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Expressions of directed caused accompanied motion events in Totoli, a western Austronesian language of Indonesia*

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Abstract

This chapter discusses expressions of directed caused accompanied motion (directed CAM) events in Totoli, a western Austronesian language of Eastern Indonesia. The most frequent strategy to express directed CAM events in Totoli is to combine a TAKE verb with one of two directional clitics that denote motion either towards or away from the deictic centre. The goal of the directed motion can be made explicit by including a prepositional phrase or by applicative or voice morphology. Alternatively, a HOLD verb, a CARRY verb, or, very rarely, an ACCOMPANIMENT verb can be used, again requiring directionals and applicative morphology.

Keywords: Austronesian, lexical semantics, deixis, applicatives, symmetrical voice

1 Introduction

Totoli is a western Austronesian language spoken in the northern part of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. As many languages in the area, Totoli is a symmetrical voice language, i.e. it displays two basic transitive constructions with reverse linking of semantic arguments to syntactic functions. The alternation between these two constructions is symmetrical in the sense that they are both equally morphologically marked and that arguments retain their

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core status in all voices (i.e. there is no argument demotion as in, e.g., active-passive alternations).

In Totoli, caused accompanied motion (CAM) in a direction is generally expressed by a TAKE-type verb in combination with some kind of directional or goal expression. A second major type of expression involves a CARRY/HOLD-type verb, i.e. a verb that specifies manner of causation. Manner of motion usually remains unexpressed in the CAM events conveyed by TAKE- and CARRY-verbs, but transitive uses of manner of motion verbs generally allow for CAM interpretations. This option, however, is not very frequently attested in our data.

The following section (§2) will first give some general background information on Totoli grammar, including the voice system, applicative marking, and the use of spatial prepositions and deictic clitics. Section 3 then describes basic directed CAM expressions in Totoli based on the TAKE-verb *ala*, emphasizing the role of directionals as well as voice and applicative morphology in bringing about the directed CAM sense. Section 4 describes the major alternative expression types for CAM events, primarily the ones based on the CARRY-verb *golot/goot*, but also briefly looking at relevant uses of manner of motion verbs.

2 Relevant grammatical background

The basic grammatical features that are involved in the expressions of directed CAM events are the voice marking system, applicativization, and the use of deictic directional clitics. The semantic contribution of both voice and applicative morphology to such expressions can probably be considered as indirect, because voice (and mood) are obligatorily marked on every Totoli verb. An understanding of the voice morphology is therefore crucial for comprehending the morphological structure of CAM expressions (§2.1). The same also holds for applicative marking, as §2.2 will make clear. Section 2.3 then turns to deictic directionals, which are core constituents of most CAM expressions but also have very important, more general functions in the organization of Totoli grammar and discourse.

2.1 Voice marking

As a symmetrical voice language, Totoli has two basic transitive constructions, the actor voice and the undergoer voice. A third voice construction, the locative voice, is considered to be less basic, as it is syntactically more restricted than the other two voices (cf. Himmelmann & Riesberg, 2013, p. 412f.). If the NP in subject function (here in sentence-

initial position)¹ is an actor, the verb will be marked by actor-voice morphology. If the subject is an undergoer, undergoer-voice morphology will be used. The undergoer voice comes in two different paradigms, here simply called undergoer voice 1 (UV1) and undergoer voice 2 (UV2). Which verb takes which undergoer-voice paradigm is lexically determined. Both actor voice and undergoer voice are fully transitive, that is, in both voices the non-subject argument has core argument status. In the locative voice the subject is a stative locative argument (i.e. a place where something happens). The following examples illustrate actor- and undergoer-voice uses of the verb *taip* ‘peel’ (a verb which takes paradigm 1 for undergoer-voice marking), and a locative-voice form of the verb *kaan* ‘eat’.²

- (1) a. I *Rinto manaip taipang.*
i Rinto moN-taip taipang
 HON PN AV-peel mango
 ‘Rinto is peeling a mango.’
- b. *Taipang kodoong taip i Rinto.*
taipang ko-doong taip i Rinto
 mango POT-want peel:UV1 HON PN
 ‘The mango will be peeled by Rinto.’
- c. *Bale ia pangaani ssia.*
bale ia poN-kaan-i sisia
 house PRX SF-eat-LV 3PL
 ‘The house is where they eat.’

All examples shown above are in non-realis mood, which is not indicated in the glosses. Table 1 summarizes the full set of voice affixation, including the respective realis forms. Riesberg (2014) provides an in-depth discussion of symmetrical voice alternations, including more data from Totoli.

¹ The position of the subject NP is flexible. It can occur either before or after the verb + non-subject complex.

² Most examples are from the DoBeS Totoli corpus (Leto et al., 2005-2010) and can be cross-checked there. Examples (7), (8b), and (32a) are taken from Bracks et al., 2017-2020. Examples from spontaneous discourse are referenced for name of the session and line number, and do not follow punctuation or capitalization conventions. Elicited examples are signaled by punctuation and capitalization both in the vernacular text and the translation. They are not further indexed but can easily be found by filtering the elicited database for the verb root used in the example. Most elicited examples come from the file *Appl_i_of_trans_Verbs* of the DoBeS corpus.

Table 1. Totoli voice formatives

	NON-REALIS	REALIS
ACTOR VOICE	<i>mo-/moN-/mog-</i>	<i>no-/noN-/nog-</i>
UNDERGOER VOICE 1	Ø	<i>ni-</i>
UNDERGOER VOICE 2	<i>-i</i>	<i>ni- + -an</i>
LOCATIVE VOICE	<i>po-/poN-/pog--i</i>	<i>ni- + po-/poN-/pog- + -an</i>

As can be seen in Table 1, UV1 is unmarked in non-realis mood, the form simply consisting of the bare stem. In realis mood, UV1 is only marked by the undergoer-voice realis prefix *ni-*, which occurs in all realis forms except actor voice. The choice of the different prefixes in the actor and locative voices is partially phonologically, partially lexically conditioned.

2.2 *Applicative marking*

There are two applicative paradigms in Totoli which increase the valency of a predicate by one place. One, marked by *-i* in non-realis mood, typically adds a goal argument. The other one, which uses the suffix *-an* in non-realis mood, introduces an argument whose semantic role depends on the valency of the stem. If the stem is monovalent, it adds a theme argument, if it is bivalent, the added argument can either be an instrument or a beneficiary/recipient. In actor voice, the applied argument becomes a non-subject core argument. In the undergoer voice, it may be realized in subject position, but may also occur as a non-subject core argument (23 below provides an example). In realis undergoer voice forms, applicative marking is less transparent and partially homophonous with non-applicative undergoer voice marking, as detailed in Table 2.

- (2) a. *Tau ana meseo manakean balaan dei kapa*³.
*tau ana mo-seo **moN-sake-an** balaan dei kapa'*
 person MED ST-busy AV-ascend-**APPL1** goods LOC ship
 ‘Those people are busy loading goods on the ship.’
- b. *Balaan isake ikapa'*
*balaan **ni-sake** i=kapa'*
 goods **RLS.UV-ascend:APPL1** LOC=ship
 ‘The goods were loaded onto the ship.’

³ The base form for ‘ship’ is *kapal*, but word-final laterals after back vowels are regularly replaced by vowel lengthening in Totoli (i.e. *kapal* is [kapa:]). Elided laterals are indicated by an apostrophe <’> in the practical orthography used here. See Himmelmann (1991) and Bracks (forthcoming) for more on Totoli phonology.

- (3) a. *Douamo no ondo sisia manakei kapa'*
doua=mo no ondo sisia moN-sake-i kapa
 two=CPL LK day 3PL AV-ascend-APPL2 ship
 (*takin balaan*).
 (*takin balaan*)
 with goods
 'Already for two days they are loading the ship (with goods).'
- b. *Kapa' ana lalau sakei sisia*
kapa' ana lalau sake-i sisia
 ship MED presently ascend-APPL2.UV 3PL
 (*taking balaan*).
 (*takin balaan*)
 with goods
 'They are loading the ship (with goods).'

Examples (2) and (3) show the use of the applicative1 (with non-realis applicative suffix *-an*) and applicative2 (with non-realis applicative suffix *-i*) occurring with the monovalent verb *sake* 'ascend' in both actor voice and undergoer voice. In (2), the applicative of paradigm 1 adds the THEME argument *balaan* 'goods', which becomes a core argument in the actor voice (example a), and the subject in the undergoer voice (example b). The goal argument *kapa'* 'ship' remains oblique, marked by the locative preposition *dei* or its proclitic form *i=*. In (3) the applicative paradigm 2 is used and it is the GOAL argument, i.e. the ship that is applied, again either as a non-subject core argument, or as the subject. This time the theme is marked as oblique. The two examples in (4) illustrate how the use of applicative1 with a bivalent base can either add a beneficiary argument (4a), or an instrument (4b).

- (4) a. *Aku notookamo nipanaipna*
aku no-tooka=mo ni-poN-taip=na
 1SG ST.RLS-finished=CPL RLS.UV-SF-peel:APPL1=3SG.GEN
taipang.
taipang
 mango
 'He peeled a mango for me.'
- b. *Kode gopas nanasi nipadaamkuko*
kode gopas nanasi ni-po-daam=ku=ko
 only yarn pineapple RLS.UV-SF-sew:APPL1=1SG.GEN=AND
ulos ana.
ulos ana
 sarong MED
 'I only use the yarn from the pineapple leaf to sew this sarong.'

The applicative suffixes also occur on monovalent stative bases, as illustrated in (5). With such bases, the applicative morphology strictly speaking has a causative function, i.e. it adds an actor argument (e.g. *disappeared* -> *make disappear*). This multifunctionality is typical for cognate morphological markers throughout western Indonesia and it stands to reason that it would be more appropriate to call these formatives *transitivizing* rather than *applicative*. Here, however, we stick to the better-established term, *applicative*.

- (5) *Isia lalau magalingan baki bau.*
isia la-lau mog-aling-an baki bau
 3SG RDP-presently AV-disappeared-APPL1 head fish
 ‘He is removing the fish’s head.’

Both applicative markers occur in all voices and in both realis and non-realis mood. Table 2 summarizes the rather intricate system of applicative formatives in Totoli. As can be seen, there is significant syncretism between plain voice forms (cf. Table 1) and applicative (voice) marking. For a detailed argument supporting the analysis summarized in the two tables, see Himmelmann and Riesberg (2013).

Table 2. Totoli applicative formatives

	NON-REALIS	REALIS
APPLICATIVE 1 AV	<i>mo-/moN-/mog- + -an</i>	<i>no-/noN-/nog- + -an</i>
APPLICATIVE 1 UV (SUBJ = THEME)	<i>-an</i>	<i>ni- + -Ø</i>
APPLICATIVE 1 UV (SUBJ = BEN/INSTR)	<i>po-/poN-/pog- + -an</i>	<i>ni- + po-/poN-/pog- + -Ø</i>
APPLICATIVE 2 AV	<i>mo-/moN-/mog- + -i</i>	<i>no-/noN-/nog- + -i</i>
APPLICATIVE 2 UV	<i>-i</i>	<i>ni- + -an</i>

2.3 Deictic directional clitics and spatial prepositions

There are two directional clitics in Totoli. Motion towards the deictic centre is marked by the venitive clitic =*ai*, motion away from the deictic centre is expressed by the andative clitic =*ko*, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. *njan i Bus nobuliai*
njan i Bus no-buli=ai
 after HON PN AV.RLS-return=VEN
 ‘after Bus had returned home (here)’ (conversation_2.0953)

- b. *nobulimoko* *kaasi*
no-buli=mo=ko *kaasi*
 AV.RLS-return=CPL=AND pity
 ‘(the poor thing) already returned home (there)’
 (siritā_i_bbet.184)

The directional clitics =*ai* and =*ko* are highly frequent in Totoli discourse, and by no means restricted to occurring with (intransitive) verbs of motion. Rather, they can modify any event, and, as example (7) illustrates, they have an important role in reference tracking in Totoli discourse. In this example, which consists of three (i. – iii.) consecutive clauses of a story, there are two 3rd person singular participants (two boys) who change semantic role and grammatical function in each clause. The whole scene is narrated using boy2 as the deictic centre. Hence the giving event in (7)i is marked as involving movement away from the deictic centre (from boy2 to boy1), while the giving event in (7)ii involves movement towards the deictic centre (from boy1 to boy2). In (7)iii, boy2 moves away from his current position with three pears (described by the speaker as avocados) towards his two friends who are waiting for him further down the road, thereby shifting the deictic centre to this group.

- (7) i. *iolatanna*
i-olat-an=na
 RLS.UV-wait-APPL2=3SG.GEN
ibeennamoko *sapeo* *itu*
i-been=na=mo=ko *sapeo* *itu*
 RLS.UV-give:APPL1=3SG.GEN=CPL=AND hat DIST
 ‘he₁ waits for (him₂), and he₂ hands (him₁) the hat’
 (pearstory_29_JML.056)
- ii. *danna ibeennamamai* *alpukat totolu*
danna i-been-an=na=mo=ai *alpukat totolu*
 then RLS.UV-give-APPL2=3SG.GEN=CPL=VEN avocado three
 ‘then he₁ gives (him₂) three avocados’
 (pearstory_29_JML.057)
- iii. *tissabatuan* *nialamoko* *itu*
ti-RDP1-sabatu-an *ni-ala=mo=ko* *itu*
 up.to-RDP1-one-NR RLS.UV-take:APPL1=CPL=AND DIST
danna
danna
 then
 ‘one for each (of them he₂) brings there’
 (pearstory_29_JML.058)

In addition to the directionals, Totoli has a general locative preposition *dei* which marks goals, already illustrated in (2a), or static locations (cf. 8a).

However, in some contexts, source interpretations are also possible, cf. examples (8b) and (8c).

- (8) a. *puun cingke dei buki' Galang*
*puun cingke **dei** buki' Galang*
 tree clove LOC mountain PN
 '(there is) a clove tree on Mt. Galang' (Abdullah's_dream.045)
- b. *piunku dei anakku*
*piun=ku **dei** anak=ku*
 grandchild=1 SG.GEN LOC child =1 SG.GEN
komodoua itu doua
ko-mo-doua itu doua
 ORD-ST-two DIST two
 'I have two grandchildren from my second child'
 (lifestory_TS-IA.440)
- c. *koposuanamai bibit dei raja*
*ko-po-sua=na=mo=ai bibit **dei** raja*
 POT-SF-borrow:UV1 =3SG.GEN=CPL=VEN seedling LOC king
 'she had been able to borrow seedlings from the king'
 (podok_langgat.095)

In both (8b) and (8c), it is very likely that the source meanings arise by implicature, as more literal interpretation with a static locative are also possible, even though they may appear to be somewhat contrived ('my grandchildren at my second child are two' and 'she had been able to borrow seedling at the king's', respectively). That *dei* generally does not encode sources is probably due to the fact that there is a designated preposition *uli* 'from'. This preposition obligatorily combines with either of the two directional clitics =*ai* or =*ko*, as illustrated in (9). The source may then be further specified by a deictic adverb (cf. 9a), a noun (cf. 9b), or a locative phrase with *dei* (cf. 9c).

- (9) a. *anu nogootiai uliai ngitu*
*anu no-goot-i=ai **uli=ai** ngitu*
 REL AV.RLS-hold-APPL2=VEN **from=VEN** DIST
 '(Ali Hannan) who brought (her) here from there'
 (Pinjan_history.272)
- b. *pogutu uliko balak*
*po-gutu **uli=ko** balak*
 SF-make:UV1 **from=AND** log
 'it is made from a log of wood' (sago.028)

- c. *ana tau bos bos uliai dei ttoli ana*
ana tau bos bos uli=ai dei ttoli ana
 if person boss boss **from=VEN** LOC Totoli MED
 ‘regarding those bosses from Tolitoli’ (welcome.227)

As should be clear from these examples, *uli* is less strongly grammaticalized than *dei* and shows some more verb-like features such as occurring with the directionals and also aspectual particles such as the completive marker =*mo*. However, *uli* does not occur with voice-mood or applicative morphology, which is a core characteristic of ‘real’ verbs. More importantly in the present context, the last two examples should also make it clear that the directional particles do not necessarily entail motion, even though there is a motion event involved in most of their uses. Consequently, a somewhat more precise definition than the one given at the beginning of this section would be: the directionals point into a direction away from or toward the deictic centre.

3 Basic expressions of directed CAM events in Totoli with *ala* ‘take’

The most basic and most frequent expression of a directed CAM event in Totoli consists of the manner neutral causation verb *ala* ‘take’ and either one of the two directional clitics (cf. §2.3).

- (10) a. *tau Bugis nagalai ana ulai selatan*
*tau Bugis **nog-ala=ai** ana uli=ai selatan*
 people PN **AV.RLS-take=VEN** MED from=VEN south
 ‘the Bugis people brought it here from the south’
 (farming_2.935)
- b. *alai tasmu itu Desi*
***ala=ai** tas=mu itu Desi*
take:UV1=VEN bag=2SG.GEN DIST PN
 ‘bring your bag over here, Desi’ (teachers_2.303)
- c. *pane tinga alatako*
*pane tinga **ala=ta=ko***
 only word **take:UV1=1PL.IN=AND**
 ‘it’s only words that we take there’ (marriage_proposal.55)

This section first briefly discusses the basic semantics of the verb *ala* (§3.1) and then investigates in more detail how directional clitics and locative expressions (§3.2), applicative marking (§3.3), and locative voice (§3.4) are employed to create directed CAM expressions with the verb *ala*.

3.1 *The semantic core of basic directed CAM expressions in Totoli*

The verb *ala* ‘take’, in its basic use, i.e. without additional morphology (such as applicative marking or directional clitics) is transitive and by default expresses that the agent obtains the theme. Its basic semantics does not include any path of motion towards a goal other than the agent. In example (11a) the verb is in actor voice (AV), in (11b) it is in undergoer voice (UV).

- (11) a. *tau magala lajang*
tau mog-ala lajang
 person AV-take lajang.fish
 ‘the people are getting lajang fish’ (fishing_2.545)
- b. *bali kode anu dennia ala*
bali kode anu dennia ala
 so only REL like.this take:UV1
 ‘so only the ones like these are taken’ (siote_2.195)

The verb is source-oriented in that when *ala* ‘take’ in its basic use occurs with the basic locative preposition *dei*, there is usually an implicature that the PP denotes the source of the CAM event, as in (12).

- (12) *Kami nagala bogas dei bale gaukan.*
kami nog-ala bogas dei bale gaukan
 1PL.EX AV.RLS-take rice LOC house king
 ‘We took (i.e. stole) rice from the house of the king.’

As already mentioned in §2.3, the PP in such examples more literally denotes a stative locative, i.e. the place where something happened. So, more literally, (12) means ‘we took rice in the king’s house’. The meaning given in the translation in fact involves two implicatures, namely (a) that the agent took the rice illicitly and (b) that they left with it. Note that the movement away from the taking location is not encoded in the verb. The trajectory of movement of the taking event is still towards the agent in that the theme is now under the agent’s control. Explicitly coding a motion path towards a goal (by adding a directional clitic or a goal expression) removes the implicature of the theme being taken illicitly. Compare (13) where a directional clitic occurs on the verb.

- (13) *Kami nagalai bogas dei bale gaukan.*
kami nog-ala=ai bogas dei bale gaukan
 1PL.EX AV.RLS-take=VEN rice LOC house king
 ‘We take rice from the king (with his permission/with him knowing).’

Our corpus of natural Totoli texts contains 284 tokens of *ala* ‘take’, 57 of which denote a directed CAM event. Example (10a) is the only natural example that includes the expression of a source argument marked by the preposition *uli* ‘from’ plus venitive =*ai*. There are two further natural examples in which the source is marked by the stative locative preposition *dei*, one of which involves the venitive clitic =*ai* as in example (13), the other one deriving the source reading by implication, as in example (12). As source expressions in the directed CAM events are so marginal, the following sections will focus on the expression of goal arguments.

3.2 *Ala ‘take’ with directional clitics and goal expressions*

As seen in the examples in (10), basic directed CAM events can be expressed by *ala* in combination with the andative and the venitive clitics. In addition, a locative expression can be added. When this is the case, there are two possibilities for expressing the goal of the CAM event: in a prepositional phrase marked by the general locative preposition *dei*, as in (14a) and (14b), or by attaching a second instance of the directional clitic on the goal expression itself, as in (15a) and (15b). In elicitation, speakers prefer the latter option with the repetition of the clitic on the goal NP. Note that for the general locative PP *dei* accompanying *ala* ‘take’ to be interpretable as the goal of a CAM event, the verb needs to carry a directional clitic. Without any directional clitic, *ala* plus *dei* is usually interpreted as a taking event from a source (cf. example 12).

- (14) a. *Bogas itu nialako dei bale gaukan.*
bogas itu ni-ala=ko dei bale gaukan
 rice DIST RLS.UV-take:UV1=AND LOC house king
 ‘That rice was taken to the house of the king.’
- b. *tau dakona moinggapo magalako*
tau dako=na mo-ingga=po mog-ala=ko
 person big=3SG.GEN ST-NEG=INCPL AV-take=AND
dedekna dei pos PIN
dedek=na dei pos PIN
 small=3SG.GEN LOC station PIN
 ‘the parents are still reluctant to take their babies to the PIN station’ (radio_brcst_2.189)
- (15) a. *Kami nagalako bogas baleko i gaukan.*
kami nog-ala=ko bogas bale=ko i gaukan
 1PL.EX AV.RLS-take=AND rice house=AND HON king
 ‘We took rice to the house of the king.’

- b. *tau dolago ia nialamoko*
tau dolago ia ni-ala=mo=ko
 person girl PRX RLS.UV-take:UV1=CPL=AND
rumasakitko
rumasakit=ko
 hospital=AND
 ‘the girl has been taken to hospital’
 (brst_lalampulan_2.3364-5)

3.3 Ala ‘take’ with applicative suffix

Another strategy to express CAM events towards a specific goal is by use of applicative *-an* (i.e. the applicative1 paradigm), which, as mentioned in §2.2, adds a beneficiary argument to bivalent verbs. This argument is generally interpreted as a recipient. In actor voice, the recipient thus becomes a (non-subject) core argument (16a); in the undergoer voice, it is realized in subject position (16b). Since the applicative adds a beneficiary, usually, these applied arguments denote animate referents, i.e. they are true recipients, rather than goals.

- (16) a. *Kami magalaan gaukan bogas.*
kami mog-ala-an gaukan bogas
 1PL.EX AV-take-APPL1 king rice
 ‘We take rice to the king.’
- b. *Gaukan nipagala kami bogas.*
gaukan ni-pog-ala kami bogas
 king RLS.UV-SF-take:APPL1 1PL.EX rice
 ‘We take rice to the king.’

Motion of the theme towards the beneficiary is probably only implicated rather than strictly encoded, as the applicative construction expresses action benefiting the applied argument but not necessarily movement of the theme towards the beneficiary. The directional component towards the beneficiary can be marked more explicitly by adding either of the directional clitics *=ko* or *=ai*, as illustrated in (17a) and (17b). In our corpus, all instances of goal-oriented CAM events expressed by *ala* plus applicative are in fact explicitly marked by an additional directional clitic.

- (17) a. *pagalaanai paku*
pog-ala-an=ai paku
 SF-take-APPL1.UV=VEN fern
 ‘get her some fern’ (said to an addressee sitting next to the intended recipient) (conv_cl.367)

- b. *Gaukan nipagalako* *kami bogas.*
gaukan ni-pog-ala=ko *kami bogas*
 king RLS.UV-SF-take:APPL1=AND 1PL.EX rice
 ‘We take rice to the king.’

3.4 Ala ‘take’ with locative voice

In a third type of construction *ala* ‘take’ occurs in locative voice in which a location, which can also be interpreted as a goal or source, becomes the subject. In the context of (18) the locative subject is interpreted as the source location.

- (18) *Gaukan nipagalaan* *kami bogas*
gaukan ni-pog-ala-an *kami bogas*
 king RLS.UV-SF-take-LV 1PL.EX rice
 ‘We took (i.e. stole) rice from the king (lit. the king’s place is where we took rice).’

For the location to be interpreted as the goal of the CAM event a directional clitic again needs to be added to the verb, as in (19).

- (19) *Rumah sakit nipagalaanko* *kami tau dolago*
rumah sakit ni-pog-ala-an=ko *kami tau dolago*
 house sick RLS.UV-SF-take-LV=AND 1PL.EX person girl
itu.
Itu
 DIST
 ‘We took the girl to the hospital.’

4 Manner-specific verbs and verbs of accompaniment in directed CAM expressions

While manner neutral *ala* ‘take’ is clearly the most frequent verb used to express directed CAM events, there is a range of manner-specific verbs that, likewise, can be used to express caused accompanied motion in a direction. With respect to voice, applicative marking and use of deictic clitics, these verbs in principle behave in the same manner as described for *ala* ‘take’ in the section above. Section 4.1 first takes a more detailed look at verbs that lexicalize manner of causation, §4.2 briefly describes some manner-specific motion verbs, and §4.3 finally turns to ACCOMPANY-type verbs.

4.1 Manner of causation

4.1.1 Goot ‘hold/carry’

The verb *goot* (and its variant form *golot*)⁴ basically means ‘hold (onto)’ as well as ‘carry (in hand)’. It is manner-specific and in all of its uses, it is clear that the actor is holding (onto) something with their hands (and not, for example, carry it on the head). In some cases, the verb occurs in metaphorical extensions, as in ‘holding an office’. The following examples illustrate the ‘hold’-sense.

- (20) a. *Isia mogoot (dei) limaku.*
isia mo-goot (dei) lima=ku
 3SG AV-hold LOC hand=1SG.GEN
 ‘She holds (onto) my hand.’
- b. *Isia mogooti limaku.*
isia mo-goot-i lima=ku
 3SG AV-hold-APPL2 hand=1SG.GEN
 ‘She holds (onto) my hand.’
- c. *mogooti kku tonggulabit ia*
mo-goot-i kku tonggulabit ia
 AV-hold-APPL2 foot rope PRX
 ‘the *tonggulabit* rope holds the feet’ (coconut.159)

As (20a) shows, there is a certain ambiguity as to the transitivity of the actor voice form *mogoot* which tends to occur with a preposition such as *dei* when used to mean ‘hold’. But a direct construction with an undergoer argument is also possible.⁵ Clearly transitive, and more common when denoting ‘hold’, is the form *mogooti* seen in (20b) and (20c). On the assumption that the base form *goot* is actually intransitive, these forms are transitivizing applicative2 formations. As further discussed in Himmelmann and Riesberg (2013, p. 401), for a number of transitive bases which occur both with and without applicative2 suffixes, it is not quite clear what exactly the function of the applicative suffix is in these formations.⁶ If *goot* is considered a transitive base, it would belong to this class.

⁴ Speakers consider these two forms fully synonymous and readily accept changing the form from one to the other in all the examples in our corpus. There may be sociolinguistic variables connected to these variant forms.

⁵ In fact, in certain metaphorical extensions such as ‘hold an office’, ‘hold the area (= have power in the area)’ only the transitive construction of *mogoot* plus undergoer (without the locative marker) is attested in the corpus.

⁶ Similar observations hold for other Indonesian languages which make use of the applicative suffix *-i*, including standard Indonesian (cf. Sneddon, 1996, pp. 69–98). It is possible that

When meaning ‘carry (in hand)’, the overall construction is clearly transitive, with the theme argument usually directly following the verb and no prepositional marking. Usually, this meaning is expressed with the form *mogo(l)ot* as can be seen in (21a) and (21b). The form *mogo(l)oti* with the applicative suffix is also possible, as shown in (21c) which is, however, the only example of this type in our texts. In elicitation as well, speakers readily produce sentences with *mogoot*, such as (21a), while applicative forms with *-i* (i.e. *mogooti*) are accepted but not produced spontaneously. That is, in actor voice the form *mogoot*, without the applicative suffix, appears to be the more frequent and acceptable for the meaning ‘carry’.

- (21) a. *Usatku mogolot sagin.*
usat=ku mo-golot sagin
 sibling=1SG.GEN AV-hold banana
 ‘My sibling carries bananas.’
- b. *tau nogolot bokayong*
tau no-golot bokayong
 person AV.RLS-hold coconut.shell
 ‘the person carried a coconut shell’ (sirita_i_bbet.205)
- c. *anu nogootiai uliai ngitu*
anu no-goot-i=ai uli=ai ngitu
 REL AV.RLS-hold-APPL2=VEN from=VEN ADIST
 ‘(Ali Hannan) who brought (her) here from there’
 (Pinjan_history.272)
- d. *mogootmoko bibit ia*
mo-goot=mo=ko bibit ia
 AV-hold=CPL=AND seedling PRX
 ‘(we) already took the seedlings there’ (conversation_2.0834)

As (21a) and (21b) show, *goot* may convey the sense of ‘carry (in hand)’ without a directional, but then no goal or source is implied. In order to express goal-directed CAM events, the verb typically occurs with a directional clitic, as illustrated in (21c) and (21d).

In terms of frequency in our corpus of spontaneous recordings, instances of *goot* expressing CARRY events outnumber uses of *goot* expressing holding events, which do not involve caused motion: There are 76 tokens of *go(l)ot*,

historically speaking, present day *-i* represents the merger of two (or more) different suffixes of the same shape, but different function.

only 26 of which express a directed CAM event.⁷ However, in terms of the lexical entailments, the HOLD-sense is probably the more basic one (which is why we gloss *go(l)ot* as ‘hold’). Speakers tend to translate *goot* by itself with ‘hold (in hand)’.⁸ Furthermore, when being very careful and precise in translating *goot* in contexts where it expresses CARRY events, speakers tend to offer ‘hold and carry’ (*memegang dan membawa* in Malay) as a translation. The choice between the HOLD and the CARRY sense appears to depend essentially on the nature of the theme argument and the pragmatic context. In isolation, sentences with ‘hand’, ‘wall’ or ‘area’ in undergoer function will be translated with ‘hold’, while ‘seeds’, ‘avocados’ or ‘fish’ will elicit a ‘carry’ translation, as shown by the examples above. For once, the directionals do not play a major role in disambiguating the different senses.

Note that for *goot* ‘hold/carry’ the distinction between a basic form and one suffixed with *-i* only occurs in actor voice. The undergoer voice forms are *gooti* for non-realis contexts and *nigootan* for realis contexts, and there is no formal distinction between the ‘hold’ and ‘carry’ meaning. Importantly, almost all undergoer voice uses in our non-elicited materials involve the CARRY sense, (22b) being the rare exception. Just like in the actor voice, undergoer voice *gooti/nigootan* seems to need additional marking by directionals in order to express goal-directed CAM events, as in (22c) and (22d).

- (22) a. *Sopa googootimu?*
sopa goo-goot-i=mu
 what RDP2-hold-UV2=2SG.GEN
 ‘What are you holding?’
- b. *nigootan tau moanena*
ni-goot-an tau moane=na
 RLS.UV-hold-UV2 person husband=3SG.GEN
 ‘her husband held her (and cut her hair)’
 (village_names_5.565)
- c. *nigootan i amangna iai*
ni-goot-an i amang=na i=ai
 RLS.UV-hold-UV2 HON father=3SG.GEN LOC=VEN
 ‘her father brought (her) here’ (Pinjan_history.163)

⁷ Just like with *ala*, source arguments in directed CAM expressions with *goot* are rare. (21c) is the only natural example in our corpus.

⁸ Compare Malay *pegang* which also shows an alternation between an intransitive use, *berpegang*, meaning ‘hold on to’ which typically takes a prepositional complement, and a transitive use, *memegang*, meaning ‘hold, take hold of’ (extended uses also including ‘occupy, control, hold (a position)’. In this regard, it appears to be very similar to Totoli *goot*, but it does not also have the further meaning of ‘carry (in hand)’.

- d. *gootitako* *dokterko* *kau*
goot-i=ta=ko *dokter=ko* *kau*
hold-UV2=1PL.IN.GEN=AND doctor=AND 2SG
‘we will take you to the doctor’ (improvisation_1.082)

In contrast to *ala* ‘take’, applicative1 derivations (with the suffix *-an* in non-realis mode) are very rare for *goot* ‘hold/carry’. Example (23) is elicited.

- (23) *Alpukaat ana kodoong gootanko* *i* *prop.*
alpukaat ana ko-doong goot-an=ko *i* *prop*
avocado MED POT-want hold-APPL1.UV=AND HON prof
‘Those avocados will be carried there for the professor.’

As in the case of *ala* ‘take’, the applicative1 adds a beneficiary argument, when applied to transitive bases, which may be interpreted as the recipient of a CAM event in some contexts. In (23) the carrying event takes place on behalf of the professor and while the professor may be the recipient of the avocados, this is not necessarily so.

4.1.2 Other CARRY verbs

There are twenty further CARRY verbs in our Totoli lexical database, most of them elicited when compiling the Tomini-Tolitoli sourcebook (Himmelman, 2001). The verb *goot* ‘hold/carry in hands’ is by far the most frequent, accounting for more than half of all occurrences of CARRY events in the spontaneous recordings. Of the other verbs, only seven are attested in the corpus (marked in bold in Table 3, number of tokens⁹ in parentheses), often only in a single text. The one somewhat more frequent verb is *simbu* ‘carry on shoulder’ (18 tokens).

Table 3. Totoli carry verbs (roughly semantically ordered)

<i>go(l)ot</i> (76)	‘hold / carry in hand(s)’
<i>simbu</i> (18)	‘carry on shoulder’
<i>panjuun</i> (3)	‘carry sitting on shoulder’
<i>bangguaa</i>	‘carry (heavy load) on back’
<i>bangguee</i>	‘carry (small load) on back’
<i>ube</i> (4)	‘carry on back with a strap’
<i>suun</i>	‘carry on head’
<i>sanggaleng</i>	‘carry with a strap over shoulder’
<i>tanguang</i>	‘carry on shoulder with a stick (only loading the back end of the stick)’
<i>kingging</i>	‘carry hanging from hand’

⁹ Note that token numbers here refer to total occurrences and do not differentiate whether their use denotes a directed CAM event or not.

<i>tanne</i>	‘carry on palm of one hand in front of body’
<i>tido</i>	‘carry on palm of one hand with hand pointing backward (i.e. raised over shoulder)’
<i>ambin</i>	‘carry in a sarong, using sarong as a sling fastened around the neck’
<i>talebang</i>	‘carry in a sarong, using sarong as a sling hanging from shoulder’
<i>lemba'</i> (2)	‘carry with a stick’
<i>tenten</i> (3)	‘carry with two or more on shoulder’
<i>sangki</i> (8)	‘carry with both arms, on one's chest (e.g. baby)’
<i>sangkup</i>	‘carry with both arms, on one's chest (e.g. baby)’
<i>upit</i>	‘carry squeezed in armpit’
<i>akut</i> (3)	‘carry away/around, transport’

As in the case of *goot*, the other CARRY verbs primarily denote a holding position on the body, which may take on a ‘carry’-sense with the appropriate theme argument. That is the core meaning concerns the way a load is placed on or attached to, and possibly impacts on, the carrier. The movement component is thus clearly secondary and not necessarily directed towards a goal. The major exception in this regard is the last verb in Table 3, i.e. *akut*, which may be a borrowing from Malay (*angkut*, same meaning). This verb only denotes a carrying (not a holding) event, though not necessarily a directed one.

As far as one can glean from the textual attestations, all CARRY words roughly show the same grammatical characteristics as *go(l)ot* in its ‘carry’ sense. The addition of directionals seems generally required to express goal-oriented CAM events. Typically text occurrences of these verbs just refer to carrying events, without any indication of a direction or goal (cf. 24a and 24b). Otherwise, directions and locations are indicated by a directional clitic, as in (25). While many CARRY verbs take UV2 like *goot*, not all of them do (e.g. *simbu* in 24).

- (24) a. *doua godang isimbuna*
doua godang i-simbu=na
 two storehouse RLS.UV-carry.on.shoulder:UV1=3SG.GEN
satu kali
satu kali
 one time
 ‘two storehouses he put on his back at once’
 (podok_langgat.121)

Expressions of directed CAM events in Totoli

- b. *anakna tukka itu manangkii*
anak=na tukka itu moN-sangki-i
 child=3SG.GEN older.sibling DIST AV-carry-APPL2
tuali itu
tuali itu
 younger.sibling DIST
 ‘her older child carried her younger sibling, putting her arms
 around her’ (putri_duyung_3.307)

- (25) *i aku sangkiigako tau*
i aku sangki-i=ga=ko tau
 HON 1SG carry-UV2=just=AND person
 ‘I (will) just be carried there by someone else in their embrace’
 (song_6_2.12)

In some cases the goal of a carry event is expressed in a following intonation unit, either by a PP as in (26a), or in a separate clause, e.g. as the goal of a motion verb as in (26b) (in both examples ‘/’ indicates the unit boundary). However, such cases are generally rare.

- (26) a. *simbumoko anako / baboko*
simbu=mo=ko ana=ko babo=ko
 carry.on.shoulder:UV1=CPL=AND MED=AND above=AND
llunjalanna ana
RDP1-lunja’-an ana
 RDP1-pound.sago-NR MED
 ‘(after the sago is filled in here) it is carried over there, to the
 top of that sago pounding place’ (making_sago.089)
- b. *buli ulai sikola monimbumo bbanji ana /*
buli uli=ai sikola moN-simbu=mo babanji ana
 return from=VEN school AV-carry.on.shoulder hoe MED
makko mmanji dei garung
makko moN-banji dei garung
 AV:go AV-hoe LOC wet.rice.field
 ‘coming home from school, we are carrying hoes, going
 hoeing in the rice fields’ (farming_2.0847-9)

4.2 Manner of motion

To express manner of motion in a directed CAM event, it is also possible to use manner-specific motion verbs. Consider the following two examples, which include the intransitive motion verbs *base* ‘paddle’ and *umbang* ‘hurry away’.

- (27) a. *nabase pada waktu tu itu notiuma tiitumbu'*
no-base pada waktu tu itu no-ti-uma tii-tumbu'
 AV.RLS-paddle at time DIST DIST AV-?-arriveRDP2-east
 'in those times, they paddled till they arrived in the east'
 (Pinjan_history.380-1)
- b. *nogumbang dei gumpun*
nog-umbang dei gumpun
 AV.RLS-run LOC forest
 '(he) ran to the forest' (maptask_1.2077)

As these verbs are all intransitive in their base form, they obligatorily have to be transitivized in order to express a directed CAM event. In a directed CAM expression, (manner of) motion verbs will thus always be marked by an applicative (cf. §2.2). Directionality is added, as usual, by the directional clitics.

- (28) a. *Tau ana nabaseanko i aku.*
tau ana no-base-an=ko i aku
 person MED AV.RLS-paddle-APPL1=AND HON 1SG
 'That person paddled me there.'
- b. *(llengetna) pogumbangnako taking sapeda*
(llenget=na) pog-umbang=na=ko taking sapeda
 basket=3SG.GEN SF-run:APPL1=3SG.GEN=AND with bike
 'he hurried away (with his basket) on his bike'
 (pearstory_3.019)

Note that the semantics of *umbang* is not easy to translate into English (especially not in a short gloss). While it can have the interpretation of running towards a goal, as in (27b) (with an overt, prepositionally marked goal argument), in most instances in our corpus it actually means something like 'leaving (a place) in a hurried manner/fleeing from a place', as in (28b). Here the boy is clearly not running with his bike, but rather riding off quickly, with the help of his bike. A similar example is shown in (29), where the fish don't run, but swim off quickly. In a strict sense, *umbang* thus does not really imply a specific manner of motion. Rather, it entails speed of motion, i.e. a fast movement, usually away from a source. Proper manner of motion is then implied by the context, i.e. quick swimming away for fish, quick riding off, when a bicycle is involved, etc.

- (29) *mataan taataani ana mogumbang*
mo-taan taa-taan-i ana mog-umbang
 POT-able.to RDP2-stop-APPL2.UV if AV-run
 ‘(so the fish) can be stopped, if they (want to) swim off’
 (fishing_2.325)

4.3 ACCOMPANY verbs

The lexical base *untud* generally indicates accompaniment and may tentatively be glossed as ‘go (together) with’ or ‘accompany’. Consider (30a) and (30b):

- (30) a. *Aku mokiturung mokiuntud kotako.*
aku moki-turung moki-untud kota=ko
 1SG AV.RQV-help AV.RQV-go.with town=AND
 ‘I ask to go with s.o. to town (i.e. to be accompanied to town).’
- b. *untudan moane itu makkoai dei bale*
untud-an moane itu makko=ai dei bale
 go.with-APPL1 man DIST AV:go=AND LOC house
bbine
bbine
 woman
 ‘the man is escorted (by relatives and friends) when going to the house of the woman’ (marriage_proposal.138)

The verb may also express goal-oriented CAM events, as in (31a) and (31b), but it appears that only the notion of accompaniment is entailed by the verb and that causation of motion may arise as an implicature in contexts where the theme entity is inanimate. CAM events encoded by *untud* ‘go with’ are much rarer in the corpus compared to *ala* ‘take’ and *go(l)ot* ‘hold/carry’.¹⁰

- (31) a. *mangana noguntudanko songgona itu*
mangana nog-untud-an=ko songgona itu
 child AV.RLS-go.with-APPL1=AND hat DIST
 ‘(he gives avocados to) the child who brought him the hat (lit. goes with the hat on behalf of him)’ (pearstory_1.160)

¹⁰ In elicitation, *untudan* ‘be with someone’ (applicative undergoer voice) was proposed on a single occasion as a possible alternative to *nigootan* ‘carry’, but never as primary response for questions targeting ‘carry’, ‘bring’ or ‘take’.

- b. *harus* *noguntud* *mamaan*
harus *nog-untud* *mamaan*
 have.to AV.RLS-go.with betel.pouch
 ‘you have to bring a betel pouch (when going to the parents’
 house to propose for their daughter)’ (marriage_proposal.034)

All examples of *untud* ‘go with’ in the corpus involve movement towards a goal. Typically, the verb is followed by an explicit expression of the goal in form of a PP and/or the transactional orientation is indicated by a directional clitic on the verb. If the goal is not made explicit, it is always retrievable from context.

Furthermore, *untud* generally occurs with an applicative suffix in the corpus, examples (30a) and (31b) being the only occurrences which are clearly non-applicative.¹¹ Clearly, then, the basic meaning of *untud* is ‘to go with someone or something’, causation of motion arising from contextual features, including the animacy of the accompanied item, and directedness of motion having to be explicitly marked by directionals or a prepositional phrase indicating the goal.

All examples of this applicative construction in the corpus pertain to two scenarios, i.e. the sequence in the pear movie (Chafe, 1980) where one of the three boys brings back the hat to the boy who fell off his bike (cf. 31a) and the moment in wedding procedures when the groom is accompanied by relatives to the house of the bride (cf. 30b). The applicative in this construction indicates that the accompaniment happens for someone’s benefit, but the semantics of the verb furthermore implies the two following components: a) the theme is promised or expected, and b) the applied beneficiary argument is the proper and designated recipient of the bringing/taking event. The best English translation for *untud* + APPL1 is thus probably ‘deliver’, which, too, implies these two semantic features.

In the wedding procedure example (30b), the applicative makes clear that the groom is accompanied for the benefit of his future wife’s family (which is not overtly expressed here). In this instance, the beneficiary is not the goal of the motion event (which rather is the house of the bride). The theme, i.e. the husband, is clearly expected/promised and the wife and her family are the designated recipients. The same holds for the pear story example in (31a). Here the implied beneficiary (the boy who lost his hat) is clearly the proper recipient of the hat, and, after the other boy signalled his coming by whistling after him, he is expecting the hat’s delivery. This analysis of *untud* is supported by the fact that in the 23 re-tellings of the pear story in our

¹¹ Note that *moguntud mamaan* ‘bring the betel pouch (as part of a marriage proposal ceremony)’ is probably a fixed expression. Betel chewing is no longer customary in the Totoli area and the bringing of a betel pouch is only ceremonial and signals the intention of proposing marriage.

annotated corpus, *ala* ‘take’ and *go(l)ot* ‘hold/carry’ are used for taking and carrying baskets and avocados (i.e. pears), which have been stolen from the farmer. *Untud*, on the other hand, is only used for bringing back the hat to its rightful owner, the boy, who had lost it earlier in the story. While the relevant scene – if mentioned at all – is most commonly described as ‘giving back’ or ‘returning the hat’, *untud* is the preferred choice for expressing the CAM event of ‘bringing/carrying back the hat’.

Finally, a somewhat different kind of accompaniment is expressed by combining a motion verb with a holding or pulling verb. The examples in (32) are typical examples, again from the pear story, pertaining to a man passing by with a goat.

- (32) a. *notumalibmai* *tau* *googoot*
-um-no-talib=mo =ai *tau* *goo-goot*
 -AUTO.MOT-AV.RLS-pass.by=CPL=VEN person RDP2-hold
toalang
toalang
 goat
 ‘a man passes by tearing along a goat (on a leash)’
 (pearstory_21_ARN.011)
- b. *tibatiba daan ake tau taatalib lilindas*
tibatiba daan ake tau taa-talib lii-lindas
 suddenly EXIST too person RDP2-pass.by RDP2-pull
toalang
toalang
 goat
 ‘suddenly there is also a man passing by, pulling a goat’
 (pearstory_4.062-64)

The use of *goot* in this context is somewhat remarkable in that the man clearly is not holding or carrying the goat. What he is holding is the leash with which he pulls the goat along.

5 Conclusion

Directed CAM events in Totoli are primarily expressed with the verb *ala* ‘take, fetch’ which denotes the event of an agent obtaining something (usually with their hands). Directed motion towards a goal is coded by directional clitics, which indicate direction toward or away from the deictic centre. The goal of the directed motion can be made explicit by including a prepositional phrase or by applicative or voice morphology which provides the option of expressing the goal or recipient as a core argument of *ala*. The second main strategy is the use of the HOLD-verb *goot* (or its variant *golot*). For this verb,

a CARRY-implicature arises in dependence of the nature of the theme. Holding a hand or a rope typically implies holding onto these items, while holding fruit or fish or the like typically implies that these are carried. Directed motion once again is only expressed by adding directionals. Optionally, the goal may be made explicit in a prepositional phrase. Applicative derivations here do not play a major role.

In addition to these main strategies for expressing directed CAM events, there are also quite a few manner specific CARRY-type and motion verbs which may be used for this purpose, but they are not very frequently attested in this usage. Directed motion requires directionals, explicit goal phrases may optionally be included. In the case of manner of motion verbs, an applicative derivation is additionally needed to include a theme argument. The verb *untud* ‘go with, accompany’, finally, also is used for a very restricted set of CAM events which are similar in meaning to English *deliver*, again requiring directionals and applicative morphology in this usage.

Abbreviations

ADIST – distal (adverb); AND – andative; APPL – applicative; AUTO.MOT – autonomous motion; AV – actor voice; CPL – completive; DIST – distal (deictic); EX – exclusive; EXIST – existential quantifier; GEN – genitive; HON – honorific article; IN – inclusive; INSTR – instrument; LK – linker; LOC – locative; LV – locative voice; MED – medial (deictic); NR – nominalizer; ORD – ordinal number; PL – plural; PN – proper name; POT – potentive; PRX – proximative (deictic); RDP – reduplication; REL – relative clause; RLS – realis; SG – singular; SF – stem former; ST – stative; UV – undergoer voice; VEN – venitive.

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