THE NOUN PHRASE IN PADOE

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The noun phrase in Padoe consists of a head and a number of modifiers. The head can be a noun (simple or derived), a pronoun, a relative clause or a demonstrative. Modifiers include the article *io*, another noun, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and relative clauses. Closed classes are discussed in detail, such as two sets of demonstratives, classifiers, measure nouns and the elusive article. Most modifiers follow the head noun, with the exception of the article, numerals and quantifiers. It is rare for more than three modifiers to co-occur.

1   GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Padoe, or South Mori, is spoken by approximately 8,000 people scattered in five subdistricts and two districts in the provinces of South and Central Sulawesi. It is classified as a member of the Central Sulawesi stock of the South-West Indonesian languages, and further belongs to the Bungku-Mori language family.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the noun phrase as it appears in the Padoe language. In other words, it is a descriptive sketch of a part of the grammar. In the first part noun morphology is expounded at considerable length, because of its importance to other parts of the noun phrase description.

The writer is aware of many shortcomings in the description and hopes that in the future these can be overcome by further research.

2   THE STRUCTURE OF PADOE NOUN PHRASE

Syntactically, a noun in Padoe can be defined by the following criteria:

1) it can be modified by the article *io* (Art), a possessive suffix (Po), an attribute (Attr), a demonstrative (Dem), a quantifying word (Quan), or a numeral (Num).
2) it can form a prepositional phrase with a preposition
3) it can function as the subject, direct object and indirect object in a clause.

The head of a noun phrase in Padoe can consist of common nouns (N), both simple and complex, proper nouns, pronouns (PRON), demon-

stratives (DEM) and relative clauses (REL).

The internal structure of NP in Padoe is as follows (the head is written in capitals and is not in brackets):

1. when a N is the head of the NP,

(Art)
(Num) N(-Po)(Art)(NP)(Attr)(Dem)(Emph)(Quan)(Attr)
(Quan)

2. when a pronoun is the head of the NP,

PRON(Dem)(Rel)
      (-Po)

3. when a relative clause is the head of the NP,

REL(Dem)(Attr)

4. when a demonstrative pronoun is the head of the NP

DEM(Rel)

3   THE NOUN AS HEAD

The nouns that form the head of a noun phrase can be of different types, i.e. simple or derived nouns as well as reduplicated nouns.

3.1   Common Nouns

The derivations used on common nouns are few. Besides possesive suffixes (see 4.2.), the noun can be reduplicated (see 3.2.), and a verb can be derived from the noun in some cases with the prefix *me-*:

bangka 'boat'   me-bangka   'to go by boat'
seko   'grass'   me-seko   'to have a lot of grass'

3.2   Complex Nouns

Reduplication is a fairly common feature of Padoe nouns. It has different functions and it can be complete or partial.

In simple nouns, the first two syllables are reduplicated. If it is a derived (i.e.verbal) noun, the same applies to the root.

Simple nouns:

> uma-umana   'story'
> pali-palindo   'toy'

Derived nouns:

> potuda-tuda   'composition, compilation'
> pepau-pau'a   'conversation'

a) Reduplication as a sign of plurality

Reduplication is used on simple nouns when no other means, such as demonstrative pronouns (see 7.) or subject and object marking on the verb, is used in the noun phrase or sentence to convey plurality. In other words, reduplication as a mark of plurality is not very common in Padoe.

> io mia-mia mo-su'o   'the old people'
> ART RED-person VR-old

> ai raha-raha   'in houses, at homes'
> GP RED-house

b) The noun occurs only in the reduplicated form

There are a number of nouns which occur only in the reduplicated form; the single form either has no meaning, or it has a different meaning from the reduplicated one:

> elu-elu   'orphan'
> lame-lame   'potato'
> ropo-ropo   'lock'
> siu-siu   'corner'
> meo-meo   'k.o. grass' (but: meo 'cat')

c) The reduplicated form conveys diminutiveness

This is only a partly productive feature, because sometimes the reduplicated form has a different meaning from the singular one (cf. b. above):

> ana   'child'
> ana-ana   'small child'

> dahu   'dog'
> dahu-dahu   'puppy'

3.3 Derived Verbal Nouns

Nouns are derived from verbs by means of five strategies.

1. The suffix -a (or one of its allomorphs -'a, or -nga) is added to the so-called primary derivation, i.e. the po-, pe, poN, peN-set on full intransitive or transitive verbs. With bare or stative intransi-

tive verbs only the suffix is added. Which of the suffixes is added depends on the verb class. The meaning of these verbal nouns is locative:

leko	'to go'	leko-a	'place to go'
maate	'to die'	mate-a	'place of mourning'
mo-asa	'to sell'	po-asa-'a	'place to sell, kios'
mo-ia	'to stay, live	po-ia-nga	'place'
mo-turi	'to sleep'	po-turi-'a	'place to sleep, bed'
mo-angga	'to work'	po-angga-'a	'place of work'
me-dolo	'to bathe'	pe-dolo-'a	'place to bathe, room'

2. Nouns that denote actions, processes or results have the same kind of derivation as those above, but only the suffix -'a seems to be possible; -a and -nga do not occur here, except -a in to'ori-a 'knowledge' (which may be explained by a phonological restriction: if there is a glottal stop in the root, the suffix cannot begin with a glottal).

maate	'be dead'	mate-'a	'death, dying'
niio	'be, exist'	nio-'a	'birth'
toomba	'cease'	tomba-'a	'recovery from illness; border'
tuuwu	'live'	tuwu-'a	'life, living'
leko	'to go'	leko-'a	'going'
angga	'work'	angga-'a	'work'
asa	'sell'	asa-'a	'things to sell'
to'ori	'know'	to'ori-a	'knowledge'
ma-roa	'be lively'	ma-roa-'a	'being lively'
mom-paho	'to plant'	pom-paho-'a	'planting'
mo-basa	'to read'	po-basa-'a	'reading, s.t. to read'
me-sombori	'to marry,'	pe-sombori-'a	'wedding, get married marriage'
me-sikeno	'to ask '	pe-sikeno-'a	'asking, question'

Notice that in the first four examples the sequence of two identical vowels is shortened to one because of affixation. For a description of Padoe phonology see Karhunen (1991).

3. Only the primary derivation (po(N)-/pe(N)- set) is used.
Nouns in this category often denote a tool or the result of the action indicated by the verb. The same form can have two meanings: besides indicating the tool or result, it can also mean the action.

mo-roahi	'to sweep	po-roahi	'broom, sweeping'
mompupu	'to cover'	pom-pupu	'cover, lid, top'
mom-parenta	'to govern'	pom-parenta	'government'
mom-pe-alo-alo	'to believe'	pom-pe-alo-alo	'faith'
mon-tulungi	'to help'	pon-tulungi	'help'
me-sikeno	'to ask'	pe-sikeno	'proposal'
me-lulu	'to run'	pe-lulu	'running, chase'

Any full verb can be made a noun by pe(N)-/po(N)-. These nouns are translatable as active participles; the actor is shown by the possessive suffix. However, because Padoe has no distinct morphology

to denote active participles (e.g. contrary to Muna, see Van den Berg 1989), the term verbal noun has been maintained.

```
(1)   pe-nggoti-mami  epie
      NR-stand -1pxPO long.time
      'we were standing a long time'  (lit.'our standing was long')
```

```
(2)   po-turi -nggu  la  -no  mo-ahi
      NR-sleep -1sPO  NEG -3sS VR-good
      'I did not sleep well'  (lit. 'My sleeping was not good')
```

```
(3)  po-roahi-mu    moiko ngako
     NR-sweep-2sPO good  very
     1. 'your broom is very good'
     2. 'your sweeping is very good'
```

Even clauses that are translated by relative clauses, use this verbal noun. In these cases, persons in the plural but not in the singular can be the actor of the clause, marked by the possesive suffix. See the following examples:

```
(4)  pe-tii      -ro   sie, opitu mia     m- petia
     NR-go. down-3pPO DEM  seven person LG-sibling
     'those that came down were seven siblings'
```

```
(5)  pe-toro -ndo    nie, mia     mo-su'o lowo
     NR-sit  -1pxPO DEM  person VR-old  all
     'we that sit here are all old people'
```

Nouns can also be formed from verb roots by means of the following three strategies:

4. The passive infix -*in*- is added:

```
tutui      'target, aim'(v.)    t[in]utui        'target'
tade       'form'(v.)           t[in]ade         'form'(n.)
tena       'order'(v.)          t[in]ena         'messenger'
to'ori     'know'               t[in]o'ori       '(magical) knowledge'
```

In the following examples -*in*- has been added to a derived form:

```
mom-paho          'to plant'       p[in]o -paho     'a plant'
VR- plant                          CAUS-NR-plant
```

```
mom-po- tuwu  'to raise'          p[in]o -tuwu      'an animal'
VR- CAUS-live                      CAUS-NR-live
```

```
mo-mori           'to tread'        p[in]o-mori       'unhulled rice'
VR-tread          (harvested paddy)'  VR-NR- tread
```

Notice that in the second example the primary derivation is *po-paho* 'that which is caused to live'. In the first example the primary derivation corresponds to the same kind of causative derivation, although the verb form **mom-po-paho* does not exist.
The first two examples are fixed expressions, meaning 'any kind

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of plant', and 'any kind of animal', not only 'a planted plant' or 'a raised animal', respectively.

Often derivations with -*in*- can be considered passive participles and can be translated as relative clauses (for a discussion of relative clauses, see 10). However, they are treated as nominalizations as well, because there is no formal difference with the nominalization by means of the infix -*in*-. These derivations can be affixed by the possessive suffix which indicate the agent and they can be modified by the article *io*. See the following examples:

(6) io w[in]awo-mu
    ART NR-carry-2sPO
    'your load (i.e. what is carried by you)'

(7) [in]angga-no   io sulia
    NR-work -3sPO ART sulia
    'the sulia's work (i.e. what was done by the sulia (k.o. religious officer))

(8) men-tee   p[in]au -mu   sie
    VR- clear NR-speak-2sPO DEM
    'what you said is true'

(9) kanggo nio   t[in]o'ori-no   io sombori-no
    but   there.is NR-know   -3sPO ART spouse -3sPO

    mokole   la'a
    sub.district.head DEM

    'but the wife of the subdisrict head had knowledge
    (i.e. there was something the wife of the subdistrict
    head knew)'

5. The infix -*um* - is added:

tuuwu   'live'   t[um]uwu   'life, living, age'

The difference between *tuwu'a* (see in 2. above) and *tumuwu* is that the latter can be considered more like a participle, as one of the meanings ('living') also indicates. Notice again the vowel-shortening in the derived form.

Derivation with -*um*- does not seem to be very productive. That may partly be because there is a certain phonological restriction on the use of the infix -*um*- in verbs, i.e. it cannot be affixed to roots that begin with a bilabial sound.

4   PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are two sets of free personal pronouns which can function as the head of NP and one set of possessive suffixes which modify a noun. The first set of pronouns is used when the aspect of a clause is unmarked, or an emphasis is given to the pronoun (subject), whereas

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the second set is used in the irrealis mood, or when the pronoun (subject) is unmarked. For further information on pronoun sets in Padoe see Vuorinen (this volume).

	SET 1	SET 2	POSSESSIVE SUFFIX
1s	iaku	aku	-nggu
2s	i̇iko	iko	-mu
3s	umono	lo'o / o(no)	-no
1pex	ikami	kami	-mami
1pinc	ikito	kito	-ndo
2p	ikomiu	komiu	-miu
3p	umboro	lo'iro / iro	-ro

4.1   Personal Pronouns as the Head of NP

Personal pronouns as the head of NP can stand alone, or they can be modified by several means. The pronouns from Set 1 are found to be modified as follows:

1) the emphatic suffix -*to*:

(10) umono -to   me-kule   'he goes back'
     3sPRON-EMPH VM-come.back

(11) iaku -to   mo-turi   'I'm already asleep'
     1sPRON-EMPH VM-sleep

2) the conditional -*po*:

(12) umono -po   me-kule   'later (if) he will come back'
     3sPRON-COND VM-come.back

(13) iaku   -po mo-turi   'later (if) I will sleep'
     1sPRON-IMP VM-sleep

3) the emphatic clitic *kaa*:

(14) ikami   kaa mpihe   endea
     1pPRON EMPH continually here
     'we have been here all the time'

4) a demonstrative:

(15) iaku   nie   'I here'
     1sPRON DEM

5) a possessive suffix (this is restricted to 1st person
   plural):

(16) ikami -mami   'we ourselves'
     1pxPRON-1pxPO

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6) a relative clause:

(17) ikito, henu mpe-eka   'we, who go up'
     1pnPRON RM   PL -go.up

     Pronouns from Set 2 can be modified by:

1) the perfective -*to*:

(18) o   -to   me-kule   'he has already come back'
     3sPRON-PERF VR-come.back

(19) aku   -to   mo-turi   'I'm already asleep'
     1sPRON-PERF VR-sleep

2) the conditional -*po*:

(20) ono   -po   me-kule   'if he comes back'
     3sPRON-COND VM-come.back

(21) aku   -po   mo-turi   'if I sleep'
     1sPRON-COND VM-sleep

     The 2nd person plural is used for polite address for the 2nd
person singular:

(22) ikomiu   -to   me-sombori kee?
     2sPRON(pol)-PERF VM-spouse Q
     'are you married?'

     The 3rd person plural is used in the same way for the 3rd person
singular:

(23) umboro   guru   -mami
     3sPRON(pol) teacher-1pPOSS
     'he is our teacher'

     umboro is sometimes used as a kind of honorary title in front of
a name or a noun referring to a person:

(24) umboro   Ue   Iesu
     3sPRON(pol) Lord Jesus
     'Lord Jesus'

(25) umboro ai ine   kaa uma
     3pPRON PI mother and father
     'mother and father'

4.2   Possessive Suffixes

     The 2pl suffix -*miu* is used for 2sg in polite speech and so is

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3pl suffix -*ro* for 3sg. Examples of the possessive suffixes:

(26) wali-nggu   'my friend'

(27) hae-mu   'your younger sibling'

(28) pae-no   'his rice'

(29) raha-mami   'our (ex) house'

(30) ana-ndo   'our (inc) child'

(31) kau-miu   1. 'your (pl) wood'
                      2. 'your (sg,polite) wood'

(32) inie-ro   1. 'their village'
                      2. 'his (polite) village'

The suffixes are also added to derived nouns acting as passive participles, to denote the agent of the clause; see also examples (6)-(9) above:

(33) ro- mem-pau-akeo ai Labombo io p[in]o- gau-no
     3pS-VR- say-3sIO PI Labombo ART NR-PASS-do- 3sPO

     sombori-no
     spouse- 3sPO

     'they told Labombo what his wife had done'

5   MODIFICATION BY ANOTHER NOUN

5.1   Possession by Nasal Linkage:

When a head noun is modified by another noun, Padoe uses the nasal linker. However, the nasal linker is used only before the voiceless stops /p,t,k/ in fixed expressions and is homorganic with the stop.

(34) wuku-m- pau   'title'
     core-LG-word

(35) pole -ng-kau   'tree trunk'
     trunk-LG-tree

(36) hae   -n- tama   'younger brother'
     younger.sibling-LG-man

It is found too with constructions where the noun is modified by a verbal noun:

```
(37)  mia    -m- pe-lere              'farmer'
      person-LG-VR-garden

(38)  puu    -m- po-labu              'smith'
      artisan-LG-VR-iron
```

For numeral + noun expressions which use the nasal, see 9.
That the nasal linkage occurs only in certain fixed expressions can be seen from the following examples where the head noun begins with a voiceless stop. Instead of nasal linkage, the linker -*no* is used (see also 5.2. below):

```
(39)  solo   -no   koro -no          'current of the river'
      current-3sPO river-3sPO

(40)  pahuloi-no    tahi             'the center of the sea'
      center -3sPO  sea

(41)  tapu-no    patolo             'tip of pencil'
      tip-3sPO   pencil
```

5.2   Possession by the Linker -*no*

In possessive constructions where the head of the NP is modified by a noun or a noun phrase, the possessive linker -*no* can be used, but is not obligatory. However, when the modifying noun is the real possessor, instead of just indicating, for instance, type (e.g. cat's hair vs. dog's hair), the linker -*no* is obligatory. But again, if the NP is part of a clause, the -*no* can be left out. See examples (47)-(50) below:

```
(42)  tandu-(no) wule               'crescent moon'
      horn -3sPO moon

(43)  torui-(no) manu-manu          'bird's nest'
      nest -3sPO bird-RED

(44)  mata-(no) uwoi                'water spring'
      eye -3sPO water

(45)  wulu-(no) meo                 'cat's fur'
      hair-3sPO cat

(46)  ana   -no   dahu sie          'puppy (lit. dog's child)'
      child-3sPO dog  DEM

(47)  sura-no    guru   -nggu       'my teacher's book'
      book-3sPO teacher-1sPO

(48)  sura-(no) guru   -nngu la'a orao ngako
      book-3sPO teacher-1sPO DEM  much very
      'my teacher has a lot of books'
```

```
(49) kulambu     -no   io  datu Palopo
     mosquito.net-3sPO ART king Palopo
     'the mosquito net of the king of Palopo'

(50) kulambu     -(no) io  datu Palopo sie langkai
     mosquito.net-3sPO ART king Palopo DEM big
     'the mosquito net of the king of Palopo is big'
```

The linker is not used when the modifier indicates the material the head noun is made of:

```
(51) sisi wulaa                'gold ring'
     ring gold

(52) mangko kau                'wooden cup'
     cup    wood
```

6   PARTICLES

6.1   The Article *io*

The article *io* in Padoe does not indicate definiteness or indefiniteness. It can be used with almost every NP. The article io can be found in the following cases, but in none of them is it obligatory. Similar examples which do not use *io*, found in texts, are given too. The rules which govern the choice of *io* (if there are any) have not been discovered yet.

In clauses:

1) with post-verbal and pre-verbal direct objects:

```
(53) Ina tekonai       mo-lombo io  parewa
     Ina at.the.moment VR- wash ART clothes
     'Ina is washing the clothes'

(54) io  ole      mbio kee au- pong-[g]aa (the [g] is from /k/)
     ART medicine what Q   2sS- VR-  eat
     'what medicine are you taking?'
```

But:

```
(55) ikami   mo-asa  lasa
     1pxPRON VR-sell langsat
     'we sell langsats'
```

2) with post-verbal and pre-verbal subjects:

```
(56) mo-mbio ka      -no pe-ndamo io  sapi?
     VR-what so.that-3sS VR-get.in ART cow
     'how did the cows get in?'
```

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```
(57) io  ra'i-no    me-wanta me-nggena mata'olo
     ART face-3sPO  VR-shine VR-same   sun
     'his face shone like the sun'
```

But:

```
(58) no -aturu  -'o   datu Palopo
     3sS-arrange-3sO  king Palopo
     'the king of Palopo arranged it'
```

3) with nominal predicates in equative clauses

```
(59) ai Sumba'oleo sie io   mia    -n- tii
     PI Sumba'oleo DEM ART person-LG-descend
     'Sumba'oleo was a person that descended (from heaven)'
```

```
(60) tinie-to    io  bau  boe
     DEM  -EMPH ART meat pig
     'THIS is pork'
```

But:

```
(61) unie raha -mami
     DEM  house-1pxPO
     'this is our house'
```

4) with nominal appositions:

```
(62) ...ai Wela, io   guru     agama,    henu ai tempo la'a
        PI Wela  ART teacher religion RM    GP time  DEM

     mo-ia    ai inie
     VM-stay GP village

     '...Wela, teacher of religion, who at that time was
     staying in the village'
```

But:

```
(63) ...io  mokole,                mia     ma-haki la'a
        ART subdistrict.head person VR-sick DEM
        'the subdistrict head, the sick man'
```

5) in single-word clauses (nouns) as in an answer to 'What is this?',
'What is that?' Notice that *io* is also a morpheme in the queston word
io-mbio 'what':

```
(64) io -mbio unie?              io   sura
     ART-what DEM                ART book
     'what is this?'             'a/the book'
```

```
(65) io -mbio ula'a?'            io   bangka
     ART-what DEM                ART boat
     'what is that?'             'a boat.'
```

But:

(66) mbio unie ba -no   pau   Padoe?   patolo
     what DEM   COND-3sS language Padoe   pencil
     'what is this in Padoe?   'a pencil.'

6) with some of the nouns in a list of co-ordinated nouns:

(67) ro -poko-ena -ho   pandi-pandi la'a, ooto   io mama'a,
     3pS-VR -open-3sO RED-token   DEM   that.is ART betel

     kaa io piso, kaa eno-eno,   kaa nganti-nganti, kaa
     and ART knife and RED-necklace and RED-earring   and

     ihikae,   kaa sisi kaa io tole
     bracelet and ring and ART cigarette

     'they opened the token which consisted of betel, a
     knife, a necklace, earrings, a bracelet, a ring and
     cigarettes'

But:

(68) umono minggi mo-nahu kanggo butu lada,   ihikuro
     3s   want   VR-cook but   only chili.pepper rice

     kaa benu   no- po-hawe ai raha
     and coconut   3sS-VR-get GP house

     'he wanted to cook, but he only had chili pepper, rice
     and coconut at home'

7) Notice that *io* can co-occur with almost all modifiers,
   as illustrated in the following examples:

a. with nouns modified by a possesive:

(69) mo-moiko ngako io te- po-aso-'a-mami.
     VR-good very ART NVOL-NR-one-NR-1pxPO
     'Our uniting was a very good thing.'

(70) io raha -mu   'your house'
     ART house-2sPO

But:

(71) ana -nggu   'my child'
     child-1sPO

b. with nouns modified by a demonstrative:

(72) io sidawa sie   'that corn'
     ART corn   DEM

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```
(73) io   sapi la'era              'those cows'
     ART cow  DEM
```

But:

```
(74) naa      -o -to  baki        sie
     put.away-3sO-EMPH k.o.basket DEM
     'put the basket away'
```

c. between a modifying quantifier or numeral and the noun:

```
(75) aaso io  tama                'a man'
     one  ART man
```

```
(76) otolu io  badili             'three weapons'
     three ART weapon
```

```
(77) lowo-no   io  nohu           'all the rice stampers'
     all -3sPO ART rice.stamper
```

But:

```
(78) aso mia                      'one person'
     one person
```

```
(79) lowo-no   bali'io            'all the used irons'
     all -3sPO weapon
```

8) However, there are three cases where *io* is never used:

a. with nouns modified by prepositions:

```
(80) umbu ai kota                 'from the town'
     from GP town

     *umbu ai io kota
```

```
(81) ai wiwi -n- towa             'on the lake shore'
     GP shore-LG-lake

     *ai io wiwi ntowa
```

```
(82) ai wawo-no   wasu langkai    'on the big rock'
     GP top -3sPO stone big

     *ai io wawono wasu langkai
```

b. preceding the numeral or quantifier which modifies the noun:

```
(83) opitu wongi-no               'seven nights'
     seven night-3sPO

     *io opitu wongino
```

c. preceding a proper noun; instead, the person indicator *ai* is used

(see below):

(84) ai Lina   'Lina'
      PI Lina

      *io Lina

6.2   The Person Indicator *ai*

Almost invariably proper nouns (names) are preceded by the person indicator *ai*:

(85) ai Sam mo-oli sapi endea
      PI Sam VR-buy cow here
      'Sam bought cows here'

(86) henu me-lulu la'a, ai Yuli kaa hae   -no
      RM   VR-run DEM   PI Yuli and younger.sibling-3sPO
      'those running are Yuli and his little brother'

Notice that *ai* is used also as a prefix in the question word *ai-nei* 'who', as well as in the answer preceding the name:

(87) ai-nei io nee -mu?   ai Tama
      PI-who ART name-2sPO   PI Tama
      'what is your name?'   'Tama'

It is also used in stories when the animal characters are human-ized:

(88) ai kolo-kolopua kaa ai bange-bange
      PI turtle-RED   and PI monkey-RED
      'the turtle and the monkey'

7   DEMONSTRATIVES

There are two basic sets of demonstrative pronouns in Padoe. One is a set used to modify a noun or a noun phrase, the other is a set of pronouns that can act as the head of the NP. When used to refer to plural objects (not dual), these demonstratives receive a special plural form, which, however, is not widely used in everyday speech.

| | MODIFIER | | HEAD | |
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
this	nie	niire	unie	uniire
that (near)	sie	siire	usie	usiire
that (far)	la'a	la'ira	ula'a	ula'ira

These pronouns can be used both locatively and anaphorically.

7.1   Locative Usage

nie/unie/niire/uniire refer to something that is near the speaker, within his reach.

(89) hopulo ana -ro,   io   neine nie
     ten   child-3sPO(pol) ART aunt DEM
     'this aunt has ten children'

(90) unie io   raha -mami
     DEMs ART house-1pxPO
     'this is our house'

(91) sura niire moiko ngako
     book DEMp good very
     'these books are very good'

sie/usie/siire/usiire refer to something that is closer to the hearer than to the speaker.

(92) moiko kee io   sura sie?
     good Q   ART book DEM
     'is that a good book?'

(93) io -mbio usie?
     ART-what DEM
     'what is that?'

(94) opio   -to ta'u-ro   ana -miu   siire?
     how.many-CMP year-3pPO child-2sPO(pol) DEMp
     'what age are those children of yours?'

la'a/ula'a/la'ira/ula'ira refer to entities which are far away from both the speaker and the hearer.

(95) no- langkai mia   la'a
     3sS-big   person DEM
     'that man is big'

(96) raha -no ai-nei ula'ira?
     house-3sPO PI-who DEMp
     'whose houses are those?'

(97) orao-iro mia   la'ira
     many-3pSR person DEMp
     'there are a lot of those people'

When the referent is a dual object, the word *pada* can be used:

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(98) boe la'a pada langkai
     pig DEM both big
     'those (two) pigs are big'

7.2   Anaphoric Usage

    These demonstratives are used anaphorically by the speaker to
refer to something that has already been introduced in the preceding
context.
    In this usage *nie* and its corresponding forms seem to refer to
something which the speaker wishes to bring to close attention, or to
topicalize, *sie* and *siire* can often be translated as the definite
article, *sie* is the demonstrative most often used for anaphoric pur-
poses, *la'a* with its different forms given above indicates something
which the speaker observes from a greater distance, so to speak.
However, often there seems to be little difference between the use of
sie or *la'a* to refer to something already introduced.

(99) minggi-to ro- me-hawe-'o ana -no   ai Baliola nie
     will -CMP 3pS-PM get -3sO child-3sPO PI Baliola DEM
     'they almost caught Baliola's daughter'

(100) io nee -no   usie io   lili
      ART name-3sPO DEM   ART 'lili'
      'it was called "lili"'

(101) inderio io manu -ndo   siire?
      where   ART chicken-2pnPO DEMp
      'where are those chickens of ours?'

(102) io t[in]ade-no   wasu la'a me-nggena io t[in]ade
      ART NR-form -3sPO stone DEMs VR -same   ART NR-form -

      -no bangka
      3sPO boat

      'the form of the stone was like that of a boat'

(103) ula'a henu mo-ko- mo-mee   -'aku
      DEM   RM   VR-CAUS-VR-afraid-1sO
      'that's what makes me afraid'

    These anaphoric pronouns can also modify a subordinate clause
which does not show any signs of nominalization but which is consid-
ered as the known entity:

(104) ro- me-hawe sie   'they came'
      3pS-PM-come DEM

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7.3 Locative Demonstratives

There is another set of demonstratives of which we have little recorded data, but which seems to be strictly locative in usage and frequently used in conversation. These pronouns can act as the head of a NP:

        tinie   'this here'
        tisie   'that there by you'
        tila'a   'that over there'

(105) tinie io po-kasu-no   kaka   -mu   tia-mu
      DEM   ART NR-send-3sPO older.sibling-2sPO for-2sPO
      'this here is what your big brother sent to you'

(106) niio kunci tisie ai wawo-no   lemari
      be   key   DEM   GP top -3sPO cupboard
      'the key is there on the top of the cupboard'

(107) tila'a inehu   henu w[in]awo-nggu umbu ai lere
      that   vegetable RM   NR-bring-1sPO from GP garden
      'those there are the vegetables I brought from the garden'

The locative demonstratives have the plural forms too:

(108) tiniire sura henu [in]oli-nggu umbu-nggu ai Jakarta
      DEMp   book RM   NR-buy -1sPO from-1sPO GP Jakarta
      'these here are the books I bought from Jakarta'

(109) tisiire ana-ana -no   dahu-nggu henu daa   sarai
      DEMp   child-RED-3sPO dog -1sPO RM   still a.while

      niio hiwongi
      be   last.night

      'those there are the puppies of my dog which were just born last night'

(110) tila'ira sapi-mami henu ki- parakai-'o   tempo nie
      DEMp   cow -1pxPO RM   1pxS-raise -3sO time DEM
      'those there are the cows we have been raising'

8 QUANTIFICATION

There are no actual quantifying words in Padoe, if the quantifying words are defined as modifiers of nouns which cannot be inflected nor can stand as a head of a NP (cf. Van den Berg 1989). Instead, the words which usually are translated as 'all, every, a lot, a little' etc., in fact are verbs or nouns on the basis of their inflection or their position in the clause; there are also other constructions to

express quantificational concepts. The following are the concepts and their Padoe equivalents:

1.   'every, each'

The word *sombo* with or without reduplication is used. *sombo* is considered a noun, because it can act as the head of a NP and can be suffixed by a possessive:

(111) a. sombo-sombo olo   'every day'

      b. sombo ana-ana   'each child'

      c. sombo ro -mpo-s̈ampa   ambau
          each 3pS-VRp-slaughter water buffalo
          'each of them slaughtered a water buffalo'

      d. sombo-sombo-miu mpen-toro-to ai pen-toro-'a-miu!
          every-RED -2pPO IMP- sit -EMP GP NR -sit -NR-2sPO
          'every one of you sit in your place!'

2.   'all'

lowo, which is used to convey the concept of 'all' is often suffixed by the 3rd person singular possessive suffix -*no*. It can also act as the head of a NP. Therefore it can be considered a noun.

(112) a. lowo-no   raha la'a o -to mo-su'o
          all -3sPO house DEM 3sR-CMP VR-old
          'all those houses are already old'

      b. lowo henu n[in]ee-no
          all RM   NR-name-3sPO
          'all that he mentioned'

3.   'a lot, many, much'

This is expressed by *orao* which can have verbal inflection and is therefore considered a verb:

(113)   a. orao no- po-oli sura
            many 3sS-VR-buy book
            'he bought a lot of books'

        b. orao-iro
            many-3pRE
            'there are many of them'

        c. la -no -orao
            NEG-3sS-many
            'not much'

4.   'little, a little'

To express the quantity '(only a) little' the word *tedei* is used;

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for 'a little, some' the word *dei-dei* is used. Because of the verbal prefix *te-* which shows non-volition, these words are considered verbs too:

(114) dei   -dei ihikuro-mami
      RED-little rice   -1pxPO
      'we have only a little rice'

(115) po- we -aku te- dei   io kaanga-mu
      IMP-give-1sIO NVOL-little ART food -2sPO
      'give me a little of your food'

5. 'few, a few'

    To express a relatively small number of things, the question word *opio* 'how many' is used preceded by the question particle *ba-*:

(116) a. ba-opio   olo henu te -lalo
         Q -how.many day RM   NVOL-lewat
         'a few days ago'

6. '(not) anything, something'

    Here the question word *mbio* 'what' is used in reduplicated form; it can be preceded by the question particle *ba-*.

(117) lalau   mbio-mbio h[in]awe-nggu
      there.is.not RED- what NR-get   -1sPO
      'I did not get anything'

(118) lalau   ba-mbio-mbio
      there.is.not Q -RED- what
      'there is nothing'

9 NUMERALS

    The numerals from one to nine have two variants, which can be called the free form and the affixed form as seen in the following chart:

	FREE	AFFIXED
one	aaso	aso-
two	oruo	rua-
three	otolu	tolu-
four	opaa	pato-
five	olimo	lima-
six	onoo	nomo-
seven	opitu	pitu-
eight	oalu	halu-
nine	osio	sio-

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The numeral 'ten' has the following forms:

```
ten         hopulo      -pulu
```

The free forms are used

1. for counting from one to ten (see below)

2. to modify a noun:

(119) a. aso irowai   'a woman'
         one woman

      b. opaa raha   'four houses'
         four house

The free forms can receive verbal affixes:

(120) onoo-to   '(already) six'
      six -CMP

(121) olimo-kito   '(there are) five of us /
      five 1pnRE   we are five'

(122) oruo-iro   '(there are) two of them /
      two -3pRE   they are two'

(123) hopolu-to ana -ro   'they (already) have ten
      ten   -CMP child-3pPO   children'

The affixed forms from one to nine are used before units of ten (*pulu*), hundred (*etu*), and thousand (*sowu*).
Between the unit of ten and the numerals from one to ten the conjunctive *kaa* 'and' is used; *kaa* is also used between units of hundred and units of ten. However, it is not used between units of thousand and hundred.

Counting, then, in Padoe goes as follows:

1	aaso	11	hopulo kaa aso	21	ruapulu kaa aso
2	oruo	12	hopulo kaa oruo	22	ruapulu kaa oruo
3	otolu	13	hopulo kaa otolu	30	tolu-pulu
4	opaa	14	hopulo kaa opaa	40	pato-pulu
5	olimo	15	hopulo kaa olimo	50	lima-pulu
6	onoo	16	hopulo kaa onoo	60	nomo-pulu
7	opitu	17	hopulo kaa opitu	70	pitu-pulu
8	oalu	18	hopulo kaa oalu	80	halu-pulu
9	osio	19	hopulo kaa osio	90	sio-pulu
10	hopulo	20	rua-pulu	100	aso-etu

```
110     aso-etu kaa hopulo
200     rua-etu
245     rua-etu kaa pato-pulu kaa olimo
300     tolu-etu
1000    aso-sowu
```

```
2000        rua-sowu
3000        tolu-sowu
7825        pitu-sowu halu-etu kaa rua-pulu kaa olimo
```

Using Padoe numerals in counting, prices, etc. is becoming obsolete; the younger generation uses the Indonesian numerals almost entirely.

Numerals can be reduplicated in certain cases. When the numerals are reduplicated they mean 'SUBJ-self' or 'only the NUMBER of SUBJ'. Besides the reduplication, numerals in this function receive the subject suffix, except for *aaso* 'one' which takes the possessive suffix in the singular. See the following examples:

(124) a. aso-aso-nggu   'I myself; only I'
         RED-one-1sPO

      b. aso-aso-no   'he himself; only he'
         RED-one-3sPO

      c. oru-oruo-kami   'only the two of us; we
         RED-two -1pxRE   ourselves'

      d. opaa-opaa-komiu   'only the four of you; you
         RED- four-2pRE   yourselves'

Numerals as well as quantifying words precede the noun they modify. Sometimes the article *io* is added between the numeral and the noun:

(125) a. aso wule   'one month'
         one month

      b. otolu io badili   'three weapons'
         three ART weapon

The nasal linker is used when a noun with an initial voiceless stop (except *pulu*) is modified by a numeral:

(126) a. opaa-n- ta'u   'four years'
         four-LG-year

      b. aso-n- tia   'a part'
         one-LG-share

There is a certain set of *i*-initial numerals (now obsolete), which mean a certain number of nights:

```
itolu              'three nights'
ipato              'four nights'
ilime              'five nights'
inomo              'six nights'
ipitu              'seven nights'
ialu               'eight nigths'
isio               'nine nights'
```

Ordinal numbers in Padoe are formed by the prefix *ko-*:

```
ko-oruo                    'the second'
ko-hopulo kaa olimo        'the fifteenth'
```

10   RELATIVE CLAUSE

For morphological reasons (see 3.3 above), only those dependent clauses that can be headed by the relative marker *henu* are regarded as relative clauses in this paper. In headless relative clauses (i.e. where there is no antecedent) *henu* is obligatory (ex.(127)-(129)). When there is a head noun, *henu* is often not used, the reasons for which are not yet sufficiently clear.

Sometimes there is merely free variation between the absence and presence of *henu*, but in other instances the marker appears to be obligatory (ex.(130)-(141)). More research is needed.

10.1   Relative Clause as the Head of the Noun Phrase

```
(127) henu ko- oruo-no,  opio      ta'u -no?
      RM   ORD-two -3sPO how.many year 3sPO
      'the second one, how old is he?
```

```
(128) henu p[in]e -moiko takau kaanga-no   butu io
      RM   VR-PASS-good  very  food  -3sPO only ART

      woliempu'u
      'woliempu'u'

      'he whose food was made very good was only "woliempu'u"'
```

```
(129) henu [in]angga-nggu ambo     no- umari
      RM   NR-work   -1sPO not.yet 3sS-finish
      'that which I am doing is not yet finished'
```

10.2   Relative Clause as the Modifier of the Head

```
(130) olimo-kito  henu mpe-eka
      five  1pnRE RM   VR  go.up
      'there are five of us who will go there'
```

```
(131) io  lere    sie me-hori ai galu henu
      ART garden DEM VM  next  GP rice.field RM

      tekonai         p[in]om-paho -ako
```

```
          at.the.moment VR PASS-plant-BEN
          'the garden is next to the rice field which was being
          planted'

(132)  unie  sala  (henu)  ma-sipa
       DEM   road  RM       VR-narrow
       'this is a narrow road / this is a road which is
       narrow'

(133)  piso  (henu)  mon-tasu  la'a  te-  tadi
       knife RM       VR- sharp DEM   NVOL-disappear
       'that sharp knife has disappeared / that knife which
       is sharp has disappeared'

(134)  tila'a  dahu  (henu)  mo-nuwo
       DEM     dog   RM       VR-fat
       'that is a fat dog'

(135)  ula'a  ana    (henu)  dedeiki
       DEM    child  RM       little
       'that is a little child'

(136)  hiwongi      orao  mia     (henu)  mo-nguro  mpo-laemba
       last.night  many  person  RM       VR-young  VRp-dance

       ai  baruga
       GP  village.hall.

       'Last night a lot of young people danced "dero" in
       the village hall.'

(137)  ikomiu-to    mia     (henu)  me-mosa'a
       1p    -EMPH  person  RM       VR-bad
       'YOU are bad people'

(138)  ro-  mpo-wowau  kau   (henu)  ma-ramba
       3pS  VRp-make   tree  RM       VR-bright
       'they decorate the bright (i.e. Christmas) tree'

(139)  neine  (henu)  mo-nahu  la'a  neine-nggu
       aunt   RM       VR-cook  DEM   aunt -1sPO
       'that aunt who is cooking is my aunt'

(140)  mia     (henu)  mom-paho   siire  amba  me-limba
       person  RM       VR- plant  DEMp   just  VR-move
       'those people who are planting rice just moved'

(141)  io   mia     (henu)  me-bangka  sie  mong-kado  ngako  leko-
       ART  person  RM       VR-boat    DEM  VR-  fast  very   go

       no
       -3sPO

       'the person going by boat is going very fast / the
       person who is paddling is going very fast'
```

(142) orao ngako ana-ana   (henu) me-nani ai gereja
      many very child-RED RM   VR-song GP church

      hiwongi
      last.night

      'a lot of children were singing in the church last
      night / there were a lot of singing children in the church
      last night'

11   OTHER ATTRIBUTES

     Expansions by the article, another noun, quantifier, a demonstra-
tive, and attributes like a relative clause and verbs have been ex-
pounded. Attributes in Padoe can consist also of juxtaposed clauses,
appositives, adverbs and emphatic words. Examples of all of these are
given below:

a) Juxtaposed clauses

(143) no- kotowi -o   aaso io sampa -no   taipa me-nggena
      3sS-cut.off-3sO one ART branch-3sPO mango VR-same

      nunu   langkai-no
      banyan.tree big   -3sPO

      'he cut off a branch of the manggo tree, which was
      big like a banyan tree'

b) Appositives

     An appositive can be a proper noun, a common noun, a noun phrase
or a dependent clause:

(144) io badili langkai, io Malela
      ART weapon big   ART Malela
      'the big weapon Malela'

(145) io ue -mu, io mokole
      ART lord-2sPO ART subdistrict.head
      'your lord the subdistrict head'

(146) ai wiwi -n- towa, towa Matano
      GP shore-LG-lake lake Matano
      'on the shore of a lake, lake Matano'

(147) io mokole,   mia   ma-haki la'a
      ART subdistrict.head person VR-sick DEM
      'subdistrict head, the sick person'

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c) Adverbs

(148) mia   se'elu
     person earlier
     'ancestors (i.e. people before)'

d) Emphatic words and clitics

(149) ana -no   sie irowai su'u.
     child-3sPO DEM woman   indeed
     'the child was a girl indeed.'

(150) aso   hile kaa
     one   side EMPH
     'only one side'

12   CLASSIFIERS

     Classifiers, which are a sub-set of nouns, are most often used
when the noun is modified by a numeral. However, not all nouns need a
classifier when modified by a numeral, and a classifier can be used
even if there is no numeral modifying the noun (see example   below).
Padoe does not use very many classsifiers (cf. Muna in Van den Berg,
1989, which has twelve classifiers). Notice that in phrases the clas-
sifiers are usually affixed by the possessive -no, or the nasal link-
age is used between the numeral and the classifier; they don't seem to
be mutually exclusive, however; see example (157). There is also a
tendency to use the numeral + classifier construction as an appositive
attribute, as in (151). If the construction is not appositive, the
classifier does not seem to be obligatory, as in (160). The following
four classifiers are found in Padoe:

1. *wuku*

     It literally means 'bone' and it is used for roundish and hard
objects like eggs, stones, pineapples, and seeds:

(151) tempo-no   me-kule   umbu ai lere, no -roda-'o
     time -3sPO VR-come.back from GP garden 3sS-cart-3sO

     io wasu, opitu wuku -no
     ART stone seven CLASS-3sPO

     'when he came home from the fields he brought seven stones
     in his cart'

(152) io su'ului manu, aso wuku
     ART egg   hen   one CLASS
     'one egg'

2. *pu'u*

     'Tree' could be given as its literal meaning. It is used for tall

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objects and for anything upright which grows as a cluster; for tall
singular objects it is interchangable with *kau* (see below):

(153) umono mompe-ue   aso-etu   pu'u -no / kau-no benu
      3s   VR   lord one-hundred CLASS-3sPO   coconut
      'he owns one hundred coconut palm trees'

(154) ki -me-hawe-'o pu'u -no   balo
      1pS-VR-get -3sO CLASS-3sPO bamboo
      'we found bamboo'

(155) otolu pu'u -no   pae
      three CLASS-3sPO rice
      'three (clusters of) rice stalks'

3. *kau*

     The classifier has the literal meaning 'wood'. It is used for the
same kind of objects as *pu'u* above. The difference between *kau* and
pu'u as classifiers is still somewhat unclear:

(156) tumbapasa, opaa kau -no
      k.o.plant four CLASS-3sPO
      'four tumbapasa-plants'

(157) aso kau -no   balo   / aso ng-kau   balo
      one CLASS-3sPO bamboo   one LG-CLASS bamboo
      'one bamboo'

(158) hopulo ng-kau -no   tole
      ten   LG-CLASS-3sPO cigarette
      'ten cigarettes'

4. *nangge*

     This classifier has the literal meaning 'leaf (of a book)'.
Consequently, it is used for leaf-like objects:

(159) io lewe niire, olimo nangge-no
      ART leaf DEMp   five CLASS -3sPO
      'there are five of these leaves'

(160) ana   la'a mo-wawo hopulo (nangge-no) lewe pusi
      child DEM VR-bring ten   CLASS-3sPO leaf banana

      tia-no   ine   -no
      for-3sPO mother-3sPO

      'the child brought ten banana leaves for her mother'

Some nouns in Padoe are used to measure. Measure nouns differ (semantically) from classifiers in that, whereas classifiers come between the numeral and the head noun as a kind of auxiliary word, measure nouns themselves constitute the head of a measuring phrase. Morphologically, they act in the same way as the classifiers (see 12. above)

Semantically, the measure nouns can be grouped in the following way:

a. sections or parts

hile	'side (e.g. of a house)'
pole	'slice (e.g. of bread)'
batu	'piece (e.g. of meat)'
tia	'part, piece (e.g. of land)'

b. parts of plants and trees

ase	'hand (of bananas)'
pa'a	'bunch (of coconuts)'
tonggi	'cluster (of langsats)'

c. extents of time

olo	'day'
woongi	'night'
minggu	'week'
wule	'month'
ta'u	'year'
galura	'rainy season'

d. lenghts

depa	'cubit'
ropa	'meter (2 cubits)
lamo	'span'
lela	'step'
ure	'space between two joints'

e. volume

puru meo	'very small amount (lit.'cat's paw')
raku	'handful'
tongo	'package'
gelasi	'glass'
botolo	'bottle'
kumba'a	'plate'
bele	'tin (can)'
karu	'sack'

f. metric terms

litere	'liter'
metere	'meter'
kilo	'kilogram, kilometer'

g. money terms (obsolete except for rupia)

rupia	'rupiah'
suku	'50 cents'
tali	'25 cents'
kelipi	'5 cents'

f. others

pasa	'pair'

14   ORDER WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

When a noun is modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative follows the noun:

(161) ana   (-ndo)   nie
      child-1pnPO   DEM
      'this child (of ours (inc))'

(162) io nee -no   usie io lili
      ART nama-3sPO DEM   ART lili
      'the name of that was "lili"'

The demonstrative also comes last when the noun is modified by another noun:

(163) io   nee -no   badili sie
      ART name-3sPO weapon DEM
      'the name of the weapon'

If a noun is mofified by (an) attribute(s), the demonstrative comes after the (last) attribute:

(164) mia   me-bangka sie   'the people that go by boat'
      person VM-boat   DEM

(165) io hawu mo-taha nie   'this red skirt'
      ART skirt VM-red   DEM

For the order with numerals and quantifying words, see 7. and 8. above.

15   THE NUMBER OF MODIFIERS POSSIBLE IN A SINGLE NOUN PHRASE

The largest number of modifiers found in a text was four:

(166) aaso   io sampa -no   taipa me-nggena nunu
      one   ART branch-3sPO mango VR-same   bunyan.tree

```
(QUAN) (ART)  N              (N)          (EQ.CL)
langkai-no
big     -3sPO
```

'one mango tree branch as big as a bunyan tree'

When asked to make a sentence out of a given noun and several modifiers, a language informant produced a sentence which had five modifiers, one of them being a relative clause with several stative verbs as attributes:

```
(167) aaso    io    ana   tama henu    me-dongke, langkai,
      one     ART   child man  RM      VR-tall    big
      (QUAN)    (ART) N     (N)                     (RelCl)

      mo-pute  kaa mo-nuwo la'a
      VR-white and VR-fat  DEM
      (DEM)
```

'that one tall, big, white and fat boy'

SUMMARY

The noun in Padoe consists of simple or derived nouns, reduplication being a fairly common feature. Derived verbal nouns are formed by means of five different strategies. These verbal nouns are often expressed by participles or relative clauses in English. Personal pronouns consist of two independent sets, and another set of possessive suffixes.

Modification by another noun is characterized by nasal linkage which takes place before voiceless stops /p,t,k/ in certain fixed expressions, and by the possessive linker -no. Nouns are often modified by the article io, but the rules for its use are not established in this paper. Proper nouns are preceded by the person indicator ai.

Demonstratives constitute of one set for the noun head function, and another set for the modifier function. They can be used both locatively and anphorically. There is also a set of locative demonstratives. All these sets have both singular and a plural forms.

Numerals are divided into free and affixed forms. They can receive verbal affixation and are reduplicated in certain cases.

The nasal linker is used between a numeral and a noun with an initial voiceless stop. Quantification, other than that expressed by numerals, is shown by verbs or nouns. Padoe uses a few classifiers and a larger group of measure nouns.

Relative clauses are formed by the relative marker henu. It is always used in headless relative clauses; in clauses with a head the rules of its use are not yet established.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the interlinearization
(second-line) of the examples:

ART	article
CAUS	causative
CLASS	classifier
COND	conditional
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic clitic or affix
GP	general preposition
IO	indirect object
IR	irrealis
LG	nasal linkage
n	inclusive
NVOL	non-volitional
NR	nominalizer
O	object
p	plural
PERF	perfective
PI	person indicator
PM	plural marker
PO	possessive
pol	polite form
PRON	pronoun
Q	question marker
RE	realis
RED	reduplication
RM	relative marker
s	singular
S	subject
VR	verbalizer
x	exclusive
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person