Ditransitives in Teiwa

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Chapter 14

Ditransitive constructions in Teiwa

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Introduction

Teiwa[1] (Ethnologue code twe, Gordon 2005) is a non-Austronesian ('Papuan') language spoken by approximately 4,000 speakers on the northeastern part of Pantar island, located just north of Timor island, in Eastern Indonesia (Map 1).[2] Teiwa is hypothesized to belong to the Trans New Guinea (TNG) family of Papuan languages.[3] Klamer (2010++) is a grammar of the language.

This chapter examines the coding properties of semantically ditransitive constructions in Teiwa. Following Malchukov et al. (this volume), a ditransitive construction is defined here as a construction consisting of a verb, an agent argument (A), a recipient-like argument (R), and a theme-argument (T).

In §1, the typological profile of the language is sketched to serve as background for the more detailed discussion in the following §s. We will see that Teiwa is a head final language, with a rather fixed word order, and a relatively simple morphology, and sentence syntax that is mainly built on paratactic structures. Serial verb constructions are used very frequently. The language has no case or adpositional marking, and no passive. In §2 and §3 the encoding of subjects and objects and their word order are discussed in some more detail. §4 describes the Teiwa transitive verbs: Teiwa has only monotransitive verbs, that (with some exceptions) belong to two major verb classes:

[1]On Pantar, languages do not have single generally accepted logonyms. A language can be referred to with the name of the major clan that speaks it, and/or by the name of the (ancestor) village where it is or used to be spoken. Teiwa is the name of a clan (a cluster of extended families with the same ancestors), the ancestor village is Lebang. When speakers talk Teiwa and refer to their own language to contrast it with Indonesian (the national language), they call it *pi-tarau* '1p.inclusive-language', "our language".

[2]This chapter describes Teiwa as spoken in the village of Madar, on Pantar island. The data were collected on site in May-August 2003, July- August 2004, and May 2007. My current Teiwa corpus is based on 2 hours of transcribed and translated video recordings (mainly narratives) of 5 individuals, plus some 600 additional utterances that were elicited with the help of 4 native speaker consultants (all male adults). I usually worked with 2 or 3 speakers at the time. The Teiwa lexicon collected to date consists of some 1,300 items.

[3]References include Capell (1969), Stokhof (1975), Pawley (1998, 2001), Ross (2005: 22–24).

those selecting an animate object, and those selecting an inanimate one. Lacking trivalent verbs, Teiwa uses serial verb constructions as the major coding strategy for semantically ditransitive constructions. This is described in §5. A minor strategy is the adnominal ditransitive construction, which is discussed in §6. In §7, applicatives are described as unproductive forms that are limited in number and do not play a significant role in the encoding of ditransitives. §8 presents a summary and conclusions.

1. Typological profile

Teiwa is generally head-final, with preverbal subject and object and clause final verbs. Word order is rather fixed. The first clause of (1) illustrates SV constituent order, the second illustrates APV order.[4][5]

(1) *Qau a ta ewar mis. Mis-an a ta man pi'i.*
good 3SG TOP return sit sit-REAL 3SG TOP grass twine
'So she sits down again. Sitting she twines grass.'

Teiwa has accusative alignment: S and A are treated alike, as opposed to P. [6] The grammatical relations subject and object are formally identified by choice of pronoun as well as constituent order, as described in §2 and §3 below. A Teiwa verb has maximally one grammatical object, which can have various semantic roles, including patient, theme, location, goal, source, recipient, benefactive, and comitative.

Teiwa has a number of word order characteristics that are typical for verb-final languages (see Dryer 2007 and the references cited there). First, Teiwa negations always occur in post-predicate position, as illustrated in (2):

(2) *Na iman ga-pak-an iman suk-an man.*
1SG 3PL 3SG-call-REAL 3PL exit.come.down-REAL NEG
'I called them [but] they didn't come out.'

Second, the three indigenous clause conjunctions occur in clause final position (or, if they do not belong to either of the clauses they link, they are prosodically grouped with the first conjunct). They express generic semantic links between clauses: *si* links clauses expressing simultaneous (SIM) events, *ba* links clauses with sequential (SEQ) events, and *le* links clauses with alternative events (OR). *Le* is also used to mark nominal and verbal disjunction.

[4] In Teiwa orthography, long vowels are represented by doubling them, while <q> represents a voiceless uvular stop, <'> is glottal stop, and <x> is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative.

[5] S = single argument of intransitive clauses; A = agent-like argument of transitive clauses, P= patient-like argument of transitive clauses.

[6] In this respect, Teiwa differs from the other languages in the Alor/Pantar area that show semantic alignment (Klamer 2008), such as Abui (Kratochvíl 2007), Klon (Baird 2005, 2008) and Western Pantar (Holton 2010).

Another feature related to the head-final character of Teiwa is that in nominal possessive constructions, possessors always precede their possessee, as in (3):

(3) *rai* *ga-yaf*
king 3SG-house
'the king's house'

In non-possessed NPs, however, the noun is the initial element, as illustrated in (4)-(5). Postnominal adjectives and demonstratives are not unusual in languages that are otherwise head-final (cf. Dryer 1992: and the references cited there).

(4) *xaf* *uwaad*
fish big
'a big fish'

(5) *uy* *a*
person PROX
'this person'

Teiwa comparative constructions are bi-clausal: two non-verbal clauses are linked by the comparative markers (M) *daga(r)* 'be like, compared with', *mo* 'as' or a combination of them *mo daga(r)*. In (6), the comparative marker *dagar* 'like' is used. Observe that the object of comparison (Obj) is the subject in the first clause, and the standard of comparison (St) is the subject in the second. The clauses are linked by the comparative marker. (Clause boundaries are indicated by square brackets.)

(6) *[Gelas* *a* *xa'a* *tab* *ii']$_{Clause}$* *dagar* *[ga-afo'o* *ga'an* *di*
glass PROX this truly red like 3SG-there 3SG only
Obj Adj M St

oxoran]$_{Clause}$
thus

'This glass is more red than that one over there.'

In verb-final languages, the standard of comparison (St) is typically followed by the marker of comparison (M), followed by the adjective (Adj) (Dryer 2007: 62). Example (6) shows that this pattern is not observed in Teiwa.

Teiwa non-verbal predicates do not have copulas, as illustrated in (6).

Regarding the position of verbal modifiers, various patterns exist, as is usual for verb-final languages. As manner adverbs are generally considered to be the least flexible in their position with respect to the verb (Dryer 2007: 81), I only discuss the expression of manner here. In Teiwa, manner is commonly expressed by a serial verb construction, where the manner verb precedes the other verb(s), as in (7), where *uri* 'look around searchingly' expresses the manner of going:

(7) *…iman uri wa bali si,… tei baq nuk la*
3PL look.around.searchingly go see SIM wood body one FOC
un baq yaa, iman bali si…
PROG body descend they see SIM
'they go looking around searchingly seeing... a trunk, there is a trunk, [they] descend and see...'

However, Teiwa does have a few lexical items that express manner while not being able to function as an independent verb themselves. Such manner adverbs precede the verb, as *human-human* 'slowly' in (8) illustrates:

(8) *Qau a ta human-human suk.*
good 3SG TOP RDP-slowly descend
'Then he went down slowly.'

Teiwa clause combinations are simple structures, and the language has no morpho-syntactically marked subordinate clauses. Cross-linguistically, certain semantic verb types, such as utterance verbs and verbs of perception and cognition, often select complement clauses. While Teiwa does have such semantic complement clauses, there is no morpho-syntactic evidence to analyze them as syntactic complements. An illustration of sentences with utterance verbs are (10) and (15) below. [7]

Causative concepts are also expressed analytically by a sequence of two clauses, one of which contains the transitive verb *er* 'make, do something'. In (9) the first clause expresses 'we do our work', and the second clause 'it [the work] is finished'. The event expressed in the first clause causes the state of affairs in the second clause.

(9) *Pi pi-karian i er a gula' sin.*
1PL.i 1PL.i-work FORTHC[8] make 3SG finish first
'We first finish our work here.' (Lit. 'We do our work here to finish it first.')

Teiwa lacks a dedicated relative clause construction. In order to modify a noun, it is marked with the focus marker *la*. The focus marker is employed to mark the information, which the speaker intends to introduce into the discourse. Focus expressions are typically followed by pragmatically presupposed propositions. The sentences in (10) illustrate some basic features of Teiwa focus NPs. First, they are pragmatically rather than grammatically determined: the clause in (10a) is grammatical but has no focus NP, compare (10b,c), each of which contain a different focus NP. Second, the semantic

[7]For more discussion and evidence I refer to (Klamer 2010++: chapter 10).

[8]The demonstrative root i'Forthc(oming)' refers to forthcoming or future discourse topics. It designates a not-yet identifiable discourse referent which is comparable to the indefinite use of *this* in English (Lambrecht 1994:83), as in *Have you heard this joke: "…".* While *a* and *u* can determine an NP out of its (discourse) context, *i* cannot do this (cf. Klamer, to appear, chapter 3).

role of a focus NP is variable: it may be an agent, (10b), an addressee, (10c), a location, (11), or a temporal setting, (12).

(10) a. *Rai* *na-soi* *ga-kamadal* *ga-boxan* *tas.*
king 1SG-order 3SG-belt 3SG-guard stand
'The king ordered me to guard his belt.'

b. *[Rai* *la]* *na-soi* *ga-kamadal* *ga-boxan* *tas.*
king FOC 1SG-order 3SG-belt 3SG-guard stand
'The king ordered me to guard his belt.'

c. *Rai* *[na* *la]* *soi* *ga-kamadal* *ga-boxan* *tas.*
king 1SG FOC order 3SG-belt 3SG-guard stand
'I was ordered by the king to guard his belt.'

(11) *Yi* *[amidan* *la]* *g-om* *ma* *a-uyan?*
2p what FOC 3SG-inside come 3SG-search
'Where (lit. in what) are you searching it?'

(12) *Na* *riaq* *a* *na'* *[wad* *teran* *la]* *a* *min-an* *ga-x.*
1SG fear 3SG maybe today midnight FOC 3SG die-REAL 3SG-possess
'I fear that maybe he'll die tonight.'

Clauses following a focus NP function as relative clauses. This is expected because crosslinguistically, restrictive relative clauses are typically reserved for the coding of pragmatically presupposed propositions. However, *la* differs from a relative marker in not being confined to marking nominal constituents only: in (13), it marks a serial verb construction as focus expression.

(13) *Iman* *una'* *tup-an,* *[bir-an* *aria'* *la]* *maraqai* *Lau* *Uwaad* *Bir,…*
they also get.up-REAL run-REAL arrive FOC up L. W. B.
'They also got up, ran (to) arrive upthere at Lau Uwaad Bir...'

In sum, constructions with *la* are focus constructions, and Teiwa lacks dedicated relative clause constructions.

Teiwa has no adpositions. The language makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (SVCs). In Klamer (2010++) Teiwa SVCs are defined as two or more verbs that occur in combination without an overt marker of coordination or syntactic dependency, and share minimally one argument (the grammatical subject), which is expressed maximally once. Teiwa SVCs share adverbs and negators. They express various adverbial notions, mark modality and aspect, and are used to introduce additional participants in the clause. In particular the deictic verb *ma* 'come (here)' is used frequently with a variety of different functions that developed through a process of grammaticalization

(see Klamer 2010). One of its functions is to introduce additional participants in the clause. The semantic roles of these arguments are varied, and include goals, sources, locations, instruments, as well as displaced themes. This is further discussed in §5 below.

With respect to its morphological profile, Teiwa appears to be a language towards the isolating end of the continuum. Inflectional prefixes index the person and number features of animate objects on the verb, but subjects and inanimate objects are not indexed on the verb. Teiwa has only one verbal suffix *–(a)n*, which marks realis state on verbs and is glossed as 'REAL'. Teiwa has a limited number of nominal and verbal compounds, and no dedicated morphology to derive nominals. The language has only one verbal derivational prefix: applicative *un-*, which is no longer productive (see §7). Teiwa nouns do not inflect for number, gender or case. The person and number of a possessor are expressed with a prefix on the possessed noun, as in (3) and (9) above.[9] Alienable and inalienable possession is distinguished: in alienable possession, the possessor prefix is optional, in inalienable possession, it is obligatory. When a possessor is emphasized, a long pronoun is used for an alienable possessor and a short one for an inalienable one. The paradigms of possessive pronouns and prefixes are given in Table 1.

The '3PL elsewhere' pronouns refer to a group of people that is not at the same physical location as the speaker. A 'distributive' pronoun refers to a non-collective, diverse group of humans. Used as a possessor pronoun, the distributive has a generic possessor interpretation, as in *ta-yaf* 'our (generic) house(s), everyone's house(s)' (in contrast to e.g., *pi-yaf* 'our (inclusive) house(s)'). 'Elsewhere' and 'distributive' pronouns are also used to encode subjects and objects, see Table 2 and Table 3.

Teiwa has no morpho-syntactically marked passive construction. Agent subjects may be pragmatically 'back-grounded' by using the generic noun *hala* 'others, unknown people'. This is illustrated in (64).

(14) a. *…hala qar weg mat ma ga-mian,*
others rice raw take come 3SG-put.at
'...others gave him raw rice,'

b. *yir la pin ma hala wa qau ga-soi na…,*
water FOC hold come others say good 3SG-order eat
'water [was] brought [to him], they told him to eat ...'

Note that in such constructions, *hala* is the grammatical subject: it occurs in subject position and the morpho-syntax of the sentence remains identical to main declarative clauses with an overt subject. The subject-backgrounding effect is caused only by the generic, unspecific referential properties of the subject noun *hala.* The fore-grounding

[9]A secondary function of the 3rd person possessor prefix *ga-* is to nominalize adjectives, locational nouns, adverbs, and question words.

Table 1: Possessor pronouns and prefixes

	Long pronoun	Short pronoun	Prefix
1SG	*na'an*	*na*	*n(a)-*
2SG	*ha'an*	*ha*	*h(a)-*
3SG	*a'an*	*a*	*g(a)-*
1PL.E	*ni'in*	*ni*	*n(i)-*
1PL.I	*pi'in*	*pi*	*p(i)-*
2PL	*yi'in*	*yi*	*y(i)-*
3PL	*iman*	–	*g(i)-, ga-*
3PL.elsewhere	*gi'in*	–	–
distributive	*ta'an*	*ta*	*t(a)-*

of objects, the other function of passives, is done in Teiwa by marking objects as focus expressions (with the marker *la*), or by moving them to a contrastive focus position (see §3).

In conclusion, Teiwa morphology and syntax are relatively simple. Clauses are often combined by juxtaposition or by coordinating conjunctions. Serial verb constructions are very much used. There are no morpho-syntactically marked subordinated clauses (such as complement clauses and relative clauses). The language has no passive, no case marking, and no adpositions.

2. Subject encoding

A Teiwa subject (A/S) is expressed as an independent constituent (pronoun or lexical NP) as in (15) and (17). A subject precedes the object, as illustrated in (15). The object is either a free constituent, as in (15), or is indexed on the verb with a prefix, as in (16).

(15)

A		P	V	
Ga-xala' / a		*meja*	*ga-fat*	*ari'.*
3SG-mother	3SG	table	3SG-leg	break

'His mother/she broke that table leg.'

(16)

A	P_{Prefix} V
A	*ga-regan.*
3SG	3SG-ask

'He asks her.'

(17) S V
Ga-xala' / a min-an tau.
3SG-mother 3SG die-REAL PFV
'His mother/she is already dead.'

Subject pronouns can be long or short, as in Table 2. The number distinction may be neutralized in third person.

Table 2: Long and short subject pronouns[10]

	Long subject pronoun	Short subject pronoun
1SG	*na'an*	*na*
2SG	*ha'an*	*ha*
3SG	*a'an*	*a*
1PL.E	*ni'in*	*ni*
1PL.I	*pi'in*	*pi*
2PL	*yi'in*	*yi*
3PL	*iman*	*i, a*
3PL.elsewhere	*i'in*	*i, a*
distributive	*ta'an*	*ta*

Distributive pronouns are used as subject (18), or object, (19), or possessor (see above). As a subject pronoun, *ta'an* is also often used in reciprocal contexts, see (27) below.

(18) *Ta'an tara' mis!*
DISTR be.in.a.row[11] sit
'[Let's] sit in a row!' (lit. 'Each (one) sits in a row!')

(19) *Ma ta-fin!*
come DISTR-catch
'Catch each one [of us/them]!'

A pronominal subject is usually encoded as a short pronoun (examples are (1), (2), (8), (9), (11), (12), (15)–(17) above, and (20a) below). The long pronoun form is used for emphasis, as in (20b), and as clause topic, as in (20c). (But short pronouns may also be clause topics, as illustrated in (10c) above).

[10]The segmental make-up of the short subject pronoun forms is identical to that of the object forms in Table 3, but the subject pronouns are independent words, while the objects forms are prefixes.

[11]*Tara'* is also used with the meaning 'broken (in pieces)', as in *wat tara'* 'a coconut broken in pieces'.

(20) a. *Na* *hamar.*
1SG pray
'I (will) pray.'

b. *Na'an* *hamar.*
1SG pray
'I (will) pray [not you].'

c. *Na'an* *la* *hamar.*
1SG FOC pray
'I am the one who will pray.'

Teiwa subjects always precede the verb, whether they are lexical or pronominal. Unlike pronominal objects (see §3), pronominal subjects cannot occur in post-verbal position.

3. Object encoding

Teiwa transitive verbs are mono-valent verbs and have maximally one grammatical object. (The verb *an* 'give' may be an exception, see §4.3). A Teiwa object may be a patient, theme, beneficiary, recipient, location, source, goal or comitative. In the encoding of Teiwa objects these semantic roles are not distinguished. Neither are objects formally distinguished as direct/indirect or primary/secondary. Instead, the animacy value of objects determines how they are encoded: an animate object is obligatorily indexed on the verb and can be expressed as a free constituent in conjunction with verb inflection, an inanimate object can only be expressed as a free constituent. [12]

The Teiwa object pronouns and prefixes are given in Table 3. The number distinction is often neutralized in third person. Consonant-initial verbs take the full object prefix, vowel-initial verbs take only the first consonant of the object prefix.

The basic position of Teiwa objects is between the subject, and before the verb (APV), as illustrated in (15) above. Movement of the object to a position preceding the subject (PAV) encodes emphasis, as illustrated in (21).

(21) *[Tei* *siis]$_P$* *a* *wan* *pin-an* *pati,* *pada hal* *ruus* *ga-dexen.*
wood dry 3SG be hold-REAL PROG in.fact(IND) deer 3SG-horn
'Dry wood he holds, [but] in fact [it's] the deer's horns.'

A pronominal object can also be moved to a position following the verb (AVP$_{pronoun}$). Illustrations are given in (22). In (22a), the object is inanimate, hence not prefixed; (22b) illustrates that this free pronoun can occur in postverbal position (AVP$_{pronoun}$) when it is emphasized. In (22c), the object is animate, hence encoded by a prefix. Such

[12]There are a few exceptions to this pattern, see §4.1 below.

[13]The object pronouns are almost identical to the long subject pronouns, but the 3rd person forms are distinct (singular: subject *a'an* vs. object *ga'an*, plural: subject *i'in* vs. object *gi'in*).

Table 3: Object pronouns and prefixes[13]

	Object pronoun	Object prefix
1SG	na'an	n(a)-
2SG	ha'an	h(a)-
3SG	ga'an	g(a)- or gə-
1PL.E	ni'in	n(i)-
1PL.I	pi'in	p(i)-
2PL	yi'in	y(i)-
3PL	iman	g(i)- or g(a)-
3PL.elsewhere	gi'in	g(i)-
distributive	ta'an	t(a)-

an animate pronominal object can be emphasized by adding a pronoun in postverbal position, as shown in (22d). It is not possible to emphasize animate objects by placing an additional pronoun in preverbal position, as shown in (22e).

(22) a. *Na ga'an mar.*
1SG 3SG take
'I take/get it.'

b. *Na mar-an ga'an.*
1SG take-REAL 3SG
'I take/get it (not you).'

c. *Na ga-mar.*
1SG 3SG-take
'I follow him/her.'

d. *Na ga-mar ga'an.*
1SG 3-follow 3SG
'I follow him/her (not you).'

e. * *Na ga'an ga-mar.*
1SG 3SG 3SG-take/follow

Only pronominal objects can follow the verb, lexical objects are not allowed in this position, as illustrated in (23).

(23) * *Na mar-an in u.*
1SG take-REAL thing DIST
'Not good for: I take that thing (not this one).'

Focussed lexical objects either precede the subject (as in (21)) or are located outside the clause, as in (24), where *xas* 'manure, shit' is followed by a conjunction.

(24) *Xas* *ba* *nang*[14] *na-n!*
manure SEQ I eat-REAL
'Shit (is what) I eat!'

Lexical objects can also be marked as focus expression, as in (10c) above. Focussed objects usually remain in their original position between subject and verb.

Pronominal objects can be emphasized in two additional ways. The first is to use a full pronoun instead of a pronominal prefix. This is illustrated by the contrast in (25): in (25a), the prefix encodes the animate patient, in (25b), a full pronoun is used instead to emphasize the referent of the patient.

(25) a. *Miag* *yivar* *ga-sii.*
yesterday dog 3SG-bite
'Yesterday a dog bit him.'

b. *Miag* *yivar* *ga'an* *sii.*
yesterday dog 3SG bite
'Yesterday a dog bit him (not me).'

Second, emphatic animate objects can be expressed with both a prefix and a post-verbal pronoun as illustrated in (22d) above. Object pronouns cannot double a lexical NP. This is illustrated in (26). In (26a), the lexical object *ha-bif* 'your child' is indexed on the verb, and in (26b) *ha-bif* is emphasized using an additional free pronoun *ga'an*. This is ungrammatical. Lexical objects are emphasized by fronting (see (21)), dislocation (see (24)) and/or by marking them as focus constituent (see (10c)).

(26) a. *Xa'a* *ma* *ha-bif* *ga-mai.*
this come 2SG-child 3SG-save
'This (I/we) save for him, your child.'

b. * *Xa'a* *ma* *ha-bif* *ga'an* *mai.*
this come 2SG-child 3SG save
Not good for: 'This (I/we) save for him, your child.'

At the end of this § on object encoding, I present some information on constructions that are functionally similar to 'reciprocal' and 'reflexive' constructions in other languages. In 'reciprocal' constructions the distributive pronoun *ta'an* 'distributive' is the grammatical object, as illustrated in (27)-(28).

[14]Nang is an alternative form for na'an, apparently used to increase the formal distinction between the pronoun and the similar sounding verb nan 'eat' that follows it.

(27) *Iqap* *ta'an* *er.*
3SG & they DISTR make
'They are angry at each other. (Lit. S/he & they make each other)'

(28) *Yiraxau* *ta'an* *he'en* *ma* *ti'?*
2DUAL DISTR close come sleep
'Do you two sleep together/next to each other?'

The reciprocal interpretation of clauses like (27) and (28) is determined by combining the object pronoun *ta'an* with either a subject pronoun from the dual paradigm *-raxau*, illustrated in Table 4, or a subject from the paradigm *–iqap* 'X & they', which refers to the person and number of someone in the presence of another group, as in (26) (see Klamer 2010++).

Table 4: Dual pronouns

1.exclusive-DU.	*ni-raxau*	'we two (excluding you)'
1.inclusive-DU	*pi-raxau*	'we two (including you)'
2-DU	*yi-raxau*	'you two'
3-DU	*i-raxau*	'they two'

Table 5: 'X & they' pronouns

2SG & they	*h-iqap*	'you & they'
3SG & they	*ø-iqap*	's/he/they & they'
1PL.E & they	*n-iqap*	'we (excluding you) & they'
1PL.I & they	*p-iqap*	'we (including you) & they'
2PL & they	*y-iqap*	'you (pl) & they'

I have no data on ditransitives in constructions with *ta'an.*

The construction that expresses reflexive notions in Teiwa involves an inalienably possessed noun *exan* 'self'. *Exan* denotes the coreferential argument of a reflexive predicate, and the person and number of the agent is marked with a possessive prefix (see the paradigm in Table 1). In third person, *exan* does not get a possessive prefix. Illustrations are given in (29).

(29) a. *Na* *n-exan* *na* *var.*
1SG 1SG-self 1SG kill

'I kill myself.'

b. *Ha h-exan ha var.*
2SG 2SG-self 2SG kill
'You kill yourself.'

c. *A exan a var.*
3SG self 3SG kill
'S/he kills her/himself.'

d. *Ni n-exan ni var.*
1PL.e 1PL.e-self 1PL.e kill
'We (excluding you) kill ourselves.'

e. *Pi p-exan pi var.*
1PL.i 1PL.i-self 1PL.i kill
'We (including you) kill ourselves.'

f. *Yi y-exan yi var.*
2PL 2PL-self 2PL kill
'You (pl) kill yourselves.'

g. *I exan a var.*
they self 3[15] kill
'They kill themselves.'

A construction with *exan* differs from a plain transitive construction. First, animate objects are always marked by a prefix on the verb, as in the transitive clause (30a), but the object *exan* cannot be marked with a prefix on the verb, as in (30b).

(30) a. *Na na-qavif ga-var.*
I 3SG-goat 3SG-kill
'I kill my goat'

b. * *Na n-exan na-var.*
1SG 1SG-self 1SG-kill
Intended reading: 'I kill myself.'

Given the homophony that exists between 1st and 2[n]d person subject short pronouns and object prefixes (see ???? and Table 3), the pronoun *na* in (30b) might also be analysed as an object prefix. For evidence that the pronoun directly preceding the verb is a (short) subject rather than a (prefixed) object we therefore have to look at constructions that involve a third person pronoun, as third person objects and subjects have distinct pronoun forms (*ga-/gi-* versus *a/i*). In (31) it is shown that a construction with *exan* cannot take a 3rd person singular object marker *ga-* on the verb, nor a 3rd

[15]In third person, the number distinction is neutralized.

singular possessor pronoun *ga'an*. Instead, the short subject pronoun *a* must be used. This is the second difference between 'reflexives' and plain transitives: in 'reflexives', the agent is marked twice: once at the beginning of the clause, preceding *exan,* and once again before the verb.

(31) *A* *(*ga'an)* *exan* *a* *(*ga-)* *var.*
3SG 3SG.POSS self 3SG.SUBJ 3SG.OBJ kill
'S/he kills her/himself.'

It should also be noted that the constructions (29 a,b) are not 'reflexive' in the strictest sense because constructions with *exan* express more generally the notion of doing something without help or company, as in (32). Unfortunately, I have no data on ditransitive constructions with *exan*.

(32) *exan wei* 'bathe by oneself'
exan tas 'stand by oneself'
exan mis 'sit by oneself'
exan tii' 'sleep/lie down alone, by oneself'

In sum, Teiwa has only monotransitive verbs, and encodes animate and inanimate objects differently. The base position of lexical objects is between the subject and the verb; they can be moved to precede the subject, but cannot follow the verb. Pronominal objects can occur in postverbal position to express emphasis.

4. Transitive verbs

4.1. Main transitive verb classes

Teiwa transitives are divided into two major classes according to the way they encode their object. Class (i) indexes the object with an object marking prefix, class (ii) encodes the object as a separate nominal constituent, forbidding it to be encoded as a prefix. Examples of both verb classes are given in Table 6 and Table 7. The object of the verbs in Table 6 is animate. The object of the verbs in Table 7 is inanimate. The lists are based on an investigation of my limited corpus, and are not exhaustive.

Examples (33) and (34) illustrate verbs of class (i), with an object prefix that refers to an animate entity. In (33), the object is *qavif* 'goat' is indexed on the verb, in (34) it is *emaq u* 'that wife'.

(33) *A* *qavif* *ga-uyan* *gi* *si…*
3 goat 3SG-search go SIM
'He went searching for the goat...'

[15]'Sb' = 'someone' and refers to animates (people as well as animals), in contrast to 's.th.' = 'something'.

Table 6: Transitive class (i): verbs with object prefix, and an animate object

an	'give sb'	*rian*	'look after sb'
'an	'sell to sb'	*regan*	'ask sb'
ayas	'throw at sb'	*sas*	'feed sb'
fin	'catch sb'	*soi*	'order sb'
lal	'show to sb'	*tiar/tir*	'chase sb'
liin	'invite sb'	*ua'*	'hit sb'
mian	'put at sb'	*'uam*	'teach sb'
pak	'call sb'	*walas*	'tell sb'
panaat	'send to sb'	*wei*	'bathe sb'

Table 7: Transitive class (ii): verbs without object prefix, and an inanimate object

bali	'see sth'	*ol*	'buy sth'
bangan	'ask for / request sth'	*paai*	'cut sth in many small pieces'
boqai	'cut up sth' (e.g. fish, pig)	*pin*	'hold sth'
diib	'push sth with effort into cramped space' (theme object)	*put*	'cut off' (grass, small trees)
		qap	'carve out sth'
digan	'push forcefully into sth' (location object)	*qas*	'split sth'
		sabar	'close off sth'
dumar	'push away sth'	*su'an*	'cut off sth' (e.g. corn from stem)
ga	'take sth along'		
hela	'pull sth'	*tare'*	'shake sth from container'
kiqax	'shake out sth'	*tanat*	'place on sth'
kiri	'pull sth'	*taxar*	'cut sth in two'
mat	'take sth'	*tian*	'carry sth on head or shoulder'
me'	'be in some place'	*tiwan*	'carry sth with a stick on the shoulders of two people'
moxod	'drop sth' (on purpose)		
na	'eat sth'	*yia*	'put sth'

(34) *Rai ga' an u ma nuk a tup-an a emaq u*
king 3SG DIST come one 3SG get.up-REAL 3SG wife DIST
ga-walas, a wa a mau tewar por awan ta gi.
3SG-tell 3SG say 3SG want(BI) walk island far TOP go
'That king one [day] got up [and] said to that wife [of his], he said he wanted to go to an island far away.'

Examples (35), (36) and (37) illustrate verbs of class (ii), with inanimate objects. In (35), the object of the (transitive) locational verb *me'* 'be in' is *an* 'market'.

(35) *Iman* *yix-in* *gi-n* *ga'an* *ta* *gi* *an* *me'* *ewar*
they descend-REAL go-REAL 3SG[16] TOP go market be.in return
daa *si,…*
ascend SIM
'They went down like that to go to the market and returned climbing up, '

In (43), the object is *ixaf uwaad* 'their big fish', being dead it is an inanimate.

(36) *…i'in* *i-xaf* *uwaad* *la* *boqai* *dau-an* *na.*
3PL.elsewhere 3PL-fish big FOC cut.up cook-REAL eat
'...they cut their big fish, cooked and ate [it].'

In (37), the object of *bangan* 'ask for' is inanimate *miaaq* 'leaf'.

(37) *Qavif* *la* *nuk* *tur* *soxai* *xer* *ta* *wa:* *"qavif*
goat FOC one formerly traditional.dance shout TOP say goat
meee-meee *miaaq* *bangan* *na* *yaa-aaa* *oooo."*
meee-meee leaf ask.for eat descend-EXCL EXCL
'The first goat sings (lit. shouts) and dances saying: "goat meee-meee, [you] ask for leaves to eat, come do-own oooh".'

The transitive verbs discussed here can only have one object. An event with two objects is encoded as a serial verb construction. In such a construction, verbs from both classes can be combined (see also §5). An example is (38), where the first verb has an inanimate object, and the second an animate one.

(38) *Na* *met* *mar-an* *ha-mian.*
1SG betel vine take-REAL 2SG-put.at
'I give you (some) betel vine.'

In this paper I consider the inanimate object, which is a free constituent in Teiwa, as the T (theme-like argument), and the animate object, which is prefixed to the verb and has an optional free constituent, as the R (recipient-like argument) (Malchukov et al., this volume). In Teiwa, T and R are expressed in serial verb constructions where the verb with the inanimate T-argument comes before the R-argument: O_TV O_RV.

[16] *Ga'an* is a 3rd person singular object pronoun with a secondary function as a demonstrative pronoun. In discourse this pronoun keeps track of previously introduced referents. In this particular example, its function is to refer back to the event of 'going down' which had already been introduced earlier in the text. The discourse function of ga'an remains to be further investigated.

4.2. Exceptional transitive verbs

For completeness sake, it must be mentioned that there are a few exceptional transitive verbs that belong to both class (i) *and* class (ii). Such verbs either select an animate object (and index it with a prefix) or an inanimate one (and encode it as an independent constituent). Examples are *mai* 'save sth'/ 'keep for sb' and *mar,* 'take sth' / 'follow sb', illustrated in (22) and (26).

In addition, there are also a few verbs that select an animate or an inanimate object, and allow both to be indexed on the verb. Such verbs encode inanimate objects with the canonical object prefix (otherwise used to index *animate* objects), and they encode their animate object with a prefix with a glottal stop final consonant. Examples are given in (39):

(39)	*ga-wulul*	[gawulul]	'talk about it, tell it'
	ga'-wulul	[ga?wulul]	'talk with him/tell him'
	ga-tad	[gatad]	'hit/strike sth/some place' (e.g. pebble hits window)
	ga'-tad	[ga?tad]	'hit/strike sb/animal' (e.g. pebble hits bird)

These verbs are exceptions to the rule that animate objects are indexed on the verb, while inanimate objects are encoded as free constituents.

4.3. The transitive verb -an 'give'

The only Teiwa verb that may be used in a ditransitive construction is the verb *an* 'give'. An illustration is (40), where T is *sen* 'money' and R is *noma'* 'my father'.

Both the T-object and the R-object share the same predicate. R is indexed on the verb with prefix *g-* '3SG'. The order is S O_T O_R V.

(40) *Uy* *ga'an* *u* *ma* *sen* *n-oma'* *g-an*
person 3SG DIST come money 1SG-father 3SG-give
'That person comes to give my father money.'

Constructions like (40) where two bare object NPs appear in a single clause do not occur in the spontaneous speech of my corpus, and were only used in elicitation contexts. If they are grammatical, they are marginal. In the corpus, clauses with *an* have R as the single object, leaving T unexpressed/implied. An illustration is the second clause of (41), where *iman* 'they' is the R (also indexed on the verb), and there is no overt T.

(41) *Ga-manak* *ga'an* *u* *xu'u* *man* *ba* *ni* *ma* *iman*
3SG-master 3SG DIST overthere NEG SEQ 1PL.I come 3PL
g-an *man,* *un* *yias-an…*
3SG-give NEG CONT put-REAL
'That master of his was not there so we didn't give [it] to them, [but] put [it]…'
(i.e. put it away, kept it)

Alternatively, T can be expressed with its own, separate predicate. An example is (42), where T is introduced as the subject of the intransitive deictic verb *ma* 'come (here)'. The resulting sentence is a serial verb construction A [S_T V] O_R V. Grammatically, *sen* is the single argument (S) of the deictic verb *ma* (i.e., 'money comes (here)'), but in a serial verb construction with *an* 'give' it is interpreted as a transferred entity.

(42) *Ui* *ga'an* *u* *sen* *ma* *n-oma'* *g-an.*
person 3SG DIST money come 1SG-father 3SG-give
'That person gave money to my father.'

This strategy is further discussed in §5.

The T of *an* can also be introduced by another verb than *ma* 'come (here)'. This is illustrated in (43), where T *ga-dan* 'the others' is introduced by the transitive verb *pin* 'hold', while *an* functions as a monotransitive verb, indexing R.

(43) *Wat* *ga'an* *a* *mar-an* *pin,* *"Ga-dan* *pin* *daa*
coconut 3SG 3SG take-REAL hold 3SG-part hold ascend
na-xala' *g-an* *a* *na".*
1SG-mother 3SG-give 3SG eat
'Those coconuts he took and brought up, [saying] "The others[17] [I'll] take up to give to my mum to eat".'

In sum, *an* 'give' can occur in a clause with two bare object NPs in the order S O_T O_R V, but such constructions are marginal. In most contexts, *an* encodes R as its (single) animate object, and T is introduced with its own predicate, resulting in a serial verb construction.

5. Serial verb constructions

5.1. T-type serial verb constructions

As we have seen above, Teiwa events with three participants introduce T and R each with their own verb. This results in a serial verb construction where the first verb introduces T, and the second verb, which is semantically the major verb of the clause, introduces R. In most cases, the verb used to introduce T is the intransitive deictic verb *ma* 'come (here)'. An illustration is (44b), compare (44a):

(44) a. *Na* *bif* *ga-sas.*
1SG child 3SG-feed
'I feed the child.'

[17]That is, "the remainder, the coconuts I won't eat myself".

b. *Na* *qar* *ma* *bif* *ga-sas.*
1SG cooked.rice come child 3SG-feed
'I feed the child rice / I feed rice to the child.'

That *ma* synchronically functions as a separate deictic verb can be seen in (40), (45):[18]

(45) *Ha'an* *la* *ma* *le* *na'an* *la* *wa?*
2SG FOC come or 1SG FOC go
'Are you coming [here] or am I going [to you]?'

In (46), T 'money' is introduced with its own serial verb *ma* 'come', and R 'my father' is the animate object of *mian* 'put at' that is indexed on the verb. Note that the constituent order in this sentence is not canonical: the NP encoding the R-object is fronted to clause initial position, and precedes the subject, which is marked as a focus constituent.

(46) *[N-oma']$_R$* *[uy* *ga'an* *u* *la]$_A$* *sen$_T$* *ma* *ga$_R$-mian.*
1SG-father person 3SG DIST FOC money come 3SG-put.at
'[It's] that person who gave money to my dad.'

T's introduced by *ma* may also be a clause topic, as shown in (47):

(47) *[Xas* *la]* *ma* *ga-mian* *na.*
manure FOC come 3SG-put.at eat
'Shit [is what they] gave him to eat.'

In (48), the verb *'an* 'sell to someone'[19] has an animate R object, which can be implied, as in (48a), or be marked on the verb, as in (48b). If T is also expressed, it must be introduced with *ma*, even if R is not expressed, see (48 a,c). Without *ma*, the clause becomes ungrammatical, (48 c,d).

(48) a. *Na* *buku* *ma* *'an-an.*
I book(IND) come sell-REAL
'I sell books.'

b. *Na* *buku* *ma* *ga-'an-an.*
I book(IND) come 3SG-sell-REAL
'I sell a book / books to him.'

[18]The deictic verb function is but one of the many synchronic functions of ma in Teiwa. Klamer (2010) shows that ma also functions as a change-of-state verb ('become'), as a marker of intentions or future tense, as a marker of hortatives and imperatives, and as a conjunctive element that indicates that time has elapsed between subsequent events. It is argued that the various synchronic functions of ma all relate to a single deictic verb meaning. The present paper assumes this analysis.

[19]Note the initial glottal stop consonant of this verb (it is not homophonous with an 'give').

c. * *Na* *buku* *'an-an.*
1 book(IND) sell-REAL
Not good for: 'I sell books.'

d. * *Na* *buku* *ga-'an-an.*
I book(IND) 3SG-sell-REAL
Not good for: 'I sell a book / books to him.'

In (49a) the verb *mian* 'to put at someone' has an animate R object, expressed as the verbal prefix *ga-* and the free constituent *bif* 'younger sibling'. The ungrammaticality of (49b) shows that T must be introduced with *ma*, and (49c) shows that R cannot be introduced with *ma*.

(49) a. *Na-xala'* *yir* *ma* *bif* *ga-mian* *hufa'.*
1SG-mother water come younger.sibling 3SG-put.at drink
'My mum gives water to the child to drink.'

b. * *Na-xala'* *yir* *bif* *ga-mian* *hufa'.*
1SG-mother water younger.sibling 3SG-put.at drink

c. * *Na-xala'* *yir* *bif* *ma* *ga-mian* *hufa'.*
1SG-mother water younger.sibling come 3SG-put.at drink

The semantics of *mian* 'put at someone' and *an* 'give' are similar in that both verbs express the physical transfer to an animate entity (a person), and can be used in the same pragmatic contexts. Consultants explained that both verbs have a person as object but that the object of *mian* is perceived more like a place where the transferred entity is "put at". The verb *mian* can for example also be used when something is put at someone's feet, in someone's house or on someone's desk: the intended recipient does not necessarily receive it personally in his own hands. But the object of *an* 'give' is a "true" recipient who is personally involved in the transfer event, for example because he reaches out to receive the entity and holds it in his hands. The animate object of *mian* 'put at' is thus perceived as the (human) location where the entity is transferred to, while the object of *an* 'give' is a more canonical type of recipient. Often, the transferred entity is left unexpressed in constructions with *mian*, to be inferred from the context, as in (50):

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

The sentence in (51) illustrates the verb *tanat* 'to place/put on sth'. *Tanat* is a transfer verb just like *an* 'give' and *mian* 'put at someone', but where *an* and *mian* take animate objects, *tanat* takes an inanimate one, a physical location. In (51), *afat ki' uwaad* 'his big toe' is the (single) location object of *tanat*. *Tab ga'an* 'that spear' is the transferred

entity, and is introduced with *ma*. If we analyse this sentence analogous to the constructions in (44), (46), (48) and (49), the locational object 'his big toe' is R, and 'that spear' is T.

(51) *A* *[tab* *ga'an* *ma]$_{theme}$* *[a-fat* *ki'* *uwaad]$_{\text{"recipient"}}$* *tanat*
3s spear that come 3s-foot toe big place.on.sth
olaxhamar.
recite.poetry
'He places [the point of] that spear on his big toe and recites poetry.'

Additional illustrations where *ma* introduces transferred entities are (52) and (53):

(52) *A* *ta* *war* *upar* *ma* *ga-ayas.*
3SG TOP rock pebble come 3SG-throw.at
'He throws pebbles at him.'

(53) *Xa'a* *ma* *ha-bif* *ga-mai.*
this come 2SG-younger.sibling 3SG-save
'Save this for your younger sibling(s).'

Entities introduced by*ma* also include patients of inspection (objects pointed out or shown), as in (54), and instruments, as in (55).

(54) *Yitar* *ga-qau*[20] *ma* *na-lal-an!*
road 3SG-good come 1SG-show-REAL
'[You] show me the right way!'

(55) *Si'* *ma* *na-mian* *na* *ma* *ina.*
spoon come 1SG-put.at 1SG come eat
'Give me a spoon to eat.'

In the next §, we will see that the argument introduced by *ma* can in fact have many more different semantic roles.

5.2. Serial verb ma 'come (here)' as oblique flagging

An argument introduced by the serial verb *ma* 'come (here)' may be a theme-like argument (T) but it may also have other semantic roles. In fact, various semantic types of objects can be introduced by *ma*: the semantics of the argument of *ma* is unspecified,

[20]Ga-qau '(a)good one' is an example of a nominalisation created by prefixing a root form with a third person possessor prefix ga-. Roots of such nominalisations are from various categories, including adjectives, locational nouns, adverbs, and question words. Nominalisations with ga- typically function as nominal attributes, as in this example, but they can also occur as independent nominal heads, see also Klamer (2010++).

and its interpretation depends on the semantics of the major verb in the clause. This will be illustrated in examples (56) through (60).

In (56), *ma* combines with the major verb *gi* 'go (from here)'. As *gi* is an intransitive deictic verb, the argument of *ma* is interpreted as a goal in this sentence.

(56) *Uy non ga'an wa an ma gi-n man.*
person PL 3SG go market come go-REAL NEG
'Those people did not go to the market.'

In (57), *ma* functions to flag the location of the major verb *igamiar* 'play' twice:

(57) *Biar non yaf g-om ma igamiar ba.*
child PL house 3SG-inside come play SEQ
'The children were playing inside the house so
na iman ga-soi luar ma igamiar.
1SG they 3SG-order outside(IND) come play
I told them to play outside.'

In (58), the major verb is the action verb *mar* 'take', and therefore the argument of *ma* (*ita'a* 'where?') is interpreted as a source:

(58) *Na ta ita'a ma in i mar-an.*
1SG TOP where come thing it.thing[21] take-REAL
'I from where [would I] take this thing...'

In (59), the major verb is *taxar* 'cut', and the item flagged by *ma* is an instrument:

(59) *Uy nuk ped ma tei taxar.*
person one machete come wood cut
'Someone cuts wood with a machete.'

In (60) *watol* 'antique cloth' is an item used to buy something and semantically may be a transferred entity, or an instrument:

(60) *...iman yir una' watol ma ol, petan una' watol ma*
they water also cloth come buy bamboo also cloth come
ol.
buy
'...they bought water with [traditional] cloth, bought also bamboo with cloth.'[22]

[21]The pronoun in 'it.thing' is one of the two Teiwa pronouns with inanimate third person referents: in 'it.thing' refers to an entity, i 'it.place' refers to a location.

In (61a) *katak* 'frog' is the patient of inspection; in (61b) *get bag* 'eyes' is the unaffected location or goal of the biting ('bite at his eyes') , or the affected patient ('bite his eyes'). If 'bite' had an animate object, it would be marked by a verbal prefix, as shown in (62).

(61) a. …*banaq* *g-om* *bali* *wa* *katak* *ma* *palan* *si,*
puddle 3SG-inside see go frog(IND) come inspect SIM
'...goes looking inside the puddle inspecting the frog,'

b. *katak* *waal* *ta* *daa* *g-et* *bag* *ma* *sii.*
frog(IND) that.mentioned[23] TOP ascend 3SG-eye seed come bite
'and that frog bites [at] his eyes.'

(62) *Katak* *ga-sii.*
frog(IND) 3SG-bite
'A frog bites him.'

To conclude, *ma* 'come' introduces an 'extra' inanimate participant that can have many different semantic interpretations, including patient, displaced theme, goal, location, source, and instrument. Synchronically, the verb has started to function as an oblique marker that signals the presence of an extra object (see also §5.3). In this analysis, the Teiwa ditransitive constructions show secundative alignment, as T is being treated distinct from R=P. But recall that the semantic interpretation of the additional object depends entirely on the major verb in serial verb construction, and is not necessarily always T-like.

Moreover, although additional (T) objects are typically introduced (or flagged) with the serial verb *ma,* they may also be introduced by other verbs in serial verb constructions. Illustrations with the verb *mar* 'take' are (38) and (43) above. In (63), the verb *panaatan* 'send to someone' has an animate R, and the T *in* 'stuff' ('it.thing') is introduced as inanimate object of *pin aria'* 'hold arrive', a fixed serial verb construction that means 'bring here'.

(63) *O,* *horan* *si* *mam* *h-oma'* *aria'* *sin,* *hala* *ga-panaat-an*
Oh thus SIM right 2SG-father arrive first others 3SG-send-REAL
in *pin* *aria'* *ga'an* *un* *yias-an* *u.*
it.thing hold arrive 3SG CONT put-REAL DIST
'Oh, if that's so, let your father come first, people sent him that stuff [we] brought here to keep.'

[22]This relates to clan ancestors who arrived as newcomers in a certain place and had to pay for their water and for building materials with traditional woven cloths.

[23]Waal 'that one, the one mentioned previously' has a demonstrative function in discourse. It marks referents that are known to both speaker and hearer, and in texts it refers to participants that have been introduced before.

The transitive verbs *pin* 'hold' and *mat/mar* 'take' both express the seizure of an object. Both can occur in fixed combinations with *ma* and introduce transferred entities*: pin ma* 'hold come' > 'bring sth (here)', *mat ma* 'take come' > 'take sth (here)'. Such verb combinations can also introduce a T, as illustrated in (64), where the T *qar weg* 'raw rice' is introduced by *mat ma,* while the R is marked on *mian* 'put at'.

(64) *…hala qar weg mat ma ga-mian, yir la pin ma*
others rice raw take come 3SG-put.at water FOC hold come
hala wa qau ga-soi na…
others say good 3SG-order eat
'...others took raw rice to him, brought water, told him to eat...'

5.3. Animate T in serial verb constructions

In all the preceding examples, the T arguments introduced by *ma* are inanimate. Animate T arguments, as in *She gave me the child*, can only be introduced in a clause with a separate verb, but this verb cannot be *ma*. This is illustrated in (65a), where *pin* 'hold' introduces the (topic) object of transfer 'small children'; the subject of *pin* 'hold' is *hala* 'others'. (65b) indicates that additional animate participants cannot be marked with *ma*, and (65c) shows that a double object construction is also impossible. I have no data on how animate T's that are pronominal are encoded.

(65) a. *Jadi hala biar kriman la pin aria' ma ni-mian…*
so(IND) other children small FOC hold arrive come 1PL.E-put.at
'So others brought some children here and gave [them] to us...'
(lit. 'So others took the small children, arrived, then put [them] at us.')

b. * *Jadi hala biar kriman ma ni-mian.*
so(IND) others children small come 1PL.E-put.

c. * *Jadi hala biar kriman ni-mian.*
so(IND) others children small 1PL.E-put.at

There is of course no semantic incompatibility between animates and the verb *ma* 'come', as illustrated in the examples (40) and (45). But the oblique marking function of *ma* only applies to entities that are inanimate; when it combines with animates, *ma* has developed other secondary functions (see Klamer 2010,+).

6. Adnominal ditransitive construction

In an adnominal ditransitive construction, R is encoded as the possessor of T (R's T). This is illustrated in (66). My corpus only contains this example.

(66) *Ha* *na-indan* *pin-an* *man?*
2SG 1SG-something hold-REAL NEG
'Did you bring something for me?' (Lit. 'Don't you hold my-something?')

7. Applicative verbs

Teiwa has a number of applicative verbs. They are derived by prefixing *un-* to a transitive or an intransitive verbal base, as illustrated in (67).[24] The derived verbs all select an animate object (recipient, benefactive, comitative, location or source). As all animate objects in Teiwa, this is prefixed to the verb.

The applicative derivation is not productive: the number of applicative verbs is limited – those given in (67) list the applicative verbs found in my corpus – and many derived forms are no longer semantically transparent: for the forms in (67a,b) speakers still see a connection between the base and its derivation, but not for those in (67c,d). In (67e), *mulax* is only used as part of the derived word and has no independent meaning.

(67) a. bangan 'ask for something'
g-um-bangan
3SG-APPL-ask.for
'ask from him/her'

b. paxai 'divide something'
g-um-paxai
3SG-APPL-divide
'share with him/her' (lit. 'divide for him/her')

c. ba' 'fall'
g-um-ba'
3SG-APPL-fall
'meet him/her' (lit. 'fall at him/her'?)

d. dagar 'be visible/clear'
g-un-dagar
3SG-APPL-be.visible
'turn face towards him/her' (lit. 'be visible to him/her')

e. mulax (has no independent meaning)
g-un-mulax
3SG-APPL-help

[24]The final nasal of the prefix un- is variably pronounced as [m] or [n], assimilating to the place of articulation of the following consonant. Since the place distinction between the two nasals is maintained when the following consonant is [m] (g-u[n]-mulax 'help him/her' in (74c), not * g-u[m]-mulax *), I assume that the underlying form of the prefix is un-.

'help him/her'

An illustration of the use of the derived form *unmulax* 'help someone' is (68). As indicated above, the base is not recognized as an independent verb.

(68) *Iman ga'an biar iman g-un-mulax ga-x wan man.*
3PL 3SG child they 3-APPL-help 3SG-possession be NEG
'They don't have children to help them at home.'

Observe that in (67a,b), the derived verb has an animate (R-like) object, while the object of the base was an inanimate. In (67c,d) the derivation adds an animate object. For the transitive base verbs, it is unclear whether the argument that is introduced by *un-* is added to the original object (thus resulting in a ditransitive verb), or whether it replaces it. The derivations with *bangan* in (69)-(72) suggest an additional (source) object.

(69) a. *Ma na'an bangan.*
come 1SG ask.for
'Come ask for me.' [e.g. when you need help; 1SG = patient]

b. *A daa n-um-bangan.*
3SG ascend 1SG-APPL-ask.for
'He comes up to ask me [for/about sth].'
Alternative reading: 'He comes up to ask sth from me.' [1SG = source]

(70) a. *Na daa ga'an bangan.*
1SG ascend 3SG ask.for
'I come up to ask for him.' [3SG = patient]

b. *Na daa g-um-bangan.*
1SG ascend 3-APPL-ask.for
I come up to ask him.
Alternative reading: 'I come up to ask something from him.' [3SG = source]

(71) a. *Na gi'in bangan.*
1SG they ask.for
'I ask for them.' [3PL = patient]

b. *Na wa gi-um-bangan.*[25]
1SG say 3PL-APPL-ask.for
'I ask them things.' [3PL = source]

(72) *H-um-bangan dum-dum.*
2SG-APPL-ask.for RDP-much
'Thank you very much.' (Lit. '[I] ask very much of you.')

However, the examples with *paxai* in (73)-(74), suggest that the derived verb has only one (benefactive) object, because the shared (theme) object can only be introduced with its own predicate, e.g. *ma* 'come' in (74).

(73) a. *Ha wa ni-paxai!*
2SG go 1PL.e-divide
'You divide us!' [e.g., in groups]

b. *Ma n-um-paxai, na ma h-um-paxai.*
come 1SG-APPL-divide 1SG come 2SG-APPL-divide
'Share with me, (then) I'll share with you.'

c. *Um-paxai!*
APPL-divide
'Share!' (Not good for: Divide!)

(74) a. *Na sen ma y-um-paxai.*
1SG money come 2PL-APPL-divide
'I share money with you.'

b. * *Na sen y-um-paxai.*
1SG money 2PL-APPL-divide

In sum, the few applicative verbs in Teiwa are unproductive, lexicalised forms. They all have an animate object, whose semantic role may vary. Being limited in number, they do not play an important role in the encoding of ditransitives.

8. Summary and conclusions

Teiwa has a relatively simple morphology and syntax: clauses are combined in paratactic structures, and serial verb constructions are used very frequently. There are no syntactically subordinated clauses such as complement clauses and relative clauses, there is no passive, no case marking, and no adpositional marking. The transitive verbs have maximally one object, either an animate or an inanimate one.

The most productive strategy to encode ditransitive constructions in Teiwa is a serial verb construction. In events with T and R participants, each is introduced with its own verb. In the resulting serial verb construction the first serial verb introduces T, and the second one, which is semantically the major verb, introduces R. In the typical case, the serial verb that introduces T is the intransitive deictic verb *ma* 'come (here)'. Crosslinguistically, this is an unusual verb type: Malchukov et al. (this volume) mention that T-type SVC patterns typically involve a transitive verb like 'take'. In Teiwa, the additional argument (T) is constructed as S of an intransitive deictic verb rather than T of a transitive verb. Synchronically, *ma* is beginning to function as an

[25]Alternative pronounciation: [gum]bangan.

oblique marker that signals the presence of an extra object, so that Teiwa seems to be developing constructions with secundative alignment, treating T distinct from R=P. The semantic interpretation of the object introduced by *ma* depends entirely on the major verb in serial verb construction, and is not necessarily always T-like: its semantic interpretations include patient of inspection, displaced theme, but also goal, location, source, and instrument.

Additional (T) objects may also be introduced by other verbs in serial verb constructions.

Animate T arguments (as in *She gave me the child*) can only be introduced in a clause with a separate serial verb, and this verb cannot be *ma*, because its oblique marking function is limited to entities that are inanimate.

A secondary strategy to encode ditransitives is to have a single T object, and encode R as the possessor of T (R's T).

The only morphologically derived verbs in Teiwa are the applicatives, but as unproductive, lexicalised forms that are very limited in number, they play only a minor role in the encoding of intransitives.

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Special abbreviations

1PL.e	1st person plural exclusive
1PL.i	1st person plural inclusive
CONT	continuative
DIST	distal (demonstrative)
DUAL	dual
FORTC	forthcoming (demonstrative)
IND	Indonesian/Malay loan
REAL	realis
RDP	reduplication
SEQ	sequential marker
SIM	simultaneous marker

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