10 *One item, many faces: 'come' in Teiwa and Kaera*

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1 Introduction

This chapter describes the many faces of the item *ma* 'come' in Teiwa (T) and Kaera (K), two non-Austronesian languages spoken on Pantar island.[1] We will see that *ma* functions as a deictic verb, as a change-of-state verb, marker of intentions or future tense, as a marker of hortatives and imperatives, as a conjunction that indicates that time has elapsed between subsequent events, and as an oblique marker that introduces secondary objects into the clause.

It will be argued that all these synchronic functions of *ma* are manifestations of one and the same lexical item. In the analysis of the various functions of *ma*, I distinguish between firstly, the level of lexical semantics; and secondly, the level of contextualised meanings, or pragmatics. At the level of lexical semantics, *ma* is analysed as a predicate with a single, semantically unspecified argument. Following general insights on the semantics of deictic verbs, I will argue that the lexical meaning of *ma* is actually not 'come', but rather something like 'move towards deictic centre'. At the lexical semantic level, *ma* consists of two basic semantic components: a motion, and a deictic component (cf. Talmy 1985, Wilkins and Hill 1995). The deictic component contains information on the motion's 'path' (towards/from) and its 'ground' (deictic centre).

We will see that the variable functions of *ma* mentioned above are all contextualised meanings that depend on the grammatical context for *ma*. They can be divided into three broad types, depending on the grammatical context of *ma* and the animacy value of its argument. The first type is found when *ma* is used as an independent predicate of a clause.

In such contexts, it is interpreted as a deictic verb when the argument is animate, and as a change-of-state verb when the argument is inanimate. However, as soon as it occurs in serial verb constructions (SVCs) *ma* is found in other functions. One class of such functions is when *ma* has an **animate** argument and occurs in an SVC: it is then interpreted as a tense/mood marker, or as a conjunction. When *ma* has an **inanimate** argument and occurs in an SVC, however, *ma* has another type of functions altogether: it now marks secondary objects as obliques. Semantically, these obliques are varied, and include locations, instruments, and displaced themes. Their interpretation depends on the semantics of the major verb in the SVC.

In general, I will argue that although *ma* has many different faces, we are dealing with one and the same 'animal' all the time. The many faces of this animal reflect how its interpretation can shift when its grammatical context changes. The following two contextual factors will be identified as crucial in the shifting interpretations of *ma*. Firstly, the animacy value of its argument, and secondly, the fact whether or not *ma* appears in an SVC, that is is followed by a major verb. In addition, Teiwa and Kaera also have certain particular grammatical characteristics which enable the reinterpretation of *ma*. (See §3.2 and §3.3).

The structure of this chapter is as follows. To understand the grammatical factors involved in the interpretations of *ma*, §2 presents an overview of the grammar of Teiwa and Kaera. After discussing clausal structure (§2.1), I describe how primary objects (§2.2) and secondary objects (§2.3) are encoded and introduce the deictic verbs and serial verb constructions (§2.4). Readers who prefer to move straight to the core of the chapter can just refer to §2.5 which contains a summary of the relevant grammatical observations.

In §3 the various functions of the item *ma* are described and analysed. First it is proposed how the lexical semantics of *ma* may be represented, and how they are to be distinguished from its contextualised meanings (§3.1). Then the various functions of *ma* in relation to the animacy of its argument are discussed: when the argument is animate (§3.2), and when it is inanimate (§3.3). In both cases, I suggest an analysis where the lexical semantics of *ma* are reinterpreted under influence of its structural context. Section 4 sums up the conclusions.

2   Grammatical overview of Teiwa and Kaera

2.1   Clausal structure

Teiwa (T) and Kaera (K) are two closely related non-Austronesian languages, spoken on Pantar island, which is located just north of Timor island, in Eastern Indonesia. Teiwa is spoken in the north-west of Pantar by approximately 4,000 speakers, Kaera is spoken on the eastern coast by approximately 10,000 speakers. The Teiwa data were collected on site between 2003 and 2007, and the Kaera data come from research with a native speaker residing in the Netherlands in 2005 to 2006. At the time of writing, the Teiwa corpus contained approximately 1200 records of utterances, and the Kaera corpus about 400 records. A reference grammar of Teiwa is Klamer (2010).

Both languages have clause-final verbs, final conjunctions and final negations. Subjects and objects are preverbal. Both languages make extensive use of serial verb constructions. Nominal predicates do not occur with copulas. Neither Teiwa nor Kaera distinguish

between finite/non-finite verb forms, and tense and aspect are not grammatically marked.[2] These grammatical features are illustrated for Teiwa in the utterance in (1) and for Kaera in the utterance in (2). Example (1a) illustrates a subject with an intransitive verb, (1b) a verb with a subject and a patient marked as an oblique and a final conjunction, (1c) a serial verb construction (SVC) consisting of an intransitive and a transitive verb with a shared subject and a final conjunction and (1d) a negated nominal predicate.[3]

(1)   a. *Karian   pati   sin   amidan   a   wa*
            work   PROG   first   what   3s   say
            '[She] is just working, what..., she thinks

        b. *haliwai   la   ga-ti'*[4]   *ma   sii-n   ba*
            black.ant TOP   3s-bottom   OBL   bite-RLS   SEQ
            (it's) black ants that bite in her bum so

        c. *a   tup-an   ga-nuan   kiqax   si   maan,*
            3s   get.up-RLS   3s-cloth shake.out   SIM   NEG
            she gets up, shakes out her sarong and no,

        d. *haliwai   dan   axa'a   maan*
            black.ant   part   this.one   NEG
            these are not black ants.'   [Teiwa]

Example (2a) contains an SVC with four verbs sharing one subject, the first three intransitive, the last one transitive, followed by a final conjunction. Example (2b) illustrates a transitive verb with a subject and object constituent and a final negation.

(2)   a. *Gang   wa-t   urung   mid   ui   gu   lal-i   asi*
            3s   go-MOD   look.up   ascend   person   that   see-MOD   but
            'He looks up to watch the other person climb up,

        b. *ui   gu   gang   lal-i   bino.*
            person   that   s/he   see-MOD   NEG
            but that person does not see him.'   [Kaera]

The following examples are two Teiwa clauses with adverbs for time and manner, followed by three Kaera clauses. Time and manner adverbs occur as topicalised

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[2] Teiwa verbs may be inflected for realis, taking a suffix glossed as 'RLS' (see Klamer, 2010, for a description of the 'realis state' marking functions of this suffix, as well as its discourse functions. Kaera verbs can take inflectional suffixes which are provisionally glossed here as Modality 'MOD' suffixes.

[3] The translations of the examples use present tense, unless the context indicates otherwise, though tense is not specified in Teiwa and Kaera. Orthographical conventions Teiwa: <q> represents a uvular stop, <x> a pharyngeal fricative /ħ/, and <'> a glottal stop. In Kaera, *x* represents a uvular fricative /x/ and <'> a glottal stop.

[4] Possessor prefixes and object marking prefixes are homophonous in Teiwa, in Kaera, prefixes marking alienable possessors and object prefixes are identical. Similarity of object and possessor prefixes is found in all the languages of Alor and Pantar; Klamer and Kratochvíl (2006) discuss this for Teiwa and Abui.

constituents, as in (3), or precede the object and verb as in (4) to (7); they never occur in a clause-final position.

(3)   *Iliar   ga'an[5] u   a   mulai[6] gi te-tei   wraak*
       daybreak 3s   DIST 3s begin   go RDP-wood search
       'That daybreak he begins to search for wood.' [Teiwa]

(4)   *Iman kal-kalan   wa   ma   palan   si, ...*
       they RDP-slowly go   come inspect SIM
       'They slowly came to inspect and...' [Teiwa]

(5)   *Ui   umux   gang miaag   la   ma*
       person woman 3s   yesterday FOC come
       'That woman came yesterday' [Kaera]

(6)   *Ging kali-kali   tei   baxi   gu   wang ekeng...*
       3p   RDP-slowly wood branch that be.at climb
       'Slowly they climb on that tree branch...' [Kaera]

(7)   *Ilwang gang user-user   bir   bleling   g-om*
       Ilwang 3s   RDP-quickly run   outside   3s-inside

       mi   eser-it,...
       OBL   exit-MOD
       'Ilwang quickly runs outside...' (lit. '...runs exiting to outside's inside') [Kaera]

Note that sentences (6) and (7) also contain a location. In (7) it is expressed as an oblique constituent marked *mi*. (More examples of oblique constituents are discussed in §3.3.) Obliques always precede the verb, just like time and manner adjuncts. In (6), the location is encoded as the object of the transitive locative verb *wang* 'be at/with/near X'. Both Teiwa and Kaera have several such verbs; additional examples are Teiwa *me'* and Kaera *ming* 'be at location X' (cf. §3.3). In (8) and (9) these verbs are illustrated with the location *hafan/abang* 'village' as primary object:

(8)   *Uy   ga'an hafan   me'-an   ba   aria'.*
       person 3s   village be.at-RLS SEQ arrive
       'That person arrives from the village' (lit. '...is at the village then arrives')
       [Teiwa]

(9)   *Ui   gu   abang   ming la   da.*
       person that village be.at CONJ ascend
       'That person comes up here from the village' (lit. '...is at the village then comes up here') [Kaera]

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5 The third person object pronoun *ga'an* has a secondary function as demonstrative pronoun. In adnominal function it marks a known/previously introduced entity.

6 From Indonesian/Malay *mulai* 'begin'.

2.2   The encoding of core objects

In order to compare the object marking patterns of Teiwa and Kaera, I analysed 54 transitive constructions in Teiwa, and 49 in Kaera.   In both languages, transitives can have maximally one object. There are two transitive verb classes: one class indexes the object with an object marking prefix, the other class expresses the object as a separate nominal constituent and does not allow it to be marked with a prefix. Verbs taking prefixes are illustrated in (10); verbs not taking prefixes are given in (11).[7]

The verbs with object marking prefixes in (10) proto-typically[8] have animate objects. Note that 'someone' refers to animates (people and animals), in contrast to 'something'.

(10)   Some verbs with object-marking prefixes

	Teiwa		**Kaera**	
	sas	'feed someone'	*as*	'feed someone'
	rian	'look after someone'	*rian*	'look after someone'
	wei	'bathe'	*wei*	'bathe'
	pak	'call someone'	*pek*	'call someone'
	tiar/tir	'chase someone'	*ter*	'chase someone'
	lal	'show to someone'	*taring*	'show to someone'
	soi	'order someone'	*iling*	'order someone'
	ayas	'throw at someone'	*od*	'throw at someone'
	an	'give someone'	*eng*	'give someone'

The verbs that do not take object prefixes are given in (11) and these proto-typically have inanimate objects. In Teiwa, the absence of an object prefix correlates strongly with the inanimate character of the object referent. I investigated 32 transitive verbs that occurred without an object prefix, for 28 of these the object was inanimate (an entity or a place). In Kaera, however, the verbs of the prefixless class can generally take both types of objects.

(11)   Some verbs without P-marking prefixes

	Teiwa		**Kaera**	
	na	'eat something'	*na*	'eat something'
	pai	'cut something in many small pieces'	*pay*	'cut someting/someone'
	ol	'buy something'	*wal*	'buy something/someone'
	qas	'split something'	*xas*	'split something'
	kiri	'pull something'	*ker*	'pull something/someone'
	mat	'take something'	*met*	'take s.th (marry someone)'
	bali	'see something'	*lal*	'see something/someone'

Comparing the verbs in (10) and (11), we find a correlation between the semantics of the verbs and their object marking properties: the prefixing verbs in (10) denote events that

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7   Of the 49 verbs investigated for Kaera, 28 belong to the first group, 20 to the second group, and one is unclear. Of the 54 verbs investigated for Teiwa 18 belong to the first group, 32 to the second group, and for four verbs the group is unclear.

8   In Teiwa, 3 out of 19 verbs with an object prefix can also have an inanimate object, in Kaera 2 out of 25.

proto-typically involve an animate object (a benefactive/recipient/goal); while the prefixless verbs in (11) express events that typically involve an inanimate object (a patient/theme).

In sum, despite some differences in detail, the following characterisations of Teiwa and Kaera object marking patterns apply: firstly, prefixes on transitive verbs crossreference animate objects, and secondly, inanimate objects are encoded by independent nominal constituents. Illustrations are given in (12) and (13). In (12a-b), the animate object of 'feed' is marked with a verbal prefix, in (13a-b), the inanimate object of 'eat' is expressed as an independent constituent.

(12)   a.   *Na   bif   ga-sas*
               I   child   3s-feed
               'I feed the child' [Teiwa]

        b.   *Uxai   gu   gi-as-o.*
               child   that   3p-feed-RLS
               'That child feeds them' [Kaera]

(13)   a.   *Uy   ga'an   qar   na*
               person   3s   rice   eat
               'That person eats rice' [Teiwa]

        b.   *Gang   naxar   na*
               3s   rice   eat
               'S/he eats rice' [Kaera]

This is the general pattern of object encoding in Teiwa and Kaera. There are a few verbs that show exceptional behaviour, however, which are mentioned here for the sake of completeness. For example, Teiwa *mar* 'take' belongs to both class (10) and class (11): in (14a) it has an inanimate, free object, in (14b) an animate, prefixed one. The interpretation of *mar* changes with the animacy of the object.

(14)   a.   *Na   ga'an   mar*
               1s   3s   take
               'I take/get it' [Teiwa]

        b.   *Na   ga-mar*
               I   3s-take
               'I follow him/her' [Teiwa]

Further, Teiwa also has a few verbs that cross-reference their object both when it is animate and when it is inanimate. In such cases the animacy distinction is marked by the shape of the prefix: inanimate objects are marked with the prefix that normally marks animate objects, animate objects are marked with a prefix ending in a glottal stop. Examples are *ga-* [ga] vs. *ga'-* [gaʔ] in (15).

(15) *wulul*   'speak, talk, tell'
     ga-   *wulul*   'talk about it, tell it'
     ga'-   *wulul*   'talk with/tell him/her'
     wultag   'talk'
     ga-   *wultag*[9]   'talk about it'
     ga'-   *wultag*   'talk to/about him/her, tell him/her'

Apart from these exceptional cases, the overall system of Teiwa and Kaera is that animate objects are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes and that inanimate objects are expressed as free constituents.[10] Asymmetrical object marking patterns like these are in line with cross-linguistic observations on how animacy can affect agreement patterns (see Comrie 1989, Croft 2003, Siewierska 2004 for discussion and exemplification).[11] As agreement is sensitive to the discourse prominence of arguments, and as animate objects have more discourse prominence than inanimate ones, animate participants are more eligible to be indexed on the verb.

2.3   The oblique marking of themes

Having considered the encoding of the objects of two-place predicates, let us briefly consider how Teiwa and Kaera express events with three participants (agent, patient/theme, benefactive/recipient).   As mentioned above, Teiwa and Kaera lack ditransitive verbs (see also Klamer, forthcoming a). Both languages distinguish between core and oblique arguments: a core object is expressed as the single object of a monotransitive verb (semantically a patient or a recipient/benefactive), while an additional argument, semantically a displaced theme, is introduced with an oblique marker. Transitive verbs with a benefactive/recipient core object cross-reference this object on the verb. As mono-valent verbs, they cannot have an additional 'displaced theme' (or 'object of transfer') as core object. Therefore, such displaced themes are either not expressed, as in (16), or they are introduced by a separate predicate as in (17), or they are marked as an oblique argument. Examples of themes introduced by a verb are given in (17) and (18). Themes introduced as oblique arguments are illustrated in (19) and (20). In Teiwa the oblique maker is *ma*, in Kaera it is *mi*.

(16) *Na   ha-mian*
     1s   2s-put.at
     'I give (something) to you.' [Teiwa]

(17) *Na   meet   mar-an   ha-mian*
     1s   betelvine   take-RLS   2s-put.at
     'I give you some betelvine' [Teiwa]

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[9] This verb is usually pronounced in an abbreviated form, as [*g-ultag*].

[10] This is not unusual in Papuan languages. Examples of Trans New Guinea languages with animate object marking are Usan (Reesink 1987:108–109) and Nggem (Etherington 2002). Furthermore, in all the examples of verbal object agreement in Papuan languages presented by Foley (2000:378–379) the object affixes have animate referents.

[11] Differential encoding of animate and inanimate objects is part of a broader pattern also known as 'differential object marking', see Aissen (2003), Malchukov (2008), among others.

(18)   *Gang   ge-topi   gu   met,   a*
      s/he   3s-hat   that   take   CONJ
      'He takes that hat of his,

      xabi   mampelei   utug   met   mi   kunang   masik   namung   gu   gi-eng
      then   mango   three   take   OBL   children   male   many   that   3p-give
      then takes three mangoes to give to those boys. [Kaera]

(19)   *Uy   ga'an   u   sen[12]   ma   n-oma'   g-an*
      person   3s   DIST   money   OBL   1s-father   3s-give
      'That person gave money to my father.' [Teiwa]

(20)   *Ui   gu   gang   doi   mi   na-mam   g-eng.*
      person   that   3s   money   OBL   1s-father   3s-give
      'That person gave money to my father.' [Kaera]

In §3.3 below, we shall consider the oblique constituents marked with *ma/mi* in more detail. Not only do *ma/mi* mark displaced themes as obliques, but also locations and instruments.

2.4   Deictic verbs and serial verb constructions

The Teiwa verb that is the topic of this chapter, *ma*, belongs to a class of deictic motion verbs. Examples of such verbs are given in the (non-exhaustive) list in (21).

(21)   Some deictic verbs in Teiwa and Kaera

Teiwa	**Kaera**	
ma	*ma-*	come (towards deictic centre)
gi	*gi-*	go (from deictic centre)[13]
daa	*da-*	ascend (towards deictic centre)
mir	*mid*	ascend (from deictic centre)
yaa	*ya*	descend (towards deictic centre)
yix	*ip*	descend (from deictic centre)
wa	*wa-*	go (from deictic centre; not far)

Talmy (1985) understands a 'motion' scene to constitute of a 'figure' in 'motion' along a 'path' oriented towards one or more 'grounds'. The 'figure' is expressed as the argument of the deictic verb. The deictic verb itself can be analysed into two basic components: a motion component, and a deictic component. As the translations of the verbs in (21) suggest, the deictic component of the verbs in Teiwa and Kaera contains information on the 'path' (towards/from), and the 'ground' (deictic centre) of the motion (cf. Wilkins and Hill 1995:249). In §3.1 below, I will come back to the semantic components of the deictic verb *ma*.

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[12]   Teiwa *sen* and Kaera *doi* (cf. the following example) are loans from Malay (< Dutch *cent* 'cent', *duit* 'coin').

[13]   Probably from Indonesian *pergi/* Malay *pigi,* see below.

The origin of *ma* is unclear. Apparent cognates of it are found in both the non-Austronesian and the Austronesian languages spoken in the area. Some examples are listed in (22). The reconstructed Austronesian (Proto Malayo-Polynesian) form for 'to come' is **maRi*. It is thus possible that the verb *ma/man/mai* in the non-Austronesian languages of Alor-Pantar-Timor has an Austronesian origin, but the formal similarity may also be accidental. There is no evidence that *ma* is related to proto Austronesian **ma* 'and' (cf. fn 16).

(22)   Possible cognates of *ma*
          a. In neighbouring non-Austronesian languages
             West Pantar (Lamma): *ma* 'come' (Gary Holton, p.c. 2006)
             Adang: *ma* 'come (from a short distance)' (Haan 2001: 248)
             Klon**:** *ma* 'come' (Baird 2008)
             Abui: *me* 'come' (Kratochvíl 2007)
             Kafoa: *mai* 'come', Hamap: *ma* 'come' (Baird 2003)
             Bunaq (Timor): *man* 'come' (Klamer 2002)

          b. In neighbouring Austronesian languages
             Alorese (Alor) *mene* 'come (here)' (Klamer, forthcoming b)
             Tetun Terik (C Timor) *mai* 'come' (Van Klinken 1999:262)
             Mambai (E Timor) *ma,* Tokodede (E Timor) *mai* (Klamer 2002)
             Kemak (E Timor) *mai,* Lakalei (E Timor) *man* (Klamer 2002)
             Idate (E Timor) *ma* (Klamer 2002)

Deictic verbs like *ma* often occur in serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions are here defined (pre-theoretically) as two or more separate verbs occurring in a single intonation contour, which share their subject and/or their object, and are within the scope of a single negation and/or coordinating conjunction, if such an item is present.[14] One of the ways to classify serial verb constructions is their composition along a continuum of 'symmetrical' and 'asymmetrical' combinations of verbs (Aikhenvald 2006). Symmetrical serial verb constructions consists of two or more verbs from semantically and grammatically unrestricted classes (so-called 'major' verbs). Asymmetrical serial verb constructions include at least one verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class (a 'minor' verb). The deictic verbs in Teiwa and Kaera are typically the minor verbs in asymmetrical serial verb constructions.

2.5   Grammatical overview: summary

We have seen that Teiwa and Kaera are head-final, with final verbs, final negations and final (coordinating) conjunctions. Lacking syntactically subordinated clauses, Teiwa and Kaera make extensive use of serial verb constructions. Subjects and objects occur pre-verbally, as do time and manner adjuncts. Locations are expressed in two ways: as obliques or as object of transitive location verbs. In both cases, they are pre-verbal.

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[14] Serial verbs are notoriously difficult to define, see Crowley (2002:8–19). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to present a full analysis of serialisation patterns in Teiwa and Kaera. See Klamer (2010) for additional information on Teiwa serial verb constructions.

Teiwa and Kaera lack ditransitive verbs. A core argument is expressed as the single object of a (mono)transitive verb, and is semantically a recipient/benefactive or a patient. Oblique arguments are marked with *ma/mi*, and have a variety of semantic functions (cf. §3.2 for details). Teiwa and Kaera have a grammatically asymmetrical system where only animate objects are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes. Inanimate objects are expressed as independent constituents.

The Teiwa verb that is the topic of this chapter, the deictic verb *ma,* belongs to a set of deictic verbs whose lexical semantics are formally analysable into two elements: a motion component, and a deictic component. Deictic verbs like *ma* can occur as independent verbs and in asymmetrical serial verb constructions. In the second context, they are always the minor verb.

3   The item *ma*

3.1   Lexical semantics versus contextualised meanings of *ma*

I analyse *ma* using a representational model of lexical semantic representation in which meanings of verbs are decomposed into more basic elements. Current theories of predicate decomposition usually have one or more primitive predicates that represent the meaning of the verb and act as argument-taking functions (see Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005 for an overview). In such models, the number of argument positions associated with predicates may vary from one to three: arguments may be hierarchically organised (for example, as internal vs. external argument), and have different syntatic categories and/or different semantic features.

Analysis of *ma* assumes that *ma* is a one-place verb, and that the semantics of its single argument are left unspecified. In the analysis below I distinguish between:

(i)   a level that is concerned with the stored communicable information associated with conventional signs, often referred to as lexical semantics; and

(ii)   another level which is concerned with the final interpretation of utterances and their parts in particular contexts, also referred to as contextualised meanings or pragmatics (cf. Wilkins and Hill 1995 and the references cited there).

Under this view, it is possible to characterise a lexical item in lexical semantic terms independently of other lexical items. But its functions and the way it is pragmatically interpreted, that is, its contextualised meaning, depend on the grammatical context of the item, and may therefore be variable.

The distinction between the lexical semantics and the contextualised meanings of *ma* will become relevant in the sections below, when the various kinds of synchronic functions that *ma* has developed are discussed. My hypothesis is that all of the grammaticalised functions of *ma* are derived from is conceptual sturucture as the deictic verb *ma*. In the present section, I propose a lexical conceptual representation of *ma,* and I will explain how its various synchronic functions relate to its lexical conceptual structure in §3.2 and 3.3.

As mentioned above, the verb *ma* can be used as an independent verb, or as part of a serial verb construction. When it is used as an independent verb, that is, as the single verb of a clause, it expresses a motion and an orientation towards the deictic centre. The deictic centre (often pragmatically designated to be the speaker) is the understood endpoint of the motion. This use of *ma* is illustrated in (23) and (24).

(23)   *Ha'an   la   ma   le   na'an   la   wa?*
      2s   FOC   come   or   1s   FOC   go
      'Are you coming (to me) or am I going (to you)?' [Teiwa]

(24)   *Ui   gu   gang   miaag   la   ma*
      person that 3s   yesterday FOC   come
      'That person came (here) yesterday.' [Kaera]

The lexical semantic components of *ma* can be represented schematically as in (25).

(25)   *ma:*   <x>   MOVE   [DEICTIC CENTRE (Goal; Endpoint)]

    Ma expresses a motion of <x> with the deictic centre as destination or 'goal'; and since the motion ends there, the deictic centre is also the endpoint of it (see Wilkins and Hill 1995 for exemplification of this distinction). As an intransitive verb, *ma* takes a single argument <x>. As mentioned above, I assume that the semantics of this argument are unspecified, that is, the lexical conceptual representation of *ma* does not contain any specification(s) of the semantic role of this argument (as agent, patient, location, instrument, etc.). Instead, I assume that the argument's semantic interpretation is contextually determined.
    Because the MOVE component of *ma* forces the figure to be canonically interpreted as a moving entity, a proto-typical argument of *ma* is aminate, as illustrated in (23) and (24), but the argument is not lexically specified as animate. Observe that *ma* can also occur with an inanimate argument as in (26), where the referent of *a'an* is a sword:

(26)   *...palan qas   maan,   a'an   **ma**   mosan*
      split.bamboo NEG,   3s   come   sword
      '...it wasn't a bamboo, it had become a sword.' [Teiwa]

    In grammatical contexts like (26), the argument of *ma* is inanimate, and the nominal predicate *mosan* 'sword' is the deictic centre ('goal' and 'endpoint'). As a result, MOVE must be reinterpreted as a change of state predicate, whereby an inanimate figure (metaphorically) moves towards a certain state.

(27)   *ma:*   <inanimate>   MOVE   [DEICTIC CENTRE = *nominal predicate state,*
                                                                for example 'sword']

    The reinterpretation of motion verbs into predicates marking change-of-state is cross-linguistically widely attested (cf. English 'come' > 'become'). For *ma* such a reinterpretation does not involve a change in the lexical semantics of *ma,* but is entirely determined by its grammatical context. When *ma* combines with an inanimate, non-moving argument and with a stative nominal predicate, there is no way that MOVE could ever be interpreted as expressing a physical motion, and the closest interpretation that remains available in this type of context is to view *ma* as a change-of-state predicate.
    To conclude, *ma* can occur with an animate and inanimate argument, and the animacy value of the argument is one of the contextual factors that determines its interpretation as either a deictic verb or as a change-of-state predicate.

In the following sections, the various grammaticalised functions of *ma* will be discussed. We will see more evidence that the animacy value of its argument and the grammatical context in which the verb appears determine its interpretation.

In Teiwa, *ma* functions as a grammatical tense/mood marker ('venitive', intentions, hortatives, imperatives) and as a conjunction (§3.1), while it is also used as a marker of oblique arguments (§3.2). The former type of function is seen when *ma* has an animate argument, the latter when it has an inanimate argument. In Kaera, which also has a verb *ma*, the verb only developed functions as a tense/mood marker and conjunction. The oblique marking function was probably blocked for Kaera because of the pre-existence of the oblique marker *mi*.

3.2   *Ma* **as marker of movement in time**

When *ma* occurs with an animate argument in a serial verb construction, it can be used to mark events that will take place in the future. This is illustrated in (28) and (29). Example (30) shows that *ma* can also be used to express intentions.

(28)   a. *Ha   ma   nili   pat-an*
                2s   come   debt   pay.back-RLS
                'You will pay back the debt.'

      Cf. b. *Ha nili   pat-an*   [Teiwa]
                2s debt   pay.back-RLS
                'You pay back the debt.'

(29)   a. *Na   la   ma   lal-o.*
                1s   TOP   come   look-MOD
                'I will be the one who looks.'

      Cf. b. *Na   la   lal-o.*   [Kaera]
                1s   TOP   look-MOD
                'I am the one who looks.'

(30)   a. *Na   ma   walas?*
                1s   come   talk
                'Shall I tell [the secret]?'

      Cf. b. *Na   walas?*   [Teiwa]
                1s   talk
                'Do I talk? (*Shall I tell?)'

In contexts with an animate argument, *ma* still functions to express a motion, but now the movement may be interpreted as a movement in time; the figure is moving towards a temporal endpoint rather than a physical one. Such a temporal interpretation of *ma* is possible, because the meaning component MOVE in itself does not say anything about the dimension in which the movement takes place. When the grammatical context is such that the component DEICTIC CENTRE is the event depicted by the (major) verb (phrase), clearly

the endpoint of the 'movement' is a point in time when that particular event takes place. This is the function of *ma* in (28) to (30). In (31) and (32) below, *ma* functions to mark an imperative and a hortative clause. In these contexts, the verb is interpreted even more broadly as a movement towards a situation that takes place in the future.

(31)   a. *Ma   na-walas.*   b. **Na-walas!*   [Teiwa]
            come   1s-talk   1s-talk
            'Talk with me!'   (Not good for: 'Talk with me!')

(32)   *'Ah Liwang! Ma   ping wat igang mo   mi   rap-o.'*
          Oh Liwang   come 1pi go   place overthere OBL search-MOD
          'Oh Liwang! Let's go search over there.' [Kaera]

Note that I have glossed *ma* in (28) to (32) as 'come', to indicate that it is the same item as the one used in (23) and (24). The argument of *ma* is animate, and is thus moving, in space and/or in time. The only difference I see between the function of *ma* in (23) and (24) on the one hand, and in (28) to (32) on the other, that in the former, *ma* is an independent verb, while in the latter set of examples, it is part of a serial verb construction and shares its argument with another verb. This other verb is the major one of the serial verb construction, and is semantically the more important one of the two. In other words, (28) to (32) are about arriving at a **situation** of paying back debt/looking/talking/going, rather than about arriving at a literal geographical **location.** The more abstract temporal interpretation of *ma* is also witnessed when it is interpreted to mark a time lapse between events. Consider (33): both (33b) and (33c) are possible sequences to (33a), but in (33b) *ma* functions as a conjunction and in (33c) it does not.

(33)   a. *...qavif ga'an   hala   ta   ga-finan,*
            goat   3s   others TOP   3s-catch,

            qavif ga'an bir-an   kuat maan ba
            goat   3s   run-RLS   strong NEG   SEQ
            '... that goat was caught by them, the goat couldn't run fast, so

    b. *hala   ta   gi   er-an   gula' **ma**   harabax ma*[15] *gad.*
        people TOP go do-RLS finish come stable   come put
        people went to get [it] <u>then</u> put [it] in a stable'. [Teiwa]

    c. *hala   ta   gi   er-an   gula' harabax **ma**   gad.*
        people TOP go do-RLS finish stable   come put
        people went to do [that] put [it] in a stable.' [Teiwa]

In the sentence in (33b), two events are expressed: *<people went to do (that)>* and *<(people) put (a goat) in a stable>*. The events are separated by *ma,* which marks a time lapse between the two events ('x then y'). For example, there could have been a time lapse when the people first caught the goat, and then had a smoke before putting it in the stable.

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[15] Here, *ma* functions as an oblique marker to introduce a location as secondary object, see §3.3 for a discussion of this function of *ma.*

By contrast, in (33c) there is no overt marker to indicate that time elapsed between the two events. Note that *ma* in (33b) is grammatically still a verb: it has 'people' as its animate argument, an argument it shares with *gi eran* 'go do', *gula'* 'finish' and *gad* 'put'. Recall that as a head-final language, Teiwa conjunctions are clause final. As *ma* is structurally part of the clause preceding it, it may be reinterpreted to function here as a kind of coordinating conjunction ('then'), linking two separate clauses.[16]

In sum, when *ma* is used in a serial verb construction with an animate argument, it behaves as a verb. It combines with a major verb (phrase), which consitutes the event that is the deictic centre, as sketched in (34):

(34)   *<animate>*   MOVE | DEICTIC CENTRE = event
                                            | (for example, pay debt, talk, look, put in stable)

In such contexts, the goal/endpoint of the movement is the situation when a particular event takes place. That is, when *ma* occurs in a grammatical context which allows its meaning be generalised to a moment in time, it functions to mark intentions, hortatives and imperatives, as well as time lapses between events.

The functions of *ma* discussed in this section are cross-linguistically quite commonly found as grammaticalisations of the verb 'come'. Heine and Kuteva (2002:68–70, 78) mention that 'come' often develops into a 'venitive', comparable to (24) or a 'hortative', comparable to (32) or a 'consecutive', comparable to (33b), and they also mention 'come to' as a common source for future markers, comparable to (29). Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:268–269) present an analysis of motion verbs developing functions as markers of future, intentions, and imperatives in various languages. In the case of *ma*, there is no reason (yet?) to say that synchronically, the verb has developed into a set of different functional items. In the analysis presented here, one and the same lexical item is used in the examples (23) to (32), but the functional interpretation of this item depends on the grammatical context in which it appears.

Pragmatically, *ma* functions as a marker of intentions, hortatives, imperatives, and is similar to a conjunction. However, this type of interpretation is only possible if the argument of *ma* is inanimate and if *ma* is followed by a constituent expressing an event/proposition: a verb, verbal phrase, or a clause. In addition, certain specific grammatical properties of Teiwa and Kaera enable the reanalysis of *ma*. They include:

 (i)   the productiveness of serialisation;

(ii)   the absence of morpho-syntactically marked clause subordination markers and/or a distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms, which enables easy re-interpretation of verb forms into grammatical morphemes;

(iii)   the predominantly 'left-branching' character of Teiwa and Kaera (where branching constituents precede non-branching constituents, see Dryer 1992), so that [NP *ma*] phrases preceding a verb may be reinterpreted as branching PP-like constituents.

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16   The conjoining function of Teiwa and Kaera *ma* is but one of the many contextualised interpretations of the deictic verb *ma*. The question may then be asked if *ma* is related to Proto-Austronesian (PAN) conjunction *ma*. Section 3.1 presents cross-lingustic evidence which suggests that *ma* might be related to the Proto-Austronesia verb **maRi* 'come'. There is no such evidenc to link it with the PAN conjunction **ma* 'and'.

(iv) the absence of inflection markers for (future) tense or irrealis mood, so that the tense/mood interpretation of *ma* does not need to compete with pre-existing morphemes.

In sum, *ma* as a marker of intentions, hortatives, imperatives and time lapses is not an accidental or random process, but interpretation depends on its grammatical context as well as on more general morpho-syntactic and phrase structure properties of Teiwa and Kaera.

3.3   *Ma* as oblique marker

In this section, I consider constructions in which *ma* is used with an inanimate argument. With an inanimate argument, *ma* can function as an oblique marker when it is a minor verb in the serial verb construction. It then marks adjunct-like participants in the clause. In Kaera, such constructions are not found, since Kaera *ma* cannot have an inanimate argument. Instead, Kaera uses the marker *mi* to mark oblique arguments. Teiwa *ma* and Kaera *mi* have very similar functions, as we will see.

The origin of these two oblique markers is quite different. Example (35) presents a hypothetical scenario of how *ma* and *mi* may each be related to a verbal source. On the left, the original item is the intransitive verb *ma* 'come (here)', on the right, the source is the locative verb *me'* (Teiwa) 'be at (location) X' or *ming* (Kaera) 'be at location X'. Given their similar semantics, *me'* and *ming* may be cognates. The direction of grammaticalisation is indicated with arrows; no arrows means that the grammaticalisation of an oblique marker was blocked because such an item already existed.

(35)   Possible diachronic relations between Teiwa *ma*, Kaera *mi*, Teiwa *me'* and Kaera *ming*

Intransitive verb		Oblique		Transitive verb
Teiwa *ma*	→	Teiwa *ma*		Teiwa *me'* 'be at location X'
Kaera *ma*		Kaera *mi*	←	Kaera *ming* 'be at location X'

In other words, the function of Teiwa *ma* as oblique marker must have blocked the development of an oblique from the Teiwa verb *me'*, while the existence of the oblique marker Kaera *mi* must have blocked the development of an oblique from the Kaera verb *ma*. An oblique marker *mi* also occurs in West Pantar (Lamma) (Holton p.c. 2006), and in Klon (Alor) (Baird, this volume), and these languages are also like Kaera in using *ma* as a deictic verb only. Since the oblique marking function of *ma* is not attested in languages closely related to Teiwa, I assume that the original function of Teiwa *ma* is verbal, and its oblique marking is a derived function. It is the oblique marking function of Teiwa *ma* that will be further examined in this section.

Recall that Teiwa and Kaera have no ditransitive verbs, so that when three participants are involved in a single event, the third participant is either intorduced by its own predicate (one of the mechanisms giving rise to serial verb constructions in these languages), or with an oblique marker. When Teiwa *ma* occurs with an inanimate argument, it functions as an oblique marker to introduce various semantic types of participants; locations, instruments as well as displaced themes.

In what follows, I compare Teiwa constructions with *ma* to minimally contrasting Kaera sentences containing *mi*.[17]   In the examples, *ma* and *mi* will both be glossed as 'OBL(ique)' for expository reasons.   It is not necessary to assume that *ma* has actually changed its category (for example from verb to its case marker): the lexical semantics of *ma* remain unchanged, and its various interpretations are derived by its grammatical context.

In (36) and (37) *ma* and *mi* introduce a locational adjunct: the place where the object (a frog) is kept. In both examples, the 3sg prefix on the final verb refers to an animate object, the frog.

(36)   *...bif   g-oqai   nuk   mauqubar   ga-fin-an   gula'   pin   aria'*
child   3s-child   one   frog   3s-catch-RLS   finish   hold   arrive
'a child caught a frog, brought it home,

toples[18]   *g-om   ma   ga-rian*
jar   3s-inside   OBL   3s-look.after
kept it in a jar.' [Teiwa]

(37)   *Ging   gang   toples   nuk   mi   ga-dag*
3p   3s   jar   one   OBL   3s-leave
'They put it in a jar.' [Kaera]

In the following two sentences, *ma* and *mi* also encode locations, in this case it is the place where the subject is standing (38), or hiding (39).

(38)   *...[war   uwaad   nuk   ga-he'en]   ma   tas...*
rock   big   one   3s-close   OBL   stand
'...stands close to a big rock...' (lit. 'stands at the close of a big rock') [Teiwa]

(39)   *Liwang ula   [war   er   gu]   mi ong, gang   gang   lal-i   bino.*
Liwang also   rock   close   that   OBL hide 3s   3s   see-MOD   NEG
'Liwang hides close to that rock [lit. 'at that rock's close'], [but] he did not see him.' [Kaera]

In (40) and (41), the obliques with *mi/ma* introduce the goal of the event of 'falling':

(40)   *... ba'-an   yaa   saf   her   ma   yaa,*
fall-RLS   descend   river.bank   close   OBL   descend

rus   waal   ta   bir-an   gi...
deer   that   TOP   run-RLS   go
'...(after) falling down from the riverbank, that deer ran away...' [Teiwa]

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[17]   Sentences (36) to (43) are narrative data elicited with Mayer's (1969) picture book 'Frog where are you?'. Sentences (45) and (46) are from a set of some twenty sentences of an initial survey which used Indonesian as language of elicitation.

[18]   From Alor Malay *toples* < Dutch *stopfles* 'jar'.

(41)   *Ilwang   mi   Liwang   unang   ir boi   mi   ba*
        Ilwang   OBL   Liwang   be.together   water river   OBL   fall.
        'Liwang fell into the river together with Ilwang.' [Kaera]

In (42) and (43) the semantic role of the participant marked by *ma/mi* is ambiguous. It may be the location/goal or the inanimate patient of 'bite'. If 'bite' has an animate object, it is marked as a core object with a verbal prefix, as shown in (44).

(42)   *...banaq   g-om   bali   wa   katak   ma   palan   si,*
        puddle   3-inside   see   go   frog   come   inspect   SIM
        '...goes to inspect the frogs (in the) puddle

        katak   waal   ta   daa   g-et   bag   ma   sii.
        frog   that   TOP   ascend   3-eye   seed   OBL   bite
        and that frog bites his eyes.' [Teiwa]

(43)   *'Ooh   Liwang! Dur   nuk   n-iming mi   si.*
        Oh   Liwang mouse   one   1s-nose OBL   bite

        Aaach...   iit   yas-o,"
        aaah   hurt   bad-MOD
        'Ooooh Liwang! A mouse bit my nose. Aaah, it hurts so much' [Kaera]

(44)   *Katak   ga-sii.*
        frog   3-bite
        'A frog bites him.' [Teiwa]

In (45) and (46), the constituent marked with *ma/mi* introduces a participant that is the instrument of 'cut':

(45)   *Uy   nuk ped   ma   tei   taxar*
        person one machete   OBL   wood   cut
        'Someone cuts wood with a machete.' [Teiwa]

(46)   *Ui   gu   gang ped   mi   tei   ptak-o   pati*
        person that 3s   machete   OBL   wood   cut-MOD   while
        'That person is cutting wood with a machete.' [Kaera]

Instruments cannot be core objects and must be introduced by *ma*, as shown by the grammaticality contrast between (47a, b).

(47)   a.   *Na   ma   [[tei   bun   ma]   [yivar   g-ua']]*
              I   come   wood   piece   OBL   dog   3s-hit
              'I'll hit the dog with a stick.' [Teiwa]

        b.*   *Na   ma   tei   bun   yivar   g-ua'.*
              I   OBL   wood   piece   dog   3s-hit

Finally, the oblique marker *ma/mi* also marks displaced themes (also referred to as 'objects of transfer'). Verbs like Teiwa *-an* and Kaera *-eng* 'to give to someone' are mono-transitive, with a recipient core object. In (19) and (20) above it was illustrated how objects of transfer are marked as oblique arguments with the markers *ma/mi*. Additional illustrations are (48) and (49). Example (48) contains the verb *mian* 'to give', literally 'to put at someone', a transitive verb with a benefactive/recipient object. The displaced theme must be marked as oblique, as shown in (48b); the recipient cannot be oblique, as shown in (48c).

(48) a. *Na-xala'   yir   ma   bif   ga-mian   hufa'.*
          1s-mother water OBL   child   3s-put.at.s.o. drink
          'My mum gives water to the child to drink.' [Teiwa]

      b. *Naxala'   yir   bif   ga-mian   hufa'.*
          1s-mother water small 3s-put.at.s.o. drink

      c. *Naxala'   yir   bif   ma   ga-mian   hufa'*
          1s-mother water child OBL   3s-put.at.s.o. drink

The sentence in (49) also contains a transitive location verb, but in this case the verb takes an inanimate locational object: *tanat* 'to place/put on something'. The NP ***afat ki'*** 'his big toe' is thus the locational core object, and the thing placed, *tab ga'an* 'that spear', is marked as oblique.

(49) *A   tab   ga'an ma   ga-fat ki'   uwaad tanat   olaxhamar*
      3s spear 3s   OBL   3s-foot toe   big   place.on.s.t. recite.poetry
      'He places [the point of] that spear on his big toe [and] recites poetry.' [Teiwa]

Additional illustrations of Kaera clauses with oblique displaced themes are (50) to (52):

(50) *Gang buku mi   n-eng*
      3s   book OBL   1s-give
      'He gave me a book.' [Kaera]

(51) *Gang naxar mi   n-aso*
      3s   rice   OBL   1s-feed
      'He fed me rice.' [Kaera]

(52) *A   ta   war   upar   ma   ga-ayas*
      3s TOP   rock pebble OBL   3s-throw.at
      'He throws pebbles at him.' [Teiwa]

Note that entities introduced by *ma/mi* are not only displaced themes, but also include themes that are pointed out or shown to someone, as in (53) to (54), as well as themes that are e.g. bought for the benefit of someone, as in (55).

(53)   *Yitar ga-qau   ma   na-lal-an*
         road   3s-good   OBL   1s-show.to-RLS
         '[You] show me the right way.' [Teiwa]

(54)   *Gang foto*[19]   *mi   ne-taring*
         s/he   picture OBL   1s-show
         'He shows me a picture.' [Kaera]

(55)   *Nang semering nuk mi   gang pay-o*
         I   knife   one OBL   3s   buy-MOD
         'I buy him a knife.' [Kaera]

Observe once again that the objects marked by *ma/mi* are all inanimate. How, then, are animate displaced themes marked? For example, how would the theme *the child* in *she gave me the child* be expressed? The answer is, not as an oblique argument, since animate theme objects can only be introduced through a separate serial verb construction, as illustrated in (56) where *pin* 'hold' introduces the displaced theme *biar kriman* 'small children'. (The subject of *pin* 'hold' is *hala* 'others'.)

(56)   a. *Jadi hala   biar   kriman la   pin   aria'   ma   ni-mian...*
            so   others children small   FOC hold arrive come   1p.e-put.at
            'So others brought small children here and gave them to us...'
            (lit. 'So others took small children, arrived, and put [them] at us.') [Teiwa]

       b. *Jadi hala   biar   kriman ma   ni-mian...*
            so   others children small   come   1p.e-put.at

The displaced theme is the core object of the verb *pin,* and cannot be marked as oblique with *ma.* The subject *hala* is shared by all the verbs in the serial verb construction, including the pre-final verb *ma* (since this *ma* has an animate argument, it functions as a conjunction that marks a time lapse between events (cf. its similar function in 33b above).

Serial verb constructions can, of course, also introduce inanimate displaced themes, as illustrated in (57), where *bag nuk* 'one seed' is the core object of *mar-an* 'take-RLS'.

(57)   *... mar-an bag   nuk, mar-an   gula', a   ma   ga-sas   gula'...*
         take-RLS   seed one   take-RLS finish 3s come 3s-feed finish
         '... one seed (he) takes, having taken it, he then came and fed [it] to him...'
         [Teiwa]

The Kaera oblique marker *mi* normally takes an inanimate argument. It does not occur with an animate argument, except for one particular grammatical context, illustrated in (58). In (58a), *geumux* 'his wife' is the single argument of the intransitive serial verb construction *unang gi* 'go together', and the oblique headed by *mi* contains the comitative object *ui gu* 'that person'. In (58b), the argument of *unung gi* is *ui gu* 'that person', and now the oblique contains the comitative object *geumux* 'his wife'. Note that in (58a) the

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[19] From Malay/Indonesian *foto* < Duch *foto* 'photograph'.

possessor prefix *ge-* '3sg' of 'wife' is interpreted to refer to 'that person', that is, the previously mentioned participant. In (58b), however, there is no preceding nominal to which the possessor prefix can refer.

(58)   a.   [*Ui   gu   mi*]_{PP} *ge-umux   unang   gi*
            person   that   OBL   3s-wife   be.together   go
            'That person_j goes together with his_j wife.' (lit. 'With that person his wife goes together').

       b.   [*Ge-umux   mi*]   *ui   gu   unang   gi*
            3s-wife   OBL   person   that   be.together   go
            'His_j wife goes together with that person_k.' [Kaera]

In conclusion, we have seen that Teiwa *ma* and Kaera *mi* mark identical types of oblique participants. The semantic roles of these participants vary, and are determined by the meaning of the major verb in the clause. For example, when an oblique argument combines with the major verbs 'leave', 'stand', 'hide', 'descend' or 'fall', it marks a location or goal (as in (37) to (41)); when it combines with the verb 'bite', it marks a location or (inanimate) patient (as in (42) and (43)); when it combines with the verb 'to cut something' it marks an instrument (as in (45) and (46)), when it combines with the verb 'to put at someone' it marks a displaced theme (as in (48) to (50)), with the verb 'to feed someone', it marks the food (as in (51)), with the verb 'to show someone' it marks the thing shown (as in (53) and (54)), et cetera. In short, oblique markers productively introduce inanimate participants of all kinds into events, and the semantic interpretation of these participants is largely determined by the major verb of the clause.

The oblique marking function of *ma* is related to its lexical semantics as follows. *Ma* combines with an inanimate argument as represented in (59). Because the argument is inanimate, it is impossible to interpret *ma* here as a predicate of motion. That is, the semantic component MOVE cannot be part of the contextualised interpretation of *ma* here, and the deictic component is the one that prevails. Since there is no motion involved, the deictic centre is not interpreted as goal or endpoint but simply as a static location.

(59)   *<inanimate>*   ~~MOVE~~   DEICTIC CENTRE   (static   location)

As a result, the interpretation of an oblique construction with *ma* is something like 'inanimate argument <x> is located at deictic centre'. What is the deictic centre here? When *ma* is followed by a major verb, the deictic centre is part of the discourse: the event expressed by that major verb (phrase). The oblique marking of *ma* is thus interpreted as something like '<x> is located at the event reported here'. As an illustration, consider (60). The 'deictic centre' is the scene depicted by *a ga-ayas* 'he throws at him'. At this deictic centre, an additional participant is located, namely *war upar* 'pebble', the inanimate argument of *ma*. This additional participant is pragmatically interpreted as the secondary object of *ayas* 'throw'.

(60)   *A   ta   war upar   ma   ga-ayas*
       3s   TOP   rock pebble   OBL   3s-throw.at
       'He throws pebbles at him.' [Teiwa]

We thus distinguish between the lexical semantics of *ma* and the contextual interpretation it can get in particular grammatical contexts. In this way, it is possible to account for the fact that a single item is used as a deictic verb, a change-of-state verb, a tense/aspect marker, a conjunction and as a marker of oblique constituents, indicating static locations. I have suggested how these functions are related to the two lexical semantic component *ma,* and thus to each other, and how they can shift depending on grammatical context.

Because the analysis presented here refers to the grammatical context of *ma,* it is implied that *ma* does not get to function as an oblique marker by accident, or that it is a function that developed randomly. Firstly, this is because it can only happen when *ma* occurs with an inanimate argument. Secondly, *ma* must be followed by a major verb (phrase) in a serial verb construction. And thirdly, the oblique marking interpretation of *ma* is enabled by the following, more general structural properties of the grammar of Teiwa:[20]

(i)   the productivity of serialisation;

(ii)   the absence of morpho-syntactic clause subordination markers and/or a distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms, which enables easy re-interpretation of a verb form into a grammatical morpheme;

(iii)   the lack of ditransitive verbs, so that there is a communicative need to create structures which introduce additional arguments;

(iv)   the fact that adjunct constituents expressing time and manner are pre-verbal constituents, so that it is natural to interpret a preverbal constituent with *ma* as a preverbal adjunct as well.

4   Conclusions

In conclusion, we have seen that *ma* functions as a deictic verb and as a change-of-state verb, as a marker of intentions, hortatives, and imperatives, as a conjunction that indicates a time lapse between subsequent events and as an oblique marker that introduces additional participants. All these synchronic functions of *ma* are surface manifestations of a single lexical item.

In the analysis of the functions of *ma,* a distinction between the level of lexical semantics and of contextualised meanings is relevant. *Ma* is an intransitive predicate with an unspecified argument position, and it contains two basic semantic components: a motion, and a deictic centre. The motion component is represented in the lexical semantics of *ma* as MOVE. The deictic component, which contains information on path (towards/from) and ground (deictic centre) of the motion, is represented as DEICTIC CENTRE (Goal; Endpoint).

The many different synchronic functions of *ma* are contextualised meanings of a single item, that is, they depend on the grammatical context in which *ma* appears. Two contextual factors play a crucial role in the variable interpretations of *ma*: firstly, the

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[20]   Durie (1988:20) mentions factors very similar to the ones suggested here as factors which 'constrain' the development of prepositions out of verbs in Oceanic languages.

animacy value of its argument, and secondly, whether or not *ma* appears in an serial construction, that is is followed by a major verb.

The functions of *ma* are of three broad types. First, *ma* functions as a deictic or change-of-state verb when it is the single verb of a clause. Second, in serial constructions it takes on other functions: with an animate argument in an SVC, *ma* is interpreted as a tense/mood marker or as a conjunction marking a time lapse. These interpretations of *ma* are available when the semantic component MOVE is interpreted as movement in time (as well as in space). The third type of function of *ma* is found when it occurs with an inanimate argument in SVC's. In such contexts, it functions as an oblique marker introducing arguments of various semantic types, including locations, instruments and displaced themes. In contexts with an inanimate argument, the component MOVE is not available for interpretation, and the deictic component prevails. Since there is no motion involved, it expresses a static location.

Comparing the functions of *ma* in Teiwa and Kaera, we find that in both languages *ma* functions to mark 'movement in time', but that only in Teiwa does *ma* function as an oblique marker. For the oblique marking function to be possible, *ma* must occur with an inanimate argument, which is not possible in Kaera. Instead, Kaera marks obliques with *mi,* a marker that is possibly derived from the transitive location verb *ming.*

Regarding the overall grammatical structure of Teiwa and Kaera, we observed that both languages lack ditransitive verbs, and distinguish between core and oblique arguments. Within the group of (core) objects, only the animate ones are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, the inanimate ones are expressed as independent constituents. Additional arguments are marked as obliques with *ma/mi* if they are inanimate. Animate arguments cannot be marked with *ma/mi*, but are introduced with a separate verb. The animacy value of participants thus plays a crucial role in how they are encoded.[21] In addition, the animacy of the argument of *ma* is one of the crucial determinants of the variable interpretation of *ma*.

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[21] This suggest that the Animacy Hierarchy (Croft 1990:111ff.) not only influences the way 'grammatical' cases (such as nominative and accusative) develop, but also how 'non-grammatical' cases (such as locative and instrumental) come into being (cf. Aristar 1997).

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