal* ‘ball’, *belek* ‘tin can’, *duminggu* ‘Sunday’, *janji* ‘promise’, *guru* ‘teacher’, etc. They are most common in word-initial position, very rare in word-medial position (examples include *babuq* ‘(female) servant’, *budóq* ‘albino’, and *sabel* ‘sabre’), and never found in word-final position (at least in our data set).³

³ Kolinug lists a few words with final voiced stops such as *sab* ‘cambium (soft wood between bark and xylem)’ and *saib* ‘scissors’. But for these words he also lists alternants with voiceless final consonants, i.e. *sap* and *saip*, and our contributors pronounce them as [p]. Furthermore, voiced

At the beginning of prosodic units (including words pronounced in isolation when eliciting and recording lexical items), the phones [b], [d] and [g] occur as variants of consonant clusters consisting of an oral consonant preceded by a homorganic nasal (henceforth called *NC-cluster*). Thus, for example, *mbuya* alternates with *buya* ‘look at’.⁴

Further, [b], [d] and [g] are the regular allophones of the corresponding continuants /β/, /r/ and /x/ in NC-clusters (see below). In the case of the bilabial pair [b] and [β], there are a few instances where forms with an intervocalic stop alternate with forms with an intervocalic fricative: /loben/ or /loβen/ ‘big’.

(b) *Voiced bilabial fricative /β/*

/β/ has three allophones: word-initially and word-medially it is a voiced bilabial fricative (e.g. [βeβek] ‘duck’), word-finally it is a voiceless bilabial fricative (e.g. [soo⦿] ‘burned’), and in a NC-cluster it is a voiced bilabial stop, cf. [βili] ‘bought’ vs. [mambili] ‘buy’.

(c) *Velar fricative /x/*

The velar fricative has three principal allophones: a voiceless velar fricative [x], a glottal fricative [h], and a voiced velar stop [g]. Occasionally it is also realised as a voiceless uvular fricative [χ]. There is a high degree of variability in the degree of friction when producing these phones.

The factors determining the choice among this broad range of allophones have not yet been identified. They almost certainly involve sociological determinants (older speakers in general use more friction than younger speakers; younger speakers seem to favour the glottal realisation). The phonological environment is also relevant. For example, [g] is the regular allophone of /x/ after nasals as in *homo* ‘small shrimp’ vs. *manggomo* ‘look for small shrimp’. And [h] is the favoured allophone before or after front vowels, especially the high front vowel /i/.

(d) *Liquids /l/ and /r/*

The most common realisation for /r/ is an alveolar flap, although trilled realisations may also be heard. Some speakers use a voiced velar fricative allophone [ʁ] before back vowels. A regular allophone in NC-clusters is [d], cf. *rakup* ‘caught’ vs. *mandakup* ‘catch’.

For the lateral /l/ no regular allophony has been observed.⁵ This phoneme does not occur in NC-clusters (see §2.2.1.1). In at least one lexical item, *alaq* ‘take’, it is common to drop the intervocalic /l/. Thus, forms such as *mangaaq* ‘take (agent voice)’ or *niaaq* ‘take (patient voice)’ are very common in our recordings. The only other item for which a similar phenomenon has been noted so far is *soo-soonaq* ‘trousers (reduplicated)’ which is derived from *solanaq* (same meaning).

(e) *Palatals*

The palatal phonemes are comparatively rare. They do not occur in NC-clusters and, with the exception of the palatal glide /y/, in word-final position. A final glide /y/ is distinguished from a final vowel /i/ most clearly by stress. Compare *kápey* ‘wave’ with *kambéi* ‘embrace’.⁶

final <g> is written in a few proper names such as *Sandag* (the final /g/ in this name was pronounced as a voiceless velar fricative [x]).

⁴ This is the agent voice form (cf. §4.1). The root is *wuya*.

⁵ The one exception is the root *lalaq* ‘bad’, which also occurs as *ralaiq* (historically the older form). In this case the addition of the prefix *puN-* produces *pundalaiq* ‘destroy(ed)’ (further derivatives are *nundalaiq* and *mundalaiq* (cf. §4.2.2)).

⁶ Another difference between a final vowel and a final glide pertains to the processes which occur when the suffix *-an* is added. While vowels often fuse with *-an* (cf. §2.2.2.3), glides behave like any other consonant (i.e., the suffix is simply added and no further modifications occur).

The phoneme sequence /ti/ is regularly realised as [c] when occurring before any vowel other than /i/. Thus /tiup/ ‘blow’ is pronounced [cup], /tian/ ‘stomach’ as [can], etc.⁷ Kolinug writes these lexemes consistently with <c> (thus <cup> for /tiup/ and <can> for /tian/).

(f) *Bilabial glide /w/*

This phoneme occurs only in word-final position.⁸ In this position, it contrasts both with the bilabial fricative /β/, which is realised as [⦿] in this position, and the vowel /u/. The difference between a final glide /w/ and a final vowel /u/ is shown most clearly by differences in stress. Compare *rangóu* ‘big hole’ with *ránɡow* ‘very dense/tight’.

(g) *Glottal fricative /h/*

The glottal fricative is a marginal phoneme which occurs only word-initially. This phoneme is not to be confused with the glottal allophone of the velar fricative /x/ (cf. (c), above) from which it differs in distribution (/x/ occurs in all positions) and phonetic substance. Phonetically, the phonemic glottal fricative is characterised by a slight lengthening or a faint breathy onset of the initial vowel. A hallmark of this phoneme is the absence of a non-phonemic initial glottal stop which regularly occurs with ‘truly’ vowel-initial words. That is to say, while the velar fricative is clearly perceived as a fricative consonant, the phonemic glottal fricative is realised as a very weak modification of an initial vowel. Its presence is clearly manifested on the morphological level in that words beginning with /h/ behave like words with an initial consonant with respect to prefixation and infixation (cf. §§2.2.2.1-2 below and Sneddon 1984:24).

(h) *Glottal stop /q/*

The glottal stop occurs only intervocally (very infrequently)⁹ and in syllable-final position. Vowel-initial words are often preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop.

(i) *Consonant clusters*

NC-clusters are fairly common and occur both word-initially and word-medially.¹⁰ Other kinds of consonant clusters are rare. There are basically three types of such clusters: first, a few lexical items show a cluster consisting of a glottal stop and another consonant as in *keeqren* ‘former times’ and *koqbale* ‘wish luck’. These most likely developed as lexicalisations of formerly independent roots. Second, Manado Malay allows for a variety of consonantal clusters in loans from European languages which appear unaltered in Toratán speech. Examples include *greja* ‘church’, *bren* ‘machine gun (brand name)’, and *strat* ‘street’. Third, consonant clusters arise within prosodic words from eliding the unstressed vowels of proclitics such as *su* ‘in’, for example *sPangu* ‘in Pangu’ (< *su Pangu*).

⁷ The major exception to this general rule is the negator *tiaaraq* ‘not’ which is most commonly pronounced as [ti^hara_◌], although [cara_◌] also occurs.

⁸ Sneddon (1984:48f) shows that in Ratahan Proto-Sangiric /w/ merged with /β/ in word-medial position. For the variety of Ratahan investigated by us, this also seems to be the case in word-initial position. Thus, the initial segments in [βalu] ‘eight’ (< PSan **ualu*) und [βaβi] ‘pig’ (< PSan **babi*) were pronounced identically. The speakers also judged them to be identical.

⁹ Sneddon (1983:28) claims that the glottal stop did not occur intervocally in Proto-Sangiric. It does occur intervocally in Ratahan, for example in the demonstratives *teqé* and *tiqí*. It may well be the case that these words developed in the more recent history of the language via the lexicalisation of two formerly independent roots.

¹⁰ Word-initially, the nasal is occasionally dropped. Thus, for example, both [ntur] and [tur] are possible realisations of *ntur* ‘accompany’.

2.1.2 Vowels

The following vowel phonemes occur:

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
MID	e	o
LOW		a

Table 2: The vowel phonemes of Toratán

Sequences of two vowels are common, with no restrictions on vowel combinations. The low vowel /a/ followed by a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) or by the bilabial glide /w/ may in most cases, but not in all cases,¹¹ be raised. Before /i/, it is also fronted to [e]. Examples for both processes include the following ones:

- (1) ai → ei sisai [sisei] ‘who’, lair [leir] ‘leg’, wawinai [ʁaʁineɪ] ‘woman’, timai [timei] ‘not’
 au → ou tau [tou] ‘person’, i kau [ikou] ‘you (2.SG)’, malunau [malunou] ‘blue’
 aw → ow monsilaw [monsilow] ‘look for’

Note that there are forms with /ei/ and /ou/ which do not alternate with /ai/ and /au/, e.g. *wei* ‘give’ and *takou* ‘steal’.

Sequences of two vowels of the same quality are phonetically realised as long vowels: *waa* ‘monkey’, *tuuq* ‘follow’, *moong* ‘mouth’. These sequences behave phonologically as any other sequence of two syllables. Therefore, it is not necessary to make a phonological distinction between long and short vowels.

2.1.3 Stress

Stress is phonemic in Toratán since it is not fully predictable. The regular case is stress on the penultimate. Not as frequent is stress on the ultimate. Stress is characterised by a rise-fall in pitch and, in the case of open syllables, a slight lengthening of the vowel. Stress on the ultimate syllable is predictable in the following two common formations:

- if a prefix or an infix is added to a monosyllabic root, the root is stressed rather than the affix, e.g. *can* ‘stomach’ and *macán* ‘become pregnant’, *suq* ‘enter’ and *sumúq* ‘enter (agent voice)’, etc.
- if a root-final vowel is fused with a suffix-initial vowel, the fused vowel is stressed (but not lengthened), e.g. *wuno* ‘kill’ vs. *wunón* (<wuno-an) ‘kill (patient voice)’, etc. (See also §2.2.2.3).

Stress on the ultimate syllable, however, is not fully predictable because it also occurs in a number of underived roots such as *teqé* ‘that’ or *ruá* ‘two’. In many of these items, the penultimate syllable contains the vowel /u/ as in *budóq* ‘albino’, *hunggóng* ‘scream’, or *kurán*

¹¹ The conditions for this process remain to be investigated. It may turn out that it is, at least in part, lexically conditioned. In our data the directional *mai* ‘across’, for example, is always realised as [mai] and *hahai* ‘a while ago’ always as [hahai] or [xaxai].

‘bleach’. But an /u/ in the penultimate may also be stressed: *húreq* ‘old’, *lúnsa* ‘blood’, *ntúaq* ‘struck’, etc.¹²

2.1.4 Orthography

We follow as closely as possible the orthography used by Kolinug, which is based on Indonesian orthographic practice. Our transcribers generally made the same choices as Kolinug. The following graphemes represent those phonemes for which the Indonesian practice differs from the IPA-system:

/β/	=	<w> in initial and medial position, <f> in final position ¹³
/x/	=	<h>
/ɲ/	=	<ny>
/ŋ/	=	<ng>
/h/	=	<h> as in <i>hutú</i> ‘explode’
/t͡ʃ/	=	<q>
/ti/	=	<c> when preceding any vowel other than /i/

Our orthography differs from Kolinug’s in the following ways:

- <h> represents the glottal fricative. Kolinug does not use a grapheme to indicate this sound but adds, instead, the note *a lemah* ‘weak a’, *i lemah* ‘weak i’, etc. to vowel-initial lemmas.
- Stress is left unmarked if it occurs on the penultimate syllable. Otherwise, it is indicated by an acute accent <˘> on the stressed vowel. Kolinug sets stressed final syllables in italics.
- Final syllables closed by a glide (for example, /ay/, /aw/, or /ow/) are consistently distinguished from the final high vowels /i/ and /u/ in vowel sequences (such as /ai/, /au/, or /ou/). Kolinug sometimes follows this practice. But he also uses a final <u> to represent final /w/ and a final <i> to represent final /y/. He distinguishes a vowel sequence (e.g. /ai/ or /au/) from a closed syllable (/ay/ or /aw/) by writing the former in italics (indicating stress). For example, he writes <wawulau> for <wawulau> but <silau> for what is written here as <silaw>.

2.2 Morphology

This section presents a brief survey of some major morphological processes. The first part presents two global processes which occur in a variety of otherwise unrelated complex processes. They are global in the sense that they are largely phonologically conditioned. The second part of this section deals with processes related to the major affix types in Toratán; the third part, with reduplication. Idiosyncratic processes related to individual affixes and clitics are presented in the sections dealing with these clitics and affixes (cf. in particular §§3.3-4).

2.2.1 Global processes

There are two global processes: one pertains to the assimilation of nasals to a following oral consonant, the other to the deletion of syllables containing /u/ when preceding stressed final syllables.

¹² Ratahan /u/ represents a merger of Proto-Sangiric schwa with Proto-Sangiric /u/. In the lexemes with stress on the ultima it generally reflects Proto-Sangiric schwa (cf. Sneddon 1984:24f,53).

¹³ Note that what is written <w> in word final position represents the bilabial glide /w/, which occurs only in word-final position.

2.2.1.1 Nasal assimilation

In a variety of complex processes, a nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of a following oral consonant. This nasal is called a homorganic nasal and represented by capital *N* in this work. Such assimilations occur both with prefixes and clitics. Although the details vary slightly for each of the instances in which this process occurs, there is a very general basic pattern. Apart from the assimilation to the point of articulation, the following phenomena are also part of this basic pattern:

- if a homorganic nasal precedes a bilabial fricative the latter becomes a voiced bilabial stop (i.e. $\beta \rightarrow b / N_$), e.g. *maN* + *wili* ‘buy’ \rightarrow *mambili* (agent voice).
- if a homorganic nasal precedes a velar fricative the latter becomes a voiced velar stop (i.e. $x \rightarrow g / N_$), e.g. *muN-* + *horeng* ‘fry’ \rightarrow *munggoreng* (agent voice).
- if a homorganic nasal precedes a flap the latter becomes a voiced dental stop (i.e. $r \rightarrow d / N_$), e.g. *muN-* + *rupa* ‘put’ \rightarrow *mundupa* (agent voice).
- the homorganic nasal is always realised as a velar nasal when preceding vowels (i.e. $N \rightarrow ng / _ V$), e.g. *maN-* + *alaq* ‘take’ \rightarrow *mangalaq* (agent voice).

There are no clusters consisting of two nasals or of $/n/+l/$ or $/ng/+h/$ in Toratán. This may be interpreted in two ways. One possibility is to argue that *N*-final elements such as the prefix *paN-* never co-occur with roots or stems which begin with a nasal, the lateral or the glottal fricative. Alternatively, one could assume that the homorganic nasal is always deleted before $/l/$, $/h/$ and the nasals (i.e. $N \rightarrow 0 / _ /l, h, m, n, ny, ng$). The currently available evidence does not allow us to decide between these two alternatives.

2.2.1.2 Deletion of syllables containing /u/ before stressed syllables

Syllables containing $/u/$ are deleted whenever they precede a stressed syllable and either of the following two conditions holds: (a) $/u/$ is the sole constituent of the syllable (i.e., it does not have an onset or a coda); (b) $/u/$ is preceded by an alveolar nasal (i.e., the syllable has the shape $/nu/$). This rule pertains essentially to those roots mentioned in §2.1.3 above which are stressed on the final syllable and have the vowel $/u/$ (which historically derives from schwa) in the penultimate syllable. Hence it is usually, but not necessarily the penultimate syllable which is deleted.

Condition (a) above may be exemplified with the root *urás* ‘wash’. This root is realised as *ras* in most environments, in particular if it is not preceded by a prefix or if the prefix consists of open syllables. The initial $/u/$ is only realised when the root is preceded by a consonant-final prefix (see §2.2.2.1). Compare the following formations based on *urás*:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--|
| (2) | <i>ras le</i> | ‘wash it!’ |
| | <i>nirás</i> | ‘washed (patient voice)’ |
| | <i>paparás</i> | ‘have someone wash it! (causative conveyance voice)’ |
| | <i>but: mangurás</i> | ‘wash something (agent voice)’ |

Another example is *ulúp* ‘swallow’, cf. *nilúp* ‘swallowed (patient voice)’ vs. *mangulúp* ‘swallow something (agent voice)’.

Condition (b) states that syllables of the shape $/nu/$ are deleted if preceding a stressed syllable. Since this rule is obligatory there are no roots of this shape in Toratán. Such a syllable may arise, however, when a polysyllabic root the first syllable of which consists of unstressed *Cu* is infixed by *-in-*. It also arises when the first syllable of a polysyllabic root begins with an alveolar stop ($/t/$) or fricative ($/s/$) and a prefix ending in a homorganic nasal (e.g., *maN-*) is added. Examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (3) | <i>kirúq</i> | < <i>kinurúq</i> | < <i>-in-</i> + <i>kurúq</i> | ‘pinched (patient voice)’ |
|-----|--------------|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|

wingkás	< winungkás	< -in- + wungkás	‘opened (conveyance voice)’
singó	< sinungó	< -in- + sungó	‘blown with mouth (conveyance voice)’
tikáp	< tinukáp	< -in- + tukáp	‘slapped (patient voice)’
mará	< manurá	< maN- + turá	‘leave behind (agent voice)’

The previous examples all involve stress on the final syllable of the derived word. However, /nu/-deletion also applies when a suffix is added to a root with stress on the final syllable. In this case, unstressed /nu/ occurs before a regularly stressed penultimate syllable but is still deleted. Examples:

- (4) pisókan < pinusókan < -in- + pusók +-an ‘thrown at (local voice)’
 pináqen < pinunáqen < -in- + punáq +-an ‘closed (local voice)’

No deletions occur when the penultimate syllable of a root has the shape /nu/ and is regularly stressed:

- (5) winúno < -in- + wúno ‘killed (patient voice)’
 pinúruq < -in- + púruq ‘picked up (patient voice)’
 sinúha < -in- + súha ‘scraped (patient voice)’
 sinúka < -in- + súka ‘vomited up (conveyance voice)’

2.2.2 Affixes

Affixes in Toratán are for the most part prefixes, but there are also three infixes and at least one suffix.

2.2.2.1 Prefixes

Most prefixes in Toratán have the shape CV or CVCV. So far, we have not identified any major morphological processes associated with these prefixes, except the deletion of root-initial unstressed /u/ (see §2.2.1.2). Further, root-initial /h/ disappears (i.e., in general no glottal fricative is audible when CV- or CVCV-prefixes are added to /h/-initial roots). However, a trace of this phoneme remains in that glottal stops do not develop between the final vowel of a prefix and the initial vowel of the root which lost /h/ (see next paragraph).

Data are insufficient to allow us to provide a detailed statement of the regular interactions which take place when a vowel-final prefix is added to a vowel-initial stem. We may note, however, the following tendencies: if the two vowels are of a different quality (*a + i*, *u + i* etc.) a non-phonemic glottal stop may be inserted between them. Thus causative *papa-* + *ehom* ‘carry’ may be pronounced [papa^hehom] (orthographically <papaehom>). If the two vowels are of the same quality (*a + a*, *u + u*, *i + i*), both glottal insertion and alternatively, fusion to a (phonetically) long vowel occur. Compare *ni-* + *imun* ‘gathered’ = [ni^himun] (orthographically <niimun>) with *maka-* + *awiq* ‘able to climb’ = [makaawi^h]. The relatively frequent insertion of glottal stops into vowel sequences arising via affixation distinguishes these from the vowel sequences occurring in roots, where non-phonemic intervocalic glottals are very uncommon.

There is at least one consonant-final prefix, i.e. *paN-*. This prefix derives verbal stems from both verbal and nominal roots which then may be further marked for voice and tense (cf. §4.2.3). In addition to the global processes associated with homorganic nasals detailed in §2.2.1.1, the following processes occur specifically with the homorganic nasal of this prefix. In the following examples, we generally use forms marked with *maN-*, i.e. the non-past agent voice form of *paN-*, which is the form most often attested in our corpus:

- voiceless stops are regularly replaced by the homorganic nasal, thus *maN-* + *pihoq* → *mamihoq* ‘to make’, *maN-* + *taang* → *manaang* ‘to hold back’, *maN-* + *kapey* → *mangapey* ‘to wave’.¹⁴
- fricatives behave as follows:
 - /x/ is not replaced but becomes /g/ and *N* is realised as /ʁ/, e.g. *maN-* + *homo* → *manggomo* ‘look for small shrimp’.
 - /β/ sometimes becomes /b/ and *N* is realised as /m/, e.g. *maN-* + *wili* → *mambili* ‘to buy’. However, /β/ is also quite frequently replaced by the homorganic nasal, thus *maN-* + *wia* → *mamia* ‘to take care of’, *maN-* + *wutús* → *mamutús* ‘to explode’, *maN-* + *waloy* → *mamaloy* ‘to change’, *maN-* + *weweq* → *mameweq* ‘to carry in hand’.
 - /s/ is regularly replaced by /n/, e.g. *maN-* + *sintak* → *manintak* ‘to raise’, *maN-* + *sadia* → *manadia* ‘to prepare’, *maN-* + *susi* → *manusi* ‘to trail’. However, there is some variation, in that for some roots an alternative replacement by /ny/ is also possible; for example, both *paningkirán* and *panyingkirán* ‘evacuation area’ occur (<*paN-singkir-an*). For other roots there is an alternant in which /s/ is not replaced and *N* is realised as /n/, e.g. both *mansilaw* and *manilaw* ‘look for’ are possible realisations of *maN-* + *silaw*.

2.2.2.2 Infixes

There are three infixes in Toratán, *-um-* and *-im-* which mark agent voice non-past and past, respectively, and *-in-* which marks the past tense of the undergoer voices. It is very likely that the infix *-im-* is historically derived from a combination of the other two infixes – i.e., *-in-* + *-um-* → *-im-* via the deletion of unstressed /nu/. The general rule for these infixes is that they are infixed before the first vowel of the stem, and that they become prefixes in the case of vowel-initial stems. The details of the implementation of this general rule vary between *-um-/im-*, on the one hand, and *-in-* on the other.

With vowel-initial stems, *-um-* becomes *m-*, and *-im-* becomes *n-*; e.g. *mempo* ‘sit’ and *nempo* ‘sat’ < *empo*, *mindak* ‘breathe’ and *nindak* ‘breathed’ < *indak*. As noted above (§2.1.1) roots with an initial glottal fricative such as *hintu* ‘go down’ and *hutú* ‘explode’, which in isolation are often indistinguishable from vowel-initial roots such as *empo*, behave like other consonant-initial roots, thus *himintu* [imintu] ‘went down’ and *humutú* [umutú] ‘explode’.

The infix *-in-*, on the other hand, becomes a prefix *ni-* if the stem begins with a vowel. This also happens if it begins with a liquid (/r/ or /l/) or the glottal fricative (/h/). Examples: *ni-ehom* ‘carried’, *ni-alaq* ‘took’, *ni-lutam* ‘shot’, *ni-rasoh* ‘loaded’, *ni-aka* (< *haka*) ‘caused to collapse’, etc. Note that *-um-/im-* occur as regular infixes with liquid-initial stems, e.g. *lumompuq* (< *lompuq*) ‘go out’.

Another distinction between *-um-/im-* and *-in-* pertains to monosyllabic roots. With many of these roots, *-in-* is not infixed but rather realised as a prefix of the shape *Ci-* where *C* is a copy of the root-initial consonant. All of the following examples involve patient or conveyance voice:

(6)	pipél	< pel	‘hit’
	pipók	< pok	‘cut’
	titák	< tak	‘chopped’
	kikúr	< kur	‘dug’
	wiwír	< wir	‘twisted, wound around with’
	wiwók	< wok	‘holed’
	sisáf	< saf	‘sharpened’

¹⁴ The sound sequence represented by < c > (phonemically /ti/) is realised as /ny/ when *paN-* is added, e.g. *maN-* + *cup* → *manyúp* ‘to blow’.

sisúp	< sup	‘peeled’
tintúr	< ntur	‘accompanied’
kingkúm	< ngkum	‘held, grasped’

The above roots also do not co-occur with the infixes *-um-/-im-*. Instead of marking the agent voice directly by these infixes, a secondary verb stem is derived by adding the prefix *pa-* to the root. The non-past agent voice of *pa-* is *ma-*, the past agent voice *na-* (cf. §4.2.1); thus *maták* ‘chop’, *naták* ‘chopped’, *masáf* ‘sharpen’, *nasáf* ‘sharpened’, *mapók* ‘cut’, *masúp* ‘peel’, etc.

However, it is not the case that all monosyllabic roots of the shape CVC follow this pattern. There are monosyllabic roots which allow the infixation of both *-um-/-im-* and *-in-*, for example, *sumúq/simúq* and *sinúq* < *suq* ‘enter’, *kumán/kimán* and *kinán* < *kan* ‘eat’. Other monosyllabic roots allow the infixation of *-in-* but require a derived stem for the agent voice, for example *sinéq* but *maseq* from *seq* ‘tie’,¹⁵ and *siník* but *musík* from *sik* ‘push’.¹⁶

Finally, *-um-/-im-* and *-in-* also differ in their behaviour when added to stems with derivative prefixes. For *-um-/-im-* special reduced forms exist when applied to derived stems (see the paradigms in §§4.2ff). For *-in-* there are, in general, no such reductions. Instead, *-in-* is regularly infixed before the first vowel of a derived stem, for example *p-in-apatere* ‘made to run’ < causative prefix combination *papa-* + *tere* ‘run’. However, there is one prefix, *pu-*, where again the syllable *nu* created by infixing *-in-* is regularly deleted, resulting in a prefix *pi-*. This happens irrespective of whether or not the root is stressed on the penultimate or the final syllable. Examples:

(7)	pituraq	< -in- + pu- + turaq	‘thrown forcefully (conveyance voice)’
	pisaka	< -in- + pu- + saka	‘heaved up (conveyance voice)’
	piwuáq	< -in- + pu- + wuáq	‘raised (conveyance voice)’

2.2.2.3 Suffix *-an*

There appears to be only one suffix in Toratán, *-an*, which occurs in a variety of verbal and nominal formations (i.e., several different meanings or functions are marked by the formative *-an*). The following morphological alternations are triggered by this suffix in all the formations of which it is a part:

1. *Dissimilation*: If the root-final syllable contains an /a/, *-an* becomes *-en*. Examples:

(8)	sinomaen < soma	‘met with’
	niluntamaqen < luntamaq	‘be scolded’
	kakanen < kan	‘place for eating’
	kinantuaqen < ntuaq	‘got struck with’
	siningkapen < singkap	‘be answered’
	lukaren < lukar	‘be guarded’

Note that all examples, except the first one, involve consonant-final roots. This reflects the fact that *-an* typically, though not always, fuses with vowel-final roots (see the next point). If the root contains a vowel sequence with /a/ as its first member and any non-low vowel as its second member, both dissimilated and non-dissimilated forms occur, for example *wairen* and *wairan* ‘payment’ < *wair* ‘pay’.

¹⁵ Kolinug (1990:76) lists the completely irregular *singéq* as an alternative for *sinéq*.

¹⁶ For this root, the stem for agent voice marking is not derived by *pa-* but by *pu-* (cf. §4.2.2).

2. *Fusion*: If the root ends on a non-high vowel (/a/, /e/, or /o/), *-an* is typically fused with this vowel, the resulting vowel being short but distinctly stressed. (If the root-final vowel is already lexically stressed no further modifications occur.) The quality of the resulting vowel is determined by the root-final vowel (thus $a+e \rightarrow \acute{a}$, $e+a \rightarrow \acute{e}$, $o+a \rightarrow \acute{o}$). Examples:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|------------------|
| (9) | sinukán < suka | ‘be vomited on’ |
| | turán < turá | ‘leftover’ |
| | nalunsán < lunsa | ‘bled on’ |
| | wunón < wuno | ‘killed’ |
| | tumbe-tumbén < tumbe | ‘being observed’ |

As noted above, fusion does not always occur. Thus, the form *somaen* (< *soma*) is found several times in our corpus and in Kolinug but no alternative fused form. For the form *wunón* given in the preceding list the alternative *wunoan* is also possible.

Fusion also occurs, though not in a large number of lexical items, with root-final vowel-sequences, cf. *patén* < *patei* + *-an* ‘bereft of’ and *wen* < *wei* + *-an* ‘give to someone’. Note that the resulting vowel is still short, its quality being determined by the first vowel of the sequence. If the sequence consists of two identical vowels, one vowel is dropped (i.e., no overlong vowel occurs), e.g. *taan* < *taa* + *-an* ‘be planed smooth’.

The following examples show that no fusion occurs with final high vowels when they are not directly preceded by another vowel: *pamayuan* < *payu* ‘call, summons’, *liwu-liwuan* < *liwu* ‘being surrounded’, *sapupuan* < *sapapu* ‘be embraced’, *niipian* < *ipi* ‘dreamed about’, *piwunian* < *wuni* ‘hiding place’.

3. *Epenthetic /n/*: In a few cases, an epenthetic alveolar nasal is inserted between a vowel-final root and *-an* (hence effectively blocking fusion). The examples in our corpus are too few to rule out the possibility of a (complex) phonological condition of this process. Examples include *niemponan* < *empo* ‘sat on’ and *kinatupungkulonán* ‘get defecated on’ which ultimately derives from *kuló* ‘faeces’.

4. *Fossilised -anen*: In a few formations, mostly nouns denoting places/parts of space, the suffix is *-anen* instead of *-an* (the former looking very much like a double suffixation of *-an*). Examples include *lalonganen* ‘below, underside’ (root *lalong*, which our informants say does not occur by itself) and *saruanen* ‘front side, being faced by’ (root *saru* ‘to face’).

Note that in all examples of derived words with *-an* except those involving fusion, stress of the affixed form occurs on the penultimate syllable. Unlike Tagalog and other Philippine languages, stress does not move on to the suffix if the root is stressed on the final syllable (e.g. *pisókan* ‘thrown at’ < *-in-* + *pusók* + *-an*, already mentioned at (4), above).

2.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplications are of three kinds in Toratán: monosyllabic, disyllabic and full root reduplication (disyllabic reduplication is also called ‘doubling’).

In monosyllabic reduplication (glossed here as *R-*) the root initial consonant is reduplicated followed by the vowel /a/. Examples: *to hahurang* ‘the old ones, parents’, *raroroq* ‘to alight’, *sasaru* ‘to face’, *kakeeqren* ‘former times’, *caciritán* ‘talk about it with each other’. With vowel-initial roots, the reduplicated syllable simply consists of the vowel /a/. A glottal stop optionally separates the reduplicated vowel and the root-initial vowel, e.g. *aingkaqen* [a.ɪ̯ka.ɪ̯n] ‘messenger’ (< *ingkaq*), *aumpuqan* [a.umpu.an] ‘connectible’ (< *umpuq*), *aawei* [a.awei] ‘tapper, tapping knife’ (< *awei*).

In bisyllabic reduplications (glossed *RD-*), the first two syllables of the root are reduplicated. If the second syllable is closed, the syllable-final consonant is not reduplicated. Exam-

ples: *walu-walukinan* ‘being carried on the back’ (< *walukin*), *tunga-tungár* ‘truly, really’, *tingka-tingkaiq* ‘mischievous’, *wale-walei* ‘houses’, *eho-ehóm* ‘being carried’.

In stems derived by means of prefixation both monosyllabic and bisyllabic reduplication usually apply only to the root – i.e., prefixed syllables are not reduplicated. Exceptions to this generalisation are discussed in §4.5.1. Here it may be noted that if the shape of the root-initial syllable is modified by a prefix (through processes related to the homorganic nasal, cf. §2.2.1.1, above) it is the modified syllable which is reduplicated: *pangangaaq* < *paN-R-alaq* ‘taking’, *manyanyúp* < *maN-R-cup* ‘blow’. If the root syllable is not modified, the root and not the prefix is reduplicated: *kayayuma* < *yuma* ‘having arrived’, *mulaláq* < *laq* ‘wait for, meet’, *nusasunsán* < *sunsán* ‘try each other’, *pakirarayon* < *rayon* ‘be made fun of’. Examples of bisyllabic reduplication of stems having a prefix with *N*: *mangule-ngule* < *ule* ‘return’, *mansila-nsilaw* < *silaw* ‘look for’. Examples of bisyllabic reduplication of stems having other prefixes: *maale-alengko* < *alengko* ‘curved’, *kayuma-yumán* < *ka-RD-yuma-an* ‘several places arrived at’, *muimu-imun* < *imun* ‘gather, come together (of many)’.

Infixes are added to the reduplicated form according to the general rules given in §2.2.2.2 – i.e., they follow the first consonant: *rimaringi* < *ringi* ‘heard’, *kumakán* < *kan* ‘eat’; *tumere-tere* < *tere* ‘run’, *umintu-intu* < *hintu* ‘come down’, *kinatuu-tuuq* < *tuuq* ‘happen to be followed’.

Monosyllabic reduplication can be applied twice (i.e. R-R-), and it can be combined with bisyllabic reduplication (R-RD-). There are very few examples of these repeated reduplications in our texts. An example of repeated monosyllabic reduplication is *wawawuyán* < *wuya* ‘be seen’ (see also §4.5.3). An example of R-RD- is *niauru-urus* < *urus* ‘be investigated’.

Finally, the corpus also contains a few examples for full root reduplication which simply involves the repetition of the complete root, as in *woyang-woyang* ‘holes’ and *nanayun-nayun* ‘a little later’.

3. Basic Morphosyntax

This chapter provides an overview of the basic morphosyntactic structures found in Toratán. Topics covered include a variety of closed class items, basic clause structures, and NP-structure.

3.1 Word classes

In classifying Toratán words it is useful to make a clear distinction between lexemes (lexical roots) and morphosyntactic words. Lexemes have to be classified according to the morphological paradigms with which they are associated. This classification remains to be worked out in detail. Chapter 4 presents some of the morphological paradigms which are of major importance for this task. At least some of the lexeme classes established in this way will exhibit a coherent semantic basis, for example numerals (see §3.5) and roots referring to states and qualities (§4.3.2).

Morphosyntactic word forms, which include both underived roots and morphologically complex words, are classified according to their syntactic distribution (their syntactic category). The most basic and clearcut distinction here is the familiar one between open class and closed class items (or content words and grammatical words). The closed class items, many of which are clitics and all of which exhibit at least one unique morphosyntactic feature, are further dealt with in §§3.3-5.

Among the open class items, two broad classes may be distinguished which roughly correspond to nouns and verbs in European languages. The distinction between common nouns and verbs in Toratán, however, is less clearly developed (less strongly grammaticised) than in the European languages. That is, all open class items can appear in almost every morphosyntactic slot for open class items. For example, nominals (nouns and pronouns) can be used as predicates and since there is no copula in Toratán, common nouns are, in this position, indistinguishable from uninflected intransitive verbs. Compare the following two examples:

(10) mangasé **ntoq** sene
 3p stop there
 They stopped there.

(11) karoá ne ne **pangawal** e
 ka -ruá ne ne pangawal Ce
 ORD-two 3SGN also bodyguard CPL
 The second one was also a bodyguard.

There is, however, at least one morphosyntactic environment in which nouns and verbs exhibit different properties. Nouns can be used as arguments of verbal predicates without any further marker as illustrated by *kurin* in the following example:

(12) wu yaq nangaaq **kurin**
 wu yaq naN -alaq kurin
 then 1s AV.PST-take pot
 Then I fetched a pot.

Verbs can also be used as arguments of verbal predicates but they have then to be preceded by the particle *to*, as in the following example:¹⁷

¹⁷ Our texts show two examples of verbs (forms containing verbal affixations) which are used nominally without *to*. We take these to be frozen verb forms used nominally. One of these examples is *pitunanganin* ‘fiancee’ illustrated in example (152) below.

- (13) **to sinintak** kutaná
 to in -sintak ku=ta =ná
 NR PST-raise MT=AND=DIR
 The ones who had just been taken went down.

The same difference is found in existential constructions. The existential quantifier *one* ‘there is/are’ takes nominal arguments without any further marking:

- (14) **one sasolon** su oo ne
 EXIST lamp LOC content 3SGN
 There was a lamp inside.

If a verb is to be used with the existential quantifier, the particle *to* has to be used:

- (15) **one to manilaw** si kau
 one to maN-silaw si kau
 EXIST NR AV -look_for LOC 2s
 There is someone looking for you. (elicited)

The particle *to* is used in a broad range of contexts. (For details see §3.3.4.) Here it is important to note that this particle may also precede nouns in argument function, although this is not very frequently attested in our corpus. Here is one example:

- (16) raroroq mai **to muntangis** su tuir to spondol
 R-roroq mai to muntangis su tuir to su =pondol
 R-alight DIR NR k.o._bird LOC stump NR LOC=end
 kakanen
 R-kan-an
 R-eat-LV

The Muntangis bird alighted on the stump next to the end of the dining table.

In short, there is only one major distributional difference between nouns and verbs in Toratán. This difference, however, is not an absolute one: both nouns and verbs may, in principle, co-occur with *to*. Instead, it pertains to whether or not the use of the particle *to* is obligatory: *to* is optional (and rarely used) with nouns in argument function, but it is obligatory when verbs function as arguments. In short, the morphosyntactic distinction between nouns and verbs is minimal.

Proper nouns (personal names and titles) form a relatively small set of open class items which is clearly distinct from both (common) nouns and verbs as just defined. The most obvious distributional property of proper nouns is the fact that they are regularly preceded by a special article (*i*, see §3.3.2). They are never directly preceded by the particle *to*.

Open class items denoting property concepts such as *hureq* ‘very old’, which in many languages belong to a special class (adjectives), are distributionally not distinct from stative verbs in Toratán (this also holds true for the morphological properties of these items, see §4.3.2). Hence, there is no basis for setting up a special syntactic category for these items.

Similarly, no distributional evidence is available for setting up an open class syntactic category ‘adverbs’ in Toratán. There is a group of items such as *wiq* ‘only’, *haire(n)* ‘later’, *keeqren* ‘formerly’, *sawu* ‘time when’, and *kaneaf* ‘yesterday’, which occur in adverbial functions without any further morphological marking, as in the following examples:

- (17) **one e sini hairen**
 EXIST CPL here later
 (They) will be here shortly.

- (18) Sepus nalés sawu ntee
 Sepus na -les sawu N -teqé
 Joseph ST.PST-wound time LK-DIST
 Sepus was wounded at the time.

Nouns and verbs in adverbial functions are marked either by a preposition or by *to*. Thus, the above mentioned items clearly do not belong in the same class as either nouns or verbs. However, they also do not form a coherent open class because each of these items has very specific grammatical properties. Apart from the fact that they all may be used as adverbs without further morphological marking, there is hardly any overlap between these properties. To give just two examples. First, *sawu* ‘time when’ is regularly accompanied by a demonstrative or a clause, as in the example above. The other items are never accompanied by a demonstrative. Second, *keeqren* allows the derivation of a nominal expression by reduplicating and combining it with *to*, hence *to kakeeqren* ‘ancestors’. No such derivations exist for the other items. Given then that this group of lexical items is relatively small and very heterogeneous, it seems warranted to consider them closed class items.

3.2 Clause structure

Three basic types of clauses can be distinguished: verbal, equational (‘nominal’) and existential clauses. These three clause types differ with respect to their overall structure which, in turn, is closely linked to the kind of predicate which forms the nucleus of the clause. Verbal predicates are marked for tense and voice and co-occur with up to three core arguments. Imperatives are possible only with verbal predicates. Predicates in equational clauses are noun phrases. The predicate in existential clauses is formed with the existential operator *one*. Further distinguishing features are pointed out in the following sections. Note that the equational clause types carry a higher functional load than similar constructions in English because, among other things, clauses which contain interrogative words are always equational clauses.

All three clause types allow for a nominal constituent which is characterised by the following three features: (a) its position is variable – i.e., it may occur before or after the predicate; (b) it is not marked by any kind of noun phrase marker unless it is a proper noun (cf. §3.3.2); (c) it must have specific reference (and therefore be marked by *to* if it is not a noun or a pronoun). There is maximally one nominal constituent in a clause for which this set of features holds true, as will be illustrated in the following sections.¹⁸ We call this constituent the SUBJECT of the clause. The subject refers to the thing or person about whom/which the predication is made (i.e., the term *subject* is used here in the sense of *subject*₂ in Matthews 1981:104f).

Subjects are not obligatory in Toratán in the sense that many clauses lack overt subject expressions. However, verbal and equational clauses always involve an ‘understood’ subject – i.e., reference to a specific entity about which the predication is made.

3.2.1 Verbal Clauses

The most basic features of verbal clauses pertain to the event type and the voice of the verbal predicate. We use ‘event type’ to refer to the distinction between dynamic and stative events, which is of major importance to the grammar of the Toratán verb. As further discussed and exemplified in §4.3.2, stative formations, which are marked by the prefix *ma-* or the prefix *ka-*, refer to event types which do not involve an agent in the sense of a volitional instigator of

¹⁸ Noun phrases functioning as (clause level) topics share two of these three features with subjects. The major difference between subjects and topics pertains to the fact that the position of topics is fixed. They invariably occur in clause-initial position.

the event. Dynamic formations, which are morphologically unmarked, refer to event types which, with one exception, involve an agent that volitionally instigates the event.

Instead of the usual two voice distinction (active and passive), four voices are found in Toratán. More importantly, there is no compelling evidence for considering one of the voices more basic than the other ones. Further, transitive as well as intransitive verbs are voice marked (semantically intransitive verbs often, but not always, receive agent voice marking). For these and other reasons that will become clear shortly, we deviate slightly from established voice terminologies and call these voices AGENT, PATIENT, CONVEYANCE and LOCAL VOICE.¹⁹ These voices are further discussed and amply exemplified in Chapter 4. Here it is sufficient to note that with respect to basic clause structure, the three non-agent voices share important characteristics which make it convenient to use a term which refers to all three of them at once. The term UNDERGOER VOICES will be used in this function.

In addition to the three general features of subjects listed above, the subject of verbal clauses is characterised by one further feature not shared by any other core argument: its semantic role is marked by the voice affix on the verb. The following two clauses exemplify the characteristics of subjects in intransitive verbal clauses:

- (19) *hairen araq kumukuk e manuk*
hairen araq um-kukuk Ce manuk
 later if AV-cry_out CPL chicken
 Later when the cock crows.

- (20) *araq isé kumukuk e*
araq isé um-kukuk Ce
 if 3s AV-cry_out CPL
 When he cries out.

In both clauses the verb is marked by a voice affix, the infix *-um-* which marks agent voice (cf. §4.1). The subject arguments (*manuk* and *isé*) make reference to specific entities and they are not marked by a phrase marker. One of them (*manuk*) is found in postverbal, the other one (*isé*) in preverbal position. Their different position is not due to the fact that one is a noun and the other one is a pronoun. Instead, subject nouns and subject pronouns occupy the same positions in verbal clauses (see also §3.3.3).

The following two examples illustrate the same characteristics for transitive clauses. In these examples, the verbal predicates are undergoer voice forms,²⁰ the subject then being the undergoer argument:

- (21) **Sepus** winuno mangasé
 Sepus in -wuno mangasé
 Joseph PST-kill:PV 3p
 They killed Sepus.

¹⁹ In much of the literature on Philippine-type languages, the term *focus* has been employed in order to emphasise the special character of their voice systems. This, however, is a most unfortunate terminological choice because *focus* is well established and widely used as a term for the pragmatic phenomenon of highlighting new or contrastive information. The so-called focus affixes in Philippine-type languages have nothing to do with focus in this pragmatic sense. The terminology used here for Ratahan is intended to underline the fundamental similarity of the affixes in question with better known voice markers in other languages and also their distinctness from these affixes.

²⁰ In (21) the predicate is patient voice, in (22) it is conveyance voice. In both instances voice is not represented by a special formative. See §4.1 for a detailed morphological analysis of these forms.

- (22) kinambei ne **yaq**
 in -kambei ne yaq
 PST-embrace:CV 3sGN 1s
 He embraced me.

In transitive clauses, two kinds of non-subject arguments may occur in addition to the subject argument. One of these comes immediately after the verb (and its clitics) and is often, but not always, marked by the genitive phrase-markers *nu* or *ni* (for proper nouns), both of which also occur in possessive constructions (see §3.3.2). This argument is called the GENITIVE ARGUMENT in this work, regardless of whether or not it is formally marked as a genitive (i.e., the defining feature of the genitive argument is its fixed postverbal position). In the preceding two examples, the agent is expressed as a genitive argument (*mangasé* and *ne*, respectively).

The other type of non-subject argument is more variable in its position and marked by the general locative preposition *su* (*si* if it is a pronoun or a proper noun). This is called the SUMARKED ARGUMENT in this work.²¹

The characteristics of the genitive argument differ according to the voice of the verb. In agent voice, it expresses a patient (used here in a very broad sense not only for participants which are directly affected by the action of the verb, but also for entities which are conveyed or effected in the course of the action of the verb). The marker *nu* is only used in some instances. The precise conditions of its use, however, are not yet understood. In the corpus, it only occurs with indefinite undergoer arguments, such as:

- (23) mamake **nu babuq** mangasé
 maN-pake nu babuq mangasé
 AV -use GN slave 3p
 They kept (female) slaves.

- (24) wiq nuwalun **u towang**
 wiq nu -walun nu towang
 only AV.PST-provision GN string beans
 He only had string beans as provisions for the journey.

The marker *nu* is not used when the undergoer argument is non-specific (i.e., it does not refer to a particular entity in the universe of discourse). Thus, there is no marker preceding *bas* in the following example:

- (25) manyanyúp **bas** to tee
 maN-R-cup bas to teqé
 AV -R-blow bass NR DIST
 He played the bass horn, that one.

There is also no *nu* in all of the (very few) examples in our corpus in which the undergoer of a verb in agent voice is definite, as before *sinapang* and *tee* in the following examples:

- (26) yaq mangewong e **sinapang**
 yaq maN-ewong Ce sinapang
 1s AV -carry CPL weapon
 I'll take the gun.

²¹ The term 'argument' here is used not in its narrow technical sense, but covers both core arguments and adjuncts (phrases which are syntactically oblique).

- (27) kará mBempi nupasán **tee**
kará nu=Wempi nu -pasán teqé
1dEX GN=Wempi AV.PST-carry_on_shoulder DIST
Wempi and I carried them (the machine guns) together.

Examples of this kind – i.e., transitive verbs in agent voice with definite undergoer arguments – are rare because there is a strong tendency to use an undergoer voice construction when the undergoer is definite. Further, if the definite undergoer in agent voice constructions is a pronoun or a proper noun it is marked by the preposition *su* (see below).

In the undergoer voices, the genitive argument expresses the agent. Again, there is some variation regarding the use of the genitive marker with agent arguments. In the corpus, it is almost always used with both common and proper nouns, as in the following example:

- (28) wu kinayumán **u tonaqas Kinilow**
wu in -ka -yuma -an nu tonaqas Kinilow
then PST-POT-arrive-LV GN shaman Kinilow
(The three members of the family were in their field) when the shaman from Kinilow
(Kinilow chieftain) happened to come along.

However, there are also agents in undergoer voice constructions which are not marked by *nu*, such as *burung* in the following example:

- (29) nilaweqan **burung** yaq
ni -laweq -an burung yaq
PST-lay_in_wait_for-LV bird 1s
The bird lay in wait for me.

For pronominal agents in the singular, special genitive clitics exist which are used in this function without exception (see (22), above, and §3.3.3). With plural pronominal agents, there are examples both with and without *nu*, the latter being much more frequent in the corpus:

- (30) pipók **u masé** watu tee
in -pok nu masé watu teqé
PST-cut GN 3p stone DIST
They split those rocks.
- (31) ma niqaaq **masé** atei ne naq wu kininas **masé**
ma ni-alaq masé atei ne naq wu in -kinas masé
CON PST-take 3p liver 3sGN AFM just PST-food 3p
Then they took the liver and ate it up.

To conclude this brief discussion of genitive arguments, note that *nu* is also regularly used for the allative complements (the place towards which a motion is directed) of the directionals (details in Chapter 5).

Arguments marked by *su* express a broad range of semantic roles. With one exception to be noted below, these roles are the same with agent and undergoer voice verbs. Most frequently, they express locations of all kinds: stative locatives (the place at which something happens) – see (32), allative locatives – see (33), as well as ablative locatives (the place from which a motion originates) – see (34).

- (32) nempo **skaseq** ne
im-empo su =kaseq ne
AV.PST-sit LOC=sugar_palm_fruit 3sGN
(He) sat on the fruits of the sugar palm.

- (33) nioo ne **su** **awiton**
 ni -oo ne su awiton
 PST-fill_in 3sGN LOC basket
 He put (her) in a basket.
- (34) lumompuq **su** **wanoa** araq timai kite macilaka
 um-lompuq su wanoa araq timai kite ma-cilaka
 AV-go_out LOC village if not lpIN ST-misfortune
 (We) should leave the village if we don't want to court disaster.

Temporal expressions are also marked with *su*:

- (35) manadia e to muwuáq **su** **iwina**
 maN-sadia Ce to mu-wuáq su wiwina
 AV -prepare CPL CMP AV-raise LOC next_day
 Prepare now to depart the next day.

Related to the allative use is the use of *su/si* for addressees (the place towards which an action is aimed), as in (36) and (37).

- (36) yaq naoman te si **Sepus**
 yaq na-oman Ce si Sepus
 1s AV.PST-say CPL LOC Joseph
 I said to Joseph.
- (37) to pinakinak nge **siyaq**
 to in -pakinak ne si=yaq
 NR PST-ask 3sGN LOC=1s
 What he asked me.

Recipients (38) and beneficiaries (39) are also marked by *su/si*:

- (38) nawei si **Yunus** sene pai
 na -wei si Yunus sene pai
 ST.PST-give LOC Yunus there over_there
 (We) were given to Yunus over there.
- (39) wusak teqé niewong ke masé **siyaq**.
 wusak teqé ni-ewong Ce masé si=yaq
 banana DIST PST-carry CPL 3p LOC=1s
 They already carried those bananas for me. (elicited)

As mentioned above, all of the preceding kinds of *su*-marked arguments occur with agent as well as with undergoer voice verbs. The following use of a *su*-marked argument, however, is restricted to agent voice constructions. Patients in agent voice construction are, in general, either unmarked or marked by *nu*, as illustrated by examples (23)-(27), above. If, however, the patient in such a construction is expressed by a pronoun or a proper noun, then it is marked by *si* (a phenomenon known in the typological literature as ‘differential object marking’). Thus, in the following example the patient argument of the verb *nanilow* ‘search’ is a proper noun (*i tonaqas* ‘the shaman’) and marked by *si* rather than being marked by *nu* or remaining unmarked:

- (40) isé nto sumúq nanilow si **tonaqas**
 isé N -to um-suq naN -silaw si tonaqas
 3s LK-NR AV-enter AV.PST-look_for LOC shaman
 He would be the one to enter (Kinilow) and look for the shaman.

In the following example, the object is a pronoun, and again marked by *si*.

- (41) ngapey **siyaq**
 maN-kapey si=yaq
 AV -wave LOC=1s
 (He) beckoned me over.

As shown by all of the preceding examples, the most typical position of *su*-marked arguments is after the verb and also after the genitive argument, if there is one. However, some kinds of *su*-marked arguments may occur in front of the verb. There are very few examples in our corpus and in all of these examples the *su*-marked argument functions either as a locative or a temporal adverb. Examples:

- (42) **su wiwina** yaq kutasá
 su wiwina yaq ku=ta =sá
 LOC next_day 1s MT=AND=DIR
 Tomorrow I will go there.
- (43) **su wanoa** majadi apa?
 su wanoa ma-jadi apa
 LOC village ST-become what
 What is going on in the village?

3.2.2 Imperative

In imperatives, the verb appears in clause initial position and is immediately followed by the clitic particle *le*:

- (44) ku ni tomponú **qawiq le** taná!
 ku ni tomponú awiq le ta =ná
 say GN turtle climb IMP AND=DIR
 Said Mr Turtle, 'Climb up there!'
- (45) **alaq le** salak teqé!
 alaq le salak teqé
 take IMP zalacca DIST
 Just take that zalacca fruit! (elicited)

Note that although there is no overt marking, the verb in (44) is in agent voice (i.e., the subject is the agent) while in (45) it is in patient voice (the subject is the thing conveyed). The morphology of the imperative forms is further discussed in §4.1.2.

The agent, which is also the addressee of the imperative, may be overtly expressed:

- (46) empo le sini **kau!**
 sit IMP here 2s
 Have a seat over here!

In negative imperatives, the negative imperative particle *roku*, followed by *le*, immediately precedes the verb:

- (47) **roku le** tingka-tingkaiq nu kami
 roku le RD-tingkaiq nu kami
 don't IMP RD-mischievous GN 1pEX
 Let's not mess (this) up!

With *roku*, the particle *le* may be missing:

- (48) **roku** umintu-intu
 roku um-RD-hintu
 don't AV-RD-descend
 Don't go down!

Strong requests (polite commands) are introduced by the particle *soq*, which may also be reinforced by the imperative particle *le* (hence *soq le*). In the following example, the speaker includes himself in the request, rendering it functionally a hortative:

- (49) **soq** toroá mamihog lirik
 soq to-ruá maN-pihog lirik
 REQUEST NR-two AV -make garden
 (The monkey said:) 'Let's make a garden!'

3.2.3 Equational clauses

In equational clauses the predicate is not a verb but a noun (phrase) or a numeral. There is no copula in Toratán. The typical order in such clauses is SUBJECT-PREDICATE as in the following examples:

- (50) aren ne **i Punuk**
 name 3sGN PN Punuk
 His name was Punuk.
- (51) pomuda nu toratán **limampulo**
 pomuda nu toratán lima-N -pulo
 youth GN Toratán five-LK-ten
 The youths from Toratán (were) fifty,

The predicate in an equational clause may also be a locative expression, either a phrase marked by *su* or a locative adverbial:

- (52) sawu ntee kau **su apa**
 sawu N -teqé kau su apa
 time LK-DIST 2s LOC where
 At that time, where were you?
- (53) **sene** tampa ne
 sene tampa ne
 there place 3sGN
 Her place was there.

As shown by (53), the order PREDICATE-SUBJECT is also possible in equational clauses.

It is very common to nominalise fully inflected verbs with the proclitic particle *to* (see §3.3.4) and to use such nominalisations as subjects in equational clauses. This is the regular way of forming word questions (i.e. clauses with interrogative predicates). Examples:

- (54) sei to naoman te
 isai to na-oman Ce
 who NR AV.PST-say CPL
 Who said that?

- (55) apa to pinaoman nu sisé?
 apa to in -pa-oman nu si =isé
 what NR PST-SF-say 2sGN LOC=3s
 What did you say to him? (elicited)

The equational clause pattern is also used for pragmatic focus – i.e., to highlight new or contrastive information. The new or contrastive information appears in the predicate slot of an equational clause, the backgrounded (activated) information in its subject slot. The following example involves contrastive focus:

- (56) tomponú koteq to nusuán wusak
 tomponú kotéq to nu -suán wusak
 turtle AFM NR AV.PST-plant banana
 It was in fact the turtle who planted the bananas.

Contrastive focus is usually indicated by additional markers. This may be an emphatic particle following the focused predicate, such as *koteq* in the preceding example. Alternatively, the more emphatic *ento* is used instead of *to* to mark the subject of the equational structure:

- (57) masé ento ku simúq
 masé e -N -to ku im -suq
 3p FOC-LK-NR MT AV.PST-enter
 They were the ones who went to church.²²

The use of equational clause structure for word questions and pragmatic focus accounts for the fact that this clause type is relatively frequent in natural discourse.

3.2.4 Existential clauses

Existential clauses have a predicate which contains the existential quantifier *one*. The existential quantifier asserts existence or presence in the universe of discourse. It may be followed by a nominal complement which refers to an indefinite (hearer-new) entity or a class, the existence or presence of which is asserted. Such predicates may also be modified by a locative expression which specifies the location of the entity:

- (58) one sasolon su oo ne
 EXIST lamp LOC content 3sGN
 There was a lamp inside.

When the nominal complement refers to an indefinite entity or a class, it forms together with the existential quantifier a complex existential predicate. The order of the constituents of this predicate is fixed (quantifier before complement) and no other constituents may intervene. The locative expression, however, may either precede (as above) or follow this complex existential predicate:

²² When the lexeme *suq* ‘enter’ is used without specifying a location which is being entered it means (by conventional implicature) ‘go to church’.

- (59) **sene** one singkatau torarióq to matatón te
 sene one singkatau torarióq to ma-ta-ton Ce
 there EXIST one_person children NR ST-??-know CPL
 There was a child there who was already old enough to understand.

Furthermore, the locative expression may simply be missing:

- (60) one watu mararitik
 one watu ma-R-rituk
 EXIST stone AV-R-chase
 There are stones chasing each other.

As the two preceding examples also show, the nominal complement of the existential quantifier may be fairly complex and thus include, among other elements, adnominally used verbs (for example, *to matatón te* in (59)).

In a second, somewhat different existential construction the nominal complement refers to a known (definite) entity whose location or presence is asserted.

- (61) one **watu té**
 EXIST stone DIST
 (Until the time when we were young) those rocks were still there (still existed).

In this case, the nominal complement exhibits typical subject properties. Most importantly, it may either follow or precede the existential quantifier:

- (62) araq **kumú** one sene
 if 2p EXIST there
 When you are there, ...

Furthermore, the locative expression may come in between the existential quantifier and the definite nominal complement:

- (63) one **sene** masé
 EXIST there 3p
 They are there.

In this construction, an understood definite nominal complement may also simply be omitted:

- (64) **one e** sini hairen
 EXIST CPL here later
 (They, the soldiers) will be here in a minute.

In negative existential clauses, the nominal complement denoting the entity the existence or presence of which is denied is preceded by the linker *si* as in the following example:

- (65) timai araq ne one **si** to budóq
 timai araq ne one si to budóq
 not if 3SGN EXIST LK NR albino
 (That actually,) but for her, there would not have been albinos.

In our corpus, the linker *si* occurs only in negative existentials. The existential quantifier *one* may be omitted in this construction, as long as there is a negator such as *timai* and the linker *si*:

- (66) meken **timaisi** cirita
 maneken timaisi cirita
 despite not LK story
 Even if there is no story, ...

3.3 Noun phrases

3.3.1 Basic Structure

Noun phrases consist minimally of a noun. In some syntactic environments the use of a noun phrase marker is obligatory, with the marker always preceding the noun (cf. §3.2.1). Modifiers always follow the noun, with the exception of numerals and quantifiers (which are dealt with in §3.5). Among the post-nominal modifiers, four kinds of modificational constructions may be distinguished. Adnominally used verbs and verb phrases (i.e. constructions that functionally correspond to adjectives and relative clauses in languages in which these syntactic units have special formal characteristics) are, in general, preceded by the marker *to* (see §3.3.4 for further details). Genitive attributes are preceded by a genitive marker. Locative adjuncts are marked by *su*. Demonstratives are added without any further marking and occur last in a chain of modifiers. The following elicited example illustrates the use of three modifiers – two adnominally used verbs and a demonstrative – in one noun phrase:

- (67) kapuna **to mawuroq to loben teqé**
 kapuna to ma-wuroq to loben teqé
 dog NR ST-white NR big DIST
 That big, white dog.

In our non-elicited data, there are at most two modifiers per noun phrase, one of which usually is a demonstrative and the other of which is another kind of adnominal modifier.

3.3.2 Noun phrase markers

Noun phrase markers come in two sets, one for common nouns and one for proper nouns. These markers contribute to the identification of the syntactic function of a given NP. There are three distinctions in each of the two sets: nominative²³, genitive, and locative. In verbal clauses, nominative noun phrases may be used in subject or topic function. In equational clauses, they function as both subjects and predicates. Genitive and locative noun phrases serve a variety of non-subject functions in verbal clauses (for details, see §3.2.1, above). Further, both genitive and locative noun phrases may be used as modifiers within a noun phrase. Locative noun phrases also serve as predicates in equational clauses. Table 3 lists the forms. Note that there is no marker for nominative uses of common noun phrases.

²³ The form called *nominative* here is, strictly speaking, not marked for case. Thus, *nominative* is being used here to refer to the basic unmarked form of a noun phrase.

	COMMON NOUN	PROPER NOUN
NOM	-	i
GEN	nu ²⁴	ni ²⁵
LOC	su	si

Table 3: Toratán noun phrase markers

All noun phrase markers are clitics. They are always unstressed and, optionally, undergo a variety of reductions (note that affixes of similar segmental shape never undergo the kind of reductions found with these phrase markers).

The locative markers may be reduced if the following word begins with a stop or a fricative. In this case, the vowel in *su* and *si* may be dropped, resulting in phonological words beginning with a consonant cluster (bilabial fricatives become voiced bilabial stops in such clusters). Examples:

- (68) nirupa **spasar**
 ni -rupa su =pasar
 PST-put LOC=market
 (He) was brought to the market.
- (69) kinak e **sSengeq**
 kinak Ce si=Sengek
 ask CPL LOC=Sengek
 (He) interrogated Sengek.
- (70) tinambunan **sSalonsong**
 in -tambun-an su =Salonsong
 PST-bury -LV LOC=Salonsong
 Buried on (Mount) Salonsong.
- (71) apa one pai majadi **sbanoa**
 apa one pai ma-jadi su =wanoa
 what EXIST perhaps ST-become LOC=village
 What can have happened in the village?

This reduction is optional because reduced and unreduced forms of the markers are found in identical environments. Compare (71) with (72):

- (72) one apa pai majadi **su** **wanoa**
 one apa pai ma-jadi su wanoa
 EXIST what perhaps ST-become LOC village
 What can have happened in the village?

The locative markers are unambiguously proclitics because, as just shown, the optional rule of vowel reduction is always conditioned by the following word. The status of the genitive markers as proclitics is less clear because for these elements there is an optional reduction rule in which the *preceding* word provides the conditioning environment. When *ni* or *nu* are

²⁴ The Bible translation consistently has *ngu* as the unreduced form of the genitive marker, but we have no examples of this in our recordings.

²⁵ The Bible translation consistently has *ngi* as the unreduced form of the genitive marker for proper nouns, whereas our recordings only show *ngi* before names referring to a group of people (hence *ngi* is glossed as a PLURAL marker here).

preceded by a word ending in an alveolar or velar nasal (/n/ or /ng/) or a liquid (/r/ or /l/), then the initial /n/ of *ni/nu* may be dropped, resulting in a simple vowel which in the case of *ni* is homophonous with the nominative form of the proper noun marker. Examples:

- (73) ntur u musik to tasá ngkubur
 ntur nu musik to ta =sa nu=kubur
 accompany:CV GN band NR AND=DIR GN=grave
 Those who went to the grave were accompanied by the band.

- (74) long i tonaqas
 long ni tonaqas
 hut GN shaman
 The house of the shaman.

This reduction, which is fairly frequent in our data after liquids and nasals, also seems to occur sporadically after other final consonants. For example, there is one example in our corpus in which *nu* is reduced to *u* after a final voiceless stop:

- (75) pipók u masé watu tee
 in -pok nu masé watu teqé
 PST-cut GN 3p stone DIST
 They split those rocks.

When a genitive marker follows a vowel-final word and precedes a consonant-initial word, it may become a proclitic in the same way as described above for the locative markers – that is, the vowel of the genitive marker is dropped and the remaining /n/ becomes part of a word-initial consonant-cluster (assimilating to the place of articulation and turning voiced fricatives and /r/ into stops, as stated in §2.2.1.1). Examples (see also *ngkubur* in (73) above):

- (76) wala **ng**kayu
 wala nu=kayu
 middle GN=wood
 In the middle of the woods.
- (77) isé timere kutamai **mb**alei
 isé im -tere ku=ta =mai nu=walei
 3s AV.PST-run MT=AND=DIR GN=house
 He ran home.
- (78) to su mata **n**dalen
 to su mata nu=ralen
 NR LOC eye GN=road
 The one in the middle of the road.
- (79) kami **n**Danel
 kami ni=Danel
 lpEX GN=Daniel
 Daniel and I.

Again, there is one example in our corpus which suggests that this process also occurs sporadically in other environments. In the following example, it happens after a word ending in a consonant:

- (80) niimun sene su lalonganen ndoyan
 ni -imun sene su lalonganen nu=royan
 PST-gather there LOC under GN=durian
 (The people) were gathered there under the durian tree.

Instead of *lalonganen ndoyan* one would regularly expect *lalonganen u royan* in this environment.

All noun phrase markers may be separated from the remaining constituents of the phrase by a pause (in which case there is never a reduction), as in the following example:²⁶

- (81) nayuma su: (0.7) lirik
 na-yuma su lirik
 AV.PST-arrive LOC garden
 (The shaman) came to ... the garden.

Occasionally, the marker is repeated after the pause:

- (82) masé kutamai nu (0.4) nu Lansak
 masé ku=ta =mai nu nu Lansak
 3p MT=AND=DIR GN GN Lansak
 They went to ... to Lansak.

Finally, notice that the reduction processes reviewed in this section are lexically conditioned in the sense that they are specific to noun phrase markers. No such reductions have been observed for the 2.SG genitive pronoun *nu*, which has the same phonological shape as the unreduced genitive marker *nu*.

3.3.3 Pronouns

For personal pronouns, two distinct series, nominative and genitive, exist in the singular but only one series in the plural. Genitive forms of the plural pronouns are formed with the genitive marker *nu/ni* as further explained below. Table 4 provides an overview of the forms.

	SG		PL
	NOM	GEN	NOM/GEN
1. INCL	yaq	ku	(i) kite
EXCL			(i) kami
2.	(i) kau	nu	(i) kumú
3.	(i)sé	ne	(i) mangasé

Table 4: Toratán pronouns

As shown in this table, the nominative form of the pronouns generally consists of the personal article *i* plus a pronominal stem. With pronominal stems of two or three syllables, the personal article may be dropped as indicated by the brackets. Sporadically, third singular *isé* is also used without this article, as in the following example:

²⁶ The number in parentheses indicates the pause length in seconds. The colon after *su* indicates prepausal lengthening of the vowel.

- (83) araq **sé** kumukuk e
 araq isé um-kukuk Ce
 if 3s AV-cry_out CPL
 When he cried out.

For the first person singular form (*yaq* < *iaq*), no example without the personal article is attested. In very careful speech (for example, in elicitation), however, this form is also pronounced as a disyllabic word with final stress – i.e., [i^{yá}ə].

In connected speech, the third person plural form (*mangasé*) is frequently shortened to *masé*.

The first person plural forms are often combined with numerals when referring to small groups. This is particularly common for first person plural exclusive *kami* as shown by the fact that there is a fused form (*i*) *kará* ‘the two of us (exclusive)’ (from *kami* + *ruá* ‘two’). First person plural inclusive *kite* is also used with numerals for a more precise specification of the number of the group referred to. Hence *i kite tulu* ‘the three of us’ and *i kite paq* ‘the four of us’ occur both in our elicited data as well as lexical subentries in Kolinug.

The genitive forms, which only exist in the singular, are clitics. They are used to express possessors (e.g., *walei nu* ‘your house’) or agents in undergoer voice constructions and always immediately follow their syntactic heads (the possessum and the verbal predicate, respectively):

- (84) sinare **ku** sinapang
 in -sare ku sinapang
 PST-lean_on 1sGN weapon
 I was leaning on (my) weapon.

Third singular *ne* is reduced to /e/ after words ending in /n/, /ng/, /l/, or /r/, the same kind of reduction as the one observed for the genitive markers *nu/ni*, above. Examples are *aren e* ‘his/her name’, *payang e* ‘his/her thigh’, *spondol e* ‘on its tip’, and *likur e* ‘his/her back’. This reduction occurs much more regularly for *ne* than for *nu/ni* in our data. In fact, there is only one example where this reduction fails to occur: *aren ne i Punuk* ‘his name was Punuk’ (= example (50), above).²⁷

In contrast with the genitive noun phrase marker *nu*, *ne* is unambiguously an enclitic. There is never a vowel reduction after vowel-final words (and hence no assimilation to a following consonant). Occasionally, however, our recordings show that the initial nasal assimilates in position to the preceding stop, as in the following example:

- (85) to pinakinak **nge** siyaq
 to in -pakinak ne si=yaq
 NR PST-ask 3sGN LOC=1s
 What he asked me.

No morphological variation occurs in our corpus with regard to the other two genitive clitics – that is, 1sGN *ku* and 2sGN *nu*.

No special genitive forms for the plural pronouns exist. Instead, the first and second person plural pronouns regularly take *ni* as a genitive marker, just like proper nouns. An example is *sop ni kumú* ‘your (PL) vegetables’.

The third person plural pronoun (*mangasé*) allows three options when functioning as a genitive attribute: (1) it remains unmarked as in *ku mangasé* ‘they said/their word’. This is by far the most common choice in our spontaneous data. (2) It may be marked by *nu*, like a

²⁷ There is a clearly discernible onset for the second /n/ in this example. Later in the story, the same speaker uses the same construction again, but this time with reduction – i.e., *aren e i Punuk*.

common noun (cf. (75) in §3.3.2). (3) It may be marked by *ni*, like a proper noun, as in the following example:

- (86) yaq ne ninót **ni** mangasé
 yaq ne ni -not ni mangasé
 1s also PST-invite GN 3p
 They also invited me.

Finally, the locative marker for pronouns is *si*. As with proper nouns, this marker occurs in both reduced and unreduced forms, for example, *siyaq/syaq* ‘to me’, *sikite/skite* ‘to us (inclusive)’, *sikau/skau* ‘to you’, *sisé/sye* ‘to him/her’, and *simangasé* ‘to them’.

3.3.4 Proclitic *to*: attribution marker, ‘nominaliser’, complementiser

The proclitic *to* is a multifunctional, high frequency item in Toratán and has already been mentioned several times in the preceding sections. This section provides an overview of its diverse uses which pertain to three grammatical domains: attributive constructions, ‘nominalisations’, and complement clauses. One of the interesting and analytically challenging properties of this clitic pertains to the fact that it has extremely variable scope. That is, the constituent marked by it may consist of a word, a phrase, or a complete clause.

Attributive constructions. As already mentioned in §3.3.1, above, constituents modifying nouns are regularly ‘linked’ by *to*. Note that not only nouns but pronouns as well may be modified in this way:

- (87) sumúq e **mangasé to limampulo**
 um-suq Ce mangasé to lima-N -pulo
 AV-enter CPL 3p NR five-LK-ten
 The fifty of them entered.

Proclitic *to* also occurs in verbal expressions, ‘linking’ adverbs to a verb. The following example contains two adverbial expressions marked by *to*:

- (88) burung araq mauntingi pakaroá **to muahí to matohas**
 burung araq ma-un-tingi paka -ruá to muhahí to ma-tohas
 bird if AV-??-voice TIMES-two NR like_this NR ST-loud
 If this bird cries loudly twice like this, ...

If the modifier consists of only one word, the use of *to* is not obligatory. Examples of adnominal modifiers without *to* typically involve those stative verbs which semantically resemble adjectives in other languages:

- (89) pundoyan **loben** sene
 pu =nu=royan loben sene
 pole=GN=durian big there
 The large durian tree there.

The semantic difference between attributive constructions with *to* and those without remains to be investigated.

‘*Nominalisations*’. As noted in §3.1, *to* is used to allow verbs to appear in nominal syntactic functions such as expressing an argument of a verbal predicate. In this use, *to* may have scope over a complete verbal phrase (i.e. the verb and its non-subject arguments) rather than just simply a verb:

- (90) waktu itu siningkapen ku e **to**
 waktu itu in -singkap-an ku Ce to
 time DIST PST-answer -LV 1sGN CPL NR
pinakinak nge siyaq
 in -pakinak ne si=yaq
 PST-ask 3sGN LOC=1s

At that time I answered what he asked me.

The nominal expression created in this way may refer to a variety of things. In the preceding example it refers to a proposition, in the following one to a place:

- (91) nayuma na **sto kunaq**
 na-yuma na su =to kunaq
 AV.PST-arrive DIR LOC-NR like
pinangaren Pinatén
 in -paN-aren Pinaten
 PST-SF -name Pinaten

They arrived at the place called Pinatén (place where somebody died).

In other examples a *to*-phrase refers to people:

- (92) tapi **to napók tee** nangule taa
 tapi to na-pok teqé naN -ule ta =ná
 but NR AV.PST-cut DIST AV.PST-return AND=DIR
 But those who split them (the stones) returned.

To-phrases referring to people are very frequent in our corpus. This is connected to the fact that a variety of very common expressions for people are formed by using stative verbs within a *to*-phrase. Some of these expressions are lexicalised. Examples include:²⁸ *torarióq* ‘children’ (< *rióq* ‘little, small’), *to hahureq/tohahureq* ‘elders’ (< *hureq* ‘old’), or *to kakeeqren* ‘ancestors’ (< *keeqren* ‘former times’).

In all of the preceding examples *to* is a nominaliser, as it allows a verbal expression to be used in nominal syntactic functions. In (90) and (92) the phrase marked by *to* functions as the subject of a verbal clause; in (91) it functions as the *su*-marked argument of a motion verb in agent voice.

However, *to* is also found with non-verbal expressions in the same syntactic environments. That is, *to* occasionally also marks non-verbal constituents which function as arguments of verbal predicates. The range of meanings of *to*-phrases with non-verbal expressions is similar to those with verbal expressions. A prominent example are locative expressions (a phrase consisting of *su* plus noun or a local adverb), which when preceded by *to* generally refer to people at or from such-and such a place. In the following example, *to* plus locative expression is used as the subject of a verbal clause:

- (93) **to su long** le pinayu
 to su long le in -payu
 NR LOC hut FOC PST-send_for

The ones in the hut had already been summoned.

In the next example, *to* plus locative expression functions as the genitive argument of an agent voice construction:

²⁸ The apparently inconsistent representation of these expressions as one or two orthographic words follows the practice of our contributors.

- (94) masé sa manintak **to sini**
 masé sa maN-sintak to sini
 3p DIR AV -raise NR here

They (the army) were heading south, coming to take the people here.

In addition to verbal and locative phrases, *to* also occurs with (non-local) common nouns and with demonstratives. An example for the use with a common noun is the following one (see also example (16) in §3.1, above):

- (95) nirupa ku su aqemponan **to wio**
 ni -rupa ku su R-empo-an to wio
 PST-put 1sGN LOC R-sit -LV NR wild_pig

I put it on the bench, that pig.

Use with a demonstrative is illustrated by the next example:

- (96) manyanyúp bas **to tee**
 maN-R-cup bas to teqé
 AV -R-blow bass NR DIST

(He) played the bass horn, that one.

As pointed out in §3.1, the use of *to* with nouns and demonstratives in these constructions is syntactically optional whereas it is obligatory for verbal and locative expressions when these are used as arguments of verbal predicates. The factors determining the use of *to* with nominal expressions have not yet been determined.

Complement Clauses. The scope of *to* is not restricted to words and phrases but sometimes also extends to clauses. That is, *to* is also used as a complementiser, introducing complement clauses:

- (97) isé naoman **to sapi ne masaki.**
 isé na-oman to sapi ne ma-saki
 3s AV.PST-say CMP cow 3sGN ST-sick

He said that his cow was sick. (elicited)

Complement clauses may be used adnominally:

- (98) sawu nto **Sepus winuno mangasé** naq kau su apa?
 sawu N -to Sepus in -wuno mangasé naq kau su apa
 time LK-CMP Joseph PST-kill 3p AFM 2s LOC where

At the time that they killed Sepus where were you?

Here, the noun *sawu* plus *to* actually functions like a conjunction, i.e. ‘at the time that’ = ‘when’. A similar meaning is expressed by the combination of the distal demonstrative + *to* + a clause, as in the following example:

- (99) **tee nto** napuling ke ting u manuk
 teqé N -to na-puling Ce tingi nu manuk
 DIST LK-CMP ST.PST-full CPL word GN bird

Until the time that the bird has finished calling (lit. the bird’s words are full)

Complement clauses introduced by *to* are also a major building block for the formation of *why* (or *how*) questions which are expressed by the formula ‘how/why is it that X’:

- (100) makura **to** kapala lukar naq tumere
 ma-kura to kepala lukar naq um-tere
 AV-what CMP head guard AFM AV-run
 Why is it that the captain of the guard wants to run away?

- (101) makura **to** i kau le matakug to raré
 ma-kura to i kau le ma-takug to raré
 AV-what CMP PN 2s FOC ST-afraid NR down_there
 Why is it that you are afraid of what is down there?

Arguments of complement clauses which are coreferential with arguments in the main clause are normally omitted. For example, in the following segment the subject of the complement clause *taná wiq Kepung* ‘go only as far as Kepung’ has been omitted:

- (102) jadi niator e anak buah ne,
 jadi ni -ator ne anak buah ne
 thus PST-order 3sGN child fruit 3sGN
 to taná wiq Kepung
 to ta =na wiq Kepung
 CMP AND=DIR only Kepung
 So he (the boy) gave orders to his followers to go down only as far as Kepung,

3.4 The clitic particle *Ce*

The enclitic particle *Ce* most frequently marks completion of an event. It occurs after all kinds of predicates, including the existential particle *one* (*one e* means ‘there is/was already’). The shape of this clitic is determined by the preceding segment as follows. After nasals its initial consonant (the *C* of *Ce*) is a stop homorganic with the nasal which precedes it: *-m + Ce* → *-m pe*, *-n + Ce* → *-n te*, *-ng + Ce* → *-ng ke*. Otherwise (after vowels and oral consonants) the initial consonant is \emptyset – i.e., *Ce* has the shape /e/. The following examples illustrate the post-nasal forms:

- (103) nilutam **pe** masé
 ni -lutam Ce masé
 PST-shoot CPL 3p
 They had shot them.
- (104) yaq naoman **te** si Sepus
 yaq na-oman Ce si Sepus
 1s AV.PST-say CPL LOC Joseph
 I said to Joseph, ...
- (105) hinadang **ke** maqasé mbe
 in -hadang Ce mangasé ambe
 PST-block CPL 3p mate
 They ambushed (them), friend.

As shown by the preceding examples, completive *Ce* in general comes immediately after the verb. However, if there is a monosyllabic clitic pronoun (cf. §3.3.3) following the verb as well, then the pronominal clitic precedes the completive clitic:

- (106) niluntamagen **ku** **e** burung
 ni -luntamaq-an ku Ce burung
 PST-scold -LV 1SGN CPL bird
 I scolded the bird.

In the case of the third person singular pronoun *ne*, the completive marker is realised simply by lengthening the vowel of the pronoun (which is exactly what one would expect given the position and morphonology of *Ce*). The combined form, then, is either *nee* or *ee* (if the initial nasal is dropped), as in:

- (107) Kinán ee wusak.
 in -kan ne =Ce wusak
 PST-eat 3SGN=CPL banana
 He had eaten the bananas.

Note that the morphonological variants of both 3.SG *ne* (§3.3.3) and completive *Ce* include simple /e/. It is, however, rare that ambiguities arise because the morphonological variants of 3.SG *ne* and completive *Ce* are partially in complementary distribution: after /n/ and /ng/ *ne* becomes *e*, whereas *Ce* becomes *te* and *ke*, respectively. In most other environments *ne* remains *ne*, while *Ce* becomes *e*. The only context in which these two clitics cannot formally be distinguished are the liquids (/r/ and /l/) since both completive *Ce* and 3.SG *ne* are regularly realised as *e* after liquids.

3.5 Numerals

Toratán numerals are organised in a decimal system. The atomic numerals are listed in Table 5.

1	(saun)sa ²⁹	6	num	‘hundred’	ngaren
2	(ra)ruá ³⁰	7	pitu	‘thousand’	hiwu
3	(ta)tulu	8	walu		
4	paq	9	siau		
5	lima	10	(ma)pulo		

Table 5: Toratán atomic numerals

As shown below, the bracketed parts of the first three numerals³¹ and ‘ten’ do not occur in complex numbers or when affixes are added to these numerals.

Complex numbers are formed by two operations – i.e., addition and multiplication. In additions, the bigger digit precedes the smaller one and no linking element is used. For example:

- (108) mapulo sa ‘eleven’
 mapulo ruá ‘twelve’
 mapulo siau ‘nineteen’
 sangaren sa ‘one hundred and one’

²⁹ Kolinug has *taunsá* for ‘one’.

³⁰ The form *ruá* is the only form given in Kolinug. In our database, the variant *roá* is more common.

³¹ In the case of *raruá* and *tatulu*, the initial syllable is obviously derived via monosyllabic reduplication (*R-*).

suiwu sangaren mapulo sa 'one thousand one hundred eleven'³²

In multiplications, the smaller digit precedes the larger ones. When combining with numerals other than 'one', the base for 'ten', *pulo*, is preceded by a linking nasal, which is always /m/ since it assimilates to the initial /p/ of *pulo*. No linking element occurs with *ngaren* and *hiwu*. Hence:

(109) rua mpulo	'twenty'
tulu mpulo	'thirty'
paq mpulo	'forty'
sangaren	'one hundred'
rua ngaren	'two hundred'
suiwu	'one thousand'
rua iwu	'two thousand'
rua mpulo ruá	'twenty two'
suiwu siau ngaren siau mpulo num	'1996'

The atomic numbers allow for a variety of further derivations. Bisyllabic reduplication (*RD-*) or, in the case of the lower digits (1-3), monosyllabic reduplication (*R-*) derives limitatives.³³

(110) tataunsá	'only one'
raruá/rararuá	'only two'
tatulu	'only three'
papáq	'only four'
lima-lima	'only five'
nunúm	'only six'
pitu-pitu	'only seven'
walu-walu	'only eight'
sia-siau	'only nine'
mapulo-pulo	'only ten'

Other derivations involve prefixes. The prefix *ka-* derives ordinal numbers, e.g., *karuá* 'second', *katulu* 'third', *kapaq* 'fourth', etc. (the word for 'first', *pona*, is not derived from the cardinal number). The prefix *paka-* (or alternatively *pakaka-*) forms multiplicatives (adverbial expressions meaning 'times'), e.g. *pakaruá* 'twice', *pakatulu* 'three times', etc. (Again, the derivation for 'once' is somewhat irregular, namely *pakusá*.) Distributive numerals are derived with *taa-*, hence *taarua* 'two each, two by two'. (This form also occurs with the agent voice infixes *-um/-im-*, thus *tumaarua* 'do two at a time'.)

Numerals may be used as predicates in equational clauses (cf. example (51) in §3.2.3).

When numerals are used as modifiers, they usually precede the noun (unlike other modifiers which follow the noun, see §3.3.1, above) and are in turn preceded by the proclitic element *ere*:

³² *sa* '1' + *hiwu* 'thousand' is either *soiwu* or *suiwu* (the latter is the form given by Kolinug).

³³ Note that bisyllabic reduplication in the case of a monosyllabic root looks like simple (monosyllabic) CV-reduplication (e.g. *nunúm* 'only six'). The form *papáq* is obviously ambiguous: *R-* as well as *RD-* produce here the same results.

- (111) **ere roá kapuna** to maitum teqé kapuna ku.
 ere ruá kapuna to ma-itung teqé kapuna ku
 UNIT two dog NR ST-black DIST dog 1sGN
 Those two black dogs are my dogs. (elicited)

The element *ere* also sometimes precedes numerals when they are used in nominal functions:

- (112) te sini wu taná **ere roá**
 te sini wu ta=ná ere ruá
 CON here ABL AND=DIR UNIT two
 From here **the two of them** went down.

However, when numerals function as nominal expressions they may also be preceded by *to*.

The precise distribution and function of *ere* needs further research. Here it may be noted that it also occurs with other quantified expressions:

- (113) tapi araq matatón te wunón **ere maya ntee**.
 tapi araq ma-ta-ton Ce wuno-an ere maya N -teqé
 but if ST-R-know CPL kill-PV UNIT all LK-DIST
 But if they knew (were at the age of reason), they should be killed, **all of them**.

These other quantified expressions, however, may function as nominal expressions without being marked by either *ere* or *to*:

- (114) **maye nté** kunaq maqimun sToratán
 maya n -teqé kunaq ma-imun su =Toratán
 all LK-DIST like ST-gather LOC=Ratahan.
 They all gathered in Ratahan.

4. Verbal Morphology

Verbs in Toratán generally consist of a root to which at least one primary and possibly one or more secondary affixes have been added. Primary affixes mark tense and voice. In the following example, the infix *-im-* is a primary affix marking past tense and agent voice:

- (115) yaq wiq **timere** liwāq tamai
 yaq wiq im -tere liwaq ta -mai
 1s only AV.PST-run across AND-DIR
 I just ran over there across the river

Secondary affixes cover a broad range of meanings and functions, including the formation of causative, stative, potential, and plural verbs, and the derivation of verbal stems from all kinds of roots. In the following example, *paN-* is a secondary prefix, deriving a verbal stem from the verbal root *ewong*, and *-an* is a primary suffix, marking local voice (the lack of a tense affix signals non-past tense):

- (116) yaq **pangewongan** wusak
 yaq paN-ewong-an wusak
 1s SF -carry-LV banana
 Get me some bananas. (elicited)

The essential difference between primary and secondary affixes pertains to the fact that every verb form necessarily conveys a tense/voice value – i.e., the choice of primary affixation is obligatory. This does not mean that all tense/voice-combinations are overtly marked. As further discussed and exemplified in §4.1, one tense (NON.PAST) and one voice (CONVEYANCE VOICE) are not overtly marked. Secondary affixation, on the other hand, is generally optional and does not result in complete verbal formations. One important consequence which follows for our analysis from this difference between the two kinds of affixations is this: while we assume that primary affixation is paradigmatically organised and may involve zero formatives, no such assumption is made with regard to secondary affixation.

The distinction between primary and secondary affixes thus looks similar to the familiar distinction between inflectional and derivational affixes. Nevertheless, we have chosen the non-committal labels ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ for the distinction between the two types of affixes³⁴ because it is far from clear that the distinction in Toratán (and other western Austronesian languages) is an instance of the distinction between inflection and derivation, as it is widely understood in the literature. Toratán primary and secondary affixes differ from inflectional and derivational affixes, respectively, in the following ways (among others):

- Primary affixes may be added directly to both verbal and nominal roots, ‘deriving’ verbal predicates in both instances.
- Several of the secondary affixes are as productive and general in their distribution and meaning as the primary affixes (e.g., the causative, potential, and stative prefixes, see §§4.3-4, below). In fact, voice affixation is less general and predictable than these kinds of secondary affixation.

The first section of this chapter deals with primary affixes (§4.1). The remaining sections concern secondary affixes, some of which have been grouped together on the basis of similarities in form and meaning. Note also that several secondary affixes are homonymous and are distinguished here by subscripts. They are not all productive to the same degree. Some may

³⁴ Note that choosing this kind of terminology is a matter of convenience rather than substance. It is convenient to have a pair of terms at hand which allows one to refer to all secondary affixes in distinction to the primary affixes.

occur with almost all roots, others are restricted to subclasses, and some occur with certain roots only in combination with certain primary affixes.

Secondary affixes typically may co-occur with other secondary affixes in forming complex derived stems (the major exceptions are the stem-forming prefixes discussed in §4.2). Some examples are given in the following sections, but no attempt has been made to provide a comprehensive and systematic statement of all the possible combinations.

4.1 Primary Affixes

The primary affixes indicate two tenses (past and non-past) and four voices (agent, patient, local, and conveyance voice). These categories will be discussed and exemplified in more detail in the following section (§4.1.1). There are also two modes, indicative vs. imperative, but the distinction between them is expressed morphologically only in part, as shown in §4.1.2.

In principle, it is possible to isolate specific formatives for some of the grammatical categories coded by the primary affixes. However, the morphology of these affixes is formally as well as semantically tightly integrated. Therefore, we have chosen to analyse and present the formations involving primary affixes in the form of paradigms, an option that allows for highlighting paradigmatic contrast and the integration of segmentally unmarked forms ('zero' formatives in a morpheme based approach). It should be noted, however, that not all paradigmatic options are available for all roots and stems. Most importantly, not all roots and stems occur with all three of the undergoer voices.

4.1.1 Indicative forms

In this section we treat only the primary affixes added to unaffixed roots. The affixes added to stems derived with secondary affixes are discussed in the succeeding sections.

The following chart shows the primary verb affixes as they appear when added to roots:

	PAST	NON-PAST
AGENT VOICE	-im-	-um-
PATIENT VOICE	-in-	-an
LOCAL VOICE	-in--an	-an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	-in-	0

Table 6: Primary affixes added to roots

The morphonology of these affixes is discussed in §2.2.2. Note that the formal distinction between the three undergoer voices depends on the paradigmatic contrast between the two tenses. Given a word with the infix *-in-*, this infix marks the patient voice if the non-past form is *-an*, and it marks conveyance voice if the non-past form is zero. Similarly, given a verb with *-an*, it is patient voice if the past has *-in-* and local voice if the past has *-in--an*.

Verbs consisting of the primary affixes plus a root are of two types: those which refer to meteorological phenomena (a small, unproductive class) and those which we term DYNAMIC. When serving as verbal predicates, meteorological expressions (rain, earthquakes, etc.) are usually marked as agent voice (*nanaiti* (naN-taiti) 'it's raining heavily')³⁵ or local voice forms (*tinaicán te* (in-taiti-an Ce) 'it rained on (him/her/it)').

DYNAMIC verbs in general refer to the volitional and controlled doing of an action. The term DYNAMIC is used in contradistinction to the term STATIVE discussed in §4.1.3 below.

³⁵ This form involves the stem-forming prefix *paN-* discussed in §4.2.3.

Roots which combine with the primary affixes to form dynamic verbs (and also those which form dynamic verbs in combination with secondary affixes – cf. §4.2, below) are called DYNAMIC ROOTS. Dynamic verbs typically occur with the agent voice, and with one, two, or all three of the undergoer voices.

The PAST TENSE typically refers to an event which has occurred or started. The NON-PAST refers to future, iterative or habitual events (and it is used in imperatives – cf. §4.1.2). The non-past is also normally used in speaking of the second or a later of a series of events and in contexts in which temporal reference has already been established.

With the exception of meteorological verbs, the meanings of the voices may be roughly characterised as follows:

- In AGENT VOICE, the verb typically refers to (or is oriented towards) the performer of an action; if the verb constitutes the predicate of the clause, the agent argument functions as the subject.³⁶
- In PATIENT VOICE, the verb typically refers to a specific person or thing which is directly affected by an action. If the verb constitutes the predicate of the clause, the patient argument functions as the subject of the clause.
- In LOCAL VOICE, the verb typically refers to a place or person to whom or at which an action is performed. If the verb constitutes the predicate of the clause, the subject of the clause is either a recipient or a locative argument (depending on the root).
- In CONVEYANCE VOICE, the verb typically refers to an object which is conveyed or put somewhere or used as an instrument or is the beneficiary of the action. If the verb constitutes the predicate of the clause, the subject of the clause is an argument referring to the thing conveyed, an instrument, or the beneficiary of the action.

The following examples illustrate the various tense and voice meanings and provide evidence for the paradigmatic contrasts proposed in Table 6. It should be pointed out that the patient voice is comparatively rare, and that the majority of roots and stems use the conveyance voice to refer to the undergoer of the action, even if the root or stem does not refer to an action of moving something.

Agent Past

- (117) te isé **timumpa** e
 te isé im -tumpa Ce
 CON 3s AV.PST-jump_down CPL
 Then he **jumped** down.

Agent Non-Past

- (118) araq sé **kumukuk** e
 araq isé um-kukuk Ce
 if 3s AV-cry_out CPL
 tee nto suaq ne **sumúq** mangasé
 teqé N -to suaq ne um-suq mangasé
 DIST LK-NR maybe 3s AV-enter 3p
 When he **shouts**, only then can they **go in**.

³⁶ Recall from §3.2.1 and §3.3.4 that voice marked verbs do not necessarily function as the main predicate of a clause but, when marked with *to*, may also function as adnominal modifiers or as heads of noun phrases.

Patient Past

- (119) akel teqé **tinuwang**³⁷ mangasé
 akel teqé in -tuwang mangasé
 sugar_palm DIST PST-fell 3p
 They **cut** the sugar palm **down**.

Patient Non-Past

- (120) apa itu **pihoqan** nu?
 apa itu pihoq-an nu
 what DIST make -PV 2SGN
 What **are you doing** (here)?
- (121) kau **wunón**³⁸ masé tiaraq ku naq tiaraq
 kau wuno-an masé tiaraq ku naq tiaraq
 2s kill-PV 3p not say AFM not
 They **will kill** you, no doubt about it.

Local Past

- (122) **nilaweqan** burung yaq
 ni -laweq -an burung yaq
 PST-say_probatively-LV bird 1s
 The bird **lay in wait for** me.
- (123) wu **tinongkohan** nu atup wu **tinananen** masé
 wu in -tongkop-an nu atup wu in -tananen masé
 and PST-cover -LV GN roof then PST-leave_behind 3p
 (The rice had apparently been carried out through the back by Mr. Tumundo,) and
covered with thatching, and then they **left it**.

Local Non-Past

- (124) musti **awiqan** ku
 musti awiq -an ku
 must climb-LV 1SGN
 I have to **climb up** (the tree).
- (125) pinamarente ne to men **turán**
 in -paN-parente ne to men turá -an
 PST-SF -command 3SGN NR later remainder-LV
 ngi nto anak muanei
 ngi N -to anak muanei
 PL LK-NR child male
 He ordered that (the place) **be left** with only the male children.

³⁷ The corresponding non-past form is *tuwangen*. We quote the non-past form of the same verb in the case of the patient and conveyance voices as a confirmation of the type of voice affixation marked by *-in-*. (The non-past of the conveyance voice is unmarked, whereas the non-past of the patient voice is marked by the suffix *-an*.)

³⁸ This is a patient voice form as evidenced by the past tense *winuno*.

Conveyance Past

- (126) **nirupa**³⁹ ne spun wusak
 ni -rupa ne su =pu wusak
 PST-put 3sGN LOC=pole banana
 And **stuck it** in the banana tree.

Conveyance Non- Past

- (127) **ewong** ku wio
 ewong ku wio
 carry 1sGN wild_pig
 I'll carry the pig.
- (128) **kambei** ne naiq yaq
 kambei ne naiq yaq
 embrace 3sGN DIR 1s
 He **will embrace** me.

The most common roots found in this paradigm are dynamic verbal roots. However, some nominal roots which refer to objects or qualities may also be used in the same formations and thus form verbs without the addition of a special derivative affix, although verb stem derivation through secondary affixation is a more productive process. For example, the root *sinter* 'flashlight' forms a verb meaning 'shine flashlight on' with the addition of the local voice affix.

- (129) **sininteran** ku
 in -sinter -an ku
 PST-flashlight-LV 1sGN
 I shone (**my**) **light on (it)** (the pig).

Similarly, *tukar* 'ladder' plus local voice affixation means 'put a ladder against something':

- (130) ma **tinukaren** tee
 ma in -tukar -an teqé
 CON PST-ladder-LV DIST
 (They) **put a ladder against (it)** (the wall).

4.1.2 Imperative forms

The distinction between imperative and indicative is marked by the verbal morphology only in verbs which contain no secondary affixes, and only in the agent voice and in the patient voice. The imperative of the agent and patient voices consists of the bare root without any tense and voice marking affixes. The following examples show bare roots used as agent voice imperatives:

- (131) ku ni tomponú **qawiq le** taná
 ku ni tomponú awiq le ta =ná
 say GN turtle climb IMP AND=DIR
 The turtle said, '**Climb up** there!'

³⁹ This is a conveyance voice form as evidenced by the non-past form; cf. *rupa ne tasá* (put:CV 3sGN AND=DIR) 'He'll put it down there'.

- (132) **empo** le sini kau
 empo le sini kau
 sit IMP here 2s
 You **sit down** over here!

In the following two examples the bare roots *wuno* ‘kill him’ and *alaq* ‘get it’ are used as patient voice imperatives. The non-past patient voice forms of these two verbs are *wunón* and *alagen*, respectively.

- (133) **wuno** le ise! Salib le ise!
 wuno le isé Salib le isé
 kill IMP 3s crucify IMP 3s
Kill Him! Crucify Him! (John 19:15)

- (134) **alaq** le salak teqé!
 alaq le salak teqé
 take IMP zalacca DIST
 Just **take** that zalacca fruit. (elicited)

Bare roots used as imperatives are found only in positive imperatives. In negative imperatives (with *roku le* ‘don’t’) the non-past tense verb forms are used (cf. example (48) in §3.2.2 above).

For verbs which contain secondary affixes and for the conveyance and local voices there is no special imperative form. The non-past tense forms may be used as imperatives as well as indicatives (in the case of the conveyance voice, the non-past form is, of course, also the unaffixed root). Example (135) illustrates a local voice form, and example (136) the agent voice form of a secondary stem-deriving affix (*mu-*, cf. §4.2.2) used as imperatives:

- (135) **lukaren** le
 lukar-an le
 guard-LV IMP
Watch (it)!

- (136) te kuntou **muntóq** le
 te kuntou mu-ntoq le
 CON they_say AV-stop IMP
 They said, ‘**Stop** here!’

4.2 Prefixes deriving verb stems

Not all roots can take primary affixes directly. For those that cannot, a stem has to be derived with a prefix which then combines with the primary affixes in expressing tense and voice. Roots of all kinds of semantic and formal classes require this kind of stem-deriving prefixation. Note in particular that it concerns both nominal and verbal roots.

In this section we present three prefixes deriving verb stems: *pa₁-*, *pu-*, and *paN-*. Apart from the fact that they are all prefixes, these formatives have the following characteristics in common (most of which also distinguish them from the secondary affixes to be discussed in §§4.3ff):

- In most instances, it is not clear what these prefixes contribute semantically to the formations in which they take part.⁴⁰ This sharply distinguishes them from the stative, potential, causative, etc. prefixes.
- These prefixes are mutually exclusive – i.e., they generally do not co-occur within the same formation. (The major exception to this rule, the co-occurrence of *pa₁-* and *pu-* in causative formations, will be discussed in §4.4.) Furthermore, most roots allow only derivations with one of these three prefixes – i.e., a root which allows verb stem formation with *pu-* usually does not allow the formation of an alternative stem with *paN-*, etc.
- It is very often the case that for a given root one or two voices can be marked directly on the root while further voice marking is only possible on a derived stem (examples are given in all of the following subsections). This feature, again, distinguishes the prefixes forming verb stems from other secondary prefixes which cannot be omitted. The causative prefix, for example, is present in all voices and tenses of the causative verb.

In all secondary affixation (both in verb stem formation as well as in stative, potential, causative, etc. formations), there is no form for patient voice. The forms of verbs with secondary affixation which are used for both patient and conveyance voice formally correspond most closely to the conveyance voice forms in the primary affix paradigm (and therefore are labelled ‘conveyance’ in the charts).

4.2.1 Verb stem former: *pa₁-*

The prefix *pa₁-* is used to derive verb stems. It combines with the primary affixes to form the affixes given in the following chart (it is subscripted in order to distinguish it from the homophonous causative prefix *pa₂-*).

	PAST	NON-PAST
AGENT VOICE	na-	ma-
LOCAL VOICE	pina--an	pa--an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	pina-	pa-

Table 7: Tense/voice paradigm for stems derived with *pa₁-*

This derivation forms dynamic verbs which refer to motion and which denote making a noise: speaking, crying out, and the like. A sample of forms from our texts: *mayuma* ‘arrive’, *maawiq* ‘climb (a tree)’, *nasaka* ‘climbed (a mountain)’, *nasúq* ‘entered’, *naqimun* ‘come/gathered together’, *naskolah* ‘go to/attend school’, *maqoman* ‘say’, *nauntingi* ‘sounded’, *nawolá* ‘shouted’, *nakinák* ‘asked’. These verbs with *pa₁-* are mostly transitive in the sense that they occur in agent and at least one undergoer voice.

Note that there are also other dynamic roots which occur with *pa₁-* but are not in these semantic categories. As discussed further below, these roots, e.g. *napók* ‘cut (something)’, often occur with *pa₁-* only in agent voice but not in the undergoer voices.

The following three sentences exemplify the agent voice and the two undergoer voices with *paoman* ‘speak’ (<*pa₁-* + *oman*⁴¹):

⁴⁰ This assertion should not be taken to mean that there is no semantic basis to these prefixes. As will be pointed out in each of the following subsections, it is possible to identify semantic classes of roots with which each of the prefixes characteristically occurs.

⁴¹ This root also occurs with primary affixes without derivation by a secondary affix. In the following example the bare root functions as non-past conveyance voice:

*Agent voice*⁴²

- (137) yaq **naoman** te si Sepus
 yaq na-oman Ce si Sepus
 1s AV.PST-say CPL LOC Joseph
I had spoken with Sepus.

Local voice

- (138) kamang le araq memang nasadar e mangase.
 kamang le araq memang na -sadar Ce mangasé
 luck FOC if in_fact ST.PST-aware CPL 3p
pinaoma-omanen te katuq.
 in -pa-RD-oman-an Ce katuq
 PST-SF-RD-say -LV CPL in_fact

It would be lucky if they were really to become aware (of how others felt). (I) already **gave them a talking to** in fact.

Conveyance voice

- (139) memang **pinaoman** ku sawu ntee roku
 memang in -pa-oman ku sawu N -teqé roku
 in_fact PST-SF-say 1sGN time LK-DIST don't
 mangule-ngule su ...
 maN-RD-ule su
 AV-RD-return LOC

Well, I **told (him)** at that time, don't go returning to ... (Wiyoi or to Wayau.)

Other examples of verbs with *pa₁-*:

- (140) tapi to **napók** tee
 tapi to na-pok teqé
 but NR AV.PST-cut DIST

But those who **split** them (the stones).

- (141) nangule taa **nayuma** taa su
 naN -ule ta =na na-yuma ta =na su
 AV.PST-return AND=DIR AV.PST-arrive AND=DIR LOC
 wanoa tee **natei** e
 wanoa teqé N -patei Ce
 village DIST AV.PST-SF:die CPL

He returned home. When he **arrived** in the village, he **died**.

- (142) **mayuma** mai kami su Makalu
 ma-yuma mai kami su Makalu
 AV-arrive DIR 1pEX LOC Makalu

When **we got to** the Makalu (river).

There are a few verbs with *pa₁-* which refer to an involuntary/uncontrolled activity: *paloloq* 'sleep', *patei* 'die' (also 'kill'). This is an unproductive category. For *patei* see (141) above and the following example:⁴³

tee oman ne sisé (that said 3sGN LOC=3s) 'That's what she said to him.'

⁴² Note that in agent voice we do not indicate the occurrence of a stem-forming prefix in our glosses. Hence, *na-* is simply glossed AV.PST (for agent voice past) rather than as AV.PST.SF (and *ma-* as AV rather than as AV.SF).

- (143) araq **patén** satu keluarga
 araq patei-an satu keluarga
 if SF:die-LV one family
 When a family **is bereaved/someone dies in it**, ...

- (144) te **maloloq** sene
 te ma-loloq sene
 CON AV-sleep there
 (Wherever I end up at night,) I'll just **sleep** there.

In some cases roots occur with *pa₁-* only in agent voice, while the undergoer voices have only the primary undergoer affixes. For example *nalompuq* 'go out, continue' contains *pa₁-*, but *nilompuq* 'was brought out', has no *pa₁-* and is formed by adding only the primary affix *-in-* (in the alternant /ni/ for roots beginning with /l/).

- (145) to yaq **nalompuq** sá su lengko ne
 to yaq na-lompuq sa su lengko ne
 CMP 1s AV.PST-go_out DIR LOC curved 3sGN
 to su lowuq té
 to su lowuq teqé
 NR LOC isolated DIST
 (He saw) that I **was going** down the winding road that goes through that isolated area,
 ...

- (146) mai barekeng **nilompuq** ni yarong Tumundo
 mai barekeng ni -lompuq ni yarong Tumundo
 rice perhaps PST-go_out GN Mister Tumundo
 su liu ne
 su liu ne
 LOC around 3sGN

The rice **had** apparently **been carried out** through the back by Mr. Tumundo, ...

Other examples include all the monosyllabic roots listed in example (6) in §2.2.2.2, all of which denote fairly prototypical transitive actions.

4.2.2 Verb stem former: *pu-*

The prefix *pu-* is a verb stem former which combines with the primary affixes to form the affixes given in the following chart.

	PAST	NON-PAST
AGENT VOICE	nu-	mu-
LOCAL VOICE	pi ⁴⁴ -an	pu--an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	pi-	pu-

Table 8: Tense/voice-paradigm for *pu-* derived stems

⁴³ Since the root *tei* does not occur without the prefix *pa-* in our corpus, we consider this a fossilised formation (here indicated by the fact that prefix and root are not separated by a hyphen). Elsewhere in this monograph, *patei* is simply treated as an unanalysable root.

⁴⁴ See §2.2.1.2 for the morphonology of *pi-* < *-in-* + *pu-*.

The prefix *pu-* is highly productive. It is typically used to enable loan words to be used as verbs: e.g. *nucari-cari tau* ‘get information’ (from Indonesian *cari* ‘look for’), *nubertapa* ‘meditated’ (from Indonesian *ber-tapa* ‘meditate’). It is most commonly used to derive mutual action⁴⁵ or reflexive verbs, for example, *puamis* ‘get mixed up’, *pusoma* ‘meet’, *pukolondei* ‘be together’, *puwuni* ‘hide (oneself)’, *puimun* ‘gather’. A clearly reciprocal meaning of mutual action verbs arises when this prefix is added to the reduplicated base (§4.5): *putatawang* ‘help each other’, *pucacirita* ‘talk about with each other’.⁴⁶ The prefix *pu-* also forms verbs referring to a change of state⁴⁷ or motion: *puwuáq* ‘awake, depart’, *pukomboleng* ‘be finished’, *puwaliq* ‘become’. Furthermore, it forms verbs from nominal roots: *pusawa* ‘take as wife’ (*sawa* ‘spouse’), *puwua* ‘bear fruit’ (*wua* ‘fruit’), *pukayu* ‘look for wood in the forest’.

In many cases *pu-* is used only in deriving the stem of agent voice verbs. Undergoer voice affixes are added directly to the root, without the addition of *pu-*. Compare the following forms for *suán* ‘plant’: AGENT VOICE *nusuán/musuán* ‘do planting’, CONVEYANCE VOICE *sinuán/suán* ‘plant (it)’, LOCAL VOICE *suanen/sinuanen* ‘plant on (it)’.

The prefix *pu-* has an alternant *puN-* (that is, it may optionally have a homorganic nasal preceding the root).⁴⁸ The distribution of this alternant is unknown. Most occurrences are with roots beginning in /r/. Examples are *mundeno* ‘bathe (oneself)’ (cf. *mareno* ‘be bathed’), *mundulok* ‘swallow’ (cf. *rulokan* ‘swallow it’). In some cases both a nasal and a non-nasal form occur: *muraamú* or *mundaamú* ‘make a nest’.

The following sentences exemplify forms from the *pu-* paradigm shown in Table 8.

Agent voice

- (147) tomponú koteq to **nusuán** wusak
 tomponú koteq to nu -suán wusak
 turtle AFM NR AV.PST-plant banana

It was in fact the turtle that **planted** the corn.

⁴⁵ The term MUTUAL ACTION is used in reference to actions in which two or more participants are involved in essentially the same way – i.e., *mutual* here means ‘pertaining to each of two or more’ and not necessarily ‘done by each of two or more with respect to the other(s)’. Mutual actions are not necessarily reciprocal. For example, the act of carrying something together is a mutual, but not a reciprocal action (see example (148) below).

⁴⁶ Note that the syntax of these reciprocal forms does not differ from that of any other derivation with *pu-*. Most importantly, reciprocal forms occur in all three voices (agent, local and conveyance). Example (156) below illustrates the conveyance voice of a reciprocal verb (*pucacirita* ‘talk about something with each other’ where the thing talked about is the subject of the clause). Since reciprocal verbs are reduplicated forms of mutual action verbs, we conclude that in Toratán reciprocal actions are a special instance of mutual actions.

⁴⁷ The stems with *pu-* are not, however, stative verbs. Stative verbs are those with *ka-/ma-* (§4.3.2). They enter paradigms not parallel with those of the verbs with *pu-*.

⁴⁸ The nasal following the prefix is apparently the remnant of a phonological process whereby /u/ in the antepenult is automatically followed by a homorganic nasal. Such a nasal is also inserted in forms where /u/ occurred or developed in antepenult syllables in formations not having the prefix *pu-*: e.g. *rupa* ‘fathom’ *sundupa* ‘a fathom’.

It is important to note, that the homorganic nasal in *puN-* is different from the homorganic nasal which appears in the stem-forming prefix *paN-*. The formative *puN-* only involves the global assimilation processes discussed in §2.2.1.1. In addition to this, *paN-* also causes the deletion of root-initial voiceless stops and fricatives, as discussed in §2.2.2.1.

- (148) kará mBempi **nupasán** tee
 kará ni=Wempi nu -pasán teqé
 1dEX GN=Wempi AV.PST-carry_on_shoulder DIST
 The two of us, Wempi and I, **carried** them (the machine guns belonging to Mr. Poneke).

- (149) jadi isé **nubertapa**
 jadi isé nu -bertapa
 thus 3s AV.PST-meditate
 wiq **nuwalun** u towang
 wiq nu -walun nu towang
 only AV.PST-provision GN string_beans
 So he **meditated**; his only provisions were string beans. (Lit. he **had** only string beans **as provisions**.)

- (150) te **musoma** Mantiri spaningkiran
 te mu-soma Mantiri su =paN-singkir -an
 CON AV-meet Mantiri LOC=SF -evacuate-LV
 (I went down and) then **met with** Mantiri at the place he had evacuated to.

Local voice

- (151) **punasón** le
 pu-nasu-an le
 SF-rice-LV IMP
 (I said) **cook (us)** some rice.
- (152) jadi isé pandúng wutusan **pitunanganen** ne.
 jadi isé pandúng wutús-an in -pu-tunangan-an ne
 thus 3s want break-PV PST-SF-engaged -LV 3sGN
 Therefore he wanted to break with his **fiancee**. (Matthew 1:19)

Conveyance voice

- (153) tee nto **puwalun** e
 teqé N -to pu-walun ne
 DIST LK-NR SF-provision 3sGN
 That is what he **took as his provisions**.
- (154) **pugaledah** mangasé wale-walei
 pu-galedah mangasé RD-walei
 SF-search 3p RD-house
 They **ransacked** the houses.
- (155) te sene wu **pisaka** mai
 te sene wu in -pu-saka mai
 CON there ABL PST-SF-climb DIR
 From there (we) **were brought up** (to the mountains).

Conveyance voice (with reduplicated root = reciprocal action):

- (156) **pucacirita** nu Tosuraya
 pu-R-cirita nu Tosuraya
 SF-R-story GN upland_people
 (I heard it when) upland people **talked about (it) with each other**.

4.2.3 Verb stem former: *paN-*

The prefix *paN-* forms transitive and intransitive verb stems. The morphological alternations represented by the symbol *N* are given in §2.2.2.1. The combination of the primary affixes together with *paN-* is shown in the following chart.

	PAST	NON-PAST
AGENT VOICE	naN-	maN-
LOCAL VOICE	pinaN--an	paN--an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	pinaN-	paN-

Table 9: Tense/voice-paradigm for *paN-*derived stems

Many examples for the agent voice forms have been given in various other sections (see examples (23), (25), (26), (41), (49), among others). One more example, with bisyllabic reduplication of the root (see §2.2.3), is the following one:

- (157) roku **mangule-ngule** su Wioi
 roku maN-RD-u_{le} su
 don't AV-RD-return LOC
 Don't **go returning** to Wioi!

Local voice forms are illustrated by examples (116) and (150) above, conveyance voice forms by *pinamarente* in example (125). More examples for these forms are given below.

The prefix *paN-* like the other stem-forming prefixes often occurs only in one or two voices, while other voices can be marked directly by primary affixes on the root. Specifically, many of the roots which form transitive verbs with *paN-* occur with the patient and/or conveyance voice primary affixes with no secondary stem-forming affix, but with the agent voice and other undergoer voices affixes they require *paN-*. For example, for the root *ewong* 'bring' the patient voice is simply *ewongan/niewong* 'bring (it)' and the conveyance voice is simply *ewong/niewong* 'bring (it)' (no difference in meaning from the patient voice).

- (158) nioo ne sene winalukin e
 ni -oo ne sene in -walukin ne
 PST-fill_in 3sGN there PST-carry_on_back 3sGN
niqewong kuná nToratán
 ni -ewong ku=na nu=Toratán
 PST-carry MT=DIR GN=Ratahan

He put her in it, carried her on his back (and) **brought (her)** down to Ratahan.

But the agent voice is *mangewong/nangewong* as in example (26) above and the local voice is *pangewongan/pinangewongan* 'bring to someone' (example (116)).⁴⁹

There are other patterns of forming verbs with or without a secondary affix *paN-*. For example, *wei* 'give' has an agent voice *mamei/namei* 'give' (= *maN-* + *wei*), a local voice *wen/winén* (= *wei* (+-in-)+ -an) 'give to someone', and a conveyance voice *pamei/pinamei* 'give it'. For *aren* 'name' the agent voice is *mangaren/nangaren* 'give a name', and the conveyance voice is *pangaren/pinangaren* 'name someone':

⁴⁹ Our informants told us that there is also a second conveyance voice form with *paN-* – i.e., *pangewong/pinangewong* which means 'bring by means of (it)'.

- (159) su wungkune té to **pinangaren** Salonsong
 su wungkune teqé to in -paN-aren Salonsong
 LOC mountain DIST NR PST-SF-name Salonsong
 On that peak **which is called** Salonsong.

But the local voice is *arenan/inarenan* ‘give a name to someone’:

- (160) anak tee **niarenan** Yusup ni hahurang ne.
 anak teqé ni -aren-an Yusup ni R-hurang ne
 child DIST PST-name-LV Joseph GN R-old 3sGN
 That child **was named** Joseph by his parents. (elicited)

The root *ingkaq* ‘order’ has *paN-* in the agent voice and the conveyance voice, but the conveyance voice affixes can also be added to the root alone without any secondary affixes. Examples:

Agent voice

- (161) Tokawasa **nangingkaq** malaikat Gabriel kuná su Nazareth.
 Tokawasa naN -ingkaq malaikat Gabriel ku=na su
 Lord AV.PST-order angel Gabriel MT=DIR LOC
 The Lord **commanded** the angel Gabriel to go to Nazareth. (Luke 1:26)

Conveyance voice

- (162) **pinangingkaq** e taiq mangasé ngi Alek.
 in -paN-ingkaq Ce ta =naiq mangasé ngi Alek
 PST-SF -order CPL AND=DIR 3p PL Alek
 They **told** Alex and his group to go up there. (pinangingkaq = iningkaq)
- (163) yaq **ingkaq** taná ku malapor taná nu Toratán
 yaq ingkaq ta =na ku ma-lapor ta =na nu toratán
 1s order AND=DIR MT AV-report AND=DIR GN Ratahan
 I **was ordered** to go down report to Ratahan. (ingkaq = pangingkaq)

4.3 Potential and stative verbs

The formation of potential (or abilitative) and stative verbs is intricately intertwined on various levels. Details are discussed in §4.3.3. Here it may suffice to note that the two formations are partially in complementary distribution and that the undergoer voice affixes of potential and stative verbs are identical.

4.3.1 Potential verbs

Potential verbs refer to an action which can be done (in principle), or which someone managed to do. Furthermore, they also may refer to an accidental action – that is, an action that happens to be done or is done without the intention or full control of the agent. Potential forms can be derived from all dynamic roots and almost all types of stems. The potential paradigm consists of the formatives charted in Table 10.

	PAST	NON-PAST
AGENT VOICE	naka-	maka-
LOCAL VOICE	kina--an	ka--an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	kina-	ka-

Table 10: Tense/voice paradigm for potential verbs

The following examples illustrate some uses of the potential agent voice forms:

- (164) kau ti **makaawiq** naq
 kau timai maka-awiq naq
 2s not AV.POT-climb AFM

You **cannot climb** (said by monkey to turtle).

- (165) men **makoopak** komando ne
 men maka-^humpak komando ne
 later AV.POT-get command 3SGN

Only after you get (**succeed in getting**) the command.

The involuntary component of the meaning of the potential affixes may be emphasised by adding the affix *tu-*.

- (166) araq manuwang kapiale **makatupók**.
 araq maN-tuwang kapiale maka-tu-pok
 if AV -fell be_careful_not_to AV.POT-INVOL-cut

When felling (trees), be careful not **to accidentally cut** (yourself). (elicited)

The undergoer voices roughly correspond to their counterparts in the primary affix paradigm, except that the conveyance form is used for both patient and conveyance voices. In the following examples, the local voice refers to the person to whom something happened:

- (167) **kinauntungan** te ni tomponú
 in -ka -untung-an Ce ni tomponú
 PST-POT-luck -LV CPL GN turtle

The turtle managed **to take advantage of (him)** (the monkey).

- (168) **kinaompaken** e maye ntee to
 in -ka-^humpak-an ne maya N -teqé to
 PST-POT-get -LV 3SGN all LK-DIST NR

He **managed to get** all of those who ...

In some contexts the local voice refers to a place at which (from which, in which, etc.) something can be done or someone managed to do something:

- (169) akel undane kampuhan nu akel
 akel undane kampuhan nu akel
 sugar_palm together_with bast GN sugar_palm

kapihoqan kakai
 ka-pihoq-an kakai
 POT-make-LV broom

A broom **can be made** from the sugar palm together with the bast from the sugar palm.

The local voice of the potential may have the accidental meaning – it may refer to a place at which an action happened to be done:

- (170) tulu taanak su lirik wu **kinayumán**
 tulu taanak su lirik wu in -ka -yuma -an
 three family LOC garden and PST-POT-arrive-LV
 u tonaqas Kinilow
 nu tonaqas Kinilow
 GN shaman Kinilow

The three members of the family were in their field when the shaman from Kinilow happened to come along (**came to where they were**).

The conveyance voice refers to a person or thing directly affected or conveyed by an action which the agent is able to do, manages to do, or which is performed without the agent's being in full control of the action.

- (171) **kinaqehóm** ku ta te yaq kutaná e
 in -ka-ehom ku ta te yaq ku=ta =na Ce
 PST-POT-carry 1sGN AND CON 1s MT=AND=DIR CPL

(I pounded the rice that was left over and I brought it down a little at a time.) After I **had managed to carry it** there, I went down.

- (172) wio tí **kaqaaq** ku atau timai
 wio tiqí ka-alaq ku atau timai
 wild_pig PROX POT-take 1sGN or not

This pig, **will I be able to get it** or not?

For verbs which refer to perceptions the difference between the non-potential and the potential paradigm expresses the difference between controlled and uncontrolled perception, thus *rumaringi* 'listen' vs. *makaringi* 'hear', *mbuya* 'watch' vs. *makawuya* 'see', etc. Here are a few examples for perception verbs with potential affixes in agent and conveyance voices. We have no examples of these verbs in the local voice.

- (173) su nipi ne teqe isé **nakawuya** singkatau malaikat
 su nipi ne teqé isé naka-wuya singkatau malaikat
 LOC dream 3sGN DIST 3s AV.POT.PST-see one_person angel
 nTokawasa to nauntingi sise.
 ni=Tokawasa to na-un-tingi si=isé
 GN=Lord NR AV.PST-??-word LOC=3s

In his dream he **saw** an angel of the Lord speaking to him. (Matthew 1:20)

- (174) te **karingi** ku taiq humunggóng
 te ka -ringi ku ta=naiq um-hunggóng
 CON POT-hear 1sGN AND=DIR AV-scream

(There was gunfire and then) I **heard** somebody scream up there.

- (175) **kinawuya** i Maria naq nacan te.
 in -ka-wuya i Maria naq na -can Ce
 PST-POT-see PN Maria AFM ST.PST-stomach CPL

One **could see** that Maria was already pregnant. (Matthew 1:18)

The potential affixes may also be added to noun roots to form verbal stems which mean 'have [noun]':

- (176) muaya tege nutunangen te ondei singkatau
 muaya teqé nu -tunangan Ce ondei singkatau
 virgin DIST AV.PST-engaged CPL add one_person
 to **makaaren** Yusuf.
 to maka-aren Yusuf
 NR AV.POT-name Yusuf

That young woman was already engaged to a man **named** Joseph. (Luke 1:27)

When potential affixes are added to stems which consist of the root plus a verb-stem-forming affix, the verb-stem-forming affix is most frequently dropped. For example, *yuma* ‘arrive’ forms an agentive verb by the addition of the stem-forming prefix *pa₁-* (§4.2.1; cf. *mayuma/nayuma* ‘arrive, arrived’). The potential agentive form is *makayuma*.

- (177) Tan masepoq papunaq wu makuliq ralen to mangaak
 tan ma-sepoq papunaq wu ma-kuliq ralen to maN-aak
 but ST-narrow door and ST-hard road NR AV -lead
 tomata su wia. Wu wiq kaciq tomata to **makayuma**.
 tomata su wia wu wiq kaciq tomata to maka-yuma
 person LOC live and only few person NR AV.POT-arrive

But the door is narrow and the road that leads man to life is difficult. And only a few are the people who **can reach it**. (Matthew 7:14)

In some cases, however, the verb-stem-forming affix is retained when the potential affix is added – i.e., we have *makapa-[root]*, *makapu-[root]*, and *makapaN-[root]*. Examples of verbs with these affixes are *makapauman* ‘can speak to, advise’, *makapundalaiq* ‘can destroy’, and *makapangule* ‘can return home’.

4.3.2 Stative verbs

Toratán contrasts DYNAMIC and STATIVE verbs (and roots). Dynamic verbs generally refer to the volitional and controlled doing of an action, as already mentioned in §4.1.1, above. Stative verbs refer to events/situations which do not involve any kind of agent (in the sense of a force which at least potentially may control an action or be the voluntary instigator of an action). That is, stative verbs do not occur with agent arguments. Instead, the most central (or highest ranking) argument of a stative verb is a THEME – i.e., an entity which currently undergoes or is in a certain state, or which has a certain quality.

Roots which only form verbs referring to stative events (that is, roots which do not combine with primary affixes to form dynamic verbs) are called STATIVE ROOTS. However, not all roots which occur with stative derivations are stative roots. Dynamic roots may also occur with (some) stative derivations (cf. §4.3.3).

4.3.2.1 Basic stative verbs

The affix *ka-* is added to roots or stems to form stative verbs. This prefix combines with the primary tense and voice affixes to form the affixes shown in the following chart:

	PAST	NON-PAST
THEMATIC VOICE	na-	ma-
LOCAL VOICE	kina--an	ka--an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	kina-	ka-

Table 11: Tense voice paradigm for stative verbs

The thematic stative affixes *ma-/na-* are extremely productive while the undergoer forms of the stative paradigm are much more restricted in their use. The latter are also homophonous with the undergoer affixes in the potential paradigm, a fact to be commented on further in §4.3.3. The thematic affixes are discussed first.

The thematic stative affixes may be added to practically any kind of root or stem to form verbs with the meaning ‘become [root/stem]’ – that is, the single core argument of such verbs typically has the semantic role THEME, as just defined. The following list provides a fairly rough classification of the kinds of roots which occur with the thematic stative affixes:

- (a) ‘adjectival’ roots, i.e. roots denoting states and qualities: *iwík* ‘startled’ *maiwik* ‘be startled’, *takuq* ‘afraid’ *matakuq* ‘be afraid’, *kawus* ‘used up’ *makawus* ‘get used up’, *hureq* ‘very old’ *mahureq* ‘become old’, *rakel* ‘many’ *marakel* ‘become numerous’.

(178) **natasak** e rapa wusak
 na -tasak Ce rapa wusak
 ST.PST-ripe CPL RPRT banana

The bananas **got ripe**, the story goes.

- (b) nominal roots, the derived verbs meaning either ‘become [noun]’ or ‘become [something associated with noun]’: *tomata* ‘man’ *matomata* ‘be born’, *irang* ‘shame’ *mairang* ‘become ashamed’, *can* ‘stomach’ *macán* ‘become pregnant’, *jamur* ‘mould’ *majamur* ‘become mouldy’.

(179) sawa muaq **macán**
 sawa muaq ma-can
 spouse at_the_time ST-stomach

(One of) the wives **was pregnant** at the time.

- (c) roots denoting intransitive involuntary/uncontrolled activities: *manawo* ‘fall’, *mantuaq* ‘strike, hit (a target)’.⁵⁰

(180) nantuaq su likur e
 na -ntuaq su likur ne
 ST.PST-struck LOC back 3SGN

It (the bullet) **struck (him)** in the back.

- (d) roots denoting cognition: *ton* ‘know’ *matatón* ‘get to know’; *taandum* ‘mindful’ *mataandum* ‘remember’.

(181) isé ne **matatón** muhahí
 isé ne ma-ta-ton muhahí
 3s also ST-??-know like_this

He too **would know** (something) like this.

- (e) roots denoting perceptions: *wuya* ‘see’ *mawuya* ‘become visible’, *ringi* ‘hear’ *maringi* ‘become audible’.⁵¹

⁵⁰ One semantic class of roots which is conspicuously absent from this list is the class of roots denoting intransitive controlled activities (such as ‘dance’, ‘cry’, ‘climb’, ‘walk’ etc.). These roots do not occur with the thematic stative affixes *ma-/na-*.

⁵¹ There is an important distinction between roots denoting perception and those denoting cognition, as will be discussed shortly.

- (f) roots denoting semantically transitive activities, the stative verbs meaning ‘become the undergoer of [verb]/have [verb] happen to the undergoer’: *usuk* ‘pierce’ *mausuk* ‘get pierced’, *wei* ‘give’ *mawei* ‘be something given to someone’.

(182) to da pai **nawei** si Yunus sene pai
 to nda pai na -wei si Yunus sene pai
 NR DEM over_there ST.PST-give LOC Yunus there over_there
 (We had just gotten up to) the place over there that had been given to Yunus.

A substantial number of formations which denote states and qualities are derived from nominal roots, for example: *matohas* ‘strong’ < *tohas* ‘strength’, *masoong* ‘quick’ < *soong* ‘speed’, *maehaq* ‘near’ < *eheq* ‘place near’, all of which belong to type (b) above. There is an important difference between these roots and the ‘adjectival’ roots listed under (a). ‘Adjectival’ roots have a clearly stative meaning even without the affix *ma-/na-*. Thus, for example, *rakel* means ‘many’ and *hureq* means ‘old’, as evident from phrases such as *tomata to rakel teqé* ‘those many people’ or *to hureq* ‘the old one(s)’. When the affixes *ma-/na-* are added to these roots, the meaning changes from denoting a timeless (and tenseless) state or quality to denoting a change of state at a particular point in time. Hence *marakel* means ‘(will) become numerous’ and *narakel* ‘became/got to be numerous’, *mahureq* ‘(will) turn/grow old’ and *nahureq* ‘grew old/was old at that particular point in time’.

The nominal roots, on the other hand, have clearly nominal meanings when not affixed by *ma-/na-*. Thus, it is possible to say *tohas ni Tokawasa* ‘the Lord’s strength/power’ or *su ehe nu wanua Tirus* ‘at the place near to Tirus’ village’. But it is not possible to say **tomata to tohas* for ‘strong person’ or **wanua to eheq* for ‘village nearby’. Instead, in order to refer to a state or quality which can be ascribed to an entity, these roots have to be affixed with *ma-*. (‘Strong person’ is *tomata to matohas* and ‘village nearby’, *wanua to maehaq*.) In contradistinction then to ‘adjectival’ roots, the prefix *ma-* with nominal roots does not necessarily carry the tense-implications of a NON.PAST form. Instead, it can express either of two meanings: first, like unaffixed ‘adjectival’ roots, the *ma-* plus nominal root may denote a timeless (and tenseless) state or quality. Second, like an ‘adjectival’ root affixed with *ma-*, it may denote a change of state at a particular point in time (present or future). Thus, *matohas* means ‘have strength/be strong’ as well as ‘(will) become strong’. In the latter meaning it contrasts with *natohas* ‘became strong/ was strong at that particular point in time’.

In some instances, the Toratán classification of a root as either stative or dynamic may not be immediately obvious from its semantics. One example of this is roots denoting cognition such as *ton* ‘know’ (which usually appears with a derivative prefix *ta-*: *taton*) and *taandum* ‘be mindful’. As we noted at the end of §4.3.1, roots denoting perception, e.g. *wuya* ‘see’, *ringi* ‘hear’, generally occur with the primary affixes or the potential affixes. Since cognition and perception verbs are often treated alike in the world’s languages, one might expect this to be the case in Toratán, too. But it is not: cognition verb roots are stative, perception verb roots are dynamic (often potential dynamic). The difference between the two root classes is highlighted by comparing their use with the thematic stative affix. With *matatón* the subject is the person who knows something while with *mawuya* the subject is the thing seen. This difference suggests that *ton* actually means ‘be in the know’, hence *matatón* ‘get to be in the know’, as in:

(183) sene one singkatau torarióq to **matatón** te
 sene one singkatau torarióq to ma-ta-ton Ce
 there EXIST one_person children NR ST-??-know CPL

There was a child which was already old enough **to understand/be in the know**.

Turning now to the local and conveyance voice forms of the stative verbs, note first that it is principally the roots listed above under (a)-(d) which occur with these affixes – i.e., those which are ‘adjectival’ in their meaning, or nominal, or refer to an involuntary activity or an act of cognition. These roots may be considered stative roots in that they occur mainly, but not exclusively, with stative affixes. Not all of these roots, however, occur with both stative undergoer voices. Some occur with one and some with the other, and some with both (see below). The roots listed under (e) and (f) above are typical dynamic roots. These roots occur only with the thematic stative prefixes (*ma-/na-*). They do not occur with the stative undergoer voice affixes (undergoer forms with *ka-* of these roots are potential undergoer voices, as further discussed in the next section).

The stative local voice may have one of several different meanings, depending on the meaning of the root. With many roots, it refers to the person or thing affected by the event: *mantuaq* ‘strike’ *kantuaqen* ‘struck by something’, *manawo* ‘fall’ *kanawón* ‘be fallen on’, *mataton* ‘know’ *katatonan* ‘be known about’, *mataandum* ‘remember’ *kataanduman* ‘be remembered’. The genitive argument corresponds to the subject of the thematic stative form. It denotes the theme – i.e., the person or thing which currently undergoes the state denoted by the root (the one who knows, remembers, falls, etc.). Examples:

- (184) kuteq Talaor **kinantuaqen** e
 koteq Talaor in -ka-ntuaq -an Ce
 AFM Talaor PST-ST-struck-LV CPL
 (I heard screaming from above.) And indeed Talaor **had been struck** (by a bullet).

- (185) yaq **kinanawón** nyu.
 yaq in -ka-nawo-an nyu
 1s PST-ST-fall-LV coconut
 A coconut **fell on** me. (elicited)

- (186) taate **katatonan** kutamai nu Wailan
 tate ka-ta-ton -an ku=ta =mai nu Wailan
 not ST-??-know-LV MT=AND=DIR GN Wailan
 It (wasn't) **known** if they went to Wailan.

- (187) yarong Poneke **katanduman** ku
 yarong Poneke ka-taandum-an ku
 Mister Poneke ST-remember-LV 1sGN
 I still **remember** Mr. Poneke (the time Mr. Rantung loaded him into his cart).

Similar meanings pertain to roots which denote various kinds of physical states. Compare the following two examples:

- (188) **nakawus** e susu.
 na -kawus Ce susu
 ST.PST-used_up CPL milk
 The milk **is finished/used up**. (elicited)

- (189) **kinakawusan** nu susu kami.
 in -ka-kawus -an nu susu kami
 PST-ST-finished-LV GN milk 1pEX
 We **ran out** of milk/the milk ran out on us. (elicited)

Similarly: *maehaq* ‘be near’ and *kinaehaqan* ‘the person/place that is approached/gotten close to’:

- (190) Yaq **kinaeheqan** ngi nto tingkaiq
 yaq in -ka-eheq -an ngi N -to tingkaiq
 1s PST-ST-close-LV PL LK-NR naughty
 I was **approached** by roughians. (elicited)

With roots denoting psychological states (feelings) stative local voice refers to the person or thing at which one feels whatever state the root refers to. The genitive argument again corresponds to the subject of the stative form – i.e., it denotes the theme, the person which undergoes the feeling. Compare the following two examples:

- (191) tomponú **naawuq** e rapa
 tomponú na -awuq Ce rapa
 turtle ST.PST-annoyed CPL RPRT
 The turtle **got angry**, they say.

- (192) yaq **kinaawuqan** e.
 yaq in -ka-awuq -an ne
 1s PST-ST-annoyed-LV 3sGN
 He **became angry with** me (I became the object of his anger). (elicited)

Similarly: *iwík* ‘startled’ *kaiwikán* ‘be startled at something’ and *mairang* ‘be ashamed’ *kairangen* ‘be embarrassed at it’.

The stative conveyance voice generally refers to the reason or cause for a given state – i.e., the person or thing which made someone or something (genitive) become (so-and-so):

- (193) tampa kasuang **katakutakuq** mangasé tu
 tampa kasuang ka-RD-takuq mangasé tu
 place evil_spirit ST-RD-afraid 3p DEM
 It is a spooky place; it **made** them **afraid** (It was **the reason on account of which** they **feared**).

- (194) I Yusuf nuwuaq su Betlehem su Yudea tampa
 i Yusuf nu -wuaq su Betlehem su Yudea tampa
 PN Yusuf AV.PST-get_up LOC Betlehem LOC Judea place
kinatomata ngi Raja Daud.
 in -ka-tomata ngi
 PST-ST-person PL

Joseph left for Judea, the place where King David and his people have their roots (lit. the place from which King David and his people **derive their humanity**). (Luke 2:3)

We do not have data to make clear the difference between the stative local and conveyance voices. It seems to be the case that the choice of local or conveyance voice is often lexically determined – that is, some roots occur with the local voice affixes, and others, with the conveyance voice affixes. For example, as a nearly synonymous expression for (192), which contains the local voice form *kinaawuqan* ‘be angry at’, the utterance *yaq kinakuál e* ‘he was angry with me’ was offered, with the stative conveyance voice form of the root *kual* ‘angry’.

The undergoer forms of the stative paradigm are not of high frequency, and we have found no examples of roots with both undergoer forms in texts. We were able to elicit a complete stative paradigm, which includes two undergoer voices for two roots: *irang* ‘shame’, *mairang* ‘be ashamed’ and *takuq* ‘fear’, *matakutakuq* ‘be afraid’, but we could not get enough context to be able to determine the difference in meaning between the two undergoer forms: *kairangen* ‘be embarrassed about something, be ashamed of something’ and *kairang* ‘be ashamed on account of something’, and *katakutakuqan* ‘be afraid of someone/something’, *katakutakuq* ‘be afraid

on account of someone/something’. The following examples were offered as an illustration of the difference between the two derivatives from *irang*:

- (195) Apa to **kairangen**? Empo le!
 apa to ka-irang-an empo le
 what NR ST-shame-LV sit IMP
 What **are** you **embarrassed about**? Take a seat! (elicited)

- (196) To pinihoq nu **kinairang** ku
 to in -pihoq nu in -ka-irang ku
 NR PST-make 2sGN PST-ST-shame 1sGN
 What you did **made** me **ashamed**. (elicited)

4.3.2.2 Exhaustive statives with *paka-*

In addition to the basic stative affixes discussed in the preceding section, a second way to form stative verbs is prefixing *paka-* to (semantically) stative roots and stems.⁵² The tensed thematic voice forms of *paka-* are *maka-* (NON.PAST) and *naka-* (PAST). This prefix forms verbs which mean ‘be or become exhaustively/completely’. If the theme argument of a stative verb derived with exhaustive *paka-* is plural, exhaustiveness often pertains to the fact that all referents are affected in the same way, for example *naka-nawo* ‘fall (all of them)’ (cf. *na-nawo* ‘fall’) and *naka-itum* ‘be/become all/completely black (all of them black)’ (cf. *na-itum* ‘be black’). A few examples from our texts:

- (197) niarap manuk **nakapátei** e
 ni -arap manuk naka -patei Ce
 PST-reflection chicken XHST.PST-dead CPL
 Imagine! The chickens **were all dead**! (They shot them all.)

- (198) mai to **nakaturá** te pinakaluwak
 mai to naka -turá te in -pa -ka-luwak
 rice NR XHST.PST-remainder CON PST-CAU-ST-pound
 ku e tee
 ku Ce teqé
 1sGN CPL DIST
 I pounded **all** the rice that **was left over**.

- (199) tele **makatanak** sini
 tele maka-tanak sini
 CON XHST-motionless here
 Why should (I) stay here? (lit. Why should I stay completely motionless here?)

The exhaustive stative prefix may also occur with the local voice affixes. The local voice form means ‘completely/exhaustively get to be in [state] on account of something’: *makatanak* ‘stay all/completely motionless’, *pakatanaken* ‘stay all/completely motionless on account of (it)’:

- (200) apa to **pakatanaken** kumu sini?
 apa to paka-tanak-an kumú sini
 what NR XHST-motionless-LV 2p here
 What is it you **all are staying here for**?

⁵² A second, homophonous affix combination *paka-* = *pa₂-* (CAUSATIVE) + *ka-* (STATIVE) will be discussed in §4.4.1, below.

Furthermore, this prefix can form exhaustive statives from stems which have other secondary affixes and are formally not stative, but which have stative meanings: *nusoqong* (*nu-* + *soqong*) ‘sweat’ – *nakapusoqong* ‘be completely sweaty/be all of them sweaty’, *nangoyaf* (*naN-* + *oyaf*) ‘yawn’ – *nakapangoyaf* ‘yawn (all of them)’.

4.3.3 Comparison between dynamic and stative verbs

Given that potential and stative verbs are very similar in form and meaning, it will be useful to compare the two formations and to point out some salient characteristics of the roots entering the two paradigms. Similarities exist in the following regards: the two paradigms consistently differentiate between the same tense values. Further, the undergoer voices of the potential verbs and the undergoer voices of stative verbs are formally identical (compare Table 10 with Table 11).

However there are also important differences. Most significantly, the potential verbs are dynamic in meaning: they are formed on dynamic roots and their arguments have the same roles as the corresponding voice forms of non-potential dynamic verbs. The arguments of stative verbs, on the other hand, have a set of semantic roles which differs quite clearly from the semantic roles found with dynamic verbs. Compare the following forms of the dynamic potential paradigm with the parallel ones in the stative paradigm:

Dynamic Potential <i>alaq</i> ‘take’	Stative <i>takuq</i> ‘afraid’
Agent voice: <i>makaalaq</i> SUB = involuntary Agent (the one who happens or is able to take something) GEN = Patient (the thing taken)	Thematic voice: <i>matakuq</i> SUB = Theme (the person who feels fear) GEN none
Conveyance voice: <i>kaalaq</i> SUB = Patient (the thing taken) GEN = involuntary Agent	Conveyance voice: <i>katakuq</i> SUB = Reason/Cause (the thing/being someone is afraid of) GEN = Theme (the person who feels fear)
Dynamic Potential <i>pihoq</i> ‘make’	Stative <i>nawo</i> ‘fall’
Agent voice: <i>makapihoq</i> SUB = involuntary Agent (the person who is able to make sth.) GEN = Patient (the thing made)	Thematic voice: <i>manawo</i> SUB = Theme (the entity which falls) GEN none
Local voice: <i>kapihoqan</i> SUB = Source (the thing something can be made from) GEN = involuntary Agent	Local voice: <i>kanawón</i> SUB = Locative (place onto which something/someone falls) GEN = Theme (the entity which falls)

Table 12: Comparison of the potential and stative paradigms⁵³

In the dynamic potential paradigm, there is still an AGENT in the sense that there is a person or an animate being that is at least in principle capable of voluntarily instigating a given event, even though in the particular instance she/he may not be in full control of the action. In agent voice, this agent appears in subject function, in the undergoer voices it is the genitive-marked argument.

⁵³ SUB = subject argument, GEN = genitive-marked argument.

In the stative paradigm, on the other hand, there is no agent at all. In the thematic voice the subject is a theme, and it is impossible to specify an agent in the sense just defined.⁵⁴ In the stative undergoer voices the genitive argument is an undergoer, the person or thing who/which undergoes a certain state and or has a certain quality. Furthermore, while the subject in the potential conveyance voice is typically a patient (an entity affected or effected by the action or moved around as part of the action), the subject of the stative conveyance voice is the reason or cause on account of which a certain state is experienced by someone.

These differences between the two paradigms also have important repercussions for the issue of which roots may occur with which affixations. As already briefly noted above (§4.3.2.1), dynamic roots may also occur with the stative derivations, but only in thematic voice. For example, *tuuq* ‘follow’ is a dynamic verb as shown by the form *tumuuq* in the following segment:

- (201) **tumuuq** pai nuoperasi
 um-tuuq pai nu -operasi
 AV-join_in perhaps AV.PST-operate

They **joined in**, probably they went on a (military) operation.

With the stative thematic prefixes *ma-/na-* this verb means ‘happen according to something’:

- (202) Hal tee najadi maqkuto **matuuq** apa to
 hal teqé na -jadi maqkuto ma-tuuq apa to
 matter DIST ST.PST-become so_that ST-follow what NR
 pinatik su oo ngKaol.
 in -patik su oo nu=Kaol
 PST-letter LOC content GN=Prophecy

That thing came to be so that what was written in the Prophecy **should take place in accordance with it**. (John 29:24)

The verb *matuuq/natuuq* ‘happen according to something’ has affixation parallel in meaning to the stative *matakuq/natakuq* ‘become afraid’. However, there are no stative undergoer voice formations for *matuuq/natuuq* as there are for *matakuq/natakuq*. The conveyance forms *katuuq* and *kinatuuq* refer to the thing managed to be followed by someone and are clearly potential undergoer voices whereas the conveyance forms *katakuq/kinatakuq* refer to the reason on account of which someone (the genitive argument) is afraid, which is the stative conveyance voice. Compare the following two examples:

- (203) Maya ntee najadi muahe maqkuto **katuuq**
 maya N -teqé na -jadi muhahé maqkuto ka -tuuq
 all LK-DIST ST.PST-become like_that so_that POT-follow
 apa to tinatar nyYuwoq su pun ne
 apa to in -tatar ni=Yuwoq su pun ne
 what NR PST-ordain GN=Lord LOC messenger 3sGN

All of that happened in that way so that what the Lord had ordained through his prophet **could be followed through**. (Matthew 1:22)

⁵⁴ With some of the roots denoting semantically transitive activities (class f) it is possible to add a genitive argument to a thematic voice form which refers to an inanimate force causing the event. Consider the following elicited example:

walei teqé na-wungkás nu waeq.
 house DIST ST.PST-open GN wind
 The house **came open** in the wind.

- (204) apa taalos **katakuq?**
 what too_much ST-afraid:CV
 What are (they) so **afraid of?**

The local voice forms *katuuqan/kinatuuqan* ‘happen/able to follow along with someone/something’ are also clearly potential and not stative:

- (205) Sangapa to pinarenta tee **kinatuuqan**
 sangapa to in -parenta teqé in -ka-tuuq-an
 how_many NR PST-command DIST PST-POT-follow-LV
 ku e sawu nto mamaingura ren.
 ku Ce sawu N -to R-maingura ren
 1sGN CPL time LK-NR R-youth still

I have been following whatever has been commanded from the time that I was a young man (lit. Whatever has been commanded, I **was able to follow (it)** since when I was a young man). (Mark 10:20)

4.4 Causative *pa*₂-

There is another prefix shaped /pa/, the causative prefix symbolised *pa*₂-. This prefix has a feature which distinguishes it from all other formatives discussed in this chapter. With one exception to be discussed in §4.4.2, this prefix cannot be placed directly before a root. Instead, the root must be prefixed by another secondary prefix before the causative prefix may be added. The most common prefix used to derive a stem to which the causative prefix *pa*₂- may be added is the stem-forming prefix *pa*₁-. That is, the large majority of causative formations involve the prefix sequence *papa*-, as will be illustrated shortly.

4.4.1 Causative *pa*₂- on derived stems

Causative *pa*₂- combines with the primary affixes to form complex affixations expressing voice and tense in addition to the causative meaning. The tense and aspect marked forms of causative formations based on *papa*- (i.e. causative *pa*₂- + stem-forming *pa*₁-) are given in the following chart.

	PAST	NON-PAST
AGENT VOICE	napa-	mapa-
LOCAL VOICE	pinapa--an	papa--an
CONVEYANCE VOICE	pinapa-	papa-

Table 13: Tense/voice paradigm for causative stems derived with *pa*₂-*pa*₁-

Examples illustrating some of the forms given in Table 13:

Agent voice

- (206) Yuwo Tokawasa ere **mapaempo** sise su
 Yuwo Tokawasa ere ma-pa-empo si=isé su
 Lord Lord UNIT AV.CAU-SF-sit LOC=3s LOC
 aemponan ni Raja Daud.
 R-empo-an ni
 R-sit -LV GN

The Lord God **will seat** him in the seat of King David. (Luke 1:4)

- (207) I kumu le **mapakan** si mangasé
 i kumú le ma -pa-kan si mangasé
 PN 2p FOC AV.CAU-SF-eat LOC 3p
 You will be the ones **to feed** them.

Local voice

- (208) **pinapaqemponan** e skau?
 in -pa-pa-empo-an ne si=kau
 PST-CAU-SF-sit-LV 3sGN LOC=2s
 He made you **sit on it** (that chair)?

Conveyance voice

- (209) memang yarong Sam sawu ntee araq timai
 memang yarong Sam sawu N -teqé araq timai
 in_fact Mister Sam time LK-DIST if not
pinapatere ku
 in -pa -pa-tere ku
 PST-CAU-SF-run 1sGN
 If I **hadn't made** Mr. Sam **run away** at that time ...

- (210) kami naq **pinapawalukin** walun
 kami naq in -pa -pa-walukin walun
 1pEX AFM PST-CAU-SF-carry_on_back provision
 We were **made to carry** the provisions.

- (211) nanayu-nayun te kará Wempi
 na -RD-nayun Ce kará Wempi
 ST.PST-RD-long_time CPL 1dEX Wempi
pinapaqehom pe masé walun
 in -pa -pa-ehom Ce masé walun
 PST-CAU-SF-carry CPL 3p provision
 For some time they **made** the two of us, Wempi and me, **carry** supplies.

As the last three examples show, the conveyance form usually refers to the person caused to do the action of the root (the causee).

In the remainder of this section we briefly discuss the issue of which stem-forming prefixes have to be used when deriving causatives from a given root class. The verb stem former *pa₁-* is used in the following three instances:

- with roots to which the primary affixes may be directly added, e.g. *tumere* ‘will run’ (<-um- + *tere*) – *pinapatere* (-in- + *pa₂-* + *pa₁-* + *tere*). See also all of the preceding causative examples.
- roots which have to be affixed with *pa₁-* for primary affixation (see §4.2.1) also need *pa₁-* before the causative prefix *pa₂-* can be added. The form *papalompuq* (non-past conveyance voice) in the following example illustrates this formation:

- (212) papakanen masé ma **papalompuq**
 pa -pa-kan-an masé ma pa -pa-lompuq
 CAU-SF-eat-LV 3p CON CAU-SF-go_out
 (Bring along the food). Feed them and **have (them) leave** (the village).

- roots which are affixed with *pu-* for primary affixation (see §4.2.2) need *pa₁-* before the causative prefix *pa₂-* can be added. But in the case of stems with *pu-*, *pa₁-* is added to the *pu-*-derived stem and not directly to the root, as shown by the following two examples:

- (213) **pinapapuntóq** e nTampakeq
 in -pa -pa-pu-ntoq Ce ni=Tampakeq
 PST-CAU-SF-SF-stop CPL GN=Tampakek
 Tampakek **made (us) stop.**

- (214) Padahal i Tokawasa timai nusaule
 padahal i Tokawasa timai nu -sa -ule
 AV ually PN Lord not AV.PST-one-return
napapuwia sise.
 na -pa-pu-wia si=isé
 AV.PST.CAU-SF-SF-live LOC=3s

The Lord **had** not in fact **raised** him from the dead (**caused him to live** again). (I Cor 15:15)

In the case of stems with other prefixes, causative *pa*₂- may be added without *pa*₁- – that is, directly to the derived stems. For example, stems derived with *paN*- (§4.2.3) take causative *pa*₂- directly, with no further affixation added, as shown by the form *papandingi* ‘sound (a trumpet, etc), cause it to be heard’ in the following example:

- (215) Torompet lowen ere **papandingi**, wu Anak nTomata
 Torompet loben ere pa -paN-ringi wu anak ni=Tomata
 trumpet big ?? CAU-SF -hear and child GN=person
 ere mangingkaq sangapa malaekat ne mangimun
 ere maN-ingkaq sangapa malaekat ne maN-imun
 ?? AV -command how_many angel 3sGN AV -gather
 haq ne.
 haq ne
 kind 3sGN

Then the great trumpet **will be sounded** and the Son of Man will order his angels to gather his flock. (Matthew 24:31)

Further, *pa*₂- may be added directly to stative stems, which are marked by the prefix *ka*- (the same prefix that also occurs in the stative undergoer voices, cf. §4.3.2.1). An example is *makatomata* ‘will give birth to’ (*ma*₂- NON-PAST AGENT VOICE.CAUSATIVE + *ka*- STATIVE + *tomata* ‘person’). Here are two conveyance voice examples with *paka*- (= CAUSATIVE *pa*₂- + STATIVE *ka*-) from our texts:

- (216) mai to nakaturá te **pinakaluwak**
 mai to naka -turá te in -pa- ka-luwak
 rice NR XHST.PST-remainder CON PST-CAU-ST-pound
 ku e tee
 ku Ce teqé
 1sGN CPL DIST

I pounded (lit. made it soft) all the rice that was left over.

- (217) **pinakawúq** ne, to pinaningsing su sapi.
 in -pa -ka-wuq ne to in -paN-singsing su sapi
 PST-CAU-ST-yank_out 3sGN NR PST-SF-stop_with LOC cow
 He **got it out**, that thing that had been stuffed into the cow.

Other, elicited conveyance voice forms are *paka-rao* ‘make someone go far away’, *paka-amis* ‘make it sweet’, *paka-soi* ‘finish it’, and *paka-tasak* ‘ripen it’. In some cases, stem-forming *pa₁-* is prefixed to the root after this prefix combination:⁵⁵

- (218) i kau kaq timai **makapawuroq** oreq
 i kau kaq timai ma -ka-pa-wuroq oreq
 PN 2s FOC not AV.CAU-ST-SF-white or
makapaitum utak nu.
 ma -ka-pa-itum utak nu
 AV.CAU-ST-SF-black hair 2sGN

You do not have the power to **make** your hair **white** nor to **make** it **black**. (Matthew 5:36)

4.4.2 Stative affixes added to stems with causative *pa₂-*

The stative affixes in meaning (f) of §4.3.2.1 above can be added to stems with *pa₂-*. In that case, as opposed to the roots alone or stems with *pu-*, causative *pa₂-* is added to the root without an additional stem-forming *pa₁-* – that is, *ma-/na-* are added to stems with *pa₂-*, forming *mapa-/napa-*.⁵⁶

The meaning of verbs with *mapa-/napa-* is ‘for theme to do [root] because of some outside force or event’. This is illustrated by *napataa* ‘be made to go there’ and *napasaka* ‘be made to climb’ in the following two examples:

- (219) **napasaka** taiq su balakang i ngi Alek
 na -pa -saka ta =naiq su balakang ni ngi Alek
 ST.PST-CAU-climb AND=DIR LOC back GN PL Alek

They **were made to climb up** behind Alek and company.

- (220) kará **napataa** ntee
 kará na -pa -ta =na nu=teqé
 1dEX ST.PST-CAU-AND=DIR GN=DIST

The two of us **were forced (made) to go** down that (path through that spooky forest).

4.5 Reduplication

The three basic forms which reduplication can take in Toratán are discussed in §2.2.3. In this section we discuss some uses of monosyllabic reduplication in the verbal morphology and show how monosyllabic reduplication interacts with other verbal affixation. Monosyllabic reduplication is symbolised by *R-*.

4.5.1 *R-* with dynamic verbs

Most dynamic roots which occur with the primary affixes allow for monosyllabic reduplication to form verbs which refer to an action which endures in time. The following sentence il-

⁵⁵ This additional *pa₁-* seems to occur with roots which also occur with the formative *paka-* forming exhaustive stative verbs (§4.3.2.2).

⁵⁶ Note that formatives shaped *mapa-/napa-* can have two quite different meanings and functions. On the one hand, there is the stative causative discussed in this section which we analyse as consisting of THEMATIC STATIVE *ma-/na-* + CAUSATIVE *pa₂-*. On the other hand, there is the causative agent voice affix *mapa-/napa-* (shown in Table 13) which we analyse as consisting of AGENT VOICE/TENSE marking + CAUSATIVE *pa₂* + STEM-FORMING *pa₁-*.

illustrates a reduplicated stem consisting of *R-* plus *-kan* ‘eat’, to which the agent voice affix *-um-* has also been added:

- (221) yaq su dapur e tumbé-tumbén ku taná
 yaq su dapur Ce RD-tumbé -an ku ta =ná
 1s LOC kitchen CPL RD-observe-LV 1sGN AND=DIR
kumakán yaq tee
 um-R-kan yaq teqé
 AV-R-eat 1s DIST

I was in the kitchen. I was looking down. (In fact), I **was eating** at that time.

Another meaning which may be conveyed by monosyllabic reduplication is reciprocal action: ‘do to/with each other’. The following example illustrates the reduplicated stem *sasunsan* from the root *sunsán* ‘test, trial’ to which the agent voice affix *nu-* has been added:

- (222) **nusasunsán** to manginum
 nu -R-sunsán to maN-inum
 AV.PST-R-try NR AV -drink

(They) were **engaging in** a drinking contest with each other.

As already mentioned briefly in §2.2.3, when stems containing secondary affixes are reduplicated, the general rule is that *R-* affects the root, not the prefix. This is shown by *nusasunsán* in the preceding example as well as *mulaláq* ‘will be picking up’ and *nulaluwak* ‘were pounding’ in the following two examples:

- (223) mangasé ntoq sene, **mulaláq** ren to kumán
 mangasé ntoq sene mu-R-laq ren to um-kan
 3p stop there AV-R-pick_up still NR AV-eat

They stopped there. They **were going to be picking up** the ones eating.

- (224) wiq **nulaluwak** mai
 wiq nu -R-luwak mei
 only AV.PST-R-pound rice

(They) **were only pounding** rice.

Similarly in stems with a prefix shaped /pa-/ *R-* affects the root and not the prefix: *R-* + *ma-rituk* ‘chase’ -> *mararitik* ‘chase each other’:

- (225) one watu **mararitik**
 one watu ma-R-rituk
 EXIST stone AV-R-chase

There are stones **chasing each other**.

However, in the case of *paN-* and *ka-* monosyllabic reduplication affects the stem. In the case of *paN-* monosyllabic reduplication affects the stem in the sense that *paN-* modifies the shape of the root-initial syllable (via processes related to the homorganic nasal, cf. §2.2.1.1, above), and it is the modified syllable which is reduplicated: *R-* + *paN-* + *aaq* is *pangangaaq* ‘upon taking’ (cf. example (227), below); *R-* + *maN-* + *cúp* is *manyanyup* (cf. example (25) in §3.2, above).

With stems having a prefix shaped *ka-* or a prefix ending in *ka-*, the reduplication most commonly affects the *ka-*: *R-* + *makaherang* ‘surprise’ (< AGENT VOICE.CAUSATIVE *ma*₂- + STATIVE *ka-*) forms *makakahehang* ‘surprising’. However, there are cases when *R-* affects the root: *kayayuma* ‘arrival’ (< *yuma*). Usually statives with *R-* have a plural meaning, as discussed in the next section.

Monosyllabic reduplication may also occur with undergoer voice verbs. The following form exemplifies the patient voice of *walukin* ‘carry on the back’ with *R-*:

- (226) **wawalukinan** mangasé
 R-walukin -an mangasé
 R-carry_on_back-PV 3p
 (An ‘awiton’ basket) they (habitually) **carry it on their backs.**

The following form exemplifies the conveyance voice non-past of *puhintu* ‘lower’ (= *pu-* + *hintu* ‘go down’): *puhahintu* ‘keep lowering (it)’

- (227) pangangaaq ku ná kurin **puhahintu** ku ná
 paN-R-alaq ku na kurin pu-R-hintu ku na
 SF -R-take 1sGN DIR pot SF-R-descend 1sGN DIR
 As soon as I took the pot I **started putting it down.**

The form *caciritán* exemplifies the non-past local voice of a verb with *R-*:

- (228) sebenarnya apa to **caciritán** te ntorá?
 sebenarnya apa to R-cirita-an Ce ni=to=ruá
 actually what NR R-story -LV CPL GN=NR=two
 Actually, what is it the two of us **will be talking with each other about?**

4.5.2 *R-* with statives

Stative verbs with monosyllabic reduplication have a plural meaning – that is, the quality or state applies to several objects or people:

- (229) ma**rarakel** e, mubúq e
 ma-R-rakel Ce mu-buq Ce
 ST-R-many CPL AV-pile CPL
 There **was** already a **lot of it** (rice husks), (the pile) was getting high.

4.5.3 Repeated monosyllabic reduplication (*R-R-*)

The functions of repeated monosyllabic reduplication (*R-R-*) remain to be investigated. Examples in our texts are very rare. They include *wawawuyán* (*R-R-*+*wuya*+*-an*) ‘could be seen/was witnessed’:

- (230) **wawawuyán** i to anak
 RED.A-RED.A-wuya-an ni to anak
 RED.A-RED.A-see -LV GN NR child
 That (the killing of his father) **was witnessed** by the boy.

The Bible translation provides quite a number of examples, including *murarareken* ‘was thinking about’:

- (231) Kananune i Yusuf **murarareken** saru nu tee
 kananune i Yusuf mu-R-R-reken saru nu teqé
 while PN Yusuf AV-R-R-recall concerning GN DIST
 While Joseph **was mulling over** this problem ... (Matthew 1:20)

4.6 Minor secondary affixes

In this section we discuss unproductive affixes or affixes which are productive, but by their meaning are limited to a small subclass of roots or stems.

4.6.1 Prefix *paki-*

The prefix *paki-* is not well represented in our texts, but it is productive and we have elicited a number of examples. The agent voice form has the prefix *maki-/naki-*. There is also a conveyance voice of verbs with *paki-*. It is unknown if there is a local voice of verbs with this prefix.

The meaning of the prefix is ‘ask someone to do [root]’. Agent voice examples: *makintur* ‘ask someone to deliver’, *makialaq* ‘ask someone to get’, *makiwuya* ‘ask (a shaman) to look at something’. Conveyance voice examples: *pakialaq ku* ‘I will ask someone to get it’, *pinakialaq ku* ‘I asked someone to get it’.

This prefix also occurs with stems where this meaning is not readily apparent: *makiata* ‘serve’ (*maki-* + *ata* ‘slave’), *pakirarayon* (conveyance voice verb formed with *paki-* added to the reduplicated root *rayon*) ‘make a fool of someone, be fooled around with’.

4.6.2 *PangiN-* forming dynamic verbs

The prefix *pangiN-* appears to be a non-productive verb stem former. The final /N/ of this prefix assimilates to the position of the initial consonant of the succeeding root but does not replace any initial consonants.

The agentive voice forms are *mangiN-* and *nangiN-*, for example *mangintalulir* ‘be rolling around’ (*mangiN-* + *talulir* ‘roll’), *mangintaton* ‘inform’ (*mangiN-* + *taton* ‘know’). There are also conveyance voice forms of this prefix:

- (232) **Pangintaton** le sinto pinayu ku tee.
 pangin-ta-ton le si =N -to in -payu ku teqé
 SF -??-know IMP LOC=LK-NR PST-send_for 1sGN DIST

Tell it to those whom I have invited. (Matthew 22:4)

The prefixes *mangiN-/nangiN-* may combine with the plural marking suffix *-an* to form plural verbs of the type discussed in §4.6.3, below: *mangimbawinán* ‘fornicate’ (*mangiN-* + *wawinai* ‘woman’ + *-an*), *mangimuanén* (*mangiN-* + *muanei* ‘man’ + *-an*) ‘engage in prostitution’.

4.6.3 *-an* forming plural dynamic verbs

The suffix *-an* forms verbs which refer to an action performed by two or more people or multiple actions performed by one person. This suffix always co-occurs with one stem-deriving prefix. We have examples of dynamic verbs with *maN-/naN--an* and with *mangiN-/nangiN--an* (§4.6.2, above):

- (233) Sep sinto su Yahudi timai **mampihoqan** ondei to
 sep si=N -to su Yahudi timai maN-pihoq-an ondei to
 noone LOC=LK-NR LOC Jew not AV -make -PL with NR
 su Samaria.
 su
 LOC
 LOC

Because none of the Jews **have anything to do** with the Samaritans. (John 4:9)

In some contexts the dynamic verbs with *maN--an* have a meaning of reciprocal action:

- (234) Araq i kumu **manggiliran**, sangapa tomata ere
 araq i kumú maN-hilir-an sangapa tomata ere
 if PN 2p AV -love -PL how_many person UNIT
 mataton to i kumu to tumuutuug si Yaq.
 ma-ta-ton to i kumú to um-RD-tuuq si yaq
 ST-??-know CMP PN 2p NR AV-RD-follow LOC 1s

If you **love one another**, everyone will know that you are my followers. (John 13:35)

This suffix also occurs with conveyance voice verbs.

- (235) Tamai le ku **pangintatonan** su singka-singkatuang
 ta =mai le ku pangin-ta-ton -an su RD-singkatuang
 AND=DIR IMP MT SF -??-know-PL LOC RD-brothers_sisters
 Ku maqkuto i mangase tamai su Galilea.
 ku maqkuto i mangasé ta =mai su
 1sGN so_that PN 3p AND=DIR LOC

All of you go and **give the news** to my brothers and sisters so that they should go to Galilee. (Matthew 28:10)

4.7 Nominalisations

This section discusses nominal derivations from verbal roots and stems. Most of these derivations do not involve the use of morphological formatives. Instead, various verbal roots and stems allow for both nominal and verbal uses. A typical use of the nominal formations is the use as adverbial adjuncts to clauses, e.g. the forms discussed in §4.7.3.

4.7.1 Unaffixed and reduplicated verbal roots as nouns

Unaffixed verbal roots may be used as nouns referring to the result of the action: *kan* ‘food’ (*kanen* ‘eat it’), *wili* ‘price’ (*wili/winili* ‘be bought’), *singkap* ‘the answer given’ (*singkapen* ‘answer it’). This process is productive with reduplicated roots: *hahulai* ‘request’ (*mahulai* ‘make a request’), *sasingkap* ‘answer given’ (= *singkap*), *sasihiq* ‘greetings’ (*masihiq* ‘greet’), *kakinak* ‘question’ (*makinak* ‘ask a question’). Unaffixed and reduplicated verbal roots can refer to the instrument for doing the action denoted by the verb as well: *sikaq* (= *sasikaq*) ‘harrow, comb’ (*sikaq/sinikaq* ‘be combed’). Reduplicated stative roots refer to ‘being in the state’: *wawia* ‘being alive’ (*muwia* ‘be alive’), *to wawia* ‘the living’.

4.7.2. Reduplicated undergoer voice verbs used nominally

Verbal roots with monosyllabic reduplication commonly occur with the non-past patient or local voice affixations to form words with nominal reference: *aemponan* ‘seat’ (*R-* + *empo* ‘sit’ + *LV -an*), *wawiaen* ‘domestic animals’ (*R-* + *wia* ‘raise’ + *PV -an*), *tatulian* ‘place to stay (overnight)’ (*R-* + *tuli* ‘stop in somewhere’ + *LV -an*). The undergoer voice of derived stems may also occur with monosyllabic reduplication in nominal meanings: *panganganen* ‘thing to feed out of’ (*R-* + *pangan* ‘for animals to feed’ + *LV -an*).

4.7.3 Verbal nouns with *ka-R-* or *paN-R-*

For most roots, verbal nouns are formed by adding *ka-* to reduplicated roots (symbolised *ka-R-*). This is the rule for roots which form verbs by combining directly with primary affixes, and for those who form verbs via stem derivation with *pa₁-*, *ka-*, or *paN-*. However, the secondary affixes *pa₁-*, *ka-*, and *paN-* are dropped when *ka-R-* is added to the root: *kajajadi* ‘the coming into being’ (*ma-jadi* ‘become’), *kaqaewong* ‘the action of carrying’ (*mangewong*

‘carry’), *katatomata* ‘birth’ (*matomata* ‘be born’). Some roots which form verb stems with *paN-* (§4.2.3) form verbal nouns by reduplicating the first (prenasalised) syllable of the stem (and not adding *ka-*): *pangangaaq* ‘action of taking’ (*mangaaq* ‘take’).⁵⁷

Verbal nouns of this kind mean ‘the action of doing [root/stem]’ when derived from dynamic roots or stems, and ‘the state of being [root/stem]’ when derived from stative roots or stems. The agent argument of dynamic verbs and the theme argument of statives are marked as genitive arguments.

- (236) kungku mungangaak **kasasonsara** ne
 kungku mu-R-ngaak ka-R-sonsara ne
 I_says AV-R-very VN-R-suffer 3sGN
 I said, ‘What a miserable situation!’ (Lit., His suffering has been too much.)

- (237) kangaak **kararame** mangase
 ka-ngaak ka-R-ramai mangasé
 ??-very VN-R-crowded 3p
 They are very many. (Lit., Their numerousness is exceeding.)

Verbal nouns are frequently used in clauses which mean ‘upon (doing)’.

- (238) **kayayuma** ku taa su lirik
 ka-R-yuma ku ta =na su lirik
 VN-R-arrive 1sGN AND=DIR LOC garden
 When I arrived at my field ...

- (239) **pangangaaq** ku ná kurin
 paN-R-alaq ku na kurin
 SF -R-take 1sGN DIR pot
 As soon as I took the pot down ...

- (240) **kananaiq** ku long sinoof e
 ka-R-naiq ku long in -soof Ce
 VN-R-DIR 1sGN hut PST-burn CPL
 When I arrived up there, the hut had been burned.

⁵⁷ A noun formed with *ka-R-R-* that is, with *ka-* plus repeated monosyllabic reduplication also occurs: *karararakel* ‘large quantity’. The context of the few examples we have lead us to believe that this form differs from the form with simple reduplication in focussing on the variety or quantity of the themes which are in the state referred to (or, in the case of derivations from dynamic roots, the number of agents involved in the action referred to).

5. Directionals and deictics

The system of spatial orientation found in Toratán is fairly elaborate and conspicuous in the sense that it is manifested in almost every utterance. The morphosyntactic distribution of the two kinds of elements which form the core of this system, directionals and deictics, differs substantially from other word classes, and from each other. Roughly speaking, the directionals have verbal and adverbial uses, the deictics pronominal, adnominal and adverbial ones. Details are given below. We begin with the deictics.

The deictic system involves a two-way contrast between PROXIMAL – that is, close to the deictic center (usually the speaker), and DISTAL – that is, further away from the deictic center (including locations close to the addressee). On a grammatical level, a formal distinction is made between deictic adverbials and demonstratives. Demonstratives may be used either as pronouns or adnominally (in construction with a noun). The four forms making up this system are given in Table 14.

	PROX	DIST
DEMONSTRATIVE	tiqí	teqé
ADVERB	sini	sene

Table 14: Deictics

As for the demonstratives, two variant forms occur in addition to the ones listed in Table 14. These forms may be shortened to *tí* and *té*. Alternatively, the glottal stop is dropped, resulting in long vowels (*tii* and *tee*, respectively). Note that in the short forms, the stressed vowel is short and high pitched. There also appear to be short forms for the adverbs – i.e., *ni* and *ne*, respectively. These, however, occur only once in our corpus.

Since the use of the deictics is exemplified by many examples provided in other sections of this work, no further exemplification of their basic uses is given here.

The grammatical distinction between demonstrative and adverb is somewhat blurred by the fact that the demonstratives may also be used as temporal adverbs (then meaning ‘now’ and ‘then/at that time’, respectively).⁵⁸

- (241) kumakán yaq tee
 um-R-kan yaq teqé
 AV-R-eat 1s DIST
 I was eating at the time.

This temporal meaning of the demonstratives may be due to the fact that they are frequently combined with the noun *sawu* ‘time’ in the function of temporal adverbs (see examples (18) and (52) above).

There are several other elements which are probably also deictic, but occur so rarely in our corpus that very little can be said about them. One of these elements is (*n*)*da* which is glossed by Kolinug and our contributors with both ‘ini’ and ‘itu’ (the Indonesian proximal and distal demonstratives). This element is not in complementary distribution with the other deictics listed in Table 14 as shown by the following example:

⁵⁸ The adverbs *sini* and *sene* are not used in a temporal sense but only in a local sense, roughly corresponding to English ‘here’ and ‘there’.

(242) **to daatí** si yarong Preye
 to nda-tiqí si yarong Preye
 NR DEM-PROX LOC Mister Preye

(At the) place **that now** belongs to Mr Preye.

Furthermore, there is the particle *tu*, which shows up sporadically. A particle of the same shape functions as specific article in Manado Malay and some of its uses in our corpus appear to be influenced by Manado Malay usage. In our texts, we gloss *(n)da* and *tu* as well as elements which are derived from them simply as DEM (for ‘demonstrative’).

Turning now to the directionals, note first that the Toratán area is mountainous, with little flat terrain and slopes which are often very steep. The villages are located on slopes, stretching out over two to three kilometres, the higher houses being up to 200 meters above the lower ones. Further, in this section it is particularly important to keep in mind that all our data are from two villages, Pangu and Wongkay. Our hypotheses about the meanings and functions of the directionals are based on locations in those villages. The use of the directionals may differ among the villages, for example with regard to travel between villages.

The directionals come in two sets, dynamic and static, and involve the following four-way distinction according to geographical features:⁵⁹

	DYNAMIC	STATIC
UP/ABOVE (north)	naiq	ram, raya
DOWN/BELOW (west)	na	wa
DOWN/BELOW (south)	sa	lar
ACROSS (east)	mai	pai

Table 15: Directionals

The dynamic set is used for motions, the static set for locations (more on this below). In explaining the meaning of these terms, speakers generally invoked cardinal directions (as shown in Table 15). However, there are various indications that height is the primary parameter, with the use based on cardinal direction being a secondary development:

- if the immediate utterance context involves height distinctions, it is clear that ‘up’ is *naiq*, ‘down’ is *na*, and ‘across’ is *mai*, irrespective of the cardinal direction.
- while the association of *naiq* with ‘north’ and *sa* with south was consistent and stable across speakers, the association of *na* and *mai* with east and west was less consistent. With these two, variation occurred as to whether they were associated with any cardinal direction at all and whether *na* was east or west, *mai* always being the last directional to be associated with the ‘left-over’ cardinal direction.
- a journey between Wongkay or Pangu and Manado is designated by *na* in both directions, although the trip from Wongkay/Pangu to Manado involves travel north/northwest, the return trip being south/southeast (more on this below).
- outside their familiar territory, speakers do not seem to be aware of the cardinal directions. Thus, an older speaker, one of the few who still use the language every day and have not left their native village for any extended period of time, was at a loss to point out the cardi-

⁵⁹ In Kolinug and in the texts a further set of forms occurs, i.e. *rayé*, *wawé*, and *raré*, which seems to be derived from the static set. However, so far nothing substantial could be determined about the meaning and function of these items. Therefore, they are not further discussed in this section.

nal directions while visiting Manado (the Malay terms *selatan*, *barat*, etc. were used when talking about this topic).

On the other hand, it is also clear that not all features of the system can be accommodated by the height parameter. Most notably, the occurrence of two terms for ‘down’ (*na* and *sa*) requires additional parameters. As far as we could ascertain, the difference does not pertain to any features of the terrain (such as steepness). It may pertain to the distinction between a movement down towards the coast/sea vs. any other downward movement, irrespective of absolute direction. This hypothesis would imply that the overall system consists of two sub-systems, one based on height, the other on the distinction sea/coast vs. inland/mountains. The term *naiq* would function in both systems, in one as ‘up’ and in the other as ‘inland/towards the mountains’, a natural coincidence since travel towards the interior is generally travel upwards.

The major evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that all travel from Pangu or Wongkay to any of the coastal villages in the area is *sa*. Note that ‘towards the sea/coast’ is restricted to the southeastern coast in the Toratán area. As mentioned above, travel to Manado, which is located on the northwestern coastline, is *na*. Evidence for the assumption that *na* is neutral with regard to absolute direction comes from two observations: first, *na* is always used in our texts when downward movement occurs in non-specified or fictional locations (for example, in folktales). Second, a visible ‘down’ in the immediate surroundings of the speakers was always referred to as *na*.

The alignment of *naiq* and *sa* with north and south, respectively, is based on conspicuous geographical features: The northern part of the area is formed by a mountain chain, and any travel north, in particular to the major market place in Langoan, is also travel upwards. Travel south from Wongkay and Pangu involves a more or less uninterrupted downward movement, terminating in the major coastal center Belang. As already mentioned above, the alignment of *na* and *mai* with west and east is not well established. There are also no conspicuous landmarks in either direction which would be compatible with the basic meaning of either term.

For extended travel beyond the current field of vision the direction of the final part of the overall movement seems to be essential for determining the appropriate directional. It was mentioned above that for travel both to and from Manado the directional *na* is used. This is probably due to the fact that although the journey involves passing several steep elevations, the final part of the journey is in each case a rather steep descent. Atep and Langoan, the next two villages north of Wongkay which have to be passed on the way to Manado, are ‘up’ because travel there involves principally only upward movement. Travel from Wongkay to Pangu is *na* because the final part is downwards, while travel from Pangu to Wongkay is *mai* because the final part is mostly level in easterly direction.

All four directionals are also used in level surroundings such as houses or among people sitting around a table. Thus, for example, when people are asked to move further to one end or the other of a table, then the direction of the movement is specified with one of the directionals. This use seems to involve reference to major landmarks within the physical environment. Thus, movement within a house which is in the general direction of the church is ‘up’ if the church is ‘up’ with respect to the house, ‘down’ if it is down, etc. More research is required for determining all the parameters relevant in this transferral.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ On an anecdotal level the following observation may be useful: at a rectangular table the northern end, which was ‘down’ with respect to the immediate environment but ‘up/towards the mountains’ within the larger setting, was designated as *naiq*; the opposite end, as *sa*. Movements from either of the ends to one of the sides was designated as *na*; movements across the table as *mai*.

Turning now to the grammatical properties of the directionals, the static ones are adverbs.⁶¹ They may co-occur with the deictics, both the demonstratives (e.g., *teqe wá* ‘that one below’) and the adverbs (e.g., *sene pai* ‘there over there’). In our texts, they are rare, making it difficult to analyse in detail the full range of their grammatical properties. The following example illustrates the use of a static directional within a noun phrase, co-occurring with a demonstrative used as an adnominal modifier:

- (243) kusá mangasé nu apa u lirik tee **wa**
 ku=sa mangasé nu apa nu lirik teqé wa
 MT=DIR 3p GN where GN garden DIST down

They came down to whatchamacallit, to the garden **down there**.

In the following example, a static directional occurs as part of a chain of three locative expressions:

- (244) si Nyoroq **rayé** di Salonsong
 si Nyoroq rayé di Salonsong
 LOC Nyorok up_there LOC Salonsong

(They arrived at the place called Pinatén) at Nyorok's house **over there**, in Salonsong.

In this example, *rayé* ‘up there’ (semantically) modifies *si Nyoroq* ‘at Nyorok's house’, indicating the general direction in which Nyorok's place is located, with Salonsong providing a further specification for the somewhat vague ‘up there’. Note that structurally, given the right kind of context and intonation, the three locative expressions could also be interpreted as merely juxtaposed to each other, each specifying the same location (‘at Nyorok's place, over there, in Salonsong’).

The dynamic directionals are of frequent occurrence and are found in a variety of morphological shapes and grammatical functions. To begin with, there are two proclitics which frequently co-occur with these directionals. First, there is the proclitic *ta* which indicates that the movement specified by the directionals is away from the deictic center (it is glossed AND for ‘andative’ in our examples). Compare the following imperative uses (all elicited):⁶²

- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (245) naiq le! | ‘Come up!’ | tanaiq le! | ‘Go up!’ |
| ná le! | ‘Come down!’ | taná le! | ‘Go down!’ |
| sá le! | ‘Come down!’ | tasá le! | ‘Go down!’ |
| mai le! | ‘Come over!’ | tamai le! | ‘Go across!’ |

The combinations *tanaiq* and *taná* are particularly frequent forms as is evident from the fact that shortened fused variants exist, namely *taiq* and *taa*.

Without *ta*, the directionals typically indicate movement toward the speaker/deictic center. Strictly speaking, however, they are unmarked with regard to this parameter. Thus, they are used in all contexts in which the deictic orientation of a given movement is unspecifiable or unimportant. Occasionally forms without *ta* may even be used in contexts in which the deictic orientation of the movement is *away* from the speaker, as in the following example:

⁶¹ Possibly, they also function, or formerly functioned, as nouns. A common expression in our texts is *Tosuraya*, which was treated by our transcribers and translators as a proper name. Kolinug also treats it as a proper name but translates it with ‘orang di sebelah atas’ (‘the people above’). It seems obvious that this expression consists, etymologically at least, of the nominaliser *to* + locative *su* + static directional *raya*. Complements of the preposition *su* are generally nouns, hence *raya* appears to be a noun in this expression.

⁶² Following the practice of our contributors, we represent combinations of the proclitics and directionals as a single orthographic word.

- (246) roku umintu-intu atau roku **mai** nu apa
 roku um-RD-_hintu atau roku mai nu apa
 don't AV-RD-descend or don't DIR GN where
 (If the soldiers come) don't go down, don't **go** anywhere.

The second proclitic that frequently co-occurs with the directionals is *ku*. The meaning and function of *ku* appears to be related to the manner of the movement expressed by the directionals. That is, while the directionals can be used for movements of any kind, in co-occurrence with *ku* they generally refer to walking (going or coming on foot).

- (247) **kumai** mangasé
 ku=mai mangasé
 MT=DIR 3p

They **came over here**.

- (248) to sPangu tii barekeng **kumai** mangasé
 to su =Pangu tiqí barekeng ku=mai mangasé
 NR LOC=Pangu PROX perhaps MT=DIR 3p

People from Pangu, probably, they **went over there** (and split those rocks apart).

The two proclitics co-occur, as in the following example where the movement is on foot and away:

- (249) te yaq **kutaná** e
 te yaq ku=ta =na Ce
 CON 1s MT=AND=DIR CPL

I **went down** (again)

When the directionals follow the proclitics *ta* and *ku*, stress is always on the directionals – that is, neither *ku* nor *ta* are ever stressed (which is one reason for analysing them as clitics rather than as independent words).

Both proclitics also occur in contexts not involving directionals (for which reason they are analysed as clitics rather than affixes). Thus, *ta* is occasionally used like an allative preposition between verbs of motion and a (genitive marked) NP specifying the goal of the motion, as in:

- (250) sene mangasé nangule **ta** mPangu
 sene mangasé naN -ule ta nu=Pangu
 there 3p AV.PST-return AND GN=Pangu

From there they returned **back** to Pangu.

As further discussed below, this is also a typical context of use for the directionals.

Furthermore, proclitic *ku* is found preceding a main verb, indicating that movement occurred prior to the action denoted by the verb:

- (251) **ku** nondongan Kinilow
 ku naN -rongan Kinilow
 MT AV.PST-battle Kinilow

(They) **went to** battle Kinilow

Again, directionals are also found in this function (see examples (267) and (268) below).

No combination consisting solely of the two proclitics (i.e. *kuta*) occurs in the corpus.

Turning now to the morphosyntactic properties of the dynamic directionals, note first that the properties of the simple directionals and the combinations of proclitics and directionals

are, in principle, identical.⁶³ This will not be explicitly noted again in the ensuing discussion of these properties. The examples chosen to illustrate a given property will involve either a simple directional, or a combination with the proclitics, or both.

The directionals show several verbal properties. In particular, they can be used as main predicates. See examples (246) to (250) and the following two examples:

- (252) **naiq** le kuntua mBayau
 naiq le kuntua nu=Wayau
 DIR FOC village_head GN=Wayau
 Then the village chief of Wayau **came** ...

- (253) yaq **taná** e
 yaq ta =na Ce
 1s AND=DIR CPL
 'I'm going **down there!**' (direct speech)

The complement of a directional – that is, a nominal expression specifying the goal of the movement, shows the same coding properties as the genitive argument in an agent voice construction (see §3.2.1). That is, it follows immediately after the directional (and any clitic accompanying it, such as the completive *e* in the following examples). If it is a common noun or a place name, it may be marked by genitive *nu* (the most frequent option in our corpus):

- (254) tamai **nu** Wailan
 ta =mai nu Wailan
 AND=DIR GN Wailan
 (You) went over **to** Wailan?
- (255) masé kutamai **nu** Lansak
 masé ku=ta =mai nu Lansak
 3p MT=AND=DIR GN Lansak
 They went over **to** Lansak.

As with all *nu*-marked arguments, the particle *nu* may also be left off:

- (256) taná e **lirik**
 ta =na Ce lirik
 AND=DIR CPL garden
 (I) **went back down** to the garden
- (257) kutasá e **Kinepesan**
 ku=ta =sa Ce Kinaepesan
 MT=AND=DIR CPL Kinaepesan
 (We) **went on down** to Kinaepesan

If the complement of a directional is a proper name or a pronoun, it has to be marked with *si*:

- (258) yaq kutamai **si** yarong Sam
 yaq ku=ta =mai si yarong Sam
 1s MT=AND=DIR LOC Mister Sam
 I went over **to** Mr. Sam's.

⁶³ There appear to be differences in the frequency with which simple directionals and combinations of proclitics and directionals are used in particular syntactic functions. For example, the most frequent use of the combination of a directional and *ku* is as the main predicate in a clause.

The goal complements of directionals differ in this regard from the goal complements of motion verbs. The goal complement of motion verbs are marked by locative *su* (*si* for proper names or pronouns):

(259) rumasoh **su** oto
 um-rasoh su oto
 AV-get_on LOC automobile
 To get **in** a car. (elicited)

(260) musaka **su** wukir
 mu-saka su wukir
 AV-climb LOC mountain
 To climb a mountain. (elicited)

(261) rumangen **su** wale
 um-rangen su wale
 AV-ascend LOC house
 To enter a house (lit. go up **into** a house). (elicited)

Note that all the preceding examples are elicited. In spontaneous speech, motion verbs are almost always accompanied by a directional and thus only very rarely would be in direct construction with nominal expressions specifying the goal of the motion.

Apart from the ability of serving as the main predicate in a clause, the directionals are also similar to verbs in that they may occur with some of the verbal morphology. Thus, for example, they allow for monosyllabic reduplication (*R-*). Reduplicated forms refer to moving a little bit in the direction specified by the directional (elicited examples only):

(262) sásá le ‘Move down a little bit this way.’
 nánaiq le ‘Move up a little bit this way.’

When not reduplicated, the affixed forms of the directionals generally involve a combination of *ta* and a directional. So far, the following affixes have been found with directionals. With the causative prefix combination *pa₂pa₁-* (cf. §4.4.) they indicate that something is moved (usually handed) in the direction designated by the directional:

(263) pinapataná (-in- *pa₂- pa₁-ta-ná*) ‘(it) was handed down’ (elicited)

Causative derivations from directional roots are particularly common with a stative prefix (i.e. STATIVE *ma-* + CAUSATIVE *pa₂-*). See example (220) in §4.4.2.

Also quite common is the derivation of verbal nouns from directional roots by prefixing *ka-R-*:

(264) malilíq kutamai **katatamai** tate one
 malilíq ku=ta =mai ka-R-ta =mai tate one
 morning MT=AND=DIR VN-R-AND=DIR not EXIST
 (They) went there early in the morning. When (they) **got there**, nobody was there.

(265) **kananaiq** ku long sinoof e
 ka-R-naiq ku long in -soof Ce
 VN-R-DIR 1sGN hut PST-burn CPL
 When I **arrived up** there, the huts had been burned down.

Finally, we have an elicited example of a stative conveyance voice derivation from a directional root (the subject denotes the reason on account of which something happened, cf. §4.3.2):

- (266) to **kinataná** ne wusak
 to in -ka-ta -na ne wusak
 NR PST-ST-AND-DIR 3sGN banana

Bananas is what he **came down to get**. (lit. He came down on account of bananas).
 (elicited)

In addition to these similarities with verbs, directionals have several further properties not shared by any other group of lexical or grammatical items. Apart from functioning as a main predicate, they can also occur in construction with another main predicate. There are two possibilities. First, they may be used immediately preceding a voice and tense marked verb (in all our examples the verb is formally non-past). In this position they indicate a motion which occurred prior to the event designated by the verb:

- (267) masé **sa** manintak to sini
 masé sa maN-sintak to sini
 3p DIR AV -raise NR here

They **came** to take the people that are here.

Typically, the motion occurs in order for the event to happen, as in the preceding example. Occasionally, however, it is not possible to separate motion and event in such a neat fashion. Compare the following example:

- (268) **mai** muqimu-qimun ere maya ntee
 mai mu-RD-imun ere maya N -teqé
 DIR AV-RD-gather UNIT all LK-DIST

(They) got together all of them.

The proclitic *ku* may be inserted between the directional and the verb:

- (269) **tanaiq ku** malapor su ODM
 ta =naiq ku ma-lapor su ODM
 AND=DIR MT AV-report LOC ODM

(They said,) '**Go back up and** report to the ODM (Indonesian Army).'

In fact, the proclitic may occur twice in the overall construction, once in combination with a directional and then also in between directional and verb:

- (270) men **kusá ku** maloloq sini su ...
 men ku=sa ku ma-loloq sini su
 later MT=DIR MT AV-sleep here LOC

Later (we) **will go** sleep here in ... (that man's field hut in Kinaepesan).

The second construction which is specific to directionals is the following. Directionals may also be used immediately after the verb (and its clitics such as the singular genitive clitics and completive *Ce*). In this position, they specify the direction in which the action denoted by the verb occurred. The following examples illustrate some of the range of verbs with which the directionals may co-occur. Note in particular that they are not restricted to motion verbs.

- (271) nareken limompuq **sá**
 nareken im -lompuq sa
 after AV.PST-go_out DIR

When they left the church (**going towards the sea**).

(272) nasaka le **naiq** kakak ku
 na-saka le naiq kakak ku
 AV.PST-climb FOC DIR older_sibling 1sGN
 yarong Yonsina
 yarong Yonsina
 Mister Yonsina

Then my (older) brother Yonsina climbed **back up**.

(273) te tintúr **sá** ngkami
 te in -ntur sa ni=kami
 CON PST-deliver DIR GN=1pEX

So we carried it **down there**.

(274) pinturo ku **taiq**
 in -pu-nturo ku ta =naiq
 PST-SF-point 1sGN AND=DIR

I pointed **upwards**.

(275) wiq niyúr **sá** mangasé
 wiq ni -yur sa mangasé
 only PST-pull DIR 3p

They pulled (him) **down**.

(276) lumalekeq **taiq** bren te karingi ku
 um-R-lekeq ta =naiq bren te ka -ringi ku
 AV-R-explode AND=DIR gun CON POT-hear 1sGN

taiq humunggóng
 ta =naiq um-hunggóng
 AND=DIR AV-scream

The guns exploded (in an **upward direction**), and then I heard screaming **up there** (i.e., the direction in which I heard something was upwards).

Directionals used as postverbal modifiers may occur with goal complements, just as directionals used as clausal predicates do. The complements of directionals used as postverbal modifiers are marked by genitive *nu* when they are common nouns and by *si* when they are proper nouns or pronouns:

(277) mangule **taná** mbanoa
 maN-u-le ta =na nu=wanoa
 AV -return AND=DIR GN=village

(When they) returned **back down to** the village.

(278) niqewong **kuná** nToratán
 ni -ewong ku=na nu=Toratán
 PST-carry MT=DIR GN=Toratán

(They) brought (her) **down to** Toratán.

(279) naiq tumuli **naiq** syaq
 naiq um-tuli naiq si=yaq
 DIR AV-stay DIR LOC=1s

They came up to stay with me **there**.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ This example shows that it is possible to use a preverbal and a postverbal directional within the same construction.

That is, the goal complements of directionals used as postverbal modifiers have nearly the same marking properties as the goal complements of directionals used as main predicates (see examples (256)-(258) above). They only differ with regard to the fact that the goal complements of directionals used as main predicates may remain unmarked (cf. examples (256) and (257), while those of directionals used as postverbal modifiers are always marked by either *nu* or *si*.

Note that not every nominal expression following the combination of verb plus directional is a complement of the directional. Thus, in the following two examples the clause-final noun phrases, *kurin* in (280) and *yaq* in (281), are the subject arguments of the main verb and not complements of the directional:

(280) pangangaaq ku ná **kurin**
 paN-R-alaq ku na kurin
 SF -R-take 1sGN DIR pot
 When I took **the pot** down.

(281) tinontongan e taiq **yaq**
 in -tontong-an ne ta =naiq yaq
 PST-look -LV 3sGN AND=DIR 1s
 He looked up at **me**.

That *kurin* and *yaq* are not the complements of the directionals is indicated, among other things, by the lack of a noun-phrase marker (otherwise, *kurin* would have to be marked by *nu*, and *yaq* by *si*).

Further, any *su*-marked argument following a verb plus directional modifier is not a complement of the directional but an argument (or adjunct) of the verb. Semantically, such an argument does not indicate the goal of a motion. Instead, it indicates the place at which an event happened. Thus, with *yuma* ‘arrive’, a predicate which frequently co-occurs with a directional, it is always a *su*-marked locative phrase which indicates the place at which someone arrives:

(282) **nayuma** sa **su** aune
 na-yuma sa su aune
 AV.PST-arrive DIR LOC river
 (They) **arrived** down there **by** the river.

A *su*-marked phrase in such a construction may also specify the point of origin of a motion (ablative), as in:

(283) nakoompak e naiq patik **s**Toratán
 naka-humpak Ce naiq patik su =Toratán
 AV.POT.PST-get CPL DIR letter LOC=Toratán
 (We) received a letter **from** down in Toratán.

(284) nangule mai **su** Watulinei
 naN -ule mai su Watulinei
 AV.PST-return DIR LOC Watulinei
 (The ones who) returned **from** over in Watulinei.

Note the minimal contrast between (284) and (277) above: in (277) *wanoa* ‘village’, which is marked by *nu* and thus as the complement of the directional, specifies the place to which someone returns (allative). In (284) *Watulinei* is the *su*-marked argument of the verbal predicate *nangule* and specifies the point from which someone returns (ablative).

However, (283) and (284) are not the standard constructions for expressing ablatives. Ablatives are typically expressed by a *su*-phrase which precedes the predicate and is immediately followed by the particle *wu*, here tentatively glossed as *ablative*:

(285) **su** Makalu **wu** mai
 LOC Makalu ABL DIR

From the Makalu (they) came here.

(286) **sini wu** taná ere roá
 sini wu ta =na ere ruá
 here ABL AND=DIR UNIT two

From here (Wongkay) the two of them went down (to Lansak)

To conclude the discussion of the morphosyntactic properties of the directionals, one further syntactic context in which they are found has to be mentioned. Though the dynamic directionals are most frequently part of the predicate expression, they may also occur in nominal expressions. When used after a noun or a pronoun, they refer to an area associated with the noun or pronoun and extending in the direction designated by the directional. For example:

(287) **su pondol taiq** si yarong Wuwung
 su pondol ta =naiq si yarong Wuwung
 LOC tip AND=DIR LOC Mister Wuwung

At the **end** (of the village), **up toward** Mr. Wuwung's place.

(288) **tee taiq** ma nalunow
 teqé ta =naiq ?? na -lunow
 DIST AND=DIR ST.PST-blue

That area going all the way up there was already blue (i.e. full of soldiers wearing blue uniforms).

The static directionals in this context (see examples (243) and (244) above) refer to the place at which something or someone is located (being at least momentarily stationary).

6. Texts

The three texts presented here differ with regard to a number of parameters, including genre, amount of editing and glossing. The first two texts are folk stories, the third one is an excerpt of a conversation which includes a lengthy personal narrative. The folk stories have been edited to some extent in that many minor hesitations and false starts have been removed. Furthermore, they are presented in standard orthography (i.e., allophonic variation is generally not represented) and with standard punctuation which is based on a combination of syntactic-semantic and intonational clues. The conversation extract, on the other hand, is presented in intonation units and includes a systematic record of production phenomena such as pauses, hesitations, unclear segments, etc.

Questions and comments from members of the audience are preceded by *I*: (for *interlocutor*). Utterances and words which appear to be clearly (Manado) Malay are set in italics.

6.1 Story of the Monkey and the Turtle

This relatively short and straightforward version of the famous *Story of the Monkey and the Turtle* was told by Henrietta Kosakoy, born in Pangu in 1925.

1. Waa wu tomponú
monkey and turtle
The Monkey and the Turtle.
2. muwawisaa ere roá wu mutatoondei.
AV-R-talk UNIT two and AV-R-friends
They talked with each other and they were friends with each other.
3. tan turá malaling. Naq manginuatén apa?
but we-two AV-cooperate AFM AV-work what
But the two of us will work cooperatively. Okay, what shall we do?
4. turá musti muwakal su lirik
we-two must AV-hoe LOC garden
We two should hoe in the garden.
5. muwakal, masóy muwakal wu musuwán wusak.
AV-hoe ST-finished and AV-plant bananas
We will hoe, and after we have finished hoeing, we will plant bananas.
6. makawus musuwán wusak lalalaqen masé tee.
ST-finished AV-plant bananas R-R-rest 3p DIST
After they had planted bananas, they waited for (the fruit).
7. pira wulan tamai nuwuwa e. Nuwuwa e wusak.
few month AND=DIR AV.PST-bear_fruit CPL AV.PST-bear_fruit CPL banana
A few months went by and it bore fruit. The banana tree bore fruit.
8. mbaya ooo i waa natasak e wusak. O i waa natasak e wusak.
until oh PN monkey ST.PST CPL banana oh PN monkey ST.PST-ripe CPL banana
Until Mr. Monkey (said) ‘Oh!, the bananas are ripe. Oh,’ (said) Mr. Monkey. ‘They are ripe!’
9. musti awiqan ku.
must climb-LV 1sGN
I have to climb up and get them.’

10. i tomponú le timei makaawiq, tomponú.
PN turtle FOC not AV.POT-climb turtle
Mr. Turtle couldn't climb, the turtle.
11. te i waa naawiq e taiq.
CON PN monkey AV.PST-climb CPL AND=UP
So Mr. Monkey climbed up.
12. kinaan ee wusak.
PST-ate:PV 3sGN=CPL banana
He ate the bananas.
13. mbaya narais e.
until ST.PST-finished_off CPL
Until they were all gone
14. te i waa ... tomponú wiq kuntou⁶⁵
CON PN monkey turtle only they_say
Then Mr. Monkey, ... the turtle only (said), it is said:
15. yaq nawón le ná.
1s throw-LV IMP DIR
'Throw me some down here!'
16. te timai.
CON not
But he didn't.
17. wiq kinaluhay ne.
only PST-ST-laugh:CV 3sGN
He just laughed at him.
18. ndewu wiq nunawo ná pisi ne.
only only AV.PST-throw DIR peel 3sGN
The only thing he did was throw the peels down.
19. te naawo e rorof e tomponú.
CON ST.PST-angry CPL angry CPL turtle
The turtle got angry.
20. tomponú nangala e tunay.
turtle AV.PST-fetch CPL thorn
The turtle got some thorns.
21. winuntu ne su pu mbusak tunay-tunay.
PST-put:CV 3sGN LOC tree GN=banana RF-thorn
He put them together under the banana tree, the thorns.
22. wu isé timere.
and 3s AV.PST-run_away
Then he ran away.

⁶⁵ The form *kuntou* may be analysed as *ku* 'word' + *nu* GEN + *tau* 'people'. However, we treat it here as a monomorphemic unit because not all of its uses are semantically fully transparent. *kuntou* is not only used to introduce direct speech (of speakers who are not specifically identified) but it is also more generally used to mark reported speech. In narrative genres such as folk stories it is often best rendered by 'it is said'/'the story goes'. This more general use distinguishes it from similar phrases such as *ku ne* 's/he says/said' and *ku mangasé* 'they say/said' which are formally and semantically fully transparent and always introduce the direct speech of previously identified speakers.

23. tumpa le ná i kau!
AV.IMP:come IMP DIR PN 2s
'Hey you! Come on down!
24. oreq i kau makawaya tumumpa ná.
Or_maybe PN 2s AV.POT-dare AV-go_down DIR
'Or maybe you don't dare come down.'
25. isé limintók ná.
he AV.PST-jump_down DIR
He jumped down.
26. naempo ná su ... aa ... tunay.
AV.PST-sit DIR LOC ouch thorn
He sat down on ... ouch ... the thorns.
27. te i tomponú natakuq e.
CON PN turtle ST.PST-fear CPL
At that point Mr. Turtle became afraid.
28. timere isé simúq su rano.
AV.PST-run 3s AV.PST-enter LOC lake
He ran away (and) went into the lake.
29. simúq su rano.
AV.PST-enter LOC lake
He went into the lake
30. te winatuk e ni waa.
CON PST-try_to_catch:PV CPL NP.GN monkey
But Mr. Monkey tried to catch him.
31. waa ... tomponú timai kinawatuk ne.
monkey turtle not PST-POT-catch:CV 3sGN
The monkey ... the turtle he couldn't catch him.
32. isé simúq su rano.
3s AV.PST-enter LOC lake
(Because) he went into the lake.
33. naq kasilow ne ren.
AFM POT-find:CV 3sGN still
He could still get him though.
34. pakura-kura ku tii maqkoto ... ?
SF-RD-how 1sGN DEM so_that
'How am I going to do this, so that ... ?'
35. mayu e isé.
AV:call_out CPL 3s
He called out.
36. sapi!
'Cow!' (He summoned the cow.)
37. pinapasiyoq ne rano maqkoto ...
PST-CAU-SF-drink:CV 3sGN water so_that
He had it drink up (the water in) the lake so that ...
38. sapi siningsingen moong ne wu tungkuq ne siningsingen, siningsingen.
cow PST-stopped_up-LV mouth 3sGN and behind 3sGN PST-stopped_up-LV PST-stopped_up-LV
The cow, he put a stopper in the snout and stopped up its behind, stopped it up (so the water would stay inside).

39. nakawus tee te i waa naawo e rorof.
ST.PST-finished DIST CON PN monkey ST.PST-angry CPL angry
After that Mr. Monkey was mad as a hornet.
40. tomponú ...
The Turtle ...
41. nakawus e ake su rano.
ST.PST-gone CPL water LOC lake
The water in the lake was all gone.
42. tan i waa natakuq e.
but PN monkey ST.PST-afraid CPL
But Mr. Monkey was afraid [the speaker meant the turtle].
43. ado! tate si ake.
INTJ all_gone LK water
'Good heavens! There is no more water.
44. hairén yaq ... !
later 1s
Later I am going to be ... !'
45. tomponu natakuq e.
turtle ST.PST-afraid CPL
The turtle was scared.
46. no nalusa e su rano.
AFM ST.PST-dried_up CPL LOC lake
Of course. (The water) in the lake had dried up.
47. tate si ake.
all_gone LK water
The water was gone.
48. te kinawuya e ni waa i tomponú.
CON PST-POT-see:CV CPL GN monkey PN turtle
Then Mr. Monkey saw Mr. Turtle.
49. i kau wunoan ku!
PN 2s kill-PV 1sGN
'I am going to kill you!'
50. te i tomponú ku naq ...
CON PN turtle MT AFM
Then Mr. Turtle went ...
51. ku nayu e sapun.
MT AV.PST-summon CPL crawfish
He went to summon the crawfish.
52. sipiq le am.
pinch:PV.IMP IMP INTJ
'Pinch it! Ump! ...
53. to pinaningsing su moong ne wu su tungkuq ne.
NR PST-SF-stopped_it_with:CV LOC snout 3sGN and LOC behind 3sGN
The thing that was stuffed into the snout and the rear end!'
54. te sapun naka ... timere e.
CON crawfish AV.POT.PST- AV.PST-run CPL
And so the crawfish came ... running.

55. wu ku nanipiq. pinakawúq ne.
and MT AV.PST-pinch PST-CAU-ST-pull_out:CV 3sGN
And he went to pinch it. He got it out.
56. to pinaningsing su sapi.
NR PST-SF-stopped_it_with:CV LOC cow
That thing he had stuffed into the cow.
57. te ake ... ake naq ...
CON water water AFM
The water ...
58. te ake naq limompu e.
CON water AFM AV.PST-go_out CPL
The water flowed out.
59. wu napuling ke rano.
and ST.PST-fill_up CPL lake
And the lake filled up again.
60. te nayandur e.
CON ST.PST-carry_by_current CPL
He was carried away (in the water).
61. nayandur e waa.
ST.PST-carry_by_water CPL monkey
The monkey was carried away in the water.
62. mbaya kutasá ntasik.
until MT=AND=DIR GN=sea
As far as the sea.
63. I: lawanen.
To the ocean.
64. sá nu lawanen, iyo tasik.
DIR GN ocean yes sea
To the ocean. Yes, the sea.
65. lawanen.
The ocean.
66. timai kinawatuk.
not PST-POT-catch:CV
He (the monkey) didn't manage to catch him (the turtle).

6.2 Tonaqas Kinilow

This story was told by the late Mateus Wohos (Om Tau) in Wongkay. It is somewhat more difficult to follow than the preceding story. The audience is familiar with the story and context, and much is left uncompleted.

Tonaqas is the word for shaman in the Minahasan languages. The *tonaqas*, besides being capable of magic and healing, was also a chieftain, as is the *tonaqas* from Kinilow in this story. The Bible translation uses the word *walián* for 'chief', but Kolinug defines *tonaqas* specifically as 'chief' and says *walián* refers to a female shaman.

1. ere tulu taanak su lirik.
UNIT three family LOC field
There were three members of a family (working) in their field.

2. tulu taanak su lirik wu kinayumán u tonaqas Kinilow.
three family LOC garden then PST-POT-arrive-LV GN shaman Kinilow
The three members of the family were in their field when the shaman from Kinilow (Kinilow chieftain) happened to come along.
3. karna kanaramen to kakeeqren *di* ... su Minahasa *ini*,
because customs NR R-former_times in LOC Minahasa PROX
Because of the custom of our ancestors in Minahasa here,
4. to araq patén *satu kaluarga daang* ...
CMP if die-LV one family I_mean
that if a family lost a member, I mean, ...
5. wu matei singkatau,
and AV:dead one_person
If someone died,
6. mansilow balas e.
AV-look_for revenge CPL
(they) would look for revenge.
7. jadi ku ni to hahureq, lumoloh.
so said GN NR R-old AV-be_alone
So (he) would 'go off into the woods', as the old people called it. [Go off to the woods to get strength from the spirits.]
8. aa, sarta nayuma su lirik,
So when AV.PST-arrive LOC field
When (the Tonaqas) arrived at their farm,
9. nayuma su lirik,
AV.PST-arrive LOC field
arrived at their field,
10. wúndane musasunsán tonaqas Kinilow,
then AV-R-test shaman Kinilow
the next thing that happened they engaged in a contest, the Kinilow shaman,
11. wúndane to i yamang i torarióq no?
and_also NR PN father GN children right?
together with (lit. and then) the father of the children, right?
12. sene one singkatau torarióq to matatón te.
there EXIST one_person child NR ST-know CPL
There was a child who already knew [who was already old enough to understand what was happening].
13. muane, aren ne i Punuk.
male name 3sGN PN Punuk
A boy whose name was Punuk.
14. isé timai naskolah.
3s not AV.PST-school
He did not attend school.
15. *barekeng* torarioq, *barekeng* to ... mmm ...
sth_like child sth_like NR
He was like a child, like one who was ...
16. *so mo mulai kelas anam* pe araq sintoo tii ku naq.
already going_to start class six CPL if LOC=NR PROX said AFM
about to start the sixth grade, if it were nowadays, as they would say.

17. jadi, nusasunsán to manginum.
so AV.PST-R-test NR AV-drink
Anyway, they engaged in a drinking contest.
18. ku nto hureq su rara kinomor.
say LK-NR old LOC coconut_shell PST-clean:PV(?)
From a coconut shell the old people call 'kinomor' [rubbed clean].
19. rara wiq pinente tamai pondol e té.
coconut_shell only PST-cut:PV AND=DIR tip 3SGN DIST
That (kind of) coconut shell (which) was just cut off at the top.
20. to kuntou rara kinomor.
NR they_say coconut_shell PST-clean:PV(?)
The one they say is a 'kinomor' (shaven) coconut shell.
21. manginum sene.
AV-drink there
(They) drank from that.
22. no aa ... timingara taiq.
AFM aa AV.PST-look_up AND=DIR
Yes! Mmm! He (Punuk's father) tilted his head back with his face up (to drink).
23. te pipók e ntonaqas Kinilow ... kahue ne.
CON PST-cut:PV CPL GN=shaman Kinilow neck 3SGN
Then the shaman from Kinilow cut it through, his neck.
24. jadi natei e.
so AV.PST-dead COMP
So, he died.
25. jadi wawawuyán i to anak.
so R-R-see-LV GN NR child
So, that child saw it.
26. jadi to anak manaru-dendam pe si ...
so NR child AV-thirst_for_revenge CPL LOC
So, that child burned for revenge against ...
- I: tonaqas.
The shaman.
27. tonaqas Kinilow.
The shaman from Kinilow.
28. te yamang e naq winuno.
CON father 3SGN AFM PST-kill:PV
He had killed his father.
29. òõ tii. Jadi isé nubertapa su to ...
yes PROX so AV.PST-meditate LOC NR
Yep. So he went to meditate in a ... (to gain spiritual strength).
30. talikur tee isé nubertapa su to akel wu mukomboleng.
after DIST 3s AV.PST-meditate LOC NR sugar_palm just AV-finish_growing_leaves
After that he went to meditate on top of a sugar-palm that was close to done bringing forth new leaves (was going to bear fruit).
31. 'wu mukomboleng' artinya wu nasói.
just AV-finish_growing_leaves its_meaning just ST.PST-finished
This phrase, wu mukomboleng, means just became finished (bringing forth leaves).

32. wu nasóí tee, timai ren timumpa kaseq ne.
just ST.PST-finished DIST not still AV.PST-descend sugar_palm_fruit 3sGN
It had just finished (being in leaf), but the fruit had not descended.
33. jadi isé nubertapa.
So 3s AV.PST-meditate
So he meditated.
34. wiq nuwalun u towang.
only AV.PST-provision GN string_beans (*Vigna sesquipedialis*)
He took nothing but string beans with him to eat.
35. *itu sayor.*
DIST vegetable
That is (a kind of) vegetable.
36. sop.
A vegetable.
37. ku ngkite ...
say GN=1pIN
We call them ...
- I: towang.
String beans.
38. towang.
String beans.
39. tumaasiou towang.
AV-nine_at_a_time⁶⁶ beans
Nine different kinds of these beans.
40. wua ne mamanaiq to?
fruit 3sGN ST-long AFM?
The fruits are long, right?
41. jadi tumaasiou.
so AV-nine_at_a_time
There were nine kinds.
42. tee nto puwalun e.
DIST LK-NR SF-provision:CV 3SGN
That's what he took for provisions.
43. wúndane isé nubertapa sene tapa to mambaya ...
then 3s AV.PST-meditate there meditate CMP until
Then he stayed there meditating, meditated until ...
44. mambaya men nempo skaseq ne.
until later AV.PST-sit LOC=sugar_palm_fruit 3sGN
until he (could) sit on the fruit.
45. timumpa e kaseq ne.
AV.PST-descend CPL sugar_palm_fruit 3sGN
(When) the bunch of fruit had descended.
46. nahurang ke kaseq ne mbaya men nempo.
ST.PST-old CPL sugar_palm_fruit 3sGN until later AV.PST-sit
The fruits had matured, and up to then he stayed sitting there.

⁶⁶ For *tumaasiou* see §3.5.

47. su kaseq ne isé sene.
LOC sugar_palm_fruit 3sGN 3s there
He was there on the bunch of fruit.
48. tee nto napuling ke tingi u manuk.
DIST LK-NR ST.PST-full CPL sound GN bird
Until the time was up (marked by) the sound of the bird.⁶⁷
49. tingi nu manuk.
sound GN bird
The bird's omen.
50. toratán, te asal ngi nto kakeeqren,
Ratahan CON origin PL LK-NR R-former_times
The Ratahan people, the origin of the ancestors,
51. tee asal u manuk.
DIST origin GN chicken
their origin is from the bird.⁶⁸
52. kuntou manuk tee.
they_say bird DIST
They say, it was birds.
53. toratán.
The Ratahan people.
54. jadi, isé tee, isé nubertapa.
so 3s DIST 3s AV.PST-meditate
So he, he meditated.
55. kinaompaken e mayentee to ...
PST-POT-get-LV 3sGN all NR
He managed to gather together all those ...
56. te isé nangomando e pomuda nu toratán.
then 3s AV.PST-organised CPL youth GN Toratán
He organised the youth of Toratán.
57. limampulo masé.
five-LK-ten they
There were fifty of them.
58. limampulo anggota mangasé.
five-LK-ten members 3p
They comprised fifty members.
59. wu kutaná nu ...
and MT=AND=DIR GN
And they went down to ...
60. ku nondongan Kinilow mangasé.
MT AV.PST-battle Kinilow 3p
They went down to do battle with Kinilow.
61. nayuma taná sene.
AV.PST-arrive AND=DIR there
They arrived there.

⁶⁷ There is a belief that certain kinds of birds give omens which give direction for human action.

⁶⁸ It was an omen from the bird which told the Ratahan people where to settle.

62. one b- ...
There were b- ...
63. mamake nu babuq mangasé.
AV-use GN slave 3p
They (the Kinilow people) had female slaves.
64. no keeqren ku naq babuq.
AFM former_times say AFM slave
Formerly they called them 'babuq'.
65. wiq nulaluwak mai.
only AV.PST-R-pound rice
(They) were just pounding rice.
66. jadi luwakén e, tapén e su lalonganen tukar.
so pound-PV 3SGN winnow-PV 3SGN LOC underneath ladder
Anyway, they were pounding it and winnowing it underneath a ladder.
67. jadi niator e anak-bua ne to ...
So PST-order:CV 3SGN followers 3SGN COMP
So he (Punuk) gave orders to his men to ...
68. taná wiq Kepung,
AND=DIR only Kepung
to go down only as far as Kepung,
69. to wanoa ngKinilow.
NR village GN=Kinilow
which is one of the Kinilow villages.
70. wu men makoompak komando ne, ku ne araq isé kumukuk e.
only-then later AV.POT-get command 3SGN word 3SGN if 3s AV-cry_out CPL
Only when they had received his signal, he said, (should they attack) when he shouted.
71. isé nto sumúq nanilow si tonaqas.
3s LK-NR AV-enter AV.PST-look_for LOC shaman
He would be the one to enter (Kinilow) and look for the Kinilow shaman.
72. ne araq sé kumukuk e,
so if 3s AV-cry_out CPL
So, only when he cried out,
73. tee nto suaqne sumúq mangasé.
DIST LK-NR may AV-enter 3p
that's when they could go in.
74. *bagitu kwaq.*
like-that AFM
That's the way it was.
75. jadi sene babuq to makura ...
So there slave NR AV-what
So anyway there were slaves that were what do you call it?
76. tapén su ... to tee to ku ntou ...
winnow-PV LOC NR DIST NR say GN=people
They were winnowing in ... that thing that people call ...
77. mararakel e, mubúq e.
ST-R-many CPL AV-pile CPL
There was already a lot of it, there was a huge pile.

78. to walukah.
NR hulls
The hulls (that had accumulated).
79. pinakinaken e tee te pinaoman e ...
PST-SF-ask-LV 3sGN DIST CON PST-say:CV 3sGN
He asked them, he spoke to them.
80. pinakinaken e to sawe to long i tonaqas.
PST-ask-LV 3sGN NR which_one NR hut GN shaman
He asked them which one was the shaman's hut.
81. walei ni tonaqas.
house GN shaman
The shaman's house.
82. kuntou 'Tii!'
they_say PROX
They said, 'This one!'
83. ma tinukaren tee.
then PST-ladder-LV DIST
Then he put a ladder against it.
84. no te marangeq tanaiq.
AFM CON ST-high AND=DIR
Yes, because it was located up high.
85. jadi tukar tanaiq.
so ladder AND=DIR
So (there was) a ladder going up.
86. jadi pinaoman e ku ne,
so PST-SF-say:CV 3sGN say 3sGN
So she told them, she said,
87. araq to wu tee umintu,
if NR first DIST AV-descend
'The first one (lit. if it is the first one) that comes down,
88. pangawal e.
bodyguard 3sGN
will be his bodyguard.
89. karoá ne umintu,
ORD-two 3sGN AV-descend
The second to come down,
90. ne tee pangawal e.
also DIST bodyguard 3sGN
that will also be his bodyguard.
91. men katulu ne.
later ORD-three 3sGN
Wait for the third one.
92. tee i tonaqas.
DIST PN shaman
That will be the shaman.'
- I: sei to naoman te?
who NR AV.PST-say CPL
Who was it that said that?

93. tii babuq.
PROX slave
It was this slave.
94. tee oman e sisé ...
that_one say 3sGN LOC=3s
She told him, ...
95. to aren e i Punuk .
NR name 3sGN PN Punuk
(She told) the one who was named Punuk.
96. jadi, aa, tungár imintu e masé tu wu kanánune matupis rame masé.
so true AV.PST-descend CPL 3p DEM while AV.practice_magic in_large_group 3p
It's true. As they went down (to Kinilow), they performed magic rites as a group
(performed sacrificial rites to the supernatural beings).
97. *tuu mereka pakai, mereka-punya itu.*
DIST 3PL use theirs DIST
They used that [magic] of theirs.
98. ku ngkite matupis.
say GN=1pIN AV-tupis.
We call it 'matupis' (a ritual involving sacrifices).
99. sumasaqansing pingkan ...
AV-R-tinkle plate
The plates were clinking and clanking ...
100. makura te masé to ...
AV-do_what CPL 3p NR
How could they manage to do that ...
101. pai *karna pangatahuan* mangasé *atau* ...
perhaps because knowledge 3p or
Maybe it was because of their secret knowledge or ...
102. jadi nasói tee te imintu mangasé.
so ST.PST-ready DIST CON AV.PST-descend 3p
So, when they were done with that (the rituals), they went down.
103. tunga-tungár no.
RD-true AFM
It was true (what the slave had told them).⁶⁹
104. wu tee pangawal.
just DIST guard
The first one to come down was a bodyguard.
105. pangawal e karoá ne ne pangawal e
bodyguard 3sGN ORD-two 3sGN also bodyguard 3sGN
His bodyguard. The second one was his bodyguard, too.
106. katulú ne ná,
ORD-three 3sGN DIR
The third one that came,
107. wu tikín e awaq nu mamán sumpún.
then staff 3sGN stem GN areca_nut one-LK-tree
he had a single areca palm trunk as his staff.

⁶⁹ The speaker here may mean that the magic ritual is true.

108. tikín to kuntou ma imintí tana,
staff NR they_say then AV-PST-shook earth
A staff which people say the earth shook,
109. pamuntulan e taa tikín e.
struck_downwards-LV 3sGN AND=DIR prop 3sGN
(when he) struck (the ground) with his staff.
110. te isé muwuáq naiq su walukah.
CON 3s AV-rise DIR LOC hull
Then he (Punuk) emerged from the rice hulls. [He had hidden himself in the pile of rice hulls mentioned earlier in the story.]
111. wu sinanti ne.
and PST-cut_off_in_one_stroke:PV(?) 3sGN
And he (Punuk) cut him in two.
112. to tee nangondei maya to tikiñé to sumpún
NR DIST AV.PST-be_done-together with NR staff-3sGN NR one-LK-tree
He cut him in two together with the staff, that was a tree trunk.
113. ma nasanti.
then ST.PST-cut_off_in_one_stroke
It was cut in two.
114. kimukuk e.
AV.PST-cry_out CPL
He cried out.
115. sumúq e mangasé to limampulo.
AV-enter CPL 3p NR five-LK-ten
They rushed in, the fifty men.
- I: ye
Yeah.
116. jadi, niator e galedah.
so PST-order CPL search
So they organised a search.
117. to ru- ... wale-walei.
NR order RD-houses
He ord- ... a house-to-house (search).
118. te wunane pugaledah mangasé wale-walei.
CON then SF-search:CV 3pGN RD-houses
Then they conducted a house-to-house search.
119. wu pinamarenta ne to men turán ngi nto anak muanei.
then PST-command:CV 3sGN CMP later remain-LV PL LK-NR child male
And he ordered that (the place) be left with only the male children.
120. men turá nto torarióq to tee.
later remain LK-NR children NR DIST
The children would be the ones remaining.
121. tapi araq matatón te wunón ere maya ntee.
but if ST-R-know CPL kill-PV UNIT all LK-DIST
But if they knew (were at the age of reason), they should be killed, all of them.
122. wu singkatau rapa wawine wu tee ...
and one_person RPRT woman and DIST
They say there was a woman and she ...

123. *nawala su wawinei to keeqren kuntou,*
ST-in_the_middle LOC woman NR former_times they_say
(They) stumbled on a woman who (as) they used to say,
124. *niruik mbukiq-wukíq.*
PST-raise:CV rafters
was ‘lifted up into the rafters’.
125. *niruik artinya nirangeq.*
niruik meaning PST-raise:CV
‘Niruik’ means ‘be raised’.
126. *taiq su panulung su walei.*
AND=DIR LOC attic LOC house
(She was put) up in the attic in a house.
127. *sene tampa ne.*
there place 3sGN
That’s where they had put her (her place was there).
128. *barekeng nawala.*
sth_like ST-in_the_middle
He kind of stumbled on her.
129. *aaq ne rapa wawinei tee.*
taken 3sGN RPRT woman DIST
He took that woman, they say.
130. *wiq muaya té.*
only girl DIST
She was just a young girl.
131. *wu nioo ne su awiton.*
and PST-stuff_into:CV 3sGN LOC basket
And he put her into a hamper.
132. *keeqren to awiton ...*
former_times NR basket
Formerly, the ‘awiton’ basket ...
133. *tu dorang ...*
DEM 3p
the kind that they ...
134. *wawalukinan mangasé.*
R-carry_on_back-PV 3p
that they carry on their backs.
135. *rupa ...*
Appearance
Similar to ...
- I: *rupa bobitang?*
Similar to the (Manadonese) ‘bobitang’ (rucksack made of woven bamboo or palm leaves)?
136. *barekeng dorang bekeng ...*
sth_like 3p make
Like they make ...
137. *artinya itu kuntou awiton itu ...*
meaning DIST they_say basket DIST
It means, it’s called ‘awiton’ ...

138. *asal dari mapapa.*
origin from palm_leaf
It comes from (is made of) palm leaves.
139. *kalupa nu ... nu umbia.*
midrib GN GN sago_palm
Leaves of the sago palm.
140. *winiqan wu pihogan to ... barekeng ...*
peel-LV and make-PV NR sth_like
They peel them off and make them into something like ...
141. *wawalukinan mangasé.*
R-carry_on_back-PV 3p
what they will carry on their backs.
142. *nioo ne sene winalukin e.*
PST-fill_in:CV 3sGN there PST-carry_on_back:PV 3sGN
He stuffed her there (into his rucksack), (and) carried her on his back.
143. *niewong kuná nToratán.*
PST-carry:CV MT=DIR GN=Ratahan
He carried her down to Ratahan.
144. *kuteq budóq.*
AFM albino
She was an albino.
145. *tele ninto ku mangasé.*
CON DEM-LK-NR say 3p
That's what they say.
146. *ku ne tee rapa to tee to mawuróq.*
say 3sGN DIST RPRT NR DIST NR ST-white
They say according to the story that's why (there are) those people who are white (albinos).
147. *pucacirita nu to Suraya to yaq kutataná.*
SF-R-tell:CV GN NR LOC:interior CMP 1s MT-R-AND-DIR
The people of Suraya (the mountain people) told me about it when I went there.
148. *to yaq ku tarangan nu to Suraya te panyirita masé.*
CMP 1s go explanation GN NR LOC=interior CON SF-tell:CV 3p
When I went to get an explanation from the mountain people, they told that (story).
149. *to sabanarnya timai araq ne, one si to budóq.*
CMP in_reality not if 3sGN EXIST LK NR albino
That actually, but for her, there would not have been albinos.
- I: *su toratán.*
LOC Ratahan
In Ratahan.
150. *tapi karna isé ...*
but because 3s
But because of her ...
151. *sé to simuru.*
3s NR AV.PST-have_intercourse
(because) she was the one who had intercourse.
[laughter]

- I: apa simuru?
What is 'simuru'?
152. simuru *bakasta*.
'Simuru' is 'to breed'.
- I: *atau biak*.
Or 'multiply'.
153. *so cirita nu Toratán no*.
already story GN Ratahan AFM
There. That is a story of the Ratahan people.

6.3 Permesta

The following conversation between Om Tau and Elisa, our two main contributors, consists primarily of Elisa recounting some of his experiences during the time of the Permesta rebellion. This rebellion of regional centers in Sumatra and Sulawesi against the central government in Jakarta had its stronghold in the Minahasa region where it lasted from 1957-1961 (see Harvey 1977 for a detailed account). It is one of the most prominent events in the recent history of Minahasa and widely considered a strong manifestation of regional identity (Henley 1996:155).

The Permesta time is a favourite topic for conversations among older Toratán men, all of whom were involved in it in some way or other. It is clear from this and another conversation we have recorded that Om Tau and Elisa have quite different takes on the events in their village at the time. This may be due in part to the fact that Elisa seems to have been associated with a rebel group, while Om Tau appears to have been forced to cooperate with the government troops.

This text is presented in intonation units, in most instances one unit per line. The intonation units have been determined auditorily. The primary factor in determining unit boundaries are pitch movements (boundary tones at the end of a unit, pitch resets at the beginning), in addition to which pauses and the lengthening of final segments have also been taken into account. The units fall into the following fairly rough categories:

- those with a final boundary tone (pitch falling to the lowest level, often accompanied by a lengthy pause), indicated by a backslash (\);
- those with a clear question intonation (a fairly steep final pitch rise), marked by a question mark (?).⁷⁰
- those with a clear exclamatory intonation, indicated by an exclamation mark (!).
- those with non-final boundary tones (i.e. usually a level and slightly rising final pitch movement), indicated by a pipe (|);
- those which are incomplete (due to overlaps, false starts) or the boundary of which is not determinable (due to noise); these remain unmarked.

The transcription found in the first line of each unit represents major allophonic variation. Stress is indicated whenever it does not fall on the penultimate syllable. This includes instances where it exceptionally falls on the final syllable of a word which regularly receives penultimate stress (for example, *lirik* in (8) below). In this line, stress on the ultimate syllable is only marked when it can actually be perceived. In the line representing morphemes, each lexical item is represented in its standard form, including stress.

⁷⁰ Note that not all questions are presented with this special question intonation. In fact, the majority of questions involve the boundary tone found in declarative clauses – i.e., a final fall.

Numbers in parentheses show pause length in seconds (measured instrumentally). An equal sign (=) at the end of an intonation unit indicates that no perceptible pause occurs between two units. Lengthened segments are marked by a colon. False starts are surrounded by pointed parentheses (<>). A dash at the end of a word (e.g. *ya-*) indicates that it was truncated (self-interruption with a glottal stop). Unintelligible segments are represented by question marks surrounded by strokes (/??/), with one question mark representing approximately one syllable. Strokes also surround segments where the transcription is uncertain. Overlapping utterances are considered a single unit with respect to the numbering of turns.

The free English translation attempts to capture the core of the semantic and pragmatic meaning of the Toratán line while preserving idiomatic English morphosyntax and lexis. The punctuation in the translation is intended to ease the understanding of the Toratán information flow. Note that full stops are used whenever the Toratán unit ends in a final boundary tone (regardless of whether the unit thus delimited would be considered an idiomatic English sentence).

Utterances by Om Tau are preceded by *T:*, those by other members of the audience by *I:*. Elisa's contributions remain unmarked.

1. sebenarnya | (=)
Actually,
2. apa to caciritán te ntorá? (0.7)
apa to R-cirita-an Ce ni =to=ruá
whatNR R-story -LVCPL GN=NR=two
what shall we two talk about with each other?
3. T: pucirita nu tou /? ???⁷¹kaneaf\ (2.9)
pu-cirita nu tau kaneaf
SF-story:CV GN people yesterday
A story about people that were around before.
4. sawu nto: (0.7) parmesta itu | (0.4)
sawu N -to parmesta itu
time LK-NR Permesta DIST
At the time of the ... Permesta rebellion,
5. kusá mangasé nu:: apa | (=)
ku=sa mangasé nu apa
MT=DIR 3p GN where
when they came down to the ... what was it,
6. /u/ lirik tee /u/ wa \ (0.8)
nu lirik teqé wa
GN garden DIST down
the fields down there.
7. sawu ntee kau su apa\ (0.7)
sawu N -teqé kau su apa
time LK-DIST 2s LOC where
At that time where were you?
8. T: su lirík \ (1.2)
su lirik
LOC garden
In the fields.

⁷¹ Here an extended string of segments (possibly a number of words) is unintelligible.

9. aduh yaq ento memang su long gu \ (0.3)
 aduh yaq e -N-to memang su long ku
 gee 1s FOC-LK-NR in_fact LOC hut 1sGN
 Oh, Lord! As for me, I was in fact in my field-hut (too).
10. ku mase raye su hilingan \ (=)
 ku masérayé su hilingan
 word 3p up_thereLOC mill
 People said they (the army) were above the mill.
11. T: mm (=)
12. ya (0.7)
 Okay.
13. yaq wiq timere liwáq tamai | (0.7)
 yaq wiq im -tere liwaq ta =mai
 1s only AV.PST-run across AND=DIR
 (So) I just ran over there across the river,
14. /nuwuni/ sin Tanoma /te/simúq tamai /?/ | (0.8)
 nu-wuni si =ngi Tanoma im -suq ta =mai
 AV.PST-hide LOC=PL Tanoma AV.PST-enter AND=DIR
 I hid in Tanoma's place, (I) went inside there,
15. adoh \ (1.9)
 Lord!
16. <tu> (0.5) makura le /tu/\ (0.3)
 tu ma-kura le tu
 DEM AV-what FOC DEM
 What did I do that for?
17. nuwuni \ (0.5)
 nu -wuni
 AV.PST-hide
 (I mean,) hide there.
18. padahal to niringan /taná ?/ nu Pangu | (0.4)
 padahal to ni -rangan ta =na nu Pangu
 actually NR PST-together_with:CV AND=DIR GN Pangu
 When in fact the people they brought along down to Pangu ...
19. kunaq (0.5) ya?(2.0)
 like ya
 How shall I put it?
20. masé le senang-senang sene sini le umaq | (0.4)
 masé le RF-senang sene sini le umaq
 3p FOC RF-happy there here FOC mother!
 They were okay over there, but here, God!
21. masonsara e \ (=)
 ma-sonsara Ce
 ST-suffer CPL
 We had a tough time.
22. kungku aroiqa \ (1.2)
 I_says damn
 'Damn!' I said to myself.⁷²

⁷² The form *kungku* lacks semantic and formal transparency and is therefore treated here as a monomorphemic unit. Formally, its make-up is not totally clear because the genitive first person singular clitic *ku* is otherwise never preceded by a genitive marker or a linker. The expected form for 'my word/I say' would be **ku ku* (cf. *ku ne* for 's/he says/said'). Semantically, its use is ex-

23. T: /??/ (0.8)
24. T: kumúle nasúq su tomatato memang tiaraq one sene \ (0.9)
 kumú le na-suq su tomata to memang tiaraq one sene
 2p FOC AV.PSTenter LOC person NR in_fact not EXIST there
 You all were among the people who weren't there.
25. T: berarti yaq ele | (=)
 berarti yaq ele
 that_means 1s too
 I wasn't either,
26. niqaaq mangasé to? (0.2)
 ni -alaq:PV mangasé to?
 PST-take 3p AFM?
 they took me, you know?
27. mm (0.7)
28. T: /?/ (0.4)
29. T: to hahurang /??/ | (1.0)
 to R-hurang
 NR R-old
 My parents were there,
30. T: te jadi sala-sala tananen ku mangasé ne | (0.8)
 te jadiRF-sala tananen ku mangasé sene
 CON thus RF-wrong leave_behind 1sGN 3p there
 so I was wondering if I was doing wrong leaving them there,
31. T: susah \ (0.7)
 difficult
 (it was) tough.
32. niarap maliqintee yaq | (0.7)
 ni -arap maliq intee yaq
 PST-reflect night LK.DIST 1s
 Imagine, that night I
33. kami nDanel sene wu timere /nu wu/ | (=)
 kami ni=Danel sene wu im-tere
 1pEX GN=Daniel there ABL AV.PST-run
 Daniel and I ran away from that place to
34. /?/ taná sing Hinsia te | (0.7)
 ta =na si =ngi Hinsia te
 AND=DIR LOC=PL Hinsia CON
 to the place of the Hinsia family and
35. wu te liwáq sa nalalos sa singi Wempi /??/ \ (0.2)
 wu te liwaq sa na -lalós sa si =ngi Wempi
 and CON across DIR AV.PST-keep_on DIR LOC=PL Wempi
 when we got to the other side we continued on with Wempi and his family.
36. Yentje liwáq ntu \ (0.2)
 Yentje liwaq N -tu
 Yentje across LK-DEM
 To Yentje's place across the river.

tended because *kungku* does not only introduce direct speech by the speaker but also more generally speakers' thoughts and comments on the events they are talking about. Cf. also the comment on *kuntou* in footnote 65.

37. ootesá masé sa manintak to sini | (0.5)
 ??-sá masésa maN-sintak to sini
 -DIR 3p DIR AV-raise NR here
 They (the army) were heading south, coming to take the people here,
38. aroiq sene maliqintee ambe i kami | (0.4)
 aroiqá sene maliq intee ambe i kami
 damn there night LK.DIST mate PN 1pEX
 God! that night over there, my friend, we
39. kutsá e Kineepesan\ (0.5)
 ku=ta =sa Ce Kinaepesan
 MT=AND=DIR CPL Kinaepesan
 went down to Kinaepesan.
40. [laughter] (1.0)
41. kungku | (0.3)
 I thought,
42. maeheq timpangen kami maliqintee | (0.8)
 ma-eheq timpáng-an kami maliq intee
 ST-near walk -LV 1pEX night LK.DIST
 we'd just have to walk a short way that night,
43. men kusá ku maloloqsini su:: | (0.7)
 men ku=sa ku ma-loloq sini su
 later MT=DIR MT AV-sleep here LOC
 and then we would sleep here in ...
44. long yarong tee sKineepesan\ (1.3)
 long yarong teqé su=Kinaepesan
 hut gentleman DIST LOC=Kinaepesan
 that man's field hut in Kinaepesan.
45. Tee tos- (=)
 DIST
 Those
46. T: /?? sini/ (=)
47. to su long le pinayu\ (0.9)
 to su long le in -payu
 NR LOC hut FOC PST-send_for
 who were at the field hut had been summoned.
48. niringan te mangasé /kutá ralen/ nu Pangu \ (0.4)
 ni -rigan Ce mangasé ku=ta =na ralen nu Pangu
 PST-together_with CPL 3p MT=AND=DIR road GN Pangu
 They were taken away (and made to go) down the road to Pangu.
49. aroiq \ (1.3)
 aroiqá
 God!
50. pira ngkonán le yaq kunaiq | (0.3)
 pira N -konoan le yaq ku=naiq
 a_few LK-day FOC 1s MT=DIR
 For several days I went further uphill (into the interior),
51. /kananaiq ku/ long sinoof e /?/ \ (0.7)
 ka-R-naiq ku long in-soof Ce
 VN-R-DIR 1sGN hut PST-burn:PV(?) CPL
 when I arrived at the field hut, it had been burned down.

52. lete sinoof e mangasé \ (1.0)
 ??-te in -soof Ce mangasé
 -CON PST-burn:PV(?) CPL 3p
 They had already burned it down.
53. niarap manuk nakapátei e| (0.2)
 ni -arap manuk naka-patei Ce
 PST-reflection chicken XHST.PST-dead CPL
 Imagine, the chickens were all dead,
54. nilutam pe masé \ (1.1)
 ni -lutam Ce masé
 PST-shoot:PV(?) CPL 3p
 they had shot them.
55. mai barekeng nilompuq ni yarong Tumundo su liu ne | (0.6)
 mai barekeng ni -lompuq ni yarong Tumundo su liu ne
 riceperhaps PST-go_out GN gentleman Tumundo LOC around 3sGN
 The rice had apparently been carried out through the back by Mr. Tumundo,
56. wu tinongkohan nu atup| (0.5)
 wu in -tongkop-an nu atup
 and PST-cover-LV GN roof
 and covered with thatching,
57. wu [laughter] tinananen masé | (0.3)
 wu in -tananen masé
 then PST-leave_behind 3p
 and then they left it,
58. ya?
 would you believe it?
 T: mm (2.0)
59. yaq kusá ele | (=)
 yaq ku=sa ele
 1s MT=DIR again
 I went over there once more,
60. kungku adoh!(=)
 I_says gee
 I thought: God!
61. masoso e sini ee\ (1.1)
 ma-soso Ce sini ee
 ST-fed_up CPL here INTJ
 I am fed up with being here.
62. yaq naoman te si Sepus kungku | (0.5)
 yaq na-oman Ce si Sepus kungku
 1s AV.PST-say CPL LOC Joseph I_says
 I told Sepus, I said:
63. yaq taná e\ (0.8)
 yaq ta =na Ce
 1s AND=DIR CPL
 ‘I am going down (to Pangu).’
64. T: mm E:[laughs](1.5)
65. *pokoq <dora->* (0.4)
 main
 In short,

66. apa (0.2) ts (1.1)
what
whatchamacallit ... ehm ...
67. mai to: (1.8) nakaturá te pinakaluwak ku e tee wu | (1.7)
mai to naka-turá te in-pa-ka-luwak ku Ce teqé wu
riceNR XHST.PST-remainderCON PST-CAU-ST-pound:CV 1sGN CPL DIST and
all the rice that was left I pounded it and
68. qeho-qehóm ku e | (=)
RD-ehom ku Ce
RD-carry:CV 1sGN CPL
carried it bit by bit,
69. to tariq niqehóm ku taná \ (0.3)
to ??-riq ni -ehom ku ta =na
NR -little PST-carry:CV 1sGN AND=DIR
little by little I carried it down.
70. kinaqehóm ku ta | (0.4)
in -ka -ehom ku ta
PST-POT-carry:CV 1sGN AND
I managed to carry it there,
71. te yaq kutaná e \ (0.9)
te yaq ku=ta =na Ce
CON 1s MT=AND=DIR CPL
and then I was on my way down (to Pangu).
72. heeya | (0.4)
INTJ
73. te musoma Mantiri spaningkiran su:: (0.7) apa?(2.4)
te mu -soma Mantiri su=paN-singkir -an su apa
CON AV-meet Mantiri LOC=SF-evacuate-LV LOC where
I met Mantiri in the evacuation area in ... where was it?
74. nu anu nu lowuq tí | (0.3)
?? anu nu lowuq tiqí
possession GN isolated PROX
In that place that belonged to the Lowuk people,
75. sá su:: Lihongkong \ (0.9)
sa su Lihongkong
DIR LOC Lihongkong
over there in ... Lihongkong.
76. ku adoh!(=)
word gee
I said, 'Lord!'
77. apa to pakatanaken kumu sini? (0.6)
apa to paka-tanak-an kumú sini
whatNR XHST-motionless-LV 2p here
What is it you all are staying here for?
78. T: mm (0.3)
79. kangaak kararame /mangase/ wawé sPangu | (0.2)
??-ngaak ka-R-ramai mangasé wawé su=Pangu
-very VN-R-crowded 3p down.there LOC=Pangu
There is a huge number of them down there in Pangu,'
80. [laughter] yaq kungku | (0.5)
1s I_says
I said (to myself), 'You

81. horonuni \ (=)
idiot
idiot!
82. apa itu pihogan nu? (0.7)
apa itu pihog-an nu
whatDIST make-PV 2sGN
'What are you doing?'
83. arih | (0.6)
damn
Damn,
84. kungku ya | (1.7)
I thought, well
85. paksa \ (=)
forced
I have to do it (i.e., go on down to Pangu).
86. naoman te yaq syepus kungku | (0.8)
na-oman Ce yaq si =Sepus kungku
AV.PST-say CPL 1s LOC=Joseph I_says
I talked to Sepus, I said,
87. yaq taná e Sepus \ (0.4)
yaq ta =na Ce Sepus
1s AND=DIR CPL Joseph
'I'm getting out of here, Sepus.'
88. te ku ne no taná ele \ (1.0)
te ku ne ?? ta =na ele
CON word 3sGN AND=DIR too
And he said to me, 'Never mind, just go!'
89. kurakuteq \ (1.0)
kura koteq
whatAFM
But I wonder why (lit. what is it)?'
90. wawé rapa torarióq sene | (0.3)
wawé rapa torarióq sene
down.there RPRT children there
'Down there, they say, the children are there,
91. tele makatanak sini \ (1.1)
tele maka-tanak sini
CON XHST-motionless here
why should (I) stay here?'
92. yaah (1.3)
INTJ
93. te sini barekeng wiq (0.7) angoq mpansayoan | (0.3)
te sini barekeng wiq ?? N -paN-sayo -an
CON here perhaps only LK-SF -visit-LV
'This here is only kind of ... only a place to visit (i.e., a place to stay temporarily),
94. mbuya-mbuya toondei to one su woyang-woyang su apa tee | (0.1)
RD-M -wuya toondei to one su RF-woyang su apa teqé
RD-AV-see companion NR EXIST LOC RF-holes LOC where DIST
just look at the others all holed up wherever that happen to be,'

95. kayuma-yumán kungku | (0.1)
 ka -RD-yuma-an kungku
 VN-RD-arrive-LV I_says
 I said, ‘wherever I land,
96. maliq su apa ne | (=)
 maliq su apa sene
 night LOC where there
 wherever (I end up) at night,
97. te maloloqsene \ (0.9)
 te ma-loloq sene
 CON AV-sleep there
 I’ll sleep there.’
98. yaah (0.6)
 INTJ
99. T: mm (=)
100. kungku mungangaak kasasonsara ne \ (1.2)
 kungku mu-R-ngaak ka-R-sonsara ne
 I_says AV-R-very VN-R-suffer 3sGN
 I said, ‘What a miserable situation!
101. ambe singka-singkatau naq \ (1.5)
 ambe RD-singkatau naq
 mate RD-one_person AFM
 We’ll have to go our separate ways, friend!’
102. /are ?/\ (1.8)
 Damn!
103. mai muqimun ere maya ntee to | (0.3)
 mai mu-imun ere maya N -teqé to
 DIR AV-gather UNIT all LK-DIST NR
 They got together all of them, that is
104. ma yamang i Pinurut | (0.3)
 ma yamang ni Pinurut
 then father GN Pinurut
 the father of Pinurut,
105. Dinan | (=)
 Dinan,
106. [laughter] (0.6)
107. T: /nuqoa masé/ | (=)
 All of them,⁷³
108. T: to naoa nto sankaq \ (0.6)
 to ?? N -to sankaq
 NR LK-NR vain
 they’re a bunch of braggarts.
109. kungku adoh! (=)
 I_says gee
 I said ‘Hell!’⁷⁴

⁷³ Om Tau appears to know where the story is heading at this point and cuts it short by launching a quite strong attack on its presumed protagonists.

⁷⁴ Elisa attempts to get on with his story, ignoring Om Tau’s interjection.

110. T: meken timai si cirita | (=)
despite not LK story
Even if there is no story,
111. T: mansilo-nsilow \ (1.4)
maN-RD-silaw
AV-RD-look_for
they look for (something to tell).
112. T: mansilo-nsilow /naiq too/ | (0.4)
maN-RD-silaw naiq ??
AV-RD-look_for DIR
They look for something they can make up (lit. to come up),
113. T: /naq kutoo/ | (1.1)
naq kuntou
AFM they_say
so people can say,
114. T: puja-puján tee oreq kunaq pakura \ (1.7)
RD-puji -an teqé oreq kunaq pa-kura
RD-praise-LV DIST or like SF-what
'That's praiseworthy,' or whatever.
115. nareken to yaq to limompuq taná | (0.3)
nareken to yaq to im-lompuq ta =na
after NR 1s NR AV.PST-go_out AND=DIR
After I had gone down (to Pangu),⁷⁵
116. adoh \ (0.5)
Heavens!
117. te ku masé | (7.7)
CON word 3p
They said,
118. tanaiq ku malapor su ODM \ (1.2)
ta =naiq ku ma-lapor su ODM
AND=DIR MT AV-report LOC ODM
'Go back up and report to the ODM (Indonesian Army).'
119. maliqtee yaq niringan ni <komm>ni Kolinúg | (0.3)
maliq teqé yaq ni -rigan ni ni Kolinug
night DIST 1s PST-together_with:CV GN GN Kolinug
That night I was accompanied by Kolinug,
120. T: mm (0.6)
121. kuntou | (0.8)
they_say
I was told,
122. i kau musti taná nToratán \ (1.9)
i kau musti ta =na nu=Toratán
PN 2s have_to AND=DIR GN=Ratahan
'You have to go down to Ratahan.'
123. tek timi nuwaliq \ (1.5)
koteq timai nu-waliq
AFM not AV.PST-happen
But it didn't happen.

⁷⁵ Elisa resumes the telling of his story without commenting on Om Tau's remarks. The episode concerning Pinurut, Dinan and others, however, is not further elaborated.

124. te wiq nantóq su /Mae/ | (0.7)
 te wiq na -ntoq su
 CON only ST.PST-stop LOC
 (I) only got as far as Mae,⁷⁶
125. yaq wiq niauru-urus mase sene\ (1.0)
 yaq wiq ni-R-RD-urus masésene
 1s only PST-R-RD-investigate:PV 3p there
 they just cross-examined me there.
126. wiq <tutulu> pakakatulu | (0.9)
 wiq paka-??-tulu
 only TIMES-??-three
 Only three times,
127. pinayú tee taate \ (1.7)
 in -payu teqé tate
 PST-send_for DIST finished
 they called me, that was it.
128. yaq ku /??/ | (=)
 1s MT
 I went to ...
129. sebenarnya masé yaq ingkaq taná ku malapor su: | (1.4)
 sebenarnya maséyaq ingkaq:CV ta =na ku ma-lapor su
 actually 3p 1s order AND=DIR MT AV-report LOC
 actually they, I was told (by them) to go down and report to ...
130. taná nu Toratán \ (1.3)
 ta =na nu Toratán
 AND=DIR GN Ratahan
 go down to Ratahan.
131. le timai
 ??not
 But no⁷⁷
 T:to wu sinintak (0.9)
 to wu in -sintak
 NR just PST-lift:CV
 The ones who had just been taken
132. tiaraq| (0.2)
 No!
133. yaq men kutaná samuri to? (0.2)
 yaq men ku=ta =na samuri to?
 1s later MT=AND=DIR in_the_back ya?
 I only went there behind (after) them, you know?
134. T:/to kunaq/to wu sinintak /??/
 to kunaq to wu in -sintak
 NR like NR just PST-raise:CV
 The ones who, the ones who had just been taken ...⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The place name was not known to the contributors who helped with the transcription and translation of this conversation.

⁷⁷ Here Elisa and Om Tau overlap, both stopping without (intonationally) completing their utterances.

⁷⁸ The end of this unit is overlapped by Elisa's next utterance.

135. oh to sinintak kutaná\ (1.2)
oh to in -sintak ku=ta =na
oh NR PST-raise:CV MT=AND=DIR
Oh, the ones who had just been taken went down.
136. T: toratán\ (2.6)
To Ratahan.
137. /?/ nanayun te sene tee | (0.5)
na -nayun Ce sene teqé
ST.PST-long_time CPL there DIST
They were there for a long time,
138. niringa-ringan te nu masé mai nuoperasi su apa?(0.5)
ni -RD-ringan Ce nu masémai nu-operasi su apa
PST-RD-together_with:CV CPL GN 3p DIR AV.PST-operate LOC where
they were brought along over there to engage in a military operation in what's its name?
139. tumuuq | (0.3)
um -tuuq
AV-join_in
To join in,
140. pai nuoperasi kungku | (0.7)
pai nu-operasi kungku
perhaps AV.PST-operate I_says
to go on an operation, I think,
141. pakaroá <dim-> niringan mangasé \ (1.0)
paka-ruá ni -ringan mangasé
TIMES-two PST-together_with:CV 3p
two times they (the army) took them along.
142. I: /????/
/??/ (=)⁷⁹
143. kumai to nanintak ren to su Lansak tee | (0.3)
ku=mai to naN -sintak ren to su Lansak teqé
MT=DIR CMP AV.PST-raise stillNR LOC Lansak DIST
Those who were to take the people in Lansak came across (i.e crossed our path),
144. yaa [laughter] kungku | (0.6)
INTJ I_says
yeah, I thought,
145. arih \ (0.3)
Damn!
146. kami naq pinapawalukin walun \ (2.8)
kami naq in-pa-pa-walukin walun
1pEX AFM PST-CAU-SF-carry_on_back:CV provision
We were made to carry supplies.
147. pona naq <papawu-> (0.3) papawalukin mangasé:: apa?(0.4)
pona naq pa-pa-walukin mangasé apa
first AFM CAU-SF-carry_on_back:CV 3p what
At first we were made to ... they made us carry uh what was it?

⁷⁹ At this point, someone in the audience makes a remark (or asks a question) which is in part overlapped by Elisa's response. From the following units it becomes clear that the story now turns back to Elisa's adventures.

148. apa tee \ (0.6)
apa teqé
whatDIST
What's it?
149. ponghubung tee | (0.2)
ponghubung teqé
connection DIST
Communications stuff,
150. PKB \ (=)
PKB's.
151. T: PKB \ (1.3)
152. nanayu-nayun te kará Wempi pinapaqehom pe
na -RD-nayun Ce kará Wempi in -pa -pa-ehom Ce
ST.PST-RD-long_time CPL 1dEX Wempi PST-CAU-SF-carry:CV CPL
masé walun kungku | (0.8)
masé walun kungku
3p provision I_says
For a long time they made Wempi and me carry provisions, I said,
153. tate kumán? [laughter] (0.9)
tate um -kan
finished AV-eat
'Is that it, the food?' (I.e., will it never end all this food we have to carry?)
154. /?/ kimamamaya ntee kan to walu-walukinan naq \ (1.5)
??-R-R-maya N -teqé kan to RD-walukin -an naq
-R-R-all LK-DIST food NR RD-carry_on_back-PV AFM
It was too much food that we had to carry.
155. mayuma mai <sasu->kami su Makalu | (0.4)
ma-yuma mai kami su Makalu
AV-arrive DIR 1pEX LOC Makalu
We arrived at the Makalu (River),
156. te kuntou muntóq le! (1.6)
te kuntou mu -ntoq le
CON they_say AV-stop IMP
and we were told, 'Stop!'
157. one rapa tau \ (=)
EXIST RPRT people
There is someone here.'
158. koteq si:: (1.1) isei?(0.2)
AFM LOC who
In fact, it was ... what's his name?
159. i Tatimbangan ere roá ni Tuwoindan \ (0.2)
i Tatimbangan ere ruá ni Tuwoindan
PN Tatimbangan UNIT two GN Tuwoindan
Tatimbangan together with Tuwoindan.
160. T: mm (1.1)
161. te sini wu taná ere roá \ (=)
te sini wu ta =na ere ruá
CON here ABL AND=DIR UNIT two
From here (Wongkay) the two of them went down.

162. koteq masé kutamai nu (0.3) nu Lansak | (0.4)
 koteq maséku=ta =mai nu nu Lansak
 AFM 3p MT=AND=DIR GN GN Lansak
 In fact, they were on their way to ... to Lansak,
163. te sini wu taná masé nusoma e\ (1.0)
 te sini wu ta =na masénu -soma Ce
 CON here ABL AND=DIR 3p AV.PST-meet CPL
 going from here to there they met (us).
164. I: /??/?/
 /??/?/
165. su Makalu wu kumai | (0.3)
 su Makaluwu ku=mai
 LOC MakaluABL MT=DIR
 From the Makalu they came this way,
166. nayuma sTareten /??/ \ (0.9)
 na-yuma su=Tareten
 AV.PST-arrive LOC=Tareten
 they arrived in Taretan over there (pointing).
167. hinadang ke maqasé mbe | (0.5)
 in -hadang Ce mangasé ambe
 PST-block:PV CPL 3p mate
 They were ambushed, friend,
168. /??/ [laughter] (0.4)
169. T: hinadang ni Permes-
 Permesta\ (1.5)
 Ambushed by the Permesta (rebels).
170. koteq /tí/ ngi:: (0.2) si Telor /da lor ni/ <Min-> Kuyou | (=)
 koteq tiqí ngi si Telor
 AFM PROX PL LOC Telor
 In fact, the ones who (ambushed them) were the ones with Telor and <Min-> Kuyou,
171. eh <Minde::->Minder \ (=)
 I mean Minder.
172. T: Minder \ (0.4)
173. nn (0.5)
174. ere roá ni sei pai ?(1.8)
 ere ruá ni isai pai
 UNIT two GN who perhaps
 The two of them probably with who else was it?
175. te kami wu naiq singi uu to da pai
 te kami wu naiq si =ngi to nda pai
 CON 1pEX just DIR LOC=PL NR DEM over_there
 nawei si Yunus sene pai tetu | (0.3)
 na -wei si Yunus sene pai tetu
 ST.PST-give LOC Yunus there over_there DEM
 We had just gotten up to the place of the group of uhm, the place over there that had been given to Yunus,

176. T: mm (=)

177. si mbos ne su Nuk | (0.2)
 si bos ne su Nunuk
 LOC boss 3sGN LOC Nunuk
 to his boss in Nunuk,

178. T: mm (2.4)

179. ei (0.4)
 INTJ

180. pinapapuntóq e nTampakeq | (0.4)
 in -pa -pa-pu-ntoq Ce ni =Tampakeq
 PST-CAU-SF-SF-stop:CV CPL GN=Tampakek
 Tampakek made us stop,

181. sinomaen e | (=)
 in -soma-an ne
 PST-meet-LV 3sGN

he met up with us,

182. i kami timuuq su:: (0.6) Subagiae si: (0.2) Kumundane \ (=)
 i kami im -tuuq su Subagia ?? si Kumundane
 PN 1pEX AV.PST-join_in LOC Subagyó LOC commander
 we followed to ... Subagyó, to the commander's place.

183. jadi: (1.2)

Thus,

184. nasamuri <dan-> eh su wala ne | (1.6)
 na -samuri su wala ne
 ST.PST-in_the_back LOC middle 3sGN

(we) were at the very back, I mean in the middle,

185. /he/ nuntóq | (1.1)

?? nu-ntoq
 AV.PST-stop

(we) stopped,

186. nayun kacoq te kuntou tasá e \ (0.7)
 nayun kacoq te kuntou ta =sa Ce
 later a_little CON they_say AND=DIR CPL

not too long after that they told us to go (further).

187. te sene wu pisaka mai nayuma sá su Lansak | (=)
 te sene wu in -pu-saka mai na-yuma sa su Lansak
 CON there ABL PST-SF-climb DIR AV.PST-arrive DIR LOC Lansak

From there we were brought up into the mountains and we arrived over in Lansak,

188. wu nuntóq su wungkune | (0.8)

wu nu-ntoq su wungkune
 and AV.PST-stop LOC mountain

and we stopped in the mountains,

189. singkaq/antute/ nalalos e tamai nu (0.1) panyingkirán \ (1.0)
 singkaq ?? na -lalós Ce ta =mai nu paN-singkir-an
 other AV.PST-keep_on CPL AND=DIR GN SF- evacuate-LV

the others they continued on down to the evacuation area.

190. T: /??/ (1.3)
191. mai tee (1.2) sungkulón sene | (0.3)
 ?? teqé sungkulaun sene
 DIST a_whole_night there
 After that (we spent) one night there,
192. té to yarong Niklás /té to/ kutamai <kun-> (0.9) kuntou | (0.6)
 teqé to yarong Niklas teqé to ku=ta =mai kuntou
 DIST NR gentleman Niklas DIST NR MT=AND=DIR they_say
 the ones that were with Mr. Niklas [the headman of Wongkay] the ones that went
 across ... were told
193. manadia e to muwuáq su wiwina | (1.3)
 maN-sadia Ce to mu -wuáq su wiwina
 AV-prepare CPL CMP AV-raise LOC next_day
 to prepare for leaving the following day,
194. malilíq kutamai | (=)
 malilíq ku=ta =mai
 morning MT=AND=DIR
 early in the morning (we) went there,
195. katatamai tate one [laughter] \ (1.0)
 ka-R-ta =mai tate one
 VN-R-AND=DIR notEXIST
 when (we) arrived nobody was there.
196. T: tamai nu Wailan \ (0.3)
 ta =mai nu Wailan
 AND=DIR GN Wailan
 They had gone to Wailan.
197. tiaraq u masé /??/ (=)
 not ? 3p
 They weren't there,
198. taate katatonan kutamai nu Wailan te oreq [laughter] (0.8)
 tate ka-R-ton an ku=ta =mai nu Wailan te oreq
 not ST-R-know-LV MT=AND=DIR GN Wailan CON if
 it wasn't known if they went to Wailan or what ...
199. T: sinintak mangasé kutamai nu Wailan \ (0.8)
 in -sintak mangasé ku=ta =mai nu Wailan
 PST-raise:CV 3p MT=AND=DIR GN Wailan
 They had brought them to Wailan.
200. wu su longná su luwáq ne /? wawawuyan/ kami <ma-> | (=)
 wu su long na su luwáq ne R-R-wuya -an kami
 then LOC hut DIR LOC opposite_side 3sGN R-R-see -LV 1pEX
 We could see them in the field hut over there on the other mountain,
201. one sasolon su oo ne \ (0.6)
 EXIST lamp LOC content 3sGN
 there was a lamp inside it.
202. pinangingkaq e taiq mangasé ngi Alek | (0.5)
 in -paN-ingkaq Ce ta =naiq mangasé ngi Alek
 PST-SF -order:CV CPL AND=DIR 3p PL Alek
 They told Alex and his group to go up there,
203. Ale::k ts (0.7)

204. Alek <Kagu->eh Alek apa tee to malangkeq tee? (1.6)
 Alek Alek apa teqé to ma-langkeq teqé
 Alek Alek what DIST NR ST-high DIST
 Alex, eh Alex what's his name, the one that was so tall?
205. anak yarong Wautang \ (1.3)
 anak yarong Wautang
 child gentleman Wautang
 The son of Mr. Wautang?
206. T: Agu \ (=)
207. òò Agu raq | (1.1)
 INTJ AFM
 Yeah it was Agu,
208. na: (0.8)
 a::nd
209. kutamai katatamai le tate one \ (1.5)
 ku=ta =mai ka-R-ta =mai le tate one
 MT=AND=DIR VN-R-AND=DIR FOC notEXIST
 they went over (to the other mountain), when they arrived, there was no one.
210. eya (0.7)
 INTJ
211. paksa \ (1.1)
 forced
 Bad luck.
212. sene kami malilíq te nanimpáng ke | (0.2)
 sene kami malilíq te naN -tumpáng Ce
 there 1pEX morning CON AV.PST-walk_on_foot CPL
 (From) there we had to walk on foot early in the morning,
213. kuná e | (1.7)
 ku=na Ce
 MT=DIR CPL
 we went back down (to Pangu),
214. te papapasán masé <maim->(0.4) masin
 te pa-pa-pasán masé masin
 CON CAU-SF-carry_on_shoulder:CV 3p machine
 <a syarong-> anu yarong Poneke | (=)
 anu yarong Poneke
 possession gentleman Poneke
 they made us carry the machine guns belonging to Mr. Poneke,
215. /?/ kará mBempi nupasán tee | (1.1)
 kará ni=Wempi nu -pasán teqé
 1dEX GN=Wempi AV.PST-carry_on_shoulder DIST
 the two of us, Wempi and I carried them,
216. tan tee wináiran \ (0.6)
 tan teqé in -wair -an
 but DIST PST-pay -LV
 but we were paid for that.
217. adoh yarong Poneke katanduman ku to
 aduh yarong Poneke ka-tandum -an ku to
 gee gentleman Poneke ST-remember-LV 1sGN NR

- nirasoh ni yarong Rantung su roda ya? (0.4)
 ni -rasoh ni yarong Rantung su roda ya?
 PST-load:CV GN gentleman Rantung LOC cart ya?
 Oh Lord, I remember Mr. Poneke, you know, Mr. Rantung heaved him onto his cart, right?
218. meheq pituraq /?/ wawon <su-> (0.4)
 meheq in -pu-turaq wawon su
 nearly PST-SF-throw_forcefully:CV pile_on_top:CV LOC
 He almost got thrown on top of ...
219. wawon naiq yamang i:: (0.9)
 wawon naiq yamang ni
 pile_on_top:CV DIR father GN
 on top of up there (where) the father of ...
220. su <in->(0.3) /??/ sin Dinan \ (0.2)
 su si =ngi Dinan
 LOC LOC=PL Dinan
 at ... (the durian) at Dinan's.
221. T: mm (=)
222. [laughter] (1.1)
223. kungku ee | (1.5)
 I_says INTJ
 I thought well,
224. T: naq sawu ntoo Sepus winuno mangasé /naq/ kau su apa \ (0.5)
 naq sawu N -to Sepus in -wuno mangasé naq kau su apa
 AFM time LK-CMP Joseph PST-kill 3p AFM 2s LOC where
 The time they killed Sepus, where were you?
225. oh /?/ sToratán \ (0.2)
 oh su =Toratán
 oh LOC=Ratahan
 Oh, in Ratahan.
226. apa su Pangu tii \ (2.7)
 apa su Pangu tiqí
 what LOC Pangu PROX
 Oops no, here in Pangu.
227. T: /yaq ne/ sPangu araq /to e ??/ Sepus \ (2.7)
 yaq ne su =Pangu araq ?? ??
 1s also LOC=Pangu if
 I was also in Pangu when Sepus /??/.
228. T: memang pinaoman ku sawu ntee roku mangule-ngule/su ?/ (1.3)
 memang in -pa-oman ku sawu N -teqé roku maN-RD-uile su
 in_fact PST-SF-say:CV 1sGN time LK-DIST don't AV-RD-return LOC
 Well, I told him at that time, 'Don't go returning to ...
229. T: /Wiyei/ atau su Wayau | (=)
 Wioi or LOC Wayau
 Wioi or to Wayau,'
230. T: tan te isé timai rimaringi tingi \ (0.6)
 tan te isé timai im-R-ringi tingi
 but CON 3s not AV.PST-R-hear word
 but he didn't listen to what people said.

231. mm (=)
232. T: te nusukaq ni ngi Yules \ (1.7)
 te nu-sukaq ni ngi Yules
 CON AV.PST-like GN PL Yules
 It was the same as with Yules and his group.
233. T: to nangule mai su Watulinei | (0.6)
 to naN -ule mai su Watulinei
 NR AV.PST-return DIR LOC Watulinei
 The ones who went home from Watulinei,
234. T: paoman ku | (=)
 pa-oman ku
 SF-say:CV 1sGN
 I said,
235. T: malumóng! (0.9)
 ma-lumeong
 AV-go_away_secretly
 ‘Go in secret!’
236. T: kunaq malumóng! (=)
 kunaq ma-lumeong
 like AV-go_away_secretly
 Go in secret!’
237. T: /mangasé/ nakatanak/ sene \ (0.2)
 mangasé naka-tanak sene
 3p XHST.PST-motionless there
 (But) they all stayed there in place.
238. T: jadi | (1.2)
 So,
239. T: i Yulés kinaqaaq masé san\
 i Yules in -ka -alaq masésene
 PN Yules PST-POT-take:CV 3p there
 they managed to capture Yules there.

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