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Lea Brown
(Pamela Leanne Brown)

University of Sydney
2001
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A funny thing happened on my way from doing my B.A. at Melbourne Uni to the rest of my life: I went to a seminar given by Bill Foley in which he described some of his adventures during field work in PNG. It sounded ... well ... tantalizing. And that seminar was directly responsible for my doing this thesis. Now, while I haven't followed in Bill's footsteps exactly, I've had a few adventures myself. So for the adventures, the memories, the other life, that this thesis has brought me, I want to thank Bill Foley. Bill has also been my supervisor, and I want to thank him, warmly and effusively, for his comments and discussions about my work throughout the writing period, as well as for his patience, his faith in me, his friendship and his support over the time it has taken to complete this work.

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<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>affix with causative function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFT</td>
<td>counterfactual marker mea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective prefix, referring to a group or member of a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer va (~ βa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.PTCL</td>
<td>discourse particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative preposition khö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>dynamic verb-forming prefix fa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN</td>
<td>dynamic verb-forming prefix m(aN)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXIST</td>
<td>existential verb so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAVE</td>
<td>verb forming prefix meaning 'have N'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative particle, da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTNS</td>
<td>intensifier sibai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>imperfective affix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNT</td>
<td>joint action prefix mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative preposition ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUT</td>
<td>mutated nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negator löna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG(N)</td>
<td>constituent negator (i.e. non-verbal constituents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.CFT</td>
<td>negative counterfactual böi 'lest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.EXIST</td>
<td>negative existential verb löna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.IMPER</td>
<td>negative imperative marker böi (~böli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect particle ma=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximate demonstrative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q  question particle *ha, hai*
Q.tag  question tag particle *a*
RDP1  initial syllable reduplication
RDP2  disyllabic reduplication
RECOG  recognitional deictic
REL  relative clause marker *si= (~ s=)*
RES  resultative prefix *te- / to-*
RLS  realis mode
s  singular
ST  stative
TR  transitivizing suffix

Letters which occur in brackets after some examples indicate that these examples are written ones. The letters refer to the source documents:

D  refers to the Nias-Indonesian dictionary, Laiya 1985
H  refers to collections of texts, Hämmerle, 1986, 1990
Z-L  refers to the Master of Arts dissertation by Sitasi Zagötö-Laiya 1975
Nias Selatan is the smallest of three varieties of the language of Nias, an Austronesian language (western Malayo-Polynesian) spoken by around 700,000 people on the island of Nias off the west coast of Sumatra in Indonesia. Nias Selatan differs from the other Nias varieties mainly in lexical items, in having a distinct irrealis mode and in certain aspects of pronominal marking on the verb. These differences are described in Chapter 1.

Typologically Nias can be characterised as V O S, prepositional and ergative. The Nias language has a number of features that are of interest to current linguistic theory and to Austronesian historical linguistics. These include phonetic details such as the existence of a bilabial trill, which is rare among languages of the world (see 2.2.1), as well as morphosyntactic ones such as an unusual case marking system which involves alternations in the initial segments of nominals ('mutation', see 3.2). The case system is also highly unusual in containing an overtly marked absolutive case and a formally unmarked ergative case, a very rare combination among the languages of the world (see Chapter 7).

Phonologically the language has twenty-two consonants and six vowels. Canonical syllable type is (C)V. Lexical roots are typically disyllabic and affixes are typically monosyllabic. Stress is canonically penultimate in content words and in phrases. Apart from the bilabial trill, Nias is also unusual phonetically in having labio-dental off-glides of (alveo-)dental stop consonants. Phonetics, phonology and intonation are discussed in Chapter 2.
Nias conforms to typical western Malayo-Polynesian languages in having a system of nasal assimilation in verbs, and in using reduplication to mark certain aspectual notions of the verb. These characteristics are described in Chapter 3. This chapter also describes the morphophonological aspects of nominal mutation (which involves variation in the initial segments of nominals).

Word classes are described in Chapter 4. Nias has only two open word classes: noun and verb. The language is typical of many Austronesian languages in having 'precategorial' (or 'bound' roots) which do not belong to a lexical word class until they have undergone derivation. These are part of the closed classes, which also include pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, numerals, prepositions, adverbs and particles. Derivation of nouns and verbs involves affixation. Chapters 5 and 6 describe verbal and nominal derivation respectively.

The case system is described in Chapter 7. Nias is morphologically ergative, i.e. the argument of most intransitive verbs and the patientive argument of transitive verbs are marked in the same way (mutated), while the agentive argument of transitive verbs is marked differently (unmutated). As mentioned above, however, the case system is unusual in having an unmarked ergative and a marked absolutive.

The structure of noun phrases is described in Chapter 8. Most modifiers of nouns follow the noun in a noun phrase. These include possessors, demonstratives, relative clauses and a small set of common nouns. Numerals, numeral+classifier combinations and quantifiers usually occur in relative clauses after the noun if the noun is definite, but when reference is indefinite they can precede the noun. In this latter case, they appear to form a phrase in which the head is the numeral or quantifier and the noun the argument.
The clause in Nias can be characterised as nominal or verbal. Nominal clauses contain an NP as predicate and are described in Chapter 9. Identificational questions typically take the form of nominal clauses.

Verbal clauses contain a complex predicate structure which is described in Chapter 10. The verb can be preceded by auxiliaries with functions including modality, negation and aspect, as well as an indication of the numbers of one of the participants involved in an event. Aspect is also realized by morphological modification of the verb, including reduplication.

Chapter 11 describes the basic syntax of verbal clauses and the range of non-basic case frames which can occur with simple verbs. Pronominal argument marking on verbs is split-ergative: realis clauses have ergative morphology (with pronominal marking on verbs only for the ergative), while irrealis clauses have accusative morphology (with pronominal marking on the verb for subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses). Non-basic case frames include transitive verbs with three arguments and intransitive verbs with two arguments.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Nias is the name of the language spoken by people of the island of Nias and of the group of islands called the Batu Islands south of Nias. Nias lies about 100 kilometres west of Northern Sumatra at about 1° north of the equator. These islands are part of the larger chain of islands which stretches along the west coast of Sumatra, known as the Barrier Islands. The other large islands in the Barrier chain are Simeulue to the north of Nias, and the Mentawai islands (Siberut, Sipora and the Pagai Islands) and Enggano to the south.

The precise linguistic affiliations of Nias are still a matter of debate. Nias is classified by Ethnologue (1992) as a Sundic language of the North Sumatran subgroup of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group of Austronesian languages. 'Sundic', however, is merely a convenient geographical grouping for languages whose linguistic affiliations are not known (Tryon 1995:21). Recent research by Nothofer (1986) has shown that the languages of the Barrier Islands and the Batak languages of Northern Sumatra share a number of phonetic, semantic and lexical innovations, which he claims provide evidence for a single genetic group. In later research Nothofer hypothesizes that in very early times the Barrier Islands used to form a 'Paleo-Hesperonesian' linguistic area with the Philippines, Sulawesi, Borneo, Java-Bali-Lombok, western Sumbawa and Sumatra (1994). He suggests that this area was at some later time occupied by another migration of Western Austronesian speakers, whose languages overlaid or supplanted the earlier one in most places, with the exception of the Barrier Islands, which consequently retain relics of the earlier Paleo-Hesperonesian language.

With respect to the languages geographically near Nias, it is clear that the language of Sichule, spoken on the island of Simeulue to the north, is closely related to Nias (see Kähler, 1955, 1963), but that Simeulue (also known as Simalur), the
other Western Malayo-Polynesian language spoken on the same island, is not (Kähler 1963). The Mentawai language to the south is claimed by Nothofer (1986) to be closely related to Nias, based on a comparison of word lists from these islands. However, no systematic comparison of the grammars of the two languages has yet been done to suggest how close this relationship is. Enggano, the language spoken on Enggano Island, about 400 km to the south of the other islands, was once considered to be a linguistic isolate (Capell 1982), but is now thought to be western Austronesian although still difficult to subgroup (Nothofer 1986,1994; see also Schmidt's comment in the introduction to Kähler 1987:III). Nias also shows lexical, morphological and syntactic similarities with both Toba and Karo, the two Batak dialects geographically closest to Nias on the Sumatran mainland, but further analysis would be required to assess how closely related these languages are.

1.2 Contact history

The Barrier Islands have been known to traders from the Persian Gulf since at least 851 AD, when the trader Suleiman described the island of Sumatra and made reference to the islands to its west, noting the largest to be one called 'Niyan' (Ferrand 1913-1914:36). Contact with Chinese traders is also recorded from before 1433 (Mills, Appendix 1 of Ma Huan 1970: 238-239, 281-282), but it was not until the 16th century that there is any record of contact with sailors from Europe (Marsden, 1811:9ff.). However, by 1669 Dutch officials had concluded agreements with a number of Nias chiefs from various parts of the island for use of land, presumably for cultivation of crops for export (Schröder 1917: 309ff). By 1756, the British had taken over Dutch interests in the island and set up a small trading post at Gunungsitoli, a harbour town in the northeast of the island which became the government and business centre of the island (Schröder 1917: 708). At that time a devastating slave trade was being carried on between some Nias chiefs and the Acehnese and Chinese in exchange for gold, and since the northern districts around Gunungsitoli considered themselves to be under the protection of the British East India Company they made
1. INTRODUCTION

regular appeals to the Resident in Nattal in Sumatra (one of the establishments of the British East India Company) for help to stop this trade. In 1820 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, an agent in the British East India Company based in Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, sent agents to explore the island and gather information about its resources. This trip resulted in a British settlement being established at Teluk Dalam in the south (Raffles 1830:487-489). His agents reported that, concerning the slave trade, as many as fifteen hundred slaves were being captured each year by Nias chiefs for the purposes of buying gold from the Acehnese and Chinese. Although Raffles made valiant attempts to stop the trade, he did not succeed, and Nias people claim that slave-trading continued until at least the end of the nineteenth century. In 1825 Britain was required to hand over its interests in Nias (and all of Sumatra) to the Dutch by treaty and Nias remained under Dutch control until World War II, when the Japanese occupied the island.

From about the middle of the 19th century Dutch officials of the East India Company in Nias requested that missionaries be sent to convert the populace. With the arrival of greater numbers of government officials as well as missionaries, interest in Nias and surrounding islands flourished and many articles of an anthropological nature were published in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Several missionaries also involved themselves in the language of Nias—notably the Dutch missionary E. W. Thomas, who published the first dictionary (in 1887) in association with J. W. Taylor Weber, a Dutch government official, and the German missionaries Heinrich Sundermann (who lived for nearly 40 years in the island), H. Lagermann, who collaborated with Sundermann in his major grammatical work (1913), and E. E. Fries.

1.3 Nias: the place, the people

Nias Island is approximately 4000 sq. km. in area, about 125 km. in length, and about 45 km. wide. The population of Nias and the Batu Islands was estimated at 628,489 in 1994 (Kabupaten Nias, 1996:45). The island is extremely hilly in most
areas and densely forested. Wherever land is available for cultivation, it is covered with plantations of coconut or banana trees, or fields of sweet potatoes, tapioca and rice. As mentioned above, there is only one substantial town in Nias, Gunungsitoli, which lies on a harbour on the north-east coast and is still the centre for government and business. About 30,000 people (about 5% of the population), made up of people from all areas of Nias, live in Gunungsitoli. Apart from these people and those who live in Teluk Dalam, a small harbour and market town in the south, most of the people of Nias are villagers, living agricultural lives. Around 90-95% of the population are Christian; the remainder constitute small groups of Nias people who have converted to Islam or who retain animist beliefs, and a few Chinese (Lase ms. 1988).

Until the beginning of the 20th century, all Nias people held animist beliefs and worshipped their ancestors. Carved wooden statues of deceased family members used to be placed on shelves in houses and were believed to hold the souls of these ancestors, and were regarded as having supernatural powers. Man-size megalithic sculptures of the original ancestors of Nias people are also found everywhere in Nias, and every village contains huge stone seats which are erected for the ancestors of village leaders to sit on when councils of law, or certain feasts, are held. In each village one of these stone seats is said to have the power to bring death to any person who sits on it. It is of interest to note, with respect to these stone figures and seats, that Nias is the only megalithic culture in Sumatra (Heine-Geldern 1972[1935], Mulia 1981). The uniqueness of this aspect of Nias culture is intriguing in light of the fact that the origins of the Nias people is still unknown. People still believe in supernatural powers in Nias today and some still fear the wrath of ancestors, but in general nowadays most Nias people also acknowledge the Christian God as omniscient and omnipotent.

Daily life in most villages remains much the same as it has been for centuries, or even millenia. For women it involves cooking, cleaning, washing, collecting food, tending the garden or rice fields and feeding the pigs. For men it involves hunting or fishing, or tending to coconut trees, fixing and making various tools or household
items. The staple diet of most people is rice, although sweet potatoes and tapioca are more common in many parts of the (poorer) interior. Rice has become part of the staple diet only in the last few centuries, and before that sweet potatoes were the staple food everywhere in Nias. Pigs used to be the most important measure of wealth and status in all areas of Nias until disease wiped out the entire pig population in 1997. Pigs were used for buying brides or for holding feasts in order to raise prestige. Now money or gold is substituted. Another indication of wealth and status, particularly in the south, is the number of coconut trees a person owns. Fishing is extremely important to all coastal villages, and fish (fresh or dried) is part of the diet of most people. Interestingly, however, Nias people are not sea-farers—there is no culture of sailing or boat-building, nor are there any myths relating to travels outside Nias as far as I am aware. Interesting also in the light of this is that despite this apparent lack of seafaring history, boats play a prominent role in the death of important people, for whom coffins are made in the shape of large canoes with brightly painted dragon heads on their bows.

Traditional houses in Nias are all built with the same basic functional design: there is always one large room in the front for daily life, for entertaining guests and is the place where the family sleeps at night, and one small room in the back where meals are taken and where newlyweds sleep, which is separated from the front room by a kitchen/hearth area, and in some houses, a privy. Along the inside wall of the front room in every house runs a bench where people can sit and look out of open louvred windows which stretch along the front of the house, and talk to people outside. Roofs are made of sago branches, and each roof has a flap above the front room which can be opened for circulation of air. Houses are built on stilts so that pigs and other animals can be kept beneath them. Despite a similarity in basic design, both houses and villages in the north and south are quite different in appearance. In the north, houses are oval-shaped ; in the south houses they are rectangular. In the north, villages consist of a groups of houses scattered over a very wide area; in the south houses are conjoined in two long parallel rows of houses, facing each other across a
paved area about 50 metres wide. Doors between houses allow access from one end of a row to the other, originally so that there was a corridor along which people were able to run in times of attack. The house of the village leader is often built on an imposing scale at one end of the two rows of houses or in the centre of one of them, overlooking the entire village. In the centre of Nias, houses are rectangular but are not always joined as they are in the south.

Villages in the south are often very large compared with the rest of Nias, with sometimes up to two thousand or more inhabitants. Each village is an autonomous entity with its own laws, and this, coupled with the sense of solidarity which was expected to be engendered by village leaders, has been responsible for considerable dialectal variation in the south. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the laws of a village were decided by a governing body consisting of the head of the village and his advisors. Some laws relating to marriage, injury or theft continued as they had been from time immemorial, but other laws or rules were devised specifically for a village, and sometimes according to the mere whim of a village leader. These could be as idiosyncratic as not being allowed to eat the fruit of the village leader's trees, or not asking a question of a nobleman. Penalties for transgression could range from fines, which were often so great that the family of the transgressor could be indebted to the family of the transgressed for generations and may even have had to offer themselves as slaves to acquit their debt, to death. Stories of village leaders who became rich through fining their subjects are still talked about with disgust today. Village law was absolute, but more importantly it was unwritten and therefore unknown to outsiders. An outsider would not dare to enter a village in which they did not have relatives for fear of transgressing a law of which they were unaware. It is because of these idiosyncratic, village-specific laws that intervillage communication was uncommon in the south of Nias, except for visits by village leaders and pre-arranged inter-village celebrations.

A village leader (si'ulu) used to be elected from the people. This position was hereditary but could be challenged and changed through warfare. The si'ulu selected a
council of up to ten advisors (si’ila, lit. ‘one who knows sth.’) from amongst the villagers, and usually from his own extended family, who could advise him of the goings-on in families, of marriage alliances, pregnancies, sicknesses, and in particular, any sudden wealth. Every village also had one knowledgable and powerful person (ere) whose position was also hereditary, who was the conduit for messages from gods and ancestors, who analysed dreams, divined causes of death and treated illnesses. Today, the government of Indonesia and local government officials have supreme power in all villages, police administer justice and it is the Christian Church which guides the people in their spiritual lives.

1.4 Dialects of Nias

There are three major speech varieties in Nias, a northern, a central and a southern variety. The variety spoken in the north has the largest number of speakers, the one spoken in the south, which includes the Batu Islands, has the fewest. Most of the linguistic studies of Nias which have been done so far have concentrated on the northern variety. In fact, as mentioned above, the south of Nias contains much dialectal variation, although the variations appear to be confined to lexical differences and differences in pronunciation and intonation. Lexical and pronunciation differences between northern and southern varieties are more marked, and grammatical differences are also evident, although not to an extent which make understanding impossible (see below for examples of differences between these two varieties). The central variety of Nias has not been studied to any extent linguistically, although from the texts which are available, differences between it and the other two appear to be mainly lexical. Based on wordlists of 200 lexical items collected by German missionaries in six areas of Nias, Nottoher (1986:95) establishes the cognate percentage between dialects in Nias at about 80%. Apart from these six wordlists and two collected for a Dutch Government survey of the languages of Indonesia around the end of the nineteenth century (the Holle lists of 1904 and 1911 published as Stokhof 1980a, 1980b), there have been no systematic dialect surveys in Nias.
The northern dialect has become the main (and prestige) variety in Nias. The reason is possibly very simple: Gunungsitoli, the capital of Nias, was the place where foreigners alighted from ships and where business and government offices were established. There were no roads in Nias until very recently and it was not easy to travel to much of the rest of the island. Consequently, the inhabitants of the area around the capital, Gunungsitoli, were the first to be studied extensively by those interested in anthropology and sociology; the dialect spoken in that area was the first to have a dictionary compiled of it (Thomas and Taylor Weber 1887) and the one of which a grammar was written (Sundermann 1913). Most importantly it was the one into which the Bible was translated (Sundermann 1911, 1921). With the spread of Christianity in the island, often the Bible (specifically the New Testament), was the only book kept in a village house, and it was, and still is, frequently read by older people. The northern dialect is therefore the only dialect which can be read by literate Nias people, including the people in the south for whom many lexical items and some grammatical constructions they would find in the Bible would not be native. The attention which has been given to the northern dialect attributes to it a sense of specialness which Nias people view as not belonging to the other varieties.

The dialect described in this thesis is a southern variety, specifically from the village of Botohilitanö in the southwest tip of the island. I have used the term 'Nias Selatan' (which means 'south Nias' in Indonesian) to refer to the language I describe, but Nias people in the south themselves refer to the way they say things according to the village from which they come (e.g. li Mbotohilitanö 'language / speech / voice of Botohilitanö'). When speaking in Indonesian people refer to speech of a particular area by a more general place name, such as Bahasa Teluk Dalam ('the language of Teluk Dalam') for the speech of many districts around the southern market town, or Bahasa Batu if referring specifically to the speech of people from the Batu Islands. In this thesis I use the name 'Nias' when I discuss a feature which I believe occurs in all dialects even if the form has variant pronounciations, but where I am aware of
1. INTRODUCTION

important dialectal differences, I specify the dialect as Nias Selatan or Nias Utara (i.e. 'north Nias' in Indonesian).

1.4.1 Dialectal differences

As mentioned above, the main differences between the dialects is lexical. Just to give an example, some of these differences are listed below. They include a number of basic nouns and verbs and core grammatical items such as demonstratives and aspect markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nias Selatan</th>
<th>Nias Utara</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekhula</td>
<td>banio</td>
<td>'coconut'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifö</td>
<td>ngingi</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiso</td>
<td>talinga</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bale</td>
<td>osali</td>
<td>'meeting/council house'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oturagö</td>
<td>ombakha'ö</td>
<td>'tell'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moroi</td>
<td>i-otarai</td>
<td>'come from'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindro</td>
<td>zizio</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inu</td>
<td>badu</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>'perfect aspect'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aßai</td>
<td>moa</td>
<td>'finished, ready'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstratives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'a</td>
<td>da'a</td>
<td>'this'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hö'ö</td>
<td>da'ö</td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ande</td>
<td>andö</td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maná¹</td>
<td>iada'e</td>
<td>'now'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ba da'a</td>
<td>'here'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gane</td>
<td>ba da'ö</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>question words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanata / hata</td>
<td>ha niha /hata</td>
<td>'who'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haiya</td>
<td>hadia</td>
<td>'what'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haega 'where'²</td>
<td>heza 'where to/from'; hezo 'where at'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹ I have used a grave accent here to indicate lexical stress (on the final syllable) to distinguish this lexical item from the verb mana 'eat' which takes canonical word stress, which is penultimate. See 2.8 for other items in which stress is lexical and falls on the final syllable.

² The difference between 'to/from' and 'at' is not made explicit in Nias Selatan but is understood from other lexical items in an utterance, e.g. haega gö-möi 'where are you going?' [where 2sg.IRR-go]; haega moroi ndaugö 'where have you come from?' [where come.from 2sg.ABS]; haega toroi ndaugö 'where are you staying?' [where live/stay 2sg.ABS].
1. INTRODUCTION

There are two significant differences in pronunciation between northern and southern varieties which are comment-worthy. The first, and most important one, involves the presence versus absence of a velar nasal in the dialects: the phonemic inventory of northern and central dialects has a velar nasal, that of the southern dialects does not. It is this pronunciation difference which has been used by most writers on Nias, as well as by Nias people themselves, to distinguish the southern dialect from the rest. Where northern and central dialects have /ŋ/, southern dialects use /n/, e.g. northern and central speakers say tenga for 'No, not x' while southerners say tena or te'ana; north and central nganga 'chew betel' is pronounced nana in the south.

The second difference involves the presence or absence of an alveopalatal affricate in the consonant inventory: southerners have this sound, northerners do not (and apparently some central varieties also have this sound). Words beginning with /t/ or /s/ in the north have corresponding forms pronounced with the affricate [θ] in the south, e.g. tibo 'throw away' in the north is cibo (θibɔ) in the south, söfösöfö 'grass used for ointment for pimples' is cöföcöfö (θ̊f̊ɔf̊ɔf̊ɔf̊) in the south. The grapheme 'z' represents a sound which is pronounced as an alveolar affricate, [dz], in the north, but an alveopalatal affricate, [dʒ], in the south.

The morphosyntactic differences between north and south Nias overall are not great. There are, however, two significant ways in which they differ. The first is that the southern variety exhibits a morphologically distinct irrealis mode and future tense which is not present in the northern variety. Irrealis mode and future notions are expressed in the south by a special set of prefixes on the verb, in association with distinct forms of the verb. In the north, irrealis and future meanings are expressed by adverbs or by using different verbs. A sentence in Nias Selatan (south Nias) such as gu-m-ohe, [1s.IRR-IPF-carry] 'I will/might bring (it)', which consists of a verb in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subordinators</th>
<th>mea</th>
<th>ena'ö</th>
<th>'so that'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gasagasa</td>
<td>fatua</td>
<td></td>
<td>'while'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
imperfective mode (*m-ohe*) with an irrealis pronominal prefix, *gu-*., must be rendered in the north as *u-ohe dania* [1s-bring later], consisting of a simple realis form of the verb (*ohe*) and a realis prefix, *u-*., followed by the adverb *dania* 'later'. The sentence *gu-möi ba fasa* [1s.IRR-go LOC market] which means 'I want to / might / will go to market' in Nias Selatan, must be rendered as *möi-do ba fasa dania* [go-1sg.ABS to market later], lit. 'I am going to market later', in Nias Utara.

The second morphosyntactic difference involves a set of pronominal suffixes which are present in the northern variety but absent in the south. In the northern dialect first and second person singular and first person exclusive plural absolutive\(^{3}\) arguments may be expressed by suffixes on the verb, while in the south these forms can only be expressed by independent pronouns. Examples of these are given in (1)-(3). The suffixed pronouns of the northern variety and the full forms corresponding to them in the south are given in bold:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nias Utara</th>
<th>Nias Selatan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Ata’u-<em>do</em> v-ofanö.</td>
<td>Ata’u <em>ndrao</em> v-ofanö.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be.afraid-1s.ABS NR-leave</td>
<td>be.afraid 1s.ABS NR-leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I'm frightened of leaving.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) Hanawa lö *möi-*ö?</th>
<th>Havalöna *möi ndaugö?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>why NEG go-2s.ABS</td>
<td>why NEG go 2s.ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Why didn't you go?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3) No so-<em>ga.</em> baomo</th>
<th>Ma=so <em>ndraga</em> baomo.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERF EXIST-1pe.ABS at.home</td>
<td>PERF=EXIST 1pe.ABS at.home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'We were at home.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{3}\) I use the term 'absolutive' to indicate that the single argument of an intransitive verb and the more patientive argument of a transitive verb are marked in the same way, and differently from the agentive argument of the transitive verb.
The pronouns of the southern dialect are completely independent of the verb and can be separated from it by adverbials. For example, the locative form *baomo* 'at home' in (3) above can occur between the verb and the pronoun, e.g. *ma so baomo ndraga* 'we were at home'. In the northern dialect nothing can intervene between the verb and the suffix.

1.5 The role of Indonesian in community life

Nias is still a strong language in all areas of the island. It is the language spoken at home, in the market, in village churches, and at all social gatherings unless there are foreigners present. Indonesian, however, is the language of power, of education and bureaucracy, and it is often used by more educated parents to their children in the hope that it will increase their chances of doing well at school. Almost every village has a primary school, and attendance of all children is mandatory. Since all schools in Indonesia teach classes only in Indonesian, the learning of Indonesian is inevitable. The Nias language is not taught as part of the curriculum. However, until very recently, in many villages in the south and centre and the more remote parts of the north, many children did not attend school regularly because their services were required in the fields and at home. It has also been common so far for children not to attend school beyond primary level. Many adults in these areas today are not literate in Indonesian and may not even have good oral competence, and are almost certainly illiterate in Nias as well. There are very few outsiders who bother to learn Nias, and those who do so are usually connected with the Church.

1.6 Previous linguistic studies

As mentioned above, the first dictionary of Nias, with corresponding words given in Malay and Dutch, was compiled by J. W. Thomas and E. A. Taylor Weber and published in 1887. Apart from this work and the collections of words which were made for the Dutch Goverment survey of Indonesian languages in 1904 and 1911 mentioned above, the main study of the Nias language up until 1913 was conducted.
by just one scholar, the German missionary Heinrich Sundermann. His first linguistic publication in 1883 was a brief sketch of some of the morphology of Nias and his last, in 1913, was a comprehensive grammar. In the intervening period he published a German-Nias dictionary (1892a), a Nias-German dictionary (1905a) and a translation of both Old and New Testaments (1911). In addition to these major works, he published collections of texts with translations or glossaries and brief grammatical sketches (1892b, 1905b), collections of stories (1886, 1887a, 1891b, 1892c, 1918/1990), and several anthropologically-oriented articles (1884, 1887b, 1888, 1889, 1891, 1898).

Sundermann's Nias-German dictionary is much more comprehensive than Thomas and Taylor Weber's, although it lacks some of the useful collocations which the latter dictionary contains. Sundermann's grammar of 1913 is based on the northern dialect but also incorporates comments from the missionaries H. Lagemann and W. Frickenschmidt on the southern dialect. Sundermann's grammar presents most of the data in forms of paradigms, lists and phrasal examples and unfortunately gives very few examples in sentence form. However, a learner's grammar, prepared by the missionary E. E. Fries (1915), which is based on Sundermann's grammar makes up for this by providing many examples in sentence form. This work, which resembles a Latin primer, is a very accessible grammar for the learner, containing a vocabulary with each lesson, paradigms of grammatical forms, rules and translation exercises.

The most important work to be published on Nias since Sundermann's work is a series of three articles by Hans Kähler (1936-7) which examine the phonology and morphology of Nias in the light of the then newly available Proto-Austronesian reconstructions by Dempwolff (1934). Kähler's access to Dempwolff's reconstructions gave him insights into the diachronic development of Nias which previous scholars could not have had, which offered historical solutions to many puzzles which had taxed Sundermann and Fries. For example Kähler suggests the probable origin of the most interesting aspect of Nias grammar—changes in the initial
segments of nouns which mark grammatical relations ('nominal mutation', see Chapter 7 for full discussion)—proposing that mutation of genitive forms of nouns derives from PAn genitive marker *ni, (p.126)⁴, and that mutations in other contexts derived from PAn *na (p 262) ⁵. Kähler was also able to show evidence from reconstructed forms for relationships between morphemes which Sundermann had listed without suggestion of a relationship (such as the nominalizing suffixes -a, -wa, -ta, -la and -na, (pp.121-122) whose semantic and morphological similarities are so close as to warrant the claim of derivation from a single original base form), and he frequently notes potential relationships between other morphemes which were overlooked or not stated by Sundermann (such as the similarities between the prefix mu-, the infix -um- and the prefix m- (p212)). Kähler's analyses are also frequently supported by comments about similarities in morphi-syntact between Nias and other Austronesian languages (such as the similarity between the function of nominal mutation in Nias and that of the Samoan absolutive NP marker 'o (p262)).

A work of comparative philology which provides fascinating lexical data is that of Lafeber's Vergelijkende klankleer van het Niasisch ('Comparative Phonology of Nias') published in 1922. Lafeber's work is a collection of Nias words compared with words in those languages which might be thought to have introduced them to Nias—Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, and other Indonesian languages. Many of his proposed borrowings are no doubt correct in origin, such as the months of the year from Dutch (januari, februari, maret) etc.) and perhaps the days of the week from Arabic (sinaya 'Monday', salasa 'Tuesday',

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⁴ Kähler of course referred to 'UAN', Dempwolff's abbreviation of Ur-Austronesisch, the German term which is translated as 'Proto-Austronesian'.

⁵ Although the origin of the genitive form from PAn *ni (or PMP *nu) is almost certainly correct, the origins of mutation in other contexts, in fact, cannot be right on the basis of the evidence he cites, although mutation almost certainly derives from a form homophonous with the one proposed by Kähler. Kähler proposes the particle na as the origin of nominal mutation, giving sentences such as lôna na tanô tanari which he translates as 'there was no land', or lôna na niha baewawô danô 'there were no people on the face of the earth'. In fact the na in these sentences is the aspectual particle meaning 'yet, still', and the sentences are mistranslated. The proper translations should be 'there was not yet any land', 'there were not yet any people ...'. Despite the erroneous data used in support of the claim, it seems very likely that a particle na was the original form of mutation. Constructions which are better candidates for showing this are discussed in 3.2.3.
rabu 'Wednesday', kami 'Thursday', zumaha 'Friday', satu 'Saturday'), although it is possible, of course, that these may have been borrowed indirectly through other Indonesian traders who had had contact with Arabs or Dutch, such as the Acehnese. The data compiled by Lafeber invites rigorous comparative analysis.

Two more recent major works are written in Indonesian: a grammar and a Nias-Indonesian dictionary. The grammar, *Struktur Bahasa Nias* (Halawa et al. 1983), is arranged such that each morpheme is listed, followed by its form, distribution, function and meaning, and exemplification in sentences. The style is unusual, listing all affixes together regardless of their function. For example, all prefixes are listed together in one section, with pronominal prefixes mixed up with derivational and aspectual prefixes. The linguistic sections of the grammar have been subject to very poor type-setting—there are innumerable errors throughout the text in every area of the analysis, including incorrect assignment of glosses to morphemes and incorrect translations of examples, as well as a very great number of typographical errors, making the text very unreliable. The work does, however, provide a very good overview of ethnography, demography and the sociolinguistic situation in Nias. The Nias-Indonesian dictionary (Laiya, 1985) has been compiled by a native speaker and lists words from both north and south Nias, but since the dictionary was written primarily for Nias speakers, who might be expected to know where a word was spoken, it does not identify whether a word is from the north or the south. However, the dictionary is extremely useful because it gives example sentences for many words, although the examples are all written in the northern dialect even when a word comes from the south. Poor type-setting prevails also with this work, such that spelling of either entry or example cannot be relied on, and entries need to be checked (for example against Sundermann's dictionary).

Apart from these major works there has been relatively little linguistic study of Nias since Kähler's articles in 1936-7. Two articles by Gertrud Pätsch (a student of Kähler's) examine the pronominal and verbal morphology of Nias and clarify the ergative morphology of verbal person-marking in the northern dialect (Pätsch 1964a,
b). Another article by Pätsch (1978) examines historical evidence for Nias as part of the Austronesian family. A brief phonetic study of the northern dialect is reported in Catford 1988, which includes an examination of Nias vowel frequencies and charts of vowel formants, and a discussion of trilled segments. The position of Nias and other Barrier island languages within the Austronesian family is examined by Nothofer (1986), who provides evidence from phonetic, semantic and lexical innovations to claim that the Barrier Island and Batak languages of Northern Sumatra form a subgroup. Nothofer 1994 proposes a hypothesis that the Barrier islands contain relic forms from Proto-Paleo-Hesperonesian languages, a subgroup of western Austronesian speakers which spread across Sumatra and settled the Barrier Islands, and which, he claims, were not completely replaced by later Western Austronesian invaders (a view which opposes Mahdi 1988, who interprets the data as evidence that the Barrier Islands were originally populated with people speaking languages cognate with those spoken in the Philippines, Palau, Chamorro and Sulawesi).

There is a huge body of texts available in the Nias language, mostly collected from various parts of Nias by the anthropologist W. Steinhart. Steinhart's texts are provided with translations and extensive commentary in Dutch (1934, 1937, 1950-51, 1954). One of Steinhart's texts from the Batu Islands is also available with an English translation (Steinhart and Maier 1990). All of the texts collected by Steinhart are oratorical in style—stories that were told and sung at feasts—and occur in the form of semantically parallel couplets. Until recently, the only non-poetic collections of texts available (which have translations in German) were those in Sundermann 1886, 1887a, 1892b, 1892c and 1905b. Over the last decade or so, however, Father Johannes Hämmerle, a Catholic missionary who has lived in Nias for over 25 years,

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6 If non-linguistic evidence for the origins of Nias people is taken into account it might provide even more interesting hypotheses to test. The uniqueness of Nias's megalithic culture was mentioned above. Other aspects include the unusual and imposing village architecture of Nias, anthropological aspects such as bride-prices and the importance of pigs and the fact that, phenotypically, Nias people resemble people from northern Laos, Vietnam and Thailand rather than the Malay type which populate much of the Indonesian archipelago.
has published several collections of non-poetical texts of various sorts from people from all over Nias (1986, 1990, 1995).

An immense corpus of anthropological studies also exists for Nias, dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. Surveys of anthropological and related works can be found in Voorhoeve 1955, Suzuki 1958, Kennedy 1962, Feldman 1984[1977] and Roth 1985. More recently an extensive and detailed anthropological study of daily life and ritual in a traditional village in Central Nias is given in Beatty 1992, where more recent references may be found.

1.7 Fieldwork for this study
I spent approximately seven months in Nias in 1993-4 and three months in 1996. In my first trip I spent the first two months in the north of the island and the last five in the south. My main data collection came from the time I spent in the south. During this period I stayed at Sorake, a coral bay fishing area belonging to the small village of Botohilitanö, which lies on a hill behind Sorake. Botohilitanö is a new village, perhaps only about 150 years old, established by people who had fled the nearby village of Mainamölö after it had been razed out of revenge following a murder. Sorake (lit. 'there is coral') lies on the western shore of a bay known as Lagundri (originally known as luaha gunde, 'estuary of the Gunde river', and also spelt Lagundi). Lagundri used to be one of two excellent harbours in the south until 1856 when a tidal wave wiped out the Dutch trading post established there. The small group of houses in the village of Lagundri is now one of the few small Muslim communities in Nias. Both Sorake and Lagundri are considered by many people in nearby villages to be o-halama (lit. 'HAVE-halama'). A halama is a house built outside a village by people who either want to live closer to their fields or who don't like the village leader, or who wish to escape justice for a misdeed. The term ohalama carries connotations of being outside the law, a place where crime can be committed without too much fear of retribution. The villagers in Sorake and Lagundri, nevertheless, do not view themselves in this way.
In Sorake I stayed in a losmen — a family house with extra rooms for paying guests — with a large extended family. For much of the time I was the only guest. The losmen was often visited by other members of the family from nearby villages as well as from the harbour town of Teluk Dalam about 25 km east, and from Tello Island, one of the Batu group, south of Nias. All members of the family spoke Nias Selatan at home and with other members of the community, but it was normal for Indonesian to be spoken with any guests from other parts of Indonesia or overseas, including with me.

Most of the time during my first stay was spent with one person, Ama Gumi, who was able and willing to spare the time. Ama Gumi was then (in 1993) around the age of 50. He comes from Botohilitanö where he grew up, and is one of the first people to have built a permanent dwelling in Sorake. He attended school to the age of fifteen, when his father died, and when he had to remain at home to help his family in the fields. Every day I was able to go to Ama Gumi for periods of two to three hours, where I could ask questions (in Indonesian), record texts, and elicit data. He was often visited by neighbours and family from Botohili who came to ask him for details and stories about their family. He told me (and anyone who happened to be present) stories about ancestors, about events and people in neighbouring villages and about procedural details of daily life in the village and events such as house-building and coconut agriculture. I spent afternoons going through data collected in the mornings and analysing it, preparing questions to check the next day. His stories are not the only data relied on, but most of the examples in this thesis come from texts recorded by Ama Gumi because his texts make up the bulk of the texts I collected.

I spent a total of about three months in Medan, in northern Sumatra, during my first trip, where I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of an English-speaking pastor from the Nias church, Reverend Lase, who helped me with translations and corrections of texts. Rev. Lase was born in the south of Nias and had lived in Medan for many years looking after a small flock of ex-patriate Nias people. Before I had collected any texts from Nias, I had worked with Rev. Lase translating texts from
Father Hämmerle's 1986 and 1990 collections. After I had collected my own texts, Rev. Lase helped me again to translate these and providing invaluable cultural knowledge and explanations of many linguistic idiosyncrasies.

In my second trip to Nias in 1996, my consultant was the primary school teacher from Botohilitanö, a man of about 35 years who had attended primary school in Botohilitanö, but had completed high school and a teaching diploma in Gunungsitoli. We worked together for three hours almost every morning for the two months he was available, during which time I checked and elicited examples from him, and attempted a systematic check of grammatical data. Despite having lived in Botohilitanö during his early years and for the 15 years prior to 1996, unfortunately his speech and judgements often showed influence from northern Nias. During this stay, however, I was also able to collect several more texts, translations of which I subsequently checked with Sitasi Laiya, the compiler of the Nias-Indonesian dictionary.

1.8 Data base for this study

My analysis is based on primary data from oral texts collected predominantly from one speaker (Ama Gumi) who, as mentioned above, had spent his (approximately) 50 years in one village in the south of Nias, and who is regarded as a superlative storyteller. I have also used texts that Ama Gumi had written down, and which he read out to me for recording. Other oral data used in my analysis include texts recorded from five people in the family with whom I lived in the south, all of whom come from the same village as my primary speaker, and one non-family member who was the village healer in that village (Botohili). A text recorded from a very old speaker from another village about 30 km from my field site was made available to me by Sitasi Laiya, from her 1975 dissertation on the phonetics and phonology of Nias Selatan. It is translated into English and the text is transcribed in narrow phonetic script and marked with stress.
All of the oral texts were analysed into pause boundaries, and then into clauses within these if clause and pause boundaries did not coincide. Many texts were marked for stress and some were marked for intonation as well. In total there are approximately 3300 clauses in the primary data on which I have relied for examples. Before I had collected any of my own texts, I had already completed a morphological analysis of Steinhart's (oratorical) text XVII from the Batu Islands, consisting of 1328 lines (664 doublets), which I subsequently used as a check against my own findings. I have also used morphological analysis of 877 lines from Hämmerle's (1986) and (1990) collections of texts from South Nias, constituting approximately 1170 clauses, which has also served as a check on the analysis of my own texts. These data have not always been sufficient for constructions which occur infrequently, so elicited data has also been called upon for evidence, as well as examples noted from conversations held with me or in my presence. I have tried to present oral text examples in the thesis in preference to elicited or written examples where possible.

Because of my limited knowledge of German, I have had to have the basic linguistic works on Nias translated. The works for which I have relied on translations are the following: Sundermann's grammatical works (1905b and 1913), Fries' grammar (1915), Kähler's Untersuchen über die Laut-, Wort- und Satzlehre des Nias (1936-7) and Pätsch's two 1964 articles.

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7 Written examples are marked in the text with letters indicating their source. Those which are marked with (D) are from the Laiya dictionary (and have been checked for spelling); those marked with (Z-L) are from the text analysed by Sitasi Zagötö-Laiya for her 1975 dissertation or are example sentences given by her in that dissertation; those marked with (H) are from stories published by Father Johannes Hämmerle (1986 and 1990).
CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY

This chapter provides a description of the phonetics and phonology of Nias Selatan. Section 1 presents consonant phonemes, a discussion of unexpected or unusual pronunciations and minimal or near-minimal pairs which establish phonemic status of consonants; section 2 presents vowel phonemes and minimal pairs; section 3 describes syllable structure, word structure, including a definition of phonological word, and stress; section 4 illustrates the interaction between stress and intonation.

SECTION 1 CONSONANTS

2.1 Inventory of consonant phonemes

Nias Selatan has 22 consonant phonemes. There are six plain stops at four places of articulation, one stop with a trilled release, five fricatives at four places of articulation, two affricates which contrast in voicing, two trills, two nasals, one lateral and three approximants. The consonant phonemes are listed in Table 1. Symbols in brackets following these contain the IPA representations of the phonemes if they differ from the grapheme.
2. PHONOLOGY

Table 1: consonant phonemes of Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>(dento-)alveolar</th>
<th>(alveo-)palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labio-velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>' [ʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trilled release</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndr [dr]</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>kh [x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td>[ʣ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mb [B]</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>β [ʊ]</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phoneme chart for northern Nias has one additional phoneme, a velar nasal, /ŋ/, and lacks the affricate /c/ ([ʃ]). In addition the affricate /z/ ([ʣ]) is pronounced as an alveolar affricate, [dz] in northern Nias.

2.2 Phonetic description of unusual consonants

Although there is a great deal of dialectal variation in pronunciation in the south of Nias, in general phonemes and phones have a one-to-one relationship, as described in the Table 1. Some segments, however, warrant comment about their pronunciation because they are phonetically abnormal or unusual in some way. The consonants described in this section are the following:

- the bilabial stop /b/
- the bilabial trill /mb/ ([B])
- the labiodental approximant /β/ ([ʊ])
- (dento-)alveolar sounds in general and the stops /t/ and /d/ in particular
the stop with trilled release /ndr/ ([d̪r])
the affricates /c/ ([tʃ]) and /z/ ([ðʃ])
the palatal approximant /y/ ([j]).

Note that throughout this study, the accent mark [ʼ] placed over a vowel will be used to indicate primary stress, since the apostrophe mark [ʼ] has been co-opted for the glottal stop. However, the vowel /ö/ is difficult to mark in this way because of the umlaut character it carries. Syllables with primary stress containing this vowel will be marked with [ʼ] before the initial consonant of the stressed syllable, e.g. böö will be written as [ʼböö], or in IPA script, [ʼb̪ö̆].

2.2.1 Labial sounds

/b/ The bilabial stop /b/ does not participate in a voicing contrast. It is, however, voiced in all contexts.

/mb/ bilabial trill [b]

The bilabial trill is produced by releasing air which has built up in the mouth behind a bilabial closure through relaxed lips such that they 'flap' slightly. Although the grapheme assigned to this phoneme suggests that it is nasalized, it is rarely the case in Nias Selatan that nasalization occurs. Occasionally in deliberate slow speech, such as one occasionally uses to children (or a fieldworker learning the language), prenasalization can be present in intervocalic contexts, however such nasalization is not normal, and in initial position, never occurs. The lack of mutation in this segment is unusual. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 130) note that almost universally, if bilabial trills occur in a language, they are prenasalized. However in Nias Selatan, there is a general reluctance to pronounce nasalization in consonant clusters in intervocalic position, as can be seen in words borrowed from Indonesian which contain nasal stop/affricate clusters, e.g. Indonesian janji 'promise' is

1 Historically PAN/PMP/PHF *p has become /b/ everywhere in Nias.
pronounced *zazi* ([dʒáfi]) in Nias, Indonesian *tinju 'hit' is Nias *tezu* ([tɛdɭu]), Indon *tentu 'surely' is Nias *tatu* [tátu], Indonesian *belanja 'shopping' is Nias *balazo* ([baláfo]), a person's name, *Inti*, is pronounced 'Iti' ([ʔíti]). The presence of the nasal in the grapheme for the bilabial trill (and the stop with trilled release, which is also represented with a nasal stop grapheme) is due to the fact that the dialect for which the orthography was first developed was the northern one, where nasalization is more frequent in these consonants. Historically there is good evidence that nasalized consonants occurred (see below). However, in Nias Selatan, there is no phonetic remnant of the nasal segment. In some speakers, this segment is even pronounced as a bilabial fricative rather than as a trill.

The bilabial trill is an uncommon sound in the languages of the world, found principally in only two language areas: in some Bantoid languages spoken in the Grassfields area of Cameroun in West Africa and in Austronesian (Maddieson 1989:91). Within Austronesian languages, however, this sound is not quite so unusual. Maddieson (ibid.) notes that it occurs in about eleven Oceanic languages spoken in the Manus Province of Papua New Guinea, in at least three on Malekula Island in Vanuatu, and apart from Nias, in the Western Malayo-Polynesian group in the Muna language spoken on Muna Island in South-East Sulawesi.

### 2.2.1.1 Origins of the bilabial trill in Nias

There has been some speculation as to the development of the bilabial trill in Nias. According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:130), bilabial trills in almost all other languages in the world have developed from increased labiality formed from anticipatory articulation of the vowel /u/ following a prenasalized stop. But in Nias,
the bilabial trill can be followed by any vowel. A list of words containing this sound exemplifies this:

(1) **vowels occurring after bilabial trill**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>simbi</td>
<td>[síbi]</td>
<td>'lower jaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>lembe</td>
<td>[lébe]</td>
<td>'stick together, glue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>tumbu</td>
<td>[túbu]</td>
<td>'born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>simbo</td>
<td>[síbo]</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö</td>
<td>ambö</td>
<td>[ʔábv]</td>
<td>'less'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>mbambatö</td>
<td>[baBátv]</td>
<td>'in-laws'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also that the vowel preceding the bilabial trill is unrestricted as well. If it is labiality which is responsible for the trilled part of a prenasalized bilabial trill in other languages it must be something else which is responsible for the development of this sound in Nias. Synchronically, the following vowel clearly has no influence on the articulation of the trill.

Catford (1988:154) explains the development of the bilabial trill in Nias as arising from a pressure buildup in the mouth being released through delayed and incomplete articulatory closure after the soft palate had been raised for the cessation of nasalization in anticipation of the bilabial closure, based on the belief that bilabial trills (and the dento-alveolar stops with trilled release) are reflexes of proto-Austronesian nasal-stop clusters. He notes (ibid.) that the bilabial closure in a nasal-stop cluster need not be tight because air is flowing out through the nose, and consequently, the lips do not have to withstand any appreciable pressure. Therefore, unless the lips are immediately tightened on release of the build-up of air-pressure, they 'will be set "flapping in the breeze"' (ibid.). Maddieson (1989:112) disputes Catford's articulatory scenario, arguing that one of the factors required for the production of a bilabial trill is lip tension attributable to a vowel for which 'the target labial aperture is relatively small' (such as /u/). However, for Nias, given that the

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4 The bilabial trill in Rawo also occurs in front of a range of vowels.

5 *Mbambatö* may refer to one's spouse's parents or to one's child's spouse's parents.
bilabial trill has developed in front of any vowel, it is difficult to accept Maddieson's claim that the lip tension must be due to the small aperture required for the following vowel. It seems indisputable that nasalization is in some way responsible for the development of a bilabial trill since it is this which is a constant feature (also in the data provided by Maddieson 1989 for other languages), and not just high back rounded vowels. On the other hand, however, given the lack of nasalization in bilabial trills in present day Nias, it is perhaps difficult, at a synchronic level, to substantiate Catford's argument for the production of the sound from a pressure build-up behind a closure of the nasal flap.

Despite this lack of nasalization in present day Nias, Catford's proposed articulatory scenario is almost certain to be correct. Bilabial trills in Nias derive from several separate sources, depending on their position in the word, but all appear to involve nasalization. In initial position, /mb/ only occurs in nouns beginning with /b/ in certain case forms, nouns derived by reduplication and in irrealis forms of verbs begining with /b/ and /ß/. The case forms in which nouns occur with initial /mb/ are those involving mutation⁶, which is historically the result of fusion of an initial segment with a preceding nasal morpheme (see 3.2). Reduplication is frequently associated with increased voicing or sonority of stem consonants (see 3.5). In verbs in irrealis mode, /mb/ results from a fusion of initial /b/ with the infix /um/ which occurs on most other verbs (see 3.4). In intervocalic position, the bilabial trill probably derives from nasal-stop clusters as Catford proposes, cf., e.g., Nias *tumbu 'grow; born' ([túbu]), which is cognate with many Austronesian languages in which there is a word with similar meaning and form, which motivate the reconstruction of the PAn form *Cu(m)buq 'grow, sprout'⁷. Thus

---

⁶ Mutation refers to a system of morphophonological changes which may occur in the initial segment of a nominal form, which function as case in Nias (see 3.2).

⁷ Adelaar 1992 argues that this reconstruction contains an infix: *C-um-ubuq.

Historically one source of bilabial trills in Nias may also be Western Malayo-Polynesian nasal clusters formed at morphological boundaries, if Nias Selatan *mbuna.mbuna 'rain drops' is related to the reconstructed PHN form *am+bun 'drizzle' ('PHN' is Zorc's 1994 Proto-Hesperonesian, equivalent to Proto Western MP). However, other nasal clusters reconstructed for PMP are reflected as stops or approximants in Nias, e.g. PMP *qu(m)bi > goßi 'yam'; PMP *anduN 'ancestors' > Nias adu 'carving of ancestors'; PMP *maNkuk > Nias mago 'cup, bowl'.
the development of the bilabial trill seems almost certain to be the result of anticipatory nasal flap closure and associated increase in oral pressure released through lax lips. The loss of nasalization from the segment over time perhaps need not have caused the loss of the articulatory posture which gave rise to the trill, although it is interesting to note in this regard that the not uncommon pronunciation of the trill as a bilabial fricative suggests that the articulatory posture adopted for the trill may indeed also be in the process of being redefined.

/ß/ labio-dental approximant [β]

The description of this segment as labio-dental in this thesis differs from previous descriptions. Both Catford (1988) and Laiya (1975), for example, describe the segment which occurs in the dialects which they studied as a bilabial fricative rather than an approximant. Other writers, such as Sundermann and Halawa et al., do not distinguish this sound from the labio-dental fricative, /v/. All of the speakers of the dialects of Nias Selatan in which the data for this thesis was collected, however, pronounce this consonant as a labio-dental approximant, with the lower lip merely approaching the upper teeth, not, as would be the case for a fricative pronunciation, almost forming a closure with them. In words in which the approximant occurs, there is, in fact, free variation for some speakers between the approximant pronunciation and the fricative. In words in which only the fricative pronunciation is possible (see discussion of /v/ below), however, it is impossible to substitute the approximant.

Works written in or about Nias have only ever used one symbol for both /v/ and /β/, the grapheme 'w' (phonetically [v] in German). Laiya 1975 distinguishes the two phonemes in her analysis, but retains the spelling convention of using 'w' for both. I have used the grapheme 'b' for the labio-dental approximant and 'v' for the fricative. Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of these segments and a discussion of the difficulties surrounding this are given in 2.3 and 2.4 below.
2.2.2 (Dento-)alveolar sounds

The consonants listed as (dento-)alveolar are pronounced in some speakers as dental, with the tongue often showing between the teeth, and in some speakers as closer to alveolar, if not wholly alveolar. Most of the people from the village I worked in, and from villages close by, appeared to have pronunciations closer to alveolar, but there were just a few people with whom I had a close relationship whose pronunciation was clearly dental. It may be coincidental that these few are from a higher social level or are more highly educated than most villagers, or it may indicate a dialectal variation. The trill /r/, the lateral /l/ and the fricative /s/ were all much more clearly alveolar in all speakers than dental.

/t/ and /d/ In most of the speakers with whom I had contact /t/ and /d/ were pronounced with the tip of the tongue behind the upper teeth or on the alveolar ridge. For some speakers the tongue was visible on occasions, but not as a matter of normal pronunciation. In most speakers also /t/ is pronounced with slight aspiration.

In certain areas of Nias Selatan (specifically the speech of people from the large area around Mainamölö and Hilisimaetanö in the south west), there is an interesting variation in the pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ when these segments precede the vowel /u/. In this context these segments have secondary articulation. What is unusual about this, however, is that this articulation is labio-dental. Some examples of words in which this occurs are given, with phonetic transcription, in (2):

(2) secondary articulation of /t/ and /d/ in front of /u/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>phonetic transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>betua 'stomach'</td>
<td>[bɛtúa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atua 'old' (things)</td>
<td>[atúa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balatu 'knife'</td>
<td>[balátıu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitu 'seven'</td>
<td>[fıtúu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manutu 'pound'</td>
<td>[manútúu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. PHONOLOGY

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atulö</td>
<td>'correct' [atúlø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satumba</td>
<td>'one rice-measure' [satúba]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adulö</td>
<td>'egg' [adúlø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laeduru</td>
<td>'ring' [laedúru]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adu</td>
<td>'ancestor image' [ádú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adudu</td>
<td>'undone' [adúdú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudugö</td>
<td>'pull down, destroy' [dúdúgø]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the secondary articulation occurs whether the segment precedes a stressed or an unstressed syllable. In some speakers slight alveolar frication as well as labiodental offglides can be heard, i.e. [tsf] and [dzv]. Catford (1988:153), who also comments on this phenomenon, mentions that this kind of labiodentalization has been recorded so far only in the Caucasian languages of Abkhaz and Tabasaran (1988:ibid.). When followed by other vowels, [t] and [d] have no secondary articulation, although, as mentioned, /t/ may be aspirated in some speakers, as transcribed in (3)

(3) **pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ in front of vowels other than /u/**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ata'u</td>
<td>'afraid' [atúu] or [atáu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tebai</td>
<td>'can't do' [tebái] or [tëbái]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ato</td>
<td>'many people' [atö] or [atëö]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idanõ</td>
<td>'water' [idánv]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ide'ide</td>
<td>'small' [ídeíde]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madou</td>
<td>'peck' [madóu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason for this secondary articulation is relatively straightforward: the vowel [u] in Nias Selatan is often articulated with the lower lip raised to form a slightly pouting posture with the upper lip, so that the inside of the lip is close to or touching the top teeth. In his collection of texts from various places in Nias, Hämerle (1986, 8 The segment [y] is a mid back unrounded vowel.)

---

8 The segment [v] is a mid back unrounded vowel.
writes these variant pronunciations as 'tp' and 'dp', which suggests that in
some speakers the secondary articulation occurs as a stop. I have also been told by a
number of Nias people that in some villages in the Maenamölö district, these
segments have the pronunciations [pʰ] and [bʊ]—in other words, the stops have
completely assimilated to the labiality of following /u/. Words such as *matua* 'male',
*satumba* 'one measure of rice' and *dudugö* 'destroy' are pronounced as [mapˈua],
[sapˈua] and [bʊubʊ́gʊ́] (and even, I'm told, [bubʊ́gʊ́]). I have not heard any
speakers whose speech has succumbed to the total assimilation of the stop to the
labiality of /u/ (i.e. [pʰ] and [bʊ]) or of the secondary articulation to the stop (i.e. [tp]
and [dp]). In speakers in the village in which I worked there was, in fact, very little
evidence of secondary articulation. This pronunciation is actually considered
amusing by some people in the north, and is occasionally made fun of.

/ndr/  The phoneme /ndr/ is pronounced as a plosive followed by a trill.
Phonetically it could equally be regarded as a trill with pre-plosion. The description
of this segment as a stop with trilled release rather than as a trill with preplosion is
motivated by the fact that morphophonemic processes involving this segment are
associated with /d/ in a greater number of contexts than with /t/. For example, /ndr/
is found as a morphophonological variant of /d/ in both nouns and verbs, but it is a
variant of /t/ only in verbs. Furthermore, in the numeral system, both /ndr/ and /t/
are conditioned variants of /d/ in collocations containing *dua* 'two' (cf. e.g. *me-ndrua*
[when-two] 'twice' and *da-rua* [CLF-two] 'two people'), suggesting that both the stop
with trilled release and the trill are ultimately derived from /d/. As mentioned above
in connection with the bilabial trill, the nasal segment which occurs in the grapheme
for this sound is misleading. There is rarely nasalization in this segment, although,
like the bilabial trill, its origin in initial position in nouns and verbs almost certainly

---

9 Catford (1988:153) regards this segment as a slightly retroflex trill in Nias Utara, but notes that it starts the
vibratory cycle from a closed position, as opposed to /t/ which starts from an open position.
derives from the fusion of a nasal morpheme with an initial stop or alveolar trill, and in medial position may be derived from nasal stop clusters.

### 2.2.3 (Alveo-)palatal sounds

**/c/ and /z/** Phonetically these segments are affricated stops, made with laminal occlusion at the alveopalatal area. The sounds involve a short burst of fricated noise when released which is perceptually much shorter than that which occurs in alveopalatal affricates in standard English\(^{10}\).

**/y/** /y/ is pronounced as a palatal or alveo-palatal approximant [j] in most instances of use. However, in one particular context there is a curious variation in many speakers' pronunciation. When this segment occurs after /o/, it sounds like an unrounded velar approximant [u]\(^{11}\). There are very few words in which this occurs, since /o/ is not frequent in lexemes except for prefixes, however it does occur in one high frequency word—the quantifier *oya* 'most, much, many (things)'—and is therefore recurrent in conversation. It also occurs in the words *hoya* 'bamboo lengths used for building' (which rhymes with *oya*), *oyo* 'red', *mo-loyo* [USE-sail] 'sail' (which rhymes with *oyo*), and in the 3rd person pronoun *ya* when it occurs after a word ending in /o/. In all other medial contexts, /y/ is preceded and followed by the vowel /a/ and the backer pronunciation does not occur (e.g. *raya* [raja] 'south', *buaya* [b\(^{w}\)aja] 'crocodile'). It seems fairly clear, then, that the pronunciation of /y/ is influenced by the back vowel /o/. Thus in the speech of many people in the southern dialect areas the phoneme /y/ has the allophone [u] when it follows /o/, i.e.:

\[(4) \quad /y/ \quad \rightarrow \quad [u] \quad /o/\quad \text{(a dialectial variant)}
\]

\[\rightarrow \quad [j] \quad / \quad \text{elsewhere}\]

\(^{10}\) Catford (1988:152) mentions that these affricates are pronounced as alveolar [ts] and [dz] in Nias Selatan. These alveolar pronunciations are unknown to me, although they may occur in varieties other than the ones I have observed.

\(^{11}\) As suggested to me by Phil Rose, Australian National University, pers. comm.
The 'backing' of /y/ by a preceding /o/ provides evidence also for the relative (or phonemic) frontness of /a/, since the distinction between [ðóya] and [ðáya] is only in whatever feature or features distinguish /o/ from /a/. (Rounding plays no role in Nias phonology.) Catford's (1988) formant charts for /a/ in northern Nias also indicate that this vowel is predominantly fronted acoustically as well. I am not aware of whether /y/ is pronounced as [u] after /o/ in the north.

### 2.3 Minimal contrasts

Minimal and near-minimal contrasts for suspicious segments are listed in (5). Where an expected contrast does not occur it is discussed in the section following.

#### (5) Minimal and near-minimal contrasts in consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL POSITION</th>
<th>MEDIAL POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LABIAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) /b/ - /f/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo 'ladder'; 'lungs'</td>
<td>abeto 'pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo 'smoking rack above hearth'</td>
<td>afeto 'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) /b/ - /v/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba 'and' (conjunction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va 'that' (complementizer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) /b/ - /mb/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bubu 'porridge'</td>
<td>sibi 'ball made of coconut leaves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbumbu 'ends of roof poles'</td>
<td>simbi 'lower jaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) /b/ - /w/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa 'moon, month'</td>
<td>lawa 'up, high'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawa 'garden of sweet potatoes'</td>
<td>labalaba 'large spider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) /b/- /ß/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba 'and'</td>
<td>tabotabo 'instrument used for chasing birds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ßa 'that' (a variant of va)</td>
<td>(taßo-)taßo 'fat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(vi) /w/ - /ß/

waö 'say'
ßaößaö 'unacceptable behaviour'
bawa 'moon, month'
baßa 'mouth'

(vii) /f/ - /v/

dakhe 'rice'
vakhe 'rice:MUT'

(viii) /f/ - /w/

falu 'place to keep lime for betel quid'
sifa 'kick'
walu 'eight'
siwa 'nine'

(ix) /f/ - /ß/

fufu 'mash'
ßußui 'pour'
afo 'betel quid'
aßö 'companion'

(DENTO-)ALVEOLAR / (ALVEO-)PALATAL

(x) /t/ - /d/

da- '1pl.incl. irrealis prefix'
ató 'many' (people)
dada 'lower'
da- '1pl.incl. irrealis prefix'
adu 'ancestor image'

(xi) /t/ - /s/

ta'a 'we ate (it)'
sara 'fingernail'
ate 'liver'
asi 'sea'

(xii) /d/ - /dr/

da- 1pl.incl. irrealis prefix
dada 'lower'
da- 3pl irrealis prefix
ndrandra 'plait'

(xiii) /d/ - /r/

-ra '3p.POSS'
-da '1pi.POSS'
aröu 'far'
madou 'peck'

(xiv) /r/ - /dr/

rara (dödö) 'attract'
ndrandra 'plait'
a`ra 'be/take long time'
anda 'this'
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(xv) /l/ - /l/
- rara dódó 'attract'
- lala 'way, road'
- berebere 'sty (in eye)'
- belebele 'paved area near houses'

(xvi) /c/ - /z/
- cimba 'bucket'
- zimba 'jealousy'
- bici 'grumbling'
- bizi 'prepare a betel quid'

(xvii) /c/ - /l/ - /s/
- cÖföcöfo 'k.o. grass'
- tößu 'sugarcane'
- söfu 'poison'
- cuko 'poke, prod'
- tutu 'pound'
- sukhu 'comb'
- kacöe 'crab'
- atóto 'be loosened'
- asöa 'fall down with crash'

(xviii) /z/ - /d/
- zuzu 'climb'
- dudugö 'destroy'
- ezöa 'gap'
- edöna 'intensely dislike'

(xix) /z/ - /l/
- zozo 'stopper for bottle'
- roro 'follow'
- azizi 'blunt'
- ariri 'reduced in size'

VELAR / GLOTTAL

(xx) /k/ - /g/
- ko'o 'dig'
- rake 'coral'
- go'o 'crack:MUT'
- lage 'freckle, mole'

(xxii) /k/ - /kh/
- kaoni 'call'
- faköyö 'tangled together'
- khao 'grate'
- fakhöyö 'play'

(xxii) /k/ - /gh/
- okafu [okafu] 'cold (weather)'
- o'afu [oʔafu] 'cold (feeling, e.g. with malaria)'

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12 The words zimba 'jealousy', bici 'grumbling' and bizi 'prepare a betel quid' do not occur in my own data. These are mentioned in Laiya's 1975 dissertation on the phonetics and phonology of Nias Selatan.
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(xxiii) /kh/ - /h/
- kholi 'split (e.g. wood)'
- holi 'redeem'
- fakhe 'rice'
- fahela 'children's game'

(xxiv) /l/ - 0
- te'u [te?u] 'mouse, rat'
- teu [teu] 'rain'

(xxv) /l/ - /h/
- b ö ö [b?r?] 'different'
- b ö h ö [b?r?] 'deer'

(xxvi) /l/ - /l/
- i'a [i?a] 'fish'
- ita [i?ta] 1pl.incl. pronoun

FRICATIVES

(xxvii) /f/ - /s/
- fanagö 'the act of stealing'
- sanagö 'thief'
- afi 'wing'
- asi 'sea'

(xxviii) /f/ - /h/
- fa 'about' (phrasal/clausal particle)
- ha 'only' (phrasal/clausal particle)
- afatö 'broken'
- ahatö 'near'

(xxvix) /s/ - /h/
- sawa 'wet rice field'
- hawa 'atmosphere, weather'
- lase 'type of fruit tree'
- lahe 'footstep'

NASALS

(xxx) /m/ - /n/
- mana 'eat'
- nana 'chew betel'
- omo 'house'
- ono 'child'

2.4 Discussion of phonemic status of segments

Some phonemes are not easy to establish on the basis of minimal or near-minimal pairs. In this section I describe those segments for which contrasts are problematical.
The segments discussed here are the following: /b/ vs /ß/, /f/ vs /v/, /c/ the glottal stop, /y/ and /w/.

2.4.1 /b/ - /ß/
The phoneme /ß/ is derived from /b/ in intervocalic position. Some words in Nias Selatan containing /ß/ are cognate with words in Nias Utara in which /b/ occurs instead, such as βaba\u03b9a 'touch' which is cognate with Nias Utara babaya, and qßua 'heavy' which is cognate with Nias Utara abua. A number of words reconstructed for PAn and PMP have /b/ where Nias Selatan has /ß/, e.g. Nias ’töβu 'sugarcane' reflects PAn *tebuS 'sugarcane', Nias báβa 'mouth' reflects PMP *baq+baq 'mouth'\textsuperscript{13}. In initial position /ß/ occurs in verbs in what appears to be the result of a consonant harmony process, such as may have occurred with labial consonants in other Austronesian languages (see Ross 1995:61). Examples of this occur in, for example, βaba\u03b9a 'touch', from the root bay\u03b9, and βabala\u03b9a 'borrow' from the verb bal\u03b9 'repay'. Presumably initial syllable reduplication placed the original initial /b/ in intervocalic position, resulting in its lenition, but subsequently the lenited segment was copied into initial position. This process (and its lack of application) is responsible for some verbs having two forms, e.g. bußui /ßußui 'pour' and bößöi /ßößöi 'make'. Both forms are equally acceptable to speakers and appear to be dialectal variants.

Although /ß/ is a lenited form of /b/ historically, synchronically it is a separate phoneme from /b/, as the minimal pairs in (5.v) above show\textsuperscript{14}. However,

\textsuperscript{13} Unless otherwise stated, reconstructions have been taken from Zorc 1995.

\textsuperscript{14} The lenition of PAn/PMP *b intervocalically must have given rise to a situation in early Nias of complementary distribution—/b/ occurred word initially and [ß] (i.e. ß) occurred word medially. However, it would appear that while intervocalic *b was being replaced by /ß/, another intervocalic /b/ came into being; medial /b/ in Nias today reflects PHN/PWMP *b as exemplified in the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHN*ta+bas 'cut'</th>
<th>PHN*bed+bed 'wind around, tie'</th>
<th>PHN*buR+buR 'porridge'</th>
<th>PWMP*nabuq 'fall' (*Dabuq, *labuq)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taba 'cut'</td>
<td>bòbò 'tie'</td>
<td>bubu 'porridge'</td>
<td>labu 'fall suddenly and stop'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
there is some free variation in the pronunciation of this segment in initial position—it appears to be possible to substitute /b/ for /ß/ in words which begin with /ß/. By contrast it is not possible to substitute /ß/ for /b/ in words beginning with /b/.

The phoneme /ß/ does not occur in many words in Nias but it has a high frequency in speech because it occurs in several common contexts: the most commonly used classifier for inanimate things (bua ~ ßua, see 4.3), two common time words which occur frequently in planning events (boni ~ ßoni 'night' and bawa ~ ßawa) 'month'), and in the complementizer ßa (also pronounced as [va]).

There is also free variation between /ß/ and the labiodental fricative /v/ in some commonly used words. The word in which there is greatest variation is the high frequency complementizing particle va 'that' (mentioned above). This particle may derive from, or be related to, the nominalizing prefix fa- (see 6.4.1). If so, the form of the complementizer with /v/ (i.e. [va] rather than [fa]) occurs because the complementizer is the first constituent of complements, which are, in most cases, grammatically dependent, and therefore case-marked15. Although all speakers agree,

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lenited form</th>
<th>base or related word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oßöra 'not cooked perfectly (rice)'</td>
<td>böra 'uncooked rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oßugee 'green'</td>
<td>bu ge'e 'feathers of e'e bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aßu'a Vintr. 'be moved'</td>
<td>bu'a Vtr. 'move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-ålu'a N. 'the act of moving'</td>
<td>bu'a Vtr. 'move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-ßüa Vintr. 'be bearing fruit'</td>
<td>bua N. 'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-ßöli 'buy'</td>
<td>öli 'buy' (ct bell 'buy' in Indonesian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bööi 'do, make'</td>
<td>böi 'do, make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ßui-ßui 'sprinkle'</td>
<td>bului 'pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ßaßaya 'touch'</td>
<td>baya 'touch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ßaßalö 'borrow'</td>
<td>balö 'repay'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/b/ is also lenited in nouns referring to time when counting is involved, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lenited form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dua ßoni 'for two nights'</td>
<td>boni 'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôlu ßoni 'for three nights'</td>
<td>bawa 'month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôta ßawa 'for four months'</td>
<td>bawa 'month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ônö ßawa 'for six months'</td>
<td>bawa 'month'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and in classifiers beginning with /ß/ after the linker na=, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lenited form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tôlu na=ßuÑ 'three x'</td>
<td>bua 'classifier for animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôlu na=ßalu y 'three y'</td>
<td>balö 'classifier for abstract things or heaps/piles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôlu na=ßulu z 'three z'</td>
<td>bulu 'classifier for flat things'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

15 An alternative derivation might also be proposed that va is related to the verb waö (~waö) 'say', since a verb with this meaning is the source of complementizer in many languages.
when questioned, that the 'correct' pronunciation of the complementizer is [va], in fact many speakers say [Ba]. Other common lexemes in which this kind of alternation is evident are the verb forms aβai ~ aβali, used frequently as preverbal auxiliaries with the meaning 'be ready, finished', which are also pronounced as [ʔaváí] and [ʔaváli]. The conjunction aβena, 'then', which is also relatively common, is also pronounced [ʔavéna] or [ʔavená].

2.4.2 /f/ vs /v/

The consonant /v/ has unique phonemic status in Nias—it cannot be determined as a phoneme, independent of /f/, by minimal pairs. Normally in phonemic analysis, a minimal pair is taken to prove that a different sound is a different phoneme, because the change in the sound produces a completely different word. This cannot be done for /v/ and /f/, for the reason that /v/ only ever occurs in the grammar as a replacement for /f/. The presence of /v/ or /f/ in the same position in a word, such as vakhe 'rice:MUT' or fakhe 'rice', indicates that the word stands in a particular grammatical relation, but does not change the meaning of the word. Both vakhe and fakhe refer to 'rice' but they have different grammatical relations. Similarly the verb forms vake and fake 'do, use' both refer to the same action, but indicate a difference in the time of the event (vake is irrealis mode, fake is realis).

Despite the fact that /v/ cannot be dissociated from /f/, /v/ can be established as a separate phoneme from /f/ based on the fact that it can change the case of a noun and thus change the meaning of an entire constituent. For example the phrase ba fo means 'and the storage area above the hearth' ([CNJ storage.area.above.the.hearth]), while ba vo can only mean 'in/to the storage area above the hearth' ([LOC storage.area.above.the.hearth:MUT]). What is interesting about this alternation for phonology is that the phonemic distinction does not depend on any difference in referential meaning of a single word but on the difference in meaning that the phonemes make to a unit larger than the word.
Although my own data lacks evidence of /v/ in intervocalic position, it should be noted that the dialect spoken in To'ene'asi (about thirty kilometres to the east of the area in which my fieldwork was carried out) does contain such words, as recorded in Laiya (1975:103, 108):

(6)  
\begin{align*}
  \text{vava} & \quad \text{‘sweetest part of fruit’} \\
  \text{vövö} & \quad \text{‘be real, true’} \\
  \text{lava} & \quad \text{‘big toe’} \\
  \text{avö} & \quad \text{‘friend’}
\end{align*}

Two of these words, vövö and avö, also occur in my own data, but are pronounced with /ß/ in place of /v/\(^{16}\). The other two words do not occur. I assume, therefore, that there is dialectal difference in the pronunciation of /v/, and that it has become phonemicized in intervocalic contexts in some speech varieties.

The lack of data in which /v/ occurs in medial position inhibits comparisons with other phonemes in this position, such as /b/, /ß/ and /w/, and is responsible for the gaps in minimal pairs listed above.

2.4.3 /c/

The phoneme /c/ ([ç]) occurs infrequently in Nias Selatan and does not occur in Nias Utara at all. The segment occurs in only thirteen words in my own corpus, listed in (7) and (8):

(7)  
\begin{align*}
  \text{verbs} & \quad \text{cibo} \quad \text{‘throw out’} \\
  & \quad \text{cili} \quad \text{‘throw at/to’} \\
  & \quad \text{cika} \quad \text{‘tear asunder, part’} \\
  & \quad \text{cimba} \quad \text{‘repulse’} \\
  & \quad \text{cuko} \quad \text{‘poke, prod’}
\end{align*}

\(^{16}\) The word böbö ‘truth’, which occurs only once in my data, may also be a variant of ñöö (i.e. To'ene'asi vövö ‘be real, true’). However, it may be possible that both may be related to the word böbü ‘tie’ which occurs in both dialects.
nouns ci’aci’a ‘gecko’
cimba ‘bucket’
cici ‘faeces’; ‘defecate’
cöföcöfö ‘grass used for ointment for pimples’

(8) words containing /c/ in intervocalic position
nouns foci ‘lie’
kocikoci ‘sound of rustling’
borocöe ‘monitor lizard’
kaçoé ‘crab’

In nine of the thirteen words, /c/ is followed by /i/. It cannot be coincidence that the sequence /ti/ occurs in my data only once, and based on this evidence, it seems reasonably certain that /c/ is historically derived from /t/ in front of /i/. Other evidence of a relationship comes from cognates in Nias Utara: three of the words listed above occur in Nias Utara with /t/ in place of /c/: tibo ‘throw out’, timba ‘bucket’ and ti’i ‘faeces; defecate’. However, it is interesting to note that not all words containing /c/ can be assumed to derive from /t/—two words (cuko ‘poke, prod’ and cöföcöfö ‘grass for ointment’) correspond to forms in Nias Utara which have /s/ in place of /c/, i.e. suko and söfösöfö. Despite the fairly obvious historical connection between /c/ and /t/, based on the near-minimal pairs such as those given in (7) and (8) above it is clear that /c/ is a separate phoneme from /t/ synchronically in Nias Selatan.

2.4.4 Glottal stop

Usually all vowel-initial words in Nias begin with a phonetic glottal stop when pronounced in isolation. One of the residual problems for the phonology of Nias, as it is for some other Austronesian languages (see, e.g., Steinhauer 1991, Himmelmann forthcoming), is whether glottal stops which occur phonetically in front of vowel initial words are phonemic or not. Here I outline the problem.
2. PHONOLOGY

Glottal stops occur phonemically in intervocalic position in a word, contrasting with /t/, /k/, /h/ and zero, as the following minimal pairs show:

/ʔ/ - /t/  i’a [ʔita] ‘fish’ ita [ʔita] Ipi:MUT
/ʔ/ - /k/  okafu [ʔɔːkafu] ‘cold (weather)’  o’afu [ʔɔːʔafu] ‘cold (feeling, e.g. with malaria)
/ʔ/ - /h/  bö’ö [ʔbɔːʔ] ‘different’ böhö [ʔbɔːʔ] ‘deer’
/ʔ/ - 0  te’u [tɛʔu] ‘mouse, rat’ teu [tɛʔu] ‘rain’

In initial position, phonetic glottals contrast with the same consonants, but not with zero:

(9) teu [tɛʔu] ‘mouse, rat’  eu [ʔɛʔu] ‘wood, tree’
köfa [kɔːfa] ‘ship’  öfa [ʔɔːfa] ‘four’
halö [hɔːlɔ] ‘take’ alö [ʔɔːlɔ] ‘shrink’

In Nias I have adopted the position that glottal stops are not phonemic in initial position but are inserted phonetically at the beginning of phonological word boundaries. The rule for this is as follows:

(10)   rule for glottal insertion

0   ->   [ʔ]   / # ___ phonological word

A phonological word in Nias is defined as a root plus any string of syllables over which primary stress has influence. Some examples of the application of this rule are: emali ‘enemy’, pronounced [ʔemáli], ofanö ‘leave!’, pronounced [ʔofánö]. Suffixes are included in the domain of stress assignment and are therefore not preceded by a glottal if vowel-initial, e.g. the final vowel of the verb tába ‘cut’ forms a diphthong with the initial vowel of the applicative suffix -isi, e.g. taba-isi [tabáisi]
'clear away grass', indicating that stress treats the sequence of vowels as one syllable (see 2.9 for discussion of stress). Prefixes in general are outside the domain of stress assignment and appear to be treated as separate phonological words. For example, in to-ila [RES-know] 'be known' the sequence of vowels is not diphthongized but is pronounced as two separate vowels, i.e. [toʔila]. Bound roots (see 4.5) are not phonological words because they do not function as words in the language, and therefore do not participate in stress assignment until derivational morphology has applied. The intransitivizing prefix /a-/ coheres phonologically with bound roots and forms a diphthong with any initial vowel, e.g. a-ukhu 'hot' [ʔáuxu]. According to the rule of glottal insertion a glottal stop should be inserted phonetically at the beginning of aukhu, because it is a phonological word, but not at the beginning of -ukhu, because it is not a phonological word, which is exactly what happens, i.e. aukhu is pronounced [ʔáuxu] and not [ʔaʔuxu].

If all vowel-initial words were phonemically glottal initial then there would be no need for a rule to insert a glottal stop. However, if this were the case, it would give rise to certain morphological complications. For example, it would be necessary to replace a glottal stop with /n/ when prefixes based on the imperfective morpheme aN- (see 3.3) are attached to verbs (e.g. man-uri 'keeping', from uri 'keep'); and one would have to decide how a glottal stop could be replaced by /n/ or /g/ in all mutated forms of nouns (see 3.2.1). This means that the number of morphological rules needed is increased and the morphology is made more complex than if there were a simple rule of glottal insertion. In addition, if a glottal were assumed to be phonemic in all vowel-initial words, then the phonotactic structure of the word would be complicated by the fact that there must be a rule which stipulates that initial syllables of words are exceptional in having to have the form CV while all other syllables can be (C)V (see 2.7 for details of syllable structure).

It is possible that only some verbs and some nouns are vowel-initial and others are phonemically glottal initial. However, the evidence for this is also complex. For example, a distinction between vowel-initial intransitive verbs and
vowel-initial transitive verbs is made in two morphological processes: in relative clause marking and in irrealis verb forms. In relative clauses, the vowel of the relative clause marker is elided in front of vowel-initial intransitive verbs, but not in front of vowel-initial transitive verbs, e.g. $s=a$-law[a [REL=ST-tall] 'who is tall', cf. $si=alu$-i [REL=hunt-TR] 'who looks for'. In irrealis mode vowel-initial intransitive verbs have the same form as they have in realis mode, i.e. they begin with a glottal stop, e.g. $ya$-alawa [jaʔaláwa] 'he will be tall', while vowel-initial transitive verbs are preceded by $m$-, e.g. $ya$-m-alu[i [jamalúwi] 'he will look for'. It is difficult to account for the behaviour of these verbs by saying that one form is vowel-initial and one glottal initial. If intransitive verbs are regarded as vowel-initial because the vowel of the relative clause marker is elided when it is attached, then in irrealis mode one has to insert a glottal in front of them. Based on the evidence from irrealis verb forms, however, if intransitive verbs are regarded as glottal initial, then one has to remove the glottal when the relative clause marker is attached. The difficulties are the same for transitive verbs—if one claims transitive verbs as glottal initial based on evidence from relative clauses, then one has to replace the glottal with $m$- in irrealis mode. Thus, for 'vowel-initial' verbs, the evidence for a phonemic glottal seems contradictory.

In the case of nouns, all 'vowel-initial' nouns can be divided into two classes—one class which takes an initial /n/ in certain grammatical contexts and the other class which takes /g/ in those same contexts (for discussion see 3.2.1). It may be possible, therefore, to claim that all nouns which begin with /n/ in these grammatical contexts are vowel-initial and those which begin with /g/ are glottal-initial. In fact, there is historical evidence which shows that those nouns which take /n/ in mutation form are mostly derived from vowel-initial forms or words beginning with *S, which was lost everywhere in initial position in Nias, and that those which take /g/ are derived from words which began with *k or *q (see 3.2.1 and fn. 1 in Chapter 3 ). However, if it is true, it complicates morphological rules by requiring the insertion of glottals in some grammatical contexts but the deletion or
replacement of glottals by other phonemes in other grammatical contexts. For example, when the prefixes *mo-* 'have' and *fa-* 'do/make N'; 'call s/o by [N]' are added to a noun (See Chapter 5, a glottal must be inserted between the prefix and a vowel-initial noun, e.g. *mo-ono* [mɔʔoŋo] 'have children'. However, when the prefix *maN-* 'do sth. with N' is added, the initial glottal of glottal-initial nouns would have to be replaced by /n/, e.g. *man-adulo* [manadúlo] 'lay eggs', which is formed from *adulo*, 'egg', which has a mutation form with /g/ (*gadulo* [egg:MUT]), and so would be considered to be glottal-initial.

Because the rule of glottal insertion appears to be the most succinct way of accounting for the presence of initial glottals in Nias, it has been adopted in this thesis. In fact this preserves the status quo with regards to orthography, as vowel-initial words in Nias have been written in citation form without an initial glottal until now.

2.4.5 /y/

The approximant or semivowel /y/ occurs in word-medial position only before /o/ or /a/, as mentioned in section 2.2 above. It is also restricted in word-initial position, to a small set of native words and a few borrowed words. The native words are listed in (11):

(11) **words containing initial /y/**

free pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya'o 'I'</td>
<td>ya'ugɔ 'you.sg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ia 'he, she'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ita 'we.incl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'aga 'we.excl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ami 'you.pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ira 'they'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dependent pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya 'he, she'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ö 'that one'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

clause-initial particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya 'I hope'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ia 'yes, that's right'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

emphatic agreement particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya'ia 'yes, that's right'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
presentative forms  

yaa\(^{17}\) / yae 'here it is'; 'this is...'
yazö! 'here it is!'.

Clearly such a restricted distribution is suspicious. Catford (1988:184-5) has suggested that words which begin with /y/ such as those listed in (11) above (and those which begin with /w/, which is also distributionally restricted—see 2.4.6 below) may be better represented phonemically as vowel-initial, indeed as the only true vowel-initial words in Nias, the rest of the so-called vowel-initial words being phonemically glottal-initial. While there may be an argument for claiming that words such as those in (11) begin with a vowel phonemically, in this thesis I am constrained to claim that they begin with a semivowel, as a result of adopting the position that the glottal stop is not phonemic in initial position (see section 2.4.4 above). If words which begin with a vowel phonemically are in fact phonetically glottal-initial, then words such as those in (11) above which begin with a semivowel are in contrast with them. Compare, for example, the initial syllable of the third singular independent pronoun (and homophonous affirmative particle), \(ya'\(i\)a [ja?i\(a\)], which begins with a semivowel/approximant [j], with the initial syllable of the prenominal modifier \(i\)agö [?i\(j\)agö] 'lots of' which begins phonetically with the consonant [?].

The claim that Nias has the consonantal phonemes /y/ and /w/ in initial position also contributes to a simplification of the statement of syllable structure (see 2.7), which would otherwise require the positing of an additional, alternative syllable structure only for initial syllables that included reference to the fact that if the initial syllable contained two vowels, the initial vowel would always be /i/ or /u/.

The locative meanings in the last two of the forms listed in (11) may be attributable to a derivation from an earlier locative marker *i, reflexes of which are common in Austronesian languages\(^{18}\). In addition, a prefix *i- has recently been

\(^{17}\) Presentative forms are usually sentence-initial and stressed. The double vowel in yaa 'this is... here is...' indicates a phonetically long vowel, but phonemically the word contains a sequence of two vowels.

\(^{18}\) A lexical constraint on /y/ exists also in Indonesian and Malay, where it is restricted word-initially to words such as yaitu 'that is' and yang, the relative clause marker (Adelaar 1992:11), in which it is assumed that
reconstructed for a number of pronouns (Blust 1999). There are now, also, a number of borrowed words in Nias in which /y/ occurs in contexts semantically outside the field of locative or pronominal meanings, such as Yesu 'Jesus', and the months Yanuari 'January', Yuni 'June' and Yuli 'July'.

2.4.6 /w/

Like /y/, the approximant or semivowel /w/ is also restricted in initial position, but in this case the restriction appears to be phonetic rather than lexical. An initial /w/ occurs only before an /e/ or /a/, and only in the following words in my data:

(12) words containing initial /w/

nouns  we  'liquid (of any sort)'
       wewe  'climbing vine used for tying things'
       wawa  'garden planted with sweet potatoes'
       wa'a  'root'
       waiwai  'behaviour, actions'
       wani  'bee'

particles  we  second position particle 'in fact'
          wa  second position politeness particle
          walaö second position hearsay particle 'they say, it is said'

numeral  walu  'eight'

verbs  warawara  'be many'
        waö  'say'

Intervocally /w/ also occurs in front of /e/ or /a/, but in addition occurs in front of the vowel /ö/ in one word: the fossilized noun halö-wö [take-NR] 'work'19. Similar to

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19 In the speech variety of the area around To'ene'asi, /w/ occurs also in front of /l/, e.g. tuwu 'support', wuwu 'move back'. In the variety with which I worked, these verbs are pronounced with /ß/ in place of /w/.

In the verb waö 'say' (also pronounced wa‘ö with a glottal stop between the two vowels) it is possible that the initial [w] may be the result of accretion. This verb is related to the second position particle laö, meaning 'it is said' (and also to walaö 'they say, it is said'), as well as to maö, the irrealis and imperfective form of the verb. The forms laö and maö appear to consist of a stem -aö meaning 'say', and an initial prefix l- or m- (the irrealis and imperfective prefix for verbs beginning with bilabial consonants (see 3.4)). If l-
the discussion in 2.4.5 above with respect to /y/, while words such as those listed in (12) can be analysed as beginning with a vowel phonemically, they are treated in this thesis as beginning with the consonantal phoneme /w/ owing to the necessity of distinguishing them from other words which are analysed as beginning with a vowel phonemically. Thus words such as we 'liquid' [we] and ue 'rattan' [ʔúe] (or [ʔúwe]), which were provided by Catford to suggest that /w/ and /u/ are in complementary distribution and therefore not separate phonemes, are, in the light of the analysis in this thesis, in contrastive distribution.21.

SECTION 2 VOWELS

2.5 Vowel phonemes

Nias Selatan has 6 vowel phonemes, which are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Vowels in Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ö (Ɣ)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only /u/ and /o/ are rounded. Auditorily the vowels seem to have approximately the same phonetic values in both stressed and unstressed syllables, which are close to those for the cardinal values they represent, except for /a/, which is usually pronounced slightly to the front of low central. This pronunciation appears

and m- are prefixes to a stem -aō (or a'ō), then [w] may also be an additional segment, perhaps a phonetic accretion before an /a/. However, there is no evidence similar to this for other words in the list, and phonetic accretion will not account for the occurrence of [w] in front of /e/, so a more general explanation is required.

20 Catford glosses we as 'honey', but in Nias Selatan it can mean any sort of liquid, such as, for example, the milk of a coconut, or water in a well.

21 Additional support for claiming phonemic status for /w/ is that *w has been reconstructed for a number of words for which Nias has reflexes, e.g.: PAn *walu 'eight' > Nias walu 'eight'; PMP *wajji 'bee' (n with circumflex) > Nias wani 'bee'; PHN *bawag 'garlic' > Nias bawa 'garlic'.

to be a feature of Nias as a whole as Catford (1988:158) gives a chart of vowel formant frequencies for /a/ in a speaker from Nias Utara which show fronted values in that dialect as well. The vowel /ö/ is a mid back unrounded vowel in all contexts. Length is not phonemic. A sequence of two vowels of the same quality occurs in only one context: when a noun ending in /u/ is followed by the second singular possessive suffix -u, e.g. sukhu-u ‘your comb’, pronounced [suxú:]. Note that the presence of the possessive suffix is evident from stress assignment—without stress the word is pronounced with stress on the first syllable, i.e. [súxu]; with the addition of the monosyllabic suffix, stress moves to one syllable to the right, i.e. [sukhúu].

2.6 Minimal pairs

The phonemic status of these vowels is established by the following minimal contrasts.

(13) /i/ ~ /e/
    mišo ‘crow’
    mešo ‘guard rice field from birds’

(14) /u/ ~ /ö/ ~ /ø/ ~ /e/ ~ /a/
    bu      ‘hair’
    bo      ‘rung (of step/ladder)’
    bö      ‘name used by woman to female friend’ (short for babö)
    be      ‘give’
    ba      ‘and’; ‘at, in, to, from’

---

22 It may, of course, be the case that the perception of these vowels belies variation which is undetectable to the ear. Catford’s recordings of the vowel /ö/ ([ø]) indicate that pronunciation in the dialect that he recorded varies significantly with surrounding context, often fronted, backed or raised from the auditorily perceived mid back position (1988:156, 158).
SECTION 3 PHONOTACTIC STRUCTURE

2.7 Syllable, word and stress

A syllable in Nias has the form (C)V, where V may be bimoraic. A definition for phonological word in Nias was given in the discussion of the phonemic status of glottal stops above (2.4.4) and is repeated here: a phonological word is a root plus any string of syllables over which primary stress has influence. (Phonological) words consist of a string of up to seven syllables, with the qualification that there may be no more than one bimoraic V in a word. There are no syllable-final consonants in words, and no consonant clusters. The alveopalatal affricates /c/ and /z/ and the alveolar stop with trilled release /ndr/ are treated as unit phonemes.

All words in Nias have the potential to be stressed on the penultimate syllable, apart from a small number of words which have fixed stress on the final syllable (see 2.8 below). The primary indicator of stress in a word in isolation is the auditory loudness of the syllable compared with others. Vowel length and pitch change usually accompany stressed syllables, but are not essential. There does not seem to be any regular assignment of any stress to other syllables in a word. The only clearly observable instances of stress occurring more than once in words in isolation occur in words which have undergone disyllabic reduplication, such as fa-tête-tête 'keep on following' in which stress is assigned to both the stem and the copied part of the stem. Auditorily it is usually difficult to determine which of these syllables is louder, but when there is a difference, it is the second which carries the greater prominence. Some examples of words in which stress occurs on the penultimate syllable are given in (15):

---

23 Affixes, which are mostly monosyllabic, generally conform to the same syllable structure. However there is one affix which is exactly the reverse of canonical syllable form—the infix /um/. The infix poses no problem for the language, however, since it occurs after the initial consonant of a word, and the word recalibrates its syllables to accommodate an extra syllable in second position to begin with the /m/ of the infix. Another prefix (C)aN-, is written as though it contains a final consonant, but its final segment does not have any real phonetic form. Its presence is apparent only from its effects on initial segments of stems—when it is attached to a word, the initial segment of the stem and the final segment of the prefix fuse to create a new consonant as the intial segment of the second syllable of the word (see 3.3).

24 Vowel length and pitch change are strongly associated with emphasis on important elements in clauses, i.e. words or constituents which the speaker wants to ensure the hearer takes note of (see examples section 2.13 below).
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(15) Words with penultimate stress

'törö 'go'  
tö´rō-i 'go via'  
fa-´törö 'make go'  
fa-ma-´törö 'govern'  
fa-ma-tö´rö-wa 'government'  
sa-ma-tö´roi-ö 'messenger'  
Baßamatalúo 'Baßamataluo village'  
Danazumenivugö 'the Danazumenivugö clan'  
Danazumenivu’gö-a 'these Danazumenivugö people'

Suffixes, both pronominal and derivational, are counted as syllables for the assignment of stress. For example, compare ono [ʔóno] 'child' with ono-gu [ʔónógu] 'my child' and aurí [ʔáwrí] 'alive' with aurí-fa [ʔáwřífa] 'life'. Prefixes, on the other hand, are not counted as part of the word for stress assignment. This means that when a prefix is added to a monosyllabic stem, stress does not shift, despite the fact that the derived word is disyllabic. For example there is a distinction between the derived verb mo-ndri [modrí] 'be mosquitoey' ([HAVE-mosquito]), and the verb mondri [módři] 'bathe'. In the form mo-ndrí 'be mosquitoey', the prefix mo- 'HAVE N' is unstressed and stress falls on the noun ndri 'mosquito', while in móndri 'bathe', the penultimate vowel /o/ is part of the verb itself and attracts stress. This also means that monosyllabic verbs, a 'eat', so 'arrive' and be 'give' are always stressed (in contexts in which it is the verb which carries primary stress) when they take pronominal prefixes, e.g. la-a [laʔá] 'they ate (it)', gu-so [gusó] 'I will come', i-be [ʔibé] 'he gave (it)'.

---

25 The appearance of /v/ in this name is related to the fact that the clan is part of a story which derives from To'ene'asi area, where intervocalic /v/ occurs. In the area in which I worked (Botohilitanö), intervocalic /v/ does not occur. Where /v/ occurs in words in intervocalic position in To'ene'asi variety, /ß/ tends to occur in the area around Botohilitanö.
2.8 Words with lexical stress

As mentioned above, there are just a few words in Nias Selatan which have lexical stress. In all of them stress occurs on the final syllable, in connected speech as well as in isolation. An exhaustive list of these words from my data is given in (16):

(16) Words with final stress

- andá proximal deictic demonstrative
- andé distal deictic demonstrative
- ha'á proximal deictic demonstrative
- hö’ö distal deictic demonstrative
- ha(na)tá Q word 'who?, whom?'
- haiyá Q word 'what?'
- ató Vintr. 'many (people)'
- ará Vintr. 'far'
- ma´tö aspectual particle 'then, after'
- ma´nö aspectual particle 'just'
- maná Advbl. 'now; then' (cf. mána 'eat(ing)')
- aßená advbl. 'then, after that'
- fofó N. 'sore, boil, ulcer' (cf. fófo 'kind of bird')
- ya’ó 1s independent pronoun

2.9 Sequences of vowels / phonetic diphthongs

Since all syllables are vowel-final in Nias, sequences of vowels occur when a syllable consisting only of a vowel follows any another syllable. In a number of cases, when two vowels in a sequence (within the same word) are of different heights, they form a phonetic diphthong. The lower vowel remains the nucleus of the diphthong and the other vowel becomes a glide (i.e. non-syllabic). Both falling  

---

26 Many of the words which contain lexical stress on the final syllable appear to be morphologically complex, suggesting derivation from monosyllabic bases. For example, the verbs ara 'be a long time' and ato 'be many (people) are intransitive, and like many other intransitive verbs may contain the prefix a-. The adverb mana 'now', and aspectual particles ma'tö 'then' and manö 'just' appear to contain the morpheme ma which is associated in other words with time, e.g. ma 'past tense', mahemolu 'tomorrow', ma'akha 'today', ma'ökhö 'day'. The demonstratives andra, andre, ha’a and hö’ö have enclitic forms without the initial syllable, namely =ndra, =ndre, =a and =ö. The first singular independent pronoun ya’ó and the corresponding dependent form ndao appear to have the same base vowel /o/.
and rising diphthongs occur. The sequences of vowels which occur as falling
diphthongs in Nias Selatan are the following:

(17) **falling diphthongs**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \quad \text{ae} & \quad \text{ao} & \quad \text{au} \\
\text{oi} & \quad \text{ou} \\
\text{öi} & \quad \text{öu}
\end{align*}
\]

Those which occur as rising diphthongs are the following:

(18) **rising diphthongs**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ia} & \quad \text{io} \\
\text{ua} & \quad \text{ue}
\end{align*}
\]

In general when the last two syllables of a word consist of a sequence of vowels,
stress occurs on the penultimate vowel and the vowels are pronounced separately,
often with an intervening glide, e.g. *kiö* [kíj] 'urine' (not [kj]); *ebua* [ɛbúwa] 'big'
(not [ɛbwa]).

Evidence that a vowel sequence behaves like a diphthong is revealed by
stress, which applies to the syllabic element of the diphthong, leaving the unstressed
element as an offglide or an onglide. Some examples of diphthongs in words are
given in (19) and (20). (Offglides and onglides are represented by superscript
characters in this study to distinguish them more clearly from the nuclear vowel in
phonetic transcriptions.):

(19) **Falling diphthongs**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \quad \text{ila'ila-ini 'calculate'} \\
\text{ae} & \quad \text{ba-ero 'outside'} \\
\text{ao} & \quad \text{sao-'ö 'make happen'} \\
\text{au} & \quad \text{hauga 'how much'}
\end{align*}
\]
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Rising diphthongs

As can be seen from the list of words, it is usually suffixes which alter the stress assignment of a word. When a suffix is attached to a word, stress moves one syllable to the right.

Evidence that the diphthong is treated by the language both as a single syllable and as a bimoraic structure comes from reduplication (see 3.5 for discussion of morphophonemic characteristics of reduplication). Diphthongs are treated as single syllables when they occur in stems which undergo disyllabic reduplication, e.g. *hauga-hauga* [háwga háwa] 'however much', from *hauga* 'how much', *faigi-faigi* [fájgi fájgi] 'watch' from *faigi* 'see', *faosa-faosa* [fáosafáosa] 'always share' from *faosa* 'share'. When only one syllable is reduplicated, however, only the nucleus is copied, e.g. *ka-kaoni* 'call out till attention is attracted' from *kaoni* [káoni] 'call out to'; *fa-faosa* 'divide up completely' from *faosa* [fáosa] 'share'; *ag-aitö* 'black (pl)' from *aitö* [ájtö] 'black'. This latter characteristic of reduplication indicates that it perceives diphthongs as consisting of two morae, one of which is prosodically active and takes part in the copying process, the other being prosodically inert and treated as a glide. This occurs whether the prosodically active mora is initial or final (i.e. whether the diphthong is falling or rising). Rising diphthongs which occur in reduplicated forms

---

27 The verb *tueli* 'get down' is the only example of the sequence /ue/. However, the verb occurs several times in the data.

28 In vowel-initial words, initial syllable reduplication inserts a /g/ between the copied vowel and the stem (see discussion of reduplication in 3.5.1)
include the prosodically inert mora as part of the onset, e.g. *ebua-ebua-ö* 'always make bigger', from *ebua-ö* 'make bigger' [ʔebʷəʔvə], is pronounced as [ʔebʷəʔebʷəʔvə], i.e. the initial glide counts as part of the consonantal onset\(^9\).

### 2.10 Word structure

All underived words in Nias consist of from one to three syllables. The majority of simple nouns, verbs and word bases are disyllabic, but there are a few monosyllabic forms and a larger proportion of trisyllabic forms. All words of more than three syllables appear to be derived.

#### 2.10.1 Monosyllabic words

Monosyllabicity is characteristic of phrasal and clausal particles and pronominal affixes in Nias Selatan, e.g. *fa* 'about', *ha* 'only', *ba* 'and', *me* 'when', *u*-'1s:RLS', *la-* '3p.RLS', *-gu* '1s.POSS'. There are very few monosyllabic nouns and verbs. A list of those which occur in my data are given in (21):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monosyllabic nouns</th>
<th>monosyllabic verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ö   'food'</td>
<td>so   'exist', 'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo  'lungs'</td>
<td>a    'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu  'hair'</td>
<td>be    'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo  'storage place above cooking area'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu  'family lineage'; 'clump'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li  'voice, speech, sound'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndri 'mosquito'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndro 'blood'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we  'liquid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In connected speech monomoraic forms such as ö 'food' have short vowels unless they carry stress, in which case they are lengthened (i.e. become bimoraic); diphthongs have the same duration as short single vowels in connected speech but

\(^9\) This is the only example I have of reduplication of a rising diphthong, so further data needs to be gathered in order to be certain that the reduplication process works in the same way with other words.
are lengthened when stressed. Phrasal and clausal particles and pronominal prefixes and suffixes generally have short vowels in connected speech since few of them are ever stressed.

2.10.2 Disyllabic words and roots

Disyllabic form is statistically the most frequent form for simple nouns and verbs and is the most common form for bound roots (lexemes which cannot function as nouns or verbs without further derivation; see discussion in 4.5). Examples of the types of disyllabic words which occur in Nias Selatan are given in (22):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>syll. form</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.V</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>'vein' ['uo']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.V</td>
<td>teu</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td>te'u</td>
<td>'mouse; rat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All but two dependent pronouns are also disyllabic, e.g.: ita '1pi:MUT', ira '3p:MUT', ndraga '1pe:MUT'.

2.10.3 Trisyllabic words

Many of the most commonly used nouns and all but one of the independent pronouns are trisyllabic. There are a few basic trisyllabic verbs as well, although nouns outnumber verbs by about ten to one. Some examples of common trisyllabic words are given in (23) and (24).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>trisyllabic nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adulo 'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alitö 'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balatu 'knife'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Note that the characterisation of such words as vowel-initial depends on an analysis of Nias in which the glottal which occurs in initial position is not phonemic. See 2.4.4 for discussion.
banua 'village'
benua 'garden'
eßali 'paved yard between rows of houses'
idanö 'water'
nagole 'meat'
ölömbu 'green coconut'
sekhula 'coconut'

(24) trisyllabic verbs
   ta'unö 'be dirty'
   kaliru 'be busy'

Synchronously, many intransitive verbs are also trisyllabic. This is because they are derived from disyllabic bound roots with monosyllabic prefixes, e.g. e-bua 'be big', a-ta'u 'be afraid', a-fusi 'be white'.

SECTION 4 CLAUSAL STRESS AND INTONATION

2.11 Intonation: overview

Intonation is used in Nias, as it is in other languages, to indicate emotional states or attitudes of the speaker. For a non-native speaker these uses are difficult to be certain of and will not be discussed in this study. However, intonation is also used in Nias to provide grammatical information, in particular for identifying various speech acts, and for distinguishing adverbial clauses from main clauses. One word in every clause is stressed more strongly than other words in the clause. It is on this word that the pitch change in intonational phrases signalling grammatical or pragmatic information pivots.

There are two main intonation contours, one with a falling pitch following the primary stress and one with a rising pitch. The clause types which carry falling intonation are statements, commands and information questions. Clause types which carry rising intonation contours include yes-no questions, requests, sentence-initial adverbial clauses and fronted constituents. Tag questions begin with falling
intonation and have rising intonation on their tags. For orthographic convenience, I use numbers to indicate levels of pitch. The number 2 is taken to be the normal pitch of the speaker, 1 is lower pitch than normal, 3 is higher and 4 is very high. I continue to use the mark [´] to indicate primary stress.

2.11.1 Falling intonation: statements

Statements have a normal level pitch up to the word which carries primary clausal stress, followed by a lowering of pitch on the syllable(s) after that, e.g.:

(25) Lôna la-vehé-gô.
     2 2 2 2 1
     NEG 3p.RLS-agree-TR
     They did not agree (to it).

(26) Lôna a-hôno dödö-nia.
     2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1
     NEG ST-calm liver-3s.POSS
     He wasn't at ease.

(27) A-ta'u sibái ira.
     2 2 2 2 3 1 1
     ST-afraid INTNS 3p.MUT
     They were very frightened.

(28) La-be ba mbá'a.
     2 2 2 2 1
     3p.RLS-put LOC pig.pen:MUT
     They put (them) in the pigpen.

Short utterances such as responses to questions have the same declarative intonation contour, although in contracted form. (If an entire intonation contour occurs on one syllable, I have indicated this with raised or lowered numbers.)
(29) Láu.
   
   2 1
   Yes / OK.

(30) 'Khō-gu.
   
   2 1
   DAT-1s.POSS
   To me. (in response to 'Who does this belong to?')

(31) Lōna.
   
   2 1
   NEG
   No.

2.11.2 Falling intonation: commands

Most commands have lowered pitch on syllables following the primary stress, e.g.:

(32) Dóro ga!
   3 1 1
   bring here
   Bring (it) here!

(33) Bōi mi-búnu!
   3 3 3 1
   NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-kill
   Don't kill (them)!

(34) Bōi mi-a-nái!
   2 2 2 3 1
   ......aN-sai
   NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-IPF-take
   Don't take (them)!
2.11.3 Falling intonation: information questions

Questions which begin with a question word usually begin with level pitch which can be slightly higher than normal. The pitch then drops after the syllable carrying primary stress, which usually occurs on the content word (or phrase) representing the information which is pre-supposed, e.g.:

(35) Haega gö́-mői?
   3 3 3 31
   where 2p.IRR-go
   Where are you going?

(36) Haega moróí ha'a?
   3 3 3 31 1 1
   where come.from PROX
   Where does this come from?

(37) Haega moroi ndráugö?
   3 3 3 33 3 1
   where come.from 2s..MUT
   Where have you been?

(38) Hanata íra=ndre?
   3 3 3 3 1 1
   who 3p.MUT=DIST
   Who were they?

(39) Hamega mofánö ira?
   2 2 2 2 3 1 1 1
   when leave 3p.MUT
   When did they leave?

(40) Haiya ni-wa'ö-u ga, Amá?
   2 3 2 2 3 1 1 1
   what PASS-say-2s.POSS here father
   What is it you want here, Sir?^{31}

^{31} Note that the final word *Ama* in (40) is stressed on the final syllable instead of the penultimate. This is typical of the vocative use of the kin terms *Ama* 'father' and *Ina* 'mother'. The most common way of
2.11.4 Rising intonation: yes-no questions

Yes-no questions have the same word order as simple statements but are distinguished from these by raised pitch on the final word of the utterance. Usually the pitch is level on the syllables preceding this word. Some examples are given in (41)-(43):

(41) Ma=so na zibayá-u?
    2  2  2  2  2  3  4
    sibaya
    PERF=arrive yet uncle:MUT-2s.POSS
Has your uncle arrived yet?

(42) So gamaßa=ö aná'a ga?
    2  2  2  2  2  2  2  3  3  4
    amaßa
    EXIST sale=DIST gold here
Are you still selling gold? (lit. Is there that selling of gold here?)

(43) Gô-man-a na ´ö-u?
    3  3  3  3  3  4
    2s.IRR-IRR-eat yet food-2s.POSS
Do you want some more to eat?

2.11.5 Rising intonation: Requests

Requests typically take the form of yes-no questions preceded by tola ('can'):

(44) Tola gu-váigí?
    2  2  2  2  3
    can 1sg.IRR-see:IRR
May I see (it) please?

---

attracting someone's attention is to use the word ho in front of an address form, e.g. 'Ho, Iná!', 'Excuse me, Ina', with the intonation [ 3 1 2 ].
2.11.6 Rising intonation: Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses and phrases which occur first in a sentence are separated from the main clause by a pause, and carry a rise in pitch or a rise with a dip in it on the final word of the clause or phrase. Some examples of adverbial clauses and phrases are given in (45)-(48). In (47) and (48) the final clause of the sentence is given also, showing normal declarative intonation:

(45) Na so z=a-nófu khō-mi, …
    \[2\ 2\ 2\ 3\ 2\ \ 2\ 2\ 3\\]
    s=aN-sofu
    if EXIST REL.MUT=IPF-ask DAT-2p.POSS
    If someone asks you, … (lit. 'if there is one who asks you')

(46) Me ma=la-dóro, …
    \[3\ 2\ \ 2\ 1\ \ 1\ \ 2\\]
    when PERF=3p.RLS-carry
    When they had brought them, …

(47) Haega=manö ni-rugi-ra banúa, | ba la-bokai féfu.
    \[2\ 2\ 2\ 3\ \ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 3\ \ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 2\ 1\]
    where just PASS-reach-3p.POSS village | CNJ 3p.RLS-open all
    Whatever village they reached, they opened all (of them).

(48) Fanuvö ha’á | la-halö ndrá-ono
    \[2\ 3\ 2\ \ 2\ 2\ 3\ \ 2\ 2\ 2\ \ 2\ 1\ \ 2\ 1\ 1\\]
    ira-
    war this | 3p.RLS-take COLL.MUTchild
    (In) this war, they took children.

2.11.7 Rising intonation: fronted constituents

Constituents which have been fronted also carry rising intonation, and are separated from the rest of the clause by a pause, e.g.:
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(49) Fefu gana'a ŵöna, te'ána mae ana'a maná.

all gold:MUT in front NEG(N) resemble gold now

All of the gold then, it was not like the gold today.

(50) ...ba féfu manu ni-doro-ra khö-nia gáö,

...CONJ all chicken PASS-carry-3p.POSS DAT-3s.POSS there
oi kála.

...and all of the chickens (fighting cocks) they'd brought to him there, they were all defeated

2.11.8 Falling and rising intonation: tag questions, leave-taking

Questions which request confirmation of a statement have falling pitch on the statement and rising pitch on the tag. The pitch of the statement can often be raised above normal until it drops on the penultimate syllable of the final word of the clause.

(51) Löna ono-´nia, ʻlö-a?

NEG. EXIST child-3sg.gen NEG-Q.tag

She doesn't have any children, does she?

Leave-taking usually takes the form of a hortative statement to which a polite particle =wa'e is attached:

(52) Da=gu-ʻmöi=wa'é?

HORT=1s:IRR-go=D.PTCL

I'll go now, if you'll excuse me32. (lit. Let me, I will go, OK?)

---

32 This is the most frequently used form of excusing oneself to leave.
2.12 Stress and intonation as evidence of constituency

In Laiya 1975(:124) there is a very nice example of how stress can distinguish the grammatical functions and constituents within a clause. Laiya gives the sentence *i’a manu simate asu*, which can be interpreted in three ways according to the way in which stress is assigned. In the first, clausal stress is assigned to the final word, and the sentence is translated as in (53). (Square brackets indicate constituents which belong together syntactically in these interpretations.)

(53) I’a [manu simate] ásu
    i-a manu si=mate asu
    3s.RLS-eat chicken REL =be dead dog

The dog eats the dead chicken.\(^33\)

The object of the verb in (53) is a noun modified by a relative clause, *manu si=mate*, 'chicken which is dead'.

In the second interpretation, given in (54) below, the word *simate* collocates with *asu* to form a headless relative meaning 'the one whose dog is dead'. Primary clausal stress still occurs on the final constituent, *asu*, but the verb *mate* carries secondary stress, as part of the constituent involved in signalling primary stress:

(54) I’a manu [simate ásu]
    i-a manu si=mate asu
    3s.RLS-eat chicken REL =be dead dog

The man whose dog is dead eats the chicken.

In fact, what Laiya shows with regard to these two sentences is that primary stress alone cannot signal different interpretations for these sentences. Other clues such as intonation contours must be taken into account. For example in (53) the pitch of the voice would normally continue fairly level till it reached the word *mate*, where the

---

\(^{33}\) Transcriptions and translations are taken directly from Laiya, but I have added glosses.
pitch would drop on the second syllable, and the final word, *asu*, would be spoken with lowered pitch, as shown in (53’):

\[(53')\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{i-a} & \text{manu} & \text{simate} & \text{asu} \\
2 & 2 & 2 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

3s.RLS-eat chicken REL=be dead dog

The dog eats the dead chicken.

In (54), a pitch drop would normally occur on the second syllable of the word *manu*, and lower pitch would remain throughout the phrase *simate asu*, as illustrated in (54’):

\[(54')\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{i-a} & \text{manu} & \text{simate} & \text{asu} \\
2 & 2 & 1 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

3s.RLS-eat chicken REL=be dead dog

The man whose dog is dead eats the chicken.

These examples are instructive for showing how intonation contours in association with stress can signal grammatical constituency. In (53), *asu* is the lexical subject of the verb *a ‘eat’* and is distinguished from the rest of the clause by its lower pitch. In (54) lower pitch on *simate asu* indicates that the entire phrase is the subject.

The third interpretation, involves three constituents, each stressed independently, resulting in a list of noun phrases. (It should be noted that stress disambiguates the meaning of the word *i’a*: if pronounced with stress on the final syllable, [ʔiʔá], it means *he/ she/ it eats*, but if pronounced with stress on the first syllable, [ʔiʔa], it can only mean *fish*.)*
(55) Í’a mánu [simate ásu]
    i’a manu si=mate asu
  fish  chicken  [REL=be.dead dog]
Fish, chicken, the man whose dog is dead.

In (55) each of the first two constituents would be followed by a pause, and possibly would have raised pitch on the second syllable. The third constituent would have level pitch until the final syllable where it drops to below normal range, indicating the end of the list, e.g.:

(56) Í’a mánu [simate ásu]
    2 3 2 3 2 2 2 2 1
  fish  chicken  [REL=be.dead dog]
Fish, chicken, the man whose dog is dead.

There is also a fourth interpretation not mentioned by Laiya (1975) which is similar to the last: the word simate by itself can mean 'the person/animal that died'. The utterance can consist of a list of four noun phrases if each of the words is given independent stress, e.g.:

(57) Í’a, mánu, simáte, ásu.
Fish, chicken, the dead person/animal, a dog.

2.13 Pitch change
Unusually high pitch or dramatic pitch change is found most frequently on constituents that the speaker is either surprised about or wants to emphasize so that the hearer will take note. Syllables which are spoken on a high pitch or on which such a pitch change occurs are often accompanied by very long vowels. Such variation in pitch is frequently found on constituents in first position, which is often the place for topicalized NPs and other fronted arguments, i.e. elements which are
typically contrasted or treated as grammatically special. Some examples of sentences in which constituents associated with unusual pitch occur are given in (58)-(63). (The words in English which correspond to those spoken on higher pitch and exaggerated vowel length or with a significant pitch change in Nias Selatan are underlined. Note that these words are not necessarily those which we might stress in English in these utterances. Length of vowels is indicated by [:].)

(58) Aná:'a gandre | Te'ana á:ßu.
    2 4 2 2 2 | 2 4 2 31
    andre
gold that.one:MUT | NEG(N) ash
That's **gold**! That's not ash!

(59) Zá:mba döi-nia! Moroi gáne
töi
    4 2 2 2, 3 3 3 2
    guava name:MUT-3s.POSS come.from there
    ba ´khö-ma!
    2 4 1
    LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
'Guava' is what that's called! It's from back there where I come from!

(60) He ´lö:na! Ha góßi=wa.
    2 4 1 2 4 1 1
    hey no! just sweet potato=D.PTCL
Hey **no way**! (it's) only (good enough for growing) sweet potato.

(61) La-waö ba á:mbö=wa na,
    2 1 2 2 4 2 2 2
    3p.RLS-say CONJ be less than=D.PTCL still
They said, 'but it's still **not enough**'.

(62) La-á! la-ága'ága börö va-á:mi!
2 3 2 1 2 1 3 2 2 2 4 1
fa-
3p.RLS-eat 3p.RLS-RDP2-eat because.of NR.MUT-tasty
They ate, and kept on eating, because (the fruits) were so tasty!

(63) Mo-vanövá:nö=manö ira
2 3 2 3 2 2 2 2
JNT-RDP2-leave=just 3p:MUT
They just went on from there, walking and walking.
CHAPTER 3
MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.1 Morphophonology: overview

There are four productive morphophonological processes and three restricted or fossilized processes which will be discussed in this section. The processes described in this chapter and the sections in which they are discussed are the following:

Section 1: Productive morphophonological processes
3.2 Nominal mutation
3.3 Nasal assimilation
3.4 /um/ allomorphy
3.5 Reduplication

Section 2: Fossilized or restricted processes
3.6 Vowel deletion (fossilized)
3.7 Sonorant deletion (fossilized)
3.8 Alternations in initial consonants of nominalizing suffixes (fossilized)
3.9 Vowel loss/contraction (restricted?)

SECTION 1: PRODUCTIVE MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

3.2 Nominal mutation

The most distinguishing feature of Nias morphosyntax is a system of segmental alternations which occur on the initial segment of most nominal constituents, which plays a role similar to that of case in other languages. I refer to this system by the term 'mutation' by analogy with a similar system of initial consonant alternations which are known by this name which operate in Celtic languages. Mutation is a morphophonemic process which affects the initial segments of simple nouns, pronouns, headless relatives and other derived nominals.
3.2.1 Mutation on nouns

The effect of mutation is most clearly observable in nouns. Nouns in Nias have two forms, a 'mutated' form and an 'unmutated' form. The unmutated form of a noun is usually its citation form. The mutated form differs from the unmutated form in its initial segment, in accordance with a set of regular morphophonemic alternations. Examples of unmutated forms of nouns (i.e. citation forms), their mutated forms, and a list of the alternations which occur are given in Table 3. Note that some initial segments do not change when mutated. These are /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /mb/, /Bl/, /w/, /g/, /ndr/, /kh/ and some initial /d/s and /z/s.

Table 3. Mutation in nouns: alternations in initial consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form and meaning</th>
<th>mutated form</th>
<th>alternation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>voiceless consonants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakhe 'rice'</td>
<td>vakhe</td>
<td>f &gt; v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanö 'land'</td>
<td>danö</td>
<td>t &gt; d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'o 'stick'</td>
<td>zi'o</td>
<td>s &gt; z [dz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci'aci'a 'gecko'</td>
<td>zi'aci'a</td>
<td>c [tʃ] &gt; z [dz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kefe 'money'</td>
<td>gefe</td>
<td>k &gt; g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>voiced consonants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baßi 'pig'</td>
<td>mbaßi</td>
<td>b &gt; mb [b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doi 'thorn; fishbone'</td>
<td>ndroi</td>
<td>d &gt; ndr [dɹ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason that the unmutated form of the noun and not the mutated form is regarded as the base form is that there are some phonemes which can signal mutation for several base forms. For example /z/ is the mutation form for /s/, /c/ or /z/; /d/ can be the mutation form for /t/ or for /d/; /g/ can be the mutation form for /k/, for /g/ itself or for a vowel-initial noun.
The nouns exemplified in Table 3 are all consonant-initial. Vowel-initial nouns are preceded by one of two consonants in their mutation forms: /n/ or /g/. Some examples of nouns which take /n/ in their mutated form are given in (1):

(1)  | unmutated noun       | mutated form  |
-----|----------------------|--------------|
öri  | 'village federation' | nöri         |
ubu | 'plank'              | nußu         |
oßo | 'boat'               | noßo         |
ißa | 'sibling'            | nißa         |
ete  | 'bridge'             | nete         |
adu  | 'statue of ancestor' | nadu         |

Examples of nouns which take /g/ in their mutation forms are given in (2):

(2)  | unmutated noun       | mutated form  |
-----|----------------------|--------------|
öri  | 'amulet'             | göri         |
ubu | 'part of coconut with eyes' | gußu |
oßoto | 'small dike'         | goßoto |
ißö | 'movement (e.g. of lips)' | gißö |
ete'ete | 'long unbroken wave' | gete'ete |
adulo | 'egg'             | gadulo |

Note that the first and second examples on each of the lists constitute minimal pairs. In unmutated form, öri can mean either 'village federation' or 'amulet', but the mutated form nöri can only mean 'village federation', while the mutated form göri can only mean 'amulet'. Similarly the noun ubu can mean 'plank' or 'part of the coconut with eyes', but nußu can only mean 'plank', and gußu, 'part of the coconut with eyes'. With each of the other vowels, the respective pairs constitute near-minimal pairs. Although the default mutation form for all derived vowel-initial nouns is /g/, there is no phonological conditioning which can predict which form a simple, underived noun will take. How do speakers know which nouns take /n/ and which take /g/?

Historical evidence suggests how this situation came about. The variation in initial mutation forms corresponds fairly consistently with different reconstructed
forms: with few exceptions mutation forms with /g/ are reflexes of PAn forms with initial *q and *k, while nouns which take /n/ are reflexes of vowel-initial or *S-initial forms (as was mentioned in 2.4.4 with respect to the phonemic status of initial glottal stops). On a synchronic level, it seems plausible to propose that nouns which take /n/ in their mutation forms are vowel-initial while those which take /g/ are phonemically glottal initial. However, as was mentioned with respect to the phonemic status of word-initial glottals (see 2.4.4), by distinguishing one set of nouns from the other by the presence or absence of a glottal involves an increase in the number and complexity of

1 PAn forms beginning with *q and *k are listed in (i), with their reflexes in Nias Selatan. PAn vowel-initial forms and forms beginning with *S, which was lost everywhere in Nias, are listed in (ii) with their Nias reflexes (reconstructed forms are taken from Zorc 1994, 1995; with variants in parentheses taken from Blust 1999):

(i) PAn forms beginning with *q and *k

PAn *qaCey 'liver' > (g)ate;
PAn *quáy 'rattan' > (g)ue;
PAn *qalipan 'centipede' > (g)alifa;
PAn *qateluR 'egg' > (g)adulo; (*qiCelùR)
PAn *kúliC 'skin' > (g)uli; (*qaNiC)
PAn *káyuH 'tree, wood' > (g)eu (*kaSiw)

(ii) PAn forms beginning with a vowel or *S

PAn *uRát 'vein, sinew' > (n)uo
PAn *i+jú 'nose' > (n)ikhu
PAn? *aNak 'offspring' > (n)ono 'child'
PAn *Sají 'younger sibling' > (n)akhi
PAn *Sesi 'meat, flesh, contents' > (n)ösi

However, on the basis of current historical knowledge, this neat division does not account for all the data. For example some forms in Nias Selatan which have mutant forms with /n/ have reflexes reconstructed with *q in PAn e.g.:

PAn *qa+je 'charcoal' > (n)akho
PAn *qenay 'sand' > (n)ene 'area of sand'
PAn *qúluH 'head' > (n)ulu 'headwaters of river'

Similarly some forms which have mutant forms with /g/ reflect PAn reconstructions which are vowel initial or *S initial, e.g.:

PAn *ikuR 'tail' > (g)i'
PAn *Si-ka'en 'fish' > (g)i'a (*sikan)

PMP forms are also inconsistent in reflecting the mutation form in Nias. Vowel initial PMP forms may reflect /g/ or /n/, e.g.:

PMP *aluja 'paddle' > (g)alukha 'oar'
PMP *andu 'ancestors' > (n)adu 'ancestor image'

In addition, at least one common noun has a different mutation form in Nias Utara from the form it takes in Nias Selatan: alitö 'fire' (< PHN *aliten 'firebrand'). This noun has the mutant form nalitö in Nias Selatan but galitö in Nias Utara.
morphological rules, requiring the replacement of the glottal in certain derivational processes or the insertion of a glottal in others.

However, there may be no need to posit a phonemic glottal in front of some vowel-initial nouns. There are, in fact, only a relatively small number of nouns which take /n/ in mutation, and the fact that the list is fairly small suggests another solution. I have listed all of the nouns from my data which fall into this set in (3)-(5) below. The nouns are listed in the three categories which are distinguished syntactically by the grammar of Nias: 'human', 'non-human animate' and 'inanimate' (see 11.6).

**Nouns which occur with initial /n/ in mutated form**

(3) **human nouns**
   - aßö 'companion'
   - akhi 'younger sibling'
   - ama 'father'
   - emali 'enemy'
   - eni 'messenger'
   - ißa 'sibling'
   - ina 'mother'
   - ono 'child'
   - udu 'enemy'

(4) **non-human animates**
   - asu 'dog'
   - agö 'crab'

(5) **inanimates**
   - adu 'statue of ancestor'
   - afo 'betel quid'
   - alitö 'fire'
   - asi 'sea'
   - eßali 'yard'
   - ene 'seashore'
   - ete 'footbridge made of two planks'
   - idanö 'water'
   - ogu 'neck'
ohi 'coconut tree'
omo 'house
ōbo 'small boat'
ose 'hut in field for resting during work'
ōri 'federation of villages'
ōsi 'contents'
ulu 'headwaters'
urakha 'one's share'
ūbu 'plank of wood'

As can be seen, most of the nouns in the lists above are simple disyllabic forms, referring to familiar people or common items in daily life. There are no morphophonemic grounds for distinguishing this set, and there appear to be no strong semantic grounds for grouping them together either. One striking observation that can be made about the nouns in this set is that it contains all of the vowel-initial nouns that refer to humans. In other words, there is no vowel-initial noun referring to a human being that takes a mutation form in /g/. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that speakers simply learn the set of nouns which take /h/ in mutation form. If speakers distinguish these nouns from the rest in this way, then it is not necessary to posit a glottal stop in initial position in the majority of vowel-initial nouns.

3.2.2 Mutation in pronouns and the collective particle -ira

Pronouns, too, have mutated forms, but in their case the effect of mutation is irregular. A list of pronouns in unmutated and mutated form is given in Table 4. The pronouns are termed 'unmutated' and 'mutated' in this study for the sake of avoiding terminological confusion.
Table 4: pronouns in Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>unmutated</th>
<th>mutated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ya'o</td>
<td>ndraao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s.EMPH</td>
<td>ya'oto</td>
<td>ndraoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ya'ugö</td>
<td>ndraugö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ya'ia</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>ya'ita</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>ya'aga</td>
<td>ndraga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ya'ami</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ya'ira</td>
<td>ira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that while some of the unmutated forms regularly correspond to forms which begin with /ndra/, other mutated forms are irregular. (For further discussion of pronouns see 4.6)

Another form which is affected by mutation is the 'collective' prefix *ira*-. This prefix attaches to kin terms and proper names to refer to people who occur in, or are thought of as a member of, a group, e.g. *ira-Dali* 'Dali's family' or 'Dali and his companion(s). When mutated, this prefix takes the form *ndra-*., e.g. *khö ndra-Dali [DAT COLL.MUT-Dali] 'to/from Dali's family (see 4.3)*.

### 3.2.3 Mutation in classifiers

Mutation operates in a different way with a set of nouns which are used as classifiers. Classifiers are a small set of nouns which categorize other nouns according to semantic principles and are used with numerals in counting (see 4.3). When classifiers are used as normal nouns, they follow the same rules of mutation as other nouns. When they are used as classifiers, they conform to a slightly different system of initial segment

---

2 It is presumably not a coincidence that the forms *ira-* and *ndra-* correspond to the realis and irrealis forms of third plural pronominal prefixes which occur with verbs (see 10.3.1). However, if these forms are related, it is difficult to understand how verbal prefixes came to be attached to proper names or kin terms.
alternations. When a classifier follows a numeral ending in /a/, the classifier takes a mutated form, as exemplified in (6). (The classifiers used in the following examples are eu 'classifier for non-human animates' and roto 'classifier for things that come in sections (like sugarcane or bamboo)'; see 4.3 for full list of classifiers.)

(6)  
\[
\text{dua geu mbaßi} \quad \text{[two CLF.MUT pig:MUT]} \quad \text{'two pigs'}
\]
\[
\text{öfa ndroto dößu} \quad \text{[four CLF.MUT sugarcane:MUT]} \quad \text{'four pieces of sugarcane'}
\]

However, when the numeral does not end in /a/, it is linked to a following classifier by the particle na=, e.g.:

(7)  
\[
\text{önö na=}\text{eu mbaßi} \quad \text{[six LK=CLF pig:MUT]} \quad \text{'six pigs'}
\]
\[
\text{fitu na=}\text{roto dößu} \quad \text{[seven LK=CLF sugarcane:MUT]} \quad \text{'seven pieces of sugarcane'}
\]

In other words, mutation of classifiers is in contrastive distribution with a construction consisting of a linker and unmutated noun³.

### 3.2.4 Initial segment alternations in numerals

Numerals have their own system of alternations in initial segments which bear some resemblance to the system of nominal mutations. However these alternations are different enough to warrant calling the numeral system a separate one.

The cardinal numbers are the following:

(8)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>numeral</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sara</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Not all classifiers are in their unmutated form after na=. Those which begin with /b/ are lenited after na=. However lenition of /b/, which historically occurred as a result of being intervocalic, is a process which is no longer productive, and the forms in which the lenited form of /b/ occur synchronically are fossilized (see discussion of /b/ in 2.4.1 for examples, and Chapter 2 fn. 14). For the purposes of exemplifying the contrastive distribution between na= and mutation in classifiers, however, the fossilized lenited forms of the classifiers beginning with /b/ can be regarded as equivalent to unmutated forms.
Numerals for the 'teens' are formed by the combination of a base fele- (presumably related to fulu, 'ten') followed by one of the numbers from sara 'one' to siwa 'nine'. Numerals based on fele- are listed in (9):

(9) numeral value
fele-zara 11
fele-ndrua 12
fele-dölu 13
fele-öfa 14
fele-lima 15
fele-önö 16
fele-ßitu 17
fele-walu 18
fele-zwiwa 19

If one compares the numeral forms in (9) with the numerals in (8), one can see that many of the initial phonemes occur in a changed form. Some of the alternations which occur are the same as those which occur in nominal mutations: /s/ alternates with /z/, /d/ with /ndr/ and /t/ with /d/. What is different in this group is that /f/ does not have a voiced fricative counterpart but is lenited to /ß/ (as occurs also in complex numerals.

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4 The same set of changed forms occurs in the construction meaning 'n times', e.g. me-ndrua 'twice', me-dölu 'three times', me-ßitu 'seven times'. Although it is not clear what influence the phonological form has on the alternations in the initial segment, it is of interest to note that both fele- and me- end in /el.
based on *fulu* as discussed below⁵), and that the 'vowel-initial' numerals öfa 'four' and önö 'six' do not have counterparts with /n/ or /g/ as vowel-initial nouns do, but in fact require the insertion of a glottal stop following *fele*- The system of sound alternations in these numerals, therefore, is not exactly the same as those of nominal mutation. Nor are they simply the result of voicing or lenition. In effect, the same observation can be made about the alternations in this set as can be made of those in the set of nominal mutations: the changes which occur in these numerals are not predictable by phonemic rule and must therefore be learnt. A great deal of evidence points to the fact that numerals are classified as verbs in Nias (see 4.4), so it is surprising to find alternations similar to mutation in a set of verb-like words. However, numerals behave differently from verbs also (see 4.4 and 8.5.2), so it is also not so surprising that alternations in them are different from those of nouns, since the contexts for use are, and presumably always have been, different.

### 3.2.5 Morphological status of mutation

There are four ways in which 'mutation' is realized in nominals:

(i) as a change in the initial consonant on consonant-initial nominals, according to the alternations described in 3.2.1, e.g. *baßi* 'pig' - *mbaßi* 'pig:MUT'.

(ii) as an /n/ or /g/ added in front of the initial vowel on vowel-initial nominals, as described in 3.2.1, e.g. *omo* 'house' - *nomo* 'house:MUT', ömó 'debt' - gömö 'debt:MUT'.

(iii) as irregular changes in the morphological form of pronouns, involving the initial syllable, e.g. *ya'ugö* 2s - *ndraugö* 2s.MUT, or the lack of the initial syllable or first two syllables, e.g. *ya'ira* 3p - *ira* 3p.MUT, *ya'ami* 2p - *mi* 2p.MUT (see Table 4.).

---

⁵ /f/ is also lenited sporadically in some lexical words: *manaßuli* 'return', related to *fuli* 'give back, turn back', and *oßuloa* 'group' related to *ofulo* 'be gathered'. The number *fitu* 'seven' is also lenited in the construction *me fitu* 'seven times'.
(iv) as an irregular change in the morphological form of the 'collective' prefix ira-, while the noun remains unmutated, e.g. *ira-onono* [COLL-child] 'child, children' - *ndra-onono* [COLL.MUT-child] 'child, children:MUT'.

If one also includes the alternation found in numeral classifiers between a mutated classifier and a linker plus an unmutated noun (see 3.2.3), a fifth realization can be added: *na= + unmutated noun*. Note that whichever context mutation occurs in, it occurs always on the initial segment or syllable of that constituent.

The grammatical trigger for mutation does not have to be adjacent to the mutated nominal—the nominal may be separated from the trigger by another NP, adverbial constituents or particles. For example in (10), the verb is the grammatical trigger for the mutation of its P argument\(^6\) sekhula nirökhi 'grated coconut', but it is separated from its P argument by the locative phrase *ba ragaraga* 'into the basket':

(10) I-be ba ragaraga zekhula ni-rökhi.
    ragaraga sekhula
    3s.RLS-put LOC basket:MUT coconut:MUT PASS-grate

She put the grated coconut into the basket.

However, if a nominal occurs in front of its trigger, it is no longer mutated. For example in (11), the P argument tanö hö'ö, 'that land', occurs at the front of the clause and takes unmutated form:

---

\(^6\) In discussing the contexts for mutation (and other syntactic constructions) the abbreviations S, P and A are used as terms for the functions of the obligatory arguments in prototypical clause types (following Comrie 1978): S represents the single argument of an intransitive verb, P represents the more patientive argument in a transitive clause and A represents the more agentive argument in a transitive clause. This is a variation of the forms S, A and O also commonly used. I have chosen to use P rather than O because it is semantically isomorphic with A, in that A represents the argument which prototypically corresponds to the more agentive participant in a transitive clause and P represents the argument which prototypically corresponds to the more patientive.
3. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

(11) Tanö hö'ö, irugi mana, la-f-o-töi 'taro'o zi'o'.

That land, until now, is called 'Taro'o zi'o' ('the stick is planted').

Compare this sentence in its non-fronted form, in which the noun tanö 'land' occurs in its mutated form, danö: La-fotöi danö hö'ö 'taro'o zi'o' [3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name land: MUT DIST 'plant stick: MUT'] 'They called that land, 'taro'o zi'o'.) This suggests that mutation is constrained to occur only within scope of its trigger and that in all cases the scope of the trigger extends rightwards.

Given that mutation has four (or five) distinct realizations and that the form of mutation that appears depends on the kind of nominal to which it applies, mutation must be represented as an abstract morpheme. Since a nominal which is mutated as a result of its relationship to a verb may occur anywhere in a predicate, the mutation morpheme must be able to 'float', and be realized by the appropriate form when its host takes its place in the clause. Mutation and the word to which it is attached are treated by the syntax as a single unit, not as separable morphemes.

A formal question has not yet been addressed: is mutation a clitic, an affix or some other morphological configuration? The evidence, which is reviewed below, seems to provide conflicting views.

To begin with, the irregularities in the morphophonological form of mutation described in (i)-(iv) above are very un-clitic-like, as is also representation by an abstract morpheme, which is required to account for these irregularities. Second, mutation is selective in the word class to which it attaches. Mutation applies to constituents which function as arguments of verbs, prepositions, numerals, quantifiers and other nominals, i.e. nouns, pronouns, headless relatives and nominalized forms of verbs (see chapter 7). However, mutation does not affect the quantifier fefu 'most, all', the indefinite pronoun samösä 'one person' or numeral + classifier constructions when they are used as arguments of verbs. For example, in (12) and (13), fefu 'all' and samösä 'one
person' function as P arguments, and in (14) *da-tōlu* 'three people' functions as an S argument. S and P arguments require mutated NPs, yet *fefu*, *samōsa* and *da-tōlu* are unmutated in these functions.

(12) Tola ta-fake fefu.
    can 1pi.RLS-use all
    We can use all (of them).

(13) Ta-fili samōsa.
    1pi.RLS-choose one person
    We chose one person.

(14) Mo-guna da-tōlu.
    HAVE-need CLF-three
    Three men are needed. (/ One has need of three men.)

Mutation also does not affect the prepositional phrase *khō* + possessive suffix, meaning 'N's place' when it is used as an NP. For example *khō-ma* is unchanged after the locative preposition *ba* in (15), a context which normally calls for a mutated nominal:

(15) Toroi ya ba khō-ma.
    stay.at 3s.MUT LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
    She's staying at our place.

Mutation thus appears 'sensitive' to the category of the word which functions as a nominal. This sensitivity, too, is a property of affixes, not of clitics.

Mutation affects an entire phrase, not just single constituents. It is marked only once in the phrase, at the beginning. For example NPs joined by *ba* 'and' or *ma* 'or', are marked with mutation only on the initial segment of the first conjunct. An example of a conjoined NP is given in (16) below. The phrase *zi'ulu ba si'ila ba niha mbanua* 'the village leader, (his) advisors and the people of the village', is a single NP which
functions as the S argument of the verb *orahu* 'have a meeting'. Mutation is marked only on the first conjunct, *si'ulu* 'village leader':

(16) ... orahu zi'ulu ba si-ila ba niha mbanua.

\[ si'ulu \]

... HAVE-meeting village.leader:MUT CNJ advisor CNJ person village:MUT

... the village leader, (his) advisors and the people of the village had a meeting.

This feature of mutation is more clitic-like that affix-like, since affixal case is typically marked on each of the NPs in a conjoined phrase.

In headless relatives, also, mutation only occurs on the first constituent of the clause, i.e. the relative marker *s(i)=*. An example of mutation on a headless relative is given in (17) below. The headless relative *zi=loña fa-oror* 'that which cannot be seen', is the P argument of *ila* 'see'. It is the whole clause which is subject to mutation, yet it is only *si=* which is mutated:

(17) I-ila zi=loña fa-oror.

\[ si= \]

3s.RLS-see REL.MUT=NEG DO-visible

He sees things that are not visible.

The relative marker *s(i)=* is itself analysed (tentatively) as a clitic in this thesis. *S(i)=* attaches to whichever word appears first in the predicate in a relative clause (see 8.4 for details). Typically affixes do not attach to clitics, while clitics may attach to other clitics. If the relative marker is a clitic, then the mutation morpheme is most likely also a clitic.

The evidence discussed above is summarized in (18) and (19):
(18) Evidence for clitic status of mutation
(i) Mutation is always at the beginning of the phrase or clause. If mutation were an affix, one might expect that it could be marked on constituents within a phrase.
(ii) In particular, mutation is only marked on the first conjunct of conjoined NPs. Case affixes, if they apply to conjoined NPs, tend to occur with each conjunct.
(iii) Mutation applies not just to nouns and pronouns, but also to the relative marker $s(i)=\text{ in headless relatives (see 6.3). Such indifference to the morphological constituency of a nominal is more clitic-like than affix-like.}$
(iv) Case affixes do not generally apply to clitics, and mutation applies to the clitic $s(i)=\text{, as mentioned in (iii), implying that mutation is itself a clitic.}$

(19) Evidence for affixal status of mutation
(i) Mutation exhibits a certain degree of selection with respect to the word class with which it can occur, attaching to nouns, pronouns and nominalized clauses, but not to quantifiers or numerals.
(ii) The morphological irregularities shown in pronouns and the collective particle $ira-,\text{ and the fusional nature of mutation in nouns, are typical of affixes but not clitics.}$
(iii) Where mutation is phonologically regular, it is not phonetically predictable—a characteristic of affixes rather than clitics, which tend to be morphologically transparent.

As mentioned above, the evidence appears contradictory. Since there is no practical need to take a stand on this issue, the decision about the morphological status of mutation is left for further analysis.

3.2.6 Clues to the origins of mutation
Clues to the origins of mutation in Nias can be found in several parts of the grammar. One important clue comes from constructions containing the linker $na=$ which is found
in contexts related to quantification. As described in section 3.2.3 above, constructions consisting of a linker and unmutated classifier are in contrastive distribution with a construction which has a mutated form of a classifier. To repeat what was said there, classifiers which occur with numerals ending in /a/ are mutated as illustrated in (20a), while classifiers which occur with numerals not ending in /a/ are unmutated but require the linker na=, as illustrated in (20b):

(20a)  lima geu mbaßi  [five CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'five pigs'
(20b)  walu na=eu mbaßi  [eight LK=CLF pig:MUT] 'eight pigs'

It seems clear that the mutation of the classifier and the linker na= are related in some way. The most obvious possibility is that mutation is derived from the fusion of a reduced form of the linker with the initial segment of the classifier (although the phonological reasons for the reduction of the linker are not absolutely clear). Whether this is the path taken in the development of mutation or not, it appears that the linker in classifier constructions retains an earlier form of mutation in those nouns which are used as classifiers, and may, in fact, illustrate an earlier form of mutation in all nouns in Nias.

Mutation does not contrast with a nasal linker in any other part of the grammar, although a linker na= occurs in other quantificational phrases (see below). However, there is a great deal of evidence in Austronesian languages in general for linkers in NPs. Nasal ligatures or linkers are used in quantificational constructions in a large number of Malayo-Polynesian languages (Adelaar 1994). A genitive linker is a well-established feature of Austronesian languages and has been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (*ni) and Proto Malayo-Polynesian (*nu). The evidence for nasal ligatures or linkers with functions in NPs other than numeral and classifier phrases or possessive phrases is less well-documented, but is nevertheless not hard to find. Adelaar (1994:4) notes Tagalog and Old Javanese as having a nasal linker indicating (amongst other meanings) definiteness or deixis, although there is general use of a nasal linker between
constituents in NPs in many Philippine languages. Toba Batak uses a ligature *na* in NPs (Foley 1980:185), and Karo Batak uses a 'specifier', *-na*, in an NP which introduces new information (Woollams 1998:147). Tolai uses a connecting particle, *na*, between many constituents in a noun phrase (Mosel 1984); and Malagasy is only one of several other Austronesian languages which use a nasal morpheme as an article preceding nouns.

Based on the extensive evidence for pre-nominal nasal morphemes in Austronesian and the evidence in Nias of contrastive distribution between linkers and mutation, it seems reasonably uncontroversial to claim that a nasal morpheme of some kind used to precede nouns in Nias to mark those contexts which are now marked by mutation (which are in all cases contexts in which the noun is dependent, i.e. contexts which might call for linkers). Given the variety of linkers in other languages, it is possible, too, that there were different forms of linkers in Nias in different grammatical contexts. Clearly, however, whatever form such linkers took at an earlier time, the result of their interaction with the noun which followed them was the same, since mutated forms of nouns in all syntactic contexts which require mutation do not differ.

There is another area of the morphophonology of numerals which is analogous to that which has just been described for classifiers, but differs in a significant way. In numerals it is lenition which is in contrastive distribution with a construction containing a linker. In numerals based on *fulu* 'ten', *fulu* occurs in lenited form when the number preceding it ends in /a/, e.g.:

\[(21) \quad \text{dua fulu} \quad \text{[two ten:LEN]} \quad \text{‘twenty’} \]
\[\text{lima fulu} \quad \text{[five ten:LEN]} \quad \text{‘fifty’} \]
\[\text{siwa fulu} \quad \text{[nine ten:LEN]} \quad \text{‘ninety’} \]

When the numeral preceding *fulu* ends in a vowel other than /a/, *fulu* remains unchanged, but must be accompanied by the linker *na=*, e.g.

---

This particle may or may not be the same linker as occurs with numerals in construction with classifiers, but is, in any case, homophonous with it. The evidence for a nasal ligature between numerals and the word for 'ten' is found in many MP languages (see Adelaar 1994 for discussion).
As can be observed, in a pattern similar to that of mutation and linker constructions in classifiers, the lenition of /ʃ/ in *fulu is in contrastive distribution with the linker *na= plus an unlenited form. Like the contrastive distribution between mutation and *na= in classifiers, this suggests that lenition has developed from the closer phonological association of the linker with *fulu in those constructions where the linker followed /a/.

However, there is more to the picture in numerals: the linker *na= also occurs in higher numerals based on *otu 'hundred' and *hönö 'thousand', but in these cases the linker occurs even when *otu or *hönö is preceded by numerals ending in /a/, e.g.

\[(23)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa-na=otu} & \quad [\text{one-LK}=100] \quad '100' \\
\text{dua na=otu} & \quad [\text{two-LK}=100] \quad '200' \\
\text{lima na=otu} & \quad [\text{five-LK}=100] \quad '100' \\
\text{siwa na=hönö} & \quad [\text{nine-LK}=100] \quad '9000' \\
\end{align*}
\]

Whatever the motivating factor for the lenition of /ʃ/ in *fulu was in the examples in (21), it is absent from the forms in (23). However, it may be possible to explain this in part, and throw some light on the lenition of /ʃ/ in *fulu at the same time. Although the linker is not absent in numerals based on *otu '100' when following numerals ending in /a/, it does occur in a phonologically reduced form. The linker and the numeral *otu 'hundred' form a phonological word, as revealed by the fact that a diphthong is created from the sequence of vowels which arises from the attachment and that stress occurs on the more vocalic of the segments, i.e. /a/=—the word *naotu is pronounced as a disyllabic word with stress on the first syllable: [ná̃tu], indicating that the linker and numeral are no longer separate phonological words. Evidently, then, there is a tendency for the linker

---

Blust (1995: 628) also mentions that there is evidence for a ligature *ə between the clitic numeral *esa ‘one’ and the base *puluq ‘group of ten’ in the common ancestor of extra-Formosan languages.
to attach to the word following it (rather than the word preceding it) if the phonological context is conducive to such an attachment. Such attachment has presumably occurred with *fulu* and *otu*. Because of its morphophonological integration with its host, the linker is regarded syntactically as a clitic. However, it does have affix-like properties: clearly it is sensitive to the morphological category of its host, and clearly it takes part in a mini-paradigm consisting of *na* or lenition, one of which must occur in the position preceding the numeral. Despite its affix-like properties, however, *na* is analysed in this thesis as a clitic because of its morphophonological integration with *otu*. If the linker were a prefix, a glottal stop should be inserted between it and the numeral, since prefixes are regarded as separate phonological words for the purposes of glottal insertion (see 2.4.4).

On the basis of the evidence presented here, it can also be extrapolated that the linker which alternates with mutation in classifiers discussed above, like the linker which alternates with lenition in numerals, attaches to the classifier which follows it, and not to the preceding numeral.

### 3.3 Nasal assimilation

The second major morphophonemic process which operates in Nias is the system of 'nasal assimilation'. Nasal assimilation refers to patterns of morphophonemic alternations which occur at the juncture of certain prefixes and verb stems. The process is a characteristic of verb systems in western Malayo-Polynesian languages. The trigger for nasal assimilation in Nias is the morpheme *aN*-.

This morpheme is an imperfective marker and detransitivizing prefix which occurs mainly in nominalized forms of transitive verbs and almost invariably in association with another affix (see Chapter 6 for nominalization and 3.3 for the prefix *maN*- of which *aN*- is part). 'N' represents an underspecified nasal segment which takes a different form depending on the initial segment of the stem to which it is attached. The underspecified segment is regarded as

---

8 Presumably *hõnõ* 'thousand' is unaffected by *na* because the phoneme /h/, which often patterns with sonorants in languages, is in general unaffected by mutation, and may therefore also be unaffected by the phonemic conditions which give rise to lenition and fusion in numerals.
nasal because in default contexts, such as vowel initial verbs, it surfaces as [n], and in other contexts it is responsible for generating a nasal segment homorganic with the initial obstruent on the verb. Since Nias allows neither syllable final consonants nor consonant clusters, the nasal coda in these prefixes cannot be realized as a nasal consonant in front of consonants in stem-initial position. What happens to resolve this problem is that the nasal coda of the prefix and the initial consonant of the verb fuse to become the single consonant onset of the second syllable of the derived form (e.g. m-aN- + fake 'use' \(\Rightarrow\) m-a-make).

The most common changes that occur due to nasal assimilation are listed below (with examples using the imperfective prefix maN-). For the sake of morphological clarity in glossing these forms, prefixes are separated from the base before the fused consonant:

(i) Bilabial phonemes and voiceless (dento-)alveolar and (alveo-)palatal consonants are replaced with homorganic nasals:

\[
\begin{align*}
/b/ & \rightarrow /m/ \quad \text{be'e 'give'} \quad \text{ma-me'e} \\
/f/ & \rightarrow /m/ \quad \text{fake 'use'} \quad \text{ma-make} \\
/t/ & \rightarrow /n/ \quad \text{tagö 'steal'} \quad \text{ma-nagö} \\
/s/ & \rightarrow /n/ \quad \text{sofu 'ask a question'} \quad \text{ma-nofu} \\
/c/ [\text{ì}] & \rightarrow /n/ \quad \text{cibo 'throw away'} \quad \text{ma-nibo}
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) The voiced dento-alveolar consonants /d/ and /r/ are replaced by the stop with trilled release, and the prefix changes to mo-:

\[
\begin{align*}
/d/ & \rightarrow /ndr/ [\text{dr}] \quad \text{döli 'drag'} \quad \text{mo-ndröli} \\
/r/ & \rightarrow /ndr/ [\text{dr}] \quad \text{rino 'boil, cook'} \quad \text{mo-ndrino}
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) Velar consonants are replaced by /g/, and the prefix changes to mo-:

---

9 As discussed in 2.4.3, the phoneme /c/ is probably derived from /t/ or /s/ preceding /l/. Since nasal assimilation has operated in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages from very early times, it is probable that the nasally assimilated form in Nias was established at a time when /n/ replaced a base-initial /t/ or /s/.
(iv) For the most part, the consonants /β/, /ndr/, /n/, /l/, /g/ and /h/ remain unchanged, but the prefix changes to *mo-*, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buβusi</td>
<td>'breathe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndanda</td>
<td>'plait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōnō</td>
<td>'add'; 'whisper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawa</td>
<td>'challenge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gale</td>
<td>'sell merchandise carried on pole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halō</td>
<td>'hold, take'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>New Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>kaoni 'call to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kh/ [x]</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>khau 'fine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) Vowel-initial verbs, with the exception of verbs beginning with /o/, display the default form of the prefix, (C)an-, e.g. *man-alui* 'looking for' from alui 'look for', *man-uri* 'keeping' from uri 'keep, look after'. Verbs beginning with /o/ are anomalous in appearing to gain a prothetic /l/, and in taking o-, e.g. *mo-lohe* 'carrying' from ohe 'carry' (in fact the /l/ which occurs in these verbs is probably a retention from an earlier form of the root\(^\text{10}\)). This rule applies only to *underived* verb stems beginning with /o/. Derived verbs beginning with /o/ behave like all other vowel initial verb stems and take the default form of the prefix, e.g. *man-ofulo-i* 'collecting' from ofulo-i 'collect' [gathered-TR].

The variations in the forms of the verb are not due to a simple phonetic process. If the variation in the initial segment were the result of a simple process of homorganic nasal substitution, the (dento-)alveolar segments /d/ and /t/ ought to be replaced by /n/, and the velar phonemes by /ŋ/. In the case of velar segments, it could be argued that the

\(^{10}\) The reason for the occurrence of [l] in verb bases beginning with /o/ is almost certainly historical. Initial /o/ in Nias is a reflex of PAN and PMP *RV, where *R is some sort of post-velar rhotic. Some reflexes which show this derivation are PAN *Raya 'big' > Nias oya 'many, much (inanimate)'; PAN *Rumag 'house' > Nias omo; PMP *Ratus '100' > Nias otu. It is possible then that an initial rhotic in verb bases developed a nasal assimilation form of /l/ prior to the loss of the rhotic from initial position in underived base forms. The 'new' segment (/l/) would have been protected from loss by being word-internal (as one can see in, e.g., *molohe* 'carrying').
replacement by a nasal segment cannot take place because there is no velar nasal in the phonemic inventory of Nias Selatan. However, this cannot be the reason, since the same alternations (i.e. /k/ and /x/ with /g/, not /ŋ/) occur also in Nias Utara, where a velar nasal is present in the phonemic inventory of the language. What this indicates is that while the [+nasal] feature of the coda prevails in the alternations of anterior consonants, some other feature must be responsible for the change in velar phonemes. This also provides evidence that the features of the coda must operate independently of each other, and are activated by features of the segment with which /N/ is juxtaposed.

Certain phonemes behave at variance with the general principles so far outlined. These phonemes are: /b/, /β/, /d/, /l/, /r/, /z/ and /k/. The anomalies which occur are the following:

/b/ and /β/  As noted above, an initial /b/ is usually replaced by /m/ and the prefix retains the vowel /a/. In some verbs, however, /b/ is replaced by a bilabial trill and the prefix takes a form with /o/, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base verb</th>
<th>nasally assimilated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baso 'read'</td>
<td>mo-mbaso (*mamaso)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balo 'mend'</td>
<td>mo-mbalo (*mamalo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Laiya dictionary (1985), there are eight verbs beginning with /b/ which are listed as taking the bilabial trill in their nasal assimilation form compared with thirty-four which take /m/. Two of the eight anomalous verbs are ones which have alternative pronunciations with /β/. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base verb</th>
<th>nasally assimilated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>böβöi / Böβöi 'make'</td>
<td>mo-mbööi (*ma-möööi; *mo-böööi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babaya / Baßaya 'touch'</td>
<td>mo-mbaßaya (*ma-maßaya; *mo-baßaya)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another verb, βaßalö 'borrow', which has no alternative form beginning with /b/, nevertheless has two nasally assimilated forms, one of which begins with a bilabial trill: mo-mbalö / mo-βaßalö 'borrowing'. The alternative form with the bilabial trill is also anomalous in not having the initial syllable reduplication, suggesting that this form may reflect an older form in which the initial segment of the base verb was /b/.

/d/ Although /d/ is usually replaced by /ndr/ and the prefix preceding the base takes a form with /o/, two verbs have different nasally assimilated forms. The common verb, doro 'carry on shoulder', has an alternative form in which /d/ is replaced by /n/, and the prefixal vowel is /a/: ma-noro. In other words doro behaves as if it begins with a voiceless consonant. The other verb, daludalu-ni [medicine-TR] 'treat; cure', does not change, but takes a prefix with /o/, e.g. mo-daludalu-ni 'treating'.

/l/ /l/ is usually preceded by a prefix with /o/, but one verb has a different nasally assimilated form. In the verb, lali 'change', initial /l/ changes to /n/ and the prefix takes /al/: ma-nali (*mo-lali).

/r/ /r/ usually changes to /ndr/ and takes a prefix with /o/. In just one verb, rabu 'snatch away', /r/ does not change, although the prefix still takes a form with /o/, e.g. mo-rabu (*mo-ndrabu) 'snatching away'.

/z/ There are few verbs which begin with /z/, but the prefix (C)aN- behaves differently with almost all of them. In one verb, zuzu 'climb', the voiced alveo-palatal affricate is replaced by /n/, e.g. ma-nuzu. Another verb, zizi 'make blunt' has two forms, one in which /z/ is replaced with /n/, i.e. ma-nizi, and one in which it does not change, but takes the prefix mo-, i.e. mo-zizi. The other two other verbs which begin with /z/ do not change, but take the prefix mo-.
3. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

/z/ → /n/  
zuzu 'climb'  ma-nuzu
zizi 'make blunt'  ma-nizi

/z/  /l/  
zizi 'make blunt'  mo-zizi
zago 'guard'  mo-zago (*ma-nago)
zuzu-ni 'split with wedge'  mo-zuzu-ni

/k/  
There are not many verbs which begin with /k/, and of those which occur, few occur with the prefix (C)aN-. The most frequently heard verb is kaoni 'call out'\textsuperscript{11}, for which the nasally assimilated form is, as exemplified above, mo-gaoni. However there are two verbs used for common actions, ki'i 'shave' and ko'o 'dig' which have two different forms with the prefix maN-. One variant conforms to the pattern described for kaoni, i.e. /k/ becomes /g/ and the form takes the prefix mo-, e.g. mo-gi'i, mo-go'o. The second variant has a form in which /k/ appears to be replaced with /n/: ma-ni'i, ma-no'o. Both variants are equally acceptable to speakers in Nias Selatan. Since the latter forms display the default form of the prefix with /n/, they also suggest the possibility that the prefix may be attached to vowel-initial stems, and that /k/ may have been lost from the initial position of the root forms. However, both ki'i and ko'o are still fully operative verbs in both Nias Selatan and Nias Utara, so this scenario is unlikely. What has presumably happened with these verbs is that forms containing a velar nasal consonant, mangi'i and mango'o, became frequent at a time when Nias Selatan still retained a velar nasal in its phonemic inventory, and the coda of the prefix fused with the initial /k/ to become a velar nasal. Since all velar nasals were later converted to dento-alveolar nasals in Nias Selatan, this change would have encompassed these two verbs, i.e. mangi'i would have become mani'i, mango'o would have become mano'o.

\textsuperscript{11} Kaoni 'call out' is, in fact, from the northern dialect, but is used by many speakers instead of the strictly southern verb, faõndru.
3.4 /um/ allomorphy in irrealis verb forms

The infix -um- marks imperfectivity in verbs (see 10.3.2 for discussion). One of its uses is with verbs in irrealis mode. In this use it exhibits allomorphy, which is described in this section.

In verb stems which begin with a consonant other than a labial, /um/ is infixed after the initial consonant, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form of verb</th>
<th>irrealis form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tataro 'sit down'</td>
<td>gu-t-um-ataro</td>
<td>'I want to / might / will sit down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halö 'take, hold'</td>
<td>ja-h-um-alö</td>
<td>'he wants to / might / will take (it)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cibo 'throw away'</td>
<td>nda-c-um-ibo</td>
<td>'they want to / might / will throw (it) away'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In verb stems beginning with labial consonants, /um/ interacts phonologically with the initial consonant. In verb stems beginning with /b/ or /ß/ the consonant resulting from the interaction takes the form of a bilabial trill, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>irrealis form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bunu 'kill'</td>
<td>gu-ßbunu</td>
<td>'I want to / might / will kill (it)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ßaßalö 'borrow' | ya-ßbalö | 'he wants to / might / will borrow (it)'

(*ya-mbalö₁²)

Verb stems beginning with /f/ change to [v], e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>irrealis form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fake 'use'</td>
<td>nda-vake</td>
<td>'they want to / might / will use (it)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faigi 'see'</td>
<td>gu-vaiği</td>
<td>'I want to / might / will see (it)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

₁² The fact that the irrealis form of ßaßalö 'borrow' is mbalö and not *mbaßalö reveals the origins of /ß/ in the lenition of intervocalic /bl/. Both ßaßalö and mbalö are derived from the root balö, which has two (presumably related) meanings: 'repay' and 'avenge'. 
The verb \(waö\) / \(wa'ö\) 'say', which is the only verb beginning with /\(w/\), replaces /\(w/\) with [m], e.g. \(gu-maö\) 'I want to/might/will say'.

Vowel-initial verb stems denoting an activity take an initial [m]\(^{13}\) e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>irrealis form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ila 'know'</td>
<td>gu-(m)-ila</td>
<td>'I want to / might / will know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohi 'chase'</td>
<td>nda-(m)-ohi</td>
<td>'They want to / might / will chase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta 'vomit'</td>
<td>ja-(m)-uta</td>
<td>'He wants to / might / will vomit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ege'-ö 'laugh at'</td>
<td>ndra-(m)-a'egeö</td>
<td>'They want to / might / will laugh at'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel-initial stative verbs rarely occur in irrealis form, but when they do, they have the same form as their realis stem, e.g.: \(ya-alawa\) 'he will be tall' from \(alawa\) 'be tall'.

Transitive verbs derived from stative verbs are preceded by [m], e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>irrealis form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atulö 'be correct'</td>
<td>gu-m-atulö'-ö [1s.IRR-correct-TR] 'I want to / might / will correct'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the allomorphs of /\(um/\) in irrealis verb forms are the following:

**(24) allomorphs of /\(um/\) in irrealis verb forms**

\[\begin{align*}
\text{/\(um/\) + /b/} & \rightarrow [\text{mb}] \\
\text{/\(um/\) + /ß/} & \rightarrow [\text{mb}] \\
\text{/\(um/\) + /f/} & \rightarrow [v] \\
\text{/\(um/\) + /w/} & \rightarrow [m] \\
\text{/\(um/\) + V} & \rightarrow [m] \\
\text{/\(um/\) + C\(_{\text{[non-labial]}}\) } & \rightarrow [-\text{um-}] \\
\end{align*}\]

---

\(^{13}\) The fact that \(waö\) 'say' also has a form which begins with /\(m/\) is suggestive of a base form for this verb which is vowel-initial, i.e. \(aö\), or \(a'ö\). The restricted nature of /\(w/\) is discussed in 2.4.6.
It will be noticed that the allomorphs of /um/ which occur with /b/ and /f/ are the same forms that occur as mutated forms of these phonemes in the system of nominal mutation. What is more, the prefixation of [m] to vowel-initial verbs is analogous to the prefixation of [n] to vowel-initial nouns in the system of nominal mutation. The fact that /um/ is obviously the source of the allomorphy in these irrealis verb forms and the fact that the allomorphy is so clearly analogous to mutations in nouns is circumstantial evidence which supports a claim that nominal mutation also has its source in a nasal morpheme which has eroded over time and fused with the initial syllable.

3.5 Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication in Nias Selatan: initial syllable reduplication (RDP1) and disyllabic reduplication (RDP2). Both types of reduplication occur in verbs with varying levels of productivity. A certain amount of lexicalization occurs with both types of reduplication, indicating that neither process is fully productive any longer. Disyllabic reduplication has been used historically to derive many nouns in Nias, but is no longer productive as a derivational process. Reduplication as a grammatical device does not apply to nouns with any sort of productivity, although there are several instances in the data in which a noun is reduplicated with an intended meaning of plurality which may be attributable to calquing of Indonesian where such a process is fully productive (see 8.7).

3.5.1 Initial syllable reduplication

Initial syllable reduplication has two formal realizations depending on whether a verb stem begins with a consonant or a vowel. When it occurs on consonant-initial verb stems it copies the initial consonant and vowel of the stem. The meanings associated with initial syllable reduplication of consonant-initial verb stems include plurality of the more patientive argument of a transitive verb or completion or exhaustiveness of an action. Some reduplicated forms of consonant-initial verbs and their stems are listed in (25)
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(25) verbs derived from consonant-initial bases with initial syllable reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba-bago 'divide up completely'</td>
<td>bago 'divide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-bago 'wash'</td>
<td>bago 'beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo-bokai 'open one by one'</td>
<td>bokai 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci-cibo 'throw everything out'</td>
<td>cibo 'throw away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci-cika 'make holes in (pl. object)'</td>
<td>cika 'make hole in sth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le-le'agö 'stretch oneself out'</td>
<td>le'agö 'lay something down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-taba 'cut up'</td>
<td>taba 'cut down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-taru 'plant one by one'</td>
<td>taru 'plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-tunö 'tell story in great detail'</td>
<td>tunö 'tell'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that all of the above verbs are transitive. The reduplication of other transitive verbs does not yield acceptable forms. For example it is not possible to say *bu-bunu (from bunu 'kill') to mean 'kill (pl. P)' or *ta-tagö (from tagö 'steal') to mean 'steal (pl. P)', which suggests that this process is no longer productive. As can be seen from the list of meanings of the reduplicated forms, a number of them have idiosyncratic meanings, which is also suggestive of lexicalization. Intransitive verbs that begin with a consonant cannot undergo initial syllable reduplication. The following reduplications, for example, are not possible:

*bi-biha from biha 'be sated'  
*bo-bohou from bohou 'be new'  
*bö-bötö from bötö 'be wounded'  
*sö-sökhi from sökhi 'be good'  
*ta-ta'unö from ta'unö 'be dirty'

However, although initial syllable reduplication does not apply to consonant-initial intransitive verbs, it does apply productively to vowel-initial ones, to indicate a plural argument14. When initial syllable reduplication occurs on these verbs it copies the initial

14 It is unclear at this stage why the process of initial syllable reduplication applies to vowel-initial stative verbs but not to consonant-initial ones.
vowel and inserts /g/ between the copied vowel and the vowel of the stem, as the list in (26) exemplifies.

(26) verbs derived from vowel-initial bases with initial syllable reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ag-a'ege 'laugh' (S-PL)'</td>
<td>a'ege 'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag-afató 'broken (S-PL)'</td>
<td>a-fatō 'broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag-ahakhō 'melted (S-PL)'</td>
<td>a-hakhō 'melted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag-anau 'long (S-PL)'</td>
<td>a-nau 'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eg-ebua 'big (S-PL)'</td>
<td>e-bua 'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ig-ide'idé 'small (S-PL)'</td>
<td>ide'idé 'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og-obou 'rotten (S-PL)'</td>
<td>obou 'rotten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og-oya 'be many (things)'</td>
<td>oya 'be many (things)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Typically vowel-initial intransitive verbs are stative. The meaning of initial syllable reduplication in these verbs is restricted entirely to the grammatical one of indicating a plural argument. That is, the process has not developed any idiosyncratic meanings such as were noted for reduplication of consonant initial transitive verbs.

3.5.1.1 Interaction with other morphological processes

Initial syllable reduplication of transitive verbs is a process which applies before the addition of prefixes associated with nasal assimilation (those containing the morpheme _aN_, see 3.3 above). This is evident from examples such as _f-a-na-tab_ (f- aN- ta-taba [NR-IPF-RDP1-cut]) 'the act of cutting down' in which it can be seen that the attachment of the nominalizing prefix _f-aN_- results in the assimilation of the initial segment of the copied syllable but not to the initial segment of the stem itself. Other examples which illustrate this order of processes are the following:

\[ f-a-nu-tunö \ [NR-IPF-RDP1-tell] 'the act of telling in great detail' \]
\[ f-aN- + tu-tunö 'tell in great detail' (from tunö 'tell') \]
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In one rather common example, however, reduplication appears to have applied after affixation of the prefix. The form *f-o-ndo-ndo* 'the act of listening', consists morphologically of the nominalizer *f-aN-* plus a reduplicated form of the verb *rono* 'hear'. However, the fact that the reduplicated form has a nasally assimilated segment in initial position of the stem as well as the reduplicated form suggests that reduplication has occurred after the application of the prefix, and that the first segment of the altered segment has been copied. This is the only clear example of this ordering in my data.

3.5.2 Disyllabic reduplication

Disyllabic reduplication copies the first two syllables of the stem of the verb. In underived verbs, this usually involves copying the entire root. Examples of some simple underived verbs with their reduplicated forms are given in (27) below. In its most frequent function disyllabic reduplication usually indicates some sort of intensification of the activity, process or state to which the verb stem refers (see 10.3.5 for discussion of the meanings of reduplication).

(27) Verbs derived with disyllabic reduplication from underived verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>reduplicated form and meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vtr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bago 'beat'</td>
<td>bago-bago 'repeatedly / habitually beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bözi 'hit'</td>
<td>bözi-bözi 'keep hitting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fake 'use'</td>
<td>fake-fake 'always use'; 'repeatedly use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sora 'carve'</td>
<td>sora-sora 'always carve'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vintr bahö 'sneeze' bahö-bahö 'keep on sneezing'
möi 'go' möi-möi 'always go, habitually go'
baga 'be in good condition' baga-baga 'be in very good condition'
sökhi 'be good, nice' sökhi-sökhi 'be very good / nice'

When monosyllabic roots occur in reduplicated form, such as be-be 'keep on giving' from be 'give' or soso 'always exist' from so 'exist', it is impossible to tell from a purely formal point of view whether reduplicated monosyllabic roots participate in initial syllable reduplication or disyllabic reduplication. From a semantic point of view, however, it is clear that their meanings implicate disyllabic reduplication.

It was noted in 2.7 that prefixes are not counted as part of a word for the purposes of stress assignment. Certain prefixes are also ignored by the process of disyllabic reduplication. These prefixes include the intransitive verb prefixes stative a-/e-, resultative te-/to-, o-/mo- 'HAVE' (+noun) and dynamic fa- (+noun) (see Chapter 5). With these prefixes, disyllabic reduplication apparently precedes prefixation. Examples of verbs which have undergone disyllabic reduplication in which prefixes are affixed after reduplication are given in (28):

(28) Verbs derived with disyllabic reduplication from derived verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base verb</th>
<th>reduplicated form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abölö 'heavy'</td>
<td>a-bölö-bölö</td>
<td>'very heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alumö 'shady'</td>
<td>a-lumö-lumö</td>
<td>'very shady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atua 'old'</td>
<td>a-tua-tua</td>
<td>'very clever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebua 'big'</td>
<td>e-bua-bua</td>
<td>'very big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofökhö 'sick'</td>
<td>o-fökhö-fökhö</td>
<td>'very sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we 'liquid'</td>
<td>mo-we-we</td>
<td>'always have liquid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fagölö 'the same'</td>
<td>fa-gölö-gölö</td>
<td>'similar' 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Note that the meaning of fa-gölö-gölö ('similar') implies an attenuation of the 'state' referred to by fa-gölö ('same'). This kind of meaning is usually found with colour terms, but occurs sporadically elsewhere in the lexicon, e.g. a'ege'ege 'smile' from a'ege 'laugh'.
3.5.2.1 Interaction with other morphophonological processes.

Disyllabic reduplication behaves differently with respect to the addition of prefixes associated with nasal assimilation. The imperfective and detransitivizing morpheme $aN$- is attached before disyllabic reduplication can apply. The evidence for this comes from the fact that the consonants which result from the fusion of the nasal coda of the prefix with the stem-initial segment of the verb are copied over in the reduplication process. For example in $ma$-naba-naba 'keep on cutting', /n/ is the result of nasal assimilation of a stem-initial /h/ after affixation of the prefix $maN$-, i.e. $maN$- + taba 'cut' = $manaba$. Other examples of verbs with reduplicated bases which have undergone nasal assimilation are given in (29):

(29) Verbs with bases which undergo nasal assimilation prior to disyllabic reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>reduplicated form with $maN$-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be 'give'</td>
<td>ma-me.me 'always giving'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>era'era 'think'</td>
<td>ma-nera.nera 'keep on/always thinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khau 'impose a fine'</td>
<td>mo-gau.gau 'always imposing fines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sora 'carve,decorate'</td>
<td>ma-nora-nora 'keep on carving'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of derived verb stems follow the same pattern:

(29) Verbs with derived bases which undergo nasal assimilation prior to disyllabic reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>reduplicated form with $maN$-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-hokha [DO-flirt] 'exaggerate'</td>
<td>ma-maho-mahokha 'always exaggerate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-lali [DO-change] 'make changes'</td>
<td>ma-mala-malali 'always swapping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-mbase [DO-change] 'rest'</td>
<td>mo-lomba-lombase 'always rest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe-lai [DO-change] 'lick, taste'</td>
<td>ma-mela-melai 'eat between meals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekhe-gö [ask.question-TR] 'ask questions'</td>
<td>ma-nekhe-nekhe-gö 'interrogate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One of the most frequently used verbs, a 'eat', occurs in a form in which the imperfective prefix maN- is included in the reduplication: man-a-man-a [RDP2-IPF-eat] 'always eating'. This appears to be the only case in which the prefix maN- is reduplicated along with the base. No other monosyllabic transitive verb is reduplicated in this manner (cf. be 'give' above). (The verb a 'eat' also has another unusual reduplicated form which is exemplified below.)

### 3.5.3 Consonant variation associated with reduplication

Disyllabic reduplication is often associated with a change in the initial consonant of the stem and the copied element, which does not appear to cause any significant difference in meaning. A list of some verbs in which such a change has applied is given in (37):

(30) Verbs which occur with voiced initial segments in reduplicated form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>reduplicated form and meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faigi 'see'</td>
<td>vaigi-vaigi 'watch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekhe-gö 'ask a question'</td>
<td>zekhe.zekhe-gö interrogate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofu 'ask for'</td>
<td>zofu.zofu 'always ask for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taba 'cut up'</td>
<td>daba-daba 'cut down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegu 'talk to'</td>
<td>degu.degu 'always talk to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunö 'tell sth.'</td>
<td>dunö.dunö 'always talk about sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaoni 'call out'</td>
<td>gaoni.gaoni 'always call out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is interesting about the changes which occur in these forms is that they are the same as some of the changes which occur in nominal mutation, i.e. /f/ alternates with /v/, /s/ with /z/, /t/ with /d/ and /k/ with /g/. However, this is as far as the similarity goes. Verbs which begin with /b/ do not have an alternative reduplicated form beginning with /mb/, e.g. bunu-bunu 'always kill' (*mbunu-mbunu); verbs which begin with /d/ or /t/ do not have reduplicated forms which alternate with others beginning with /ndt/, e.g. dali-dali 'always grind' (*ndrali-ndrali), rono-rono 'always hear' (*ndrono-ndrono); verbs which begin with vowels (or glottal stops) do not have
forms which alternate with others beginning with [n] or [g], e.g. oni-oni 'always ask someone to do sth.' (*noni-noni / *goni-goni). The alternations in the reduplicated forms, therefore, appear to be more like the result of a voicing process rather than a set of morphophonemic alternations. Nevertheless it is of interest that those alternations which do occur involve just the voiceless consonants of the phonemic inventory. These are reflexes of Proto Austronesian stop consonants (*p, *t, *C,*k), which may indicate that the process of initial mutation which is now confined to nouns was once a more general phonemic process which applied in other parts of the grammar as well. It is also of interest to note that in another Western Malayo-Polynesian language, Tukang Besi, the process of nasal substitution—which is a minor and infrequent one in this language—affects only voiceless consonants (Donohue 1999:41).

A number of verbs referring to colours or taste have unusual forms of sound alternations when reduplicated. Reduplication also has a different meaning in these verbs from its meaning in other verbs—with these verbs it implies an attentuation of a quality or state, rather than an intensification. The verbs of which I am aware which have unusual reduplicated forms are listed in (31):

(31) **Reduplicated forms of verbs of sensation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (original)</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ami 'tasty'</td>
<td>a-nami.nami</td>
<td>'sort of tasty, sweetish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyo 'red'</td>
<td>o-rooyo.royo</td>
<td>'reddish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitö 'black'</td>
<td>a-raido.raido</td>
<td>'burnt black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afusi 'white'</td>
<td>a-vuzi-vuzi</td>
<td>'whitish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the evidence of reconstructed data for *ami 'tasty' which include an initial nasal (e.g. PAn *ñam 'tasty' Zorc 1994, 1995)\(^{16}\), it appears that reduplication of this word in Nias reinstates a segment which may have been present at an earlier time. If this is so, then the process of disyllabic reduplication may be very old and conservative, and may therefore reflect earlier forms of initial consonants in the words *oyo and *aitö as well. Other, possibly more recent, colour terms do not have forms in which there is unusual

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\(^{16}\) Note, however, that Nias *ami 'tasty' may more closely reflect PMP *e+mis 'sweet'.
alternation, cf. a-\textit{usö}-\textit{usö} 'be sort of yellow' from \textit{a'usö} 'be yellow'; \textit{o-ßuge-ßuge'e} 'be greenish' from \textit{oßuge'e} 'be green'\footnote{This colour term is derived from the possessive NP \textit{bu ge'e} 'feathers of the \textit{e'e} bird' by the prefix \textit{o-} 'be/do like N' (Sundermann 1913: 61). An \textit{e'e} is a kind of parrot with green feathers.}

The voicing of the medial consonants in \textit{afusi} and \textit{aitö} exemplified above suggests that the process operating in these forms is a prosody which applies to the whole of the reduplicated form, rather than a rule which applies just to the initial segment. If this is the case, it may also explain the unexpected presence of [g] in the reduplicated form \textit{m-ege'ege} 'always crying', from the verb \textit{me'e} 'cry'. A glottal stop is the normal reflex of PAn / PMP *k in medial position in Nias, so if the glottal stop in \textit{me'e} is derived from an earlier form with *k, then it is not surprising that the reduplicated form contains [g] if reduplication is associated with a voicing prosody as well. In addition, since \textit{me'e} is not a colour or taste term, it is possible that medial consonant voicing is not as restricted semantically as it first appears. Another reduplicated form which appears to resurrect the voiced form of an earlier initial consonant is \textit{aga'aga} 'keep on eating' from the verb \textit{a} 'eat' (for which a PAn form *\textit{ka'en} has been reconstructed). If these reduplications do preserve a voiced form of an earlier medial or initial consonant (such as PAn/PMP *k), this argues that the reduplicated forms of these verbs are now lexicalized. This appears to be the case, since this kind of reduplication is not productive.

\textbf{SECTION 2: RESTRICTED OR FOSSILIZED MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES}

\textbf{3.6 Vowel deletion}

In a number of frequently occurring constructions containing two predicate complex particles in which the second is vowel-initial, the vowel in final position of the first particle is deleted\footnote{See 4.13.6 and 10.2.5 for a full description of these particles.}. The full forms which undergo vowel loss and the contracted forms are listed in (32):
(32) **Predicate complex particles which undergo contraction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>full form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>contraction</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta-ae</td>
<td>LPI.RLS-come</td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>'let’s go' / 'come on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>löna=ae</td>
<td>NEG=already</td>
<td>nae</td>
<td>'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma=ae</td>
<td>PERF=already</td>
<td>mae</td>
<td>'already'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma=oi</td>
<td>PERF=all/most</td>
<td>moi</td>
<td>PERF: all/most</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *ae* functions as an imperative verb meaning 'come' as well as a postverbal particle meaning 'already'. Apart from the deletion of the initial syllable of *löna* in the contracted form *nae*, the rest of the expressions pattern in the same way—the final /a/ of the first morpheme is lost, and the two morphemes are fused to become one word. It is assumed that it is the vowel of the first morpheme which is elided and not the initial vowel of the second morpheme based on the evidence of the deletion of /a/ from the perfect marker *ma* = in the form *m=oi* 'PERF-all/most', and from other processes of elision which occur in the language such as the loss of the vowel of the relative clause marker *s(i)=* when attached to vowel-initial stative verbs (see 8.4), and the vowel of the causative prefix *f(V)-* preceding vowel-initial roots (see 6.4). Although the sequences listed in (32) above may have originated as a result of fast speech, they are now apparently almost never pronounced as full forms.

### 3.7 Sonorant deletion

There are three pairs of verbs in Nias Selatan which have the same meanings but differ formally in that one of the pair lacks a medial sonorant consonant. The pairs of verbs are listed in (33):

(33) **Verbs in which medial sonorants are elided**

- böli  böi  'don't do' (negative imperative)
- aßali  aßai  'be ready, be finished'
- ahorí  oi  'be finished'; 'all, most'
The two forms of negative imperative are completely interchangeable according to speakers, but conventionally böi is the more normal form in conversational use. Böli occurs more often in the speech of older people and in written texts such as the bible. Äflali and ahorî are verbs which are used also as preverbal particles. Their short forms are also verbs, but are used much more frequently as preverbal particles than as main verbs. The word oï is also a verb which functions as a preverbal particle, but it is used as a verb so infrequently that it seems to be close to complete lexicalization as a preverbal particle. In all cases the form which lacks the medial sonorant is used in the more grammaticized context. These variant forms indicate that the language has, at some time in the past, allowed a tendency for sonorant consonants in intervocalic position to be lost. As far as I know the process does not affect any other words, and does not operate in the language synchronically.

3.8 Alternations in initial consonants of suffixes

Most suffixes used to derive nouns and verbs in Nias are of the form -CV, in which the C slot shows a range of consonants and the V slot may be /a/ or /ö/ (see Chapter 6). Some examples of the range of consonants which occur in nominalizing suffixes is given in (34):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>derived noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>base or related form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-fa</td>
<td>auri-fa</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>auri 'be alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kha</td>
<td>atumbu-kha</td>
<td>'origin'; 'east'</td>
<td>tumbu 'be born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la</td>
<td>obou-la</td>
<td>remains of corpse'</td>
<td>obou 'rot'; 'smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>taro-ma</td>
<td>position, status</td>
<td>ta-taro [RDP1-sit] 'be seated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>ötö-na</td>
<td>ford (in river)</td>
<td>ötö 'cross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>fao-sa</td>
<td>'company'</td>
<td>fao 'join in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>börö-ta</td>
<td>origin', ancestor'</td>
<td>börö 'base, source'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>banö-wa</td>
<td>water to wash hand before meal</td>
<td>mombanö 'wash hand(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fö</td>
<td>uri-fö</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>uri 'keep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lö</td>
<td>beße-lö</td>
<td>banks of river</td>
<td>beße 'lips'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of the derived nouns listed above are cognate with words in other languages which have the same or related consonants word-finally, or are reflexes of forms containing these consonants that have been reconstructed for Proto Austronesian or Proto Malayo-Polynesian. For example the noun *tanö-mö 'seedling' is derived from *tanö 'plant', which is cognate with tanam 'plant' in Indonesian and a reflex of PAn *CaNém 'plant; bury'. The word *uri-fö 'animal' is related to the predicate *a-uri 'be alive', which is a reflex of PAn *qúd 2 ip 'alive'. The noun *beße-lö 'banks of river' may be related (via metaphorical extension) to beße 'lips', which is cognate with Indonesian bibir 'lips'. This could mean that the initial /l/ of the suffix may be a reflex an original word final liquid. Though few in number, these derivations strongly suggest that the consonants of the suffixes -fa, -fö, -mö and -lö are derived from earlier word-final consonants, and although the evidence is slim, it is suggestive of an origin in word-final consonants for other suffix-initial consonants.

If we look at the consonants which occur in the suffixes, a significant pattern emerges. They are listed in (35):

### (35) consonants which occur in nominalizing suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What we don't find are the following:

(36) **consonants which do not occur in nominalizing suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td>c, z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trills</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>ndr, r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximants</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even discounting the phonemes /mb/, /Bl/, /vl/, /ndr/ and /y/ which are most probably of recent origin, what we observe is that there are no voiced obstruents in the list of suffix-initial consonants in (35), only voiceless consonants or sonorants. If these suffixes do indeed reflect earlier word-final consonants which have accreted to a more original nominalizing suffix *-a*, we have here evidence that these consonants did not include any voiced obstruents. If there had been any, presumably there would be some evidence in the suffix forms.

### 3.9 Vowel contractions

Vowel contractions occur very frequently in the fast speech pronunciations of four very commonly used words: *sui* 'again', *göi* 'also', *möi* 'go' and *waö* 'say'. Three of these contain a vowel sequence ending in /i/. Their contracted forms are, respectively, [si] (or [ʃi]), [gi] and [mi]. The fourth word, the verb *waö* 'say', is pronounced most often as [wɔ] (i.e. *wö*), where /a/ has been lost, but sometimes also as [wo] where fusion of the vowels seems to have occurred. Note that it is always the first vowel of the sequence which is lost, rather than the final vowel.
CHAPTER 4
WORD CLASSES

4.1 Word classes: overview
The lexicon of Nias contains two large open word classes: noun and verb. These two classes are clearly distinguished with regard to a number of features, including the fact that only nouns can have mutated and unmutated forms and that only verbs may occur with pronominal prefixes. Nias has no class of adjectives—it uses verbs to express meanings which are typical of adjectives in languages which have them, and uses relative clause constructions with verbal predicates to express attributive modification of nouns. Closed word classes include pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, numerals, prepositions, adverbs and particles. In addition to these word classes, Nias has a class of 'precategorial roots', which are distinguished from 'words' in that they cannot function as words without morphological alternation of some kind, i.e. an affix or reduplication. Although this class of word-roots is not strictly a 'word' class they are discussed under section 4.5 in 'Closed classes'.

SECTION 1 OPEN CLASSES
4.2 Distinctions between nouns and verbs
Morphosyntactically nouns can be distinguished from verbs by their potential to occur in a mutated form according to the system of mutation which operates to mark case in the language (see chapter 5). Nouns, but not verbs, can also occur with a possessive suffix¹. Verbs can be distinguished from nouns by their potential to occur with irrealis pronominal prefixes (see 10.3.1). In addition, only verbs may be preceded by auxiliary verbs or particles signalling modality, certain aspectual notions and quantification of an

¹ Possessive suffixes do occur with the passive form of the verb but in fact it can be shown that the passive form of the verb has a number of other nominal features, of which the affixation of the possessive suffix is just one (see 8.4). Possessive pronouns also occur with the preposition khö, but the fact that khö occurs with a possessive suffix supports other evidence that this preposition is derived from a noun.
argument (see 10.2), and only verbs may occur as predicates of relative clauses (see 8.4).

Morphologically, only verbs occur with the passive prefix *ni*- (see 8.4) and the irrealis morpheme /um/ (see 10.3.1). Reduplication is productive (to an extent) only in verbs, where it has various aspectual meanings (see 10.3.5), even though reduplication has clearly been a productive mechanism for the derivation of nouns in the past as there are a large number of nouns which are fossilized in reduplicated form (see 6.2), the roots of which appear to be no longer active.

Apart from these properties, the collocational possibilities of nouns and verbs are different. Nouns, but not verbs, can be modified by demonstratives and relative clauses, and may function as arguments of numerals and numeral+classifier phrases (see Chapter 8). If these constituents occur with a verb, they occur in argument function and must be morphologically marked to indicate the change of function. Nouns, but not verbs, can also occur as arguments of prepositions. Verbs, on the other hand, are distinguished from nouns collocationally by the following features: only verbs can occur with the perfect marker *ma=*, the intensifier *sibai* and adverb *sui* 'again' (see chapter 10), or the negative imperative morpheme *böiböi* 'don't do' (see chapter 11.5). Verbs are also distinguished from non-verbal constituents, which includes nouns, in being unable to follow the negator *te'ana* (see 9.3, 9.4).

Derivationally, the prefixes *(m)o- 'HAVE N' and o- 'be/look like N' attach only to nouns, (e.g. *mo-ono* 'have children' from *ono* 'child'; *o-bööhö* 'be/look like a deer' from *bööhö* 'deer') (see Chapter 5.1.1.3, 5.1.2.2). The prefixes *s-aN* - and *f-aN* - which derive nouns can only be added to verbs, and the nominalizing suffix -(C)a is almost exclusively attached to verbs (see 6.5.1).

Morphologically and syntactically, it is impossible to distinguish a simple underived noun in an NP in predicate function from an intransitive verb in realis mode. Both take initial position; both are followed by a nominal argument in mutated form; neither has any specific distinguishing morphology. For example the sentence guru nama-nia [teacher father:MUT-3s.POSS] 'his father is a teacher', which contains the
noun *guru* 'teacher' in nominal predicate function, can be compared with the sentence *o-fōkhō nama-nia* [HAVE-illness father:MUT-3s.POSS] 'his father is sick', in which an intransitive verb takes predicate function. Only the syntactic and collocational differences mentioned above (and context of course) will distinguish the noun from the verb.

### 4.3 Classes of nouns

Nouns in Nias are not marked for number or gender, but they are marked to indicate the relationship they have to other constituents within a phrase or clause through the process of mutation (the morphological details of which were outlined in 3.2.1). There are four small subclasses of nouns which are morphosyntactically special.

One of the small subclasses is the set of nouns which can be identified as the class of nouns which begin with /n/ in their mutation form. These nouns were listed in 3.2.1.

Another class of morphosyntactically special nouns is the class of classifiers—nouns used with numerals, or the indefinite use of the question word *hauga* 'how many, how much' when counting things below about ten in number\(^2\). These nouns behave like other nouns when they are not used as classifiers, and conform to the morphophonological rules of mutation described in 3.2.1. When used as classifiers, however, they observe different rules of mutation (see 3.2.3). The classifiers in frequent use in Nias Selatan, and the sorts of things they are used to count, are given in Table 5 (their meanings as common nouns are given in square brackets).

\(^{2}\) Like a number of other languages, classifiers in Nias are not used with higher numerals.
Table 5: classifiers in Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Thing counted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>da</em></td>
<td>people (men, noble women) [no similar noun known]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eu</em></td>
<td>pigs and other adult animals, coconut trees, some concrete things (bodies) [eu 'tree, wood']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>balō</em></td>
<td>abstract things (thoughts, kinds of things, jobs) [balō 'end, heap, pile']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rozi</em></td>
<td>long things (wood, gold), baby animals (piglets, puppies) [rozi 'long pole for pounding rice']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>roto</em></td>
<td>sections (e.g. of bamboo, sugarcane) [roto 'section of bamboo']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bulu</em></td>
<td>flat things (blankets, mats, fields, pages) [bulu 'leaf']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bua</em></td>
<td>other things in general [bua 'fruit']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

people: forefathers, wives, mothers, sons, children, enemies, slaves  
concrete things: villages, houses, rows of houses, doors, tables, chairs,  
books, plates, eggs, mosquitoes  
abstract things: questions, reasons, embarrassments, organizations,  
names, things to do  
time: day, week

The classifier for people, *da*, refers to people in general, but while it is used consistently for men and groups including men, it is not used consistently with women, children or slaves, who are sometimes classified with *bua*. Typically *da* collocates with the noun *niha* 'person, people', but this noun usually refers to men. The use of the word *eu* 'tree' as a classifier for animals is a little unusual. More frequently in Indonesian languages the noun meaning 'tail' is used as a classifier of animals (cf. Indonesian *ekor*, which is a noun meaning 'tail' and a classifier for animals). Adams 1989:79 mentions that the grouping of the word for 'tree' with animals occurs in Rongao, a language of the North Bahnaric subgroup of the Mon-Khmer family. Classifiers in numeral phrases are discussed further in 8.5.2.

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3 The /o/ in the first syllable of the language name Rongao, and in the word for 'tree' (bon?), is phonologically a back unrounded vowel (Adams 1989:x).
A third subclass contains reduplicated forms. The nouns in this class are quite numerous, and heterogeneous in meanings, although some of them refer to objects which are typically iconically associated with reduplication, including names for small insects or things usually found in large numbers, sounds, types of movements and plants. Instruments, tools, household items and parts of houses are also found frequently in reduplicated form (see 8.7). Reduplication is not productive in forming nouns synchronically.

A further class of syntactically special nouns is the small class of nouns referring to humans who typically occur in groups. These nouns are usually preceded by the 'collective' prefix *ira-*[^4], e.g.: *ira-ina* [COLL-mother] 'women' (i.e. mothers), *ira-ama* [COLL-father] 'adult men' (i.e. fathers). Primary amongst the words to which the collective particle may attach is the word for 'child', *ono*. Because of the frequency of its use with *ira-* this combination of morphemes has been lexicalized, as is evident from the fact that there is no longer a glottal stop inserted between *ira-* and the noun as would be expected from the glottal insertion rule (see 2.4.4), and the sequence of vowels which is formed at the juncture of the two morphemes is pronounced as a diphthong, i.e. the two morphemes form a single phonological word: *iraono* [?irâno]. Other combinations such as *ira-matua* 'young men, males' and *ira-alaße* 'young women, females', also appear to have been lexicalized, since the words *matua* 'male' and *alaße* 'female' are, in fact, intransitive verbs rather than nouns. This prefix does not necessarily have to refer to a group—it can refer to just one person who is normally thought of as belonging to the group which is categorized by the noun (see, e.g., ex (15) in Chapter 7). The prefix *ira-* is also used with associative plural meaning when attached to proper names, indicating a group of people including the person referred to

[^4]: The collective morpheme *ira-* is treated as a prefix rather than a particle for three reasons: 1) it is semantically restricted, occurring only with kin terms and proper names, 2) it is syntactically restricted—in word order it may only occur in front of the noun, and collocationally nothing can intervene between it and the noun which it precedes, 3) unlike particles in general, it has no meaning independent of the nominal of which it is a part, and 4) unlike particles which are generally invariant, it occurs in a mini-paradigm of two morphemes (*ira-* and *ndra-*) which signal case on nouns or proper names to which they are attached.
by name, e.g. *ira-Gusti* may mean Gusti and her family or Gusti and her friend(s) (see also 10.3.3).

Proper names can be phrasal or clausal in form and therefore polysyllabic. Names given to children usually refer to some significant entity, or to an event during the time of the pregnancy, birth or the few weeks after birth. Some children's names are *Gumi* 'threads hanging down from shirt', *Maoso* 'raising', *Fasu-i* [nail-TR] 'nail', *Fasa'ıa* [DO-fingernail] 'scratch', *Molombok* [IPF-rest] 'resting'. Names given to villages usually refer to local natural features or to some significant event in their founding, e.g. *Baßa-mata-luo* [mouth-eye-day], *Boto-hili-tanö* [treetrunk-place-land], *So-rake* [EXIST-coral], *Hili-si-mae-tanö* [place-REL-resemble-land], *Zambu-ra=e* [guava-3p.POSS=PROX]. Proper names do not behave any differently from common nouns syntactically, taking part in the system of nominal mutation which identifies grammatical relations in nouns. There are no distinctive morphological features apart from polysyllabicity.

Kin terms also are morphologically non-distinctive nouns. However, when referring to someone from one's own village who is not strictly one's own kin, it is customary to add a first inclusive plural genitive pronoun after the most commonly used kin terms, such as *ama* 'father' and *ina* 'mother', followed by a dative phrase referring to the person to whom they are related. For example, *ina-da kho-u* [mother-1pi.POSS DAT-2s.POSS] 'your mother' (lit. our mother (belonging) to you). The word *ono* 'child' is also rarely found without a possessive suffix referring to the parent of the child, e.g. *ono-gu* 'my child', *ono-nia* 'his/her child'. 'Children' in general are usually referred to by the word *ira-ono* (mentioned above in connection with the collective prefix *ira-*), which may refer to one child or to several.

4.4 Classes of verbs

At a morpho-syntactic level, Nias distinguishes two classes of verb: those which take pronominal prefixing in realis declarative clauses and those which do not. For the most part, those verbs which take pronominal prefixing correspond to the set of semantically
bivalent or trivalent verbs, and those which do not correspond mostly to semantically monovalent verbs. Verbs which use pronominal prefixing in simple realis declarative clauses, such as the third plural prefix la- in la-ila [3p.RLS-know] 'they know (it)'), will be called 'transitive', and verbs which lack this kind of prefixing in realis clauses will be termed 'intransitive' (e.g. ebua '(it's) big').

At a semantic level, the most important division of verbs in Nias is the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs. Dynamic verbs are those which typically refer to actions that are carried out by an Actor (a participant capable of cognition and/or movement, and typically acting volitionally), e.g. moloi 'run', bini'ö 'hide', fatane 'send'. Stative verbs typically refer to qualities or characteristics which inhere in a participant or are the result of an action, and which usually extend over time, e.g. atua 'ST:mature, old', ide'ide 'ST:small', 'small', bidöyö 'ST:blind'. At a purely formal level most dynamic verbs are consonant-initial and most stative verbs are vowel-initial. In general, when stative verbs undergo disyllabic reduplication, their meaning is one of intensification of the state, e.g. e-bua-bua 'very big' from ebua 'big', sökhi-sökhi 'very good' from sökhi 'good'. When dynamic verbs undergo disyllabic reduplication, the meaning tends to be one of habitual or continuous action, e.g. möi-möi 'always go', bini-bini'ö 'keep on hiding' (see 10.3.5).

The dynamic-stative distinction is the most significant factor motivating verbal derivational morphology in Nias. By far the largest class of stative verbs begins with the prefix a-. Such verbs generally refer to states which describe some (often inherent) characteristic of the referent, e.g.: a-fusi 'white' < -fusi 'white', a-tulö 'straight' < -tulö 'straight', a-ròu 'far away' < -ròu 'far away'. Another class of stative verbs is formed with the prefixes te- and to-, e.g. te-rono 'heard' from rono 'hear', te-boka 'open' (< -boka, cf. boka-i 'open sth.'), to-bini 'hidden' (< -bini, cf. bini'-ö 'hide sth'). Verbs beginning with te- or to- refer to states resulting from the action referred to in the stem. These states can be characterized generally as less permanent than those to which verbs derived with a- refer, or as having less effect on the referent of the argument. (See chapter 5 for discussion of these verbs.) One small set of dynamic
intransitive verbs in Nias is distinctive in beginning with /m/. These verbs include m-aoso 'get up; stand up; wake up', m-ofanö 'leave', m-örö 'sleep', m-e'e 'cry', m-oloi 'run away', m-oroi 'come from', m-uta 'vomit', m-ondri 'bathe', m-alu 'go hunting', m-iβo 'crow', m-eβo 'chase birds', and possibly m-öi 'go, come'. Another small set of dynamic verbs which are syntactically related to these begins with /h/ and contains the infix -um-: h-um-ago 'snore', h-um-eu 'shake', h-um-ede 'speak', h-um-ola 'burn', h-um-ombo 'fly', h-um-aga 'shine'. These two small sets of dynamic verbs occur in the same form in both main and dependent clauses, and in realis or irrealis mode (see 5.1.1.2). In addition, they have in common that none of them can take initial syllable reduplication (which indicates plurality of the argument in other (stative and dynamic) verbs). It can be inferred that the initial /m/ and the infix /um/ are allomorphs of a morpheme which is cognate with affixes in other Austronesian languages which have a similar function and form, related to the widespread Actor Focus morpheme /um/. It is interesting to note that although Nias Selatan and Nias Utara share the verbs beginning with m-, those beginning with /h/ have an initial mu- in Nias Utara instead of the infix -um- (e.g. mu-hago 'snore' (N.U.)). As has been suggested for the infix /um/ in Chamorro (Topping 1973: 170), which, like /um/ in Nias contravenes canonical syllable form of CV (see 2.7), it is tempting to suggest that the infix may be derived by metathesis from a prefix mu-. Such a prefix would also provide a ready source for an initial /m-/ in front of vowel-initial roots. (See Chapter 5 for discussion of these verbs.)

There are two small classes of verbs which also occur in the role of verb modification—one class consisting of words which refer to some temporal or manner aspect of a situation described by a main verb, and another class of verbs which refer to the extent of participation of one of the participants in the action / state / process described by the verb. Both classes function as preverbal auxiliaries in the predicate complex (see 10.2.4, 10.2.5). A list of the verbs which refer to temporal or manner aspects of the situation is given in (1) with their meanings as verbs as well as preverbal auxiliaries:
(1) **preverbal temporal or manner auxiliaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning as verb</th>
<th>meaning as auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vi ara</td>
<td>be/take long time</td>
<td>long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toʻölö</td>
<td>usually done</td>
<td>usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aβali / aβai</td>
<td>be finished / ready</td>
<td>finished / ready</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambö</td>
<td>be lesss than</td>
<td>lacking, not enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töra</td>
<td>be more</td>
<td>too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fasala</td>
<td>make mistake</td>
<td>wrongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alio</td>
<td>be quick</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahono</td>
<td>be calm</td>
<td>calmly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt irau</td>
<td>do once</td>
<td>ever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifuli</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those verbs which refer to the totality of a participant's involvement are listed in (2):

(2) **preverbal quantifiers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning as verb</th>
<th>meaning as quantifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahorı</td>
<td>be finished</td>
<td>most, all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faoma</td>
<td>be the same</td>
<td>all (together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fao</td>
<td>be together with</td>
<td>all (together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aero</td>
<td>each / every</td>
<td>each / every</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For further discussion of these verbs see Chapter 10.

**SECTION 2 CLOSED CLASSES**

4.5 'Precategorial' roots

Like many other Austronesian languages Nias has a large class of intransitive/transitive verb pairs and verb/noun pairs which share the same root, which by itself does not have any syntactic function. One way of describing this state of affairs is to say that the language has a large set of roots which cannot occur as verbs or nouns without extra morphology to indicate what function they have. The term 'precategorial' has been used to describe roots such as these, although the term has come to be used in two ways.
One way is that which is typical of Oceanic languages, in which a word can be used either as a noun or as a verb, but it can't be known which until it is used in discourse (see, e.g., Broschart 1997). Nias has a few examples of this type, some of which are listed in (3). Note that in every case the verb which corresponds to the noun is transitive.

(3) **Words which can be used as nouns or transitive verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>noun meaning</th>
<th>verb meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fesu</em></td>
<td>tie, fastener</td>
<td>tie together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fole</em></td>
<td>small mortar</td>
<td>mash betel ingredients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for mashing betel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ndriala</em></td>
<td>net</td>
<td>catch with net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>söndra</em></td>
<td>idea</td>
<td>find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tanö</em></td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuhi</em></td>
<td>knee</td>
<td>kneel on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuo</em></td>
<td>sting</td>
<td>sting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since transitive verbs in Nias cannot occur without pronominal prefixes in any context except for imperative sentences, the verbs that are listed here are actually stems rather than full words. Since an inflected verb is more marked than a noun, which can occur without morphological additions or modification as either predicate or argument, the words listed here as 'roots' could be thought of primarily as members of the noun category which, via zero derivation, can be used as verb stems. However, although there is some regularity in the meanings of some of these verbs (e.g. 'do something with N') which might suggest derivation from the noun, in fact the meanings of the verbs are not consistently predictable from the nouns, nor the nouns from the verbs. The idiosyncratic nature of some of these words suggests they might be listed in the lexicon both as nouns and as verbs. In either of these analyses, these forms are not truly 'precategorial'.

The second way of describing precategoriality is typical of Western Austronesian languages, where a bound root cannot occur as a grammatical word until
it has acquired morphology that signals the function of the derived form. This type of precategoriality is pervasive in Nias. Some examples of the intransitive/ transitive verb pairs derived from the same bound roots are given in (4):

(4) **Intransitive and transitive verbs derived from the same root**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Vintr</th>
<th>Vtr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-e'e</td>
<td>m-e'e 'DYN-cry'</td>
<td>e'e-si [cry-TR] 'cry over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fae</td>
<td>to-fae 'RES-contained'</td>
<td>fae-'ö [contain-TR] 'hold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-boka</td>
<td>te-boka 'RES-open'</td>
<td>boka-i [open-TR] 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hono</td>
<td>a-hono 'ST-calm'</td>
<td>hono-gö [calm-TR] 'settle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-basö</td>
<td>a-basö 'ST-wet'</td>
<td>basö-i [wet-TR] 'wet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this list shows, there does not seem to be any correlation between the morphological form of the intransitive verb and the morphological form of the transitive verb derived from the same root. The same heterogeneity of form and meaning can be noted for those members of the class of verb/noun pairs. Examples of these are given in (5). Note that many of these roots form both intransitive and transitive verb forms as well as nouns.

(5) **Verbs and nouns derived from the same root**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Vintr</th>
<th>Vtr / Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bini</td>
<td>to-bini [RES-hide] 'hidden'</td>
<td>bini-'ö 'hide' / binibini 'hiding place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uta</td>
<td>m-uta [DYN-vomit] 'vomit'</td>
<td>uta-'ö 'throw up' / uta'uta 'vomit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eße</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>eße-gö 'put at edge' / eße'eße 'edge of ceiling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-era</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>era-i 'count' / era'era 'thought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eßo</td>
<td>m-eßo [DYN-chase.birds] 'guard field'</td>
<td>eßo-khi 'chase birds' / eßo-kha 'hut in field'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite what appears to be a lack of regular correspondences between forms, there is, in fact, some order in this system. With very few exceptions, the roots listed in (4) and (5) can be divided into two types:

(i) roots which derive intransitive verbs whose S argument is an Actor (i.e. dynamic verbs)\(^5\)

(ii) roots which derive intransitive verbs whose S argument is a Patient (i.e. stative verbs)

Justification of this classification is based on the types of affixes with which the roots are compatible. Some roots derive intransitive verbs with the dynamic prefix \(m\)-, some with the stative prefix \(a\)-, and some with the resultative stative prefixes \(to\)- and \(te\)-. The semantic role of the S argument of intransitive verbs derived with \(m\)- is that of Actor (a participant capable of cognition and/or movement). In transitive verbs derived from roots which form intransitive verbs with \(m\)-, the referent of the A argument corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive verb. Compare, for example, the S argument of \(m\)-\(e\)\(e\) 'cry' in (6), with the A argument of the verb \(e\)\(e\)-\(si\) 'cry over' in (7). In (6) the S argument is the mutated form of \(i\betaa\) 'sibling' (here 'sister'):

(6) \(M\)-\(e\)'e \(ni\betaa\)-nia.

\(i\betaa\)

\(DYN\)-cry  sibling;MUT-3s.POSS

Her sister is crying.

\(^5\) See Chapter 3 fn 6 for discussion of the abbreviations A, P and S.
In (7) the one doing the crying, is again *ißa* 'sister', but in this case it is represented by an unmutated NP as well as being marked by a third singular verb prefix, *i*-

(7)  
I-e'e-si

nono-nia

ißa-nia.

ono

3s.RLS-cry-TR  child:MUT-3s.POSS  sibling-3s.POSS

Her sister is crying over her child (implied: who has died).

In both cases it is the sister who is crying, but the caseforms of the word *ißa* in the two sentences are different, reflecting the difference in argument role.

The semantic role of the S argument of intransitive verbs derived with the stative prefixes *a*- , *to*- or *te*- is typically that of Patient (a participant which is held to be unable to affect the situation described by the verb). In transitive verbs derived from the roots which form intransitive verbs with *a*- , *to*- or *te*- , it is the referent of the P argument which corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive verb. For example the S argument of the intransitive stative verb *a-böu* 'smell bad' in (8) is the mutated form *dana-gu* 'my hand:MUT':

(8)  
A-böu

dana-gu.

tana

ST-smell.bad  hand:MUT-1s.POSS

My hand smells bad.

Compare (9), in which the P argument of the transitive verb derived from the same root is again the mutated form *dana-gu* 'my hand MUT':

(9)  
U-böu-si

dana-gu

v-a-naba

i’a.

tana

f-aN-tabá

1s.RLS-smell.bad-TR  hand:MUT-1s.POSS  NR.MUT-IPF-cut  fish

I got my hands smelly from cutting up the fish. (D)
Note that the transitivizing suffix -si occurs on both the root -e’e 'cry' in (7) and the root -böu in (9), indicating that it is only the semantic role of the intransitive verb derived from a bound root which distinguishes the two classes of roots. Some roots which belong to these two sets are listed in (10) and (11) below, with intransitive and transitive verbs which are derived from them, and common nouns if they occur. Roots which form dynamic intransitive verbs are listed in (10):

(10) Roots which derive dynamic intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Vintr</th>
<th>Vtr / Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-alu</td>
<td>m-alu [DYN-hunt] 'go hunting'</td>
<td>alu-i [hunt-TR] 'look for' / –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e’e</td>
<td>m-e’e [DYN-cry] 'cry'</td>
<td>e’e-si [cry-TR] 'cry over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eßo</td>
<td>m-eßo [DYN-chase.birds] 'guard field'</td>
<td>eßo-khi [chase.birds-TR] 'scare birds' / eßo-kha [chase. birds-NR] 'hut in field for resting in while guarding field from birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uta</td>
<td>m-uta [DYN-vomit] 'vomit'</td>
<td>uta-ö [vomit-TR] 'throw up' / uta’uta 'vomit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roots which form stative intransitive verbs are listed in (11).

(11) Roots which derive stative intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Vintr</th>
<th>Vtr / Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-basö</td>
<td>a-basö [ST-wet] 'be wet'</td>
<td>basö-i [wet-TR] 'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bōu</td>
<td>a-bōu [ST-rotten] 'smell rotten'</td>
<td>böu-si [rotten-TR] 'cause to smell bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fōnu</td>
<td>a-fōnu [ST-full] 'be full'</td>
<td>fōnu-i [full-TR] 'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hatō</td>
<td>a-hatō [ST-near] 'be close'</td>
<td>hatō-ö [near-TR] 'bring close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hono</td>
<td>a-hono [RES-calm] 'be quiet'</td>
<td>hono-gö [calm-TR] 'settle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶ There are two intransitive derivations of the root -örö: mörö 'be sleeping' and förö 'go to sleep'. Both of the prefixes m- and f- are 'dynamic' (see 5.1).
4. WORD CLASSES

The prefixes and suffixes which occur with these roots are not interchangeable. In other words, each root is locked into the derivation it has. Note that all of the transitive derivations have regular causative-like meanings (something like 'A is responsible for P's being in state Vb.'7), yet one cannot predict from an intransitive form which transitivizing suffix a root takes, nor, with absolute certainty, what form a common noun might take if the root is also found in nominal form. Note also that the meanings of the nouns are not predictable. If these roots do not occur in verb forms other than the ones listed here and if it is impossible to predict which affix applies to which root, this implies that the roots themselves are not free to choose a derivational affix at will, but are known only to associate with those affixes with which they are attached in the lists above. This means that these forms must be lexicalized in the derivations in which they occur.

Some stative roots have gone further along the path of lexicalization than those listed in (11) above. There is a large class of intransitive/transitive verb pairs in which the intransitive verb itself is the stem of the transitive verb. Some of these are listed in (12):

---

7 See fn 5, Chapter 3 for discussion of the abbreviations A, P and S.
(12) Transitive verbs with stative intransitive verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atulö 'be straight'</td>
<td>atulö-ö 'correct, make straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aítö 'be black'</td>
<td>aítö-ö 'blacken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allaolo 'be wide'</td>
<td>allaolo-ö 'make wide(r)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abe'e 'be strong'</td>
<td>abe'e-gö 'make stronger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alösö 'be smooth'</td>
<td>alösö-i 'cause to be smooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoha 'be light'</td>
<td>aoha-si 'cause to be light, bright'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aila 'be shy'</td>
<td>aila-si 'cause to feel ashamed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambö 'be less'</td>
<td>ambö-si 'lessen' (cause to be less)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aefa 'be passed'</td>
<td>aefa-si 'release' (cause to be free)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allaolf 'be ready'</td>
<td>allaolf-si 'finish' (cause to be ready)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiso 'be bitter'</td>
<td>aiso-ni 'cause to be bitter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again note the heterogeneous nature of the transitivizing suffixes. As a general rule transitive verbs which are derived from stative verb stems do not occur with more than one suffix. Yet the intransitive verb stems give no clue as to which suffix they take. The transitive verbs listed in (12) are clearly derived, but it appears that they are now lexicalized in the forms listed. The intransitive verbs in this list, too, are obviously morphologically compositional (consisting of a prefix a- and a root), but the roots do not occur in any words other than these intransitive and transitive verbs.

Nouns which are derived from bound roots are unpredictable in meaning, indicating that the roots themselves no longer provide semantic basis for derivation—the nouns must be listed lexically in their reduplicated or affixed form. Similarly, bound roots which are stems of verbs are fixed in their dynamic/stative orientation and (generally) invariant in their choice of affix. These characteristics suggest that the roots do not occur as separate lexemes in the lexicon even though they may have been separate lexemes at some earlier period of the history of the language. Synchronically, the verbs which are derived from bound roots are presumably listed lexically in their affixed forms.
4.6 Personal pronouns

There are two sets of personal pronouns in Nias Selatan, which have roughly the same argument functions as those of unmutated and mutated nouns. These pronouns were given in Table 4 in Chapter 3, which is repeated here for convenience.

Table 4 (from p. 74): pronouns in Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>unmutated</th>
<th>mutated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ya’o</td>
<td>ndrao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s.EMP</td>
<td>ya’oto</td>
<td>ndraoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ya’ugö</td>
<td>ndraugö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ya’ia</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>ya’ita</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>ya’aga</td>
<td>ndraga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ya’ami</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ya’ira</td>
<td>ira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each set of pronouns distinguishes first, second and third persons, singular and plural number, with inclusive and exclusive first person plural. First person singular in each set has an emphatic form. Independent pronouns have almost the same distribution in the clause as nouns (see Chapter 7). They are distinguished from nouns in being unable to occur with possessive pronouns.

Nias also has three sets of pronominal affixes—two sets of prefixes which obligatorily index person and number of arguments on the verb and one set of suffixes which marks possession on nouns. These affixes are listed in Table 6.
Table 6: Pronominal affixes in Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>realis</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
<th>possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ö-</td>
<td>gö-</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>-nia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td>ndra-</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Realis prefixes index the person and number of A arguments; irrealis prefixes index the person and number of A and S arguments (see 11.2 and 11.4 for further discussion). There are no separate reflexive or reciprocal pronouns—reflexive meaning can be indicated by a simple transitive construction (see 11.2.1.1) and reciprocal meaning can be indicated by intransitive construction (see 11.4.1). The word samösa functions as an independent pronoun meaning 'someone' (e.g. so samösa [arrive someone] 'someone has arrived'), and is also used as an emphatic marker with other pronouns or NPs with the meaning 'alone, by oneself', e.g. ya'o samösa [1s someone] 'I myself'; 'just me'.

4.7 Demonstratives

There are two broad semantic types of demonstratives: a purely deictic type and a 'recognitional' type (see Himmelmann 1996), both of which have numerous forms. The deictic type is used to identify the physical or cognitive proximity of the referent of the NP within the situational or speech context. These are listed in (13):

(13) deictic demonstratives

PROXIMAL: ha'a, andra, andraha'a

DISTAL: höö, andre, andrehe'e
The four forms *ha'a, andra, höö* and *andre* have both nominal and adnominal functions. *Andra*ha'a 'this one' and *andre*he'e 'that one' can only be used nominally. There are also three sets of enclitic forms which have roughly the same meanings as *andra* and *andre*. (See 8.3 for discussion of demonstratives.)

The second type of demonstrative has the function of drawing the hearer's attention to someone or something which has either been previously mentioned or is within the sphere of knowledge shared by speaker and hearer (frequently reference to family members or cultural detail, and not to the larger context of general knowledge, such as 'the sun'). These recognitional forms function only as adjuncts, never as heads of NPs. They are: *no, nomae* (or *nomae*) and *nomema'e* (or *nomema'e*). Their meaning is something like 'the one I've been talking about' or 'you know?' (see 8.3.7).

Deictic demonstratives have features of nouns, but can be shown to be a distinct word class based on a combination of morphological and syntactic characteristics. Deictic demonstratives are like nouns in that they function as heads of NPs in uses which are typical of nouns such as arguments of verbs and prepositions, and as predicates of predicate nominal clauses. When they function as heads of NPs, the vowel-initial deictics mutate in contexts which call for nominal mutation, e.g. *börö gandrehe'e* 'because of that sort of thing' (lit. 'because of that one'). Deictic demonstratives, like nouns, may not occur as predicates in relative clauses, a context reserved specifically for verbs, and like nouns in NP predicates, may not co-occur with the range of preverbal auxiliaries which may accompany verbal predicates. In predicate position they are negated with the non-verbal negator *te'ana*, and not the verbal negator *löna* (see 9.3, 9.4 for non-verbal predicates). Deictic demonstratives are unlike nouns, however, in that they can never occur as possessors, and cannot be modified by relative clauses or numeral phrases (see chapter 8). However, deictic demonstratives are distinct from both nouns and verbs in two ways: 1) they do not take part in any derivational morphology, and 2) in their adjunct role in an NP they may follow a noun without any further morphological adjustment. (For nouns or verbs to modify nouns they must take on additional morphology.)
There is a small class of words that is semantically related to deictic demonstratives which are used when presenting something (physically or visually) to someone. These words all seem to have very similar meanings and are interchangeable in many contexts. The words are: yaa, yae and yazö. Their meanings are something like 'here/this is...' (like *voi-ci* [see-here] 'here (it) is' and *voi-là* [see-there] 'there (it) is' in French). They occur first in a clause and are always followed by an NP in mutated form. This construction conforms to nominal predicate structure (see Chapter 9) and realis intransitive verb structure. Some examples of these deictics are given in (14)-(16):

(14) Wah! Yaa mboto s=e-bua.

    boto
wow here is body REL-ST-big
Wow! This is a big tree trunk! (*yazö* could be used in place of *yaa*)

(15) Yae nafo-da.

    afo
here is betel quid:MUT-1pi.POSS
Here is our betel. (i.e. please help yourself) (*yazö* or *yaa* could be used in place of *yae*)

(16) Yazö=wa!

    here is=DP.TCL
Here it is. (giving sth. to person).

Morphologically the forms *yaa* and *yae* appear to consist of a morpheme *ya* plus the demonstrative suffixes -*a* and -*e* (see 8.3.5 for discussion). A morpheme */zö/ does not occur in any other words.
4.8 Interrogatives

4.8.1 Yes-no question particles

There are two interrogative particles, ha and hai, which are frequently (but not invariably) used to form yes-no questions from simple declarative sentences. These particles always occur first in the clause and are not used for any function other than question formation (although ha is homophonous with the clause-initial particle meaning 'only, just' (see 4.13.3.1 below)). Some examples of these particles are given in (17)-(19):

(17) Ha Bazi zia'a nda-ono?
    sia'a ira-ono
    Q Bazi firstborn:MUT COLL.MUT-child

Is Bazi the oldest child?

(18) Hai so ginötö-u bözi fulu?
    inötö
    Q EXIST time:MUT-2s.POSS hit ten

Do you have time at ten o'clock? (lit. is there your time (at) ten o'clock.)

(19) Hai, löna=e rake tanö böö?
    Q NEG.EXIST=D.PTCL coral land other

(Do you think) there is no coral anywhere else? (This is a rhetorical question.)

4.8.2 Information-question words

Interrogatives which request information form a distinct class of words based on shared morphological features, word order properties and non-interrogative uses. The interrogatives in Nias Selatan are listed in (20):

---

8 The phrase bözi fulu is a calque from Indonesian, where the word pukul 'hit' is used with a similar meaning, something like English 'o'clock', e.g. pukul lima [hit five] 'five o'clock'.
4. WORD CLASSES

(20) **Interrogatives in Nias Selatan**

- hata/hanata 'who?'
- haiya 'what?'
- hakhö 'to, for, from whom?'
- haeße 'which?'
- hamega 'when?'
- haega 'where?'
- hauga 'how much, how many (things)?'
- hadauga 'how many (people)?'
- hanawara 'why?'
- hava 'why (in the world)?' / 'how could...'
- haiya mbörö 'for what reason?'; 'why?'
- haega ißaisa 'how?'
- haega ißaisa lala 'in what way?'

Morphologically these words are distinctive in beginning with *ha* (or *hai*, in the case of *haiya* 'what'), which functions by itself as a clause-initial particle introducing yes-no questions, as exemplified above. Interrogatives always occur in first position in sentence e.g. *haeße z-ebua* ira [which REL.MUT=ST:big 3p.MUT] 'which of them is bigger?'; *haega ndra-möi?* [where 3p.IRR-go] 'Where are they going?'. Interrogatives also function as markers of indirect questions and take first position in these clauses as well, e.g. *löna na ma-rono* haega möi ya [NEG yet 1pe.RLS-hear where go 3s.MUT] 'We haven’t heard yet where he went'.

**4.8.3 Indefinite pro-form function of interrogatives**

In addition to these uses, a subset of these forms also function as indefinite pro-forms. Semantically there are two different types of indefinite pro-forms. One type is what

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9 The difference between *hata* and *hanata* is not clear, although the morphological forms tend to imply that *hata* might be used in syntactic contexts which require unmutated forms and *hanata* in contexts calling for mutated forms. This however, is not the case—both *hata* and *hanata* are acceptable in both contexts (e.g. *hata zi-a* and *hanata zi-a* [who REL.MUT-eat] mean 'who ate (it)?' for further examples see 4.8). The answer is clearly not as simple as this, and requires further investigation.
Haspelmath (1997:134, fn 4) calls 'non-specific free relative clause markers'\textsuperscript{10}, or 'conditional concessive' markers. These forms in English take the '-ever' suffix on the interrogative form. The meaning is something like 'some x, I know it could be any x, but I don't know which one(s)'. In Nias these forms are frequently accompanied by the particle \textit{manö}('ö) 'just'. A list of the forms found with this use in the data is given in (21):

(21) interrogatives used as non-specific free relative clause markers

\begin{itemize}
  \item hata / hanata 'whoever'
  \item haiya 'whatever'
  \item hamega 'whenever'
  \item haega 'wherever'
\end{itemize}

Examples of interrogatives in these uses are given in (22)-(26):

(22) Hata mi anda z=o-okhöta,  
\[ s= \]
who 2p.MUT PROX REL.MUT=HAVE-possession  
ande zi=to-bali kafalo ba mbanua=nde.  
\[ si= \]
DIST REL.MUT=RES-turn head LOC village:MUT=PROX  

Whoever amongst you has possessions, he is the one who will become the head of this village.

(23) Hanata z=a-löna ama, ina,  
\[ s= \]
who REL.MUT-?-NEG.EXIST\textsuperscript{11} father mother  

\textsuperscript{10} From Haspelmath 1997:134, FN 4: "A free relative clause is a relative clause that does not modify a noun phrase, but constitutes a noun phrase itself [i.e. 'headless relative' in this thesis (LB)] ... . Non-specific free relative clauses (...) are ... easily recognized in English because only they allow the relative pronoun \textit{wh-ever}, e.g. (specific) \textit{She told him what} (*whatever) \textit{she had seen the day before}; but (non-specific) \textit{She used to tell him what/whatever she saw}.”

\textsuperscript{11} I don't know the function of the prefix \textit{a-} in front of \textit{löna} in the word \textit{z=a-löna} although the meaning of the word is clear. However such a morpheme also occurs with the verb \textit{a-so-gö} [?EXIST/arrive-TR] 'invite, arrange, organize' derived from the existential verb \textit{so} (or intransitive verb \textit{so} 'come, arrive'.

i-doro  ba-omo-nia  Si’ulu.
3s-carry  LOC-house-3s.POSS  village.leader

Whoever did not have a father or mother, the village leader took to his own home. (OS:94)

(24) Haiya=manö  z-alua  dania,  böröta-nia  hō’ō.
   s-alua
what=just REL.MUT-happen  later  origin-3s.POSS  DIST

Whatever happens later, that will be its beginning.

(25) Fa-bö’ō  hawa  haega  ta-rugi.
   DO-different  weather  where  1pi.RLS-reach

The weather is different wherever we go (reach).

(26) Hamega  ara  lōna  darodaro  ba  mbanua  hō’ō,
    banua
when  long.time  NEG  seat of law  LOC  village:MUT  DIST
la-waö,  "ande  döi-nia,  so  halama".
   töi
3p.RLS-say  DIST  name:MUT-3s.POSS  EXIST  hut:MUT

Whenever there’s no darodaro (seat of law) in a village for a long time, you call it ‘so halama’ (So halama means ‘There are huts.’ (as opposed to houses))

Several interrogatives occur in reduplicated form with similar meaning, as listed in (27).

(27) interrogatives used in reduplicated form as markers of non-specific free relative clauses

ha’ō-ha’ō-khō  ‘whoever:DAT’\(^\text{12}\)
ha-mega-mega  ‘whenever’\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^{12}\) I have no un-reduplicated example of ha’ōkhō meaning ‘to whomever’. Since the other interrogative forms appear to be able to be used as non-specific relative clause markers with or without reduplication, this may be an accidental gap in the data.

\(^{13}\) Ha-mega-mega ‘whenever’ differs from the other reduplicated trisyllabic interrogative, ha’ō-ha’ō-khō ‘to whom?’ in that the reduplication does not include the question particle ha. Reduplication of ha-mega ‘when’ copies only the stem. This makes this indefinite form formally similar to the indefinites ha-
haega-haega 'wherever'
hauga-hauga 'however many (things)'

Some examples of reduplicated interrogatives used with similar meaning are given in (28)-(31):

(28) Ha'ö-ha'ökhö=manö, böli oturagö, ...
RDP2-who:DAT=just NEG.IMPER tell
Whoever it is, don't tell (them)... (*oturagö* 'tell' requires a dative addressee)

(29) Ha-mega-mega ginötö ga-möi ba ga-m-ohe döröfö.
inötö döröfö
Q-RDP2-when time:MUT 1pe.IRR-go CNJ 1pe.IRR-IRR-carry gift:MUT
Whenever we go (visiting) we take gifts.

(30) ...börö hauga-hauga na=luo ma-sofu,
because RDP2-how.many LK=day 1pe.RLS-ask
ba löna f-a-nema li.

f-aN-tema
CNJ NEG.EXIST NR-IPF-receive sound
...because no matter how many days we ask, there will be no answer.

(31) Haega-haega toroi ya ba ya’ia löna a-hono.
RDP2-where live 3s.MUT CNJ 3s NEG ST-calm
Wherever he lives, he's not happy (calm).

There is insufficient data to say whether there is a semantic or syntactic difference between uses in reduplicated form and non-reduplicated form. The reduplicated form occurs much less frequently than the simple form.

*nata-nata* 'someone' and *hai-ya-ya* 'something' discussed further on in this chapter, and suggest that *ha-mega-mega* may also mean 'sometime'. However, I have no data which confirms this at this stage.
The second type of indefinite pro-form derived from interrogatives corresponds generally to the English indefinite forms which take the 'some-' prefix. The following forms have this type of use:

(32) **Indefinite pro-forms derived from interrogatives**

- haega 'somewhere'
- hauga 'some amount, several' (things)
- hadauga 'some, several' (people)
- haiya (manō'ō) ginoō [what (just) time:MUT] ' sometime'
- haiya / haiya-ya 'something'
- löna haiya-ya 'nothing'
- löna hanata-nata 'no-one'\(^{14}\)

Some examples of the first three interrogatives used with this type of indefinite meaning are given in (33)-(36).

(33) Haega manō'ō ta-tou-'ö.
where just 1pi.RLS-down-TR
We put it down somewhere.

(34) Löna hauga u-rono.
NEG how.much 1s.RLS-hear
I didn't hear much.

(35) Me hauga na=luo s=aefa, . . .
when how.many LK=day REL=ST:passed
Several days ago, ...

\(^{14}\) There are no examples in the data of a word for 'someone' based on the interrogative hanata 'who'. 'Someone' can be expressed by the word samōsa 'one person', see 4.9.
(36) Hadauga niha zi=möi-möi ...

Several people kept coming (up to him) ... (lit. the ones who kept coming were I-don’t-know-how-many people)

The interrogative haiya 'what' may occur with the noun ginötö 'time' with the meaning 'any time'. In the following example the clitic =manöö 'just' attaches to haiya:

(37) Mol-ombase haiya=manöö ginötö.

Drop by any time.

The other indefinite proforms derived from interrogatives are based on haiya 'what' and hanata 'who'. Haiya may be used by itself with the meaning 'something', or it may occur in reduplicated form, hai-ya-ya 'something'15. Examples of these forms are given in (38)-(39):

(38) Na haiya z=a-boto la-cibo.

If anything is broken it can be thrown out.

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15 The morphological analysis of haiyaya 'something' as hai-ya-ya is speculative, based on the fact that ha-nata-nata in the form löna hanatanata 'no-one' (ex (42)) reduplicates the final two syllables but not the question particle ha, and taking into account the comment by Haspelmath (1997:179) that no cases of partial reduplication of the corresponding interrogative are found in examples of languages which form indefinite pronouns from reduplication. It is assumed that only ya is reduplicated and that the question particle hai attaches to the reduplicated base. Even though ya is monosyllabic it is assumed that the reduplication strategy which applies is that of disyllabic reduplication, such as occurs with monosyllabic verbs (see 3.5.2 for details). The formal similarity between the third singular mutated form of the pronoun, ya, and the stem of this interrogative/indefinite pronoun should be noted. There is no similar association between -nata and any pronoun in Nias (excluding the first plural inclusive realis pronoun ta-, which is semantically unlikely to be related), although it is possible that ha/ may be a reflex of the PAn form for 'person', *Cau. The morpheme na may be related to the linker na= which occurs with numerals and classifiers (see 3.2).
(39) I-bini-ö hai-ya-ya.
3s.RLS-hide-TR Q-RDP2-what
He hid something.

The polar opposites löna haiya / löna hai-ya-ya 'nothing', contain the negative existential verb (and verbal negator) löna. These forms are exemplified in (40)-(41):

(40) Löna göi haiya khö-ra, löna to-bali föhöh.
NEG.EXIST also what DAT-3p.POSS NEG.EXIST RES-turn illness
Nothing happened to them either, there was no illness. (lit. There was not also something to them, illness did not happen.)

(41) Löna hai-ya-ya baka ba gurikuri.
kurikuri
NEG Q-RDP2-what inside LOC bottle:MUT
There's nothing inside the bottle.

The form ha-nata-nata is only found in a negative collocation in my data, i.e. löna ha-nata-nata 'no-one' as exemplified in (42):

(42) Hata zi=fao khö-u?
si=fao
who REL.MUT=join DAT16.2s.POSS
Löna ha-nata-nata. Ha samösa17 ndrao
NEG Q-RDP2-who only someone 1s.MUT
Who's going with you? (lit. The one who will join with you is who?)
No one. (lit. There is not someone.) I'm going alone. (lit. Only (some)one am I.)

16 The term 'dative' (DAT) is used for NPs introduced with the preposition khö, which is one of two basic locational/ directional prepositions in Nias. Khö is used typically with humans; the other preposition, ba, is used with non-human animates and inanimate objects (see 4.11).

17 The indefinite form samösa 'someone' appears to be a nominal predicate in this sentence. Its argument is the first singular mutated pronoun ndrao. This word is discussed in the next section (4.9).
4.9 Indefinite pronoun: *samösa* 'someone'

The word *samösa*, 'someone', 'a person', 'alone', is one of three ways of making non-specific reference to a person. *Samösa* is illustrated in (43):

(43) So samösa si=möi.

Someone's coming. (lit. There is someone who is coming.)

The other ways of referring non-specifically to a person involve the use of the noun *niha* 'person' or a headless relative construction. Sentence (44) illustrates the use of the noun *niha* 'person':

(44) So niha si=möi ga.

Someone's coming. (lit. There is a person who is coming here.)

It is not clear at this stage what the difference in meaning is between (43) and (44) or, indeed, between these and (45) and (46) below, which illustrate the use of headless relative constructions:

(45) So zi=so.

Someone's coming. (lit. There is one who is arriving.)

(46) So zi=möi ga.

Someone's coming. (lit. There is one who is coming here.)

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18 The verb *möi* may mean 'go' or 'come' depending on the orientation of speaker to the person who is going or coming.
Morphologically the word *samösa* 'someone', 'a person', 'alone' consists of the short form of the numeral *sara* 'one', i.e. *sa*-, and the form *-mösa*, which does not occur in any words other than *samösa*. *-Mösa* may be related to the word *ösä*, which functions as a nominal modifier meaning 'some' (see 8.5.1), since many languages use a notion like 'some' with the numeral for 'one' to derive an indefinite pronoun (see Haspelmath 1997:163). Note that although *samösa* is the argument of existential *so* in (43), and is modified by a relative clause indicating that it is nominal in function, it is not mutated. This provides good evidence that the first syllable, *sa-* , really is the short form of the numeral for 'one' since numerals and the quantifier *fefu* 'most, all' do not mutate when functioning as arguments. The word *samösa* can function on its own with the meaning 'one (person)', as illustrated in (47):

3p.RLS-kill CLF-eight someone 3p.RLS-carry

They killed eight of them (people). One (of them) they took captive.

*Samösa* also has other uses. It is used with the sense 'alone', as illustrated in (42) above. It is also used as a kind of emphatic particle, as illustrated in (48) with the first singular pronoun *ya'o*:

(48) ... börö ya'o samösa ma=u-oturagö khö-nia mema'e.
...because 1s someone PERF=1s-tell DAT-3s.POSS earlier

... because I myself told him (about it) earlier.

*Samösa* can also be used as a specific indefinite pronoun (i.e. 'a certain person') to introduce a new participant, as illustrated in (49):

(49) So matö samösa — ta-waö a-tua-tua ya — ...
EXIST then someone — 1pi.RLS-say ST-RDP2-mature 3s.MUT —

Now, there was a certain person—we say he was very wise—...
There is only one example in my data (out of about forty) in which *samōsa* is accompanied by the noun *niha* 'person', and the sentence was elicited: *ha samōsa niha z-o-mböi sumo* [only someone person REL.MUT-IPF-create well] 'it only took one man to make the well' (lit. the one who made the well was only one man). I don't know if the noun *niha* can be omitted from this sentence.

Morphologically the word *samuza* 'one time' appears to be similar in composition to the word *samōsa* 'one person', beginning with the morpheme *sa*-'one'. Like -*mōsa*, the form -*muza* does not occur anywhere else in the language. Unlike -*mōsa*, however, there is no lexeme known with which -*muza* may be associated. *Samuza* is used prenominally to express the notion of a single indefinite time. It occurs most commonly with the word *ma'ōkhō* 'day' (or *luo* 'day'), as illustrated in (50):

(50) Samuza ma'ōkhō h<um>ede Namada Lareso khō Taögōnasō,...

    Amada
    one      <IPF>speak Amada:MUT Lareso DAT Taögōnasō

One day Amada Lareso was saying to Taögōnasō, ...

The morphological parallels between *samōsa* 'one person' and *samuza* 'one time' are also to be found in the derived forms *samōsa-na* 'each (person)' and *samuza-na* 'every now and then, bit by bit'. The precise meaning of the suffix -*na* is not entirely obvious, but seems to mean something like 'one at a time'\(^{19}\). There are few examples of these forms in the data. However, in the data available, *samōsana* 'each' occurs only at the end of the clause, and *samuzana* 'every now and then, bit by bit' occurs only at the beginning. The word *samōsa-na* 'each' is illustrated in (51):

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\(^{19}\) Stress falls on the penultimate syllable in *samōsā-na* and *samuzā-na*, indicating that the additional morpheme -*na* is a suffix and not a separate word or a particle.
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(51) La-a gö-ra samösana.
    ö
    3p.RLS-eat food-3p.POSS each

They each ate their food.

The word *samuzana* 'every now and then'; 'bit by bit' is illustrated in (52) and (53):

(52) Samuzana afaehu.
    bit by bit ST:melted

Bit by bit (it) melted.

(53) Samuzana mo-manaßuli ba Hilizondrege'asi.
    Hilizondrege'asi
    every now and again JNT:return LOC Hilizondrege'asi:MUT

Every now and again they would return to Hilizondrege'asi.

4.10 Numerals

In Nias, numerals exhibit features of several word classes, but are sufficiently different from other classes to be considered a separate class. They show the greatest number of similarities with quantificational verbs which are, themselves, a subtype of existential verb (see 4.4). They share one syntactic feature with a small set of nominal quantifiers which is not shared with any other word class—numerals and these quantifiers are the only words which may occur with NPs as arguments in phrases which themselves occur as arguments of verbs, prepositions or nouns (e.g. *felendrua ndraono* [twelve COLL.MUT:child] 'twelve children', *fefu nasu* [all dog:MUT] 'all (of the) dogs'). The nominal quantifiers which share this feature with numerals are listed in (54) (see 8.5 for discussion):

(54) **nominal quantifiers**

    *fefu* 'all, most'
    *ma'efu* 'a small amount, a few'
ösa 'some'
iagō 'lots'

However, numerals, but not these quantifiers, may occur as predicates without any morphological modification, a feature shared by both nouns and intransitive verbs. In (55), for example, the predicate is *dua* 'two':

(55) Ha dua tuturu-nia.

just two finger:MUT-3s.POSS

He has only two fingers. (lit. His fingers are only two.)

Clauses in which numerals occur as predicates have the same structure as the 'predicate possession' use of existential clauses (see 11.4.2)—possession is expressed by a possessive suffix on the NP argument, as illustrated by the third singular possessive suffix -nia in (55) above (cf. *so nono-nia* [EXIST child:MUT-3s.POSS 'She has a child/children'). This feature is also shared by the quantificational verbs *ato* 'many (people)' and *oya* 'many (things)' (cf. *oya mbaβi-nia* [many pig:MUT-3s.POSS] 'He has many pigs'). In addition, numerals, like quantificational verbs, modify definite and referential NPs by means of a relative clause construction, as do normal verbs (e.g. *iraono si=fitu na=fulu* [COLL:child REL=seven LK=ten] 'the seventy children'). As predicates, however, numerals are defective. They are semantically incompatible with (and therefore do not occur with) the range of preverbal and postverbal particles and adverbs which occur in the verb predicate complex (such as the perfect marker *ma=*, the intensifier *sibai*, *sui* 'again'; see 10.2, 4.12). Quantificational verbs, in contrast, do occur with some of these preverbal and postverbal constituents (see 11.4.2).

Numerals differ most significantly from all other word classes syntactically in that they cannot always function by themselves, but must be accompanied by a classifier (as mentioned in 4.10; see also 8.5.2). The combination of numeral +
classifier conforms to the same syntactic principles that have been outlined for numerals, i.e.:

(i) NUM+CLF functions as a predicate without morphological modification, e.g.:

\[[\text{önö na-eu}] \text{mbaßi-gu.}\]
\[
\text{six LK=CLF} \quad \text{pig:MUT-1s.POSS}
\]
I have six pigs. (lit. 'my pigs are six').

(ii) NUM+CL occurs in a relative clause for postnominal modification, e.g.

\[
\text{baßi-gu} \quad \text{si=}[\text{önö na-eu}]
\]
\[
\text{pig-1s.POSS} \quad \text{REL=}[\text{six LK=CLF}]
\]
my six pigs (lit. my pigs which are six).

(iii) NUM+CL may take a noun as argument and form a phrase which functions as an argument, e.g.:

\[
\text{A-fökhö} \quad [\text{önö na-eu}] \quad \text{mbaßi-gu,}^{20}
\]
\[
\text{baßi} \quad \text{ST-illness} \quad [\text{six LK=CLF}] \quad \text{pig:MUT-1s.POSS}
\]
Six of my pigs are sick.

The syntactic dependence between numeral and classifier has led to lexicalization of the collocation in one case: the numeral dua 'two' is reduced to do- when it occurs with bua, the classifier used for concrete things in general, and the combination of dua + bua is pronounced as dombau. The numeral sara, 'one', always occurs in its short form, sa-, with classifiers, e.g. sa-geu ohi [one-CLF.MUT coconut tree] 'one coconut tree'.

\(^{20}\) Note that the noun mbaßi-gu 'my pigs' is mutated because it follows the numeral+classifier and not because it is the argument of the verb afökhö 'sick'. (See 7.1.2.4 and 7.1.2.5 for discussion.)
Morphosyntactically, numerals are similar to nouns in that they participate in a system of segmental alternations (as described in 3.3.2.5). They are different from nouns, however, in that the system of alternations which operates in numerals is not the same as the one which operates in nouns (detailed in 3.2.1). What’s more, in combining with other numerals, a special grammar is observed which makes use of the linker a, which is not found elsewhere in the grammar of Nias. The grammar of complex numerals is outlined below.

The numeral system in Nias is decimal. In forming numerals based on tens, hundreds or thousands, the numeral precedes the word for 'ten', 'hundred' or 'thousand' and is linked to that word by mutation or the linker na=, as discussed in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. In the formation of more complex numerals, the linker a occurs between the 'higher' base form and the cardinal number, e.g.:

(56) öfa ßulu a rua [four ten:LEN LK two:LEN] '42'
tolu na=fulu a öfa [three LK=ten LK four] '34'
onö na=otu a siwa [six LK=100 LK nine] '609'
lima na=hönö a ßitu [five LK=1000 LK seven:LEN] '5007'

Dates are represented in the following way:

(57) önö mbawa si=sara
    bawa
    six month:MUT REL=one
    the sixth of January (lit. six of the month which is one)\(^{21}\)

(58) Me ndöfi si=hönö a [siwa na=otu a
döfi
    when [year:MUT REL=thousand LK [9 LK=100 LK

---

\(^{21}\) The noun bawa means both 'moon' and 'month'.
In 1971 (lit. in year which is 1000 and 900 and 70 and 1)

An example of a longer date is illustrated in (59), to show how the grammar of numerals operates in larger numbers. Note that the whole date is regarded as the argument of the preposition *ba*. This is clear from its form as a headless relative which, as the argument of a locative preposition, is mutated:

(59) Mofanö ndrao ba Jakarta
    leave 1s.MUT LOC Jakarta

    ba [zì=[fulu [mbawa si=felendua]]
        [si=] [bawa
        LOC [REL.MUT=[ten [month:MUT REL=twelve]]
        [döfi si=hönö a [siwa na=otu a [siwa na=fulu a rua]]]]
    [year REL=thousand LK [9 LK=100 LK [9 LK=10 LK two]]]

    I left Jakarta on December 10, 1992.

As the numerals exemplified in (56)-(59) show, the cardinal numbers are either unmutated after the linker *a*, or they have a lenited form. The cardinal numbers which lenite are *dua* (≈rua) 'two', *fitu* (≈ßitu) 'seven' and *fulu* (≈ßulu) 'ten'. Note, however, that they do not lenite after the linker *a* when they are part of a higher numeral, as illustrated in (58) and (59). This sensitivity to cardinal numbers is another morphophonological idiosyncrasy of numerals.

### 4.11 Prepositions

The class of prepositions in Nias is a set of invariant forms which occur in front of noun phrases, with meanings which relate the referent of the noun phrase to the context described in the rest of the clause. They are distinguished from other word classes which can precede a noun phrase both semantically and syntactically: semantically they
do not alter the meaning of the noun phrase which follows them in any way, which indicates that they are not 'modifiers' as are other pre-nominal forms such as quantifiers, numerals and some particles, and syntactically prepositions have a relational function which other pre-nominal forms do not have.

There are two basic directional and locative prepositions in Nias, used in a variety of syntactic contexts with a wide range of meanings. Their use is determined by whether their object is human or locational. Khö is used only with humans (i.e. 'to, for, from a person/ people, e.g. khö nama-gu [DAT father:MUT-1s.POSS] 'to/from my father'), and ba is used typically with non-human referents ('to, from, at, on, in a place or thing', e.g. ba mbanua [LOC village:MUT] 'to, from, at, in the village') although ba may also occur with humans in a generic sense (e.g. löna fa-oro ba niha [NEG DO-seen LOC person] '(it) can't be seen by humans'). Khö is the root of the noun khökhö 'possessions', the verb (m)o-khö 'own' and the noun derived from this verb, o-khö-ta [[HAVE-possession]-NR] 'property, wealth', but does not occur on its own in the data except as a preposition. As far as I know, ba is never used in any other function, or as a root of any other word. It is homophonous with the clausal and phrasal conjunction ba, 'and', but it is, of course, difficult to know whether the homophony conceals a relationship or is purely coincidental.

It is unclear whether these prepositions are clitics or not. They are not affixes because they precede noun phrases, not nouns, and they occur in front of whichever constituent comes first in the phrase, whether quantifier, numeral or particle. Typically they are unstressed. Some evidence that ba may be a clitic comes from a set of locational expressions in which ba has been lexicalized. The set of expressions are the following:
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(60) lexicalized prepositional phrases with ba

baomo 'at home'; 'at the house' (omo 'house') [báomo]
baora 'on the stairs' (ora 'stairs') [báora]
baero 'outside' (ero 'outside') [báero]
baeßali 'in the courtyard' (eßali 'courtyard') [báeßali]
baene 'at the shore; fishing' (ene 'beach') [báene]
baößo 'at sea; fishing' (oßo 'boat') [báööö]
baulu 'upstream' (ulu 'headwaters') [báulu]
barö 'underneath' (arö 'area underneath house') [bárö]

Each of the expressions listed in (60) typically refers to a place where people do something regularly, and one of the connotations of some of these expressions is to indicate that a person is doing what is normally done in that place, such as, for baene and baoßo, fishing. The unmutated nouns in these expressions are syntactically anomalous. Syntactically ba is usually followed by a noun which is mutated, and in fact, each of the expressions can also be realized with a mutated noun, e.g. ba nomo 'at the house', ba nora 'on the stairs'. Semantically, the unmutated nouns imply uniqueness. The referent of the unmutated noun is a place which speaker and hearer can identify uniquely. Yet the unmutated nouns which follow ba in these expressions are still capable of grammatical modification such as possessor phrases and relative clauses (e.g. baomo dua-gu [LOC:house grandfather:MUT-1s.POSS] 'at my grandfather's house'; baeßali s=aßolo [LOC:courtyard REL=ST:wide] 'to the wide courtyard'), which argues that the expressions still consist of a preposition followed by a noun. At a phonological level, however, the expressions are treated as single words. The sequence of vowels formed by the attachment of ba to vowel-initial nouns results in diphthongs (and in the case of barö, the long vowel produced by the two vowels in juxtaposition has been reduced to a single vowel). The fact that ba has been phonologically integrated

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22 The noun baka 'inside' may also belong to this set. However there is no noun known of the form *ka or *aka with an appropriate meaning on which this form may be based. In addition, baka occurs with the preposition ba, e.g. baka ba zekhula [inside LOC:coconut:MUT] 'inside the coconut', unlike all of the forms listed in (60). Semantically, too, the word baka does not appear to refer to a unique location.
into these expressions argues that it may be a clitic in them, and may therefore have clitic status in other phrases as well.

*Khö* is followed by a mutated noun (as exemplified above), or by a possessive suffix. The fact that possessive suffixes occur with *khö* suggests that *khö* could be a noun, since the potential to take a possessive suffix is characteristic of nouns. *Khö* has other nominal features—it cannot function as a predicate without derivation, and the derivational morphology which does apply to it is the prefix *(m)o- 'HAVE' (i.e. *(m)o-\khö 'own; have possessions*), which in all other cases attaches only to nouns. However, it does not occur by itself in any other contexts as a noun, although the reduplicated noun *khö-khö 'possession(s)' suggests that iconically this word refers to a plurality of objects. *Khökhö* can, however, refer to just one object, as well as to many.

Nias also has a number of complex prepositions which provide greater refinement of location or direction in which the basic prepositions are collocated with words which function elsewhere in the language as verbs, adverbs or nouns. The most frequently occurring complex prepositions are *moroi ba* and *moroi khö*. The word *moroi* occurs elsewhere in the language as an intransitive verb meaning 'come from; start from'. In collocation with *ba* or *khö*, however, *moroi* has no verbal features, e.g. no adverbs or aspectual particles may precede or follow it; nothing can be inserted between the verb and the preposition and it can't take an argument. Another verb which occurs frequently in collocation with *ba* is *möi 'go*. The collocation has an allative meaning, i.e. 'go towards'. Like *moroi, möi* no longer has verbal features when it functions as part of a complex preposition. It is a feature of all of these compounds, in fact, that nothing may intervene between the word with which the preposition is collocated and the preposition. In other words they are treated syntactically as a unit. Prosodically, too, the preposition does not alter the stress assignment of the word it combines with. If secondary stress applies to the complex preposition, it applies to the penultimate syllable of the word preceding *ba*, and *ba* remains without stress e.g. *sanandrösa ba gosali* [sana´dvs sa ba gosáli] 'about the church'. Common compounds are the following:
4. WORD CLASSES

(61) **complex prepositions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>meaning of combinatory word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moroi ba</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müi ba</td>
<td>to(wards)</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawa ba</td>
<td>up at/on</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou ba</td>
<td>down to</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baka ba</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanandrösa ba</td>
<td>about, concerning</td>
<td>andrö 'ask' 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba nai</td>
<td>near, close to</td>
<td>side of body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba zina</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td>sina 'edge'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are six other prepositions with more specific locative or other meanings. These are:

(62) **other simplex prepositions**

- faoma 'with' (both comitative and instrumental)
- irugi 'until'
- ißaßö 'above'
- balazi/mbalazi 'on account of'
- börö 'because of'
- barö 'under'

Except for faoma 'with', these prepositions are followed by nominals in mutated form. Faoma functions as a verb meaning 'be the same' in other contexts. As a verb it is followed by a nominal in mutated form, e.g. *faoma ira* [be.same 3p.MUT] 'they are the same'. As a preposition, however, it is followed by a noun which is unmutated, which indicates that it is no longer functioning as a verb, e.g. *faoma ya'ira* [with 3p] 'with them'. Similarly the word i-rugi is a verb in other contexts, meaning '(s)he reaches'.

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23 The noun *sanandrösa* can be segmented morphologically quite easily: [s=aN-andrö-sa, [REL=IPF-ask-NR]], but it is difficult to give a literal translation of it. It seems to mean 'what one is asking'. Typically, it is used with *ba* as a complex preposition meaning 'about'. It may also function as a noun meaning 'topic (of conversation)'.

As a verb the initial syllable varies with the person and number of the Actor (cf. *la-rugi* 'they reach'; *ma-rugi* 'we (excl) reach'). It is clear that when *irugi* functions prepositionally it is no longer functioning as a verb because it is invariable—the initial syllable does not alter if reference involves more than one person or non-third persons (e.g. *moloi ira irugi ga* [run 3p.MUT until here] 'they ran all the way to here'). *Ißaßö* 'above', is coincidentally similar to transitive verbs with third singular prefixes. In all probability, however, it is a reflex of the PAn form */i-+bá+baw/ 'on top of' with the PAn locative marker */i-*/ (PAn/PMP*b* became /ß/ intervocally in the variety of Nias Selatan described in this thesis). The word *balazi* is a noun meaning 'measures, steps, action' or 'guide', but its most frequent use (and the meaning which speakers bring first to mind) is the prepositional one, 'on account of'. The word *börö* is a common noun with several meanings, including 'base of tree'; 'basis'; 'source'; 'reason'. It is less easy to claim that *börö* 'because' is primarily a preposition because any noun which follows it in its prepositional use is mutated, and could be regarded as occurring in a possessive construction with the noun meaning 'source, reason'. On the basis of frequency of use, however, the meaning 'because' is primary and it is therefore included in the class of prepositions. The word *barö* 'underneath' is derived from a prepositional phrase, as mentioned above. It occurs infrequently in my data.

Two other words which are used as prepositions, *furi* 'behind' and *föna* 'in front', are primarily adverbs of location and time, and can also be used as nouns. Like *khö*, these words take possessive suffixes (e.g. *furi-u* 'behind you(s)'), revealing their nominal features. A categorial affinity with nouns exists for many adverbs (see 4.12, 11.3.3).

A number of other words which have the function of nouns or verbs can occur pre-nominally, but since there is no difference between the form of the noun which follows any of these forms when they are nouns or verbs and the form the noun would take if they were prepositions, it is difficult to say which function is primary. These are: *gasagasa* 'in the course of; while' (as N. 'interval, period of time'), *göttö(göttö)* 'during;
in the time of' (as N. 'piece'), mae 'like' (as V. 'be like; resemble'), molo'ö 'according to' (as V. 'follow').

4.12 Adverbs: overview

Adverbs are defined in this study as words which can modify any semantically compatible constituent without undergoing morphological modification, and are not rigidly constrained in their positional possibilities within a phrase or clause (in contrast with particles, which are defined as having fixed positions in a clause). Although adverbs in Nias typically modify verbs or other non-nominal constituents, they can also modify nouns. In general adverbs do not function as predicates, although they do function as arguments of the verbs törö 'go' and agö 'stay' (see 11.3.3). Adverbs are basically distinguished from other word classes by the syntactic positions in which they can occur and their relative freedom of positional possibilities within a clause. For example, some adverbs occur in either initial or final position in a clause or sentence, others occur either post-verbally, after the predicate complex, or after an argument in the predicate, while others occur in final position of NPs or after verbs. There does not appear to be any productive morphology used to derive adverbs in Nias. However, some verbs which occur in preverbal auxiliary positions have meanings which are typical of manner adverbs in those languages which have them, e.g. a-hono tataro ya [ST-calm sit 3s.MUT] 'he sat calmly'; alio aukhu gaßu [quick hot sand:MUT] 'the sand gets hot quickly', see 10.2.4). The prepositional phrase ba va'alio [LOC [NR:MUT-ST:quick] 'quickly', which is formed from the preposition ba followed by an abstract noun derived from a stative verb also has adverbial function. In addition, constituents which indicate some past time reference can be recognized by phrases introduced by the particle me 'when' plus a noun or NP, such as mema'e 'earlier', me föna [when in front] 'in the early days', me ndröfi [when year:MUT] 'last year', me migu no [when week RECOG] 'last week', me dua βoni [when two night:LEN] 'two nights ago'. Adverbs have been categorized in this study first according to whether they are locative or temporal, and second according to the positions which they may take in a clause.
4.12.1 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs are listed in (63):

(63) locative adverbs

- ga 'here' (indefinite place)
- gane 'there' (indefinite place)
- gae 'here' (definite place)
- gaö 'there' (definite place)
- tou 'down'
- lawa 'up'
- baka 'inside'
- furi 'behind'
- föna 'in front'

Of these, ga / gae 'here', gaö / gane 'there' may occur either first or last in a clause but have a preference for initial position, e.g.:

(64) Ga lona ndrindri. tora lawa.
    here NEG.EXIST mosquito, more high

There aren't any mosquitoes here, it's too high.

(65) So goi nidanö s-o-töi Gomo gaö?
    idanö
    EXIST also water:MUT REL=HAVE-name Gomo there

Is there also a river known as Gomo there?

(66) Gaö alua hö’ö.
    there happen DIST

That happened there.

24 The locative adverbs gane, gae and gaö consist of the morpheme ga plus either the suffix -ne 'far away' or the deictic demonstrative suffixes, proximal =e or distal =ö (see 8.3 for demonstrative modifiers).
4. WORD CLASSES

(67) Mo-teu ga ba lōna mo-teu gane.
DYN-rain here CNJ NEG DYN-rain there

It's raining here but it isn't raining over there.

These deictic adverbs also modify nouns, occurring in final position in an NP. A description of the adverbs which function as nominal modifiers can be found in 8.6. The adverbs *tou* 'down' and *lawa* 'up' usually occur immediately after a directional verb or at the end of a clause, as examples (68) - (71) show:

(68) Möi tou folisi ba goreta.

go down police LOC bike:MUT

The policeman got off the motorbike.25

(69) Ma=aekhu ya tou.

PERF=fall 3s.MUT down

He fell down.

(70) Möi lawa mböli z=o-guna.

böli s=
go high price:MUT REL=HAVE-need

The prices of goods are going up. (D)

(71) Na möi ya lawa, böi roro ya.

if go 3s.MUT high NEG.IMPER follow 3s.MUT

If he goes up high, don't follow him.

25 *Folisi* 'police' is unmutated, as tends to occur with new or borrowed words. A native word beginning with /f/ would change to /v/ as the argument of the verb *möi* 'go', e.g. *möi Vasui ba-omo* [go Fasui:MUT LOC-house] 'Fasui went home'. 
Lawa and tou also occur in complex prepositions (see 4.11). The words furi 'behind', föna 'in front' and baka 'inside' usually occur in final position in a clause, as illustrated in (72)-(74):

(72) βuβu ndraugö furi.
move.back 2s.MUT behind
Please move back.

(73) Ha ira-Basiwa zi=lö mo-gau-gau föna.
  si=
only COLL-Basiwa [REL.MUT=NEG DYN-RDP2-fine in.front]26
The only ones who never fined (people) then were Basiwa's family (lit. the ones who did not do fining always before were only Basiwa and his family.)

(74) ...ba dania mi-be ya baka.
  CNJ later 2p.IRR-put 3s.MUT inside
...and later put him inside.27

Furi 'behind' and föna 'in front' also function as prepositions on their own or as part of a complex preposition with locative ba (see 4.11 above). Baka 'inside' may occur as part of a complex preposition with locative ba.

4.12.2 Temporal adverbs
Temporal adverbs are listed in (75):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(72)</td>
<td>Please move back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(73)</td>
<td>The only ones who never fined (people) then were Basiwa's family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(74)</td>
<td>...and later put him inside.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

26 Mutation on the relative clause marker indicates that the clause is an argument (see chapter 9 for discussion of non-verbal clause structure). There is some ambiguity in this sentence as to whether föna has scope over just the relative clause or over the whole utterance.

27 This is an imperative utterance. The verb be 'put' occurs with the second plural pronominal prefix mi-referring to the addressees.
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(75) **temporal adverbs**

- mana 'now'; 'then'
- ma'akha 'today'
- meneßi 'yesterday'; 'the day before'
- mahemolu 'tomorrow'; 'the next day'
- meföna 'in the early days'
- me'oßi 'last night'
- mema'e 'earlier'
- dania 'later'

All of these adverbs tend to occur at the end of a clause if the adverb itself is not emphasized. Examples of meneßi 'yesterday' and mana 'now' are given in (76).

(76) Gusti ma=möi ba Teluk Dalam meneßi,
    Gundit PERF=go LOC Teluk Dalam yesterday,
    ba mana so ya ba=omo
    CNJ now EXIST 3s.MUT LOC=house

    Gusti went to Teluk Dalam yesterday, but right now she's at home.

An alternative order for the second clause in (76) with mana at the end of the clause, i.e. so ya ba=omo mana [EXIST 3s.MUT LOC=house now], is also possible, though rhetorically less effective since the contrast between the times is not as immediate. An example of mana 'now' also occurs in (77), along with ma'akha 'today'.

(77) Gu-mörö mana. Döröfö.

    1s.IRR-sleep now. sleepy.
    böröme ma'akha löna inötö mörö.
    because today NEG.EXIST time sleep

    I'm going to bed now. (I'm) sleepy. Because there wasn't any time today to have a sleep. (lit. ...because today time for sleeping didn't exist.)
Examples of \textit{mahemolu} 'yesterday', 'the next day' and \textit{meföna} 'in the early days' are given in (78) and (79).

(78) La-f-o-töi meföna 's=o-baßi niha'.
\hspace{0.5cm} 3p-CAU-HAVE-name in.the.early.days REL=HAVE-pig person

In the early days they called (him) 'the human-keeper'.

(79) Gu-möi ba fasa mahemolu.
\hspace{0.5cm} 1s.IRR-go LOC market tomorrow

I want to go to the market tomorrow.

\textit{Mahemolu} may be placed at the beginning of a clause, but a pause must occur after it, as exemplified in (80):

(80) Aßali hö'ö, mahemolu, mo-halöwö.
\hspace{0.5cm} ST:finished DIST next day DYN-work

When that's done, the next day (they) go off to work.

\textit{Me ma'e} 'earlier' occurs as part of the recognitional deictic \textit{no mema'e} 'you know the one I mean' (see 8.3.7), but it occurs by itself adverbially either after a verb or in clause-final position, e.g.:

(81) ... börö ya'o samösa ma=u-oturagö mema'e khö-nia
\hspace{0.5cm} ... because 1s alone PERF=1s.RLS-tell earlier DAT-3s.POSS

... because I told him myself earlier

or

(82) ... börö ya'o samösa ma=u-oturagö khö-nia mema'e.
\hspace{0.5cm} ... because 1s alone PERF=1s.RLS-tell DAT-3s.POSS earlier

... because I told him myself earlier

\hspace{0.5cm} 28 \textit{S-o-baßi niha} literally means 'the one whose humans are like pigs'. Pigs are prized possessions in Nias.

\hspace{0.5cm} 29 \textit{Fasa} 'market' is a borrowed word and as such, does not mutate. Normally nouns are mutated after the locative preposition \textit{ba} (see 7.1.2).
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Dania 'later' occurs immediately after a verb (83) or in final position in a clause (84):

(83) Na möi dania ndaga mondi . . .
    if  go  later  1pe.MUT  bathe

    If they were to go bathing later ...

(84) Gu-m-oturagö ndaugö khö-ra dania.
    1s.IRR-IRR-tell 2s.MUT DAT-3p.POSS later

    I'm going to tell them about you later.

4.12.3 Non-locative, non-temporal adverbs

There are three non-locative, non-temporal adverbs which modify NPs as well as predicates. These are göi 'too', ma'efu 'a bit, some' and arakhagö 'rather, almost'. Göi follows the constituent it modifies. Examples (85)-(87) illustrate the variable position of göi in a sentence, and the meanings it imparts by taking these positions:

(i) after predicate complex

(85) I-fa-sura-'ö göi khö-gu zura.
    sura

    He made me write a letter, too (as well as doing something else)

(ii) after an argument

(86) I-fa-sura-'ö khö-gu göi zura
    sura

    He also made me, too, write a letter
(iii) clause-final

(87) I-fa-sura-'ö khō-gu zura gōi

sura

3s.RLS-APP-write-CAU DAT-1s.POSS letter:MUT also

He made me write a letter too (as well as writing something else)

Example (88) illustrates its use following an NP:

(88) Bu-nia a-g-anau sa'a-nia gōi a-g-anau.

hair-3s.POSS RDP1-ST-long fingernail-3s.POSS also RDP1-ST:long

His hair was long, his fingernails, too, were long.

Ma'efu 'some, a bit' precedes nouns, e.g. ma'efu gefe [some money:MUT] 'some money' (but see 8.5 for discussion of 'prenominal' modifiers). However ma'efu follows verbs, as illustrated in example (89):

(89) ... böröme a-lawa ma'efu hili-nia=nda.

... because ST-high a bit place-3s.POSS=this

... because this place here was a little higher.

Arakhagō 'rather, almost' precedes verbal constituents. Examples (90) and (91) illustrate its use with verbs:

(90) Arakhagō ata'u ya böröme löna la-rugi.

rather afraid 3s.MUT because NEG 3p-reach

She was rather frightened because they hadn't got there.

(91) Arakhagō löna i-ila li niha na.

almost NEG 3s-know sound:MUT person:MUT still

He almost doesn't know the Nias language any more. (D)

Example (92) illustrates its use with a numeral phrase:
(92) **Arakhagö limałużu fakhe**<sup>30</sup> furi hō’ō,...

Almost fifty year behind DIST

Almost 50 years after that, ...

As this is the only example of its use other than with verbs, it is unclear whether it can occur also with NPs or whether it is simply the verbal features of the numeral which allow it to be used in this context.

One adverb, tö 'more, extra', occurs almost exclusively at the end of quantifying phrases<sup>31</sup>. Examples (93) and (94) illustrate its use after numeral phrases:

(93) Sa-mbua tö v-a-nofu-gu, Ama.

... -bua f-aN-sofu

one-CLF.MUT more NR.MUT-IPF-1s.POSS father

I have one more question, Ama. (lit. My question is one more.)

(94) ... da-t<um>ema gana’a önö batu tö samōsa.

ana’a

... 1pi.IRR-<IRR>receive gold:MUT six stone more alone

... we ourselves will receive an extra six stones of gold.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Fakhe* is also the normal word for 'rice', illustrating the fact that the rice growing season was originally used for counting 'years'. The word *fakhe* is used for counting more than one year. The word *ndröfi 'year' (related to *döfi 'star') is used with the short form of the numeral for 'one', *sa-* to refer to just one year.

<sup>31</sup> Tö also occurs three times with a meaning which I have not been able to determine. All of the instances occur in one sentence taken from a story recorded by Father Johannes Hämmerle. This use of tö does not occur elsewhere in my data. The sentence is given in (i):

(i) Nahia gö-ra, s=afusi tö siöfa sagi, place food:MUT-3p.POSS REL=ST:white ? REL=four side

na s=oyo tö la’ala’a, ofulo-fulo, if REL=ST:red ? colour ST:round

na s=aitö tö la’ala’a ba ssamigö-migö.

if REL=ST:black ? colour CNJ REL=ST:oval

As for the dishes for their food, white (food) tö square pot, if (the food is) red tö in colour, (the dish is) round, if (the food is) black tö in colour then (the dish is) oval. (H)

<sup>32</sup> The numeral phrase önö batu 'six stone' in this example is right-dislocated as can be seen from the fact that it does not occur in a relative clause construction. As the NP is indefinite, the numeral phrase would normally precede the noun (see 8.5). I don't know why batu 'stone' is unmutated in this phrase—usually the noun following a numeral other than 'one' is mutated.
Example (95) illustrates its use after the adverb *ma'efu*:

(95) **Ma'efu tö so ira.**

*a bit more arrive 3p.MUT*

They'll be here in a little while.

### 4.12.4 Adverbs or particles?

The distinction between adverb and particle blurs a little when it comes to those words which only occur in or after the predicate complex. I have chosen to call 'adverbs' those forms which appear to have greater freedom in post-verbal position within the predicate complex or the rest of the clause, and to call 'particles' those words which have fixed positions (see section 4.13 below). The adverbs which occur post-verbally are *sui* 'again', *ana* 'sometime' and *matö* 'therefore; so'. *Sui* 'again' usually occurs somewhere after a verb, but its position seems quite variable. Examples (96) and (97) show *sui* 'again' occurring after a verb and at the end of a clause respectively:

(96) **Fa-manömanö sui ira boni.**

*DO-chat again 3p.RLS night*

They discussed (it) again at night.

(97) **Ande z=a-ta’u ira sui?**

*DIST REL=ST-afraid 3p.MUT again*

Is that why they were frightened again?

*Sui* 'again' follows any post-verbal enclitic particles, as exemplified in (98):

(98) **I-fuli=manö’ö sui ya Zinö**

*3s.RLS-turn.back=just again 3s.MUT Zinö*

...Zinö just turned back again ...
Sui may also occur after ya in (98), i.e. an alternative order with the same meaning is i-fuli=manö‘ö ya sui Zinö [3s.RLS-turn.back=just again 3s.MUT Zinö].

The word ana, 'sometime' occurs in only two examples in the data. In these it immediately follows the verb. It is included with adverbs because of its semantic similarity with other adverbs such as sui 'again' which refer to some temporal aspect of the situation described in the clause. The examples containing ana 'sometime' are (99) and (100). Note that sui 'again' follows ana 'sometime' in example (99):

(99) Ta-fuli ana sui mbörögö huhuo-da
    1pi.RLS-turn.back sometime again begin:IRR meeting-1pi.POSS

We will begin our discussions again sometime.\(^{33}\)

(100) Gu-möi ana ba khö-mi
    1s.IRR-go sometime LOC 2p.POSS

I'd like to go to your house sometime, (but no definite time)'

Matö 'then, so, therefore', has a preference for a position after one or more arguments or at the end of the clause, as exemplified in (101)-(104):

(101) ... ba la-be ya matö guru agama.
    ... CNJ 3p.RLS-put 3s.MUT therefore teacher religion

... and so they made him a teacher of religion.

(102) Möi ya guru agama matö ga ba Mbotohilitanö
    go 3s.MUT teacher religion therefore here LOC Botohilitanö

So he became a teacher of religion here at Botohilitanö.

\(^{33}\) I don't know why the irrealis form of the verb (mbörögö 'begin:IRR') occurs without a pronominal prefix in (99). It may be a substitution for the imperfective (and definite future) form manö‘ö [maN-börögö] (see 10.3.4), possibly idiosyncratic to the speaker. I am not aware of any other cases of the irrealis form occurring without a pronominal prefix. Irrealis forms may occur with mo- 'joint action' prefix, which occurs instead of a third plural prefix (see, e.g., ex (53); and see 10.3.3).
4. WORD CLASSES

(103) Löna ta-ila nama hauga fakhe matö furi hö’ö,…
NEG 1pi.RLS-know perhaps how many year therefore behind DIST
So we don't know how many years after that, ...

(104) Nah, mē ara gaö ya ba GunungSitoli matö, …
now, when long time there 3s.MUT LOC GunungSitoli therefore
Now, since he had stayed so long in GunungSitoli then, ...

Matö 'then, so, therefore' may also occur immediately after a verb, as in (105) below, and after a modal auxiliary, as in (106):

(105) La-cimba matö lösu ande lösu
3p-kick therefore mortar:MUT DIST
Then they kicked away that mortar.

(106) Ande va tola matö la-waö ba ta-be saßuyu.
DIST COMP can therefore 3p.RLS-say CNJ 1pi.RLS-give slave
So that's why they could say, 'We give (them) as slaves'.

Matö 'then, so, therefore' appears to follow any other adverbs or particles in a verb complex, as illustrated with sui 'again' in (107):

(107) Ba löna sui matö ta-ila […]
CNJ NEG again therefore 1pi.RLS-know
And so again we don't know […], ...

4.13 Particles: overview

Particles are defined for this study as invariant words which have fixed position in a clause or phrase. The various types of particle are basically determined by their positional possibilities. The positions that particles take are the following: initial position in a clause, initial position in a phrase, second position in a clause, second
position in a predicate complex, immediate post-verbal position and final position in a clause. The prepositions *ba* and *khö* are one set of particles which have already been mentioned, which occur only in front of NPs and signal the relationship of the NP to the larger constituent of which the prepositional phrase is a part.

4.13.1 **Initial position in clause**

Grammatically there are two types of clauses in which particles may take initial position—*independent* (main) clauses and clauses which are syntactically subordinate. The particles which occur in initial position can be classified into two classes based on whether they introduce independent clauses or whether they do not. Particles which introduce main clauses either signal some notion such as the speaker's opinion of the certainty of the event described in the clause or signal the pragmatic intention of the clause. Particles which introduce clauses that are incomplete utterances unless they are part of a larger constituent basically signal the function of the clause within that larger constituent or its semantic relationship to the other clause.

4.13.1.1 **Initial position in independent clause**

Particles which express how the speaker feels or thinks about the situation described in the clause are listed in (108):

(108) **particles which express speaker's thoughts or feelings about topic**

- *ya* 'I hope'
- *da* 'I want to do [cl], I want to know if you agree',
- *te* 'perhaps',
- *dörö* 'perhaps'(?),
- *nama* 'I can't be sure'.

Some examples of these particles are given in (109)-(113):
(109) **Ya** aboto ba dödö-u.

tödö
I hope ST-break LOC liver:MUT-2s.POSS
mea böi elunu ndaugö
so.that NEG.IMPER ST:lost 2s.MUT
I hope that you understand what I say so that you don't get lost.

(110) **Da** u-o-bubu ö-u vakhe.
fakhe
HORT 1s.RLS-HAVE-porridge food-2s.POSS rice:MUT
Let me make you some porridge.

(111) **Te** ma=ahori fefu mbala.
bala
perhaps PERF=ST:finished all papaya:MUT
Perhaps all the papaya are gone.

(112) **Dörö** so niha gaö baka.
perhaps EXIST person there inside
There could be a person inside there.

(113) **Nama** nda-ma-maßa dania.
perhaps 3p.IRR-IRR-sell later
Maybe they'll sell (them) later.

The particles *ha* and *hai*, which indicate that a sentence is a yes-no question were illustrated above (see 4.8.1). Another particle which signals the pragmatic intention of the speaker is the negative imperative marker *böi*, and its more formal form *böli*, 'don't'. Examples of these are given in (114) and (115);
(114) Böi  
mi-e'e.  
NEG.IMPER 2pRLS-cry  
Don't cry.34

(115) Böli  
mi-taha ndrao!  
NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-stop 1s.MUT  
Do not stop me!

4.13.1.2 Initial position in subordinate clause

Clauses which semantically relate one clause to another clause within a larger constituent are marked with one of the particles listed in (116).35

(116) Subordinating particles

na 'when' (future), 'if'
me 'when' (past)
mena 'in case'
böröme 'because'
mea 'so that'
he ... he 'whether ... or'
hewa'e 'although'

Clauses introduced by the particles listed in (116) are generally adverbial in function, and are termed 'subordinating particles' or just 'subordinators' in this thesis. Sentences in which one of the clauses is introduced by na 'if, when (future)', he 'whether' or hewa'e 'even though' usually occur with a second clause introduced by a conjunctive particle, or in the case of he 'whether', by another he. These adverbial clause markers are illustrated below. In (117), the conditional use of na is illustrated. Note that the apodosis of the conditional sentence must be marked by the conjunctive particle ba.

34 Note that the plural pronominal prefix in this example is used to 'soften' the command. It was used by an older woman to a young relation of her husband's. The second plural prefix in (115), on the other hand, was used to address several people and is more formal.

35 The morphological status of all of the forms in (116) is not firmly established at this stage. As mentioned a little further on, a number of these forms may be complex morphemes.
4. WORD CLASSES

(117) Na lōna ma=bötö, ba tola i-halö.

If (a person) has not been wounded, he can carry (things).

When na is used with future time reference, the matrix clause typically occurs in irrealis mode, as illustrated in (118):

(118) Na ebua ndao gu-mo-guna.

When I'm bigger I'll be needed.

Because of the semantic association of the future with a conditional sense, na can be ambiguous out of context. This ambiguity is illustrated in (119), where the particle can imply 'if' or 'when'. In this instance, neither clause is syntactically affected by the presence of na and could stand on their own as independent sentences:

(119) Na la-faigi ita fa-mae na mana ndrao.

If/when they see us, copy what I do. (lit. 'If/when they see us, do like when I do like this')

Clauses introduced with the particle he 'whether' typically occur with a second clause introduced also by he, as illustrated in (120):

(120) Fefu ndra-matua, he la-sußö he lō’ö,

All of the men, whether they fought or not, all of them were armed.
He is also a phrase-initial particle with the meaning 'either, or', illustrated in 4.13.2.3 below. The particle hewa‘e ‘although’ may be a complex morpheme, derived from a combination of the particle he ‘whether’ with the discourse particle =wa‘e (see 4.13.5). This form is illustrated in (121):

(121) **Hewa‘e** löna s<um>ura, ba la-akui, mo-lo-‘ö...

    maN-o

even.though NEG <IPF>write CNJ 3p.RLS-accept DYN-follow-TR

Even tho it’s not written down, it’s accepted, according to ...

In clauses introduced by the other particles listed in (116) above, neither the clause containing the particle nor the matrix clause is affected syntactically by the presence of the particle, so the clauses are ‘subordinate’ only in terms of being semantically reliant on another clause to complete an utterance. An example of each of these is given below. The particle **me** is illustrated in (122) with the meaning of past time reference ‘when’:

(122) **Me** mofanö ya, la-roro ya niha fefu

    when leave 3s.RLS 3p.RLS-follow 3s.MUT person all

When he left, everyone followed him.

The form **mena** ‘in case’ may be a complex form consisting of the particles **me** ‘when’ and **na** ‘if’. This form is illustrated in (123):

(123) I-oturagö **mena** la-bunu ita dania ...

    3s.RLS-tell in.case 3p.RLS-kill 1pi.MUT later

He told (them about it) in case they killed us later ...

The form **böröme** ‘because’ may also be complex, consisting of the noun **börö** ‘base, source, reason’ and **me** ‘when’. This form is illustrated in (124):
(124) **Böröme** ira-ono s=a-dölö tödö ya, i-waö 'gu-möi'

because COLL-child REL=ST-go.straight liver 3s.MUT 3s.RLS-say 1s.IRR-go

Because he was still an innocent child, he said 'I will go'... (lit. because he was a child whose liver was straight, he said...)

The particle *mea* 'so that' is illustrated in (125):

(125) Mo-guna dendra gahe **mea** tola möi niha
tendra ahe niha

HAVE-use heel:MUT leg:MUT so.that can go person:MUT

lawa ba vo

fo

up LOC storage.area.above.hearth:MUT

You have to have footholds so that you can get up to the storage area above the hearth.

This particle, or a particle homophonous with it, also functions as a counterfactual particle (see 4.13.6).

### 4.13.1.3 Initial position in co-ordinate clauses

Clauses introduced by the co-ordinating particles *ba* 'and, then' and *ma* 'or' are different from the types of clauses introduced by the particles listed in (116) above because they are not semantically reliant on another clause to complete the sense of the utterance. The clauses introduced by *ba* 'and' or *ma* 'or' could, in effect, stand on their own without an introductory particle, without altering the truth value of the utterance (see examples below). These particles also have a greater range of functions than most of those listed in (116), functioning also at the phrasal and word level (the particle *he* is also used at the phrasal level and is discussed in 4.13.2.3 below). The particles *ba* 'and', *then* and *ma* 'or' are termed 'co-ordinating conjunctions' or simply...
'conjunctions' in this thesis. Their uses at clausal and other constituent levels are exemplified in the following sections.

Although *ba* 'and', 'then' may join constituents other than clauses (see below), its primary function is at the clausal level. In its role as a clausal conjunction, *ba* typically signals simultaneous events, as illustrated by the first and last conjuncts in (127), or sequential events, as illustrated by the middle conjunct in (127):

(127) La-halō na‰u, **ba** la-be ba zole
   a‰u
   3p.RLS-take ash:MUT CNJ 3p.RLS-put LOC half.coconut shell:MUT
   **ba** mo-möi m-ondi dania **ba** ande f-o-ndu-ndukhu-ra.
   f-aN-rukha
   CNJ JNT-go DYN-bathe later CNJ DIST [NR-IPF-RDP1-rub]-3p.POSS

They take the ash and put it in a coconut shell then when they go to bathe later, that is what they use as a scrub.

In many texts, *ba* 'and', 'then' occurs as a sentential conjunction, to indicate that the new sentence is connected with the previous utterance, e.g.:

(128) Zamba döi-nia, moroi gane ba khö-ma.
   töi
   guava name:MUT-3s.POSS come.from there LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
   **Ba** hera superscript36 ndao hava so ga.
   CNJ surprise 1s.MUT why EXIST here

It's called 'guava', it comes from way over there where I come from. And I'm surprised to find it here. (lit. Its name is 'guava', (it) comes from far over there at my place. And I'm surprised why it's here)

*Ba* often occurs at the beginning of a matrix clause which is preceded by a subordinate clause, e.g.:

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36 *Hera* 'surprised' is borrowed from Indonesian *heran* 'surprised'.
When their mother wanted to go to market, all her kids wanted to go with her.

*Ba* also usually introduces the apodosis of a conditional construction in which the protasis is introduced by *na* 'if', e.g.:

If my mother goes out, I'm the one who carries my little brother.

Other examples of *ba* as a clausal conjunction can be found in numerous examples in this study.

*Ma* 'or' occurs infrequently in the data. An example of *ma* 'or' in its role as a clausal conjunction is given in (131):

... if they speak or if they call out to their friends, ...
4.13.2 Initial position in phrase

As mentioned above, the particles ba 'and', ma 'or' and he 'either, or' may occur with constituents other than clauses. The functions of these particles in association with phrases or smaller constituents will be exemplified in this section. Two other conjunctions, comitative faoma 'and, together with' and möi 'and, together with' will also be exemplified in this section. NPs which occur with ba 'and', ma 'or' he 'either, or' and faoma 'with' share the feature that they are unmutated. NPs following möi are mutated.

4.13.2.1 Ba 'and'

Ba 'and' joins NPs, adverbials and prepositional phrases. In its role as a phrasal conjunction, ba has only the meaning 'and'—the sequential meaning 'then' is found with clausal conjunction only. In (132) ba joins two NPs marked by the collective prefix ira- (~ ndra-):

(132) Gaö lawa so nahia ga-moni-ta
        a-moni-ta
      [ST-taboo-NR].MUT
    ndra-Si’ulu    ba    ira-Ere, ...
    ira-
    COLL.MUT-village.leader   CNJ   COLL-religious.leader

There is a place of purification for the kings and religious leaders up there... (H)

Note that the NP which follows ba 'and' is unmutated. Two NPs joined by ba 'and' form a larger NP, and it is the larger NP which is case-marked (see 7.2.2.5 for discussion). Case-marking is realized by mutation on the first NP in a conjoined phrase, i.e. on ndra-Si’ulu in (132). The conjunction ba 'and' can never be confused with the locative preposition ba because the conjunction is always followed by an unmutated nominal, while the preposition is followed by a mutated form except for the small set of lexicalized expressions referring to unique locations (see 7.2.2.2).
example *ba banua* [CNJ village] can only mean 'and (a/the) village', and *ba mbanua* [LOC village:MUT] can only mean 'to, from, at, in (a/the) village'.

In sentence (133) *ba* 'and' joins two locative adverbials, one of which is a fossilized prepositional phrase (*baero* 'outside') and the other a prepositional phrase in which the argument is itself a prepositional phrase which is used idiomatically to mean 'x's place' (house or village):

(133) Samuzana möi göi ya bakha,
     every now and again go also 3s.MUT inside
     samuzana möi ya baero ba ba khō-ra.
     every now and again go 3s.MUT outside CNJ LOC DAT-3p.POSS

Every now and again he would also go inside, occasionally he would go outside and to their place. (H)

In (134), *ba* 'and' links two dative phrases:

(134) h<um>ede Namada Helazatarō khō Namada Taögónaso,
     <IPF> speak Amada:MUT Helazatarō, DAT Amada:MUT Taögónaso,  
     ba khō Amada Satöladanō i-waō, "khō-ma".
     CNJ DAT Amada:MUT Satöladanō 3s.RLS-say DAT-1pe.POSS.

Amada Helazatarō spoke to Amada Taögónaso and to Amada Satöladanō he said: '(It's) ours'.

4.13.2.2 *Ma* 'or'

The particle *ma* 'or' may occur between any two constituents with the same grammatical function. Example (135) illustrates its use with NPs.

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37 *Bakha* 'inside' is equivalent to *baka* 'inside'. The pronunciation *bakha* is more normal in Northern Nias. This sentence is taken from a story told by a man from a more eastern and central village of Nias Selatan.
(135) To-föfö hele ma a-mondri-a nda-matua
    hele
    RES-split waterfall:MUT or bathe-NR38 COLL.MUT-male
    ba to-föfö hele ma a-mondri-a nda-alaße.
    hele
    CNJ RES-split waterfall:MUT or bathe-NR COLL.MUT-female

The cataract or bathing place for men is separate, and the cataract or bathing
place for women is separate. (H)

Note that, like NPs following ba 'and', the NP following ma 'or' is unmutated,
indicating that case-marking applies to the conjoined NP and not to the individual noun
juncts. It is difficult to see that hele is mutated in (135) because /h/ is one of the
phonemes which is unaffected by mutation. However in (136) below, it is clear that
mutation (i.e. casemarking) applies to nakhi-u 'your.younger.sibling:MUT', but not to
ka’a-u 'your older sibling'.

(136) U-oßai khö nakhi-u
    akhi-
    1s.RLS-send greetings DAT younger.sibling:MUT-2s.POSS
    (ma ka’a-u) ...
    (or older.sibling-2s.POSS)
    I send greetings to your younger brother (or (is he) your older brother?) ...

Example (137) illustrates a disjunction between two relative clauses (i.e. modifiers of
NPs):

(137) Fa-lakhi ira niha si=möi ma-nasi goßi,
    niha
    DO-meet 3p.MUT person:MUT REL=go IPF-pick sweet.potato

38 It is not clear to me what function the prefix a- has in this derivation. However, there are other
intransitive verbs which also acquire a prothetic a- in nominal derivations (see 6.5).
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ma si=möi ba ndu'u, ...

or REL=go LOC long.grass:MUT

People who went to get ubi or who went to the jungle (to hunt) met them... (H)

In (138), two locative prepositional phrases are connected with *ma 'or':

(138) La-wa'ö, "ba zi=sa-götö lawa
si=sa-ö tö
3p.RLS-say LOC REL.MUT=one-level:MUT high

ma ba lania so ya"

lania

or LOC sky:MUT EXIST 3s.MUT

They say, "It is at the first level above or in the sky" (H).

In (139), two dative phrases are joined by *ma*:

(139) Ha-'ö-khö ndra-mbe gana'a ande?

Q-?DAT 3p.IRR-give:IRR gold:MUT DIST

Hai khö Hiliafasi ma khö Mbaßöhulandro?

Hiliafasi Baßöhulandro

Q DAT Hiliafasi or DAT Baßöhulandro:MUT

Who were they going to give that gold to? Hilifasi or Baßöhulandro?

Two verbs are (dis-)joined by *ma 'or' in (140):

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39 Normally pronouns do not refer to inanimate objects. In this sentence *ya* refers to a mythical village of gods, so perhaps it has a special significance which allows it to be referred to pronominally. However, there are a number of other instances in which NPs referring to inanimate entities are anaphorically referred to by pronouns. It could perhaps be the case that the distinction between animate and inanimate involves much greater semantic complexity than superficially observable. Alternatively, perhaps, it may be the case that the distinction is breaking down in modern Nias.
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(140) La-tolo niha, la-be ma la-oro-'ö nalitö,
    niha alitö
3p.RLS-help person:MUT 3p.RLS-give or 3p.RLS-see-TR fire:MUT
na la-andrö khö-ra niha ...  
if 3p.RLS-ask DAT-3p.POSS person ...

They helped people, they gave (them) or showed (them) fire, if people asked them ....⁴⁰ (H)

Example (141) illustrates a disjunction between two numerals:

(141) La-taba huke-nia, ... öfa ma lima na=tumba,
    huke
3p.RLS-cut grain:MUT-3s.POSS ... four or five LK=tumba
sa-mmbua tahaßa.
-bua
one-CLF.MUT grain.of.rice(uncooked)

They cut off its grain, ... four or five tumba per one grain of rice.⁴¹ (H)

4.13.2.3  He  'either' / 'or'

The particle he precedes each of the nominals in a conjoined phrase indicating a choice or an alternative. An example of he 'either' / 'or is given in (142). Note that it is followed by unmutated NPs, like those arguments which follow ba 'and' and ma 'or'.

(142) ... ba fefu gö, he baßi ba he fakhe
ô
...CNJ all food:MUT whether pig CNJ whether rice

⁴⁰ The verb tolo 'help' is spelt taolo in the text from which this sentence came. Since there is no verb taolo known to my informants, I think it may be a misprint, or perhaps a dialectal variant.

⁴¹ The measurement of one tumba equals about two litres. (This story is about gods who are giants, and food which is gigantic.)
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ahori la-be ba nahia.

finished 3p.RLS-put LOC place:MUT

...and all of the food, whether pork or rice, is all put (out) in place.

4.13.2.4 Faoma 'and, together with'

The word faoma is used comitatively with NPs. It functions elsewhere in the grammar as a verb meaning 'the same', as an instrumental preposition (see 7.2.2.1) and as a preverbal quantifier (see 10.2.5). In (143) below, two lexical NPs are joined with faoma. Both NPs bear the same grammatical relation to the verb möi 'go'. Note that the first noun, ndra-alaße 'girls' is mutated, but the second argument aßö-ra 'their friends' is unmutated after faoma:

(143) Möi ba hele ndra-alaße faoma aßö-ra.

go LOC waterfall:MUT COLL.MUT-female with friend-3p.POSS

The girls and their friends went to the bathing place.

Examples of faoma occurring with pronouns are rare in the data. In the elicited sentence (144) below, two pronouns are joined by faoma. The conjoined phrase is the argument of the verb möi 'go':

(144) Möi ndrao faoma ya’ia ba fasa.

go 1s.MUT with 3s LOC market

He and I went to the market.

Note that only the first pronoun is mutated. The pronoun following faoma is unmutated. This phrase is a single constituent—it is not possible to separate the conjuncts, i.e. *möi ndrao ba fasa faoma ya’ia 'I went to market with him'. If the phrase occurs in any other position, it occurs as a unit. It is possible, for example, to place the phrase at the beginning of the clause, e.g.
In phrases joined by *faoma* 'with', like those joined by *ba* 'and', mutation occurs only on the initial conjunct, once again illustrating the fact that mutation marks NPs, not just single constituents.

4.13.2.5 *Möi* 'and'

The word *möi* is used infrequently (and probably colloquially) with the meaning 'and' or 'together with'. It is presumably related to the verb *möi* 'go, come'. Unlike the other conjunctions described above, *möi* is followed by a mutated NP. The following sentence shows that the NP following *möi* is mutated even though it occurs in front of the verb, where one expects an unmutated form.

(146) Fefu zi=bihasa möi nda-onon ofulo.
    si=   ira-
    all REL.MUT-old go COLL.MUT-child gathered

All of the old people and the children were gathered.

4.13.3 Other 'initial place' particles

There are two other particles which occur in initial position of certain constituents: *ha* 'only, just' and *fa* 'about. These particles are described separately because their distribution and functions are different from particles described so far. *Ha* 'only, just' occurs in front of phrasal constituents and verbs. The particle *fa* 'about' is restricted in its occurrence to numeral phrases.
4.13.3.1 Ha 'only, just'

The particle *ha* 'only, just' occurs in initial position of NPs as illustrated in (147) - (149):

(147) Ha sa-mbua malige te-sönda.
     -bua
     only one-CLF.MUT tower RES-find

Only one tower can be found. (H)

(148) Ha ya'ugö ö-fa-manömanö-si
     only 2s 2s.RLS-DO-talk-APP

You're just talking about yourself.

(149) Ha idanö aukhu ö divo-divo
     only water ST:hot food RDP2-sidedish

We have only warm water for a sidedish (common polite comment made to guests before sitting down to eat)

*Ha* 'only, just' may also occur in front of verbal predicates and prepositional phrases. Sentences (150) and (151) exemplify its use with verbal predicates:

(150) Tobai la-börö danö!
     tanö
can't 3p.RLS-kick.with.heel ground:MUT
     Ha la-tou-'ö tuturu12 ahe s=ebua.
     just 3p.RLS-down-TR finger leg REL=ST:big

They couldn't touch the ground with their heels! They could only put their big toes down. (H)

(151) Ha i-wa'ö si=alaße anda, '...' 
     only 3s.RLS-say REL=female PROX

This woman just said, '...'

42 I don't know why *tuturu* 'finger' is unmutated in this sentence.
Sentences (152) and (153) show its use in front of prepositional phrases. In (152) ha precedes a prepositional phrase beginning with börö 'because of':

(152) Ha börö gana'a ni-halö Namada Laresökhi,
      anaa Amada
tejiko gokho-ta.
o-kho-ta
RES-destroy HAVE.MUT-possession-NR
Just because of the gold that Amada Laresökhi had taken, their wealth was destroyed.

In (153), ha precedes two locative phrases introduced by ba:

(153) Na la-rino go-ra goši, ..., 
o goši
when 3p.RLS-boil food:MUT-3p.POSS sweet.potato ...
ha ba dalu nalitö la-ra'u,
talu alitö
just LOC middle:MUT fire:MUT 3p.RLS-catch
ha ba mboboa la-fa-zohu.
boboa
just LOC cauldron:MUT 3p.RLS-DO-push

When they cook sweet potatoes, ..., they just wrestle (each other while they are still) in the fire, they fight (over them while they are) still in the pot. (lit. 'When they boil their food sweet potato, ..., just in the middle of the fire they wrestle (each other), just in the pot they push (each other) (to get the food). (H)

Ha 'only just' is also used as part of a construction meaning 'as soon as', in which ha precedes a verb and the intensifier sibai follows it, e.g.:
4.13.3.2 Fa 'about'

The particle *fa* 'about' differs from other particles in that it is used only in front of numeral phrases, with the meaning that a non-specific estimate is being made. The particle *fa* is illustrated in (156).

(156) **Fa** hönö na=eu mbaßi

baßi

about thousand LK=CLF pig:MUT

ba zi=sa-mbu̥a banua=ndra

si=.....-bu̥a

LOC REL.MUT=one-CLF:MUT village=this

There are about a thousand pigs in this one village.

If *ha* occurs as well as *fa*, *ha* precedes *fa*, as illustrated in (157) and (158):

(157) **Ha** fa tölu ßawa o'öli a-tua

bawa

only about three month:LEN mature.coconut ST-old

It takes only about three months for the coconut to get ripe(mature, old).

(158) **Ha** fa sara tuturu-ra v-a-munu niha

f-aN-bunu

only about one finger-3p.POSS NR-IPF-kill person

It takes only about one of their fingers to kill a man.
4.13.4 Final position particle

There are just a few sentences in the data which have the particle a in final position, with raised intonation on the particle. The particle seems to function like a tag in a tag question, inviting a response from the hearer. Two examples are given in (159) and (160):

(159) ö-rono, a?

2s.RLS-hear Qtag

You heard, didn't you?

(160) Löna ono-nia, lö-a?

NEG.EXIST child-3s.POSS no-Qtag

She doesn't have any children, does she?

4.13.5 Second position in clause

Particles which may only occur in second position in a clause fall into two semantic classes: evidentials and politeness particles. 'Second' position is the position following the first full constituent of the clause. This excludes clause-initial adverbial markers or conjunctions. Since all of the forms which occur in second position may occur after any type of constituent, they are considered to be clitics. Two quotative or hearsay evidential particles which take this position are the words =walaö and =laö which both mean 'people say; it is said', whereby the speaker disclaims first-hand knowledge of an event43. Examples of these forms are given in (161) - (163). In (161), the word walaö occurs after the initial NP böröta niha=ö 'the origin of men':

43 I was informed by one speaker that both =walaö and =laö are derived from la-waö βa [3p.RLS-say that] 'they say that'.

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(161) Börö-ta niha=ö=walaö, ya'ia Namada Hia ba Gomo.

They say that the original man was Amada Hia from Gomo.

In (162) =walaö occurs after a clause-initial locative adverb, gaö:

(162) Gaö=walaö zi=o-föna i-fa-taro nomo-nia

They say that that man from Gomo was the first to establish his house there (lit. there they say (that) the one who was there first, he set up his house, that man from Gomo.) (Z-L)

In (163), =laö occurs after the verb:

(163) Ma=i-salogo-i=laö sa-geu mböhö

It is said he was so big that he could carry a whole deer under his arm. (lit. 'It is said he carried under his arm one deer on account of his strength.') (Z-L)

The particle =ine seems to mean something like 'in fact' or 'well, ...', i.e. the speaker wants to correct something just said or add more information to clarify something. Some examples are given in (164) and (165). In (164), =ine follows the predicate of the second clause:
It wasn't very important but in fact it made me feel bad. (lit. It didn't have a lot of meaning, but my liver was not very good because of that.)

In (165), =ine follows the negator, perhaps to emphasize the negation:

(165) ... ba löna=ine la-waö 'so Loßalani ba zorugo'...

... but in fact they didn't say 'God is in the sky, ... (H)

The particles =e, =we, =wa and =wa'e all add some measure of politeness to an utterance. There are not many examples of the politeness particles =e and =we in my data, so judgements are based only on the examples provided here. The particle =e seems to be a question particle, or a particle which requests agreement, as examples (166) and (167) below show.

(166) Gö-mofanö=e?

2s.IRR-leave=Qtag

Are you going now?

(167) Löna=e gö-man-a?

NEG=Qtag 2s.IRR-IRR-eat

You don't want any more? / You're not going to eat any?

---

44 There is another enclitic particle =e which occurs on noun phrases with demonstrative function, but it is often difficult to know which particle one is dealing with. Examples of demonstrative =e are given in 8.3.5.
An example of =we is given in (168):

(168) Haiya=we? Löna u-rono.
     what=D.PTCL  NEG  ls.RLS-hear
     Pardon? I didn't hear (what you said).

The particles =wa and =wa'e are exemplified in (169)-(171).

(169) Fönu-i=wa mba'a idanö
     ba'a
     full-TR=D.PTCL  bak:MUT  water
     Please fill the bak (water tub) with water.

(170) Base-'ö=wa'e.
     wait-TR=D.PTCL
     Please wait for me.

(171) Da gu-möi=wa'e.
     HORT  ls.IRR-go=D.PTCL
     I'll be off then, if that's ok with you. (lit. 'Let me, I want to go=wa'e')

At least in some cases, =we, =wa and =wa'e have a meaning similar to =ine 'in fact', as illustrated in (172) - (175):

(172) Löna=we ni-a-gu
     NEG=D.PTCL  PASS-eat-1s.POSS
     Well in fact, it wasn't me who ate (it). (This implies that the speaker knows who
did eat it.)

(173) La-waö 'ba ambö=wa na.
     3p.RLS-say  CNJ  ST:less=in.fact  yet
     They said 'But in fact there are still not enough.'
4. WORD CLASSES

(174) Löna! Fa-bö'ö! Bö'ö=wa ma'ufa,…

NEG DO-different different=infact ma'ufa (k.o. fruit)

No! they're different. *Ma'ufa* is, in fact, different.

(175) Hai löna=wa'e aukhu dödö-da ba hö'ö?!

Q NEG=D.PTCL ST:hot liver=MUT-1pi.POSS LOC DIST

How could we not get angry at that?! (lit. How could our livers not get hot at that!?)

4.13.6 Predicate complex particles

As mentioned earlier, it is in the predicate complex and post-verbal position that the distinction between particle and adverb is most difficult to make, and I have adopted the position in this thesis that those words which appear to take fixed positions in the predicate complex will be regarded as particles. There are five such forms, listed in (176):

(176) particles with fixed position in verb predicate complex

=ae 'already' (and various other indeterminate meanings)
=manö(’ö) 'just'
a 'still, yet'
mea (counterfactual marker)
sibai (intensifier)

=ae is highly grammaticized and occurs immediately after the first constituent of the predicate complex, whether this is a modal auxiliary, negator *löna* or the perfect marker *ma=*. The particle =ae is treated as a clitic because it may follow preverbal constituents or the verb, depending on which constituents occur in the predicate complex. Some
examples of \(=ae\) are given in (177)-(182) to show its range of occurrence\(^{45}\). In (177) and (178) it follows the verb \(ara\) 'long time':

(177) Ara=\(=ae\) ndraugö ga?
    long.time=already 2s.MUT here

    Have you been here long?

(178) Ara=\(=ae\) me ma=te-turia.
    long.time=already since PERF=RES-news

    It's been a long time since that news got out.

In (179), \(=ae\) follows the imperfective form of the verb \(a\) 'eat':

(179) Man-a=\(=ae\) mana.
    maN-a
    IPF-eat=already now

    (She has) managed to eat a little now. (lit. eating already now)

In (180), \(=ae\) follows the modal verb \(tebai\) 'can't':

(180) Tebai=\(=ae\) ni-daludalu-ni vökhö-nia andre fökhö
    can't=already PASS-medicine-TR illness:MUT-3s.POSS DIST

    His illness cannot be treated any further.

The frequency with which \(=ae\) occurs after the verbal negator \(löna\) has led to a reduced form of this combination, \(nae\), as illustrated in (181) below (and described in 3.6).

\(^{45}\) \(=ae\) 'already' is homophonous with the imperative form \(ae\) 'come', cf. \(ae\ ba-omo\!\!\) [come \textsc{loc}-house] 'come inside!'.
(181) Na=e s=a-negu-negu ya’ita
    s=aN-tegu
    NEG=already REL=IPF-RDP2-chide 1pi

There was no one to chastise us yet.

Note that the 'first constituent' excludes adverbial clause markers (and conjunctions), as illustrated in (182), where =ae occurs after the verb oya 'lot', not after the adverbial clause marker me 'when, since':

(182) Me oya=ae li, . .
    li
    since ST:much=already sound:MUT

Since there was already a lot of talk,...

Like =ae, =manô(’ö) occurs immediately after the first constituent of the predicate complex. (I am unable to find a difference between the two forms =manô and =manô’ö—they appear to be interchangeable in all contexts). Examples of =manô(’ö) are given in (183)-(184):

(183) Tola=manô la-halö, la-inu.
    can=just 3p.RLS-take 3p.RLS-drink

You can just take (it), just drink (it).

(184) La-waö 'ta-be=manô töi ha’a, So rake’.
    3p.RLS-say 1pi.RLS-give=just name PROX EXIST coral
    They said, ‘we’ll just call this place 'Sorake’.' (lit. 'there is coral')

If there are other particles present, it is =manô(’ö) which remains closest to the first constituent, as exemplified in (185) and (186).
(185) Löna=manö=ae tataro ndraugö ba-omo.
   NEG=just=already sit 2s.MUT LOC-house
   You just never stay at home. (lit. already just not sit you at home)

(186) Tohare=manö=laö ba mbaßagöli

baßagoli
niha=ö s=ebua-bua boto, ba mbanua Lahusa.
niha banua person:MUT=that REL=ST-RDP2-big body LOC village:MUT Lahusa

They say that those people with the big bodies just turned up at the gate at the village of Lahusa.

In addition to its use with verbal predicates, the particle =manö (or perhaps a homonym) also frequently occurs immediately after indefinite proforms derived from question words. Some examples are given in (187) and (188), see also section 4.8.3 above.

(187) ... haega=manö so nda-ono ande si=fa-khöjö, ...
   ira-
   ... where=just EXIST COLL.MUT-child DIST REL=DO-play
   ... wherever there were those children playing, ....

(188) Oi ya’ia si=o-föna z=a-nolo ya’ita
   all 3s REL=HAVE-front REL.MUT=IPF-help 1s
   s=aN-tolo
   hamega=manö mo-guna gefe khö-da.
   kefe
   when=just HAVE-use money:MUT DAT-1pi.POSS
   He is always the first one to help us whenever we need money.
The particle *na* occurs immediately after a verb or the negator *löna*. Some examples of these particles are given below. In (189), *na* follows the verb *ataha* 'raw':

(189) Baßi andre *ataha na* ba u-a manö’ö.

pig DIST ST:raw still CNJ 1s.RLS-eat just

The pork was still raw but I ate it anyway.

In (190), *na* follows the negator:

(190) ...la-atulö’ö *dölö, la-ko’o gelea,*

dölö elea


*ba löna na* la-be *gereneßali.*

ereneßali

CNJ NEG yet 3p.RLS-put walkway:MUT

... they built straight rows (of houses), they dug gutters, but they did not yet put in the central walkway. (H)

The combination of *löna* with *na* frequently has the adverbial meaning 'before ...', as illustrated in (191).

(191) Me-föna, *me-götö, löna na* so *ndraßa,*

-öö ndraßa

when-in.front when-generation:MUT NEG yet arrive foreigner:MUT

*löna na* so *balanda, ö mbaßi, la-rino.*

baßi

NEG yet arrive Dutch food pig:MUT 3p.RLS-boil

In the early days, earlier generations, before the Acehnese arrived, before the Dutch, they used to boil the pigs' food. 46

---

46 The noun *ndraßa* is used to refer to any foreigner, although it is most frequently used today specifically to Muslims and to the Islamic religion. This use stems from the fact that the Acehnese, to which this term originally applied, are Muslim. The Acehnese had come to Nias for hundreds of years before the sixteenth century when the Portuguese, English and Dutch arrived, to take slaves. This noun has the same form in both mutated and unmutated contexts.
The counterfactual particle *mea* occurs immediately after the main verb, or, in subordinate clauses, in clause-final position. Examples of counterfactual *mea* are given in (192)-(195). In (192) and (193), *mea* occurs after verbs:

(192) Göna **mea** khö-gu mbatu.  
     hit CFT DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT  
I was almost hit by a rock. (Compare the sentence without *mea*: göna khö-gu mbatu [hit DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT] 'I was hit by a rock'.)

(193) Gu-möi **mea** ba meda ba löna alua.  
     1s.IRR-go CFT LOC Medan CNJ NEG happen  
I wanted to go to Medan but didn't manage to get there.

In (194), *mea* occurs as the final constituent of the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

(194) Na mo-teu **mea**, ba ma=a-basö ita.  
     if DYN-rain CFT CNJ PERF=ST-wet 1pi.MUT  
If it had rained we would have gotten wet.

In (195), *mea* occurs at the end of a conditional clause introduced by *he*:

(195) He=wa möi ya **mea**, ba löna a-ta'u ndrao.  
     whether=D.PTCL go 3s.MUT CFT CNJ NEG ST-afraid 1s.MUT  
If he were to come I wouldn't be frightened.

The intensifier *sibai* occurs only after verbs. Its meaning is difficult to specify, but typically *sibai* intensifies the situation described by the verb and can often be translated
as 'very'. Some examples of *sibai* are given below to illustrate the range of its use and meaning.

(196) Löna u-ila sibai geluaha vehede-nia andre ...
    eluaha fehede
    NEG 2s.RLS-know INTNS meaning:MUT word:MUT-3s.POSS DIST

I didn't really understand the meaning of those words of his ...

(197) Sökhi na te-botokhi sibai ba dödö zatua ...
    tödö satua
    good if RES-explain INTNS LOC liver:MUT parent:MUT

It would be good if it could be thoroughly understood by parents ...
(lit. (it would be) good if (it) were very(well) understood in the livers of parents (that ...)) (D)

(198) Löna sibai omasi ya fa-lakhi khö-gu la-waö.
    NEG INTNS want 3s.MUT DO-meet DAT-1s.POSS 3p.RLS-say

They say he really doesn't want to meet me. (lit. It is really not that he wants to meet me, they say.)

There is one particle, the perfect marker *ma=*, which occurs in front of verbs and any preverbal quantifier to indicate that the situation described by the verb is completed. This particle is discussed in 10.2.3.

47 Disyllabic reduplication is also used to intensify the meaning of many intransitive verbs (see 10.3.5.2). The difference in meaning between the use of *sibai* and disyllabic reduplication is still to be determined.
CHAPTER 5
DERIVATIONAL VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Introduction
Nias makes use of prefixes, suffixes and the infix -um- in deriving verbs. Verb stems may be bound roots, nouns, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Apart from those verbs derived with causative prefixes (see 5.1.2.1) and the prefix o- (see 5.1.2.2), verbs which result from the affixation of a prefix or the infix are intransitive. Verbs which result from the addition of a suffix are transitive.

5.1 Prefixes: overview
The prefixes used to derive intransitive verbs and the kinds of stems to which they may attach are listed in (1):

(1) prefixes which derive intransitive verbs and the stems to which they attach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>Vtr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te-</td>
<td>Vtr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-</td>
<td>Vtr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-</td>
<td>Vtr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefixes used to derive transitive verbs and the kinds of stems they may have are listed in (2):

---

1 Vtr = transitive verb; Vintr = intransitive verb; N = noun; Rt = bound root.
5. Derivational Verbal Morphology

(2) prefixes which derive transitive verbs and the stems to which they attach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe-</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.1 Prefixes which derive intransitive verbs

5.1.1.1 Stative a-(ST)

The prefix a- occurs with transitive verbs, bound roots and nouns. In all cases, the affixation of a- results in an intransitive verb which is stative, i.e. one in which the referent of the S argument is not an Actor (typically an entity which is capable of carrying out the action described by the verb).

Typically stative verbs derived from transitive verbs with the prefix a- describe the result of the action of the verb with respect to the referent of the S argument of the derived intransitive verb. This argument corresponds to the P argument of the transitive verb stem. To illustrate, compare the transitive verb fatö 'break' illustrated in (3) with its intransitive form a-fatö 'broken' in (4). In (3), the A argument is expressed by the pronominal prefix i-, and the P argument by the NP doho-nia 'his spear':

(3) I-fatö doho-nia ba mbaluse-nia.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{toho} & \text{spear:MUT-3s.POSS} & \text{ba} & \text{LOC} \\
3s.RLS-break & & mbaluse-nia & shield:MUT-3s.POSS \\
\end{tabular}

He broke his spear on his shield.

In the intransitive clause illustrated in (4) below, the S argument corresponds to the P argument of the sentence in (3) above:
(4) Ma=a-fatō doho-nia.
    toho
    PERF=ST-break spear:MUT-3s.POSS

His spear had been broken.

A list of some intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with the prefix \( a- \) is given in (5):

(5) **intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with \( a- \)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>derived intransitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo'a 'free sth.'</td>
<td>a-bo'a 'peeled off' (e.g. sunburnt skin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>böbö 'boil'</td>
<td>a-böbö 'mushy from being boiled too long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boto 'break' (flat object)</td>
<td>a-boto 'broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deha 'yank out'</td>
<td>a-deha 'forcibly yanked out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatō 'break' (long object)</td>
<td>a-fatō 'broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fufu 'mash, smash'</td>
<td>a-fufu 'mashed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khozi 'burn'</td>
<td>a-khozi 'burnt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki'i 'shave'</td>
<td>a-ki'i 'bald'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lulu 'slacken, loosen'</td>
<td>a-lulu 'loosened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'a 'split'</td>
<td>a-re'a 'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riri 'singe'</td>
<td>a-riri 'singed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rörö 'distract'</td>
<td>a-rörö 'distracted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zizi 'blunt by jabbing'</td>
<td>a-zizi 'blunt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The states described by intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs are typically permanent or long-lasting, as many of the verbs listed in (5) show. Some further sentences illustrating intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with \( a- \) are given in (6)-(8):

(6) Na a-re'a vafa tobai la-fake.
    fafa
    if ST-split plank:MUT can't 3p.RLS-use

If the plank is split, you can't use (it).
Stative intransitive verbs derived from nouns with the prefix *a*- are concerned with conditions of the body, and the nouns which occur with *a*- refer to body parts or processes. A list of intransitive verbs derived from nouns with the prefix *a*- and the nouns from which they are derived is given in (9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beto 'stomach'</td>
<td>a-beto 'pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bösí 'conjunctivitis'</td>
<td>a-bösí 'have a sty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>böböi 'perspiration'</td>
<td>a-böböi 'perspiring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebu 'hump on back'</td>
<td>a-ebu 'bent from age, hunch-backed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fau 'sore throat'</td>
<td>a-fau 'hoarse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiso 'ear'</td>
<td>a-fiso 'deaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fosu 'breast of young girl'</td>
<td>a-fosu 'starting to have breasts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fökhō 'illness'</td>
<td>a-fökhō 'sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hußa 'grey hair'</td>
<td>a-hußa 'grey-haired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khötökhötö 'soft bone'</td>
<td>a-khötökhötö 'easily broken' (because soft)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumö 'shade'</td>
<td>a-lumö 'shady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai'ö 'long grass'</td>
<td>a-sai'ö 'overgrown with long grass'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2 The nominalized form of the verb fa-manōmanō 'chat' functions as an adverbial in this sentence. See 6.4.6 for discussion of adverbial uses of nominals.

3 Despite the fact that *a-fiso* is used to mean 'deaf' in Nias Selatan, the noun *fiso* is not used for 'ear'. The word *talina* is used for 'ear' in Nias Selatan. *Fiso* is used for 'ear' in Northern Nias.
In general, the prefix a- has one of two broad meanings when attached to nouns: 1) 'S has N(stem)' (e.g. a-fökhö 'have illness', a-ebu 'have crooked back', a-bösi 'have eye-disease'), or 2) something like 'S is affected or afflicted in/at N(stem)' (e.g. a-fiso 'S’s ears are afflicted', a-beto 'S’s stomach is (!)afflicted')⁴. Sentences containing some of these verbs are given in (10)-(12):

(10) Tobai la-törö böröme a-sai’ö lala.

lala

3p.RLS-go because ST-long.grass way:MUT

One can't get through there because the path is overgrown. (D)

(11) Ga ta-tataro. a-lumö-lumö.

here HORT-sit ST-RDP2-shady

Let's sit here. (It's) good and shady.⁵

(12) Na mo-halöwö ndrao ba laza a-böööi ndrao.

laza

if DYN-work 1s:MUT LOC field:MUT ST-perspire 1sMUT

When I work in the field I get sweaty.⁶

Stative intransitive verbs derived from bound roots with the prefix a- are listed in (13) below. For the sake of comparison, the transitive verb derived from the same root is also given:

---

⁴ When I give meanings in terms such as S, A, P, and N, I intend these terms as abbreviations for 'the referent of ...'. See fn 6 Chapter 3 for discussion of the terms S, A and P.

⁵ This is the only example I have of the first plural inclusive realis prefix ta- used with an intransitive verb. It may be because the utterance is hortative. The more usual hortative form is da, which can also mean 'Let me do ...'.

⁶ The adverbial clause marker na can mean 'if' or 'when (fut)'.

---
(13) **intransitive verbs derived from bound roots by the prefix a-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>derived verb and meaning</th>
<th>transitive verb and meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-basö</td>
<td>a-basö 'wet'</td>
<td>basö-i 'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bōu</td>
<td>a-bōu 'smell bad'</td>
<td>bōu-si 'make smell bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bu</td>
<td>a-bu dödö 'sad'</td>
<td>bu-si dödö 'make sad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fōnu</td>
<td>a-fōnu 'full'</td>
<td>fōnu-i 'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hakhō</td>
<td>a-hakhō 'shrivelled, shrunk'</td>
<td>hakhō-si 'reduce size of' (e.g. fat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hani</td>
<td>a-hani 'adrift'</td>
<td>hani-gō 'wash away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hatō</td>
<td>a-hatō 'near'</td>
<td>hatō-ō 'bring closer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hori</td>
<td>a-hori 'finished'</td>
<td>hori-gō 'finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lea</td>
<td>a-lea 'weak, limp'</td>
<td>lea-gō 'lay out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta'u</td>
<td>a-ta'u 'afraid'</td>
<td>fe-ta'u 'frighten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-toru</td>
<td>a-toru 'fallen off'</td>
<td>toru-gō 'throw down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some sentences containing verbs derived from bound roots with a- are given in (14)- (16):

(14) Hewa'e fandrita ya, a-hakhō dödö-nia.

even.though priest 3s.MUT ST-shrink liver:MUT-3s.POSS
even though he was a priest, he had no pity. (lit. '..., his liver(heart) was shrivelled up') (D)

(15) Na a-bōu nagole tobai la-a.

if ST-rotten meat:MUT can't 3p.RLS-eat

If the meat smells one can't eat it.

(16) La-halō ba danö na a-toru.

3p.RLS-take LOC land:MUT if ST-fall.down

We pick (them) up from the ground when (they've) fallen off.
Quite a number of stative verbs never occur without the formative \( a \)-. Often, too, these verbs do not have transitive counterparts. Stative verbs which always occur with an initial /\( a \)/ are listed in (17):

(17) **stative verbs which begin with /\( a \)/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>derived verb and meaning</th>
<th>transitive verb and meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bölö</td>
<td>abölö 'strong'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bolo</td>
<td>aßolo 'wide'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fusi</td>
<td>afusi 'white'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hilu</td>
<td>ahilu 'difficult'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-haya</td>
<td>ahaya 'late'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khömö</td>
<td>akhömö 'sick'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lösö</td>
<td>alösö 'caught in ditch trap'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nak hü</td>
<td>anakhö 'tired'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-reu</td>
<td>areu 'lazy'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-toru</td>
<td>atoru 'fallen'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ßali</td>
<td>aßali 'finished'</td>
<td>aßali-si 'finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ila</td>
<td>aila 'embarrassed'</td>
<td>aila-si 'embarrass, shame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ohi</td>
<td>aohi 'easy, light'</td>
<td>aoha-si 'lighten, ease'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ukhu</td>
<td>aukhu 'hot'</td>
<td>aukhu-si 'warm sth. up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of these verbs are given in (18) and (19).

(18) Böi o-li, a-khömö nina-gu.  

in a  

NEG.IMPREE DYN-noise ST:ill mother:MUT-1s.POSS  

Don't' make any noise, my mother is ill.

(19) Anakhö sibai ndrao.  

ST:tired INTNS 1s:MUT  

I'm very tired.
5.1.1.2 Dynamic prefixes: overview

There are four prefixes and one infix which are used to derive dynamic verbs, i.e. verbs in which the S argument is an Actor (an entity capable of volitionally carrying out the action of the verb). The prefixes are \( m-, m-aN-, mo-, \) and \( fa-; \) the infix is \(-um-\). All dynamic intransitive verbs derived with \( m-, m-aN-, mo- \) or \(-um-\) are imperfective, and take the same form in both realis and irrealis modes. All of these affixes function also as imperfective markers (see 10.3.2). It could be argued that the inflectional function of these affixes is an artifact of their derivational function, in that the result of affixing one of these forms to any part of speech is an imperfective intransitive verb. Despite this, the aspects of these affixes which pertain to verb-forming roles as opposed to altering aspectual features of a verb are discussed separately in this chapter, and inflectional functions are discussed in Chapter 10.

5.1.1.2.1 Dynamic \( m- \) (DYN)

The formative \( m- \) occurs with a closed set of vowel-initial bound roots to derive dynamic intransitive verbs, i.e. ones in which the S argument refers to an Actor (a participant capable of doing the action of the verb). A list of the intransitive verbs derived from bound roots with \( m- \) is given in (20):

\begin{verbatim}
(20) intransitive verbs derived from bound roots with \( m-\)
m-alu 'hunt'
m-ambu 'forge metal'
m-aoso 'get up, wake up'
m-e'e 'cry'
m-eßo 'guard field'
m-ofanö 'leave'
m-öi 'go, come'
m-olani 'swim'
m-oloi 'run away'
m-ondri 'bathe'
m-örö 'sleep'
m-uta 'vomit'
\end{verbatim}
As can be seen from this list, most of these verbs refer to imperfective activities, i.e. ones which continue for some time, are habitual or atelic. As mentioned above, these forms are used for both realis and irrealis constructions, and occur in the same syntactic contexts in which imperfective forms of consonant-initial intransitive verbs and transitive verbs occur (see 10.3.2). However, although verbs derived with m- from bound roots can be used in the same syntactic contexts as those verbs which are made imperfective by affixation of -um- or maN-, I will treat the use of m- with bound roots as a (dynamic) verb-forming affix for glossing purposes for four reasons:

1) without m- these forms would not have any syntactic status at the clause level, so it seems that the verb-forming function must predominate over the marking of imperfectivity (whereas verbs which are marked as imperfective by -um- or maN- function as verbs without these affixes, so the affixation of these morphemes does not change the word class).

2) the notion of 'imperfective' could apply just as easily to verbs derived with stative a-, resultative te-/to- or dynamic fa- (see below), so it is semantically inadequate and inappropriate to identify the formative m-, in contrast with these other prefixes, as deriving imperfective verbs.

3) as will be seen below (sections 5.1.1.2.2 - 5.1.1.2.4), the infix -um- and the prefix maN- occur in contexts in which they must be described as verb-forming rather than imperfective, and since they also occur in other contexts in which they mark imperfectivity (see 10.3.2), it seems appropriate therefore to distinguish the different functions also for m-.
4) the notion of imperfectivity is, in fact, not entirely appropriate for all of these verbs (cf., e.g., maoso 'get up' and mofanö 'leave', which could be said to describe actions which are more punctual than imperfective).

In the hope that I am not making unnecessary distinctions in the language, and keeping in mind that the morpheme may have a dual function, \textit{m-} will be glossed as DYN ('dynamic'). Some examples of dynamic intransitive verbs are given in (21) and (22), and others can be found in numerous places throughout this thesis. In (21) the verb \textit{m-aoso} 'wake up, get up' is illustrated in realis mode:

\begin{equation}
(21) \quad \text{Fa bözi önö ba zi=hulö böni m-aoso ira.}
\end{equation}

\textit{si= boni}

\begin{itemize}
\item around
\item hit
\item six
\item CNJ
\item REL.MUT=overtake
\item night:LEN
\item DYN-get.up
\item 3p.MUT
\end{itemize}

Around six o'clock in the morning they wake up.\footnote{The idiomatic phrase referring to time containing the verb \textit{bözi} 'hit' is a calque from Indonesian, in which the verb \textit{pukul} 'hit' is used for 'o'clock', e.g. \textit{pukul enam} [hit six] '6 o'clock'.}

In (22) the verb \textit{m-ofanö} 'leave' is illustrated in irrrealis mode:

\begin{equation}
(22) \quad \text{Löna omasi ndrao gu-m-ofanö.}
\end{equation}

\begin{itemize}
\item NEG
\item want
\item 1s:MUT
\item 1s.IRR-DYN-leave
\end{itemize}

I do not want to leave.

5.1.1.2.2 Dynamic -\textit{um}- (DYN)

The infix -\textit{um}- is used to derive dynamic intransitive verbs from a restricted set of bound roots beginning with /h/ and one transitive verb (\textit{hede} 'call out to'). The verbs which are derived in this way are listed in (23). Nouns derived from these roots all occur as reduplicated forms. Most of the roots do not have transitive forms. Nouns and transitive verbs (if there is one) derived from the same root are included for comparison:
5. DERIVATIONAL VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

(23) **intransitive verbs derived with -um- from roots beginning with /h/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived intransitive</th>
<th>noun and/or transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h-um-ago 'snore'</td>
<td>N. hagohagohago 'snoring'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| h-um-a-hafa 'be in heat (pig)'
| N. hafahafahafa 'commotion'
| h-um-ola 'burn with flames'
| N. holaholaholahola 'flame(s)'
| h-um-ombo 'fly'
| N. hombohombohombo 'stone jump'
| Vtr. hombo-i 'jump over'
| h-um-eu 'shake, sway'
| N. heuheu heuheu 'shaking'
| Vtr. heu-gö 'shake'
| h-um-ede 'speak'
| N. fehede fehede 'word(s)'
| Vtr. hede 'call out to'

Like verbs derived with the formative $m$-, verbs derived with the infix -*um*- all involve an Actor as S argument, and refer to imperfective activities. Like $m$-, to which it is presumably related phonologically, the infix may have a dual function of deriving a verb and marking imperfectivity. However, because of its phonological, semantic and functional similarity to dynamic $m$-, and because it is in complementary distribution with $m$- in its selection of stem, it will also be glossed as 'dynamic' (DYN). Examples of sentences containing some of these verbs are given below. In (24), the S argument is the first singular pronoun *ndrao* 'I':

(24) Ba dödö-gu h<um>ago ndrao boni.

I think I snore at night.

---

8 The root of this verb is *hafa*. The initial syllable of the stem in the derivation *h<um>a-hafa* is reduplicated, although I'm not quite sure of the meaning of the initial syllable reduplication here. Initial syllable reduplication normally indicates either a plural argument, doing the action in many small parts, or doing something until completion (see 10.3.5.1).
In (25) and (26) the S arguments, *nalitö* ‘fire’ in (25) and *niha* ‘people’ in (26), have generic reference:

(25) \[ \text{H<um>ola sibai nalitö na oköli geu.} \]
\[ \text{hola alitö eu} \]
\[ \text{<DYN>flame INTNS fire:MUT if HAVE:dryness wood:MUT} \]

A fire burns well if the wood is dry. (D)

(26) \[ \text{Tebai h<um>ombo niha böröme löna afi-ra.} \]
\[ \text{hombo niha} \]
\[ \text{can't <DYN>jump person:MUT because NEG wing-3p.POSS} \]

People can't fly because they don't have wings. (D)

5.1.1.2.3 Weather verbs with -um-

The infix *-um*- also occurs with three bound roots or nouns beginning with /h/ to derive intransitive verbs referring to weather conditions. The resulting verbs have alternative forms derived with the prefix *mo-* (see below). The verbs derived with *-um*- are the following:

(27) weather verbs derived with *-um*-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haga 'ray'</td>
<td>h-um-aga 'shine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huguhugu/ugu'ugu 'thunder'</td>
<td>h-um-ugu(hugu) mbanua 'thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hali'i 'lightning'</td>
<td>h-um-ali(hali) 'lightning'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb *humaga* 'shine' does not have an argument, as illustrated in (28).

(28) \[ ... \text{tumbu luo, h<um>aga moroi ba gabölata.} \]
\[ \text{luo haga abölata} \]
\[ \text{<DYN>shine come.from LOC east:MUT} \]

... day dawned, shining from the east.
Humaga 'shine' appears to be similar syntactically to weather verbs such as mo-teu [DYN-rain] 'it is raining' and mo-bade [DYN-storm] 'it is storming', which also do not take arguments in realis mode (see 5.1.1.2.5 below). The constructions h-um-ali-hali mbanua 'there was lightning' and h-um-ugu mbanua 'there was thunder', illustrated in (29), are fixed expressions and occur with no other argument than mbanua 'sky'\(^9\) (see also section 5.1.1.2.5 below):

(29) Aefa ya ba mbaßagoli, h<um>ali-hali mbanua,
    baßagoli hali'i banua
    passed 3s.MUT LOC gate:MUT <DYN>lightning sky:MUT

h<um>ugu mbanua.

hugu banua

<DYNDY>lightning sky:MUT

After he passed through the gate, it started lightning and thundering. (H)

5.1.1.2.4 Dynamic maN- (DYN)

The prefix maN- occurs with nouns to derive intransitive verbs which refer to activity typically associated with the noun. A list of verbs formed in this way is given in (30):

(30) intransitive verbs derived from nouns with maN-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adulo 'egg'</td>
<td>man-adulo 'lay egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu'ala 'gift'</td>
<td>ma-mu'ala 'give sth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buko 'bump, knob'</td>
<td>ma-muko 'protrude'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadi 'instrument for spinning'</td>
<td>mo-gadi 'spin thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaele 'wobbling movement'</td>
<td>mo-gaele 'dance' (by women)(^{10})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamagama 'armament'</td>
<td>mo-gamagama 'wear armament'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halöwö 'work'</td>
<td>mo-halöwö 'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horö 'sin'</td>
<td>mo-horö 'be sinful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khau 'fine'</td>
<td>mo-gau 'fine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\) The noun banua can mean 'village' or 'sky'.

\(^{10}\) Fо-gaele refers to a dance only done by women, which involves slow graceful steps and gently swinging the arms. Mo-gaele usually refers to women doing this dance.
As can be seen from the meanings in this list, these verbs generally refer to an activity which is imperfective in nature. Note that these derivations conform to the initial segment alternations discussed for maN- in 3.3, whereby the prefix changes to mo- in front of segments which do not take part in the alternations (such as /ndr/, /g/, /hl/, /l/). Given that the marker of imperfectivity in transitive verbs also conforms to these principles (see 10.3.2), it is unlikely that the verb-forming prefix maN-(~mo-) and the imperfective maN-(~mo-) are distinct morphemes. However, as noted at the beginning of this section, the verb-forming function of this prefix is discussed in this chapter while the inflectional aspect is treated in Chapter 10.

Typically the S argument of these verbs is an Actor (i.e. capable of carrying out the action of the verb)\(^\text{11}\). Because this prefix exhibits the same functions that are characteristic of \(m\)- and \(-um\)-, it will be glossed, like them, as dynamic. Sentences which illustrate the use of some of these verbs are given in (31)-(34). In (31), the verb mo-gamagama 'wear armament' is preceded by the preverbal quantifier oi 'all' and the perfective marker ma=, which is cliticized to the quantifier:

\[
\begin{align*}
(31) & \quad M=oi \quad mo\text{-gamagama} \quad niha. \\
& \quad maN= \quad niha \\
& \quad PERF=all \quad DYN\text{-armament} \quad person:MUT
\end{align*}
\]

Every man wore weapons.

In (32), the initial temporal clause establishes that the activity is a habitual one:

\[
\begin{align*}
(32) & \quad maN=oi \quad mo\text{-gamagama} \quad niha. \\
& \quad maN= \quad niha \\
& \quad PERF=all \quad DYN\text{-armament} \quad person:MUT
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{Verbs such as } ma-nimbo 'be smoking' \text{ tend to invalidate this meaning, although it could be argued that the motion of smoke suggests some active ability, at least in a metaphorical sense. It may be better to refer to the arguments of dynamic verbs as 'non-patients' rather than as 'Actors'.}\)

\(\text{\(^{11}\)}\)
Every day at sunset the crickets sing.

In (33) the verb *ma-nao* 'anchor' is preceded by the aspectual verb *asese* 'do often'.

Note that it is *ma-nao* which is the main verb in (33) and not *asese*, since the NP which follows *ma-nao* is mutated. If *asese* were the main verb and *ma-nao* a dependent form, the argument of *ma-nao*, i.e. *göfa*, would be unmutated\(^\text{12}\). An analogous situation may be claimed for the verb *ma-mu'ala* 'give gifts' in (34). Since the argument which follows *ma-mu'ala* is mutated (*ya*), *ma-mu'ala* is assumed to be the main verb, and *asese* a preverbal aspectual marker (see 10.2.4).

\(^{12}\) It could also be argued that the mutated NP is the S argument of *asese* 'do often' and that *ma-nao* is a complement of *asese*. However, the analysis of other aspectual pre-verbs tends to suggest that this is not the case (see 10.2.4). Nevertheless, the analysis of *asese* 'do often' in association with the verb which follows it requires further consideration.
5.1.1.2.5 Dynamic mo- (DYN)

As mentioned above, derivations with maN- conform to the initial segment alternations discussed in 3.3. For example, when affixed to nouns beginning with segments which do not yield to alternation (such as /g/, /l/, /h/), the prefix takes the form mo-, as illustrated in several of the forms in list (32) above. However, there are several verbs derived from nouns which seem to conform semantically to this set, yet which do not conform morphophonemically. These nouns have initial segments which would be expected to alternate, yet the prefix which occurs is mo-. In the absence of a better term at this stage of analysis, the prefix mo- which occurs in these derivations is also glossed as 'dynamic', since it shares the feature of imperfectivity with -um-, maN- and m-, it has the same shape as an allomorph of maN-. These nouns fall into two semantic categories: items of apparel and weather conditions. Verbs derived from nouns referring to items of apparel are listed in (35):

(35) intransitive verbs derived from nouns with dynamic mo-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aya 'jewelry'</td>
<td>mo-aya 'wear jewelry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baru 'shirt, dress'</td>
<td>mo-baru 'dress, put clothes on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sifatu 'shoe'</td>
<td>mo-sifatu 'put shoes on, wear shoes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb mo-baru 'dress', put clothes on' is used interchangeably with a more regular but less common form ma-maru with the same meaning. However, the verbs mo-sifatu 'put shoes on' and mo-aya 'wear jewelry' do not have any other form. Mo-sifatu 'put on / wear shoes' is exemplified in (36):

(36) Mo-sifatu ita mea tola möi ba gereja.\(^{13}\)

Let's put our shoes on so we can go to church.

---

\(^{13}\) The noun gereja 'church' is borrowed from Indonesian gereja 'church'. The word is pronounced like the Indonesian word, i.e. [gərɛˈjaː], (as if it were spelt göreza in Nias), but Indonesian spelling is used.
Verbs derived from nouns referring to weather conditions have the meaning 'N(stem) is happening'. These verbs are listed in (37):

(37) **weather verbs derived from nouns with mo-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ani 'wind'</td>
<td>mo-ani 'be windy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bade 'storm'</td>
<td>mo-bade 'be storming'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teu 'rain'</td>
<td>mo-teu 'rain(ing)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weather verbs derived with *mo-* do not occur with arguments. Some examples of verbs of this type are given in (38) and (39). Note that the derived verb is modified by *sibai* in (38), indicating that it is clearly treated by the syntax as a verb:

(38) Löna omasi niha mői fa-gai ba nasi
    niha
    NEG like person:MUT go DO-fish.with.hook LOC sea:MUT
    na mo-ani sibai.
    if DYN-wind INTNS

    Men don't like to go fishing in the sea when it's very windy.14

(39) O-fökhö delau-gu na mo-bade.
    telau
    HAVE-illness head:MUT-1s.POSS if DYN-storm

    I get a headache when we have a storm.15

The noun stem in the following example is modified by a relative clause, suggesting that *mo-* is added to an NP rather than just a noun:

14 Although the word *niha* can refer to any person, usually it refers specifically to men. In this sentence it can only refer to men since only men fish.

15 The verb *o-fökhö* 'have illness' has an alternative form *a-fökhö*, listed in (9). See section 5.1.1.3 for derivations with *o- 'HAVE'. I am unaware of a difference in meaning between these two forms.
(40) Na mo-teu s=aßolo lōna gu-mōi ga.
if DYN-rain REL=heavy NEG 1s.IRR-go here

If it rains heavily I won't come.

It is unclear why the initial segments of these nouns do not conform to the segmental alternations observed in the list of derived verbs in (30). Since these verbs are so few but are used relatively frequently, the prefix mo- may have come to have some special association with dressing and weather conditions. In fact, the noun sifatu 'shoe' is borrowed from Indonesian sepatu 'shoe', which suggests that the prefix mo-, but not maN-, may be productive in derivations of this kind. There may also be some confusion of meanings associated with the prefix mo- 'HAVE' (see below). If the prefix mo- were regarded as semantically associated with these noun categories, it could also explain why there are two forms for the verbs 'be lightninging' and 'be thundering', as mentioned in section 5.1.1.2.3 above. Apart from those verbs described there which are derived with the infix -um-, there are also forms derived with the prefix mo-: mo-hali'i mbanua 'be lightninging' from hali'i 'lightning' and mo-huguhugu mbanua 'be thundering' from huguhugu 'thunder'. These forms, like their counterparts formed with the infix -um-, are fixed expressions which do not occur with any argument other than mbanua 'sky'. Mo-huguhugu mbanua 'be thundering' is illustrated in (41):

(41) M-oloi nasu na mo-huguhugu mbanua.
asa banua
DYN-run.away dog:MUT if DYN-thunder sky:MUT

The dog runs away when it thunders.

Note that there is a difference in the derivations mo-hali'i mbanua 'it is lightning-ing' and its counterpart h-um-ali-hali mbanua. The derivation with mo- takes the full noun stem hali'i while the derivation with -um- involves the reduplication of just the first two syllables. If the prefix mo- is synchronically regarded as associated specifically with
weather conditions (or dressing), the derivation with *mo-* may be a more recent one. The fact that it uses as its stem the noun *hali‘i* rather than the root supports the suggestion of a more recent derivation.

### 5.1.1.3 *mo-*: 'HAVE'

A prefix of the shape *mo-* occurs productively with nouns to derive intransitive verbs with the meaning 'S has N(stem)'. This prefix is treated as distinct from dynamic *maN-*→*-mo-* discussed in 7.1.1.2.4 above because *mo-* 'HAVE' is invariant in form and derives verbs which are semantically more stative than dynamic. A list of some of these verbs is given in (42):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afi 'wing'</td>
<td>mo-afi 'have wings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>böra 'rice grain'</td>
<td>mo-böra 'begin to have grain' (of plants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biso 'poison'</td>
<td>mo-biso 'poisonous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boto 'body, shape'</td>
<td>mo-boto 'have shape of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bua 'fruit'</td>
<td>mo-bua 'have fruit, be fruiting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu 'feather'</td>
<td>mo-bulu 'have feathers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doi 'bone, needle'</td>
<td>mo-doi 'have bones' (e.g. fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluaha 'meaning'</td>
<td>mo-eluaha 'have meaning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fozu 'result'</td>
<td>mo-fozu 'have result, succeed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guna 'use'</td>
<td>mo-guna 'useful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoßu 'rust'</td>
<td>mo-hoßu 'rusty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lala 'way'</td>
<td>mo-lala 'have a way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lele 'shell'</td>
<td>mo-lele 'have hard shell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndreßa 'pimple'</td>
<td>mo-ndreßa 'have pimples'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndro 'blood'</td>
<td>mo-ndro 'bleeding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ömō 'debt'</td>
<td>mo-ömō 'have debt, be in debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'a 'root'</td>
<td>mo-wa'a 'take root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we 'liquid'</td>
<td>mo-we 'have liquid in'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of these verbs in use are given in (43) and (44).
(43) Mo-hoßu mbalatu.

HAVE-rust knife:MUT

The knife is rusty.

(44) ... löna mo-eluaha sibai ...

NEG HAVE-meaning INTNS

(It) wasn't very important ... (lit. It didn't have a lot of meaning...')

Note that *mo-eluaha* 'have meaning' in (44) above is followed by the intensifier *sibai*, indicating that the derived form is treated by the syntax as a verb. Some more examples of this construction are given in (45) and (46). In (45) the verb *mo-wa'a* 'have roots, take root' is the predicate of an adverbial clause introduced by *na* 'if':

(45) La-unu rigi ba nidanö irugi mo-wa'a.

3p.RLS-soak maize:MUT LOC water:MUT until HAVE-root

They submerge the maize in water until (it) takes root. (D)

In (46), the verb *mo-fozu* 'have success' is illustrated in negated form:

(46) Asese la-tandraigö va-nanö goßi Balanda

often 3p.RLS-try NR.MUT-plant tuber:MUT Dutch

ba Danö Niha ba löna mo-fozu.

LOC land:MUT person:MUT CNJ NEG HAVE-success

People have often tried to grow potatoes in Nias but they've never had any success. (D)

Verbs derived with *mo*-'HAVE' never occur in main clauses without the formative *m*-.

However, in relative clauses, this formative is omitted and the stem behaves like a vowel-
initial stative verb, taking the elided form of the relative marker \( s = \), as illustrated in the relative clause in (47) and by the headless relative in (48):

(47) A-ta'u ndrao gulö \( s = o - \)biso.

\[ \text{ulö} \]
ST-afraid 1s.MUT snake:MUT REL.MUT=HAVE-poison

I'm scared of poisonous snakes.

(48) Be=wa'e khö-gu \( z = o - \)we.

\[ s = \]
give=D.PTCL DAT--1s.POSS REL.MUT=HAVE-liquid

Please give me the one that has liquid in it.

Because the formative \( m - \) does not occur on verbs in relative clause constructions, it could be assumed that the prefix \( mo - \) 'HAVE' is composite, consisting of dynamic \( m - \) and a prefix \( o - \). In fact, there is a small set of verbs which occur only with the prefix \( o - \) which have a similar meaning to those verbs derived with \( mo - \). These verbs are listed in (49):

(51) **intransitive verbs derived from nouns with \( o - \)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>böra 'rice grain'</td>
<td>o-böra 'not fully cooked' (rice)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fökhö 'disease, illness'</td>
<td>o-fökhö 'have disease, illness'(^{16})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gömigömi 'darkness'</td>
<td>o-gömigömi 'at time of no moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gönögönö 'clump, clot'</td>
<td>o-gönögönö 'have clumps, clots'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gui gui 'top, peak'</td>
<td>o-gui gui 'too full, so that top is like a mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lofo 'hunger'</td>
<td>o-lofo 'hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lotu 'turbid water'</td>
<td>o-lotu 'muddy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{16}\) See fn.15.
When these verbs occur in relative clauses they take the form of the relative marker expected of vowel-initial stative verbs, i.e. $s=\cdot$, which makes them indistinguishable from those derived with $mo\text{-}$. This is illustrated with the verb $o\text{-}lofo$ 'hungry' in (50):

(50) Löna ö si=löna ami kho niha $s=\cdot o\text{-}lofo$.

There is no food which is not tasty for a hungry person. (D)

Verbs derived with $o\text{-}$ are few and frequently have idiosyncratic meanings (cf. $o\text{-}ßöra$ 'not fully cooked'). Because of this, it seems reasonable to think that these derivations are now fossilized and the prefix $mo$- has taken over the meaning which $o\text{-}$ used to have. I have therefore decided not to decompose the prefix $mo$- but to retain both $o\text{-}$ and $mo$- with the meaning 'HAVE'.

5.1.1.4 Resultative $te\text{-} / to\text{-}$ (RES)

The prefixes $te\text{-}$ and $to\text{-}$ typically occur with transitive verbs, and with less frequency, bound roots. A list of transitive verbs and the intransitive verbs derived from them with these prefixes is given in (51):

(51) **intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with $te\text{-}$ and $to\text{-}$**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>derived intransitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$te$- bato 'stop'</td>
<td>$te$-bato 'stopped'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bözi 'hit'</td>
<td>$te$-bözi 'be hit accidentally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handro 'spear'</td>
<td>$te$-handro 'be struck down with spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rono 'hear'</td>
<td>$te$-rono 'able to be heard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>söndra 'find'</td>
<td>$te$-söndra 'be found'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu 'stab'</td>
<td>$te$-susu 'stabbed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutu 'hit'</td>
<td>$te$-tutu 'be bumped, be hit accidentally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taha 'stop'</td>
<td>$te$-taha 'hindered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taru 'plant'</td>
<td>$te$-taru 'planted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehe 'agree'</td>
<td>$te$-tehe 'approved'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The primary function of these prefixes appears to be to signal that the coming about of these states is not attributable to an agent. For example in (52), the state refers to the result of action but the agent is not identified because it is irrelevant to the situation:

(52) ma=te-söndra laeduru si=taiha.

The ring that was lost has been found.

By comparison, if the transitive form of the verb söndra 'find' were used, as illustrated in (53),

(53) ma=i-söndra laeduru-nia.

She found her ring.

it is presupposed that the agent, in this case expressed by the pronominal prefix on the verb, is the topic of conversation, and is therefore relevant to the situation. The use of the prefixes te- and to- with transitive verbs is one way in which Nias allows the entity which is expressed by a P argument to take a more important role in discourse. Some other examples of derivations of intransitive verbs from transitive verbs with these
prefixes are given below. Simple transitive sentences are given in brackets for the sake of comparison. In (54), the transitive verb *rono* 'hear' is detransitivized with *te-*:

\[(54)\]  
\[\text{Te-rono li göfa.}\]
\[\text{RES-hear sound:MUT ship:MUT}\]

The sound of a ship could be heard. (D) \((u-\text{rono li göfa})\) [1s.RLS-hear sound ship:MUT] 'I heard the sound of the ship')

Note that the S argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the P argument of the transitive form. In (55) below, the verb *tunö* 'tell' is illustrated in intransitive form:

\[(55)\]  
\[\text{Ma=te-tunö=ae duria ha’a.}\]
\[\text{PERF=RES-tell=already news:MUT PROX}\]

That's old news. (lit. This news has already been told.) (cf. \(l-tunö\) \(\text{duria khö-da}\) [3s.RLS-tell news:MUT DAT-1pi.POSS] 'He told us the news.')

The frequency of occurrence of *to-* and *te-* is reversed with bound roots—the prefix *to-* occurs slightly more often than *te-* in this context. A list of resultative verbs derived from bound roots with these prefixes is given in (56). For the sake of comparison, transitive verbs derived from the same roots are also given:

\[(56)\]  
**resultative stative verbs derived with *te-* and *to-* from bound roots**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>to-/te- form</strong></th>
<th><strong>transitive verb</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to-bini 'hidden'</td>
<td>bini-'ö 'hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-bali 'become, happen'</td>
<td>bali-'ö 'make become, happen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-fae 'contained'</td>
<td>fae-'ö 'put in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-kia 'startled, shocked'</td>
<td>kia-'ö 'shock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-havia 'dropped'</td>
<td>haßia-gö 'throw down forcefully'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
te- boka 'open'  
  te-bu'a 'moved'  
  te-fatöfatö 'pleated'  
  te-höndrö 'sunk'  
  te-sao 'happen'

Examples of some of these derivations is given in (57) and (58):

(57) Ba ndröfi si=ma=aefa, te-höndrö göfa tambang
    döfi köfa
    LOC year:MUT REL=PERF=passed RES-sink ship:MUT ferry
    moroi ba Banda Aceh.
come.from LOC banda Aceh

Last year a ferry from banda Aceh sank.17

(58) To-häßia viga khö-gu.
    figa
    RES-fall.down plate:MUT DAT-1s.POSS

A plate fell down on me.

The difference between verbs derived with the prefixes te- / to- and those derived with a- appears to be in the degree of permanence of the state described by the verb or the degree to which the action has an effect on the referent of the S argument of the derived verb. For the most part, those verbs derived with te-/to- describe an effect which is less intense or less permanent than those derived with a-. This can be seen by comparing the forms te-bu'a 'moved' and a-ßu'a 'moved' which are derived from the root -bu'a. (This is the only root in my data which occurs with both prefixes.) The verb a-ßu'a typically refers to moving house, i.e. a permanent state, as implied by sentence (59):

17 The word tambang is the Indonesian word for 'ferry'.
The form *te-bu'a* refers to things which have been moved, which implies a potentially less permanent state, e.g.:

(60) He! ma=te-bu'a meza hö'ö!

Hey! This table has been moved.\(^{19}\)

There appears to be little difference in meaning between *te-* and *to-* synchronically. Many verbs only ever occur with one prefix or the other, e.g. *te-söndra* 'found', from *söndra* 'find' (*to-söndra*), *to-ila* 'known' from *ila* 'know' (*te-ila*). However, in some cases, speakers may use either form in conversation, or accept the substitution of one prefix for the other, e.g. *te-rono* / *to-rono* 'heard', *te-bözi* / *to-bözi* 'accidentally hit'. A number of speakers have told me that *te-* is northern Nias and *to-* southern. However, despite this, I have not noticed any variation in prefixes on verbs which appear in texts, nor that *to-* forms occur only in the south. It is more likely that there was an earlier distinction, which is now lost or in the process of changing, by which *te-* applied only to transitive verbs and *to-* to bound roots. In fact, when verbs have already undergone derivation to become transitive verbs, only *te-* can be used. A list of derived transitive verbs and the resultative verbs derived from them with *te-* is given in (61):

\(^{18}\) The lenition of /b/ in *a-βu'a* 'moved' suggests that this derivation is quite old, as lenition of intervocalic /b/ is no longer productive.

\(^{19}\) The noun *meza* 'table' is borrowed from Indonesian *meja* 'table'.
(61) **derived transitive verbs which occur with te-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>derived form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boka-i 'open'</td>
<td>te-bokai 'opened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebua-'ö 'make larger'</td>
<td>te-ebua'ö 'be praised'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hondrö-gö 'press'</td>
<td>te-höndögö 'pressed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ide'ide-'ö 'make smaller'</td>
<td>te-ide'ide'ö 'belittled, be looked down upon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tandra-igö 'try'</td>
<td>te-tandraigö 'tested, tried'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tendro-'ö 'support'</td>
<td>te-tendro'ö 'be leaning against'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these derivations are illustrated in (62)-(64).

(62) Te-tandraigö v-a-mati-nia.
    f-aN-fati
    RES-try NR.MUT-be.sure.of-3s.POSS

His faith was tested. (D)

(63) Te-börötaigö festa.
    RES-begin party

The party has started.20

(64) Te-ide'ide-'ö döi-nia.
    töi
    RES-small-TR name:MUT-3s.POSS

He doesn't have a very good name. (lit. His name has been made small.)

There is one example in which a noun occurs as the stem of a resultative verb: te-turia 'become news'. This form is exemplified in (65), where the noun turia is the cognate argument of the verb:

---

20 The noun festa 'party' is borrowed from Indonesian pesta 'party', and is therefore unmutated.
5. DERIVATIONAL VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

(65) Ara me te-turia duria hö’ö.

turia
long.time when RES-news news:MUT DIST

It has been a long time since that news got out.

The affixation of *te-* (or *to-*) to nouns is not productive, but may indicate that the function of these prefixes is in the process of being extended beyond that of transitive verbs and bound roots.

5.1.1.5 Dynamic *fa-* (DO)

The prefix *fa-* is found with two main functions: derivation of 'causative' verbs, and derivation of 'dynamic' intransitive verbs. Derivation of causative verbs is discussed in section 5.1.2.1 below. Dynamic verbs, discussed in the present section, are verbs whose S argument refers to an Actor (a participant capable of carrying out the action of the verb).

'Dynamic' *fa-* may be added to transitive verbs, nouns or bound roots to form intransitive verbs. A list of some transitive verbs and the intransitive verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* is given in (66):

(66) **intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with *fa-***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bözi 'hit'</td>
<td>fa-bözi 'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dou 'peck'</td>
<td>fa-dou 'peck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fali 'weave, plait'</td>
<td>fa-fali 'make a plait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fera 'press'</td>
<td>fa-fera 'fish without instruments (just hands)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limo 'deceive'</td>
<td>fa-limo 'deceive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òli 'buy'</td>
<td>fa-òli 'marry'(^{21})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ötö 'cross'</td>
<td>fa-ötö 'cross repeatedly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'u 'catch'</td>
<td>fa-ra'u 'wrestle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tebu 'hunt with spear'</td>
<td>fa-tebu 'catch prey with spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tete 'follow'</td>
<td>fa-tete 'follow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{21}\) The verb *fa-òli* 'marry' is depictive of the system of marriage in Nias, which involves buying a wife.
The prefix *fa-* appears to be used with these verbs to indicate that the action described by the verb is done for some time. Verbs derived with *fa-* cannot refer to punctual actions. These verbs are used in the same syntactic contexts as other verbs which are imperfective, for example in progressive and purposive constructions (see 10.3.2.2). To illustrate the difference between a simple transitive verb and a verb derived with *fa-*, compare the transitive forms of the verbs in (67) and (68) with the forms derived with *fa-* given in (69) below. In (67), the transitive verb *tezu* 'hit with fist' is illustrated. The A argument refers to an Actor, the P argument refers to the affected object, *delau-gu* 'my head':

(67) Ma=i-tezu delau-gu.
    telau
    PERF=3s.RLS-punch head:MUT-1s.POSS

He punched me in the head. (i.e. 'He punched my head.')

In (68), the verb *ra'u* 'catch' is illustrated. The A argument is *folisi* 'police', the P argument is the headless relative *zanagö* 'thief':

(68) La-ra'u z=a-nagö folisi
    s=aN-tagö
    3p.RLS-catch REL.MUT=IPF-steal police

The police caught the thief.22

In both of the sentences given above, the action referred to is punctual. Dynamic *fa-* is used with these verbs in the following example, and refers to activity which continues for some time:

22 The noun *folisi* 'police' is borrowed from Indonesian *polisi* 'police' and is therefore unmutated.
Note that the S argument of the derived verbs corresponds semantically to the A argument of the transitive verbs. Intransitive forms derived from transitive verbs with fa-
have a meaning something like 'the referent of the S argument does the action described
by the stem for some time'. The prefix fa- in these derivations will be glossed with the
word DO to indicate the most basic meaning of the morpheme despite the fact that this
gloss is rather simple, since the alternative gloss of 'dynamic' has been co-opted for
other morphemes. In descriptions of the prefix, however, I will continue to refer to it as
'dynamic fa-' to distinguish it from causative fa- discussed in section 5.1.2.1.1. Some
other examples of transitive verbs which occur with the prefix fa- are given below, with
simple transitive forms in brackets for comparison. In (70), there are two forms derived
with fa-, both of which refer to the habitual character of the entities described:

(70) Gaö so khö-ra niha s=a-nagö-nagö,
      niha s=aN-tagö
      there EXIST DAT-3p.POSS person:MUT REL=IPF-RDP2-steal

          ... si=fa-tuo, si=fa-bunu ...

          ... REL=DO-stab REL=DO-kill

There they have people who are thieves, ..., who go round stabbing (people),
who go round killing, .... (cf. La-tuo niha, la-bunu niha [3p.RLS-stab
person:MUT, 3p.RLS-kill person:MUT] 'They stab people, they kill people.') (H)

Note that the headless relatives containing constructions with fa- in (70) refer to the
participants who are expressed by the A arguments in the corresponding transitive forms.
Another example is given in (71), where the S argument corresponds to the A argument
of the transitive form, and a dative phrase expresses the P argument:
(71) Fa-bözi ira khö ndra-Lafau.

\[ \text{ira-} \]
\[ \text{DO-hit 3p.MUT DAT COLL.MUT-Lafau} \]

They were fighting with (members of) the Lafau clan. (cf. \textit{La-bözi ndra-Lafau}

'They hit the members of the Lafau clan.‘)

When nouns form the stem of intransitive verbs derived with dynamic \textit{fa}-, the verbs tend to have one of four basic meanings, outlined below in (i)-(iv):

(i) If the noun is a movement or sound (including speech), the meaning is, broadly, 'the referent of the S argument does N(stem)’. A list of verbs with this type of meaning is given in (72):

(72) \textbf{intransitive verbs derived from nouns with \textit{fa}-}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bikhöbikhö 'whistle'</td>
<td>fa-bikhöbikhö 'whistle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō'a 'a burp'</td>
<td>fa-gō'a 'burp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilo 'shaking of head'</td>
<td>fa-gilo 'shake head' (say no)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liwaliwa 'movement'</td>
<td>fa-liwa(liwa) 'move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manömanö 'chat'</td>
<td>fa-manömanö 'chatting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lele 'curse'</td>
<td>fa-lele 'swear, abuse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some sentences illustrating these verbs are given in (73) - (76):

(73) Fa-lele ira.

\[ \text{DO-swear.word 3p.MUT} \]

They exchanged abusive language.

(74) Na fa-gō'a ndraono tandra hö‘ö

\[ \text{if DO-burp COLL.MUT-child sign DIST} \]
va ma=abuso ya.
COMP PERF=ST:sated 3s.MUT
When a child burps that's a sign that they're full. (D)

(75) Lôna i-tema li-gu, ha fa-gîlo manô ya.
li NEG 3s.RLS-receive sound:MUT-1s.POSS only DO-shake just 3s.MUT
He didn't answer me, he just shook his head. (i.e. = said 'no') (D)

(76) Fa-manômanô ndraga sanandrôsa ba vaõli-sa Ziwa,
faõli Siwa
DO-chat 1pi.MUT about LOC marry-NR.MUT Siwa:MUT
ba tanô bôö-nia.
CNJ land other-3s.POSS
We chatted about Eka's wedding, amongst other things.

Some of the verbs derived with dynamic fa- from nouns referring to sounds or movements have meanings similar to those derived with dynamic maN-~mo-. For example one says fa-gô'a 'burp' but mo-li 'make a sound', fa-liwaliwa 'move', but mo-gaele 'move with slow stride'. At this stage it is not clear which kinds of nouns occur with fa- and which occur with maN-~mo-, or what the difference in meanings is; however it should be noted that fa- occurs far more frequently with nouns of movement and sound with this meaning than maN-~mo-, perhaps indicating a productivity which does not exist with maN-~mo-.

(ii) If the noun is a physical object, the meaning is usually something like 'S does something with N(stem)', as exemplified by the verbs listed in (77):

---

23 Although there is another verb, sulô, meaning 'answer', the collocation tema li 'receive word' appears to be more common in normal conversation.

24 The expression tanô bôö-nia, literally 'the other land', is idiomatic for 'etcetera, and so forth'.
(77) **noun**                        **derived verb**
    binibini 'hiding place'          fa-binibini 'play hide and seek'
    boko 'ball'                      fa-boko 'play ball'
    dora 'net for catching fish'     fa-dora 'catch fish with net'
    fana 'arrow and bow, rifle'     fa-fana 'shoot at with arrow/rifle'
    gai 'fishing line and hook'     fa-gai 'fish with line and hook'
    högö 'head'                      fa-högö 'nod' (say yes)26
    koreta 'bike'                   fa-koreta 'ride a bike'

An example of this kind of derivation is given in (78):

(78) Me i-rono ni-waö-gu, ba fa-högö ya.

when 3s.RLS-hear REL-say-1s.POSS CNJ DO-head 3s.MUT

When he heard what I had to say, he nodded in agreement. (D)

In (79) the verb *fa-dora* occurs as a complement of the verb *ila* 'know'. It is clear that it is not a nominal argument of the verb because it is unmutated—nominal P arguments would be mutated in this context:

(79) Löna i-ila fa-dora.

NEG 3s.RLS-know DO-fish.with net

He doesn't know how to fish with net.

In (80), the derived verb *fa-binibini* 'play hide and seek' is functioning as a complement of the matrix verb *lau* 'do', in a construction which signals a progressive meaning (see 10.3.2.2.1). The verb *fa-binibini* has no separate argument, but its notional argument is the same as the A argument of the sentence, expressed by the unmutated noun *iraono* 'children' and the third plural pronominal prefix on the verb:

25 *Boko* refers to a ball made of fern leaves or coconut palm leaves.

26 The noun *högö* 'head' is used in Northern and Central Nias but not typically used in Nias Selatan, where *telau* 'head' is more common. However *högö* is apparently lexicalized in the verb meaning 'say yes' in all areas.
The children are playing hide and seek.

(iii) If the noun refers to an emotion or is the name of a type of person related emotionally (as opposed to consanguinally) to another person, the meaning is 'the referent of the S argument displays the characteristics of N(stem)', a meaning which often appears to be rather more 'stative' than 'dynamic'. These verbs listed in (81):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{noun} & \text{derived verb} \\
e'e \ 'envy, jealousy' & \text{fa-e'e} \ 'envious, jealous' \\
bötu 'rage, fury' & \text{fa-bötu} \ 'furious' \\
udu 'enemy' & \text{fa-udu} \ 'quarrel' \\
emali 'enemy' & \text{fa-emali} \ 'be enemies' \\
talifuso 'close friend, brother' & \text{fa-talifuso} \ 'be close friends, brothers'
\end{array}
\]

Some sentences illustrating these verbs are given in (82) and (83). In (82) the verb is the predicate of a relative clause:

(82) Fasui ya'ita so niha si=fa-emali.

We were surrounded by people who displayed enmity. (lit. Around us there were people who were (being) enemies.) (D)

(83) Fa-'e'e ya khö dalifusō-nia.

He is jealous of his friend/brother.
Note that if the emotional or attitudinal activity described by the verb is directed at someone, that other participant is expressed by a dative phrase, as illustrated by *khö dalifuso-nia* 'towards his friend' in (83).

(iv) The fourth kind of derivation of an intransitive verb from a noun is possibly related to the type just described since it shares with it the syntactic construction with a dative phrase, but this fourth kind is treated as distinct because the dative phrase is obligatory, and because the nouns functioning as stems conform to a single category—kin terms. When the noun stem is a kin term, the derived verb must have two arguments, one mutated S argument and one dative. The derived verb means 'the referent of S calls the referent of DAT by the term N(stem)'. This is illustrated in (84), in which the noun root is the kin term *gaβu* 'grandmother'

(84) Fa-gaβu    ira    khö-gu.
    DO-grandmother 3p.MUT  DAT-1s.POSS

They call me 'grandmother'. (because I am the same age and social status as their own grandmother)

Another example of this type of derivation is given in (85):

(85) Eluaha-nia     ma=fa-sibaya   ya
    meaning-3s.POSS  PERF=DO-uncle  3s.MUT
    khö   nda-ama-da    ba   khö-ma.
    ira-
    DAT    COLL.MUT-father-1pi.POSS  LOC  DAT-1pe.POSS

It means he would call our father and his brothers at our place 'uncle'.

Dynamic intransitive verbs derived by the addition of *fa-* to bound roots exhibit various meanings similar to those outlined above for derivations from nouns and transitive verbs. Again it can be observed that many of the meanings appear to have a
much more 'stative' than 'dynamic' meaning. Derivations from bound roots are listed in (86). Those verbs which appear (to me) to be less dynamic in meaning are listed second. It may be relevant that most of these do not have transitive verb counterparts. Once again, transitive verbs or nouns derived with the same roots, if there are any, are given alongside for the sake of comparison:

(86) **intransitive verbs derived from bound roots with dynamic fa-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
<th>transitive verb / noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hušu</td>
<td>fa-hušu 'be friendly'</td>
<td>hušu-ni 'make friends with' / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lakhi</td>
<td>fa-lakhi 'meet'</td>
<td>— / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-limo</td>
<td>fa-limo 'be deceitful'</td>
<td>— / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lulu</td>
<td>fa-lulu 'do together'</td>
<td>lulu-i 'help so. to do sth.' / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nönö</td>
<td>fa-nönö 'whisper'</td>
<td>nönö-gö 'whisper' / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gölö</td>
<td>fa-gölö 'be the same'</td>
<td>— / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oro</td>
<td>fa-oro 'visible'</td>
<td>— / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-soso</td>
<td>fa-soso 'angry'</td>
<td>— / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tiu dödö</td>
<td>fa-tiu dödö 'hostile'</td>
<td>— / —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hatö</td>
<td>fa-hatö 'side by side'</td>
<td>hatö-'ö 'approach' / fa-hatö 'proximity' (cf. also a-hatö 'close, near')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these verbs are illustrated in (87)-(90):

(87) Böi fa-limo.
    NEG.IMPER DO-deceive
    Don't be deceitful.

(88) Fa-lakhi ndaga ba lala.
    DO-meet lpe.MUT LOC lala
    We met on the road.
(79) Fa-hatö fe-förö ira.
DO-close CAU-sleep 3p.MUT

They lay down to sleep side by side.

(90) Fa-soso nama-gu khö-gu.
ama
DO-angry father:MUT-1s.POSS DAT-1s.POSS

My father is angry at me.

Note that in regard to those derivations referring to activities which are directed towards someone, that someone is expressed by a dative phrase, as illustrated by khö-gu 'towards me' in (90). Similarly where the second participant needs to be mentioned separately for discourse purposes, it is expressed by a dative phrase, as illustrated in (91), or as a locative phrase, as illustrated in (92).

(91) Fa-lakhi ndao khö-nia
DO-meet 1s.MUT DAT-3s.POSS
ba v-anavuli-gu ba-omo.
  f.
LOC NR.MUT-return-1s.POSS LOC-house

I met him on my way home.

(92) Löna fa-oro ba niha.
niha
NEG DO-visible LOC person:MUT

(It) couldn't be seen by humans.27

One further derivation should be noted because of its common use: fa-bö'ö 'be different'. This verb is derived from the word bö'ö 'other, different', whose word-class status is uncertain (see 8.6). An example of fa-bö'ö is given in (93):

27 The noun niha 'person' is generic here and therefore warrants the locative preposition ba rather than the personal preposition khö. In this context, khö niha would mean 'by (a certain) person'.
If a second entity is mentioned in a clause with fa-bö’ö with which the referent of the S argument is compared, that second entity is expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced with moroi khö/ba 'from'. For example, a child with epilepsy was described to me in the following sentence:

(94) Fa-bö’ö ya moroi ba niha bö’ö.

He’s different from other people.

In many cases, verbs derived with dynamic fa- may be used with reciprocal meaning, as may be inferred from examples (69), (73), (76) and (88) above (see also 11.4.1 for the syntax of reciprocal clauses). Some of the verbs derived with fa- are ambi-transitive, i.e. they can take transitive syntax as well as intransitive. Some sentences illustrating transitive use of verbs derived with fa- are given below. In (95), the verb fa-liwa ‘DO movement’ occurs with overt lexical A and P arguments:

(95) I-fa-liwaliwa gaßu asi.

The sea moves the sand around.

In (96), the imperative form of the verb fa-udu ‘quarrel’ is accompanied by a mutated headless relative clause functioning as a P argument:
(96) Böi fa-udu zi=fa-talifuso.  
\hspace{10pt} si=  
\hspace{10pt} NEG.IMPER DO-enemy REL.MUT=DO-friend/brother  
Don’t quarrel with those who are friends. (D)

I am unsure whether all of these verbs can be used transitively, although it would seem likely with verbs which are semantically appropriate. The issue is left for further research.

Some verbs derived with *fa-* from nouns appear only in transitive sentences. These verbs are *fa-guru* 'teach', from *guru* 'teacher', *fa-bu'u* 'promise' from *bu'u* 'knot', and *fa-tuturu* 'show' from *tuturu* 'finger'. Some examples of these derivations are given below. In (97), the verb *fa-tuturu* occurs with a first singular A argument and with the P argument *lala* 'way':

(97) U-fa-tuturu lala kho-ra.  
\hspace{10pt} lala  
\hspace{10pt} 1s.RLS-DO-finger way:MUT DAT-3p.POSS  
I showed them the way

In (98) the verb *fa-guru* 'teach' occurs in a reflexive construction, and is also accompanied by the verb *fa-koreta* 'ride a bike' as a complement:

(98) U-fa-guru ndrao fa-koreta.  
\hspace{10pt} ndrao  
\hspace{10pt} 1s.RLS-DO-teacher 1s.MUT DO-bike  
I taught myself to ride a bike.

In (99), the verb *fa-bu'u* 'promise' occurs with a factive complement introduced by *βa* 'that' as the P argument:

(99) Ma=i-fa-bu'u kho-nia  
\hspace{10pt} kho-nia  
\hspace{10pt} PERF=3s.RLS-DO-knot DAT-3s.POSS
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As mentioned above, the prefix *fa-* also has a causative function (see 5.1.2.1.1 below). The reason that dynamic *fa-* is distinguished from causative *fa-* and may even be a different morpheme, is that verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* generally have transitive counterparts derived with the suffix -*si* and nominal forms derived with -*sa*, while verbs derived with causative *fa-* have no such related forms\(^{28}\). Some derivations illustrating transitive and nominal correspondences with dynamic intransitive verbs are given in (100):

(100) \[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{intransitive verb} & \text{transitive verb} & \text{derived noun} \\
\text{fa-bö'ö 'be different'} & \text{fa-bö'ö-si 'make different'} & \text{fa-bö'ö-sa 'difference'} \\
\text{fa-lakhi 'meet'} & \text{fa-lakhi-si 'meet with'} & \text{fa-lakhi-sa 'meeting'} \\
\text{fa-hußu 'friendly'} & \text{—} & \text{fa-hußu-sa 'friendliness'} \\
\text{fa-gölö 'be the same'} & \text{—} & \text{fa-gölö-sa 'similarity, comparison'} \\
\text{fa-lele 'curse, abuse'} & \text{—} & \text{fa-lele-sa 'swear word'} \\
\text{fa-öli 'marry'} & \text{—} & \text{fa-öli-sa 'marriage'} \\
\text{fa-tiu dödö 'hostile'} & \text{—} & \text{fa-tiu-sa dödö 'hostility'} \\
\text{fa-udu 'quarrel'} & \text{—} & \text{fa-udu-sa 'quarreling'} \\
\text{fa-soso 'angry'} & \text{fa-soso-ini 'be angry with'} & \text{fa-soso-sa 'dispute' (but cf. fa-soso-ta 'anger')} \\
\end{array}
\]

5.1.1.5.1 Applicative function of dynamic *fa-*

The association of *fa-* with clauses in which a dative phrase is used to indicate the involvement of a second participant is found also with two transitive verbs of 'throwing':

---

\(^{28}\) The fact that there are no nominalized forms of causative verbs may be due to the semantics of causative forms and nouns—it is rare in English, for example, to find constructions such as 'the causing of her crying' or 'the making her do it'. It may be the case, then, that causative \(f(V)^{-}\) in Nias is simply another function of dynamic \(f(V)^{-}\).
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*cibo* 'throw away' and *cili* 'throw at'. When *fa-* is affixed to these verbs, it introduces a new participant. The new participant is expressed by an oblique phrase, and is treated by relativisation as if it were a P argument. For the purposes of this study, I will call affixes which motivate the addition of a new core argument which is treated like a P argument and occurs in oblique form 'applicative' (see 5.2).

A simple sentence with *cibo* contains an A argument and a P argument, as illustrated in (101), in which the A argument is expressed by the pronominal prefix on the verb, and the P argument by *haßuhaßu* 'rubbish':

(101) La-cibo haßuhaßu.

They threw the rubbish away.

When *fa-* is affixed to the verb, a new entity is introduced by means of a dative or locative phrase and the meaning changes to involve a directive action, as exemplified in (102) and (103):

(102) U-fa-cibo zekhula khō ndra-ono.

I threw the coconut to the child.

(103) U-fa-cibo zekhula ba zumo.

I threw the coconut into the well.

Notice that the argument structure of the verb is not changed—*fa-cibo* 'throw to', like *cibo* 'throw away', has an A argument referring to the thrower and a P argument referring to the thing thrown. The difference in these sentences is the addition of a dative
or locative phrase. Despite its morphologically oblique form, however, the newly introduced argument is treated by the syntax as if it were a P argument. This can be seen in the behaviour of relative clauses. When the P argument zekhula 'coconut' is relativised, the verb takes a form with the prefix ni- (passive, but see 8.4.3 for discussion of this term in Nias) and the A argument occurs as a suffix on the verb, as illustrated in (104):

(104) E-bua zekhula ni-fa-cibo-gu khō ndra-ono.

sekhula ira-
_ST-big coconut:MUT PASS-DO-throw-1s.POSS DAT COLL.MUT-child

The coconut that I threw to the child was big.

However, both the dative argument and the locative argument in such clauses can be relativised in the same way, as illustrated in (105) and (106) below. The verb takes the ni- form and the A argument is expressed as a possessive suffix on the verb. In both constructions, the P argument of the original sentence is unmutated, indicating a loss of case or oblique morphological form:

(105) O-lofo ndra-ono ni-fa-cibo-gu sekhula.

ira-
HAVE-hunger COLL.MUT-child PASS-DO-throw-1s.POSS coconut

The child to whom I threw the coconut is hungry.

(106) A-fōnu zumo ni-fa-cibo-gu sekhula.

sumo
ST-full well:MUT PASS-DO-throw-1s.POSS coconut

The well into which I threw the coconut is full.

---

29 Unmutated form is typical for instruments, locative nouns and targets of verbs of comparison, amongst other functions (see 7.2).
The other 'throw' verb with similar properties to *cibo* 'throw away' is *cili* 'throw stones at and hit (i.e. hit with stones)'. The simple transitive form is illustrated in (107):

(107) La-cili niha batu.

niha
3p.RLS-throw person:MUT stone
They pelted the man with stones.

In simple clauses in which *cili* is used without *fa*-, the argument referring to the instrument cannot be relativised. If the P argument is relativised, the instrument occurs in the relative clause in the same (unmutated) form as it would have in a simple main clause, as illustrated in (108).

(108) Atoru niha ni-cili-ra batu.

niha
go.down person:MUT PASS-throw-3p.POSS stone
The man who was pelted with stones by them collapsed.

If *fa*- is added to *cili*, it derives a construction in which the thing thrown occurs as the mutated argument, and a newly added dative or locative phrase expresses the direction of the missile. Both the instrument and the target in this derived construction can be treated as P arguments of the verb for the purposes of relativisation. The simple transitive form of the derived verb *fa-cili* 'throw to' is illustrated in (109):

(109) I-fa-cili khō nono-nia mbola.

ono
bola
3s.RLS-DO-throw DAT child:MUT-3s.POSS ball:MUT
He threw a ball to her child.

---

30 I assume that the noun *bola* 'ball' has been borrowed from Indonesian *bola* 'ball'. However, unlike other words borrowed from languages other than Nias, the noun *bola* takes part in mutation, indicating that the word has become part of the lexicon of Nias words.
Note that the meaning has changed also—the verb no longer means 'hit X with missile' but 'throw missile to X'\(^{31}\). In this derived form, the verb has three core arguments instead of two, as shown by the fact that both the thing thrown and the person to whom the thing is thrown can be relativised in the same way. This is illustrated in (110) and (111). In both sentences, the verb takes the $ni$- form, the A argument is expressed by a suffix on the verb and the argument which is not relativised occurs in the relative clause, as a prepositional phrase if it is the target (110), or in unmutated form if it is the missile (111).

(110) Ideide mbola ni-fa-cili-nia khö nono-nia.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>ball:MUT</td>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>-3s.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bola</td>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>child:MUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nono</td>
<td>3s.POSS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ball that he threw to her child was small.

(111) M-e'e nono ni-fa-cili-nia bola.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DYN</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>child:MUT</td>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>-3s.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nono</td>
<td>3s.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ball</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The child to whom he threw the ball was crying.

See also sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 below for potentially another use of this prefix as an applicative marker.

5.1.2 Prefixes which derive transitive verbs

5.1.2.1 ‘Causative’ prefixes

There are three ‘causative’ prefixes used in Nias Selatan: $fa$-, $f$- and $fe$-. By ‘causative’ I mean that derived verbs with intransitive stems have the following features:

(i) syntactically the derived verbs are transitive.

\(^{31}\) The fact that the meaning of $fa$-$cili$ is different from $cili$ argues that this may not be an applicative construction but simply a lexical process. However, since I have defined applicative morphemes as ones which motivate the addition of a new core argument which behaves like a P argument and is expressed in oblique form (see 5.2), I will assume for the present study that this construction is applicative.
(ii) semantically the derived verbs are associated with two Actors: a Causee—the entity that does the action of the verb, and a Causer—the entity who is responsible for getting the Causee to do the action of the verb.

(iii) the Causee is expressed by the P argument of the causative verb, and the Causer by the A argument.

(iv) the Causee (the P argument of the causative verb) corresponds to the S argument of the stem verb, and the Causer (A argument of the causative verb) is an additional participant.

None of the prefixes fa-, f- or fe- is productive. All of the prefixes attach to intransitive verbs; the prefixes f- and fe- occur also with bound roots; f- also occurs with transitive verbs derived with o- (see 5.1.2.1.2 below); and fe- also occurs with nouns. Fa- occurs with only four (consonant-initial) verbs; f- occurs only with vowel-initial intransitive verbs and bound roots; fe- occurs with all parts of speech. The difference between fe- and fa- in some examples was explained to me as one of personal involvement of the Causer in the action—if fe- is used, the referent of the A argument must be physically involved in making the action happen. For example, if people fe-sindro a pillar, it means they are holding it up themselves. If people fa-sindro a pillar, it means they are using ropes and pulleys to keep it upright. The difference appears to be similar to what has been termed 'direct' versus 'indirect' causation (cf., e.g., Givón 1975). Fe- may be regarded as a marker of 'direct' causation, while fa- is a marker of 'indirect' causation. If a mother fe-sindro a baby, she is holding it up with her hands while it tries to stand. A mother cannot fa-sindro a baby. The root bu'a occurs with both fe- and fa—the difference is exemplified in the following sentences. In (112), fe- implies that the table can be lifted easily:
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(112) Hanawara ö-fe-ßu'a sui meza höö.

why 2s.RLS-CAU-move again table:MUT DIST

Why did you move that table again?32

Only fa- can be used in (113) because the darodaro 'seat of law' referred to is a megalith which requires hundreds of people and many ropes, pulleys and rollers to move:

(113) Na la-fa-bu'a darodaro mate niha.

if 3p.RLS-CAU-move seat.of.law:MUT die person:MUT

If you move a seat of law someone will die.

5.1.2.1.1 fa-

Fa- occurs with only four verbs (sökhi 'good', sindro 'stand', (ta)taro 'sit' and törö 'go') and one bound root (-bu'a 'move'). The causative forms of these verbs are: fa-zökhi 'make, fix', fa-sindro 'make stand, build (e.g. a village)', fa-(ta)taro 'seat', fa-törö 'make go, work' and fa-bu'a 'move'. An example of fa-bu'a 'move' was given in (113) above; examples of the first three verbs are given in (114)-(116). Simple intransitive forms are given in brackets for the first three verbs. Note that the S argument of the simple intransitive verb corresponds to the P argument of the causative form.

(114) La-fa-zökhi noro si=bohou.

oro 3p.RLS-CAU-good ladder:MUT REL=new

They made a new ladder. (Cf. Sökhi noro si=bohou [good ladder:MUT REL=new] 'The new ladder is nice(ly made).')33

32 The lenition of /β/ in fe-ßu'a 'move' is not morphophonologically motivated synchronically. Given that there is also a contrast between the two stative forms a-bu'a 'moved' and te-bu'a 'moved', it is possible that there are two roots, -bu'a and -ßu'a. For the present study, however, I have assumed that these forms belong to one root, associated with the meaning 'move'.
(115) La-fa-sindro gehomo.
    ehomoe
3p.RLS-CAU-stand pillar:MUT

They erected the pillar. (cf. Sindro gehomo [stand pillar:MUT] 'The pillar is standing')

(116) La-fa-tataro fefu niha.
    niha
3p.RLS-CAU-sit all person:MUT

They got everyone seated. (cf. Tataro fefu niha [sit all person:MUT] 'Everyone was sitting')

The verb törö is syntactically anomalous. It is typically used as a transitive verb which has a P argument referring to a location or means of transport (see 11.3.3). The meaning of the causative verb form fa-töö, however, is such that it behaves as if it were the causative of an intransitive verb just meaning 'go' rather than 'go by means/way of'. In other words, despite the fact that töö is not normally used intransitively (except in its imperfective form manöö 'walk'), it seems to be used as an intransitive verb stem in the causative construction. An example of the causative form fa-töö 'make go' is given in (117):

(117) I-fa-töö goreta.
    koreta
3s.RLS-CAU-go bike:MUT

He fixed the bike / made the bike work.34

33 The 'mutation' of the initial segment of sökhi in this derivation argues that the form is lexicalized and is no longer seen as compositional. The verb sökhi 'good' has a very general meaning, and can refer to the aesthetic aspect of something as well as its functional value.

34 The noun koreta 'bike' is borrowed from Indonesian. However koreta, like bola 'ball' mentioned above, takes part in mutation, indicating that the word has become part of the Nias lexicon.
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5.1.2.1.2 f-

F- occurs with vowel-initial verbs and bound roots. A list of verbs derived from vowel-initial intransitive verbs with f- is given in (118):

(118) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with f-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>causative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'ege 'laugh'</td>
<td>f-a'ege 'make laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aefa 'free'</td>
<td>f-aefa 'set free'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akao 'difficult'</td>
<td>f-akao 'cause suffering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alua 'happen'</td>
<td>f-alua 'make happen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences illustrating some of these derivations are given in (119) and (120). Simple intransitive sentences are given as well for comparison with the causative construction. Note that the S argument of the simple intransitive verb corresponds to the P argument of the causative verb.

(119) I-f-a'ege ndraga ba'e.
3s.RLS-CAU-laugh 1pe.MUT monkey
The monkey made us laugh. (Cf. A'ege ndraga [laugh 1pe.MUT] 'We laughed')

(120) I-f-akao ita.
3s.RLS-CAU-have.difficulty 1pi.MUT
He annoys us (causes us to have difficulty). (Cf. Akao ita 'We are having difficulties')

In a number of dynamic verbs derived with m-, f- replaces m-. A list of causative verbs in which f- replaces m- is given in (121):

(121) causative verbs derived from vowel-initial dynamic roots with f-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>causative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-aoso 'get up, wake up'</td>
<td>f-aoso 'raise'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Examples of some of these verbs are illustrated in (122) and (123):

(122) Hanata zi=f-e’e Ribka.
who REL.MUT=CAU-cry Ribka
Who made Ribka cry?

(123) Mi-f-ondri ndra-ono-mi!
inra-
2p.RLS-CAU-bathe COLL.MUT-child-2p.POSS
Go and bathe your children!

F- also replaces m- in intransitive verbs derived with mo- 'HAVE' as listed in (124):

(124) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with mo- 'HAVE'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Causative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo-boßo 'have mark'</td>
<td>f-o-boßo 'mark sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-boto 'have shape of'</td>
<td>f-o-boto 'make shape of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-golu 'have a door'</td>
<td>f-o-golu 'make a door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-lala 'have a way'</td>
<td>f-o-lala 'find a way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-lasara 'have dragon carving'</td>
<td>f-o-lasara 'carve dragon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-ömö 'have debt, be in debt'</td>
<td>f-o-ömö 'put in debt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-ösi 'have contents'</td>
<td>f-o-ösi 'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-töi 'have name'</td>
<td>f-o-töi 'give name to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these verbs are illustrated in (125)-(128):
5. DERIVATIONAL VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

(125) Mi-f-o-golu khö-ra mba’o ande-’ö.

ba’o

2p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-door DAT-3p.POSS pen:MUT DIST-particular

Make a door for them for that pigpen.

(126) ö-f-o-lala dödö-gu.

tödö

2s.RLS-CAU-HAVE-way liver:MUT-1s.POSS

You have helped me find a way (out of my troubles). (lit. You caused my liver to have a way.)

(127) Si=ma man-aere ta-f-o-töi ’ete de’u’.

REL=PERF=DYN-lean 1pi.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name bridge mouse:MUT

The one that is slanted we call a 'mouse bridge'.

In (128), the stem of the causative verb is an intransitive form consisting of o- 'HAVE' attached to an NP boßo gafasi 'cotton pod'. The P argument of the causative verb is the mutated noun geu 'trees':

(128) I-f-o-boßo gafasi geu.

afasi eu

3s.RLS-CAU-HAVE-pod cotton:MUT tree:MUT

He marked the trees with (the sign of) the cotton pod.

The following example illustrates the use of f- in a verb derived with dynamic maN- (~mo-). Like other dynamic verbs derived with m- or mo-, the formative m-does not occur in the causative form:

(129) F-o-li!

CAU-DYN-noise

Play! / Say something! (command to musicians to play or to a child to speak) (cf. mo-li ndra-ono [DYN-noise child:MUT] 'The children are making a noise')
The formative ₇- also occurs with a transitive verb derived from a noun with ₒ- 'LIKE' (see below), illustrated in (130):

(130)  I-f-o-ete (ya) Ama Gumi
       3s.RLS-CAU-LIKE-bridge (3s.MUT) Ama Gumi
       ba gotalua Nama Dali ba Ama Lina.
       otalua ama
       LOC gap:MUT father:MUT Dali CNJ father Lina

Ama Gumi acted as a go-between (=bridge) in the rift between Ama Dali and Ama Lina. (lit. He made himself like a bridge over the gap of Ama Dali and Ama Lina)

One example in the data suggests that ₇- may also have a 'let' interpretation. This is illustrated in (131) where the verb stem appears to involve a dynamic verb derived with maN-(-mo-):

(131)  F-o-Baößaö nono hō’ö.
       ono
       CAU-DYN-steps child:MUT DIST
       Böi lu’i manö ya.
       NEG.IMPER carry.on.hip just 3s.MUT

Let the child walk (do steps/stepping). Don't just carry him. (D)

5.1.2.1.3  fe-

The causative prefix ₇e- occurs with intransitive verbs, bound roots, nouns, and transitive verbs. This prefix has a wider distribution than the other two prefixes. Some of the verbs with which it occurs are the same as those with which ₒa- occurs. A list of causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with ₇e- is given in (132):
(132) **causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with fe-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>causative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>förö 'sleep'</td>
<td>fe-förö 'put to sleep/bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana 'eat'</td>
<td>fe-mana 'feed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mondri 'bathe'</td>
<td>fe-mondri 'bathe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindro 'stand'</td>
<td>fe-sindro 'make stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tataro 'sit'</td>
<td>fe-(ta)taro 'make sit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of verbs derived with causative fe- are given in (133)-(135):

(133) Ma=i-fe-förö nakhi-nia.

PERF=3s.RLS-CAU-sleep younger.sibling:MUT-3s.POSS

She put her little brother to sleep (e.g. by rocking him).

(134) La-fe-sindo ya ba mbaša nešali.

3p.RLS-CAU-stand 3s.MUT LOC mouth:MUT courtyard:MUT

They stood him at the gate of the courtyard. (implies that several men physically held him in place while others tied him up.)

There are two causative verbs in (135) below, one derived with fe- and another with f-:

(135) Adu s=a-ma-kobu, ... la-fe-tataro ya ...aN-fa-kobu

statue REL=IPF-DO-sit.on.haunches ... 3p.RLS-CAU-sit 3s.MUT

lawa ba lagölagö nomo ni-f-o-lasara.

high LOC shelf:MUT house:MUT PASS-CAU-HAVE-dragon

The statue of the man sitting on his haunches, ... they set up high on a shelf in the house which has a carving of a dragon on it. (i.e. the house of the village chief.)

(H)
Fe- occurs with two bound roots, -ta'u and -bu'a. An example of fe-ta'u is given in (136) (bu'a was exemplified above at the beginning of this section):

(136) Bōi fe-ta'u ndra-ono!
ira-
NEG.IMPER CAU-afraid COLL.MUT-child

Don't frighten the children! (cf. A-ta'u ndraono. [ST-afraid COLL.MUT-child] 'The children are scared.')

Fe- also occurs with two nouns, ndro 'blood' and haga 'ray', exemplified in (137) and (138).

(137) I-fe-ndro dana-nia.
tana
3s.RLS-CAU-blood hand:MUT-3s.POSS

He made his hand bleed.

The derivation with haga 'ray' is idiomatic:

(138) I-fe-haga ya.
3s.RLS-CAU-ray 3s.MUT

He is proud, arrogant. (lit. He makes himself shine.)

One example of a verb derived with fe- may have a 'let' interpretation (if this is, indeed, really an example of 'letting' something happen):

(139) I-fe-mõna ita.
3s.RLS-CAU-win 1pi.MUT

He let us win.
It is not known to what extent this kind of meaning is available to other derivations with \( fe^- \).

### 5.1.2.2  \( o^- 'LIKE' \)

The prefix \( o^- \) occurs with nouns to derive transitive verbs with a meaning something like: 'A makes P like N(stem)'. This meaning is illustrated in (140), in which the P argument, \textit{mbara'a} 'throne', is described as being carved like a deer:

\[(140) \quad I-o-böhö \quad mbara'a \quad ha'a.\]

\[3s.RLS-LIKE-deer \quad throne:MUT \quad PROX\]

He made (carved) this throne to resemble a deer.

In (141), the P argument and the A argument are co-referential:

\[(141) \quad I-o-mao \quad ya \quad v-ofanö.\]

\[3s.RLS-LIKE-cat \quad 3s.MUT- \quad NR:MUT-leave\]

He left like a cat (i.e. silently). (lit. He made himself like a cat on his departure.)

Other examples tend to refer to the use of an object in an atypical function, as illustrated in (142)-(144):

\[(142) \quad U-o-tandaja \quad mbatu \quad ande.\]

\[1s.RLS-LIKE-pillow \quad stone:MUT \quad DIST\]

I used that stone as a pillow

\[(143) \quad Böi \quad mi-o-saßuju \quad ndraga.\]

\[NEG.IMPER \quad 2p.RLS-LIKE-slave \quad 1pe.MUT\]

Don't treat us like slaves.
(144) I-o-toho geu.
    eu
    3s.RLS-LIKE-spear wood:MUT

He carried a stick for a spear. ('He made the stick (function) as a spear.')

It might appear that the noun stem of the derived verb and the mutated NP which follows it are equivalent to the arguments of the intransitive verb *mae* 'resemble', e.g. *mae toho geu* [resemble spear stick] 'The stick resembles a spear' (see 11.4.2.10). However, the construction consisting of *o-* plus the noun is clearly treated by the syntax as a transitive verb which is followed by an argument in P function since the P argument in these constructions is relativised in the same way as P arguments of basic transitive verbs. This is illustrated in (145), in which *mbara'a* 'throne' is modified by a relative clause in which it functions as the P argument:

(145) Sökhi sibai mbara'a ni-o-böhö.
    bara'a
good INTNS throne:MUT PASS-LIKE-deer

The throne that is carved like a deer is very beautiful. (cf. ex (142) above)

Similarly in (146), the noun *nadu* 'statue' is modified by a relative clause in which it functions as the P argument:

(146) Oya nadu ni-o-niha-niha.
    adu
    many statue:MUT PASS-LIKE-RDP-person

There are many statues that look like a man35 (cf. *i-o-niha nadu* [3s.RLS-LIKE-person statue:MUT] 'He made the statue to look like a man')

---
35 I'm not sure why the noun *niha* 'person' is reduplicated in this example. In the unrelativised form of the verb, given after the translation, it is not. Reduplication does not occur in other examples.
These verbs may be detransitivized with the formative \textit{m-}, which otherwise derives dynamic intransitive verbs from vowel-initial bound roots, as illustrated in (147).

\begin{equation}
\text{(147) } \text{M-o-bōhō mbara’a ha’a.}
\end{equation}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{baraa} & \\
\text{DYN-LIKE-deer} & \text{throne:MUT} \\
\text{PROX} & \\
\end{tabular}

This throne looks like (is shaped like) a deer.

Note that the S argument in (147) corresponds to the P argument of the transitive form. Another example of this is given in (148):

\begin{equation}
\text{(148) } \text{M-o-toho nandröta si=so ba mbaßagöli.}
\end{equation}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
nandröta & si=so & ba & mbaßagöli \\
\text{DYN-LIKE-spear} & \text{fungus:MUT} & \text{REL=EXIST} & \text{LOC} \text{ door:MUT} \\
\end{tabular}

The fungus on the door looks like a spear. (D)

In intransitive form, these verbs cannot mean ‘P is made to be like N(stem)’, but only ‘S looks like N(stem)’.

If the A argument and the P argument of a construction consisting of the prefix \textit{o-} and a noun are co-referent, as illustrated in (143) above, the verb is reflexive, and typically implies that the referent is intentionally ‘pretending to be N(stem)’. For example one can say of a child crawling around on hands and knees:

\begin{equation}
\text{(149) } \text{I-o-asu ya.}
\end{equation}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{3s.RLS-LIKE-dog} & \text{3s:MUT} \\
\end{tabular}

He is pretending to be a dog. (He makes himself like a dog.)

In this construction the mutated pronoun which functions as the P argument is optional and can be omitted. This kind of construction apparently allows derived nouns to function as stems as well as simple nouns. Another example of this kind of construction
is given in (150) below, in which the prefix o- is apparently added to a headless relative clause, s=o-fökhö 'one who is ill':

\[
\text{(150) Ma=i-o-s=o-fökhö-fökhö}^{36} \quad \text{(ya)} \\
\text{PERF=3s.RLS-LIKE-REL=HAVE-RDP2-illness} \quad \text{(3s.MUT)} \\
\text{mea lôna mo-halöwö. so.that NEG DYN-work} \\
\text{He pretended to be very sick so that he didn't have to do any work. ('He pretended to be one who was very sick, so that (he) didn't work.' )}
\]

A more complicated example is given in (151), in which the verb of the headless relative clause is followed by its P argument in unmutated form, bößö 'village laws':

\[
\text{(151) U-o-s=an-ila bößö (ndao) khö-nia.} \\
\text{-aN-ila 1s.RLS-LIKE-REL=IPF-know villlage.law (1s.MUT) DAT-3s.POSS} \\
\text{I pretended to know adat law (village laws) in front of him. (/?I made myself (out) to be one who knows law towards him.)}
\]

As the parentheses indicate, the mutated pronouns in (150) and (151) that are coreferential with the A arguments are optional and can be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence.

### 5.1.2.3 \textit{osi} = 'pretend'

In fact, the reflexive construction containing the prefix o- 'LIKE' plus a noun appears to have become confused synchronically with a construction which consists of a proclitic verb stem-forming particle \textit{osi}= 'pretend' followed by a clause.\textsuperscript{37} The particle \textit{osi}=  

\textsuperscript{36} Derivational affixes cannot normally occur outside clitics, so it is likely that the morpheme o- in (152) is not really a form of the prefix o- 'LIKE' but is part of an allomorph of the clitic \textit{osi}= discussed a little further on in this section.

\textsuperscript{37} A verb or verbal prefixes with the meaning 'pretend' and with similar phonological form is found in other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages Kankanay, Cebuano, Bario Kelabit and Iban (Blust 1980: 42).
'pretend' is not in the active grammar of young speakers of Nias but is used in stories from older speakers. The particle seems to occur in just a few fossilized constructions such as those illustrated in (152)-(157) (it is difficult to give literal meanings for some of the sentences which occur in this construction.). Almost all of the examples I have contain negators, although I do not know if this is required for this construction. Examples (152) and (153) involve verbs derived from negators. The negator löö is currently used only in emphatic negative responses or in the modal forms tobaï löö / lö tola löö 'have to' in Nias Selatan.

(152) U-osi=löö-gö ya.
   1s.RLS-pretend=NEG-TR  3s:MUT
   I pretended not to know he was there.

(153) I-osi=tena-gö ndao.
   3s.RLS-pretend-NEG(N)-TR  1s.MUT
   He ignored me. / He looks down on me.

Note that the mutated pronoun which follows the verb in these examples is not coreferential with the A argument. In contrast with constructions containing o- 'LIKE', constructions with osi= 'pretend' cannot be made reflexive. Another example is given in the imperative sentence (154), in which osi= is followed by a nominal clause in which the predicate is tena ina-u 'it is not your mother' and the argument is ni-fatunö-ma 'the one being talked about by us':

(154) Osi=tena ina-u ni-fatunö-ma.
   pretend=NEG(N) mother-2s.POSS PASS-DO-tell-1pe.POSS
   Pretend it's not your mother we're talking about.

The clause which follows osi= 'pretend' in (154), i.e. tena ina-u ni-fatunö-ma, could stand on its own to mean 'It's not your mother we're talking about' (lit. 'The one being
talked about by us is not your mother'). It is important to note that the construction in 
(154) cannot be analysed as containing the prefix o- 'LIKE' followed by a headless relative, because nominal clauses cannot occur in relative clause function in Nias. The fact that these constructions may contain nominal clauses and that they cannot have reflexive form is evidence that what we have here is not another example of the prefix o- 'LIKE' with a headless relative but an entirely different construction. Osí = 'pretend' is also found in two fixed expressions consisting of the short form of the negator, lö, and imperfective forms of the verbs ila 'know' or rono 'hear', as illustrated in (155) and (156)

(155) I-osí=lö um-ila halöwö hö’ö.

He pretended not to know how to do that job.38

(156) U-osí=lö r<um>ono ve-hede nina-gu.

I pretended not to hear my mother's words.

The confusion between o- 'LIKE' and osí = 'pretend' seems to have arisen from examples such as the following, which are presumably ambiguous between constructions consisting of the particle osí= followed by the imperfective verb mörö 'sleep', and constructions consisting of the prefix o- followed by a headless relative (unless, of course, constructions involving osí= require negators):

(157) U-osí=mörö (ndrao).

I pretended to be asleep. ('I made myself (out) to be one who was asleep.')

---

38 Note that the normal imperfective form of ila is man-ila (see 10.3.2). The form with the infix -um- is only found in constructions with osí=, which provides further support for arguing for the antiquity of the construction.
The mutated first singular pronoun *ndrao* in (157) is ambiguous in its syntactic function between an argument coreferential with the A argument (and thus an example of *o*- 'LIKE' plus a headless relative) and the S argument of the verb *mörö* (and thus an example of the proclitic particle *osi=*) What appears to have happened is that, because of the formal similarity between the construction with *osi= 'pretend' followed by a verb or clause and the prefix *o-* attached to a headless relative beginning with the relative marker *si=*, there arose instances in which the final vowel of the particle *osi= was elided in front of stative verbs, by analogy with the elision of the vowel of the relative marker *si=*, which gave rise to sentences such as those in (150) and (151) above. These sorts of cases then presumably came to be recognized as examples of the prefix *o- 'LIKE' plus a derived noun.

### 5.2 Suffixes: overview

Suffixes which are used to derive verbs and the kinds of stems to which they attach are the following. (In this list, question marks are placed in front of stems which occur once only, the status of which is uncertain.)

**(158) derivational suffixes and the stems to which they attach**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gö</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fi</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-khi</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iö</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ini</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-isi</td>
<td>Vintr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The primary function of suffixes in Nias Selatan is to derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, roots and nouns. With respect to intransitive verbs and bound roots, which are all lexically subcategorized for one argument (see 4.5), the derivation of a transitive verb by addition of a suffix equates semantically to the addition of a new participant to the situation described by the verb. Depending on the kind of verb stem, the new participant may be expressed either by an A argument or by a P argument. Although syntactically all suffixes are 'transitivizers' in that the derived verb is transitive, they can be regarded as having either 'causative' or 'applicative' function depending on whether they introduce an A argument or a P argument. 'Causative' function derives verbs which have the features listed above in section 5.1.2.1. All suffixes may have this function. 'Applicative' function derives verbs which exhibit the following features:

(i) the derived verb is transitive.
(ii) the referent of the A argument of the derived verb corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive stem.
(iii) the new participant is expressed by the P argument.
(iv) semantically the referent of the A argument corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the underived verb (in contrast with 'causative' constructions in which the referent of the A argument does not correspond to the S argument).
(v) if the stem is an emotion or mental state verb which associates with two mutated arguments, the experiencer corresponds to the A argument of the derived verb and the stimulus corresponds to the P argument.

Only the suffixes -ö, -i, -fi, -si, -ni and -khi are used applicatively. To illustrate 'applicative' function, compare the intransitive verb cici 'defecate' illustrated in (159) and its transitivized counterpart cici-ni 'defecate on' illustrated in (160). In (159) cici has only one argument, the third singular ya:

(i) the derived verb is transitive.
(ii) the referent of the A argument of the derived verb corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive stem.
(iii) the new participant is expressed by the P argument.
(iv) semantically the referent of the A argument corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the underived verb (in contrast with 'causative' constructions in which the referent of the A argument does not correspond to the S argument).
(v) if the stem is an emotion or mental state verb which associates with two mutated arguments, the experiencer corresponds to the A argument of the derived verb and the stimulus corresponds to the P argument.
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(159) Tebai cici ya.
cant defecate 3s.MUT

He is constipated. (lit. He can't defecate.) (D)

In (160), the transitive verb *cici-ni* has two arguments, the A argument *asu* 'dog' and the P argument *mbatö* 'floor'. Note that the A argument in (160) corresponds semantically to the S argument of the intransitive verb in (159) above:

(160) Ma=i-cici-ni mbatö asu.
batö
PERF=3s.RLS-defecate-TR floor:MUT dog

The dog has defecated on the floor.

Morphologically the monosyllabic suffixes of Nias Selatan have one of two basic shapes: -Cö or -(C)i, where C stands for a glottal stop or /g/ when followed by /ö/, or a fricative or nasal when followed by /i/. The significance of these sounds is that there is evidence that the consonants which precede /i/ in verb suffixes may reflect original word final consonants, and if this is the case, it indicates that words in Nias once allowed only fricatives and nasals as word-final consonants (cf. 3.8). There appears to be no synchronic association of one shape with any particular function—suffixes of both shapes can be used with both causative or applicative functions. The only principle which holds for intransitive verbs and roots, with the exception of the emotion verbs (see 5.2.4. and 5.2.9), is that if a stem is stative the derived verb is causative, and if the stem is dynamic the derived verb is applicative. The suffixes which were listed in (158) will be discussed in turn below, exemplifying the functions associated with them.
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5.2.1 -ö

The suffix -ö is used with stative verbs and roots to derive verbs with a 'causative' meaning (something like 'A makes P vb'). A list of some intransitive verbs and the causative verbs derived from them with -ö is given in (161):

(161) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with -ö

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abe'e 'strong'</td>
<td>abe'e-ö 'make stronger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adogodogo 'low'</td>
<td>adogo-ö 'make lower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitö 'black'</td>
<td>aitö-ö 'blacken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawa 'be high'</td>
<td>alawa-ö 'raise higher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alio 'quick'</td>
<td>alio-ö 'make hurry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aßakha 'deep'</td>
<td>aßakha-ö 'deepen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aßolo 'wide'</td>
<td>aßolo-ö 'make wider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atulö 'straight, right'</td>
<td>atulö-ö 'make right, straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebua 'big'</td>
<td>ebua-ö 'make bigger, raise children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ide'ide 'small'</td>
<td>ide'ide-ö 'make smaller'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oya 'much, many'</td>
<td>oya-ö 'make be a lot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tola 'well'</td>
<td>tola-ö 'make well'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate the effect of the suffix on the intransitive verb, compare the intransitive sentence in (162) with the transitivized form of the verb in (163).

(162) Abe'e sibai gehomo nomo s=e-bua.

ST:strong INTNS pillar:MUT house:MUT REL=ST-big

The pillars of the big house (the house of the village leader) are very strong.

(163) I-abe'e-ö ita Loßalani ...

3s.RLS-ST:strong-TR 1pi.MUT Loßalani

God gives us strength ... (lit. God makes us be strong ...)

39 The abbreviations A, P and DAT are used as short forms of the phrase 'the referent of A/P/DAT'. See fn 6 Chapter 3 for discussion of the terms A and P.
Note that the S argument of the intransitive construction in (162) corresponds to the P argument of the transitive construction—both refer to the thing which is strong. The additional participant in the transitive form, *Loşalani 'God*', is the Causer, expressed by the A argument. Further examples of transitivized forms of stative intransitive verbs are given in (164)-(167). Simple intransitive forms of the verbs are given in brackets for comparison of argument structure.

(164) ö-ide’ide-’ö ndrao mana, …
2s.RLS-ST:small-TR 1s:MUT at.this.time
You look down on me now, ... (cf. *ide’ide ndrao* 'I am small')

(165) U-atulö-’ö ni-sura-u.
1s.RLS-ST:correct-TR PASS-write-2s.POSS
I have corrected what you wrote. (cf. *atulö ni-sura-u* 'What you wrote is correct')

(166) Böi oya-’ö li-u.
li
NEG.IMPER much-TR noise:MUT-2s.POSS
Don't talk too much (lit 'Don't make your words/sound be a lot.') (cf. *oya li-u* 'You're making a lot of noise' (lit. your noise is a lot.))

(167) Tola-’ö=wa’e vökhö-u
fõkhö
abate-TR=D.PTCL illness:MUT-2s.POSS
fatua lõna na mõi (ndraugö) ba gereja.
while NEG yet go (2s.MUT) LOC church
Get yourself better before you go to church, eh? (cf. *tola vökhö-u* 'Your illness is abating')
Stative roots to which the suffix -‘ö attaches are listed in (168). The intransitive verbs derived from the same roots are listed for comparative purposes:

(168) causative verbs derived from stative roots with -‘ö

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bali</td>
<td>bali-‘ö 'turn into'</td>
<td>to-bali 'changed into, become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bini</td>
<td>bini-‘ö 'hide'</td>
<td>to-bini 'hidden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bu’a</td>
<td>bu’a-‘ö 'move'</td>
<td>a-bu’a/te-bu’a 'moved'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fae</td>
<td>fae-‘ö 'put in'</td>
<td>to-fae 'contained'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hakhö</td>
<td>hakhö-‘ö 'reduce, shrink'</td>
<td>a-hakhö 'shrivelled, shrunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hatö</td>
<td>hatö-‘ö 'bring closer'</td>
<td>a-hatö 'close'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of these verbs are given in (169)-(171):

(169) I-fae-‘ö ndra-ono-nia ba moto.
    ira- moto
    3s.RLS-contained-TR COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS LOC car:MUT

He filled the car with his kids. / He caused his kids to be contained by the car.

(cf. to-fae zaluaya si=öfa na hono [RES-contain REL.MUT-dance REL=four LK thousand] 'It contained four thousand dancers'.

(170) La-bali-‘ö ya saßuyu
    3p.RLS-turn-TR 3s.MUT slave

They made him a slave. / They caused him to become a slave. (cf. tobalı ya saßuyu 'He became a slave')

(171) I-bini-‘ö ya.
    3s.RLS-hide-TR 3s.MUT

He hid himself. (or 'He hid him') (see 11.2.1.1 for reflexive forms)

One example of a root which is affixed with -‘ö suggests that this suffix could have a 'let' interpretation (unless 'causing' fat to shrink involves merely 'letting' it shrink):
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(172) I-hakhö-ʼö daßödaßö mbaßi.
    daßödaßö baßi
3s.RLS-shrink-TR fat.MUT pig:MUT

She let the pig fat set. (i.e. She didn't do anything to the fat.)

The suffix -ʼö occurs in applicative function with two dynamic verbs: a'ege 'laugh' and omasi 'like'. To illustrate the effect of the suffix on these verbs, compare the intransitive form of a'ege 'laugh' in (173), with the transitive form a'ege-ʼö 'laugh at' in (174). Note that the S argument of the intransitive clause in (173) corresponds to the A argument of the transitive construction in (174):

(173) A'ege ira.
    laugh 3p.MUT

They laughed

(174) La-a'ege-ʼö ndrao.
    3p.RLS-laugh-TR 1s.MUT

They laughed at me.

The argument which is added in the transitive construction is the P argument, in (174) the first singular pronoun, ndrao.

The emotion verb omasi 'like' typically occurs with two mutated arguments, as illustrated in (175):

(175) Omasi ya ita.
    like 3s.MUT 1pi.MUT

He likes us.

Note that the experiencer, expressed by the third singular ya, precedes the stimulus, ita 'us'. When the suffix -ʼö is added to omasi 'like', the result is a normal transitive verb in
which the experiencer takes the role of the A argument and the stimulus takes the role of P argument, as illustrated in (176) below. The derived verb is also regarded as implying an intensification of the feeling represented by *omasi* 'like', although the intentionality on the part of the referent of the A argument which is implied by a transitive form may also be responsible for this.

(176) I-omasi-‘ö ita Loßalani.

3s.RLS-like-TR 1pi.MUT Loßalani

God loves us.

The suffix -‘ö occurs with applicative meaning also with two dynamic roots: -*uta* and -*base*. The derived verbs are *uta*-‘ö 'vomit, bring up' and *base*-‘ö 'wait for'. An example of the transitive verb derived from the addition of the suffix -‘ö to the dynamic root -*uta* is given in (177). The intransitive sentence form is given in brackets for comparison. Once again, note that the S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the A argument of the transitive form.

(177) I-uta-‘ö gö-nia ni-a-nia mema’e Zöni.

ö

3s.RLS-vomit-TR food:MUT-3s.POSS PASS-eat-3s.MUT earlier Zöni

Zöni brought up the food he ate earlier. (cf. *M-uta Zöni* [DYN-vomit Zöni] 'Zöni is vomiting.‘)

The derived verb *base*-‘ö is exemplified in a passive headless relative in (178):

(178) Hata ni-base-‘ö-u?

who PASS-wait-TR-2s.POSS

Who are you waiting for? (lit. The one being waited for by you is who?)

The suffix -‘ö is also used to derived transitive verbs from nouns. The nouns with which -‘ö occurs are listed in (179):
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(179) transitive verbs derived from nouns with -'ö

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lagö 'cover for large object'</td>
<td>lagö-ö 'close, cover large thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>föfö 'residue, other part'</td>
<td>föfö-ö 'separate off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bila 'crooked thing'</td>
<td>bila-ö 'make crooked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tendro 'a support' (like the back of a chair)</td>
<td>tendro-ö 'lean against'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of these derivations is something like 'A makes P be N(stem)' or 'A makes P have N(stem)'. Some examples of these verbs are given in (180) - (182):

(180) Ni-lagö-'ö zavenaita andre.
      savenaita
      PASS-cover-TR layer:MUT DIST
      That layer was covered. (lit. That layer was one for which a cover was made.)

(181) La-föfö-'ö ira, ya’ira niha si=so.
      3p.RLS-split-TR 3p:MUT 3p person REL=EXIST
      The rich people separated themselves off. (lit. Those people who have (material possessions), they made themselves be a separate part.)

(182) Böi tendro-'ö ndraugö ba doßa!
      toßa
      NEG.IMPER support-TR 2s.MUT LOC wall:MUT
      Don't lean against the wall! (lit. 'Don't make yourself have support from the wall')

The suffix -'ö may occur on transitive verbs without necessarily changing the argument structure. What the suffix seems to do in these instances is to add some sort of intensity to the meaning. Some transitive verbs which occur with -'ö with are listed in (183):
5. DERIVATIONAL VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

(183) transitive verbs which occur with the suffix -'ö

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bato 'stop'</td>
<td>bato-'ö 'stop intentionally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cika 'tear'</td>
<td>cika-'ö 'rip apart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fera 'press'</td>
<td>fera-'ö 'squeeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osisi 'follow'</td>
<td>osisi-'ö 'investigate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An illustration of the two forms of the verb meaning 'stop' is revealing for the meaning of -'ö. In (184), the simple transitive form is used:

(184) La-bato va-a'ege.

They stopped laughing.

This sentence implies that the laughter just petered out over time. By comparison, when bato occurs with the suffix -'ö the implication is that the participants stopped laughing intentionally:

(185) La-bato-'ö va-a'ege.

They stopped laughing.

An appeal to the argument that transitive clauses of themselves imply volition or intent on the part of the A speaker can't explain the difference between these two sentences since both are transitive. The association of this suffix with increased 'intent' on the part of the referent of the A argument may be behind the explanation given to me for why -'ö cannot be used to create a transitive verb from the intransitive verb taiha 'lose'—because you don't lose things on purpose.
In contrast with the example of bato 'stop' given above, in which the arguments of both sentences were the same, when the suffix is added to the verb cika 'tear, rip', the category of noun which functions as the P argument can change. The verb cika 'tear' normally refers to material such as paper, as illustrated in (186):

(186) U-cika garate.
     karate
      3s.RLS-tear paper:MUT

I tore the page.

With the suffix -'ö, the verb can have as its P argument the result of the action or 'tearing'. For example in (187), the path referred to by the P argument is made by ripping through long grass or traipsing through wet earth:

(187) U-cika-'ö lala-gu ba gatua / laz.
     lala atua laz
     1s.RLS-tear-TR way:MUT-1s.POSS LOC jungle:MUT / rice.paddy:MUT

I'm making my way through the long grass / ricefield.

5.2.1.1 Causative circumfix fa-....-'ö

The suffix -'ö also occurs in a different construction with transitive verbs in which the dynamic prefix fa- is also involved. A construction consisting of a transitive verb affixed with both fa- and -'ö has the meaning 'A gets someone to do the action described by the verb'. The 'getting' may involve asking or some other means. Typically the Causee, i.e. the 'someone' who does the action of the verb, is expressed by a dative phrase if mentioned. To illustrate this derivation, compare the simple transitive form of the verb sura 'write' in (188) with its derived form in (189):

---

40 For glossing purposes I identify fa- with applicative and -'ö with causative for three reasons:

(i) When dynamic fa- is added to a transitive verb, it introduces a new dative argument (see section 5.1.1.5). When the suffix -'ö is added to a transitive verb, there is no new argument (see above). This makes it more likely that fa- is responsible for the additional dative argument.
(188) U-sura zura.
   sura
   1s.RLS-write letter:MUT

I wrote a letter.

(189) I-fa-sura-‘ö zura khö-gu fandrita.
   sura
   3s.RLS-DO-write-CAU letter:MUT DAT-1s.POSS priest

The priest got me to write a letter.

There are three observations to be made about these examples: 1) in the derived construction (189), the P argument is the same as the P argument of the original transitive construction, 2) the dative argument of the derived verb (i.e. the Causee) corresponds to the original A argument (the writer), and 3) the A argument of the derived construction is introduced. In many cases, the dative argument expressing the Causee, i.e. the person who does the action of the verb, can be omitted, as illustrated in (190):

(190) Ta-fa-fazökhi-‘ö zagö.
   sagö
   1pi.RLS-DO-fix-CAU roof:MUT

We had the roof fixed.

Another example is given in (191), where the P argument is a noun modified by a relative clause, and the Causee is optional:

(ii) In applicative verbs derived with -‘ö, the argument which is introduced is expressed by a mutated P argument (see 5.2.1 above). In the construction discussed in this section, the applied argument is dative, which makes -‘ö less likely a candidate than fa- for being responsible for the applied argument.

(iii) While fa- is found in causative function, it is restricted to just a few verbs (see section 5.1.2.1.1). The suffix -‘ö, on the other hand, is found in great abundance with causative function, making -‘ö more likely to be responsible for the causative interpretation than fa-.
Although the A argument of an original transitive verb is realized as a dative argument in a derived construction, it is apparently still a core argument, as is evident from relativisation. Both the P argument and the dative argument can be relativised in the same way, namely with a passive form of the verb. This is illustrated in (192) and (193) below. In (192), the P argument is relativised. The dative argument is unchanged.

(192) Ogoro niha ni-fa-kuru-‘ö Nama Lina khö folisi.
iha Ama
abhor person:MUT PASS-DO-jail-CAU Ama:MUT Lina DAT police

I loathe the man whom Ama Lina had arrested by the police.

In (193) the dative argument is relativised, and the P argument of the derived verb takes unmutated form:

(193) U-ila folisi\textsuperscript{41} ni-fa-kuru-‘ö
1s.RLS-know police PASS-DYN-jail-CAU
Nama Lina akhi-gu.
Ama
Ama:MUT Lina younger.sibling-1s.POSS

I know the policeman whom Ama Lina got to arrest my brother.

Another example of the construction with fa- and -‘ö is given in (194):

\textsuperscript{41} Folisi 'police' is borrowed from Indonesian polisi, and is thus unmutated in contexts which normally require mutated forms.
(194) U-fa-inu-'ö daludalu khō nakhi-gu.

1s.RLS-DO-drink-CAU medicine:MUT DAT younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS

I got my little brother to drink the medicine.

Compare the simple transitive form of the verb inu 'drink' given in (195) below:

(195) I-inu daludalu akhi-gu.

3s.RLS-drink medicine:MUT younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS

My little brother drank the medicine.

Note that the P argument is the same in both examples, the dative phrase of the derived construction corresponds to the A argument of the simple transitive clause, and the A argument of the derived construction in (194) (i.e. the Causer) is an introduced argument.

Other transitive verbs which may occur in construction with fa- and -'ö are listed in (196):

(196) **transitive verbs which occur with fa-...-'ö**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>derived form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baso 'read'</td>
<td>fa-baso-'ö 'get someone to read'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haya-gö 'baptize'</td>
<td>fa-haya-gö-'ö 'ask someone to baptize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be lawa [put high] 'store'</td>
<td>fa-be-lawa-'ö 'ask someone to store'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hede 'call out to'</td>
<td>fa-hede-'ö 'get someone to invite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zira 'see'</td>
<td>fa-zira-'ö 'show'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.2 -gö

The suffix -gö is almost entirely causative in function. In my data it has applicative function with only one intransitive verb: m-an-ifi 'dream', whose applicative form is illustrated in (197):

(197) U-anifi-gö ya.
   1s.RLS-dream-TR 3s.MUT
   I dreamt about him. (D) (cf. aseše man-ifi ndrao [often IPF-dream 1s.MUT] 'I often dream')

In its causative function, the suffix -gö applies to intransitive verbs and bound roots. Stems to which -gö is added and the forms which are derived are listed in (198):

(198) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs and bound roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>derived form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vintr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abe'è 'strong'</td>
<td>abe'è-gö 'make stronger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aekhu 'go in direction of'</td>
<td>aekhu-gö 'aim at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara 'long time'</td>
<td>ara-gö 'take a long time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aukhu 'hot'</td>
<td>aukhu-gö 'heat up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faedo 'lined up, parallel'</td>
<td>faedo-gö 'compare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiha 'lost'</td>
<td>taiha-gö 'lose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohu 'add to'</td>
<td>tohu-gö 'continue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fao 'join'</td>
<td>fao-gö 'attach, accompany'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-tura 'HAVE news'</td>
<td>otura-gö 'tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-dödö 'HAVE liver'</td>
<td>o-dödö-gö 'concentrate on'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>roots</th>
<th>derived form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dudu</td>
<td>dudu-gö 'undo' (cf. a-dudu 'undone')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hori</td>
<td>hori-gö 'finish' (cf. a-hori 'finished')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hono</td>
<td>hono-gö 'settle down' (cf. a-hono 'calm')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-havia</td>
<td>haßia-gö 'throw down forcefully' (cf. to-haßia 'fall down')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42 Verbs formed with the prefix (m)o-'HAVE' are included here because they are stems of transitive verbs with the suffix -gö. However they do not occur in their intransitive form (i.e. with mo-) in my data.
The use of -gö is illustrated with the verb *abe'e* 'strong' in (199):

(199) I-abe'e-gö danö i-be'e gaßu.43
tanö aßu
3s.RLS-ST:strong-TR earth:MUT 3s.RLS-give sand:MUT

He strengthened the mud by adding sand.

The intransitive form of *abe'e* was illustrated in (162) above where it was contrasted with the transitive form *abe'e-*ö 'strengthen', illustrated in (163). Examples (162) and (163) are repeated here for convenience:

(162) Abe'e sibai gehomo nomo s=e-bua.
ehomo omo
ST:strong INTNS pillar:MUT house:MUT REL=ST-big

The pillars of the big house (the house of the village leader) are very strong.

43 The construction [ibe('e) + mutated noun] is a kind of periphrastic causative. I have only three examples at this stage (one of which is from a northern source), and therefore cannot comment on it at any length. I assume that *ibe'e* is the third singular realis form of the verb *be'e* 'give' (be in Southern Nias). Both Indonesian and Malay use the verb *kasih* 'give' in causative constructions, so this construction is potentially a calque, although it may also derive from a common heritage. The other examples in my data are given in (i) and (ii):

(i) Fa-aukhu ha'a tola i-be alau mata-gu
    ha'a tola i-be alau mata-gu
    NR-ST:hot PROX can 3s.RLS-give mata-eye:MUT 2s.POSS
    This heat makes me sleepy.

(ii) Mi-köli-ni noßi-mi andre afu lö te-kiko vakhe i-be sökha.
    Mi-köli-ni noßi-mi andre afu lö te-kiko vakhe i-be sökha.
    2p.RLS-fence-TR field-2p.POSS DIST so.that NEG RES-ruin rice:MUT
    wild.pig
    You should fence your field so that the rice doesn't get ruined by wild pigs (D) (Nth. Nias)
(163) I-abe'e-'ö ita Loßalani ...
3s.RLS-ST:strong-TR 1pi.MUT Loßalani

God gives us strength ... (lit. God makes us be strong ...)

Note that the S argument of (162) corresponds to the P argument of the transitive sentence in (199) above. The difference between the two transitive verbs *abe'e-'ö* and *abe'e-gö* appears to be that with *abe'e-'ö*, the referent of the P argument has the potential to exercise control over the result, while in *abe'e-gö*, the referent of the P argument cannot exercise control over the result. It appears to be true for most verbs derived with -gö that the referent of the P argument has little control over the result of the action, although this may be because the P argument usually refers to an inanimate entity. Many examples of verbs derived with the suffix -‘ö, on the other hand, contain P arguments which have animate referents. Some examples of verbs derived from intransitive stems are given in (200)-(202). Simple intransitive forms are supplied in parentheses for comparison. In each case note that the P argument of the derived form corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive verb.

(200) Ma=u-taiha-gö laeduru-gu.
laeduru
PERF=1s.RLS-lost-TR ring:MUT-1s.POSS

I've lost my ring. (cf. *taiha laeduru-gu* 'My ring is lost')

(201) U-fao-gö gefe ba zura.
kefe sura
1s.RLS-join-TR money:MUT LOC letter:MUT

I attach money with the letter. (cf. *fao ndraga ba lala* (D) [join 1pe.MUT LOC way:MUT] 'We walked along the road together')
(202) Hori-gö  gö-u  kofi.
       ö
   finish-TR  food:MUT-2s.POSS  coffee

Finish your coffee. (cf. *a-hori gö-gu kofi* 'My coffee is finished')

Some examples of transitive verbs derived from bound roots are given in (203) and (204). (Literal translations of these sentences are given in parentheses where necessary, but often seem convoluted and appear to make the meaning a little obscure.)

(203) U-o-tura-gö  kho-mi  nösi  dödö-gu.
       ösi  tödö
1s.RLS-HAVE-news-TR  DAT-2p.POSS  contents:MUT  liver:MUT-1s.POSS

I will tell you what I've been thinking. (lit. I will cause the contents of my liver to be news to you.)

(204) La-o-dödö-gö  halöwö-ra.
       halöwö
3p.RLS-HAVE-liver:MUT-TR  work:MUT-3p.POSS

They take their work seriously (do their best/concentrate hard). (lit. They cause their work to have liver.)

The suffix -gö is used also to transitivize the verb *so* in both its existential sense and its meaning 'come'. In (205) *so* is used in its existential sense, and the derived verb means 'cause to exist':

(205) A-dödö-gö  so-
       halöwö
3p.RLS-HAVE-liver:MUT-TR  cause:MUT-3p.POSS

They cause their work to exist.
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(205) La-a-so-gö gorahua ba mbanua.

orahua banua

3p.RLS-?-EXIST-TR meeting:MUT LOC village:MUT

They organised a meeting in the village. (lit. They caused a meeting in the village to exist.)

In (206), so is used in the sense of 'come', so that the derived form a-so-gö means 'cause to/let come' or 'invite':

(206) I-a-so-gö zi'ulu fefu.

si'ulu

3p.RLS-?-arrive-TR village.leader:MUT all

He invited all the village heads to come. (lit. He caused all the heads of the villages to arrive.)

The suffix -gö occurs frequently with nouns to derive transitive verbs. A list of nouns and the verbs which are derived from them is given in (207):

(207) transitive verbs derived from nouns with -gö

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balu 'cover.net'</td>
<td>balu-gö 'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(balu 'kind of small net which you cover the fish with')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boha 'molar'</td>
<td>boha-gö 'chew with molars'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>börö 'base'</td>
<td>börö-gö 'begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ero 'outside'</td>
<td>ero-gö 'turn one's back on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>föfö 'part of sth'</td>
<td>föfö-gö 'put aside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hele 'waterfall'</td>
<td>hele-gö 'pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töra 'extra'</td>
<td>töra-gö 'make more'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44 In various instances of some very common verbs suchs as so in its existential use and in its meaning 'arrive', möi 'go' and mate 'die', an epenthetic prefix, a-, is present. I cannot explain why this prefix occurs here.
The meanings of the derived verbs are not completely predictable and it is difficult to find a single coherent sense for the suffix. In general, the meaning is something like 'A does something which results in P either having N (balu-gö, böro-gö), or being affected by N (boha-gö, tōra-gö), or being like N (hele-gö, fōfō-gö). Some examples are given below.

(208) I-balü-gö ita fa-'a-lōgōlōgō.
    3s.RLS-cover-TR 1pi:MUT NR-dark

We were enveloped by darkness.

(209) U-hele-gö nidanö ba gahembatō.
    idanö ahebatō
    1s.RLS-waterfall-TR water:MUT LOC floor:MUT

I poured the water onto the floor.

(210) La-ero-gö ya.
    3s.RLS-outside-TR 3s.MUT

They turned their back on her. (i.e. They did not care for her any more)

The verb böro-gö 'begin' is a commonly used word. In (211), the verb böro-gö 'begin' occurs with a clausal complement:

(211) La-börö-gö la-fasa mbatu gehomo.
    batu ehomo

They begin by setting the stones for the pillars.

As was observed for -ö, the suffix -gö may be added to some transitive verbs without changing their argument structure. Like -ö, the semantic effect is something like an intensification of the meaning. Three verbs which are affected in this way are taha 'stop, forbid', tehe 'agree, let' and roro 'follow'. The derived forms are illustrated in

"
(212)-(214). In (212) and (213), the simple transitive form would also be appropriate, but I’m told that the form with -gö is ‘stronger’:

(212) I-taha-gö/taha ndao ama-gu
3s.RLS-stop-TR/stop 1s.MUT father-1s.POSS
v-a-nai ono zibaya-gu.
NR:MUT-IPF-take child uncle:MUT-1s.POSS

My father forbade me to marry my cousin. (male ego)

(213) Löna la-tehe-gö/tehe alua v-a-nußö.
NEG 3p.RLS-agree-TR/agree happen NR.MUT-IPF-fight

They didn’t let them start a war. (lit. They didn’t agree (that) a war (should) happen.)

In (214), the meaning of the verb appears to be changed by the addition of -gö:

(214) U-roro-gö nakhi-gu.
1s.RLS-follow-TR younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS

I looked after my little brother. (?I ‘followed’ my little brother carefully) (cf. u-roro ya [1s.RLS-follow 3s.MUT] ‘I followed him’)45

In at least one verb, handro ‘spear’, the argument structure is changed by the addition of -gö. An example of this verb in its simple transitive form is given in (215):

45 It may also be the case that the argument structure is reversed in the derived verb but it is difficult to be sure of this without other examples.
(215) I-handro zökha toho.
    sökha
3s.RLS-throw.spear wild.pig:MUT spear

He speared the wild pig with a spear.

The addition of -gö allows an instrumental argument, such as toho 'spear' in (218), to become a P argument, while the original P argument occurs with the locative preposition ba, as illustrated in (216):

(216) I-handro-gö doho ba zökha.
    toho sökha
3s.RLS-throw.spear-TR spear:MUT LOC wild.pig:MUT

He thrust the spear into the wild pig.

5.2.2.1 Causative circumfix fa- ... -gö

Like -ö, the suffix -gö is also used in association with dynamic fa- to derive verbs with the meaning 'A gets someone to do the action of the verb'. The suffix -gö, however, occurs with verbs which are ditransitive rather than monotransitive. To illustrate the use of -gö in this function, compare the simple ditransitive verb be’e 'give' in (217) with the derived construction in (218). In (217), the Giver (A argument) is expressed by the lexical NP Ama Dali and the pronominal prefix on the verb i-; the Gift (P argument) is expressed by the mutated noun gefe 'money'; and the Recipient is expressed by a dative phrase:

(217) I-be’e gefe khö zondröröu Ama Dali.
     kefe sondröröu
3s.RLS-give money:MUT DAT healer:MUT Ama Dali

Ama Dali gave money to the village healer.

When the suffix -gö is added to the verb, the argument structure does not change. However, it is understood that the A argument is no longer directly responsible for doing
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the action of the verb but that a new participant has been introduced to do this. Sentence (218) below illustrates this:

(218) I-fa-be'e-gö gefe kho zondróöröu Ama Dali. kefe sondróöröu

Ama Dali sent money to the village healer. (i.e. He got someone to give money to the village healer.)

Note that, as in (217) above, *Ama Dali* is the A argument; the mutated noun *gefe* 'money' is still the Gift (P argument), and the dative phrase still expresses the Recipient: The only difference between (217) and (218) is that Ama Dali is not the person who does the actual giving, but is the person who gets someone else to give the healer the money. Another example is given in (219), in which the ditransitive verb *waö* 'say' is affixed with *fa*- and *-gö*. In this example, the dative phrase expresses the introduced participant, and the complement clause the P argument. The addressee is not expressed:

(219) Ma=i-fa-waö-gö kho-gu

He told me to say (i.e. tell you) that our father has died.47

46 In the case of verbs derived with *fa*- and *-gö*, there is even more support for claiming, as discussed in fn. 40 above) that *fa* has an applicative function and *-gö* causative, since *-gö* is rarely found in any function other than causative.

47 The phrase *ama-da* 'our father' refers to an old man in the village, and not specifically to the father of the person speaking and the person addressed. The first plural inclusive suffix is used to refer to everyone in the village.
5.2.3 -i

The suffix -i may be added to intransitive verbs, bound roots and nouns to form transitive verbs. A list of transitive verbs derived from stative intransitive verbs with -i is given in (220).

(220) Transitive verbs derived from stative intransitive verbs with -i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verb</th>
<th>Derived transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alösö 'smooth'</td>
<td>alösö-i 'make smooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asoso 'cooked, mature'</td>
<td>asoso-i 'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofulo 'gathered'</td>
<td>ofulo-i 'gather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okafu 'cold'</td>
<td>okafu-i 'make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m-)olemba 'sticky'</td>
<td>olemba-i 'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate the effect of this suffix on an intransitive verb, compare the intransitive form alösö 'smooth' in (221) with the transitive form alösö-i in (222).

(221) Alösö mbatu ba nidanö.

The stones in the river are smooth.

In the transitive form of this verb illustrated in (222), the P argument is omitted because it is inanimate. It refers to a large stone set up in the village as a symbol of legal status.

Note that the P argument corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive verb and that the A argument refers to an additional participant.

(222) La-alösö-i mea tola omasi z=a-maigi.

They smooth (it) so that the people who see (it) will like (it).

Other examples of verbs derived with this suffix are given in (223)-(225).
In (225) the P argument of the verb, which consists of a conjoined phrase, has been fronted:

(225) Fefu ndra-alaße, ba fefu ndra-matua,
     all COLL:MUT-female CNJ all COLL:MUT-male
     ira-alaße ira-matua
     m=oi la-ofulo-i.
     PERF=all 3p.RLS-gathered-TR

All the girls and all the boys were gathered together.

A list of stative bound roots which derive transitive verbs with -i is given in (226).

(226) Transitive verbs derived from stative bound roots with -i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>derived transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-boka</td>
<td>te-boka 'open'</td>
<td>boka-i 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-basö</td>
<td>a-basö 'wet'</td>
<td>basö-i 'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fönu</td>
<td>a-fönu</td>
<td>fönu-i 'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ßußu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ßußu-i 'pour'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of the verbs derived from bound roots with -i are given in (227)-(229). Intransitive forms are provided in parentheses for comparison. In each case, note that the
S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the P argument of the derived transitive:

(227) U-basö-i gahembatö idanö.

1s.RLS-wet-TR floor:MUT water

I wet the floor with the water. (cf. *a-basö gahembatö* 'The floor is wet')

(228) Boka-i mbaßa-u.

open-TR mouth:MUT-2s.POSS

Open your mouth! (cf. *te-boka mbaßa-goli* 'The door is open.')</n
(229) U-fönu-i zimba batu.

1s.RLS-fill-TR bucket:MUT stone

I filled the bucket with rocks. (cf. *a-fönu zimba batu* 'The bucket is full of rocks')

When *-i* is used with dynamic roots to derive transitive verbs, it has applicative function. The roots with which this occurs are given in (230):

(230) **Transitive verbs derived from dynamic bound roots with *-i***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>derived transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-alu</td>
<td>m-alu 'hunt'</td>
<td>alu-i 'look for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hombo</td>
<td>h-um-ombo 'fly'</td>
<td>hombo-i 'jump over'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive verbs derived from dynamic roots typically have Actors as S arguments (participants capable of carrying out the action of the verb). When the suffix *-i* is added, the referent of the Actor argument is expressed as the A argument, and a new participant is introduced as the P argument. For example in the intransitive form *h-um-ombo* in (231), the S argument is an animate entity, *vofo* 'birds':
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(231) Tebai h<um>ombo vofo na lōna afi-ra.
fofo
can't <DYN>jump bird:MUT if NEG wing-3p.POSS

Birds can't fly if they don't have wings. (D)

In the transitive form of this verb, the animate entity is the A argument, as illustrated in (232):

(232) Ma=i-hombo-i hombohombo ono matua.
hombohombo
PERF=3s.RLS-jump-TR stone.jump:MUT child male

The boy jumped over the stone jump.

An example of the transitive verb *alu-i* 'look for' is given in (233). Note that the Actor is expressed by the A argument;

(233) La-alu-i dandra-wa, ...
tandra
3p.RLS-hunt-TR [mark-NR].MUT

They looked for a sign (of transgression), ...

The suffix *-i* also occurs with the verb *törö* 'go, walk' to change the argument structure. The verb *törö* usually occurs as a transitive verb with the path or a means of transport as P argument (see 11.3.3). The simple form of *törö* is illustrated in (234) and (235). Note that the destination is expressed in both sentences by a locative phrase.

(234) Ta-törö lala ha'a ba mbanua.
lala banua
1pi.RLS-go way:MUT PROX LOC village:MUT

Let's take this path to the village.

---

48 Boys and young men play a game of jumping a tall stone jump (*hombohombo*) during certain celebrations.
When the suffix -i is added to törô, the location may occur as P argument, as illustrated in (236):

(236)  I-törö-i mbanua.

banua
3s.RLS-go-TR village:MUT

He walks around the village (i.e. person without a job, just taking a look at what's going on)

Note, however, that the verb no longer refers to movement towards a destination but to movement on or within a plane.

Transitive verbs derived from nouns with -i tend have a meaning related to the use of the referent of the noun with respect to the referent of the P argument. A list of nouns used to derive transitive verbs from -i is given in (237):

(237) Transitive verbs derived from nouns with -i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>derived transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hambö 'intrument used for winnowing'</td>
<td>hambö-i 'winnow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagö 'sago palm'</td>
<td>sagö-i 'make roof for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salogo 'part of body from armpit to waist'</td>
<td>salogo-i 'carry under arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulu 'torch made of coconut branches'</td>
<td>sulu-i 'light'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uro 'prawn, lobster'</td>
<td>uro-i 'fish for lobsters'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of sentences illustrating these verbs are given in (238)-(240):
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(238) I-sagö-i nomo faoma ato.se.
omo
3s.RLS-roof-TR house:MUT with corrugated.iron\(^{49}\)

He roofed the house with corrugated iron.

(239) I-sulu-i lala-da.
lala
3s.RLS-torch-TR way:MUT-1pi.POSS

He lit our way.

(240) Ma=i-salogo-i laö sa-geu mböhö.
-lö ö böhö
PERF=3s.RLS-underarm-TR HEARSAY one-CLF.MUT deer:MUT

They say he was so big that he could carry a whole deer under his arm.

The meaning of *uro-i* is not one of 'use' but is a little more difficult to state. It is exemplified in (241):

(241) I-uro-i nidanö v-an-alu-i
idanö f-aN-
3s.RLS-lobster-TR water:MUT NR:MUT-IPF-hunt-TR
ö-nia ono guro.
uro
food-3s.POSS child lobster:MUT

He went along the water's edge looking for baby lobster for food. (D)

5.2.4 *-si*

The suffix *-si* derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs by introducing a new A argument. A list of the stative intransitive verbs which are used as stems of transitive verbs derived with *-si* are given in (242):

---

\(^{49}\) *Ato.se* is the Nias form of Indonesian *atap seng* 'corrugated iron'.
(242) **Transitive verbs derived from intransitive verbs with -si**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abeto 'be pregnant'</td>
<td>abeto-si 'get someone pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aefa 'free' (also 'passed')</td>
<td>aefa-si 'set free'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aföli 'bored'</td>
<td>aföli-si 'bore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aila 'shy, ashamed, embarrassed'</td>
<td>aila-si 'embarrass, shame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alö 'shrink, go out (tide)'</td>
<td>alö-si 'take away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambö 'lacking, less than enough'</td>
<td>ambö-si 'lessen, loosen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoha 'easy, light'</td>
<td>aoha-si 'make easy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aßali 'finished'</td>
<td>aßali-si 'finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atua 'old'</td>
<td>atua-si 'make become worn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bötö 'hurt, wounded'</td>
<td>bötö-si 'hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-böö 'different'</td>
<td>fa-böö-si 'make different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-gölö 'same'</td>
<td>fa-gölö-si 'equate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of verbs derived with -si are given in (243)-(246):

(243) Ma=ö-aila-si ndao.
PERF=2s.RLS-ST:embarrassed-TR 1s.MUT
You have embarrassed me. (cf. aila ndrao [embarrassed 1s.MUT] 'I am embarrassed')

(244) Ma=ö-aoha-si gölö-gu.
ölö
PERF=2s.RLS-ST:light-TR load:MUT-1s.POSS
You have lightened my load ('load' in the sense of a wearying effort). (cf. aoha gölö-gu [light load:MUT-1s.POSS] 'My load is light')

(245) I-bötö-si mbölökha-gu.
bölökha
3s.RLS-wound-TR arm:MUT-1s.POSS
He wounded me in the arm. (cf. bötö mbölökha-gu [wounded arm:MUT-1s.POSS] 'My arm is wounded'.)
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(246) Ma=i-aßali-si sekola.
PERF=3s.RLS-ST:finished-TR school

She has finished school. (cf. aßali sekola [ST:finished school] 'School is finished')

The general characteristic of stative verbs to which -si is added which distinguish them from stative verbs to which -ö is added is that they describe states which are non-gradable or less gradable, while those to which -ö is attached are typically gradable. The referent of the S argument of intransitive verbs whose transitive form is derived with -si is not in the state described by the verb before the action described by the transitive verb. For example, the verb abeto-si 'make pregnant' can only be used of a person who is, up to that point in time, not abeto 'pregnant'. By comparison, referents of stative verbs whose transitive forms are derived with -ö or -gö are frequently already in the state described by the intransitive verb, and the transitive verb describes an increase in that state. For example, one may aßakha-'ö ‘deepen’ a ditch which is already aßakha ‘deep’. This semantic difference may also be associated with the suffix itself. The common verb ebua ‘big’ is typically transitivized with the suffix -ö, e.g. ebua-'ö ‘make bigger’. However, there is an idiomatic use of this verb with the suffix -si, which means 'set a fire' or 'get a fire going'. This is illustrated in the frequently heard imperative form (247):

(247) E-bua-si nalitö!
alitö
ST-big-TR fire:MUT

Set the fire! / get the fire going!

The point about ebua-si is that the fire doesn't exist until the time at which it is set.

The same sense of not being in a state until something happens to put one into that state

50 The word sekola 'school' is borrowed from Indonesian sekolah 'school' and is therefore not mutated.

51 I am not sure if ebua-'ö ‘make bigger’ could be used to mean 'build up the (already going) fire'.
may be the reason that some verbs referring to feelings or states of mind which collocate with the noun tödö 'liver' (see 11.4.2.7) are transitivized with this suffix. A list of these 'cognitive function' verbs which derive transitive verbs derived with -si are given in (248):

(248) Transitive verbs derived from emotion verbs with -si

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agafökho dödö 'feel bad'</td>
<td>agafökho-si dödö 'make feel bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abu dödö 'sad'</td>
<td>abu-si dödö 'make sad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-duhu dödö 'believe'</td>
<td>fa-duhu-si tödö 'believe in'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In intransitive forms of these verbs, the noun dödö fills the role of the S argument. If a reason or stimulus is given for the state, it occurs in the form of a mutated nominalized verb (see 11.4.2.7) or as a clause, as illustrated in (249):

(249) A-ga-fökho dödö-gu me ma=fe-sala ya sui. tödö
    ST-RDP1-illness liver:MUT-1s.POSS when PERF=CAU-error 3s.MUT again

I felt bad when he made a mistake again.

When these verbs are made transitive with -si, the referent of the P argument corresponds to the S argument of the underived verb, and a new A argument expressing the cause is introduced. Some sentences containing transitivized forms of these cognitive predicates are given in (250) and (251):

---

52 The initial syllable reduplication in the verb agafökho 'be ill' is lexicalized in Nias Selatan. In Nias Utara 'I feel bad' is expressed by the unreduplicated form afökho dödö-gu. The transitive form of this verb in Nias Utara requires a complex prefis -isi, e.g. afökho-isi 'make feel bad' (see 5.2.9).

53 Some examples of transitive verbs derived from emotion verbs with dödö 'liver' occur with unmutated forms of the noun, i.e. tödö. I cannot explain why this is so at the moment.
The suffix -si appears to occur with causative function with only one stative bound root: -bōu, which is the stem of a-bōu 'stink' (e.g. a-bōu gi’a hö’ö [ST-stink fish:MUT DIST] 'That fish stinks'). Its derived transitive form is illustrated in (252):

(252) Me u-ßaßaya gi’a hö’ö i’a
    when 1s.RLS-touch fish:MUT DIST
    ba u-bōu-si dana-gu.
    tana

When I touched that fish I made my hand smelly. (cf. A-bōu dana-gu. 'My hand is smelly')

The suffix -si is used with applicative function with intransitive verbs derived with dynamic fa- or fe- (see section 5.1.1.5 above). A list of some of these verbs, and the transitive verbs derived with -si is given in (253):

(253) Transitive verbs derived from dynamic fa- verbs with -si

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dynamic verb</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-balö [DO-revenge] 'feel resentful'</td>
<td>fa-balö-si 'sulk about something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-khöyö[DO-play] 'play'</td>
<td>fa-khöyö-si 'play with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-lakhi [DO-meet] 'meet'</td>
<td>fa-lakhi-si 'meet with'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fa-manömanö [DO-chat] 'chat' fa-manömanö-si 'talk about'
fa-oyo [DO-joke] 'have fun' fa-oyo-si 'make fun of'
fe-hede [DO-call] 'say greeting' fe-hede-si 'greet someone'

The difference between a dynamic intransitive verb derived with fa- and its transitivized counterpart is illustrated in (254) and (255). The verb fa-manömanö 'chat' is illustrated in (254). This sentence refers to a pleasant, informal, reciprocal activity:

(254) Fa-manömanö ira (sanandrösa gosali).

They chatted (about the Church).

The S argument of the verb in (254) is the third plural pronoun ira. The peripheral NP containing the unmutated noun sanandrösa, 'matter', expresses the topic of conversation and can be omitted. When this verb is transitivized with -si, however, it is this NP which is expressed by the P argument, as illustrated in (255):

(255) La-fa-manömanö-si zanandrösa gosali.

They discussed the matter (problem) of the church.

The P argument refers to what was expressed by the unmutated (peripheral) NP in (254); the A argument refers to the discussants who are referred to by the S argument. The activity referred to in the transitive construction is no longer a pleasant informal chat. The sentence in (255) implies that the activity of discussion is serious and that the matter being discussed is important (and, in fact, particularly problematic in Nias). Clearly in this case the syntactic prominence accorded to a P argument in a transitive clause corresponds to semantic prominence.
If participants other than the initiator of the activity are mentioned in the transitive clause, they are expressed by a dative phrase, as exemplified by *khō nama-u* 'with your father' in (256):

(256) La-fa-manōmanō-si khō nama-u

ama

3p.RLS-DO-chat-TR DAT father:MUT-2s.POSS

zanandrōsa gosali.
sanandrōsa gosali
topic:MUT church:MUT

They discussed the matter (problem) of the Church with your father.

The verb *fa-lakhi-si* 'meet with' illustrates a different situation. Compare the intransitive form *fa-lakhi* 'meet' in (257) with the transitive form illustrated in (258). In the intransitive form, the implication is that the participants are all engaged in the same activity:

(257) Fa-lakhi ira ba luaha nidanō.

luaha idanō

DO-meet 3p.MUT LOC estuary:MUT water:MUT

They met at the mouth of the river.

In the transitive form derived with *-si*, the participants who meet can be mentioned separately, as illustrated in (258). The referent of the A argument is regarded as initiating the activity, and the referent of the P argument as simply acceding to it:

(258) I-fa-lakhi-si mbalō zi’ulu Hilafasi.

balō si’ulu

3s.RLS-DO-meet-TR end:MUT village.leader:MUT Hiliafasi

He went to see the supreme head of Hiliafasi.54

54 The NP *balō zi’ulu* refers to a person who is superior in rank to all of the village leaders of a group of villages in a particular region (in this case, Hiliafasi region).
With verbs derived with *fa-*., the suffix *-si* has applicative function: the A argument of the derived verb corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive form and the P argument is introduced, and may refer to an entity expressed by a grammatically oblique argument in the corresponding intransitive construction. Some other examples of these derivations are given in (259) and (260):

(259) Lôna la-fe-hede-si<sup>55</sup> ndrao.

   NEG 3p.RLS-DO-call-TR 1s:MUT

   They didn’t even say hello to me. (D)

(260) Ma=la-fa-oyo-si ndraugô ...

   PERF=3p.RLS-DO-joke-TR 2s:MUT

   They were making a fool of you ...

The suffix *-si* occurs in applicative function with only one dynamic root in my data: *-e'e*, from which intransitive *me'e* 'cry' is derived. Compare the intransitive form *me'e ira* 'they are crying' with the transitive form illustrated in (261):

(261) La-e'e-si nina-ra (si=ma=mate).

   ina 3p.RLS-cry-TR mother:MUT-3p.Poss (REL=PERF=die)

   They are crying over their mother (who has died).

Note that the S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the A argument of the transitive form and that the P argument is introduced.

---

<sup>55</sup> The verb *fe-hede* means 'say *Ya’ahoßu* to someone. *Ya’ahoßu* means literally 'may you be blessed'. It is the normal greeting all over Nias.
5.2.5 -ni

The suffix -ni is not a commonly used suffix, but it occurs with the full range of word classes: intransitive verbs, bound roots, nouns and transitive verbs. The stative intransitive verbs with which it occurs in my data are aisö 'bitter' and bohou 'new'. The transitive verb derived with -ni from aisö 'bitter' is illustrated in (262):

\[(262)\] I-aisö-ni nidanö mea tebai la-inu.

idanö
3s.RLS-ST:bitter-MUT water:MUT so.that can't 3p.RLS-drink

He made the water bitter so that they couldn't drink (it).

The verb bözi-ni 'clean' may also belong with these verbs if bözi is a Nias form of the Indonesian word bersih 'clean'. There is no intransitive verb bözi in my data, but the transitive verb bözi 'hit' may have been understood as the same word and have been used in place of bersih. Alternatively, the verb bözi 'hit' may be the stem of the verb bözi-ni 'sweep, clean', since sweeping, or cleaning, uses small strokes of the broom. Bözi-ni 'clean' is illustrated in (263):

\[(263)\] I-bözi-ni nomo faoma ezoi.

omo 3s.RLS-hit-TR house:MUT with broom

She swept the house with the broom.

The only bound root in my data to which -ni is added is the root -hau, in the transitive verb ha-hau-ni 'make clear, bright' (e.g. a dark room). The intransitive form of this root is o-hau-hau (or o-ha-hau) 'clear, bright, pure' (e.g. water, one's heart).

The suffix -ni is used applicatively with three intransitive verbs, cici 'defecate', which was illustrated in (160) above, kiö 'urinate', and faukhu 'hatch eggs, brood'. The applicative form of kiö, like cici, allows a locative noun to function as a P argument, as illustrated in (264):
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(264) Ma=i-kiö-ni nahia m-örö.

nahia
PERF=3s.RLS-urinate-TR place:MUT DYN-sleep

He has wet the bed.\textsuperscript{56} (D)

The simple intransitive form of \textit{faukhu} 'brood' typically takes some kind of bird as the S argument. In its derived transitive form, the bird refers to the A argument and the P argument is typically \textit{gadulo} 'eggs', as illustrated in (265):

(265) Löna omasi i-faukhu-ni gadulo-nia bebe.

adulo
NEG like 3s-hatch-TR egg:MUT-3s.POSS duck

A duck doesn't like to brood over her eggs. (D)

The suffix -\textit{ni} occurs with just three nouns in my data: \textit{ete} 'bridge', \textit{köli} 'fence' and \textit{daludalu} 'medicine'. In each case the derived verbs mean something like 'A makes P have N(stem)' (which is the same meaning that occurred also for some derivations with -\textit{gö}, see 5.2.2 above). Some examples of these derived verbs are given in (266)-(268):

(266) Ande manö la-ete-ni niha=nde.

DIST therefore 3p.RLSS-bridge-TR person=DIST

So that was what these people used as a bridge. (two tree trunks)

(267) Mi-köli-ni laza-mi ande ...

laza
2p.RLS-fence-TR rice.paddy:MUT-2p.POSS DIST

You should fence your field ... (D)

\textsuperscript{56} The phrase \textit{nahia mörö} 'place to sleep' is used for 'bed' for those people who have beds, but typically refers to the place in the front room of the house where mats are spread at night for sleeping. The word \textit{mörö} 'sleep' usually functions as an intransitive verb (see section 5.1.1.2.1 above).
The suffix -ni is also added to the transitive verb hußu 'associate with, be in contact with' to derive a verb with a similar meaning: hußu-ni 'associate with, have relations with'. The difference appears to be that this latter verb can refer to social or sexual relations, while the former merely implies acquaintanceship. An example of hußu-ni is given in (269):

(269) Löna fao dödō-gu na ö-hußu-ni ya.

tödō

NEG join liver:MUT-1s.POSS if 2s.RLS-associate.with-TR 3s.MUT

I am not happy about your associating with him. (D) (lit. My liver does not join(/cooperate) if you associate with him.)

Like other instances of suffixes added to transitive verbs, -ni seems to have an effect of intensifying the meaning of the stem verb (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above).

5.2.6 -fi

The suffix -fi occurs with one bound root, -ori, and with two verbs which express strong emotion, ata'u 'afraid' and ogoro 'abhor, detest'. The root -ori does not occur in any other derivation, but, given the meaning of the transitive verb derived from this form, ori-fi 'save, keep alive', it seems likely that it is related to the transitive verb uri 'keep, look after' and its intransitive form a-uri 'alive'. An example of ori-fi is given in (270):

57 The noun doto 'doctor' is borrowed from Indonesian dotor 'doctor'.
(270) I-ori-fi ya daludalu ande.
3s.RLS-?live-TR 3s.MUT medicine DIST

That medicine saved him (kept him alive).

It is reasonably obvious that the verbs *uri* 'keep, look after', and *auri* 'alive' derive from a PAn form such as has been reconstructed for 'alive', *huDip*. If so, then the initial consonant of the suffix on *ori-fi* derives from a word-final /f/ (since PAn *p* is reflected as /f/ in Nias). In theory, then, this verb is derived from the suffix -i.

In association with the two emotion verbs mentioned above, -fi has applicative function. These verbs typically occur with two mutated arguments or a mutated argument and a dative phrase, as exemplified in (271):

(271) A-ta'u Vasui nama-nia / khō nama-nia.
    Fasui ama ama
    ST-afraid Fasui:MUT father:MUT-3s.POSS / DAT father:MUT-3s.POSS

Fasui is scared of his father.

The experiencer is always the mutated argument closest to the verb; the stimulus can be expressed as a dative phrase. When the emotion verb is made transitive, the experiencer is expressed by the A argument and the stimulus by the P argument:

(272) I-a-ta'u-fi nama-nia Fasui.
    ama
    3s.RLS-ST-afraid-TR father:MUT-3s.POSS Fasui

Fasui is in awe of his father. / Fasui fears his father.

An example of the applicative form of *ogoro* is illustrated in (273). The experiencer, *Loßalani* 'God', is encoded by the A argument and the stimulus, *horö* 'sin', by the P argument:
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(273) I-ogoro-fi horö Loßalani.

horö
3s.RLS-abhor-TR sin:MUT God

God abhors sin. (D)

5.2.7 -khi

The suffix -khi occurs in only three derivations in my data, all with applicative function. The roots to which this suffix attaches are all dynamic: -eßo, -ßößö and -ambu. The dynamic verb m-eßo 'guard (field, garden) from marauding birds' is illustrated in (274):

(274) Ma=möi ira m-eßo ba laza.

laza
PERF=go 3p.MUT DYN-chase.birds LOC rice-paddy:MUT

They've gone to guard the rice paddy.

The derived transitive form is illustrated in (275) below. Note that the S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the A argument of the transitive form, and that the locative argument in the intransitive sentence occurs as the P argument with the transitive verb:

(275) La-eßo-khi laza.

laza
3p.RLS-chase.birds-TR rice.paddy:MUT

They are guarding the field.

An example of the transitive verb derived from the same root which derives m-ambu 'forge metal' is given in (276):

(276) I-ambu-khi defaö.

tefaö
3s.RLS-forgé-TR iron:MUT

He forges iron.
The third root, \(-ßößö\), actually occurs with two suffixes in my data, \(-khi\) and \(-si\), deriving transitive verbs which appear to have the same meaning. Semantically it may relate to the word \(böbö\) 'true; truth'. The two derived verbs are illustrated in (277) and (278):

(277) U-ßößö-khi ndaugö ba z=alua anda.

\[\begin{align*}
1s.RLS-?true-TR & 2s.MUT & LOC & REL.MUT=happen & PROX \\
I \text{ blame you for what's happened.}
\end{align*}\]

(278) Böi ßößö-si ndao na haiya z=alua khö-u.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{NEG.IMPER} & \ ?true-TR & 1s.MUT & if & \text{what} & REL.MUT=happen & \text{DAT-2s.POSS} \\
\text{Don't blame me if anything happens to you. (D)}
\end{align*}\]

I do not have any examples of the root \(böbö\) in any other use, and cannot comment at this stage on any difference in meaning between these two examples. However, since the suffix \(-si\) is by far the most commonly used form of transitivizer, it may be that its use has been extended to this root in the idiolects of some people.

5.2.8 \(-mi\)

The suffix \(-mi\) occurs on just one verb, \(förö\) 'go to sleep'. The derived verb is illustrated in (279):

(279) I-förö-mi nofo-gu.

\[\begin{align*}
3s.RLS-\text{sleep-TR} & \text{mat:MUT-1s.POSS} \\
\text{He slept on my mat.}
\end{align*}\]
This verb appears to allow only the thing slept on as P argument, not a general location (cf., e.g. *i-förö-mi nomo-gu [3s.RLS-sleep-TR house:MUT-1s.POSS] 'he slept at my house'). The form förö is the imperative form of the verb meaning 'sleep', as well as the stem form for other derivations such as fe-förö 'put to bed, sleep' and förö-ma 'bed used by parents when child is born'. The simple realis form of this verb is the dynamic form mörö 'sleep'. The imperative form is illustrated in (280):

(280) Förö ndraugö.
sleep:IMPER 2s.MUT

Go to sleep!

5.2.9 Complex suffixes: -i'ö, -isi, -ini

There are a number of suffixes which appear to consist of -i followed by -'ö, -si or -ni. These suffixes are illustrated below.

The suffix -i'ö occurs with the emotion verb omuso dödö 'happy', with similar function and meaning as -si had with verbs relating to mental states (see (250)-(251) above)—the S argument of the emotion verb corresponds to the P argument of the transitivized verb, and the A argument refers to the stimulus:

(281) I-omuso-i'ö dödö-gu.
tödö
3s.RLS-happy-TR liver:MUT-1s.POSS

He makes me happy.

The suffix -isi occurs with an emotion verb as well, as illustrated in (282):
(282) I-erege-isì tödō nina-nia.
   3s.RLS-worry-TR liver mother:MUT-3s.POSS
   He worries his mother.\(^{58}\)

The suffix -\textit{ini} occurs with nouns and with one verb. Derivations with nouns are illustrated in (283) and (284):

(283) Tebai u-faigi ni-gambara-\textit{ini}-nia.\(^{59}\)
   can't 1s.RLS-see PASS-picture-TR-3.POSS
   I couldn't see what he'd drawn. (lit. 'I couldn't see what was drawn by him')

(284) I-øßasà-\textit{ini} v-a-maoso darodaro si'ulu.
   The village head held an ovasa celebration for the raising of the \textit{darodaro} (seat of law).

The verb to which the suffix -\textit{ini} attaches is \textit{fa-soso} 'be angry'. This verb has the same characteristics as other verbs derived with \textit{fa}-, so it is difficult to know why the transitive verb is formed with -\textit{ini} instead of -\textit{si} (see section 5.2.4 above). The transitive form is illustrated in (285)

(285) I-fa-soso-\textit{ini} ndao guru.
   3s.RLS-DO-anger-TR 1s.MUT teacher
   The teacher was angry with me.

---

\(^{58}\) The noun tödō 'liver' is unmutated in this sentence, where one would normally expect mutation (as the P argument of the verb).

\(^{59}\) The word \textit{gambara} 'picture' is borrowed from Indonesian \textit{gambara} 'picture'. However, as far as I can tell, this suffix is not productive.
CHAPTER 6

DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1 Introduction: types of nominalization strategies

The stems of derived nouns in Nias have two sources: 1) bound roots and 2) verbs and other parts of speech. Bound roots (see 4.5) are the major source of stems for nouns derived by reduplication, discussed in 6.2. Nouns derived from verbs and other parts of speech are formed by three processes. The processes are listed below with the categories of nouns which they typically derive:

(i) **relative clause formation (headless relatives):** nouns referring to people or other entities who are characterized as doing the action of the verb, undergoing the action of the verb or undergoing the state or process described by the verb, e.g. *si=mate* [REL=die] 'the person who died', *ni-bunu* [REL=kill] 'the one who was killed'.

(ii) **prefixation:** nouns referring to actions, states, processes, acts of vb-ing, manner of action and instruments, e.g. *fa'a-mate* [NR-die] 'death'.

(iii) **suffixation:** nouns referring to places or times at which the verb happens or is done, events, concrete and abstract results of vb-ing, e.g. *a-mate-la* [IPF-die-NR] 'corpse'.

Compounding is not a process which appears to have had any level of productivity in Nias. Those compounds which do occur are characterized by lack of mutation on the second noun, e.g. *tuturu ahe* [finger leg] 'toe', *börö tu'i* [base back.side] 'base of skull', *tali fusö* [cord navel] 'brother', 'friend', *ama talu* [father middle] 'my father's middle brother', *fanikha tanö* [oil land] 'cooking oil'.

6.2 Reduplication

Many of the nouns which occur in Nias are in reduplicated form. Nominal reduplication involves either one or two syllables (i.e. the process may involve monosyllabic or disyllabic reduplication). Reduplication as a means of deriving nouns does not appear to be productive synchronically. Although the kinds of nouns which occur in reduplicated form are extremely diverse, there are certain categories which indicate that reduplication has operated iconically to suggest things that occur in large numbers. Nouns which occur in reduplicated form are listed below according to some of the categories apparent from my data.

1. Reduplicated nouns derived from monosyllabic roots which are not known to occur in any other derivation

   animals that occur in large numbers
   
   *fofo* 'bird'
   *mumu* 'centipede'
   *ndrindri* 'mosquito'
   *öö* 'kind of lizard'

   things that occur in pairs
   
   *mbumbu* 'roof poles that stick out from top of house'
   *meme* 'breast'
   *nini* 'gums'
   *u'u* 'heel'

   plants or things that occur in the natural world
   
   *mbombo* 'little stream'
   *mömö* 'moss, mould'
   *nene* 'stem of sweet potato leaf'
   *wewe* 'climbing grass'
   *zozo* 'kind of grass plug for container'

1. It may, of course, be the case that some of these forms are not reduplicated monosyllabic roots at all, but disyllabic forms which coincidentally have the form of reduplicated monosyllables. Without a thorough diachronic analysis this cannot be established at this stage, and the forms presented here are regarded tentatively as derived by monosyllabic reduplication, but without evidence that an original monosyllabic root exists or existed.
DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

other things
  hoho 'men's song sung with war dance'
  lele 'shell of animal''
  lölö 'swaddling clothes', 'pith of sugarcane'
  mbamba 'person who chatters all the time'
  ndrundru 'fence that you can see through'
  riri 'suffering'
  rörö 'an enjoyable event' (party, wedding)

Nouns that are derived from disyllabic roots which are not known to occur in any other derivation are listed in (2).

(2) reduplicated nouns derived from disyllabic roots which are not known to occur in any other derivation

animals that occur in large numbers
  betebete 'small fish with many bones'
  doladola 'frog'
  ci'aci'a 'gekho'
  löfötöfö 'fireflies'
  tolutolu 'bumble bee'

parts of body, esp. that occur in pairs
  danidani 'temples of head'
  foyofoyo 'part of body from waist to hip'
  ranarana 'joints'
  rakaraka 'skeleton'
  rönörönö 'eyebrows'
  umbu'umbu 'fontanelle'

plants or objects that occur in natural world
  bödöbödö 'small fallen coconut, with not much flesh inside'
  budubudu 'end of sweet potato plant not stuck to vine'
  cöföcöfö 'grass used for medicine'
  fa'ufa'u 'edible fern'
  ferefera 'fish fern'
  sömasóma 'hibiscus'
tools or household objects
   bu'abu'a 'pot holder'
   korokoro 'ladle'
   kurikuri 'clay storage jars'
   silasila 'bamboo storage container for eggs'

sounds
   kocikoci 'any 'little' sound' (like footsteps, opening plastic bags)
   tiutiu 'hiss'
   takhötakhö 'sobbing'
   ßikhoßikho 'whistling'

other things (?that occur in numbers)
   firifiri 'sprinkling of rain'
   gumigumi 'bits of thread hanging down, fringe'
   la'al'a 'colour'
   mbunambuna 'rain drops'

The base forms of the nouns listed above do not appear to occur in any other words. However, some nouns are derived from bound roots, i.e. roots which occur also in verbal derivations but do not occur on their own. Typically the verb derived from the same root as the noun has a meaning something like 'do something (appropriate) with N(stem)'. Some of these nouns are listed in (3) with the verbs derived from the same root.

(3) reduplicated nouns derived from roots which are also found as stems of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balu-balu 'cover for small things' (e.g. cup)</td>
<td>balu-gö 'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binö-binö 'food wrapped in banana leaf'</td>
<td>binö-gö 'roast bundle of food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eße-eße 'edge of floor in traditional house'</td>
<td>eße-gö 'keep to the edge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ele-ele 'visible sign of wealth'</td>
<td>to-ele 'visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagö-lagö 'cover for large things'</td>
<td>lagö-ö 'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbini-mbini/bini-bini 'hiding place'</td>
<td>bini-ö 'hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silu-silu 'door'</td>
<td>silu-gö 'close door'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some nouns are derived from other simple nouns. Meanings seem broadly to involve an association of the referent of the derived noun with the referent of the simple noun. A list of these sorts of nouns are given in (4):

(4) **reduplicated nouns derived from nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simple noun</th>
<th>derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bulu 'feather'</td>
<td>bulu-bulu 'fish hook using feather as bait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feta 'instrument for scaring birds'</td>
<td>feta-feta 'sound of mouth while eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamo 'rice flour'</td>
<td>hamo-hamo 'dust or fine powder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasi 'coffin'</td>
<td>hasi-hasi 'death throes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hele 'waterfall; bathing place with channelled water'</td>
<td>hele-hele 'channel for bringing water to bathing place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndro 'blood'</td>
<td>ndro-ndro 'food consisting of intestines of pig cooked in blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remo 'wooden bar used to repulse weapon'</td>
<td>remo-remo 'wood used to prevent people from passing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns are also derived from verbs by means of reduplication. The kinds of things referred to by nouns derived from verbs by reduplication tend to fall into two categories: tools or instruments and, broadly, things resulting from the action of the verb. Some nouns derived from verbs by means of reduplication are listed in (5):

(5) **reduplicated nouns derived from verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>instruments</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bago 'hit randomly'</td>
<td>bago-bago 'instrument for hitting animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'u 'catch'</td>
<td>ra'u-ra'u 'small net for catching fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulo 'pry off'</td>
<td>sulo-sulo 'knife for cutting off bark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sou 'scoop'</td>
<td>sou-sou 'scoop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hare 'support'</td>
<td>hare-hare 'place to put mats in house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>results</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balo 'mend'</td>
<td>balo-balo 'patch'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bu'u 'tie hair in knot' bu'u-bu'u 'hair knot/bun'
halö 'hold, take' halöhalö 'equipment, tools'
hede 'call' hede-hede 'words, talk'
ila 'know' ila-ila 'sign' (e.g. of someone's behaviour')
khoi 'scratch' khoi-khoi 'straight line'
sahe 'continue, extend' sahe-sahe 'link, connecting thing'
sölö 'mend' sölö-sölö 'repairs'
taha 'hold up, hinder' taha-taha 'hindrance'
tögi 'dig hole' tögi-tögi 'small hole dug for latrine'

The derivation of nouns from verbs may not be productive synchronically perhaps because it could result in confusion, given that reduplication is a productive means of indicating aspectual information in verbs (see 10.3.5).

6.3 Relative clause formation (headless relatives)

The main function of relative clauses in Nias is to include additional information in an NP, usually for the purposes of identification (see 8.4 for discussion of the structure and function of relative clauses). However, a relative clause construction may also be used on its own as an argument of a verb, noun or preposition to refer to people or things characterized by doing the action of the verb or undergoing the action of the verb. Some examples of headless relatives used as arguments in sentences are given below. In example (6), the headless relative zi=tataro 'ones who sit', which relativizes the S argument of tataro 'sit', functions as the S argument of warao 'few':

(6) Ha warao zi-tataro.
    si=
    only few REL.MUT=sit

Only a few of them sit. (H) (lit. 'The ones who sit are only a few.')

In (7), two headless relatives occur in a conjoined phrase which is the P argument of the verb boto-khi 'explain'. (Note that only the first noun of the P argument in (7) is mutated, as mutation occurs only on the first constituent of an NP.)
(7) I-boto-khi khö-da zi=tola ba si=tobai.
   si=
   3s.RLS-smash(?)^{2}-TR DAT-1pi.POSS REL.MUT=can CNJ REL=can't

He explained to us what could and couldn't be done.

In (8), the headless relative z=aröu 'distance' (what is far away) is the argument of the locative preposition ba:

(8) U-rono li-nia ba z-aröu.
   li s =
   1s.RLS-hear voice:MUT-3s.POSS LOC REL=ST:far

I could hear his voice in the distance.

Proverbs frequently contain headless relatives, because they refer to generic situations. There are two headless relatives in the following proverb. The first one, si=mondri 'those who bathe', is the preposed argument of a nominal clause in which the second, ni-fa-lali-lali^{3} 'those who take turns', is the predicate:

(9) Si=mondri ba hele ni-fa-lali-lali
    hele
    REL=bathe LOC public.baths:MUT PASS-DO-RDP2-change

Those who bathe at the bathing place always take turns. (in other words, 'Give other people a chance, don't always think of yourself'.) (lit. 'Those who bathe at the bathing places are those who always take turns'.) (D)

---

2 The root boto also occurs in the complex verb aboto ba dödö [ST-?-smash LOC liver:MUT] 'understand', e.g. löna a-boto ba dödö-gu [NEG ST-?-smash LOC liver:MUT-1s.POSS] 'I do not understand'. There are three words (at least) which have the form boto which I assume have distinct meanings: two nouns, boto 'circumcision' and boto 'body', and the transitive verb boto 'smash'. I don't know whether the verb boto 'smash' is polysemous or whether the root boto which occurs in the two mental state verbs has a completely different meaning.

3 The relative construction ni-fa-lali-lali is in passive form. For discussion of the forms of relative clauses see 8.4.
A list of some common nouns which have been derived from intransitive verbs by means of a relative clause construction are given in (10):

(10) **common nouns which have the form of headless relatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bihasa 'old'</td>
<td>si=bihasa 'old person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahatö 'close'</td>
<td>s=ahatö 'one's intimate family'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawa 'high'</td>
<td>s=alawa 'noble person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ooyo 'sail'</td>
<td>s=oloyo 'sailor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ato 'many people'</td>
<td>s=ato 'the public'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aßuyußuyu 'young' (not strong?)</td>
<td>s=aßuyu 'slave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. also o-mbuyu(mbuyu) 'weak')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns derived by means of the relative clause strategy typically refer to people or things that can be characterized by a certain quality which persists over time. Stative verbs are particularly suited to act as stems of these sorts of nouns because they are inherently non-punctual. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, usually refer to events which are punctual, or events conceived of as bounded in time, and do not easily accommodate a sense of persistence in time. In order to function as the base of a noun referring to what may be seen as a constant characteristic of a person, transitive verbs must be 'de-punctualized'. This is achieved with the addition of the prefix *aN-* , which has the syntactic function of detransitivizing a transitive verb and the semantic function of implying that the activity continues for some time. It is rarely used on roots without the concomitant use of another affix to indicate what part of speech the word has, e.g. *m-an-ila [DYN-aN-know/see] know/see:IMPERFECTIVE*, *an-ila-ta [aN-know/see-NR] 'spirit' (thing seen)*. Although it occurs most frequently with transitive verbs, it

---

4 It seems clear that the forms *s=a-ßuyu [REL-ST-?] 'slave', a-ßuyußuyu [ST-RDP2-?] 'young' and o- mbuyumbuyu [HAVE-RDP2-?] 'weak' are both semantically and morphologically related, and presumably derive from a bound root -buyu. However, this root does not occur in any of my other data.

5 The only uses of *aN-* which occur in my data without another affix are in negated imperative forms such as *böi a-nußö [NEG.IMPER IPF-fight] 'don't let's fight', where it is clear that *anußö aN-sußö* is related to the imperfective intransitive form of the verb, *manußö 'fight:IPF' [aN-sußö]= [IPF-fight] (see 10.3.2), since the imperative form cannot take a P argument e.g. *böi annßö ira 'don't fight them'. If one wants to add an argument referring to whom it is one is fighting against, one must add a
can also occur with some intransitive verbs (some examples can be found in the nominal derivations discussed in the following sections). The prefix \( aN- \) is a stem-forming affix which derives intransitive verb stems that connote imperfectivity. It will be glossed as imperfective (IPF). A list of some nouns derived by means of relative clause construction from transitive verbs which have been made imperfective with \( aN- \) is given in (11):

(11) **headless relatives formed from imperfectivized transitive verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maßa 'sell'</td>
<td>s=a-maßa 'shopkeeper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagu 'sew'</td>
<td>s=a-nagu 'sewer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sußö 'fight'</td>
<td>s=a-nußö 'fighter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagö 'steal'</td>
<td>s=a-nagö 'thief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sora 'decorate'</td>
<td>s=a-nora 'decorator'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fahö 'carve statues'</td>
<td>s=a-mahö 'carver'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of a sentence containing a headless relative derived from the transitive verb \( fa-hökha 'show off, exaggerate' \) [DO-flirt/exhibit flaunting behaviour], is given in (12). The headless relative functions as the A argument of the verb \( waö 'say' \).

(12) La-waö                 

s=a-mа-hö-mа-hö-kha⁶ "..."

s=RDP2-aN-fa-hökha

3p.RLS-say REL-IPF-DO-RDP2-flirt

Those who always exaggerate said '...'.

Nouns derived from depunctualized transitive verbs may be accompanied by arguments that would take P function in simple transitive sentences. These arguments are unmuted in headless relatives, as illustrated in (13), where the words *omo* dative phrase such as \( khö-ra \) [DAT-3p.POSS] 'with them', e.g., \( böi anuğö khö-ra 'don’t fight with them’.

---

6 The use of reduplication in this verb implies that the person does the action of the verb all the time. Note that the reduplication strategy operates on the first two syllables of \( fa-hökha \) after the addition of the imperfective prefix \( aN- \), since the initial consonant is /m/ in both instances, i.e. \( aN- + fa-hökha => amahökha, s=a + amahökha => s=a-maho-maho-kha \) (see 10.3.5).
'house' and ö 'food' are the P arguments of nouns derived from the verbs bözini 'sweep' and rino 'boil' respectively:

(13) S-a-mözini omo, s=o-ndrino ö-da,
   s=aN-bözini s=aN-rino
   REL=IPF-sweep house REL=DTR-boil food-1pi.POSS
   s=o-ndroro-gö, nda-alaße.
   s=aN-roro ira-
   REL=IPF-follow-TR COLL.MUT-female

Women are the ones who clean the house, cook our food, look after (the children). (H) (lit. 'Women are the ones who sweep the house, the ones who cook our food, the ones who cause (children) to follow')

Although a habitual or generic meaning is applicable to headless relatives derived from transitive verbs in many cases, it does not mean that the derived noun cannot refer to one specific instance of the activity described by the verb. In the following sentence the P argument refers to a specific object which is the result of a specific action:

(14) S=a-mahö adu hööö Nama Dali
    s=aN-fahö ama
    REL=IPF-carve statue that Ama:MUT Dali

Ama Dali is the person who carved that statue.

The implication contained in (14), however, is that Ama Dali carves many statues, and this is just one of them. Sometimes it is inappropriate to depunctualize a transitive verb. This is especially the case in questions, where the requested information requires identification of a participant involved in one specific action. Questions are typically presented in cleft constructions, in which the question word is the predicate and a headless relative is argument (see 9.2.1). An example of a headless relative referring to one specific event is given in (14). Note, once again, that the P argument is unmutated.
(15) Hata zi=be’e khō-u kefe hō’ō?
   si=
   who REL.MUT=give DAT-2s.POSS money DIST

Who gave you that money?

There are a number of very common nouns which have the form of headless relatives whose stem does not appear to be a verb synchronically. The stem is either a noun, a bound root or a form which has the morphophonological shape of a verb but which is not used as verb. These forms are listed in (16):

(16) **common nouns with the shape of a headless relative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si’ulu 'village leader'</td>
<td>?ulu 'headwaters of river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'alābe 'female'</td>
<td>alābe 'female'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simatua 'male'</td>
<td>matua 'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si’akhi 'youngest'</td>
<td>akhi 'younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'a'a 'oldest, firstborn'</td>
<td>ka'a 'older sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibaya 'mother's brothers'</td>
<td>-baya 'touch' (cf. Baßaya 'touch')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Headless relatives occur most frequently as arguments or predicates in nominal clauses, and further examples can be found in Chapter 9.

6.4 **Prefixes: overview**

As mentioned above, prefixes derive abstract nouns referring to states, processes, acts of vb-ing, actions and manner of action, as well as concrete nouns referring to instruments. Prefixes do not derive nouns referring to places or to things resulting from actions, which is the domain of suffixal derivation (see below). There are five forms of the prefix which is used to derive nouns, which are listed below with the kinds of stems with which they occur are the following:
6. DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.4.1 fa-

vowel-initial stative intransitive verbs

6.4.2 fa'a-

cconsonant-initial stative intransitive verbs

6.4.3 f-

vowel-initial stems of dynamic verbs

6.4.4 fe-

consonant-initial dynamic verbs except möi 'go' and so 'arrive'

6.4.5 fe'a-

möi 'go', so 'arrive'

Note that a prefix of the form $f(V)$- (instantiated as $fa$-, $f$- and $fe$-) also derives causative verbs (see 5.1.2.1). In many cases, words with the same form may be used either as nouns or as causative verbs. It is unclear at this stage how (or if) the causative function of these prefixes and the nominalizing function are related in Nias.\(^7\)

6.4.1 $fa$-

The prefix $fa$- occurs productively with vowel-initial stative verbs to derive nouns which have abstract meaning. A list of some nouns derived in this way is given in (17):

(17) nouns derived from vowel-initial stative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stative verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abe'e 'strong'</td>
<td>fa-abe'e 'strength'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abe'ebe'e 'thick'</td>
<td>fa-abe'ebe'e 'thickness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adogodogo 'short'</td>
<td>fa-adogodogo 'shortness, lowness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahatö 'close'</td>
<td>fa-ahatö 'proximity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahorí 'finished'</td>
<td>fa-ahori 'nothing left'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aila 'shy, ashamed, embarrassed'</td>
<td>fa-aila 'embarrassment, shyness, shame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawa 'tall, high'</td>
<td>fa-alawa 'height'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alögölögö 'dark'</td>
<td>fa-alögölögö 'darkness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ami 'tasty, sweet'</td>
<td>fa-ami 'nice taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ami 'tasty, sweet'</td>
<td>fa-ami 'tastiness, sweetness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu'i 'naughty'</td>
<td>fa-amu'i 'naughtiness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anau 'long' (space)</td>
<td>fa-anau 'length'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara 'take a long time'</td>
<td>fa-ara 'length of time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aröü 'far away'</td>
<td>fa-aröü 'distance'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^7\) Given that Philippine languages such as Tugalog and Cebuano have a causative morpheme $pa$- and a nominalizing morpheme $pag$-, it is likely that the homophony in Nias is just coincidental.
Some examples of these nouns are given below. In (18), the noun *va-aukhu* 'heat' is the P argument of the verb *raso-i* 'feel':

(18) U-raso-i va-aukhu.
    fa-
    ls.RLS-feel-TR NR.MUT-hot

I feel hot.

If the referent of the S argument of the intransitive verb stem is mentioned, it is expressed as a possessive suffix on the noun or as a mutated NP following the noun. For example in (19), the noun *va-auri* 'life'\(^8\) is suffixed with the first singular pronominal form *-gu*, which refers to the same entity as the first singular pronoun *ndrao* in the intransitive clause *auri ndrao* 'I am alive':

(19) Götö va-auri-gu, oya nono mbanua
    fa- ono banua
during NR.MUT-ST:alive-1s.POSS many child:MUT village:MUT

---

\(^8\) I have two forms for the word meaning 'life(time)', *fa-auri*, as exemplified in (19) above, and *auri-fa*, exemplified in (94) further on. At this stage I cannot distinguish any difference in their meanings.
During my lifetime, many villagers have left this village ... (lit. During my lifetime, the children of the village who (have) left from this village are many.)

Similarly in (20) below, the derived noun \textit{va-olofo} 'hunger', which functions as the argument of the preposition \textit{balazi} 'on account of', carries the third singular pronominal suffix \textit{-nia}. The referent of this suffix corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive construction \textit{o-lofo ya} [HAVE-hunger 3s.MUT] 'he is hungry'.

\begin{verbatim}
(20) Balazi va-o-lofo-nia i-a
    fa-on.account of NR.MUT-HAVE-hunger-3s.POSS 3s.RLS-eat
    gae s=ataha.
    gae banana:MUT REL=ST:raw

He was so hungry that he ate a raw banana. (lit. 'On account of his hunger, he ate a banana which was raw.)
\end{verbatim}

Antonyms of nouns derived from stative verbs may be constructed from negated forms of verbs, e.g. \textit{fa-löna sökhi} [NR-NEG good] 'badness'; \textit{fa-löna aßakha} [NR-NEG deep] 'shallowness'. These forms are treated by the syntax as single syntactic units, since they may occur with possessive suffixes referring to entities which would be expressed as mutated forms in the corresponding simple intransitive clauses. For example \textit{fa-löna sökhi-nia} [NR-NEG good-3s.POSS] 'her not nice-ness, her nastiness' contains the third singular suffix \textit{-nia}, which refers to the same person as the mutated pronoun \textit{ya} in \textit{löna sökhi ya} [NEG good 3s.MUT] 'she is not nice'. \textit{Fa-} may also occur with \textit{löna} in its negative existential meaning, e.g. \textit{fa-löna ösi} [NR-NEG contents] 'emptiness'. The noun which follows \textit{löna} is unmutated, as expected of nouns
following the negative existential marker. Another example is given in (21), where the
clause löna kefe 'there is no money' is nominalized by fa-. The derived nominal is
used as a kind of adverbial in this sentence, to provide an explanation for the action:

(21) Fa-löna kefe, löna möi ya ba sekola.
NR-NEG money NEG go 3s.MUT LOC school

Not having any money, she didn't go to school.

Because the noun in these constructions is unmutated, it would appear that fa- is
affixed to a clause rather than just the verb, unless it it can be claimed that it is an
idiosyncratic grammatical feature of nouns derived from negative existential
constructions that the argument of the verb retain its unmutated status. Normally one
would expect a noun which is the S argument of a verb to occur in mutated form9.

Typically words for emotions and certain mental states are derived from the
affixation of fa- to a stative verb in the composite structure consisting of the mental
state verb and the noun dödö 'liver'. Some nouns derived in this way are listed in
(22):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>löna</th>
<th>fa-ha-sara-dödö</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>mbanua</th>
<th>ande,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>todó</td>
<td></td>
<td>banua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NR-only-one-liver:MUT</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>village:MUT</td>
<td>DIST.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>fa-soso-soso-ta</td>
<td>only</td>
<td>DYN-RDP2-angry-NR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no unity in that village, only fighting all the time.

It's possible that fa- is a clitic or a particle and not a prefix. Apart from the fact that fa-
precedes the
negator in negated stative clauses and appears to precede a clause rather than just a verb in negative
existential clauses, there is one common nominal form derived with fa- in which fa-
precedes the
particle ha 'only'. This nominal is fa ha sara dödö 'unity', which is a very important cultural concept
for all Nias people and is a frequent topic of conversation. It is illustrated in the following sentence:

If ha sara dödö is a clause consisting of a verb, sara 'one', preceded by a particle ha 'only' and
followed by an S argument dödö 'liver:MUT', then the form fa attaches to a preverbal particle. If ha
sara dödö is a numeral phrase, then fa is attached to the pre-head particle. Unless ha is analysed as a
verb, then fa cannot be seen to attach to the same part of speech in every instance, i.e. it is not
displaying characteristics of a prefix but of a clitic or particle. It is, however, difficult to know what
its function or meaning could have been at an earlier stage of the language before it became a
nominalizer. For the present time, I will continue to refer to fa- as a prefix, even though it may occur
with non-verbal constituents in some cases.
6. DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

(22) nouns derived from mental state verbs + dödö 'liver'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abu dödö 'sad, worried'</td>
<td>fa-abu dödö 'sadness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afatö dödö 'disappointed'</td>
<td>fa-afatö dödö 'disappointment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahöli dödö 'surprised'</td>
<td>fa-ahöli dödö 'surprise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebolo dödö 'patient'</td>
<td>fa-ebolo dödö 'patience'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omuso dödö 'happy'</td>
<td>fa-omuso dödö 'happiness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of the noun *fa-afatö dödö* 'disappointment' is given in (23), where it is the S argument of the stative verb *to-ele* 'be visible':

(23) To-ele va-a-fatö dödö-nia.
     fa- tödö
     RES-visible NR.MUT-ST-break liver.MUT-3s.POSS

His disappointment was evident.

The possessive suffix on *dödö* occurs in simple intransitive forms of the verb as well (e.g. *a-fatö dödö-nia* [ST-break liver:MUT-3s.POSS] 'he was disappointed'. An example of the derived noun *va-ebolo dödö* 'patience' is given in (24). It occurs with a mutated NP *nama-gu* 'my father' expressing the possessor:

(24) Ahöli dödö-gu va-ebolo dödö nama-gu.
     tödö fa- tödö ama
     surprised liver:MUT-1s.POSS MUT.NR-wide liver:MUT father:MUT-1s.POSS

My father's patience surprised me.

Evidence that these nominal derivations are treated as single syntactic units can be found in examples in which the derived noun is modified by a relative clause. This is illustrated in (25), in which the derived noun is followed by the relative clause *s=abölošölö* 'very heavy, intense'. Note that semantically this relative clause modifies the concept *va-abu dödö* 'sadness' and not just the noun *dödö* 'liver'.
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(25) Ba va-abu dödö s=a-bölö-bölö so ya.
   
   LOC NR.MUT-sad liver:MUT REL=ST-RDP2-heavy EXIST 3s.MUT

   She was extremely upset. [lit. In very great sadness she existed.]

6.4.2 fa’a-

The prefix fa’a- derives abstract nouns from the small number of consonant-initial intransitive verbs (see 5.1.1.2.1), and two quantificational words, fefu 'most, all' and sambua [one-CLF.MUT] 'one'. A list of nouns derived with fa’a- is given in (26):

(26) nouns derived from consonant-initial stative verbs with fa’a-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mate 'die'</td>
<td>fa'a-mate 'death'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so 'arrive'</td>
<td>fa'a-so 'arrival'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sökhi 'good'</td>
<td>fa'a-sökhi 'kindness, goodness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tola 'get better'</td>
<td>fa'a-tola 'the process of getting better'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumbu 'be born'</td>
<td>fa'a-tumbu 'birth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fefu 'most, all'</td>
<td>fa'a-fefu 'totality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sambua 'one'</td>
<td>fa'a-sambua 'unity'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some sentences exemplifying verbs derived with fa’a- are given below. In (27), the noun fa’a-mate 'death' is the 'instrument' or 'cause' argument of the verb göna 'be struck by':

(27) Göna ira fa'a-mate.
   be.struck 3p.MUT NR-die

   They are suffering from a death. (lit. They have been struck by a death.)

Like nouns derived with fa-, nouns derived with fa’a- may occur with possessor arguments which correspond to the S argument of the simple intransitive verb stem. In (28) for example, the mutated noun gamuata-nia 'his behaviour' corresponds to the S
argument of the verb sökhi 'good' in the intransitive clause sökhi gamuata-nia 'his behaviour was good':

(28) Börö va'a-sökhi ga-mua-ta-nia, ... 
    fa'a- aN-bua-ta

because NR.MUT-good IPF.MUT-do-NR-3s.POSS

Because his behaviour was good. ... (lit. because of the goodness of his behaviour)

In (29), the noun va'a-toroi 'stay' is the argument of the preposition götö 'during'. The noun is suffixed with a first singular pronominal form, which corresponds to the first singular mutated pronoun that functions as the S argument of the intransitive clause toroi ndrao ba Jakarta [stay 1s.MUT LOC Jakarta] 'I stayed in Jakarta'.

(29) Götö va'a-toroi-gu ba Jakarta, ... 
    fa'a- 

during NR.MUT-stay-1s.POSS LOC Jakarta

During my stay in Jakarta, ...

The noun fa'a-tohare 'arrival' is illustrated in (30), where it functions adverbially:

(30) Fa'a-tohare ndra-Ere noma'e, 
    ira- 

NR-arrive COLL.MUT-priest RECOG

la-tema faoma oßasa s=e-bua

3p.RLS-receive with oßasa.feast REL=ST-big

Once the priest had arrived, they honoured him with a grand oßasa celebration. (lit. The arrival of the priest that I know you know, they received (him) with a big oßasa (feast).) (H)

The nominalized form of the verb so 'arrive is illustrated in (31), where it is the argument of the preposition föna 'before'.

(31)
(31) ...bößö si=ma la-honogō-i fōna va’a-so agama...
   fa’a-
   village.law REL=PERF 3p.RLS-settle-TR in.front NR.MUT-arrive religion

...the village law that was settled before the coming of religious doctrine...

6.4.3 *f-*

The formative *f-* occurs with stems of certain intransitive verbs to derive nouns referring broadly to five semantic categories:

(i) states (e.g. *f-o-fōkhō* 'state of being sick' from *o-fōkhō* 'HAVE illness')
(ii) acts (e.g. *f-ondri* 'act of taking a bath' from *m-ondri* 'DYN-bathe')
(iii) actions (e.g. *fa-a-nanō* 'planting' from *m-a-nanō* [DYN-IPF-plant] 'planting')
(iv) instruments (e.g. *f-o-ndra’a* 'knife for cutting small things' from *m-o-ndra’a* [DYN-IPF-cut small things] 'cutting small things' (like garlic))
(v) manner of action (e.g. *f-a-nanō* 'manner of planting' from *m-a-nanō* [DYN-IPF-plant] 'planting')

The verbs whose stems occur in these derivations include simple dynamic verbs derived from bound roots with the formative *m-* (e.g. *m-ondri* 'bathe'; see 5.1.1.2.1), verbs derived with dynamic *mo-* or *o-* (e.g. *mo-li* 'make noise', *o-fōkhō* 'HAVE illness'; see 5.1.1.3) and imperfective forms of transitive verbs (e.g. *ma-nanō* 'planting'). In these verbs, the nominalizer *f-* occurs in the same position as the verbal formative *m-* in simple verb forms, or as the initial segment of verbs which are derived with *o-*.

A list of some intransitive verb and the nouns which are derived from their stems is given in (32):

(32) **nouns derived with *f-* from dynamic verb stems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-e’e ‘cry’</td>
<td>f-e’e ‘act of crying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ofanō ‘leave’</td>
<td>f-ofanō ‘act of leaving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-oloi ‘run away’</td>
<td>f-oloi ‘act of running away’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
m-ondri 'bathe'  
| f-ondri 'act of taking a bath/ wash'

o-fökhö 'be ill'  
| f-ofökhö 'state of being sick'

mo-ana'a 'HAVE gold'  
| f-o-ana'a 'state of having (a lot of) gold'

mo-ßua 'HAVE fruit'  
| f-o-ßua 'state of having fruit'

mo-loyo [DYN-sail] 'sail'  
| f-o-loyo 'action of setting sail'

mo-li [DYN-noise] 'make noise'  
| f-o-li 'action of making noise'

mo-elemu [DYN-magic] 'practise magic'  
| f-o-elemu 'means of doing magic'  
| OR 'instrument for doing magic'

Some sentences illustrating nouns derived with f- are given below. In (33), the derived noun is the P argument of the verb base-'ö 'wait for':

(33) Da-mbase'ö v-o-ßua.
    -base-'ö f-o-bua
    1pi.IRR-IRR:wait-TR NR.MUT-HAVE-fruit:LEN-3s.POSS

We will wait (for it) to fruit. (/We will await its fruiting.)

In (34), the noun f-ondri 'act of taking a bath' is the argument of the preposition sa-ndrohu [one-moment] 'while (time); all along (space)'. The noun is marked with a possessive suffix -gu which refers to the same entity as the S argument of the verb mondri in the simple intransitive clause ma mondri ndrao [PERF bathe 1s.MUT] 'I have bathed':

(34) Ogoro ndrao na la-faigi-faigi
    abhor 1s.MUT if 3p.RLS-RDP2-see
    sa-ndrohu f-ondri-gu
    one-period.of.time NR-bath-1s.POSS

I hate it when people watch while I'm taking a bath. (lit. I hate if they watch during my bathing.)
A list of some transitive verbs and the nouns which are derived from them is given in (35) below, grouped according to whether they refer to actions or instruments. Because the derived nouns refer to events which continue for some time or objects which are 'time-stable' (Givon 1984), transitive verbs which are nominalized with \( f- \) must occur in imperfective form, i.e. prefixed with \( aN- \):

### (35) Nouns derived with \( f- \) from imperfective forms of transitive verbs

#### Actions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atulö-ö [correct-TR] 'make correct'</td>
<td>f-an-atulö-ö 'reconciliation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be li [give word:MUT] 'propose'</td>
<td>f-a-me li 'tentative proposal of marriage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be nafo [give betel:MUT] 'offer betel'</td>
<td>f-a-me afo 'action of offering betel nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunu 'kill'</td>
<td>f-a-munu 'action of killing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-sindo [CAU-stand] 'stand sth up'</td>
<td>f-a-masindo 'action of standing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-kiko [DO-ruin] 'destroy'</td>
<td>f-a-makiko 'destruction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faosa 'divide up'</td>
<td>f-a-maosa 'action of dividing up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faoso 'raise'</td>
<td>f-a-maoso 'action of raising'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farö 'render down to oil'</td>
<td>f-a-marö 'action of cooking coconut milk to become oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fazökhi 'build, fix'</td>
<td>f-a-mazökhi 'action of building / fixing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo-ndo-ndono [DO-RDP1-hear] 'listen'</td>
<td>f-a-mo-ndono 'action of listening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'u 'catch'</td>
<td>f-o-nda'u 'action of capturing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sura 'write'</td>
<td>f-a-nura 'action of writing' OR 'thing used for writing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulö-ni [revenge-TR] 'take revenge on'</td>
<td>f-a-nulö-ni 'revenge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suvö 'fight'</td>
<td>f-a-nuvö 'war / fighting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagö 'steal'</td>
<td>f-a-nagö 'action of stealing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanö 'plant'</td>
<td>f-a-nanö 'action of planting', OR 'manner of planting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tema li [receive word] 'answer'</td>
<td>f-a-nema li 'answer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolo 'help'</td>
<td>f-a-nolo 'action of helping'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dekha 'roll'</td>
<td>f-o-ndrekha 'stone for rubbing chilli on' OR 'way of rubbing chilli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-hola [DO-flame] 'light'</td>
<td>f-a-mahola 'thing used to fan flames' (e.g. petrol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'a 'cut small things'</td>
<td>f-o-nda'a 'knife for cutting up small things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rino 'boil'</td>
<td>f-o-ndino 'instrument used for cooking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruru 'clean out stomach'</td>
<td>f-o-nduru 'laxative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>törö dödö [go liver:MUT] 'remember'</td>
<td>f-a-nörö tödö 'memory, souvenir'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the list shows, the stem may be simple or derived, and may occur with a fixed P argument. Note, however, that in the nominalized form of the verb, P arguments are unmutated, as illustrated, for example by afo 'betel' in fa-me afo 'offering of betel' (cf. be nafo 'offer betel'). Some of these nouns are illustrated below. In (36), the noun derived from sußö 'fight' is the S argument of alua 'happen':

(36) Si=mane lala ba alua v-a-nußö.
    REL=do.like.that way CNJ happen NR.MUT-IPF-fight

That is the way the war happened.

In (37) below, the derived noun is the 'possessor' argument of the noun mbößö 'village law'. Note that the derived noun occurs with an unmutated noun omo 'house', which corresponds to the P argument of a simple transitive use of the verb stem fazökhi 'build' (given in brackets after the translation):

(37) ...la-waö mbößö v-a-mazökhi omo.
    bößö f-aN-fazökhi omo
    ...3p.RLS-say village.law:MUT NR.MUT-IPF-build house

...they stated the law (regarding the cost) of building the house. (cf. la-fazökhi nomo [3p.RLS-build house:MUT] 'They built a house.')
In both (38) and (39) below also, the derived nouns occur with unmutated arguments which correspond to the P arguments of simple transitive forms of the verb stems (given in brackets after translations).

(38) I-be gölö-nia v-a-nolo ya'o.
ölö f-aN-tolo
3s.RLS-give toil:MUT 3s.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-help 1s
He gave his income to help me. (cf. I-tolo ndrao [3s.RLS-help 1s.MUT] 'He helped me')

(39) Löna sökhi v-a-nagu baru-nia ande.
f-aN-tagu
NEG good NR.MUT-IPF-sew shirt-3s.POSS DIST
The way you sewed that shirt of his is not very good. (D) (ö-tagu mbaru-nia [2s.RLS-sew shirt:MUT-3s.POSS] 'You sewed his shirt')

If the referent of the A argument of the transitive verb which is the stem of the derived noun is also mentioned in the construction, it is expressed as a possessive suffix on the noun or as a mutated NP immediately after the noun. This is illustrated in (40), in which the derived noun is the P argument of the verb *faigi* 'see'.

(40) La-faigi v-a-m-aoso-ra.
f-aN-f-aoso
3p.RLS-see NR.MUT-IPF-CAU-get.up-3p.POSS
They watched them raise (it).

The third plural suffix *-ra* refers to people who were raising a very large pillar, and corresponds to the third plural A argument, *la-* in the simple transitive construction: *la-f-aoso gehomo* [3p.RLS-CAU-get.up pillar:MUT] 'They raised the pillar'.

---

10 The word *ölö* means 'toil, effort' (especially wearisome effort). It is used in Nias also to refer to 'income' and 'profit'.

6.4.4 fe-

The prefix *fe-* occurs with dynamic intransitive and transitive verb stems typically to derive nouns referring to acts, but in some instances also instruments or manner of action. Derivation of nouns by means of *fe-* does not appear to be productive. Some nouns which are derived with *fe-* from verbs are listed in (41):

(41) **nouns derived with fe-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vtr a 'eat'</td>
<td>fe-a 'the (act of) eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bötö-si [hurt-TR] 'hurt'</td>
<td>fe-bötö-si 'anything you hurt people with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hede 'call'</td>
<td>fe-hede 'words'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halö 'take'</td>
<td>fe-halö 'the (act of) taking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unu-gö [soak-TR] 'soak'</td>
<td>fe-unu-gö '(act of) soaking' OR 'manner of immersion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vintr bahö 'cough'</td>
<td>fe-bahö 'the (act of) coughing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-alu 'hunt'</td>
<td>fe-alu 'the (act of) hunting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ambu 'forge metal'</td>
<td>fe-ambu 'the (act of) forging metal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ıßo 'crow'</td>
<td>fe-ıßo 'the (act of) crowing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-örö 'sleep'</td>
<td>fe-örö 'the (act of) sleeping'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of nouns derived with *fe-* are given below. In (42) the noun is derived from the intransitive verb *mörö* 'sleep', and functions as the S argument of the verb *ahono* 'calm':

(42) Löna a-hono ve-mörö-nia.

fe-

NEG ST-calm NR.MUT-sleep-3s.POSS

Her sleep was not restful. (D)

In (43), the noun is derived from the verb *a* 'eat', and functions as the P argument of the verb *oya-ö* 'make P be much':
(43) Oya-'ö ve-a=e.
       fe-
much-TR NR.MUT-eat=D.PTCL

Eat plenty, won't you. (lit. make your eating a lot, eh?)

In (44), the derived noun ve-ambu 'the forging' and its argument tefao 'iron' occur as the argument of the preposition ba 'for':

(44) Möi ya ba mbanua höö ba ve-ambu tefao
       banua fe-
go 3s.MUT LOC village:MUT DIST LOC NR.MUT-forg iron

He goes to that village to work iron. (or, 'He goes to that village for forging iron')

It is unclear at this stage what the difference is between fe- and f-. Both forms occur with vowel-initial stem: f-e'e 'the act of crying', from -e'e 'cry'; fe-ambu 'the act of forging', from -ambu 'forge'. As a causative prefix, fe- indicates that the action is done by the referent of the A argument and not by an intermediary (see 5.1.2.1.3). There is no strong evidence that any sense of personal involvement applies in its function as a nominalizer.

6.4.5 fe'a-

The form fe'a- occurs with just two verbs: möi 'go' and so 'arrive'. Examples of the nouns derived from these verbs are given below. In (45), the derived noun is the stimulus of the verb omasi 'like':

---

11 It is possible that there is some phonological principle at work: fe- only occurs with roots which begin with /a/; f- never occurs with these roots.
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(45) Omasi ndao ve'a-möi ba fasa.
   fe'a-
   like 1s.MUT NR.MUT-go LOC market

I like going to the market.12

Another example is given in (46), where the noun ve'a-möi is in a possessive construction with the noun lala 'way'. The derived noun vanalui 'the looking for' also occurs in this sentence, as the head of the complement of the mental state verb abu dödö 'sad':

(46) Abu dödö-nia v-an-alu-i lala ve'a-möi
tödö f-an-alu-i fe'a-
sad liver:MUT-3s.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-hunt-TR way NR.MUT-go
ba göfa.
köfa
LOC ship:MUT

He was anxious to find a way to get to the ship. (lit. 'His liver was sad about the looking for a way of (the) going to the ship.')

In (47), the derived noun fe'a-so 'arrival' is the argument of the locative preposition ba 'in'. Note that the possessive suffix on the derived noun has the same referent as the S argument of a simple intransitive construction with so (e.g. ga so ndrao [here arrive 1s.MUT] 'I came here'):

(47) Mi-bologö dödö-mi me u-f-akao manö
tödö
2p.RLS-cover-TR liver:MUT-2p.POSS when 1s.RLS-CAU-difficult just

12 Note that fe'a- could really be said to attach to the clause segment möi ba fasa [go LOC market] 'go to market' rather than simply attaching just to the verb möi 'go'. Thus fe'a- is similar to fa- in this clitic-like property (see footnote 9 above).
Please excuse me for bothering you by arriving unexpectedly. (lit. Cover your livers since I caused (you) difficulty in that arrival of mine.) (D)

Another example of this derived form is given in (48), in which the derived noun occurs with a possessive suffix referring to the same participants who would be referred to by the third plural S argument of the simple intransitive clause *ma so ira* [PERF arrive 3p.MUT] 'they have arrived'.

(48) A-radö ma'efu ve'a-so-ra.
    ST-drag.out a.bit NR.MUT-arrive-3p.POSS
    They came a bit late. (lit. 'Their arrival was a bit protracted. ')

It is not clear what the difference is between *fe'a-so* and *fa'a-so*, which was illustrated in example (31) above, repeated below for convenience:

(31) ...bößö si=ma=la-honogö-i föna va'a-so agama...
    fa'a-
    village.law REL=PERF=3p.RLS-settle-TR in.front NR.MUT-arrive religion
    ...the village law that was settled before the coming of religious doctrine...

Unlike the verb *so 'arrive', the verb *möi 'go' does not have an alternative form with *fa'a-; the nominalized form of *möi 'go' is always *fe'a-möi.*

### 6.4.6 Participial functions of nouns derived with *f(V)*

Nouns derived with the prefixes which begin with the formative *f-* frequently function in roles which 'present' participles (or gerunds) play in languages that have them, i.e. as nominal constituents derived from verbs, which function as arguments and which
may themselves take arguments. For example, these nouns are used in adverbial function as illustrated in (50), where the NP in which the derived noun is head provides a temporal setting for the main clause:

(50) F-a-nuBö ha’a, la-halö ndra-ono.
    f-aN-suBö
    NR-IPF-fight PROX 3p.RLS-take COLL.MUT-child

In this war, they took children.

Adverbial uses of nouns derived with fa- and fa’a- were illustrated in examples (21) and (30) above. Another participial or gerund-like property that nouns derived with f(V)- have is that of complements of verbs which typically take clauses as arguments, such as börö gö 'begin', batoö 'stop', tandemgiö 'try', forege 'insist', löna ila 'not know how' and omasi 'want'. Each of these verbs is illustrated with a complement NP containing a derived noun in examples (51) - (56) below. In each sentence the noun is derived from a transitive verb and occurs with an unmutated argument which corresponds to the P argument of the simple transitive form of the verb (see 11.2 for basic structure of transitive clauses). The A argument is not overtly referred to in the complement but is understood to have the same referent of the A argument of the matrix verb, i.e. it is 'controlled':

(51) U-börö-gö v-a-nura sura.
    f-aN-surA
    1s.RLS-base-TR NR.MUT-IPF-write letter

I began writing the letter. (cf. u-surA surA [1s.RLS-write letter:MUT] 'I wrote a letter')
(52) I-bato-‘ö v-an-ofulo-i sulo.
   f-aN-ofulo
3s.RLS-stop-TR NR.MUT-IPF-gathered-TR dead.coconut.branch
He stopped collecting the dead branches. (cf. *i-ofuloi zulo* [3s.RLS-collect dead branch:MUT] 'He collected the dead branches')

(53) I-tandaigö v-o-ndöli sao..
   f-aN-döli
3s.RLS-try NR.MUT-IPF-pull anchor
He tried to pull in the anchor. (cf. *i-döli zao* [3s.RLS-draw anchor:MUT] 'He pulled in the anchor')

(54) I-forege v-a-me kefe
   f-aN-be
3s.RLS-make.effort NR.MUT-IPF-give money
khö numönö-nia.
   umönö
DAT son.in-law:MUT-3s.POSS
He insisted on giving money to his son-in-law. (cf. *i-be gefe khö-nia* [1s.RLS-give money:MUT DAT-3s.POSS] 'He gave money to him')

(55) Löna u-ila v-a-nema li.
    f-aN-tema
NEG 1s.RLS-know NR.MUT-IPF-receive word:MUT
I don't know how to answer. (cf. *u-tema li-nia* [1s.RLS-receive voice:MUT-1s.POSS] 'I answered him', lit. 'I received his voice')

(56) Omasi ndao v-a-nura sura.
    f-aN-sura
want me NR.MUT-IPF-write letter
I want to write a letter. (cf. *u-sura zura* [1s.RLS-write letter:MUT] 'I wrote a letter')
'Complement-taking verbs' such as those exemplified in (51)- (56) above are normally followed by nouns which imply action as opposed to some abstract state, so it is not surprising that the stems of the derived nouns which occur with them are transitive, or that there are no examples of these verbs with nouns derived with fa- and fa'a-.

A further participial / gerund-like role that these nouns have is that of stimulus of emotion or mental state verbs, as illustrated in (57) and (58). In (57) the noun has an intransitive verb stem oloi 'run away':

(57) Aila ndao v-oloi
     f-
     ashamed 1s.MUT NR.MUT-run.away

I'm ashamed of running away.

In (58), the noun is followed by an unmutated noun which corresponds semantically to the P argument of the verb tegu, which is the stem of the derived noun:

(58) Aföli ndao va-negu-negu ira-ono.
     fa-tegu
     bored 1s.MUT NR.MUT-RDP2-argue COLL-child

I'm tired of the always chastising (/having to chastise) the children. (D) (cf. U-tegu ndra-ono [1s.RLS-chastise COLL.MUT-child] 'I chastised the child')

6.5 Suffixes: overview

There are two basic shapes for nominalizing suffixes: -(C)a and -Cö. The suffixes which have the shape -(C)a are listed in (59), arranged according to manner of articulation:
suffixes of the form -(C)a

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>-fa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorants</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These suffixes derive nouns which can be roughly categorized into the following types:

- **(i)** places / times at which vb-ing happens or is done (e.g. *a-tumbu-kha* 'east' from *tumbu* 'born; grow', *a-khömi-ta* 'time of no moon' from *-o-gömigömi* 'at time of no moon')
- **(ii)** things that vb or are vb-ed (e.g. *oroï-sa* 'message' from *m-oroï* 'come from'; *ondröi-ta* 'inheritance' from *röi* 'leave behind')
- **(iii)** act of vb-ing (the vb-ing) (e.g. *amili-ta* 'election' from *fili* 'choose')
- **(iv)** result of vb-ing (*anunu-a* 'cremation' from *tunu* 'burn')

As some of the examples in this list show, if the stem of a noun derived with one of the -(C)a suffixes is transitive, it must occur in imperfective form, i.e. with the prefix aN-. For example *ondröîta* 'inheritance' is derived from *aN-röî-ta* [IPF-leave.behind-NR]; *amîli-ta* 'election' consists of the morphemes *aN-fili-ta* [IPF-choose-NR]. In some derivations a prothetic a- occurs on intransitive stems, the provenance of which is not yet identified (e.g. *a-tumbu-kha* [?-born-NR] 'east'). Many nouns appear to fit more than one category and many others don't fit these categories well. Examples of nouns derived with these suffixes will be given below. There is some evidence (discussed in 6.6 below) that the numerous initial consonants that the suffix -(C)a now has were earlier more restricted, and that they derive from just three suffixes:

- *-sa*, which occurred with stems containing verbs derived with *fa*-
- *-ta*, which was suffixed to vowel-final stems,
The consonants which appear on the suffixes synchronically are presumably the relics of earlier word-final consonants.

Suffixes of the shape -Cö are listed in (60):

(60) suffixes of the shape -Cö

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>-tö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>-fö -sö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>-mö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These suffixes are also seemingly derived from two basic forms: -tö, which attached to vowel-final stems, and -ö, which attached to consonant-final stems. They derive nouns which can be categorized, roughly, as entities which would be referred to by the P argument of transitive verb stems (e.g. βaβaya-sö 'cooked thing' from βaβaya 'cook'), or as things that await the action of the verb (e.g. basi-tö 'field ready for harvesting, from basi 'harvest'). These suffixes are discussed in section 6.5.2 below.

The suffixes will be discussed individually below. Only the suffixes -ta and -tö appear to occur with stems other than verbs.

6.5.1 -(C)a suffixes

The suffixes of the shape -(C)a will be discussed in order of frequency of occurrence, except for -sa, which is used in special ways and will be discussed first. The order of frequency of occurrence of these suffixes in my data is: -ta, -la, -wa, -a, -kha, -ma, -na and -fa.

6.5.1.1 -sa

The use of the suffix -sa appears to be governed principally by morphology. This suffix is used to nominalize almost all verbs derived with dynamic fa- (but note that some are nominalized by -ta, see list (57) below; see 5.1.1.5 for dynamic fa-). The
resulting nouns are either abstract, or refer to verbal or physical acts. Almost all of the meanings can be paraphrased as ‘the vb-ing’, so it is not clear that any distinctions need to be made. Nevertheless, for the sake of analysis, these verbs and the nouns derived from them are listed in the three categories ‘abstract’, ‘speech event’ and ‘physical event’ in (61)-(63):

(61) abstract nouns derived from dynamic fa- verbs with -sa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-aefa 'set free'</td>
<td>faefa-sa 'separation(people)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-böö 'different'</td>
<td>fa-böö-sa 'difference'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-gölö 'same'</td>
<td>fa-gölö-sa 'similarity' (cf. fa-gölö-gölö [NR-RDP2-same] 'sameness')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-hußu 'make friends'</td>
<td>fa-hußu-sa 'friendship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-limo 'deceive'</td>
<td>fa-limo-sa 'deception'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-manö 'do talking'</td>
<td>fa-manö-sa 'commission'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-ohi 'wanting to go with'</td>
<td>fa-ohi-sa 'the desire to accompany'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-sala 'make error'</td>
<td>fa-sala-sa 'fault'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-tiu dödö 'hostile'</td>
<td>fa-tiu-sa dödö 'hostility'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-udu 'quarrel'</td>
<td>fa-udu-sa 'enmity'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(62) nouns referring to speech events, derived from dynamic fa- verbs with -sa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-hößö 'mock'</td>
<td>fa-hößö-sa 'mockery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-lele 'abuse'</td>
<td>fa-lele-sa 'swear word'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-manömanö 'chat'</td>
<td>fa-manömanö-sa 'conversation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-oroi 'come from'</td>
<td>oroi-sa 'message'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(63) nouns referring to physical acts or actions, derived from dynamic fa- verbs with -sa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-bago 'fight'</td>
<td>fa-bago-sa 'fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-bali 'separate'</td>
<td>fa-bali-sa 'leave-taking' (cf. fa-bali-wa 'crossroad')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The suffix -sa has the same kind of function with dynamic verbs as the nominalizer fa- has with stative verbs. It could be the case that -sa is used with these dynamic verbs instead of fa- precisely because the stems are already derived with a verbalizing fa-. However, the suffix used to transitivize verbs derived with fa- also begins with /s/ (e.g. fa-lakhi-si [DO-meet-TR] 'meet with'), so this consonant is apparently intimately associated with verbs of this type. Note that where a verb has two possible nominalizations (such as fa-soso-sa 'dispute' and fa-soso-ta 'quarreling') the form derived with -sa refers to an event (or act) rather than an (ongoing) action, i.e., an action which can be seen as completed and perceived of as a countable entity. An example of the noun fa-sala-sa 'fault' is given in (64), where it is the P argument of the verb sekhe-gö 'ask questions about':

(64) I-sekhe-gö va-sala-sa ba ni-waö-gu.
   fa-
   3s.RLS-ask-TR DO.MUT-wrong-NR LOC PASS-say-1s.POSS

He is looking for faults in what I said.

If the referent of the S argument of the stem verb is mentioned, it is expressed as a possessive suffix on the noun or a mutated noun phrase. For example in (65), the third plural possessive suffix -ra on the derived noun fa-böö-sa 'difference' refers to the same entities referred to by the third plural pronoun ira in the simple intransitive sentence fa-böö ira [DO-different 3p.MUT] 'they are different'. In this example the
derived noun is the predicate of a nominal clause in which *duturu ba ahe* 'fingers and feet' (lit. finger and leg) is the conjoined argument:

(65) Fa-böö'-sa-ra   duturu   ba   ahe
    DO-different-NR-3p.POSS finNR   CNJ leg

Their fingers and legs are different. (lit. 'Their fingers and feet/legs are their difference.')

Another example is given in (66), in which the derived noun is followed by a mutated NP referring to the participants who would be referred to by the S argument of a simple intransitive clause:

(66) Ha börö va-ohi-sa ndra-ono-nia khö-nia,
    only because DO.MUT-run-NR COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS DAT-3s.POSS
    ba lōna alua möi ya ba fasa
    CNJ NEG happen go 3s.MUT LOC market

Simply because of her children's wanting to go with her, she didn't manage to get to market. (D) (cf. *fa-ohi ndra-ono-nia khö-nia* [DO-run COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS DAT-3s.POSS] 'Her children wanted to go with her')

6.5.1.2 *-ta*

The suffix *-ta* is the most frequent suffix of the *(C)a* group. The nouns derived with *-ta* can refer to places or times at which the activity described by the verb happens, to the act of vb-ing or to things which are vb-ed. Some nouns falling into these categories are listed in (67)-(69). Note that, like nouns derived from transitive verbs with *f-*, nouns derived from transitive verbs with *-ta* (and other *(C)a* suffixes) require that the verb be detransitivized by using the imperfective form, prefixed with *aN-*: 
(67) nouns derived with *-ta* referring to places ('where/when vb is done/happens')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aekhu 'fall'</td>
<td>aekhu-ta 'end point, place where sth falls' (cf. aehu-la 'moral sacrifice')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moni 'avoid taboo'</td>
<td>amoni-ta 'sacred place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dali 'grind'</td>
<td>ondali-ta 'whetstone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-gömigömi 'at time of no moon'</td>
<td>akhömi-ta 'night without moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-o-lemba 'sticky'</td>
<td>olemba-ta 'notice board'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(68) nouns derived with *-ta* referring to acts (= 'the vb-ing')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fili 'choose'</td>
<td>amili-ta 'election'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-an-ahori 'IPF-finish'</td>
<td>anaho'ri-ta 'end, conclusion' OR 'sth. left till end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bua 'do sth'</td>
<td>amua-ta 'behaviour'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(69) nouns derived with *-ta* referring to 'what is vb-ed'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohe 'carry'</td>
<td>olohe-ta 'burden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila 'know, see'</td>
<td>anila-ta 'divine revelation' OR 'spirit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-khö 'possess'</td>
<td>okhö-ta 'property, possessions'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khao 'dig'</td>
<td>ogao-ta 'result of digging'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>röi 'leave behind'</td>
<td>ondöi-ta 'inheritance'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns derived from verbs which are already derived with dynamic $fa$- are listed separately in (70) below so that they may be more easily compared with those discussed in the previous section derived with $sa$.

(70) nouns derived with *-ta* from verbs derived with dynamic $fa$-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-ambö 'run short of'</td>
<td>fa'ambö-ta 'shortage; lack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-huru 'meet'</td>
<td>fahuru-ta 'confluence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-lau 'collect money for necessities like marriage'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some nouns derived with -ta have nouns or parts of speech other than verbs as stems. These are listed in (71). The meanings that the nominalizer has with these forms varies depending on the stem, and no overall meaning is apparent beyond a vague one like 'an instantiation of the notion indicated by the stem' (except for *sao-ta*, 'harbour' which appears to rely on the meaning of 'place where X happens' which is indicated for many nouns derived with suffixes of the shape -(C)a).

(71) nouns derived with -ta from parts of speech other than verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>börö (N) 'base, source'</td>
<td>börö-ta 'origin', ancestor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sao (N) 'anchor'</td>
<td>sao-ta 'harbour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furi (Adv) 'behind'</td>
<td>afuri-a-ta 'last'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ande (Dem) 'that'</td>
<td>ande-ta 'the exact one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root unknown</td>
<td>bake-ta 'large plate for food' (about 3 feet in diameter)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of a noun derived with -ta is given in (72), where it is the S argument of the resultative state verb *te-kiko* 'ruined':

(72) Te-kiko    go-khō-ta\(^{13}\).
       o-khō-ta
       RES-ruin    MUT.HAVE-possession-NR

Their property was ruined.

---

\(^{13}\) The noun *okhōta* 'property, wealth' derives from the root *khō*, which is presumably also the stem of the noun *khōkhō* 'possessions' and the verb *mo-khō* 'HAVE possessions' and is, by itself, the dative preposition.
Another noun is illustrated in (73), where it is the P argument of the verb *ila* 'know' and is in a possessive construction with the derived noun *ve-hede* [NR.MUT-call] 'words'.

(73) Löna u-ila gaekhu-ta ve-hede-nia.

aekhu fe-
NEG 1s.RLS-know MUT.fall-NR NR.MUT-call-3s.POSS

I do not understand the point of his words. (D) (lit. 'I do not know the falling of his words. ')

If the entity which would be expressed by the S argument of the stem verb occurs with the noun, it is expressed by a possessive suffix or mutated noun phrase, as illustrated in (74), where the first plural exclusive suffix *-ma* refers to the same participants as those referred to by the first exclusive pronoun *ndraga* in the simple intransitive form shown in brackets after the translation:

(74) Fa-khai-sa ga-ma-khai-ta-ma Ina Maoso.

aN-fa-khai-ta Maoso
DO-hook-NR IPF.MUT-DO-hook-NR-1pe.POSS mother Maoso:MUT

Where our families are tied is through the mother of Maoso. (lit. The connection of our family ties is the mother of Maoso.) (cf. *Fa-khai ndraga khö nina Maoso*. [DO-hook 1pe.MUT DAT mother:MUT Maoso] 'We are tied through the mother of Maoso'.)

6.5.1.3 *-la*

The suffix *-la* is the next most frequently occurring suffix. It derives nouns with a great diversity of meanings which are difficult to categorize. Lists of nouns derived with *-la* are given in (75)-(77), according to any salient characteristics. Once again, note that transitive verbs are detransitivized with *aN*- before they can take *-la*. Note also that there are intransitive verbs which occur with a prothetic *a*- in their
nominalized form in a number of cases (such as a-mate-la 'corpse' from mate 'die, dead', a-tumbu-la 'bud, sprout, embryo' from tumbu 'born; grow'). It is unclear at this stage what function this prothetic vowel has.

(75) nouns derived with -la referring to places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-ate 'die, dead'</td>
<td>ate-la 'coffin; grave' (cf. amate-la 'corpse')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'u 'scoop'</td>
<td>ana'u-la 'place where scoop is kept'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(76) nouns derived with -la referring to S arguments ('what vbs')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aekhu 'fall'</td>
<td>aekhu-la 'moral sacrifice' (cf. aekhu-ta 'place where sth falls')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obou 'rotten'</td>
<td>obou-la 'remains of corpse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumbu 'born, grow'</td>
<td>atumbu-la 'bud, sprout, embryo' (cf. atumbu-kha 'east')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(77) nouns derived with -la referring to P arguments ('what is vb-ed')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be('e) 'give'</td>
<td>ame'e-la 'gift, tribute, church contribution'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu'a 'repay'</td>
<td>bu'a-la 'gift, present'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boßöi 'do, make'</td>
<td>omboßöi-la 'product OR material sth. is made from' (cf. f-o-mbößöi [NR-IPF -do] 'act, deed')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osisi 'follow'</td>
<td>anosisi-la 'story told without digression' (cf. anosisi-tö 'family line, genealogy')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofu 'ask'</td>
<td>anofu-la 'point of question'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 The existence of the two forms ate-la 'coffin' and a-mate-la 'corpse' suggests that the verb mate 'die, dead' may be derived from a root -ate with the dynamic formative m-. If this were the case, the stem of amatela may be an imperfective form of f-ate, which would be the transitive (or causative) form of m-ate, by analogy with other verbs derived with dynamic m- which have transitive forms beginning with f-, such as me'e 'cry:: fe'e 'cause to cry', maoso 'rise:: faoso 'raise'.
Some examples of nouns derived with this suffix are given in (79) - (82). In (79) the derived noun occurs in a fixed polite expression of thanks, occurring as the complement of the composite verb andrö saohagölö ‘thank’15. The derived noun is followed by a headless relative, ni-be’e-u ‘what is given by you’, which refers to what would be the P argument of the simple transitive verb bu’a ‘repay’:

(79) Ma-andö.saohagölö mбу’a-la ni-be’e-u khö-ma bu’a-la
1pe.RLS-ask.for.thankyou MUT.repay NR PASS-give-2s.POSS DAT-1pe.POSS

We thank you very much for your gifts to us. (D) 16

In (80), the possessive suffix on the derived noun refers to the same participant as would be referred to by the A argument of the stem verb (be’e ‘give’), which may be seen by comparing the simple transitive form of the verb given in brackets after the translation.

---

15 The construction saohagölö is a nominal clause, saoha gölö, in which a headless relative, s=aoha, ‘that which is light’ is the predicate, and gölö ‘toil:MUT’ is the argument. It means, literally ‘the burden is a light one’, so andrö saohagölö literally means ‘ask that one’s burden be light’. The addition of an argument with this construction adds the topic about which one is asking the burden to be light.

16 There are many sorts of gifts in Nias. The two which are illustrated in the sentences in this section are bu’a-la and a-me’e-la. The former is much like a present, which theoretically does not implicate the recipient in reciprocal gift-giving, but in practice establishes an obligation. The latter is a gift to some organisation such as a contribution of church or charity.
If we help people, that's our tribute to God. (cf. Ta-be'e game'ela khö Loßalani. [1pi.RLS-give IPF-give-NR-1pi.POSS DAT God:MUT] 'We give tribute to God')

Similarly in (81) the participant corresponding to the A argument of a simple transitive form of the stem verb is expressed by a mutated argument nani 'wind:MUT'. This sentence takes the form of a nominal clause in which the derived noun amatöla 'piece broken off' is the head of the predicate NP and the NP in initial position is the fronted argument:

Similarly in (82), where the mutated noun following the derived noun anetu-la 'decision' corresponds to the A argument of the simple transitive form (given in brackets):
(82) ...si tebai maulö mol-o'ö an-etu-la zi=warawara17
    aN-etu-la si=

    ...REL can't arrange IPF-follow IPF-decide-NR REL.MUT=(?)many.people

    ...which can't be arranged according to decisions by the general public. (cf. 
    La-etu-'ö si-warawara [3p.RLS-decide-TR REL=?] 'The general public 
    decided (it).')

6.5.1.4 -wa

Nouns derived from -wa refer to places, things that are vb-ed, and some other things 
which are hard to classify:

(83) nouns derived with -wa referring to places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>törö 'go'</td>
<td>törö-wa 'thing walked on' OR 'experience gone thru'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-törö [CAU-go] 'govern'</td>
<td>ama-törö-wa 'area governed and inhabitants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-bali [DO-split] 'split'</td>
<td>fabali-wa 'crossroads' (cf. fa-bali-sa 'leave-taking')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-olombase 'rest'</td>
<td>olombase-wa 'place to take holiday'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(84) nouns derived with -wa referring to P arguments ('what is vb-ed')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balö 'repay'</td>
<td>ombalö-wa 'loan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öli 'buy'</td>
<td>oßöli-wa 'thing bought'18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Neither the verb warawara nor a root -wara occur in any other derivations, so the meaning of it is not clear. The noun si=warawara, which has the form of a headless relative, always refers to the public in general, as opposed to leaders or people in authority.

18 The transitive verb öli 'buy' has an imperfective form m-o-ßöli which exhibits an initial consonant on the root indicating its cognacy with Indonesian beli 'buy' (and Tagalog bili 'buy'). Clearly the initial consonant of ßöli has been lost from the transitive form.
(85) other nouns derived with -wa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-döli [DO-drag] 'drag'</td>
<td>a-ma-döli-wa 'source of contention, tug-of-war'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ofanö [DYN-leave] 'leave'</td>
<td>ofanö-wa 'departure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ombanö [DYN-wash hand] 'wash hand(s)'</td>
<td>banö-wa 'water to wash hand with before meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tandra 'sign' (N)</td>
<td>tandra-wa 'excuse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of the noun amatörö-wa 'government' is given in (86), where it is the predicate of a nominal clause in which the second plural pronoun ndraga 'you:pl' is the argument:

(86) A-ma-törö-wa-gu ndraga.
    aN-fa-törö
    IPF-CAU-go-NR-1s.POSS 2p.MUT

You are my people. (implies: I can do whatever I want with you) (cf. u-fa-törö ndraga [1s.RLS-CAU-go 2p.MUT] 'I make you go (work)')

6.5.1.5 -a

Although it is very likely that the suffix -a is of great antiquity (see 6.6 below), it does not occur frequently synchronically. Nouns derived with -a which occur in my data are listed in (87)-(88). The nouns can be categorized into two distinct semantic classes: places where vb happens, and things that are gathered together. As can be seen, -a is attached to both intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Transitive verb stems are in imperfective form (prefixed with aN-):

(87) nouns derived with -a referring to places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-ondri [DYN-bathe] 'bathe'</td>
<td>amondri-a 'bathing place / bathroom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-o-talu 'be in middle'</td>
<td>otalu-a 'gap, episode'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tunu 'burn' anunu-a 'place for burning' OR 'cremation'

(88) **nouns derived with** -a **referring to things that are gathered**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-rahu [DYN-tie.to] 'make conclusion'</td>
<td>orahu-a 'meeting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oßulo 'gathered'</td>
<td>anoßulo-a 'collection of things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oßulo 'gathered'</td>
<td>oßulu-a 'organization, company'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'u 'collect debt'</td>
<td>onda'u-a 'collection of debts'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nouns *otalua* 'gap, episode' and *oßuloa* 'organization' are illustrated in (89) and (90). In (89) the derived noun is added as an expansion of the argument *ira*, and is therefore in apposition with it.

(89) La-f-o-töi ira\(^1^{19}\), go-talu-a anda

3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name 3pMUT MUT.HAVE-middle-NR PROX

'horö boßoa'.

war cooking.pot

They called them, those episodes that I just related, the 'wars of the cauldron'.

In (90) the derived noun is part of the numeral phrase which is the lexical expression of the A argument:

(90) Do-mbua goßulo-a la-be gefe s=oya

dua-bua oßulo kefe

two-CLF.MUT MUT:gathered-NR 3p.RLS-give money:MUT REL=much

---

\(^{19}\) The pronoun *ira* 'them' in this sentence refers to 'wars', i.e. a non-animate noun. Usually pronouns do not have inanimate reference. This may indicate that the syntactic distinction between animate and inanimate involves semantic considerations which are more complex than just a simple biological dichotomy. Alternatively, it may indicate that a clear distinction between animate and inanimate is not being maintained in the language.
khözi gôna fa-abu dödö
tödö
dat M.rel be.struck NR-sad liver:MUT

Two organisations gave a lot of money to the disaster victims (lit. ones who were struck by sadness).

6.5.1.6 -kha

The suffix -kha occurs with four verbs in my data, deriving nouns which refer to places:

(91) nouns derived from verbs with -kha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ßußu 'move back' (?)</td>
<td>aßußu-kha 'whirlpool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ambu 'forge metal'</td>
<td>ambu-kha 'forge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-eßo 'chase birds'</td>
<td>eßo-kha 'hut built for resting in while guarding rice field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumbu 'born'</td>
<td>atumbu-kha 'east' (cf. atumbu-la 'bud, sprout, embryo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1.7 -ma

The suffix -ma occurs in only three derivations in my data, all referring to places:

(92) nouns derived with -ma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tataro 'sit'</td>
<td>taro-ma 'situation, position, status, state'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>förö 'sleep'</td>
<td>förö-ma 'bed', or 'place where people sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handro 'throw a spear' (?)</td>
<td>handro-ma 'place where water falls from roof'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1.8 -na

The suffix -na occurs in three derivations only in my data, one referring to a place, one referring to an abstract noun and one referring to the act of vb-ing:
nouns derived with \(-na\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ötö 'cross'</td>
<td>ötö-na 'ford' (in river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faso 'force'</td>
<td>faso-na 'compulsion, force, exercise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-bözi [DO-hit] 'do hitting'</td>
<td>fa-bözi-na 'fight'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is interesting about this last form is that the nominalizing suffix begins with the same suffix as the transitivizing suffix in the verb bözi-ni 'sweep', which appears to be derived from the verb bözi 'hit', even though the meanings of the derived verb and the derived noun are very different. This suggests that, if the forms bözi, bözi-ni and bözi-na are related, they may derive from an earlier root which contained a final /n/.

\(6\).5.1.9 \(-fa\)

There is only one noun which has the suffix \(-fa\): auri-fa 'life', from auri 'alive'. This noun is illustrated in (94):

(94) \(\text{Eluaha-nia lönä khō-ra auri-fa,}\)

meaning-3s.POSS NEG DAT-3p.POSS ST:alive-NR

börö gōmō nono-nia
ömö ono

because debt:MUT child:MUT-3s.POSS

It means they had no life, because of the debt (incurred by) his child.

It is the noun auri-fa which helps to provide some evidence for consonant final words in earlier Nias. Not only do we have this form with the suffix \(-fa\), but we also have the form uri-fö 'animals' (usually referring to domesticated animals). As noted in 3.8, this set of words are reflexes of the PAn form *qūd₂ıp 'alive'. Word final /p/ in Nias has become /f/, which is what shows up in these nominalisations. These nominalisations and others discussed below appear to indicate that at least some of

\(^{20}\) As mentioned in footnote 6 above, this noun appears to have the same meaning as fa-auri 'life(time)'.

these nouns derive from earlier verbs which ended in a final consonant to which a vocalic nominalizing suffix is added, and that these suffixes, therefore, derive from just two or three forms.

6.5.2 -Cö suffixes

The meanings of the nouns derived with -Cö are diverse, although there is a general tendency towards tangible things. The stems for the derived nouns are almost entirely transitive verbs. Derived nouns can be divided into things which will be vb-ed (corresponding to the P argument of the transitive verb stem) and things which (broadly) result from vb-ing. Two nouns derived from bound roots refer to times of day, and one noun, beße-lö 'banks of river', may derive from the noun beße 'lips', if the use of the noun in the derived form is an instance of metaphorical extension. These categories are listed in (95) - (97):

(95) things that will be vb-ed (potential P arguments)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basi 'harvest'</td>
<td>basi-tö 'field of crop ready for harvest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fohu 'select person'</td>
<td>fohu-tö 'girl ready for selection for marriage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawa 'go to'</td>
<td>sawa-tö 'place one will arrive at, destination'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sora 'decorate'</td>
<td>sora-fö 'sth. ready for decorating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanö 'plant'</td>
<td>tanö-mö 'seedling, sth ready for planting'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(96) things which result from vb-ing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faosa 'divide'</td>
<td>faosa-tö 'piece'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osisi 'follow'; mbambatö 'family'</td>
<td>anosisi-tö mbambatö 'family records'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no root known</td>
<td>legai-tö 'sweat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halö 'take'</td>
<td>halö-wö 'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uri 'look after'</td>
<td>uri-fö 'domestic animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bàßaya 'cook'</td>
<td>Bàßaya-sö 'cooked things(?)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some examples of these forms are given in the following sentences. In (98), the derived noun is in a possessive construction with the noun phrase göfa hö'ö 'that ship', and functions as the argument of the nominal predicate Sibolga (a port on the west coast of Sumatra):

(98) Ha Siboga zawa-tö göfa hö'ö?

Is that ship going to Sibolga? (lit. Is the destination of that ship Sibolga?)

In (99) the noun βaßaya-sö 'things to be cooked' is the fronted P argument of the verb balu-gö 'cover':

(99) Ba βaßaya-sö, la-balu-gö bulu nohi.

And the things to be cooked, they covered with coconut leaves.

6.6 Earlier suffix forms

As mentioned above, there is some evidence that the numerous consonants in these suffixes are relict word-final consonants. The words which suggest this are the following:

auri-fa 'life', uri-fö 'domestic animal' and uri-fi 'keep, look after'
tanö-mö 'seedling'
beße-lö 'banks of river'
As noted in Chapter 3 section 8, the evidence for the origin of these suffixes in word-final consonants is sound, even though there is not much of it. The question remains, if all of the suffixes are not original, what were the original suffixes? From the data illustrated in this section, it would appear that all of the -(C)a suffixes except -sa have similar meanings and functions, and that all of the suffixes of the shape -Cö, too, have similar meanings. Because the forms -ta and -tö are by far the most numerous suffixes, and because they occur with stems that are not verbs, it seems plausible to consider them as the most general form of the suffix, presumably ones whose earlier forms attached to vowel-final stems. If all of the other consonants are relict word-final forms, then the original forms of the suffixes -a and -ö would complement these by attaching to consonant-final stems. Only -sa seems to have always had a special function of nominalizing verbs already derived with dynamic fa-.
CHAPTER 7
NOMINAL MUTATION AND CASE

The system of nominal mutation which was described in 3.2.1 is one of the main strategies for marking grammatical relations in Nias\(^1\). This chapter presents a basic summary and description of the syntactic contexts in which mutated and unmutated nominals occur. Details concerning other strategies for marking grammatical relations, such as word-order, pronominal indexing on verbs, and prepositions, are elaborated in Chapter 11.

The first part of this chapter, Section 7.1, outlines the contexts in which mutated nominals occur. The second part, 7.2, outlines the contexts in which unmutated nominals occur. The third section, 7.3, describes the functions of mutated and unmutated forms in derived contexts.

7.1 Contexts in which mutated nominals occur: overview

Mutated nominals occur at both clause-level and phrase-level. At clause-level, mutation occurs predominantly on S arguments of intransitive verbs, on P arguments of transitive verbs, on arguments of nominal predicates and on NPs in apposition with mutated nominals. These contexts are described in detail in 7.1.1.1-7.1.1.6. At phrase level, mutation occurs predominantly on arguments of other nominals (e.g. on 'possessors'), on arguments of certain prepositions, and on arguments of numerals

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\(^1\) Mutation of initial consonants to mark syntactic information is known from many language families, although it is not a common morphosyntactic process in languages in general. It is found in the Niger-Congo language Fula where mutation marks noun classes (Arnott 1970), the Shoshonean language Chemehuevi (Press 1979, discussed in Lieber 1987:84-7), Iwaidja in Australia (Evans 1998) and, as is perhaps most commonly known, the Celtic languages.

There is a remarkable similarity of either function or form in mutation phenomena amongst the languages in which it occurs. In the Celtic languages mutation has case-marking functions which are similar to those in Nias, such as (amongst others) marking objects of transitive clauses, possessors in possessive phrases, prepositions or postpositions (Awbery 1986; Harlow 1989). Furthermore, environments in which mutation does not occur are also similar to those in Nias, such as fronting of arguments. The phonemic feature of nasalization, which is clearly associated with mutation in Nias (see 3.2) is also common to mutation systems in other languages. For example in Fula, Chemehuevi, and Mende nasal clusters are a feature of mutation (Lieber 1987:74-8, 84-7, 112); synchronically in colloquial Welsh, coarticulated nasal + stop clusters are still a productive process (Pilch 1986: 110); and Irish eclipsis, like Nias nominal mutation, is also attributable historically to the loss of a nasal morpheme.
and other quantificational words. These contexts are described in Sections 7.1.2.1-7.1.2.5.

7.1.1 Clause-level arguments

7.1.1.1 S arguments of intransitive verbs

The most common function of mutated nominals is as the S argument of simple intransitive verbs. Example (1) illustrates a simple realis stative construction, in which the verb takes first position in the clause and is followed by a mutated noun (see 11.4 for intransitive clause structure):

(1) Aukhu nidanö.

idanö
ST:hot water:MUT

The water is hot.

Example (2) shows an intransitive verb with a mutated pronoun:

(2) M-örö ya.

DYN-sleep 3s.MUT

He is asleep.

Mutation occurs on the S argument of irrealis forms of intransitive verbs as well, as illustrated in (3). Note that the S is also expressed by the pronominal prefix on the verb (see 11.4 for discussion):

(3) Ya-möi ga ba kho-ma nama Mili.

ama
3s.IRR-go here LOC DAT-1pe.POSS father:MUT Mili

Mili’s father wants to come here to our place.
7.1.1.2 Arguments of the existential verb so

The existential verb so is classified as a subtype of intransitive verb (see 11.4.2.2). The S argument of an existential construction is also mutated, as exemplified by the mutated noun göcoa 'cockroach' in (4), and by the mutated third singular pronoun ya in (5):

(4) Ga so göcoa.
    köcoa
    hereEXISTcockroach:MUT

There's a cockroach here.

(5) Gaö so ya.
    thereEXIST3s.MUT

There he is!

Arguments of the existential verb are also mutated in irrealis mode, as well as being expressed by a prefix on the verb, as illustrated by the mutated NP goßasa 'oßasa feast' in (6):

(6) Ya-so goßasa ba Hiliafasi ba migu2 föna-da.
    oßasa Hiliafasi
    3s.IRR-EXISToßasa.feast:MUTLOCHiliafasi:MUTLOCweekfront-1pi.POSS

There will be an oßasa feast in Hiliafasi next week.

7.1.1.3 Arguments of mental state verbs

Mutated nominals occur in both experiencer and stimulus roles with a small set of mental state verbs including omasi 'like', ata'u 'be afraid', ogoro 'detest', arörö 'be distracted', anigö 'annoy' and olifu 'forget' (see 11.4.2.6). For example in example (7) below, the experiencer mba’e is the mutated form of ba’e, 'monkey', and the stimulus nono matua is the mutated form of ono matua 'boy':

2 The word migu is borrowed from Indonesian minggu 'week'.

---

Note on the use of mutated forms: In the text, mutated forms of nouns are used to indicate a specific role or context in which the noun is used. For example, in the sentence "There's a cockroach here." (4), the noun göcoa is mutated to show that it is used in the S argument of an existential construction. The mutated form Köcoa indicates that it is the S argument of the existential verb so in this construction. Similarly, in the sentence "There he is!" (5), the mutated form Ya indicates that it is the S argument of the existential verb so in this irrealis mode construction. In the sentence "There will be an oßasa feast in Hiliafasi next week." (6), the mutated forms goßasa and oßasa indicate that they are used in the irrealis mode construction. The mutated forms are used to show that the nouns are being used in a specific role or context, and they are not used in everyday conversation. The mutated forms are also used to show the different roles that the nouns can play in a sentence, such as the experiencer and stimulus roles. For example, in the sentence "There's a cockroach here." (4), the noun göcoa is used as the experiencer role in the existential construction. In the sentence "There he is!" (5), the noun ya is used as the stimulus role in the irrealis mode construction. The mutated forms are used to show the different roles that the nouns can play in a sentence, and they are not used in everyday conversation.
The order of the constituents in clauses denoting mental states such as these in which there are two mutated NPs is fixed: the experiencer always precedes the stimulus. Another example is given in (8), where the experiencer is a third person pronoun ya, and the stimulus is a second person pronoun:

(8) Omasi ya ndraugö.
like 3s.MUT 2s.MUT

He likes you.

(There is only one example of these verbs in irrealis mode in my data, but it is not accompanied by a lexical argument which illustrates case-marking and so will not be illustrated here. The example is given in (132) in Chapter 11.)

7.1.1.4 Arguments of nominal clauses

Mutated nominals occur in argument function of nominal clauses (see Chapter 9). A nominal clause is illustrated in (9). The predicate is a proper name, occurring in initial position, and the argument is the mutated NP döi-nia 'his name':

(9) Fasui döi-nia.
   töi
   Fasui name:MUT-3s.POSS

His name is Fasui.

---

3 There may be a semantic reason for this lack of examples: these verbs express feelings or mental states which may not be able to have future or non-real time reference, but are part of a present or past reality only.
Another example is given in (10), where the predicate is a headless relative expressing the occupation for which the person is known, and the argument is the third singular pronoun, *ya*:

(10) $S=a$-nunö $ya$
    aN-tunö
    REL=IPF-tell 3s:MUT

He is a singer (of stories).

### 7.1.1.5 P arguments

Mutation also occurs on nominals which function as P arguments of transitive verbs in main clauses. This is illustrated in (11), in which the transitive verb *bunu* 'kill' is followed by its P argument in mutated form, *mbaßi* 'pig:MUT':

(11) $La$-bunu $mbaßi$.
    baßi
    3p.RLS-kill pig:MUT

They killed a pig.

P arguments are expressed by mutated nominals whether the clause occurs in realis or irrealis mode. An example of a transitive clause in irrealis mode is given in (12). The P argument is the mutated noun phrase *nomo Namada nomae Lafau* 'that Amada Lafau's house'.

(12) $Ndra$-kh<um>ozi *nomo Namada nomae Lafau*.
    omo amada
    3p.IRR-<IRR>burn house:MUT Amada:MUT RECOG Lafau

They want to burn down the house of that Amada Lafau.
Pronouns which occur in P function also occur in mutated form. Examples (13) and (14) illustrate mutated pronouns in P function. In (13) the mutated second singular pronoun ndraugö is the P argument of the verb tehe 'agree with':

(13) U-tehe ndraugö  
1s.RLS-agree  2s.MUT  
I agree with you.

In (14) the mutated pronoun ndraga is the P argument of the verb tolo in irrealis form:

(14) Ya-t<um>olo ndraga.  
3s.IRR-<IRR>help  1pe.MUT  
He will help us.

7.1.1.6 NPs in apposition to mutated arguments

Lexical NPs in apposition to pronouns in mutated form are also mutated. For example, in simple intransitive clauses, a lexical expression of an S argument may occur in addition to a pronoun. When this happens, the lexical NP is mutated. For example in (15), the mutated noun ndra-alæße 'the girl'\(^4\), which is separated from the main clause by comma intonation, is in apposition with the third singular pronoun ya:

(15) Haega so ya, ndra-alæße?  
where EXIST  3s.MUT  COLL.MUT-female  
Where is she, the girl?

Similarly in (16), the mutated NP, Namada nomae Lafau, 'that Amada Lafau' occurs in addition to the third person singular mutated pronoun ya:

---

\(^4\) The collective prefix ira-(~ndra-) can refer to one person who is generally thought of as belonging to a group categorized by the noun (see 4.3).
(16) Samuzana möi ya, Namada nomae Lafau.
    Amada
    bit.by.bit go 3s.MUT Amada:MUT RECOG Lafau

Every now and again he would come, that Amada Lafau.

Note that mutation is marked twice in these clauses, once in pronominal reference and once in the appositional NP.

Additional lexical NPs in mutated form also occur in intransitive constructions which involve two arguments of equal syntactic status. Such a situation obtains in constructions which have reciprocal meaning, including verbs meaning 'be the same' or 'be different'. These constructions consist of an intransitive verb derived with fa- plus a plural mutated pronoun, e.g. fa-manòmanò ira [DO-chat 3p.MUT] 'they chatted', fa-bööö ira [DO-other 3p.MUT] 'they are different', fa-udu ndraga [DO-opponent 1pe.MUT] 'we quarrelled'. If the individual participants are mentioned, they are referred to by nouns in their mutated form. For example in (17), the villages who are at war are referred to by the plural pronoun ira, and then listed by name:

(17) Fa-suvo ira mbanua Zifalagö Gomo
    banua Sifalagö
    DO-fight 3p.MUT village:MUT Sifalagö:MUT Gomo

mbanua Zana'ai.
banua Sana'ai
village:MUT Sama'ai:MUT

The villages of Sifalagö Gomo and Sana'ai were at war. (H)

In (18), the participants in the chat are referred to by the pronoun ira, and then listed by name:
There are no examples in my data in which the plural pronoun is omitted from sentences also containing two mutated NPs, suggesting that the pronoun in these constructions is obligatory. The mutated nouns are optional in all cases. (Reciprocal constructions are discussed further in 11.4.1).

7.1.2 Phrase-level arguments

7.1.2.1 Possessive nominals

Mutated nominals occur as lexical expressions of possessors. For example in omo ga'a-gu [house older.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS] 'my brother's house', ka'a 'older sibling' is mutated. Alienable and inalienable possession is not distinguished in Nias, so part-whole constructions are also expressed by a 'possessive' construction in which the mutated noun expresses the 'whole', e.g. ohi 'coconut tree', is mutated in the part-whole construction bulu nohi [leaf coconut.tree:MUT] 'the frond of the coconut tree'. An example of two mutated nouns in possessive roles occurs twice in (19) below: the mutated nouns mbuaya 'crocodile' and mborocoe 'monitor lizard' are both 'possessors' of guli 'skin', which in turn is a 'possessor' of la'ala'a 'colour' (brackets are included for clarity):

(19) Fa-bö'ö [la'ala'a [guli mbuaya]]
    la'ala'a uli buaya
    DO-different colour:MUT skin:MUT crocodile:MUT

[la'ala'a [guli mborocoe]].

la'ala'a uli boroce
colour:MUT skin:MUT monitor.lizard:MUT

The skin of a crocodile and the skin of a monitor lizard are different in colour.
Although nouns are mutated when functioning as possessors, independent pronouns do not occur in mutated form as possessors. When possessors are expressed pronominally, they occur as suffixes on the possessed noun, e.g. by the suffix -gu in *tana-gu* [hand-1s.POSS] 'my hand', and by the suffix -nia in *ono-nia* [child-3s.POSS] 'her child'. Possessive suffixes are generally only used with reference to humans (as are mutated pronouns). For a list of possessive suffixes see Table 6 in Chapter 4.

### 7.1.2.2 Arguments of the dative preposition *khö*

Mutated nominals occur after the dative preposition *khö*, which is the basic preposition used with humans (see 4.11). Examples of prepositional phrases containing mutated nominals after *khö* are given in (20) - (23). In (20), the noun *fo'omo* 'spouse' has the role of Recipient:

(20)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I-be } & \text{khö } \text{vo'omo-nia } \text{nukha } s=oyo. \\
& \text{fo'omo } \text{nukha} \\
& \text{3s.RLS-give } \text{DAT} \text{spouse:MUT-3s.POSS} \text{cloth:MUT} \text{REL=red}
\end{align*}
\]

She gave her husband the red cloth.

In (21), *nama-nia* 'his father' is a Goal:

(21)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I-oturagö } & \text{zi=ndruhu } \text{khö } \text{nama-nia.} \\
& \text{si=} \text{ama} \\
& \text{3s.RLS-tell } \text{REL.MUT=true} \text{DAT} \text{father:MUT-3s.POSS}
\end{align*}
\]

He told his father the truth.

In (22), the noun *si'ila* 'advisor' occurs as a Source after the preposition *khö*:
(22) La-tema gan’a kho zi’ila.
    ana’a si’ila
3p.RLS-receive gold:MUT DAT advisor:MUT

They received the gold from the advisor.

In (23), kho signals a benefactive role for the nominal nama-nia 'her father':

(23) I-öli kho nama-nia daßuo
    ama taßuo
3s.RLS DAT father:MUT-3s.POSS betel.leaf:MUT

She bought her father some betel leaves.

If reference is pronominal, the dative preposition takes possessive suffixes
e.g. kho-nia [DAT-3s.POSS] 'to, from, for him'. Pronominal suffixes take the same
semantic roles as mutated nominals. Examples (24)-(27) illustrate pronominal suffixes
in each of the roles exemplified in (20)-(23) above for nominals. In (24), the dative
phrase kho-nia 'to him' refers to a recipient:

(24) La-be kho-nia gan’a.
    ana’a
3p.RLS-give DAT-3s.POSS gold:MUT

They gave him the gold.

In (25), kho-u 'to you' refers to the addressee:

(25) Haiya ni-waö-nia kho-u?
    what PASS-say-3s.POSS DAT-2s.POSS

What did he say to you?

In (26), kho-gu 'from me' represents a source:
He would like to borrow money from me.

In (27), *khö-u* 'for you' is benefactive:

Let me make the porridge for you. (Cf. *da u-o-bubu ö-u vakhe* 'Let me make you some porridge.')

### 7.1.2.3 Arguments of other prepositions

Mutated nominals also occur after the general preposition for non-humans, *ba*, and compounds formed with this preposition such as *baka ba* 'inside', (see 4.11) e.g. *ba mbanua* 'in, at, to, from the village', *baka ba mboßoa* [inside LOC cauldron:MUT] 'inside the cauldron'. Some other examples of mutated nouns following the preposition *ba* are given in (26)-(27):

He has blood on his face.

The pot fell out of my hands.

Pronominal reference does not occur after *ba* since pronominal reference is restricted to humans.
When the adverb *fōna* 'in front' is used as a preposition, it is followed by mutated noun, as exemplified in (28) and (29):

(28) So mere fōna nomo.

merē omo
EXIST sign:MUT in.front house:MUT

There's a sign in front of the house.

(29) La-hono-gōi fōna va’a-so agama.

fa’ā-
3p.RLS-calm-TR in.front NR.MUT-arrive religion

It was all settled before the coming of religion.\(^5\)

However, when *fōna* 'in front' occurs with pronouns, the pronoun is in possessive form, e.g. *fōna-gu* [in.front 1s.POSS] 'in front of me', *fōna-mi* [in.front 2p.POSS] 'in front of you'.\(^6\)

### 7.1.2.4 Nominals occurring with numerals and numeral classifiers

Mutation occurs on nominals which occur with a numeral or a numeral plus classifier construction. Some examples of nominals which occur with numerals are given in (30). The numeral occurs before the nominal:

(30) *sara mbu* [one hair:MUT] 'one hair'
*dua gahe* [two leg:MUT] 'two legs'
*ōfa zi’u* [four elbow:MUT] 'four corners'
*lima na=otu z=aluaya* [five LK=100 REL.MUT=dance] 'five hundred dancers'

Examples of nominals occurring with numeral + classifier combinations are given in (31). The numeral and classifier precede the nominal:

---

\(^5\) The word *agama* 'religion' is borrowed and therefore does not mutate.

\(^6\) The ability to occur with possessive suffixes is one criterion for noun-hood (see 4.2). The suffixation of pronominal forms to *fōna* indicates that *fōna* is still syntactically nominal in some sense.
Nominals occurring with the quantifier *fefu* 'all'

Nominals which occur with the quantifier *fefu* 'all, most' are also mutated. For example, in (32), *fefu* is followed by the mutated noun *geu* 'tree':

(32) Oi a-fatö fefu geu.

all ST-break all tree:MUT

All the trees are broken.

It is ambiguous in (32) whether mutation occurs on the argument *geu* 'tree' due to its role as the S argument of *a-fatö* 'broken', or because of its relationship with *fefu*. However, when the NP containing *fefu* 'all' occurs before the verb, it is clear that it cannot be the verb which is responsible since *geu* 'tree' remains in mutated form, as illustrated in (33):

(33) Na mo-ani s-a-bölö-bölö,

when HAVE-wind REL=ST-RDP2-strong

ba fefu geu oi a-fatö.

CNJ all tree:MUT all ST-break

When the wind is very strong, all of the trees get broken.

If mutation on *geu* were motivated by its relationship to the verb, the mutation would be lost when the noun precedes the verb (see 7.2.1.8). Since *geu* is mutated in (33), it is reasonable to suppose that the quantifier *fefu* 'all' is responsible for the mutation.
As illustrated in (33), constructions with *fefu* 'all' can be translated by genitival phrases in English, i.e. *all of the trees*. These quantificational phrases are, however, clearly not possessive, since pronouns which follow *fefu* are not in possessive form but are mutated, as illustrated in (34), where *fefu* occurs with the mutated third plural pronoun, *ira*.

(34) Fefu ira ma-nua foci.

all 3p.MUT IPF-speak lie

All of them tell lies.

Note that *fefu ira* 'all of them' precedes the verb in (34), a context which requires unmutated nominals, indicating that it must be *fefu* which is responsible for the mutated form of the pronoun. *Fefu* 'all, most' itself does not mutate, even when it is the sole argument of the verb (see 8.5.1).

7.2 Contexts in which unmutated nominals occur: overview

The range of syntactic contexts in which unmutated nominals occur is greater and more diverse than that of mutated nominals. In unmutated form, nouns have a slightly different distribution from pronouns. At clause level, unmutated nouns occur in the following functions:

(35) functions of unmutated nouns at clause level

as A arguments
as arguments of the negative existential verb
as the predicate of nominal clauses
as targets of change of state verbs
as arguments expressing standards to which other entities are compared
as instrumental arguments with verbs of impact
as certain locative, temporal or instrumental arguments
in fronted position
For semantic reasons, unmutated pronouns may occur only in the first three of these functions, or in fronted position in a clause.

Functions in which unmutated nouns occur at phrase level are listed in (36):

(36) functions of unmutated nouns at phrase level

- as arguments in certain locative phrases
- as the argument of certain prepositions
- as arguments within conjoined phrases
- as non-initial NPs in lists
- following the particle *ha* 'only'

Again, for semantic reasons, unmutated pronouns do not occur in the first of these functions.

Contexts in which unmutated nouns and pronouns occur at clause-level will be described in sections 7.2.1.1-7.2.1.8, followed by those in which unmutated nouns and pronouns occur at phrase-level, sections 7.2.2.1-7.2.2.6.

### 7.2.1 Clause-level arguments

#### 7.2.1.1 A arguments

Lexical expressions of the A argument in transitive clauses occur in unmutated form, as illustrated by the unmutated form of *ama* 'father' in (37):

(37) I-fa-tene ga ndrao khō-mi ama-gu.

\[ \text{3s.RLS-DO-messenger here 1s.MUT DAT-2p.POSS father-1s.POSS} \]

My father sent me here to you. (H)

In (38) the A argument is expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix *la-* and by the phrase *ono mbanua* 'children of the village' (i.e. 'villagers'), in which *ono* is unmutated:
The unmutated form of a lexical A may occur in irrealis clauses as well as realis clauses, as illustrated in (39), where the A argument of the verb in irrealis form, *mbe* 'give:IRR', is the unmutated noun *Ama Dali*:

(39) U-tö-töna va ya-mbe gefe Ama Dali kefe
    1s.RLS-expect COMP 3s.IRR-give:IRR money:MUT Ama Dali kefe
    khu nda-ono.
    ira-
    DAT COLL.MUT-child

I expected Ama Dali to give some money to the children.

Independent pronouns are not generally used to code the A. However, pronouns in unmutated form may occur as expressions of an A argument in addition to a pronominal prefix in imperative contexts, where an addressee's name or title may also be used. Sentence (40) illustrates an imperative sentence in which the A argument is expressed by an unmutated second plural pronoun, *ya'ami*, and the addressee *iraono-gu* 'my children', as well as the pronominal prefix *mi*:-

(40) Mi-halö dödö-gu ya'ami ira-ono-gu.
    tödö 2p.RLS-take liver:MUT-1s.POSS 2p COLL-child-1s.POSS

Pick up my liver, my children! (H)

---

7 The collocation of *ono* 'child' plus a location usually indicates a person from that place.
8 This utterance is spoken by a deceased nobleman to his children.
Another example is given in (41) which also illustrates an A argument expressed both by a prefix on the verb and by an unmutated second plural pronoun, *ya’ami*, which is in this case modified by a relative clause expressing quantity:

(414) Böi mi-röi ndrao,

   NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-leave.behind 1s.MUT

   ya’ami andra si=feleßitu!

   2p PROX REL=seventeen

   Don’t leave me, you seventeen!

7.2.1.2 Arguments of the negative existential verb *löna*

In contrast with the affirmative existential verb *so* described above, the argument of the negative existential verb *löna* is unmutated, as shown by the unmutated noun *baßi* 'pig' in (42):

(42) Löna baßi ba mbanua ha’a.

  NEG.EXIST pig LOC village:MUT PROX

   There are no pigs in this village.

Pronouns are also unmutated after the negative existential verb, as illustrated in (43).

(43) Löna ya’ia.

   NEG.EXIST 3s

   He is not there.

7.2.1.3 Predicates in nominal clauses

Examples of nominal clauses were given in (9) and (10) above which illustrated unmutated nominals in predicate position. In (9), the predicate consists of the unmutated form of the name *Fasui*; in (10), the headless relative *sanunö* 'singer' is predicate. An unmutated pronoun as predicate of a nominal clause is illustrated in (44)
below. The predicate is the first singular unmutated pronoun, *ya'o*, and its argument is the mutated lexical noun *zia'a* 'the eldest' (see Chapter 6 for further examples).

(44)  

\[
\text{Ya'o zia'a.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{rl}
\text{zia'a} & \\
\text{1s} & \text{first-born:MUT}
\end{array}
\]

I am the eldest. (lit. 'the eldest is me')

### 7.2.1.4 Targets of change of state verbs

Unmutated nouns occur as the argument referring to the target in change of state verbs such as *tobali* 'become', *möi* 'become', *be* 'make become', *bali'ö* 'change, convert', *falali* 'swap', *fake* 'use as', *halö* 'take (to use) as'. The argument referring to the participant which undergoes change is mutated. For example in (45), the target for the change is expressed as the unmutated NP, *sabu-ma* 'our soap', and the entity undergoing change is expressed by the mutated NP *mbötua naßu andre* 'that lime of the ashes', which is the P argument of the verb *vake* 'use':

(45)  

\[
\text{Ga-vake sabu-ma mbötua naßu andre.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{rl}
\text{...-fake bötua aßu} & \\
\text{1pe.RLS-use:IRR soap-1pe.POSS lime:MUT ash:MUT DIST}
\end{array}
\]

We will use that lime ash as our soap.

In (46), the participant undergoing change is *danö* 'land', mutated form of *tanö*, and the target is the unmutated noun *benua* 'farm':

(46)  

\[
\text{La-halö danö hö'ö benua.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{rl}
\text{tanö} & \\
\text{3p.RLS-hold land:MUT DIST garden}
\end{array}
\]

They took that land as a garden.
7.2.1.5 Nominals expressing standards to which other nominals are compared

Unmutated nouns also occur as the argument which expresses the standard with which something is compared in constructions with the verb *mae* 'be like', 'resemble'. The argument which refers to the thing being compared is mutated. For example in (47), the standard with which *dōdō-nia* 'his liver' (i.e. the 'seat of emotions') is compared is the unmutated form *batu* 'stone':

(47)  Mae  batu  dōdō-nia.
      tödō
reseemle  stone  liver:MUT-3s.POSS

His heart is as hard as stone.

In constructions with *mae* 'be like', word order appears to be fixed. In all the examples in the data *mae* is always followed by the standard, and not by the object compared.

7.2.1.6 Instrumental arguments

Unmutated nouns commonly occur with instrumental meaning. Arguments referring to instruments occur particularly with verbs of impact, as illustrated in (48) by the unmutated noun *toho* 'spear':

(48)  Göna  ya  toho.
      struck  3s.MUT  spear

He was hit with a spear.

However, other kinds of verbs may also occur with unmutated nouns which identify an instrumental role (in a very broad sense) for the referent of the NP. For example in

See 11.4.2.8 for discussion of these constructions, and arguments that these clauses are not transitive.
(49), the unmutated noun *ana'a* 'gold' is understood as the thing used to fulfill the action of the verb:

(49)  
I-fönu-i mbölökha-nia ana'a.  

*bölökha*  
3s.RLS-full-TR arm:MUT-3s.POSS gold  
He filled his arms with gold.

Another example is given in (5), in which the unmutated noun *idanö* 'water' is ann Instrument:

(50)  
To-baya idanö ya.  

*RES-touch water 3s.MUT*  
He was baptized. (lit. 'He was touched with water')

### 7.2.1.7 Certain locative or temporal arguments

An unmutated noun may also occur with locative or temporal meaning with a variety of semantically appropriate verbs. For example, the noun *sikola* 'school' is used locatively in (51):

(51)  
Me ma=tama ya sikola ...  

*when PERF=graduate 3s.MUT school*  
When he had graduated from school ...

In (52) the noun *boni* 'night' is used as a temporal adverbial:

(52)  
Fa-manömanö sui ira boni.  

*DO-chat again 3p.MUT night*  
They talked again at night.
7.2.1.8  Fronted arguments

NP arguments which occur at the front of a clause are unmutated, including arguments which would normally be mutated if they followed a verb. For example in (53), the argument which occurs in initial position, *si’o hö’ö* 'that stick', is the P argument of the verb *taru-ö* 'plant':

(53)  
\[\text{Si’o hö’ö ma=i-taru-ö ba danö.}\]

\[\text{stick DIST PERF=3s.RLS-plant-TR LOC ground.MUT}\]

That stick he planted in the ground. (Z-L)

In unmarked forms of transitive clauses, the P argument occurs after the verb and is mutated, e.g. *i-taru-ö zi’o hö’ö ba danö* [PERF 3s.RLS-plant-TR stick:MUT DIST LOC ground.MUT] 'he planted that stick in the ground'.

7.2.2 Phrase-level arguments

7.2.2.1 Arguments of the instrumental preposition *faoma*

Unmutated nouns occur after the instrumental preposition *faoma* 'with', e.g. *faoma sousou* ['with a scoop']. Note that most other prepositions occur with mutated nominals, as discussed above in sections 7.1.2.2 and 7.1.2.3. Other examples of unmutated nouns occurring with the instrumental preposition *faoma* 'with' are given in (54) and (55):

(54)  
\[\text{U-taba nagole faoma balatu.}\]

\[\text{nagole 1s.RLS-cut.up meat:MUT with knife}\]

I cut the meat with a knife.

(55)  
\[\text{Ma=i-cimba faoma baluse-nia.}\]

\[\text{PERF=3s.RLS-repulse with shield-3s.POSS}\]

He repulsed (it) with his shield. (Z-L)
7.2.2.2 Lexicalized locative phrases

Unmutated nouns also occur anomalously in one small set of locative phrases containing the locative preposition *ba*. Usually *ba* is followed by a mutated NP, e.g. *ba mbanua* [LOC village:MUT] 'in, at, to the village'. The set of locative phrases in which *ba* is followed by an unmutated noun was given in (56) but is repeated here for convenience:

(56) baomo [LOC:house] 'at home, home'
    baeßali [LOC:courtyard] 'in the courtyard'
    baora [LOC:stairs] 'on the stairs'
    baoßo [LOC:boat] 'in the boat' (fishing)
    baene [LOC:sea shore] 'at the sea shore' (fishing)
    baulu [LOC:headwaters] 'upstream'
    baero [LOC:outside] 'outside' (euphemism for going to the toilet)
    barö [LOC:area.underneath] 'underneath'

These phrases have become lexicalized, as is evident from two features: the sequence of vowels formed from the affixation of *ba* to the vowel-initial noun is diphthongized, indicating that the preposition is no longer a separate word, and the affixation of *ba* does not occasion the insertion of a glottal stop, which would be required if the noun were a distinct phonological word.

7.2.2.3 Nominals following *ha* 'only'

Unmutated nouns and pronouns also occur after the particle *ha* 'only, just', regardless of their grammatical function. An example of *ha* followed by an unmutated pronoun is given in (57):

(57) Ha ya'ia zi=möi.
    si=
    only 3s REL.MUT=go

He was the only one to go. (lit. 'The one who went was only him.)
Further examples may be found in 4.13.3.1. All of the examples containing *ha* occur in first position in the clause. Since phrases containing *ha* 'only' always occur in this position, which typically requires an unmutated NP, it is not clear whether the particle *ha* is influencing the form of the nominal or whether the lack of mutation is due to the position of the NP.

### 7.2.2.4 Nouns following the numeral *sa-* 'one' + classifier

Typically unmutated nouns occur after the reduced form of the numeral *sa-* 'one' plus a classifier, e.g. *sa-mbua banua* [one-CLF.MUT village] 'a village', *sa-geu baβi* [one-CLF.MUT pig] 'a pig'. When other numerals or numerals and classifiers precede nouns, the nouns are mutated, e.g. *ōfa geu mbaβi* [four-CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'four pigs'. However, there are several instances in which mutated nouns occur in exactly the same constructions, e.g. *sa-geu mbaβi* [one-CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'one pig'. There may be subtle semantic influences of which I am as yet unaware, or these constructions may be undergoing restructuring.

### 7.2.2.5 Nominals following a conjunction

As discussed in 4.13.2 unmutated nominals occur after the conjunctions *ba* 'and' and *ma* 'or', and after the word *faoma* 'with' in its comitative use. For example in (58), a conjoined phrase occurs as an S argument of the existential verb *so*. The phrase consists of the mutated proper name *Namada Salawa Holia*\(^{10}\) and the unmutated NP *fo'omo-nia* 'his wife':

(58) Gaö so Namada Salawa Holia ba fo'omo-nia, Larisenia.

*Amada* there EXIST Amada:MUT Salawa Holia CNJ spouse-3s.POSS Larisenia

There live Amada Salawa Holia and his wife, Larisenia. (H)

---

\(^{10}\) Note that proper names and place names in Nias conform to the same system of mutation as simple nouns.
As mentioned in 4.13.2, mutation occurs only on the first NP in a conjoined phrase. In (59), the S argument of the verb *fao* 'join with' is a conjoined phrase consisting of the mutated NP *Mazinö* and the unmutated place name *Onolalu* (Mutation is not evident on *Mazinö* because /m/ is not affected by mutation):

(59) Na la-f-o-töi Mainamölö meföna ba
when 3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name Mainamölö in.the.early.days CNJ
löna fao Mazinö ma Onolalu.
NEG join.with Mazinö or Onolalu

When they named (it) Mainamölö in the early days, it didn't include Mazinö or Onolalu. (H)

In (60), the conjoined phrase is the P argument of the verb *dada* 'set down', and is similar to the conjoined phrase in (58) above in that it consists of a proper name and the NP *fo'omo-nia* 'his wife'. The NP arguments are joined with *faoma* 'with':

(60) Ba i-dada sui matö tou Namada Gözö Helani
Amada
CNJ 3s.RLS-put.down again therefore down Amada:MUT Gözö Helani
Tanö faoma fo'omo-nia Inada Rai Sahoni.
Tanö with spouse-3s.POSS Inada Rai Sahoni

And so again he set down Amada Gözö Helani Tanö and his wife Inada Rai Sahoni. (H)

Further examples of the two conjunctive particles and *faoma* can be found in 4.13.2.

### 7.2.2.6 Non-initial nominals in lists

In lists, unmutated nominals occur in non-initial position. For example in (61), the nouns which follow *li* 'sound' all refer to 'possessors'. As noted in 7.1.2.1 above, possessors are expressed by mutated nouns or possessive pronouns. In the list in
only the first noun, *zi'ulu* 'village leader', is mutated. The other nouns are unmutated.

(61) La-o-ö sibai li Zi'ulu-ra,
    si'ulu
3p.RLS-follow-TR ITNS sound village.leader:MUT-3p.POSS

Ama-ra, Si'ila-ra ...
father-3p.POSS advisor-3p.POSS

They followed very carefully the words of their village leader, their ancestors, their village advisors, ...

7.3 **Derived contexts: overview**

There are a number of uses which mutated and unmutated nominals, as well as possessive suffixes, have with certain forms of verbs, particularly in relative clause formation and nominalized forms of verbs. What is interesting about these contexts is that they are the mirror image of those in which mutated and unmutated nominals and possessive suffixes occur in simple main clauses such as are described above. While A arguments may be expressed lexically by unmutated nominals in simple transitive main clauses, they are expressed by mutated nominals when the verb is in imperfective form, and by mutated nominals or possessive suffixes when a P argument is relativised or the verb is nominalized. That is, when an A argument occurs in a dependent context it is either mutated or occurs as a possessive suffix. And while P arguments are expressed by mutated nominals in simple transitive main clauses, they are expressed by unmutated nominals in clauses in which A's or datives are relativised, and in nominalized forms of transitive verbs. That is, in dependent contexts P arguments are unmutated. Similarly, while S arguments are mutated in simple realis main clauses, they occur as unmutated forms when locative or genitive arguments are relativised, and as possessive suffixes or mutated nominals when verbs are nominalized. These contexts are exemplified below.
7.3.1 Arguments of imperfective forms of transitive verbs

Mutated nominals are used to express the referent corresponding to the A argument of a simple transitive clause when the verb is used in its imperfective form as a main clause verb (see 10.3.2.1 for discussion). For example in (62), the A argument is expressed by the mutated proper name Vasui:

(62) Man-uri zawi Vasui.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sawi} & \text{fasui} \\
\text{IPF-keep} & \text{cattle:MUT Fasui:MUT}
\end{array}
\]

Fasui keeps cattle.

Compare a simple transitive version of this clause, in which the A argument is represented by the pronominal prefix i- and the proper name, Fasui: ma=i-uri zawi Fasui... [PERF=3s.RLS-keep cattle:MUT Fasui...] 'Fasui kept cattle'.

In dependent clauses which contain imperfective forms of transitive verbs P arguments are unmutated (dependent clauses are ones in which the A argument is not overtly mentioned, having been expressed by an argument in the matrix clause). The verb fazökhi 'make, fix' is illustrated in imperfective (and dependent) form in the progressive construction in (63). The P argument, fandru 'light', is unmutated:

(63) I-lau ma-mazökhi fandru.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{maN-fazökhi} & \\
3s.RLS-do & \text{IPF-fix lamp}
\end{array}
\]

He's fixing the light.

Compare the simple transitive form of this clause: i-fazökhi vandru [3s.RLS-fix light:MUT] 'He fixed the light', in which the P argument is mutated noun vandru. Dependent clauses containing imperfective forms of transitive verbs may be thought of as nominal in character. Apart from the fact that they may occur as complements of the verb lau 'do' in the progressive construction illustrated in (63) (see 10.3.2.2.1 for
7.3.2 Arguments in relative clauses

When a P argument is relativised, the A argument is expressed by a mutated NP or a possessive suffix. Example (64) below illustrates a relative clause relativising nukha 'clothes', in which the A argument is expressed by the mutated form nakhi-gu 'my younger sibling':

\[(64)\] nukha ni-sasai nakhi-gu

\[\text{clothes PASS-wash younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS}\]

the clothes which were/are to be washed by my little sister

Pronominal reference to the A argument in such clauses is made by possessive suffix e.g. nukha ni-sasai-nia [clothes PASS-wash-3s.POSS] 'clothes washed by her'.

In contrast, when an A argument is relativised, or a dative argument in clauses in which it is core (see 8.4.2 and 8.4.3) the P argument is expressed by an unmutated NP. For example, in (65) the A argument, ono matua 'boy' has been relativised, and occurs as the argument of the demonstrative predicate andrehe'e 'that one'. The P argument in the relative clause, ohi 'coconut tree', is unmutated:

\[(65)\] Andehe'e nono matua si=lau ohi.

\[\text{ono that.one child:MUT male REL=climb coconut.tree}\]

That's the boy who climbed the tree.

In (66) the source argument (dative) is relativised, and the P argument, kefe 'money' is unmutated:
The man I borrowed the money from is my uncle.\footnote{Note that (66) is a nominal clause in which \textit{si=ma=ufaßalö kefe sibaya-gu} ‘my uncle’ is the predicate (as is evident from its lack of mutation; see Chapter 9 for discussion). The argument, \textit{niha si=ma ußaßalö kefe}, ‘the man I borrowed money from’, is fronted.}

(66) Niha si=ma=ufaßalö kefe sibaya-gu.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  person & REL=PERF=1s.RLS-borrow & money & uncle-1s.POSS \\
\end{tabular}

Compare the unrelativised sentence in which the P argument is mutated: \textit{u-ßaßalö gefe kho-niha} [1s.RLS-borrow money:MUT DAT-person] ‘I borrowed money from a man’.

When possessor or locative arguments are relativised, S arguments are expressed by unmutated nominals. For example in (67), the possessor, \textit{niha} ‘man’ is relativised. The ‘possessed’ object, which is the S argument of the relative clause, is expressed by the unmutated noun \textit{fo'omo} ‘wife’:

(67) niha si=mate fo'omo

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  person & REL=die & wife \\
\end{tabular}

the man whose wife died

In (68), the locative \textit{banua} ‘village’ is relativised. The S argument, \textit{ina-gu} ‘my mother’, is unmutated:

(68) banua si=toroi ina-gu

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  village & REL=live & mother-1s.POSS \\
\end{tabular}

the village in which my mother lives

For further examples and discussion of relative clauses see 8.4

\subsection{Arguments of nominalized verbs}

When verbs are nominalized (see Chapter 6), A or S arguments occur as possessive suffixes on the derived noun or as mutated nouns after it. For example in (69), the
nominalized form of the verb *mo-βua* 'HAVE fruit' occurs with a mutated NP *gae-ra* 'their banana trees'.

(69) Gasagasa v-a-mase'ō f-o-βua gae-ra ...
    f-aN-base'ō gae
during NR:MUT-IPF-wait.for CAU-HAVE:FRUIT LEN banana:MUT-3p.POSS
While they waited for their banana trees to bear fruit, ... (lit. during the waiting for the fruiting of their banana trees...)

In a simple intransitive form of the verb, *gae-ra* would function as the S argument, e.g. *mo-βua gae-ra* 'HAVE:FRUIT:LEN banana:MUT-3p.POSS] 'Their banana trees are fruiting'. An example of an A argument in the form of a possessive suffix, -*nia*, occurs in (70):

(70) Börö v-a-m-o-ndono-nia li Goidö ...
    f-aN-f-aN-rono Goidö
because.of NR:MUT-IPF-CAU-IPF-hear-3s.POSS sound Goidö:MUT
Because of his listening to Goidö's words, ...

Compare the simple transitive form of this clause, in which the A argument is a pronominal prefix on the verb: *i-f-o-ndro-ndro-ndro li Goidö* [3s.RLS-DYN-IPF-RDP1-hear sound:MUT Goidö:MUT] 'he listened to the words of Goidö'. Another example is given in (71), in which the third plural possessive suffix -*ra* can be seen to correspond to the A argument of the simple transitive clause *la-faoso gehomo* [3p.RLS-CAU-rise pillar:MUT] 'They raised the pillar'.

(71) Fefu nono mbanua oi la-faigi
    ono banua
all child:MUT village:MUT all 3p.RLS-see
Note that the P argument of the derived noun in (71), *ehomo* 'pillar', is unmutated. As mentioned above, this is typical for P arguments of nominalized transitive verbs. Another example of this is given in (72), in which the noun *omo* 'house' is in unmutated form after the nominalized form of the transitive verb, *fazökhi* 'make, fix'. (This nominalization is itself mutated, to mark the possessor of *mbößö* 'laws'.)

(72) ... la-waö mbößö v-a-mazökhi omo.
    bößö f-aN-fazökhi
... 3p.RLS-say law:MUT NR.MUT-IPF-make house
    ... they talk about the laws for building a house.

7.4 Summary: comments on case marking
As examples in the lists show, at the level of argument structure in simple (non-derived) main clauses, mutated nominals occur as S and P arguments while unmutated nominals occur as A arguments. The case alignment which treats the S and P arguments in the same way and the A argument differently is typically described as an ergative pattern. In such a pattern, S and P arguments are regarded as occurring in absolutive case and the A argument as occurring in ergative case. Although the terms 'absolutive' and 'ergative' are appropriate for arguments in some contexts in Nias, there are numerous syntactic contexts in which these terms are potentially misleading. In particular, many of the uses listed in (35) and (36) of unmutated forms are ones that are not ergative in the sense of the A argument of a transitive verb, such as the predicate in predicate nominal clauses, the non-initial noun in lists or conjoined phrases or the P argument in dependent clauses and of nominalized verbs. Despite a possibly clumsy feel to the words, the terms given to nominal arguments in this thesis
are simply 'mutated' and 'unmutated'. For simplicity, only mutated nominals are
glossed with MUT; no extra gloss is used for unmutated nominals.
CHAPTER 8
NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

This chapter outlines the structure of noun phrases. Noun phrases are constituents which are not part of the verbal predicate complex (see Chapter 10) but bear a grammatical relationship either to the verb or to another constituent within the clause. This grammatical relationship is manifested by case marking, which is realized as mutation (or lack of it) on the noun or pronoun head of the noun phrase (see 3.2 for the morphological expressions of mutation). The head of a noun phrase always occurs as the first constituent in the phrase. In section 8.5 of this chapter, evidence is presented to claim that Nias also has quantificational phrases in which quantifiers and numerals are heads.

8.1 Basic constituent order in NPs

A noun phrase containing more than just a noun can be followed by any of the following modifiers: a possessive pronoun or noun, one or two demonstrative adjuncts and one or more relative clauses. There are rarely more than two adjuncts in a noun phrase. More often than not there is only one, if any. The most commonly found adjunct is a demonstrative. Some quantifiers and numerals may precede an NP, and take the syntactic role of head of a quantificational phrase (see section 8.5). If an NP is specific and definite, a numeral takes the form of a relative clause and follows the noun. Schematically, the order of constituents in a definite NP with noun as head is given in (1) (where the raised 'n' implies the theoretical possibility of any number):

(1) N (POSS) (DEM) (DEM) (RC) n (RC)
    (DEICTIC) (RECOG) (attrib) (num)

Each of these constituents will be discussed below.
8.2 Possession

Possessors immediately follow the noun referring to the possessed thing, and occur as a mutated noun or possessive suffix. Only nouns (both simple and derived) occur as heads of possessive constructions—pronouns and proper names do not occur with possessive modification. An example of a possessive construction is given in (2). The possessor is expressed by the mutated noun *mbuaya* 'crocodile':

(2) telau mbuaya

    buaya
    head crocodile:MUT

    head of the crocodile.

A pronominal possessor is expressed as a suffix, e.g. *telau-nia* [head-3s.POSS] 'his head'.1 Alienable and inalienable possession is not distinguished. Compare, for example, *telau-nia* 'his head' with *balatu-nia* [knife-3s.POSS] 'his knife', or *sifatu-nia* 'his shoe'. Possessive constructions are used also for part-whole relations in which ownership is not at issue, e.g.:

(3) ere nefali

    efali
    path courtyard:POSS

    central path of courtyard

---

1 A list of possessive pronominal suffixes was given in Table 5 in Chapter 4, but is repeated here for convenience. Irrealis pronominal prefixes are also listed here to illustrate the similarities between them and the possessive suffixes. Realis pronominal prefixes are listed for reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>possessive suffixes</th>
<th>irrealis prefixes</th>
<th>realis prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s -gu</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s -u</td>
<td>gö-</td>
<td>ö-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s -nia</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi -da</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe -ga</td>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p -mi</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p -ra</td>
<td>ndra-</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Possessors may be nested. For example in (5), the possessive modifier *naki* zadua-gu itself contains the possessive modifier zadua-gu which itself contains the possessive suffix -gu (brackets are included for clarity):

(5)  Ina Moli, [ono [nakhi zadua-gu]].

The mother of Moli is the daughter of the younger brother of my grandfather.

(i.e. my grandfather's niece)

(The NP *ina Moli* in this example is the argument of the nominal predicate *ono nakhi zadua-gu*. It has been fronted for discourse purposes. In non-fronted nominal clauses the argument follows the predicate and occurs in mutated form, see 7.2.1.8.) Note that in possessive constructions, the possessive suffix or mutated noun referring to the possessor refers only to the constituent immediately to its left. For example in (5), the first singular possessive suffix -gu refers only to zadua, not to nakhi 'younger sibling' or to ono 'child'. Another example of nested possessors is given in (6):

(6)  Löna faoma [ndroto-ndoto mboto ndra-matua].

Note that in possessive constructions, the possessor refers only to the constituent immediately to its left.
In (6), the 'possessor' of *ndrotondroto 'parts' is the mutated noun *mboto 'body', while the 'possessor' of *mboto is the mutated noun *ndra-matua 'man' in the first NP and *ndra-alaße 'woman' in the second.

8.3 Demonstratives

Demonstrative adjuncts may immediately follow any noun or pronoun head of an NP. If the noun is possessed, a demonstrative adjunct will follow the possessive construction.

There are two broad semantic types of demonstratives in Nias: a purely deictic type and a 'recognitional' type (Himmelmann 1996, 1998; see below), both of which have numerous forms. The deictic type is used to identify the physical or cognitive proximity of an entity within the situational or speech context. Deictic demonstratives form two classes: a proximal class (PROX), referring to things which are physically or cognitively close to the speaker, and a distal class (DIST), referring to things which are physically or cognitively distant from the speaker. Some deictic demonstratives may function as both adjunct and pronoun, some function only as adjuncts, and some function only as pronouns. Adnominal uses will be discussed first because adnominal use is broader and more frequent than pronominal use (as is the case in other languages, see Himmelmann 1996:204).

The deictic demonstrative adjuncts of Nias Selatan are listed in Table 7, according to whether they have proximal or distal meaning. In practice the distinction

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2 The reduplication of nouns to indicate plural, as has occurred in the form *ndroto-ndroto 'parts', is not a normal strategy in nouns to indicate plural in Nias Selatan. See section 7 in this chapter.
between proximal and distal is often not clear. The terms PROX and DIST are used for deictic demonstratives until a more precise analysis can be made.

### Table 7: Deictic demonstrative adjuncts in Nias Selatan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha’a</td>
<td>hō’ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andra</td>
<td>andre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ndra</td>
<td>=ndre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a, -e -ō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clitics and suffixes in this list function only as adjuncts, as does the proximal form *andra*. The other three forms, *ha’a*, *hō’ō* and *andre*, function also as pronouns (see below). In terms of the distinctions made in Himmelmann 1996:238 (and 1998:322), deictic demonstratives, both adnominal and pronominal, will be discussed with respect to the following meanings:

(i) situational use: referring to an entity in the presence of the speaker and hearer

(ii) tracking use: referring to an entity mentioned in a previous clause

(iii) discourse-deictic use: referring to previous stretch of discourse, i.e. a section of text typically reporting an event or speech

Deictic demonstratives used adnominally only occur in situational and tracking uses. All of them have tracking use, but only *ha’a* and *hō’ō* are used to any extent  

3 It is evident that the demonstratives in Nias Selatan have subtle meanings other than the ones described in this section, which require further study.

4 As will be seen further on in this section, these suffixes are less distinctive than this classification makes them appear. However, their current meanings are not easy to determine precisely, and tentative classification into proximal and distal is based on their use in the commonly used adverbs *ga-e* 'here' (specific place) and *ga-ō* 'there' (specific place) and the presentatives *ya-a* / *ya-e* 'here is, this is...'.

situationally (an exception is that andra appears to be used situationally for familiar places and times, and both andra and its short form =ndra are frequently used in place of ha’a in reported speech). The distal adjunct andre and the clitic forms occur only in tracking use (again with the exception of andre used for some reported speech contexts (see below for examples)).

8.3.1 Demonstrative adjuncts: proximal deictic

8.3.1.1 Situational: ha’a

The proximal demonstrative ha’a is used typically to refer to tangible objects. Examples of ha’a used situationally are given in (7) and (8):

(7) Haiya guna harehare ha’a?
    harehare
    what use shelf:MUT PROX

    What's this shelf used for? (indicating shelf with motion of head)

(8) Hanawara va lōna la-obōi nohi ha’a?
    ohi
    why COMP NEG 3p.RLS-cut.down coconut.tree:MUT PROX

    Why don't they chop down this tree? (touching tree with hand)

8.3.1.2 Tracking: ha’a

Ha’a has infrequent adnominal use in tracking a referent. Ha’a is illustrated in tracking use in (10) below, which is the final sentence of a section of text fifteen clauses long, which begins with (9). Ha’a in (10) refers to the underlined noun ndraßa ‘foreigner’ in (9).

(9) La-waö manö ndraßa ... so ya.
    ndraßa
    3p.RLS-say just foreigner:MUT ... arrive 3s.MUT
They just said a foreigner...arrived. He had come here for sight-seeing (lit. to walk around).

...13 clauses...

(10) Maoso göi niha ha’a, i-waö, "eu si=sökhi."

Also this man said, "this is a good tree".

Note, however, that the man referred to by ha’as in (10) is introduced 15 clauses earlier (in ex (9) above), and while the story does not diverge from action which includes this participant, he is not specifically mentioned again apart from the pronoun ya in the sentence immediately after his introduction. In (10), then, ha’a is not indicating immediate textual proximity but rather the assumed retention in the addressee's memory of the recent introduction of a participant.

8.3.1.3 Situational: andra

Andra does not appear to be used situationally like ha’a. Andra is, however, used to refer to less tangible things present to both speaker and addressee such as places and times. For example in (11), the place Soroso has not been mentioned before, but refers to the crossing over a river close to where the speaker lives and is speaking:

(11) Fa-a-röu moroi ba Zoroso andra irugi Gaetusa,

Soroso Aetusa

NR-ST-far come.from LOC Soroso PROX up.to Aetusa

fitu kilo.

seven kilometre

The distance from Soroso here to Aetusa is seven kilometres.
In (12) below, the name *Botohili* has not been mentioned before, yet the sentence is the second of a story about this village. However *Botohili* is where the speaker lives and is speaking (to one of his cousins and me). The use of *andra* here clearly signals proximity.

(12) ...tanõ Mbotohili andra, a-ma-dõli-wa.

...the land for this Botohili was a source of contention.5

In (13) below *andra* modifies the word *mana*, which usually functions as an adverb meaning 'now' or 'then' depending on the context (lit. 'at this/that time'), but in this case is used as an argument of the preposition *irugi* 'until':

(13) So idanõ=ndre irugi mana-'ö andra.

That water has been there right up till this present time (this now).6

8.3.1.4 Reported situational: *andra*

Many examples of *andra* which occur in discourse occur in reported speech, as illustrated in (14):

(14) ... la-waõ "ta-hare-'ö ba mbanua andra".

... they said, "let's settle in this village".

---

5 The first phrase of (12) is a fronted argument of a nominal clause. The predicate is *amadõliwa* 'source of contention', 'tug-of-war'. The predicate status of this noun is clear from the fact that it is unmutated—if it were an argument it would be mutated (see Chapter 9).

6 The noun *idanõ* 'water' is the S argument of the existential verb *so* and should, therefore, be mutated. I cannot explain why it is not in this instance, but there are several other instances in which the words for food (*ö*) and water are unmutated in contexts which call for mutation.
Since *andra* is not normally used situationally, what seems to be happening in these cases is that *andra* is used to report statements in which the real speaker may have used *ha'a*. Another example of this phenomenon is given in (15):

(15) "He!" la-waö "Va'a-sökhi mbua geu andra"

"Hey!" they said, "How nice the fruits of these trees look!"?

### 8.3.1.5 Tracking: *andra*

*Andra* is used as a tracking device in discourse typically when the entity referred to is intended by the speaker to be retrievable from the immediately preceding discourse. This is illustrated in the excerpts (16)-(17) and (18)-(19) below, in which the entities modified by *andra* in both cases are introduced into the story in the immediately preceding sentence.

(16) So  

sì=so-khö-ra.

They had servants. (lit. Ones who were there for them existed.)

(17) Si=so-khö-ra **andra**, ira-alâše ba

**andra**

These servants of theirs, a woman and a man, that is, were the ones who used to give the pigs their food. (lit. 'those who always gave their pigs food')

7 Mutated forms of nominalized verbs in initial position appear to be used for expressing surprise.

8 The word *sisokhö* is a headless relative which literally means 'one who is a possession'. The NP containing the demonstrative in (17) is a fronted argument of the nominal predicate expressed in the headless relative clause, *sameme ö mbaßi-ra* 'the ones who cook their pigs' food'. The predicate status...
(18) La-fa-tuhi gاةbaoli.

kaابةoli

3p.RLS-DYN-trivet frying.pan:MUT

(19) Me la-fa-tuhi gاةbaoli andra, ma=a-boto.

kaابةoli

when 3p.RLS-DO-trivet frying.pan:MUT PROX PERF=ST-break

They put the pan on the trivet (stones). When they put this pan on the trivet the stones broke.9

8.3.2 Demonstrative adjuncts: distal deictic

8.3.2.1 Situational: hő’ő

Like the proximal demonstrative ha’a, the distal demonstrative hő’ő refers to tangible objects. Examples of the distal form hő’ő used in situational contexts are given in (20) and (21). Gestures such as a nod or turn of the head in the direction of the referent or a subtle pointing with the chin or lips may accompany hő’ő, but usually the speaker and hearer are looking towards the same place so the gesture is unnecessary.

(20) Ma=afaihő nose hő’ő

ose

PERF=collapsed field.hut:MUT DIST

That field hut has collapsed. (looking at it)

is clear from the fact that the relative marker is unmutated. If this were an argument the relative marker would be mutated, as it is in the argument of existential so in the first sentence.

9 The noun tuhituhi, ‘trivet’, refers to three stones which are placed on a fire to steady a cooking vessel and raise it above the fire. The transitive verb fa-tuhi means something like ‘place on trivet’. The matrix clause in the second sentence in (19), ma aboto ‘broke’, has no argument, which indicates that its argument is an inanimate object, and here, could syntactically refer to kaابةoli ‘frying pan’. However, the rest of the story is concerned with a broken stone of the trivet, not with the pan. The pan is only mentioned again, much later, in the retelling of the story. Here then, the argument is referring to the tuhituhi, ‘trivet stones’, even though only the root of this word functions as part of the verb stem.
8.3.2.2 Tracking: hö’ö

In tracking use, there is no sense in which hö’ö implies textual distance. Typically an NP in which hö’ö occurs may refer to an entity which was mentioned a long time before or to one which has only just been mentioned. For example in the excerpt given in (22)-(24) below, the noun vehede 'word' refers to a word 'zamba', introduced just four clauses earlier:

(22) Zamba döi-nia, moroi gane ba khö-ma.
   töi
guava name:MUT-3s.POSS come.from there (indef) LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
(23) ba hera ndrao ha ba so ga”.
   CNJ surprised 1s.MUT only COMP EXIST here
(24) Nah. Me ya’ira niha s=a-tua-tua,
   D.PTCL since 3p person REL=ST-RDP2-mature
   la-analisa ve-hede hö’ö.10
   fe-
   3p.RLS-analyse NR.MUT-speak DIST

It's name is 'guava', it's from over there where I live. But I'm just surprised to find it here. Now, since they were wise men, they analysed that word.

In (26) below also, the man referred to by the NP niha höö has been the topic of conversation for the last six clauses before this, and is even mentioned in a possessive pronominal suffix in the clause preceding this one (given in (25)), yet a distal form is used:

---

10 The word hera and the verb analisa are borrowed from Indonesian heran 'surprise(d)' and (meng-)analisa 'analyse' respectively.
Given the paucity of instances of proximal ha'a in tracking use, it would appear that hö'ö plays a dual role of proximal and distal textual distance.

Demonstrative adjuncts typically refer only to the noun which immediately precedes them. For example, in (27), hö'ö refers to the possessor noun moto 'car' and not to the possessed va'a-te-kiko 'the breaking down':

fa'a- moto
ST-RDP2-strong ITNS NR.MUT-RES-ruin car:MUT DIST
That car's (constant) breaking-down is very frustrating. (D)

However there are contexts in which reference may be ambiguous, and may refer to the immediately preceding noun or to the entire preceding NP. This is illustrated in (28), where hö'ö refers to the possessor geu 'tree', but in theory could also refer to ndraha 'branches' as well, or to liwaliwa ndraha 'the movement of the branches':

(28) A-bölö-bölö liwaliwa ndraha geu hö'ö
liwaliwa ndraha eu
ST-RDP2-strong movement:MUT branch:MUT tree:MUT DIST
The movement of the branches of that tree is very strong. (because of the wind).
8.3.2.3 Tracking: andre

As mentioned above, the distal demonstrative adjunct andre is never used in situational contexts. It is used adnominally only as a discourse-tracking device, like hö’ö, although it occurs twice as frequently as hö’ö in this use. The nouns with which andre occurs even fall into the same ‘concrete-object’ category as those with which hö’ö occurs. In contrast with hö’ö, however, andre usually occurs in NPs whose referents have not been mentioned for some time. That is, it differs from hö’ö more often in indicating greater textual distance from a previous mention. For example (29) refers to a tree and its trunk which were last referred to twelve clauses earlier:

(29) Me la-rugi manō ha ba mboto andre, boto
     when 3p.RLS-reach just only LOC body:MUT DIST
     ba geu andre s=aso’a,…
     eu
     LOC tree:MUT DIST REL=fallen.over

When they got up to that tree trunk, to that tree which has fallen over, ...

However, example (30)-(31) below shows that anaphoric reference need not occur over any distance at all. The stone and the gold referred to in the second sentence have only just been mentioned in the previous sentence:

(30) Ba tuhituhi, ba dalu mbatu hö’ö,
     talu batu
     LOC trivet LOC middle:MUT stone:MUT DIST
     andre nōsi — ana’a.
     ösi
     DIST contents:MUT — gold
At present there seems to be no obvious difference in meaning or use between the distal forms hö'ö and andre in discourse, suggesting that perhaps there is some other more subtle difference between these two adjuncts, or that there may be some historical explanation for the duplication in use.

8.3.3 Demonstrative clitics

As mentioned above, the deictic demonstrative clitics are only ever used adnominally, and they are only used for discourse-tracking, never situationally. These forms are analysed as clitics and not suffixes because they do not affect the stress of the noun or pronoun to which they attach. They occur after possessors in NPs, and not immediately attached to head nouns. Both proximal =ndra and distal =ndre occur typically with NPs referring to tangible entities.

8.3.3.1 Proximal =ndra

The proximal clitic =ndra is often followed by a relative clause or some other NP modifier, which suggests a difference between it and its corresponding full form andra, which, like the other full demonstrative forms, tends to occur as the last constituent of a noun phrase. An example of an NP in which =ndra is followed by a relative clause is given in (32):

---

Suffixes, in Nias, allow stress to move to the right (see 2.7).
(32) M-oi la-fo-il'ai la fefu geu=ndra s=ebua.

PERF-all 3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-sign all tree:MUT=PROX REL=big

They have marked all these big trees.

8.3.3.2 The suffix -ndra

A morpheme with the same phonological form as the clitic =ndra frequently occurs in people's names after their title. This is illustrated in (34) and (35), where the word Amada (lit. 'our father'), is used as a customary title (typically used for all older men as well as one's family forefathers and village ancestors). Note that the name which occurs after the title Amada is the name of the participant in the story, i.e. it is Lafau and Helazatarö who are participants, not, according to the literal translation of the title, their fathers:

(34) Me i-ila Amada-ndra Lafau va oya, ...

when 3s.RLS-see Amada-? Lafau COMP much

When Amada Lafau saw that it was a lot ...

(35) Böröme ahatö Namada-ndra Helazatarö, ...

Amada

because ST-close Amada:MUT-? Helazatarö

Because Amada Helazatarö was close, ...

Note that the word order in (34) is V-A-P. The normal order V-P-A, i.e. i-ila va oya Amada ndra Lafau [3s.RLS-see COMP much Amada-ndra Lafau], is just as acceptable and means the same thing. However, there is an ambiguity concerning the constituent va oya which is disambiguated by the word order. Formally the constituent va oya can either be a complement consisting of the complementizer va and the intransitive verb oya 'be many', or it could be the mutated form of the nominalized form of the verb oya, fa-oya 'amount' (implying a large amount). In fact, either translation would be suitable for this sentence. However, there is a tendency for complements to occur after the lexical expression of an A argument, perhaps because they are often long constituents. In (34), because va oya occurs after the A, it is translated as a complement rather than a nominalized form of the verb. If it had occurred before the A, the more appropriate translation would have been: 'Because Amada Lafau saw the (large) amount'.

12
The meaning of -ndra in these examples is not entirely clear. In almost every case the participant has just been mentioned, so -ndra appears to be a proximal tracking adjunct. However, formally the morpheme /ndra/ which occurs in these examples is not the same as the proximal demonstrative clitic =ndra. In constructions such as those illustrated in (34) and (35) above, the title is affected by the presence of /ndra/, causing stress to move one syllable to the right. That is, Amada-ndra is pronounced [amadádra], with stress on the penultimate syllable. (Without the presence of -ndra, Amada is usually pronounced with penultimate stress, i.e. [amáda].) Because stress moves to the right when -ndra is present, I have analysed this morpheme as a suffix, since this is one of the features which distinguishes suffixes from clitics in Nias Selatan. It is also perhaps significant in claiming that the suffix -ndra is a different morpheme from the demonstrative clitic =ndra, to note that the full demonstrative andra corresponding to the clitic form never occurs in proper names, suggesting that the suffixal form is not related to the deictic demonstrative. The distal demonstrative =ndre does not occur in proper name constructions either, suggesting that there is no need for the suffix -ndra to distinguish proximal from distal mentions of proper names. Frequently proper names containing -ndra also include a recognitional demonstrative after the clitic, indicating that the participant has been mentioned before. Examples in which -ndra and a recognitional demonstrative co-occur are illustrated in (36 and (37):

(36) I-hönagö maö khö Namada-ndra nomae Larisökhi, m-waö Amada
    3.RLS-do.before IPF:say DAT Amada:MUT-? RECOG Larisökhi

He had previously said to this Amada Larisökhi we know, ...

13 Sometimes the title Amada is also pronounced with stress on the first syllable, i.e. [amáda], for reasons I can't explain at present.
While there are many examples in which the suffix -ndra is followed by a recognitional demonstrative in proper names, there is only one other example in my data in which any other demonstrative occurs in an NP along with a recognitional demonstrative. Since such difference exists between the suffix -ndra and demonstrative adjuncts in general, this is further support for claiming that the suffix is a different morpheme from the clitic =ndra.

There is an additional formal resemblance between the suffix -ndra used in proper names and the mutated form of the collective prefix, ndra- used with proper names (see 4.3). Semantically the collective prefix is quite appropriate in proper names, where a phrase such as Amada ndra-Lafau (with the prefix ndra-, not the clitic =ndra) might have the meaning 'ancestor of the Lafau clan'. However, the suffix -ndra which occurs in proper names cannot be the same morpheme as the collective prefix ndra- for two reasons. One is that the participant referred to by these proper name constructions is, as mentioned above, not the 'ancestor' of anyone but the person whose name is given, e.g. Lafau in (34) and (37). The second reason is that the collective prefix is never followed by a recognitional demonstrative in any other context, so it is unlikely that it would be followed by a recognitional demonstrative in these constructions. Furthermore, there are rare instances when discourse particles such as matö 'so, therefore', can follow the suffix -ndra in proper names. Such an instance is illustrated in (38):

(38) Me i-rono Amada-ndra matö Lafau,...
    when 3s.RLS-hear Amada? therefore Lafau

So when Amada Lafau heard about this...
Although the sentence is correct as it is, it is also the case that matö could occur after the verb or after the entire clause. Since the collective prefix cannot be separated from the name to which it attaches, such evidence supports a statement that the suffix -ndra is a different morpheme. It is not clear what the meaning of this suffix is at this stage, nor its relationship with the proximal dectic demonstrative clitic =ndra.

8.3.3.3 Distal =ndre

The distal clitic =ndre does not show the same tendency to be followed by other material as proximal =ndra, but it does show a greater tendency in this regard than full demonstratives. Some examples of NPs containing =ndre followed by other material are given in (39)-(43). In (39) the NP is modified by a relative clause si=da-rua 'which are two':

(39) Niha=ndre si=da-rua, i-fe-ta'u.
    dua
    person-DIST REL=CLF-two:LEN 3s.RLS-CAU-afraid

Those two people, he frightened.

In (40) the NP is modified by fefu 'most, all':

(40) Me oja=ae li,
    li
    since many=already sound:MUT
    oya li niha=ndre fefu,...
    li niha
    many sound:MUT person:MUT=DIST most, all

As there was already a lot of talk, a lot people talking (about it)...

In (41), the NP is modified by a prepositional phrase:
(41) Mo-möi la-faigi idanö=ndre ba Mbagule,... Bagule

JNT-go 3p.RLS-see water=DIST LOC Bagule:MUT

They went to see that water at Bagule,...\(^{14}\)

In (42), the clitic occurs as the final element of an NP containing a possessor, but is followed by a temporal NP:

(42) Gasagasa v-a-nua-nia=ndre, boni-e andre, ...

f-aN-hua
during NR.MUT-IPF-talk=DIST night-DIST DIST

During those discussions of his, on that night, ...

Generally, however, =ndre occurs at the end of a noun phrase, as illustrated in (43):

(43) andre || döi-nia 'zamba', mbua geu=ndre.

töi bua eu
DIST || name:MUT-3s.POSS guava fruti:MUT tree:MUT=DIST

Its name is 'guava', the fruit of that tree.

The clitic =ndre is sometimes found with an extra syllable -'e or -'ö which attracts stress. Because this final syllable is stressed, it is not clear that the form is a clitic any longer. In some cases these extra syllables are said to have a meaning of selectivity, i.e. 'that particular x', as in the following example:

(44) Fa-ßatö-sa-nia=ndre-'e
te'ana gaö,

DO-visit-NR-3s.POSS=!?DIST-particular NEG(N) there

\(^{14}\) The lack of mutation on the P argument, idanö 'water', may be due to the fact that this site is unique in Nias (I'm told) in having pure water which does not need to be boiled before drinking. As mentioned in 7.2.2.2, it is sometimes the case that unique locations or entities are referred to by unmutated forms where mutation would be expected.
That particular visit of his was not to there, to Hilizondege'asi. It was to Baßöhulando he went for a visit.

(45) "Boto-hili-tanö". andrehe'e || zi=sah\textsuperscript{16},

si=

Boto-hili-tanö DIST || REL.MUT=legal

mbanua nde-'ö Botohili.

"Boto-hili-tanö." That was what the legal name was, of that particular village, Botohili.

These extra syllables are also found occasionally following the full form \textit{andre}, and once again attract stress. In these cases, however, the meaning of 'selectivity' seems forced. Some examples of this are given in (46) and (47):

(46) Me mo-fanö Namada andre-'ö,...

Amada

when leave Amada:MUT DIST-particular

When \textit{that} Amada left, ...

\textsuperscript{15} The word \textit{faßatö} 'visit' is derived from \textit{batö} 'floor' plus the dynamic verb stem-forming prefix \textit{fa-}. The lenition of /b/ indicates that the word has become lexicalized. \textit{Fa-ßatö} is used here in a purposive construction.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Sah} 'legal' is borrowed from Indonesian \textit{sah} 'legal, valid'.
Go and take those stones from Zamburae.

It is not clear what the formal status of these extra syllables is, what their meaning is, or, indeed whether the difference in form signals a difference of meaning.

8.3.4 Demonstrative adjuncts with pronouns

Some deictic demonstrative adjuncts may occur with pronouns as well as with nouns. In my data, andra, andre, =ndra and =ndre occur in this function, but the situational demonstratives hö'ö and ha'a do not. The proximal demonstrative andra occurs with pronouns which refer to people who are being addressed, as illustrated in examples (48) and (49):

(48) Izö ine ya’amý andra si=feleßitu, 
D.PTCL D.PTCL 2p PROX REL=seventeen 
böi mi-röi ndrao. 
NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-leave.behind 1s.MUT 
Well, then, you seventeen, don’t leave me.

(49) Hata mi andra z=o-okhöta, ...
who 2p.MUT PROX REL.MUT=HAVE-property 
Whoever amongst you has wealth ... (lit. who(ever)of (these?) you is one who has property...)

The clitic =ndra is used only once, attached to the pronoun which the speaker uses to refer to himself and the people with him, as illustrated in (50):
(50) I-waö, "samösa ndraga=ndra
3s.RLS-say one.person 1pe.MUT=PROX
tobai ga-r<um>öi ndraugö".
can’t 1pe.IRR-<IRR>leave.behind 2s.MUT
He said "Not one of us could leave you". 17

The distal demonstrative andre is used with a third plural pronoun in (51) below, referring to people who have not actually been mentioned, but belong to the family of the participant who has been the topic of conversation for some time:

(51) A-hori ira andre fitu na=fulu batu, aßenia aman18.
ST-finish 3p.MUT DIST seven LK=ten stone then peace
If they could finish (paying off a fine of) seventy stone (of gold), then everything would be settled.

The distal clitic =ndre is used in (52) with reference to people who have been mentioned by name in the previous sentence (which is given in example (51) above):

(52) Hanata göi ira=ndre?
who also 3p.MUT=DIST
Who were they?

In (53), =ndre is used again with third plural reference, and again the referent occurs in the previous sentence in the text:

17 Note that the phrase samösa ndraga=ndra is a fronted A argument which is also expressed by the pronominal prefix ga- on the verb. Although this phrase occurs before the verb, a position which requires unmutated forms of arguments, the pronoun is still mutated, indicating that the trigger for mutation is the indefinite pronoun samösa 'one person'.

18 The word aman is borrowed from Indonesian aman 'peace'. Aßenia 'just now' is also pronounced aßena.
Those three were the origins of people here in Nias Selatan. (Z-L)

### 8.3.5 Demonstrative suffixes: -a, -e and -ö

The suffixes -a, -e and -ö are found infrequently in the data, but appear to have become fossilized in some commonly used words: the adverbs gae 'here' (specific place) and gaö 'there' (specific place), and the presentative particles yaa and yae 'here/this is...' (see 4.7). Although these suffixes are formed from vowels which correspond to the vowels of proximal and distal deictic demonstratives discussed above, it appears that any of these suffixes can have proximal or distal reference. These suffixes have uses which are sometimes deictic-tracking, sometimes situational in the place/time sense, and sometimes recognitional—in other words many of the typical uses of of a definite article. An example of -e occurs in ex (42) above where it appears to occur pleonastically with the distal demonstrative andre. In (55) below -ö is used to refer to a shield which, as can be seen from the example, has only just been mentioned in the previous sentence (54). If deictic, its use here must be proximal.

(53) Ya’ira=ndre si=da-tolu mböröta niha
    3p=DIST REL.CLF-three origin:MUT person.MUT
    böröta niha
    ba danö raya.
    tanö LOC land:MUT south

Those three were the origins of people here in Nias Selatan. (Z-L)

19 Almost all of the examples of these suffixes that I have in my data are from the text analysed by Sitasi Zagötö-Laiya in her 1975 dissertation. This text was transcribed from a recording of a very old man from a village about 30 kilometres from the area where most of my own data were collected. It is very possible that these forms are dialectal variants of other demonstratives discussed in these sections.
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(55) Lōna i-sikhi, irugi a-töla mbaluse-ō.

NEG 3s.RLS-repulse up.to ST-bone shield:MUT-PROX

Fanambai prepared his shield. He did not repulse (the spear), so that it pierced the strut of the shield. (Z-L) (lit. …until the shield was ?boned (reached up to the strut (bone))

In (56), -a refers to a spear that has not been overtly mentioned in the text, but is implied from the use of the verb handro 'throw a spear' four clauses earlier. Thus if this form is 'proximal' it is cognitively close and not textually recent:

(56) …ba te-taru doho-a ba danō,…

...LOC RES-plant spear:MUT-PROX? LOC land:MUT

...and the/this/that spear landed in the ground, … (Z-L)

In (57), -a is perhaps used situationally, in the way andra is used, to refer to a place in which speaker and addressee both happen to be:

(57) Ya'ia nidanō Gomo-a gaō ba zumali.

idanō sumali

3s river:MUT Gomo-PROX there LOC waterfall:MUT

That is this river Gomo there at the waterfall. (Z-L) (Gomo river is the one the speaker's village is on and where he and his addressee are talking)

In some contexts, the nouns to which these suffixes attach have not been mentioned before, but are assumed to be shared knowledge, i.e. the suffixes play a recognitional role (see below). This is the case for the suffix -a in (58):

---

20 The third singular pronoun ya'ia is not normally used for inanimate objects, but the river Gomo is a very significant one in Nias mythology and this may be relevant in the use of the pronoun here.
In (58) below, the suffix -a on vösi 'fäsi tree' is also presumably recognitional. It refers to a tree which is known by all Nias people as the tree that God (Loßalani) planted. The suffix -ö on ama 'ancestor' could, perhaps, be used in discourse-tracking, but since reference to the ancestor has been active in the discourse all along in the pronominal prefix on the verb, its meaning is more likely to be proximal.

In (59) below, the suffix -a on vösi 'fäsi tree' is also presumably recognitional. It refers to a tree which is known by all Nias people as the tree that God (Loßalani) planted. The suffix -ö on ama 'ancestor' could, perhaps, be used in discourse-tracking, but since reference to the ancestor has been active in the discourse all along in the pronominal prefix on the verb, its meaning is more likely to be proximal.
Then those people who were present there in the village told him that this (village of) Maenamölö had enemies.21 (Z-L)

These suffixes should not be confused with the suffixes -'e and -'ö described above. The suffixes -'e and -'ö are different in three ways: first, they are glottal-initial, while the suffixes -a, -e and -ö are syllabic vowels; second, they occur only with demonstratives, while -a, -e and -ö occur on nouns (and the adverbs and presentatives mentioned above); and third, they attract stress, while -a, -e and -ö affect the stress of the entire word, requiring it to move one syllable to the right, e.g. niha-ö 'those people' in (60) is pronounced as [niháö] (cf. the unaffixed form niha 'people' [níha]).

8.3.6 Demonstrative pronouns

The list of deictic demonstrative pronouns in Nias Selatan is given in Table 8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMAL</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'a</td>
<td>hö'ö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>andre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andraha'a</td>
<td>andrehe'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As exemplified in 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 above, ha'a, hö'ö and andre function also as nominal adjuncts. The demonstratives andraha'a and andrehe'e function only as
pronouns. These latter forms are morphologically complex and clearly derived from the adnominal forms, a characteristic of pronominal demonstrative forms in a number of other languages surveyed in Himmelmann (1996: 204).

8.3.6.1 Ha’a and hö’ö

In pronominal use, proximal ha’a and distal hö’ö function only as arguments, and never as nominal predicates. As arguments, these demonstratives are used both in situational contexts, and in discourse-deictic use. They are not used as tracking devices. Examples of ha’a and hö’ö in these uses are given in (61)-(69). In (61), ha’a is used situationally as the S argument of mo-guna [HAVE-use] 'be useful':

(61) Haiya mo-guna ha’a?
    what HAVE-use PROX

What's this used for? (holding a bottle of mosquito repellant)

In (62), ha’a is the target argument of mae 'resemble':

(62) ... ba ma=i-fa-oli manö hoya dua rozi,
    hoya
    ...CNJ PERF=3s.RLS-DYN-put.in.row just hoya:MUT two CLF
dua-dua rozi si=mae ha’a.
    two-two CLF REL=be/do.like PROX

... but he arranged two pieces of hoya wood, two by two like this (showing how a bridge was made)

Ha’a occurs in only one example in discourse-deictic use, given in (63), where it refers to an action described in the section of discourse just prior to this statement:

22 In fact, reference to a person by use of ha’a, hö’ö, andra or andre is considered offensive.
They said, 'Hey! he can't do this!' (lit. 'This can't be done by him.')

The distal demonstrative hō'ō is used in situational contexts and as a discourse-deictic demonstrative. An example of hō'ō used situationally is given in the idiomatic question form (64) where hō'ō is the argument of the question word ha'ökho 'to whom':

(64) Ha-'ö-khö hō'ō?
Q-?particular-possession DIST
Whose is that? (lit. That is (whose)?)

In discourse-deictic uses, hō'ō may refer to events, speech, activities, behaviour, places and times. Hō'ō occurs most commonly in the phrase aefa hō'ō [passed DIST] 'after that', used to refer to an event or events just related. In this phrase it functions as an S argument of aefa 'passed'. Another example of hō'ō in S function is given in (65):

(65) Gaö=walaö ba Hiligayama alua hō'ō,
Hiligayama
there(spec)=they.say LOC Hiligayama:MUT happen DIST
They say it was there at Hiligayama (that) that happened. (Z-L)

In (66), hō'ō is the P argument of the verb ila 'know':

(66) U-ila=ae hō'ō.
1sg-know=already that
I already know that.
In (67), hö'ö is the P argument of the verb in the question form haega i-vaisa 'how' (the root of the verb vaisa is not known):

(67) I-waö "gu-va-sindo mea mbanua.
......-fa-
3s.RLS-say 1s.IRR-IRR-CAU-stand CTF village:MUT
haega i-vaisa hö'ö?"
how DIST
He'd said 'I want to establish a village. How do I do that?'

In (68) and (69) hö'ö is the argument of a locative preposition:

(68) Gaö mo-lomba-lombase ira ba hö'ö.
mana-ombase
there(spec) IPF-RDP2-rest 3p.MUT LOC DIST
They always took a rest at that place.

(69) Salase ya ba hö'ö.
finished 3s.MUT LOC DIST
It finishes with that.²³

Hö'ö is also used in certain idiomatic expressions, such as those given in (70):

(70) Idiomatic expressions using the distal demonstrative pronoun hö'ö
khö-gu ae hö'ö 'it's my responsibility' (lit. to-me come that);

²³ Salase 'finished' is borrowed from Indonesian selesai 'finished'. The pronoun ya here is anomalous, since pronouns usually only refer to humans. The pronoun refers to a very long story which has just been told about the founding of the village of Botohilitanö. The demonstrative pronoun refers to the event related in the sentences just prior to this, which themselves finish with a sentence which translates as: "We'll turn it into a village and call it Boto-hili-tanö".
haiya hō'ō? 'what's the matter?' or 'what's happening/happened?' (lit. That is what?)

simane hō'ō 'if that's the case' (lit. That is what is doing/being like that).

Some examples of these idiomatic forms are given in (71)-(73):

(71) I-waö "moa! khö-gu ae hō'ō"

3s.RLS-say finished! DAT-1s.POSS ?come:IMPER DIST

He said, "Enough! that is my responsibility." 24

(72) Ai faigi haiya hō'ō.

go:IMPER see what DIST

Go and have a look at what has happened.

(73) Nah, si=mane hō'ō, ba lau.

Now, REL=be/do.like DIST CNJ OK

Now, if that is the case, well, OK. 25

8.3.6.2  Andre

The proximal demonstrative andra does not occur in my data in pronominal use, either as an argument or as a predicate. The distal demonstrative pronoun andre is used in a restricted context—it occurs only as a nominal predicate in equational clauses, to indicate that a participant or certain information that has become important in the discourse. As a nominal predicate, ande always occurs in initial position. It has tracking use, as illustrated in (74), and discourse-deictic use as illustrated in (75). (For

---

24 I'm not sure whether ae is one of the imperative forms of the verb möi 'go, come' (see 11.5) or the particle =ae 'already'. The word moa 'finished' is equivalent to ma=aßali / ma=aßai [PERF=finished] 'finished' which may be substituted for moa. Speakers tell me that moa is derived from ma=aßali.

25 The word lau has three meanings: as a transitive verb it means either 'climb' (see ex (85)), or 'do' (see ex (39) in Chapter 9), as an affirmative response particle it means 'yes, OK, let it be'. Lau is the usual response to any polite request.
ease of interpretation, predicates of nominal clauses are separated from arguments in
the following examples by the mark ‘||’.)

(74)  **Andre** || v-o-ndu-ndukhu-ra.
        ^-aN-rukha
    DIST || NR.MUT-IPF-RDP1-rub-3p.POSS

    **That** was their scrubbing stuff. (lit. 'Their scrubbing stuff was that.‘)

(75)  **Andre** || ga-nofu-la.
        ^aN-sofu
    DIST || IPF.MUT-ask-NR

    **That** was the question. (lit. 'The question was that.‘)

Followed by a headless relative, equational constructions with **ande** link a previously
mentioned participant or information which is now in discourse focus with additional
attributive information. Example (76) illustrates this tracking use:

(76)  ...**andre**|| zi=tobali kafalo ba mbanua=ndre.
        si=banua
    ...DIST || REL.MUT=become head LOC village:MUT=DIST

    ...**that** is the one who will become head of that village (lit. the one who will
become head in that village is that one.)

Examples (77) and (78) illustrate discourse-deictic use:

(77)  **Andre** || ni-dönadöna Namada=ndra Taögönasö.
        Amada
    DIST || PASS-RDP2-expect Amada:MUT=PROX Taögönasö

    **That** is what this Amada Taögönasö expected. (lit. what was expected by
Amada Taögönasö was that.)

---

26 The noun **kafalo** 'head' is presumably borrowed from Indonesian **kepala** 'head' (of body and of organization). There is no /p/ phoneme in Nias, so /p/ is pronounced as /f/. I am not sure why there is a final /ə/ in place of Indonesian /a/.
(78) Andre || mbörö ba tobai da-mazu,
börö
DIST || reason COMP can't 1pi.IRR-advance
da-mbalı'-ö banua si'-oföna.
1pi.IRR-turn-TR village first

That was the reason that we couldn't go ahead with it, and turn it into a village right at the beginning.27

As a nominal predicate, ande has acquired special uses and meanings. It is used to identify the names of people and things, as illustrated in (79):

(79) Andre || döi-nia Siwa La'amba.
töi
DIST || name:MUT-3s.POSS Siwa La'amba

His name was Siwa La'amba. (H) (lit. His name was that, Siwa La'amba.)

It has also come to be used idiomatically with the meaning 'that's why / how' in equational constructions in which the subject is a clause rather than a single lexical item. The clause may occur with or without a complementizer, as illustrated in (80) - (81):

(80) Andre || va löna alua.
DIST || COMP NEG happen

That is why (it) didn't happen.

(81) Andre manö || la-ete-ni niha=ndre.
DIST just || 3p.RLS-bridge-TR person=DIST

That, then, was how those people bridged (it).

27 The verb mazo 'advance' is borrowed from Indonesian maju 'advance'.
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Nominal clause constructions with *andre* are discussed further in Chapter 9.

8.3.6.3  *Andraha'a* and *andrehe'e*

The two forms *andraha'a* and *andrehe'e* occur infrequently, and appear to have emphatic deictic use. Both occur in predicate function of nominal clauses, and *andrehe'e* also occurs in argument function. *Andraha'a* occurs only twice in my data, both in situational contexts:

(82)  **Andraha'a** || nahia si=tumbu ya'o.

nahia

PROX || place:MUT REL=be.born 1s

This is the place where I was born.

(83)  **Andraha'a** || nohi-ma.

ohi

PROX || coconut.tree:MUT-1pe.POSS

These are our coconut trees.

Most of the instances of *andrehe'e* in my data occurred in response to elicited sentences (cf. ex (85)-(88) below). There are three spontaneous instances of *andrehe'e*, given below in examples (84), (89) and (90). In (84), *andrehe'e* is used as a nominal predicate to refer to the complex NP which precedes it, in a construction which resembles left-dislocation:

(84)  Niha s=o-aya ana'a,

person REL=HAVE-jewellery gold

**andrehe'e** niha s-o-khô-khô.

niha

DIST person:MUT REL-HAVE-possessions

(If you see) people wearing gold jewellery, they are the ones who are wealthy.
Other examples of andrehe'e from elicited data do not involve left-dislocation, but are constructions which are identificational, indicating that the argument is definite and specific. Some examples of these are given in (85)-(88):

(85) Andrehe'e || nohi ni-lau nono matua.
      ohi ono
      DIST      coconut.tree:MUT PASS-climb child:MUT male

That is the tree the boy climbed.

(86) Andrehe'e || nohi si=löna ni-lau nono matua.
      ohi ono
      DIST      coconut.tree:MUT REL=NEG PASS-climb child:MUT male

That is the tree the boy didn't climb.

(87) Andrehe'e || nono matua ni-be-gu kefe.
      ono
      DIST      child:MUT male PASS-give-1sPOSS money

That is the boy I gave money to.

(88) Andrehe'e || gefe ni-be-gu khö nono matua.
      kefe ono
      DIST      money:MUT PASS-give-1s.POSS DAT child:MUT male

That is the money I gave to the boy.

In these sentences, the use of andrehe'e resembles that of andre in other nominal clauses (cf. examples in 8.3.6.2 above). It is offensive to use andre to refer to people (see footnote 21 in this chapter), so the form andrehe'e is used when the identification of people is at issue. Note, however, that all examples of andrehe'e are followed only by NPs consisting of a noun plus a relative clause, while examples of andre can be
followed by a noun, a headless relative, a complement or a clause. It is not known whether this is a systematic pattern, or whether it is an accidental gap in the data.

8.3.6.4 Andrehe’e as argument

The word andreh’e is used as an argument twice in my data, in the examples given below in (89) and (90). Both uses refer to someone's behaviour. Because andreh’e is an argument in these sentences, it is mutated, like vowel-initial nouns.

(89) Andre ösa kaya ira, börö gandrehe’e.
 Andrehe’e
DIST some rich 3p.MUT because.of ?DIST:MUT
That's how some of them got rich, because of (doing) things like that.28

(90) La-fotöi gandrehe’e hö’ö ’löna la-tehe’.
 Andrehe’e
They call that (sort of) behaviour 'disagreeable' (lit. 'they do not agree')

In (90), note that andreh’e is modified by the deictic demonstrative adjunct hö’ö.
There is no other example of a demonstrative pronoun which is modified by deictic demonstrative, arguing that the form andreh’e in this use is not regarded as deictic, but appears to be treated as a nominal constituent.

8.3.7 Demonstrative adjuncts: Recognitional

'Recognitional' demonstratives identify participants which are assumed to be known by the addressee from previous mention or from shared knowledge. There are three recognitional adjuncts which have the function of drawing the hearer's attention to someone or something which has either been previously mentioned or is within the

28 The quantifier ösa 'some' appears to be functioning as a preverbal quantifier in this example. There are no other examples in my data in which ösa occurs in this function, and its use would have to be checked before it could be included with other forms which occur in this function (see 8.5).
sphere of knowledge shared by speaker and hearer. They are: \(=\text{no}, \text{noma'e} \) (or \(\text{nomae} \)) and \(\text{nomema'e} \) (or \(\text{nomemae} \)). All of them seem to mean something like 'the one I've been talking about' or 'you know?'. These recognitional forms function only as adjuncts, never as heads of NPs. None of them affect the stress of the constituent they follow, and while \(=\text{no} \) is never stressed, \(\text{noma'e} \) and \(\text{nomema'e} \) both occur in some contexts with stress either on the penultimate or final syllables. The first form, \(=\text{no} \), is analysed as a clitic because it appears to occur after phrases or clauses (see below). The contexts for variation in stress for the other forms, \(\text{noma'e} \) and \(\text{nomema'e} \), not yet understood, so they are treated as particles until further study can determine their morphological status.

The first form, \(=\text{no} \), occurs infrequently and may well be a reduced form of the others\(^{29}\). In the following examples, the clause containing \(=\text{no} \) is intended as a reminder, something like 'remember X?'. In (91), \(=\text{no} \) follows the possessor in a possessive NP which refers to an entity which was mentioned over thirty clauses earlier at the beginning of the story and has not been mentioned since:

\[(91) \quad \text{Ndaha gavöni=} \text{no} \text{ ni-fake-nia} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avöni} & \quad \text{branch} \quad \text{fösi.tree:MUT-RECOG} \quad \text{PASS-use-3s.POSS} \\
\text{ba} & \quad \text{v-an-ötö} \quad \text{asi} \quad \text{möi} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{Maru,} \\
\text{f-aN-öö} & \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{NR.MUT-IPF-cross} \quad \text{sea} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Maru:MUT} \\
\text{ma=io-siö} & \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{v-anavuli.} \\
\text{f-} & \quad \text{PERF=3s.RLS-LIKE-stick} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{NR.MUT-return}
\end{align*}
\]

That branch of the fösi tree that he used for crossing the sea to Maru, he used as a walking stick on his return. (Z-L)

\(^{29}\) A homophonous morpheme functions as the perfect aspect marker preceding verbs in Northern Nias, equivalent to \(\text{ma=} \) in Nias Selatan.
In (92), =no refers to an entire clause describing an activity which was mentioned in the text approximately one hundred clauses earlier:

(92) Samuza luo, samuza oβi, la-rino sui
gö mbaβi= no.
ō baβi
food:MUT pig:MUT=RECOG

One day, one evening, they were again cooking the pigs' food as I was telling you about before.

In (93), =no modifies the NP consisting of toko 'shop' and the relative clause which follows it:

(93) Mahemolu, omasi ndraugö manaßuli ba toko
si=mōi ita oβi= no?
REL=go 1s.MUT afternoon=RECOG

Tomorrow, do you want to go back to that shop we went to the other day?

From these examples it would appear that =no attaches to the final constituent of whatever construction expresses the entity it refers to. An example in which both the long form nomema‘e and =no have the same referent is given in (94) below. In this example, nomema‘e follows a demonstrative cliticized to a prepositional phrase, but it refers to the entire NP preceding it, consisting of the headless relative zahatö 'those who are close', the dative phrase khō-ra, and the proximal demonstrative =ndra. These 'relatives of theirs' were mentioned eighteen clauses earlier. The short form =no also refers to the 'relatives of the people who had been burnt', expressed in a

\[\text{--------} \]

30 The mutated pronoun ita is unexpected in this sentence. Usually when locative arguments are relativized, S arguments are unmutated in the relative clause (see section 8.4).

The noun toko 'shop' is a recent borrowing from Indonesian (toko 'shop') and is therefore not mutated.
complex NP consisting of the headless relative *zahatö* and the prepositional phrase following.

(94) Maoso  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{z=a-hatö} \\
\text{khō-ra=ndra} \\
\text{nomema’e,}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
s= \\
\text{get.up REL.MUT=ST-close DAT-3p.POSS=PROX RECOG} \\
\text{z=a-hatö} \\
\text{khō ni-khozi=no la-waō ...}
\end{array}
\]

The relatives of these people *I’ve been talking about*, the relatives of those people who had been burnt *I told you about before*, got up and said ...

The second form, *noma’e*, occurs primarily in proper names, like the suffix -*ndra* discussed in 8.3.3.2 above, e.g. *Amada noma’e Taögönasö* ‘our ancestor Taögönasö, whom I know you know’. However, *noma’e/nomae* also occurs occasionally in other NPs, as illustrated in (95)-(96):

(95) Böröme so mbambató-ra,

\[
\text{mbambató}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{because EXIST wife-giving.family.MUT-3p.POSS} \\
\text{zi=so-khō-ra nomæ’e}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
s= \\
\text{REL.MUT=EXIST-DAT-3p.POSS RECOG}
\end{array}
\]

Because these servants *I was talking about* had close family, ...

(96) La-be khō-nia gana’a nomae ni-ozōkhō-ra.

\[
\text{ana’a}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{3p.RLS-give DAT-3s.POSS gold:MUT RECOG PASS-collect-3p.POSS}
\end{array}
\]

They gave him *that* gold *I mentioned* that they had collected.
The longer form, *nomema'e*, may also occur in place of *noma'e* in proper names, as exemplified in (97) below. In this example, in fact, the person to whom *nomema'e* refers has not been mentioned in the story so far, but is someone about whom the speaker was telling me several days earlier. So the reference is not to someone previously mentioned in the discourse, but expected to be remembered from recent discussion:

(97) Samuza ma-'ökhō, so Namada Taögönaso, Amada
one day arrive Amada:MUT Taögönaso
fao  ira-Amada nomema'e Larisökhi].
join COLL-Amada RECOG Larisökhi

One day, Amada Taögönaso came, together with that Amada Laresökhi we were talking about the other day and his men.

As mentioned in 8.3.3.2 above, the suffix -ndra co-occurs with *noma'e* in these constructions, but it is not clear what difference in meaning the suffix adds. Typically, however, *nomema'e* occurs with simple nouns which refer to entities previously mentioned in the discourse. In (98), for example, the water referred to is mentioned only four clauses earlier.

(98) I-fa-sisi nidanō nomema'e
idanō 3s.RLS-DYN-flow water:MUT RECOG
si=so ba zinado.
REL=EXIST LOC container:MUT

He poured out that water I mentioned that was in the container. (Z-L)

In (99), the gold referred to has not been mentioned for the last twenty-six clauses.
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(99) Löna göi alua i-halö gana'a nomema'e, ana'a
NEG also happen 3s.RLS-take gold:MUT RECOG
Amada nomäe Lafau.
Amada RECOG Lafau

And he didn't manage to take that gold I mentioned before, that Amada Lafau

The distal deictic adjunct andre co-occurs with a recognitional demonstrative once in my data, shown in (100) below. In this example, the deictic demonstrative precedes the recognitional demonstrative.

(100) Ba si'ulu=wa=e ||
CNJ village.leader=D.PTCL=POL.Q ||
nama-da andre nomema'e!? ama
ancestor:MUT-1pi.POSS DIST RECOG

And you mean that ancestor you've been talking about was a village leader!?

The recognitional demonstrative nomema'e appears to be morphologically complex. Clearly the clitic =no is part of it. The temporal adverb mema'e 'earlier' is a likely contender for the other part of this demonstrative. Some examples of mema'e are given here in order to give some indication of its meaning.

(101) So laö niha-ö gaö mema'e.
niha arrive they.say person:MUT-DIST there(spec) earlier

They say that man arrived there earlier.

(102) I-fuli manöö sui ya Zinö.
3s.RLS-turn.back just again 3s.MUT Zinö
8.4 Relative clauses: overview

There are two types of relative clauses which occur in NPs in Nias, one in which the predicate is a verb which describes an event, state or process, and one in which the predicate is a numeral or quantifier. The difference in these two types is in word order only—relative clauses containing numerals or quantifiers must follow any other relative clause if there is one. Relative clauses follow any possessor and usually also any demonstrative.

8.4.1 Basic strategies

All relative clauses are formed by gapping the argument being relativised. All arguments, both core and peripheral, can be relativised in this way (see 11.2 and 11.4 for basic structure of transitive and intransitive clauses). The basic structure of a relative clause is illustrated in (105) below, in which the S argument of the verb *bohou* 'new' is relativised. The relative clause is introduced by the relative marker *si*=. 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ba danö} & \quad \text{si}=\text{oföna} & \text{te-taro'o} & \quad \text{ya'ira} & \quad \text{memae}. \\
\text{tanö} & & \text{LOC} & \text{land:MUT} & \text{REL}=\text{first} & \text{RES-settled} & \text{3p} & \text{earlier}
\end{align*}
\]

Zinö just went back again to the place that had been established by them \textbf{before}. (Z-L)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(103) Tobali, lôna na tòi-nia} & \quad \text{memae}. \\
& & \text{however} & \text{NEG} & \text{yet} & \text{name-3s.POSS} & \text{earlier}
\end{align*}
\]

However, it didn't have its name \textbf{then}.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(104) Afaehu} & \quad \text{memae}, & \quad \text{mae idanö}. \\
& & \text{changed.shape} & \text{earlier} & \text{resemble} & \text{water}
\end{align*}
\]

(It) had melted \textbf{earlier}, (it was) like water. ...
When the relative marker precedes an intransitive verb which is vowel-initial, the vowel of the relative marker is elided, as illustrated with the verb *asolo* 'fat' in (106):

(106) La-ta-tabæ geu s=asolo andre eu
     3p.RLS-RDP1-cut tree.MUT REL=fat DIST

They cut down that fat tree.

Transitive verbs which are vowel-initial do not cause the elision of the vowel of *si=*. This is shown in (107) below, which exemplifies one way in which A arguments may be relativised (another way is discussed below). Note that the pronominal prefix which normally expresses the A does not occur on the verb in (107) and that the P argument is unmutated, as shown by the form of the first singular pronoun *ya’o*. These two features are typical of relative clauses in which A arguments are relativised.

(107) Andrehe’e nasu si=usu ya’o.
     asu
     DIST dog:MUT REL=bite 1s

That's the dog that bit me. (cf. *I-usu ndrao asu* [3s.RLS-bite 1s.MUT dog] 'The dog bit me.')

The basic structure exemplified in (105) above for S arguments is used for relativising possessors, locatives, experiencers and stimuluses. Examples of each of these are given in (108)-(112) below. (Relativisation of P arguments and datives is different from this basic strategy, and will be discussed below, along with the variant construction available for A arguments.) In (108), the noun *niha* 'man' is the
possessor of the noun *fo'omo* 'spouse', which functions as the S argument in the relative clause:

(108) Toroi ba mbanua-da niha
     banua niha
     live LOC village:MUT-1pi.POSS person:MUT
     si=ma=mate fo'omo meneßi.
     REL=PERF=die wife yesterday

The man whose wife died yesterday lives in our village.

In (109), a locative in an intransitive clause is relativised. The S argument in the relative clause is unmutated:

(109) ...ga ba danö si=so ya'ita.
     tanö
     ...here LOC land:MUT REL=EXIST 1pi
     ...here on earth where we are. (H) (cf. *Ga so ita ba danö*. [here(non-spec) EXIST 1pi.MUT LOC land:MUT] 'We are here on earth'.)

In (110), a locative argument in a transitive clause is relativised. The P argument in the relative clause is unmutated:

(110) Andrehe'e || mbua si=ma i-halö
     bua
     DIST || fruit.tree:MUT REL=PERF 3s.RLS-take
     bua mbala andre.
     fruit papaya DIST

That is the tree that he took those papaya from. (cf. *i-halö mbua mbala moroi ba mbua hö'ö* [3s.RLS-take fruit:MUT papaya:MUT come.from LOC fruit.tree:MUT DIST] 'He took the papaya from that tree')
In (111), the experiencer of the verb *ata'u* 'be afraid', one of a set of verbs which take two mutated arguments (see 11.4.2.6) is relativised. Note that the stimulus, *lumölumö-nia* 'his shadow', which may occur in unrelativised clauses either as a mutated noun or in a dative phrase, occurs in this relative clause in a dative phrase

\[
(111) \text{niha s=ata'u khö lumölumö-nia} \\
\text{a man afraid of his own shadow (D)}
\]

cf. *Ata'u niha lumölumö-nia / khö lumölumö-nia* [afraid person:MUT shadow:MUT / DAT-shadow:MUT] 'The man is afraid of his (own) shadow.'

In (112), the stimulus of *ata'u* 'be afraid' is relativised. The S argument remains in its mutated form, as it appears in an unrelativised clause.

\[
(112) \text{Andrehe'e || nasu s=ata'u nono-gu.} \\
\text{That's the dog that my child is scared of.}
\]

cf. *Ata'u nono-gu nasu* 'My child is scared of the dog'

The basic strategy for relative clauses must be used when the verb is preceded by any of the pre-verbal particles or auxiliaries which occur in the predicate complex (see Chapter 10). This includes the negator *löna*, the perfect marker *ma=*, adverbial auxiliaries or quantificational particles. Examples of relative clauses which contain these elements are illustrated in (113)-(116). In (113), the negator *löna* precedes the

---

31 I have only two examples of relative clauses relativizing experiencers, and in both of these the stimulus is expressed by a dative phrase. At present, I do not know whether a simple noun can occur in this construction instead of a dative phrase.
verb. Note that the verb in the relative clause is in imperfective form. The simple realis form of a verb cannot occur in negated relative clauses. 

(113) Andrehe'e || nono matua
    DIST || child:MUT male
    si=löna mo-lau (*i-lau) ohi.
    man-lau
    REL=NEG IPF-climb (*3s.RLS-climb) coconut.tree

That's the boy who did not climb the coconut tree.

A relative clause containing the perfect marker ma= is given in a nominal clause construction in (114). In this example a dative argument is relativised. Note that the dative phrase is gapped, and the P argument, kefe 'money', is unmutated. The predicate of the nominal clause is the unmutated NP sibaya-gu 'my uncle', the relativised dative argument is the fronted argument of the nominal clause:

(114) Niha si=ma=u-baßalö kefe || sibaya-gu
    person REL=PERF=1s.RLS-borrow money || uncle-1s.POSS

The person I borrowed money from is my uncle.

An example of a relative clause containing an adverbial auxiliary is given in (115). Because the adverbial auxiliary, aßena 'just then', also functions as an intransitive verb in other contexts, the vowel of the relative marker is elided in front of it:

(115) Asöndru dödö-da va-mo-ndrono f-e’e nono andre
    touched liver:MUT-1pi.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-hear NR-cry child:MUT DIST
    tödö fa-maN-rono

---

32 The irrealis form of verbs does not occur in relative clauses in my data either, but I do not have an explanation for this. It may simply be an accidental gap in the data.
s=aßena mate ina.
REL=then die mother

We were saddened to hear that child crying whose mother had just died (D)

A relative clause containing the quantifier *faoma* 'together' is given in (116). The relative clause is formed with *si=*, even though it relativises a P argument, which requires a different relativisation strategy if the verb in the predicate complex is unmodified (see below):

(116) Andrehe'e || ndöfi si=faoma ta-faigi me'oßi.
    ndöfi
    DIST || star:MUT REL=all.together 1pi.RLS-see last.night

That's the star we all saw last night.

The relative clause marker *si=* is analysed as a clitic and not a separate particle for two reasons: first, because it is phonologically dependent on vowel-initial intransitive verbs, as illustrated in (106) and (111)-(112) above, and second, because it is able to precede any of the constituents which can occur in front of a verb, as illustrated in (113)-(116).

8.4.2 Relativising A arguments

As mentioned above, an alternative structure is available for relativising A arguments, which involves the addition of the imperfective prefix *aN*-, as illustrated in (117):

(117) asu s=an-usu ya'o
    aN-
    dog REL=IPF-bite 1s

the dog that bit me

Note that because the verb is now intransitive, the vowel of the relative marker is elided. This type of clause is far more common than the type illustrated in (107)
above. However, the two types are apparently interchangeable in most contexts—both can refer to punctual events or to ongoing activities. The greater frequency of the detransitivized type is due to the fact that it is typically used for headless relatives, which often refer to habitual qualities of the referent, e.g. \( s=a-nagö \) [REL=IPF-steal] 'thief', \( s=a-munu \) [REL=IPF-kill] 'killer'. Some other examples in which the detransitivized form of the relative clause is used are given in (118). Note that the all of the relative clauses in (118) refer to inherent qualities or to habitual actions, and not to actions which are punctual:

\[
(118) \quad \text{Gaö so khö-ra mba'e } s=an-aßusi \text{ alitö ba'e aN-aßusi there(spec) EXIST DAT-3p.POSS monkey:MUT REL-IPF-breathe fire}
\]

\[
\quad \text{ba belu } s=\circ-lomö-lomö \text{ niha } s=a-fatö \text{ töla } . . ..
\]

\[
\text{aN-lomö CNJ civet.cat REL-IPF-RDP2-massage person REL-ST-break bone}
\]

\[
\quad \text{ba saßa } s=an-alu-i \text{ s=a-nagö aN-alu-i aN-tagö CNJ python REL=IPF=hunt-TR REL=IPF-steal}
\]

They have monkeys that breathe fire and civet cats that massage people whose bones are broken ... and pythons that search for thieves. (H)

When a relative clause relativising an A argument is negated, there is no option in the form of the relative clause—the relative marker \( \text{si=} \) occurs attached to the negator, and the verb in the clause must be imperfective, as illustrated in (119):

\[
(119) \quad \text{Ya'o si=löna ma-me kefe khö nono matua. maN-be ono 1s REL=NEG IPF-give money DAT child:MUT male}
\]

I was the one who did not give money to the boy.
8.4.3 Relativising P arguments and datives

P arguments and datives are treated in a similar way with respect to relativisation. Apart from the gapping of the argument (including the preposition khö in dative arguments), the following features characterize relative clauses relativising Ps and datives:

(i) the verb is marked with the prefix ni-
(ii) the verb has no pronominal prefix
(iii) the A argument is realized as a possessive suffix or as a mutated noun following the verb.
(iv) in dative relativisation, P arguments are unmutated\(^{33}\)

An example of typical relativisation of a P argument is given in (120); the A argument is expressed by the third singular possessive suffix -nia:

\[^{33}\text{Relativization of datives of underived verbs (such as be 'give') occurs only in elicited examples in my data. In these examples, there is discrepancy in the case marking of the P argument. In some examples the P argument is mutated, as illustrated by gefe 'money:MUT' in (i):}\]

\((i)\) andrehe’e || nono ni-be-gu gefe ono kefe
DIST || child:MUT PASS-give-1s.POSS money:MUT
That's the child to whom I gave money.

In other examples, the P argument is unmutated, as illustrated by turia 'news' in (ii):

\((ii)\) andrehe’e || niha ni-oturagö-gu turia niha
DIST || person:MUT PASS-tell-1s.POSS news
That's the man I told the news to.

In all examples of dative relativization in derived verbs, the P arguments are unmutated. I have taken the lack of mutation of Ps as typical of dative relativization for the present study because unmutated P arguments outnumber mutated ones and because it is characteristic of relative clause construction in Nias that core arguments which occur in relative clauses are unmutated. However, I leave the matter open for further analysis.
(120) U-fake zekhula ni-rökhi-nia.

sekhula

3s.RLS-use coconut:MUT PASS-grate-3s.POSS

I used the coconut which she grated.

Compare the non-relativised form of the relative clause in (121) in which the verb is marked with a pronominal prefix, i-, and the P argument is mutated:

(121) I-rökhi zekhula.

sekhula

3s.RLS-grate coconut:MUT

She grated the coconut.

Another example of a ni- form of relative clause in which a P argument is relativised is given in (122).

(122) Tebai lö’ö la-doro fakake ni-o-guna-‘ö.

can’t NEG 3p.RLS-carry tools PASS-HAVE-use-TR

They have to carry any tools they’ll need34.

An example of relativisation of a dative argument is given in (123) below. The recipient is expressed by the noun zondröröu 'village healer'. This noun and the relative clause modifying it constitute the argument of the nominal predicate sibaya-gu 'my uncle':

(123) Sibaya-gu z=o-ndöröu ni-fa-be’e-gö

s=aN-röröu

uncle-1s.POSS REL.MUT=IPF-medicine PASS-DO-give-CAU

34 The noun fakake 'tools, instruments' should be mutated as the P argument of doro 'carry'. However, this word is anomalous in never being mutated. I do not have an explanation for this, but point out that the word is also three syllables long, which makes it a potential candidate for having been derived from a disyllabic root. It is possible that the word is derived from the nominalizing prefix fa- and a root kake, although this root is not known in other contexts.
Nama Dali kefe
father:MUT Dali money

The healer to whom Ama Dali sent money is my uncle.

*Ni-* forms of the verb resemble typical passives in other languages: the verb is explicitly marked, the patient is pivot in the sense of being relativised and the agent is marked obliquely. Most uses of the *ni-* form of the verb, however, differ from a typical passive in that it is more common for the A argument to be present than for it to be omitted and in fact, must be present if the A argument is human\(^35\). It is also the case that *ni-* forms are restricted in their use. They do not occur as main clause verbs, only in relative clauses. Despite this restriction, the forms will be glossed as passive (PASS), because no other good term presently suggests itself and the alternative possibility of 'patient focus' carries connotations of a focus system described for other western Austronesian languages which does not apply in this case. Semantically, passive forms in Nias are imperfective. They are incompatible with the perfect marker *ma=*, and can refer to unrealized activites, as illustrated in (124):

(124) Va-oya || nukha ni-sasai-u!
fa- nukha
NR.MUT-much || clothes:MUT PASS-wash-2s.POSS

You have a lot of washing to do!\(^36\)

In addition, passive forms may occur after the negator *löna* in relative clauses, as illustrated in (125):

---

\(^35\) The A argument is also more commonly present than not in 'passive' (*di-* forms in Indonesian. (William Foley, pers. comm.).

\(^36\) Mutated forms of nominalized verbs such as *va-oya* in (124) tend to be used in sentence initial position for making exclamations, i.e. expressing surprise.
This characteristic is further evidence of the non-punctual or imperfective nature of passive forms, since, as mentioned above, *löna* may not occur in a relative clause with a punctual verb form.

### 8.4.4 Stacking relatives

Relative clauses may be stacked, although the phenomenon does not occur often. An example is given in (126), where the entity which is relativised, *niha* 'man', corresponds to the S argument of the verb *alawa* 'tall' in the first relative clause and the A argument of the verb *ohe* 'carry' in the second (the two relative clauses have been bracketed for clarity):

(126) Niha [s=alawa] andre [s=ol-ohe si'o], aN-ohe

person REL=tall DIST REL=IPF-carry stick

va oya nono-nia.

ono

? many child:MUT-3s.POSS

That tall man with the walking stick has many children.37

However in the second relative clause, the verb is detransitivized with the imperfective prefix *aN-*, which, in effect, makes the relativized argument an S. Note that the P argument of the corresponding simple transitive clause *i-ohe zi'o* [3s.RLS-carry stick:MUT] 'he carried a stick' is unmutated in the relative clause, emphasizing the

---

37 It is unclear what the particle *va* is in this sentence.
8. NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

8.4.5 Relative clauses with numerals or quantifiers

Relative clauses containing numerals take the same form as the basic relative clause structure exemplified in (105) above. An example of a relative clause containing the numeral öfa na=hōnō 'four thousand' is given in (127):

(127) Ofulo ba neßali z=aluaya si=öfa na=hōnō.

gathered LOC courtyard:MUT REL.MUT=dance REL=four LK=thousand

The four thousand dancers gathered in the courtyard.

Another example is given in (128), where the relative clause contains the numeral dua 'two':

(128) Gaö so ndra-Holea si=dua lela.

They have Holea there who have two tongues.\(^{38}\) (H)

One feature peculiar to the vowel-initial numerals öfa 'four' and önō 'six' in relative clauses is that they are not treated morphologically like vowel-initial intransitive verbs (such as oya 'many' (things) or ato 'many' (people) which trigger elision of the vowel of the relative clause maker, but are treated like transitive verbs in retaining the

---

\(^{38}\) The noun lela 'tongue is an S argument of the numeral dua. The relative clause relativizes the possessor Holea. Because case-marking is not manifest on lela because it begins with a consonant which does not mutate, the argument is, in fact, unmutated. Another example of this construction can be seen in example (145) in section 7.5.2.

I'm told that Holea are 'Satans'. I do not have a more precise description.
full form of the marker and commencing with a glottal stop, as illustrated in the relative clause containing öfa na=hönö, 'four thousand', in (127) above.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, relative clauses containing numerals occur after any other kind of attributive relative clauses. Since quantities are typically impermanent, this is presumably related to the fact that more permanent attributes of an entity are expressed by modifiers which are closer to the noun than those referring to less permanent attributes. An example of a noun modified by two relative clauses in which the clause containing the numeral follows the other clause is given in (129):

(129) baßi-ra s=a-fusi si=öfa geu
pig-3p.POSS REL=ST-white REL=four CLF.MUT
eu

their four white pigs (lit. their pigs which are white which are four)

For further discussion of numerals, see 8.5.2 below.

8.4.6 Headless relatives

The structures which have been described above for relative clauses may function by themselves as arguments, that is, as headless relatives. They occur, in particular, as arguments of nominal predicates (see 7.1.1.4). Headless relatives, as arguments, are subject to the same mutation rules as occur with nouns—the initial segment is mutated in those contexts requiring mutation. An example of a headless relative functioning as a P argument, which requires mutation, is given in (130). Mutation occurs on the relative marker.

(130) Ma=u-atulö-'ö zi=ma ö-sura.
PERF=1s.correct-TR REL.MUT=PERF 2s.RLS-write

I've corrected the things you have written.
For further discussion and examples of headless relatives in nominal clauses see Chapter 9.

8.5 Quantificational phrases

A quantificational phrase may consist of one of the nominal quantifiers listed in 8.5.1 below, or a quantifier plus a noun phrase, or a numeral plus classifier plus a noun phrase. The head noun of the noun phrase which occurs in a quantificational phrase is mutated.

8.5.1 Quantifiers

There are four quantifiers which occur in front of nouns: *fefu* 'most, all', *ma'efu* 'a bit, a few', *iagö* 'a lot' and *ösa* 'some'. These forms are illustrated in (131)-(134) below. The noun which follows these quantifiers is mutated.

(131) I-be khö Dani fefu danö-nia.
      Tani tanö
      3s.RLS-give DAT Tani.MUT all land:MUT-3s.POSS

He gave all of his lands to Tani. (Z-L)

(132) U-be ma'efu gefe khö ndra-ono fefu.
      kefe ira-
      1s.RLS-give some money:MUT DAT COLL.MUT-child all

I gave some money to all of the children.39

(133) Me la-törö iagö mbatu, iagö rake s=a-darö-darö,.....
      batu rake
      since 3p.RLS-walk lot stone:MUT lot coral:MUT REL=ST-RDP2-sharp

Since they were walking over a lot of stones, a lot of very sharp coral, ...40

39 In (132), *ma'efu* cannot follow *gefe* (i.e. *u-be gefe ma'efu*), nor can *fefu* precede *ndraono* (i.e. *khö fefu ndraono*).
We gave some of our contributions to poor people.

Note that although the quantifiers in each of these examples introduce arguments which occur in P function, which typically require mutation, fefu, iagö and ösa do not themselves mutate. (Because of its initial /m/, mutation in ma'efu would not be observable.) Since one criterion of noun-hood in Nias is that nouns participate in the system of nominal mutation, presumably these quantifiers are not nominal. However, note that these forms are not verbal either, since they never occur in predicate function.

Both fefu 'most, all' and ma'efu 'some, a bit, a few' may also occur after a noun with apparently no difference in meaning, as illustrated in (135) and (136):

(135) I-ila döi mbanua fefu
töi banua
3sg-know M.name M.village all

He knows the names of all the villages.

40 The quantifier iagö 'a lot' resembles the third singular form of the verb agö 'stay'. Speakers say these two concepts are not related. In at least one idomatic context shown in example (i) below, iagö has the formal structure of a transitive verb, in which its A argument is expressed lexically as the unmutated noun teu 'rain' and its P argument is unexpressed (very like the verb labu 'fall heavily and stop' illustrated in 11.3.1):

(i) tebai da -möi, i-agö teu
can’t 1pi.IRR-go 3s.RLS-?stay rain
We can’t go, the rain is (too) heavy / there’s a lot of rain.

In this example, I'm told, iagö means 'a lot' more than oya ('a lot'). Compare the corresponding sentence with oya 'much', which requires a mutated argument, deu 'rain:MUT': oya deu 'there's a lot of rain / The rain is heavy'.
The quantifier ösa occurs in two examples separated from the NP with which it is semantically associated and placed at the end of the clause. These examples are given in (137) and (138). In (137), ösa is associated with the noun ndraono 'children', which is the S argument of the existential verb so:

(137) So ndra-ono ba gosali, ösa.

There are some children in the church.

In (138), ösa is associated with the noun niha 'people', which is the S argument of the intransitive verb ofulo 'gathered':

(138) Ofulo niha ba nomo zi'ulu, ösa

A few people gathered at the village leader's house.

The positioning of ösa at the end of the sentence in (137) and (138) is very likely part of the same phenomenon whereby numerals and numeral+classifier constituents are placed at the end of the clause (see 8.5.2).

Fefu 'most, all' and ma'efu 'some, a bit, a few' may also occur by themselves as arguments, as illustrated in (139) and (140) below. In (139), fefu is the S argument of the verb akhozi 'burnt'. Note, once again, that although fefu is in a grammatical
relationship with the verb which requires nominal mutation, it does not mutate in this position\textsuperscript{41}.

\begin{verbatim}(139) Ma=a-hor-i-hori a-khozi fefu. PERF=ST-RDP2-finish ST-burn all Absolutely everything had burnt.\end{verbatim}

In (140), \textit{ma'efu} functions as the P argument of the verb \textit{be} 'give':

\begin{verbatim}(140) Löna i-be khö-da ma'efu. NEG 3s.RLS-give DAT-1pi.POSS a little He didn't give us (even) a tiny bit.\end{verbatim}

There are many examples in my data in which arguments containing \textit{fefu} 'most, all' are fronted for discourse purposes. When this occurs, \textit{fefu} always precedes the noun, as illustrated in (141):

\begin{verbatim}(141) Fefu ginötö u-fake. inötö all time:MUT 1s.RLS-use All my time is taken up. (lit. I am using all of the time. i.e. I don't have time (to do x).)\end{verbatim}

As argued in 7.1.2.5, it is \textit{fefu} which triggers the mutation on the noun and not the verb. I am treating phrases containing quantifiers in prenominal position syntactically as quantificational phrases in which the quantifier functions as the syntactic head, rather than as NPs in which the quantifier is pre-head. Numerals also share this property with \textit{fefu} (see 8.5.2). However, because of relatively little data available on

\textsuperscript{41} It is not yet known whether \textit{iagö} 'a lot' and \textit{ösa} 'some' may function by themselves as arguments. However, as noted in footnote 28 above with regard to example (89), \textit{ösa} appears to be able to occur as a preverbal quantifier.
the other quantifiers, it is not possible to conclude that all of the pre-nominal quantifiers exemplified above share this property of triggering mutation with *fefu*. Because of examples such as (141) and those in which numerals are followed by mutated nouns (see below), I have adopted the position that *fefu* and numerals are heads of quantificational phrases in which the nouns which follow them are in a (dependent) grammatical relationship with them. Note, however, that the Nias construction is not a syntactically possessive one such as occurs in English phrases such as *most of the men* and *all of the men* (see 7.1.2.5 for discussion).

The quantifier *oya* 'a lot' (things), may also occur in front of a noun, as illustrated in (142):

(142) Ma-faigi oya ndri-manu si=h<um>ombo

1pe.RLS-see many fly:MUT.? REL=<DYN>jump

ba zina gurifô si=mate.
sina urifô

LOC side:MUT animal:MUT REL=dead

We saw many flies swarming over the dead animal.

Like *fefu* 'most, all', *oya* 'a lot' is not mutated when it occurs with an NP in a grammatical relationship which requires mutation. However, *oya* 'a lot' does not share the same properties as *fefu* and other quantifiers listed above. For example it cannot function by itself as an argument. In addition, if it follows a noun it must occur in a relative clause, as required of numerals, which indicates that its verbal properties apparently still prevail (see 4.4).

---

42 The word for 'mosquito' is *ndri*. The word *ndrimanu* 'fly' is possibly derived in part from this form, but the word *manu* is known otherwise only with the meaning 'chicken', which is presumably unrelated to this word.
8.5.2 Numerals and classifiers

Like oya 'many', numerals also function as verbs (see 4.10). Because of this, if they occur after a noun, they take the form of a relative clause, as illustrated in (127)-(129) above. When counting fewer than about ten items, numerals typically occur with nominal classifiers. The most common classifiers and the sorts of things they are used to count are given in Table 5 in Chapter 4. The three most frequently used classifiers are da- (men and humans in general), eu (animals) and bua (things in general). The classifier for people, da-, differs from the other classifiers in that it always precedes the numeral, while the other classifiers always follow the numeral. The classifier for humans is illustrated in (143) where it occurs in a post-nominal relative clause modifying ndraono 'children'.

(143) I-oßai gői ndraugö Töna,
3s.RLS-greet also 2s.MUT Töna
fao ndra-ono si=da-rua
ira- -dua
join COLL.MUT-child REL=CLF-two:LEN

Töna sends his regards to you, as do the two kids. (lit. Töna greets you also, the two children join (him).)

Usually when a noun is modified by a relative clause containing a numeral or numeral + classifier, the NP is understood to be specific and definite, as illustrated in (143) above. When the numeral and classifier precede the noun, the noun is typically indefinite. This is illustrated in (144) below, in which the classifier for animals, eu, is combined with the short form for the numeral one, sa-:

---

43 Aikhenvald 2000:212 makes a comment that in Nias numeral classifiers for human nouns are suffixes to the number 'one' but prefixes to other numbers, citing the examples sa-mosa niha (one-NUM.CL:HUMAN person) 'one person', da-rua niha (NUM.CL:HUMAN-two person) 'two people'. It is not clear to me that the morpheme -mösa is a classifier for humans. It does not appear to have independent meaning in the language, occurring only in the word samösa 'someone', 'a person', 'one person', although it is possible that -mösa could be related to the nominal quantifier ösa 'some' (see 4.9).
They cooked a big pig twelve shoulders wide, ... (lit. 'A pig which is big which has twelve shoulders (of size) they cooked,...)

The noun phrase which follows the numeral and classifier in (144) consists of the noun, \(mba\ddot{\text{b}}\text{i}'pig', and two relative clauses. Note that one of these relative clauses contains the numeral \(felendrua\) 'twelve' in predicate function. In this function it is not accompanied by a classifier. Note also that nouns which follow numeral+classifier combinations are mutated, as is the case for nouns which follow \(f\ddot{e}fu\) 'most, all' (discussed in 8.5.1 above). Mutation occurs even when the quantificational phrase is fronted, as occurs in (144).

It appears to be the case that the numeral+classifier combination forms a constituent which functions as the head of a phrase in which the noun which follows is dependent. This is evident from the fact that numeral+classifier constituents can be separated from the noun with which they are semantically associated, i.e., they may 'float'. The numeral and classifier can occur, as a unit, either at the beginning or at the end of a clause. This is illustrated in (145), in which the numeral and classifier \(do-\mbua\) occur in front of the verb, yet the noun they are associated with, \(hele\) 'bathing place', occurs after it:

\[
\begin{align*}
(145) & \quad Do-\mbua & \quad la-\ddot{\text{b}}\ddot{\text{o}}-\ddot{\text{b}}\ddot{\text{o}}i & \quad hele. \\
& & dua-bua & hele \\
& & two-\text{CLF:MUT} & 3\text{p.RLS-RDP1-make} & \text{bathing.place:MUT}
\end{align*}
\]

They made two public bathing places. (H)

\[44\] Note that the relative clause containing \(felendrua\) relativizes a possessor \(mba\ddot{\text{b}}\text{i}'pig'). The possessed, \(alisi\)'shoulder', is the S argument of the relative clause, and is unmutated.
The argument *hele* 'bathing place' is in P function. An example of a noun in S function which is separated from the numeral and classifier with which it is semantically associated is illustrated in (146):

(146) Da-tölu mate niha malaria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>niha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLF-three die person:MUT malaria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three people died of malaria.

In my data 'floating' numeral+classifier constituents occur only with arguments in P or S function. Another example of a fronted numeral+classifier constituent is given in (147), where it is associated with the noun *mbaßi* 'pig':

(147) Önö na=eu i-fahö mbaßi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baßi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>six LK=CLF 3s.RLS-stab pig:MUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He stabbed six pigs.

Note that *mbaßi*, which follows the verb, is mutated. Since this noun is part of the P argument of the verb, one might assume that the verb is responsible for mutation. However, mutation does not always occur on a noun in this position. Of the examples in which this kind of construction occurs, there are as many instances in which unmutated nouns occur after the verb as mutated ones. Example (148) below illustrates an unmutated noun in P function following the verb *bunu* 'kill':

(148) Tölu na=eu i-bunu baßi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baßi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three LK=CLF 3s.RLS-kill pig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He killed three pigs.

It may be the case that if the noun phrase is dependent on the numeral+classifier unit, its placement outside the quantificational phrase (i.e. after the verb in (148)) may
allow it to occur in unmutated form, the way that NPs which usually occur in mutated form after a predicate are unmutated when preceding the predicate (see 7.2.1.8).

Disjoint quantifier phrases like those in (147) and (148) are, in fact, more frequent than phrases in which the numeral, classifier and noun occur together. It is possible to substitute quantifier phrases in which the constituents occur together in place of disjoint ones, either before or after a verb, with little difference in meaning (at least in elicited sentences), as illustrated in (149) and (150):

(149) I-bunu tölü na=eu mbaβi.

baβi
3s.RLS-kill three LK=CLF pig:MUT

or

(150) Tölü na=eu mbaβi i-bunu.

baβi
three LK=CLF pig:MUT 3s.RLS-kill

He killed three pigs.

A construction in which the numeral+classifier unit occurs in final position is, in fact, more favoured than one in which it precedes the verb. This is illustrated in (151), in which the numeral+classifier unit associated with dardaro 'seats of law' occurs at the end of the sentence:

(151) So dardaro gane, ba huku45 zi'ulu,

dardaro si'ulu
EXIST seat:MUT there(non-spec) LOC law village.leader:MUT
do-mbua.
dua-bua
two-CLF.MUT

There were two seats of law there, in the time (law) of the si'ulu. (i.e. in traditional times when people became village leaders (si'ulu) by hereditary descent or following conflict, not just by being selected by the government.)

45 The noun huku 'law; put in jail' is borrowed from Indonesian hukum 'law; punish, sentence'.
In (152), the numeral and classifier occur at the end of the clause after a dative phrase:

(152) I-be mbaßi khö zi’ulu, fulu na=eu.

3s.RLS-give pig:MUT DAT village.leader:MUT ten LK=CLF

He gave ten pigs to the village chief.

In (153), the numeral and classifier associated with mbuku 'books' occur after an adverb, gaö 'there':

(153) So göi mbuku gaö tölu na=ßua,...

EXIST also book:MUT there(spec) three LK=CLF.LEN

There are also three books there, ...

Syntactically it would appear that although the numeral and classifier form an inseparable unit, the noun with which they associate is not tightly bound syntactically to the numeral unit. This kind of phenomenon occurs also in Tagalog, Acehenese and Karo Batak46.

8.6 Bare nominal modifiers

There is a small set of words which may follow a noun directly in certain common collocations. Words which belong to this set are listed in (154):

(154) Bare nominal modifiers

matua 'male'
alaße 'female'
raya 'south'

south' and löu 'north' (which are presumably reflexes of PAn *daya / PMP *Daya 'towards the interior' and PAn *lahúd / PMP *lahud 'towards the sea') are usually found only with the word tanō 'land', e.g. danō raya 'south' (i.e. Nias Selatan), danō löu 'north' (Nias Utara). However these phrases have other meanings as well—tanō raya is used idiomatically to refer to the sea near the beach, while tanō löu refers to the sea further out\textsuperscript{47}. Raya and löu are also used with their more original meanings in the sentences (155) and (156) which were used to explain their meanings to me. These sentences are nominal clauses in which the argument is fronted. The relative clause containing the directional terms are the predicates of the clauses, which is evident from their lack of mutation:

\textsuperscript{47} The word tanō 'land' in these phrases appears to refer idiosyncratically to an 'area' or 'place' which just happens to be sea rather than land.
The headwaters are (where) raya (is).

The mouth of the river is (where) löu (is). 48

The words kafu 'cold' and aukhu 'hot, warm' occur only in collocation with idanö 'water', as exemplified in (157) and (158):

Let's just have some cold water.

We have only warm water for a sidedish. 49

Note that normally such attributions as 'cold' or 'warm' would occur in relative clause construction (e.g. hawa s=aukhu 'hot weather'), so the post-nominal forms are not functioning here as verbs. Kafu is clearly the root of the intransitive verb o-kafu 'cold' [HAVE-cold](e.g. of weather).

In addition to the words listed in (154) above, there is one other word which behaves anomalously with respect to syntax. This is böö', which means 'other' or 'different'. The word for 'other' in Nias Selatan, böö', seems to have some of the properties of a number of different words such as numerals, quantifiers, adverbs and

48 Note, however, that one northern Nias speaker told me that raya means 'east' (where the sun rises) and löu is 'west' (where the sun sets). I have not yet checked whether the meanings of directional terms change depending on which part of the island the speaker is.

49 This is a common polite comment made to guests before sitting down to eat.
demonstratives, but not all of the properties of any one of them. In following a noun directly, bö’ö behaves like demonstrative adjuncts, as illustrated in (159)-(162):

(159) So na kata bö’ö?  
EXIST    still    word    other  
Are there any other words?

(160) Samuza inötö sui, so göfa bö’ö.  
köfa  
one     time     again     arrive     ship:MUT     other  
Once again, another ship arrived.

(161) Mol-o’ö ni-dunö-dunö nda-amada bö’ö …  
ira-  
IPF-follow     PASS-RDP2-tell     COLL.MUT-ancestor     other  
According to what other ancestors of ours have said, …

(162) Tena ya’ia. Niha bö’ö.  
NEG(NV) 3s     person    other  
It's not him. (It’s) someone else.

Bö’ö may occur before or after any relative clause, depending on whether it refers only to the head of the NP or to the entire NP. This is illustrated in (163) and (164). In (163), bö’ö refers only to the noun head of the NP. Note that the phrase is indefinite when bö’ö follows the head:

(163) Be kho-gu mbalatu bö’ö s=ide’ide.  
balatu  
give     DAT-1s.POSS     knife:MUT     other     REL=small  
Could you give me another small knife please?

50 The noun kata ‘word’ is recently borrowed from Indonesian kata ‘word, and is therefore unmutated.
In (164), bö’ö refers to the entire NP. Note that the NP is definite when bö’ö follows the NP and not just the head:

(164) Bolo-gö dödö-u, be=wa’e mbalatu s=ide’ide bö’ö.

tödö balatu
width-TR liver:MUT-2s.POSS give=PTCL knife:MUT REL=small other

Sorry, could you give (me) the other little one (please)?

Unlike quantifiers, bö’ö may never precede a noun. Clearly, however, bö’ö is not nominal. It cannot function as an argument without undergoing morphological modification. To function as an argument meaning 'the other one', bö’ö takes the form of a headless relative like verbs (see 8.4.1). Example (165) illustrates the headless relative si=bö’ö 'the other one' functioning as a P argument:

(165) ö-halö zi=bö’ö!

si=

2s.RLS-take REL.MUT=other

You took the other one!

Note that the relative clause construction is not required of bö’ö for modification of nouns, so it is not treated like a verb with respect to attributive relativization. Bö’ö occurs as a modifier in one very common idiomatic phrase ba tanö bö’ö-nia [CNJ land other-3s.POSS] meaning 'etcetera, and so on', (lit. 'and its other land')52, e.g.:

(166) Oya zinanö-ra ohi, laza, sagu,

sinanö

many plant:MUT-3p.POSS coconut.tree rice.paddy sago.palm

51 The phrase bologö dödöu ‘sorry’ (lit. make your liver extend/expand) is the usual form of apology in Nias.

52 This phrase illustrates another idiomatic use of the word tanö ‘land’. (See also footnote 47 above.) Note that the possessive suffix -nia in this phrase has no referent. It appears to be fossilized in the phrase.
They had a lot of plants, coconut palms, ricefields, sago palms etc.

(167) ... fato, balatu, suha, ba tanö böö-nia.

... axes, knives, bamboo spikes (for animal traps) etc. (H)

Apart from the bare nominal modifiers listed in (154) above, nouns may also be modified by adverbs and prepositional phrases, as illustrated in (168)-(170). In (169), the noun omo 'house' is modified by a prepositional phrase and possibly also the adverb föna 'in front':

(168) Omo ba Hilizonderege'asi föna, ma=a-dölö.

The houses at Hilizonderege'asi in earlier times were in straight lines.

In (169), the noun niha 'people' is modified by an adverb ga 'here':

(169) Abu dödö niha ga.

The people here were sad.

In (170), the noun omo which is already part of a locative constituent (baomo) is modified by the dative phrase khö-ra 'their':

(170) Möi ndraga ba-omo khö-ra ba löna niha.

We went to their place but there was no one home.
8.7 Reduplication of nouns

There are a number of instances in which nouns are reduplicated for the purposes of indicating plural number. As far as I can tell, this is not a productive or common phenomenon in Nias, and may be influenced by Indonesian, in which reduplication is a normal strategy for indicating plural number in nouns. The process is not fully consistent morphologically with the kinds of reduplication which occur in Nias, which involve only one or two syllables (see 3.5). Reduplication of nouns to indicate plural appears to involve the whole noun, even if the noun has more than two syllables, as illustrated by the trisyllabic form *si’ila* 'advisor' in (171):

\[(171) \text{Na løna khō-ra atua, möi ndra-Si’ulu} \]
\[\text{ira-} \]
\[\text{faoma si’ila-si’ila f-a-londra-si zi’ulu} \]
\[\text{aN-londra-si si’ulu} \]
\[\text{with RDP-advisor NR-IPF-meet-TR village.leader:MUT} \]
\[\text{ba mbanua bö’ö} \]
\[\text{banua} \]
\[\text{LOC village:MUT other} \]

If they do not have jungle\(^{53}\), the village leaders go with the advisors to meet with the chief in another village. (H)

The process is also not consistent in the way in which mutation applies to the reduplicated form. In some cases, mutation applies after reduplication so that it occurs only on the first segment of the reduplicated form, such as in the word *te’u* mouse’ in (172) or *boto* 'bottle' in (173) below:

\[\text{53 Village leaders and their advisors need to meet away from their village sometimes to discuss certain business that they do not wish to let the villagers hear. Usually they go to a wooded area near their village (atua 'jungle'), but if there is no suitable place, they will go to the house of the leader of another village to ensure secrecy. Typically a village leader will have up to twelve advisors selected from various families in the village.}\]
In other cases, mutation appears to have occurred prior to the reduplication, and applies to both forms, as illustrated in the word *mbanua-mbanua* 'villages' in (174) (see also example (6) in section 8.2 above)

(174) Oi nda-va-sindo sikola ba mbanua-mbanua.

all 3p.IRR-IRR.CAU-stand school LOC RDP-village:MUT

They will build schools in all the villages. 55

Apart from the examples given in (171)-(174) above, the only other nouns in my data which are reduplicated for the purposes of plural number are *ina* 'mother', *tua* 'grandfather', *roto* 'section' and *dißo* 'sidedish'.

54 ‘Aqua’ is a brand name for bottled water in Indonesia.

55 The noun *sikola* 'school' is a recent borrowing from Indonesian *sekolah* 'school', and as such does not undergo mutation.
Introduction

Nias has both nominal and verbal predicate clauses. (Prepositional phrases do not occur as predicates.) The basic structure of all main clauses, whether nominal or verbal, entails a predicate in initial position followed by an argument, usually in mutated form. There are several differences between nominal and verbal clauses. First, verbal predicates may be preceded by auxiliary verbs or particles signalling modality, temporal and manner aspects of the situation described by the verb or quantification of an argument (see Chapter 10); nominal predicates cannot co-occur with any of the constituents which make up a verbal predicate complex. Second, verbal predicates are negated with lōna; nominal predicates with te’ana (see 9.3 and 10.2.2.1). Third, reduplication applies only to verbal predicates to indicate plurality of an S or P argument, or intensification / attenuation of meanings (see 10.3.5); nominal predicates cannot be reduplicated.

9.1 Structure of nominal clauses

Typically in discourse, nominal clauses are used to add information about, or identify, a specific entity or event which has just been mentioned, i.e. they are typical ‘topic-comment’ structures. In conversational contexts the entity or participant about which a comment is made may be present in the environment of the speaker and hearer. Because nominal clauses have the function of providing comment about an entity, they typically contain a topical NP (i.e. one which is referential, definite, and active in the discourse), or an NP with deictic reference. This chapter describes the kinds of predicates found in nominal clauses, the functions of nominal clauses, and the negation of nominal clauses.

An exception may be the modal verbs tola ‘can’ and tobai ‘can’t’, which occur with passive headless relatives in a construction which has characteristics of nominal clauses; see 10.1.1. Since I have not been able clearly to determine the structure of these clauses I leave the analysis for further research.
9.1.1 Nominal clauses with indefinite predicates

Nominal clauses consist of two NPs in sequence. There is no copular element. The normal structure for nominal clauses involves an unmutated argument in first position, i.e. as predicate, and a mutated argument in second position, i.e. as argument. In this construction, the first NP is non-referential and indefinite, the second is referential and definite. An example of this structure is given in (1). (In this chapter a double line (||) is inserted between the predicate and argument for ease of understanding.)

(1) S-o-lau faya || nono hö’ö.
   s=aN- ono
   REL=IPF-do lie || child:MUT DIST
   That child is a liar. (lit. That child is one who does lie(s).)

Note that the first NP provides a comment about the second. Some other examples of this structure are given in (2) and (3).

(2) A-me'ela || ganunu-a ha’a.
   aN-be'e-la aN-tunu-a
   IPF-give-NR || IPF.MUT-burn-NR PROX
   This pan was a gift.

(3) Niha si=sökhi buabua || ya.
   person REL=ST:good behaviour || 3s.MUT
   He is a person of good character (D) (lit. He is a person whose behaviour is good.)

In these examples, sentence stress occurs in the predicate NP. In (1) and (2) stress and raised pitch occur on the penultimate syllable of the predicate phrase. The argument is spoken on a lower pitch.\(^2\) The NPs in these clauses cannot change places.

\(^2\) I do not have the spoken version of (3), which is taken from the Laiya dictionary.
without changing the referentiality of the predicate. That is, if the NPs which occur in predicate position in (1)-(3) were to occur in argument function, they would no longer be understood as indefinite. For example, in (4) below which, in effect, involves a reversal of the syntactic role of the headless relative predicate in (1), identifies a particular person:

(4) Ya’ia || z=ɔ=lau faya. || s= 3s || REL.MUT=IPF-do lie

The liar is HIM. (or 'It is HE who is the liar'.)

The examples in (1)-(3) may be reversed without changing the meaning if both intonation contour and stress is altered: in such cases the argument is fronted (placed at the front of the clause), separated from the predicate by a pause and pronounced with raised intonation; the predicate follows and remains unmutated, indicating that it is in predicate function even though it is the second NP. This is illustrated in (5) in which the predicate, ame’ela 'gift' occurs in second place:

(5) A-nunu-a ha’a, a-me’e-la.
    aN-tunu-a aN-be’e-la
    IPF-burn-NR PROX IPF-give-NR

This pan, (it was) a gift.

This word order occurs if there is reason for making special reference to the argument, e.g. if it is one of a list of things being described or pointed out, or if it is contrasted with some other entity. Another example of a nominal predicate which occurs after the argument is given in (6). Note that the predicate, amadöliwa 'source of contention', is unmutated:

Note that the argument zolau faya 'one who lies' in (4) is a headless relative. The relative clause marker is mutated, indicating that the relative clause is case-marked and is, therefore, functioning as an argument, not an NP adjunct. In example (1) earlier, where solau faya functions as a predicate, its headless status is evident from the fact that there was no nominal preceding it which it could modify.
9. Nominal Clauses

9.1.2 Nominal clauses with definite predicates

There are also nominal clauses in which definite NPs occur in both predicate and argument functions. Examples (7) and (8) below illustrate nominal clauses with two definite NPs. In both cases, the predicate NP, in first position, serves to identify the referent of the argument, in second position:

(7) Si’ulu Mbaßömataluo || nama-gu.
    Baßömataluo ama
    village.head Baßömataluo:MUT || father:MUT-1s.POSS

My father is the head of Baßömataluo (village).

(8) Ono nakhi zadua-gu || nina Maoso.
    akhi satua || ina
    child younger.sibling:MUT grandparent-1s.POSS || mother:MUT Maoso

Maoso's mother was my grandfather's niece. (lit. The mother of Maoso was the daughter of the younger brother of my grandfather.)

Note that both syntactically and semantically these kinds of clauses are completely reversible without changing the meaning (although the variants would answer different questions). For example (9) is the reverse of (7):

(9) Ama-gu || zi’ulu Mbaßömataluo
    ama || si’ulu Baßömataluo
    father-1s.POSS || village.head:MUT Baßömataluo:MUT

The head of Baßömataluo was my father.

4 The word for grandparent can be tua, satua or zadua.
Note that in (9) *ama-gu* 'my father' is unmutated (in contrast to (7) where it is mutated) and the nominal *zi'ulu* 'villag leader' is mutated (in contrast to (7) where it is unmutated). This difference reflects the fact that *ama-gu* is the predicate in (9), in contrast to (7), where it is the argument.

It is also possible to reverse these clauses by the same means as are used to reverse nonreferential predicates and their arguments, i.e. by topicalizing the argument. As with nonreferential predicates, the reason for such a reversal usually involves some sort of singling out of the referent for special discourse treatment. Example (10) is part of a catalogue of sentences in which the speaker lists various structures and their functions while pointing out things in a house. Note that both the first NP, *sumo ha'a* 'this well' (the argument), and the second NP (the predicate), are unmutated:

(10) Sumo ha'a || a-na'u-la gö niha idanö.  
     || aN-sa'u-la ö  
     well PROX || IPF-scoop-NR food:MUT person water  

This well, (this is) the place where people draw (their) drinking water. (lit. 'This well, (is) the place where the water food of people is scooped.)

### 9.1.3 Nominal clauses with personal pronouns as predicates

Many nominal clauses contain personal pronouns as predicates. In many cases in which the referent of the 'topic' argument of a nominal clause is expressed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, this element will occur first, and the comment will follow. An example of this construction is given in (11):

(11) Ya'ia || naßö nomo ma'akha.  
     aßö omo  
     3s || companion:MUT house:MUT today  

She was the housekeeper today.
This structure is the reversal of the structure which was described above for examples (1)-(3), in which the comment NP is unmutated and functions as the predicate, and the topic NP is mutated and functions as the argument. Historically it is possible that the structure has arisen from the fronting of the pronoun, perhaps in emphatic function, however synchronically the pronoun is not fronted in this construction, as shown by the mutation of the second NP, indicating that it functions as the argument. Another example of this variant structure is given in (12), in which the third singular independent pronoun *ya’ia* is predicate, and the noun *lala* ‘way’ is the argument. Because *lala* begins with a consonant which is not affected by mutation, the mutation which would normally indicate that this noun were an argument and not a predicate is not obvious in this example. However, since *ya’ia* refers to the person who is the topic of the discourse, and the sentence was spoken without pause, it has the same structure as (11):

(12) Ya’ia || lala.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{lala} \\
3s || \text{way:MUT}
\end{array}
\]

He was (acted as) the/a mediator.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, headless relatives are used extensively in nominal function in Nias (see 6.3). They may occur as predicates in nominal clauses, as in (1) above. They also occur frequently as arguments in nominal clauses in which pronouns occur in predicate position, as illustrated in (13) - (14):

(13) Ya’ia z=o-ndroro Fasui ba Hilizondrege’asi.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{s=aN-doro} \\
3s \text{ REL.MUT=IPF-carry Fasui LOC Hilizondrege’asi}
\end{array}
\]

He was the one who brought Fasui to Hilizondrege’asi. (lit. It was he who was the one who brought Fasui to Hilizondrege’asi.)
9. NOMINAL CLAUSES

(14) ...börö ya'ia \(z=a\)-munu \\
    s=aN\(=\)bunu \\
    because 3s \(\text{REL.MUT=-IPF-kill}\) \\
    niha nomema'e si=da-fitu. \\
    person RECOG REL=CL-seven \\

...because he was the person who had killed those seven men before. (lit. ...because it was he who was the one who had killed those seven men mentioned before.)

While headless relatives occur most commonly as arguments in nominal clauses which have personal pronouns as predicates, they are not restricted to this context. Headless relatives also occur as arguments with lexical NPs and demonstrative pronouns as predicates. An example of a headless relative occurring with a lexical NP is given in (15). Note that the argument is fronted here, as shown by the lack of mutation on it as well as on the predicate NP bekhu 'ghost':

(15) S=a-me-ta'u ya'o, bekhu. \\
    REL=IPF-CAU-fear 1s ghost \\

It was a ghost that frightened me. (lit. 'What frightened me, (was) a ghost.)

9.1.4 Nominal clauses with demonstrative pronouns as predicate

It is not only personal pronouns which occur as predicates in nominal clauses—demonstrative pronouns referring to entities or events also frequently occur in this function. An example in which a demonstrative pronoun occurs in this kind of construction is given in (16):

(16) Andre \(hikaya\) va-a-lukhö \(hikaya\) fa-

DIST \(\text{story:MUT NR.MUT-ST-destroy}\)
A nominal clause construction in which *andre* occurs in initial position is used to identify people or things by name. *Andre* occurs in first position, i.e. as predicate, followed by the mutated form of the word *töi* 'name' and finally, the actual name. Some examples of this construction follow:

(17) Andre || döi-nia Siwa La’imba.
    töi
    DIST || name:MUT-3s.POSS Siwa La’imba

His name was Siwa La’imba. (H)

(18) Andre || döi-ra Salawasamu’i ba Gawaluo.
    töi
    DIST || name:MUT-3p.POSS Salawasamu’i CNJ Gawalu

Their names were Salawasami’i and Gawalu. (H)

(19) Andraha’a || duria moroi khö-ma.
    turia
    this one || news:MUT come.from DAT-1pe.POSS

That's all the news from us.

An example of a demonstrative pronoun as predicate in construction with a headless relative is given in (20):

(20) Andra || ni-f-o-töi Fe-hößö-i
    PROX || PASS-CAU-HAVE-name CAU-disagreement-TR

This is what is called ‘Fehößöi’. (‘Breaking off relations’) (H)
Andre is also used in a similar construction for an emphatic repetition of the element to which andre refers, resembling 'antitopic' constructions discussed by Lambrecht (1994: 202). The element which has already been mentioned in a previous clause is repeated sentence finally, usually after a pause and with stress. Examples (21)-(24) illustrate this kind of construction:

(21) Andre || ni-fa’ke, idánô.
DIST || PASS-use water
That is what is used, water.

(22) Andre || nösi baka, aná’a
ösi
DIST || contents:MUT inside gold
That was what was inside, gold.

(23) Andre || z=a-naro mbanua=nda dania,
s=aN-taro banua
DIST || REL.MUT=IPF-set village:MUT=PROX later
Amada=nda Faulö Zató.
Amada=PROX Faulö Zato
He was the one who would be the mainstay of this village, this Amada Faulo Zato.⁵

(24) Börö meföna, andre || zabu-ra, áßu.
sabu
because in.the.early.days DIST || soap:MUT-3p.POSS ash
Because in the early days, that was their soap, ashes.

Another relatively common construction similar to this one consists of andre in predicate position, followed by an NP in argument position, followed in turn by a

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⁵ The mutation on mbanua 'village' presumably signals a possessive relationship with zanaro 'the one who sets/settles (sth.)', i.e. something like 'the settled one of the village'. If mbanua were an argument of the verb -taro (the root of tataro 'sit'), it ought to be unmutated, i.e. banua.
subjectless subordinate clause in dependent form, which is apparently in apposition to the demonstrative pronoun in predicate position. These constructions are not as discourse-dependent as the previously described constructions with andre, and appear more to be a way of emphasizing the action described by the verb. An example of this kind of construction is given in (25), in which the imperfective clause mondrara tödö 'console' occurs in apposition to andre:

(25) Andre || halöwö-da mana, mo-ndrara
   || maN-rara
   DIST || work-1pl.POSS at.this.time IPF-comfort
tödö niha s=abu tödö.
liver person REL=ST:sad liver

That's what we have to do now, console those who have been afflicted.

Note that the noun tödö 'liver', which corresponds to the P argument of the transitive verb rara 'comfort' in a simple transitive clause is unmuted, identifying this imperfective clause as dependent (see 10.3.2.2). Another example is given in (26), in which the dependent clause mo-kia'ö niha 'shock people' is in apposition with andre:

(26) Andre || halöwö nono hö‘ö, mo-kia'-ö niha.
   || ono
   DIST || work child:MUT DIST DYN-shock-TR person

That's what that child likes to do, shock people.

The use of andre in sentences (21)-(26) above resembles the use of copulas in other languages, and may represent the first stages in the development of such a category in Nias Selatan.

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6 The construction abu dödö (lit. 'the heart is sad') can mean simply 'feel bad', but is also used euphemistically used to describe the state of people who have been affected by the death of someone close.
Andre has also developed an idiomatic meaning, namely 'that's why, that's how', when it is followed by a clausal NP in a nominal clause construction. The clause which follows andre in this construction may be in the form of a complement, i.e. introduced with the complementizer va (~ βa), or may occur as a bare clause. Some examples of sentences in which andre means 'that's why, how' are given in (27)-(29). In (27) andre occurs with a complement introduced by va:

(27) Andre  \text{||}  va  la-ohi  ndaoto.

\begin{tabular}{l}
DIST & COMP & 3p.RLS-chase & 1s.MUT.EMPH \\
\end{tabular}

That's why they chased me.

In (28) and (29), the predicate is followed by a clause without a complementizer:

(27) Andre  manò  \text{||}  la-ete-ni  niha=ndre.

\begin{tabular}{l}
DIST & just & 3p.RLS-bridge-TR & person=DIST \\
\end{tabular}

That's just how these people bridged (it).

(29) Andre  \text{||}  ta-be  töi  mbanua=ndra,  Boto-hili-tanö

\begin{tabular}{l}
DIST & 1pi.RLS-give & name & village=MUT=PROX & Boto-hili-tanö \\
\end{tabular}

That's why we gave it this name, Boto-hili-tanö.

\section*{9.2 Syntactic uses of nominal clauses}
Apart from identification of entities in discourse or addition of further information about an entity or event, nominal clauses have two other main uses in Nias: asking questions about the identity of a participant and expressing superlative comparison.

\subsection*{9.2.1 Questions concerning the identity of a participant}
Questions requesting the identity of a participant have the same structure as nominal clauses in which anaphoric pronouns occur in first position described in 9.1.3 above.
That is, the question word (either *haiya* 'what' or *ha(na)ta* 'who') occurs in first position and the argument referring to the entity to be identified follows in mutated form. Some examples of simple questions are given in (30)-(32):

(30)  Haiya    gö-u?

     ö
what    food:MUT-2s.POSS

What are you eating? (lit. Your food is what?)

(31)  Hata    hö'ö?

who    DIST

Who is it? / Who's there? (lit. That is who?)

(32)  Hata    nakhi-u    alaše.

akhi
who    younger.sibling:MUT-2s.POSS    female

Who is your younger sister? (lit. Your younger female sibling is who?)

With simple nouns, *haiya* usually has the meaning 'what kind of', e.g.:

(33)  Haiya    geu    ha'a?

     eu
what    tree:MUT    PROX

What kind of tree is this? (lit. This tree is what?)

(34)  Haiya    nono-nia?

ono
what    child:MUT-3s.POSS

Is her child a boy or a girl? (lit. Her child is what?)
(35)  Haiya  gurifö  hö‘ö?
          urifö
         what  animal:MUT  DIST

    What kind of animal is that? (lit. That animal is what?)

Like pronominal NPs in first position, question words may be followed by headless relatives functioning as arguments, i.e. in a 'cleft' construction:

(36)  Hata  zi=fao  khö-u?
          si=
         who  REL.MUT=join  DAT-2s.POSS

    Who's going with you? (lit. The one who will join with you is who?)

In (37) below, the question word questions the identity of the A argument of the simple transitive verb whose imperfective form is used in the headless relative clause (cf. i-bözi ndraugö [3s.RLS-hit 2s.MUT] 'He hit you'). Note that the P argument is unmutated in the headless relative in which the A argument is relativized, as illustrated by the unmutated pronoun ya‘ugö 'you':

(37)  Hanata  z=a-mözi  ya‘ugö?
          s=aN-bözi
         who  REL.MUT=IPF-hit  2s

    Who hit you?

The question word haiya 'what' frequently questions the identity of the P argument. In these cases the headless relative contains of a passive verb form, as illustrated in (38)-(39):

(38)  Haiya  ni-base-‘ö-u?
          what  PASS-rest-TR-2s.POSS

    What are you waiting for?
(39) Haiya ni-lau-nia?
what PASS-do-3s.POSS

What is he doing?

9.2.2 Superlative comparison

Superlative comparison can be expressed in two ways. In one, a headless relative is predicate, in which the verb which refers to the standard with which the participant is being compared occurs in predicate position. The argument referring to the entity being compared follows, expressed by a mutated NP. This is illustrated in (40), in which the referent of the mutated pronoun ndrao 'I' is compared with respect to height against a field expressed by a third plural possessive suffix, -ra (referring to the other entities which have the attribute against which the mutated NP is compared):

(40) S=a-lawa-ra ndrao.
REL=ST-high-3p.POSS 1s.MUT

I'm the tallest of them. (lit. I am their one who is tall.)

Another example of this kind of superlative is given in (41), in which the mutated NP mbanua Baßömataluo 'the village of Baßömataluo' is compared with respect to size against a field expressed again by a third plural possessive suffix, -ra:

(41) S-ebua-ra mbanua Mbaßömataluo
banua Baßömataluo
REL=ST-big-3p.POSS village:MUT Baßömataluo:MUT
ba danö niha.
tanö niha
LOC land:MUT person:MUT

The biggest village in Nias is Baßömataluo. (lit. The village, Baßömataluo, is their one which is big in Nias.)
Note that the headless relative in these constructions occur with possessive suffixes, indicating that they are treated syntactically as nouns and not relative clauses, since relative clauses do not otherwise occur with possessive suffixes except when passive (as discussed in 8.4.3).

The second way in which superlative comparison can be expressed is with a nominal clause in which the predicate consists of a possessive NP whose head is the derived noun \textit{f-o-ndrege} [NR-IPF-reach] 'the highest, what is achieved' followed by a 'possessor' expressed by a headless relative edescribing the standard against which the comparison is made. The argument is expressed by a mutated NP. For example in (42), the predicate is expressed as \textit{fondrege zalawa}, lit. 'the highest of the ones which are high':

(42) \begin{verbatim}
Fondrege z-alawa || duhe nöri,
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
    s= || tuhe öri
    highest REL.MUT=ST-high || headman:MUT village.group:MUT
ba mbanua hō'ō.
banua
LOC village:MUT DIST
\end{verbatim}

The overlord of the village commune is the most important person in that village.\footnote{Twelve (or so) villages form one \textit{öri}, a group of villages formed for administrative, political and social purposes. While every village has one \textit{si’ulu} 'village leader', there is only one \textit{tuhe nöri} 'village-group leader' for the twelve villages. The \textit{Tuhe Nöri} is more important that the \textit{si’ulu} in the village in which he lives.}

Other examples of this construction are given in (43) and (44):

(43) \begin{verbatim}
Fondrege z=onekhe || ya ba kalasi-nia.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
    s=           || 3s.MUT LOC class-3s.POSS
    highest REL.MUT=ST:clever ||
\end{verbatim}

He is the cleverest in his class.\footnote{The noun \textit{kalasi} 'class' is borrowed from Indonesian \textit{kalasi} 'class' and therefore does not conform to normal mutation rules. Nias words following the locative \textit{ba} are normally mutated.}
9. NOMINAL CLAUSES

9.3 Negation of nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are negated with the constituent negator *te'ana* (alternatively pronounced *tena* or *teana*) in front of the NP in predicate position. The predicate NP is unmutated, and is followed by a mutated NP in argument position. The negation of sentence (1) above is given in (45). Stress occurs on the negator *tena* in the predicate, and on the final syllable of the demonstrative *hö'ö* in the argument:

(45) Téna s-o-lau faya || nono hö’ö.

That child is not a liar. (lit. That child is not one who does lie(s)).

If one wants to contradict something someone has said, i.e. to stress the negation of an assertion, one stresses the nominal following *te'ana* in the predicate and not the negator itself, e.g.:

(46) Tena s-o-lau fáya || ya.

He is NOT a liar. (lit. He is NOT one who does lie(s)).

By itself, *te'ana* means something like 'your assumption about x is not correct'. Its meaning can perhaps best be observed by comparing it with the negative existential verb *löna*, which means something like 'x does not exist'. Compare (47) which
contains *te’ana* followed by a simple unmutated noun, with (48), which contains the negative existential *löna* followed by the the same noun:\footnote{The comparison here between *te’ana* and *löna* is similar to that in Indonesian between *bukan*, the constituent negator, and *tidak ada*, the verbal negator *tidak* with the existential verb *ada*, e.g. *bukan asu* 'It's not a dog', versus *tidak ada asu* 'there's no dog (here)*.}

(47)  \begin{tabular}{lllll}
   & Te'ana & asu. & \hspace{1cm} & \\
   & NEG(N) & dog & & It's not a dog.
\end{tabular}

(48)  \begin{tabular}{lllll}
   & Löna & asu. & \hspace{1cm} & \\
   & NEG.EXIST & dog & & There is no dog (here).
\end{tabular}

Nominal clauses with pronouns in predicate position make use of the negator to emphasize the pronoun in predicate position. Stress occurs on the pronoun, and the argument which follows has low pitch, as exemplified in (49)-(50):

(49)  \begin{tabular}{lllll}
   & Te'ana & ya’ía & \hspace{1cm} & z=a-nura. \\
   & & & s=aN-sura & HE is not the writer. (lit. The writer (of it) is not him.
\end{tabular}

(50)  \begin{tabular}{lllll}
   & Tena & ya’ó & \hspace{1cm} & z=a-maso \ 
   & & & \hspace{1cm} & ya’ugö. \\
   & & & s=aN-faso & It's not ME who's forcing you.
\end{tabular}

9.4  Constituent negation

The negator *te’ana* is not just a nominal negator. It also negates other constituents (except for verbs, which are negated with *löna*). An example of *te’ana* with a dative
phrase is given in (51). Note that in comparisons such as the one illustrated in (51), both the NPs being compared and the negator are stressed:

(51) Khö ndra-ama-dá i-be gana'a,
   3s.RLS-give gold:MUT
   teána khö ndra-ama-rá.
   NEG(N) DAT COL.MUT-father-3p.POSS

It is to OUR ancestor that he gave the gold, not THEIRS.

In (52) *tena* is illustrated with a locative/directional phrase:

(52) Gu-mofanö moroi ba kóta, téna moroi ba mbanúa.

I will leave from the city not from the village.

Example (53) illustrates the use of *te'ana* with an adverb, *gaö*, which functions as the (fronted) P argument of the verb *sawa* 'head for':

(53) Te'ána gáö la-sawa ba mbanua, ba Hilimboto,

It wasn't there to the village, to Hilimboto, that they headed, it was to here, to the beach.

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10 I am not sure why *ga* 'here' occurs twice in this sentence, but it is common to hear *ga* repeated in the same clause.
CHAPTER 10
THE PREDICATE COMPLEX

10.1 Introduction
As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 9, verbal predicates differ from nominal predicates in the complexity of the predicate. There are two aspects to the complexity of the verbal predicate. One involves the kinds of words or particles which precede the main verb, the other involves morphological modification of the verb itself. These two aspects are discussed in 10.2 and 10.3 of this chapter respectively.

10.2 Auxiliary words: overview
A verbal predicate, but not a nominal predicate, may be preceded by words which provide notions of modality, negation, temporal and manner aspects of the situation described by the verb, and the extent to which one of the participants is involved in the action, state or process. Most of the auxiliary words which express these notions also function as verbs elsewhere in the language. In their role as preverbal auxiliaries, however, these forms cannot have any arguments, and essentially form a single complex predicate with the following verb. It is always the second verb which carries argument marking. Typically only one preverbal auxiliary occurs with a main verb. Not all of the preverbal elements may occur together. The preverbal elements which will be discussed in this chapter, and the sections in which they are described, are the following:

10.2.1 modal expressions
10.2.2 negation: lönä, lö, löö and ambö
10.2.3 perfect: ma=
10.2.4 aspectual expressions
10.2.5 quantifiers
10.2.1 Modal expressions

Nias has five regular modal expressions which occur in preverbal position. These are listed in (1) with their meanings, and will be exemplified below:

(1) modal expressions

tola 'can'
tebai / tobai 'can't'
tebai löna / tebai löö / lø tola løö 'have to'
sinanėa 'ought to, it is appropriate, should'
mo-guna 'it is important (that)' (also used with the meaning 'be useful/needed')

Two other forms that are occasionally used are borrowed from Indonesian: tepaks 'it is necessary, must, have to' (from Indonesian terpaks 'must, have to'), and tatu 'it is definite /certain (that), of course' (presumably from Indonesian tentu 'definite, certain, of course'). In addition, the clause-initial particles dörö 'perhaps' and nama 'perhaps' which were exemplified in 4.13.1.1 may also be regarded as modal expressions.

The most frequently used modal verbs are tola 'can, be able, be permitted' and tobai / tebai 'can't, not be able, not be permitted'. The verb which follows these modal forms can be in realis or irrealis mode, or in a passive form. Tola 'can' is predominantly used for ability and permission. Examples (2)-(3) indicate its use in an 'ability' sense. In (2) tola precedes the verb möi 'go':

(2) Moguna nora mea tola möi niha ba-ëßali.
    ora niha
    need step:MUT so.that can go person:MUT LOC-yard

We need the steps so that people can get to the courtyard.

In (3) tola precedes the verb törö 'go':

(3) Tola ta-törö ni'oßato.
   ni'oßato
   can lpi.RLS-go dyke:MUT

We can walk on the path between the rice paddies.

In (4) *tola* modifies two verbs in irrealis mode which are joined by *ba* 'and':

(4) Tola da-t<um>elefo ba da-s<um>ofu mböli-nia.
    böli
    can 1pi.IRR-<IRR>phone CNJ 1pi.IRR-<IRR>ask cost:MUT-3s.POSS

We could phone them and ask the price.

It is a property of both modal verbs and the negator *löna* that 'free' adverbs such as *göi* 'also', *sui* 'again' and *matö* 'therefore' may occur between these elements and the main verb. In (5) *tola* is separated from the verb it modifies by the adverb *göi* 'also':

(5) Tola göi la-rökhi zekhula faoma ndrökhia.
    sekhula
    can also 3p.RLS-grate coconut:MUT with grater

One can also use the grater to grate the coconut.¹

Examples in which *tola* signals permission are given in (6) and (7).

(6) Tola gu-fao-gö?
    can 1s.IRR-join-TR

Can I join you?

In (7) *tola* is the first constituent of the complement clause of the verb *tehe-gö* 'agree to, allow':

¹ The noun *ndrökhia* 'grater' has the same phonological form in citation form and mutated form. It is derived from the transitive verb root *rökhi* 'grate' and the nominalizer -a.
Some examples, such as (8) below, suggest that tola 'can' may also be used with epistemic sense.

(8) Tola abao ni-tuo beto.
    beto
can ST-swell PASS-sting bee:MUT

It can be swollen where one is stung by a bee. (D)

As mentioned above, the modal verbs tola 'can' and tebai 'can't' may occur with a passive form of the verb. This property of modal verbs is unusual. Except for this context, passive forms of verbs occur only in relative clauses in which a P argument or a dative argument is relativised (see 8.4). However, the passive form of the verb which occurs with tola 'can' and tebai 'can't' is restricted: syntactically it cannot occur with a possessive suffix or NP expressing an A argument (as would be expected of these clauses in relative clause function). In other words, these clauses must refer to generic contexts—the referent of an A argument is understood to be 'people in general'. Some examples in which tola 'can' occurs with a passive form of the verb are given in (9) and (10):

(9) Haegaißaisa batu hö'ö tola ni-f-aoso?
    how stone DIST can PASS-CAU-rise

How can that stone be raised?3

---

2 Note that the word order in this clause is V-A-P, which is frequent in clauses containing complements.

3 The P argument batu hö'ö 'that stone' is fronted in this sentence. Since this is an elicited example, this feature should not be taken as typical of passive verbs which occur with modal verbs. Other examples in which tebai 'can't' occurs with a passive form of the verb contain P arguments which follow the verb (see ex (21)-(23)).
(10) La-waö 'he ma=tola ni-a?'
3p.RLS-say whether PERF=can PASS-eat

They said, 'I wonder if they can be eaten?'\(^4\) (referring to fruits which were unknown.)

If the referent of an A argument is referential, the modal verb must be followed by a simple active main clause in which an A argument is expressed by a pronominal prefix on the verb, as illustrated in (11):

(11) Haija tola ö-zira?
what can 2s.RLS-see

What is it you can you see?'

An intransitive verb *tola* occurs in Nias Selatan with the meaning 'abate' (of illness), as illustrated in (12):

(12) I-tötöna mea tola vökhö-nia.
fökhö
3s.RLS-hope CFT abate illness:MUT-3s.POSS

He hopes he'll get better.

This verb also has a transitive form *tola-'ö* 'make get better', illustrated in (13):

(13) I-tola-'ö vökhö-nia doto / daludalu.
fökhö
3s.RLS-abate-TR illness:MUT-3s.POSS doctor / medicine

The doctor/ medicine cured his illness.

\(^4\) The constituents *he* and *ma=* occur together only in this example and one other in the same text. *Ma=*
does not seem to be used in its 'completive' sense here, and may collocate with *he* 'whether, either' to mean something like 'I wonder' or 'perhaps', by analogy with the sentence-initial particle *nama* 'perhaps' (see 4.13.1.1).
These meanings are not in common usage and are normally replaced these days by the verb *döhö* 'abate' (which may also refer to rain) and its causative form *fa-döhö* 'make get better, cure', suggesting perhaps that the verb *tola* is becoming lexicalized in its modal use.

The verb *tebai / tobai* 'can’t' denies both ability and permission. The verb may occur by itself if its complement is clear in context, as illustrated by the response in (14):

(14) A Tola i-lau nohi?
    oh
    can 3s.RLS-climb coconut.tree:MUT
    A Can he climb the coconut tree?
    B Tobai.
    can’t
    B No. (ability and permission denied)

The variation between *tebai* and *tobai* may be dialectal—I have been told by a number of speakers that *tebai* is used in the north and *tobai* in the south. However, I have not noticed any consistency in the use only of *tobai* in the data, which is recorded only from speakers of the southern dialects. The two forms appear to be freely interchangeable in all contexts in my data. In fact, *tebai* appears to have greater frequency of use overall.

*Tebai/ tobai* 'can't' occurs with verbs in realis or irrealis mode. Examples (15)-(17) illustrate *tebai* used with verbs in realis mode:

(15) Na lōna i-tehe Si’ulu, tobai la-bunu.
    if NEG 3w.RLS-agree village.leader can’t 3p.RLS-kill
    If the village leader doesn't agree, they can't kill (him). (H)
(16) Tobai la-ra’u ya.
can’t 3p.RLS-catch 3s.MUT
They couldn’t capture him.

(17) Tobai la-lawa ira.
can’t 3p.RLS-conquer 3p.MUT
They couldn’t conquer them.

Examples (18)-(20) illustrate tebai / tobai used with verbs in irrealis mode:

(18) Tobai gu-möli, ambö na gefe-gu.
kefe
can’t 1s.IRR-IRR-buy not.enough yet money:MUT-1s.POSS
I can’t buy it, I don’t have enough money yet. (lit. I can’t buy (it), my money is not yet enough.)

(19) Tobai da-z<um>adikö mbanua ...
banua
can’t 1pi.IRR-<IRR>-make.happen village:MUT
We won’t be able to establish it as a village ...5

(20) Tobai gu-r<um>öi nama-gu.
amá
can’t 1s.IRR-<IRR>leave.behind father:MUT-1s.POSS
I can’t leave my father.

As mentioned above, tebai / tobai ’can’t’ may occur with the passive form of a verb if the A argument of the verb is non-referential. An example of tebai with the passive form of the verb be ’put’ is given in (21). Note that the P argument of the

5 The word zadikö ’make happen’ is borrowed from Indonesian jadikan ’make happen’.
verb be 'give', *mbaßi*, 'pigs', is mutated and follows the verb, in the position in which it would normally occur in a simple transitive clause.6

(21) Tobai ni-be mbaßi ba galu andre.

Ambö e-bua.

You can't put pigs in that pen. It's not big enough. (lit. pigs can't be put...)

Some other examples of *tebai* with passive verb forms are given in (22) and (23):

(22) Tebai ae ni-daludalu-ni vökhö-nia andre.

His illness cannot be treated any further.

(23) Tebai ni-kia-'ö niha si=so vökhö tödö.

People who suffer heart problems shouldn't be shocked.7

The complex expressions *tebai löna / tebai löö / lö tola löö* all have the deontic meaning 'have to, must'. *Tebai löna* and *tebai löö* consist of the verb *tebai* and either the common verbal negator *löna* 'not' or the emphatic negator *löö* 'not'. *Löna* is discussed in 10.2.2.1 below. The emphatic negator *löö* is used typically to answer 'No!' emphatically, or in contrastive questions such as *'gö-möi=ba löö?'*

---

6 These constructions have the structure of a nominal clause, in which the modal verb and the headless relative are predicate and the original P argument is the argument, e.g. *ni-be mbaßi* 'pigs are the ones that are put...'. However, I cannot be certain at this stage of the syntactic status of the constituents and leave the matter for further research.

7 This example seems to indicate that people think of *tödö* as 'heart' these days, since this specifically refers to people who have had heart attacks.
[2s.IRR-go=D.PTCL CNJ no] 'Are you coming or not?'. The expression lö tola lö'ö
[not can not] consists of the negator lö plus tola 'can' followed by lö'ö. The negator
lö is the verbal negator used in northern and central dialects, in contexts in which löna
would be used in the south, although lö is also used occasionally in the south, in
particular in fossilized contexts (see, e.g. 5.1.2.3). There is no apparent difference in
meaning between these three expressions. They may all be followed either by realis or
by irrealis mode. Examples of three modal expressions with the meaning 'have to,
must' are given in (24)-(28):

(24) Tobai lö'ö la-dudu-gö nomo-ra.

omo

can't  NEG  3p.RLS-pull.down-CAU  house:MUT-3p.POSS

They had to pull down their house

(25) Tobai löna gu-möi ga.

can't  NEG  1s.IRR-go:IRR  here

I'll have to come here. (lit. 'I can't not come here.')

(26) Tobai löna da-fa-lakhi.

can't  NEG  1pi.IRR-DO-meet

We'll have to meet.

(27) Tebai lö'ö la-doro fakake ni-o-guna-ra.

fakake

can't  NEG  3p.RLS-carry  tools:MUT PASS-HAVE-use-3p.POSS

They have to take the tools they'll need.

(28) Na möi m-alu ba si=lö tola lö'ö

if  go  DYN-hunt  CNJ  REL=NEG  can  NEG

8 The word fakake 'tools' ought to be mutated in this position (i.e. as the P argument of the transitive verb doro 'carry'). I do not know why it is not. It would appear to be the case that this word has idiosyncratic properties, as there are a number of other instances in which it is not mutated in positions which call for mutation.
mo-a-moni-ta  ira.
HAVE-[IPF-taboo-NR]  3p.MUT

If they go hunting, they have to undergo purification. (lit. 'If they go hunting, they are ones who cannot not have purification.') (H)

The form sinanea has a meaning which approximates the English modal 'should', in both a moral and a practical sense, as the following examples show. It was explained to me that tobai lööö 'have to, must' was 'too strong' for these examples:

(29) Sinanea  m-ofanö  ita  zi=ofōna
       si=
apropriate  DYN-leave  1pi.MUT  REL.MUT=be.first
fatua  löña  na  a-lögölögō.
while  NEG  yet  ST-dark

We should leave before it gets dark.

(30) Sinanea  ta-f-o-sumane  zi=bihasa.
       si=
apropriate  1pi.RLS-CAU-HAVE-respect  REL.MUT=old

We should respect old people.

The verb mo-guna [HAVE-use] 'be needed, useful' may be used as a simple intransitive verb which occurs with a mutated nominal referring to the 'useful thing' (see 5.1.1.3). When mo-guna is followed by a clausal complement, however, it implies that the action of the clause is important (i.e. 'needs to be done'). In (31), the complement follows the adverb sibai. The A argument of the complement is satua ndraono 'parents of children', and the P argument is nono-ra 'their children'.

(31) Mo-guna  sibai  la-fatene  nono-ra
       ono
       HAVE-use  INTNS  3p.RLS-send  child:MUT-3p.POSS
It is very important that parents of children send their children to school.

In (32) below, the complement of *mo-guna* 'it is important' contains a verb in impersonal form, *la-asogö* 'they (i.e. people in general) establish' (see 11.2.1.2 for impersonal verbs):

(32) Mo-guna sibai la-a-so-gö darodaro ba mbanua.

It is very important that a darodaro (seat of law) be established in a village.9

There are no examples in my data of irrealis forms of *moguna* occurring with complement clauses.10

An example of the borrowed form *tepaksa* 'it is necessary' is given in (33). Note that the verb in the clause which follows *tepaksa* is impersonal:

(33) Tepaksa la-khau ya.

He has to be fined.

An example of *tatu* 'of course, certainly' is given in (34):

---

9 A *darodaro* is a large stone seat about two metres in length, a metre wide and a metre high which is erected to celebrate various occasions such as the establishment of a village or the installation of a new village leader, or as a monument to an earlier ancestor who is regarded by villagers as a significant and continued force in their lives. The establishment of a *darodaro* means that a new village is large enough to have an important man as their head (who can afford to pay for the finding, transportation, erection and carving of the stone) and therefore is large enough to establish a set of laws for that village. Until a village has a *darodaro*, it is considered lawless, such that people may behave however they want without fear of legal punishment.

10 Since irrealis forms of this verb occur with simple NP arguments (see 5.1.1.3), however, it does not seem unlikely that an irrealis form, *ya-moguna*, followed by a complement clause, would indicate the future importance of an action.
(34) Me ma=faöli ya, tatu mo-mo-ono.  
when PERF=marry 3s.MUT certain JNT-HAVE-child  
As soon as he got married, of course they began to have children.

10.2.2 Negation

There are four forms which are used to express verbal negation in Nias Selatan: löna, lö, lö'ö and ambö. Of the first three, only löna is used with any frequency—both lö and lö'ö have restricted use. Ambö 'less, lacking' is used in place of löna to make a statement which expresses disagreement less direct, i.e. it is used as a polite way of disagreeing with someone.

10.2.2.1 löna

The verb löna is used for the negation of verbal predicates in both realis and irrealis clauses. (This verb is discussed in 11.4.2.5 with respect to its role as a negative existential verb.) Examples of realis clauses which are negated with löna are given in (35)-(37). Note that case marking and verb form in main clauses are not affected by löna, as can be seen by comparing the unnegated forms given in parentheses after the translations.

(35) Löna la-faigi nösi.  
ösi  
NEG 3p.RLS-see contents:MUT  
They didn't notice the contents. (cf. la-faigi nösi 'they saw the contents')

(36) Löna alua matö.  
NEG happen therefore  
So it didn't happen. (cf. alua matö 'then it happened.')
(37) Löna fao dödö-gu.
   tödö
   NEG join liver:MUT-1s.POSS

I do not agree. (cf. fao dödö-gu 'I agree')

Examples of irrealis clauses which are negated with löna are given in (38)-(39):

(38) Löna ndra-mbe khö-ra ndra-ono.
   ira-
   NEG 3p.IRR-give:IRR DAT-3p.POSS COLL.MUT-child

They do not intend to give the children to them. (cf. ndra-mbe khö-ra ndra-ono 'they intended to give the children to them')

(39) Löna gu-man-a.
   NEG 1s.IRR-IRR-eat

I don't want to eat (anything). (cf. gu-mana 'I want to eat (something)')

Certain elements with aspectual or adverbial meanings may occur between löna and the main verb. For example, löna may coocur with an aspectual preverb such as asese 'often', as illustrated in (40):

(40) Löna asese möi Namada Satöladanö.
   Amada
   NEG often go Amada:MUT Satöladanö

Amada Satöladanö did not often visit (this land). (H)

As mentioned above in 10.2.1, the 'free' adverbs sui 'again', matö 'therefore' and göi 'also' may also occur between the negator and the main verb. These forms are exemplified with löna in (41) - (43):
(41)  Ba  löna  sui  matö  ta-ila …
    CNJ  NEG  again  therefore  2pi.RLS-know
    And so again we don't know …

(42) … löna  göi  faoro  zigi.
          sigi
    … NEG  also  DO-visible  tip:MUT
    … also the tip (of it) was not visible.

(43) Löna  göi  alua  i-halö  gana'a  nomema'e,
          ana'a
    NEG  also  happen  3s.RLS-take  gold:MUT  RECOG
    Amada  noma'e  Lafau
    Amada  RECOG  Lafau
    That Amada Lafau didn't manage to get that gold after all. (lit. It didn't also happen, (that) Amada Lafau, whom I mentioned earlier, got that gold I've been talking about.)

In (44), two predicate complex particles, =*manö* 'just' and =*ae* 'already', occur between *löna* and the verb:

(44) Lona=manö=ae  te-taro'o  ndraugö  ba-omo
    NEG=just=already  RES-planat  2s.MUT  LOC-house
    You're just never settled at home.

The particles =*ae* 'already' and *na* 'yet, still' may also occur immediately after *löna*, as illustrated in (45) - (47)\(^\text{11}\):

\(^{11}\) As mentioned in 3.6, the constituents *löna* and =*ae* occur together sufficiently frequently that they have become lexicalized in a reduced form, na'e.
(45) Löna=ae omasi ira khö Lafau.
    NEG=already like 3p.MUT DAT Lafau

They already didn't like Amada Lafau.

(46) Löna=ae ta'unö.
    NEG=already dirty

It's not dirty any more.

(47) Löna na oköli nukha si=ma=i-sasai mema'e Sifaria.
    nukha
    NEG yet dry clothes:MUT REL=PERF=3s.RLS-wash earlier Sifaria

The clothes that Siferia washed earlier are not dry yet.

Very commonly, the collocation "löna na" 'not yet' occurs in a clause indicating that the event described in that clause occurred before another event mentioned in the following clause. That is, "löna na" expresses the notion which the word 'before' captures in English. This is illustrated in (48) and (49). In (48), the sequence of events involves the death of someone before the arrival of another person. The arrival is described in the clause containing "löna na":

(48) Löna na so ndaugö ba ma=mate ya.
    NEG yet arrive 2s.MUT CNJ PERF=die 3s.MUT

He died before you got here. (lit. You were not yet here, and he died.)

In (49), the sequence of events involves a catching of a plate and the falling of the plate. The falling occurs before the catching, and is described in the clause containing "löna na":

(49) Me löna na aekhu tou viga
    when NEG yet go.in.direction.of down plate:MUT

figa
ba ma=u-ra'u.
CNJ PERF=1s.RLS-catch
I caught the plate before it hit the ground. (lit. 'When the plate had not yet fallen down, I caught (it).')

_Lõna_ may also be followed by the intensifier _sibai_, as illustrated in (50)\(^{12}\):

(50) Lõna sibai omasi ya fa-lakhi khō-gu la-waō.
NEG INTNS want 3s.MUT DO-meet DAT-1s.POSS 3p.RLS-say
They say that he doesn't want to meet me at all. (lit. Not at all does he want to do meeting with me, they say.)

10.2.2.2 _Lö_ and _lō’ō_

Occasionally a speaker uses the short form _lō_ as a negator instead of _löna_, more often in subordinate clauses than in main clauses. This particle is the normal negator in the northern dialects. (_Lõna_ is not used at all in the north.) An example of the short form of the negator in a sentence is given in (51):

(51) Na so zi=lō a-boto dōdō-u
    si= tōdō
    if EXIST REL.MUT=NEG ST-break liver:MUT-2s.POSS
sofu mahemolu.
ask:IMPER tomorrow
If there's anything you don't understand, ask tomorrow.

(_Lö_ is also used in some fossilized phrases—see 5.1.2.3.) The emphatic negator _lō’ō_ is used typically to give an emphatic negative answer, as illustrated in the following rhetorical question uttered and then answered by one speaker:

\(^{12}\) It may be the case that _löna_ is functioning as a negative existential verb in this sentence, with the clause which follows _sibai_ being a complement. However, there are no other examples of a construction in which the negative existential verb occurs with a complement clause, so for the present I will treat _löna_ as modifying _omasi_.

(52) Hai löna rake tanö böö? I-waö 'Löö'!
Q NEG coral land other 3s.RLS-say no

Do you think there is no coral in any other place? He said, 'No! (i.e. Don't be stupid, of course there is!)

The particle löö is also used with statements expressing options, often with the particle he 'whether', as illustrated in (53):

(53) He la-rino idanö andra, he löö, . . .
whether 3p.RLS-boil water PROX whether not

Whether they boil this water or not, ... ¹³

10.2.2.3 Ambö 'less, not enough'

The verb ambö 'be less, not be enough' is used normally as a simple intransitive verb, as illustrated in (54):

(54) Ambö vakhe.
fakhe

There is not enough rice.

Ambö is mentioned in this section because it appears to have a similar function to löna when used with main clause verbs. However, sentences in which ambö occur are pragmatically more polite than the same forms with löna. For example, (55) is similar to (37) above, but is more polite:

¹³ As a P argument, the noun idanö 'water' ought to be mutated in this sentence. I'm not sure why it is not, but the words for both 'food' (ö) and 'water' often show anomalous behaviour in other instances as well. In addition, the water referred to in this example is unique in Nias in being able to be drunk without being boiled, so perhaps its uniqueness motivates the use of an unmutated form.
I don't quite agree.

Some other examples of *ambö* used with main clause verbs are given in (56) and (57):

(56) Ambö sökhi huahua-nia.

His speech is not nice.

(57) Ambö omasi ira z=asioho.

They don’t like light much (H)

*Ambö* is also similar to *löna* in being used with *na* 'yet', with the meaning 'not yet enough' as illustrated in (58):

(58) Ambö na a-boto ba dödö-nia

Our ancestor at that time did not quite understand. (lit. our ancestor at that (time) was not enough ?smashed/broken in his heart.)

---

Footnote 2 from Chapter 6 is repeated here: The root *boto* also occurs in the complex verb *aboto ba dödö* [ST-?:smash LOC liver:MUT] ‘understand’, e.g. *löna a-boto ba dödö-gu* [NEG ST-?:smash LOC liver:MUT-1s.POSS] ‘I do not understand’. There are three words (at least) which have the form *boto* which I assume have distinct meanings: two nouns, *boto* 'circumcision' and *boto* 'body', and the transitive verb *boto* 'smash'. I don’t know whether the verb *boto* 'smash' is polysemous or whether the root *boto* which occurs in the two mental state verbs has a completely different meaning.
10.2.3  Perfect \textit{ma=}

In general, verbs in realis mode in Nias may refer to the present or the past (or sometimes also to the immediate future) depending on the context of the utterance. The particle \textit{ma=} adds some sort of ‘completive’ sense to realis verb forms. For example, a not unexpected comment after eating is the following:

\begin{equation}
\text{Ma=} \text{a-buso } \text{ndrao.}
\end{equation}

\text{PERF=ST-replete 1s.MUT}

I'm full. (I have become replete.)

\textit{Ma=} is treated as a clitic because if it occurs with other preverbal elements, it precedes them, as illustrated in (60) - (62) below. In (60), \textit{ma=} precedes \textit{asese} 'often':

\begin{equation}
\text{Ma=} \text{asese } \text{i-fa-limo } \text{ndrao.}
\end{equation}

\text{PERF=often 3s.CAU-trick 1s.MUT}

He has often deceived me. (D)

In (61), \textit{ma=} precedes \textit{aßai} 'finished':

\begin{equation}
\text{Ma=} \text{aßai } \text{i-fazökhi } \text{zagö.}
\end{equation}

\text{PERF=finished 3s.RLS-fix roof:MUT}

He has finished fixing the roof.

In (62), \textit{ma=} precedes the verb \textit{aekhu tou} 'fall down' in the first clause, and is fused with \textit{oi} 'all' in the second. The fusion of \textit{ma=} with \textit{oi} is discussed in 3.6\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{15} It is not clear why \textit{ma=} does not always fuse with \textit{oi}. An example in which \textit{ma=} and \textit{oi} do not fuse is given in (121) further on.
(62) Ma=aekhu tou viga ba m=oi a-boto.
    figa
    PERF=fall down plate:MUT CNJ PERF=all ST-smash
    All the plates fell down and broke. (lit. The plates fell down and all were broken.)

In addition to its completive use, \textit{ma=} may be used to signal completion of an event in the immediate future, as illustrated in (63)-(64):

(63) Ma'efu tö ma=a-soso.
    a.bit more PERF=ST-ready to eat
    It will be ready to eat (cooked or ripe) in a little while.

(64) Na ma=töra gefe, öli vanikha tanö.
    kefe fanikha
    if PERF=more money:MUT buy oil:MUT land\textsuperscript{16}
    If there is any money left over, buy some cooking oil.

\textit{Ma=} may also be used in counterfactual apodoses to express the fact that something would have occurred, as illustrated in (65):

(65) Na mo-teu mea, ba ma=a-basö ita.
    if DYN-rain CTF CNJ PERF=ST-wet 1pi.MUT
    If it had rained we would have gotten wet

Without \textit{ma=}., example (66) refers to a future possibility, e.g.:

(66) Na mo-teu mea ba abasö ita.
    if DYN-rain CTF CNJ ST-wet 1pi.MUT
    If it rains we'll get wet.

\textsuperscript{16} The compound \textit{fanikha tanö} ‘cooking oil’ appears to involve an idiosyncratic use of the word \textit{tanö} ‘land’.
By far the most frequent use of \textit{ma=} appears to be to indicate that the event described by the verb occurred some time before the reference time, and that the situation is currently relevant, i.e. it has a 'perfect' meaning (Comrie 1977; cf. Bybee et al. 1994, who call this function 'anterior'). For example, after being ordered to wash his hands before lunch (with the imperative form \textit{ombanö!} 'wash your hands!'), a child said belligerently:

\begin{align*}
\text{(67)} \quad & \text{Ma=}m\text{-ombanö ndrao.} \\
& \text{PERF=AV-wash.hand 1s.MUT} \\
& \text{I already HAVE washed my hands.}
\end{align*}

On seeing a dead dog in the road obviously run over by a car, the speaker exclaimed the following\textsuperscript{17}:

\begin{align*}
\text{(68)} \quad & \text{Ma=mate nasu. la-gili ya moto.} \\
& \text{asu} \\
& \text{PERF=die dog:MUT 3p.RLS-roll 3s.MUT car} \\
& \text{That dog's dead! It must've been run over by a car(s). (lit. The dog has died. The cars rolled (over) it.)}
\end{align*}

If one asks 'What's new?' on return to an area one has left for some time, the answer should include \textit{ma=} if the reply refers to a situation which is still current. For example in (69) both clauses of the conjoined sentence should include \textit{ma=}. Although \textit{ma=} can be left out of the second clause and still be understood, it is considered to be clearer with it in.

\textsuperscript{17} There are not many cars in Nias. To see a dead dog on the road, obviously hit by a car, is extremely unusual.
(69) Ma=alabu Töna ba ma=a-fatö gahe-nia.
Töna ahe
PERF=ST-fall Töna:MUT CNJ PERF=ST-break leg:MUT-3s.POSS
Töna fell and has broken his leg. (lit. ... and his leg is broken / has been broken.)

Other examples in which *ma* has a 'perfect' (or 'anterior') meaning are given in (70)-(74):

(70) Ma=la-fazökhi nomo si=bohou
omo
PERF=3p.RLS-build house:MUT REL=new
ba zi=dua ßawa si=ma=aefa.
si= bawa
LOC REL.MUT=two month:LEN REL=PERF=passed
They have built a new house in the last two months.

(71) Ma=i-bato v-oroko mana.
f-
PERF=3s.RLS-stop NR.MUT-smoke at.this.time
He has stopped smoking now. (D)

(72) Ma=u-be gulo.
gulo
PERF=1s.RLS-put sugar:MUT
I've already put sugar in.

(73) Ma=man-a=e ndraugö?
PERF=IPF-eat=D.PTCP 2s.MUT
Have you eaten yet?
(74) He! Ma=a-töla mbo‘ö-u na a-ege-ege ndaugö.
bo‘ö
Hey! PERF=ST-hole cheek:MUT-2s.POSS when RDP2-laugh 2s.MUT
Hey! You’ve got dimples when you smile. (lit. ‘Your cheeks were holed when
you smiled.’)

There are also contexts in which *ma* seems to have just a past meaning, such as the
following, which refers to church meetings to which a man had stopped going: 18

(75) Ma=möi-möi ya.
PERF=RDP2-go 3s.MUT
He always used to go.

The perfect particle *ma* cannot occur with irrealis verb forms, with modal verbs or
the negator *löna*.

10.2.4 Time and manner auxiliaries

A number of other words, some of which function as verbs in other contexts, refer to
temporal aspects of the action or to the manner in which the action is carried out. I
include as ‘auxiliaries’ all of the words which can occur in front of a main verb to
indicate temporal or manner aspects of the situation described by the main verb, or to
indicate quantificational aspects of one of the arguments of the main verb. Some of
these words have independent use as verbs, some occur only as preverbal elements.
The verbs which are used as preverbal temporal or manner auxiliaries are listed in (76)
and (77). If they occur independently as verbs their meaning as a verb is also given:

18 It may be semantically significant that the perfect marker *ma* is homophonous with one of the
formatives of nouns referring to units of time as found in *ma‘ökhö* ‘a day’; *ma‘akha* ‘today’, *mahemolu*
‘tomorrow’, *mana* ‘at this time’, *matö* ‘then, therefore, straightaway’. Perfect *ma* is also
homophonous with the conjunction *ma* ‘or’.
(76) **temporal auxiliaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbs</th>
<th>adverbial meaning</th>
<th>verbal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aßali / aßai</td>
<td>'finished'</td>
<td>'be finished'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara</td>
<td>'for a long time'</td>
<td>'take time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'ölö</td>
<td>'usually'</td>
<td>'do usually'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ero</td>
<td>'every time'</td>
<td>'do to each'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofôna</td>
<td>'first'</td>
<td>'be the first'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**words with no verbal function**

- asese: 'often'
- itaria: 'sometimes'

(77) **manner auxiliaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbs</th>
<th>adverbial meaning</th>
<th>verbal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alio</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
<td>'be quick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fasala</td>
<td>'do wrongly'</td>
<td>'be wrong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>löna aetu-aetu</td>
<td>'ceaselessly'</td>
<td>aetu 'cut off, decided'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**words with no verbal function**

- asala: 'do indifferently, in a perfunctory manner'

An example of each of the preverbal temporal expressions is given in (78)-(86). Note that the clause which follows these expressions is unaffected by their presence, i.e. there is no difference in case-marking or verb form between these clauses and simple realis clauses.

(78) Na ma=aßali la-toto ...  
when PERF=finished 3p.RLS-carve  
When they've finished carving (it) ...
(79) **Ara** morö ndrao.
    long.time sleep 1s.MUT

    I slept for a long time.

(80) **Ero** so zi=fa-rakaro moroi ga ...
    every.time arrive REL.MUT=DO-complaint come.from here

    Every time there was a plaintiff from here ...

(81) **Ero** mo-möi mondri, ...
    every.time JNT-go bathe

    Every time they went to bathe, ...

(82) **To'ölö** la-agö khöndra-Gusti.
    usually 3p.RLS-stay DAT COLL.MUT-Gusti

    Usually they stay with Gusti's family.

(83) **Löna** to'ölö la-uri gulö niha.
    NEG usually 3p.RLS-keep snake:MUT person

    People don't usually keep snakes. (D)

(84) **Oföna** aekhu ba danö zekhula
    first fall LOC ground:MUT coconut:MUT

    The coconut hit the ground (fell to the ground) before the dead branch. (lit. the coconut fell first to the ground from the branch.)
(85) **Asese** la-fake gorokoro ira-ina meföna. korokoro

often 3p.RLS-use scoop:MUT COLL-mother in.the.early.days

In the early days women often used scoops.

(86) **Itaria** möi ndrao ba khö-ra na löna halöwö-gu

sometimes go 1s.MUT LOC DAT-3p.POSS if NEG work-1s.POSS

Sometimes I go to their place if I don't have anything to do. (D) (lit. '...if there is not my work.')

Examples illustrating the use of the verbs listed in (77) as manner auxiliaries are given in (87)-(90):

(87) Mi-doro ndra-tuka, ..., ira-

2p.RLS-carry:IMPER COLL.MUT-workman ...

mea aßali nomo-mi.

omo

so.that quickly finished house:MUT-2p.POSS

Bring the workmen, ..., so that your house can be finished quickly.

(88) **Fa-sala** u-döli.

DO-wrong 1s.RLS-pull

I pulled the wrong one out.

(89) **Löna aetu-aetu** u-rono zinunö-ra.

NEG RDP2-cut.off 1s.RLS-hear song:MUT-3p.POSS

I listened to their songs ceaselessly.

The word *asala* 'indifferently' is exemplified in (90), in which the lexical expression of the A argument is fronted and separated from the rest of the clause by a pause:
(90) Ira-ina ba mbanua mana, asala la-rino manö.
banua
COLL-mother LOC village:MUT at.this.time indifferently 3p.RLS-cook just

Women in the villages these days, they just cook very perfunctorily.

10.2.5 Quantifiers

Another group of preverbal words has a kind of inclusive quantificational meaning which expresses the extent to which the referent of an argument is involved in the action, state or process. These preverbal elements are: faoma 'all', which seems to be used for a human referent in small numbers (less than about five); ahori 'most, all', which may refer to human or inanimate participants but predominantly has an inanimate referent conceived of as mass (e.g. food, clothes, village); and oi 'most, all', which has general reference to humans and inanimate things, including large mass objects (e.g. land, village). Both faoma and ahori occur infrequently as intransitive verbs in other contexts, with the meanings 'be the same' and 'be finished' respectively.\(^{19}\) Examples of faoma and ahori in their verbal use are given in (91) and (92):

(91) Faoma geluaha-ra.
eluaha
same meaning:MUT-3p.POSS

Their meanings are the same.

(92) Ma=ahori Hilizondrege'asi=no.
PERF=finished Hilizondrege'asi=RECOG

That Hilizondrege'asi (village) that I mentioned before, was finished. (i.e. the village no longer existed.)

\(^{19}\) Faoma is also used as an instrumental preposition (see 7.2.2.1) and as a comitative conjunction (see 4.13.2.4).
The particle *oi* does not occur in verbal function in my data\textsuperscript{20}.

As preverbal particles, these words must occur immediately in front of the verb. Nothing can intervene between one of these quantifiers and the verb. The function of these quantifiers appears to be to emphasize the inclusiveness of the participants referred to by one of the arguments in the clause. The participants may be referred to as the pragmatic 'topic' of the sentence (i.e. the participants about whom/which something is being said). Some examples of these particles are given in (93)-(95). In each of these examples, the quantifier refers to the S argument of the verb. In (93) the S argument is expressed by a pronoun whose referent has been mentioned in a previous sentence and is the pragmatic 'topic' of the text at this point:

(93) Faoma fa-soso ira.

all DO-angry 3p.MUT

They got angry at each other.

In (94), the S argument of the clause containing the quantifier *ahori* is expressed by zero anaphora. Pronominal reference to the pragmatic topic of both clauses (*ira 'they'*) is made in the first clause:

(94) Na manaßuli ira ba-omo, ahori mo-noro.

when return 3p.MUT LOC-house all HAVE-load

When they come home, everyone of them has a load.

In (95), the S argument, expressed by a mutated pronoun (*ira 'they'*), refers to participants previously mentioned who are the current pragmatic topic of the text:

\textsuperscript{20} Speakers have told me that *oi* is related to *ahori*. Phonologically this seems to fit the pattern observed in a number of frequently used words whereby a sonorant is deleted in intervocalic position (see 3.7). There is other evidence that this may be so—I'm told that the nouns *fa-ahori* and *fa-a′oi* mean the same thing, i.e. 'nothing left'. I do not have examples of these nouns in sentences. If they do indeed mean the same thing, it supports a claim that the preverbal quantifiers *oi* and *ahori* may be related.
These quantifiers appear to be in various stages of grammaticization as preverbal particles. The particle *oi* occurs about six times more often in my data than either *ahori* or *faoma*, and with a wider range of referents. *Oi* appears to be able to refer to almost any argument. *Faoma* refers to S, P and A arguments, and occurs with greater frequency that *ahori*. *Ahori* occurs infrequently in my data, and only with reference to S or P arguments.

Some examples of *faoma* and *ahori* are given below to illustrate their use with various arguments\(^{21}\), and examples of *oi* will be discussed a little further on. In (96) below, *faoma* refers to the P argument of the verb *otome-*ö 'treat as guest, entertain', which is expressed by the mutated pronoun *ira* 'them'. *Ira* refers to the pragmatic topic of the text at this point. This example refers to two people only:

(96)  

Faoma i-o-tome-'ö     ira     Lakoya.  
     all 3s.RLS-HAVE-guest-TR 3p.MUT Lakoya

Lakoya entertained them both (together). (Z-L)

Examples of *faoma* with reference to A arguments are given in (97)-(99). In each of these examples, the A argument is expressed only by the pronominal prefix on the verb:

(97)  

Faoma la-ohe doho.  
     toho
     all 3p.RLS-hold spear:MUT

They both carried spears. (There are only two participants in the action.)

\(^{21}\) An example of *faoma* referring to an S argument is given in (93) above.
(98) Faoma la-a.
   all 3p.RLS-eat
   They all ate (some).

(99) Faoma la-sofu khō naßö-ra,
   all 3p.RLS-ask DAT companion:MUT-3p.POSS
   'hata zi=okhō tanō ha'a?'
   si=
   who REL.MUT=own land PROX
   They all asked each other, 'Who is the owner of this land?'

In all of the examples of faoma in its use as a preverbal particle, there is a sense that the action is done by, or occurs to all of, the participants together, as indicated in the translation above. Another example which more clearly illustrates this is (100), which refers to a small group of people who, all together, make a presentation to a village leader. This sentence implies that each person gave one pig to the village leader, but that the presentation was done on a single occasion:

(100) Faoma la-be sa-ge-sa-geu mbavi khō zi'ulu.
   all 3p.RLS-give RDP2-one:CLF.MUT pig:MUT DAT village.leader:MUT
   They each gave a pig to the village leader. 22

Ahori was illustrated with reference to an S argument in (94) above. In the following examples it is illustrated with reference to P arguments. In (101), ahori refers to a P argument which has been fronted:

22 It is unclear to me why mbaßi 'pig' is mutated in this sentence. Usually a nominal is unmutated after the numeral sara 'one' or its reduced form sa- when linked to classifiers.
(101) Ba fefu gö, he baši ba he fakhe ö
CNJ all food:MUT whether pig CNJ whether rice
ahori la-be ba nahia.

And all of the food, whether pork or rice, all of it is put in place. (H)

In (102) and (103), *ahori* refers to P arguments which are not present because they are the pragmatic topic and have inanimate reference (see 11.6). The P argument is elided as it is the pragmatic topic of the texts and refers to an inanimate object (gold):

(102) Ma=ahori manö i-halö Amada Lafau.
PERF=all just 3s.take Amada Lafau

Amada Lafau just took (it) all.

In (103) also, the P argument is not present, as it is the pragmatic topic and refers to an inanimate object (food):

(103) Ahori i-a.
all 3s.RLS-eat

He ate it all up.

As mentioned above, the particle *oi* has the widest range of use. Examples (104)-(111) illustrate each of its possible uses. In (104) *oi* refers to the A argument expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix *la-*:

(104) M=oi la-o-noro zinado.
PERF=all 3p.RLS-HAVE-load bamboo.container:MUT

All of them have a load of bamboo water containers.
In (105), the particle *oi* emphasizes the referent of the pronominal S argument *ndraga* 'we':

(105) Oi to-kia ndraga me fa-lele ya meneßi.
    all RES-shock 1pe.MUT when DO-tongue 3s.MUT yesterday

We were all shocked when she swore yesterday.

In (106), *oi* refers to the P argument, which is not present in the clause because it is the pragmatic topic of the text at this point and has inanimate reference (trees):

(106) M=oi la-tandra.
    PERF=all 3p.RLS-mark

They had marked all (of them).

In (107), the most likely referent of *oi* is the experiencer *ndraga* 'we':

(107) Oi omasi ndraga nasu.
    asu
    all like 1pe.MUT dog:MUT

We all like the dogs.

With a variation in intonation, however, this sentence can also mean 'We like all the dogs'. If one wanted to emphasize the stimulus (i.e. 'we liked ALL the dogs'), it is better to add the nominal quantifier *fefu* 'all' after *nasu* (to ensure that the noun has plural reference) and to use a dative phrase, e.g.:

(108) Oi omasi ndraga khö nasu fefu.
    asu
    all like 1pe.MUT DAT dog:MUT all

We like *all* of the dogs.
In (109), *oi* refers to the children referred to by the dative phrase:

(109) Oi sofu khö ndra-ono ha'ökhö nasu hō'ö.

    ira-                           asu
    all ask:IMPER DAT COLL.MUT-child Q-particular-DAT dog:MUT DIST

Ask all the children who that dog belongs to.

In (110), the most likely referent for *oi* is the argument of the dative phrase, *ndraono* 'children', but it is also possible that *oi* refers to the P argument, *vanolo-ra* 'their help':

(110) Oi ndra-mbe v-a-nolo-ra khö ndra-ono.

    f-aN-tolo ira-
    all 3p.IRR-give:IRR NR.MUT-IPF-help DAT COLL.MUT-child

They will give help to all of the children. (also: 'They will give all their help to the children.')

In (111), *oi* refers to the locative argument *mbanua-mbanua* 'villages'.

(111) Oi ndra-va-sindro sikola ba mbanua-mbanua.

    -fa-sindro banua-banua
    all 3p.IRR-[CAU-stand].IRR school LOC village:MUT-village:MUT

They will build schools in all the villages. 23

Examples (112) and (113) below are presented to show that *oi* (like *fefu* 'most, all') does not always mean 'all' and can also mean 'most':

---

23 As mentioned in a number of places in this thesis, reduplication of nouns is not a normal means of indicating plural number in Nias (see 8.7). Most examples of this phenomenon occurring in my data come from one particular (educated) speaker who perhaps speaks Indonesian more frequently than Nias. Reduplication of nouns is a normal pluralizing strategy for nouns in Indonesian and has presumably influenced this person's language.
Most dogs and cats have tails. However, there are also some dogs that do not have tails.

When *oi* is preceded by the negator *löna*, the implication is 'not all', as illustrated in the following sentence:

(114) Löna oi man-a ira.

Not all of them ate.

The addition of the nominal quantifier *fefu* 'all' to this sentence implies that *none* of them ate, e.g:

(115) Löna man-a ira fefu.

None of them ate.

When an argument has been fronted, *oi* can only refer to the fronted argument. For example in (116), although there are three possible participants to which *oi* might
refer, it can only refer to the A argument, the lexical expression of which is given at the beginning of the clause (and is followed by a pause). *Oi* is stressed in this sentence (and in the two following):

(116) Fefu nöri, oï la-be gefe s=oya
      ori kefe
      all village.group:MUT all 3p.RLS-give money:MUT REL=much
      khö niha si=göna fa-abu dódö.
      tödö
      DAT person:MUT REL=struck NR-ST:sad liver:MUT

All of the village groups, everyone of them gave a lot of money to the victims.

(victims = people who are struck by sadness)

In (117) below, *oi* can only refer to the A argument (*fefu ndra-akhi-gu 'all of my brothers'*, even though semantically it should be possible for *oi* to refer also to *gefe 'money'*:

(117) Fefu ndra-akhi-gu m=oi la-fa-be'e-gö
      ira-
      all COLL.MUT-younger.sibling PERF-all 3p.RLS-DYN-give-CAU
      gefe khö nina-gu.
      kefe ina
      money:MUT DAT mother:MUT-1s.POSS

Every single one of my younger brothers sends money to my mother.

In (118), there are two fronted arguments which are both P arguments of the verb *fa-törö-'ö 'cause to be governed' (i.e. 'regulated'). The particle *oi* refers to both of these arguments, but not to the A argument of the verb.

(118) Fefu mbosibosi mbößö, haiya ni-f-alua
      bosibosi bóöö
      all level:MUT law:MUT what PASS-CAU-happen
oi  la-fa-törö-ö.
all  3p.RLS-CAU-go-APP

All levels of customary law, whatever is made to happen, everything is regulated.\textsuperscript{24}

The restriction of reference to the fronted constituent suggests that \textit{oi} has a function of emphasizing arguments that are treated as 'focused' by the discourse, i.e. arguments which the speaker wants the hearer to take special note of. This function may be responsible for certain data which is difficult to account for otherwise. The particle \textit{oi} is used in two examples as a means of emphasizing an NP which immediately follows. The examples are the following:

(119)  Oi  ya'ira  z=a-nolo  ya'ita.
       s=aN-tolo
       ?  3p  REL.MUT=IPF-help  1pi

They are always the ones who help us.

(120)  Oi  ya'ia  si=ofôna  z=a-nolo  ya'ita
       s=aN-tolo
       ?  3s  REL=first  REL=IPF-help  1pi
       hamega  manô  mo-guna  gefe  khö-da.
       kefe
       when  just  HAVE-use  oney:MUT  DAT-1pi.POSS

He is always the first to help us whenever we need money.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{24} Note, however, that the A argument in (118) is non-referential and the verb is impersonal. It is possible, therefore, that the quantifier \textit{oi} is referring to the only arguments which have semantically plausible co-reference with \textit{oi}. Nevertheless, this sentence follows the pattern of the sentences given above in which a fronted NP containing the modifier \textit{fefu} 'most, all' is co-referential with \textit{oi}, which may indicate that \textit{oi} selects arguments that have been treated as special (i.e. emphasized) by the discourse.

\textsuperscript{25} I don’t understand the structure of this sentence and leave analysis of it until I have a chance to check it again.
It is not clear in these examples whether \textit{oi} refers to the pronoun it precedes, which functions as the predicate of a nominal clause, or to what appears to be the argument of the nominal clause, i.e. \textit{z=a-nolo} ... 'the one who helps ...'. In either case, the function of \textit{oi} appears to be emphatic and not, as illustrated with verbs above, inclusive or quantificational.

As discussed in 3.6 and mentioned earlier, when \textit{oi} is preceded by the perfect aspect particle \textit{ma=}, it is extremely common for the vowel of \textit{ma=} to be elided and for the particles to form one word, \textit{moi}, as we saw in (117) above. This fusion does not occur when \textit{ma=} precedes any other vowel-initial form (cf., e.g. example (102) above) nor does it apparently always have to occur with \textit{oi}, cf. (121):

\begin{verbatim}
(121) Ma=oi a-khozi sa-mbu-a banua.
    -bua
   PERF=all ST-burn one-CLF.MUT village

An entire village had been razed.
\end{verbatim}

\subsection{10.3 Morphological modification of the verb: overview}

Verbal predicates also differ from the nominal predicates in that they may signal certain aspectual and other grammatical information by morphological modification of the verb itself (by means of affixes or reduplication). Such modification does not occur with nominal predicates. The aspectual and grammatical information discussed in this section and the section numbers referring to the discussions are the following:

\begin{verbatim}
10.3.1      irrealis mode
10.3.2      imperfective constructions: overview
10.3.2.1    imperfective verbs in main clause function
10.3.2.2    imperfective verbs in dependent clause function
10.3.2.2.1  progressive aspect
10.3.2.2.2  purposive construction
10.3.2.2.3  participial relative construction
10.3.3      definite and immediate future construction
\end{verbatim}
10.3.1 Irrealis mode

Except for numerals and quantificational verbs, all other verbs may occur in irrealis mode. The main indication of irrealis mode is the form of the pronominal prefix. The irrealis prefixes were listed in Table 5 in Chapter 4. There are two types of verbs with respect to how irrealis mode is marked, one in which the verb has the same form in irrealis as in realis mode and one in which the verb is modified morphologically when it occurs in irrealis mode. The first type includes all intransitive verbs formed with the dynamic prefixes beginning with m- (see 5.1.1.2) or fa-, and a number of other intransitive verbs. The second includes all consonant-initial transitive verbs and two consonant-initial intransitive verbs. In the former type of verb the pronominal prefix is the only indication of the mode of the clause.

The kinds of verbs which occur in the first class described above which are not derived from dynamic prefixes are the following: the existential verb so and its homophonous form meaning 'arrive', gōna 'be struck', and stative verbs derived with a- and te-/to-. The irrealis forms of each of these kinds of verbs is illustrated below, with realis forms given in parentheses for comparison. An example of existential so in irrealis mode is given in (122):

(122) Ba sa-mbua migu tô ya-so dañila
        -bua tañila
  LOC one-CL.MUT week more 3s.IRR-EXIST tañila:MUT
khö Hilizondrege'asi.
DAT Hilizondrege'asi

In about a week's time there will be a Tañila celebration for (the people of) Hilizondrege'asi. (cf ma=so dañila 'there was a tañila celebration')

An example of so 'arrive' is given in (123):

(123) Ba so mbua migu tô ya-so dañila
        -bua tañila
  LOC one-CL.MUT week more 3s.IRR-EXIST tañila:MUT
khö Hilizondrege'asi.
DAT Hilizondrege'asi

In about a week's time someone will arrive from (the people of) Hilizondrege'asi. (cf ma=so dañila 'there was a tañila celebration')
(123) Mahemolu, gu-so ba v-anai ana’a=nda f-anai

tomorrow 1s.IRR-arrive LOC NR.MUT-get gold=PROX

ni-faigi-da.

PASS-see-1pi.POSS

Tomorrow I'll come and get the gold we've seen. (cf. ma=so ndrao meneﬁ [PERF=arrive 1s.MUT yesterday] 'I arrived yesterday')

An example of the verb göna 'be struck' in irrealis mode is given in (124):

(124) Na mofanö ya mana ya-göna teu.

if leave 3s.MUT at.this.time 3s.IRR-be.struck rain

If she leaves now she will get caught in the rain. (cf. göna ya teu 'she got caught in the rain')

Stative verbs rarely occur in irrealis form. An example of an irrealis form of a stative verb derived with a- is given in (125). The irrealis prefix, ya-, expresses the person and number of the S argument which is also lexically represented by mboto-nia 'his body'.

(125) Na ma=e-bua ya dania ba ya-a-lawa

when PERF=ST-big 3s:MUT later CNJ 3s.IRR-ST-high

mboto-nia moroi khö nama-nia.

boto ama

body:MUT-3s.POSS come DAT father:MUT-3s.POSS

He'll be taller than his father when he's bigger (i.e. older).

(lit. When he has become big later, his body will be tall from his father.)

Without the pronominal prefix, the verb alawa has the same form as would occur in a simple realis clause: cf. alawa ya 'he is tall'.
Examples of irrealis forms of resultative stative verbs (derived with te- / to-) are given in (126) and (127):

(126) Ya-te-bato deu.  
     teu  
     3s.IRR-RES-stop rain:MUT  
     The rain will stop. (cf. Te-bato deu. ‘The rain stopped.’)

(127) Hiliafasi ma-la-fa-anö ira nda-tohare ba gaßu.  
     aßu  
     Hiliafasi PERF=3p.RLS-DO-arrange 3p.MUT 3p.IRR-arrive LOC sand:MUT  
     Hiliafasi organized themselves to arrive by beach. (lit. Hiliafasi organized themselves they would arrive by beach.’) (cf. Tohare ira ba gaßu. [arrive 3p.MUT LOC beach:MUT] ‘They arrived by beach’)

Verbs derived with dynamic prefixes beginning with m- are illustrated in (128) - (131). An example of an irrealis form of a dynamic verb derived from a bound root occurs in a typical 'good night' leave-taking in a household:

(128) Gu-m-örö=e mana?  
     1s.IRR-DYN-sleep=D.PTCL at.this.time  
     I'm going to bed now, OK?’ (compare the realis form Mörö ndrao. [sleep 1s.MUT] ‘I slept’).

An irrealis form of the verb mo-guna 'be needed', which is derived with the prefix mo- 'HAVE', is given in (129). Note that it is the argument corresponding to the mutated argument of the realis form of the verb which is expressed by the irrealis prefix, not the person for whom the entity may be useful:
(129) Hālō geu. Ya-mo-guna.

eu

take wood:MUT 3s.IRR-HAVE-use

Take a stick. You might need (it). (lit ... It might be useful.) (cf. mo-guna geu khō-gu [HAVE-use wood:MUT DAT-1s.POSS] 'I need a stick')

An example of the irrealis form of a dynamic verb derived from the noun tana 'hand' is given in (130):

(130) Ya-ma-nana nono-nia ba va-alio.

ono fa-alio

3s.IRR-DYN-hand child:MUT-3s.POSS LOC NR.MUT-quick

Her child will be crawling soon. (cf. Ma-nana nono-nia ba mbatō. [DYN-hand child:MUT-3s.POSS LOC floor:MUT] 'Her child is crawling on the floor')

Weather verbs, also derived with a prefix mo-, have the same stem in both realis and irrealis modes, as illustrated in (131). Note that even though there is no argument possible with these verbs in realis mode, they must have one in irrealis form.

(131) Ya-mo-teu.

3s.IRR-DYN-rain

It might rain. (Cf. Mo-teu. 'It's raining. ')

Verbs derived with dynamic fa- (see 5.1.1.5) also have the same stem in realis and irrealis mode. An example of the verb fa-soso 'get angry' in irrealis mode is given in (132):

(132) Hana va gö-fa-soso khō-gu?

why COMP 2s.IRR-DO-angry DAT-1s.POSS

Why do you get angry with me? (H) (cf. fa-soso ndraugō khō-gu [DO-angry 1s.MUT DAT-3s.POSS] 'You are angry with me')
All other verbs, which comprise mostly the set of transitive verbs, occur with the morpheme /um/ in irrealis mode. Two intransitive verbs occur with this morpheme as well: *tataro* 'sit' and *sindro* 'stand'. The derivational functions of the infix -*um*- were described in 5.1.1.2.2 and 5.1.1.2.3. I assume that the derivational morpheme /um/ and the inflectional morpheme /um/ are morphologically and semantically related. However, because there is a need to distinguish imperfective and definite future uses of the prefix *maN*- in transitive verbs from irrealis forms derived with /um/, these two morphemes are kept distinct in the glosses that are used: the gloss IRR 'irrealis' is used specifically for verbs derived with /um/ in irrealis mode, IPF 'imperfective' is used for transitive verbs affixed with *maN*- and intransitive verbs affixed with /um/ when these forms have non-irrealis imperfective functions (see 9.7.1).

The morpheme /um/ has four allomorphs when it is used with verbs in irrealis mode. These allomorphs were described in 3.4. A summary of these allomorphs is repeated here:

(133) **Allomorphs of irrealis -um-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorphs</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/um/ + /b/</td>
<td>-&gt; [mb]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/um/ + /β/</td>
<td>-&gt; [mb]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/um/ + /f/</td>
<td>-&gt; [v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/um/ + /w/</td>
<td>-&gt; [m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/um/ + V</td>
<td>-&gt; [m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/um/ + C[non-labial]</td>
<td>-&gt; [-um-]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these allomorphs is illustrated below. Example (134) illustrates a transitive verb beginning with /b/. Note that the P argument, *ya* 'him', is mutated, as occurs in the realis clause given in parentheses after the translation. The A argument in the irrealis clause in (134) is expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix *ndra*- 'they':
Example (135) illustrates the irrealis form of a transitive verb beginning with /ß/. The A argument is expressed both by a pronominal prefix, ya-, and by the lexical NP Ama Dali; the P argument is gefe 'money'. Note that the case marking of the lexical A and P arguments is the same as occurs in realis transitive clauses—the A is unmutated and the P is mutated:

(135) Ya-mbalö gefe Ama Dali.

Ama Dali wants to borrow (lit. 'repay') some money. (cf. I-ßaßalö gefe Ama Dali [3s.RLS-borrow money:MUT Ama Dali] 'Ama Dali borrowed money')

Example (136) illustrates the irrealis form of a transitive verb beginning with /f/. The P argument is not present in this sentence because it is understood from the context and is inanimate (jewelry). The A argument is expressed by the third singular pronominal prefix ya- and the unmutated lexical NP ina-gu 'my mother':

(136) Ya-vake ina-gu.

My mother wants to wear (them). (cf. I-fake ina-gu. [3s.RLS-wear mother-1s.PS] 'My mother wore (them')

26 The verb forms mbalö and ßaßalö are both forms of the verb balö 'repay' (see fn 12 in Chapter 3).
An example of the verb *waö 'say' in irrealis mode is given in (137):

(137) Tola gu-maö 'May God blessing you'?
can 1s.IRR-say:IRR 'May God blessing you'

Could I say 'May God blessing you'? (cf. *u-waö '...' 'I said '...')

Examples of some transitive verbs with initial consonants other than labial consonants are given in (138)-(139):

(138) Tobai gu-t<um>ohu-gö.
can't 1s.IRR-<IRR>continue-TR
I can't go on.

(139) Gu-r<um>ino gö dome-da=e
ô tome
1s.IRR-<IRR>boil food:MUT guest:MUT-1pi.POSS=D.PTCL
ba ai ndraugö.
CNJ go:IMPER 2s.MUT
I'll cook the food for our guests, hey, you just go? (cf. *U-rino gö dome. 'I cooked the guests' food')

(140) Ya-h<um>alö mbalö-nia.
balö
3s.IRR-<IRR>take revenge:MUT-3s.POSS
He wanted to take his revenge. (cf. *I-halö mbalö-nia. 'He took his revenge')

The two intransitive verbs which participate in this allomorphy, *tataro 'sit' and *sindro 'stand', also occur with an infix. These two verbs are illustrated in irrealis form in (1441) and (142):
(141) Haega gu-t<um>ataro?
where 1s.IRR-<IRR>sit

Where will I sit? (cf. *tataro ndrao* 'I sat down')

(142) Ya'ami ira-ono-ma ba tuka-da, ...  
2p COLL-child-1pe.POSS CNJ worker-1pi>POSS ... 

gi-s<um>indro we ...  
2p.IRR-<IRR>stand D.PTCL ...

You children of ours and our workers, ..., you'll be standing, OK?... (cf. *sindro mi* 'you stood up')

The morpheme *<uml>* is realized as an initial *m-* in vowel-initial transitive verbs. Examples are given in (143)-(146):

(143) Lö tola löö ndra-m-ohe.
NEG can NEG 3p.IRR-IRR-carry

They will have to carry it. (cf. *la-ohe* 'they carried (it))

(144) Gu-m-atulö-'ö zi=ma=ö-sura.
1s.IRR-IRR-ST:correct-TR REL.MUT=PERF=2s.RLS-write

I will correct what you write. (cf. *U-atulö-'ö zi=ma=ö-sura*. 'I corrected what you wrote')

(145) Ndra-m-a'oge-'ö ndrao.
3p.IRR-IRR-laugh-TR 1s.MUT

They will laugh at me. (cf. *La-a'oge-'ö ndrao*. 'They laughed at me')

(146) Gu-m-ero-gö ndraugö.
1s.IRR-IRR-outside-TR 2s.MUT

I will turn my back on you (cf. *U-ero-gö ndraugö* 'I turned my back on you')
Irrealis /um/ is productive, and is used in any new or borrowed words. Two examples in which /um/ is used with borrowed words have already been presented in this chapter, in examples (147) and (148) above. They are presented here again as (147) and (148) for convenience. The words in which /um/ is used are telefo 'telephone' and zadikö 'make happen' from Indonesian jadikan 'make happen'.

(147) ... tola da-t<um>elefo ba da-s<um>ofu.  
... can 1pi.IRR-<IRR>telephone CNJ 1pi.IRR-<IRR>ask  
...we could call and ask (about it).27

(148) Tobai da-z<um>adikö mbanua, na ha öfaßulu gagambatö.  
banua  
can't 1pi.IRR<IRR>make.happen village:MUT if just forty family:MUT  
We won't be able to establish a village if there are only forty families.

10.3.2 Imperfective constructions: overview  
Certain aspectual notions are represented by changes to the verb. In general, Nias Selatan makes a distinction in dynamic verbs between actions which are punctual and those which are imperfective (habitual, characteristic of the actor, ongoing or in progress)). Stative verbs are, by definition, imperfective (e.g. bihasa 'old' (people), atua 'old' (things)). The simple realis form of many dynamic verbs, in contrast, typically implies a punctual action (e.g. so 'arrive', tataro 'sit down', tagö 'steal'). However, some dynamic intransitive verbs have realis forms which indicate morphologically that they are treated by the syntax as imperfective. These are verbs which always occur with the formative m- in realis constructions, such as m-aoso 'get up, stand up, wake up', m-ofanö 'leave', m-örö 'sleep' (see 5.1.1.2.1). Other verbs which are derived with prefixes beginning with m-, such as the verb stem-forming prefixes mo- and maN- (see 5.1.1.2.4 and 5.1.1.2.5) also belong in this category. In

27 I do not know whether the verb telefo is transitive or intransitive. This is the only example that occurs in my data.
order to make all other verbs imperfective, Nias Selatan uses affixation. The affixes used for imperfective aspect are -um- and maN-. These are both glossed as IPF ('imperfective') in this thesis. These prefixes have already been discussed and illustrated with respect to derivational function (see 5.1.1.2.2 - 5.1.1.2.4).

10.3.2.1 Imperfective verbs in main clause function

In the two dynamic intransitive verbs tataro 'sit' and sindro 'stand', the infix -um- indicates that the activity is carried on for some time, as exemplified in (149) and (150). In (149), the argument of the verb t<um>ataro 'were sitting' refers to a group of the married men and women of the village. The collective prefix ndra- includes both ama-da 'the men' and ina-da 'the women':

(149) Gaö t<um>ataro ndra-ama-da ba ina-da ... ira-
      there <IPF>sit COLL.MUT-father-1pi.POSS CNJ mother-1pi.POSS ...

The men and women (i.e. our fathers and mothers) were sitting there ...

(150) Ma=s<um>indo ndao föna sa-mbua meza ...
      PERF=<IPF>stand 1s.MUT in.front one-CLF.MUT table:MUT

I have been standing in front of a table...

These verbs may occur without an argument if the situation is impersonal, i.e. refers to people in general. This is exemplified in (151) and (152), where the verb t-um-ataro refers to anyone who sits on a particular stone. Note that the verb in the main clause in both examples is impersonal, marked with the third plural prefix la- which refers to people in general (see 11.2.1.2 for impersonal construction):

28 The first plural inclusive possessive suffix -da is used with kin terms whenever a speaker refers to a relative of someone else in the same village. Everyone in a village is related in some way to everyone else, so the men of the village are ama-da 'our fathers' and the women, ina-da 'our mothers'.
(151) Na gaö t<um>ataro ba z=alösö, ..., s=
if there <IPF>sit LOC REL.MUT=ST:smooth ...
la-söndra. Ana’a.
3p.RLS-find gold
If someone sits on the smooth one, ..., they find (things). (Like) gold (for example). (lit. 'If there is sitting on the smooth one, ...)

(152) Tobai na gaö t<um>ataro ba z=oranarana, ... la-bunu s=
can’t yet there <IPF>sit LOC REL.MUT=ST:rough ... 3p.RLS-kill
No one can sit on the rough one, ..., (or) they’ll be killed.

Transitive verbs have an imperfective form marked with \textit{maN}-\textsuperscript{29}. In 5.1.1.2.4 this prefix was described as a dynamic prefix which derives intransitive verbs from nouns. The imperfective form of transitive verbs derived with this prefix is also intransitive—the A argument is no longer marked on the verb and, if lexical, is realized as a mutated NP. This is illustrated in (153), in which the verb \textit{a} 'eat' occurs in the imperfective form \textit{man-a}. The A argument of the simple transitive verb is expressed as the mutated pronoun \textit{ira} and the verb has no pronominal prefix:

(153) Man-a-man-a mbaßi ira ba ginötö hö’ö.
\hspace{1cm} maN-a baßi inötö
\hspace{1cm} RDP2-IPF-eat pig:MUT 3p.MUT LOC time:MUT DIST
They used to always eat pork at that time.

Both arguments of the verb are mutated, similar to the structure of experiential verbs (see 11.4.2.6). The order of arguments in clauses containing imperfective forms of transitive verbs is fixed, corresponding to the unmarked order of arguments in a

\textsuperscript{29} It is possible that \textit{maN}- is morphologically complex, composed of \textit{m-} + \textit{aN}-. However, because of issues concerning various different functions of \textit{maN}- (see 10.3.2) and the meaning of \textit{m-} by itself, I prefer to treat \textit{maN}- as a unitary prefix.
simple transitive clause, i.e. V-P-A. The P argument, if it occurs, is typically non-referential. An example in which the P argument is non-referential (although omitted) and the situation can be described as habitual is given in the response in (154 B):

(154) A. Yae nafo-da.
    afo
    here.is betel:MUT-1s.POSS
    Here is our betel.

B. Saohagölö, lõna mo-nana ndao.
    maN-nana
    thankyou NEG IPF-chew 1.MUT
    Thanks, but I don't take (it).\(^\text{30}\)

Often one or both arguments are missing. A typical example of an imperfective form without any overt arguments, is given in (155):

    ST-passed DIST, IPF-eat
    After that, they ate. (Or, perhaps, 'After that, (there was) eating.')

Imperfective forms of transitive verbs conform to the morphophonological principles detailed in 3.3. The imperfective forms of some transitive verbs are listed in (156) to illustrate the variations which occur in the addition of the prefix maN- to these stems.

(156) Transitive verbs in imperfective form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive verb</th>
<th>imperfective form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bunu 'kill'</td>
<td>ma-mumu 'killing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṝaßalö 'borrow'</td>
<td>mo-mbalö 'borrowing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fake 'use'</td>
<td>ma-make 'using'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{30}\) The word saohagölö consists morphologically of the following constituents: s=aoha gölö [REL=ST:light profit:MUT], literally '(I am) one whose profit is light'. The meaning is perhaps similar to English 'It's nothing'.
Anomalously, there are two transitive verbs whose imperfective forms are derived with the infix -um- rather than the prefix maN-. These are hede 'call' and halö 'take, hold'. When hede 'call' is made imperfective with -um- its meaning is 'say'. An example of hede in its imperfective form as a main clause verb is given in (157):

(157) H<um>ede khö vo'omo-nia Namada Larisökhi 'Moa! ...'
     fo'omo
     <IPF>speak DAT spouse:MUT-3s.POSS Amada:MUT Larisökhi enough
     Amada Larisökhi said to his wife, 'Enough! ...'

The verb halö 'take, hold' does not occur in imperfective form in main clauses in my data. However, it does occur in its imperfective form in dependent clauses, as illustrated in the purposive sentence in (158) (see 10.3.2.2.2 for discussion of purposive construction):

(158) Aefa hö'ö möi ya h<um>alö mboßo.
     boßo
     pass DIST go 3s.MUT <IPF>take boßo:MUT
     After that he has to go and get the boßo fruit.

The affinity which the infix -um- shows for deriving intransitive verbs from bound roots beginning with /h/ may explain its function of deriving intransitive verbs from these transitive verbs. The verbs hede 'call' and halö 'take, hold' are the most commonly used of the few transitive roots which begin with /h/.

| tanö 'plant' | ma-nanö 'planting' |
| sußö 'fight' | ma-nußö 'fighting' |
| döli 'drag'  | mo-ndröli 'dragging' |
| khau 'fine'  | mo-gau 'fining'     |
| uri 'keep'   | man-uri 'keeping'   |
The imperfective form of vowel-initial transitive verbs requires the prefixation of *m*-. This is the same form as they have in irrealis mode. Once again, there are no examples in my data of vowel-initial transitive verbs used in imperfective form in main clauses. An example of the verb *oturagö* 'tell' in a purposive construction is given in (159):

(159) Da gu-möi m-oturagö ba fasa.

HORT 1s.IRR-go IPF-tell LOC market

Let me go and tell (people) at the market.

The imperfective forms of *sindro* 'stand', *tataro* 'sit down', *hede* 'call', *halö* 'take' and vowel-initial transitive verbs are the same as the irrealis forms of these verbs. However, note that typically, irrealis forms of transitive verbs are not all the same as their imperfective form. The irrealis forms for the first three verbs in (156) above, for example, are *mbunu* 'kill:IRR', *mbalö* 'borrow:IRR' and *vake* 'use:IRR'. For this reason, irrealis use of /um/ is treated as distinct from its imperfective use, and the glosses reflect this distinction.

### 10.3.2.2 Imperfective verbs in dependent clauses

The imperfective form of verbs is used in dependent clauses for three constructions: progressive aspect, purposive clauses and participial relative clauses.

#### 10.3.2.2.1 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect in Nias Selatan is expressed by a construction consisting of the transitive verb *lau* 'do' followed by a clause containing a verb in its imperfective form. An example of a transitive verb in progressive aspect is given in (160):

(160) I-lau ma-makha balale ina-gu.

3s.RLS-do IPF-weave basket mother-1s.POSS

My mother is weaving a basket.
Note that both the P argument and the A argument of the verb *fakha* 'weave' in (161) are unmutated. In all dependent transitive clauses in Nias the P argument is unmutated. Note that semantically the A argument of *fakha* 'weave' is simultaneously the A argument of the verb *lau* 'do' but is expressed syntactically only as an A argument of *lau*, as illustrated by its realization on this verb as the third singular prefix, *i*-. The P argument in these clauses is often non-specific and indefinite, as illustrated in (161), where the unmutated P argument refers to 'lice' in general:

(161) Ba’e hö’ö la-lau ma-nasi utu naßö-ra.

monkey DIST 3p.RLS-do IPF-delouse louse companion:MUT-3p.POSS

Those monkeys are looking for lice on each other

However, P arguments in these constructions may also be specific, definite and referential. For example, in (162), the P argument is *akhi-gu* 'my little brother':

(162) I-lau mo-lu’i akhi-gu ina-gu.

3s.RLS-do IPF-carry.on.hip younger.sibling-1s.POSS mother-1s.POSS

My mother is carrying my little brother (on her hip).

In (163), the P argument, *haßuhaßu* 'rubbish' is also specific, definite and referential:

(163) I-lau ma-nibo haßuhaßu.

3s.RLS-do IPF-throw.away rubbish

He is throwing away the rubbish.

The use of progressive aspect in (163) implies that the activity is taking time (because there is a lot of rubbish), and is not a matter of just throwing something out of the
window. Example (164) also illustrates a P argument which has specific reference, köfa 'the ship':

(164) I-lau ma-maigi köfa Amada Lareso.
    maN-faigi
3s.RLS-do IPF-see ship Amada Lareso

Amada Lareso was watching the ship.

An example of the intransitive verb tataro 'sit' in progressive aspect is given in (165):

(165) I-lau t<um>ataro ba nora nomo ama-gu.
    ora omo
3s.RLS-do <IPF>sit LOC step:MUT house:MUT father-1s.POSS

My father is sitting on the steps of the house.

Note, in (165), that ama-gu 'my father' is semantically the S argument of tataro, but is syntactically the A argument of lau 'do', as reflected by the pronominal prefix on the verb, i-, and its unmutated form. Examples of other intransitive verbs in progressive aspect are given below. In these examples, note that the imperfective form is the same as the form of the verb in simple realis constructions. In (166), the A argument of the verb lau, expressed by the third singular pronominal prefix i- as well as the unmutated independent pronoun ya'ia, is semantically also the S argument of mohalöwö 'work':

(166) I-lau mo-halöwö samösa ya'ia.
3s.RLS-do DYN-work alone 3s

He is working by himself. (cf. Mo-halöwö ya samösa. 'He is working by himself / he worked by himself')

Simple verbs of bodily actions may occur in progressive aspect, as exemplified in (167) and (168):
(167) I-lau a'ege.
3s.RLS-do laugh
He is laughing (for some time). (cf. a'ege ya 'he is laughing / he laughed')

(168) I-lau bahö.
3s.RLS-do sneeze
He is sneezing (for some time). (cf. Bahö ya 'He sneezed')

Verbs derived with the dynamic prefix fa- (see 5.1.1.5) may also occur in progressive aspect. For example in (169), the noun ira-ono 'children', simultaneously represents the referent of the A argument of lau 'do' as well as the S argument of the intransitive verb fa-boko 'play ball', but syntactically it is treated as an A argument, as shown by its unmutated form:

(169) La-lau fa-boko ira-ono.
3p.RLS-do DO-ball COLL-child
The children are playing ball.

Some intransitive verbs which are semantically incompatible with progressive aspect in English appear to be able to occur in this construction in Nias. Some examples of these verbs are given in (170) and (171):

(170) I-lau omuso dödö-nia.
3s.RLS-do happy liver:MUT-3s.POSS
He is (being) happy.

(171) I-lau fa-soso.
3s.RLS-do DO-angry
He is (being) angry.
Some verbs which are compatible with progressive aspect in English are not compatible with the Nias construction. One particular set of verbs which is not compatible is the set of basic dynamic verbs beginning with the imperfective formative m-, e.g. mörö 'sleep', meßo 'chase birds' etc., as listed in 5.1.1.2.1. Another verb which cannot occur in progressive aspect in Nias is the verb bunu 'kill', e.g. the sentence *i-lau ma-munu baßi [3s.RLS-do IPF-kill pig] 'He is killing pigs' is not grammatical. However, the verb fahö 'stab' is compatible, as illustrated in (172):

(172) I-lau ma-mahö baßi.
    maN-fahö
3s.RLS-do IPF-stab pig
He's stabbing a pig

Oddly, too, the action in (172) refers only to one stab, not to an ongoing activity. Progressive construction is incompatible with perfect ma=. For example, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

(173) *Ma=la-lau ma-mazökhi omo.
    maN-fazökhi
PERF=3p.RLS-do IPF-make house
They had been building a house.

Without ma=, this sentence means 'They were building a house' or 'they are building a house'. If one needs to be specific as to how long a particular action has continued, one can add a temporal phrase, e.g.:

(174) La-lau ma-mazökhi omo ba zi=dua ßawa
    maN-fazökhi si= bawa
3p.RLS-do IPF-make house LOC REL.MUT=two month:LEN
They have been building a house for the past two months.

For non-specific time, one can use a construction with *ara* 'take time', e.g.:

(175) *Ara ae me ma-la-börötaigö v-a-mazökhi omo.*

long.time already since PERF=3p.RLS-begin NR-IPF-make house

It has been a long time since they started building the house.

### 10.3.2.2.2 Purposive construction

Purposive constructions consist of the intransitive verb *möi* 'go' and a dependent clause containing an imperfective form of a verb. An example of the transitive verb *fili* 'choose' in a purposive construction is given in (176):

(176) *Möi ndrao ma-mili eu s-o-guna ba-omo.*

go 1s.MUT IPF-choose wood REL=HAVE-use LOC-house

I'm going to choose the wood for the house. (for burning)

The S argument of *möi* in (176) is expressed by a mutated argument, *ndrao* 'I'. Semantically the referent of this argument is also the referent of the A argument of the transitive verb *fili* 'choose'. In dependent clauses in purposive constructions, however, the A argument is not expressed. The P argument, e.g. *eu soguna ba nomo* 'wood for the house' in (176), is unmutated. Another example of a purposive construction with a transitive verb in the dependent clause is given in (177):
The S argument of möi 'go' in (177) is expressed in mutated form, Nina Mili 'Ina Mili'. The P argument in the dependent clause is the unmutated headless relative soguna '(household) needs' (lit. 'what has use/ is needed' i.e. groceries). Another example is given in (178), in which the verb manai 'get' is in imperfective form. The P argument of manai, böli-nia 'its price', is unmutated; the S argument of the verb möi 'go', expressed by the first singular irrealis pronominal prefix gu-, 'I', corresponds to the referent of the A argument of manai:

(178) Gu-möi manai böli-nia.
   1s.IRR-go get price-3s.POSS
   I'll go and get the money for it.

In (179), the imperfective form of the verb tou-ö occurs with an unmutated P argument sagö nomo 'roof of the house', and the S argument of möi 'go', the irrealis prefix ya-, refers to the participant corresponding to the A argument of tou-ö:

(179) Ya-möi ma-nou-ö sagö nomo.
   maN-tou omo
   3s.IRR-go IPF-down-TR roof house:MUT
   He will come to put the roof on the house.

Verbs derived with dynamic fa- (see 5.1.1.5) may also occur in purposive constructions, as illustrated in (180):

31 The imperfective form moßöli 'buy' is irregular. The simple transitive verb is õli. The imperfective form appears to retain an earlier form of the root derived from an initial *b. Compare the noun böli 'price' which is presumably related, and the verb beli 'buy' in Indonesian, which is presumably cognate with õli 'buy' and böli 'price' in Nias.
The auxiliary verb *möi* may be separated from the dependent clause in a purposive construction either by an argument, as illustrated in (176) above, by a prepositional phrase, as illustrated in (177) above, or by a locative adverb and the S argument, as illustrated in (181) below.

(181) Möi ga ya ma-nörö.

He came here for sightseeing.

Another example of a prepositional phrase occurring between the auxiliary verb and the dependent clause is given in (182) below. In this sentence the verb *möi 'go',* is affixed by the joint action particle *mo-* referring to the fronted argument *iraononia si dasiwa *'his nine children' (see 10.3.3 below for joint action particle). The prepositional phrase *ba ndru'u *'to the forest' occurs between *mo-möi* and the dependent clause verb *manalui* 'look for':

(182) Samuza ma'ökhö ira-ono-nia si=da-siwa

One day COLL-child-3s.POSS REL=CLF-nine

mo-möi ba ndru'u, man-alu-i ahulua.

ndru'u maN-alu-i

JNT-go LOC grass:MUT IPF-hunt-TR wild.beast

One day his nine children went to the forest to hunt wild beasts. (H)

There are a number of instances in which purposive clauses contain transitive verbs in irrealis rather than imperfective form. It is not clear to me whether this is
evidence of a construction that is undergoing restructuring (through a confusion between irrealis and imperfective forms) or whether there is a systematic pattern to be found. In some of the examples with irrealis form, the joint action prefix mo- (see 10.3.3 below) occurs with the auxiliary verb mői 'go'. I give examples here of these uses, but will not discuss them further.

fa-lakhi-si Amada

go 3s.MUT [DO-meet-APP].IRR Amada:MUT Helazataro

He went to see Amada Helazataro.

(184) Mo-mői vaigi.
faigi
JNT-go see:IRR

They went to take a look.

(185) Mo-mői mbe ba Hilizondege'asi.
JNT-go give:IRR LOC Hilizondrege'asi

They were going to give (them) to Hilizondege'asi.

(186) Mo-mői kh<um>ozi.
JNT-go <IRR>burn

They went to burn (it).

10.3.2.2.3 Participial relative clauses
The imperfective form of verbs, both transitive and intransitive, can be used as a kind of participial relative clause. Like dependent clauses in progressive aspect and purposive constructions, in participial relative clauses the A or S argument is not expressed, and if there is a P argument present, it is unmutated. These participial relative clauses typically express actions which are habitual, continuous or ongoing in some way. An example of the verb lau 'do' used as a participial relative with a
habitual meaning is given in (187). The reduplication of the verb means 'continue to do':

(187) Ato niha mo-lau-lau oßasa na, me-föna.

\begin{verbatim}
niha maN-lau
many person:MUT IPF-RDP2-do oßasa still when-in.front
\end{verbatim}

There were many people who still held the ovasa ceremony then, in the early days. (lit. 'The people still holding the ovasa ceremony in the early days were a lot'.)

An example of an intransitive verb used in participial relative function is given in (188). The S argument of the main clause, ndri 'mosquito(es)', is coreferent with the S argument of the derived dynamic (and imperfective) verb h<um>ombo-hombo 'flying':

(188) Oya ndri h<um>ombo-hombo ga.

\begin{verbatim}
ndri
many mosquite:MUT <IPF>RDP2-fly here
\end{verbatim}

There are a lot of mosquitoes flying (around) here. (lit. 'The mosquitoes flying here are a lot')

An example of the imperfective form of the transitive verb hua 'say, speak' in participial function is given in (189). Note that the P argument, föci 'lie' is unmutated:

(189) So ndra-ono-gu ba gotalua-ra ma-nua föci.

\begin{verbatim}
ira- otalua maN-hua
EXIST COLL.MUT-child-1s.POSS LOC gap:MUT-3p.POSS IPF-say lie
\end{verbatim}

Some of my children tell lies.\textsuperscript{32} (lit. There are children of mine amongst them (who) say lies.)

\textsuperscript{32} The phrase \textit{ba gotalua} is a complex preposition meaning 'amongst, between'. Literally it means 'in the gap' or 'in between'.

Commonly dynamic intransitive verbs beginning with *m*- are found as participial relatives. For example, the verb *moroi* 'come from' occurs in this use in (190):

(190) Lòna ta-ila nama hauga götö niha ötö niha
moroi ba Gomo.

We don't know how many generations of people (there were who came) from Gomo. (Z-L)

Another example of this use of imperfective form is given in (191), where the semantic argument of *moroi* 'come from' is *doho* 'spears', which is not present in the participial clause because it is inanimate.

(191) Bòròme fa-tete-tete doho moroi lawa...
toho
because DO-RDP2-follow spear:MUT come.from high

Because the spears kept on raining down... (lit. because the spears kept on following, (they were) coming from up high.)

10.3.3 Joint action prefix *mo-*

The kind of imperfective verb form just described for transitive and intransitive verbs is used when a speaker wishes to indicate that a group of people do something together (i.e. 'joint action'), which is expressed by the prefix *mo*-.. This construction can only be used when the participants involved, which may be many or just two, have already been introduced, i.e. they are currently activated in the discourse. The verb to which *mo*- is affixed must be dynamic, that is, the referents of *mo*- are Actors not Patients. The prefix represents A and S arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs which occur in their imperfective form. No P argument nor any pronominal S
or A argument may occur with a verb marked with *mo-. The joint action prefix is illustrated in (192) and (193) below.

(192) Mo-t<um>ataro. (*ira)
JNT-<IPF>sit (*3p.MUT)
They all sat down together.

(193) Mo-ma-nunö-nunö. (*ira).
    maN-tunö
JNT-IPF-RDP2-sing (*3p.MUT)
They're always singing together.

Lexical arguments may co-occur with joint action prefixes. If a lexical argument occurs it must refer to a *group of people. The way of referring to a group of people in Nias is with the collective particle *ira-. This particle can refer to a temporary group of people as well as to people who are commonly recognized as belonging to permanent groups such as families (in the way that a plural form of a surname in English indicates a family i.e. the Browns). The lexical argument which occurs with joint action constructions is mutated. Examples (192) and (193) are repeated below as (194) and (195) with lexical arguments. In (194), the mutated argument *ndra-Sasi refers to the family to which Sasi belongs:

(194) Mo-t<um>ataro *ndra-Sasi.
    ira-
JNT-<IPF>sit COLL.MUT-Sasi
Sasi and her family all sat down together.

In (195), the argument *ndra-Inti refers only to Inti and her fellow worker Mia, as the context does not allow for any other interpretation (Inti and Mia are the only household workers in the house):
Another example containing a lexical argument is given in (196). The verb in (196) is a basic dynamic verb beginning with *m*- as mentioned above, verbs of this type correspond semantically and syntactically to imperfective forms of transitive verbs with *maN*- and intransitive verbs with *-um*- . The argument *ndra-Wali* refers to a group of small children who have been playing together:

(196) Mo-me'e ndra-Wali.

    ira-
    JNT-cry COLL.MUT-Wali

Wali and his companions are crying.

Usually no argument occurs in a joint action construction but the referent is understood from the context. Further examples of this construction, without arguments, are given in (197) and (198):

(197) Mo-mofanö mo-möi ba Mbaßöhulandrö.

    Baßöhulandrö
    JNT-leave JNT-go LOC Baßöhulandrö

They left and went to Baßöhulandrö


    passed DIST JNT-IPF-eat when PERF=finished JNT-return

After that they eat. When they are finished, they return home.
10.3.4 Definite and immediate future

Transitive verbs in their imperfective form are used with an irrealis prefix to express a definite, and often immediate, future—the conviction that an event will occur. This meaning contrasts with the meaning of vague possibility usually implied by the simple irrealis form. Compare the definite future illustrated in (199) with the irrealis form in (200). In (199), the imperfective form of the verb *bu'a* 'repay' occurs with the irrealis prefix *ya-*:

(199) Ya-ma-mu'a ömō-nia.

\[\text{māN-bu'a} \]

3s.IRR-IPF-repay  debt-3s.POSS

He is about to pay off his debt. (i.e. he has the money ready to hand over)

In (200), the irrealis form of *bu'a* is used:

(200) Ya-mbu'a gömō-nia.

\[\text{ömō} \]

3s.IRR-repay:IRR  debt:MUT-3s.POSS

He might repay his debt / He would like to repay his debt (but he doesn't know where he would get the money).

Note that the P argument following the definite future form of the verb in (199) is unmutated, in contrast to realis and irrealis clauses containing imperfective transitive verbs in which P arguments are mutated (e.g. (200)). This gives the impression that the irrealis prefix is attached to the imperfective clause and not just to the verb. A good example of a difference between a definite future and an irrealis form can be seen by comparing (201) and (202)-(203). In (202), the speaker uses negation of the irrealis mode of the verb *be* 'give' to say that he will refuse to return a loom that he has borrowed:
(201) Löna gu-mbe kho-nia
   NEG 1s.IRR-give:IRR DAT-3s.POSS
he aßai horö mbalazi.
horö balazi
whether finished sin:MUT action:MUT

I'm not going to give (it) to him even if it is regarded as a sinful action. (H)
(lit. I will not give (it) to him even if a sin of behaviour is finished.)

A few sentences on, the speaker repeats his refusal, but this time with even more force, using the definite future form of the verb:

(202) Löna gu-ma-me, ..., he aßali horö,
  maN-be horö
NEG 1s.IRR-IPF-give ... whether finished sin:MUT

I will NOT give (it to him), ... even if it's a sin.

Then in the same sentence, he reiterates his refusal more vehemently by using the definite future of the more emphatic (and longer) form of the verb, i.e. be'e:

(203) löna gu-ma-me’e.
  maN-be’e
NEG 1s.IRR-IPF-give

I will NOT give (it) back.

Definite future constructions also contrast with another, more immediate, future which is formed with the verb möi ‘go’. A comparison of the two constructions may indicate the difference most clearly. An example of a definite future form of the verb baso 'read' is given in (204):
(204) Gu-ma-maso buku.
    maN-baso
    1s.IRR-IPF-read book
    I'm going to read a book.

This example implies that there is a definite book I mean to read and that I'll be
starting to read the book very soon. In other words, the P argument of this
construction is a referential indefinite NP. Note that, as this is a definite future
construction, the P argument is unmutated. An example of an immediate future is
given in (205):

(205) Gu-möi ma-maso buku.
    maN-baso
    1s.IRR-go IPF-read book
    I'm going to read a book.

This example implies that I have a book open in front of me and that I’m just about to
start reading it. Again, the P argument is referential but indefinite (and unmutated).
Note that the verb möi 'go' is not used literally in this sentence—it cannot actually
mean that the speaker is going somewhere, since this utterance can be made while
seated on the chair in which they are about to read. Now compare the irrealis form of
this sentence, given in (206):

(206) Gu-mo-mbaso mbuku.
    maN-baso buku
    1s.IRR-IRR-read book:MUT
    I feel like reading a book.33

33 The expected form of the verb baso 'read' in irrealis mode is mbaso. Mombaso is a more commonly
occurring variant of this form.
This example implies that I don't have any book in mind, just that I feel like reading something.

Another comparison can be made between (207) and (208). In (207), the verb *fazökhi* occurs in its definite future form:

(207) Gu-ma-mazökhi omo.
      maN-fazökhi

I'm going to build a house. (I have hired the builders and they'll be starting soon)

This example implies that I am definitely going to build a house, or am even building it right now, just not at the place where the utterance is made. Compare the immediate future, given in (208):

(208) Gu-möi ma-mazökhi omo.
      maN-fazökhi

I'm going (right now) to build a house. (I'm on my way)

This example indicates to the hearer that the speaker is on his way to the building site. Note that the 'immediate future' construction is formally the same as the purposive construction. It is unclear whether all purposive constructions could be interpreted as 'immediate future', but the formal similarity tends to suggest that the purposive construction in Nias presupposes that an action is definitely being undertaken or about to be. The irrealis form of the verb *fazökhi* 'make, build', exemplified in (209) implies that the action is a desired one, but that there is no notion of reality associated with the action:
(209) Gu-vazökhi nomo.
   -fazökhi omo
1s.IRR-make:IRR house:MUT

I'd like to build a house.

10.3.5 Reduplication

A further strategy employed by Nias to indicate aspectual notions is reduplication. As described in 3.5 there are two forms of reduplication, initial syllable reduplication and disyllabic reduplication. These semantic effect of these two types of reduplication will be illustrated in 10.4.1 and 10.4.2. respectively.

10.3.5.1 Initial syllable reduplication

Initial syllable reduplication can signal plurality of argument, iterativity of action or telicity of activity. It is productive, however, only in marking plurality of S arguments in vowel-initial stative verbs. This is illustrated in (210), where the verb ide'ide 'small' is reduplicated, because it is the predicate of a relative clause relativizing barabara 'things'. The reduplication of the verb indicates that its relativized S argument, i.e. barabara, refers to more than one entity:

(210) Haega so barabara s=ig-ide'ide.
   where  EXIST things:MUT REL=RDP1-small

Where are the small things?34

Another example of this use of initial syllable reduplication is illustrated in (211), where reduplication of the verb indicates that the S argument, niha 'person' refers to more than one person:

34 The word barabara is presumably borrowed from Indonesian barangbarang 'things', which would account for its lack of mutation. In this example, barabara refers to items that are to be packed for travelling, so it has the same kind of referent as Indonesian barangbarang. There is another word for 'thing' in Nias Selatan, naflalò, which is used for more abstract 'things'.
(211) Ag-a-be’e niha ba Tete Holi Ana’a.  

niha  
RDP1-ST-strong person:MUT LOC Tete Holi Ana’a  

The people of Tete Holi Ana’a were strong. (H)

Example (212) below indicates that Nias treats the noun *bu* 'hair' as a plural concept (as opposed to English which treats it as a mass noun and therefore singular, cf. 'His hair is/are long'). In (212), the S argument of the reduplicated verb, *bu-nia* 'his hair' has been fronted:

(212) ...böröme bu-nia ag-anau.  
...because hair-3s.MUT RDP1-ST:long  
...because his hair was very long.

Initial syllable reduplication occurs also on the semantically dynamic verb *a’ege* 'laugh' to indicate plural, as illustrated in (213):

(213) I-bözi naßö-nia ba faoma ag-a’ege.  
3s.RLS-hit companion:MUT-3s.POSS CNJ together RDP1-laugh  
He hit his friend and they both laughed.

In the following example, initial syllable reduplication might be said to indicate that the derived S argument of the passive form of the verb *cika* 'tear' is plural:

(214) Be khö-gu garate ni-ci-cika.  
give DAT-1s.POSS page:MUT PASS-RDP1-tear  
Give me the pages that are torn.

---

35 *Tete Holi Ana’a* is the place where the ancestors of the people of Nias are said to live.
If the verb in this sentence were *ni-cika*, instead of the reduplicated form *ni-ci-cika*,
the utterance would have referred to only one page, i.e. 'Give me the torn page'.

With some transitive verbs, initial syllable reduplication implies plurality of the
P argument along with individuation of the referents of the P, i.e. something is done
to a number of entities one at a time. This is illustrated in (215) and (216):

(215) I-bo-boka-i mbaßandruhu.
      baßandruhu
      3s.RLS-opened-TR door:MUT
She opened the doors one by one.

(216) La-ta-taru zinanö.
      sinanö
      3p.RLS-RDP1-plant seedling:MUT
One plants the seedlings one by one (in a wet rice field).

In other transitive verbs, initial syllable reduplication indicates that the action is done
many times, often with the sense that the actions are small ones, or that the action
results in many small pieces. Examples which illustrates this are given in (217) and
(218):

(217) I-ta-taba geu.
      eu
      3s.RLS-RDP1-cut wood:MUT
He cut up the wood (into many small pieces).

(218) I-ba-bago mbaßi.
      baßi
      3s.RLS-RDP1-divide pig:MUT
He divided the pig up into small pieces.
These examples also illustrate a sense which is attendant on transitive verbs which undergo initial syllable reduplication, that of completion of an activity. Both (217) and (218) above indicate that the action is done until completed. Example (219) below perhaps illustrates the notions both of completion of activity and ‘many small actions’ (i.e. great detail):

(219) I-tu-tunö hikaya Mbaßöhulandro.

hikaya Baßöhulandro
3s.RLS-tell story:MUT Baßöhulandro:MUT

He told the story of (the village of) Baßöhulandro (in great detail).

10.3.5.2 Disyllabic reduplication.

Disyllabic reduplication is generally productive in most verbs in marking one of the following notions:

(220) **semantic notions expressed by disyllabic reduplication**

habitual action ('always do vb; never does vb')
continuous action ('keeps on doing vb, never does vb')
intensity of state ('very vb')

Examples of these notions are given below. In (221) the reduplication of the verb *lau* 'do' has a habitual sense, indicates that the action is 'always' done and is not done just on one occasion:

(221) Ma-ila ßa mi-lau-lau vaya.

faya
1pe.RLS-know COMP 2p>RSL-RDP2-do lie:MUT

We know that you are liars.

Similarly the reduplication of the verb *be* 'give' indicates that the action is habitual, and not just a single event:
(222) Asese ma-be-be khō-nia gefe. kefe
    often  lpe.RLS-RDP2-give DAT-3s.POSS money:MUT
We often give him money.

The sense of habitual action applies also in negative use, where the notions of habitual
and continuous non-action merge. Habitual non-action is illustrated in (223), where
the action is said to never have occurred:

(223) Lōna ma-munu-munu ya.
    NEG  IPF-RDP2-kill 3s.MUT
He has never killed (anyone).

The notion of continuous activity is illustrated in the following examples. In (224), the
reduplication of the verb ezuramō 'burp' means that one has the hiccups:

(224) E-zura-zuramō ndrao.
    ST-RDP2-burp 1s.MUT
I've got the hiccups.

Compare the unreduplicated form of this verb: ezuramō ndrao 'I burped'. Other
examples of verbs which have undergone disyllabic reduplication are given in (225) -
(227). As mentioned in 3.5, monosyllabic roots which are reduplicated express
meanings typically associated with disyllabic reduplication.

(225) Mo-we-we zumo hööö.
    sumo
    HAVE-RDP2-liquid well:MUT DIST
That well always has water in it.
(226) Mo-teu-teu=manö.
DYN-RDP2-rain=just
It just keeps on raining!

(227) Nakhoda göi i-base-base-’ö.
captain also 3s.RLS-RDP2-rest-TR
The captain kept waiting too.

The notion of 'not managing' to do something is expressed in (228) below by a reduplicated form of the verb *alua* 'happen', followed by a clause describing the action:

(228) Löna a-lua-lua möi ndaoto khö-u.
NEG ST-RDP2-result go 1s.EMPH.MUT DAT-2s.POSS
I didn't manage to get to your place.

The verb in (228) cannot be unreduplicated, since the sentence must imply that the event never happened.

'Intensification' of states (in a very broad sense) is illustrated in examples (229)-(230). In (229), the verb *abölö* 'heavy' is used to refer to 'illness':

(229) A-bölö-bölö vökhö-nia.
fökhö
ST-RDP2-heavy illness:MUT-3s.POSS
His illness is serious.

In (230), the verb *ahulö* 'early', which is typically used for the time when it becomes light (lit 'overtaken'), is reduplicated to imply an even earlier time:

(230) A-hulö-hulö mahemolu i-faöndu zi’ila numero dua.
si’ilä
ST-RDP2-overtake next.day 3s.RLS-call advisor:MUT number two
Very early the next morning he summoned his number two advisor.
Disyllabic reduplication may apply even to the intensifier *sibai*, either with the notion of superlative comparison, as illustrated in (231), or with the notion of excess (i.e. 'too vb to do x') as illustrated in (232) and (233):

(231) Sökhi sibai-bai mbaru hö’ö.
   baru
   good INTNS-RDP2 shirt:MUT DIST
   That shirt is the nicest.

(232) Anakhö sibai-bai ndao irugi tobai ma-neranera.
   ST:tired INTNS-RDP2 1s.MUT until can't IPF-think
   I'm too tired to think.

(233) Ato sibai-bai niha.
   niha
   many INTNS-RDP2 person:MUT
   There were too many people.

Typically when *sibai* is reduplicated, it is pronounced with stress and sometimes raised pitch on the reduplicated syllable and a very long diphthong, e.g. *sibá::ibai*.

In verbs which describe colours and sensations, and the verb *a’ège* 'laugh', disyllabic reduplication has the opposite effect of intensity, i.e. attenuation of state ('not very vb'). This meaning is attendant on the reduplicated verb without the presence of a negator. Some examples of these notions are given in (234)-(235):

(234) Ifö-nia a-usö-usö.
   tooth ST-RDP2-yellow
   His teeth are kind of yellow.

   roti
   ST-RDP2-tasty bread:MUT PROX
This bread is kind of tasty / sweet.\textsuperscript{36}

An example of the reduplication of \textit{a'ege} to mean 'smile' was given in (74) above.

The effect of disyllabic reduplication on numeral + classifier combinations is to indicate that the entities referred to by the reduplicated form occur in a group. Examples of this effect are given in (236) and (237).

\hspace{1cm} niha sa-bua  
3s.RLS-count-TR person:MUT CLF.RDP2-nine one-CLF.MUT collected-NR  
He arranged people in groups of nine.

(237) ... ira-matua ni-fa-taɓi da.ru-da-rua.  
...COLL-male PASS-CAU-eat.ritual.meal CLF.RDP2-two  
... the boys who are fed their ritual meal two by two.

Disyllabic reduplication also applies to some question words to derive indefinite pro-forms. Examples of these and discussion may be found in 4.8.3.

Some comparisons of verbs in which both types of reduplication occur can give some idea of the different effects of these two processes. The verb \textit{ebua} 'big' is illustrated in (238) and (239). In (238) initial syllable reduplication indicates that the S argument is plural:

(238) Eg-ebua mboto-ra.  
\hspace{1cm} boto  
ST.RDP1-big body:MUT-3s.POSS  
Their bodies are big.

In (239), disyllabic reduplication of \textit{ebua} implies an intensity of the state:

\textsuperscript{36} The word \textit{roti} is presumably borrowed from Indonesian \textit{roti} 'bread'.
(239) E-bua.bua mboto-nia.
    boto
    ST-RDP2-big body:MUT-3s.POSS

His body was huge.

The verb bago 'beat' is illustrated in (240) and (241). In (240), the verb undergoes initial syllable reduplication to imply repeated small actions (beating and rubbing clothes with a rock against another rock by the well):

(240) U-ba-bago nukha.
    nukha
    1s.RLS-RDP1-beat clothes:MUT

I washed the clothes.

In (241), the whole verb is reduplicated to indicate that the action continues for a period of time:

(241) La-bago-bago guli geu ...
    uli eu
    3p.RLS-RDP2-beat skin:MUT tree:MUT

They used to beat the bark of the tree ... (to make clothes)

Initial syllable reduplication of the verb tunö 'tell' was illustrated in (219) above. When this verb undergoes disyllabic reduplication, it implies that talking occurs all the time, as illustrated in (242) below. Note that the initial consonant of tunö is voiced in this example, a frequent feature of reduplicated verbs (see 3.5):

(242) Ha ya'ia i-dunö-dunö.
    only 3s 3s.RLS-RDP2-tell

She only ever talks about herself. (lit. 'Only herself she keeps on telling about.')
CHAPTER 11
VERBAL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

11.1 Introduction
This chapter examines the structure of transitive and intransitive clauses in Nias Selatan. Typically the word order of transitive clauses in Nias is V-P-A, with the variation V-A-P in clauses which have longer constituents in P function such as complements or direct speech. In this chapter the basic structure of verbal clauses is outlined first, followed by syntactic uses of the basic form, and then descriptions of verbs which have structures that differ from that of the basic structure. Transitive verbs are discussed first. The final sections of this chapter illustrate imperative structure and the relevance of animacy to ongoing reference in Nias.

Two diagnostics are used to determine whether an argument that appears to be additional to the basic transitive or intransitive structure is a 'core' argument or not. Core S or A arguments are defined for Nias Selatan as those arguments which occur obligatorily as pronominal prefixes on the verb in irrealis mode. Core P or oblique arguments are those arguments which can be relativized with a construction containing a passive verb (see 9.1.3.2 for discussion).

11.2 Transitive clauses: basic structure
A transitive clause can be characterized as typically referring to a punctual event which has two or more participants. One of the participants (coded by the A argument) is typically responsible for the effect of the action on the second participant (coded as the P argument). The A argument is obligatorily marked on the verb by the appropriate form of pronominal prefix in both realis and irrealis clauses. If the A argument is also expressed lexically, it occurs in unmutated form. There is no obligatory pronominal marking on the verb for the P argument. However, if the P argument refers to a human participant, overt reference is expected in most circumstances (see 11.6 below). If expressed overtly, the P argument occurs in mutated form. An example of a
simple transitive sentence in realis mode containing lexical A and P arguments is given in (1). The A argument in (1) is expressed by the third singular pronominal prefix on the verb, \( i^- \), and by the lexical NP \( ina-gu \) 'my mother'. The P argument is expressed by the mutated noun \( vakhe \) 'rice:MUT'.

(1) \( I-rino \) vakhe ina-gu.
    \( fakhe \)
    \( 3s.\text{RLS-cook} \) \( \text{rice:MUT} \) \( \text{mother-1s.POSS} \)

My mother cooked rice.

The normal constituent order in transitive clauses containing two lexical arguments is V-P-A, as in (1). The order V-A-P normally occurs with verbs of speech in which the direct quotation, which represents the P argument, follows any lexical expression of an A argument. An example of this order is given in (2), in which the lexical expression of the A argument, Amada Lafau, occurs immediately after the predicate \( i-waö \) 'he said', and the P argument, the direct speech, comes last:

(2) \( I-waö \) Amada Lafau, 'Ta-be töi-nia Zamburae'.
    \( 3s.\text{RLS-say} \) \( \text{Amada lafau} \) \( 1\text{pi.\text{RLS-give}} \) \( \text{name-3s.POSS} \) Zamburae

Amada Lafau said 'We'll call (this land) Zamburae'.

The order V-A-P also occurs with verbs which have complements as their P argument, as illustrated in (3), where the A argument is expressed by the lexical NP \( ama andre \) 'that father' as well as the pronominal prefix \( i^- \), and the P argument is the complement introduced by the complementizer \( va \):

(3) \( ...böröme löna na i-ila \) ama andre ga ba-omo,
    \( ...\text{because NEG yet 3s.\text{RLS-know father DIST here} \text{LOC-house}} \)
va maso nono-nia baka, ...
ono
COMP enter child:MUT-3s.POSS inside

...because that father here at home didn't know yet that his child had gone inside, ... (H)

Other than with verbs of speech and verbs which take complements, the order V-A-P does not occur in my data. However, this order has been recorded frequently in my elicited data as a grammatically acceptable variant to the order V-P-A, so it is clearly not aberrant. The order V-P-A is also the normal order in irrealis clauses. An example of a transitive verb in irrealis mode is given in (4), where the pronominal prefix ya- and the lexical NP Amada Faoso both refer to the A argument:

(4) Ya-d<um>oro nono manu andre
    ono manu
    3pIRR-<IRR>carry child:MUT chicken:MUT DIST
ba Mbaßömataluo Ama-da Faoso.
Baßömataluo
LOC Baßömataluo:MUT father-1pi.POSS Faoso

Amada Faoso wanted to take that baby chicken to Baßömataluo.

Adverbial phrases may intervene between the verb and the P argument, as exemplified in (5) and (6). In (5), the prepositional phrase, barö danö 'in the ground', occurs between the verb tanö 'plant' and the P argument, danöömö mbala andre 'those papaya seedlings':

(5) Tola la-tanö barö danö danö-mö mbala andre,
tanö tanö-mö bala
    can 3p.RLS-plant underneath ground:MUT [plant-NR].MUT papaya:MUT DIST
You can plant those papaya seedlings in the ground, or you can also just scatter (them) (D)

In (6), the adverb *dania* 'later' occurs between verb and P argument:

(6) Gu-z<um>ibo dania ndraugö gaö tou ba gelea.

I'm going to throw you out later, down there into the gutter. (H)

The A argument of a transitive clause can be animate or inanimate, but the instances in which an A argument refers to an inanimate participant are relatively few. Elicited examples like the following are perfectly acceptable but rarely occur in texts:

(7) I-sai ita fa-a-lögö-lögö.

Darkness overtook us.

In ongoing text or conversation, typically the referent of the A argument of a transitive verb is previously mentioned in the discourse, referential and almost always topical (in the sense that it continues the reference made by one of the arguments in the immediate context, usually in the immediately preceding clause or sentence). If a lexical NP referring to the A argument occurs in addition to a pronominal prefix, it is usually because the speaker wishes to identify a different topic. In a typical story in which, for example, speakers exchange utterances, each speaker is identified by name or lexical NP. As A arguments these NPs are unmutated. The following exchange exemplifies this. Amada Lareso has spoken to his wife just prior to this text and shown her a large amount of gold. In the exchange illustrated below, Amada Lareso's wife speaks first,
then Amada Lareso responds to her. In both cases the speaker is identified by lexical NP: fo'omo-nia 'his wife' in (8) and Amada Lareso in (9):

(8) I-waö fo'omo-nia, 'Haega gö=mbë?'  
3s.RLS-say wife-3s.POSS where 2s.IRR-put:IRR  
His wife said 'Where will you put (this)⁈'

(9) Amada Lareso, i-waö, 'Hanawara! Doro ga!'  
Amada lareso 3s.RLS-say why! carry:IMPER here  
Amada Lareso said, 'What! (How dare you question me!) Bring (it) here!'

If a transitive verb is used as the first utterance in a story or dialogue, a lexical NP expressing the A argument will invariably occur, unless the speaker knows that the hearer is already thinking of the referent of the A argument. In many cases, the first lexical A of a story will precede the verb. This is illustrated, for example, in (10), which is the first sentence of a story about Amada Lareso, a familiar figure in the history of Nias Selatan:

(10) Samuza ma'ökõ, Amada Lareso i-lau ma-maigi  
one day Amada Lareso 3s.RLS-do IPF-see  
köfa ba nasi Luaha Gunde.  
ship LOC sea:MUT Lagundri.¹  
One day, Amada Lareso was watching a ship in Lagundri Bay.

### 11.2.1 Syntactic uses of transitive clauses

Transitive verbs have two syntactic uses: reflexive construction and impersonal construction. These uses are illustrated in 11.2.1.1 and 11.2.1.2.

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¹ *Luaha Gundre* (lit. estuary of the Gundre River) is the original name for Lagundri, a village on the shore of a bay which can be seen from Onohondrö, the village in which Amada Lareso lived.
11.2.1.1 Reflexive construction

Transitive clauses can be used with reflexive meaning if the A and P arguments are coreferential. For example in (11), the third singular prefix *i-* , which expresses the A argument, and the third singular mutated pronoun *ya*, which expresses the P argument, both refer to the same person:

(11)  I-bini-‘ö ya.
      3s.RLS-hide-TR 3s.MUT

He hid (himself).

The same sentence can also be used to mean 'He hid him' where 'he' and 'him' are two different people, so context plays a part in the recognition of reflexive clauses.

In some cases, the mutated pronoun expressing the P argument in a transitive construction which denotes a reflexive action is followed by an independent unmutated pronoun expressing the A argument, as illustrated in (12):

(12)  I-tegu ya ya’ia ßa olifu i-halö gadulo.
      3s.RLS-chastise 3s.MUT 3s COMP ST:forget 3s.RLS-take egg:MUT

She blamed herself for forgetting to get eggs.

In constructions like the one in (12), the mutated pronoun cannot have independent reference, as it could in the previous example. Another example is given in (13), where the referent of each of the pronominal forms expressing the A and P arguments is first singular:

(13)  U-oni ndrao ya’o.
      1s.RLS-send.to.get 1s.MUT 1s

I got it myself.
In fact, some verbs obligatorily require the presence of an independent pronoun for a reflexive reading to be expressed. One such verb is *bunu* 'kill' which is normally only associated with the action of one person on someone or something else. The sentence *i-bunu ya* [3s.RLS-kill 3s.MUT] can only mean someone killed someone else. In order to say someone killed themself, one has to use the construction in which the A argument is expressed by the unmutated pronoun, as illustrated in (14):

(14) I-bunu ya ya'ia.

3s.RLS-kill 3s.MUT 3s

He killed himself.

It seems that some verbs are more likely to be understood as reflexive without this extra pronoun, or are perhaps inherently reflexive. For example the verb *dölö* 'go straight, head for without diverging' occurs only in a reflexive construction, e.g. :

(15) La-dölö ira ba gosali.

3p.RLS-head.straight 3p.MUT LOC church:MUT

They went straight to church.

Reflexive forms of intransitive verbs expressing mental or emotional states may also occur, e.g. *ahakhö dödö-ra ira* [sad liver:MUT-3p.POSS 3p.MUT] 'They felt sorry for themselves'.

### 11.2.1.2 Impersonal construction

Transitive verbs with a third plural pronominal prefix *la-* (realis) or *ndra-* (irrealis) may express impersonal meaning. This kind of construction is used when the referent of the A argument is generic (i.e. referring to people in general). An impersonal construction is illustrated in (16):
(16) Tobai la-a.
can't 3p.RLS-eat
You can't eat (it) / It can't be eaten (pointing to a dried up coconut).

The A argument is expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix. There is no P argument in this clause because the referent is inanimate and assumed to be currently active in the cognitive files of the hearer. Since the only people present at the time of this statement were the speaker and me, the pronominal prefix cannot have specific reference.

Lexical NPs referring to the A argument cannot be included in impersonal constructions. Another example is given in (17), in which the P argument is mbatu 'stones'. (Once again, the only people present on the occasion of this utterance were the speaker and me, so the pronominal prefix has no specific reference.)

(17) Na la-be mbatu tola la-törö.
if 3p.RLS-put stone:MUT can 3p.RLS-go
If you put stones (on top of them), you can walk (on them). ('them' = dirt dykes between rice fields)

In (18), an irrealis form of the impersonal construction is illustrated. The statement is a response to a question about the opening time of a shop. The shop was not in an area where the owners were known, so the pronominal prefix has no specific reference:

(18) Ndra-mboka-i bôzi siwa.
3p.IRR-[open-TR].IRR hit nine
They might open at nine.2

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2 The use of the verb bôzi 'hit' to mean o'clock' is a calque from Indonesian, which uses the verb pukul 'hit' with the same meaning, e.g. pukul sembilan [hit nine] 'nine o'clock' (perhaps much like English uses 'stroke' in 'on the stroke of nine').
Sometimes the second singular form of the pronominal prefix ö- is used with impersonal meaning, as illustrated in the adverbial clause introduced by na, 'if', in (19):

(19) Na ö-böbö mbulu goöi, la-fösi.
    when 2s.RLS-tie.up leaf:MUT sweet.potato 3p.RLS-pull.tight

When you tie up sweet potato leaves, you (have to) tighten (the tie). (D)

Note that although ö- ‘you(sg)’ is used in the adverbial clause, a third plural pronominal prefix (i.e. la- 'they') is used on the verb in the main clause with the same impersonal meaning. Example (20) below is a rhetorical question posed by the speaker to his audience (of two people) while telling a story about an evil village leader who had imposed an excessively large fine on one of the villagers. The second singular irrealis prefix gö- in this example is non-referential:

(20) Haega manö gö-s<um>önda hö‘ö?
    where just 2s.IRR-<IRR>find DIST

Just where would you(/one) get an amount like that?

Although impersonal constructions have formal similarities to simple transitive verbs, they are reduced in transitivity in three ways: 1) the form of the prefix in the clause is fixed—it is either third plural or second singular; 2) the A argument cannot be expressed by a lexical NP (because the A argument is non-referential), 3) the P argument is often omitted or is non-referential.
11.3 Transitive verbs with non-basic case frames

Not all transitive verbs conform to the same case frame as the verbs described above. In the following sections (11.3.1 - 11.3.3), verbs which have different case frames from the basic one are described.

11.3.1 Transitive verbs with one argument

The verb, *labu* 'do suddenly' has only one argument semantically but is formally transitive in the sense that it occurs with a pronominal prefix and an unmutated lexical NP expressing this single argument. Despite the absence of a P argument, I will refer to the single argument of this verb as the A argument. The verb *labu* 'do suddenly' is illustrated in (21):

(21) I-labu teu.
    3.RLS-do.suddenly rain

     The rain came pouring down.

The noun *teu* 'rain' is the lexical expression of the A argument, which is also expressed by the pronominal prefix, and cannot be omitted. It is not known whether a locative expression could accompany this construction. The verb *Labu* can be used alone or with the first plural inclusive prefix *ta-* (i.e. *ta-labu*) to mean 'lets go!'. Otherwise, *labu* appears to be used only to refer to rain, wind or tears, as illustrated in (22), in which the unmutated noun *ani* 'wind' is the lexical expression of the A argument:

(22) Na i-labu ani a-fatö fefu geu.
    eu
     if 3.RLS-do.suddenly wind ST-break all tree:MUT

     If the wind blows strongly and suddenly, all the trees break.
11.3.2 Transitive verbs with three arguments

A number of verbs in Nias occur with three arguments: an A, a P and a third argument which has different realizations with different verbs. Verbs in this class which will be discussed in this section, and the sections in which they are discussed are the following:

11.3.2.1 be 'give'
11.3.2.2 verbs of speech
11.3.2.3 cili 'throw'
11.3.2.4 verbs with alternative case frames
11.3.2.5 change of state verbs
11.3.2.6 tehe 'agree'

11.3.2.1 be 'give'

The verb be 'give' is marked for A and P arguments in the same way as simple transitive verbs, but includes also a third argument representing the recipient, encoded by a prepositional phrase. This is illustrated in (23), in which the P argument is expressed by a headless relative zi=toröi gö-da 'our leftovers' (lit. 'what is left behind of our food'), and the recipient is expressed by a locative phrase ba nasu 'to the dog':

(23) I-be zi=to-röi gö-da
     si=  ó
     3s.RLS-give REL.MUT=RES-leave.behind food:MUT-1pi.POSS
     ba nasu ina-gu.
     asu
     LOC dog:MUT mother-1s.POSS

My mother gave our leftovers to the dog.

Although the argument referring to the recipient of be 'give' occurs in a prepositional phrase, it is treated in the same way as the P argument by relativization strategies. For example, both (24) and (25) are possible relativizations of the non-A arguments in
(23). In (24), the P argument is relativized—the verb is in passive form; the A argument, *nina-gu 'my mother', occurs in mutated form after the verb; and the recipient occurs in a prepositional phrase:

(24) ...si=to-röi gö-da ni-be nina-gu
    ö ina
    ...REL=RES-leave.behind food:MUT-1pi.POSS PASS-give mother:MUT-1s.POSS
    ba nasu.
    asu
    LOC dog:MUT
    ...
    ... the leftovers that my mother gave to the dog.

In (25), the recipient is relativized. The verb and the A argument are in the same form as they are for the relativization of the P argument, and the P argument, *si=toröi gö-da 'our leftovers' is unmutated:

(25) ... asu ni-be nina-gu si=to-röi
    ina
    ... dog PASS-give mother:MUT-1s.POSS REL=RES-leave.behind
    gö-da.
    food:MUT-1pi.POSS
    ...
    ... the dog that my mother gave our leftovers to.

Despite different case-marking, both arguments of the verb *be 'give' appear to bear a similar syntactic relationship to the verb.

11.3.2.2 Verbs of speech

Verbs referring to speech are typically associated with three arguments in which the P argument refers to what is said and the addressee is expressed by a dative phrase. Verbs in this class include the following basic verbs: *waö 'say', *safu 'ask about', *andrö 'ask for', *oturagö 'tell about', and *botokhi 'explain'. The P arguments that can
occur with these verbs are varied. The verbs *waö* 'say' and *sofu* 'ask about' occur only with P arguments which are direct speech. Examples of the verb *waö* 'say' can be found throughout this study. The verb *sofu* is illustrated in (26):

\[(26) \text{I-sofu khö-vo'omo-nia Ila Ina Larisa 'haegaißaisa lala'?} \]
\[-fo'omo lala \]
\[3s.RLS-ask DAT-spouse:MUT-3s.POSS Ina Larisa how way:MUT \]

Ina Larisa asked her husband 'How will you do that?' (lit. 'where will it (?)find a way')?

That the direct speech which occurs with verbs *waö* and *sofu* is in P function is clear from question formation. Questions concerning the identity of an entity take the form of nominal clauses in which the question word is predicate and a headless relative is argument (see 9.2.1). Questions about what has been said or asked, such as *haiya ni-waö-nia? 'What did he say?*' or *haiya ni-sofu-nia? 'What did he ask?*', are constructed with headless relatives consisting of the passive form of the verb, indicating that the referent of the question word, i.e. the actual speech, is the P argument of the verb.

The verb *andrö* 'ask for' has a different structure from the verb *sofu* 'ask about'. The verb *andrö* occurs with an obligatory unmutated argument and a dative phrase. This is illustrated in in (27):

\[(27) \text{Asese i-andrö kefe khö-ma.} \]
\[often 3s.RLS-ask.for money DAT-1pe.POSS \]

He often asks us for money.

If the unmutated argument is not present, it is understood, i.e. it must be active in the discourse.³ A derived form of this verb, *andrö-i* 'ask for-TR', has come to be used to

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³ I have no examples of the verb *andrö* 'ask for' in relative clauses, so I cannot comment on the syntactic status of the two arguments.
mean 'pray'. In contrast to the simple form of the verb, the derived form the verb takes a mutated P argument referring to the thing asked (prayed) for, as illustrated in (28):

(28) Gu-man-andö-i ndaugö.

1s.IRR-IPF-ask.for 2s.MUT

I will pray for you.

Note that the addressee is not included in this form as it is always understood to be the same person (i.e. Loßalani 'God').

The verb *oturagö* 'tell about' cannot occur with direct speech, but may occur with an NP or a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *va* (~βa). This verb is illustrated in (29) with a mutated pronoun as the P argument and in (30) with a complement as the P argument:

(29) Gu-m-oturagö ndraugö khö-ra.

1s.IRR-IRR-tell 2s.MUT DAT-3p.POSS

I'm going to tell them about you.

(30) I-oturagö khö-gu βa ma=mate nama-nia.

ama 3s.RLS-tell DAT-1s.POSS COMP PERF=die father:MUT-3s.POSS

He told me that his father had died.

Note that the complement contains reported speech and not direct speech, as shown by the use of the third singular pronominal prefix on the S argument *nama-nia* 'his father', referring to the A argument of the matrix verb, i.e. 'he told me that his father
had died'. (This suffix could also refer to someone else's father, i.e. 'he said that
his father had died').

The verb *botokhi* 'explain' may also occur with an NP or complement in P
function. In (31) it is illustrated with an NP in P function, *mböö mbanua-nia* 'the
laws of his village'.

(31) La-botokhi khö-gu mböö mbanua-ra.

They explained the laws of their village to me.

In (32) *botokhi* is illustrated with a complement which consists of an indirect
question. The addressee, who is understood from the context, is not overtly expressed
in this example:

(32) I-botokhi haiya ni-fake.

He explained what had to be done.

Note that it is normal in verbs of speech for the dative phrase referring to the goal to
precede the P argument, although the alternative order is equally acceptable
grammatically.

11.3.2.3  *cili* 'throw',  *tefe* 'sprinkle' and other verbs of impact

The verb *cili* 'throw at and hit' takes two arguments other than the A, one referring to
the thing thrown and one referring to the person or thing being targeted. The thing
thrown ('patient', 'theme' or perhaps 'instrument') is realized by an unmutated NP,
while the the thing thrown at (the 'target') is realized by a mutated NP. The basic form

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4 I don't know whether the oblique argument that occurs with verbs of speaking can be relativized in the
same way as the oblique argument with the verb *be* 'give'. There are no examples in the data in which
such an operation has occurred.
of this verb is illustrated in (33), where the mutated argument, *nasu* 'dog', occurs immediately after the verb and the unmutated argument, *batu* 'rock', follows. The lexical NP referring to the A argument, *ira-ono* 'children' occurs in final position.

\[ \text{(33) La-cili nasu batu ira-ono.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
3p.RLS-throw & \text{dog:MUT} & \text{ro} & \text{c COLL-child} \\
\text{asu} \\
\end{array}
\]

The children threw stones at the dog (and hit it).

The order of the arguments is not crucial, as the reversal in (34) shows:

\[ \text{(34) La-cili batu nasu ira-ono.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
3s.RLS-throw & \text{ro} & \text{c dog:MUT} & \text{COLL-child} \\
\text{asu} \\
\end{array}
\]

The children threw stones at the dog (and hit it).

Despite what appears to be either morphologically oblique marking or no marking, the unmutated argument which occurs with this verb behaves like a core P argument with respect to relativization. Both of the non-A arguments which occur with *cili* 'throw' can be relativized in the same way. This is illustrated in (35) and (36). In (35), the thing thrown is relativized, and the target is expressed by an unmutated NP in the relative clause:

\[ \text{(35) Andraha'a mbatu ni-cili-nia asu.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
3p.RLS-throw & \text{ro} & \text{c dog:MUT PASS-throw-3s.POSS} & \text{dog} \\
\text{asu} \\
\end{array}
\]

This the rock he threw at the dog. (I hit the dog with)

By contrast, in (36), the target argument is relativized and the theme (the thing thrown) is expressed by an unmutated argument in the relative clause:
(36) Andrehe'e nasu ni-cili-nia batu.
    asu
    that one dog:MUT PASS-throw-3ps.POSS rock

    That's the dog he threw the/a rock at. (/ hit with the/a rock)

If *batu* 'rock' were like other instrumental arguments, the target argument in the relative clause (*asu* 'dog') ought to occur in a prepositional phrase (see 8.4 for relative clause structure). Since it does not, it would appear that the theme argument has a different syntactic status from that of normal instrumental arguments, or that the target argument has different properties from normal P arguments of transitive verbs. As far as I know, there are no other verbs in Nias Selatan which exhibit the same syntactic properties of *cili* 'throw at and hit', although in principle the relativization of two non-A arguments of ditransitive verbs seems common in the language.

A construction similar to the one described for *cili* 'throw at and hit' in the preceding section occurs with other verbs of impact. For example the verb *tefe* 'sprinkle' may take two arguments apart from the A, one a location, which is mutated, and one a theme, which is unmutated. This is illustrated in (37), in which the location is expressed by the noun *gahembató* 'floor' and the theme by the unmutated noun *idanó* 'water':

(37) U-tefe gahembató idanó.
    ahabmató
    1s.RLS-sprinkle floor:MUT water

I sprinkled the floor with water.

When *tefe* 'sprinkle' takes this case frame, only the location can be relativized, as illustrated in (38). Note that the theme in the relative clause (*idanó* 'water') is unmutated:
Tefe 'sprinkle' occurs in a second case frame in which the theme is a mutated argument and the location is a prepositional phrase. This frame is illustrated in (39), where the theme is the mutated noun *nidanö*:

(39) U-tefe nidanö ba gahembatö.

I sprinkled water on the floor.

With this case frame, only the theme can be relativized, as illustrated in (40). Note that the location occurs as a prepositional phrase in the relative clause:

(40) ... idanö ni-tefe-gu ba gahembatö

... the water which I sprinkled on the floor.

Other verbs which behave in the same way as *tefe* 'sprinkle' are derived forms such as *hele-gö* [waterfall-TR] 'pour', *basö-i* [wet-TR] 'wet' and *fönu-i* [full-TR] 'fill'. The verb *fönu-i* is illustrated in (41). The location is expressed by a mutated noun *mba’a* 'tub' and the theme is expressed by an unmutated noun *idanö* 'water*:

(41) I-fönu-i mba’a idanö.

She filled the bak (water tub) with water.
In this case frame, only the location can be relativized, as illustrated in (42). Note that the theme occurs in unmutated form in the relative clause:

(42) ... ba'a ni-fönu-i-nia idanö
    ... bak PASS-fill-TR-3s.POSS water
    ... the bak which she filled with water

Fönu-i 'fill' can also occur with a case frame in which the theme is expressed by a mutated NP and the location by a prepositional phrase. This frame is illustrated in (43):

(43) I-fönu-i idanö ba mba'a.
    3s.RLS-fill-TR water:MUT LOC bak:MUT
    She filled the bak (water tub) with water. (lit. 'She filled water into the bak.')

In this case frame, only the theme can be relativized. The location occurs in the relative clause as a prepositional phrase:

(44) ... idanö ni-fönu-i-nia ba mba'a
    ... water PASS-fill-TR-3s.POSS LOC bak:MUT
    ... the water that she filled the bak with

The other verbs of impact mentioned above all conform to this basic structure and variation in case frame.

11.3.2.4 Change of state verbs

Another set of transitive verbs with two arguments other than the A is the class of verbs which mean something like 'change x into y'. The verbs which have this meaning are bali-'ö [turn-TR] 'convert', be 'make' (which is homophonous with be
'give' and *be* 'put'). An example of the verb *bali-ō* 'convert' is given in (45). The argument referring to the participant undergoing change is mutated third singular pronoun *ya*, and the argument referring to the target, *saßuyu* 'slave', is unmutated:

(45) La-bali-ō ya saßuyu.

They made him a slave.

The verb *bali-ō* 'convert' is the transitive counterpart of the resultative verb *to-bali* 'be changed into' which has a similar case structure, and is discussed in 11.4.2.9 below.

The verb *be* 'make' is illustrated in (46), in which the person undergoing change is expressed by the mutated NP *zibaya-gu* 'my uncle' and the target of the change is the unmutated noun *kafalo goßulo-a* 'head of the committee'.

(46) La-be zibaya-gu kafalo goßulo-a.

They made my uncle the head of the committee.

Another example is given in (47), which illustrates an idiomatic construction which is a socially acceptable way of saying one is humiliated. The person undergoing change (being humiliated) is referred to by a mutated first singular argument, *ndrao*, and the target is the unmutated headless relative *si=a da’i manu* 'who eats chicken scat':

(47) I-be ndrao si=a da’i manu.

They humiliated me. (lit. They made me a person who eats chicken scat.)
It can be shown that the mutated argument of these verbs is syntactically the P argument, since this argument can be relativized by using the passive form of the verb. This is illustrated by the examples in (48) and (49):

(48) Ya’ia ni-bali-’ö-ra saßuju.
    3s PASS-turn-TR-3p.POSS slave
    He was made a slave.

(49) Ya’o ni-be-ra si=a da’i manu.
    ta’i manu
    1s PASS-make-3p.POSS REL=eat faeces:MUT chicken:MUT
    I was humiliated. (lit. I was made into a person who eats chicken scat.)

The case frames of these verbs are analogous to the intransitive frames for the verbs tobali 'be converted' and möi 'go' (in its idiomatic use as a change of state verb) (see 11.4.2.9 below).

11.3.3 törö 'go' and agö 'stay'

The verbs törö 'go' and agö 'stay' are different from other transitive verbs in that they typically occur with a P argument that refers to a location and is expressed by an adverbial, such as a prepositional phrase or adverb. An example of törö with a prepositional phrase expressing the location, föna niha sato 'in front of a member of the public', is given in (50):

(50) Sökhi na ta-kößö na ta-törö föna niha s=ato.
    niha
    ST:good if 1pi.RLS-bow if 1pi.RLS-go in.front person:MUT REL=many
    It is good to bow if we walk in front of someone.

Note that the pronominal prefix on the verb in (50) indicates that the one who is 'going' is grammatically an A argument despite the absence of a mutated P argument.
If törö 'go' occurs with a mutated NP rather than an adverbial, the NP can refer either to the path taken by the referent of the A argument, or the means of transport—it cannot refer to the destination. For example in (51), the mutated NP mbelebele 'footpath' indicates the path taken by the referent of the A argument, not the destination of their journey:

(51) La-törö mbelebele.
     belebele
     3p.RLS-go footpath:MUT

They walked along the footpath.

Another example is given in (52), in which a mutated place name, Mbasewi, refers to a village which is passed on the way to another village:

(52) I-törö Mbasewi ve'a-möi ba Hiliamaeta.
     Basewi fe'a-
     3s.RLS-go Basewi:MUT NR.MUT-go LOC Hiliamaeta

He went via Basewi on his way to Hiliamaeta.

Sentence (53) illustrates a mutated argument referring to the means of transport, noßo 'boat:MUT':

(53) I-törö noßo ve'a-möi ba Gunungsitoli.
     oßo fe'a-
     3s.RLS-go boat:MUT NR.MUT-go LOC Gunungsitoli

He went by boat to Gunungsitoli.

The verb agö 'stay' is illustrated in (54) with a mutated NP, mbanua 'village:MUT' referring to a location:
So that's why he just stayed there in the village, at Lagundri.

In (55), agö is illustrated with a prepositional phrase referring to the location, baero ba galu 'outside in the pigsties':

(55) Gane la-agö ba-ero ba galu.

There they stayed outside in the pigsties.

11.4 Intransitive clauses: basic structure

As already discussed in 4.4, most of the intransitive verbs in Nias belong to one of two semantic categories: stative or dynamic. Stative verbs in general refer to physical or emotional states or qualities and are predominantly intransitive (the verb ilä 'know' is one exception). Dynamic verbs refer to physical actions and include most transitive verbs.

The defining feature of intransitive verbs which distinguishes them from transitive verbs is that intransitive verbs do not carry a pronominal prefix in realis mode. The basic structure of intransitive clauses consists of a verb as the first element of the clause followed by its S argument in mutated form. Some examples of intransitive verbs and their arguments are given in (56)-(59):

(56) A-nakhö ndao.

I'm tired.
(57) Ezuramö ya.
ST: hiccup 3s.MUT
He has the hiccups.

(58) Ata'u mböhö.
böhö
ST: fear deer:MUT
The deer is frightened.

(59) Mate zibaya-nia meneßi.
sibaya
die uncle:MUT-3s.POSS yesterday
His uncle died yesterday.

Normally in texts, pronominal S arguments are referential, active in the discourse and topical (in the sense of continuing to refer to a participant discussed in a previous clause). Lexical S arguments, however, usually occur where it is necessary to refer to a different participant. For example, in the following text sequence, each of the three clauses has a different S argument. Each of the three S arguments has already been introduced into the story and mentioned in the last few clauses but because of the speed of the action, presumably the use of pronouns could confuse the hearer. The S arguments in these clauses activate current cognitive files with the potential for 'topichood' (i.e. potential to be the topic of ongoing discussion). In the first clause, the S argument is the mutated noun duhituhi 'trivet:MUT' (three clay stones used to steady a pot and to raise it above the fire):

(60) Ma=aso'a duhituhi.
tuhituhi
PERF=fall trivet:MUT
The trivet stone fell down.
The S argument in (61) is the mutated noun gö mbaßi 'pigs' food':

(61) Aso'a göi gö mbaßi.
    ö baßi
    fall also food:MUT pig:MUT

The pigs' food (in the pan) also fell down.

The S argument of the verb maoso 'rise' in (62) is the NP ndra-alaße andra 'this woman':

(62) M-aoso nda-alaße andra, löna i-oturagö
    ira-
    DYN-rise COLL.MUT-female PROX NEG 3s.RLS-tell
    khō vo'omo-nia.
    fo'omo
    DAT spouse:MUT-3s.POSS

This woman got up, (but) didn't say anything to her husband.

However, in addition to the function of activating current cognitive files, lexical S arguments are also used to introduce new participants or reactivate cognitive files which are assumed to be not currently activated. This often happens with a presentative construction using the verb so, either with its existential meaning or with its dynamic meaning 'arrive', as illustrated in (63):

(63) Samuza luo so sui Namada Satöladanö,
    Amada
    one day arrive again Amada:MUT Satöladanö
    moroi ba Hilisimaetanö.
    come.from LOC Hilisimaetanö

One day, Amada Satöladanö came again, from Hilisimaetanö.
A lexical NP and a pronominal argument may co-occur in an intransitive clause, although the instances are few. If a lexical noun phrase occurs, it is in an appositional relationship with the pronominal S argument, and is mutated, agreeing in mutation with the pronoun with which it is in apposition (see 7.1.1.6). This kind of situation occurs if there is likely to be some confusion resulting from the use of just a pronoun, or for reasons of emphasis. An example of an intransitive verb with both pronominal and lexical NPs referring to the same participant is given in (64). The S argument is expressed by the third singular pronoun ya, and the mutated NP Namada=ndra nomema'e Lafau, 'this Amada Lafau I've been talking about', occurs in apposition to the pronoun:

(64) Möi ya, Namada=ndra nomema'e Lafau.

He came, this Amada Lafau I've been talking about.

Note that both a proximate demonstrative adjunct, =ndra, and a recognitional demonstrative also occur with the lexical NP to assist in the identification of the participant, perhaps suggesting that this participant is regarded by the speaker to be hard to identify without such help.

In irrealis mode, the S argument of an intransitive verb is obligatorily marked on the verb with an irrealis pronominal prefix indicating person and number. As in realis clauses, if the S argument is expressed also by a lexical NP, it is mutated. This is illustrated in (65), in which the mutated nominal nono-nia 'her child' is the lexical expression of the S argument, which is also expressed by the pronominal prefix ya-:

(65) Ya-ma-nana nono-nia ba va-a-lio.

Her child will be crawling soon.
As is the case for realis clauses, in irrealis clauses lexical NPs occur with intransitive verbs whenever the argument is not currently under discussion. Another example is given in (66), in which the mutated nominal nidanö 'river, water' is the lexical expression coreferential with the third singular prefix ya-:

\[(66) \text{Ya-möölö nidanö na mo-teu } s=a-bölö-bölö.\]

\[\text{idanö} \hspace{1cm} \text{3s.IRR-flood water:MUT if DYN-rain REL=ST-RDP2-strong}\]

The river will flood if it rains very heavily.

The verb and its S argument may be separated by other material, as occurs also with transitive verbs (see 11.2 above). This is illustrated in (67), in which the verb tohare 'arrive' is separated from its S argument by the prepositional phrase ba mбаšаголи 'at the gate':

\[(67) \text{Tohare=manö=laö ba mbašаголи.}\]

\[\text{bašagoli} \hspace{1cm} \text{arrive=just=they.say LOC gate:MUT}\]

\[\text{niha=ö } s=e-bua-bua \text{ mboto ... niha boto }\]

\[\text{person:MUT=DIST REL=ST-RDP2-big body:MUT}\]

They say that that man with the huge body just arrived at the gate... (Z-L)

### 11.4.1 Syntactic use of intransitive clauses: reciprocal construction

Reciprocal action can be described by an intransitive construction in which the verb is prefixed with dynamic fa- (see 5.1.1.5) and the S argument is plural. An example of a reciprocal construction is given in (68) below. In this example, the verb bözi 'hit' is prefixed with fa- 'DO', and the mutated third plural pronoun refers to the participants
involved in the action. Note that the verb does not have any pronominal prefix, indicating that the construction is intransitive:

(68) Fa-bözi  ira.
    DO-hit  3p.MUT

They hit each other.

Typically reciprocal construction is used to describe actions in which participants are of equal pragmatic status, i.e. one participant is not singled out as the instigator of the action or as a participant affected by the action. However, the construction with fa- is reciprocal only in contexts in which reciprocal action is known to be involved, so in other contexts, (68) can also mean that 'they' hit someone or something else. In fact, this meaning can be overtly expressed by adding a prepositional phrase referring to the other participant, as illustrated in (69):

(69) Fa-bözi  ira  khö-ma.
    DO-hit  3p.MUT  DAT-1pe.POSS

They hit us.

Verbs derived with the prefix fa- from bound roots typically have reciprocal meaning, as the following examples illustrate:

(70) Fa-lakhi  ita  ba  lala.
    lala
    DO-meet  1pi.MUT  LOC  way:MUT

We met on the way.

(71) Fa-bali  ira.
    DO-turn  3p.MUT

They separated.
If context requires that the participants in a reciprocal action are named, lexical NPs in mutated form, naming the participants, occur in addition to the plural pronoun. This is illustrated in (73), in which the third plural pronoun *ira* refers to two villages whose names are given in mutated form:

(73) **Fa-suvö**  
    **ira**  
    **mbanua**  
    **Zifalagö Gomo**  
    **banua**  
    **Sifalagö**  
    **DO-fight**  
    **3p.MUT**  
    **village:MUT**  
    **Sifalagö:MUT Gomo**  
    **mbanua**  
    **Zana'ai.**  
    **banua**  
    **Sana'ai**  
    **village:MUT**  
    **Sama'ai:MUT**  
    The villages of Sifalagö Gomo and Sana'ai were at war. (H)

Another example is given in (74), in which the third plural pronoun refers to two people who are also named:

(74) **Fa-lele**  
    **ira**  
    **Nama Dali Nama Mila.**  
    **Ama**  
    **Ama**  
    **DO-tongue**  
    **3p.MUT**  
    **Ama:MUT Dali Ama:MUT Mila**  
    Ama Dali and Ama Mila swore at each other.

Example (75) has the same structure:

(75) **Fa-manömanö**  
    **ira**  
    **Nina Dali Nina Mila.**  
    **Ina**  
    **Ina**  
    **DO-chat**  
    **3p.MUT**  
    **Ina dali Ina Mila**  
    Ina Dali and Ina Mila chatted together.
In (76), the two participants are identified by mutated lexical NPs, *ndra-alaße* 'girl' and *ndra-matua* 'boy':

(76) Fa-soso ira ndra-alaße ndra-matua.

*ira-* *ira-*
DO-angry 3p.MUT COLL.MUT-female COLL.MUT-male

The girl and boy got angry with each other.

Example (77) illustrates a reciprocal construction in which the verb *fa-bö'ö* is not dynamic (i.e. does not refer to an action), but nevertheless implies that the participants are of equal status in the process described by the verb:

(77) Fa-bö'ö ira mbu mbebe mbu manu.

*bu* *bebe* *bu* *manu*
DO-different 3p.MUT feather:MUT duck:MUT feather:MUT chicken:MUT

The feathers of a duck are different from the feathers of a chicken.

If the plural argument of a reciprocal verb includes oneself, only the other participant need be named, e.g.:

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5 This construction is analogous to another construction in Nias referring to two participants including oneself, which has in predicate position a numeral phrase consisting of *sa-mbua* [one-CLF.MUT] 'one' and an unmutated noun. This predicate occurs with a plural pronoun referring to the two participants involved and an additional mutated argument identifying the participant other than oneself. This is illustrated in (i) and (ii):

(i) sa-mbua banua ndraga Nina Ina Mili

*bu*
one-CLF.MUT village lpe.MUT mother:MUT Mili
Mili's mother and I live in the same village.

(ii) sa-mbua omo ndraga Nina Mili

*bu*
one-CLF.MUT house lpe.MUT mother:MUT Mili
Mili's mother and I live in the same house.
A verb derived with *fa-* can also be used with a singular mutated argument and an obligatory dative phrase referring to the other participant, as illustrated in (79), e.g.:

(79) Fa-lakhi ndao khö nakhì-nia
    akhi
    DO-meet 1s.MUT DAT younger.sibling.MUT-3s.POSS
    ba v-anàbuli-gu ba-omo.
    f-
    LOC NR.MUT:return-1s.POSS LOC-house

I met his brother on my way home.

11.4.2 Subtypes of intransitive verbs

There are a number of subclasses of intransitive verbs which have non-basic argument structure, typically associated with having fewer than or more than one argument. Intransitive verbs with no arguments, in general verbs referring to weather conditions, are discussed first. The existential verb *so* and verbs which share features of this verb, such as quantificational verbs and numerals, are discussed next. Finally, verbs with two arguments are described. These include verbs with two mutated arguments, verbs with one mutated argument and one unmutated argument and verbs with a prepositional phrase as well as a mutated argument.

11.4.2.1 Intransitive verbs with no arguments

Verbs referring to weather conditions derived from nouns with the prefix *mo-* require no argument in realis clauses. Examples of these verbs are given in (80)-(81) (see also 5.1.1.2.3 and 5.1.1.2.5):

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6 At this stage I am not sure whether the obligatory dative argument is core or not.
(80) Mo-teu ba Mbotohili ba løna mo-teu ga.  
    Botohili  
    DYN-rain LOC Botohili:MUT CNJ NEG DYN-rain here  
    It's raining in Botohili but it's not raining here.

(81) Ha mo-luo sibai ba fefu niha möi ba-eßali.  
    niha  
    only DYN-day INTNS CNJ all person:MUT go LOC-yard  
    As soon as it was daylight, everyone came out into the yard.

Although there is no argument possible for these verbs in realis clauses, irrealis forms of these verbs require an obligatory pronominal prefix. Irrealis forms of the verbs mo-teu and mo-bade are illustrated in (82) and (83). The third singular irrealis prefix ya- in the following sentences has the same function as the dummy 'it' in English—it is non-referential but is required by the morphology:

(82) Ya-mo-teu.  
    3s.IRR-DYN-rain  
    It might rain / It looks like rain.

(83) Ya-mo-bade.  
    3s.IRR-DYN-storm  
    We might have a storm. / It looks like a storm is coming.

Some weather verbs derived from nouns with mo- do have arguments. Some examples of these are given in (84)-(86) (see also 5.1.1.2.3):

(84) Mo-mbunambuna deu.  
    teu  
    DYN-drop rain:MUT  
    It's starting to rain.
(85) Mo-huguhugu mbanua.
    banua
    DYN-thunder sky:MUT
    It's thundering.

(86) Mo-hali'i mbanua.
    banua
    DYN-lightning sky:MUT
    It's lightning.

11.4.2.2 Existential verb so

Existential clauses are a subtype of intransitive verb clause—the existential verb so is followed by a mutated argument, as illustrated in (87).

(87) So nösi ma ide'ide.
    ösi
    EXIST contents:MUT CNJ ST:small
    There is something inside but it's only little.

The existential verb is also similar to simple intransitive verbs in that it occurs with an obligatory pronominal prefix in irrealis mode. This is illustrated in (88), where the irrealis prefix ya- has the same referent as the mutated noun daßila 'Taßila feast'

(88) Sa-mbua migu tō ya-so daßila
    -bua taßila
    one-CL.MUT week more 3s.IRR-EXIST taßila(feast):MUT
    khö Hilizontrege'asi.
    DAT Hilizontrege'asi
    In about a week's time Hilizontrege'asi is going to have a Taßila feast.
In addition, existential *so* may undergo disyllabic reduplication, a property restricted to verbs. An example of a reduplicated form of *so* is given in (89), where it has the meaning 'continue to be':

(89) La-ofulo-i me so-so na zi=toroi
    si=
  3p.RLS-gathered-TR when RDP2-EXIST still REL.MUT=be.at
  ba naliitò.
  alitò
  LOC fire:MUT

They gathered (it) while there still continued to be some remains in the fire.

However, existential *so* does not exhibit all of the properties of normal intransitive verbs. For example, it cannot occur with modal verbs or preverbal quantifiers, with the perfect particle *ma=*, or with the intensifier *sibai*.

Pure existence is rarely stated with the existential verb, but it does occur occasionally, as illustrated in the complement of the verb *ila* 'know' in (90).

(90) La-ila va so z=o-mböi niha.
    s=aN-böi niha
  3p.RLS-know COMP EXIST REL.MUT=IPF-make person:MUT

They knew that there was a Creator of people. (Z-L)

Locative expressions are common with the existential verb, in particular the adverbs *ga* 'here' (a specific place) in (91) and *gaö* 'there' (a specific place) in (92):

(91) Ga so vakhe s=asoso.
    fakhe
  here EXIST rice:MUT REL=ST:cooked

There is some cooked rice here.
Existential constructions are used to express predicate possession. The possessor in a predicate possession construction occurs as a possessive suffix on the argument of existential so or as a mutated NP following the argument. For example in (93), the possessor is expressed by the third singular suffix -nia:

(93) So nono-nia do-mbua.
    ono dua-bua
    EXIST child:MUT-3s.POSS two-CL.MUT

She has two children. (lit. 'The two children of hers exist')

In (94) the possessor is expressed by the first plural exclusive suffix -ma:

(94) So nohi-ma.
    ohi
    EXIST coconut.tree:MUT-1pe.POSS

We have (some) coconut trees. (lit. 'Our coconut trees exist')

Predicate possession may be expressed in irrealis form as well, as illustrated in (95). The possessor in this construction is the second plural suffix -mi:
If you do not take me enormous disaster will beset you. (lit. 'If you do not pick me up, your big disaster will exist.) (H)

If the possessor is expressed by a lexical NP, it is expressed by a dative phrase. This was illustrated in (88) above, where the dative phrase khö Hilizondrege'asi indicates that the tabila feast will be held for the people of the village of Hilizondrege'asi. If the phrase were intended to mean 'at Hilizondrege'asi', the preposition ba would have been used.

11.4.2.3 Quantifier verbs

The quantifier verbs ato 'many (people) and oya 'many (things)', are a subtype of existential verb. They have the same structure as existential predicates and occur in predicate possession construction similar to that which occurs with the existential verb. The verb oya is exemplified in (96). The S argument of oya 'much, many' in (96) is the mutated NP mbatu andre segebua 'these big stones':

(96) Me oya mbatu andre s=e-g-ebua...

Since many stone:MUT DIST REL=ST-RDP1-big

Since there are a lot of these big stones...

The verb ato 'many' (people) is illustrated in (97):

7 This text comes from a more central area of Nias Selatan in which the mutated pronouns beginning with ndra are pronounced with a glottal stop between ndra and the stem, e.g ndra'o 1s.MUT. ndra'ugö 2s.MUT, ndra'aga 1pe.MUT.
Quantifier verbs also typically occur with locative expressions, as exemplified in (98) and (99). In (98), *ato* occurs with the adverb *gaö* 'there' (specific place):

(98) Gaö  ato  ndra-talifusö-ra.

There are a lot of their friends there. (lit. 'Their friends there are a lot.')

In (99), *ato* occurs with a prepositional phrase:

(99) Ato  niha  ba  Tete Holi Ana'a.

There are a lot of people at Tete Holi Ana'a. (lit. 'The people at Tete holi Ana'a are a lot.') (H)

Examples of these verbs in predicate possession construction are given in (100) and (101). In (100), the 'possessor' is expressed by the third plural possessive suffix -*ra* 'they':

(100) La-ẞaßalö  viga-ma  na  ato  dome-ra.

If they have many guests they borrow our plates. (lit. 'They borrow our plates if their guests are many.') (Z-L)
In (101), the possessor *boto-ra* 'their bodies' has been fronted for discourse purposes:

(101) Boto-ra oya mbu.

   body-3p.POSS many hair:MUT

Their bodies had a lot of hair. (H) (lit. 'Their bodies, the hair was a lot.')

Quantificational verbs are like the existential verb *so* in not being able to occur with modal verbs, but they are less verb-like than the existential verb in that they do not occur in irrealis mode. However, *oya* 'many (things)' occurs with the perfect marker *ma=*, as illustrated in (102):

(102) Ma=oya=ae mbalatu ni-bößö-i-nia.

   balatu
   PERF=many=already knife.MUT PASS-make-TR-3s.POSS

He had already made a lot of knives (lit. 'The knives made by him were already a lot.')

And both *oya* and *ato* occur with the intensifier *sibai*, as illustrated in (103)-(105):

(103) Oya sibai ndröfi ba mbanua.

   ndröfi
   many INTNS star:MUT LOC sky:MUT

There are very many stars in the sky.

(104) Ma=i-söndra mbu vofo s=oya sibai.

   bu fofo
   PERF=3s.RLS-find feather:MUT bird:MUT REL=many INTNS

He found very many bird feathers.
Quantificational verbs also occur as predicates in relative clauses, which is a property restricted to verbs. *Ato* is illustrated in a relative clause in (106) below:

(106) Na so dome s=ato, ...

tome

If there are a lot of guests, ...

An example of *oya* in a relative clause was given in (104) above.

### 11.4.2.4 Numerals

Numerals are deficient in most of the features which define verbs, such as participating in a realis-irrealis distinction or occurrence with predicate complex constituents. However, numerals may occur in constructions which are similar to predicate possession constructions, as illustrated in (107), in which the NP *gahe-nia* 'his legs' is the argument of *sara* 'one':

(107) Ha sara gahe-nia.

abe

only one leg:MUT-3s.POSS

He has only one leg. (lit. 'His leg is only one')

In addition, numerals occur as predicates in relative clauses, as illustrated by the numeral *fitu na=fulu* 'seventy' in (108):
In fact, all of those seventy enemies were defeated. (lit. all were defeated those enemies which were seventy)

### 11.4.2.5 Negative existential löna

The verb *löna* was discussed in its role as the verbal negator in 10.2.2.1 and as a constituent of certain modal verbs in 10.2.1. *Löna* also has the function of expressing non-existence. The NP which follows this verb in its negative existential function is unmutated, in contrast with the NP following the affirmative existential *so*, as illustrated in (109) - (111):

(109) Löna fakhe ba mba’a.

There's no rice in the box.

(110) Löna ono-nia.

S/he doesn't have any children.

(111) Löna toßa ba löna göi ehomo.

There are no walls, nor any pillars either. (H)

*Löna* does not occur with the range of preverbal elements which make up the predicate complex (see 10.2). However, it does occur as a predicate in relative clauses, a context restricted to verbs. For example, *löna* is the predicate in the relative clause following *niha* 'person' in (112), which refers to the possessor of *li-li* 'voices':
(112) Böi mi-aoha-si tödö niha niha
NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-ST:light-TR liver person:MUT
si=löna li-li.
REL=NEG.EXIST RDP-sound.

Do not disregard people who are silent. (lit. Do not cause one's liver to be light concerning people who do not make a sound.—i.e. they may be wise.)

The negative existential verb occurs frequently with the particle =ae 'already', as illustrated in (113), where the argument of löna is a headless relative:

(113) Löna=ae s=a-me-me f-a-nera-nera
s=aN-be f-aN-era'era
NEG.EXIST=already REL=IPF-RDP2-give NR-IPF-RDP2-think
khö-ra.
DAT-3p.POSS

There was not yet anybody could continue to give them advice.

As discussed in 3.6, the collocation of negative existential löna and the particle =ae 'already' is so common that in many cases it fuses to become the form na'e. This form is illustrated in (114) and (115), in which the arguments are both headless relatives:

(114) Na'e s=a-nua.
   s=aN-hua
NEG.EXIST:already REL=IPF-speak

No one yet (had the authority to) speak. (lit. There was not already a person who could speak.)

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8 As mentioned in several places in this thesis, nouns do not usually undergo reduplication. However, there are just a few instances in which a noun is reduplicated for the purposes of indicating plural number (see 8.7). It is assumed that the reduplication of li 'sound, voice, word' here is a simple repetition of a noun and does not derive a verb, as there are no other instances in my data in which the reduplication of a root or word creates a verb. The only process of derivation in which reduplication has been used historically in Nias Selatan involves derivation of nouns from verb roots (see 6.2).
(115) Na’e  
\[ s=a-negu-negu \quad y’a’ita. \]
\[ s=aN-tegu \]
NEG.EXIST:already \quad REL=IPF-RDP2-chastise \quad 1pi

There was not yet anyone to chastise us.

11.4.2.6 Intransitive verbs with two mutated arguments

As stated in 4.4 and mentioned in 11.4 above, I use the term 'intransitive' for verbs that cannot occur with pronominal prefixes in realis mode. By this definition, there are intransitive verbs that take two arguments.

Predicates referring to certain emotions or states of mind may be followed by two arguments in mutated form, one referring to the experiencer and one referring to the stimulus, i.e. the cause of or reason for the emotion or state of mind⁹. Verbs which can be followed by two mutated arguments include *omasi* 'like', *ata’u* 'be afraid', *ogoro* 'despise', *anigö* 'annoy', *arörö* 'be distracted by', *edöna* 'prefer', *olifu* 'forget', *aila* 'be ashamed' and *aföli* 'be tired of'. An example of *omasi* 'like' is given in (116), in which the experiencer is expressed by the first singular pronoun *ndrao*, and the stimulus by the mutated NP *naßö-u* 'your companion'.

(116) Omasi  
\[ ndrao \quad naßö-u. \]
\[ aßö \]
like \quad 1s.MUT \quad companion:MUT-2s.POSS

I like your companion.

The word order in these constructions is always V-Experiencer-Stimulus, as illustrated in (116). The order in which the arguments of (116) are reversed, i.e. *omasi naßö-u ndrao*, means 'Your companion likes me'. (This is grammatically correct but requires appropriate context to make it pragmatically acceptable.) An

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⁹ Transitive verbs which occur in imperfective form in main clauses also take two mutated arguments; see 10.3.2.1.
example of *ata'u 'be afraid' is given in (117), in which the experiencer is the first singular pronoun *ndrao and the stimulus is the mutated NP *nasu 'dog(s)':

(117) A-ta'u ndrao nasu.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ST-fear} & 1\text{.MUT} \\
\text{dog:MUT} & \\
\end{array}
\]

I'm afraid of the dog / dogs.

The reverse order of these arguments, i.e. *ata'u *nasu *ndrao, means 'The dog is afraid of me'. Examples of other emotion or mental state verbs with two mutated arguments are given in (118)-(124).

(118) Anigö ndrao ndraugö.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{annoy} & 1\text{.MUT} \\
2\text{.MUT} & \\
\end{array}
\]

You annoy me.

*Anigö ndraugö ndrao is grammatical, but not pragmatically sensible without rising intonation and preferably the addition of the question particle *ha to imply that it is a question, i.e. *ha anigö ndraugö ndrao? 'Do I annoy you?'

(119) Ogoro ndrao ga-mua-ta-nia.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{disgust} & 1\text{.MUT} \\
\text{IPF.MUT-do-NR-3s.POSS} & \\
\end{array}
\]

I am disgusted by her behaviour.

The arguments in this sentence cannot be reversed. One is normally disgusted with things not people, and things cannot function as experiencers. A similar reason holds for the non-reversability of arguments in examples (120)- (124) below.
(120) Arörö ndrao va-manöma’nö-sa.
ST:distract 2s.MUT [DO-chat-NR].MUT
I got distracted chatting.

(121) Olifu ndrao döi-nia.
töi
forget 1s.MUT name:MUT-3s.POSS
I forget his name.

In (122), the stimulus is expressed by a headless relative:

(122) Edöna ira z-a-lögölögö.
s=
prefer 3p.MUT REL.MUT=ST-darkness
They prefer darkness. (H)

In both (123) and (124), the stimulus is expressed by nominalized verbs:

(123) Aila ndao v-oloi.
f-
ST:ashamed 1s.MUT NR.MUT-run
I'm ashamed of running away.

(124) Aföli ndao v-a-negu-negu ira-ono.
f-aN-tegu
ST:tired 1sgM NR.MUT-IPF-RDP2-talk COLL-child
I'm tired of the kids' bickering.

Since these verbs have two arguments with the same case-marking, the question arises as to the syntactic status of the arguments. It is apparent from evidence
which will be presented below that the experiencer is an S argument, although 
atypical, and the stimulus is syntactically oblique.

The first piece of evidence is that the stimulus may be expressed by a 
prepositional phrase without any significant difference in meaning. This is illustrated 
in (125) and (126). In (125), the stimulus is expressed by a dative phrase:

\[(125) \text{Omasi ndrao khō naßō-u.}\]

\[
\text{like 1s.MUT DAT friend:MUT}
\]

I like your companion.

In (126), the stimulus is expressed by a locative phrase because it refers to a non-
human entity:

\[(126) \text{A-ta'u ndrao ba nasu.}\]

\[
\text{ST-fear 1s.MUT LOC dog:MUT}
\]

I'm afraid of the dog / dogs.

The exact meaning difference between sentences with two mutated arguments 
and sentences with prepositional phrases is not clear. As far as I have been able to 
determine, both case frames for these verbs can be used in any context. However, 
when the experiencer in these constructions is relativized, prepositional marking of the 
stimulus occurs. This is illustrated in (127), where the noun \textit{niha 'person'} is 
relativised, and the stimulus is expressed by the phrase \textit{khō lumōlumō-nia 'his own shadow'}\(^{10}\):

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\(^{10}\) I'm not sure why the preposition \textit{khō} is used here instead of the preposition \textit{ba}. \textit{Khō} is normally only used for humans, however there does seem to be some confusion between the uses of these prepositions in some lexical contexts in which human attributes are involved.
Further evidence of the syntactic obliqueness of the stimulus, and concomitant evidence that the experiencer is an S argument, can be seen in transitivized forms of these verbs. When *omasi* 'like' and *ata'u* 'be afraid' are transitivized by the addition of transitivizing suffixes, the stimulus assumes the role of the P argument, while the experiencer assumes the role of the A. An example of a transitive form of *omasi* 'like' is illustrated in (128), with an imperative form of the transitivized verb. As an imperative utterance, the A argument need not be mentioned, so there is no pronominal prefix on the verb. The P argument is expressed by the mutated NP *naßö-u* 'your neighbour (companion)'

(128) Omasi-'ö naßö-u si=mane
    aßö
    [like-TR] friend:MUT-2s.POSS REL=do.like
    fa-omasi-u ndaugö.
    NR-like-2s.POSS 2s.MUT

Love your neighbour as you would yourself.

Compare the simple intransitive form of this clause given in (129):

(129) Omasi ndraugö naßö-u?
    aßö
    like 2s.MUT companion:MUT-2s.POSS

Do you like your neighbour?
The experiencer in (129), \textit{ndraugö} 'you', corresponds to the A argument of (128), and the stimulus, \textit{naßö-u} to the P argument of (128). As discussed in 5.2, the criterial definition of applicative function for transitive suffixes involves an assuming of A role by the S argument of the base intransitive verb. Associated with applicative function is a frequent concomitant use of oblique arguments in P function. These two features characterize the transitivization of \textit{omasi} 'like', providing evidence that the experiencer is treated as an S argument and the stimulus as oblique. Note also that the second singular possessive suffix -\textit{u} on the nominalized form of \textit{omasi} in (128) (i.e. \textit{fa’omasi} 'love') corresponds to the experiencer. Possessive arguments of nominalized verbs can only refer to S or A arguments (see 6.4), providing further evidence of the status of the experiencer argument of \textit{omasi} as an S argument.

The same kind of situation obtains with the transitivization of \textit{ata’u} 'be afraid'. The simple intransitive form of \textit{ata’u} illustrated in (130) below can be compared with its applicativized form in (131):

(130) \textit{Ata’u ya nama-nia.}

\begin{verbatim}
ama
afraid 3s.MUT father:MUT-3s.POSS
He is scared of his father.
\end{verbatim}

(131) I-ata’u-fi nama-nia.

\begin{verbatim}
ama
3s.RLS-ST-afraid-TR father:MUT-3s.POSS
He is in awe of his father. / He fears his father.
\end{verbatim}

Note that the referent of the third singular pronominal experiencer of (130), \textit{ya}, is the same as that of the third singular pronominal prefix expressing the A argument \textit{i-} in (131), and the stimulus in (130), \textit{nama-nia}, is the P argument of (131).
Evidence that the experiencer is an S argument also comes from the irrealis forms of the verb *omasi* 'like', where the obligatory prefix on the verb refers to the experiencer and not the stimulus. An irrealis form of *omasi* is given in (132):

(132) Ndra-omasi v-a-maigi ono s=aßena tumbu.
   f-aN-faigi
   3p.IRR-like NR.MUT-IPF-see child REL=just.now born

They would like to see the new born baby.

Further evidence of the S status of the experiencer can be found in the causative form of the verb *ata'u* 'be afraid', in which the argument in P function expresses the experiencer. An example of the causative form *fe-ta'u* [CAU-afraid] 'frighten' is given in (133):

(133) Böi fe-ta'u ndra-onö!
   ira-
   don't CAU-afraid COLL.MUT-child

Don't frighten the children!

Compare the simple irrealis form of this clause: *ata'u ndra-onö ndraugö* 'the children are afraid of you', which shows the experiencer in S function. As stated in 5.1.2.1, a defining criteria for causative formation is that the P argument of the derived verb corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive clause. This supports the claim that the experiencer is an S argument.

However, if the experiencer is an S argument, it is an atypical one with respect to relativization. Typically when an oblique argument of an intransitive clause (such as a locative or possessor) is relativized, the S argument which occurs in the relative clause is unmutated (see 8.4.1). Yet, when stimuliues are relativized, the experiencer is mutated. For example in (134), the stimulus *ö* 'food' has been relativized, but the experiencer which occurs in the relative clause, *ndragö*, is mutated:
(134) La-faso n'draga ve-a ö
fe-a
3p.RLS-force 1pe.MUT NR.MUT-eat food
si=löna omasi n'draga.
REL=NEG like 1pe.MUT
They forced us to eat food we didn't like. (lit. 'They forced (on) us the eating of food which we didn't like. ')

The atypical nature of the experiencer in relative clauses is also illustrated in (135) below. In this example, andrehe'e 'that one' refers to the stimulus of the verb ata'u 'afraid':

(135) Andrehe'e z=ata'u ira.
s=
that.one REL.MUT=ST-afraid 3p.MUT
That's what they were afraid of.

A simple unrelativized form of (135) is the following: ata'u ira hö'ö [afraid 3p.MUT DIST] 'they were afraid of that'. Note that the experiencer, ira, is in the same mutated form in this sentence as in (135). The fact that the experiencer occurs as a mutated form in these relative clauses suggests that it is not a typical S argument.

The stimulus of omasi may also be expressed by a clause. This is illustrated in (136):

(136) Omasi ndao ö-inu daludalu ha'a.
daludalu
want 1s.MUT 2s.RLS-drink medicine:MUT PROX
I want you to drink this medicine.
In constructions in which *omasi* occurs with a clause as stimulus, the meaning usually translates as 'want'. Often, clauses which follow *omasi* 'want' occur in irrealis mode, as illustrated in (137), in which the A argument of the transitive verb *fakha* 'make', the first singular irrealis prefix *gu-* , is coreferent with the experiencer *ndrao* 'I':

(137) Omasi ndao gu-vakha mbalale.
    -fakha balale

    want 1s.MUT 1s.IRR-make:IRR basket:MUT

    I want to make a basket.

In (138) the third singular irrealis prefix *ya-* which occurs with the intransitive verb *möi* 'go' is coreferent with the experiencer *ya* 'she':

(138) Omasi ya ya-möi ba fasa.
    want 3s.MUT 3s.IRR-go:IRR LOC market

    She wants to go to the market.

11.4.2.7 Intransitive verbs with *dödö* 'liver'\(^{11}\) and mutated argument

A small group of intransitive verbs which refer to feelings or states of mind are collocated with the noun *dödö* 'liver', which is assumed to be the locus of mental processes and feelings. *Dödö* 'liver' is suffixed with a pronoun referring to the 'possessor' of *dödö*, or the human who experiences the emotion or mental state. A list of these verbs is given in (139). In many cases the verbs which occur with *dödö* 'liver' do not occur by themselves with any meaning, so glosses cannot be given for these verbs independently of the construction with *dödö*. Those which can be glossed have been.

(139) constructions with *dödö* 'liver'

\(^{11}\) There are two words for 'liver' in Nias Selatan: *tödö* 'liver' (human) and *ate* 'liver' (animal).
abu dödö-gu I am sad, anxious, worried
ahöli dödö-gu I am surprised
omuso dödö-gu I am happy
akhari dödö-gu I have strong wish for something to be done
asöndru dödö-gu I am touched
a-fatö dödö-gu [ST-break liver:MUT-1s.POSS] I am disappointed
fa-duhu dödö-gu [DO-true liver:MUT-1s.POSS] I believe
a-ga-fökhdö dödö-gu [RDP1-ST-illness liver:MUT-1s.POSS] I feel bad12

If a stimulus occurs with these emotion and mental state verbs, it is typically expressed by a nominalized verb, a complement or an adverbial clause. Some examples of these verbs are given in (140)-(145) below. In (140) the stimulus is expressed by a nominalized verb in mutated form:

(140) Abu dödö-nia ve’a-möi ba noßo.
   tödö fe’a- oßo
   sad liver:MUT-3s.POSS NR.MUT-go LOC boat:MUT

She was worried about going on the boat.

In (141) and (142), the stimulus is expressed by a complement. In (141), the complementizer is optional:

(141) Ahöli dödö-gu (va) tola fe-sala ya sui.
   tödö
   surprised liver:MUT-1s.POSS (COMP) can DO-error 3s.MUT again

I’m surprised (that) he could make a mistake again.

With the verb *faduhu dödö-gu* ‘I believe’, the complementizer is obligatory:

12 The reduplication in the verb *agafökhdö* ‘be ill’ in (139) is fossilized in Nias Selatan. In Nias Utara ‘I feel bad’ is expressed by the unreduplicated form *afökhdö dödö-gu.*
(142) Fa-duhu dödö-gu va tena s=a-nagö ya.

tödö s=aN-tagö

DO-true liver:MUT-1s.POSS COMP NEG(N) REL=IPF-steal 3s.MUT

I don't believe he's a thief. (lit. I believe that he's not a thief.)

In (143) and (144), the stimulus is expressed by an adverbial clause:

(143) Omuso dödö-gu me so ndaugö.

tödö

happy liver:MUT-1s.POSS when arrive 2s.MUT

I was happy that you came.

(144) A-ga-fökhw dödö-gu na mofanö ndaugö.

tödö

ST-RDP1-ill liver:MUT-1s.POSS if leave 2s.MUT

I'll feel bad if you leave.

In (145) the verb asöndru dödö-gu does not really have a stimulus unless it can be thought that the stimulus is expressed by the adverbial clause occurring as a subordinate clause in the matrix clause:

(145) Atoru nidanö mata-gu me u-baso zura-u,

idanö mata sura

fall water:MUT eye:MUT-1s.POSS when 1s.RLS-read letter:MUT-2s.POSS

asöndru dödö-gu.

tödö

touched liver:MUT-1s.POSS

Tears fell from my eyes when I read your letter, I was touched (by it).

11.4.2.8 Intransitive verbs with an extra unmutated argument

The verb göna 'be struck by' typically occurs with a mutated argument referring to the affected participant and an unmutated argument referring to the thing with which the
participant is struck, i.e. the instrument or cause, as exemplified in (146)-(148). Although there would not seem to be a need for strict word order since the arguments are marked differently, no order other than V-Affected-Cause is recorded in my data:

(146) Ma=göna ya toho.
PREF=be.struck.by 3s.MUT spear

He was hit with a spear.

(147) Göna ya fōkhō malaria.
be.struck.by 3s.MUT illness malaria

He came down with malaria.

(148) Göna ndrao teu.
be.struck.by 1s.MUT rain

I got caught in the rain.

Because the cause/instrument is unmutated, as are lexical expressions of A arguments with transitive verbs, constructions with göna look like transitive clauses: i.e. (148) might be interpreted as 'spear struck him'. However göna cannot occur with a pronominal prefix in realis mode. Furthermore, the relative clause construction shows that the mutated argument in these constructions is not a P argument of a transitive verb. If it were, a relative clause in which this argument were relativized would be expected to occur with no relative marker, with the verb marked with ni-, and with the A argument expressed as a possessor (see 8.4.3). However, if the argument referring to the affected participant is relativized, what happens is that the relative clause is marked with si=, the verb remains unchanged, and the cause remains in its unmutated form. This is illustrated in (149), which consists of a nominal clause in which the headless relative, si=göna famakao 'the one who is struck by disaster', is the predicate and the third singular pronoun, ya, is the argument.
Note that it is the affected participant of *göna* which is relativized in the headless relative; the cause, *famakao* 'act of causing worry', is unmutated.

Further evidence that the affected participant is an S argument and not a P can be found with irrealis forms of the verb. When *göna* occurs in irrealis mode, the obligatory pronominal prefix denotes the affected participant, as illustrated in (150):

(150) Na mofanö=e mana gö-göna teu.
    if leave=D.PTCL at.this.time 2s.IRR-be.struck.by:IRR rain
    If you leave now, you might get caught in the rain. (cf. *göna ndraugö teu*
    [struck 2s.MUT rain] 'you got caught in the rain')

Since intransitive verbs are obligatorily marked for their S argument in irrealis clauses, this provides evidence that the affected participant is an S argument.\(^\text{13}\)

The verb *göna* has an alternative case frame from the case frame described for examples (146)-(148) above. In this alternative frame, the affected participant is expressed by a dative phrase, and the cause by a mutated NP. This is illustrated in (151), in which the affected participant is expressed by the dative phrase *khö-gu*, and the instrument or cause by the mutated argument *mbatu* 'rock':

(151) Göna khö-gu mbatu.
    be.struck.by DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT
    I was hit with a rock.

\(^\text{13}\) The syntactic status of the unmutated argument is unclear at this stage. There are no relative clauses in my data in which the cause/ instrument in a clause containing *göna* is relativized.
Other examples of this construction are given in (152) and (153):

(152) Göna kho-ku vökhö-u.
    be.struck.by DAT-1s.POSS illness:MUT-2s.POSS
I’ve caught your cold.

(153) Göna kho-ra fa’a-mate.₁⁴
    be.struck.by DAT-3p.POSS NR-die
They have suffered a death (in the family).

As far as I can determine, there is no significant difference in meaning between the
two case frames—in both cases the participant is affected by the cause or instrument.
There is no sense, for example, in which one or the other frame implies only partial
affect.₁⁵ However, the second case frame appears to be used for the negation of
göna, e.g. löna göna kho-gu [NEG struck DAT-1s.POSS] 'I wasn’t hit', and in
expressing the fact that one is 'almost' hit by something, by including the
counterfactual particle mea after the verb, as illustrated in (154):

(154) Göna mea kho-gu mbatu.
    batu
    be.struck.by almost DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT
I was almost hit with a rock.

11.4.2.9 Intransitive verbs expressing change of state
The verbs tobali 'become' and möi 'go' are used to express the conversion of one
entity into another. (The transitive verb corresponding to tobali was discussed in

₁⁴ It is not clear why the nominal fa’amate 'death' is unmutated. There are, however, several other
instances in the data in which nominalized forms beginning with /f/ do not undergo mutation in
contexts where it is expected. At present I have no good explanation for this.

₁⁵ The word order in these clauses apparently remains V-Affected-Cause, as there are no variations to this
order in the data. However this remains to be checked. There is also insufficient data at present to
check whether the dative phrase is core or oblique.
11.3.2.4 above.) As a verb tobalı 'become' is followed by a mutated argument referring to the participant that undergoes change, which I will call 'theme', and an unmutated argument referring to the target entity ('target') into which the affected participant changes. For example in (155), the mutated nominal nidanö 'water' is the theme and the unmutated nominal, es 'ice', is the target:

(155) Tobali nidanö es.

idanö become water:MUT ice

The water changed into ice.

In (156), the theme is a third singular pronoun ya and the target is the nominal ndraßa 'Muslim'\(^{16}\):

(156) Ma=tobali ya ndraßa.

PERF=become 3s.MUT foreign.person

He had become Muslim.

In (157), the theme is nama-gu 'my father' and the target is kafalo mbanua 'head of the village':

(157) Tobali nama-gu kafalo mbanua,

ama banua become father:MUT-1s.POSS head village:MUT

ya'i'a si'ulu.

3s si'ulu

My father became the head of the village, that is, a si'ulu.

\(^{16}\) The noun ndraßa has the same form in mutated and unmutated contexts. See also footnote 47 in Chapter 4 for discussion of meaning of this term.
In (158), the theme is *ga’a-gu* 'my older brother' and the target is *guru* 'teacher'. (The word *guru* has the same form in both citation and mutated forms.)

(158) Tobali ga’a-gu guru.

My older brother became a teacher.

Data from relativization provides evidence that the argument referring to the participant which undergoes change functions as an S argument. For example in (159), the third singular pronoun predicate *ya’ia* refers to the participant who undergoes change. The target argument (*guru agama* 'teacher of religion') occurs in the headless relative that functions as the argument of *ya’ia*:

(159) Ya’ia zi=tobali guru agama ga ba Lagundri.

He was the one who became a teacher of religion at Lagundri.

Similarly in the nominal clause illustrated in (160), the NP *cacat niha* 'defects of the man' (from Indonesian *cacat* 'disability, defect') is the argument relativized by the clause containing *tobali* 'become'. The argument referring to the target for the change (*tanda* 'sign') occurs in the relative clause in its unmutated form.

(160) ...[cacat niha] ... si=tobali tanda

...[the defects of the man]...which became a sign that his behaviour was not good ...
The verb möi 'go' is used idiomatically with the same meaning as tobali, i.e. 'become', and with the same case frame. For example in (161) below, which is almost the same sentence as (157) above, the target is referred to by the unmutated noun kafalo 'head' and the affected participant is referred to by the third singular mutated pronoun ya:

(161) Möi ya kafalo mbanua.

banua

He became the head of the village.

Some other examples in which möi is used in this function are given in (162) - (165):

(162) Möi ya hakim ba Ziboga.

Siboga

He became a judge in Sibolga.

(163) Ma=möi ya Islam.

He had converted to Islam.

(164) Möi ya guru agama.

He became a teacher of religion.

(165) Möi ya noninoni ba gödo zaksa.

He became a clerk in the public prosecutor's office.
At present, I cannot detect any difference in use between *tobali* and *möi* in realis clauses in many cases. It is noticeable, however, that *möi* occurs with more examples involving occupations than *tobali* does. This is also perhaps in accordance with the fact that *tobali* does not occur in irrealis mode—*tobali* itself can express a sense of future, as exemplified in (166):

(166) Hata mi anda z=o-khö-ta,

who 2p.MUT PROX REL.MUT=HAVE-possession-NR

andre zi=tobali kafalo ba mbanua=nde.

DIST REL=be.changed.into head LOC village:MUT=DIST

Whoever of you has possessions, he will become the head in that village.

One syntactic difference between *tobali* and *möi* is that only *möi* can be used in irrealis mode to express someone’s desire to become something, as exemplified in (167):

(167) Na ma=e-bua ya-möi guru.

when PERF=ST-big 3s.IRR-go teacher

When she grows up, she wants to be a teacher.\footnote{I do not have examples at the stage to indicate whether the target in this construction is mutated or unmutated. Mutation is not evident on the noun *guru* 'teacher' because /g/ is not affected by mutation.}

\subsection*{11.4.2.10 \textit{mae} 'resemble'}

The verb *mae* 'resemble, be like' occurs with an unmutated argument referring to the standard with which something is being compared, and a mutated argument referring to the participant being compared. The order is fixed: V-standard-thing.compared, i.e. the standard, in unmutated form, always occurs immediately after the verb. This construction is illustrated in (168), in which the standard is the unmutated form *batu* 'stone' and the thing compared is expressed by the mutated noun *dödö* 'liver':
(168) Mae batu dödö-nia.
tödö
resemble stone liver:MUT-3s.POSS

His heart is like a stone. (i.e. He is hard-hearted.)

Other sentences with the same structure are given in (169)-(171):

(169) Mae sekhula mbatu hö’ö.
batu
resemble coconut rock:MUT DIST

That rock is (looks) like a coconut.

(170) Mae baru-gu mbaru-nia.
baru
resemble dress -1s.POSS dress:MUT-3s.POSS

Her dress is (looks) like my dress.

(171) Mae asu ndraugö.
resemble dog 2s.MUT

You are like a dog.\(^{18}\)

In (172) and (173), the thing compared is fronted for discourse purposes and is therefore unmuted. The standard is also unmuted, as expected.

(172) Omo-ra mae söröma.
house-3p.POSS resemble glass

Their houses are like glass. (H)

\(^{18}\) This is an extremely rude utterance.
Relativization data reveals that the argument referring to the participant who is compared is an S argument. This argument is the only one of the two which can be relativized; the argument referring to the standard cannot be relativized because it is a nonreferential NP. An example of a relativized form of the sentence *bu-ra mae bu gaga mbu-ra* [resemble hair crow:MUT hair:MUT-3p.POSS] 'their hair is like the feathers of a crow' is given in (174), where the thing compared is fronted: The headless relative *si=mae bu gaga* 'that which resembles the hair of a crow' refers to the fronted argument *bu-ra* 'their hair':

(174) [bu-ra] ... so göi z=aitö si=mae bu gaga.

Mae is also used sometimes in combination with a stative verb with the meaning 'is as Vb as', as illustrated in (175), in which the fronted argument, *eßali-ra* 'their courtyard', is the S argument of both *adölö* 'be straight' and *mae* 'resemble'.

(175) Eßali-ra a-dölö mae ana’a.

In constructions like these it is ambiguous as to whether *mae* is functioning as a verb or as a preposition.
11.5 Imperative forms

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may occur in imperative form. The imperative form of many verbs consists simply of the realis stem of the verb, without pronominal prefixes if transitive, or mutated pronouns if intransitive. If a P argument is present, it occurs in mutated form, as it does in realis mode. Some examples of imperative forms of transitive verbs are given in (176)-(178):

(176) Basö-i gału ha’a.  
      ašu  
      wet-TR sand:MUT PROX  
Wet this sand here.

(177) Doro khö-gu nukha s=oyo.  
      nukha  
      carry DAT-1s.POSS cloth:MUT REL=red  
Bring me a red cloth.

(178) A daludalu.  
      daludalu  
      eat medicine:MUT  
Take the medicine.

Derived verbs can also be used in imperative form, as illustrated in (179)-(181) in which the verbs are derived with the transitivizer -ö;

(179) Oroma-ö khö-gu lala s=atulö.  
      lala  
      visible-TR DAT-1s.POSS way:MUT REL=ST:correct  
Show me the right way. (D)
(180) Base-’ös=wa’e!
rest-TR=D.PTCL
Wait (for me)! (for a time, not immediately coming)

(181) Base-’ö ma’efu!
rest-TR a.little
Hang on a minute! (short time, coming immediately)

It is quite common for the second plural realis prefix mi- to be added to the imperative form, even when addressing just one person. Usually an imperative with the prefix mi- is considered more polite than one without the prefix. Some examples of polite forms of imperatives are illustrated in (182)-(183).

(182) Mi-boka-i golu.
golu
2p.RLS-open-TR door:MUT
Please open the door.

(183) Mi-ide'ide-’ös televisi.
2p.RLS-ST:small-TR television
Please turn the television down.\(^{19}\)

Sometimes a mutated second singular pronoun, ndraugö, may also be added for politeness, as illustrated in (184) and (185):

(184) Kodala ira ndraugö?
take.picture 3p.MUT 2s.MUT
Would you take their picture please?\(^{20}\)

\(^{19}\) The word televisi ‘television’ is a very recent vocabulary item in Nias, and like many borrowed words does not mutate.

\(^{20}\) The word kodala ‘take a picture’ may be related to the word Kodak, but if so, I don’t know where the -la ending comes from.
(185) βußu ndraugö furi.
move.back 2s.MUT behind
Please move back.

Typically only dynamic intransitive verbs occur in imperative form. In dynamic verbs that begin with *m*-, some imperative forms consist of the verb without the initial *m*-, as illustrated (186)-(187):

(186) O-li!
DYN-sound
(come on,) say something! (compare the realis form *m-*oli 'make noise')

(187) Omßanö!
wash.hand
(Go and) wash your hands! (compare the realis form *m*-omßanö 'wash hand(s)')

The verb *möi*, which arguably belongs with this set of dynamic verbs, can mean either 'go' or 'come' depending on the orientation of the speaker to the destination. In imperative form, these two meanings are distinguished. The imperative form *ai* is used to mean 'go (away)' and the imperative form *ae* means 'come (here)'. These uses are illustrated in (188)-(190)

(188) Ai-ne!
go:IMPER-far away
Go away!

(189) Ae ba-omo!
come:IMPER LOC-house
Come in! (you go first)
In (190), there are two imperative forms in sequence, one related to möi 'go, come' and the other to m-ondri 'bathe':

(190) Ai ondri!
    go:IMPER bathe
    Go take a bath!

The verbs mörö 'sleep' and maoso 'get up' have imperative forms in which f-replaces m-, e.g. förö 'go to sleep!', faoso 'get up'!.

Negative imperative utterances are formed with the preverbal word böi, in both transitive and intransitive imperative constructions. An example of a transitive verb in negative imperative form is given in (191). Note that the P argument, the first singular pronoun ndrao, is mutated, as it would be in a corresponding affirmative imperative form:

(191) Böi sumba ndao!
    NEG.IMPER disturb 1s.MUT
    Don't disturb me!

Another example is given in (192), in which the P argument is the third singular mutated pronoun ya:

(192) Böi su-sugi ya na ma=mörö.
    don't RDP1-prod 3s.MUT if PERF=sleep
    Don't wake him if he's gone to sleep.(D)

In (193), the verb agö 'stay' is illustrated:

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21 Förö is also an intransitive form of the verb meaning 'go to sleep' (as opposed to mörö which implies 'be sleeping'). The word faoso 'raise' is also the causative form of the verb maoso 'get up' (see 5.1.2.1.2).
(193) Böi agö gaö.
   NEG.IMPER stay there

Don't stay there.

In (194), the P argument of the verb is a headless relative:

(194) Böi era'era z=oya naßalö.
   s=  nabalö
   NEG.IMPER think REL.MUT=many thing:MUT

Don't worry about so many things.22

Although affirmative imperative forms of stative verbs appear not to occur, negative imperative forms do. In contrast with affirmative forms, intransitive verbs which occur in negative imperative form may be stative as well as dynamic. An example of the negative imperative form of ata'u 'afraid' is given in (195):

(195) Böi a-ta'u.
   NEG.IMPER ST-fear

Don't be afraid.

Dynamic verbs in negative imperative forms are illustrated in (196) and (197):

(196) Böi fa-liwa!
   NEG.IMPER DO-movement

Settle down! (Stop moving.)

(197) Böi ae baka ba-omo! ma=a-basö gahembatö.
   ahembatö
   NEG.IMPER come:IMPER inside LOC-house PERF=ST-wet floor:MUT

Don't come into the house! The floor is wet.

22 The word naßalö in this sentence appears to be a classifier separated from its argument, which is gapped because it is relativized. A simple unrelativized form of this sentence would be oya na=ßalö x 'there are many x'.
As mentioned above for affirmative imperatives, the prefix *mi-* is used to express politeness or concern, as illustrated in (198)-(199):

(198) Böi mi-bini-‘ö dōdō-mi.
    NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-hide-TR liver:MUT-2p.POSS
    Don't hide your feelings.

(199) Böi mi-ata'u.
    NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-ST-afraid
    Don't be afraid.

The second singular may also be used in negative imperative constructions to express politeness or concern, as illustrated in (200):

(200) Lōna sala-nia. Böi alawōlawō ndaugō.
    NEG error-3s.POSS NEG.IMPER ST:embarrassed 2s.MUT
    It's not a problem. Please don't feel embarrassed.

An alternative form of the negative imperative, *böli*, is found as a dialectal variant in more central dialects, as well as in formal contexts. Some examples of *böli* are given in (201) and (202)

(201) Böli mi-o-'ö ira!
    NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-follow 3p.MUT
    Do not follow them!

(202) Böli oturagō khō niha bō’ö!
    NEG.IMPER tell DAT person:MUT other
    Do not tell anyone else!
11.6 Reference and zero anaphora

In many of the examples in this thesis it has been necessary to comment on the absence of S and P arguments if their referent is inanimate and currently active in the discourse. In all clauses, continued reference to humans typically involves an overt expression, i.e. a pronominal prefix, a pronoun or a lexical NP. In contrast, continued reference to inanimate objects is usually realized by zero anaphora, i.e. no further mention at all. In the case of non-human animates, there is usually a choice of repeating the lexical NP or using zero anaphora. To illustrate, if the referent of the S in the second conjunct in the following sentence is 'the boy', the clause must contain a pronoun, e.g.:

(203) Ma=i-bözi nasu ono matua ba ma=m-oloi ya (*0).

    asu
PERF=3s.RLS-hit dog:MUT child male CNJ PERF=DYN-run 3s:MUT

The boy hit the dog and ran away.

If, however, it is the dog who runs away, the NP must be repeated or omitted, e.g.:

(204) Ma=i-bözi nasu ono matua
    asu
PERF=3s.RLS-hit dog:MUT child male
ba ma=m-oloi nasu / 0 (*ya).
    asu
CNJ PERF=DYN-run dog:MUT / 0 (*3s:MUT)

The boy hit the dog and it ran away.
REFERENCES


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