'Patient' and 'goal' marking in Helong

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Helong – some background

- Helong is part of Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian (Blust: 1993, 2009)

- Helong is spoken in western Timor, in the region of Kupang which is the capital of Nusa Tenggara Timur province of Indonesia

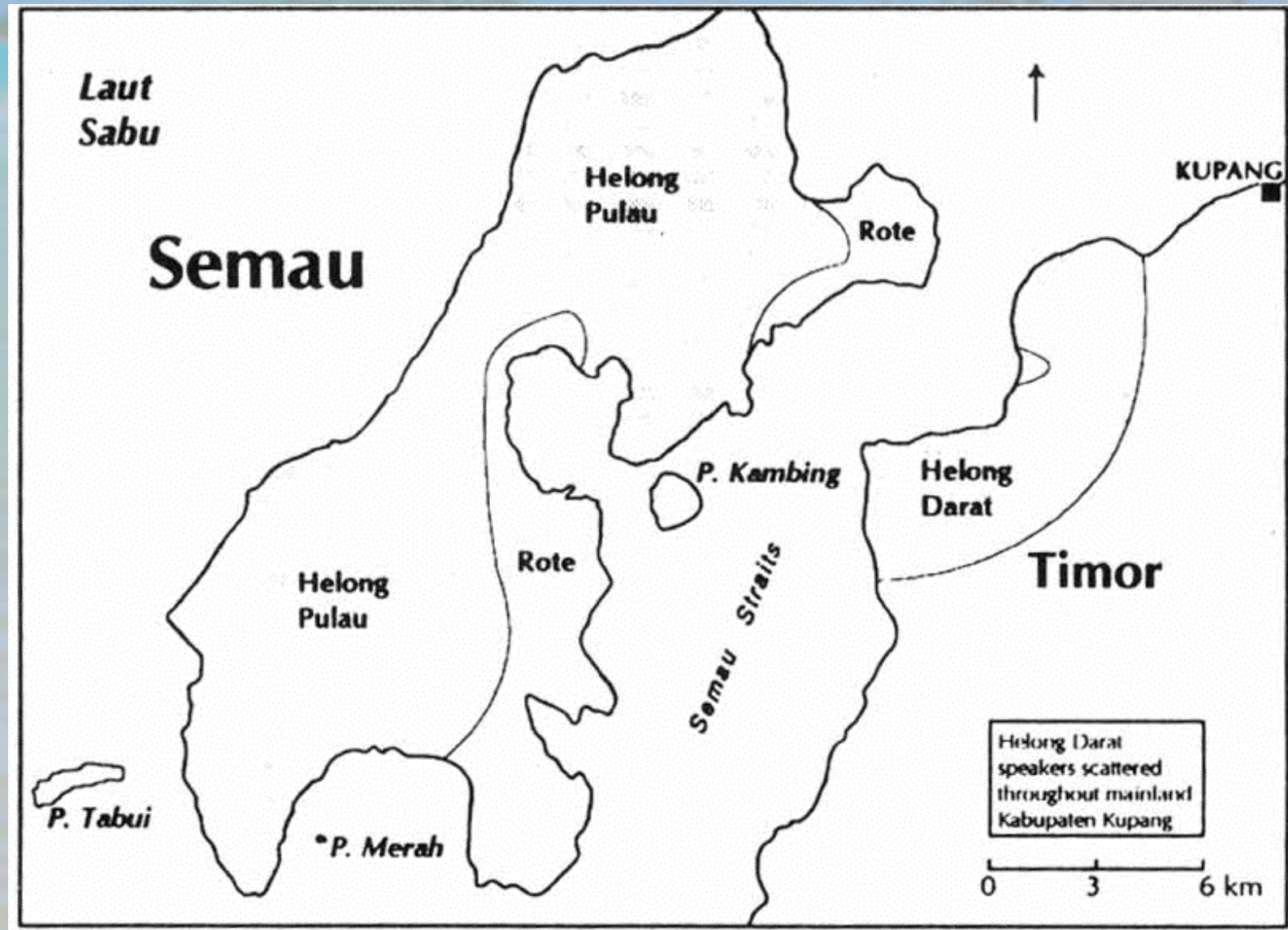- Once the language of former raja of Kupang, but now being squeezed by the spread of Kupang Malay in urban areas

Helong dialects

- Helong Funai
  - spoken in region of Kupang city itself. Highly endangered. Kupang Malay is taking over all functions. Only old people still know

- Helong Bolok
  - spoken in region of port area outside Kupang city. Threatened. Other local languages also spoken in port area. (Rote, Uab Meto, etc.) Kupang Malay also widely used

- Helong Pulau
  - spoken on Semau island off the coast of Kupang. Language use still vibrant. Subdialects from north and south. Southern subdialect more heavily influenced by Rotinese

Semau island

Helong – basic typology

- Not much morphology
- Short vs. long vowels
- Basic AVO word order
- No subject agreement
- Complex (and not yet understood) demonstrative system
- Widespread and productive metathesis

This talk

- Unusual pattern of cross-referencing of goals / undergoers in Helong, but only on a small set of verbs.
  - Includes some intransitive verbs with undergoer subjects
  - Includes cross-referencing of goals of directional verbs
  - Does not involve undergoer / patient of transitive verbs
- 'Split-S' argument cross-referencing common in eastern Indonesia
- Metathesis in Helong
- Metathesis prevents any possible suffixation of transitive verbs with overt objects

Basic verbal morphology

- **Agent-oriented intransitive**

   (1)   *auk   mali*
                 aku   mali
                 'I smiled'

   (2)   *auk   mail lahin*
                 aku   mali lahin
                 1s   smile yesterday
                 'I smiled yesterday'

Transitive verbs

(3)   *un   osa   daat   in   hos   ngae   pait*
      u   osa   data   in   hos   ngae   pait
      3s   price   broken   DEM   cook   corn   again
      'She was too lazy to cook corn again'

(4) *un   kutang   ngae   la   nol   uin   tua*
    un   kutang   ngae   la   nol   uni   tua
    3s   mix   corn   DEM   and   sugar   palm

 le   kaa
le   kaa
IRR   eat
'He mixed corn and palm sugar to eat'

Undergoer-oriented intransitives

(5) *oen*   *mates*   *sam*

      one   mate-s   sam

      3p   die-3s DEM

      'They died'

(6)   *auk* *leang*

      aku   lea-ng

      1s   fall-1s

      'I fell over'

Forms of undergoer / goal suffixes

Number / person	Form
1s	-ng
2s	-n
3s	-n
1pi	–
1pe	–
2p	–
3p	-s

'Goal-oriented' motion verbs

(7) *mi   lakom   umam*
     mi   lako-m   uma-m
     2s   go-2s   house-2s
     'You went home'

(8) *oen   maas   umas*
     one   maa-s   uma-s
     3p   come-3p   house-3p
     'They came home'

More goal-oriented verbs (possessed goal)

(9) *auk   lakom   umam*
    aku   lako-m uma-m
    1s   go-2s   house-2s
    'I went to your house'

(10) *oen   leo-leo   nol   auk lakong   Uiasang*
     one   leo-leo   nol   aku lako-ng   uiasa-ng
     3p   together   with   1s   go-1s   Uiasa-NG
     'They go together with me to Uiasa'

Ditransitive constructions

- Direct object vs primary object constructions

- DIRECT: She gave the book to him

  The book was given to him by her

- PRIMARY: She gave him the book

  He was given the book by her

Helong ditransitives (Primary objects?)

(11) *auk*   *belen*   *ui*
     aku   bele-n   ui
     1s   give-3s   water
     'I gave him a drink'

BUT ALSO

(12) *auk*   *bel*   *un*   *ui*
     aku   bele   un   ui
     1s   give   3s   water
     'I gave him a drink'

(13)   *un*   *beles*   *ikan*   *nuu*
     un   bele-s   ikan   nua
     3s   give-3p   fish   DEM
     'She gave them the fish'

Helong ditransitives (Direct object?)

(14) *auk   bel   ui   bel   ku*
     aku   bele   ui   bele   ku
     1s   give   water   give   2s
     'I gave a drink to you'

(15) *un   bel   ikan   nua   bel   one*
     un   bele   ikan   nua   bele   one
     3s   give   fish   DEM   give   3p
     'She gave the fish to them'

Split-S in eastern Indonesia

- Common pattern in eastern Indonesia
  - See, eg. Klamer (2008), Donohue (2004)

- Agency / affectedness
- Animacy
- Active / stative

Helong and split-S systems

- Not a split-S system
- No patient marking with real transitives
- However, some undergoer/goals marked in intransitive and some semitransitive / ditransitive constructions

Metathesis in Helong

- Very widespread in language
- Perhaps has relationship with truncation found in languages like Waima'a
- Not well understood
- Often obligatory in particular contexts
- Sometimes optional in other contexts
- Sometimes not possible
- Mostly seems to be triggered when there is a tight bond of some kind with the element that follows

Metathesis not possible

At end of utterance:

(16)   Un   tuun   ikan
      un   tunu   ikan
      3s   barbeque   fish
      'He barbequed some fish'

(18)   Un   sail   ui   laok   se   blingan na
      un   sali   ui   lako   se   blingan na
      3s   put   water   go   at   shellfish   DEM

      taung   manu
      taung   manu
      for   chicken
      'He put water in the shell for chickens'

Metathesis optional??

- Sometimes 'intradirectional' verbs may undergo metathesis

(18) *oen   lakos   umas*
     one   lako-s   uma-s
     3p   go-3p   house-3p
     'They went home'

(19) *oen   laok   umas   (le)*
     one   lako   uma-s   (le)
     3p   go   house-3p   (IRR)
     'They're about to leave for home now'

Metathesis obligatory

- Initial subject pronouns

(20)   *auk   mali*   cf.   *un   meet aku*
          aku   mali   un   mete aku
          1s   smile   3s   see   1s
          'I smiled'   'she saw me'

(21)   *oen   mali*   cf.   *auk   meet one*
          one   mali   aku   mete one
          3p   smile   1s   see   3p
          'They smiled'   'I saw them'

Metathesis obligatory

- Transitive verbs followed by overt objects

(22) *un   man   huu   teel   hadut   ta*
      un   man   huu   tele   hadut   ta
      3s   who   blow   kill   lamp   DEM
      'He blows out the lamp'

(23) *laok   muid   una   ta   un   man   tan*
      lako   mudi   una   ta   un   man   tan
      go   follow   3s   because   3s   who   know

      lalan   na
      lalan   na
      road   DEM
      'Go follow her because she knows the way'

Emergence of Helong system of marking patients / goals?

MAYBE

- Once a more regular split-S system
    - All undergoers marked by suffixes

- Development of metathesis blocks suffixation in certain contexts, including of transitive verbs with following objects

- Still needs more exploration