Chapter 16
Complementation

16.1 Types of complementation in Tukang Besi

Complementation in Tukang Besi shows a wide variety of structural varieties, using both nominal and verbal strategies extensively. The complement clause can be introduced by certain complementisers or by object suffixes on the first verb, or appear without a formal introduction. Mixtures of these strategies are also common, sometimes with minimal differentiation of meaning. A complement-taking verb is defined for the purposes of this grammar as being one in which a verbal clause appears in place of one of the arguments of the verb, or in which a nominalised construction appears as a KP or PP argument of a verb that does not normally take a nominal argument. As examples of each of these cases, the verbal and nominal complement clauses in (1) and (2) display behaviour not normally associated with nominal objects in the clauses in which they are found:

(1)  No-‘ita-’e [no-kanalako te osimpu]COMP.
    3R-see-3OBJ 3R-steal CORE young.coconut
    ‘She saw him stealing the coconut.’

(2)  Ku-hada [te wila-’a i ’one]COMP.
    1SG-want CORE go-NL OBL beach
    ‘I want to go to the beach.’

In (1) the verbal complement appears in place of a KP, the normal object of the verb. In (2) the complement is in a KP, and so may not appear unusual: the verb hada, however, can only take nominalised complements as NP objects. A normal nominal may not appear as the object of hada, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (3):

(3)  * Ku-hada te po’o.
    1SG-want CORE mango
    ‘I want a mango.’

In order to make (3) grammatical using hada, a serial verb construction must be used, as in (4), or a complement construction, as in (5):

(4)  Ku-hada-’awa te po’o.
    1SG-want-get CORE mango
    ‘I want to get a mango.’
Some complement constructions appear with the complement simply in the place of an argument of the verb (usually the object). In other cases, a complementiser appears, often with a subtle change in meaning; compare (1) above with (6):

(6) No-‘ita’e [kua no-kanalako te osimpu]COMP
   3R-see-3OBJ COMP 3R-steal CORE young.coconut
   ‘She saw that he had stolen the coconut.’

The different classes of complement-taking verbs, distinguished by their morphosyntactic behaviour, are discussed in the sections that follow, as are the facts and restraints of complementisers. The parameters that prove relevant to a discussion of complement constructions are the ability to have the subject prefix in a verbal complement clause drop if coreferent with the subject in the main clause, the ability (or requirement) of the matrix clause verb to have object suffixes, the coreference restraints operating between the two clauses (subject control or object control), and the kind of phrase in which a nominal complement appears (core or oblique case phrase). These different tests, and the verbal classes that their application produces, are shown in section 16.2.

16.2 Types of complement-taking predicates

There are five classes of complement-taking predicates (mainly verbs, but with some nominal predicates) which may be identified on the basis of their morphosyntactic behaviour. These five classes are:

1. Predicates of desire
2. Predicates of mental perception
3. Predicates of decision
4. Predicates of physical perception
5. Predicates of manipulation

In this chapter I will also deal with verbs of speech that take direct or reported speech as their complements, with no difference in structure between these two cases.

The extent of the membership in each of these classes has not been investigated exhaustively. I shall only present examples of verbs that belong to each class. The defining characteristics of these classes are summarised in table 30, and exemplified in (7) - (14). The five different classes, with examples of their membership, are:

1. Predicates of desire:

   *gau* ‘desire’
   *hada* ‘want, nearly’
   *hempo* ‘wishes’
   *nde’u* ‘not want’
2. Verbs of mental perception:

- *dahani* ‘know, believe, understand’
- *molinga* ‘forget’
- *namisi* ‘feel, think’
- *roda* ‘remember’

3. Verbs of mental decision:

- *jandi* ‘promise’
- *putusu* ‘decide’

4. Verbs of physical perception:

- *'ita* ‘see’
- *rodongo* ‘hear’

5. Verbs of manipulation:

- *'ita'ita* ‘let, give permission, allow’
- *karajaa* ‘make, force’
- *sundu* ‘command’
- *tumpu* ‘order’
- *waa* ‘tell, command’
- *wuju* ‘persuade’

The morphosyntactic criteria that have been used to separate these verbs into the five different classes are presented in table 30:

*Table 30. Complement-taking verbs*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drop SUBJ- of complement verb?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop SUBJ- after nominal main clause?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S,A] : [S,A] coreference?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requires object suffixes if verbal?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[O] : [S,A] coreference?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[O] : [NOM] coreference option?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>may take a PP complement?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>may take a KP complement?</td>
<td>←−→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>←→</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classes of complement-taking verbs:

1. Verbs of desire
2. Verbs of mental perception
3. Verbs of decision
4. Verbs of physical perception
5. Manipulative verbs

Some examples showing the different behaviour of verbs of different classes to these criteria are given in (7) - (14):

Omission of subject prefixes on the verb in the complement clause:

(7)  
\[ Ku-hada \[ w\[um\]ila i Longa\]COMP. \]  
1SG-want go.SI OBL Longa  
‘I want to go to Longa.’

(8)  
\[ Ku-molinga [ku-wila i Longa]COMP. \]  
1SG-forget 1SG-go OBL Longa  
‘I forgot to go to Longa.’

(8)’ * Kumolinga w[um]ila i Longa.

Omission of Possessive markers on nominalised complement:

(9)  
\[ Te roda-no [te wila-'a i daoa]COMP. \]  
CORE remember-3POSS CORE go-NL OBL market  
‘He remembered to go to the market.’

(10)  
\[ Te putusu-no [te wila-'a-no i daoa]COMP. \]  
CORE decide-3POSS CORE go-NL-3POSS OBL market  
‘He decided to go to the market.’

(10)’ * Te putusuno te wila'a i daoa.

[S,A]:[S,A] coreference or [O]:[S,A] coreference:

(11)  
\[ No-jandi-'e [no-balu te kuikui]COMP. \]  
3R-promise-3OBJ 3R-buy CORE sweets  
‘She promised them that she would buy some sweets.’

(12)  
\[ No-'ita-'e [no-balu te kuikui]COMP. \]  
3R-see-3OBJ 3R-buy CORE sweets  
‘She saw them buying sweets.’

(12)’ * ‘She saw them and she bought some sweets.’

[O]:[NOM] coreference option, with complementiser:

(13)  
\[ To-rodongo-'e [kua no-'ita-kita]COMP. \]  
1PL.R-hear-3OBJ COMP 3R-see-1PL.OBJ  
‘We heard that she had seen us.’
(14) * To-wuju-’e [kua to-’ita-’e]_COMP._
    1PL.R-persuade-3OBJ COMP 1PL.R-see-3OBJ
    ‘We persuaded her to let us see her.’

(13)’ * Torodongo’e kua to’ita’e.

(14)’ * Towuju’e to’ita’e.

In addition to these complement-taking verb types there are also ‘discourse complements’, in which a verb denoting a speech act introduces direct or indirect speech. These are somewhat different to the other five classes of complement-taking verbs described here, and are discussed in section 16.9.

16.3 Complementisers

The morphosyntactic differences mentioned in table 30 and exemplified in (7) - (14) are not all the variables that need to be accounted for in a description of complements in Tukang Besi. There are optional complementisers that may appear between the constituents of the main clause and those of the complement clause, whether the clauses are verbal or non-verbal. In the case of the verbs of decision and verbs of manipulation, the addition of the complementiser _kua_ changes [S,A]:[S,A] coreference to [O]:[S,A] coreference, and vice versa; that is, subject-control verbs (verbs of decision) are treated as if they were object-control verbs, and object-control verbs (manipulative verbs) are treated as if they were subject-control verbs (see 16.6 for examples). With other classes of verbs there are different effects, mainly modal.

The different complementisers are:

- _ako_ ‘future’
- _bara_ ‘lest’
- _ka’ano_ ‘in order that’
- _kua_ ‘that’ (plus other syntactic or modal uses)

Examples of these four different complementisers are given in (15) - (18). In each of these sentences the complement clause is bracketed in the glosses:

(15) _No-wuju-kita_ [ako ta-w[um]ila t[um]ulungi-’e]_COMP._
    3R-persuade-1PL.OBJ PURP 1PL.I-go.SI help.SI-3OBJ
    _i he-lante’a-no]_COMP._
    OBL do-floor-NL-3POSS
    ‘They persuaded us to go and help them make the floor.’
    (at some point in the future)

(16) _No-wuju-’e_ [bara no-wila pe’esa-no]_COMP._
    3R-persuade-3OBJ lest 3R-go OWN-3POSS
    ‘They persuaded him not to go on his own.’

(17) _No-wuju-’e_ [ka’ano saba’ane no-lemba-’e]_COMP._
    3R-persuade-3OBJ in.order all 3R-carry-3OBJ
    ‘They persuaded him to carry it all.’
No-wuju-'e [kua saba'ane no-lemba-'e]COMP  
3R-persuade-3OBJ COMP all 3R-carry-3OBJ  
‘They persuaded them all that they would carry it all.’

As mentioned above, combinations of these formal means to marking a complement clause are also found. Examples of this can be seen in (19) and (20):

Complementiser with subject/object agreement:

(19) Ku-sundu-'e-mo [ako no-henahenai]COMP  
1SG-order-3OBJ-PF PURP 3R-learn  
‘I ordered him to study.’

Complementiser with nominalised complement:

(20) Ku-roda [ako te ala-(a) u kabali-su]COMP  
1SG-remember PURP CORE fetch-NL GEN machete-1SG.POSS  
‘I remembered about bringing my machete.’

16.4 Verbs of desire

The grammatical category of verbs of wanting and desire in Tukang Besi is one of the more complicated areas of the language’s syntax insofar as the same concept may be expressed at several different syntactic levels, using serial verb constructions and non-verbal clauses. In addition to this, hada ‘want’ can take complements and complement-like predicates at several different levels, as the nominalised main clause of a complement, a feature which it shares in common with hempo ‘desire’ and gau ‘desire’, or with verbally subordinate complement predicates, in common with nde’u ‘not want’, or a nominalised complement.

Examples of complement clauses using verbs of desire are given in (21) - (27), illustrating the use of nominalisations in both the complement clause ((21), (22), (26), and (27)) and the main clause (seen in (24)). Sentences (23) and (25) show the use of subordinating morphology on the complement verb, and the concomitant absence of a subject prefix on the complement verb:

(21) Ku-hada [te moro'u-k(a) u tee]COMP  
1SG-want CORE drink-NL GEN tea  
‘I like drinking tea.’

(22) Ku-hada [i bose-'a kua Waha]COMP  
1SG-want OBL paddle-NL ALL Waha  
‘I want to row to Waha.’

(23) Nu-nde’u [w[um]ila]COMP  
2SG.R-not.want go SI  
‘You don’t want to go.’

(24) Te gau-su [ku-[um]ita te wele]COMP  
CORE wish-1SG.POSS 1SG-see SI CORE film  
‘My wish is to see a film.’
The verbs *hada* and *nde'u* are discussed separately, as far as their verbal complement roles are concerned, and then the behaviour of all the nominal complements is discussed. This class of complement-taking verbs is unusual in that it does not require the use of the switch complementiser *kua* to indicate a change of subject. In fact, *kua* is only rarely used with verbs of desire (the only verb it appears to be compatible with is *hada*; *hempo* and *gau* function as nouns, and do not take *kua*). Of course, unless both subjects are third person, there is no problem in interpretation, as (28) shows. The unmarked interpretation of a sentence with two third person prefixes on the verbs is that the prefixes refer to the same argument, but this is not as strict as it is for other classes of complement-taking verb.

(28) *Ku-hada* [‘u-tulungi-aku i he-lante-‘(a) ana]COMP.
1SG-want 2SG.R-help-1SG.OBJ OBL VRB-floor-NL this
‘I’d like you to help me to make these floor sections.’

(29) *No-hada* [no-ala-ako-ko te wemba]COMP.
3R-want 3R-fetch-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE bamboo
‘He wants Øj to fetch some bamboo for you.’
‘He wants himj to fetch some bamboo for you.’

(30) ? *No-hada* [kua no-ala-ako-ko te wemba]COMP.
3R-want SW:COMP 3R-fetch-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE bamboo
? ‘He wants Øj to fetch some bamboo for you.’
? ‘He wants himj to fetch some bamboo for you.’

The same caveats apply to *nde'u*; *kua* is only rarely used, and not necessary even with switch-subject complementation. While *kua* is possible in the second reading of (31), it is not usual to find it in this position:

(31) *No-nde'u* [no-gonti-ako-ko te wemba]COMP.
3R-want 3R-chop-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE bamboo
‘He doesn’t want Øj to chop the bamboo for you.’
‘He doesn’t want himj to chop the bamboo for you.’

In order to force a switch-subject interpretation, the use of a preverbal independent pronoun or nominal is sufficient (this is a general fact regarding the use of members of the independent pronoun set, as outlined in chapter 5, and is not restricted to complement clauses):
The verb hada has a range of meanings, from ‘be about to’ to ‘want’ (hada is translated and glossed as ‘want’ in the examples presented, though in most cases ‘be about to’ is an equally appropriate translation). When used to express these meanings it may not take normal nominal objects, but uses a range of morphological possibilities to express the complement. These are:

Serial verb construction (chapter 8)
Verbal complement clause
Subordinate complement verb
Nominalised complement clause (section 16.4.3)
Nominalised main clause (section 16.4.3)

As seen in example (3), hada cannot take a nominal object, but must take a complement or be part of a serial verb construction. Examples of hada appearing in serial verb constructions can be found in chapter 8. Sentence (34) is an example of hada used with a verbal complement clause displaying the -[um]- infix that is also seen in subject relative clauses as an indicator of subordination. (35) shows the same subordinating morphology found in object relative clauses used on the complement clause:

(34) Ku-hada [bfumalu te loka]COMP
1SG-want buy.SI CORE banana
‘I want to buy some bananas.’

(35) Ku-hada [i-hu’u nu doe]COMP
1SG-want OP-give GEN money
‘I want to be given some money.’

When the subordinating morphology seen in (34) and (35) is not used, then the verb in the complement clause must be prefixed to show the subject:

(36) Ku-hada [ku-balu te loka]COMP
1SG-want 1SG-buy CORE banana
‘I want to buy some bananas.’

(37) Ku-hada [no-hu’u-naku te doe]COMP
1SG-want 3R-give-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE money
‘I want to be given some money.’
(38) * Ku-hada [hu'u-naku te doe]COMP.  
1SG-want give-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE money  
‘I want to be given some money.’

Of course, the subject infix -[um]- may appear on the verb in this case as well, just as it may appear on any main clause verb, particularly in combination with the use of the irrealis pronoun set:

(36)’ No-hada [na-b[um]alu te pandola]COMP.  
3R-want 3I-buy.SI CORE eggplant  
‘She wants to go to buy some eggplants.’

16.4.2 nde’u

Whilst hada may be negated with the normal verbal negator mbeaka, there is a separate verb expressing the same concept, nde’u ‘not want’. This verb behaves quite differently from hada, appearing in neither serial nor complement constructions with subject prefixes on the complement verb. The complement of nde’u must appear with subordinating morphology, which was one of the options available to hada. Examples are seen in (39) - (42):

(39) Nu-nde’u [w[um]ila]COMP.  
2SG.R-not.want go.SI  
‘You don’t want to go.’

(40) * Nu-nde’u [nu-wila]COMP.  
2SG.R-not.want 2SG.R-go  
‘You don’t want to go.’

(41) Ku-nde’u [i-’ita]COMP.  
1SG-not.want OP-see  
‘I don’t want (them) to see me.’

(42) * Ku-nde’u [no-’ita-aku]COMP.  
1SG-not.want 3R-see-1SG.OBJ  
‘I don’t want them to see me.’

Unlike hada, nde’u may not appear in a nominalised construction, either nominalised in the main cause, or with a nominalised complement clause:

(43) * Te nde’u-su [ku-tul(u) i Lasalimu]COMP.  
CORE not.want-1SG.POSS 1SG-stop.over OBL Lasalimu  
‘What I don’t want is to have to stop over in Lasalimu.’

(44) * Ku-nde’u [te tulu-’a-su i Lasalimu]COMP.  
1SG-not.want CORE stop.over-NL-1SG.POSS OBL Lasalimu  
‘I don’t want to have to stop over in Lasalimu.’
16.4.3 Nominal: gau, hempo, hada

The words gau and hempo only appear in nominal complement constructions; hada, in addition to its verbal appearances, may also be used in a nominal complement construction. In this construction the main clause is nominal, and the complement clause may be either nominal (in which case the whole construction is a sub-type of the equative clause type discussed in chapter 14), or verbal. With hada, a nominalised construction in which the main clause is still verbal, but the complement clause is nominal, is also possible. An example of the first two of these possibilities may be seen in (45) and (46):

Nominal complement:

(45)  
\begin{align*}  
te & \quad \text{hempo-no} \quad [\text{te} \quad \text{wila-'a}] \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{CORE} & \quad \text{desire-3POSS} \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{go-NL} \\
\end{align*}  
‘They want to go.’

Verbal complement:

(46)  
\begin{align*}  
te & \quad \text{gau-su} \quad [\text{ku-wil(a) i} \quad \text{Matanouwe ilange}] \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{CORE} & \quad \text{desire-1SG.POSS} \quad 1SG \quad \text{go} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Matanouwe tomorrow} \\
\end{align*}  
‘I want to go to Matanouwe tomorrow.’

Notice that in (45) there is no overt indication of the identity of the subject of the verb wila; the use of possessive suffixes is optional with nominalised complements of verbs of desire, unlike the complements of other types of verbs. The use of a possessive suffix on the nominalised complement does not affect the meaning. Even with a third person reference, a switch subject interpretation is not natural. In order to force a switch subject interpretation, the different subject needs to be explicitly mentioned, as in (49):

(47)  
\begin{align*}  
te & \quad \text{hada-no} \quad [\text{te} \quad \text{wila-'a}] \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{CORE} & \quad \text{want-3POSS} \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{go-NL} \\
\end{align*}  
‘They want \( i/i^\#j \) to go.’

(48)  
\begin{align*}  
te & \quad \text{hada-no} \quad [\text{te} \quad \text{wila-'a-no}] \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{CORE} & \quad \text{want-3POSS} \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{go-NL-3POSS} \\
\end{align*}  
‘They want \( i/i^\#j \) to go.’

(49)  
\begin{align*}  
te & \quad \text{hada-no} \quad [\text{te} \quad \text{wila-'a nu amai tolida-no}] \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{CORE} & \quad \text{want-3POSS} \quad \text{CORE} \quad \text{go-NL} \quad \text{GEN} \quad 3PL \quad \text{cousin-3POSS} \\
\end{align*}  
‘They want their \( i/i^\#j/\#k \) cousins \( i/j \) to go.’

Nominal complements may be either PPs or KPs, as seen in (50) and (51). A PP complement expresses a more general condition, and is less specific than a complement with a KP complement:

PP complement:

(50)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Ku-hada} & \quad [i \quad \text{moro'u-k(a) u} \quad \text{tee}] \quad \text{COMP} \\
1SG \quad \text{want} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{drink-NL} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{tea} \\
\end{align*}  
‘I like drinking tea.’
KP complement:

(51) Ku-hada [te moro'u-k(a) u tee]COMP
1SG-want CORE drink-NL GEN tea
‘I feel like drinking some tea.’

It is interesting to note that a KP complement must be non-nominative. A nominative nominal complement is not grammatical:

(52) * Ku-hada-'e [na moro'u-k(a) u tee]COMP
1SG-want-3OBJ NOM drink-NL GEN tea

The motivation for this constraint is not entirely clear. The fact that hada cannot take a normal object KP might point to the fact that the putative KP in (51) and (52) are not really core arguments of the verb, and so are not eligible to be nominative; compare (51) with the ungrammatical alternative using a normal KP as object seen in (51)’:

(51)’ * Ku-hada [te tee]KP
1SG-want CORE tea
‘I feel like drinking some tea.’

The alternations of complement KPs with PPs (as seen in (50)) also points in this direction. Some further examples of nominalised main clauses with complements are presented in (53) and (54):

(53) Te gau-su [ku-’[um]ontoo]COMP
CORE wish-1SG.POSS 1SG-recover.SI
‘My wish is to get better.’

(54) Te hada-su [te ana-su mai na-[m]otuko kene na-s[um]eha]COMP
CORE wish-1SG.POSS CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL
3I-strong.SI and 3I-healthy.SI
‘I want my children to be strong and healthy.’

Unlike a nominalised complement clause, the verbal complement clause in (53) requires the subject to be indexed on the verb, even when coreferential with the main clause subject:

(53)’ * Te gau-su [’[um]ontoo]COMP
CORE wish-1SG.POSS recover.SI
‘My wish is to get better.’

16.5 Verbs of mental perception

These verbs are distinguished by the nominalisation in their complements, which are usually core and not oblique. With ma’e ka ‘fear’, the complementiser bara ‘lest’ is also commonly found (in a main clause, bara means ‘don’t’. See chapter 19):

(54) Ku-ma’e ka [bara na-w[um]ande-mo]COMP
1SG-fear lest 3I-rain.SI-PF
‘I’m worried that it might be about to rain.’
As with verbs of desire, the complement clause may be either verbal or nominal, and the main clause may also be either verbal or nominal. Cases with both the main clause and the complement clause appearing as nominalisations have not been observed.

16.5.1 Verbal - verbal

This is the most commonly encountered way of presenting mental perception complements. The use of a complementiser is optional, and if used functions significantly as a switch reference marker:

(55) *Ku-ma'eka [kua mondo-mo no-wila]COMP ga…
1SG-fear SW:COMP already-PF 3R-go ILL.FORCE
‘I’m afraid that she’s already gone…’

(56) *Ku-ma'eka [bara no-rato mina mbea-ho
1SG-fear lest 3R-arrive from not-yet
no-mota’a-mo na imanga]COMP.
3R-cooked-PF NOM food
‘I’m concerned that they might arrive before the food is ready.’

(57) No1-roda [tabeda no1-wila]COMP
1SG-remember must 3R-go
‘She remembered that she had to go.’
* ‘She remembered that she had to go.’

(58) No1-roda [kua tabeda no1-wila]COMP
1SG-remember SW:COMP must 3R-go
‘She remembered that she had to go.’
* ‘She remembered that she had to go.’

16.5.2 Verbal - nominal

Examples of both core and oblique nominal complements are shown in (59) and (60):

(59) *Ku-roda [te ala’-a nu po’o ako-ko]COMP
1SG-remember CORE fetch-NL GEN mango BEN-2SG.OBJ
‘I remembered to get a mango for you.’

(60) *Ku-roda [i ala’-a no doe]COMP
1SG-forget OBL fetch-NL GEN money
‘I forgot to take money.’

Unlike the similar case with verbs of desire, the nominal complement of a mental perception verb may be in nominative case:

(61) *Ku-molinga’-e [na helo’a-(a) u ndawu-ndawu]COMP
1SG-forget-3OBJ NOM cook-NL GEN k.o.soup
‘I forgot to cook the ndawu-ndawu.’
This is consistent with the fact that these verbs, when used with a normal nominal object, and not a complement, require nominative case on the object. Although this is not a requirement for complementation, it is consistent with their behaviour in non-complement clauses that they should allow nominative case marking on nominal complements. Compare (62) with (63), illustrating the ungrammaticality of a non-nominative object:

(62)  
Ku-molinga-'e [na ngaa-'u]KP.
1SG-forget-3OBJ NOM name-2SG.POSS
‘I’ve forgotten your name.’

(63)  
*Ku-molinga [te ngaa-'u]KP.
1SG-forget CORE name-2SG.POSS
‘I’ve forgotten your name.’

This has already been briefly discussed in chapter 7.6.1.

16.5.3 Nominal - verbal

This is a rather rare construction, but found with all the verbs in this class. It is similar to a verbal variation of an equative clause (chapter 14):

(64)  
Te molinga-su [balu te gara mina i waru]COMP.
CORE forget-1SG.POSS buy CORE salt from OBL shop
‘I forgot to get salt from the store.’

Notice that it is grammatical to omit the subject prefixes in the complement clause for mental perception verbs, unlike verbs of desire (compare with example (53)).

16.6 Verbs of decision

Decision verbs require an object suffix, and display same-subject coreference. The verb in the complement clause (which must be verbal, and cannot be nominal) is marked with subject prefixes that refer to the same subject as those of the main clause verb. With the switch complementiser kua, there is object control rather than subject control. For example, the verb jandi ‘promise’ normally displays subject control in its complement constructions:

(65)  
Noj-jandi-'e [noj-wila]COMP.
3R-promise-3OBJ 3R-go
‘She promised them that she would go.’
* ‘She promised them that they would go.’

With kua at the beginning of the complement clause, however, the subject of nowila is interpreted as being coreferential with the object of the main clause, as in (66):

(66)  
Noj-jandi-'e [kua noj-wila]COMP.
3R-promise-3OBJ SW:COMP 3R-go
‘She promised them that they would go.’
* ‘She promised them that she would go.’
The same effect of switch-reference being monitored by the use or non-use of *kua* is found with *putusu* ‘decide’:

(67)  
\[ Ku_{1}-putusu-\text{-}e\emptyset \ [ku_{1}-balu \ te \ simbuku]_{\text{COMP}}. \]
\[ 1\text{SG-decide-3OBJ} \ 1\text{SG-buy} \ \text{CORE} \ \text{octopus} \]
\[ \text{‘} I_{1} \text{ decided that } I_{1} \text{ would buy some octopus.‘} \]

(68)  
\[ * Ku_{1}-putusu-\text{-}e\emptyset \ [’u_{j}-balu \ te \ simbuku]_{\text{COMP}}. \]
\[ 1\text{SG-decide-3OBJ} \ 2\text{SG-R-buy} \ \text{CORE} \ \text{octopus} \]
\[ \text{‘} I_{1} \text{ decided that you}_{j} \text{ would buy some octopus.‘} \]

(69)  
\[ * Ku_{1}-putusu-\text{-}e\emptyset \ [kua \ ku_{1}-balu \ te \ simbuku]_{\text{COMP}}. \]
\[ 1\text{SG-decide-3OBJ} \ \text{SW:COMP} \ 1\text{SG-buy} \ \text{CORE} \ \text{octopus} \]
\[ \text{‘} I_{1} \text{ decided that } I_{1} \text{ would buy some octopus.‘} \]

(70)  
\[ Ku_{1}-putusu-\text{-}e\emptyset \ [kua \ ’u_{j}-balu \ te \ simbuku]_{\text{COMP}}. \]
\[ 1\text{SG-decide-3OBJ} \ \text{SW:COMP} \ 2\text{SG-R-buy} \ \text{CORE} \ \text{octopus} \]
\[ \text{‘} I_{1} \text{ decided that you}_{j} \text{ would buy some octopus.‘} \]

Notice that the third person object suffixes are used, even when there is a second person subject in the complement clause to switch to. It is not usual (not completely ungrammatical, but definitely not preferred) to use object suffixes that show the same person and number as the subject of the complement clause in constructions involving verbs of decision, because the complement subject has no grammatical function assigned by the matrix verb. Versions of (71) and (72) without the object suffixes on *putusu* are perfectly grammatical.

(71)  
\[ # Ku_{1}-putusu-aku_{i} \ [ku_{1}-balu \ te \ loka]_{\text{COMP}}. \]
\[ 1\text{SG-decide-1SG.OBJ} \ 1\text{SG-buy} \ \text{CORE} \ \text{banana} \]
\[ \text{‘} I_{1} \text{ decided that } I_{1} \text{ would buy some bananas.‘} \]

(72)  
\[ # Ku_{1}-putusu-kO_{j} \ [kua \ ’u_{j}-balu \ te \ loka]_{\text{COMP}}. \]
\[ 1\text{SG-decide-2SG.OBJ} \ \text{SW:COMP} \ 2\text{SG-R-buy} \ \text{CORE} \ \text{banana} \]
\[ \text{‘} I_{1} \text{ decided that you}_{j} \text{ would buy some bananas.‘} \]

16.7 Physical perception complements

This group is morphosyntactically defined on the basis that all of its members can take the object-control strategy of complementation, or a nominalised complement clause, with a consistent difference in meaning. The first of these strategies assumes a direct perception of the complement clause, whereas the second strategy is not so direct.

These verbs are morphosyntactically defined on the basis that all of its members take an object control strategy of complementation, or a nominalised complement clause, with a consistent difference in meaning. The first of these strategies assumes a direct perception of the complement clause, whereas the second strategy is not so direct or specific. Sentence (75) differs from (74) in that it refers to an entire, specific event, whilst (74) refers to an occurrence of the sighting of some of (perhaps all) of an event:
Verbs in the physical perception class may occur with a complementiser as well. This use is covered in section 16.7.2.

16.7.1 NP complements versus verbal complements

An NP complement is used with verbs of physical perception to denote the perception of a part of an event, not necessarily the entire event. The NP may appear in either a PP or in a KP, with slight semantic differences, but not as great as the differences between the use of an NP in either phrase type as against the use of a verbal complement. Compare (76) and (77):

(76) \textit{Ku-rodongo [te manga-'a-no u ba'so]} \text{COMP.} \\
1SG-hear CORE eat-NL-3POSS GEN bakso  \\
‘I heard his eating the bakso.’  \\
(may refer to the entirety of the eating, or only part of it) \\
‘I have heard him eating bakso,’  \\
(not necessarily with a specific event in mind)

(77) \textit{Ku-rodongo-'e [no-manga te ba'so]} \text{COMP.} \\
1SG-hear-3OBJ 3R-eat CORE bakso  \\
‘I heard him eating the bakso.’  \\
(a specific event, referring to the whole action)

Notice that this is a different distinction to that made by the use of the \textit{kua} complementiser. Rather than refer to the main clause subject’s commitment to the factuality of the complement clause, the difference between a verbal and a nominal complement clause is the difference between a specific instantiation of the event, or a general comment.

16.7.2 Perception complements with \textit{kua}

The complementiser \textit{kua} may appear with verbs of physical perception. An example of this distinction has already been given in (1) and (6), which are repeated here:

(1) \textit{No-’ita-'e [no-kanalako te osimpu]} \text{COMP.} \\
3R-see-3OBJ 3R-steal CORE young.coconut  \\
‘She saw him stealing the coconut.’
(6) *No-’ita-’e* [kua no-kanalako te osimpu]COMP,
3R-see-3OBJ COMP 3R-steal CORE young.coconut

‘She saw that he had stolen the coconut.’

In (1), the assertion is of the fact that the seer saw the actual act of stealing. In (6) there is no such commitment, but merely the statement that the seer (‘she’) is aware of the fact that the coconuts had been stolen, perhaps through direct perception of the act of stealing, but also perhaps merely because of circumstantial evidence, such as the sight of distinctive footprints and the absence of coconuts, and perhaps some corroboration of the story by other people. We may thus characterise the difference between complement construction with and without *kua* as being concerned with the modality of the statement; a complement with *kua* implies less direct evidential perception of the event. Morphologically, there is no longer a requirement that the object suffixes on the main clause verb agree with the subject of the complement clause (or, indeed, that they be present at all). Some additional contrastive examples are given in (78) and (79):

(78) *No-’ita-ko* [’u-moro’u te tee]COMP,
3R-see-2SG.OBJ 2SG.R-drink CORE tea

‘They saw you drinking the tea.’

(direct perception of the event)

(79) *No-’ita* [kua nu-moro’u te tee]COMP,
3R-see SW:COMP 2SG.R-drink CORE tea

‘They saw that you had drunk the tea.’

(through circumstantial evidence, like the empty cup left behind)

16.8 Verbs of manipulation

The group of manipulative complement verbs all take the morphological object control strategy, with obligatory object suffixes. A complementiser is sometimes inserted between the two clauses, in which case the subject of the main clause verb is (usually - see the verb *waa* in example (85)) the subject of the complement clause verb as well, and the interpretation of the sentence is as a discourse complement. With *’ita’ita*, already expressing a rather weak command, no complementiser may intrude between the two clauses.

Examples of the use of these various verbs are presented in (80) - (82):

(80) *Ku-’ita-’ita-’(e)* [o-’aka-’aka]COMP,
1SG-RED-see-3OBJ 3R-RED-play
‘I let her/him/they play.’

(81) *No-karajaa-aku* [ku-hu’u-ke te kabali-su]COMP,
3R-make-1SG.OBJ 1SG-give-3OBJ CORE machete-1SG.POSS
‘She made me give her my machete.’
16.8.1 Manipulative verbs with complementisers

Most of the members of this complement verb class can appear with a complementiser. The difference in interpretation between sentences using a complementiser and those without can be seen in (83) and (84):

(83) *Ku*-waa-’e [o-manga]COMP.
1SG-tell-3OBJ 3R-eat
‘I told them to eat.’

(84) *Ku*-waa-’e [kua manga]COMP.
1SG-tell-3OBJ COMP eat
‘I told them they could eat.’

Unique to this class of complement-taking verbs, the verb in the complement clause does not have to take subject prefixes, if there is a complementiser present:

(85) *Ku*-waa-’e [kua buri te sura kua mansuana-no]COMP.
1SG-tell-3OBJ COMP write CORE letter ALL parent-3POSS
‘I told her to write a letter to her parents.’ (T1:5)

This is, however, unusual, and the use of subject prefixes is preferred, and indeed the only option for many speakers. With *sundu* ‘command’, the use of a complementiser is compulsory. The unmarked choice of complementiser for *sundu* is *ako*. Notice how in the following examples the choice of realis or irrealis subject prefixes alters the meaning of the sentence:

(86) *Ku*-sundu-’e-mo [ako no-henahenai]COMP.
1SG-command-3OBJ-PF PURP 3R-learn
‘I commanded them to learn (it).’
(they must learn it now)

(87) *Ku*-sundu-’e-mo [ako na-[m]ena[m]enai]COMP.
1SG-command-3OBJ-PF PURP 3I-learn.SI
‘I commanded them to learn (it).’
(they will learn it later)

(The verb *henahenai* is transparently a reduplicated form (even though *henai* does not occur on its own). When the subject infix -[um]- is added to it, it may appear as *menahenai* or *menamenai*.)

The same difference is found with verbs of this class without complementisers:
As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the use of complementisers can change the interpretation of a sentence from that of a manipulative complement to a discourse complement, and the object control verb is treated as a subject control verb. An example of this can be seen in (90) and (91):

(90) **Ku-wuju-'e** [no-lemba-'e]COMP.
1SG-persuade-3OBJ 3R-carry-3OBJ
‘I persuaded them to carry it.’

(90)' * **Ku-wuju-'e** [ku-lemba-'e]COMP.
1SG-persuade-3OBJ 1SG-carry-3OBJ
‘I persuaded them that I carried it.’

(91) **Ku-wuju-'e** [kua ku-lemba-'e]COMP.
1SG-persuade-3OBJ SW:COMP 1SG-carry-3OBJ
‘I persuaded them that I carried it.’

(91)' **Ku-wuju-'e** [kua no-lemba-'e]COMP.
1SG-persuade-3OBJ SW:COMP 1SG-carry-3OBJ
‘I persuaded them that they*ij carried it.’
* ‘I persuaded them to carry it.’

16.9 Discourse complements

The set of discourse complements (complements which present direct or indirect speech) is used without formal change in form for both direct and indirect quotation, the only difference being the choice of subject prefix on the verb in the complement clause. If there is an object suffix on the first verb, then it refers to the addressee, and has nothing to do with the complement clause, thus creating seeming anomalies with the rest of the system of complementation in that there is frequently a mismatching of person/number categories across the complement clause boundary (such as in (93)). This group of complement-taking verbs is defined on the basis that all of its members simply take a complementiser, almost always *kua*, and cannot use the subject/object or nominalised complement clause strategy of complementation. A non-exhaustive list of discourse complement verbs is given below:

'elo  ‘call’
'ema  ‘ask’
balo  ‘answer’
There are no morphosyntactic differences between direct and indirect speech in Tukang Besi. Compare the forms used in (90) and (91), the first showing a direct quote, the second an indirect speech quote.

(90) *No-potae-m(o) kua “To-motindo’u na ikita.”*  
3R-say-PF COMP 1PL.R-thirsty NOM we  
‘They said “We’re thirsty.”’

(91) *No-potae-m(o) kua no-motindo’u na amai.*  
3R-say-PF COMP 3R-thirsty NOM 3PL  
‘They said that they were thirsty.’

(92) *Nu-pogau na iko’o kua*  
2SG.R-say NOM 2SG COMP  
te iaku ku-hada te ‘onu-’onu-‘a.  
CORE 1SG 1SG-want CORE RED-swim-NL  
‘You said that you wanted to go swimming.’  
(Lit., ‘You said that you wanted the swimming.’)

Further examples of the use of discourse complement verbs are given in (93) - (99):

(93) *No-waa-aku kua nu-motindo’u.*  
3R-say-1SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.R-thirsty  
‘They told me that you were thirsty.’

(94) *No-pogau-mo kua “Kambeda mombaka*  
3R-say-PF COMP fact delicious  
La bela Kolokolopua.”  
La dear Tortoise  
‘He answered ‘They’re really delicious, Tortoise.’’ (SA:38)

(95) *Sa-mai-no na beka-no iso no-kadu-’e-mo*  
when-come-3POSS NOM cat-3POSS yon 3R-cradle-3OBJ-PF  
maka la’a-mo no-waa-’e kua  
and.then just-PF 3R-tell-3OBJ COMP  
“Wila po-kaha-kaha-kene-‘e na La bela Kompakompa.”  
go REC-RED-bite-COM-3OBJ NOM La dear Eel (Oen :15-16)  
‘When his cat came, he picked it up and cradled it, and then he told it: ’Go and bite with Eel.’

(96) *No-balo kua “Oho, leama.”*  
3R-answer COMP yes good (RA:12)  
He answered “OK, fine.”
(97) Jari o-pogau-mo na ana-no iso kua “Wa Papa, so 3R-say-PF NOM child-3POSS yon COMP Wa Daddy
  ku-[mjepe-itia-taria-‘a-ako-ko, di ‘umpa na atu?”
  1SG-REQ.SI-see-ESP-NL-BEN-2SG.OBJ OBL where NOM that (WaI:4)
  ‘So that child said: “Dear Daddy, I ask to be allowed to search for magic for you, where is that?”’

(98) Nu-pogau na iko’o
  2SG.R-say NOM 2SG
  kua nu-hada te ‘onu-‘onu-‘a ilange.
  COMP 2SG.R-want CORE RED-swim-NL tomorrow
  ‘You said that you wanted to go swimming tomorrow.’
  (Lit., ‘You said that you wanted the swimming tomorrow.’)

(99) Ku-harapuu
  1SG-hope
  kua te kapala-‘u mbeak(a) a-s[um]aori-mohoo.
  COMP CORE head-2SG.POSS not 3I-very.SI-sick
  ‘I hope that your head won’t be too sore.’

These examples show uncomplicated use of discourse complements, in which there is no clear relationship between the complement clause and the main clause; there are no restrictions on coreference of arguments, nor any correlations with reported vs. direct speech.