

Wotu grammar notes

by
David Mead

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a basic sketch of the phonology and grammar of the endangered Wotu language of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is based on three previously published descriptions of Wotu (one in Dutch, two in Indonesian), two texts, an unpublished sentence list, and an unpublished draft lexicon.

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1 Introduction

The Wotu language (Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian) is spoken in Indonesia in the province of South Sulawesi at the head of the Gulf of Bone, in the villages of Lampenai and Bawalipu (Masruddin and Wahibah 2009). The name of the language is said to come from the local word *wotu*, meaning ‘family’ or ‘clan’ (Salombe et al. 1987:2, 97).

In former times Wotu was a principality subordinate to the Bugis kingdom of Luwu, which had its capital at Malangke and later Palopo (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000; Bulbeck 2000). The archeological record indicates that Wotu emerged in the thirteenth century as an early, important political center on the Gulf of Bone. From their coastal location they held sway over Pamona tribes living along the Kalaena River, an important access route linking the Gulf of Bone to the highlands of Central Sulawesi (Schrauwers 1997:363; Bulbeck 2000:7). Wotu may have also played a role, as a collection center, in the trade of iron that originated from its east around Lake Matano (Bulbeck 2000:11).

In 1988 it was estimated there were 4,000 speakers of Wotu (Vail 1991:61). Despite a proud heritage, in the present day the language is in significant decline owing to speakers shifting to Bugis and Indonesian. Masruddin and Wahibah (2009) estimate that today Wotu speakers may number as few as 500, with most parents no longer passing the language on to their children.

Although the following notes about Wotu grammar are limited in scope—they primarily follow lines of inquiry which accorded with my purposes—they bring to light the first information on Wotu for an English-speaking audience. I hope that others will find these notes to be a useful starting place for their own investigations of Wotu, and I especially hope that they might give a ‘leg up’ to researchers who would compile a larger corpus of texts and other primary data on this highly endangered yet little-known language of Sulawesi. Anyone who wishes is hereby invited to improve upon these notes.

1.1 Classification

Wotu is a member of the Wotu-Wolio microgroup of languages. In addition to Wotu, the other members of this group are: Barang-Barang and Laiyolo, spoken in small enclaves on Selayar Island; Kalao, spoken on the eastern half of Kalao Island to the southeast of Selayar Island; and Wolio and Kamaru, both spoken on Buton Island in Southeast Sulawesi. It should be noted that none of these languages are geographically contiguous, with Wotu being its most distant member. Throughout most of the twentieth century, researchers were misled by Wotu’s location, and debated whether Wotu was more closely

related to Pamona or to Bugis.¹ Its actual (genetic) affiliations went unrecognized until the lexicostatistical study by Grimes and Grimes (1987:62), and its classification was further established by Sirk (1988) and Donohue (2004).

1.2 Corpus

The amount of available material concerning the Wotu language is not great. The resources at my disposal—and on which these notes are based—consist of three published descriptions, an unpublished sentence list, an unpublished draft lexicon, and two unpublished texts.

The first data on Wotu was brought to light by Nicolaus Adriani in 1898. His article, “Iets Over de Talen der To Sada en der To Wadu”—the name Wotu was regrettably misspelled ‘Wadu’ in the title, but otherwise rendered correctly—consisted of information about sound system, pronouns, and affixes such as could be gleaned from a 450-item word list. The word list, collected by Adriani’s colleague Albertus Kruyt, was not published.

It was around ninety years later before the next publications on Wotu appeared, prepared by Indonesian researchers. *Struktur Bahasa Wotu* (Salombe et al. 1987) begins with a discussion of phonology, while both it and the subsequent *Morfologi dan Sintaksis Bahasa Wotu* (Sande et al. 1991) discuss affixes and affix combinations, word classes, phrase structure and sentence structure. The members of some word classes, such as pronouns, prepositions, interrogatives and numerals, are elaborated. Analyses are based on elicited material rather than on natural texts. The primary data is generally sound, provided one makes allowances for typographical errors.

In 1993, Wyn Laidig of the Summer Institute of Linguistics began work with Stefanus Syuaib, a native speaker of Wotu, to collect information on his language. By 1997, their collaborative efforts had resulted in a draft lexicon, compiled by merging three different word list instruments; a ‘Sulawesi Sentence List,’ comprising around 250 sentences, filled in for Wotu (Laidig worked with other speakers to also complete it for Barang-Barang, Laiyolo, and Kalao); and two transcribed Wotu stories, both first person narratives told by Stefanus Syuaib, with Indonesian free translations.²

¹ For a discussion of the position accorded to Wotu, see the summaries in Noorduyn (1991a:134) and Donohue (2004:25). Adriani (1898:150) noted that Wotu shared some points of similarity Bugis, and others with Pamona, without coming to a firm conclusion. Esser (1938) included Wotu with Pamona and other languages of his ‘Toraja’ group, but following Adriani and Kruyt (1914:353), Salzner (1960) classified Wotu as a South Sulawesi language. Sneddon (1983:note 9) simply cited opinion that data did not allow Wotu to be classified.

² Recordings were made of the sentence list and probably also the texts, but the cassette tape containing the recordings was misplaced before it could be converted to electronic format. It appears these recordings may be lost to posterity.

In the following notes, I have included with each example sentence the source of my data, according to the following abbreviations:

SBW-nnn	Salombe et al. 1987 (nnn = page number)
MSBW-nnn	Sande et al. 1991 (nnn = page number)
Sent-nnn	Laidig and Maingak, compilers, 1996 (nnn = sentence number)
Lexicon	Laidig and Syuaib 1997
Croc-nnn	Syuaib 1994a (nnn = sentence number)
Tst-nnn	Syuaib 1994b (nnn = sentence number)

1.3 Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in this paper when glossing interlinearized examples are as follows:

ACT	active
APPL	applicative
COMP	completive
COP	copula
DIST	distal
IMP	imperative
INCOMP	incompletive
INTR	intransitive
LG	nasal ligature
NEG	negator
NOM	nominalizer
PASS	passive
PROX	proximal
QUEST	question marker
RECIP	reciprocal
REDP	reduplication
REL	relative clause marker

Pronominal forms are glossed according to the following convention:

1S	first person singular	}	+	}	IND	independent
1PN	first person plural inclusive				N	nominative
1PX	first person plural exclusive				A	absolutive
2	second person (unmarked for plurality)				G	genitive
3S	third person singular					
3P	third person plural					
3	third person (unmarked for plurality)					

E.g. 1PN.N = first person plural inclusive nominative prefix, 3S.IND = third person singular independent pronoun, 3.G = third person genitive suffix (unmarked for singular or plural). See further § 4 for a discussion of pronoun sets.

2 Phonology and orthography

2.1 Phonemes and phonotactics

Following Adriani (1898:113–115) and Salombe et al. (1987:10, 29), the consonant phonemes of Wotu are as follows. I leave open the question whether clusters of nasal plus homorganic obstruent (or trill in the case of *nr*,³ or sibilant in the case of *ns*) are to be regarded per Adriani (1898:113–114) as unit phonemes, or per Salombe et al. (1987:24, 29) as sequences of two phonemes. Phonemes enclosed in parentheses are found in recent loanwords only.

labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
mp	nt	ntʃ	ŋk	
mb	nr	(nɕ)	ŋg	
	ns			
p	t	tʃ	k	(ʔ)
b	d	ɕ	g	
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
w		j		
	r			
	l			
	s			

Following current orthographic practice for Indonesian, the palatals /ntʃ/, /nɕ/, /tʃ/, /ɕ/, /ɲ/ and /j/ are hereafter written respectively *nc*, *nj*, *c*, *j*, *ny* and *y*, and the velars /ŋk/, /ŋg/ and /ŋ/ as *ngk*, *ngg*, and *ng*. Glottal stop /ʔ/ is indicated by apostrophe. In these notes, I do not provide supporting evidence for phonemic contrasts, but only mention certain discrepancies in my sources.

The only allowable consonant clusters are nasal + homorganic obstruent, trill or sibilant (shown in the above table), and geminate consonants (discussed below). Apart from rare instances, consonant clusters do not occur word-initially. No consonants occur in word-final position since all Wotu stems end with an open syllable, that is, in a vowel.

Adriani did not encounter the phoneme *nj* in his wordlist, but he wrote that its omission might be accidental (1898:114). However, *nj* is also absent from the list of nasal plus homorganic consonant combinations in Salombe et al. (1987:24). In the entire corpus,

³ One could, of course, argue that [nr] is the surface realization of underlying /nd/.

only a handful of Wotu lexemes recorded in Laidig and Syuaib (1997) contain *nj*, and all are recognizable loans. For example:

<i>ganjara</i> ‘reward’	< Indonesian <i>ganjaran</i>
<i>ginjala</i> ‘kidney’	< Indonesian <i>ginjal</i>
<i>sanjata</i> ‘weapon’	< Indonesian <i>senjata</i>
<i>tanjo</i> ‘cape, promontory’	< Bugis <i>tanjong</i>

Adriani also gave no indication that *ns* occurred in his Wotu word list. While *ns* does indeed appear to be an infrequent combination, examples from the corpus include *tamonsou* ‘toward the sea, south,’ *mensua* ‘enter,’ and *minsuu* ‘exit’ among others, as well as certain combinations involving the stem *sou* ‘thousand’ such as *sansou* ‘one thousand’ and *duansou* ‘two thousand.’

Conversely, Salombe et al. (1987) fail to mention the palatal nasal *ny*, even though it is attested in lexemes such as *monyawa* ‘breathe,’ *mangaanya* ‘weave,’ and *manganyami* ‘taste.’

A glottal stop phoneme for Wotu is not mentioned in any of my sources, although it is to be found in the lexicon compiled by Laidig and Syuaib (1997), primarily in loan words.

<i>kabudaya’a</i> ‘culture’	< Indonesian <i>kebudayaan</i>
<i>këndara’a</i> ‘vehicle’	< Indonesian <i>kendaraan</i>
<i>juma’a</i> ‘congregation’	< Indonesian <i>jemaah</i>
<i>allata’ala</i> ‘God’	< Indonesian <i>Allah Taala</i> ‘God Almighty’

Adriani (1898:112–113) and Salombe et al. (1987:8, 29) agree on five vowel phonemes, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, but Adriani (1898:113) also mentioned Wotu *gěna* ‘enough’ (from Bugis *gěně*) as his sole example of a wordlist item which contained schwa. The lexicon by Laidig and Syuaib (1997) provides numerous examples of schwa, although in many cases the word is an obvious loan, e.g. *běrani* ‘brave’ (Indonesian identical, the inherited word appears to be *warani*), *guběnur* ‘governor,’ *pěnti* ‘important’ (Indonesian *penting*), etc. Even among those words which are not obviously borrowed, representation of schwa is sometimes inconsistent, for example in different parts of the lexicon occur both:

<i>ědo</i> / <i>edo</i>	‘not’
<i>lěmo</i> / <i>lemo</i>	‘citrus fruit’
<i>bětě</i> / <i>bete</i>	‘fish’
<i>lěngnga</i> / <i>lengnga</i>	‘supine’
<i>mangaossěi</i> / <i>mangaossei</i>	‘(to) hunt’
<i>mata ěyyo</i> / <i>mata eyyo</i>	‘sun’

Furthermore, since Salombe et al. (1987) and Sande et al. (1991) never indicate schwa, I have no choice but to report data as transcribed by my sources, and leave the matter of schwa for future investigation.

Salombe et al. (1987:12, 13) list the following lexemes in which *u* and *o* alternate, without making a difference in meaning.

<i>buke</i> ~ <i>boke</i>	‘full’
<i>lumpa</i> ~ <i>lompa</i>	‘jump’
<i>uti</i> ~ <i>oti</i>	‘call’
<i>angu</i> ~ <i>ango</i>	‘nose’
<i>sangu</i> ~ <i>sango</i>	‘one’
<i>besu</i> ~ <i>beso</i>	‘pull’

There is no regular conditioning environment for this neutralization, so it appears to be specific to particular lexemes. In the corpus I also note *nunuwia* ~ *nonowia* ‘evening,’ *suranga* ~ *soranga* ‘with’ and *muipa* ~ *moipa* ~ *mipa* ‘go.’

2.2 Geminate consonants

Finally I must bring up the topic of geminate consonants. Geminate consonants are not mentioned by Adriani (1898) nor by Salombe et al. (1987), even though they occur frequently throughout the latter. Somewhat surprisingly, throughout the corpus there is considerable variability in orthographic practice in regard to writing gemination (or non-gemination) of consonants. The following are exemplary:

<i>eo</i> / <i>eyo</i> / <i>eyyo</i>	‘day’
<i>ua</i> / <i>uwa</i> / <i>uwwa</i>	‘aunt/uncle’
<i>uwe</i> / <i>uwwe</i>	‘water’
<i>minya</i> / <i>minynya</i>	‘oil’
<i>anynyara</i> / <i>anyarra</i> / <i>anynyarra</i>	‘horse’
<i>pasara</i> / <i>pasarra</i> / <i>passara</i> / <i>paasara</i>	‘market’ (cf. Malay <i>pasar</i>)
<i>pabilasa</i> / <i>pabilassa</i> / <i>pabillassa</i>	‘farmer’
<i>makokoni</i> / <i>makkokoni</i> / <i>makokkoni</i>	‘now’
<i>sularra</i> / <i>sullara</i>	‘pants’
<i>lalawwa</i> / <i>lallawa</i>	‘window’

A combination of nasal plus homorganic consonant is never geminated, nor glottal stop, but all other consonants can be geminated. From the corpus:

<i>pp</i>	<i>mapippi</i>	‘narrow’
<i>tt</i>	<i>tabba</i>	‘wall’
<i>cc</i>	<i>macca</i>	‘smart, clever’
<i>kk</i>	<i>madakka</i>	‘thirsty’
<i>bb</i>	<i>babba</i>	‘door’
<i>dd</i>	<i>mampoddo</i>	‘short’
<i>jj</i>	<i>karamme pajjolo</i>	‘forefinger, index finger’
<i>gg</i>	<i>bagga</i>	‘tooth’
<i>mm</i>	<i>macommo</i>	‘fat’
<i>nn</i>	<i>macanni</i>	‘sweet’

<i>nyny</i>	<i>malanynyi</i>	‘smooth, slippery’
<i>ngng</i>	<i>tongnga</i>	‘true, correct’
<i>ww</i>	<i>lalawwa</i>	‘window’
<i>yy</i>	<i>eyyo</i>	‘day’
<i>rr</i>	<i>urra</i>	‘root’
<i>ll</i>	<i>maballo</i>	‘good’
<i>ss</i>	<i>massa</i>	‘all’

Without a linguistic description at hand, it is not possible to know what this ‘orthographic gemination’ means in phonemic or phonetic terms (e.g. true gemination, lengthening, preglottalization). As an initial hypothesis, we might assume that it falls along the same lines as in Bugis (concerning which see especially Noorduynd 1990).⁴

Because of significant discrepancies between and even within sources, particularly in the representation of schwa and geminate consonants, I present data below as it was found in my sources, without attempting to regularize transcriptions.⁵

3 Demonstratives

Following Sande et al. (1991:47, 48), the Wotu deictic system apparently distinguishes only two degrees of distance, near (proximal) and far (distal). The demonstratives as they are known to me are presented in the following table. In addition, a few other forms which are not presented in this table are discussed below—including a possible third degree of distance.

	ADNOMINAL	PRONOMINAL	ADVERBIAL	IDENTIFICATIONAL	DIRECTIONAL
PROXIMAL	<i>eni, -ni, anie, ania</i> ‘this’	<i>iyaeni, iyani</i> ‘this one’	<i>dinnini, maini, maenia</i> ‘here’	<i>(i)yamenie</i> ‘here it is’	<i>romai, tomai</i> ‘hither’
DISTAL	<i>enja, enijia, nijia, ejia, jia, -e</i> ‘that’	<i>iyaenja, iyanijia</i> ‘that one’	<i>jiatu, jiatue, maotu, mautu</i> ‘there’		

⁴ Note from the lexicon (Laidig and Syuaib 2007) *pa’dangka* ‘trader’ and *pa’disenga* ‘knowledge,’ which suggest (as in Bugis) preglottalization preceding voiced stops. Interestingly, what are written in the present day as geminate consonants were, in corresponding wordlist responses, perceived by Albertus Kruidt as stress on the final syllable, indicated in his word list by circumflex, for example *mapipî* ‘flat,’ *tabâ* ‘wall,’ *mompodô* ‘short,’ *mabalô* ‘good, nice,’ and *mawarû* ‘new’ (Adriani 1898:118, 119, 120).

⁵ That much said, there are times where I have silently corrected obvious typographical errors, for example *anyuyara* (corrected: *anynyara* ‘horse’), *mawi* (corrected: *maini* ‘here’), *aman* (corrected *amau* ‘my father’), and the such.

The adnominal deictics in Wotu are *eni* ‘this’ and *enja* ‘that.’ The latter is also written as *enija*. In the corpus, however, the most frequently occurring forms of the distal marker are *ejia* (orthographically usually written with *-e* attached to the preceding word, and *jia* written separately), *jia* alone, or, in its simplest form, *-e* by itself.

ngana-ngana-e **nijia**
 REDP-child-DIST DIST
 ‘those children’ (MSBW-38)

pongka *lemo-e* **nijia**
 trunk citrus-DIST DIST
 ‘that citrus tree’ (MSBW-54)

ngana *batta-e* **jia**
 child naughty-DIST DIST
 ‘that naughty child’ (MSBW-40)

lemba *matotto-e* **jia**
 boat leaky-DIST DIST
 ‘that leaky boat’ (MSBW-54)

taba *bili* **jia**
 wall room DIST
 ‘that wall of the room’ (MSBW-54)

bete **jia**
 fish DIST
 ‘that fish’ (MSBW-54)

doi-e
 money-DIST
 ‘that money’ (MSBW-37)

ngana-e
 child-DIST
 ‘that child’ (SBW-40)

The short form *-e* of the distal demonstrative has become a de facto marker of relative clauses and, via that use, also a nominalizing suffix; see § 6.1 and Salombe et al. (1987:51).

Here are examples of the proximal marker. Usually *eni* is written attached to the stem, but sometimes *-e* is written attached, with *ni* written separately.

uwe **anie** ‘this water’ (SBW-78)
ngana-eni ‘this child’ (MSBW-69)
bunga-eni ‘this flower’ (MSBW-69)

<i>doi-e ni</i>	‘this money’	(MSBW-57)
<i>lipa-ni</i>	‘this cloth’	(MSBW-68)

Although not discussed explicitly in my sources, there is evidence of a third adnominal demonstrative, *etue* or *etu*. It is always glossed identically to *ejia*, therefore the difference between these two is unknown. Compare:

<i>pua-etue</i>	‘that grandmother’	(SBW-72)
<i>ito awa-etue</i>	‘that person who came’	(SBW-72)
<i>pontu-e tu</i>	‘that bottle’	(MSBW-118)
<i>gallu-e tu</i>	‘that rice paddy’	(MSBW-119)
<i>lipa bongka-e itu</i>	‘that torn sarong’	(MSBW-46)
<i>lare tu</i>	‘that mountain’	(MSBW-119)

Pronominal deictics are formed from the adnominal deictics by the addition of *iya*, the relative clause marker (§ 6.1) (cognate with Indonesian *ia*), to form *iyaeni* and *iyaenjia*. The latter is frequently written as *iyanjia*. The relationship between *eni* and *iyaeni* is the same as between Indonesian ‘ini’ and ‘yang ini,’ and mutatis mutandis for *nijia* and *iyanjia*.

<i>Wah, iya-nijia naballo sarro.</i>
wow REL-DIST good very
‘Wow, that’s really good.’ (MSBW-48)

Despite the formal distinction, there is some slippage between categories, since pronominal demonstratives can be used adnominally, and adnominal demonstratives can be used pronominally.

<i>kareba iya-ni</i>
news REL-PROX
‘this news’ (MSBW-90)

<i>Patuju-ba-ga aniya?</i>
correct-only-QUEST PROX
‘Is this correct?’ (SBW-40)

The difference between *dinnini*, *maini*, and *maenia*—three terms glossed as ‘here’—is currently unknown, likewise for the terms *jiatu*, *jiatue*, *mautu* and *maotu* ‘there.’

<i>Iyau mbuli-u saiyo nunuwia maini.</i>
1S.IND return-1S.A later evening here
‘I’ll return here this evening.’ (MSBW-87)

<i>Ana-u maturu jiatue.</i>
child-1S.G sleep there
‘My child is sleeping over there.’ (Sent-C14)

The forms *romai* and *tomai* both apparently mean ‘hither, to here.’ Comparative evidence suggests that *romai* originally meant ‘to here from over there’ while *tomai* meant ‘to here from up there.’⁶ Parallel terms meaning ‘thither, to there’ are unknown from the corpus.

Yau uw-ita sa-ito ito jokka romai.
 1S.IND 1S.N-see one-person person walk hither
 ‘I see a person walking this way.’ (Sent-A18a)

In the two texts by Stefanus Syuaib (1994a, 1994b), *tomai* serves as the primary ‘tracking demonstrative,’ marking referents that have previously entered the discourse, i.e. ‘the aforementioned.’

... *puwa-u tomai lana pongka pappua oge tomai.*
 grandparent-1S.G hither hit trunk wood big hither
 ‘...my (aforementioned) grandfather was struck by the (aforementioned) big tree.’
 (Croc-005)

4 Pronoun sets

Wotu has four pronoun sets: a set of independent pronouns; a set of genitive pronominal suffixes, which are primarily used to index the possessor on possessed nouns; and two other sets which occur with verbs to index subjects and objects. The members of the nominative set are prefixes which precede the verb, while the members of absolutive set are enclitics which follow the verb. This section concentrates primarily on the form of the pronouns. While some nominative and absolutive pronominal forms are illustrated incidentally in this section, the function of these pronoun sets is postponed to § 5 ‘Focus Constructions’ below.

	INDEPENDENT	GENITIVE	NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE
1S	<i>iyau, yau</i>	<i>-u/-yu</i>	<i>u/-uw-</i>	<i>-u/-yu</i>
1PX	<i>iyami, yami</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>i-</i>	??
1PN	<i>ita</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2	<i>iyoy, yo</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>-o/-yo/-wo</i>
3S	<i>isia</i>	<i>-na/-nna</i>	<i>la-/na-/a-</i>	<i>-a/-ya</i>
3P	<i>sisia</i>			

The following notes are in order concerning these pronouns.

⁶ See Mead (2005:697) who discusses cognate forms in Mori Bawah.

(a) Across all pronoun sets, there is apparently no distinction between a singular or plural ‘you.’ In the Wotu lexical database (Laidig and Syuaib 2007), and only here, we find the term *yo massa* ‘you all,’ but it is unknown whether this is a bona fide Wotu phrase (phrasal lexeme), or simply a nonce translation of Indonesian *kamu sekalian*.

(b) It appears that across all pronoun sets, first person plural inclusive forms may also serve as second person honorific forms.

Manriu anu ta-doi-ya uwe.
 bathe if 1PN.N-give-3.A water
 ‘(He) will bathe if you (honorific) give him water.’ (MSBW-126)

(c) The third person singular possessive pronoun has allomorphs *-na* and *-nna*. Which allomorph is used is determined by the stem to which the suffix is added, although (as with geminate consonants in general, see § 2.2) some variation is noted in the data. Whether this variation reflects an underlying phonological reality, or is simply inconsistent orthographic practice, is unknown.

<i>ranga-na</i>	‘his friend’	<i>tomattua-nna</i>	‘his parents’
<i>banua-na</i>	‘his house’	<i>anri-nna</i>	‘her younger sibling’
<i>berei-na</i>	‘his spouse’	<i>battua-nna</i>	‘its meaning’
<i>baluwa-na</i>	‘her hair’	<i>belua-nna</i>	‘her hair’

(d) From the entire corpus I have gleaned only two examples of the nominative first person plural exclusive pronominal prefix *i-*. Nonetheless I am confident in postulating it because it is the expected reflex of Proto-Celebic **ki-*. That this form is not mentioned in any of my sources that discuss Wotu pronouns must in part be due to its homophony with the passive marker *i-*.

(e) For the present I consider the absolutive pronominal enclitic *-ta* to be a first person plural *inclusive* form (glossed ‘1PN.A’). However, I have yet to encounter a first person plural exclusive form in this series (indicated by the shaded cell with question marks).⁷ It is possible that *-ta* serves as a generalized first person plural, unmarked for inclusive or exclusive. However, it is also possible that there simply is no absolutive first person plural exclusive clitic form, and in all contexts where one would expect a clitic form the independent pronoun, *yami*, is used instead.

(f) The most common form of the nominative third person pronominal prefix is *la-*, but the allomorphs *a-* and *na-* are also encountered. Presumably in the past, *na-* and *la-* were singular and plural forms respectively (< Proto-Celebic **na-* ‘3s’ and **ra-* ‘3p’), but this

⁷ In Barang-Barang and Wolio, the first person plural exclusive enclitic has the form *-kami*. The expected Wolio cognate would be *-ami*.

distinction has apparently been lost in the present day. The form *a-* is a further shortening of both of these, owing perhaps in part to analogy with the enclitic form *-a*.

By contrast, Salombe et al. (1987:41, 83) consider *na-* to be the personal pronoun, and *la-* to be a passive marker, an analysis which I do not follow for reasons explained below.

(g) The first person singular prefix *u-* has the variant *uw-* before some vowel initial stems. Stems which take the *uw-* allomorph include *ita* ‘see,’ *anre* ‘eat’ and *ingngarra* ‘remember.’ This allomorphy requires further investigation.

(h) The genitive and absolutive forms that are vowel-initial all have allomorphs—or at least orthographic variants—in which a glide is placed between the enclitic and the vowel which precedes it. The following table breaks down which variants have been observed following which vowels. (Recall from § 2.1 that Wotu stems always end in open syllables, therefore pronominal suffixes and enclitics always follow vowels, never consonants.)

preceding vowel is:	GENITIVE	ABSOLUTIVE		
	1s	1s	2	3
Vi	- <i>yu</i>	- <i>yu</i>	- <i>yo</i>	- <i>ya</i>
Ci	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>o</i>	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ya</i>
e	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>o</i>	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ya</i>
a	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>o</i>	- <i>ya</i>
o	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>wo</i>	- <i>a</i>
u	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>o</i> , - <i>wo</i>	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ya</i>

The first and second person forms *-u* and *-o* have allomorphs *-yu* and *-yo* when following a stem ending in a sequence of two vowels, the second of which is *i*. The standard allomorph occurs when *i* is preceded by a consonant. Compare with the first person possessive pronoun:

<i>berei-yu</i>	‘my spouse’
<i>punti-u</i>	‘my banana’
<i>sapi-u</i>	‘my cow’
<i>bete-u</i>	‘my fish’
<i>baa-u</i>	‘my head’
<i>lemo-u</i>	‘my citrus fruit’
<i>potto-u</i>	‘my back’
<i>bilassa baru-u</i>	‘my new garden’

(i) That the second person enclitic *-o* has the (optional ?) allomorph *-wo* following *u* and *o* is attested in only a single example each (Salombe et al. 1987:41, 70).

mamongngo-wo ‘you have a headache’
manga-nasu-wo peca ‘you cook rice’

(j) The *-a* and *-ya* allomorphs of the third person singular enclitic are not entirely understood, particularly as they are known to occur in identical or nearly identical environments.

Yau *edo* *u-sani-a* *aga* *isia* *melo* *awa*
 1S.IND NEG 1S.N-know-3.A if 3S.IND will come
iyarega *la-edo.*
 or 3.N-NEG

‘I don’t know if he is coming or not.’ (Sent-F08)

Yau *edo* *u-sani-ya* *umbe* *ambera-mu.*
 1S.IND NEG 1S.N-know-3.A where machete-2.G
 ‘I don’t know where your machete is.’ (Sent-F06)

Ajia *punti-u.* *Bulli* *mu-anre-a!*
 dist banana-1S.G don’t 2.N-eat-3.A
 Those are my bananas. Don’t eat them! (Sent-K08)

Iyamenie *beppa.* *Mai-moo* *ta-anre-ya!*
 here.it.is cookie come-IMP 1PN.N-eat-3.A
 ‘Here are some cookies. Let’s eat them!’ (Sent-K16a)

A clear pattern attested in numerous examples, however, is that following the vowel *a*, only the *-ya* allomorph occurs, never *-a*. Based on comparative evidence it seems probable that the original pattern was *-ya* following a syllable ending in *a*, and *-a* following all other vowels, but in the present day the *-ya* allomorph is in process of spreading to other contexts.⁸ That *-ya* has not yet been encountered following *o* may simply reflect limited data.

The following are interesting pronominal formations, but for which I lack complete paradigms. Both are based on the stem *dua* ‘two; also.’

ita duaito ‘we two, you and me’ (lit. we (inclusive) two-person)
sisia duaito ‘they two’ (lit. they two-person)

⁸ The original form of the third person enclitic pronoun was **ia*. In Barang-Barang and Wolio, two closely related languages, we find the pattern *-ea* or *-ia* if the preceding syllable ends in *a*, and *-a* elsewhere (Belding, Laidig and Maingak 2001:14; Anceaux 1988:27).

duau ‘me too, I also’
duaya ‘he / she / it / they also’

5 Focus constructions

Transitive stems occur in four different focus constructions, which are distinguished according to the marker which precedes the transitive verb. These four markers are *manga-*, *mu-*, a nominative pronominal prefix, and *i-*. These prefixes are mutually exclusive—in context only one may occur on any particular transitive stem.

Some transitive stems can also be prefixed with *mo-*, which is distinct from both *manga-* and *mu-*, and which some have regarded as a marker of the active voice, equivalent to *manga-*. My preliminary analysis, however, is that *mo-* marks verbs as intransitive.

5.1 Indexing of intransitive subjects

In the corpus, both nominative and absolutive pronominal forms are used to index intransitive subjects on the verb. The following examples illustrate the use of nominative prefixes.

Ijiawi **la-awa.**
yesterday 3.N-come
‘He came yesterday.’ (SBW-77)

Mai-yo **ta-ipa** *i* *banua-na* *anri-u!*
come-2.A 1PN.N-go at house-3.G younger.sibling-1S.G
‘Let’s go to my younger sibling’s house!’ (Sent-K13)

The following examples illustrate the use of absolutive enclitics to index intransitive subjects.

Molanga-ba-u.
go.by.foot-only-1S.A
‘I’m just going by foot.’ (SBW-39)

Poso-me-ga-o?
tired-COMP-QUEST-2.A
‘Are you tired already?’ (SBW-80)

Maturu-ya.
sleep-3.A
‘He’s asleep.’ (SBW-41)

The factors which condition the use of a nominative or absolutive pronominal form are not well understood, except that consistently negation induces the use of a nominative prefix (see further § 10).

Edo-po **u-warani.**
 NEG-INCOMP 1S.N-brave
 ‘I am not yet brave.’ (MSBW-69)

Bulli-mo **mu-maeka.**
 don’t-IMP 2.N-afraid
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’ (Sent-K03)

Isia *edo-po* **a-lattu.**
 3.IND NEG-INCOMP 3.N-arrive
 ‘He hasn’t arrived yet.’ (Sent-M08b)

Matabba *sarro* *edo* **la-awa.**
 many very NEG 3.N-come
 ‘Very many did not come.’ (MSBW-112)

Another phenomenon which deserves mention is that with some verbs or verbal prefixes, there is an alternation between *m* ~ *p*, the latter occurring when a nominative prefix is used. Compare *motana* versus *potana* ‘ask’ in the following pair of examples:

...pangngalle *motae-yu* *mo-tana,* “*Perennu a-sanga-ni?*”
 then say-1S.A INTR-ask how 3.N-name-PROX
 ‘... then I said, asking: What does this say (mean)?’ (Tst-051)

U-po-tana-me *dia* *ranga-u* *tomai* *motae,* “*Aga ...*
 1S.N-INTR-ask-COMP to friend-1S.G hither say what
 ‘I asked my friend, saying: What ...’ (Tst-054)

Another example of this nature is *membula* ‘plant’ next to *mu-pembula* ‘you plant.’ Although examples are rare in the corpus, in fact such an alternation is not unexpected from an historical-comparative perspective (see e.g. Mead 1998:289 ff.). Sometimes the alternation in Wotu is between *m* and zero, e.g. *mensua* ‘enter’ next to *ta-ensua* ‘we enter,’ *menee* ‘ascend’ next to *la-ene* ‘he ascends,’ and *moipa/muipa/mipa* ‘go’ next to *ta-ipa* ‘we go,’ and the such.

How extensive this alternation is in Wotu—which stems or classes of stems exhibit this alternation—requires further investigation. For example, one might expect the prefix discussed in the following section to exhibit in the same contexts an alternation between *manga-* and *panga-*, but I have not encountered *panga-* verbal forms in the corpus.⁹

⁹ *Panga-* is of course found in nominalizations, for example *pangossei* ‘hunter’ (next to *mangossei* ‘hunt’) (Sande et al. 1991:16), *batu pangasa* ‘whetstone’ (next to *mangasa* ‘sharpen’) (Sande et al. 1991:35), and *pangatunua* ‘roasting rack’ (next to *mangatunu* ‘roast’) (Laidig and Syuaib 1997:s.v.). For some further examples see Salombe et al. (1987:44, 45).

5.2 Prefix *manga-*

In the first focus construction considered, the transitive verb is marked with *manga-*. In all corpus examples of *manga-*, either the object is omitted, or it is realized as a noun phrase immediately following the verb. In no examples is the object realized pronominally, nor does it occur in any other position in the clause.

Pabilassa ***manga-****paccingi* *bilassa.*
farmer ACT-clean garden
'The farmer cleaned the garden.' (SBW-75)

Manga-*paccingi* *bilassa* *pabilassa.*
ACT-clean garden farmer
'The farmer cleaned the garden.' (SBW-75)

According to Sande et al. (1991:13), the prefix *manga-* has the allomorph *mang-* preceding verb stems which begin with the vowel *a* or *o*, for which they give the following examples:

<i>manga-</i> + <i>abi</i>	→	<i>mangabi</i>	'fish (with line)'
<i>manga-</i> + <i>ali</i>	→	<i>mangali</i>	'buy'
<i>manga-</i> + <i>anre</i>	→	<i>manganre</i>	'eat'
<i>manga-</i> + <i>appi</i>	→	<i>mangappi</i>	'sieve'
<i>manga-</i> + <i>ossei</i>	→	<i>mangossei</i>	'hunt'

This statement needs to be amended to include the vowels *e*, and *u*, furthermore this pattern occurs only with some verbs. It is likely that formerly *mang-* occurred with all vowel-initial stems, while *manga-* occurred before consonants. However, this allomorphy is now in process of being regularized in favor of *manga-*, because one finds in the corpus not only e.g. *mangabi* 'fish,' *mangali* 'buy' and *mangossei* 'hunt,' but also *mangaabi*, *mangaali*, and *mangaossei*. The use of *manga-* preceding consonant-initial stems appears to be exceptionless.

When an absolutive clitic follows a verb with *manga-*, the pronoun indexes the subject.

manga-nasu-u
ACT-cook-1S.A
'I cook' (SBW-26)

mang-arra-ta *anrale*
ACT-boil-1PN.A corn
'we boil corn' (SBW-71)

The corpus contains no examples of a *manga-* verb form with a nominative prefix, not even when following a negator.

Amma edo mang-ali sapeda tapi motoro.
 father NEG ACT-buy bicycle but motorcycle
 ‘Father didn’t buy a bicycle but a motorcycle.’ (MSBW-115)

5.3 Prefix *mu-*

In the second construction, the transitive verb is marked with *mu-*. The object is marked either by an absolutive enclitic, by an independent pronoun, or by a noun phrase, but must in any case immediately follow the verb. The subject is usually expressed preceding the verb or, in texts, is known from preceding context.

Yo mu-ita yau.
 2.IND ACT-see 1S.IND
 ‘You see me.’ (MSBW-47)

Iyami mu-pelo bongko.
 1PX.IND ACT-seek shrimp
 ‘We are hunting shrimp.’ (MSBW-40)

Anri-nna Laiya mu-ala doi-e.
 younger.sibling-3S.G Laiya ACT-take money-DIST
 ‘Laiya’s younger sibling took that money.’ (MSBW-37)

Aga isia mipa mu-ala kopi?
 QUEST 3S.IND go ACT-pick coffee
 Did he go pick coffee? (Sent-P01a)

Iyau mu-sessa badu maggau.
 1S.IND ACT-wash clothes blue
 ‘I wash blue clothes.’ (MSBW-40)

The following examples illustrate the object indexed by an absolutive enclitic.

Yau mu-oti-o.
 1S.IND ACT-call-2.A
 ‘I called you.’ (MSBW-47)

Golla-e jia yau mu-bawa-ya minggu romai.
 sugar-DIST DIST 1S,IND ACT-bring-3.A week hither
 ‘That sugar, I’ll take it next week.’ (Sent-H03a)

...biasa buaja-e tomai awa mu-tulu-a.
 usually crocodile-DIST hither come ACT-help-3.A
 ‘...usually that crocodile came and helped him.’ (Croc-030)

Yammi mu-tarima-ya suranga sanna.
 1PX.IND ACT-receive-3.A with contented
 ‘We received it with happiness.’ (MSBW-74)

In one case in the entire corpus, an absolutive pronoun following a *mu*-verb indexes the transitive subject, rather than the object as would be expected from the above discussion. I leave this example as ‘residue’ that requires further investigation. Should the prefix here be *mo*- (see § 5.6) rather than *mu*-?

<i>U-carita-me</i>		<i>motae</i>	<i>i-bongi</i>	mu-ita-u	<i>tajang</i>
1S.N-relate-COMP		say	at-night	?ACT-see-1S.A	brightness
<i>iyarega</i>	<i>cahaya</i>	<i>motappa</i>	<i>ito,</i>	<i>maro,</i>	...
or	radiance	have.form	person	stand	

‘I related that at night I saw a brightness or radiance in the form of a person standing ...’ (Tst-32)

5.4 Nominative prefix

In the third construction, the transitive verb is preceded by a nominative prefix that indexes the transitive subject, and is optionally followed by an absolutive enclitic that indexes the object. This is the only construction in which both the subject and the object can be indexed on the transitive verb stem.

<i>Ajia</i>	<i>punti-u.</i>	<i>Bulli</i>	<i>mu-anre-a!</i>
DIST	banana-1S.G	don’t	2.N-eat-3.A

‘Those are my bananas. Don’t eat them!’ (Sent-K08)

<i>Tulu</i>	<i>ta-soro-a</i>	<i>lemba</i>	<i>eni.</i>
help	1PN.N-push-3.A	boat	PROX

‘Help us push this boat.’ (MSBW-65)

In most cases, however, object indexing on the verb lapses when the object is present elsewhere in the clause.

<i>Isia</i>	<i>edo</i>	<i>la-tarima</i>	<i>pomanni-a</i>	<i>mami.</i>
3.IND	NEG	3.N-receive	request-NOM	1PX.G

‘He refused (did not receive) our request.’ (MSBW-41)

<i>...iyya-tomai</i>	<i>buaja-e</i>	<i>tuli</i>	<i>a-palubai</i>	<i>aro-na</i>
REL-hither	crocodile-DIST	always	3.N-collide	body-3.G
<i>lemba</i>	<i>mami,</i>			
boat	1PX.G			

‘... that crocodile always collided with the body of our boat’ (Croc-030)

In the preceding examples, the object is expressed as a NP following the verb. It is also possible—indeed common in elicited sentences—for the object to precede the verb.

Edo yau uw-anre tampia, punti-ba uw-anre.
 NEG 1S.IND 1S.N-eat durian banana-only 1S.N-eat
 ‘I wasn’t eating durian, I was just eating bananas.’ (Sent-A06b)

Tingao banua-e u-saringi sarorou.
 front house-DIST 1S.N-sweep alone
 ‘I sweep the yard by myself.’ (SBW-83)

Marota-e mu-papaccingi magatti.
 dirty-DIST 2.N-clean fast
 ‘You clean up that trash quickly.’ (SBW-83)

Anrale mangura ta-ballu-a.
 corn young 1PN.N-sell-APPL
 ‘We sell young corn.’ (SBW-83)

Gallu-e na-bingku ama-u.
 paddy-DIST 3.N-hoe father-1S.G
 ‘My father hoed that rice paddy.’ (SBW-83)

Imperatives which omit indexing of an understood you are included as representatives of this construction.

Bawa-ya!
 bring-3.A
 ‘Bring it!’ (MSBW-57)

Patei-ya!
 kill-3.A
 ‘Kill him!’ (Sent-K12)

Note that subject indexing usually appears in prohibitives with *bulli* ‘don’t.’

Bulli mu-patei-ya!
 don’t 2.N-kill-3.A
 ‘Don’t kill him!’ (Sent-K12)

When the object NP is fronted, and the verb is marked with third person *la-*, something akin to a passive reading entails. In fact Sande et al. (1991:129) specifically contrast several ‘active’ sentences with *mu-* versus their ‘passive’ counterparts with *la-*. The following are two such examples:

‘active’	‘passive’
<i>Pua mu-tikka bete.</i> grandparent ACT-catch fish ‘Grandmother caught fish.’	<i>Bete la-tikka pua.</i> fish 3.N-catch grandparent ‘Fish were caught by grandmother.’

<i>Ua</i>	<i>mu-dodo</i>	<i>lasuna.</i>	<i>Lasuna</i>	<i>la-dodo</i>	<i>ua.</i>
aunt	ACT-slice	onion	onion	3.N-slice	aunt
‘Aunt sliced the onion.’			‘The onion was sliced by aunt.’		

However, even in these so-called ‘passive’ constructions, *la-* remains a marker of the third person. Compare with first person agent (Sande et al. 1991:129):

<i>Iyau</i>	<i>mu-uki</i>	<i>surra.</i>	<i>Surra</i>	<i>u-uki.</i>
1S.IND	ACT-write	letter	letter	1S.N-write
‘I wrote a letter.’			‘The letter was written by me.’	

5.5 Prefix *i-*

In the fourth construction, the transitive verb is preceded by the passive marker *i-*. Basic passive verbs have two core arguments, a derived subject (the underlying patient), and a demoted agent. In most corpus examples of passive clauses, the demoted agent is simply omitted.

<i>Sapi-e</i>	<i>jia</i>	<i>harusu</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>i-sumbele.</i>
cow-DIST	DIST	must	COMP	PASS-slaughter
‘That cow must be slaughtered.’ (Sent-F05b)				

<i>Peca-e</i>	<i>jia</i>	<i>melo</i>	<i>i-anre.</i>
cooked.rice-DIST	DIST	will	PASS-eat
‘That rice is for being eaten.’ (MSBW-116)			

In Wotu discourse, passive verbs marked with *i-* are used even when the agent is prominent. In the following passage, people were surprised because they couldn’t find the person who had just felled a tree. There then follows this passage. Even though the people do the seeking, chopping and taking, all three verbs occur in the passive.

... <i>da</i>	<i>bamba</i>	<i>bacici</i>	<i>a-rango</i>	<i>ito</i>	<i>matabba-e</i>
be	sound	small	3.N-hear	person	many-DIST
<i>tomai.</i>	I - <i>pelo-me</i>	<i>bamba-e</i>	<i>tomai,</i>	<i>aga</i>	
hither	PASS- seek -COMP	sound-DIST	hither	then	
<i>la-ita-me</i>	<i>ito-e</i>	<i>puwa-u</i>	<i>tomai</i>		
3.N- see -COMP	person-DIST	grandparent-1S.G	hither		
<i>iya-massa-nna</i>	<i>aro-na</i>	<i>a-lambu</i>	<i>pongka</i>	<i>pappua</i>	<i>oge, ...</i>
REL-all-3.G	body-3.G	3.N-bury	trunk	wood	big
<i>Pura</i>	<i>da-me</i>	i - <i>pale-pale</i>	<i>pongka</i>	<i>pappua</i>	<i>oge</i>
finish	be-COMP	PASS- REDP -cut	trunk	wood	big
<i>tomai</i>	<i>pangngalle-me</i>	<i>waddi</i>	<i>puwa-u</i>	i - <i>ala</i>	
hither	then-COMP	able	grandparent-1S.G	PASS-fetch	

awa i-lara tana-e.
 from at-inside earth-DIST

‘... there was a small sound heard by those many people. That sound was sought, then the people saw my grandfather, whose entire body was buried by that big tree, ... When the big tree had finished being cut up, then my grandfather was able to be taken out of the ground.’ (Croc-008 to 010)

Note also from this example that there is no requirement for the derived subject to precede the passive verb, although it is consistently placed before the verb in the constructed examples of Salombe et al. (1987) and Sande et al. (1991).

As in the above examples, in most cases the demoted agent is simply omitted when the verb is constructed with *i-*. In the rare cases when a demoted agent is expressed, I have observed two patterns. In one text example, it follows the verb and is introduced by the compound preposition *awa i* ‘from’ (§ 12.2):

...i-carita awa i ina-na puwa-u tomai motae ...
 PASS-tell from at mother-3.G grandparent-1S.G hither say
 ‘...it was told by (lit. from) the mother of my grandfather that ...’ (Croc-34)

Salombe et al. (1987:83) provide three examples in which the demoted agent is expressed following the verb without oblique marking. For example:

Gallu i-bingku uwa-u.
 paddy PASS-hoe uncle-1S.G
 ‘The rice paddy was hoed by my uncle.’ (SBW-83)

In no examples have I found the demoted agent expressed pronominally. In those rare cases where a nominative or absolutive pronominal form occurs with the passive verb, it indexes the derived subject.

...la u i-sanga Stěfanus.
 and 1S.N PASS-name Stefanus
 ‘...and I was named Stefanus.’ (Tst-076)

...i-baptis-mo-u membali Kristěn ...
 PASS-baptize-COMP-1S.A become Christian
 ‘I was baptized, becoming a Christian ...’ (Tst-074)

...iyya tomai aya-aya Kitta-e iy-uki-ya i-lara-na
 REL hither REDP-verse Bible-DIST PASS-write-3.A at-inside-3.G
karatassa pura-e-mo i-lullu, ...
 paper finish-DIST-COMP PASS-roll.up
 ‘Those Bible verses, they had been written inside pieces of paper that had been rolled up...’ (Tst-047)

5.6 Prefix *mo-*

The authors of *Struktur Bahasa Wotu* indicate that there are two markers of the active voice: *mo-* and *manga-*.

Dalam bahasa Wotu peran atau makna aktif itu antara lain dinyatakan dengan prefiks *mo-* dan *manga-*, misalnya dalam verba transitif *moali* ‘membeli,’ *moballu* ‘menjual,’ *manganasu* ‘memasak’ dan *mangacerea* ‘melarikan.’ [In Wotu, the actor or active meaning is indicated with among others the prefixes *mo-* and *manga-*, for example in the transitive verbs *moali* ‘buy,’ *moballu* ‘sell,’ *manganasu* ‘cook’ and *mangacerea* ‘run off with.’] (Salombe et al. 1987:82) (translation mine)

The examples which follow show that both *mo-* and *manga-* verbs allow the expression of an object:

<i>moali badu</i>	‘buy clothes’
<i>moballu bete</i>	‘sell fish’
<i>manganasu peca</i>	‘cook rice’
<i>mangacerea doi</i>	‘run off with money’

More curious still, in the lexicon compiled Syaib and Laidig (2007), one finds that the citation forms of the verbs ‘buy’ and ‘sell’ are not *moali* and *moballu*, but rather *mangaali* and *mangaballu*. In fact by comparing all sources I have been able to compile a list of nineteen verbs which have both a *mo-* form and a related *manga-* form.¹⁰

<i>moali</i>	<i>mangali, mangaali</i>	‘buy’
<i>moballu</i>	<i>mangaballu</i>	‘sell’
<i>mobuau</i>	<i>mangabuau</i>	‘make’
<i>mobunu, momambunu</i>	<i>mangabunu</i>	‘throw, pelt’
<i>mocukkuru</i>	<i>mangacukkuru</i>	‘shave’
<i>mojaggurru</i>	<i>mangajagguru</i>	‘box’ (fight)
<i>mojama</i>	<i>mangajama</i>	‘work’
<i>momanrikko</i>	<i>mangasikko</i>	‘steal’
<i>momantutu</i>	<i>mangatutu</i>	‘pound’
<i>monasu</i>	<i>manganasu</i>	‘cook, boil’
<i>mongera</i>	<i>mangarra</i>	‘brood’
<i>mooti, momaoti</i>	<i>mangaoti</i>	‘call’
<i>mopake</i>	<i>mangapake</i>	‘put on, wear’ (clothes)
<i>moparo</i>	<i>mangaparo</i>	‘build, erect’
<i>moreke</i>	<i>mangareke</i>	‘count’
<i>mosaringi</i>	<i>mangasaringi</i>	‘sweep’

¹⁰ Unexplained in the above list are *momambunu*, *momanrikko*, *momantutu*, and *momantutu*, in which *mo-* is not added directly to the stem, as in the other forms, but rather is added on top of a prefix *mam-* or *man-*, or *ma-*; could this inner prefix be a marker of repetitive activity, or even an older form of *manga-*?

<i>mosokko</i>	<i>mangasokko</i>	‘steam’
<i>motannu</i>	<i>mangatannu</i>	‘weave’ (cloth)
<i>motalombo</i>	<i>mangatalombo</i>	‘spear’

The verb stem for ‘eat’ could also be added to this list, if we allow that the *mo*-form of this verb is irregular.

<i>manre</i>	<i>manganre</i>	‘eat’
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This data raises two interesting questions. First, do yet other, or even all, transitive stems have both *mo*- and *manga*- forms? Second, if a stem has the potential to be prefixed by either *mo*- or *manga*-, in practice when is one form used versus the other? In other words, what is the difference in meaning (or at least distribution) of *mo*- and *manga*- forms? While I am not able to provide satisfactory answers to these questions at this time, the following observations are in order.

(a) Verbs prefixed with *mo*- and *manga*- are alike in that they may appear without an overt object. When an object is present, it is expressed immediately following the verb as a noun or noun phrase. In no case have I encountered an object realized pronominally with a *mo*- or *manga*- verb.

(b) In the lexical database prepared by Laidig and Syuaib (2007), there are more than twice as many entries for verbs prefixed by *manga*- (approximately 240) than for verbs prefixed by *mo*- (approximately 110). Both sets include stems which appear to be recent borrowings, or said another way, both *manga*- and *mo*- appear to be productive prefixes.

<i>mang-apala</i>	‘memorize’	< Malay <i>hafal</i>
<i>mang-apusu</i>	‘erase’	< Malay <i>hapus</i>
<i>manga-ancuru</i>	‘smash’	< Malay <i>hancur</i>
<i>manga-tajami</i>	‘sharpen’	< Malay <i>tajam</i>
<i>manga-tawari</i>	‘bargain’	< Malay <i>tawar</i>
<i>mo-bicara</i>	‘speak’	< Malay <i>bicara</i>
<i>mo-carita</i>	‘tell’	< Malay <i>cerita</i>
<i>mo-këndara ’a</i>	‘go by vehicle’	< Malay <i>kendaraan</i>
<i>mo-sanjata</i>	‘armed’	< Malay <i>senjata</i> ‘weapon’
<i>mo-tarima kasi</i>	‘thank’	< Malay <i>terima kasih</i>

(c) Of the 240 stems with *manga*-, nearly all appear to be transitive actions according to their meanings, that is, they appear to denote actions which prototypically have both an agent and a patient/endpoint.

(d) Of the 110 stems with *mo*-, two fifths appear to encode non-transitive actions. The following subcategories can be recognized, and are distinct enough that one could perhaps recognize two or more homophonous prefixes *mo*-.

states and properties

<i>mobarisi-barisi</i>	‘striped’
<i>mobinti-binti</i>	‘spotted’
<i>mobulu</i>	‘hairy’
<i>mokau</i>	‘bald’
<i>mole</i>	‘healed’
<i>moliku</i>	‘curved’
<i>morrui</i>	‘prickly’

body action and posture verbs (including several with low volitionality):

<i>momata</i>	‘wake up’ (from sleep)
<i>mongale-ngale</i>	‘yawn’
<i>monganga</i>	‘open the mouth wide’
<i>mongorro</i>	‘snore’
<i>monippi</i>	‘dream’
<i>monussu</i>	‘spit’
<i>monyawa</i>	‘breathe’
<i>mopaita</i>	‘turn around’

translocational motions:

<i>modake</i>	‘climb’
<i>moili</i>	‘flow’
<i>moipa</i>	‘go’
<i>molaa</i>	‘fly’
<i>molanga</i>	‘go by foot’
<i>molangka</i>	‘stride’

articulations:

<i>moni</i>	‘make a sound’ (< <i>mo-</i> + <i>uni</i>)
<i>mopoloi</i>	‘whistle’
<i>modareke</i>	‘sigh, groan’
<i>mominanu</i>	‘crow’ (of rooster)

Once we remove such stems from the total, we are left with fewer than seventy *mo-* verbs which, from a semantic perspective, could be considered to potentially encode transitive situation types (as mentioned above, twenty of these verbs are known to have corresponding *manga-* forms). This total includes several verbs of communication, which in some ways also align with the articulation verbs *moni* ‘make a sound,’ etc.

<i>mobicara</i>	‘speak’
<i>mobici</i>	‘whisper’
<i>moello</i>	‘sing’
<i>mopau</i>	‘speak’

<i>motae</i>	‘say’
<i>motana</i>	‘ask’
<i>mobingku</i>	‘hoe’
<i>mobose</i>	‘row’
<i>mombela</i>	‘wound’
<i>momintala</i>	‘twine’ (rope)
<i>mongela</i>	‘avoid’
<i>mopaita-ita</i>	‘watch’
<i>morango</i>	‘hear’
<i>mosakka</i>	‘deny’
<i>motole</i>	‘smoke’ (cigarettes)

The following exemplify the use of *mo-* with transitive verb stems in context.

mo-tana *manga-bali*
 ACT-ask ACT-answer
 ‘question-and-answer’ (MSBW-106)

Mo-paro *banua* *uwa-u.*
 ACT-build house uncle-1S.G
 ‘My uncle builds a house.’ (SBW-76)

Mo-patu *surra* *i* *anri-u* *kaka-u.*
 ACT-send letter at younger.sibling-1S.G older.sibling-1S.G
 ‘My older sibling sends a letter to my younger sibling.’ (SBW-76)

Lambau *soranga* *Laega* *si-tulu* **mo-buau** *lemba.*
 Lambau with Laega RECIPIENT-help ACT-make boat
 ‘Lambau and Laega help each other build boats.’ (MSBW-65)

Mo-saringi *tingawo* *banua* *iyau.*
 ACT-sweep front house 1S.IND
 ‘I sweep the yard.’ (SBW-76)

Mo-jama *sarro* *maladde* *parellu-a* *makokkoni.*
 ACT-work very much need-APPL now
 ‘Hard work is much needed today.’ (MSBW-66)

Latabaira **mo-mambunu** *la-iya* *i-bunu.*
 better ACT-throw than-REL PASS-throw
 ‘It is better to throw than to be the one thrown (at).’ (MSBW-64)

Note particularly that when an absolutive clitic follows a verb marked with *mo-*, it indexes the subject.

Mo-paru-ya *banua.*
 ACT-build-3.A house
 ‘He builds a house’ (SBW-71)

Mo-panungku-ta *ana.*
 ACT-care.for-1PN.A child
 ‘You (honorific) take care of children.’ (SBW-71)

From the examples observed so far, it is entirely possible that *mo-* is nothing other than an intransitive marker. In partial support of this hypothesis, for at least for one pair of verbs we find *motalombo* glossed as ‘have, use a spear’ (Indonesian *bertombak*) versus *mangatalombo* ‘spear (something)’ (Indonesian *menombak*) (Sande et al. 1991:12, 14). In further support of this analysis, note that Pamona has entirely parallel prefixes, intransitive *mo-* next to transitive *mang-* (Adriani 1931:146–151, 175). In order to round out this tentative theory one would have to adopt that objects expressed following a Wotu verb with *mo-* are in fact incorporated, e.g. house-build, boat-make, letter-write, etc., which also happens in Pamona (Adriani 1931:151). While for the sake of argument I have glossed *mo-* as ACT (active) in the above examples, elsewhere in this paper I gloss it as intransitive, which I believe to be the more accurate label.

5.7 A note about genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns play little role in the indexing of transitive or intransitive subjects or of objects, unless it is to mark a clause as nominalized (viz. subordinate). Compare the subordinate temporal clauses in the following examples.

Iyya *pura-u-mo* *mo-mani* *doa,* *tappa* *da* *bamba ...*
 REL finish-1.G-COMP INTR-request prayer suddenly be voice
 ‘When I had finished requesting my prayer, suddenly there was a voice ...’
 (lit. ‘My having finished...’) (Tst-015)

U-rango-na *bamba-e* *tomai,* *motae* *me* *ati-u, ...*
 1S.N-hear-3.G voice-that hither say COMP heart-1S.G
 ‘When I heard that voice, my heart said ...’ (Tst-022)

Iyakia *puwa-u* *kempa-me* *sile* *lattu* *mate-na.*
 but grandparent-1S.G lame-COMP pity until die-3.G
 ‘But my grandfather, poor thing, was lame until his death.’ (Croc-32)

Another type of nominalization is found in the following example. The structure seen here is entirely parallel with the so-called Indonesian *di-* *-nya* nominalization (Grangé 2011:58–59; *inter alia*), and—especially since this is the only example in the corpus—one must suspect that the Wotu was perhaps calqued from the Indonesian. I give the Indonesian ‘translation’ by way of comparison.

I-tarima-na *suranga* *sanna* *ati.*
 PASS-receive-3.G with happy heart
 ‘It was received with a glad heart / Its reception (was) with a glad heart.’
 ‘Diterimanya dengan senang hati.’ (MSBW-90)

The following examples illustrate yet another construction which makes use of a genitive pronoun. Because of similarities which the Wotu structure bears to Indonesian, again I supply the Indonesian. This construction requires further investigation.

Oge *bacici* *la-era-na* *mo-bicara-bicara.*
 big small 3.N-invite-3.G INTR-REDP-speak
 ‘Big (or) little, he invited them to chat.’
 ‘Besar kecil diajaknya berbincang-bincang.’ (MSBW-112)

Mooda *balape* *la-tolliui-na.*
 bad good 3.N-pass.by-3.G
 ‘Bad (or) good, he passed them by.’
 ‘Baik buruk dilaluinya.’ (MSBW-112)

Madodo *la-cacca-nna*
 skinny 3.N-hate-3.G
 ‘The skinny he hated.’
 ‘Kurus dibencinya.’ (MSBW-112)

6 Relativization

6.1 Relative clause markers *iyya*, *-e* and *anu*

Relative clauses follow the head noun. Most relative clauses are either introduced by the relativizer *iyya* ‘that,’ or marked by the enclitic *-e* attached to the first full word of the relative clause, or both.

paa-na *puwa-u* **iyya** *mapale*
 thigh-3.G grandparent-1S.G REL broken
 ‘my grandfather’s thigh which was broken’ (Croc-027)

bo-na **iyya** *kuba-e*
 book-3.G REL new-DIST
 ‘his book which is new’ (Sent-G11)

aro-na *puwa-u* **iyya** *mambela-e* *da-po*
 body-3.G grandparent-1S.G REL wounded-DIST be-INCOMP
 ‘my grandfather’s body which was still wounded’ (Croc-026)

ito *warani-e*
 people brave-DIST
 ‘a person who is brave’ (MSBW-52)

The clitic *-e* is a reduced form of the distal demonstrative, *-e jia* (see § 3), which is the reason it is glossed as DIST ‘distal.’ However, the use of *-e* in relative clauses is so common that it must be recognized, if not as a separate particle, at least as a specialized function of *-e*. In fact with headless relative clauses, *-e* even gives the appearance of a nominalizing suffix.

iyya *kuba-e*
REL new-DIST
‘the ones which are new, the new ones’ (Sent-D19)

matasa-e
ripe-DIST
‘the ripe ones’ (MSBW-39)

maeja-e
red-DIST
‘the red ones’ (MSBW-39)

The suffix *-e* has the allomorph (orthographic variant) *-ye* when the preceding stem ends in a sequence of two vowels, the second of which is *i*; see § 4 sub (g) where a similar allomorphy of the first and second person forms *-u* and *-o* is discussed.

In addition to *iyya* and *-e*, the indefinite noun *anu* ‘something, whatsit’¹¹ is sometimes pressed into service as a relative clause marker, but only in headless relative clauses—or perhaps one could say, *anu* is the head.

anu *i-baca*
something PASS-read
‘reading, something for being read’ (Indonesian: ‘bacaan’) (Lexicon)

anu *madda*¹²
something evil
‘evil things, crime’ (Indonesian: ‘kejahatan’) (Lexicon)

anu *tonga-tonga-e*
something REDP-true-DIST
‘that which is really true’ (Tst-023)

¹¹ As with other nouns, *anu* can be possessed, e.g. *anumu* ‘your something, something of yours’, *anuu* ‘my something, something of mine’ (Laidig and Syuaib 1997:s.v.).

¹² Cf. *ito madda* ‘bad person, criminal’ (Laidig and Syuaib 1997:s.v.).

...*a-tudu-u* *měnsua* *i-gareja-e,* **anu** *edo* *daa*
 3.N-order-1S.A enter at-church-DIST something NEG be

u-pogau-wa.
 1S.N-do-?APPL¹³

‘... he told me to go into the church, something I had never done.’ (Tst-035)

It is also possible for *iyya* and *anu* to occur together, in which case the order is *iyya anu*. This is the opposite order one would expect if *anu* were indeed the head.

Iyya **anu** *a-lepati* *sarro-e* *buaja-e* *tomai* ...
 REL REL 3.N-lick very-DIST crocodile-DIST hither
 ‘That which the crocodile licked a lot ...’ (Croc-027)

Iyya **anu** *masae* *tolliu-me,* *sětongga-tongganna*
 REL REL old passed.by-COMP in.actuality

iyya **anu** *kuba-e* *awa-me.*
 REL REL new-DIST come-COMP

‘That which is old has passed away, in reality that which is new has come.’
 (Tst-075)

As can be verified by inspecting the examples above, when the subject of an intransitive clause is relativized, the subject is gapped within the relative clause. Let us now turn to cases in which the relative clause contains a transitive verb.

6.2 Relativization of transitive subjects

When the subject of a transitive verb is relativized, the verb is marked with *manga-* or *mu-*, and the transitive subject is gapped within the relative clause. In the following examples, the relative clause has been bracketed for the reader.

ito [*iyya* **mu-patei-yye** *sapi-mu*]
 person REL act-kill-DIST cow-2.G
 ‘the person who killed your cow’ (Sent-E01)

ngana-ngana [*melo-e* *mipa* **mu-pelo** *bete*]
 REDP-child will-DIST go ACT-seek fish
 ‘the children who want to go look for fish’ (MSBW-48)

Ama-u [*iyya* **mu-doi-yyu** *alara-eni.*]
 father-1S.G REL ACT-give-1S.A rope-PROX
 ‘My father is the one who gave me this rope.’ (Sent-G08)

¹³ I assume that *-wa* is the applicative suffix (§ 7.2), and not the (homophonous) third person absolute pronominal enclitic (§ 4). If pronoun, this would be the only known case from the corpus in which a relativized object is *not* gapped within the relative clause (see § 6.3).

puwa-u [*iyya* **manga-lua-e** *pongka* *pappua* *oge* *tomai*]
 grandparent-1S.G REL ACT-fell-DIST trunk wood big hither
 ‘my grandfather who felled that big tree’ (Croc-007)

Both *manga-* and *mu-* are prefixed to verbs that closely modify the head noun and have a classifying function (in these cases, the usual relative clause marking is absent). Note the following examples:

ito *macca* **mu-buau** *pauli*
 person smart ACT-make medicine
 ‘a person knowledgeable about preparing medicines’ (Lexicon)

pauli **mu-paccingi** *balua*
 medicine ACT-wash head.hair
 ‘shampoo’ (Lexicon)

ito **mu-sani**
 person ACT-know
 ‘a person knowledgeable (about customary law)’ (Lexicon)

ito *macca* **mang-opěrası**
 person smart ACT-operate
 ‘surgeon’ (Lexicon)

ito **manga-ceta**
 person ACT-print
 ‘printer’ (Lexicon)

ito **manga-gambara**
 person ACT-draw
 ‘artist’ (Lexicon)

bokka **manga-ossěi**
 dog ACT-hunt
 ‘hunting dog’ (Lexicon)

In addition I have come across two examples in which a predicate, apparently with transitive meaning, is marked within the relative clause with *mo-*. However, these are probably to be regarded as cases of a relativized intransitive subject—see § 5.6.

ranra [*magatti-e* **mo-mantutu**]
 young.woman fast-DIST INTR-pound
 ‘the young woman who is rapidly pounding’ (e.g. rice, in a mortar) (MSBW-49)

ito [*moipa-e* **mo-badilli** *jonga*]
 person go-DIST INTR-shoot deer
 ‘the person who is going to shoot deer’ (MSBW-45)

Curiously, this last example appears nine pages later, but with *mu-* instead of *mo-*.

ito [*moipa-e* **mu-badilli** *jonga*]
 person go-DIST ACT-shoot deer'
 'the person who is going to shoot deer' (MSBW-54)

If both are indeed valid constructions in the language, and one is not simply a typographical error, I suggest that *mo-badilli jonga* is actually intransitive with an incorporated object, 'deer-shooting'; see § 5.6.

6.3 *Relativization of transitive objects*

When the object is relativized, the verb of the relative clause is marked with the passive marker *i-* or with a nominative prefix. In the following set of examples, the verb of the relative clause is marked with *i-*. Note that the object—technically in these cases the 'derived subject' of the passive construction—is gapped within the relative clause.

badu [**i-sessa-e**]
 clothing PASS-wash-DIST
 'clothes which are washed' (MSBW-52)

peca [**i-doi-e-u**]
 cooked.rice PASS-give-DIST-1S.A
 'cooked rice which was given me' (MSBW-125)

jalla [**i-bonga-e** *mono* *i-tasi*]
 cast.net PASS-throw-DIST descend at-sea
 'the net which was cast into the sea' (MSBW-46/49)

pangka pappua oge [*melo-e* **i-buau** *lemba*]
 trunk wood big will-DIST PASS-make boat
 'a big tree which was to be made (into) a boat' (Croc-004)

toto-na [*iyya* *edo-e* *waddi* **i-tolla**]
 fate-3.G REL NEG-DIST able PASS-refuse
 'his fate which could not be refused' (Croc-005)

karatassa [*pura-e-mo* **i-lullu**]
 paper finish-DIST-COMP PASS-roll
 'paper that had been rolled up' (Tst-047)

When the transitive object is relativized, it is also possible for the verb of the relative clause to be marked with a nominative prefix, which indexes the transitive subject. Again, the transitive object is gapped within the relative clause.

bete [(*iyya*) **mu-tikka**]
 fish REL 2.N-catch
 ‘fish which you caught’ (Sent-D08)

pongka kopi [*iyya u-pembula-e tau lalo-e*]
 trunk coffee REL 1S.N-plant-DIST year past-DIST
 ‘coffee trees which I planted last year’ (Sent-E04)

ito [*iyya melo-e u-popasi*]
 person REL will-DIST 1S.N-visit
 ‘the person I planned to visit’ (Sent-E13)

lamba [*iyya i-tonangi-ě yammi*]
 boat REL 1PX.N-board-DIST 1PX.IND
 ‘the boat which we boarded’ (Croc-020)

Because the nominative prefix indexes the transitive subject, relative clauses constructed in this way perforce retain an expression of the agent, and in this respect differ from relative clauses constructed with *i-*, which in the corpus are always agent-deleting. When the agent is third person, the verb is marked with *la-*. When this marker is given a generic reading of ‘they, someone, people,’ it approaches the function of the passive marker *i-*.

lamba [**la-podala-e**]
 boat 3.N-enter-DIST
 ‘the boat which he entered’ (MSBW-53)

bete [**la-ali**]
 fish 3.N-buy
 ‘fish which they bought, fish which was bought’ (MSBW-52)

[**La-carita-e jia**] *tongnga.*
 3.N-tell-DIST DIST correct
 ‘What they said is true.’ (MSBW-123)

6.4 Relativization of possessors

When a possessor is relativized, the possessor is marked by a possessive suffix within the relative clause. In the following example, the relativized argument is the possessor of the object, so the transitive verb is indexed for its subject with a nominative prefix.

puwa-u tomái [*iya-massa-nna aro-na*]
 grandparent-1s hither REL-all-3.G body-3.G

a-lambu pongka pappua oge]
 3.N-bury trunk wood big

‘my grandfather, whose whole body was buried by the big tree’

7 Applicatives

Wotu has two applicative suffixes, *-i* and *-a*. These suffixes are cognate with Indonesian *-i* and *-kan*.

7.1 Applicative suffix *-i*

In its prototypical use, suffix *-i* brings a location into the core role structure of the predicate. For example, from the intransitive stem *tongko* ‘sit’ is derived the transitive stem *tongkoi* ‘sit on (something),’ as in:

Tongkoi tamperē jia.
 sit.on mat DIST
 ‘Sit on that mat.’ (SBW-81)

The suffix *-i* is usually added directly to the stem, but in a few cases an inserted consonant (in some circles called a thematic consonant) intervenes. Some other transitive verb stems of the same nature as *tongkoi* include:

<i>boto</i>	‘fall’	<i>botoi</i>	‘fall on’
<i>tollee</i>	‘urinate’	<i>tolesi</i>	‘urinate on’
<i>marota</i>	‘dirty’ (state)	<i>rotai</i>	‘dirty (s.th.), make dirty’
<i>mensua</i>	‘go inside’	<i>ensuani</i>	‘enter (s.th.)’
<i>nussu</i>	‘saliva, spittle’	<i>nussui</i>	‘spit on’
<i>santa</i>	‘coconut milk’	<i>santai</i>	‘add coconut milk to’
<i>rangasu</i>	‘smoke’ (from fire)	<i>rangasui</i>	‘smoke (s.th.)’
<i>pembula</i>	‘plant’ (e.g. corn)	<i>pembulai</i>	‘plant’ (e.g. field)
<i>pajia</i>	‘store’ (e.g. clothes)	<i>pajiani</i>	‘store in’ (e.g. wardrobe)
<i>gora</i>	‘yell’	<i>gorai</i>	‘yell at’

Similarly with confix *pa-* *-i*:

<i>maluo</i>	‘wide’	<i>paluoi</i>	‘widen’
<i>maoge</i>	‘big’	<i>paogei</i>	‘enlarge’
<i>maballo</i>	‘good’	<i>paballoi</i>	‘repair’
<i>ita</i>	‘see’	<i>paitai</i>	‘show’
<i>maturu</i>	‘sleep’	<i>paturusi</i>	‘sleep on’
<i>ingngarra</i>	‘remember’	<i>paringngarrangi</i>	‘remind’

See Salombe et al. (1987:19, 23, 28–29) and Sande et al. (1991:23–25, 27) for further stems. The applied object is treated as an ordinary object in terms of relativization, interrogation, clefting, etc. Compare the following two examples, in which respectively the usual and the applied objects are relativized:

Punti [*iyya mu-pembula-e tau lalo-e*] *maoge-me.*
 banana REL 2.A-plant-DIST year past-DIST big-COMP
 ‘The Bananas that you planted last year are already big.’ (Sent-E05)

Yameni bilassa [*u-pembulai-yye suranga anrale.*]
 here.it.is field 1S.N-plant.in-DIST with corn
 ‘This is the field that I planted with corn.’ (Sent-E11)

In fact other examples of applied objects can be found in a number of examples already given above. Note further:

Tampere a-paturusi-e jia marota, saba a-tolesi-a.
 mat 3.N-sleep.on-DIST DIST dirty because 3.N-urinate.on-3.A
 ‘The mat he’s lying on is dirty, because he urinated on it.’ (Sent-C15)

Banua-na anriu (iyya) la-ensuani-e.
 house-3.G younger.sibling-1S.G REL 3.N-enter-DIST
 ‘It was my younger sibling’s house that he entered.’ (Sent-C10b)

7.2 Applicative suffix -a

The Wotu applicative suffix *-a* is the regular reflex of a protoform **akan* via loss of final consonant, loss of **k*, and subsequent vowel merger. A clear example of its use is in the transitive stem *cerea* ‘run off with (something),’ which stands next to the intransitive stem *cere* ‘run,’ cf. *mangacerea doi* ‘run off with money’ (Salombe et al. 1987:82). It is also to be seen in *alia* ‘buy for,’ next to *ali* ‘buy,’ in which *-a* introduces the beneficiary into the role structure of the predicate. Examples from the corpus include:

mu-ali-a-u
 2.N-buy-APPL-1S.A
 ‘you bought for me’ (SBW-33)

mu-alli-a-ya
 2.N-buy-APPL-3.A
 ‘you bought for him’ (SBW-33)

Anriu u-alli-a-ya pemborea.
 younger.sibling-1S.G 1S.N-buy-APPL-3.A toy
 ‘My younger sibling, I bought him a toy.’ (SBW-83)

Anri la-ali-a-ya ina-u pomborea.
 younger.sibling 3.N-buy-APPL-3.A mother-1S.G toy
 ‘My mother bought younger sibling a toy.’ (SBW-82)

*Inau mo-ali-a*¹⁴ *anri pemborrea.*
 mother-1S.G ?INTR-buy-APPL younger.sibling toy
 ‘My mother bought younger sibling a toy.’ (SBW-73)

Ipana pau yau punna doi, iyo u-ali-a motoro.
 supposing.that 1S.IND have money 2.IND 1S.N-buy-APPL motorcycle
 ‘Supposing that I had money, you I would buy a motorcycle.’ (MSBW-126)

In two further examples, we find *-a* used with *pau* ‘say, tell’ and *tudu* ‘order’ when the message or content of the communication is questioned (in the second example, an indirect question).

Aga mu-pau-wwa-ya?
 what 2.N-say-APPL-3.A
 What did you say to him? (Sent-F04a)

A-pogau-me puwa-u tomiai aga la-tudu-a-ya sanro-e.
 3.N-do-COMP grandparent-1S hither what 3-order-APPL-3 shaman-DIST
 ‘My grandfather did what the shaman ordered him (to do).’ (Croc-017)

In these different examples, we find already three of the seven functions which Mead (1998:213 ff.) discusses for reflexes of *aken in Celebic languages—the causative (or confective), the benefactive, and the communicative. Unfortunately, several factors make it difficult to present a more complete analysis of the Wotu applicative suffix *-a* at this time. These factors include:

- Homophony between the applicative suffix *-a* (< *akan) and the third person pronominal enclitic *-a* (< *ia).
- Homophony between the applicative suffix *-a* and the nominalizing suffix *-a* (< *-an).
- The fact that the applicative suffix *-a* appears to have a zero allomorph following stems ending in the vowel *a*.
- The fact that most of the corpus examples are discussed under morphology, with few clear examples in which an applied object is relativized, interrogated, or clefted. It is also possible that when a verb is suffixed with *-a*, the ‘applied object’ may not be treated as a normal object in all respects.
- Imprecise, and perhaps even inaccurate, glossing in my sources.

For example, the following forms must be incompletely glossed, because they all clearly contain a combination of the applicative suffix *-a* plus third person singular *-ya*, but no pronominal form appears in the gloss (Sande et al. 1991:25, 26). I show here the Indone-

¹⁴ Possibly a misprint for intended *mualia* (ACT-buy-APPL).

sian gloss as reported by these authors, with the meaning of the stem given in parentheses:

<i>mu-ali-aya</i>	‘membelikan’	(buy)
<i>mu-simbu-aya</i>	‘memikulkan’	(carry on the shoulder)
<i>mu-tonro-aya</i>	‘memagarkan’	(fence)
<i>mu-appi-aya</i>	‘menyiramkan’	(pour)

To take another example, consider the case of the suffix *-u*, which according Sande et al. (1991:20) “mengandung arti perintah” (has an imperative meaning). Curiously, in all but one of the given instances it follows stems which end in the vowel *a*. Furthermore when the stem is intransitive, Wotu *-u* is rendered as Indonesian *-lah* (a clitic which can have imperative force), but when the stem is transitive it is rendered as Indonesian *-kan* (an applicative suffix) (Sande et al. 1991:20–21). Because these morphemes are difficult to translate into English, I show the Indonesian gloss, with the meaning of the stem reported in parentheses:

<i>awa-u</i>	‘datanglah’	(come)
<i>mipa-u</i>	‘pergilah’	(go)
<i>pale-u</i>	‘potongkan’	(cut)
<i>tikka-u</i>	‘tangkapkan’	(catch)
<i>ala-u</i>	‘ambilkan’	(fetch, take)
<i>bissa-u</i>	‘cucikan’	(wash)
<i>pennea-u</i>	‘panjatkan’	(climb)

My own hypothesis concerning such forms is that they may actually contain the suffix combination *-a + -u*, literally ‘for me’—from which is thus understood a requestive or ‘imperative’ force—but because of vowel merger *mipa + -a + -u* ‘go for me’ becomes *mipau*, *tikka + -a + -u* ‘catch (it) for me’ becomes *tikkau*, etc. This hypothesis of course is unconfirmed, and furthermore does not work for *paleu* (where *paleau* would be expected).

If Wotu resembles surrounding languages, use of the applicative suffix *-a* is likely an intricate area of the grammar. Unfortunately present data does not allow for a rigorous analysis.

8 Tense, aspect and mood

It should be mentioned at the outset that Wotu does *not* have ‘tense forms’ of verbs, by which I mean an *n ~ m* alternation in verbal prefixes. In Celebic languages which have

this alternation, the *n* form denotes a realis or realized tense (past/present) while the *m* form denotes an irrealis or unrealized tense (future/optative) (Noorduyn 1991b:142).¹⁵

Instead, the tasks of temporally locating and profiling events is carried out in Wotu by two aspectual enclitics and by various preverbal markers. In addition, events can also be located temporally through the use of temporal adverbs ('now,' 'yesterday,' etc.) and even temporal adverbial clauses ('when I was still small').

8.1 Aspectual enclitics -me and -pe

The two aspectual enclitics of Wotu are *-me*, which indicates a completed or perfective aspect, and *-pe*, which indicates an incompletive or continuative aspect. The older forms of these markers, *-mo* and *-po*, are still encountered in some contexts.¹⁶ Curiously, in the present-day language *-pe* occurs almost exclusively in combination with *da* ('be, exist')¹⁷ so that the independent form *dape* follows the verb, whereas *-me* attaches directly to the verb. Compare the following examples.

Ina-u *tuwu* **da-pe,** (*iyakiya*) *ama-u* *mate-me.*
 mother-1S.G live be-INCOMP but father-1S.G dead-COMP
 'My mother is still living, but my father is dead.' (Sent-L01)

Tongko-moo, *eyyo-e* *menawa-me!* – *Edo,* *mapatta* **da-pe.**
 sit-IMP day-DIST bright-COMP NEG dark be-INCOMP
 'Get up, it's already light!' – 'No, it's still dark.' (Sent-L07 & L08)

Here follow further examples of *dape* (*dapo*).

Isia *daa* **da-pe** *dinnini.*¹⁸
 3S.IND be be-INCOMP here
 'He's still here.' (Sent-I04b)

¹⁵ For example, Da'a *nabete* 'big' and *nanggoni* 'eat' (realis) versus *mabete* 'big' and *manggoni* 'eat' (irrealis) (Barr 1988:26). This alternation traces back to a difference between infixes **-um-* versus **-umin-*, and I have wondered whether it might be vestigially preserved in certain Wotu verb forms. For example for the verb 'sit' one finds in the data variously *tongko*, *tumongko*, *timongko* and even *tunongko* (the last possibly a typographical error for intended *timongko* ??), and for the interrogative prooun both *naga* and *maga* 'why.' This remains an area for further investigation.

¹⁶ Only the forms *-mo* and *-po* occur when followed by the first person singular absolutive enclitic *-u*. Is it possible that the forms *-me* and *-pe* represent, if not synchronically at least historically, the coalescence of *-mo* and *-po* with a third person enclitic pronoun? Compare Barang-Barang and Wolio, in which aspectual plus third person forms run *-mea* and *-pea* (Anceaux 1988:27; Belding, Laidig and Maingak 2001:14). Probably from Bugis influence, the completive marker *-me* sometimes assumes the form *-mi*. I have not yet encountered *-pi* as a variant of *-pe*, though it might be expected.

¹⁷ Although in the present-day language *daa* appears to be exclusively a marker of existence or location, it may formerly have also encoded progressive aspect.

¹⁸ This can also be expressed without *dapo*: *Isia daa dinnini* 'He is here.'

Isia mombore gassi da-pe.
 3S.IND play top be-INCOMP
 ‘He’s still playing tops.’ (Sent-I17b)

Mauni uda, isia mipa da-pe.
 although rain 3S.IND go be-INCOMP
 ‘Even though it was raining, he still went.’ (Sent-P07)

Iyya-tomai wattu-e bacici da-po-u, ...
 REL-hither time-DIST small be-INCOMP-1S.A
 ‘At that time, I was still small ...’ (Croc-014)

Puwa-u tomai jama-jama-na wattu-nna da-po
 grandparent-1S.G hither REDP-work-3.G time-3.G be-INCOMP
masagga tuli mu-buau lemba.
 healthy always ACT-make boat
 ‘My grandfather, his work at the time that he was still healthy was always making boats.’ (Croc-003)

One of the few contexts where the aspectual clitic appears without *da* is following *edo* ‘not’ (where only *-po* occurs, not *-pe*). However, note the contrast between the following pair of clauses:

Yau edo-po u-manriu.
 1S.IND NEG-INCOMP 1S.N-bathe
 ‘I have not yet bathed.’ (Sent-J11)

Yau edo da-po u-manriu.
 1S.IND NEG be-INCOMP 1S.N-bathe
 ‘I have still not bathed.’ (Sent-J11)

The following examples illustrate the use of the completive marker *-me* (*-mo*).

Badu iyya yo mu-posu-e untu yau bengka-me.
 shirt REL 2.IND 2.N-sew-DIST for 1S.IND torn-COMP
 ‘The shirt that you sewed for me is torn.’ (Sent-E08)

Mombosu-me-ga iyo?
 satiated-COMP-QUEST 2.IND
 ‘Are you already full?’ (SBW-80)

Iyakiya puwa-u kempa-me sile lattu mate-na.
 but grandparent-1S.G lame-COMP pity until die-3.G
 ‘But my grandfather, poor thing, was lame until his death.’ (Croc-032)

La-tuwu-mo *buaja-e* *tomai* *měmbali* *maoge*
 3.N-live-COMP crocodile-DIST hither become big
 ‘That crocodile lived (and) became big.’ (Croc-036)

Saiya-me *tau* *nikka-nna?*
 how.many-COMP year marry-3.N
 ‘How many years have they been married?’ (SBW-79)

The completive marker is also used in clauses with imperative force. See the following example and further § 11.1.

Ita **me** *sapi-u* *jiatu.* *Tikka* **me,** *boe* *ma-ballo-ballo* *a*
 look COMP cow-1S.G there catch COMP tie STAT-REDP-good and
suranga *sumbele-me.*
 with slaughter-COMP

‘See my cow over there. Catch it, tie it up well and slaughter it!’ (Sent-K05)

Immediately following the negator *edo*, only *-mo* occurs, not *-me*.

Isia *edo-mo* *la-sumura* *maini.*
 3S.IND NEG-COMP 3.N-live here
 ‘He doesn’t live here any more.’ (Sent-I10b)

Isia *edo* *gaga* *dinnini-mo.*
 3S.IND not be here-COMP
 ‘He isn’t here any more.’ (Sent-I05b)

A peculiar construction involving the completive aspectual enclitic is *yame tomai*, which serves as an explicit copula in equative clauses (most equative clauses in the corpus involve simple juxtaposition without copula).¹⁹

Mo-bilassa **ya-mo-tomai** *ja-jama-na.*
 INTR-farm COP-COMP-hither REDP-work-3.G
 ‘Farming was his work.’ (MSBW-111)

Iyya *anu* *a-lepati* *sarro-e* *buaja-e* *tomai*
 REL REL 3.N-lick very-DIST crocodile-DIST hither
ya-me **tomai** *paa-na* *puwa-u* *iyya* *mapale.*
 COP-COMP hither thigh-3.G grandparent-1S.G REL broken

‘That which the crocodile licked a lot was my grandfather’s thigh that was broken.’ (Croc-027)

¹⁹ Compare *amau polisi* ‘my father is a policeman,’ *uau padangka* ‘my uncle is a trader,’ *puau sanro* ‘my grandfather is a shaman’ (Sande et al. 1991:108–109). The verb *membali* ‘become’ is also used, *amana membali guru* ‘her father became a teacher’ (Sande et al. 1991:109).

It can also be used in the sense of ‘that is, namely, i.e.’ (Indonesian ‘yaitu’) to give added information or paraphrase.²⁰

Doa-u tomai u-parappa suranga doa iyya da-e
 prayer-1S.G hither 1S.N-close with prayer REL be-DIST
i-lara Akora-e, ya-mo-tomai Sura Al-Fatihah, ...
 at-inside Qur’an-DIST REL-COMP-hither Surah Al-Fatihah

‘I closed my prayer with a prayer that is in the Qur’an, that is, Surah Al-Fatihah ...’ (Tst-006)

Paitai-yyu Pua dala mallai, iyya me-tomai dala-na
 show-1S.A Lord way straight REL COMP-hither way-3.G
ito pura-e mu-doi as-sanna-sanna-nga.
 person finish-DIST 2.N-give NOM-REDP-happy-NOM

‘Show me, Lord, the straight way, that is, the way of people to whom You have given enjoyment.’ (Tst-012)

When *-me* (*-mo*) combines with *daa*, *daa* retains its meaning of encoding existence or location.

Da-mo sa-eyyo m-ipa-me isia i-pangale ...
 be-COMP one-day INTR-go-COMP 3S.IND to-forest
 ‘(There was) one day, he went to the forest ...’ (Croc-004)

Daa-mo sa-m-bongi a-carita puwa-u motae, ...
 be-COMP one-LG-night 3.N-tell grandparent-1S.G say
 ‘(There was) one night, my grandfather related that’ (Croc-033)

In only one case have I found *dame* constructed in analogous fashion with *dape*:

Pura da-me i-pale-pale pongka pappua oge tomai ...
 finish be-COMP PASS-REDP-cut trunk wood big hither
 ‘(When) that big tree was finished being cut up ...’ (Croc-010)

²⁰ And in yet another example it translates as ‘therefore, because of that’ (Indonesian ‘karena itu’):

“Iya-me-tomae uki-ya aga iyya pura mu-ita, ...
 REL-COMP-hither write-3.A what REL finish 2.N-see
 ‘Therefore, write what you have seen...’ (Tst-080)

8.2 Preverbal markers

The above example also illustrates one of the preverbal markers which carries an aspectual force, *pura*, glossed here as ‘finish.’²¹ *Pura* may occur alone, or with the aspectual enclitic *-me*.

Ya-massa-nna pura mo-sipullu.
REL-all-3.G finish INTR-gather
‘All of them are already gathered.’ (MSBW-112)

Alima pura ganna-me.
five finish enough-COMP
‘Five is already enough.’ (MSBW-122)

Isia pura-me mipa.
3.IND finish-COMP go
‘He already left.’ (Sent-I06b)

Pura-me m-anre-o?
finish-COMP INTR-eat-2.A
‘Are you done eating?’ (SBW-78)

Unlike *-me*, however, *pura* may serve as a temporal conjunction meaning ‘after.’ In the second, third and fourth examples below, the possessive suffix which follows *pura* marks the subordinate nature of the clause (see § 5.7).

mappeguru pura m-anre
study finish INTR-eat
‘study after eating’ (MSBW-63)

Pura-na-mo a-lepati massa aro-na puwa-u,
finish-3.G-COMP 3.N-lick all body-3.G grandparent-1S.G
buaja-e tomiai mono-me mbuli i-turungnga ...
crocodile-DIST hither descend-COMP return at-river

‘After it had licked my grandfather’s entire body, that crocodile went back down into the river ...’ (Croc-029)

Pura-u-mo maturu, tumongko-mo-u mo-sumbayya tahajju ...
finish-1S.G-COMP sleep sit-COMP-1S.A INTR-pray tahajjud
‘After I had slept, I got up to pray nighttime prayers...’ (Tst-004)

²¹ In our Indonesian sources, *pura* is glossed as ‘habis’ and ‘selesai.’ Cf. Pamona *pura* ‘up, out, finished, at an end’ (Adriani 1928:s.v.).

Pura-na-mo talu pisa ama-na mu-tudu-a isia mipa
 finish-3.G-COMP three time father-3.G ACT-order-APPL 3.IND go
mu-ala kopi, pangngalle-me isia mipa.
 ACT-pick coffee then-COMP 3.IND go

‘After his father ordered him three times to go pick coffee, (only) then did he go.’
 (Sent-P11)

Next to *puranamo* ‘after’ stands the converse temporal conjunction *edona dapo* or *edonapo* ‘before,’ which is constructed in entirely parallel fashion on the stem *edo* ‘not.’

Iyo timongko kabongo maini edo-na da-po amma awa.
 2 sit only here NEG-3.G be-INCOMP father come
 ‘Just sit here before Father comes.’ (MSBW-123)

Other markers which appear to distribute in the same preverbal slot as *pura* ‘finish’ are:

melo, expressing future intention or desire, ‘will, want’:

Yau melo mipa i-pangale.
 1S.IND will go to-jungle
 ‘I’m going to the jungle.’ (Sent-D14a)

waddi expressing permission or removal of some other barrier allowing an action to proceed, ‘permitted, enabled, able to, can’:

Pammase-na-ba Puang-alla-taala la-waddi tuwu da-po
 compassion-3.G-only Lord-God-Almighty 3.N-able live be-INCOMP
puwa-u.
 grandparent-1S.G

‘Only by God’s favor was my grandfather still able to live.’ (Croc-13)

poli expressing that something is possible, including having the means or ability to do something, ‘possibly, capable of, able to, can’:

Yau edo u-poli cere marido.
 1S.IND NEG 1S.N-able run far
 ‘I am not able to run far.’ (Sent-H12b)

A-poli oraccu.
 3.N-possible poisoned
 ‘Maybe it’s poisoned.’ (Sent-A13b)

harusu expressing obligation ‘must’ (from Indonesian *harus*);

Padda-e edo la-maluwo lau. Harusu i-paluwoi.
 field-DIST NEG 3.N-wide very must PASS-widen
 The field is not very wide. It must be widened. (Sent-N24)

bulli expressing unnecessary or undesirability ‘no need to, hopefully not’ also prohibition when directed toward a second person ‘don’t’ (see § 11.3);

Paku-e harusu yau u-bawa, iyakiya golla-e
 nail-DIST must 1S.IND 1S.N-bring but sugar-DIST
bulli-mo u-bawa-ya.
 no.need-COMP 1S.N-bring-3.A

‘I must take the nails, but I don’t have to take the sugar.’ (Sent-H06b)

tuli expressing habituality ‘always, habitually, regularly’;

Puwa-u tomai jama-jama-na wattu-nna da-po
 grandparent-1S.G hither REDP-work-3.G time-3.G be-INCOMP
masagga tuli mu-buau lemba.
 healthy always ACT-make boat

‘My grandfather’s work when he was still healthy was always making boats.’
 (Croc-003)

8.3 List of temporal adverbs

The following is a compiled list. It includes the above markers and some other temporal adverbs.

aspectual enclitics:

<i>-me / -mo</i>	completive, perfective
<i>-pe / -po</i>	incompletive, imperfective

preverbal aspect and mood markers:

<i>pura</i>	‘finish, already’	‘sudah’
<i>melo</i>	‘will, want’	‘akan, mau’
<i>waddi</i>	‘permitted, able, can’	‘boleh’
<i>poli</i>	‘possible, capable, can’	‘mungkin, dapat, sanggup’
<i>harusu</i>	‘must’	‘harus’
<i>bulli</i>	‘unnecessary, don’t’	‘tidak usah, jangan’
<i>tuli</i>	‘always, regularly’	‘senantiasa’

divisions of the 24-hour day:

<i>ranna eyyo</i>	‘very early morning’	‘subuh’
<i>madodonro</i>	‘early morning’	‘pagi-pagi’

<i>mawalla</i>	‘break of dawn’	‘fajar menyingsing’
<i>madonro</i>	‘morning’	‘pagi’
<i>tanga eyyo</i>	‘middle of the day’	‘tengah hari’
<i>nonowia, nunuwia</i> ²²	‘afternoon, evening’	‘sore’
<i>bongi</i>	‘night’	‘malam’
<i>tanga bongi</i>	‘middle of the night’	‘tengah malam’

days referenced to the present day:

<i>idulu, adulu</i>	‘previously, in the past’	‘dahulu’
<i>dipua</i>	‘day before yesterday’	‘kemarin dulu’
<i>ijiawi</i>	‘yesterday’	‘kemarin’
<i>eyyo eni</i>	‘today’	‘hari ini’
<i>laile</i>	‘tomorrow’	‘besok’
<i>lepua</i>	‘day after tomorrow’	‘lusa’

time referenced to the present moment:

<i>isao</i>	‘prior to now’	‘tadi’
<i>makokoni</i>	‘now’	‘sekarang’
<i>sangele</i>	‘in the near future’	‘sebentar’
<i>seiya, seiyo, saiya, saiyo</i>	‘later’	‘nanti, kemudian’

combinations:

<i>isao nunuwia</i>	‘last evening’	‘tadi sore’
<i>saiyo nunuwia</i>	‘this evening’	‘sebentar sore’
<i>nunuwia eni</i>	‘this evening’	‘sore ini’
<i>dipua bongi</i>	‘night before last’	‘kemarin dulu malam’
<i>ijiawi madonro</i>	‘yesterday morning’	‘kemarin pagi’
<i>ijiawi nonowia</i>	‘yesterday evening’	‘kemarin sore’
<i>laile nonowia</i>	‘tomorrow evening’	‘besok sore’
<i>laile bongi</i>	‘tomorrow night’	‘besok malam’

some other adverbs denoting frequency:

<i>marepe</i>	‘always’	‘selalu, senantiasa’
<i>tarru-tarru</i>	‘always, on and on’	‘selalu, terus-menerus’
<i>eyo bongi</i>	‘day and night’	‘siang malam’
<i>tarru</i>	‘keep on’	‘terus’
<i>tatta</i>	‘persistent, unchanged’	‘tetap’
<i>biasa(nna)</i>	‘usually, customarily’	‘biasa(nya)’
<i>edo marepe</i>	‘sometimes’	‘kadang-kadang’
<i>balala</i>	‘seldom’	‘jarang’

²² Other spellings encountered in the corpus include *nonowiya*, *nunowiya*, *monowiya*, *nukuwia* and *manuwia*.

<i>jarra</i>	‘seldom’	‘jarang’
<i>edo tongnga</i>	‘not at all’ (lit. truly not)	‘tidak sama sekali’

Upon further investigation, it may turn out that some of these ‘other adverbs’ may in fact distribute in the preverbal slot.

9 Interrogation

9.1 Yes-no interrogatives

Yes-no interrogatives in Wotu may be marked by question intonation alone.

Ali sanga-na?
 Ali name-3.G
 ‘Is his name Ali?’ (SBW-78)

Maleso-me-o?
 hungry-COMP-2S.A
 ‘Are you hungry already?’ (SBW-78)

Isia manriu?
 3S.IND bathe
 ‘Is he bathing?’ (SBW-78)

In addition, Wotu has an interrogative particle used in yes-no questions. The usual form of the interrogative particle is *ga*. In the corpus, *ga* is always written attached to or following the first word in the sentence, thus it appears to be a second-position enclitic.

Ali-ba-ga sanga-mu?
 Ali-only-QUEST name-2.G
 ‘Is your name Ali?’ (SBW-79)

Mombosu-me-ga iyo?
 satiated-COMP-QUEST 2.IND
 ‘Are you already full?’ (SBW-80)

Waddi-ga yau awa?
 able-QUEST 1S.IND come
 ‘May I come?’ (MSBW-44)

Melo-ga Halim awa ejo-nna Juma-e?
 will-QUEST Halim come day-3.G Friday-DIST
 ‘Will Halim come on Friday?’ (MSBW-44)

The ‘particle’ *daga* for questioning existence or location is straightforwardly a combination of the existential particle *da*, *daa* and the interrogative particle *ga*. Note the following examples.

Da-ga ito mu-anre tampia dinnini?
 be-QUEST person ACT-eat durian here
 ‘Was there a person who ate durian here?’ (Sent-A05a)

Daa ga yo golla-mmu?
 be QUEST 2.IND sugar-2.G
 ‘Do you have any sugar?’ (Sent-D12)

Daa ga ulo sawa maini?
 be QUEST snake python here
 ‘Are there pythons here?’ (Sent-D23)

Alternatively, the interrogative particle may occur initially in the sentence, in which case it has the form *aga*. According to Sande et al. (1991:44) this is less common; indeed, in this position the interrogative particle is homophonous with the content interrogative *aga* ‘what’ (see below).

Aga melo Halim awa ejo-nna Juma-e?
 QUEST will Halim come day-3.G Friday-DIST
 ‘Will Halim come on Friday?’ (MSBW-44)

Aga isia mipa mu-ala kopi?
 QUEST 3.IND go ACT-fetch coffee
 ‘Did he go pick coffee?’ (Sent-P01a)

9.2 Content interrogatives

The following are the Wotu interrogative pronouns encountered in the corpus.

<i>aga</i>	‘what’	‘apa’
<i>sema</i>	‘who’	‘siapa’
<i>umme, omme</i>	‘which’	‘yang mana’
<i>umbe</i>	‘where’	‘di mana’
<i>meujo</i>	‘to where, whither’	‘ke mana’
<i>memuawai</i>	‘from where, whence’	‘dari mana’
<i>idipia, dipia, dipiana</i>	‘when’	‘kapan’
<i>omme wattu, mepo wattu</i>	‘which time, what time’	‘kapan waktu’
<i>saiyya, saiya</i>	‘how many’	‘berapa’
<i>perennu</i>	‘how’	‘bagaimana’
<i>magaiya, magaya, maga, naga</i>	‘why’	‘kenapa, mengapa’
<i>untu aga</i>	‘for what’	‘untuk apa’

Here follow examples of their use.

Aga mu-pogau ijiawi nunuwia?
 what 2.N-do yesterday evening
 ‘What were you doing yesterday evening?’ (MSBW-127)

Yo maeka dia aga-e?
 2.IND afraid at what-DIST
 ‘What are you afraid of?’ (Sent-N20b)

Sema *sanga-na anri-mu?*
 who name-3.G younger.sibling-2.G
 ‘What is your younger sibling’s name?’ (Sent-D01)

Umme *berei-na?*
 which spouse-3.G
 ‘Which one is his wife?’ (SBW-79)

Omme *banua-na?*
 which house-3.G
 ‘Which one is his house?’ (MSBW-45)

Banua umme iyya la-ensuani isao?
 house which REL 3.N-enter prior
 ‘Which house did he just enter?’ (Sent-C09a)

Umbe *banua-mu?*
 where house-2.G
 ‘Where is your house?’ (SBW-79)

Awa umbe-o ijiawi?
 come where-2.A yesterday
 ‘Where did you come from yesterday?’ (SBW-79)

Umbe *ita ta-pasii?*
 where 1PN.IND 1PN.N-head.toward
 ‘Where are we headed?’ (SBW-79)

Meujo *mu-pasi?*
 whither 2.N-head.toward
 ‘Where are you going?’ (MSBW-45)

Memuawai *iyo awa?*
 whence 2.IND come
 ‘Where did you come from?’ (MSBW-45)

Idipia *mu-awa?*
 when 2S.N-come
 ‘When did you arrive?’ (MSBW-45)

Dipiana *yo mu-lattu i kampo-eni?*
 when 2.IND 2.N-reach at village-PROX
 ‘When did you arrive in this village?’ (D05)

Omme wattu pua awa?
 which time grandparent come
 ‘What time did Grandmother come?’ (MSBW-45)

Mepo wattu pua awa?
 which time grandparent come
 ‘What time did Grandmother come?’ (MSBW-130)

Saiya ali-na pao-e?
 how.many buy-3.G manggo-DIST
 ‘How much is that mango?’ (SBW-79)

Saiya-me tau nikka-nna?
 how.many-COMP year marry-3.G
 ‘How many years is their marriage?’ (SBW-79)

Perennu tampia-u? U-padia i-lara bai-e jia.
 how durian-1S.G 1S.N-store at-inside basket-DIST DIST
 ‘How about my durian? I put them in that basket.’ (Sent-A11a)

Perennu tomai la-u-ensuani agama Kristěn?
 how hither and-1S.N-enter religion Christian
 ‘How did I become a Christian?’ (Tst-002)

Magaiya a-tuli tomangi?
 why 3.N-always cry
 ‘Why is he always crying?’ (MSBW-45)

Maga guru-e la-maditti?
 why teacher-DIST 3.N-angry
 ‘Why is the teacher mad?’ (SBW-79)

Naga la iyo mipa?
 why and 2.IND go
 ‘Why are you going?’ (MSBW-48)

Yau melo u-pake ambera-mu. – Untu aga?
 1S.IND will 1S.N-use machete-2.G for what
 ‘I want to use your machete.’ – ‘For what?’ (Sent-D16a & Sent-D17)

9.3 Interrogation of subjects and objects

When the subject of a transitive predicate is interrogated, the verb takes the prefix *mu-*.

Sema mu-antara ama-mu?
 who ACT-accompany father-2.G
 ‘Who accompanied your father?’ (MSBW-45)

Sema m-uki surra-e jia?
 who ACT-write letter-DIST DIST
 ‘Who wrote this letter?’ (SBW-79)

Sema muw-anre punti-u?
 who ACT-eat banana-1S.G
 ‘Who ate my bananas?’ (Sent-B01a)

In some cases the interrogated subject is clefted, with the remainder of the sentence constructed as a relative clause. Technically these are equative constructions.

Sema iyya mu-doi yo alara-e jia?
 who REL ACT-give 2.A rope-DIST DIST
 ‘Who gave you that rope?’ (Sent-G07a)

Aga iyya mu-pakaeka-o yo?
 what REL ACT-frighten-2.A 2.IND
 What frightened you? (Sent-N22b)

When the object is interrogated, the verb is prefixed with a nominative prefix which indexes the subject (§ 5.4). Because of the nature of the source materials, most examples involve a second person subject.

Aga mu-anre?
 what 2.N-eat
 ‘What are you eating?’ (SBW-78)

Aga mu-jama ijyawi?
 what 2.N-work yesterday
 ‘What did you do yesterday?’ (Sent-A14a)

Saiyya baa-na bete (iyya) mu-tikka?
 how.many head-3.G fish REL 2.N-catch
 ‘How many fish did you catch?’ (Sent-D08)

Banua umme iyya la-ensuani isao?
 house which REL 3.N-enter prior
 ‘Which house did he just enter?’ (Sent-C09a)

Umbe ita ta-pasii?
 where 1PN.IND 1PN.IND-head.toward
 ‘Where are we going?’ (SBW-79)

9.4 Other uses of interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to introduce indirect questions.

...la-u-pau-wa-ya *aga* *u-alami* *bongi-e* *tomai.*
 and-1S.N-speak-APPL-3.A what 1S.N-experience night-DIST hither
 ‘...and I told him what I had experienced that night.’ (Tst-31)

Uki-ya *aga* *iyya* *pura* *mu-ita* ...
 write-3.A what REL finish 2.N-see
 ‘Write down what you have seen...’ (TSt-080)

A-pogau-me *puwa-u* *tomai* *aga* *la-tudu-a-ya*
 3.N-do-COMP grandparent-1S.G hither what 3-order-APPL-3

sanro-e.
 shaman-DIST

‘My grandfather did what the shaman ordered him (to do).’ (Croc-017)

Isia *edo* *a-sani* *umbe* *banuwa-u.*
 3S NEG 3-know where house
 ‘He doesn’t know where my house is.’ (Sent-J06)

On scant evidence, it appears that reduplicated forms of the interrogative pronouns serve as indefinite pronouns.

Yau *mu-padia* *bo-u* *maini.* *Bulli* *mu-doi-ya*
 1S.IND ACT-place book-1S.G here don’t 2.N-give-3.A
dia *sema-sema.*
 to REDP-who

‘I’m putting my book here. Don’t give it to anyone.’ (Sent-G09)

I-tanga *dala,* *lemba* *iyya* *i-tonangi-ě* *yammi*
 at-middle way boat REL 1PX.N-board-DIST 1PX
mu-luba *sango* *aga-aga.*
 ACT-collide one REDP-what

‘On the way, the boat we had boarded collided with something.’ (Croc-020)

Aga *yo* *mu-punnai* *matabba* *bokka?* – *Iyya* *saiya-iya.*
 QUEST 2.IND 2.N-possess many dog yes REDP-how.many
 ‘Do you have many dogs?’ – ‘Yes, some.’ (Sent-Q01a & Q02b)

10 Negation

Wotu has three negators: the standard negator *edo* ‘no, not’ (cf. Indonesian *tidak*), the negator of identification *balia* ‘(is) not’ (Indonesian *bukan*), and a so-called prohibitive particle *bulli* ‘don’t’ (Indonesian *jangan*).

Yau edo u-puji cere.
 1S.IND NEG 1S.N-like run
 ‘I don’t like to run.’ (Sent-H14)

Isia edo la-awa ijiawi.
 3S.IND NEG 3.N-come yesterday
 ‘He didn’t come yesterday.’ (MSBW-56)

The Dutch linguist N. Adriani (1898:147) recorded that the Wotu negator is *laedo*, with variants *aedo* and *ado*. The first two must be regarded as the standard negator *edo* indexed with the third person subject prefix *la-*, *a-* (§ 4). When the subject is indexed on *edo*, as in the following example, versus when it is indexed on the element following *edo*, as seen in the above examples, requires further investigation.

Pua la-edo mu-ali sapeda.
 grandparent 3.N-NEG ACT-buy bicycle
 ‘Grandmother didn’t buy a bicycle.’ (MSBW-134)

The form of the negator *ado* is also included in the Wotu glossary found in Salombe et al. (1987:88), but whether *ado* is a further shortening of *aedo* is unknown. Only one example is known from context, *ado la magaga*,²³ glossed in Indonesian ‘tidak akan apa-apa, tidak mengapa’ (Salombe et al. 1987:40), a polite way of saying ‘Don’t worry about it.’

In addition, *edo* occurs in certain collocations with other functor words. The following have been noted from the corpus.

<i>edo gaga</i>	‘not be’ (negation of location) ²⁴	‘tidak ada’
<i>edo dua</i>	‘not also, neither’	‘tidak juga’
<i>edomo</i>	‘no longer’	‘tidak lagi’
<i>edopo</i>	‘not yet’	‘belum’
<i>edo(po) daa</i>	‘never (yet)’	‘tidak pernah’
<i>edona dapo, edonapo</i>	‘before, until’	‘sebelum’

Here follow illustrations of the ones which I have from sentence context.

Ina-u edo gaga maenia.
 mother-1S NEG be here
 ‘My mother isn’t here.’ (MSBW-110)

²³ If I had to guess as to these forms: *ado* negator, possibly shortened from *a-edo* (?), *la* conjunction ‘and, or, than, until, with the result that,’ and *magaga* a reduplicated interrogative pronoun, from *ma + aga + aga* (?) (cf. *maga* ‘why’).

²⁴ It is unclear whether *edo gaga* is also used to negate existence.

Yau edo-mo uw-ita isia.
 1S.IND NEG-COMP 1S.N-see 3.IND
 ‘I don’t see him any more.’ (Sent-M07b)

Isia edo-po a-lattu.
 3S.IND NEG-INCOMP 3.N-arrive
 ‘He hasn’t arrived yet.’ (Sent-M08b)

Isia edo la-daa awa maini.
 3S.IND NEG 3.N-be come here
 ‘He has never come here.’ (Sent-I11b)

Yau edo-po la-daa u-ensua i-banuwa-e jia.
 1S.IND NEG-INCOMP 3.N-be 1S.N-enter at-house-DIST DIST
 ‘I have never (yet) entered that house.’ (Sent-I12)²⁵

Iyo timongko kabongo maini edo-na da-po amma awa.
 2.IND sit only here NEG-3.G be-INCOMP father come
 ‘You just sit here until father comes.’ (MSBW-123)

Balia, which has the variant forms/spellings *balaiya* and *alia*, is used to negate identification and classification.

Yau balia ito Amërika.
 1S.IND NEG person America
 ‘I am not an American.’ (Sent-J08)

Kaka alia pakaja.
 older.sibling NEG sailor
 ‘Older brother is not a sailor.’ (MSBW-134)

The negator *balia* is also used to restrict the scope of negation to a single argument, provided that argument is clefted. The following examples actually have the form of equative clauses, in which the complement is a headless relative clause. Compare the fourth example below, in which the relative clause structure is made explicit by the use of *iyya* (§ 6.1).

Alia *ua mu-buau lemba eni.*
 NEG uncle ACT-make boat this
 ‘Uncle wasn’t the one who made this boat.’ (MSBW-134)

Balia *yau mu-anre punti-mmu.*
 NEG 1S.IND ACT-eat banana-2.G
 ‘I wasn’t the one who ate your bananas.’ (Sent-B02b)

²⁵ Literally, ‘Me, it has not yet been (that) I entered that house’ (?).

Balia-ga *kaka-mu* *muw-anre* *punti-u?*
 NEG-QUEST older.sibling-2.G ACT-eat banana-1S.G
 ‘Your older sibling wasn’t the one who ate my bananas?’ (Sent-B03a)

Balia *tampia-mu* (*iyya*) *u-wanre*, *punti-mmu* (*iyya*) *u-wanre*.
 NEG durian-2.G REL 1S.N-eat banana-2.G REL 1S.N-eat
 ‘Your durian wasn’t what I ate, your bananas are what I ate.’ (Sent-B07b)

The negator used in prohibitions is *bulli*.

Bulli *mensua!*
 don’t enter
 ‘Don’t come in!’ (SBW-81)

Bulli *mu-tongkoi* *kadera-e* *jia!*
 don’t 2.N-sit.in chair-DIST DIST
 ‘Don’t sit in that chair!’ (SBW-81)

Yo **bulli-mo** *mu-cere*.
 2.IND don’t-COMP 2.N-run
 ‘You don’t have to run.’ (Sent-H11a)

Both *bulli* and *edo* can be used in combination with the conjunction *la* ‘and, or, than, until, with the result that’ to introduce a subordinate clause that expresses a future state which is to be avoided (in the linguistic literature termed ‘negative purpose’).

Yau *harusu* *cere-u* *la* **bulli** *u-těla*.
 1S.IND must run-1S.A so don’t 1S.N-late
 ‘I must run so I won’t be late.’ (Sent-H10b)

Yau *mu-doi-yyo* *pobalukku-eni* *dia* *yo*,
 1S.IND ACT-give-2.A blanket-PROX to 2.IND

la *yo* **edo** *mu-madingngi-mo*.
 so 2.IND NEG 2.N-cold-COMP

‘I’ll give you this blanket so that you will not be cold any more.’ (Sent-P17)

11 Imperatives

In this section I discuss imperatives, prohibitives, adhortatives and optatives. Imperatives and prohibitives have already been mentioned above (respectively § 0 and § 10), so here I recapitulate what has already been said with some further examples and details.

11.1 Basic imperatives

The following are examples of imperative clauses. Imperatives usually omit indexing of an understood ‘you.’

Timongko!

sit

‘Sit!’ (MSBW-57)

Mipa!

go

‘Go!’ (MSBW-57)

The object is expressed following the verb, unless it too is omitted (third example below).

Bungkalli silla-e!

open door-DIST

‘Open that door!’ (SBW-81)

Pasipullu ngana-ngana-e jia!

gather REDP-child-DIST DIST

‘Gather those children together!’ (SBW-81)

Tunru!

hit

‘Hit!’ (MSBW-57)

Some imperatives in the corpus are marked by the suffix *-moo*. It is unclear whether this imperative suffix is (in origin) *-mo*, an older form of the completive marker, pronounced with ‘imperative intonation,’ or the completive marker *-mo* combined with absolutive second person enclitic *-o* (§ 4). Perhaps it is not crucial to distinguish between these possibilities.

Timongko-moo!

sit-IMP

‘Sit!’ (SBW-80)

Makko-moo!

quiet-IMP

‘Be quiet!’ (SBW-80)

M-anre-moo!

INTR-eat-IMP

‘Eat!’ (SBW-80)

Ipa-moo i-banuwa-na anri-u.

go-IMP at-house-3.G younger.sibling-1s.G

‘Go to my younger sibling’s house!’ (Sent-K04)

Tongko-moo, eyyoe menawa-me!

sit-IMP day bright-COMP

‘Get up, it’s already light!’ (L07a)

In some cases this suffix is written *-mo*. It is unclear whether this is merely an orthographic variant of *-moo*, or whether it also reflects an underlying difference in articulation.

M-anre-mo.
INTR-eat-IMP
'Eat!' (SBW-40)

Maturu-mo.
sleep-IMP
'Go to sleep!' (SBW-40)

An imperative may be marked instead with *-me*, the present-day form of the completive marker.

Yamenie piso-u. Doi-me dia anri-u.
here.it.is knife-1S.G give-COMP to younger.sibling-1S.G
'Here is my knife. Give it to my younger sibling.' (Sent-K06)

11.2 Adhortatives

There is no particular marking for the adhortative, other than that the verb is marked with the first person plural inclusive pronoun *ta-*. In context, a verb used adhortatively is often preceded by a form of the verb *mai* 'come hither' (always directed to a second person) or *tulu* 'help.'

Mai ta si pelo utu.
hither 1PN.N RECIP hunt louse
'Come, let's pick lice off each other.' (Sent-N09)

Mai-yo ta m-anre!
hither-2.A 1PN.N INTR-eat
'Come, let's eat!' (Sent-K14)

Iyamenie beppa. Mai-moo ta-anre-ya!
here.it.is cookie come-IMP 1PN.N-eat-3.A
'Here are some cookies. Come, let's eat them!' (Sent-K16a)

Mai-mo ita palawi-ya maini.
hither-IMP 1PN.IND await-3.A here
'Come, let's await him here.' (MSBW-133)

Tulu ta-soro-a lemba-eni.
 help 1PN.N-push-3.A(?)²⁶ boat-PROX
 ‘Help us push this boat.’ (MSBW-113)

However, neither *mai* nor *tulu* are to be regarded as markers of the adhortative per se. Compare:

Mai-yo tumongko dinnini, sile.
 hither-2.A sit here pity
 ‘Come sit down here, you poor thing.’ (Sent-K20)

Tulu-mo yau mu-bawa bo-bo eni.
 help-IMP 1S.IND 2.N-bring REDP-book PROX
 ‘Please carry these books for me.’ (Sent-G16)

When the verb *moipa*, *mipa* ‘go’ is used adhortatively, not only it is inflected with *ta-* but the intransitive prefix is omitted. Or said another way, all the corpus examples of *taipa* occur only in adhortatives.

Mai ta-ipa i bibi tasi
 hither 1PN.N-go at edge sea
 ‘Come, let’s go to the seashore.’ (MSBW-55)

Mai-yo ta-ipa i banua-na anri-u!
 hither-2.A 1PN.N-go at house-3.G younger.sibling-1S.G
 ‘Come, let’s go to my younger sibling’s house!’ (Sent-K13)

11.3 Prohibitives

Prohibitives in Wotu are expressed using the particle *bulli* ‘don’t.’

Bulli-mo mu-maeka.
 don’t-IMP 2.N-afraid
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’ (Sent-K03)

Bulli mu-si-wada-wada isia!
 don’t 2S-RECIP-REDP-associate 3S.IND
 ‘Don’t consort with him!’ (SBW-81)

The prohibitive particle *bulli* can also be used with a first person plural inclusive subject. It is probably coincidence that both corpus examples also contain *dulu* ‘first (before doing something else).’²⁷

²⁶ Or is this an instance of the applicative suffix *-a*?

²⁷ Borrowed from Indonesian *dulu*. In fact the native Wotu term appears to be *bubuo*, e.g. *tumongko bubuo* ‘sit first, sit for now’ (Sande et al. 1991:92).

Bulli dulu ta m-anre. Ta-pelawi ranga-ta dulu.
 don't first 1PN.N INTR-eat 1PN.N-await friend-1PN.G first
 'Let's not eat right now. Let's wait for our friend.' (Sent-K15b)

Bulli dulu ta-anre beppa-e jia.
 don't first 1PN.N-eat cookie-DIST DIST
 'Let's not eat the cookies.' (Sent-K17b)

11.4 Optatives

Optative constructions, which express a speaker's wish or desire, are introduced by *mamuare* 'may it be, may it happen' and *lapodo* (*lapoda*, *lapedo*) 'hopefully, may it be.' These words are of uncertain etymology.

Mamuare Puang-alla-tala la-paballoi jama-ta.
 'may.it.be Lord-God-Almighty 3.N-make.good work-1PN.G
 'May God bless our efforts.' (MSBW-41)

Lapodo iyo-mo tarru-tarru masagga.
 may.it.be 2.IND-COMP always healthy
 'May you always be healthy.' (MSBW-134)

The form *elona* 'allow, let it be' has a similar use.

Elona paja ditti-nna.
 let calm anger-3s
 'Let his anger cool.' (Lexicon)

Ya, elona-mo mensua i-gareja-e-yyu eyyo-eni.
 yes allow-COMP enter at-church-DIST-1S.A day-PROX
 'Yes, let it be that (despite misgivings) I enter a church today.' (Tst-037)

12 Prepositions

In this section I exemplify the following forms: *i*, *awa*, *ujia*, *dia*, *sitonra* and *suranga*, which are prepositions or preposition-like elements.

12.1 Preposition *i*

In Wotu, the general locative preposition is *i*. It is sometimes written attached to the following word, and sometimes as an independent word. I gloss *i* consistently as 'at,' but it must be variously translated into English depending on context.

banua i kampo
 house at village
 'a house in the village' (MSBW-51)

la-ali i paasara
 3.N-buy at market
 ‘it was bought at the market’ (MSBW-63)

Buaja-e tomai mene i-lemba mami.
 crocodile-DIST hither ascend at-boat 1PX.G
 ‘That crocodile climbed into our boat.’ (Croc-22)

Yau lattu i Palu minggu tolliu-wwe, pangngalle
 1S.IND arrive at Palu week passed-REL then

mipa i Poso.
 go at Poso

‘I arrived in Palu last week and then went to Poso.’ (Sent-C02)

The preposition *i* frequently combines with a following word to indicate greater specificity of location. From the corpus:

<i>i lara</i>	‘inside’	‘di dalam’
<i>i saliwa</i>	‘outside’	‘di luar’
<i>i tamene</i>	‘on top of’	‘di atas’
<i>i tambe</i>	‘under’	‘di bawah’
<i>i tingao (tangayo)</i>	‘in front of’	‘di depan’
<i>i taliu</i>	‘behind’	‘di belakang’
<i>i tanga</i>	‘in the middle of’	‘di tengah’
<i>i sampi</i>	‘beside’	‘di samping’
<i>i sese</i>	‘near’	‘di dekat’
<i>i tambulilli</i>	‘around’	‘di keliling’

For example:

i lara-na bai-e
 at inside-3.G basket-DIST
 ‘inside the basket’ (SBW-77)

i-saliwwa masigi
 at-outside mosque
 ‘outside of the mosque’ (Tst-028)

i tamene-na meja
 at above-3.G table
 ‘on top of the table’ (SBW-77)

i-tamene-u
 at-above-1S.G
 ‘above me’ (Tst-019)

i-tingao-na puwa-u
 at-front-3.G grandparent-1S.G
 ‘in front of my grandfather’ (Croc-025)

i-tanga bongi-e
 at-middle night-DIST
 ‘in the middle of the night’ (Tst-047)

12.2 Prepositional verbs *awa* and *mipa*

As a verb, *awa* means ‘come, arrive.’

Ito awa-etue ama-u.
 person come-DIST father-1S.G
 ‘That person who arrived is my father.’ (SBW-72)

However, the combination *awa i* (or sometimes even *awa* by itself) is idiomatically used with ablative meaning, ‘from.’

Sisia awa i Palopo
 3P.IND come at Palopo
 ‘They are from Palopo.’ (SBW-74)

Anrale-ni awa i Australia.
 corn-PROX come at Australia
 ‘This corn is from Australia.’ (Sent-C11)

Awa umbe-o ijiawi?
 come where-2.A yesterday
 ‘Where did you come from yesterday?’ (SBW-79)

A related function of *awa* is to introduce the complement of a comparative degree construction (corresponding to English *than*).

Banua Mahadi labi oge awa banua Laya
 house Mahadi more big than house Laya
 ‘Mahadi’s house is bigger than Laya’s house.’ (MSBW-73)

Sapeda-u labi ballo awa sapeda-na.
 bicycle-1S.G more good than bicycle-3.G
 ‘My bicycle is nicer than his bicycle.’ (MSBW-73)

The complementary verb of *awa* ‘come’ is *mipa* ‘go.’

Ama awa la ina mipa.
 father come and mother go
 ‘Father came and mother left.’ (MSBW-97)

Ama edo la-ipa i passara lakia mipa i tasi.
 father NEG 3.N-go at market but go at sea
 ‘Father didn’t go to the market but to the ocean.’ (MSBW-115)

Only when the preposition *i* is omitted after *mipa* does *mipa* begin to take on the trappings of a preposition. In fact Sande et al. (1991:51) use the following example to illustrate a noun followed by a prepositional phrase, thus these authors regard *mipa* as a preposition.

Inna mipa Ujung Pandang.
 mother go Ujung Pandang
 ‘Mother went to Ujung Pandang’ (Indonesian: Ibu ke Ujung Pandang)
 (MSBW-51)

Similar examples are found elsewhere in the corpus.

Ala surra eni, bawa ya mipa ito iyya
 take letter PROX bring 3.A go person REL
mu-patei-yye sapi-u.
 ACT-kill-DIST cow-1S.G

‘Take this letter and carry it to the person who killed my cow.’ (Sent-E03)

12.3 Preposition *ujia*

The preposition *ujia* apparently has strictly a locative use, without any extended uses. Curiously, *ujia* is sometimes shortened to *jia*, making it homophonous with one of the usual forms of the distal demonstrative (§ 3).

manga-baca ujia kadera-e
 ACT-read at chair-DIST
 ‘read in the chair’ (MSBW-63)

mu-pelo ujia labbune
 ACT-look at harbor
 ‘look for at the harbor’ (MSBW-63)

manriu jia bubu-e
 bathe at well-DIST
 ‘bathe at the well’ (MSBW-63)

Anri metawa sarro ujia bili.
 younger.sibling laugh very at room
 ‘Younger sibling laughed heartily in the room.’ (MSBW-56)

Isia mipa jia bilassa mutosia manruwa-ya.
 3S.IND go at garden although sick-3.A
 ‘He went to the garden even though he was sick.’ (MSBW-88)

12.4 Preposition *dia*

Similarly to *ujia*, the preposition *dia* is sometimes used with locations. (Note also from the first example that when *awa* is followed by *dia*, *awa* does *not* have an ablative meaning; see § 12.2)

Anu waddi-ya yammi awa dia banua-mu laile.
 if able-3.A 1PX.IND come to house-2.G tomorrow
 ‘If it’s okay, we will come to your house tomorrow.’ (MSBW-98)

Waddi-ya yammi mipa dia banua?
 able-3.A 1PX.IND go to house
 ‘Can we go to the house?’ (MSBW-132)

In two nearly identical examples, *dia* encodes the stimulus of a psychological state verb.

Yo maeka dia aga-e?
 2.IND afraid to what-DIST
 ‘What are you afraid of?’ (Sent-N20b)

Yau maeka dia ulo-e.
 1 afraid to snake-DIST
 ‘I am afraid of snakes.’ (Sent-N21a)

In all other examples, *dia* introduces a human recipient, whether they actually receive a physical actual object or figuratively receive the content of a communication.

Yamenie piso-u. Doi-me dia anriu.
 here.it.is knife-1S.G give-COMP to younger.sibling-1S.G
 ‘Here is my knife. Give it to my younger sibling.’ (Sent-K06)

Isia mu-balu-wa kopi dia yau.
 3.IND ACT-sell-APPL coffee to 1S.IND
 ‘He sold some coffee to me.’ (Sent-G13)

Isia mu-paitai bo-na iyya kuba-e dia yau.
 3.IND ACT-show book-3.G REL new-DIST to 1S.IND
 ‘He showed his new book to me.’ (Sent-G11)

Aga iyya a-pau-wwa dia yo?
 what REL 3.N-say-APPL to 2.IND
 ‘What did he say to you?’ (Sent-F01a)

Yau awa mo-mani tulu dia yo.
 1S.IND come INTR-ask help to 2.IND
 ‘I have come to request help of you.’ (Sent-N13)

In at least two cases, the preposition *dia* has merged with a following independent pronoun, as one finds in the corpus *diyau* ‘to me’ (for *dia yau*) and *diisia, idia* ‘to him, her’ (for expected *dia isia*). Whether other pronouns have merged forms is a matter for further investigation.

Isia mu-pau-wwa-u (diyau) motae sapi-u manrua.
 3S.IND ACT-say-APPL-1S.A to-1S.IND that cow-1S.G sick
 ‘He said (to me) that my cow is sick.’ (Sent-F02b)

Yau motae di-isia motae sapi-e jia harusu me
 1S.IND say to-3s.ind that cow-DIST DIST must COMP
i-sumbele.
 PASS-slaughter

‘I said to him that that cow must be slaughtered.’ (Sent-F05b)

Ipa-moo doi-yya idia.
 go-IMP give-3.A to.3.IND
 ‘Go give it to him.’ (Sent-K07)

Yau motae idia bulli muipa, iyakiya isia
 1S.IND say to.3S.IND don’t go but 3S.IND
tatta mipa.
 unchanged go

‘I told him not to go, but he went anyway.’ (Sent-P12)

12.5 Prepositional verb *sitonra*

The preposition *sitonra* probably originates from a stem *tonra* with the original meaning of ‘follow, go behind, follow after,’ with reciprocal prefix *si-*. In the present-day language *sitonra* as a verb means ‘accompany’:

mojama sitonra
 work accompany
 ‘work together, cooperate’ (MSBW-36)

Pung-ala Tala sitonra ita
 Lord-God Almighty accompany 1PN.IND
 ‘The Lord God Almighty goes with us.’ (MSBW-134)

In the few examples of *sitonra* as prepositional verb, it encodes both instrument and manner.

Iyau makasa anri sitonra pappua.
 1S.IND hit younger.sibling with wood
 ‘I hit younger brother with wood.’ (MSBW-40)

Ito maoge jia i-pintomu sitonra pappakaraja.
 person big DIST PASS-welcome with respect
 ‘The VIP was received with all respect.’ (MSBW-40)

One might also expect *sitonra* to encode accompaniment, but the corpus provides no clear examples. The following examples were translated with ‘and’ (Indonesian *dan*), suggesting instead a coordinating conjunction.

maoge sitonra malangnga
 big accompany tall
 ‘big and tall’ (MSBW-91)

m-inu sitonra mo-tole
 INTR-drink accompany INTR-smoke
 ‘drinking and smoking’ (MSBW-106)

12.6 Preposition *suranga*

The preposition *suranga*, also spelled *soranga*, is nearly identical with *sitonra* in function. In the following examples one finds *suranga* encoding instrument, accompaniment and manner.

mo-lua suranga uwase
 INTR-fell with axe
 ‘fell with an axe’ (SBW-64)

manga-ossei suranga bokka
 ACT-hunt with dog
 ‘hunt with dogs’ (Sent-N04)

...anu monsou puwa-u i-tasi suranga ito wina-e, ...
 if seaward grandparent-1S to-sea with person different-DIST
 ‘...if my grandfather went down to the sea with other people, ...’ (Croc-018)

Sisia mu-paro banua suranga magatti.
 3P.IND ACT-erect house with fast
 ‘They built the house with speed.’ (MSBW-74)

Yameni bilassa u-pembulai-yye suranga anrale.
 here.it.is field 1S.N-plant-REL with corn
 ‘This is the field I planted with corn.’ (Sent-E11)

Suranga is also used to introduce the complement in an equative degree construction.

Banua Ali sumbau oge suranga banua uwwa.
 house Ali same big with house uncle
 ‘Ali’s house is the same size as uncle’s house.’ (MSBW-72)

As with the preposition *sitonra* discussed above, *suranga* also takes on the trappings of a coordinating conjunction.

bangko seranga bete
 shrimp with fish
 ‘shrimp and fish’ (MSBW-106)

macca soranga mapato
 clever with industrious
 ‘clever and industrious’ (MSBW-96)

Umbe umbera-u suranga alara-u?
 where machete-1S.G with rope-1S.G
 ‘Where are my machete and my rope?’ (Sent-G01a)

Bawa ya surra-eni suranga doi-me dia guru.
 bring 3.A letter-PROX with give-COMP to teacher
 ‘Take this letter and give it to the teacher.’ (Sent-K11)

12.7 Other prepositions

Sande et al. (1991:75) list the preposition *moo* ‘from,’ but no further examples are encountered in the corpus.

The form *upatui* is encountered in one example. Its precise meaning, and whether it is a preposition or a verb, requires further investigation.

Pua mu-uki surra upatui ranga-u.
 grandparent ACT-write letter to friend-1S.G
 ‘Grandmother wrote a letter to my friend.’ (MSBW-114)

The preposition *untu*, clearly borrowed from Indonesian *untuk* ‘for,’ occurs in several examples in the Wotu sentence list (Laidig and Maingak 1996).

Badu iyya yo mu-posu-e untu yau bengka-me.
 shirt REL 2.IND 2.N-sew-DIST for 1S.IND torn-COMP
 ‘The shirt that you sewed for me is torn.’ (Sent-E08)

Ana-u iyya mu-baca surra-e jia untu yau.
 child-1S.G REL ACT-read letter-DIST DIST for 1S.IND
 ‘My child read the letter for me.’ (Sent-G18)

It is possible that *sumbau* ‘same, like,’ *sumambau* (*sumbambau*) ‘like’ and *sumanna* ‘like’ distribute as prepositions, but this analysis has not been confirmed.

sumambau *muwane*
like male
‘like a man’ (SBW-40)

sumambau *bawine*
like female
‘like a woman’ (SBW-40)

Ito *jia* *toita* *sumbau* *bupati.*
person DIST appear same regent
‘That person looks like a regent.’ (MSBW-114)

Bawine *jia* *ka-gora-gora* *sumbambau* *ito* *ambe.*
female DIST CONT-REDP-yell like person crazy
‘The woman kept yelling like a crazy person.’ (MSBW-126)

buaja *bacici* *sumanna* *cicca-e*
crocodile small like house.gecko-DIST
‘a small crocodile like a house gecko’ (Croc-034)

...*tappa* *sumanna* *ito* *i-sembau,* *tappa* *u-salai*
suddenly like person PASS-kick suddenly 1S.N-leave

sura-nna *tumongko-u,* ...
place-3.G sit-1S.G

‘... suddenly, like a person being kicked, suddenly I left the place where I was sitting ...’ (Tst-028)

13 Conjunctions

13.1 Phrase-level conjunctions

The primary conjunctions used for conjoining at the phrase level are *la* ‘and’ (additive) and *iyarega* ‘or’ (alternative). The latter also has the short forms *iyaga* and *aga*. Both *la* and *iyarega* are also used to combine clauses at the sentence level (see below).

manu *la* *otti*
chicken and duck
‘chickens and ducks’ (SBW-68)

pabilasa *la* *pakaja*
farmer and fisher
‘farmers and fishers’ (SBW-91)

tanga eyyo la tanga bongi
 middle day and middle night
 ‘middle of the day and middle of the night’ (SBW-69)

maoge la malamo
 big and fat
 ‘big and fat’ (MSBW-91)

tumongko iyarega maeo
 sit or stand
 ‘sit or stand’ (MSBW-91)

mipa Wotu iyarega awa Wotu
 go Wotu or come Wotu
 ‘to Wotu or from Wotu’ (MSBW-92)

Lagia iyaga Laiya
 Lagia or Laiya
 ‘Lagia or Laiya’ (MSBW-91)

macinno aga marekko
 clear or turbid
 ‘clear or turbid’ (MSBW-96)

Somewhat surprisingly, Salombe et al. (1987:40) indicate that *la* can also conjoin phrases alternatively.

maoge la bacici
 big or small
 ‘big or small’ (SBW-40)

maeja la maeta
 red or black
 ‘red or black’ (SBW-40)

In addition, Sande et al. (1991:91–92) also give *sitonra* and *soranga* as conjoining conjunctions. However, since these appear to operate only at the phrase level, and since *sitonra* and *soranga* are also used as prepositions with the general meaning ‘with’ (§§ 12.5 and 12.6), it is less than clear that examples such as the following are bona fide conjoined phrases. Perhaps they could be regarded as a special category of ‘associatively conjoined’ phrases.

Esabba soranga Epati
 Esabba with Epati
 ‘Esabba and Epati’ (MSBW-91)

maballo soranga tongnga
 nice with correct
 ‘nice and correct’ (MSBW-91)

maoge sitonra malangnga
 big accompany tall
 ‘big and tall’ (MSBW-91)

m-inu sitonra motole
 INTR-drink accompany INTR-smoke
 ‘drinking and smoking’ (MSBW-106)

13.2 Clause-level conjunctions

The following is a compiled, provisional list of conjunctions in Wotu. It is included here primarily for text-glossing purposes. In fact because some of these forms come solely from the lexicon prepared by Laidig and Syaib (1997), I don’t have examples of their use in context.

<i>la</i>	‘and, while, whereas, but, or, until, with the result that, so that, than’	‘dan, sambil, sedangkan, tapi, atau, sampai, sehingga, supaya, daripada’
<i>la ... la ...</i>	‘either ... or ...’	‘atau ... atau ...’
<i>malle</i>	‘then’	‘kemudian’
<i>palle</i>	‘then’	‘kemudian’
<i>pangalle</i>	‘then, at that point’	‘kemudian, baru’
<i>agai dipia</i>	‘whenever’	‘apabila’
<i>wattu(nna)</i>	‘when, at the moment that’	‘waktu, ketika’
<i>sambira</i>	‘while’	‘sambil’
<i>matanga</i>	‘while’	‘sedang, sambil’
<i>masae</i>	‘during’	‘selama’
<i>pura</i>	‘after’	‘sesudah’
<i>pura(na)mo</i>	‘after’	‘sesudah’
<i>edonapo</i>	‘before’	‘sebelum’
<i>edona dapo</i>	‘before’	‘sebelum’
<i>mapamula</i>	‘since, first’	‘sejak, pertama’
<i>pamula(na)</i>	‘in the beginning, at first’	‘pada permulaan, mula-mula’
<i>saba</i>	‘because’	‘sebab, karena’
<i>asaba, assaba</i>	‘because’	‘sebab’
<i>passabara, pasabarra</i>	‘because’	‘sebab’
<i>lasabara</i>	‘because’	‘karena’
<i>lasabai</i>	‘because’	‘karena’
<i>lasabarri</i>	‘because’	‘karena’
<i>lapajia</i>	‘because’	‘karena’

<i>jaji, janji</i>	‘therefore’	‘jadi’
<i>aga</i>	‘then, so then, so that’	‘lalu, maka, agar, supaya’
<i>aga la</i>	‘then, therefore’	‘maka’
<i>la bulli</i>	‘so that ... not’	‘supaya jangan’
<i>la edo</i>	‘so that ... not’	‘supaya tidak’
<i>lattu</i>	‘until, with the result that’	‘hingga, sampai’
<i>latuli</i>	‘until’	‘sehingga’
<i>gangkana</i>	‘until’	‘sampai’
<i>iyarega</i>	‘or’	‘atau’
<i>arega, areka</i>	‘or’	‘atau’
<i>iyaga</i>	‘or’	‘atau’
<i>aga</i>	‘or’	‘atau’
<i>iyakenne</i>	‘or’	‘atau’
<i>iyakonne</i>	‘whereas’	‘sedangkan’
<i>alaiyya</i>	‘than’	‘daripada’
<i>laiya</i>	‘than’	‘daripada’
<i>latabiara ... laiya ...</i>	‘better ... than ...’	‘lebih baik ... daripada ...’
<i>maga</i>	‘but’	‘tetapi’
<i>ijakia</i>	‘but’	‘tetapi’
<i>iyakia, yakia</i>	‘but’	‘tetapi’
<i>lakia</i>	‘but’	‘tetapi’
<i>tapi</i>	‘but’	‘tetapi’
<i>mutosia</i>	‘although, even though’	‘walaupun’
<i>mai</i>	‘although, even though’	‘walaupun, meskipun’
<i>mauni</i>	‘although, even though’	‘walaupun’
<i>mauni ... mauni ...</i>	‘both ... and ... , even ... as well as ...’	‘baik ... maupun ...’
<i>anu</i>	‘if, when’	‘kalau, jika, bila’
<i>begenna</i>	‘if, supposing that’	‘seandainya’
<i>ebarrana</i>	‘if, supposing that’	‘seandainya’
<i>inana pau</i>	‘if, supposing that’	‘andaikata’
<i>ipana pau</i>	‘if, supposing that’	‘andaikan, andai kata’
<i>asala</i>	‘as long as, provided that’	‘asal, asalkan’
<i>yamotomai</i>	‘that is, i.e.’ (paraphrase) ‘because of that, therefore’ (also copula in equative clauses, see § 8.1)	‘yaitu’ ‘karena itu’
<i>motae</i>	‘saying, that’ (introducing direct or indirect speech)	‘berkata, katanya, bahwa’

Even a brief inspection of forms in the above list suggests that not every form is a distinct conjunction in its own right, but that some are merely shortened or spelling variants of others. (Indeed, a few of them may be typographical errors that need to be discarded!) Conversely, because of homophony at least one connector, *aga*, can have different interpretations depending on context. It can mean (a) ‘then, so then, so that’ (borrowed from Indonesian *agar?*); but (b) as a shortening of *iyarega*, *iyaga*, it can also mean ‘or,’ not to mention that *aga* also functions as (c) a marker of yes-no questions (§ 9.1) and (d) the interrogative pronoun meaning ‘what’ (§ 9.2), which for that matter can also (e) introduce indirect questions (§ 9.4).

I will comment here on only one other conjunction, *la*, which appears to be highly polysemous, based on the translations given to it. The basic meaning of this conjunction is conjoining: ‘and.’ Whether the conjunction itself should be ascribed other meanings beyond this, or whether these other meanings are simply derived from context (what in linguistics has sometimes been called ‘conversational implicature’), requires further investigation. To take a simple example:

Kaka-na *sugi* **la** *anri-na* *kasiasi*.
 older.sibling-3.G rich and younger.sibling-3.G poor
 ‘His older sibling is rich, and/while/whereas/but his younger sibling is poor.’
 (MSBW-92)

The two propositions, ‘his older sibling is rich’ / ‘his younger sibling is poor’ clearly involve contrast—between subjects, as well as between their relative position on a rich-poor scale, and it is these contrasts which allow the ‘while/whereas/but’ readings. Furthermore let us assume (for sake of argument) there is an expectation that siblings should be of relatively equal economic standing. In that case even a concessive reading would be possible: ‘his older sibling is rich, *even though* his younger sibling is poor.’ But this merely demonstrates that a concessive reading would be a matter of implicature, not necessarily part of the meaning of the conjunction *la* per se. In the following example, a contrastive reading is not possible, only one of temporal simultaneity, wherefore the authors translated *la* in this example as Indonesian *sambil* ‘while.’

Ngana-e *jia* *manriu* *la* *mopacodi-codi*.
 child-DIST DIST bathe and whistle
 ‘That child bathed and whistled.’ (MSBW-126)

The meaning ‘so that’ is primarily observed (implied) when *la* occurs with a negator to encode negative purpose (§ 10). In the corpus, the meaning ‘or’ is found only in certain examples of conjoined phrases provided by Salombe et al. (1987:40) (§ 13.1), but the disjunctive meaning is also confirmed in the Wotu lexicon (Laidig and Syuaib 1997). The meaning ‘than’ occurs when *la* introduces the complement of a comparative degree construction (§ 14.1).

14 Comparative, superlative and other degrees

14.1 Comparative degree

The comparative degree in Wotu is expressed by placing *labbi* (< Indonesian *lebih*) before the stative verb (Sande et al. 1991:69). Complements in a comparative degree construction are introduced by the prepositional verb *awa* ‘from.’

labbi batta
more naughty
‘naughtier’ (MSBW-70)

labbi macca
more clever
‘cleverer, more clever’ (MSBW-70)

Isia melo mu-jama labbi magatti seiyo.
3S.IND will INTR-work more fast later
‘He will work faster in the future’ (MSBW-90)

A prefix *ma-* which is present on the stative verb in the unmarked case (the so-called positive degree)—e.g. *macca* ‘smart, clever,’ *maballo* ‘good, pretty, nice’—is sometimes omitted in the comparative degree. Compare the following two examples. When the prefix is dropped following *labbi* (as below), and when it is retained (as in the immediately previous examples), requires further investigation.

Amir labi acca awa Ali.
Amir more clever from Ali
‘Amir is more clever than Ali.’ (MSBW-73)

Sapeda-u labi ballo awa sapeda-na
bicycle-1S.G more nice from bicycle-3.G
‘My bicycle is nicer than his bicycle.’ (MSBW-73)

Besides *awa*, *la* can also introduce the complement of a comparative degree construction.

Banuwa-u labi maoge la banua-mu.
house-1S.G more big than house-2.G
‘My house is bigger than your house.’ (Sent-O01)

Yau labi u-puji kopi-e la tee.
1S.IND more 1S.N-like coffee-DIST than tea
‘I like coffee more than tea.’ (Sent-O02)

14.2 Superlative degree

The superlative degree is expressed by placing *kumina* (*kaminna*) before the stative stem (Sande et al. 1991:70). This marker of the superlative appears to be bimorphemic, composed of *kumi* or *kami* with third person possessive pronoun *-na*, but the meaning of the stem is unknown to me.

kaminna *batta*
most naughty
'the naughtiest' (MSBW-70)

kaminna *macca*
most clever
'the cleverest, the most clever' (MSBW-70)

Muna *kamenna-ballo* *i-desa-e* *jia.*
Muna most-nice at-village-DIST DIST
'Muna is the prettiest in that village.' (MSBW-73)

Puang-alla-ta'aala *iyya* *kumina* *makkamase* *la-masempo.*
Lord-God-Almighty REL most gracious and-merciful
'Lord God Almighty, the Most Gracious and Merciful' (Tst-009)

14.3 Equative degree

Equative degree is expressed by placing *sumbau* before the verb. The complement of an equative degree construction is introduced by the preposition *suranga* 'with.'

Banua *Ali* *sumbau* *oge* *suranga* *banua* *uwwa.*
house Ali same big with house uncle
'Ali's house is the same size as uncle's house.' (MSBW-72)

Muna *sumbau* *acca* *suranga* *Amir.*
Muna same clever with Amir
'Muna is as clever as Amir.' (MSBW-72)

With reduplication, *sumbambau* expresses similarity, as in this simile:

Bawine *jia* *kagora-gora* *sumbambau* *ito* *ambe.*
female DIST yell like person crazy
'That woman yelled like a crazy person.' (MSBW-126)

14.4 Intensive degree

Intensive degree is expressed by placing *sarro* 'very' after the verb. *Sarro* can also be used with verbs that express other than a stative concept.

Anri-u maleso sarro.
 younger.sibling-1S.G hungry very
 ‘My younger sibling is very hungry.’ (MSBW-72)

Banua maoge ijia marota sarro.
 house big DIST dirty very
 ‘That big house is very dirty.’ (MSBW-68)

Iyya anu a-lepati sarro-e buaja-e tomai ...
 REL REL 3.N-lick very-DIST crocodile-DIST hither
 ‘That which the crocodile licked a lot ...’ (Croc-027)

Another form, *maladde* ‘very,’ is also encountered in the corpus. Unlike *sarro*, which is placed after the verb, *maladde* is placed before the verb that it modifies. Apart from this, how *maladde* and *sarro* differ is unknown.

Mangguru jia maladde noguna.
 study DIST very useful
 ‘Studying is very useful.’ (MSBW-66)

Mo-jama sarro maladde parellu-a makokkoni.
 INTR-work very very need-APPL now
 ‘Hard work is very much needed now.’ (MSBW-66)

14.5 Excessive degree

Excessive degree is expressed by placing *lau* ‘very, exceedingly, too’ after the verb.

matamo lau
 heavy exceedingly
 ‘exceedingly heavy’ (SBW-37)

Epati maballo lau.
 Epati nice exceedingly
 ‘Epati is exceedingly pretty.’ (MSBW-72)

Padda-e edo la-maluwo lau.
 field-DIST NEG 3.N-wide exceedingly
 ‘The field is not very wide.’ (Sent-N24)

14.6 Attenuated degree

Attenuated degree is usually expressed through reduplication, for example: *mapuputi* ‘whitish’ next to *maputi* ‘white; *maeja-eja* ‘reddish’ next to *maeja* ‘red’; *mabussu-bussu* ‘somewhat wet’ next to *mabussu* ‘wet’; and *mapane-pane* ‘somewhat hot’ next to *mapane* ‘hot’ (Sande et al. 1991:31, 67, 73).

15 Numerals

The basic Wotu numerals one through nine are as follows. The numbers one through six and nine have distinct independent and bound forms.

independent	bound	
<i>sango</i>	<i>sa</i>	‘one’
<i>duango</i>	<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>talungo</i>	<i>talu</i>	‘three’
<i>patango</i>	<i>pata</i>	‘four’
<i>alima</i>	<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>ana</i>	<i>anama</i>	‘six’
<i>pitu</i>	<i>pitu</i>	‘seven’
<i>walu</i>	<i>walu</i>	‘eight’
<i>sassio</i>	<i>sia</i>	‘nine’

Bound forms are used preceding powers of ten, namely *pulu* ‘ten,’ *atu* ‘hundred’ and *sou* ‘thousand.’ Combinations which have been attested in the corpus are as follows (data mostly from Salombe et al. 1987:52–53).

<i>sapulu</i>	‘10’	<i>satu</i>	‘100’	<i>sansou</i>	‘1000’
<i>dua pulu</i>	‘20’	<i>duatu</i>	‘200’	<i>duansou</i>	‘2000’
<i>talulu pulu</i>	‘30’	<i>talulu atu</i>	‘300’	<i>talunsou</i>	‘3000’
<i>pata pulu</i>	‘40’	<i>patatu</i>	‘400’		
<i>lima pulu</i>	‘50’	<i>limatu</i>	‘500’		
<i>anama pulu</i>	‘60’	<i>anamatu</i>	‘600’		
<i>pitu pulu</i>	‘70’	<i>pitu atu</i>	‘700’		
<i>walu pulu</i>	‘80’	<i>walu atu</i>	‘800’		
<i>sia pulu</i>	‘90’	<i>sewatu</i>	‘900’		

Note the vowel coalescence which occurs when a bound numeral ending in *a* is followed by *atu* ‘hundred.’ The expression ‘nine hundred’ is irregular, where *sewatu* occurs (instead of expected *siatu*); but note also Syuaib (1994b) who consistently uses *sio atu* ‘nine hundred.’ Finally, note that Sande et al. (1991:78) give *alima pulu* ‘fifty,’ thus using the independent rather than the bound form of ‘five.’

Compare also for ten thousand and above:

<i>sapulusou</i>	‘10,000’	(SBW-53)
<i>alima pulu nsou</i>	‘50,000’	(MSBW-122)
<i>satunsou</i>	‘100,000’	(SBW-53)
<i>duatunsou</i>	‘200,000’	(MSBW-122)

Complex numeric expressions are formed by variously combining forms such as the above in order of decreasing value. The following are exemplary:

s-atu *sa-pulu* *duango*
 one-hundred one-ten two
 ‘one hundred twelve’ (MSBW-81)

s-atu *sa-pulu* *pitu*
 one-hundred one-ten seven
 ‘one hundred seventeen’ (MSBW-81)

lima *atu* *sa-pulu* *sango*
 five hundred one-ten one
 ‘five hundred eleven’ (MSBW-81)

sa-n-sou *sio* *atu* *walu* *pulu* *duango*
 one-LG-thousand nine hundred eight ten two
 ‘one thousand nine hundred eighty-three’ (Tst-047)

dua-n-sou *s-atu* *sango*
 two-LG-thousand one-hundred one
 ‘two thousand one hundred one’ (MSBW-81)

When quantity is indicated without the use of a classifier or measure word, an independent form of the numeral is used (Sande et al. 1991:80, 101).

sango burau ‘one egg’
duango burau ‘two eggs’
taluangō lem̄ba ‘three boats’
patango burau ‘four eggs’
lipa ana ‘six sarongs’
oalu anrimu ‘your eight younger siblings’
bete sassio ‘nine fish’

When a classifier or measure word is present, the numeral immediately precedes the classifier or measure word. *Both* independent *and* bound forms have been attested in this position for the numerals one through five, but for ‘six’ and ‘nine’ only *ana* and *sassio* have been attested.

sango *urra* *potolo*
 one root pencil
 ‘one pencil’ (SBW-63)

sa-m-baa *ana* *manu*
 one-LG-head child chicken
 ‘one chick’ (MSBW-79)

duango *bobba* *surra*
 two flat.object letter
 ‘two letters’ (MSBW-81)

dua *boba* *dopi*
 two flat.object board
 ‘two boards’ (SBW-63)

banua-na **talungo** *bobba*
 house-3.G three flat.object
 ‘his three houses’ (MSBW-82)

talu *m-baa* *manu*
 three LG-head chicken
 ‘three chickens’ (SBW-63)

patango *ganto* *juku*
 four cut meat
 ‘four chunks of meat’ (MSBW-79)

pata *m-baa* *bete*
 four LG-head fish
 ‘four fish’ (SBW-63)

alima *ito-na* *bawine*
 five person-3.G female
 ‘five women’ (SBW-63)

alima *bae* *punti*
 five fruit banana
 ‘five bananas’ (MSBW-81)

banua-na **lima** *bobba*²⁸
 house-3.G five flat.object
 ‘his five houses’ (MSBW-79)

ana *litere* *bae*
 six liter pestled.rice
 ‘six liters of pestled rice’ (SBW-63)

pitu *bobba* *lipa*
 seven flat.object sarong
 ‘seven sarongs’ (SBW-63)

walu *tingke* *bunga*
 eight stem flower
 ‘eight flowers’ (SBW-63)

²⁸ Perhaps with vowel coalescence, viz., underlying *-na alima* is realized as surface [nalima] (?)

sassio	<i>baa-na</i>	<i>manu</i>
nine	head-3.G	chicken
‘nine chickens’ (SBW-63)		

15.1 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing *pe(n)-* (Salombe et al. 1987:53–54).²⁹ Note the unique stem for ‘four,’ *appa*, which apparently occurs only in this paradigm.

<i>peduango</i>	‘second’
<i>pentalu</i>	‘third’
<i>peappa</i>	‘fourth’
<i>pealima</i>	‘fifth’

15.2 Frequentative numerals

Frequentative numeral expressions are formed by compounding a numeral with *pisa* ‘time.’ The following examples are provided by Salombe et al. (1987:37–38, 53).

<i>sapisa</i>	‘once, one time’
<i>dua pisa</i>	‘twice, two times’
<i>talū pisa</i>	‘thrice, three times’
<i>alima pisa</i>	‘five times’
<i>sassio pisa</i>	‘nine times’
<i>sapulu sango pisa</i>	‘eleven times’
<i>satū pisa</i>	‘one hundred times’
<i>sansou pisa</i>	‘one thousand times’

15.3 Distributive numerals

Distributive numeral expressions are formed by reduplication. The following members of the paradigm are reported by Sande et al. (1991:34).

²⁹ Contrary to this, Sande et al. (1991:28) cite confix *ma-* *-e*. Presumably, though, *-e* is a shortened form of the distal demonstrative *-e jia*, used here as a relative clause marker / nominalizer. These forms are hard to interpret without knowing the context in which such formations are used.

<i>ma + duango + e</i>	<i>maduangoe</i>	‘second’	
<i>ma + talluango + e</i>	<i>matalluangoe</i>	‘third’	
<i>ma + patango + e</i>	<i>mapatangoe</i>	‘fourth’	
<i>ma + lima + e</i>	<i>malimae</i>	‘fifth’	[sic → <i>ma + alima + e</i> (?)]
<i>ma + ana + e</i>	<i>maanae</i>	‘sixth’	

Further on, Sande et al. (1991:77, 80) cite instead formations with *maka*, again without context.

<i>maka sango</i>	‘first, the one which is first’
<i>maka duango</i>	‘second, the one which is second’
<i>maka taluango</i>	‘third, the one which is third’
<i>maka patango</i>	‘fourth, the one which is fourth’

<i>dua-duango</i>	‘by twos, two at a time’
<i>talū-taluango</i>	‘by threes, three at a time’
<i>molima-lima</i>	‘by fives, five at a time’
<i>moana-ana</i>	‘by sixes, six at a time’
<i>mojuta-juta</i>	‘a million at a time’

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