Valency: Fehan dialect of Tetun

Catharina van Klinken
(cvk@webfront.net.au)

A. Valency and morpho-syntax: the expression of verbal arguments

Overview

Standard order is SV(O). Topicalisation yields OSV. Irrealis clauses can use object incorporation, giving an apparent SOV word order.

Indirect objects follow the object and are introduced by prepositions or prepositional verbs. Verbs beginning in /h/ take a subject-marking prefix.

1. What are the grammatical relations of this language?
Subject, direct Object, Indirect object

2. What is the evidence for the grammatical relations?
Subject:

- Subjects always precede the verb. The exception is clauses with *nó* 'exist', where the single NP can either precede or follow the verb (one can dispute whether these are subjects).
- /h/-initial verbs take subject-marking prefix which agrees with the subject in person and number (e.g. *m-á* '2s-eat' from *há* 'eat'). Verbs beginning in other consonants take a subject marking prefix only for 1s subjects (e.g. *k-mai* '1s-come'). (This is consistent with the phonological fact that all word-initial consonant clusters in Tetun begin with /k/, which is also the 1s subject marker.)
- The subject controls reflexivisation.
- The subject is obligatorily omitted in coordination using *hodi* 'and, in order to', and in reduced complement clauses (rather like English infinitives).

Object:

- Usually either follows the verb (SVO) or precedes the subject (OSV); it can however be incorporated into the verb in an apparent SOV order in irrealis clauses.
- Always represents the 'Undergoer' participant.

Indirect object:

- Is introduced by a preposition or prepositional verb
- Follows the object (if any): SVO-IO

3. Is the system of grammatical relations in basic (affirmative/declarative) clauses organised according to a nominative/accusative, ergative/absolutive, tripartite, or some other system?
Nominative/accusative

4. Is there some split in the marking of the grammatical relations?
No

- Exemplify some simple intransitive, transitive (and ditransitive) clauses.

SV *Nia n-alai ti'an.*
   3S 3S-run already
   She has run away.

SVO   *Nia   bolu   ha'u.*
        3S   call   1S
        He called me.

OSV   *Oa   ne'e   ó   m-atene   lale?"*
        child this   2S   2S-know   no
        This child - do you know (him) or not?

SVO-IO *Ha'u   fó   batar   to'os   ida ba   ó.*
        1S   give corn   garden one to   you
        I will give you a garden full of corn.

SV-IO   *Mais ha'u la   k-bá   iha   Suwai bá.*
        but   1S   not 1S-go   LOC   Suai   go
        But I am not going over to Suai.

B. Overview of verbal classes according to valency

1. Provide an overview of the basic verbal classes, according to their valency
 • Are there only root forms in each verb class, or only derived verbs?

Intransitive
        Roots: *mutin* 'white'
                  la'o 'walk, go'
        Derived by *hak-* from transitive verb (over 30 examples, but not clearly productive):
                  hak-tesi 'broken' from *tesi* Vt. break
        Derived by *ha-* from noun:
                  ha-fuli 'bear grain' from *fulin* 'head of grain'

Transitive:
        Roots: *dudu* 'push'
                  haré 'see'
        Derived by causative *ha-* from intransitive root or noun
                  ha-mukit 'impoverish' from *kmukit* 'poor'
                  ha-foli 'respect' from *folin* N. 'value'

Ditransitive:
        There are no verbs which clearly allow two NP objects. My corpus has 4 ditransitive examples for *fó* 'give', which some consultants considered acceptable but another disapproved of. In practice the recipient is usually introduced by *ba* 'to'.
                  Fó   ha'u   wé   k-emu   lai.
                  give   1S   water 1S-drink   first
                  Give me water to drink.

        There are intransitive and transitive verbs which allow indirect objects (recipient, goal, etc.), but these are introduced by prepositions or prepositional verbs.

 • Are there semantic classes of verbs with special morpho-syntactic properties?
Inherently reciprocal verbs are derived by *hak-*. Most designate traditional methods of fighting. Some of these verbs apparently require the reciprocal marker *malu*, others allow it, and others disallow it.
                  hak-fota-k 'hit each other' from *fota* Vt. 'hit'

A relatively large class of words describing actors is derived from verbs by *mak- (-n)* and *ma-(-k)* (the choice between these being phonologically and grammatically determined). This class is recognisable by its morphology, and also has unique distribution: as postmodifier in an NP (with or without an introductory relative clause marker *mak*), and occasionally as head of an NP; in contrast to other verbs, very few of these words can function predicatively.

mak-taman 'who plant' from *taman* Vt. 'plant'
ma-hemu 'who drink' from *hemu* Vt. 'drink'
mak-mate-n 'who died' from *mate* Vi. 'die'

karawa	*mak*	*ma-hoa-k*		*ne'e*
monkey	REL	who-give.birth		this

'the monkey which had given birth'

Expressions indicating character, emotion and physical attributes often consist of two words - a noun representing a body part or other inalienable characteristic (e.g. name, value), and an adjective/verb. This is a productive process, and the two words are separable (e.g. by an auxiliary verb or negator); nevertheless many are lexicalised.

isin manas 'body hot' = 'fevered'
oin n-alai 'face 3S-run.away' = 'dizzy'

• Are there semantically transitive verbs that always have an overt object?
No

• Are there semantically transitive verbs that never have an overt object?
No

• Does the language have ditransitive verbal <u>roots</u> (morphologically underived verbs with three arguments), or are ditransitive verbs always derived?
There are no ditransitive verbs, whether roots or derived (see above for possible exception).

• Are there structurally motivated subclasses of intransitive verbs, e.g. the distinction between 'unaccusative' (*fall, melt*) and 'unergative' verbs (*run, dance*) ? Indicate the type of structural distinction: argument marking, derivational morphology, other...?
There is no 'unaccusative'/'unergative' distinction.

nó 'exist' is unique in that the 'subject' (or at least the single argument) can either precede or follow the verb.

SV	*mama*	*nó.*
	betel	exist

'there (will be) betel (at the house).'

VS	*Nó*	*feto*	*ida.*
	exist	woman	one

'There is a woman!'

Intransitive verbs are divided into 2 classes: 'Adjectives' and 'intransitive verbs'. These don't affect the structure of a clause (except for subject marking), but differ as follows:
• Predicative Vi take subject marking (if phonology allows); Adj do not.
• Vi is nearly always predicative; if attributive it is nearly always introduced by the relative clause marker *mak*. Adj is often attributive, usually without *mak*.

- Full reduplication of adjectives gives a meaning of 'plural and varied'; for Vi it does not.
- Adjectives can be derived by *k- -k* (e.g. *k-sira-k* 'torn' from *sira* Vt. 'tear'), and can begin with a consonant cluster (e.g. *kmukit* 'poor'); Vi can not.

• Are there also verbs of which it is not clear whether they are transitive or intransitive because they appear just as frequently with an overt object as without one?
Objects are omitted for clearly transitive verbs in about 1/3 of clauses. This is usually because it is supplied by context.
For some verbs the object is often not overt even if not explicitly supplied by context (as per English):

> *há* 'eat', *hemu* 'drink'

• Are predicates of possession and location transitive or intransitive?
Transitive possession using verb *hó* 'have':

> *Ami   la   hó   osan.*
> 1PE   not   have   money
> 'We don't have money.'

Intransitive possession with possessor as topic, using verb *nó* 'exist'. This verb is unique in that the 'subject' (or at least the single argument) can either precede or follow the verb.

> Top SV *Ha'u buat e'e   sia <u>nó</u>.*
> 1S   thing this   PL   exist
> 'These things I have. (So no need for you to give them to me.)'

> Top VS *ita <u>nó</u>   ha'i kók.*
> 1PI   exist   not   swollen.spleen
> '(When we are healthy), we don't have a swollen spleen.'

Possession with the possessor as predicate:

> *Nú   ne'e ita-k.*
> coconut this   1PI-POS
> 'These coconuts are ours.'

Location uses prepositional phrase:

> *Nia iha   uma.*
> 3S   LOC   house
> 'She is at home.'

• Is there a verbal form used in the expression of ((in)alienable) possession: *I have a garden/a child* (NOT: *That is my garden/my child*)? If so, is the verb transitive or intransitive? If not, provide the translational equivalent of the examples, with glosses.
Use the transitive verb *hó* 'have' or the intransitive *nó* 'exist' (see examples under previous question) for both alienable and inalienable possession.

• Is there a verbal form used in locational predicates: *He is at home/There are fish in the sea*? If so, is the verb transitive or intransitive? Provide the translational equivalent of the examples, with glosses.
Location uses prepositional phrases with *iha* 'LOC' (see example 2 questions up) and no verb. Predicating existence uses *nó* (see examples above) or *iha*. Both are intransitive.

> *Ema   iha   kedan.*
> person be.present immediately
> 'People were already here (even before I had my siesta).'

iha 'be present' specifies current (perhaps temporary) presence of something at a certain place, while *nó* 'exist' comes closer to predicating absolute existence or association with an understood person or location. e.g. *Papa la iha* 'Papa not be.present' is appropriate if Papa (the father) has temporarily gone out. In contrast, *Papa la nó* is appropriate if Papa has died, or has abandoned the family; that is, if he is more or less permanently gone.

This distinction is consistent with the fact that *iha* is also a locative preposition, used to predicate location of an entity, while *hó* (of which *nó* is presumably the 3s inflection) is also a transitive verb predicating the less accidental relationship known as 'possession'.

Nevertheless there is some overlap between the two words; this could come about through influence from East Timor, where *iha* has the meanings of both Fehan *nó* and Fehan *iha*.

Sentences of the type: 'There are fish in the sea' use *nó* 'exist' and a prepositional phrase introduced by locative *iha*.

> *Nó   bín   iha uma laran, bín   mak fó   bá*
> exist older.sister LOC house inside older.sister REL give go
> If there are any older sisters in the house, it is the older sister who gives (the girl's suitor his food).

- Is there a verbal form used as existential predicate: *I am a woman/She's a teacher*.

If so, is the verb transitive or intransitive? If not, provide the translational equivalent of the examples, with glosses.

'I am a woman' uses a NP predicate juxtaposed to the subject: *Ha'u feto* 'I (am a) woman'.

There is however a copula *ní* which can be used under restricted conditions. It indicates a relationship of unique identity, in which the referent of the postverbal NP is presented as uniquely satisfying the description given in the preverbal NP. The preverbal NP is descriptive, giving the basis of the unique identity. It is usually possessive, but the uniqueness may also come about via a description such as *mak kwana nia-kan* 'REL right 3S-POS' = 'which is the correct one'. It is presupposed that one member of a group satisfies this identity. The postverbal NP is headed by a pronoun (usually *ne'e* 'this', *nia* 'that, 3S', but also other personal pronouns or interrogatives such as *nabé* 'which' and *sé* 'who, which person'), and specifies which member of the group satisfies the description.

> *Lale.   Tais ó-k   ní   nia.*
> no cloth 2S-POS   be   3S
> No. That is your sarong. (contrary to your denials).

> *Na fé-n   kbesik á   ní ha'u.*
> 3S wife-GEN direct DEF be 1S
> His true wife is me (as opposed to the other girl who wants to marry him).

C. Valency and derivational morphology: Valency-increasing devices

Causative

1. Form: Describe the word class and the morphological type of the possible bases for a causative derivation. Provide illustrative examples.
- Root morphemes as base: verbs, adjectives

ha- derives transitive causative verbs from adjectives (over 70 examples) and intransitive verbs (40 examples). The spontaneous recorded derivation *haruki*, from the reasonably frequent Malay borrowing *rugi* (assimilated as *ruki*) 'suffer loss', illustrates the productivity of this prefix.

Root		Vt	
át	bad	*hahát*	damage, do bad to
be'o	shatter	*habe'o*	shatter
butan	worthless	*habutan*	make worthless
kbadak	short	*habadak*	shorten
kdór	dirty	*hadór*	dirty

> *Ita   ha-tún   kair   bá wé.*
> 1PI   make-descend fish.line go water
> We lower the fishing line into the water.

ha- also derives causative verbs from transitive verb roots, but this is far less common. The undergoer of the root verb is either omitted (as in example below) or introduced by a serial verb, with the result that the causative verb is transitive rather than ditransitive.

Vt: root		Vt: derivation	
kre'is	close to	*hare'is*	bring (s.th.) closer; come closer
memi	say (a name)	*hamemi*	name (a child)
tama	enter	*hatama*	insert

> *Nia n-ák   "lale" bat   n-oi   n-a-koma   Malae.*
> 3S 3S-say   no   so.that 3S-COORD 3S-make-crave non-native
> He said "no" in order to make the Chinese strongly desire (to buy his dog).

- Root morphemes as base: nouns

ha- also derives transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns. The final /n/ of nominal bases is in many cases omitted in the causative derivation. The omission applies for all body parts, location terms and kin terms, for which the /n/ is a (sometimes fossilised) marker of inalienable possession. For bases of other semantic classes it is not clear what conditions the omission or retention of the /n/.

N		Vi	
abut	root	*hahabut*	put down roots
kdán	pile	*hakdán*	stack, put in a pile
folin	value, price	*hafoli*	respect
kair	fishing line	*hakair*	fish with fishing line
kelun	lower arm	*hakelu*	carry against lower arm
klu'ak	hole	*haklu'ak*	bury
knuan	sheath	*haknua*	put in a sheath
ali	younger sibling	*hahali*	be older than
ama	father	*hahama*	treat as father

Intransitive verbs derived from nouns refer to producing that which is denoted by the base (20 examples; e.g. *ha-tolu* 'lay egg' from *tolun* 'egg').
Transitive causative derivations from nominal bases relate the meaning of the base in some way to that of the undergoer. The most common relations (over 30 examples) are making the undergoer become (like) the base, or causing the undergoer to have the base.

> *Laho n-a-bón   rai   ne'e kle'an basuk.*
> rat   3S-make-hole earth this deep   very
> The rat burrows very deeply into the ground.

Other derivations refer to using that which is denoted by the base as an instrument.

Ha'u <u>k-a-kelu</u>   o'oan.
1S   1S-make-lower.arm   small.child
I'm cradling a child (in my arm).

Some derived verbs refer to using the denotatum of the base as some sort of container, into which the undergoer is put.

Ami bá <u>ha-tuik</u>   fore.
1PE go make-row.(plants) legume
We're going to plant beans (in rows).

Yet others refer to treating someone or something as one would treat the denotata of the base (over 10 examples). The undergoer is either presented as a direct object or, more frequently, introduced by a serial verb.

Ita <u>ha-henu</u>   ai   funan nó selendang   bá ema   bót sia.
1PI make-necklace plant flower and shawl.[Mly] to person big PL
We hang flowers and a shawl around the necks of the important people.

Feto   hitu   sia <u>r-a-ná</u>   bá nia.
woman seven PL 3P-make-(woman's).brother to 3S
The seven sisters (lit. 'women') treated him as brother.

Finally there is a range of other relationships, showing that the meaning of these derivations is not quite predictable.

• Morphologically complex (=derived) forms as base: intransitive verbs
In this case the initial syllable of the stem, which constitutes a prefix or reduplication, is omitted when *ha-* is added.

Root		Adj/Vi: stem		Vt: derivation	
		kabelak	flat	habelak	flatten
le'u	Vt. coil	kale'uk	crooked	hale'uk	bend
		karonak	slippery	haronak	make slippery
*nók		nónók	be quiet	hanók	quieten
doko	rock (e.g. baby)	hakdoko	be rocked, tremble	hadoko	rock (e.g. baby)
tutan	join (pieces)	haktutan	connected	hatutan	pass on (words)

Ita hawai <u>halaik</u>   na'an lai. Na'an <u>n-aklaik</u>.
1PI dry   partly.dry meat   now   meat   3S-partly-dry
We first dry partly-dry the meat. (So) the meat is partly-dry.

• Is there a distinction between productively and unproductively derived forms?
Not that I know of.
There is some variation in phonological rules, which could perhaps be related to how long the derived forms have been in use??. The differences are whether an initial /k/ in a root that begins with a consonant cluster (e.g. *kraik* 'low') is omitted or retained in the derivation, and whether a noun-final /n/ (in some cases a genitive marker) is retained in the derivation.

2. Function: Describe the semantic and grammatical function of the causative derivation.

• Semantic: Does the causative *always* add an argument to the event structure of the verb?
Where the root is transitive, the causative verb is also transitive (see comments and example above).

Where the root is intransitive (verb/adjective) the causative derived verb is always transitive.

However sometimes *ha-* is used to derive verbs which are not causative (see 3. below).

• Describe the semantics of the causer (the 'added' argument): is it always agentive/controlling, or is it variable depending on the word class or morphological type of the base? Provide examples where appropriate.
It is always agentive/controlling, with strong influence on the undergoer, and a high degree of success (e.g. *hametan* means 'blacken', not 'attempt but fail to blacken').

• Grammatical: Does it add a syntactic argument to the clause?
Where it does (see above for exceptions), the object of the derived verb corresponds to the subject of the root (i.e. S → O), while the derivation acquires a new actor subject.

3. Does the causative derivation have other functions?
Yes, but I don't know how to generalise them. The following list is fairly complete based on my corpus.

Vt: root		Vt: derivation	
fa'e	divide (any number)	*hafa'e*	split in two (of midnight)
fetu	kick	*hafetu*	kick
ho'uk	agree to (short form of *haho'uk*)	*haho'uk*	agree to
lolo	stretch out, pass	*halolo*	straighten, correct
talik	entwine, cross (limbs)	*hatalik*	tie/twist (esp. ropes) together
tuda	throw spear at	*hatuda*	fight war
tudu	nominate, select, point at	*hatudu*	show, demonstrate, point out

It is possible that some of the above words are derived via intransitive *hak-* stems of which I am unaware; however those *hak-* derivations which are found in the corpus (*hakfa'ek* 'split in two' and *haklolo* 'stretch forward (legs)') are transitive, and so do not qualify as mediating stems. In the case of *haho'uk* 'agree to', the apparent root *ho'uk* is often held by consultants to be a colloquial short form of the verb.

Base			Vi	
ikus	Adj	last	*hahikus*	go last
nanotok	Vi	be quiet (reduplication)	*hanotok*	be quiet (not 'quieten')

Root		Vi: ha-		Vt: causative	
ke'an	N. room	*hake'an*	be separate	*hake'an*	separate
kotu	Vt. sever; Vi. finished	*hakotu*	finished	*hakotu*	conclude
metan	Adj. black	*hametan*	bruised	*hametan*	blacken
mutu	Adv. together	*hamutu*	together	*hamutu*	cause to be together
tutu	Vt. peck	*hatutu*	hatch	*hatutu*	peck to cause to hatch
wé	N. liquid	*hawé*	melt	*hawé*	cause to melt

Root		Vt: ha-		Vt: causative	
tán	Vt. on top of	*hatán*	be on top of	*hatán*	put on top (of s.th.)

4. Describe how the arguments of a causative verb are expressed in the clause:
• Is there a difference between the expression of arguments of causative verbs and those of 'common' transitive verbs?   No

Applicative

None

Possessor raising or external possession
1. Does the language have a derivation where a nominal possessor is raised to grammatical object position, e.g.: I ate the white man's beans > I bean-ate the white man
No.

2. Does the language have a derivation where a possessor is raised to grammatical subject, e.g. : My heart is bleeding > I heart-bleed
No.
Character, emotions and physical attributes are often expressed by an expression consisting of a noun (representing an inalienably possessed attribute of the subject) + adjective (e.g. *Ha'u isin di'ak* '1s body good' = 'I (am) well.'). I analyse this as having a predicate (*isin di'ak*) which is itself a clause. Subject characteristics are distributed between the subject of the overall clause (here *ha'u* '1s') and the subject of the predicate clause (here *isin* 'body'). Unlike in subject incorporation, the subject of the predicate clause can be modified, and the predicate can be a proper noun:

> *Feto   á   naran á   Bita Nahak.*
> woman DEF name DEF Bita Nahak
> The girl's name was Bita Nahak.

3. Give an overview of the type of predicates/clauses in which PR can occur
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4. Does PR always cooccur with noun incorporation? If so, are there (semantic/syntactic) restrictions on the types of nouns that may be incorporated? Are there restrictions on the incorporating verbs?
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Mutual interaction of valency-increasing derivations and their functions - Not applicable.

D. Valency and derivational morphology: Valency decreasing processes

Passive

1. Does the language have a passive construction?   No

Detransitive

1. Does the language have a detransivising derivation with a prefix *tV(C)-* ?   It has a detransitivising derivation, but with the form *hak-*.

- Is it productive or unproductive? Unsure, but moderately common (30 examples)

- Describe its formal properties: which types of bases does it take?   Transitive verb root

- Describe its semantic function
The subject of the derivation corresponds with the object of the base (i.e. O → S).
There is no implication that an actor is involved. Thus, for instance, *haksira* 'tear' can be used regardless of whether the undergoer tore of its own accord, or was torn on purpose by someone.

There is not a consistent aspectual interpretation. As illustrated in the examples, the verb can refer to a continuing process (4.15), a punctual event (4.16, 4.19), or a resulting state (4.17, 4.18). In addition several of the derivations from cutting verbs were explained as showing evidence of having been cut, without the cutting having been complete (e.g. *hakso'i* 'partly severed', *hakfota* 'show chop marks, cracked', *hakfera* 'partially split').

Vt		Vi	
bois	squeeze out with hand	*hakbois*	escape from one's grasp
budi	let slip	*hakbudi*	fly away, slip away
fakar	tip out	*hakfakar*	spill out
falu	overturn, turn	*hakfalu*	capsize, overturn
fera	split	*hakfera*	partially split
feur	spin, rotate	*hakfeur*	spin, rotate
fokit	jerk up	*hakfokit*	freed (e.g. from being bogged)
fota	hit	*hakfota*	show chop marks, be cracked
loke	open	*hakloke*	open
losu	extract	*haklosu*	suddenly extracted
saki	cut lengthways	*haksaki*	split in two
silu	break off	*haksilu*	break (e.g. bone)
sira	tear	*haksira*	tear
sobu	demolish	*haksobu*	collapse
tesi	break, chop	*haktesi*	break
tutan	connect	*haktutan*	connected

4.15 *Ita feur ai ka-feur.* ≈ *Ita halo ai ka-feur n-ak-feur.*
1PI spin wood NOM-spin   1PI make wood NOM-spin 3S-INTR-spin
We spin the top (a spinning toy). ≈ We make the top spin.

4.16 *Nia monu, kidan n-ak-tesi.*
3S fall   backside.bones 3S-INTR-break
(When) he fell, the bone(s) in his backside broke.

4.17 *Ita habit liman n-ak-tesi, hodi ai rua.*
1PI squeeze arm   3S-INTR-break use wood two
We splint (lit. 'squeeze between two things') a broken arm, using two pieces of wood.

4.18 *Ai ne'e n-ak-so'i, foin ita ha'ak "ai n-awia".*
wood this 3S-INTR-break.off then 1PI say   wood 3S-dangle
Only when the branch is partly cut through (e.g. by a knife or by the wind) do we say (the) "branch dangles".

4.19 *Baliun isin n-ak-losu, kati kona o.*
axe   body 3S-INTR-extract fly.up touch 2S
(If) the axe head comes off, (it will) fly over and hit you.

• Describe its grammatical function in terms of argument alternation   S is lost; O → S

• Is the sole argument of the derived verb expressed as S, as O or as neither?   S

2. Does the language have another detransitivising morphological process?   No

Reflexive

1. Does the language employ a specific construction to express reflexive notions such as *to dress herself*? Yes

Is there more than one construction expressing reflexiveness?   Two, which can co-occur.
Most use post-verbal *án*:

> *Nia n-o'o   án.*
> 3S 3s-kill REFL
> He killed himself.

Some use the postverbal adverb *hikar* (or *hika*) 'back, return to earlier location, state or activity', in conjunction with either an object pronoun (11.22; 6 examples) or reflexive *án* (11.23; 4 examples).

11.22   *Ni la'en   á   sona n-o'o n-ika   nia.*
        3S husband DEF pierce 3S-kill 3S-back 3S
        Her husband stabbed and killed himself. (He actually died of the wounds some weeks after the stabbing.)

11.23   *Nia fota n-ika   án.*
        3S   hit   3S-back REFL
        He hit himself.

2. Is the object of the reflexive expressed as a special pronoun (as in English), or as a noun (*liver, body, self*)?   Special word *án* (like a pronoun, but a few examples suggest it is an adverb).

* Is this noun also found in other contexts?

án can indicate that the actor intentionally did the action specified by the verb. Non-reflexive *án* also has other uses which are not yet clear to me.

> *Nia la'o lakon   án.*
> 3S   walk disappear REFL
> He walked to go missing (on purpose).

2. Is there an extra morpheme on verbs in reflexive constructions?   No

Reciprocal
1. How is the concept of reciprocality expressed?
The productive means is with post-verbal *malu* 'each other'.

> *Sia   n-usu   malu.*
> 3P   3-request each.other
> They asked each other (questions).

There are also some derivations using *hak- -k*, which derives inherently reciprocal verbs; most refer to traditionally standard means of fighting. There is some variation between the verbs as to whether reciprocal *malu* can or should follow the verb.

Vt		**Vreciprocal**	
dudu	push	*hakdudu-k*	push, accuse, urge each other
fota	hit	*hakfota-k*	hit each other
kohi	catch	*hakohi-k*	wrestle
libur	assemble, collect	*haklibur*	assemble
sala	wrong	*haksala-k*	alternate (head to foot)
sona	pierce	*haksona-k*	knife/sword each other
sudi	collect, gather	*haksudi-k*	get together, meet
te'ur	chase, pursue	*hakte'ur*	fight, wrestle
tei	kick	*haktei-k*	kick each other
tolo	throw (e.g. water)	*haktolo-k*	throw (e.g. water) at each other
tuda	throw spear	*haktuda-k*	throw spears at each other
tuku	punch	*haktuku-k*	fight each other with fists

2. If so, is this morpheme used in other contexts too, or is it homophonous with a morpheme with a different function?

hak- on its own derives intransitive verbs from transitive ones (see above).

hak- (with or without *-k*) can also derive verbs from other verbs without a change in transitivity. The derivation has either a very similar meaning to the base or a semantically more restricted one. It is not clear whether this derivation is synchronically productive. Some derivations with vowel-final bases have a *-k* suffix, which is separated below by a hyphen for easier recognition. It appears that the *-k* is applied for transitive verbs only (the only exception being *hakbaku*); however this could well be an accident of the limited data.

Vi: base		**Vi**	
lén	shine (e.g. sun)	*haklén*	shine (e.g. sun, white paper)
ro'an	groan (e.g. in pain)	*hakro'an*	plead, implore
sala	err, wrong	*haksala*	out of joint, twisted (joint)
sés	turn aside	*haksés*	depart, turn aside
siku	go past	*haksiku*	go past

Vt: base		**Vt**	
baken	drape (over anything)	*hakbaken*	drape over shoulder
baku	strike [Suai]; overturn	*hakbaku*	strike [Fehan]; overturn
basak	throw (at); collide with	*hakbasak*	throw at; collide with; flap wings at
fa'e	divide (any number)	*hakfa'e-k*	separate into two
habit	squeeze between two things	*hakabit*	carry under one arm
kahi	restrain verbally; massage	*hakahi-k*	restrain verbally
kasu	perform healing ceremony	*hakasu-k*	perform healing ceremony
lás	wave (arms) sideways	*haklás*	shoo out (e.g. fan, chase away)
sera	lay down (s.th.) in front of	*haksera-k*	present (an offering)

A number of verbs referring to the making of sounds are derived by applying a prefix *ha-* or *hak-* to the sound made. In some cases a suffix *-k* is added. There is no apparent logic to the choice of prefix, or to the presence or absence of the suffix.

Sound		**V: make sound**		
hi hi hi hi	call to horses	*hakihi-k*	Vt	call horses
mé	bleat; call to goats	*hakmé*	Vi / Vt	bleat; call goats

Object incorporation

1. Does the language employ object incorporation as a productive device to alter a verbs argument structure?

2. If so, what is the effect of object incorporation on the morpho-syntactic expression of argument(s)?

Object incorporation gives an apparent 'SOV' constituent order. It is restricted to irrealis clauses - negative clauses, questions, purpose clauses; they also occur in emphatic positive clauses which are contrasted with negative ones. Incorporation is optional and relatively uncommon; it is however compulsory for the inherently negative verb *lalek* 'lack' (e.g. *Nia inan lalek* 'She (is) mother-less'). Object NPs in this construction are always non-referential, and consist simply of a single noun. 'Small clauses' (V or VO) can also occur in this pre-verbal position; these 'incorporated complements' give the names of activities, rather than referring to particular instances of activities on particular occasions.

Ha'u kopi   *k-emu*   *ha'i, kangkung*   *k-á*   *ha'i.*
1S   coffee.[Mly] 1S-drink not k.o.vegetable.[Mly] 1S-eat not
I don't drink coffee and don't eat the vegetable *kangkung* (for health reasons).

Sia bolitik   *r-atene?!*
3P   politics.[Mly] 3P-know
Were they politically aware?! (Rhetorical question - of course they weren't!)

... *bate*   *[r-a-he'e]*   *r-atene,* *[r-asoru]* *r-atene,*
    so.that 3P-make-respond.greet 3P-know 3P-greet 3P-know
[She was sent to civilise the uncivilised], so that (they) would know how to respond '*He'e*' to greetings, (and) know how to greet people.

Tán kabau [n-á hae] n-atene, ita [há hae] la hatene.
because buffalo 3S-eat grass 3S-know 1PI eat grass not know
Because buffalo know how to eat grass, (and) we don't know how to eat grass.

Other detransitivising processes

Describe other detransitivising processes that are important in the language.   None.