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KAMBERA

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1 INTRODUCTION

Kambera is spoken by approximately 150,000 speakers in the eastern region of the island of Sumba (province Nusa Tenggara Timur) in Eastern Indonesia. It is classified as belonging to the Central-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (see Blust 1993). Several other indigenous languages (or 'dialects', Onvlee 1984) are spoken on Sumba, including Weyewa (75,000), Kodi (40,000), Lamboya (15,000), Wanukaka (10,000), Anakalang (14,000) and Mamboru (16,000) (Wurm 1994). Of those, Weyewa and Kodi in particular appear to be unintelligible to speakers of Kambera. For that reason, at least the latter three varieties may be considered separate languages rather than dialects. It is as yet unclear whether the remaining varieties should be classified as dialects or languages.

The oldest publication in which a language of Sumba is mentioned is Heymering (1846), which contains a brief word list of the dialect of Mangili. Other word lists are given by Roos (1872), De Roo van Alderwerelt (1891), Vermast (1895), Pos (1901), and Wielenga (1917). Van der Velden (1900) is a brief description of the language of the Laura district in western Sumba. Wielenga (1909), Onvlee (1925) and Kapita (1983) are short grammars of Kambera. Klamer (1998a) is a recent grammar. The two Kambera dictionaries are Kambera–Indonesian (Kapita 1982) and Kambera–Dutch (Onvlee 1984). Kambera texts with Dutch translations are Wielenga (1913) and Onvlee (1925). Kambera traditional ritual speech, songs, stories and sayings are documented by Kapita (1977, 1979, 1986, 1987). These four publications, together with the Kambera New Testament ('*Na Paràndingu Bidi*', 1961) and Hymn book ('*Ludu Pamalangu*', 1979), make up the Kambera written literature. Kambera ritual speech is discussed in Forth (1981) and Fox (1988), while Kuipers (1998) deals with aspects of ritual speech in Weyewa. Forth (1985) is an anthropological study of the Kambera-speaking community of Rindi.

2 PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

2.1 Segment inventory, syllable structure and stress

Table 25.1 presents the nineteen consonant segments of Kambera, with their orthography in brackets. Kambera has no plain voiced stops. The three plain voiceless stops all have a prenasalised counterpart. The language has eight complex consonants: two implosive stops (labial and alveolar), one affricate and five prenasalised segments.

Kambera has only one fricative, /h/. At the end of the nineteenth century, Kambera still had an /s/, but a rapid consonant shift occurred between 1872 and 1909 which changed all /s/s into /h/s. For example, *sai* 'comb', *pa-usi* 'gather', *bunggas* 'to open X' in Roos (1872) have become *hai*, *pa-uhi* and *bunggah* by the time of Wielenga (1909) (cf. Klamer 1998a:12). Kambera has a non-phonemic glottal stop as the default realization of an

TABLE 25.1: KAMBERA CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless plain stop	p	t	k	
Voiced implosive stop	b(b)	d̥ (d)		
Voiced affricate		dʒ (j)		
Nasal	m	n	ŋ (ng)	
Prenasalized stop	mb	nd	ŋg (ngg)	
Prenasalized affricate		ndʒ (nj)		
Fricative				h
Lateral liquid		l		
Rhotic liquid		r		
Glide	w	j (y)		
Prenasalised glide		nj (ny)		

TABLE 25.2: KAMBERA VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

	Front	Central	Back
High	i (i) i: (i)		u (u) u: (ú)
Low	e* ai	a (â) a: (a)	o au

empty onset in root-initial syllables (*angu* [ʔáŋu] ‘friend’). Main stress is always on the root-initial syllable (see below).

The Kambera vowels are given in Table 25.2, with their orthographic representations in brackets. All the vowels can occur in the initial, stressed, syllable of the root, but in unstressed contexts we only find the cardinal vowels /i, a, u/. Of all the logically possible VV combinations, only /ea/ and /oa/ do not occur. The contrast between /u/ and /u:/ is clearly quantitative, but the contrast between /a, i/ and /a:, i:/ may also be realised qualitatively as a lax/tense distinction. That is, /a/ is phonetically either [a] or [a], /i/ as [i] or [i], while /a:/ may be realised as [a:] or [a], and /i:/ as [i:] or [i]. One allophone is thus shared between the tense and the lax phonemes (i.e. [a] and [i]). The three Kambera vowels that only occur in the specific semantic domain of ideophonic roots (/ɛ/, /ɔ/ and very short /ù/) are not represented in this table.

The sequences /ai/ and /au/ are analysed as diphthongs because phonotactically, they behave like the long counterparts of the short mid vowels /e, o/: they only occur in a heavy syllable, like the other long vowels and unlike the short vowels. Also, their feature composition resembles that of the short mid-vowels. And third, some of the words now containing a diphthong are historically related to forms with a plain vowel.

Kambera has three syllable types: CVV (where VV is a long vowel, a diphthong or a vowel sequence), CV, and CVC. Kambera does not allow closed syllables at the surface, i.e. CVC syllables are only found lexically. Roots are disyllabic and main stress is without exception on the root-initial syllable. Only CVV and CV syllables can bear stress, CVC syllables are never stressed. Prefixes, suffixes and almost all clitics are unstressed. The smallest lexical items are CVV – the absence of CV roots in Kambera indicates a constraint on the shape of lexical roots, which states that a root should be minimally bimoraic.

(1) presents a summary of the possible Kambera root types. Identical subscripts indicate identical vowel slots.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (1) a. CV CV
nomu 'six' | b. CV _j V _k
wài 'water' | c. CV _k V _k
yú [ju:] 'tongue' |
| d. CV _j V _k CV
paíta 'bitter' | e. CV _k V _k CV
hili [hi:li] 'again' | |
| f. CV CVC(V)
danggang(u) 'sell X' | g. CV _j V _k CVC(V)
wàindal(u) 'sway arm' | |

In a sample of approximately 1000 items (roots and derived forms) the root types (a,e) make up 50% of the forms, while the structure in (f) represents 30% of the items, (b,c) 15%, and (d,g) 5%.

2.2 Orthography

Kambera orthography in the Kambera New Testament and Hymn Book is based on Indonesian orthography and basically follows Kapita (1982, 1983) and Onvlee (1984). The orthographic conventions in these sources and the present chapter differ only in the marking of vowel quality and clitics. Here, I maintain the proposal of Klamer (1998a) to mark the long-short (tense-lax) distinction of the vowels more consistently: contrastive short (lax) vowels /a/ and /i/ are represented with a grave accent (*à* and *ì*), just like the short, low vowels of ideophones (*è*, *ò*, *ù*). A plain *a*, *i*, *e*, or *o* therefore represents either a long (tense) vowel, or a vowel unspecified for length or tenseness. The vowels /u/ and /u:/ differ in length (not tenseness), but, in contrast to long /i:/ and /a:/, /u/ is specified for length only very rarely. Therefore, only the contrastively long /u:/ is marked as such, with an acute accent (*ú*). See also the information on vowel length given in section 2.1.

2.3 Phonological alternations

Kambera has a phonological process of umlaut that applies to the mid vowels /e, o/ when they are followed by a syllable containing the low vowel /a/. Umlaut of /e, o/ yields the lowered allophones [ɛ, ɔ] and/or results in the broken vowels [jɛ, wɔ]. The domain of the umlaut process is a prosodic constituent: the foot. The foot is isomorphic to a morphological constituent, the root (section 2.1). The vowels /e, o/ do not change under influence of a following /i, u/, and neither does /a/ trigger umlaut on /i, u/.

- (2) *rengga* [rjɛŋga] 'hurry, be quick', *bera* [bjɛra] 'to split, break', *podah* [pódahu] 'wipe X (clean)', *mbola* [mbwóla] 'basket', *toma* [tóma] 'arrive'. Compare e.g.: *mbeni* [mbéni] 'be fierce/angry'.

The non-lexical, default vowel in Kambera is /u/ (default vowels are also referred to as 'paragogic' vowels in Austronesian studies, cf. Sneddon 1993). This vowel is the result of a phonetic process which applies to roots with a final CVC syllable. As Kambera does not allow closed syllables at the surface, the paragogic vowel is added so that the root-final consonant can surface as the onset of a CV syllable. The root-final position, i.e. preceding the paragogic [u], can only be filled by the consonants /l, r, h, t, k, ŋ/:

- (3) *akat* > *akat[u]* 'be bad', *bànjál* > *bànjál[u]* 'put X', *padang* > *padang[u]* 'field', *kikir* > *kikir[u]* 'shave', *mbungghah* > *mbungghah[u]* 'open X', *kotak* > *kotak[u]* 'village'.

The result of the phonetic rule of paragogic vowel addition is that at the surface, Kambara has trisyllabic roots, of which the third syllable contains a default vowel. Note that the fact that Kambara lacks roots with a lexical vowel in the third syllable, such as **rimuna*, **obali*, or **puita*, shows that it does not generally allow trisyllabic roots. It is also evidence that existing root forms with vowel sequences such as *paita* 'bitter' and *ka-lauki* are not underlyingly trisyllabic, but are disyllabic: [páj-ta], [ka-láw-ki].

The default vowel /u/ also plays a role in borrowings: as Kambara lacks CVC roots, loan words such as *tep* 'tape' or *cet* 'paint' are adapted to Kambara phonotactics by adding the default vowel, resulting in e.g. *tepu* '(to) tape, a taperecorder' and *cetú* '(to) paint'.

2.4 Reduplication

From a formal point of view, there are three kinds of reduplication processes in Kambara: CV reduplication, foot reduplication, and reduplication of a prosodic word (= a foot plus possible affixes). In the regular case, the same word may undergo syllable, foot or word reduplication. There is no robust contrast in the semantics of the three reduplications.

The base of a reduplication can be a noun, verb, adverb, question word, or a measure word. The reduplication of nouns derives a collective or distributive meaning ('a group of Ns, various Ns'), while the reduplication of non-nominals derives either an intensive meaning (including notions of iteration, excessive degree, continuity, emphasis) or various non-intensive meanings, including diminutive, indifference, or an activity done for fun/pleasure.

CV reduplication copies the first consonant and vowel of the root: *palu* 'hit' > *pa-palu* 'hit (iterative, intensive)'. As Kambara syllables may be larger than just CV, CV reduplication is not identical to syllable reduplication: *haila* 'saddle' is reduplicated as *ha-haila* 'various saddles', not as **hai-haila*. In case the reduplicated vowel is a low/broken vowel as a result of undergoing umlaut, the entire vowel is reduplicated, with the result that it appears as if the process of umlaut has 'overapplied' in reduplicated forms: *pena* 'pencil' is reduplicated as *pje-pjena* 'various pencils', not as **pi-pjena* or **pe-pjena*. CV reduplication treats vowel sequences as bivocalic structures, reduplicating only the first vowel. When long vowels are reduplicated, the vowel length is not transferred to the reduplicative prefix (*wútu* 'be fat' > *wu-wútu* 'be very fat', compare **wú-wútu*).

Foot reduplication copies the stress foot of the base: *ài* > *ài-ài* 'wood'. The reduplicated element is a foot. The foot often coincides with the lexical root, but need not do so: *wunang(u)* 'priest' > *wuna-wunang(u)* 'various priests', **wunang-wunang(u)*. The foot is minimally bimoraic, but two morae or vowels do not always form a foot: *kaunda* 'stalk away' > *kaunda-kaunda* 'stalk away (intensive)', cf. **kau-kaunda*.

Full reduplication is the reduplication of the prosodic word, i.e. a root plus possible affixes: *ha-atu* 'one' > *haatu-haatu* 'each and every one', *pa-peka-ng* 'story' > *papekang-papekang* 'all kinds of stories', *ta-mbumba* 'pound' > *tambumba-tambumba* 'continuous pounding, clatter of hoofs'.

3 BASIC MORPHOSYNTAX

3.1 Word classes

The major distinction within the Kambara lexicon is between content words and function words. Kambara content words are minimally bimoraic, can occur as independent words

(prosodic and grammatical), have an independent meaning, and are members of an open class. Content words belong to the word classes verb, noun and adverb. Function words, on the other hand, are generally smaller than content words – often consisting of only one monomoraic syllable – express grammatical meanings, and form closed classes. They include conjunctions, prepositions, articles and negations. Strictly speaking, these items – as well as the markers of embedded clauses and the markers of mood, aspect and pronominal reference – are clitics in Kambera. Clitics differ from words because they do not need to be bimoraic, and cannot be stressed, i.e. they need a phonological host and do not form independent prosodic words. They differ from affixes in that they do not have selectional restrictions for a specific morphological base. Though syntactically attaching to the edge of a syntactic phrase, prosodically they attach to the element that happens linearly to precede them (enclitics) or follow them (proclitics).

Following common practice, conjunctions, prepositions, articles and negations are orthographically represented as independent words. The syntactic attachment of the clitics marking embedded (relativized, controlled) clauses and the markers of mood, pronominal reference and aspect is indicated by an equal sign (=), while the morphological attachment of affixes is indicated by a hyphen (-) when this is required for expository reasons.

There are no structural arguments to distinguish a separate lexical category of adjectives in Kambera. The morphosyntactic properties of words expressing typical adjectival notions (size, colour, dimension, shape) correspond to those of the class of intransitive verbs such as *meti* 'die', *laku* 'go', or *lai* 'run', i.e. Kambera adjectival notions are expressed by stative intransitive verbs. On the other hand, the language does have a category of adverbs (section 3.1.2).

3.1.1 Verbs and nouns

Compared to many other Austronesian languages, the morphosyntactic differences between the major categories of verbs and nouns are relatively clear in Kambera. A root form can be classified as unambiguously nominal if (i) it can be preceded by an article marking definiteness and number, (ii) it can be modified by an emphatic or demonstrative pronoun (section 4), and (iii) it can be quantified by a numeral phrase or by the quantifier *mbu ndàba* 'all', a nominal constituent that is 'possessed' by the NP it quantifies:

- (4) *Da=munju da kokur mbú ndàba=da*
 3p.NOM=fall.off ART coconut all=3p.GEN
 'The coconuts all fell off (the tree).'

Typical verbal properties include (i) the possibility of having a nominative subject, and (ii) the possibility of being modified by an adverb, e.g. *lalu* 'too (much)':

- (5) *Lalu mbana=na na lodu*
 too.much be.hot=3s.GEN ART sun
 'It's too hot.' (lit. 'The sun is too hot.')

Kambera does have exclusively verbal derivational morphology: items derived with the prefixes *pa-* and *ta-*, the suffix *-ng* and the circumfix *ka-k* are always verbal (see section 5). The other Kambera derivational morphemes (*la-*, *ma-*, *ha-*) are unproductive and occur in both nominal and verbal forms.

Verbs and nouns are similar in that both may occur as (heads of) either predicates or nominal constituents that express verbal arguments. An illustration of the latter is (6),

where the verbs *rambang* 'snatch' and *ribang* 'steal' are part of a nominal constituent functioning as the argument of *pa-laku*, and are cross-referenced on that verb by the enclitic =*ya*:

- (6) *Na=juju=ta pa=pa-laku=ya na rambang na ribang*
 3s.NOM=incite=1p.ACC SR=CAU-go=3s.ACC ART snatch ART rob
 'He (i.e. the devil) incites us to steal and rob.'

Both nouns and verbs may also function as modifiers in verbal and nominal constituents (Klamer 1998a:96–109), compare the NPs in (7) and (8):

- (7) *tau wau wau tau*
 person to.smell to.smell person
 'Smelly person' 'Smell like a human, have human scent'
- (8) *iyang tau wau iyang wau tau*
 fish person to.smell fish to.smell person
 'Fish of smelly person' 'Fish smelling of people'

In Kambera there are also so-called 'multifunctional' roots, and derived words that function both nominally and verbally without having an overt morpheme relating these two categories derivationally. Examples include:

- (9) *bāndil* 'rifle'; 'to shoot, to shoot X'
hili 'language (exchange of words); 'to (ex)change X'
ludu 'song'; 'to emit sound, to sing'
ka-ninu 'mirror'; 'to investigate X (poetical)'
ha-yandal 'comfort'; 'to live in comfort'
ma-nganga 'theft'; 'to steal (X)'

Nouns borrowed from Indonesian can often be used verbally as well, e.g., *karenja* (< *gereja*) 'church', 'to go to church'; *pareta* (< *pe(me)rintah*) 'government', 'to govern, reign'.

3.1.2 Adverbs

Kambera has a separate lexical category of adverbs. They may precede or follow the verb. Occurring directly adjacent to the verb, they modify it for aspect, mood, quantity, degree, or manner. Adverbs are independent prosodic words and separate lexical items, and constitute a phrasal constituent with the adjacent verb. (10) and (11) illustrate the preverbal adverb *tika* 'almost' and the postverbal adverb *lia* 'maybe':

- (10) *Da=tika pakoja=du=ya nyuna*
 3p.NOM=almost stab=EMPH=3s.ACC he
 'They almost stabbed him to death.'
- (11) *Laku lia=nanya=ka una*
 go maybe=3s.CONT=PFV EMPH.3s
 'He may be going.'

Unlike nouns and verbs, adverbs cannot undergo productive derivation with the affixes *pa-* or *-ng*. The following derivations have plausible semantics, yet they are not possible words, suggesting that the morphological restriction is structurally, rather than

semantically, motivated:

- (12) *lalu* 'too much' **pa-lalu* Intended reading 'cause to be too much'
lia 'maybe' **pa-lia* Intended reading 'cause to be uncertain'

Adverbs also differ from verbs and nouns in not being able to project a separate, independent phrase: they are always part of a verbal predicate phrase (see section 3.2).

3.1.3 Prepositions

Kambera prepositions form a closed class of only four items (viz. *la*, *lai*, *hu* and *dàngu*). They are formally distinct from verbs and nouns because they cannot host clitics. *La* is a general preposition that is used to express locations and directions in both space and time. It governs nouns, verbs, deverbal nominals, and nominal deictics. It forms complex prepositions with locational nouns (front, back, cover, side, top, etc.), some of which still function as independent nouns. Examples are: *la lumbu* (LOC cover) 'underneath', *la pinu* (LOC top) 'on (top of)', *la hangga* (LOC front) 'before, in front of'. Complex prepositions have the same distribution as simple prepositions:

- (13) a. *Ka-tuda* [*la* *topu*] b. *Ka-tuda* [*la* *lumbu* [*topu*]]
 sleep LOC mat sleep LOC under mat
 'Sleep on a mat.' 'Sleep under a mat.'

La is also used in temporal expressions:

- (14) a. *La mbaru* b. *Na lodu mbaru*
 LOC early.morning ART day early.morning
 'In the morning (6–10 a.m.).' 'The (early) morning.'
- (15) *La maling*
 LOC late afternoon-early evening
 'In the afternoon/evening (4–7 p.m.)'

The second preposition is *lai*. This preposition functions to express spatial location at (a) person(s). As such, it can govern proper names, personal and demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated in (16). Historically, it is probably a merged form of *la* and the proper article *i*.

- (16) *lai nyudas/Ama/Miri/Windi/nuna*
 LOC they/father/Lord/Windi/DIST.3s
 'To/for/at them/father/the Lord/Windi/that one'

Lai is distinct from the general preposition *la* in that it does *not* combine with locational nouns to form complex prepositions. To express locations, it combines with deictic elements:

- (17) *lai nú/wawa/dita/luru/dia*
 LOC DIST/down/up/downstream/upstream
 'Over there/down there/up there/downstream/upstream'

The third preposition is *hu*. This is a directional preposition that combines with deictics. It only indicates directions, never locations:

- (18) *Ku=ngàndi=ya duku hu wawa*
 1s.NOM=take=3s.ACC EMPH.1s DIR down
 'I'll take it down.'

Finally, Kambera has a comitative preposition *dàngu* which relates nominals to each other and forms a prepositional phrase (PP) with one of them:

- (19) *Kopi* [*dàngu nggula*]_{PP}
 coffee with sugar
- (20) *Na=riki* [*dàngu nyungga*]_{PP}
 3s.NOM=laugh with I
 ‘He laughed and (so did) I’

Dàngu also functions to derive verbal compounds with a comitative reading (see section 5.4).

3.1.4 Pronouns

The paradigms of pronouns and pronominal clitics in Kambera are given in Table 25.3. The pronominal clitics mark person (1/2/3), in/exclusiveness, number (sg/pl), as well as case. They are optionally doubled by NPs which are not case-marked (see also section 3.2). Observe that – except for the third person plural forms – the genitive paradigm consists of prenasalized nominatives and the dative clitics are prenasalized accusatives. But contrary to what a superficial look at the data might suggest, all paradigms are synchronically separate paradigms and not the result of regular phonological assimilation of a nasal morpheme with the nominative or accusative paradigms (for extensive argumentation see Klammer 1998a:214–222).

The demonstrative pronouns are discussed in section 4. There is also a group of emphatic pronouns that consist of the nominative pronominal paradigm preceded by the emphatic morpheme *du*. Some of the forms have onsetless variants.

- (21) *du=ku, du=mu, (d)u=na, (d)u=ta, du=ma, di=mi, (d)u=da*

Observe that the direction of attachment of the nominative morpheme in emphatic pronouns is special: instead of *procliticizing* like regular nominative clitics, the nominative morphemes are *enclitics* here. Unlike demonstrative pronouns, emphatic pronouns are never used independently, and only function as nominal modifiers, as illustrated in (22). In this example, it functions to emphasize the preceding NP.

- (22) [[*Na mbola*] *nuna*] *(d)una*
 ART basket DIST.3S EMPH.3S
 ‘THAT basket’

The emphatic morpheme *du* also occurs in the clitic cluster attached to the predicate phrase (section 3.2) where it functions to emphasize the predicate.

TABLE 25.3: KAMBERA PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL CLITICS

	Pronoun	NOM	GEN	ACC	DAT
1s	<i>nyungga</i>	<i>ku=</i>	<i>=nggu</i>	<i>=ka</i>	<i>=ngga</i>
2s	<i>nyumu</i>	<i>(m)u=</i>	<i>=mu</i>	<i>=kau</i>	<i>=nggau</i>
3s	<i>nyuna</i>	<i>na=</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=ya</i>	<i>=nya</i>
1p incl	<i>nyuta</i>	<i>ta=</i>	<i>=nda</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>=nda</i>
1p excl	<i>nyuma</i>	<i>ma=</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=kama</i>	<i>=nggama</i>
2p	<i>nyimi</i>	<i>(m)i=</i>	<i>=mi</i>	<i>=ka(m)i</i>	<i>=ngga(m)i</i>
3p	<i>nyuda</i>	<i>da=</i>	<i>=da</i>	<i>=ha</i>	<i>=nja</i>

3.1.5 Classifiers

A classifier is used when quantified items are presented as individual, countable entities. Kambera basically has the four nominal classifiers that are given in (23). Each of them has a plain and a prenasalized form. The classifier *wua* is related to the noun *wua* 'fruit'. Of the remaining forms, none is presently in use as an independent noun.

- (23) *wua/mbua* classifier for spherical objects
pungu/mbungu classifier for oblong objects
wàla/mbàla classifier for flat, thin objects
iu/ngiu classifier for animals

In addition to these four classifiers, we also find the merged forms *hau*, *dàmbu* and *heu*. In (24), the merged classifier forms are printed in bold:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| (24) <i>hau</i> <i>kajawa</i> | <i>dàmbu</i> <i>kajawa</i> | <i>tailu</i> <i>mbua</i> <i>kajawa</i> |
| one:CLF papaya | two:CLF papaya | three CLF papaya |
| <i>ha-pungu</i> <i>pena</i> | <i>dua</i> <i>mbungu</i> <i>pena</i> | <i>tailu</i> <i>mbungu</i> <i>pena</i> |
| ha-CLF pen | two CLF pen | three CLF pen |
| <i>ha-wàla</i> <i>kapambal</i> | <i>dua</i> <i>mbàla</i> <i>kapambal</i> | <i>tailu</i> <i>mbàla</i> <i>kapambal</i> |
| ha-CLF plank | two CLF plank | three CLF plank |
| <i>heu</i> <i>kamambi</i> | <i>dua</i> <i>ngiu</i> <i>kamambi</i> | <i>tailu</i> <i>ngiu</i> <i>kamambi</i> |
| one:CLF goat | two CLF goat | three CLF goat |

In the merged forms *hau*, *dàmbu* and *heu*, the quantitative prefix *ha-* 'one' (cognate to Malay *se*, PAN *isa), which also occurs in *ha-pungu* and *ha-wàla*, is merged with the root form of the classifier: *hau* derives from *ha-wua* 'one-CLF (spherical objects)', and *heu* derives from *ha-iu* 'one-CLF (animals)'. Similarly, the merged form *dàmbu* can be analysed as a contraction of *dua mbua* 'two CLF (spherical objects)'.

Observe that there is no classifier for humans. The quantification of human beings differs from that of animals and objects. 'One person' is translated as *ha-atu tau*, and *ha-atu* 'one' is the only context where the root *atu* occurs. Larger quantities are expressed with post-nominal relative clauses, as in (25). (Relative clauses are further discussed in section 3.3).

- (25) *tau* ***ma***=*dua*
 person REL=two
 'two people/persons'

3.1.6 Numerals

Numbers used for counting are given in (26). The numeral '1' *dihā* is derived from a verb meaning 'to count', as in (27), and is only used in counting.

- (26) 1 *dihā*, 2 *dua*, 3 *tailu*, 4 *patu*, 5 *lima*, 6 *nomu*,
 7 *pitu*, 8 *walu*, 9 *hiwa*, 10 *ha-kambulu*
- (27) *Dihā=ha* *da* *hapi!*
 count=3p.ACC ART COW
 'Count the cows!'

To indicate a quantity of one, either the prefix *ha-* is affixed to the noun, or the classifiers *heu*, *hau*, *ha-pungu*, or *ha-wàla* are used, or the form *ha-atu* (see above). Kambera

thus formally distinguishes between counting and quantification. 'Tens' are counted with *ka-mbulu*:

(28) *kambulu* 'tens':

- 10 *ha-kambulu* (*ha* < PAN **isa*),
- 11 *ha-kambulu hau* (**ha-kambulu diha*),
- 12 *ha-ka-mbulu dambu* (**ha-ka-mbulu dua*)
- 13/14/15/16 etc. *ha-ka-mbulu tailu/patu/lima/nomu* etc.
- 20 *dua ka-mbulu*, 30 *tailu ka-mbulu*
- 21/22/23/24 etc. *dua ka-mbulu hau/dambu/tailu/patu* etc.

'Hundreds' are *ngahu*, a form that is homophonous with *ngahu* 'breath, soul, spirit'. 'Thousands' are *riu*, and millions are *njuta* (from Indonesian *juta*). Onvlee (1984:443) lists *riu* as 'ten thousand' but in the area under study it was never used as such.

(29) 100 *ha-ngahu*, 200 *dua ngahu*, 300 *tailu ngahu*, etc.

- 1000 *ha-riu*, 2000 *dua riu*, 3000 *tailu riu*, etc.
- 10.000 *ha-ka-mbulu riu*, 100.000 *ha-ngahu riu*, etc.
- 1.000.000 *hau njuta*, 2.000.000 *dua njuta*, etc.
- 3.242 *tailu riu dua ngahu patu ka-mbulu dambu*

Combinations of numerals and nouns normally occur with a classifier, but high numbers such as 10, 50, 60, 1000, especially when they combine with temporal nouns like *wula(ng)* 'month' or *ndau(ng)* 'year', do not select a classifier: *hakambulu ndaung* 'ten years' (compare **hakambulu mbua ndaung*). With smaller numbers of months or years, classifiers are obligatory: *hau ndaung/wulang* 'one year/month', *patu mbua wula* 'four months'. The explanation for this difference may be that a short period is conceived of as a set of individual, countable months or years, while longer stretches of time are not.

3.2 Basic clause structure

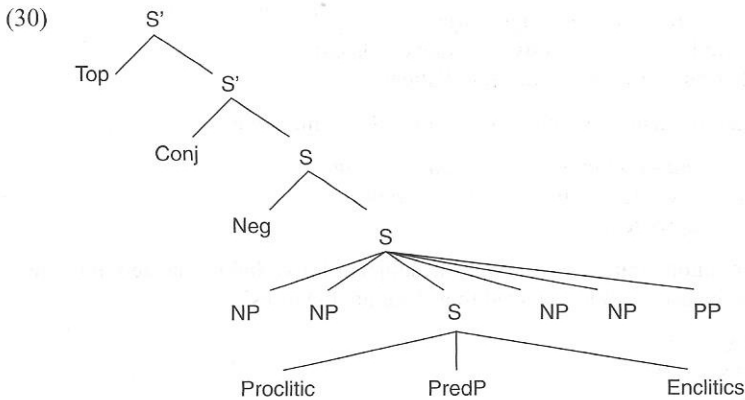
The grammatical relations that are assumed for Kambara are intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A), and transitive object (O) (Dixon 1994). Kambara has two types of objects: primary (direct) objects (semantic Patients or Themes), and secondary (indirect) objects (semantic Recipients, Benefactives, Goals or Locations). All these grammatical relations can be cross-referenced on the verb. For a structural motivation of the relations, see Klamer (1998a, 1998b).

The preferred word order in a Kambara transitive declarative clause is AVO, while the preferred order for intransitive clauses is VS. This description is typologically of limited value for the following reasons. First, word (= NP) order in Kambara is rather free, so that the orders given above are no more than *preferred* orders, and word order changes have no syntactic function. Second, while A, S and O represent the nominal constituents (NPs) in the sentence, Kambara verbal arguments are normally expressed by pronominal *clitics*, rather than by NPs. If we represent the clitics marking {S, A, O} as {s, a, o} attached to a predicate phrase (PredP, see below), the following orders are attested: a=PredP=o, PredP=a=o, s=PredP, and PredP=s.

The pronominal clitics are the obligatory encodings of (definite) verbal arguments, while the NPs function as optional adjuncts and are coreferent with the pronominal arguments. The NPs function to disambiguate or emphasize the referent, or to make it more salient/contrastive in discourse. This implies that in running texts, where the subject is often the discourse topic and (therefore) known from the context, subject clitics are usually

not doubled by an NP. In other words, in natural speech most clauses do not contain an NP expressing the A/S relation. The cross-reference of objects depends on their grammatical definiteness (i.e., whether or not they have a (definite) article): definite objects are cross-referenced on the predicate and optionally doubled, indefinite objects are not cross-referenced but rather expressed by bare (indefinite) NPs.

A Kambera sentence shows a mix of 'configurational' and 'non-configurational' properties. It is built on the basis of a 'nuclear' (or 'minimal') clause which consists of both the Predicate Phrase and a clitic cluster attached to that PredP. In the diagram in (30), the nuclear clause is everything that is dominated by the lowest S node. The diagram shows that the two lowest S's are 'flat', non-configurational structures, while the structure higher up the tree is clearly more configurational.



The cluster of enclitics contains up to nine clitics that mark pronominal reference as well as aspect (perfective/imperfective) and mood (emphasis, etc.). In a sentence, the clitic cluster attaches to the right edge of the PredP (30). The nominative proclitic is the only clitic that attaches to the left of the PredP. The internal structure of the clitic cluster is complicated, and is discussed elsewhere (see Klammer 1997, 1998a, 1998b, Klammer and Spencer 2000).

Adjoined to S, we find the optional NPs. Maximally two NPs may precede the nuclear clause, and maximally two may follow it. Postpredicate NPs may be followed by locational or directional PPs, which are non-obligatory constituents, or by other adjuncts. The NPs and PPs are within the scope of the negation ('Neg') and conjunction ('Conj') constituent. Their position is distinct from that of topicalized or left-dislocated constituents: such constituents are clause-external – they can only occur preceding the conjunction and occupy the position referred to as 'Top' in the diagram.

Kambera has two distinct basic clause types: clauses with a verbal predicate, and clauses with a non-verbal predicate. The head of a verbal predicate is a verb, the head of a non-verbal predicate is either nominal or prepositional, as illustrated in 3.2.2.

3.2.1 Verbal predicates

In a declarative, transitive clause the A is canonically nominative, and the O accusative (primary object) or dative (secondary object). Example (31) illustrates the marking of A and (primary) O, with a nominative proclitic and an accusative enclitic, respectively.

- (31) (*Na tau wútu na=palu=ka* (*nyungga*)
 ART person be.fat 3S.NOM=hit=1S.ACC I
 'The big man hit me.'

The sentences in (32) illustrate how objects are marked. In case of a ditransitive verb, the secondary object is always cross-referenced (32a). In addition, the primary object (Patient, Theme) may be cross-referenced if it is definite. In this case, it follows the clitic marking the secondary object and must be dative as well (32b, see also section 5.2).

- (32) a. *I Ama na=kei=nja rí*
 ART father 3S.NOM=buy.for=3p.DAT vegetable
 'Father buys them vegetables.' (indefinite Patient)
- b. (*I Ama na=kei=ngga=nya*
 ART father 3S.NOM=buy.for=1S.DAT=3S.DAT
 'Father buys it for me.' (definite Patient)

The subject of an intransitive verb is also canonically nominative.

- (33) *Na ài na=tambuta dàngu amung*
 ART wood 3S.NOM=drop.out with root
 'That tree is uprooted.'

Another very common strategy is to mark the subject of a verbal predicate with a genitive clitic. These clauses will be referred to as 'nominal clauses'.

- (34) *Palu=nggu=nya*
 hit=1S.GEN=3S.DAT
 'I hit him.'
- (35) *Mbàda laku=na=ka*
 already go=3S.GEN=PFV
 'He's already gone.'

Nominal clauses have the external syntax of possessed NPs: they can be specified for definiteness, and if they are definite, they can be cross-referenced as an argument of the main verb. They can also be clefted and compared. Though syntactically independent, nominal clauses have a dependent status in discourse – they express a circumstance of the main clause, with recent perfective aspect. This function is comparable to the English gerund in *Running away, he shouted 'don't shoot!'*. Note however that, in contrast to English, Kambera nominal clauses contain an overt subject (genitive), and are syntactically independent (for further discussion cf. Klammer 1998a:96–105).

3.2.2 Non-verbal predicates

Clauses with non-verbal predicates express proper inclusion, equation, attribution, and location. Two illustrations are (36) and (37). Kambera has no copular verb.

- (36) [*Tau hàmu*]=*ya*
 person be.good=3S.ACC
 'He's a good person.'
- (37) [*Mbapa=nggu nyungga*]=*ya*
 husband=1S.GEN I=3S.ACC
 'He's my husband.'

Note that the clitic that encodes the S is accusative. This is the common way to express the argument of a non-verbal predicate. In this respect, non-verbal clauses are fundamentally distinct from verbal ones: in verbal clauses, the marking of S is generally nominative or genitive (or continuative aspect, cf. below).

A non-verbal predicate can be a nominal phrase, with a noun as its head (38)–(39), including deictic nouns (40), and nominal question words (41). It may also be a prepositional phrase (42). In all these instances, the S is marked accusative.

- (38) [Tau mini]_{NP}=ya
 person male=3s.ACC
 'It's a man.'

- (39) [Potu=na [na apu=nggu la Humba]]_{NP}=ya
 photo=3s.GEN ART granny=1s.GEN LOC Sumba=3s.ACC
 'It's a picture of my Sumbanese granny.'

- (40) Nú=ya nú
 DIST=3s.ACC DIST
 'Thus it is.'

- (41) Ka nggi=kau?
 CNJ where=2s.ACC
 'Where are you?'

- (42) [Lai nú]_{PP}=ya
 LOC DIST=3s.ACC
 'He/she/it (is) there.'

Though accusative S's mainly occur in non-verbal predicate contexts, we also find them in a limited set of contexts with verbal predicates. This is discussed in the next section.

3.2.3 More on the marking of S

So far we have seen that the standard marking of the S of verbal predicates is either nominative or genitive, while the S of non-verbal predicates is standardly marked accusative. However, accusative Ss also appear with verbal predicates in a limited set of grammatical contexts. In this section we discuss them briefly.

The accusative S appears with verbs when the predicate is emphasized, and S is subsequently 'backgrounded'. Typically, this is the case in imperatives. In imperatives, emphasis is on the activity to be carried out, rather than on the addressee. It is thus not surprising that S's in imperative clauses are marked with an accusative:

- (43) Katuda=kau nàhu!
 sleep=2s.ACC now
 'Go to sleep now!'

In transitive imperatives, the accusative is used to mark the O rather than the A, the addressee:

- (44) Kinju=ha!
 examine=3p.ACC
 'Examine them!'

Thus, in imperatives, the morphological marking of S follows an absolutive-ergative pattern – it patterns with O rather than A.

Another context where we find accusative S is when predicates are emphasized or 'foregrounded' by repetition and left-dislocation of the verb, as in (45).

- (45) *Tembang, nda tembang=a=ya=pa [i Windi]*
 be.stupid NEG be.stupid=MOD=3s.ACC=IPF ART Windi
 '(As for) being stupid, Windi is no longer stupid.'

Third, in clauses where the verb is modified for (excessive) degree, as in (46), we also find an accusative S. Obviously; the predicate in such clauses also carries an additional degree of emphasis:

- (46) *Dira mayila ai lulu=kama*
 extremely be.needily very=1pe.ACC
 'We are so very, very poor.'

And finally, an S with a generic or impersonal referent, as in (47), is also marked accusatively. In such clauses, the emphasis is again on the predicate, not on the argument, which remains underspecified:

- (47) *Jàka nda nyumu, ti=ya=ka làti*
 CNJ NEG you die=3s.ACC=PFV in.fact
 'Without you, one would die/have died.'

In all these grammatical contexts the accusative marking of S is obligatory, and their common denominator is that they emphasize the predicate more than the argument.

In addition to these markings where S is obligatorily accusative, there are also contexts where the choice for an accusative S is optional, and determined pragmatically.

- (48) a. *Hí=ma=a=ya=ka i Umbu Mada una*
 cry=EMPH=MOD=3s.ACC=PFV ART Sir Mada EMPH.3s
 'Sir Mada just cried and cried.' (i.e. could do nothing else)
 b. *Hí=ma=a=nanya=ka i Umbu Mada una*
 cry=EMPH=MOD=3s.CONT=PFV ART Sir Mada EMPH.3s
 'Sir Mada was crying.' (but could have chosen not to)

In (48a,b) the contrast between the accusative clitic=*ya* and the marker=*nanya* third singular continuative aspect' (cf. below) reflects a semantic distinction: an accusative S is *less active* than the canonical meaning of the verb would lead us to expect. The argument of an intransitive verb can thus be presented as a less active participant in the situation or activity expressed by the verb by marking it accusative.

To make the picture complete, we should briefly mention that there are yet two more ways to morphologically encode S. The first is illustrated in (48b), where the S is expressed by a combination of a genitive and dative morpheme. The genitive clitic marks the person and number features of S, while the second, dative clitic is always third person singular, regardless of the actual person and number of the S. Though its form is identical to the '3s.DAT' clitic, it is referentially empty, and therefore not glossed as such. A clitic cluster with a combination of genitive and dative clitics marking one referent, the S, has special aspectual properties: the situation expressed by the intransitive verb continues or endures, i.e. marks 'continuative aspect' (glossed as 'CONT'). (Klamer 2000b presents a synchronic and diachronic analysis of this construction.)

Finally, S can also be marked by a combination of a nominative and an accusative clitic, as in (49). This marking of S is used to express certainty or obligation, is normally restricted to poetic and religious register, and is considered slightly archaic.

- (49) *Jàka nda nyumu, da=meti=ha=ka làti*
 if NEG you 3p.NOM=die=3p.ACC=PFV in.fact
 'Without you, they would die/have died for sure.'

In sum, the marking of S in Kambera combines information from morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In addition, it shows a mix of nominative-accusative and absolutive-ergative properties.

3.2.4 Negation

Kambera has various negative markers. The general negation is *ndia* 'no' (50), and predicate negators are *nda* 'negative' or *ndedi* 'not yet', (50)–(51).

- (50) *Ndia, nda ku=puli=ya*
 no NEG 1s.NOM=let.go=3s.ACC
 'No, I won't let it go.'
- (51) *Ndedi na=pí=a=nya Nipong ma=tobu=nja*
 NEG.IPF 3s.NOM=know=MOD=3s.DAT Japan REL=slaughter=3p.DAT
 'The Japanese didn't know yet (who) slaughtered them.'

To emphasize the negation, an emphatic second negator *ndoku* can be used:

- (52) *Nda na=pí=a=nya ndoku Nipong ma=tobu=nja*
 NEG 3s.NOM=know=MOD=3s.DAT NEG.EMPH Japan REL=slaughter=3p.DAT
 'The Japanese didn't know [at all] (who) slaughtered them.'

The negation of nominal predicates is identical to that of verbal predicates, as illustrated in (53).

- (53) *Nina nda tustel=a=ya, senteru=ya*
 PRX.3s NEG camera=MOD=3s.ACC torch=3s.ACC
 'That's not a camera, it's a torch.'

The irrealis negation *ambu* is used to express future negation, as illustrated in (54), and negation in imperatives, as in (55).

- (54) *Bitu=nja da mata=na*
 cover=3p.DAT ART eye=3s.GEN

ka ambu peku ita=na=nja da ana=na
 CNJ NEG.IRR be.able see=3s.GEN=3p.DAT ART child=3s.GEN
 'Cover her eyes so she won't be able to see her children.'
- (55) *Ambu katuda=kau nàhu!*
 NEG.IRR sleep=2s.ACC now
 'Don't go to sleep now!'

3.2.5 Existentials

The deictic verb *ni(ngu)* 'be (here)' (see also section 4) expresses existence, location and possession (section 4). (56) illustrates existence:

- (56) *Ningu uma lai nú*
 PRX.APP house LOC DIST
 'There is a house over there.'/ 'There are houses over there.'

The existential or locational argument of *ni(ngu)* is cross-referenced on the verb when it is definite. This is done with a dative clitic, as illustrated in (57):

- (57) *Ni=nya na tau na tamu=na Landu Niki*
 PRX.APP=3S.DAT ART person ART name=3S.GEN Landu Niki
 'There is/was this person named Landu Niki.'

Clauses of this type have a single argument (here an existential argument). This argument can only be marked with the dative, i.e. it can only surface as an object, not as a subject. Note also that the cross-referencing dative clitic causes the final syllable of the verb (*ngu*) to disappear. Location is expressed in the same way as existence:

- (58) *Ni=nya la uma*
 PRX.APP=3S.DAT LOC house
 'He's at home.'

A construction with *ningu* can also express possession. In such a context, the genitive enclitic marks the possessor. The possessee cannot be cross-referenced on the verb, compare (59a,b):

- (59) a. *Ningu uma=nggu*
 PRX.APP house=1S.GEN
 'I have a house.'
- b. **Ni=nya na uma=nggu*
 PRX.APP=3S.DAT ART house=1S.GEN
 'I have a house.'

Another way to express identity and existence is by using a cleft-construction with the the clause-external marker *jia*. In such constructions, the existential argument is encoded as an accusative clitic attached to *jia*, as in (60) and (61).

- (60) *Jia=ya na mbapa=nggu*
 EXIST=3S.ACC ART husband=1S.GEN
 'It's my husband.'
- (61) *Na Umbu-na i Ranji, hi jia=ha da bidi mini,...*
 ART lord-3S.GEN ART Ranji CONJ EXIST=3p.ACC ART new male
 'The master of Ranji, and there were also some young men,...'

The exact nature of the marker *jia* is unclear. Onvlee (1984:115) assumes that it developed out of a third person pronoun and translates it as a demonstrative pronoun or article. In my data, it only appears in the existential cleft construction.

3.3 Noun phrase structure

Kamera NPs are not marked for case. There are three articles, *na* 'definite singular', *da* 'definite plural', and *i* 'proper name'. The absence of an article marks an NP as indefinite. Articles, numerals and classifiers precede the head noun, while modifiers and possessors follow it. The head of an NP may be a proper or common noun, a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative pronoun.

Nouns can be modified by nouns and verbs (cf. section 3.1.1), and, of course, by relative clauses. NPs consisting of a noun and a (N/V) modifier are structurally identical to nominal compounds. Both constructs have the same stress pattern, both are head-initial, and

neither of them has special morphology. The decision whether nominal constituents like the following are compounds or NPs can only be based on their semantics: a nominal phrase which has developed a meaning that is not a sum total of its parts, is considered a compound. On this analysis, (62a–b) are clearly compounds, but the forms (62c–d) show that the distinction between a phrase or a compound is not always clear-cut.

- (62) a. *tàda ngaru* b. *tàda ài*
 skin/bark mouth 'lip' skin/bark wood 'medicine'
- c. *tau mini* d. *bidi mini*
 person male 'man' new male 'young man'

Possession is expressed by genitive enclitics marking the possessor on the possessee NP, as illustrated in (63a,b). The genitive enclitic is obligatory, the possessor NP may be absent. (63c) shows that the genitive clitic attaches to a syntactic phrase (the possessee NP) rather than a word.

- (63) a. *Na uma=nggu (nyungga)*
 ART house=1s.GEN
 'My house.'
- b. *Na uma=na na ama=nggu*
 ART house=3s.GEN ART father=1s.GEN
 'My father's house.'
- c. *Na uma bidi=nggu*
 ART house new=1s.GEN
 'My new house.'

Possessive expressions can be indefinite: by omitting the article *na* in (63c), the phrase *uma bidi=nggu* becomes indefinite, 'a new house of mine'.

Kambera relativizations are always restrictive, compare (64a,b), and may be headed or headless, as in (64c,d). Relative clauses have the same distributional properties as ordinary nouns, and they may be marked for definiteness with an article, as in (64c). A definite relative clause agrees in number with its head by using either a singular or a plural article (compare (65) and (66)).

- (64) a. *pau rara*
 mango be.red
 'A ripe mango.'
- b. *pau ma=rara*
 mango REL=be.red
 'A ripe (rather than unripe) mango.'
- c. *na pau na ma=rara*
 ART mango ART REL=be.red
 'The mango that is ripe.'
- d. *ningu ma=rara*
 PRX.APP REL=be.red
 'There are ripe ones.'

Kambera has two relativization strategies: one for 'subjects' (S/A) and possessors, and one for objects (direct and indirect). Subject and possessor head nouns are relativized by

a clause with the marker *ma=*, objects are relativized with a clause marked with *pa=*. This is illustrated for an A subject in (65).

- (65) *Na=meti=ka*
 3S.NOM=die=PFV
[na tau na ma=piti=ya na kabela=nggu]
 ART person ART REL=take=3S.ACC ART sword=1S.GEN
 'The person that took my sword] (he has) died already.'

An S subject is relativized in (66):

- (66) *Da=meti=ka [da tau da ma=hidu]*
 3S.NOM=die=PFV ART person ART REL=be.ill
 'The people who were sick] (have) died.'

Possessor head nouns are also relativised by a clause with *ma=*:

- (67) *Nyuna na ma=ràbih karàha kalai=na*
 he ART REL=trickle side left=3S.GEN
 'He whose left side trickles.' (= lets water through)

Object relativizations (direct and indirect) are illustrated in (68) and (69). Note that the A, if overtly expressed, has to be expressed by a genitive clitic:

- (68) *Na kabela na pa=piti=na na tau nuna, na=ruhak*
 ART SWORD ART REL=take=3S.GEN ART person DIST.3s 3S.NOM=be.broken
 'The sword that was taken by that man] (it) is broken.'
- (69) *Na tau na pa=ngàndi=nggu nggula*
 ART person ART REL=take=1S.GEN sugar
 'The person whom I brought (some) sugar.'

Relative structures are widely used, not only as nominal modifiers but also as (deverbal) nouns (see section 5.3) and in questions. In questions, the interrogative pronoun is followed by a subject or object relative clause:

- (70) *Nggamu na ma=ita=nggau?*
 who ART REL=see=2S.DAT
 'Who saw you?'
- (71) *Nggamu na pa-ita-mu?*
 Who ART REL=see=2S.GEN
 'Who did you see?'

Apart from the relative clause markers, there is very little nominal morphology in Kambara. There is no other productive nominal derivation.

4 DEICTICS AND DIRECTIONALS

The four major deictic elements in Kambara are *ni* 'at/near speaker (PRX)', *na* 'at hearer (MID)', *nu* 'remote from both speaker and hearer (DIST)' and *nai* 'near speaker (further away than *ni*)'. Demonstrative pronouns consist of one of these deictics plus a third person marker: singular *na* or plural *da*. Demonstrative pronouns can function as independent NPs, as in (72), and as nominal modifiers, as in (73).

- (72) *Nuna* *atau* *nina*?
 DIST.3S or PRX.3S
 'That one or this one?'
- (73) *Ngandi=ya* *na* *mbola* *nuna*
 take=3S.ACC ART basket DIST.3S
 'Take that basket.'

In these formations, the vowel of the deictics is short. But the basic deictic elements can also appear as unbound morphemes, i.e. independent words. As such they must meet the minimal word requirement that roots should be bimoraic (section 2.1), hence their vowel is lengthened, as in the following examples which illustrate spatial (74a–b), (75b), temporal (75a–b), and discourse deictic (76a–b) uses.

- (74) a. *Nina* *ná*
 PRX.3S mid
 'This one (near you)'
 b. *Lai* *ní*
 LOC PRX
 'Over here'
- (75) a. *La* *njam* *ní*
 LOC hour PRX
 'At this moment'
 b. *Nú* *nú*
 DIST DIST
 'Then (and) there'
- (76) a. *Ndia* *ná!*
 No MID
 'No!' (not like that)
 b. *Nú=du=ya=ka*
 DIST=EMPH=3S.ACC=PFV
 'Yes indeed' (lit.: 'Thus it is')

As independent words they mostly function as nominal modifiers, as in (74a), (75a). But, as (76b) shows, they can be used as predicates too (section 3.2.2). They can be governed by prepositions, as illustrated in (74b).

In order to function as a verb, the deictic morphemes must be derived with the verbalizing suffix *-ng* (section 5.2), plus a paragogic vowel *u*. Deictic verbs include *ni-ng(u)* 'be (at speaker), exist' and *na-ng(u)* 'come towards you'. Unlike *ni* and *na*, the deictics *nu* and *nai* cannot form the base of derived deictic verbs. Deictic verbs are always intransitive (see section 3.2.5).

5 MAJOR VERBAL ALTERNATIONS

The two most pervasive derivational processes are prefixation with *pa-* and suffixation with *-ng*. *Pa-* derives verbs with, among other things, a causative interpretation (section 5.1), while *-ng* derives verbs that are mostly applicative (section 5.2). The other three productive affixes are *ta-*, *ma-*, and *ka-k* (section 5.3). Verbal compounding is another productive morphological derivation (section 5.4).

5.1 Prefix *pa-*: causative and related interpretations

The prefix *pa-* derives verbs from nominal or verbal bases. The base may be a root or a morphologically complex form. When attached to a verbal base, the interpretation of the derived verb is causative, manipulative ('make X do something'), directive ('let X do something'), intensive, habitual, or reciprocal.

The majority of causatives are derived from stative intransitive verbs, whose base argument becomes the object of the derived verb:

- (77) *Da=rara* *hàmu* *da* *pàu*
 3p.NOM=be.red be.good ART mango
 'The mangoes are nice and ripe.'

- (78) *Pa-rara=ya* *na* *pàu*
 CAU-be.red=3s.ACC ART mango
 'Let the mango ripen.'

Other examples include: *ànga* 'be foolish/useless' > *pa-ànga* 'confuse, cheat X', *ka-tuda* 'sleep' > *pa-ka-tuda*, 'put to sleep', *ka-baba* 'be brief/short' > *pa-ka-baba* 'shorten X'. There are also causatives of active intransitive bases: *laku* 'go' > *pa-laku* 'let X go, carry out X', *hadang* 'stand up' > *pa-hadang* 'wake up X, make X stand up'.

Denominal verbs with *pa-* are also very frequent. They express concepts like possession ('have N'), (ascribed) identity ('be N', 'call someone N', 'treat someone as N'), location ('be at/in N'), instrument ('use as N') etc. Examples are *ana* 'child' > *pa-ana* 'have children', *ihi* 'content' > *pa-ihì* '(cause to) have content', *lunggi* 'hair' > *pa-lunggi* '(cause to) have hair/ be hairy', *aya* 'older sibling' > *pa-aya* 'call X aya', *tau* 'person' > *pa-tau* 'honour X; consider X human'. As the examples show, the derived verbs may be either transitive (causative) or intransitive. That is, prefixation of *pa-* to nouns increases the valency of the base with one or two arguments, and often both options are allowed in the same derivation, cf. *pa-ihì* and *pa-lunggi*.

While there are not many of them, *pa*-forms with transitive verbal bases do exist. Sentence (79) contains the transitive root verb *rongu* 'hear X', (80) illustrates the derived form.

- (79) *Na tau* *na* *ma=kawanga* *nda na=rongu=a*
 ART person ART REL=be.deaf NEG 3s.NOM=hear=MOD
 'The deaf don't hear.'

- (80) *Na tau* *na* *ma=kawanga* *na=pa-rongu=ya*
 ART person ART REL=be.deaf 3s.NOM=CAU-hear=3s.ACC
 'He heals the deaf.'

Bases from minor categories include the locational nouns *dita* 'up' > *pa-dita* 'hoist/lift up X' and *wawa* 'down' > *pa-wawa* 'humiliate X/look down on X', the numeral *dua* 'two' > *pa-dua* 'divide X (in two or more portions)', the existential marker *jia* > *pa-jia* 'agree with X, profess faith', and the negation *ndia* 'no' > *pa-ndia* 'deny X'.

Note that not all derivations with *pa-* are causative. In other words, the semantic change caused by prefixing *pa-* does not always result in a valency change: some derivations of intransitive and transitive verbs only change their reading into more intensive, habitual or reciprocal, while retaining their original valency:

- (81) *torung* 'endure, not give up' > *pa-torung* X 'persevere, stand up to X'
palu 'hit X' > *pa-palu* 'hit X (habitually)'
tabi 'greet X' > *pa-tabi* 'greet (each other)'

- (82) *Na=tila=ya* *na tau*
 3s.NOM=kick=3s.ACC ART person
 'He kicked the person/people.'

- (83) *Rimang, na=pa-tila na njara*
 be.careful 3s.NOM=pa-kick ART horse
 'Be careful, the horse kicks.' (i.e. it's his character)
- (84) *Da=pa-tila da njara*
 3p.NOM=pa-kick ART horse
 'The horses kick (each other).'

5.2 Suffix *-ng*: applicative and aspectual interpretation

The suffix *-ng* has many different functions. Its major function is to derive verbs. When *-ng* is suffixed to verbal or nominal bases, the result is an applicative verb, with an additional non-Agent argument. But this suffix is not simply an applicative morpheme: when it is suffixed to deictic elements, quantifiers and locational nouns it has a general verbalising function.

Formally, the suffix *-ng* has two different manifestations. It is simply *-ng* when no pronominal clitics are added (which means that the added O – if there is one – is indefinite or implicit), cf. *wua-ng* in (85a).

- (85) a. *Jàka ngga-nggamu=bia, nda na=wua-ng=a*
 if RDP-who=MOD NEG 3s.NOM=give-APP=MOD
 'He doesn't give it to just anyone.'
- b. *Na=wua=ngga na njara*
 3s.NOM=give:APP=1s.DAT ART horse
 'He gives me the horse.'

However, in actual discourse, the majority of applicative verbs have at least one cliticized object, as in (85b), usually the added (applicative) object. This object is marked with the dative clitic (Table 25.3). In such cases, the final *-ng* disappears. We could say that the formative *-ng* and the dative clitic are in complementary distribution. Arguments why the disappearance of *-ng* is not a phonologically conditioned process are presented in Klammer (1998a:197–234).

When the base is a transitive verb, suffixing with *-ng* increases the valency of the verb by one, adding a Goal/Recipient/Benefactive/Location argument: *bunggah(u)* 'open X' > *bunggahung* 'open (X) for Y'; *tú* 'put X' > *tú-ng* 'put (X) in Y'. The additional argument is implied when no object cross-referencing occurs on the verb, as in (86a). Here the argument is also expressed as part of a locative PP, but this constituent is optional. The sentences (86b, c) show how the verb's objects are cross-referenced: in (86b) the (one) object (Patient/Theme) of the verb is cross-referenced on the verb with the accusative clitic =*ya*. In (86c) the verb is applicative, and its secondary object (Goal/Recipient etc.) is marked with the dative clitic =*nya*. The shape of the clitic (accusative vs. dative) is thus the clue to the valency of the verb (monotransitive vs. ditransitive).

- (86) a. *Da=ngàndi-ng uhu (lai Ama)*
 3p.NOM=take-APP rice LOC father
 'They bring rice (to father).'
- b. *Da=ngàndi=ya na uhu*
 3p.NOM=take=3s.ACC ART rice
 'They take/bring the rice.'

- c. *Da=ngàndi=nya na uhu i Ama*
 3p.NOM=take:APP=3S.DAT ART rice ART father
 'They bring father the rice.'

When the base verb is an intransitive verb, suffixing with *-ng* also adds a Goal/Recipient/Benefactive/Source/Location argument: *hei* 'climb' > *hei-ng* 'climb X', *riki* 'laugh' > *riki-ng* 'laugh at/about X', *katuda* 'sleep' > *katuda-ng* 'sleep on X', *luhu* 'go out, exit' > *luhu-ng* 'leave X'. There is a semantic difference between a locative adjunct and the argument added by applicative derivation. The latter is usually more affected. In (87) the location/source is expressed as an adjunct PP, the verb *luhu* is intransitive, and *luhu weling la X* translates as 'come out of X'. In (87) the location/source is expressed as an argument of the derived applicative verb *luhu-ng* 'leave X', and is cross-referenced with *=nya*.

- (87) *Na=luhu=ka weling la omang*
 3S.NOM=exit=PFV move.from LOC forest
 'He came out of the forest.'
- (88) *Na=luhu=nya=ka na omang*
 3S.NOM=exit:APP=3S.DAT=PFV ART forest
 'He had left the forest.'

The suffix *-ng* also derives denominal verbs. In that case it adds a Theme/Patient/Location argument. The nouns that can be the base for this suffix mainly refer to family relations (*ana* 'child' > *ana-ng* 'be child of X'), locations (*tana* 'land' > *tana-ng* 'have/possess land X'), or instruments (*kataka* 'axe' > *kataka-ng* 'have/use X as an axe'). Derivations often have an 'open semantics', with various possible interpretations:

- (89) *Na=tilu-ng watu*
 3S.NOM=egg-APP stone
 'She lays pebbles as (if they were) eggs'
- (90) *Na=tilu=nya=ka na watu*
 3S.NOM=egg:APP=3S.DAT=PFV ART stone
 'She laid the stone as if it were an egg' or 'She laid eggs on the rock'

The suffix *-ng* also has a more general verbalising function. As already discussed in section 4, it attaches to deictic elements. It also attaches to quantifiers: *hakudu* 'a little bit' > *hakudu-ng* 'be a small amount', and to locational nouns such as *wawa* 'down' > *wawa-ng* 'sit on/occupy lower part of X', *papa* 'yonder' > *papa-ng* 'to live yonder'. The derived verb is not obligatorily transitive, cf. *hakudu-ng* and *papa-ng*, which are intransitive. Thus, the semantic change induced by suffixing *-ng* often implies an increase in valency, but not necessarily so.

It should be noted that, apart from its derivational function, the suffix *-ng* has a secondary function as inflectional suffix marking non-delimited, durative aspect: *nyaba* 'swallow X' > *nyaba-ng* 'continue swallow X, swallow X again and again', *tàka* 'arrive' > *tàka-ng* 'to be arriving, to be approaching'. In this case, *-ng* does not change the valency of the base verb: (91a-b) show that *tàka* and *tàka-ng* are both intransitive, with the goal argument part of an adjunct PP.

- (91) a. *Mareni tàka=da la uma*
 near arrive=3p.GEN LOC house
 'They were almost at home.'

- b. *Mareni tàka-ng=da la uma*
 near arrive-DUR=3p.GEN LOC house
 'They were almost approaching home.'

Despite the different functions of *-ng*, I assume that there is only one, polysemous, suffix *-ng*, rather than two homophonous ones. A possible explanation of the polysemy of *-ng* is given in Klammer (1998a:222–227).

5.3 Other productive verbal derivations

The prefix *ta-* derives non-intentional, accidental, sudden or unexpected intransitive achievement verbs from transitive or intransitive verbal forms: *binu* 'peel X' > *ta-binu* 'be (unexpectedly, suddenly, etc.) peeled', *bunggah* 'open X' > *ta-bunggah* 'be (unexpectedly, etc.) open(ed)', *mbutuh* 'slip off' > *ta-mbutuh* 'slip off unexpectedly, etc.'. The subject of *ta-* derivations is an undergoer, and there is also no implied agent: compare *ta-binu* with *pa-binu* 'be peeled (by someone)', and *ta-bunggah* with *pa-bunggah* 'be opened (by someone)'. The subject of *ta-* derivations is never an agent: it is always a non-volitional, and (therefore) canonically an inanimate, entity.

The prefix *ma-* as it occurs in verbs (*ma-yila* 'be poor/sad', *ma-ngàdat* 'be afraid', *ma-nandang* 'be beautiful') and nouns (*ma-nila* 'peanut', *ma-ràmba* 'king') is generally unproductive. However, in some forms the Kambera subject relative clause marker *ma-* (section 3.3) acts as a nominalising prefix: *rapu* 'something hidden/unknown' > *ma-rapu* 'spirits of ancestors', *ka-weda* 'be old' > *ma-ka-weda* 'old woman', *rara* '(be) red/ripe' > *ma-rara* 'gold'.

Kambera has one circumfix, *ka-k-*. This morpheme is used to derive verbs from ideophonic roots. Kambera ideophones are lexical root forms that directly refer to sounds, motions and sights (Klammer 1998a, 2002b). In order to be used as verbs, ideophonic roots must be either reduplicated, or circumfixed with *ka-k-*: *mbùtu* 'thud' (sound) > *ka-mbùtu-k* '(fall) with a thud', *ngidi* 'shiver (of cold) (motion)' > *ka-ngidi-k* 'to shiver of cold', *jila* 'flicker, flash' (sight) > *ka-jila-k* 'to flicker, flash'.

5.4 Serial verbs or verbal compounds

Kambera makes extensive use of serial verbs: combinations of two verbs that jointly constitute a single predicate. Some serial verb constructions contain two more or less homonymic verbs – these are often used in ritual language (Fox 1988, Kapita 1987).

In non-ritual, everyday language, the first verb in a serial construction is the semantic head, while the second functions as the modifier.

Kambera serial verbs are analysed as verbal compounds, and they are structurally analogous to the nominal compounds (section 3.3). Kambera compounds are syntactically left-headed, and prosodically right-headed (the second element has word stress). In verbal compounds, both verbs operate as one unit and cannot be separated by an object. Their shared argument(s) are expressed only once by clitics attached at the edge of the predicate phrase. In this respect, serial verbs contrast with biclausal structures; compare (92) with (93). Negations and adverbial words also occur only once and have scope over both verbs.

- (92) [*Na=[palài wàru]_v=ma=a=nja*]_s
 3s.NOM=run dispose.of=EMPH=MOD=3p.DAT
 'He ran leaving them behind.'

- (93) $[Na=pa\lambda\dot{a}i=ma=a]_s$ $[na=w\grave{a}ru\ h\grave{a}la=ma=a=nja]_s$
 3s.NOM=run=EMPH=MOD 3s.NOM=dispose.of complete=EMPH=MOD=3p.DAT
 'He just ran (and) he just left them all behind.'

A Kambera serial verb consists of two verbs, transitive or intransitive, in any combination. Two intransitives: *hei puru* 'climb and descend: go up and down', intransitive and transitive: *hei toma* 'go up and reach X: go up towards X', transitive and intransitive: *hema ha-danggit* 'answer X and be out of breath: answer curtly to X', transitive and transitive: *palu pa-meti* 'hit X and kill X: hit dead X'. The resulting combination is transitive, but when it involves two intransitive verbs the combination is also intransitive.

Verbal compounding also functions to add new arguments to the verb. When the second element of the compound is the instrumental verb *wà(ngu)* 'use', an instrumental argument is added. Combining a verb with the preposition *dà(ngu)* 'with' adds a comitative argument. In (94) and (95) the applicative suffixation of *riki* and *pabanjar* is contrasted with both instrumental and comitative compounding.

- (94) *riki* 'laugh'
riki-ng 'laugh at/about X'
riki wà (ngu) 'laugh about/because of X'
riki dà (ngu) 'laugh together with X'
- (95) *pabanjar* 'talk'
pabanjaru-ng 'talk about X'
pabanjar wà (ngu) 'talk using (language) X', 'talk with X', 'talk about X'
pabanjar dà (ngu) 'talk with X'

Note that the final syllable *-ngu* of *wàngu* and *dàngu* only surfaces when the object is indefinite or implied; it is lost when the (definite) object clitic attaches to the verbal compound. Compare the indefinite (implied) object in (96a) with the definite one in (96b):

- (96) a. $[Riki\ d\grave{a}ngu]_v$
 Laugh with
 'Laugh with someone.'
- b. $Na=[riki\ d\grave{a}]_v=ngga$ *nyungga*
 3s.NOM=laugh with=1s.DAT I
 'He laughed with me.'

When the base verb is transitive, like *banjal* in (97), the comitative argument is 'promoted' to become the object that is crossreferenced on the compound verb and is expressed with a dative enclitic (cf. Klammer 1998a:295–301).

- (97) a. $Ku=banjal=ya$ *na uhu lai Windi*
 1s.NOM=put=3s.ACC ART rice LOC Windi
 'I store the rice at Windi's.'
- b. $Ku=banjal\ d\grave{a}=nya$ *i Windi na uhu*
 1s.NOM=put with=3s.DAT ART Windi ART rice
 'I put down the rice with Windi.' ('I help Windi to put down the rice.')

Sentences (98) and (99) illustrate the instrumental compound. The added instruments are *Hilu Humba* 'Sumbanese' and the NP translated as 'who owned it':

- (98) *Ba [pabanjar wangu]=nanya hilu Humba=du=ka*
 CNJ talk use =3s.CONT language Sumba=EMPH=PFV
 'Because she was talking (in) Sumbanese.'

- (99) *Da=[pabànjär wà]=nya nggamu=ya na ma=mangu=ya*
 3p.NOM=talk use=3s.DAT who=3s.ACC ART REL=OWN=3s.ACC
 'They talked about who owned it.'

These two example sentences show again that the cliticization of the objects of compound verbs depends on their definiteness: an indefinite O is not marked on the verb, (98), a definite O is, (99).

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