THE NOUN PHRASE IN PADOE

Marjo Karhunen

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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)
(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 possessive 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'
niilo '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-al0 'to believe' pom-pe-alo-al0 '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 possessive 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 lawo
   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
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 subdistrict 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 tuuwu'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
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET 1</th>
<th>SET 2</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE SUFFIX</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>iaku</td>
<td>aku</td>
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<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>iiko</td>
<td>iko</td>
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<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>umono</td>
<td>lo'o / o(no)</td>
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<td>1pex</td>
<td>ikami</td>
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<td>ikito</td>
<td>kito</td>
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<td>2p</td>
<td>ikomiu</td>
<td>komiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>umboro</td>
<td>lo'iro / iro</td>
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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  'we have been here all the time'
     1pPRON EMPH continually here

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
6) a relative clause:

(17) ikito, henu mpe-eka       'we, who go up'
     lpnPRON 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-PERC VR-come.back

(19) aku    -to mo-turi      'I'm already asleep'
     1sPRON-PERC 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
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-le re
person-LG-VR-garden 'farmer'

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

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-3sPO river-3sPO 'current of the river'

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

(41) tapu-no patolo
tip-3sPO pencil 'tip of 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
horn -3sPO moon 'crescent moon'

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

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

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

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

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

(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
    ipxPRON VR-sell langsats
    '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?'
(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 question word
   io-mbio 'what':

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

(65) io -mbio ula'a?
    ART-what DEM
    '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
ART house-2sPO
'your house'

But:

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

b. with nouns modified by a demonstrative:

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

(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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>MODIFIER</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>nie</td>
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<tr>
<td>that (near)</td>
<td>sie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (far)</td>
<td>la'a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
These pronouns can be used both locatively and anaphorically.

7.1 Locative Usage

nie/unie/niire/uniiire 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
DEM 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:
(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 purposes, 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 considered as the known entity:

(104) ro- me-hawe sie
    3PS-PM-come DEM
    'they came'
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-sampa 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;

35
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-1s1O 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>AFFIXED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>aaso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>oruo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>otolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>opaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>olimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>onoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>opitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>oalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>osio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The numeral 'ten' has the following forms:

   ten   hopolu   -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  hopolu kaa aso  21  ruapulu kaa aso
2  oruo  12  hopolu kaa oruo  22  ruapulu kaa oruo
3  otolu  13  hopolu kaa otolu  30  tolu-pulu
4  opaa  14  hopolu kaa opaa  40  pato-pulu
5  olimo  15  hopolu kaa olimo  50  lima-pulu
6  onoo  16  hopolu kaa onoo  60  nomo-pulu
7  opitu  17  hopolu kaa opitu  70  pitu-pulu
8  oalu  18  hopolu kaa oalu  80  halu-pulu
9  osio  19  hopolu 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
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  
    RED-one-1sPO  
    'I myself; only I'

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

c. oru-oruo-kami
    RED-two -1pxRE
    ourselves'

d. opaa-opaa-komiu
    RED- four-2pRE
    'only the four of you; you
    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 ART weapon
    'three weapons'

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-LG-year
    'four years'

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

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'
lalu   'eight nights'
isio   'nine nights'
Ordinal numbers in Padroe are formed by the prefix ko-:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ko-oruo} & \quad \text{'the second'} \\
\text{ko-hopulo kaa olimo} & \quad \text{'the fifteenth'}
\end{align*} \]

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
lp -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 -lsPO
'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'
11 OTHER ATTRIBUTES

Expansions by the article, another noun, quantifier, a demonstrative, and attributes like a relative clause and verbs have been expounded. 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 mango 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'
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 classifiers (cf. Muna in Van den Berg, 1989, which has twelve classifiers). Notice that in phrases the classifiers are usually affixed by the possessive -no, or the nasal linkage 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
objects and for anything upright which grows as a cluster; for tall singular objects it is inter changable 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
lpS-VR-get -3sO CLASS-3sPO bamboo
'we found bamboo'

(155) otolu pu'u -no pa'e
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hile</td>
<td>'side (e.g. of a house)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole</td>
<td>'slice (e.g. of bread)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batu</td>
<td>'piece (e.g. of meat)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tia</td>
<td>'part, piece (e.g. of land)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. parts of plants and trees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ase</td>
<td>'hand (of bananas)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'a</td>
<td>'bunch (of coconuts)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonggi</td>
<td>'cluster (of langsats)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. extents of time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olo</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woongi</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minggu</td>
<td>'week'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wule</td>
<td>'month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'u</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galura</td>
<td>'rainy season'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. lengths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>depa</td>
<td>'cubit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ropa</td>
<td>'meter (2 cubits)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamo</td>
<td>'span'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lela</td>
<td>'step'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ure</td>
<td>'space between two joints'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. volume

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puru meo</td>
<td>'very small amount (lit.'cat's paw')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raku</td>
<td>'handful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongo</td>
<td>'package'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelasi</td>
<td>'glass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botolo</td>
<td>'bottle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumba'a</td>
<td>'plate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bele</td>
<td>'tin (can)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karu</td>
<td>'sack'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. metric terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>liter</td>
<td>'liter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metere</td>
<td>'meter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilo</td>
<td>'kilogram, kilometer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 modified 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
'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 anaphorically. 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