

### Tondano

— annotation notes —

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## Annotation notes

### Symmetrical voice system

Tondano is a so-called *Philippine*-type language (Ross 2002; Himmelmann 2005; Blust 2013) that has a **symmetrical voice** system (Himmelmann 2005; Foley 2007; Riesberg 2014; Riesberg & Primus 2015). This system is realised morphologically via a paradigm of obligatory verbal affixes which mark the verb for either actor voice (AV) or one of three undergoer voices (UV), namely patient voice (PV), location voice (LV), and conveyance voice (CV). The voice marking indicates the semantic macro-role of the so-called ‘nominative’ argument, which is the privileged pivotal syntactic argument. Crucially, both AV and UV constructions are transitive, which precludes application of standard GRAID conventions to the identification of A and P (see Haig & Schnell 2014: 13). We therefore applied a two-step approach to the glossing of S, A, P in Tondano, as follows:

We first distinguish between intransitive and transitive clauses on constructional grounds, glossing a the single nominative argument of an intransitive clause as S. In transitive clauses, we identify either of the two core arguments as A or P according to their semantic macro-role, indicated also by the voice marking. Thus, we identify the nominative argument in an actor voice construction as A and the so-called ‘accuative’ argument (a post-verbal NP without case marking) as P. We then combine the glossing of A and P with a gloss for the respective voice construction these occur in, thus yielding <:a\_a> for an A argument in an actor voice construction, and <:p\_a> for a P argument in an actor voice construction, as in (1):

- (1) *komèdomoula niaku*  
 # *ko=* <um> *èdo* =*mow* =*la* *niaku*  
 # 2.SG.NOM= <AV> *take* =COMP =DIR.PROX 1.SG  
 # *pro.2:a\_a=* v:pred =rv =rv *pro.1:p\_a*  
 ‘You would take me away.’

(observed/elicited)

In undergoer voice constructions, we identify the nominative as the P argument and the so-called genitive argument (a post-verbal clitic or NP marked for genitive case) as A. Thus, the function gloss for a nominative P argument in an undergoer-voice construction is <:p\_u>, and that of a genitive A argument in an undergoer-voice construction is <:a\_u>, as shown in examples (2–4):

- (2) *èpaketoren mou*  
 # *sè=* *pa-ketor-en* =*na* =*mow*  
 # 3PL.NOM= DYN-slice-PV =3SG.GEN =COMP  
 # *pro:p\_u=* v:pred =*pro.h:a\_u* =rv  
 ‘He slices them up.’

*tondano\_kiniar03\_038*

(3) *kotaanganèamou*

# *ko= taang-an =nèa =mow*  
 # 2SG.NOM= intercept-LV =3PL.GEN =COMP  
 # *pro.2:p-u= v:pred =pro.h:a\_u =rv*

'They would stop you (at that particular place).'

*tondano\_mapalus\_019*

(4) *lia' empamèanatè*

# *lia' N= i-pa-mèan =na =itè*  
 # *ginger 3SG.NOM= CV-DYN-hit =3SG.GEN =LIM*  
 # *np:dt\_p\_u pro:p-u= v:pred =pro.h:a\_u =rv*

'The ginger, he just strikes it.'

*tondano\_kiniar03\_062*

S, A and P are clearly distinct from oblique arguments, which receive flagging by prepositions. All oblique arguments are glosses according to the standard GRAID conventions.

### Clitic pronouns

In Tondano arguments may be realised as NPs, proforms, or zero anaphora. In transitive clauses which contain NPs or independent personal pronouns, the identification of an argument's syntactic function is primarily achieved through word order. In transitive clauses which contain bound pronominals, such as (1–4) above, the type of clitic pronominal which is used indicates the syntactic function. In both AV and UV marked clauses the pre-verbal proclitic expresses the pivot, while in UV marked clauses enclitics always express the non-pivot ACTOR argument. The Tondano GRAID annotation for pronominal forms does not differentiate between those with and without specific syntactic function. However, the notation used to express clitics, *<=>*, when used with pronominal forms, denotes that this form has a specific syntactic function.

### Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Tondano may function as modifiers within NPs or as proforms which have full argument status. In cases where demonstratives have the former function the standard GRAID notation of *<rn>* is used. When demonstratives function as arguments they are annotated in the same way as other independent pronouns, that is as *<pro>*. The following two examples show demonstratives as modifiers (5) and demonstratives as pronominal arguments (6):

- (5) *kina'atoan nèt'u'a rior entimpa' ye'i*  
 # *k<in> a-ato-an* *nè=* *tu'a* *rior* *N=*  
 # POT.PST-look-LV AN.PL.GEN= *old* *fast* *INAN=*  
 # *v:pred* *ln=* *np.h:a\_u* *rn* *ln=*  
*timpa' ye'i*  
*sap* *DEM1*  
*np:p\_u* *rn*

'The elders from before saw that palm sugar sap.'

*tondano\_kiniar02\_096*

- (6) *linungala ni'tu*  
 # *l<in> unga-en* *0* *=la* *ni'tu*  
 # *<pst> firewood-PV* *0* *=DIR.PROX* *DEM2*  
 # *v:pred* *0.h:a\_u* *=rv* *pro:p\_u*  
 '(They) have lit that (fire).'

*tondano\_kiniar01\_096*

## Numerals

The characteristics of Tondano numerals and their corresponding GRAID notation mirror that of the demonstratives. In their more common function as modifiers within an NP, numerals are annotated as either *<ln>* or *<rn>* depending on their position in the phrase. In some cases numerals occur without the presence of a head noun and express a previously identified participant. In this situation they are considered proforms and are labelled as *<pro>*. Examples of the GRAID annotation of numerals in different functions are as follows:

- (7) *paèdonou nituama esa*  
 # *0* *pa-èdo-en* *=mow* *ni=* *tuama* *esa*  
 # *0* *DYN-take-PV* *=COMP* *AN.SG.GEN=* *man* *one*  
 # *0:p\_u* *v:pred* *=rv* *ln=* *np.h:a\_u* *rn*  
 'The first man takes (the bats).'

*tondano\_kiniar01\_015*

- (8) *rua nèi èdo*  
 # *rua* *nèy* *èdo* *0*  
 # *two* *CV.PST* *take* *0*  
 # *np:p\_u* *lv* *v:pred* *0.h:a\_u*  
 '(He) took two (of them).'

*tondano\_water\_025*

### List of corpus-specific GRAID symbols

- <:a\_a> A argument in a clause marked with AGENT voice
- <:a\_u> A argument in a clause marked with UNDERGOER voice
- <:p\_a> P argument in a clause marked with AGENT voice
- <:p\_u> P argument in a clause marked with UNDERGOER voice
- <:pro> independent pronominal, including demonstratives and numerals

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