SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY IN TUKANG BESI

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The Tukang Besi language has consistent nominative-accusative morphology on its verbs, yet syntactic processes show that we need to recognize a split in the intransitive verbs. The split is roughly along the lines of agentive/controlled versus nonagentive/noncontrolled, a division that has been used to characterize unergative and unaccusative verbs in some languages. Five grammatical tests are presented that demonstrate the different subclasses of intransitive verbs, including unergative and unaccusative.

1. INTRODUCTION. Tukang Besi is an Austronesian language spoken in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, and numerous small trading settlements in other parts of the archipelago. Morphologically it follows a nominative-accusative pattern in terms of its pronominal indexing on the verb, where there is an obligatory subject prefix,[1] and an optional object suffix in transitive verbs, yielding two basic transitive clause types, seen in (1) and (2).[2] Intransitive verbs index their sole argument with the set of subject prefixes, and cannot appear with the object suffix indexing their sole argument, seen in (3–6). Additionally, nominals exhibit case marking along a Philippine-pattern, with one argument per clause selected as the grammatical pivot and bearing the nominative case marker *na*. This argument is the object if the verb bears object suffixes, and the subject otherwise. All other nonoblique nominals are marked with *te* '(nonnominative) core'. The set of subject prefixes and object suffixes is given in Table 1. There is no distinction between singular and plural in the third person,

TABLE 1. SUBJECT PREFIXES AND OBJECT SUFFIXES

	SUBJECT		OBJECT
	REALIS	IRREALIS	
1SG	ku-	ku-	-aku
2SG	'u- / nu-	ko-	-ko
3SG/PL	no- / o-	na- / a-	-'e / -ne
1PA	ko-	ka-	-kami
1PL	to-	ta-	-kita
2PL	i-	ki-	-komiu

and there is a three way distinction between singular, paucal, and plural in the
first person.

Illustrative sentences showing the use of these affixes are given in (1–6).[3]

(1) Ku-'elo-'e   na   anabou-su   (te   iaku).
    ISG-call-3OBJ   NOM   small.child-ISG.POSS   CORE   I
    'I called my child.'

(2) Ku-'elo   te   anabou-su   (na   iaku).
    ISG-call   CORE   small.child-ISG.POSS   NOM   I
    'I called my child.'

(3) No-wila ae   na   anabou   i   'one.
    3R-go foot   NOM   small.child   OBL   beach
    'The child walked to the beach.'

(4) *Wila ae-'e   na   anabou   i   'one.
    go foot-3OBJ   NOM   small.child   OBL   beach

(5) No-mate   na   anabou.
    3R-die   NOM   small.child
    'The child died.'

(6) *Mate-'e   na   anabou.
    die-3OBJ   NOM   small.child

Despite the absence of any ergative or split-intransitive morphology (Merlan
[1985], Dixon [1994] uses the term "split-S" with the same meaning), the interac-
tion of different intransitive verbs with certain morphosyntactic processes shows
the necessity of recognizing a difference between unergative and unaccusative
predicates in Tukang Besi, and a further subdivision of unaccusative verbs into
experiencer and nonexperiencer verbs. The processes examined here are the abil-
ity to appear with the comitative suffix *-ngkene*, the morphophonemic replace-
ment found when the causative prefix *pa-* interacts with the subject infix <um>,
the optional use of possessive marking on verbs as a replacement for subject
prefixes, the ability to appear with the factitive prefix *hoko-*, and the syntactic re-
sult of combining with the prefix *hoN-*. Each of these processes will be examined
in turn. In order to make the comparison as clear as possible, four representative
verbs are taken to illustrate the properties examined here. Each of these verbs may
be taken as representative of a wider class of verbs, however, and a partial list of
some other intransitive verbs, and the classes into which they fall, are given at the
end of the article. The four verbs used to illustrate these processes are *rau* 'yell',
wila 'go', *mohoo* 'sick', and *mate* 'die, be dead'.

2. COOCCURRENCE WITH *-ngkene* 'COMITATIVE'. The applicative
suffix *-ngkene* serves to add an extra object to the verb, and that object is the

person with whom someone performs an action. A simple example is given in
(7), to be compared with (1).

(7) Ku-'elo-ngkene-'e   na   bela-su
    1SG-call-COM-3OBJ   NOM spouse-1SG.POSS

    te   anabou-mami.
    CORE   small.child-1PA.POSS
    'I and my husband called our child.'

We find that only verbs denoting agentive, intentional activities can appear with
-ngkene. Compare the two possible translations of the verb 'ita 'see' in (8) and
the single reading available for (9).

(8) No-'ita   te   bangka.
    3R-see   CORE   boat
    'She saw the boat.'   (by chance)
    'She looked at the boat.'   (intentionally)

(9) No-'ita-ngkene te   iai-no   te   bangka.
    3R-see-COM   CORE younger.sibling-3POSS CORE boat
    'She and her younger brother looked at the boat.'   (intentionally)
    *'She and her younger brother saw the boat.'   (by chance)

Proof that agency and volitionality are involved comes from the interaction
of the comitative -ngkene with a verb serialized with *sala* 'do by chance'.
Although most transitive verbs can appear with this serialization, it may not
combine with -ngkene, which may only appear if there is some agency on the
part of the subject. This is shown in (10) and (11).

(10) No-sala-'ita   te   bangka.
     3R-accident-see CORE   boat
     'She happened to see the boat.'   (by chance)
     *'She happened to look at the boat.'   (intentionally)

(11) *No-sala-'ita-ngkene te   iai-no   te   bangka.
     3R-accident-see-COM CORE younger.sibling-3POSS CORE boat
     'She and her younger brother happened to look at the boat.'

With intransitive verbs, this same restriction—that only agentive, inten-
tional actions may appear with -ngkene—holds, as illustrated in (12–15),
which show that the nonagentive *mohoo* 'be sick' and *mate* 'die, dead' can-
not appear with -ngkene.

(12) Ku-rau-ngkene te   tolida-su.
     1SG-yell-COM CORE   cousin-1SG.POSS
     'My cousin and I yelled.'

(13) No-wila-ngkene te   porai-no   kua daoa   i   Mola.
     3R-go-COM   CORE fiance-3POSS ALL market OBL Mola
     'He went to the market in Mola with his fiance.'

(14) *No-mohoo-ngkene   te   ina-no.
     3R-sick-COM   CORE   mother-3POSS
     'He and his mother are sick.'

(15) *No-mate-ngkene   te   ompu-no.
     3R-die-COM   CORE   grandparent-3POSS
     'He and his grandmother died.'

There is clearly a split in the verbs, between *rau* and *wila*, which may appear with the comitative suffix, and *mohoo* and *mate*, which may not.

3. COMBINATION WITH THE <um> SUBJECT INFIX.

The subject infix <um> is found on a verb of a relative clause when the head of that relative clause is the subject. It is also found in main clauses, usually in combination with the irrealis set of subject prefixes, indicating a greater degree of intention on the part of the subject. The syntax of verbs that include this morpheme is rather complicated, and will not be discussed here. However, aspects of its morphophonology do shed light on the subclasses of intransitive verbs found in Tukang Besi. The <um> infix is inserted between the first consonant (if present) and the first vowel of the verb after the subject prefix, unless the first consonant is *h, m,* or *w.* These initial consonants are replaced by *m,* and <um> infixation does not occur.

Subject infix insertion:

(16) (Subj)-$(C_1)V(CV) \ldots$ →   (Subj)-(C_1)<um>V(CV)
      where $C_1 \neq h, m, w.$

(17) (Subj)-$C_1V(CV) \ldots$ →   (Subj)-[m]V(CV)
      where $C_1 = h, m,$ *or w.*

Examples of the infixation of <um> in simple verbs are given in (18–21).

(18) 'U-pake-'e.   (19) Ko-p<um>ake-'e.
      2SG.R-use-3OBJ   2SG.I-use.SI-3OBJ
      'You used it.'   'You want to use it.'

(20) No-hesowui-'e.   (21) Na-[m]esowui-'e.
      3R-wash-3OBJ   3I-wash.SI-3OBJ
      'They washed it.'   'They want to wash it.'

When the verb to which <um> is attached is a complex verb involving the *pa*-causative prefix, <um> is infixed in some cases, while in others the initial *p* is elided and replaced by *m.* This is illustrated in (22–25), in which the a. sentences show the causative verb without an infix, and the b. sentences show the form of the verb when <um> is added.

(22) a. No-pa-rau   b.   Na-p<um>a-rau   (*Namarau)
              3R-CAUS-yell   3I-CAUS.SI-yell
              'make yell'

(23) a. No-pa-wila   b. Na-p<um>a-wila   (*Namawila)
        3R-CAUS-go   3I-CAUS.SI-go
        'make go, send'

(24) a. No-pa-mohoo   b. Na-[m]a-mohoo   (*Napumamohoo)
        3R-CAUS-sick   3I-CAUS.SI-sick
        'sicken'

(25) a. No-pa-mate   b. Na-[m]a-mate   (*Napumamate)
        3R-CAUS-dead   3I-CAUS.SI-dead
        'kill'

As (22–25) show, infixation occurs when the root verb is agentive, and [m]-replacement occurs when the root verb is not, following the same categories as were found based on the ability to occur with *-ngkene*.

4. USE OF POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES ON EXPERIENCER VERBS. All
verbs in matrix clauses must be indexed for person and number of the subject, through the use of subject prefixes, as seen in (1–6), and all other examples so far. Some verbs, however, allow the subject to be indexed by means of the set of suffixes normally used to indicate possession on nouns. The complete set of possessive suffixes is given in Table 2. There is no difference between alienable and inalienable phrasal possession in Tukang Besi, the same set of suffixes serving to indicate any kind of pronominal possession.

The class of verbs that allow possessive suffixes to index the subject is the class of experiencer verbs. These verbs include *mohoo* 'sick, sore', *monini* 'cold', and *mososoa* 'sweaty'. Nonexperiencer verbs may not appear with possessive suffix indexing.

(26) *Rau-no.   (27) *Wila-no.
        yell-3POSS   go-3POSS
        'They yelled.'   'They went.'

(28) Mohoo-no.   (29) *Mate-no.
        sick-3POSS   die-3POSS
        'They're sick.'   'They're dead.'

Sentences (26–29) show that only experiencer verbs like *mohoo* may appear with possessive suffixes indexing the subject. This test sets the experiencer verbs apart from both the agentive verbs, and other nonagentive verbs.

TABLE 2. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

1SG	-su	1PA	-mami	1PL	-nto
2SG	-'u			2PL	-miu
3(SG/PL)	-no				

5. APPEARANCE WITH *hoko-* 'FACTITIVE' PREFIX. Of the three causative prefixes in Tukang Besi, *hoko-* is the most restricted in terms of its range of application. While (almost) any intransitive or transitive predicate may be causativised by the addition of *pa-*, only a nonagentive, non-experiencer intransitive predicate may be causativised with *hoko-*. This restriction is shown in (30–34), with (34) being included to show the behavior of transitive verbs as well.

(30) *Ku-hoko-rau-'e   na   mia   iso.
     3R-FACT-yell-3OBJ   NOM   person   that
     'I made that person yell.'

(31) *Ku-hoko-wila-'e   na   mia   iso.
     3R-FACT-go-3OBJ   NOM   person   that
     'I made that person go.'

(32) *Ku-hoko-mohoo-'e   na   mia   iso.
     3R-FACT-sick-3OBJ   NOM   person   that
     'I made that person sick.'

(33) Ku-hoko-mate-'e   na   mia   iso.
     3R-FACT-die-3OBJ   NOM   person   that
     'I killed that person.'

(34) *Ku-hoko-'elo-'e   na   mia   iso.
     3R-FACT-call-3OBJ   NOM   person   that
     'I made that person call (someone).'

6. COMBINATION WITH THE *hoN-* 'PURPOSEFUL VERBALIZER' PREFIX. The prefix *hoN-* may be added to many verbs, sometimes showing applicative characteristics, sometimes causative characteristics. When it is attached to transitive verbs, it does not bring about either an applicative or a causative reading, but a semantic component of intensity, as seen in a comparison of (35) and (36).[4]

(35) No-toha-'e   saba'ane   na   wurai-no.
     3R-wash-3OBJ   all   NOM   sarong-3POSS
     'He washed all of his sarongs.' (perhaps only half-heartedly
        or ineffectually; dirt remains, and rewashing is in order)

(36) No-ho-[n]oha-'e   saba'ane   na   wurai-no.
     3R-VRB-wash-3OBJ   all   NOM   sarong-3POSS
     'She washed all of her sarongs thoroughly.' (so that they are now
        spotless; there is no question of needing to wash them again)

When added to intransitive verbs, there is a split in functions. When agentive verbs are prefixed with *hoN-*, the resulting complex verb is interpreted as an applicative.[5]

(37) No-ho-rau-'e.   (38) No-ho-wila-'e.
3R-VRB-yell-3OBJ   3R-VRB-go-3OBJ
'She screamed at it.'   'She went to/for it.'
*'She made it scream.'   *'She made her/him go.'

When a nonagentive verb is affixed with *hoN-* the resulting verb is causative.

(39) No-ho-[m]ohoo-'e.   (40) No-ho-[m]ate-'e.
3R-VRB-sick-3OBJ   3R-VRB-die-3OBJ
'They made him sick.'   'They extinguished it.'
*'They were sick for him.'   *'They died for him.'

We can see that transitive and agentive intransitive verbs remain with the subject
of the underived verb as the subject of the derived verb, which is in all cases now
transitive. With a nonagentive intransitive verb, however, the effect of the addition
of *hoN-* is to causativize the verb. Once more, the division between agentive and
nonagentive verbs is apparent.

7. VERBS WITHOUT FIXED CATEGORIES. There is a small set of
verbs that can appear with either agentive or nonagentive readings. These verbs
include the following:

moturu   'sleep', 'have sex with'
nggolo   'roll about (drunk or in pain)', 'roll about playfully'
molango 'be drunk or seasick', 'go on a drinking binge'

It is interesting that the readings are mutually exclusive when combined with the
different grammatical processes that demonstrate the intransitivity split, and that
the verb's interpretation is forced into either the agentive or the nonagentive inter-
pretation by the process that is used. Compare the two readings available for (41)
with the single reading found in (42), (43), and (44).

(41) No-nggolo   na   ama   mansuana-'u.
3R-roll.about.drunk   NOM   father old-2SG.POSS
'Your uncle is rolling about drunk.'[6]
'Your uncle is rolling about playfully.'

(42) No-nggolo-ngkene   te   ana-su
3R-roll.about.drunk-COM   CORE   child-1SG.POSS

na   ama   mansuana-'u.
NOM   father   old-2SG.POSS
'Your uncle is rolling about playfully with my son.'
*'Your uncle is rolling about drunk with my son.'

(43) Nggolo-no   na   ama   mansuana-'u.
roll.about.drunk-3POSS NOM   father old-2SG.POSS
'Your uncle is rolling about drunk.'
*'Your uncle is rolling about playfully.'

(44) No-hoko-nggolo-'e   na   ama   mansuana-'u.
     3R-FACT-roll.about.drunk-3OBJ NOM   father   old-2SG.POSS
     'They plied your uncle with hard liquor
        until he was rolling about drunk.'
     *'They played so that your uncle was rolling about playfully.'

(45) No-ho-[m]olango-'e   na   La Si'i.
     3R-VRB-drunk-3OBJ   NOM   La Si'i
     'They plied La Si'i with hard liquor until he was drunk.'
     *'They got drunk for La Si'i.'

8. CONCLUSIONS. The data in sections 2–6 show that there is a split in the intransitive verbs with respect to their interaction with certain grammatical processes. These processes and the verbs that may occur with them are summarized in Table 3.

This leads to a classification of intransitive predicates into two different sets, unergative and unaccusative. The second of these shows a split in its membership between experiencer verbs and other nonagentive verbs, here called 'nonactive', though this should be taken as shorthand for 'nonexperiencer nonactive'. This is diagrammed in Table 4.

Since both experiencer and other nonagentive verbs share the property of acquiring a causative interpretation when combined with *hoN-*, they are grouped together as unaccusative, against the unergative verbs that may appear with *-ngkene*. A short list of some other verbs that fall into each of these three (sub-)classes is given in Table 5.

In this article, I have sought to establish that split-intransitive phenomena, based on the agentivity/control of the subject, are relevant to a description of the syntax of Tukang Besi, even though the person/number-marking verbal morphology is strictly nominative-accusative and shows no signs of split intransitive phenomena. Furthermore, it can be seen that there is a three-way split for intransitive verbs, based on the ability to take possessive marking, which is an option available only to experiencer verbs.[7]

TABLE 3. COMBINATION OF DIFFERENT INTRANSITVE VERBS WITH GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

	UNERGATIVE *rau, wila*	UNACCUSATIVE *mohoo*	*mate*
Comitative *-ngkene*	+		
pa- + \<um\> = *p\<um\>a-*	+		
Possessive suffixes		+	
Causative with *hoN-*		+	+
Combine with *hoko-*			+

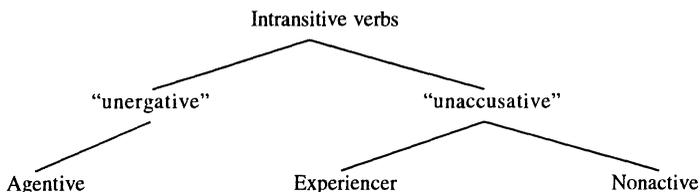## TABLE 4. CLASSIFICATION OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS IN TUKANG BESI

Intransitive verbs

"unergative"　　　　　　"unaccusative"

Agentive　　　　　Experiencer　　　　　Nonactive

TABLE 5. SOME VERBS IN DIFFERENT INTRANSITIVE CLASSES IN TUKANG BESI

AGENTIVE		EXPERIENCER		NONACTIVE	
aka'aka	'play'	ma'eka	'afraid'	buti	'fall'
kede	'sit'	mohoo	'sick'	lule	'naked'
lagu	'sing'	monimpala	'homesick'	mamuda	'easy'
lola	'fly'	monini	'cold'	mendaro	'deep'
nangu	'swim'	mo'aro	'hungry'	motiti	'dry'
potae	'say'	mososoa	'sweaty'	to'oge	'big'
tode	'flee'	motindo'u	'thirsty'	turu	'unconscious'

NOTES

1. For which there are two sets, a realis set and an irrealis set. See Donohue 1995 for details of their usage.
2. It can be argued that there is really only one basic transitive clause type, the form shown in (1), and that (2) is an antipassive derivation from it. Problems with this analysis are that we have to assume that there is no explicit antipassive morphology on the verb, whereas there is explicit marking of the passive on the verb in that voice, with the prefix *to-*; that the "antipassive," not the active, clause is used as input to the passive derivation, which cannot appear with object suffixes; that the by-phrase in the "antipassive" is still a core argument of the verb, not an oblique (demonstrable by restrictions on time-adverb placement); and that the derived "subject" of an antipassive clause (the patient) behaves differently with respect to relativization than does the derived subject of a passive clause, or the subject of an intransitive verb. For these reasons I have adopted the analysis of Tukang Besi as showing a Philippine-style voice system, not adequately characterizable as either nominative-accusative with passives or ergative-absolutive with antipassives, with two basic transitive clauses (Maclachlan 1994). See also Mithun (1991).
3. The following abbreviations have been used in the glosses: Portmanteau forms: 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; I, irrealis; OBJ, object; PA, paucal; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; R, realis; SG, singular; Other abbreviations: ALL, allative; CAUS, causative; COM, comitative applicative; CORE, core; FACT, factitive; NOM, nominative; OBL, oblique; SI, subject infix; VRB, purposeful verbaliser: applicative, causative, or 'effective'.
4. Although gender is not marked in Tukang Besi, the difference between (35) and (36) was explained to me in terms of the difference in efficiency between men and women doing the laundry, so I have included both examples.

5. The nasal of *hoN-* is homorganic with an initial obstruent in the verb, which is re-placed by this resulting nasal. Before a sonorant, the nasal is not realized. The marking of the initial *m* in *[m]ohoo* and *[m]ate* as part of the *hoN-* prefix may thus seem arbi-trary, although there is at least one other instance in the language in which syncre-tism appears to occur when identical nasals are involved (Donohue 1995:39).

6. Uncles and aunts are classificatory fathers (*ama*) and mothers (*ina*) in Tukang Besi; no separate term exists for them.

7. In fact, five distinct (sub-)divisions can be distinguished, when other facts are taken into account that reveal a small adjective subclass of nonactive verbs, and a larger class of ambitransitive (Dixon 1994) verbs that may be used transitively if they appear with object suffixes. These other classes do not have any bearing on the classification shown here, and are better regarded as subsets of the classes already shown.

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