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The Grammar of  Adang:

A Papuan Language Spoken on the Island of   Alor
East Nusa Tenggara – Indonesia

A dissertation
submitted to the Department of Linguistics, University of Sydney, in the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Johnson Welem Haan

March 2001
I dedicate this dissertation to the people of Alor, particularly the speakers of Adang
Abstract

Adang, a hitherto undescribed Papuan language spoken on the island of Alor, East Nusa Tenggara ("Nusa Tenggara Timur") Province of Indonesia is potentially endangered. This dissertation presents a descriptive grammar of the language based on my native speaker intuitions and those of my family. In what follows, I presents some of the main typological features of the language.

Adang has seven vowels and eighteen consonants. Its syllable patterns do not allow consonant clusters within a syllable. It is an agglutinative language which is rich in morphology. It has ten pronominal prefixes which are involved in the formation of almost every word class, both open and closed. All nouns, identified as being members of inalienably possessed noun class, are obligatorily prefixed by pronominals to mark the possessors of the referent of the nouns. Most verbs, classified into various closed classes, are also obligatorily prefixed by these pronominals. The pronominal prefixes function as the object of the verb. Spatial deictics and determiners are composed of spatial roots together with distance and directional morphemes.

Syntactically, Adang is a verb final (SOV) language with a proliferation of serial verb constructions (SVCs). There are various semantic relations between verbs in SVCs. Syntactically, there are same-subject SVCs, switched-subject SVCs and a combination of the two. There are also same-object SVCs, multiple-object SVCs and a combination of these.
Adang has a number of forms and constructions, the interpretation of which, is heavily context dependent. The dependency is particularly observed in the use of various determiners, spatial deictics and also from the use of locational and directional verbs as well as a class of closed class verbs that I have called determining or index verbs. Different contextual meanings of the only attested evidential particle *dai* depend the interaction of the particle with the aspect, polarity, contrastive situation and the time of an event. Adang is a tense-less language. The meaning of the only oblique pronominal clitic *u* is also partly determined by the verb that governs it in a sentence.

An area of special interest is the interaction between of word order and morphology in the expression of information structure (focus and topic). This grammar makes a start on the investigation of this area in the use of spatial deictics, determiners and pronouns and their distribution in the sentence.
Acknowledgements

Many people have helped me during the research and writing of this thesis. Although I might have missed mentioning some of their names in these acknowledgements, they all deserve my special thanks. Their contributions to this thesis were invaluable, and I am very grateful.

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work: "The system of marking discourse functions in Adang". I was not expecting at the time that there would be so many attendees at my presentation to the conference. I was really motivated. The discussion and criticisms that I got from the attendants, both during and after the presentation are all invaluable contributions to this thesis.

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I also would like to express my thanks to Ger Reesink and Catharina van Klinken for a small discussion that I had with them during the “East Nusantara Language Workshop” in the Australian National University. I could have missed a few closed class transitive verbs such as *napa* ‘stir me’ and *nab* or ‘go back’ (lit. ‘return my self’) without the discussion. I also greatly benefited from the workshop. I wish to thank those who organized and led the discussions in the workshop. My special thank goes to John Bowden who invited me to attend.

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Sydney, March 2001
John W Haan
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative affixes (a-, -e, -iG, -uG, -aG)</td>
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<td>Pronominal clitic u</td>
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<td>COMP</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>Collective (first person plural inclusive collective pi-)</td>
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<td>DET</td>
<td>Determiner</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEIC</td>
<td>Deictic (spatial deictics)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>Distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>Distributive (first person plural inclusive distributive ta-)</td>
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<td>DIR</td>
<td>Direction</td>
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<td>DOWN</td>
<td>Downward directional morphemes p on determiners/ deictics</td>
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<td>EVID</td>
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<td>EX</td>
<td>Exclamatory utterances in Adang (e...! , bah ...!, ...ect.)</td>
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<td>EXC</td>
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<td>Horizontal directional morpheme m on determiners/ deictics</td>
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<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>Inclusive (first person plural inclusive pi/pi- / ta-)</td>
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<td>INC</td>
<td>Inceptive or incipient</td>
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<td>IS</td>
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<td>Obviative (third person obviative pronominal prefix Pa-)</td>
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<td>PRXML</td>
<td>Proximal (third person pronominal prefix sa-)</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

This introductory chapter contains a brief description of Adang, its speakers and neighboring languages (1.1). It also discusses the background to the study (1.2), the aims of the study and the dissertation (1.3) and methodology (1.4). In the last section of this chapter I present the organization of this dissertation (1.5).

1.1. Adang: its speakers and neighboring languages

Adang is one of sixteen languages spoken on the island of Alor, East Nusa Tenggara ("Nusa Tenggara Timur") Province of Indonesia. None of these languages has been well-described.

Currently Adang has about seven thousand speakers. These speakers live in the villages in and around Kalabahi, the capital of Alor regency. They are mostly ‘farmers’. Each family of Adang speakers has a kind of farmland that they called ‘dil’. Every year they use about a half or less of their farmland, about half a hectare, for growing corn or rice or both. This is only done during the rainy season, from November to April. The rest of the farmland is not used. The aim is to let a part of the land become fertile naturally. When the part of the farm land used for growing corn, rice or both is no longer

---

1 Data obtained from statistic records of the 1995 census in Alor regency in "Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Alor".
2 The farming and gardening activities are still very traditional. The people do not use machinery. Farming activities also depend on rain. There is no irrigation.
productive they will leave it and move to grow their crops in the other half of their land, which they have left to become fertile. In the next couple of years they will move again to the first half, and so on. This means that the farming activity of each family of Adang speakers is dependent on the fertility or productivity of their farmland or ‘dil’ and on the rain.

In addition to the farmland that is called ‘dil’, each family also has a kind of garden that they called ali. The size of each garden is normally not more than one hectare, where main crops such as bananas, coconuts or candlenut are planted mixed with various other plants and crops, commonly mangoes and oranges. The garden is not located in the same area where the family lives. During the dry season they work in their garden(s) (ali).

There are two distinct traditional narratives about Adang origin. Most Adang speakers believe that they were originally from the central part of the island of Alor, from a place called Molmoc Halemoc. This belief is linked to another oral tradition - the history of Ul Nai - Tar Nai, also known as Abui Mani - Kafola Mani, two human beings who are believed to be the ancestors of the people of Alor. They are said to have once lived in a village called Ateng afeng. This, literally, means ‘ancient village’ or ‘the first village’, in the central part of the island of Alor (Fernandez, et al., 1994:40).

The second traditional narrative suggests that the island of Alor was once larger and joined to another landmass; Irian/ Papua, Halmahera and Sulawesi have all been mentioned as candidates. The bigger island or land mass in question, was once divided
into several parts, small and large including Alor, by a big flood and volcanic eruption. The two oral traditions deserve careful investigation. Archeological evidence on the prehistoric inhabitants of Alor and geological evidence on the evolution of the island of Alor are needed.

Traditionally, the members of the Adang community were classed into three social classes based on their function in the community. These traditions are still maintained. They are the Afen, Kapitang and Marang social classes. The Afen social class is responsible for government. Leaders of the Adang community used to be selected from the members of this class. The Kapitang social class is responsible for defense. The Marang social class is responsible for spiritual and religious service. The Kapitang social class has its own traditional altar but Afen, and Marang share one. Only a member of the Marang class is eligible to climb an altar for a spiritual or religious service. Thus, for example, when members of the Kapitang class are going to war, they will invite a member of the Marang class to offer a spiritual service for the successful outcome of the war.

In terms of religions, or beliefs, Adang speakers originally believed in a ‘god’ called “ur fed lahtal ” (time – sun – owner). The approximate meaning of this name is ‘the owner (or god) of time and sun’. This god is symbolized by a wooden snake. The missionaries of the Protestant churches from Roti and Sabu islands of "Nusa Tenggara Timur" province, under the “Sending Mission” of the Dutch, arrived in Alor in 1908.

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3 This may have originated from the Dutch or Portuguese; but so far I have no evidence of it.
4 I (the researcher) am a member of this social class.
5 The altars are still extant but they are not maintained and not used any more. Probably since Adang speakers became Christians in around 1913 or later.
Adang speakers then gradually converted to Christianity\(^6\). Later, with the expansion of Islam around Indonesia, especially during the 1960s, a few Adang speakers converted to Islam. Thus, about 0.5% of Adang speakers today are Muslims.

The villages where Adang speakers live are Adang-Buom, located on the western border of Kalabahi, the capital of Alor regency, and Pitung bang (O't fai) north of Kalabahi (map 1-1). Other villages where Adang speakers live are Kenarilang, O’a, Afeng Male (Bang Palol), ‘Eh don, Aimoli, Adang-Kokar, Bot Bag (Bota), Alila and Bu Mol. These villages are all to the west and northwest of Kalabahi, as in the following map.

Map: 1-1 The Map of Adang

\(^6\) Christian missionaries first landed on Alor, at the village now known as Alor Kecil, where Alor speakers (all Muslims) now live. The first school in Alor was founded there by the missionaries. The Protestant church in Adang was founded in about 1913, just a few years after the first church in Alor. The first protestant church in Alor was founded in Kalabahi in about 1909/10 after the first school (in Alor Kecil).
Along the coastal area, to the west of Kalabahi, Adang speakers mix with the speakers of the Alor language, which is the only Austronesian language in Alor. They also mix with the speakers of Pura (Blagar) and Reta, who have recently migrated from the islands of Pura and Ternate. The speakers of Alor, however, mostly live in the villages of Dulolong, Ampera, Alor Kecil and Alor Besar. They are also found in some parts of the islands of Pantar, Marica and Ternate, and in the islands of Tereweng and Buaya.

As seen in map 1-1, the speakers of Kabola, a language similar to Adang, live in the area on the east and northeast of Kalabahi, namely in the villages of Batu Nata, Padang Tckukur, Jembatan Hitam, Liling doi, Kebun Kopi, Mai Mol, Mali (around Mali airport), Wolatang (Tang Ala) and Me Bung (Meibuil). To the south of Kalabahi, just across the Kalabahi or Mutiara ('pearl') bay, live the speakers of Hamap in the village of Moru and its neighboring villages. Hamap is also a language related to Adang.

1.2. Background of the Study

The situation described in 1.1 suggests that Adang is potentially endangered, particularly because its speakers live in the villages in and around Kalabahi, where Bahasa Indonesia is more widely spoken. The potentiality for Adang to be endangered is

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7 Wurm and Voorhoeve (cited in Stokhof, 1987:631) mention Adang as a dialect of Kabola. Grimes, et al (1997: 60) regard Adang as an alternative name for Kabola. Note: Adang speakers and Kabola speakers do not always understand each other when speaking their languages. This is perhaps due to recent developments, especially in the area of phonology. However, Adang speakers and Hamap speakers always understand each other, when speaking their languages, though there are a few differences (mainly phonological) between the two.
increasing, as the younger generations of Adang speakers tend to use Bahasa Indonesia rather than their native language. Parents tend to teach and speak Bahasa Indonesia, rather than Adang, with their children. The reason is not only in order to make their children able to communicate with people from other language speaking backgrounds but also because Bahasa Indonesia is regarded as more prestigious than local languages. Therefore, the number of Adang speakers is decreasing very fast. The migration of Adang speakers to other places also contributes to the rapid decline in the number of Adang speakers.

Some situational variations or registers of Adang like pohang\textsuperscript{8}, pepel\textsuperscript{9} and banehar\textsuperscript{10} no longer exist. Only two or three Adang speakers still have the knowledge of these language varieties. These varieties are no longer used in gatherings or events where they were formerly used. Such events are, for example, harvesting time for ‘pepel’ and also ‘pohang’. One variety of Adang normally found in a traditional dance called ‘holeng holeng’ seems to have become extinct with the loss of the traditional dance itself. (I last saw this dance in 1971; since then the dance has never been performed).

Although Adang is potentially endangered, there has not been any systematic study or investigation of this language to date. It was Stokhof (1987) who first analyzed and presented a brief description of the language. This analysis and brief description reveals a few characteristics of the language. However, with the very limited data that he

\textsuperscript{8} Pohang: educational variety of Adang. It is fun and anecdotal in nature.
\textsuperscript{9} Pepel: historical variation; mainly concerning the origin of crops. It is figurative in nature.
\textsuperscript{10} Banehar: a variety for law and political purposes.
obtained, the description is still very "fragmentary and preliminary". This has been acknowledged by Stokhof himself (Stokhof, 1987: 631). A systematic study is therefore needed to record any accessible elements or aspects of the language. This must include a description of the grammar of the language, a description of the situational varieties of the language and a documentation of its sociolinguistic aspects, especially the unrecorded oral traditions such as oral history, poetry, legends, tales, songs, riddles etc. and their related sociocultural events like birth, marriage and burial ceremonies and traditional dances, during which certain varieties of the language are used.

1.3. Aims of the Study

Though all aspects mentioned above and probably more, need to be investigated for documentation and preservation purposes, this current study is limited only to the investigation and the description of the grammar of the language. The expected output of the investigation, as presented in this dissertation, is a basic descriptive grammar of Adang which involves a brief description of the phonological system and a description of the morphosyntax of the language.

Based on this basic description of the grammar of Adang, it is expected that a further investigation may be conducted to obtain a more insightful view of the structure of the language. It is also expected that the results of this study be treated as a step toward the investigation of other linguistic aspects of Adang mentioned in 1.3. Most of all, an expected result of the study is that the speakers of Adang will respect and maintain their
native language, including their cultural heritage which is only transmitted orally from one generation to the next through the language.

1.4. Methodology

This study is descriptive-explorative in nature. Following Milroy's "introspective method" (1987:3-4) of a descriptive language study, I as a native speaker of the language under investigation have obtained the primary data or language corpus for this dissertation from my own competence in the language. The results of analyses based on data obtained from my competence are checked with recorded texts which were obtained in a short visit to the speech community during the writing of this dissertation. Occasionally, such as when I faced difficulties understanding culturally conditioned concepts in words or phrases, or unusual word order and structure, I checked with my father, Lukas Haan and uncles Pen La' and La' Timung in Kalabahi via telephone. These discussions helped to verify my analysis. The results are presented following the organization of this dissertation as mentioned in 1.5 below.

1.5. Organization of The Dissertation

Besides the introductory chapter (1), the dissertation consists of eleven main chapters (2-12). Chapter 2 presents a preliminary description of the phonetics and phonology of Adang. In this chapter, I show that Adang has seven vowels and eighteen consonants. Its syllable patterns do not allow consonant clusters within words. The
primary stress falls on the final syllable of a word. The intonation of an unmarked sentence rises in pitch at the position of every primary stress. A yes/no interrogative sentence is determined by intonation pattern. Its structure is the same as a declarative sentence.

Chapter 3 shows that Adang has ten pronominal prefixes which are prominent in the formation of various word classes in Adang. Adang distinguishes a third person proximal from a third person obviative pronominal prefix. The third person proximal pronominal prefix is co-referential to a subject whereas the third person obviative pronominal prefix is disjoint referential to a subject. Adang also distinguishes first person plural exclusive from first person plural inclusive. The first person plural inclusive is further distinguished between collective and distributive. Two main functions of pronominal prefixes are illustrated in the chapter: as possessor marker of inalienable possessed nouns and as object argument of verbs.

A detailed description of the semantics and the use of the aspectual clitics -eh, progressive, and -am, perfective, and the aspectual particle eham, inceptive, is presented in chapter 4. The semantics and the use of the evidential particle dai is also elaborated in this chapter. I point out that the particle incorporates aspect, polarity and the time of an event with the speaker's assertion of the event. Consequently it functions extensively in conjunction with aspectual particles and clitics and also with negative adverbs and particles. It alternatively expresses negation and time. Two epistemics and a deontic modal adverb; and a few sentential and degree adverbs are also described in this chapter.
In chapter 5, I point out that Adang has a two way distinction for nouns: inherently possessed nouns vs. optionally possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns vs. inalienably possessed nouns. Within the two ways distinction Adang has two main classes of nouns: optionally possessed nouns and inherently possessed nouns. Inherently possessed nouns are further distinguished between alienably possessed nouns and inalienably possessed nouns.

Chapter 6 presents a description of pronouns. There are nominative, accusative and genitive pronouns. In addition, there are two types of pronominals. Pronominals of the first type are derived from the numeral classifier *na* with plural pronominal prefixes. They are used when the number of persons involved in a plural pronominal is explicated and counted. The pronominals of the second type are derived from the root *lo*, meaning 'only' or 'alone' by pronominal prefixes.

Chapter 7 deals with the use of different determiners and spatial deictics. There is the basic determiner *ho* which functions to determine an object or entity which is identifiable, that is it has either been mentioned earlier or is visible and close to the hearer. From this basic determiner other determiners are derived, focusing and non-focusing, proximative and distal: horizontal, upward and downward. The referent objects and the distance and direction for the use of each determiner is elaborated and exemplified in the chapter. The referent, and distance and direction in the use of different spatial deictics are also described along with the use of each determiner. The chapter demonstrates that as a spatial deictic refers only to the space of an object or entity, it
always functions with a determiner, unless it functions as the predicate of a locational clause.

Chapter 8 deals with various types of verb classes. There are two main verb classes: an open verb class containing transitive and intransitive and a closed class with various subtypes. These include ditransitive verbs, marked transitive verbs (i.e. transitive verbs obligatorily prefixed by a pronominal objects), locative verbs which are both transitive and ditransitive, causative verbs and index verbs. The chapter also presents a description of two main types of applicative verbs and the sub-types of each, and intransitive adjectival verbs.

In chapter 9, I describe the semantic features for the use of each numeral classifier in Adang. There is one numeral classifier, *tulip*, which is used for counting liquid objects. There are fourteen numeral classifiers used for counting non-liquid objects or entities. Their uses are constrained by the semantic features of counted objects or entities.

Chapter 10 presents the numeral systems in Adang, question words and the focusing particles *so* and *fe*. The use of the only oblique pronominal clitic *u* is also described and illustrated in the chapter besides conjunctions, an indirect reported speech particle and a politeness particle.

Chapter 11 deals with serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Adang. In this chapter, I compare conjoined verbs with SVCs to show that verbs of a SVC share the same aspect,
mood and evidentiality, the same degree and the same negative polarity whereas conjoined verbs do not. Based on the subject-sharing property, I point out that there are same-subject SVCs, switched-subject SVCs and a combination of both. Based on the object-sharing property, I also point out that there are same-object SVCs, multiple object SVCs, and two way combinations of same-object and multiple object SVCs. Different basic patterns of semantic relations between the verbs of SVCs are also elaborated in the chapter. At the end of the chapter, I also show that various basic SVC patterns can be combined by a complex pattern containing three to seven verbs.

Chapter 12 presents a number of minor clause types where I point out that a locational clause can have a predicate locative verb, or a predicate spatial deictic or even a complex predicate containing both a locative verb and a spatial deictic. A possessive clause can have either a predicate numeral or a predicate existential verb. Both predicates or constructions always have a possessive subject. This characteristic distinguishes a possessive clause from an existential clause which also has a predicate existential verb.
Chapter 2

Phonetics and Phonology: Preliminary

This chapter presents a preliminary analysis of the phonetics and phonology of Adang. The main objective is to describe the segmental phonemes in Adang (2.1) and to provide phonemic symbols for phonemes that I shall use in presenting sample data throughout this thesis. In addition, I also present a brief description of stress and intonation (2.2) and the syllable in Adang (2.3). In 2.4, I present a brief description of some phonological processes. A few morphophonemic processes are also briefly described in 2.5.

2.1. Segmental phonemes

Section 2.1.1 presents the description of vowels. The description of consonants is presented in 2.1.3.

2.1.1. Vowels

Table 2-1. Vowel phonemes in Adang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in table 2-1, there are seven distinctive vowel phones in Adang. They are also represented in the vowel chart in figure 2-1.
To contrast each vowel with the others, I provide the following list of minimal pairs.

**Minimal pairs**

\[
\begin{align*}
/i/ - /e/ & \quad \text{bil} - \text{bel} \\
& \quad \text{‘wild citrus’ ‘dog’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hil} - \text{hel} & \\
& \quad \text{‘bear fruits’ ‘to tie’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/e/ - /ε/ & \quad \text{bel} - \text{bel} \\
& \quad \text{‘dog’ ‘to peel’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hel} - \text{hel} & \\
& \quad \text{‘to tie ‘go down’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/ε/ - /a/ & \quad \text{bel} - \text{bal} \\
& \quad \text{‘to peel’ (fruits) ‘to soak/ inundate’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/α/ - /o/ & \quad \text{bal} - \text{bol} \\
& \quad \text{‘to soak/ inundate’ ‘hollow’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ad - \text{od} & \\
& \quad \text{‘to uncover’ ‘shaky’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/ɔ/ - /o/ & \quad \text{mon} - \text{mon} \\
& \quad \text{‘tame’ ‘snake’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lil} - \text{lel} & \\
& \quad \text{to fly ‘property markers’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{leh} - \text{leh} & \\
& \quad \text{‘arrow’ ‘rice mortar’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lal} - \text{lel} & \\
& \quad \text{‘bright’ ‘porridge’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lal} - \text{lo} & \\
& \quad \text{‘porridge’ ‘to climb’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{od} - \text{sd} & \\
& \quad \text{‘to stone you’ ‘shaky’}
\end{align*}
\]
\(/o/ - /u/\)  
- `mol` - `mul`  
  `river`  `bad eggs/fruit`
- `dor` - `dur`  
  `altar`  `rat`
- `od` - `ud`  
  `to stone you`  `bees wax`
- `mod` - `mud`  
  `provisions`  `orange`

**Distribution of vowels**

Table 2-2 presents the distribution of each vowel. As can be seen in the table, all vowels can occupy initial, medial and final position of a word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td><code>it</code> 'cockroaches'</td>
<td><code>piŋ</code> 'plate'</td>
<td><code>li</code> 'ginger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td><code>e</code> 'yours'</td>
<td><code>leŋ</code> 'arrow'</td>
<td><code>te</code> 'ours'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td><code>en</code> 'give you'</td>
<td><code>leŋ</code> 'far'</td>
<td><code>de</code> 'a poisonous grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td><code>ab</code> 'fish'</td>
<td><code>lap</code> 'to seek'</td>
<td><code>ba</code> 'necklace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td><code>od</code> 'shaky'</td>
<td><code>loŋ</code> 'to climb'</td>
<td><code>do</code> 'egg/to lay egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td><code>ok</code> 'a sea animal'</td>
<td><code>mol</code> 'river'</td>
<td><code>toto</code> 'stinging bee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td><code>ul</code> 'moon'</td>
<td><code>but</code> 'garden'</td>
<td><code>bu</code> 'areca palm'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Allophonic Variations**

The vowel /e/ in the final position of a word is lowered towards /ɛ/. The following list of words illustrate the allophonic variants of /e/.

  wild citrus  `dog`  `mango`  `to peel`
  `/beh/ [beh]` - `/tibə/ [tibeŋ]` - `/beh/ [bɛh]
  `leaf`  `drum`  `to hit`
  `/deŋ/ [deŋ]` - `/de/ [deŋ]` - `/deŋ/ [deŋ]
  `when`  `a poisonous grass`  `half`
Vowels occurring in the initial position of a monosyllabic word tend to be lengthened. Examples are given in (2).

(2). /ut/ [u:ta] vs. /utan/ [utan], /ɔd/ [ɔ:d] vs. /ɔdoro/ [ɔdoro]
‘four’
‘shake’
‘shaky’
‘your throat’

/ip/ [i:p] vs. /ipn/ [ipn]
‘go down’
‘frying oil’

2.1.2. Vowel length and diphthongs

Vowel length

Vowel length is phonetically significant in Adang, as can be observed from the examples below.

[i] - [i:] ip _ i:p
‘go down’ ‘caterpillar’

[o] - [o:] so _ fo:i
‘indeed’ ‘stone’

[u] - [u:] ui _ ui
‘a whistle’ ‘to slice’

[tu:
‘to scratch’

[o] - [o:] foi _ fo:i
‘blood’ ‘again’

[boi _ bo:i,
‘pig’ ‘hole’

[a] - [a:] la _ la:
‘farm’ ‘to cross’

[ʔataŋ _ ʔataŋ (ʔa + taŋ)]
‘to stick/cling’ ‘his/her/its/their arms’

Although vowel length can distinguish words as in the examples, I have considered the distinction made by the length of a vowel as only at the phonetic level. Moreover, a phonetically long vowel is analyzed in this thesis as one long vowel (single segment): [i:], [u:], [o:], [ɔ:], [a:] but not two single vowels ([ii], [uu], [oo], ...).
There are two main reasons to analyse a phonetically long vowel in Adang as consisting of one long vowel (single segment). First, distributionally, the vowels only occur in a limited number of monosyllabic and polysyllabic words. In polysyllabic words, they never occur word initially, as can be seen in table 2.3. Thus, they are restricted in their distribution. (The dot (.) in examples indicates a syllable boundary)

Table 2-3 Distribution of phonetically long vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a:]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ža.ta:ŋ ‘his/her arms’</td>
<td>la: ‘to cross’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o:]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fo:i ‘stone’</td>
<td>la.do: ‘bounce up &amp; down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a:]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fo:i ‘again’</td>
<td>ma.lo: ‘tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>i:p ‘caterpillar’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>u:i ‘to slice’</td>
<td>a:bu:ŋ ‘near you’</td>
<td>tu: ‘to scratch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second reason is with respect to the assignment of the primary stress and the syllable structure in Adang. To illustrate let us tentatively represent the phonetically long vowel, [a:] as [aa]. The primary stress in Adang falls on the final syllable of a word (see a detailed description in 2.3). When the final syllable of a word contains the phonetically long vowel [aa] as in [laː] ‘to cross’ and [ža.ta:ŋ] ‘his/ her arms’, it is the final [a] that gets the primary stress but not the first. As indicated, the given examples are pronounced [laː] and [ža.ta:ŋ] but not *[l̩aː] ‘to cross’ and *[ža.ta:ŋ]. In terms of syllable structure, then, the unstressed [a], i.e., the first [a], is the “onglide” of the vocalic core (the stressed [a]) of a syllable (Kenstowicz, 1994: 45). A phonetically long vowel in Adang, such as [aa], therefore, is analyzed as consisting of only one moraic position and is represented as [a:]. It represents one /a/, but not two, phoneme. A detailed description of syllable structure is given in 2.2.
Diphthongs

As can be seen in the following examples, Adang has rising diphthongs. They are commonly found in monosyllabic words and in the final syllable of polysyllabic words. Like phonetically long vowels, the primary stress falls on the second or the final vowel of a diphthong. The first vowel of a diphthong is the onglide of the second vowel, the vocalic core in a syllable structure. A diphthong in Adang, therefore, is also analyzed as consisting of one moraic position in a syllable.

Rising diphthongs

-\( \text{-Vi} \) as in:
  \( \text{dai} \) ‘\( \text{EVID} \)’, \( \text{föi} \) ‘\( \text{stone} \)’, \( \text{föi} \) ‘\( \text{blood} \)’, \( \text{fai.ëi} \) ‘\( \text{vegetables} \)$
  \( \text{ta.fu.fui} \) ‘\( \text{earthquake} \)$, \( \text{füi} \) ‘\( \text{skin} \) or ‘\( \text{necessary} \)$, \( \text{ëi} \) ‘\( \text{boat} \)$ \( \text{hëi} \) ‘\( \text{rope} \)$

-\( \text{-Vu} \) as in:
  \( \text{dou} \) ‘\( \text{cook} \)$, \( \text{nou} \) ‘\( \text{(a kind of) palm tree} \)$, \( \text{deu} \) ‘\( \text{to plant in the ground} \)$.
  \( \text{hiu} \) ‘\( \text{chickens} \)$

-\( \text{-Ve} \) as in:
  \( \text{haër} \) ‘\( \text{day} \)$, \( \text{aër} \) ‘\( \text{to pause} \)$

2.1.3. Consonants

Table 2-4. Consonant phonemes in Adang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Lab.dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive: voiceless voiced</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approx.</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen in the table above, Adang has 18 distinctive consonants. To contrast each of the consonants with the others, I provide the following list of minimal pairs.

**Minimal pairs**

**Voicing contrast**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/p/-/b/</th>
<th>pac - bac,</th>
<th>‘slow’ ‘to suck’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t/-/d/</td>
<td>tur - dur</td>
<td>‘past’ ‘mouse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| /k/-/g/ | gar - kar | ‘to scratch’ (onomatopoeia)

**Manner contrast**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/l/-/r/</th>
<th>dil - dir</th>
<th>‘farm’ ‘knife’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/-/h/</td>
<td>ʔanaŋ - hanaŋ</td>
<td>‘decorative tree’ ‘to plait’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Place of articulation for nasals:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/n/-/ŋ/</th>
<th>ʔaŋ - ʔaŋ</th>
<th>‘cry’ ‘a slice’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/-/ŋ/</td>
<td>fan - faŋ</td>
<td>‘to carry’ ‘bees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/-/ŋ/</td>
<td>tan - taŋ</td>
<td>‘to pass on’ ‘sea’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Place of articulation for stops:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/t/-/c/</th>
<th>fet - fɛc</th>
<th>‘to pull out’ ‘sand’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/l/-/l/</td>
<td>dɔc - dɔs</td>
<td>‘sin’ ‘box’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. ada: Qualifier ‘heading towards you’/ ‘toward you’ or ‘in front of you’.
2. e.g. sound produced by loud sneezing.
\(/j/ - /c/\) malaj – marac
‘settle down’ ‘very tired’

\(\text{Falaj} - \text{Falajc}\)
‘sweet potatoes’ ‘pieces of broken glasses’

\(/d/-/j/\) falad – falaj
‘lung’ ‘sweet potatoes’

In addition to the minimal pairs in the list above, I also present the distribution of each of the consonants in the following table. The distribution of each consonant presented in the table is limited only to the initial, medial and final positions of a word.

**Distribution of consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cons</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>par ‘mud’</td>
<td>sapad ‘knife’</td>
<td>lap ‘to seek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bate ‘corn’</td>
<td>aba ‘to tell a lie’</td>
<td>tub ‘to set alight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>ti ‘tree’</td>
<td>ato ‘not slippery’</td>
<td>but ‘garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dil ‘far’</td>
<td>?adid ‘cut into two’</td>
<td>mud ‘orange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kafac ‘rich’</td>
<td>akonau ‘massage’</td>
<td>salak ‘bracelet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gar ‘scratch roughly’</td>
<td>agol ‘taro’</td>
<td>beg (onomatopoeia)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?ol ‘fall over’</td>
<td>ma?et ‘full up’</td>
<td>pot ‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hap ‘to prevent’</td>
<td>?ahan ‘cry’</td>
<td>pah ‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mupiu ‘dew’</td>
<td>hemo ‘over there’</td>
<td>dum ‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nub ‘sheep’</td>
<td>hunu? ‘to plough up’</td>
<td>dun ‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>aranahaz ‘a kind of grass’, laje ‘to slice meat’</td>
<td>dan ‘to bake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>haj ‘to chew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>falaj ‘sweet potatoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>marac ‘very tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Onomatopoeic words in Adang are frequently /g/ final or /k/ final. A sound produced, for example, when a big fruit fall down to the ground is beg, by a small fruit is patek or pek. There are also bareg and par ek distinguishing a small fricative explosive sound from small fricative explosive sound produced by body function.
As can be seen from table 2-5, palatal consonants /c/, /j/ and /ɲ/ commonly occur in the final position of words but never occur in the initial position. There are instances where they occur word medially but only when /c/, /j/ or /ɲ/ final roots inflect for aspect, like baroc-am (afraid-PERF), malaj-am (settle down-PERF) and muɲ-am (spoil-PERF). Although the consonants only occur in the final position of words, I do not regard them as allophones of any other phoneme. For example, /c/ and /j/ cannot be allophones of /s/ because they contrast in this position with /s/. Similarly, /ɲ/ is not an allophone of /γ/ because /γ/ also occurs word finally.

Like the three palatal consonants, velar nasal /γ/ never occurs in the initial position of words. It is very common in the final position and rarely occurs word medially. So far, I have found two examples of words where /γ/ occurs word medially. The two examples are laŋile ‘to slice meat/ fish’ and araŋaha γ ‘the name of a kind of grass or plant'\(^4\), given in the table.

As can also be seen from the table, I have not found examples of words with the labiodental consonant /f/ in final position.

2.2. Syllable structure

The syllable system in Adang can be formulated as (C)V(C) where C stands for a consonant and V a vowel. This formulation takes into account diphthongs and

\(^4\) Adang people used to use the leaves of this plant to clean their teeth in place of toothpaste.
The formulation tells us that the syllable system in Adang contains an obligatory nuclear vowel in the ‘nucleus’ position of a syllable. It can be preceded and/ or followed by a consonant. Four patterns of syllable structure can be identified based on the formulation. They are presented with sample words in table 2-6. The dot (.) in the examples indicates a syllable boundary.

Table 2-6: Syllable patterns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1). V</th>
<th>(2). CV</th>
<th>(3). VC</th>
<th>(4). CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ‘firewood’</td>
<td>ba ‘necklace’</td>
<td>ab ‘fish’</td>
<td>dal ‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.la ‘rice’</td>
<td>a.ba ‘tell a lie’</td>
<td>at ‘your mouth’</td>
<td>a.hap ‘jungle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.mi.n e ‘cause you die’</td>
<td>i.ti.to ‘seven’</td>
<td>a.p ‘to compress’</td>
<td>ma.li.hi ‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>With diphthongs</strong></td>
<td><strong>With diphthongs</strong></td>
<td><strong>With diphthongs</strong></td>
<td><strong>With diphthongs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[uI] ‘whistle’</td>
<td>[foi] ‘blood’</td>
<td>[a əɾ] ‘to pause’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>With phonetically long vowel in a diphthong</strong></td>
<td><strong>With phonetically long vowel</strong></td>
<td><strong>With phonetically long vowel</strong></td>
<td><strong>With phonetically long vowel</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u:ʃ] ‘to slice’</td>
<td>[laʃ] ‘to cross’</td>
<td>[ba:ʃ] ‘ask’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With phonetically long vowel in a diphthong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[fo:ʃ] ‘again’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syllable patterns above indicate that Adang does not allow consonant clusters within a syllable. Even it does not allow consonant clusters within a word. Moreover, it is identified that the final syllable in a polysyllabic word can end in any consonant or vowel.
but an initial or medial syllable hardly ends in a consonant other than the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/, as in lap.ə to slice (meat).

The exception is when a verbal root ending in a consonant is cliticized by the aspectual clitics -eh and -am, the final consonant (any consonant) of the root enters into one syllable with its previous phonemes, but not with the aspectual clitics, producing a medial or initial syllable ending in a consonant. A few examples are lap.eh (lap-eh - look for-PROG) ‘looking for’, baroc.am (baroc-am - afraid-PERF) ‘have been afraid’ and latel.am (latel-am - emerge-PERF) ‘have emerged’.

As Adang does not allow consonant clusters within a word, a loan word with consonant clusters (regardless of whether or not those clusters cross syllable boundaries) is normally adjusted to the syllable patterns in Adang. An example is the word ga.ra.gaj ‘saw’ which is adjusted from the word “ger.ga.ji” ‘saw’ borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia. The adjustment process, as observed, involves the insertion of the vowel /a/, harmonization of the first vowel to agree with the inserted vowel, and the deletion of phoneme /i/ that follows the phoneme /j/ because /j/ in Adang always occurs word (i.e. root) finally. Phonemes following /j/ are not allowed, except if they are affixes or clitics.

2.3. Stress and intonation

This section presents a brief description of stress and intonation in Adang. I begin with the description of stress in 2.2.1.
2.3.1. Stress

The primary stress in Adang falls on the final syllable. I shall briefly illustrate this, starting from stress on monosyllabic monomorphemic words to polysyllabic poly morphemic and compound words; and words in sentential contexts. Note that a word in Adang is composed of an obligatory root (i.e. a free morpheme), optionally prefixed by pronominals (see for details in 3) and/ or cliticized by aspectual enclitics (see for details in 4.5). So far there is no evidence that Adang has suffixes other than the indirect speech suffix -e on the verb bit 'say' as in bete 'say that'.

Primary stress in monosyllabic monomorphemic words

The words in (3) are verbs and in (4) are nouns. They are monosyllabic and monomorphemic. The words a 'firewood' and the second singular pronominal a are homophonous. Similarly, the verb ba:u 'ask' and the noun ba:u 'house' or 'home' are homophonous. As can be seen from the list, each utterance gets the main stress.

(3). tá faí múj hél ba:u hér
   'to add/ on' 'afire/ burn' 'fall down' 'hang' 'ask' 'drop'

(4): á á bé sēi ba:u tī
    'firewood' 2SG.NOM mango 'water' 'house/home' tree
Primary stress in polysyllabic monomorphemic words

The words in the next list are verbs (5), adjectival verbs (6) and nouns (7). They are monomorphemic and polysyllabic. As can be seen from the list, the primary stress is on the final syllable of each of the words. (The period marks syllable breaks).

(5). ta.báŋ ma.líl ʔa.ríʔíŋ ma.ló.mé
   got killed survey get angry be unconscious

(6). ma.lá bu.né bo.láŋ la.fi.níŋ ta.ro.fé
   shy hot clean high heavy

(7). de.kó ti.múŋ da.ro.pé a.raŋʔa.háŋ
   trouser cucumber a kind of reptile a kind of grass

Primary stress in poly-syllabic poly-morphemic words

Words in (8-9) are polysyllabic and polymorphemic. Those in (8) are inherently possessed nouns prefixed by possessor pronouns; and in (9. a) are verbs prefixed with pronominal objects. Verbs in (9. b) are prefixed by pronominal objects as well as cliticized by aspectual clitics.

(8). na.taːŋ (na-taːŋ) na.to.te (na-to-te) na.ba.ɾé (na.barə)
   1SG-arm ‘my arms’ 1SG-rib ‘my ribs’ ‘1SG-shoulder ‘my shoulder’

(9). a). ʔa.ɾé (ʔa-ɾé) ta.baːŋ (ta-baːŋ) ʔa.mi.ne (ʔa-min-e)
   3.OBV-eat 1PL.INC.DIS-ask 3.OBV-CAUS-die-CAUS
   ‘eat it/ them...’ ‘ask us’ ‘kill it/ them...’

b). ʔa.ɾé.ɾé (ʔa-ɾé-ɾé) ta.baːŋ.am (ta-baːŋ-am)
   3.OBV-eat-PROG 1PL.INC.DIS-ask-PERF
   ‘...is eating it/ them/...’ ‘...have asked us’

ʔa.mi.ne.am (ʔa-min-e-am)
3.OBV-CAUS-die-CAUS-PERF ‘...killed it/ them...’
From the list observe that the primary stress falls on the final syllable of every word in (8) and (9. a) but in (9. b), the primary stress does not fall on the final syllable, namely on the morphemes -eh and -am. The reason that the primary stress does not fall on -eh and -am, occupying the final position of each word in (9. b) is because the two morphemes are aspectual clitics (see. 4.5, for details). So they cliticize to a word, and stress is assigned within the word, excluding clitics.

The following list illustrates the position of primary stress in verb-noun compound nouns (a), noun-noun compound nouns (b) and in a few examples of verb serialization (c). From the examples observe that in compound nouns, the primary stress falls on the final syllable of the first word, either a verb or a noun. In 5.4, I point out that a compound noun in Adang is “endocentric” (Spencer, 1991:310-311), i.e., one element of the compound noun functions as the head and the other functions as the modifier of the head. A compound noun in Adang is right-headed. Thus, the primary stress in a compound noun is assigned to the final syllable of the modifier of the head.

(10). a). bēl ti  ‘the cross’
    hang tree
    tabāŋ bo?  ‘the cross’
    got killed log

    b). fōi  ba:ŋ
    stone house
    mo:de ba:ŋ
    ‘stone house’
    sick house
    bē  pir
    mango fruit
    ti:mo:2ōi  pir
    ‘mangoes’
    ‘papaya’

    c). tá  ba:ŋ (e.g. Ay seq  ta ba:ŋ).
    add/ on ask
    Ay money add/ on ask
    ‘ask to add’
    ‘Ay asked to add more money’
    pāŋ lame (e.g. Bain dopaŋ pup lame).
    hold walk
    Bain stick
    hold walk
    ‘to walk with’
    ‘Bail walked with sticks’

    ba:ŋ ta (e.g. Ay seq  ba:ŋ ta)
    ask add/ on
    Ay money ask add/ on
    ‘ask again’
    ‘Ay asked money again’
    ha:no:2āŋ kansaŋ
    hurry
    work
    ‘worked hurriedly’
The primary stress in a serial verb, as in (17. c) also falls on the final syllable of the first verb of the serial construction. As can be observed from the example, the first verb can function like a modifier of the second verb. To argue for the phenomenon, however, is beyond the scope of this section (a detailed description of verb serialization is presented in chapter 11).

The examples in (11) illustrate the position of primary stress in simple phrases, containing only two words (a) and idioms (b). From the example, observe that the primary stress in a simple phrase also falls on the final syllable of the first word. Similarly, the primary stress in an idiom falls on the final syllable of the first word. At the end of 5.1, I point out that if there is an NP in Adang, the NP will be left-headed, in contrast to the structure of a compound noun. Thus, in a simple phrase, the primary stress is assigned to the final syllable of the head noun, as exemplified in (11. a). I predict that the primary stress in a more complex phrase is still assigned to the final syllable of head but not of a modifier.

(11). a). bë her (as in Uli bë her tara?)
    mango drop          Uli mango drop collect)
    dropped mangoes     'Uli collected dropped mangoes'

    ti lafiniŋ (e.g. Lekí ti lafiniŋ 'ol)
    tree high
    'high trees
    monkey tree high
    'Monkeys climb high trees'

    deko bolan
    trouser clean
    'clean trousers'

b). [á fái] [a fái] ba:ŋ] → afái ba:ŋ
    firewood afire
    'fire' (Lit. burned firewood)
    firewood afire/burn house/home
    'hell' (Lit. fire home = burned firewood home)

Before finishing the discussion in this section, I present and describe the following lists of utterances which might lead one to posit stress as distinctive, distinguishing one word from another in Adang. Most of the examples have been presented in the previous
discussion. In (12), (a) is a monomorphemic noun, (b) is a polymorphemic verb and (c) is a serial verb. The primary stress in (a-b) falls on the final syllable of each of the words and in (c) on the first monosyllabic verb of the serial verb.

(12). a). tabañ
    'got killed'

b). ta-bañ
    1PL.INC.DIS-ask
    'ask each one of us'

c). tá bañ
    add ask
    'ask to add'

(13). a). bɛ her
    mango drop
    'dropped mangoes'

b). Bɛ hɛr
    mango drop
    'Mangoes dropped'

(14). a). a fai
    firewood afire
    'fire'

b). A fai
    2SG.NOM afire
    'You burned' (= You are burned)

Example (13. a) is a phrase where the verb her ‘drop’ modifies the noun bɛ ‘mango’ whereas (b) is a clause. The primary stress in (a) is only assigned to the monosyllabic head noun bɛ ‘mango’ but in (b), it is assigned to both the monosyllabic subject noun bɛ ‘mango’ and the predicate verb her ‘drop’. Similarly, example (14. a) is a two word phrasal idiom whereas (b) is a clause. The primary stress in (a) is only assigned to the first monosyllabic head noun a ‘firewood’ but in (b), it is assigned to both the monosyllabic subject pronominal a and the predicate verb fai ‘afire’ or ‘burn’. Thus, the different position of the primary stress in (12-14) distinguish different types of utterances (words, phrases, idioms serial verbs and clauses), but does not distinguish one word from another.

---

5 A verb in Adang can also modify a noun (see, 8.1.1. for details).
To summarize, primary stress in Adang falls on the final syllable of a word. In a compound noun, phrase or idiom and serial verb, the primary stress is assigned to the final syllable of the first word.

2.3.2. Intonation

Intonation patterns are normally determined by stressed syllables. They can also vary contextually depending on types of information such as question, command and topic or new information (Ladefoged, 1993: 109-113, Kenstowicz, 1994:46-48). This section only presents those intonation patterns in Adang that distinguish one clause type from another: interrogative, imperative or declarative.

There are five general patterns of intonation that I shall illustrate them along with the position of primary stress. The first pattern, as exemplified in (15) is normally found in imperative sentences. This pattern begins with a flat pitch which is maintained until a sharp rise in pitch at the end. The second pattern is found in a polite request sentence which normally ends in the politeness particle $\varepsilon$ma ‘please’. As illustrated in (16) and (17), this pattern has a sharp rise in pitch at the final syllable of the word indicating recommended action and slightly decreases to flat pitch at the first syllable of the word $\varepsilon$ma. It slightly rises again at the final syllable of the word $\varepsilon$ma before it falls in pitch at the end.

(15) Lamé!
walk
‘Go!’

(16) Lamé $\varepsilon$má
2PL.NOM walk please
‘You go please!’

(17) Lamé $\varepsilon$má!
‘Go please!’
Interrogative sentences have two patterns. The first pattern, which normally found in WH (information) questions as seen in (18) and (19), has a sharp rise in pitch on the question word of the sentence. The pitch decreases to a level tone then increases very slightly towards the end of the sentence. The second pattern increases in pitch at the end of the sentence, as illustrated in (20). This pattern is found in yes/no interrogative sentences.

The sentence structure of a yes/no interrogative sentence is the same as a declarative sentence. The rise in intonation at the end of the sentence, as illustrated in (20), is what makes it interrogative.

(18). [Graphical representation of intonation for the sentence: Supí dén lame? 3PL when walk ‘When will they go?’]

(19). [Graphical representation of intonation for the sentence: Dén supi lame when 3PL walk? ‘When will they go?’]

(20). [Graphical representation of intonation for the sentence: Supi lame-am? 3PL walk-PERF ‘Have they gone?’]

The last pattern of intonation is found in declarative sentence. As illustrated in (21) below, this pattern slightly increases in pitch at the end, i.e. at the stressed syllable of the final word before it falls to end the sentence.

(21). (a) [Graphical representation of intonation for the sentence: Supi lame-am 3PL walk-PERF ‘They have gone’]

(b) [Graphical representation of intonation for the sentence: Supi lame 3PL walk ‘They go’]
2.4. Phonological processes

Two phonological processes are found in Adang: vowel deletion and vowel harmony. This section presents a brief description of the two processes.

Vowel deletion

The only common vowel deletion process in Adang is the deletion of vowel /a/ before another vowel. There are also a few instances of the deletion of /o/ but these are very rare. An example of the deletion of /o/ is in the derivational process found in the proximative distal deictic 2oη (2o+oη = PROX+DEIC) ‘right here’ (see 7.1).

The deletion of /a/ is productive and can be encountered in the derivational process of, for example, inherently possessed nouns, applicative verbs, causative verbs and other closed class verbs that are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal objects. The deletion process is formulated in (22) followed by a few examples.

(22). /a/ → / /__ V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>roots/stems</th>
<th>derived nouns</th>
<th>meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>your mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>my mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔa-</td>
<td>ʔeleme</td>
<td>ʔeleme</td>
<td>his/her/its/their place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>eleme</td>
<td>eleme</td>
<td>our place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal prefixes</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>roots/stems</td>
<td>Derived forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>te:η</td>
<td>elte:η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>tafunη</td>
<td>seltafunη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>od</td>
<td>tod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>od</td>
<td>nod</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is evidence that /a/ is also deleted when preceded by vowel /i/, as seen in the underlined examples in (23) below. There is, however, contrasting evidence as seen in the underlined examples in (24).

(23).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>Causative prefix</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Causative suffix</th>
<th>Derived forms</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not applied</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>?ol</td>
<td>not applied</td>
<td>a?ol</td>
<td>cause fall over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>aminε</td>
<td>cause you die (kill you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>namε</td>
<td>cause me die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>imε</td>
<td>cause you (PL) die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>nimε</td>
<td>cause us die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(24).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Derived Nouns</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>your mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>my mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>iat</td>
<td>your (PL) mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>niat</td>
<td>our mouth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples (23-24) show that the words *iamine, *niamine are not possible but the words iat ‘you (pl) mouth’ and niat ‘our (pl. exc) mouth’ are possible. In other words, the vowel /a/ which is the causative morpheme prefixing to the root min ‘die’ in the words *iamine, *niamine is deleted when it is preceded by vowel /i/. The vowel /a/ of the words iat and niat is, however, not deleted although it is preceded by /i/. Notice that there is a difference between /a/ in the words *iamine, *niamine and /a/ in the words iat and niat.

The difference is that /a/ in the words iat and niat is a vowel of the root of the words whereas /a/ in the words *iamine, *niamine is a causative morpheme functioning as a prefix together with the pronominal prefixes. Based on the difference I propose that in a vowel deletion process, it is the vowel of a bound morpheme which is deleted but not the vowel of the root. The application of this proposal is also found in other derivational processes as in the derivation of the words at (a + at) and nat (na + at) above. The proposal, however, is not applied to restrictive vowel deletion processes (processes which are not generalizable), including the deletion of /ə/ mentioned earlier.

Vowel harmony

A search of the Adang lexicon recorded so far reveals that the vowel /ε/ is not allowed to occur with /e/, as (25) indicates (where blanks stand for any consonant). Similarly, /ə/ is not allowed to occur with /o/. Therefore, when an /o/ final prefix or root is combined with a root or suffix containing /ə/; or when an /e/ final prefix or root is combined with a root or suffix containing /ε/, the vowel /o/ or /e/ will undergo a vowel
The vowel harmony process, however, is very rare. I predict that this is due to the lack of affixation or derivational process involving both types of vowels.

(25).

*...e...o...

deko ‘trouser’,
deu ‘to plant into the ground’

*...o...e...

poi ‘to dry under the sun’

tote ‘male’ tu?e ‘to support’

*...o...o...

lode ‘ulcer’
lodo ‘get stuck’

*...e...e...

hele ‘down there’
dope ‘to peel’

*...o...o...

doro ‘neck’

lefo ‘hole’

*...e...e...

lofe ‘call’

hide ‘warrior hats’

*...e...o...

leh?o? ‘come to’

pilo ‘we are alone’

An example of the vowel harmony process to be mentioned here is in the derivational process of focusing determiners; for example horo. The determiner is derived from the basic definite determiner ho by the focusing suffix -ro where /o/ of the root ho is lowered to agree with /o/ of -ro.

2.5. Morphophonemic processes

There are a few morphophonemic processes identified in Adang. I describe them as follows.
The vowel /a/ is nasalized when occurring word finally preceded by /p/ and followed by a fricative (/s/) initial word. So far, however, the environment for the nasalization of /a/ is restricted in the language. The nasalization of /a/ has only been encountered in (a, b) of the following examples, and other words with the same root pa 'feeling' followed by sah 'bad'. Other vowels in the same environment, as exemplified in (e, g) are not nasalized. Vowel /a/ in (c-d) is not nasalized because it is in a different environment in each of the two examples.

(26). a). /Na-pa sah/ → [napə sah] 1SG-feeling bad 'I do not want (or like)' b). /A-pa sah/ → [apə sah] 2SG-feeling bad 'I do not want (or like)'

c). /Na-pa noʔ [napa noʔ] 1SG-feeling good 'I like' (Lit. 'My feeling is good')
d). /Naba sah? [naba sah] what bad 'What is wrong?' or 'What is bad?'

e). /A na-pu sah [A napu sah] 2SG.NOM 1SG-blow 'You cannot massage me (Lit ... blow me)'
f). /A na-puʔ sah [A napuʔ sah] 2SG.NOM 1SG-hold bad 'You cannot catch me'

g). /sapi sah [sapi sah] 'bad cows'

The voiceless consonant /l/ is realized as voiced [v] when followed and preceded by /ɔ/. This process is also restricted in the language. The only examples so far are inflected forms of the word for 'mother' given in (27. a-b). The consonant /l/ in example (27. c-f) is not voiced. It is given to compare with the example in (29.a-b).


The last restricted morphophonemic process that I would like to mention here is the derivational process of the noun \textit{nife} 'our (exc) mother'. The noun is derived from the root \textit{afa}, where \textit{a} of \textit{afa} is deleted after \textit{l} of the first plural exclusive pronominal prefix \textit{ni-}, producing \textit{*nifa}; the final \textit{a} of the root is then fronted producing the noun \textit{nife}.

To summarize the discussion in this chapter, Adang has eighteen distinctive consonants and seven vowels. Syllable patterns in Adang do not allow consonant clusters within a syllable. Therefore, a loan word with consonant clusters is normally adjusted to the Adang syllable structure patterns. The primary stress in Adang falls on the final syllable of a word. In a phrase and compound word, including a serial verb, the primary stress is assigned to the final syllable of the first word of the compound word or the phrase. Sentential intonation rises in pitch at every primary stress position in a declarative sentence.
Chapter 3

Pronominal prefixes

As seen in table 3-1 below, Adang has eight pronominal prefixes. Most of the prefixes are similar in form to nominative pronouns in Adang. Singular number for both pronouns and pronominal prefixes is marked by the vowel a whereas plural number is marked by the vowel i. The first person singular and plural exclusive are marked with n. The first person plural inclusive is marked p on both pronoun and the COL(lective) prefix pi-, and marked t on the DIS(tributive) prefix ta-. (The difference between collective and distributive is illustrated and exemplified in (6-9)). Second person, both singular and plural, is marked ι (unmarked). Third person is marked s on both the pronoun and the proximal (PRXML) prefix: sa-, and marked ι on the obviative (OBV) prefix ιa-.

Note that I use the term ‘proximal’ pronominal prefix or pronoun in this thesis to refer to a third person pronoun or pronominal prefix that co-references the subject of a clause (Lasnik, 1989a). The term ‘obviative’ pronoun or pronominal prefix, on the other hand, is used to refer to a third person pronoun or pronominal prefix which is disjoint in reference from the subject of a clause (Freidin and Lasnik, 1989, Lasnik, 1989b).
The pronominal prefixes prefix to inalienably possessed nouns and some closed-class verbs. In the next two sections I discuss the functions of the pronominal prefixes on nouns (3.1) and verbs (3.2).

### 3.1. The functions of pronominal prefixes on nouns

When prefixed to nouns, i.e., inalienably possessed nouns, the pronominal prefixes mark the possessors of the nouns. In (1) below for example, the pronominal prefix \textit{na-} in both (a) and (c) marks the first singular possessor of the noun ‘\textit{arm}’. Similarly, the pronominal prefix \textit{ni-} in both (b) and (d) marks first plural exclusive possessor of the noun ‘\textit{arm}’. Note that the root \textit{tag} of the nouns \textit{nataq ‘my arms’, nitaq ‘our arms’} in the examples is meaningless without pronominal prefixes.

(1) . a). Na na-t\textit{aq} \textit{hor}  
\text{1SG.NOM 1SG-arm cut/ wound}  
‘I wounded my own arms’  

b). Supi ni-t\textit{aq} \textit{hor}  
\text{3PL 1PL.EXC-arm cut/ wound}  
‘They wounded our arms’

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefixes</th>
<th>Nominative Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>OBV(iative)</td>
<td>Pa-</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal (PRXML)</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>EXC(lusive)</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INC(lusive)</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COL(lective)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIS(tributive)</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>OBV(iative)</td>
<td>Pa-</td>
<td>supi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal (PRXML)</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c). Na-taŋ to2au  
1SG-arm short  
'My arms are short'

d). Ni-taŋ to2au  
1PL.EXC-arm short  
'Our arms are short'

As can be observed from the table, there are two pronominal prefixes for third person, in both the singular and plural: the proximal pronominal prefix sa- and the obviative pronominal prefix ła-. I will now discuss the semantic and syntactic differences between them.

The proximal prefix sa- can only be prefixed to an object. It is obligatorily co-referential to a third person subject, whether singular or plural. When it is co-referential to a third person singular subject, it has a reflexive reading, as in (2.a, e). When it is co-referential to a third person plural subject, it has either a reflexive or reciprocal reading, as in (2.c). Examples in (2. b, d, f) are not acceptable because sa- on the noun is not co-referential to any subject.

(2). a). Sa sa-taŋ hor  
3SG.NOM 3.PRXML-arm cut/wound  
'S/he wounded his/her own arms'

b). *Na sa-taŋ hor  
1SG.NOM 3.PRXML-arm cut/wound  
'*I cut my arm'

c). Supi sa-taŋ hor  
3PL 3.PRXML-arm cut/wound  
'They wounded their own each other arms'

d). *John sa-taŋ ho mate  
John 3.PRXML-arm DEF big  
'*John's arm is big'

e). John sa-taŋ hor  
John 3.PRXML-arm cut/wound  
'John wounded his own arm'

f). *Sa-taŋ ho mate  
3.PRXML-arms DEF big  
'*His arm is big'

The obviative prefix ła- can prefix to either a subject or an object. But if it prefixes to an object it is necessarily disjoint in reference. Moreover, its referent, i.e. the possessor it
marks, can be internal or external to a sentence. In (3), for example, the obviative pronominal prefix  ꯝa- on nouns in (a, c, d) is preceded by its antecedent (whether this is a noun, a proper name or a pronoun). Example (a) can be represented as (b), (c) can be represented as (d); and (e) can be represented as (f), where the referent noun of the prefix ꯝa- is dropped.

(3). a). Sa  ꯝa-tag  hɔ̀r =  
   3SG.NOM John 3.OBV-arm cut/wound
   'S/he wounded John's arms'

b). Sa  ꯝa-tag  hɔ̀r =
   3SG.NOM 3.OBV-arm cut/wound
   'S/he wounded his arms'

c). Supi supi  ꯝa-tag  hɔ̀r =
   3PL 3PL 3.OBV-arm cut/wound
   'They wounded their arms'

d). Supi  ꯝa-tag  hɔ̀r =
   3PL 3.OBV-arm cut/wound
   'They wounded their arms'

e). John  ꯝa-tag  ho matːe
   John 3.OBV-arm DEF big
   'John's arms are big'

f). ꯝa-tag  ho matːe
   3.OBV-arm DEF big
   'His arms are big'

The reason that an obviative pronominal prefix can be preceded by its antecedent noun, as illustrated in (3) is because, unlike the first person, the second person and the third person proximal pronominal prefixes, the referents of which are readily available in a discourse context (at the moment of speaking), the antecedent of the third person obviative pronominal prefix ꯝa- may not always available in a discourse context. Therefore, when the referent of ꯝa- is not available and has not been mentioned earlier, it is obligatorily preceded by its antecedent in a sentence. Otherwise, its referent is not understood.
To compare with other pronominal prefixes, I provide the following examples. From the examples observe that *na*- on *nata* "my arm" in (4. a) and *a*- on *ata* "your (sg) arm" in (4. b) refer to first person and second person respectively. The discourse act provides first and second person forms with their reference. The prefixes are therefore never preceded by any nominal antecedent, only by a pronoun when the prefix is co-referential. The proximal pronominal prefix *sa* on *sata* in both (c-d) is co-referential to subject. Its reference is, therefore, understood. It cannot be preceded by any non co-referential noun in a sentence.

(4). a). Na na-taŋ hər  
1SG.NOM 1SG-arm cut/wound  
'I wounded my own arms'

b). Na a-taŋ hər  
1SG.NOM 2SG-arm cut/wound  
'I wounded your arms'

c). John sa-taŋ hər  
John 3.SG-arm cut/wound  
'John wounded his own arms'

d). Bain e Len sa-taŋ hər  
Bain and Len 3PRXML-arm cut/wound  
'Bain and Len wounded each other's arms'

A semantic property of the third person pronominal prefixes (*sa-* and *Pa-* ) which distinguishes them from the other pronominal prefixes is that while all the other pronominal prefixes normally refer only to human beings, the third person pronominal prefixes *sa-* and *Pa-*, when prefixed to nouns (and also verbs) refer not only to human beings but also to non-humans. The following examples show that the prefixes refer to non-human possessor nouns.

(5). a). Na ti Pa-bale taruŋ  
1SG.NOM tree 3.0BV-branch(es) cut off  
'I cut the (tree's) branches off the tree'

b). Bel sa-taŋ laleŋ  
Dog 3.PRXML-arms lick  
'A dog licks its front legs'
As also observed from the table, there are two pronominal prefixes for first person plural inclusive: the collective pronominal prefix \(pi\)- and the distributive pronominal prefix \(ta\)-. I now discuss the semantic and syntactic differences between them.

The distributive pronominal prefix \(ta\)- has a distributional reading. It means roughly ‘each of our ... (e.g. backs)’ in English. It is therefore marked a (singular). The prefix \(ta\)- contains the vowel /a/ which on first and second person otherwise marks singular. This is because semantically a distributive reading focuses on individuation of the referents. In (6) below, for example (a) means ‘Each of our backs is itching’ or can be paraphrased as ‘Your back and my back, each is itching’. Similarly, (b) means ‘S/he scratched each of our backs’ or can be paraphrased as ‘She scratched your back and my back’.

(6). a). Ta-mot kak
1PL.DIS.INC-back itching
‘Each of our backs is itching’ (= Your back and my back, each is itching)

b). Sa ta-mot tu
3SG.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-back scratch
‘S/he scratched each of our backs’ (= S/he scratched your back and my back)

The distributional reading of the pronominal prefix \(ta\)- on nouns is primarily to distinguish possessor nouns. When appearing in a sentence like those (6), it can also then distinguish events but not necessarily the time and place of the events. Sentence (6.b), for example, does not necessarily mean ‘she scratched each of our backs’ separately (distributionally) in a different time and place. It can be ‘she scratched each of our backs’ at the same time in the same place, for example if one hand scratched my back and the other scratched yours.
When the prefix *ta-* is co-referential to the subject in a sentence, it has either a distributive reflexive reading or (distributive) reciprocal reading. Example (7) below, for example, means either 'we scratched each of our backs' which can be paraphrased as you scratched your back, I scratched my back, he scratched his back and so on or 'We scratched each other’s backs', which can be paraphrased as 'I scratched your back and you scratched my back'.

(7). Pi ta-mɔt tu
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-back scratch
'We scratched each of our (or each other’s) back'

The distributive pronominal prefix *ta-* contrasts with the collective pronominal prefix *pi-* . While the first plural inclusive pronominal prefix *ta-* specifies possessors as individuals (as illustrated in examples 6-7), the first plural inclusive pronominal prefix *pi-* does not. It is, therefore, marked i (plural). Thus, *pimɔt* in sentence (8) below, for example, only means 'our backs' (but not 'each of our backs': *tamɔt* (6-7)).

(8). a). Sa pi-mɔt tu
3SG.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-back scratch
'S/he scratched our backs'

b). Pi-mɔt kak
1PL.COL.INC-back itching
'Our backs are itching'

When *pi-* is co-referential to the subject of a sentence, it has a collective reflexive reading, as in (9). It can also have a reciprocal reading but it is rarely used in the expression of a reciprocal event. When it is, namely when sentences like (9) are used for the expression of a reciprocal event, then I suggest that the sentence means 'We (exclusive) scratched your (pl) back and you (pl) scratched our (exclusive) backs'
The examples given so far have also indicated that unlike the third person prefixes *sa*- and *fa*- , both *pi*- and *ta*- (like all the other pronominal prefixes), can be either co-referential to or disjoint from a subject. Note that the nominative pronoun form of both prefixes is *pi*. Thus, to say that both prefixes can be co-referential to a subject also means that they both can be co-referential to *pi* as a subject in a sentence, as in (7) and (9).

I have to note, however, that the use of the distributive prefix *ta*- is more extensive than the collective prefix *pi*. It seems that the use of the prefix *pi*- in the language is decreasing or waning, and is being replaced by the prefix *ta*- . This is particularly true on verbs, as will be described in the next section. The collective distributive distinction in first plural inclusive pronouns is also becoming extinct. I suggest that this is due to the influence of Bahasa Indonesia which has only one first person inclusive ‘kita’ which has both collective and distributive readings.

So far, there are only two instances where the collective-reading prefix *pi*- appears to be more common than the distributive-reading prefix *ta*- . The two instances are in the inherently possessed nouns *pife* ‘our mothers’ and *pima* ‘our fathers’. These
two nouns are more common than tofo 'each of our mothers' and tomaŋ 'each of our fathers'.

I propose a socio-cultural reason for why the nouns pife and pimag with the collective prefix are more common than tofo and tomaŋ with the distributive prefix. It is that extended families are very common in Adang society. In addition, there is also a belief that the more children a family has, the more blessed it is. This belief is normally marked by a ceremonial event during a wedding party where the bride is given a baby carrier asking her to give birth to many children in the new family. Thus, a mother in Adang society is always regarded as a mother of more than one child. Similarly, a father in Adang society is always regarded as a father of more than one child. Therefore, the kinship terms: pife 'our (many children) mother' and pimag 'our (many children) father' are more common than tofo and tomaŋ. Thus, although there is a tendency for decreasing use of prefix pi-, as it is extensively being replaced by the prefix ta-, the existence of the prefix pi- on the two nouns expressing kinship terms above are not easily replaced by ta-.

As the use of the prefix pi- is declining, the singular-plural or collective-distributive distinction between ta- and pi- is getting less important. However, I shall still gloss the DIS(tributive) reading of prefix ta- in examples in this thesis. I will also still

---

1 The root of the noun for mother is ofə. The noun tofo is derived by deleting /ə/ of ta- before /ɔ/ of ofə whereas pife is derived by deleting the first /ɔ/ of ofə after /i/ of pi- and rewrite the final /ɔ/ as /e/ as it is preceded by /ɪ/. The root of the noun for father is omag. The noun tomaŋ is derived by deleting /ə/ of ta- before /ɔ/ of omag whereas pimag is derived by deleting /ɔ/ after /i/ of pi-. See 2.4. and 5.3.3 for details.
provide examples of nouns and verbs prefixed by the prefix \textit{pi}- even though they are less common than the \textit{ta}- forms, and gloss it as \textit{COL(lective)}.

3.2. The function of pronominal prefixes on verbs

As with nouns, not all verbs in Adang are prefixed by pronominal prefixes. Only applicative verbs (8.2.1.3) and some closed-class verbs (8.2.2) are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal prefixes.

In general, the pronominal prefixes mark objects, or function as objects, when prefixed to verbs. As verbs that are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal prefixes can still be classified and sub-classified into various sub-classes, namely applicative (allative and ablative) and closed-class verbs (transitive, ditransitive, causative, locative and directional), semantically the objects of these various verbs can still be distinguished from one another. In this section, however, I shall only provide a few examples. More examples will be provided along with the description of each of the closed-class verbs in 8.2.2 and in the description of applicative verbs in 8.2.1.3.

First let us observe the examples in (10). In the examples, the pronominal prefix \textit{na-} on the verb \textit{natan} 'ask me' in (a) functions as the object of the verb. In (b), the pronominal prefix is co-referential to the subject of the sentence, and functions as a reflexive object.

\begin{align*}
(10). \ a). & \text{Sa na-tan} && b). \ a). & \text{Na na-tan} \\
& 3\text{SG.NOM 1SG-ask} && & 1\text{SG.NOM 1SG-ask} \\
& 'S/he asked me' && & 'I asked myself'
\end{align*}
In (11), both the pronominal prefix \( pi \)- in (a) and \( ta \)- in (b) function as the second (beneficiary) object of the ditransitive verb 'give' \( pi\text{en} \) 'give us' \( ten \) 'give each one of us'.

Similar to nouns, \( pi \)- on verbs, as in (11.a), has a collective reading and \( ta \)-, as in (11. b), has a distributive reading. Note again, however, that since the use of the prefix \( pi \)- in the language is decreasing and is being replaced with the prefix \( ta \)-, the collective-distributive distinction is also becoming lost. Sentences such as (11.a) sound unusual in contemporary colloquial language.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(11). a). } & \text{John } \text{se} & \text{pi-en} \\
& & \text{John money 1PL.INC.CLL-give} \\
& & \text{'John gave us some money'} \\
\text{b). } & \text{John } \text{se} & \text{t-en}^2 \\
& & \text{John money 1PL.INC.DIS-give} \\
& & \text{'John gave some money to each one of us'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly to nouns, \( ta \)- on verbs distinguishes the object of the verb as having singular number (each one of us). When appearing in a sentence like (11. b), it can also then distinguish events but not necessarily the time and place of the events. Sentence (11.b), for example, can mean 'John gave some money to each one of us' in a different time and place, but does not necessarily do so. The sentence can also mean 'John gave some money to each one of us' once at the same time and place.

The following examples illustrate the reflexive and reciprocal readings of \( pi \)- and \( ta \)- on verbs. As observed, both \( pi \)- and \( ta \)- can be co-referential to the first person inclusive nominative pronoun \( pi \). The prefix \( ta \)-, when co-referential to \( pi \), functions as either a reflexive object or reciprocal object (a). Again, sentences like (12. b) are not very normal in modern Adang. For this reason, I put a question mark in front of the sentence. When the

\[^2/\text{a}/ \text{of } ta \text{- is deleted before } /e/ \text{ of the root } en.\]
sentence is used, the meaning I suggest is either 'we asked ourselves' or 'we (exclusive) asked you (pl) and you (pl) asked us (exclusive)'.

(12). a). Pi ta-tan
   1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-ask
   'Each of us asked (each of) ourselves' (= I asked myself, you asked yourself ... ) or
   'We asked each other' (= you asked me and I asked you')

   b). ?Pi pi-tan
   1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-ask
   'We asked ourselves' or 'we (exclusive) asked you (pl) and you (pl) asked us (exclusive)'

Similarly to nouns, the third person proximal pronominal prefix sa- on verbs is always co-referential to a third person subject whether singular or plural. It functions as either a reflexive or reciprocal object. In (13. a) below, for example, sa- on the verb sahol is co-referential to the third person plural pronoun subject supi 'they'. It functions as either a reflexive or a reciprocal object in the sentence. The sentence means either 'They know themselves' or 'They know each other'. In (b-c), sa- is co-referential to a singular subject. It functions as a reflexive object in each of the sentences. Sentence (d) is not acceptable because sa- on the verb sahol in the sentence cannot be co-referential to na.

(13). a). Supi sa-hol
   3PL 3.PRXM- know/find
   'They know them selves/each other'

   b). Sa sa-hol
   3SG.NOM 3.PRXM- know/find
   'S/he knows himself/herself'

   c). Nani sa-hol
   Nani 3.PRXM- know/find
   'Nani knows himself'

   d). *Na sa-hol
   1SG.NOM 3.PRXM- know/find
   '*I know him'

As with nouns, the third person obviative pronominal prefix ja- on verbs is necessary disjoint in reference from the subject. Like other pronominal prefixes, it functions
as the object of the verb it prefixes to. Its referent can be either sentence internal or sentence external, when contextually understood. The referent can be either singular or plural. In (14) below, for example, the prefix (Pa-) functions as the object of the verb ‘know’ / ‘find’. In (a-b), the referent of the prefix, either a third person singular or plural, is contextually understood and not internal to the sentences. In (c), the antecedent of the prefix object is a third person singular (Nani). It is internal to the sentence. In (d), the antecedent of the prefix object is a third person plural pronoun (supi ‘they/Them’), also internal to the sentence.

(14). a). Ni Pa-hol 
1PL.EXC.NOM 3.OBV-know/find
‘We know him/her/it/ them’

b). Sa Pa-hol 
3SG.NOM 3.OBV-know/find
‘S/he knows him/her/it/ them’

c). Ni Nani Pa-hol 
1PL.EXC.NOM Nani 3.OBV-know/find
‘We know Nani’

d). Na supi Pa-hol 
1SG.NOM 3PL 3.OBV-know/find
‘I know them’

The examples below are to show that, unlike other pronominal prefixes, the third person pronominal prefixes sa- and Pa- on verbs (also with nouns), refer not only to humans but also to non-humans.

(15). a). Na seŋ rat nu Pa-hol 
1SG.NOM money hundred one 3.OBV-find/know
‘I found a one hundred unit of currency note’

b). ə- dong sapi Pui sa-lalu-p-am 
2SG-GEN cow skin (belt) 3.PRXL-loose-PERF
‘You have loosened your belt (lit. your belt has release itself)’

A final note concerns the use of pronominal prefixes on verbs like ‘go back’ (see, 8.2.2.2, for more examples). Semantically, the verb involves only one participant (superficially) but it is syntactically transitive, as in (16) below. As with other verbs the root
of the verb *bor*, glossed ‘return’ in the examples, is meaningless without pronominal prefixes. When it is prefixed by a pronominal, the prefix (except for the third person obviative prefix *Pa-*) is co-referential to the subject, and has a reflexive reading. Thus, example (16. a) which is translated into English as ‘*I went back*’, literally means ‘*I returned myself*’. 

(16). a). Na na-bor  
1SG.NOM 1SG-return  
‘I went back’ (Lit. *I returned myself*)  

b). Sa sa-bor  
1SG.NOM 1SG-return  
‘S/he went back’ (Lit. *S/he returned herself*)  

c). Ni ni-bor  
1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-return  
‘We went back’  

d). Pi ta-bor  
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.DIS-return  
‘We (each) went back’  

However, as the third person obviative pronominal prefix *Pa-* is never co-referential to the subject, when it is prefixed to the root *bor*, the derived verb *Pa*bor is semantically and syntactically transitive. It means ‘*return it/them*’ (non humans only). Two examples are given in (17) below.  

(17). a). Sa *Pa-bor*  
3SG.NOM 3.OBV-return  
‘S/he returned it/them’  

b). Na Nina *Pa-o* seŋ *Pa-bor-am*  
1SG.NOM Nina 3.OBV-GEN money 3.OBV-return-PERF  
‘I have returned Nina’s money’  

So far, there is no evidence indicating that any pronominal prefixes other then *Pa-* on the verb for ‘go back’ / ‘return’ can be disjoint in reference from the subject. Thus
sentences like in (18) below are very unusual. I have therefore put a double question mark in front of each sentence.

(18). a). ?? Sa ni-bɔr
   3SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-return
   ‘S/he returned us’

   b). ??Supi a-bɔr
   3PL 2SG-return
   ‘They returned you’

To express this idea in Adang, a different verb, holoŋ, is used as in (19).

(19). Sa ni-ri holoŋ
   3SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-ACC return
   ‘S/he returned us’
Chapter 4

Adverbs, Particles and Clitics

Adang has two clitics: the progressive aspectual clitic -eh and the PERF(ective) aspectual clitic -am. I call them “clitics” (Spencer, 1991: 14, 350-394, Payne, 1997:21-23; Anderson, 1985: 154-158, Schachter, 1985: 53-55) because they are phonologically unstressed and because distributionally, they always suffix, or cliticize, to the final word of a predicate phrase. They have a fixed position. Since Adang is a predicate final (or SOV) language, the clitics normally appear at the end of a clause. The final word cliticized by the clitics can be a verb (including adjectival verb) or a noun that functions as the predicate of the clause; or a modifier (an adverb, quantifier or numeral) of the predicate head noun or verb. The reason that they cliticize to any final word of a clause is because they function to modify a predicate phrase: a verbal (including the object of the predicate, if any), nominal and adjectival predicate. A detailed description will be presented in 4.5.

In addition to the two clitics I shall also describe adverbs (4.1-4.4, 4.6) and particles in this chapter because some of the adverbs and particles have a similar function to the clitics. Some adverbs and particles also function together with the two clitics.

Adang has only a restricted number of adverbs (in this, it resembles Blagar (Steinhauer, 1986: 383), a neighboring language spoken mostly on Pura island in the Alor-Pantar group). The adverbs are the temporal sentential adverbs paneP ‘in a moment’ and fedeP ‘a moment ago’ (4.1); the modal sentential adverbs l'ui ‘necessary’ and maP
'possible' (4.2); the negative sentential adverb *nene* ‘not’ which normally function in conjunction with the negative particle *fe* (4.4); and the degree verbal adverb (or intensifier) *bip* ‘very’ or ‘a lot’, and the adverbs *foi* ‘again’ *so* ‘indeed’ and *map* ‘only’ (4.3). The last three adverbs (*foi*, *so* and *map*) can function alone as sentential adverbs but can also function only at a predicate phrase level in conjunction with the degree verbal adverb *bip*. When functioning in conjunction with *bip* they express degrees higher than the degree expressed by *bip* alone. The only “attested” evidential (Willett, 1988:57) particle *dai* is described in the last section (4.6).

4.1. Temporal sentential adverbs *fede* and *pane*

There are two temporal adverbs expressing time within a day. They are *fede* ‘a moment ago’ (i.e. towards the past from the moment of speaking not beyond a day) and *pane* ‘in a moment’ (i.e. towards night (future) from the moment of speaking, not beyond a day).

Structurally, *fede* is derived from the noun *fed* meaning ‘the sun’. The word *fed* can also be a temporal adverb meaning ‘today’. The temporal adverb *pane* is also derived from the noun *pan*, i.e. the name of a homemade candle, traditionally used to light homes at night in place of a lamp. I suggest that the morpheme *e* on the two
adverbs is a temporal deictic, indicating a time within a day. So far, however, the two adverbs are the only temporal adverbs expressing time within a day\(^1\); the morpheme \(eP\) is also found only on the two adverbs. The meaning of the two adverbs in sentential context are given in (1) below.

(1) a). Roni pane\(P\) sam don
Roni in a moment go shopping
'Roni will go shopping in a moment'

b). Supi fede\(P\) ba\(P\) 2a-ten
3PL a moment ago house 3.OBV-make
'They made houses a moment ago'

In the examples above, the two adverbs are placed after the subject of each of the clauses. They, however, can also be placed before the subject, i.e. at the initial position of a clause, as in (2) below.

(2). a). Pane\(P\) Roni sam don
in a moment Roni go shopping
'Roni will go shopping in a moment'

b). Fede\(P\) Supi ba\(P\) 2a-ten
a moment ago 3PL house 3.OBV-make
'They made houses a moment ago'

4.2. Modal adverbs

There are two sentential adverbs expressing mood in Adang. They are: \(Pui\) 'necessary', expressing a strong likelihood, and \(ma\,P\) 'possible' (or 'perhaps') expressing a weak likelihood. Both are epistemic modal adverbs. A deontic modal adverb can also be derived from \(Pui\) by reduplicating the adverb \(Pui-Pui\) 'obligatory' (Chung and Timberlake, 1985: 241-250). I describe each of them as follows.

\(^1\) Except for pane\(P\) and fede\(P\), there are temporal clauses like fed muj 'beginning of night time' (Lit. 'the sun falls down') or fed he\(l\)'afternoon' (Lit. 'the sun goes down')
4.2.1. Epistemic ‘Pui’ vs. deontic ‘PuiPui’

The epistemic modal adverb Pui ‘necessary’, when modifying a clause, indicates that the event expressed by the clause is necessary or is very likely to take place. A few examples are given in (3).

(3). a). Sa Pui muj 3SG.NOM necessary fall down ‘It is very likely that s/he will fall down’

b). A Pui sam sakola 2SG.NOM necessary go school ‘It is necessary that you go to school’

c). Sa Pui mop-eh 3SG.NOM necessary sleep-PROG ‘It is very likely that s/he is sleeping’

d). Bain Pui bel ho beh-am Bain necessary dog DEF hit-PERF ‘It is very likely that Bain has hit the dog’

A mentioned above, when Pui is reduplicated, the derived word Pui-Pui ‘obligatory’ expresses a deontic modality. In a clause, the deontic modal adverb indicates that the event of a clause ought to take place. To illustrate, I modify examples (3. a, d); thus:

(4). a). Sa PuiPui muj 3SG.NOM obligatory fall down ‘He has to fall down’ (even though he does not want to; e.g. a punishment).

b). Bain PuiPui bel ho beh-am Bain obligatory dog DEF hit-PERF ‘Bain should have hit the dog’ (it is obligatory for Bain to have hit the dog)

Distributionally, both Pui and PuiPui are placed before a verb, as observed from the examples above. Like the temporal adverbs before, they can also be placed at the initial position of a clause, as in (5) below. When the epistemic or the deontic modal adverb is placed at the initial position of a sentence as in (5), the speaker gives emphasis to the
likelihood or the obligation of the event. Note, however, that sentences like (5. a) are less common than sentences like (3).

(5). a). 1'ui sa muj
necessary 3SG.NOM fall down
‘He is very likely to fall down’

b). 1'ui 1'ui Bain lamc-am
obligatory Bain walk-PERF
‘Bain should have left’

In a sentence both the epistemic and the deontic modal adverbs can be preceded or followed by a temporal adverb. Examples are given in (6) below.

(6). a). A panef 1'ui sam sakola
2SG.NOM in a moment necessary go school
‘It is necessary that you go to school, in a moment time (= later on today)’

b). Bain 1'ui 1'ui fede? lamc-am
Bain obligatory a moment ago walk-PERF
‘Bain should have left a moment ago’

4.2.2. The epistemic modal adverb: ma? ...(Per?Pe?)

The epistemic modal adverb ma? ‘possible’ (or ‘perhaps’) when modifying a clause, indicates that an event expressed by the clause may take place. In other words, it expresses a weak likelihood of the event. Two examples follow.

(7). a). Sa ma? lamc
3SG.NOM possible walk
‘Perhaps s/he (will) leave’

b). Sa ma? lamc-am
3SG.NOM possible walk-PERF
‘Perhaps he has left’

Besides appearing alone in a clause, as in (7), ma? also commonly appears in a sentence with the verb Per?Pe? ‘for it(s sake)’. Appearing with the verb, it also denotes
the command 'look out for it'. Thus, the pair produces a meaning like '...X... may (take place), look out for it'. Examples are given as follows.

(8). a). Sa ma P lame 2-e-rePeg
3SG.NOM possible walk 3.OBV-ALL-look out for it
'Perhaps s/he (will) leave; take care that s/he will not'

b). Sa ma P lame-am 2-e-rePeg
3SG.NOM possible walk-PERF 3.OBV-ALL-look out for it
'Perhaps s/he has left, make sure that s/he has not'

Note that the verb rePeg is an allative applicative verb consisting of the
obviative pronominal prefix Pa, the allative applicative marker e and the root rePeg, which is meaningless without the allative applicative marker and the prefix. Other related allative applicative verbs with the same root are nerePeg 'for me', terePeg, 'for us', etc. (See 8.2.1.3.1 for a detailed description of the verb).

Distributionally, the adverb maP is also placed before a verb, as observed from examples (7-8) above. It can also be placed at the initial position of a clause, as in (9. a) below. Like Pui before it can be followed or preceded by a temporal adverb, as exemplified in (9. b-e). When maP is followed by a temporal adverb, the temporal expressed by the adverb is in the scope of the possibility mood expressed by maP (b, c). When maP is preceded by a temporal adverb, the temporal expressed by the adverb is not in the scope of the possibility mood (d-e).
(9). a). Ma lam' possibly look out for it
   ‘Perhaps s/he (will) leave; take care that s/he will not’

b). Sa pane' lam' in a moment
   ‘Perhaps s/he (will) leave in a moment’

c). Ma lam' possible in a moment
   ‘Perhaps s/he (will) leave in a moment’

The difference between (9. b) and (9. c) and also between (d) and (e) is in terms
of emphasis. In (9. c), for example, the speaker emphasizes the possibility of the event of
leaving. In (e), he emphasizes the temporal of the event. Sentences (b) and (d) are neutral.

To summarize the discussion in 4.2, Adang has the epistemic modal adverbs 1'ui
expressing necessity and ma'l' expressing possibility. In addition Adang has a deontic
modal adverb 1'ui 1'ui ‘obligatory’ derived from the epistemic modal adverb 1'ui by
reduplication.

4.3. The adverbs 'foi', 'so', 'maq' and bi'l'

As mentioned earlier the adverbs foi ‘again’, so ‘indeed’ and maq ‘only’ can
function alone as sentential adverbs to modify a clause and can also function in
conjunction with the degree adverb bi'l' to express degrees of actions or states expressed
by verbs, including ‘adjectival verbs ’ (see 8.3 for the detailed description of words that I
call “adjectival verbs” in this dissertation). In the following examples, I provide examples where the three adverbs function alone as sentential adverbs to modify a clause. As shown in (f), the adverbs foi and so can also be combined as foi so, where foi modifies or intensifies so.

(10). a). A: I na 2a-de cm sei na?  
‘Did you eat food or drink water?’ / ‘Do you want to eat food or drink water?’

B: b). Ni maŋ sei na
1PL.INC.NOM only water drink
‘We only drank water’ / ‘We only want to drink water’

c). John maŋ karesaŋ  
‘John only work’

d). John so bel beh  
‘John indeed dog hit’ (+e.g. I am surprised!)

e). John foi karesaŋ  
‘John again work’

f). John foi so bel beh  
‘John again indeed dog hit’ (+e.g. I am very surprised!)

As illustrated in (a-b), semantically maŋ ‘only’ expresses a contrastive focus, foi ‘again’ expresses the repetition of an event and so ‘indeed’ expresses the actuality of an event. The expression of the factuality of an event with so can involve the speaker’s attitude (epistemic mood), often with a feeling of surprise (Chung and Timberlake, 1985: 242, 244). The words so, maŋ, foi and biP are classed together as adverbs because all four have a role in gradation of verbs and adjectival verbs.

As also observed from (10), the three sentential adverbs are placed after the subject of a clause. They can be preceded by other sentential adverbs, as illustrated in the following examples.
The degree adverb *biP* can also function alone to modify a verb, including an adjectival verb. That is, it intensifies the action or state expressed by the verb. It means 'very' when modifying an adjectival verb or 'a lot' when modifying a verb. The intensified action or state expressed by *biP* and its modified verb can be graded into five or six levels by the adverbs *foi*, *so* and *maq*. A detailed description is given in 4.3.1.

### 4.3.1. Levels of degree expressed by adverbs

The are two types of gradation assigned to verbs, including adjectival verbs, (hereon, I use the name 'verb/s' to include adjectival verb/s) by the adverbs *biP*, *maq*, *foi* and *maq*: a comparative gradation and a non comparative gradation. Non comparative gradation has five levels. Comparative gradation also has five levels plus the excessive level shared with the non comparative gradation. The following tables illustrate the ways adverbs assign degree to verbs. Table 4-1 is for non comparative gradation and 4-2 is for comparative gradation.

### Table 4-1: Non-comparative degree assignment to verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positivity(1)</th>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>Level 3</th>
<th>Level 4</th>
<th>Level 5 (excessive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>biP</em></td>
<td><em>foi</em> ... <em>biP</em></td>
<td><em>so</em> ... <em>biP</em></td>
<td><em>foi</em> <em>so</em> ... <em>biP</em></td>
<td><em>maq</em> ... <em>biP</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'very'</td>
<td>'very ... indeed'</td>
<td>= <em>very</em> and the speaker did not expect it (surprisingly)</td>
<td>'very extremely ... indeed'</td>
<td>= <em>very</em> and the speaker did not expect it (very surprisingly)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-2: Comparative degree assignment to verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>biP</th>
<th>mi... biP</th>
<th>foi mi... biP</th>
<th>so mi... biP</th>
<th>foi so mi... biP</th>
<th>maP... biP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Comparative-1</td>
<td>Comparative-2</td>
<td>Superlative-1</td>
<td>Superlative-2</td>
<td>(implies very</td>
<td>Excessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(implies surprised)</td>
<td></td>
<td>surprised)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the tables, the comparative and non comparative degrees are not distinctive at the positive and the excessive levels. The positive (or first) degree level is assigned to verbs by the degree adverb biP alone. The excessive level is assigned to verbs by the pair maP... biP. At the levels other than the positive and the excessive levels the comparative gradation or degree is distinguished from the non comparative degree by the comparative morpheme mi.

Following are a few examples. I provide them without discourse contexts. Example (12) illustrates non comparative degrees assigned by adverbs to the adjectival verb bune 'hot' (a) at positive level, (b) level three and (c) excessive level. The same non comparative degree levels in (12. a-c) are assigned to the verb Pa-de 'eat/it/them...' in (13. a-c).

(12). a). Sei bune biP water hot very 'Water is very hot'

   b). Sei foi bune biP water again hot very 'Water is really very hot'

   c). Sei maP bune biP water only hot very 'Water is too hot'

(13). a). Aru na Pa-de biP deer thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat a lot 'Deer eat crops a lot'

   b). Aru foi so na Pa-de biP deer again indeed thing 3.OBV-eat a lot 'Deer really eat crops a lot, indeed'

   c). Aru maP na Pa-de biP deer only thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat a lot 'Deer eat crops too much'

(+ e.g. and I am very surprised)
The next example illustrates level two comparative degree assigned to either adjectival verbs (a) or verbs (b).

(14). a. Sei foi mi bune biP water again COMP hot very ‘Water is really hotter’ (e.g. than before which was also hotter than when it was at the x stage)

b. Aru foi mi na Pa-de biP deer again COMP thing 3.OBV-eat a lot ‘Deers really eats crops a lot more’ (e.g. than before which was also bad)

The degrees expressed by adverbs illustrated in tables 4-1, 4-2 and also in examples (12-14), especially the degrees between the positive and the excessive levels, are very context dependent. That is, the standard of gradation or comparison is sentence external, but not sentence internal, at all levels of both the comparative and the non comparative gradation. To compare with English, for example, while English has a sentence internal standard of comparison (at comparative degree level) as in, for example, X is taller than Y (= standard of comparison/ gradation), Adang does not have the Y sentence-internal standard of comparison. Consequently, an isolated gradation or comparative sentence, as in (12-14), will be very difficult to understand. I shall provide discourse contexts for the next few examples to illustrate how the degrees are assigned to verbs by (the pairs of ) adverbs in table 4-2, 4-2 can be perceived.

4.3.2. Non comparative gradation

In the first example below, the adverbs assign non comparative degrees (table 4-1) to the verb *pade*  ‘eat it/them ..’, plus its objects. The positive level is exemplified in (b), level two in (d) and level three degree in (f).
(15). A: a). Sam dil malil ema, kai! go (corn/ rice) field survey please dear 'Will you please go to survey the fields dear! 

b). Manu bit-e aru bate ala Pa-de biP-eh falep Manu say-IS deer corn rice 3.OBV-eat very-PROG TELL Manu said that deer are eating corn and rice (crops) a lot' (Note: I shall use crops in place of corn and rice)

B: (... went to survey ... then came back) 

A: c). TaroPshi-eh bate ala? what-PROG corn rice How are the crops? 

B: d). Aru foi bate ala Pa-de biP-am. Ufau mi dai mi noP. aru again corn rice 3.OBV very-PERF once in/at (=yesterday) EVID COMP good 'Deer have started eating crops a lot more. Yesterday was better = not very bad'

A: e). lame pi sam P-e-dun walk 1PL.INC.NOM go 3.OBV-ALL-look 'Let us go to have a look!' (Both A and B went to see their crops) 

(when arrived at the field) A looked around the corn/ rice field and said:

f). Eyau ...eyau ...eyau!! Aru so na Pa-de biP ho kai! EX(clamation) deer indeed thing 3.OBV-eat very DEF dear EX ....!!! 'Dear! The deer ate crops a lot, indeed'

The context of the next example is continued from (15). It also illustrates the non comparative gradation (table 4-1), where (c) is for level four and (f) excessive level.

(16). A: a). A sam so dil malil-eh em a2ai 2SG.NOM go 2SG-GEN (rice/ corn) field survey-PROG or not exist 'Are you going to survey your field or not?' 

B: b). Na dai na-bor. 1SG.NOM EVID 1SG-come back 'I just came back (from my field) 

c). Sah kai; aru foi so na Pa-de biP bad friend deer again indeed thing 3.OBV-eat very (It is) horrible, friend! deer, really ate crop a lot, indeed'
The next example illustrates the gradation of adjectival verb *lafiniŋ* 'high' by the adverbs. In the examples, I put *deP* in (c-d) in brackets because it is normally not repeated in the discourse. Example (a) is excessive level, (b) first level, (c) second level, and (d) third level degree.

(17). a. A (address to B):

\[
\text{DeP} \quad \text{mapaŋ lama biP-am.} \quad \text{P-a-no} \quad \text{lafiniŋ}'
\]

\[
\text{bed} \quad \text{DEF} \quad \text{only low} \quad \text{very-PERF} \quad \text{3.OBV-CAUS-affect high}
\]

'The bed is too low.'

b. C: (address to A and B): Afaï lafiniŋ biP Pp!

'Not exist high very NEG

'Don't be (make it) very high!'

When B finished fixing the bed, C came to have a look and said:

c. C: (deP) ... foi lafiniŋ biP-am. P-a-no? lama pite!

\[(\text{bed}) \ldots \text{again high very-PERF} \quad \text{3.OBV-CAUS-affect low little}
\]

'(it) has been extremely high (e.g. I was not expecting that). Make it a little bit low!'

d. D (curiously, came to have a look and said):

\[(\text{deP}) \ldots \text{so lafiniŋ biP e!}
\]

\[(\text{bed}) \ldots \text{indeed high very EX(clamation)}
\]

'(it is) ... extremely high, indeed!'

Example (b) in the following sentences is also first level degree whereas (c) is the fourth level.
Based on the examples (12-18), I suggest the following points. First, the non-comparative gradation is a way of expressing degree of state or actions in Adang, which in other languages can be expressed by a single adverb. To compare with English, for example, while an English speaker can simply say 'He is extremely rich', an Adang speaker combines two adverbs to express the degree of state, as in

\[ \text{Sa foi kafac bi}^P \] The exception is the positive level which is only expressed by \( bi^P \) (15. 18. b)

Second, the assignment of a degree to a state or action can be subjective depending on the speaker's own assessment about the state or the action. This is illustrated, particularly, in (17) where A and B set a bed at the height that they assess is appropriate but C assesses it as extremely high, or D assesses it as extremely (plus surprisingly) high.

Syntactically, the degree adverb \( bi^P \) modifies a verb. The modification results in the positive degree level. The constituent (\( bi^P \)-verb and its object, if any) is then modified by the adverbs \( foi, foi so \) or \( mag \) to produce a higher degree level. Consequently, when the degree adverb as in (15. d = 19. a), or (16. f = 19.c) is dropped, the sentence produced has a
different reading (19. b, d). The adverbs in (19. b, d) function as normal (non-degree) clausal adverbs, as exemplified in (10-11) of 4.3.

(19). a). Aru foi batε ala Pa-de biP-am.
     aru again corn rice 3.OBV very-PERF
     'Deers have really started eating crops.'
     (Lit. 'Deers have started eating crops again.)
     (19). b). Aru foi batε ala Pa-de-am.
           aru again corn rice 3.OBV-PERF
           'Deers have started eating crops again.'
           (Lit. 'Deers have started eating crops a lot more)

           c). Aru maP n-o na Pa-de biP
               deer only 1SG-GEN thing 3.OBV-eat very
               'Deers ate my crops too much'
           d). Aru maP n-o na Pa-de
               deer only 1SG-GEN thing 3.OBV-eat
               'Deers only ate my crops'
               (e.g. they did not destroy them; just ate)

When the modifier adverbs in (19. a, c) are dropped the degree expressed in the sentence is the positive degree, as in (20. a-b).

(20). a). Aru batε ala Pa-de biP-am.
         aru corn rice 3.OBV very-PERF
         'Deers have started eating crops a lot.'
         b). c). Aru n-o na Pa-de biP
            deer 1SG-GEN thing 3.OBV-eat very
            'Deers ate my crops a lot'

With comparative gradation, the omission of the degree adverb biP, from a comparative sentence results in a slightly different meaning. The sentence, however, is still a comparative sentence. A detailed description is presented in 4.3.2.

4.3.3. Comparative gradation

Tables 4-3 and 4-2 (repeated from 4.3.1) illustrate two types of comparative gradation: one with the degree adverb biP(4-2), and the other (4-3) without it.
Before I compare the two comparative degree in sentential and/or discourse contexts, recall that first, without the comparative morpheme mi, a state or an action expressed by a verb still can be graded into five different non-comparative degree levels (4.3.2 above). Second, as mentioned earlier a comparative degree sentence in Adang does not contain a sentence-internal standard of comparison. This can be observed from the examples that I shall provide.

Now, I compare the two types of comparative gradation illustrated in table 4-2 and 4-3. I first, present the following examples. The example illustrates a coherent discourse or text, containing comparative sentences with the degree adverb biP.

   pig deer all field ALL-go down-PERF  
   Deer, pigs, all have come down to the (rice/corn) fields.

   Dil lel hepe bate, ala poh  
   universe bright (tomorrow) then corn rice finish  
   The crops (corn, rice) will be finished tomorrow (Lit. Crops finish tomorrow)
b). B: Aru mi na Pa-de bi? em boi mi na Pa-de bi?

deer COMP thing (= crops) 3.OBV-eat very or pig crops COMP thing 3.OBV-eat very
'Deer ate crops a lot more (than ...) or pigs?'

c). A: Aru mi na Pa-de bi?

deer COMP thing (= crops) 3.OBV-eat very
'Deer ate crops a lot more (contextually, than pigs)'

When the degree adverb is dropped from the comparative sentences in the text, the discourse becomes incoherent, as represented in (21). For this reason, I put a disjoint mark (#) between (a) and (b-c) of the example.


pig deer all field ALL-go down-PERF
'Deer, pigs, all have come down to the (rice/ corn) fields.

Dil lel hePe bate, ala Pc\h
universe bright (tomorrow) then corn rice finish
Crops (corn, rice) will be finished tomorrow (Lit. Crops finish tomorrow)
#

b). A: Aru mi na Pa-de em boi mi na Pa-de?

deer COMP thing (= crops) 3.OBV-eat or pig crops COMP thing 3.OBV-eat
'Deers ate crops more (than ...) or pigs?'

c). B: Aru mi na Pa-de

deer COMP thing (= crops) 3.OBV-eat
'Deers ate crops more (contextually - than pigs)'

The syntactic explanation of why (21) is coherent but not (22) is that because when bi? modifies verb it grades up the state or action expressed by the verb from a lower existing degree. The lower existing degree is mostly (if not always) contextually understood (as has also been illustrated in 4.3.2). With respect to (21), bi? in (b) grades the action of 'deer and pigs' eating crops' from a non graded level into positive degree level (4.3.2). The non-graded level is understood from (a) as 'deer and pigs have been in the rice/ corn fields (and eating the crops - contextually)'. The action at positive degree level is then compared
and graded again by the comparative morpheme *mi* to determine whether the action of deer eating the crops is higher or the action of pigs eating the crops is higher in grade, producing (c) stating that the action of *deer eating crops* is higher (again) in grade. Sentences (a-c) of (21), therefore are properly linked one to the other, producing the coherent discourse.

Unlike (21), the comparative morpheme *mi* in (22.b) is simply comparing two actions - 'deer eating crops' and 'pigs eating crops' - regardless of their grade. The result of the comparison, as stated in (c) is that 'deer eating crops' is higher in grade. Both sentences have no link to (a) in the discourse.

The (semantic) difference between comparative gradation with, and without, the degree adverb *biP*, is formulated and illustrated as follows. Z in (a) stands for a lower existing grade (see e.g. 21 vs. 22).

Fig. 4-1: Comparative gradation with and without the degree adverb *biP*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With <em>biP</em>:</td>
<td>Without <em>biP</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X is higher in grade than Y, from Z</td>
<td>X is higher in grade than Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aru mi na Fade biP</em></td>
<td><em>Aru mi na Fade</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Deers ate crops, a lot more' (than ... contextual)</td>
<td>'Deers ate crops, more' (than ... contextual)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples and illustrations given above are with the comparison at positive degree level. The difference between comparative degree type one and type two, as illustrated in fig 4-1, also applies to level two to five of both types of comparative gradation. At the excessive level the difference is neutralized and is not distinctive from the non comparative degree.
To illustrate the difference at level two of comparative gradation, I modify (21-22) and represent in (23-24).

(23). a) A: Boi aru barpi na Pa-de biP Fed tun pi malihi7 pig deer all thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat very today year 1PL.INC.NOM hungry 'Deer, pigs, all eat crops a lot. We are starving this year'

b) B: Aru so foi mi na Pa-de biP em boi so (foi mi ...) deer FOC.SUBJ again COMP thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat very or pig FOC.SUBJ 'Is it deer or pigs, that really eat crops a lot more (than ...),'#

c) A: Aru so foi mi na Pa-de biP-am deer FOC.SOBJ again COMP thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat very-PERF 'It is deer, that have really started eating crops a lot more' (contextually, than pigs)

Again, when the degree adverb is dropped from the comparative sentences, especially (b, c) in the text, the text or discourse becomes incoherent, regardless of whether or not the degree adverb biP assigns positive degree level to the action in (a). To illustrate I drop biP for (23. b, c) and represent in (24).

(24). a) A: Boi aru barpi na Pa-de (biP) Fed tun pi malihi7 pig deer all thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat (very) today year 1PL.INC.NOM hungry 'Deers, pigs, all eat crops a lot. We are starving this year'

b) B: Aru so foi mi na Pa-de em boi so (foi mi ...) deer FOC.SUBJ again COMP thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat or pig FOC.SUBJ 'Is it deers or pigs, that really eat crops more (than ...)?'

c) A: Aru so foi mi na Pa-de-am deer FOC.SUBJ again COMP thing (=crops) 3.OBV-eat-PERF 'It is deers, that have really started eating crops more' (contextually - than pigs)

Indeed, the presence of foi, especially, in (b), indicates that the degree of the action 'pigs eating crops' or 'deer eating crops' which foi mi modify is higher than the degree of some contextually understood (or presupposed existing) action. But, this contextually
understood action cannot be the action of deer and pig eating crops expressed in (a). I suggest that the contextually understood (or presupposed existing) action is either of the two actions (deer eating crops or pig eating crops) expressed in the sentence. The presence of the conjunction *or* in the sentence gives a piece of evidence for this suggestion. Thus, it is a choice of either of the two. Does it means that the choice grades up one action (as expressed in (c) and grades down the other? If so, then the gradation could be as in (25)².

(25). a). *Boi mi na ọa-de*
   pig COMP crop 3.OBV-eat
   'Pigs ate crops more (than ...)

b). *Aru foi mi na ọa-de*
   deer again COMP crop 3.OBV-eat
   'Deers really ate crops more (than ...)

c). *Pabib so mi na ọa-de*
   goat indeed COMP crop 3.OBV-eat
   'Goats extremely ate crops more (than ...)
   indeed'

d). *Sapi foi so mi na ọa-de*
   cow again indeed COMP crop 3.OBV-eat
   'Cows event extremely ate crops more (than ...), indeed'

To finish the discussion in this section, I present the following example in a discourse context. The example illustrates that although the two types of comparative degree or gradation are different, they can be mixed in a everyday speech. Likewise with the non comparative gradation.

   1PL.INC-father old very-PERF

   *Na ọa-hou aPai map kareṣap bi-p Pe!*
   1SG.NOM 3.OBV-suggest not only work very NEG
   'My father has become very old. I suggested to him not to work too hard'

² Comparison and gradation as in (25) is typical of children at play, e.g. (A:) *Ne mate* (1SG-GEN - COMP - big) 'Mine is big', (C:) *Ne mi mate 'Mine is bigger', (D:) *Ne fooi mi mate 'Mine is much bigger' ... (E:) *Ne fooi so mi mate 'Mine is even bigger, indeed' ....
b). B: Ni-map \( \text{mi tumo} \text{? bo (sa) dai karesa} \text{-eh} \)
1PL.EXC-father COMP old but 3SG.NOM EVID work-PROG
'My father is older (than …) but he is still working'

c). C: Ni-map \( \text{fowi mi tumo} \text{? biP; ho-ni fe} \)
1PL.EXC-father again COMP old very DEF-like FOC.OBJ
'My father is far more older (than …); It is this!. (e.g. that is true)

d). D: I-map \( \text{so mi tumo biP e!} \)
2PL-father indeed COMP old very EX(c1amation)
'Your father is indeed the oldest; right! (cynical/ teasing C, with the EX e)

d). D: N-e ni-map \( \text{fowi so mi tumo biP; bo na } \text{P}\text{e} \)
1SG-GEN 1PL.EXC-father again indeed COMP old very but 1SG.NOM NEG
My (comp) father is really the oldest, indeed; but I was not
bit-ch nenene. Na map u susa
say-PROG NEG 1SG.NOM only CL sad
saying about (that). I am only sad about him'
e). B to D: Atino\( \text{? kai. I-map map tumo biP-am} \)
true dear 2PL-father only old very
'(It is) true dear; your father has become too old' (e.g. to work)

To conclude, Adang has the degree adverb \text{biP} 'very' or 'a lot' that modifies or intensifies verbs. It can function alone or function in conjunction with the adverb \text{fowi}
'again', \text{so} 'indeed' and \text{map} 'only'. When functioning alone it assigns first level (positive)
degree to a verb. The verb is then graded into higher degree, either comparative or non
comparative, by \text{biP} together with the adverb \text{fowi, so, map} or \text{fowi so} (the combination \text{fowi}
and \text{so}).
4.4. The negative adverb *nenė*, the negative particle *pe*, and the negative existential verb *aPai*

I call *pe* (NEG) a particle. The particle functions at the level of a predicate phrase, namely to delimit the negation expressed by the negative adverb *nenė* to have scope over the predicate phrase only, including the object of the predicate, if any (see also example (41) in 4.5.1). Distributionally, it has two positions: at the end of an imperative clause or at the beginning of the predicate (before an object, if any) of all other clauses.

As *pe* functions to delimit the negation expressed by the negative adverb *nenė*, it always functions in conjunction with the negative adverb in a clause other than a negative imperative clause. In (27) for example, (b) is not acceptable because *pe* in the sentence does not function in conjunction with the adverb *nenė* to delimit the negation expressed by the adverb.


\[ \text{Ince NEG go shopping NEG} \]
\[ \text{‘Ince did not go shopping’} \]

b). *Ince pe* sam don

\[ \text{Ince NEG go shopping} \]

Unlike the negative particle, the negative adverb *nenė* can function without the negative particle, as in (28) below. The difference between sentence (27. a) and a sentence (28) below is that, in (27. a), the negation expressed by the negative adverb *nenė* in

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3 cf. “All WPP languages have at least two negative elements” (Reesink, 1996:14).
conjunction with the negative particle *Pe* only has scope over the constituent (the predicate) located between the particle and the adverb. When the negative particle *Pe* is dropped leaving the negative adverb alone in the sentence, as in (28), the negation has scope over the whole sentence.

(28). a). Ince sam don *nene*.  
Ince go shopping NEG  
‘It is not that Ince went shopping’

b). Heni guru *nene*  
Heni teacher NEG  
‘It is not that Heni is a teacher’

The reason that the negation in (28) has a scope over the whole sentence but not the negation in (27. a) is because *nene* is a sentential negative adverb. It functions to modify or to negate a whole sentence. Following are three more examples where the negative particle *Pe* functions in conjunction with the negative adverb *nene*. In the example, both the particle and the adverb negate or modify a verbal predicate, including the object *bel* in (a), a nominal predicate in (b) and an adjectival predicate in (c).

(29). a). Bain *Pe* *bel* beh *nene*  
Bain NEG dog hit NEG  
‘Bain did not hit dogs’

b). Apris *Pe* guru *nene*  
Apris NEG teacher NEG  
‘Apris is not a teacher’

c). Sei *Pe* bune *nene*  
water NEG hot NEG  
‘Water is not hot’

Examples (27-29) have also shown that distributionally, the negative adverb *nene* is placed at the end of a clause. The negative particle *Pe* that occupies the initial position of a predicate, can be preceded, but not be followed, by a temporal and a modal sentential adverb. In (30) below, for example, sentences (c-e) are not accepted because the negative
particle in the sentences is followed by a modal adverb (c), a temporal adverb (d) or both (e). The placement of an adverb or adverbs after the negative particle Pe in the sentences, separates the particle from the constituent sam don nene that the particle functions as a part. Unlike (c-e), (a-b) are accepted because the particle in the sentences is not separated from its phrase by the any sentential adverb4.

   Ince possible in a moment NEG go shopping NEG
   ‘Perhaps Ince will not go shopping in a moment’

   b). Ince pane? ma? Pe sam don nene
   Ince in a moment possible NEG go shopping NEG
   ‘In a moment, Ince will perhaps not go shopping’

   c). *Ince pane? Pe ma? sam don nene
   Ince in a moment NEG possible go shopping NEG

   d). *Ince ma? Pe pane? sam don nene
   Ince possible NEG in a moment go shopping NEG

   e). *Ince Pe pane? ma? sam don nene
   Ince NEG in a moment possible go shopping NEG

The next example (31) shows that in a negative imperative clause, the negative particle and the negative adverb do not function in conjunction with each other. Moreover, like the negative adverb (d), the negative particle is placed at the end of the negative imperative clause (b). The semantic and pragmatic difference between a negative imperative clause with nene (d) and with Pe (b) is that, a negative imperative clause with Pe expresses a negative command whereas a negative imperative clause with nene expresses a

4 A temporal and modal sentential adverb can also be placed at the initial position of a sentence, as in Pane? ma? Ince Pe sam don nene. A detailed description of the two types of adverb has been presented at 4.1 and 4.2 respectively.
prohibition or a rule. Because of the difference, (b) can be followed by a sentence like (c) in a discourse. On the other hand (d) cannot be followed the sentence (e), because (d) and (e) are semantically contradictory. The meaning of (d) can be paraphrased as 'no one (including you) is allowed to go shopping'.

(31). a). A: Na sam don?
   1SG.NOM go shopping
   '(shall) I go shopping?'

b). B: Sam don \textsl{pe!}  
   go shopping NEG
   'Do not go shopping!'

 c). Roni so (sa) sam
   Roni FOC.SUBJ 3SG.NOM go
   'It is Roni who will go'

d). B: Sam don \textsl{nene!} 
   go shopping NEG
   'No going (for) shopping!'

e). Roni so (sa) sam
   Roni FOC.SUBJ 3SG.NOM go
   'It is Roni who will go'

The reason that in an imperative clause both the particle \textsl{pe} and the adverb \textsl{nene} function in a similar way, and are placed at the same position, is because an imperative clause does not have a subject (i.e. its subject is only contextually understood). Therefore, it is possible for the negative particle to modify the clause without the negative adverb.

The negative particle \textsl{pe} and the adverb \textsl{nene} can be combined to produce the word \textsl{pene} meaning 'no'. The word can function to represent a whole negative clause. I call the word a negative adverb, similar to 'no' in English. In (32. b), for example, \textsl{pene} functions in place of a negative clause, as understood from the context. The clause it represents could be Na \textsl{pe sam don nene} 'I did not go shopping' or a sentence fragment
nari nene ‘It was not me’. The word never functions clause internally. Therefore, examples (c) and (d) are not accepted.

(32). a). A: A-ri so (a) sam don?
2SG-ACC FOC.SUBJ (2SG.NOM) go shopping
‘Was it you who went shopping?’

b). B: nene;
no
‘No’ (= It was not me or I did not go shopping’)

c). *Na-ri nene
1SG-ACC no

d). *Na-ri sam don nene
1SG-ACC go shopping no

The verb ‘aPai’

I call the word aPai, meaning roughly ‘not exists’, or ‘not happen’ a ‘negative auxiliary’ verb when it functions to negate and imperative clause or a ‘negative existential’ verb when it functions as a predicate in a negative existential clause, as in (33). More examples will be given in the description of existential clauses in 12.4.

(33). a). N-o sev aPai
1SG-GEN money not exist
‘I have no money’ (Lit. My money does not exist)

b). Guru aPai
teacher not exist
‘There is no teacher’

Besides functioning as the predicate of a negative existential clause, aPai can function in conjunction with the negative particle nene and the negative adverb nene in a negative imperative clause. In this case, it is placed at the initial position of the clause, as in (a, c) of the following example. To compare with a negative imperative clause modified by
the negative particle or adverb alone, I also give (b). Example (d) shows that a\(Pai\) cannot function alone to negate an imperative clause.

(34). a). A\(Pai\) sam don \(Pe\).
not exist go shopping NEG
‘Do not go shopping’ (more polite than (b)).

b). Sam don \(Pe/\) nen\(e\)! go shopping NEG
‘Do not go/ no going, shopping!’

c). A\(Pai\) sam don nen\(e\)
not exist go shopping NEG
‘No go shopping!’ (more polite than (b))

d). *A\(Pai\) sam don.
not exist go shopping

The presence of a\(Pai\) in a negative imperative clause is only to make the command or prohibition expressed by the clause more polite than when a\(Pai\) is absent from the clause. Thus, the difference between (34. a, c) and (b) is that the command or the prohibition expressed by (a, c) is more polite than that expressed by (b).

Like the negative adverb Pen\(ene\) (the combination of \(Pe\) and nen\(e\)) in (32), a\(Pai\) can also function alone to express that an event did not, or does not, exist or take place. In (35. a, b) below, for example, a\(Pai\) functions in place of the whole negative clause Ince \(Pe\) sam don nen\(e\). (In some dialects (e.g. Aimoli and Alila) the sentence Ince (\(Pe\) sam don a\(Pai\) is more common than Ince (\(Pe\) sam don nen\(e\)).

(35). a). A: Ince sam don \(em\) a\(Pai\)?
Ince go shopping or not exist
‘Did Ince go shopping or not?’

b). B: A\(Pai\);
not exist; Ince NEG go shopping NEG
‘No; Ince did not go shopping’

c). Ince \(Pe\) sam don nen\(e\).
not exist; Ince NEG go shopping NEG
‘No; Ince did not go shopping’
In summary, the negative adverb *nene* functions to modify a whole clause in Adang. Its function, or the negation it expresses, can be delimited by the negative particle *Pe* to have scope over a predicate phrase only. The particle cannot function alone, except in a negative imperative clause. To be polite, a negative command or prohibition can be modified by the negative auxiliary verb *aPai* which functions in conjunction with either the negative particle or adverb.

4.5. Aspectual clitics and particle

The aspectual clitics and the particle to be described here are the perfective aspectual clitic *-am*, the progressive aspectual clitic *-eh*, and the inceptive aspectual particle *eham*. In 4.5.1 I describe the morphosyntactic properties of the clitics and the particle. The description is then followed by a description of the meanings of the particle and the two clitics in 4.5.2.

4.5.1. Morphosyntactic properties of the aspectual clitics ‘-eh’ and ‘-am’ and the inceptive particle ‘eham’.

I call *-eh* and *-am* clitics because they are phonologically “light words” and unstressed, they function beyond the word level, modifying a predicate phrase (including its object, if any), and they have a fixed position in a clause, namely they cliticize to the final word of a predicate phrase. (Schachter, 1985: 53-61; Payne, 1997: 21-23, Spencer, 1991:350-396). Since Adang is a predicate final (or SOV) language, the clitics normally appear at the end of a clause. In (36) below, for example, the clitic *eh* or *am* is cliticized to
the noun *guru* 'teacher' in (a), the adjectival verb *bune* 'hot' in (b), the verb *dou* 'cook' in (c) and the verb *lesam* 'go into' (of serial verbs *sam bag lesam*) in (d).

(36). a). Roni guru-am
   Roni teacher-PERF
   'Roni has become a teacher'

b). Sei bune-eh
   water hot-PROG
   'Water is (being) hot'

c). Rin ala dou-eh
   Rin rice cook-PROG
   'Rin is cooking rice'

d). Manu sam bag le-sam-am
   Manu go houselhome ALL-go-PERF
   'Manu has gone (into) home'

As observed from the examples above, the noun, the adjectival verb, the verb and the serial verb, cliticized by the clitics, function as the predicate of each of the clauses. This provides another property of the clitics; that is they function to modify the predicate of a clause, regardless of the word class that functions as the predicate. Thus, they can also modify a numeral, or a spatial deictic when functioning as the predicate of a clause as in (37).

(37). a). Od nu-am.
   hour one-PERF
   '(It has been) one o clock already'

b). Ella fa-l-e-eh.
   Ella go there-DIR-DIST-PROG
   'Ella is (being) over there'

The progressive clitic *-eh*, however, rarely modifies nominal, stative verbal and adjectival predicates. The noun *guru* 'teacher', for example although it can be modified by the perfective clitic when functioning as a predicate, as in (36. a), is rarely modified by the progressive clitic. Similarly, the adjectival verb *lafat* 'young' is rarely modified by the progressive clitic. When a noun or an adjectival verb like *lafat* is cliticized by the progressive clitic, it is very likely that the progressive clitic functions in conjunction with the
evidential particle *dai*. With the evidential particle, a speaker assures the hearer that the progressive event, whether expressed by a noun, a stative verb, or by adjectival verb, is true based on the speaker’s knowledge. (See the detailed description of the evidential particle in 4.6). Following are four examples. Example (c) and (d) are also acceptable but rare. Therefore, I put two question marks in front of the two examples.

(38). a). Roni dai guru-eh
    Roni EVID teacher-PROG
    ‘Roni is still (being) a teacher’

    c). ??Roni guru-eh
    Roni teacher-PROG
    ‘Roni is (being) a teacher’

b). Nina dai lafat-eh
    Nina EVID young-PROG
    ‘Nina is still (being) young’

d). ??Nina lafat-eh
    Nina young-PROG
    ‘Nina is (being) young’

Example (39) illustrates the fact that when nouns (a, c), verbs (d), or adjectival verbs (b) function as a subject or an object or as the modifier of a noun in a subject or object position, they cannot be modified have clitics attached. Note that sentences (c) and (d) must not be confused with sentence (e) or (f). These two sentences (e-f) contain a nominalized clause, the predicate of which is cliticized by a clitic.

    Roni-PERF teacher

    c). *Roni guru-am sam sakolah;
    Roni teacher-PERF go school

b). *Rin sei bune-eh na
    Rin water hot-PROG drink

d). *Sa name bel beh-am hukuy
    3SG.NOM person dog hit-PERF punish

e). Roni ba guru-am ho sam sakolah
    Roni that teacher-PERF DEF go school
    ‘That Roni who has become a teacher went to school’

f). Sa name bel beh-am ho hukuy
    3SG.NOM person dog hit-PERF DEF punish
    ‘S/he punished the person who had hit dogs’. 
As mentioned earlier, the clitics are cliticized to the final element of a predicate, namely the element that occurs at the end of a clause. This means that when a predicate verb or noun is followed by a modifier, the clitics are attached to the modifier. In (40), for example, the clitics (-eh or -am) is cliticized to the adjectival verb *mate* that functions to modify the noun *guru* in (a), to the adverb *biP* that modifies the adjectival verb *bune* in (b) and the verb *Pae* in (c) and to the adverb *nene* that modifies the verb *Pae* in (d).

(40). a). Roni guru *mate-am*  
Roni teacher big-PERF  
‘Roni has become a big teacher’

b). *Sei bune biP-am*  
water hot very/a lot-PROG  
‘Water has become very hot’

c). Aru na *Pae-de biP-eh*  
deer thing (=crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot-PROG  
‘Deer are eating crops a lot’

d). *Aru Pe na Pae-de biP nene-am*  
deer NEG thing (=crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot NEG-PERF  
‘Deer have not eaten crops a lot any more’

The next example (41), shows the interaction between a clitic and the negative adverb *nene* and the negative particle *Pe* in modifying a negative clause or predicate. Recall that the negative adverb *nene* is a sentential adverb which is also placed at the end of a clause. The scope of negation expressed by *nene* can be delimited by the negative particle *Pe*. A relevant characteristic or property of clitics is that they occupy a fixed position in a clause, “in relation to some other sentence element” (Schachter, 1985: 53; see also 54-61; Anderson, 1985:154-158; Payne, 1997: 21-23, Spencer, 1991:350-396). What the other element is, is dependent on whether the clitics function at a phrase level or a clause level. As
for -eh and -am, they are enclitics, namely they occur after the other element in a predicate phrase. I suggest that the other element is, if not the whole predicate phrase, the element that occupies the initial position of the predicate phrase. Now, let us observe example (41). Each pair of square brackets ([…]) in the example indicates a phrase.

(41). a). Nico [[Pe na Pa-de nene]-am]  
Nico NEG thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat NEG-PERF  
‘Nico has not eaten food’ (the same as (c))  
(i). [Pe ... nene]-am

b). Nico [Pe na Pa-de-am] nene  c). Nico [[na Pa-de nene]-am]  
Nico NEG thing (= food) 3.OBV-eat-PERF NEG  
Nico thing 3.OBV-eat NEG-PERF  
‘It is not that Nico had eaten food’  
(ii). [Pe ...-am] nene

Nico NEG thing (= food) 3.OBV-eat NEG  
Nico food 3.OBV-eat NEG  
‘Nico did not eat food’

In (e) of example (41), the negation expressed by the sentential negative adverb nene has scope over the whole clause. In (d) the negation is delimited by the negative particle Pe. (see 4.4, for details). Sentence (a) and (c) has the same meaning though they have different sentence structure: structure (i) and (iii). The two examples tell us that like Pe, a clitic (like -am in the example) can delimit the negation expressed by the adverb nene when it is cliticized to the adverb, regardless of whether or not Pe is also present to delimit the negation. As can be seen, the negation in both (a) and (c) has scope over the predicate phrase only. The two examples also tell us that like Pe, a clitic functions only at the level of a predicate phrase.
Now, let us observe (41. b). The aspectual clitic -am in (b) is not cliticized to the negative adverb nene. Instead it is cliticized to the verb Pade of the predicate phrase. There are two consequences of the cliticization of -am to the verb (and not to the adverb). Firstly, the clitic functions in relation to the particle Pe that occupies the initial position of the predicate phrase to function at the level of the predicate. Secondly, like the clitic, Pe in the sentence no longer functions to delimit the negation expressed by the sentential adverb nene because it functions in relation to the clitic. (Note again that the clitics -eh and -am cliticize to the final element of a predicate phrase). The sentential adverb nene, then modifies the whole clause. As can be seen from the example, the negation expressed by nene has scope over the whole sentence.

To conclude, examples (36-41) show that -eh and -am are clitics. They function at the level of a predicate phrase. They are always cliticized to the final element of a predicate phrase because they are phonologically light words and unstressed. As they function at the level of a predicate phrase, they can also delimit the negation expressed by the sentential negative adverb nene when they are cliticized to the adverb.

We turn now to the morphosyntactic properties of the inceptive particle eham. I call eham ‘particle’ because it is phonologically not a ‘light word’ and not unstressed (Schachter, 1985: 53-61; Payne, 1997: 21-23, Spencer, 1991:350-396) when compared with -eh and -am. Therefore it is not attached or cliticized to a word. Other properties (functional and distributional) of eham are shared with the two clitics, namely: it functions to modify
the predicate phrase (including its object, if any), and distributionally, it occurs at the end of a clause. Semantically the particle and the clitics express aspect (4.5.2).

In (42), *eham* modifies the noun *guru* in (a), the adjectival verb *bun* in (b), and the verb *dou* in (c). Each of the words functions as the predicate of each sentence or clause in the example.

(42). a). Roni guru *eham*
   Roni teacher INC
   'Roni is about to become a teacher'

b). Sei *bun* eham
   water hot INC
   'Water is about to become hot'

c). Ince ala *dou* eham
   Ince rice cook INC
   'Ince is about to cook rice'

Example (42) also shows that *eham* is placed at the end of a clause, i.e., the end of a predicate phrase. When the predicate head noun or verb is followed by a modifier, the particle *eham* is placed after the modifier. In (43), for example, the particle is placed after the adjectival verb *mate* that modifies the predicate head noun *guru* in (a). Similarly, it is placed after the adverb *bi* that modifies the predicate head adjectival verb *bun* in (c) and after the negative adverb *nen* that modifies the verb *dou* in conjunction with the negative particle *pe* in (e). Examples (b, d) are not accepted because the particle is not placed at the end of the predicate phrase.

(43). a). Roni guru *mate* eham
   Roni teacher big INC
   'Roni is about to become a big teacher'

b). *Roni guru eham mate*
   Roni teacher INC big
c). Sei bune bi? eham
    water hot very INC
    ‘Water is about to become very hot’

d). *Sei bune eham bi?
    water hot INC very

e). Ince (Pe) ala dou nene eham
    Ince NEG rice cook NEG INC
    ‘Ince is about to not cook rice (any more)’
    (i.e. her job is cooking rice but it is about to finish)

f). Ince Pe ala dou eham nene
    Ince NEG rice cook INC NEG
    ‘It is not that Ince is about to cook rice’

Example (f) above is possible because the negative adverb nene is a sentential adverb which is normally placed at the end of a clause to negate a whole clause. As with the clitic -am (and also -eh) exemplified in (41), however, the function of the negative sentential adverb nene (i.e. the negation it expresses) can be delimited by the particle eham or the negative particle Pe or both, to have scope over a predicate phrase only (43. e).

Examples (42-43) show that, except for the phonological property that eham is not a light word and not unstressed, it has the same functional and distributional properties as the clitics -eh and -am.

4.5.2. The semantic properties of the aspectual clitics and particle

As seen in the discussion in 4.5.1, semantically the aspectual clitic -am marks a perfective event, -eh marks a progressive event and the particle eham marks an inceptive event. A detailed description is presented below.
4.5.2.1. Perfective events and progressive events: ‘-am’ and ‘-eh’

I call -am a perfective clitic because the event it marks is bounded temporally. (Bybee et al, 1994: 54, 125-6, 317, Frawley, 1992: 298-312, Comrie, 1976). It indicates that the event it marks has taken place in a certain period of time. The period of time bounded by the event, or the duration of the event, can be relatively long or relatively short, or even punctual (i.e. a momentary event), depending on the nature of the event itself. To illustrate, I first present the following example with an illustrative figure. The dashed vertical line of the figure indicates the start of the event, the horizontal line with arrow represent the event, whereas the bold vertical line indicates the end. The dotted vertical line on the bold line indicates the reference time of the event. In the example the reference time is the moment of speaking.

(44). B has been working in Australia for about ten years. On a holiday he went to country C when he met an old friend of his: A. All that A knew about B is B came to Australia to study and it was only for a short period. Following is a short dialogue:

a). A: A karesap-am* em dai
   2SG.NOM work-PERF or EVID (= not yet)
   'Have you worked / been working yet or not, indeed?'

b). B: Na karesap-am
   1SG.NOM work-PERF
   'I have worked'

c). B: Na karesap tun er-nu-am
   SG.NOM work year ten-one-PERF
   'I have worked for ten years'

As observed from the examples, a piece of evidence that a clause marked -am expresses a perfective event is that the clause can be modified by an adverb expressing the period of time bounded by the event it expresses, as in (44. c). The period of time of a perfective event, however, is not always explicitly expressed in a clause marked -am, as
shown in (44. b). In most cases, the period of time bounded by a perfective event is only contextually understood. Therefore, a clause like (b) can have two readings.

As Adang does not have a tense marker on verbs a perfective event marked -am can either have taken place in the past, or take place in the present time depending on the temporal context of the event. With respect to the example (44. b), if it exists without a context, it can be translated roughly into English as ‘I have worked’ or ‘I had worked’.

I present the following example (45) to distinguish a perfect event marked -am (as in 44), from a progressive event marked by the progressive aspectual clitic -eh. Observe that a clause which is marked progressive by the progressive aspectual clitic -eh, cannot be modified by an adverb expressing a duration of time. Sentence (45. c), therefore, is not accepted. The illustrative figure indicates that the event marked -eh (represented by the horizontal line with arrow) started sometime before the time of speaking (represented by the dotted vertical line) and is still in progress at the time of speaking. Unlike the perfective in (44), the progressive event in (45. b) is not delimited by duration of time.

(45). a). A: A karesap-eh em aPai
   2SG.NOM work-PROG or not exist
   ‘Are you working or not?’

   b). B: Na karesap-eh
   1SG.NOM work-PROG
   ‘I am working’

   c). B: *Na karesap tun er-nu-eh
   SG.NOM work year ten-one-PROG
   *I am working ten years’

Based on the two examples (44-45) and the associated figures given above, observe that the essential point of a perfective event marked -am in Adang is the
delimitation of the event by the duration of time bounded by it. Whether or not the event is
completed or continues taking place beyond the delimitation point (of the duration of time)
is not essential for a perfective event marked -am. The essential point of a progressive event
as marked by -eh, on the other hand, is that at the time of speaking or other time
reference, the event is in progress. It is not delimited or bounded.

Following are more examples to contrast perfective events with progressive
events. From the context, it is understood that the event of eating food expressed in (46.
d) had taken place for a period of time and was completed prior to the time of speaking.
Unlike the perfect progressive event in (44), the event is a simple perfective event. The
contextual evidence that the event had been completed prior to the time of speaking is
that at the time of speaking, B who carried out the event has been doing or carrying out
another event as expressed in the second clause of (a).

(46). a). A: Name na Pa-de-am bo a dai karésaq-eh.
   people thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat-PERF but 2.SG.NOM EVID work-PROG
   'Other persons have started to eat food but you are still working, indeed.

   b). A: Od nu-am. Aer na Pa-de fe foi karésaq!
   hour one-PERF. stop thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat then again work.
   '(It is) one o clock already. Stop to eat food then work again!'

   c). A: A na Pa-de-am em dai?
   2SG.NOM thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat-PERF or EVID
   Have you eaten food or not yet, indeed?

   d). B: Na na Pa-de-am
   1SG.NOM thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat-PERF
   'I had eaten food'
I call the event expressed in the first clause of (46. a) and the first sentence of (46. b), 'perfective momentary' events (Frawley, 1992: 306-4, Comrie, 1976:17). They are punctual events, without duration of time.

The momentary event in the first clause of (46. a) is the event of starting to eat, The event can be confused with a progressive event like that expressed in the second clause of the sentence, especially because a sentence like *Name na Padeeh bo a dai karesapeh ‘People are eating food but you are still working’ is also possible. Again, a piece of evidence that the event expressed by the first clause of (a) marked -am is a perfective event is that the clause (or the event) can be modified by an adverb (e.g. menit alo, minute - two ‘two minutes’) expressing a period of time in which the event has taken place as in Name na Pade menit aloam bo a dai karesapeh ‘People have been eating food for two minutes but you are still working. The second clause, which is marked progressive by -eh, cannot be modified by the adverb. Therefore a sentence like *Name na Padesam bo a dai karesa menit aloeh is not accepted.

Note, however, that by adding an adverb expressing the duration of time as in the sentence Name na Pade menit aloam ..., the event expressed in the clause is no longer a

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5 The reason that the speaker in (46. a) chooses to use the sentence Name na Padesam bo a dai karesapeh to mean ‘Other people have started to eat but …’ instead of the possible sentence Name na Padeeh bo a dai karesapeh is because the speaker refers to the event of starting to eat but not the event of eating food. The meaning of the sentences (a-c) can be paraphrased as: Everyone is supposed to stop working at one o clock to begin eating food. Other persons have stopped and have started eating food. Why are you still working? Have you eaten food?
momentary event, because a clause expressing a momentary event, (although it is also marked perfective by -am) cannot be modified by an adverb expressing a period of time. A good example is with the clause *Od nu-am* 'It (has been) one a clock already' in (46. b) above. So far, I still not find a way to modify the sentence with an adverb that expresses the period of time in which the event has taken place. The reason, as mentioned above, is because a momentary event has no duration of time. It is only punctual (Frawley, 1992: 306-4).

The progressive clitic -eh, besides marking an event which is in progress at the time of speaking or another time reference, also marks an event which is taking place very soon. This event which is also marked -eh is very similar to the inceptive event marked by the inceptive particle *eham*. I shall provide examples of the event in the following section to contrast it with inceptive events.

4.5.2.2. Inceptive events: The particle 'eham'

The particle *eham* marks an event or an action which is about to take place. To be precise, it marks the situation at the starting point of an event. Therefore I call it an INC(eptive) aspectual particle. (Payne, 1997:95, Bybee, et al. 1994:75-76, Hurford and Heasley 1983:210).

Like a perfect progressive event marked -am and a progressive event marked -eh described before, an inceptive event marked *eham* can be confused with a perfective
momentary event marked -am, especially with a momentary event at the beginning of a longer event (like the event of starting to eat in (46. a) before). Therefore, I begin the description of the inceptive event marked eham with the following examples.

(47). Ella was working with her mother; by 5pm she stopped working, took a cooking pan and rice and said to her mother who was still working:

a). Nife; Na ala dou-am
   IPL.EX-mother; 1SG.NOM rice cook-PERF
   ‘Mother; I have started cooking rice’

b). # Nife; Na ala dou eham
   IPL.EX-mother; 1SG.NOM rice cook INC
   ‘Mother; I have started cooking rice’

       hurry plate prepare please
       ‘Prepare plate hurriedly please!’

 b). Ani na ɔa-de eham.
     Ani thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat INC
     Ani is about to eat.

c). # Ani na ɔa-de-am.
    Ani thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat-PERF
    Ani has started to eat food / has eaten food.

d). B: Na pɔŋ sadia eham
    1SG. NOM plate prepare INC
    ‘I am about to prepare plates’

e). B: Na pɔŋ sadia-am
    1SG. NOM plate prepare
    ‘I have prepared plates’

Based on the context provided, observe that the speaker (Ella) in (47. a) expresses the sentence just as soon after she started cooking rice. That is she, at the time of speaking, has already begun the event of cooking rice; and what she wants her mother to know that she cannot work with her mother anymore because she has started cooking rice. In that context, it is sentence (a) marked -am (perfective) that is appropriate, but not sentence (b) which is marked eham (inceptive). Therefore I put a disjoint mark (#) in front of (b) to indicate that it is not linked to the given context. The clitic -am in (a) marks a momentary event, namely the event of starting to cook rice.
Unlike the event of cooking rice in (47), the event expressed by na pade 'eat food' marked *eham in (48. b) has not taken place yet. It is still at a preparation stage; and that the actor of the event (Ani) has not begun to be involved in the event yet. Therefore, it is sentence (b) marked *eham (inceptive) that is appropriately linked to (a) but not sentence (c) which is marked -am (perfective). I put a disjoint mark (#) in front of (c) because the sentence is not linked to (a). To respond to (a), however, both sentences (d) marked *eham (inceptive) and (e) marked -am (perfective) are possible, depending on whether or not B has prepared plates.

Following are two more examples to contrast an inceptive event (49) with a perfective (not a momentary) event (50). The events expressed in all the examples refer to the moment of speaking as the referent time. As observed from the examples, a sentence expressing an inceptive event at the moment of speaking cannot be modified by the temporal adverb *fede 'a moment ago' (not beyond a day) (49. b) because the event it expresses has not taken place yet. Similarly, the sentence cannot be modified by the temporal adverb *pane 'in a moment' (not beyond a day) (49. c) because the event it expresses is not to be carried out in the near future. The event is only about to take place at the time of speaking.

(49). a). Manu fa lol *eham
   Manu coconut climb INC
   'Manu is about to climb coconut trees’

   b). *Manu *fede fa lol *eham
      Manu a moment ago coconut climb INC

   c). *Manu *pane fa lol *eham
      Manu in a moment coconut climb INC
Unlike a sentence expressing an inceptive event, a sentence expressing a perfective event, i.e. a simple perfective event, can be modified by the temporal adverb *fede2* (50. a) because the event it expresses has taken place and was completed prior to the time of speaking. The sentence, however, cannot either be modified by the temporal adverb *pane2* ‘in a moment’ (50. b) because the event it expresses has, indeed, taken place and was completed prior to the time of speaking.

Note, however, that when the referent time of the events expressed in the unacceptable clauses in (49. b-c) (50. b) above refer to another referent time and not the time at the moment of speaking, the clauses can be accepted. To illustrate, I repeat the clauses in the following complex sentences with a different time reference, but not the time at the moment of speaking.

(51). a). *Fede2 Manu fa lol eham he2e na lame a moment a go Manu coconut climb INC when 1SG.NOM walk (=leave) ‘A moment ago, when Manu was about to climb coconut trees, I left’

b). *Pane2 Manu fa lol eham fe na lame in a moment Manu coconut climb INC FOC 1SG.NOM walk (=leave) ‘It is in a moment, at the time when Manu is about to climb coconut trees that I shall leave’

c). *Pane2 Manu fa ho lol-am fe supi 2a-bo2oi in a moment Manu coconut DEF climb-PERF FOC 3PL 3.OBV-cut ‘It is in a moment, after Manu have climbed the coconut trees, that they will cut (them)’
From the example (51) above, observe that the inceptive event expressed by the clause *Manu fa lol cham...* in (a) took place in the past in reference to the time at which the event expressed by the second clause *Na lame* in (a) took place. Both events expressed by the two clauses in the sentence took place in the past because the temporal adverb *fedeP* is a sentential adverb that modifies the whole sentence. Similarly, the reference time of the inceptive event expressed by the first clause *Manu fa lol cham...* in (b) is the time of the event expressed by the second clause *Na lame* in (b) which is going to take place in the near future. The time reference of the event expressed by the first clause *Manu fa ho lolam* in (c) is the time of the event expressed by the second clause *supi fabo Poi. PaneP* in both (b-c) also modifies the whole sentences; and that both events expressed by both clauses in each sentence are going to take place in the near future.

The following two examples are to contrast an inceptive event and an event which is taking place very soon marked -eh (progressive). From the two examples, first observe that clause (52. b) marked *eham* (inceptive) is linked to (52. a). By contrast, (52. c) marked -eh (progressive) is not linked to (52. a).

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The scope of temporal expressed by the two temporal adverbs can be delimited by placing them in a different position. Thus, the temporal scope expressed by *fedeP* in *Manu fedeP fa lol cham he fe, na lame* is only over the event of Manu climbing coconut tree expressed by the underlined clause. Similarly, the scope of temporal expressed by *paneP* in *Manu fa bo lo i-am fe supi paneP Fabo Poi* is only over the event of the cutting of the coconut tree expressed by the underlined clause; the other part of the sentence: *Manu fa bo lo lam* is not modified by *paneP* and that the time of the event of Manu climbing coconut tree it expresses is not known, although contextually, it is also refer to the future. The two adverbs can be dropped from the sentences in (51); but when they are dropped the sentences are ambiguous, i.e., the events expressed in each of the sentences either refer to the past or to the future.
In (53), sentence (b) marked -eh (progressive) is linked to (a); but (d) marked eham (inceptive) is not linked to (a). Even (d) and (e) are not linked to each other.

The different contextual situation observed between (52) and (53) is that, in (52) the actor of the event of eating food (i.e. Ani) is ready. The state of her readiness to eat food is marked inceptive by eham in (53. b). It cannot be marked -eh (progressive). Therefore, (52. c) is not linked to (52. a). Unlike the contextual situation of (52), the actor of the event of eating food (i.e. Ani) in (53) is not ready yet. Even A is still asking B whether or not s/he wants Ani to eat ahead of him/her. As B wants Ani not to wait but to eat food ahead of him, which means that the event of Ani’s eating food is taking place very soon, he marks his utterance with -eh. He cannot mark his utterance inceptive with eham (#53. c) because Ani, at the moment of his speaking, is not ready to eat yet.
Again, the two examples above tell us that the particle *eham* marks an inceptive situation at the beginning or the starting point of an event. The clitic *-eh*, on the other hand besides marking an event which is in progress at the time of speaking or other time reference, also marks an event which is taking place very soon. The difference between an inceptive event marked *eham* or a progressive event, especially an event which is taking place very soon, marked *-eh*, and a perfective momentary event marked *-am* is that a perfective momentary event has a sense of completeness even when it refers to the event of starting to do a longer event. Inceptive events and event which are taking place very soon, marked *-eh* (progressive), on the other hand, do not have the sense of completeness.

In conclusion, Adang has one aspectual particle and two aspectual clitics: the aspectual particle *eham* marks inceptive aspect; the clitic *-eh* marks progressive aspect; and the perfective clitic *-am* marks a perfective aspect, including a momentary or punctual event.

4.6. The evidential particle ‘dai’

Anderson defines evidentials, as in (3), and infers three properties of evidentials, as in (8-9), of the following:

(3a) Evidentials show the kind of justification for a factual claim which is available to the person making that claim, whether direct evidence plus observation (no inference needed), evidence plus inference, inference (evidence unspecified), reasoned expectation from logic and other facts, and whether the evidence is auditory, or visual, etc. (3b) Evidentials are not themselves the main predication of the clause but are rather a specification added to a factual claim ABOUT SOMETHING ELSE. (3c) Evidentials have the indication of evidence as in (a) as their primary meaning, not only as pragmatic inference. (3d) Morphologically, evidentials are inflections, clitics or other free syntactic elements (not compound or derivational forms). ... (8) Evidentials are normally used in assertions (realis clauses), not in irrealis clauses, nor in presuppositions. (9a) When the
claimed fact is directly observable by both speaker and hearer, evidentials are rarely used (or have a special emphatic or surprisal sense). (9b) When the speaker (first person) was a knowing participant in some event... the knowledge of that event is normally direct and evidentials are then often omitted (Anderson 1986: 274, 277).

Willett (1988:52-57), in a cross-linguistic survey of evidentiality, observes different views concerning evidentiality, especially with respect to what area of semantic domain or modality ‘evidentiality’ refers to. A common thread, however, is that evidentiality is “the linguistic means of indicating how the speaker obtained the information on which s/he bases an assertion” (p.55). In terms of evidence of an assertion, Willett (1988: 57), (see also Payne, 1997: 251-2) distinguishes indirect from attested (direct) evidence. The attested evidence involves visual, auditory, and other sensory inputs. He also observes a frequent interaction of evidentiality with tense and aspect, which he says has a significant bearing on the origin of the grammatical evidentials.

With respect to dai in Adang, I have called it ‘evidential particle’ to distinguish it from the modal adverbs l'ui and mal' described in 4.2.1-4.2.2 because it has two distinctive properties not shared with the adverbs. These properties characterize it as an evidential marker, with a few additional distinctive properties that are unusual for evidentials in other languages. Firstly, it has an interaction with tense (it can indicate times of an event), aspect, the polarity of an event, and also with the expectation (contra-expectation) toward the

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7 There is some view that evidentiality is a type of, or is in the area, of epistemic modality. See Chafe (1986:261-272); Palmer (1986) and Lyons(1977). See also Chung and Timberlake’s (1985: 244-6) “epistemological mode”; Payne (1997: 251-257). Willet (1988) and Anderson tend not to regard evidentials as in the area of epistemic modality.

8 Compare Chung and Timberlake’s (1985: 244) four sources of evidence: experiential = the event is experienced by the source; inferential = inferred from evidence, quotative = told to the speaker, and submode or construct: thought, belief and fantasy.
Secondly, it marks or indicates the speaker's assertion of an event based on evidence: the speaker's own knowledge about the event. Thus, *dai* is a "first-hand" (Payne, 1997:254) or direct or "attested" (Willett, 1988: 57) evidential marker.

The second property mentioned above is rather obscure. This is primarily because *dai* is the only evidential particle in Adang and also because the source of evidence (knowledge about the event) is the speaker himself. As the way the speaker obtained the knowledge is not indicated by *dai*, whether "visual", "auditory", or "other sensory" (Willett, 1988: 57), it can be difficult to identify what really is the speaker's evidence that he uses to assert an event. As I shall illustrate, the way *dai* functions is by incorporating or merging the speaker's assertion with the situation of the event, i.e. in terms of time, aspect and polarity of the event, and the expectation toward the event. (From here on, I use 'the situation of an event' to refer to these factors of time, aspect, polarity and expectation). This means that the situation of the event itself is the speaker's knowledge or evidence based on which he makes his assertion.

It is because *dai* incorporates the situation of an event with the speaker assertion that it interacts with tense, aspect, polarity and expectation toward an event and can also express negation and tense of an event. In this case, when *dai* incorporates the speaker's assertion with the situation of a recent past, an inceptive event, or an event which is taking place very

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9 The interaction of evidentials with tense and aspect is also very common in, for example, Wintu (Schlichter, 1986), Kashaya (Oswalt, 1986), Tibetan (DeLancey, 1986), Sherpa (Woodbury, 1986), Akha (Thurgood, 1986) and Chinese Pidgin Russian (Nichols, 1986).

10 With this respect, evidentiality of *dai* is slightly different from evidentials in, for example, Kashaya (Oswalt, 1986: 29-45), Japanese (Aoki, 1986: 223-238) and Makah (Jacobsen, Jr, W.H. 1986:3-28 ), but rather similar to evidentials in the Balkans: Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian (Friedman, 1986:168-187) where source of evidence is not indicated.
soon, it is obvious that the way the speaker obtained the knowledge is by witnessing the events. This can involve all the three ways of obtaining evidence, namely visual, auditory and other sensory mentioned above. But when *dai* incorporates the speaker's assertion with the situation of a past event, it is mostly (but not always) difficult to identify the way he obtained the knowledge.

Table 4-4 below exemplifies the characteristics of *dai*, especially its interactions with time, aspect, polarity, expectation toward an event, and the speaker assertion of the event. (Note that the table exemplifies but does not exhaustively list the characteristics *dai*). The table shows two properties of *dai* which are not typical of evidentiality. First, *dai* can function in interrogative sentences, as in (2, 11) and second it can also indicates a possibility of an event as in (9). I suggest that this is possible, because *dai* only incorporates the situation of an event with the speaker's assertion. Indeed, in an interrogative sentence the speaker is requesting for (or probing) the actuality of an event. This is particularly true with an ongoing event expressed by a stative verb, like adjectival verb or noun, as shown in (11-15).

As can also be seen in the table, the interaction of *dai* with the polarity of an event results in different distributions of *dai*. In a positive sentence, it always occupies the initial position of a predicate phrase (before an object if any), but in a negative sentence it can occupies three different positions: it occupies the initial position of a predicate phrase, the final position of a negative clause and, as I shall illustrate, it can also appear alone to represent a negative event. I present a detailed description beginning with the function of *dai* in positive sentences, as in 4.6.1.
Table 4-4: The interaction of ‘dai’ with (tense) aspect and polarity markers and its distribution in a sentence: an example. (SPK in the table stands for speaker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample sentences with/without ‘dai’</th>
<th>Possible meanings in contexts</th>
<th>SPK’s assertion / Aspect, time &amp; contrastive situation of event</th>
<th>Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roni lame-am? (Roni - leave-PER) 1</td>
<td>Has Roni left?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>em ‘or’ + dai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni lame-am EMPL. dai? 2</td>
<td>‘Has Roni left or he has not, indeed/ actually?’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni lame-am (Roni - leave-PERF) 3</td>
<td>‘Roni has left’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni dai lame Evid leave</td>
<td>‘Roni just left recently’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>dai + V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni dai lame eham</td>
<td>‘Roni is leaving, any way’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>dai + V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni dai lame-am Evid</td>
<td>‘Roni has left, after all’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>witnessed/ contra expectation, PERF, positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni Pe lame nene-am</td>
<td>‘Roni has not left’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni NEG leave NEG-PERF</td>
<td>‘Roni has not left actually’ (He was supposed to, but he did not)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>witnessed / contra expectation, negative perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni Pe lame nene-am Evid NEG-PERF</td>
<td>‘Roni did not leave’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>witnessed &amp; asserts that it’s good that the event did not take place but / contrast to the hearer’s expectation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni Pe lame nene NEG</td>
<td>‘Roni was not a teacher’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina bit-e Roni dai guru-eh</td>
<td>‘Is Roni a teacher?’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina say-IS Roni EVID teacher-PREG</td>
<td>‘Roni actually a teacher?’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>See 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni guru</td>
<td>‘Roni is a teacher’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roni Pe guru-eh</td>
<td>‘Roni is actually a teacher’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina bit-e Roni Pe guru-eh</td>
<td>‘Is Roni actually a teacher?’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>See 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina say-IS Roni EVID teacher-PREG</td>
<td>‘Roni actually a teacher’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>witnessed; / the event is actual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina bit-e Roni, guru-eh</td>
<td>IS = Indirect speech suffix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table provides examples of how the word ‘dai’ interacts with aspect and polarity markers in speech, and how it changes the meaning of the sentence. The construction column indicates how the SPK’s assertion is made, with '+', 'em 'or', and 'NEG + V' indicating specific constructions.
4.6.1. The function of 'dai' in positive sentences

In (54), (repeated from 4.5.1), *dai* functions in conjunction with the progressive aspectual clitic *-eh*. As I have noted earlier, (c-d) are acceptable but very rare. The reason is because the predicates of the two clauses, which express progressive events, are noun (c) and adjectival verb (d) and the events are stative, not dynamic.

(54). a). Roni dai guru-eh  
Roni EVID teacher-PROG  
(I know that) 'Roni is actually a teacher'

b). Nina dai lafat-eh  
Nina EVID young-PROG  
(I know that) 'Nina is actually young'

c). ?Roni guru-eh  
Roni teacher-PROG  
'Roni is (being) a teacher'

d). ?Nina lafat-eh  
Nina EVID young-PROG  
'Nina is (being) young'

e). Roni guru  
Roni teacher  
'Roni is a teacher'

f). Nina lafat  
Nina EVID young-PROG  
'Nina is young'

However, (54. a-b) are acceptable. With the presence of the evidential particle *dai* in the two sentences, the speaker indicates that he knows (or witnesses) the event expressed in each of the sentences and that the event, particularly the progressive situation is true, even though the event is expressed by a predicate noun or adjectival verb. The meaning of the two sentences imply a contrast to expectation. For example, the hearer may be expecting that Roni is not a teacher. The speaker, therefore assures him/her that Roni is actually a teacher. To compare, I provide (e, f) where the events in the two sentences are neutral and, therefore, not marked *dai*.
I give a similar example in (55) below. The example is, particularly, to show that when dai marks the evidence of a proposition expressed by a positive sentence, it occupies the position at the beginning of a predicate phrase to function at the level of the predicate phrase. From the example, observe that (a) is accepted but not (b). The reason that (b) is not accepted is because the particle dai in the example is separated by the sentential temporal adverb fede from the predicate phrase of which dai is a part.

(55). a). Nina fede dai ala dou-eh (he p) na lame
    Nina a moment ago EVID rice cook-PROG (when) 1SG.NOM walk (=leave)
    (As I witnessed) ‘Nina was still cooking rice a moment ago when I left’

b). *Nina dai fede ala dou-eh na lame
    Nina EVID a moment ago rice cook-PROG 1SG.NOM walk (=leave)

In (f) of the following example, dai functions in conjunction with the inceptive aspectual particle eham to provide evidence that the proposition expressed in (f) is true. The evidence of the proposition that dai incorporates with the speaker’s assertion is the inceptive situation expressed by eham and also the expectation for Rin to cook rice which is obtained from the context of the event. Thus, the way the speaker obtains the knowledge (evidence) about the event is by witnessing (direct evidence). Since dai in the example incorporates the speaker’s assertion with the inceptive and the contra-expectation situation, it has a reading like ‘(about to) .. instead of .. ’ in English. The meaning of the sentence can also be paraphrased as ‘She (Rin) is leaving, any way’.

(56). Rin (A) got dressed to go shopping. Before leaving, she let Roni (B) know where she is going to (a way of greeting in Adang):
a). A: Roni, na sam don
   ‘Roni, I am going shopping’

b). B: Ince a-hou ala dou ho?
   ‘As for Ince requested that you cook rice? (= What about cooking rice, as Ince asked you?)

c). A: (No response, as she is busy preparing herself to go)

d). B : A ano fa-hou ala dou, Ince?
   ‘Whom did you ask to cook rice, Ince?’

e). C (Ince): Rin
   ‘Rin’

e). B: Sa dai lame eham
   ‘She is about to leave, instead. (of cooking)’

g). (#) B: Sa lame eham
   ‘She is about to leave’

Sentence (g) of the example above is given to contrast a proposition marked dai with a proposition not marked dai. Other sentences (a-e) are given only as the context of (f). The difference between the two sentences is that sentence (g) can be not linked to the context provided. The reason is as the speaker is motivated by the context provided, he should assure his hearer (Ince) that his proposition that Rin is leaving, instead of cooking rice is true. With the assurance, it is expected that Ince will do something to prevent Rin from leaving because Rin is supposed to cook rice. The assurance, however, is not given in (g) as the proposition expressed in (g) is not marked dai. However, in cases where the speaker wants to withhold knowledge, he still can also use (g) in the context. In this way, (g) still can be linked to the context. For this reason, I put a bracketed disjoint marker ((#)) in front of (g).

Phonologically, dai in the example tends to take a primary sentence accent. Moreover, the speaker can also accompany his utterance with, for example, a gesture towards Rin who is ready to go.
In (f) of the next example, I modify the sentence *sa dai lame eham* into *sa dai lame* and put it in a slightly different context. Thus, *dai* in the example functions alone, not in conjunction with any particle, clitic or adverb. To make clear the difference between *sa dai lame eham* (56. f) and *sa dai lame*, I also give (h). The situation that *dai* incorporates with the speaker's assertion in the example is Rin (A) is expected to cook rice (b, c) but there is no rice to cook (c); therefore she is going to buy rice (a). The event of 'Rin’s going (shopping)', as also expressed in (f), is going to take place and the speaker is witnessing it. The incorporation of the contextual situation with the speaker's assertion results in the reading of *dai* (f) like a suggestion or permission, implying a contrast. The sentence therefore, means 'Let Rin go!' or literally 'It is true that Rin go (instead of cooking rice now)'.

(57). Rin (A) got dressed to go shopping. Before leaving, she let Roni (B) know where she is going to (a way of greeting in Adang):

a). A: Roni, na sam don
   Roni, 1SG.NOM go shopping
   ‘Roni, I am going shopping’

b). B: Ince a-hou ala dou ho?
   Ince 2SG-ask rice cook DEF
   ‘As for Ince requested that you cook rice? (= What about cooking rice, as Ince asked you?)

c). A: Na sam ala fel fit ho? e dou; em (na) naha dou?
   1SG go rice buy carry arrive and cook; or (1SG.NOM) what cook
   ‘I go to buy rice (then) to bring (home) and cook; Or what will I cook?’

d). B: e lame!
   and (=then) walk (= go)
   ‘(If so) then go!’

11 The meaning of *dai* in the example and context is rather similar to (but not exactly the same as) that expressed by the necessity modal adverb *Pui* ‘necessary’ (4.2.1).
e). Ince (C) knowing that Rin is ready to go says:

C: Rin, a taro le-(s)am so; na a-hou ala dou!
Rin, 2SG.NOM where ALL-go FOC 1SG.NOM 2SG-ask rice cook
'Rin, where are you going (in)to?; I asked you to cook rice!'

Roni addresses to Ince:

f). B: Sa lame
3SG.NOM walk (= go)
'Let her go (instead of cooking rice)!'

(Lit. It is true that she goes, instead of cooking rice now).

h). B: # Sa dai lame eham
3SG.NOM EVID walk (= leave) INC
'He is about to leave, instead. (of cooking)'

From (56-57), observe that in a context where the speaker asserts that an event which is going to take place is true but contrary to an expectation, he uses *dai* in conjunction with an aspectual marker (*eham*) in (56). Conversely, when speaker asserts that the event is true and necessary to take place, he uses *dai* without any aspectual marker\(^\text{12}\) (57). Example (57. h) is not linked to the context provided, especially to (c). The proposition in (g) is neutral. The sentence only has a normal reading.

Example (58. b) below is repeated from (57. f) in a different context. In the example, *dai* also functions alone to give evidence that the proposition, i.e. the event of Roni’s leaving recently expressed in the sentence is true and that the event was witnessed by the speaker. The situation of the event that *dai* incorporates with the speaker assertion is in terms of the time of the event. The situation or the time of the event is clause-external, namely it is

\(^{12}\)This phenomenon is also applied to a past negative event (see (63) in 4.6.2) but not a recent past positive event as in (58).
obtained from the context of the event. *Dai* marks (and expresses) the situation recent past (*just recently*).

(58). A needs Roni but Roni was still busy discussing something with B in a room. To save time A went out to do something else while waiting for B to leave Roni. When he came back in, Roni was no longer there with B. Then he asked B:

a). A: Roni *lame*-am?
   Roni walk (leave)-PERF
   ‘Has Roni left?’

b). B: Roni *dai* *lame*-
   Roni EVID walk
   ‘Roni just left’ (Implying, I witnessed his leaving)

c). B: Roni *lame*-am
   Roni walk-PERF
   ‘Roni has left’

d). B: Roni *maP* *lame*-am
   Roni possible walk-PERF
   ‘Perhaps Roni has left’

Phonologically *dai* in the example and its context normally obtains the main stress. Moreover, in real life communication, the speaker can accompany his/her response (or utterance) with behavior such as getting out of his/her seat to look around whether or not Roni has not gone very far yet.

Indeed, to respond to (a) in the example, (c-d) are also possible depending on the speaker’s knowledge and his/her attitude toward the proposition s/he is expressing. As the speaker witnessed Roni’s leaving, he can assure A about Roni’s leaving recently with (b). But, when he wants to pretend not to know the event of Roni’s leaving he can also use (d). Sentence (c) is neutral, namely it is not marked with the speaker’s assertion (cf. *Roni dai lame*-am, *‘Roni has left, after all* (59. b) below). Moreover, the event expressed in (c) is a perfective event, as it is marked -am. Unlike (c), the event expressed in (b) is recent past. It only just took place very recently. (That’s also why the speaker can spontaneously accompany his utterance with the behavior as mentioned above).
The last example below, is modified from (58). In the example both (d) and (e) can be used to respond to (a, c) depending on the time of the event of Roni’s leaving. If the event just took place very recently, the speaker is very likely to use (e). Conversely if the event is not in the recent past, the speaker is likely to use (d). Example (f) is neutral.

(59). A want Roni to clean a house but Roni only left without doing the job. A who did not know that Roni has left asked B.

- a). A: Roni lame-am?
  Roni walk (leave)-PERF
  ‘Has Roni left?’

- b). B: Taro?ni
  why
  ‘Why?’

- c). A: Na Pa-hou bag sapu
  1SG.NOM 3.OBV-ask house clean
  ‘I asked him to clean the house’

- d). Roni dai lame-am
  Roni EVID walk-PERF
  ‘Roni has left, after all’

- e). Roni dai lame
  Roni EVID walk
  ‘Roni just left’
  (Implying, I witnessed his leaving)

- f). Roni lame-am
  Roni walk-PERF
  ‘Roni has left’

4.6.2. The function of the evidential 'dai' in negative sentences: ‘(Pe)...dai’, 'daieh' and 'daiam'

The evidence that dai, in functioning as an evidential particle, incorporates the situation of an event with the speaker's assertion should lead one to predict that when dai functions to mark the evidence of a negative event it will incorporate the negative situation of the event with the speaker's assertion. While the prediction is true (as I shall argue), the phenomenon observed is slightly different. To illustrate, I first present the following example.

(60). a). A: Nina ala dou-am em dai? (=Nina Pe ala dou dai)
  Nina rice cook-PERF or EVID
  ‘Has Nina cooked rice or (she) has not, indeed?’
b). B: Dai
  EVID
  "(She) has not;
  (but I suggest (?I know), she will)

c). Nina (Pe) ala dou dai
  Nina NEG rice cook EVID
  'Nina has not cooked rice yet’ (but I suggest she will)

As can be observed, *dai* in the example occupies positions different from that observed from the examples presented in 4.6.1. In the previous example (in 4.6.1), *dai* occupies the position at the beginning of a predicate phrase (before an object - if any) but in example (60), it is either used alone (a-b) to express and represent a negative perfective event (clause) or occurs at the end of a clause (60. c). The later position, (or distributional property) is shared with the negative adverb *nene* and with the inceptive aspectual particle *eham* (but not with the clitics *-eh* and *-am*) described earlier in 4.4-4.5.

Like the negative adverb *nene* (see details in 4.4), *dai* in the example functions at both a phrase (c) and a clause level. At a clause level, it can occur alone to express and represent a negative perfective event (clause), as observed from (a-b). The negative particle *Pe* which delimits the scope of negative perfective expressed by *dai* in (c) can also be dropped. Therefore, I put the particle in brackets. When *Pe* is dropped the negative perfective expressed by *dai* in the example has scope over the whole clause.

Semantically, *dai* in all sentences of the example appears to have a negative perfective meaning, implying a suggestion that the event will take place. The suggestion is

\[\text{(Intuitively) The negative perfective expressed by *dai* in the sentences, implies a sense of 'but I know she will'. So far, however, I still do not have evidence to claim that. The meaning of (60. d) is rather like English 'She has still/ yet to cook the rice' and the meaning of (c) is like 'Nina has not cooked rice but she has still/ yet to cook the rice'.}\]
similar to (but not exactly the same as) when *dai* functions without inceptive particle *eham* to mark evidence of a positive event which is going to take place, as exemplified in (57.f). The difference is that in a positive inceptive event, as in (57.f), the event is very likely to take place; or precisely: the event is taking place very soon. In a negative perfective event the suggested event is not taking place very soon.

Except for the semantic property (that I shall describe in detail later on), other properties of *dai* in (60) described above appear to distinguish it from *dai* described in 4.6.1. The difference, however, does not mean that *dai* in (60) is not evidential. Instead, as I shall argue here, *dai* in the example is evidential. The difference in distribution is due to its interaction with the negative particle *Pc* and the negative adverb *nene* to incorporate the situation of a negative event with the speaker’s assertion.

Some evidence for this claim is presented in the rest of this section. Example (61) illustrates the semantic (or the contextual meaning) of *dai* in a negative sentence. Sentence (61. a) is a negative sentence containing the evidential particle *dai* and (b) has what I regard as the ‘genuine’ negative perfective sentence in Adang. The proposition expressed by the genuine negative perfective sentence can also be marked with *dai*. When the proposition of the clause is marked *dai*, *dai* is placed at the beginning of the predicate of the clause, i.e. before the negative particle *Pc*. The negative adverb *nene* remains in its position and is cliticized by the perfective clitic -*am*, as exemplified in (c).

(61). a. Sa *Pc* lame *dai* 3SG.NOM NEG walk (= leave) EVID 'S/he has not left yet, but I suggest s/he will' b. Sa *Pc* lame *nene*-am 3SG.NOM NEG walk NEG-PERF 'S/he has not left' (There is no
suggestion that s/he will leave)

c). Sa  dai  pe  lame  nene-am  
SG.NOM EVID NEG walk  NEG-PERF  
'S/he has not actually left' (There is no suggestion that s/he will leave)

In (61. b), the genuine negative perfective sentence, there is no judgement by the speaker as to whether or not the person (s/he) will leave. Morphosyntactically, the sentence follows the typical pattern for a perfective sentence in Adang, i.e. it is modified by the perfective aspectual clitic -am attached to the negative adverb *nene* at the end of the clause.

Unlike (b), (a) is not modified by the perfective aspectual clitic. Moreover, the position of the negative adverb *nene* is filled by the evidential particle *dai*. Thus, *dai* is used in place of the adverb to indicate the negative perfective aspect of the event expressed in the sentence. The negative perfective expressed by *dai* implies a suggestion that the person (s/he) will leave, similar to that in (57.f).

When the proposition expressed by the genuine negative perfective sentence is marked with *dai*, *dai* incorporates the speaker's assertion with the perfective and the negative situation of the event; and also with a past time and a (contra) expectation situation. The past and expectation situation are only obtained from the context. I repeat (61. c) and put in a context, as in (62).

Rin go shopping TELL DEF 3SG.NOM walk (=leave)-PERF or EVID  
'As for the news (Lit.telling) that Rin wanted to go shopping, has she left or has she not, indeed?'

Remember that *dai* is also alternatively used to express/indicate time, aspect and contrast, as has been described in 4.6.1.
b). A: Sa dai *Pe lame nene-am
   SG.NOM EVID NEG walk NEG-PERF
   'S/he has not actually left' (There is no suggestion that s/he will leave)

   As illustrated with (a), sentence (b) is normally found in a context where, for example, a third person wanted to (or was supposed to) go somewhere but the speaker found out (before the time of speaking) that the person had not gone. When later on the speaker is asked whether or not the person has left, then he says: Sa dai *Pe lame nene-am. To paraphrase, the sentence means 'Despite the expectation that the person would leave, (I = the speaker found out that) he had not left'. (Whether or not the person will leave later on is not assessed by speaker here).

   A different example is given in (63. c), where dai marks the evidence of a negative (but not perfective) proposition. To compare, I repeat (62. b) in (63. d). Like (d = 62.b), dai in (63. b) incorporates the speaker's assertion with an expectation and a past time situation, besides the negative situation expressed by the negative adverb nene. As can be seen, however, (b) and (c) are properly linked in the context provided, but (b) and (d) are not. The reason is, as B knows that Rin is not feeling very well (b), he should choose to respond to A with (c) indicating that he agreed or allowed Rin not to go. However, in cases where the speaker wants to withhold knowledge, he still can also use (d) in the context. In this way, (d) still can be linked to the context. For this reason, I put a bracketed disjoint marker ((#)) in front of (d). When dai is absent as in (e), the meaning of the sentence is neutral, namely it

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1 As I mentioned in the introduction of this section, dai in the example, and also with other past time events, indicates that the speaker knew or witnessed that the event. Each example given along with the description in this section can be best understood in (real) contexts. This is particularly because dai does not indicate the way the speaker obtained knowledge of a past time event.
does not involve the speaker's assessment. Sentence (c) is a past negative counterpart of
(57. f) given in 4.6.1 before.

(63). a). A: Na Rin Pa-hou sam don; sa lame-am em dai
1SG.NOM Rin 3.OBV-go shopping 3SG.NOM walk (= leave)-PERF or EVID
'I asked Rin to go shopping; has she left or has she not, indeed?'

B: b). Pa-pan sah sah c). Sa dai 3e lame nene.
3.OBV-feeling bad bad 3SG.NOM EVID NEG walk NEG
'She is not very well'
(Lit. Her feeling is bad) (= I allowed him/ her not to go)

#

d). Sa dai 3e lame nene-am. e). Sa 3e lame nene
3SG.NOM EVID NEG walk NEG-PERF 3SG.NOM NEG walk NEG
'S/he has not actually left' 'S/he did not leave'

As mentioned earlier, dai can occur alone to express and represent a negative
perfective event. When dai appears on its own to express and represent a negative perfective
event, it can be cliticized by the aspectual clitics -eh and -am. An example is given (64).
(Note: The example should be seen with reference to examples (65-66) and their
description). From the example, first observe that dai (though having a negative perfective
meaning) can be cliticized by the aspectual clitic -eh (progressive) and particularly by the
perfective aspectual clitic -am. This is possible when it represents a negative perfective
event or clause and either appears on its own as in ( 64. b, d) or appears as a part of an
indirect speech, as in (65. d, 66. d). In (64. c, e) it cannot be cliticized by the clitics because
in the two examples it functions as a part of the two clauses and has the same distribution as
the aspectual clitics (and also the aspectual particle eham and the negative adverb nene).
The fact that *dai* (though having a negative perfective meaning) can be cliticized by the perfective aspectual clitic -am, indicates that it is not in complementary distribution with the aspectual clitics and so it is probably not an aspectual particle. As mentioned earlier, it can act as an alternative to negative adverb *nen* and the perfective clitic -am. In other words, the semantic evidence that *dai* has the perfective (and negative) meaning in the example (and also in the previous examples) is only because *dai* incorporates the speaker's assertion with the situation (including a perfective and a negative situation) of an event. Moreover, the cliticization of the aspectual clitics (-eh and -am) to *dai* in (64. b, d) is particularly because the speaker is determined to intensify his/ her assertion. This is particularly true in contexts where the speaker is encouraged to repeat his utterance, as exemplified in (65. d) and (66. d).
(66). a). A: Nina ala dou-am em dai?
   Nina rice cook-PERF or EVID
   'Has Nina cooked rice or (she) has not, indeed?'

   b). B: Dai

   c). A: Taro2-ni?
   'What?'

   d). Na bit-e: dai-am! ??dai
   1SG.NOM say-RS EVID-PERF
   'I said: "(she) has not" (and, e.g. she has started doing another thing, instead).

   (d) sometimes can be followed by, for example,

   e). Sa dai pip fe hafo2-am = Pip fe sa dai hafo-am
   3SG.NOM EVID plates FOC.OBJ. wash-PERF
   'It is plates that she has started to wash, after all'

From the two examples above, observe that dai in (d) of both examples is very unlikely to be used. Therefore, I put two question marks in front of it in both examples. The reason is because, in the context provided, dai (without being cliticized by -eh or -am), does not intensify the speaker's assertion. The difference between (65. d) and (66. d) is that, dai in (65. d) incorporates an expectation (from the hearer that the event has started to take place) and the progressive situation of the negative event with the speaker's assertion. The speaker assertion implies a suggestion that the event will take place later on. Literally, it means 'still has not...(but I suggest, she will)'. On the other hand, dai in (66. d) incorporates the expectation (that the event has started to take place) and negative perfective situation with the speaker assertion. The assertion implies a suggestion that a different event has started to take place instead of the expected event. Whether or not the expected event will take place later on is not assessed by the speaker. Phonologically, daieh and daiam in the two examples can take primary sentence accent; even occasionally the speaker can also utter the two particles in the context slowly (dai...eh!/dai...am)!.
The last example given in (67) below is concerned with the scope of the negative perfective that is alternatively expressed by *dai* to be incorporated with the speaker's assertion. From the example, observe that the negative perfective expressed by *dai* in (c) has scope over the whole clause. The meaning (the assertion) can imply a suggestion that the event will take place later on, but emphasis is given to the negative perfective sense. In other words, the negative perfective meaning expressed by *dai* in the example is more prominent than the suggestion implied. In contrast, when the scope of the negative perfective is delimited by the negative particle *pe* to have scope over only the predicate phrase of the clause, the suggestion expressed by *dai* becomes more prominent than (if not the same as) the negative perfective meaning. An example is given in (d).

(67). a. A: Nina ala dou-am *em* dai? (= (Nina) *pe* ala dou dai)
   Nina rice cook-PERF or EVID
   'Has Nina cooked rice or (she) has not, indeed?'

   b. B: Dai
   EVID
   '(She) has not;

   c. Nina ala dou *dai*
   Nina rice cook EVID
   'It is not that Nina cooked rice' (but I suggest, she will)

   d. Nina *pe* ala dou *dai*
   Nina NEG rice cook EVID
   'Nina has not cooked rice yet, but I suggest she will'

Note that the meaning of the negative adverb *nene* in the same construction, (as in *Nina ala dou nene 'It is/ was not that Nina cooked/ will cook rice*) involves the speaker's attitude, similar to (67. c). The difference is that with the negative adverb *nene*, the speaker's attitude involved is an imperative or command (a deontic mood), especially when referring to the future. With *dai* (as in the example above), the speaker's assertion is
concerned with the negative perfective situation of the event and the expectation toward the event.

4.6.3. The evidentiality of 'Pedai'

The last use of dai as the evidential particle to be presented here is concerned with the word Pedai 'about to... but did not' which is a combination of the particle dai and the negative particle Pe. Like the particle dai in marking the evidence of a positive proposition, Pedai occupies the initial position of the predicate phrase of a clause. The following piece of evidence that it cannot be separated from the predicate phrase muj (a-b) or Bain hor (c-d) illustrates the distributional property of Pedai.

(68). a). Bain fede Pe-dai muj
   Bain a moment ago NEG-EVID fall down
   'Bain was actually about to fall down a moment ago'
   (e.g. It is lucky that he did not)

   b). *Bain Pedai fede muj
   Bain almost a moment ago fall down

   c). Tabei fede Pe-dai Bain hor
   shark a moment ago NEG-EVID Bain cut
   'A shark was actually about to wound Bain'
   (e.g. It is lucky that he escaped)

   d). *Tabei Pe-dai fede Bain hor
   shark NEG-EVID a moment ago Bain cut

Like the cliticization of the aspectual clitics -eh and -am to the particle dai exemplified in (64-66), the combination dai with the negative particle Pe is motivated by the speaker's assessment concerning a past negative inceptive event. I suggest that the combination of dai with the negative particle Pe producing the word Pedai is a morphological result or representation of the incorporation of the speaker's assertion with
the past negative inceptive\textsuperscript{16} situation of an event. Semantically, therefore, it has a past negative inceptive meaning. The meaning implies either the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of an expectation (therefore the speaker feels either good or bad).

The word is commonly used in a context where, for example, the speaker reports a successful escape from a dangerous (or an unexpected) situation or when the speaker reports unexpected bad luck. Example (68) illustrates the fulfillment of an expectation (a successful escape from danger). The following examples (69) illustrates that the speaker's expectation (or in general, an expectation) was not fulfilled (perhaps because of bad luck). Example (b) is very rare, and may not be accepted. Even when it is accepted, \textit{Pedai} is more likely to modify \textit{fedeP} rather than the event expressed by \textit{untu rib rat ti Pe\textnu} 'get nine hundred thousand'.

(69). a). Na fedeP \textit{Pe-dai} unto rib rat tiPe\textnu
1SG.NOM a moment ago NEG-EVID profit thousand hundred nine
'I was actually about to get (profit) nine hundred thousand a moment ago'
(e.g. I am very sorry that I did not)

b). ??Na \textit{Pe-dai} fedeP unto rib rat tiPe\textnu
1SG.NOM NEG-EVID a moment ago profit thousand hundred nine
?? Almost a moment ago, I got (profit) nine hundred thousand a moment ago'
(e.g. I am very sorry that I did not)

The following example illustrates \textit{Pedai} referring to a past (negative inceptive) event but not to the present or future. Example (c), containing the temporal adverb \textit{di\textlai} 'tomorrow', referring to the future, is not accepted for this reason. The referent-time point of

\textsuperscript{16} I suggest that with a past negative perfective situation of an event, \textit{dai} represents both the clitic -\textit{am} and the negative adverb \textit{nene} to express the situation, as exemplified in the previous example but with a past negative inceptive \textit{dai} only represents the inceptive particle \textit{eham} (see also example (57). Therefore it is combined with the negative clitic \textit{Pe} to express the situation.
all the sentences of the example is the moment of speaking. Thus, *l'cdai*, in the examples, has an absolute time reference (Comrie, 1985b: 36-54).

(70). a). A: Faŋ fa ho ta
   bees coconut DET add/ on
   'There are stinging bees on the coconut trees'

b). B: Manu fede? *l'cdai* ho fa lol
   Manu a moment ago NEG-EVID DET coconut climb
   'Manu was about to climb the coconut trees a moment ago'
   (e.g. 'It is lucky that he did not')

c). B: *Manu dil *lel *l'cdai* ho fa lol
   Manu universe bright (=tomorrow) NEG-EVID DET coconut climb

In (71) below, *l'cdai* appears in a clause modified by the progressive clitic -eh.

There are a few points to be made about the examples. First, the progressive event marked *l'cdai* expressed in the clause did not actually take place. Second, when *l'cdai* exists in a progressive clause, the clause commonly appears in a complex sentence with another clause. The event expressed by the other clause functions as the referent time, namely as a "relative time reference" (Comrie, 1985b:62) of the progressive event expressed by the progressive clause. The reason is because *l'cdai* in a progressive clause takes the progressive event expressed by the clause into a past situation. Therefore, if the progressive event does not have a relative time reference, the clause that expresses the event is ambiguous (may not accepted). For this reason, I put two question marks in front of (b).

(71). a). Name *l'cdai* sakola-eh na ho?
   People NEG-EVID school/study-PROG 1SG.NOM arrive
   'People was about to be studying when I arrived' (e.g. It is lucky that I am not late)
b). ??Name Pe-dai sakola-eh
   People NEG-EVID school/study-PROG
   'People were about to be studying (e.g. I am lucky)

The third point to be made about the example is that although Pe-dai has an inceptive (plus past and negative) meaning it can exist in a clause modified by the progressive aspectual clitics -eh (71), perfective -am (as in Name Pe-dai sakola-am na hoP 'People were about to have started studying, when I arrived) or even the inceptive particle cham (as in Name Pe-dai sakola cham na hoP 'People were about to start studying, when I arrived). This means that Pe-dai, though having an inceptive aspectual meaning, is not an aspect marker itself. Like with other examples presented so far (in 4.6.1-2), it only implicitly expresses an aspectual situation, while functioning as an evidential to incorporate the situation with the speaker's assertion.

The same reasoning mentioned above applies to the last example below. The example shows that Pe-dai can also exist in a clause with the negative particle Pe and the negative adverb nenę.

(72). Untu a seg Pe-en; sa Pe-dai Pe sakola nenę.
   lucky 2SG.NOM money 3.OBV-give; 3SG.NOM NEG.EVID NEG study NEG
   'Lucky that you gave him/her some money; s/he was about to not to study'
   (e.g. S/he studied indeed, and I am released)

To summarize, the direct evidential particle dai marks the speaker's own knowledge of an event as evidence of his proposition. The way dai functions is by incorporating the
situation (time, aspect, polarity, expectation) of an event, known by the speaker, with his assertion. The incorporation of the speaker's assertion with the situation of an event results in the alternation of the particle with the aspectual clitics or particle -eh, -am, or eham and with the negative particle se or adverb nene. The way dai alternates with the clitics, particle or adverbs is by functioning in conjunction with them, alternatively by replacing them in a clause or by merging with the particles or clitics.
Chapter 5

Nouns

Adang makes a two way distinction among nouns: "inherently possessed vs. optionally possessed" (Payne, 1997:40). The inherently possessed nouns are then classed into a class of alienably possessed nouns and a class of inalienably possessed nouns. This chapter is primarily for the description of inherently possessed nouns 5.2. Before describing inherently possessed noun class, however, I first describe the general properties of nouns in Adang as in 5.1 below.

5.1. Properties of nouns

Section 5.1.1 presents the description of semantic syntactic and distributional properties of nouns. The functional property of nouns is presented in 5.1.2.

5.1.1. Semantic, syntactic and distributional properties of nouns.

Nouns in Adang express names (including proper names) of places, things, persons, and animals. For example Pen in (1.a) is a proper name and is a noun. Similarly, ti 'tree', napot 'my thigh' and amo 'cat', in (1) are names of things and animals respectively, and are nouns.

(1) a). Pen ti mate sel alo Pa-ho-pai
  John tree big NC two 3.OBV-cut
  'John cut the two big trees'

  b). Amo na-pot ta mih
  cat 1SG-thigh add/ on sit
  'Cats sit (sat) on my thigh'
A noun in Adang can be modified by quantifier or a numeral classifier plus a numeral and a verb, commonly adjectival and other stative verbs. In (1.a), for example, *mate* 'big' is an adjectival verb, which is functioning to modify the noun *ti* 'tree' in the sentence. The numeral classifier *sel* plus the numeral *alo* 'two' (*sel alo*) in the sentence also function to modify the noun *ti*.

In (b) of the following example the quantifier *nun* 'several' also functions to modify the noun *ti*. Similarly, the stative verb *min* 'die' in (b) functions to modify the noun *ab* 'fish'. A noun cannot follow its modifier/s. Therefore sentences (c-d) are not accepted.

(2). a). Pen ti mate nun Pa-bo2oi b). Supi ab min tara2
   Pen tree big some/ several 3.OBV-cut 3PL fish die collect
   'Pen cut some big trees' 'They collected dead fish'

c). *Pen mate sel alo ti Pa-bo2oi d). *Pen mate nun ti Pa-bo2oi
   Pen big NC two tree 3.OBV-cut Pen big some/ several tree 3.OBV-cut

Besides being modified by an adjectival verb and a quantifier or a numeral classifier plus a numeral, a noun in Adang can also be modified by a determiner, optionally preceded by a spatial deictic. In (3.a), for example, *ti* 'tree' is modified by the basic determiner *ho* 'the', indicating that the referent of the noun is either visible and close to the hearer or has been mentioned earlier. In (3.c), *ti* is modified by the distal deictic *falo* and the distal determiner *hemo* 'that'/ 'those' (indicating that the referent of the noun (singular or plural)
is visible, not very far and in a horizontal direction away from the speaker and hearer). Example (3. b) shows that it is not acceptable for a deictic like *fale to modify a noun without being followed by a determiner. The reason is that a spatial deictic refers only to the space or the position of an object but not to the object itself. To refer to an object or the referent of a noun, it always functions together with a determiner.

(3). a). Ti ho mate b). *Ti fa-l-e mate
tree DEF big tree go there-DIR-DIST big
'The trees are big'
c). Ti fa-l-e h[e-m]o mate
tree go there-DIR-DIST DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF big
'The trees over there are big'

Note that the determiner ho is the basic determiner, from which the proximative determiner hofo ‘this’ / ‘these’ and the distal determiners, like hemo, are derived. Deictics, like fale, are derived from motion verbs or directional verbs of close distance like fa ‘go there’ A detail description of deictics and determiners is presented in 7.

Based on examples (2-3) and the description given above, I formulate the distributional properties of nouns as in (4) below. The formulation tells us that a noun in Adang is the left most constituent of a phrase (an NP or a determiner phrase (DP), if there is one). It is then, optionally followed by a verb - commonly stative verbs (V), a quantifier (QUAN), or a numeral classifier (NC) plus a numeral (NUM) and a determiner (DET) or a deictic (DEIC) plus a determiner. Note that, as will be observed from some examples
provided in this dissertation, deictics and determiners in Adang also function to modify clauses.

(4). \(N(V) \{(NC + NUM) / (QUAN)\} \{(DET) / (DEIC+DET)\}^2\)

5.1.2. Functional property of nouns

A noun in Adang can function as the argument of a verb, either “core” (subject or object) or “oblique” (Andrews, 1985: 80). In (5.a), for example, Manu is the subject argument and boi’pig’ is the object argument of the verb *tefaŋ*’carry’ (on shoulder). In (b-c), bel’dog’ is the subject argument of the verb *lou*’bark’ whereas aru’deer’ is the oblique argument marked by the oblique pronominal clitic *u*. (A detailed description of the pronominal clitic *u* is presented in 10.1).

(5). a). Manu boi tefāŋ
Manu pig carry (on shoulder) ‘Manu carried a pig’
b). Bel aru u lou
dog deer CL bark ‘Dogs barked at a deer’
c). Bel u lou
dog CL bark ‘Dogs barked at it’

A noun in Adang can also function as the predicate of a clause. Unlike English, when functioning as a predicate, a noun appears without a copula. Examples are given in (6). Note that example (6.a) can be ambiguous. It can be a sentence meaning ‘Haan is a captain’ or a compound noun meaning ‘captain Haan’. The ambiguity can be resolved with the assignment of primary stresses and intonation to the sentence or compound noun as illustrated in (6.b-c). It can also be resolved the by modifying the noun Haan with a

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determiner as in (6.d). With the presence of a determiner to modify the first noun (a subject noun), the function of a noun as a predicate can easily be identified.

(6). a). Haan kapal  
   Haan head/captain  
   'Haan is a captain'/'captain Haan'  

b). Haán kapál  
   Haan head/captain  
   'Haan is a leader'  

c). Haán kapal  
   Haan head/captain  
   'Captain Haan'  

d). Haan ho kapal  
   Haan DEF head/captain  
   'Haan is a leader'  

A few common nouns can be suffixed (cliticized) by the aspectual clitics -eh (progressive) or -am (perfective) when functioning as a predicate. So far, it seems that nouns which can be suffixed or be modified by the aspectual clitics are those that express names of jobs like guru 'teacher', tukaṣ 'carpenter', palinta 'priest' and the like, as exemplified in (7. a-c). Other nouns cannot be suffixed or modified by the aspectual clitics. Examples (d, e) in which a generic mackerel and a proper name Ose act as the predicates are, therefore, not accepted.

(7). a). Haan kapal-am  
   Haan leader/captain-PERF  
   'Haan has become a captain'  

b). Haan guru eham  
   Haan teacher INC  
   'Haan is about to become a teacher'  

c). Duka dai palinta-eh  
   Duka EVID priest-PROG  
   'Duka is still (being) a priest'  

d). *Sarea ab-am  
   mackerel fish-PERF  

e). *Tukaṣ 2a-ni Ose-eh  
   carpenter 3.OBV-name Ose-PROG  
   ??'The carpenter is being Ose'
determiner as in (6.d). With the presence of a determiner to modify the first noun (a subject noun), the function of a noun as a predicate can easily be identified.

(6). a). Haan kapal
   Haan head/captain
   ‘Haan is a captain’/ ‘captain Haan’

 b). Haán kapál
    Haan head/captain
    ‘Haan is a leader’

c). Haán kapál
   Haan head/captain
   ‘Captain Haan’

d). Haan ho kapal
   Haan DEF head/captain
   ‘Haan is a leader’

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(7). a). Haan kapal-am
   Haan leader/captain-PERF
   ‘Haan has become a captain’

 b). Haan guru eham
    Haan teacher INC
    ‘Haan is about to become a teacher’

c). Duka dai palinta-eh
    Duka EVID priest-PROG
    ‘Duka is still (being) a priest’

d). *Sarea ab-am
    mackerel fish-PERF
    *Sarea is a fish

e). *Tukaŋ 2a-ni Ose-eh
    carpenter 3.OBV-name Ose-PROG
    *The carpenter is being Ose’
Nouns in Adang lack inflectional case markers. They also lack inflectional-endings for number marking, for example, SG. vs. PL. They can, however, be modified (syntactically) by quantifiers such as *nun*, ‘*some*’ / *‘several*’ as (1-2) before. Although nouns in Adang lack inflectional endings, some inherently possessed nouns in Adang, i.e. inalienably possessed nouns are obligatorily prefixed by pronominals to mark possessors. A detailed description of such nouns is presented in 5.2.

5.2. Inherently possessed nouns and optionally possessed nouns: A brief comparison

One criterion for the classification of nouns mentioned by Payne (1997:39-41) is in terms of possessability. With this criterion, nouns of a language can be classified into possessable vs. unpossessable, inherently possessed vs. optionally possessed, and alienably possessed vs. inalienably possessed nouns.

All nouns in Adang are possessable. However, some are inherently possessed, while some others are not inherently possessed (i.e. optionally possessed). In (8), for example, *dɔ* ‘egg’ is an inherently possessed noun and it obligatorily occurs with it possessor noun either in a compound noun, as in (b) or in a genitive construction. Without a possessor noun, a sentence containing *dɔ* is not accepted (a). Similarly, the noun meaning ‘arm’ is inherently possessed, as exemplified with *nataŋ* ‘my arms’ in (d). There is a noun *tap* in Adang but it means ‘sea’ (e), not arm. Unlike *dɔ* and *nataŋ*, *hiu* ‘chicken’ (c) and *fa* ‘coconut’ (f) are optionally possessed nouns.
The description in 5.3 will show that a noun like *nata* (8. d) is inalienably possessed noun whereas a noun like *do* is alienably possessed noun. *Do* can also occur together with other possessor nouns, beside *hiu* (8.c), such as with mon ‘snake’ as in *mon do* ‘snake egg’ or *sei*I ‘turtle’ as in *seiI do* ‘turtle egg’.

Optionally possessed nouns, when possessed, are modified by genitive pronouns like *nO* ‘my’ or *ne*³ ‘my’ (contrastive)⁴. The genitive pronouns are composed of pronominal prefixes plus the possessive markers *e* or *o*. The underlined nouns in (9) are more examples of optionally possessed nouns appearing with genitive pronouns.

(9). a). *N-o* kod ho ten
   1SG-GEN shirt DEF red
   ‘My shirt is red’

b). *o-o* deko ho laPan
   2SG-GEN trouser DEF black
   ‘Your trousers are black’

c). N-e Pai Pa-ni Anis
   1SG-GEN child 3.OBV-name Anis
   My child’s name is Anis’

d). *o-e* Pai Pa-ni Marten
   2SG-GEN child 3.OBV-name Marten
   ‘Your child’s name is Marten’

e). Anis *P-o* Fabib ho laPan
   Anis 3.OBV-GEN goat DEF black
   ‘Anis’s goat is black’

f). Supi *P-e* bel ho ten
   3PL 3.OBV-GEN dog DEF red
   ‘Their dog is/are red’

³ *nO* and *ne* are the combination of the first singular pronominal prefix *na* and the genitive or possessive marker *o* or *e*. /a/ of *na* is deleted based on the rule /a/ → *a* /V. (see 2. 4, for details).

⁴ See 5. 2 for a detailed description of the difference between the two genitive pronouns.
Inherently possessed nouns both inalienably possessed and alienably possessed nouns still can be modified by genitive pronouns, especially the genitive pronoun marked e. The function of the genitive pronoun is to emphasize the noun (i.e. either the possessor or the possessed noun or both) (10.a). It also functions to contrast two inherently possessed nouns with different possessors (10. b, c). More examples will be provided along with the discussion of each of the sub-classes in 5.3.

(10). a). N-e na-taŋ to2ap. Na be hiP sah
1SG-GEN 1SG-arm short 1SG.NOM mango pick bad
'These arms of mine are short. I cannot pick up mangoes (fruits)'

b). N-e n-e-lařup so mi bolap
1SG-GEN 1SG-ThV-head FOC.SUB.COMP clean
'Is it my head (hair) that is cleaner
em o-e o-e-lařup so mi bolap?
or 2SG-GEN 2SG-ThV-head FOC.SUB COMP clean or yours?'

c). Hiu 2-e do mi mate em mon 2-e do mi mate
chicken 3.0BV-GEN egg or COMP big or snake 3.0BV-GEN egg COMP big
'Are chicken eggs bigger (than, e.g. snake eggs) or snake eggs are bigger?'

Like an inherently possessed noun, an optionally possessed noun can occasionally be doubly modified by genitive pronouns, especially for emphasis or contrast. In this case the order is a genitive pronoun marked e followed by a genitive pronoun marked o followed by the noun, as in (11.a). The genitive pronoun marked o cannot precede the genitive pronoun marker e. Therefore, example (b) is not accepted.

(11). a). N-e n-o bel mi mate b). *N-o n-e bel mi mate
1SG-GEN 1SG-GEN dog COMP big 1SG-GEN 1SG-GEN dog COMP big
'My dog is bigger (e.g. than yours)
5.3. Inherently possessed nouns

There are two sub-classes of inherently possessed nouns in Adang: inalienably possessed and alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal possessors. Alienably possessed nouns are not prefixed by pronominal possessors but they obligatorily appear with their possessor nouns, either in a compound noun or in a genitive construction. They cannot occur on their own in an utterance, as exemplified in (8. a-b) before.

The possessor of an entity expressed by an inalienably possessed noun is limited to the possessor expressed by the pronominal prefix attached to the inalienably possessed noun. The possessor of the entity ‘arm’ expressed in the inalienably possessed noun *nataŋ* (na-taŋ, 1SG-arm) ‘my arm’, for example, is a first singular person represented by the pronominal prefix *na-* of the noun. The entity ‘arm’ cannot be taken out of, or transferred from the first singular person to another possessor. The root *taŋ* itself is also meaningless without the pronominal prefix *na-*.

The number of possessor of an entity expressed by an alienably possessed noun, on the other hand, is not limited. In other words, an alienably possessed noun can be transferred from one possessor noun to another possessor noun. The alienably possessed noun *bug* ‘flower’, for example can be possessed by (and appear in compound noun with) any noun expressing name of trees, plants or grass that have flowers.
A few inherently possessed nouns expressed locations. They are all inalienable (5.3.4). Only three inherently possessed nouns expressing kinship terms. They are also all inalienably possessed (5.3.3).

Most nouns expressing names of body parts (including animal body parts) and parts of plants and other inanimate objects (entities) are inherently possessed. A few nouns expressing names of body parts are inalienably possessed while others are alienably possessed. I shall present the description of nouns expressing names of body parts both alienably and inalienably possessed together in 5.3.2 to contrast the two types of nouns of the same semantic domain. Most nouns expressing names of parts of plants, like *bud* 'flower', are alienably possessed. I shall, first, present the description of alienably possessed nouns expressing names of parts of plants, as in 5.3.1.

5.3.1. Alienably possessed nouns expressing names of parts of plants

As mentioned earlier, alienably possessed noun, including those expressing names of parts of plants, are not prefixed by pronominal possessors but they obligatorily occur in an utterance with their possessor nouns. The nouns *pir* 'fruit' or *bud* 'flower', for example, cannot appear on its own, without a possessor noun, in a sentence. Therefore, a sentence like (12.a-b) is not acceptable. An noun like *be* 'mango' or *pīh* 'pumpkin' in (12. c, d), on the other hand does not need any possessor noun in order for a sentence where it occurs to be
acceptable because it is an optionally possessed noun. It can be possessed but not inherently or not obligatorily possessed.

(12). a). *Ella pir fel
   Ella fruit buy

   b). *Ay sam buŋ hiʔ
       Ay go flower pick up

c). Ella be fel
   Ella mango buy
   'Ella bought mangoes'

d). Ay sam fiŋ hiʔ
   Ay go pumpkin pick up
   'Ella went to picked up pumpkins'

As I have noted earlier, an alienably possessed noun like buŋ ‘flower’ can have many possessor nouns, i.e. names of any plant, tree, grass that bears flowers. A question is, with which possessor it will appear and when? The nouns be and fiŋ in (12. c-d) for example, are both possible possessor nouns of buŋ but in (12, c-d) they occur without buŋ.

The reason is because in the context of the sentences, be and fiŋ do not require buŋ, that is the sentences are not ambiguous. They are well formed sentences in the context. In the following context, however, fiŋ ‘pumpkin’ requires either pir or buŋ.

(13). a). A: Na a-hou fiŋ buŋ hiʔ ho a hiʔ am?
       1SG.NOM 2SG-ask pumpkin flower pick up DEF 2SG.NOM pick up-PERF
       'As for I asked you to pick pumpkin flowers, have you picked them up?

b). B: fiŋ buŋ fe hiʔ em fiŋ pir?
   pumpkin flower FOC.OBJ pick up or pumpkin fruit
   'Is it pumpkin flowers or pumpkin fruits?'

c). A: Na bit-e: "(fiŋ) P-o buŋ"
   1SG.NOM say-IS (pumpkin) 3.OBV-GEN flower
   'I said: “pumpkin flowers / its flowers”

d). B: Eyau! fiŋ pir fe na hiʔ-am
   Exl! pumpkin fruit OBJ-FOC 1SG.NOM pick up-PERF
   'Well; it is pumpkin fruits that I have picked'
Example (13) illustrates that an alienably possessed noun is required to appear with a possessor noun to specify the target referent of the noun or the compound noun. A contrastive focal situation as in (13) is one context when an alienably possessed noun is required. Example (13) also shows that when an alienably possessed noun is required, it can appear either in a compound noun (a. b, d) or a genitive construction (c) with its possessor noun.

Note, that a genitive construction of an alienably possessed noun with its possessor noun must not be confused with the following genitive construction (14. a, c). The examples show that an alienably possessed noun plus its possessor noun either in a genitive structure (a, c) or in a compound noun (b, d) still can be modified by a genitive pronoun.

(14). a). \[P-e [Pi\ ih \ P-o \ buŋ] \ maŋŋ-\am\] 30BV-GEN pumpkin 3.OBV-GEN flower come up-PERF
   'His/ her pumpkin's flowers have come out'

   b). \[P-e [Pi\ ih \ pir] \ mi \ ma\te\] 3OBV-GEN pumpkin fruit COMP big
   'His/ her pumpkins (Lit. pumpkin's fruits) are bigger' (e.g. than ours)

   c). \[John P-e [Pi\ ih \ P-o \ buŋ] \ maŋŋ-\am\] John 3OBV-GEN pumpkin 3.OBV-GEN flower come up-PERF
   'John's pumpkin's flowers have come out'

   d). \[Supi P-e [Pi\ ih \ pir] \ mi \ ma\te\] 3PL 3OBV-GEN pumpkin fruit COMP big
   'Their pumpkins (Lit. pumpkin's fruits) are bigger' (e.g. than ours)

The two pieces of evidence observed so far that (i) an alienably possessed noun cannot occur on its own without a possessor noun and (ii) when it occurs with a possessor noun, either in a genitive structure or compound noun, the noun plus its possessor can be
modified by a genitive pronoun indicates that the compound noun or the genitive structure with an alienably possessed noun is a constituent or a unit. I suggest that a genitive structure like 1'ih to bug or 1'ih to pir in (14) has equal syntactic status with an inalienably possessed noun (5.3.2) and with an optionally possessed noun. This suggestion, however, needs further verification.

So far, I have only employed the noun pir and buŋ in this description. A few more examples of this class of nouns to be mentioned here are, beh 'leaf, paP ‘fruit’ (small unround), Pafai ‘seed’, bop ‘trunk’ or ‘body’ and aliPaf ‘root’. As some nouns of this class can also function as numeral classifiers, I shall present a few examples in the description of numeral classifiers to contrast the nouns of this class from their use as numeral classifiers. For more examples, therefore, readers are directed to chapter nine of this thesis.

Note that it is because buŋ is inherently possessed in Adang that an Adang speaker will say ‘buŋa buŋ’ to refer to ‘flowers’ or simply say ‘buŋa’ which is borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia “bunga”. The noun buŋ itself, I suggest, is borrowed (and modified) from Bahasa Indonesia.

5.3.2. Inherently possessed nouns expressing names of body parts

Inherently possessed nouns expressing names of body parts are classified into alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. The inalienably possessed nouns are further
classified into two sub classes. Those of the first sub class (class one) are not derived from any other nouns. Their roots are meaningless without a pronominal possessor prefix. They are not marked by any thematic vowel (marked $\sigma$). Inalienably possessed nouns expressing names of body parts of the second sub class (or class two) are derived from alienably possessed nouns with the same meaning, or precisely the same referent possessed object. They are marked by the thematic vowel $\varepsilon$ (Stokhof, 1987: 633).

Section 5.3.1.1 presents the description of the first sub class of inalienably possessed nouns expressing names of body parts. Section 5.3.1.2 will present a description the second sub class of inalienably possessed nouns expressing names of body parts together with alienably possessed nouns from which they are derived.

5.3.2.1. Type one inalienably possessed nouns expressing names of body parts

Inalienably possessed nouns of this type are obligatorily inherently possessed. Two nouns of this type are presented along with the formation of such nouns in the following table. They are taken (with a few revision / modification) from Stokhof (1987:634). (Note that vowel /a/ of all singular pronominal prefixes is deleted before another vowel in the formation of the nouns based on the rule /a/ $\rightarrow$ $\sigma$/ V mentioned in 2.4).

\footnote{The thematic vowel $\varepsilon$ could be an allomorph of the possessive or genitive marker $e$. So far, however, there has not been any evidence to prove this, especially because a phrase like $ne ne lafu$ 'this head of mine' is possible.}
Table 4-1. Derivational process of class one inalienably possessed nouns expressing body parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derive Nouns</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>my mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>your mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.OBV</td>
<td>Pa-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>Paat</td>
<td>his/her/its/their mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.RXML</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>his/her/its/their mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>niat</td>
<td>our mouths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC.COL</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>piat</td>
<td>our mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC.DIS</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>tat</td>
<td>mouth of each of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>iat</td>
<td>your mouths</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derive Nouns</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>natap</td>
<td>my arm/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>atap</td>
<td>your arm/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.OBV</td>
<td>Pa-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>Patap</td>
<td>his/her/its/their arm/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.RXML</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>satap</td>
<td>his/her/its/their arm/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>nitap</td>
<td>our arm/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC.COL</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>pitap</td>
<td>our arm/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC.DIS</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>tatap</td>
<td>arm/s of each of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>itap</td>
<td>your arm/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are fourteen other nouns of the same type as nat, each inflects for possessor. An example for each is given as: amig ‘your (sg) nose’, nafel ‘my ears’, Palibug ‘his/her/its/their tongue’, sabare ‘his/her/its/their shoulder’, tadel ‘chest of each of each of us (inc)’, itoP ‘your (pl) stomachs’, nimot ‘our (exc) backs’, pitote ‘our (inc) ribs’, napot ‘my thigh’, abine ‘your (sg) brain’, Pamaq ‘his/her/its voice’, niom ‘our (exc) hearts’, tePfa ‘foot/feet of each of us (inc)’ and PePfai ‘his/her/its/their eye’.

---

* Adang does not distinguish hands from arms; instead, it has nataj ‘my arms’ and nataj paP ‘my fingers’ (Lit. my arms’ fruits/’fruits of my arms’).
Sentence (15. a) of the following example illustrates that nouns of this type can also be modified by a genitive pronoun, especially for emphasis or for comparison. Example (b) is not acceptable because the root fel without a pronominal possessor prefix is not a noun in Adang.

(15). a). N-e na-fel mi habu b). *N-e *fel mi habu
1SG-GEN 1SG-ear COMP wide 1SG-GEN - COMP wide
‘My ears are wider (e.g. than yours)’

5.3.2.2. Alienably possessed nouns vs. class two inalienably possessed nouns of body parts

One example of this second type of inalienably possessed body part noun derived from its alienably possessed noun counterpart is given in table 5-2. The table illustrates the derivational process of an inalienably possessed noun. As can be seen from the table, inalienably possessed body part nouns are derived by pronominal prefixes and marked with the thematic vowel ə.

Table 5-2. Derivational process of type two inalienably possessed nouns expressing names of body parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Th. Vowel</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derived Nouns</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>nelafup</td>
<td>my head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>elafup</td>
<td>your head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.OBV</td>
<td>ʔa-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>ʔelafup</td>
<td>his/ her/ its/ their head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.RXML</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>selafup</td>
<td>his/her/its/their head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>nielafup</td>
<td>our heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC.COL</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>pielafup</td>
<td>our heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC.DIS</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>telafup</td>
<td>our heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>lafup</td>
<td>ielafup</td>
<td>your heads</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (16-17) illustrate the difference between the inalienably possessed noun *n*elafuŋ 'my head', *p*lafuŋ 'his/ her/ its/ *their* head' and their alienably possessed noun counterpart *l*afuŋ 'head' taken from table 5-2 above. From the example observe that *l*afuŋ cannot occur on its own; therefore (16. b) is not acceptable. Like other alienably possessed nouns described earlier, *l*afuŋ always occurs with a possessor noun, either in compound noun (16. a) or in genitive construction (16. c, 17. b). The noun *p*lafuŋ (16. d) and in the second clause of (17. c); and the noun *n*elafuŋ in (17. a, c) are inalienably possessed noun.

(16). a). Beł *a*b lafun Pa-de b). *Beł lafun Pa-de
dog fish head 3.OBV-eat dog head 3.OBV-eat
'Dogs ate fish head'

c). Beł 2-o/e *lafun Pa-de-am
dog 3.OBV-GEN head 3.OBV-eat
'Dogs has eaten its head' (i.e. the head belonging to him/ /them/ it, that can be the head of its own body)
d). Beł 2-e-lafuŋ 2a-de-am
dog 3.OBV-head 3.OBV-eat
'Dogs has eaten its head' (i.e. the head on its body)

(17). a). Ne *e-lafuŋ maPar b). Ne lafup so maPar
1SG-Th-head pain 1SG head FOC.SUBJ pain
'It have got headache' (Lit My head pain) 'It is this head of mine that pains'

c). Ne n-e-lafuŋ so maPar; 2e Ella 2-e 2-e-lafuŋ nene
1SG-GEN 1SG-Th-head FOC.SUBJ pain NEG Ella 3.OBV-GEN 3.OBV-Th-head NEG
'It is this head of mine that pains, not the head of Ella.'

Example (17. b) shows that *n*e lafuŋ is possible, although it is not common. The speaker uses the sentence mainly to avoid double possession marking like that in (c). The meaning of the constituent *n*e lafuŋ, however, is very context dependent, especially because *l*afuŋ is an alienably possessed noun. Based on the context of the sentence, *l*afuŋ refers to the head of the speaker where the genitive pronoun *n*e contrast it from the head of others.
The sentence is similar, but different in terms of emphasis, with the first clause *Ne nəlafu* so *mapar* of (17. c).

In a sentence like *Na ne lafu* dou-am ‘I have cooked my head’, the noun *lafu* does not refer to the speaker’s head. It refers to the head of something else. For example, the head of a big fish that the speaker may have shared with a friend of him; and that he is telling his friend that he has cooked the part of fish head that he has. In this context, *lafu* is contextually understood by the speaker and his friend. The speaker is the possessor of the referent of *lafu* ‘head’, of something else, but not the head on his body (see also, Stokhof, 1978: 633-635).

Other inalienably possessed nouns of the same type as *nəlafu* are the noun meaning ‘knee’ (e.g. *nefa*ur ‘my knee’), ‘shin’ (e.g. *teparih* ‘each of our (inclusive) shins’), ‘hair’ (e.g. *nieParii'uemalJ* ‘our (exclusive) hair’), and ‘bottom’ (e.g. *Pemara* ‘its bottom’). Like *lafu* and *nəlafu*, each of these nouns is derived from its alienably possessed counterpart *fa*ur ‘knee’, *parih* ‘shin’, *Parii'uemalJ* ‘hair, and *mara* ‘bottom’ respectively.

The alienably possessed nouns *fa*ur ‘knee’, *parih* ‘shin’, *Parii'uemalJ* ‘hair, *mara* ‘bottom’ and also *lafu* ‘head’ can occur in either a compound noun or in a genitive construction with any possessor noun: humans and animals. The alienably possessed nouns
mara and fafur or the entity expressed by the two nouns can also be possessed by some inanimate objects, a part of which names mara 'lower part' or fafur 'middle parts of the object's legs'. Such objects as beds, tables, chairs and trousers, for example, have a part names fafur, as in kadere fafur 'middle part of a chair's legs', de2 fafur middle part of a bed's legs or deko fafur 'part of a long trouser around knee'.

5.3.3. Inalienably possessed nouns expressing kinship terms

There are only three inherently possessed nouns expressing kinship terms and are all inalienably possessed. These are the noun for mother (such as nofo 'my mother', nife 'our (exclusive) mother') derived from the root ofo; the noun for father (such as omay 'his/ her/ its/ their father', pimay 'our (inclusive) father') derived from the root omau; and the noun for brother or sister in law (such as tafeu 'brother/ sister in law of each of us', ifeu 'your (pl) brother/ sister in law') derived from the root afeg. Like most other inherently possessed nouns, the root of each noun is meaningless or means something else without a pronominal prefix.

There are two morphophonemic processes involved in the derivational process of the above nouns. First is a vowel deletion process, where /a/ of all singular pronominal prefixes are deleted before vowel initial roots (e.g. na + ofo → nofo) and /o/ of the root is deleted after /i/ of plural pronominal prefixes (e.g. ni + oman → niman). The second is
a vowel harmony process, namely to rewrite /o/ as /e/ when preceded by /i/ regardless of
the number of consonants intervening between the two vowels. The form nife ‘our (exc) mother’ undergoes both the vowel deletion and the vowel harmony processes. Thus, ni +
ofo → *nifo → nife.

As mentioned in 3.1, the plural possessor form nife ‘our (exc) mother’ and the plural possessor form nimaŋ ‘our (exc) father’, are more widely used in every day speech
than the singular possessor forms nofo ‘my mother’ and nomaŋ ‘my father’. Thus, an Adang speaker, instead of addressing his / her father as nomaŋ, will address his / her father as nimaŋ, even if s/he is the only child of the father. To make an announcement to all mothers and fathers in a village, for example, an announcer will also make use of nife ‘our (exclusive) mother’ and nimaŋ ‘our (exclusive) father’.

The following sentence illustrates that an inalienably possessed kinship noun still can be modified by the genitive pronoun marked e, namely for the purpose of emphasis or a comparison. From the example, observe also that even a plural possessor of an inherently possessed noun, like nife in (c), can be modified by a singular genitive pronoun, like ne in (c). However, a singular possessor of inherently possessed noun, like nofo in (d), cannot be modified by a plural genitive pronoun, like nie in (d). Example (d) is, therefore, not acceptable.
(18). a). N-e n-o-map ho guru
1SG-GEN 1SG-father DEF teacher
‘My father is a teacher (e.g. contrast to yours)’

b). Ni-e ni-fe⁷ ho guru
1PL.EXC-GEN 1PL.EXC-brother in law DEF teacher
‘Our brother/sister in law is a teacher (e.g. contrast to yours)’

c). N-e ni-fe ho guru
1SG-GEN 1PL.EXC-mother DEF teacher
‘My mother is a teacher (e.g. contrast to yours)’

d). *Ni-e no-fo ho guru
1PL.EXC-GEN 1SG-mother DEF teacher

Other noun expressing kinship terms are optionally possessed. The noun *Pai ‘child’ for example can occur without any possessor noun in a sentence, as in (19. a), because it is only optionally possessed. When it is possessed, the noun *Pai is modified by a genitive pronoun, as in (19. b).

(19). a). Ella *Pai 2-ah-am
Ella child 3.OBV-feed-PERF
‘Ella has fed the child’

b). Ella s-Ő *Pai 2-ah-am
Ella 3SG.PRXM-GEN child 3.OBV-feed-PERF
‘Ella has fed her child’

5.3.4. Inalienably possessed locative nouns

There are five inherently possessed locative nouns identified in Adang and are all inalienable. Semantically, they express (the names of) certain locations. Each of the nouns inflects for possessors, i.e., each noun contains a root and pronominal prefixes indicating possessors of the noun. The root is meaningless without the pronominal prefixes. I shall provide a few examples along with the description of each of the nouns here.
First is the noun meaning ‘beneath’. This noun has only two forms: the proximal form $sel$ ‘beneath it/them’ (co-referential to a subject) and the obviative form $sel$, also meaning ‘beneath it/them’ but disjoint reference from a subject. The constraint that the possessor be non-human rules out $*el$, $*nel$, $*tel$, etc. Instead of the words $*el$, $*nel$, $*tel$, etc, there are applicative verbs like: $efar$ ‘under you’, $nefar$ ‘under me’ etc. derived from the locative verb $far$ ‘under’ (see 7.2.1.3.2 for details). Note that $sel$ and $sel$ can also function as numeral classifiers, as will be discussed in chapter nine.

The second noun is the noun meaning ‘place’ which inflects for possessors such as $eleme$ ‘your (sg) place’, $neleme$ ‘my place’, $teleme$ ‘the place of each of us’.

The third noun is the noun used to express a location at the side of a person or thing indicated by the pronominal prefix on the noun (general location) or at the edge of a thing, but not a person, (specific or surface location). An example is the noun $adi$ ‘at your side’ $Padi$ ‘its/his/... their side’ or ‘its edge’, ..., exemplified in (20) below. The locative verb $mi$ ‘in’ or ‘at’ in the examples indicates that the location expressed by $Padi$ or $adi$ is a general location. $Padi$ in (a) expresses a location at the side of things (i.e., table in the example) whereas $adi$ in (b) expresses a location at the side of persons (i.e., a second singular person in the example).

(20). a). Dir meja $Pa$-di $mi$. b). Dir ho med $a$-di $ho$ $mi$ med

knife table 3.OBV-side at/in knife DEF take 2SG.side DEF at/in put

‘Knifes are at the side of tables’ ‘Put the knife at your side’
The noun *Pa-di* (i.e., the noun with third person obviative pronominal prefix) can also mean ‘*its/their edge*’, i.e., the edge, the surface location of things (specific location), but not human beings. The meaning cannot be applied to other nouns derived from the same root (like *adi, nadi, tadi...*) due to the semantic constraint that the pronominal prefix *Pa*- (and also *sa-*) can refer to both humans and non-humans but the other pronominal prefixes can only refer to human beings. Thus, for example, *nadi* meaning ‘*my edge*’ is not accepted but *nadi* meaning ‘(at) my side’ is acceptable.

In the following example *Pa-di* expresses a specific location at the edge of things (i.e., a table). From the example, observe that the meaning of *Pa-di* as ‘*its/their edge*’ is indicated by the locative verb *ta* ‘add/on’.

(21). a). *Dir meja Pa-di ta*  b). *Dir ho med meja Pa-di ta meγ*
knife table 3.OBV-side on/add knife DEF take table 3.OBV-side on put
‘Knifes are at the edge of tables’ ‘Put the knife at the edge of tables’

The fourth inherently possessed locative noun is the noun used to express a location at the backside of, i.e. or behind, a person or thing indicated by the pronominal prefix on the noun. Two examples are the noun *Pa-mot* ‘*its/ him/ her/ their back side*’ or ‘*behind him/ it/ them ...*’, *namot* ‘*my back side*’ or ‘*behind me*’ and so on. These locative nouns are similar in form with the noun meaning ‘*back*’ from the class of inalienably possessed nouns expressing body parts.
To illustrate the semantic difference between the locative nouns and body part nouns, I provide a few examples of the nouns in sentential contexts in (22-23). In the examples, the underlined nouns of (22) are location whereas, the underlined nouns of (23) are names of body parts. The locative verb mi 'in' or 'at' indicates that the location expressed by namot, amot and l'amot in (22) is a general location, i.e. 'behind me/ you or it (=house').

(22). a). Ana so na-mot mi?
    who/ whom FOC.SUBJ 1SG-back at/in
    'Who is in / at my back side (= behind me')

   b). LibuV nu so a-mot mi mi-eh (mih + eh)
       fly one FOC.SUBJ 2SG-back at/in sit-PROG
       It is one fly that is sitting in/ at your back side (= behind you')

   c). Name nu bav 1'a-mot mi
       person one house 3.0BV-back at/in
       'There is someone in/ at the back side of (= behind) the house'

(23). a). Sa aru nu masav 1'a-mot mi
    3SG.NOM deer one shoot 3.0BV-back at/in
    'S/he shot one deer into the back'

   b). 1'a-mot tarop e 1'a-del tarop ho tato1' e dou!
       3.0BV-back bone and it 3.0BV-chest bone (=rib) DEF chop and cook
       'Chop its back bone and its rib and cook (them)'

The word namot in the following example expresses the surface location at the back (body part) of a first singular person. From the example, observe that, the meaning of namot as 'the surface location on my back' is indicated by the locative verb ta 'add/ on'.

(24). LibuV nu na-mot ta mi-eh
    fly one 1SG-back on/ add sit-PROG
    'One fly is sitting on my back'
The fifth noun is the noun meaning roughly 'inside' (i.e., the area inside persons or things) like nom meaning roughly 'my insides', Pom 'its/ him/her/their insides' and so on. These locative nouns are similar in form with the noun meaning 'heart' from the class of inalienably possessed nouns expressing body parts. To illustrate the semantic difference between the locative nouns and body part nouns, I provide (25-26) where the underlined nouns of (25) are location whereas, the underlined nouns of (26) are names of body parts. The locative verb mi 'in' or 'at' indicates that the location expressed by Pom and iom in (25) is a location, i.e. 'inside it (house)' and 'inside you (pl)/ your hearts'.

(25). a). Bel nu bap P-om mi tar-eh.
   dog one house 3.OBV-inside at/in lie down-PROG
   'There is a dog lying down in the house'

   b). Lahtal P-o matev paP ho i-om mi mev
   God 3.OBV-GEN speak fruit (words) DEF 2PL-inside in/at put
   'Keep/ put the words of God in you(r heart)'

(26). a). N-om sam bao le-sam uma
   1SG-heart go home ALL-go remember/want
   'I (my heart) want to go home' (metaphorical use of the noun meaning 'hart')

   b). Sa na-hou aru P-o P-om damur e falad ho dou
   3SG.NOM 1SG-ask deer 3.OBV-GEN 3.OBV-heart liver and lung DEF cook
   'S/he asked me to cook the deer’s heart, liver and lung'

To conclude, Adang has optionally possessed nouns and inherently possessed nouns. Inherently possessed nouns are classified into alienably possessed nouns and inalienably possessed nouns. There are a few inherently possessed nouns that express location. The nouns are inalienably possessed. There are only three inherently possessed
nouns expressing kinship terms; and they are all inalienably possessed. Other nouns expressing kinship terms are optionally possessed.

Most nouns expressing names of body parts, including animal body parts are inherently possessed nouns. Some of these nouns are alienably possessed while some others are inalienably possessed. Most nouns expressing names of parts of plants are inherently possessed. They are all alienably possessed.

5.4. Compound nouns and genitive or possession structure

This section presents a brief description of compound nouns in Adang. As noted previously all alienably possessed nouns occur with their possessor nouns either in a genitive construction or in a compound noun. A few examples are *pil bul* ‘pumpkin flower’, *be pil* ‘mango fruit’ and *ti bul* ‘tree flower’.

The examples indicate that Adang has “endocentric” compound nouns, i.e., a compound noun where one element of the compound noun is a head and the other is the modifier of the head (Spencer, 1991: 310-311). The modifier is an attribute which delimits the reference of the head. In the compound noun *be pil* ‘mango fruit’, for example, the noun *be* ‘mango’ is the attribute of the noun *pir* ‘fruit’ in the compound noun that delimits the referent of the noun *pir*. In other words, the alienably possessed noun *pir* is the head and its possessor *be* is the modifier.

Like compound nouns, some of the examples provided in the previous sections of this chapter have also indicated that the genitive construction in Adang also has a ‘right-headed’ structure. A few examples to be mentioned here are no baŋ ‘my house’ Fo suraŋ ‘his/ her books’, ne natap ‘these arms of mine’ (emphasis) or ‘my arms’ (contrast to yours).

Unlike compound nouns, and genitive constructions, an NP in Adang (as has been indicated at the end in 5.1 in the distributional property of nouns) seems to be ‘left-headed’, where a noun is the leftmost constituent of the NP. It is then optionally followed by its modifiers. I shall not, however provide a detailed argument and description of phrase structure in this dissertation. This awaits further investigation and analysis of phrase structure in Adang.

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7 Similar structure with WPP languages’ compound noun structure: “N1 modifies N2” (Reesink, 1996:13).
Possessive clauses in Adang normally employ an NP with possessive or genitive construction as subjects. Following are two examples. More examples are given in the description of possessive clauses in Adang in 12. 4.

(27). a). ə-ə səŋ ɔ-ra
   2SG-GEN money 3OBV-be/ exist
   'Do you have some money?'

b). N-ə səŋ rib əlo
   1SG-GEN money thousand two
   'I have one thousand (rupia)'
   (Lit. My money one thousand)
Chapter 6

Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns in Adang described in this chapter. The three types of pronouns are presented in the last three columns of the following table. As has been indicated in previous chapters, except for the third person pronoun (both proximal and obviative) which can also refer to non-humans, all other pronouns are personal pronouns.

Table 6-1. Pronominal Prefixes and Pronouns in Adang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Prefix + ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>form (NOM)</td>
<td>(ACC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>OBV(iative)</td>
<td>2a-</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>2a-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal (PRXML)</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>sa-ri</td>
<td>so / se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>EXC(lusive)</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INC(lusive)</td>
<td>COL(lective)</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pi-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIS(tributive)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta-ri</td>
<td>to^2 / te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>OBV(iative)</td>
<td>2a-</td>
<td>supi</td>
<td>supi (a?-ri)^3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal (PRXML)</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>sa-ri</td>
<td>supi 2e^4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in the table, all pronouns are derived from what have been identified as the pronominal prefixes in chapter 3. Similar to the pronominal prefixes, all the pronouns are

1 As mentioned earlier, /o/ is deleted when preceded by /i/ Thus, for example, ni + o → ni.
2 The genitive pronoun to is very rare. So far it is only found in a reflexive construction as in pi to bobom tari beh ’each of us hit ourselves’.
3 Instead of supi To, supi can function alone as an object.
4 supi To and supi 2e always appear in compounds.
marked \textit{a} for singular number, and \textit{i} for plural number. First singular persons and first plural exclusive person are marked \textit{n}. The first plural inclusive person is marked \textit{p}. The second persons (both singular and plural) are marked \textit{Ø} (unmarked). The third persons (both singular and plural) are marked \textit{s}.

As described in 6.1. below, I call the first type of pronouns NOM(inative). They are independent forms though they have the same forms as the pronominal prefixes. The first person plural inclusive nominative pronoun does not distinguish distributive from collective. That is both distributive and collective have the same nominative form \textit{pi}. Similarly, nominative form of third person singular is \textit{sa} and plural is \textit{supi}; there is no distinction between obviative and proximal.

Pronouns of the second type, as observed from the table, are derived from pronominal prefixes, including \textit{2a-} and \textit{ta-} by the morpheme \textit{ri}. I argue in 6.1. that the morpheme is an ACC(usative) morpheme that marks accusative on pronouns but not on nouns. Therefore, I call the pronouns derived by the accusative morpheme accusative pronouns. Pronouns of the third type, listed in the last column of the table, are also derived from pronominal prefixes, including \textit{2a-} and \textit{ta-} by the morphemes \textit{Ø} and \textit{e}. These two morphemes are GEN(itive) or possessive markers. I call the pronouns genitive pronouns, as described in detail in 6.2.

In addition to the above pronouns, there are also some forms of pronouns, which are derived from plural (but not singular) pronominal prefixes by the pronominal numeral
classifier naŋ. I call the pronouns 'numbered pronouns' as described in section 6.4.1. Some other forms, as described in 6.4.2, are derived also from the pronominal prefixes by the morpheme (root) lo. An example is nolo meaning roughly 'I myself' or 'only I/me'.

6.1. Nominative and accusative pronouns

There are several reasons why I call the independent forms of pronouns nominative pronouns and the pronouns marked ri accusative pronouns. The reasons described in 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 below are mostly based on the functional properties (Anderson, 1985:180-186) of the two pronouns both at a sentence level and a discourse level. I begin the description with the functions of the two types of pronoun at a sentence level as follows.

6.1.1. The function of accusative pronouns vs. nominative pronoun:
Sentence level

The first functional property that distinguishes an independent pronoun (i.e., a nominative pronoun) from a pronoun marked -ri (i.e., an accusative pronoun) is that a nominative pronoun in Adang can function as the subject of a sentence. An accusative pronoun, on the other hand, cannot function as a subject on its own⁵. In (1) below, for example, examples (a, c, e) are accepted because the subject pronouns in the sentences are nominative. Conversely, examples (b, d, f) are not accepted because the subject pronouns in the sentences are marked accusative.

See topical and focused pronouns in 6.1.2.

⁵
(1) a). Na bel bēh  
1SG.NOM dog hit  
'Thit a dog'  

c). A bel bēh  
2SG.NOM dog hit  
'You hit a dog'  

e). Ni bel bēh  
1PL.EXC.NOM dog hit  
'We hit a dog'

Second, an accusative pronoun can function as the object of a transitive verb, but not the nominative pronoun. In (2), therefore (a, c) are accepted but not (b, d).

(2) a). Sa i-ri hōr  
3SG.NOM 2PL-ACC wound  
'S/he wounded you'  

c). Sa ni-ri hōr  
3SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-ACC wound  
'S/he wounded us'

The third person plural pronoun supi can function as a subject or an object in a sentence, and at a discourse level, it can also function as the focus or the topic of a sentence. When functioning as an object, it is optionally followed by the third person obviative accusative pronoun 2ari, as illustrated in (3).

(3). Supi supi (2a-ri) bēh  
3PL 3PL (3.OBV-ACC) hit  
'They hit them'

Not all transitive verbs, however, take accusative pronouns as their objects. As shown in the discussion of the function of pronominal prefixes on verbs (3.2), there are
transitive verbs that are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal prefixes functioning as the objects of the transitive verbs. To compare with examples in (2), I give two examples in (4) below. The roots *dodo and ad of both verbs are meaningless without a pronominal prefix. Examples (c – d) are, therefore, not accepted.

(4). a). Supi na-dodo
   3PL 1SG-push
   'They pushed me'

   b). Ni i-ad
   1PL.EXC.NOM 2PL-release
   'We released you'

   c). *Supi na-ri dodo
   3PL 1SG-ACC push

   d). *Ni i-ri ad
   1PL.EXC.NOM 2PL-ACC release

Third, an accusative pronoun, but not a nominative pronoun, can function as a reflexive (5.a, d) or reciprocal (5.e) object. When functioning as a reflexive (but not reciprocal) object, it is optionally preceded by the reflexive noun *bobom 'self', as in (5.a). This word is itself obligatorily modified by the genitive pronoun of the subject. Example (b) is not accepted because the word *bobom is not modified by the genitive pronoun of the subject. Example (c) is not accepted either, because the reflexive object is nominative. Example (d) can be ambiguous. Like (a), the ambiguity can be resolved by inserting the reflexive noun *bobom (ni *bobom 'ourselves') as shown in (e).

(5). a). Na (n-o *bobom) na-ri beh
   1SG.NOM (1SG-GEN self) 1SG-ACC hit
   'I hit myself'

   b). *Na *bobom na-ri beh
   1SG.NOM *bobom 1SG-ACC hit
   'We hit ourselves'

   c). *Na (n-o *bobom) na beh
   1SG.NOM (1SG-GEN self) 1SG.NOM hit
   d). Ni ni-ri beh
   1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-ACC hit
   'We hit ourselves/each other'

---

6 A detailed description, with more examples, of this type of verb is presented in 7.2.2.2.
Unlike the nominative, there are two accusative pronouns of third person (both singular and plural); the obviative accusative pronoun 2ari, derived from the obviative pronominal prefix 2a- and the proximal accusative pronoun sari derived from the proximal pronominal prefix sa-. The proximal accusative pronoun sari is always co-referential with the subject (either pronouns (a, c, d) or proper names (b, e)) of a sentence and has a reflexive/ reciprocal reading. The obviative accusative pronoun 2ari is disjoint referential to a subject. Therefore, it cannot function as a reflexive or reciprocal object. Example (f), therefore, does not have a reflexive reading.

The next examples show that an obviative accusative pronoun object can be preceded by a proper name or proper names (b, c). It can also be preceded by the third plural pronoun supi, as in (a).
(7). a). Sa  supi 2a-ri  beh  
3SG.NOM 3PL 3.OBV-ACC hit  
’S/he hit them’  
b). Sa  Bain 2a-ri  beh  
3SG.NOM Bain 3.OBV-ACC hit  
’S/he hit him (= Bain)’  
c). Ni  Bain  c Nani 2a-ri  beh  
1PL.EXC.NOM Bain and Nani 3.OBV-ACC hit  
’We hit them (= Bain and Nani)’

There are also two accusative pronouns of first person plural inclusive. The collective accusative pronoun *piri* is derived from the collective first plural inclusive pronominal prefix *pi-*, and the distributive accusative pronoun *tari* is derived from the distributive first plural inclusive pronominal prefix *ta-*. Similar to the prefixes (when functioning as possessor on nouns or objects on verbs (see chap.3)), the pronoun *piri* has a collective reading whereas *tari* has a distributive reading, as illustrated in (8) below.

(8). a). Sa  pi-ri  beh  
3SG.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-ACC hit  
’S/he hit all of us’  
b). Sa  ta-ri  beh  
3SG.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-ACC hit  
’S/he hit each one of us’

The collective/ distributive distinction of first plural inclusive pronouns does not apply to the nominative pronoun. Therefore, when *piri* and *tari* function as a reflexive or reciprocal object, both can refer to the nominative pronoun subject *pi*, as in (9) below. As indicated, examples (a-b) can be ambiguous. However, when *piri* and *tari* are preceded by the genitive pronoun of the subject or reflexive object plus the reflexive noun *bobom,* as in (c-d), the ambiguity is resolved.

(9). a). Pi  pi-ri  beh  
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-ACC hit  
’We hit ourselves/ each other’
b). Pi ta-ri beh
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-ACC hit
'Each of us hit our self (= you hit yourself, I hit my self ...) or
We hit each other (= you hit me and I hit you ...)'

c). Pi pi-Ø bobom pi-ri beh
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-GEN self 1PL.COL.INC-ACC hit
'We hit ourselves'
d). Pi t-Ø bobom ta-ri beh
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-GEN self 1PL.DIS.INC-ACC hit
'Each of us hit our selves (= you hit yourself, I hit my self ...)'
nominative. It cannot function as an oblique argument and cannot be marked or replaced by $u$ (see details use of the oblique pronominal clitic $u$ in 10.1).

(11). a). Roni na-ri $u$ hɔ?
   Roni 1SG-ACC CL arrive
   ‘Roni came toward me (for a purpose)’

   b). A: Ni a-ri $u$ dumɛ
      1PL.EXC.NPM 2SG-ACC CL strong
      ‘We rely on you’ (Lit. We are strong on you)

   c). B: U dumɛ naba?; na i-maŋ?
      CL strong what 1SNG.NOM 2PL-father
      ‘What do you rely on me for? am I your father?’

   d). Ni i-ri $u$ matɛŋ
c). *Ni  i  $u$ matɛŋ
      1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL-ACC CL talk
      1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.NOM CL talk
      ‘We talked about you’

To conclude, a variety of syntactic tests, presented in this section, demonstrate that the pronoun series taking the suffix -ri in Adang function as accusative pronouns.

6. 1.2. The function of accusative pronoun vs. nominative pronouns: Discourse level

The functional differences between a nominative and an accusative pronoun at a discourse level is that an accusative pronoun can function as either the topic or focus of a sentence but a nominative pronoun cannot (Haan, 2000). A few examples with a brief description are given below.

When functioning as the focus of a sentence, an accusative pronoun can refer to either an internal subject or object of the sentence. When referring to the internal subject
of a sentence, a focal accusative pronoun is marked so; and when referring to the internal object of a sentence, it is marked fe⁷. In (12) below, for example, focal pronouns in both (a) and (b) are accusative and marked so because they refer to the internal subjects of the sentences. Example (c) is not accepted because the pronoun marked focal by so in the sentence is a nominative pronoun (i). Example (d) is not accepted either because the focal pronoun referring to the internal subject of the sentence is marked focal by fe.

(12). a). A: Ni-ri so, ni sam don em
   1PL.EXC-ACC FOC.SUBJ 1PL.EXC.NOM go shopping or
   i-ri so (i sam don)?
   2PL-ACC FOC.SUBJ 2PL.NOM go shopping)?
   'Is it us who are going shopping or is it you?'

   b). B: I-ri so, i sam don.
   2PL-ACC FOC 2PL.NOM go shopping.
   'It is you who are going shopping'

   c). B: *1 so i sam don.
   2PL.NOM FOC.SUBJ 2PL.NOM go shopping.

   d). B: *I-ri fe i sam don.
   2PL.ACC FOC.OBJ 2PL.NOM go shopping.

   As indicated with a comma in both (a) and (b) of the above examples, phonologically there is a pause after the focal pronoun in each of the sentences. The sentences have a similar construction as a “left-dislocation” in English (Foley and Van Valin, 1985: 355).

   The internal subject of a sentence containing a focal pronoun (and also focal NP), however, can be dropped because it has the same reference as the focal pronoun. When

⁷ A detailed description of the use of focusing particles so and fe is presented in 10.2. Instead of so or fe, a focal pronoun or NP can also be modified by a focusing determiner (see 7.2.3 for detailed)
the internal subject is dropped, as exemplified in (13), there is no longer a pause after the focal pronoun. As observed from the examples, the sentences have a similar construction as an “it-cleft” in English (Foley and Van Valin, 1985: 358)

(13). a). A: Ni-ri so sam don e:m
1PL.EXC-ACC FOC.SUBJ go shopping or

i-ri so (sam don)?
2PL-ACC FOC.SUBJ (go shopping)?
‘Is it us who are going shopping or is it you?’

b). B: I-ri so sam don.
2PL-ACC FOC go shopping.
‘It is you who are going shopping’

In the following example (b), the focal accusative pronoun refers to the internal object of the sentence and is marked fe. Similar to examples in (12-13), the internal object can be dropped (“it cleft”) or not be dropped (“left-dislocation”). I have, therefore, put the internal object in brackets. Example (c) is not accepted because the pronoun marked focal by fe is a nominative pronoun (ni). Example (d) is not accepted either because the focal pronoun referring to the internal object of the sentence is marked so.

(14). a). A: ano fe sa beh; Bain em i-ri?
who FOC.OBJ 3SG.NOM hit Bain or 2PL-ACC
‘Whom did s/he hit; Bain or you?’

b). B: Ni-ri fe sa (ni-ri) beh
1PL.EXC-ACC FOC.OBJ 3SG.NOM (1PL.EXC-ACC) hit
‘It was us, whom, s/he hit’

c). B: * Ni fe sa (ni-ri) beh
1PL.EXC-NOM FOC.OBJ 3SG.NOM (1PL.EXC-ACC) hit

d). B: *Ni-ri so sa (ni-ri) beh
1PL.EXC-ACC FOC.OBJ 3SG.NOM (1PL.EXC-ACC) hit
Besides functioning as the focus of a sentence, an accusative pronoun can function as the topic of a sentence. When an accusative pronoun functions as the topic of a sentence, it is (as with other NPs) normally modified by a determiner. Like a focal accusative pronoun, a topical accusative pronoun can refer to either the internal subject or the internal object of the sentence. In (15) below, the topical accusative pronoun in both (b) and (c) refer to the internal subject of each sentence. A nominative pronoun cannot function as the topic of a sentence. Examples (d-e) are, therefore not accepted. As in a focus construction, the internal subject of each of the examples can be dropped because they have the same reference as the topics. I have, therefore, put the internal subject of each of the examples in a bracket.

(15). a). Pi ta-bal’al’ lame!
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.DIS-divide walk
‘Let’s take different ways in our trip’. (Lit. We divide ourselves (in) walking)

b). I-ri ho, (i) doi lɔl ɛ
2PL-ACC DEF (2PL.NOM) hill climb/ along and
‘As for you, you walk along (through) hills (Lit. You climb hills) and

c). ni-ri ho, (ni) mol lɔl
1PL.EXC-ACC DEF 1PL.NOM river climb/ along
as for us, we walk along rivers

d). *I ho, (i) doi lɔl ɛ
2PL.NOM DEF (2PL.NOM) hill climb/ along and

e). *ni ho, (ni) mol lɔl
1PL.EXC.NOM DEF (1PL.NOM) river climb/ along

In the next example (16. b), the topical accusative pronoun nari refers to the internal object of the sentence. Like an internal subject of a focus construction, the
internal object can be dropped because it has the same reference as the topic. Example (c) is not accepted because the topical pronoun in the sentence is a nominative pronoun (Na).

(16). a). A: Ban Nani be:h e a-ri ho and so a-ri be:h?
Bain Nani hit and 2SG-ACC DEF who FOC.SUBJ 2SG-ACC hit
'Bain hit Nani and as for you, who hit you?'

b). B: Na-ri ho, Bika so (sa) (na-ri) be:h
1SG-ACC DEF Bika FOC.SUBJ (3SG.NOM) (1SG-ACC) hit
'As for me, it is Bika who hit me'

c). B: *Na ho Bika so (sa) (na-ri) be:h
1SG.NOM DEF Bika FOC.SUBJ (3SG.NOM) (1SG-ACC) hit

With a third person accusative pronoun, it is the proximal accusative pronoun that can function as either a topic or a focus of a sentence. An obviative accusative pronoun cannot function as a topic or a focus of a sentence. Thus in a topic construction as in (17) below, (b) is accepted but not (c). Similarly, in a focus construction as in (18), (b) is accepted but not (c).

(17). a). A: Ni Nani be:h ba and Bain be:h?
1PL.EXC.NOM Nani hit so/and who Bain hit
'We will hit Nani and so who will hit Bain?'

b). B: Sa-ri ho na (2a-ri) be:h
3.PRXML-ACC DEF 1SG.NOM (3.OBV-ACC) hit
'As for him, I will hit (him)'

c). B: *2a-ri ho na (2a-ri) be:h
3SG.NOM DEF 1SG.NOM (3.OBV-ACC) hit

(18). a). A: Ano so a-ri be:h b). B: Sa-ri so na-ri be:h
who FOC.SUBJ 2SG-ACC hit 3PRXML-ACC FOC.SUBJ 1SG-ACC hit
'Who (is it that) hit you?' 'It is him/ her who hit me'

c). B: *2a-ri so na-ri be:h
3OBV-ACC FOC.SUBJ 1SG-ACC hit
I suggest a syntactic reason why the proximal pronoun can function as either the topic or focus of a sentence but the obviative cannot. The reason is that the focus or topic part of a sentence is itself a clause with an understood subject. It is therefore, the proximal accusative pronoun (which is normally co-referential with a subject) which is licensed to function as either the topic or focus of a sentence rather than the obviative accusative pronoun. Thus, I propose that when functioning as a topic or focus, the proximal accusative pronoun is co-referential with an understood third person subject. Just as in English “It is John who is …” where “it” and “John” have the same referent.

Note, however, that Adang does not have copulas like those of English. Nor does it have a third person subject like that of English’s “dummy” subject (normally filled by it or there) (Brown and Miller, 1980: 314-315) The question then is, what third person subject is the proximal accusative pronoun co-referential with in a focus or a topic sentence? More analysis to answer the question is needed.

Finally a comparison with other Papuan languages. The first and the second person singular accusative pronouns nari and ari are similar in form to those of Inanwatan or Bira spoken on the south coast of Bird’s head peninsula West Papua. The forms are “na-@ri” (also “na @-iti”) and “a@-ri” (also “a @-iti”) which de Vries (1996:103) calls subject pronouns of the first and the second singular person respectively.
6.2. Genitive pronouns

As observed from table 6-1, genitive pronouns in Adang are marked 0 or e. These genitive markers are attached to the pronominal prefixes including the obviative prefix 2a- and the distributive prefix ta-. Based on the rule that vowel /a/ is deleted when followed by another vowel (2.4), the prefixation of a pronominal prefix marked singular a (na-, sa-) results in the deletion of vowel /a/ of singular pronominal prefix. The differences between the genitive pronouns marked 0 and those marked e are as follows.

Semantically, both types of genitive pronouns express possession. The difference, however, is that a genitive pronoun marked e, while expressing possession, also expresses emphasis or contrast. I shall call it a ‘contrastive’ genitive pronoun. A genitive pronoun marked 0 does not express emphasis or contrast. Therefore I call it a ‘non-contrastive’ genitive pronoun. In (19) below, the two clauses in (a) are appropriately linked but the two clauses in (b) are not appropriately linked. I have therefore put a disjoint marker (#) between the two clauses in (b).

    John 3.OBV-GEN child diligent but 1SG-GEN child NEG diligent NEG
    'John's/ his children are diligent but my children are not diligent'

    b). [(John) 2-0 ʔai] fərekəŋ bo # [n-0 ʔai] ʔe fərekəŋ nənə
    John 3.OBV-GEN child diligent but 1SG-GEN child NEG diligent NEG
    'John's/ his children are diligent but my children are not diligent'
Following is another example to compare the non contrastive genitive marked \( \sigma \) and the contrastive genitive pronoun marked \( e \). In the example, I put two question marks in front of (b) because it is very unusual to modify an inalienably possessed noun like, \( n\epsilon\epsilon fai \) `my eyes` in the example, with a non contrastive genitive pronoun. The reason is that because the noun itself is possessed by the possessor pronominal attached to it. To emphasize or to contrast the possessed noun with another possessed noun, a contrastive genitive pronoun is used, as in (a), but not a non contrastive genitive pronoun.

(20). a) \( N-e \ n\epsilon\epsilon fai \ 2 e \ maru \ dai \)
1SG-GEN 1SG-eye NEG blind EVID
`These eyes of mine are not blind yet` (= I am not blind yet) or
`My eyes (e.g., as contrast to yours) are not blind yet`

b). ??N-o \( n\epsilon\epsilon fai \ 2 e \ maru \ dai \)
1SG-GEN 1SG-eye NEG blind EVID
`My eyes are not blind yet`

Syntactically, contrastive genitive pronouns can function either as modifiers of nouns or as full pronouns, independent of nouns. As a modifier of nouns, a contrastive genitive pronoun always appears with a head noun, as seen in (21).

(21). a) \( Na \ n-e \ 2a \ 2-a-tar-a\epsilon \-eh \)
1SG.NOM 1SG-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
`I am making this child of mine lie down (implied, to sleep)`

b). Sa \( n-e \ 2a \ 2-a-tar-a\epsilon \-eh \)
3SG.NOM 1SG-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
`S/he is making that child of mine lie down (implied, to sleep)`

As a full pronoun, a contrastive genitive pronoun can occupy a subject (a), object (c) or predicative (b) slot in a sentence, as exemplified in (22) below. As observed from the
examples, a contrastive genitive pronoun when functioning as a full pronoun, has a meaning similar to mine, yours, theirs and the like in English.

(22). a). N-e tar-eh
1SG-GEN lie down-PROG
'Mine is lying down'

b). Së³ ho n-e
money DEF 1SG-GEN
'The money is mine'

c). Sa n-e ʔ-a-tar-ǝŋ-eh
3SG.NOM 1SG-GEN 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'S/he is making mine lie down (implied, to sleep)'.

The non contrastive genitive pronoun, on the other hand, can only function as a modifier of nouns, as in (23). They cannot appear as full pronouns, independent of nouns. Therefore, sentences like (23.c, d, e) are not accepted. Semantically, they have similar functions to my, your, their and the like in English.

(23). a). Na n-o ʔai ʔ-a-tar-ǝŋ-eh
1SG.NOM 1SG-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'I am making my child lie down'

b). Sa n-o ʔai ʔ-a-tar-ǝŋ-eh
3SG.NOM 1SG-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'S/he is making my child lie down'

c). *Na n-o ʔ-a-tar-ǝŋ-eh
1SG.NOM 1SG-GEN 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG

d). *N-o tar-eh
e). *Së³ ho n-o
1SG-GEN lie down-PROG money DEF 1SG-GEN

Note that, as seen in table 6-1, with plural pronouns, such as i, ni, pi, the genitive marker ǝ is deleted when preceded by /i/. The genitive marker e, on the other hand, is optional. Thus, for example, instead of nie 'ours' one may just say ni 'our/s'.
As there are two third person pronominal prefixes, there are four third person genitive pronouns: the proximal genitive pronouns so and se and the obviative genitive pronouns 2o and 2e. Note that when referring to a third person plural, the obviative genitive pronouns 2o and 2e more commonly appear with the third person plural supi than without it. Without the third person plural they are more likely to have a singular, than plural, reading. Thus, 2o in (24. a) below, for example is more likely to be referring to a third person singular than to a third person plural. On the other hand, 2o in (b) is referring to the third person plural supi. (Square brackets in the example mark a phrase boundary).

(24). a). [?-o 2ai] farekano
     3.OBV-GEN child diligent
     'His/ her (/their) children are diligent'

b). [Supi 2-o 2ai] farekano
     3PL. 3.OBV-GEN child diligent
     'Their children are diligent'

Just as with the proximal accusative pronoun sari, the pronominal genitive pronouns so and se are co-referential with subjects and have a reflexive/ reciprocal reading. They modify an object head noun but not a subject head noun. In (25), for example, so and se in (a-d) both modify an object head noun. Example (e) is not accepted because so in the sentence modifies a head noun subject; thus, it is not co-referential with any subject. As also shown in the examples, the subjects that so and se refer to can be a proper name or a third person nominative pronoun: sa (SG) or supi (PL).
The next examples illustrate that the proximal genitive pronoun se can function as a full pronoun but the proximal genitive pronoun so cannot so function, independent of a head noun.

Unlike the proximal genitive pronouns, the obviative genitive pronouns $\rho\sigma$ and $\rho e$ can modify nouns of both subject NPs and object NPs. In (27), for example, the genitive pronoun $\rho\sigma$ in (a) and $\rho e$ in (b) modify a head noun in a subject NP. The genitive pronoun $\rho e$ in (c) and $\rho\sigma$ in (d), on the other hand, modify a head noun in an object NP. The
examples also show that an obviative genitive pronoun can be preceded by its reference noun (John in (a-b) and supi in (c-d)).

(27). a). [(John) 2-ο 2ai] farēkaŋ
   John 3.OBV-GEN child diligent
   'John's/ his children are diligent'

   b). [(John) 2-ε 2ai] farēkaŋ
   John 3.OBV-GEN child diligent
   'John's/ his children (e.g. as contrast to others) are diligent'

   c). Na [(supi) 2-ε 2ai] 2-a-tar-αŋ-eh
   1SG.NOM 3PL. 3.OBV-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
   'I am making their children (e.g. as contrast to others) lie down'

   d). Na [supi 2-ο 2ai] 2-a-tar-αŋ-eh
   1SG.NOM 3PL. 3.OBV-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
   'I am making their children lie down'

First person plural inclusive also has four genitive pronouns: the collective genitive pronouns pie and pi (ο → ο) and the distributive genitive pronoun te and to. As mentioned earlier, the non-contrastive distributive genitive pronoun to is now very rare in everyday speech. So far, it seems that its use is limited only to a reflexive construction where to modifies the reflexive noun bobom 'self, as in (28.a). Even to bobom in sentences like (a) is more common than te bobom in sentences like (b). Note that the reflexive noun bobom can also be modified by the collective genitive pronoun pi/e.

(28). a). Pi (t-ο bobom) ta-ri beh
   1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.DIS-GEN self 1PL.INC.DIS-ACC hit
   'We (= each one of us) hit each one of our selves'

   b). Pi (t-ε bobom) ta-ri beh
   1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.DIS-GEN self 1PL.INC.DIS-ACC hit
   'We (= each one of us) hit each one of our self (e.g. as contrast to ... → if applicable)'
The four genitive pronouns of first person plural inclusive can be either co-referential with subjects or not co-referential with subjects. *Pi/e* and *te* in (a-b) of the following examples, for instance, are co-referential with the subject pronoun *pi* of each sentence but in (c-d) they are not co-referential with the subject.

(29). a). *Pi* [pi-o/e 2ai] 2-a-tar-aŋ-eh
1pl.INC.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'We are making our children (/as contrast to others) lie down'

b). *Pi* [t-e 2ai] 2-a-tar-aŋ-eh
1pl.INC.NOM 1PL.INC-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'We (= each one of us) are making children of each one of us (as contrast to others) lie down'

c). *Sa* [pi-o/e 2ai] 2-a-tar-aŋ-eh
3SG.NOM 1PL.COL.INC-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'S/he is making our child (/as contrast to others) lie down'

d). *Sa* [t-e 2ai] 2-a-tar-aŋ-eh
3SG.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'S/he is making children of each one of us (as contrast to others) lie down'

The following examples are not acceptable in everyday speech because *tə* in each of the examples does not modify the reflexive noun *bobom* in a reflexive construction as that of (28.a). I have, therefore put two question marks in front of each of the examples.

(30). a). ??*Pi* [t-o 2ai] 2-a-tar-aŋ-eh
1pl.INC.NOM 1PL.INC-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'We (= each one of us) are making the children of each one of us lie down'

b). ??*Sa* [t-o 2ai] 2-a-tar-aŋ-eh
3SG.NOM 1PL.DIS.INC-GEN child 3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS-PROG
'S/he is making the children of each one of us lie down'
6.3. The use of third person pronouns to refer to non-human

As mentioned earlier, third person pronouns (and also pronominal prefixes) do not only refer to human beings but also to non-human beings. In this section, I shall briefly describe the use of third person pronouns to refer to non-humans.

First recall that there is only one nominative form of the third person singular pronoun, namely *sa*. There are, however, two types of accusative pronoun forms for both third person singular and plural: the proximal accusative pronoun *sari* and the obviative accusative pronoun *2ari*. There are also four genitive pronoun forms for both third person singular and plural: the proximal genitive pronoun *se* (contrastive) and *so* (non-contrastive); and the obviative genitive pronoun *2e* (contrastive) and *2o* (non-contrastive).

The third person nominative pronoun both singular (*sa*) and plural (*supi*) can also refer to non-humans but is limited to living beings, i.e., animals and plants (i.e. animates). *Sa/ supi* in (31. c), for example, refers to a plant, i.e., *fa* ‘coconut’. I put the object of the first clause in (c) in brackets because it is optional (commonly dropped) at a discourse level; as it has the same reference as the subject of (a) and the subject of the second clause in (c).

coconut that 2SG.NOM plant DEF grow-PERF or EVID EVID-PROG
‘Have the coconuts that you planted grown?’  ‘Not yet’
c). B: Noi ʁɛ (fa/sa/ supi) ta dai ho-rə, aʔai heʔɛ
rain NEG (coc./.../...) add/ on EVID DEF-FOC not exist then
sa/ supi ʔabou-am
3SG.NOM/3PL grow-PERF
'It has not rained yet, otherwise they would have grown'

In (32.b), sa/ supi refers to an animal, ʔamo ʔai ‘kitten’ mentioned in (a). Example (33.b) is not accepted because sa/ supi in the sentence refer to a non-living (inanimate) object, namely sapad ‘knife’ mentioned in (32.a).

cat baby one 1SG-give please
'Give me a baby cat (= kitten) please!'  
b). B: Sa/ supi mate fe a (nu) med
3SG.NOM/3PL big FOC.OBJ 2SG.NOM one take
'It is when it/ they get big that you will take one

(33). a). A: Sapad tara mi?
knife where in/ at
'Where are some knives?'

b). B: *Sa/ supi meja ta
3SG.NOM/3PL table on/add
*'They are on the table'

Instead of a third person nominative pronoun, the noun na meaning ‘thing’ can function as the subject of a sentence to refer to a non-living (inanimate) object, as exemplified in (34. b-d). It is a homophone of the first singular nominative pronoun na, as observed from the examples provided so far. Besides functioning as a subject, na ‘thing’ can also function as an object as seen in (34. a).

(34). a). Na na ho ʔa-ten
1SG.NOM thing DEF 3.OBV-make
‘I make the thing’

b). Na ho nəʔ?
thing DEF good
‘The thing/s is/ are good’

c). Na nu bone-əχ
3SG/PL one smell bad-PROG
‘One thing (something) is smelling bad’

d). Na nu manɛm-əχ
3SG/PL one smell nice-PROG
‘One thing (something) is smelling nice’
Unlike the third person nominative pronoun, third person accusative and genitive pronouns can refer to both living (animate) and non-living (inanimate) objects. In (35.c), for example, the proximal accusative pronoun *sari* refers to a non-living (inanimate) object, namely *sapad* ‘knife’. The pronoun itself is functioning as the predicate of the first (predicative nominal) clause in the sentence, optionally preceded by its nominative form in the discourse context. I shall not describe in detail the particular function of the accusative pronoun in this thesis.

knife that 2SG.NOM look for-PROG DEF table on/add.
‘The knife that you are looking for is on a table.’

c. A: (sa) sa-ri ʔem aʔai?
(3SG.NOM) 3PRXML-ACC or not exist
‘Is this it or not?’

In (36) below, both the proximal accusative pronoun *sari* and the obviative accusative pronoun *ʔari* (both underlined) refer to an animal, i.e., *ʔamo* ‘cat’.

(36). a. Amo ʔaʔi tu-eh ʔeʔe bel ʔaʔi u lou
cat 3PRXML-ACC scratch-PROG then dog 3.OBV-ACC CL bark
‘While cats were scratching each other (or themselves) dogs barked at them’

In (37) below, the obviative genitive pronoun *ʔo* in (a) refers to a non-living object, i.e. *sapad* ‘knife’ whereas in (b), it refers to an animal (insect), i.e. *kafe* ‘grasshopper’.

---

8 A few more examples, however, are found in sentences like Na ari h ʔeʔe na ʔeʔe ho med-am (1SG.NOM - 2SG-ACC - if/then - 1SG.NOM - money - DEF - take-PERF) ‘If I were you, I would have taken the money’ or Na ʔari ʔe a nari (1SG.NOM - 3OVBV-ACC - and - 2SG.NOM - 1SG-ACC) ‘I become him/her and you become me’ (e.g. in a play or a game).
Example (c) is to show that third person pronominal prefixes both proximal sa- and obviative 2a- (in the example sa- on sapuJ and sad) can also be used to refer to non-humans. More can be observed from examples provided throughout this thesis.

(37). a). Alang (sapad) 2-0 potatJ 2a-ten-eh
Alang (knife) 3.OBV-GEN handle 3.OBV-make-PROG
'Alang is making knife handles'

b). Kafe 2ai ladimaJ dek dek 20 katilo
grasshopper baby turn (around) hop hop 3.OBV-GEN aim
'(Small/baby) grass hoppers hopped (and) turn around; I know

na-ri di 2a-hol
1SG-ACC too 3.OBV-know
what their purposes/targets are'

c). ButJ maruc e teko mon mon [maru butuJ] mi
house lizard and gecko tame tame dust in/at

sa-puJ e s-ad
3.PRXML-hold and 3.PRXML-release
'Friendly house lizard and gecko hold each other in the dust and release each other'

6.4. Specifying the number of persons in pronouns

Like other nouns, whose number can be specified by being modified by a numeral classifier plus a numeral, the number of persons in pronouns can also be specified. There are two ways of specifying the number of persons in pronouns. The first is by attaching the

9 Sentences (b-c) are examples of figurative language, i.e. proverbs. The meaning given for each of the examples is literal. Pragmatically, however, (c) is used to teach Adang people to live in a friendly manner whereas (b) is used to teach Adang people to be knowledgeable and wise in their living. The second clause in (b) 20 katilo nari di 2 ahol is in a marked order. The normal order is Nari di 2 0 katilo 2 ahol. Nari in the clause is a contrastive topic. The speaker here is (literally) contrasting him/ herself to an understood third person topic. Both (b) and (c) are best understood in their register (discourse) contexts. (More examples of proverbs in Adang are given in appendix).
numeral classifier (NC) naŋ to plural pronominal prefixes (marked i), including the proximal pronominal prefix: sa- of third person, followed by numbers, excluding 'one'. I call the derived forms 'numbered pronouns' in this thesis. The second is by attaching the morpheme lo, meaning roughly 'alone', to all pronominal prefixes, except for the obviative pronominal prefix 2a- and the distributive pronominal prefix ta-. I refer to the derived forms as 'alone pronouns'.

Both the numbered and alone pronouns are normally used to answer such questions beginning with the number pronouns followed by den 'how many', as illustrated in (38) and (39) below. Example (39.c) is not accepted because, a form like nilo in the sentence cannot function as an object without being followed or preceded by its accusative form in an objective phrase (6.4.2).

   3.PRXML-NC how many John hit
   'How many of them hit John?'

   b). B: So-lo John beh.
      3.PRXML-alone John hit
      'Only He/him hit John'

   c). Sa-naŋ ut John beh
      3.PRXML-NC four John hit
      'They four/ four of them hit John'

(39). a). A: John in-naŋ den beh?
   John 2PL-NC how many hit
   'How many of you did John hit?'

   b). B: John ni-naŋ ut beh
      John 1PL.EXC-NC four hit
      'John hit four of us'

   c). *John ni-lo beh
      John 1PL.EXC-Lo hit

   d). John ni-lo ni-ri beh
      John 1PL.EXC-Lo 1PL.EXC-ACC hit
      'John hit only us/ John hit us alone'

I discuss each of the pronominals in turn beginning with the numbered pronouns as follows.
6.4.1. Pronominal prefixes plus nau: ‘Numbered pronouns’

The numeral classifier (NC) nau of this kind of pronominals is meaningless without pronominal prefixes. It is used when the number of persons in a plural pronominal prefix including the proximal prefix sa- is overtly specified. The numeral classifier nau is specific to pronouns; it is not used to specify number in nouns.

Table 6-2. Numbered Pronouns in Adang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefixes</th>
<th>Root: nau</th>
<th>Derived forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>sa- (Plural only)</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>sanau (No longer PRXML)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(ex)</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>ninau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(in)</td>
<td>pi- (COLLECTIVE)</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>pinau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>inau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that as the NC nau is only attached to plural pronominal prefixes, the form sanau, derived from the prefix: sa- plus nau, is always plural (like other derived forms), i.e. a third person plural, although the prefix itself refers to both third person singular and plural. The derived form sanau is also no longer proximal, though the prefix sa- is a proximal prefix as opposed to the obviative prefix 2a- (there is no derived form from 2a-*2anau as observed from the table). Thus, the NC nau on sanau does not only mark plural but also rules out the proximal reading of the derived form sanau. Examples (a-b) below are, therefore, possible when compared to, for example, the accusative pronoun sari as in (c-d).

(40). a). Ni sa-nau tou beh  
1PL.EXC.NOM 3PL-NC three hit  
'We hit three of them'  
b). A sa-nau tou beh  
2SG.NOM 3PL-NC three hit  
'You hit three of them'
c). *Ni sa-ri bêh
1PL.EXC.NOM 3PRXML-ACC hit
d). Sa sa-ri bêh
3SG.NOM 3PRXML-ACC hit
'S/he hit himself/ herself'

Semantically, the forms: sanâ, nina, pina and ina in table 6-2 are still meaningless. They are meaningful only when followed by numbers, excluding 'one'. Examples in (41. b, d) below are, therefore, not accepted. Example (41.e) is also not accepted because the number 'one' is not used to specify number in pronouns.

(41). a). I-naŋ tou sam don
2PL-NC three go shopping
'You three /three of you go shopping'
b). *I-naŋ sam don
2PL-NC go shopping
c). Roni ni-naŋ ut bêh
Roni 1PL.EXC-NC four hit
'Roni hit four of us /we four'
d). *Roni ni-naŋ bêh
Roni 1PL.EXC-NC hit
e). *I-naŋ nu sam don
2PL-NC one go shopping

The examples above also show that the numbered pronouns can function as both subjects, as in (a) and as objects, as in (c). Like nouns, the numbered pronouns in Adang are never marked -ri (accusative). Thus, there can never be a numbered pronoun like *nina:ori (1PL.EXC-NC - ACC) or *nina:utri (1PL.EXC-NC – four-ACC) in Adang though functioning as an object, as in (37.c)\(^{10}\).

Besides functioning as a subject or an object of a sentence, a numbered pronoun can function as a modifier of its nominative form in a subjective phrase or its accusative form in

\(^{10}\) Note again, that objects of a few verbs are attached to the verbs in forms of pronominal prefixes, as described in 7.2.2.
an objective phrase. When a numbered pronoun modifies its nominative form in a subjective phrase, it is placed after the nominative pronoun, as in (42.a). When it modifies its accusative form in an objective phrase, it either precedes (to give an emphasis to the number of persons of the head accusative pronoun) or follows the accusative pronoun as in (42.b, c) below.

(42). a) I ni-naŋ tou sam don
2PL.NOM 2PL-NC three go shopping
'You three (= three of you) go shopping'

b) John [ni-naŋ tou ni-ri] beh
John 1PL.EXC-NC three 1PL.EXC-ACC hit
'John hit three of us' (marked order to emphasize the number)

c) John [ni-ri ni-naŋ tou] beh
John 1PL.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-NC three hit
'John hit three of us'

Note that sentences like (42.b) above can be ambiguous. In the above example, I have put ni-naŋ tou ni-ri in square brackets to indicate that ni-naŋ tou modifies ni-ri and that they form one constituent. In other cases, however, ni-naŋ tou can form one constituent with John to function as a subjective phrase while ni-ri functions as a reflexive object, as represented in (43. a) below. The sentence indicates that the numbered pronouns can constitute a phrase together with a proper name. The proper name normally precedes the numbered pronouns. Together they function as either a subject or an object of a sentence. The meaning of these phrases is, for example, 'three of us including ... (the proper name)'. A further example is given in (43.b), where the numbered pronoun preceded by a proper name functions as an object.
Occasionally, the numbered pronouns, including *sanaŋ*, can also function as reflexive objects. However, when functioning as a reflexive object, a numbered pronoun is obligatorily modified by a genitive pronoun plus the reflexive noun *bobom* ‘self’ as exemplified in (44). The examples also show that when functioning as a reflexive object, a numbered pronoun is commonly co-referential with its nominative subject (a, c); in this case the third person plural *supi*, but not the nominative third person singular *sa*, for the numbered pronoun *sanaŋ*. A numbered pronoun reflexive object can also co-referential with the same numbered pronoun functioning as a subject, as in (b, d). Examples (b, d) are, however, very rare due to the repetition of numbers (or the same numbered pronouns). Therefore I have put a question mark in front of the two examples.

(44). a). Ni ni-0 bobom ni-ñaŋ tou bəh
1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-GEN self 1PL.EXC-NC three hit
‘Three of us hit ourselves (Lit. We hit ourselves being three (of us))’

b). ?Ni-ñaŋ tou ni-0 bobom ni-ñaŋ tou bəh
1PL.EXC-NC three 1PL.EXC-GEN self 1PL.EXC-NC three hit
‘Three of us hit ourselves (Lit. We three hit ourselves being three (of us))’

c). Supi s-ç bobom sa-ñaŋ tou bəh
3PL 3PL-GEN self 3.PL-NC three hit
‘Three of them hit themselves (Lit. They hit themselves being three)’

d). ?Sa-ñaŋ tou s-ç bobom sa-ñaŋ tou bəh
3.PL-NC three 3PL-GEN self 3.PL-NC three hit
‘They three hit themselves’ (Lit. They three hit themselves being three)’
When a genitive pronoun plus the reflexive noun *bobom* is dropped from sentences like in (44) above, they have non-reflexive readings. To illustrate, I drop the genitive pronoun plus the reflexive noun *bobom* from sentences in (44) and repeat them in (45). The meaning of sentence (b), for instance, is *three persons among us (which are more than three) hit three others among us*.

(45). a). Ni ni-naŋ tou bɔh
1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-NC three hit
'We (more than three) hit three of us'

b). Ni-naŋ tou ni-naŋ tou bɔh
1PL.EXC-NC three 1PL.EXC-NC three hit
'Three among us hit three others among us'

c). Supi sa-naŋ tou bɔh
d). Sa-naŋ tou sa-naŋ tou bɔh
3PL 3PL-NC three hit
3PL-NC three 3PL-NC three hit
'They hit three of them'  'They three hit three of them'

The following examples are to show that an accusative pronoun can also be co-referential with its numbered pronoun subject, with any number, in a reflexive or reciprocal sentence. As mentioned earlier, without a genitive pronoun plus the reflexive word *bobom*, a sentence like (46. a) is ambiguous. It can be reflexive or reciprocal. With the presence of a genitive pronoun plus the reflexive word *bobom* in a sentence, as in (b), the sentence is always reflexive. Reflexive sentences with a numbered pronoun, as in (46) below are more common in Adang than those in (44).

(46). a). Ni-naŋ tou ni-ri bɔh
1PL.EXC-NC three 1PL.EXC-ACC hit
'Three of us hit ourselves/ each other'
b). Ni-naŋ iviŋiŋ ni-ø bobom ni-ri beh
1PL.EXC-NC five 1PL.EXC-GEN self 1PL.EXC-ACC hit
'Five of us hit ourselves'

At a discourse level, a numbered pronoun can also function as a focus referring to either the internal subject or object of a sentence; or as a topic, also referring to either the internal subject or object of a sentence. In the following examples, (47) shows focal numbered pronouns referring to the subjects of the sentences whereas (48) shows focal numbered pronouns referring to the objects of the sentences. In the examples, I put the internal subjects or objects of the sentences in parentheses because, as mentioned earlier, they are optional as they have the same referent as the focal numbered pronouns (whether referring to a subject or an object).

(47). a). A: Ano so a-ri beh?
   who FOC.SUBJ 2SG-ACC hit
   'Who hit you?'

b). B: Sa-naŋ tou so (supi) na-ri beh
   3PL-NC three FOC.SUBJ (3PL) 1SG-ACC hit
   'It was they three who hit me'

c). B: Sa-naŋ tou ho-ro (supi) na-ri beh
   3PL-NC three DEF-FOC (3PL) 1SG-ACC hit
   'It was they three (e.g. you have just mentioned)¹¹ who hit me'

(48). a). A: Ano fe sa beh?
   who FOC.OBJ 3SG.NOM hit
   'Whom did s/he hit?'

b). B: Ni-naŋ tou fe sa (ni-ri) beh
   1PL.EXC-NC three FOC.OBJ 3SG.NOM (1PL.EXC-ACC) hit
   'It was three of us whom s/he hit'

¹¹ See the detailed description of the use of determiners in 7.2 and the use of focus particle so and fe in 10.2.
The following examples illustrate a numbered pronoun functioning as a topic, referring to an internal subject (49) or an internal object (50).

(49). Ni-naŋ alo ho (ni) ala dou ba
1PL.EXC-NC two DEF (1PL.EXC.NOM rice cook that

i-naŋ ut ho (i) sam don
2PL-NC four DEF (2PL.NOM) go shopping
‗As for the two of us, we are cooking rice that the four of you, you go shopping‘

(50). a). A: Ni Nani beh ba ano Menas e Bain ho beh?
1PL.EXC.NOM Nani hit so/and who Menas and Bain DEF hit
‗We will hit Nani and so who will hit Bain?‘

b). B: Sa-naŋ alo (=Menas and Bain) ho na (supi) beh
3PL-NC two DEF 1SG.NOM (3PL) hit
‗As for the two of them, I will hit them‘

6.4.2. Pronominal prefixes plus lo: 'Alone' pronounal

As mentioned before, the forms of this type of pronoun consist of pronominal prefixes and the root morpheme lo\(^{12}\). Except for the obviative pronominal prefix 2a- and the distributive pronominal prefix ta-, all pronominal prefixes can prefix to this root. The derived forms are as in the following table.

\(^{12}\) I have not found evidence that lo (also naŋ) is also attached to other elements of the language. While, I suspect that lo is an allomorph of the focusing suffix -ro on determiners (7.2.3), I still have not been able to justify this because they exist in similar (if not the same) environments; as in: ho-ro, h[ε-m]0-ro, h[ε-t]0-ro, h[ε-p]0-ro of determiners vs. no-lo, ni-lo, o-lo, i-lo of pronominals of this kinds.
Table 6-3: Only / Alone Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefixes</th>
<th>Root: lo</th>
<th>Derived Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>nolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sa- (Proximal)</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(ex)</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>nilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL(in)</td>
<td>pi- (Collective)</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>pilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>ilo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attachment of the morpheme: *lo* to the pronominal prefixes adds the meaning 'alone' or 'only' to the pronominal prefix to which it is attached. Thus, for example, *John nolo nari beh* in (51.b) means 'John hit just me'; (i.e. he hit no body else). Example (a) shows that an alone pronominal can function as the subject of a clause (a) but it cannot function as an object (c). Instead of functioning as an object, it can modify an accusative pronominal object, as in (b).

(51). a). [I-lo] sam don
   2PL-alone go shopping  
   'You go shopping by yourselves'

b). John [no-lo na-ri] beh  
John 1SG-alone 1SG-ACC hit  
'John hit me alone' (= John hit just me)

c). *John [no-lo] beh    
  John 1SG-alone hit

Like (51. b), the following examples illustrate the use of an *alone* pronoun as the modifier of a numbered pronoun subject (52. a) or object (b). The third person form solo can also modify a proper name either in subject (c) or object (d).

   1PL.EXC-NC five 1PL.EXC-alone John hit  
   'Only five of us hit John' (= Five of us hit John by ourselves)
b). John [ni-naŋ ivihiŋ ni-lo] beh
   John 1PL.EXC-NC five 1PL.EXC-alone hit
   'John hit only five of us' (= not more than that)

c). [Roni so-lo] sam don
d). Bain [Bika so-lo] beh
   Roni 3.PRXML-alone go shopping
   Bain Bika 3.PRXML-alone hit
   'Only Roni went shopping'
   'Bain hit Bika alone'

   (= Roni went shopping by himself)

The next examples suggest that the function of an alone pronominal as a subject, as
shown in (51. a, repeated in (53. b), could have developed from its original function as a
modifier. This is indicated by (a) where an alone pronominal, like ilo in the example, also
modifies a head pronominal subject (i in the example), besides functioning as the modifier
of an object pronoun (51. b, 52. b, d). As it is observed (a) and (b) have the same meaning.
The difference is mainly syntactic, namely to avoid a repetition because the i of ilo in (a),
for example, has the same referent as the subject pronominal i.

(53). a). [l i-lo] sam don!
   2PL.NOM 2PL-alone go shopping
   'You go shopping by yourselves!'

   b). i-lo sam don!
   2PL-alone go shopping
   'You go shopping by yourselves!'

The following examples illustrate a further development in the use of an alone
pronominal. In the examples an alone pronominal functions as the head subject, modified
by the same pronominal (functioning as a modifier). The modifier pronominal emphasizes
the meaning 'alone' expressed by the head pronominal. However, the structure, where an
alone pronominal modifies the same pronominal functioning as the head subject has only
been possible with singular pronominals (a-b). Examples (c-d) are still very rare and can be
unacceptable.
The historical development in the use of the alone pronominal, as indicated in the examples above, however, is still very tentative. This awaits further investigation and analysis.

To summarize, the chapter has demonstrated that Adang has nominative, accusative and genitive pronominals. Besides the three types of pronominals Adang also has numbered pronominals and 'alone' pronominals.
Determiners and spatial deictics (table 7-1) are two different word classes in Adang. They share many semantic and morphosyntactic properties but have different distributions in a sentence and different referents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance morphemes</th>
<th>Directional morphemes</th>
<th>DET(terminers)</th>
<th>DEIC(tics) -1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic form <em>ho</em> 'the' (mentioned earlier) or 'that' (visible, close to hearer)</td>
<td>Root <em>o</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX <em>po</em></td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>ho-po</em> 'this' (visible)</td>
<td><em>po</em> 'right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST(al)</td>
<td>marked <em>e</em></td>
<td>Far distal deictics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to both distal determiners and near distal deictics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m (HOR)</td>
<td><em>h[e-m]o</em> 'that' (visible)</td>
<td><em>m-o</em> 'over there'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t (UP)</td>
<td><em>h[e-t]o</em> 'that' (visible)</td>
<td><em>t-o</em> 'up there'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p (DOWN)</td>
<td><em>h[e-p]o</em> 'that' (visible)</td>
<td><em>p-o</em> 'down there'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEIC- 2 (Near distal deictics) (Marked lDIR(ectional),</td>
<td>fa-l-e ‘over there'; away from the speaker from a reference point.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-l-e ‘over here'; toward the speaker from a reference point.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip-l-e ‘down there'; away from the speaker to a lower distance.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-l-e ‘down there'; away from the speaker to a lower distance, lower than <em>i</em>le, like from a tree to the ground/mountain to the valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lifa/p-l-e ‘down there'; away from the speaker toward sea, valley/river. Originally, away from Adang village.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada/l-e ‘up there'; away from the speaker toward e.g. mountain. Originally, toward Adang village.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taF-l-e ‘up there'; away from the speaker, rather straight up.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-l-e ‘up on' / 'over'; the others/ something else; away from the speaker.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-l-e ‘up there'; away from the speaker, not straight up.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makla/l-e ‘up there'; toward the speaker, rather straight up.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A determiner refers to an entity or the referent of a noun and its location. It can also refer to information or an event expressed in a clause. A deictic, on the other hand, refers to the space or location of an entity or event. In addition, a determiner (but not the proximative form) can function as a spatial adverb whereas a deictic can function as the predicate of locational clauses.

As can be seen from table 7-1, the semantic property shared by the two groups of words is that both express distance and direction. The spatial deictic *pog* ‘right here’ and determiner *ho pog* ‘this’ are proximative, both derived by the proximative morpheme *pog*. The far distal deictic *mog* ‘far over there’ and the distal determiner *hemo* ‘that’ (over there) indicate horizontal direction marked with *m*, the deictic *tog* ‘far up there’ and the determiner *heto* ‘up there’ indicate upwards direction marked with *t*; and the deictic *pog* ‘far down there’ and the determiner *heto* ‘that’ (down there) indicate downwards direction marked with *p*.

Unlike determiners, spatial deictics distinguish far from near distal. Near distal deictics are derived from verbs. The exception are the deictics *adagile* and *lifagile*. *Adagile* is derived from the name of the village of Adang (*ada*). I suspect that *lifagile* is derived from the noun *lifa* ‘anchor’.

The direction expressed by a near distal deictic is indicated by its verbal root or noun. Both near distal deictics and distal determiners are marked distal with *e*. The semantic property of determiners which is not shared with deictics, both near and far
distal deictic, is that a determiner indicates the identifiability of the entity it refers to
but a deictic does not. I shall present a brief description of deictics in 7.1. More
examples and description will be presented along with the discussion of determiners
in 7.2 because a spatial deictic normally functions together with a determiner.

7.1. Spatial deictics

There are three types of spatial deictics in Adang. They look like spatial
demonstratives in other languages\(^1\), especially, because they express the spatial
orientation of a speech act. The three types of deictics are the proximative deictic \(\text{fog}\)
'right here', a group of near distal deictics and a group of far distal deictics (Fillmore,
1982: 48-25). The function of these spatial deictics is briefly described in 7.1.1 and 7.1.2.

7.1.1. The function of a spatial deictic as a part of a determiner

A spatial deictic primarily functions as a part of a determiner to determine the
location (distance and direction) of an object or event. As a part of a determiner, it
reinforces the distance and direction expressed by the determiner. However, the
combination of a determiner and a deictic is semantically constrained. That is, both
the determiner and the deictic have to express the same distance and direction, as
shown and illustrated with examples in sentential contexts in table 7-2.

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\(^1\) See: Foley (1986:75); Fillmore (1982: 47-58); Payne (1997: 102-104); Schachter (1985: 40) and
Table 7-2 Combination of determiners and deictics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>DEICs</th>
<th>DETs</th>
<th>Examples in sentential contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>pog</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>Bel pog ho ho mate. (bel ‘dog’ mate ‘big’) ‘This dog right here is big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>Far</td>
<td>Near</td>
<td>Bel fa-l-e h[e-m]o mate</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘That dog over there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bel fa-l-e ho mate</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘That dog over there is big’ (mentioned before)</td>
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<td>Bel m-on h[e-m]o mate</td>
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<td>‘That dog far over there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td>Bel m-on tar eh ho mate</td>
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<td>‘The sleeping dog far over there is big’ (mentioned before)</td>
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<td>Bel m-on tar eh ho mate</td>
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<td>‘The sleeping dog far over there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td>Bel t-op h[e-t]o mate</td>
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<td>‘That dog up there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td>Bel t-op ho mate</td>
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<td>‘That dog up there is big’ (mentioned before)</td>
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<td>‘That dog far up there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td>Bel t-on tar eh ho mate</td>
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<td>‘The sleeping dog far up there is big’ (mentioned before)</td>
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<td>Bel t-on tar eh ho mate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘The sleeping dog far up there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOR</td>
<td>m-og</td>
<td>fa-l-e ma-l-e ta-l-e</td>
<td>h[e-m]o or ho</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bel t-op h[e-t]o mate</td>
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<td>‘That dog up there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td>Bel t-on tar eh ho mate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘The sleeping dog far up there is big’ (visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>t-og</td>
<td>ta-p-l-e mid-l-e ada-p-l-e madog-p-l-e</td>
<td>h[e-t]o or ho</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bel i-p-l-e h[e-p]o mate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘That dog down there is big’ (visible)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bel i-p-l-e ho mate</td>
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<td>‘That dog down there is big’ (mentioned before)</td>
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<td>Bel i-on h[e-p]o mate</td>
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<td>Bel i-on tar eh ho mate</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘The sleeping dog far down there is big’ (visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOWN</td>
<td>pog</td>
<td>ip-l-e hel-l-e lifap-l-e ta-l-e</td>
<td>h[e-p]o or ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-2 shows that the combination of any spatial deictic with the basic determiner ho is possible. The combination of a spatial deictic with a determiner other than the basic form ho is conditioned by the direction expressed by the deictic and the determiner.
For example, the spatial deictics that express the same direction with the distal
determiner hemo that (over there) are the far distal deictic mog ‘far over there’ and
the near distal deictics fal ‘over there’ (away from the speaker), male ‘over here’
towards the speaker in a horizontal direction from a reference point) and tale ‘up on’ or
‘over’ (the others or some thing else, away from the speaker). These spatial deictics can
be combined with the distal determiner hemo, as exemplified in the last column of table
7-2. These deictics, except for tale, cannot be combined with a determiner other than
hemo and the basic form ho.

The sentences in (1) are not acceptable because the deictic and the determiner
in each of the sentences do not express the same direction. The UP(wards) direction
expressed by heto in (a), for example, does not agree with the HOR(izontal) direction
expressed by mog. Similarly, the DOWN(wards) direction expressed by hepo in (b),
does not agree with the HOR(izontal) direction expressed by fal.

(1) a). *Name bel m-oq h[e-1]o fail
person dog HOR-DEIC DEF[DIST-UP]DEF sell

b). *Name bel fa-l-e h[e-p]o fail
person dog go there-DIR-DIST (horizontal) DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF sell

The spatial deictic tale ‘up on’ or ‘over’ can be combined with any determiner
because it refers to the space of an entity on or over the others (the same entities) or on
or over something else. The space or location is away from the speaker in any direction:
horizontal, upward or downward direction, as exemplified in (2) below. In the example, 
	*tale* appears in a combination with the determiner *hemo* (a) and *hepo* (b).

(2. a) Name be ta-l-*e* h[e-m]*o* fail
person mango add/on-DIR-DIST DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF sell
'Some one is selling these mangoes on the others mangoes (the upper group of mangoes) over there'

b). Bel ta-l-*e* h[e-p]*o* mate
dog add/on-DIR-DIST DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF big
'That dog up here from the others down there is big’
(e.g. when referring to several dogs from the top of a hill. *Tale* refers to the
one on the hillside from the others that in the valley, for example; and *hepo*
indicates the downward direction from the top of the hill)

Table 7-2 also shows that a near and a far distal deictic can function as a part of
the same distal determiner because distal determiners do not distinguish a far from a near
distal determiner. Thus, the determiner *hemo*, for example, can appear in a combination
with the near distal deictic *tale* (3. a) and the far distal deictic *moy* (3. b) because they
express the same direction.

(3.a). Name bel fa-l-*e* h[e-m]*o* fail
person dog go there-DIR-DIST DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF sell
'Person sell that dog over there’ (Lit. ... that far over there dog)

b). Bel moy h[e-m]*o* mate
dog HOR-DEIC DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF big
'That dog far over there is big’

The following example shows that a deictic cannot function alone to refer to
an entity or object (the referent of a noun). The reason is because a spatial deictic
only refers to the space or the position (including the distance and direction) of an
object. It does not refer to the object itself. Therefore, unless an object is specified or determined by a determiner, a deictic cannot index its location or space.

(4) a). *Name bel m-\textit{o}\textit{y} fail  
    person dog HOR-DEIC sell

7.1.2. The function of a spatial deictic as a predicate

The deictics \textit{t-o\textit{y}} and \textit{i-pl\textit{e}} in (5. a-b) function as a part of the complex predicate \textit{t-o\textit{y} l-a-m\textit{e}eh} and \textit{i-pl\textit{e} t-a-r\textit{e}h} in the two sentences. They are not functioning to modify (or to refer to the referent of) the subject nouns of the two sentences. \textit{T-o\textit{y}} in (a) expresses the location of the event ‘walking’ expressed by \textit{l-a-m\textit{e}eh} whereas \textit{i-pl\textit{e}} in (b) indicates the location of the event ‘lying down’ expressed by \textit{t-a-r\textit{e}h}. Both events are marked progressive.

(5). a). Aru nu \textit{t-o\textit{y}} l-a-m\textit{e}eh  
    deer one UP-DEIC walk-PROG  
    'There is a deer walking far up there'  
    (in a place known by the speaker)

c). *Aru nu \textit{t-o\textit{y}} l-a-m\textit{e}  
    deer one UP-DEIC walk

b). Bel i-p-l\textit{e} t-a-r\textit{e}h  
    dog go down-DIR-DIST lie down-PROG  
    'There are dogs lying down down there'  
    (in a place known by the speaker)

d). *Bel f-a-l\textit{e} t-a-r  
    dog down-DIR-DIST lie down

Sentences (5. c-d), are unacceptable because the events expressed by \textit{l-a-m\textit{e}e} (c) or \textit{t-a-r} (d) is too general for a spatial deictic to index its location. Thus, like when functioning as a part of a determiner, a spatial deictic functions as a part of a complex predicate to indicate the location of an event when the event expressed by the main verb of the complex predicate is specified and marked progressive (5. a-b), inceptive
or perfective. Unless, the event is specified, a spatial deictic cannot index its location (5. c-d).

One piece of evidence for the deictics in (5. a-b) functioning as parts of the complex predicate is that the deictics themselves can function as the (single) predicate of a locational clause (see 12.2, for a detailed description of locational clauses). Thus, the verb lameeh and tareh of the complex predicate in the example can be dropped, as represented in (6. a-b) below. Both sentences are perfectly acceptable. A deictic, functioning as a predicate on its own (single predicate), can be cliticized by an aspectual clitic (c-d).

(6). a). Aru nu t-og
    deer one UP-DEIC
    'There is a deer far up there'
    (in a place known by the speaker)

    b). Bel ip-l-e
        dog go down-DIR-DIST
        'There are dogs down there'
        (in a place known by the speaker)

    c). Aru nu t-og-am
        deer one UP-DEIC-PERF
        'There has been a deer far up there'

    d). Bel ip-l-e-eh
        dog go down-DIR-DIST-PROG
        'There are dogs (being) down' there'

The second piece of evidence is that in a sentence like in (5. a-b), a deictic combines with the following verb as illustrated in (7). When it appears on its own with a preceding noun, they constitute a complete clause or sentence, as in (6. a-b) above.

(7). a). A: Bel / aru nu taro mi?
        dog / deer one which/ where in/ at
        'Where are dogs/ Where is a deer?'

        UP-DEIC walk-PROG
        (it's) walking far up there.'

    c). B: ip-l-e    tar-eh.
        go down-DIR-DIST lie down-PROG
        '(they are) lying down, down there'
7.2. Determiners

The words in table 7-3 (simplified from table 7-1) are determiners in Adang. As can be seen in the table, there is a basic form of the determiners, i.e., *ho* 'the' or 'that' (visible), a proximative determiner *ho-po* 'this' (visible) derived from the basic form by the proximative suffix -po, and three distal determiners derived from the basic form by the distal morpheme ε and the directional morphemes: m, t and p.

Table 7-3 Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>PROX marked Po</th>
<th>Distal marked ε</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HOR (m)</td>
<td>UP (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ho</em></td>
<td><em>ho-po</em></td>
<td><em>h[ε-m]o</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the' (referent mentioned previously) or</td>
<td>'this' (visible)</td>
<td>'that' (visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that' (referent is visible)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There are two main reasons to classify the words in table 7-3 as determiners. The first reason is, besides expressing the distance and direction of their referent, either an entity expressed by a noun or an event or information expressed by a clause, the words also express presuppositions as to the identifiability of the referent (Bauer, 1995: 44, 78). All the determiners refer to visible entities or events in the immediate situation (or real world setting) of a discourse. The basic determiner *ho* when referring to a visible entity or event, the entity or the event is obligatorily closer to the hearer than to the speaker. The determiner *ho* is also commonly used to refer to entities or objects and information which have been mentioned previously.
The determiner *hemo* in (8. b), indicates that the referent of the noun *aru* ‘deer’ it refers to is identifiable. In contrast, the referent of the noun *aru* in (9. a) is not identifiable. Therefore, it is not determined by any determiner.

(8). a). Aru banana pa-de
   deer grass 3.OBV-eat
   ‘Deers (generic) eat grass’

b). Aru h[e-m]o mofoi pa-d e
   deer DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF banana 3.OBV-eat
   ‘That deer over there (visible) eats bananas’

The second reason is, there is some evidence that determiners can function as the head of a determiner phrase (DP).

One piece of evidence is that they can determine the grammatical values (e.g. ± definite) of the constituent (noun or clause) they refer to. This can be seen from example (8) above. More example will be given in 7.2.1-7.3.

The second piece of evidence is, they assign the syntactic function of the constituent that they refer to (Bauer, 1995: 44, 78). For example, when a determiner refers to a verb (plus its object), the verb is nominalized. The nominalized verb can syntactically function as either a subject or an object; or a focus or a topic, depending on its distribution in a sentence (see 8.1; 8.3.2 for nominalization of verbs and adjectival verbs). Another example is when a determiner refers to a clause, it nominalizes the clause as well as topicalizes the information or the event expressed by the clause. The information must have been introduced to the hearer before. In (9), for example, *ho* determines the clause *Rudi tabak fel ‘Rudi buy cigarettes’* and *Rudi surari fel ‘Rudi buys books’*. The information expressed by both clauses is known by the hearer.
Therefore, the information ‘Rudi buy cigarettes’ and ‘Rudi buys books’ can be determined and topicalized by ho.

(9). Rudi tabak fel ho na ho hap bo
Rudi cigarette buy DEF 1SG.NOM DEF prohibit but

sa surai' fel ho na ho u inup
3SG.NOM book buy DEF 1SG.NOM DEF CL agree

‘As for Rudi to buy cigarettes, I prohibit that but as for him to buy books I agree to that’

A visible entity or event, however, is not necessarily mentioned earlier in order for it to be topicalized. Examples are as in (10) below.

(10). a). Name h[e-m]0,
ho/ supi tukap
person DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF DEF/3PL carpenter

As for those people over there (visible), those they are carpenters’

b). Aru h[e-p]0,
a ho masap
deer DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF 2SG.NOM DEF shoot

e na h[e-t]0 masap.
and 1SG.NOM DEF[DIST-UP]DEF shoot

‘As for that deer down there (visible), you shoot it and shoot that up there (visible)’

The last piece of evidence that a determiner in Adang functions as the head of a DP is that it can appear alone in a sentence to represent a whole DP constituent when the rest of the DP constituent is contextually understood. The constituent may contain a noun or an NP or even a clause. With respect to example (8. b), for instance, instead of [Aru h emo] mofoi fa-de ‘That deer (over there) eats bananas’ one can simply say [Hemo] mofoi fa-de ‘That eats bananas’ when the rest of the constituent (aru) is contextually understood. Following are a few more examples.
In example (11) above, the proximative determiner *ho* (b) and the distal determiner *hepo* (b) stand for the constituents *mud ho* ‘this orange’ and *mud hepo* ‘that orange down there’ introduced in (a). Similarly, the focusing proximative determiner *ho* (d) and the focusing distal determiner *hepo* in (d) stand for the constituents *mud ho* and *mud hepo* introduced in (c). (See 7.2.2 for a detailed description of focusing determiners).

7.2.1. The use of determiners to refer to an entity or the referent of a noun

I begin the discussion here with the following example. The example shows that *ho* functions in place of other determiners, both proximative and distal, when a visible object (the referent of a noun) in the immediate situation of a discourse has been
introduced. In the example, ho in (b) replaces hoPo or hePo to refer to the referent of
the noun ti 'tree' which has been introduced by the two determiners in (a).

tree DEF-PROX/ DEF[DIST-DOWN]DIST big
'This tree (visible)/ that tree down there (visible) is big'

b). A ti ho Pa-boPoi  
2SG.NOM tree DEF 3.OBV-cut
'You cut the tree'

Unlike ho, the proximative and distal determiners are not normally used to
modify a noun which has been already introduced into a discourse. This is particularly
true, if the referent of the noun is not visible at the time of speaking in a "deictical space"
(Klein, 1982:162)² or in the immediate situation (or the real world setting) of a
discourse, as in (13). The determiner hoPo in (a) indicates that the referent of the noun ti
'tree' is visible at the time of speaking. Similarly hoPo in (b) indicates that the referent
of the noun it modifies is visible at the time of speaking. The two sentences (a-b) can be
linked in the discourse or text but it is not common or usual. Therefore, I put a bracketed
disjoint marker, a bracketed hash ((#)), between the two sentences. Sentence (c) and (d)
are not linked because hoPo in (c) and hePo in (d) each referring to a different 'tree' in
the immediate situation of the discourse. Therefore, I put a hash (#) between the two
sentences.

tree DEF-PROX big 2SG.NOM tree DEF-PROX 3.OBV-cut
'This tree is big' 'You cut this tree'

² A "deictical space", as defined by Klein (1982:162) is rather broad. It has scope over not only a
visible immediate situation of a discourse but also over a geographical knowledge and event "abstract
'place' in train of thoughts".
In the following examples, the referent of the noun *ti 'tree'* in both (14) and (15) is not visible in the immediate situation of the discourse. As it has been introduced in (14. a), the noun can be modified by *ho* in (14. b). The two sentences (a-b) are linked. Sentences (15. a-b), on the other hand, are not linked in the discourse. The reason is, *ho* or *hemo* in (15. b) determine the noun *ti 'tree'*; the referent of which is visible in the immediate situation of the discourse (*that over there* for *hemo* and *this* for *ho*).

The referent of the noun is different from the referent of the noun *ti 'tree'* in (15. a) which is not visible and not definite. For this reason, I put a hash (#) between the two sentences.

Heri tree a 1SG-ALL-light.  
‘Heri showed me a tree’.

b). Ti ho mate  
tree DEF big  
‘The tree is big’

Heri tree a 1SG-ALL-light.  
‘Heri showed me a tree.

# b). Ti h[e-m]o / ho-fo mate.  
ho-fo tree DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF DEF-PROX big  
‘This/That tree over there is big’

As mentioned earlier, the basic determiner *ho* can also refer to a visible entity or object in the immediate situation (or the real world setting) of a discourse. There is, however, a constraint of this use of *ho*. That is in order for *ho* to refer to a visible entity at the time of speaking, the entity has to be close to the hearer; or at least closer to the hearer than to the speaker. In this context, *ho* can be translated into English as *that*. Following are a few examples.
(16). a). Ti ho-fo mate e ti ho kaPai
tree DEF-PROX big and tree DEF small
'This tree (visible close the speaker) is big and that tree
(visible close to the hearer) is small'

b). Ella be ho fel e na mud h[e-m]o fel
Ella mango DEF buy and 1SG.NOM orange DEF-DIST-HOR]DEF buy
'Ella bought those mangoes (visible close to you) and I bought those oranges over there'

Indeed, ho in both (a-b) above can be ambiguous. It can refer to either an entity
which is close to a hearer and visible at the time of speaking or an entity which has been
introduced earlier to a hearer in a conversation. With the presence of the proximative
determiner hoPo besides ho in (a) or the presence of the distal determiner hemo in (b),
however, it is more likely that each sentence introduces and contrasts two objects which
are visible at the time of speaking.

The piece of evidence given in (16) above shows that ho can also be regarded as
a near distal determiner3. However, instead of calling it a near distal determiner, I will
retain the term 'basic determiner'.

7.2.2. Focusing determiners

All the determiners presented in table 7-3 can be suffixed by the focusing suffix
-fo. I refer to the derived determiners as focusing determiners in this thesis. Their use is
not very different from the non-focusing determiners, described so far. The only
difference is that a focusing determiner is used to focus information expressed by a
clause or to focus an object or entity expressed by a noun.

3 or what Fillmore (1982: 48-51) call "medial" as the contrast of proximative and distal determiners.
The focal noun or clause is used to answer questions beginning with the question word *taro* 'where' or 'which (one)' or *taroni* 'why' or 'how'. In (17) below, for example, the focusing determiner *heporo* (b) and *hemoro* (c) determine or focus the noun *ti* 'tree'. The noun is used to answer the question in (a) which begins with the question word *taro* 'which (one)'

\[(17).\ a).\ A: Ti \ taro \ mi \ mate?\]
\[
\text{tree which/where COMP big} \quad \text{‘which tree is bigger (than other)?’}
\]
\[b).\ B: Ti \ h[e-p]o-ro \ mi \ mate;\]
\[
\text{tree DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF-FOC COMP big;} \quad \text{‘It is that tree down there (visible) which is bigger’ (than others) or}
\]
\[c).\ B: Ti \ h[e-m]o-ro \ mi \ mate; \ldots \text{etc.}\]
\[
\text{tree DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF-FOC COMP big} \quad \text{‘It is the tree over there (visible) which is bigger’ (than others)}
\]

To respond to a question like (17. a), however, an addressee does not have to focus the object, particularly if s/he supposes that the object is easily identified by the addressee in the immediate situation of discourse. Therefore instead of referring to the object with a focusing determiner, the addressee can also refer to the object with a non-focusing determiner as illustrated in (18) below.

\[(18).\ a).\ A: Ti \ taro \ mi \ mate?\]
\[
\text{tree which/where COMP big} \quad \text{‘which tree is bigger (than other)’}
\]
\[b).\ B: Ti \ h[e-p]o \ mi \ mate;\]
\[
\text{tree DEF[DIST-DOWN] COMP big;} \quad \text{‘That tree down there (visible) is bigger’ (than others); or}
\]
\[c).\ B: Ti \ h[e-m]o \ mi \ mate; \ldots \text{etc.}\]
\[
\text{tree DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF COMP big} \quad \text{‘That tree over there (visible) is bigger’ (than others)}
\]
The question word *taro* itself can be focused by attaching the focusing suffix -rọ, hence: *taro rọ*, as in (19). This is obligatory when the question is repeated by a speaker for further focus or clarification from his addressee. There is, however, no double focus marking in the addressee's answers, as observed from the example. For further focus and clarification, the addressee can accompany his answer with a demonstration or a pointing gesture and the like.

(19). a). A: Ti *taro rọ* mi mate?
    tree which/where-FOC COMP big
    'Which tree, among others, which is bigger (than the others)＼?

   b). B: Ti *h[e-p]o rọ* mi mate;
    tree DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF-FOC COMP big;
    'It is that tree down there (visible) which is bigger (than others)

   c). B: Ti *h[e-m]o rọ* mi mate;
    tree DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF-FOC COMP big
    'It is that tree over there (visible) which is bigger (than others)

Unlike examples (17-18), the addressee obligatorily focuses the object being asked when the question word itself is marked -rọ for a further focus or clarification, as in (19) above. If the object is not focused in the response, the response sentence is not properly linked to the question sentence in a discourse. In (20) below, for example, both (b) and (c) are not properly linked to (a) in the discourse.

(20). a). A: Ti *taro rọ* mi mate?
    tree which/where-FOC COMP big
    'Which tree, among others, which is bigger (than the others)＼?

   b). B: # Ti *h[e-m]o* mi mate;... etc.
    tree DEF-DIST-HOR-DEF COMP big
    'That tree over there (visible) is bigger (than others)＼
The last two examples below illustrate the use of a focusing determiner to focus an event. From the example, observe that hofo in (21. b) focuses the event of Bain’s hitting us that has been mentioned in (21. a). On the other hand, heporo in (22. b) focuses an event which is only visible at the time of speaking in the immediate situation of the discourse.

which/where-FOC true; Bain 2PL-ACC hit DEF-FOC true or
'Those which one is true, is it that Bain hit you that is true or
i Bain beh ho-ro 2abol?
2SG.NOM Bain hit DEF-FOC true
it is that you hit Bain that is true?'

b). B: Bain ni-ri beh ho-ro 2abol.
Bain 1PL.EXC-ACC hit DEF-FOC true
It is Bain hit us that is true'

(22). a). A: Na ano 2-ah?
1SG.NOM who/whom 3.OBV-feed
'Whom am I going to feed?'

b). B: Name karesap-ehe h[e-p]o-ro a 2-ah.
people work-PROG DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF-FOC 2SG.NOM 3.OBV-feed
'It is the people working down there (visible) that you are going to feed'

7.2.3. Determiners functioning as a clausal spatial adverb

As determiners express position (distance and direction), they can also function as a spatial or locational adverb (describing a place like ‘here’ and ‘there’ in English) modifying a whole clause. This type of clause, where a determiner occurs at the final
position to function as a spatial adverb is only a minor clause type in Adang. Its use is also limited only to the expression of an exclamation. Thus, for example, when suddenly a speaker sees Heri eating oranges which are actually served to a hearer, than he says Heri mud *Pa-deeh* ho! as presented in (23). Pragmatically, the meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased as 'Heri is eating oranges there (e.g. which are served to you); don't you see that?; or 'Look there! Heri is eating oranges (e.g. served to you').

(23). Heri mud *Pa-deeh* ho!
Heri orange 3.OBV-eat-PROG DEF
'Heri is eating oranges there (close to you)'

The next example shows that the proximative determiner *hoPo* (a) and a distal determiner, like *heto* (c) can also function as a spatial adverb of a clause. Sentences (b, d) where the same determiner in the sentences function as a determiner of (there referent of) a noun, are given for comparison.

(24). a). Heri mud *Pa-de eham ho-Po*!
Heri orange 3.OBV-eat INC DEF-PROX
'Heri is about to eat an orange right here'

b). Heri *ho-Po* mud *Pa-de eham*
Heri DEF-PROX orange 3.OBV-eat INC
'This Heri is about to eat an orange'
(There is more than one Heri; the speaker refers to the one close to him)

c). Aru *tar-am h[e-t]o!*
deer lie down-PERF DEF[DIST-UP]DEF
'A deer has lain down up there'

d). Aru *h[e-t]o* tar-am
deer DEF[DIST-UP]DEF lie down-PERF
'That deer up there has lain down'

---

4 Aspectual clitics normally clicheze to the final word of a clause (4.5). In (23) and (24. c), the aspectual clitics are not suffixed to the clause-final determiners because the clause where a determiner functions as a spatial adverb is only used to express an exclamation. Its functions are similar to a clause expressing a command or a request.
The verbs in examples (23-24) are marked progressive (23), inceptive (24. a) and perfective (24. c). This is obligatory due to the constraint that in order for a clause to be modified by a determiner functioning as a spatial adverb, or in order for a determiner to specify the location (distance and direction) of an event, the event expressed by the clause has to be specific and visible at the time of speaking. Thus, the presence of eham in (24. a) for example, is to specify that the event it expresses is inceptive and is visible at the time of speaking.

The following examples are not acceptable because the verb of each sentence is not inflected for aspect. This means that the event expressed in the two sentences can only be habitual or past time events which are not visible at the time of speaking.

(25). a). *Aru tar h[ε-m]o
   deer lie down DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF

   b). *Aruna fa-de h[ε-t]o
   deer thing 3.OBV-eat DEF[ε-UP]DDEF

So far, except for the nominalization of a clause (or the topicalization of an information expressed in a clause) by a determiner, there has been no evidence that a determiner can also function as a spatial adverb of a clause that expresses an invisible event. The following example contrasts a determiner functioning to nominalize a clause (b) with a determiner functioning as a spatial adverb of a clause that expresses a visible event (a).

(26). a). Aru tar-am h[ε-t]o!
   deer lie down-PERF DEF[DIST-UP]DEF
   'A deer has lain down up there'

   b). Aru tar-am h[ε-t]o (sa) mafun
   deer lie down-PERF DEF[DIST-UP]DEF (3SG.NOM) fat
   'As for that deer that has just lain down up there (visible), it is big'
A focusing determiner (of the basic definite, proximate or distal determiners) cannot function as a spatial adverb of a clause. The sentences in (27), therefore, are not acceptable.

(27). a). *Heri mud 3a-de-eh h[e-m]o-ro
   Heri orange 3.OBV-eat-PROG DEF[DIST-HORjDEF-FOC

b). *Heri mud 3a-de eham h[e-p]o-ro
   Heri orange 3.OBV-eat almost DEF[DIST-DOWNjDEF

c). *Aru tar-am h[e-t]o-ro
   deer lie down-PERF DEF[DIST-UPjDEF-FOC

While reasons for the unacceptability of (27) are not clear, it may be because a focus construction in Adang cannot be sentence final. Therefore sentences like in (28) below are accepted but not sentences like in (27) above.

(28). a). Heri mud 3a-de-eh h[e-m]o-ro (sa) guru
   Heri orange 3.OBV-eat-PROG DEF[DIST-HORjDEF-FOC (3SG.NOM) teacher
   ‘It is that Heri eating oranges over there who is a teacher’

b). Heri mud 3a-de eham h[e-p]o-ro (sa) guru
   Heri orange 3.OBV-eat almost DEF[DIST-DOWNjDEF (3SG.NOM) teacher
   ‘It is that Heri who is about to eat oranges down there, who is a teacher’

c). Aru tar-am h[e-t]o-ro (sa) mafun
   deer lie down-PERF DEF[DIST-UPjDEF-FOC (3SG.NOM) fat
   ‘It is the deer - about to lie down up there, which is fat’

7.3. Focusing an object with a deictic + 'ləl' and a determiner

As has been described in 7.2, all determiners, including the basic definite determiner ho, can be used to identify an object which is visible at the time of speaking in the immediate situation of a discourse. When a deictic functions as the part of a
determiner (7.1) then, both the deictic and the determiner refer to a visible object at the
time of speaking in the immediate situation of a discourse.

The description of determiners and deictics so far has also shown that the
distance and direction expressed by both determiners and deictics have a basic point of
referent in the "deictic space" or real world setting of a discourse. In other words, the
determiners and deictics are used to refer to a visible object at the time of speaking in an
immediate situation of a discourse from a point of reference. The basic reference point is
the speaker, or what Bu_hler calls "origo", namely the position of a speaker where the
attention of all participants in a speech situation is drawn onto him (Klein, 1982:163). In
the following examples, for instance, both the deictic \( \text{dog} \) and the determiner \( \text{hofo} \) in
(a) express a location at the place around the basic referent point, i.e. the speaker. On the
other hand, \( \text{mo} \) and \( \text{hemo} \) in (b) express a location (distance and direction) away from
the referent point (the speaker) toward the object 'dog' in a relatively far distance from
the referent point, in horizontal direction.

(29). a). Na be\( \varepsilon \) bel 2-o\( \varepsilon \) ho-\( \varepsilon \) fail
\( \begin{array}{ll}
1 SG . N O M & \text{dog PROX-DEIC DEF-PROX sell} \\
& \text{'I sell this dog, the dog is right here'} \quad \text{(Lit. ... this right here dog)}
\end{array} \)

b). Name be\( \varepsilon \) bel m-o\( \varepsilon \) h[e-m]o fail
\( \begin{array}{ll}
\text{person dog HOR-DEIC DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF sell} \\
& \text{'Someone is selling that dog far over there'} \quad \text{(Lit. ... that far over there dog)}
\end{array} \)

Figure 7-1 illustrates the spatial and directional orientation in the immediate
situation of our discourse. The spatial and the directional orientation of sentence (a) can
be represented as (a) in the figure, whereas the space and the directional orientation of
sentence (b) is as in (b) of the figure.
Instead of picking up, referring to, a particular object from the basic reference point, in an immediate situation of a discourse, a speaker can also pick up a particular object from two reference points. This is done with a near (but not a far) distal deictic plus the word *lo1* and a determiner. The word *lo1* itself is originally a verb meaning 'climb' or 'transfer' as in (30).

(30). a). Manu fa  
Manu coconut climb
'Manu climbed coconut trees'

b). Ni lame mol lo1
1PL.EXC.NOM walk river transfer
'Vee walked along the river'

c). Ni mol lo1
1PL.EXC.NOM river transfer
'Vee walked along the river'

When *lo1* functions with a deictic and a determiner to pick up a particular object from two reference points, its meaning above is not applied. Therefore, I only regard it as a 'focusing word' (glossed FOC). In the following examples, the word and the deictic *fale* and the determiner *hem0* refer to the object expressed by the noun *fa* 'coconut' from two different reference points.
(31). Manu fa fa-l-e lo1 h[el-m]o fel
Manu coconut (tree) go there-DIR-DIST FOC DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF buy
‘Manu bought that coconut over there from that one over here’

The constituent fale lo1 hemo in the sentence refers to a particular coconut, with both the speaker and another coconut as the reference points. I represent the meaning of the sentence in the following figure. The longer line in the figure represents the direction expressed by the determiner hemo. The direction has scope over the distance from the speaker to the focal coconut (Y). The shorter line represents the direction expressed by the deictic fale which is delimited by lo1. The direction only has scope over the distance from the coconut reference point (X) to the focal coconut (Y). In other words, fale lo1 in the example indicates the direction from coconut, serving as a reference point (X) toward the focal coconut (Y), whereas the determiner hemo indicates the direction from the speaker to both the coconut serving as a reference point (X) and the focal coconut (Y).

Syntactically lo1 only modifies a deictic (fa1e, in the example), i.e. it delimits or defines the distance and direction expressed by a deictic, as shown in (32.b). It does not modify a determiner (32.c). A constituent containing a deictic and the word lo1 (like fa1e lo1 in the example), however, is still a part of a determiner. Therefore it cannot refer to
an object (or a noun) without a determiner, as indicated by the unacceptable sentence in (d).

(32). a). A: Manu fa taro-ro fel?
Manu coconut (tree) where/which-FOC buy
‘Which coconut did Manu buy?’

b). B: Fa-l-e lol
go there-DIR-DIST FOC
‘Over there (from the other one over here)’

c). B: *Lol h(ε-m)ο
FOC DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF

(33). a). A: Manu fa h(ε-m)ο pa-bo2oi
Manu coconut (tree) DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF 3OBV-cut
‘Manu will cut that coconut tree over there’

b). B: H(ε-m)ο taro?
DEF[DIST-HOR]DEF which/where
‘Which one (over there)?’

c). A: Mid-l-e lol;
go up-DIR-DIST FOC
‘Up, (over there)’ (= Based on the given context: The coconut tree is in an upward direction from that other coconut tree/s, over there - from the speaker)

To pick up a particular object with two reference points where the word lol presents to modify a deictic, the deictic (plus lol) and the determiner used to refer to the object do not necessarily express the same direction. Therefore the combination of the deictic midle ‘up there’ (e.g. from a valley towards mountain) and hemo ‘over there’ (distal, visible in a horizontal direction) in (33.c, contextually) and (33.d) below are acceptable. Without lol the combination is not possible, as has been noted in previous sections.
To illustrate the meaning of sentence (d = c) above, I present the following figure. From the figure observe that the constituent *midle lɔl* expresses the upward direction toward the focal coconut tree (Y) from the other coconut tree (X), serving as a reference point. The determiner *hemo*, on the other hand, expresses the direction from the speaker to both the focal coconut tree (Y) and the coconut tree serving as a referent point (X).

In conclusion, although the combination of deictic-determiner is semantically constrained by the directions they express, the constraint is dissolved when the combination is used to pick up a particular object from two points of reference in the immediate situation of a discourse. But to pick up the particular object from two points of reference, the direction expressed by the deictic of the deictic-determiner combination is obligatorily modified or delimited by *lɔl*. 
Chapter 8

Verbs

Adang has two main classes of verbs: an open class (8.2.1) and a closed class (8.2.2). The closed class of verbs is further classified into 6 sub-classes. The number of verbs in each of the sub-classes is limited. Moreover, most verbs of the closed class are prefixed by pronominals.

The open class of verbs is also classified into intransitive (8.2.1.1) and transitive (8.2.1.2). In addition, Adang also has an open class of words which attributes properties to things, corresponding to adjectives in English. These words share properties with both nouns and verbs. On balance, however, they share more properties with verbs. I have called the words ‘adjectival verbs’ in this thesis. The adjectival verbs are intransitive, as will be described in 8.2.3.

Besides the verb classes mentioned above, Adang also has a class of applicative verbs consisting of allative applicative verbs (8.2.4.1) and ablative applicative verbs (8.2.4.2). Ablative applicative verbs are limited in number. Before presenting a detailed description of each class and sub-classes of verbs, I present a description of general properties of verbs in Adang, as in the 8.1 below.
8.1. The properties of verbs in Adang

Four different properties of verbs are described in this section. The description of the syntactic and distributional properties of verbs is presented in 8.1.2. The description of the first two properties of verbs, i.e. semantic and functional properties, is in 8.1.1 below.

8.1.1. Semantic and functional properties of verbs

Semantically, verbs in Adang generally express actions and states. In addition to actions and states, a few verbs in Adang express or mark direction and location. In (1), for example, verbs in (a-b) express actions, (c) a state, (d) a process, (e-f) express or mark locations, and the verb lehel in (g) expresses a direction. More examples and their verbal properties will be presented in the description of each verb class.

     Manu water boil           John tree 3.OBV-cut           1PL.EXC.NOM sleep
     'Manu boiled water.'      'John cut trees.'        'We slept.'

d). Bel min. e). Dare2 nu fooi far. f). Seq dec mi.
    dog die            eel one stone under       money wallet in/at
    'Dogs died.'     'An eel is under stones.'   'There is some money in the wallet.'

g). Lilo mol le-hel.
    Lilo river ALL-go down
    'Lilo went down to a river.'

The examples above have also shown that verbs in Adang function as the predicate of a clause. Like nouns, when a verb functions as the predicate of a clause, it can be suffixed
by the progressive aspectual clitic -eh (2. e) and perfective -am (a, c); and can also be modified by the inceptive aspectual particle eham (b, d).

Manu water boil-PERF Lilo river ALL-go down INC
'Manu has boiled water' 'Lilo is going to be going down to a river'

c). Bel min-am. d). DareP nu fooi far eham. e). Seŋ dai dec mi-eh.
dog die-PERF eel one stone under INC money EVID wallet in/at
'Dogs have died.' 'An eel is going to hide itself under stones.' 'Money was in wallets.'
(Lit. 'An eel is about to be under stones').

Besides functioning as predicates, some verbs in Adang, especially stative verbs and locative verbs, can also function as attributes or modifiers of nouns, as in (a-b) of the following examples. As exemplified in (c-d), other verbs, when functioning as attributes of nouns have a reading like 'gerund' or participial verbs (ING verbs) in English. Moreover they more commonly attribute properties to, or modify common nouns rather than proper nouns. They sound odd, if not ungrammatical, when modifying a proper noun, as in (3.e).

(3). a). Supi ab min taraP.
3PL fish die collect
'They collected dead (lit. died) fish.'

b). Seŋ dec mi ho n-e.
money wallet in/at DEF 1SG-GEN
'The money in the wallet is mine.'

c). Umi [name karesaŋ] P-ah.1
Umi people work 3.OBV-feed
'Umi fed working people (people who worked).'

Umi people house 3.OBV-make FOC.OBJ 3.OBV-feed
'Umi fed people who built (are building) houses.'

e). ??Umi John karesaŋ P-ah.
Umi John work 3.OBV-feed
'Umi fed working John.'

1 name karesaŋ and name baŋ Paten in (c-d) could be relative clauses. I have not done a detailed study of relative clauses. However, there is evidence that a relative clause in Adang is obligatorily followed by a determiner. The reason seems to be unless a head noun is definite (or its referent is identifiable) and, therefore determined by a determiner, it cannot be modified by a relative clause.
8.1.2. Syntactic and distributional properties of verbs

In the discussion of adverbs in 4.3, I show that verbs, including adjectival verbs, can be modified by the adverbs bi'l 'very', 'a lot', mal' 'only', foi 'again' and so 'indeed. When a verb is modified by bi'l, the action or state expressed by the verb is intensified. The verb with its modifier degree adverb bi'l, then, can be graded into a higher level of either non-comparative or comparative gradation.

The detailed description of the gradation of verbs into different levels of comparative and non-comparative degree can be seen in 4.3. In this section, I only describe the syntactic properties and the distribution of verbs in imperative (8.1.2.1) and negative (8.1.2.1) clauses.

8.1.2.1. Syntactic and distributional properties of verbs in imperative clauses

A verb or a serial verb (see chapter 12 for details) in Adang can function as the main constituent in an imperative clause (4-d). To be polite or to make a request, the verb or serial verbs can be followed by the request particle ema 'please'.

(4) a). Karésap! work 'Work!' b). Sam don! go shopping 'Go shopping!' c). Karésap ema! work please 'Work please!' d). Sam don ema! go shopping please 'Go shopping please!'
A verb or serial verb in an imperative clause can be preceded by the adverb \textit{maŋ} 'only' or 'just' (5a) to indicate a contrast or a choice of action or by the adverb \textit{foi} 'again' (c) to indicate a repeated event. Alternatively the adverb \textit{maŋ} can be replaced by the evidential particle \textit{dai} (b), that can have a contrastive meaning. With \textit{dai}, however, the choice given or recommended is assured (see, 4.6, for details).

(5). a). \textit{Maŋ} sam don \textit{ema}!  
\textit{only go shopping please}  
'Only go shopping, please!'  
(e.g. Don't go somewhere else!)

c). \textit{Foi karesaŋ ema}!  
\textit{again work please}  
'Work again, please!'

With a transitive or ditransitive verb, the verb can be directly preceded by the objects of the verb. The adverb remains in the initial position (6. a, c-d). To topicalize, however, the object can be fronted, as in (b).

(6). a). \textit{Dai ala dou ema}!  
\textit{EVID rice cook please}  
'Just cook rice please!'  
(e.g. That's the right choice to do)

c). \textit{Maŋ ala dou ema}!  
\textit{only rice cook please}  
'Just cook rice please!'  
(e.g. Don't do some thing else!)

d). \textit{Foi sëŋ n-en ema}!  
\textit{again money 1SG-give please}  
'Give me some money again, please!'

To conclude then, a verb or a serial verb is the main constituent of an imperative clause. As illustrated in (4-6), it can be preceded by the adverbs \textit{foi} or \textit{maŋ} or the evidential
particle *dai*. To make a request, the verb of an imperative clause is followed by the request or politeness particle *ema*. If the verb is transitive or ditransitive, it is directly preceded by its objects. The distribution of a verb in a negative imperative clause will be presented in 8.1.2.2 below.

8.1.2.2. The syntactic and distributional properties of verbs in negative clauses

Verbs, besides being modified by the degree adverb *bi P* 'very' or 'a lot', either alone or together with the adverbs *foi* 'again', *so* 'indeed' or *maµ* 'only' in comparative or non-comparative sentences (4.3), can also be modified by the negative adverb *nene* 'not' and the negative particle *pe* in negative clauses. Alternatively, i.e. in a perfective clause, the negative adverb *nene* is replaced by the evidential particle *dai* to modify a verb. In an imperative clause, a verb can also be negated by the negative verb *aPai* 'not exist'.

I begin with the following example where a verb (a-b) or a serial verb (c) is modified by the negative adverb *nene*, functioning in conjunction with the negative particle *pe*. The particle functions to delimit the negation expressed by the negative adverbs (4.4).

    
    3PL NEG thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat NEG
    ‘They did not eat food.’

b). John *pe* sam don *nene.*
    John NEG go shopping NEG
    ‘John did not go shopping.’

c). John *pe* sam baµ *le-sam*² na *Pã-de nene.*
    John NEG go house ALL-go thing (food) 3P-eat NEG
    ‘John has not gone home for eating food yet.’

² *lesam* 'go /get into' is a directional verb. See 8.2.2.4.1 for details.
In a negative perfective clause, the negative adverb can alternatively be replaced by the evidential particle *dai*, as in (8.a, c). The particle also functions in conjunction with *pe*.

The semantic difference between (a) and (b) is that the meaning of (a) (and also c) implies a suggestion that the event will take place, but (b) does not imply this.4

John NEG go shopping EVID
'John has not gone shopping.'
(but I suggest, he will)

b). John *pe* sam don nene-am.
John NEG go shopping NEG-PERF
'John has not gone shopping.'

There is a topicalization construction in which the negative particle *pe* can be placed in a different position preceded by a determiner to topicalize a certain element of a sentence, without necessarily fronting the element and filling its clause internal position with its referent. However, I shall not describe topical sentences in detail in this thesis. Following is only one example, which I modify from (8.c).

(9). John sam bag ho *pe* le-sam na pa-de dai.
John go house DEF NEG ALL-go thing (food) 3P-eat EVID
'As for to that (visible) / the house John has not gone there to eat food'
(but possibly, he will).

From examples (7-9) observe that in a negative clause a verb or a serial verb construction is placed in the position between the negative particle *pe* and the negative

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3 The negative particle *pe* in examples (7-8), can be dropped. When it is dropped the negation expressed by *nene* or *dai* has scope over the whole sentence. See, 4.4 and 4.6.2 for details.

4 A detailed description of the evidential particle *dai* in negative sentences in presented in 4.6.2.
adverb *nene* or evidential particle *dai*. A transitive or ditransitive verb is directly preceded by its object NP. The distribution of a verb or a serial verbs in a negative sentence, therefore, can be formulated as: *Pe*+NP.OBJ + V + *nene/dai*.

When the verb is modified by the degree adverb *biP* and the adverbs *foi, so* or *maj* in a negative non-comparative sentence, *biP* directly follows the verb, whereas *foi, so, maj*, or the combination *foi so*, directly precedes it or its object, if any. An example is given in (10.a). As, I have described in 4.3 the adverbs can also function to modify a whole clause. When functioning to modify the whole negative clause, *foi, so* or *maj* is placed before the negative particle *Pe*, as in (b). As can be seen, the sentence has a different reading from (a).

(10). a). *Pe man na Pa-de biP nene.*

deer NEG only thing (crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot NEG
'Deer do not eat crops too much.'

b). *man Pe na Pa-de biP nene.*

deer only NEG thing (crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot NEG
'Veer only do not eat crops a lot' (e.g., but they are still destroying the field too much).

With a negative comparative sentence, the position directly before the verb or its object is filled by the comparative morpheme *mi*, as in (11.a). Sentence (b) is not acceptable because the comparative morpheme is placed before the adverb *foi*.

(11). a). *Pe foi mi na Pa-de biP nene.*

deer NEG again COMP thing (crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot NEG
'Deers do not really eat crops a lot more (than ...e.g. pigs).'
b). *Aru ʒε mi foi na ʒa-de biʔ nene.
    deer NEG COMP again thing (crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot NEG

Recall that when a positive sentence is marked by the evidential particle *dai, the
evidential particle is placed before the adverb foi, maŋ or so. Thus, it has the same
distribution as the negative particle *e (see details in 4.6.1). Following is an example,
where (b) is not accepted because *dai in the sentence is placed after the adverb foi.

(12). a). Aru *dai foi mi na ʒa-de biʔ-eh
    deer EVlD again COMP thing (crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot-PROG
    'Deers are still really eating crops a lot more (than ... e.g. pigs)'

b). *Aru foi dai mi na ʒa-de biʔ-eh
    deer again EVlD COMP thing (crop) 3.OBV-eat very/a lot-PROG

Based on the examples (7-12) presented in this section, I formulate the distribution
of a verb in a clause, as in (13). The formulation tells us that a verb can optionally be
followed by the degree adverb biʔ (ADV), either the negative adverb nene (NEG) or the
evidential particle *dai (EVID), and/ or the aspectual clitic (cliticized to the final element) or
particle (CL). It can also optionally be preceded by the comparative morpheme mi (COMP),
the adverb foi, so, maŋ, or the combination foi so (ADV), and/ or either the negative
particle *e (NEG) or the evidential particle *dai (EVID). With a transitive or ditransitive
verb, the object of the verb (NP.OBJ) adjacently precedes it. The 'NP.SUBJ' at the beginning
of the formulation stands for a subject. The blank (...) can be filled by a sentential adverb.

5 Thus, in a positive sentence *dai fills the position of *e and in a negative sentence it alternatively replaces
the negative adverb nene and occupies the position after the degree adverb biʔ, i.e. at the end.
6 I use 'and/ or' to indicate that the optional constituents can be present together.
Note that the formulation in (13) is only about the distribution of a verb in a clause but not the formulation or rule of a VP. If there is a VP in Adang, the rule can be formulated (with some modification) according to the distributional property of verbs.

8.1.2.3. The syntactic and distributional properties of verbs in negative imperative clauses

At the end of the discussion in 8.1.2.1, I stated that a verb or a serial verb construction in an imperative clause can be preceded by the adverb foi or mag or the evidential particle dai. To make a request, the verb is followed by the request or politeness particle ema. If the verb is transitive or ditransitive, it is directly preceded by its objects. To illustrate the distribution of verbs in negative imperative clauses, I first repeat the last two examples (6. c, d) given in the section, as in (14. a, b).

(14). a). Mav ala dOll cma!
   only rice cook please
   'Just cook rice please!' (e.g. Don't do some thing else!)

   b). Foi seŋ n-en ema!
   again money 1SG-give please
   'Give me some money again, please!'

To negate the imperative clauses in (14. a, b) above, the negative particlełe is placed after the verb, optionally followed by the politeness particle ema (15. a. b). Instead of the negative particle, the negative adverb neñe can be placed after the verb of the
negative imperative clause. However, with the negative adverb, the politeness particle *ema* is dropped (c, d). Sentences (c, d) do not simply express command or request. They express prohibition or rule that ought to be followed (see 4.4, for details). Sentence (e) is semantically and pragmatically odd and can be not accepted because presence of the politeness particle *ema* 'please' in the sentence makes the rule or prohibition expressed in the sentence incoherent. Therefore I put two question marks in front of it.

(15). a). *Map* ala dou *Pe* *ema*
   only rice cook NEG please
   'Don't just cook rice please!' (e.g. Do other things as well!)

b). *Foi* *seg* n-en *Pe* *ema*
   again money 1SG-give NEG please
   'Don't Give me some money again, please!'

c). *Map* ala dou *nene*
   only rice cook NEG
   'Never just cook rice!' (e.g. Do other things as well!)

d). *Foi* *seg* n-en *nene*
   again money 1SG-give NEG
   'Never give me any money again!'

e). ??*Foi* *seg* n-en *nene* *ema*
   again money 1SG-give NEG please
   'Never give me any money again, please!'

Recall that constituents, other than a verb (plus its objects, if any) and the negative particle *Pe* or adverb *nene*, are optional. Thus, for example, the adverb *map* and *foi* in the examples above can be dropped, producing different (i.e. new) negative sentences with different meanings.

Besides being preceded by the adverb, *foi* or *map*, a verb in a negative imperative clause can be preceded by the negative existential verb *aPai* 'not exist' (see 4.4 for details), as in (16). The difference between sentences, like (15. a, b) and (16) is pragmatic. That is,
sentences in (16) are more polite than those in (15. a, b), even if the politeness particle ema is dropped. With the negative verb aPai, the speaker is being humble.

(16). a). A P a i m a p  a l a d o u  P e  e m a !
   not exist only rice cook NEG please
   'Don't just cook rice please!' (e.g. Do other things as well!)

   b). A P a i f o i  s e q  n - e n  P e  e m a !
   not exist again money 1SG-give NEG please
   'Don't Give me some money again, please!' (e.g. Do other things as well!)

When a negative imperative clause is marked by the evidential particle dai, the particle replaces the negative verb aPai (17. a). Both cannot exist together in a negative imperative clause to modify the main verb. Therefore (b) is not acceptable. With the presence of the evidential particle, the politeness particle ema is also dropped, as can be seen in (a). Sentence (c), therefore is semantically and pragmatically odd and can be not acceptable. The reason, I suggest is that, with the evidential particle, the speaker assures his hearer that what he is recommending is true and has to be followed (from his perspective or knowledge). In that context, he cannot (or he is hardly likely to) be polite or humble.

(17). a). D a i f o i  s e q  n - e n  P e !
   EVID again money 1SG-give NEG please
   'Don't Give me some money again!'

   b). *D a i a P a i f o i  s e q  n - e n  P e !
   EVID not exist again rice cook NEG please
   'Don't Give me some money again, please!'

   c). ?D a i f o i  s e q  n - e n  P e  e m a !
   EVID again money 1SG-give NEG please
   'Don't Give me some money again, please!'

A verb in a negative (but, not positive\(^7\)) imperative clause can also be modified or graded into different levels of comparative or non-comparative degree. To do this, the degree adverb biP is placed directly after the verb, as in (18), and the comparative

\(^7\) So far, I still do not know why.
morpheme *mi* is placed directly before the verb or the object of the verb, as in (c, d). (Note (a, c) are not distinctive because they are both at the excessive or over degree level. (see, 4.3)).

(18). a). *A*?ai *maŋ* aŋ dɔu biʔ ʃɛ ɛma!  
not exist only rice cook very NEG please  
'Don't cook rice too much, please!'

b). *A*?ai foi aŋ dɔu biʔ ʃɛ ɛma!  
not exist again rice cook very NEG please  
'Don't cook rice a lot more (again), please!'

c). *A*?ai maŋ mi aŋ dɔu biʔ ʃɛ ɛma!  
not exist only COMP rice cook very NEG please  
'Don't cook rice too much, please!'

d). *A*?ai foi mi aŋ dɔu biʔ ʃɛ ɛma!  
not exist again COMP rice cook very NEG please  
'Don't cook rice a lot more (than e.g. corn), please!'

With the presence of the degree adverb *biʔ*, the adverb *maŋ* or *foi* functions in conjunction with *biʔ* in modifying the verb. The original meaning of the two adverbs 'only' (for *maŋ*) and 'again' (for *foi*) is not applicable, in a sentence like (18). This is particularly true for *maŋ*, as in (18. a, c). Repeating the adverbs makes the resulting sentences sound very unusual. Therefore I put a question mark in front of each of the following sentences.

(19). a). ?*A*?ai maŋ maŋ aŋ dɔu biʔ ʃɛ ɛma!  
not exist only only rice cook very NEG please  
'Don't cook rice too much, please!'

b). ?*A*?ai foi foi aŋ dɔu biʔ ʃɛ ɛma!  
not exist again again rice cook very NEG please  
'Don't cook rice a lot more (again), please!'

Based on the examples (14-19) presented in this section (and also in section 8.1.2.1), the distribution of verb in an imperative clause, is formulated as in (20. a). The formulation
tells us that in an imperative clause a verb is optionally followed by the degree adverb \textit{bi}' (ADV) (for negative imperative only), the negative adverb or particle (NEG) and the politeness particle \textit{ema}. It is also optionally preceded by the comparative morpheme \textit{mi} (COMP) (negative clause only), the adverb \textit{foi}, \textit{sO} or \textit{ma}' (ADV) and either the negative existential verb \textit{aPai} or the evidential particle \textit{dai} (EVID). If the verb is a transitive or a ditransitive verb, it is directly preceded by its objects (NP.OBJ). The formulation is similar to that given in (13), repeated in (20. b).

(20).

\begin{align*}
\text{a). } & \{(\text{EVID}) / (aPai)\} \ (\text{ADV}) \ (\text{COMP}) \ (\text{NP.OBJ}) \ V \ (\text{ADV}) \ (\text{NEG}) \ (\text{ema}) \\
\text{b). } & \text{NP.SUBJ } \ldots \{(\text{NEG}) / (\text{EVID})\} \ (\text{ADV}) \ (\text{COMP}) \ (\text{NP.OBJ}) \ V \ (\text{ADV}) \ {(\text{NEG}) / (\text{EVID})}\} (\text{CLT})
\end{align*}

8.2. Verb classes

As mentioned earlier Adang has an open class and a closed class of verbs. The open class of verbs consists of a class of intransitive and a class of transitive verbs. In addition, Adang also has an open class of intransitive verbs which I have called ‘adjectival verbs’, as described in 8.2.3. Note that to distinguish transitive verbs of open verb class from transitive verbs of closed class, I also refer to open class transitive verbs as unmarked transitive verbs and closed class transitive verbs as marked transitive verbs. Marked transitive verbs are obligatoryy prefixed by pronominals.
The closed class of verbs is further classified into 5 sub-classes. The first two sub-classes are ditransitive (8.2.2.1) and transitive, i.e. marked transitive verbs. I label the other three sub-classes of the closed class verbs based on their semantic domain. They are locative, causative and determining or indexing verbs.

Adang also has a class of applicative verbs consisting of two main types: allative and ablative. Ablative applicative verbs are limited in number. They are derived by prefix el- from only a very limited number of transitive and intransitive verbs. Allative applicative verbs are sub-classified into three sub-classes: goal-allative derived by prefix e-, locative-allative derived by prefix le- and possessive-allative derived by possessive or genitive marker a. A detailed description of each verb class and is presented below. I begin with a brief description of open class of verbs.

8.2.1. Open verb classes

The open verb classes to be described here include intransitive and transitive verbs. A brief description of each is presented in 8.2.1.1 and 8.2.1.2.

8.2.1.1. Intransitive verbs

(21) tar 'lie down', nop/mop 'sleep', 2ol 'fall over', muj 'fall down', lame 'walk', teFey 'run', sam 'go', ho? 'arrive', hel 'come/go down (from/toward the speaker), ip 'go down (from speaker), mid 'come/go up(from the speaker), madon 'go up(toward the speaker), fa 'go over there', ma 'come here', mih 'sit down', karesaŋ 'work', mateŋ 'speak', hupalaŋ 'discuss',

maruŋ 'tell' or 'invite (to deliver or pass on an invitation)', luruŋ 'discuss (about ritual things, especially about marriage)', baroruŋ 'speak angrily and loudly by a woman', tabuŋ 'speak angrily and loudly by a man' min 'die', fetuŋ 'alive/ grow up', poŋ 'break (for fragile things), hid 'break (not for fragile things), ḫaharon 'cry/ weep', asəl 'laugh', hol 'sink', ...

Example (21) lists some of the verbs of the intransitive open verb class. Semantically, some of the verbs express action, others express state and direction. Some examples in sentential contexts are given in (22) below.

(22). a). John maruŋ
        John tell/ deliver (an invitation)
        'John deliver an invitation'

     b). Bate fetuŋ-am
        corn (seed) alive (=germinate)-PERF
        'Corn seeds have germinated'

c). pig 2e poŋ nene
    plate NEG break NEG
    'Plates did not break'

e). Bain 2e-dai muj
    Bain NEG-EVID fall down
    'Bain was about to fall down'
    (It is lucky that he did not)

d). Na-tag 2e hid dai
    1SG-arm NEG break EVID
    'My arm has not broken'

   f). Ti poŋ eham
    tree fall over INC
    'Trees are about to fall over'

8.2.1.2. Transitive verbs

(23)

dou 'cook', hor 'cut/ wound' (living animals and human beings), taŋaŋ 'cut (meat), taraŋ 'cut' (things like ropes and clothes), taŋaŋ 'cut (other things, normally hard things like wood)', taŋ 'chop (roughly)', tote 'chop (nicely)', hafet 'slice', med 'take' beh 'hit', daŋ 'bake', tub 'to light/burn', lol 'climb', taŋaŋ 'steal', lap 'seek', muh 'seek (with lamp or fire on)', taŋ 'seek (for sea food in the area where the sea water decline/ decrease)', luh 'hunt/ seek (for wild animals), teŋ 'stab', tapuŋ 'to pound', nod 'to tie (animals)', pur 'to forbid', aruŋ 'to dig', doke 'to pick out', dope 'to peel (fruits like areca palm tree fruits)', atir 'to harvest (rice)', ...

Verbs in the list above are examples of the transitive open verb class. Semantically they express actions, as seen in the list. Following are some examples in sentential contexts.

Note that the verb luh 'hunt' in (24. a) normally takes the noun na 'thing' as its object
argument. Names of hunted animals are not normally mentioned due to the traditional belief that if their names are mentioned, hunters will experience bad luck. The verb ta in (24. b) has another meaning, a locative verb meaning 'on' or 'add on'. Examples will be provided in 8.2.2.3.

(24). a). Supi sam na luh 3PL go thing hunt/seek 'They went hunting wild animals'
b). Ni nemang ta-eh 1PL.EXC seafood seek-PROG 'We are looking for seafood'

c). Sa Pe boi taPoJl dai 3SG NEG pig (=pork) cut EVID 'S/he has not cut pork yet'
d). Manu aru tarop tatoP eham Manu deer bone chop INC 'Manu is about to cut deer bones'

(25). a). A: Supi karesag em aPai 3PL work or not 'Will they work or not?' b). B: Supi dai sam na luh-am 3PL EVID thing hunt/seek-PERF 'They have gone hunting seek-PERF (instead of working; but they might work when they come back)

8.2.2. Closed verb classes

Except for index verbs and a few locative verbs, all verbs of this class are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal objects. Thus, except for locative verbs, all verbs of this class are transitive. Locative verbs are both transitive and ditransitive. Semantically, they express action, experience, location, existence and causation.

I describe verbs of this class in five sub-sections. In the following sub-section, I describe the ditransitive verb meaning 'give'. In 8.2.2.2, I describe transitive verbs, which are also called marked transitive verbs. These involve marked transitive-action verbs (8.2.2.2.1), marked transitive-experiencer verbs (8.2.2.2.2) and marked transitive-existential
verbs (8.2.2.2.3). Section 8.2.2.3 discusses locative verbs. The following section is on causative verbs (8.2.2.4) and finally determining or index verbs (8.2.2.5).

8.2.2.1. Ditransitive

The only verb falling into this sub-class of verbs is that meaning 'give' (en, nén, etc.). This verb is obligatorily prefixed by a pronominal prefix. Its root is meaningless without a pronominal prefix. The pronominal prefix functions as the primary object of the verb. In addition to the primary object, the verb also takes a second, i.e. a theme object. Two examples are given in (26) below.

(26). a). John seg n-én-am
John money 1SG-give-PERF
'John has given me some money'.

b). John ²e seg ni-én dai
John NEG money 1PL.EXC-give EVID
'John has not given us any money'
(but he will have to)

An accusative pronoun cannot function as the direct object of this ditransitive verb because this argument is filled by the pronominal prefixes attached to the verb. Examples (27.a-b) below are, therefore, not acceptable. Example (c) shows that if the object of the verb is the obviative pronominal prefix ²a-; and if the referent of the obviative pronominal prefix has not been mentioned earlier, the object pronoun can be preceded by its referent noun or proper name (see 3.1-3.2 for details). When the referent is known or has been mentioned earlier, the referent noun can be dropped as shown in (d).

(27). a). *John seg na-ri ²-en-am
John money 1SG-ACC 3.OBV-give-PERF

b). *John seg na-ri n-én-am
John money 1SG-ACC 1SG-give-PERF
8.2.2.2. Marked transitive verbs

There are a limited number of transitive verbs which are obligatorily prefixed by pronominal objects. I call them 'marked transitive verbs'. They are classified into closed class transitive verbs as described in this section. I regard the verbs of this class as underived verbs because their roots are meaningless without pronominal object prefixes. Semantically some of the verbs express actions, a few express experiences, one expresses a command or suggestion, one expresses question (i.e. ‘ask’), and one expresses existence. I begin with a description of marked-transitive action verbs as in 8.2.2.2.1.

8.2.2.2.1. Marked transitive-action verbs

A few examples of closed class transitive verbs expressing actions or marked transitive-action verbs are as in (28) followed by the verb expressing suggestion and question in (29). The roots tel, de, tap, eh, hou and tan of the verbs in the list are meaningless without their pronominal prefixes.

(28) na-tel ‘lift me up’, ta-tel ‘lift us up’, ect.
i-de ‘eat you’ (pl), 2a-de ‘eat it/ them’, ect.
a-tap ‘shoot you’ (with arrow), 2-tap ‘shoot it/ them’ (with arrow), ect.
s-eh ‘bite each other’, ni-eh ‘bite us (exclusive)’, ect.

(29) na-hou ‘suggest me’, ta-hou ‘suggest each one of us’, ect.
a-tan ‘ask you’, pi-tan ‘ask us’, ect.
Following is an example in sentential context. As observed from (a, c) of the example, a verb of this class has two arguments: a subject argument and an object argument. The pronominal prefix attached to the verb functions as the object argument. Examples (b, d) are unacceptable because of the presence of the accusative pronoun nari in the sentences. Like other accusative pronouns, nari can also function as an object (of transitive verbs not prefixed by pronominal prefixes) but in the sentences it is not the object of any verb. Therefore its presence makes the sentences unacceptable. Example (c) shows that the obviative pronominal object prefix 1'a- of a verb of this class can be preceded by its nominal referent (antecedent), especially when the nominal referent has not been mentioned before. When the referent has been mentioned earlier, it can be dropped.

(30) a). Bel n-eh
Dog 1SG-bite
‘A dog bit me.’

b). *Bel na-ri n-eh
dog 1SG-ACC 1SG-bite
‘A dog bit me.’

(c). Bel (Bain) 3-eh
Dog (Bain) 3.OBV-bite
‘A dog bit him (Bain).’

d). *Bel na-ri 3-eh
dog 1SG-ACC 1SG-bite
‘A dog bit him (Bain).’

The action verb apuŋ ‘catch you’, napuŋ ‘catch me’, ... is also classified into the class of marked transitive verbs. The root of the verb is homophonous with the unmarked transitive verb puŋ ‘hold’ (as in Ani hur puŋ ‘Ani held spoons’). Like other action verbs of this class, however, the verb apuŋ ‘catch you’, napuŋ ‘catch me’, ... has only two arguments, though it might have been derived by pronominal prefixes from the transitive verb puŋ ‘hold’. As exemplified in (31) the object argument of the verb is also attached to it.
in form of pronominal prefixes. Examples (c-d) are unacceptable because of the presence of the accusative pronoun *niri* in the sentences.

(31). a) John ni-puṣ
John 1PL.EXC-catch
'John caught us'

b) Supi pe-dai ni-puṣ
3PL NEG-EVID 1PL.EXC-catch
'They were about to catch us'

c) *John ni-ri ni-puṣ
John 1PL.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-catch

d) *Supi ni-ri pa-puṣ
3PL 1PL.EXC-ACC 3.OBV-catch

8.2.2.2.2. Marked transitive-experiencer verbs

There are a limited number of marked transitive-experiencer verbs identified in Adang. Two verbs of this type take only a limited number of nouns as their subject arguments. Others have reflexive readings. An example, as has been presented and described at the end of 3.2, is the verb meaning 'go back' like *nabor*, *ibor* ... (literally mean 'return my self' and return yourselves' respectively).

A few more examples are presented here beginning with the experiencer verb *apa*, *napa* ... ect. which I shall gloss 'stir you', 'stir me' ... respectively. The root *pa* of the verb is meaningless without a pronominal prefix. The verb has the same form as the inalienably possessed noun *apa*, *napa* 'your feeling', 'my feeling' ... etc. As a transitive-experiencer verb, it can only take either the noun: *fil* 'urine' or the noun *ah* 'faeces' as its subject argument. The pronominal prefixes attached to the verbs function as the object of the verb. As an inalienably possessed noun it can function as the subject of a clause, but only the adjectival verb *nɔp* 'good' or *sah* 'bad' can function as its predicate.
There are several reasons indicating that *napa* and *tapa* in (32) below are verbs. Firstly, they occur at the end, and function as the predicate, of each of the clauses. Secondly, they can be inflected with the progressive and perfective aspectual clitics (a-b) and can also be modified by the evidential particle *dai* (c-d).


> urine I-SG-feel-PERF

'I have started to feel like urinating'

(Lit. Urine have started to feel / stir me)

b). Ah ta-pa-eh

> faeces 1PL.INC.DIS-feel-PROG

'Each one of us is feeling like defecating'

(Lit. Faeces is feeling/ stirring each one of us)

c). Fil *le* na-pa dai.

> urine NEG I-SG-feel EVID

'I have not felt like urinating'

(Lit. 'Urine have not stirred me yet')

d). Ah *le* ta-pa dai

> faeces NEG 1PL.INC.DIS-feel EVID

'We have not felt like defecating'

'Faeces has not stirred each one of us yet'

Indeed, as I have described in 4.5 and 5.1, nouns can also function as the predicate of a clause. In this case, only nouns expressing names of jobs that can be cliticized by aspectual clitics, when functioning as a predicate. Moreover, when a noun functions as the predicate of a clause, it has either a proper inclusion semantic relation with its subject (e.g. *Roni guru* 'Roni is a teacher') or equative semantic relation (e.g. *Nimaga Lukas* 'My father is Lukas') (see 12.1.1-2.1.2, for details). Thus, the third and four reasons that the word *napa* and *tapa* in (32) are verbs are, they do not have either of these two semantic relations with their subject. They do not either express name of jobs.

Lastly, in some context, for example, in a context where a speaker feel like urinating but s/he is still busy doing something else, s/he can speak to (command) the urine: *Napa le! 'Don't disturb me!' or A-ri fil ho, napa *le!* (2SG-ACC - urine - DEF ...) 'As for you urine, don't disturb me!'
The following examples show that *fil* and *ah* of the clauses in (32) are the subjects of each of the clauses. One piece of evidence that they are subjects is that they can be focused by *so* but not by *fe*.

(33). a). Fil so (sa) na-pa.  
urine FOC.SUBJ 3SG.NOM 1SG-feel  
'It was urine that stirred me'  
b). *Fil fe na-pa.  
urine FOC.OBJ 1SG-feel  
d). *Ah fe ta-pa  
faeces FOC.OBJ 1PL.INC.DIS-feel  
c). Ah so (sa) ta-pa  
faeces FOC.SUBJ 3SG.NOM 1PL.INC.DIS-feel  
'It was faeces that stirred each one of us yet'

The words *napa* and *tapa* in (34) below are inalienably possessed nouns. The following properties characterize them as nouns. Firstly, they fill the subject position and function as the subjects of the sentences in the examples. Secondly, they cannot be modified by the evidential particle *dai* or be suffixed by aspectual clitics -*eh* or -*am* (e, f). Third, they cannot be modified by the negative particle *Pe* (g, h). Rather than *napa* and *tapa*, it is the adjectival verbs *noP* and *sah* in the examples that can be suffixed by aspectual clitics (a-c) and be modified by negative particles (d) because they function as the predicates of the sentences.

(34). a). Na-pa noP-am;  
1SG-feel good  
'I feel good/ I am happy'  
('My feeling is good')  
b). Ta-pa sah-eh  
1PL.INC. DIS-feel bad  
'We feel bad/ We don’t like'  
('Our feeling (= each feeling of us) is bad')  
c). Na-pa dai sah-eh  
1SG-feel EVID bad-PROG  
'I am still feeling bad/ I still don’t like'  
('Lit. My feeling is still being bad')  
d). Ta-pa *Pe noP nem*  
1PL.INC. DIS-feel NEG good NEG  
'We do not feel good (= we do not like)'  
('Lit. Our feeling (= each feeling of us) is not good')

* so marks a focal NP referring to a subject but *fe* marks a focal NP referring to an object. See 10.2, for details.
Two more examples of marked transitive-experiencer verbs that I shall mention here are the verbs meaning ‘amaze (with...I like naher (lit. ‘make myself amazed’), iher (lit. ‘make yourself (pl) amazed’) and the verb meaning ‘dislike (...)’ like aPaf (lit. ‘make yourself (sg) dislike’ iPaf (lit. ‘make yourself (pl) dislike’). The meaning of the verbs have reflexive reading, namely it implies a sense of ‘causing’ or ‘making’ oneself to dislike or to be amazed. I have therefore glossed the root of both verbs ‘make...amazed with’and ‘make...dislike respectively, as observed from the examples given in (35). Like other closed class transitive verbs, the root Paf and her of the verbs are meaningless without pronominal prefixes.

(35). a). John Pe sa-her-eh nene
   John NEG 3PRXML-make amazed with-PROG NEG
   ‘John is not is not amazed (with ...)’
   (Lit. John is not making himself amazed)

   b). Ni ni-Paf-am
      1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-make dislike-PERF
      ‘We have disliked (something)’
      (Lit. We have made ourselves dislike)

As observed from the examples, both the verb meaning ‘dislike’ and the verb meaning ‘amaze’ do not take the event or phenomenon that makes someone amazed or feels dislike as their object argument. Instead, like other transitive verbs described previously, the objects of the verbs are realized as the pronominal prefixes attached to
them, and are understood as reflexive. Therefore, the subject argument of the two verbs always has the same referent as the object pronouns attached to them.

Note that, in a sentence like (35), the event or phenomenon that causes someone amazed or dislike is only contextually understood. When the event or phenomenon is not contextually understood, it can be inserted in a sentence as an oblique argument marked by the oblique pronominal clitic u. Two examples are given in (36) below.

(36). a). Pi Lahtal 2-ο kufa2 u ta-her
1PL.INC God 3.OBV-GEN power CL 1PL.INC.DIS-make amazed
'We are amazed by God's power'
(Lit. We made ourselves amazed of God's power)

b). Na sakolah u na-Пап
1SG.NOM school CL 1SG-make dislike
'I dislike schooling'
(Lit. I made myself dislike schooling)

The verb nanoP 'affect me', inoP 'affect you',... and the verb meaning 'self admiring' like nabune 'admire my self' are also classified into the class of marked transitive-experiencer verbs although the roots of the two verbs are homophonous with the intransitive adjectival verb noP 'good' and bune 'hot' respectively. Before I present a detailed account concerning the root of the two verbs, let us first observe the following examples.

(37). a). John sa-bune-am
John 3PRXML-admire-PERF
'John has admired himself'

b). Ni fe ni-bune ne-ne
1PL.EXC.NOM NEG 1PL.EXC-admire NEG
'We did not admire ourselves'

c). *John 2a-bune-am
John 3.OBV-admire-PERF

d). *Ni John 2a-bune-am
1PL.EXC.NOM John 3.OBV-admire-PERF
e). Na nu na-nopi-am
   thing one 1SG-affect-PERF
   'Something has happened to me'
   (Lit. 'Something has affected me')

f). Fana? p? na-nopi
dai
   scabies NEG 1SG-experience EVID
   'I have not had (= experienced) scabies yet, actually'
   (Lit. 'Scabies has not affected me, actually')

Similar to the marked transitive-experiencer verbs meaning 'go back', 'amaze' and 'dislike' discussed earlier, the verb meaning 'to admire oneself' like sabune and nibune in (a-b) of the example above always has a reflexive reading. The subject argument of the verb always refers to the same referent as the object pronoun prefixes to it. This rules out the possibility for the obviative form jubun e 'admire him/her/ them', as shown in (c-d). Like the marked transitive-experiencer verb napa 'stir me', tapa 'stir us', ... exemplified and described before, the verb meaning 'affect' like nanopi in (37. e-f) of the example selects for only a closed set of subject nouns. Only nouns expressing the names of some skin diseases and the NP na nu 'something' can function as the subject argument of the verb.

To conclude, then, the verb nanopi 'affect me', inopi 'affect you'..., and the verb meaning 'to admire oneself' like nabune '...admiries my self' share properties with other transitive-experiencer verbs. Structurally, they are composed of roots and pronominal prefixes. Semantically they express experience. The verb meaning 'to admire oneself' has a reflexive reading like most other verbs of this class. Like napa, tapa ..., the verb meaning 'to affect' (nanopi, ...) selects for only a closed set of subject nouns.
The two verbs, however, might have developed historically (i.e. have been derived) from the intransitive adjectival verbs no₁ 'good' and bun_e 'hot'. If this historical account is acceptable, a verb meaning self admiring like ibun_e should literally mean 'heat up oneself', as in I ibun_e (2PL.NOM 2PL-hot) 'You heat up yourselves'. So far, however, there is no evidence that the verb bun_e on its own (without a pronominal prefix) is a transitive verb meaning 'to heat up'. Similarly, there is no evidence that the verb no₁ on its own is a transitive verb meaning 'affect'. It is through the prefixation process (bun_e → nabun_e, ibun_e...; no₁ → nano₁, ino₁... ) that makes the two verbs transitive with the meaning 'to admire oneself' and 'to affect' respectively. Should the two verbs be considered applicative verbs derived from intransitive adjectival verbs bun_e 'hot' and no₁ 'good' with a change in meaning and with an increase in the valence of the verbs?

As described in 8.4.2, Adang has two main types of applicative verbs: allative applicative verbs derived by allative prefix e-, le- or o and ablative applicative verbs derived by prefix el-. The allative prefix e-, le- and o add a sense of allative direction to the meaning of a derived allative applicative verb whereas the ablative prefix el- adds a sense of ablative direction to the meaning of a derived ablative applicative verb.

As observed from the examples and the description provided so far, the marked transitive-experiencer verb nano₁ 'affect me', ino₁ 'affect you',... and the marked transitive-experiencer verb meaning 'to admire oneself' like nabun_e 'admire my self' are
not prefixed by any of the applicative prefixes. They do not either indicate allative or ablative direction. Therefore, I suggest here that the two verbs have been formed out of the historical development of Adang, particularly with respect to the development of transitive-experiencer verbs but not formed out of an applicative prefixation process. In this thesis, I classify them into the class of marked transitive-experiencer verbs.

8.2.2.2.3. Marked transitive existential verb

The only transitive-existential verb identified in Adang is ara ‘exist with(in) you’, nara ‘exist with(in) me’ ... ect. The root (ra) of the verb is meaningless without pronominal prefixes. Like other verbs, the pronominal prefixes of the verb function as the object argument (a comitative object) of the verb. Following are two examples. More examples are presented in the description of existential clauses in 12.3.

   Adi 1PL.EXC-be 3SG.NOM 2SG-be
   ‘Adi is with us’ S/he is with you

To express that an entity exists, the third person obviative form (Para) of the verb is used, as in (39). The sentence, however, can be ambiguous without context. As indicated, the sentence can mean either Roni has been present or Roni has been with another third person.

(39). Roni Pi-ra-am
   Roni 3.OBV-be-PERF
   ‘Roni has been present’ or ‘Roni has been with him/ her/ them’
   (Lit. Roni has existed with(in) himself/ ore with him/her/ them...).
Apart from appearing alone as a single predicate in a clause, the verb commonly exists in verb serializations with other verbs. In a serialization the verb marks a comitative participant. Following are four examples. More examples will be presented in the description of serial verb construction in 11.2.1.1.2.

\[(40).\]

\[a).\] Ella Ani Pa-ra ma eham
Ella Ani 3.OBV-exist come INC
'Ella is about to bring (come with) Ani here'

\[b).\] Ella na-ra ala mej Pa-de
Ella 1SG-exist rice cooked 3.OBV-eat
'Ella ate rice with me'

\[c).\] Sa Pe ni-ra matev dai
3SG.NOM NEG 1PL.EXC-exist talk EVID
'S/he has not talked to/with us, actually'

\[d).\] Hery lafiniv na-ra ham-am
Hery high 1SG-exist same-PERF
'Hery has grown up as tall as me'

8.2.2.3. Locative verbs

There are six verbs in this verb class. They can be sub-classified into two types. Locative verbs of the first type are not prefixed by pronominal prefixes. I refer to them in this section as unmarked locative verbs. They are ta 'on'/'add', mi 'in'/'at', far 'under' and mota 'above'. The second type, which I call marked locative verbs, contains only two verbs, each inflects for object person, i.e. they are obligatorily prefixed by pronominals. The two verbs are the verb meaning 'between' (e.g. ninai 'between us') and the verb meaning 'near' (e.g. nabuq 'near me'). The verb meaning 'between' can only be prefixed by plural pronominal prefixes, including the third person obviative (Pa-) and proximal (sa-) prefixes.

Semantically, verbs in this verb class express or mark location. They look like postpositions but they share verbal properties with all other verbs, as will be observed from the examples provided in this section.
All locative verbs (both marked and unmarked) are both transitive and ditransitive. They can take either two or three arguments. I provide examples of each beginning with examples of the unmarked locative verb in (41) below. From the example observe that the verb *mi* in (a) takes two arguments: a theme argument occupying the subject position and a locative argument occupying the object position. In (b), it takes three arguments: an agent occupying the subject position, a theme argument occupying the second (indirect) object position and a locative argument occupying the first (direct) object position. Similarly, the verb *ta* takes two arguments in (c) and three arguments in (d).

(41). a). $\text{Sev dec mi-eh}$

money wallet in-PROG
'There is some money in the wallet'
(Lit. Money is/are being in the wallet)

b). $\text{Ni-map sev dec mi-am}$

1PL.EXC-father money wallet at/in-PERF
'My father has put some money in a wallet'
(Lit. Our father has put ...)

c). $\text{Tua 2ai meja ta-eh}$

cup table on-PROG
'There is a cup on a table'
(Lit. Cup(s) is/are being on (a) table(s))

d). $\text{Rin gula Pe kopi ta dai}$

Rin sugar NEG coffee on EVID
'Rin has not added sugar onto the coffee yet'

The locative verbs *mi* and *ta* can take accusative pronouns as their objects. When functioning as the object argument of the locative verbs, an accusative pronoun, including the obviative accusative pronoun *lari*, is more like a patient than a locative argument. Two examples are given in (42) below.

(42). a). $\text{Haropav na-ri mi-am}$

arrow 1SG-ACC in/at-PERF
'Arrows hit me' (into my body)

b). $\text{Nina sev na-ri ta}$

Nina money 1SG-ACC add/ on
'Nina made me owe some money'
(Lit. Nina put some money on me)
Unlike the locative verbs *mi* and *ta* in (42) above, the locative verbs *far* and *mota* can appear in two different forms: an uninflected form and an inflected form (e.g. *nefar* 'under me' and *nemota* 'above me'). The inflectional form is derived from the base form by prefix *e*.

The same prefix is also used to goal-allative applicative verbs (8.2.4.1).

The semantic difference between the two forms of these verbs is rather subjective, i.e. it depends on the speaker's own view of the existence of an entity in the location expressed by the verbs. With the inflected forms, the speaker views the existence of the entity in the location from, or toward, a point of orientation. With respect to the verb *nefar* in (43. b), for example, the ‘table’ is the point of orientation toward which, the
speaker locates the 'ball'. Unlike (43. b), the speakers in (43. a) is simply locating the 'ball' in the location expressed by the verbs, regardless of direction.

>From example (43) observe that both the inflected and uninflected forms of the two verbs can take two (a-d) or three (e-f) arguments. There is no increase of valence in the inflectional form. Therefore, I shall not call the inflectional form an applicative verb.

Since the two locative verbs have inflectional forms where the pronominal prefixes attached to them function as the object, they cannot take accusative pronouns as objects. Even the uninflected form cannot take an accusative pronoun as its object, as observed from the following unacceptable sentences.

bird house 3.OBV-ACC above-PERF bird 1SG-ACC 1SG-ALL-above-PERF

c). *Ani bal meja pa-ri far-am f). *Ani foto a-ri e-e-mota-eh
Ani ball table 3.OBV-ACC under-PERF Ani photo 2SG-ACC 2SG-ALL-above-PROG

We turn now to the second type, i.e. the marked transitive-ditransitive locative verbs: the verb meaning 'between' (ninai 'between us', inai 'between you (pl)'... ) and 'near' (nabu 'near me', abu 'near you' ...). The following examples show that like the other four locative verbs, the locative verbs meaning 'between' and 'near' can also have either two (a, c) or three (b, d) arguments. Like other verbs prefixed by pronominals, the pronominal prefixes of the locative verbs function as the direct (= locative) object of the verbs. As has been mentioned earlier, the referent nouns kadero and pensil of the obviative
pronominal object 2a- in (a-b) are inserted only if the referent has not been mentioned before. If the referent has been mentioned, the noun can be omitted from a sentence.

(45). a). Bel kadere 2a-nai eham
dog chair 3.OBV-between INC
‘A dog is about to be between the chairs’
b). Ay pensil sura? 2a-nai-am
Ay pencil book 3.OBV.between ...
‘Ay has put a pencil between the books’
c). Piv Pe na-b~
dai
plate NEG 1SG-near EVID
‘There has not been any plate close to me’
(Lit. A plate has not been close to me)
d). Rin 2e pi~
dai
plate NEG 1SG-near EVID
‘Rin has not put any plate close to me’

As the pronominal prefixes function as the locative object of the verbs, the verbs cannot take an accusative pronoun as locative object. The following examples, therefore, are unacceptable.

(46). a). *Piv Pe na-ri na-b~
dai
plate NEG 1SG-ACC 1SG-near EVID
b). *Rin 2e pi~
dai
plate NEG 1SG-ACC 1SG-near EVID

Before finishing the description, I would like to mention that although the locative transitive-ditransitive verbs described so far can appear alone in a sentence, they also commonly appear with other verbs in verb serialization construction. Following are a few examples: (47) for unmarked locative verbs and (48) for marked locative verbs.

(47). a). Sev dec mi Poleh
money wallet in/ at exist
‘There is some money in the wallet’
(Lit. Money exists in the wallet),
c). Tu~
meja ta mih-eh
cup table on sit-PROG
‘There is a cup sitting on a table’
(Lit. Cups are sitting being on the table)
(b). Ni-map sev dec mi me~
1PL.EXC-father money wallet at/in put-PERF
‘My father has put some money in a wallet’
(Lit. Our father has put ...)
d). Tu~
meja ta mih-eh dai

(48). a). Sev dec mi Poleh
money wallet in/ at exist
‘There is some money in the wallet’
(Lit. Money exists in the wallet),
c). Tu~
meja ta mih-eh
cup table on sit-PROG
‘There is a cup sitting on a table’
(Lit. Cups are sitting being on the table)
From the examples above, observe that semantically the meaning expressed by a SVC containing a locative verb is not very different from the meaning expressed by the locative verb alone. However, a locative verb when appearing alone, expresses a more stative meaning than when appearing in SVC. Therefore I suggest that in a SVC containing a locative verb, the main verb, functions to express an action or event whereas the locative verb marks the location where the event or action takes place. A detailed description will be presented in chapter eleven on serial verb constructions.

8.2.2.4. Causative verbs

There are three different types of causative verbs identified in Adang. The three types of causative verbs are all morphological. Each is derived from a limited number of intransitive verbs with an increase in the valence of the verbs (Comrie, 1985a: 331-332, Payne, 1997: 175-186). I illustrate the three types of causative verbs and their affixation process in the following table.
Table 8-1: Types of Causative Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affixation</th>
<th>Types of causative verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative prefix a-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal prefixes</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative suffixes: -ê / -iê / -aê / -uê</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As observed from the table, all types of causative verbs are prefixed by the causative prefix a-. In addition the causative verb type three is suffixed by the causative suffixes. As also observed from the table, the causative verb type one is not prefixed by pronominals but the others are obligatorily prefixed by pronominals. I describe each of the causative verb types as follows.

8.2.2.4.1. Causative verb type one

Unlike the other two types, this type of causative verb lacks pronominal prefixes. Only one verb falls into this type, the verb a-pol, *cause to fall over* which is derived from the intransitive verb pol 'fall over'. The verb has two arguments: a subject (causer) argument and an object (causee) argument. An example in sentential contexts is given in (49). b). Sentence (a), containing the intransitive verb pol is given for a comparison. Sentences (c-e) are unacceptable because the verb in the sentences is prefixed by pronominal prefixes.

(49). a). John pol
      ‘John fall over’
      ‘John fall over’

b). John Semy a-pol-am
    John Semy CAUS-fall over-PERF
    ‘John has made Semy fall over’.
c). *John Semy ʔa-ʔol
   John Semy 3.OBV-CAUS-fall over

d). *John ʔa-ʔol
   John 3.OBV-CAUS-fall over
e). *John n-ʔol.
   John 1SG-CAUSE-fall over

As this causative verb is not prefixed by pronominal prefix, it can take an accusative
pronoun as its causee object. Two examples are given in (50).

(50). a). Supi ta-ɾi a-ʔol
   3PL.1PL.INC.DIS-ACC CAUS-fall over
   ‘They made each one of us fall over’

   b). John na-ɾi a-ʔol
       John 1SG-ACC CAUS-fall over
       ‘John made me fall over’.

As observed from (49-50), semantically this causative verb expresses a direct
causation (Comrie, 1985a: 333, Payne, 1997: 181, sec also Talmy, 1985: 78-85), namely the
causer directly causes the event (= the result of the causer’s action) expressed by the verb to
take place. The causee object, on the other hand, does not have any control over the caused
event. The causee object is “completely manipulated by the causer”. Therefore, s/he is more
like a patient or undergoer, rather than the agent, of the caused event. The causee object, i.e.
speaker (nari), in (50. b), for example is completely manipulated by the causer, John, to fall
over. The speaker, does not intentionally fall over. Similar meanings are also observed from
(49. b) and (50. a).

8.2.2.4.2. Causative Verbs type two

Five verbs, identified so far, fall into this causative verb types. The verbs are derived
by the causative prefix ʔa- from the intransitive verbs muj ‘fall down’, poʔ ‘explode’, hid
'break', butuŋ 'ruin' and from an adjectival verb tiniŋ 'steady'. They are then obligatorily prefixed by pronominals. A few examples are given in (51). From the examples, observe that the causative verbs of this type also have two arguments: a subject (causer) argument and an object (causee) argument. Note that the causative prefix (which is the vowel /a/) in (b, c) is deleted because it is preceded by the vowel /i/.

(51). a). John 2ε-dai n-a-muj John NEG-EVID 1SG-CAUS-fall down 'John was about to make me fall down'.
(It was lucky that he did not)

b). Name i-σ-butuŋ eham People 2PL-CAUS-ruin INC 'Peoples are about to cause you ruin'

c). Supi 2ε-dai ni-σ-hid 3PL NEG-EVID 1PL.EXC-CAUS-break 'They were about to make us break'
(It was lucky that they did not)

d). Name s-a-tiniŋ-am people 3.PRXML-CAUS-steady-PERF 'People have made themselves quiet (lit. steady)'

Unlike the causative verb type one above, accusative pronouns cannot function as the objects of these causative verbs because the pronominal prefixes attached to the verbs function as the objects of the verbs. Therefore, sentences (a-b) below, for example, are not acceptable. Example (c) shows that the obviative pronominal object (Pa-) of a causative verb of this type can also be preceded by its referent noun when the referent has not been mentioned earlier. When the referent has been mentioned earlier, it can be dropped as shown in (d).

(52). a). *John na-ri n-a-muj John 1SG-ACC 1SG-CAUS-fall down

c). John na-tag 2-a-hid John 1SG-arm 3.OBV-CAUS-break 'John broke my arm'
(Lit. John made my arm break)

d). *Name i-ri Pa-butuŋ eham people 2PL-ACC 3.OBV-CAUS-ruin INC

d). John 2-a-hid John 3.OBV-CAUS-break 'John broke it/them/him/her'
(Lit. John made it break)
Like causative verb type one above, semantically the causative verbs of this type also express a direct causation; the causer directly causes the event (= the result of the causer’s action). In (52. c), for example, the causer, John, directly made the speaker’s arm (the causee) break. It does not break intentionally or automatically or accidentally.

8.2.2.4.3. Causative verbs type three

Four verbs fall into this type derived from the intransitive verbs min ‘die’, mih ‘sit’, təh ‘stand’, and tar ‘lie down’. The causative verb derived from the intransitive verb min, besides being prefixed by the causative prefix a- and pronominal prefixes, is also suffixed by the causative suffix -e. This suffix is specific only to this causative verb. So far there is no evidence that it suffixes to any other verbs. A few examples are given in (53). Example (a) containing the intransitive verb min is given for a comparison.

(53). a). Bel pe-dai min
  dog NEG-EVID die
  ‘Dogs were about to die’
  (It was lucky that they did not)

b). Bel pe-dai n-a-min-e
  dog NEG-EVID 1SG-CAUS-die-CAUS
  ‘Dogs were about to kill me (Lit. made me die)’
  (It was lucky that they did not)

c). Bel pe-dai t-a-min-e
  dog NEG-EVID 1PL.INC.DIS-CAUS-die-CAUS
  ‘Dogs were about to kill each one of us’ (It is lucky that they did not)
  (Lit ... made each one of us die)

d). Bel pe-dai s-a-min-e
  dog NEG-EVID 2SG-CAUS-die-CAUS
  ‘Dog were about to kill you (Lit. made you die)’ (It is lucky that they did not)

The causative verbs derived from the verb mih, təh and tar, besides being prefixed by the causative prefix a- and pronominal prefixes, are also suffixed by a causative suffix.
The suffix appears in three different allomorphs. The allomorph -i télé for the causative verb derived from mih, as in n-a-mih-i télé (1SG-CAUS-sit down-CAUS) ‘cause me sit down’; the allomorph -a télé for the causative verb derived from tar, as in n-a-tar-a télé (1SG-CAUS-lie down-CAUS) ‘cause me lie down’ and -u télé for the causative verb derived from toh, as in n-a-tuh-u télé (1SG-CAUS-stand-CAUS) ‘cause me stand’. Note that it is still hard to determine the base form of these three allomorphs because the phonological processes (vowel harmony and the alternation consonants: y → r) in the suffixation process of the three causative verbs producing the three allomorphs, are specific to these causative verbs only. They are not generalizable. A few examples of the three causative verbs in sentential contexts are given in (54).

(54). a). Ella Ani 2-a-mih-i télé-əm
Ella Ani 3.OBV-CAUS-sit-CAUS-PERF
‘Ella has made Ani sit down’

b). Supi 2ə 2-a-tuh-u télé dai
3PL NEG 3.OBV-CAUS-stand-CAUS EVID
‘They have not made it/him/her/them stand yet’
(but I suggest they will)

c). Supi s-a-tar-a télé
3PL 3.PROX-CAUS-lie down-CAUS
‘They made each other/ themselves lie down’

As observed from (53-54), the causative verbs of this type also have two arguments: a subject (causer) argument and an object (causee) argument. Like other closed class verbs prefixed by pronominal prefixes, accusative pronouns cannot function as the objects of the causative verbs of this type because the pronominal prefixes attached to the verbs function as the objects of the verbs.
Semantically the causative verbs of this type also express a direct causation. Even with the reciprocal reading of sentence (54. c) above, for example, it is still true that each causer of the event of each other’s lying down is physically responsible in making the event take place. The causee object (each other) has very little control over the event.

Apart from the three types of causative verbs described above, there are two marked transitive verbs (8.2.2.2) that can act as causative verbs, especially in an analytic causative construction, i.e. a causative construction that “uses regular syntactic devices ... for forming complex sentences out of simplex sentences ...” (Comrie, 1985a: 331). The two verbs are those meaning ‘affect’ (nanapo ‘affect me’, anapo ‘affect you’ ...), as exemplified in (55. b, d) and the verb meaning ‘suggest’ or ‘command’ (nahou ‘suggest to me’, ahou ‘suggest to you’ ...), exemplified in (55. e, f).

(55). a). John na-ri a-pol
John 1SG-ACC CAUS-fall over ‘John made me fall over’.

b). John na-napo po1
John 1SG-affect fall over ‘John made me fall over’
(Lit. John affected me to fall over).

c). John n-a-mih-ip
John 1SG-CAUS-sit down CAUS ‘John made me sit down’

d). John na-napo mih
John 1SG-affect sit down ‘John made me sit down’

e). John na-hou po1
John 1SG-command fall over ‘John told me to fall over’.

f). John na-hou mih
John 1SG-command sit down ‘John told me to sit down’.

Semantically, the relationship between the causer and the event is less direct in an analytic causative construction than in a morphological causative construction. In (55. a, c), for example, the causer (John) is physically responsible for causing the object (causee) to
fall over (a) or to sit down (c). The causees in both (a) and (c) do not have control over the events taking place. In contrast, the causer (John) in (b, d) is not necessarily physically responsible for causing the event to take place. In (b), for instance, John may have accidentally made the causee’s way slippery so that the causee fell over when s/he walked through it; but John did not intend to cause him/her to fall over. In example (e) and (f), on the other hand, it is the causee that is most responsible for the caused event taking place. The two sentences express the most indirect causation among the others in the examples.

8.2.2.5. Index (Determining) verbs

The last type of closed class verb contains a limited number of verbs that I call ‘determining’ or ‘index’ verbs. The reason for calling them ‘determining’ verbs is because they are derived with determiners from the root *ni*¹⁰. This root is meaningless without a determiner attaching to it. When it is attached by, or combined with, a determiner, it adds the meaning ‘resemble’ or ‘like’ to the derived verb. For example, the verb *honi* meaning roughly ‘like that’ is derived with the determiner *ho* from the root *ni*. I also refer to verbs of this type as ‘index’ verbs because the interpretation of the predicate is determined entirely by reference to the discourse context. They are ‘index’ verbs in the same way deictics (7.1) and determiners (7.2) index participants and locations. (This section should be read with reference to 7.2 on determiners).

As will be observed from the description and examples presented here, index verbs fulfill all verbal properties described in 8.1. One property of these verbs that may not be

¹⁰ See also the use of this morpheme *ni* on the question word *taroni* ‘why’ or ‘how’ in 10.2.
easily observed is transitivity. In the last subsection (8.2.2.5.3), I argue that the verbs of this class are transitive. I shall begin with the description of the structural and semantic properties of index verbs (8.2.2.5.1) which is then followed by the description of the functions of the verbs (8.2.2.5.2). Before I present the detailed description, however, I present the following example. The example is particularly to show that the class of words being discussed in this section is a verb class.

   Laka 1SG-ALL-imitate bad(ly = always). 1SG.NOM sit down 3SG.NOM (too) DEF-like
   ‘Laka always imitates me. When I sit down, he also (does) like that (=sits down)

   b). Na na Pa-de. sa (di) ho-ni. Sa tabur-am?
   1SG.NOM thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat 3SG.NOM (too) DEF-like 3SG.NOM mad-PER
   ‘When I eat food, he also (does) like that (= eats food). Has he become mad?

B: c). Ho-ni Pa, Laka!
   DEF-like NEG Laka
   ‘Don’t do like that Laka!

   d). Apai name s-o tabur bit
   ... not exist people 2SG-GEN mad say
   ... Otherwise people say you are mad
   (Lit. Don’t be like that, Laka! Otherwise people talk about your madness)

As can be seen from the example, I apply two tests to determine the class of words that I have called index verbs. First is a replacement test, where I replace the verb mih ‘sit down’ (a) and the verbal constituent na Pa-de ‘eat food’ (b) with the index verb honi ‘like that’. Secondly I put the index verb honi in an imperative clause (c), because words other than a verb do not normally function as the main constituent in an imperative clause in Adang. Both test show that the words derived from the root ni with determiners are verbs. Other verbal properties (structural or functional) of index verbs can be observed from the examples provided in the rest of this section.
8.2.2.5.1. Structural and semantic (indexical) properties of determining verbs.

Index verbs are derived from the root *ni*. The root is meaningless without a determiner attached to it. The difference between index verbs and other closed class verbs could be in terms of the object prefixes attached to them. That is while other closed class verbs are prefixed by pronominal objects, index verbs are prefixed by determiners. Since a determiner can also stand for or represents a nominal (see 7.2 for details), I argue in 8.2.2.5.3 that a determiner prefixes to an index verb, functions as the object of the verb.

Let us first observe the similarities between index verbs and other closed class verbs from the following example. As shown in (c) and (d), the roots *tan* of the verb *natan* 'ask me' (a) and *ni* of the index verb *honi* 'like that' (b) are meaningless without a pronominal or determiner prefix. Just as the root *tan* adds the meaning 'ask' to the verb *natan* 'ask me' (a), the root *ni* adds the meaning 'resemble' or 'like' to the verb *honi* 'like that' (b).

(57). a). Sa na-tan 3SG.NOM 1SG-ask 'S/he asked me'
    b). Na ho ho-ni thing DEF DEF-resemble 'The things are like that'
    c). *Sa tan 3SG.NOM _
    d). *Na ho ni thing DEF _

From (57. b) observe that while the determiner prefix *ho* of the verb *honi* functions as the object of the verb, the crucial contribution that it makes to the meaning of the verb is indexing. It points at, or refers to, an action or state (normally a complex action and/ or state) in a sentence, text or discourse context.
Let us now consider the example in (58. b) of the following context. From the context provided, observe that the subject noun *na* 'thing' in (b) refers to the nouns *fa* 'coconut (plant)' and *mo poets* 'banana (plant)' (and possibly also *noi* 'rain') mentioned in (a). Therefore, I translate *na* as 'things' (plural). The determiner prefix *ho* of *honiam* in (b), on the other hand, determines and represents the actions and states expressed by the verbs and verbal constituents *Pabou* 'grow', *min* *Poh eham* 'about to die completely' (and possibly also *Pe her ta nene* 'did not drop on'). The verb *honiam* in the example indexes or points at the actions and states (determined and represented by *ho-*) in the text or discourse.

(58). a. A: Fa *e mo poets ba ni* mudi ho, *Pabou-eh bo* coconut and banana that 1PL.EXC.NOM planted DEF grow-PROG but 'The coconut and banana plants that we planted are growing up but it was

noi *Pe her ta nene ho-ro* supi min *Poh eham.* rain NEG drop add/ on NEG DEF-FOC 3PL die empty/ complete INC no rain and they are about to die completely'

b. B: Na *ho-ro* ho-ni-am *Na ho honi* 'The thing is like that'; normally used to refer to a state, action/event or condition that one might not like; but no one can change it. Another one is *Na ho honi* 'The thing is like that'; normally used to refer to a plan; e.g. at the end of making a plan, one can then refer to the plan as *Na ho honi*.

The example and the description above indicate that an index verb indexes actions or states but not nominals. For this reason, a sentence like (59. d) below is not possible and not acceptable. In contrast, (b) is accepted. The verb *honi* in (b) indexes the action and state expressed by *Pabou lafinig* 'grow up high' in (a).

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11 The clause is a very common utterance in every day speech. It is normally used to refer to a state, action/event or condition that one might not like; but no one can change it. Another one is *Na ho honi* 'The thing is like that'; normally used to refer to a plan; e.g. at the end of making a plan, one can then refer to the plan as *Na ho honi*.
(59). a) Fa Pabou lafiniŋ-am. coconut (trees) grow high-PERF 'The coconut has grown up high.

b) MoPoi di ho-ni. banana too DEF-like-PERF 'Bananas are also like that (= grown up high)'

c) Fa Pabou-am. coconut (trees) grow-PERF 'The coconut has grown up.

d) * Ho-ni di lafiniŋ-am. DEF-like too high-PERF *(Like) it/that also became high

In the following dialogue (60), I provide a couple of examples with the verb hoPoni (c) and its focusing form hoPoroni (f) 'like this particular' (to represent verbs of this type derived from focusing determiners) and the verb heponi (d-e) (to represent verbs of this type derived from distal determiners). From the dialogue, first observe that honiam in (b) indexes the actions expressed by the verbal constituent ... Po lafo arug Pul, labat med mi ... 'dig the hole deep, put manure in it'. The complex action is mentioned in (a). Thus, the index verb honi (honiam, in the example) can index or point at actions which have been mentioned previously in a text or discourse.

(60). (Note: elements that I put in brackets in (c, d) of the dialogue can be dropped)

A: a) Fa mudiq ho, name 2-o lafo arug Pul, labat med mi; coconut plant (v.) DEF people 3-OBV-GEN hole dig deep manure take put in/at 'As for planting a coconut, people dig the hole - deep, and put manure in it;

b) ho-ni-am, fe name fa ta 2-a-tuh-up e alod; DEF-resemble-PERF FOC-OBJ person coconut on/add 3.OBV-CAUS-stand-CAUS and close having done that, people put the coconut plant in it and fill it (with soil).

c) (A) s-e (mudiq) ho-po-ni-am 2SG.NOM 2SG-GEN plant DEF-PROX-resemble-PERF sa ma? 2e fetap nene. 3SG.NOM possible NEG live NEG 'You have planted yours like this (visible), it may not grow.'
Unlike honi, the index verb hoPoni (c) only refers to actions which are visible or identifiable at the time of speaking. The actions are not mentioned in the dialogue; but from the context it is understood that the visible actions have been carried out by B and they are, different from the actions ... Po lafo arug Pul, labat med mi ... 'dig the hole deep, put manure in it' mentioned in (a). Similarly, the index verbs heponieh and heponi (d-e) only refer to visible actions which are being carried out by some visible persons expressed by name pog hepo. The actions are also different from those mentioned in (a). The last index verb in the dialogue hoPOni in (f) also refers to visible actions which are about to be carried out by A. As understood from the context, the actions are different from those pointed by hoPoni (c), heponieh (d) and heponi (d). Based on the context, it is very likely that the actions pointed by hoPOni (f) are the same as the actions mentioned in (a) and (b) namely ... Po lafo arug Pul, labat med mi ... 'dig its hole deep, put manure in it' (a) ... fa ta Fatuhun e alod 'put the coconut plant in it and close it (with soil)' (b).
The constituent (se) mudiŋ hoŋiam ‘plant (yours) like this’ (visible, proximative) in (60. c) and (se) mudiŋ heponieh ‘plant (theirs) like that down there’ (visible, distal, downward direction) in (60.d) also indicate that, like most other verbs, an index verb can also appear in a serial verb construction (SVC). As a part of a SVC, it is normally placed at the end of the verb serialization to index or mark (but not to express) the manner of the action expressed by the preceding verbs. The manner, i.e. the action or state serving as the manner of the main action expressed in the SVC, is not expressed by the index verb itself. It is only contextually understood or is identifiable in the immediate situation of a discourse. The index verb only points at it.

With respect to the SVC se mudiŋ hoŋiam (60. c), for example, the index verb hoŋiam ‘like this’ (visible, proximative) indexes the manner in which se mudiŋ ‘plant yours (coconut) was carried out. The actions are only visible at the time of speaking; and from the context it is understood that they have been carried out by B and are different from the action/s ... po lafo aruŋ Pul, labat med mi ... ‘dig its hole deep, put manure in it’ mentioned in (60. a).

Following is one more example, where the index verb honi ‘like that’ marks, or represents the manner or state of the action expressed by lame ‘walk’. As the example is not provided with a context, the actions or states serving as the manner are, if they have not

12 See also the semantic relation of verbs in a SVC like Sa lame hanə Pas (s/he - walk - hurry) ‘She walked hurriedly’ in chapter 11 (e.g. 3)
been mentioned earlier, visible at the time of speaking. They are perhaps being imitated with a demonstration or the speaker is pointing at model actions which are visible at that time of speaking.

Ay walk DEF-like
'Ay walks like that (visible model/ imitation = e.g. hurriedly, etc.).

To conclude, this section demonstrates that an index verb indexes actions or states in a complex sentence, text or a discourse. Therefore, it can only be properly understood by reference to its context, especially when it indexes actions or states in an immediate situation (real world setting) of a discourse.

8.2.2.5.2. The functions of index verbs

The description so far has been mainly concerned with the structural and the semantic or indexical properties of verbs of this type. Turning now to the functional properties of the verbs, first notice that the verbs, as observed from the examples provided so far, function as the predicate of a clause, either as a single verb predicate or in a SVC. Like other verbs, when an index verb functions as the predicate of a clause, it (i.e. the action/s it represents) can be graded into five degree levels both comparative and non-comparative. In (62) below, I only provide two examples with a non-comparative degree, where mag honi bi in (c) is at an over-degree or excessive level whereas honi bi in (d) is at a positive degree level. The verb honi in both (c) and (e) refers to or represents the
actions expressed by the verbs *karesa* work', *seg* lap ‘look for money’ (c), possibly also the state expressed by the adjectival verb *fareka* ‘diligent’ (a).

   Zem diligent very.
   ‘Zem is very diligent’

   b). sa *karesa, seg* lap dil el dil pana.
      3SG.NOM work, money look for universe bright (daytime) universe dark (nighttime)
      ‘He works, looks for money everyday and night’

       2PL-ACC DEF not exist only DEF-like very NEG
       ‘As for you, don’t be too much like that’

      2PL.NOM possible god and woman (= wife) child CL forget
      ‘You may forget god, and (your) wife (and) children’

      1PL.EXC.NOM NEG DEF-like very NEG
      ‘We are not really like that’

Besides being gradeable into different degree levels, an index verb can also appear in an imperative clause, either as a single verb or in a SVC. An example has been given at the beginning of this section. Following are a few more examples. Both *heponi* (b, d) and *honi* (a, c) in the example, only refers to visible actions recommended by the speaker to the hearer. The reason is because there is no previously mentioned actions or states in the example that it can index. It is functioning in the immediate situation of the discourse.

(63). a). Ho-ni!
       DEF-resemble
       ‘Do it like that!’ (visible; e.g. as you are or some body else is doing near you)

   b). H[e-p]o-ni!
       DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF-resemble
       ‘Do it like that down there!’ (visible; e.g. as the person down there is doing)
c). Na 2a-de ho-ni!
3SG/PL (food) 3.OBV-eat DEF-resemble
'Eat things (=food) like that!

d). Lame h-e-p-o-ni!
walk DEF-DIST-DOWN-DEF-resemble
'Walk like that down there!

A piece of evidence that honi and h eponi in the examples above are in imperative clauses is that they can be marked polite (i.e., request) by the polite (or request) marker $ema$ ‘please’, as represented in (64) below.

(64). a). Ho-ni $ema$!
DEF-like please
'Like that, please!'

b). H[e-p]o-ni $ema$!
DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF-resemble please
'Like that down there; please!

c). Na 2a-de ho-ni $ema$!
3SG/PL (food) 3.OBV-eat DEF-like please
'Eat things (=food) like that please!

d). Lame h-e-p-o-ni $ema$!
walk DEF-DIST-DOWN-DEF-like please
'Walk like that down there please!

Besides functioning as the predicate of a clause, an index verb can function to modify a noun. Unlike other verbs, however, when an index verb functions to modify a noun, it does not attribute a property (state or action) to the referent of the noun. Instead, the verb with its meaning (‘like that …’) only refers to or indexes actions or states carried out by, or pertaining to, the referent of the noun. In (65. b), for example, the index verb honi refers to and assigns the properties (Eni beh e po na ta pu ‘hit Eni and stole her things’ (a)) to the person expressed by name (i.e., Apris). As can be seen, these properties or behaviors are carried out or pertaining to the speaker himself (a) but not expressed by the verb. The verb only refers to or indexes the properties and the person as a model or an example of persons which is then described with the adjectival verb predicate sah ‘bad’ in (b).
(65). a). A: Apris Eni beh e 3-0 na ta\u0254u
   Apris Eni hit and 3OBJ-GEN thing steal
   ‘Apris hit Eni and stole her things’

b). B: Name ho-\u0101 ho sah
   person DEF-like DEF bad
   ‘A person like that is bad’ (= A person, who does that kind of things, is bad)

Similar to honi in (b) above, heponi in (66) below indexes and assigns some properties (including the position (distance and direction)) to name as a model person. The person is then described with the adjectival verb sah ‘bad’ in (b). Note, however, that except for the distance and direction, other (the main) properties of name being referred by heponi, including the referent of the noun name are only visible at the time of speaking. For example, the speaker in (66) may be referring to (very likely to be accompanied with a pointing at) a person who is sleeping among others who are working hard in a distal - downward direction. The sleeping person is referred to as name heponi, which the speaker says, is bad.

(66). Name h[e-p]o-\u0101
   person DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF-like DEF[DIST-DOWN]DEF bad
   ‘That person behaving like that down there (visible) is bad’

The examples (65-66) indicate that an index verb in modifying a noun is obligatorily followed by a determiner. The reason is because a noun modified by an index or determining verb has to be definite, or the referent of the noun has to be identifiable. In other words, it is only when a noun is definite or its referent is identifiable (and therefore
determined by a determiner) that an index verb can index properties (actions/ state)
pertaining to it.

Let us observe the following example. In (a) of the example, the index verb *honi*
indexes some contextually understood actions or states (although the context of the sentence
is not provided). The actions or states being referred by *honi* cannot be attributed to the
subject noun *name* ‘person’ or ‘people’ because the noun is not definite or its referent is not
identifiable and therefore not determined by a determiner. The verb *honi* in the sentence is,
therefore not a modifier of the subject noun. Instead of modifying the subject noun, the verb
functions as the predicate of the sentence. The sentence means people in general cannot do
the actions, or must not behave in the ways being referred by the verb *honi* (i). The second
English version (ii) of the sentence is not the meaning of the sentence for this reason.

(67). a). Name  ho-ni  sah
    person DEF-like bad
    (i). 'People cannot (or must not) behave like that' (= It is bad for people to behave that way)
    but not (ii) '#Person like that is bad'

b). Name  ho-ni  ho  sah
    person DEF-like DEF bad
    (i). 'A person like that is bad' (= A person, who does that kind of things, is bad)
    but not. (ii).# 'People cannot (or must not) behave like that' (It is bad for people to behave that way)

c). Name  ho  ho-ni  sah
    person DEF DEF-like bad
    (i). 'That person could not do like that. (e.g. A could not lift up a car like B did; both visible)
    but not (ii).# 'That person like that is bad'

In contrast to (a), *honi* in (b) modifies the subject noun *name*. The sentence is
repeated from (65.b). In the sentence, *honi* modifies the noun *name*. 

The noun *name* in (c) is definite or its referent is identifiable. Therefore it is determined by the determiner *ho*. However, the verb *honi* which is distributionally placed after the determiner *ho*, functions as a part of the predicate of the sentence but not as the modifier of the subject noun.

To conclude, an index verb besides functioning as the predicate of a clause, can also function as a modifier of a noun. When functioning as a noun modifier, it indexes properties that already pertaining to the noun. Therefore, the noun has to be definite or its referent is identifiable.

8.2.2.5.3. The syntactic status (transitivity) of index verbs

Before finishing the discussion, I need to briefly discuss the syntactic status (i.e. the transitivity) of the index verbs described so far. As noted earlier, I regard index verbs as transitive verbs. The root *ni* 'resemble' or 'like' of a verb of this type takes the determiner prefix attached to it as its object. This internal structure is similar to that of most closed class verbs described in previous sections. To illustrate, I present the following example, to compare index verbs with other closed class verbs prefixed by pronominal object, i.e. marked transitive verbs. Example (c) represents marked transitive verbs that superficially look like intransitive verbs. Other typical examples are the verb meaning 'to admire oneself' (as in *Na nabune* 'I admired myself'), 'amaze' (*Na nahe* 'I am amazed by/ with ...'. Lit. *I make myself amazed*), 'dislike' (*Na naPa* 'I dislike...'. Lit. 'I make my self disliked') exemplified in (35-37. a, b) of 8.2.2.2.2.
The example above shows us that like the pronominal prefix na- of the verbs natan (a) and nabor (c), the determiner prefix ho- of the verb honiam (b) functions as the object argument of the verb. This means that the three verbs in the example are transitive. As can be seen, however, the semantic basis for the transitivity of the verb natan ‘ask me’ is obvious but the semantic basis for the transitivity of the verb nabor, particularly the index verb honi is rather obscure. A clause with a predicate index verb, appears more like a descriptive attributive clause, as can be seen in (b).

As I describe in 7.2, a determiner in Adang can nominalize a verb or a verbal constituent and also a clause. It can then represent or stand for the nominalized verbal constituent or clause in a larger text, discourse or complex sentence (see 7.2, for details). This property of determiners helps us to propose that the determiner prefix of index verbs stands for a nominalized verbal constituent or event expressed by a clause. Indeed, as I have pointed out at the beginning of 8.2.2.5.1, the crucial contribution that a determiner prefix makes to the meaning of an index verb is indexing. It points at, or refers to, an action or state in a complex sentence, text or discourse and stands for it as a clause or verb internal object taken by the root ni. Example (68-69) will illustrate this point.

   Bain work-PERF but work DEF heavy
   ‘Bain has started working but the job (= work) is heavy’
b). Sa ho u aer e foi beŋ lap bit-eh
3SG.NOM DEF CL stop and again other look for say-PROG
‘He was talking about giving up that (=work) and looking for other (work)’

DEF-like not exist DEF-like NEG please 2SG suggest only other look for add/on
‘Like that? Don’t be like that, please! Tell him to just look for one more job!’

As can be seen in (68), the verb karesag(σ) (am) ‘work’ is nominalized by the
determiner ho in the second clause of (a). In (b) the determiner stands alone in place of the
nominalized verb karesag and it is marked by the oblique pronominal clitic u as an oblique
argument. In (c-d), the determiner is attached to and governed by the root ni of the index
verb honi. Thus, the example shows that a determiner (like ho in the example) when
representing or standing for a nominalized verbal constituent, it can be marked oblique
argument by the oblique pronominal clitic u and can also be taken by (i.e. attached to) the
root ni of an index verb to function as the object of the verb.

Now, let us consider the last example below. In the example, the determiner ho in
(b) stands for the verbal constituent karesag seg lap bi ‡ ‘work hard, looking for money’
mentioned in (a). While representing the verbal constituent, it is focused by focal suffix -ro
and marked by the oblique pronominal clitic u as oblique argument in (c). In (d) ho, which
represents the verbal constituent karesag seg lap bi ‡, is governed by the root ni of the
index verb honi. In (e) ho (still representing the verbal constituent) is governed by the verb
feu ‘throw away’ as its object argument.
The example above illustrates that a determiner which stands for a nominalized verbal constituent, besides being able to be marked oblique by the oblique pronominal clitic and governed by the root of an index verb, can also be governed by a transitive verb of the open verb class, like , as its object argument.

To conclude, index verbs are transitive. They have two arguments: a subject and an object argument. The determiner prefix of an index verb, while contributing the indexical property to the verb, functions as the object argument of the verb.

### 8.2.3 Adjectival verbs

Adang has an open class of words which attribute properties to things. As can be seen from the list in (70), semantically they express dimension, colors, age, values, positions, physical properties, human propensities, and emotions (Dixon, 1982:1-60,
Schachter, 1985:13-19). The words share several properties with both verbs and nouns, as described in 8.2.3.1 and all other properties with verbs, as described in 8.2.3.2. Following Schachter (1985: 17), I call them “adjectival verbs” because they share more properties with verbs than with nouns.

Dimension:

Colors:

Age:
tumo ‘old’, Pafor ‘young(male)’, lafat ‘young(female)’,

Values:

Positions:
Ful ‘deep’, lafiniq ‘high’, lama ‘low’, let ‘far’, fanaga ‘near’ ...

Physical properties:

Human propensities:

Emotions:
8.2.3.1. Properties shared with nouns and verbs

The properties of adjectival verbs to be described in this section are shared with both nouns and verbs. First, adjectival verbs (like nouns and verbs) can function as the predicate of a clause, particularly in descriptive attributive clauses. In such clauses, adjectival verbs attribute qualities to the subjects. To illustrate, I present a few examples in (71).

(71). a). Taŋ leu
   sea blue
   ‘Sea is blue’

   b). Sa tumoŋ
       3SG.NOM old (=aged)
       ‘S/he is old’

   c). Be sah
       mango bad
       ‘Mangoes are bad’

   d). Bate adobe
       corn hard
       ‘Corn is hard’

   e). Samy lahun
       Samy lazy
       ‘Samy is lazy’

   f). Supi bad/malihiŋ
       3PL happy
       ‘They are happy’

   g). Ani mate
       Ani big
       ‘Ani is big’

   h). Fa lafinig
       coconut (tree) high
       ‘Coconut trees are high’

   i). Ab lafuh
       fish a lot
       ‘There are a lot of fish’

Like other verbs, all adjectival verbs can be suffixed (cliticized) by the perfective aspectual clitic -am and the progressive aspectual clitic -eh or be modified by the inceptive aspectual particle eham, when functioning as the predicate of a clause. A few nouns (not all), namely nouns expressing names of jobs, can also be cliticized by aspectual clitics when functioning as a predicate. Example (72) shows the cliticization of aspectual clitic to adjectival verbs. A dimension word (mate ‘big’), a word denoting color (leu ‘green/blue’), a position word (fanag ‘near’) and a word denoting human propensities (malo ‘tired’) are shown in the following examples.
Adjectival verbs in the next few examples are modified by the inceptive particle eham. The adjectival verbs in the example express dimension (a), quantification (b), human propensity (c) and emotion (d).

(73). a). Ani mate eham
Ani big INC
‘Ani is about to become big’

b). Ab lafot eham
fish a lot INC
‘Fish number are going to increase’
(Lit. ‘Fish are about to be a lot’)

c). Samy lahun eham
Samy lazy INC
‘Samy is going to be lazy’

d). Name malihio eham
people hungry INC
‘People are going to be hungry’

The second functional property of adjectival verbs shared with nouns and other verbs is that they can modify nouns. Examples in (74) illustrate the function of adjectival verbs as modifiers of nouns.

(74). a). John ti dum e nu Pa-bo2oi
John tree solid one 3.OBV-cut
‘John cut a solid tree’.

b). A2ai ti lafinin lot 2ei
not exist tree high climb NEG
‘Don’t climb high trees!’

c). A2ai lafat nu ala dou-eh
person woman young one rice cook-PROG
‘A young lady is cooking rice’

d). Kod bolan ho-ro mau!
shirt clean DEF-FOC wear
‘Put on the clean shirt!’

Adang speakers normally look at sea/beach (during daytime) and moon/stars (during nighttime) to determine the position where they are, for example, during hunting. They also look at the moon to determine good/bad time for seafood hunting and even to locate where a turtle normally lays eggs.
To compare adjectival verbs with other verbs, I present the following examples. From the examples observe that when an action verb functions as the modifier of a noun, it has a reading like a gerund in English.

(75). a). Umi name karesan 2-ah
   Umi people work 3.OBV-feed
   'Umi fed working people (people who worked)'

   b). Name han Pa-ten  fe Umi (supi) 2-ah
   people house 3.OBV-make FOC.OBJ Umi (3PL) 3.OBV-feed
   'It was the people who built (are building) houses that Umi fed'

   Nouns can also function as modifiers of another noun but very rarely. A few examples are given in (76) below.

(76). a). Haan kapal lame-am
   Haan captain walk-PERF
   'Captain Haan has left'

   b). Name guru ho tanut asci
   people teacher DEF idea resource
   'People, who are teachers, are a source of ideas'.

   c). Name fipin  e name tani  sa-bug  mih nene
   people left hand and people right hand 3.PROX-near sit NEG
   'Left handed people and right-handed people must not sit down close to each other

Besides the two functional properties described above, adjectival verbs also share some syntactic properties with nouns and verbs. Like nouns, adjectival verbs and verbs can be modified, i.e., be nominalized by a genitive pronoun and a determiner. Examples (77.a-e) below show the nominalization of adjectival verbs by the genitive pronoun marked ə. In the examples, I provide one word denoting position (a), three words denoting value (b-c), three words denoting human propensities (lahun, 'lazy' (d) kufa ə 'strong' (d) malo 'tired' (e)); and one word denoting emotion, namely susah 'sad' (e).
(77). a). Sa n-o lafinugu hu?-eh
3SG.NOM 1SG-GEN high measure
'S/he is measuring my height'

b). Lahtal pi-o Pahal u ampo
God 1PL.COL.INC-GEN wrong CL forgive
'God forgives our wrong (doings)'

c). Ni i-o nof fe uma
1PL.EXC.NOM 2PL-GEN good FOC.OBJ remember
'It is your goodness that we remember;

ni i-o sah sibuŋ;
1PL.EXC.NOM 2PL-GEN bad forget;
we forget your badness'.

d). N-o lahun, n-o kufa, n-o maṇun,
1SG-GEN lazy, 1SG-GEN strong 1SG-GEN fatness
'My laziness, my strength, my fat,

barpi hel a-ri le-hel-am
all go down 2SG-ACC DIS-go down-PERF
all have descended to you'

e). 2-o susah 2-o malo maŋ ta-nai-am
3.OBV-GEN sad 3.OBV-GEN tired only 1PL.INC.DIS-between-PERF (= useless)
'His/her sadness (and) tiredness have been useless'.
(Lit. His/her sadness (and) tiredness have only (passed away) between us)

The next examples illustrate the nominalization of other verbs by the genitive
pronoun marked o.

(78). a). Rony n-o lame u papaŋ
Rony 1SG-GEN walk CL imitate
'Rony imitated my walk'

b). Rony n-o na Pa-de u papaŋ
Rony 1SG-GEN 3SG/PL (=food) 3.OBV-eat CL imitate
'Rony imitated my eating food'
In certain contexts, some adjectival verbs, modified by genitive pronouns, have figurative meanings. In the following examples the adjectival verbs *mate* and *tumof* in (a-b) have figurative meanings but in (c) they have normal-referential meanings.

(79). a). Na n-o *mate* Pa-danap-eh
   1SG-NOM 1SG-GEN big 3.OBV-wait-PROG
   'I am waiting for my boss/leader'

   b). Sa s-o *tumof* Para matep-am
   3SG.NOM 3.PROX-GEN old COM talk-PERF
   S/he has talked with his/her 'extended parents'\textsuperscript{14}

   c). Na dai Pafor kaPai ba aPai n-o *mate*,
   1SG.NOM EVID young (male) small and so not exist 1SG-GEN big
   n-o *tumof* bit P\textsuperscript{e}
   1SG-GEN old utter NEG
   'Actually, I am still young (and) small so don’t talk about my bigness (and) my oldness'.

Note that instead of a genitive pronoun marked \( o \), a genitive pronoun marked \( e \) can nominalize an adjectival verb or a verb. Thus, the genitive pronoun marked \( o \) in (77-79) can be replaced by a genitive pronoun marked \( e \). The difference, however, is that an adjectival verb or a verb nominalized by a genitive pronoun marked \( e \) has either an emphatic or a contrastive reading but an adjectival verb or a verb nominalized by a genitive pronoun marked \( o \) does not have a contrastive or emphatic reading. For example, when \( o \) in (79.b) is replaced by \( e \), as repeated in (80), the meaning expressed is either emphatic or contrastive. (See 6.2. for details).

(80). b). Sa s-e *tumof* Para matep-am
   3SG.NOM 3.PROX-GEN old COM talk-PERF
   'S/he has talked with his/her extended parents (e.g. but not with the extended parents of others)' / 'S/he has talked with his/her own extended parents'

\textsuperscript{14} I use "extended parents" to include father, mother, aunts and uncles.
Adjectival verbs can also be nominalized with determiners. In the following examples, (a-d) show the nominalization of adjectival verbs. To compare with verbs, I also provide examples (e, f). The constituent noP fe in (a) shows that an adjectival verb can also be nominalized by the focusing particle so (for a subject) or fe (for an object).\textsuperscript{15}

(81). a). Sah Pahal ho panen Pe; noP fe panen
\textit{bad wrong DEF make NEG good FOC.OBJ make}
\textquote{Don't make bad (and) wrong (things); make only good (things)}

b). Susah e malo ho 2-o sel 2a-ra
sad and tired DEF 3.OBV-GEN time 3.OBV-be
\textquote{Sadness and tiredness have a time! There is a time for sadness and tiredness}.

c). Far\textit{a}skay ho noP bo lahun ho sah
diligent DEF good but lazy DEF bad
\textquote{To be diligent is good but to be lazy is bad}

d). N-o lafini\textit{g} ho 2-e 2a-ra ham
1SG-GEN high DEF 3.OBV-GEN 3.OBV-be same
\textquote{My height is the same as his/hers}.

e). Tabak fel ho-ro sah; na suraP fel ho u Pini\textit{g}
cigarette buy DEF-FOC bad 1SG.NOM book buy DEF CL agree
\textquote{It is buying cigarettes that is bad; I agree to buying books}

f). Kar\textit{e}s\textit{g} ho noP; mop ho 2-o untu a\textit{Pai}
work DEF good sleep DEF 3.OBV-GEN benefit not exist
\textquote{Working is good; sleeping has no benefits}.

8.2.3.2. Properties share with verbs

Apart from the properties shared with both nouns and verbs, adjectival verbs share other properties with verbs. The first property shared with verbs is in terms of comparative and non-comparative gradation. Like other verbs, the state expressed by an adjectival verb
can be graded into five different levels of non-comparative degree or six levels of comparative degree. A degree is assigned to verbs, including adjectival verbs, by the degree adverbs *bi* and the comparative morpheme *mi* and the adverb *foi*, *mag* and *so*. I have presented a detailed description of this property in the discussion of the adverbs in 4.3.

As described in 8.2.4.1.1.1, applicative verbs can be derived from intransitive, including adjectival verbs. Thus, like other intransitive verbs, adjectival verbs can derive applicative verbs.

The following examples shows, that like other verbs, a few adjectival verbs can function as the main constituent of an imperative clause, especially of a negative imperative clause.

(82). a). (+) *Leu (ema)!  
  blue (please)  
   b). *Tumo? (ema)!  
  old (=aged) (please)  
   c). ??Sah (ema)!  
  bad (please)  

   (+) *Leu 2c (ema)!  
  blue NEG (please)  
   ?Tumo? 2c (ema)!  
  old (=aged) NEG (please)  
   Sah 2c (ema)!  
  old NEG (please)  

   ‘Don’t be old, please!’  

   d). (+) *Adobe(ema)!  
  hard (please)  
   e). Lahun (ema)!  
  lazy (please)  
   f). Bad (ema)!  
  happy (please)  

   ‘Be lazy, please!’  
   ‘Be happy please!’  

(e.g. and you won’t be successful. Cynical)

   (-) ??Adobe(ema)!  
  hard (please)  
   Lahun 2c (ema)!  
  lazy NEG (please)  
   Bad 2c (ema)!  
  happy NEG (please)  

   ‘Don’t be lazy, please!’  
   ‘Don’t be happy, please!’  

(e.g. We are in trouble)

15 See focusing particles in 10.2
Each of the examples above expresses a different meaning, representing a different semantic domain of adjectival verbs. Respectively, the adjectival verb in (a) expresses color, (b) age, (c) value, (d) physical property, (e) human propensity and (f) emotion.

Adjectives: in search

The description and examples provided so far indicates that there is no convincing evidence for the words that I have called ‘adjectival verbs’ to be considered as a distinctive adjective word class in Adang. Schachter (1985: 14-20), presents a description on how adjectival meanings are expressed in languages, particularly (i) languages that lack an open adjective class (these languages have only a closed adjective class) and (ii) those that have no distinctive adjective class.

For the first (i) type of languages, Dixon (in Schachter 1985:14) has observed cross-linguistically that they tend to include dimension words and words denoting color, age and value into the closed adjective class. Words denoting position, physical property, human propensity and speed, on the other hand, are less likely to be included into the closed adjective class. In addition, he suggests that physical properties, if not expressed by adjectives, are more often expressed by verbs than by nouns. Human propensities are more often expressed by nouns than by verbs.

Adang could be a language of this type, which have only a closed rather than an open adjective word class. However, I have not encountered any word which only has distinctive adjectival properties in order for it to be classified into as a closed word class in
Adang. Therefore, it is more likely that Adang falls under the second (ii) type of languages. That is, it has no distinctive adjective word class. Schachter (1985:17) groups languages that have no distinctive adjective class into two groups: ‘adjectival-noun’ languages which express adjectival meanings through nouns, and ‘adjectival-verb’ languages which express adjectival meanings through verbs. As for Adang, I suggest that it is an ‘adjectival-verb’ language.

8.2.4. Applicative verbs

In general, Adang has two main types of applicative verbs: allative applicative verbs derived by prefix e- or le- or o- and a limited number of ablative applicative verbs. Ablative applicative verbs are derived by prefix ei- from a few transitive and intransitive verbs. I call the verbs derived by the prefixes ‘applicative’ verbs or ‘applied’ verbs because the prefixation process increases the valence of the verbs (Payne, 1977:186-7, Spencer, 1991:287). A detailed description of each type of applicative verbs is presented below.

8.2.4.1. Allative applicative verbs

Allative applicative verbs are further classified into three types. The first type derived by prefix e- is called goal-allative applicative verbs because the derivational process adds a goal object argument to the derived verb. The action expressed by a verb of this type is directed toward a target goal. The second type is derived by prefix le- . I call the verbs of this type locative allative or directional-allative applicative verbs because the
derivational process adds a locative object argument to the derived verb. A verb of this type expresses a direction into a location. They are limited in number. The last type contains only one verb. The verb is derived by the genitive morpheme (prefix) \( \sigma \)- from the intransitive verb \( \text{lap 'look for'} \) and is also obligatorily prefixed by its pronominal object (i.e. its new argument resulting from the derivational process). I call the verb possessive-allative applicative verb because it indicates a possessor-possessee relationship between its argument in the allative motion that it expresses. A detailed description of each of the three types of allative applicative verbs is given as follows.

8.2.4.1.1. Goal-allative applicative verbs

Allative applicative verbs of this type are derived by prefix \( \sigma \)- from intransitive verbs including directional and adjectival verbs, from a few marked and unmarked transitive verbs, and also from index and causative verbs. Structurally, an allative applicative verb derived by the prefix \( \sigma \)- is obligatorily prefixed by a pronominal prefix. The pronominal prefix is the goal-object argument resulting from the derivational process of the verb.

Semantically, an allative applicative verb derived by prefix \( \sigma \)- expressed an action toward a target goal with an implied purpose. The purpose is not explicitly expressed in the verb. The meaning of a goal-allative applicative verb is best described as ‘\( \text{ACT toward } X \text{ to or for } Y \)’ where ACT stands for any action, X stands for any target goal of the action and Y stands for any purpose of the action.
The verbs *-paneli* and *nemari* in (a) and *nemari* in (b) of the following examples, for instance, express the actions which are directed toward the target goal indicated by the pronominal objects attached to the verbs. The actions have implied purposes. Contextually, it is understood that the purpose of the action expressed by the verb *paneli* 'tell him/ her' in (a) is, approximately, 'to visit the speaker'; or otherwise 'to let him/ her know'. The action expressed by the verb *nemari* 'visit me' (lit. 'come toward me') in (a) also implies a purpose that can be understood from the context: roughly, 'to help the speaker' or 'to look after the speaker'. Unless if the verb *nemari* in (b) is used to mean 'invite me (e.g. to come to a party)', the action expressed by the verb implies 'to let the hearer (me) know'.

(83). a). *-e-marin!* "na mode-eh ho-po-ro sa Pui n-e-ho?".
3.OBV-ALL-tell: 1SG.NOM sick-PROG DEF-PROX-FOC 3SG.NOM necessary 1SG-ALL-come
'Tell him/her! "it is as I am sick right now here that s/he needs to visit me."'

b). Sa *n-e-marin*.
3SG.NOM 1SG-ALL-tell (an invitation)
'S/he told me' (i.e. to let me know).

To be more detailed, I sub-classify and describe the goal-allative applicative verbs on the basis of their root. They are goal-allative applicative verbs derived from intransitive verbs, goal-allative applicative verbs derived from unmarked transitive verbs, goal-allative applicative verbs derived from marked transitive verbs and goal-allative applicative verbs derived from index and causative verbs.

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16 The root *marig* 'tell' or 'invite' of the verb *nemari* is intransitive. An example in sentential context is *A marig-am* (2SG.NOM tell-PERF) 'Have you invited (people)'. Literally, 'Have you passed on invitation (to people).'
8.2.4.1.1. Goal-Allative applicative verbs derived from intransitive verbs

Two examples of goal-allative applicative verbs derived from the intransitive verb *marig* 'invite' or *tell* and the intransitive directional verb *hoP* 'arrive' have been given in (83) above. The examples show that the allative applicative verbs derived from intransitive verbs have two arguments: a subject and an object argument. The pronominal prefix attached to the verbs is the goal-object argument of the verbs.

Unlike other pronominal object prefixes, an obviative pronominal object prefix of an applicative verb can be preceded by its referent noun or proper name (antecedents), especially when the referent has not been mentioned before (see 3.1-3.2, for details). In (84) below, for example, if the referent of the obviative pronominal prefix *Pa-* of the verb *PehoP* 'come toward him/her/it (for a purpose)' has not been mentioned earlier then the referent (either a noun or a proper name) can be inserted to precede the pronominal object, as represented in (b, c). The unacceptable sentence (d) shows that although the referent of the pronominal object prefix *Pa-* is present in the sentence, it cannot be omitted from the verb it is attached to.

(84) a). Rudy *Pe* P-e-hoP  nene.
   Rudy NEG 3.OBV-ALL-come NEG
   'Rudy did not go toward him/ her/ it/ them’ ( for a purpose)

   Rudy NEG Rony 3.OBV-ALL-come NEG
   'Rudy did not go toward Rony’ ( for a purpose)

c). Rudy *Pe* na  P-a-de P-e-hoP  nene.
   Rudy NEG thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat 3.OBV-ALL-come NEG
   'Rudy did not come to eat food'
Goal-allative applicative verbs in the next examples are derived from intransitive adjectival verbs. From the examples, observe that a goal-allative applicative verb derived from an intransitive adjectival verb also has two arguments: a subject and an object argument indicating the target goal of the action expressed by the derived verb. The object argument is attached to it in the form of a pronominal prefix.

8.2.4.1.1.2. Goal-allative applicative verbs derived from unmarked transitive verbs

Besides deriving applicative verbs from intransitive verbs, the goal-allative prefix  $\iota$- can also derive applicative verbs from some marked and unmarked transitive verbs$^{17}$. In (86.e, f) below, the prefix  $\iota$- derives goal-allative applicative verbs from the unmarked transitive verbs  $\text{hor}$ ‘wound’ and  $\text{Puhup}$ ‘to pour’. To show that the underived verbs  $\text{hor}$ and  $\text{Puhup}$ are transitive, I also provide (86. a-b). The double question marks in

$^{17}$ Unmarked transitive verbs: the transitive verbs not marked or prefixed by pronominal objects. Marked transitive verbs: transitive verbs obligatorily prefixed by pronominal objects. (See 8.2.2.2 for details).
front of (86. c-d) indicate that unless the objects of the transitive verbs, are mentioned earlier (as in Sa sei ho naba mi? ‘Where did s/he put the water?’ Sa Puhyn ‘S/he poured’), the two sentences are not accepted.

(86) a). Sa mon hor.  
3SG.NOM snake wound  
‘S/he wounded a snake’

b) Supi sei Puhyn.  
3PL. water pour  
‘They poured water’

c). ?? Sa hor.  
3SG.NOM wound  
??‘S/he wounded’

d). ?? Supi Puhyn.  
3PL. pour  
??‘They poured’

e). Sa dopaq 2-e-hor.  
3SG.NOM stick 3.OBV-ALL-cut  
‘S/he cut a stick against/ toward him/her’

(f). Supi sei ni-e-Puhyn.  
3PL. water 1PL.EXC-ALL-pour  
(to wound him/her)  
‘They poured water toward us’

(to make us wet)

From example (86. e-f) observe that the derived applicative verbs Pehor and nisePuhyn have three arguments: a subject argument (sa in (e) and supi in (f)) and two object arguments. The first object argument prefixes to the verb together with the applicative prefix e- (P(a)- in (e) and ni- in (f)). It is the new argument resulting from the derivational process and is the target goal toward which the action expressed by the verb is directed to. I suggest that the second object argument (dopaq ‘stick’ in (e) and sei ‘water’ in (f)) is the undergoer of the action expressed by the verb.

Not all unmarked transitive verbs can be the root to derive goal-allative applicative verbs. Four more examples, identified so far, are given in the following table.
Table 8-2: Goal-allative applicative verbs derived from unmarked transitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root: unmarked transitive verbs</th>
<th>Pronominal prefixes</th>
<th>ALL: ε-</th>
<th>Derived allative applicative verbs in sentential contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arup 'to dig'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ε-</td>
<td>Sa lafo ε-arug (2SG a- → ∅) 3SG.NOM hole 2SG-ALL-dig 'S/he digged a hole to trap you' (e.g. to catch/kill you)(^{18}) (Literally: 'S/he digged a hole towards you') Sa beha ε-s-e-haleg 3SG.NOM trapped rope 3PROX-ALL-hang 'S/he trapped himself (with trapped rope) (e.g. to suicide) (Literally: 'S/he hung a trapped rope toward himself')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halεn 'hang'</td>
<td>Pα-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Supi toi (arul) ε-s-mudig 3PL hook (deer) 3.OBV-ALL-plant 'They plant hook toward deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudiŋ 'to plant'</td>
<td>ect.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ni-mag sεn n-e-meŋ 1PL-father money 1SG-ALL-put 'My father put aside some money for me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.4.1.1.3. Goal-allative applicative verbs derived from marked transitive verbs

The goal-allative prefix ε- can also derive allative applicative verbs from marked transitive verbs, especially from a transitive verbs prefixed by the obviative pronominal prefix Pα- as exemplified in (87) below. The bracketed nouns (the antecedents of Pα-) in the examples can be dropped when they are mentioned before or contextually understood.

The examples show that like goal-allative applicative verbs derived from unmarked transitive verbs, the goal-allative applicative verbs derived from marked transitive verbs have two object arguments besides the subject argument. The new object argument (ni-,

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\(^{18}\) The sentence can have a figurative meaning: 'S/he did something else, but not digging a hole, with a purpose to kill you or to put you in a danger. With this respect, lafo 'hole' connotatively refers to 'a grave' or 'cemetery'.

\(^{19}\) Nail-like sharp equipment used to catch or kill wild animals or enemies or thieves. They are normally planted on ground in paths where enemies or wild animals are suspected to use to move around.
\( P(a)-, n(a)- \) and \( s(a)- \) respectively in the given examples) indicates the target goal of the action expressed by the derived verb.

(87) a). Supi (ti) ni-e-2a-bo2oi.  
3PL (three) 1PL.EXC-ALL-3.OBV-cut  
'They cut it (= a tree) to fall over towards us'  
(e.g. to hit us)

b). Supi (ti) 2-e-2a-bo2oi.  
3PL (three) (Nata) 3.OB-ALL-3.OBV-cut  
'They cut it (= a tree) toward to fall over toward him (= Nata)'

c). Ay (afe) n-e-2a-tel.  
Ay (ladder) 1SG-ALL-lift up  
'Ay lifted up it (ladder ) toward me'  
(e.g. to let me get down)

d). Ay (afe) s-e-2a-tel.  
Ay (ladder) 3.PRXML-ALL-3.OBV-lift up  
Ay lifted up it (= ladder) toward herself'

Goal-allative applicative verbs derived from marked transitive verbs other than a transitive verb marked with obviative object are not very common. Following are a few examples with the marked transitive verbs \( satel \) 'lift up him/ it ... self', \( atel \) 'lift up you' and \( ihou \) 'command you (pl).

(88) a). Mon ni-e-sa-tel.  
snake 1PL.EXC-ALL-3PRXML-lift up  
'Snakes appeared to us'  
(Lit: 'Snakes lifted up themselves toward us')

b). Nina n-e-a-tel.  
Nina 1SG-ALL-2SG-lift up  
'Nina lifted you up toward me' or  
'Nina tell me a secret about you'

c). Ella (don) 2-e-i-hou.  
Ella (shopping) 3.OBV-ALL-2PL-command  
'Ella asked you to go for it (= shopping)'

8.2.4.1.1.4. Goal-allative applicative verbs derived from index and causative verbs

The goal-allative prefix \( e- \) can also derive allative applicative verbs from index verbs and also from causative verbs. The following examples contain goal-allative applicative verbs derived from index verbs. The examples show that like goal-allative applicative verbs derived from transitive verbs, the applicative verbs derived from index
verbs have two object arguments besides a subject argument. Both object arguments prefix to the root *ni* 'like' or 'resemble' of the verb. The new object argument (deleted 2SG *a*- in (a) and *n(a)*- in (b)) expresses the target goal toward which the action indexed by the verb is directed to. The first object argument: the determiner *ho* attached to the root *ni* indexes a visible action or state being directed toward the target goal.

(89) a). Bain e-ho-ni-eh; ho. (2SG a- → s )
   Bain 2SG·ALL·DEF-resemble-PROG DEF
   'Look at that, Bain is doing like that (visible) to you'
   b). APai n-e-ho-ni ye!
   not exist 1SG·ALL·DEF-ressemble NEG
   'Don't do like that to me!'

The next example contains goal-allative applicative verbs derived from type one causative verbs20 *agola* ‘cause roll’ (a) and *apol* ‘cause fall over’ (b), type two causative verb21 *sahid* ‘cause themselves, each other him/ her self break’ (c) and type three causative verbs22 *samine* ‘cause themselves/ each other/ him self/ her self die’ (c) and *ataraq* ‘cause him/ her/ them lie down (to sleep)’ (d). From the example, observe that all derived applicative verbs also have two object arguments and a subject argument. The new object arguments (*n(a)*-, *t(a)*-, deleted 2sg *a*- and *n(a)*- respectively in the given example) express the target goal of the caused action expressed by the verbs.

(90) a). Valdi bal n-e-a-golov
   Valdi ball ISG·ALL·CAUS-roll
   'Valdi rolled a ball toward me' (Lit 'Valdi made a ball roll toward me')

20 Causative verbs of this type are prefixed by causative prefix *a*- but not prefixed by pronominal causee objects.
21 Causative verbs prefixed by pronominal causee objects as well as causative prefix *a*-.
22 Causative verbs prefixed by pronominal causee objects as well as causative prefix *a*- and causative suffixes -*e*, -*i* or -*a* (see (8.2.2.4)).
b). Supi ti t-e-s-a-pol.
   3PL tree 1PL.INC.DIS-ALL-CAUSE
   'They made trees fall over toward us'.

c). Name e-s-a-hid e-s-a-min-e. (2SG a → o)
   People 2SG-ALL-3PRXML-CAUS break, 2SG-ALL-3PRXML-CAUS-die-CAUS
   'People fight and compete among each other to obtain your attention' (e.g. to marry you').
   (Lit. 'People (try to) cause each other break and die toward you').

d). Ella (ai) n-e-f-a-tar-ag.
   Ella (baby) 1SG-ALL-3.OBV-CAUS-lie down-CAUS
   'Ella made him/ her (= a baby) lie down (to sleep) toward me'.
   (Normally, to let me look after him/ her).

8.2.4.1.2. Locative-allative applicative verbs

Only eight allative applicative verbs in Adang fall in this sub-type of allative
applicative verbs. They are derived by the prefix la- from eight intransitive directional verbs
with an increase in valence. The derived verbs have two arguments: a subject argument and
a locative object argument. The locative object argument is the new object argument
resulting from the derivational process of the applicative verbs. The derived locative-allative
applicative verbs and the intransitive directional verbs from which they are derived are
given in the following tables²³.

²³ Note that except for the intransitive directional verbs sam and h∂, other intransitive directional verbs and
the same morpheme le can also derive near distal spatial deictics such as fale 'over there' (away, from the
speaker, not very far and in a horizontal direction), and others. A detailed description is presented in 7.1.
Table 8-3: Locative-allative applicative verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Intransitive Directional Verbs</th>
<th>Allative Applicative Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sam 'go' (to a relatively far distance)</td>
<td>le(s)am 'go into' (to a relatively far distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hoi'P' arrive' (from a relatively far distance)</td>
<td>lehoP' 'arrive' into' (from a relatively far distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ma 'come' (from a relatively short distance)</td>
<td>lema 'come' into' (from a relatively short distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fa 'go over there' (away, from the speaker, not far and in a horizontal direction)</td>
<td>lefa 'go over there into' (away, from the speaker, not far and in a horizontal direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ip 'go down there' (away, but not far from the speaker, in a relatively downward direction)</td>
<td>leip 'go down there into' (away, but not far from the speaker, in a relatively downward direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>hel 'go down there' (away or toward the speaker; from/ to a distance not far; in a direction like from a tree down to the ground or from a mountain toward a valley)</td>
<td>lehel 'go down there into' (away or toward the speaker; from or to a distance not far; e.g. from a tree down to the ground or from a mountain toward a valley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mid 'go up' (away from the speaker to a distance not far from the speaker, in an upward direction ranging from: e.g. from a beach to the dry land to e.g. from the ground to a tree)</td>
<td>lemid 'go up into' (away from the speaker to a distance not far from the speaker, in an upward direction ranging from: e.g. a beach to the dry land to e.g. the ground to a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>madoq 'go up' (toward the speaker, from a distance not far from the speaker, in an upward direction ranging from: e.g. from a beach to the dry land to e.g. from the ground to a tree)</td>
<td>lemadoq 'go up into' (toward the speaker, from a distance not far from the speaker, in an upward direction ranging from: e.g. a beach to the dry land to e.g. the ground to a tree)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike other applicative verbs, the locative-allative applicative verbs are not prefixed by pronominal objects. In (91) below, for example, the verbs lemid in (a) and lefa in (b) take the noun ba:q 'house' as their locative object. Similarly, the verb lehel in (c) takes the noun mol 'river' as its locative object.

(91). a). Supi ba:q le-mid-am. 3PL home/house ALL-go up-PERF  
'They have gone up into the houses.'

b). Supi 2e ba:q le-fa dai. 3PL NEG home/house ALL-go there EVID
'They have not gone there into the houses.'
Like locative transitive-ditransitive verbs (8.2.2.3), the locative-allative applicative verbs commonly appear in serial verb constructions. However, except for the intransitive directional verbs hoP 'arrive' and sam 'go/leave' which every locative allative applicative verb can serialize with, each locative-allative applicative verb can only serialize with the intransitive directional verb from which it is derived. This is due to the semantic constraint that the direction expressed by the verb should agree with the direction expressed by the intransitive directional verb with which it appears. Otherwise the pair results in a collocational clash, as in (b) of the following examples.

John go down river ALL-go down-PERF
'John has gone down into the river.'

b). *John hel mol le-mid-am.
John go down river ALL-go up-PERF

(92). c). Tony sam ba:v le-(s)am-am.
Tony go home/house ALL-go PERF
'Tony has gone home.'

d). Tony sam ba:v le-hel eham.
Tony go home/house ALL-go PERF
'Tony is about to go down into the house.'

8.2.4.1.3. Possessive-allative applicative verbs

There is only one verb of this type. The verb is derived from the intransitive verb lap 'look for', with an increase in the valence of the verb. It is derived by the allative prefix e- and is marked genitive or possessive by σ. The vowel (allative prefix) /e/ is deleted as it is
followed by the vowel (genitive marker) /a/ by the possessive or genitive marker o.

Therefore I call it possessive-allative applicative verb. The new argument, i.e., the object argument of the verb is attached to the verb in form of a pronominal prefix24. The subject and the object arguments of this only possessive-allative applicative verb are pragmatically understood to have a possessor-possessee relation. That is the object argument is the possessor and the subject argument is the possessee or vice versa. The verb is normally used, and best understood, in social, i.e., human relation contexts. Following are a few examples.

(93). a). Rudy 3.Obv-all-gen-

Rudy 3.0BV-ALL-GEN-look for-PERF
‘Rudy has gone to him/her/them.’ (e.g. Rudy is a younger brother of him or vice versa).

b). Rudy Evid 1SG-ALL-GEN-look for -PROG
‘Rudy is still coming to me, actually.’

c). Supi 3PL-ALL-GEN-look for INC
‘They are about to come/go to you.’ (e.g. a family members visit another family members).

As the verb is used, and best understood, only in human relational contexts, the following examples, especially (b), is pragmatically not acceptable. Example (a) can be acceptable but very unusual. The pragmatic reason is because there is no human relation between the subject and the object arguments of the verbs in the example.

(94). a). ??Rudy (s-o) boi 3-Obv-

Rudy (3.PRXML-GEN pig) 3.0BV-ALL-GEN-look for
'?Rudy went to his pig.'

24 The root lap cannot be prefixed by pronominal without the genitive marker o.
b). *Rudy (s-o ba:p) 2-o-lap.
Rudy (3.PRXML-GEN house) 3.OBV-ALL-GEN-look for
'Rudy went to his house.'

The possessive-allative applicative verb more commonly appear in a SVC than appearing on its own in a sentence. In a SVC it appears with any intransitive directional verb. The verb olap '...to you', for example, can serialize with any intransitive directional verb. In (95) below, olap serializes with the intransitive verb sam 'go' (a) and hoP 'arrive'/ 'come' (b).

(95). a). Rudy sam s-o-lap-am?
Rudy go 2SG- ALL-GEN-look for-PERF
'Has Rudy gone to you?'

b). Rudy hoP s-o-lap cham.
Rudy arrive 2SG-ALL-GEN-look for INC
'Rudy is about to come to you.'

8.2.4.2. Ablative applicative verbs

Ablative applicative verbs are derived with the prefix el- from two adjectival verbs: mala 'shy' and baroc 'afraid', from the verb tafunig 'hide', which is both intransitive and transitive, and from the intransitive verbs lepeq 'run'. Thus, they are limited in number.

The action expressed by an ablative applicative verb implies an ablative motion or direction, namely a motion away from a point or an object of orientation. The point of orientation is the new argument (the object) resulting from the derivation process of the ablative applicative verbs. Thus, ablative applicative verbs have the opposite interpretation of allative applicative verbs described above. A few examples are given in (96) below.
Examples in (a-b) are derived from the verb *tepe* 'run', (c, e) are from the adjectival verb *mala* 'shy' and (d, f) are from the adjectival verb *baroc* 'afraid'.

3PL 3.PROX-AB-run
'They ran away from each other'

c). Supi s-el-mala bi2.
3PL 3.PROX-AB-shy very
'They are very shy around each other.'

e). Pi t-el-mala.
1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.DIS-AB-shy
'We are shy around each other.'

b). Heni n-el-tepe-am.
Heni 1SG-AB-run-PERF
'Heni has run away from me'

d). Heni n-el-baroc-am.
Heni 1SG-AB-afraid-PERF
'Heni has been afraid of me.'

f). Supi t-el-baroc.
3PL 1PL.INC.DIS-AB-afraid
'They are afraid of each one of us.'

The ablative applicative verbs derived from the verb *tafuniq* 'hide' can have two or three arguments, because the root itself (the underived verb) is both transitive and intransitive. The ablative applicative verbs in (97) below are derived from *tafuniq* as an intransitive verb. The derived verbs in the examples, therefore, have two arguments: a subject and an object. The underived intransitive *tafuniq* 'hide' in (e-f) is given for a comparison.

3PL 3.PROX-AB-hide
'They hide (themselves) from each other.'

c). Pi 2e t-el-tafuniq nene.
1PL.INC.NOM NEG 1PL.INC.DIS-AB-hide NEG
'We do not hide (ourselves) from each other.'

e). Pi tafuniq
1PL.INC.NOM hide
'We hide ourselves'

3PL John 3.OBV-AB-hide-PROG
'They are hiding (themselves) from John.'

d). Supi t-el-tafuniq eham.
3PL 1PL.INC.DIS-AB-hide INC
'They are about to hide (themselves) from us.'

f). Supi tafuniq
3PL hide
'They hide themselves'
The same verbs are repeated in (98). The root *tafuniq* of the verbs in (98) however is transitive. Therefore the derived verbs have two object arguments besides the subject argument. The first object argument, attached to the verb in the form of a pronominal prefix (i.e. *s(a)-*, *f(a)-*, *n(a)-* and *t(a)-* respectively), indicates the point of orientation of the action expressed by the derived verb. The second object argument (*sεγ*), indicating a theme, is not attached to the verb.

3PL money 3.PROX-AB-hide-PERF  
'They have hidden money from each other.'

b). Supi *sεγ*  John  f-el- *tafuniq*.  
3PL money John 3.OBV-AB-hide  
'They hid money from John.'

c). Supi *sεγ*  n-el- *tafuniq*.  
3PL money 1SG-AB-hide  
'They hid money from me.'

d). Supi 2ε-dai  *sεγ*  t-el- *tafuniq*.  
3PL NEG-EVID money 1PL.INC.DIS-AB-hide  
'They were about to hide money from us.'
Chapter 9

Numeral classifiers

This chapter presents a preliminary investigation and analyses of numeral classifiers (NC) in Adang. Apart from the personal pronoun numeral classifier *nag* which is prefixed by plural pronominal prefixes (*i-, ni-, pi-*, and *sa-*) to derive numbered personal pronouns as described in 6.4.1, Adang has fifteen numeral classifiers (table 9-1). Most of them are originally inalienably possessed nouns\(^1\) described in 5.3.2, namely nouns expressing names of parts of an object, particularly parts of a plant.

As numeral classifiers in Adang are originally derived from nouns, their use as numeral classifiers has to be distinguished from their use as nouns or parts of compound nouns. The main criterion that I have used to identify numeral classifiers in Adang and to distinguish them from nouns is in terms of their use. They are used when nouns are numbered or the referent of nouns is counted. When functioning as numeral classifiers their original meanings are not applied. Moreover, their use as numeral classifiers is constrained by the semantic features of their referent objects or entities (Foley, 1997: 235-239; Adam, 1986: 241-256)\(^2\). In the following table, I present the fifteen numeral classifiers in Adang identified in this study. The semantic features of the referent object of each of the numeral classifiers are also presented in the table.

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\(^1\) Downing (1996:3) points out that numeral classifier languages often derive numeral classifiers from nouns. Some also derive numeral classifiers from adjectives or other nominalizers (Adam, 1986: 244-245). See also Becker (1975).

\(^2\) See also Becker (1975) and Downing (1996:2-16).
Table 9-1: Numeral classifiers and the semantic features of their referent things (objects) in the world

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Non-liquid</th>
<th>Non-flat</th>
<th>Rigid</th>
<th>Non-standing/</th>
<th>Hanging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Rigid</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Standing</td>
<td>Non-standing/</td>
<td>Hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>-Small</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tulig</th>
<th>beh</th>
<th>bop</th>
<th>Paha</th>
<th>Panema</th>
<th>sel</th>
<th>Pafa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Liquid: Fields, wood, buildings, trees, grass, leaves, glasses, monolithic-table!
- Non-liquid: Clothes, rope, string...
- Rigid: Buildings, trees, grass, monolithic rocks, tables, chairs...
- Non-liquid: Seeds, corn, rice...
- Hanging: See next table!
- All other things not in the above categories, including things expressed by borrowed nouns. Alternative use for the above categories.

Table 9-1: Rigid, non-flat and non-liquid: Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-standing/ hanging</th>
<th>Hanging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long round</th>
<th>Long round joined</th>
<th>Short round</th>
<th>Round (head)</th>
<th>Non-cluster</th>
<th>Hanging short</th>
<th>Hanging long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bop</td>
<td>Pir</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>pir</td>
<td>puh</td>
<td>bar</td>
<td>bulig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Long round: Logs, eels, canes, snakes...
- Short round: Logs, eels, canes, snakes...
- Round (head): Fruits, persons, animals
- Non-cluster: Banana blossoms, corn ears...
- Hanging short: Coconuts, earrings, small clustered bells...
- Hanging long: Banana hands, rice

All other things not in the above categories, including things expressed by borrowed nouns. Alternative use for the above categories.

Most things (objects) in the world (if not all) can be classified by a numeral classifier plus numeral when they are counted. However, there is evidence that some
objects only optionally require a numeral classifier. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

As can be seen from the tables, Adang has two main (general) numeral classifiers: *tulij* for classifying liquid entities and *paP* for classifying non-liquid entities or objects. To get a specific numeral classifier for nouns expressing non-liquid objects, detailed semantic features of the object are taken into account. Let us first discuss the use of *tulij*.

9.1. The liquid numeral classifier *tulij*

Adang speakers count liquid materials by drop, flow or amount - counted with respect to the container. For these purposes, the numeral classifier *tulij* is used. Unlike other numeral classifiers, *tulij* is not derived from any noun and it is meaningless unless followed by a numeral. Examples (1-2) illustrate the use of NC *tulij*. In example (1) observe that (b) is unacceptable because the numeral ‘two’ or ‘three’ in the example is not preceded by the numeral classifier *tulij*. Similarly, (c) is unacceptable because *tulij* is not followed by a numeral. Unlike (b-c), (a) is an unacceptable structure. In the example *tulij* is used by the speaker to count drops (literally). The speaker is being humble in requesting for some coconut oil or frying oil.

(1) a). ipi7  tulij alo, tou n-o botol mi ema!
   coconut oil NC two three ISG-GEN bottle in please
   ‘Put two or three drops of coconut oil in my bottle, please!’
Example (2) contrast the numeral classifier *tulig* (c-d) with a quantifier, namely *nun* ‘some’ or ‘a few’ (a-b). In the example (b) is unacceptable because *nun* in the example is a quantifier and so it cannot be followed by a numeral. Both *nun* and *tulig* plus its numeral can be followed by a determiner, as in (a, c). The speaker in (c) can be using the numeral classifier *tulig* to count either drops or a very small amount of water. For example the speaker can be referring to a person who is taking water from a well which is drying up. Every time the person gets the water out he can only get a very small amount. The speaker, in the context, counts every small amount of water with *tulig*.

(2). a). *Sei nun ho fuhuŋ e beŋ tanib!*
   water few DEF pour and other get (from well)
   ‘Pour out that little bit of water and get some more from the well!’

b). *Sei nun alo ho fuhuŋ e beŋ tanib*
   water few two DEF pour and other get (from well)

c). Sa sei tulig tou ho med naba panen?
   3SG.NOM water NC three DEF take what make
   ‘What did he get the three drops (small amount) of water for?’(e.g. there is plenty in there)
   (≡‘Why did he get the three drops (small amount) of water?’)

Example (3) illustrates the use of *tulig* to count the flow of water, for example, from a traditional shower tap, made of bamboo. Example (b) is unacceptable because *tulig* is not followed by a numeral. Similarly, (c) is unacceptable because the numeral in the
example is not preceded by *tuli*. Note that *tuli* is required only if a small amount, a flow or drops of water is counted. If the speaker does not want to count it he can drops the numeral classifier and its following numeral, as in (d).

(3). a). *Sei tuli ut tafoi na-ri ta e min-am*
   water NC four flow 1SG-ACC add/ on and die (=off)-PERF
   'Three drops of water flowed (down) on to me and have stopped'

   b). *Sei tuli na-ri ta e min-am*
      water NC flow 1SG-ACC add/ on and die (=off)-PERF

c). *Se ut tafoi na-ri ta e min-am*
   water four flow 1SG-ACC add/ on and die (=off)-PERF

d). *Sei tafoi na-ri ta e min-am*
   water flow 1SG-ACC add/ on and die (=off)-PERF
   'Water flowed (down) on to me and have stopped'


As can be seen from table 9-1, the general numeral classifier for non-liquid things is *paP*. It is originally a noun meaning ‘fruits’ (small fruits, normally not round, like beans, tamarinds or nuts). It can be used to count any non-liquid object or thing, when the thing is counted. Things expressed by borrowed nouns commonly gets *paP* when they are counted. Their semantic features are rarely further described or specified in order for them to be assigned to a specific numeral classifier. Any object that is not classified by any of the thirteen numeral classifiers in the table is classified by *paP* when it is counted. Various types of birds and fish are some examples that take *paP* when quantified by
numeral. I shall give examples of the use of $pa$ along with the description of each of the other numeral classifiers.

As can also be observed from the table the shape of non-liquid objects is used to assign them to a specific numeral classifier. The first level contrast is between flat and non-flat. In each of these two categories a contrast between rigid and flexible objects is made.

The contrast between rigid and flexible in the flat category results in the numeral classifier $beh$, originally meaning 'leaf', for flat flexible objects such as money (notes). So far, I have only observed money (notes) and leaves taking this numeral classifier, as exemplified in (4). As shown in (b), without $beh$, notes of money (and also leaves) cannot be counted. Example (c) shows that objects in this category, leaves or money, can also be counted with $pa$. With money, however, when $pa$ is used, the reference is more likely to be coins, rather than notes.

(4). a). Uli $seg$ $beh$ alo med saku mi-am
   Uli money NC two take pocket (put) in-PERF
   'Uli has put two (notes) of money in her pocket'

   b). *Uli $seg$ alo med saku mi-am
      Uli money NC two take pocket (put) in-PERF

   c). Uli $seg$ $pa$ alo med saku mi-am
      Uli money NC two take pocket (put) in-PERF
      'Uli has put two (notes) of money in her pocket'
While flat flexible objects take *beh* as their numeral classifier, flat rigid objects is further for size with *boP* and *Paha y*. The numeral classifier *boP*, also meaning ‘log’ (of trees), is used to count large, flat rigid objects such as fields, land, grass land, and the like. (Note that *boP* is also used under the category of non-flat, rigid). The numeral classifier ‘*Paha y*, also meaning ‘slice’, is used to count medium to small size, flat and rigid objects such as wood, broken glass or house-walls (made of bamboo) and the like. Examples of the use of each of the numeral classifiers are provided in (5) and (6). The choice mark (/) in (5. a) and (6.a) indicates that *paP* can also be used for these two kinds of objects (flat rigid large/ small categories), but its use is not common with ‘land’. For this reason, I put a question mark in front of *paP* in (5.a)

(5). a). Duka fa?ai *boP* /?paP ut fel-am  
Duka land NC four buy-PERF  
‘Duka bought four pieces of land’

b). *Duka fa?ai *boP* _ fel-am  
Duka land NC buy-PERF

c). *Duka fa?ai _ alo _ fel-am  
Duka land two buy-PERF

(6). a). Duka tode *Paha y* /paP ut pun Pa-di  
Duka wall NC four hold 3.OBV-side along cover (with bamboo wall)  
‘Duka covered along the short side of it (house) with four pieces of bamboo wall’

b). *Duka tode _ alo pun Pa-di _ lo1 kabe?  
Duka wall two hold 3.OBV-side along cover

As can be seen from the examples, (5. c, 6.b) are unacceptable because the numeral in each of the examples is not preceded by *boP* or *Paha y*. Example (5. b) is

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1 *Padi* is used to refer to one side (normally shorter one) of a rectangular object (e.g. house). The antonym of *Padi* is *Patote*. Both are locative nouns of inherently possessed noun class (see, 5.3.4).

2 *tode*: house wall made of bamboo.
unacceptable either. The word $b\circ p$ (and also $Paha\mathbf{g}$) as an alienably possessed noun (5.3.2), can occur in a compound noun with a delimiter (possessor) noun, e.g. $ti$ ‘tree’ or logs of different types of tree (e.g. $ti\, b\circ p$ ‘logs of tree’, be $b\circ p$ ‘logs of mango tree’) but not with land (5.b).

The contrast between rigid and flexible objects in the non-flat category, first, results in the numeral classifier $Pan\mathbf{ma}g\mathbf{y}$. It is used to count flexible non-flat objects such as rope, string, clothes and the like. A few examples are given in (7). I put two question marks in front of (c-d) to indicate that the two objects, $k\circ d$ and $h\circ i$ can be counted without a numeral classifier, but they are very unusual. $Pa\mathbf{P}$ after the choice mark (/) in (a, b) shows that flexible non-flat nouns or objects can also be counted with $pa\mathbf{P}$. (Hereon, I shall indicate the possibility by putting $pa\mathbf{P}$ after the choice mark in the example of each category; unless it is not possible).

(7). a). Heni k\circ d \, Pan\mathbf{ma}g\mathbf{y} / pa\mathbf{P} tou fel
‘Heni bought three shirts’

b). Nafi hei \, Pan\mathbf{ma}g\mathbf{y} / pa\mathbf{P} ut fi\, 2-am
‘Nafi has spun four pieces of rope/ string’

c). ??Heni k\circ d__ tou fel
‘Heni bought three shirts’

d). ??Nafi hei ut fi\, 2-am
‘Nafi has spun four pieces of rope/ string’

As can be seen from the table, non-flat rigid objects are further characterized by their detailed semantic features. In the detailed characterization, some objects are characterized by their heads. In this case, persons and most animals (if not all) are
counted with *pir*, also meaning ‘fruits’ (relatively round and big), with respect to their heads. In general *pir* is used to count rigid objects which are relatively round and big, non-standing or hanging, as shown in the table. A few examples are given in (8-10).

Example (8) shows that *pir* is used to count fruits (normally round and relatively big). When *pir* is dropped as in (b), the sentence is unacceptable. As noted earlier *pir* is also an alienably possessed noun that always appears in either a compound noun or a genitive construction (see 5.3.1 for details). The referent of a compound noun like *be pir* ‘mango fruit’ in (c) is rarely counted with a numeral classifier that has the same form as the head (*pir*, in the example) of the compound noun. Example (c) is unacceptable. There are three ways to express the idea of a sentence like (c): replace the numeral classifier *pir* with the general numeral classifier for non-liquid object, i.e. *paP* or omit *pir* ‘fruits’ to produce a sentence like (a) or drop *pir* (NC) plus its following numeral to produce a sentence containing a compound noun only (not counted)⁵.

(8). a). *Rin be pir tou e mud pir ut fel*
   *Rin mango NC three and orange NC four buy*
   ‘Rin bought three mangoes and four oranges’

   b). *Rin be tou e mud ut fel*
   *Rin mango three and orange four buy*

   c). *?Be pir pir ut fe Rin fel; fe mud pir pir ut nene*
   *mango fruit NC four FOC.OBJ Rin buy NEG orange fruit NC four NC*
   ‘It four was mangoes (fruits) that Rin bought, not oranges’

⁵ Note that *pir* ‘fruit’ is required to form a compound noun with its delimiter (possessor) noun only in a context where a contrast is required. For example, *Rin be hiP* ‘Rin picked up mangoes’ is a grammatical sentence and is not ambiguous as long as no contrast is required. But when, for example, a contrast like ‘It is mango fruits, but not mango leaves that Rin picked’, then *pir* is needed to form the compound noun *be pir* ‘mango fruits’ to contrast it from *be beh* ‘mango leaves’. This footnote also applies to other nouns of the same class as *pir* (5.3.1) which can also function as numeral classifiers as presented in this chapter.
d). Be pir paP ut fe Rin fel; fœ mud pir paP ut ne nœ mango fruit NC four FOC.OBJ Rin buy NEG orange fruit NC four NC ‘It was four mangoes (fruits) that Rin bought, not oranges’

In the next examples, pir is used to count animals (9) and persons (10), including proper names (10. b). As indicated in (9.a-b, 10), paP can also be used in counting person and animals. With persons, however, paP is not common. Therefore, I put a question mark in front of paP in (10). As also shown in (9. b) and with brackets in (10), the numeral classifiers are optional in counting persons and animals. It is, however, not very common to count animals or persons without a numeral classifier. Even in counting an animal like chickens in (9.c), a numeral classifier is obligatory. Example (9. c) is very rare and can be unacceptable.

(9). a). Hery boi pir/ paP tou, saibo pir/paP alo e hiu pir/ paP ivihIg fit ho? Hery pig NC three buffalo NC two and chicken NC five carry come ‘Hery brought five pigs, two buffaloes and five chickens’

b). ?Hery boi tou, saibo alo e ... c). ?? hiu _ ivihIg fit ho? Hery pig three buffalo two and chicken five carry come and five chickens’

(10). a). Name (pir/ ?paP) tou ma-eh person (NC three come-PROG ‘Three persons are coming’ b). John (pir/ ?paP) al o bag ho mi John (NC) two house DEF in/at ‘There are two Johns in that house’

Note also that with detailed classification, more than one classifier can be used with a noun. This is dependent on, for example, whether the referent object is standing, hanging or not standing or hanging. With fa ‘coconut’, for example, when the fruits are still hanging in clusters on their stalks they are counted with bar. That is, it is the clustered coconuts which are counted with bar but not sole coconut fruits. To illustrate, I
provide the following pictures of ‘grapes’ *angur. As, can be seen, the objects are counted with bar. As indicated, they cannot be counted with the general numeral classifier paP. Note that the word *angur is borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia; it is not originally Adang.

(11). *angur bar / *paP tou oleh
grapes NC three exist
‘There are three bunches of grapes (existing)’

When clustered fruits like grapes are off their stalks, they are counted with paP (*angur paP tou ‘three grapes’) but not bar. However, a few objects which are counted with bar are described or considered as having the permanent semantic features: hanging and clustered. Two examples are falofa ‘earrings’ and ililiq ‘bell(s)’ (small bells normally in clusters, worn on hands or legs during a dance). Earrings are not always clustered but they are always in pairs (as I understand it)6. Similarly, ililiq ‘bell(s)’ are not always clustered. However, they are always counted with bar, even when for, example, they are found on a table.

Clustered ‘bananas’ moPo and ‘rice’ ala can be counted with both bar and bulig.

In table 9-1, I put bulig in the category of cluster hanging-long, but bar in the category of

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6 In Adang culture, a person who puts only one earring on is considered strange.
cluster hanging-short of rigid non-flat category. *Bulig* is the common numeral classifier of clustered bananas and rice.

Sentences (a-d) of the following examples are acceptable, although two different numeral classifiers (*buliQ* and *bar*) are used to count the same object: *mofoi* ‘(clustered) bananas’ (a-b) and *ala* ‘clustered rice’ (c-d). In contrast an object like *angur* ‘(clustered) grapes’ cannot be counted with *buliQ* (e) although it has similar features to bananas and rice. It can only be counted with *bar*.

(12). a). *Mofoi* bar alo hil-eh
banana NC two hang-PROG
‘Two (clustered) bananas are hanging’

b). *Mofoi* buliQ alo hil-eh
banana NC two hang-PROG
‘Two (clustered) bananas are hanging’

c). *Ala* bar alo hil-eh
rice NC two hang-PROG
‘Two (clustered) heads rice are hanging’

d). *Ala* buliQ alo hil-eh
rice NC two hang-PROG
‘Two (clustered) rice are hanging’

e). *Angur* buliQ alo
grape NC two

The reason that clustered bananas and rice can be counted with both *bar* and *buliQ* is subjective. It depends on the speaker’s own view toward the object, or the speaker’s “descriptive speech act” (Foley, 1997: 233). Thus, if from the speaker’s point of view the clustered bananas are thick or dense (i.e. a lot of bananas on stalks), he will count the clustered bananas with *bar* rather than *buliQ*. With the numeral classifier *bar*, the speaker is referring more to the cluster feature rather than the hanging feature of the objects.
Rice when not in clusters, is counted with *fafa*i, originally meaning ‘seed’. As can be seen in table 9-1, *fafa*i is used to count small rigid non-flat objects. This includes any type of seed. An object with the size of ‘small tomatoes’ (‘cherry tomatoes’) *luibu*tu, still can be counted with *fafa*i.

An object like *tir* ‘tree’ or *pitu* ‘bamboo’ can have three numeral classifiers: *bo*’, also meaning ‘log’, *kuma* meaning roughly ‘piece’ and *sell* originally used to refer to the part of a tree from the ground to the root. In addition to these three numeral classifiers, *pitu* ‘bamboo’ and also sugar cane can also be counted with *fir*, originally meaning ‘articulation’ of a bamboo or sugarcane (i.e. the part of a bamboo tree or sugar cane from joint to joint), as exemplified in (13).

As can be seen from (13), the same object (bamboo logs) are counted with two different numeral classifiers: *fir* (a) and *bo* (b). This is based on the speaker’s descriptive speech act and also the context (e.g. expectation) at the time of speaking. For example, if at the time of speaking the speaker or his hearer is expecting to get an articulation of bamboo to make *fadidiq* ‘a traditional musical instrument made of bamboo articulation’, then the speaker counts the objects (bamboo logs) with *fir* regardless of whether or not bamboo
articulations are separated (not jointed with others). In contrast, if at the time of speaking, the speaker or hearer is only expecting to have logs of bamboo trees, then he counts them with boP. When referring to standing bamboo trees, however, a speaker will count them with sel but not boP or PaP.

The numeral classifier sel can also be used to count various buildings (bridges, houses, statues, towers), monolithic rocks, and also objects like cupboards and sometimes tables and chairs. The numeral classifier boP is also used to count eels and also other long and round shaped reptiles. In some context, a speaker can also use boP to count people.

For example, imagine that three people were supposed to be working in a house and the speaker was looking for them. When at last he found them sleeping (i.e. lying flat like snakes on the ground), he said:

(14). Name boP tou ho Pa.leh.
   person NC three DEF exist
   'The three people are existing.'

Before finishing the discussion in this chapter, I need to mention that some objects like chillies, beans or legumes and the referent of most (if not all) borrowed nouns such as pensil 'pencil', radio 'radio', trek 'truck', including invented nouns like kapala lil 'airplane' (lit. 'flying boat') can only have the numeral classifier paP. However, like the borrowed noun angur 'grapes' (clustered) exemplified in (11), a borrowed noun with referent clustered objects will very likely (if not always) be counted with bar.
To conclude, the use of the fifteen numeral classifiers in Adang, identified in this study, are determined by the features of the referent objects of nouns. Their uses can also be conditioned by the speaker's own view or perspective about the object. There are some lexical peculiarities such as the use of the numeral classifier *boP* originally meaning 'log of tree' to count persons.
Chapter 10
The pronominal clitic ‘u’ conjunctions, numerals and other particles

This chapter contains a brief description of the pronominal clitic u (10.1) focus particles (10.2) numerals (10.3), conjunctions (10.4) and the reported speech suffix -c and politeness particle ema (10.5). I begin with the description of the pronominal clitic u, in 10.1.

10.1. The pronominal clitic ‘u’,

Apart from its pronominal prefixes, Adang has a pronominal clitic u. I call it a ‘clitic’ for the same reasons as given for the aspectual clitics -eh and -am described in 4.5. It occurs in a fixed position, namely it always directly precedes a verb. It is phonologically a light word and unstressed. It functions at a phrase level (Spencer, 1991, Payne, 1997:21-23; Anderson, 1985:154-158; Schachter, 1985: 53-55). It can occur together with its referent object phrase in a clause (1. a, c) and can also function alone in place the referent object phrase (1. b, d), similar to the French object pronominal le (Schachter, 1985:25). When occurring together with its referent object phrase, it behaves like an oblique postposition, as seen in (1. a-c). I shall argue that the object phrase is an oblique - not core - argument.

(1) a). Bel aru u lou
dog deer CL bark
‘Dogs barked at a deer’

b). Bel u lou
dog CL bark
‘Dogs barked at it’
Example (2. a-b) shows that \textit{u} is a proclitic to a verb; it always appears with a verb. Distributionally, it has the same position as a pronominal prefix object of a closed class verb, described in 8.2.2. To compare with a pronominal prefix object, I also provide (c-d).

(2). a). UIi lou!  
   UIi bark  
   'Bark at it!'

b). u lou ema!  
   UIi bark please!  
   'Bark at it, please'

c). 3-eh!  
   3.OBV-bite (= catch)  
   'Catch it!' (=get it!)

d). 3-eh fe!  
   3.OBV-catc, FOC. OBJ  
   'This is it, catch it!' (= get it!)

The fact that \textit{u} cannot be separated from a verb by the negative particle \textit{fe}, as in (3. c-d), indicates that it has a fixed position, namely it directly precedes, or is bound to, its following verb as its "host" (Payne, 1997: 22; Spencer, 1991:30) but not to its referent object.

(3). a). UIi kod habar ho \textbf{fe} u natan nene  
   UIi shirt new DEF NEG CLT 1SG-ask NEG  
   'UIi did not ask me about the new shirt'

b). UIi \textbf{fe} u na-tan nene  
   UIi NEG CL 1SG-ask NEG  
   'UIi did not ask me about that'

c). *UIi kod habar ho u \textbf{fe} natan nene  
   UIi shirt new DEF CLT NEG 1SG-ask NEG  
   'UIi did not ask me about the new shirt'

d). *UIi \textbf{fe} na-tan  
   UIi CL NEG 1SG-ask

Although it is always bound to its following verbal constituent, it is not prefixed to a verb. This means that \textit{u} has a different function from the pronominal prefix object of

\footnote{The example is a typical hunting register in Adang: a hunter its dogs and a deer or a wild pig.}
a closed class verb. The difference, as I have noted earlier, is that u is an oblique argument (Andrews, 1985: 89-97), not a core argument. With respect to example (1. a-b) repeated in (4. c-d), for example, the verb lou is an intransitive verb, as shown in (4. a). In (4. b), the verb takes the noun aru as its oblique argument. The clitic u in the sentence functions like a postposition to indicate or mark aru as an oblique argument. In (c), the clitic functions alone as the pronominal oblique argument in place of aru.

(4). a). Bel lou
dog bark
'Dogs barked'
b). Bel aru u lou
dog deer CL bark
'Dogs barked at a deer'c). Bel u lou
dog CL bark
'Dogs barked at it'

The following example, repeated from (1.c-d), illustrates that, as with a preposition or post position, an oblique argument is assigned to a nominal by the clitic u (or, the nominal is marked or taken by u) but not the verb that follows u. Therefore when the pronominal clitic u in a sentence like (5.a) is dropped, the oblique argument of the clitic (in the example, kod habar ho) is also dropped (5. c), producing a different sentence with a different meaning. As can be seen, the transitive verb natan in the example, does not govern the nominal kod habar ho because the object argument of the verb natan 'ask me' is already filled by the object prefix na- attached to the verb. For this reason, example (d) is not acceptable. Similarly, the intransitive verb lou in (4. b, c) does not govern the nominal aru. Therefore the nominal and its clitic aru u can be dropped producing sentence (4. a).
Unlike English, where oblique arguments “are typically more tightly tied to specific semantic roles” than core arguments (Andrews, 1985: 92), an oblique argument marked or represented by the pronominal clitic $u$ can have any semantic role. I suggest that the semantic role of an oblique argument marked or represented by the clitic $u$ is partly determined by the verb that the clitic is bound to.

As the clitic assigns an oblique grammatical relation to nominals with any semantic role, the clitic appears to have different contextual meanings depending on the verb that it is bound to. With a theme semantic role, as in (5) it can mean ‘about’; with a goal, as in bel aru u lou ‘Dogs barked at a deer’ (4), it means ‘at’. In the following example, it means roughly ‘for’ in (a-b), ‘to’ in (c) and ‘on’ in (d). (I put the referent of $u$ in each of the following examples in brackets, to indicate that they can be represented by the oblique clitic alone)

(6). a). Heni (Pamo) ho u hoP
     Heni cat DEF CL talk
     ‘Heni came for the cat (e.g. with the purpose of buying the cat)’

   b). Ella (Ani) u aPome
     Ella Ani CL pray
     ‘Ella prayed for Ani’

   c). Na (sakola) u hoP
     1SG.NOM school/ study CL arrive
     ‘I come to study’

   d). Supi (na-ri) u dume$^2$
     3PL 1SG-ACC CL strong
     ‘They rely on me’ (Lit. They are strong on me)

$^2$ dum$e$ is an adjectival verb.
The pronominal clitic *u* can mark and represent any nominal, including nominalized verbs or verbal constituents and clauses, as oblique arguments. In (7) for example *u* marks the verbal constituent *sura ַhul* ‘writing a letter’ in (b) and the clause *nám ַbel beh* ‘people hit dogs’ in (c).

(7). a). A: *John naba u ḫariqiy?*  
John what CL angry  
‘What did John get angry about?’  
b). B: *John sura ַhul u ḫariqiy*  
John letter write CL angry  
‘John got angry about writing a letter’

c). B: *John nám ַbel beh u ḫariqiy*  
John person dog hit CL angry  
‘John got angry about people’s hitting dogs’

The underlined constituent (verbal or clausal) above can be dropped, when it is contextually understood. To illustrate I present the following.

People John 3.ObV-Gen dog hit friend  
‘People hit John’s dogs; dear’

b). B: *Uq, Na ma uphe sa u ḫariqiy-eh*  
yes, 1SG.Nom hear 3SG.Nom CL angry-Prog  
‘Yes; I heard he was being angry about that (= people hitting his dogs)’

To conclude, this section demonstrates that *u* is an oblique pronominal clitic. It can occur together with its referent oblique argument in a clause or occurs alone to represent its referent oblique argument. Distributionally it is bound to its following verb. It has different contextual meanings, indicating that the oblique argument that it marks can have any semantic role; this is partly determined by its following verb.
10.2. Question words and the focusing particles ‘so’ and ‘fe’

Adang has five question words: an₀ ‘who/whom’, naba ‘what’, taro ‘where’ or ‘which’, den ‘when’ or ‘how many/ much’ and taro’i ‘how’ or ‘why’. The question words an₀, naba and taro have nominal properties. They can function as subject or object of a clause. The question word den meaning ‘when’ functions like a temporal adverb. It is used to ask for time. With the meaning ‘how many/ much’, however, it functions as the predicate of a clause or as the modifier of a noun, optionally preceded by a numeral classifier. The question word taro’i functions like an adverb. It is used to ask for manner or reason of an event. A detailed description is presented as follows.

An₀

The question word an₀ is used to ask for a person. It can be used alone in an utterance, as in an₀ ‘who?’ or ‘whom?’, or in a longer utterances. As can be seen in (9), it can occur in the subject (a) object (c) position of a clause. The transitive verb beh ‘hit’ in indicates that an₀ in the initial position of (a) is a subject; and in the position between the initial noun Lilo and the final verb beh in (c) is an object.


b). B: Lilo (so) Nimo beh / *Lilo fe Nimo beh

Lilo (FOC.SUBJ) Nimo hit ‘Lilo hit Nimo’ (or It is Lilo who hit Nimo)
When responding to a question with the question word *ano* as in (9), the information asked is focused either by *so* (b) or *fe* (d). However, when the speaker supposes that the response information is identifiable, the information is not necessarily focused. Therefore, I put *so* and *fe* in the examples in brackets. A fronted focal object (information) is obligatorily marked focus (e). This is particularly true, because its clause-internal referent object is optional, as I put it in brackets in (e). As indicated after the choice mark (/) in (b, d) a focal subject cannot be marked *fe*; similarly a focal object cannot be marked *so*.

The question word *ano* itself can be marked focus when the speaker requires that the response information is focused (10. a, c, d). When the question word is marked *fe* (object), it can be fronted (d). This is pragmatically motivated, namely to give emphasis, or special attention to the fronted information. When the question word is marked focus, the information being asked is very likely to be marked focus (b, c, f).
Naba

Like an, the question word naba ‘what’ can be used alone in an utterance, as in naba? ‘what?’. It can also function as subject (11. a) or an object (12. a, b) in a longer utterance.

(11). a). A: Naba (so) a-n 01? what FOC.SUBJ 2SG-affect ‘What happened to you?’
   or
   c). B: Na lahun ‘I am lazy’ 1SG.NOM lazy
   d). Na malihin ‘I am hungry’ 1SG.NOM hungry

   b). B: Fana 2 (so) na-no1? scabies FOC.SUBJ. 1SG-affect ‘It is scabies that affected me’

   or b). Naba fe Rudi pan-eh what FOC.OBJ Rudi do-PROG ‘What is that, that Rudi is doing?’

   c). B: Rudi meja (fe) Paten-eh / d). Meja fe Rudi Paten-eh Rudi table FOC.OBJ 3.OBV-make-PROG ‘It is a table that Rudi is making’

   or e). B: Rudi karesap-eh
   Rudi work-PROG ‘Rudi is working’

As with an, naba can be marked focus when the speaker requires the response to be focused, as indicated with bracketed so or fe in (11-12). However, observe that the response information to the question with naba, cannot always be marked so or fe. For example, when the response is in a descriptive attributive clause or in a clause with an intransitive verb (11.c,d; 12. e), the information expresses in the response cannot be marked so or fe. The reason, I suggest, is because a descriptive attributive clause or a
clause with intransitive verb, does not contain a nominal object. Therefore, unless the state or the action expressed in the sentence is nominalized, it cannot be focalized with so or fe. Note that, so far, naba can only function as the subject of the experiencer verb an op and other verbs of the same root (8.2.2.2). No other verbs take naba as its subject argument.

Taro

The question word taro is used to ask for either a location or a specific choice (location or objects). It means ‘where’ when used to ask for location or ‘which (one)’ when used to asked for a specific choice. When the speaker wants the response information to be focused, taro itself is marked by so or fe. It can also be marked focus by the suffix -ro\(^3\) (as with determiners) or even a combination of both. The reason that it can also be marked focus by -ro, I suggest, is that because like determiners, taro expresses location.

In (13), for example, it is marked -ro in (c), and doubly marked -ro and so in (d). The double marking is normally required in a context where further specification is needed, as illustrated in the example. The response to a question with taro is normally with spatial deictics (d) or determiners (f-h), as in the example. In a context where the location is identifiable, a determiner is only optionally preceded by a noun (13. g, h)

\(^3\) The same suffix that also suffixes to focusing determiners (7.3)
expressing the location asked with taro or by a verb marked progressive (f). When the location is not identifiable, the locative noun is obligatory.

(13). a). A: Supi taro le-sam-am 3PL where ALL-go-PERF 'Where have they gone (to)'
   b). B: Bag
   c) A: Taro-r o? / *Taro fe house where/ which-FOC 'A house' 'Which one?'
d). B: Bag fa-l-e house go there-DIR-DIS 'House over there'
e). A: Taro-r o so? / *fe where/ which-FOC FOC.SUBJ 'Which one is that?'
f). B: Tu-f-eh ho stand-PROG DEF 'Standing there'
g). (Bag) ho-ro house DEF-FOC 'That (house)'
h). (Bag) ho-ro so/ *fe house DEF-FOC FOC.SUBJ 'It is that (house)'

(The speaker is very likely to accompany these three response with pointing)

From (13. a), observe that the question word taro occupies an object slot. The transitive directional verb lesam (8.2.2.4.1) indicates that taro in the sentence is an object. However, it is not marked fe in the example, meaning that the response, or information being asked, is not necessarily focused (b). As further specification (focus) is needed, the speaker (A), continues his question with (c), then (e). The question word taro in (c, e) cannot be marked fe (object) because it occupies the subject position. Instead of fe, it is marked so (e) indicating that taro, particularly in (e), is a subject. The response required is also a response in a subject position (h).

The question word taro in an object position as in (13. a) can be marked fe, namely in a context where the speaker wants his hearer to focus an object or location
from several available objects. To ask for a specific location, for example, the speaker can ask:

(14). a). Supi taro fe le-sam-am; or b). Taro fe supi le-sam-am;
3PL where FOC.OBJ ALL-go-PERF

c). mol fe (supi) le-sam em tut fe (supi) le-sam
river FOC.OBJ 3PL ALL-go or beach FOC.OBJ 3PL ALL-go
‘Where have they gone (to); to the river or to the beach?’

To respond to a question like in (14), the information given is not necessarily focused (marked fe), especially because there are only two choices. Thus, either (a) or (b) of the following example can be used to respond to the question in (14).

river FOC.OBJ 3PL ALL-go 3PL river ALL-go
‘It is to the river that they went’
‘They went to the river’

Instead of fe, taro in (14. a-b) can be marked focus with -ro (e.g. Supi taro-ro le-sam). In a context where further focus is needed, as that of so illustrated in (13), a double focus, like Supi taro-ro fe le-sam? is possible.

Den

The question word den with the meaning ‘when’ or ‘how many/ much’ is used to ask for time and quantity. When it used to express (ask for) quantity, it functions like a predicate or a modifier of noun. Example (16) illustrates the use of den as a predicate to ask for quantity. From the example observe that den is preceded by a numeral classifier
because it expresses quantity. The numeral classifier can be omitted but rarely. Therefore, I put two question marks in front of (d, e). Functioning as a predicate it can be cliticized, especially, by the perfective clitic -am as in (b, c). In some contexts, it is also possible to only say den to mean 'how many/much' or 'when'.

(16). a). Be pir den? mango NC how many ‘How many mangoes?’ b). Be pir den-am? mango NC how many ‘How many mangoes (e.g. we have got)?’

c). 2SG-GEN child NC how many -PERF ‘How many children have you got?’

d). ?? Be den mango how many ‘How many mangoes?’ e). ?? 2SG-GEN child how many -PERF ‘How many children have you got?’

In the following example den appears as a modifier of nouns preceded by a numeral classifier. From the examples observe that the phrases with the modifier den can be marked fe (c, d) or so (e). Focal object in (d) is fronted.

(17). a). Ani be pir den fel mango NC how many buy ‘How many mangoes did Ani buy?’ b). Name pir den lame-am person NC how many leave-PERF ‘How many people have already left?’

c). Ani be pir den fe fel mango NC how many FOC.OBJ buy ‘How many mangoes did Ani buy?’

d). Be pir den fe Ani fel mango NC how FOC.OBJ Ani buy ‘How many mangoes did Ani buy?’

e). Name pir den so lame-am person NC how many FOC.SUBJ leave-PERF ‘How many people that have already left?’
Now I illustrate the use of *den* meaning  ‘when’ to ask for time. The question word *den* ‘when’ when used to asked for time, it functions like a temporal adverb. It can occur in the initial position of a clause (18. b) or after a subject (18. a), similar to other temporal adverbs such as *dilel* ‘tomorrow’ (literally, universe bright), in (c, d).

(18). a). A: *Supi den lame?*  
3PL when walk (= leave)  
‘When will they leave?’  

b). *Den supi lame*  
when 3PL leave  
‘When will they leave’

c). *Dil dile supi lame*  
tomorrow 3PL leave  
‘It is tomorrow that they will leave’

d). *Supi dile lam*  
3PL tomorrow leave  
‘They will leave tomorrow’

Although *den* ‘when’ functions like a temporal adverb, it can be marked so or, especially, *fe*, as in (19. a-b). The temporal adverb given as a response to a question with *den* ‘when’ can also be marked *fe* (19. c, d). Note that the verb *lame* ‘leave’ (literally ‘walk’) in the examples is intransitive. Therefore, *den* in (a-b) and also *dilel* in (c-d) cannot be objects. However, they cannot be marked so, as indicated in each of the example. (see comment given after example (20)).

(19). a). A: *Supi den fe /*so lame?*  
3PL when FOC.OBJ walk (= leave)  
‘When will they leave?’  

b). *Den fe/ *so supi lame*  
when FOC.OBJ 3PL leave  
‘When is it that they will leave’

c). *Dil dile fe /*so supi lame*  
tomorrow FOC.OBJ 3PL leave  
‘It is tomorrow that they will leave’

d). *Supi dil dile fe /*so lame*  
3PL tomorrow FOC.OBJ leave  
‘They will leave tomorrow’

So can only mark *den* or a temporal adverb in a context when only a short question is used, as in (20. b, c). In such context, *fe* is also possible but with a different
pragmatic effect. Generally, the difference between a question like *Den so?* ‘When is that?’ and *Den fe?* ‘When is that?’ (20. b) is that *Den so?* is pragmatically more polite than *Den fe?*. Phonologically, *den* of *Den fe?*, normally gets the primary sentence accent.

There is evidence indicating that the reason that *den* and temporal adverbs are marked *fe*, even in a subject position as in (19. b-c), is not (only) a matter of grammatical relations but is a matter of information structure (21.e). It is concerned with clause-level focus construction. This is beyond the scope of this section; and it needs further investigation and analysis. In brief, however, *fe* marks a relation between an event and its reason (21.a), condition (21. b), cause (21. d) and its temporal location (21. e).

(21). a). Heni Lilo beh fe/*so sa Fahaŋ (Reason - event)
Heni Lilo hit FOC.OBJ? 3SG.NOM cry
‘It is because Heni hit Lilo that she cried’

b). A seŋ n-en fe/*so na karesaŋ
2SG.NOM money 1SG-give FOC.OBJ? 1SG.NOM work
‘It is if you give me some money that I will work’ (Obligatory condition - event)

c). A seŋ n-en hehe na karesaŋ
2SG.NOM money 1SG-give when! if 1SG.NOM work
‘When! if you give me some money, I will work’ (Non-obligatory condition - event)

d). Nina na-dodo fe na muj
Nina 1SG-push FOC.OBJ? 1SG.NOM fall down
‘It is because Nina pushed me that I fell down’ (Cause - event)
Taroni

The last question word taroni is derived from, or a combination of the question word taro 'where' or 'which (one)' and the indexical morpheme ni 'like' (see also index verbs in 8.2.2.6). It is used to asked for manner or reason. It means 'why', when used to asked for a reason, or 'how' when used to asked for a manner. The position of taroni in the clause and the use of focus markers distinguishes between these interpretations.

When it is used to ask for manner it functions like a verbal (manner) adverb. Example (22. b, c) illustrates the use of taroni 'how', in asking for manner. From the example observe that taroni 'how' is adjacent to the verb. It commonly follows the verb it modifies; rarely, it precedes the verb (e). The response to a question of this type can be a long description or a short response. A short response is commonly made by using an index verb, as in (d). (A detailed description of index verbs is presented in 8.2.2.6).

(22). a). A: Kod ho harot!  
'sew how
'Sew the shirt!'  
b). B: Harot taroni?  
'sew how
'How to sew (it)?
c). A: Na kod ho- défini harot tar oni?  
1SG.NOM shirt DEF-PROX sew how 
‘How do I sew this shirt?’

d). B: Harot ho- ni 
DEF-PROX sew DEF-like 
‘Sew (it) like that’
(visible; e.g. as you are doing now)

e). ?Na [tar oni kod ho- défini harot]? 
1SG.NOM how shirt DEF-PROX sew 
‘How do I sew this shirt?’

The next example illustrates the use of taroni, meaning ‘why’ to ask for reasons.

It is commonly marked fe when using to ask for reason, similar to den in example (19). It can be placed at the initial position of a clause (23. a) or follow the subject of the clause (23. b). The response to a question with taroni ‘why’ is also commonly marked fe (23. c, d), similar to the responses to a question with den ‘when’. In some contexts, when a short question is used, as in (e), the short question containing only the question word taroni can be marked so. When the short question is marked fe, as in (f) it means ‘how’

why FOC.OBJ? Ay cry-PROG Ay why FOC.OBJ? cry-PROG 
‘Why is that that Ay is crying?’ ‘Why is that that Ay is crying?’

c). B: Sa malihiŋ fe/ *so sa pahap-eh 
3SG.NOM hungry FOC.OBJ? 3SG.NOM cry-PROG 
‘It is he is hungry that he is crying’

d). Lin (Pa-ri) beh ho- r o’ (or, fe) sa pahap-eh 
Lin 3.OBV-ACC hit DEF-FOC 3SG.NOM cry-PROG 
‘It is Lin hit him that he is crying’

e). A: Tarọṇi so cf. f). Tarọṇi fe? 
why FOC.SUBJ? how FOC.OBJ? 
‘Why is that?’ (that Lin hit him?) ‘How (e.g. do you want it)?’
The question word tartoni is also commonly used in place of the question word naba ‘what’. This alternation is normally found in a context, where the speaker can use a short question, as in (20).


    c). A: Sei n-en fe!
        water 1SG-give FOC.OBJ
        ‘Give me some water, please!’

    d). B: Taroni? ‘What?’

To conclude, the question words anə, naba, tarə, den and tartoni can be marked focus by so or fe when the speaker requires the response to be focused, and when applicable (e.g. den cannot be marked focus when functioning as a predicate). Tarə can also be marked focus with -ro because it expresses location. Not all response information can be marked focus by fe or so. The response to a question with tartoni ‘how’, for example, can be with an index verb (e.g. honi ‘like that’). The section indicates that so and fe are also used to focus such information as temporal location and reason. Further investigation and analysis is required for this use of so and fe.

10.3. Numerals

The numeral system in Adang is exemplified below. Note that the morpheme Per of Per nu ‘ten’, Per alo ‘twenty’, etc. that I have glossed ‘ten’ means something like -ty of English’s twenty, thirty, etc. whereas falig of, for example, Per nu falig nu ‘eleven’ that I have glossed ‘add means, by and large, ‘addition’ or ‘remain’.
(25).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mnemonic</th>
<th>Additional Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
<td>ten one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Per nu</td>
<td>'eleven'</td>
<td>ten one add one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Per nu</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
<td>ten one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Per alo</td>
<td>'twenty'</td>
<td>ten two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Per alo</td>
<td>'twenty one'</td>
<td>ten one add two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Per tou</td>
<td>'thirty'</td>
<td>ten three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Per tou</td>
<td>'thirty one'</td>
<td>ten three add one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Per itito</td>
<td>'seventy'</td>
<td>ten seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Per itito</td>
<td>'seventy one'</td>
<td>ten seven add one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hundred</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mnemonic</th>
<th>Additional Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>rat nu</td>
<td>'one hundred'</td>
<td>hundred one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Per nu</td>
<td>'one hundred and eleven'</td>
<td>one hundred ten one add one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>rat alo</td>
<td>'two hundred'</td>
<td>hundred two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Per alo</td>
<td>'two hundred one'</td>
<td>hundred two ten one add two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>rat tiPenu</td>
<td>'nine hundred'</td>
<td>hundred nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>999</td>
<td>Per tiPenu</td>
<td>'nine hundred and ninety nine'</td>
<td>hundred nine ten nine add nine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thousand</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mnemonic</th>
<th>Additional Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>rib nu</td>
<td>'one thousand'</td>
<td>thousand one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>rib tou</td>
<td>'three thousand four hundred and twenty one'</td>
<td>thousand three hundred four ten two add one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>rib ut</td>
<td>'four thousand'</td>
<td>thousand four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,375</td>
<td>Per iťītō</td>
<td>'fifty one thousand three hundred and fifty five'</td>
<td>thousand ten five add one hundred three ten seven add five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Million</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mnemonic</th>
<th>Additional Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9000</td>
<td>rib tiPenu</td>
<td>'nine thousand'</td>
<td>thousand nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134,210</td>
<td>rib rat</td>
<td>'one hundred and thirty four thousand two hundred and ten'</td>
<td>thousand hundred one ten three add four hundred two ten one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134,000</td>
<td>Per rat</td>
<td>'one hundred and thirty four thousand'</td>
<td>one hundred and thirty four hundred</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There can be an ambiguity when the numeral system is beyond a thousand. For example, rib rat nu Per tou falig ut can mean either 134,000 (one hundred and thirty four thousand) or 134,210 (one hundred and thirty four thousand two hundred and ten).
thousand) or 100,034 (one hundred thousand and thirty four). The ambiguity, however, can be resolved with the assignment of intonation to the utterance as exemplified in (26). The example shows that there is a fall in pitch after the word nu ‘one’ when the utterance means ‘one hundred thousand and thirty four’ (a) but if it means ‘one hundred and thirty four thousand’, there is no fall in pitch (b).

(26) a). [Rib [rát nu] [[Pér tou] [faliō ut ]]] = 100,034
thousand hundred one ten three add four

b). [Rib [rát nu] [[Pér tou] [faliō ut ]]] = 134,000
thousand hundred one ten three add four

The terms for ‘hundred’ rat and for ‘thousand’ rib are borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia: ratu and ribu. They are then adjusted both phonologically and syntactically in Adang. Thus, phonologically the last syllable tus of ratu and the final vowel /u/ of ribu are deleted in Adang. The adjusted morpheme rat and rib are, then, syntactically placed before a numeral to act as the head. In the following examples, where rat ‘ratus’ or rib ‘thousand’ can stand alone without the modifier ut ‘four’ (a) (and can be modified by a different modifier: den ‘how many/ much) in the discourse provides a piece of evidence that rat or rib ‘thousand’ is the head in rat ut ‘four hundreds’ or rib ut ‘four thousands’ (b). Example (c) is not accepted because a numeral in Adang, such as ut ‘four’ in the example, cannot act as a head.⁵

(27). a). A: John rat / rib den med?
John hundred / thousand how many/ much take
‘How much hundreds / thousands (rupiah) did John get?’

⁵ See also the distribution of a noun including a numeral, a numeral classifier and a quantifier formulated in (4) of 5.1.1.
b). B: Rat / Rib \quad\text{ut.} \\
\quad\text{hundred/ thousand four} \\
\quad\text{‘Four hundreds (rups)’}

c). *John \quad\text{ut den} \quad\text{med?} \\
\quad\text{John four how many/ much take}

I suggest that the remaining numerals (one to ninety nine), if not borrowed from elsewhere, are distinctive to Adang (this awaits investigation). To compare with Bahasa Indonesia (B.Ind) and with the only Austronesian language spoken in the island of Alor called “Alor” (see map 1-1 in 1.1), I provide the following.

Table 10-1: Numeral system in Adang, Bahasa Indonesia and Alor: A Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Adang</th>
<th>B. Ind</th>
<th>Alor</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Adang</th>
<th>B. Ind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (one)</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>10 (ten)</td>
<td>er nu</td>
<td>ten one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (two)</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td>dua</td>
<td>rua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (three)</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>tiga</td>
<td>talo</td>
<td>30 (thirty)</td>
<td>er tou</td>
<td>ten three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (four)</td>
<td>ut</td>
<td>empat</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (five)</td>
<td>ifihi</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>lema</td>
<td>11 (eleven)</td>
<td>er nu</td>
<td>fail nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (six)</td>
<td>talag</td>
<td>enam</td>
<td>namo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (seven)</td>
<td>iti\text{o}</td>
<td>tuju</td>
<td>pito</td>
<td>12 (twelve)</td>
<td>er nu</td>
<td>fail\text{o}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (eight)</td>
<td>turl\text{o}</td>
<td>delapan</td>
<td>buto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (nine)</td>
<td>ti\text{'en}u</td>
<td>semblan</td>
<td>hiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals in Adang can function as the predicate of a clause. In this function, they can be cliticized (suffixed) by the perfective aspectual clitic \textit{-am} or followed by the inceptive aspectual particle \textit{eham}, as exemplified in (28). They cannot, however, be cliticized by the progressive aspectual clitic \textit{-eh}. Sentence (28.d) is, therefore, not acceptable. From the given examples, observe that a numeral is preceded by a numeral classifier even though it functions as a predicate. The numeral classifier can be omitted,
but very rarely. Therefore I put a question mark in front of (e). I suggest that a clause with a numeral predicate is a descriptive attributive clause, where the numeral predicate attributes quantity to its subject.

(28). a). A:  
\[ N-o \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{pir} \quad \text{den-am?} \]  
2SG-GEN child NC how many-PERF  
'How many children have you got?'

b). B:  
\[ N-o \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{pir} \quad \text{alo-am} \]  
1SG-GEN child NC two-PERF  
'I have got two children'

c). B:  
\[ N-o \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{pir} \quad \text{alo} \quad \text{eham} \]  
1SG-GEN child NC two almost  
'I almost have two children'

d). B:  
\[ *N-o \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{pir} \quad \text{alo} \quad \text{eh} \]  
1SG-GEN child NC two-PROG

e). B:  
\[ ?N-o \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{alo} \quad \text{eham} \]  
1SG-GEN child NC two almost  
'I almost have two children'

Numerals in Adang can be modified or intensified by either \textbf{Pale} ‘(the) least (quantity)’ or \textbf{fela}\textbf{g} ‘(the) largest’ (quantity). I call them ‘numeral intensifiers’. They function to modify numerals, including numerals in the counted-personal pronouns such as \textit{ni nag talaq}, ‘six of us’ or the pronouns such as \textit{nolo ‘only I/me’}, described in 6.4.1-6.4.2. Distributionally, they are placed after the numeral that they modify.

The numeral intensifier \textbf{Pale} expresses the least quantity, normally based on the speaker’s own perspective or assessment. I gloss it LEAST in this thesis. Example (29) illustrates the use of \textbf{Pale}.

(29). a). \[ \text{ince} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{pir} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{Pale} \quad \text{fel} \]  
Ince mango NC one LEAST buy  
'Ince bought only one (= the least) mango'

b). \[ N-o\text{-alo} \quad \text{Pale} \quad \text{kara}\text{gag} \]  
1SG-alone LEAST work  
'Only I myself (= the least) work'
The numeral intensifier *felag* is the opposite of the numeral intensifier *ale*. It expresses the largest quantity, also normally based on the speaker's own assessment. I gloss *felag* LRGST in this thesis. Example (30) illustrates the use of *felag*.

(30). a. Ince be pir nu felag fel
    *Ince bought one (the largest quantity) mangoes*
    (e.g. When the speaker assesses a piece, or a half, of mango is the least).

b. Ni-fe *seg* rib rat nu felag n-en
    *My (Lit. our) mother gave me only (= the least) one hundred thousand (rups)*

c. Ni-nag *fer* ifihi felag sakola ho mi
    *We are fifty, the largest amount (of students), in the school*

10.4. Conjunctions

This section presents a brief description of the conjunction *e* ‘*and*, *em* ‘*or*, *bo* ‘*but*, *ba* ‘*that*, *hefe* ‘*when*’ or ‘*then*’ and *di* ‘*too*’. I describe each of these conjunctions as follows.

*e*

*e* is a coordinator meaning ‘*and*’ and is placed between the two elements that it conjoins. It is used to conjoin equivalent grammatical categories, phrases and clauses. It
can be more than two conjoined elements. If there are more than two,  \( \& \) is placed between the last two elements, if  \( \& \) is not repeated (31. b). In the following examples,  \( \& \) conjoins nouns in (a, b) and nominal phrases in (c-e).

(31). a). Umi ab  \( \& \)  \( \& \) dare? ho dou  
Umi fish and eel DEF cook
‘Umi cooked the fish and eel’

b). Umi ab, ahPoi  \( \& \)  \( \& \) dare? ho dou  
Umi fish prawn and eel DEF cook
‘Umi cooked the fish, prawn and eel’

c). Umi ab ho  \( \& \)  \( \& \) dare? ho dou  
Umi fish DEF and eel DEF cook
‘Umi cooked the fish and the eel’

d). Umi ab ho, ahPoi ho  \( \& \)  \( \& \) dare? ho dou  
Umi fish DEF prawn DEF and eel DEF cook
‘Umi cooked the fish, the prawn and the eel’

e). Ab mate paP alo  \( \& \)  \( \& \) dare? mate paP alo 2a-ra sei paPul ho-\( \& \) mi  
fish big NC two and eel big NC two 3.OBV-exist water pool DEF-PROX in/at
‘There are two big fish and two big eels in this pool’

In (32),  \( \& \) conjoins adjectival verbs in (a), verbs in (b), verbal constituents in (c) and clauses in (d).

(32). a). Dare? ho mate  \( \& \)  \( \& \) lai  
eel DEF big and long
‘the eel is big and long’

b). Sa mih  \( \& \) karesan  
3SG.NOM sit down and work
‘He sat down and worked’

c). Ay na  \( \& \) pa-de  \( \& \) dafan na  
Ay thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat and medicine drink
‘Ay ate food and took some medicine’

d). Ni-man sam karesan  \( \& \) ni-\( \& \) na mei dou  
1P.EXC-father go work and 1P.EXC-mother 3SG/PL cooked cook
‘My (lit. our) father went to work and my (lit. our) mother cooked food’

\( \& \) m

\( \& \) m is a coordinator meaning ‘or’ and is placed between elements that it conjoins. It is also used to conjoin equivalent grammatical categories, phrases and clauses. Like  \( \& \)
‘and’, it can conjoin more than two elements. If the elements are more than two, it is placed between the last two elements, if it is not repeated (33. b). In (33), \( \epsilon m \) conjoins nouns in (a-b) and nominal phrases in (c). Note that Adang does not have a conjoined structure like that of ‘either ... or’ in English.

\[(33).\] a. \( \text{Ano so } \) bag P-om mi, \( \epsilon m \) ni-fe \( \epsilon m \) ni-mag?  
who FOC.SUBJ house 3.OBV-in at 1PL.EXC-mother or 1PL.EXC-father  
‘Who is that, in the house, my (=our) mother or my (=our) father?’

b. A mud \( (\epsilon m) \) be \( \epsilon m \) mo\(\epsilon pi \) fe Pa-de  
2SG.NOM orange or, mango or banana FOC.OBJ 3.OBV-eat  
‘Is it oranges or mangoes or bananas that you ate/that you want to eat?’

c. A mud mate ho-ro \( \epsilon m \) mud ka\(\epsilon pi \) ho-ro Pa-de  
2SG.NOM orange big DEF-FOC or orange small DEF-FOC 3.OBV-eat  
‘Is it the big orange or the small orange that you want to eat?’

In the next examples, \( \epsilon m \) conjoins adjectival verbs in (a), verbal constituents in (b) and clauses in (c).

\[(34).\] a. A mud mate \( \epsilon m \) ka\(\epsilon pi \) fe Pa-de  
2SG.NOM orange big or small FOC.OBJ 3.OBV-eat  
‘Is it a big or small orange that you want to eat?’

b. A kopi fe na \( \epsilon m \) araka fe na?  
2SG.NOM coffee FOC.OBJ drink or wine FOC.OBJ drink  
‘Is it coffee or wine that you want to drink?’

c. Rony so lame \( \epsilon m \) Hery so lame?  
Rony FOC.SUBJ walk/go or Hery FOC.SUBJ walk/go  
‘Is that Rony who is leaving or Hery who is leaving?’

Bo

Bo is a coordinator meaning roughly ‘but’ and is normally placed between two elements that it conjoins. It only conjoins clauses or adjectival verbs. Semantically, when
it conjoins two clauses, one clause expresses an expected event and the other expresses a contra-expected event. As illustrated in (35), when the expected event is placed before the conjunction, the expected event is not fulfilled because the contra-expected event takes place to prevent it (a, c). When the expected event is placed after the conjunction, it takes place against the obstacle (contra-expectation) event; or it is fulfilled despite the contra-expectation event (b, d). Thus, the right element (the element that comes after bo), of the two elements conjoined by bo, is more prominent than the left. This is a general phenomenon concerning the use of the conjunction bo that can also be observed from other examples to be provided.

(35). a). Na sam sakola bo nɔi her-eh
1SG.NOM go school but rain drop-PROG
‘I want to go to school but it is raining’(so I have not gone yet)

b). Nɔi her-eh bo na sam sakola
rain fall-PROG but 1SG.NOM go school
‘It was raining but I went to school’ (any way)

c). Heri sɛŋ n-ɛn bo na-pa sah
Heri money 1SG-give but 1SG-feel bad
‘Heri wanted to give me some money but I did not want him to’

d). Na-pa sah bo Heri sɛŋ n-ɛn
1SG-feel bad but Heri money 1SG-give
‘I did not want Heri to give me some money, but he did’

In some contexts, an expectation is only implied in a clause expressing a fact and therefore can only be well understood in its context. This is particularly true when the conjunction conjoins two adjectival verbs, as in (36). With sentences (a) for example, contextually a person wanted to buy big mangoes but they ought to be ripe (not raw). Thus, when he found some which were big but unripe he did not buy them. The quality
'raw' (not ripe) expressed by *Fa u* which is placed after *bo* is more prominent. The speaker's implied expectation that he wants to buy ripe mangoes is not fulfilled.

(36). a). *Be ho mate bo Fa u*  
Mango DEF big but raw  
'That mango is big but raw'  
(For example, therefore I did not buy it)

b). *Be ho Fa u bo mate*  
Mango DEF raw but big  
'That mango is raw but big'  
(For example, therefore I bought it)

In (b) the person wanted to buy big mangoes. He might also want them ripe, but this is not obligatory. Therefore when he found big mangoes, he bought them even though they were still raw. The quality 'big' expressed by *mate* following *bo* is more prominent.

**Ba**

*Ba* can function as either a relativizer or as a coordinator. As a relativizer it is placed after a head noun followed by a relative clause functioning as the modifier of the head noun in the same phrase. It can be preceded by other modifiers of nouns like verbs or numeral classifiers plus numerals, as shown in (37. c). Note that a determiner, like *ho* in the following example, obligatorily follows a relative clause. The reason is because a relative clause indicates that the head noun it modifies is identifiable. In the following example, the relative clauses in both (b) and (c) modify a subject head noun.

(37). a). *Sev ho suhunam*  
money DEF lost  
'The money has disappeared'

b). *Sev ba sa taro? ho suhunam*  
money REL 3SG.NOM save DEF lost  
'The money that he saved has disappeared'

c). *Name mate pir tou ba ni-ri beh ho tepen-am*  
person big NC three REL 1PL.EXC-ACC hit DEF run-PERF  
'The three big persons who hit us has run away'
In the next examples, *ba* marks a relative clause that modifies a head noun functioning as the object of a matrix clause. Note, however, that when a head noun of an object phrase is modified by a relative clause, the object phrase is most likely to be fronted. Thus, in the following examples, (b) is more common than (a).

\[(38). a). Na \text{ ala mej ba i } \text{ dou ho 2a-de-am} \\
1SG.NOM. rice cooked REL 2PL.NOM cook DEF 3.OBV-eat-PERF \\
i have eaten the (cooked) rice that you cooked’

b). Ala mej ba i dou ho na 2a-de-am \\
Rice cooked REL 2PL.NOM cook DEF 1SG. NOM 3.OBV-eat-PERF \\
‘The (cooked) rice that you cooked 1 have eaten’

When functioning as a coordinator, *ba* means ‘and’ similar to *e* before. Unlike *e*, however, *ba* can only conjoin clauses. Example (39) illustrates the use of *ba* as a coordinator. As can be seen from the example, *ba* as a coordinator is placed between the two clauses that it conjoins.

\[(39). a). Na na dou ba i bag 2a-ten. \\
1SG.NOM thing cook that 2PL.NOM house 3.OBV-make \\
‘I cook food (so) that you build houses’

b). Na na dou e i bag 2a-ten. \\
1SG.NOM thing cook and 2PL. NOM house 3.OBV-make \\
‘I cook food and you build houses’

Sam

*Sam* is originally a verb meaning ‘go/leave’. It can also function as a subordinator, conjoining two clauses. Functioning as a subordinator, it means ‘until’. It conjoins two events expressed by two clauses where the first event is delimited by the beginning of the
later event. This conjunction is best illustrated with the following example, where the two
events are carried out or experienced by the same subject. (Note that the intransitive verb
\textit{tabag} means ‘got killed’; slightly different from \textit{min} ‘die’).

\begin{align*}
\text{(40). } & \text{Sa ta-ri u baleta sam sa tabag} \\
& 3SG.NOM 1PL.DIS-ACC CL serve until 3SG.NOM got killed \\
& \text{‘He served each one of us until he got killed’}
\end{align*}

\textit{Hepe}

I tentatively suggest that \textit{hepe} is a subordinator. This, however, still need to be verified
with a detailed analysis of clause combinations. Let us first observe the following example.

\begin{align*}
\text{(41). a). } & \text{Roni karesap-eh hepe na ho?} \\
& \text{Roni work-PROG when 1SG.NOM arrive} \\
& \text{‘Roni was working when I arrived’} \\
\text{b). } & \text{Na ho? hepe Roni karesap-eh} \\
& 1SG.NOM arrive when Roni work-PROG \\
& \text{‘When I arrived Roni was working’}
\end{align*}

\textit{Hepe} in both sentences in (41) relates two events the first of which is marked
progressive. The sentences are not ambiguous, when compared with (42). Semantically, a
sentence like (41 a-b) indicates that the first event, marked progressive, has taken place for
a period of time up to, and may include, the time when the second action starts to take place.
Thus, the two events connected by \textit{hepe} in each sentence in (41) have a temporal-event
semantic relation.

Unlike (41), neither of the two events connected by \textit{hepe} in (42) is marked
progressive. The sentence can have three readings. The first two readings suggest that the
event is unreal. The last reading indicates that the event is real.
(42). Sa seŋ n-en hepe na karesap
3SG.NOM money 1SG-give when/ if 1SG.NOM work
(i) 'If s/he give me some money, I will work' (unreal)
(ii) 'If s/he had given me some money, I would have worked' (unreal)
(iii) 'When s/he gave me some money I worked' (real)

The reason that sentence (42) has three readings is because Adang is tenseless, therefore I would like to explain the sentence in the following way. In the tenseless context of Adang, hepe in the sentence relates two events: X give some money to Y - Y works/ed. These two events have a condition-event semantic relation and are bound to time. The problem is when X gave or will give money in order for Y to work is not known from the sentence. Consequently, the sentence is ambiguous.

The ambiguity of the sentence can be resolved when it is put in a context or when a temporal adverb is added to the sentence, as in (43).

(43). a). Dil lel sa seŋ n-en hepe na karesap
universe bright (= tomorrow) 3SG.NOM money 1SG-give when/ if 1SG.NOM work
'Tomorrow, if s/he give me some money, I will work' (unreal)

b). (i). Sa seŋ n-en hepe na karesap;
3SG.NOM money 1SG-give when/ if 1SG.NOM work
'If s/he had given me some money, I would have worked; (unreal)
(ii). bo sa he seŋ nen nene
but 3SG.NOM NEG money 1SG-give NEG
but s/he did not give me some money'

c). Ufaŋ mi sa seŋ n-en hepe na karesap;
one at/in (= yesterday) 3SG.NOM money 1SG-give when/ if 1SG.NOM work
'When s/he gave me some money yesterday I worked; (real)
With the context provided in (43), it is clear that the events in (a) and (b) are unreal, whereas the event expressed in (c) is real. Both events in each of the three sentences have a condition-event semantic relation. Note that with the conjunction hepe, the condition for an event to take place is not an obligation (obligatory condition) when compared with a sentence as in (44). The two clauses in (44) are only juxtaposed, relating two events. The first event or clause indicating obligatory condition is marked focal by fe.

(44). Sa seg n-en fe na karesag
3SG.NOM money 1SG-give FOC 1SG.NOM work
‘S/he should give me some money, so that I will work’
(lit. ‘It is s/he give me some money, that I will work’)

As noted in 10.2 (example 21), the condition of an event can also be marked focus rather than conjoined to its proposed event with a conjunction. In a focus structure as in (44) the condition is set as an obligation to be carried out. Even, it is more prominent than the event itself.

10.5. The politeness particle ema

An imperative clause in Adang contains only a simple verb form plus its object, if any. It can be preceded by the evidential particle dai, when the speaker assesses that the command is true and has to be carried out (4.6). In a negative imperative clause, the verb is followed by the negative particle pe for command or the negative adverb nene for prohibition (4.4). In case the speaker want to be polite, he can end his command in the politeness particle ema ‘please’ as in (45. b). Pragmatically, (b) is more polite than (a).
An imperative clause can also be marked focus by `fe`. With the focus particle, the command given or the action expressed in the imperative clause is highly recommended. The particle in an imperative clause has a meaning like ‘right now’ in English, as in (46. a). The focus particle still can be followed by the politeness particle, as in (46. b). Command in (46. b) is more polite than (46.a).

In some contexts, however, an imperative clause cannot be marked polite with `ema`. Instead of `ema`, the focus particle `fe` is more appropriately used. The underlined imperative clause in (47), for example, is very unusual marked with the politeness particle `ema`. The presence of the evidential particle `dai` in the first clause of each sentence makes the command more appropriately marked `fe`, i.e. highly recommended, than marked with the politeness particle `ema`. For this reason, I put two question marks in front of (b) and one in front of (c).

(46). a). (Na)  "Pa-de fe!" thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat FOC  
‘Eat (it/ food) right now!’

b). (Na)  "Pa-de fe ema" thing (=food) 3.OBV-eat FOC please  
‘Eat (it/ food) right now, please!’

bed DEF EID high very-PROG 3.OBV-CAUSE-affect low FOC  
‘The bed is very high, actually; make it low, right now!’

b). ?? "De? ho dai lafiniŋ bif-eh; 2-a-ŋ?  lama ema
bed DEF EVID high very-PROG 3.OBV-CAUSE-affect low please  
‘The bed is very high, actually; make it low, please!’
10.6. Reported speech particles: \( e \) and the verb \( bit \) and the particle \( \text{fale}_\theta \)

The indirect speech suffix \(-e\) means roughly ‘that’ and is normally attached to the verb \( bit \) ‘say’; thus \( bite \) means roughly ‘say that’. The verb \( bite \) then appears together with the verb \( \text{fale}_\theta \) ‘tell’\(^6\) to indicate that the clause occupying the position between them expresses reported speech, i.e. indirect speech. Examples are given in (48). Note that the meaning of the verb \( \text{fale}_\theta \) always implies a sense indicating that the object of the verb is \( uuiu \) ‘story’ or ‘legend’ or the like. For example, \( \text{Nife } uuiu \text{ fale}_\theta \) means ‘My mother tells a story’ (normally to children). When \( \text{fale}_\theta \) appears to mark reported speech, the meaning is not applicable. However, I still gloss it ‘TELL’, but with capital letters indicating that it marks reported speech.

(48). a). Roni: \( \text{Na } [\text{dil } uel] \text{lame} \)
1SG.NOM universe bright (= tomorrow) walk (leave)
'I will leave tomorrow'

b). Rin: \( \text{Roni } bit-e \text{ sa (Roni) } [\text{dil } uel] \text{lame } \text{fale}_\theta \)
Roni say-that 3SG.NOM universe bright (= tomorrow) walk (leave) TELL
'Roni said that he will/ would leave tomorrow'

c). Roni: \( \text{Toni } [\text{dil } uel] \text{lame} \)
Toni universe bright (= tomorrow) walk (leave)
'Toni will leave tomorrow'

\( \text{fale}_\theta \) in a reported speech could be functioning as a “hearsay” evidential particle, but I have not yet made a detailed analysis.
d). Rin: Roni bit-ε Toni dil lel lame falεŋ
   ‘Roni said that Toni will/ would leave tomorrow’

As can be seen from (48), the reported speech in both (b, d) is indirect. In (b), Rin reports Roni’s statement that he (Roni) is leaving tomorrow. In (d) Rin reports, also, Roni’s statement, but, about Toni’s leaving.

Either the verb falεŋ or bitε from the sentences in (48) can be dropped, as I repeat in (49). Note, however, that the presence of the verb bitε without falεŋ in reported speech, is not very common. For this reason, I put a question mark in front of (49. d). Unlike bitε, falεŋ commonly functions alone to mark indirect reported speech. Examples (b) and (c) below are very common in Adang. Example (c) is a complex sentence consisting of two clauses but falεŋ only functions as a part of the first clause.

(49). a). Roni: Na dil lel lame
    1SG.NOM universe bright (= tomorrow) walk (leave)
    ‘I will leave tomorrow’

b). Rin: Roni dil lel lame falεŋ
    ‘Roni said: he will leave tomorrow’

c). Rin: Roni dil lel lame falεŋ
    ‘Roni said: he will leave tomorrow’

   ba seŋ p-εn fe
   and/so money 3.OBV-give please
   so please give him some money’
Roní say-that 3SG.NOM universe bright (= tomorrow) walk (leave)
‘Roni said that he will leave tomorrow’

From the examples given in (48) and (49), notice that there is a syntactic difference between sentences containing the verb \textit{faleq} alone and sentences containing the verbs \textit{bit}, either alone or together with the verb \textit{faleq}. The difference is that the sentences containing the verb \textit{bit} is a complex sentence that contains a complement clause expressing the report of a speech. The sentences containing the verb \textit{faleq} alone, on the other hand is only a single clause (simple sentence) which is marked by the verb \textit{faleq} at the end to indicate that the clause contains a reported speech. I suggest, therefore, that \textit{faleq} is a ‘hearsay’ evidential particle (Willet, 1988:57, Payne, 1997:252). Thus, Adang contrasts direct evidential which is marked \textit{dai} (4.6) and indirect “hearsay” evidential, which is marked \textit{faleq}. A detailed investigation of \textit{faleq} is still needed.

Direct Speech

The description above has only demonstrated indirect reported speech in Adang. For a direct speech, there is evidence that Adang juxtaposes two clauses. The first clause normally employs verbs like \textit{mateq} ‘talk’, \textit{barobe} ‘speak loudly and angrily’ (by a female person), \textit{tabaq} ‘speak loudly and angrily’ (by a male person), \textit{na-tan} ‘ask me’ \textit{na-hou} ‘command me’ \textit{na-baq} ‘ask me’ and the like; including the verb \textit{bit} ‘say’ or \textit{bit}
plus *e* (*bite ‘say that’*). Following is an example. The underlined verb *aPome* ‘pray’ can be replaced with any appropriate verb (*mateP* ‘speak’, *bit* ‘say’. *PahaP* ‘cry’, *Pa-baP* ‘ask him’, are all possible in the context).

(50)
Sa [hel ti] ta hil-eh sa *aPome*:
3SG.NOM [hang tree = the cross] add /on hang-PROG 3SG.NOM pray
‘While he was hanging on the cross he prayed:

Ni-maP ni-maP taroni fe a na-ri u sibuP
1PL.EXC-father 1PL.EXC-father why FOC 2SG.NOM 1SG-ACC CL forget
‘My father (lit our father), my father, why did you forget me?’
Chapter 11

Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in Adang

This chapter presents a preliminary investigation and analysis of verb serialization or serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Adang. The fundamental question as to whether or not verb serialization in Adang is mono-clausal or multi-clausal (Foley and Olson, 1985:18) is beyond the discussion in this chapter. This discussion is only concerned with the basic characteristics or properties and some basic semantic patterns of SVCs in Adang.

The description in this chapter is organized into two main sections. In 11.1, I present a description of the properties of SVCs in Adang. This involves a brief discussion concerning the absence of conjunctions in a SVC (11.1.1), the intonation constraints of a SVC (11.1.2), the sharing of aspect, mood and negation of verbs of a SVC (11.1.3), degree sharing properties of verbs in a SVC (11.1.4) and the argument sharing properties of SVCs (11.1.5). In the discussion of argument sharing properties of SVCs, I propose syntactic types of SVCs. Based on the subject sharing property, there are same-subject SVCs, switched-subject SVCs and a combination of both. Based on the object sharing property, there are also same-object SVCs, multiple-object SVCs and a combination of both.
In section 11.2, I present some semantic patterns of SVCs. There are two main patterns: the basic patterns of SVCs which contain only two verbs and complex patterns that can contain three to eight verbs (11.2.2).

Two categories of basic patterns are presented in 11.2.1. The first category allows only one verb to occupy the first position of each pattern. There are four types or patterns of SVC in the first category, namely hold-instrumental SVC (11.2.1.1.1), comitative SVC (11.2.1.1.2), causative SVC (11.2.1.1.3) and take SVC (11.2.1.1.4). There are two types or patterns of SVC described in the second category: directional SVC (11.2.1.2.1) and locative SVC (11.2.1.2.2). Each of the two types allows verbs of the same semantic domain, directional or locative, to occupy the first position of the SVC pattern.

11.1. Syntactic Properties of SVCs in Adang

Adang has a proliferation of constructions containing sequences of verbs. Most verbs in Adang can appear in a sequence of verbs. I call the constructions Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) or verb serializations. The characteristic properties of SVCs in Adang, are presented in this section.

11.1.1. The absence of conjunctions between verbs of a SVC: SVCs vs. conjoined verbs

The first criterion or property, is the absence of any conjunction in SVCs (Foley and Olson, 1985:17-60; Bodomo, 1996:90; Durie, 1997). Sequences of verbs in Adang, called
SVCs, are not conjoined by any conjunction. In (1) below, for examples, each sentence contains a SVC. The verbs of the SVC are not conjoined by any conjunctions.

(1) a). Heri dopan pun bel beh
   Heri stick hold dog hit
   'Heri hit dogs with sticks'

   b). Rin hur med meja ta meja
   Rin spoon take table on/add put
   'Rin put spoons on tables'

There are, indeed, sentences such as in (2. a, c, e) which superficially show that like verbs of SVCs (b, d, f), conjoined verbs share aspect (a-b), mood (c-d) and negation (e-f). The rest of the description below and in section (11.1.2-11.6) will show that sentences (a, c, d) are underlyingly conjoined clauses. The description will also show the differences between conjoined verbs or conjoined clauses and clauses containing SVCs.

(2) a). Heri dopan pun e bel beh-eh
   Heri stick hold and dog hit-PROG
   'Heri is holding sticks and is hitting dogs'

   b). Heri dopan pun bel beh-eh
   Heri stick hold dog hit
   'Heri is hitting dogs with sticks'

   c). Heri ma dopan pun e bel beh
   Heri possible sticks hold and dog hit
   'Perhaps Heri held sticks and (perhaps) hit dogs'

   d). Heri ma dopan pun bel beh
   Heri possible stick hold dog hit
   'Perhaps Heri hit dogs with sticks'

   e). Heri 2 e dopan pun e bel beh nen e
   Heri NEG stick hold and dog hit NEG
   'Heri did not hold sticks and (did not) hit dogs'

   f). Heri 2 e dopan pun bel beh nen e
   Heri NEG stick hold dog hit NEG
   'Heri did not hit dog with sticks'

The first difference between conjoined verbs (or clauses) and SVCs, as can be observed from (2) is in terms of the semantics. The verb *puṇ* 'hold', for example, keeps its original meaning in conjoined clauses, as can be observed from the translated (English) versions of (a, c, d). In a SVC, the verb does not keep its original meaning. Instead, its presence in a SVC with other verbs is to mark an instrument used in the action expressed by
the other verb/s in the SVC. In the SVC in (2. b, d, f) it marks the instrument *dopa* 'stick'
used in the action of hitting expressed by the verb *beh* 'hit' that it serializes with.

Following is one more example to compare a SVC with a conjoined verb. The example illustrates that some verbs in Adang are allowed to serialize but cannot be conjoined by the conjunction *e* 'and'.

(3). a). *Roni lame hanöʔaŋ
Roni walk hurry
'Roni walked hurriedly'

b). *Roni lame * hanöʔaŋ
Roni walk and hurry
??'Roni walked and hurried'

As observed, the verb *lame* 'walk' and *hanöʔaŋ* 'hurry', are allowed to serialize as in (a), but cannot be conjoined, as shown by the unacceptable sentence in (b). The reason is also due to the semantic relation between the two verbs. The verb *hanöʔaŋ* 'hurry', in the second position of the SVC *lame hanöʔaŋ* expresses the manner in which the event expressed by the action verb, *lame* 'walk' takes place. Therefore, the two verbs in that order of SVC, cannot be interrupted by a conjunction. A detailed description of the semantic relation between verbs of a SVC will be presented along with the description of semantic patterns of SVC in Adang in section (11.2).

In addition to the semantic difference described above, there are also a few phonological and syntactic differences between a SVC and a conjoined verb structure. In the

1 Compare with Take serial construction in, for example, Haitian and Fon (Lefebvre, 1989:319-337)
following section, I shall illustrate differences in terms of the intonation between sentences containing SVCs and a conjoined verb.

11.1.2. Intonation constraints: SVCs vs. conjoined verbs and complex sentences

The second property of SVCs is the intonation constraint (Crowley, 1987: 38, Durie, 1997: 2). Before I illustrate the intonation pattern of a SVC, first recall that the primary stress in Adang falls on the final syllable of a word. In a compound word, including a SVC, the primary stress falls on the final syllable of the first word of the compound word. The intonation pattern of a sentence rises in pitch at the position of every primary stress (2.2).

Now let us observe the following example. The example shows that the intonation of a clause containing a SVC (a) is the same as that of a mono verbal clause (b). From the example observe that the pitch of intonation in (a) increases at the final syllable of the noun dopaŋ 'stick' and increases again at the position of the mono syllabic verb, i.e. the first verb puŋ of the SVC dopaŋ puŋ bel beh 'hit dogs with sticks'. The intonation pattern richest the highest pitch at the monosyllabic object noun bel of the SVC and begins to decreases at the final verb, the second verb of the SVC. In (b), the intonation pattern richest the highest pitch at the monosyllabic predicate verb and begin to decrease to end the sentence.

(4). a). Heri dopaŋ puŋ bel beh
   Heri stick hold dog hit
   'Heri hit dogs with sticks'

   a). Heri bel beh
   Heri dog hit
   'Heri hit dogs'
Unlike the intonation of a SVC, the intonation of a conjoined verb is similar to that of a complex sentence containing coordinated clauses. To illustrate, I present example (5) where (a) contains a SVC, (b) contains a conjoined verb and (c) is a complex sentence containing coordinated clauses. From the example, observe that the pitch of intonation decreases to level at the position of the conjunction *and* in both (b) and (c), The decrease of intonation at the position of the conjunction in (c) indicates the end of the first clause.

(5). a). Ani mo'oi med 2a-de
   Ani banana take 3.OBV-eat
   'Ani ate bananas'

b). Ani mo'oi med ε 2a-de
   Ani banana take and 3.OBV-eat
   'Ani took bananas and ate them'

c). Ay mo'oi Ani 2-en ε Ani 2a-de
   Ay banana Ani 3.OBV-give and Ani 3.OBV-eat
   'Ay gave Ani bananas and Ani ate (them)'

The next example is repeated from (2.c, d) to compare the difference between the two sentences in terms of intonation. From the example, observe that the intonation of sentence (6.a = 2.c) is the same as that of coordinated clauses. Sentence (6.b = 2.d) containing a SVC, on the other hand, has the same intonation as a mono-clausal clause.

(6). a). Heri ma 2 dopan pup ε bel be'h
   Heri possible stick hold and dog hit
   'Perhaps Heri held sticks and (perhaps) hit dogs'

b). Heri ma 2 dopan pup bel be'h
   Heri possible stick hold dog hit
   'Perhaps Heri hit dog with sticks'

The piece of evidence above, which shows that the intonation of a SVC is the same as that of a mono-verbal clause (4, 6.b) whereas the intonation of a conjoined verb is the
same as that of a complex sentence (5. b, c, 6.a), suggests that a clause containing a conjoined verb as in (5. b, 6. a) is underlyingly from a complex sentence containing coordinated clauses. The subject of the second clause is deleted because it is identical to the subject of the first clause. A clause containing a SVC, on the other hand is inherently a mono-clausal sentence. Therefore it has the same intonation as that of a mono-verbal (mono-clausal) sentence.

11.1.3. The sharing of aspect, mood and negation

The third property of SVCs is concerned with the sharing of aspect, mood, including evidential, and negation (Foley and Olson, 1985:22-25; Crowley, 1987: 38, Durie, 1997.: 2). In chapter 4.4, I argue that the negative particle ְות functions to delimit the negation expressed by the negative adverb ְנהנה to have scope over the predicate phrase of a clause. The particle and the adverb form the pair ְות ... ְנהנה in negating the predicate phrase of a clause. Similarly, in 4.5, I argue that the aspectual clitics -אה, -אמ and particle ְאמ (4.5) function at the level of the predicate phrase of a clause. They can function in conjunction with the evidential particle ְיא (4.6), producing the pair ְיא ...-אה/ -אמ/ ְאמ. I shall employ the two pairs in this section to show that verbs of a SVC share the same aspect and negation. In addition, I shall also show that verbs of a SVC share the same mood is expressed by the sentential adverb modal ְמ2 'possible', ְנוי 'necessary' and ְנוי2ְנוי 'obligatory' (4.2).
11.1.3.1. The sharing of aspect and mood, including evidentiality: SVCs vs. conjoined verbs

First, I demonstrate the scope of aspect and evidentiality on SVCs and conjoined verbs as in (7). Each of the three sentences (a-c) contains three verbs: the transitive verb *med* 'take', the locative verb *ta* 'add' or 'on' and the transitive verb *meña* 'put'. The three verbs appear in a SVC in (a) and in conjoined clauses in (b-c). From the example, observe that the evidential particle *dai* functions in conjunction with the progressive clitic *-eh* in (a). The evidential particle incorporates the progressive situation of the event with the speaker assertion of the event expressed in the sentence (see 4.6 for a detailed description of the use of *dai*). As can be seen, the scope of the progressive aspect as well as the evidentiality expressed by *dai* is over the whole predicate (i.e. the SVC) containing the three verbs.

(7). a). Rin *dai* hur *med* me:ja ta *meña-eh*
   Rin EVID spoon take table on/add put-PROG
   ‘Rin is actually putting spoons on tables’

   b). Rin *dai* hur *med* e me:ja ta *meña-eh*
   Rin EVID spoon take and table on/add put-PROG
   ‘Rin just recently took spoons and is putting (them) on tables’

   c). Rin *dai* hur *med* me:ja ta e meña-eh
   Rin EVID spoon take table on/add and put-PROG
   ‘Rin just (= recently) took spoons to tables and is putting them (on)’

The insertion of the conjunction *e* ‘and’ between the verbs of the SVC in (a) results in different sentences with different meanings, as in (b, c). As can be seen, the two sentences underlyingly contained conjoined clauses, where both the subject and the object of the second clause are omitted because they are identical with the subject and object of the first
clause. One piece of evidence for this claim, as can be seen from the two sentences, is that with the presence of the conjunction *and*, the scope of evidentiality expressed by *dai* is separated from the scope of progressive aspect expressed by *-eh*. Unlike (7. a), the evidential particle *dai* in (b, c) does not function in conjunction with *-eh*; that is, it does not incorporate the progressive aspect expressed by *-eh* with the speaker's assertion of the event. Instead, it incorporates the speaker assertion with the recent past situation of the first event expressed in the first clause of (b, c) and lets the progressive aspect have scope over the second clause which is separated by the conjunction *and* from the first clause. The recent past situation of the first clause is indicated by *dai* (see, example (58) in 4.6.1).

The question then is, is it possible to insert the subject, object or both into the second clause of (7. b, c). Example (8) below illustrates that unless the subject of the second clause is not identical with the subject of the first clause (c, d), the insertion of the subject results in the unacceptable sentences (a, b). Indeed, in a context where there were two different persons named Rin involved in the two different events of (8. a-b), then the sentence might be acceptable. Rin in the second clause of (8. a, b) below, however, is taken to be the same person in the first clause. Therefore, the two sentences are not acceptable. Similarly, unless the object of the second clause is different from the object of the first clause, the insertion of or the repetition of the same object will result in unacceptable sentences.

(8). a). *Rin dai hur med *x* Rin mejata meq-eh*  
Rin EVID spoon take and Rin table on/add put-PROG  

b). *Rin dai hur med mejata *x* Rin meq-eh*  
Rin EVID spoon take table on/add and Rin put-PROG
In terms of the scope of aspect and evidentiality, sentences (7. b, c = 9. c, d) are the same as sentences (8. c, d = 9. a, b), repeated in (9). As can be observed, in both types of sentences (with/without the subject of the second clause), the scope of aspect and the scope of evidentiality are separated by the conjunction е. (Note that the scope of evidentiality is observed from the contextual meaning of dai, i.e. recent past, in the example). Example (9) suggests that sentences like (9. c, d = 7. b, c) and also sentences (2. a, c, e) given earlier are underlyingly complex sentences containing conjoined clauses. They are different from sentences with complex predicates or SVCs.
There are two more points to make about sentence (9. c. d). Firstly, the second clause of (9. c) still contains a SVC, i.e. *ta meq* 'put on'. The clause with the complex predicate or SVC is marked progressive by *-eh* and is separated by the conjunction *e* from the first clause containing the single verb predicate *med* 'take' which is marked recent past by the evidential particle *dai*. In a slightly different way, the first clause of (9. d) has the complex predicate or SVC *med meja ta* 'take onto table'. The clause with the complex predicate is marked recent past by *dai* and is separated by the conjunction *e* from the second clause. The second clause contains the single verb predicate *meq*, and it is marked progressive by *-eh*.

Secondly, the insertion of the conjunction *e* as in (9. c, d) can result in the repetition of the verb *med* as in (10). Even the two sentences in (10) are more common than sentences (9. c, d). In the discussion of take SVC in 11. 2.1.1.4, I suggest that *med* in a SVC, as in the example, either marks a theme argument or simply uncovers the event of 'taking' involved in the whole event expressed by a take SVC

(10). a). Rin dai hur med e meja ta med meq-eh
   Rin EVID spoon take and table on/add take put-PROG
   'Rin just recently took spoons and is putting (them) on tables'

   d). Rin dai hur med meja ta e med meq-eh
   Rin EVID spoon take table on/add and take put-PROG
   'Rin just (= recently) took spoons on to tables and is putting (them)'
The last example below illustrates that verbs of a SVC also share moods other than evidentiality. In the example, I employ the sentential modal adverb *ma2* expressing ‘possible’ mood. Each sentence in the example contains three intransitive verbs: *sam* ‘go’, *tar* ‘lie down’ and *mop* ‘sleep’. The three verbs in (a) appear in a SVC but in (b, c) appear in conjoined verbs or clauses.

(11). a). Rudi *ma2* sam tar mop-am
   Rudi possible go lie down sleep-PERF
   ‘Perhaps Rudi went to sleep’

b). Rudi *ma2* sam ε tar mop-am
   Rudi possible go and lie down sleep-PERF
   ‘Perhaps Rudi went and has lain down to sleep’

c). Rudi *ma2* sam ε Roni tar mop-am
   Rudi possible go and Roni lie down sleep
   ‘Perhaps Rudi went (out) and Roni has lain down to sleep’

d). *Rudi* *ma2* sam ε Roni tar mop-am
   Rudi possible go and Roni lie down sleep

From the English translations of each sentence of the example, observe that first, the scope of possible mood and also the perfective aspect in (b) and (c) are the same. This means that sentence (b) underlyingly contained coordinated clauses, similar to (c). The subject of the second clause is omitted because it is identical to the subject of the first clause. The insertion of the subject, however, results in unacceptable sentence (d) due to the repetition of the subject with the same reference (person).

Secondly, observe that the possible mood expressed by *ma2* and also the perfective aspect expressed by the clitic *-am* in (a) have scope over the whole clause or predicate of the
clause. Unlike (a) the possible mood expressed by \textit{ma'?} in (b) and (c) only has scope over the first clause or verb which is separated by the conjunction \textit{e} from the second clause. Similarly the perfective aspect expressed by the aspectual clitic -\textit{am} only has scope over the second clause or verb in each of the two sentences. Thus, verbs in the SVC in (a) share the same possible mood and also the same perfective aspect but the verbs in conjoined verb structures or clauses in (b, c) do not share the same aspect and mood.

To conclude, verbs of SVCs in a sentence share the same aspect and the same mood, including evidentiality. In contrast, conjoined verbs or do not have to share the same aspect or mood. Therefore the insertion of the conjunction \textit{e} ‘\emph{and}’ between verbs of a SVC, changes the sentence with the complex predicate or SVC, into different sentences containing conjoined clauses with different meanings.

11.1.3.2. The sharing of negation: SVCs vs. conjoined verbs

The following example shows that verbs of the SVC \textit{dopa' \textit{pun} bel beh} ‘hit dogs with sticks’ share the same negative polarity. The whole predicate phrase containing the SVC \textit{dopa' \textit{pun} bel beh} is negated by the pair \textit{\textsc{2e} ...\textsc{nene}}. As noted earlier, the verb \textit{pun}, in the SVC in both sentences marks instrument.

(12). Heri \textit{\textsc{2e} \textit{dopa' \textit{pun} bel beh nene}}
\begin{tabular}{l}
Heri NEG stick hold dog hit NEG \end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘Heri did not hit dogs with sticks’
\end{tabular}
Now I insert the conjunction e ‘and’ between the verbal constituents dopan puŋ ‘hold sticks’ and bel beh ‘hit dogs’, as in (13. a). From the example, observe that the verb puŋ no longer marks instrument; and that the sentence contains conjoined verbs (verbal constituents) or clauses but not a SVC.

(13). a). Heri 2e dopan puŋ e bel beh nene
   Heri NEG stick hold and dog hit NEG
   ‘Heri did not hold sticks to hit dogs’
   (i.e. Hery held sticks, but not to use it for hitting dogs)

b). Heri 2e bel beh u dopan puŋ nene
   Heri NEG dog hit CL stick hold NEG
   ‘Heri did not hold sticks to hit dogs’
   (i.e. Hery held sticks, but not to use it for hitting dogs)

c). Heri 2e dopan puŋ nene e (2e) bel beh nene
   Heri NEG stick hold NEG and NEG dog hit NEG
   ‘Heri did not hold sticks and did not hit dogs either’

Semantically, the two events expressed by conjoined verbs or clauses in (13. a) have an action-purpose semantic relation, where the scope of negation is over the purpose event expressed by bel be2 ‘hit dogs’ but not the action event expressed by dopan puŋ ‘holding sticks’. Thus, verbs or verbal constituents in the sentence do not share the same negative polarity. The sentence is synonymous with (b) where the purpose event expressed by bel beh ‘hit dogs’ is nominalized and marked oblique argument by the oblique pronominal clitic u. Like in (a) the scope of negation is over the purpose event but not the action of holding sticks. To compare with coordinated negative clauses, I also provide (13. c). As can

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2 The placement of 2e after the subject of the sentence is not normal but still acceptable. The sentence is alternatively used in place of (b). The normal position of 2e is after e (see 4.4). Therefore, although it is placed after the subject it negates the clause after e, the second clause but not the first clause.
be seen, the verbs of coordinated clauses or verbal constituents do not either share the same negative polarity.

In the last example below, I manipulate the scope of negation by placing the negative particle 2e between the verbal constituents dopanj pujn ‘hold sticks’ and bel beh ‘hit dogs’. As can be seen, unless the negative particle is preceded by a determiner (b), the sentence is not acceptable. Moreover, the acceptable sentence does contain a SVC. Instead, the verbal constituent dopanj pujn modifies the subject head noun Heri obligatorily followed by a determiner. The negation expressed by the pair 2e...nene only has scope over the verbal predicate bel beh but not the verbal modifier dopanj pujn.

(14). a). *Heri dopanj pujn 2e bel beh nene
   Heri stick  hold NEG dog hit  NEG

   b). Heri dopanj pujn ho 2e bel beh nene
   Heri stick  hold DEF NEG dog hit  NEG
   ‘That Heri who holds sticks did not hit dogs’

To conclude, this section demonstrates that the verbs of a SVC share the same negative polarity in a clause. In contrast, the conjoined verbs or clauses do not share the same negative polarity.

11.1.4. The property of degree sharing

As described in 4.3 and also in 8.1.2, verbs, or the action expressed by verbs, can be graded into different levels of either comparative or non-comparative degree. When verbs
appear in SVCs, then verbs of the same SVC share the same degree levels. Following are two examples, where the SVC *karesau seu lap* 'work looking for money' in (a) is at the over degree or excessive level of non-comparative gradation, whereas the SVC *sam na luh* 'go hunting wild animals' in (c) is at the level one degree of comparative gradation.

(15). a). Bain maŋ karesau seu lap bi2
   Bain only work money look for very/ a lot
   'Bain works too hard making money'

b). *Bain maŋ karesau seu lap bi2
   Bain only work and money look for very/ a lot

c). Name foi mi sam na luh bi2
   person again COMP go thing (wild animal) hunt a lot
   'People go hunting wild animals a lot more (e.g. than us)'

d). *Name foi mi sam e na luh bi2
   person again COMP go and thing (wild animal) hunt a lot

From (15. a, c) observe that verbs of the SVC in each of the sentences share the same degree: the verbs of *karesau seu lap* 'work looking for money' in (a) share the same over degree level of non-comparative gradation, whereas the verbs of *sam na luh* 'go hunting wild animals' in (c) share the same level one comparative degree. The insertion of the conjunction *e* between verbs or verbal constituents of the SVCs results in the unacceptable sentences in (b, d).

The reason is as follows. Sentence (a) can be a conjoined clause, where the subject of the second clause is omitted because it is identical to the subject of the first clause. However, with the absence of the subject of the second clause, the adverb *maŋ* appears to
function in conjunction with the verbal adverb $bi^2$ to assign the over degree level to all verbs (SVC) in the sentence; but its function in conjunction with $bi^2$ is interrupted by the conjunction $e$ 'and'. The same reason is also true for (d) particularly with respect to the comparative morpheme $mi$ which is separated from $bi^2$ by the conjunction $e$.

In the next example I manipulate the scope of degree in (15. a, c) by placing the adverb $ma^\nu$ between the verbs or the verbal constituents $kares\nu^a$ 'work' and $se^\nu$ lap $bi^2$ 'look for money a lot' in (a =16. a) and by placing the adverb $foi$ and the comparative morpheme $mi$ between the verbs or the verbal constituents $sam$ 'go' and $na$ luh 'hunt wild animals' in (c =16. b).

(16). a). Bain $kares\nu$, $ma^\nu$ $se^\nu$ lap $bi^2$
   Bain work only and money look for very/a lot
   'Bain works, looking for money too much'

b). Nam$e$ $sam$, $foi$ $mi$ $na$ luh $bi^2$
   person go again COMP thing (wild animal) hunt a lot
   'People went, hunting wild animals a lot more (e.g. than us)

From (16) observe that the scope of degree is not over both verbal constituents in each of the examples. Instead, the scope of degree or intensity is only over the verbal constituent ($ma^\nu$) $se^\nu$ lap $bi^2$ in (a) and over the verbal constituent ($foi$ $mi$) $na$ luh ($bi^2$) in (b). The question is, can the constituent $kares\nu$ $ma^\nu$ $se^\nu$ lap $bi^2$ in (a) and $sam$ $foi$ $mi$ $na$ luh $bi^2$ in (b) still be regarded as SVCs.
Instead of claiming whether or not the two constituents mentioned above are SVCs, I want to make two points about the two sentences (verbal constituents). Firstly, phonologically, there can be a pause between the first verbal constituent and the adverb *maŋ* in (a); and between the first verbal constituent and the adverb *foi* in (b). Unlike (15. b, d), there is still a semantic relation between *karaẹsẹŋ* 'work' and *ẹŋ ẹŋ* lap *bi2* 'looking for money a lot' in (16. a) although the adverb *maŋ* is put between the two. Likewise, there is a semantic relation between *sam* 'go' and *na luḥ bi2* 'hunt wild animal a lot' in (16. b) although the adverb *foi* and comparative morpheme *mi* are placed between the two constituents. I suggest that the semantic relation between verbs of both constituents is an action-purpose relation; similar to that of the SVCs *maŋ karaẹsẹŋ ẹŋ ẹŋ* lap *bi2* and *foi mi sam na luḥ bi2* in (15. a, c) repeated in (17) below.

(17). a). Bain *maŋ karaẹsẹŋ ẹŋ* lap *bi2*
   Bain only work money look for very/a lot
   ‘Bain works too hard making money’

   c). Namẹ *foi mi sam na luḥ bi2*
   person again COMP go thing (wild animal) hunt a lot
   ‘People go hunting wild animals a lot more (e.g. than us)’

Although the problem as mentioned with respect to example (16) above still needs to be studied, based on the piece of evidence in (17) I conclude here that verbs of SVCs also share the same degree.
11.1.5. The argument sharing properties

The next property of SVCs to be discussed here is in terms of argument sharing (Foley and Olson, 1985: 17-60; Crowley, 1987:38; Durie, 1997, 2; Bodomo, 1996:90). Note that this description of the argument sharing properties is based on basic semantic patterns of SVCs only. A basic pattern contains only two verbs. When the basic patterns are combined to form a complex semantic pattern of SVCs, which may contain up to eight verbs, the argument sharing properties becomes complex.

Indeed, the argument sharing properties not only vary among different basic semantic patterns of SVCs but also vary within a basic pattern, as will be observed in (11.2.1), depending on the types of verbs involved in a SVC. Some basic patterns also have complex argument sharing properties, like that of a complex pattern. However, they still can be traced back or drawn into the general patterns of argument sharing as described in this section. I begin with the subject sharing properties.

11.1.5.1. Subject sharing properties: Syntactic types of SVCs

Most SVCs in Adang contain verbs that share the same subject. This is the first general pattern of Subject sharing properties of SVCs in Adang. Syntactically, I call these SVCs “same-subject” SVCs, following Foley and Olson (1985: 26). The subject itself is

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3 Patterns of SVCs drawn based on the semantic relation between verbs of a SVC.
called 'shared subject' in this thesis. A few examples of same subject SVCs are presented in (18-19) below. More examples can be observed in 11.2.

In (18), both (a) and (b) contain a directional intransitive verb followed by another intransitive verb. Both verbs in each of the examples share the same subject, as indicated with the lines above each example.

(18). a). Heri lame hanoʔan \[\rightarrow\] Heri \[\leftarrow\] walk hurry
\[\text{Heri walked hurriedly}\]

b). Heri sam don \[\rightarrow\] Heri \[\leftarrow\] go shop
\[\text{Heri went shopping}\]

In the next example, (a) contains a directional intransitive verb followed by a transitive verb whereas example (b) contains a directional intransitive verb followed by an applicative verb. In each of the examples, both verbs also share the same subject. In addition, the transitive verb in (a) takes an object of its own. Similarly, the applicative verb in (b) takes an object of its own. Note that, as used in this thesis, the lines above the example link a verb to its subject and the lines under it link a verb to its object.

(19). a). Heri sam be fel \[\rightarrow\] Heri \[\leftarrow\] go mango buy
\[\text{Heri went (to) buy mangoes}\]

b). Heri hoʔ n-e-mariŋ \[\rightarrow\] Heri \[\leftarrow\] arrive 1SG-ALL-tell
\[\text{Heri came (to) tell (= invite) me}\]

Besides sharing the same subject, in a few SVCs, the object of one verb of the SVC switches to become the actor (or the subject) of the other verb. The subject itself is
called ‘switched subject’ in this thesis and the SVCs are, syntactically, called “switch-subject” SVCs, following Crowley (1987:39). The SVCs of this group are those that involve the verb for ‘command’ (ahou ‘command you’, nahou ‘command me’ and other verbs of the same root) or the ditransitive verb for ‘give’ (en ‘give you’, nen ‘give me’ and other verbs of the same root). The two verbs normally occupy the first position in the switch-subject SVCs. Two examples, one for each verb, are given in (20) below. (Note that the dotted lines under each sentence is for anaphoric relation).

\[
\begin{align*}
(20). \text{a). } & \text{Ella } \text{n- } \text{nen } \text{2a-de} \\
\text{Ella fish } 1\text{SG-give } 3\text{.OBV-eat} \\
\text{‘Ella fed me with fish’} \\
\text{(Lit. Ella gave me fish to eat)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(20). \text{b). } & \text{Roni Rin } 2\text{a-hou} \\
\text{Roni Rin } 3\text{.OBV-command } \text{rice cook} \\
\text{‘Roni asked Rin (to) cook rice’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

As indicated with the lines, the switched-subject in (20. a) is the first singular pronominal prefix na- attached to the verb nen ‘give me’. It switches from the beneficiary object of the verb nen to become the subject of the second verb, i.e., 2ade ‘eat it/them …’. The switched-subject in (b) is the third person obviative pronominal prefix 2a- attached to the verb 2ahou ‘command him/her …’, the adjunct of which is Rin. It switches from the object of the verb 2ahou ‘command him/her …’ to become the subject of the verb dou ‘cook’. Note that, semantically, the ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’ like nen in (20. a), when appearing in a SVC, has an assistential (assistance) meaning. (For details, see 11.2.1.1.3.2).
In addition to the first two patterns of subject sharing properties mentioned above, there is also a group of SVCs that contain both a shared subject and a switched subject. Even the switched-subject itself can be shared in this group of SVCs. I regard the group of SVCs as a combination of the first two types of SVCs above. The SVCs of this group are those that involve causative verbs such as amuj ‘cause you to fall down’ or 2ahid ‘cause it/them … break’ and other verbs of the same type.

The SVC in (21) below, for example, contains the causative verb 2amine ‘cause it/them … die’ followed by the verb han2apaj ‘hurry’. As indicated by the lines, the switched-subject in the SVC is the third person obviative pronominal prefix 2a- (‘a’ is deleted) attached to the causative verb 2amine, the adjunct (reference) of which is boi ‘pig’. It switches from the causee object of the causative morpheme a-…-ε to become the subject of both the root min ‘die’ of the causative verb and the verb han2apaj ‘hurry’. The switched-subject is shared by the root min of the causative verb and the verb han2apaj. The causer subject Laka is taken by the causative morphemes a-…-ε alone.

(21) Laka boi 2-a - min-ε han2apaj

Laka pig 3.OBV-CAUS-die-CAUS hurry
‘Laka made pigs die hurriedly’
When a causative verb occupies the second position of a SVC, the shared-subject is not the switched-subject. Instead, the causer subject is shared by the first verb and the causative morphemes of the causative verb. The switched-subject is taken only by the root of the causative verb. To illustrate, I modified example (21) by inverting the two verbs in the example and repeated it in (22). As observed, the meaning of the sentence also changes and is not the same as that of (21).

(22). Laka hano2aq boi 2-a-mm-c
Laka hurry pig 3.OBV-CAUS-die-CAUS
'Laka hurriedly kill pigs' (Lit. Laka hurried (to) make pigs die)

To summarize, in general, there are three patterns of subject sharing properties. The first pattern is found in SVCs where verbs of the SVC share the same subject. Syntactically, these SVCs are called the same-subject SVCs. The second pattern is found in SVCs where the object of one verb of the SVC switches to become the actor (subject) of the second verb. Syntactically, these SVCs are called the switched-subject SVCs. The last pattern is the combination of the first two patterns above. It is found in a SVC that contains both a shared subject and a switched subject.

11.1.5.2. Object sharing properties: Syntactic types of SVCs.

There are a few SVCs in Adang where the verbs of the SVCs share the same object. This is the first general pattern of object sharing properties of SVCs in Adang. The object is called 'shared object' in this thesis and the SVCs are syntactically called 'same-object SVCs'.
The same object SVCs are normally found in SVCs containing a transitive verb followed by a morphological causative verb (8.2.2.5), as in \textit{beh 2-a-min-e} (hit - 3.OBV-CAUS-die-CAUS) 'hit him/it to die', \textit{2od 2-a-muj} (to stone - CUAUS-fall-down) 'stone it to fall down' or \textit{tefag 2-a-tuh-up} (carry - 3.OBV-CAUS-stand-CAUS) meaning roughly 'make it stand'.

This same object SVC is also commonly found in SVCs containing two transitive verbs such as in \textit{tefag me\texteta} (carry - put) 'to put' or \textit{2-a-tei pun} (3.OBV-lift hold) 'hold it up'. A transitive index verb also commonly appears in this same object SVC. In a same object SVC, an index verb normally occurs in the second position, as in \textit{2a-de ho-ni} (3.OBV-eat - DEF-resemble/ like) 'eat like that'.

The most frequent same object SVC is the one that involves the verb \textit{med} 'take'. Most transitive verbs can followed \textit{med}, and share the same object with \textit{med}. Two examples are given in (23). As observed both verbs in each of the example share the same object. The shared-object in (a) is \textit{sura \texteta} 'letter/book', whereas the shared-object in (b) is \textit{se\texteta} 'money'. As can be seen, verbs in each of the example also share the same subject.

\begin{itemize}
\item[(23). a)] John \textit{sura \texteta} med \textit{me\texteta}.
\begin{itemize}
\item John letter take put
\item John has put letters.
\end{itemize}
\item[(23). c)] John \textit{se\texteta} med \textit{tamu2}.
\begin{itemize}
\item John money take store
\item 'John stored/saved some money'
\item 'John took saved some money'
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
Note that I call SVCs with the verb *med 'take'* occupying the first position as 'take' SVCs. I describe them in detail in 11.2.1.1.4.

Besides sharing the same object, in many SVCs each verb of the SVC selects its own object. Syntactically I call these SVCs 'multiple objects SVCs' in this thesis. A multiple object SVC can be found in such basic semantic patterns as a take SVC, as in (24. a), and a hold-instrumental SVC (11.2.1.1.1) when the verb *pup* of the SVC is followed by a transitive (24. b) or an applicative verb. It can also be found in a comitative SVC (11.2.1.1.2) when the verb meaning 'be(ing)' (which marks a comitative participant) is followed by a transitive verb (24. d), an applicative verb (24. c) or a causative verb. As observed from each of the examples below, each verb in each of the examples selects an object of its own. There is no shared-object.

A third general pattern of the object sharing property is found in SVCs where verbs of the SVCs share the same object but, at the same time, one verb of the SVCs takes one

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(24). a. *Ella Ay med 2 - a-tar-ar*

Ella Ay take 3.OBV-CAUS lie down-CAUS

'Ella made (helped) Ay lie down'

b. *Rin dir pup ab tato?*

Rin knife hold fish chop

'Rin chopped fish with a knife'

c. *Eni 2amo 2a-ra n-el-tafunig*

Eni cat 3.OBV-be 1SG-AB-hide

'Eni hid from me with (bringing) cats'

d. *Supi tara ala dou*

3PL 1PL.INC.DIS-be rice cook

'They cook rice together with each of us'

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*ara 'be with you, nara 'be with me' and others with the same root*
more object of its own. In (25) below, for instance, the verbs *med* ‘take’ and *mi* ‘in/ at’ in (a) share the same object, i.e., *seŋ* ‘money’ but at the same time the verb *mi* of the SVC selects an object of its own, i.e. the locative object *dec* ‘wallet’. Similarly, the verbs *med* ‘take’ and *nen* ‘give me’ in (b) share the same object, i.e., *seŋ* ‘money’ but at the same time the verb *nen* ‘give me’ takes a beneficiary object of its own, i.e. the first singular pronominal prefix *na-* attached to it.

(25). a). Ince *seŋ*med *dec*mi

Ince money take wallet in/ at
‘Ince put some money in wallets’

b). Ella *seŋ*med *nen*

Ella money take 1SG-give
‘Ella gave me some money’

Note that, so far, a SVC with a shared-object and an additional object for one verb of the SVC is found in take SVC, when the verb *med* of the pattern is followed by a locative-action\(^5\) verb (25. a) or a ditransitive verb (25. b). It can also be found in give-causative SVC (11.2.1.1.3.2).

In cases when SVCs contain an intransitive verb, only one verb of the SVC takes either one or two objects. In (a-b) of the following examples, for instance, only the allative-possessive applicative verb *nəlap* (a) and the allative-locative applicative verb *lehel* (b) in the SVCs take an object. In (c) only the locative-action verb *mi* ‘in/ at’ takes two objects of

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\(^5\) I also call verbs like *mi* ‘in/ at’ in (25. a) a locative-action verb because when appearing at the end of a sentence, as in (a), they are active but when appearing before another verb in a sentence, they merely mark a location. (For details see 8.2.2.3).
its own. Similarly in (d) only the ditransitive verb *nen* ‘give me’ takes two objects of its own.

(26). a). Jos ʃɔŋ n-e-lap (ALL /e/ → ø)

Jos arrive 1SG-ALL-GEN look for
Jos came to me

b). Toni hɛl mol l-e-hɛl

Toni go down river ALL-go down
’Toni went down to the river’

c). Ince pac ʃɔŋ deq mi

Ince slow money wallet in/ at
‘Ince will put/ put some money in wallets later on’ (not now or soon, or in a hurry).

d). Ince hannɔŋ ʃɔŋ n-e

Ince hurry money 1SG-give
‘Ince will soon give me some money’ or ‘Ince gave me some money earlier’

To summarize, in general, there are four patterns of the object sharing properties of SVCs in Adang. The first pattern is found in SVCs where verbs of the SVCs share the same object. Syntactically, the SVCs are called “same-object” SVCs. The second pattern is found in SVCs where each verb of the SVCs selects its own object. Thus, there is no shared object. Syntactically, the SVCs are called “multiple object” SVCs. The third pattern is the combination of the first two. It is found in the SVCs where verbs of the SVCs share the same object, but at the same time one verb of the SVCs selects one more object of its own. The last pattern is found in SVCs where only one verb of the SVC selects either one or two objects of its own.

11.2. Semantic patterns of SVCs in Adang

As will be described in this section, I classify SVCs in Adang into different patterns based on the semantic relation between the verbs of a SVC. From this semantic
perspective, I have grouped SVCs into simple or basic patterns, containing only two verbs and complex patterns which can contain up to eight verbs. Section 11.2.1 presents the basic semantic patterns of SVCs.

11.2.1. Some basic semantic patterns of SVCs in Adang

I further categorize the basic patterns of SVC into two categories. The first category contains SVCs where the first position of the SVC is only filled by one verb. The exception is the causative-SVC that employs three different verbs to occupy the first position of the SVC pattern. The second category contains SVCs where the first position is open to verbs of the same semantic domain. In other words, each type of SVC in the second category allows verbs of the same semantic domain to occupy the first position of the pattern or type of SVC.

11.2.1.1. Category-1 of basic semantic patterns of SVC

There are four patterns in this category. The four patterns are hold-instrumental SVC, comitative SVC, causative SVC and take SVC. I describe each of the four types as follows.

11.2.1.1.1. 'Hold'- Instrumental SVC

Adang employs the verb *pup* originally meaning 'hold' to mark instrument in the instrumental SVC\(^6\). Therefore I also refer to this pattern of SVC as 'hold-instrumental'.

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\(^6\) Instrumental SVC in some other languages employs the verb meaning 'take'. For example, instrumental SVC Haitian an in Fon (Lefebvre, 1989). Other examples are mentioned in Durie (1997., 15, 26-27).
SVC. Distributionally, the verb *puṇ* occupies the first position of the hold-instrumental SVC. The second position is open to most types of verbs. The most common verbs allowed to follow *puṇ* in this pattern of SVC are transitive verbs such as *hor* ‘cut’, *tato2* ‘chop’, *pade* ‘eat it/them’…’ and the like. Following are a few examples.

(27). a). Ani hur puṇ lafaŋ 2a-de:.
   Ani spoon hold watermelon 3.OBV-eat
   ‘Ani ate watermelons with spoons.’

   b). Rin dir puṇ ab tato2.
      Rin knife hold fish chop
      ‘Rin chopped fish with a knife’

   c). Ay pensil puṇ sura2 hul
      Ay pencil hold book/letter write
      ‘Ay wrote letters with pencils’

   d). Roni s-ō kuфа2 puṇ ludum2 2a-tel
      Roni 3.PROX-GEN strength hold post 3.OBV-lift
      ‘Roni lifted up posts with his strength’
      * ‘Roni held his strength lifting up posts’

As observed, the original meaning of the verb *puṇ* ‘hold’ in the examples above is not taken into account for the understanding of the sentence. Instead it is translated into English as ‘with’, indicating that the object it takes is an instrument used in the action expressed by its following verb in the SVC. When it is understood (or translated into English) as ‘hold’, as shown in the second translated version of (d), the translated version is not acceptable meaning of the original sentence. I have, therefore put a star in front of the second translated version of (d).

The verb *puṇ* in sentences (27) can be omitted to produce a sentence with a single verb. However, when the verb is omitted the noun expressing the instrument used in the action expressed in each of the sentences is also omitted. For example, when *puṇ* ‘hold’ in
(27. c) is omitted, the noun *pensil ‘pencil’ is also omitted producing the sentence Ay sura ʔhul ‘Ay wrote a letter’. A sentence like *Ay pensil _ sura ʔhul is not acceptable.

In terms of the argument sharing, both verbs in the pattern share the same subject. When the verb *puŋ of the pattern is followed by a transitive verb, each verb selects its own object. To illustrate, I represent (27. a-b) in (28) where the lines above each sentence link a verb to its subject; and the lines under it link a verb to its object. Note that lafaŋ in (a) is the referent of the third person obviative pronominal prefix object attached to the verb ḏade. It can be omitted in contexts where it is understood.

Besides the transitive verbs above, the verb *puŋ of hold-instrumental SVC can also be followed by a causative verb. Semantically the verb *puŋ still marks an instrument, namely the instrument used in the cause event. An example is given in (29). Literally, the sentence means ‘Laka caused pigs die with a knife’.


b). Rin dir *puŋ ab tatɔʔ Rin knife hold fish chop ‘Rin chopped fish with knife’

(29). Laka dir *puŋ boi ḏa-min-ɛ Laka knife hold pig 3.OBV-CAUS-die-CAUS ‘Laka caused pigs to die with a knife’
In terms of the argument sharing, as observed from the example above, the verb *puŋ* and the causative morpheme of a causative verb share the same subject. The verb *puŋ* then, selects an object (i.e., an instrumental object) of its own. Similarly, the causative morpheme selects a causee object. The causee object, then, switches to become the subject of the root of the causative verb.

In addition to the above transitive and cause-action verbs, a few intransitive and applicative verbs can also follow the verb *puŋ* in this pattern. However, the meaning resulting from the serialization of the verb *puŋ* with such verbs is strongly determined by the semantic relation between the verbs and between verbs and their arguments in the pattern. In (30), for example, the referent of the noun *sat* ‘his/her mouth’ in (a) is part of human body used for speaking (including telling and inviting). It is semantically strongly related to the verb *nemariŋ* ‘tell me/invite me’. Therefore there is no doubt that the presence of the verb *puŋ* in the sentence is to mark *sat* ‘his mouth’ as the instrument of the action ‘tell’ or ‘invite’ expressed by the verb *nemariŋ*. Similarly, the noun *dopaŋ* in (b) means ‘stick’ used as a tool to do things, especially by an old person for walking or by a child (a baby) who is learning to walk. The presence of the verb *puŋ* in the sentence is, therefore to mark *dopaŋ* ‘stick’ as the instrument of the action of walking expressed by the verb *lame*. 
In (31), however it is very unusual for the verb puŋ in both (a) and (b) to mark its preceding noun as an instrument. The reason is because it is very unusual for some one to walk (including arrive /come in (b)) with a sword as an instrument or an assistance to walking (except in a very difficult circumstance that forces him to do so). I have, therefore, translated sapad ‘sword’ in the two sentences not as an instrument of the event or action expressed by its following verb in the sentences.

(31). a). Ulı sapad puŋ lame
Ulı sword hold walk
‘Ulı walked holding a sword
(in her hands)’

b). Bain sapad puŋ 3.ho:2
Bain sword hold 1SG-ALL-arrive
‘Bain came to me holding a swords
(in his hands)’

In terms of argument sharing, when puŋ of this pattern is followed by an intransitive verb, as in (30. b) repeated in (32. b), both verbs share the same subject. The verb puŋ takes an object of its own. When it is followed by an applicative verb, as in (30. a) repeated in (32. a), both verbs share the same subject but each of them selects its own object similar to when puŋ is followed by a transitive verb. Note that, except for an ablative applicative verb meaning ‘hide’ (like neltafuniŋ ‘hide ...from me’, teltafiŋ ‘hide ...from us’), all applicative verbs are derived from intransitive verbs with an increase in valence by one. Thus, they have both a subject and an object argument (see 8.2.1.3, for details).

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7 The presence of puŋ in (30. a) is pragmatically motivated. It, can be omitted without changing the meaning. If puŋ in (30. b) is omitted, the resulting sentence *Ulı dopaŋ lame* is not acceptable.
Except for the semantic and argument sharing properties of the hold-instrumental SVC described so far, this pattern shares all other syntactic properties, described in 11.1, with other SVCs. The following examples show that verbs of this pattern of SVC share the same (negative) polarity, aspect, mood and degree.

Distributionally, verbs in the hold-instrumental SVC are fixed in order. Therefore they cannot be inverted, as indicated by the following unacceptable sentences.
11.2.1.1.2. Comitative SVC

The only verb that can occupy the first position of this comitative SVC is the verb meaning ‘be(ing)’ which obligatorily inflects for persons, like ara ‘be with you’, nara ‘be with me’, and other verbs of the same root (I shall refer to the verb as comitative verb, in this section). As identified so far, most verbs, can follow the comitative verb in the comitative SVC. In the comitative SVC, the comitative verb marks a comitative participant involved in the action expressed by the following verb.

Example (35) gives some examples, where the comitative verb is followed by an intransitive verb in (a, c), a transitive verb in (b), an allative applicative verb in (d) and a causative verb in (e). The comitative participant in (a), for example, is the first person plural exclusive attached to the comitative verb in the form of a pronominal prefix, i.e. ni-. From the examples, especially (e-f), observe that the omission of the comitative verb from a SVC will automatically omit the comitative participant involved in the action expressed by the main verb.

(35). a). Adi ni-ra mih
    Adi IPL.EXC-be sit (= stay)
    ‘Adi stays/ stayed with us’

    b). Supi sa-ra mud fel
    3PL 3.PROX-be orange buy
    ‘They bought oranges together’

c). Suraʔ ho ʔa-ra ma!
    letter/book DEF 3.OBV come
    ‘Bring the letter/book (here)!’
    (Lit. Come with the book here!)

d). Eni Os ʔa-ra n-ʔhoʔ
    Eni Os 3.OBV-be 1SG-ALL-arrive
    ‘Eni came to me together with Os’

e). Toni na-ra ti a-ʔol
    Toni 1SG-be tree CAUS-fallover
    ‘Toni made trees fall over together with me’

    f). Toni na-ra ti a-ʔol
    Toni 1SG-be tree CAUS-fallover
    ‘Toni made trees fall over’
The next example contains the comitative verb followed by the ablative applicative verb meaning ‘hide’. The comitative verb 2ara ‘be with it/ him ..’ in the SVC marks the comitative participant, i.e. the third person obviative pronominal prefix 2a- attached to it, the reference of which is 2amɔ ‘cat’.

(36). a). Eni 2amɔ 2a-ra n-el-tafunị
   Eni cat 3.OBV-be 1SG-AB-hide
   ‘Eni hid from me with (bringing) cats’

As observed from example (35) and (36), syntactically, a comitative participant in a comitative SVC is the object of the comitative verb. Semantically it involves or takes part in the action expressed by the other verb of the SVC. However, it cannot be analyzed as a switch subject. In the example Adi nira mih ‘Adi stays (or sat down) with us’ (35.a), for example, the comitative participant referred to by the first plural exclusive pronominal prefix ni- is involved in the action of staying or sitting down expressed by the verb mih. However, it is not a switched-subject, because the main actor of the action of staying or sitting expressed by the sentence is Adi; and she is the subject of the sentence. The first plural exclusive person referred to by the pronominal prefix ni- is only a participant in the action but is not a switched-subject in the sentence.

It is also impossible to analyze a comitative SVC as containing two subjects because inherently, a verb can only have one subject argument. Thus, as sentence (35. a) quoted above, primarily expresses Adi’s action of staying or sitting down; the subject of the sentence is Adi. The fact, that in her sitting down, she is accompanied by a first
plural exclusive person (= us) referred to by the pronominal prefix \textit{ni-}, does not make \textit{ni-}
a second subject of the verb \textit{mih} in the sentence.

The argument sharing property of the comitative SVCs is illustrated in the following examples. The second verb in (a) is an intransitive verb, in (b) is an allative applicative verb, in (c) is an ablative applicative verb and in (d) is a transitive verb. In terms of a subject sharing, observe that in all the examples, the SVCs share the same subject. In terms of an object sharing, except if the second verb is an intransitive verb as in (a), each verb in the SVC selects its own object. There is no shared object, as observed from the examples.

\begin{itemize}
\item[(37). a]. Adi \textit{ni-}ra \textit{mih}  
Adi 1PL.EX-be sit (= stay)  
\textquote{Adi stays/ stayed with us'}
\item[(b)]. Eni Os \textit{?a-}ra \textit{n-}e-ho?  
Eni Os 3.OBV-be 1SG-ALL-arrive  
\textquote{Eni came to me together with Os'}
\item[(c)]. Eni \textit{?}am\text{\textcircled{c}} \textit{?a-}ra \textit{n-}el-\textit{tafuni}  
Eni cat 3.OBV-be 1SG-AB-hide  
\textquote{Eni hid from me with (bringing) cats'}
\item[(d)]. Supi \textit{ta-}ra \textit{ala dou}  
3PL 1PL.INC.DIS-be rice cook  
\textquote{They cooked rice together with each of us'}
\end{itemize}

When the second verb of a comitative SVC is a causative verb, the comitative verb
and the causative morpheme of the causative verb share the same subject. The root of the
causative verb takes a switched subject, which switches from the causee object of the
causative morpheme. The causative morpheme, then, takes a causee object, and the
comitative verb also takes an object of its own. There is no shared object.
In (38) below, for example, the root ra of the comitative verb nara ‘be with me’ and the causative morpheme a- of the cause-action verb a2ol ‘cause-fall over’ share the same subject namely Toni. The root ra of the comitative verb, then, takes a comitative object, i.e. the first singular pronominal prefix na- attached to it. The causative morpheme a- takes the causee object ti ‘tree’, which then switches to become the subject of the root 2ol ‘fall over’ of the causative verb.

(38). Toni na-ra ti a-2ol

Toni 1SG-be tree CAUS-fall over
‘Toni made trees fall over together with me’

Except for the above semantic and argument sharing properties, this comitative SVC shares syntactic properties, described in (11.1), with other SVCs. Distributionally, the order of verbs in the comitative SVC is also fixed, like in other SVCs. Therefore, when they are inverted the result is not acceptable, as shown in (39).

(39). a). *Adi mih ni-ra
Adi sit (= stay) 1PL-be
b). *Supi mud fel sa-ra
3PL orange buy 3.PROX-be
c). *Sura? ho ma ?a-ra!
letter/ book DEF come 3.OBV
d). *Eni n-chɔ? Os ?a-ra
Eni 1SG-ALL-arrive Os 3.OBV-be
e). *Toni ti a-2ol na-ra
Toni tree CAUS-fall over 1SG-be
f). *Eni n-el-tafuniŋ ?amo ?a-ra
Eni 1SG-AB-hide cat 3.OBV-be
11.2.1.1.3. Causative SVC

There are three verbs that occupy the first position of this causative SVC, but they are not causative verbs. The three verbs are the transitive experiencer verb meaning ‘affect’, such as nan ‘affect me’, an ‘affect you’, and other verbs of the same root; the transitive verb meaning ‘command’ such as nahou ‘command me’, abou ‘command you’ and other verbs of the same root and the ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’ such as nen ‘give me’, en ‘give you’ and other verbs of the same root. I call SVCs of this type causative SVCs because, they have causative structure or formation even though the initial verb of this pattern is not from any of the three types of causative verbs described in 8.2.2.5. I shall present the causative SVC in three different sections with each of the three initial verbs mentioned above.

11.2.1.1.3.1. Command-causative SVC

I call this type of causative SVC command causative SVC because the initial verb of this pattern of SVC is the verb meaning ‘command’, like nahou ‘command me’, abou ‘command you’ and others. Moreover, although this pattern appears in a causative structure or formation, the pattern expresses a command or more precisely the verbs of this pattern have a command-action semantic relation.

\[\text{As described in 8.2.2.5, a causative verb by itself inherently expresses cause-event/action. For example}\]

a
\[\text{cause fall over', } 2\text{amuj 'cause it/them ... fall down', amihiih 'cause you sit down'.}\]
It appears so far that any verb can follow the command verb in this pattern of SVC. Followings are some examples, where the verb in the second position in (a) is an intransitive verb, (b) is a transitive verb, (c) is an ablative applicative verb and (d) is an allative applicative verb. As indicated by the lines in each of the examples, the command verb of the SVC takes a subject and an object. Its object, then, switches to become the subject of the second verb. There is no shared subject. The second verb also takes an object of its own (b-d), if it is not an intransitive verb (a). There is no shared object either.

(40). a). Roni i-hou lame
Roni 2PL-command walk
'Roni commanded you to go'

b). Ella 2a-hou mud 2a-de
Ella 3.OBV-command orange 3.OBV-eat
'Ella suggested to him/her to eat oranges'

c). Mos Eni 2a-hou n-el-tafunin
Mos Eni 3.OBV-command 1SG-AB-hide
'Mos commanded Eni to hide (herself) from me'

d). Eni Os 2a-hou n-ta-mari
Eni Os 3.OBV-command 1SG-ALL-tell
'Eni commanded Os to tell/invite me'

In cases where the second verb in the SVC is a causative verb, as in (41), the object of the command verb switches to become the causer subject of the causative morpheme attached to the cause-action verb.

(41). Laka na-hou ti a-2ol
Laka 1SG-command tree CAUS-fall over
'Laka commanded me to make trees fall over'
The order of verbs in this pattern is fixed. Therefore, they cannot be inverted as shown in the following unacceptable sentences. They are modified from (40) by inverting verbs in the examples.

(42). a). *Roni lame i-hou
Roni walk 2PL-command

b). *Ella mud 2a-de 2a-hou
Ella orange 3.OBV-eat 3.OBV-command

c). *Mos n-el-tafuniŋ Eni 2a-hou
Mos 1SG-AB-hide Eni 3.OBV-command

d). *Eni n-c-mariŋ Os 2a-hou
Eni 1SG-ALL-tell Os 3.OBV-command

11.2.1.1.3.2. Give-causative SVC

I call this type of causative SVC give-causative SVC because the initial verb of this pattern of SVC is the verb meaning ‘give’, like nen ‘give me’, en ‘give you’ and other verbs of the same root. Only a few transitive verbs can follow the verb meaning ‘give’ in this pattern of SVC. They are also limited to digestion verbs like na ‘drink’, 2ade ‘eat it/ them’ and some dress up verbs like mau ‘put on (shirt)’ and teu ‘put on trousers’. Semantically the verb meaning ‘give’ in the first position of the pattern expresses assistance in carrying out the action expressed by the second verb. The people (object) assisted to do the action are usually people who need help like a baby or child, a sick person or an old man and the like. Followings are a few examples.

(43). a). Ella kod n-ën maŋ
Ella shirt 1SG-give put on
‘Ella helped me put on my shirts’

b). Asnat scë Ay 2-ën na
Asnat water Ay 3.OBV-give drink
‘Asnat helped Ay drink some water’
As indicated by the lines in each of the above examples, the verb meaning 'give' in both examples takes one subject and two objects. The beneficiary object of the verb, then, switches to become the subject of the second verb. The theme object is shared with the second verb.

The order of the verbs in this pattern is also fixed. They cannot be inverted as shown by the following unacceptable sentences.

(44). a). *Ella kod maŋ n-en
   Ella shirt put on 1SG-give

   b). *Asnat sei na Ay 3-en
   Asnat water drink Ay 3.0BV-give

11.2.1.1.3.3. Affect-causative SVC

The initial position of this type of causative SVC is filled by the verb *ano2 affect you*, *nan* ‘affect me’, and others. This verb is otherwise a transitive experiencer verb (8.2.2.2). Therefore, beside affect-causative SVC, I shall also refer to this type of causative SVC causative-experiencer SVC and other verbs of the same root. Any verb, including a causative verb, can follow the verb meaning ‘affect’ in this pattern.

Semantically, the ‘affect’ verb in the first position of this type of causative SVC expresses a cause action that affects a causee to experience or undergo the action expressed by the second verb. Sentence (45. a), for example, indicates that Ay caused a third person (*2a-* = dolls) to experience the action or event of falling down expressed by the second verb *muj*. 
In terms of argument sharing, as observed from the examples above, the root of the ‘affect’ verb of this type of causative SVC takes a causer subject and a causee object. The causee object, then, switches to become the subject of the second verb. If the second verb is transitive or applicative, it selects an object of its own (45. b, c).

When the second verb is a causative verb (‘affect’ verb + causative verb), as in (46), the causee object of the ‘affect’ verb (na-, in the example) switches to become another causer subject. This switched causer subject is governed by the causative morpheme (a-) of the second causative verb (2-a-muj). The causee object (3.OBV: 2-) of the causative verb, then, also switches to become the subject of the root (muj) of the causative verb. Thus, there are two causer subjects and two switched-subjects in the SVC. The first switched subject (na-) is also a causer subject.
(46). Ella na-ino? piŋ 2-a-muj

Ella 1SG-affect plate 3.OBV-CAUSE-fall down
‘Ella caused me dropped plates’
(Lit. ‘Ella affected me to cause plates fall down’)

The order of verbs in this affect-causative SVC is also fixed. Therefore they cannot be inverted. The following examples are, therefore unacceptable.

(47). a). *Ay muj bonëka 2-a-ino?
Ay fall down doll 3.OBV-CAUS-experience

b). *Umi mud 2a-de n-a-ino?
Umi orange 3.OBV-eat 1SG-CAUS-experience

c). *Name aru n-el-te?eŋ 2-a-ino?
People dear 1SG-AB-run 3.OBV-CAUS-experience

11.2.1.1.4. ‘Take’ SVC

The last type of the first category of SVC semantic patterns is the so-called take SVC because the only verb that is allowed to occupy the first position of this pattern is the verb med, which otherwise means ‘take’. This original meaning of med is hardly applicable, i.e. it is not normally taken into account (at least superficially) for the understanding of the meaning expressed by the SVC. While the functional or semantic contribution that med makes to the take SVC is not very clear, I tentatively suggest that it simply uncovers the ‘taking’ event implied in the main event expressed by the take SVC.
It appears so far that any verb other than intransitive verbs can follow *med* in the take SVC. A few examples will be provided here. Example (48) shows that *med* in the take SVC can be followed by the ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’ such as *en* ‘give you’, *nen* ‘give me’, as in (48. a), and the locative-action verbs, like *ta* ‘add/-on’ and *mi* ‘in/at’, as in (48. b, c).

(48). a). Ella *sen med n-en*  
Ella money take 1SG-give  
‘Ella gave me some money’

b). Rin *ahej med falei ta*  
Rin salt take vegetable add/-on  
‘Rin added salt onto vegetable’

b). Rin *ahej med falei ta*  
Rin salt take vegetable add/-on  
‘Rin added salt onto vegetable’

As observed from the examples above, the original meaning of the verb *med* ‘take’ in each sentence is not taken into account, at least superficially, for the understanding of each of the sentences. It is therefore not translated into the English version of each of the sentences, although it can be, as in (b). But, as the taking event is not the main event or action that the whole SVC expresses, such translations of the verb *med* make the main event expressed by the SVC rather obscure. For this reason, I put a question mark in front of the second English version in (48. b).

Indeed, the verb *med* can be omitted from the sentences in (48), as repeated in (49). The meanings of the sentences do not change with the omission of *med*. Thus, I suggest that the function of *med* ‘take’ in the take SVC is more likely to be to uncover the taking event implied in the main action or event expressed by the take SVC. So far I have discovered no pragmatic or semantic difference between (48) and (49), i.e. between the
presence and absence of the take SVC. However, it should be noted that the take SVC is very common in everyday speech.

(49). a). Ella sen n-εn
   Ella money 1SG-give
   'Ella gave me some money'

   b). Rin ahēi falei ta
       Rin salt vegetable add/on
       'Rin added salt onto vegetables'

   c). Ince se η dec mi
       Ince money wallet in/at
       'Ince put some money into wallets'

In terms of the argument sharing, when the verb med of this pattern is followed by a locative-action verb or a ditransitive verb for ‘give’, as in (48) before, both verbs share the same subject. The verb med of the pattern then, selects a theme object. A locative-action or a ditransitive verb that follows med either takes a locative or a beneficiary object but shares the theme object with med. To illustrate I repeat (48. a-c) in (50. a-b). As indicated by the lines, the verbs med and mi in (a) share the same subject, i.e., Ince. The verb mi, then, takes the locative object dec but shares the theme object: sen with med. Similarly, the verb med and nen in (b) share the same subject, i.e., Ella. The verb nen, then takes a beneficiary object, which is the pronominal prefix attached to it, but shares the theme object sen with med.

(50). a). Ince sen med dec mi
       Ince money take wallet put in
       'Ince put some money into wallets'

   b). Ella sen med n-εn
       Ella money take 1SG-give
       'Ella gave me some money'
The next example shows that med can also be followed by transitive verbs like meda ‘put’ and taro ‘to save/to store’, as exemplified in (51. a-b). As observed from the examples above, the verb med is, again, not translated in the English version of the sentence. Syntactically, i.e. in terms of the argument sharing property, both verbs of the SVC in the examples share the same subject, as illustrated by the lines above (a). They also share the same object, i.e. the theme object, as also indicated by the lines under (a). Thus, when the verb med of the take SVC is followed by a transitive verb, both verbs share the same subject and the same object.

    John letter take put
    John put letters.

c). John səŋ med taro?
    John money take store
    ‘John stored/saved some money’
    ? ‘John took saved some money’

    John letter take table add/on put-PERF
    John has put letters on a table.

As mentioned earlier other verbs including applicative and causative verbs can also follow med in this take SVC. However, I shall not illustrate them here, especially because they all follow the basic argument sharing property and other properties described in 11.1. In terms of the function of med in the take SVC, it is very likely that it functions to uncover the taking event implied in the main event expressed by the take SVC. Therefore, even though it is omitted from the SVC producing a single verb predicate in a sentence, the meaning of the sentence does not really change, as illustrated in (48-49).
Before finishing the description of the take SVC, I need to point out that while in some languages, the verb for 'take' marks an instrument in a SVC, the verb med 'take' in Adang does not mark an instrument. Indeed, Lefebvre (1989:319) and Foley and Olson (1985:53) have confirmed that the verb for 'take' in a SVC does not only mark an instrument but also others.

11.2.1.2. Category-2 of basic semantic patterns of SVC

Unlike the basic semantic patterns of SVCs of the first category that allow only one verb to occupy the first position of the patterns, the SVC patterns in this second category allow more than one verb to fill the first position of the patterns. The two types in this category to be described here are directional SVCs and locative SVCs. The directional SVC pattern allows any directional verb to fill the first position of the pattern. The locative SVC pattern allows any locative verb to fill the first position of the pattern.

11.2.1.2.1. Directional SVC

The first position of this type of SVC is filled by any intransitive directional verb. The second position is filled by most types of verbs, including an allative-locative or allative-possessive applicative verb. In rare cases, an intransitive directional verb can also occupy the second position of the pattern preceded by a verb other than an intransitive directional verb. I shall only briefly discussed the pattern of SVC here because, except for the semantic property, the pattern shares the other properties of SVC described in 11.1.
Semantically this pattern of SVC expresses the direction of an event. The direction is expressed by the directional verb that occupies the first position; and the main event or action is expressed by the second verb. If the second verb is an allative-locative or allative possessive applicative verb, the second verb expresses the destination of the direction expressed by the first verb.

In the following example, the first position is filled by the intransitive directional verb ho2 'arrive' in (a) and hel 'go down' in (b). The second position in (a) is filled by the allative-possessive applicative verb nolap 'come to me' whereas the second position in (b) is filled by the allative-locative applicative verb lehel 'go down to'. The second verb in each of the examples expresses destination. The destination itself is expressed by the object pronominal prefix (na-) of the allative possessive applicative verb (a) or the object mol 'river' of the an allative-locative applicative verb (b).

In terms of argument sharing, observe from the above example that verbs of this pattern share the same subject. The second verb selects an object of its own, i.e. the destination of the directional action expressed by the first verb.
Distributionally the order, a directional verb followed by an allative-locative applicative verb, as in (52. b) is fixed. Therefore the two verbs cannot be inverted as shown by the following unacceptable sentences.

(53) *Toni mol l-e-hel hel
Toni river DIR-DIST-go down go down

The order, a directional verb followed by an allative possessive applicative verb (52. a), on the other hand can be inverted, i.e. can be changed into an allative possessive applicative verb followed by a directional verb, as in (54). The difference between (54) and (52. a) is pragmatic; that is in (54) an emphasis is given to the destination of the direction expressed in the SVC.

(54). Jos n-o-lap hoZ
Jos 1SG-PROX-seek arrive
'Jos came to me'

In the next example, the second verb in (a) is intransitive, in (b) is transitive, in (c) is goal-allative applicative and in (d) is causative. From the example, observe that the intransitive directional verb in the first position of each SVC in each of the sentences expresses the direction of the action expressed by the second verb.

(55). a) Rin sam don
Rin go shopping
' Rin went shopping'

b) Heri mid fa muding
Heri go up coconut plant
'Heri went up to plant coconut trees'
In terms of the argument sharing property, when the intransitive directional verb in the first position is followed by an intransitive verb, both the first and the second verb share the same subject (a); when the second position is filled by a transitive or a goal-allative applicative verb, both the first and the second verbs share the same subject whereas the second verb selects an object (b, c) of its own. When the second verb is filled by a causative verb (d), the causative morphemes (a-...-aŋ) of the causative verb and the first verb share the same subject.

The order of the verbs in each of the SVCs in the example is fixed. When the order is inverted, the result is either not acceptable or a different pattern of SVC. Thus, for example when the order *sam don* ‘go shopping’ in (55. a) is inverted, the result is not acceptable, as shown in (56. a). When the order of *mid fa mudiq* ‘go up to plant coconut trees’ in (55. b) is inverted, the result is a different pattern with a different meaning, as shown in (56. b). Example (56. b), however, is still a type of directional SVC.
11.2.1.2.2. Locative SVC

Locative SVCs are those that employ a locative verb in the first position of the basic pattern SVC. The locative verb is followed by most types of verbs. Semantically, the locative verb indicates the location of the action or event expressed by the second verb of this pattern. Following are a few examples:

(57). a). *Rin don sam  
   Rin shopping go
   ‘Rin went shopping’

   b). Heri fa mudiŋ mid  
   Heri coconut plant go up
   ‘Heri planted coconut trees along an upward direction’

(58). a). *Ella seŋ dec mi męŋ  
   Ella money wallet in put
   ‘Ella put some money in a wallet’

   b). *Rin piŋ meja ta əa-mih-iŋ  
   Rin plate table on/add 3.OBV-CAUS-sit down-CAUS
   ‘Rin put plates on a table’ (Lit cause sit down on tables)

   c). Bel meja far mih  
   dog table under sit down
   ‘Dogs sat down right under the tables’

   d). Bel meja 2-ε-far mih  
   dog table 3.OBV-ALL-under sit down
   ‘Dogs sat down right under the tables’

The order of verb in the locative SVC is fixed. Therefore, if the order is changed, the resulting sentences or SVCs are not acceptable, as shown in (58).

(57) a). Ella seŋ dec mi męŋ
   Ella money wallet in put
   ‘Ella put some money in a wallet’

   b). Rin piŋ meja ta əa-mih-iŋ
   Rin plate table on/add 3.OBV-CAUS-sit down-CAUS
   ‘Rin put plates on a table’ (Lit cause sit down on tables)

   c). Bel meja far mih
   dog table under sit down
   ‘Dogs sat down right under the tables’

   d). Bel meja 2-ε-far mih
   dog table 3.OBV-ALL-under sit down
   ‘Dogs sat down right under the tables’

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9 This pattern is similar to verb sequences in Mpur and Hatam also of West Papuan (Reesink, 1996:6).
There are SVCs where the second position is filled by a locative verb, especially in take SVC, as in (59. b, c) or in directional SVC, as in (59. a).

(59). a). Rudi mid kuda ta
Rudi go up horse on/add (= ride)
‘Rudi went up to ride the horse’

b). Ella 3e jap med dek mi
Ella money take wallet put in
‘Ella put some money in a wallet’

c). Ani pensil 3e-3e far
Ani pensil take book 3.OBV-ALL-under
‘Ani put pencils under books’

Before finishing the description of the second category of the basic pattern of SVCs in Adang, I need to mention that this second category also has patterns where the first position is occupied by a verb other than a locative or a directional verb. The SVC patterns in this category still need further investigation and analyses, especially to identify the semantic relation between verbs of the SVCs. A few examples are given in (60).

(60). a). Roni 2a-te1 2-a-tuh-un
Roni 3.OBV-lift up 3.OBV-CAUS-stand-CAUS
‘Roni lifted it up to stand’

b). Laka ti tefan men
Laka tree carry put
‘Laka put the log down’

c). Nimo han ofan bel beh
Nimo hurry dog hit
‘Nimo hurried to hit dogs’

d). Aru na pad e 2oh
Deer thing (=crop) 3.OBV-eat finish
‘Deers ate crops all up (completely)’

e). Umi hiu pir tou fit ho2
Umi chicken NC three carry arrive
‘Umi brought three chickens’

To summarize, there are two categories of basic pattern SVCs described in this section. The first category contains the patterns that allow only one verb to occupy the
first position of the pattern. In the first category, there are hold-instrumental SVC, comitative SVC, causative SVC and take SVC. The second category contains the patterns that allow verbs of the same semantic domain to occupy the first position. Two types of patterns in this category that have been described in this thesis are the directional SVC and the locative SVC.

From the examples of each type of SVC described in this section, it is also observed that each SVC expresses one event where one of the two verbs involved in a basic pattern expresses the main event whereas the other marks the direction, location or cause of the main event or action. In a comitative SVC, the comitative verb meaning 'be' (e.g. ara 'be with you') marks the comitative participant involved in the event expressed by the SVC, whereas in a hold-instrument SVC the verb *pup* 'hold' marks the instrument used in the event expressed by the SVC.

11.2.2. Complex patterns of SVCs in Adang: A preliminary description

As noted earlier, all the basic pattern SVCs can be combined into more complex patterns. A complex pattern can contain three to eight verbs. In this preliminary description, I shall only analyze and describe a few examples of complex pattern SVCs. The aim is to show that, even in a complex SVC, one of the verbs involved in the SVC expresses a main action while others express direction, location and causation of the main action and also the participants involved, and the instrument used in the action.
Syntactically, verbs of a complex SVC still share the same aspect, mood, polarity and degree; and in terms of argument sharing, complex patterns still follow the basic patterns of subject or object sharing properties described in 11.1.5.

I begin with the following example. The example contains four verbs. The root ra 'be(ing)' of the verb 2ara, the verb fa 'go there', the verb ta 'add/ on' and the causative morpheme a-...-iŋ of the causative verb share the same subject Rin. The root mih 'sit down' of the causative verb takes its own switched-subject, i.e., the third person obviative pronominal prefix 2a- attached to the causative verb 2amih-iŋ, which has the same reference as the pronominal prefix attached to the verb 2ara namely piŋ. The switched subject switches from the causee object of the causative morpheme a-...-iŋ attached to the causative verb. The locative-action verb ta ‘add/ on’ takes the locative object meja ‘table’ of its own and shares the third person object 2a- attached to the verb 2ara with the verb 2ara. The adjunct (or the reference) of the third person object is piŋ ‘plate’.

(61). Rin piŋ 2a-ta fa meja ta 2-a-mih-iŋ

Rin plate 3.OBV-be go there table add/ on 3.OBV-CAUS-sit-CAUS ‘Rin brought plates there putting on tables’
(Lit. Rin went there together with plates putting them on tables’

Semantically, the verb 2ara in the sentence marks a comitative participant, i.e., the pronominal prefix attached to it, the reference of which is piŋ ‘plates’. The verb fa
expresses a direction (where the comitative participant is involved) toward the location where both the action and the cause event expressed by the causative verb 2amihi take place. The location is mejä 'table' marked by the verb ta. Note that the involvement of the comitative participant (i.e., the pronominal prefix attached to the verb 2ara, the reference of which is piŋ ‘plate’), is limited only in the directional action. It, then, become the causee object of the cause event expressed by the causative morphemes and finally switches to become switched-subject of the action expressed by the root mih ‘sit down’ of the causative verb 2amihi.

In brief, the verb 2ara in the example marks a comitative participant of the directional action expressed by fa; The verb fa itself expresses the direction toward the location marked by the verb ta, where both the action and cause event expressed by the causative verb 2amihi take place.

The complex SVC in (61) can be analyzed as the combination of three basic semantic patterns: a comitative, directional and locative SVC. To illustrate, I break up the sentence in (61) as in (62. b-d). I have to note, however, that each SVC pattern in (62), including the complex pattern, is distinctive.


Rin plate 3.OBV-be go there table add/on 3.OBV-CAUS-sit-CAUS
‘Rin brought plates there putting on tables’
(Lit. Rin went there together with plates putting them on tables’
Comitative:

b). Rin piŋ 2a-ra fa
Rin plate 3.OBV-be go there
‘Rin took plates there’
(Lit. Rin go there with plates)

directional:

c). Rin fa piŋ 2-a-mih-iŋ
Rin go there plate 3.OBV-CAUS-sit-CAUS
‘Rin went there putting plates (there)’

Locative:

d). Rin piŋ meja ta 2-a-mih-iŋ
Rin plate table add/on 3.OBV-CAUS-sit-CAUS
‘Rin put plates on tables’

Except for the semantic and argument sharing property of the complex SVC, verbs of the complex SVC share the same (negative) polarity, aspect, mood and degree, of other SVCs. Following is an example, in terms of mood and aspect sharing, where verbs in the SVC share the same mood and the same progressive aspect.

(63). Rin ma2 dai piŋ 2a-ra fa meja ta 2-a-mih-iŋ-eh
Rin perhaps EVID plate 3.OBV-be go there table add/on 3.OBV-CAUS-sit-CAUS-PROG
‘Perhaps Rin is still taking plates there putting on tables’

The last example presented in (64) below contains seven verbs. Sentences like (64) are not only possible and accepted by an Adang speaker but can also be found in everyday speech. All the verbs in the example (nara ‘be (with) me’, med ‘take’, fit ‘carry’ (heavy objects on one’s head), mid ‘go up’, lêm id ‘go up into’, mi ‘in/at’ and taro2 ‘to store/ save’) share the same subject, i.e., Toni.

(64). Toni na-ra seŋ med fit mid esel l-e-mid oj mi taro2
Toni 1SG-be money take carry go up storehouse ALL-go up basket in/at save
‘Toni took money up to a storehouse to save/ store in a basket, together with me’
In terms of object sharing, the verb *nara* takes a comitative participant as its object, i.e. the pronominal prefix *na-* attached to it. Four verbs of the example, namely *med*, *fit*, *mi* and *taro?* share the same theme object *se?o* ‘money’. In addition to the theme object, *mi* takes the locative object *toj* ‘basket’. The allative-locative applicative verb *lemid* ‘go up into’ takes the locative/destination object *esel* ‘storehouse’.

Semantically, the verb *nara* in the example marks the comitative participant, the pronominal prefix *na-* attached to it. The verb *med* is not taken into account for the understanding of the sentence (at least, superficially). I suggest that it only uncovers the event of taking involved in the whole event. The verb *fit*, when appearing as a sole verb, (not in a SVC) means ‘carry’ (*heavy objects on one’s head, normally in a basket with cord*). This meaning is, however, not applied to the sentence (see also example 60.e). In the example, I suggest that *fit* appears together with *mid* ‘go up’, to produce a meaning like ‘take up’ or ‘bring up’, (i.e. it is a directional SVC). The verb *lemid* ‘go up into’ expresses or marks the destination of the directional action expressed by the preceding verbs *fit mid*. The verb *mi* ‘in/at’ marks the location in which the action expressed by the verb *taro?* ‘to store/save’ takes place.

In brief, the verb *nara* marks the comitative participant of the event expressed by the sentence; *med* uncovers the event of taking involved in the whole event; *fit* and *mid*

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10. *toj* ‘basket’ is made of bamboo and designed specially for storing valuable things.
11. *esel* ‘storehouse’ is a special building with a distinctive shape, normally high above the ground.
express a direction to the destination, i.e., *esse* marked by the verb *lemid*, where the location *2oj* marked by the verb *mi*, is located. The action of storing money, expressed by the verb *taro2* takes place in this location.

Example (65) is repeated from (64). It illustrates that when the sentence is negated and marked evidential, verbs in the complex SVC share the same negative polarity, the same evidentiality and the same perfective aspect. The perfective aspect in the example is indicated by the evidential particle *dai* that occupies the final position of the sentence (see. 4.6, for details).

(65). Toni *na-ra sengo med fit mid esse 1-e-mid 2oj mi*  
Toni NEG 1SG-be money take carry go up storehouse DIR-DIST-go up basket in/at  
'Actually, Toni has not taken money up to (a) storehouse  
*taro2 dai*  
save EVID  
to save/ store in (a) basket, together with me'

To conclude, this section of complex pattern of SVCs demonstrates that as with the basic pattern SVC described in 11.2.1, one verb of a complex SVC expresses a primary action or event and other verbs express or mark, for example, the comitative participants, direction and location of the primary event.
Chapter 12

Minor clause types: Predicate nominal, locational, existential and possessive clauses

As observed from examples provided so far, most clauses in Adang are ordered Subject - (Object) - Verb (S (O) V). This is the major clause type in Adang. However, there are a number of minor clause types of which the predicate may belong to other, non-verb word classes. They are predicate nominal, existential, locational, and possessive clauses. This chapter presents the description of predicate nominal (12.1), locational (12.2), existential (12.3) and possessive (12.4) clauses.

12.1. Predicate nominal clauses

Semantically predicate nominal clauses in Adang can be classified into “proper inclusion” and “equative” (Payne, 1997:114). Both types are different semantically but syntactically they have the same form or the same construction namely they are constructed of two juxtaposed NPs. I describe each as follows.

12.1.1. Proper inclusion

A proper inclusion predicate nominal clause asserts or expresses that a specific entity, expressed by the subject of the clause, is a member of a class of entities, expressed by the predicate of the clause (Payne, 1997:114). Example (1.a), for instance, asserts that the referent of the subject NP *Lamek* is a member of a professional group called *tukaP ‘carpenter’*. Similarly, (1.b, d) indicate that the
referent of the subject NP *nimaq 'my (Lit. our) father' (1.b) and the referent of the subject pronoun *sa 's/he' (1.d) are members of a professional group called *guru 'teacher'. In example (1.c) the referent of the subject NP *saręa 'mackerel' belongs to a group or class of entities called *ab 'fish'.

(1) a). *Lamek tukap 
Lamek carpenter 
‘Lamek is a carpenter’

b). Ni-maq guru 
1PL.EXC-father teacher 
‘My father is a teacher’ (Lit. Our father is a teacher)

c). Sarea *ab 
mackerel fish 
‘Mackerels are fish’

d). Sa guru 
3SG.NOM teacher 
‘S/he is a teacher’

The head noun of the predicate NP of a proper inclusion predicate nominal clause can be modified by a verb, especially a stative or adjectival verb, as in (2.a) or be followed by a categorical noun *afaq ‘type’ plus numeral, as in (2.b) but it cannot be modified by a determiner. Example (2.c) is therefore not acceptable.

(2). a). *Sarea *ab mate 
mackerel fish big 
‘Mackerels are big fish’

b). Sarea *ab *afaq nu 
mackerel fish type one 
‘Mackerels are one (a) type of fish’

c). *Sarea *ab ho 
mackerel fish DET

Examples (1-2) show that a proper inclusion predicate nominal clause is constructed of two juxtaposed NPs, including a pronominal subject followed by a predicate NP, as in (1.d). One piece of evidence that the noun or NP *Lamek (1.a), *nimaq ‘my father’ (1.b) or *saręa ‘mackerel’ in (2. a, b) is the subject in each of the sentences (and that the following noun functions as the predicate) is that they occupy
the initial position in each of the sentences. Syntactically, the construction follows S(O)V/P (subject-(object)-verb/ predicate) word order of Adang.

The second piece of evidence is that the noun *Lamek, nimaŋ ‘my father’ or sarə ‘mackerel’,* that occupies the subject position in each of the sentences can be modified by a determiner, as in (3). They can be modified by a determiner even though they are proper names and, therefore, inherently definite or identifiable. The determiner marks them as topics.

(3). a). Lamek ho, tukaŋ
    Lamek DET carpenter
    ‘As for Lamek, he is a carpenter’

b). Ni-maga ho, guru
    1PL.EXC-father DET teacher
    ‘As for my (lit. our) father, he is a teacher’

c). sarə ho, ab
    mackerel DET fish
    ‘As for the mackerel, it is a fish’

Normally, the determiner in a sentence like in (3) is followed by an intonation break or a pause. It can also be followed by an anaphoric pronoun functioning as clause internal subject, with reference to the nouns marked topic by a determiner, as in (4). In this thesis, I regard sentences like (3) as topicalization, and (4) as “left-dislocation” (Foley, and Van Valin, 1985: 355).

(4). a). Lamek ho, sa tukaŋ
    Lamek DET 3SG.NOM carpenter
    ‘As for Lamek, he is a carpenter’

b). Ni-maŋ ho, sa guru
    1PL.EXC-father DET 3SG.NOM teacher
    ‘As for my (lit. our) father, he is a teacher’

Another piece of evidence that the nouns *Lamek (1.a), nimaŋ ‘my father’ (1. b)* or *sarə ‘mackerel’* in (2. a, b) are the subject in each of the sentences is that they can
be marked as focus subject by so, as exemplified in (5). They cannot be marked focus with fe (c-d) because fe functions to mark a focal object but not a focal subject.

(5). a). Lamek so  tukad
   Lamek FOC.SUBJ carpenter
   ‘It is Lamek, who is a carpenter’
   (e.g. but not Bain)

   b). Ni-ma so  guru
   Ni-ma FOC.OBJ teacher
   ‘It is my father, who is a teacher’
   (e.g. but not my mother)

c). *Lamek fe  tukad
   Lamek FOC.OBJ carpenter

d). *Ni-ma fe, guru
   Ni-ma FOC.OBJ teacher

Unlike topicalization, so in (5. a-b) is not normally followed by an intonation break or a pause. However, the focal subject in each (a, b) can still be followed by an anaphoric pronoun functioning as clause internal subject followed by a predicate nominal, as in (6). With the presence of an anaphoric pronoun to function as a clause internal subject as in (6), so is followed by a pause. I regard sentences like (6) as left-dislocation with focal subject.

(6). a). Lamek so,  sa  tukad
   Lamek FOC.SUBJ 3.SG.NOM carpenter
   ‘It is Lamek, who is a carpenter’

   b). Ni-ma so,  sa  guru
   Ni-ma FOC.OBJ 3.SG.NOM teacher
   ‘It is my father, who is a teacher’

Negative sentences in (7) provide the last piece of evidence that a proper inclusion predicate nominal clause is constructed of two juxtaposed NPs. As described in 4.4, the negative particle pe functions in conjunction with the negative adverb nene to negate the predicate of a clause. In (7), pe and nene negate the predicate noun tukad ‘carpenter’ in (a), guru ‘teacher’ in (b) and ab ‘fish’ in (c).
Unlike the proper inclusion predicate nominal clause, an equative predicate nominal clause indicates that a specific entity, expressed by the subject of the clause is identical to the entity expressed by the predicate of the clause (Payne, 1997:114). Sentence (8. a) of the following examples, for instance, indicates that the entity or the referent of the subject NP nimag ‘my (lit. our) father’ is identical to the entity or the referent of the predicate NP Lukas of the clause.

(8. a) Ni-maŋ Lukas b) Sa ni-fe
1PL.EXC-father Lukas 3SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-mother
‘My father is Lukas’ ‘She is my (lit our) mother’

c) I n-ŋ diŋ?
2PL.NOM 1SG-GEN younger brother/sister
“You are my younger brothers/sisters’

Syntactically, an equative predicate nominal clause is also constructed of two juxtaposed NPs, including a pronominal subject followed by a predicate NP, as in (8. b-c). The same test as applied to a proper inclusion predicative nominal clause can be applied to equative predicate nominal clauses.

With respect to the S(O)V/P word order, nimaŋ ‘my father’ in (8. a) is the subject and Lukas is the predicate. Therefore, when for example, the speaker’s father
is not *Lukas* but someone else named *Johan*, the predicate noun *Lukas* can be replaced with *Johan*, as in (9. a). Similarly, when the speaker refers to someone else and his or her father’s name is *Lukas*, he can just replace the subject noun *nimaŋ* with, for example, *imaŋ* ‘your father’, as in (9. b).

(9). a). Ni-maŋ Johan 
   1PL.EXC-father Johan 
   ‘My father is Johan’ 

   b). I-maŋ Lukas 
   2PL-father Lukas 
   ‘Your father is Lukas’

When the order of the words in *Nimaŋ Lukas* ‘My father is Lukas’ (8. a) is inverted, the meaning changes as in (10. a), indicating that the noun occupying the initial position is the subject. When the order of words in *I no diP* ‘You are my younger bother/ sister’ (8. c) is inverted, the resulting sentence is not acceptable, as in (10. b) because the pronoun *i* is nominative and it functions as the subject of a clause but not as a predicate.

(10). a). Lukas ni-maŋ 
   Lukas 1PL.EXC-father 
   ‘Lukas is my father’ 

   b). *N-ŋ* diP 
   1SG-GEN younger brother/sister 2PL.NOM 
   ‘You are my younger bother/sister’

A negation test, as in (11), also shows that the nouns *Lukas* in (a), *nife* ‘my mother’ in (b) and *no diP* ‘my younger bother/ sister’ in (c), in the final position in each of the utterances, are predicates. Their preceding noun in each of the utterances is the subject.

(11). a). Ni-maŋ ²e Lukas nene 
   1PL.EXC-father NEG Lukas NEG 
   ‘My father is Lukas’

   b). Sa ²e ni-fe nene 
   3SG.NOM NEG 1PL.EXC-mother NEG 
   ‘She is not my (Lit our) mother’
c). I Pe n-σ diPe nenê  
2PL.NOM NEG 1SG-GEN younger brother/sister NEG  
'You are not my younger brothers/sisters'

To conclude, this section on predicate nominal clauses demonstrates that a predicate nominal clause in Adang, both proper inclusion and equative, is constructed of two juxtaposed noun phrases. The first noun phrase functions as the subject whereas the second or final noun phrase functions as the predicate.

12.2. Locational clauses

Two types of words can function as the predicate of a locational clause. A type-one spatial deictic like fals ‘over there’, taflê ‘up there’ (7.1-7.2) or a locative verb, like mi ‘in/at’, ta ‘on / add’. Locative verbs in Adang, as described in 8.2.2.3, are both transitive and ditransitive. I begin the description of locational clauses with predicate locative verbs as follows.

12.2.1. Locational clauses with predicate locative verbs.

Semantically a locational clause expresses the location of an entity. When the predicate of the locational clause is a locative verb, the entity is expressed by a subject NP and the location is expressed by an object NP. The locational object NP is marked or governed by the predicate locative verb. Thus, syntactically, a locational clause with a predicate locative verb is constructed of a subject NP, a locative object NP and a predicate locative verb, as in (12. a) below. Example (12. b) is not acceptable because there is no locative object in the sentence; and therefore the location of the entity aru ‘deer’ is not expressed in the sentence.
A locational clause can inflect for aspect. Therefore, the predicate of example (12. a) above can be suffixed by an aspectual clitic, as repeated (13).

(13. a). Aru banaŋ mi-eh  
deer forest in /at-PROG  
‘There are deer (being) in forests’  
(at the time of speaking)  

b). Aru banaŋ mi-am  
deer forest in /at-PERF  
‘Deer have been in forests’(at the time of speaking, they are not in forest before)

The difference between sentence (12. a) and those in (13) is that, sentence (12. a) expresses a general truth. In other words, it expresses that deer normally or habitually live in forests. The sentences in (13), on the other hand, do not express a general truth. Instead, (13. a) expresses that at the time when the speaker utters the sentences, there are deer in forests (any indefinite forest, probably known by the speaker himself). They may be in or not in the forest before and/or later on, but that is not of concern to the speaker. Sentence (13. b) indicates that at the time of speaking, there have been deer in forests (any indefinite forest, probably known by the speaker himself) for a period of time, i.e., from a time (not indicated by the speaker) up to the time of speaking and probably some time after the time of speaking.

While the predicate locative verb can be suffixed by an aspectual clitic, the head noun of both subject and object NP can be modified by a noun modifier. In (14), for instance, the head noun of the subject NP bel ‘dog’ is modified by a numeral alo ‘two’ which preceded by a numeral classifier, whereas the head noun of the object NP meja ‘table’ is modified by a determiner.
Example (15) provides negative locational clauses with predicate locative verbs. Like other clauses, a negative locational clause with predicate locative verb is simply modified by the negative particle ปา and the negative adverb นเน. 

Before finishing the discussion, I need to point out that there are other clauses where the predicates of the clauses are also locative verbs, as exemplified in (16) below. Unlike the locational clauses exemplified so far, the following clauses express an event. Thus, they are normal event clauses, the major type of clauses in Adang mentioned earlier. In an event clause, a locative verb takes two object arguments and a subject argument. It also behaves more actively than in a locational clause, as observed from the given examples.

12.2.2. Locational clauses with predicate deictics

The predicates in the following examples of locational clauses are spatial deictics. Like locational clauses with predicate locative verbs, semantically, each of the examples expresses the location of an entity. The entity is expressed by the subject.
whereas the location is expressed by the predicate deictic. Unlike the locational clauses with predicate locative verb, a locational clause with predicate spatial deictic does not contain any object NP. As observed from the given examples, a predicate spatial deictic follows the subject NP.

(17). a). Roni ip-l-ε
Roni go down-DIR-DIST
'Roni is down there'

b). Aru mate nu fa-l-ε
deer big one go there-DIR-DIST
'There is a big deer over there'

One piece of evidence showing the functional property of deictics as the predicate of a locational clause is that functioning as the predicate of a locational clause, a spatial deictic can be suffixed by an aspectual clitic. The predicate of locational clauses in (17) above, for instance, can be suffixed by aspectual suffixes, as represented in (18) below.

(18). a). Roni ip-l-ε-am
Roni go down-DIR-DIST-PEFR
'Roni has been down there'

b). Aru mate nu fa-l-ε-eh
deer big one go there-DIR-DIST-PROG
'There is a big deer (being) over there'

Examples in (17) and (18) above are all affirmative. Like the locational clauses with predicate locative verbs before, a negative locational clause with predicate deictics is modified by the negative particle Pe and the negative adverb nene. Following is an example.

(19). a). Roni Pe ip-l-ε-eh
Roni NEG go down-DIR-DIST-PROG NEG
'Roni is not (being) down there'
12.2.3. Locational clauses with complex predicates

A locational clause may also contain a complex predicate consisting of a spatial deictic followed by a locative object NP and a locative verb. The predicate of the locational clause in (a) of the following examples, for instance, consists of the spatial deictic *iple* 'down there' followed by the locative NP object *bag* 'house' and the locative verb *mi* 'in / at'. Similarly, the predicate of the locational clause (b) consists of the spatial deictic *fale* 'over there' followed by the locative objective NP *aha* *pana ho* 'the dark jungle' and the locative verb *mi*.

(20). a). Roni *iple mi*
   Roni go down-DIR-DIST house in/at
   'Roni is down there in a house'

b). Aru mate piri alo *fale aha pana ho mi*
   deer big NC two go there-DIR-DIST jungle dark DEF in/at
   'There are two big deer over there in the dark jungle'

Indeed, a spatial deictic can also modify a noun. However, the deictics in sentences like (20), above do not function as modifiers of their preceding nouns for at least two reasons. First, as described in 7.1-7.2, a spatial deictic can modify a noun, i.e. express the location of the referent of the noun only if the referent of the noun is identifiable, either visible or previously mentioned. This means that in modifying a noun, a spatial deictic is obligatorily followed by a determiner. The spatial deictic *iple* in (20. a) does not modify the noun *Roni*, because the referent of the noun in the sentence is not visible or has not been mentioned before; and therefore the spatial deictic is not followed by a determiner. Similarly, the spatial deictic *fale* in (20. b)
does not function to modify the noun *aru* because the referent of the noun is not visible; and therefore not modified by a determiner.

The second reason is, in locational clause like in (20), a deictic (like, *iple* or *Fal* in the example) cannot be followed by a determiner. When it is followed by a determiner, it modifies the subject head noun, i.e. it also expresses the location of the referent of the head noun. The consequence is that two different locations are assigned to the same entity: one by the deictic and the other by the predicate of the clause. This makes the sentence semantically incoherent. Thus, unless the determiners that follow *iple* (a) and *Fal* (b) in (21) below are omitted to make the two spatial deictics function as the parts of the predicate phrase of each of the sentences, the two sentences are not acceptable.

(21). a). *Roni ip-l-*e ho baŋ mi
Roni go down-DIR-DIST DET house in/at

b). *Aru mate nu fa-le h[ɛ-m]o ahap pana ho mi
deer big one/INDEF go there-DIR-DIST DEF[DIST-HOR1DEF jungle dark DEF in/at

When the complex predicate of a locational clause inflects for aspect, the aspectual clitic is attached to the final element of the predicate\(^1\). Therefore, unless the rest of the elements after the aspectual clitic -eh and -am in (22.c-d) are omitted to produce single predicate locational clauses, the two sentences are not acceptable.

(22). a). Roni ip-l-*e baŋ mi-eh
Roni go down-DIR-DIST house in/at-PROG
‘Roni is (being) down there in a house’

\(^1\) See detail description of the functional and distributional properties of aspectual clitics and particle in 4.5
b). Aru mate nu fa-i-e ahap pana ho mi-am
deer big one/INDEF go there-DIR-DIST jungle dark DEF in/at-PERF
‘One (or a) big deer has been over there in the dark jungle’

c). *Ronimi ip-l-e-eh bah mi
Roni go down-DIR-DIST-PROG house in/at

d). *Aru mate nu fa-l-e-am ahap pana ho mi
deer big one/INDEF go there-DIR-DIST-PERF jungle dark DEF in/at

The order of words of the complex predicate is also fixed, i.e. a spatial deictic followed by an object NP and a locative verb. The order, therefore cannot be changed as shown in the following unacceptable sentence.

(23). *Aru mate nu ahap pana ho mi fa-l-e-am
deer big one/INDEF jungle dark DEF in/at go there-DIR-DIST-PERF

12.3. Existential clauses

As identified so far, there is only one verb in Adang that functions as the predicate of an existential clause, namely the verb meaning ‘be(ing)’ or ‘exist’. The verb obligatorily inflects for persons (i.e. prefixed by pronominal object) as Para ‘be(ing) with him/ her/ it / them’, nara, ‘ be(ing) with me’ ara ‘be(ing) with you’, etc. Functioning as the predicate of an existential clause, the verb expresses the existence of an entity, as illustrated in the following examples.

(24). a). Lahtal fa-ra
God 3.OBV-be
‘God exists’ or ‘God is with(in) him/ her/ it ...’
(Lit. God is with(in) him(self))

b). Lahtal na-ra
God 1SG-be
‘God is with(in) me’

As indicated by the English version, example (24. a) above is ambiguous without context. It means either God exists (=God is with(in) himself) or God is

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2 See Marked transitive existential verb (8.2.2.2.3) for details.
with(in) him/her/it (= God is with(in) some one else). The ambiguity can be solved in an appropriate context, as illustrated below.

1SG.NOM Roni about/ for afraid. 3SG.NOM 3.PROX-alone Mataram in/ at.
'I am worrying about Roni. He is alone in Mataram'

b). B: Pe na den nene. Lahtal Pa-ra. (= Lahtal Roni Pa-ra)
NEG thing other NEG. God 3.OBV-be (= God Roni 3.OBV-be)
'It does not matter (Lit. no things or others). God is with him (=Roni)'

c). Name sarani bit-ε lahtal Pa-ra.
people christian say-IS god 3.OBV-be
'Christians say that God exists'

From the examples above, the sentence Lahtal Para in (b) contextually means, 'God is with(in) him', i.e. with(in) Roni. The sentence Lahtal Para in (c), on the other hand, is contextually more likely to mean 'God exists'.

The examples given in (24-25) and the description above also indicate a difference between the verb Para and the other verbs with the same root, e.g., nara 'with(in) me', or ara 'with(in) you'. The difference is that verbs meaning 'be(ing)' other than Para always express the existence of an entity with(in) another entity. The other entity is attached to the verb in the form of a pronominal object. The verb nara in (24. b), for example, expresses that the existence of the entity expressed by the subject of the clause, i.e., Lahtal 'God' is with(in) me. The verb Para, on the other hand, expresses the existence of an entity either by itself / with(in) itself (25. c) or with(in) another entity (25. b).
Following are two more examples, showing that functioning as the predicate of an existential clause, the verb can be cliticized with aspectual clitics.

(26). a). Seŋ Pa-ra-am
    Money 3OBV-be-PERF
    ‘There has been some money’
    (Lit. Money has existed)

b). Sa dai na-ra-eh
    3SG.NOM EVID 1SG-be-PROG
    ‘S/he is actually (being) with me’

Note, however, that not all existential clauses in Adang can be modified by aspectual particle or clitics. The existential clauses that cannot be modified by aspectual particles or clitics are those that express the permanent (or habitual) existence of an entity. The clause Lahtal Para ‘God exists’, for example, cannot be modified by any aspectual particle or clitic because an Adang speaker believes that the entity referred to by the word Lahtal ‘God’ exists permanently. The clauses like Lahtal Paraeh ‘God is existing’ or Lahtal Para-am ‘God has existed’, therefore are very unusual and can be judged as not acceptable.

In some cases, the verb meaning ‘be(ing)’ or ‘exist’ of an existential clause is followed by a locative NP, indicating where the entity expressed by the subject of the clause exists. However, when the verb is followed by a locative NP, the NP is obligatorily followed by a locative verb which takes the locative NP as its object. The existential clause, therefore, contains a complex predicate as in the following examples.

(27). a). Lahtal Pa-ra surga mi
    God 3.OBV-be heaven in/at
    ‘God exists/is in heaven’

b). Seŋ Pa-ra meja ta-eh
    money 3.OBV-be table on/ add-PROG
    ‘There is some money on table’
    (Lit. Money is existing/ being on tables)
Alternatively, the verb meaning ‘be(ing)’ or ‘exist’ of an existential clause can be followed by a deictic, which also functions as the predicate of the clause. Two examples are given in (28) below.

(28). a). Roni 2a-ra fa-l-ε
   Roni 3.OBV-be go there-DIR-DIST
   ‘Roni is there’

   b). Roni 2a-ra fa-l-ε-am
   Roni 3.OBV-be go there-DIR-DIST-PERF
   ‘Roni has been there’

Both a spatial deictic and a locative verb with its object NP can follow the verb meaning ‘be(ing)’ forming a more complex predicate of an existential clause. Three examples are given in (29) below, in both affirmative (a) and negative (b-c) forms.

(29). a). Roni 2a-ra fa-l-ε bag mi
   Roni 3.OBV-be go there-DIR-DIST house in/at
   ‘Roni is there in (the) house’

   b). Roni 2ε 2a-ra fa-l-ε bag mi nene
   Roni NEG 3.OBV-be go there-DIR-DIST house in/at NEG
   ‘Roni is not there in (the) house’

   c). Roni 2ε 2a-ra fa-l-ε bag mi dai
   Roni NEG 3.OBV-be go there-DIR-DIST house in/at EVID
   ‘Roni has not been there in (the) house, actually’

Like the locational clauses with a complex predicate mentioned before, when an existential clause contains a complex predicate, it is the final word of the predicate that is cliticized by an aspectual clitic. With respect to example (29. a), for instance, it is the final predicate, i.e., the locative verb mi that is cliticized, as repeated in (30. a). Examples (b-c) are not acceptable because the aspectual clitic –am in both sentences does not cliticize to the final word of the predicate.
The examples and description provided so far are mainly concerned with the ways of expressing the existence of an entity. Adang has two ways to deny the existence of an entity. The first way is to simply modify an existential clause with the negative particle \textit{fe} and the negative adverb \textit{nene}. Examples are as in (31).

(31). a). Sa \textit{fe} na-ra-eh \textit{nene} \\
3SG.NOM NEG 1SG-be-PROG NEG \\
'S/he is not (being) with me' \\

c). Roni \textit{fe} Pa-ra fa-l-e ba\text{\={a}} mi \textit{nene} \\
Roni NEG 3.OBV-be go there-DIR-DIST house in/ at NEG \\
'Roni was not there in (the) house'

The second way is to employ the verb \textit{a\textit{Pa}}i 'not exist' to function as the predicate of a (non) existential clause. Thus, to say that, for example, God does not exist, one simply says \textit{Lahtal a\textit{Pa}}i. Unlike the verb meaning 'be(ing)', the verb \textit{a\textit{Pa}}i cannot be followed by any other verb or word.

Note that as described in 11.2.1.1.2, the verb meaning 'be(ing)', besides functioning as a predicate, either as a single predicate or as a part of a complex predicate of an existential clause, can also appear in a SVC with other verbs to
function as the predicate of an event clause. When appearing in a SVC, it marks a comitative participant.

12.4. Possessive clauses

Adang has two constructions to express possession. Both employ a possessive NP to function as the subject. The first construction is the same as the construction of an existential clause, except that the subject of the clause is always a possessive NP. Two examples are given in (32) below.

(32). a. N-o sev Pa-ra
    1SG-GEN money 3.OBV-be
    ‘I have some money’
    (Lit. My money exists)

   b. Roni P-o Pai Pa-ra
    Roni 3.OBV-GEN child 3.OBV-be
    ‘Roni has children’
    (Lit. Roni’s children exist)

The second construction also always has a possessive NP functioning as a subject. The possessive subject NP is followed by a numeral classifier together with a numeral which functions as the predicate of the clause. As mentioned in 10.3, a numeral in Adang can also function as the predicate of a clause. When functioning as the predicate of a possessive clause, a numeral can be suffixed by an aspectual clitic, as exemplified in (c-d) of the following examples.

(33). a. N-o sev rib alo
    1SG-GEN money thousand two
    ‘I have two thousand (rups/dollars)’
    (Lit. My money is two thousand (rups/dollars))

   b. Roni P-o Pai pir alo
    Roni 3.OBV-GEN child NC two
    ‘Roni has two children’
    (Lit. Roni’s children are two)

c. N-o sev rib alo-am
    1SG-GEN money thousand two-PERF
    ‘I have got two thousand (rups/dollars)’

   d. Roni P-o Pai pir alo-am
    Roni 3.OBV-GEN child NC two-PERF
    ‘Roni has got two children’
Note that the numeral *a10* 'two' in (a, c) above is not preceded by a numeral classifier because, with the value of a currency, a numeral classifier is replaced by the unit of the currency value, like *rib* 'thousand' in (a, c) above.

The semantic difference between the two constructions is one of quantity: the first construction simply expresses a possession; the second expresses a possession plus the amount of the entity possessed. Example (32. b) above, for example, simply expresses that Roni has children. Example (33. b), on the other hand, expresses that Roni has got children and the number of the children Roni has is two.

Examples of possessive clauses given so far are all affirmative. Like existential clauses before, there are two ways of denying possession. First, a sentence expressing a possession is simply modified by the negative particle *Pe* and the negative adverb *nene*. This method is applied to both a possessive sentence with a predicate verb meaning 'be(ing)', as in (34. a), and a possessive sentence with a predicate numeral, as in (34. b).

(34). a). N-∅  seg  Pe  Pa-ra nene
1SG-GEN money NEG 3.OBV-be NEG
'I don’t have money’ (Lit. My money do not exist)

b). N-∅  seg  Pe  rib  a10 nene
1SG-GEN money NEG thousand two NEG
'I don’t have two thousand (rups/dollars)' (Lit. My money is not two thousand rups)

The second way of denying a possession is by employing the verb *aPai* to function as the predicate of a (non) possessive clause. An example is given in (35) below.

(35). N-∅  seg  aPai
1SG-GEN money not exist
'I don’t have money’ (Lit. my money do not exist)
References


