Chapter 7
Verb phrases

7.1 Verb phrases

The verb phrase in Tukang Besi consists of the verb itself, with pronominal affixing, an optional auxiliary beginning the verb phrase, and a non-prominent object KP, if present. The existence of a verb phrase comprising these elements can be proven from occurrence restraints on the positions that a locative or time expression can occur in the clause (see chapter 3), and from looking at the positions in which a floating adverb can appear (section 7.10). These same criteria also show that nominative KPs are not part of the VP, but are outside it, at a higher level of constituent structure. The structure of the verbal complex is thus dependent on whether the object is specified as nominative or not. The structure of the verb phrase is as shown in figure 5:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Verb phrase} & \quad V' \quad -(\text{asp})\beta \\
\text{AUX-(}\beta) & \quad V \\
\text{Subject-verb-(Object)\alpha-(}\beta) & \\
\text{SI} & \quad -(\text{poss})\gamma \\
\text{ART: te} & \quad (\text{KP}_{te}: \text{OBJ})\alpha \\
\text{NP} & \quad (\text{Chapter 12})
\end{align*}
\]

\textit{Figure 5. Structure of a verb phrase}

AUX \quad \rightarrow \text{auxiliary}
Subject \quad \rightarrow \text{subject prefixes}
SI \quad \rightarrow \text{subject infix}
stem \quad \rightarrow \text{verb stem, either simple or derived}
poss \quad \rightarrow \text{possessive suffixes}
Object \quad \rightarrow \text{object suffixes}
asp \quad \rightarrow \text{aspect suffixes}

The letters $\alpha$, $\beta$ and $\gamma$ denote that only one occurrence of this constituent may occur. Thus, if a verb has subject prefixes it may not also have possessive suffixes. Similarly, if a verb is suffixed with object suffixes, then no KP appears in the VP, or if an aspect suffix (which may appear on any constituent in the $V'$) appears on the auxiliary, one may not also appear on the verb, and vice versa.

These various components of the verbal complex will be dealt with and exemplified.
separately, sections 7.2 - 7.6 describing briefly the pronominal indexing, and 7.7 onwards dealing with other topics relevant to the verb phrase. The internal structure of a nominal object is dealt with later in chapter 11.

7.2 Subject prefixes

The verb in Tukang Besi is almost always marked for subject by pronominal affixes on the verb, as explained in Chapters 3 and 5 (with the exception of imperatives addressed to a single person, possessively marked adjectives (section 7.4), and informal use (7.5.1)). The minimal verbal clause (the most frequent case after referential identity has been established) consists of the verb alone, without a separate subject KP, as seen in (1):

(1) \textit{Ku-nde'u.}

1SG-not.want
'I don’t want to.'

The basic verbal clause consisting of the affixed verb may be expanded with one or more KPs, to resolve ambiguity about the identity of the participants. These KPs are case marked according to the conventions already described in chapter 3.

(2) \textit{[Te tukatutu]_{KP} [no-'ita [te sanggila]_{KP}]_{VP}.}

\text{CORE blacksmith 3R-see CORE pirate}
'The blacksmith saw the pirate.'

Details on the marking strategies for KPs and verbs were given in chapter 3. The verbs indicate the subject through the use of portmanteau morphemes that express person and number of the subject, and also realis or irrealis mood. A table displaying the full set of pronominal affixes is given in Chapter 5.

Examples of the use of the realis set of subject prefixes are given in (3) - (6):

Transitive verb:

(3) \textit{Ku-gonti te kau.}

1SG-chop CORE wood \hfil (T1:21)
'I chopped the wood'

Agentive intransitive verb:

(4) \textit{Jari no-‘eka di wunua-no.}

so 3R-climb OBL house-3POSS \hfil (WI:{21})
'So she went up to her house.'

Non-agentive intransitive verb:

(5) \textit{O-mandawulu.}

3R-beautiful
'She’s beautiful.'
Impersonal Weather Verb:

(6)  *La’a-m(o) no-kindā.*
just-PF 3R-lightning
‘Lightning just struck.’
(Glossing literally, ‘It has just lightninged.’)

### 7.2.1 Irrealis subject prefixes

The irrealis set of subject prefixes are used to refer to a state or event that is unrealised. This can be at the time of the utterance itself, or at the time of the point of reference of the utterance. The irrealis prefixes are used to show an intention on the part of the subject, or a necessary or likely outcome. The basic difference between the realis and irrealis prefixes can be seen in examples (7) and (8), where (7) describes an action that is completed and (8) expresses the speaker’s idea about the outcome of the action. The irrealis forms are very often used in combination with the subject focus infix -[um]- (see 7.3); the use of this infix in combination with the irrealis pronoun set suggests a greater degree of volition on the part of the actor. The difference between (8) and (10) is one of volition, that between (8) and (9) one of immediacy:

(7)  *No-baiara-e.*
3R-pay-3OBJ
‘She has paid it.’

(8)  *Na-baiara-e.*
3I-pay-3OBJ
‘She is going to pay it.’

(9)  *No-[um]aiara.*
3R-pay.SI
‘She is about to pay.’

(10)  *Na-[um]aiara.*
3I-pay.SI  (T1:23)
‘She will/wants to pay.’

Object agreement is only rarely used in combination with the irrealis forms of the first and second person subject prefixes, and only if the -[um]- infix is used. It is likely that this is not a grammatical, but a discourse constraint. The use of object suffixes goes hand in hand with nominative Case, and thus pragmatic prominence, being assigned to the object. This is an unlikely situation when a person is referring to her/his own intentions, or those of the addressee. Compare the (roughly equivalent) unusualness of the use of the English passive in ‘It will be paid by you.’ compared to the more natural use with a perfective sentence such as ‘It was paid by you.’

(11)  *Ko-tarima ‘uka sa-ba’e.*
2SG.I-receive again 1-CLASS
‘You’ll get another one (free).’
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(12) # Ko-biaara-'e.
   2SG.I-pay.3OBJ (T1:23)
   'You shall pay it.'

(13) Ko-b[um]iaara-'e.
   2SG.I-pay.SI-3OBJ (T1:23)
   'You'll pay it.'

(14) Ka-s[um]artere-'e na kapala-'u.
   1PA.I-charter.SI-3OBJ NOM boat-2SG.POSS
   'We want to hire your boat.'

(15) Ka-cartere 'e oto.
   1PA.I-charter CORE car (J:13)
   'We'll charter a car…'

Note that although it is a condition for the use of the irrealis pronominal sets that the event
is not yet realised, it is not the case that all unrealised actions require irrealis forms; (9)
above shows this to be the case. This is further illustrated by the following two sentences,
illustrating the use of realis pronouns for future events, in (16), and for negated events,
seen in (17):

(16) "Mai La Bekabeka, ku-bawa-ako-ko kua mawi
   come La Cat 1SG-take-APPL-2SG.OBJ ALL sea
   ako 'u-po-kaha-kaha-kita kene La bela Kompakompa."
   for 2SG.R-REC-RED-bite-1PL.OBJ and La dear Eel (Oen: 14)
   'Come, Puss, I'm going to take you to the sea so that you can fight with Eel
   for us.'

(17) Mbea-do 'u-ala te lei ka?
   not-EMPH 2SG.R-fetch CORE sea.urchin ILL.FORCE
   'Have you still not fetched the sea urchins?'

7.3 Subject infix -[um]-

The Subject infix (SI) usually occurs with the irrealis subject prefixes, but is also found
with the realis forms. It is used in with all subclasses of verbs in a verbal main clause to:

1. express a future event , and to comment on its likelihood
2. show wishes and desired intentions
3. emphasise the actor in a sentence

Examples of the -[um]- infix in combination with the realis subject markers can be
found in the following (an explanation of the morphophonological alternations associated
with the -[um]- infix can be found in chapter 2):

(18) 'U-[m]ala te paira?
   2SG.R-fetch.SI CORE what
   'What do you want?'
   (Lit., What do you want to take?)
(19) 'U-b[um]uri?
2SG.R-write.SI
‘Do you want to write?’

The -[um]- infix combined with the irrealis pronouns can be seen in examples (20) - (25):

(20) Na-b[um]aïara.
3l-pay.SI
‘She will/wants to pay.’

(21) Ko-p[um]a-buti'-e.
2SG.I-CAUS.SI-fall-3OBJ
‘You’ll drop it’

(22) Ku-nde'u b[um]aïara.
1SG-not.want pay.SI
‘I don’t want to pay.’

(23) Ku-nde'u baïara.
1SG-not.want pay
‘I’m not paying.’

not 1SG-pay.SI
‘I won’t pay.’

not-yet 1SG-pay
‘I haven’t paid yet.’

In examples (21) and (22) the presence of -[um]- shows a greater subject oriented interpretation, the sentences lacking the -[um]- similarly lack this overtone of intentionality.

A good minimal pair-like contrast occurred one night in conversation with two other people. On hearing that I was definitely intending to travel to Wanci for a certain festival, one surprised participant of the conversation said to the other:

(26) A-wila?
3l-go
‘Is he going?’

using an irrealis pronoun without the subject focus infix; her focus was on the fact that my going was seen as unusual, and that was emphasised by the lack of subject focus infix, which would have indicated more intention, and the presence of the irrealis pronoun, to show that the certainty of the outcome was being questioned. About five minutes later, when asking me if her classificatory brother was going to go to my house the next day, I replied

(27) Oho, no-wila.
Yes 3R-go
‘Yes, he’s going.’
using a realis pronoun, and was immediately corrected with (28),

(28) Na-w/[um]ila.
3I-go.SI
‘He will go.’

using an irrealis pronoun, and this time the subject focus as well. The difference is that the emphasis was now not on the certainty of the action, but on the fact that it was the classificatory brother who was going to act, and that his intentions, whilst agreed on, were intentions and not a promise.

7.4 Possessive marking on adjectives

With an adjective (a sub-class of the set of intransitive, non-agentive, non-dynamic verbs; see chapter 4.5) the theme subject may be coded onto the verb by means of the possessive suffixes, to the exclusion of the regular subject prefix on the verb. This practice was universally proscribed by the speakers I queried, but use of this marking pattern seems to be just as universal in casual conversation. Examples of the use of the possessive to show the theme subject are:

Adjective (intransitive non-agentive):

(29) a. Kalu-'u-mo?
tired-2SG.POSS-PF
‘Are you tired?’

b. ’U-kalu-mo?
2SG.R-tired-PF (G:66)
‘Are you tired?’

Intransitive non-agentive:

(30) a. *Like-'u?
awake-2SG.POSS
‘Are you awake?’

b. ’U-like?
2SG.R-awake
‘Are you awake?’

Transitive non-agentive verb:

(31) a. *Hoto-'u ana?
have-2SG.POSS child
‘Do you have children?’

b. ’U-hoto ana?
2SG.R-have child
‘Do you have children?’

(32) a. *’U-hoto ana-'u.
2SG.R-have child-2SG.POSS
‘Do you have children?’

b. Hoto [ana-'u]?
have child-2SG.POSS
‘Do you have children?’

Dynamic verb:

(33) a. *Buti-no?
fall-3POSS
‘Did he fall down?’

(b) No-buti.
3R-fall
‘Did he fall down?’

In the above sentences, (30) and (31) show that the option of possessive suffixing does not apply to all non-agentive verbs, but only to certain intransitive ones. The use of the possessive in (31b) is on the incorporated noun, and not on the verb. Compare with the more transparent ungrammaticality in the paraphrase below:
Verb phrases

(34)  a. \* Ane-'u 
      kene ana? 
      exist-2SG.POSS and child 
      ‘Do you have children?’

b. Ane kene ana-'u? 
      exist and child-2SG.POSS 
      ‘Do you have children?’
      (Literally, ‘Do your children exist?’)

A difference in meaning exists between adjectives and verbs whose subject is marked by means of subject prefixes and those that use genitive pronouns. Whereas both strategies allow a stative interpretation, only a verb using subject prefixes can have an inchoative interpretation:

(35)  a. No-monini. 
      3R-cold 
      ‘They are cold.’

b. Nini-no. 
      cold-3POSS 
      ‘They are cold.’
      * ‘They are getting cold.’

7.5 Irregularities in subject marking

7.5.1 Omissions

In casual speech there are omissions in indexing of subjects on the verb. An agentive verb unmarked for subject has an understood first person subject in statements and a second person subject in questions, whilst unprefixed non-agentive verbs have a third person participant as the understood subject.

Examples of sentences that are unambiguous as far as the reference of the subjects is concerned are seen in (36) - (38):

(36)  (Ku-)wila i ito me-ana-'e ai.
      (1SG)-go OBL there:higher REF-this ANA
      ‘I’m going north now.’

(37)  Ane-ho (o-)mohoo? 
      be-yet (3R-)sick 
      ‘Is he still sick?’
      ( * ‘Are you still sick?’)

(38)  (’U-)sai te paira? 
      (2SG.R)-make CORE what 
      ‘What are you making?’
      ( * ‘What is s/he making?’)

I suggest that the parallel patterns of (near) compulsory coding of first and second persons on non-agentive verbs and optional coding on agentive verbs show the workings of a hierarchy of activity salience in discourse. The participants most salient in the speech act, the first and second person, do not obligatorily require subject prefixes, being assumed to be the instigators of actions; on the other hand, activities by persons or things that are not part of the speech act are always so prefixed, marking them as more unlikely instigators. With non-agentive verbs, however, the less active role required by the third person patient subject of a non-agentive verb does not necessarily require marking, since this is the expected state for a non-participant of the speech act. A first or second person in this less active role, on the other hand, role must be marked on the verb.
7.5.2 Third person supersession

The subject prefixes are often used to refer to the derived subject of a to- passive verb. Another option is to use a dummy third person subject prefix, giving the passive verb a more stative meaning (note that agents cannot be mentioned in a clause with a to- passive; see chapter 11.2):

(39) 'U-to-'ita na iko'o.
    2SG.R-PASS-see NOM 2SG
    ‘You were seen.’

(40) No-to-'ita na iko'o.
    3R-PASS-see NOM 2SG
    ‘You were visible.’

Whilst the prefix on the verb agrees with the derived subject in (39), the third person prefix in (40) is a dummy subject marker on what is really a verb without a nominative argument - see chapters 11 and 20 for details.

7.6 Object suffixes

Most transitive verbs can be suffixed with object suffixes, and many intransitive (‘ambitransitive’) verbs too may occur with object suffixes (see chapter 4); these index the direct object of the verb, and are portmanteau forms expressing the number and person of the object. Their effect on the structure of the verbal complex is minimal, but they drastically affect the distribution of the core case-marking articles (see chapter 3 for a summary of this and other KP marking strategies). The use of object suffixes is also largely dependent on discourse factors, namely givenness, specificity (rather than definiteness), and topic continuity, much like the use of passive forms in English. In this way, the object suffixes are the equivalent of passive forms in languages such as English as regards discourse functions (special thanks to C. Donohue for first pointing this correspondence out to me in 1992), creating a new pivot of the sentence for certain constructions. Compare (41) with sentence (42):

(41) No-'ita'e te sanggila na tukatutu jari no-tode.
    3R-see-3OBJ CORE pirate NOM blacksmith so 3R-flee
    ‘The blacksmith was seen by the pirate, and so fled.’
    * ‘The pirate saw the blacksmith, and so fled.’

(42) No-'ita te sanggila na tukatutu jari no-tode.
    3R-see CORE pirate NOM blacksmith so 3R-flee
    ‘The blacksmith saw the pirate, and so fled.’
    * ‘The blacksmith saw the pirate, and so the pirate fled.’

Both of these sentences show the preverbal KP of the first sentence coreferential with the subject of the second, but in the case of (41) it is the object of the verb no'ita'e, and not the subject, that is judged to be coreferential with the elided KP in the second clause. The subject prefixes on the verb, however, continue to index the person and number of na
tukatutu, showing that the subject remains a core argument. The grammatical status of nominative arguments is examined in greater depth in chapter 20.

An important use of the object suffixes is when they are obligatorily used to indicate that the [Theme/Patient] argument of an ambitransitive verb is the object, and not the subject, of the clause. Unlike English, most otherwise intransitive verbs cannot be simply used with an added object:

(43) a. No-hesowui na ana-su mai iso.
    3R-wash NOM child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
    ‘My children are washing.’

b. * No-hesowui te ana-su mai iso
    3R-wash CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
    na wowine-su.
    NOM wife-1SG.POSS
    ‘My wife is washing my children.’

c. No-hesowui-e na ana-su mai iso
    3R-wash-3OBJ NOM child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
    te wowine-su.
    CORE wife-1SG.POSS
    ‘My wife is washing my children.’

d. No-pa-hesowui te ana-su mai iso
    3R-CAUS-wash CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
    na wowine-su.
    NOM wife-1SG.POSS
    ‘My wife is washing my children.’

Sentence (43b) is acceptable with the addition of a causative prefix, as in (43d), but now there is less direct involvement; with the causative prefix, the statement could be interpreted as ‘My wife is making my children wash themselves.’, as well as ‘My wife is washing the children.’ The first interpretation is not a grammatical reading of (43c). This can be simply described in terms of the requirement that the argument in [Theme/Patient] role be consistently marked as nominative; when the object suffix is added to the verb, the argument that was serving as the subject of the intransitive verb is the object of the new verb, and an agent is added. This may be represented in terms of clausal structure as follows:

```
s-V  na S  Ø
  ↓
s-V-o  na O  te A
```

The argument structure account, however, as presented in chapters 3, 4 and 20, is preferred here to the interpretation that the object suffixes are seen as derivational, which the above formula, lucid though it is, would imply. See chapter 4 for examples of the sort of verbs (not by any means all of those with a [Theme/Patient] argument) that enter into this sort of construction.
7.6.1 Object suffixes: a second account

The object suffixes have been presented as pronominal indexing of the object on the verb, yet this analysis does not account for the variation in case marking that was described in chapter 3. Accordingly, one possible extension to this analysis will be presented here. The fact that the object suffixes are not compulsory, as is the case with the subject prefixes, has led to their use in monitoring the status of participants and disambiguating discourse. A sentence with and without object suffixes is given in (44):

(44) a. No-’awa te boku na ana.
   3R-get CORE book NOM child
   ‘The child got the book.’

b. No-’awa-’e na boku te ana.
   3R-get-3OBJ NOM book CORE child
   ‘The child got the book.’

As has been described in chapter 3, the type of verbal indexing (presence versus absence of object suffixes) correlates with predictable variation in the case marking on nominals, and variation in their syntactic behaviour (see chapter 20), showing that the variation in case is not merely morphological.

This is exactly the same correlation exhibited by the better-known verbal affixes and KP marking in various Philippine languages, as demonstrated by the following pair of sentences from Tagalog (I am not going to enter the debate about the theoretical significance of what has here been blithely termed ‘focus’, or the nominal versus verbal nature of the affixed words in Philippine languages, in this book. For a discussion of these question, see (amongst (many) others) Schachter 1976 and 1977, and Kroeger 1993. The glosses in Tagalog sentences follow Kroeger’s conventions):

(45) Tagalog:
   a. Kumuh ng libro ang bata.
      get.AV GEN book NOM child
      ‘The child got a book.’

   b. Kinuh ng bata ang libro.
      get.OV GEN child NOM book
      ‘The child got a book.’

Just as in Tukang Besi, the ‘articles’ marking the noun phrases change with the change in verbal morphology. This could be good evidence that the Tukang Besi verbal system operates on a similar basis to the Philippine ‘focus’ system, as exemplified here by Tagalog. Immediate objections to this could be raised, arguing that the Tukang Besi system is clearly a pronominal inflection system on the basis that the object suffixes show variation for person and number, whereas the Tagalog verbal system does not. Compare the following sentences in Tagalog (46) and Tukang Besi (47):
(46)  
  Tagalog:
  a. *Sumampal ng bata ang babae.
     verb AVGEN child NOM woman
     ‘The woman slapped the child.’
  b. Sinampal ng babae ang bata.
     verb OVGEN woman NOM child
     ‘The woman slapped the child.’
  c. Sinampal ka ng babae.
     verb OV2SG.NOM GEN woman
     ‘The woman slapped you.’

(47)  
  a. *No-topa te ana na wowine.
     3R-slap CORE child NOM woman
     ‘The woman slapped the child.’
  b. No-topa’e na ana te wowine.
     3R-slap-3OBJ NOM child CORE woman
     ‘The woman slapped the child.’
  c. No-topa-ko (na iko’o) te wowine.
     3R-slap-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG CORE woman
     ‘The woman slapped you.’
  d. *No-topa’e na iko’o te wowine.
     3R-slap-3OBJ NOM 2SG CORE woman
     ‘The woman slapped you.’

The sentences in (46b) and (46c), and (47b), (47c) and (47d) clearly show that while the Tagalog sentences do not require the verbal morphology to reflect the person or number of the participants, the Tukang Besi object suffixes vary in form for this parameter; the ungrammaticality of (47d) clearly demonstrates this. This could be taken as an argument that the Tukang Besi object suffixes on the verb are pronominal inflections, rather than part of a ‘focus’ or voice system of the kind exemplified by the Tagalog data. The full ‘inflectional’ paradigm for the verb *topa* is as follows (keeping the third person subject constant):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notopaaku</th>
<th>Notopako</th>
<th>Notopa’e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘S/he slapped… …me.’</td>
<td>…you.’</td>
<td>…her/him/it/them.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notopakami</th>
<th>Notopakita</th>
<th>Notopakomiu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>…us few.’</td>
<td>…us all.’</td>
<td>…you lot.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be borne in mind, however, that the Tagalog system also shows variation. At the purely verbal level, the object suffixes vary in Tukang Besi, changing depending on the person and number categories of the object in the clause; these same categories are irrelevant in Tagalog, in which the same verbal affix being is used for objects regardless of person or number. At the clause level, however, the noun phrase marking ‘articles’ in Tagalog show considerable variation, the choice of the article depending on whether the KP is a common noun ((48a) and (48e) below), a proper noun ((48c) and (48g)), a
pronoun (in which case a suppletive form of the pronoun is used, as in examples (48b) and (48f), which may combine with a separate case-marking article as well) or a demonstrative (which also displays suppletive forms, but which never appear with a preceding article; (48d) and (48h)).

(48) Tagalog:

a. Sinampal ng babae ang bata.
   slap.OV GEN woman NOM child
   ‘The woman slapped the child.’

b. Sinampal mo ang bata.
   slap.OV 2SG GEN NOM child
   ‘You slapped the child.’

c. Sinampal ni Andres ang bata.
   slap.OV GEN Andres NOM child
   ‘Andres slapped the child.’

d. Sinampal nito-ng babae ang bata.
   slap.OV this.GEN-LINKER woman NOM child
   ‘This woman slapped the child.’

e. Sumampal ng bata ang babae.
   slap.AV GEN child NOM woman
   ‘The woman slapped a child.’

f. Sumampal ka ng bata.
   slap.AV 2SG.NOM GEN child
   ‘You slapped a child.’

g. Sumampal ng bata si Andres.
   slap.AV GEN child NOM Andres
   ‘Andres slapped a child.’

h. Sumampal ng bata ito-ng babae.
   slap.AV GEN child this.NOM-LINKER woman
   ‘This woman slapped a child.’

Sentences (48a)-(48h) show that the ‘articles’ marking the noun phrases vary in Tagalog according to broad categories. This variation in case marking strategies stands in contrast to Tukang Besi, which uses the same articles, without any suppletion or variation at all, regardless of the grammatical class of the nominal concerned (there is minor phonetic variation in the articles, with na fluctuating with a, and te with ’e and e, but this is random phonological variation, and not the same as the regular Tagalog paradigms). The Tukang Besi variation has already been seen in sentences (47b) and (47c), and the full paradigm of the Tukang Besi equivalents of the Tagalog examples above, presented in the same order, is seen in (49):

(49) a. No-topa-'e na ana te wowine.

b. Nu-topa-'e na ana te iko'o.
c. No-topa-e na ana te La Pe'i.
d. No-topa-e na ana te wowine ana.
e. No-topa te ana na wowine.
f. No-topa te ana na iko'o.
g. No-topa te ana na La Pe'i.
h. No-topa te ana na wowine ana.

Further evidence that the object suffixes serve as elements in a ‘focus’ system (see the beginning of chapter 3 for a brief discussion of the workings of a Philippine-style system, and also the discussion in chapter 20.1, and 20.14.4) is seen in the fact that there are verbs that REQUIRE an object to be expressed with the nominative article, if present, and thus require object suffixes if they are used transitively: unusual in the system. Certain goal-oriented verbs, such as molinga ‘forget’ are unacceptable (for most speakers, at least) without object suffixes, as seen in the grammaticality of (50) compared to the ungrammaticality of (51), which uses no object suffixes:

(50) 'U-molinga-e na ngaa-su?
2SG.R-forget-3OBJ NOM name-1SG.POSS
‘Have you forgotten my name?’

(51) * 'U-molinga te ngaa-su?
2SG.R-forget CORE name-1SG.POSS

This is parallel to the treatment of some verbs in Tagalog, which allow object voice, but not an actor voice, when in a predicative position (But not when occurring in other positions. Schachter (1977: 304) gives the example Nasaan ang tumakot ng bata? where NOM frighten.AV GEN child ‘Where is the one who frightened a child?’). One such verb is takot ‘be frightened’ (Schachter 1977: 304) (reglossed according to the conventions in Kroeger 1993):

(52) Tagalog:
   a. Tinakot ng lalaki ang bata.
frightened.OV GEN man NOM child
   ‘A/The man frightened the child.’
   b. * Tumakot ng bata ang lalaki.
frightened.AV GEN child NOM man

Other verbs that may only take object voice when appearing predicatively include bigo’ ‘disappoint’, galaw ‘move, point’, gising ‘wake up’, gutom ‘hungry’, hiya’ ‘shame’, liko’ ‘turn around’, pigil ‘restrain’, talo ‘defeat(ed)’, tapos ‘finish’ (Ramos and Bautista 1986).

In Tukang Besi a large subclass of verbs can be used either transitively or intransitively, and if used transitively the theme/patient argument MUST be nominative, and so object suffixes are used:
On the other hand, there are no transitive verbs that CANNOT take object suffixes. If there is an unmarked category, then, it is that which uses the object suffixes. This is a counter to the intuitive claim (based on morphological evidence) that the basic form of the verb is the verb without object suffixes; since the putative category for non-object focus, a verb without object suffixes, has less morphological complexity than a verb with object suffixes, it is thus less marked than the suffixed version (as illustrated in (55) and elsewhere). That is, the morphological realisations of the two categories are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-object ‘focus’</th>
<th>object ‘focus’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-aku, -ko, -'e, -ke, -ne, -kami, -kita, -komiu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(-ke and -ne are variants of the third person suffix)

Other tests of markedness, such as the fact that some transitive verbs require the presence of the object suffixes, whereas none require them to be absent, are indicative of the fact that they are unmarked. Further argumentation on this point has already been presented in chapter 3. Chapter 20, drawing on Sells 1995b, presents a more detailed analysis of the function of voice and case in both Tukang Besi and a better-known Philippine language, Tagalog, and argues that the apparent inflectional categories of the object suffixes are not incompatible with the analysis that they monitor a Philippine-style voice system.

### 7.6.2 Object suffixes: a third account

An alternative analysis of the voice system would be to assume that the sentences in (47b) represent the basic clause structure, and that na and te are absolutive and ergative case markers, respectively (see the model in 3.4.1). Sentences such as (47a) are then derived from them; this would then be an antipassive construction. A reglossing of (47a) and (47b), with the intransitive sentence (2) from chapter 3, would be as seen in (55) and (56):

(55) a. No-topa(-Ø) to ana na wowine.
   3R-slap-ANTIPASSIVE ‘ERG’ child ABS woman
   ‘The woman slapped the child.’

b. No-topa-'e na ana te wowine.
   3R-slap-3OBJ ABS child ERG woman
   ‘The woman slapped the child.’
The are several problems with this analysis: the [A] in the ‘antipassive’ construction in (55a) is still marked as a core argument, and does not undergo demotion of any sort, a process taken to be normal (if not universal) treatment of by-phrases in passive and antipassive constructions (Baker 1988a:9, Dixon 1994:146, amongst others; Foley and Van Valin (1984: 176-181) argue that there is a Jacaltec antipassive construction found in relative clauses that treats the [O] as a core argument, and that Sama also has a non-backgrounding antipassive construction. The analysis of Sama seems to me to be flawed, since it does not take into account the split-intransitive nature of the voice system in at least some varieties of the language (Donohue 1996), leaving Jacaltec as the sole purported example of language with a non-backgrounding antipassive). We could argue, based on analogous cases in Australian and Inuit languages, that the apparent ‘ergative’ case in (55a) was really an instrumental, a relation that may (for some verbs) be marked with te, but this would not account for the inability of the other, more common, instrumental preposition kene to occur in this position: *Notopa-Ø kene ana na wowine. Secondly, there is no derivational morphology involved in the derivation of the ‘antipassive’, rather the derivation is carried out by DROPPING verbal morphology (or, to be generous, replacing the object suffixes with a zero antipassive morpheme, the only zero morpheme in the language). This is a surprising artefact of the analysis, the more so given that Tukang Besi DOES have a morphological passive construction, one that (like all other reported examples of passives and antipassives) involves additional morphological material, and the demotion of the agentive argument. That the antipassive construction would be so different, on both language-internal and cross-linguistic grounds, seems remarkable.

Additional inconsistencies with this analysis emerge when we examine the passive voice: in this form, the prefix to- signals the passive voice, and the agent of the corresponding agentive verb form is not mentioned (though implied). Unlike the by-phrase in the putative ‘antipassive’ sentence (55a), the by-phrase in (57a) may not be mentioned: it is ‘demoted by omission’. Another problem is that we can only derive the passive verb form from the antipassive version; the passive cannot be derived from the non-antipassive version, as the ungrammaticality of (57b) demonstrates:

(57) a. Passive
    No-to-topa(-Ø) na ana (* te wowine).
    3R-PASS-slap-ANTIPASSIVE ABS child ‘ERG’ woman
    ‘The child was slapped (by the woman).’

b. * No-to-topa’e na ana.
    3R-PASS-slap-3OBJ ABS child

Examining relative clause formation (more fully covered in chapter 15) yields further problems: an object may head a relative clause if the verb bears the prefix i-. Logically the ‘demoted’ object of an ‘antipassive’ construction should not be able to head the relative clause, since it is not the subject of the intransitive antipassive clause. In fact, however, this relative clause type only occurs with the putative antipassive construction; a version with object suffixes on the verb is ungrammatical. Compare this result with (58c) and
(58d), showing that the subject of an underived or passive intransitive clauses may not head an i- relative clause:

Object relative clauses

(58) a. \( \text{Te ana } i\text{-topa}(\emptyset) \text{ nu wowine.} \)
\text{ERG child OP-slap-ANTIPASSIVE GEN woman}
‘The child who was slapped by the woman’

b. \( \ast \text{Te ana } i\text{-topa\-'e nu wowine.} \)
\text{ERG child OP-slap-3OBJ GEN woman}
‘The child who was slapped by the woman’

c. \( \ast \text{Te ana } i\text{-buti.} \)
\text{ERG child OP-fall}
‘The child who fell over’

d. \( \ast \text{Te ana } i\text{-to-topa}(\emptyset). \)
\text{ERG child OP-PASS-slap-ANTIPASSIVE}
‘The child was slapped’

For these reasons I have chosen to analyse the voice alternation as being the result of an admittedly atypical Philippine-style ‘focus’ system.

7.7 External possession

The possessor of an ‘inalienably’ possessed object (body part, cosanguinal kin) (see chapter 12) may be indexed on the verb in place of the third person subject or object affix that would be expected for that item. The possessed subject or object also appears in the sentence as an independent, necessarily nominative, nominal, and preserves possessive suffixing coreferential with the subject or object affix. Such possessor raising (or ‘external possession’) is only available for the possessor of the theme/patient object of a transitive clause or theme/patient subject of an intransitive one, never for the [A] of a transitive one or an agentive or dative [S]. Compare the following sentences:

[Patient] [O] of a transitive clause:

(59) \( \text{No-pepe-aku} \, i \, i\text{ai-su} \).
\text{3R-slap-1SG.OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS}
‘He slapped (me) my younger brother.’

[Patient] [S] of an intransitive clause:

(60) \( \text{Ku} \, i \text{-mohoo na } \text{lima-su} \).
\text{1SG-sick NOM hand-1SG.POSS}
‘My hand is sore.’
(Glossing literally, ‘My hand am sore.’)

[Agent] [S] of an intransitive clause:

(61) \( \ast \text{To}i\text{-kulia i } \text{Haluoleo na } \text{tolida-nto} \).
\text{1PL.R-study.at.university OBL Haluoleo NOM cousin-1PL.POSS}
‘Our cousin are studying at Haluoleo university.’
Verb phrases

[167]

(62) * Ku1-ma’e-ka na iai-su1.
1SG-afraid NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
‘My brother is scared.’

[Agent] [A] of a transitive clause:

(63) * Ku1-hu’u te Wa Kopi na iai-su1.
1SG-give CORE Wa Kopi NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
‘My younger brother gave Wa Kopi (something).’

Possessor raising is never obligatory, so (55) is also grammatical without possessor ascension, using third person object suffixes, Nopepe’e na iaisu.

Compare the following ungrammatical sentences employing [Dative] and [Instrumental] objects, ungrammatical because of the attempt to launch possessor raising from an object whose semantic role is not patient or theme:

(64) * No-hoti-aku1 na tolida-su1.
3R-give-1SG.OBJ NOM cousin-1SG.POSS
‘He donated to my cousin.’

(65) * No-pake-aku1 na palu-su1.
3R-use-1SG.OBJ NOM hammer-1SG.POSS
‘He used my hammer.’

Of course, the above sentences may be expressed with a third person affix on the verb; the difference, however, is that sentences using the possessor raising strategy imply that the possessor is more affected, and leaves the possessor as a nominative argument in the clause, with associated nominative properties (see chapter 20).

7.8 Object incorporation

Object nominals can occur in the verb phrase, following the verb stem but preceding an applicative morpheme. Typically (but not necessarily) these incorporated nominals are non-referential, and refer to the generic object of a habitual action. This is an interpretation also available to a non-pivot object of a transitive verb, of course, so it cannot be said that all non-referential or generic objects are incorporated:

(66) No-sai te kuikui.
3R-make CORE cakes
‘S/he makes cakes.’
‘S/he is making a cake.’

(67) No-sai-kuikui.
3R-make-cakes
‘S/he makes cakes.’
* ‘S/he is making a cake.’

If there is an incorporated object, an underived verb cannot appear with an extra-verbal object as well, or object agreement referring to the incorporated object; additionally, the incorporated object must be a basic object, and cannot be the object of an applicative
construction:

(68) * No-sai-ako-wowine.
   3R-make-APPL-woman
   ‘He makes (them) for woman.’

(69) * No-sai-kuikui-’e.
   3R-make-cake-3OBJ
   ‘S/he makes them cakes.’
   ‘S/he makes it like a cake.’

Not all incorporated objects are the object of a habitual action; the following is an example of an incorporated object in a specific action:

(70)  Te mia p[um]ake te helém ito
      CORE person use.SI CORE helmet that:higher
   a-w[um]ila di Patuno na-p[um]ake sipeda.
      3I go.SI OBL Patuno 3I use.SI bike
   ‘The person with a helmet on up north is going to go to Patuno by motorbike.’

   (Here sipeda is from Malay sepeda motor, ‘motor bike’, which is not a Tukang Besi word. The normal Tukang Besi word for motor bike is honda.)

   The structural position of the ‘incorporated’ object in the verb phrase is somewhat ambiguous. The fact that an incorporated object cannot cooccur with object agreement that refers to it, and that aspectual markers can follow it, would point towards it being placed in the position of the object index at the end of the verb (but before the position taken by aspect marking), as suggested by the phrase structure in figure 6:

   ![Verb Phrase with an incorporated object](image)

   Figure 6. Verb Phrase with an incorporated object (only the relevant parts shown)

   The structure in figure 6 is consistent with the sentence type exemplified by (71), with the incorporated object appearing immediately before the aspect marker (actually an aspectual clitic, not a suffix, as evidenced by the freedom in positioning it displays):

(71) No-sai kuikui-mo.
   3R-make cake-PF
   ‘S/he has made cakes.’

   However, the aspect marker may also intrude between the verb stem and the object nominal, as in (67)':
(71)' No-sai-mo kuikui.
3R-make-PF cake
‘S/he has made cakes.’

With an auxiliary in the VP, aspect may appear marked on the auxiliary, as seen in (72), but is still eligible to appear following the verb root, or following the incorporated object:

(72) Mbea-mo no-sai kuikui.
not-PF 3R-make cake
‘S/he doesn’t make cakes any more.’

This data leads to the conclusion that the Auxiliary, Verb and Object are equal with respect to being available for the assignment of the aspect suffixes, and that the object has not been simply incorporated directly into the verb, as suggested in figure 6. A further complication is that this phenomenon is not simply noun-incorporation, but rather object incorporation. Compare the following two sentences, (73) having a normal post-verbal object nominal, and (74) with an ‘incorporated’ NP:

(73) [No-tutu-mo [te [kabali mohama]NP]KP]VP.
3R-pound-PF CORE machete sharp
‘He is making a sharp machete.’

(74) No-tutu [kabali mohama]NP-mo.
3R-pound-machete sharp-PF
‘He made sharp machetes.’

It is clear that the whole NP of the object is the unit that ‘incorporates’, and not simply the noun. Furthermore, the components of the original KP form an indivisible unit. Alternatives to (74), showing the perfective suffix in different places, are given in (75):

(75) a. No-tutu-mo [kabali mohama]NP.
3R-pound-PF machete sharp
‘He made sharp machetes.’

b. Ane-mo no-tutu [kabali mohama]NP.
exist-PF 3R-pound machete sharp
‘He does make sharp machetes now.’

c. * No-tutu [kabali-mo mohama]NP.
3R-pound machete-PF sharp

If, as is assumed in 7.8, the aspectual affixes are attached, once, to any word directly beneath the node dominating the V (the V’), then we must assume the constituent structure presented in figure 7 for the representation of a sentence such as (71) and (72):
From a comparison of figure 7 with figure 5, we can see that it is valid to speak of object incorporation, but not of incorporation into the verb itself, and not just of noun incorporation. The incorporated element is an N', and it is incorporated into the V' rather than the V, as evidenced by the positional variation of the aspect suffixes. The fact that the incorporated N is not under the V node is evidence that all the post-verbal morphology, such as object agreement, aspect marking, and applicative morphology, are in fact V'-level elements. This is dealt with in more detail in Donohue (forthcoming b).

### 7.9 Aspect and auxiliaries

Aspectual distinctions are indicated by suffixes typically found on the verb or the auxiliary of the clause, but which may appear (robbed of their aspectual meanings) on other elements as well. The occurrence of an aspectual suffix in the verb phrase precludes its use elsewhere in that phrase: if there is an aspectual suffix on the verb, it may not appear on the auxiliary, and vice versa. We may conclude that the aspect suffixes are not inherently part of the V, but part of the V', and appear suffixed to maximally one word within that constituent.

There are three different suffixes that indicate aspectual distinctions on verbs. These are:

- **-mo**
  - verbal activity or state has begun

- **-ho**
  - verbal activity or state is not yet completed

- **-do**
  - verbal activity or state is current; emphatic

Additional aspectual distinction can be achieved through the use of certain other auxiliaries. In most cases these may also function as verbs; the lack of pronominal indexing in this position, however, shows a trend towards their reinterpretation as aspect markers. When they do occur with subject marking, they are interpreted as part of a serial verb construction (see chapter 8).

- **ako**
  - future

- **ane**
  - be (still)

- **la’a**
  - just, immediately after

- **mbea (ka)**
  - not

- **mina**
  - already

- **mondo**
  - already
The verbs *po'oli* and *mina* also appear as modal operators in serial verb construction. In those cases, however, they appear with subject marking. See chapter 8 for details.

The aspectual affixes indicate different categories of time and aspect division depending on the semantic class of the verb. The relevant categories are:

° non-agentive, intransitive
° non-agentive, transitive
° agentive, intransitive
° agentive, transitive

Tense-like meanings are expressed through the combination of aspect and mood marking on the verb, and can receive ‘fine-tuning’ with regard to their location in time through the use of adverbial or oblique phrases expressing time, such as *i rearea ai ‘this morning’, or duaalo ‘in two days time’ / ‘two days ago’ (see chapter 3 for details about the position of such expressions within the clause, and chapter 17 for an elaboration of the possibilities of adverbial time expressions). The category of mood as it pertains to verbal morphology has already been discussed, appearing on the subject prefixes and the use of the subject focus infix. The different aspectual affixes will now be discussed one by one with reference to these categories.

### 7.9.1 The perfective *-mo*

When appearing with a non-agentive verb, either transitive (there is only one transitive, non-agentive verb: *hoto*, ‘to have’) or intransitive, *-mo* indicates that the state denoted by the verb is current but in the recent past such a state was not the case. There is no information about the endpoint of the state. Thus the following two pairs of sentences, (76) and (77), and (78) and (79), contrast in terms of how the INCEPTION of the state is viewed:

(76) *No-meha na watu iso.*
    3R-red NOM rock yon
    ‘That rock is red.’

(77) *No-meha-mo na watu iso.*
    3R-red-PF NOM rock yon
    ‘That rock has become red.’

(It was painted, or had red cloth draped over it; it is currently red)

(78) *No-hoto-wunua.*
    3R-have-house
    ‘They have/own a house.’
Chapter 7

(79) *No-hoto wunua-mo.*  
3R-have house-PF  
‘They have a house now.’  
(That is, they have finished building or buying it)

With an agentive verb, transitive or intransitive, the suffix -mo shows that the activity has already begun, but again does not give any information about the endpoint of the activity, as seen in (80) and (81):

(80) *No-waliako di kampo-no.*  
3R-return OBL village-3POSS  
‘They are going back to their village.’  
‘They (always) go back to their village.’

(81) *No-waliako-mo di kampo-no.*  
3R-return-PF OBL village-3POSS  
‘They have gone back to their village.’  
‘They are on the way back to their village.’

The first of these would be an appropriate response to a generic question, such as ‘What do they do after a festival?’, whereas the second would be rather inappropriate in this environment. It is more appropriate as a response to a more specific question such as ‘Where have they all gone?’.

With a transitive verb, the same pattern can be seen:

(82) *No-kili te lante.*  
3R-clean CORE floor  
‘She is cleaning the floor.’  
‘She (habitually) cleans the floor.’

(83) *No-kili-mo te lante.*  
3R-clean-PF CORE floor  
‘She is cleaning the floor.’  
* ‘She (habitually) cleans the floor.’  
‘She has cleaned the floor.’

In order to express a meaning closer to the traditional sense of the ‘perfective’, Tukang Besi speakers use object suffixes in combination with its transitive verbs, as seen in (84), in which the presence of the object suffixes on the verb correlates with (amongst other things) perfectivity. Alternatively, a speaker can use an ambient serial verb construction, using the verb ‘finish’, *po’oli*, placed before the activity verb, as in (85) (more on this construction in chapter 8):

(84) *No-basa’-e-mo na sura.*  
3R-read-OBJ-PF NOM letter  
‘He’s started to read the letter.’

(85) *No-po’oli(-mo) no-basa te sura.*  
3R-finish-PF 3R-read CORE letter  
‘He’s finished reading the letter.’
A salient feature of -mo, because of the frequency with which it is encountered, is its use to indicate an inceptive state, in combination with the irrealis subject pronouns. Compare the following two examples, the first using realis pronouns and -mo, the second using irrealis pronouns:

(86) *No-basa-mo te sura.
    3R-read PF  CORE letter
    ‘He’s started to read the letter.’

(87) Na-bjuanasa-mo te sura.
    3I-read SI-PF  CORE letter
    ‘He’s is about to read the letter.’

The irrealis pronominal set does not co-occur with either of the other two aspectual suffixes -ho or -do, described in the next two sections.

7.9.2 The incomplete -ho

The suffix -ho used on an agentive verb indicates that the activity has been continuing in the past, and is still relevant at the moment of the speech act. This suffix does not appear directly with non-agentive verb, transitive or intransitive, but may appear on the auxiliary ane. Contrasting with -mo, the use of -ho does not give any information about the endpoint of the state, but only refers to the current non-completion of the verb. The pair of sentences shown in (84) and (85) contrast in terms of how the CONTINUATION of the state is viewed:

(88) No-homoru te wurai.
    3R-weave CORE sarong
    ‘She’s weaving a sarong.’

(89) No-homoru-ho te wurai.
    3R-weave-yet CORE sarong
    ‘She’s still weaving a sarong.’

As might be expected, -ho is incompatible with the use of object suffixes, which give a perfective meaning to the sentence:

(90) *No-homoru-'e-ho na wurai.
    3R-weave-3OBJ-yet NOM sarong

The use of -ho with intransitive agentive verbs is unusual. As with non-agentive verbs, there is a tendency not to use -ho on the main verb itself, but to use it in conjunction with the semi-verb ane ‘exist’, which has the same continuative sense when used as an auxiliary. Examples of non-agentive and agentive verbs using -ho are given below:

Non-agentive, intransitive:

(91) No-mohoo na kene-su.
    3R-sick NOM friend-1SG.POSS
    ‘My friend is sick.’
(92) * No-mohoo-ho na kene-su.
   3R-sick-yet NOM friend-1SG.POSS

(93) Ane-ho (o)-mohoo na kene-su.
    exist-yet 3R-sick NOM friend-1SG.POSS
    ‘My friend is still sick.’

Non-agentive, transitive:

(94) * No-hoto-wunua-ho na amai.
    3R-have-house-yet NOM 3PL
    ‘They still have a house.’

(95) Ane-ho (o)-hoto-wunua na amai.
    exist-yet 3R-have-house NOM 3PL
    ‘They still own a house.’

Agentive, intransitive:

(96) ?/ # No-waliako-ho di kampo-no.
    3R-return-yet OBL village-3POSS
    ‘They are still on the way back to their village.’

(97) Ane-ho no-waliako di kampo-no.
    exist-yet 3R-return OBL village-3POSS
    ‘They are still on the way back to their village.’

7.9.3 The emphatic -do

This suffix shares much in common with -ho, and often appears as the aspect marker on a verb used to reply affirmatively to a question in which -ho was used. For instance:

Question:

(98) Ane-ho mohoo?
    exist-yet 3R-sick
    ‘Is he still sick?’

Answer:

(99) Ane-do.  (short for: Anedo nomohoo.) (Less felicitous: # Ane-ho.)
    exist-EMPH exist-yet
    ‘Still.’

The aspect marker -do differs from -ho in that although the state or activity denoted by the verb is currently relevant, it does not have to be one that has extended through time to any great extent, and carries the additional sense that the relevance of the state or activity is unusual or unexpected in some way. As with -ho, this suffix does not usually appear on its own with non-agentive verbs (and not at all with hoto- ‘have’, the only non-agentive transitive verb), appearing by preference on the pre-verb ane. In combination with agentive intransitive verbs, however, the aspect suffix is found on the main verb. Used either with or without an auxiliary, -do indicates that the activity is relevant at the moment of the speech act. Unlike both -mo and -ho, -do gives no information about either the endpoint or
the inception of the state or activity.

The following set of minimally contrastive examples shows the difference between the three aspect markers in terms of how the CONTINUATION of the state is viewed:

(100) * Ku-he-sala.
   1SG-do-trousers
   ‘I wear trousers (habitually).’
   ‘I am wearing trousers.’

(101) Ku-he-sala-mo.
   1SG-do-trousers-PF
   ‘I am now wearing trousers (but I wasn’t earlier).’

(102) Ane ho ku-he-sala.
   exist-yet 3R-do-trousers
   ‘I am still wearing my trousers.’

(103) Ku-he-sala-do.
   1SG-do-trousers-EMPH
   ‘I’ll put my trousers on first, right now.’

Agentive intransitive and non-agentive intransitive verbs have already been seen using -do. The following sentences illustrate an agentive intransitive verb in combination with -do:

(104) No-homoru-do te wurai.
   3R-weave-EMPH CORE sarong
   ‘She’s now weaving a sarong.’
   ‘She’s going to weave the sarong first.’
   (eg., before she begins the curtain cloth)

As already mentioned, the suffix -do does not appear with the non-agentive transitive verb hoto- ‘have’, either directly on the verb or carried by an auxiliary:

(105) * Ku-hoto-sala-do.
   1SG-have-trousers-EMPH
   ? ‘I’ll own some trousers first.’

(106) * / # Ane-do ku-hoto-sala.
   exist-EMPH 1SG-have-trousers

This is not so much a morphosyntactic restriction but the result of an incompatible pairing of semantics; the inception of ownership is a process of making (sai) or buying (balu), and so these verbs would be used in place of the more stative hoto-:

(107) Ku-balu-do te sala.
   1SG-buy-EMPH CORE trousers
   ? ‘I’ll buy some trousers first.’
7.9.4 Auxiliaries

Additional temporal information can be included in a verbal complex through the use of preverbal auxiliaries, by which term I refer to a small set of modifiers that may appear immediately preceding the verb itself. There is also a set of verbs that can occur in an ambient serial verb construction, often commenting on the modality of the verb. I shall define ambient serialisation as occurring when there is a third person subject prefix on the mood-marking verb (that is, the verb without lexical argument structure; see 8.2.3), and define an auxiliary as occurring when there is no such affix; it is worth noting, however, that some of the so-defined auxiliaries can also occur as full main verbs, such as po'oli ‘finish’. Despite operating as a verb in main clauses, it never appears with the third person subject prefix in an ambient serial verb construction:

\[(108) \ast \text{No-po'oli ku-sai te ndangu-ndangu.} \quad \text{3R-finish 1SG-make CORE k.o.soup} \]

\[\text{‘I’ve finished making the ndangu-ndangu.’} \]

\[(\text{ndangundangu is a soup made from sweet potatoes or pumpkin, cooked with coconut milk})\]

Frequently the auxiliary carries an aspect marker in order to further specify the temporal situation to which the verbal complex applies.

The most commonly encountered auxiliary-aspect combinations are as follows:

- mbea (ka) not
- pasi (-mo) already, after
- la'a (-mo) just, immediately after
- po'oli (-mo) after, finished
- mina(-mo) ever
- sagaa (-saga'a) a little bit
- ane(-ho) is currently, is still (with agentive verbs)

Aspect marking does not have to appear on an auxiliary, if present. Compare the following equivalent sentences:

\[(109) \text{Mbeak(a) o-hawasaa-mo.} \quad \text{3R-angry-PF} \]

\[\text{‘They aren’t angry any more.’} \]

\[(110) \text{Mbea-mo (o)-hawasaa.} \quad \text{not-PF 3R-angry} \]

\[\text{‘They aren’t angry any more.’} \]

There are restrictions as to the co-occurrence of these pre-verbal modifiers with the different aspect affixes, as set out in table 11. These restrictions are of the nature of semantic incompatibility between the auxiliary and the aspect suffix:
Table 11. Auxiliaries and aspect marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>-mo</th>
<th>-ho</th>
<th>-do</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbea(ka)</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>la'a</td>
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<td>po'oli</td>
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<tr>
<td>mina</td>
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<td>sagaa</td>
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<td>ane</td>
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</tbody>
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Examples of the use of these modifiers together can be seen in (111) - (112):

(111) *Mina-mo no-wila i Tomia.*
ever-PF 3R-go OBL Tomea
‘They have been to Tomea before.’

(112) *Ane-do no-heka-wou-wou.*
exist-EMPH 3R-VRB-RED-cast.line
‘They are still fishing.’

Notice that the aspect marker may appear on either the main verb or on the auxiliary. This point has already been discussed in 7.8 with respect to determining the constituency of incorporation structures.

7.10 Adverbs

An adverb typically appears directly following the verb, but may appear to other positions in the verb phrase, either preceding or following the verb or VP-internal KP. Adverbs may only appear outside their basic post-verbal position if they refer to a condition on the action that is relevant to a non-nominative argument. An example of a normal adverb immediately following the verb is given in (113) (the VP being indicated by angle brackets), and an ungrammatical sentence with an adverb in a floated position is shown in (114):

(113) *[(No-wila [legolego]ADV]VP na amai.*
3R-go arms.swinging NOM 3PL
‘They went (along) with their arms swinging.’

(114) *[[Legolego]ADV nowila]VP na amai.*

In (114), even though legolego clearly refers to a condition on the action that is determined by the argument na amai, that argument is nominative, and so the adverb may not float. Even when there is no overt nominatively marked nominal in the clause, the restriction still holds, as (115) indicates:

(115) *[[Legolego]ADV nowila].

arms.swinging 3R-go
Many adverbs are also used as verbs, such as menti‘i ‘quickly; (be) fast’. Even with these acting as adverbs, the restriction on place holds, as can be seen in (116a) and (116b):

(116) a. $\text{No-langke menti‘i.}$
    $3R$-sail fast
    ‘They are sailing fast.’

b. * $\text{Menti‘i no-langke.}$
    fast $3R$-sail
    (This is expressible, but only through the addition of subject marking on the first (non-active) verb, giving it independent status in a serial verb construction: $\text{No-menti‘i no-langke}$ $3R$-fast $3R$-sail ‘They are sailing fast.’)

This means that an adverb in an intransitive clause cannot appear in any position other than the immediately post-verbal one.

In a transitive clause, however, a verb without object suffixes allows an adverb connected with properties of the object to float, and a verb that does use object suffixes allows adverbs which indicate a property dependant on the subject to float. Sentence (117) shows a clause with an adverb referring to the non-nominative object in place, and (118) and (119) show it grammatically in other positions within the verb phrase:

(117) $\left[ \text{No-‘ita} \ [\text{ki‘iki‘i}]_{\text{ADV}} \ te \ i\text{ka}_{\text{VP}} \ na \ amai. \right.$
    $3R$-see little CORE fish NOM 3PL
    ‘They saw some of those fish.’
    (with the implication that it was the action of the school of fish (swimming away behind a rock, for instance) that prevented all of them from being seen)

(118) $\left[ \text{No‘ita te ika} \ [\text{ki‘iki‘i}]_{\text{ADV}} \right]_{\text{VP}} \ na \ amai.$

(119) $\left[ \text{Ki‘iki‘i}]_{\text{ADV}} \ no‘ita te ika\right]_{\text{VP}} \ na \ amai.$

Sentence (118) is ambiguous between the floating qualifier interpretation and the interpretation ‘They saw a small fish’. But note the following, where the presence of the adjective to‘oge ‘big’ disallows the interpretation that has ki‘iki‘i modifying ika:

(118‘) $\left[ \text{No-‘ita} \ [\text{te} \ i\text{ka} \ to‘oge]_{\text{KP}} \ ki‘iki‘i]_{\text{VP}} \ na \ amai. \right.$
    $3R$-see CORE fish big little NOM they
    ‘They saw some of the big fish.’

In (120), the same sentence but now with object suffixes, and thus a nominative object (see chapter 3.5) uses the same adverb, but it is now unambiguously referring to constraints imposed by the subject of the verb; (122) and (120) show positions available for this adverb to float to, (121) showing that the nominative object cannot be construed to be within the verb phrase, if that is indeed the domain of floating adverb placement:

(120) $\left[ \text{No-‘ita-‘e} \ [\text{ki‘iki‘i}]_{\text{ADV}} \right]_{\text{VP}} \ na \ i\text{ka} \ te \ amai.$
    $3R$-see-3OBJ little NOM fish CORE 3PL
    ‘They partially saw those fish.’
    (with the implication that it was because of a defect in the watchers (cataracts in their eyes, or long hair) that prevented all the fish from
being seen)
* (with the implication that it was the action of the school of fish
(swimming away behind a rock, for instance) that prevented all of
them from being seen)

(121) * [No’ita’e]VP na ika [ki’iki’i]ADV te amai.
(122) [[Ki’iki’i]ADV no’ita’e]VP na ika te amai.

With moboha ‘heavy’ used adverbially, as in (123), it can, because of the inherent
semantics of the verb and the adverb, only refer to the object, and so may only be
grammatically floated within the verb phrase if the object is non-nominative. After the basic
post-verbal position is demonstrated in (123), (124) and (125) show alternative, floated
positions within the VP, and (126) shows the ungrammaticality of floating the adverb with
a nominative object:

(123) [No-lemba [moboha]ADV ]VP te wemba].
3R-carry.on.shoulder heavy CORE bamboo
‘They carried the bamboo with difficulty.’
(with the sense that the heaviness of the bamboo made it difficult)

(124) [Nolemba te wemba [moboha]ADV ]VP.
(125) [[Moboha]ADV nolemba te wemba]VP.

Similarly, menti’i ‘fast’ can only be used adverbially referring to the subject, and so
must have a non-nominative subject if it is to appear in other than the post-verbal position.
This requires, however, that the object be nominative, and so outside the verb phrase. A
basic adverbial form is given in (127), and a version showing the adverb floated to appear
pre-verbally in (128). (129) provides evidence for the verb-phrase external position of the
nominative object, through the fact that, unlike (117), a floating adverb may not appear
following the object KP. (130) shows the ungrammaticality of floating the adverb with a
nominative subject.

(127) [No-ala’e [menti’i]ADV ]VP na kaitela.
3R-fetch-3OBJ fast NOM corn
‘They fetched the corn quickly.’

(128) [[Menti’i]ADV noala’e]VP na kaitela.
(129) * [Noala’e]VP na kaitela [menti’i]ADV.
(130) * [[Menti’i]ADV noala te kaitela]VP.

Some further details on aberrant floating adverbs is found in chapter 17, but they do
not deviate significantly from the pattern described here.