Ditransitive constructions in Teop
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1 Teop
Austronesian, Oceanic, Meso-Melanesian, North-West Salomonic Group (Papua New Guinea, Bougainville)
Corpus: 165 000 Teop words; DoBeS-Programme, Volkswagen Foundation.

2. The coding of three participant events in Teop
In Teop, three participant events can be expressed by two kinds of constructions:

1. Secundative ditransitive constructions: syntactically ditransitive: R= primary object, T = secondary object

2. Indirective applicative constructions: syntactically transitive, R = Adjunct

Table 1: Secundative and Indirective constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construction type</th>
<th>prototypical example</th>
<th>secondary object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple secundative construction</td>
<td>hee Rprimary obj. Tsecondary obj. give s.o. s.th.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple indirective construction</td>
<td>dee T (Radjunct) carry, bring s.th. (somewhere)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derived secundative construction</td>
<td>dee ki Rprimary obj. Tsecondary obj. bring s.o. s.th.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derived indirective construction</td>
<td>hee ni T (Radjunct) give s.th. (to s.o.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Secundative constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>syntactic function</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>primary object</th>
<th>secondary object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semantic roles</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent (speaker)</td>
<td></td>
<td>addressee</td>
<td>(message)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>(Instrument)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indexing</td>
<td>indexed</td>
<td>indexed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flagging</td>
<td>basic article</td>
<td>basic article/ object article</td>
<td>basic article/ object article</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Indirective constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>syntactic function</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>adjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semantic roles</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent (speaker)</td>
<td></td>
<td>message</td>
<td>addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indexing</td>
<td>indexed</td>
<td>indexed</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flagging</td>
<td>basic article</td>
<td>basic article/ object article</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Here you find downloadable papers and the Sketch Grammar of Teop
3. Coding properties of the ditransitive secundative construction

3.1 Basic constituent order

(1) \[ \text{A}_{\text{subject}} \text{ VC} \text{ R}_{\text{prim.obj}} \text{ T}_{\text{sec.obj}} \]

[Me Toko] [paa hee] [bene Sookara] [bona overe].

and.ART Toko [TAM give] [ART Sookara] [ART coconut]

'Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' [Sia 1.68E]

Table 4: Constituent order in basic ditransitive clauses with hee 'give'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>VC</th>
<th>non-topical arguments</th>
<th>number of hee-clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A_{subj}</td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>R_{prim.obj}</td>
<td>T_{sec.obj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R_{prim.obj}</td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>A_{subj}</td>
<td>T_{sec.obj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T_{sec.obj}</td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>A_{subj}</td>
<td>R_{prim.obj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) \[ \text{T}_{\text{sec.obj}} \text{ VC} \text{ A}_{\text{subj}} \text{ R}_{\text{prim.obj}} \]

[O paku bona ve] [pas hee ri vu]- [e] [bona banoasinae].

ART feast DEM PART TAM give OBJ:3PL IM 3SG.SUB ART his.relatives

This feast he would give his relatives. [MLV 2.21R]

(3) \[ \text{T}_{\text{sec.obj}} \text{ VC} \text{ R}_{\text{prim.obj}} \text{ A}_{\text{subj}} \]

([a inu] [na hee] [anana] [e gavaman]

ART house TAM give 1SG.OBJ ART government

'The house was given to me by the government. [Pur. 2.28R]

3.2 Indexing

The verb complex:

\[ \text{NEG TAM ADV}_1 \bigvee \text{ N SERIAL VERBS ADV}_2 \text{ NEG APP / PREP ADV}_3 \text{ OBJ DIR IM ADV}_4 \text{ IMPF} \]

NEG bipartite negation;
TAM tense, aspect mood marker;
ADV adverb;
V nucleus;
N incorporated noun;
APP applicative that promotes an adjunct or a secondary object to the position of the (primary) object;
OBJ object marker indexing the object or primary object;
DIR directional particle ('hither', 'thither');
IM clitic expressing that the event is of immediate relevance for what follows;
IMPF imperfective aspect marker, inflecting for person and number, cross-referencing the subject unless the primary object is a speech act participant and the subject a third person.

(4) \[ \text{VC} \text{ R}_{\text{prim.obj}} \text{ T}_{\text{sec.obj}} \]

... me [paa hee ri |] [bono vahara beiko]) [bona booboo].

...and TAM give OBJ:3PL ART.PL little.PL child ART booboo

'... and (he) gave the children the booboo-fish.' [pr. 5:23]

With 1SG and 1PL.EXC pronouns, the object marker can be extracted from the VC and prefixed to the pronoun (example 3, 5, 6).
3.3 Flagging

Basis article vs object article

Table 5: Flagging

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>PRIMARY OBJECT</th>
<th>SECONDARY OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person/ basic article NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person/ basic article NP</td>
<td>object article NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person/ basic article NP</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>object article NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person/ basic article NP</td>
<td>object article NP</td>
<td>object article NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) \textit{Ean} [\textit{toro hee}] anaa \textit{a moon}.
2SG.SUBJ must give 1SG.OBJ ART girl
'You must give me the girl.' [Vae. 1.198R]

(6) \textit{Eori [na hee roho]} anaa \textit{bona meha kiu}.
3PL TAM give before 1SG.OBJ ART other job
'They gave me another job.' [Rum. 1.234R]

(7) \textit{Meori paa hee bene Sookara bona peha kiu}.
and.3PL TAM give ART Sookara ART one job
'And they gave Sookara a job. [Sia. 1.185E]

4 Pronominal Recipients and Themes in ditransitive constructions

4.1 The third and the fourth person object pronouns

Table 6: third and fourth person object pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.</th>
<th>4\textsuperscript{th} pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} pers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) \textit{bean [hee komana nao nom]} \textit{ee bona}
when.2SG give self thither IMPF:2SG 3SG.OBJ 4SG.OBJ
'when you yourself give it to him.' (lit. 'give him it') [Aro. 5.134R]; cf. (33, 40)

(9) \textit{me subuava [paa hee] bona bona kehaa}
and old.woman TAM give 4SG ART shell
'and the old woman gave her a shell' [Aro. 4.51E]
4.2 The distinction between fourth person singular and plural forms

(11) Me rau me roosuu [paa hee ri] bari bono avuin,
and-so and.ART giant TAM give OBJ:3PL 4PL OBJ.ART avuin
'And so the giant gave them the avuin.' [Aro. 10.81E]

(12) Erau, meori paa dao bari bene Avelaua.
so and.3PL.SUBJ TAM call 4 SG/PL OBJ.ART Avelaua
'And so they called her Avelaua.' [Sta. 1.40E]

Table 7: Agreement patterns of the fourth person pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with 3rd person singular subject</th>
<th>4th pers. sg. primary object</th>
<th>4th pers. pl. primary object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bona (4SG) 'him/her/it'</td>
<td>bari (4PL) 'them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bari (4SG/PL) 'him/her/it'</td>
<td>bari (4PL) 'them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Construction split: pronominal themes as primary objects

(13) S VC T_{prim.obj} R_{sec.obj}
Ean [paa pahin hee koa] i bene captain.
2SG TAM immediately just 3SG.OBJ OBJ.ART captain
You just immediately give it to the captain [Pur. 2.18R].

(14) *bona a captain
*4SG.OBJ BASIC.ART captain

(15) S VC T_{prim.obj} R_{sec.obj}
eori re- [paa hee] bari bene tama-riori.
3PL then- TAM give 4SG/PL ART father-their
'Then they give it to their father.' [MLV 2.18R]

Selection of bona vs bari for secondary objects solely depends on the number of the secondary object. See below (38, 40)

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2 For lack of an example with hee 'give s.o. s.th.', we chose a clause with dao v.dt. 'call s.o. s.th.' in which the recipient of a name is the primary object and the name the secondary object.
5. Behavioral properties of ditransitive constructions

5.1 Ellipsis

(16) 'The next day, the woman went down and saw that one fish was missing, (she) only saw four. And (she) said, "Where did the other one go?"
The woman went back. The man, in turn, went down to spear another one. (He) carried it home.'

\[\text{Taem bona, a otei [paa hee ovosi vakavara koa- u] bona iana.} \]
\[\text{time DEM ART man TAM give whole completely just IM ART fish} \]
'This time, the man just gave (her) the fish completely whole. [Ata. 1.63-71R]

Table 8: Ellipsis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ellipsed argument</th>
<th>clause structure</th>
<th>number of ex.</th>
<th>clause structure</th>
<th>number of ex.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>hee R T</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>hee S T</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>hee T</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>hee S R</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hee R</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>R hee S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ellipsis of topical R\textsubscript{prim.obj}

(17) ADJUNCT VC A T

\[\text{Nomana hee maa ri- ori bona taba an} \]
\[\text{today give hither IMPF:3PL 3PL.SUBJ OBJ.ART food} \]
'(Sookara belongs to two clans, to Varosi's and Rigamu's side.)
Today they give (him) food.. [Sia. 1.199-200E]

Ellipsis of non-topical T\textsubscript{sec.obj}

(18) "Ehe! O avuin mataa ta haa!" PAUSE

\[\text{eh ART avuin good EMPH ha} \]
A V R\textsubscript{prim.obj}

\[\text{O- re hee bona meha,} \]
3SG then give OBJ.ART other

"Eh! The avuin is good!" Then he gave (it) to another one, ...' [Aro. 10.75-77]

Ellipsis of A and and non-topical T\textsubscript{sec.obj}

(19) \[\text{Erau, e subunae paa kovata bona maa muu} \]
\[\text{and.so ART old.woman TAM roast OBJ.ART PL taro} \]
\[\text{VC R} \]
\[\text{me- paa hee bona.} \]
\[\text{and TAM give 4SG} \]
'And so, his grandmother roasted taro and gave him (them).' [San. 1.93R]

\[\text{Lit. 'is in the care of two clans'.}\]
5.2 Relativisation

Wordorder with a relativised object: REL-object VC SUBJECT OBJECT

(20) relativised \( T_{\text{sec.obj}} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
T_{\text{sec.obj}} & \quad V C & \quad A_{\text{subj}} & \quad R_{\text{prim.obj}} \\
... & \quad \text{o konobo teve vai to hee roho e subunae bona.} & \quad & \quad \\
... & \quad \text{ART oil her DEM REL give before ART grandmother 4SG} & \quad & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

'her oil (container) that her grandmother had given her.' [Nah. 2.35-36E]

Change in wordorder with 1SG/2SG Recipients: REL-object VC OBJECT SUBJECT

(21) \( T_{\text{sec.obj}} \) \( VC \) \( R_{\text{prim.obj}} \) \( A_{\text{subj}} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
... & \quad \text{bona maa si taba vai to heehee amaraara}^4 \quad \text{ori} \quad \text{ei.} & \quad & \quad \\
... & \quad \text{OBJ.ART PL litte thing DEM REL RED.give 1PL.INC.OBJ 3.PL.SUBJ here} & \quad & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

'... the little things that they give us here.' [Vos. 1.95-96R]

Focus construction

(22) \( T_{\text{sec.obj}} \) \( VC \) \( R_{\text{prim.obj}} \) \( A_{\text{subj}} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bero a maa kiu to hee anaa ori} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{many ART PL job REL give 1SG.OBJ 3.PL.SUBJ} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Many jobs they offered me.' [Pur. 2.376R]

Constituent questions

(23) \( T_{\text{sec.obj}} \) \( VC \) \( A_{\text{subj}} \) \( R_{\text{prim.obj}} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tae to hee ri-ori bari?} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{what REL give IMPF:3PL 4SG/PL} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

'What do they give him?' [Kae. 3.219R]

5.3 Reciprocalisation

va-hee-hee ni 'give a.th. to each other; exchange s.th.

(24) \( A \) \( \text{meha hee bona meha.} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ART other give ART other} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{A VC} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{Me- ori [vaheehee petepete bata ni nao] bari.} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{and- 3PL REC.give continuously along APP thither 4SG/PL} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

'One gave (it) to another one. And they passed it from person to person.' [Aro. 10.33E]

(25) \( Eori \) \( \text{vaamahaka maa-ri} \) \( \text{bono paku vai} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
3PL & \quad \text{cook DIR-IMPF:3PL ART feast DEM} & \quad & \quad \\
\text{to kahi ma vaheehee ni ri- ori.} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{REL TAM come REC.give APP IMPF:3PL 3PL} & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

They cook this feast that they bring and exchange;

(lit. ... that come give each other they') [Vos. 2.356R]

---

^4 PRONOUN amaraara = a-maa-ra-ara, ara = OBJ: INC, maa = DIR, -ara = PRON: INC.
5.4 Incorporation of $T_{sec.obj}$

(26) \[ R_{prim.obj} \quad VC \cdot T_{incorporated} \quad A \]

Ei a tavaan vaarii to [hee hena nao] ori.
DEM ART people DEM REL give name thither 3PL
That is the people whom they give the names. [Kae. 3.351R]

5.5 Quanifier float

post-verbal vakavara 'all' quantifies $T_{sec.obj}$

(27) Me- paa heehee va- kavara anaa bona marasin.
and TAM give ADV$^5$- all 1SG.OBJ ART medicine
And (he) gave me all the medicine. [Pur. 2.193R]

pre-verbal kavara 'all' quantifies $A_{subj}$

(28) Me- ori [paa kavara nao].
and 3PL.SUBJ TAM all go
'And they all went.' [Mor. 2.25]

6 The indirective applicative construction of hee ni 'give'

No specific recipient:

(29) $T_{obj}$ VC A
[A maa iana bara maa meha taba] [hee ni nao nom] [nam]
ART PL fish and PL other thing give APP DIR IMPF 1EXC.PL

'Fish and other things we gave' [Pur. 2.272R]

Pragmatic function: Theme= second Topic

In an interview about a ceremony which requires the people to exchange pigs:

(30) $A_{subj}$ VC $T_{obj}$ $R_{adjunct}$
E Davita [na hee ni nao] bene guu tev te Vivite.
ART David TAM give APP DIR ART pig PREP.3SG PREP.ART Vivite.

'David gave his pig to Vivite.' [Vos. 2.100R]

In an interview about the food for the boys during the initiation rituals:

(31) $A_{subj}$ VC $T_{obj}$ $ADJUNCT_R$
Eori to [hee ni nao- ri] [bona tablaani] [vo kuri riori],
3PL REL give APP DIR IMPF ART food GOAL hand- their
(... our mothers,.) it is them who give the food into their hands [Bua. 1.221-222R]

Secundative hee-construction: 73

Indirective hee-ni construction: 35 with 17 hee-ni construction + $R_{adjunct}$

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5 va- prefix deriving adverbs from verbal and adjectival bases.
7 Secundative constructions with other verbs than *hee* 'give'

Table 9: Ditransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>semantic role of OBJ1</th>
<th>semantic role of OBJ2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dao</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'call s.o. s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koa</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'pour s.o. s.th. (to drink)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hivi</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'ask s.o. s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bana</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'spread s.th. on s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>havi</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'rub s.o./s.th. with s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koma</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'pour s.th. on s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ramana</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'sprinkle s.th. with s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasu</td>
<td>ditr.</td>
<td>'throw s.th. at s.o./s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asun</td>
<td>tr., ditr</td>
<td>'hit, kill s.o. with s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahu</td>
<td>intr., tr., ditr</td>
<td>'cook s.th. with s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paku</td>
<td>tr., ditr</td>
<td>'make s.th. from s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gono</td>
<td>tr., ditr</td>
<td>'get s.th. with s.th.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(32)   VC      R prim.obj  T sec.obj
me  paa  koa  ri  bari  bona  pidaa  a  huuun  a  hiiivaa.
and TAM pour OBJ:3PL 4PL ART water.from.cooked.potatoes ART hot

'and served (lit. poured) them the – the hot water from cooked sweet potatoes.' [Aro. 3.7R]

(33) A  VC  R prim.obj  T sec.obj
Pesu  ta  veraka.  Ean  re  tasu  nao  e  bona.
pick NSPEC.ART ripe.breadfruit 2SG.SUBJ then throw thither 3SG.OBJ 4SG.OBJ

'Pick a ripe breadfruit.     Then you   throw it at him.'
(lit. 'Then you   throw     him   it.') [Jen. 1.69E]

(34)   A  VC  P prim.obj  I sec.obj
Me- ori  asun  bari  bona  maa  ipoana  te- ori.
and 3PL kill 4SG/PL ART PL stone.axe PREP-3PL

And they hit him with their weapons. [Sii. 6.508R]

(35)   A  VC  P prim.obj  I sec.obj
a- re  [ma  nahu]  [a  guu  vai]  [bona  tahii].
1INC.PL so.that come cook ART pig DEM ART saltwater

'(You must fetch some saltwater)
so that we can cook this pig (with) the saltwater.' [Mat. 1.68R]

8 Applicative constructions with ditransitive verbs other than *hee*

(36)   VC  P prim.obj
a  beiko  vai  to  [paa  tasu  ni  ma- u]  bona  veraka.
ART childqDEM REL TAM throw APP DIR- IM ART overripe.breadfruit.

'... that child that had thrown an overripe breadfruit.' [Jen. 1.66E]
9 Derived secundative constructions

9.1 Causative constructions

(37) OBJ instrument VC SUBJ
a - maa meha nahu to [nahu- nahu ni] e
ART PL other pot REL RED- cook APP 3 SG
'the other pots that she cooked with' [Iar. 2.8R]

(38) Causee prim.obj VC A P sec.obj
[A- maa tobara subuava] he [kahi vaa- ani ri ri]- ori bona.
ART PL group old женщин caus的对象 but TAM eat OBJ IMPF 3PL.OBJ 4 SG
The old women, they would make them eat it. [Bua. 1.24R]

(39) me- ori paa vaa-penapena bari bona hio te- o kasuana.
and- 3PL TAM CAUS-forbidden 4 SG/PL ART sit PREP-ART ground
'and they forbid him (the chiefly child) to sit on the ground.' [Kor. 1.5R]

9.2 Ditransitive constructions with incorporated prepositions

Table 10: Ditransitive verbs with incorporated prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>incorporated preposition</th>
<th>simple VC</th>
<th>VC + Prep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kahi</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>gono v.dt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>dee v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>gono v.dt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>paku v.dt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>verete v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suku</td>
<td>following</td>
<td>mosi v.dt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(40) recipient/benefactive preposition ki

A VC Rprim.obj Tsec.obj
Me teiee to [paa dee ki ma- u vu]- an bona?
and who REL tam bring to DIR- IM OBJ:2 SG 2 SG.OBJ 4 SG
And who gave it to you? [Aro. 11.66E]

(41) A VC Rprim.obj Tsec.obj
Me- ori [paa paku ki-ri] bari bona peha tabaan.
and 3PL TAM make for OBJ 4 SG/PL ART some food
And they made some food for them, the young men, [Sii. 6.481-482R]
9.3 Triple transitive constructions with incorporated prepositions

(43) simple ditransitive construction

Me- paa mono vamataa bona bono karirava.
And TAM wrap well 4SG ART karirava

And wrapped it well into a karirava leaf. [Ata. 1.81E]

(44) triple transitive construction derived by preposition incorporation

me- [paa mono vamataa ki] bene mutanae bona hum teve bona karirava,
and TAM wrap well for ART his.wife ART piece her ART karirava

'and properly wrapped a piece for his wife into a karirava leaf,' [Ata. 1.53-54E]

9.4 Secundative constructions derived by verb-serialisation

(45) E suunano he mee oha koa ri bari bona otei
ART chief when lead pass just OBJ 4PL ART man

When the chief was leading the man past them, [Aro. 7.121E]

(46) me- ori paa taneo
and 3PL TAM start

tea [koma murimurina bata ni nao] bari bona revasin ne guu.
to pour follow along APP thither 4SG/PL ART blood of. ART pig

'they (followed him and) started pouring the pig’s blood behind him.'
'they started to pour following him the pig's blood.' [Aro. 7.122E]