# GRAMMAR SKETCH OF TEHIT A TOROR LANGUAGE THE WEST DOBERAL PENINSULA NEW GUINEA (IRIAN JAYA)

### THESIS

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### FOREWORD

Since the last years of my study in The Institute for Teachers and Education (Institut Pendidikan Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan/IKIP) in Yoqyakarta 1978-1979 I have been involved with field work on languages in the western part of the Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula of New Guinea (Irian Jaya). The work has been done under the supervision of Doctor Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo as a project supported by The Centre for Language Development (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa/Pusat Bahasa) in Jakarta. It is the aim of the Pusat Bahasa to have people trained in linguistic work particularly to work on various local languages found throughout the country as culturally rich elements to enrich the national language "Bahasa Indonesia". Part of this, I have already used as academic essay to obtain the degree of master of arts in Department of Indonesian Language and Arts. This is entitled "A Structural Analysis on Tehit Language in the context of Language Teaching in Schools" (Analisis Struktur Bahasa Tehit dalam kaitannya dengan pengajaran bahasa di Sekolah).

As a follow up of the above mentioned preliminary activities I was then encouraged to take part several times in linguistic field work whether formally arranged or out of my own interest. Profesor Doctor W.A.L. Stokhof is the person who has given me a great deal of help in several ways, by

giving guidance to this particular work. However the reality is that I still lack the capabilities to undertake a real linguistic work. I am by no means yet there, although I am trying my best, there is still much more knowledge of method and theory and 'know how' needed to cope with before I can reach a suitable standard to go along with this particular work, as is reflected in this present MA thesis ("Doctoraal Scriptie" Dutch).

I must admit that what is given in this work is still very limited in its scope and depth but it may be considered one more step forewards. This thesis has been written to fulfill one of the conditions for obtaining 'MA' degree in the Faculty of Letters at the State University of Leiden, The Netherlands. It would not have been possible to do this work without the co-operation of my colleagues to whom I am indebted. It is my pleasure to thank sincerely all people who have made it possible for me to do this work and who have given me the attention, help and guidance which I have greatly appreciated. Thanks are due to the following persons and institutions.

- The IKIP Yogyakarta, the institute where I was taught and fed with basic knowledge of linguistic work and where I was given the opportunity to obtain my "doctorandus" degree.
- The Governor and the Provincial Authorities in Irian Jaya for their understanding and support which have offered possibilities to study in Indonesia and abroad.

- Doctor G. Reesink and Doctor C.L. Voorhoeve for their efforts in guiding me with patience and a full understanding in accomplishing this thesis.
- Profesor Doctor W.A.L. Stokhof, the head of Indonesian Language Development Project and the staffs who made every thing possible for me to enjoy the opportunity of studying in The Netherlands.
- Last but not least, my dearest wife and children for their love and support to "keep going"

### PART I

### INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 General

Tehit is a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language belonging to the Toror language group of the western most part of the West Doberai Peninsula(Bird's Head) of New Guinea. As has been pointed out by Voorhoeve (1975:718) and Wurm (1975:635,1982:28), the languages of this group has form a language family called, the West Bird's Head Family. This group is also being classified as a member of the West Papuan Phylum. The Phylum comprises the languages in the central and western parts of the Doberai area as well as a number of languages in the North Moluccas. These languages are Papuan (non-Austronesia), i.e. they are not genetically related to the Austronesian languages in the area.

Since then several other studies have been carried out, which almost always refer to those initial publications. A linguistic survey done by Barr and Barr (1978) on languages in West New Guinea (Irian Jaya), which is further compiled by Silzer (1980) again has enlarged the previous data by showing numbers of speakers, and the area where languages and dialects are spoken. Concerning Indonesian National Policy of Language Development, The "Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa" (The Centre for Language Development) has started surveys and structural description on languages throughout Indonesia since 1970s. Regarding Irian Jaya, by this framework and

especially for the target languages several works have been established. Flassy (1977/1978, 1978, 1981) bad started a structural description and vocabulariy list with texts on Tehit. The same activity later become more elaborated where Ansani and Fautngiel (1983) turned Mooi, Purba and Animung on Klabra (1983, 1985), and Animung and Flassy (1986) on Seget. In a collaborated work Stokhof and Flassy (1979) carried out a description of Phonetics and a Grammar Observation on Tehit. Taking this work as a guidance, Flassy (1983) went further with a preliminary description on Phonetics in Mooi. Some detail on dialects (variants) in Tehit gathered from the above mentioned data has been contributed to the work done by Wurm and Hatori (ed.1981) on language map of New Guinea Area, Oceania and Australia, especially on part West Papuan Phylum. Eventually wordlists whether consisting of Holle 1082 items or Swadesh and SIL 200 items become available for the eliciting of vocabularies among the target languages. A recent work had been provided by Berry and Berry (1987). This consists of an overview on grammar and vocabularies of the target language group. The Toror language group covers five languages: Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tehit. These languages share, apart from a considerable number of cognates, many similar linguistic features. Each of The Toror languages is spoken in a number of dialects or variants. Tehit is spoken by about 8500 people spread over the districts (/Kecamatan) Teminabuan, Ayamaru and Beraur in the regency (/Kabupaten) of Sorong. The language is divided into 8 main dialects and several variants with a cognate-precentage varying around 70 to 97 %.

Dialects and variations in Tehit are (1) Tehit Jit, (2) Tehit Mbolfle with variants Afsya-Neqna and Gemna, (3) Tehit Sayfi with variants Srer and Sayfi, (4) Tehit Ymian with variants Ymian and Sfaden, (5) Tehit Sfaryere, (6) Tehit Fqar, (7) Tehit Sawiat, (8) Tehit Salmeit.

### 1.2 Orthography

Tehit has 18 consonant: p, b, f, m, w, t, d, j, n, s, l, r, k, g, ngg, y, q, h, and 10 vowels: i, ii, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, u, uu. Practically they are as follows.

(0) a Consonants:

```
/p/ 'pasa 'rice', sup 'soup'; hapal 'to memorise'
/b/ braq 'quick', mblit 'fly', ta'ba 'marker using
for counting the debts', ta'mbra 'forest';
/m/ mom 'she', ta'man 'debt';
/l/ li'lin 'ginger', 'tali 'sun', so'sol 'flute';
/d/ di'nikm 'disappearing', 'ndara 'a killing sin',
     tsa'da 'my fore head', 'sanda 'orange (colour)',
     ndon 'marsupial', na'ndla 'man';
/j/ 'jaqfan 'joining path', qje 'the cross path of
     hunting prey';
/n/ 'nan 'you (PL)', ta'naq 'my friend';
/k/ ko'ko 'chicken', 'sika 'cat' kik 'scabies';
/g/ gim 'force', na'ngi 'woman', 'nggian 'future';
/q/ qo'rik 'pig', so'qar 'tortch', 'amaq 'stone';
/w/ 'wanggo 'cape', 'slawa 'dance', wow 'he';
/h/ ha'in 'louse', 'haain 'ones own', 'sahaq
     'silver arm band';
/f/ faf 'we(INCL)', sa'far 'storm';
/y/ yit 'they', me'ya 'small shrimp', hay' don't';
/s/ sa'boban 'layman', me'sat 'leech',
     'gafes 'boil';
/l/ las 'leaf', se'le 'digging stick',
     mbol 'house';
/r/ 'ra 'over there, not in side', raa 'which',
```

'haraq 'bad sign', mbar 'midrib of palm leaf';

```
b Vowels:
    /i/ ik 'cloud', sinm 'battle plan', tsi 'my face'
        mhit 'she gives', ni 'thing',
    /ii mhiit 'she is enough', tsii 'I am sinking';
    /e/ e'sem 'band on the bag', se 'water'
    /ee/ 'eesem 'the sleep', see 'until';
    /a/ 'amaq 'stone', msa 'her head';
    /aa/ msaa 'an unfertile woman, not giving birth';
    /o/ o'go 'bannana', 'tsot 'my marrow;
    /oo/ 'oogom 'the lay down of garden', tsoot 'I see';
    /u/ 'ubat 'carambola', tsut 'I link';
    /uu/ 'uubat 'medicine' uupas 'police',
        tsuut 'I whisper to him to delay his action'.
```

# Note:

- 1) vowels /u/ and /uu/ actualy are high mid non-long and long [u], [u:] for the odinary (old) speakers whom are less influenced by Malay/Indonesian.
- 2) consonant /j/ is ordinarily Palatalized Alveolar Vd. Stop [dy] which is influenced by Malay/Indonesian Lamino Dental Voiced Affricate [j].

### 1.3 Presentation

The examples and text given in this sketch are given in a practical spelling. However, regarding Tehit linguistic characteristics, some specific adaptions are used. The very frequent one is using hyphens (-) preceding the verb and verblike words and inalienable nouns (body parts and kinship terms). This mark will also be use as morpheme boundary, mostly between affixes and the word they relate to. The next one is the quote markers ('), which is used preceding and following the glosses whether of a single word or a sentence whereas within Tehit material it is marks intonation. Other conventions and abbreviations are:

```
sentence boundry
11
        ungrammatical (or historical reconstruction)
**
        original form
0
        zero
        become
--->
       derived from
<---
       plus/and
( )
       optional
        first person pronominal
1
        second person pronominal
2
        third person pronominal
3
SG
        singular
\mathtt{PL}
        plural
F
        feminine
M
        masculine
N
        noun
V
        verb
Adj
        adjective
Adv
        adverb
        conjunction
Conj
        demonstrative
DEM
        first person plural exclusive
ECL
        completion
Compl
Expl
        explanation
ICL
        first person plural inclusive
\mathtt{REL}
        relative clause marker
```

S speaker

A addresse

Sbj Subject

Pred Predicate

Object

IMP imperative

Q question mark

Pron pronominal

SFX suffixes

PFX prefixes

POSS possessiveness

NEG negative

Cf. compare with

### PART II

### MORPHOLOGY

### 2.0 Introduction

Morphemes in Tehit can be divided into free and bound morphemes. Free morphemes are those forms that can occur by themsleves and that carry a certain, fixed meaning. The bound morphemes, can only occur attached to other morphemes in order to form independent words.

Free morphemes are words such as free pronouns (tet 'I', nen 'you', etc), alienable nouns (mbol 'house', wgoit 'tree', etc), conjunctions (fo 'if', see 'than', etc), adverbs (gamit 'very', brag 'quick', etc). Bound morphemes are verbs, inalienable nouns, adjectives, adpositions, certain conjunctions, and pronominal affixes.

Before I discuss the various wordclasses and their morphological valencies, I will give an overview of the morphological processes that Tehit employs.

### 2.0.1 Affixation

The most productive, all-pervasive process of affixation involves the bound pronouns, which will be presented in 2.1. They are required as prefix to any verb stem and inalienable noun and other word classes of the same form (bound morphemes) to express the agent and possesor respectively. With transitive verbs the same affixes are used as suffix to coreference the object (see 2.4.1.). Nouns also may use third person pronominal suffixes to indicate gender, size and number (see 2.1 and 2.2).

A second type of affixation involves a kind of verb compounding. Some verbs, nouns, and a few particles (i.e forms that may not themselves function as a part-of-speech) may be directly suffixed to any verb to form a verbal idiom. Thus, the verb <u>-qat</u> 'clear away', may be affixed to a verb like <u>!-seele</u> 'to throw': <u>!-seeleqat</u> 'to throw a way for ever/completely' (see further 2.4.2.). Related to the compounding affixation is the process that nominalizes verbs by prefixing the generic nouns <u>ni</u> 'thing' or <u>na</u> 'person' (see 2.2.4.).

### 2.0.2 Reduplications

Tehit employs two kinds of reduplication. The first type simply reduplicates the stem as a whole, without any phonetic changes. This indicates plurality or intensity. The second type changes the vowel of the second stem to indicate a degree of indefiniteness of the plural concept eg. wgoit-wgat 'brush, bush', from stem wgoit 'tree' cf. wgoit-wgoit 'trees' (see further 2.2.3.2.).

Because pronominal affixes carry a heavy functional load in Tehit morphology and syntax, I will begin the description of Tehit word classes with the pronoun, followed by noun, deictics, verbs and other word classes. Each word class will be defined by morphological and/or syntactic criteria.

### 2.1 Pronoun

### 2.1.1 Categorization

The free pronouns in Tehit can function by themselves as nominal constituents of the clause. Tehit distinguishes genders for third person singular and the opposition inclusive-exclusive for first person plural. The dual forms are transparently derived from the numeral 'two' lak, with elision of the final consonant, and the plural pronouns. These compound forms can then be further contracted to free pronominal forms:

```
(1) tet 'I'
  nen 'you'
  wow 'he'
  mom 'she'
  mam 'we(ECL)'
  faf 'we(ICL)'
  nan 'you, pl'
  yit 'they'
  lamam, lam,
  amam, am 'we two(ECL)'
  lafaf, laf,
  afaf, af 'we two(ICL)'
  lanan, lan,
  anan, an 'you two'
  layit, ayit, ay 'they two'
```

The bound forms are affixed to verbs, inalienable nouns, etc (see relevant sections) to coreference subject, object, and possessor. The bound forms are prefixes on verbs and inalienable nouns to indicate subject and possessor. When they refer to objects they are verbal affixes. This is only possible, however, with third person objects. First and second person object, require the free forms.

For purposes of emphasis free pronouns may precede the inflected verb or noun, but they are not necessary.

Consider the following examples:

(2) t-ain 'I go' tet t-ain 'I go' t-ono 'my father' tet t-ono 'my father' w-soot tet 'he sees me' [\*w-soot-t]

n-ain 'you go' nen n-ain 'you go' n-ono 'your father' nen n-ono 'your father' w-soot nen 'he sees you'[\*w-soot-n]

w-ain 'he goes' wow w-ain 'he goes' w-ono 'his father' wow w-ono 'his father' t-soot-w 'I see him' t-soot-m 'I see her' m-soot-y 'she sees them' etc.

The free and bound pronouns are summarized in Matrix 1 (taken from Flassy and Stokhof: 1971:74).

!	sing	dual   plu	
1	+Fr   -Fr	+ <u>F</u> .r	-Fr
excl		(l)a'faf/laf   faf	•
1st     person   incl		(l)a'mam/lam   mam	m -
2nd person	nen   n-	(l)a'nan/lan   nan	n·
•	HOH  H-/-H	•	<i></i> I
3rd     person fem	•	(l)ayit/(l)ay yit/yiy/  iit/yey/	•

Matrix 1: Pronominals

Common and proper nouns are normally suffixed by the bound third persons to indicate gender, size and number (for special conditions, see 2.2.3.1).

(3) gender
 wet 'child'
 wet-m 'girl'
 wet-w 'boy'

 mqan 'dog'
 mqan-m 'female dog'
 mqan-w 'male dog', etc.

Non-human animate, and inanimate nouns make use of the gender markers to indicate size: feminine = big; masculine = small, as in :

- (4) size
   a e'ren 'fish'
   e'ren-m 'big fish'
   e'ren-w 'small fish'
  - b mbol 'house'
     mbol-m 'big house'
     mbol-w 'small house'

With inalienable nouns, the feminine third person affix indicates the whole (clearly related to "bigness") whereas the masculine affix indicates a part of the whole (related to "smallness").

(5) shape
 t-sa 'my head'
 t-sa-m 'my whole head'
 t-sa-w 'part of my head'

Plural nouns are marked with the third person plural bound pronoun.

- (6)a number
   mbol 'house'
   mbol-y 'houses'
  - b fan 'path'
     fan-y 'path'

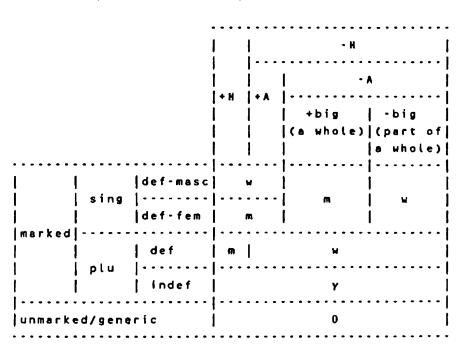
Plurality may also be expressed in a different way. With non-human animate and inanimate nouns the masculine <u>-w</u> indicates plurality.

- (7)a 'sika 'cat'
   'sika-w 'male cat' or 'cats'
   'sika-m 'female cat', \*cats
  - b mbol 'house'
    mbol-y 'houses'
    mbol-w 'small hose' or 'houses'

With Human nouns the feminine  $\underline{-m}$  indicates plurality:

- (8)a na- ndla 'man (or 'male person).
   people male
   'man (or 'male person)'
   na- ndla -m
   people male 3SGM
   'male people'
  - b guru -w w- aa ndla -w
    g 3SGM 3SGM REL male 3SGM
    'the male teacher'
    guru -m m- aa ndla -m m- aa roq
    g 3SGF 3SGF REL male 3SGF 3SGF REL many
    'many male teachers'
  - c t-ono-w
    1SG father 3SGM
    'my father'
    y- qan na- ono -m m- aheit
    3PL body man father 3SGF 3SGF stay
    '(who are counted as) the fathers are stay'

The bound pronominals are summarized in the following matrix (idem: 1979:77):



Matrix 2 : Pronominal Affixes

### 2.1.1 Possessive Pronouns

As mentioned above, inalienable nouns (see 2.2) require the bound pronoun as prefix to indicate the possessor. Alienable nouns need a special possessive pronoun, when they are possessed. The possessive pronoun is formed on the basis of the bound pronouns.

```
(9)a singular
  (tet) t-efe mbol 'my house'
  (nen) n-efe mbyele 'your garden'
  (wow) w-efe wet-w 'your boy child'
  (mom) m-efe buku-m 'her (big) book'
  (lam) m-efe not-y 'the cloths of we two'
  (lan) n-efe mbol 'the house of you two'
  (lay) y-efe sem 'the water of them two'
  (mam) m-efe mbol 'our (ICL) house'
  (faf) f-efe mbyele 'our (ECL) garden'
  (nan) n-efe wet-m 'your (pl) girl child'
  (yit) y-efe buku-m ' ther (big) book'
```

Alternative possessive forms are available for singular, dual and plural forms.

```
b singular
  ted-a
                [**tet + a > teda]
  nen-a
  wow-a
  mom-a
  dual
  lamam-i
  lafaf-i
  lanan-i
  laved-i
                      [**layit + i> layedi]
  plural
  mam-i
  faf-i
  nan-i
                      [**yit + i> yedi]
  yed-i
```

There does not seem to be a difference in meaning between the forms in (9)a and (9)b. The forms in (9)b can either precede or follow the head noun, whether the noun phrase is ended with a demonstrative (or locative or temporal) or not. This is illustrated in (10).

The <u>-efe</u> possessive pronouns of (8) normally precede the head noun, as in examples (11).

(11)a y- efe mbyele (ra)
 they POSS garden (DEM)
 'Their garden ((sloping)up there)'

The <u>-efe</u> forms may not follow the noun if no other information in given the noun phrase.

b \*mbyele y-efe

When a demonstrative, such as  $\underline{ra}$  'over there' in (10), or a longer locative or temporal modification is added, the  $\underline{-efe}$  form may follow the head noun as in :

c [mbyele w- efe se defit ale]NP
 garden his POSS river side there-lower

w- qasye sonat
it undone yet
'His garden which is (there) near the river is
undone yet'

When nouns are possessed, whether inalienably with the pronominal prefix or alienably with the possesive pronoun, they can be followed by emphatic markers <u>ta</u>. These markers are again related to the pronominal forms.

- (12)a t-ono-ta 'my very father' n-meis-na 'your very MBDC/WZH'
  - b t-efe mbol-ta 'my very house'
    t-eda mbol-ta

As was the case with <u>-efe</u> in (11)c, the emphatic possessive pronoun may follow the noun if a demonstrative closes off the noun phrase.

- (13) a mbol t-eda- ta 'ana house I POSS EMP DEM 'There, my very house'
  - b \*mbol t-eda-ta

The form ta may actually subtitute the emphatic forms for other person categories, e.q.

(14) w-efe mqan-ta 'his very dog' or w-efe mqan-wa

The possessive pronouns are summarized as follows:

	• • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	1			emphatic
	ĺ	- A	+ A	POS Postpos
	sing	t•	te'da 'tefe	į. į
1	l	m -	ma'm{	] · · · · · · ·
1		"	ma-m.	
i	• • •	1 4.	l faifi	
1st	j i	• • • • • •		i eri i i
person	excl	(l)af	(l)a'fafi	
1	duet	•		1
ļ	incl	(l)am	(l)a'mami (l)a'mefe	mi
!	sing		ne'na	!!!!!
2 nd		n	'nefe	to
person	ptu	!	na'ni	na
!				!!!!
ļ.	dual	(l)an	(l)a'nani (l)a'nefe	! ! ! !
1	[			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
ļ		•	wo'wa   'wefe	we
<u> </u>	s i ng	•		!: ! !
3rd	fem	m	mo'ma   'mefe	
person				····
ļ	l plu	l y	ye'di   'yefe	!!!!
				yi
I	dual	(l)my	(l)a'yedi (l)a'yedi	

Matrix 3: Nouns Classification in Possesiveness

### 2.2 Nouns

As common in other languages, nouns in Tehit function as head of nominal constituents that fill various roles in the clause. The Tehit nouns fall into a number of subclasses defined by morphological features and syntactic valencies. After a presentation of various noun classes as a further step I will give a description of the mor-

phological processes in separate sections.

### 2.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns need to be distinguished into those that are inalienably possessed and those that are alienable. The former require a pronominal prefix (2.1) to indicate the possessor, the latter are possessed by a possessive pronoun (2.1.1).

### 2.2.1.1 Inalienable noun

The inalienable nouns, prefixed by a bound pronoun include words denoting body parts, which are also used for parts of inanimate objects, kinship terms and terms that express other social relationships, such as a 'friend', 'enemy', 'name sake', etc. For each feature the following examples will be brought foreward.

```
(15)a -sa 'head'
     t-sa 'my head'
     n-sa 'your head'
      '-giet 'mouth'
      'f-giet 'our (ICL) mouths'
      'm-giet 'our (XCL) mouths'
   b -las 'leaf'
      'm-las 'it(FM) leaf'
      'y-las 'their leaves'
     -gri 'branch'
     m-gri 'its branch'
   c '-hano 'sister (ML EGO)'
      't-hano 'my sister'
      'y-hano 'their sister'
   d -a'nag 'friend'
     n-a'naq 'your friend', etc.
```

As mentioned before in 2.1.3, these inalienably possess-

ed nouns may in addition be preceded by a free pronoun to emphasize the identity of the possessor.

(16)a mam m-a'nag 'our(INCL) friend'
b yit y-fa'in 'their bride giver/receiver'

### 2.2.1.2 Alienable nouns

All other common nouns constitute the class of alienable nouns. They can only be possessed by possessive pronouns as in:

- (17)a 't-ono 'w-efe mbol 'my father's house'
  - b na-y 'y-efe wet 'child of people'
- d 't-amuk 'w-efe 'mqan 'dog of my MB', etc.

  One other feature to be mentioned is, that nouns regarded as proper nouns do not seem to form a separate subclass in Tehit. They too require gender marking and they can also be possessed with a possessive pronoun.
- (18)a 'Maria-m m-mba wet-y 'Mary hit the children'
  - b y-mba 'Maria-m 'They hit Mary'
  - c Lu'kas-w w-efe (wet) 'Maria-m
    'Mary (the child of)Lucas'
  - d Laher-m m-sma Lucas-w
    'Rahael mary Lucas'
  - e \*t-Maria(-m)
- but f t-syoq Lukas fe-m
  'I act in Lucas manner/as Lucas did'

### 2.2.2 Classifiers

Classifiers form a subclass of nouns. Some are used with both human and non-human animate, others are only used

with non-human, and one is used only with humans, with distinct forms for singular(/SG) and plural(/PL). There is only one classifier used with human nouns. It is for singular <a href="eqan">-qan</a> and for plural <a href="eqan">-qian</a> meaning 'body'.

(19) SG: -qan 'body' as in:
wet qan mres
child body one
'The only child'

PL: '-gian 'bodies'
'nandla 'gian ya'har
'Ten male person'

One classifier can be used with human and non-human animate nouns: -a'naq 'pair'. It is inherently plural.

qlen a'naq mres 'one pair of bird/two birds'
bird pair one

mqan a'naq hat 'four pair of dogs' dog pair four

The other classifiers are only used with non-human nouns and specify shape, size, type of animate being, etc.

(21)a '-qain 'tail' for any objects that have a tail'
e'ren 'qain lak 'two fish'
fish tail two

mqan 'qain mres 'a dog' dog tail one

qo'rik 'qain lak 'two pigs'
pig tail two

b '-ooli 'wing' for any objects that have wings'
qlen 'ooli mres 'one bird'
bird wing one

hise'ne 'ooli lak 'two air crafts' flying thing wing two

- ta'go 'ooli lak 'two angels' angel wing two
- c '-ena 'hand' for any insect
  smbi'yar 'ena mres 'one bee'
  qfo'rin 'ena lak 'two mosquitoes'
  ta'mbo 'ena to'lik 'three spiders'
- d -sa 'head' for any round/head-like object
  ti'tyoqo sa 'mahot 'five coconuts'
  'ondo sa mres 'one orange'
  qba'ti sa hat 'four bunches tobacco'
- e '-olo 'trunk' for any pole-like object
  fa'ndera 'olo lak 'two flag poles'
  ti'tyoqo 'olo mres 'one coconut tree'
- f '-si 'eyes, face' for any eye-like object
   qnda'fan si lak 'two pineapples'
   la'it si hat 'four witchcrafts'
   'qlembet si roq 'many satans'
- g -dla 'seed' for any seed-like object
  qa'flin dla hat 'four beans'
  sa'mbet dla ya'har 'ten necklaces'
- h -gri 'twig' for any branch-like object
  ni'dfia gri mres 'one stalked flower'
  ni'mbra gri ya'har 'ten stalked vegetables'
- i -qnat 'piece' for any blade-like object
  'amaq qnat lak 'two (flat) stones'
  fa'fan qnat hat 'four boards'
  fi'nggen qnat mahot 'five plates'
- j '-defit 'ear' for any edge-like object
   o'mbit 'defit lak 'two seas'
   o'rot 'defit o'gin 'the dark sided valley'
   medya 'defit hat 'four tables'
- k '-las 'leaf' for any sheet-like object
  fra las lak 'two sheets'
  'krotas las hat 'four sheets of paper'

- o '-syaala 'shelter' for shelter-like object
  mbol 'syaala lak 'two houses'
  i'hin 'syaala to'lik 'three banyan trees'
- q '-alit 'fold' special use for fabric or cloth
   not 'alit w-samsa 'huge of fabrics/cloths'
- r <u>'-qadik</u> 'cover' special use for sacral cloth (the "kain-timur")
  nothoq 'gadik mta'nali 'seven sacral cloths'

Given the noun phrases with number, which make a classifier necessary, it is important to see the difference between noun as classifier and the same noun with its lexical meaning. The classifier is a free form; with its lexical meaning the noun is inflected as inalienable noun. That is, for the lexical meaning it needs the pronominal prefix whereas for the classifier form no gender is specified.

- (22)a wet qan mres 'one child'
   wet-w qan mres 'one boy'
   wet-w w-qan mres 'only one body by himself'
   Piter-w w-qan mres 'only Peter by himself'
   nangi-y y-gian mres 'only women by themselves'
  - b mqan a'anq lak 'two pairs of dogs/four dogs'
    mqan-y a'anaq lak 'the dogs, which are two pairs'
    mqan-y y-anaq lak 'the dog are going in two parts'
  - - e'ren 'qain lak 'two fish'
      e'ren-y y-qain lak 'There are two tails of fish'

### 2.2.3 Morphological process

### 2.2.3.1 Gender

Gender is a rather complex category in Tehit. It interacts with features of humanness, definiteness, number, size, but there are also inanimate concrete and abstract nouns that are obligatorily masculine or feminine. The latter category is therefore lexically marked for gender. These nouns are presented under "rigid gender" in 2.2.3.1.1. We could speak of flexible gender marking when third person singular and plural suffixes specify the gender or number of human nouns or when they are employed to indicate the other categories, see 2.2.3.1.2.

### 2.2.3.1.1 Rigid gender

A number of nouns are inherently masculine marked by <u>-w</u>, or feminine <u>-m</u>, or plural <u>-y</u>. The inherently plural nouns are not marked for a specific gender. When I discuss flexible gender, it will become clear why lexical plurality is discussed in this context. It is not easy to give semantic reasons for rigid gender marking, but some general observations seem to have some validity. In the first place, those inalienable nouns expressing kinship or general social relations that are inherently female or male carry of course, feminine or masculine gender.

(23)a masculine
na'ndlaw 'man'
ndlaw 'husband'
't-onow 'my father'
t-dotw 'my FyB, MyZH'
t-a'monw 'my oB'

b feminine
 na'ngim 'woman'
 't-emem 'my mother'
 't-qeesim 'my MyZ, FyBW'
 't-hanom 'my(MLEgo) yZ'

There are various supernatural beings and social institutions that are inherently marked for gender or plurality.

(24)a <u>supernatural</u> <u>being</u>
 masculine:
 tali qmahim 'the almighty sun'
 naagow 'god'
 nafir 'angel'

feminine:
'qlembetw 'evil'
suya'mow 'ghost/demon of fish'
si'pinim 'ghost of sago forest', etc.

but there also :
 la'itm 'witchcraft'
 la'itw 'the witchcraftship'

b institution
masculine:

qa'litw 'look-out built on top of the tree'
'nothogw 'sacral cloth for brid whealth'
'mbi'ele 'gohogw 'sacral tuber garden'

feminine:
ha'darm 'male scout initiation'
leleq'wamarm 'a ritual consultative body'
wuonm 'an education and initiation for male'
hom 'a male game of pinning a target', etc.

but there is also:
 sa'nggirm 'the third bride price'
 sa'nggirw 'quarrel'

Various natural phenomena and animals are inherently masculine. This is seen as reflected to the Tehit interpretation "changing appearances". Where the feminine phenomena are inherently feminine, which are remain "un-changing". For example, the 'moon' with its changing phases is masculine: <a href="mailto:sna-w">sna-w</a>, whereas the sun is feminine: <a href="mailto:tali-m">tali-m</a>

because it's status is more stable. Here are some more examples.

(25) a masculine sa'farw 'storm' ikw 'cloud, sky' snaw 'moon' irw 'day' sirow 'month' a'mukw 'night' gliikw 'snake' qfo'rinw 'musquito' qolw 'animals' wi'darw 'shark' so'rogw 'pronged arrow/javelin' b feminine qa'firm 'a disaster (caused by people)' e'rom 'sin' 'egim 'the death' 'fombim 'land, earth' 'talim 'sun' 'munggum 'a week' mbolm 'house' mde'mbirm 'turtle' wyarm 'crocodile' far'farim 'skate fish/ray' erneitm 'foot'

However, besides the above given criteria, there are also nouns which will be automatically change their meaning if added with one of each 3rd person singular.

c tali 'dawn' taliw 'day' talim 'sun'

Finally, a few things are inherently plural, presumably because they are concepts that refer to many small things.

(26) 'sinasy 'small mosquito'
 si'naqy 'gravel'
 'pasay 'rice '
 'siray 'salt'
 'asay 'sugar'

### 2.2.3.1.2 Flexible gender

There are human, non-human animate, as well as inanimate nouns that may be marked as masculine or feminine or plural. The meaning that these gender (and plural) markers have depends on the category of the noun as well as the content. I will start with human nouns.

(27) na 'human being' na-w 'man' na-m 'woman' na-y 'people/men'
wet-w 'boy' wet 'child' wet-m 'girl' wet-y 'children' sma-w 'husband' sma 'spouse' sma-m 'wife' sma-y 'the maried persons' ndla 'husband, ndla-w ndla-m 'husbands (def)' male' ndla-y 'husbands (indef)' ngi 'wife, female' \*ngi-w ngi∽m ngi-y 'wifes, females'

The facts in (27) seem straightforward: neutral words referring to humans can be specified for gender and number by the third person bound pronouns. However, the feminine forms can also be used to indicate plurality, but only if the reference is to a definite group. The regular plural affix indicates indefiteness or genericness.

### Thus:

(28) a sma-y 'married people' sma-m 'the (mentioned) married people' and 'wife'

b na-y 'people'
 na-m 'the (mentioned) people'
 'woman'

Similar rules hold for non-human animate nouns, with the major difference that for this category it is not feminine, but masculine that expresses plurality. Consider:

. .

(29)a mgan 'dog' mgan-m 'female dog' mgan-w 'male dog' mgan-y 'dogs' b 'sika 'cat' 'sika-m 'female cat' 'sika-w 'male cat'

But:

(30)a mqan-w may also mean 'the (definite) dogs'
 'sika-w 'the (definite) cats'
 qo'rik-w 'the (definite) pigs'

The context of short sentences illustrate the differences as follows:

(31)a sika-w w-soq sris-w
 cat catch mice
 '(naturally) cats catch mice'
 sika-y y-soq sris-w
 '(some) cats are catching mice'

b qo'rik-y y-eq mbye'le
 pig at garden
'There are pigs in the garden'
 go'rik-w w-aq 'mbyele
'There is a pig at the garden'

Then the next day, the owner comes and sees the destruction of the garden, he says:

c qo'rik-w w-at mbye'le-w
'The pigs have destroyed the garden'

Finaly, inanimate nouns that do not have lexically marked gender may be marked either masculine or feminine (2.1). With this category, masculine indicates 'small-ness' or 'part of'; feminine indicates 'bigness' or 'the whole of':

(32)a 'wqoit 'tree' 'wqoit-m 'the big tree'
'wqoit-w 'the small tree'
'wqoit-y 'trees'

b sa 'head' 't-sam-m 'my whole head'
't-sa-w 'one part of my head'

### 2.2.3.2 Reduplication

As mentioned in 2.0, Tehit has two different types of reduplications. Total reduplication simply repeats the stem in order to indicate plurality.

(33)a wqo'it 'tree'
 wqo'it-wqo'it 'trees'

 'salo 'sound, language'
 'salo-'salo 'languages'

b -gyet 'mouth'
 gyet-gyet 'mouths'

c '-eme 'mother'

'eme-'eme 'mothers'

't-eme-'t'eme 'my mothers'

The second type of reduplication replaces the stem vowel, of whatever quality, by /a/. The meaning of this reduplication does not indicate just plurality. It implies some indefiniteness, X-like objects:

### 2.2.3.3 Compounding

Compound nouns are formed by combining two nouns or a noun with another word class. The second member of the compound modifies in some sense the first.

(35)a <u>noun + noun</u>
mbol mbyele 'garden house'
house garden

- b wet hen 'baby child' child red
- c sa qdya'dan 'top branch of a tree, horn'
  head branch
  sa ryomon 'the very top'

when adding a suffix or gender/number marker to a compound, it should be placed at the second or the last word. The compound as a whole will function as a noun which become the head of a noun phrase.

- (36)a noun + verb
  w-deyt'loq
  foot loose
  'the one with unstable foot'
  deyt'loq(-w) 'the unstableness'
  - b w-gyet 'sgya
     mouth bad
     'the one with a bad talk'
     qyet'sgya(-w) 'the bad talked'
  - c w-sa e'leq
     head white
     'he had a blank head'
     sa e'leq(-w) 'the stupidity'
  - d w-si 'eit
     face burn
    'he has a fired face'
    si eit(w) 'the one with shame (faces)'

The examples show that the first noun does not receive any suffixation. The compound as a whole functions as a noun, the head of a noun phrase.

- (37)a gyet sgya-w 'the badly talked'
   mouth bad
   \*gyet-w sgya-w
  - b si o'gin-m 'the black face'
    face black
    \*si-m o'gin-m

Compounds that involve morphemes that cannot occur by themselves require the feminine gender.

- (38)a 'salo 'sound'
  'salo wa'nik-m 'a representative'
  sound on behalf
  - b wet 'child'
     wet 'amis-m 'a (problem on)twins'
     child double

### 2.2.4 Nominalization

Tehit has also the possibility to built nouns from verbs. In fact complete clauses may be nominalized, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The main nominalizing process is constructed as:

### SubjPx-V-feminine

- (39)a t-ain 'I go' t-ain-m 'my going, the way I am going'
  - b m-hnyo 'she is nice'
    m-hnyo-m 'her kindness'

Further, I want to describe the seven different possibilities to build nouns. These are:

- 1)action nouns, 2)state nouns, 3)agentive nouns, 4)instrument nouns, 5)manner nouns, 6)locative nouns, 7)objective nouns, 8)reason nouns. Each will be illustrated
  by the following examples.
- (40)1 action nouns:
   particle + verb
   ngger- "act" (does not occur by itself).
   ngger syoq '(marking =) work'
   ngger 'sroin 'writing activity'
   ngger oo'go 'garden activity'
  - 2 state nouns:
     verb + particle
     -mber "to let to" (does not occur by itself)
     ngglo 'lazy'
     ngglo-mber 'laziness'
     sanet 'stupid'
     sanet -mber 'stupidity'
     hne 'quiete'
     hne -mber 'quietness'

# 3a agentive nouns: verb + -rik/reys 'actors' sa'lyen '(to)paddle' sa'lyenrik 'canoe paddler' 'slawa '(to)dance' 'slawa-reys 'the dancers'

It is not possible to give a rule for which verbs take -rit or -reys. An alternative way to make an agentive noun is by using na + verb. But \*na-verb-rik/reys.

3b na sa'lyen 'the paddler'
 \*na sa'lyenrik
 na 'slawa 'the dancer'
 \*na 'slawa-reys
 na 'odi 'the singer'
 \*na'odi-(r)eys

# 4 instrumental nouns:

particle + verb
ni leli(-m) 'the sitting thing',
but: ka'dera 'chair'
ni qo'da(-m) 'the hitting tool',
but: qa'da'hammer'
ni sroin(-m) 'the writing tool'
but: nggrida 'pen'
ni esse(-m) 'the sleeping equipment'
but: koy 'bed'
ni ha'na(-m) 'the recognise tool',
but: 'slopa 'mirror'
ni dik erneit fe 'tools used for place food',
but: 'finggen 'plate'

These instrumental nouns are more generic than the corresponding lexical items. They can be used when one does not want to be explicit, e.g. ni walis 'thing long'= "snake"; ni y-syoq-w 'things catch him' = "he is sick (as caused by the bad spirits)".

### (41)5 manner nouns:

verb + mani
syoq 'make'
syoq ma'ni 'the way of/ability of working'
sroin 'write'
sroin ma'ni 'the way of/ability of writing'
ain 'to go'
ein ma'ni 'the way of/ability of going'
'safo 'to sell'

'safo ma'ni 'the way of/ability of selling' 'paher 'to pay' 'paher ma'ni 'the way of/ability of paying' 6 <u>locative</u> <u>nouns:</u> wi + verb wi leli(-m) 'place of sitting/gathering place' wi qo'da(-m)'place of hitting/excecutting place' wi sroin(-m) 'place of marking/marking place for male participants of institution' wi esse(-m) 'place of sleeping/living place' wi ha'na(-m)'place which for recognising/judge for women owning witchcraft' wi eit 'place for eating/a party is held' wi drik 'place of welcoming/ wi maa 'leli (-m) 'the place for sitting' wi maa 'eit (-m) 'the place for eating' 7a <u>objective nouns</u> (besides that of 4) -glya(n) '0' '-eefit 'to call' 'eefit-m 'calling' 'eefit-qlyan-m 'a just in case calling, warning' b '-sese 'to run' 'sese-m 'the running' 'sese-glyan-m 'a just in case running, checking' c '-ooso 'to hear' 'ooso-m 'news' 'ooso-qlyan-m 'a hearing without replying' It seems that the objective nouns need to have a 3rd pronominal suffix (esp. 3FSG) to avoid ambiguity of reas noun or verb. The emloyment of this cognizing it kind of nouns is shown in the following constructions: d 't-sese qlyan-m I run in case 'My running in case' (= my running to check) 'I run in case' (= I run to check)

- Cf. 't- sese qlyan

cf.

(42)8 <u>reason nouns</u> (Cf. (40)2) -mber 'to guide, to lead, to cause' -mber 'sese 'to cause a running process' mber 'sese-m 'the cause of a running process' '-sese-mber 'to cause to be happening' 'sese-mber-m 'the cause of a happening'

-mber 'salo 'to cause quarrel'
mber 'salo-m 'the cause of quarrel'
'-salo mber 'to offer/bargain'
'salo mber-m 'the offering/bargaining'

The ordering of reason noun is [particle plus verb] but when this is ordered the other way around the construction will become a verb form.

(43) w- mber salo fe mam
3SGM cause talk about we(ECL)
'he make the quarrel among us'
(= He is the source of quarrel for us)

w- salo mber mam m- qain ni e- y 3SGM talk cause we 3SGM buy thing that PL 'He offers us to buy the goods'

Regarding nominalization of the other word classes which do not belong to the nouns, the following examples may be provided.

(44) -fle 'big'
fle qa'wuaq(-m) 'an absolute bigness'

sa'lyen 'to paddle'
sa'lyen e'wer(-m) 'a paddling competition'

sa'nggir 'to talk'
sa'nggir a-naq(-m) 'a conversation'

-ngglo 'lazy'
ngglo 'fali-m 'the laziness'

The non-noun wordclasses in this case however, are taken in their plural form only. Distinctions are clearly seen in words beginning with vowels that change /a/ into /i/, /e/, /ei/ or /o/.

(46)a a/=> /i/
 '-aana 'to come to, to be at'
 't-aana 'I come to you'
 't-aana-m 'my coming to you'
 'iine-m 'debt'
 't-efe iine-m 'my debt'

```
b /a/ => /e/
      '-aase 'to sleep'
      't-aase 'I sleep'
      't-aase-m (m-hnyo) 'my sleep (is good)'
      'eese-m 'stay'
      't-efe 'eese-m 'my stay'
    c <u>/a/ => /ei/</u>
'-at 'to eat'
      t-at 'I eat'
      t-at-m 'I eat it'
      'eit-m 'problem with eating'
      t-efe eit-m 'my problem with eating'
    d /a/ => /o/
      '-aadik 'to carry'
      't-aadik 'I carry'
      't-aadik-m 'I carry it'
      'oodik-m 'fine, debt'
      't-efe 'oodik-m 'my fine'
Cf.
(47)a '-ooso 'to hear'
      'w-ooso 'he hears'
      'w-ooso-m (m-sygya)'his hearing (is bad)'
      'ooso-m 'news'
      'w-efe 'ooso-m 'his news'
    b '-qabra 'to aclaim'
      'qabra-y 'some news'
      'w-efe qabra-y 'the news about him'
    c -gi'rik 'to shout'
      gi'rik-m 'triumph'
      'f-efe gi'rikm 'our(ICL) triumph'
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# 2.3 Demonstratives

Demontratives in Tehit (by some extends to informations given in 1979:79) are listed in the following matrix:

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Matrix 4: Deictic words

Matrix 4 shows that some demonstratives in Tehit are inflected to indicate number. The back vowel /o/ is used for singular, the front vowel /e/ for plural. The inflected forms are  $(1)go- \Rightarrow ge-$ ,  $(5)'-ago- \Rightarrow '-ege-$ ,  $(10)goyt- \Rightarrow geyt-$  and  $(11)o- \Rightarrow e-$ . The others are uninflected forms. Those which belong to uninflected forms are used to point to objects that are unidentified by either the speaker (S) or the addresse (A). Demonstratives follow the noun they modify:

'sika qo-w 'this male cat'
or in plural (-H)'these cats'
'sika qo-m 'this female cat'
'sika ge-y 'these cats'

All the basic demonstratives are as follows:

(49)wet 'child' wet qo-w 'this boy (near S)' wet o'go-w 'that boy (near A)' wet a'na-w 'that boy over there (not near S and A)' wet a'le-w 'the boy over there in low place' wet 'wago-w 'the boy who've been here already' wet ra-w 'the boy over there not in low place' wet 'ago-w 'the boy up there on upper position (eg. the tree)' wet 'adi-w 'the boy there bellow (eg. under the tree)' wet nyan-w 'the boy there inside (eg. in the house)' wet goyt-w 'the boy there in front' wet o-w 'the boy whom we mentioned before/ known to us'

The proximate form (1)qo-/qe- can also be used on the noun when any of the other features are predicated of the noun.

In combination with free pronominal pronouns each deitic occurs in the plural form, which consists of suffix -y and the vowel change for infleted forms.

(51) tet qey 'I, here'
 nen qey 'you, here'
 wow qey 'he, here'
 mom qey 'she, here'
 mam qey 'we(ECL), here'
 faf qey 'we(ICL), here'
 nan qey 'you, here'
 yit qey 'they, here'
 tet adiy 'I, under there'
 wow qeyt 'he, there at the front', etc.

Without an explicit noun or other word classes, proximate (1) can also be combined with the other deictics to form a nominal constituent:

(52) qo-m qo-m 'this, the one right here'
qo-m m-o'qo-m 'that, right there (near A)'
qo-m m-a'na-m 'she over there (on the other side)'
qo-m m-a'le-m 'she over there (on the low surface)'
qo-m m-ra-m 'she outside there'
qo-m 'm-aqo-m 'she we already mentioned'
qo-m 'm-ago-m 'she up there'
qo-m 'm-adi-m 'she under there'
qo-m m-nyan-m 'she inside there'
qo-m m-o-m 'she is coming/facing you'

#### 2.4 Verb

In Tehit all verbs require subject prefixes. Transitive verbs in addition coreference the object. A verb therefore, can not appear without at least a pron. prefix.

(52)a -at 'to eat'
t-at 'I eat'
n-at 'you eat'

b -sot 'to see'
w-sot 'he sees'
y-sot 'they see', etc.

With transitive verbs, the addition of pronominal suffixes is not totally optional. If there is not an explicit object NP in a clause, 3rd person pron. suffixes are needed to indicate the object.

(53)a -at 'to eat' t-at ga I eat taro 'I eat (a) taro' t-at qa -mI eat taro 3FSG 'I eat a (big) taro' t-at -m I eat 3FSG 'I eat it (something of big sized etc.)' or 'I eat her (symbolically if for human)' or 'my (way of) eating' b -sot 'to see' w- sot-m he see 3FSG 'He sees it (something big sized, etc)' or 'He see her' or 'My (way of) seeing'

The last examples show that 'verbs with pronominal suffixes are poly-interpretable. The suffix -m can refer to "somethig big' or a feminine object, or it can mark a nominalization (2.2.5) on both transitive and intransitive verbs, see 2.4.1.

Some verbs change the stem if the subject is plural. Certain verb stems (begin) with vowel /a/ will undergo change to /i/, /e/, /ei/ or /o/, while other verbs remain unchanged. For the moment, we do not know whether this vowel change can be accounted for by phonological or morphological rules.

```
·(54)a <u>/a/ => /i/</u>
       -aambe 'to be, become'
       t-aambe kapala 'I become a chief'
       y-iimbe upas 'they become police'
    b \langle a/ = \rangle \langle e/
       -a'heit 'to stay (not going)'
       n-a'heit 'you stay'
       f-e'heit 'we(INCL) do not go'
    c <u>/a/ => /ei/</u>
       -at 'to eat'
       tet t- at
       I I eat
       'I eat'
       mom m- at
       she she eat
       'She eats'
       mam
              m-
                        eit
       we(ICL) we(ICL) eat
       'We(ICL) eat'
       -ain 'to go'
       n- ain
       you go
       'You go'
              ein
       you(pl) go
       'You (PL) go'
    d /a/ => /o/
       -a'dik 'to carry'
       m-a'dik qya-m 'she carries a bag'
       y-o'dik 'salo 'they carry (caused) a quarrel'
```

However, there are also verbs with stem vowel /a/ which do not change with a plural subject.

- (55)a /a/ => /a/
  -a'dan 'to bite'
  t-a'dan 'I bite'
  y-a'dan 'they bite'
  - b '-ala 'to cut down'
    'w-ala wqoyt 'he cuts down (a) tree'
    'f-ala wqoyt 'we cut down (a) tree'

And of course, verb stems with a vowel other than /a/remain unchanged.

- (56)a '-oso 'to hear'
  'm-oso 'She hears'
  'y-oso 'They hear'
  - b -e'ryen 'to rise up'
    w-e'ryen 'he rose up'
    y-e'ryen 'they rose up'

#### 2.4.1 Transitive and Intransitive verbs

Im this section I will describe how Tehit verbs can be classified into transitive and intransitive classes. This is not very easy, because verbs that translate English intransitive verbs behave in some respects as transitive ones in Tehit. In addition, adjectives and adpositions in Tehit exhibit verbal features as well (see sections 2.5 and 2.6).

The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs can be based upon the following examples:

(57)a -mba 'to hit'
 t-mba wgoyt-m 'I hit the tree'
 t-mba na-w 'I hit the man'
 t-mba nen 'I hit you'
 t-mba nan 'I hit you all'
 t-mba mom 'I hit her'
 t-mba-m 'I hit it/her'
 t-mba-w 'I hit him'
 t-mba-w 'I hit them'
 t-mba-y

- b '-sot 'to see'
   t-sot wgoyt-m 'I see the tree'
   t-sot na-w 'I see the man'
   t-sot nen 'I see you'
   t-sot nan 'I see you all'
   t-sot mom 'I see her'
   t-sot-m 'I see it/her'
   t-sot wow 'I see him'
   t-sot-w 'I see it/him'
   t-sot yit 'I see them'
   t-sot-y
- c '-a'dik 'to carry'
  t-a'dik wgoyt-m 'I carry the tree'
  t-a'dik na-w 'I carry the man'
  t-a'dik nen 'I carry you'
  t-a'dik mom 'I carry her'
  t-a'dik-w/m 'I hit it'

The verbs illustrated in (57) are transitive verbs. They are obligatorily prefixed for subject identification (just as all other verbs are). They can have explicit objects, either animate or inanimate. Pronominal objects require free pronouns for first and second person singular or plural. Third person pronominal objects besides expressed by the free pronouns, can also be expressed by the bound pronouns suffixed on the verb. The verbs in (58) are similar to the transitive ones of (57) but there is an important difference. These verbs do not allow an animate object. The inanimate object may be pronominal, which is then a bound pronoun as verbal suffix.

- (58)a -a'in 'go'
   'w-ain 'he goes'
   'w-ain fan-m 'he gos (on) the path'
   'w-ain-m 'he goes on it'
  - b '-sese 'run'
    't-sese fan-m 'I run (on) the path'
    't-sese-m 'I run on it'

It is also clear that verbs like those of (58) mainly have locative-type objects. This class of transitive verbs consists of motion and position verbs. Truly intransitive verbs cannot have any object. These are illustrated in (59).

- (59)a '-eengge 'to sing'
   't-eengge 'I sing'
   \*'t-eengge snaw
   't-eengge fe snaw 'I sing about the moon'
  - b '-asreren 'to laugh'
     't-asreren 'I laugh'
     \*'t-asreren na-m
     't-asreren fe na-m 'I laugh at the woman'
  - c '-agi 'to die'
     'w-agi 'he dies'
     \*'w-agi er'neit
     'w-agi fe 'erneit 'he dies for food'

Both types of transitive verbs as well as the intransitive verbs may occur with a subject prefix and the feminine third person bound pronoun as object suffix. This constitutes nominalization (see section 2.2.4).

```
(60) t-mba-m 'my hitting'
  't-seese-m 'my running'
  't-aase-m 'my sleep'
  't-engge-m 'my (way of)singing/my song'
  't-agi-m 'my death'
```

The forms of (60) are identical to inalienable nouns, denoting body parts (Cf. 2.2.1.1.). These nouns can also be verbalized. Some are transitive (61), others intransitive (62).

- (61)a '-defit 'ear'
   'm-defit-y 'her ears'
   'm-defit nggin-y 'she wears earings'
   'm-defit-y 'she wears them'
  - b 'deyt 'foot'
     't-deyt-y 'my feet'
     't-deyt sipatin-y 'I wear the shoes'
     't-deyt-y 'I wear them'
- (62)a -si 'face, to sight'
   w-si 'his face'
   \*w-si'pitis
   w-si fe 'pitis 'he is gready on many'
   w-si fe wet-y 'he takes a sight of the children'
   w-si fe-y 'he takes a sight of them'
  - b -gyet 'mouth, to scoled'
     t-gyet 'My mouth'
     \*t-gyet nen
    t-gyet fe nen 'I scold on you'
     t-gyet fe mom 'I scold on her'
     t-gyet fe-m 'I scold on it/her'

The word for 'hand' '-ena can be either transitive (63), when it refers to literal handling (Cf. (61)), or intransitive (64), when it refers to handling in a figurative sense.

- (63)a '-ena 'hand, to handle'
   'n-ena \*you handle' but: 'your hand'
   'n-ena i'nggin-w 'you wear a ring (on finger)'
   'n-ena-w 'you wear it/him'
- 'n-ena fe 'nggersyoq-y 'you handle the duties'
  'n-ena fe-y 'you handle them'
  't-ena fe ni w-roq' I handle many things'
  't-ena fe ni w-aa roq-w'
  't-ena fe-w 'I handle it/him'

### 2.4.2 Compound verbs

Compound verbs in Tehit can be formed by suffixing the non-verb word classes to the verb. The following are used most frequently: -mba 'to hit', -mbait 'to play' or also in combination with non-pronominal suffixes -fali 'together', -qat 'to clear away', -anag 'to com-

pare', <u>-gi</u> 'to dump, to block'. In most instances, these expressions refer to some negative emotion.

```
(65)a fan 'path'
     t- mba-fan
     'I hit path
     = 'I am slow (in what I do)'
      'n- mbait-fan
      'you play path
     = 'You started the way of doing things'
   b wgoyt 'tree'
     w- mba-wqoyt
     he hit tree
     = 'He stands (rightly)'
     'w-mbait-wqoyt
     he play tree
     = 'He acts unjustly'
   c 'salo 'sound, talk, language'
     y- mba'-salo
     they hit talk/sound
     = 'They argue/quarrel'
      'y-mbait'-salo
      'they evoke each other's badness'
   d t-mba-fan'-fali
     I hit path with
     = 'I do the duties slowly'
   e 'n- mbait-fan'-fali
     you play path with
     = 'You started unjust practice'
   f w- mba-wqoyt-fali
     he hit tree with
     = 'He behaves correctly'
```

The compound verbs are actually idioms because their meanings cannot be predicted from the combination of morphemes. Also, although <a href="mba">-mba</a> is a transitive verb, <a href="mba-fali">-mba-fali</a> is clearly intransitive.

#### 2.4.3 Verbalization

The most productive verbalization process makes use of the verb -qi, suffixed to a noun. When this suffix is

added to a noun, this noun + verb functions as a verb, i.e. it requires the regular pronominal affixes.

- (66)a mbol 'house'
   t-mba mbol-gi-qat
   'I let (something) under roof'
   t-mbol-gi(-m)
   'I let (something 3FSG) under roof' etc.
  - b nde'se 'fence'
    w-mba nde'se-gi-qat
    'He lets (some thing) be protected by a fence'
    w-nde'se-gi(-y)
    'He let (things) be protected by fance'

Bisides the <u>-gi</u> verbalization of (66), it is also possible to form verbs by adding pronominal affixes to a particular noun. In (61)-(64) are some examples of this process with inalienable nouns. Alienable nouns can likewise be verbalized:

- (67) a mbol 'house'
  t-mbol 'I make (something getting/to) home'
  t-mbol-m 'I make her (getting/to) home'
  t-mbol Lu'cas-w w- aq 't- efe mbol 'mbyele
  3MSG 3MSG at 1SG POS house garden'
  'I house Luce in my garden house'
  - b qam'ngga 'storing house'
     t-'qam'ngga 'I make (something to be) stored'
     t-'qam'ngga 'erneit-y y-eq 't-efe mbol 'mbyele
    'I store the food in my garden house'
  - c mbebaq 'raft'
    w-mbe'mbaq 'he make (something along) with raft'
    na-w w-mbe'mbaq mam 'm-fodo si'wan
    'The man rafts us(ECL) across the ocean'

By showing the last examples, again, it seems that the boundary between verb, adverb and adjective is vague.

## 2.4.4 Some Further Remarks

It should also be noted here, that except for the vowel change in certain verbs for plurality, there is no further morphological process affecting the verb. That is

to say, tense, aspect, mood, etc. are expressed by separate lexical items, not by verbal inflections.

- (68)a -ain 'to go'
   't- ain 'lajot
   1SG go not yet
   'I am not going yet'
  - b 't- ain wa'le
     1SG go already
     'I (had) gone'
     nggro'wain t- ain wa'le
     yesterday 1SG go already
     'I (had) gone yesterday'
  - c t-do 't-ain 1SG say 1SG go 'I will go'
  - d t- do 't- ain wa'le
     1SG say 1SG go already
     'I already want to go'
  - e (t- do) 't- ain 'rambit
    1SG say 1SG go if
    'If I (want) to go/If I went'
  - f 't- ain do'ron-qat
     1SG go true-clear/finish
     'I truly (must) go'
  - g t- do 't- ain do'ron-qat
     1SG say 1SG go true completely
    'I do want and I must go'

## 5 Adjectives

Similar to verbs, all adjectives in Tehit are bound form. Just as has been described for inalienable noun and verb form, an adjective form also needs pronominal affixes to indicate the object to which the adjective relates:

- (69)a -hnyo 'good'
   m-hnyo 'it(f)/she is good'
  - b -fle 'big'
    w-fle 'it(m)/he is big'

When the adjective is used predicatively, it is preceded by pronominal prefix (57), and it follows the noun.

- (70)a wet -m m- fle child 3FMSG 3FMSG big 'The girl is big'
  - b wet -m m- hnyo
     child 3FMSG) 3FMSG good/nice
    'The girl is nice '

When the adjective is used attributively, it is preceded by a relativizer, which then receives the subject prefix and undergoes the singular-plural vowel change. The adjective is obligatorily suffixed with the same gender (or plural) suffix as the noun it modifies:

- (71)a wet -m m- aa hnyo- m child 3FSG 3FSG REL nice 3FSG 'The nice girl'
  - b na -y y- ii 'sgya-y people 3PL 3PL REL bad 'The bad people'

The attributive adjectival forms of (71) can also be used independently as a nominal constituent:

- (72)a m- aa fle -m
  3FSG which big 3FSG
  'The big one (female)
  - b w- aa sgya-w
    3MLSG which big 3MSG
    'The bad one(male)'
  - c y- ii qol -y
    3PL which wild 3PL
    'The wild ones'

It is also possible to place adjectives added with pronominal suffixes straight after nouns. However, this kind of construction is only used under very special condition such as in chant verses, story tellings or in condescending speech.

- (73)a wet hnyo- m child nice 3FMSG 'The nice girl'
  - b mbol fle- m
    house big 3FMSG
    'The big houses'
  - c nandla qendiwamo-w
    man famous 3MLSG
    'The famous man'

This last construction can also be used to express adjectival verbs. In this case the plural form of verb (vowel change of /a/) must be used, when it is applicable (see (74)c and d and e and f):

- (74)a Hanok sese-w run 3MSG 'The running Hanoch'
  - b wuon syere -w
    shaman bath 3MSG
    'The bathing (male)shaman/
    The baptizing (male) shaman'
- c wet ese -m
   child PLsleep/stay 3FSG
   'The sleeping/staying girl' or
   'The sleeping/staying children'
  but :
- d \*wet ase-m
  - e nandla ein sfa -m man go/from mountain 3FSG 'The mountain climbing man'
  - f \*nandla ain sfa-m

## 2.6 Adpostions

Adpositions in Tehit are, just like adjectives, verblike in their behavior. They require a subject prefix that agrees with the object of the transitive main verb or the subject of the intransitive main verb. They also show the singular-plural vowel change /a/ ==> /i/, /e/, /ei/ or /o/:

- (75) -aq ==> -eq 'at, on, in'
  a t- aheit t- aq mbol
  1SG stay 1SG at house
  'I stay (at) home'
  - b y- di y- eq a'na 3PL fall 3PL at there 'They fall at there'
  - c w- mbol Lu'kas-w w- ari -y
    3MSG house L 3MSG 3MSG with(companion) 3PL

y- eq mbol sa'ris
3PL at house hamlet
'He houses Luce and the companion at the hamlet'

- (76) -ali ==> -oli 'to'
  a t- a'in 't- ali mbol
  1SG go 1Sg to house
  'I go to the house'
  - b y- e'in 'y- oli 'mbyele 3PL go 3Pl to garden 'They go to the garden'
  - c 't- seele-qat 'amaq-y y- oli se
     1SG throw away stone 3Pl 3PL to water/river
    'I throw the stones to the river'
- (77) -ana ==> -ine 'for' (and 'on/at' a 't- sroin 'sirot 'm- ana nen 1SG write letter 3MSG for you 'I write a letter to you'
  - b 'f- daliwqoyt -y 'y- ine qsi'wo 1PL(ICL) to collect fire wood 3Pl 3Pl for midwife 'We(ICL) collect fire woods for the midwife'
  - c 't- sese t- ana fan 'qeendi fo t- ali-oli 1SG run 1Sg to path mid then 1SG go back 'I run but then come back half way on the path'

In contrast to adjectives and intransitive verbs, adpositions do not allow pronominal suffixes.

(78) \*t-ain t-ali-m
 'I go to it' (i.e. the house mentioned)'

With locative and direction adpositions, there is a dif-

ference between animate and inanimate objects. Animate objects, such as personal pronouns or human nouns, cannot occur by themselves as object of an adposition. They require the stative adposition <u>-aq</u> as postposition. Compare (76) within (79) and (80).

- (79)a 't- ali t- a'mon w- aq 1SG go to 1SG elder brother 3MSG at 'I go to my elder brother('s place) \*t-ali t-a'mon
  - b 'sirot-m m- ain Simon-w w-aq letter 3FSG 3FSG go from S 3MSG 3MSG

m- ali Hanok-w w- aq
3FSG go to H 3MSG 3MSG at
'The letter from Simon ('s place) to Hanoch ('s place)'
\*si'rot-m m-ain Simon(-w) mali Hanok(-w)

(80)a m- a'qa 'oli 'm- ali mam m- eq
3FSG come again 3FSG to us(ECL) 1(ECL)PL at
'She returned to us(ECL)'
\*m-aqa 'oli 'm-ali mam

Such a construction is not neccesary, in fact, not allowed with inanimate objects, compare (81) and (82).

- (81)a \*hise'ne m- ain Jakarta m- aq air craft 3MSG go from J 3MSG at
  - b hi'sene m-ain Jakarta
    air craft is (flown) from Jakarta'
- (82)a \*y- ein Hanok 3PL go from H
  - b y- ein Hanok -w w-aq
    'They come from Hanoch ('s place)'

## 2.7 Adverbials

Unlike adjectives and verbs as shown before (2.4, and 2.5), adverbials or adverbs in Tehit are free morphemes. In their function of showing qualities and explanations, adverbs are always placed after adjectives and verbs.

\*\*\*

- (83)a 'qaamit 'very'
   't-seese 'I run'
   't-seese 'qaamit 'I run very (hard)'
   't-seese braq 'I run fast'
   't-seese braq 'qaamit 'I run very fast'
  - b t-asre'ren hnyo 'I easily laugh'
    t-asre'ren hnyo 'qaamit 'I very easily laugh'
  - c 't-rewer 'I make noise'
    't-rewer sawua 'I like make noise'
    't-rewer sawua qaamit 'I very much like make noise'

As a consequence, adjectives as <u>-hnyo</u> in (83)b which normally do not appear after transitive verbs are also absent in the adverb adding constructions. The object is pronominal suffix in this case is placed directly after an adverb.

- (84)a t-mba-m 'I hit it(F)'
   t-mba 'qaamit-m 'I hit it(F) very hard'
   \*t-mba fle-m 'I give it(F) a big hit'
   \*t-mba fle 'qaamit-m 'I give it(F) a very big hit'
  - b t-ror-m 'I feed it(F)'
    t-ror 'qaamit-m 'I feed it(F) very much'
    \*t-ror fle 'qaamit-m

In some cases, adverbs tend to be transitive verbs as shown in (85).

- (85)a 'qaamit 'very'
   't-qaamit-m
  'I make s.t. by ambition to complete'
  - 't- qaamit 'nggersyoq e -y
    1SG very works DEM 3PL
    'I am ambitious to finish the works'
  - b 'sqayit 'again and again, continuously'
     't-sqayit-m
     'I do s.t to it(F) again and again'

It is also common to use verbal compoundings such as -qat, -fali, -qi etc. (2.4.2) directly after adverbs as
emphasize the effect.

(86) a <u>-gat</u>, 't-seese braq 'qaamit-qat I run quick very completely 'I completely run very vast' b -fali, t-mba 'qaamit-fali I hit very along with 3FSG 'I (ambitiously) hit it(F) seriously hard' 't-qaamit-fali I very along with 3FSG 'I (ambitiously) make s.t to it(F) seriously' c <u>-gi</u> 't-sgavit -qi I continuously block 3MSG 'I make s.t blocked to it(M) again and again'

#### 2.8 Numeral

#### 2.8.1 Classification

The data show that there are two kinds of numerals found in Tehit, i.e. the cardinal numerals and indefinite numerals.

## 2.8.1.1 Quantitative numerals

Regarding cardinal numbers, Tehit uses single numeral and compund numeral forms. The single numeral forms as shown in (87) are listed from one to five and for ten.

(87) mre(s) 'one'
 lak 'two'
 to'lik 'three'
 hat 'four'
 'mahot 'five'
 ya'har 'ten'

The compound numeral forms are necessary for the other numbers by ading numbers from one to four after five. This is by using m-ndan 'it(F) added to' for six etc., as shown in (88), however, the word for five is not mentioned explecitly.

(88) mta-mre 'six'
 \*mta-lak (however in certain dialects is accepted)
 mta-'nali 'seven'
 \*mta-tolik
 ma'ndo-lik 'eight'
 \*mta-hat
 ma'nda-hat 'nine'

Some forms in (88) have undergone phonetic change and analogical change. The word for 'eight', for instance, was originally m-ndan-tolik, but through a progressive and lenition change, the form has became m-andolik. Numbers from eleven up to nineteen are compounds of the numbers 'one' to 'nine' and put after 'ten'. For this process, the word for 'ten' is mentioned explicitly, and the form 'tadi 'clearly placed' is used before the adding figure.

(89) ya'har 'tadi mre(s) 'eleven'
ya'har 'tadi lak 'twelve'
ya'har 'tadi to'lik 'thirteen'
ya'har 'tadi hat 'fourteen'
ya'har 'tadi 'mahot 'fifteen'
ya'har 'tadi 'mtamre 'sixteen'
ya'har 'tadi 'mtanali 'seventeen'
ya'har 'tadi ma'ndolik 'eightteen'
ya'har 'tadi ma'ndahat 'nineteen'

Further, numbers 'twenty', 'fourty', sixty', etc. are based upon the expression 'one man died'. That is, the number of digits of one man's hands and feet is 'twenty'. So, for 'forty', there will be "two men dead", and so on.

- (90)a na mre-w 'w- aagi 'twenty' man one 3MSG 3MSG die
  - b na lak-y 'y- eegi 'forty' man two 3PL 3PL die(PL)
  - c na to'lik-y 'y -eegi 'sixty'
    man three 3PL 3PL die(PL)

- d na hat -y 'y -eegi 'eighty'
  man four 3PL 3PL die(PL)
- e na 'mahot-y 'y -eegi 'one hundred' man five 3PL 3PL die(PL)

The decimals between the twenty-folds are based upon those shown in (90) with the addition of "it climbs ten knots".

- (91)a na mre -w 'w- aagi w- hri 'foqo ya'har
   man one 3MSG 3MSG die 3MSG climb knot ten
   'thirty'
  - b na lak -y 'y- eegi y- hri 'foqo ya'har
    man two 3MSG 3MSG die 3PL climb knot ten
    'fifty'
  - c na to'lik -y 'y- eegi y- hri 'foqo ya'har
    man three 3PL 3PL die 3PL climb knot ten
    'seventy'
  - d na hat -y 'y- eegi y- hri 'foqo ya'har
    man four 3PL 3PL die 3PL climb knot ten
    'ninety'

Numbers of unit after 'twenty' and other decimals are counted by adding features shown in (87) and (88) by using the manner of (91).

- (92)a na mre -w 'w- aagi w- hri 'foqo mre man one 3MSG 3MSG die 3MSG climb knot one 'twenty one'
  - b na mre -w 'w- aagi w- hri 'foqo man one 3MSG 3MSG die 3MSG climb knot

ya'har 'w-hri 'foqo mre ten 3MSG knot one 'thirty one'

- 'thirty one'
  c na lak -y 'y- eegi y- hri 'foqo lak
  man two 3PL 3PL die(PL) 3PL climb knot two
  'fourty one'
- d na 'mahot-y 'y- eegi y- hri 'foqo man fivet 3PL 3PL die(PL) 3PL climb knot

ya'har 'tadi lak ten plus two 'one hundred twelve'

## 2.8.1.2 Qualitative numbers

The Tehit qualitative numerals in many cases can be seen as adjective and adverbial. Some examples are as follows.

- (93)a mre-y 'some'
  'qyamre-y 'a little, few'
  a'mbur-m 'very many'
  sa'ban-w 'again and again'
  - b w-roq 'a lot'
    'y-seme 'not to big'
    'w-samsa 'unimaginable, extraordinary'
    'w-sqait 'never stop'
  - c not- m m- aa da -m
     cloth 3FSG 3FSG which piece 3FSG
    'One piece of cloth'

erneit-y y- ii da -y food 3PL 3PL which piece 3PL 'The rest of food'

Without any exact category, examples in (93) are divided into two classes. The examples in (93) a seem to be "free" form morphemes, whereas in (93) b require a subjectival prefix. They still are given with pron. suffixes. Especially the quantitative numeral <a href="mailto:mre(s)">mre(s)</a> 'one', in many cases, can also used in qualitative forms for several notions.

- (94)a <a href="mailto:quantum">qan-'qlondi</a> 'only, alone'
  mres(s) 'one'
  tet t- mres
  I 1SG one
  'I by myself'
  y- mres y- eese
  3PL one 3PL sleep
  'They stay by themselves'
  - b esfi-ni 'questioning'
    mre n- do
    one 2SG say
    'One thing you said'
    = Why did you say that?'

mre 'n- aqa
one 2SG come
'One thing you come'
= Why did you come'

mre t- sot
one 1SG see
'One thing I see'
= I never saw it'

c 'ndan-ma'no 'some, other'
mre-m m- aambe qlen mre-m m- aambe eren
one 3FSG 3FSG become bird one 3FSG 3FSG become fish
'one become bird and one (other) become fish'

mre-y y- iimbe upas mre nggait one 3PL 3PL become policeman one not 'Some other become policeman some ware not'

d 'gian-'rambit 'one uncertain amount'
mres mre-w 'about one (definite)'
lak mre-y 'about two (indefinite)'
tolik mre-y 'about three (indefinite)'
ya'har mre-w 'about ten (definite)'

mre y- iine tet
one 3PL to me
'(Give) some to me'

## 2.8.1.3 Equative numerals

The other forms which may also be used for counting are "equation numerals". Although many of them more or less can be defined as classifiers, some can be used as numerals, apparently as idioms.

#### 2.8.2 Functions

In most instances, numerals are placed after nouns to show the amount whether in quantity or quality.

. . . .

- (96)a mbol lak 'two houses'
   na lak 'two man'
   nan-gi 'mahot 'five women'
  - b not 'w-seme nggait 'cloths that are uncountable' pitis w-samsa 'a lot of money' er'neit w-rog 'plenty of food'

When they function as object, numerals can also be placed immediately after verbs with or without pron. suffixes.

(97) 't-qafe lak(-w) 'I carry two (of them)'
 n-qa'ki hat(-m) 'you tied four (of them)'
 'm-sgie 'mahot(-y) 'She direct five (of them)'

In a position as possessed form, numerals behave as alienable nouns. That is, numerals are placed after the possessive marker <u>-efe</u> or <u>-eda</u>.

- (98)a 't-efe lak 'I own/got two'
  't-eda 'mahot 'I got five'
  'y-edi w-roq 'They own/got alot'
  - b 't-efe qorik lak y-dain 'My two pigs have run away'

To describe any quantification of an action, the relative clause marker m-aa is placed between verb and numeral.

- (99)a 't-qafe m-aa lak(-w)
  'I carry it(M) twice'
  - b n-qa'ki m-aa hat(-m)
    'You tied it(F) fourfold'
  - c 'm-sgie m-aa 'mahot(-y)
    'She directed them five times'

When it functions as predicate the numeral may be compounded with gat 'completely', fali 'together with', or gi 'cause' and this compound receives the normal affixation.

(100)a t-lak-qat-y
'I completely distance myself from them'

- b n-ya'har-'fali-m
  'You consider it(F) for ten'
- c y-na'mrewagi-gi fan
  'They block the path with twenty members'

## 2.9 Question words

In Tehit, question words are divided into free form and bound form. The free forms are used without pron. affixes. The free form question words are <a href="syoo">syoo"(ma)</a> 'who', <a href="met"ma">met"ma</a> 'what', <a href="what"/"waaqa</a> 'how much', <a href="whaqaamaa"/when'</a> and <a href="feme">feme</a> 'why'</a>. Only the word <a href="feme">feme</a> 'why'</a> (101)</a> can occur by itself as a well-formed question, where <a href="metma">metma</a> and <a href="syoo">syoo</a> need a demonstratives or a full NP as the topic that is questioned (102).

- (101)a 'feme? 'why?'
  n- aqa 'feme?
  2SG come QM
  'why did you come?'
  \*n- aqa 'feme o -m?
  2SG come QM DEM 3SGF
  - b 'n- eesfi 'feme?
    2SG ask QM
    'why do you ask?'
    \*'n- eesfi 'feme o -m?
  - c m- awa 'feme?
    3SGF cry QM
    'Why is she crying?
    \*m- awa 'feme o -m?
- (102)a metma o -m ?
   what DEM 3FSG
  'What is that(F) ?'
  \*metma?
  - b metma ana-w ?
    what DEM 3MSG
    'What is over there(M)?'
  - c metma eqe -y ?
    what DEM 3MSG
    'What are those (things)?'

d n- sya metma o -w?
2SG give what DEM 3MSG
'What did you give?'
\*n-sya metma?

- (103)a syooma (le)(maa)raa ra -w?

  QM REL DEM 3SGM
  'Who is (the one) over there?'
  - b syooma (le)maa(raa) w -aa aqa ra -w?

    QM REL 3SGM REL come DEM 3SGM
    'Who is (the one who) coming over there?'
  - c syooma (le)(maa)(raa) w -aa aqa o -w?

    QM REL 3SGM REL come DEM 3SGM
    'Who is (the one who is) coming?

The construction with full relative clause word <u>le-maa-raa</u> as shown in (91) is rare; rather the reduced form is normally used. Further, the bound form <u>-aa</u> in a construction without verb form is unnecessary.

(104)a met'ma (le)maa o'qo -m ?

QM REL DEM 3FSG
'What thing is that(F) (with you)?'

\*met'ma (le)maa w- aa a'na -w ?
OM REL 3SGM REL DEM 3FSG

b met'ma (le)raa a'na-w ?
what REL DEM 3MSG
'What is the thing over there(M)?'
\*met'ma (le)raa w- aa a'na-w ?
OM REL 3SGM REL DEM 3MSG

Often, demonstratives are expressed in the "plural" form.

(105)a 'waaqa(ma)? 'how, when'
'waaqa maa e -y
QM REL DEM 3PL
'How much is it?/when is that?'

When the question word in (105)a relates to a noun, it directly follows it:

b wet 'waaqa?
child QM
'How many children?'

wet 'waaqa (le)maa (raa) 'ana-y?
child how many REL DEM 3PL
'How many children are (over) there?'

n- aase amuk 'waaqa ?
2SG sleep night QM
'How many days/did you spend'

amuk 'waaqa
night QM
'What day/When'

oqo -m 'waaqa DEM 3SGF QM 'How much is that one'

The same construction (105)b is also used for asking the time or price, as shown in (106).

(106)a 'waaqa maa e -y?
when REL DEM 3PL
'When is that?'

'waaqa maa n -a'qa?
when REL 2SG come
'When you are arriving/comming?'

b not o-m m -at 'waaqa (maa e -y)? cloth 3 3SGM 3SGM eat/cost how REL DEM 3PL 'How much is that cloth (cost)'

To have the whole view of question words in Tehit, we show the following examples.

(107) a syoo'ma 'who'
syoo'ma (maa) o -w?
who REL DEM 3MSG
'Who is that (man)?'

syoo'ma (maa raa y- ii/) y- syoq mbol ana -m?
who REL 3PL REL 3PL built house DEM 3PL
'Who built that house (over there)?'

b n- sot syoo'ma (maa) e -y?
2SG look at QM REL DEM 3PL
'Who/are you looking at ?'

n- sya o'guo -y y- 'iine syoo('ma) e -y)? 2SG give banana 3PL 3PL to QM DEM 3PL 'To whom/Who did you give the banana?

c na ma'no syoo('ma) o-w?
man other QM DEM 3SGM
'Who is the man?'

na ma'no syoo('ma) ana -w
man other QM DEM 3SGM
'Who is that man (over there)'

(na mano) syooma w- sqa qorik o -w? man other QM 3SGM kill pig DEM 3SGM 'Who (is the man who) killed the pig?'

syooma y-fe qorik raa w- aa qak o -w? QM 3PL pig REL 3SGM REL die DEM 3SGM 'Whose pig died?'

w- syoq syooma y-fe mbol? 3SGM make QM 3PL POS house 'Whose house did he build?'

(108) a met'ma 'what'
met'ma o -w?
QM DEM 3SGM
'What is that?'

met'ma ale -w?
QM DEM 3SGM
'What is that (yonder there)?'

n- do met'ma o -w?
2SG say QM DEM 3SGM
'What did you say?'

mbol met'ma raa n- syoq ra -m? house what REL 2SG make DEM 3SGF 'What (kind of) house you built over there?

b 'waaqa 'how much, when'
n- qain qorik waaqa (maa raa e -y)?
2SG POS pig QM REL DEM 3PL
'How many pigs do you have?'

n- sya not waaqa maa y- iine na o -w? 2SG give cloth QM REL 3PL to man DEM 3SGM 'How many cloths did you give to the man?' n- sot we(t)qonon waaqa?2SG see children QM'How many children did you see?'

waaqama n- aqa QM 2SG come 'When did you come'

A special construction involves the word <u>-nde sye(ma)</u> 'to be like how', <u>-nde syo(ma)</u> 'like what', where the form <u>-nde</u> cannot be replaced by another form with this kind of meaning. This construction is naturally used to ask after somebody's well being or as a greeting. The placement of bound question words is always at the end of an utterance.

- (109)1 -nde sye 'to be how?'
  a n -nde sye?
  2SG like how
  'How are you?'
  - \*n- do sye 2SG say how
  - b n -nde syema (maa) (raa) eqe -y? 2SG like what REL REL DEM 3PL 'How did you become like that?'
    - \*n -sot syema (maa) (raa) eqe -y?
      2SG look at what REL REL DEM 3PL
  - c w- syoq y -nde sye?
    3SGM make 3PL like what
    'How did he do that?'
  - d y- syoq mbebaq -m m- nde sye?
    3PL make raft 3FSG 3FSG like what
    'How did they built the raft?'
  - 2 -nde syoo 'like who (for human only)'
    e na o -w w- nde syoo?
    man DEM 3SGM 3SGM like who
    'What does the man look like?'
- (110)3 <u>V/PREP-syoo</u> 'where'
  a (n- ain) n- ali syoo?
  2SG go 2SG to where
  'Where are you going?'

- b n -ain syoo?
  2SG come where
  'Where do you come from?'
- c n- aase n- aq syoo?
  2SG sleep 2SG at QM
  'Where did you sleep?'

When the location of an object is being questioned, besides (110)c, other constructions are used: one is a relative marker <u>la preceding syoo</u> and followed by pron. suffixes.

- (111)a y -efe mbyele la -w syoo -w?
  3PL POS garden REL 3SGM where 3SGM
  'Where is their garden?'
  - b n -efe mbol la -m syoo -m
    2SG POS house REL 3SGM where 3SGM
    'Where is your house?'

One other possibility besides (98) is by using the full form of relative clause <u>le-maa-raa</u> or <u>la</u> where demonstratives are used to replace the question forms. Ouestions in this construction are marked by giving a rising intonation on demonstrative forms (at the final syllable). In this particular case the function of these relative clause markers is more like that of a copula.

(112)a mbol lemaaraa qo -m ?
 house REL DEM 3FSG
 'Is it this house = This house?'

\*mbol lemaaraa syoo?

na le w- ana -w?
man REL 3MSG DEM 3MSG
'Is the man overthere?'

\*na le syoo?

(113)4 <u>feme</u> 'why'
a n- ewa feme?
2PL cray why
'Why you are crying?'

b n- sqa mqan o -w w- qak feme?
2SG kill dog DEM 3SG 3SG die why
'Why did you kill the dog?

To form yes/no questions, the "normal" declarative utterances are used, modified by particle  $\underline{o}$  or  $\underline{a}$  and interrogative intonation which is a rising on the final syllable.

> n -ain nggait o/a? 2SG go NEG Q 'Are you not going?'

m- a'heit e'ri o/a?
3FSG stay only Q
'Is she just staying?'

b n- ain?
2SG go (interrogative intonation)
'Are you going?'

y- eheit?
3PL stay (interrogative intonation)
'Did they stay?'

m- sisiwa waleit?
3SGF landed already (interrogative intonation)
'Did they land already?

For a special purpose (debating, arguing), complete pronominal forms are used followed by plural demonstratives.

- (115)a syoo m- aa nen (eqe -y)?
   who 3FSG REL you DEM 3Pl
   'Who are you?'
  - b syoo m- aa wow (adi -y)? who 3FSG REL him DEM 3PL 'Who is he '
  - c syoo m- aa faf (qe-y) who 3FSG REL 1PLICL DEM 3Pl 'Who are we ?'

The yes/no particles, mentioned in (98) can also be placed hypercorrectly after any question construction,

whether to the free or bound question words.

- (116)a n- nde sye m- aa eqe -y o/a? 2SG lke how 3MSG REL DEM(PL) 3PL 'What are you becomming like that?'
  - b n- aq syoo a? \*syo-o
    2SG at where
    'Where are you?'
  - c mbol syoo (le)m-aa(raa) qo -m o/a?
    house who REL DEM 3FSG
    'Whose house is this?'

# 2.10 Conjunctions

There are only a few Tehit morphemes that belong to the word class conjuntions. These are free forms, consisting of one (monosyllabic) morpheme or a compound of such morphemes:

- (117) <u>fo</u> 'when'
  - a y- do y- eqa fo t- ain 3PL say 3PL come(PL) CON 1SG go 'When they come I will go'
  - b t- oso qawuaq fo t- aqa
    1SG hear directly CON 1SG come
    'I came directly when I got the message'
- (118) <u>'afe</u> 'or' a n- aqa afe ?

2SG come CON QM
'You (will) come or what?'

- b w- drik -m afe m- la ?
  3FSG wear 3FSG CON 3FSG NEG QM
  'Did he wear it or not ?'
- (119) <u>fe</u> 'because'
  - a y- qa fe y- oso n- qanyi
    3PL come CON 3PL hear 2SG sick
    'They are coming because they heard you are sick'

- (120) see 'then'
  a n- aqa see laf f- ein
  2SG come CON we-dual 1PL-INCL go
  'Come, and let us go'
  - b qole m- mberit see qma m- arinmbi high tide 3MSG direct CON raft 3MSG go up stream 'When the high tide rise, the raft is directed gently up stream'
- (121) se-mase, mase 'and then'
  - a y- do y- ein se mase y- qain ni 3PL say 3PL go(PL) and then 3PL cary thing 'They will go and then they buy things'
  - b y- ein smba mase t- aqa
    3PL go first and then ISG come
    'I come after they go =
    They go first and then I come'
- (122) 'oli fo 'again'
  a oli-fo nan-gi qmat mre-m m- syos
  CON woman pregnant one 3FSG 3FSG give birth
  'Again, a pregnant woman starting labour'
  - b m- ana oli-fo fan maa gia -m
    3FSG to CON path REL same 3FSG
    'Then, again the same way'
- (123) <u>nde</u> 'until'
  - a m- aase nde welis
    3FSG sleep CON the day after tomorrow'
    'She stays until the day after tomorrow'
  - b w- ain nde w- samba le-maa-raa w- aqa
    3MSG go CON 3MSG feel REL 3MSG come
    'He went but came back after realising that'

To express coordination of (pro-)nouns, Tehit employs a few verb-like forms. These forms require pronominal prefixes, just like verbs, adjectives and prepositions (see 2.1, 2.2, 2.3), that coreference their subjects. The most frequent one is <u>-ari</u> 'together with', with its plural form <u>-ori</u>.

(124)a t- ari nen 1SG CON you 'I and you' b y- ori syooma (maa) y- ein 3PL CON QM REL 3PL go 'With whom are they going?'

But the verb also expresses an Instrument relation:

- c t- ala wqoit -m m- ari tmaq (-m)
  1SG cut tree 3SGF SGF with axe 3SGF
  'I cut the tree by using the axe'
- d w- sqa na- y y- ori amaq
  3MSG throw men 3PL 3PL with stone
  'He throws thepeople with stone(s)'

Notice that here (124)c m-ari coreferences the object of the previous predication t-ala 'I cut' wgoit-m 'the tree', as it does in (124)d and e.

e y- eit qa -y y- ori eren -y 3PL eat taro 3PL 3PL CON fish 3PL 'They eat taros with fish'

The verbs <u>-anaq</u> 'to accompany' and <u>-hambar</u> 'to join' are near synonyms of <u>-ari/-ori</u>, but they cannot be substituted in all instances, e.g.

f \*t-ala wqoit-m m-anaq tmaq
'I cut the tree with axe'

\*t-mba paku-m m-hambar martelu'
I hit spike with hammer'

\*t-anaq laf f-ein
'I go with'

But the form <a href="hambar">-hambar</a> is only used for comitative relations and not for instrument:

g t-hambar laf f-ein
'I go with you'

t-at qam m-hambar eren
'I eat the taro with fish'

Examples regarding these kind of verb-like conjunctions are as follows:

- - b t -anaq laf f -ein
    1SG CON we two 1DL go
    'I accompany you going = I go with you'
- - b n- ain n- hambar mam amot
    2SG go 2SG CON we NEG
    'Do not go together with us'
  - c y-\_ eit qa -y y- hambar eren -y
    3PL eat taro 3PL 3PL CON fish 3PL
    'They eat taros (together) with fish'
- (127) <a href="">'-ana</a> 'to (continue)'
  a m- ana nirana w- aa mres
  3FSG CON story 3MSG RC one
  'Continuing the first story'
  - b m- ana fan w- hirit qafir -m
    3FSG CON path 3MSG catch bad luck 3FSG
    'Continuing his path, he gets in a bad luck'
- (128) -aambe 'for, to be, because'
  a w- fe m- aambe w- qak
  3MSG POSS 3FSG CON 3MSG kill
  'He almost died'
  - b w- aambe glen w- sene mbembat (eri)
    3MSG CON bird 3MSG fly purposeless (only)
    'To be a bird he is flying for nothing
    = He becomes a bird, he flies around without purpose'
  - c m- aambe mbembat eri feme?
    3FSG become purposeless only whay
    'Why must she become like that?'

## 2.11 Interjections

As interjections, several words are used. Some are just one vowel word, some are onomatopoeias, but there are

also words, which are taken from taboo nouns including words to evoke the supernatural. Some others are also very strong expressions because they relate to sexual organs. Interjections are always placed at the beginning of an utterance.

- (129) gawe 'exclamation' (by using one vowel word)

  a e'ye
  e'ye t-qak
  IN 1SG die
  'Ah, I might die, it is very hard to me' or
  'It is very funny, so I am might died of laugh'
  - b e
    e, n- syoq m- aa n- at -m
    IN 2SG make 3SGF REL 2SG eat 3SGF
    'Ah, how do you serve it to be your own food =
    How can you have ability to do that'
  - c ah
    ah, n- salo amot
    IN 2SG talk NEG
    'Hush, don't talk'
- (130) sngger 'to compete' (by using onomatopoeias)
  a knik (sound of a lizard which suddenly yields
  when one realises that there are some thing
  going on)
  knik, n- sadmor nde feme?
  IN 2SG quite REL why
  'Hohow, why doesn't she say anything?'
  - b tar (sound of a gun shooting or thunder)
    tar, maa n- do oli ni mre -y
    IN REL 2SG say again thing one 3PL
    'Smash you, what other thing you ought to say'
- (131) <u>diayo</u> 'to compare'
  a wi, t- amon Tibasa -w
  IN 1SG brother T 3SGM
  'Uh, I call for my brother Tibasa's ability'
- (132) <u>ge'sye</u> 'to negate'; expresses the act of trying to avoid some things (like spear, stone etc.) which is thrown towards the speaker.

- a ohe, t- emem Dina-m m-qafe
  IN 1SG mother/MBD D 3FSG 3FSG bear/give birth'
  'Ohow, I swear my mother Dina bearing me, let that
  aside = Don't accuse me'
- b ohe, n- aqa n- loq -m
  IN 2SG come 2SG take 3FSG
  'Ohow, you come and take it' (accusation)
  = I am not that one you see'
- - a t- feli -m m-hen, metma sorqat oqo -w 1SG vagina 3SGF 3SGF QM very DEM 3SGM 'I wonder, my vagina red, what a thing is that'
  - b flaq -m m- saper, raa feme
    penis 3FSG 3FSG swing DEM why
    'A swinging penis, why is that =
    Come on, don't tell lies'
- (134) ni-'fafe 'cursing or swearing'
  - a al'semit -m m- at, raa feme ground caterpillar 3SG 3SG eat REL QM 'May the ground caterpillar wither, why it is so?
  - b 'enggyes w- at, raa metma mbon o -w bamboos 3SGM eat REL QM very DEM 3PL 'May the bamboos wither, what a thing is that'
  - c wet m- at o -m m- aqa amo
     child 3FSG eat DEM 3SGF 3SGF come IM
    'Why didn't you let that bastard child come'

At this point, I also need to note that there are interjection-like words which are used with imperatives. They all are free morphemes, but for the intransitive verb they may have pronominal suffixes. Some of them are more like one-syllable word, or particle. The placement of imperative is on the last position of an utterance.

(135)a <u>la</u> '(for inviting)' n- a'ga la 2SG come IM 'Come over please'

'n- sese la 2SG run IM 'Please go and have a look' 'y- eheit la 3PL stay IM 'Please keep them' or 'Let them stay' b <u>wa'ti</u> and 'amo '(for encouraging)' n- at wa'ti -m 2SG eat IM 3FSG 'Eat it please, no worry' n- ain 'amo 2SG go IM 'So you may go' or 'Please go gently' c a'mot and nqqait '(for prohibitions)' n- salo a'mot 2SG talk NEG 'Dont you talk' m- ain a'mot 3SGF go NEG 'Do not allow her to go'

One other form is by usage of <u>'afe</u> 'or' to mean an encouragement but more like to give an unalternate choice.

d m- ain afe
 3SGF go IM
 'She go or' = If she doesn't go, there will be a
 problem = 'Why didn't she go'
 n- salo qat -m afe
 2SG talk against 3SGF IM
 'You contradict her or'
 = Why dont you tell her to shut her mouth'

## 2.12 Negations

Negation words in Tehit are free form morphemes. Each is placed directly after a verb word. This may negate an action (ngga'it) or function as a prohibition (a'mot), as "jangan" in Indonesian.

# (136) nggait

- a t- ain nggait 1SG come NEG 'I do not come'
- b y- eese nggait y- eq qo 3PL sleep NEG 3PL at(PL) DEM 'They'did not stay here'
- c y- sanggir nggait
  3PL speak NEG
  'They'did not speak'

# (137) <u>a'mot</u>

- a n- aqa amot 2SG come NEG 'Do not come'
- b y- sanggir amot
  3PL speak NEG
  'Do not allow them to speak
  = They should not speak'

In some particular situation, the above mentioned negation words can be found in a construction preceded by forms which could be called negative particles. These are mostly placed before the construction and some consist only of one vowel or one syllable.

## (138) <u>a'ke</u>

- a ake, t- not nggait
  EG 1SG know NEG
  'Sorry, I do not know (it)'
- b \*ake, t- not amot
- c ake, n- aqa nggait
  NEG 2SG come NEG
  'No, you are not coming'
- d ake, n- aqa amot
  NEG 2SG come NEG
  'No, you do not need to come'

# (139) <u>hay</u>

- a hay, n- sanggir amot
  NEG 2SG speak NEG
  'No, do not speak of (it)'
- b hay, n- ain wati, n- alyet amot
  NEG 2SG go gently 2SG afraid NEG
  'Do not worry, go ahead'

- (140) <u>ee</u>, <u>aa</u>, <u>wee</u>
  a ee, n- salo amot
  NEG 2SG talk NEG
  'Hush, don't speak'
  - b waa, m- aheit nggait
    NEG 3FSG stay NEG
    'Never, she may not stay'

#### PART III

#### SYNTAX

#### 3.1 Phrases

Phrases in Tehit are divided into two types, i.e. noun phrases and predicational phrases.

# 3.1.1 Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (NP) normally have a noun or nominalized form as the head of phrase. As the head, nouns precede any other words or forms which may function as modifier. The relative position of word classes within the NP has already been indicated when describing morphology in Part II. Summaries may be given as:

- (i) NP = NOUN(+3rd-PRON-SFX) or free Pronoun
- (1) a tet 'I'
  - b wet -m
     child 3FSG
    'The girl'
  - c ni -y thing 3PL 'Things'
  - d mbol -m
     house 3MSG
    'The house'

This ordinary construction only has 3rd person pronominal suffixes on the noun. However, when the NP function as object, pronominal suffixes may be absent.

- (ii) NP = N
- (2)a t- ain mbol
   1SG come house'
   'I came from home'
  b w- ala wqoit
   3MSG cut tree
   'He cuts the tree'

When demonstratives are used to point out a direction by using this type of construction, pronominal suffixes are not needed.

- (iii) NP = N + DEM
- (3)a t-ain mbol ana
   1SG come house over there'
   'I came from that house over there'
  - b w- ain fombi qo
    3MSG go land this
    'He is from this land'
  - c t- sot w- aq se ale
    1SG see 3MSG at water beyond there
    'I saw him at the river down there'
  - d t- jere y- eq Wgeri w- ala wqoit ale
    1SG meet 3PL at W 3MSG cut tree beyond there
    'I met them at the place where Wgeri cut the tree
    beyond there'

A NP as shown in (iii) in the subject position requires demonstrative are optionally followed by 3rd pronominal suffixes.

- (iv)  $\underline{NP} = \underline{N(P) + DEM(+3PRON SFX)}$
- (4) a mbol qo (-m) house DEM 3FSG 'This house'
  - b wet a'na (-y)
     child DEM 3PL
    'The children over there'
  - c na -w 'w -aqo (-w)
    men 3MSG 3MSG DEM 3MSG
    'Those (mentioned) man'

A further extension of the NP with a modifiying a numerral and/or adjective gives the following construction:

- (v) NP = N+(Cls)NUM(/+REL+ADJ)+DEM(+3PRON-SFX)
- (5)a mbol ('syala) mres qo -m house Cls one DEM 3FSG 'This one house'

- b wet gian mahot a'na-m
   child Cls five DEM 3FSG
  'The five children over there'
- c na w- aa hnyo mres -w 'w- aqo -w men 3MSG REL good DEM 3MSG 3MSG DEM 3MSG 'That good man whom was already mentioned'
- d mqan qayn tolik -y y- ii fle 'y- eqe -y
  dog Cls three 3PL 3PL REL big 3PL DEM 3PL
  'Those three big dogs which were already mentioned'

#### 3.1.2 Predicational Phrases

In the discussion of verb, adjective, and other similar forms in (II) we already noticed that all of these forms are bound morphemes. These forms are obligatorily preceded by pronominal prefixes in order to fuction in a meaningful utterance. These forms are limited to a predicate function, see the followings:

- (i) PP = PRON PFX + V
- (6)a t- ain
   1SG go
   'I am going'
  - b w- aheit
    3MSG not coming
    'He is staying'
  - c y- eese
    3PL sleep
    'They sleep'

The forms in (6) must receive a possessive form, i.e. be nominalized, by the addition of 3rd person pronominal suffixes, when they are to be adverbially modified. The modifying element has all the features of a predicate, as shown in (7).

- (ii) PP = PRON PFX + V + 3PRON SFX + CLAUSE
- (7)a t- ain-m m- hnyo
   1SG go 3FSG 3FSG good
   'My going is good = I am going well'

- b w- aheit -m m- sgia
  3MSG not coming 3FSG 3FSG bad
  'His staying is bad'
- c y- eese -w w- liwet
  3PL sleep 3MSG3 MSG long time
  'They slept on it for a long time'

It seems not possible to form one phrase using adjectives in Tehit. An English form such as: 'the big house' in Tehit will be structured as a predicate phrase form which is: [noun followed by relative marker plus adjective] and optionally followed by 3rd pronominal suffix-

es: mbol -m m- aa fle (-m)
house 3FSG 3FSG REL big 3FSG
'The big house = The house which is big'

The use of relative markers is obligatory for this particular function. By deleting the relative markers, the construction will form a nominal constituent, with a more idiomatic meaning:

- (iii) PP = N+Adj(+3PRON-SFX)
- (8)a wet hnyo -w
   child nice 3FSG
   'Poor girl/Pitty girl'
  - b mbol fle -m
    house big 3FSG
    'The initiation house'
  - c nandla qendiwamo -w
    man famous 3MSG
    'The famous man'

A relativized predicate phrase with an adjective and optionally followed by a demonstratative can function as a noun phrase that does not have a head noun.

- (iv)  $\underline{PP} = \underline{PRON-PFX+REL+Adj(+DEM)(+3PRON-SFX)}$
- (9)a m- aa fle (o -m)
  3FSG REL big DEM 3FSG
  'The one big one = The big one (which is mentioned)'
  - by- ii fle (ana -y)
    3PL REL big DEM 3PL
    'Those big one = Those big ones (overthere)/The
    biggest of a certain set'
  - c m- aa wet -m
    3FSG REL small 3FSG
    'The small one = The smallest'

Similarly, a predicate phrase with a numeral optionally adding with particle <u>fe-</u> can be nominalized to function as an adverbial in a clause:

- (v) PP = 3FSG+REL+NUM(+3PRON-SFX)
- (10)a t- aase m- aa mahot m- aq ana 1SG sleep 3FSG REL five 3FSG at there 'I already slept there (for) five times'
  - b w- ain m- aa lak fe -m le singgo 3MSG go 3FSG REL two about 3FSG REL today 'Today is his going of second times'
  - c w- do w- a'ha wo w- sqeq m- aa ya'har
    3MSG say 3MSG reject but 3MSG like 3FSG REL ten
    'He sayed he rejected it but like it ten times'

Adpositions in predicational phrase form as shown in (11) require a 3rd feminine singular pronominal prefix to indicate genericness. The form is followed by noun and optionally followed by pronominal suffixes when they express an adverbial modification of the whole predication.

- (vi) PP = PRON-PRF+PRE+N
- (11)a m- aq mbol fo m- syoq hnyo fot ni nggait
  3FSG at house when she make good also thing not
  'At home, she also is not good in doing thing(s)'

- b m- ana ni rana t- not m- hnyo sago
  3FSG in/on story 1SG know 3SGF good also(-NEG)
  'As for story telling, I am also good (at it)'
- c m- aambe wqoit ala -m tet nggait
  3FSG at/to be tree cut 3FSG I not
  'If it comes to cutting trees, I am not'

Adpositions as well as verbs together with an objectnoun can be nominalized. This requires the plural form
which is put directly after the noun with no need for
further pronominal affixes. Here too, 3rd pronominal
suffixes are added optionally:

# (vii) $\underline{PP} = \underline{N} + \underline{POST}$

- (12)a t- smbilit fe mbol eq ra
   1SG busy for house at over there
   'I am busy for the house holding over there'
  - b fan iine ale fo t- rat amo nen path on there when 1SG come after true you 'On the way, then I am sure I come after you'
  - c wqoit ala iimbe driri qawuaq -qat tree cut to be always continue completely 'Cutting of trees will go forever'

#### 3.2 Clauses

Basically there are three types of clauses, i.e. transitive clauses, intransitive clauses, and equative clauses. In Tehit, transitive and intransitive clauses are verbal clauses, that is, the predicate is a verb.

#### 3.2.1 Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause consists at least of a Predicate and Object. Since the subject is always indicated by the

pronominal prefix on the verb, a free subject is not required for a well-formed transitive clause. But when Subject is expressed, it precedes the predicate.

- (i) CL = (N+)PRON-PFX+V+N(/+3PRON-SFX)
- (13)a Yit y- eit ni they 3PL eat thing 'They are eating'
  - b t- sot nen (n- aqa)
    I 15G see you 25G come
    'I saw you (when you are coming)'
  - c Y- oli mbol 3PL go house 'They go home'

The following examples show how constituents expressing time, place, manner, instrument, accompaniment and beneficiary relate to the core elements of a transitive clause:

- (14) a Nggroan n- amon w- deyi sirot m- ana yit yesterday 2SG oB 3MSG send letter 3MSG to them 'Yesterday your older brother send them a letter'
  - b Fombi m- dik ryere-rara ana -m
    land 3FSG be like hill RED over there 3FSG
    'The land over there is hilly'
  - c Babraq fo nan-gi -y y- dasa erneit -w quickly when woman 3PL 3PL serve food 3MSG 'After a short time, the women serve the food'
  - d Yako Siger raa w- aa sa lenso -w
    S which 3MSG REL head handkerchief 3MSG
    'Jack Siger is the one who wears a handkerchief on
    his head'
  - e Salmbo-w w- qodik wesi fe mnyan S 3MSG 3MSG forge iron cause sword 'Salmbo forged sword by using iron'

- f Se ooqo -m m- fe t- qan m- hes
   water drink 3FSG 3FSG make 1SG body 3FSG fine
   'The drinking of water makes me healthy'
- g T- fe tqoin -w w- daret qat fe 1SG cause rain 3MSG 3MSG stop completely cause

t- amon -w w- ain fan -m
1SG elder brother 3MSG 3MSG go path 3FSG
'I cause the rain to stop, so my elder brother (can)
go (savely) on his way'

h Almaq w- qomot Mesak-w la-y A 3MSG help M 3MSG 3DUAL

y- horot ndrawai-m
3PL push eel 3MSG
'Almag helped Mesajach to push the lungfish'

#### 3.2.2 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses do not allow an object. The order of S and P and their marking is the same as in transitive clauses.

- (ii) CL = [(N+)PRON-PFX]+V
- (15) a Hanok -w w- gnye H 3MSG 3MSG swim 'Hanoch is swimming'
  - b w- dain
    3MSG run away
    'He runs away'

Adverbial modifications of an intransitive predicate have a pronominal prefix that refers to the main predicate as its "Subject". The prefix is almost always feminine (i.e. the 'unmarked' gender), but masculine or plural is possible:

- (iii) CL = N+DEM+3PRON-SFX+V+3PRON-SFX+3PRON-PFX+Adj
- (16)a Wet qo -w w- qanyi-m m- jan child DEM 3MSG 3MSG sick 3FSG 3FSG heavy 'This (male)child is seriously sick'

- b Blesmargi w- gyet -m m- qdyadan lak B 3MSG mouth 3FSG 3FSG branch two 'Blesmargi cannot hold on his word'
- c Afsya Worhen -w w- rere -w w- samsa A W 3MSG 3MSG host 3MSG 3MSG very 'Worhen, the Afsya man hosted very much'
- d Erar ririk sago -m m- rere -w w- samsa
  E licht also 3FSG 3FSG host 3MSG 3MSG very
  'The light skinned Erar also hosted very much'
- e Yafet -w w- safo -y y- sret-sret
  Y 3SGM 3SGM sell 3PL 3PL wet-RED
  'Yafet sold them just right now'

# 3.2.3 Equative Clauses

Equatives are non-verbal clauses, where the predicate is a NP just as the subject/topic. An equative clause is structured as [NP + Np]. Each NP needs to be closed by a pronominal suffix.

- (iv) CL = [N+DEM+3PRON-SFX]+[N+3PRON-SFX]
- (17)a ni ana -m wqoit -m thing DEM 3FSG tree 3FSG 'The thing over there is a tree'
  - b na ale -w t- ono -w
    man DEM 3MSG 1SG father 3MSG
    'The man beyond there is my father'
  - c mbol qo -m t- e-da -m
    house DEM 3FSG 1SG POSS 3MSG
    'This house is mine'

Statements about the existence of some being use a verblike adposition (18)a or are verbless, like equative clauses, as in (18)b.

# (V) N+COMPL+DEM

(18)a w- aa sgya -w mre -w w- aq le qo 3MSG REL bad 3MSG one 3MSG 3MSG at REL DEM 'A bad one is about here'

- b eren nggait fe se qo -w
  fish NEG at water DEM 3MSG
  'There is no fish in this river'
- c ryere raa mbol -m m- aa eit ra hill REL house 3FSG 3FSG REL burn up over there 'The hill up there where the house was burned'

#### 3.3 Sentences

According to the traditional classification, sentences in Tehit can be classified into four types: declarative, imperative, exclamation, and interrogative sentences.

Generally sentences are structured with the order of subject, predicate, and object as demonstrated for the clause (=simple sentence). Some other possibilities will be considered as exceptions. Compound and complex sentences contain more than one clause and are derived by combining more than one simple sentence.

#### 3.3.1 Declarative sentences

A simple declarative sentence is built of noun phrase plus predicational phrases (verbal, adverbial, adjectival, demonstratival, conjunctival). Pronominal affixes are used in several positions for several reasons:

- (1) Subject NP needs at least a final pronominal suffix;
- (2) Predicate always needs a pronominal prefix that corresponds with the person, gender and number of the subject;
- (3) Object NP can occur without a pronominal suffix when there is no need for any detailed description of gender and number.

Some possibilities are illustrated as follows.

- (i)  $\underline{S} = \underline{S+P(+0)}$
- (19)a wet -m m- awa
   child 3FSG 3FSG cry
  -----S P
   'The girl cries = The girl is crying'
  - b na -y y- ein
    man 3PL 3PL go
    ----S P
    'The people go = The people are going'
  - c tet t- at qa -m
    I 1SG eat taro 3SGM
    --- S P 0
    'I eat the taro'
  - d na -y y- safo qawar -m
    man 3PL 3PL sell slave 3SGF
    ----S P O
    'People sold a female slave'

Simple declarative sentences as in (19) may have some further explanations which make use of conjunctival (20)a or verbal (20)b phrases.

- (20)a tet t- at qa -m m- ari eren -m
  I 1SG eat taro 3MSG 3MSG together fish 3MSG
  S P O
  'I eat taro with fish'
  - b na -y y- safo qawar-y y- eqa y- oli qo man 3PL 3PL sell slave 3PL 3PL come 3PL to here S P O Expl 'People sold slaves coming to here'

Declarative sentences that are stative, i.e. the predicate is non-verbal, allow inversion as in (21)a, b.

- (ii)  $\underline{S} = \underline{N+Compl((+POSS+)(+ADJ+)(Adv))}$
- (21)a w- aa hen oqo-w /t- eda -w
  3MSG REL red DEM 3MSG 1SG POSS 3MSG
  -----S Compl
  'The red one is mine'
  - b t- eda -w w- aa hen oqo- w
    1SG POSS 3MSG 3MSG REL red DEM 3MSG
    SP O
    'Mine is the red one'

In contrast to non-verbal sentences, verbal declarative sentences do not allow inversion, compare the following examples in (22).

(22) a y- ii fle ege -y y- hen
3PL REL big DEM 3PL 3PL red

S Compl
'Those big ones are red'

b \*y-hen y-ii fle ege-y

\*y-hen eqe-y y-ii fle

#### 3.3.2 Imperative sentences

Simple imperative sentences are mostly short constructions with extra stress as part of the intonation. Often, imperative sentences consist only of one predicational phrase, but modifications are possible.

- (iii)  $\underline{S} = \underline{PP+(PRON-PRX+(V)+(IMP))}$
- (23)a n- ain 2SG go -----SP '(Please) Go!
  - b m- aheit e

    3FSG stay IMP

    ----SP
    'They must stay!'

- c w- qro-gi qje qo -m e
  3MSG block game track this 3FSG IMP
  -----SP O Compl
  'Block this game track (please)'
- d n- drye salyen fe qma qo -m
  2SG pull paddle for canoe this 3FSG
  -----SP O Compl
  'Pull the paddles on this canoe'
  (= so we can go faster'

For particular reasons, the imperative senteces allow specific interjections: <u>yo</u> before the subject or <u>la</u> straight after the predicate whether in combination or not. However, the combination form is more polite; it has a weak imperative force.

# (iv) S = (NP) + PPV + la + NP(+DEM)

- (24)a n- ain la 2SG go IMP ------SP Compl 'Please, go!'
  - b yo n- salyen la
    IMP 2SG paddle IMP
    --- Compl SP Compl
    'Yes, now, padlle'

In the case of negating and challenging, there are other additions to an Imperative form. These are <u>hay</u>, <u>aa</u>, <u>ngm</u>, <u>a'ke</u>, <u>a'mot-3rdAffx-la</u>, for negating. All these negating adverbs, except <u>amot-3rdAffx-la</u>, are placed initially in the imperative sentence. In contrast, for challenging, or requesting, completions will be placed after the pre-

dicate (see (23)c), these are -la, -e, -se, etc.

- (v)  $\underline{S} = (NEG+)(IM+)PP(+NEG+)(IMP)$
- (25) a hay, n- fla amot m- la
  IMP-NEG 2SG cut open IMP-NEG 3FSG IMP

  IMP-Expl SP IMP-Expl
  'No, do not cut her, please'
  - b yo, n- eqa f- ein (-e)
    IMP 2PL come 1SGINCL go IMP

    IMP-Expl IMP(S+V) SV
    'Well, come, and let us go'
  - c n- dain-qat fan oqo -m (-e)
    2SG get away from path DEM 3FSG IMP
    ----SP O Expl
    'Get away from that path'

### 3.3.3 Exclamation sentences

Exclamation sentences are mostly simple sentences. Most are more like fragmentary sentences which are reduced from simple sentences. These sentences often consist only of one sound or syllable, however, carring a certain amount of semantic meanings. They may also contain short statements that reject, avoid or negate possible ideas or suggestions. Because of their minimized form (they are often not fully constructed SPO sentences), they are considered different from declarative or imperative sentences. It is therefore they are more similar to interrogatives, but are expressed rhetorically.

- $(vi) \underline{S} = \underline{EXC(+PP)(N)}$
- (26)a wi, t- aha
   EXC 1SG not like
   'What, I am not interesting in it'

- b wi, Algau -w (t- amon -w)
  EXC A 3MSG 1SG brother 3MSG
  'Algau (my very brother)'
  = there is no one equal to my brother Algau'
- c (n- slye tali fe) Blanda maa nen
  2SG dry sun as B REL you
  'Are you Dutchman (so you sit in the sun)'
- d heya, t- anaq wale qya nen
  EXC 1SG opose already small you
  'I beg you pardon (you small fool)'
  = what do you want from me'

# 3.3.4 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences are like declarative sentences, but with a rising intonation and question particle in the case of Yes/No questions. The particle which is used for a positive reply is <u>e</u> 'yes' but for replying negatively it is <u>a'ke</u> 'no'

- (vii) S = PP+COMPL+Question(rising-intonation
- (27)a Q: m -at waleit ni?

  3FSG eat already thing

SbjPred Compl Obj+rising int.

'Did she eat already?'

A: e (m -at waleit ni)
yes 3FSG eat already thing

Compl SbjPred Compl Obj+falling int.
'Yes (she did (ate something))' or

hau (m -at lajot ni)
no 3FSG eat not yet thing
'No (she did not yet (eat something))'

- - A: ake, t- aqo sgia eri -m no 1SG drink bad only 3FSG 'No, I am always not drink it'

However for the negative answer it is not very clear in Tehit. The reaction is in some way similar to English but also likely be as in Malay/Bahasa Indonesia. Here, the particles <u>e</u> and <u>ake</u> are used dubiously. It is noted that <u>ake</u> is more often used by older people. The use of <u>e</u> for negative answer is found among younger people and the people who speak Tehit just as a second language. The <u>e</u> matter may possibly seen as influenced by Malay/Bahasa Indondonesia.

c wet m- awa fe n- syo nggait-m- a? child 3SGF cry because 2SG breast NEG 3SGF Q

Sbj SbjPred Conj SbjPred Compl+rising int.
'Is the female child crying because you did not let her suckle'

Ake,t-syo nggait-m!

Ake ...! 'No, that is not right' or

E ...!
'Yes, that is right'

Content questions use question words that are placed in the position of the element that is questioned (see 2.8).

- g (raa) wet ra -m m- awa feme?

  REL child DEM 3FSG 3FSG cry QM

  Compl Sbj (Compl Sbj) Pred Copl+rising int.

  'Why is that child crying?'
- h waqama wet e -y y- eqa?
  when child that 3PL 3PL come
  -----Compl Sbj (Compl Sbj) Pred+rising int.
  'When did they (children) come?'

m- syoq ni mre -w w- a?
3FSG do thing one 3MSG 3MSG QM

'Is that female child crying because her mother did something?

# 3.4 Complex constructions

Considering the verbal nature of predication words, or considering the way pronominal affixes function in both transitive and intransitive sentences, it seems reasonable to state that all sentences in Tehit are slightly complex. What appears to happen is a combination of various predicates to form what can plausibly be called. a simple sentence, as the examples under 'clause' illustrate. Having discussed the sentence types so far (3.3.1, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3) we should be looking at possible combinations of such simple sentences. That is the ability to add setting clauses preceding the main clause and several complements in between or following the main clause or the head NP or PP. To do so, simple juxtaposition or (free and bound form) conjunctions are used. A complex declarative sentence may be illustrated by (28).

(28)a Mesak -w w- do/ nggroan na -y
S PP AdvP S
M 3SGM 3SGM say yesterday people 3PL

y- salyen y- oli Serenombo y- ein y- esi PP PP AdvP PP PP 3PL paddle 3PL to S 3PL go 3PL seek

wi raa qmolo Salmbo -w w- qodik
AdvP REL AdvP S PP
place which past S 3SGM 3SGM forge

mnyan o -m
0
long knife that 3SGM

'Mesayach said that yesterday, people were paddling to Serenombo to seek for the place where in the past time Salombo had forged the long knife'

This sentence shows an indirect quotation:

"Mesak-w w-do nggroan w-aqo-w na-y y-salyen...etc."

A direct quostation would require -do fe -do:

Mesak w- do fe w- do:
M 3MSG say about 3MSG say
Mesayach said:
"Nggroan w-aqow na-y y-salyen ...etc."

It also illustrates possible sequences of verbal forms:

Na-y y-salyen y-oli Serenombo y-ein y-sot ...etc. Finally it shows a relative clause modifying a NP:

wi raa qmolo Salmbo-w w-qodik ....etc.

Some other examples of complex sentences make use of conjunctions such as <u>fo</u> 'when, if', <u>fe</u> 'because, about', which will be discussed in more detail later.

b faf f- ine nirana w- aa mres/ fo
S PP O
we-INCL 1PL-INCL to story 3SGM REL be one Conj

faf f- oso waleit fe na -m
S PP ADV Conj S
we-INCL 1PL-INCL hear already about people 3SGF

m- aadi m- ali Qhoin o -m PP PP Adv 3SGF refuge 3SGF to Q DEM 3SGF

'At the first story we already heard about people who fled to Qohoin'

c Qondlogit -w w- rana w- do mbait S PP PP AdvP Q 3SGM 3SGM tell 3SGM say always fe wowa -m m- aa lwiet m- ari wale

Conj REL AdvP Conj AdvP
about his 3SGF 3SGF old 3SGF with already

qmolo w- aqo -w fe w- aase AdvP Conj PP past 3SGM DEM 3SGM because 3SGM stay

fombi Tehit qo -m m- ditdit waleit
AdvP PP AdvP
land T DEM 3SGM 3SGM origin already

'Qondologit always tells (about) his (story) that is old (which is) already from the past (old time) that he stayed in Tehit land already from its origin'

Other possibilities of complex constructions can be categorized as: adversative, alternative, setting clauses, and reason clauses and temporals, which will be discussed in separate sections.

#### 3.4.1 Adversative

The adversative or contrastive relation between two simple sentences is expressed by <u>wo</u> 'but' (which seems to be related to third person singular pronoun). The structure of the resulting compound sentence is the same whether the subjects of the conjuncts are different or not.

- (29)a t- orik ogo/ wo, t- at sgia eri ogo refe SV 0 Conj SV Adj 0 1SG plant banana but 1SG eat bad only ripebanana 'I plant banana, but I hate eating ripe bananas'
  - b t- fosik erneit sadik/wo t- at ngait-y SV O Adv Conj SV O 1SG cook food well but 1SG eat not 3PL 'I cooked the food well, but I didnot eat them'

It is seen that the same subject appears in both conjuncts. The second conjunct functions more like an explanation in which a contradiction is stated against the

....

first conjunct. It is also possible to employ two different subjects for each conjunct.

- (30) a Erar -m m- aha /wo nen n- ondor -m
  S SV Conj S SV O
  E 3SGF 3SGF don't like but W 2SG force 3SGM
  'Erar refused but you forced her'
  - b Hanok -w w- aq wale Eles/ wo not raa S SV Adv Adv Conj Adv DEM H 3SGM 3SGM at already E but cloth that

y- ala lajot -y
SV Adv O
3PL3PL pay back not jet 3PL

'Hanoch was already at Eles but the cloths (bride price) which he ran, the mountain people still had not yet paid back'

Another possibility is to use <u>wo</u> and <u>maa</u> together in the second conjunct to contradict the first one. It here to be stressed that <u>maa</u> is a contrastive form which is different from <u>m-aa</u> of conjuntion where the 3FSG /m-/ may be subtituted by 3MSG /w-/ and 3PL /y-/ form.

- (31)a Erar -m m- aha //wo nen maa n- sqeq
  S SV Conj S Cont SV
  E 3SGF 3SGF don't like but you that 2SG like
  'Erar refused but you (the one who) like (it)'
  - b Markus -w w-ahet //wo Yafet -w maa w- aqa S SV Conj S Cont SV M 3SGM 3SGM stay but Y 3SGM that 3SGM come 'Marck did not come but Yafet (the one who) did'

Contrast can be intensified by the adverb <u>eri</u> 'only' directly following the contrasted element in the second conjunct.

(32)a w-aheit w- aase /wo mam eri maa SV SV Conj S Cont Cont 3SGM stay 3SGM sleep but we-ECL only that

m- ein m- syog ni
SV SV O

1PL-EXCL go 1PL-EXCL make thing
'He stays and sleeps but (it is) only we-ECL (are the ones) who are coming to work'

b m- sese m- ain m- giaman//wo tet eri maa SV SV Conj S Cont Cont 3SGM run 3SGM go 3SGM hide but I only that

t- qro t- anaq -y SV SV O 1SG stand 1SG against 3PL

'She is running to hide but (it is) only me who is standing against them'

When the contrast involves identical subjects and predicates, these may remain unexpressed in the 2nd conjuct.

(33)a qorik -w w- at t~ efe mbyele/ S SV O pig 3SGM 3SGM eat 1SG POSS garden

(wo) nena -w w- la
Conj O Adv
but your 3SG M3SGM avoid

'Pigs disturbed my garden (but) avoiding yours'.

b Almaq -w w- haat Wgeri -w, S SP O A 3SGM 3SGM hate W 3SGM

Foisa nggait -w
O Adv
F not 3SGM
'Almaq hate Wgeri, not Foisa'

#### 3.4.2 Alternative

There are sentences presenting alternatives marked by <a href="fafe" 'or', additions marked by sa'go 'also'. The implementation of a such constructions is in many ways the same as 3.4.1 above."

(34)a t- do t- syoq nggyersyoq -y //
SV SV O
1SG say 1SG make work 3PL \*\*\*

afe t- leli-mbhas wati?
Conj SV Adv
or 1SG stay unlabour just

'Shall I go to work or just stay idle?'

b t- do t- syoq nggersyoq// sago t- leli-mbhas SP SP O Conj SP 1SG say 1SG make work also 1SG sit-midday

'I do like to work but I also like to just stay idle all day'

A different kind of alternative is expressed by waa 'otherwise', which goes with declarative and imperative, seen as follows.

(35)a hay, nan n- fla amot nan-gi -m m- aa NEG S PP NEG O no 2SG/PL cut open do not woman 3SGF 3SGF REL

qmat o -m m- la waa singgo AdvP IMP Conj AdvP pregnant DEM 3SGF 3SGF not otherwise to day

m- aagi nggemeqat m- efe
PP AdvP PP
3SGF die leaving after 3SGF POSS

taman -w w- aa roq qo -w
O REL AdvP
bride debt 3SGM 3SGF alot DEM 3SGM

'No, you may not cut that pregnant woman's belly, otherwise if she dies she will leave all her bride debt'

b n- awa amot/waa qlembet-y y-qrowain faf SP NEG-IMP Conj S SP O 2SG cry not otherwise devil 3PL 3PL follow us

'Don't cry, otherwise the devils'll come after us'

## 3.4.3 Sentences with setting clause

When clause presents a setting for the main predication the conjuction <u>fo</u> is used.

- (36)a t- do t- oombit fo // t- a(i)s amuk SbjPred SbjPred Conj SbjPred Adv 1SG say 1SG go seawards when 1SG go down night
  - 'If I want to go seawards (fishing), I have to wake up early'
  - b t- ain fo //n- eheit n- mbait nggait SbjPred Coj SbjPred SbjPred NEG 1SG go when 2PL stay 2PL play not

'When I am away you are not allow to play'

c w- do w- paher rambit nggait fo,//t- aha
SbjPred SbjPred Conj NEG Conj SbjPred
3MSG say 3MSG pay possibly not than 1SG not

t- syoq mbol qo -m m- fot SbjPred Obj Compl. like 1SG make house DEM 3FSG 3FSG finish

'If he does not want to pay, I would not like to finish building this house'

#### 3.4.4. Reason

A sentence expressing reason has the main predication followed by the reason clause, which is introduced by the conjunction <u>e</u> 'about, cause':

- (37)a wet o -m m- awa fe m- qadot child DEM 3FSG 3FSG cry Conj 3FSG hungry 'The female child cries because she is hungry'
  - b w- leli w- sadmor fe w- not m- jan
    3MSG sit 3MSG silent Conj 3MSG know 3MSG heavy
    'He sits silently because he knows that it is
    difficult'

## 3.4.5 Temporals

Presenting temporals in complex constructions, the form (smba) masee is used. It signals that two events happened in sequence.

(38)a y- ein y- ese smba masee t- aqa
3PL go 3PL sleep after that Conj 1SG come
'They go to sleep first then I come'
= I come after they are going to sleep'

b t- ali kantor t- syafein sirot masee t- aqa
1SG to office 1SG take from letter then 1SG come
'I go to the office to take the letter then I come'
= I will take the letter from the office (first)
then I come'

# 3.4.6 Purpose/Intention

There is actually no special word to mark purpose or intention in complex constructions unless by using particles fe 'about' for negative meaning where se 'then' or se mase ...(dnes) 'so, than after' for positive meaning. Constructions used for negative meaning may as follows:

- (39)a t- ain t- ali radaryer fe t- qain pitis a?
  1SG go 1SG to market because 1SG have money Q
  'Why should I go to the market if I have no money'
  - b t- ain nggait t- ali ryer'rada fe t- qain 1SG go NEG 1SG to market because 1SG have

nggait pitis (mre -y)
NEG money (one 3PL)

'I am not going to the market because I do not have any money'

Examples for the positive meaning may as follows:

(40)a t- ain t- ali ryer'rada t- qain eren 1SG go 1SG to market 1SG have/buy fish

'I go to the market to buy some fish'

b t- ain t- ali ryer'rada se mase t- qain 1SG go ISG to market then after 1SG have/buy

dnes erneit can food

'I go to the market so I can buy the food'

Tehit does not makes distinction between 'I go to the market to buy a fish' and 'I go to the market and I buy a fish' but may as 'I go to the market then I (can) buy fish'. The sentence in (40)a therefore will be ungramma-

tical if the second verb  $\underline{t-qain}$  'I buy' is used to be as adjoining action which is connected by conjunction  $\underline{m-ari}$  'it(F) and' or 'it(F) with' as (41)a.

(41)a \*t- ain t- ali ryer'rada m- ari t- qain eren 1SG go 1SG to market 3FSG and 1SG buy fish I go to the market and buy fish

The adjoining verb in Tehit as a matter of fact must almost always being accepted as a result(s) or simultanous action(s) of the action mentioned in the initial verb.

Some actually implies will be as follows:

- (42)a t- qain eren 1SG buy fish 'I buy fish'
  - b t- ain t- ali ryer'rada t- qain eren 1SG go 1SG go market then 1SG buy fish than

mase (fo) t- ali mbol after that (then) 1SG to house

'I go to the market to buy fish then I go home = I go to the market and buy fish and go home'

c t- ain t- ali ryer'rada fe t- qain eren 1SG qo 1SG to market because 1SG buy fish

m- nde eren mbosi fo t- ali oli mbol
3FSG become fish finish then 1SG go again house

'I went to the market in order to by fish but because there was no fish so I come back home'

d w- do ni fe tet w- do w- ain
3MSG say thing about I 3MSG say 3MSG go

w- qain eren
3MSG buy fish

'He said to me (that) he wants to buy fish'

#### TEXT8

# THE SECOND STORY OF PEOPLES MIGRATION TO QOHOIN

 ni- ra'na fe- lak thing tell caused/make two

The second story.

2. m- 'ana ni-ra'na fe- mres fo fa(f) f- 'oso 3FSG on/at story caused one when 1PLICL 1PLICL hear

wa'leit fe na -m m- aa di -m m- 'ali already about people 3FSG 3MSG REL flee 3FSG 3FSG to

q(o)'hoin o- m O DEM 3FSG

In the first story we already heard about the people who fled to Qohoin.

3. ni -w w- 'olo -w w- nde sye?
 thing 3MSG 3MSG origin 3MSG 3MSG like how/what

What was the reason of this ?

4. Qondlogit-w w- ra'na w- o'wa-m m nde le Q 3MSG 3MGg tell 3MSG POS 3FSG 3FSG like as

qo- m qo- m thit 3FSG RED 3FSG

Kondologit, he told his (story) like this.

5. qmu'olo ma(-m) m- 'eese wi mrepast/old days lplexcl lplexcl sleep/stay place one/a

m na(-y) y- do 'baimla 'afe raa na(-y) y-3FSG people 3PL call/say B or which people 3PL

'eefit sa'go y- do 'amaq sa hen -m call also 3PL say stone head red 3FSG

Long time ago, we (our uncestors) were living at a place called Baimla or which is also called Amaq sa hen 'red headed sone'.

6. wi om m- hes m- lu'wa, ere'neit(-w) place that 3FSG peace 3FSG calm food

w- roq, 'erwas(-w) w 'seme, wo ni(-m) m- a 3-HPL planty side dish 3-HPL easy but thing 3FSG REL

mres -m one 3FSG

That place was peaceful and calm. Food was plenty, side-dishes were easily provided, but one thing (was missing).

7. na n-gi -y y- i- qmat -y y- do ypeople woman 3PL 3PL REL(PL) belly/prignant 3PL 3PL say 3PL

sos fo y- qak, 'feme? gave birth when 3PL die (killed) why

When pregnant women were about to give birth, then they died. Why?

8. na -y y- not 'ngait y- do y- nde sye, fe people 3PL 3PL know not 3PL say 3PL become how because

na mre(-y) y- not 'nggait y- 'eqsiwo people one 3PL know NEG 3PL nurse to gave birth

The people did not know what to do, because no one knew how to help a woman to gave birth.

9. na n-gi(-y) y- qmat(-y) y- 'qendi-qo'qo people woman 3PL pregnant 3PL back-pain/started labour

fo na -y y- loq -y y- e'qa y- fla -y y- when people 3PL 3PL take 3PL 3PL came 3PL cut open 3PL 3PL

qmat e -y see y- qrit'fein wet -y 'y- ein nyan belly that 3PL so 3PL remove-from child 3PL 3PL from inside

When woman started labour, people took them and cut open their bellies in order to deliver the babies.

10. wet -y y- do 'y- iimbe y- ron, wo y- 'eme child 3PL 3PL say 3PL become 3PL alive but 3PL mother

e- y y- qak
DEM 3PL 3PL died by killed

The children would survive but their mothers always died.

11. na n-gi -y y- fe m- 'aambe y- di'nik
 people woman 3PL 3PL cause 3SGF become 3PL disappear
Women were close to dying out.

12. wet -y y- eit 'ngait syo, y- fle fe e'ri children 3PL 3PL eat no milk 3PL big because only

se -m m- a 'oqo -m water 3FSG 3FSG REL drink 3FSG

Children nippled no breasts unless only feded with water.

13. 'tali(-w) w- 'ana, a'muk w-'ana, sna ma'no -y day 3MSG to go closer night moon other 3PL

si'ro ma'no-y y- mbe'nis season other 3PL 3PL passing through/disappear

Days and nights went by, months and seasons passed by.

14. nde fo na -y y- 'safo qa'war m- 'a- n-gi like when people 3PL 3PL sell slave 3FSG which female

mre -m m- a'in 'tali m- si'ndik, syes 'm- ana na one 3FSG 3FSG from sun 3FSG rise east 3FMSG to people

e'qe -y that 3PL

As this was going on, a female slave from the sun rise direction (eastwards) was sold to these people.

Qa'war -m m-a n-gim o- m 'm- ain Qri'madi slave 3FSG 3FSG woman that 3FSG 3FMSG from Q

The female slave came from Krimadi.

16. 'oli fo na n-gim m- a qmat mre -m again when humanbeing woman 3FSG which prignant one 3FSG

m- fe m- aambe m- syos 3FSG cause 3FSG become 3FSG gave birth

Again, one day a woman started to go into labour.

17. na jit e -y y- do y- sya m- a'qa ypeople native that 3PL 3PL say 3PL take 3FSG come 3PL

fla -m m- qmat o -m cut open 3FSG 3FSG belly that 3FSG

The native people wanted to take her (the pregnant woman) and cut open her belly.

18. qa'war o | -m 'm- oso fo 'm- 'dogi na slave that 3FSG 3FSG hear when 3FSG not allow people

jit e -y, m- do: native that 3PL 3FSG say

When that woman slave heard this she did not allow those native people to do so, and said:

19. "hay, n- fla a'mot(-m) m- la, wo, n- sya m-NEG, 2PL cut open NEG 3FSG NEG but 2PL gave 3FSG

a'qa t- ag'siwo- m !"
come 1SG help to give bith 3FSG

"No, do not cut open her (belly), let me help her to give birth !.[lit. You give she comes I hel her]

20. na jit e -y 'y- dainqat fo, qa'war people native that 3PL 3PL take aside than slave

o -m m- a'dikqat na n-gi -m mthat 3FSG 3FSG take along with human being woman 3FSG 3FSG

a qmat o -m m- hoq m- 'ain mbol nyan REL pregnant that 3FSG 3FSG go out 3FSG from house inside

m- 'ali 'anos ra
3FSG go/to yard outside

When the native people stepped aside, the female slave took the pregnant woman out from the house to the yard.

21. fo m- ba'he-qat na n-dla-y 'y- ori when 3FSG holdback people male 3PL 3PL with

we(t) qo'non y- ii n-dla-y 'y- ein wo na n-gi -y child small 3PL REL male 3PL 3PL go but people waman 3PL

y- mres e'ri ma y- e'heit 3PL one only there 3PL stay

Then, she ordered the men as well as the boys to go away, but the women to be present.

22. ma'se 'm- agsiwo na n-gi -m there after 3FSG help to give birth people woman 3FSG

m- aa qmat o -m m- qa'wuaqnde m- syos
3FSG which prignant DEM 3FSG 3FSG until 3FSG gave birth

After that she helped that pregnant woman until she gave birth.

23. wet -w w- aa ndla -w, 'w- awa, 'w- eme child 3MLSG 3MLSG REL male 3MSG 3MSG cry 3MSG mother

o -m m- ron
that 3FSG 3FSG alive

The baby was a boy, he cried and his mother was alive

24. 'qabra 'm- aambe na n-gi -m m- aa syos notice 3FSG become people woman 3FSG 3FSG REL give birth

-m o -m m- ron, 'm- efe wet o -w w ron, 3FSG DEM 3FSG 3FSG alive 3FSG POS child DEM 3MSG 3MSG alive

m- fe na m- aa roq o -m m- lyo'hon m-3FSG make people 3FSG whic alot taht 3FSG 3FSG flooded 3FSG

a'qa m- sot come 3FSG see

Having realised that the woman was still alive after she gave birth, and her child was also alive, the crowd flooded to see for themselves.

25. qa'war Qri'madi-m m- aa n-gi o -m mslave Q 3FSG 3FSG REL woman DEM 3FSG 3FSG

a'sen m- sa'ngir m- ana na jit e -y stand up 3FSG talk 3FSG to people native DEM 3PL

m- do: 3FSG say

The Krimadi slave woman stood up and told to the native people, she sayed:

26. "yo, 'm- ari raa qo -w na -m m- aa well 3FSG with who this 3MSG people 3FSG 3FSG REL

qmat -m mre-m 'm- qendiqo'qo fo 'n- qoraq prignant 3FSG one 3FSG 3FSG start labour when 2SG cut open

a'mot m- qmat -m m- la wo n- eq'siwo NEG 3FSG stomach 3FMSG 3FMSG NEG but 2PL help to give birth

e'ri -m m- nde raa t- syoq wa'leit o -m" only 3FSG 3FSG as REL 1SG do already that 3FSG

"Well, from now on, if a woman starts labour, do not cut her belly open but help her to give birth in the way that I have done!"

- 27. 'y- ooso-m m- nde le o'qo fo, na -m 3PL hear 3FSG 3FSG like as that when people 3FSG
- 'm- aa roq o -m m- 'qanhes, m- qe'le 3FSG which many DEM 3FSG 3FSG relize 3FSG ashame

After hearing this, menay people realized (what they had been doing) and were ashamed.

28. 'y- salo ma'wuan, mre-y y- do qa'war o -m 3PL argue among others one 3PL 3PL say slave DEM 3FSG

'm- lait e'ri le m- fer'fik e- y 3FSG witch only so 3FSG create unusuals DEM 3PL

The argued amongst themselves, and some said that the female slave was a witch because she had been done something unusual.

- 29. na -m m- ain syar, m- aa da -m m- do: people 3FSG 3FSG go spread 3FSG REL part 3FSG 3FSG say
- "yo, n -(e)qa f -ein 'f- henggi wi raa qa'war well 2PL come 1PLICL go 1PLICL look for place REL slave
- qo -m 'm- aase m- aa 'olo o- m see that 3FSG 3FSG stay 3FSG REL origin that 3FSG so(that)
- 'f- efe na n-gi -y y- ii qmat -y y- do y-1PLICL POS woman 3PL 3PL which prignant 3PL 3PL will 3PL
- sos fo y- qak 'amot" give birth when 3PL died by killed NEG

The crowd dispersed and some said: "Well, come, let us go to the place where this female slave came from, so that, when our pregnant woman are about to give birth will not die!"

- 30. ma'se na jit o -m m- a'in ngge'meqat then people native that 3FSG 3FSG go left behind
- 'baimla, 'fombi y- eese -m m- a 'olo o .-m

  B land 3PL stay 3FSG 3FSG REL origin that 3FSG
- So, the native people went away from Baimla, the land where they lived originally.
- 31. y- e'in syar sa'go fe o'qon-w w- a'qa w- 3PL go spread also because flood 3MSG 3MSG come 3MSG

qlat 'fombi o- m, w- mbyesqat ni -w w- cover land DEM 3FSG 3MSG throw away thing 3MSG 3MSG

asi w- ain float 3FSG go

They also left because a flood had come and covered the land, it had washed away everything.

32. na -m 'm- ada raa 'm- fodo 'm- ali 'wango people 3FSG 3FSG part REL 3FSG cross 3FSG to cape

se'le o- m na -y y- efit -y 'y- iimbe na S DEM 3FSG people 3PL 3PL call -3PL 3PL to be people

'segyet-y S 3PL

Some people crossed to Cape Sele, and are now called Seget people.

33. y- gi'an ma'no raa 'y- mbadwi 'y- oli o'rot 3PL body other which 3PL go over 3PL to valley

war'sansan na -y y- efit y- iimbe na 'mooi -y W people 3PL 3PL call 3PL become people M 3PL

Others who went further and settled the Warsansan valley, are called Mooi people.

34. ma'no raa y- orinmbi se beraur -w w- ari some whom 3PL go up stream river B 3MSG 3MSG and

se'ramuk-m m- aa sa- m na -y 'y- eefit S 3FSG 3FMSG REL head 3PL people 3PL 3PL call

'y- iimbe na 'qlabra -y 'y- ori na- mo'rait -y 3PL become people Q 3PL 3PL and people M 3PL

Those who went upstream on the Beraur and Seremuk rivers are called Klabra and Morait.

35. o'qo fo ma'no raa na -y 'y- eefit 'y- iimbe that when other REL people 3PL 3PL call 3PL become

na te'hit e -y lema raa y- di nde 'y- ine people T taht 3PL are REL 3PL flee until 3PL to

'fombi se te'hit 'afe 'kaibus-m m- aa sa land river Tehit or K 3FSG 3FSG which head

After those, other are called Tehit, they are people who fled and reached the land upstream of Tehit or Kaibus river.

36. Na raa w- aa 'eqsa do'ron le(ma)raa) Salmbo.
man REL 3MSG REL first true REL S

'w- ari 'w- efe na o- m y- do 'y- eqa wi -m 3MSG with 3MSG POS men that 3FSG PL say 3PL come place 3FSG

'm- qendi 'm- aambe Serenombo fo y- qait qma, 3FSG name 3FSG become S when 3PL tie canoe

ma'se y- hri 'y- oli 'fombi 'deit ra fo 'y- seli then 3PL climb 3PL to land footh out there when 3PL bake

sala-m, 'nandla -y y- gian mre -y y- qodik myan fire 3FSG man 3PL 3PL Cls one 3PL 3PL forge long knife

The first family (to make this journey) was Salambouw. When he and his group were abaut to reach a place called Serenombo, they teed up their raft. After that they had gone ashore, they made a fire and some men forged long knives.

37. Qondlogit -w w- ana w- owa fan ta, fo w- jaq Q 3MSG 3MSG on 3MSG POS way POS when 3MSG meet

'w- ana na mre 'oli -y, fo 'y- roro 'sisi 3MSG to people some again 3PL when 3PL on row side by side

y- drik se te'hit 3PL come in water/river T

When Kondologit was on his way, he met up with other people and they continued together up the Tehit (Kaibus) river.

38. y- hra'da 'y- iine o'qo fo y- sot 'sala raa 3PL approach 3PL to that when 3PL see fire REL

'Salombo w- se'li o -m m- mbi S 3MSG burn that 3FSG 3FSG smoke

When they had come close to there (the mouth of the river) they saw the smoke nearer to (upstream) they saw the flames from fire that Salambouw (and his family) had made.

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