## Contents

Acknowledgments v  
Conventions vi  
Table of Contents ix  
List of maps, figures and tables xix  
Plates xxi  
Map 1: The Tukang Besi islands in Indonesia xxv  
Map 2: Wanci xxv  
Map 3: The Tukang Besi islands xxvi  

1. **Introduction**  
   1.1 Setting  
   1.1.1 Geography  
   1.1.2 Demography and population  
   1.1.3 History  
1.2 The region  
1.2.1 Surrounding languages  
1.2.2 Previous studies in the region  
1.3 The language  
1.3.1 Previous (and other) work on the language  
1.3.2 Alternate names  
1.3.3 Attitudes to their language  
1.3.4 Dialects  
1.4 Sources for this study  
1.5 Data-gathering procedures  

2. **Phonology and morphophonology**  
   2.1 The phonemes  
   2.1.1 Phoneme inventory  
   2.1.2 Description of the phonemes  
   2.1.3 Vowel sequences  
   2.1.4 Glottal stops  
   2.1.5 The glottal continuant  
   2.1.6 Realisations of the imploded stops  
   2.1.7 Realisations of the prenasalised phonemes  
   2.1.8 Loan phonemes  
   2.2 Extra-phonemic issues  
   2.2.1 Extra-phonemic sounds  
   2.3 Syllable level processes  
   2.3.1 Phonotactics  
   2.3.2 Stress assignment  
   2.4 Variable phonetic processes  
   2.4.1 Gemination  
   2.4.2 Final nasals in loan words
2.5 Processes involving nasals
2.5.1 Morpho-phonology
2.5.2 Nasal substitution
2.5.3 Reduplication and nasal addition
2.5.4 Further nasal addition
2.6 Orthographic issues

3. Syntactic units and the clause

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Categories and terms
3.2.1 [A], [S] and [O] and pivot
3.2.2 Core versus oblique
3.2.3 Subject and object
3.2.4 Nominative
3.2.5 Semantic roles and the thematic hierarchy
3.3 Guide to Tukang Besi grammatical forms
3.3.1 Clause types
3.3.2 Morphology
3.4 Verbal clauses
3.4.1 Word order and marking strategies
3.4.2 Transitive verbs without object agreement
3.4.3 Passive clauses
3.4.4 Ditransitive verbs and multiple objects
3.4.5 Serial verb constructions
3.5 Non-verbal clauses
3.5.1 Core noun phrase predicates
3.5.2 Oblique predicates
3.6 Other clause types
3.6.1 Existential clauses
3.7 Pragmatically determined variations in clause structure
3.7.1 Pre-verbal position
3.7.2 Topicalisation
3.7.3 Topic-comment constructions
3.7.4 Right dislocation
3.8 Articles and case marking
3.8.1 Nominative na
3.8.2 Non-nominative te
3.8.3 Grammatical relations versus Morphological case
3.8.4 Bare NPs
3.9 A short note on interclausal relations
3.10 The status and structure of phrases in the clause
3.10.1 Verb Phrases
3.10.2 Noun Phrases
3.10.3 Oblique Phrases
3.11 The layers of the clause: core and oblique arguments
3.11.1 Core arguments
3.11.2 Oblique arguments 77
3.11.3 Oblique arguments in the clause: Time expressions 78
3.11.4 Oblique arguments in the clause: Locative expressions 79
3.12 Summary 80

4. Word classes 83
4.1 The term ‘word’ 83
4.1.1 Words versus affixes 84
4.2 Word classes and the problem of overlap 86
4.3 Open word classes 90
4.4 Nouns 90
4.5 Verbs and adjectives 91
4.5.1 Transitive verbs 95
4.5.2 Intransitive verbs 99
4.5.3 Ditransitive verbs 102
4.5.4 Ambitransitive verbs 103
4.6 Closed word classes 105
4.6.1 Personal Pronouns 105
4.6.2 Epistememes (interrogatives) 105
4.6.3 Demonstratives 106
4.6.4 Prepositions 106
4.6.5 Conjunctions 106
4.6.6 Numerals and classifiers 107
4.6.7 Articles 111
4.7 A note on ‘derivational’ and ‘inflectional’ categories 112

5. Pronouns 113
5.1 Personal pronouns 113
5.2 Use of the free forms 115
5.3 Affixed pronominal forms 123
5.3.1 The status of verbal indexing 123
5.4 Subject prefixes 129
5.5 Possessive suffixes 131
5.6 Scope of possessive antecedency 133
5.7 Object agreement 134
5.8 Dative object agreement 135

6. Demonstratives 137
6.1 Introduction 137
6.2 Semantic differences: set one 137
6.3 Semantic differences: set two 138
6.4 Use of the different demonstrative forms 142
6.5 Use of the demonstratives 144
6.5.1 Modifying the head of an NP 144
6.5.2 Substituting for the head of an NP or a PP 147
6.5.3 As demonstratives of manner 147
6.5.4 As temporal modifiers 148
6.6 The use of the demonstratives in discourse tracking 149

7. Verb phrases 151

7.1 Verb phrases 151
7.2 Subject prefixes 152
7.2.1 Irrealis subject prefixes 153
7.3 Subject infix -[um]- 154
7.4 Possessive marking on adjectives 156
7.5 Irregularities in subject marking 157
7.5.1 Omissions 157
7.5.2 Third person supercession 158
7.6 Object suffixes 158
7.6.1 Object suffixes: a second account 160
7.6.2 Object suffixes: a third account 164
7.7 External possession 166
7.8 Object incorporation 167
7.9 Aspect and auxiliaries 170
7.9.1 The perfective -mo 171
7.9.2 The incomplete -ho 173
7.9.3 The emphatic -do 174
7.9.4 Auxiliaries 176
7.10 Adverbs 177

8. Serial verb constructions 181

8.1 Introduction 181
8.2 Non-contiguous serialisation 184
8.2.1 Same-subject 184
8.2.2 Multiple object 186
8.2.3 'Ambient' serialisation: predicates with no arguments 189
8.2.4 Ambient serialisation with no subject agreement 190
8.2.5 Ambient serialisation with subject agreement 191
8.3 Contiguous serialisation 193
8.3.1 Same-subject 193
8.3.2 Same-subject with numeral verbs 196
8.3.3 Switch subject 199
8.3.4 Multiple object 201
8.3.5 Ambient serialisation 202
8.4 Summary of morphosyntactic differences 202
8.5 Serial verbs and other grammatical categories 203

9. Causative morphology 205

9.1 Causative morphology: introduction 205
9.2 Factitive hoko- 208
9.3 Causative pa- 211
9.4 Requestive hepe- 217
9.5 Causatives: combinations 219
9.6 Causatives and ditransitive verbs 220
9.7 Causatives: summary  221

10. Applicative morphology  225
10.1 Applicatives: Introduction  225
10.2 Comitative applicative suffix -ngkene  228
10.3 General applicative suffix -ako  231
10.3.1 Dative applied objects  232
10.3.2 Instrumental applied objects  235
10.3.3 Theme applied objects  237
10.3.4 Cause applied objects  238
10.3.5 Purpose applied objects  239
10.3.6 Summary of -ako  242
10.4 Locative applicative ‘suffix complex’ -(VC)i  242
10.5 Double applicatives  247
10.5.1 Agent second applied objects  248
10.5.2 Dative second applied objects  251
10.5.3 Instrumental second applied objects  256
10.6 Applicatives and ditransitive verbs  258
10.7 Applicatives: summary  260
10.7.1 Basic applicative constructions  260
10.7.2 Double applicative constructions  264
10.8 Combining properties and the question of symmetry or asymmetry  266

11. Other verbal morphology  271
11.1 Valency reducing affixes  271
11.1.1 Durative performance prefix heme-  271
11.1.2 Frequentive prefix me-  272
11.1.3 Reciprocal prefix po-  273
11.2 Passive prefixes  274
11.2.1 General passive to-  274
11.2.2 Accidental passive te-  278
11.2.3 Anticausative mo-  280
11.2.4 Passive summary  281
11.3 Valency-neutral prefixes  281
11.3.1 Intensifier heka-  282
11.3.2 Verbaliser homo-  282
11.3.3 Social activity prefix hopo-  283
11.3.4 Multiple subject prefix pada-  283
11.3.5 Iterative para-  284
11.3.5 Verbaliser/Nominaliser wo-  284
11.4 Valency-announcing prefixes  284
11.4.1 Breaking verbaliser ban-  285
11.4.2 Verbaliser he-  285
11.4.3 Purposeful verbaliser hoN-  287
11.4.4 Occupational prefix pa-  289
11.5 Causative-applicative combinations  290
11.6 Combinations with reciprocals  293
11.6.1 Reciprocals and causatives 293
11.6.2 Reciprocals and external possession 293
11.6.3 Reciprocals and applicatives 295
11.7 Combinations with passives 297
11.8 Reduplication 298
11.9 The position of verbal morphology 301

12. Noun phrases: core and oblique phrases 303

12.1 Noun Phrase structure and the Case Phrase 303
12.2 KPs with an NP headed in the N position 305
12.3 NPs not headed in the N position 309
12.4 Appositional phrases 312
12.5 Names 315
12.6 Nominalising morphology: -'a and -'o 316
12.6.1 Nominaliser -'a 316
12.6.2 Infestation -'o 319
12.7 Structure of the prepositional phrase 320
12.8 Semantic range of the different prepositions 322
12.9 Functions of the oblique phrase 323
12.10 General oblique: oblique article i'di 325
12.11 Individual prepositions 327
12.11.1 Allative preposition kua 327
12.11.2 Ablative preposition mina i 329
12.11.3 Endpoint allative preposition apa 329
12.11.4 Non-local preposition: Instrumental preposition ke, kene 331
12.12 Complex prepositions 332
12.13 Not-quite prepositions: ako, pake and kene 333

13. Possession and possessive constructions 337

13.1 Introduction 337
13.2 Phrasal possession 337
13.2.1 Pronominal possession 337
13.2.2 Genitive article nu 338
13.2.3 Internal structure of a genitive phrase 341
13.2.4 Embedded genitive phrases 345
13.2.5 Possession without an overt article 346
13.2.6 The ‘inalienable’ / plural marker mai 346
13.2.7 Other uses of the possessive construction 347
13.3 Clausal possession 348
13.4 Summary 352

14. Non-verbal and semi-verbal clauses 353

14.1 Introduction 353
14.2 Equative clauses 353
14.2.1 Fronted predicates 354
14.3 Oblique Predicate clauses 355
14.4 Presentative clauses 357
14.5 Numerical clauses 359
14.5.1 Distributive possessive clauses 359
14.6 Comparative clauses 360
14.6.1 Similative clauses 361
14.7 Exclamatory clauses 362
14.8 Existential clauses 362
14.8.1 Ownership 363
14.9 Negative existential clauses 364
14.9.1 Non-ownership 365

15. Relative clauses 367
15.1 Introduction 367
15.2 Aspect and polarity in relative clauses 368
15.3 Multiple relative clauses 370
15.4 Subject relative clauses 372
15.4.1 Passive relative clauses 374
15.4.2 Archaic case marking 375
15.5 Instrumental relative clauses 376
15.6 Object relative clauses 379
15.6.1 Object relative clauses and applicative constructions 381
15.7 Internal relative clauses 385
15.8 Non-verbal modification: relative phrases 387

16. Complementation 389
16.1 Types of complementation in Tukang Besi 389
16.2 Types of complement-taking predicates 390
16.3 Complementisers 393
16.4 Verbs of desire 394
16.4.1 hada 396
16.4.2 nde'u 397
16.4.3 Nominal: gau, hempo, hada 398
16.5 Verbs of mental perception 399
16.5.1 Verbal - verbal 400
16.5.2 Verbal - nominal 400
16.5.3 Nominal - verbal 401
16.6 Verbs of decision 401
16.7 Physical perception complements 402
16.7.1 NP complements versus verbal complements 403
16.7.2 Perception complements with kua 403
16.8 Verbs of manipulation 404
16.8.1 Manipulative verbs with complementisers 405
16.9 Discourse complements 406

17. Adverbials 409
17.1 Adverbial clauses 409
17.2 Clauses of reason 409
17.2.1 Verbal purposive clause with ako 409
17.2.2 Discourse connectives indicating purpose 410
17.2.3 Locative + nominalisation 411
17.2.4 ako te + nominalisation 411
17.3 Adverbial clauses of time 411
17.3.1 Morphological: sa- 411
17.3.2 Morphological: paka- 413
17.3.3 Time expressions in bare NPs 413
17.3.4 Time expressions with the oblique article i 414
17.3.5 Time expressions with the preposition mina 415
17.4 Conditional ara, karo 415
17.5 Concessional bisa 416
17.6 Possessed floaters: karama- and pe'esa- 416
17.6.1 ‘self’ karama- reflexive 417
17.6.2 ‘own’ pe'esa- 419

18. Conjoining 421
18.1 Levels of coordination 421
18.2 Clauses joined without a conjunction 425
18.3 Clauses joined with a conjunction 426
18.3.1 Alternative tawa 426
18.3.2 Simultaneous kene 426
18.3.3 Sequential maka 427
18.3.4 Free conjunctions po'oli, pasi, ahiri 427
18.3.5 Contrasting toka, tabeda 428
18.3.6 Surprising io, padahal 429
18.3.7 Concluding jari 430
18.3.8 Clarificatory 430
18.4 Conjoined Vs 431
18.5 Conjoining NPs 432
18.5.1 [A], [O] and Instrument 437
18.6 ‘Floating’ conjuncts 439
18.6.1 Prepositions or floated conjuncts? 441
18.7 Reciprocal constructions 444

19. Speech acts 447
19.1 Speech acts: introduction 447
19.2 Negation 448
19.3 Interrogatives, questions and answers 449
19.3.1 Declarative questions 449
19.3.2 Yes-no questions 450
19.3.3 Content questions 451
19.4 Imperative verb forms and commands 452
19.4.1 Prohibitives 454
19.4.2 Use of pronouns 454
19.4.3 Modifying the imperative 454
19.5 Imprecatives and insulting 455
19.6 Suggestions and hortatives 456
19.7 Summonses and vocatives 457
19.8 Requests and performatives 457
19.8.1 Permission giving 458
19.9 Exclamatory sentences and surprise 458
19.10 Sentence-final particles 459

20. Pivots and grammatical relations 461
20.1 Introduction: kinds of pivots 461
20.2 Pivots in Tukang Besi 462
20.3 [S,A] and [O] pivots 463
20.3.1 Pronominal indexing on the verb 463
20.3.2 Object incorporation 465
20.3.3 Unspecified object deletion 465
20.3.4 Input to passives 466
20.3.5 External relative clauses 467
20.3.6 Complements and control: deletion and coreference 468
20.3.7 Article adoption 469
20.4 Nominative pivots 469
20.4.1 Floating quantifiers 470
20.4.2 Coreferential deletion in coordinate clauses 470
20.5 Nominative pivots with [S,O] constraint 472
20.5.1 Internal relative clause 472
20.5.2 Temporal clause 472
20.6 Nominative pivot with [Theme/Patient] constraint 473
20.6.1 External possession 473
20.7 Non-nominative pivot 474
20.7.1 Floating adverbs 474
20.8 [S,O] pivot 474
20.8.1 Reference of a floated conjuncts 474
20.9 Agent pivots 475
20.9.1 Addressee of imperatives 475
20.10 Instrumental pivots 476
20.10.1 Object suffixes 476
20.10.2 Instrumental relative clauses 476
20.10.3 The by-phrase in passive constructions 478
20.11 Mixed pivot: existential clauses 478
20.12 Pivotless constructions 479
20.12.1 Weather verbs 479
20.12.2 Exclamatory clauses 480
20.13 Grammatical categories 480
20.13.1 The category [A] 482
20.13.2 The category [S] 482
20.13.3 The category [O] 485
20.13.4 Nominative 487
20.13.5 Non-nominative 489
20.14 Summary 489
Appendix: Texts

1. Wa Iambo 491
2. Pada 503
3. Wa Sabusaburengki 505
4. Tukang Besi 511
5. La Kohokoho kene La Kandokendoke (The Heron and the Monkey) 516
6. La Kolokolopua ke La Kandokendoke (The Tortoise and the Monkey) 521
7. Te Daoa (The Market) 530

Wordlist 533

Notes 555

References 557

Index 573