Agreement in Bimanese

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person agreement
1excl	First person plural exclusive agreement
1incl	First person plural inclusive agreement
2	Second person agreement
2(pol)	Second person polite form agreement
3	Third person agreement
1p	First person pronoun
1p(pol)	First person polite form pronoun
1exclp	First person plural exclusive pronoun
1inclp	First person plural inclusive pronoun
2p	Second person pronoun
2p(pol)	Second person polite form pronoun
3p	Third person pronoun
ASS	Assertive (Emphatic Clitic)
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CLAS	Classifier
COND	Conditional (Emphatic Clitic)
CONJ	Conjunction
DEM	Demonstrative
EMPH	Emphatic (Emphatic Clitic)
IMP	Imperative
INSTR	Instrumental
INTENS	Intensifier
LOC	Locative preposition
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominalizer
PL	Plural marker
PN	Personal Name
PROGR	Progressive
QUES	Question marker
RECIP	Reciprocal
rel	Non-actor-relativizing marker
relA	Actor-relativizing marker
TEMP	Temporal emphasis (Emphatic clitic)
URZD	Complementizer with unrealized tense signification
VOC	Vocative marker

ABSTRACT

This thesis is primarily concerned with the nature and behaviour of actor agreement clitics in the Indonesian language Bimanese (Central Malayo-Polynesian; Sumbawa). In addition to qualifying these morphemes as both 'agreement' and 'clitics', this study seeks to account for what determines whether they are realized before the predicate as proclitics, or after the predicate, as enclitics.

This thesis also examines the status of grammatical relations in Bimanese, and in particular the notion of a surface subject. A number of Austronesian languages have been variously ascribed not to hold this grammatical status. Amidst the tests for subjecthood, it is all the while contended that Bimanese distinguishes a grammatical relation of 'actor' at a lower level of (syntacticized) argument-structure; it is this grammatical relation which is singled out by the primary agreement relation. In addition, this study also draws on some of the distinctions made at an entirely different level: that of pragmatics, or information structure. The distinctions made at this level are believed to be pertinent and necessary for the purpose of aptly describing the grammatical character of Bimanese.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This thesis is concerned with the nature of agreement marking and the interaction of agreement with other parts of the grammar in the Central Malayo-Polynesian language Bimanese (spoken on the island of Sumbawa in Indonesia; see Blust (1993) for issues of subgrouping).

In Chapter Two the range of Bimanese agreement marking will be introduced, with a particular variety referred to as actor agreement being established as the primary focus for the rest of the study. The attachment properties of these actor agreement morphemes will then be considered, which will concurrently serve to outline some of the possible compositions of Bimanese predicate heads. Chapter Two will also seek to define the nature of agreement from the perspective of asking how best to characterize the agreement markers morphologically. How justified are we in referring to these morphemes as actor agreement clitics, and not affixes? And what might this distinction mean in practice at any rate? Chapter Two also sets in motion an issue which will be raised throughout this study: that of what determines that distribution of actor agreement proclitics as opposed to enclitics.

To a considerable degree, this study is concerned with the status of grammatical relations in Bimanese, extending somewhat beyond what agreement alone will inform us of. So Chapter Three queries the nature of the non-surface grammatical relation of actor which proclitics or enclitics are purportedly in agreement with, but it also queries the existence of a surface-level grammatical relation of subject. There are a limited number of indications that the preverbal argument of Bimanese clauses should be identified as subject. In some cases these indications will not be independent of other issues, which will lead to the extension of our investigations into the directly connected areas of relative clause structure and voice marking. The most problematic issue which will arise, and the most problematic issue which will remain, will concern the status of the mysterious relative clause marker cum passive morpheme *ra*.

Chapter Four will switch the focus explicitly back to actor agreement by examining the discourse and pragmatic significance of these markers. As expressed

above, one of the major goals of this study is to account for the proclitic-enclitic distribution of actor agreement morphemes - but perhaps even more basic is the goal to try and account for when and where agreement shows up in the first place. The fact that agreement is not required obligatorily for all predicates might superficially be seen to count against calling it 'agreement', since in the strictest sense this is usually conceived of as a property which holds obligatorily (Halpern 1998, 105). Chapter Four will show that, although actor agreement does not surface obligatorily, it nevertheless appears systematically, where this system is predicated upon the pragmatic or information-structural statuses of referents within propositions, or else of entire propositions. To some degree, the discussion of this chapter is rather speculative. But Chapter Four does see a solid characterization of the preverbal argument (or *subject*) as having the pragmatic status of SENTENCE topic (Lambrecht 1994, 117).

Chapter Five considers a number of constructions containing a preverbal NP not selected syntactically or semantically by the verb which also has the pragmatic status of topic. These are 'possessor ascension' constructions (Perlmutter and Postal 1983, Bell 1983, Durie 1987). Sentences containing complex verbs of emotion are claimed to share some of the attributes of these constructions, as are (to a lesser extent) sentences containing the negative verb *wati* and the progressive item *wunga*. These two last-mentioned items, and in addition a small number of others, are first remarked upon for the manner in which they seem to require agreement enclitics to attach to the verbs which follow them. Chapter Five claims that this reflects the fact that these constructions involve nominalization, where the enclitic represents not actor, but possessor agreement - or that this was at least the historical state of affairs, in which case the requirement of enclitic agreement represents a retention. This conclusion then opens the way to a re-evaluation of the proclitic-enclitic distribution of actor agreement, since the possibility of some actor agreement enclitics actually being possessor agreement enclitics is one influencing factor not yet considered. Finally, the status of grammatical relations and of the grammatical-relation-affecting morpheme *ra* is reconsidered in the light of the convergence between preverbal NP and the pragmatic status of topic.

1.2 Sources of data and past works

My primary consultant for this study was Yanti Dewhirst, who was born and raised in Rab'a, and speaks the prestige dialect of Bimanese. In addition to my own elicitations, I was also able to draw upon a large database of material that was first elicited from Mrs Dewhirst by the participants in a field methods course on Bimanese at the University of Canterbury in 1998.

I was also fortunate to have some limited contact with Mastura Abdurahman from the Dompu Regency, whose dialect differs in certain ways to be outlined (and no doubt in many other ways). However, I have otherwise been unable to pursue issues of dialectology, although Herusantosa et al. (1987) gives some preliminary classifications.

This study also draws on a number of Bimanese texts. Four of these were composed by my consultant and together constitute approximately 1,500 words, while the remaining eight, which constitute approximately 8,500 words, are nineteenth century texts that were transcribed by the Dutch scholar J. C. G. Jonker (without any translation, however) in Jonker (1894).[1] Inevitably, this study will in part be concerned with the manner and extent to which this nineteenth century Bimanese and the Bimanese of my primary consultant can be seen to differ, although since these differences do not appear especially marked, it seems that this can be safely treated as a peripheral issue.

In addition to transcribing a very large amount of Bimanese text (which I have hardly begun to exhaust), Jonker also wrote a Bimanese-Dutch dictionary (Jonker 1893) and a Bimanese grammar (Jonker 1896). Other more recent work has been an investigation of Bimanese morphology in Rachman et al. (1985), some preliminary investigations included in Wouk (1997), and an explanation of Bimanese naming conventions used in different registers in Syamsuddin (1991).

1.3 Phonology

To complete this introduction I will present some of the bare essentials of Bimanese phonology.

Bimanese has five vowels: {[i], [ɛ], [a], [ɔ], [u]}, which will be written as {i, e, a, o, u}. In unstressed syllables /a/ is usually realised as [ə]. Stress in Bimanese normally falls on the penultimate syllable.

Bimanese has 26 consonant phonemes, which correspond to the IPA symbols as indicated in the chart below:

```
p           t̪                    k            ʔ

b   ɓ       d̪   ɗ   g

ᵐp  ᵐb      ⁿt̪  ⁿd̪        ᶮtʃ        ᵑg
                          tʃ  dʒ
β   f            s                     h
            r   l

m           n̪                    ŋ
```

In our orthography these will be represented as follows:

```
p           t                    k            '

b   b'  d   d'        g

mp  mb      nt  nd        nc        ngg
                          c   j
w       f            s                h
            r   l

m           n                    ng
```

The phonology of the Bimanese studied by Jonker does not appear to be very different, with one major exception: instead of referring to two separate voiced bilabial stops (plosive /b/ and the implosive /ɓ/), Jonker speaks of only one bilabial stop. Perturbingly, his lack of phonetic description means that we cannot be 100 per cent sure of which of these two stops was in use around his time, although it does seem almost entirely certain that it was the implosive.

In the Bimanese of my consultant, the bilabial implosive is much more common than the voiced bilabial plosive, where the occurrence of the latter is mainly limited to Indonesian loanwords. For this reason my assumption has been that the use of /b/ presents an innovation while /ɓ/ is the older consonant; nineteenth century Bimanese phonology would thus more closely resemble that of the Central Malayo-Polynesian language Kambera today, which has only one voiced bilabial stop: /ɓ/.

Although it does seem somewhat bizarre that Jonker makes no mention of the phonetic characteristics of the Bimanese 'b' ([ɓ], after all, is a rather distinctive sound), this is also completely in line with the reality that the only distinction he makes between the two 'd' sounds (the dental plosive and the retroflex implosive) is that one is more dental whereas the other is more "linguaal" (1896, 6)[2] In any case, the voiced bilabial stop phoneme will be consistently presented as /b'/ in all examples drawn from the texts transcribed by Jonker to reflect the contention that it was an implosive (not to mention the fact that, as far as I can see, all of the sounds notated as 'b' in Jonker's transcriptions have the implosive pronunciation in modern Bimanese) - although nothing really hangs upon this decision since this thesis is mainly concerned with Bimanese morphology and syntax.

Bimanese syllables generally conform to this template: (C) V (V). The only native Bimanese words which violate this template in my consultant's dialect are *nais* 'tomorrow' and *d'id'is* 'the day after tomorrow', although on closer inspection they were revealed to have the morphological composition *nai-si* and *d'id'i-si* (*si* is the conditional clitic - see section 2.4 of the next chapter) with the final vowel most often elided.

Roots in Bimanese commonly consist of two syllables, although an equally large number consist of one syllable which must, however, contain two vowels, and therefore counts as heavy for weight purposes. Two of the very rare exceptions to this minimal word constraint are *ci* 'cloth' and *nu* 'kiss'. At the other end of the scale, there are a number of three syllable roots which present an exception to the rule, yet their first syllables always contain the vowel /a/, which is uniformly reduced to [ə]. These are probably best regarded as frozen prefixes, the most common among which are *ka-*, *pa-*, *sa-* and *ta-*.

NOTES

[1] The titles of my consultant's texts as they will be noted in the examples of the following chapters are *Ompu Ico, Wadu Mbi'a, Rompa-Rompi,* and *Zamrut-Komala,* while those of Jonker's texts are *D'aju, Kalai, Mpinga, Nggea, Pande, Sahe, Udi,* and *Wa'i.*

[2] No Dutch dictionary I have consulted so far has an entry for "linguaal", which rather compounds the evasiveness of this distinction. But a more interesting and easily interpretable comment that Jonker does make is that the language sometimes "wavers" between the use of /d/ and /d'/ in such a way that, from time to time, /d/ will be encountered where /d'/ would have been otherwise expected (1896, 31). This could conceivably reflect that /d/, like /b/, is an introduced sound (which just happened to have been introduced earlier than /b/). Again this would bring Bimanese phonology somewhat closer in appearance to that of Kambera, which has only the voiced (non-retroflex) implosive [ɗ].

CHAPTER TWO

AGREEMENT AND PREDICATES IN BIMANESE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce three agreement phenomena in Bimanese: actor agreement, possessor agreement and direct object agreement. Actor agreement is to be the central focus of this thesis, although the other varieties may, from time to time, assume considerable significance.

In section 2.3 we will examine the composition of the core components of Bimanese clauses: the predicate heads, along with their immediately adjacent modifiers. This will be done without any real commitment to giving a hierarchical picture of the more complex predicates; instead more effort will be concentrated on the simpler matter of establishing the boundaries of this central constituent. The placement of actor agreement is presumed to furnish us with one kind of evidence towards this end - as is the placement of another major class of (arguably) morphological items: the 'emphatic clitics'. These items, whose content and form are considered to various extents in section 2.4, are important not only for helping us to identify the verb complex, but also because of the way they interact with actor agreement.

Section 2.5 of this chapter will turn to the issue of whether actor agreement formatives are best characterized as affixes or clitics. This may seem superfluous in as much as these are freely referred to as clitics up until this point, but section 2.5 will look more deeply into the affix-clitic distinction, keeping in mind the potentially problematic nature of clitics.

2.2 Agreement in Bimanese

2.2.1 Actor agreement

The most prominent form of agreement in Bimanese, and the type we will be exploring almost exclusively in this thesis, amounts to the systematic covariation in person and number between a predicate and either a preverbal or a postverbal actor. Postverbal actors must be preceded by the 'marker' *b'a* if the predicate is headed by a transitive verb. The following chapter will examine the syntactic status of the constituents agreed with under this relation more closely, although even at this stage it

is quite apparent that these preverbal and postverbal constituents are not jointly representative of one surface grammatical function, and hence that the agreement relation can be most aptly characterized as *actor* agreement.

My consultant, who speaks the (prestige) dialect spoken in and around the populous areas of Rab'a and Bima, has the following realizations of agreement:

(2.1) Actor agreement of my primary consultant

	Proclitics	Enclitics	(Corresponding informal pronouns)
1sg	ka-	-ku	nahu
2sg	ma-	-mu	nggomi
2sg(Polite Form)	ta-	-ta	ita
3sg	na-	-na	sia
1incl	ta-	-ta	kita
1excl	ma-	-mu	nami
2pl	ma-	-mu	nggomi d'oho
3pl	na-	-na	sia d'oho

The nineteenth century texts of Jonker show the following variations in actor agreement proclitics for the first and second person singular forms (a question mark indicates that I have yet to encounter any instantiations of the category concerned):

(2.2) Actor agreement from Jonker's texts

	Proclitics	Enclitics
1sg	ku-	-ku
2sg	mu-	-mu
2sg(Polite Form)	ta-	-ta
3sg	na-	-na
1incl	ta-	-ta
1excl	?	?
2pl	?	-mu
3pl	na-	-na

Interestingly, the dialect of the Bimanese speaker from the Dompu Regency with whom I have had some limited contact seems to have retained these older first and second person singular proclitic forms (compare also the correspondence between first person plural exclusive and second person plural proclitics in these two modern dialects):

(2.3) Actor agreement of my consultant from the Dompu Regency

	Proclitics	Enclitics
1sg	ku-	-ku
2sg	mu-	-mu
2sg(Polite Form)	ta-	-ta
3sg	na-	-na
1incl	ta-	-ta
1excl	ma-	-mu
2pl	mu-	-mu
3pl	na-	-na

In spite of their differing phonological properties, the proclitics of Jonker's text and of my consultant's text and speech seem to display just the same *pro*-drop properties, and they are also consistent in the selection of which elements to attach to.

The factors which determine whether actor agreement will be realized as a proclitic or an enclitic are less than clear-cut in Bimanese, this being especially true of textual material. As we will see in Chapter Four, a sturdy, exceptionless characterization of the semantic or pragmatic significance of the distinction between actor agreement procliticization and encliticization will turn out to be rather elusive, although we can observe from the outset that it is a reasonably straightfoward task to account for the type of cliticization that we find in independently elicited sentences. In these sentences, the correspondence of agreement encliticization to past tense orientation is near complete. So the following sentences, spoken in isolation, will be interpreted as having the past tense interpretations suggested by the English glosses:

(2.4) La Halima mbali wali.**na** d'i   rahi.na
      PN Halima return again.3 LOC husband.3
      "Halima has once again returned to her husband."

(2.5) Nahu bantu.**ku** Reho dub'a baju.
      1p   help.1   Reho wash   clothes
      "I helped Reho wash the clothes."

Conversely, independently elicited sentences containing agreement proclitics *but without emphatic enclitics* correspond to *future* tense orientations:

(2.6) **Ma**.nuntu la'o la   Halima naisi?
      2.talk   with PN Halima tomorrow
      "Will you talk to Halima tomorrow?"

(2.7) Reho **na**.lao lampa   d'i   wub'a nci'i liro.
       Reho 3.go   go-along LOC jungle tear sun
       "Reho will be walking in the jungle at sunset."

Other elicited examples also suggest that agreement procliticization may be aligned with a habitual interpretation, or more broadly, with the sense that the event described is unrealized.

It would also appear that, when a stative verb[1] is marked for agreement, there is a marked preference for this agreement to be placed before this verb, even when the quality or state described by the verb is meant to span only over a period in the past. Thus, when offered the following examples with agreement enclitics, my consultant repositioned the agreement as indicated:

(2.8) Ari.na   **na**.nggange(*.na) ai.pu   to'i   wa'u.na.
       sibling.3 3.nasty   time.yet small already.3
       "My brother was nasty when he was young."

(2.9) Uma ede **na**.raso(?.na) awina.
       house DEM 3.clean   yesterday
       "This house was tidy yesterday."

The following examples are anomalous as being two of the very rare exceptions to this tendency:

(2.10) Afi ra.pana.**na** awina.
        fire PAST.hot.3 yesterday
        "The fire was hot yesterday."

(2.11) Nahu mbani.**ku** awina.
        1p   angry.1   yesterday
        "I was grumpy yesterday."

What can explain this marked preference for agreement proclitics with stative verbs? No answer appears particularly forthcoming, although one possibility could be that the agreement encliticization found in independent sentences signifies not just past tense, but a telic interpretation. In this way the near prohibition on encliticizing agreement to stative verbs would be explained.

In Rachman et al. (1985) it is also suggested that enclitic agreement pertains to past orientation and proclitic agreement to future orientation. At the same time, one should bear in mind that agreement is never obligatory in Bimanese clauses; English sentences, regardless of their tense, were often translated by my consultant without

any agreement at all. But the reality that the correspondence between encliticization and past tense and procliticization and unrealized tense is far from absolute is confirmed most decisively once emphatic clitics (see section 2.4) are introduced into the picture. In the following sentences, which were elicited from the English glosses indicated, the occurrence of the emphatic clitic *ku* and the consequent requirement that agreement be realized preverbally ensures that the correspondence between proclitic agreement and future orientation be suspended (in high register Bimanese at least - see section 2.5):

(2.12) Felem ede **na.ka.wou.ku**   ade   nahu.
      film   DEM 3.CAUS.smell.ASS liver 1p
      "The film was boring." (lit.. 'The film made my liver smell.')

(2.13) Nggomi ma.ca'u santa klaus b'a   **na.mbei.ku** nggomi hadia.
      2p   2.like   santa claus because 3.give.ASS 2p   present
      "You like Santa Claus because he gave you presents."

This presents the most serious breach of the enclitic-past tense, proclitic-unrealized tense correlation for the database of independently elicited sentences; yet, as we will see in Chapter Four, once we come to examine the situation for text, this correlation becomes altogether much weaker.

Chapter Four (section 4.6 in particular) will also clarify to what extent we are justified in characterizing these clitics as 'agreement'. At this point, some preliminary remarks on the issue are in order, since I have already commented that these clitics are never obligatory, which, crudely, may seem to count against their qualification as agreement. As Halpern (1998) remarks: "Agreement is usually a local relationship between a head and one of its arguments, and applies obligatorily regardless of the nature of the argument" (105). However, this does present us with something of an extreme, and as such should not be seen as definitional. Rather, a collection of dependent morphemes with pronominal content are better understood to constitute agreement when it can be shown they are doubled with full NPs *systematically* (though not necessarily obligatorily) (Miller and Sag 1997, 576). The fact that my consultant will use proclitics in combination with full actor NPs to overtly specify unrealized tense, and enclitics in combination with full actor NPs to overtly specify past tense, would seem to be indicative of some form of agreement system. But this issue, as I say, will be explored more extensively in Chapter Four, where we may

conclude whether Bimanese actor 'agreement' should be so titled (and should not be called, for example, 'crossreference'[2]).

Another major issue in the characterization of these morphemes is the affix-clitic distinction. I raise this issue here since the fact that I have been characterizing agreement markers as 'clitics' - which are entities usually perceived to show some amount of syntactic autonomy - may on the surface seem to be at odds with the very nature of agreement. Actually, Bimanese agreement 'clitics' show very little syntactic autonomy, although this detracts from the central point I would like to make: that the two distinctions of agreement versus pronominals on the one hand, and affixes versus clitics on the other, are quite independent of each other (Miller and Sag 1997, 576; Bresnan 1998, 3). The affix-clitic issue will be addressed in section 2.5 of this chapter.

2.2.2 Possessor agreement

Bimanese, like most neighbouring languages, has a series of possessor agreement enclitics which are homophonous with the actor agreement enclitics. These are illustrated in the following three examples, although note that cooccurrence of a possessive enclitic and an overt possessor, as in (2.16), occurs only very seldomly:

(2.14) wati romo   iu.ku hina   b'a ruwi rangga sarumbu.**ku**, ...
      NEG directly feel.1 touch by thorn jujube frame.1
      "I did not directly feel my body being touched by the jujube thorns, ..."   (D'aju)

(2.15) tonggu.ja.pu   ari   d'oho.**mu**, ...
      watch-over.also.IMP sibling plural.2
      "please watch over your brothers and sisters, ..."   (Wadu Mbi'a)

(2.16) na.wou b'alu   mpara ra'a.**na** la Keu.
      3.smell pleasant then   blood.3 PN Keu
      "then they smelt the pleasant scent of Keu's blood."   (Nggea)

At this point I feel it necessary to reiterate that I *am* claiming that actor agreement and possessor agreement represent two separate, albeit homophonous, series. That is to say, the *-na* present within the NP "Keu's blood" in (2.16) and the *-na* of the sentence in (2.17) below are not meant to have the same worth:

(2.17) rai lu'u   liwa.**na** d'ei karambo udi.
      run enter swim.3 into cave   lizard
      "he ran and swam into the lizard's cave."   (Ompu Ico)

And that is also to say that the clause of (2.17) does not have the external worth of a noun, or a "nominal clause" (Klamer 1998, 98) or a "verbal noun" (Jonker 1896, 321). Verbs may, however, be nominalized from time to time, as is the case with the preverbal dependents in the following clauses:

(2.18) Jagu.**mu** wati tenggo na.
      punch.2 NEG strong.3
      "Your punching is not strong."

(2.19) Sara'a hade.**na** ede na.da.b'ae.
      all   kill.3   DEM 3.NEG.nice
      "All that killing of his is not good."

In fact, in many cases it may not be immediately apparent whether a given enclitic (or enclitic) is marking possessor agreement or actor agreement, or if we can do no more than to say it is ambiguous between these two interpretations. The position that possessor agreement and actor agreement signify two separate series (which may appear to lack economy as well as smacking of Eurocentric heavy-handedness) will be open to amendment in Chapter Five.

2.2.3 Direct object agreement

Finally, there is yet another series of agreement enclitics which are homophonous with the actor agreement enclitics: those signifying direct object agreement. These are limited to the very restricted environment of *ma*-relative clauses, thus ensuring that they are in complementary distribution with actor agreement enclitics, since the latter are prohibited from just these environments. But this complementarity and homophony does raise the very interesting possibility of whether these markers may actually represent actor agreement, under the interpretation that objects are promoted to actors in these *ma*-relative clauses (in which the underlying actors are guaranteed to be absent - see section 3.4.1 below). However, there have been some indications so far that this type of agreement may be rather different from actor agreement - and in fact cannot be properly characterized as 'agreement' - since it is most often not acceptable to coordinate a full NP with the enclitic.[3]

For examples of what we will persist for the time being in calling 'direct object agreement', see section 3.4.1 of the next chapter. Before then, the existence of a grammatical relation of direct object will be confirmed by the investigations in section 2.3.2.2 of this chapter.

2.3 Predicates

In this section we will observe the general character of, as well as some of the possible variations in, the heads of Bimanese clauses. The significance of doing so in relation to actor agreement is that in many instances by identifying the head complex, we will be concurrently establishing the attachment properties of the agreement. Although there is some inevitable circularity in defining the attachment domain of the agreement as the head complex while at the same time defining the boundaries of the head complex according to the placement of agreement, this circularity is not necessarily problematic. In any case, the boundaries of the head complex receive further confirmation from the placement of another class of dependent items: the emphatic clitics, which will be explored in section 2.4.

2.3.1 Non-verbal predicates

Bimanese predicates need not be headed by verbs, but may consist of NPs (as bracketed in (2.20)) or PPs (as bracketed in (2.21)):

(2.20) Ake [durian].
    this durian
    "This is a durian."

(2.21) Sia [d'i   uma   la Halima].
    3p   LOC house PN Halima
    "S/He's at Halima's house."

The following six examples illustrate how actor agreement proclitics may attach to non-verbal predicates:

(2.22) Ake **na**.fo'o nggomi.ku.
    DEM 3.mango 2p.ASS
    "That's your mango."

(2.23) Nahu **ka**.ana-mori.ku.
    1p   1.student.ASS
    "I am a student."

(2.24) Nami **ma**.ana-mori.ku.
     1exclp 1excl.student.ASS
     "We are students."

(2.25) **Na**.ese meja la Halima.
     3.on   table PN Halima
     "It's on Halima's table."

(2.26) **Ka**.d'i uma la Halima.ku.
     1.LOC house PN Halima.ASS
     "I'm at Halima's house."

(2.29) **Ma**.d'i uma   la Halima.ku.
     2.LOC house PN Halima.ASS
     "You're at Halima's house."

For agreement *enclitics*, however, the matter is more clouded, owing to the fact that the realizations of actor agreement that attach at predicate-level are homophonous with possessor-noun agreement enclitics. What this homophony entails for the status of agreement enclitics occurring to the right of NP or PP predicates is that they will be ambiguous between being the possessor of the noun they are adjacent to and signalling agreement with the actor of the clause. This would presumably explain why actor agreement encliticization to non-verbal predicates is in general unacceptable.

2.3.2 Verb complexes

    The head of a Bimanese verbal predicate will most commonly consist of a single verb, be it stative (2.30), intransitive (2.31), transitive (2.32), or ditransitive (2.33):

(2.30) B'ili na.**raso**.ku.
     room 3.clean.ASS
     "The room is clean."

(2.31) Nahu ka.**lao** d'i   Surabaya wura sa.tando.
     1p   1.go   LOC Surabaya moon one.front
     "I'm going to Surabaya next month."

(2.32) Nahu **b'ab'u** patalo.
     1p   drop   pencil
     "I dropped the pencil."

(2.33) La Halima **mbei**.na nahu wawi.
     PN Halima give.3 1p   pig
     "Halima gave me a pig."

But almost as often one will find that Bimanese, like many other Austronesian languages, does allow a large amount of material to be 'stacked up', as it were, in close proximity to the head verb. The inseparability of these elements is demonstrated first and foremost by the fact that agreement can attach only at either boundary of this verb complex; the Bimanese verb complex constitutes one single inflectional domain. In many instances, an emphatic clitic may serve to delineate the right boundary of the verb complex. The next two subsections will describe some of the elements which may constitute some of the heavier Bimanese verb complexes: section 2.3.2.1 will consider adverbs, and section 2.3.2.2 valency-changing items.

2.3.2.1 Adverbs in the verb complex

Most common among those items to be found 'crowding' the inflectional domain of a head verb are the verbal adverbs. These adverbs, with their close positioning to the head verb that they modify, can be contrasted with the sentence-initial, sentential adverbs of Bimanese which serve to modify the entire clause. The following examples give a restricted sample of the most commonly occurring (verbal) adverbs; as will be seen they are usually placed after the head verb[4], and they function to modify this head in just the typical ways we would expect of adverbs - by providing added information of manner, degree, directionality, mood, temporality, and so forth:

(2.34) Felem ede bona **poda**.
     film   DEM bad INTENS
     "That film's really bad."

(2.35) Fero ka.mbali.na   sapatu b'a   na'e **lalo**.na.
     Fero CAUS.return.3 shoe because big too.3
     "Fero returned the shoes because they were too big."[5]

(2.36) "nggara turu kai.sa   dou,   na.made **lalo**.mpa, ... "
     if   point GOAL.COND person 3.die   directly.just
     "if it is pointed at someone, they'll just die right away, ... " (D'aju)

(2.37) lab'o wonto.na ped'a.n, ngupa **rero**   kai.na dou   woro.
     with pull-out.3 sword.3 seek around KAI.3 person afterlife
     "and he pulled out his sword and looked around for a ghost." (Pande)

(2.38) Ncambe kai b'a dou   mpanga "ho lolo ho lolo" lab'o turu **salaho**.n.
      reply   KAI by person steal   ho lolo ho lolo with point simultaneous.3
      "Then so the thief replied "ho lolo ho lolo" and pointed at the same time."
(Wa'i)

(2.39) "E Ama B'edo.e,   horu **to'i**.pu nahu ake, ... "
      hey Mr B'edo.voc help just.IMP 1p   now
      "Hey Father B'edo, please just help me now, ... "   (Sahe)

(2.40) Mejo loa   d'i   matematik pala Rao na.loa **wali**.pu.
      Mejo able LOC maths   but Rao 3.able again.yet
      "Mejo is good at maths, but Rao is better at it."

(2.41) La Halima mbali **wali**.na d'i   rahi.na.
      PN Halima return again.3 LOC husband.3
      "Halima has once again returned to her husband."

(2.42) "ta.nika   b'ati   **wa'u**, ede ampo ta.loa   ngilu ro   pohu **angi**."
      1incl.marry spiritual already DEM then 1incl.able kiss CONJ hug RECIP
      "we (must) marry spiritually first, and then we will be able to kiss and hug each
other."   (Wa'i)

Note that the adverbs *poda, lalo* and *to'i* are homophonous with the stative verbs
meaning 'be true', 'be over-ripe' and 'be small' and are almost certainly the
grammaticalized products of the original verbs.

      Other possible candidates for the role of adverb within the verb complex are
the quantifying items *cua* 'each' (2.43), *sara'a* 'all' (2.44), and the plural marker *mena*
(2.45):

(2.43) na.**cua** ngaha mpud'u ra'a.na.
      3.each eat   then   blood.3
      "then they each ate his blood."   (Nggea)

(2.44) Kapa.nggemo.ngemo na.kangginda **sara'a**.ku uma.
      boat.fly.fly   3.shake   all.ASS   house
      "The aeroplane shook all the houses."

(2.45) La Halima mbei **mena**.na oto d'i   ari.na.
      PN Halima give PL.3   car LOC cousin.3
      "Halima gave cars to her cousins."

Of these, *sara'a* and *mena*, but not *cua*, may also be located directly within the NP
that they quantify:

(2.46) [_{NP} **Sara'a** mone lab'o siwe] wunga ngaha mena.
        all   male with girl PROGR eat   PL
      "All the boys and the girls are eating."

(2.47) La Halima mbei.na oto d'i [_{NP} ari   **mena**.na].
      PN Halima give.3   car LOC cousin PL.3
      "Halima gave a car to her cousins."

This raises the question of whether they can be considered to have 'floated' into the verb complexes in (2.44-5), and if so whether there are any firm and principled methods of determining which argument the 'floated' item quantifies. Such issues one might hope to pursue towards the end of identifying the grammatical status of 'subject' in a language (Keenan 1976b, 320). However, the 'floated quanifier' subject test will be absent from investigations of subjecthood in section 3.3 of the next chapter, for the reason that the quantifying properties of these items are only poorly understood at this stage. The most vaguely discerned tendencies observed at present are that *cua* 'each' appears to favour the quantification of actors, while *sara'a* 'all' appears to favour the quantification of undergoers. *Mena,* on the other hand, although it conveys similar senses as *cua* or *sara'a,* is probably not even best described as an adverb, but instead as a more purely functional item - as its title of 'plural marker' would suggest.

      The adverbs considered so far are drawn from a closed class of words which may function only as adverbs. Naturally, one would otherwise expect that adverbs may be productively derived from other categories (typically verbs), as is presumed to be the case for *sipa-sipa* in the following example:

(2.48) ku.[ngaha sipa.sipa] wea.ku sarumbu.na!
      1.eat   rip.rip   BEN.1 frame.3
      "I'm going to eat in a ripping manner through his body!" (Sahe)

Sipa-sipa, placed in typical adverbial position after the head verb, is presumably an adverb zero-derived from a verb. But we will note briefly that the Bimanese verb complex may in some instances contain two verbs which cannot be configured into a head-modifier scheme, and for this reason may be fittingly characterized as serial verbs. One such example is the following, which contains two synonomous verbs:

(2.49) Ntika   na.[hina upa].ku   ana udi-ro-mudi ...
      suddenly 3.strike stamp.ASS child lizard
      "Suddenly he was stamping on the lizard's child ..." (Udi)

The Bimanese inventory of 'serial verbs' is otherwise quite similar to the range of constructions described for Kambera in Klamer (1998, 275-83).

2.3.2.2 Valency-increasing items in the verb complex: *lab'o*, *wea* and *kai*

The preposition *lab'o* 'with' (which in the Bimanese of my consultant may be shortened to *la'o*) occurs either before verb phrases (2.50) or noun phrases (2.51-4):

(2.50) Ede.mpara wa'i   ede dula.na, na.lampa **lab'o** na.rai.rai.ku, lao d'i uma.n.
    DEM.then old-woman DEM return.3 3.go-along with 3.run.run.ASS go LOC house.3
    "Next the old woman went home; she walked and ran, going to her house."   (Wa'i)

(2.51) Ompu Ico ka.bela   angi.na **lab'o** henca.
    Ompu Ico CAUS.friend RECIP.3 with ghost
    "Ompu Ico made friends with a ghost."

(2.52) Nggomi nangi.mu **lab'o** Amu.
    2p   cry.2   with Amu
    "You cried with Amu."

(2.53) Nahu nuntu.ku **lab'o** la Halima.
    1p   talk.1   with PN Halima
    "I talked with Halima."

(2.54) Nahu mbako.ku uta **lab'o** Rao.
    1p   cook.1   fish with Rao
    "I cooked fish with Rao."

Alternatively, *lab'o* may be positioned within the verb complex, in which case the (complex) verb will now take a comitative argument as direct object. Compare (2.51-4) with (2.55-8):

(2.55) Ompu Ico [ka.bela   angi **lab'o**].na henca.
    Ompu Ico CAUS.friend RECIP with.3   ghost
    "Ompu Ico made friends with a ghost."

(2.56) Nggomi [nangi **lab'o**].mu Amu.
    2p   cry   with.2   Amu
    "You cried with Amu."

(2.57) Nahu [nuntu **lab'o**].ku la Halima.
    1p   talk   with.1   PN Halima
    "I talked with Halima."

(2.58) Nahu [mbako **lab'o**].ku Rao uta.   (*Nahu mbako lab'o.ku uta Rao.)
     1p   cook   with.1   Rao fish
     "I cooked fish with Rao."

The placement of *lab'o* before the actor agreement in these examples shows that it must be included within the verb complex, while the comitative argument's status as direct object is confirmed by its necessary positioning immediately after the verb complex in (2.58).

     Unlike *lab'o*, the valency-changing item *wea* is not a preposition, and so can only be found within the verb complex. *Wea* alters the valency of the verb by allowing it take a benefactive term as direct object, immediately after the verb complex:

(2.59) Nahu [ndawi **wea**].ku Rao pangaha.
     1p   make BEN.1 Rao cake
     "I made Rao a cake."

(2.60) Nahu [tunti **wea**].ku Rao sura.
     1p   write BEN.1 Rao letter
     "I wrote Rao a letter."

That the benefactive argument is promoted to direct object can be further confirmed by examples such as the following:

(2.61) Fero ma ndawi wea.**mu** pangaha ede.
     Fero relA make BEN.2   cake   DEM
     "It was Fero who made you that cake."

As was outlined in section 2.2.3, and will be further elaborated on in section 3.4.1, Bimanese allows direct object 'agreement' within the restricted environment of relative clauses headed by *ma*. Clearly, it is the benefactive argument which is singled out by the direct object agreement in (2.61).

     When *wea* is not present within the verb complex a benefactive argument must be expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by *ru'u* which follows the direct object:

(2.62) Nahu ndawi.ku pangaha [$_{PP}$ ru'u Rao].
     1p   make.1 cake   for Rao
     "I made a cake for Rao."

(2.63) Nahu tunti.ku sura [$_{PP}$ru'u Rao].
     1p   write.1 letter   for Rao
     "I wrote a letter for Rao."

Now, given all that we have seen so far concerning the role of *wea*, the following may seem somewhat inexplicable:

(2.64) Nahu [ndawi wea].ku pangaha ru'u Rao.
     1p   make BEN.1   cake   for Rao
     "I made a cake for Rao."

(2.65) Nahu [tunti wea].ku sura ru'u Rao.
     1p   write BEN.1 letter for Rao
     "I wrote a letter for Rao."

Wea should still be understood as altering the argument structure of the verb by creating a benefactive direct object, however; this is suggested by the following example in which the core benefactive, *sia*, cannot be equated with the argument situated within the PP headed by *ru'u* (*Rao*):

(2.66) Nahu [tunti wea].ku sia sura ru'u Rao.
     1p   write BEN.1 3p letter for Rao
     "I wrote him/her a letter for Rao."

Ru'u does not here encode *Rao* strictly as the benefactive argument, but rather as the final destination for the letter (*ru'u* can also be a noun meaning 'destiny'). But if we accept that *wea* does uniformly create a benefactive direct object position, what are we to understand the identity of the unstated direct objects in (2.64-5) to be? This kind of indeterminacy is relayed on a much larger scale when we come to examine the use of *wea* in text, where the benefactive argument promoted to direct object is most often not overtly specified. Hence one must try and recover the identity of the benefactive from context, as I have attempted to do below:

(2.67) "nggara na.eda sara   nggomi, tantu.ra   dompo wea.na tuta.mu, ... "
     if   3.see COND 2p   certain.EMPH cut   BEN.3 head.2
     "if he sees you, he will certainly cut (himself?) off your head, ... "   (Pande)

(2.68) Nggara mu.wa'u.si   mpore, ku.ngaha wea.ku ade.mu.
     if   2.already.COND fat   1.eat   BEN.ASS liver.2
     "If you've got fat, I'll eat (myself?) your liver." (Sahe)

(2.69) ndad'i ha'a lalo wea b'a wa'i rera dou mpanga ede sa.dompo, ...
become bite direct BEN by old-woman tongue person steal DEM one.piece
"but the old woman immediately bit (herself?) off a piece of the thief's tongue,
..." (Wa'i)

(2.70) ai.na.ra kade'e wea nggahi lako poda d'oho ede, ...
NEG.3.EMPH listen BEN say dog true plural DEM
"don't listen (?) to the words of those utter devils, ..." (Wa'i)

The bracketed guesses in (2.67-9) are based on the assumption that the unstated

arguments are benefactives and not malefactives, although this cannot really be

assumed at this stage. For now we will have to concede that, while *wea* is certainly

capable of altering the valency of the verb by creating a benefactive direct object, its

full significance could be more wide-ranging.

Of the valency-increasing items that we have seen so far, *lab'o* is purely a

preposition[6] and *wea* can never function as a preposition; *kai*, on the other hand, has

mixed properties (and later sections will show that the functions of *kai* extend even

further beyond what we see here). When *kai* functions as a preposition, it may be

placed outside the verb complex in a position preceding an argument with an

instrumental theta-role:

(2.71) Nahu tunti.ku [$_{PP}$ kai patalo.mu].
1p write.1 INSTR pen.3
"I wrote (it) with your pen."

(2.72) Nahu b'ab'a.ku loko.ku [$_{PP}$ kai here loko].
1p wrap.1 stomach.1 INSTR wrap stomach
"I wrapped my tummy with a tummy wrap."

(2.73) Amu na.nggud'a.ku nggaro Rao [$_{PP}$ kai d'ei].
Amu 3.plant.ASS garden Rao INSTR seed
"Amu planted Rao's garden with seeds."

But there is also the possibility of placing this preposition within the verb complex,

with the consequent promotion of the instrumental argument to direct object to gain

the same sense, as the following examples illustrate:

(2.74) Nahu [tunti kai].ku patalo.mu.
1p write INSTR.1 pen.2
"I wrote (it) with your pen."

(2.75) Nahu [b'ab'a kai].ku here loko   loko.ku. (*Nahu b'ab'a kai.ku loko.ku here loko.)
     1p   wrap INSTR.1 wrap stomach stomach.1
     "I wrapped my tummy with a tummy wrap."

(2.76) Amu na.[nggud'a kai].ku   d'ei nggaro Rao. (*Amu na.nggud'a kai.ku nggaro Rao d'ei.)
     Amu 3.plant   INSTR.ASS seed garden Rao
     "Amu planted Rao's garden with seeds."

That the instrumental argument is promoted to direct object is supported by the use of direct object agreement within the *ma*-relative clause of the second speaker in this example:

(2.77) Q. Cou ma b'ab'a nahu kai   here loko   ma bona ede?
       who relA wrap 1p   INSTR wrap stomach relA nasty DEM
       Q. "Who wrapped me with this yucky tummy wrap?"

       A. Nahu ma [b'ab'a kai].**na** nggomi.
          1p   relA wrap INSTR.3 2p
       A. "It was me who wrapped you with it."

While the *kai* within the verb complexes of (2.74-7) may be analyzed as a preposition, this cannot be the case for the *kai* in (2.78), since, as (2.79) shows, it cannot function as a preposition when placed outside the verb complex:

(2.78) La Halima mai kai.na doka.
     PN Halima come ?.3   cart
     "Halima is coming by cart."

(2.79) *Halima mai na kai doka.

This is presumably because *doka* is not purely an instrumental argument, but rather indicates a means or method of transportation. Alternatively, it could be that *mai.kai* is a lexicalized verb that indicates mode of transportation towards a deictic centre.

     The dative-shifting capabilities of verb complex-internal, non-prepositional *kai* in fact extend even further into the territory of arguments with goal or recipient theta-roles, as these examples demonstrate:

(2.80) Amu na.kanggica kai.ku   Rao.
     Amu 3.shout   GOAL.ASS Rao
     "Amu shouted at Rao."

(2.81) Nahu hari   kai.ku Reho.
     1p   laugh GOAL.1 Reho
     "I laughed at Reho."

(2.82) Sia landa kai   dou   mone oto.na.
      3p sell GOAL person male car.3
      "He sold the man his car."

With *kai* omitted in these cases, the goal argument must be situated in a prepositional phrase headed by *d'i:*

(2.83) Amu na.kanggica.ku [PP d'i Rao].
      Amu 3.shout.ASS   LOC Rao
      "Amu shouted at Rao."

(2.84) Nahu hari.ku [PP d'i Reho].
      1p   laugh.1   LOC Reho
      "I laughed at Reho."

(2.85) Nahu landa.ku roti [PP d'i   dou   mone ede].
      1p   sell.1   bread LOC person male DEM
      "I sold some bread to that man."

Once again, the direct object status of the promoted arguments is supported by the occurrence of direct object agreement with these arguments in *ma*-relative clauses:

(2.86) Rao ma   hari   kai.**ku**.
      Rao relA laugh GOAL.1
      "It was Rao who laughed at me."

(2.87) Fero ma nggadu kai.**mu** b'unga ede.
      Fero relA send   GOAL.2 flower DEM
      "It was Fero who sent you the flowers."

From all of the examples observed so far, one may have gathered the impression that each of the valency-changing items *lab'o, kai* and *wea* are firmly fixed at the right edge of the verb complex. But this is not really the case; each of these items can be quite happily interchanged with the adverb *wali* 'again', for example:

(2.88) Nahu nuntu wali lab'o.ku Reho./ Nahu nuntu lab'o wali.ku Reho.
      1p   talk   again with.1 Reho
      "I talked with Reho again."

(2.89) Nahu wa'a wali wea.ku Reho janga./ Nahu wa'a wea wali.ku Reho janga.
      1p   bring again BEN.1 Reho chicken
      "I brought Reho a chicken again."

(2.90) Amu na.nggud'a wali kai.ku d'ei nggaro Rao./Amu na.nggud'a kai wali.ku d'ei nggaro Rao.
      Amu 3.plant again INSTR.ASS seed garden Rao
      "Amu planted Rao's garden with seeds again."

(2.91) Reho hari   wali kai.na   nahu. / Reho hari kai wali.na nahu.
      Reho laugh again GOAL.3 1p
      "Reho laughed at me again."

To what further extent these items may deviate from their typical placement at the right edge of the verb complex has yet to be investigated.

2.4 Emphatic clitics

The most commonly occurring among those monosyllabic items which I will be calling the 'emphatic clitics' are: *mpa, ra, d'u, ku, pu,* and *si* . In spite of their collective title, these items are not really 'emphatic' in any unified kind of sense, although they most probably are all clitics since they show very free attachment properties, and possibly even some 'second position' behaviour.

The syntagmatic behaviour of these clitics is characterized by a reluctance to encliticize to an already existing emphatic clitic - or this is at least the case for formal Bimanese. The following examples, in which we find one clitic placed alongside another, are characterized by my consultant as casual, everyday language to be used only between equals:

(2.92) Nggara ma.ne'e.si   baju ede, weha.**d'u.si.**
      if   2.want.COND dress DEM take.TEMP.COND
      "If you want that dress, just take it now."

(2.93) Lao.**si.ra**   nggomi de   ai.na kid'i kantuwu.
      go.COND.EMPH 2p   DEM NEG.3 stand continual
      "You go now, don't just stand there."

(2.94) Cola.**d'u.ra**   pangaha ra ngaha.mu ede.
      pay.TEMP.EMPH cake   rel eat.2   DEM
      "Please pay now for the cake that you ate."

In formal text and speech, however, such combinations are not allowed. The only significant exception to this rule would seem to be with respect to the emphatic clitic *mpa* 'just', which evidently may attach after the emphatic clitic *ku* in formal text:

(2.95) mu.eda.ku.**mpa** ninu   ndai.mu b'a nggomi, ...
      2.see.ASS.just   shadow self.2   by 2p
      "you will just see your own shadow, ... "   (Sahe)

(2.96) Ntika   na.ringa.ku.**mpa** b'a sahada marimba eli   genda ma lai.lai   pahu, ...
   suddenly 3.hear.ASS.just by sahada marimba noise drum relA differ.differ form
   "Suddenly the sahada marimba just heard the various drum noises, ..."   (Udi)

Also in formal text, one may often encounter the form *mpara,* which does look as if it could be composed of the two emphatic clitics *mpa* and *ra;* while another form (found in Jonker's texts only) with a similar sense and usage is *mpud'u,* which Jonker claims is derived from *mpa* and *d'u* (1894, 401, and see also 398-405 for a fuller listing of clitics). However, I will (tentatively) be glossing these forms as single clitics with only the historical interpretation as composite forms, since their meaning is not easily decomposed into separate parts, and also with some weight attached to the fact that my consultant recognizes *mpara* as a separate form. Here are some examples of their usage:

(2.97) na.naha.naha seke   **mpara** mpa'a.na, ...
    3.more.more zestful then   dance.3
    "his dancing was then more and more zestful, ..."   (D'aju)

(2.98) nahu **mpara** ndai ma   cepe   nggomi nika   lab'o ana rato   ede
    1p   then   URZD relA exchange 2p   marry with child prince DEM
    "I then will replace you in marrying the prince's daughter"   (Kalai)

(2.99) ntika   na.hina d'aro **mpud'u** peti na'e aka.n ede.
    suddenly 3.touch grope then   chest big DEM.3 DEM
    "and then suddenly they touched and felt the aforementioned large chest."
(Wa'i)

As single forms with two syllables, *mpara* and *mpud'u* are unlike the other emphatic clitics in that they do not violate the minimal word constraint; they should still be considered to be clitics though, because they show similarities in function and sense with other clitics - as well as the same attachment properties.

So what are the attachment properties of emphatic clitics? In fact, they display a freedom of attachment over and above that of agreement clitics, since they may attach to constituents which are not predicates. This is illustrated for *mpara* in (2.98) above, and below for *mpa*:

(2.100) [Isi   koroma].**mpa** [pred d'i ade   po'o   ede].
    content date.just   LOC liver bamboo DEM
    "Just date stones are in the bamboo."   (Pande)

The most prominent exception to this attachment behaviour can be observed for the 'assertive' clitic *ku* - which is also one of the most interesting emphatic clitics.

In some circumstances this clitic can induce a non-factitive interpretation, as demonstrated by my consultant's explanation that the omission of *ku* in the following sentence would carry the entailment that the 'you' talked about really is crazy (instead of this just being the opinion of Rahim):

(2.101) Fiki b'a la Rahim nggomi ma.ringu.**ku**.
       think by PN Rahim 2p   2.crazy.ASS
       "Rahim thinks that you are crazy."

However, when the proposition to which *ku* attaches presents the belief of the speaker, this non-factitive sense will no longer be accessible. That is to say, if we produce an utterance such as (2.102) below, we are unlikely to be hinting at the possible reality that what we are claiming might in fact not be true:

(2.102) Na.ka.hari.**ku**   la Rahim.
       3.CAUS.laugh.ASS PN Rahim
       "It made Rahim laugh."

Instead of introducing elements of doubt into our assertions, what *ku* is more likely to be doing in such circumstances is simply marking what is said as an assertion (hence the glossing of *ku* as 'ASS' for 'assertive'). Non-factitivity is thus not a property of this *ku*, as such, but is instead an interpretation of the assertive clitic that will arise under certain circumstances (that is, in the expression of an opinion or assertion held by an entity distinct from the speaker (or narrator)).

From the following examples, it seems that we will have to expand the sense of *ku* even a little further:

(2.103) Na.dokter.**ku**?
       3.doctor.ASS
       "Is he a doctor?"

(2.104) B'e.**ku**   Rao?
       where.ASS Rao
       "Where's Rao?"

(2.105) Nggomi ma.baca.**ku** buku ede?
       2p   2.read.ASS book DEM
       "Are you going to read this book?"

(2.106) B'une ai.**ku**   lao.mu?
        how time.ASS go.2
        "When are you going?"

(2.107) b'une.**ku** loa kai lu'u lab'o jara d'i ade dobu   ake?
        how.ASS able KAI enter with horse LOC liver sugarcane now
        "how am I to enter into the middle of the sugarcane with a horse?"   (Pande)

(2.108) Nggomi ma.lao ta b'e.**ku**?
        2p   2.go   at where.ASS
        "Where are you going?"

Here it cannot be that *ku* signals an assertion, but that it instead signals the request *for* ·
an assertion. Despite this difference in function, I will continue to gloss *ku* as
'assertive'.

        The questions in (2.103-8) above in fact display almost the full range of
attachment possibilities for *ku*. In (2.103-4) it attaches to a non-verbal predicate, as it
does in the following declarative statement:

(2.109) Ka.d'i uma   la Halima.**ku**.
        1.LOC house PN Halima.ASS
        "I'm at Halima's house."

In (2.105) *ku* attaches at the right boundary of the verb complex. This positioning is
matched by a declarative statement such as the following:

(2.110) na.lao tio.**ku** lopi ma   lab'u d'i kengge moti ede.
        3.go find.ASS boat relA anchor LOC edge sea DEM
        "they went to find the boat that was anchorred on the beach."   (Zamrut-
Komala)

In (2.106-7) *ku* attaches to adjunctival wh-constituents (of time, and method, but not
of reason since it is *si* which attaches to *b'a b'au* 'why'). The only comparable
declarative examples involve preposed adjunctival constituents which serve as a kind
of proform for the proposition mentioned in the previous clause or clauses:

(2.111) ndadi   ncao.ra   rera nggomi lab'o rera nahu, ede.**ku** tangara kai nika b'ati.
        become near.EMPH tongue 2p   with tongue 1p   DEM.ASS call   KAI marry spiritual
        "your tongue becoming close to my tongue, *this* is what is called spiritual marriage."
(Wa'i)

The question without extraction in (2.108) shows an attachment property not
exhibited by *mpa, ra, d'u, mpara* or *mpud'u*: here *ku* attaches on the boundary of the

VP predicate instead of on the boundary of the verb complex *within* the verbal predicate. I have two (but only two) examples of this behaviour in declaratives:

(2.112) Na.tei d'i este.**ku**.
       3.teach LOC primary-school.ASS
       "He teaches at a primary school."

(2.113) maai ake na.wa'u.ra   lao raka wali Ama Gejo.**ku** nggahi.na.
       therefore 3.already.EMPH go get again father Gejo.ASS say.3
       "therefore he has already gone again and got Mr Gejo, he said." (Sahe)

In conclusion, *ku* may attach to any projection of a predicate, to adjuncts (which are non-main-clause predicates), but never just to arguments, such as the preverbal argument, which I will later claim is the subject and is configurationally separate from the predicate[7].

    Rachman et al. (1985, 41) describes the sense imparted by the clitic *ra* as a "gentle hint or indirect order". But, curiously, *ra* can only be used in this imperative sense in formal contexts when the verb it attaches to is intransitive (see Jonker (1896, 401)); transitive verbs take the clitic *pu* when functioning as imperatives. *Ra* is used most commonly in narratives, not to mark something as an imperative, but in such a way that I cannot (at this stage) characterize more precisely than by saying that it is emphatic (hence the somewhat vague glossing of *ra* as 'EMPH').

    Turning to the positioning properties of *ra*, one will notice that it most typically attaches to the right boundary of the verb complex as in (2.114), but at other times it may attach to an argument of the verb (2.115):

(2.114) Ede.ra   ka'a kai ana sangaji ede, na.wotu ka.parupae.**ra**   tuta.na.
       DEM.EMPH burn KAI child sultan DEM 3.explode CAUS.bang.EMPH head.3
       "And so they burnt the sultan's child; his head exploded with a bang." (Kalai)

(2.115) nahu.**ra**   ne'e ma inga.mu, ...
       1p.EMPH URZD relA help.2
       "It's me who'll help you." (Sahe)

    The function and meaning of the emphatic clitic ***d'u*** is as difficult to pinpoint as that of *ra*. But in addition to its non-specific emphasis, it does appear to hold some kind of temporal content. This can be inferred from the environments in which it occurs, as well as from the translation of its textually frequent cooccurrence with the negative (*wati.d'u*) as "no longer". Throughout this work I have glossed the clitic *d'u*

as 'TEMP', which is meant to stand for 'temporal emphasis'. In (2.116) we find *d'u* at the right boundary of the verb complex, and in (2.117) it attaches to an argument:

(2.116) ede.ra   tu'u rebo kai nahu, hina upa.**d'u**   ana nggomi.
        DEM.EMPH stand dance KAI 1p   strike stamp.TEMP child.2p
        "and then I stood and danced, stamping on your child". (Udi)

(2.117) ne'e da.eda kai.mu ka.tantu   au.au.**d'u**   ma wara d'i ade po'o   ede,
        URZD NEG.see KAI.2 CAUS.certain what.what.TEMP relA exist LOC liver bamboo DEM
        "(your eyeballs must be blind) to not see and (thus) ascertain what was inside the bamboo, ... "
(Pande)

    Si, the clitic used in conditional clauses and sometimes in questions, has alternative realizations as *sa* or *sara* in Jonker's texts (which my consultant does not recognize). The following examples illustrate how it may attach to the verb complex (2.118), or a sentential adverb (2.119)[8]:

(2.118) "nggara ta.loja   lao ari.**sa**,   ta.mbi'a   sambura, ..."
        if   2(pol).sail go out.COND 2(pol).break scatter
        "if you sail out, then you will break and scatter, ..." (Kalai)

(2.119) Nahu raho.ku Rao wa'a peta kombi.**si**   nefa.na.
        1p   ask.1   Rao bring map maybe.COND forget.3
        "I asked Rao to bring her map, but perhaps she forgot."

But *si* may also attach to a wh-constituent of reason:

(2.120) b'a   b'au.**si**   hade kai.mu ana nahu ake?
        because why.COND kill KAI.2 child 1p   DEM
        "why have you killed my child?" (Udi)

In this usage *si* strays somewhat from what we might identify as conditional, as such, but for now I will continue to gloss this (much rarer) *si* as 'COND' (entailing an extension of its function and sense) instead of positing two homophonous clitics.

    In the case of *pu,* however, I *will* posit two homophonous clitics - although this could also be debatable. The first is used to signal an imperative sense for a transitive verb. Recall that for the case of intransitive imperatives *ra* will be encliticized; and, as example (2.121) below shows, for what we might expect to translate as a *stative* imperative, a causative verb will instead be derived (which is transitive and can thus take *pu* as its imperative marker) in combination with a reflexive object (*weki*).

(2.121) Ta   .ka   .disa .ja[9] .**pu** weki de.
        2(pol).CAUS.brave.also.IMP body DEM
        "Please be brave" (lit. "Please make yourself be brave").

(2.122) ta.leto   pete wa'u.**pu**   lamada d'i ri'i woha ake!
        2(pol).tie tie   already.IMP 1p(pol) LOC pole middle DEM
        "(could you) please tie me to the middle of that pole first!"   (D'aju)

(2.123) lao web'a wea.ja.**pu**   nahu."
        go get   BEN.also.IMP 1p
        "go and get me some please."   (Nggea)

The second *pu* is best matched in English by the word 'yet'. It most commonly
cooccurs with the negative *wati,* as we see below in (2.124) - and also just in the
simple exchange following along the lines of: Q: "have you done such-and-such?"; A:
wati.pu "not yet". Other common cooccurrences are with certain other verbs or
adverbs with related semantic senses, such as the stative verb *mbui* 'still' (2.125), the
sentential adverb *kone* 'even' (2.126):

(2.124) nde pala sa.to'i   wati.**pu** wara mangga.na.
        however one.little NEG.yet exist anchor.3
        "however there's not yet its (the boat of stone's) anchor."   (Kalai)

(2.125) Andou mone ra coco b'a nggea mbui.**pu** dahu.na.
        child   male rel chase by vampire still.yet afraid.3
        "The boy who was chased by the vampire is still frightened."

(2.126) kone.**pu** jara   na.wa'u.ra   moda wali.
        even.yet horse 3.already.EMPH vanish again
        "even the horse had vanished again."   (Pande)

This *pu* may also attach to an argument (2.127), after verbs such as *raka* 'get' or
rongga 'arrive' in sentence-initial clauses of time (which we would translate as
adjuncts) (2.128), and it is also used for expressions of comparison (2.129):

(2.127) ampo upa mpuru tolu ma   wara, ne'e   sa.b'ua.**pu** ngupa.na, ...
        then four tens   three relA exist URZD one.CLAS.yet seek.3
"(forty-four old people's heads he is looking for) and now he has forty-three and he's looking
for one more, ..."   (Pande)

(2.128) Raka.**pu** d'i katere-b'utu uma wa'i   ede, na.cua ka.midi mena.ku weki.na
        get.yet LOC eaves   house old-woman DEM 3.each CAUS.stop PL.ASS body.3
        "Once at the eaves of the old woman's house, they each held still ..."   (Wa'i)

(2.129) Siwe   ede na.d'ese.**pu** la'o la Halima.
      female DEM 3.tall.yet with PN Halima
      "That woman is taller than Halima."

Up until this point we have overtly concentrated on the attachment properties of 'emphatic clitics' for the purpose of establishing to what degree they are clitic-like. But those examples in which the clitic attaches specifically to a predicate are significant for another, covert purpose: they further serve to delineate that entity we identified in section 2.3.2 as the 'verb complex'[10]. At the same time, one may have also noticed that this would appear not to be the case for examples (2.124-5) above. Here it would appear that the clitic does not appear at the right boundary of the verb complex, but instead after the negative *wati*, and *mbui* 'still', which would appear to be *within* the verb complex. Many other clitics also display this behaviour. However, it will be suggested in Chapter Five that *wati* and *mbui* in fact constitute the entire predicate in such examples, where the following verbs are nominalized as arguments. But examples such as the following, which are among some of the many in which the clitics display comparable 'second position' behaviour in connection with *wa'u* 'already', are not so easily explained away:

(2.130) kombi dou   ma ndiha aka sa.ngad'ina ede wa'u.**ra**   dula mbali ?
      maybe person relA noisy DEM one.night.3 DEM already.EMPH return again
      "maybe the noisy person from the other night has already gone back?"
(Zamrut-Komala)

(2.131) Nggara mu.wa'u.**si**   mpore, ...
      if   2.already.COND fat
      "If you have got fat, ..." (Sahe)

(2.132) na.wa'u.**d'u**   lao rai cili weki.na d'i   ade fu'u dobu.
      3.already.TEMP go run hide body.3 LOC liver tree sugar
      "he has gone and hid himself in the middle of the sugarcane." (Pande)

(2.133) Wa'u   **mpara** rongga d'I sera, ai   na.mbi'a.r.
      already then   arrive LOC field time 3.break.EMPH
      "By the time they arrived in the field, it was already night-time." (Wa'i)

That is to say, there is not the same evidence - as will be discussed in Chapter Five - that the material after the clitics in these examples constitutes a nominalized argument. Since this second position behaviour only surfaces in connection with the aspect marker *wa'u*, this could have implications for the hierarchical structure of the verb complex - implications we will not explore, however.

2.5 Actor agreement affixes or clitics?

Up until this point actor agreement forms have been consistently referred to as proclitics or enclitics and not as prefixes or suffixes. To see why this should be the case, we will need to first consider the qualities and characteristics of clitics - although an initial caution here is that, as is often observed (Halpern 1998, 101; Zwicky 1987, 133), the vast collection of items which have been identified in natural languages as clitics do constitute a rather heterogeneous group. Nevertheless, in the broadest sense, they all have a quality in common - and this is that they display some properties of words, while at the same time displaying some other properties of affixes. Chief among their typical affixal properties is their prosodic dependence. This can, but ultimately need not, entail that they are stressless; the better calculated test of their prosodic dependence is rather that they may not form an utterance on their own.

For Bimanese, the identification of an item as prosodically deficient is altogether much more straightfoward, provided that our formulation of a minimal word constraint holds any truth. In line with this constraint, emphatic clitics, in addition to agreement morphemes, will be identified as prosodically dependent. This status is confirmed by the fact that they indeed may not constitute an utterance on their own, and they also may not be coordinated with another agreement marker (or a full noun phrase). Agreement is generally unstressed, although the agreement markers of my primary consultant's Bimanese are never reduced to the extent suggested by a number of examples in Jonker's transcriptions, where the final vowel is sometimes omitted altogether (this holds over all persons). Agreement marking in my consultant's Bimanese does display some variability with respect to stress, however.

Frequently, the attachment of agreement to the right of a lexeme which consists of two syllables will cause a stress shift, in such a way that primary stress will be relocated from the first to the second syllable of this lexeme. This is indicative of the reality that the agreement is being integrated into the single phonological word it constitutes in combination with the lexeme, since we know that stress most often falls on the penultimate syllable of a word in Bimanese. Emphatic clitics do not seem to behave this way, although at the same time it is paramount that I mention that these observations are to some extent impressionistic, as I have been unable to pursue any rigorous phonological analysis. At this stage it is far less than clear whether a stress

shift effected by the placement of agreement is conditioned by the quality and heaviness of the syllables in the lexeme concerned, or if instead by the overall phonological structure of the entire sentence. Possibly, the variability may even reflect some genuine inconsistency in this area.

We turn now to the issue of how Bimanese agreement markers may or may not resemble words - which is really just to ask why they should be characterized as clitics when they do otherwise seem to have every other appearance of affixes. The six criteria provided in Zwicky and Pullum (1983) are generally recognized as being particularly useful for the practical purpose of distinguishing clitics from affixes (or for outlining the characteristics diagnostic of clitichood, at least). Unfortunately, only the first criterion is applicable to Bimanese. This is what is often referred to as the 'promiscuous attachment' criterion; it specifies that "clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems" (Zwicky and Pullum 1983, 503). That Bimanese agreement markers exhibit a low degree of selection in this sense is evident from the examples in section 2.3.1 which showed agreement attaching to non-verbal heads of sentences, as well as from sentences such as the following, in which an adverb intervenes between the agreement and the verb:

(2.134) Ana ngao ede [$_{V'}$ wa'u.ra   nono lalo].**na** susu.
           child cat DEM   already.EMPH drink direct.3 milk
           "Those kittens are already drinking milk."

(2.135) **na.**[$_{V'}$ cua.cua   tu'u   reb'o   mena].mpa, ...
           3.each.each   stand dance PL.just
           "each of them got up and just danced, ..."   (D'aju)

Thus Bimanese actor agreement markers may attach to any major category of word, and so should be classified as clitics.

The two previous examples illustrate how actor agreement clitics attach to entire V' constituents, instead of single words, as affixes do.[11] They are thus aptly characterized as 'phrasal affixes' (Anderson 1992, Klavans 1985, Miller 1991). The phrasal character of the actor agreement's attachment is further illustrated in the examples below, which show how the agreement may (2.136-7), although need not (2.138-9), have wide scope over conjoined verb complexes:

(2.136) ta.[$_{V'}$ [$_{V'}$ loa kud'u pehe　　angi] ro [$_{V'}$ londo　ngupa ngaha]].
　　　　1incl.able　invit　acquaint RECIP CONJ descend seek　eat
　　　　"let's meet him and go down and get food." (Sahe)

(2.137) [$_{V'}$ [$_{V'}$ i'a]　ro　[$_{V'}$ kama'i]].**na** ro　na.ne'e.ku lambo wei.na ede.
　　　　　abuse CONJ　curse.3　　CONJ 3.want.ASS strike　wife.3 DEM
　　　　"he abused and cursed and wanted to hit this wife of his." (Pande)

(2.138) [$_{V'}$ [$_{V'}$ i'a].**na** ro [$_{V'}$ kama'i].**na**] ro na.ne'e.ku lambo wei.na ede.
(My consultant judges this an acceptable alternative to (2.137).)

(2.139) tantu　[$_{V'}$ **na.**[$_{V'}$ raka].ku ro　　**na.**[$_{V'}$ eda].ku] nahu, ...
　　　　certain　3.catch.ASS　　CONJ 3.see.ASS　　　1p
　　　　"it's certain that he'll catch up and see me, ..." (Wa'i)

A distinction central to many discussions of clitichood which we have as yet neglected to consider is that between simple and special clitics (Zwicky 1977). Simple clitics are the prosodically dependent, unstressed varieties of what would otherwise be full words. The paradigm examples are the English reduced auxiliaries, such as the [z] which attaches to *Fluffy* in the sentence *Fluffy's been chasing mice today*. In terms of linear precedence, this [z] shares exactly the same distribution with 'has' - the full form with which it is in complementary distribution. Simple clitics are usually perceived to result from the application of a purely phonological postlexical reduction rule. Special clitics, meanwhile, encompass the plethora of remaining clitic items, with all their peculiarities of positioning, and sometimes without any phonological resemblance to the full word of similar function - if there even is such a word. The weak pronouns of Romance languages are illustrative of special clitic status; so are Bimanese actor agreement morphemes.

Bimanese actor agreement morphemes are clearly not phonologically reduced forms of the full pronouns. They do not resemble the pronouns phonologically, and appear to surface either before or after the verb complex according to independent principles - principles which ostensibly involve some entailments of tense and aspect information in some settings, although not in others. Those 'other' settings are, as discussed in section 2.2, where the presence of an emphatic clitic forces an agreement enclitic to pre-predicate position, thus breaking the correlation between proclitic agreement and unrealized tense. Such behaviour raises two very pertinent questions. Firstly, just why should this happen? And secondly, should the agreement enclitic in such a situation be considered to have actually moved and 'landed' in pre-predicate position, or does the agreement proclitic instead have an entirely separate identity?

Turning to the first of these questions, one would have to presume at this stage that prosodic factors are responsible for the prohibition on the attachment of emphatic clitics (with the exception of *mpa*) to the right of actor agreement. Emphatic clitics, as prosodically deficient items, may be required to attach to a host which itself is *not* prosodically deficient. A looser, if less directly defined, explanation could be simply that stylistic factors prohibit the combination. For in fact, it happens to be the case that in informal, lower register Bimanese, emphatic clitics may follow actor agreement. The selection of lower register Bimanese examples below illustrate this possibility[12]:

(2.140) Wa'u.ra   ngaha.**mu.si** nggomi?
        already.EMPH eat.2.COND   2p
        "Have you already eaten?

(2.141) Lao.**ku.d'u** ede   sa.mba'a, d'ua mba'a wali.pu   ampo ka.dula.
        go.1.TEMP DEM one.year two year again.yet then 1.return
        "I've gone now - I'll be back in another one or two years."

(2.142) Maru.**na.ra**   ede wati.d'u   bola   sampe nai sid'isi.
        sleep.3.EMPH DEM NEG.TEMP awake until   day morning
        "She/He's asleep now s/he won't wake up until tomorow."

Whether the contrast between the two registers boils down to general stylistics, or if instead prosodic differences inhere in lower register Bimanese may be resolved by further study of both prosodics and the properties of lower register Bimanese.

Regarding the second question, as to whether or not the manner in which emphatic clitics seem to 'force' agreement to the front of the verb complex is actually representative of movement, the answer must be no - for the case of my consultant's Bimanese at least. This is because, in my consultant's Bimanese, the first person singular and second person singular and plural agreement forms differ phonologically depending on whether they are realized before or after the verb complex. It is not plausible to posit a rule such that, for example, [ku] is required to change to [ka] once it is placed before the verb complex and then integrated into the phonological word it forms in combination with its host. Hence *ka-* and *-ku* (as well as *ma-* and *-mu*) must have entirely separate identities: actor agreement really does consist of two series with separate realizational properties.

In as much as these (modern) agreement morphemes evidently do not hold the property of mobility, they may appear somewhat less 'clitic-like' than one may have at

first imagined. For although we must, in a sense, call them clitics, there is no reason not to think of them as affixes - albeit *phrasal* affixes. Note that Anderson (1992) identifies clitics as phrasal affixes, and lends credence to the idea that affixes and clitics should be treated in essentially the same way since "the unusual distribution and placement of 'clitics' do not reflect the operation of unusual rules of syntax ..., but rather represent a generalization of the rules of word-level morphology" (1992, 198). Klavans (1985) also characterizes clitics as phrasal affixes, and further holds that phrasal affixes are attached post-lexically (1985, 100, n5), presumably by some phonological rule of stray adjunction.

Now, given that phrasal affixes are understood to be syntactically and semantically dependent upon an entire phrase, and only *prosodically* dependent upon their immediately adjacent host, it is unsurprising that they would be predicted to be attached at the postlexical, and not the lexical, level. One would expect only word-level affixes to be attached morphologically at the lexical level. Yet, in a pivotal development, Zwicky (1987) has shown from haplology phenomena that the realization of the English possessive clitic *'s* is dependent upon the internal morphological structure of the word to which it attaches; it needs to be able to see inside its host, so to speak, and thus must itself be attached morphologically, at the lexical level. Thus we see in (2.143) how the possessive morpheme is obligatorily suppressed, yet comparison with (2.144) shows how this suppression cannot be phonologically conditioned (that is, since **cats's* is phonologically identical to *Katz's*). Instead, it must be concluded that the possessive morpheme is sensitive to the morphological structure of its host, and as such must be attached at the morphological level itself.

(2.143) people attacked by cats'/*cats's reactions to them
(2.144) people attacked by Katz's reaction to him   (Zwicky 1987, 140)

A phrasal affix with this property is characterized as 'edge inflection'. The crucial question Zwicky (1987) eventually poses is, since the English possessive is usually regarded as a paradigm case of a phrasal affix while at the same time it is also evidently a case of edge inflection, should not all phrasal affixes thus be considered to be edge inflection?

Miller (1991) gives a positive return to this question, by providing detailed analyses of the English possessive, and of French 'clitics' (which also show haplology

effects), under which these phrasal affixes are attached lexically. The phrasal affix

mechanism which he develops (in a GPSG-HPSG hybrid framework), and which he

claims to be a "necessary mechanism in linguistic theory" (1991, 140), is distilled for

the case of the English possessive in Halpern (1995). The general idea is for two

classes of features to be distinguished: trigger features and marking features. These

are to be specified in the grammar as pairs, where the trigger feature is introduced on

a phrasal node and from there the marking feature appears on a trail of daughters. The

following principle summarised by Halpern (which is less formal than the version

presented in Miller (1991, 123)) governs this behaviour:

> The Edge Feature Principle:
> For a pair of features F and G such that F is a trigger feature and G is the associated marking
> feature,
> > a. If F appears on the mother in a local tree, G must appear on one of the daughters.
> > b. If G appears on the mother in a local tree, it must appear on one of the daughters.
> > c. If G appears on a daughter in a local tree, either F or G (or both) must appear on
> > the mother. (Halpern 1995,
> > 112)

As to the question of which of the daughters the marking feature will appear on, this

is determined by whether the marking feature is a FIRST, HEAD or LAST feature.

The placement of FIRST and LAST features will be determined by linear precedence

rules ([FIRST] $\angle$ X; X $\angle$ [LAST]), and the placement of HEAD features will be

regulated by other principles (which are not relevant here).

Plainly, the marking feature for the English possessive is a LAST feature.

Halpern calls it PM, and its trigger POSS, and illustrates with examples such as the

following (1995, 114):

(2.145)

(Halpern 1995, 114)
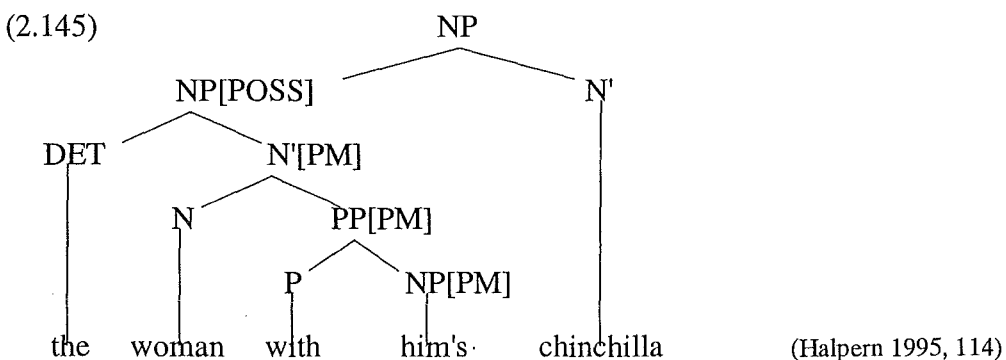
Thus *him*, as the word at the terminal node bearing the feature PM, must be inflected

for the possessive. Zwicky (1987) comments that, under such a system, practically

every word in the lexicon would have to be inflected for *'s*. However, neither he, nor

any of the following writers who have continued this line of enquiry consider this to pose any difficulty or complication "since the shapes of the inflected forms are completely predictable from general principles" (Zwicky 1987, 139).

Such a system can of course be installed quite easily for Bimanese. Here the trigger features PrAGR (Prefixal-Agreement) and SuAGR (Suffixal-Agreement) would be paired with the marking features 1-PrAGR and L-SuAGR respectively (following the naming conventions of (Miller 1991, 119)). Here are some examples:

(2.146)

```
                                           V'[EMPH]
                                          /        \
                          V'[PrAGR]              [EMPH]
                         /         \                 |
          V'[1-PrAGR]              V'                 |
         /         \                |                 |
AP[1-PrAGR]    V                    |                 |
   /\          |                    |                 |
na.cua.cua    hera        ro    kanucu-kanece        ra
3.each.each   surprised   CONJ  astonish            EMPH
"(they) were all very surprised and astonished, ... "   (Wa'i)
```

(2.147)

```
                    V'
                  / | \
    V'[SuAGR]       |     V'[SuAGR]
        |           |         |
  V[L-SuAGR]        |    V[L-SuAGR]
        |           |         |
     i'a.na        ro     kama'i.na
     abuse.3       CONJ   curse.3
     "(he) abused and cursed ... "
```
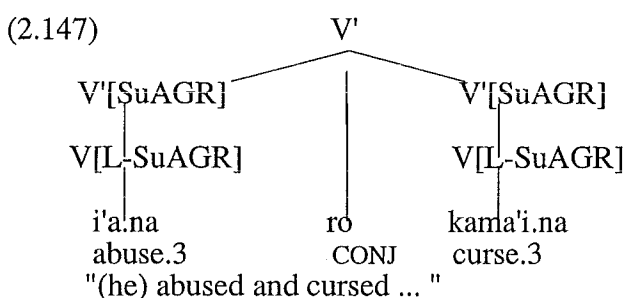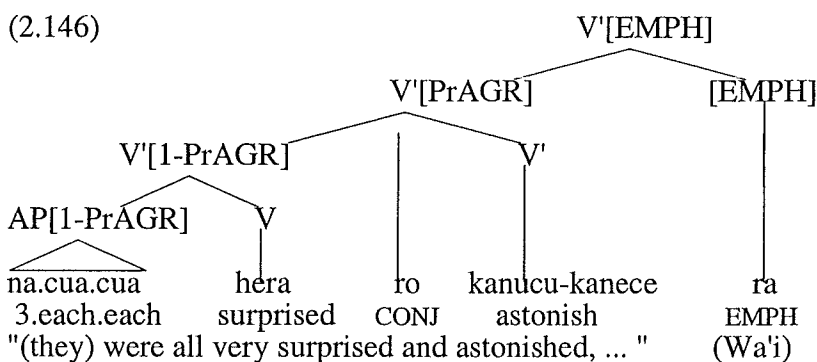
The only real complications would then come in disallowing the cooccurrence of PrAGR and SuAGR on the same node, and in disallowing suffixal agreement to be followed by an emphatic clitic in formal Bimanese. The latter would be filtered out by post-lexical rules were its true motivation purely prosodic, or else this could even be dealt with lexically, if we were to treat the emphatic clitics similarly as lexically realized phrasal affixes, and not as bound words (see below). This second treatment, under which the prohibition on the cooccurrence of agreement and emphatic enclitics is facilitated by allowing the emphatic clitic to be sensitive to the internal structure of the host to which it attaches, could be seen to recommend the edge inflection approach. However, if we choose not to attach emphatic clitics lexically, then notice that the agreement enclitics themselves do not actually demand a lexical treatment in the way the English possessive does, since they show no morphophonological

intercations with purely inflectional affixes internal to the host to which they attach. This is because there *are* no such inflectional affixes.

Other criticisms levelled against this analysis may take the shape of Halpern's (1995) general suspicion of this (admittedly powerful) mechanism, which he calls 'Extended Inflection'. Halpern speaks of "the arguments ... presented in favour of the Extended Inflection" as being "admittedly slim and the judgements precarious" (1995, 143), holding that one should maintain as strongly as possible the following principle, called the Morphosyntactic Congruence Hypothesis (MCH):

> The morphological word (or lexical item) must correspond to a single syntactic constituent. (1995, 99)

Yet at the same time, Halpern does admit that there are some cases which must be analysed under the Extended Inflection model, as "lexical clitics" (1995, 101) - which is essentially an admission that the MCH cannot be strictly maintained. One case that he admits must be treated as Extended Inflection (for the very reasons we have identified above) are the English possessive clitics. However, Halpern does also find some genuine fault with treating this case uniformly as Extended Inflection.

Halpern points out that, whereas English speakers uniformly elide the possessive *'s* (that is, 'suppress the *Z*') in simple, head-final possessive NPs where the head is marked with plural [z] such as (2.148), this is not so for the case of complex, head-medial possessive NPs (2.149-50):

(2.148) The anteaters' tongues were long, thin and raspy.

(Halpern 1995, 123)

(2.149) a. Anyone who keeps bees' neighbours get free honey.   [biz]

   b. Anyone who keeps bees's neighbours get free honey.   [bizəz]

(Halpern 1995, 103)

(2.150) a. A dog with fleas' fur comes out when it scratches.   [fliz]

   b. A dog with fleas's fur comes out when it scratches.   [flizəz]

(Halpern 1995, 124)

He observes that although some small number of speakers can be unsure or variable in this area, they otherwise "fall robustly" into two dialects, which he calls "single-Z" and "double-Z" (Halpern 1995, 103). The unusual situation for double-Z speakers is that they use two strategies for marking the possessive, which Halpern calls the *percolation strategy* and the *bound word strategy,* depending on whether the plurally marked host is also the head of the possessive NP. Example (2.151) below again

illustrates the percolation strategy, which is used by single-Z and double-Z speakers alike (since the plurally marked host is also the head); while (2.152) illustrates the bound word strategy, where the possessive clitic is not sensitive to the morphological structure of its host:

(2.151)

```
                        NP
        NP[POSS]              N'
    DET        N'[PM]
    the        anteaters'     tongues
```

(2.152)

```
                        NP
        NP[POSS]              N'
    NP          POSS
  DET    N'
       N    PP
  a   dog  with fleas    's       fur
```
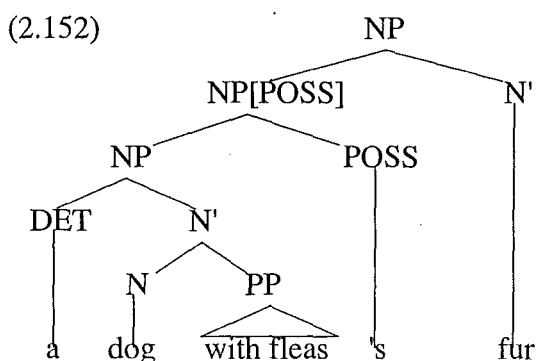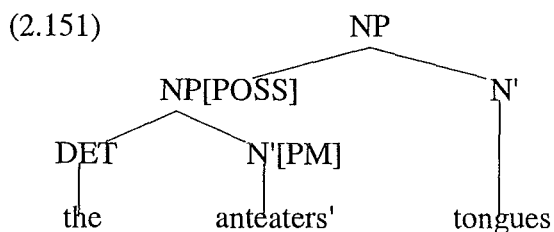
So are Bimanese agreement clitics, which show no overt signs of morphological interaction with their hosts, best analysed as bound words? Clearly not, it will transpire, as soon as we clarify just what a bound word is.

'Bound word' is a term established by Nevis (1985). These clitics represent particular syntactic categories and display the same distribution as free words, except they are bound - whether optionally or obligatorily so. The optionally bound variety, which may alternate with full words, are just the simple clitics, such as the English auxiliary discussed above. An example of an obligatorily bound 'bound word' could conceivably be Bimanese emphatic clitics, were they to be regarded as representing particular syntactic categories, with their own unique, syntactically determined distribution. This interpretation is no doubt highly debatable - although what is clear is that Bimanese agreement clitics cannot represent bound words. This is just for the reasons we provided in support of their status as special clitics: they do not show the same syntactically determined distribution of the full pronominals, whose function and sense they share. Instead they are firmly affixed to the verb complex, or before non-verbal predicates. So even though we must, in a sense, call them clitics, they are

extremely affix-like in their behaviour, and I believe that the phrasal affix (or Extended Inflection) mechanisms presented above best captures this fact.

NOTES

[1] *Nggange* 'nasty', *raso* 'clean', and in fact all items with 'adjective-like' senses are treated as stative verbs in the absence of any substantial motivation to identify a separate category of 'adjective' in Bimanese.

[2] This is a term Nichols (1986) uses to refer to incorporated pronominal morphemes of head-marking languages. It seems necessary to mention, then, that Bimanese does not otherwise display features of a head-marking language. At the same time, note also that some writers (Andrews 1985) make no distinction between the two terms of 'agreement' and 'crossreference'.

[3] Such as is the case for the attachment of the (possibly Indonesian-influenced) object clitics to *lab'o* 'with':

> Nahu nuntu lab'o.**mu** (?nggomi) awi.na.
> 1p talk with.2 yesterday
> "I talked with you yesterday."

[4] One apparent exception is the 'habitual' adverb *taki:*

> Amba d'i **taki** lao kai b'a nahu niki minggu.na landa durian.
> market URZD hab go KAI by 1p every week.3 sell durian
> "The market I shop at every week sells durians."

[5] A more literal translation of this sentence would be 'Fero returned the shoes because of their too bigness'. As discussed in section 2.2.1 above, actor agreement enclitics are in general restricted from attaching to stative verbs (or verb complexes headed by stative verbs). What would superficially appear to be a major exception to this are the frequent cooccurrences of enclitics and stative verbs in phrases of reason headed by *b'a*. But on closer inspection, the more likely interpretation is that the enclitics are in fact possessor agreement enclitics attaching to nominalizations.

[6] Or else, it might be regarded as having a grammaticalized function in its valency-increasing role within the verb complex.

[7] Some examples which at first glance may appear to be obvious violations of this claim are the following:

> [NP D'a sumpu dana ka].ku [NP ngge'e kai.na].
> north point land yonder.ASS stay KAI.3
> "The north point of the land is his residence." (Sahe)

> [NP Pucu-lino].ku [NP ngara.na doro ede].
> summit-wet.ASS name.3 hill DEM
> "Pucu-lino is the name of that hill." (Nggea)

> [NP la Kalai].ku [NP ngara.n]
> PN Kalai.ASS name.3
> "Kalai was his name." (Kalai)

As the bracketting of these examples (as well as their translations) is meant to suggest, these clauses consist of two NPs (so *ngara* is taken to be the noun 'name' (and not the verb), and *kai* nominalizes the verb *ngge'e* 'live'/'stay' so that it means 'residence' (see section 3.4.2.1)). One of these NPs must be the predicate, and the other the actor (or A-subject). If the actor is the initial NP then it is also the subject; if the predicate is the initial NP then the sentence has no subject (just a post-predicate actor). That the

second scenario is correct is confirmed by my consultant's acceptance of the following sentence, in which the procliticization of actor agreement to the first NP indicates that *it* is the predicate:

> Na.[la Kalai].ku ngara.na.
> 3.PN Kalai.ASS name.3
> "Kalai was his name."

Thus it can be maintained that *ku* attaches only to predicates, or projections of predicates.

[8] *Si* would appear not to attach to single arguments of a predicate, presumably because conditionality is a property which holds over an entire proposition.

[9] This suffix, *-ja*, signals duality of action - and hence is glossed as 'also'. I have not classed it as one of the 'emphatic clitics' because its attachment properties are rather different. Unlike any of the emphatic clitics, it may be suffixed directly after the verb, before actor agreement:

> Ede mpara rai.ja.na ka.poda.poda ade.na.
> DEM then run.also.3 CAUS.true.true liver.3
> "And then he also ran with all his heart."

In addition to being commonly placed before imperative *pu*, *ja* is often placed before *ra* in the text of my consultant - although my understanding of the sense gained by this is at present rather murky.

[10] The sole exception where this is apparently not so is the following, where the emphatic clitic *ra* would appear to be placed before the second verb of a serial verb construction:

> Ntika na.hina.ra d'aro ed'i ompu ede, ...
> suddenly 3.touch.EMPH grope leg old-man DEM
> "Suddenly he touched and groped the leg of the old man, ..." (Wa'i)

However, my consultant has commented that the placement of *ra* after *d'aro* is far more preferable. (Note that the *ra* above is unlikely to be the same *ra* that is used as a conjunction in my consultant's Bimanese because there is every other indication that only *ro* may function as a conjunction in the Bimanese transcribed by Jonker.)

[11] Accordingly, direct object and possessor agreement morphemes must also be treated as clitics. Direct object markers similarly attach to V' constituents, while in example (2.35) repeated below, the possessor enclitic attaches to a nominalized V' constituent:

> Fero ka.mbali.na sapatu b'a [$_{V'}$ na'e lalo].na.
> Fero caus.return.3 shoe because big too.
> "Fero returned the shoes because they were too big." (lit. 'because of their too bigness')

[12] Note that the absence of any examples in which the emphatic clitic *ku* follows actor agreement is representative of the apparent reality that, for whatever reason, even in lower register Bimanese, this combination is prohibited.

CHAPTER THREE

SUBJECT, VOICE AND RELATIVE CLAUSES

3.1 Introduction

Having addressed the issue of how and where actor agreement morphemes attach and whether they are to be characterized as affixes or clitics, we turn now to the question of what categories these morphemes are in agreement *with*. It seems clear from the outset that they can be in agreement with no one particular surface grammatical relation, since they may serve to coreference a subset of pre-predicate arguments in some cases, while in other cases they coreference certain other arguments which follow the predicate, and which under certain circumstances will be preceded (and perhaps 'case-marked') by *b'a*. What these disparately distributed agreement targets have in common is that they are all *actors*.

The sense in which I will be using the term 'actor' corresponds closely to the notion of a[rgument]-structure subject as described in Manning (1996). Argument structure is here conceived of not as being predicated upon purely thematic or semantic concepts, but instead as taking on a more 'syntacticized' guise. At the same time, what we speak of as the subject at a-structure - or the *actor* - clearly will not be as syntactic in nature as the subject at surface structure. The actor is taken to hold the most prominent thematic role of any given predicate, and as such need not be semantically active, or have the thematic role of agent. For the case of transitive predicates, the actor most often will be an agent, although it could instead be, say, an experiencer. The actor argument of an intransitive predicate similarly need not be an agent, while for the case of predicates consisting of stative verbs, NPs or PPs, the actor - which is the sole obligatory argument - cannot be an agent. That the actor may admit a large number of semantic roles lends weight to its syntactic status.

I will also at times be referring to certain arguments as 'undergoers', where this term is intended to isolate the *second* most prominent thematic role on an a-structure list. I hasten to add at this point that 'actor' and 'undergoer' in this sense do not hold exactly the same significance as the 'actor' and 'undergoer' described by Foley and Van Valin (1984). Foley and Van Valin (1984, 29) classify the arguments in the following clauses as undergoers:

> The door opened.
> Fritz was very unhappy.

Such arguments, be they unaccusatives or else the arguments of stative predicates, I will classify as actors, in accord with the principles stated above. I see it as necessary to appeal to a non-surface level of syntacticized a-structure, since it is quite evident

that agreement cannot be a surface phenomenon, and that the target of agreement cannot be a surface grammatical relation of subject.

With all this in place then, we might next ask what the surface grammatical status of the arguments isolated by actor agreement is. *Does* Bimanese have a (surface) grammatical relation of subject? And what is the grammatical status of the argument which is preceded by the oblique-looking *b'a*? This chapter will be preoccupied with such enquiries; and while its title - "Subject, voice and relative clauses" - would seem to suggest a rather broad and heterogeneous grouping of topics, we will see that these are in fact closely interconnected issues which arise when we begin to question the status of subject in Bimanese. To begin with, we will consider the less likely candidate for subject: the postverbal actor phrase.

3.2 Postverbal actor phrases

Postverbal actor phrases must be headed by *b'a* if the verb they follow is transitive:

(3.1) Roa ka.mbi'a   [**b'a** Reho].
    pot CAUS.broken by Reho
    "Reho broke the pot."

(3.2) Ompu Ico ka.pata [**b'a** nahu] b'a   wancu.ku disa.na.
    Ompu Ico 1.know by 1p   because great.ASS brave.3
    "Ompu Ico is known by me for is great bravery."

(3.3) Fero hari   kai   [**b'a** Amu].
    Fero laugh GOAL by Amu
    "Fero is laughed at by Amu."

Otherwise, if the actor follows an intransitive or stative verb (or else a PP or NP predicate in an equational sentence), then the phrase it appears in will simply be a bare postverbal complement:

(3.4) Wa'u.ra   mai [la   Farid].
    already.EMPH come PN Farid
    "Farid has arrived."

(3.5) Wara.ku [sangaji ma   lao nggalo ese doro   Na'e].
    exist.ASS sultan relA go hunt   on mountain Big
    "There was (once) a sultan who went hunting on Big Mountain." (Rompa-
Rompi)

Interestingly, my consultant allowed the optional inclusion of *b'a* after an intransitive verb in a number of oblique relativizations:

(3.6) Sakola ra lao kai (b'a) amania to'i nahu wara sa.mpuru guru.na.
    school rel go KAI by brother little 1p   exist one.tens teacher.3
    "The school that my little brother goes to has ten teachers." (lit. "The school that
my little brother goes to, there are its ten teachers.")

It will be observed in section 3.4.2.1 that the *kai* which is required in oblique relativizations does not seem to perform a valency-increasing function (but perhaps a nominalizing one instead) - although the possible appearance of *b'a* in examples such as (3.6) would appear to suggest otherwise. However, in the following oblique relativization (extractions take the form of relativizations in Bimanese - see section 3.4), *b'a* was disallowed - as it was after the *kai* in (3.8), which marks the extraction of a constituent of reason (see Chapter Five section 5.4.2 for information about this *kai*):

(3.7) Tab'e d'i   ngaha sarai kai (*b'a) ndai?
      where URZD eat   noon KAI   1inclp
      "Where will we eat our lunch?"

(3.8) B'a   sura ma da.b'ae ede nangi kai (*b'a) la Halima.
      because letter relA NEG.nice DEM cry   KAI   PN Halima
      "Because of the nasty letter Halima cried."

By this stage, it will have been noticed that Bimanese has a preposition *b'a*, which introduces oblique constituents of reason. Two instantiations of this can be found so far in this chapter in examples (3.2) and (3.8). This is highly significant, because it can be taken as evidence, or at very least as being highly suggestive, that the postverbal actor phrases headed by *b'a* are oblique. It is less likely that there are two homophonous *b'a's*. Thus the postverbal actors of transitive verbs essentially resemble English passive *by*-phrases.

But while these postverbal actors of transitive verbs must grouped with constituents of reason by virtue of being preceded by the same preposition, pragmatically, and also in terms of argument structure, they are grouped with all remaining (non-oblique) postverbal actors. Postverbal actor phrases, whether they are headed by *b'a* or not, are united by the property that they are lower on the topicality scale (in the sense of Givón 1983) than they would otherwise be were they to appear canonically in subject position. If we set aside this canonical preverbal positioning and concentrate on the isolated syntax of postverbal actor phrases, it will be noticed that what we have is an ergative system (with *b'a* as the ergative marker in transitive clauses). This kind of ergativity has the most basic functional explanation, however: *b'a* surfaces before the actor in transitive clauses purely for the purpose of distinguishing it from the undergoer. Word order is insufficient for this purpose of disambiguation since the undergoer has the freedom to appear preverbally as subject as well as postverbally after the actor. And in addition, there *are* exceptions to the overriding tendency for the *b'a*-phrase to occur immediately after the verb.

The *b'a*-phrase may at times appear to the right of the object, or some other argument(s). Here are two examples:

(3.9) Ka.fou   coco.ku   nggomi b'a nahu ...
        1.chase chase.ASS 2p   by 1p
        "I'll chase you ... "   (Ompu Ico)

(3.10) ku.wa'u.d'u   cempe   kai   wua haju b'a lamada aka-nde, ...
        1.already.TEMP exchange INSTR fruit   by 1p(pol) before
        "I already exchanged it with fruit just before, ... "   (Pande)

However, it should be stressed that it is always possible, and is usually highly
preferable, for the postverbal actor phrase to occur immediately after the verb
complex. This tendency seems to be most often broken when there is agreement with
the *b'a*-phrase (some further examples will be considered in Chapter Four section
4.4.2)[1] - which brings us towards our next concern with regard to postverbal actor
phrases: their subject-like properties.

In addition to fulfilling the traditional subject test of participating in an
agreement relation with the verb, postverbal actors may also appear as the addressees
of imperatives:

(3.11) weha.pu sara'a mena b'a nggomi!
        take.IMP all   PL   by 2p
        "you take them all!" (Kalai)

(3.12) lao ngge'e ada   to'i.pu b'a nggomi lab'o ruma-paduka, ...
        go stay   serve just.IMP by 2p   with queen
        "could you go and serve with the queen, ..." (Pande)

(3.13) kani.kani   ndai raho.n   ede wa'a wea.pu b'a nggomi.
        clothes.clothes URZD request.3 DEM bring BEN.IMP by 2p
        "you bring (him) those clothes he asks for." (Pande)

and as the antecedents of reflexive arguments:

(3.14) B'a   ra.dahu.ku   d'i lako ede.ra   cili b'a nahu weki.ku.
        because past.afraid.1 LOC dog DEM.EMPH hide by 1p   body.1
        "Because I was afraid of the dog I hid myself."

(3.15) Ka.lenga   b'a Ompu Ico weki.na lab'o henca.
        CAUS.friend by Ompu Ico body.3 with ghost
        "Ompu Ico befriended (himself with) a ghost."

(3.16) Ka.midi.pu   b'a nggomi weki.mu d'i   kontu nahu ake!
        CAUS.stay.pu by 2p   body.2 LOC back 1p now
        "You just keep yourself behind me now!"

Both of these properties have traditionally been taken to indicate subjecthood (Keenan
1976b). However, any serious argument that postverbal actor phrases are subjects can
be cancelled first and foremost by the observation that these tests do not even isolate
postverbal actors exclusively. The following examples show that preverbal actors may
also fulfil this role:

(3.17) Nggomi ngaha.pu utambeca.[2]
      2p   eat.IMP   vegetable
      "You eat the vegetables."

(3.18) Ompu Ico ka.lenga.na weki.na lab'o henca.

In fact, it is not uncommon among Austronesian languages to find that an actor constituent which can be decisively argued *not* to be the subject, may still fulfil these tests. Such is the case, to name but a few, for the non-subject actors of Maori (Bauer 1993), Tagalog (Kroeger 1993), and Karo Batak (Woollams 1996). In Malagasy, passive voice is preferred for the expression of imperatives (Keenan 1976a, 259), while in Weschler and Arka (1998) considerable attention is focussed upon reflexive binding patterns in Balinese, the result of which is the promotion of the level of argument structure (as in Manning (1996) or Manning and Sag (1998)) as the locus of binding operations.

In connection with this last paper, it will be instructive to consider reflexive binding patterns in Bimanese further. Keeping examples (3.15) and (3.18) in mind then, we observe that (3.19) below is an acceptable variant, whereas (3.20-2) are not:

(3.19) Ka.lenga weki.na b'a Ompu Ico lab'o henca.

(3.20) *Ka.lenga b'a weki.na Ompu Ico lab'o henca.

(3.21) *Ompu Ico ka.lenga b'a weki.na lab'o henca.

(3.22) *Weki.na ka.lenga b'a Ompu Ico lab'o henca.

What can account for these possible and impossible binding patterns?[3] It is evident from (3.19) that binding need not be constrained by a condition requiring the antecedent to precede the bindee. Can these binding patterns be explained by the hierarchy of the terms at a-structure, as Weschler and Arka (1998) claim for Balinese? That is, are Bimanese antecedents required to a-command their reflexives?[4] The one foil to such an account would appear to be (3.22): here the antecedent, *Ompu Ico*, is the actor, and as such would be expected to outrank the reflexive expression at a-structure - yet (3.22) is disallowed. To some degree, this likely reflects a discourse or pragmatic constraint that requires the preverbal position to contain a definite, 'topical' referent. The next two chapters will explore the pervasiveness of this constraint. However, ultimately, it must be conceded that it is the surface grammatical status of the reflexive in this sentence (that is, it is the least oblique argument at surface structure) that renders this example unacceptable, and we thus conclude that the conditions on reflexive binding straddle the two syntactic levels of surface structure and a-structure.

3.3 Preverbal arguments as 'subject'

The fact that postverbal *b'a*-phrases may function as the addressee of an imperative or as the antecedent to a reflexive, and indeed that they take part in the primary agreement relation, is somewhat indicative of the Austronesian tendency for subject properties to be divided out between two different NPs (see, for example, Klaiman 1991, 257). This section will argue that, even so, it is the other, preverbal NP (or more generally, the pre-predicate NP) which is singled out by the more syntactically oriented of the subject tests, and for this reason should be identified as 'subject'. Unfortunately, the full range of syntactic tests cannot be utilized in the absence of an extensive understanding of some phenomena (such as quantifier float), but it is my contention that the remaining tests concerning equi deletion, coordination, subject to object raising, subject-to-subject raising and relativization still give strong indications that the preverbal argument should be identified as subject.

The test concerning equi patterns centres around the "near-universal" requirement that the unstated controllees of complement clauses be subjects (Kroeger 1993, 38). In Bimanese it is the preverbal slot of controlled clauses that is always null and will thus be identified as subject, as the following examples illustrate:

(3.23) Nahu ne'e.ku [__ mbci Rao fo'o].　　(*Nahu ne'e.ku [Rao mbei fo'o].)
　　　　1p　　want.1　　　give Rao mango
　　　"I wanted to give Rao a mango."

(3.24) Nahu ka.ne'e [__ ca'u b'a amania.ku].　　(*Nahu ka.ne'e amania.ku ca'u.)
　　　　1p　　1.want　　　like by brother.1
　　　"I want to be liked by my brother."

(3.25) Nahu coba.ku [__ hari　kai　b'a Fero].　　(* Nahu coba ku Fero hari kai.)
　　　　1p　　try.1　　　laugh GOAL by Fero
　　　"I tried to let Fero laugh at me."

(3.26) Reho siwi.na　　Fero [__ lao mpanga fo'o]. (*Reho siwi.na Fero fo'o lao mpanga)
　　　　Reho persuade.3 Fero　　go steal　　mango
　　　"Reho persuaded Fero to steal a mango."

Of all subject tests, this probably provides the most resolute evidence that Bimanese pre-predicate arguments are subjects.

Coordination patterns also signal that the preverbal argument is subject - or at least that it is configurationally separate from the verbal projection. The following examples show how two verbal projections may be coordinated under a preverbal argument in (3.27-8), while two strings consisting each of a preverbal argument followed by a verb may not be coordinated under some other argument (3.29-30):

(3.27) Nahu [[puru janga]　ra　[waca pingga]].
　　　　1p　　cook chicken CONJ wash plate
　　　"I cooked chicken and washed dishes."

(3.28) Rao [[kanggica kai   b'a Amu] ra   [hari   kai   b'a Fero]].
     Rao   shout   GOAL by Amu CONJ laugh GOAL by Fero
     "Rao was shouted at by Amu and laughed at by Fero."

(3.29) *[[Amu kanggica kai]   ra   [Fero hari   kai]] Rao.
     Amu   shout   GOAL CONJ Fero laugh GOAL Rao
     Putatively: 'Amu shouted at and Fero laughed at Rao.'

(3.30) *[[Janga   puru] ra   [pingga waca]] b'a nahu awina.
     chicken cook CONJ plate   wash   by 1p   yesterday
     Putatively: 'Chicken was cooked and dishes were washed by me yesterday.'

If one considers the grammatical relation of subject to be defined purely in terms of phrase structure configuration (as do Guilfoyle et al. (1992) or Chung (1999), but as Kroeger (1993, 110) does not), then these examples will provide irrefutable evidence for the subjecthood of the preverbal argument.

     Consider, in addition, the following possible coordinations:

(3.31) [[Kanggica kai   b'a Amu] ra   [hari   kai   b'a Fero]] Rao.
     shout   GOAL by Amu CONJ laugh GOAL by Fero   Rao
     "Amu shouted at and Fero laughed at Rao."

(3.32) [[Puru janga]   ra   [waca pingga]] b'a nahu awina.
     cook chicken CONJ wash plate   by 1p   yesterday
     "I cooked chicken and washed dishes yesterday."

(3.33) [[Puru janga] ra   [waca pingga]] awina   b'a nahu.
     cook chicken CONJ wash plate   yesterday by 1p
     "I cooked chicken and washed dishes yesterday."

These would also appear to provide hierarchical information that helps us construct the phrase structure. Infrequent comment in the previous chapter has indicated that I have been assuming that Bimanese has configurational phrase structure, and thus that VPs are the categories coordinated in (3.28-9) (with the preverbal arguments as 'VP-external arguments'). VP projections are tentatively assumed to contain the verb, the objects, and the *b'a*-phrase. The latter category, with its variable positioning, one may assume to be an adjunct. The status of the *b'a*-phrase as term or adjunct will be queried at the close of this chapter.

     'Raising' phenomena also indicate that pre-predicate arguments are subjects. If a verb takes a clausal complement, and if there is evidence that it treats a particular argument of this clause as its object, then this particular argument must be the subject of the embedded clause. In the following examples the verbs *kacei* 'think', *kau* 'make, force' and *ne'e* 'want' take clausal complements. Because these verbs come packaged within a *ma*-relative clause structure, they may show so-called direct object 'agreement', where what this agreement must be coreferential with are the preverbal arguments:

(3.34) Nahu ma kacei.**na** [__ nggadu sura ma da.ba'e].
     1p relA think.3   send   letter relA NEG.nice
     "It was me who thought s/he sent a nasty letter."

(3.35) Nahu ma kau.**mu** [__ hade karawo].
     1p   relA make.2   kill rat
     "It was me who made you kill the rat."

(3.36) La Halima ma ne'e.**mu** [__ jagu   b'a Fero].
     PN Halima relA want.2   punch by Fero
     "It's Halima who wants you to be punched by Fero."

(3.37) Ina   ma kacei.**ku** [__ mbei b'a Fero b'unga].
     mother relA think.1   give by Fero flower
     "It's mother who thinks I was given flowers by Fero."

But here the caveat is, of course, that it is by no means evident that this phenomena really does represent genuine agreement. Section 2.2.3 of the previous chapter leant rather more towards the opposite conclusion, while for the examples above we should note that it is no conincidence that the embedded clauses of all of these sentences have null subjects. If the boldface morphemes in (3.33-7) represent nothing more than enclitic direct object pronouns then their attachment to the matrix verb must be said to reflect only their prosodic dependence, instead of any genuine manifestation of subject-to-object raising.

     The sets of examples to follow also suggest that a certain significance should be attributed to the preverbal argument in connection with what would appear to be subject-to-subject raising. Consider the following four sentences containing the verb *kacei* 'think' which takes clausal complements:

(3.38) a. Kacei b'a Amu [nggomi ndawi pangaha].
          think by Amu 2p   make cake
          "Amu thinks you make cakes."

        b. Kacei b'a Amu [pangaha ndawi b'a nggomi].
          think by Amu cake   make by 2p
          Amu thinks cakes are made by you."

(3.39) a. Kacei b'a Amu [Fero jagu.na nggomi].
          think by Amu Fero punch.3 2p
          "Amu thinks Fero punched you."

        b. Kacei b'a Amu [nggomi jagu   b'a Fero].
          think by Amu 2p   punch by Fero
          "Amu thinks you were punched by Fero."

The (a) and (b) examples in (3.38-9) differ according to which argument of the complement clause is placed in preverbal position. What is interesting is that this preverbal argument *may* (although most of the time preferably will not) be placed in

the preverbal position before the matrix verb, with which it has no direct semantic connection:

(3.40) a. Nggomi kacei b'a Amu [__ ndawi pangaha].
         2p   think by Amu   make cake
         "You are thought by Amu to make cakes."

      b. Pangaha kacei b'a Amu [__ ndawi b'a nggomi].
         cake   think by Amu   make by 2p
         "Cakes are thought by Amu to be made by you."

(3.41) a. Fero kacei b'a Amu [__ ma^5 jagu   nggomi].
         Fero think by Amu   relA punch 2p
         "Fero is thought by Amu to have punched you."

      b. Nggomi kacei b'a Amu [__ jagu b'a Fero].
         2p   think by Amu   punch by Fero
         "You are thought by Amu to have been punched by Fero."

The unacceptability of the following four examples confirms that it is only the preverbal argument of the complement clause that may be so raised:

(3.42) a. *Nggomi kacei b'a Amu [pangaha ndawi].

      b. *Pangaha kacei b'a Amu [nggomi ndawi].

(3.43) a. *Fero kacei b'a Amu [nggomi jagu].

      b. *Nggomi kacei b'a Amu [Fero jagu].

This being the case, the preverbal argument of Bimanese clauses will once again be identified as the subject.

     Although we are gradually moving towards the position that the Bimanese preverbal argument is the subject, we should not neglect the reality that examples such as (3.38-9) above do present a rather serious setback. These sentences contain no preverbal NPs. Furthermore, as will be seen in the next chapter, the majority of naturally-occurring Bimanese sentences in fact contain no preverbal NP. Obligatoriness is normally taken to be one of the key criteria for subjecthood (Keenan 1976b, 313; Kroeger 1993, 48-54). That the preverbal NP of Bimanese sentences are clearly not obligatory thus weighs against the contention that these constituents are subjects.

     The final test of subjecthood that we will consider is based on the premise that if any single category may be relativized in a language then this must be the subject (Keenan and Comrie, 1977). In order to utilize this test, we must first establish how relativization works in Bimanese, although unfortunately this is not as straightfoward a task as it sounds. For this reason an entire (and rather lengthy) section will be devoted to relative clauses. But we need not speak of the complications that relative

clauses present as 'unfortunate'; rather, the whole point of investing this time and effort in analyzing relative clauses is that it should ultimately lead to a more profound understanding of the structure of Bimanese, and it may even offer more accurate insights into the nature of pre- and post-predicate arguments in Bimanese.

As a kind of entrée to the discussion, and one which I hope will ultimately be conducive to understanding what is anomalous or otherwise less than straightfoward about the relative clause 'situation' in Bimanese, imagine a system with MA as a relative marker which relativizes only subjects, RA as a passive morpheme, and B'A as a preposition which precedes demoted actor phrases within passives. Relativization takes the form of a plain gapping strategy. If there is no other means of relativization than to use MA, then it will be correct to say that this language relativizes only subjects. In accord with the relativization test of subjecthood as outlined above, we may assume that the preverbal argument is the subject *if* we can show that it is the preverbal argument which must be absent in relative clauses - that is, if we have this kind of data:

(3.44)   X = Actor
          Y = Undergoer

          X Verb Y   'X verbed Y'
          Y RA-Verb B'A-X   'Y was verbed by X'

          X [MA __ Verb Y]   'the X which verbed Y'
          *X [MA Y RA-Verb B'A __]   'the X which Y was verbed by'

          Y [MA __ RA-Verb B'A-X]   'the Y which was verbed by X'
          *Y [MA X Verb __]   'the Y which X verbed'

Actually, the true Bimanese situation looks rather like this - but not quite. There are, as I say, complications - complications which hinge mainly upon the status of the real Bimanese *ra* (as opposed to our imaginary, purely passive RA). The major interest of this next section, then, will to be to see how Bimanese departs from this idealized system, and to question why it does so.

3.4 Relative Clauses

3.4.1 *Ma*-relative clauses: actor relativization

Relative clauses in which the actor is the argument being relativized on are headed by *ma*, as the following examples illustrate:

(3.45) [~NP~ Dou   mone [~S~ **ma**   ra.sambele   capi]] ama   Amu.
             person male   relA PAST.slaughter cow   father Amu
       "The man who slaughtered the cow is Amu's father."

(3.46) [$_{NP}$ Dou   mone [$_S$ **ma**   loa   mpa'a   piano]] wunga   kid'i.na ta'aka.
       person male   relA able play   piano   PROGR   stand.3 there
"The man who can play the piano is standing up over there."

(3.47) [$_{NP}$ Dou   mone [$_S$ **ma**   ra.mbei   Amu tato]] wa'u.ra   dula.
       person male   relA PAST.give Amu doll   already.EMPH return
"The boy who gave Amu a doll went home."

The glossing of *ma* as 'relA' is meant to signify that it is a relative clause marker
which relativizes on the Actor. As discussed in section 3.1, the actor is taken to be the
most prominent thematic role of any given predicate, which itself need not be *active*.
So we see that *ma* standardly attaches to stative verbs when they are used attributively
(but may be omitted from time to time, especially with frequently occurring statives,
such as *na'e* 'big'). Here is another example of a relative clause containing a stative
verb ((3.46) contained the stative verb *loa* "able", which is most often modified by a
specified kind of ability):

(3.48) La Rahim paha.na [$_{NP}$ ana   kea   [$_S$ ma   ngango] ede].
       PN Rahim feed.3   child baby   relA noisy   DEM
"Rahim is feeding the noisy baby."

Ma may also attach to NP and PP predicates, in which case the actor
relativized on is similarly non-active:

(3.49) Wua haju ake [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ **ma** [$_{NP}$ fo'o]]], lai.na   wua haju ma to'i   monca ake.
       fruit   DEM   relA   mango differ.3 fruit   relA small yellow DEM
"It's this fruit that is a mango, not that little yellow fruit."

(3.50) Rao [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ **ma** [$_{PP}$ d'i   uma   la Halima]]]], lai.na   Amu.
       Rao   relA   LOC house PN Halima   differ.3 Amu
"It's Rao who's at Halima house, not Amu."

From what we have seen so far, *ma* would appear to have the same attachment
properties as actor agreement proclitics: it always appears immediately to the left of
the predicate. However, under the interpretation that *ma* is a subordinating marker,
what we would expect *ma* to attach to the left of is an entire subordinate clause. The
consistent absence of a pre-predicate NP, and in fact the apparent impossibility of
placing an argument between *ma* and the predicate illustrated in (3.51), could reflect
the reality that *this* is the grammatical category being relativized.

(3.51) *Dou   [ma   oha ngaha] ede na.d'ihi ade.na.   (Dou ma ngaha oha ede na.d'ihi ade.na.)
        person relA rice eat   DEM 3.happy liver.3
"That person who eats (the) rice is happy."

One may ask then, what is stopping us from identifying the preverbal position as
subject position (since the tests in section 3.3 have already indicated that this is
likely), and from saying that *ma* heads relative clauses which relativize not just actors,

but *subjects*. But there is a very good reason for not doing this, which is that *ma* often may not be used for relative clauses which relativize subjects which are not actors; instead, in many cases, only *ra* in isolation may be used, as we will see in section 3.4.2.2.

By way of accounting for the as yet unexplained and rather extensive bracketing in the (cleft) sentences (3.49-50) above, we could first make the general observation that a number of clauses introduced by *ma* may not obviously appear to have a subordinate role or modifying function within a noun phrase (that is, they may not appear to be *relative clauses*). Instead they may have the outward appearance of a nominal construct (hence Jonker's inclusion of some *ma*-clauses under the rubric of 'verbal nouns'):

(3.52) Nahu ntau tolu mbua durian. [**Ma** wa'u.ra   lalo]   d'i   mbei amancawa.ku,
      1p   own three clas durian   relA already.EMPH overripe URZD give   sister.1
      "I have three durians. The overripe one is to give to my sister,

[**ma** wati.pu ntasa] d'i   mbei amania.ku, ede.ra   [**ma** taho poda]   d'i   mbei ina.ku.
relA NEG.yet ripe   URZD give brother.1   DEM.EMPH relA good INTENS URZD give mother.1
the unripe one is to give to my brother and the nicest one is to give to my mother."

These are still best analyzed as subordinate clauses though, but with the stipulation that what they modify is the null head of the noun phrase within which they are subordinated. So to illustrate, the clause initial noun phrase of the second sentence in (3.52) is structured like so:

(3.53) [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ Ma wa'u.ra lalo]]   "(The one) which is (already) overripe"

In fact, these *ma*-relative clauses with null heads are consistently used for Wh-questions and cleft sentences where the category questioned or clefted (in either case the category which receives pragmatic focus) must be the actor:

(3.54) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ Cou] [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ **ma** ra.sambele   capi]]]?
          who   relA PAST.slaughter cow
      "Who slaughtered the cow?"   ("Who was (the one) who slaughtered the cow?")

(3.55) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ Fero] [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ **ma** ra.sambele   capi]]].
         Fero   relA PAST.slaughter cow
      "It was Fero who slaughtered the cow."   ("Fero was (the one) who slaughtered the cow.")

One of the most distinguishing features of *ma*-relative clauses is that actor agreement may not be marked on the predicates of these clauses:

(3.56) Dou   mone ma   ra.jagu.(*na) nggomi awina   wunga cili.na weki.na ake.
       person male   relA PAST.punch.3 2p   yesterday.3 PROGR hide.3 body.3 now
       "The man who punched you yesterday is hiding now."

(3.57) Dou   siwe   ma rawa.(*na) aka sa.ngad'i.na na.ntika.ku.
     person female relA sing.3   LOC one.night.3 3.beautiful.ASS
     "The woman who sang last night was beautiful."

(3.58) Nahu ma   da.ngaha.(*ku) hi'i.
     1p   relA NEG.eat.1   meat
     "It's me who doesn't eat meat."

But interestingly, *direct object* agreement enclitics, which are homophonous with the actor agreement enclitics, may occur in *ma*-relative clauses:

(3.59) Poda ra   cowa.na, nggomi.mpa [ma b'ade.**na**].
     true CONJ false.3   2p.just   relA know.3
     "Whether it's true or false, only you know (it)."

(3.60) kone wara dou [ma   mai b'atu.**ta**],   wati.ja.d'u   raka.na.
     even exist person relA come follow.1incl NEG.also.TEMP get.3
     "even if there is someone who comes and follows us, he will not get (us)."
(Wa'i)

(3.61) nahu.ra   ne'e [ma inga.**mu**].
     1p.EMPH URZD relA help.2
     "it's me who'll help you." (Sahe)

(3.62) nahu [ma   tonggu.**n**].
     1p   relA watch-over.3
     "*I* will watch over him". (Udi)

In fact, the *ma*-relative clause is the *only* environment where direct object agreement may occur - which cannot be functionally unrelated to the fact that this is also the only place where actor agreement is prohibited.

However, as voiced in section 2.2.3 of Chapter Two, there are grave doubts as to whether these enclitics could really be said to signify genuine grammatical agreement. This is because my consultant usually judges the inclusion of a full NP in apposition to the enclitic to be somewhat peculiar - although not generally completely unacceptable. Clearly, then, there will be difficulty in claiming that enclitics and full NPs are doubled in any systematic way, and hence that these enclitics signify 'agreement'. But at the same time, it does seem slightly strange that these object enclitics are phonologically identical to the actor agreement enclitics with which they are in complementary distribution - espcecially since it is not even the case that they can be regarded as phonologically reduced forms of the full object pronouns.

These observations point towards the kinds of enquiries, first expressed briefly in section 2.2.3, that revolve around the suspicion that this direct object marking may in fact be actor agreement, where the notion of 'actor' has been subject to certain syntactic derivations. But if this were true, then one would expect these syntactic derivations to occur at the level of a-structure, and for the agreement rule to isolate the more semantic, argument-structure-based notion of undergoer, instead of the

surface grammatical relation of direct object. For whereas what have identified as actor agreement must be so called because it signals a relationship of covariation in features between the predicate and the clause-initial actor on one hand, as well as the predicate and an actor NP which *follows* it on the other, the 'agreement' we see within *ma*-relative clauses looks to only agree with one surface grammatical relation in a fixed position: the direct object.

The category agreed with in a *ma*-relative clause must always occur directly after the verb of this clause (that is, in direct object position, given the guaranteed absence of an actor phrase headed by *b'a*), and never before it, in subject position. Further, this category can admit many thematic roles and not just the canonical direct object role of patient; this dissociation from semantic case roles thus affirms the syntactic status of the category. In fact, we have already seen the examples which support this when I argued for the valency-changing properties of the items *lab'o, wea* and *kai* in section 2.3.2.2 of Chapter Two. Here are some of the examples again, where agreement is signalled with the benefactive argument in (3.63), and the goal argument in (3.64):

(3.63) Fero ma   ndawi wea.mu pangaha ede.
       Fero relA make BEN.2   cake   DEM
       "It was Fero who made you that cake."

(3.64) Fero ma   kanggica kai.mu.
       Fero relA shout   GOAL.2
       "It was Fero who shouted at you."

But then, taking into account the proposed syntactic - and not purely semantic - status of undergoers, one might expect these a-structure entities also to be able to admit multiple theta roles. One would expect to be able to speak of 'derived undergoers'. However, these issues are very far from being worked out, and, besides, if it is conceded that 'direct object agreement' is in fact not agreement at all, then these concerns will begin to matter less.

Direct object 'agreement' in Bimanese is an interesting phenomenon, but one that will be mentioned only infrequently from this point onwards. This is out of necessity more than choice and reflects the simple reality that instantiations of direct object agreement are rare (I have found only 15 in text, 13 of which were from Jonker's texts). This is largely a consequence of the fact that their restricted environments of *ma*-relative clauses are themselves relatively rare – at least in comparison to the extensive use of relative clause constructions found in other Austronesian languages.

The relative clauses in examples (3.45), (3.47), (3.54), (3.55) and (3.56) all contain the verbal prefix *ra,* which signals that the action denoted by the verb has a

past tense interpretation (the action can still have past tense interpretation without *ra*; *ra* is an overt signal of past tense). Here is a further example containing this *ra*:

(3.65) Fero ma   ra.ngaha oha.
       Fero relA PAST.eat rice
       "It was Fero who ate the rice."

In the next section, a *ra* which serves to mark a relative clause in which a non-actor argument is relativized on will be identified. That this *ra* also has past tense interpretation as well as entirely similar attachment properties would suggest that the two *ra*'s are closely related, and most probably traceable to a single origin. At this stage, however, it should be stressed that there is a *ra* which does nothing more than mark past tense (the sense of something already having happened is in fact what my consultant most readily identifies with *ra*) and has no bearing upon the status and arrangement of the surrounding grammatical relations. The occurrence of this past marker is not limited to relative clauses:

(3.66) Ngao ra.doho.na ese dipi sa.mbia   ai.
       cat   PAST.sit.3 on mat one.afternoon day
       "The cat was sitting on the mat all day."

But it does often seem to be restricted in such a way that it must cooccur with adverbials of time (see Rachman et al. (1985, 25)). In the following examples, the inclusion of *ra* was disallowed:

(3.67) Cou ma (*ra).maru?
       who relA PAST.sleep
       "Who slept/fell asleep?"

(3.68) Cou ma (*ra).hari   kai   nahu?
       who relA PAST.laugh GOAL 1p
       "Who laughed at me?"

But the inclusion of *ra* was 'salvaged' by my consultant by installing an adverbial of time:

(3.69) Cou ma   ra.maru   [wunga ntanda felem]?
       who relA PAST.sleep PROGR. watch film
       "Who fell asleep while watching the film?"

(3.70) Cou ma ra.hari   kai   nahu [kande]?
       who relA PAST.laugh GOAL 1p   before
       "Who laughed at me just then?"

Presumably, for those sentences which do allow the past marker *ra,* yet which do not contain adverbials of time, there is some presupposed event or time phase.

When the action or state conveyed by the relative clause has *future* reference, we find *d'i* placed before *ma*:

(3.71) Dou [d'i   ma ngaha pangaha] ede na.mpore.ku.
        person URZD relA eat   cake   DEM 3.fat.ASS
        "The person who will eat the cake will get fat."

(3.72) Cou [d'i   ma sambele capi]?
        who URZD relA slaughter cow
        "Who will slaughter the cow?"

(3.73) Amu [d'i   ma   lao ese Mbojo].
        Amu URZD relA go on Bima
        "It is Amu who will go to Bima."

As the following two examples suggest, the sense signalled by *d'i* in this context is
actually slightly broader than just future tense, which is why I have glossed it as
'URZD' for 'unrealized':

(3.74) Rao [d'i   ma   paha uta niki   ainai minggu].
        Rao URZD relA feed fish every day Sunday
        "It is Rao who feeds the fish every Sunday."

(3.75) Au [d'i   ma   ka.roci   woko honggo nahu]?
        what URZD relA CAUS.fast grow hair   1p
        "What can make my hair grow faster?"

D'i is also required to occur before a *ma*-relative clause when this clause
constitutes part of the controlled clause in an object control construction:

(3.76) Kau.na ana [$_{NP}$ sasa'e.na] [d'i [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ ma tonggu   ari d'oho.na]]].
        make.3 child eldest.3   URZD   relA watch-over sibling plural.3
        "She made her eldest child (be the one who would) look after her brothers and
sisters." (Wadu)

(3.77) Siwi   b'a nahu [$_{NP}$ la Halima] [d'i [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ ma dompo honggo Amu]]].
        persuade by 1p   PN Halima URZD   relA cut   hair   Amu
        "I persuaded Halima to (be the one who would) cut Amu's hair."

(3.78) Nahu raho.ku [$_{NP}$ Reho] [d'i [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ ma nggud'a b'unga d'i   sarei]]].
        1p   ask.1   Reho   URZD   relA plant   flower LOC yard
        "I asked Reho to (be the one who would) plant flowers in my garden."

Note that when *ma* is not present within the controlled clause of the object control
structure, it is no longer acceptable to include *d'i*:

(3.79) Nahu raho.ku Reho (*d'i) nggud'a b'unga d'i   sarei.
        1p   ask.1 Reho   plant   flower LOC yard
        "I asked Reho to plant flowers in my garden."

The reason for this will become clearer when we consider the significance of *d'i* as it
pertains to relative clauses in which non-actors are relativized at the close of the next
section.

One final point concerning the use of *d'i* in relative clauses which relativize actors is that this behaviour is confined to my consultant's Bimanese, and is not at all present in the texts of Jonker. The Bimanese which Jonker investigated appears to have used the items *ndai, ndei, nde, ndi* and even *ne'e* for loosely similar purposes (Jonker 1896, 110-147), while *d'i* served only as a locative preposition. It is not unlikely that my consultant's use of this *d'i* in relative clauses represents an extended usage of the original locative preposition; this would also explain its asymmetry with the past tense prefix *ra* in terms of positioning (*d'i* always occurs before *ma* and *ra* after it).

3.4.2 Non-actor relativization

This section will be divided into three subsections; section 3.4.2.1 will present the facts concerning non-actor relativization and the status of *ra*, section 3.4.2.2 will consider the complications which belie the situation as presented in 3.4.2.1, as well as the motivations behind this analysis, and section 3.4.2.3 will address the issue of unrealized tense non-actor relativizations.

3.4.2.1 *Ra*-relative clauses

In the same way that *ma* must be used to introduce a relative clause which relativizes the actor, *ra* is obligatory for relative clauses which relativize a non-actor category. If it is expressed at all, the actor must be located to the right of the verb of the *ra*-relative clause in a phrase headed by *b'a*. This absolute prohibition on the actor's positioning in preverbal position would seem to suggest that the non-actor category relativized by the *ra*-clause is necessarily promoted to subject for the purpose of relativization - if preverbal position can be correctly identified as subject position. At any rate, one notices the same peculiar condition with *ra* as with *ma* that no argument may intervene between either of these relative markers and the relative clause predicate.[6] Regardless of whether or not we can say that the relativized non-actor categories in the following examples are ultimately (derived) subjects, it is at least apparent that they have had the grammatical status of direct object at some stage:

(3.80) Fo'o   [**ra** ngaha b'a Rao] mbui.pu jao.na.
      mango rel eat   by Rao still.yet green.3
      "The mango that Rao ate was green."

(3.81) Dou   siwe [**ra** nuntu lab'o b'a Amu] na.ka.iha.ku   ade.na Amu.
      person female rel talk with by Amu 3.CAUS.pain.ASS liver.3 Amu
      "The woman who Amu talked with upset her."

(3.82) Siwe [**ra** ndawi wea b'a nahu pangaha] na.mbani.ku
      female rel make BEN by 1p   cake   3.angry.ASS
      "The woman I baked a cake for is angry."

(3.83) Cila mboko [**ra** tota   kai.na   udi]   na.ngaha.ku.
      machete   rel cut-up INSTR.3 lizard 3.sharp.ASS
      "The machete which he cut the lizard up with was sharp."

(3.84) Dou   mone [**ra** landa kai   b'a nahu roti]   wunga ngaha.na.
      person male   rel sell   GOAL by 1p   bread PROGR eat.3
      "The man I sold the bread to is eating it."

That the relativized categories above have had the grammatical status of direct object is 'apparent' from corresponding simple declarative sentences in which the category relativized is found in direct object position immediately after the verb (or after the *b'a*-headed actor phrase if it is present). We have seen in the previous chapter that *kai* appears to have the property of promoting both instrumental and goal/dative arguments to direct object in simple declarative sentences. These very same *kai*'s are presumably present in (3.83) and (3.84). Yet for the *kai*'s obligatory in examples such as (3.85) and (3.86) below, there will generally be no corresponding simple declarative sentence in which the oblique arguments *kengge sori* and *toko* are promoted to direct object status - as illustrated in (3.87)[7]:

(3.85) Kengge sori [**ra** ngaha **kai** b'a nami]   oi   na.sampu.
      edge   river rel eat   KAI by 1exclp water 3.dirty
      "The river which we ate beside, the water was dirty."

(3.86) Toko [**ra** weli **kai** b'a nami dolu] wa'u.ra   kempa.
      shop   rel buy KAI by 1exclp egg   already.EMPH closed
      "The shop which we buy our eggs from has closed."

(3.87) *Nami   weli kai.mu   toko dolu.   (Nami weli.mu dolu d'i toko.)
      1exclp buy   KAI.1excl shop egg
      "We bought eggs from the shop."

In Chapter Five we will see yet another distinct *kai* with a still more generalized (and in fact not strictly syntactic) function. But for now we may note with regard to this array of homophonous items that, whatever the grammatical significance of a given *kai* may be, it still seems to retain the same positioning properties: it 'likes' to appear at the right end of the verb complex (directly before any agreement affixes or emphatic clitics), although this preference is not absolute - it may occur earlier in the verb complex.

Ra-relative clauses, like *ma*-relative clauses, may modify null heads of noun phrases. This is the case in (3.88) below, in cleft constructions (3.89-91), and in questions (3.92-4):

(3.88) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ Ra ngaha b'a udi]] [$_{NP}$ janga   tolu   mbua]].
      rel eat   by lizard   chicken three CLAS
      "What the lizard ate was three chickens."

(3.89) [_S [_{NP} Cila mboko] [_{NP} Ø [_S ra tota   kai   b'a nahu udi]]].
          machete   rel cut-up INSTR by 1p   lizard
          "A cila mboko was what I chopped the lizard up with."

(3.90) [_S [_{NP} Reho] [_{NP} Ø [_S ra hengga wea b'a nahu ncai.na kande]]].
          Reho   rel open   BEN by 1p   door.3   before
          "Reho was who I opened the door for."

(3.91) [_S [Ta'ake] [_{NP} Ø [_S ra mab'u kai tas andou siwe   ede]]].
          here   rel fall   KAI bag child female DEM
          "This is where the girl dropped her bag."

(3.92) [_S [_{NP} Au] [_{NP} Ø [_S ra mbei b'a Fero ru'u Amu]]]?
          what   rel give by Fero   for   Amu
          "What did Fero give Amu?"

(3.93) [_S [_{NP} Cou] [_{NP} Ø [_S ra landa kai   b'a Fero roti]]]?
          who   rel sell   GOAL by Fero bread
          "Who did Fero sell the bread to?"

(3.94) [_S [Tab'e] [_{NP} Ø [_S ra weli mena kai.na dolu]]]?
          where   rel buy PL   KAI.3 egg
          "Where do they buy their eggs from?"

The predicates of *ra*-relative clauses may be marked for actor agreement, but actor agreement only (thus note the symmetry with *ma*-relative clauses):

(3.95) Durian ra mbei.**mu** la Halima na.wa'u.ra   lalo.
          durian rel give.2   PN Halima   3.already.EMPH overripe
          "The durian that you gave to Halima was overripe."

(3.96) Dou   mone ra landa kai.**mu** roti   wunga ngaha.na.
          person male rel sell   KAI.2   bread PROGR eat.3
          "The man you sold the bread to is eating it."

(3.97) Rao ra ndawi wea.**ku** pangaha.
          Rao rel make BEN.1   cake
          "Rao was who I made a cake for."

(3.98) Au   ra mpanga.**na**?
          what rel steal.3
          "What did she steal?"

(3.99) Sori b'e   ra ngaha sarai mena kai.**na**?
          river which rel eat   noon PL   KAI.3
          "Beside which river did they eat their lunch?"

Postverbal actor phrases may occur in apposition to the agreement, although this does not happen very frequently. But the most distinguishing feature of the actor agreement in *ra*-relative clauses is that it must be encliticized. This raises the question of whether the enclitics should actually be considered to be possessive enclitics, and whether the relative clause which commences with *ra* might actually have the external worth of a complex noun.

Nominally-directed enquiries also arise in connection with the *kai* which surfaces in relative clauses in which a locative or source argument is relativized, such as (3.91), (3.94) and (3.99) above. One speculation that cannot be dismissed is that it may simply represent a more productive manifestation of the nominalizing properties of *kai,* which are evident in a limited number of complex items, including:

ngge'e	= "live"	ngge'e.kai	= "residence"
maru	= "sleep"	maru.kai	= "bed"
mpa'a	= "play"	mpa'a.kai	= "playground"/"toys"
rai	= "run"	rai.kai	= "running gear"

The nominalizing interpretation seems possible for the following examples, in which the relative markers *ra* are absent:

(3.100) [$_S$ [$_{PP}$ Tab'e] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ mai.kai]   la Halima]]?
        where   come.KAI PN Halima
     "Where is Halima from?" ('Where is Halima's coming place?')

(3.101) [$_S$ [$_{PP}$ Tab'e] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ ngaha.sarai.kai] mena.na]]?
        where   eat.noon.KAI   PL.3(possessive)
     "Where did they eat their lunch?" ('Where was their noon-eating place?')

But in the following sentence, the phrase *ngge'e kai (b'a) ori nahu* must somehow be subordinate - which begs the question of why *ra*, the subordinating marker, is absent:

(3.102) Uma ngge'e kai (b'a) ori   nahu na.na'e.
      house live   KAI by uncle 1p   3.big
     "The house my uncle lives in is huge."

As it happens, the reason why *ra* is omitted is that, were it to be included, this would entail the unintended sense that the uncle no longer lived in the house under discussion. This brings us to a point that I have so far neglected to emphasize: that *ra* can on the whole only be used for these non-actor-relativized relative clauses when the action denoted by the verb of the relative clause has a past tense interpretation. Otherwise, *d'i* must be used to head the relative clause, as we will see in section 3.4.2.3 - although in the case of (3.102), both strategies are at a loss, since the use of *d'i* would give the sense that the uncle does not yet live in the house.

3.4.2.2 Relative marker *ra* is not a purely past marker or a (purely) passive marker

Given that the relative marker *ra* can only be used in situations where past tense interpretation is intended, and given that we have already seen a preverbal item *ra* which does nothing more than mark past tense in the last section, it is now incumbent upon us to show that this first, non-actor-relativizing *ra* really does signify more than just past tense. To this end, consider the following example:

(3.103) Fero ra jagu.
      Fero RA punch
      "*Fero* was punched."/"It was Fero who was punched."

Since (3.103) cannot mean "Fero punched", *ra* cannot be analyzed as marking past tense in isolation here. Rather, it does seem to have some bearing upon the role selection of the sole argument in subject position: this argument must be the undergoer and not the actor. When the actor *is* expressed in a clause containing this *ra*, it may not occur in subject position and instead will be located in a constituent directly after the verb, which is headed by *b'a.*

Further proof that this *ra* does not mark past tense alone is also evident from those borderline cases of relative clauses containing *ra* where there is a dissociation from past tense. Although my primary consultant strongly identifies *ra* with past tense interpretation, she did use *ra* in some examples where the relative clause had a habitual or progressive tense interpretation:

(3.104) Durian ra ngaha b'a Amu ake wa'u.ra   lalo.
      durian rel eat by Amu now already.EMPH overripe
      "The durian that Amu is eating is overripe."

(3.105) Sakola ra lao kai b'a amania to'i nahu wara sa.mpuru guru na.
      school rel go KAI by brother little 1p   exist one.tens teacher.3
      "The school that my little brother goes to has ten teachers."

And from my secondary consultant, who makes more regular use of *ne'e* as a future auxiliary (it otherwise means 'want'), I elicited this *ra*-relative clause with future interpretation (note the Indonesian resemblances however):

(3.106) Dou   ma   tua ra ne'e bantu b'a nahu wati sena.na.
      person relA old rel will help by 1p   NEG happy.3
      "The old person who I will help is not happy."

So there *is* a preverbal *ra* which is not purely a past tense marker. Taking into account that the undergoer promotion effected by this *ra* is necessarily accompanied by the demotion of the actor into a postverbal actor phrase headed by *b'a*, and taking into account also the suggestion from examples such as (3.102) that subordinating markers may not be strictly necessary for relative clauses, the next question that confronts us is whether *ra* may not in actual fact be a passive marker.

The previous section will already have established that it is my contention that *ra* is better analyzed as a relative clause marker. Here we will evaluate the extent to which such a contention is justified, as well as considering, more broadly, how, or to what extent, the state of affairs in Bimanese concerning relativization and voice differs from that presented in (3.44). I speak here of 'extents' by way of

acknowledging that the matter is not completely clear-cut; rather, the possibilities involving *ma* and *ra* present us with a rather complicated array of data.

The first argument against the passive status of *ra* is strongly suggestive, yet not necessarily entirely fatal to this view. This is the reality that English passives are consistently translated without *ra*, as with (3.107) and (3.108):

(3.107) Fero jagu   b'a Amu.
        Fero punch by Amu
        "Fero was punched by Amu."

(3.108) Fo'o   ngaha b'a Fero.
        mango eat   by Fero
        "The mango was eaten by Fero."

Passive is usually perceived to be "localized within the predicate or verb phrase" (Keenan 1985, 245), which is to say that we expect a passive morpheme to attach consistently and obligatorily to the verb if we are to speak of it as a 'passive' verb. The continual absence of *ra* in the translations of English passives argues against their status as passives.

Ra was included, however, in a very limited number of English passive translations:

(3.109) Fero ra hari   kai   b'a Amu.
        Fero RA laugh GOAL by Amu
        "Fero was laughed at by Amu."

(3.110) Durian ra mbei b'a nahu ru'u dou   siwe   ede.
        durian RA give by 1p   for person female DEM
        "A durian was given by me to the woman."

So does this lend sure support to the claim that *ra* is a passive marker? That is, can we assume these sentences to have the structure here illustrated by (a), and not (b)?:

(3.111) (a) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ X] [$_{VP}$ ra-Verb b'a-Y]]   ('X was verbed by Y')

        (b) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ X] [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ ra [$_{VP}$ Verb b'a-Y]]]]   ('X is what was verbed by Y')

Not necessarily; if we set aside the issue of whether the *ra* in (3.109-10) could possibly be signalling past tense alone, there is no reason why my consultant would *not* use a relative clause construction to translate an English passive if she perceived the subject of the English sentence to have pragmatic focus - which is plausible for the examples above. We cannot expect translation from one language into another to serve as a structural mirror. One manifestation of this can be seen in the following example, which contains the uncontested relative clause marker *ma*, and which was elicited from the English as illustrated:

(3.112) Reho nu.na Amu ma mab'u.
      Reho kiss.3 Amu relA fall
      "Amu fell over and Reho kissed her."

So English conjunction was met with Bimanese relativization in (3.112); meanwhile, in (3.113), the Bimanese relative clause drawn from text can only be translated by an English conjunction (as the surrounding clauses should help to illustrate):

(3.113) Ede mpara lao kai wa'i   ma weha po'o   ede.
      DEM then go KAI old-woman relA take bamboo DEM
"('Please get it (the bamboo) yourself, dear old lady, ...') So then the old woman went and got the bamboo. (Suddenly she saw just gold inside the bamboo - it was stuffed with rupies - and all of these were taken away by the old woman along with the bamboo ...)"[8] (Pande)

What the examples in (3.109-10) and (3.112-3) demonstrate is that Bimanese relative clauses carry more functional load than in English, or alternatively, that conjunctions carry less functional load in Bimanese.

      Suppose *ra* really was a purely passive marker. The vast majority of non-actor relativizations would then contain no overt signal that they are relative clauses. This need not present too much of a problem since we have already seen a case in (3.102) above where there was definitely no relative clause marker; although one might wonder why *ma* is most often not used in these situations to overtly signal the relativization of this supposedly derived subject, since to do so would surely aid interpretability. What deals more of a blow to the idea that *ra* is a passive marker is the fact that it will often be judged ungrammatical to include *ma* in a non-actor relativization:

(3.114) Cou (*ma) ra nggadu kai b'a Amu sura?
      who relA rel send KAI by Amu letter
      "Who did Amu send a letter to?"

(3.115) Roti (*ma) ra landa b'a nahu d'i dou   mone ede wancu.ku caru.na.
      bread relA rel sell by 1p LOC person male DEM really.ASS delicious.3
      "The bread I sold to that man is delicious."

(3.116) Moti (*ma) ra lao kai b'a ndai wa'a lako minggu ma   ulu na.na'e.
      beach relA rel go KAI by self bring dog Sunday relA last 3.big
      "The beach we took our dog to last Sunday was big."

Here, more than ever, we see how real Bimanese departs from the imaginary system in (3.44).

      Some properties of Bimanese that ensure that the relative clause system will be far more complicated and untidy than in (3.44) are the homophony between the past marker *ra* and the relative marker *ra* on the one hand, and between direct object agreement and actor agreement on the other. It is presumably as a consequence of this second homophony that *ma* may not be included before *ra* in the (a) examples of the (3.117-8):

(3.117) (a) Fo'o (*ma) ra ngaha.ku mbui.pu jao.na.
          mango relA rel eat.1   still.yet green.3
          "The mango I ate was still green."

    (b) Fo'o   ma   ra ngaha b'a nahu mbui.pu jao.na.
          mango relA rel eat   by 1p   still.yet green.3
          "The mango I ate was still green."

(3.118) (a) Au (*ma) ra mpanga.na?
          what relA rel steal.3
          "What did he she steal?"

    (b) Au   ma   ra mpanga b'a Amu?
          what relA rel steal   by Amu
          "What did Amu steal?"

Presumably, the inclusion of *ma* in the (a) examples would cause the agreement enclitics to be parsed as direct object agreement. The sentences could then only receive the unlikely interpretations (in which the *ra* signals past tense only) as 'the mango which ate me was still green' and 'what stole her?'.

    To reinforce how this works, consider the following set of sentences:

(3.119) Dou   ma ka.dahu.mu   wunga kid'i.na ta'aka.
       person relA CAUS.afraid.2 PROGR stand.3 there
       "The man who scared you is standing up over there."

(3.120) Dou   ra ka.dahu.mu   wunga kid'i.na ta'aka.
       person rel CAUS.afraid.2 PROGR stand.3 there
       "The man who you scared is standing up over there."

(3.121) Dou   ma ra   ka.dahu.mu   wunga kid'i-na ta'aka.
       person relA past CAUS.afraid.2 PROGR stand.3 there
       "The man who scared you is standing up over there."

The fact that (3.121) is not interpreted as 'the man who you scared is standing up over there' shows how agreement is interpreted as direct object agreement in the presence of actor-relativizing *ma*, and how, in conjunction, *ra* is interpreted as a purely past marker (since only actor agreement, and not direct object agreement, may cooccur with the non-actor-relativizing *ra*).

    With all issues of agreement set aside, the factors determining whether non-actor relativization may be accompanied by *ma* in addition to *ra* are far from clear at this stage. I should say that my consultant did not always have decisive feelings about whether or not *ma* could be included in non-actor relativizations; what is needed is a wider survey encompassing many speakers. But I think the cases in (3.114-6) of the disallowance of *ma*, in addition to the consistent pragmatic focus conferred upon the argument to the left of *ra* (which is indicative of relative clause structure and not passivization), do suggest that *ra* should be analyzed as a relative marker in non-actor relativizations.

Furthermore, observation of some surrounding languages will show that this status is not anomalous: Kambera has a proclitic *pa* which occurs under roughly equivalent circumstances (Klamer 1998, 321), and Van Den Berg speaks of a certain goal focus (loosely, 'passive') prefix in the Sulawesi language Wolio that is "'locked up' in a limited area of [its] former goal focus function, namely relative clauses (and clefts)" (1996, 105). If Bimanese *ra* were considered to have been 'locked up' in this sense, while perhaps still showing some glimmers of its previous, passive behaviour, then this might explain some of its inconsistencies or anomalies (one such anomaly would centre around the question of just why it is that we can have a sequence of two relative markers in examples such as (3.117b), which leads to the rather clumsy rendering as "The mango which was the one which I ate ... ".)

Actually, it will also be noticed in Van Den Berg (1996) that a number of the Sulawesi languages sketched have an (irrealis) goal focus prefix *ra-*, believed to have developed through a generalized use of third person plural agreement. It is conceivable that the *ra* of Bimanese may at some stage have developed along similar lines, although Jonker (1896) also has some ideas about the origins of *ra* based on its interchangeability with the form *ra'a*, which evidently existed in his time:

(3.122) wa'u.d'u cumpu mena kapa wadu ede, d'ua nai.mpa **ra'a** ndawi b'a nahu,
  already.TEMP finish PL boat stone DEM two day.just rel make by 1p
  "I've already finished the boats of stone; just two days ago I made (them), ..." (Kalai)

(3.123) kone ompu **ra'a** d'iki pete aka.n ede na.ne'e.ku bisa ai ra d'iki kai sarumbu.n ede,
  even old-man rel tie tie DEM.3 DEM 3.want.ASS cut rope rel tie KAI frame.3 DEM
  "even the old man who was tied up from before wanted to cut the rope that tied his body,
...." (D'aju)

My consultant does not recognize this usage of *ra'a* in place of *ra,* although there is in current Bimanese, as there was in Jonker's time, a separate word *ra'a* meaning 'print' or 'trace'. Jonker (1896, 98) appears to want to locate the origins of *ra* in the way the word *ra'a* came to be used to form past participles when placed in front of verbs. The major difference between the use of *ra* and *ra'a* is in terms of their placement with regard to the relative marker *ma*: *ra'a* must come before it while *ra* must come after it.

3.4.2.3 Future tense non-actor relativization

Finally, what of the relative clauses which relativize on a non-actor category yet whose sense is incompatible with the past tense meaning imparted by *ra*? In these clauses *ra* is replaced by *d'i,* but with the provision that *ma* may never be placed after this *d'i,* since this would indicate that the actor, and not the undergoer, is being relativized. The relative clauses in (3.124-5) have future tense interpretations:

(3.124) Reho **d'i**   mbei b'a Amu b'unga.
Reho URZD give by Amu flower
"It is Reho who will be given flowers by Amu."

(3.125) Tato **d'i**   weli b'a Fero ru'u Amu naisi   wancu.ku nggali na.
doll URZD buy by Fero for Amu tomorrow great.ASS expensive.3
"The doll that Fero will buy for Amu tomorrow is very expensive."

in (3.126-8) the relative clauses have habitual interpretations:

(3.126) Ede.mpa **d'i**   rawi.na sa.nai.nai.
DEM.just URZD do.3   one.day.day
"This is just what she would do every day." (Rompa-Rompi)

(3.127) Toko b'e   **d'i**   weli kai.mu dolu niki ainai sanen?
shop which URZD buy KAI.2 egg every day Monday
"Which shop do you buy eggs from every Monday?"

(3.128) Dou   **d'i**   taki puru wea b'a nahu pangaha niki ainai minggu na.mbani.ku.
person URZD hab bake BEN by 1p   cake   every day Sunday 3.angry.ASS
"The person I bake cakes for every Sunday is grumpy."

in (3.129-30) the relative clauses contain a sense of purpose or obligation:

(3.129) Ka.cei b'a sia [$_S$ [la Uwi ari.na] [$_{NP}$Ø [$_S$ **d'i** lowi.na]]].
think by 3p   PN Uwi sibling.3   URZD cook.3
"She thought it was her sister Uwi who she was supposed to cook." (Wadu Mbi'a)

(3.130) na.wa'a.ku dumpu ci   [**d'i** nggunti sa.to'i.to'i]   [**d'i** lo'o.na d'i ncai].
3.bring.ASS piece cloth URZD cut   one.small.small URZD drop.3 LOC path
"(Princess Rompi) brought a piece of cloth (which was) to cut into pieces and (which was) to drop along the path." (Rompa-Rompi)

and in (3.131-2) the relative clause modifies the null head of an embedded NP predicate which is itself required by the matrix clause object control verb:

(3.131) Reho raho.na [$_{NP}$ ade Fero] [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ **d'i**   paresa   b'a dokter]].
Reho ask.3   liver Fero   URZD examine by doctor
"Reho asked Fero to let the doctor examine him."

(3.132) Nahu siwi [$_{NP}$ ari   to'i.ku] [$_{NP}$Ø [$_S$ **d'i**   nu b'a wa'i]].
1p   persuade sibling small.1   URZD kiss by granny
"I persuaded my little sister to be kissed by granny."

What is interesting about object control examples such as (3.131-2) is that *d'i* apparently cannot be removed (as it could when the actor relativization marker *ma* was taken away in the 'object control' clauses at the end of section 3.4.1):

(3.131b) *Reho raho.na ade Fero paresa b'a dokter.

(3.133) Nahu siwi   Fero d'i   gamba b'a Amu   *Nahu siwi Fero gamba b'a Amu.
1p   persuade Fero URZD paint by Amu
"I persuaded Fero to be painted by Amu."

(3.134) Nahu siwi   Fero d'i   wa'u b'a polisi.   *Nahu siwi Fero wa'u b'a polisi.
      1p   persuade Fero URZD arrest by police
      "I persuaded Fero to be arrested by the police."

The impossibility of removing *d'i* most likely boils down to it being functionally necessary for the purpose of interpreting the subject of the embedded predicate as the undergoer and not the actor. As such, it may not appear particularly relative clause-like in function - a feeling which may receive further support from the observation that there is nothing in the object control sentences of (3.131-4) that seems at all suggestive of the kinds of pragmatic and semantic senses generally conveyed by relative constructions. The arguments relativized by relative clauses, as has been discussed, usually bear pragmatic focus. The following sentences containing *d'i*, in addition to (3.131-4), were also elicited from English sentences which do not contain relative clauses and in which the subjects do not receive pragmatic focus:

(3.135) Pingga d'i   waca sa.nai.nai.
      plate   URZD wash one.day.day
      "The dishes (must) get washed every day"

(3.136) Uta d'i   paha niki ainai minggu.
      fish URZD feed every day Sunday
      "The fish are fed every Sunday."

In some respects this uncertainty surrounding the function of *d'i* resembles that surrounding *ra*. Although *ra* was ultimately claimed to be a relative clause marker, it did appear to be somewhat passive-like in certain ways. *D'i* in (3.131-6) above looks like a passive in the sense that it requires an undergoer (null or overt) to appear in subject position. Recall from section 3.4.1 that *d'i* may not be used when an actor (null, in the following example) appears in subject position:

(3.137) La Rahim siwi.na   la Halima (*d'i) mpa'a gambo.
      PN Rahim persuade.3 PN Halima URZD play   gambo
      "Rahim persuaded Halima to play the gambo."

D'i may be included if it is placed before the actor-relativizing marker *ma*, although this makes it look decidedly unpassive-like - both in terms of function and positioning. *D'i* is no doubt better analyzed as a complementizer. See Klamer (1996) for some interesting, and highly *relevant*, suggestions concerning the possible evolution of passive markers from relative clause markers (observing at the same time that Kambera, the language discussed in this paper, has a non-actor relativizing marker *pa* which is homophonous with a 'control' marker).

3.5 Conclusions

In conclusion to this chapter, we will reconsider some issues of subject, voice and relativization in the light that they cannot be accurately represented by the system

of (3.44). In section 3.4.2.2 it was decided that the *ra* which is not purely a marker of past tense should be analyzed as a non-actor relativizing marker, and not as a passive marker. At the same time, there were mild hints that this relative marker may have at least historical connections with a passive *ra*. A further possibility which should not be immediately dismissed is that current Bimanese may have three different markers *ra*: a past marker, a non-actor-relativizing *ra*, and a passive *ra*. However, this treatment does seem somewhat unpalatable in as much as the last two *ra*'s are clearly historically related and in some settings indistinguishable.

This concluding enquiry will thus be directed towards asking the question of what the consequences of analyzing *ra* as a relative marker, and not as a passive marker, are for

(a) the status of (preverbal argument as) subject in Bimanese;

(b) the status - or very existence - of a passive construction in Bimanese;

and (c) the status of the *b'a*-phrase in Bimanese.

To answer (a) is essentially to resume the tests for subjecthood begun in section 3.3 and to ask whether the departure from the scheme in (3.44) will in any way hinder the conclusion that the preverbal argument is subject. The answer to this enquiry will be negative though, since, even though real Bimanese does not quite match the system of (3.44), still nothing changes the fact that the preverbal slot in relative clauses will always be empty, and will thus be identified as subject position. This will hold regardless of whether the empty preverbal slot corresponds to an actor, as in (3.138), or an undergoer, as in (3.139):

(3.138) Dou   [ma ngaha oha] ede na.d'ihi ade.na.   *Dou ma oha ngaha ede na.d'ihi ade.na.
       person relA eat rice   DEM 3.happy liver.3
       "That person who eats (the) rice is happy."

(3.139) Oha [ra ngaha b'a dou   ede] na.caru.   *Oha ra dou ede ngaha na.caru.
       rice rel eat   by person DEM 3.delicious
       "The rice which that person ate was delicious."

But then, it does seem somewhat problematic for different relative markers to be used on the grounds of what the underlying thematic role of the relativized subject is. As mentioned in 3.4.2.2, other languages - such as Kambera and Wolio - display the same peculiar property. Chamorro, as described by Chung (1998), also displays similar behaviour. According to Chung, the morphology which surfaces on verbs in relative clauses, questions, and cleft constructions represents a kind of agreement between the verb and its empty, wh-trace. She refers to this non-canonical variety of agreement as 'Wh-agreement' (1998, 234-258). To call this 'non-canonical' seems like something of an understatement - and in fact Dukes (1993) argues that what looks like 'Wh-agreement' is better explained away in different terms. Yet regardless of these issues, and regardless of what kinds of conclusion we can draw from the relativization

test of subjecthood for Bimanese, there are in any case a number of strong and independent indications that the Bimanese preverbal NP should be identified as subject (such as were outlined in section 3.3).

The initial answer to question (b) above may seem somewhat obvious. If *ra* is understood to be relative marker and not a passive marker, then Bimanese will have no passive marker, and hence no passive construction. On the other hand, how are we to characterize sentences exhibiting the following form?:

(3.140) Fero jagu   b'a Amu.
      Fero punch by Amu
      "Fero was punched by Amu."

Could this represent mere topicalization? If this were so then the obligatory demotion of the actor from its canonical, preverbal position to a postverbal *b'a*-phrase would be completely inexplicable. What the necessary demotion of the actor indicates is that the undergoer is ceding the actor from the position of subject - an operation which in no way resembles what we usually identify as topicalization. When we add to this the other respects in which we have observed that arguments in similar circumstances to *Fero* above behave as subjects, the identification of (3.140) as a topicalization becomes even more remote.

Chung (1976) has argued along similar lines that a so-called 'object preposing' construction in Indonesian is in fact nothing of the sort, but is instead a passive, since the 'preposed' object displays many of the syntactic properties of subjects. This construction also displays no passive morphology. Alsagoff (1992) ultimately disputes these claims; although for now we will turn our attention to one further comparable case of a disputed passive - this time in the Sumatran language Acehnese.

The Acehnese language is known to many linguists, not primarily because of its putative passive in isolation, but instead, as Durie (1988, 104) comments, because it was "the first one claimed to exhibit an agreement rule which is sensitive to deep rather than superficial grammatical relations". As such, it bears particular relevance to Bimanese. The non-surface nature of agreement in Acehnese, as well as the arguments for its supposed passive, were first presented by Lawler (1975, 1977). Work in Relational Grammar subsequently drew upon the facts of this language to argue against monostratal theoretical frameworks; thus in Perlmutter (1982) it is claimed that Acehnese agreement such as in (3.141-2) below represents agreement with an 'initial 1', which stands opposed to a 'final 1', but which in general terms corresponds to our 'actor', or 'a-structure subject'.

(3.141) Gɔpnyan ka   gɨ-cɔm lon.
      she   perf 3-kiss me
      "She (already) kissed me."   (Perlmutter 1982, 292)

(3.142) Lon ka gi-cɔm le-gɔpnyan.
 I   perf 3-kiss by-her
 "I have (already) been kissed by her." (Perlmutter 1982, 292)

Yet Perlmutter (1982, 293) also remarks that there would be little evidence for the
conclusion that Acehnese displays 'initial 1' agreement if (3.142) represented mere
topicalization, instead of an actual passive, derived voice - there is no passive
morpheme, after all. For this reason he draws upon Lawler's evidence that examples
such as (3.142) do represent passive, where this evidence centres, perhaps predictably,
around the subject properties of the preverbal argument.

 However, Lawler's claims that the Acehnese preverbal argument is the target
of equi, that it may undergo subject-to-object raising, and in fact the very claim that
Acehnese does actually have a passive, are all rejected by Durie (1988). Regarding
the first of these issues, Durie claims that equi in Acehnese may target only what
Lawler would refer to as the 'underlying subject', as in (3.143). It may not target the
'underlying object', even when it would supposedly have the surface value of subject,
as in (3.144):

(3.143) Dokto geu-ci peuréksa ureung agam nyan.
 doctor 3-try examine person male that
 "The doctor tried to examine that man." (Durie 1988, 109)

(3.144) *Ureung agam nyan ji-ci geu-peuréksa lé-dokto.
 person male that 3-try 3-examine   doctor
 "That man tried to be examined by the doctor." (Durie 1988, 109)

Besides claiming that Acehnese has no passive, Durie also claims that it has no
subject, nor any grammatical relations at all (Durie 1987, Van Valin 1993, 50-6). Yet
surely the same could not be argued for Bimanese; surely equi does genuinely target
the preverbal argument. In that case, where does this leave the status of passive in
Bimanese?

 Leaving this question open-ended, we will turn now to the question of the
status of the *b'a*-phrase. The equivalent phrase in Acehnese - the *lé*-phrase - is
claimed by Durie not to reflect a demotion effected by the operation of passive, but
instead simply a change of word order. Yet *lé* displays exactly the same distribution
as Bimanese *b'a*: it is added only before the postverbal actor of a transitive verb. The
interpretation which Durie (1988, 111) submits, and which he claims to be quite
"unremarkable", is that *lé* is an "(ergative) case marker, which attaches to transitive
subjects only when they follow their verb". We have already noted the ergative
qualities of *b'a*. The only way in which Durie perceives Acehnese to differ from an
ergative language such as Samoan is that it does not require a topic marker for its
preverbal argument NPs (1988, 112).

Durie (1988) also comments that Lawler's (1977) claim that the *lé*-phrase is a passive phrase which cannot be deleted is one which would make Acehnese "highly remarkable" (1988, 108, fn. 8). Can the Bimanese *b'a*-phrase be deleted? Here it seems appropriate to emphasize the ways in which Bimanese is *not* like Acehnese; for, besides having seemingly stronger arguments for the existence of a surface subject as well as other grammatical relations, Bimanese has the non-actor relativizing marker *ra*. This entails that Bimanese has the functional capability to express something very close to an English agentless passive:

(3.145) (= (3.103)) Fero ra   jagu.
                Fero rel punch
                "*Fero* was punched."/"It was Fero who was punched."

However, it does not entail that this *is* an agentless passive, or that *ra* is a passive marker. This much is meant to be conveyed by the close English translation of (3.145). The Bimanese sentence in (3.145) must mean that Fero and only Fero was punched; Fero must bear pragmatic focus, which itself comes as a consequence of the relative clause structure. There is no way of expressing in Bimanese the English agentless passive in which the undergoer has the converse pragmatic status of topic (as in 'What happened to Fero?'; 'Fero was punched') - if the same word order is to be maintained at least. What this really means is that, strictly speaking, the *b'a*-phrase in an example such as (3.140) cannot be deleted, since to remove the *b'a*-phrase would entail altering the entire structure by creating a relative clause.

In not being able to be deleted, the *b'a*-phrase thus bears a closer resemblance to all other postverbal actor phrases, with which it shares the same topicality status. All postverbal actors will then be classified as terms, and the homophony between the actor marker *b'a* and the preposition which introduces a constituent of reason then becomes nothing more than that: yet another homophony between two functionally different items. Although the homophony may not be grammatically revealing, it possibly may be historically so, if we buy the explanation that *ra* was once a passive marker which has been 'locked up' in relative clauses (since under such passive circumstances *b'a* would signal genuine oblique status).

These are no doubt contentious issues. But what I feel to be the most serious remaining problem is that of what to call constructions such as (3.140). If we cannot call these constructions passives because they (a) do not have a passive marker, and (b) still require two arguments, and if we instead call them *topicalizations*, why do their preverbal arguments behave so much like subjects? Before attempting to answer this we should, of course, address the issue of whether or not Bimanese preverbal arguments behave like topics. This will be carried out (sometimes covertly) in the next two chapters.

Something that has not been brought out in this chapter is the kind of confusion that has proliferated regarding the issue of whether the preverbal NPs of a number of Austronesian languages should be classified as subjects or topics, or neither. These kinds of enquiries essentially gained force in the 1970s (with papers such as Schachter (1976, 1977)), although they still have not really been resolved (compare, for example, Kroeger (1993) versus Naylor (1995) for the case of Tagalog). The next two chapters will examine the pragmatic status of Bimanese preverbal NPs then, but not without focusing more explicitly on the nature, status, and conditions governing the appearance of actor agreement.

NOTES

[1] Or else in the case of imperatives, where the person of the actor is by nature even clearer than it would be through the inclusion of agreement in a declarative statement.

[2] Other possibilities are *Ngaha.pu b'a nggomi utambeca* and *Ngaha.pu utambeca b'a nggomi.*

[3] Some small amount of caution is in order here, since there are some initial indications that not all of these binding patterns apply completely across the board. For example, my consultant was less accepting of the post-reflexive positioning of the actor phrase in the following version of (3.16):

?Ka.midi.pu weki.mu b'a nggomi d'i kontu nahu ake!

and was doubtful altogether regarding the use of any postverbal binder for the following example:

Ncai hengga weki.na.   ?Hengga b'a ncai weki.na.   ?Hengga weki.na b'a ncai.
door open   body.3
"The door opened itself."

The factors determining these preferences and dispreferences have yet to be determined, and may, furthermore, differ from speaker to speaker. However, the investigation of binding patterns is still well-grounded at this stage on account of the fact that the patterns attested in (3.20-2) *are* rejected across the board.

[4] One expression may be said to a-command another if it is less oblique than the other at a-structure (Manning 1996). This relation thus stands opposed to other notions of command, such as the configurationally-defined c-command of Government and Binding theory, or o-command, the original, surface level notion of command played out by relative obliqueness in HPSG (Pollard and Sag, 1994).

[5] My consultant inserted this actor-relativizing marker *ma* in preference to simply saying *Fero kacei b'a Amu jagu nggomi*. The same preference, under which the preverbal argument is presumably installed with the kind of pragmatic focus associated with relative clauses, was also evident for the following example:

Rao kacei b'a Amu ma b'i'a roa.   ?Rao kacei b'a Amu b'i'a roa.
Rao think by Amu relA break pot
"Rao is thought by Amu to have broken the pot."

[6] A further point regarding these markers that I have not made explicit either in words or in the presentation of examples is that both of these items are clitics. *Ma* and *ra* are prosodically dependent and attach to a host to their immediate right.

[7] If this statement sounds hesitant, it is because there is still some uncertainty in this area. An ungrammatical example corresponding to (3.85) has been conveniently omitted in the main text because my consultant, for whatever reason, did not in fact object to the following:

Nami ngaha kai.mu   kengge sori.
1exclp eat   KAI.1excl edge   river
"We ate by the side of the river."

Nami ngaha kai.mu   uma Amu.
1exclp eat   KAI.1excl house Amu
"We ate at Amu's house."

One possible explanation could be that *kai* is performing a nominalizing function ('our eating place') and that the pronoun *nami* is a syntactically unselected topic constituent (Chapter Five will show that these are reasonably productive). The first of these sentences could then be rendered in English along the lines of 'Us, our eating place was beside the river'. But,whatever the case, the ungrammaticality of (3.87), as well as the following two examples, leads me to believe for the time being that *kai* does not have the property of turning oblique arguments into direct objects.

*Nami eda angi kai.mu   Mbojo.   (Nami eda angi.mu ese Mbojo.)
1exclp see RECIP KAI.1excl Bima
"We met in Bima."

*Nahu b'ab'u kai.ku mpa'a-kai   tas nahu.   (Nahu b'ab'u.ku tas nahu d'i mpa'a.kai.)
1p   fall   KAI.1 playground bag 1p
"I dropped my bag in the playground."

[8] To be explicit, what these surrounding clauses show is that this sentence cannot be translated as "Then the old woman who took the bamboo left" because this leads to an illogical sequencing.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DISCOURSE AND PRAGMATIC SIGNIFICANCE OF ACTOR AGREEMENT

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two it was decided that Bimanese actor agreement morphemes were necessarily classified as 'clitics' or, more aptly yet, as 'phrasal affixes'. In this chapter we will examine the status of these morphemes in terms of whether they really do present us with agreement, or if they may instead simply be reduced pronominals. As the ultimate goal of this chapter, this will be addressed in section 4.5.

Prior to section 4.5, it will be considered how actor agreement fits into the overall structure of a discourse, how it interacts with the larger units of actor NPs and full clauses, and how these larger units also fit within the structure of discourse. All this will be executed by classifying Bimanese clauses under a set of types according to whether they show actor agreement, whether they contain a full actor NP, and if so in the last case, whether this actor NP comes before or after the predicate. These different types of clauses, whose distributions will be probed in the following three sections, will be laid out shortly below.

Once this is done, it will be noticed that these clauses are classified also according to the placement of actor agreement (that is, whether as a proclitic or an enclitic). This is a genuine indication that we are not ready to set aside the issue of pro- versus en- cliticization just yet. Recall from Chapter Two that the proclitic-enclitic distinction was observed to show tense correlations in independently elicited sentences, but that the prohibition on the cooccurrence of agreement and emphatic enclitics - whether motivated by prosodic or stylistic factors - saw the suspension of this correlation. This chapter, and the next, will further investigate what appears to condition the proclitic-enclitic distinction, although two initial observations are in order here since they could be said to determine the distribution of agreement in Bimanese to some extent.

Firstly, agreement enclitics are apparently required to surface in the scope of certain items, most prominent among which are the negative *wati*, and the progressive item *wunga*. This requirement holds both over text, as in (4.1-2) below, and independently elicited sentences.

(4.1) 'Wati coa.ku, ruma.e, ...'
    NEG lie.1   king.VOC
    "I'm not lying, my lord, ..." (Kalai)

(4.2) Ana d'ua.na kande wunga doho.na ese palad'a asi.
    child two.3   before PROGR sit.3   on steps   palace
    "Her two children from before were sitting on the steps of the palace." (Rompa-Rompi)

Interestingly, Klamer (1998) notes a comparable tendency for a number of adverbials in Kambera: they all require pronominal enclitics to attach to the verb which they precede. The source of this pattern for Bimanese will be explained in Chapter Five, section 5.3.

The second initial observation with regard to the proclitic-enclitic distinction has already been mentioned in Chapter Two. This is that the correspondences between procliticization and unrealized tense on the one hand, and encliticization and past tense on the other, is even weaker in text than in independently elicited sentences. In any narration, the events related will have past tense interpretation and hence usually receive past tense morphological encoding. In Bimanese, the placement of proclitics as opposed to enclitics appears altogether more variable, although one may be able to discern a tendency whereby proclitic agreement pertains to the more immediate, prominent or salient actions in the narrative, while clauses with enclitic agreement are better matched with background circumstances and information. One indication of this is the fact that agreement proclitics consistently surface in combination with the sentential adverbial *ntika* 'suddenly', which always serves to introduce a new and salient, and indeed *sudden*, event. This behaviour is illustrated in the following example:

(4.3) na.nefa.nefa.ra,   **ntika   na**.lampa d'i kompe la Kalai.
      3.puzzle.puzzle.EMPH suddenly 3.go-along LOC side   PN Kalai
("A little after this, there suddenly appeared the child of the sultan of Java whose fiancee had died,) and he was bewildered, and he suddenly walked up beside Kalai." (Kalai)

The adequacy of this account of the proclitic-enclitic opposition will be speculated upon further later in this chapter and in the next. One possible speculation that will be hard to dismiss is that of whether agreement proclitics are required to occur in combination with emphatic clitics not purely through prosodic and stylistic factors, but because the emphatic clitics themselves render the predicate salient and thus incompatible with agreement encliticization. Part of the problem of accepting the saliency explanation more generally is of course that the conception of which information is salient, or otherwise non-salient or 'background', is highly subjective; few sentences may be straightfowardly assigned to either category. But it is interesting to note again that Klamer characterizes the comparable (subject) agreement proclitic-enclitic opposition in Kambera in entirely similar terms (1998, 105).

Without further ado, I will set out the different classifications of Bimanese clauses. For each type, the number of instantiations recorded from my consultant's texts will be stated, along with the number from a sample of Jonker's texts which consists of the same number of clauses.[1] Two further important points to note are,

firstly, that although I have labeled the head of the predicate the 'Verb Complex', and although I will most often speak of pre- or post- verbal NPs, this is only done out of convenience, since these labels are intended to generalize to all non-verbal predicate heads. Secondly, if a constituent is included in round brackets (as are 'non-actor subjects' and 'other arguments'), this is meant to indicate that it is optional, or else only a syntactic possibility. This is especially important to stress in connection with 'non-actor subjects', since, although they could be expected to appear in a number of instances where the subject position is not filled by an actor, the reality is that they most often do not; there are only five instantiations of a non-actor subject in the entire sample.

(1) (Non-actor-subject) **+ [Verb Complex]-Agreement** (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 50
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 33

(2a) (Non-actor-subject) **+ Agreement-[Verb Complex]** (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 2
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 9

(2b) (Non-actor-subject) **+ Agreement-[Verb Complex]-Clitics** (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 16
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 35

(3) [Actor-subject] + [Verb Complex]-(Clitics) (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 7
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 2

(4) [Actor-subject] + [Verb Complex]-Agreement (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 13
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 6

(5a) [Actor-subject] + Agreement-[Verb Complex] (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 7
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 0

(5b) [Actor-subject] + Agreement-[Verb Complex]-Clitics (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 8
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 2

(6) (Non-actor-subject) **+ [Verb Complex]-(Clitics) + [(b'a) actor]** (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 63
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 72

(7) (Non-actor-subject) **+ [Verb Complex]-Agreement + [(b'a) actor]** (+ Other **arguments**)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 3
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 14

(8a) (Non-actor-subject) + **Agreement-[Verb Complex]** + **[(b'a) actor]** (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's texts: 2
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 2

(8b) (Non-actor-subject) + **Agreement-[Verb Complex]-Clitics** + **[(b'a) actor]** (+ Other arguments)

Number of instantiations in my consultant's sample: 13
Number of instantiations in Jonker sample: 9

4.2 Clauses without Actor NPs: Types (1), (2a) and (2b)

In clauses where the actor is not identified by a separate (preverbal or postverbal) NP, the participation of an actor will be signalled by an agreement clitic. Plainly, if these clauses are to constitute meaningful utterances easily understood by the hearer, then it must be clear from the immediately preceding context just what the identity of the actor is, or who, in fact, these clauses are *about*. That is to say, the agreement clitic in these clauses will ordinarily mark a topic, where 'topic' must at this stage be understood pretheoretically in its most basic and intuitive sense in the absence of any proper definition. The nature of topichood will not be addressed in any depth until section 4.3.4, although for now a suitable, if minimal, guide could be the definition of topic as "what is under discussion, whether previously mentioned or assumed in discourse" (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, 746).

Consider the following passage:

(4.4) Nggahi kai b'a la D'aju: taho mpara lao te'e.ku tamba.
       say   KAI by PN lazy fine then go install.1 trap
       "The lazy one said: 'okay then, I'll go set up a trap.'

Ede.ra   ndawi kai.**na** tamba, wa'u.ra   cumpu tamba, lao kai.**na**
DEM.EMPH make KAI.3 trap   already.EMPH finish trap   go KAI.3
So he made a trap, and once (it was) finished, he went to set (it)

te'e   ese doro.   Wa'u.ra   te'e.**na** ai ma mbia, ai ma sid'i,   .
install on mountain already.EMPH install.3 time relA break time relA morning
up on the mountain. Once he had set (it) up it was night-time; in the morning

na.lao.ra tio   tamba.n ede. Ntika   **na**.eda mpara janga   peo,
3.go.past visit trap.3   DEM suddenly 3.see then   chicken wild
he went to see his trap. Suddenly he saw wild chickens -

na.wa'u.ra   b'ini tamba.na ede. Nggahi kai la D'aju: ...
3.already.EMPH full trap.3   DEM say   KAI PN lazy
that trap of his was filled (with them). The lazy one said: ..." (D'aju)

The first clause establishes the Lazy One as the topic to which the next five instances of (third person) agreement refer, and only once new discourse participants are introduced is this topic-agreement relationship suspended; the agreement marker of the second clause of the third sentence agrees with *tamba.na ede* "that trap of his", which is the actor (experiencer) of the stative verb *b'ini* 'full'. Because the previous topic-agreement relationship has been suspended, the primary topic in the discourse, *la D'aju*, must be (re-)represented as a full NP in the next sentence.

Clauses of types (1), (2a) and (2b) are rather common in text, their occurrence being dependent upon the level of certainty with which (the generator of the discourse anticipates that) the processor of the discourse can interpret a given participant as the topic (and thus coreferent with the agreement clitic). In the database of independently elicited sentences, however, clause types (1), (2a) and (2b) are very uncommon simply because sentences occurring in isolation will not contain topics which are inferable from past discourse.

4.3 Clauses with preverbal actor NPs: Types (3), (4), (5a) and (5b)

A further disparity between the frequency of clause types as they occur in text and independently elicited sentences is also evident for the case of type (3), (4) , (5a) and (5b) clauses. Whereas the majority of independently elicited sentences contain a preverbal actor NP, in text this is very uncommon. An explanation for this will be given in section 4.3.4; but first we will consider a type of discourse device in order to account for the placement of these clauses within discourse.

4.3.1 'Discourse-shift'

In a paper which will retain a high level of significance throughout this chapter, Givón (1976, 153) contrasts the use of two discourse strategies, which he calls anaphoric pronominalization (AP) and topic-shift (TS). Both of these are used in situations where the topic (a participant - not a proposition) has been mentioned in preceding discourse. Here are the examples he gives (1976, 153):

(4.5) a. Context: Once there was a <u>wizard</u>.
       AP: <u>He</u> lived in Africa.
       TS: ?<u>Now the wizard</u>, <u>he</u> lived in Africa.

     b. Context: Once there was a <u>wizard</u>. He was very wise, rich, and was married
                to a beautiful witch. They had two sons. The first was tall and
                brooding, he spent his days in the forest hunting snails, and his
                mother was afraid of him. The second was short and vivacious, a
                bit crazy but always game.
       AP: ?<u>He</u> lived in Africa.
       TS: <u>Now the wizard</u>, <u>he</u> lived in Africa.

Givón explains the strangeness of using the topic-shift strategy in (a) by characterizing it as an *over-use* of this powerful and more *marked* discourse device

(1976, 153); nothing in the preceding context requires it. For (b), on the other hand, anaphoric pronominalization is insufficient and the more heavily coding device of topic-shift is here required to clarify just what the topic of the discourse is. According to Givón, the introduction of temporarily topical participants in the opening passage of (b) creates a noisy channel of communication which will require powerful discourse devices for the purpose of disambiguation.

The need to disambiguate noisy channels, however, is not explanation enough to account for the overall distribution of English sentences of this topic-shift type (with a left-detached NP and pronominal subject). This is evident from the variation on Givón's narrative provided in Enç (1986):

(4.6)   Context: Once there was a wizard. He was very wise, rich, and was married to a beautiful witch. He lived in a magnificent mansion by the lake, had forty-nine servants and boasted an impressive collection of rare books.
         TS: Now the wizard, he was very ambitious. He had been planning for years to conquer the world and finally he was ready. (201)

The (primary) topic remains unchanged throughout this narrative, which is to say that the topic does not 'shift' when we come to the 'topic-shift' clause. There is no noisy channel of communication to necessitate the use of topic-shift as a disambiguating discourse device; therefore, there must be some other factor which renders this type of sentence appropriate in this context. Enç's claim is that such sentences do, in fact, involve topic-shift, provided that topics be understood to be propositions. The view (of Lambrecht (1994), as well as Givón) that topics may (and in fact most often do) designate actual participants, Enç holds to be erroneous. What Givón calls the 'topic' of a discourse, Enç calls the 'centre of the topic', since her topic encompasses a larger unit than an NP. With this definition in mind, the significance of the topic-shift sentence in (4.6) is that it signals not that a participant has been reactivated as primary topic, but that the first phase, in which the wizard is described, is over, and that we are now moving on to a new 'topic of discussion': that the wizard plans to conquer the world (Enç 1986, 201).

The Bimanese type (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses which I will claim in the next section to be the equivalent counterparts to topic-shift sentences also confirm that an indispensible part of these discourse devices is that they signal some change in narrative direction, or that the narrator is changing tack. Although I believe that Enç is essentially correct in her description of the function that topic-shift sentences fulfil, I would prefer not to adopt her definition of topics as propositions, instead maintaining - with Lambrecht and Givón - that topics may have referents which are participants in the discourse. For this reason, from now I will be calling 'topic-shift' - for want of a better title - 'discourse-shift', or more specifically 'topic-initial discourse-shift'. The specification of the discourse-shift as topic-initial means that its

primary participant may not be new to the discourse. Rather, the initial topic must have been mentioned at some point before; sometimes this mention may come in the immediately preceding clause as Enç has shown, but more often the last mention of the topic will be more distant, in which case the discourse-shift sees its reactivation.

Towards the end of attempting to characterize the notion of discourse-shift more precisely than simply saying that it signals 'a change in narrative direction', consider the characterization in Cooreman et al. (1984) of the 'thematic paragraph' as the domain in which "one finds the *maximal* continuity of time, place, action and participants/topics" (6). Framed in these terms, a discourse-shift amounts to the beginning of a new 'thematic paragraph', which itself is conferred by the lack of continuity of one or more of the four features of time, place, action or topic. But, to avert the erroneous impression that the matter is altogether this clear-cut, consider next the more fundamental, albeit less easily grasped, definition of the thematic paragraph in Givón (1983) as the domain in which what is preserved above all else is *thematic* continuity, where this manner of continuity "is the hardest to specify, yet is clearly and demonstrably there" (8). A break in the thematic continuity will most often entail a break in topic or action continuity (or both), yet it need not.

The kind of imprecision inherent in this definition of the thematic paragraph, and by extension of discourse-shifts also, really just underlies the reality that a discourse-shift may take many forms, some rather more subtle, and hence less easily recognizable, than others. The acceptability of certain sentences as discourse-shift devices is no doubt a scalar consideration predicated upon a number of parameters. However, one thing we can say about those discourse-shifts that are ushered in by reference to a previously mentioned participant is that they are easily recognizable from their syntactic shape. In English this shape involves a left-detached topic and a pronominal subject; in Bimanese, I claim, this shape is none other than the type (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses.

4.3.2 Type (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses

The following three sentences, along with their immediately preceding, background sentences, exemplify the way in which Bimanese type (4) clauses are used in discourse-shift situations. I should stress that here, as well as throughout this section and the next, the inclusion of these second, contextually appropriate translations is only meant to be indicative of the pragmatic or information structural properties of the clauses and is not intended to carry any syntactic consequences or suggestions.

(4.7) Ede mpara **ruma.t**   londo   kai.**na**, weha jara ra nente.n, ...
  DEM then king.1incl descend KAI.3   take horse rel mount.3
(The king asked: "why are you crying?" And his wife replied: "there was a ghost who had been dispatched by my mother and grandmother". She told him everything from beginning to end. Then the king said: "where is this ghost?" His wife replied: "he's already gone home".) And so the king went down and got his horse, which he mounted, ... (or: 'And so <u>the king</u>, <u>he</u> went down and got his horse, ...') (Pande Haju)

(4.8) **Udi** rai londo.**na** awa diwu na.rai lu'u.ku   d'ei karombo.na, ...
  lizard run descend.3 under lake 3.run enter.ASS into cave.3
((Ompu Ico said:)"I'm going to chase you until I catch you and then I'll cut you up with my machete!" Then he went chasing after the lizard with his machete.) The lizard ran down into the lake and into its cave, ... (or: '<u>Now the lizard</u>, <u>he</u> ran down into the lake ...') (Ompu Ico)

(4.9) Wa'u ede wara.ku sa.nai **ruma sangaji** lao nggalo wali.**na** ese doro Na'e.
  already DEM exist.ASS one.day king sultan go hunt again.3 on mountain Big
("... it's your mother here, come feed", she would call three times. This would happen every day.) Later on there was a day when the king went hunting again on Big Mountain. (or: ' Later on there was a day when <u>the king</u>, <u>he</u> went hunting ...) (Rompa-Rompi)

For each example, a change in direction for the narrative is signalled by the clause; they either present some new action or progression, or indicate that they are leading towards a new action. When we measure all type (4) examples against the (hypothesized) definition of thematic paragraphs described in the section immediately above, we see that, more often than not, the discourse-shift will involve a break in the continuity of action, often there will also be a break in the continuity of time (and less often place), but most often there will be a break in the continuity of participants/topics. In the Bimanese data I have, in all but a few examples discourse-shift is paired with the activation of a formerly mentioned, yet up until this point inactive, participant. The typicality of this kind of situation cross-linguistically may have been what led Givón (1976) to misinterpret discourse-shift sentences as topic-shift sentences.

In section 4.1 above it was observed that a number of items, most frequent among which were *wati* and *wunga*, seem to require enclitic agreement in their scope. Taking this into consideration, one might imagine that the presence of one of these items in combination with the need to state the identity of an actor in topical, preverbal position could conspire to create a type (4) clause, even if discourse-shift was not entirely appropriate in the context. This suspicion is only confirmed to the extent that in the first of the two following examples, the type (4) clause is embedded within a sentence - which is not where one would expect a new 'thematic paragraph' to begin:

(4.10) Ntika   na.eda.ku [**ama.na ede** <u>wunga</u> maru sarenga.**na** ese wawo ruwi], ...
  suddenly 3.see.ASS father.3 DEM PROGR sleep lie-down.3 on atop thorn
"(Then the children went to the field where their father had gone to chop off thorns.) Suddenly they saw that this father of theirs was sleeping stretched out on the thorns, ..." (or:

'Suddenly they saw that <u>this father of theirs,</u> he was sleeping stretched out on the thorns, ...') (D'aju)

(4.11) pala **la Mpano** <u>wunga</u> mbaju.**na** mubu.
    but PN Mpano PROGR pound.3 rice-flour
"(Her husband replied: "what you say indicates the work of a devil; how could I want to sleep with Mpano? Where is that animal? So he went looking,) but Mpano was pounding rice flour." (or: 'but <u>Mpano, she</u> was pounding rice flour.') (Mpinga)

But otherwise, these examples in fact exemplify many of the other features of discourse-shifts, and should thus be interpreted as such. For one thing, each clause involves the introduction of a formerly mentioned, yet up until this point inactive, participant. Another factor - one whose diagnostic worth should not be undervalued - is the ease with which these clauses can be translated into English sentences with left-detached topic constituents. But this factor is not independent of some other features of these clauses which render them appropriate as discourse-shifts; two of the most typical features of discourse-shifts are (1) the use of added demonstrative material, as for the preverbal NP in (4.10), and (2) the use of certain conjunctions, such as *pala* in (4.11), which overtly signal a change in direction in the narrative. Discourse-shift sentences may otherwise typically commence with *nde pala* 'however' or adverbs of time, as in (4.9) above. Regarding the extensive use of demonstrative material in discourse-shift situations (besides plain *ede* 'that, those, this, these', *aka-n (e)de* 'that aforementioned' is the next most frequently instantiated) it should be noted that demonstratives otherwise surface rather sparingly in Bimanese (with the exception of antitopics - see section 4.4.2).

Example (4.12) below provides us with another instance of type (4) sentence-internal discourse-shift. It also demonstrates how, besides affirming the topical status of the preverbal NP in discourse-shift sentences, added demonstrative material can serve to slow, or even break, the pace of the narrative. Discourse-shift sentences may thus have certain stylistic dimensions which may render them appropriate in certain circumstances. The following sentence has most likely taken type (4) clause shape for stylistic effect:

(4.12) Doho ngena kai.ra   b'a ompu   la'o wa'i   Aha,
    sit wait KAI.EMPH by old-man with old-woman Aha
    "So old man and old woman Aha sat and waited,

na.ntoi.jara [**ompu la'o wa'i**   ede doho.na aka kengge moti ede], ...
3.long.JARA old-man with old-woman DEM sit.3   LOC edge sea DEM
it was for a long time that this old man and old woman sat at the beach, ..." (or: 'it was for a long time that, <u>this old man and old woman, they</u> sat at the beach, ...')
(Zamrut-Komala)

This is one of the few examples I have of type (4) clause discourse-shifts in which the primary topic remains unaltered from the immediately preceding clause. So (4.12) is

untypical in this respect, but also in the very nature of the shift: discourse-shift does not usually involve the shift from an action (the sitting of old man and old woman Aha) to the description of an extended state. But the purported slowness of discourse-shift sentences (conferred by the extensive use of demonstratives, sentence-initial adverbs and articles, as well as by the simple increase of phonetic material) does more than to simply signal a change of tack by the narrator in this example: it fits the. very essence of what is being described (old man and old woman Aha's extended state of waiting). In other words, 'discourse-shift' is iconic in this setting.

The following examples show how type (5a) clauses are also used in discourse-shift situations, and how they again display all of the typical features of sentence-initial adverbials of time, sentential conjunctions, and added demonstrative material:

(4.13) Wara ai   sa.nai, **ana.na ede na**.lao tonggu   mbe'e ma ngaha d'i tolo, ...
      exist time one.day child.3 DEM 3.go watch-over goat   relA eat   LOC field
"(Once there was a deaf household; its father was deaf, its mother was deaf, its child was deaf, its servant was deaf - the servant was female). Then there was a time one day when this child of its (the deaf household) went to watch over some goats which were eating in a field, ..." (or: 'Then there was a time one day when <u>this child of its</u> (the deaf household), <u>he</u> went to watch over some goats ... ') (Mpinga)

(4.14) Ma   kento mpara b'a ede, **wa'i**   **aka.n ede na**.tu'u tari'i, ...
      relA later then   by DEM old-woman DEM.3 DEM 3.stand urinate
"([the robber] straddled a branch of the tamarind tree, and slept while he sat.) A little after this, the old woman from before (at the top of the tree) stood up to urinate, ..." (or: 'A little after this, <u>the old woman from before</u>, <u>she</u> stood up to urinate, ...') (Wa'i)

(4.15) nde pala **wa'i**   **ede na**.lampa watu ncai masa masa.b'ae.
      although old-woman DEM go-along from path other other.side
"(Then the old woman returned home with forty dollars of gold,) however, this old woman went out the gate on the *other* side. (or: 'however, <u>this old woman</u>, <u>she</u> went out the gate on the *other* side.') (Wa'i)

The following three examples display the same characteristics for type (5b) clauses:

(4.16) Nde pala wara sa.b'ua wakatu, **rahi.na ede na**.wa'u.ra   lao karawi haju, ...
      although exist one.CLAS time husband.3 DEM 3.already.EMPH go work wood
"However, there was one time, (when) this husband of hers had already gone to his (wood) work, ..." (or: 'However, there was one time, (when) <u>this husband of hers</u>, <u>he</u> had already gone to his (wood) work, ...') (Pande Haju)

(4.17) Wara.ku sa.nai   **sia ede na**.lao do'o.ku ngupa kai.na ngaha.
      exist.ASS one.day 3p DEM 3.go far.ASS seek KAI.3 food
"(This mother worked all day to find food for the children.) There was one day, (when) this lady (lit: 'this she') went far to find food." (or: 'There was one day, (when) <u>this lady</u>, <u>she</u> went far to find food.') (Wadu Mbi'a)

(4.18) Ede mpara wara.ku   sa.nai   amangad'i, **ompu Aha la'o wa'i Aha**   **aka.n de**
      DEM then   exist.ASS one.day night   old-man Aha with old-woman Aha DEM.3 DEM
"And there was a time one evening, (when) old man Aha and old woman Aha from

na.ringa.ku eli   genda la'o go lab'o sarone aka kengge moti ede.
3.hear.ASS noise drum with go with oboe LOC edge   sea DEM
before heard the noise of drums and go's and oboes at the beach."   (Zamrut-Komala)

Note that (4.15) and (4.17) provide two further examples of discourse-shift in which the primary topic remains unaltered from the preceding clause. In (4.17) the discourse-shift is appropriate because a new time period, and a new chain of events is being signalled, while in (4.15) the discourse-shift shape appears to be directed towards certain distinctive stylistic effects; it adds extra emphasis and dramatic effect for the purpose of conveying crucial, salient information. This is, of course, quite in line with our tentative explanation for the opposition of agreement procliticization to encliticization. And this pattern appears to be borne out across all clauses; the only difference one can discern between the situations which give rise to type (4) discourse-shifts and type (5a) and (5b) discourse-shifts is that actions involved in the latter are more likely to be more prominent in or integral to the story, while for type (4) discourse-shifts, what are essentially background circumstances to the main events are usually what ushers in the shift.

By this stage it may have been noticed that all examples of discourse-shift provided thus far have involved third person agreement. This comes mainly as a consequence of there being far fewer instantiations of non-third person agreement in type (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses - although we could ask at the same time whether we might have expected clauses with non-third person agreement to hold the same discourse-shift properties as their third person counterparts. If these clauses did signal discourse-shift, then this would debunk once and for all Givón's claim that the device of 'topic-shift' (that is, the placement of a full pronoun in apposition to agreement) is necessary for the purpose of disambiguating a noisy channel of communication. This is because the identity of the participant crossreferenced by non-third person agreement is completely unambiguous, in just the way this is not so for the case of third person agreement (that is, the non-third person agreement morpheme *ku*, for example, unambiguously identifies the actor as first person singular *nahu*).

Speaking more generally, first and second person expressions have very different referentiality statuses from third person expressions since the former are used only in direct speech, or reproductions of direct speech. This may in some way account for why non-third person agreement proclitics in type (5a) clauses drawn from text appear to retain the same unrealized tense interpretations that they have in independently elicited sentences:

(4.19) "Eee ana ee, nahu ka.lao d'i   ndiha kai lenga.ku, henca d'i rade."
         child   1p 1.go URZD/LOC party KAI friend.1 ghost LOC cemetry
("Hey Ompu, where are you going?" we would ask.) "Well kids, I'm going to go and party with my friend, the ghost in the cemetry." (Ompu Ico)

(4.20) nde pala kombi nggomi **mu**.lampa ncubu, ...
however maybe 2p   2.go-along crawl
"but maybe you should crawl along, ... "   (Sahe)

It also may explain why these two examples are less likely interpreted as 'discourse-shifts'.[2] In short, although most of the discussion in this chapter will centre around third person agreement in text, at the same time we should be prepared to concede that non-third person agreement may not hold entirely the same properties.

4.3.3 Type (3) clauses

Type (3) clauses (which have preverbal NPs but no agreement) are used very sparsely in text; I have only nine examples. The significance of placing the actor in preverbal, subject position (whereas the majority of clauses have the actor in postverbal position) seems to be just what one might expect - that the topicality of the actor is increased, or more emphasis is placed upon it. In those cases where the preverbal NP differs from the primary topic of the immediately preceding discourse, the type (3) clause may resemble a discourse-shift to the extent that there is a change in perspective, yet the type (3) clauses I have seen would otherwise appear to lack most of the other typical qualities that characterize discourse-shifts, such as added demonstrative material, obvious changes of tack on the part of the narrator, or indications that there has been a transition in time. Furthermore, the idea of topic-initial discourse-shift is not even applicable to the following type (3) clause (whose preverbal NP is in boldface type):

(4.21) Nggahi kai lalo   b'a ruma sangaji ,'nggara ndede.si   [**ana nahu** pala ake]!'
say   KAI directly by king sultan   if   like-this.COND child 1p seem now
"So then the sultan said immediately: 'if this is so (if the buffalo who bore two human children had accidentally drunken the sultan's urine), then it now seems (they're) *my* children!'"   (Rompa-Rompi)

The topic of a topic-initial discourse-shift must have been mentioned at some stage earlier in the discourse. While the referents of the phrase *ana nahu* 'my children' have certainly been mentioned at some point earlier in the discourse, the fact that they have nevertheless never been mentioned under the guise presented here (as being the sultan's children) eliminates the possibility of a topic-initial discourse-shift interpretation (hence the difficulty of formulating an equivalent English topic-initial discourse-shift sentence with a left-detached topic). But, quite apart from all questions of discourse-shift, it is not even apparent that the preverbal NP of this type (3) clause even has the pragmatic status of topic; it seems likely that *ana nahu*, or at least the possessor phrase *nahu*, is intended to have the kind of contrastive emphasis which renders it a focus constituent.

Perhaps the most distinctive and binding characteristic that can emerge from our collection of type (3) clauses at this stage is the tendency to find these clauses paired with another clause which has a different topic, and which expresses a contrary action or circumstance regarding this topic (hence the use of "while" as the conjunction between the two clauses in English translation):

(4.22) Ede.ra **sahe** toko ta awa wombo uma, **Puteri Rompa lab'o Puteri Rompi**
DEM.EMPH buffalo lie LOC under basement house Puteri Rompa with Puteri Rompi
"And then the buffalo lay under in the basement of the house, while Princess Rompa

ngge'e ta ese uma.
live LOC on house
and Princess Rompi lived up inside the house."   (Rompa-Rompi)

(4.23) **la Daju** dula.r d'i uma.na, ...
PN lazy return.EMPH LOC house.3
"(this aforementioned old man, he had not long sat down, then he slept lying down on top of the many thorns), while the Lazy One returned to his house, ..."   (D'aju)

(4.24) **dou lab'o.na** wa'u.ra made mena, ...
person with.3 already.EMPH die PL
"(And then the aforementioned prince's boat really did break and scatter,) and all his accompanying people had died, (while there remained only the prince and the noble ...)"   (Kalai)

The preverbal NPs of these type (3) clauses appear to fit Lambrecht's (1994, 291) definition of *contrastive topics*. Here is the example he gives (in which upper case type signals an intonation peak and the contrastive topics are underlined):

(4.25) I saw Mary and John yesterday. SHE says hello, but HE's still ANGRY at you.   (1994, 291)

The underlined pronouns in (4.25) do stand in a relationship of contrast, although the kind of contrast involved here is not of the nature to render these two pronouns as focus constituents. According to Lambrecht, contrastive topics differ from contrastive foci in that the former are incompatible with the idea of correction or contradiction, whereas the latter *are* associated with these properties (1994, 291). While some languages express this difference only prosodically, others have morphosyntactic means. He gives the example of French (1994, 292):

(4.26) a. MOI je paye.
b. C'est MOI qui paye.

Here the (a) example contains a contrastive topic, while (b) has a contrastive focus since it carries the implication that no one else may pay. Further, unlike (a), (b) necessarily involves the presupposition 'x will pay' (so (b) is likely an answer to the question 'who will pay?'). This follows from the definition of focus as "the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from each other" (Lambrecht 1994, 207).

At this stage it is unclear whether or not the tendency for type (3) preverbal actors to have the pragmatic status of contrastive topic should be considered to be just that - a *tendency* - or if instead this pragmatic status could be considered to be a defining characteristic of type (3) clauses. For now it seems safer to say just that the positioning of the actor before the verb corresponds to increased emphasis or topicality. To close the consideration of type (3) clauses we will consider the most problematic of examples:

(4.27) Wara.ku sa.nai,   **nami**   wunga mpa'a d'i sarei, ...
       exist.ASS one.day 1exclp PROGR play LOC yard
"(They (the children) came to play and listen to Ompu Ico's stories.) There was one day, (when) we were playing in the yard, (and a lizard suddenly appeared ...)" (Ompu Ico)

The absence of enclitic agreement in this example seems quite inexplicable both because of the presence of the progressive item *wunga* (which almost always requires an agreement enclitic to follow), and also because this sentence, as presented within its context, seems like the ideal candidate for a discourse-shift, and hence would be expected to take the form of a type (4) clause. Since this sentence *is* translated with an agreement enclitic when elicited in isolation, there must be something in the surrounding context of (4.27) which renders the type (3) clause (without agreement) appropriate - although it is unclear at this stage what this might be.

4.3.4 Defining 'topic'

As we have already drawn upon some of the insights of Lambrecht (1994) where the pragmatic status of contrastive topics is concerned, it now behooves us to examine the status of the more frequently occurring and less marked kind of topic - especially since I have often up until this point made reference to 'topics' without giving any indication of precisely what this might mean. This kind of neglect has been especially prevalent in the consideration of clauses constituting so-called 'topic-initial discourse-shifts'. It is hoped that in this section we may begin to evaluate to what extent the preverbal NPs in these type (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses are, as their classification would suggest, topics.

The notion of topic has received many different treatments and definitions in a number of works (cf. Givón 1983, Ochs Keenan and Schiefflin 1976, Li and Thompson 1976, Bresnan and Mchombo 1987, Lambrecht 1981, 1994). It is my intention to adopt, and use throughout this work, Lambrecht's (1994) definition of SENTENCE or CLAUSE topic as a certain expression that we may identify within any one given (possibly isolated) sentence. Lambrecht's initial, and most basically stated definition of the topic of a sentence, is that it is "the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT" (1994, 118). The next most important statement that he makes is that the two notions of 'topic' and 'subject'

cannot be conflated. It is possible, however, for the subject and topic of a sentence to coincide; and in a language such as English in which this does happen very frequently, subjects can be understood to be unmarked topics. So if the sentence *the children went to school* is said with normal intonation and standard placement of stress on the last lexical item *school* (say, in answer to the question *what are the children doing now?*), then this sentence is perceived as a topic-comment structure in which *the children* is both the subject and topic. The further entailment of having the subject as unmarked topic is that topic-comment articulation is then the unmarked pragmatic sentence articulation (1994, 132).

But of course a topic constituent need not be syntactically and semantically integrated into the argument-structure of the clause; in fact, it is the conception of 'topic' as an expression which is both syntactically and semantically independent of the verb that has in some spheres perhaps gained the most currency (e.g. Li and Thompson 1976). Numerous examples of topic constituents which are not integrated into the argument structure of the verb have already been provided by the second, contextually well-fitted English translations of the Bimanese type (4), (5a) and (5b) discourse-shift sentences above. In English, topic constituents which are not arguments must be set off from the rest of the sentence by a sizeable pause, as the intervening commas would suggest. But in other languages, namely so-called "topic-prominent" languages (Li and Thompson, 1976), this is evidently not the case. The following example is from Japanese:

(4.28) Sakana wa tai   ga   oisii.
       fish   top red-snapper subj delicious
       "(As for) fish, red snapper is delicious."   (Li and Thompson 1976, 468)

The difference between topics which are arguments and those which are not is captured in the terminology of Dik (1997) by reserving the title of 'topic' for the former, while calling the latter 'themes'. Lambrecht uses 'topic' as a cover term for both of these. Yet there is another major variety of topic which is referred to as 'antitopic' by Lambrecht, as 'tail' by Dik (1997), and as 'afterthought' by Givón (1976). This variety will be considered extensively in section 4.4.2 below.

In short, 'topichood' has many and varied proponents and is composed of often what may seem to be somewhat heterogeneous concepts or behaviours. But these are all intended to be united under the Lambrecht's definition of topic as being the entity which a proposition is *about* - although if the reader finds this basic definition less than satisfying then this is at once expected and acceptable, since it in fact reflects the way languages themselves deal with the unclear status of topichood. According to Lambrecht:

This inherent vagueness has consequences for the grammatical coding of topics in sentences. If the topic is seen as a matter of current interest which a statement is about and with respect to which a proposition is to be interpreted as relevant, it is clear that one cannot always point to a particular element in a proposition, let alone to a particular constituent of a sentence, and determine that this element and nothing else is the topic of the sentence. As there are degrees of relevance, there are degrees to which elements of propositions qualify as topics. It is this fact, I believe, which accounts for the absence of unambiguous formal marking of the topic relation in many languages. And, as a corollary, it accounts for the fact that in those languages which do have formal topic marking this marking reflects only imperfectly the relative degrees of topicality of given referents. (1994, 119)

With this caution in mind, and with the characterization of topics so far given, we turn now to the question of whether or not the preverbal NPs - the *subjects* - in Bimanese type (4), (5a), (5b) clauses are topics. I believe the fact that they can consistently be contextually appropriately fitted with English translations with left-detached topic constituents is indication enough that they are topics, even if there is the difference that the Bimanese topic constituents, unlike their counterparts in the English translation, *are* syntactically and semantically selected by the verb. Accepting this then, we move to a more ambitious question: are *all* preverbal NPs in Bimanese topics? That is, is there actually an unambiguous formal marking of topics as subjects in Bimanese such that these two statuses *can* be conflated?

The most significant indication to the contrary is the type (3) clause in (4.21), in which the preverbal NP *ana nahu* 'my children' possibly bears pragmatic focus. More generally, there is the problem that pragmatic interpretation may be affected by the extra-linguistic factors of intonation and stress; the interpretation of a preverbal NP as either a topic or focus constituent could conceivably be dependent upon such factors alone. On the other hand, the tendency for the preverbal NPs of other type (3) clauses to have the pragmatic status of contrastive topic could be taken in support of the high correlation between topic and subject.

Furthermore, neither do the preverbal NPs of independently elicited sentences negate this correlation. The major point of interest when we come to compare independently elicited type (3), (4) , (5a) and (5b) clauses with their textual counterparts is the far greater proportional frequency of the former group. Indeed, whereas we see from the counts presented in section 4.1 that type (3), (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses represent a minority among all clauses drawn from text, for the database of independently elicited sentences it is the case that the vast majority of these have preverbal NPs. Consider this state of affairs in relation to the following passage from Lambrecht:

language users have an unconscious inclination to impose presuppositional structure on isolated sentences in order to be able to conceive of them as pieces of information. Now if English speakers interpret canonical SVO sentences ... in isolation, without contextual or prosodic clues, they are more than likely to construe them as topic-comment sentences ... (1994, 132)

What the predominance of type (3), (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses in the database reflects is my consultant's natural tendency to both interpret the isolated English sentences given up for translation as topic-comment structures, as well as the need for the equivalent stand-alone Bimanese clauses to be conceived as interpretable pieces of information. Given this it comes as no surprise that almost all of the sentences in the database have preverbal NPs.

The major exception to this tendency comes from sentences with embedded clauses. Perhaps half of the elicitations of sentences with embedded clauses resulted in Bimanese postverbal matrix actors, two of which are shown below:

(4.29) Fiki   b'a la   Rahim nggomi ma.ringu.ku.
      think by PN Rahim 2p   2.crazy.ASS
      "Rahim thinks that you are crazy."

(4.30) B'ade b'a nahu la Halima na.lao lampa.lampa   lab'o la Rahim.
      know by 1p   PN Halima 3.go go-along.go-along with PN Rahim
      "I knew Halima would be walking with Rahim."

What these sentences are most naturally construed as being about are 'you' and 'Halima' respectively; 'Rahim' in (4.29) and 'nahu' in (4.30) are less accessible as primary topics. The postverbal placement of the actors in the matrix clauses reflects not only that they are less accessible as topics, but also the fact that they need not be interpreted as topics in order to enable the hearer or speaker to conceive of the entire sentence as an interpretable piece of information.

The topical status of the preverbal NP is also supported by the inability of the indefinite, non-specific signifier *dou* 'person, someone, one' to occur in this position, since indefinite, non-specific NPs are not eligible topics. An English sentence such as indicated below, for example, in which the subject is the indefinite 'someone', will necessarily be translated using an existential construction in Bimanese:

(4.31) Wara dou   d'i   ma mai hanta masaki ai   nai salasa   sid'i.
      exist person URZD relA come lift   rubbish time day Tuesday morning
      "Someone will come and take our rubbish away on Tuesday morning." (lit.
'There is someone who will ...')

In Chapter Five the status of preverbal NPs as topics will be considered further, where we will see a number of cases of preverbal topics which are not syntactically or semantically selected by the verb in a manner similar (although not identical) to the Japanese example (4.28) above. One final concluding, and perhaps obvious, remark here is that preverbal constituents with the status of sentence topic need not be actors. There are five instantiations of the preverbal positioning of an undergoer in the database of texts, and in each case this preverbal constituent has the status of topic. The preverbal undergoers in the following sentence, for example, are contrastive topics:

(4.32) **sa.b'ua rupia** na.mbei.ku wei.n, **masa.b'ua rupia** na.wi'i.ku d'i ade po'o.
one.CLAS rupi 3.give.ASS wife.3 other.CLAS rupi 3.place.ASS LOC liver bamboo
"(This husband just did this for a long time:) one rupiah he would give to his wife, the other rupiah he would put inside the bamboo." (Pande)

4.4 Clauses with Postverbal Actor NPs: Types (6), (7), (8a) and (8b)

4.4.1 Type (6) clauses

Type (6) clauses are by far the most frequent in text, as the counts in section 4.1 show. Type (6) clauses represent the plain, unmarked situation where there is no particular emphasis placed upon the actor - if there was then presumably we would have a *pre*verbal actor in a type (3) clause. At the close of the last section there were strong indications that preverbal position in Bimanese should amount to 'topic' position. Do the postverbal actors of type (6) clauses further confer topic status upon the preverbal position by themselves being bereft of the status of topic? The contextual examination of type (6) clauses will show that this is indeed the case; even when some type (6) postverbal actors could be said to be 'topical' in the sense of being active and hence highly accessible as topics (this is in fact Givón's (1983) treatment of topicality as a scale predicated upon such factors as 'topic persistence' and 'referential distance'), they nevertheless cannot be construed as being what the proposition expressed by the clause is, in its entirety, *about*.That is to say, they cannot be analyzed as sentence topics.

The type (6) clauses whose postverbal actors are topical in Givón's sense, while at the same time not constituting actual sentence topics, fall into two major classes. The first mirrors the tendency we have already observed among independently elicited sentences in the last section: that when the sentence contains an embedded complement clause, what the entire sentence is interpreted as being about is less likely the main clause actor than something contained within the embedded clause. Hence such verbs as *nggahi* 'say', *(n)cambe* 'reply', and *kacei* 'think' almost always have postverbal actors in text.

The second major class of type (6) sentences with topical postverbal actors which are nevertheless not sentence topics are those which contain the 'linking' item *kai* within the verb complex. This *kai* will be discussed in section 5.4.2, but at this point we can summarize its function by saying that it serves to link a sentence to an immediately preceding clause or sentence in a chain of cause and event, and is thus appropriately translated as 'so'. Consider the following two examples:

(4.33) Ede.ra mbei **kai** b'a longga ede sampari ma lab'o jalitu,
DEM.EMPH give KAI by deer DEM dagger relA with flute
"(The lazy one said: "if this is so then give the dagger and flute here!") And so (because of this) the deer gave (him) the dagger and the flute." (D'aju)

(4.34) Ede mpara rai b'atu **kai** b'a ada   sangaji sampe aka mbowo kai   lako.
      DEM then   run follow KAI by servant sultan until   LOC bark   NOM dog
"(The dogs barked up at their (the princesses') house.) And so then the sultan's servants ran after until they reached the barking of the dogs." (Rompa-Rompi)

In these two type (6) clauses containing *kai*, the notion of aboutness does not revolve specifically around either of the (postverbal) actors, but instead holds over the entire state of affairs expressed, encompassing also the source of the particular actions or circumstances. This is not to say that the cooccurrence of a preverbal actor and this *kai* is prohibited; in example (4.7) of section 4.3.2, repeated here as (4.35), a topic-initial discourse-shift occurs within the chain of reasoning that *kai* overtly signals:

(4.35) Ede mpara ruma.t   londo   kai.na, weha jara ra nente.n, ...
      DEM then   king.1incl descend KAI.3   take horse rel mount.3
"(The king asked: "why are you crying?" And his wife replied: "there was a ghost who had been dispatched by my mother and grandmother". She told him everything from beginning to end. Then the king said: "where is this ghost?" His wife replied: "he's already gone home".) And so the king went down and got his horse, which he mounted, ..." (Pande Haju)

This is unusual, however. Of the hundreds of instantiations of this *kai* in text, this is the only one to cooccur with a preverbal actor.

    The remaining type (6) clauses have postverbal actors which cannot qualify as being 'topical' in any sense (and hence are completely infeasible as sentence topics). One such infeasible topic could be *ade* 'liver' in (4.36). As we will see in the next chapter, *ade* refers abstractly to the seat of one's emotions, and as such cannot usually be topicalized.

(4.36) Ncoki jara   ade ina.na   ringa.
        sad   EMPH liver mother.3 hear
        "Their mother was very sad to hear (it)." (Wadu Mbi'a)

Other postverbal NPs may be barred from the role of sentence topic as a consequence of occurring in connection with a more pragmatically salient participant (hence these ones may be fittingly translated as English passives):

(4.37) Cambe kai b'a ana.na "Ai, ina ee, wa'u.ra   lowi b'a mada ...
        reply   KAI by child.3   mother already.EMPH cook by 1p(pol)
"("Where's your little sister?") And so the child replied: "Oh mother, I've already cooked her ..." (or: 'she's already been cooked by me ...') (Wadu Mbi'a)

(4.38) ina.na   wa'u.ra   made, ono   b'a wadu.
        mother.3 already.EMPH dead swallow by stone.
     "their mother was already dead, having been swallowed by the stone." (Wadu Mbi'a)

    Finally, the most decisive cases of the postverbal actor's incongruence with the status of sentence topic are to be found where the actor fails to fulfil some of the most basically stated defining characteristics of this pragmatic role. The following

arguments of the existential verb *wara* must obligatorily occur in postverbal position since in their referents are indefinite and new to the discourse, and hence unable to be topics:

(4.39) ede sadeka lalo.mpa wara udi   ma   mai   mpanga janga Ompu Ico.
      DEM sudden direct.just exist lizard relA come steal   chicken Ompu Ico
"(There was one day, we were playing in the yard,) and very suddenly there appeared a lizard who came and snatched some of Ompu Ico's chickens." (Ompu Ico)

(4.40) Pala wara.ja   rato   ma   loja lab'o lopi.
      but exist.also prince relA sail with boat
"(Once there was this person called Kalai and there was his garden by the edge of the sea. So then he climbed the coconut tree in this garden of his.) But then a prince sailed past with his boat." (Kalai)

4.4.2 Type (7) clauses

As a prelude to the analysis of type (7) clauses, we will consider some further observations drawn from Givón (1976). Immediately after discussing the use of clauses which he calls topic-shift devices (and which we have called topic-initial discourse-shift devices), Givón briefly presents another device which he calls "after-thought topic-shift (AT)", and which he illustrates with the following example (1976, 154):

(4.41) Context: Once there was a wizard.
      AT: He lived in Africa, the wizard did.

It is difficult to see in exactly which way the AT clause is meant to constitute a 'topic-shift', or more generally, just what the nature of, or motivation for, this device could be (if it could be called a 'device' as such). However, I think it is accurate to say that there is nothing unnatural about this kind of construction; one may sense a kind of familiarity in this AT clause as something we would expect to come across in a narrative. But Givón does go some way towards explaining the nature of the AT clause above: he says that in it, the speaker starts out by assuming that the weaker anaphoric pronominalization strategy "will do, then changes his or her mind and - just to be safe - repeats the topic again" (1976, 154).

The adequacy of this explanation will be evaluated later. At present the major - and perhaps predictable - import of considering Givón's discussion of 'after-thought' clauses is that it so happens to furnish us with a second, contextually well-fitted translation for each of our type (7) clauses. As always, the immediately preceding background clauses are included in the translation, and the second, stylistically appropriate translation of the clause is included as a bracketed alternative (once again, I stress that this second pairing is not intended to carry any syntactic entailments):

(4.42) Ede mpara mbi'a lalo   kai.na o'o   aka.n den
        DEM then break directly KAI.3 bamboo aforementioned
"(Right away Old Man Aha heard the noise of a human from within the bamboo; it said: "hey Old Man, don't cut this bamboo, it has us inside it - we'll just come out by ourselves.) And so then this aforementioned bamboo immediately broke, ..." (or: 'And so then it immediately broke, this aforementioned bamboo, ...') (Zamrut-Komala)

(4.43) ... ede   mpara mbisa.na dou mpanga ede ro   mab'u.na awa   dana,
        DEM then faint.3   person steal DEM CONJ fall.3   under land
"(So then this aforementioned thief took (the betel) with his tongue, but the old woman immediately bit off a piece of thief's tongue,) and then this thief fainted and fell to the ground, ..." (or: 'and then he fainted, this thief, and fell to the ground, ...') (Wa'i)

(4.44) Ede.ra   b'atu kai.na b'a Ama Seho, kid'i.na d'i kontu Ama Kambeo d'i kompe talaga.
        DEM.EMPH follow KAI.3 by Mr Buffalo stand.3 LOC side Mr Goat   LOC side lake
"(... however, you have come and placed yourself before me, and I want to help you with haste - come and stand and stay by the side of this lake!") So Mr Buffalo followed, and stood beside Mr Goat by the lake." (or: 'So he followed, did Mr Buffalo, and stood beside Mr Goat by the lake.')

Why is it that type (7) clauses can be appropriately and routinely fitted with English 'after-thought' clauses with right-detached NPs? The answer to this question most likely comes down to the pragmatic status of type (7) postverbal actor NPs. Is it accurate to refer to these NPs as 'topics' (which is the title that Givón gives these postposed NPs of 'after-thought' constructions)? While they do appear to stray somewhat from Lambrecht's description of sentence topics, at the same time one does notice the preponderance of demonstrative material which surrounds them - which is a typical feature of topics.

Another quality of these postverbal NPs in type (7) clauses which is indicative of topichood is that they tend to be highly presupposed, or in Lambrecht's (1994) parlance they are "in the presupposition" (151).[3] To explicate this quality for the four examples above, we observe that: in (4.42) we have three active participants in the background text (Old Man Aha, a bamboo tube, and some unknown voices), but at the time the verb *mbi'a* 'break' is uttered in the type (7) clause the actor can only be plausibly recovered as the bamboo; when the verb *mbisa* 'faint' is uttered for the type (7) clause of (4.43) the actor with the higher presupposition is the thief, and not the old woman (because we assume that if the old woman has enough gumption to bite a piece of the thief's tongue right off in the first place then she is unlikely to become squeamish and faint herself); and in the type (7) clause of (4.44) Mr Buffalo is the participant who we presume does the 'following' since this is just what he has been ordered to do by Mr Goat.

Although each of (4.42-4) is *highly* presupposed, none of them can be said to be *absolutely* presupposed - and this could be seen as lending support to Givón's conception of 'after-thought' clauses as arising out of the need to disambiguate among participants in a "noisy" passage containing more than one active participant.

The contention would be that, despite the identity of the topical participant being highly apparent, the speaker reiterates his or her name 'just to be safe'. But the applicability of Givón's notion of a disambiguating afterthought device to Bimanese type (7) clauses must expire once we come to some cases of absolute presupposition of the postverbal NP. There *are*, as we will see, some Bimanese type (7) clauses in which the postverbal NP is absolutely presupposed. For this reason, as well as some others to be discussed, somewhat more consonant with the pragmatic status of Bimanese type (7) postverbal actors is Lambrecht's (1981, 1994) characterization of 'antitopic'.

Antitopics are alike to afterthoughts in as much as both are sentence-final constituents, but the two are distinguished by the fact that, whereas the latter are both stressed and preceded by pauses, the former are "by definition unstressed and usually not preceded by pauses" (1981, 76). Antitopic and afterthought constructions are also attributable to very different processing factors. We have already considered Givón's characterization of afterthought as a strategy resorted to for the purpose of mending, or otherwise enhancing, the interpretability of an utterance (this much is suggested by the very title 'afterthought'); conversely, antitopic constructions are described by Lambrecht as "fully conventionalized grammatical construction[s]", where the speaker who uses the construction "is normally fully 'aware' that the mere mention of the unmarked topic pronoun in the clause is insufficient for the hearer to understand who or what the proposition is about" (1994, 203). Lambrecht does not deny, however, that there is a diachronic relationship between the two sentence formations (1981, 76).

· When we come to compare antitopics with standard, clause-initial topics, the most obvious difference is their positioning. But a more subtle difference is that it would appear that antitopics are required to be more tightly bound to the proposition of the clause. One reflection of this is the fact that, in French, the right-detached antitopic must be marked for case (Lambrecht 1994, 205). This tight binding is even more marked for Bimanese type (7) 'antitopics' - to the extent that these constituents could not even be said to be *detached*. Since the first point of identification in the characterization of antitopics (or 'afterthoughts', or 'tails', for that matter) is that these entities are right-detached, the reality that this not so for type (7) postverbal actors might be seen to count against their qualification as antitopics. However, these NPs do otherwise exhibit many of the pragmatic qualities of antitopics, and for this reason I feel they are best given this description. For the purpose of seeing just how apt this description is, we will gauge these NPs against Lambrecht's (1981) characterization of antitopics. At the same time it must of course be kept in mind that this characterization seems to have been built up primarily around the phenomena in non-standard French.

The failure of Bimanese type (7) postverbal actors in the basic antitopic test of right-detachment is compounded by the fact that these Bimanese constituents are often not even clause-final. Among our collection of type (7) clauses drawn from text, the majority of postverbal actors *are* clause-final, but this seems to come as a consequence of the absence of any other arguments in the clause more than anything else. Examples of the intervention of an argument between the verb complex and the postverbal actor in a type (7) clause, as in (4.45) below, seem to be just as infrequent as in all other types of clauses.

(4.45) ede.ra   hori kai.na longga ede b'a la D'aju, ...
       DEM.EMPH free KAI.3 deer   DEM by PN lazy
       "and so the Lazy One freed this deer, ..." (or: 'and so he freed this deer, did the Lazy One') (D'aju)

However, it is interesting to observe that, given a clause with a postverbal actor and some other postverbal argument such as in (4.46a), my consultant will find the clause-final repositioning of the actor more acceptable if an agreement enclitic is attached to the verb, as in (4.46b)[4]:

(4.46) a. Fou   coco b'a Amu Rao.
       chase chase by Amu Rao
       "Amu chased Rao."

      b. Fou coco.na Rao b'a Amu.

      c. ?Fou coco Rao b'a Amu.

So clause-final placement of the actor is evidently more acceptable in type (7) clauses; but this cannot be seen in any way as canceling out the proclivity of the postverbal actor to occur adjacent to the verb complex, which in itself is responsible for the failure to fulfil another of Lambrecht's specifications for antitopichood: that it not occur before stressed constituents in the clause (1981, 80).

One of Lambrecht's specifications for antitopichood which the Bimanese type (7) postverbal actor *does* fulfil is that these constituents may not be removed indefinitely from the comment that they belong to. This property is in opposition to that of (non-argument) preverbal topics, which comes as a consequence of this latter category being discourse bound, whereas antitopics are clause-dependent (Lambrecht 1981, 80). The clause-dependency of antitopics engenders some other formal properties with which the Bimanese type (7) postverbal actor also concurs. One such property has already been mentioned for the case of French above: that antitopics are marked for case. As will now be familiar, Bimanese postverbal actors must be preceded by *b'a* if the verb is transitive.

But although Lambrecht holds that antitopics are syntactically integrated constituents, he nevertheless claims that "they are never integrated in the way that

subjects and objects are structurally into the clause" (1981, 77). This stems from the property that antitopics are always omissible. So are Bimanese type (7) postverbal actors always omissible? For all of the instantiations of type (7) clauses collected from text, it would appear that the postverbal actor can be omitted. This, however, cannot be unrelated to the exceptionless absence of preverbal arguments in our collection of type (7) clauses. When presented with the clause in (4.47) below, my consultant confirmed the omissible status of the postverbal actor, as the brackets indicate:

(4.47) Fou   coco.na (b'a sia) la Rahim.
      chase chase.3   by 3p   PN Rahim.
      "He chases Rahim."

But with the undergoer argument present in preverbal subject position, the postverbal actor phrase is no longer omissible (and agreement is actually dispreferred):

(4.48) La Rahim fou   coco(?.na) b'a sia.
      PN Rahim chase chase   by 3p
      "Rahim is chased by him."

This would seem to suggest that in 'NP-drop' situations, what the actor agreement is most readily identified with, or where the NP is most readily seen as dropping *from*, is preverbal subject position. This itself is a reflection of the canonical association of subject position with actor role.[5] But to conclude, the Bimanese postverbal actor resembles an antitopic to the extent that it is *largely* omissible, although it is perhaps not wholly, unconditionally so.

Up until this point we have measured the Bimanese type (7) postverbal actors against what Lambrecht calls the *formal* properties of antitopics. The remaining, *pragmatic* properties of antitopics concern indefiniteness, presuppositionality, and stylistics and nuance. The first of these properties takes the form of the condition that antitopics cannot be referentially indefinite (Lambrecht 1981, 84). Bimanese postverbal type (7) actor NPs hold true to this condition.

Lambrecht comments that of all pragmatic constituents, "antitopics are the highest on the presuppositional scale" (1981, 86). We have already seen that this is indeed also the case for Bimanese type (7) postverbal actors in (4.42-4) above, yet while the postverbal actors in these clauses are all *highly* presupposed, none of them realizes another possible status for antitopics - that of being *absolutely* presupposed, or 'given'. Such a status would appear to be congruent with the postverbal actor in the following type (7) clause, since there is no other participant active in the discourse at this stage:

(4.49) Nde pala wati.d'u   eda lab'o.na angi; [ede mpara kananu kai ade.na pande   haju ede]:
        however NEG.TEMP see with.3   RECIP DEM then   reflect KAI liver.3 labourer wood DEM
"((he) went along to every village and along every road - just maybe he would meet the old woman
who had taken the bamboo away from before.) However, he did not meet (her); and he
thought to himself, did this carpenter: ..." (Pande)

Lambrecht gives some comparable examples for non-standard French in which the
antitopic is similarly 'given', and poses the pertinent question: "why does a speaker
bother to name the referent, if he assumes that the addressee already knows who or
what he is talking about?" (1981, 87). Or, framed specifically in terms of type (7)
clause in (4.49) above, why does the narrator include the antitopic NP *pande haju
ede*, when the identity of the actor in this clause is clearly recoverable from the
agreement enclitic alone? Lambrecht concludes that the answer to these questions
must come down to stylistic factors. Thus, for his first non-standard French example
containing an absolutely presupposed antitopic, the existence of the antitopic is
accounted for by the kind of sarcastic nuance that its inclusion conveys. What could
be the stylistic significance of including the NP *pande haju ede* in the example
above? Sarcasm hardly seems appropriate; instead the most we can begin to assume is
that the inclusion of the 'antitopic' may be stylistically emphatic or perhaps
reaffirming.

        Consider also the following type (7) clause in which the postverbal actor is
absolutely presupposed:

(4.50) Ede mpara ufi.na b'a la D'aju.
        DEM then   blow.3 by PN lazy
"(The lazy one said: "it wasn't me who tortured the old man, I just blew this flute - this is how I blew
it.") And then the Lazy One blew his flute." (or: 'And then he blew his flute, did the
Lazy One.') (D'aju)

When the Lazy One plays his magical flute before the king in this sentence, he does
so either in defiance or else in a dimwitted state of not remembering that his flute is
guaranteed to make everyone present at the court lapse into fervent, uncontrollable
dancing. The king had earlier presumed that he would not dare to play his magical
flute at the court; a promising stipulation might then be that the Lazy One's action in
(4.50) carries a sense of contrariness which is best fitted with the kind of emphasis
that only a type (7) 'antitopic construction' may deliver.

        However, here, as in many other domains, the stylistic significance of any one
given utterance - let alone an entire set of utterances conforming to a certain syntactic
shape - can be hard to pinpoint. Nevertheless, I feel justified in concluding that, even
though it is more tightly bound to the proposition than Lambrecht's specifications for
antitopics would allow, the Bimanese type (7) postverbal actor otherwise displays the
pragmatic properties of antitopics so consistently and convincingly that it can be aptly
described as having this pragmatic status.

4.4.3 Type (8a) and (8b) clauses

The following type (8a) clause is as likely a candidate for an antitopic construction as any type (7) clause:

(4.51) na.nono ao.ku   b'a sahe   ede tari'i sangaji kande.
       3.drink opposing.ASS by buffalo DEM urine sultan before
"(and so he (the sultan) urinated in a mudpool. But there was a female buffalo playing in the mudpool,) and this buffalo accidently drank the urine of this sultan from before." (or: 'and she accidently drank, did this buffalo, the urine of this sultan from before.') (Rompa-Rompi)

However, it is otherwise the case that the postverbal actors of type (8a) and (8b) clauses will most often *not* have the pragmatic status of antitopic. In other words, the pragmatic 'ingredients' which inhere in the circumstance of (4.51), and which explain why it may aptly receive an antitopic-type translation, are seldom present in the backgrounds of other type (8a) and (8b) clauses. To see that this so, we need only measure some type (8a) and (8b) clauses and postverbal actors against the pragmatic qualities and properties of antitopics explicated in the last section.

Type (8a) clauses occur infrequently in text (or speech): we have only two from my consultant's texts, and eight from Jonker's. But this paucity of data cannot prevent us from concluding that these clauses do not consistently constitute antitopic constructions as was the case for type (7) clauses, since we have examples such as the following:

(4.52) Ompu Ico na.pata b'a dou   b'a   wancu.ku disa.na.
       Ompu Ico 3.know by person because great.ASS brave.3
       "Ompu Ico is known by everyone/the people for his great bravery." (?'Ompu Ico is known by them, everyone/the people, for his great bravery.') (Ompu Ico)

This cannot constitute an antitopic construction because the postverbal actor, *dou* 'person'/'someone'/'everyone'/'one', is *indefinite*. The indefinite status of *dou* has already been demonstrated by its disallowance in preverbal, topic position (see section 4.3.4). The following is an equivalent example with a type (8b) clause:

(4.52) nggara ta.ufi   sara, na.ringa sara b'a dou, ...
       if   1(pol).blow COND 3.hear COND by person
       "if you blow (the flute), and (it) is heard by someone, ..." (D'aju)

When one compares the postverbal actors of type (8a) and (8b) clauses to those of type (7) clauses, one notices that there is not quite the same prevalence of demonstrative material in the former group as in the latter. This is again indicative of the reality that type (8a) and (8b) postverbal actors are not uniformly definite. Here is a type (8b) clause in which the postverbal actor both lacks demonstrative material and is indefinite:

(4.53) Ntika na.eda mpara **b'a londe d'i moti** sa.mena.na uta isi   sori
       suddenly 3.see then   by milkfish LOC sea one.PL.3   fish contents river
       "Suddenly some milkfish in the sea saw that all of the fish populating the river

na.wa'u.d'u   lao mena awa moti, ...
3.already.TEMP go PL   under sea
had surged down into the sea, ..." (Udi)

But there is another reason why the postverbal actor constituent of (4.53) cannot be
an antitopic: this is that its referent is entirely new to the discourse, and hence
completely unpresupposed.

    As we saw in the last section, antitopics are, of all NPs, the highest on the
presuppositional scale. The postverbal actors of the following two type (8b) clauses
are definite, yet are completely unpresupposed for the reason that they, like the
referents of the postverbal actor phrase in (4.53), are new to the discourse:

(4.54) Ma kento mpara b'a ede, na.mai mpara ina.na   la Keu, ...
       relA later then   by DEM 3.come then   mother.3 PN Keu
       "A little after this, Keu's mother came, ..." (Nggea)

(4.55) Ma kento mpara b'a ede, na.mai mpara dou   ma ntau lewi   ede, ...
       relA later then   by DEM 3.come then   person relA own garden DEM
       "A little after this, the person who owned the garden came, ..." (Sahe)

    In short, the postverbal actors of type (8a) and (8b) clauses are not antitopics.
Consequently, the combination of an agreement proclitic and a postverbal actor does
not lend itself towards any of the marked stylistic qualities or character of antitopic
constructions and there is thus an asymmetry with agreement enclitics in this respect.
One might then ask just what the agreement proclitics are doing in these clauses, if
they have no stylistic import - why do type (8a) and (8b) clauses not take the shape of
type (6) clauses instead? As ever, we must fall back upon the postulation, however
unprovable, that agreement proclitics signal salient information. We can also reaffirm
with reference to the following type (8a) clause that for the case of direct speech,
agreement procliticization has the clearer signification of future or unrealized tense:

(4.56) 'ndake.ku   ma tangara kai nika b'ati,   [**ku**.mama wa'u   nahu], ... '
       as-such.ASS relA call   KAI marry spiritual 1.betel-chew already 1p
       "'this is what is called spiritual marriage: I will first chew the betel, ...'" (Wa'i)

4.5 The status of actor 'agreement'

    Up until this point we have analyzed the variously categorized clause types by
chiefly considering (a) what the information structural statuses of the entire clauses
are within the overall structure of the discourse, and (b) what the information
structural statuses of the actor NPs within these different clauses are. The next
smallest unit of interest is then the actor agreement morphemes themselves; in this

section we will turn to the question of what the status of these items might be, where this question is posed once again from an information structural point of view. Plainly, then, we will not be reprising the affix-clitic issue as it bears upon the realizations of agreement in Bimanese; but rather, the issue under examination will be whether the agreement morphemes should be best understood as manifestations of weak, purely grammatical agreement, or if their anaphoric properties instead render them the full status of pronominals - albeit *incorporated* pronominals.

This second interpretation, while perhaps somewhat more unexpected and counterintuitive, may have at the same time been what one could have ultimately extrapolated from the presence of a second English translation (containing a detached topic and a pronominal) for many of the Bimanese sentences in this chapter. The time has come, then, to make overt the implications behind this double pairing of English translations. This will be done first and foremost by summarizing, in section 4.5.1, the content of a paper that has already been extensively quoted from in this chapter: Givón's (1976) "Topic, Pronoun and grammatical agreement". Extensions and refinements of Givón's work by Lambrecht (1981) and Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) will considered in the two subsections that follow.

4.5.1 Givón (1976): "Topic, Pronoun and grammatical agreement"

This pivotal work is a cross-linguistic account of how systems of agreement come into being. Givón's account encompasses the phenomena of both subject-verb and object-verb agreement, for one of his central claims is that no particular grammatical relation should be identified as the locus of any emergent agreement process. Instead, it is the discourse notion of *topic* which is the relevant relation here - it is with the topic that agreement markers should be said to *agree*. The other major claim of this paper is that agreement and pronominalization are fundamentally one and the same phenomenon instead of two distinct processes (1976, 151).

What Givón's claims amount to once he puts these ideas into practice is the contention that "agreement arises via topic-shifting constructions in which the topicalized NP is coreferential to one argument of the verb" (1976, 151). We have already seen Givón's 'topic-shifting' constructions; in English they turn out to be the 'marked' (or, to say the least, not usually considered as strictly grammatical) sentences with either left-detached NPs ("Now the wizard, he lived in Africa"), or right-detached, 'afterthought' NPs ("He lived in Africa, the wizard did"). We have also already found fault with Givón's characterization of the information structural significance of such sentences. For, as Enç (1986) has shown, in natural discourse these constructions need not necessarily be accompanied by a shift in the most topical participant, but what they instead signify is a shift in the 'topic of discussion' or mode of narration. Nevertheless, these imperfections do not subvert Givón's central claim:

that agreement comes about when these constructions are reanalyzed as neutral patterns under which the topic constituent is considered to be a standard subject or object. The pronouns of these constructions, once considered to be either the subject or object of the predicate, are reanalyzed as agreement morphemes. So this is how Givón presents the scenario for the evolution of subject-verb agreement (1976, 155):

(4.57) **'Topic-shift'** (**"Marked"**) **Neutral** (**Re-analyzed**)

The man,	he	[came]	-->	The man [he-came]
TOPIC	SUBJECT-			SUBJECT AGR
	PRONOUN			

The question for Bimanese then, is whether type (4), (5a) and (5b) clauses with preverbal actor NPs and actor agreement better fit the pattern on the left or the right. The assumption inherent in referring to the monosyllabic formatives signifying person and number features of the actor as *agreement*, and in referring to preverbal actor arguments as *subjects,* is that Bimanese clauses resemble far more closely the pattern on the right. However, the fact that certain Bimanese sentences have often been highly compatible in pragmatics and style with the 'marked' English sentences with left or right detached topics suggests that the Bimanese sentences cannot be polarized entirely in this direction. Apart from anything else, if the type of reanalysis of (4.57) were to be considered to have been actualized for Bimanese, then we would expect to find agreement in every clause (whereas in type (3) and (6) clauses we do not). This kind of indeterminacy could be seen as a product of the idea of agreement as a 'process' as described by Givón.[6]

4.5.2 Lambrecht (1981): *Topic, antitopic and verb-agreement in non-standard French.*

Tangible support for this envisaged process can be drawn from the situation in non-standard French as described in Lambrecht (1981). Thus in addition to the sentence *Pierre vient* 'Pierre comes', we find in non-standard French the following:

(4.58) Pierre i-vient.

(4.59) I-vient Pierre.

where *i* is the non-standard French third person singular masculine clitic pronoun. These sentences are not marked in the way the English sentences *Pierre, he comes* or *he comes, Pierre* are. There is no pause between the two phonological words in (4.58) and (4.59).

Having already compared non-standard French antitopic constructions (such as (4.59)) with Bimanese type (7) 'antitopic' constructions (and having observed that the Bimanese antitopic is more tightly bound to the proposition), we will focus here on (4.58). Lambrecht describes the difference between *Pierre vient* and *Pierre i-vient* by

calling the first sentence a subject-predicate sentence, and the second a topic-comment sentence. Compare the following state of affairs with that hypothesized in (4.57) above:

(4.60) **Topic-shift (Marked)**   **Topic-comment (Unmarked)**
       Pierre, il   vient.   -->   Pierre i-vient
       TOPIC SUBJECT-   TOPIC AGR
             PRONOUN

   Subject-predicate (Unmarked)   **Subject-predicate (Unmarked)**
       Pierre   vient.   Pierre   vient.
       SUBJECT PREDICATE   SUBJECT PREDICATE

As we see, nothing changes where the unmarked subject-predicate structure is concerned. Lambrecht does not consider the synchronic state of affairs to be that the topic-comment construction is transformationally derived from the subject-predicate sentence in non-standard French; "the difference between topic sentences and subject sentences is simply that the former mark verb agreement and the latter do not" (1981, 52). But of course there is one major difference between the two sentences concerning the statuses of the initial NPs (*Pierre*), and this difference is manifested even in the way he speaks of the two different sentences as 'topic' and 'subject' sentences. For, even if the sentence initial NPs do have the same syntactic status, they are evidently not considered to be pragmatically equivalent.

The situation in non-standard French resembles that of Bimanese to the extent that in both languages agreement is not obligatory in every clause, and furthermore that the nature of this non-obligatoriness appears to impact upon the pragmatic worth of the surrounding NPs. However, there is a real sense in which it would be unwise to explore the pragmatic ramifications of the distinctions drawn by Lambrecht for non-standard French with close comparison to the situation in Bimanese. This is because Bimanese is a language in which grammatical and pragmatic functions, as well as word order, are oriented altogether differently.

What we can take from Lambrecht's exposition of non-standard French is (a) direct proof of Givón's hypothesis, as well as (b) one indication of what a language might look like - with particular reference to pragmatic qualities - at an intermediate stage in the agreement process. The appearance of non-standard French is quite in line with Dik's remarks about this process (recall that his 'theme' signifies a non-argument topic in our terms, and his 'tail' equates with our 'antitopic'):

> we may expect intermediate construction types, in which a Theme has already been drawn into the clause, but still has a number of its original Theme properties. In such cases we will speak of Integrated Themes. There is evidence from different languages that constructions with Integrated Themes may be exploited for special pragmatic purposes. In the same way, overexploitation of the Tail position may lead to absorption of the Tail into the clause, with a possible intermediate stage of a construction with Integrated Tail. (1997, 404)

The way in which certain Bimanese clauses (as classified according to NP positioning and actor agreement) are consistently used in particular discourse settings, and as such appear to be suited to special pragmatic purposes, would seem to indicate that this language is also at some intermediate stage in the evolution of agreement. If we accept this, then the question becomes one of just how far down the track, so to speak, Bimanese has progressed.

4.5.3 Bresnan and Mchombo (1987): "Topic, pronoun and agreement in Chichewa"

This paper supports Givón's (1976) proposal that grammatical agreement evolves from the morphological incorporation into the head of pronouns which stand in apposition to an NP with the grammaticized discourse function of topic, although B&M reject his claim that agreement and pronominalization cannot be distinguished diachronically or synchronically. The central thrust of this study, then, comes in the distinction drawn between *anaphoric* and *grammatical* agreement, where the latter occurs at a later stage in the evolution of agreement. B&M indicate how the two kinds of agreement can be identified in practice, and where the theory is concerned, the framework of L[exical] F[unctional] G[rammar] is promoted for its capacity to capture the structural similarities between these two different patterns of agreement. All this is done with reference to a particular language - the Bantu language Chichewa.

Chichewa has both subject markers (SMs) and object markers (OMs), where the SMs, but not the OMs, are obligatory in finite clauses. When a clause has an OM, the coreferring object noun phrase has a property of free positioning that the object in the equivalent clause with no OM would not have. B&M claim that this is a consequence of the fact that the OM is unambiguously used for anaphoric agreement, whereas the SM is ambiguously used for grammatical and anaphoric agreement. To say that an agreement marker such as Chichewa's OM is used only for anaphoric agreement carries a number of structural entailments. For one thing, the OM is not to be thought of as a true agreement marker at all, but as an *incorporated object pronoun*, and, by the principle of functional uniqueness, the NP in apposition to this incorporated object pronoun cannot also be considered to occupy the grammatical function of object, but instead must bear the discourse function of grammaticized topic (hence its positional freedom). So, put differently, if we have a non-pronominal object NP, then it can only be correctly considered to *be* a grammatical object (and not the discourse function of grammaticized topic) if there is no OM in the clause.

But how in practice are we to distinguish anaphoric agreement (or pronominal incorporation) from grammatical agreement? B&M develop some principles for doing just this, the first of which states that the full (argument) NP in a grammatical

agreement relation must be structurally local to the verb, whereas this is not the case with the full (non-argument) NP in an anaphoric agreement relation. (A local agreement relation is defined as holding between elements within one simple clause, while a non-local agreement relation holds between elements of different clauses (B&M 1987, 752)).

A related point of distinction between anaphoric and grammatical agreement concerns case assignment. According to B&M, a head cannot assign case to a NP with which an incorporated pronominal anaphorically agrees. Only the incorporated pronominal may be governed by this head and thus receive case; the NP which agrees with it will have all the relevant features of person, number and gender - but not case (B&M 1987, 765). Case may only be assigned to independent NPs which agree *grammatically* with the verb.

Now according to these two criteria, the agreement of non-standard French as discussed above would be determined to be anaphoric agreement on the basis of the positioning and case properties of preverbal topics, but as grammatical agreement on the basis of the positioning and case requirements of antitopics (antitopics, as will be recalled from section 4.4.2, may not be removed indefinitely from the proposition to which they belong, and in standard French as well as non-standard French, they are marked for case). This apparent contradiction is redressed to some extent in Hanson (1987), where it is maintained that the non-standard French agreement really is anaphoric, and that, for various reasons,[7] the locality and case properties of antitopics do not actually reflect the reality that these constituents are arguments governed by the verb. This conclusion should certainly not be seen as extending to the case of Bimanese type (7) 'antitopics', however.

A seemingly less problematic and more easily testable means of distinguishing anaphoric from grammatical agreement presented by B&M (1987) centres around the contention that in languages with anaphoric agreement, anaphora to the discourse topic must be borne out by the incorporated pronouns (or anaphoric agreement markers). Independent pronouns cannot be used for this purpose, it is claimed, since in a system of anaphoric agreement, these will be interpreted as introducing a new topic or else some kind of contrast. This principle accounts for the contrast in the following two Chichewa discourses (where the numerals indicate gender classes):

(4.61) Fîsi   anadyá chímanga. Á-tá-chí-dya,   anapíta ku San Francisco.
       hyena ate   corn(7)   he-SER-it(7)-eat he-went to San Francisco
       "The hyena ate the corn. Having eaten it, he went to San Francisco." (B&M 1987, 748)

(4.62) Fîsi   anadyá chímanga. Á-tá-dya   icho, anapíta ku San Francisco.
       hyena ate   corn(7)   he-SER-eat(7) it   he-went to San Francisco
       "The hyena ate the corn. Having eaten it (something other than the corn), he went to San Francisco." (B&M 1987, 749)

B&M describe the discourse of (4.61) as natural, but that of (4.62) as bizarre since its independent pronoun must refer to a topic not mentioned in the previous sentence, but which nevertheless does still have identical features of person, number and gender with the object of the previous sentence. The converse of what has been stated for this principle so far is of course that, if we have true grammatical agreement, then the independent pronouns *will* be topic-anaphoric - as they are in English.

Now that we have a solid method of distinguishing grammatical from anaphoric agreement, we can explore this distinction with respect to Bimanese. To begin with, we can safely claim that proclitic agreement marking must be grammatical. One of the very most basic prerequisites for anaphoric agreement is that the free-standing, agreed-with NPs have the pragmatic and discourse properties of topics, such as definiteness and presupposedness; yet we saw in section 4.4.3 that this is not uniformly so for the postverbal actors of type (8a) and (8b) clauses, which contain agreement proclitics.

So is enclitic agreement anaphoric or grammatical? The postverbal 'antitopic' actors of type (7) clauses, unlike those of type (8a) and (8b) clauses, *are* always compatible with the pragmatic or discourse status of topic, after all. Consider the following examples:

(4.63) D'i woha ncai pana tari'i.na, ede.ra   tari'i   kai b'a **sia** dei oi   ndano.
       LOC middle path hot urinate.3 DEM.EMPH urinate KAI by 3p in water lake
"(Once there was a a sultan who went hunting on Big Mountain.) On the way he desperately needed to urinate, and so he urinated in a lake. (Rompa-Rompi)

(4.64) Ede mpra wa'a ka.dula   kai b'a **sia** o'o   ede.re. Rongga.na ta   uma
       DEM then bring CAUS.return KAI by 3p bamboo DEM.RE arrive.3   LOC house

dompo kai.ra   b'a **sia** o'o   ede kai   cila mboko.
cut   KAI.EMPH by 3p bamboo DEM INSTR machete
(Grandpa Aha said: "Hey, Grandma, please wait here for me for a moment while I go back and get the bamboo that was brought in by the wave in order to make tools for our house!") Then he brought home this bamboo. Once he arrived at the house he cut this bamboo with his machete. (Zamrut-Komala)

(4.65) Pala **sia d'oho** wati eda.na au.au   ma lab'u   d'i kengge moti.
       but 3p plural NEG see.3 what.what relA anchor LOC edge   sea
(The next day Grandpa Aha and his wife went out to their garden to see this boat anchorred on the beach.) However, they did not see anything at the beach. (Zamrut-Komala)

According to B&M (1987), in systems of anaphoric agreement it is in general only the incorporated pronominal which may be topic-anaphoric, although the independent pronoun may be topic-anaphoric provided that it is understood to convey a contrastive or emphatic sense. Since none of free-standing pronouns above are likely to convey such a sense, and since they are all clearly topic-anaphoric, we can conclude that

Bimanese actor agreement enclitics are not incorporated pronominals, and hence that they represent grammatical agreement.[8]

Having arrived at this conclusion, we should not neglect to note that all of the supporting data has been drawn from my consultant's texts. In fact, this is an accurate reflection of how it is *only* in this more modern source that one can find instantiations of the use of independent actor pronouns for what appears to be unmarked topic-anaphora. In those texts transcribed by Jonker which I have translated, the third person (independent) pronoun *sia* occurs only four times. For two of these instantiations, the relevant arguments are direct objects (4.66), and for the other two, the third person pronouns are modified by *ma*-relative clauses, and as such bear pragmatic focus (4.67):

(4.66) nde pala nahu wati disa.ku horu ro inga **sia**, ...
      however 1p   NEG brave.1 help or help 3p
      "however, I was not brave enough to help him, ..." (Sahe)

(4.67) Ede.ra   b'atu   kai b'a ompu   ede, na.rai cili weki d'i   ade dobu,
      DEM.EMPH follow KAI by old-man DEM 3.run hide body LOC liver sugarcane

ndadi **sia.ra**   ma coro.coro   panta kuta ede.
become 3p.EMPH relA pretend.pretend buffer fence DEM
"(The ghost said: '... go and quickly hide yourself in the middle of the dense sugarcane - I will take your place building fences.') So this old man complied; he ran and hid himself in the sugarcane, while *he (the ghost)* pretended to build the fences." (Pande Haju)

Considering that I have approximately six times as much textual material from Jonker (1894) than from my consultant, it is surprising indeed that there are so very few instances of third person actor pronouns from this first source as compared to the 15 in the text of my consultant. But it need not be surprising; what it may in fact suggest is that Bimanese enclitic agreement may have been purely anaphoric 100 years ago when Jonker was transcribing texts - as does not appear to be the case for Bimanese today.

The four instantiations of third person pronouns in Jonker's texts represent just some of those situations in which it would be completely impossible to represent this participant with actor agreement. This is most blatantly so for the case of the direct objects, since these are not even *actors*; while for the two examples of which (4.67) is representative, it is the case that only full NPs - and never agreement enclitics - may be modified by a relative clause. Viewed in this light - as the only pronominal expressions one can revert to - the independent pronouns are felicitously regarded as the unmarked pronouns, as Bresnan (1998) argues. The apparent differences between Jonker's Bimanese and my consultant's Bimanese with respect to the way in which independent pronouns are used may well provide a diachronic picture of the

continued emergence of this unmarked pronoun, with the consequent accompaniment of the evolution of grammatical agreement.[9]

4.6 Closing comments

If the diachronic suggestions at the close of the last section could be shown to hold true, this would just present us with one more illustration of what we already know: that language is never static, it is always changing, where change in this case is specified as taking the form of the path from anaphoric to grammatical agreement. Such a path is supposedly ineluctable, which is to say that all agreement is expected to eventually take the form of weak, purely grammatical and obligatory agreement (and then disappear). When we imagine this ultimate outcome for the case of Bimanese actor agreement, the most striking sense is one of how much would be lost in terms of the pragmatic power of expression and stylistic richness conveyed by the different types of clauses used in different information structural circumstances, as classified and analyzed in sections 4.1 to 4.4 above. But still the extent of stylistic richness inherent in the Bimanese actor agreement system cannot yet be said to be fully understood, since the opposition of agreement procliticization to encliticization has yet to receive any conclusive explanation. The next chapter will go some way further towards explaining the opposition by providing a syntactic account for why enclitic agreement is usually required to appear 'in the scope' of items such as *wati* and *wunga*.

NOTES

[1] These clauses were not drawn randomly from Jonker's texts; instead the 'Jonker sample' consists of the story *D'aju* and some initial clauses of *Kalai*. Throughout the rest of this chapter, examples are of course drawn from all of Jonker's texts, and not just this comparative sample.

[2] Note, however, that Enç's evidence in support of the phenomena of discourse-shift (which she calls 'topic-shift') in Turkish is built up around examples involving non-third person pronouns.

[3] Lambrecht's altered description arises out of his specification that it is entire propositions which must be said to be presupposed, and that a topic can only form a part of this presupposition. Nevertheless, we will still speak of the degree to which the identity of a type (7) postverbal actor is presupposed or 'given', with the understanding that this evaluation is to hold at the time immediately before it is uttered, with the core proposition already having been conveyed by the verb complex (and possibly an intervening object).

[4] An equally acceptable result can usually, but not always, be conferred by the placement of proclitic agreement.

[5]Even in cases where the actor agreement is not compatible with an undergoer subject, the postverbal actor may not be easily omitted:

      Nggomi fou coco.na b'a sia.
      2p   chase chase.3 by 3p
      "You were chased by him."

Yet in some other cases pragmatic factors evidently render the postverbal actor omissible:

Tembo jagu.na (b'a sia).
wall   punch.3 by 3p
"The wall was punched by him."

This example is comparable to one of the very few coincidences of a non-actor argument with subject position in text. Here again, pragmatic and background circumstances must explain how the role of the actor can be conferred through agreement alone:

upa mpuru upa tuta   dou   ma   tua ngupa.na, ...
four tens   four head person relA old seek.3
"forty-four old people's heads he's looking for, ..."   (Pande)

[6] At the same time it must be kept in mind that the situation in Bimanese is slightly more complicated than the picture presented in (4.57) since, as is clear by now, it is not just subjects (but instead *actors*) which are involved in the primary relation of agreement.

[7] Namely, that the case marker reflects semantic, and not purely syntactic case, as well as some other indications that the antitopic is not bound into the clause.

[8] Note that we can safely assume that agreement that we think of as being absent from (4.63-4) are enclitics and not proclitics. As was mentioned in 4.4.1, and will be discussed more fully in 5.4.2, the 'linking' *kai* must take enclitic agreement (if any agreement).

[9] A cautionary note here is that, in elicitation sessions, my consultant appeared to use full pronouns more as she went on, possibly as a result of accommodation towards her English interlocutors. My assumption has been that this tendency will not have carried over into the composition of her texts, although were this assumption wrong then this would obviously undermine the claims concerning the emergence of an unmarked pronoun.

CHAPTER FIVE

'DOUBLE AGREEMENT' AND NOMINALIZED CONSTITUENTS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the distribution of different types of Bimanese clauses was examined, where these clauses were classified according to the placement - or non-placement - of actor NPs and actor agreement. The existence of the following clauses, which contain two instantiations of agreement, may initially seem to suggest that Chapter Four had not exhausted all possibilities in the classification of clauses:

(5.1) wei.n **na.**wunga nggana to'i.**na**, na.iwa.ku   ana to'i.n ede.
     wife.3 3.PROGR bear   just.3   3.nurse-in-lap.ASS child small.3 DEM
     "his wife had just given birth and was nursing her child in her lap."   (Pande)

(5.2) ~Fero **na.**wati ngaha.**na** capi.[1]
     Fero 3.NEG eat.3   cow
     "Fero doesn't eat beef."

The question which immediately confronts us is: how can we have two instantiations of actor agreement in a clause? Under what circumstances would this happen? This chapter will argue that in such circumstances there are *not* in fact two instantiations of actor agreement; instead the proclitic marks actor agreement, while the enclitic marks possessor agreement. In this case *wati* and *wunga* alone will head the predicates in these sentences, and what looked like the main verbs will actually be nominalized complements - these are presumably the constituents with which actor agreement is coreferent.

Put together, this explains why *wati* and *wunga* and some other items we will consider in section 5.3 appear to require agreement 'in their scope' - that is, because it is the possessor agreement which attaches to their nominalized complements. Yet at the same time, in my consultant's Bimanese at least, it would appear that this enclitic agreement is not absolutely obligatory in all cases. At the close of section 5.3 we will consider how much of a problem this poses for what has been hypothesized up until that point, or what this otherwise might tell us. However, a more significant problem for the analysis which will be present from the outset is that of the question of the status of the preverbal NP. What can it be if the nominalized verb is the sole complement of the main verb?

In order to help explain how the analysis of items such as *wati* and *wunga* is figured, we will examine what is to some degree an analogous case - that of complex verbs of emotion in section 5.2. *Wati* and *wunga* will then be discussed in section 5.3. Section 5.4 will ask to what extent these analyses may or may not help to resolve - or how they otherwise may impact upon - the problem of being unable to characterize in any satisfactory way what determines the choice of actor agreement proclitics as

opposed to enclitics (since the possibility of actor agreement enclitics actually being possessor agreement enclitics has yet to be considered). All this will lead to more in depth ruminations on the status of the Bimanese preverbal argument as 'subject', or otherwise as 'topic', in section 5.5.

5.2 Expressions of emotion containing *ade* or *loko*

Expressions of feelings and emotion often necessarily involve the collocation of either *ade* 'liver' or *loko* 'stomach' with the verb which expresses the emotion or desire. Below is a list of such collocations; notice that some of the combinations exhibit idiomatic senses.

"d'ihi ade"	happy + liver	'be happy'
"fa'a ade"	angry + liver	'be angry'
"hera ade"	amazed + liver	'be amazed'
"iha ade"	damaged + liver	'be hurt'
"ka.co'o ade"	perforate + liver	'feel hate'
"ka.ncihi ade"	correct (tr.) + liver	'explain how you feel'
"kasi ade"	merciful + liver	'feel mercy/pity'
"lalai ade"	delighted + liver	'be delighted'
"lembo ade"	wide + liver	'be patient'
"lingi ade"	longing/lonely + liver	'be longing/desirous'
"mbi'a ade"	broken + liver	'be upset/shocked'
"ncihi ade"	true + liver	'be happy'
"nci'i ade"	torn + liver	'be upset'
"ncoki ade"	difficult/poor + liver	'be sad'
"neo ade"	light + liver	'be joyful'
"rindi ade"	dark + liver	'feel panic'
"susa ade"	sad + liver	'be sad'
"wou ade"	smelly + liver	'be bored'
"wu'u ade"	jealous + liver	'be jealous/suspicious'
"b'ib'i loko"	tremble + stomach	'be nervous'
"hid'o loko"	hungry + stomach	'be hungry'
"kodi loko"	ticklish + stomach	'feel like laughing'
"leb'a loko"	grasp + stomach	'be greedy'
"pili loko"	sore + stomach	'have a stomach-ache'

Klamer (1998, 304-12) characterizes the roughly analogous constructions in Kambera - most of which also contain the noun meaning 'liver' (*eti*) - as 'phrasal verbs', and comments that "the noun is obligatorily present, but is not necessarily incorporated into the verb" (1998, 304). So for the following Bimanese example, we observe that the necessity of including *ade* means that one cannot literally say that 'Amu said that *she* was happy', but instead either that 'Amu said that she was happy-livered', or that 'Amu said that her liver was happy':

(5.3) Amu nggahi.na wunga d'ihi   ade.na.
        Amu say.3   PROGR happy liver.3
        "Amu said that she was happy."

Under the first of these English approximations the final enclitic is interpreted as actor agreement which attaches to a complex verb formed by the incorporation of *ade*, while under the second English approximation the enclitic is interpreted as possessor agreement which attaches to a separate argument of the verb (*ade*). Although nothing in (5.3) lends itself directly towards either of these two structural interpretations, many other examples can be unambiguously identified with only one of these structures.

Often, *ade/loko* will clearly be located outside the verb complex in a non-incorporating structure. We know that *ade/loko* have the status of non-incorporated actor arguments in the following examples from the positioning of emphatic clitics at the right edge of the verb complexes in (5.4-5), and from the fact that actor agreement is marked for the constituents containing *ade/loko* in (5.5-6):

(5.4) Ncoki **jara** [ade ina.na]   ringa.
     difficult EMPH liver mother.3 hear
     "Her mother was very sad to hear (it)."   (Wadu Mbi'a)

(5.5) **na**.hid'o.**si**   [loko.na]   lowi wea.pu   uwi.
     3.hungry.COND stomach.3 cook BEN.IMP sweet potato
     "if they get hungry, cook them the sweet potato."   (Wadu Mbi'a)

(5.6) Sara'a.ra'a   ringa b'a ompu   nggahi ruma.t   ede, **na**.hera   [ade.na].
     immediately hear by old-man say   king.1incl DEM 3.amazed liver.3
     "As soon as the old man heard the king's words, he was amazed."   (Pande)

While the previous three examples all contained stative verbs, the three non-incorporating structures to follow are each headed by the transitive verbs which are the causativized equivalents of some of the statives which may combine with *ade* in an expression of emotion. In (5.7) the intervention of the *b'a*-phrase between the verb complex and *ade* tells us that *ade* cannot be incorporated, while in (5.8-9) the same conclusion is arrived at by virtue of the positioning of the 'assertive' clitic *ku* at the left edge of the verb complex:

(5.7) Nahu wunga nangi.ku b'a   ka.mbi'a   **b'a Fero** [ade.ku].
     1p   PROGR cry.1   because CAUS.broken by Fero   liver.1
     "I'm crying because Fero upset me."

(5.8) Felem ede na.ka.wou.**ku**   [ade nahu].
     film   DEM 3.CAUS.smelly.ASS liver 1p
     "The film was boring."

(5.9) Dou   siwe   ra nuntu lab'o b'a Amu na.ka.iha.**ku**   [ade.na Amu].
     person female rel speak with by Amu 3.CAUS.damaged.ASS liver.3 Amu
     "The woman who Amu talked to upset Amu."

In fact, it is apparently obligatory to use a non-incorporating structure in those cases where the verbal head is a causative, as the following data show:

(5.10) a. Haba ede na.ka.fa'a.**ku**   ade sia.
        news DEM 3.CAUS.angry.ASS liver 3p
        "The news made her angry."

      b. *Haba ede na.ka.fa'a ade.**ku** sia.

(5.11) a. Felem ede na ka.wou.**ku**   ade Amu.
        film   DEM 3.CAUS.smelly.ASS liver Amu
        "The film made Amu bored."

      b. *Felem ede na.ka.wou ade.**ku** Amu.

(5.12) a. Wati ka.mbi'a.**na**   ade nahu.
      · NEG CAUS.broken.3 liver 1p
        "It didn't shock me."

      b. * Wati ka.mb'ia ade.**na** nahu.

Kambera similarly requires that causativized verbs of emotion are collocated with *eti* 'liver' in a non-incorporating, or "phrasal", manner (Klamer 1998, 312).

     A final observation concerning these unambiguous non-incorporating structures is that, although the NP headed by *ade/loko* is clearly independent of the verb complex, it may not always display the same degree of mobility characteristic of other independent arguments. Specifically, it may not always be acceptable to place *ade/loko* in preverbal position. This could be as much a consequence of the tight bond between the stative verb and its obligatory body part argument as it is a pragmatic consequence. For, this tight bond necessarily arises out of lexical specification, where lexical specification here can be seen to hinder the normal productivity of syntactic rules - both in the sense that it will either be entirely obligatory (5.13) or else completely unacceptable (5.14) to pronounce *ade/loko* as the arguments of certain verbs, as well as in the sense that the general syntactic rule of fronting cannot always be fulfilled (5.15):

(5.13) a. *Nahu d'ihi.
         1p   happy

      b. Nahu d'ihi   ade.ku.
        1p   happy liver.1
        "I'm happy."

(5.14) a. *Nahu hari   ade.ku.
         1p   laugh liver.1

      b. Nahu hari.
        1p   laugh
        "I'm laughing."

(5.15) a. *Ade la Rahim na.d'ihi.
         liver PN Rahim 3.happy

b. Na.d'ihi ade la Rahim.
   3.happy liver PN Rahim
   "Rahim's happy."

These restrictions on the positioning of *ade/loko* resemble those that pertain to the reflexive item *weki*, although the crucial difference is that, whereas it is always unacceptable to front *weki*, on some occasions my consultant *has* accepted the fronting of *ade/loko*. Although the volume of questions which need to be asked in this direction is obviously very far from having been exhausted, the following variability has so far emerged: in addition to (5.15), we see that the *ade/loko* phrase may not be fronted for the cases in (5.16-7), while it apparently may in examples (5.18-21):

(5.16) a. *Ade nggomi na.wou./*Ade.mu na.wou./*Ade nggomi wou./*Ade.mu wou.

       b. Na.wou ade nggomi./Na.wou ade.mu.
          3.smelly liver 2p   3.smelly liver.2
          "You're bored."

(5.17) a. * Ade Amu na.fa'a./*Ade.na na.fa'a./* Ade Amu fa'a./*Ade.na fa'a.

       b. Na.fa'a ade Amu./Na.fa'a ade.na.
          3.angry liver Amu 3.angry liver.3
          "Amu's angry."/"She's angry."

(5.18) Ade.mu na.mbi'a.
      liver.2 3.broken
      "Your heart is broken."

(5.19) Ade nahu na.susa./Ade.ku na.susa.
      liver 1p   3.sad   liver.1 3.sad
      "I'm sad."

(5.20) Loko   sia na.hid'o./ Loko.na   na.hid'o.
      stomach 3p 3.hungry stomach.3 3.hungry
      "He's hungry."

(5.21) Loko   Fero na.b'ib'i./ Loko.na   na.b'ib'i.
      stomach Fero 3.trembly stomach.3 3.trembly
      "Fero's nervous."/"He's nervous."

The acceptability of fronting the *ade/loko* phrase most likely hinges to some extent upon how idiomatic the *VERB* + *ade/loko* collocation is. This would seem to be what the unacceptability of (5.16) points towards. Otherwise, it could be that the acceptability of fronting *ade/loko* correlates with the acceptability of using the stative verb in isolation. *Mbi'a*, for example, can be used to mean 'broken' for things other than livers, in non-emotional expressions. Furthermore, I must point out that the grammaticality judgements in (5.18) were proffered in connection with the English expressions 'you are broken-hearted'/'your heart is broken'; *ade.mu na.mbi'a* is undoubtedly how a Bimanese speaker could best translate this second English expression, given the cultural equivalence of Bimanese *ade* 'liver' to English 'heart'.

We cannot rule out the possibility that the acceptance of at least some of (5.18-21) were similarly influenced by issues of English translation.

Bimanese expressions of emotion containing *ade/loko* sometimes involve the unambiguous incorporation of *ade/loko* into the verb complex. Such is the case for the following three examples, where *ade/loko* in each case is not followed by a possessor agreement clitic or possessor NP:

(5.22) ~Fero na.d'ihi ade.
       Fero 3.happy liver
       "Fero is happy."

(5.23) ~La Halima na.susa ade.
       PN Halima 3.sad   liver
       "Halima is sad."

(5.24) ~Amu na.b'ib'i   loko.
       Amu 3.trembly stomach
       "Amu is nervous."

In the following cases the incorporated status of *ade/loko* is made clear by the placement of emphatic clitics to the right of these constituents, at the right edge of the verb complex:

(5.25) ~Mejo na.hid'o loko.**si**,   mbei.pu oha.
       Mejo 3.hungry stomach.COND give.IMP rice
       "If Mejo is hungry, give him some rice."

(5.26) ~Amu na.fa'a ade.**si**,   cili.pu   weki!
       Amu 3.angry liver.COND hide.IMP body
       "If Amu is angry, hide yourself!"

(5.27) ~Mejo na.b'ib'i   loko.**ku**.
       Mejo 3.trembly stomach.ASS
       "Mejo is nervous."

In each of these cases the preverbal argument is both subject and actor, and in each case third person actor proclitic agreement crossreferences this argument.

The following examples are most immediately and easily analyzed as another case of the unambiguous incorporation of *ade/loko* into the verb complex, where this time it is an actor agreement enclitic that is taken to signal the right edge of the verb complex in each case:

(5.28) Nggomi d'ihi ade.**mu** baca?
       2p   happy liver.2 read
       "Do you like reading?"

(5.29) nde pala nahu kasi   ade.**ku** lab'o nggomi d'oho ma   wa'u.ra   nangi ake, ...
       however 1p   merciful liver.1 with 2p   plural relA already.EMPH cry now
       "but I feel sorry with you since you've started crying now, ..."   (Pande)

(5.30) 'Ai sa'e,   nami hid'o loko.**mu** lowi.jara uwi   ede.'
      hey sister 1exclp hungry stomach.2 cook.then sweet-potato DEM
      "hey big sister, we're hungry, start cooking the sweet potato."   (Wadu Mbi'a)

The anomaly that this analysis will then present us with is that examples such as these display a completely atypical pattern of actor agreement encliticization. Stative verbs are almost always procliticized by actor agreement. Further, none of these examples are compatible with past tense interpretation. The validity of analyzing these examples as complex verb constructions will be probed in more depth shortly.

      Meanwhile, the following two examples pose a slightly different kind of puzzle:

(5.31) ncoki   ade.ku nahu ake, ...
      difficult liver.1 1p   now
      "I feel very sad about this, ..."   (Wadu Mbi'a)

(5.32) Ede.ra   ndei hera   kai ade.na ruma.t   ede, ...
      DEM.EMPH URZD amazed KAI liver.3 king.1incl DEM
      "The king was amazed and was unable to speak, ..."   (Pande)

On the one hand, if *ade* is considered to be incorporated in each case, and the enclitic which attaches to it is understood to represent actor agreement, then there is the same problem of the actor agreement enclitic not being compatible with the stative nature of the verb. But then, the postverbal positioning of the full NP determines that these examples are ambiguous since the enclitic could alternatively be considered to represent possessor agreement, where the NP which follows the agreement is interpreted not as the actor of the clause, but instead as the possessor of *ade* (which itself heads the actor phrase). In this case these examples would be anomalous from the perspective that it is unusual to find the possession of an NP marked by both a clitic and a full NP.

      In some settings it will be possible to resolve the ambiguity between incorporating and non-incorporating analyses. Such can be done, for example, by questioning my consultant's judgement of what an example such as the following might actually *mean*:

(5.33) Na.b'ib'i   loko.ku.
      3.trembly stomach.1/?ASS
      "I'm nervous." ?"He's nervous" ('assertive' interpretation).

As indicated, this sentence was most readily interpreted as meaning 'I'm nervous'. That is, in the absence of any other clues[2], the non-incorporating structure appears more immediately attainable than the incorporating one, even though we would predict both to be theoretically possible.

      This apparent proclivity to interpret constructions involving *ade/loko* as non-incorporating in structure cannot in itself be used to argue against analyzing examples

such as (5.28-32) above as incorporating. However, something which really does call such analyses into question are examples such as the following, where the 'generous' amount of agreement supplied provides us with more telling information, not only about emotion constructions in isolation, but the grammatical make-up of Bimanese as a whole.

(5.34) Dou   mone ra mbei kai lopi.ku **na**.d'ihi ade.na.
person male rel give KAI boat.1 3.happy liver.3
"The man who was given my boat is happy."

(5.35) Dou   mone ma ngaha oha.ku **na**.nci'i ade na.
person male relA eat   rice.1   3.torn   liver.3
"The man who ate my rice is upset."

(5.36) Ndadi   Ama Seho **na**.taho **mpara** ade.na ngaha, ...
become father Seho 3.fine   then   liver.3 eat
" It became that Mr Seho was then happy enough to eat, ..."   (Sahe)

In each of (5.34-6), what is the actor constituent with which the proclitic agrees? Is it the preverbal 'subject' constituent? If it were, then we would be faced with the problem of having two instantiations of actor agreement within the clause; we would have an actor agreement enclitic in addition to the proclitic. In this light the enclitic is better analyzed as signifying possessor agreement, in which case the actor constituent with which the proclitic agrees would be identified as the postverbal possessed *ade/loko* phrase. But then what is the status of the preverbal constituent?

I believe that such constituents are best understood as topic phrases which are not selected as arguments by the verb, but instead must bear the role of possessor in relation to some postverbal argument. In the cases of (5.34-6) - and most likely also in (5.28-30) - above, the possessed, postverbal NPs are the *ade/loko* phrases. But Bimanese possessor ascension patterns are not limited exclusively to the domain of *ade/loko* constructions; possessor ascension in Bimanese would instead appear to be somewhat more extensive and prominent than one might have at first thought. The prevalence of these constructions can in fact strengthen our case for analyzing (5.34-6) as involving possessor ascension in a way that Klamer (1998) cannot for the case of the analogous 'emotion' constructions in Kambera. The latter are stated to have only the superficial appearance of the stranding of the possessor of *eti* 'liver', since Kambera otherwise does not allow nominal modifier stranding or raising (Klamer 1998, 308-9).

The most commonly occurring possessor ascension constructions contain the existential verb *wara*[3]:

(5.37) Kento mpara b'a ede, udi-ro-mudi ake wara ana-n, ...
　　　　later　then　by DEM lizard　　　DEM exist child.3
　　　　"Then after this, this lizard had a child, ..." (lit. 'Then after this, this lizard,
there was her child, ...') (Udi)

(5.38) nde pala lamada wati wara piti.k, ...
　　　　however 1p(pol) NEG have money.1
　　　　"but I didn't have any money, ..." (Pande)

(5.39) Sakola ra lao kai amania to'i nahu wara sa.mpuru guru.na.
　　　　school rel go KAI brother small 1p　exist one.ten　teacher.3
　　　　"The school that my little brother goes to has ten teachers."

Other verbs can certainly be found in possessor ascension constructions, however:

(5.40) b'une santika rato wa'u.ra　　　mbi'a sambura lopi.na, ...
　　　　as-for　　prince already.EMPH break scatter boat.3
　　　　"As for the prince, his boat has broken and scattered, ..." (Kalai)

(5.41) ~Nahu mpoka ed'i.ku.
　　　　1p　broken leg.1
　　　　"My leg is broken."/"I've got a broken leg."

(5.42) ~Fero wa'u.ra　　　ngga'a uma.na.
　　　　Fero already.EMPH burn　house.3
　　　　"Fero's house has burnt down."/"Fero, his house has burnt down."

Chamorro, Acehnese, Tagalog, Cebuano and Malagasy are among many other Austronesian languages that display various possessor ascension possibilities, with various interesting consequences for the grammars of these languages. These last three languages are notable for the fact that they run against what Durie (1987) contends is a cross-linguistic tendency for possessor ascension to apply on "something like an absolutive basis" (389). Instead of being restricted to raising out of an absolutive argument, possessors in these languages are restricted to raising out of 'final subjects' (Durie (1987, 389), Bell (1983)) (in fact, possessor ascension is formulated as a subject tests for such languages (Keenan (1976, 289)). Initial investigations of possessor ascension in Bimanese suggest, interestingly, that both patterns of possessor ascension are possible. However, some of the grammaticality judgements do appear slightly strained at times, so here we will simply summarize some of the most basic features of possessor ascension in Bimanese.

Firstly, the postverbal, possessed arguments in these constructions are not to be regarded as having been incorporated into the verb complex, as the placement of emphatic clitics to the immediate right of the verbs in the following examples demonstrates:

(5.43) Wa'i　　　nggomi wara.si oto.na,　mai ta.lao　d'i Bali.
　　　　old-woman 2p　　exist.COND car.3 come 1incl.go LOC Bali
　　　　"Your granny, if she has a car, let's go to Bali."

(5.44) Amu made.**si**   ngao.na, sia na.nangi.
Amu die.COND cat.3   3p 3.cry
"As for Amu, if her cat dies, she'll cry."

(5.45) Amu na.supu.**ku** ana.na.
Amu 3.sick.ASS child.3
"As for Amu, her child is ill."

Secondly, there is no necessity for a substantial intonational break between the preverbal, non-argument topic and the verb - as there would have to be in the English equivalent. This is even so where the topic is preceded by the string *b'une santika*, which is similar in meaning to the typical English topic-introducer 'as for'. In this respect, Bimanese possessor ascension constructions resemble some of the topic-comment constructions of 'topic-prominent' languages which were discussed in Li and Thompson (1976), and which were mentioned in section 4.3.4 of the previous chapter. However, even though the preverbal topic is syntactically and semantically unselected, it is unlike a genuine unselected topic in a true topic-prominent language in that it must be functionally bound in a relationship of possession with the postverbal NP. The possessor agreement enclitic of this postverbal NP can apparently not be omitted:

(5.46) a. Ape   ra ngaha b'a Fero wara kako.**na**.
apple rel eat   by Fero exist worm.3
"The apple that Fero is eating has a worm in it."

b. *Ape ra ngaha b'a Fero wara kako.

(5.47) a. Fero ngga'a uma.**na**.
Fero burn   house.3
"Fero's house burnt down."

b. *Fero ngga'a uma.

(5.48) a. Nahu mpoka ed'i.**ku**.
1p   broken leg.1
"My leg is broken."

b. *Nahu mpoka ed'i.

The contention that some *ade/loko* constructions may involve possessor ascension receives sturdy support from the acceptability of examples with non-third person preverbal arguments, such as the following:

(5.49) ~Nahu na.b'ib'i   loko.ku   mai tamu ede.
1p   3.trembly stomach.1 come guest DEM
"I'm worried about guests coming."

(5.50) ~Nahu na.d'ihi ade.ku.
1p   3.happy liver.1
"I'm happy."

(5.51) ~Nggomi na.d'ihi ade.mu.
      2p   3.happy liver.2
      "You are happy."

The third person actor proclitic agreement in these examples confirms that it is the *ade/loko* phrase, and not the preverbal pronoun, which is the actor argument selected by the verb. *Nahu* in (5.49-50) and *nggomi* in (5.51) can, but need not, be followed by an intonational break.

The following examples, on the other hand, may initially appear somewhat problematic, *if* we consider both clitics to be representative of first person (actor and possessor) agreement, and if we try and present these as another case of possessor ascension:

(5.52) ~Nahu ka.b'ib'i   loko.ku.
      1p   1.trembly stomach.ASS
      "I'm nervous."

(5.53) ~Nahu ka.d'ihi ade.ku.
      1p   1.happy liver.ASS
      "I'm happy."

But, as the glosses for these examples indicate, all such confusion can be resolved once it is understood that *-ku* here signifies the 'assertive' clitic, and that *nahu* is both the true (non-possessor-ascended) actor and subject in these constructions, which involve the genuine incorporation of *ade/loko* into the verb complex.

My consultant was doubtful as to the question of whether these sentences could otherwise mean 'I made myself nervous' (lit. 'I made my stomach trembly') or 'I made myself happy' (lit. 'I made my liver happy') - which would be the sense obtained if *ka-* were to be interpreted as the causative prefix and *-ku* as the first person possessor agreement enclitic. The following two examples present the second person variations expected under the interpretation that *ku* signals the assertive clitic:

(5.54) ~Nggomi ma.b'ib'i   loko.ku.
      2p   2.trembly stomach.ASS
      "You're nervous."

(5.55) ~Nggomi ma.wou ade.ku   d'i   nahu.
      2p   2.smelly liver.ASS LOC 1p
      "You're bored with me."

But then the acceptability of the following examples, which also contain second person preverbal pronouns, may - like the first person examples (5.52-3) above - at first seem rather inexplicable:

(5.56) ~Nggomi ma.mbi'a ade.mu.
       2p   2.broken liver.2
       "*You* will have a broken heart."

(5.57) ~Nggomi ma.d'ihi ade.mu d'i baju ake.
       2p   2.happy liver.2 LOC dress DEM
       "*You* will be happy with this dress."

Obviously, in this case we will not be able to resort to the explanation that the enclitic is in fact the 'assertive' clitic. Instead, the confusion-creating homophony centres around the *proclitic*. As indicated in the glosses above, *ma* is not to be interpreted as the second person actor agreement proclitic, but instead as the actor-relativizing marker. The validity of this analysis was at first suggested by the stress my consultant assigned to the initial word 'you' in her English translations of these Bimanese sentences. This stress is indicative of pragmatic focus and hence the pronoun's appropriate structural position as the head of a relative clause.

      The only feature of (5.56-7) left unaccounted for would then be the appearance of the enclitic *mu*. But, in fact, it is not unusual to find a possessor agreement enclitic coreferent with the actor of a *ma*-relative clause included within this clause, as we see from the following:

(5.58) Dou   siwe   ma   ncoki   ade.**na** ede wati mai.na aka ndiha kai.
       person female relA difficult liver.3 DEM NEG come.2 LOC party NOM
       "The woman who is sad doesn't want to come to the party."

(5.59) ~Dou   siwe   ma d'ihi ade.**na** ede na.lao d'i Mbojo naisi.
       person female relA happy liver.3 DEM 3.go LOC Bima tomorrow
       "The woman who is happy will go to Bima tomorrow."

These enclitics are stipulated to have the worth of possessor agreement, as opposed to *actor* agreement, in line with the prohibition on actor agreement observed in Chapter Three (section 3.4.1). Accordingly, we may want to stipulate that the agreement which is understood to be absent from *ma*-relative clauses in examples such as the following is actor agreement, which in other circumstances may have encliticized to the incorporated items *ade/loko*:

(5.60) Cou ma ncoki   ade?
       who relA difficult liver
       "Who is sad?"

      That the agreement absent from (5.60) is best understood as actor agreement is in some sense corroborated by examples such as the following, which show how, in those cases where my consultant accepted a relative clause construction in which the possessor of an NP is what is being relativized on, the possessor agreement enclitic is retained within the *ma*-relative clause:

(5.61) ~Dou   siwe   ma supu ngao.**na** lao.na d'i dokter.
       person female relA sick cat.3   go.3 LOC doctor
       "The woman whose cat is sick went to the doctor.

(5.62) ~Dou   siwe   ma mbi'a   roa.**na** wunga nangi.na.
       person female relA broken pot.3   PROGR cry.3
       "The woman whose pot broke is crying now."

These enclitics cannot represent actor agreement since the possessed argument is not incorporated into the verb complex in possessor ascension constructions, as was shown in examples (5.43-5) above. Thus the prohibition on actor agreement within *ma*-relative clauses can be resolutely upheld. However, I should point out that my consultant does not seem to particularly like these possessor-relativizing constructions (perhaps because the inclusion of possessor agreement is undesirable in as much as it is homophonous with the actor agreement), and will often resort to other, often periphrastic, methods of translation.

But turning back to the issue of non-third person proclitic actor agreement, or at least what at first looked to be such in the second person examples (5.56-7) above, we should perhaps not be too hasty in explaining such examples away by appealing to the existence of other, homophonous clitics when we find in one of Jonker's texts a sentence so puzzling as this[4]:

(5.63) ai ama.e,   b'a   b'au.si,   nggomi, **mu**.pili loko.**mu**.ro?
      hey father.VOC because why.COND 2p   2.sore   belly.2.QUES
      "hey Dad, why are you like this, is your belly sore?"

Quite independently of the question of whether the enclitic represents actor or possessor agreement, it is clear that the proclitic signifies second person agreement, and not an actor-relativizing relative clause. This double agreement is puzzling, although at this stage it represents the only instantiation of this behaviour. The only suggestions I can make towards explaining it is to say that it is as if *loko.mu* 'your stomach', which is inalienably possessed by the second person argument, itself takes on second person reference. A better characterization of this behaviour may emerge if it is attested more frequently, although for modern Bimanese the challenge will undoubtedly come in discerning whether a proclitic *ma* really does signal second person agreement instead of the actor-relativizing marker.

5.3 Constructions containing items such as *wati* and *wunga*

As has been mentioned on many occasions up until this point, items such as *wati* and *wunga* require agreement to attach to the verbs which follow them. These are some of the only instances in which a stative verb may be encliticized by agreement (recall that proclitics must otherwise attach to stative verbs), for example:

(5.64) Ngaha hi'i   wati caru.na.
     eat   meat NEG pleasant.3
     "Eating meat is unpleasant."

(5.65) Nggomi wunga bengke.mu.
       2p   PROGR naughty.2
       "You are being naughty."

Other less frequently instantiated items which display similar behaviour are *mbui*
'still' (5.66-7) and *wancu* 'really' (5.68-9):

(5.66) Andou mone ra coco   mbui.pu dahu.**na**.
       child   male rel chase still.yet afraid.3
       "The boy who was chased is still afraid."

(5.67) maai ake mbui.pu kawara.**mu**.ro   ra'a sake.mu?
       therefore still.yet remember.2.QUES rel promise.2
       "therefore have you still remembered what you promised?"   (Sahe)

(5.68) Ompu Ico wancu.ku mbani.**na**.
       Ompu Ico really.ASS angry.3
       "Ompu Ico was really angry."   (Ompu Ico)

(5.69) Mejo wancu.ku mpore.**na**.
       Mejo really.ASS fat.3
       "Mejo is really fat."

There may possibly be many more such items, although none has emerged
convincingly at this stage - with the exception of the existential verb *wara*.

   Besides occurring frequently in possessor ascension constructions, *wara* is
used in statements of location where its complement usually appears clause-initially,
as in (5.70); but most often *wara* can be found preceding an indefinite NP
complement, as in (5.71):

(5.70) Sura ra nggadu b'a nahu ru'u dou   mone ede wara d'i   riha.
       letter rel send   by 1p   for person male DEM exist LOC kitchen
       "The letter I sent to the man is in the kitchen."

(5.71) wara la D'aju ma ufi   jalitu aka.n de ...
       exist PN lazy relA blow flute before
       "there was a lazy perosn who blew a flute before ..."   (D'aju)

Now in those instances where what *wara* precedes is a *verb*, agreement must be
encliticized to this verb. In such circumstances the existential sense of *wara*
determines that the verb is best interpreted as a nominalization, with the enclitics
signifying possessor agreement, as the bracketed paraphrases in the examples below
are meant to convey:

(5.72) kombi.kombi wara eda angi.na lab'o wa'i ...
  maybe.maybe exist see RECIP.3 with old-woman
  "maybe he would meet up with the old woman ..." (lit. 'maybe there would be his meeting up with the old woman.') (Pande)

(5.73) wara mai   raka.na nahu, ...
  exist come get.3   1p
  "he came to get me, ..." (lit. 'there was his coming to get me.') (Sahe)

Essentially, what I would like to suggest is that *wati, wunga, wancu* and *mbui* signify various existential senses when they combine with the nominalized verbs which follow them. Again, the bracketed paraphrases in the examples below are intended to be indicative of this interpretation:

(5.74) ~**Na**.wati mpa'a.**na**.
  3.NEG   play.3
  "He's not playing." (lit. 'There is not his playing.')

(5.75) **Na**.mbui.pu nangi.**na** pea sa.ngad'i.si?
  3.still.yet   cry.3   later one.night.COND
  "Will she still be crying tomorow night?" (lit. 'Will there still be her crying tomorrow night?')

If *wati, wunga, wancu* and *mbui* (and *wara*) are so interpreted as verbs, then this explains the appearance of 'double agreement' in (5.74-5) above, as well as for the other verbs in (5.76-8) below. In all of these examples the enclitic signals possessor agreement which attaches to the nominalized verb, while the proclitic signals actor agreement with this nominalized complement.

(5.76) Rao **na**.wancu.ku mbani.**na**.
  Rao 3.really.ASS angry.3
  "Rao is really angry."

(5.77) ~Fero **na**.wunga ntanda.**na** ragbi.
  Fero 3.PROGR   watch.3   rugby
  "Fero's watching the rugby."

(5.78) **na**.wara poda eda.**na** poda upa.na.
  3.exist true see.3   true four.3
  "and they truly saw that there truly were four of them." (Wa'i)

As is to be completely expected, clauses which do not contain these verbs may not include both agreement proclitics and enclitics:

(5.79) *Fero na.ntanda.na ragbi.
  Fero 3.watch.3   rugby

(5.80) *Fero na.ngaha.na capi.
  Fero 3.eat.3   cow

Another indication of the validity of analyzing *wati, wunga, wancu* and *mbui* as the core verbal components in the clauses above is the attachment of emphatic

clitics to the right of *mbui* and *wancu* in examples (5.75) and (5.76) respectively. In section 2.4 of Chapter Two, it was argued that emphatic clitics attach consistently to the right edges of verb complexes, with the only deviations coming from the second position placement which occurs in relation to the perfective aspect item *wa'u*. Thus *pu* in (5.75) and *ku* in (5.76) will be taken to delineate the verb complexes which consist solely of *mbui* and *wancu* respectively. The following example provides further support for this identification of the verb complex, since the plural marker *mena* has been shown in section 2.3.2.1 to standardly attach to the right of the main verb, but before the right boundary of the verb complex (which is here again marked by *pu*):

(5.81) Na.eda.ku ama.na ro   ina.na   mbui **mena**.pu wara.na.
      3.see.ASS father.3 CONJ mother.3 still PL.yet   exist.3
      "Here he sees that his mother and father are still alive." (Kalai)

By now the similarities with some of the constructions used for expressing emotion in the previous section may be apparent. Both 'emotion' constructions and constructions containing items such as *wati* may superficially appear to hold double actor agreement, which instead boils down to the combination of an actor agreement proclitic and a possessor agreement enclitic. Ultimately, the same possessor ascension arguments will be appealed to in order to account for the 'problem' of non-argument preverbal NPs, as in (5.76-7) above. The major difference between these two constructions is that, whereas the nominalized complements of items such as *wati* encompass the entire paradigm of verbs, the complements (or otherwise the incorporated nouns) of phrasal verbs of emotion are firmly, lexically fixed as either *ade* or *loko*. Nevertheless, a number of similarities between the two constructions still inhere; in particular, it will be of no small interest to see if there are any indications that the verbal constituents which follow items such as *wati* are in any circumstances included within the verb complex (not necessarily in any nominalized kind of state), and hence that the cooccurrent preverbal NP can be regarded as an argument (that is, as the subject). The possibilities for non-third person proclitic agreement will also be explored for constructions involving items such as *wati* as they were for constructions containing *ade/loko*. But first, some observations will be made with regard to how these two constructions combine, as well as how verbs such as *wati* combine with other such 'existential' verbs.

Clauses in which constructions involving *ade/loko* are combined with constructions involving verbs such as *wati* are anomalous from the perspective of the latter. This is because - as can be seen in the following four examples - such combinations present us with some of the very rare, yet at the same time most

productive, instances where the verb which follows *wati* or some such item does not have agreement encliticized:

(5.82) ku.made.ra, wati sara   kasi   ade nggomi, ...
      1.die.EMPH NEG COND merciful liver 2p
      "I will die if you do not have sympathy, ..." (lit. 'if there is not the mercifulness of your liver.')

(5.83) Fero wati b'ib'i.(*na) loko.na.
      Fero NEG trembly   stomach.3
      "Fero is not nervous." (lit. 'there is not the trembliness of his stomach.')

(5.84) Amu mbui.pu ncoki.(*na) ade.na.
      Amu still.yet difficult   liver.3
      "Amu is still sad." (lit. 'there is still the difficulty of her liver.')

(5.85) Nahu wunga fa'a.(*ku) ade.ku.
      1p   PROGR angry   liver.1
      "I am angry." (lit. 'there is being the anger of my liver.')

The paraphrases are meant to suggest that the existential senses of *wati, wunga* and *mbui* still attain. Note that these verbs can still be identified as the sole inhabitants of the verb complex, since some of the examples I have chosen include emphatic clitics which attach directly to their right. Why would the stative verbs in such constructions not be encliticized by possessor agreement? (Note that, as should be apparent from the bracketed paraphrases in these examples, these verbs are presumably still nominalized by zero-derivation - more on this shortly.) The only reason I can think of is that the use of two possessor enclitics within syllables of each other might carry a certain clumsiness.

     I should not neglect to mention that, although constructions containing *ade/loko* present us with the most common instances in which the verb following verbs such as *wati* are not encliticized, they are by no means the only instances. Possessor ascension constructions are especially prone to this effect,

(5.86) Eda b'a nahu mbe'e wati mpoka ed'i.na.
      see by 1p   goat   NEG broken leg.3
      "It seems to me that the goat hasn't broken a leg."

(5.87) Dou   mone ma ntau uma ma   ngga'a mbui.pu wara piti.na.
      person male relA own house relA burn   still.yet exist money.3
      "The man whose house burnt down still has money."

while (5.87) displays in addition how agreement will most often not attach to the second existential in a sentence containing two 'existentials'. This is demonstrated again below by the non-attachment of agreement to *wunga*:

(5.88) Nggara wati.si   wunga ntanda.mu ragbi ake, mai inga.ja.pu   nahu.
      if   NEG.COND PROGR watch.2   rugby now come help.also.IMP 1p
      "If you're not watching the rugby now, please come and help me."

Of all constructions involving two 'existential' verbs, those containing both *wati* and *wara* are the most frequently instantiated, they display the most variation, and ultimately they offer the most insight into the supposed 'existential' nature of *wati*. When *wara* is placed to the right of *wati* (the necessary juxtaposition) it will most often not be encliticized by agreement, although there are some very rare instances in which *wara* is encliticized by agreement, such as the following:

(5.89) wati.d'u   wara.**na** Ama Seho aka hid'i.n ...
      NEG.TEMP exist.3   father Seho LOC place.3
      "Mr Seho was no longer in his place ..."   (Sahe)

The placement of agreement may possibly be motivated by the kinds of discourse and pragmatic conditions considered in the previous chapter. This issue is certainly open for further investigation; but meanwhile, a more immediately involving issue that examples containing *wati* and *wara* give rise to is the qualification of *wati* as an existential. For, as the following data show, *wati* alone may not form the core component of a clause in which the existence of a simple object is being negated – instead it must be joined by the true existential *wara*:

(5.90)   a. *Wati maca d'i Afrika.

       b. Wati wara [maca d'i   Afrika].
         NEG exist   tiger LOC Africa
         "There are no tigers in Africa."

(5.91)   a. *Wati wua haju ese fu'u ede.

       b. Wati wara [wua haju ese fu'u ede].
         NEG exist   fruit   on tree DEM
         "There is no fruit on this tree."

(5.92)   a. *Moa wati d'i New Zealand.

       b. Moa wati.d'u   wara.na d'i   New Zealand.
         moa NEG.TEMP exist.3   LOC New Zealand
         "There are no moas in New Zealand." (lit. 'Moas, there's no longer their
being in New Zealand.')

A large number of Austronesian languages otherwise do make use of genuine negative existential verbs, which may function in just the way *wati* cannot in the (a) examples of the (5.90-2) (for example, most of the languages collected in Hovdhaugen (1999) and all of the Formosan languages discussed in Zeitoun et al. (1999)).

Just what is the nature of the *wati* if it is not truly an existential – is it a plain kind of stative? And how justified are we in claiming that it takes a nominal complement, when it is the case that it may never take a simple NP? Towards these

ends it will be instructive to examine in as much detail as is currently possible the complementation patterns of *wati*.

Jonker analyzes *wati* as a negative verb on the basis that it requires the verb which follows it to take the form of a noun (1896, 119). These verbal complements - which he characterizes as 'verbal nouns' - will most commonly consist of just a verb encliticized by agreement. However, from the following example we see also that the 'verbal noun' may be constructed with what was analyzed in Chapter Three as a non-actor relativizing marker *ra*:

(5.93) wati poda.poda   **ra sangaja wea.ku hade ana.mu ede**, ...
     NEG INTENS.INTENS rel deliberate BEN.1 kill child.2 DEM
     "I truly did not deliberately kill your child, ..."   (Udi)

And in the following examples the 'verbal nouns' are headed by *ne'e* and *nde* respectively, which were claimed in Chapter Three to fulfil roughly the same function as the non-locative *d'i* in modern Bimanese (that is, they are the complementizers which appear in purpose clauses, in non-past tense relative clauses and also obligatorily in 'object control' clauses):

(5.94) wati.d'u   **ne'e hade nggomi**, na.kangampu wea.d'u   ra'a ncara.mu, ...
     NEG.TEMP URZD kill 2p   3.forgive   BEN.TEMP rel wrong.2
     "(we're) not to kill you, he (the king) forgives you for your sins, ..."   (D'aju)

(5.95) wati.d'u   **nde weha kai ntewi nggari.na**; ...
     NEG.TEMP URZD fetch KAI equal luxuriant.3
     "one can't find an equal to this luxury; ..."   (Kalai)

Examples comparable to (5.93-5) are not often encountered in my consultant's Bimanese, although they do exist:

(5.96) Nahu wati **ra sangaja.ku** b'ab'u.
     1p   NEG rel deliberate.1 drop
     "I didn't deliberately drop (it)."

(5.97) Nggara na.poda.si   wati **ra maksud.mu ka.iha**   **ade nahu** ...
     if   3.true.COND NEG rel deliberate.2 CAUS.damage liver.1p
     "If it's true that you didn't deliberately upset me (then maybe I'll forgive you.)"

(5.98) Nahu wati **d'i ma ngaha anggo ede**, b'une ma   racu.
     1p   NEG URZD relA eat   berry DEM how relA poisonous
     "I won't eat that berry, it looks poisonous."

They contrast with examples such as the following, in which *wati* may not occur in isolation, but must instead be accompanied by *wara*, which intervenes between it and the constituent headed by *ra* or *d'i*:

(5.99)   a. Wati wara ra ngaha b'a Fero.
       NEG exist rel eat   by Fero
       "Nothing was eaten by Fero."

b. *Wati ra ngaha b'a Fero.

(5.100) a. Wati wara d'i   ka.raso   b'a Mejo d'i uma Amu.
         NEG exist URZD CAUS.clean by Mejo LOC house Amu
         "Nothing is cleaned by Mejo at Amu's place."

b. *Wati d'i karaso b'a Mejo d'i uma Amu.

The constituents headed by *ra* or *d'i* are most plausibly identified as relative clauses which modify null heads, as illustrated for the following example:

(5.101) Wati wara [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ d'i da.karawi b'a nahu d'i ka.ncihi kai ade ina ku.]]
       NEG   exist   URZD NEG.work by 1p   URZD CAUS.clear KAI liver mother.1
       "There is nothing that I won't do to please my mother."

These examples are thus entirely comparable to the (b) examples (5.90-2) above, in which the negative existential combination takes a plain NP complement. But then what does this signify for the status of the constituents headed by *ra* or *d'i* in (5.93-98)? Does the non-requirement of *wara* mean that they are properly characterized as something other than relative clauses which modify null heads? Should they be characterized as 'verbal nouns' in the vein of Jonker? Or is the requirement of *wara* in (5.90-2) and (5.99-101) determined by the fact that the constituents headed by *ra* or *d'i* in these examples properly refer to things - albeit '*no*-things' - upon which certain actions devolve, whereas in (5.93-8) they properly refer to actions?

    Unfortunately, the marked absence of other examples which pattern like (5.93-8) must prevent the us from answering these questions at this stage. But note at the same time that of the examples we do have, it is suspicious that those with constituents headed by *ra* involve the same verb (or adverb) *sangaja* 'deliberate(ly)' on two occasions, and the Indonesian equivalent *maksud* on the third. The question of whether constituents headed by *ra* may have the status of complex nominals will be addressed in section 5.4.1 (although not in a manner connected directly to the forms in (5.93) and (5.96-7)).

    Besides taking complex nominalizations as complements, *wati* may evidently negate non-verbal predicates. This has proved to be most clearly and unreservedly the case for prepositional predicates, such as the following:

(5.102) Ngao wati ese maru kai.
        cat   NEG on sleep NOM
        "The cat isn't on the bed."

(5.103) Ngao wati awa   wombo meja.
        cat   NEG under bottom table
        "The cat isn't under the table."

(5.104) Ngao wati.na ese fu'u haju.
      cat   NEG.3 on tree
      "The cat isn't up in the tree."

For the case of nominal predicates the matter is more clouded, since there is a strong preference to use the verb *lai* 'differ' to signal negation in these circumstances.[5] My consultant suggested that *lai* was preferable in place of *wati* in the following example, although she did not outrightly reject the use of *wati*:

(5.105) ~Dou   mone ede wati.na guru.
      person male DEM NEG.3 teacher
      "That man is not a teacher."

To summarize, at this stage it would appear that *wati* is a negative verb which may take complex nominals (that is, derived verbs) as complements, or else non-verbal predications. It cannot be a true negative existential verb because it may not take non-predicative NPs as complements. But then, there is a real sense in which the dependence of *wati* on there being some verbal, or else predicational, element to its right does make it look decidedly auxiliary-like.[6]

The reanalysis of negative verbal heads as auxiliaries is well-attested cross-linguistically (Payne 1985, 209-12). In fact, this change is claimed to have occurred from Proto-Austronesian in some of its descendents (Starosta et al. 1982, 149). This is relevant here because this process of reanalysis may explain some of the confusing complementation patterns of *wati*. In other words, there may be reasons for weakening our position slightly and saying that *wati* alone does not constitute the entire predication in itself, but instead is an auxiliary verb (and hence that the emphatic clitics really are displaying second position behaviour when they attach to *wati*, and are not actually attaching to the right edge of the verb complex - as is already apparent for the case of the aspect marker *wa'u*). One such reason for viewing *wati* in this light can be found in a small number of counterexamples to the overriding tendency for the verb which follows *wati* to be encliticized by agreement.

In the Bimanese of my consultant, agreement was not encliticized to the lexical verbs which followed *wati* in an extremely small percentage of the instantiations of *wati*. Two examples of this are the following:

(5.106) La Halima wati ngaha oha.
      PN Halima NEG eat   rice
      "Halima didn't eat the rice."

(5.107) Nahu wati b'ade d'i   weli.ku fo'o, ra   nangga, ra   kalo ...
      1p   NEG know URZD buy.1 mango CONJ jackfruit CONJ banana
      "I didn't know whether to buy mangos, or jackfruits, or bananas ..."

Analogous counterexamples have been attested only slightly more often in connection with the progressive item *wunga*, two of which are:

(5.108) Nahu wunga ngaha.
      1p   PROGR eat
      "I am eating."

(5.109) Nami wunga nuntu d'i sia d'oho.
      1exclp PROGR talk LOC 3p plural
      "We are talking to them."

Agreement is always encliticized to the verbs which follow *wati, wunga* and *mbui* in the Bimanese of Jonker's texts, with only the following counterexample:

(5.110) Ntika   na.eda mpara wei.na ede, wunga nangi, ...
      suddenly 3.see then   wife.3 DEM PROGR cry
      "Suddenly he saw this wife of his, crying, ..."   (Pande)

The absence of agreement enclitics in (5.106-9) quite likely signifies that the lexical verbs have not been nominalized as the complements of *wati, wunga* and *mbui*, but should instead be regarded as the heads of the predications themselves, with *wati, wunga* and *mbui* functioning as auxiliaries. The emergence of a shortened, procliticized negative *ti-* in my consultant's Bimanese is indicative of this item's reduced status:

(5.111) Sia d'oho ti.rojo   angi.na.
      3p plural NEG.address RECIP.3
      "They are not talking."

(5.112) Nahu ti.nono   lalo.ku kahawa.ku b'a   mbui.pu pana.na.
      1p   NEG.drink direct.1 coffee.1   because still.yet hot.3
      "I didn't drink my coffee straight away because it was hot."

However, this does not prove that *wati* has become an auxiliary. Notice also that agreement encliticization still seems to be required in the scope of this shortened form.

      Although it has been argued that the lexical verbs in (5.106-9) have not been nominalized, notice that this cannot be assumed purely by virtue of the absence of possessor agreement clitics, *if* we assume that conversion from verb to noun is effected by way of zero derivation[7], and not by the encliticization of possessor agreement itself. That is, that possessor agreement enclitics simply attach to nouns - simple or derived - and are not in themselves responsible for signalling that a certain constituent is nominal. Possessor agreement enclitics may make the grammatical category of an item more overt, but they do not decide this category. In a sense then, this leaves the analysis of (5.106-9) as consisting of an auxiliary followed by a lexical head on slightly shaky ground, since it could still conceivably be the case that the lexical verb is a nominalized complement - even in the absence of any possessor agreement enclitic.

However, my consultant's acceptance of examples such as the following prove that we are on the right track in treating verbs such as *wati* as auxiliaries within the verb complex:

(5.113) ~Fero na.wati ntanda.ku ragbi.
       Fero 3.NEG watch.ASS rugby
       "Fero doesn't watch rugby."

The assertive clitic *ku* here signals the right boundary of the verb complex, and hence that the lexical verb *ntanda* 'watch' is included within this complex.

Variations of (5.113) with first person subjects were most often acceptable to my consultant in connection with both *wati* and *wunga*:

(5.114) ~Nahu ka.wati ngaha.ku wawi.
       1p   1.NEG eat.ASS   pig
       "I don't eat pork."

(5.115) ~Nahu ka.wunga mpa'a.ku d'i   uma Fero ake.
       1p   1.PROGR play.ASS LOC house Fero now
       "I am playing at Fero's house now."

However, on other occasions my consultant felt less sure about the acceptability of some constructions that were entirely analogous to - and in some cases *identical* to - (5.114-5). Examples such as (5.116), with second person subjects and proclitic agreement, were also judged unacceptable (although only a small number of these have been tested):

(5.116) *Nggomi ma.wati nuntu.ku lab'o nahu.
       2p   2.NEG   talk.ASS with 1p
       Putatively: "You're not talking to me."

An issue we have yet to address directly is that of how to account for the appearance of the preverbal NP in examples showing 'double agreement', such as the following:

(5.117) Ana to'i.mu   na.wunga mpa'a.na.
       child small.2 3.PROGR play.3
       "Your children are playing."

Essentially, I will appeal to the same rule of possessor ascension claimed to account for the appearance of preverbal constituents in the sentences containing *ade/loko* of the last section, where what is being topicalized through ascension in this case is the possessor of the action described by the nominalized verb. However, this account should be qualified in two respects.

Firstly, we observe that, as was not the case where emotion constructions containing *ade/loko* were concerned, my consultant for the most part did not accept examples such as the following, in which third person agreement is envisaged as

crossreferencing the nominalized verb which is itself possessed by a non-third person referent:

(5.118) Nahu (*na.)wunga nono.ku anggo.
        1p   PROGR drink.1 wine
    "I'm drinking wine."

(5.119) Nggomi (*na.)wati ngaha.mu hi'i.
        2p   NEG eat.2   meat
    "You don't eat meat."

However, a very small number of such sentences were deemed acceptable at times.

Secondly, we should note that, cross-linguistically, in cases where the reanalysis of negative verbal heads as auxiliaries is accompanied by the reanalysis of sentence-initial topics as subjects, possessor ascension need not be appealed to as a restructuring force (since often a language will not even have any rules of possessor ascension). Such is the case, for example, with the Yuman languages described in Munro (1976); here Munro simply appeals to a process of 'subject copying'.

One of the most interesting examples provided by Munro (1976) is the following, which is drawn from Diegueno:

(5.120) ʔnʸaː-c ʔ-aːm-x ʔ-maːw
        me-subj 1-go-irr 1-NEG
    "I didn't go."   (106)

Here the negative auxiliary, which once constituted the predicate of the sentence in isolation, shows first person agreement with the subject of the lexical verb (as does the lexical verb itself). This example thus resembles that containing two unambiguous instantiations of second person agreement which was included at the close of the previous section. The warning that should perhaps be heeded at this stage is that, until we have some way of absolutely verifying what certain clitics signify, examples such as (5.114-5), for example, should at least be suspected to contain two instantiations of first person actor agreement. We should not be too hasty in explaining things away by appealing to the various homophonies that exist in the language.

In the same vein, while the following examples containing a proclitic *ma* and an enclitic *mu* do more likely involve relative clause structure, the suspicion that they may otherwise contain two instantiations of agreement should not be too readily expelled:

(5.121) ~Nggomi ma wunga baca.mu buku nahu.
        2p   relA PROGR read.2 book 1p
    "*You* are reading my book."

(5.122) ~Nggomi ma wati nuntu lab'o.mu nahu.
　　　　　2p　　　relA NEG talk　with.2　1p
　　　　　"*You* don't talk to me."

Every such example containing *ma-* and *-mu* was deemed acceptable by my consultant.

　　　As the final point of this section, it is noted that agreement enclitics are preferably omitted within *ma*-relative clauses which contain items such as *wati* or *wunga* which would otherwise require agreement 'in their scope'[8]:

(5.123) Nahu ma wati ngaha.(*ku) hi'i.
　　　　　1p　　relA NEG eat　　　　　meat
　　　　　"It's me who won't eat meat."

(5.124) Dou　mone [ma mbui.pu baca sura kabar] musti.ku baca kanari poda.na.
　　　　　person male relA still.yet read letter news must.ASS read slow INTENS.3
　　　　　"The man who is still reading the newspaper must read really slowly."

The following is the only example I have so far encountered in which an enclitic is included in a *ma*-relative clause containing *wati* (or any such item)[9]:

(5.125) Nahu ntau tolu mbua durian. ... [ma wati.pu ntasa.**na**] d'i　mbei amania.ku, ...
　　　　　1p　own three clas durian　　relA NEG.yet ripe.3　URZD give brother.1
　　　　　"I have three durians. ... the unripe one is to give to my brother, ..."

5.4 Possible cause for re-evaluation of the proclitic-enclitic distinction?

　　　In the previous section it was argued that verbs which are encliticized by agreement and which occur to the right of *mbui, wancu, wara, wati* or *wunga* should be conceived of as nominalizations. The upshot of discovering that upon closer inspection a number of actor agreement enclitics are in fact *possessor* agreement enclitics is that the opposition of actor agreement procliticization to encliticization - along with whatever explanation one may have sought to explain it - may be to some extent distorted. In the previous chapter the parameter of salient versus non-salient action was promoted to account for the proclitic-enclitic distinction. This was not stated with any particular confidence, however. In this section we will investigate to what extent the distinction can be explained away syntactically, by reanalyzing as many supposed actor agreement enclitics as possessor agreement enclitics as we legitimately can.

　　　Here the most radical approach would see us analyzing all enclitics as possessor agreement enclitics, in which case the proclitic-enclitic distinction could be explained in entirely syntactic terms. And in fact, this is in essence the approach of Jonker (1896), who characterizes as 'verbal noun' any constituent involving the attachment of an agreement enclitic to a verb ('verbal nouns' are described as having the external worth of a noun, but the content of a verb (1896, 321)). From a current

linguistic perspective this approach may appear somewhat unfeasible or insupportable, since current linguistic theory is in general not very accepting of the view that a sentence may consist of a noun - albeit a complex one. But this is how Philippine languages have been analyzed earlier in this century (see, for example, Capell 1964), and it is also an analysis that - probably quite justifiably - has not been completely quashed. Naylor (1995) holds that entire sentences in Tagalog can have the worth of a noun, and Klamer (1998, 96-105) identifies 'verbal nouns' in Kambera under the guise of 'nominal clauses'.

The distribution of agreement enclitics in Kambera resembles that of agreement enclitics in Bimanese in certain ways that were considered in Chapter Four. Recall that Klamer rather more confidently claims for Kambera that enclitic ('genitive') agreement pertains to background or circumstantial information, as opposed to more salient information. This distinction has also been suggested to account for agreement patterns in Bimanese. But where Klamer's analysis differs from ours thus far is in treating these enclitics as representing only one series of agreement: they are consistently treated as genitive agreement, and in those cases where they attach to verbs, the combined entity is called a nominal clause. Most nominal clauses in Kambera are simple main clauses, and so accordingly, genitive subject marking must be said not to be "determined by the syntactic status of the clause, i.e. whether or not it is embedded" (Klamer 1998, 97).

Now if we were to similarly analyze Bimanese agreement enclitics as representing one unified possessor agreement series, then this would certainly amount to successfully explaining away the proclitic-enclitic distinction in syntactic terms. However, then the whole onus would just shift to trying to account for why the distribution of these 'nominal clauses' is the way it is. A syntactic explanation for this distribution would be just as unattainable as it is for Kambera. Moreover, since the explanation that 'nominal clause' structure in Bimanese signals or coincides with background information is not being upheld with any certainty, then this would just mean that the indeterminacy surrounding the proclitic-enclitic distinction is being relayed all over again. These factors render the analysis of enclitic agreement as consistent possessor agreement less attractive for Bimanese. We might also note that Klamer does later admit that enclitic agreement marking in nominal clauses might just represent an alternative means of subject (as opposed to genitive) marking (1998, 105).

My approach in this section will essentially be to suggest that we should at least be very suspicious of those situations in which it is apparently obligatory to have an actor agreement *enclitic*. If the proclitic-enclitic distinction were to be explained purely in terms of a parameter such as salient versus background information, then we should expect that every type of clause should be able to take either a proclitic or an

enclitic. If in some setting it is impossible to attach an actor agreement proclitic to what we think is the core verbal predicate of a clause, where instead only an agreement enclitic may be attached, this gives strong cause to consider that the enclitic may signify possessor agreement rather than actor agreement. In other words, *these* are the settings in which it is valid to appeal to a syntactic explanation for the appearance of enclitics as opposed to proclitics. This approach resembles that of Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) in as much as we are being more open to the possibility of construing certain constituents as nominal in character (and some sentences as equational in nature) than a number of modern analyses perhaps would be. On the hand we will not be going to the more radical lengths of Naylor (1995), which were mentioned above.

The most notable and prominent settings in which enclitics must obligatorily attach to verbs (if at all), and hence are plausibly identified as representing possessor agreement are:

(a) when the verb is situated after *mbui, wancu, wara, wati* or *wunga* as discussed in the previous section;

(b) in *ra*-relative clauses as discussed in Chapter Three, and which will here be reconsidered in section 5.4.1 below;

and (c) in clauses containing the 'linker' *kai*, which will be discussed in section 5.4.2.

Section 5.4.3 will evaluate these findings in relation to the proclitic-enclitic distinction.

5.4.1 *Ra*-relative clauses

As was briefly mentioned in Chapter Three, actor agreement proclitics may not attach to the predicates of *ra*-relative clauses:

(5.126) Janga   ra (*na).puru.ku b'a la Halima na.caru.
            chicken rel 3.grill.ASS   by PN Halima 3.delicious
            "The chicken that Halima cooked is delicious."

Agreement enclitics, on the other hand, may:

(5.127) Janga   ra puru.**na** (b'a la Halima) na.caru.
            chicken rel grill.3   by PN Halima 3.delicious
            "The chicken that she (Halima) cooked is delicious."

This begs the question of whether the acceptable enclitics signify not actor, but possessor agreement.

Clearly, a relative clause structure will appear outwardly nominal in character in those circumstances where it modifies a null head. But the clause's surface nominal characteristics should not be expected to determine that it take possessor -

rather than actor - agreement. That is, for the following sentence we would still expect the structure diagrammed, in which the agreement's structural proximity to the verb (and not a derived noun) signifies that it is actor agreement:

(5.128) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ Ra [$_{VP}$ ngaha.na]]] [$_{NP}$ janga   tolu mbua.]]
               rel   eat.3   chicken three CLAS
       "What he ate was three chickens."

But then given this projected structure, we would expect the following to be a grammatical alternative:

(5.129) *[$_S$ [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_S$ Ra [$_{VP}$ **na.ngaha**]]] [$_{NP}$ janga   tolu   mbua.]]
               rel   3.eat   chicken three CLAS
       "What he ate was three chickens."

However, as was illustrated above, actor agreement proclitics may never be included within *ra*-relative clauses.[10] This makes the agreement enclitic of (5.128) look more like possessor agreement, in a structure like this:

(5.130) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ Ø [$_S$ Ra [$_{VP}$ ngaha]]].na] [$_{NP}$ janga   tolu mbua.]]
               rel   eat   .3   chicken three CLAS
       "His thing eaten was three chickens"

That is, the third person agreement here marks the possessor of the derived head of the NP.

    Now if this were really the case - if agreement enclitics in *ra*-relative clauses really did signify possessor agreement - then we would expect to be able to see a plain NP possessor following the string which commences with *ra*. And in fact, just this can be observed from the following:

(5.131) Ede.ra   lao kai mboda ma   karinga b'une **ra nggahi la Kalai** aka.n de.
       DEM.EMPH go KAI noble   relA report   how rel say   PN Kalai DEM.3 DEM
       "And so the noble went and reported what Kalai had said." (or: 'Kalai's things said') (Kalai)

(5.132) e   b'ote   omba   ina.mu, **ra nconggo nggomi** tolu mbua maca ...
       hey monkey genitals mother.2 rel owe   2p   three CLAS tiger
       "hey son-of-a-bitch monkey, what is owed by you is three tigers ..." (or: 'your thing owed is three tigers') (Sahe)

(5.133) Ringa kai b'a dou   upa.n ede **ra rawi wa'i**, ...
       hear KAI by person four.3 DEM rel do   old-woman
       "When these four people heard what the old woman had done, ..." (or: 'of the old woman's doings/deeds')

This trend appears slightly more prevalent where *ra'a* is concerned, which could possibly come as a consequence of the nominal associations of *ra'a* (recall from Chapter Three that *ra'a* is an acceptable alternative to *ra* in the Bimanese investigated

by Jonker, and that in its non-functional sense it is a noun meaning 'trace/print'). Two examples of this are the following:

(5.134) lao nuntu mena kai   sa.mena.na **ra'a rawi la D'aju**.
      go talk PL   KAI one.PL.3 rel do PN lazy
      "(they) went to talk of all that the Lazy One had done." (or: 'all of the Lazy
One's doings/deeds') (D'aju)

(5.135) tundu kai   lipi   **ra'a parenta rato   ede**;
      carry INSTR shoulder rel   order   prince DEM
      "(you) carry what the prince has ordered upon (your) shoulders;" (or: 'the
prince's orders') (Kalai)

It may have been noticed that, in addition to those examples containing *ra'a*, all of the examples included above in which the *ra*-clause is followed by a plain NP possessor are drawn from Jonker's texts. When offered some comparable sentences, my consultant for the most part inserted the actor-marking item *b'a*:

(5.136) Piti   ra mpanga **b'a** sia.
      money rel steal   by 3p
      "Money was what he stole."

The sole exception to this trend was the following:

(5.137) Fo'o   ra ngaha nggomi.
      mango rel eat   2p
      "A mango is what you ate."

B'a is taken to exclusively signal actor participation within a verbal construct rather than possession within a nominal construct on the grounds that it is always unacceptable to insert this marker in blatantly possessive settings:

(5.138) Ngao (***b'a**) nahu ma ngaha hi'i   ede.
      cat   1p relA eat   meat DEM
      "It was my cat who ate that meat."

(5.139) Ed'i (***b'a**) nahu na.pili.ku.
      leg   1p 3.sore.ASS
      "My leg is sore."

The only anomaly which then remains is that familial relationships such as 'brother of' and 'child of' which are blatantly nominal English, can apparently be expressed verbally in Bimanese:

(5.140) b'une santika ari   **b'a** ita   ruma.ku na.ne'e mpara nika, ...
      as-for   brother by 1p(pol) king.1 3.want then marry
      "as for your brother, my lord, he wants to marry, ..." (Pande)

(5.141) ana.na **b'a** pande   ede   lima dou.na, ...
      child.3 by labourer DEM five person.3
      "this labourer had five children, ..." (lit.: 'the children of the labourer were
five people') (Pande)

In short, there is a marked preference for my consultant to construe a fully specified NP which follows the verb of a *ra*-relative clause as an actor which is local to the verbal predication, and not as a possessor of the complex noun which takes the form of a free relative clause. Does this preference extend in such a way that enclitics are to be interpreted as signalling actor, and not possessor, agreement? At this point we should note that the entire argument for identifying these enclitics as realizations of possessor agreement hinges upon the requirement that the *ra*-relative clause to which they attach modifies a null head of the NP (that is, it is a free relative clause). But, of course, this will not always be the case; a relative clause must be expected to sometimes modify an overt head of the noun phrase, as it does the following example:

(5.142) [$_{NP}$ Dou [$_S$ ra [$_{VP}$ ka.dahu.mu]]] wunga kid'i.na ta.aka.
        person rel   CAUS.afraid.2 PROGR stand.2 there
        "The man who you scared is standing up over there."

Taking this into account, it becomes harder to see how the enclitic can be interpreted as possessor agreement (at least without positing much complicated, unwarranted structure). But then we are confronted with the familiar, recurring question: if this is actor agreement then why must it be restricted to appearing as an enclitic?

The incontrovertible nominal appearance of relative clauses is hardly a problem which confronts Bimanese in isolation. Klamer similarly notes that in Kambera, actors (or subjects) in non-actor (or subject) relativizing clauses must be marked with genitive agreement (1998, 332), and Starosta et al. make the more general comment that "in Philippine and Formosan languages, and in many Indonesian languages as well, relative clauses are exclusively nominal constructions" (1982, 162). Starosta et al. also claim that "one way to establish unequivocally that a given form in a Philippine or Formosan language is a noun (at least in some of its occurrences) is to find it used as a ligature attribute after another noun" (1982, 162).

The possibility that *ra*-relative clauses in sentences such as (5.142) are placed paratactically to the right of the head noun they modify is not something we have yet considered. If we take this tack, then the argument that *ra* is a subordinating relative clause marker is effectively overturned, and *ra* can instead be analyzed as a passive morpheme - which is what several aspects explored in Chapter Three pointed towards. But then we are faced again with the irresolvable problem caused by the fact that a non-actor-relativizing clause may be subordinated by the relative marker *ma* in some cases, but not in others. This sends out conflicting information about the status of *ra*.

A few further tentative comments concerning the function of *ra* and its part in the grammatical make-up of Bimanese will be delivered in section 5.5. For now we

need only acknowledge that, regardless of whether the enclitics in *ra*-'relative clauses' represent actor or possessor agreement, the basic requirement that they be realized as enclitics and not as proclitics will be to some degree responsible for influencing the distribution of proclitics and enclitics.

5.4.2 *Kai* and clauses of reason

By this stage, a number of functions have been associated with the phonological form *kai*. There were two applicatives (one which creates an instrumental object position and the other a goal or recipient object position), a nominalizing *kai*, a *kai* which is obligatory within locative relativizations, and, in addition, a *kai* with a 'linking' function was mentioned in section 4.4.1 of Chapter Four. By this stage we have also considered a number of *wh*-question clauses in Bimanese. These were all observed to involve relative clause structure, where in each case the relative clause is formulated in order to question some argument, which may be an actor, an undergoer, or some oblique. For the particular case of questions of location, recall that *kai* was required in the relative clauses of these constructions, and that it was suggested that *kai* in such circumstances may simply represent a more productive manifestation of the nominalizing properties of *kai*.

A type of question we have yet to consider are questions of reason. At first glance, these would appear to have much in common with questions of location, since, for the most part, they also require the placement of *kai*:

(5.143) b'a   b'au.si   hade **kai**.mu ana   nahu ake?
           because why.COND kill   KAI.2 child 1p   now
           "why have you killed my child?"   (Udi)

(5.144) B'a   b'au mbani **kai**.mu d'i   nahu?
           because why   angry KAI.2   LOC 1p
           "Why are you angry with me?"

(5.145) B'a   b'au lao rai **kai**.na.
           because why go run KAI.3
           "Why is she running away?"

On the other hand, these do not seem to involve relative clause structure.[11] In (5.146-8) below, for example, *d'i*, *ne'e* and *nde* more likely function simply as complementizers, and not specifically as complementizers which introduce relative clauses:

(5.146) B'a   b'au **d'i**   lao kai.mu?
           because why URZD go   KAI.2
           "Why are you going?"

(5.147) B'a   b'au **ne'e** lao hori kai.m peo   ede   ma   ncewi taho, ...
       because why URZD go free KAI.2 wild-chicken DEM relA very fine
       "Why would you go and free the wild chickens which are so fine, ..."   (D'aju)

(5.148) b'a   b'au **nde**   nangi kai nggomi?
       because why URZD cry   KAI 2p
       "Why are you crying?"   (Pande)

Yet even though questions of reason apparently do not involve relative clause structure, the requirement that actor agreement enclitics, and not proclitics, be used in connection with these clauses which contain *kai* is suggestive of a reality that (a) instead of signalling something so exact as, say, the extraction of a constituent of reason, *kai* in these circumstances may instead be fulfilling a more general, nominalizing function; (b) the enclitics in these constructions may mark possessor, rather than actor, agreement; and (c) questions of reason may be most accurately configured by the equational structures illustrated in the examples below:

(5.149) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ B'a   b'au] [$_{NP}$ loa   kai.na Mejo d'i   matematik]]?
       because why   able KAI.3 Mejo LOC maths
       "Why is Mejo good at maths?" ('by what reason is Mejo's ableness at maths?')

(5.150) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ B'a   b'au] [$_{NP}$ paki   kai.mu durian]]?
       because why   throw-out KAI.2   durian
       "Why did you throw the durian out?" ('by what reason was your throwing out
the durian?')

(5.151) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ B'a   b'au] [$_{NP}$ sampu kai.na riha]]?
       because why   dirty   KAI.3 kitchen
       "Why is the kitchen dirty?" ('by what reason is the kitchen's dirtiness?')

These structures are akin to some of those presented in Starosta et al. (1982), although note that none of the posited equational structures in that paper involve constituents of reason.

However, the conception of questions of reason as equational structures must be dispelled once we come to consider sentences such as the following:

(5.152) B'a   b'au **Mejo** loa   kai.na d'i   matematik?
       because why Mejo able   KAI.3 LOC maths
       "Why is Mejo good at maths?"

(5.153) B'a   b'au **la Halima** lao kai.na d'I   Mbojo nais?
       because why PN Halima go   KAI.3   LOC Bima   tomorrow
       "Why is Halima going to Bima tomorrow?"

(5.154) B'a   b'au **riha**   sampu kai.na?
       because why kitchen dirty   KAI.3
       "Why is the kitchen dirty?"

In these sentences the intervention of the actors between the *wh*-constituent and the predicate determines that the *wh*-constituent cannot be interpreted as the subject NP

in an equational structure. This in turn suggests that *kai* should be analyzed as marking the extraction of a constituent of reason, and not as holding a purely nominalizing function.

Yet at the same time there are strong suggestions that what was presented in (5.149-51) should be retained as at least a historical picture. These suggestions come in the form of the apparent requirement that agreement enclitics, and not proclitics, be used in connection with *kai*. For whereas my consultant found the following acceptable,

(5.155) B'a   b'au Mejo na.loa d'i   matematik?
      because why Mejo 3.able LOC maths
      "Why is Mejo good at maths?"

(5.156) B'a   b'au la   Halima na.lao d'i   Mbojo nais?
      because why PN Halima 3.go   LOC Bima   tomorrow
      "Why is Halima going to Bima tomorrow?"

(5.157) B'a   b'au riha   na.sampu?
      because why kitchen 3.dirty
      "Why is the kitchen dirty?"

the equivalents containing *kai* she did not:

(5.158) *B'a b'au Mejo na.loa **kai** d'i matematik?

(5.159) *B'a b'au la Halima na.lao **kai** d'i Mbojo nais?

(5.160) *B'a b'au riha na.sampu **kai**?

These data suggest that the constituent containing *kai* in a question of reason may to some extent be interpreted as having nominal worth, since the requirement that agreement be encliticized makes this agreement look like possessor agreement. Another clue that points towards the correctness of this analysis is the overriding acceptability of omitting *b'a* from questions of reason with transitive verbs, since this makes it look more like a possessor, and not an actor:

(5.161) B'a   b'au paki   kai (b'a) nggomi durian?
      because why throw-out KAI by   2p   durian
      "Why did you throw the durian out?"

So, to summarize, although the data concerning questions of reason in Bimanese gives somewhat conflicting information (and elicited material in fact continues to give surprising and sometimes inexplicable results), the tentative suggestion is that the restriction on agreement enclitics reflects the historical situation under which these enclitics did represent possessor agreement, *kai* did have a purely nominalizing function, and questions of reason did take the form of equational sentences. In other words, the preverbal positioning of the actor argument of the verb

represents an innovation, while the requirement of actor agreement enclitics in connection with *kai* represents a retention of their former possessor agreement function. The conflicting nature of the data likely reflects the incomplete status of this process of reanalysis.

This kind of theorizing, however unprovable, does not stop here. For once we have recognized that *kai* may serve to mark the extraction of a constituent of reason, passages such as the following may lead us to extend the function of this *kai* further (or else posit the existence of a separate, yet closely related, *kai*), where once again it is noted that there is an apparent requirement for actor agreement enclitics - and not proclitics - to be instantiated in connection with this extended function of *kai*. The following passage accurately reflects the ubiquitousness of the *kai* which was loosely characterized in section 4.4.1 of Chapter Four performing a 'linking' function:

(5.162) Kacei b'a sia la Uwi ari.na   d'i   lowi.na. Ede.mpa tota **kai** b'a sia ari.na
       think by 3p PN Uwi sister.3 URZD cook.3   DEM.just cut KAI by 3p sister.3
       " ... She thought that it was her little sister Uwi who she was to cook. And so

ede.ra   lowi **kai**.na. Na.dula.jara ina.na   sod'i **kai**.na 'b'e.ku   ari to'i.mu?'
DEM.EMPH cook KAI.3   3.return.about mother.3 ask   KAI.3   where.ASS sister little.2
she just cut her little sister up and thus cooked her. Then her mother came home and

Cambe **kai** b'a ana.na 'Ai, ina ee, wa'u.ra   lowi b'a mada ...'
reply   KAI by child.3   mother already.EMPH cook by 1p(pol)
(consequently) asked "Where's your little sister?" So the child replied: "Oh mother,
I've already cooked her ..." (Wadu Mbi'a)

The instantiations of *kai* in this passage do not signal that a constituent of reason has been extracted, yet in essence they are not too far removed from this function since what they do signify is that the action denoted by the verb to which they attach is in some way a consequent of, or can be explained by, some action or reason stated immediately before. So in the passage above the principal participant's action of cutting her little sister up arises out of her misconception, immediately expressed in the sentence before, that this is what she is required to do; the action of cooking her little sister is consequent of her having cut her up; the mother's action of questioning is consequent of her arrival back to the family home; and her child's reply to her questioning is brought about by the existence of her own question in the first place. *Kai* serves as a continual thread throughout narratives, linking causes and events.

One pattern that is particularly common in text is the presentation of conversation as a series of statements where each verb of speaking (*nggahi* and *(n)cambe* most frequently) is followed by *kai*. This reflects the reality that when we speak to each other we are usually responding to what the other has said; we take as a reason for our speech acts the content of what has been pronounced immediately before.

Another common pattern is to find that the clause headed by a verb to which *kai* has attached is introduced by the demonstrative *ede,* with some emphatic clitic attached (usually *ra, mpara* or *mpa*). This is the case for both clauses in the second sentence of (5.162). *Ede*, in these circumstances, can be understood to stand in for the content of the previous sentence - the content which itself provides a rationale for the action of the present sentence. Given this interpretation, *ede* and the constituent following it (which contains *kai* and which apparently must have agreement enclitic marking - if any marking) could be configured into an equational sentences, as were the questions in (5.49-51) above:

(5.163) (wara la D'aju ma ufi jalitu aka.n de,) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ **ede**.ra] [$_{NP}$[$_{N'}$ [$_{VP}$ tu'u reb'o kai] nahu]]],
        exist PN lazy relA blow flute at.3 dem   DEM.EMPH   stand dance KAI 1p
"(there was this lazy person who blew a flute before,) and so because of **this** I got up and danced, ..."   ('because of this was my getting up and dancing') (D'aju)

But as was also the case with the questions of reason above, the intervention of an actor NP between the supposedly extracted constituent and the predicate shows that the equational structure cannot hold:

(5.164) [Ede.mpara] **[ruma.t]** [londo   kai.na], ...
       DEM.then   king.1incl descend KAI.3
       "And so the king went down and got his horse, ..."   (Pande)

Can it be maintained, then, that *kai* marks the extraction of a constituent of reason in these sentences (the only qualification being that the extracted category is not a *wh*-constituent)? Examples such as the following, where a constituent containing *ede* is absent from the beginning of the second sentence, show that this cannot be the case:

(5.165) Udi   rai londo.na   awa diwu na.rai lu'u.ku d'ei karombo.na, d'ei oi diwu.
       lizard run descend.3 under lake 3.run enter.ASS in   cave.3   in water lake
       "The lizard ran down into the lake and into its cave under the water.

Rai b'atu **kai** b'a Ompu Ico, ...
run follow KAI by Ompu Ico run enter swim.3 in cave lizard
So Ompu Ico ran after it, ..."   (Ompu Ico)

The claim that this *kai* signals the extraction of a constituent of reason is only as plausible as the claim that (5.165) does not in fact consist of two separate sentences, but instead of one sentence where the main clause verb complex is *rai b'atu kai*, and the first line is interpreted as a subordinate clause of reason. If *kai* really were to have the syntactic significance of signalling the extraction of a constituent of reason, then the very most basic constraint on this extracted category is that it still be dominated by the main clause verb to which *kai* has attached. This condition is easily maintained when the constituent of reason is compacted into the clause-initial proform *ede,* but it

is less believably the case in (5.165) above. Such an interpretation becomes even more untenable when we consider those passages of text containing conversations consisting of a series of statements headed by *nggahi kai* "so (X) said". This would entail a degree of embedding above and beyond that illustrated in the space below:

(5.166) [[[[nggahi A"B"], nggahi kai C "D"], nggahi kai E "F"], nggahi kai G "H"], ...
("A said "B", so C said "D", so E said "F", so G said "H", ...")

Furthermore, the following examples show that clause-initial *ede* cannot be uniformly assigned the syntactic status of an extracted constituent of reason since *kai* - the purported marker of its extraction - is absent:

(5.167) ede.ra   losa mena kai maju ede, **ede.ra**   la D'aju lao dula.n d'i uma.na.
DEM.EMPH exit PL   KAI deer DEM DEM.EMPH PN lazy go return.3 LOC house.3
"and so deer went out, and so the Lazy One returned to his home." (D'aju)

(5.168) Amu mbisa.na **ede.mpa** Reho rod'u.na.
Amu faint.3   DEM.just Reho revive.3
"Amu fainted and Reho revived (her)."

(5.169) ha'a lalo wea b'a wa'i   rera dou mpanga ede sa.dompo, **ede mpara** mbisa.na
bite direct ben by old-woman tongue person steal dem one.piece   DEM then faint.3
"The old woman immediately bit off a piece of the thief's tongue, and then he fainted ..." (Wa'i)

The significance of the strings *ede.ra, ede.mpa* and *ede mpara* in these cases is that they serve as nothing more than conjunctions or links between clauses. While *ede* may be interpreted as referring to or summarizing the situation of the preceding clause, that it does so is not signalled syntactically.

In conclusion, this *kai* does not have the syntactic function of marking the extraction of a constituent of reason. Its semantics, however, have every appearance of this kind of effect in that it signals that the action described by the verb to which it attaches is somehow consequent of an immediately preceding action or circumstance. This close semantic connection suggests that this second *kai* may have evolved from the first, which in turn may explain again why agreement enclitics, and not proclitics, must be instantiated in connection with this *kai*.[12] However, a very limited number of examples suggest that this requirement for agreement encliticization in connection with the linking *kai* cannot even be absolute. From among literally hundreds of instantiations of this *kai* there are five possible exceptions to this rule, one of which is the following:

(5.170) maai ake mu.wa'a cola **kai.ku** nconggo.mu sa.b'ua, ...
therefore 2.bring pay KAI.ASS debt.2   one.CLAS
"therefore you have come to pay off one of your debts, ..." (Sahe)

But then notice that *kai* in this case could conceivably be interpreted as the instrumental marker (with the rendering of 'therefore you have come to pay with one of your debts'). This kind of indecision seems to call for some comment about the proliferation of the observed functions of *kai*. Are all of these functions best subsumed under this one form? The clear contrast between some forms *kai* which have sharply defined syntactic roles (such as the applicatives) and the syntactically insignificant *kai* mentioned above may make this seem unlikely; although, since at this stage we can hardly claim to have discovered the full significance of *kai* or the relationship between supposedly separate *kai*'s, this issue must await further investigation.[13]

But to turn back to the question of what may motivate the overriding cooccurrence of agreement enclitics with 'linking' *kai,* one could speculate that this comes not as a consequence of the historical state of syntactic affairs, but is instead simply a reflection of the salience-background parameter considered in Chapter Four. The actions expressed by a clause containing this *kai* have been specified to be consequent of some immediately preceding action, and so, in this sense, they are generally informationally dependent, or non-salient. Regardless of whether or not this is true, such considerations at least give one isolated indication of how complicated it can be to determine what governs the distribution of proclitics in opposition to enclitics.

5.4.3 Conclusion

Since this point marks the end of our attempts to discover what conditions the proclitic-enclitic distinction, it is appropriate that we take stock of what we have found.

In Chapter Two it was observed firstly that in independently elicited sentences, enclitics corresponded to past tense and telic aspect while proclitics signified something like unrealized tense. The introduction of emphatic enclitics saw the suspension of this correlation, and prosodic and stylistic factors were postulated to account for the effect whereby actor agreement enclitics cooccurring with emphatic clitics seemed to be required to resurface as proclitics.

The concentrated consideration of textual instantiations of agreement in Chapter Four saw the characterization of the proclitic-enclitic distinction fall into the less sharply defined dimensions of salient versus non-salient information.

What I believe the material of this section has shown is that a whole range of other factors - syntactic and historical - may also enter into the equation. But this is true also of the material of the previous two sections; the presence of items such as *wati* and *wunga* certainly plays some part in determining the overall distribution of proclitics and enclitics, and, although I did not make this explicit in section 5.1, this

holds also over *ade/loko* constructions. For although constructions in which *ade/loko* are not encliticized by (actor or possessor) agreement are in principle possible and quite grammatical, the fact remains that *ade/loko* is only infrequently naturally encountered without agreement encliticized. What the consideration of this material, as well as that in this section, amounts to is the reality that the actor agreement proclitic-enclitic distinction may be to some extent extorted, either by the fact that some enclitics are really possessor agreement clitics, or else by the fact that they are historical retentions of such. So while this section may have in some respects created more problems than it has solved (with respect to section 5.4.1 in particular), it has at least shed light upon the complicated and multi-factored nature of the proclitic-enclitic distinction in Bimanese.

5.5 Conclusions: Topic, subject, and voice

In section 4.3.4 of Chapter Four it was observed that preverbal NPs could consistently be characterized as holding the pragmatic status of sentence topic (with only one possible exception, whose interpretation as a pragmatic focus constituent was in part dependent upon intonational stress properties, however). Because all preverbal NPs up until that point were arguments semantically and syntactically selected by the verb, they could thus be characterized also as subjects. The present chapter has introduced a new variety of preverbal NPs which are not selected semantically or syntactically by the verb. Because they are not selected in this way, they cannot be regarded as subjects - although in each case they may be fittingly characterized again as sentence topics.

Clearly, then, there is a large degree of convergence between subjects and topics in Bimanese. In some cases, the preverbal NP is both subject and topic, as in (5.171) below. In other cases the preverbal NP is topic and not subject (5.172), and in still other cases it will not be clear if the topic of the sentence is also the subject (5.173):

(5.171) Udi rai londo.na awa diwu na.rai lu'u.ku d'ei karombo.na, ...
      lizard run descend.3 under lake 3.run enter.ASS into cave.3
      "(Now) the lizard ran down into the lake and into its cave, ..." (Ompu Ico)

(5.172) Amu supu ana.na.
      Amu sick child.3
      "Amu, her child is sick."

(5.173) Fero susa ade.na.
      Fero sad liver.3
      "Fero, his liver is sad."/"Fero is sad-livered."

What I believe may be extracted from the convergence of subject and topic in Bimanese, and more specifically from the ambiguity of (5.173), is that subjects in

Bimanese may be felicitously regarded as grammaticized topics. The grammaticization of the preverbal topic constituent as subject was presumed to accompany the formation of complex verbs containing both *ade/loko* and items such as *wati*, as discussed in sections 5.2 and 5.3 respectively. If it is true that all subjects are grammaticized topics, then this will explain why practically all subjects have the pragmatic status of topic - and it will also confirm some of the predictions of Shibatani (1988).

Shibatani (1988, 130-5) writes of a subject-topic continuum which is a reflection of the reality that in some languages, these two categories are not completely separate. He notes that for the case of Philippine languages, preverbal topics may share "a number of important characteristics of the prototypical subject" (1988, 134). Namely, the preverbal topic can be shown to control a gap, and he also comments that it has superior status with regard to binding phenomena (1988, 134). For the case of Bimanese, we have already seen how the preverbal argument can be regarded as being the subject as a consequence of its fulfilment of some limited subject properties, most prominent among which were those concerning equi deletion and coordination. Some of the other subject tests, on the other hand, do not isolate the preverbal argument. This is so for the subject tests concerning verb agreement and reflexive binding; instead of applying exclusively to the grammaticized topic, these apply also to the subject at a-structure (that is, the actor).

The question of whether certain grammatically prominent constituents in some Austronesian languages are best characterized as 'topics' or 'subjects' has been a dominant enquiry in Austronesian spheres for the last 30 years (see, for example, McKaughan 1973, Schachter 1976, 1977, Shibatani 1988, Alsagoff 1992, Manaster-Ramer 1992, Naylor 1975, 1995). This line of enquiry has been built up much less around pragmatically defined concepts than it has been around the kinds of splits in the distribution of subject properties which are in general similar to what we have observed for Bimanese. Thus for the case of Tagalog, Schachter (1977) divides subject properties into reference-related and role-related properties, where the former serve to identify the constituent which he calls TOPIC, and the latter identify the constituent which he calls ACTOR.

'Topic' in this use corresponds to our notion of sentence topic only to the extent that this constituent must be definite. So in the following Tagalog sentence, the argument *bigas* 'rice' is interpreted as being definite purely by virtue of occupying the *ang*-marked 'topic' position:

(5.174) Ibigay   niya   ang bigas kay   Juan.
        GF.will.give ACT.she TOP rice DAT Juan
        "She will give the rice to Juan."   (Schachter 1977, 282)

As Klaiman (1991, 35) comments, "this is significant, since referential definiteness is a natural manifestation of the information-structure salience encoded in these systems". However, even though definiteness is an information-structurally significant property, it alone is not enough to determine that a certain constituent is a topic. In fact, Kroeger (1993, 61-8) has shown that the *ang*-marked constituent in Tagalog may bear pragmatic focus. Since it is impossible for a constituent to bear both pragmatic topic and focus, this shows that it is not possible to maintain that the *ang*-marked argument is a topic in any pragmatically well-defined and consistent sense.

Kroeger's claim is that the *ang*-marked constituent is the subject, since the subject is a syntactic concept, and this constituent fulfils the more syntactically oriented of the subject tests. (It was essentially along the same lines that the Bimanese preverbal argument was identified as subject in section 3.3.) Schachter (1976, 1977), meanwhile, contends that the *ang*-marked phrase may not be regarded as 'subject' since it does not fulfil a large number of subject tests (which Kroeger would identify as being less syntactically-oriented, however). Schachter (1976, 1977) in fact claims that no constituent in Tagalog may be identified as 'subject'; 'topic', once definiteness effects are set aside, then becomes nothing more than a title he has chosen for the constituent that comes closest to this status.

However, as Kroeger (1993, 57) comments, Philippinists have also felt compelled not to characterize the *ang*-phrase as subject - but instead as *topic* - towards the end of signifying how Philippine languages are distinct from European models. This distinctness centres upon the conception of voice; firstly through the observation that Philippine languages exhibit a large degree of 'patient-prominence' (that is, 'passive' or 'goal-focus' clauses are the predominant structures), and secondly, out of the contention that voice variation in Philippine languages is not driven by simple rules of role-remapping into different grammatical relations (what Klaiman (1991) calls 'derived voice'), but instead serves to register different information-salience statuses. As Klaiman comments, "Philippine voices index focus. More precisely speaking, the voices index the participant roles of nominals which are focused, or assigned clause-level informational salience" (1991, 250).

'Focus', in the sense in which it is used here, does not correspond to our notion of pragmatic focus (recall that this is a contrastive notion which is defined as the only part of a proposition which is not presupposed). Where this Philippine-type 'focus' is concerned, Klaiman notes that, beyond saying that it is information-structurally significant, a general definition of just what it is, or else what determines whether a certain argument is to be placed 'in focus', has yet to be worked out (1991, 250). This seems to stem as much from the general difficulty of characterizing the factors

determining the placement of focus as it does from having not applied well-defined pragmatic concepts to Philippine languages.

Yet it appears that these difficulties do not extend to all Austronesian languages. The pragmatic notions of topic and focus as we have defined them show clean divisions with respect to voice variations and grammatical statuses of preverbal constituents in Malay, as Alsagoff (1992) has shown. Alsagoff provides tests which show that preverbal NPs in Malay are topics (1992, Chapter Four). This is as true of the NPs which precede verbs prefixed by active/transitive *meng-* or passive *di-* as it is of the sentence-initial object-topics in those constructions which Chung (1976) refers to as 'object preposing' constructions. The tests which establish that these NPs are topics take the form of the proof that under no circumstances may these preverbal NPs bear pragmatic focus. Thus they can be felicitously regarded as topics.

The comparable tests for Bimanese, as well as the overwhelming convergence between preverbal position and sentence topic status, show that the pragmatic notions of topic and focus are also cleanly partitioned in the grammar of this language. In (5.175-6), the (a) examples provide questions, while the other sentences are answers to these questions, in which the constituent that must bear pragmatic focus is underlined. The unacceptability of the (c) examples in these contexts arises out of the fact that the preverbal NPs have the pragmatic status of topic, which is incompatible with the pragmatic status they are expected to bear.[14]

(5.175) a. Cou ma   sempa Amu?
        who relA kick   Amu
        "Who kicked Amu?"

    b. <u>Rao</u> ma sempa Amu.
       "Rao kicked Amu."

    c. ?<u>Rao</u> sempa Amu.

(5.176) a. Cou ra sempa b'a Fero?
        who rel kick   by Fero
        "Who did Fero kick?"

    b. <u>Nahu</u> ra sempa b'a Fero.
       1p   rel kick   by Fero
       "Fero kicked me."

    c. ?<u>Nahu</u> sempa b'a Fero.

    d. Fero sempa.na <u>nahu</u>.

Recall that at the close of Chapter Three there was some confusion as to how to characterize a sentence which was almost identical to (5.176c) above. This was the sentence:

(5.177) Fero jagu   b'a Amu.
      Fero punch by Amu
      "Fero was punched by Amu."

At the close of Chapter Three it was unclear whether this sentence should be regarded as a passive or an (object) topicalization. This section has suggested that the preverbal argument in (5.177) - and the preverbal arguments in all Bimanese sentences - should all be regarded to be sentence topics. In that case *Fero* in (5.177) has certainly been topicalized; yet it is an argument in addition to being a preverbal topic, and so must also be a subject. Passives are subject-creating operations.

This issue is not unrelated to the fact that at the close of Chapter Three, the status of the morpheme *ra* as either a passive marker or a relative clause marker was also left somewhat unclear. The latter interpretation was explicitly favoured, however - although this was through convenience as much as anything else. Much of the impetus for analyzing *ra* as a relative clause marker was that the constituents to its left bear pragmatic focus. This is certainly a hallmark of relative clauses (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987), but then it does seem erroneous to expect that pragmatic status may determine syntactic structure.

At the same time, what is unusual about *ra* - and, in particular, what is unusual about the interpretation of *ra* as a relative clause marker, is that, in as much as it clearly effects role-remapping within the clause (the promotion of the undergoer must be accompanied by the demotion of the actor), it seems plain that it should be regarded as a piece of voice morphology. If we treat it as such, and if we survey Bimanese voice marking in its entirety, then we find that what we see is a sharply defined pragmatic voice system, quite unlike the more pragmatically mixed systems of Philipine languages. The preverbal argument can be said not only to hold clause-level informational salience, but in addition it can be specified as either a pragmatic topic or focus constituent on the basis of whether or not *ra* is present. *Ra* is thus regarded as interfacing directly with the level of pragmatics. It is true that by adopting this analysis (or any analysis) this leaves the cooccurrence restrictions with the relative marker *ma* unexplained, but redefinition of *ra* will have to await a solid characterization of when and where *ma* may be included, in any case.

NOTES

[1] The sign which precedes this example, as well as a number of others in this chapter, is meant to indicate that the sentence in question was deemed acceptable through a grammaticality judgement instead of being offered up freely. My consultant sometimes appeared to find it difficult to judge whether some 'double agreement' examples were acceptable.

[2] Such as, for example, a more marked stress pattern.

[3] It is cross-linguistically usual to find that an existential verb may express the concept of possession under certain syntactic configurations (Freeze (1992), Zeitoun et al. (1999)).

⁴ Note that *pili* is a stative verb and cannot be functioning as a causative in (5.63) (with the meaning 'have you hurt your stomach?'). To gain the causative sense the causative prefix *ka* must be attached, as in the following sentence:

> Wadu ra b'ale b'a andou mone ede na.ka.pili.ku nahu.
> stone rel throw by child male dem 3.caus.sore.ass 1p
> "The rock that the boy threw at me hurt me."

⁵ At this stage it is unclear whether *lai* should be properly ascribed a negative function in addition to functioning as the verb meaning 'differ'. *Lai* is consistently used in negations of cleft sentences, such as the following:

> Lai.na la Rahim ma hade sahe ede.
> differ.3 PN Rahim relA kill buffalo dem
> "It wasn't Rahim who killed the buffalo." (i.e. someone else did)

Sentences such as these contain the presupposition that some entity performs a certain role or fulfils a certain condition, and so consequently, contrastive emphasis (that is, pragmatic focus) is placed upon this entity. In this light we see the contextual appropriateness of a verb meaning 'differ', since this carries the inherent implication that some other entity may fulfil a certain role.

⁶ Note, however, the placement of agreement enclitics to the immediate right of *wati* in (5.104-5), which would suggest that *wati* and the preposition or nouns which follow do not form a part of the same predication in these examples, at least.

⁷ Note that even this small part of this statement embodies certain assumptions about nouns and verbs in Bimanese; namely, that lexical items will normally be specified as being either one or the other, in spite of any pre-categorial appearances. These are my assumptions then, although it has been my intention to steer away from such issues. See Donohue (1999, 86-90) for an insightful treatment word class distinctions and 'the problem of overlap'.

⁸ For the specific case of negation, the morphological verbal negative *da-* is most often used in preference to *wati* in *ma*-relative clauses, as in this example:

> Dou ma da.sika woi na na.mou woi.na.
> person relA neg.brush tooth.3 3.fall-out tooth.3
> "People who don't brush their teeth lose their teeth."

⁹ This example is an alternative version of part of example (3.52) from Chapter Three. In the earlier sentence, the agreement enclitic was not included, although, interestingly, it was the sentence included here which was first offered in translation of the English (with the suggestion of the omission of the agreement being later met with approval).

¹⁰ This non-cooccurrence may appear superficially explicable to the extent that the past tense entailments of *ra* would appear to conflict with the unrealized tense associations of actor agreement proclitics. However, as was discussed in Chapters Two and Four, the correlation between unrealized tense and agreement procliticization is frequently suspended. This would expected to be the case in an example such as (5.126), in which the placement of the emphatic clitic *ku* would be expected to force agreement into preverbal position - although the proclitic is still ungrammatical, as indicated.

¹¹ Interestingly though, it appears that the questioned constituent of reason may take the form of a *ra*-relative clause:

> B'a [ra b'au.na] made kai.na?
> because rel why.3 die KAI.3
> "Why did the buffalo die?"

> B'a [ra b'au.na] la Halima nggoncu kai.na?
> because rel why.3 PN Halima jump KAI.3
> "Why did Halima jump?"

Usually only transitive verbs may be relativized by *ra*. I am uncertain of what this signifies for the status of *b'au* 'why' in these examples. One possibility could be that *ra* is marking past tense in isolation, but then the encliticization of agreement after *b'au* does make the constituent does look rather relative clause-like (the enclitic may not be included if *ra* is absent).

[12] Jonker (1896, 161, 345) essentially concurs with the view that *ede+ra* Verb+*kai*+Agr once constituted an equational sentence, and that *ede* has lost its function as an extracted constituent of reason.

[13] One factor which should make us suspicious of assuming a number of separate forms *kai* is the fact that we never see two *kai*'s instantiated within one verb complex - even in places where one might expect this (see Jonker 1896, 175).

[14] However, (5.175c) and (5.176c) are acceptable answers provided that the preverbal NP receives heavy intonational stress, which shows that these pragmatic reflexes in the syntax are not outside the influence of extralinguistic features.

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