Number and quantity in East Nusantara

Papers from 12-ICAL, Volume 1

Marian Klamer and František Kratochvíl (eds.)

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This volume showcases the expression of number and quantity in a dozen minority languages spoken in Eastern Indonesia. While several papers offer a typological and comparative perspective, most contributions provide detailed descriptions of the numeral systems, universal quantifiers, classifiers, and the expression of nominal and verbal number in individual languages. Languages featuring in this volume include the Austronesian languages Sumbawa, Tolaki, Helong, Uab Meto, and Papuan Malay; the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages Abui, Bunaq, Kamang, Makalero, Sawila, and Western Pantar, and the West-Papuan language Tobelo.
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Preface and Acknowledgements

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About the Editors

Marian Klamer (1965) is Professor of Austronesian and Papuan Linguistics at Leiden University, the Netherlands. Over the last two decades she has lead research projects describing and documenting Austronesian and Papuan minority languages in Eastern Indonesia, comparing the typological characteristics of these languages, and reconstructing their history. Her publications include grammars on Kambera (1998), Teiwa (2010), Alorese (2011), several edited volumes, and over fifty articles on a wide range of topics. Klamer is currently leading the VICI project Reconstructing the past through languages of the present: the Lesser Sundan Islands funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (2014-2019).

František Kratochvíl (1976) is Assistant Professor in Linguistics at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. After obtaining his PhD in Linguistics from Leiden University in 2007 on a grammatical description of Abui, a Papuan language of Alor (Eastern Indonesia), Kratochvíl has had appointments as a post-doctoral fellow at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University and a lecturer in Linguistics at Department of English Language and Literature at Hong Kong Baptist University. Kratochvíl’s research focusses on describing the languages of Alor, in particular Abui, Sawila and Suboo. His publications include grammars of Abui (2007) and Sawila (2014) and over a dozen articles and book chapters dealing with various grammatical topics. Kratochvíl is currently leading the MOE-Tier 2 project Grammar Matrix Reloaded: Syntax and Semantics of Affectedness funded by the Singaporean Ministry of Education (2014-2017).
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3 Number in Tolaki

MARK DONOHUE AND OWEN EDWARDS

1 Introduction

In this paper we investigate the category of number in Tolaki (ISO 693-3: lbw), an Austronesian language spoken on mainland southeastern Sulawesi. The category of number is relevant to Tolaki, and is a morphological category realized both in the NP and on the verb, but it is not consistently marked. In particular, although we must recognize a distinction between singular, dual and plural, nowhere do we find explicit three-way marking that targets just these categories.

In section 2 we give an overview of Tolaki quantifiers. We begin with a discussion of the numeral system, before moving on to the methods employed to enumerate participants and the formation of ordinal numbers. We conclude this section with a discussion of the quantifiers luwuako ‘all’ omeha ‘some’ and dadio ‘many’.

In section 3 we discuss number in the noun phrase. We discuss the non-singular enclitic -Cako, reduplication and the manifestation of number in the genitive clitics.

In section 4 we discuss the different expressions of number in the verb phrase. We discuss different uses of the singular and non-singular forms of the pronominal clitics, the plural prefix mbeN- and the inclusory construction. We conclude our discussion in section 5 with a discussion of an innovative system that has arisen in the speech of some urban speakers for explicitly marking the number of possessums.

2 The numeral system

We begin our discussion of number in Tolaki with an overview of the numeral system. The Tolaki numeral system is decimal; the numbers 1–10 are shown in Table 1. All of the numerals are descended from Proto-Austronesian etyma (see Mead 1998:45 footnote 27 for further discussion) and have absolute, rather than relative reference.

Multiples of ten are formed with a proclitic bound numeral followed by the element mbulo, historically the numeral ‘10’, pulo, prenasalised with a nasal linking element, N and regular voicing of stops following a nasal. In all cases the proclitic numeral is
etymologically related to the corresponding independent numeral, though the relationship has become opaque in some cases.\(^5\)

Table 1: Tolaki Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Multiples of ten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 o'aso</td>
<td>10 hopulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 oruo</td>
<td>20 rua-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 oto lu</td>
<td>30 tolu-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 o'omba</td>
<td>40 pato-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 olimo</td>
<td>50 lima-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 o'ono</td>
<td>60 onoma-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 opitu</td>
<td>70 pitu-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 hoalu</td>
<td>80 halu-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 osio</td>
<td>90 sio-mbulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 hopu lo</td>
<td>100 aso-etu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals between 10 and 20 are formed with the number ten followed by the relevant numeral, i.e. hopulo o'aso ‘eleven’, hopulo oruo ‘twelve’ etc.

The proclitic forms found with multiples of ten are also used in combinations with other nouns; commonly in units of measure as in example (1) below, or proper names as in (2).\(^6\)

(1) halu-are o-galu  
eight-are CN-rice.field  
‘eight ares (100m\(^2\)) of rice field’

(2) Haluoleo  
halu-oleo  
eight-day  
‘Haluoleo’ (a Tolaki culture hero)

In general, these same proclitic forms are used for multiples of a hundred and multiples of a thousand. For multiples of a hundred the second element is etu; for multiples of a thousand the second element is sowu.

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\(^5\) For instance, at first glance o'omba and pato- appear completely unrelated. However, both derive from PAN *Se(m)pat (eg., Zorc 1995), via different pathways, with one reflecting a form with *m and the loss of the final consonant, the other reflecting a form without the *m but retaining the final *t.

\(^6\) Glosses follow the list of standard abbreviations in the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with the following exceptions: ACCID ‘accidental passive’, CN ‘common noun’, eSi ‘older sibling’, NF\(N\) ‘non-finite’, NSG ‘non-singular’, ORD ‘ordinal number’, PN ‘proper noun’, SPEC.RC ‘specific relative clause’ ySi ‘younger sibling’. The common noun prefix occurs only on unmodified common nouns; a proper noun will take i- (compare (10) and (45)).

Examples are given in standard Tolaki orthography, with hyphens (-) added to indicate clitic and morpheme breaks. Tolaki letters have the same values as Indonesian equivalents, with the exception of the apostrophe (‘) which represents the glottal stop /ʔ/. Full sentences receive appropriate capitalisation and punctuation. A capital ‘N’ (i.e. po\(N\)) indicates a word or morpheme after which the morphophonemic process of prenasalisation occurs. Under this process the voiceless stops /p, t, k/ become the prenasalised stops /mb, nd, ŋɡ/. Two lines of Tolaki are given in examples when this morphophonemic process operates. The top line shows the standard orthography, the second line the morpheme breaks.
(3) a. 200 rua-etu  
b. 2000 rua-sowu

However, the proclitic occasionally takes an unexpected form with some multiples of a hundred and a thousand. There is disagreement among speakers over some of these forms. Those numbers, which are known to occur with unusual proclitic elements, are given below:

(4) a. 600 nomo-etu  
b. 4,000 omba-sowu  
c. 6,000 ono-sowu, onoma-sowu

When constructing large numerals, thousands precede hundreds, hundreds precede multiples of ten and multiples of ten precede single units. For millions the Indonesian juta\(^7\) is used; aso juta ‘one million’. Some examples of large numerals are given in (5) below.

(5) a. 22 rua-mbulo oruo  
2-10 2

b. 231 rua-etu tolu-mbulo o'aso  
2-100 3-10 1

c. 78,433 pitu-mbulo halu-sowu pato-etu tolu-mbulo otolu  
7-10 8-1000 4-100 3-10 3

d. 923,560 sio-etu rua-mbulo tolu-sowu lima-etu ono-mbulo  
9-100 2-10 3-1000 5-100 6-10

2.1 Enumeration

The most common way of enumerating the number of individuals in a group is by using a verb derived from the independent numeral. Such verbs are derived with the plural prefix mbe\(N\)-, which takes the form \(N\)- before other prefixes (see section 4.3). As is standard for all verbs (see section 4.1), the subject is indexed with a person proclitic.

(6) **Laa’ito anaro rombendolu.**  
laa’-i-to ana-ro ro-mbe\(N\)-tolu  
exist-3SG.ABS-PREF child-3NSG.GEN 3NSG.NOM-PL-three  
‘They have three children.’ (lit. ‘Their children are three.’)

---

\(^7\) Note that Tolaki does not have the phoneme /ʤ/ and most instances of foreign /ʤ/ are assimilated to Tolaki /d/; i.e. Indonesian janji ‘promise’ > Tolai dandi. Despite these facts, juta has so far never been encountered in the expected assimilated form **duta.**

\(^8\) The existential verb laa optionally indexes the introduced noun with the 3SG.ABS enclitic -‘i. When an aspectual enclitic such as the perfect -to also occurs such indexation is obligatory.
Another enumeration strategy is for an independent numeral to precede the enumerated noun as in example (8):

(8)  
Laa oruo sapi-nggu.  
exist two cow-1SG.GEN  
‘I have two cows.’ (lit. ‘There are two cows of mine.’)  

As a final option for numerals inside NPs, Tolaki displays a limited classifier system. Some enumerated nouns can optionally be preceded by the classifier boto; this word has no known meaning as an independent noun. There appears to be an animacy restriction on which nouns can take this classifier; only nouns denoting animals and fruit have been attested with it.

(9)  
Laa rua-boto o-sapi.  
exist two CLF CN-cow  
‘There are two cows.’  

(10)  
Laa rua-boto o-taipa.  
exist two CLF CN-mango  
‘There are two mango (tree)s.’  

(11)  
*laa rua-boto o-buku  
exist two CLF CN-book  
‘There are two books.’

In the case of trees, we find pu‘u ‘tree [trunk]’ used as a classifier, as shown in example (12). Nouns from other semantic domains have not been attested functioning as alternate classifiers.

(12)  
Pia-mbu'u pu'umbundi-mu?  
piaN-pu'u pu'uN-pundi-mu  
how many CLF:tree tree-banana 2SG.GEN  
‘How many banana trees do you have?’ (lit. ‘How many are your banana trees?’)

The classifier boto can also be used as the only instantiation of a noun that is known, or can be gauged from context. This is shown in example (13) c. below, where the classifier boto stands for opundi ‘banana’ or o'ase ‘banana bunch’. The context immediately preceding example (13) c. is given in examples (13) a. and b. which show that the banana tree and its fruit have already been established as highly topical.

(13)  
a. Lako-no-to o-hada mo-mone.  
go-3SG.GEN-PRF CN-monkey NFIN.INDF.P-climb  
‘Then the monkey went climbing.’
b. *Tepe’ekano* imumu mbundi, mereurehu’i, 
te-pe’eka-no i-mumuN-pundi me-reurehu’i
ACCID-ascend-3SG.GEN LOC-top-banana.tree NFIN.INTR-sit-3SG.ABS
‘Having ascended to the top of the banana tree, he sat down’

c. ano po’alo o’aso boto ano ponggaa.
a-no po-al o-a boto a-no poN-kaa
and-3SG.NOM INDF.P-take one CLF and-3SG.NOM INDF.P-eat
‘and takes a single one and he eats.’ (Untung 2009:30)

2.2 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from the independent numeral bases seen in Table 1 prefixed with the ordinal marker *ko*. It is not clear how ordinals of multiples of ten, hundred or a thousand would be formed, as these do not arise often in natural speech, and Indonesian forms tend to be used when the need arises.

Ordinal numbers most commonly occur in specific relative clauses. Specific relative clauses are marked by reduplication of the first syllable of the verb in the relative clause. An example is given in example (14):

(14) *Kaaka-nggu ko–ko-tolu* po’opo no-hori me-rapu
eSi-1SG.GEN SPEC.RC–ORD-three not.yet 3SG.NOM-side NFIN.INTR-marry
‘My third older sibling is not married yet.’
(lit. ‘My older sibling [who is] the third has not yet married.’)

2.3 Non-numeral quantifiers

The quantifier meaning ‘all’ can occur in a variety of different forms according to idiolectal variation. All the different forms are derived from the root *luwuako*9, or the metathesised form *wuluako*. To this root some speakers add the prefix *ina-* while genitive enclitics also occur in certain contexts. The different forms are summarised in (15).

(15) *(ina–) luwuako wuluako (-GEN)*

This quantifier occurs in two main syntactic positions. It can occur outside the NP, typically immediately preceding it, or else inside the NP it modifies, in which case it precedes the head noun and the 3SG.GEN enclitic -no usually occurs. An example of *inaluwuakono* external to the NP is given in example (16) and an example of *luwuako* NP internally is given in example (17).

(16) *Mowohu-’iro-to, ro-kaa-’i inaluwuako-no o’-ika*
full-3NSG.ABS-PRF 3NSG.NOM-eat-3SG.ABS all-3SG.GEN [CN-fish]NP
‘They’re full, [because] they ate all of the fish.’

(17) *Luwuako toono i-Kandari no-to’ori-komiuto to*
[all person]NP LOC-Kendari 3SG.NOM-know-2NSG.DAT-PRF

---

9 Historically composed of *luwu* ‘all’ plus the NSG enclitic *-Cako* (see section 3). Related languages, such as Moronene, have only the form *luwu* ‘all’ (Mead 1999:150).
‘Everyone in Kendari knows you now.’

Alternately, this quantifier can occur at the end of the sentence. Any core argument may be the restriction of a floating quantifier. Example (18) is a simple example of a floated quantifier in a clause. In this example we see a verb, an NP coding the S argument, and a clause-final quantifier. The quantifier can be shown to be external to the NP referent by the position of the genitive clitic -nggu, since genitive clitics attach to the end of the NP (Edwards 2012:43); the position of inaluwuako following this clitic shows that it must be external to the NP (other tests also indicate that inaluwuako does not form a constituent with banggonanggu). The interpretation of inaluwuako is uncontroversially restricted to the S argument; uncontroversially, because in this example there is no alternative argument that can lead to an alternative interpretation.

(18) Ro-mbe-leu banggon-nggu inaluwuako.
3NSG.NOM-PL-come [friend-1SG.GEN]NP all
‘My friends all arrived.’

In example (19) the quantifier can likewise be shown to be external to the NP, as the common noun prefix o- only appears on unmodified nouns (Edwards 2012:40). In this example the floated quantifier can ambiguously refer to either the A or the P, with its reference being determined by discourse context.

(19) Ro-kaa-i o'-ika inaluwuako
3NSG.NOM-eat-3SG.ABSj [CN-fishj]NP allij
‘They ate all the fish.’ / ‘They all ate the fish.’

The use of genitive enclitics with luluwako ‘all’ is productive. In addition to the forms with final -no, we also find other clitics, such as the 1NSG.EXCL clitic -mami illustrated in example (20).

(20) Sa-luwuako-mami pewangu, luwuako-no toono
when-all-1NSG.EXCL.GEN get.up all-3SG.GEN person

moko-me'aro-ro.
DESID-hungry-3NSG.GEN
‘After we all got up, everyone was feeling hungry.’

Additionally, instead of the form (ina)luwako-no with a singular genitive enclitic, as illustrated by example (16), a form with a non-singular genitive enclitic, (ina)luwako-ro, also occasionally occurs. Not all speakers find this form grammatical.

The quantifier omeha ‘some’ can refer to part of a single individual, or a subset of a group of individuals. Like luluwako, omeha can occur with or without a genitive clitic (when affixed with a genitive clitic, it does not take the common noun prefix, following the general pattern in which o- is only found with unmodified NPs, and meha is a separate NP, appositive to okue). This is illustrated in example (21) a. and (21) b. respectively.

(21) a. Kuponggaa omeha okue.
ku-poN-kaa o-meha o-kue
1SG.NOM-INDF.P-eat CN-some CN-cake
‘I ate some cake(s).’
b. Kupongga\textit{a} mehano okue.
ku-poN-kaa meha-no o-kue
1SG.NOM-INDF.P-eat some-3SG.GEN CN-cake
‘I ate some of the cake(s).’

The quantifier \textit{dadio} ‘many’ is extremely common. The variant form \textit{hadio} has been recorded in the speech of one of our informants. When it directly modifies a noun phrase it occurs post-nominally, as in example (22). The failure of the common noun prefix \textit{o-} to occur on the noun \textit{hada} ‘monkey’ in (22) shows that \textit{dadio} is NP internal.

(22) Lako-ro-to hae hada dadio pe-tuha i’-aiwoi.
go-3NSG.GEN-PRF also [monkey many]\textsubscript{NP} INTR-descend LOC-river
‘Then the many monkeys also went down to the river.’ (Untung 2009:33)

Much more commonly, however, \textit{dadio} occurs as an intransitive verb, as in in example (23). Here we see \textit{dadio} as the predicate, and the subject modified by the relative clause \textit{laa mete’olu} (in which \textit{laa} ‘exist’ shows the same grammaticalisation into a progressive as does English ‘be’).

(23) Dadio-to mahasiswa laa me-te’-olu.
many-PRF students PROG NFIN.INTR-ACCID-wait
‘There were many students [who were] waiting.’

Examples such as (23) with a verbal quantifier, as well as examples like (6) with a verbal numeral, reflect the preferred strategy for quantification in Tolaki; that is, to use a verb rather than to modify the noun phrase.

3 Number in the noun phrase

The Tolaki free pronouns are all derived from forms that can be reconstructed to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (Ross 2002:36). They distinguish two numbers (singular and non-singular), with an inclusive/exclusive contrast in the first person. This is the expected contrasts found in a wide range of Austronesian languages of Southeast Sulawesi and beyond in the region. They are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Independent Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>inaku</td>
<td>inggami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>inggito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>inggo’o</td>
<td>inggomiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iee</td>
<td>ihiro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to non-singular functions, the non-singular second person pronoun \textit{inggomiu} is also used with a singular referent to show politeness to the addressee.

Nouns without overt marking are ambiguous between singular and non-singular interpretations, as shown in the two alternative translations of (24). In (25) the overt numeral forces a non-singular interpretation.
(24)  *anadalo*
   child
   ‘a child’ / ‘children’

(25)  *oruo anadalo*
   two child
   ‘(the) two children’

Non-singular noun phrases can be overtly marked by the dedicated clitic *-Cako* which attaches to the end of the noun phrase. The initial consonant of this suffix is lexically specified by the word it attaches to. This initial consonant can be */ʔ/, */h/ or */Ø/.

(26)  *Te’eni banggona-’ako-no o-wonggi ...*
   say friend-NSG-3SG.GEN CN-snail
   ‘The snail’s friends said: …’
   (Untung 2009:58)

(27)  *Inono purundawa Tolaki-’ako.*
   this vegetable Tolaki-NSG
   ‘These are [all] Tolaki vegetables.’

Another way to express a non-singular meaning is through reduplication. This is rare, and the more common use of reduplication is to express that the noun does not conform to the ideal stereotype of the reduplicated noun. With this kind of reduplication, the first two syllables of the noun root are copied and added to the left edge of the root. The simple noun *o’osu* ‘mountain’ in (28) is shown reduplicated in (29).

(28)  *o’-osu*
   CN-mountain
   ‘mountain(s)’

(29)  *osu~osu*
   REDUP~mountain
   ‘mountains, mountain range’ / ‘hill’ (that is, not as high as a real mountain)

Finally, number manifests itself in the noun phrase in the genitive clitics used to mark possession. The genitive clitics are given in Table 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nggu</td>
<td>-mami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-miu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td>-ro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Genitive Clitics

---

10 The form of this suffix varies not only between lexemes but also between speakers. Thus, while the suffix begins with a glottal stop after *banggona* in example (26), after the same word in example (48), which represents data from a different speaker (of the same dialect), it begins with */h/*. 

Mark Donohue and Owen Edwards
The genitive clitics have the same set of distinctions as the free pronouns, and, as with the free pronouns, non-singular forms can be used with singular reference to show politeness to the referent. Unlike the case with the free pronouns, however, among the genitive clitics the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person forms, as well as the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person forms, are used in this way.

An example of the 2\textsuperscript{NSG} and with a possible politeness reading is given in (31) and an example of the 3\textsuperscript{NSG} enclitic being used to show politeness to the referent is given in example (32).

\begin{align*}
(30) \quad & Opio \quad \text{ana-mu}\text{?} \\
& \text{how}\text{-}\text{many} \quad \text{child}\text{-}2\text{SG.GEN} \\
& \quad \text{‘How many children do you (SG) have?’} \\
(31) \quad & Opio \quad \text{ana-miu}\text{?} \\
& \text{how}\text{-}\text{many} \quad \text{child}\text{-}2\text{NSG.GEN} \\
& \quad \text{‘How many children do you (NSG/SG.POLITE) have?’} \\
(32) \quad & Ikeni \quad i\text{-}laika-ro \quad \text{Pa-Ali} \ldots \\
& \text{here} \quad \text{LOC}\text{-}\text{house}\text{-}3\text{NSG.GEN} \quad \text{Mr.-Ali} \\
& \quad \text{‘Here, in Mr. Ali (POLITE)’s house …’}
\end{align*}

Within the noun phrase then, we find the following phenomena regarding number: there is a dedicated set of independent pronouns that distinguish singular and non-singular referents, in which the non-singular 2\textsuperscript{nd} person forms can be used to encode politeness when referring to a singular argument. There is a non-singular enclitic -Cako for noun phrases; reduplication of a head noun can be used to mark non-singularity (among other functions); and there are genitive clitics which display a sensitivity to the number of the possessor, and participate in the politeness shift found with the free pronouns.

### 4 Number in the verb phrase

Number is a salient feature of verbal morphology in a number of ways. In this section we shall see that number is marked on portmanteau agreement clitics (4.1), which sometimes can be used in non-canonical and more highly specific ways (4.2). There is also a purely number-specifying prefix that divides number in a different way to that found on the agreement clitics.

#### 4.1 Pronominal clitics

There are numerous agreement paradigms on verbs. For local persons (that is, highly animate participants) the SG/NSG contrast is enforced, though not rigidly, as we shall see, while for third person participants (especially inanimates) the SG/NSG contrast is only erratically present.\(^\text{11}\) Only the nominative affixes are shown here; other verbal paradigms include the absolutive, dative, and genitive\(^\text{12}\), and all of the comments we make for the nominative are also applicable for the other pronominal paradigms.

\(^{11}\) We suspect the contrast is present only when speakers, aware of number contrasts, hypercorrect.

\(^{12}\) For data on these other paradigms see Mead (1998:121–144, 209) and Edwards (2012:47–53).
Table 4: Nominative Clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>NSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the first person forms, the number contrast is rigidly enforced. Singular forms are used for singular participants, and non-singular forms for non-singular participants. This is shown in (33) – (35) below in which a non-singular reading is impossible when a singular clitic is used, and visa-versa:

(33) **Ku-lako.**
1SG.NOM-go
‘I/*we went’

(34) **Ki-lako.**
1NSG.EXCL.NOM-go
‘We/*I went’

(35) **To-lako.**
1NSG.INCL.NOM-go
‘We/*I went’

As with the independent and genitive pronouns, the 2nd person non-singular forms can be used for politeness. This is shown in example (37) below in which, can only be read as having a singular referent if it is also read as showing politeness to this referent.

(36) **U-lako.**
2SG.NOM-go
‘You (SG/*NSG) went’

(37) **I-lako.**
2NSG.EXCL.NOM-go
‘You (NSG/SG.POLITE) went’

However, in contrast to the 1st and 2nd person clitics, the 3SG forms can be used for both singular and non-singular referents, as in (38). The 3NSG forms can be used only for non-singular referents, as in (39).

(38) **No-lako.**
3SG.NOM-go
‘He/she/it went’ / ‘**They went.**’

(39) **Ro-lako.**
3NSG.NOM-go
‘They went’ / ‘*He/she/it went.’
Even with explicitly enumerated referents as in (40) and (41), or those marked explicitly with the non-singular enclitic -Cako as in (42), it is possible to use the ‘singular’ forms of the indexation clitics:

(40) No-leu inaruo kaaka-nggu.
3SG.NOM-come both eSi-1SG.GEN
‘Both my brothers came.’

(41) Noterumba ruambu'u pundinggu.
no-terumba rua-N-pu'u pundi-nggu.
3SG.NOM-fall.over two-LKR-CLF banana-1SG.GEN
‘Two of my banana trees fell over [in the storm].’

(42) No-mo'isa tonde-hako-nggu.
3SG.NOM-fall glass-NSG-1SG.GEN
‘All my glasses fell down [during the earthquake].’

However, when the referent is modified with dadio ‘many’ it is unacceptable to use the 3rd person singular form no-, and the non-singular form ro- must be used instead. The plural prefix mbeN- in example (43) is discussed in section 4.3.

(43) Rombenderumba pu'umbundi dadio.
ro-mbeN-terumba pu'uN-pundi dadio.
3NSG.NOM-PL-fall.over tree-banana many
‘Many banana trees fell over [in the storm].’

(44) *Noterumba pu'umbundi dadio.
*no-terumba pu'uN-pundi dadio.
3SG.NOM-fall.over tree-banana many
‘Many banana trees fell over [in the storm].’

Within the pronominal clitics then, we find that the form filling the 3SG slot of the paradigm (no-) agrees with both singular and non-singular participants, yet paradigmatically it still contrasts with the non-singular from (ro-), which only agrees with non-singular referents. We could call the 3rd person ‘singular’ form a ‘non-non-singular’.

4.2 Inclusory construction

The first person non-singular pronominal affixes can also be used in a first person inclusory construction (Lichtenberk 2000), referring to the speaker and other participants introduced by NPs. In these constructions a pronoun is used to sum the features of the two referents, thus we (and) you can mean ‘you and I’, and refer to only two people. Preempting the discussion in 4.3 we note that in the case of the inclusive pronominal forms, the inclusory construction (Lichtenberk 2000) must refer to at least three referents, as can be seen in (45) c. This is not the case for the exclusive pronominal forms, as shown in (45) b. For contrast, the clause without any NPs added is shown in (45) a; here the reference is only to the first person non-singular exclusive subject, with minimally two referents.

(45) a. Ihawi ki-lako i-Taipa.
yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.NOM-go LOC-mango
‘Yesterday we went to mango beach.’

b. *Ihawi*  *ki-lako*  *hai-nggu*  *i-Taipa*.
   yesterday  1NSG.EXCL.NOM-go  ySi-1SG GEN LOC-mango
   ‘Yesterday my younger sibling and I went to mango beach.’

c. *Ihawi*  *to-mbe-lako*  *hai-nggu*  *i-Taipa*.
   yesterday  1NSG.INCL.NOM-PL-go  ySi-1SG GEN LOC-mango
   ‘Yesterday you, my younger sibling and I went to mango beach.’

As well as a verbal use, this inclusory construction is also found in the noun phrase in possessive constructions, as shown in example (46) b. which contrasts with simple possessive constructions such as the one shown in (46) a.:

(46) a. *Inono*  *haape-mami*.
   this mobile.phone-1NSG.EXCL.GEN
   ‘This is our phone.’

b. *Inono*  *haape-mami*  *i-Hasrul*.
   this mobile.phone-1NSG.EXCL.GEN  PN-Hasrul
   ‘This phone belongs to me and Hasrul.’

Taking into account the pronominal affixes and this inclusory construction, we thus find three numbers distinguished, four if we take into account the underspecification of the 3SG forms. In Table 5 we can see simple nominative agreement pronominals marking singular number (*ku-* or *u-*), non-singular (*ki-,  *to-,  *i-  and  *ro-),  and  neutral  number  (*no-). Pronominals in the inclusory construction specify non-singular (*ki-,  *i-) or plural (*to-). These are shown in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominative form:</th>
<th>participants:</th>
<th>simple agreement</th>
<th>inclusory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘1SG’</td>
<td><em>ku-</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2SG’</td>
<td><em>u-</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3SG’</td>
<td><em>no-</em></td>
<td>1,2,3+</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘1NSG.EXCL’</td>
<td><em>ki-</em></td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>2+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘1NSG.INCL’</td>
<td><em>to-</em></td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>3+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2NSG’</td>
<td><em>i-</em></td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>(2+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3NSG’</td>
<td><em>ro-</em></td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3 The plural prefix

The prefix *mbeN-*\(^{13}\) is also used in Tolaki to mark a number category. It marks that the subject is ‘plural’, a category which is defined in Tolaki as referring to three or more referents (thus excluding dual reference). Earlier we have used ‘non-singular’ to refer to any category, both dual and plural, that refers to more than one individual, and we continue in this usage, refining it when the morphology allows us into dual and plural. Examples

---

\(^{13}\) When this prefix occurs before another prefix which begins with the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/, it takes the allomorph \(N\)-. See Table 1 example (7) in section 2.
(47) a. *Ihawi ki-mbe-lako hai-nggu kaaka-nggu i-Taipa.
yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.NOM-PL-go ySi-1SG.GEN eSi-1SG.GEN LOC-mango
‘Yesterday my younger sibling, my older sibling and I went to mango beach.’

b. *Ihawi ki-lako hai-nggu kaaka-nggu i-Taipa.
yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.NOM-go ySi-1SG.GEN eSi-1SG.GEN LOC-mango
‘Yesterday my younger sibling, my older sibling and I went to mango beach.’

(48) a. *Ihawi ki-mbe-lako banggona-hako-nggu i-Taipa.
yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.NOM-PL-go friend-NSG-1SG.GEN LOC-mango
‘Yesterday my friends and I went to mango beach.’

b. *Ihawi ki-lako banggona-hako-nggu i-Taipa.
yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.NOM-go friend-NSG-1SG.GEN LOC-mango
‘Yesterday my friends and I went to mango beach.’

c. *Ihawi to-mbe-lako hai-nggu i-Taipa.
yesterday 1NSG.INCL.NOM-PL-go ySi-1SG.GEN LOC-mango
‘Yesterday you, my younger sibling and I went to mango beach.’

The combination of pronominal prefixes (described earlier in table 4) and the plural prefix *mbeN-* shows a grammatical sensitivity to dual which is not otherwise attested in the language. The dual reading is constructed from the absence of the plural prefix on a verb that is inflected for a non-singular subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Label</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>DU</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal prefix</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td>ro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeN-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mbeN-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, however, that this sensitivity to dual does not appear to hold throughout the whole of the Tolaki speech area. Thus in the Tolaki spoken in Ueesi village, the second most...
northerly village along the Konawe river, example (50) occurred in a text with an explicitly dual subject. The context of this example is that a man, Lakiwa, and his newly acquired wife Samba-sambaria are going to his home for the first time.

(50) Ari nggiro’o ro-\textit{mba}-lako dunggu ri-laika-no Lakiwa from that 3NSG.NOM-PL-go enter LOC-house-3SG.GEN Lakiwa ‘After that, they [Lakiwa and Samba-sambaria] went and entered Lakiwa’s home.’

Another restricted context in which the prefix \textit{mbeN}- occurs with an explicitly dual referent is in the enumeration of participants. It was noted in section 2.1 that the most common method for enumerating participants is by deriving a verb from the independent numeral. Such numeric verbs always have the prefix \textit{mbeN}-, even if the number is two. Thus in example (51), the dual participant \textit{potehanggu} ‘my cousin(s)’, introduced in (51) a., is enumerated in (51) b. the plural prefix \textit{mbeN}- occurs.

(51) a. ... karna laa poteha-nggu me-sikola i-Jogya. because EXIST cousin-1SG.GEN NFIN.INTR-study LOC-Jogja ‘… because my cousins were studying in Jogja[karta].’

b. Laa ro-\textit{me}-ruo-ruo. PROG 3NSG.NOM-PL-REDUP~two ‘There were two of them.’ (lit. ‘[They were] being two’)

5 A final twist

Cross-linguistically it holds, on the basis of interpretations of real-world semantic plausibility, that if an item is possessed by a plural possessor, it is highly likely to itself be plural, especially if the possessive relationship is inalienable. This tendency is shown and explained in Table 6.

While singular possessors can be combined with plural possessums and be completely felicitous, plural possessors combined with singular possessums are often pragmatically marked. A phrase such as ‘our house’ does not carry special implicatures, but ‘our mango’ carries a strong implication that the mango is intended for shared consumption. Similarly, ‘our child’ cannot easily be uttered unless the speaker is referring to the other parent of the child. Finally, when a plural possessor is combined with a singular inalienably possessed item, the effect is strange. ‘Our head’, if referring to a body part, carries a strong inalienable implicature. This, then, is a marked structure from a pragmatic perspective.

\footnote{This example also displays other atypical features, including the form of plural prefix; \textit{mba}- (instead of ‘standard’ \textit{mbe}-) and the form of the locative prefix \textit{ri}- (instead of ‘standard’ \textit{i-} or \textit{ni}-).}
Table 6: Number among Possessors and Possesums

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my house</td>
<td>my houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my mango</td>
<td>my mangoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my child</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our house</td>
<td>our houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our mango</td>
<td>our mangoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our child ~</td>
<td>our children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our head (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result of this markedness, a minority of urban speakers have extended the meaning of the 3NSG GEN agreement that is normally used to index person and number of the possessor to index the non-singular nature of the possessum.

Examples (52) – (55) show the different uses of the possessive in similar morphological frames. In (52) we see the simple (indeed, only) interpretation possible with a 3SG GEN clitic on the possessum. (53) shows the simplest interpretation of a 3NSG GEN clitic: the possessor is plural, here ‘Ali and his wife’. In (54) we see an alternative, and very common, use of the 3NSG GEN clitic, to index a singular possessor but with honorification. The final use, shown in (55), sees the same 3NSG GEN morpheme used to mark a singular, non-honorified possessor with a plural possessum.

(52) Ana-no i-Ali child-3SG GEN PN-Ali ‘Ali’s child.’ simple possessive construction

(53) Ana-ro i-Ali ronga wali-no. child-3NSG GEN PN-Ali with spouse-3SG GEN ‘Ali and his wife’s child.’ plural possessor construction


6 Conclusions

Number in Tolaki is a distributed morphological category, with reference dependent on the distinctions made at different morphological positions within the one word (section 4.3). We have also seen that the same morphemes can be underspecified for number in particular semantic environments (section 4.1), and that number marking in the NP is rarely obligatory. Finally, we have also seen that different constructions (honorification, plural possessum) can be morphologically signalled by the use of the same morphemes, with only pragmatic interpretations distinguishing the different senses.
References