Bunaq:
A Papuan language of central Timor

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This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

Ce petit traité est extrait d'un ouvrage plus étendu, entrepris autrefois sans avoir consulté mes forces, et abandonné depuis longtemps. Des divers morceaux qu'on pouvait tirer de ce qui était fait celui-ci est le plus considérable, et m'a paru le moins indigne d'être offert au public. Le reste n'est déjà plus.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Avertissement dans Du Contrat Social*

Wem es ein Wort nie verschlagen hat,
und ich sage es euch,
wer bloß sich zu helfen weiß
und mit den Worten –

dem ist nicht zu helfen.

Ingeborg Bachmann, *Wahrlich*

Abstract

This thesis is a description of Bunaq, a Papuan language spoken by approximately 80,000 people living in the central mountainous region of the island of Timor. Bunaq speakers straddle the border between Indonesian West Timor and independent East Timor (Timor-Leste). This thesis concentrates on the variety of Bunaq spoken in the Indonesian *kecamatan* of Lamaknen.

The areas of grammar covered in this thesis are phonology (ch. 2), word classes (ch. 3), clause structure (ch. 4), noun phrases (ch. 5), pronouns and person reference (ch. 6), determiners (ch. 7), locationals (ch. 8), adnominal possession (ch. 9), verbs (ch. 10), valency changing and deponency (ch. 11), postposition and verbal postpositions (ch. 12), serial verb constructions (ch. 13), adverbs and verbal modifiers (ch. 14).

Bunaq is a head-marking language with a basic APV/SV word order and postpositions. Word order shows a significant amount of pragmatic variation, and is also sensitive to factors such as person and animacy in non-agentive clauses. Whilst Bunaq is an APV/SV language, it is not strictly verb-final. Many elements follow the verb, including the theme argument of a trivalent verb, the negative particle and aspect particles.

The Bunaq vowel phoneme inventory consists of the five cardinal vowels and three phonemic diphthongs, while the number of consonant phonemes varying between 12 and 16 depending on the dialect. Consonant clusters are largely prohibited and codas are restricted. Stress is not phonemic. Morphophonological processes include metathesis and irregular root mutations.

The language is isolating with the only morphology being a single set of person prefixes, occurring on verbs and nouns. On verbs, they mark P and less often S; there is no verbal affixation of A. Ps are differentially marked on the verb according to the grammatical noun class ANIMACY of the P. On nouns, person prefixes mark possessors.

The NP is predominantly head-initial. Noun heads are followed by relative clauses, numerals, nouns, determiners, but preceded by locationals and possessors. Noun class is a covert property of nouns reflected in determiner and verbal prefix agreement. The two noun classes are ANIMATE and INANIMATE. Free pronouns are marked for person, number (singular, dual, plural) and clusivity, but are unmarked for grammatical role.

Bunaq has an elaborate set of deictic elements, including six determiners and eight locationals. They are used to locate, identify and track referents in space, time and discourse, and to mark an array of pragmatic meanings.

Bunaq distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possessors. Inalienable possessors are expressed by compounding and marked directly on the possessed noun with person prefixes. Alienable possessors are expressed by phrasally and marked indirectly on a free possessor classifier.

Bunaq makes extensive use of verb serialisation to express, for instance, manner, cause and aspect. A set of inflecting 'verbal' postpositions is used to add peripheral NPs to clauses. Complex events are expressed by coordinated clauses, either juxtaposed or linked by a conjunction. Indigenous conjunctions are clause-final, borrowed ones are clause-initial; they often combine to 'bracket' a dependent clause. Tail-head linkage is common.

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Friends and colleagues at ANU who have made Canberra such a stimulating place to be are: Helen Bromhead, George Darroch, Will Steed, Susan Ford, Edward Scarr, Matt Ruffin, Tom Honeyman, Bevan Barrett, Piers Kelly, Beth Evans, Carol Priestley and Pyone Myat Thu. In particular, I would like to thank Rachel Hendery and Lila San Roque for always being so awesome in every way. I would never have come to enjoy Canberra so much without them and will miss them both immensely. I can only hope that future missions bring us together again. Also fundamental to my Canberra existence has been my partner Markus Brede, leading graph-theory dude and so much more. Markus has supported me and kept me going on rough seas. Calmer waters ahead, I pray.

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List of maps, figures and tables

Abbreviations and glossing conventions

Abbreviations used in glosses

Gloss	Definition	Bunaq morpheme
ABSL	absolute possessor prefix	*t-*
ADDR	addressee locational	*o*
AN / ANIMATE	animate noun class	--
AND	additive focus particle	*o*
BECAUSE	reason NP marker	*gie*
BEN	benefactive verbal postposition	*-ege*
CAUS	causative predicate	*-ini*
COLL	collective plural marker	*mil*
COM	comitative verbal postposition	*-utu*
CONF	confirmation question tag	*to*
CONTR.AN	ANIMATE contrastive demonstrative	*himo*
CONTR.INAN	INANIMATE contrastive demonstrative	*homo*
CONTEXP	counter-expectational relator	*be*
CNTREXP.AN	ANIMATE counter-expectational demonstrative	*beri*
CNTREXP.INAN	INANIMATE counter-expectational demonstrative	*bere*
DEF.AN	ANIMATE definite article	*bi*
DEF.INAN	INANIMATE definite article	*ba*
DO	performative auxiliary	*on*
DUR	temporal duration marker	*mil*
EMPH	emphatic marker	*o*
EXCLAM	exclamation	
EVEN	scalar additive particle	*sa*
FLOCK	animal group plural marker	*gomoq*
FOC	restrictive focus particle	*na*
GIVEN	given relator	*bu*
GL	goal verbal postposition	*-ta*
GRP	group plural marker	*ginil*
HERE	proximal place locational	*huqe*
HIGH	high place spatial locational	*esen*
HUM.PL	human plural enclitic	*=i*
INAN / INANIMATE	inanimate noun class	--
INFORM	information marker	*nai*
IPFV	imperfective aspect particle	*taq*
INS	instrumental verbal postposition	*dele / -rel*
LEVEL	level plane locational	*ota*
LIKE	similative postposition	*goet*
LOC	locative postposition	*gene*

LOW	low plane locational	*ola*
NEG	negator	*niq*
NOT	negative adverb	*ozol / nen*
NOW	temporal /discourse locational	*mete*
NPRX.AN	ANIMATE non-proximal demonstrative	*baqi*
NPRX.INAN	INANIMATE non-prximal demonstrative	*baqa*
OBL	postposition encoding temporal and locational NPs	*no/ni*
ONLY	qualitative restrictive particle	*ai*
OR	disjunctor / alternative question tag	*ka*
PART	partitive noun	*waqen*
PFV	perfective aspect particle	*oa*
POSS	alienable possessive classifier	*-e*
PROH	prohibitive adverb	*hani*
PROSP	prospective aspect marker	*gie*
PROX.AN	ANIMATE proximal demonstrative	*bari*
PROX.INAN	INANIMATE proximal demonstrative	*bare*
REAS	reason clause coordinator	*si*
RECP	reciprocal	*t(V)-*
REDUP	reduplicant	*--*
REFL	reflexive	*d(V)-*
REPORT	reportative marker	*gin*
SEQ	sequential marker	*soq*
SG	singular number	*--*
SOME	non-specific / unknown identity marker	*bun*
SPCPLC	specific place locational	*hoqe*
SPEC.AN	ANIMATE specifier demonstrative	*doi*
SPEC.INAN	INANIMATE specifier demonstrative	*doe*
SRC	source encoding verbal postposition	*-o*
TAG	agreement question tag	*e*
THERE	distal place locational	*haqe*
UNAGENT	deagentiviser	*wen*
1EXCL-	1st person exclusive prefix	*n(V)-*
1INCL/2-	1st person inclusive / 2nd person prefix	*V- / Ø-*
1DU.EXCL	1st person dual exclusive pronoun	*neli*
1DU.INCL	1st person dual inclusive pronoun	*ili*
1PL.EXCL	1st person plural exclusive pronoun	*nei*
1PL.INCL	1st person plural inclusive pronoun	*i*
1SG	1st person singular pronoun	*neto*
2DU	2nd person dual pronoun	*eli*
2PL	2nd person plural pronoun	*ei*
2SG	2nd person singular pronoun	*eto*
3-	3rd person prefix (ANIMATE and INANIMATE)	*g(V)-*

3AN-	3rd person ANIMATE prefix		*g(V)-*
3INAN-	3rd person INANIMATE prefix		*h- / s- / t- / d- / l-*
3DU	3rd person dual pronoun		*halali*
3PL	3rd person plural pronoun		*halaqi*

Category labels

A	most agent-like argument of a bi-/ trivalent clause	P	most patient-like argument of a bivalent clause
ADV	adverbial	PERI	peripheral NP constituent
AGR	agreement	PP	postpositional phrase
ARG	argument	PSM	possessum
ASP	aspectual particles	PRED	predicate
COMP	complement	PSR	possessor
DEM	demonstrative	QUANT	quantificational item in the NP
DET	determiner	R	most recipient-like argument of a trivalent clause
LCT	locational	RC	relative clause
N	noun	S	single argument of a monovalent clause
N_HEAD	semantic head of noun phrase	'subject'	cover term for the single argument of a non-verbal predicate
N_MOD	nominal modifier of head of noun phrase	SVC	serial verb construction
NP	noun phrase	T	most theme-like argument of a trivalent clause
OBL	oblique argument	V	verb
		VPP	verbal postpositional phrase

Other abbreviations used in text

AN	Austronesian language(s)	Mal.	Malay language
AP	Alor-Pantar languages	Mam.	Mambai language
Daw.	Dawan (Uab Meto) language	p.o.	part of
fig.	figurative	s.o.	someone
Ind.	Indonesian language	s.th.	something
Kmk.	Kemak language	Tet.	Tetun language
k.o.	kind of	TAP	Timor-Alor-Pantar language family
lit.	literally		

Conventions:

SMALLCAPS are used to denote items with grammatical, rather than lexical meaning and reflect that these morphemes are Bunaq specific and serves to differentiate the Bunaq from its translation equivalent. Thus, **ANIMACY** denotes the grammatical property of being either of AN(IMATE) or INAN(IMATE) noun class, while **animacy** refers to the semantic property of a referent being either animate or inanimate.

Morphological glossing:
- hypen '-' separates separate morphemes within a single morphophonological word
- equals '=' represents the boundary between a clitic and its host
- tilde '~' connects reduplicated elements
- forward slash '/' separates morphemes with two meanings

Intonation unit glossing:
- comma ',' non-final rise in pitch, and before right dislocated elements
- fullstop '.' sentence-final drop in pitch
- exclamation mark '!' sentence-final rise in pitch
- question mark '?' question intonation
- quote marks "" direct speech/thought

Where a single Bunaq morpheme requires glossing with more than one English word, these are separated by a full stop.

In glosses, noun class may be included after a noun where relevant to the point under discussion, thus: e.g., dog.AN for an ANIMATE noun and house.INAN for an INANIMATE noun.

In translations:
- parenthesis '()' are used to denote elided material that is not actually present in the text
- curly brackets '{}' denote an approximation of modal or evidential meaning encoded by a Bunaq morpheme in the English translation.

Pictures

Picture 1: Bunaq children at the entrance to Gewal village. (known officially as 'Kewar').

Picture 2: Bunaq men *bat dele man* 'coming with spears', after the collective *huliliq* ritual hunt to frighten off crop-eating animals before planting begins.

Picture 3: Bunaq *deu hoto* 'fire houses', traditionally thatched houses with an inner hearth.

Picture 4: "We're all Bunaq". Two men who both speak and identify as Bunaq, one with a Melanesian phenotype, the other an East Asian phenotype.

Picture 5: Corn offered to the *bosok* 'stone representing ancestor' at *paqol sau* 'corn harvest festival' in the *mot* 'ritual stone area' of Gewal.

Picture 6: Bunaq women oversee their portion of the collective feast at the ritual of *solu a* 'collective eating' part of the larger pre-planting festival lasting three days.

Picture 7: Speech by the *kepala desa* 'village head' to men of Gewal warning them not to go to Atambua for demonstrations against the executions of several Christians. The speech was given in Indonesian despite everyone present being native Bunaq speakers. Only the final words of the speech were Bunaq: *Tara-mak?* know-hear 'understand?', to which the collective answer *tara-mak* '(we) understand' came.

Picture 8: Settlement patterns in Lamaknen. In the picture it can be seen that the long-established villages of Duarato, Nualain and Ekin in Lamaknen cluster around knolls. Traditionally, people lived on the top of the knoll around stone area know as *tas* 'a ring fort' a terms which nowadays is used (near-)synonymously with Indonesian *kampung* 'village'. Over time many villages have moved or expanded their centre down away from the *tas* to the more accessible area around the base of the knoll.

Chapter 1:   The Bunaq language and its speakers

This chapter introduces the reader to the Bunaq language and its speakers. Following a general orientation (§1.1), I discuss the names by which the Bunaq and their language are known (§1.2), their dispersal and its historical causes (§1.3), the sociolinguistic setting of the language (§1.4), and dialectal variation (§1.5). I treat issues of genetic affiliation (§1.6), borrowing and influence (§1.7), ritual language (§1.8) and linguistic type (§1.9). Finally, I discuss previous work on Bunaq (§1.10) and the background to the current work (§1.11).

1.1   Introduction: locating the Bunaq

Bunaq is a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language spoken in the central mountainous region of the island of Timor. Timor is located at the eastern extreme of the Minor Sundic Island chain in the Indian Ocean (Map 1.1). The western half of Timor was formerly a Dutch colony and now is part of Indonesia; the eastern half belonged to Portugal until 1975 and was the province Timor Timur of Indonesia until gaining independence in 1999 as Timor-Leste (henceforth simply, East Timor). Bunaq is spoken on both sides of the modern border.

Map 1.1: Bunaq in its wider geographical context

The Bunaq people are isolated in Timor by two factors: their language and their social structure. Firstly, they are surrounded on all sides by Austronesian languages: Kemak to the north, Mambai to the east and Tetun to the south and west (Map 1.2). The other Papuan languages of Timor, Fataluku, Makasai and Makalero are located in a contiguous coastal area on the island's eastern tip. The Bunaq language is widely recognised by the Bunaq and their Austronesian neighbours as 'different', and, whilst

Bunaq is rarely learnt by non-Bunaq, almost all Bunaq are fluent in at least one Austronesian language.

Secondly, the sense of Bunaq's otherness has been fostered by their having a socially distinct character.[1] In contrast to the other groups in Timor which are either matrilineal (Wehali Tetun: Therik 2004), or more commonly patrilineal (e.g. Kemak: Renard-Clamagirand 1982), the Bunaq allow both forms of descent and marriage (Claudine Friedberg pers. comm.). Amongst the Bunaq, the woman typically remains in the house of her birth and the husband and the children enter the mother's house, but she may also enter the house of the husband along with her children.

The perception of pugnacity has also ensured that the Bunaq have remained somewhat apart from their neighbours. The Bunaq are traditionally considered to be an aggressive and argumentative people by the neighbouring Austronesian speaking groups. This belief is reflected in the Bunaq's own traditions (see also Sousa 2008), such as the concluding moral of the folk story of two brothers Asa Paran and Mau Paran given in (1):

1. *En   Emaq g-epal legul. En   Bunaq g-epal gol.*
   people   Kemak 3AN-ear long   people Bunaq 3AN-ear small
   'The Kemak people have long ears. The Bunaq people have small ears.' [Bk-4.098]

The metaphor in (1) reflects the Bunaq's own characterisation of the Kemak as good listeners who never complain, in contrast with themselves who are impatient and short-tempered. This conception of the Bunaq also finds historical support: place-names, oral histories and the current Bunaq dispersal in central Timor indicate that the Bunaq, driven by a string of conflicts, have progressively expanded eastwards, westwards and southwards into Tetun and Mambai lands and into uninhabited lands on the southern plain of Timor (§1.3).

These factors of linguistic non-conformity and social isolation have set the Bunaq apart to some degree. At the same time, these factors have also led to a very inclusive cultural attitude (cf. Picture 4), involving widespread borrowing and adaptation from Austronesian language and society (§1.7). Of course, such twin efforts to assert their identity and to adapt to surrounding social milieux may also be seen as a normal outcome of significant and prolonged contact between neighbouring cultural groups.

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[1] This otherness may even have a genetic basis: Souto et al. (2006) in their study of haplotype diversity in Timor suggest that there is a high degree of genetic distance between the Bunaq and other Timorese.

International border

0 ——— 80
kilometres
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Tetun Dili

Tokodede

Kemak

Mambai

Idate

Galoli

Waima'a

Midiki

Makasai

Fataluku

Tetun Terik

Naueti

Makalero

Baikenu

Bunaq

Tetun Terik

Uab Meto

EAST TIMOR

INDONESIA

Kupang Malay

Helong

INDONESIA

PNG

EAST TIMOR

AUST.

0   500km

9°S

124°E

126°E
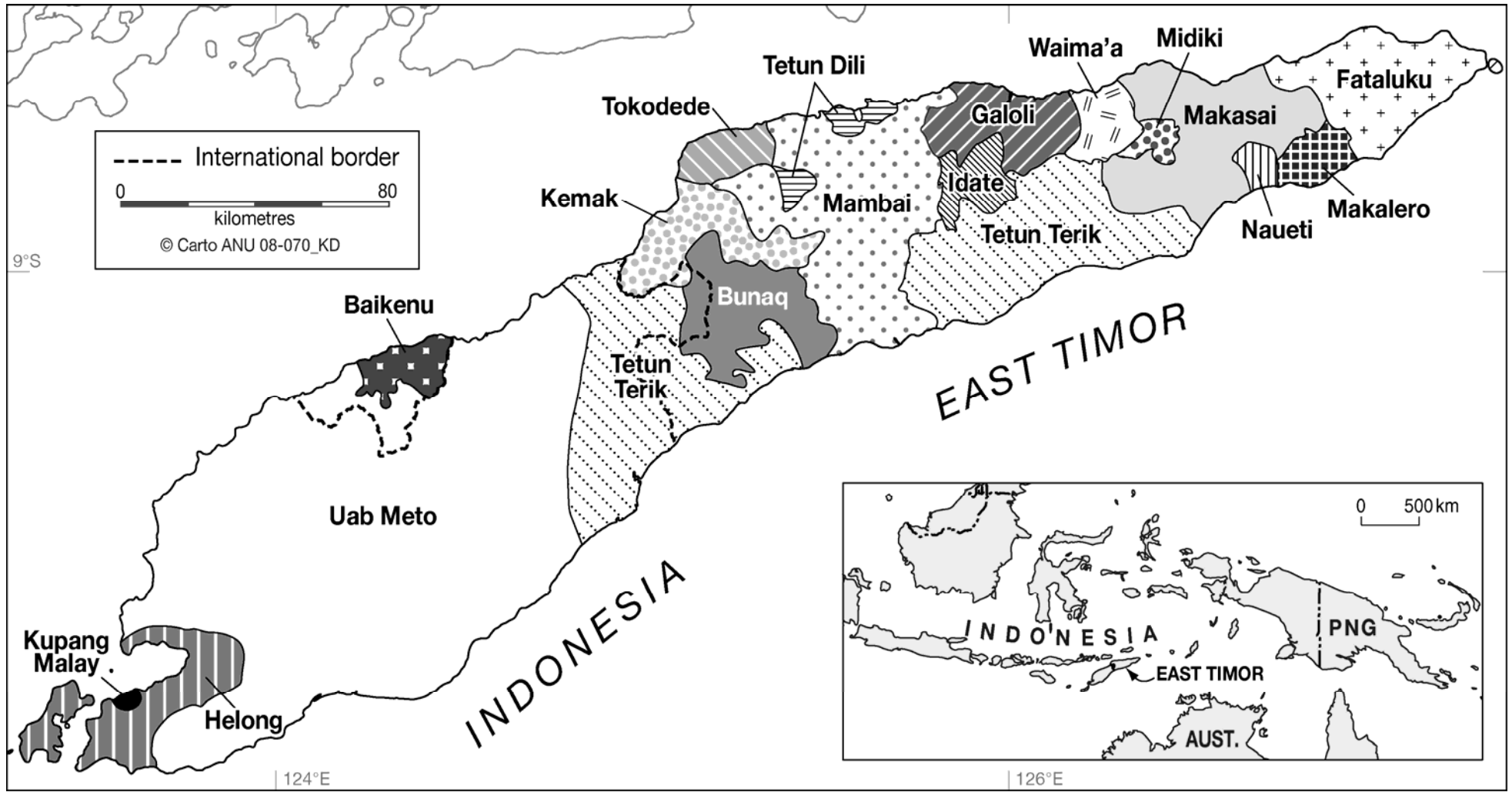
Map 1.2: The main languages of Timor (after the Atlas of East Timor 2006: 24)

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1.2 Language names

The name of the Bunaq people and their language name has been written variously as *Bunak*, *Buna*, *Bunaq*, *Bunä* and *Buna'*. Phonetically the name is [bunaʔ], the final glottal stop being differently (un)transcribed in the orthographies of different authors. The spelling *Bunak* appears to have originated in Portuguese usage where the grapheme <c> is reserved for /k/ and <k> for /ʔ/; the use of the umlaut ‘¨’ appears to be of Dutch origin and is reflected in some West Timorese texts such as the Bunaq Bible (1988). *Buna* is found in a number of Indonesian texts, (e.g. Sawardo et. al. 1996). In the practical orthography used here the language and the people are *Bunaq*, following the orthographic conventions in Berthe (1972) (§2.2).

The name 'Bunaq' is recognised and accepted as a term of self-reference by the Bunaq people and their language across the whole of the Bunaq speaking region. Its origins are unknown, though it has been suggested to be derived from Old Malay *budak* 'slave' (Hull 2004). There is, however, little to support this claim. There are two additional names used in self-reference by Bunaq people in restricted areas.

In the north-east of the Bunaq speaking area, Bunaq people also refer to themselves and their language as *Gaiq* or *Gaeq*. This term is not used elsewhere and is almost entirely unknown outside the north-east. Bunaq identifying themselves as *Gaiq* suggest the term goes back to an early Bunaq clan name. Another possible etymology for the term is *Mgai*, the Kemak name for the Bunaq. Though the direction of borrowing is equivocal, a relation between *Mgai* and *Gaiq* seems plausible given that the north-east is an area of intense contact with Kemak people (§1.7).

Among the groups of Bunaq speakers in southern Belu of West Timor, the Tetun language name for the Bunaq, *Marae*, has been adopted as a term of self-reference. The origin of *Marae* in Tetun itself is not known, though its formal similarity to Tetun *malae* 'stranger, outsider' suggests a connection between the two, particularly in light of the Bunaq's 'other' status in the region. Bunaq speakers from other regions tend to reject the name *Marae*, seeing it as a pejorative outsiders' name. Some Bunaq speakers view the use of the term *Marae* is not so much as pejorative as ignorant, as those who use it do not know the "proper" name for the Bunaq and their language. The Bunaq in southern Belu seem desensitized to any negative connotations in the name *Marae*. The adoption of an exogenous name in self-reference by a group in close contact with speakers of the name's source language is a dynamic which plays itself out frequently in Timor (Charles Grimes pers. comm.).
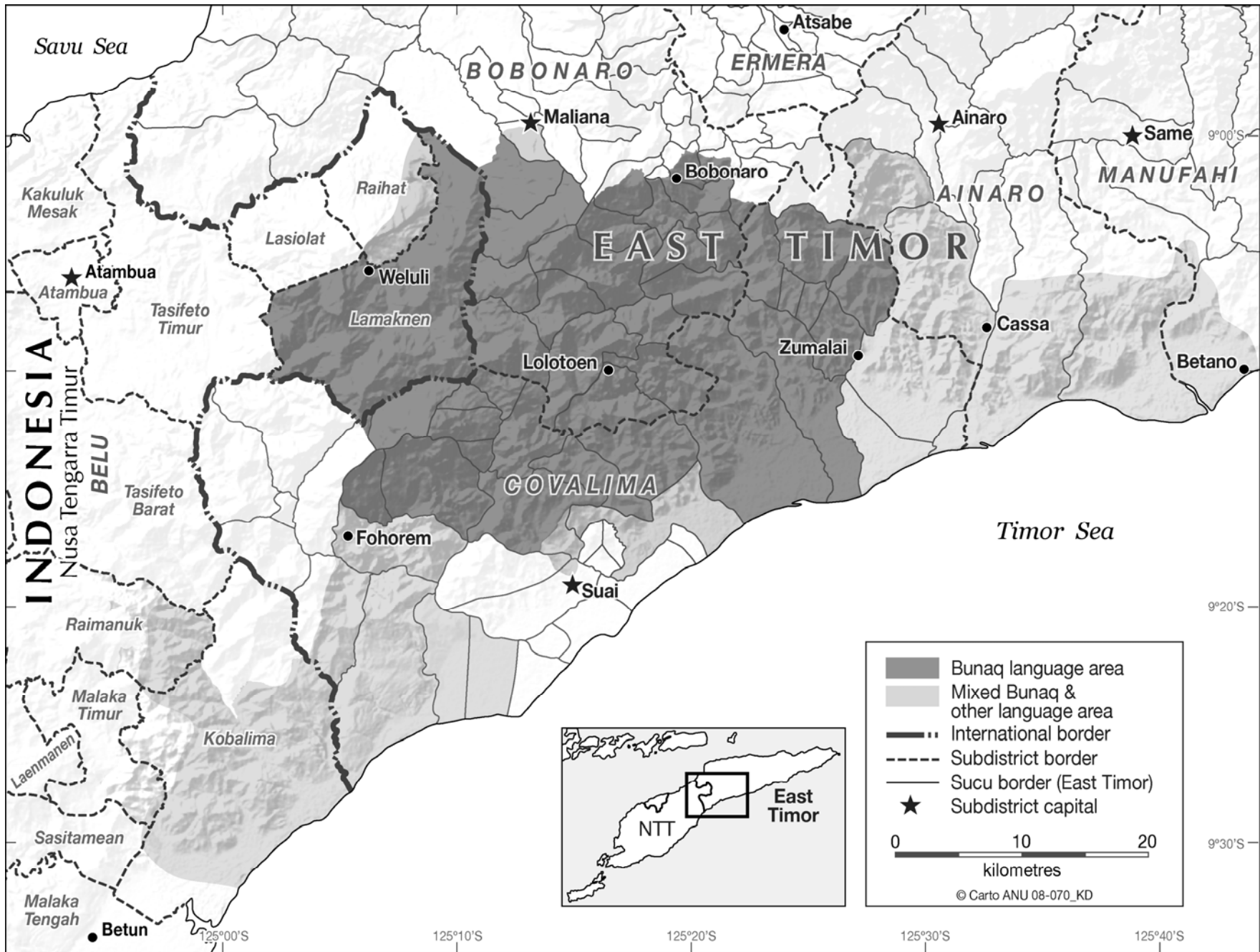
Map 1.3: The extent of the Bunaq language

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1.3   Historical setting: extent and dispersal of the Bunaq

The Bunaq-speaking area straddles the border between independent East Timor and Indonesian West Timor (Map 1.3). It extends in the north from Maliana in East Timor down to portions of the southern coast; it stretches west from the eastern edges of southern Belu regency in West Timor to the western edge of Manufahi sub-district in East Timor.[2]

The modern dispersal of Bunaq speakers reflects a long history of migration and expansion into new territory. By their own accounts traditionally a mountain people (cf. Text 2, Appendix A), the Bunaq have been gradually moving into lowland areas. Excessive pressure on land caused by growing populations and the depletion of soil due to the nature of shifting agriculture have forced the Bunaq to look for new farming land over a period of centuries.

Political factors and governmental ventures have also affected modern Bunaq settlement patterns. Ongoing political turmoil and upheaval from before the Portuguese era until today has caused significant population displacements and in particular brought about successive waves of refugees from East Timor into West Timor. Isolated communities have been both drawn by convenience and compelled by administrators seeking greater access to the populace into the region of newly constructed roads. Other villages have been relocated to entirely new areas as part of government agricultural development projects.

The extent and dispersal of Bunaq speaking villages in central Timor are outlined in the following sections. The information presented in this section stems largely from my own survey work on the Bunaq area (see §1.11 on this).

1.3.1   Bunaq in West Timor

In West Timor the Bunaq are located in the Belu regency of Nusa Tengara Timur province of Indonesia. In the north of Belu, the Bunaq occupy the whole of the Lamaknen sub-district and a small neighbouring area of Raihat sub-district (Map 1.4). In the south of Belu the Bunaq occupy disparate settlements of the Kobalima, Malaka

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[2] Land in Indonesian is officially divided into five levels of administration; provinence (*provinsi*), regency (*kapubaten*), sub-district (*kecamatan*), village grouping (*desa*) and village (*kampung*). Land in East Timor is officially divided into four levels of administration: district (*distrito*), sub-district (*subdistrito*), village grouping (*suco*) and village (*aldeia*).

Timur and Raimanuk sub-districts (Map 1.5). Both the Bunaq populations in West Timor have their origins in East Timor.

1.3.1.1 Bunaq in northern Belu

According to their own oral histories, the Bunaq in Lamaknen and Raihat came to the area from somewhere around Bobonaro (see Map 1.3) in the remote past. When they arrived they found either Tetun or Dawan people, depending on the particular account; they mixed freely with them, gradually absorbing them over time. This view of the past is supported by the many village names in Lamaknen and Raihat which have at least partial Austronesian etymologies: e.g. Duarato > Tet. *dua dato* 'two kings', Aitoun > Tet./Daw. *ai* 'tree' *toun* '?'.

Map 1.4: Bunaq villages in Lamaknen and Raihat.

Recent conflict has brought several additional waves of Bunaq from East Timor to Lamaknen and Raihat. At the end of World War II, Bunaq people fearing reprisals due to their support for the Japanese arrived in Lamaknen from Lebos and established the village Lakus which still today maintains distinct elements of a north-east dialect (see Text 3 in Appendix A). More refugees arrived in 1975 when the Indonesian army moved into East Timor. Fighting destroyed whole villages in Lamaknen: Friedberg (pers. comm.) reports that her field site, the village of Henes, had ceased to exist when she returned to Lamaknen after 1975. In 1999, following the vote for independence in East Timor, many more refugees arrived in Lamaknen and Raihat and set rambling bush huts along the roadsides, many of which remain to this day.

1.3.1.2 Bunaq in southern Belu

In southern Belu, individual Bunaq villages are scattered amongst a majority Tetun population (Map 1.5). At the western extreme of the Bunaq area are Haroe and Welaus (noted by Woertelboer 1955: 172), while to the north are the very isolated villages of Rainawe and Raqakfao. Moving east, Bunaq villages are strung out along the road right up to the *desa* of Alas and Alas Selatan on the border with East Timor.

With one exception, the Bunaq villages in southern Belu have their origins in the Bunaq region of Maukatar just north of Suai in East Timor. This area, known as the Maukatar enclave, was subject to ongoing border disputes between the Portuguese and Dutch colonial administrations. Since 1860, the enclave was recognised as part of the Dutch territory in Timor, as per Map 1.6.[3] However, in 1904, it was agreed in principle that the enclave would be ceded to Portugal in exchange for other lands (Sowash 1948). Following the 1904 agreement, disputes continued over the demarcation of borders, and in 1911 when Portuguese troops moved into Maukatar, they were met by Dutch forces. Clashes continued throughout 1911, before the Dutch agreed to withdraw as per the agreement of 1904. During the fighting of 1911 and following the ceding of the enclave to Portugal, some 5,000 of the population of Maukatar, mostly Bunaq, decamped to Dutch Timor, in what is now southern Belu.

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[3] The borders of the Maukatar enclave were defined with reference to local, and in particular Bunaq, states. The Dutch claimed Maukatar was theirs on the grounds that it was a part of the Dutch state Lakmaras, in modern day Lamaknen, and was joined by that state to other Dutch territories. The Portuguese, however, claimed that since 1859 Lakmaras had been taken over by the Portuguese state of Lamakhitu, from modern day Bobonaro.

Map 1.5: Bunaq villages in southern Belu (West Timor) and south-western Cobalima (East Timor).

The Bunaq in the southern Belu proudly declare themselves the first refugees from East Timor to West Timor and trace themselves back to particular villages in Maukatar. For instance, the Bunaq in Raqakfao trace their origins to Fatuloro in Maukatar and those in Sukabesikun to Belekasak in Maukatar. As in Lamaknen, each of these Bunaq settlements has seen new additions from East Timor during the 1975 and 1999.

The village of Namfalus is exceptional in that the Bunaq people here originate from the area of Bobonaro, from where they fled fighting during the Japanese occupation in World War II (discussed in §1.3.2.2). The Bunaq dialect spoken in Namfalus has characteristics which are consistent with Bobonaro Bunaq, but has also been significantly affected by the Maukatar variety of Bunaq that is spoken by the majority.

Map 1.6: The Dutch Maukatar enclave (adapted from Fox 2003: 15)

1.3.2 Bunaq in East Timor

1.3.2.1 Bunaq in Bobonaro and Zumalai

The Bunaq speaking area in the highlands of Bobonaro subdistrict and Zumalai, the eastern part of Cobalima subdistrict, is the probable Bunaq homeland. It is here that we find place names with Bunaq etymologies, e.g. Odelgomo < *odel* 'monkey', *gomo* 'owner', Mapelai < *mape* 'eagle', *lai* 'set' and Zoilpoq < *zoil* 'k.o. tree', *poq* 'holy'. In Map 1.7, we see that Bunaq place names are found in the centre of the Bunaq speaking area. As one moves out from the middle point of the Bunaq speaking (situated around Lolotoen, Map 1.3), Bunaq placenames fade out, increasingly giving way to Austronesian ones.

The highlands of Bobonaro and Zumalai are a region of dense settlement and significant land pressure (ET Atlas 2004: 23). They have been the source of much of the Bunaq expansion into lower areas which were traditionally uninhabited, with most lowland villages tracing themselves back to a particular upland village. For example, the upland village of Tapo is the origin for lowland village, Tapomemo, situated on the alluvial plains south and east of Maliana. The name of the village of origin, Tapo, is even reflected in that of the new village, Tapomemo, literally 'sweet Tapo'.

Similarly, Bunaq villages in the lowland areas of Zumalai district were all founded on the basis of upland villages. As in the north-west corner upland placenames reoccur in lowland areas: for example, Zulotas lit. 'civet village' has given rise to a twin just

north of Zumalai town called Zulokota lit. 'civet city'. The villages along the south coast east of Zumalai town were established during the Indonesian period with whole villages brought south to the road on the promise of housing.

Map 1.7: Bunaq placename extent map.

Connections between old and new villages often run deep. For instance, inhabitants of Beco, a village situated on the coastal plain east of Suai, identify themselves as coming from Teda, an upland village not far from Lolotoen. Yet, they had never been to Teda themselves and both they themselves and their parents were born in Beco.[4]

1.3.2.2 Bunaq in western Covalima

In the western part of Covalima sub-district, the Bunaq people meet the Tetun Fehan or 'lowland Tetun'. Bunaq people dominate the region of the old Maukatar enclave (Map 1.6), while to the west and south of the enclave the Tetun are in the majority. Within the

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[4] Note that <c> in East Timorese place names reflects Portuguese orthography for [k]. Thus we find the subdistrict <Covalima> in the south eastern corner of East Timor and the adjacent *kecamatan* <Kobalima> on the Indonesian side of the border. The name means 'five lime pouches' in Tetun.

Maukatar enclave, however, placenames indicate a Tetun past for many modern day Bunaq villages: such as the *sucos* Fatululik < Tet. *fatu* 'stone' *lulik* 'holy', and Datotolu < Tet. *dato* 'nobleman' *tolu* 'three'.

South of Fohorem, Bunaq villages are interwoven with Tetun villages. This Bunaq corridor stretches south-west to the border and costal area. The Bunaq villages in the lower lands nearer to the border and the coast were resettled by the Indonesian administration from northern Cobalima *sucos* such as Fatululik and Taroman. As part of program to develop rice agriculture in Timor, the villagers were moved down to the flatter land, built houses and taught how to cultivate rice.

The villages immediately south of Fohorem, such as Wetearba and Salele, are populated by Bunaq people speaking a dialect consistent with that of the Bobonaro region. These villages were established following a massive collective flight from the Japanese army and comprise the most significant displacement of Bunaq dating from World War II. The Japanese had invaded Timor on 20 February 1942 and within days had overwhelmed the small force of Australian and Dutch troops. Some of these managed to evade capture and withdrew into the mountains, from where they waged a guerrilla campaign against the Japanese. The guerrillas spent much of their time in the Bobonaro area and were at different times based in Bobonaro town and Lolotoen . In August 1942, the Japanese carried out a series of reprisals against the population of East Timor who had assisted the guerrillas, with tens of thousands believed to be killed and many others displaced as in the case of these Bunaq who settled south of Fohorem.

1.3.2.3 Bunaq in Ainaro and Manufahi

To the east of Zumalai, a corridor of Bunaq villages stretches across the southern areas of the subdistrict of Ainaro to Manufahi (Map 1.8). In this area, the Bunaq have intermingled significantly with the Mambai, the Austronesian group native to the area. The Bunaq here are typically bilingual in Mambai and their varieties of Bunaq show the impact of mixing with Mambai. They have also shifted to an entirely patrilineal form of descent, like that of the Mambai.

In Ainaro the Bunaq occupy the whole of the *suco* of Maununo. Originally Maununo contained three discrete villages, Aileu, Mamalau and Mausuka. However, during the Indonesian era the villages were brought together to occupy the single location they do today. To the south of Maununo, Bunaq speakers are spread throughout the *suco* of Cassa. There are no apparent differences in the Bunaq spoken in Maununo and Cassa. There are conflicting accounts of the origins of Bunaq of Maununo and the

Cassa group, with some traditions claiming the Bunaq to be the original inhabitants and others that they arrived later. Place names strongly suggest that the Bunaq here moved into an area with a pre-existing Austronesian population. In the Bobonaro region, the Bunaq know Cassa as 'Cassa-Aiasa', reflecting what they see as the origin of the Cassa Bunaq group, i.e. Aiasa, a Bunaq village just west of Bobonaro town.
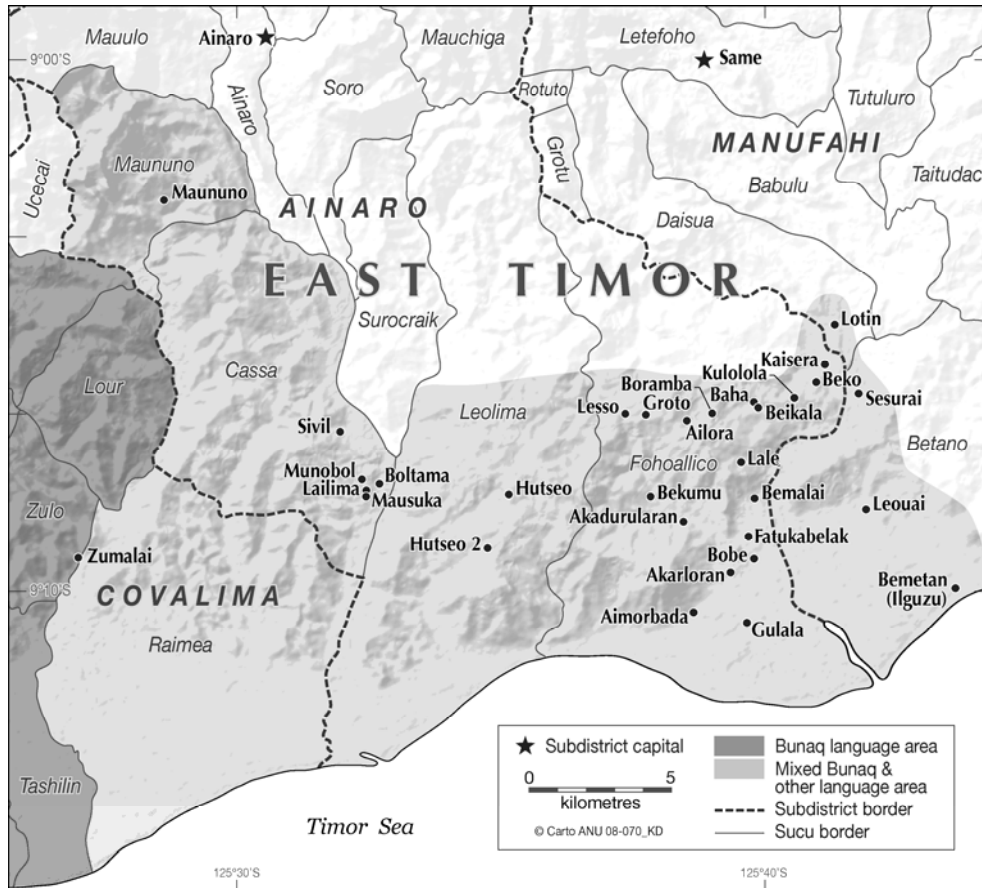
Map 1.8: Bunaq villages in Ainaro and Manufahi

There is another Bunaq group in Cassa located in two villages, Sivil and Lailima, which are strung along the road south of Ainaro town amongst Mambai settlements. The people of Sivil and Lailima were moved down from the Zumalai area during the Indonesian period. The Bunaq dialect spoken in Sivil and Lailima is still strongly north-east in flavour consistent with a recent move from Zumalai.

East of Cassa, there are two villages of Bunaq speakers amongst the sea of Mambai villages in the *suco* Leolima, Hutseo and its offspring of the Indonesian period, Hutseo Dua 'Hutseo II'. Further east again, the entire *suco* of Fohoailiku in the south-east of Ainaro is Bunaq. The Hutseo and the Fohoailiku Bunaq claim to fled from west Ainaro

due to a dispute between Bunaq groups sometime in the Portuguese era. These claims are consistent with the dialectal evidence which shows a set of features in common with Maununo and Cassa Bunaq.

In Manufahi, there are four Bunaq villages scattered along the road south of the main town Same. The first Bunaq village established in this area is Lotin. The Bunaq are thought to have moved into the Lotin area some time in the 1800s from the Bobonaro region following a dispute over the purchase of a bride (Pyone Thu pers. comm.). Following the Boaventura rebellion[5] the Portuguese resettled some of the Lotin Bunaq in lower lands. The modern village of Lotin is some kilometres south of the original village and two further villages, Il Guzu (lit. 'black water' in Bunaq, aka. Mam. Bemetan) and Leoai, were established for the Lotin Bunaq close to the coast. The three villages share a dialect distinct from all other Bunaq dialects (§1.5).

The fourth Bunaq settlement is Sesurai, located on the road between Lotin and Leoai. According to tradition, the Sesurai Bunaq fled from the Zumalai area to Manufahi during the upheavals of the Boaventura revolution. The dialect of Bunaq spoken in Sesurai has characteristics consistent with the Zumalai dialect, but has taken on some traits of Lotin Bunaq.

1.4   Sociolinguistic setting: numbers, vitality and bilingualism

There are roughly 80,000 native speakers of the Bunaq language in total. Of these, approximately 30,000 are located in Belu province of West Timor (2006). The greatest concentration (~25,000) are in Lamaknen and neighbouring villages of southern Raihat; the remaining 5,000 are found in scattered villages in southern Belu (§1.3.1.1). In the Belunese capital, Atambua, there is also a sizeable Bunaq population based in the south-eastern suburb of Fatobenao, closest to Lamaknen. In East Timor, there are approximately 50,000 speakers of Bunaq in the districts. Dili also boasts a sizeable community of some 900 Bunaq speakers. Table 1.1 presents the Bunaq speaker numbers per district taken from the 2004 census figures.

The sociolinguistic position of Bunaq differs substantially between the communities on either side of the border. In Indonesian West Timor, Bunaq exists peacefully as a

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[5] Late in 1911, a Manufahi king known as Boaventura had united many of the kingdoms in central and western East Timor in revolt against what was seen as an oppressive and exploitative colonial power. The rebellion came to an end in August 1912. Surrounded and besieged on a mountain top, Boaventura led an unsuccessful breakout following which most of his estimated three thousand supporters were rounded up and slaughtered.

community language alongside Indonesian, the national language, and local varieties of Malay. Tensions between different linguistic groups are minimal and intermarriage among the younger generation is common in the urban areas where different groups collect. However, in East Timor where there is still a significant amount of inter-community rivalry and where language has been highly politicized (Taylor-Leech 2008), Bunaq people are less well integrated and their language continues to suffer from low prestige.

Table 1.1: Bunaq speakers in East Timor (2006)

Ainaro	3,322
Bobonaro	22,122
Covalima	23,305
Manufahi	911
Dili	839
Other districts	122
Total	50621

The Bunaq language remains vital in Lamaknen and Raihat. Bilingualism with Indonesian is almost universal for those of school age and above. Prior to entering school, a significant amount of Indonesian/Malay language is directed at children, with the purpose of preparing them for school. Nevertheless, children invariably learn Bunaq and speak it from a young age both amongst themselves and with adults. In Raihat Bunaq speakers are bilingual with the variety of Tetun Terik spoken in the neighbouring villages, while in Lamaknen most older people have some competence in Tetun.

In southern Belu, Bunaq has mixed fortunes. In the eastern villages, such as Haroe and Welaus, Bunaq remains strong, with all children still acquiring the language completely. In the remaining villages to the east, Bunaq is weak: it has lost significant ground to the Tetun Terik, the majority native in the region, and Indonesian, the national language. Similarly, in Atambua, the children of Bunaq speakers are rarely full speakers of Bunaq; they are typically most comfortable with Indonesian/Malay and use that language amongst themselves, although they may speak to or be spoken to by their parents in Bunaq.

The official languages of East Timor are Portuguese and Tetun Dili. Tetun Dili is a morphologically simplified variety of Tetun Terik with significant amounts of borrowing from Portuguese; it is used as a lingua franca across much of East Timor

(Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger 2002). Like the other community languages of East Timor, Bunaq has suffered significantly in prestige and vitality since the pronouncement of Tetun Dili as an official language along with Portuguese in 2002. Across the Bunaq area in East Timor, great emphasis is placed upon the acquisition of Tetun Dili by children as the languages of advantage and employment.

In Ainaro and Manufahi, Bunaq people speak Mambai in addition to Tetun Dili, and their variety of Bunaq shows signs of being significantly influenced by Mambai. Bunaq is strong in Ainaro where there are sizeable groups of Bunaq people, but in Manufahi the switch to Mambai appears to be almost complete with no children below the age of 15 speaking the language in my observation.

1.5 Bunaq Dialects

There are a great many features of phonology and lexicon which are not spread uniformly across the Bunaq speaking area. Among the many criss-crossing isoglosses, five main dialect areas can be distinguished (details in Schapper 2007). Their extent is illustrated in Map 1.9.
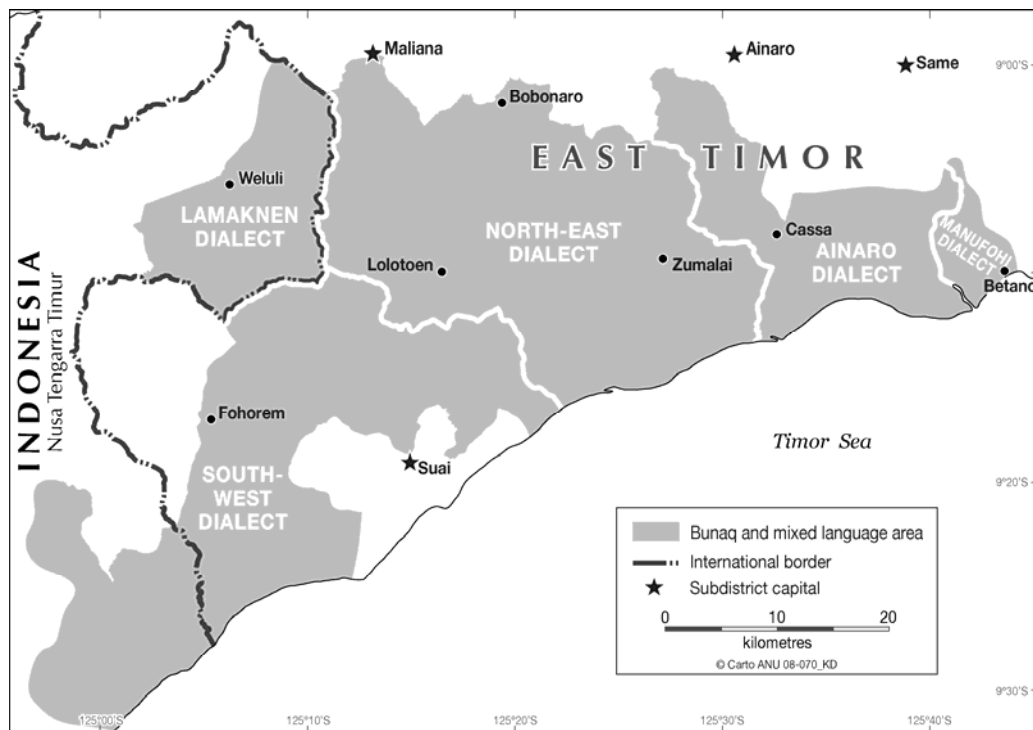
Map 1.9: The major Bunaq dialect areas.

The dialect areas are:

(a) South-West – a phonologically conservative dialect region centred around Maukatar in East Timor;

(b) Lamaknen – a dialect phonologically and lexically intermediate between the South and the North-East, sharing features both in common and distinct from both;

(c) North-East – largest dialect, spreading from Maliana east to Bobonaro and down to Zumalai, phonologically most radical;

(d) Ainaro – a dialect characterised by significant Mambai influence, phonologically similar to, but not as advanced in the application of changes as the North-East;

(e) Manufahi – smallest dialect, characterised by radically different lexicon and relatively conservative phonology, features in common with Ainaro.

A few examples illustrating the dialect divisions on phonological grounds are provided in Table 1.2. We see that the South and Manufahi dialects preserve *d and *t in all environments. Lamaknen is most radical in having *d changing to r both initially and medially, unlike the North-East where r is only an (optional) allophone of d medially. The North-east affricates *t before all high vowels; Lamaknen and Ainaro show some limited affrication of *t before i initially with Lamaknen further merging tʃ with s. Loss of *w and glottalisation of final *r together characterise the three eastern dialects, with subsequent loss of *ʔ in Ainaro and Manufahi. Sporadic loss of initial *h is found in the North-East and Ainaro dialects. The loss of *ʔ and *w in Ainaro and Manufahi is probably due to the influence of Mambai, which lacks both phonemes.

Table 1.2: Phonological characteristics of Bunaq dialects

pBunaq		South-West	Lamaknen	North-East	Ainaro	Manufahi
*d	>	d	d~r / #_	d / #_	d / #_	d
			r / elsewhere	r / elsewhere	d~r/ elsewhere	
*r	>	r	d~r / #_	ʔ / _#	ʔ / _#	ʔ / _#
			r~l / elsewhere	l / elsewhere	l / elsewhere	l / elsewhere
*ʔ	>	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	Ø	Ø
*h	>	h	h	h~Ø / #_	h~Ø / #_	h
*t		t	tʃ~s / #_i	tʃ / _i & _u	tʃ~t / #_i	t
			t / elsewhere	t / elsewhere	t / elsewhere	
*w	>	w	w	Ø~u / #_	Ø~u / #_	Ø~u / #_
				Ø~b/ elsewhere	Ø~b/ elsewhere	Ø~b/ elsewhere

A sample of the many lexical features illustrating the dialect divisions are provided in Table 1.3. The maximal differentiation pattern is illustrated by 'big' with each of the

dialect areas having a distinct lexeme. The South is distinct from all other dialects in having two inalienable nouns -*ip* 'wife' and -*enen* 'husband' (§9.3); the remaining areas simply use *pana* 'woman' and *mone* 'man' for these concepts. For 'sleep' the North-east and Ainaro dialects have innovative *malat*, while the South, Lamaknen and Manufahi reflect proto-Bunaq *tier (cognate with e.g. Oirata *taja* and Makasai *taʔe* 'sleep'). By contrast, for 'stand', the South and Lamaknen have innovative *duʔat* < *du-huʔat* 'REFL-erect', while modern *net* 'stand' in the other dialects has widespread cognates in related languages (e.g. Oirata and Abui *nate* 'stand'). Ainaro and Manufahi share the borrowing *boi* 'not want' from Mambai, while only the Ainaro dialect has borrowed *au* 'I' from Mambai. Both the Ainaro and Manufahi dialects have innovated items for 'not exist', the former from *haziʔ* 'disappear', the latter from *muel* 'be thin'. Finally, Manufahi is distinct from all other dialects in its item for 'exist'.

Table 1.3: Lexical characteristics of Bunaq dialects

	South-West	Lamaknen	North-East	Ainaro	Manufahi
'BIG'	boʔal	masak	tina	gemel	kaman
'WIFE'	-ip	pana	pana	pana	pana
'HUSBAND'	-enen	mone	mone	mone	mone
'SLEEP'	tier	tʃier	malat	malat	tier
'STAND'	duʔat	duʔat	net	net	net
'PLAY'	bukuʔ	bukuʔ	kisaʔ	buku	neun
'NOT WANT'	tiaʔ	tʃiaʔ	piaʔ	boi	boi
'I'	neto	neto	neto	au	neto
'NOT EXIST'	hobel	hobel	hobel	hazi	muel
'EXIST'	hati	hati	atʃi	hati	hono

1.6   Genetic affiliations

1.6.1   High-level affiliations

Bunaq has had a chequered history of genetic classification. Capell (1943, 1943, 1944) first recognised the non-Austronesian character of the Bunaq language. This was contested by Berthe (1963) who described the languages as being of 'mixed' Papuan-Austronesian stock. In turn Cowan (1963, 1965) argued that Bunaq and the other non-

Austronesian languages of Timor were related to the languages of the Bird's Head of New Guinea.

Capell (1975) argued in favour of Cowan's grouping and suggested that all the non-Austronesian languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar (TAP) should be grouped together with the languages of the Bird's Head and Bomberai (also known as, Onin) peninsula. Capell's article is marked with a hasty note from the editor, Stephen Wurm, pointing the reader to the classification of TAP languages in Voorhoeve's (1975) article in the same volume. Voorhoeve (1975) argued that the languages of the southern Bird's Head and Bomberai peninsula belonged to the Trans-New-Guinea (TNG) phylum, thus also including the TAP languages in TNG.

Hull (2004) suggested a genetic relationship between the TAP languages in Timor and the languages of Bomberai peninsula on the basis of rather scant lexical evidence. Comparing pronominal paradigms, Ross (2005) also proposed a classification of the TAP language with the languages of the Bomberai peninsula, including them in a large 'western linkage' of the TNG phylum. Pawley (2005) sees the TNG status of the TAP languages as a given, but emphasises, with Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975), that the TAP languages are highly aberrant and not core TNG members. Donohue and Schapper (forthcoming) dismiss the claims of a TNG association of TAP. The higher order groupings of Bunaq and the rest of TAP languages await significant clarification.

1.6.2 Low-level affiliations

Bunaq is almost without doubt related to the other non-Austronesian languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar (Map 1.10).[6] Stokhof (1975) first made the suggestion that the non-Austronesian languages of Alor and Pantar were related to the Timorese non-Austronesian languages brought to light by Capell (1943, 1943, 1944, 1972). Following Stokhof (1975), there was very little work on the TAP languages and his proposal of relatedness remained unconfirmed. However, a recent surge in descriptive work on TAP languages has enabled the commencement of historical-comparative work.

Donohue and Schapper (2007) present a variety of morphological evidence for seeing Bunaq and the other TAP languages as related to one another. In particular, they reconstruct a minimal-augmented paradigm of pronouns for the proto-TAP language (Table 1.4).

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[6] There is a further member of the group, Oirata, a language closely related to Fataluku spoken on the island of Kisar (Cowan 1965).

Table 1.4: pTAP pronouns

	minimal	augmented
1	*na	*ni
12	*ta	*pi
2	*a	*i
3	*ga	*gi

Whilst relatedness seems certain, it is not clear as to the exact place of Bunaq in the TAP family relative to the Alor-Pantar sub-group (established by Donohue 2007, and revised by Klamer, Holton and Kratochvil 2009) and the east Timor sub-group (van Naerssen 2007). Based on the lexical information in Stokhof (1975) and data from his own fieldwork, Donohue (2007) presents a preliminary sub-grouping on phonological grounds (Figure 1.1) in which Bunaq (written Buna'[7]) is taken to form its own primary subgroup in the TAP family.
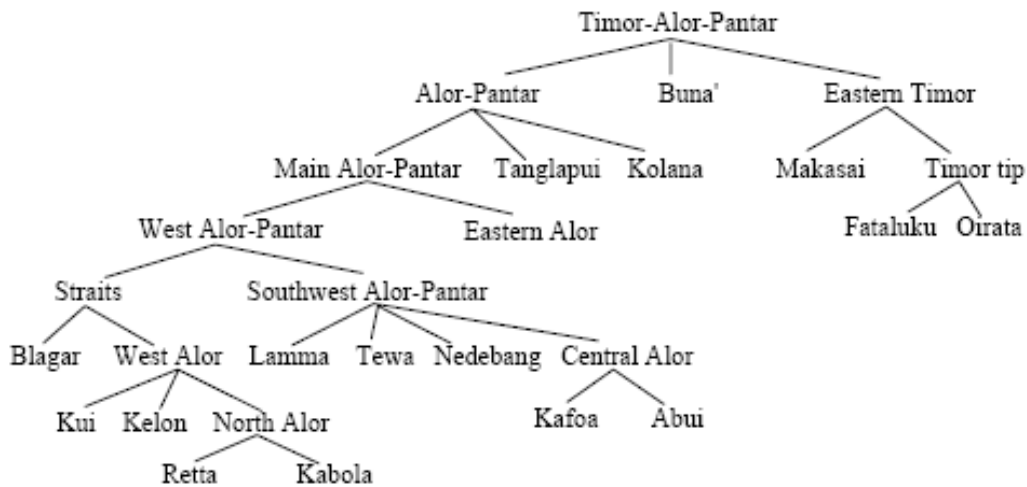
Figure 1.1: Subgrouping the TAP languages on phonological grounds from Donohue (2007)

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[7] Other differences in the naming of languages in Figure 1.1 and Map 1.10 are: Lamma = Western Pantar, Tewa = Teiwa, Kelon = Klon. Languages not explicitly included in Figure 1.1 are Adang, Hamap, Kaera, Kamang and Makalero.
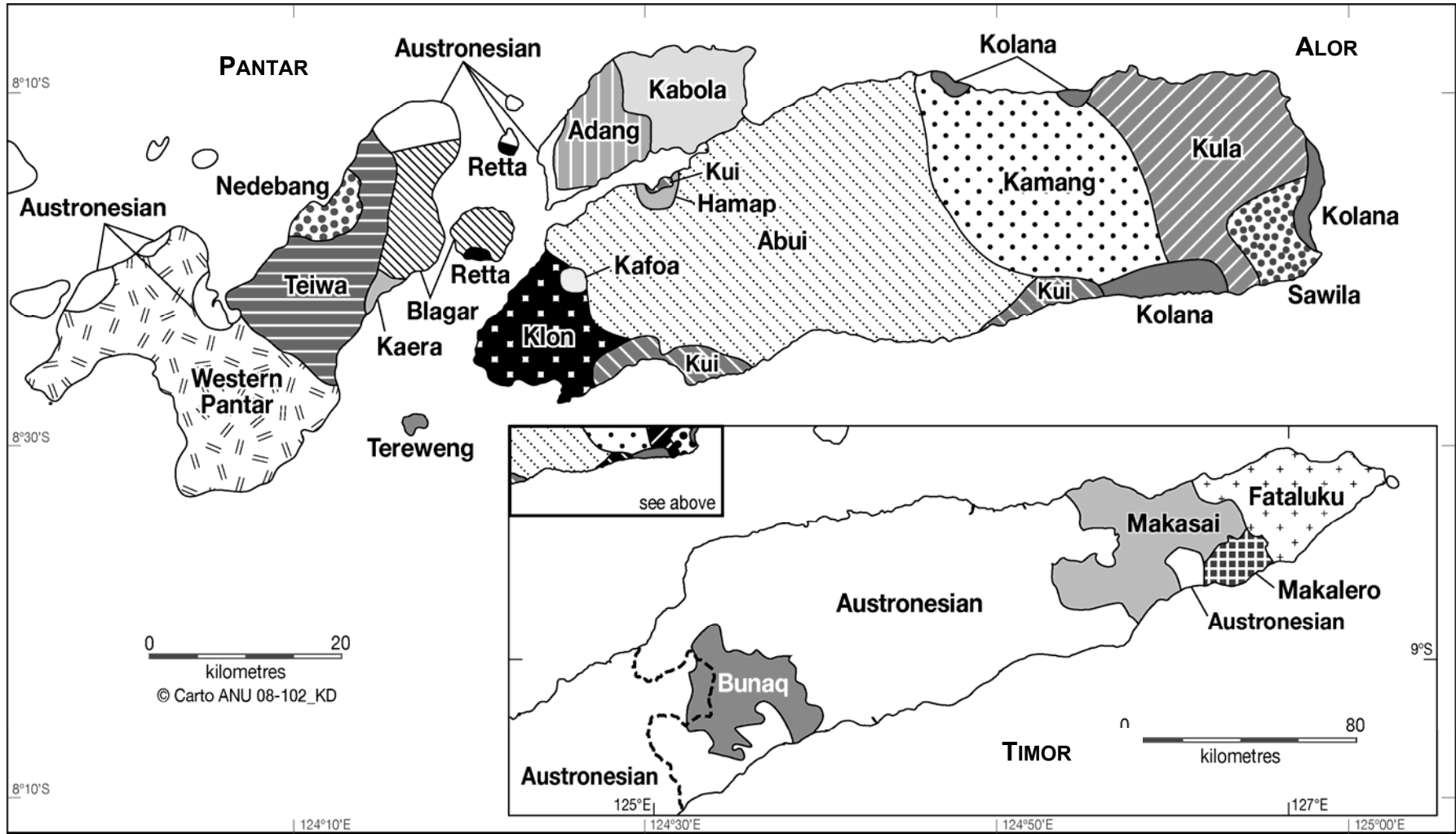
Map 1.10: The non-Austronesian languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family

The emergence of data on the conservative Makalero (Huber 2008a, 2008b) of East Timor, which Donohue (2007) did not have access to, suggests that Bunaq may in fact be most closely related to the languages of the eastern Timor.[8] Makalero and Bunaq are unique in sharing several morphemic alternations (see, e.g., §10.2.4.2), not as yet attested in any of the Alor-Pantar languages. These morphological commonalities may suggest the non-Austronesian languages of Timor are more closely related to one another than to other TAP languages, and thus together form a primary subgroup contrasting with the primary subgroup formed by the AP languages.

Significant comparative-historical work, including a full application of the comparative method, remains to be done before the position of Bunaq within the TAP family can be established.

1.7   Borrowing and influence

As mentioned in §1.1, Bunaq language and culture has borrowed extensively from its Austronesian neighbours.[9] There are two layers of borrowing from Austronesian that can be distinguished in the Bunaq lexicon.

The most significant layer of Austronesian borrowing is from Tetun Terik. Like much of central Timor, the Bunaq were for several centuries under the ritual rulership of the Wehali kingdom, a Tetun territory located on the south coast of modern day West Timor (see Map 1.6).[10] Under the apparent influence of Wehali, Bunaq took on significant amounts of Tetun vocabulary, with over 30% of the modern Bunaq lexicon having a Tetun origin.

Tetun words in Bunaq span all semantic domains of the lexicon. They include a large number of verbs and nouns. Examples of a few of the many Bunaq verbs with

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[8] Hull (2004) shows that Makalero is closely related to Makasai and is part of the eastern Timor sub-group.

[9] Capell (1975) noted that Austronesian loanwords are very common in Papuan languages across eastern Indonesia. The long history of Austronesian and Papuan language proximity and engagement especially in East Timor, and the centuries of inter-island trade networks and interaction with traders from the Moluccas, Sulawesi and Java, often using Malay as a *lingua franca*, have contributed to extensive cross-fertilization of language forms and lexical categories (Bellwood 1998).

[10] The Wehali kingdom has been defined by Francillon (1967) and Therik (2004) as the ritual centre and traditional authority of Timor. Before and during the colonial period, Wehali was the centre of a network of tributary states. Both the Dutch and Portuguese regarded Wehali as central to the political organisation of Timor.

Tetun origins are given in (2). Amongst the examples given, verbs include reference to states, domestic and agricultural practices and cognitive events.

	Bunaq			Tetun	
2.	*baruq*	'bored'	<	*baruk*	'anger, bored'
	besik	'exact, precise'	<	*besik*	'be close'
	bokul	'fat, healthy'	<	*bokur*	'fat'
	hananu	'sing'	<	*hananu*	'sing'
	h-amos	'3INAN-clean (of garden)'	<	*hamos*	'clean (of garden)'
	koʔus	'cradle (of a child)'	<	*koʔus*	'be pregnant'
	mamal	'soft'	<	*mamar*	'soft'
	meak	'be reddish-brown'	<	*meak*	'rust'
	meʔi	'dream'	<	*mehi*	'dream'
	piar	'believe'	<	*fiar*	'believe'
	punu	'war, fight'	<	*funu*	'war, fight'
	tara	'know'	<	*tada*	'know'
	tekeʔ	'look at, examine'	<	*hateke*	'see'

In (3), I list a few of the many Bunaq nouns with Tetun origins. These include items of modern material culture, insects and reptiles, plants and body parts.

	Bunaq			Tetun	
3.	*baba*	'drum'	<	*baba*	'drum'
	bakat	'rhizophore (plant)'	<	*bakat*	'rhizophore (plant)'
	dama	'bow'	<	*rama*	'bow'
	kakibat	'banyan tree'	<	*kakibat*	'banyan tree'
	kebokoq	'grub'	<	*kebeko*	'caterpillar'
	labarain	'spider'	<	*labadain*	'spider'
	lalenok	'mirror'	<	*lalenok*	'mirror'
	lisan	'personality, trait'	<	*lisan*	'tradition, custom'
	loron	'road'	<	*luron*	'road'
	neʔek	'k.o. black ant'	<	*nehek*	'ant'
	sabi	'key'	<	*sabi*	'key'
	sakan	'upper leg'	<	*sakan*	'thigh'
	susuʔ	'mosquito'	<	*susuk*	'mosquito'
	teki	'k.o. small lizard'	<	*teki*	'lizard'

Particular concentrations of Tetun words are found in the domains of rank, rulership and ritual. Examples are given in (4).

	Bunaq			Tetun	
4.	*dato*	'noble'	<	*dato*	'noble'
	denu	'commoner'	<	*renu*	'commoner'
	lok	'offer betel'	<	*lok*	'offer in hospitality'
	loro	'king'	<	*loro*	'king, sun'
	makoʔan	'historian, poet'	<	*makoʔan*	'historian, poet'
	naʔi	'royal'	<	*naʔi*	'royal'
	teberaiq	'dance to drum (of women)'	<	*tebedain*	'dance to drum'
	tei	'dance with feet stomping'	<	*teik*	'make noise with feet'
	paqol sau	'festival lifting ban on corn'	<	*sau*	'lift a prohibition or ban'
	muk ukon	'govern' lit. 'land rule'	<	*rai ukun*	'govern' lit. 'land rule'
	ukur	'power, authority'	<	*ukur*	'ritual, ceremony', 'cords linking edges of loom'
	uma metan	'ruling house'	<	*uma metan*	'black house (used in scared contexts'

The second, smaller and probably older layer of Austronesian borrowing in Bunaq comes from Bunaq's other Austronesian neighbours, Kemak, Dawan and Mambai, or their forerunners. (5) lists a number of these items, including kin terms, items of 'core vocabulary' (Swadesh 1955) such as 'moon' and a range of verbs. See Berthe (1963) for more.

5.	*kaqa*	'older brother'	<	Kmk. *kaqa-r*	'older brother'
	nana	'older sister'	<	Kmk. *nana-r*	'older sister (of male)'
	tata	'ancestor'	<	Kmk. *tata-r*	'grandparent, ancestor'
	mone	'man'	<	Daw. *mone*	'man'
				cf. Tet./Kmk./Mam. *mane* 'man'	
	lihur	'thousand'	<	Kmk. *rihur*	'thousand'
	tahoʔ	'low cloud'	<	Kmk. *tahoʔ*	'cloud, mist'
	huan	'heart'	<	Kmk. *huan*	'heart'
	hul	'moon'	<	Mam. *hul*	'moon'
	si	'meat'	<	Mam. *si ~ sis*	'meat'; Kmk. *si* 'meat'

le	'light'	< Mam. *le ~ lel*	'sun'
to	'year'	< Mam. *to ~ ton*	'year'; Kmk. *to* 'year'
toek	'talk, tell	< Kmk. *toek*	'speak, say'
loi	'good'	< Kmk. *mloi*	'good'
tiluʔ	'stay, rest'	< Kmk. *tiluʔ*	'stay, rest'
hui	'wild'	< Kmk./Mam. *hui*	'wild'
lulai	'move'	< Mam. *lolai*	'walk'
doq	'cut off'	< Mam. *do*	'cut, hack'

It might be argued that in some cases the directionality of borrowing is in fact from Bunaq to the Austronesian languages. Some items, however, are almost certainly of Austronesian origin, since they appear to reflect items which reconstruct to proto-Austronesian, e.g. *sesi 'meat' and *bulaN 'moon'. Items which are not reconstructed to a higher node of Austronesian remain speculative cases of Austronesian influence. In either case, such shared vocabulary points to contact and exchange between Bunaq and its Austronesian neighbours.

1.8   Ritual language: parallelism

Parallelism as a poetic device and the basis of ritual language in eastern Indonesia is widespread (cf. Fox 1988). Parallelism is also the basis for the Bunaq ritual language and occupies a position of considerable cultural importance. Parallelism involves the repetition of near identical half-lines. The language is highly formulaic, with speakers often being able to complete the second half of a line when give the first. The language is vastly different from that of everyday speech with a highly divergent vocabulary and a very flexible approach to syntax. It is spoken by specially trained *makoqan* 'poet, historian', a term borrowed from Tetun, who perform at special events, such as deaths and rituals. The art is in significant decline, with *makoqan* nowadays being typically quite elderly and few and far between. Nevertheless, there is widespread recognition of half-lines: when given a common half-line, most speakers can complete the line, giving its formulaic pair.

The ritual language will not be discussed in this thesis, but the short stretch of text in (6) is provided to give the reader an impression of the language. The example is an excerpt from a longer performance by the *makoqan* of Weluli and records the Bunaq ancestors building of boats (6a), their journey across the sea (6b-c), their arrival in

Timor (6d-f), and their dispersal (6g). A hyphen is used to connect the two half-lines of a parallelism. The translation is very free.

6. a. *biruk   tomak   haqal*   -   *ro   tetuk   haqal,*
        boat   whole   finished   vessel complete   finished
        'the boats were complete'

    b. *irak   ro   saqe*   -   *irak   biruk   saqe,*
        separate vessel   ascend   separate boat   ascend
        'separately (they) ascended the boats'

    c. *meti   iti   man*   -   *mo   raqet   man,*
        sea   opposite   come   sea   lined.up   come
        '(they) came lined up'

    d. *pan   betak   Timor*   -   *muk   betak   Timor,*
        sky   other   Timor   land   other   Timor
        '(to) another sky (and) land, Timor'

    e. *hati   a-ta   sai*   -   *hati   a-ta   taru,*
        exist   3INAN-GL   exit   exist 3INAN-GL   appear
        '(they) arrived'

    f. *hono   d-itimik*   -   *hono   d-atun,*
        there   REFL-descend   there REFL-bring.down
        'there (they) got descended'

    g. *waqen   hot   taru*   -   *waqen hot   topa,*
        some   sun   appear   some   sun   drop
        'some (went) east, some (went) west'   [Bere-07.01]

We see from (6) that parallel constructions are formed by varying one (or less commonly two) word between half-lines, while keeping the frame in which the words occur constant. Typically varying words used in adjoined half-lines are (near-) synonyms. They follow a number of patterns. The main pattern in this text is: one synonym from Tetun, one synonym from Bunaq: e.g., Tet. *meti* 'sea' but Bunaq *mo* 'sea' (6c). In other cases, dialect synonyms (e.g., *net ~ duqat* 'stand') or allophones (e.g., d~r) are used to vary half-lines. Varying words may also be opposites that complement or elaborate on one another, as in: *pan* 'sky' and *muk* 'earth' (6d); *hot taru* 'east' and *hot topa* 'west' (6g). Much more work is required to uncover the full variation encompassed by ritual language. See Berthe (1972) for more ritual Bunaq.

1.9   Linguistic type

1.9.1   Typological overview

Bunaq is a head-marking language with a basic APV/SV word order and postpositions. Word order shows a significant amount of pragmatic variation, and is also sensitive to factors such as person and animacy in non-agentive clauses. Whilst Bunaq is an APV/SV language, it is not strictly verb-final. Many elements follow the verb, such as the theme argument of a trivalent verb and the clausal negator.

The Bunaq vowel phoneme inventory consists of the five cardinal vowels and three phonemic diphthongs, while the number of consonant phonemes differs between dialects. For instance, the inventory of Bunaq Lamaknen is /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, z, h, tʃ, l, r, m, n, w/, while the inventory of Bunaq Lolotoen adds an aspirated stop series /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/ to this, but lacks /tʃ, r, w/. The preferred syllable shape is CV. Consonant clusters are largely prohibited and codas are highly restricted. Stress is not phonemic. Morphophonological processes include metathesis and irregular root mutations.

The language is largely isolating, with the only morphology being a single set of person prefixes, occurring on both verbs and nouns. On verbs, they mark P and less often S; there is no verbal affixation of A. P arguments are differentially marked according to the grammatical noun class ANIMACY of the P argument. On nouns, person prefixes mark possessors.

The NP is predominantly head-initial. Noun heads are followed by modifier (relative clause, num, noun, det), but preceded by locationals and possessors. Noun class is a covert property of nouns reflected in determiner and prefixal agreement on the verb. The two noun classes are ANIMATE and INANIMATE. Free pronouns are marked for person, number (singular, dual, plural) and clusivity, but are unmarked for grammatical role.

Bunaq has an elaborate set of deictic elements, including six determiners and eight locationals. Determiners and locationals are used extensively and in complex ways to locate, identify and track referents in space, time and discourse, as well as to mark an array of pragmatic meanings.

Bunaq distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possessors. Inalienable possessors are expressed by compounding and marked directly on the possessed noun with person prefixes. Alienable possessors are expressed by phrasally and marked indirectly by a free possessor classifier with person prefixes indexing the possessor.

Bunaq makes extensive use of verb serialisation to express, for instance, manner, cause and aspect. A set of inflecting, verbal postpositions is used to add a range of peripheral NPs to clauses. Complex events are expressed by coordinated clauses, either juxtaposed or linked by a conjunction. Indigenous conjunctions are clause-final, while borrowed ones are clause-initial; they often combine together to 'bracket' a dependent clause. Tail-head linkage is common.

1.9.2　Bunaq as a Papuan language

The term 'Papuan' is a negative category: a language is said to be 'Papuan' if it is spoken in the area near New Guinea, and is neither Austronesian nor Australian. 'Papuan' thus brings languages of over 60 families under a single label (see Foley 1986: 231-45). The alternative label 'non-Austronesian' is similarly vague, presenting its own difficulties in so far as Austronesian languages are in geographic contact with several language families, such as Austro-Asiatic languages on mainland South-east Asia, which may not be identified with the label 'Papuan'.

Nevertheless, there is common agreement about the existence of a Papuan linguistic type: a number of features have been proposed as 'typical' of Papuan languages. Foley (1998, 2000), Haiman (1979) and Reesink (1987, 2002) discuss a range of grammatical properties that are found in a number of languages of New Guinea, especially in the highlands and middle Sepik area. These features are identified as contrasting with the standard typological profile presented in general by languages of the Austronesian family, although some features are not unique to the Papuan languages of New Guinea and many of them do not cover the entire New Guinea area.

Given Bunaq's location in the midst of Austronesian languages, its isolation from other Papuan languages, and in light of Berthe's (1963) claims of its 'mixed' origin, a comparison between standard Austronesian and Papuan features offers a benchmark by which to gauge the character of the language. Following Donohue (n.d.: 19-23), I will assess the status of Bunaq by comparing its features against the Austronesian and Papuan typological 'benchmarks' set out in Foley (1998). Underlining is used to highlight similarities between features in Bunaq and the Austronesian and Papuan types.

Table 1.5 outlines eight defining characteristics of the phonologies broadly 'typical' of Austronesian and Papuan languages. Of these, Bunaq has a typologically unexceptional system of 5 pure vowels. As for feature 2, the Bunaq places of articulation may be taken as typical of either Papuan or Austronesian languages.

Bunaq's voicing contrast in the obstruents is more typical of Austronesian than Papuan, while the fricatives of Bunaq are not typical for either Austronesian or Papuan languages. The contrast between two liquids is a feature of Austronesian languages, as is the simple segmental syllable structure, non-phonemic stress and the lack of tone. Of the assessable phonological features, Bunaq thus scores four clear points for Austronesian and none for Papuan; the remaining features are either typical of both or neither.

Table 1.5: Papuan-Austronesian phonology compared

	Feature	Austronesian	Papuan	Bunaq
1	Vowels	5 vowels	5 vowels + ə; front rounding	5 vowels (+ 3 diphthongs)
2	Places	P - T - K (~C)	P - T - (C/s) – K	P – T – (C) – K
3	Manner	P ≠ B; B = MB	no pattern	P ≠ B
4	Fricatives	f v - s - ɣ	fricatives = stops p/ɸ/β ; t/r/l; k/g/ɣ few fricatives	s z – h
5	Liquids	r ≠ l	r = l	r ≠ l
6	Syllables	(C)V	C(C) V C	(C)V
7	Stress	penultimate stress	phonemic stress	penultimate stress
8	Tone	typically no tone	tone present	no tone

Table 1.6 presents eight morphological characteristics of Austronesian and Papuan languages. Morphologically Bunaq is isolating and thus closer to Austronesian than Papuan. Bunaq inflection is not fusional with other grammatical categories, but simply marks person. Consistent with the Papuan type, Bunaq makes extensive use of serial verbs, but has no applicative or other derivational morphology. In contrast to both Papuan and Austronesian types Bunaq nouns have gender, though this is not marked on them morphologically. There is no morphological case in Bunaq. Bunaq verbal agreement follows neither the Austronesian nor the Papuan pattern. Bunaq TAM marking is by serial verbs or postverbal free morphemes, similar to the Papuan type. Bunaq roots show some categorial indeterminacy in the manner of the Austronesian type. Overall, Bunaq scores four with Austronesian and two with Papuan. Note, however, given that Bunaq has only one productive morphological paradigm, the assignment of figures for morphology will be generous in any direction.

Table 1.6: Papuan-Austronesian morphology compared

	Feature	Austronesian	Papuan	Bunaq
1	type	close to isolating	agglutinative	isolating
2	inflection	little	strong often fused with TAM	little, person inflection only
3	derivation	applicative suffixes	SVCs	SVCs
		causative prefixes	suffixal derivational morphology	no derivational morphology
4	nominal categories	no number or gender	usually no number or gender	gender
5	case	no case	suffixal/enclitic case	no case
6	verbal agreement	S = V = O	O = V = S, V = O = S, V = S = O	O = V, (S = V)
7	TAM	s = TAM = V	V-TAM, SVCs	V TAM, SVCs
8	categoriality	categorial indeterminacy	strict root categories	some categorial indeterminacy

Table 1.7 summarises six contrasting syntactic features of Austronesian and Papuan languages. The syntactic profile of Bunaq is right-headed at the clausal level, with SOV word order and two postpositions. Consistent with a right-headed profile, determiners follow the noun. However, Bunaq is not universally right-headed with relative clauses and numerals following the noun, a feature which is consistent with both the Papuan and Austronesian types. Bunaq has no system of switch-reference, but has conjunctions following the S, thus conforming to the overall right-headed profile of the language and differing from that of the Austronesian. In terms of syntax, Bunaq scores three for Papuan and none for Austronesian.

Table 1.7: Papuan-Austronesian syntax compared

	Feature	Austronesian	Papuan	Bunaq
1	phrase	left-headed	right-headed	right-headed
2	clause	SVO	SOV (also OSV)	SOV, (OSV)
3	PP	PREP N	N POST	N POST
4	DP	DET N	no DET	N DET
5	modifiers	N ADJ, N RC	N ADJ, (ADJ N)	N RC, N NUM
6	sentence	S CONJS	SS, S-SWITCHS	no SS, CONJS S

Table 1.8 summarises the features across the three domains. It would appear that, on the basis of Foley's (1998) features, Bunaq belongs convincingly to neither the broad

Austronesian nor the so-called Papuan linguistic type, but at the same time has typological characteristics consistent with both. Taken to refer to stable entities, the labels 'Papuan', 'Austronesian' and 'non-Austronesian' would seem thus to be of limited usefulness in describing the typological profile of Bunaq.

Table 1.8: Summary of Bunaq comparative features

	Feature	Austronesian	Papuan	Neither
1	Phonology	4	0	4
2	Morphology	4	2	2
3	Syntax	0	3	3
	Total (of 22)	8	5	9

However, if we discard the facile view that there is a consistent 'Papuan' linguistic type that extends over the whole area in which Papuan languages are found, then we can examine other possible relations. For instance, recent work has shown that the insular area of eastern Indonesian (as per Klamer, Reesink and Staden 2008) is an area in which many linguistic features have been diffused. In particular, the Austronesian and Papuan languages have been shown to share characteristics distinct from those of other Austronesian and Papuan languages in different areas, such as:

a. stative-active alignment (Donohue 2004, Klamer 2008);
b. neuter gender (Schapper forthcoming);
c. N Poss & Poss N order in the Timor-Flores area (Schapper 2009);
d. certain verb serialisations (Staden and Reesink 2008), and;
e. parallelism (Fox 1988, Klamer 2002).

As a language which shares these and other features with both types of language in the area, it is more profitable to view Bunaq as neither an aberrant Austronesian nor non-conformist Papuan, but as displaying a particular 'insular eastern Indonesian' linguistic type which cross-cuts the distinction between Papuan and Austronesian.[11]

1.10 Previous work

Of the peoples and languages of Timor, Bunaq has received more scholarly attention than most. The earliest work was conducted by Arthur Capell. He worked with Bunaq

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[11] This view is consistent with the findings of Reesink, Singer and Dunn (2009) whose model points to an eastern Indonesian 'population' containing both Papuan languages of the West Papuan and TAP families and Austronesian languages, such as Taba.

speakers in a refugee camp outside Dili during World War II. His field notes are available in the PARADISEC online database (http://paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes). The results of his work in Timor were published in a trilogy of articles in Oceanic Linguistics (Capell 1943a, 1943b, 1944). Some additional data from Bunaq is presented in Capell (1972, 1975).

The Bunaq matrilineal clan structure attracted the French anthropologist Louis Berthe to Lamaknen in West Timor during the 1950s, with subsequent fieldtrips in the 1960s and 1970s. He published two articles on the Bunaq language: Berthe (1959) looks at language and metaphor in traditional Bunaq sayings, while Berthe (1963) describes some features of Bunaq inflectional morphology. Cowan (1963) is a response to Berthe (1963) rejecting the article's claims of Bunaq's mixed Papuan-Austronesian origins.

Berthe's collection of ritual texts describing the origin and lineal transmission of the privileges and titles amongst the Bunaq, submitted as doctoral dissertation at the University of the Sorbonne in 1961, was posthumously published by Claudine Friedberg as Berthe (1972). Friedberg further edited and published a collection of Bunaq folktales collected and translated by Berthe which appeared as Friedberg (1978). Her preface to this work includes remarks on the Bunaq language including a segmental phonology and notes on a range of word classes.

Friedberg herself conducted extensive fieldwork on the Bunaq in Lamaknen and published significantly. Volume III from her mammoth five volume 1982 University of the Sorbonne doctoral thesis on the Bunaq was published in (1990) and deals with traditional Bunaq plant classification. Her other publications on aspects of Bunaq ethnobotany include Friedberg (1970, 1972, 1974, 1979). More general contributions to knowledge of Bunaq culture and society include Friedberg (1973, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1989/90, 1997, 1999).

Compiled from materials published in Berthe (1959, 1963) and Capell (1943, 1943, 1944), Stokhof (1975) includes a 117 item Bunaq wordlist. A 1000 word Holle list of a Bunaq dialect spoken in southern Belu was published under the language name Marae in Stokhof (1983). Sawardo et al. (1996) is a short error-ridden grammatical sketch published under the auspices of Indonesia's national language centre. The sketch was produced by means of a questionnaire answered with the help of Bunaq speakers in Atambua. Most recently Hull (2004) presents data from a Bunaq dialect of East Timor as part of a comparative study on the Papuan languages of Timor.

1.11 This work: fieldwork and data

1.11.1 Fieldwork

This work deals primarily with the Bunaq language as it is spoken in the Lamaknen region of West Timor. The majority of the fieldwork was conducted in the village of Gewal (see Map 1.4). I was resident in this village for two months from September to the end of October 2006, then five months from March to July 2007 and a final one month in May 2009. In addition to this I spent two months surveying the Bunaq speaking area in East Timor, one month in October 2007 and one month in April 2009.

During my stays in Gewal, I lived with an unmarried retired teacher Marieta Soi and her five foster children, Ela, Laura, Novi, Diana and Yuni. The latter two were away during the week attending high school in Weluli. I spoke almost no Indonesian/Malay when I first arrived in the village, and concentrated on learning Bunaq for my first two month stay in 2006. This was greatly facilitated by living with a group of children who were always keen to answer my questions and tell me what something was called, whilst Eme ('mother') Eta (Marieta Soi) was forever quick to correct my mistakes.

Once I was sufficiently competent in Bunaq, I began recording conversations and texts from different individuals in Gewal and the surrounding villages in Lamaknen. I was at pains to stress to the Bunaq that I was interested in 'everyday Bunaq' and not the ritual language, discussed briefly in §1.8, which had been the concern of Berthe and Friedberg. Towards the end of my 2ⁿᵈ fieldtrip, I began work doing elicitation and getting grammaticality judgements on sentences I constructed on the basis of observations and analysis of textual data. This work was done chiefly with Hironimus Mau of Dirun village who was resident in Gewal at the time, Wili Loe, a retired teacher whom I would visit at his home in Nualain village, and Florentina Bau, also a retired teacher who lived in Gewal. In Atambua, I was also able to consult the extensive knowledge of the *loro Lamaknen* 'king of Lamaknen', Ignatius Kali, and his wife Eme Rosa. In the course of my fieldwork, I consulted with many other speakers, some of whom are listed in the Table in Appendix B.

1.11.2 Kinds of data

The data I have used in developing the analysis of the Bunaq language were collected in a variety of ways. The language examples presented are annotated to indicate their origin. Data type translations are shown in square brackets '[]' following the free translation. This work makes use of three different kinds of data:

I.   Textual data: the term 'texts' here is used to refer to data recorded in audio or audiovisual form by myself in Lamaknen. Appendix B lists the ninety texts (a total of 17 hours worth of recording and over 2000 distinct lexical items) that make up the corpus of data on which this work is chiefly based. The table gives the speaker's name, approximate age and provenance. These texts are designated by 'Bk' (for 'Bunak'), then the text number and finally the line number of the text referred as it appears in Toolbox. For example, '[Bk-28.105]' refers to line 105 of Bunaq text number 28 in the corpus. Texts of Bunaq varieties of East Timor that were recorded during survey work are not included in the corpus, nor are texts in ritual speech.

II.   Overheard speech: I kept a pocket notebook on me at all times in which I wrote down speech I happened to overhear or which was said to me in the course of everyday routine. Examples of this kind are designated in language examples with 'OS', and then by the fieldwork trip during which it was heard (06, 07, or 09) and finally the notebook number. Thus '[OS-06.01]' refers to a piece of overheard speech from my first pocket notebook of my fieldwork in 2006.

III. Elicited data: elicited data is data which was produced in elicitation contexts (eg. can you say X? how do say X?) and/or where speakers spontaneously gave grammaticality judgements or corrected errors in my speech. Language examples of this kind are designated as 'Not', and then by the fieldwork trip during which it was recorded (06, 07, or 09) and finally the notebook number. Thus '[Not-07.03]' refers to a piece of elicited data from my third pocket notebook of my fieldwork in 2007. Formal elicitation was always based upon hypotheses formed looking at texts.

IV.   Written data: this refers to texts that I had access to in written forms. Data of this kind comes from several sources. I made extensive use of the texts collected by Louis Berthe in Lamaknen that were later published in Friedberg (1978). I thoroughly checked these texts with speakers on my first fieldtrip and entered them into Toolbox. They are cited throughout this work as 'LB', followed by the text number (1-10) and the Toolbox line it occurs in, e.g. [LB-06.123].

I was given two religious texts written by native speakers of Lamaknen Bunaq. Examples from these were rechecked with speakers. The first is portions from the New Testament of the Bible published in 1988 by the Pusat Pastoral Keuskupan Atambua printed under the title *Libur por toma tip gie* (1988). This text is designated as 'Bib' followed by the page number, e.g. [Bib-64]. The second one is *Tea Buna* 'Bunaq Prayers', a small book of prayers printed in 1961. This text where referred to is designated as 'Pray' followed by its page, e.g. [Pray-4].

Chapter 2:   Phonology and morphophonology

This chapter gives a preliminary account of the phonology of the Lamaknen dialect of Bunaq. The chapter begins with a description of the Bunaq Lamaknen segmental phonology in §2.1. The orthographic conventions according This chapter gives a preliminary account of the phonology of the Lamaknen dialect of Bunaq. The chapter begins with a description of the Bunaq Lamaknen segmental phonology in §2.1. The orthographic conventions according which the segments will be represented throughout this description are given in §2.2. Bunaq phonotactics are dealt with in §2.3 and stress in §2.4. Finally, morphophonology is dealt with in §2.5, while irregularities in morphophonological behaviour are discussed in §2.6.

2.1   Phoneme inventory

There are a total of 24 segmental phonemes in the native phoneme inventory of Lamaknen Bunaq, 16 consonants, 5 vowels and 3 diphthongs. See §2.1.4 on non-native phonemes.

2.1.1   Vowel phonemes

Bunaq has a simple five vowel system, consisting of two front, two back and a single low non-front, non-back vowel (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Bunaq vowel inventory

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	

The minimal contrasts between the Bunaq vowel phonemes are given in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Vowel minimal pairs

Contrast	Item	Gloss
/a/~/e/~/i/~/o/~/u/	*a*	'eat'
	e	'salt'
	i	'1PL.INCL'
	o	'prawn'
	u	'grass'

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The vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ show minimal allophonic variation. In stressed syllables of disyllabic words (cf. §2.4), the mid vowel phonemes /e/ and /o/ may be raised to [i] and [u]. This raising can also be found in graphemic variation between <e> ~ <i> and <o> ~ <u> in native speaker orthographic choices. Items in which such raising is common are given in (1) for /e/ and (2) for /o/. The variation is a stable feature of female speech and does not appear to represent an ongoing neutralisation of vowel phoneme distinctions.

1. /sesal/   'bone'   ['sesal]   ~   ['sisal]
   /sekal/   'potato'   ['sekal]   ~   ['sikal]
   /heser/   'dead'   ['heser]   ~   ['hiser]
   /menal/   'go down'   ['menal]   ~   ['minal]

2. /hotus/   'woven pattern' ['hotus] ~   ['hutus]
   /moal/   'lower ground'   ['moal]   ~   ['mual]
   /topi/   'owl'   ['topi]   ~   ['tupi]
   /loron/   'road'   ['loron] ~   ['luron]

The high vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/ are not observed to vary in this way.

2.1.2   Diphthong phonemes

In addition to the five cardinal vowel phonemes, Bunaq has three phonemic diphthongs /ai, ei, oi/. The diphthongs are treated here as two pure vowels in a single syllable nucleus. The second vowel in the syllable nucleus is /i/ and is realised as a high off glide /j/, giving the surface forms [aj, ej, oj] respectively.

The diphthongs contrast with sequences of the same vowels in which each vowel belongs to a separate syllable. (Near) minimal pairs illustrating the contrasts between diphthongs and VV sequences are presented below. The symbol '.' marks a syllable boundary.

   /ai/   /a.i/
3. /sai/   'exit'   /sa.i/   'be amused'
   /hai/   'hey'   /ha.i/   'gape'
   /bai/   'thing'   /pa.i/   'surprise'

	/ei/		/e.i/	
4.	/tei/	'k.o. song & dance'	/te.i/	'stare at'
	/sei/	'slide forward'	/se.i/	'collect (of water)'
	/lei /	'k.o. raptor'	/le.i/	'call out'
	/oi/		/o.i/	
5.	/poi/	'choose'	/lo.i/	'good'
	/soi/	'rich'	/do.i/	'SPEC.AN'
	/koil/	'thing'	/ko.in/	'burn (of garden)'

The spectograms below illustrate the difference between diphthongs and VV sequences. Figure 2.1 and 2.2 represent /sai/ 'exit' realised with the diphthong [saj], and /sa.i/ 'be amused' realised with the vowel sequence [saʲi] respectively. In Figure 3.1 we see a smoothly changing spectrum with no steady state developing following the high off-glide. In Figure 2.2 the spectrogram shows two steady states for two separate vowels /a/ and /i/ interrupted by an epenthetic palatal glide [j] (see §2.3.5.1). It can also be seen that the VV sequence has a longer duration overall than the diphthong.

Figure 2.1: Spectrogram of /sai/ 'exit'

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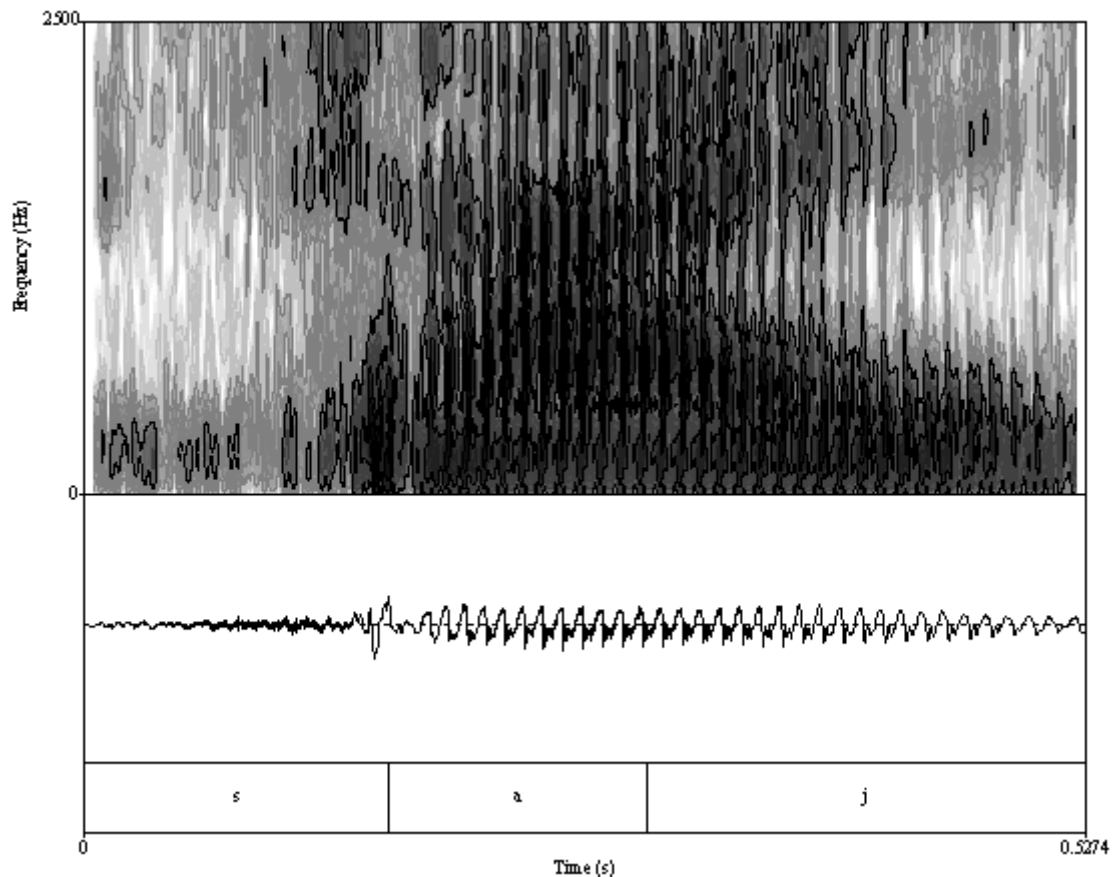
Figure 2.2: Spectrogram of /sa.i/ 'be amused'
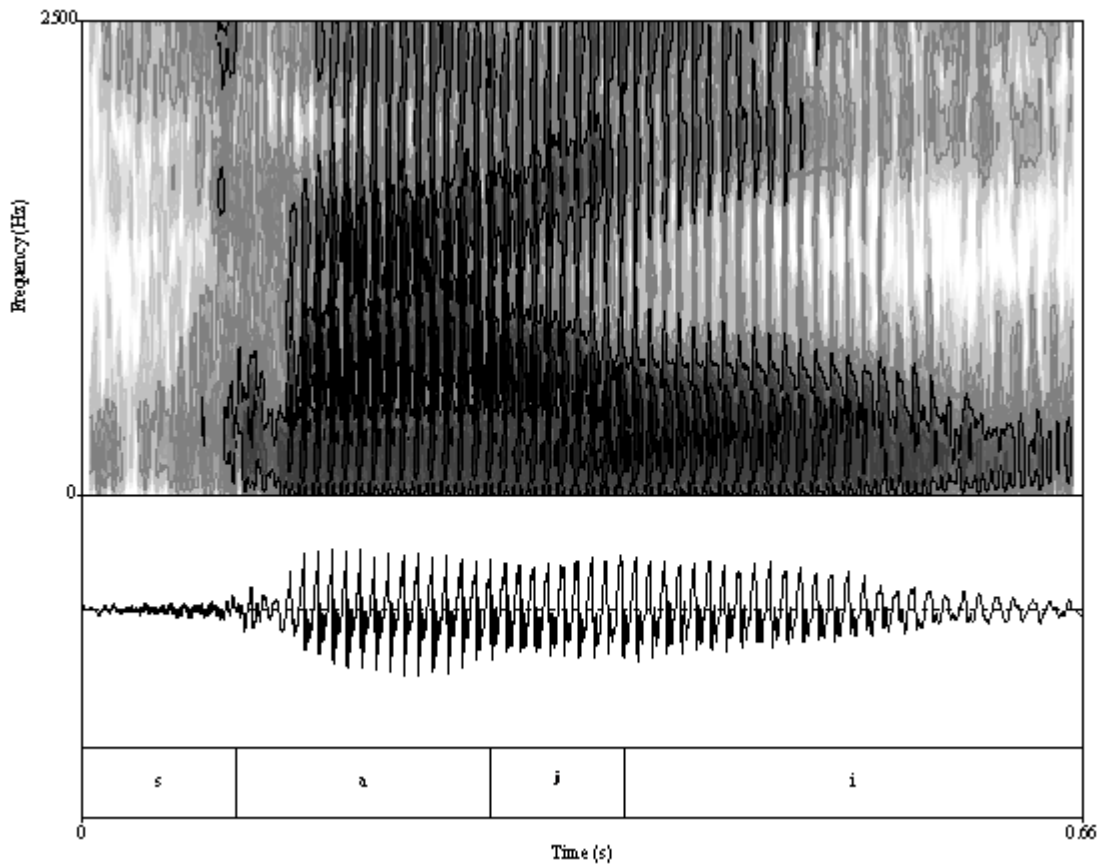
The contrast between diphthongs and vowel sequences has a low functional load in terms of the whole lexicon: there are 25 tokens of /ai/, 7 of /ei/ and 12 of /oi/, and only 5 of /a.i/, 6 of /e.i/ and 3 of /o.i/. All other vowel sequences are realised as two distinct vowels (§2.3.5).

In an alternative to the one presented here, it may be possible to see the final element in the diphthongs as an underlying glide /j/ instead of as an allophonic variant of the high vowel /i/. This analysis is not adopted here for the following reasons. For one, the palatal glide is not otherwise evidenced in Bunaq as an independent phoneme, so that an underlying /j/ would mean positing an extra phoneme with a very limited and restricted occurrence. Secondly, whilst the glide analysis would be permissible for open syllables such as /sai/ 'exit', in closed syllables such as /sa.in/ 'plait', it would violate Bunaq phonotactic rules which prohibit two consonants in a coda (§2.3.1).

2.1.3   Consonant phonemes

Table 2.3 presents the sixteen phonemes of the Bunaq consonant inventory.

Table 2.3: Consonant inventory of Bunaq Lamaknen

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t		k	ʔ
Voiced stop	b	d		g	
Voiceless fricative		s			h
Voiced fricative		z			
Voiceless affricate			tʃ		
Nasal	m	n			
Trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Glide	w				

Minimal pairs illustrating the contrasts of consonant phonemes are given in Table
2.4. For minimal pairs with /tʃ/, see §2.1.3.4. The allophones of consonantal phonemes
are described in the following sections.

Table 2.4: Consonant minimal pairs

Contrast	Item	Gloss	Contrast	Item	Gloss
p~b~m~w	/pel/	'be rotten'	l~r	/mal/	'go'
	/bel/	'wind'		/mar/	'farm'
	/mel/	'wake'	s~z	/si/	'because'
	/wel/	'be burnt'		/zi/	'snake'
t~d~n	/ten/	'be ready'	s~h	/se/	'clear'
	/den/	'dry in sun'		/he/	'run'
	/nen/	'not even'	ʔ~k~Ø	/seleʔ/	'sand'
k~g	/kal/	'finger'		/selek/	'fountain'
	/gal/	'rib'		/sele/	'urinate'
m~n	/mo/	'sea'
	/no/	'in'

2.1.3.1 Voiceless stops

There is no significant allophony for voiceless stops. Unlike varieties of Bunaq spoken in East Timor, aspiration of voiceless stops is not phonemic in Bunaq Lamaknen, being erratic and heard only weakly and intermittently. Final voiceless stops are often unreleased or significantly delayed in their release when they occur at the end of an intonation unit with a falling contour. The waveform in Figure 2.3 is illustrative showing a 31.6ms delay in the release of the final voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *mit* 'sit'. The unreleased allophones [pʼ] [tʼ] [kʼ] occur in all post-vocalic contexts.

Figure 2.3: Delayed release of final /t/ in *mit* 'sit'.
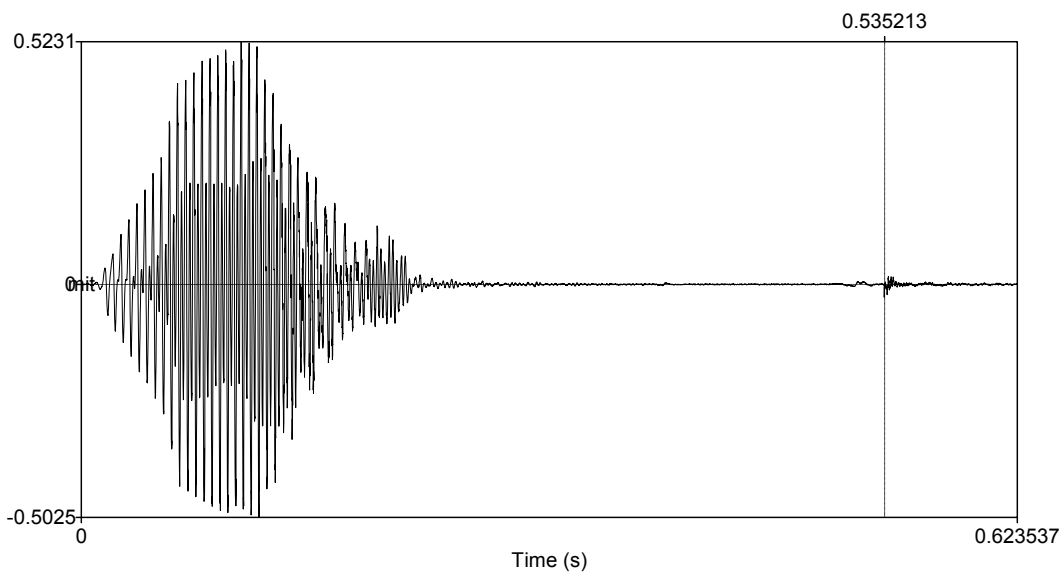
Voiceless stops appear in syllable onsets, both word-initially and -medially, and codas (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Distribution of voiceless stops

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/pe/ 'be swollen'	/apa/ 'cow'	/op/ 'highland'
/t/	/ten/ 'be ready'	/neto/ '1SG'	/pit/ 'throat'
/k/	/koen/ 'nice'	/naka/ 'mud'	/pak/ 'chop'

2.1.3.2 Voiced stops

Voiced stops appear in word-medial and -initial syllable onsets but are excluded from codas. Table 2.6 illustrates the distribution of these consonants.

Table 2.6: Distribution of voiced stops

	Initial	Medial	Final
/b/	/bin/ 'seed'	/laba/ 'slice'	--
/d/	/de/ 'be right'	/tada/ 'know'	--
/g/	/guzel/ 'charcoal'	/sagal/ 'seek'	--

Each of the voiced stops evidences some allophony, discussed in §2.1.3.2.1-§2.1.3.2.3.

2.1.3.2.1 /b/

The phoneme /b/ can be realised either as [b] or as [β]. The allophones are in free variation, though [b] is more common than [β], particularly initially. Impressionistically, [β] is most common medially between like vowels.

2.1.3.2.2 /d/

Word-medially /d/ is realised with the trill allophone [r], word initially the trill and stop realisations are in free variation. Speakers seem largely unaware of the stop ~ rhotic alternation, varying in their realizations of the phoneme for one and the same lexical item within a single utterance. The distribution of the allophones of /d/ is recapitulated in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Allophony of /d/

	Allophone	Environment
/d/	[d] ~ [r]	/ #_
	[r]	/ V_V

The initial stop allophone is undergoing attrition being found mainly in the speech of conservative, older males. The complete merger of d > r has, however, been held back by a strong dispreference on the repetition of [r]. Sequences of two rhotics are avoided by speakers such that a small subset of words shows only stop realizations initially with no rhotic realisations being recorded. Listed in (6), these items are characterized by an adjacent [r].

6. /dar/   'lay out for sale'   [dar]   [*rar]
   /dada/   'erect, prepare'   [dara]   [ʔrara]
   /dade/   'all sorts'   [dare]   [ʔrare]
   /dadi/   'happen, succeed'   [dari]   [*rari]
   /dado/   'until'   [daro]   [*raro]
   /dida/   'fuse a knife blade'   [dira]   [*rira]
   /didaʔ/   'dew'   [diraʔ]   [*riraʔ]

The dispreference for sequences of the rhotic trill is not present where another consonant intervenes. As illustrated in (7) with *digir* 'lay out for sale' and *doter* 'storm off' speakers accepted realisations with either [d] or [r] initially as well-formed.

7. /digir/   'lay out for sale'   [digir ~ rigir]
   /doter/   'storm off'   [doter ~ roter]

Such dissimilation of liquids is a cross-linguistically widely attested process (Alderete and Frisch 2006).

2.1.3.2.3 /g/

Some speakers affricate the voiced velar stop /g/ to [ʤ] word initially before a high front vowel, /i/, when it is immediately followed by another vowel. This is most common amongst younger speakers and it has not been observed at all in older male speakers. Else /g/ can be realised as [g] or less commonly as [ɣ]. The allophony of /g/ is summarised in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Allophony of /g/

	Allophone	Environment
/g/	[g] ~ [ʤ]	/ #_iV
	[g] ~ [ɣ]	/ elsewhere

The items in (8) illustrate the allophony.

8. /gia/   'eat it/him/her'   [giʲa ~ ʤia]
   /gie/   'his/hers/its'   [giʲe ~ ʤie]
   /gial/   'carry it/him/her'   [giʲal ~ ʤial]
   /gio/   'his/her/its faeces'   [giʲo ~ ʤio]

The clause-final prospective aspect marker *gie* 'PROSP' (§14.2.4) may be reduced to [ʤe] such that there is an incipient phonemic split between the voiced velar stop and its affricate allophone. The resulting minimal pair is:

9. /gie/   'PROSP'   [gie ~ ʤie ~ ʤe]
   /ge/   'k.o. tree'   [ge]

2.1.3.3 Fricatives

No special allophony has been noted for the phonemes /s/ and /h/, though [s] is also an allophone of /ʧ/ (§2.1.3.4).

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ has three allophones: a plain voiced alveolar [z] allophone, a voiced post-alveolar fricative allophone [ʒ] and an affricate allophone [ʤ]. The allophones are in free variation, though some tendencies towards certain realisations in particular environments are observed. The phoneme /z/ tends to be realised as [z] in monosyllabic words of the shape CV and as [ʤ] before a high front in words of greater size than CV.

The distribution of the fricatives is illustrated in Table 2.9. Whilst /s/ is unrestricted, /z/ and /h/ are only able to appear in onsets. The appearance of /h/ in word-medial codas is very limited with only a handful of instances, most of which can be identified as Tetun borrowings.

Table 2.9: Distribution of fricatives

	Initial	Medial	Final
/s/	/sil/ 'sweat'	/hasaʔ/ 'count'	/hos/ 'bird'
/z/	/zap/ 'dog'	/ozoʔ/ 'shit'	--
/h/	/hien/ 'louse'	/lahan/ 'sty'	--

2.1.3.4 Voiceless palatal affricate

The voiceless alveolar affricate /ʧ/ is a minor phoneme found in a total of 14 lexical items (out of a corpus of 2000+ lexical items), given in (10).

10. /t͡ʃia/ 'burn' /t͡ʃileʔ/ 'pour'

/t͡ʃiaʔ/ 'not want' /t͡ʃilon/ 'thorny'

/t͡ʃie/ 'chicken' /t͡ʃinoʔ/ 'hot'

/t͡ʃiel/ 'bright' /t͡ʃio/ 'who'

/t͡ʃier/ 'sleep' /t͡ʃiro/ 'which (person)'

/t͡ʃiet/ 'rip open' /t͡ʃiwal/ 'flee'

The phoneme /t͡ʃ/ has a voiceless fricative allophone [s] in free alternation with [t͡ʃ]. Most speakers show considerable variation with affricate and fricative realizations co-occuring within a single utterance. For the higher frequency lexical items with /t͡ʃ/, such as /t͡ʃio/ 'who', /t͡ʃie/ and /t͡ʃier/, the affricate realisation is rarely heard with [sio], [sie] and [sier] being the overwhelmingly dominant realisations for each. This points to /t͡ʃ/ being in the course of merging with /s/ in Bunaq Lamaknen.

We can see from (10) that /t͡ʃ/ is restricted to word-initial position preceding a high front vowel /i/ in multi-syllabic words. This highly restricted distribution is the result of /t͡ʃ/ once having been a conditioned allophone of /t/. In Bunaq Lamaknen /t͡ʃ/ has gained phonemic status due to the allophonic rule in which /t/ is realised as [t͡ʃ] before /i/ having only been differentially applied to the lexicon. Initially before /i/, /t/ has been retained as [t] in monosyllabic words and where identified as the reciprocal prefix *tV*- 'RECP-'. It was in particular the conservative behaviour of the reciprocal morpheme in relation to affrication that gave rise to three minimal pairs in which contrast /t͡ʃ/ contrasts with /t/. They are:

/t͡ʃ/ /t/

11. /t͡ʃio/ 'who' /tio/ 'each other's faeces'

/t͡ʃie/ 'chicken' /tie/ 'each other's'

/t͡ʃia/ 'burn' /tia/ 'eat each other'

In an alternative analysis the affricate could still be regarded as a allophone of /t/ with the distribution presented in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10: Allophony of /t/

	Allophone	Environment
/t/	[t͡ʃ] ~ [s]	/ #_i except
	[t]	/#_i(C)#
		/ t- = 'RECP'
		elsewhere

However, /t/ has also remained [t] in some items which have the approriate conditioning environment have not affricated. Examples are provided in (12). As such, the occurrence of the affricate is not entirely predictable and thus is best viewed as an independent phoneme.

12. /tili/   'bell'   [tili, *tʃili]

    /tilik/   'k.o. bird'   [tilik, *tʃilik]

    /tigi/   'drip'   [tigi, *tʃigi]

    /timi/   'deshelled'   [timi, *tʃimi]

Medial affrication of /t/ is also a feature of the phonology of some children, but it has only been observed in small number of lexemes. The most common instances are:

13. /neto/   '1SG'   [neto ~ netʃo]

    /eto/   '2SG'   [eto ~ etʃo]

    /hati/   'exist'   [hati ~ hatʃi]

It is not clear whether affrication in these items is an age stable variable of Bunaq child phonology or part of a change in progress. The lack of a single consistent conditioning environment is notable. Though none is found initially before the mid back vowel /o/, affrication is observed medially before /o/ as well as /i/. Yet if child affrication were related to affrication of /t/ before /i/, then we would expect a simple rule extension whereby the change /t/ > [tʃ] / _i was applied was to medial environments in addition to initial ones.

2.1.3.5 Liquids

There are two liquid phonemes: a rhotic trill /r/ and a lateral approximant /l/. Whilst /r/ evidences no perceptible allophony, the lateral phoneme has a voiceless fricative allophone [ɬ] which occurs word-finally in free variation with [l]. The fricative allophone is most common following the high front vowel /i/ and least common following the mid front vowel /e/ and the low central vowel /a/. The distribution of the allophones of /l/ is summarized in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11: Allophony of /l/

	Allophone	Environment
/l/	[l] ~ [ɫ]	/ _#
	[l]	/ elsewhere

The distribution of the liquid phonemes /r/ and /l/ is illustrated in Table 2.12. The lateral /l/ is unrestricted. The distribution of /r/ is more complicated. Only a handful of /r/-initial words are evidenced in Bunaq Lamaknen and are for the most part identified as borrowings (see §2.1.4); all other instances of /r/ are final, with medial occurrences of [r] being treated as an allophone of /d/. [1]

Table 2.12: Distribution of liquids

	Initial	Medial	Final
/r/	(/rama/ 'arrow')	--	/por/ 'holy'
/l/	/lak/ 'between'	/tolo/ 'put in'	/pol/ 'send'

2.1.3.6   Nasals

Bunaq has two nasal phonemes, the bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar nasal /n/. No special allophony has been noted for the nasal phonemes /m/ and /n/; both conform closely to the IPA norms for their symbols, showing little if any perceptual variation.

Table 2.13 illustrates the distribution of the Bunaq nasals. We see that /n/ is unrestricted, while /m/ cannot appear in codas.

Table 2.13: Distribution of nasals

	Initial	Medial	Final
/m/	/mo/ 'sea'	/mami/ 'tasty'	--
/n/	/nor/ 'randomly'	/ene/ 'night'	/bon/ 'k.o.stone'

Final /n/ can be dropped in words of more than two syllables (14).

---

[1] If it were not for the small number of /r/-initial words, it would be best to analyse /d/ and /r/ as constituting a single phoneme /d/ in Bunaq Lamaknen, as they would then have non-overlapping distributions. This analysis is not preferred here as it would mean that the otherwise robust rule that voiced (oral) consonants do not appear in codas is violated (see §2.3.3). In the south-west dialect, /d/ and /r/ clearly constitute different phonemes, see Schapper (2007).

14. /hiloʔon/ 'two'   [hiloʔon ~ hiloʔo]
    /goniʔon/ 'three'   [goniʔon ~ goniʔo]
    /saruʔan/ 'complain' [saruʔan ~ saruʔa]

Nasals consonants cause some sporadic nasalisation of adjacent vowels. In an onset, a nasal consonant onset can cause nasalisation of the following vowel. In a coda, a nasal can cause nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

2.1.3.7 Bilabial glide

The glide /w/ is an independent phoneme distinct from /u/. The vowel phoneme /u/ can carry stress and occurs in syllable nuclei, whereas the phonetically similar consonant phoneme /w/ can occur inter-vocalically and carry stress. Minimal pairs illustrating the contrast are given in (15).

    /w/   /u/
15. /wal/   'be full'   /ual/   'bend'
    /wen/   'UNAGENT'   /uen/   'one'
    /wer/   'wash'   /uer/   'pot'
    /wi/   'suckle'   /ui/   'spirit'
    /wil/   'dig'   /uil/   'mushroom'

The bilabial glide cannot occur in codas. It has the additional restriction that it does not occur adjacent to the back vowel /u/ either in the preceding or same syllable. Co-occurrence of /w/ and /o/ is limited to four medial instances. This distribution is illustrated in Table 2.14.

Table 2.14: Distribution of bilabial glide

	Initial	Medial
w + a	/wa/ 'discard'	/nawa/ 'head basket'
w + e	/wek/ 'hug'	/zewen/ 'roll out'
w + i	/wit/ 'take'	/diwi/ 'a lot'
w + o	--	/gowo/ 'womb'

2.1.3.8 Glottal stop

The glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/ contrasts with other phonemes and with zero. The items in (16) and (17) present minimal pairs of glottal stop contrasting with zero and other consonants respectively in these two positions.

	/ʔ/			Ø	
16.	/baʔi/	'PROX.INAN'		/bai/	'thing'
	/haʔal/	'be finished'		/hal/	'dandruff'
	/okoʔ/	'hole'		/oko/	'valley'
	/niʔ/	'NEG'		/ni/	'OBL'

	/ʔ/			/C/	
17.	/toʔi /	'hollow out'		/toli/	'be together, be complete'
	/leʔa/	'roll up'		/leba/	'carrying pole'
	/sieʔ/	'tear'		/sien/	'weave'
	/goeʔ/	'be ancient'		/goet/	'be like'

Glottal stop has a different distribution from that of other stops. It occurs word-finally in codas and word-medially in onsets, but not phonemically in word-initial onsets. By contrast, other consonants occur either in onsets or in codas and onsets without any differentiation of word-medial and word-initial positions (see §2.3.3).The non-phonemic appearance of glottal stop and the appearance of glottal stop between vowels is discussed in §2.3.1 and §2.3.6 respectively.

Phonetically, the glottal stop phoneme can also be realised as a creak. With a final glottal stop, the creak is realised on the preceding vowel, while, with a medial glottal stop, the creak is realised on the following vowel. There appears to be variation in the realisation of the creak: the creak may affect the entire vowel or just the edge at which the glottal stop occurs, or may be realised as a transition between vowels in medial occurrences. More work is required to establish the full continuum of phonation types with which the glottal stop can be realised.

2.1.4 Phoneme adaptation in loans

In this section I address the way in which phonemes and allophones with distributions not present in Bunaq are adapted when they are borrowed into the language. Table 2.15

presents an overview of the main patterns observed in adapted loans from Tetun Terik and Indonesian/Malay. These patterns are illustrated following the table.

Table 2.15: Loan phoneme adaptation

Source phoneme		Bunaq phoneme
/f/	>	/p/
/d/ & medial /r/	>	/d/ [d~r]
inital /r/	>	/d/ [d~r] or /l/
final /r/	>	/l/ or /r/
medial /h/	>	/h/ or /ʔ/
final /k/	>	/k/ or /ʔ/
final /V/	>	/V/ or /Vʔ/
/VV/	>	/VV/ or /VʔV/
/ʤ/	>	/z/

The phoneme /f/ is most frequent in East Timorese varieties where bilingualism with Tetun is the norm. Older loan words from Tetun with /f/ have been adapted with the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ (18).

	Tetun			Bunaq
18.	/faen/	'transfer of female'	>	/paen/
	/foun/	'new'	>	/poun/
	/funu/	'fight'	>	/punu/

The voiceless affricate /ʧ/ in Indonesian/Malay items shows no adaptation and is consistently maintained as such in loanwords.

In Tetun loans with voiced alveolar stop /d/ has been fully adapted to Bunaq native phonology. In accordance with Bunaq allophonic rules, /d/ is realised as with [d~r] initially (19) and as [r] medially (20). Borrowings with medial /r/ are kept as [r] presumably representing underlying /d/.

	Tetun			Bunaq	
19.	/dale/	'party'	>	/dale/	[dale ~ rale]
	/deal/	'commoner'	>	/deal/	[deal ~ real]
	/daun/	'needle'	>	/daun/	[daun~ raun]

20. /badak/ 'short' > /badak/ [barak]

    /tada/ 'know' > /tada/ [tara]

    /kuda/ 'horse' > /kuda/ [kura]

    (or < Malay *kuda*)

In casual speech there is a tendency in borrowings which otherwise show no incorporation for a medial voiced alveolar stop /d/ to be realised as [r]. Four instances from the corpus are given in (21). Initially no alternation between [d] and [r] is observed in Indonesian/Malay loans and the few Portuguese loans that Bunaq has (probably through Tetun).

Indonesian/Portuguese   Bunaq

21. /adat/ 'custom' > [adat ~ arat]

    /jadi/ 'so' > [ʤadi ~ ʤari]

    /apodeti/[2] 'Popular Democratic > [apodeti ~ aporeti]

    Association of Timor'

    /adel/ 'Adel' > [adel ~ arel]

Some Tetun loanwords with initial /r/ are incorporated into the Bunaq lexicon with /r/ (22) others as /d/ (22) and still others as /l/ (23). Where /d/ has been used, there has been a back application of the allophonic rule for /d/, whereby speakers recognise that initial [r] is always an allophone of /d/ and therefore shows [d~r] alternation initially.

Tetun   Bunaq

22. /rama/ 'arrow' > /rama/ [rama] (*dama)

    /redi/ 'net' > /redi/ [reri]   (*dedi)

23. /ro/ 'boat' > /do/ [do ~ ro]

    /rose/ 'scrub' > /dos/ [dos ~ ros]

24. /rade/ 'duck' > /lade/ [lare]

    /resin/ 'more' > /lesin/

---

[2] An abbreviation of the Portuguese *Associacão Popular Democratica Timorense*.

Tetun loanwords with a final rhotic /r/ are typically adapted into Bunaq Lamaknen with the liquid phoneme /l/ (25), but some retain /r/ (26).

	Tetun			Bunaq
25.	/bokur/	'fat'	>	/bokul/
	/kahur/	'mix'	>	/kahul/
	/mamar/	'soft'	>	/mamal/
	/hanaur/	'burn'	>	/hanaul/
26.	/fiar/	'believe'	>	/piar/
	/fetor/	'female'	>	/petor/

Tetun loans with medial /h/ are either retained as /h/ or adapted with /ʔ/ (27) in Bunaq. Tetun final /k/ is in some items adapted with /ʔ/ (28). Vowel-final words borrowed from Tetun are often adapted with a final /ʔ/ in Bunaq (29). Vowel sequences in borrowed Tetun words are also frequently interrupted by /ʔ/ in their Bunaq adaptations (30).

	Tetun			Bunaq	
27.	/mehi/	'dream'	>	/meʔi/	
	/nehek/	'black ant'	>	/neʔek/	
	/tatehan/	'reflect'	>	/tateʔan/	
28.	/tudik/	'knife'	>	/tudiʔ/	[turiʔ]
	/susuk/	'mosquito'	>	/susuʔ/	
	/toke/	'gecko'	>	/tokoʔ/	
	(possibly originally < Malay *tokek*)				
29.	/hateke/	'see'	>	/tekeʔ/	
	/keboko/	'grub'	>	/kebokoʔ/	
	/kanko/	'water spinach'	>	/kankoʔ/	
	(originally < Malay *kangkung*)				
30.	/buar/	'summon'	>	/buʔar/	
	/dean/	'scold'	>	/deʔan/	
	/doit/	'money'	>	/doʔit/	
	(or < Malay *doit*)				

Indonesian/Malay items with /ʤ/ tend to retain their native phonology when used in Bunaq. In a few items, Indonesian/Malay /ʤ/ in initial position has been adapted into the Bunaq lexicon with /z/, and show the corresponding allophony of this phoneme, as in (31).

	Indonesian/Malay			Bunaq	
31.	/ʤaga/	'guard'	>	/zaga/	[zaga~ʒaga~ʤaga]
	/ʤawa/	'Java'	>	/zawa/	[zawa~ʒawa~ʤawa]
	/ʤepit/	'clip'	>	/zepit/	[zepit~ʒepit~ʤepit]

2.2 Orthography

The orthographic conventions used throughout this work for Bunaq consonant phoneme are given in (32).

32. Phonemic: p b t d   k g ʔ h s z ʧ   l r m n w
    Orthographic: p b t d~r k g q h s z c~s l r m n w

Where an allophone of a phoneme is itself also an independent phoneme, the orthographic form used is that of the surface realisation and not that of the underlying form. For example, /ʧio/ may be realised as [ʧio] or [sio]. When the speaker produces the former the orthography is <ʧio>, when the latter, <sio>. This convention is in accordance with native speaker preferences and is practical given the fact of the ongoing mergers of /d/ into /r/ and /ʧ/ into /s/ which mean that speakers are not typically able to identify surface realisations with underlying forms if the latter is represented in the orthography. For example, speakers struggle to recognise <tada> as a Bunaq orthographic representation of /tada/ because it always surfaces as [tara], hence <tara> is used.

The orthographic conventions are used throughout this work for Bunaq vowel and diphthong phonemes are given in (33).

33. Phonemic: a e i o u ai ei oi
    Orthographic: a e i o u ai ei oi

The vowel sequences /a.i/, /e.i/ and /o.i/ are written as <aï>, <eï> and <oï> respectively. The contrasting diphthongs /ai/, /ei/ and /oi/ are written simply <ai>, <ei> and <oi> respectively. All other vowel sequences do not have diphthongs from which they must be distinguished and are written without any special marking, e.g. /pa.u/ 'k.o. bean' is written simply as <pau>.

Spelling conventions for phonemes which are absent in Bunaq, but which are found in unadapted words from Indonesian/Malay and Tetun are given in (34). Words with these phonemes are invariably identified as non-Bunaq items by Bunaq speakers and their use is taken here to represent code-switching and not borrowing.

34. Phonemic: f ʤ ŋ j
    Orthographic: f j ng y

Note that the [ʤ] allophone of /z/ in Bunaq is only represented as <z> in the orthography. This is done in order to keep it apart from non-adapted Indonesian/Malay words with a palato-alveolar affricate, represented as <j>, which is distinct in that it lacks the allophony of Bunaq /z/ (§2.1.3.3).

2.3   Phonotactics

This section describes the language specific constraints on the permissible combinations of phonemes in Bunaq, including possible syllable structures, consonant clusters, and vowel sequences.

2.3.1   Syllable structure

As is evident from the vowel minimal pairs presented in Table 2.2, there is no minimal word constraint in Bunaq. Thus the minimal syllable and word consists of a single vowel, represented as V, or diphthong, V + [i]; the maximal syllable is CVC.

Consonant clusters are prohibited both within a single syllable and across syllables. As such, codas are strictly word final. The respective structures of non-final and final syllables are illustrated in Figure 2.4 and 2.5.
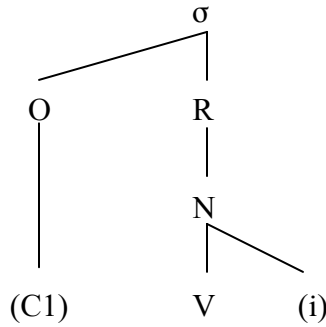
Figure 2.4: Non-final syllable structure
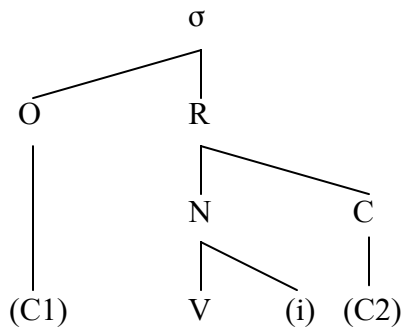
Figure 2.5: Final syllable structure

Vowel initial words have a glottal stop onset. This is a default onset and the glottal stop in this position is not contrastive and entirely predictable. This suggests that the structure of the initial syllable in Bunaq should be differentiated from that of the medial and final syllable in that it obligatory requires an onset. See §2.3.6 for discussion of glottal stop as a boundary marker in Bunaq.

2.3.2 Word templates

The arrangement of C and V illustrated in mono-morphemic words of different syllables is exemplified in this section. The marginal diphthong phonemes will not be dealt with here; their distribution is illustrated in §2.3.3. The arrangements of C and V possible for monosyllabic words are given in (35).

35. V   :   /u/   'live'
  CV   :   /to/   'year'
  VC   :   /il/   'water'
  CVC   :   /man/   'come'

Disyllabic words show the following arrangements of C and V:

36. V.V   :   /u.i/   'spirit'
     V.CV   :   /i.pi/   'rice (plant)'
     V.VC   :   /u.er/   'pot'
     V.CVC   :   /o.del/   'monkey'
     CV.V   :   /te.o/   'where'
     CV.CV   :   /lo.lo/   'mountain'
     CV.VC   :   /ko.en/   'nice'
     CV.CVC   :   /ho.tel/   'tree'

The vast majority of Bunaq words are either mono- or disyllabic. There are no words of 5 syllables in the (2000+ item) corpus and only a twelve words of 4 syllables, while a total of 65 items in the corpus are trisyllabic.

The majority of trisyllabic words can be identified as borrowings, derived words (either historically compounded or affixed forms), or onomatopoeias. Of the trisyllabic words which cannot be identified as belonging to any one of these categories, there are not enough examples to generalise on each potential combination of syllables, though the preference for CV is obvious. Some representative examples are given in (37).

37. V.V.CVC   :   /o.a.lak/   'wretch'
     CV.CV.V   :   /ni.su.i/   'sniff'
     CV.CV.CV   :   /ge.le.ni/   'howl'
     CV.CV.CV   :   /ka.ko.lo/   'drift'
     CV.CV.CVC   :   /me.lo.koʔ/   'wander'

One noticeable pattern in trisyllabic items is that the glottal stop appears as the onset to the last syllable very frequently. Examples are given in (38).

38. CV.V.ʔV   :   /bu.a.ʔi/   'yarn'
     CV.CV.ʔV   :   /ba.li.ʔa/   'k.o. plant'
     CV.CV.ʔV   :   /ba.ni.ʔa/   'guest'
     CV.CV.ʔV(C) :   /sa.du.ʔan/   'complain'
     CV.CV.ʔVC   :   /bu.le.ʔen/   'red'

Trisyllablic onomatopoeic words are composed according to a general template [$C_1V_1.C_2V_2.C_2V_2ʔ$] in which the second syllable is reduplicated in the third syllable with the addition of a glottal stop in coda position:

39. CV.CV.CVʔ   :   /ka.ka.kaʔ/   'cackle'

    CV.CV.CVʔ   :   /ke.ke.keʔ/   'giggle'

    CV.CV.CVʔ   :   /ka.da.daʔ/   'crackle, pop'

    CV.CV.CVʔ   :   /ko.ro.roʔ/   'hoorah, cheer'

    CV.CV.CVʔ   :   /tu.lu.luʔ/   'squelch'

    CV.CV.CVʔ   :   /si.gu.guʔ/   'sizzle, whizz'

In all but one item the vowel is identical throughout, yielding a template of this kind [$C_1V_1.C_2V_1.C_2V_1ʔ$]. In two items it is not only the vowel which is identical across all three syllables but also the consonant, yielding the template [$C_1V_1.C_1V_1.C_2V_1ʔ$].

Of the dozen 4 syllable words in the corpus, only four cannot be identified as Tetun borrowings. They are given in (40). Of these two, may be derived: *kurukuru* seems likely to be a reduplicated form, while *gomolale* appears to be related from *molal* 'domesticated'.

40. V.CV.CV.C   :   /a.ma.de.ʔu/   'k.o.plant'

    V.CV.CV.VC   :   /a.ti.to.uʔ/   'k.o.bird'

    CV.CV.CV.CV   :   /go.mo.la.le/   'persuade'

    CV.CV.CV.CV   :   /ku.ru.ku.ru/   'k.o. game'

    CV.CV.CV.CVC   :   /hi.le.de.noʔ/   'two days prior'

2.3.3 Phoneme distribution

All vowel phonemes may appear as a syllable nucleus and are attested word-initially, medially and finally. Illustration is given in Table 2.16.

Table 2.16: Distribution of vowel phonemes

	Initial	Medial	Final
/a /	/an/ 'k.o. grass'	/matas/ 'old'	/apa/ 'cow'
/e/	/el/ 'crawl'	/selek/ 'spring'	/ene/ 'night'
/i/	/in/ 'onion'	/sipik/ 'sharpen'	/ipi/ 'rice plant'
/o/	/op/ 'highlands'	/lotoʔ/ 'noisy'	/oko/ 'hole'
/u/	/ul/ 'pull out'	/puluk/ 'spit'	/uku/ 'tip out'

The diphthong phonemes (D) appear as a syllable nucleus of both open and closed syllables. They appear in the syllable nuclei of both stressed and unstressed syllables. Illustration is given in Table 2.17.

Table 2.17: Distribution of diphthong phonemes

	/ai/	/ei/	/oi/
/D/	/ai/ 'only'	/ei/ '2PL'	--
/CD/	/bai/ 'thing'	/dei/ 'further'	/poi/ 'choose'
/CDC/	/dain/ 'bind'	/beik/ 'dumb'	/toiʔ/ 'flat'
/(C)DCV(C)/	/aibaʔ/ 'eD'	--	/goiga/ 'guava'
/CVCD/	/lulai/ 'move'	/kawei/ 'sit cross-legged'	/moroi/ 'sleepy'

The distribution of the individual consonant phonemes was discussed in §2.1.3. An overview of the distribution is provided in Table 2.18. The restricted nature of the coda position relative to onset positions is conspicuous: the only consonants able to appear in codas are voiceless obstruents, /n/, the two liquids and the glottal stop phoneme. Other obvious asymmetries in the distribution of consonant phonemes include that of the voiceless affricate in relation to the other obstruents, the liquids in relation to one another and the glottal consonants in relation to non-glottal consonants.

Table 2.18: Distribution of consonant phonemes

	p	b	t	d	k	g	n	m	s	z	h	tʃ	r	l	w	ʔ
word-initial (onset)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—
word-medial (onset)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+
word-final (coda)	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	—	+

2.3.4 Cluster constraint violations

There are a few items in the Bunaq lexicon which violate the constraint set out in §2.3.1 prohibiting consonant clusters.

The constraint on medial codas is violated in a few borrowings from Tetun and/or Malay which have medial nasal codas (41).

41. /kam.po/   'village'

    /kan.koʔ/   'water spinach'

    /kan.seda/   'salary'

    /mam.bai/   'Mambai'

There are two native Bunaq word with a medial nasal coda. The first item is /metensi/ 'just now' realised [metensi ~ metenti]. The second item /gontʃiet/ 'five' is typically realised [gon.tʃi.et] with a consonant cluster across the syllable boundary. For some speakers it may also be realised as [go.ni.tʃet]. 'five', while for still others it can be further realised as [go.in.tʃet]. The cluster of /n/ and /tʃ/ appears to be the result of a compound in which the first component historically reflects *g-on* '3AN-hand', a formative also reflected in the numerals *goniqon* 'three' and *goniqil* 'four'. If is the case that /gontʃiet/ is the underlying form, the metathesis of /i/ and /tʃ/ in the realisation [go.ni.tʃet] would appear to have taken place in the speech of many speakers to break up the cluster of /n/ and /tʃ/; the realisation [go.in.tʃet] may be then seen as an extension of the metathesis process (cf. §2.5.3).

Finally, there a two items, /erenoʔ/ 'day before' and /hilerenoʔ/ 'two days before' which optionally delete their stressed /e/, given in (42). This reduction results in a cluster of /d/ and /n/ across syllables and a shift in stress to the new penultimate syllable (cf. §2.4). Optional reduction does not occur in forms of comparable shape such as /inanoʔ/ or /hilede/.

42. /edenoʔ/   'day before'   [eˈrenoʔ ~ ˈernoʔ]

    /hiledenoʔ/   'two days before'   [ˌhileˈrenoʔ ~ hiˈlernoʔ]

    /inanoʔ/   'night before'   [iˈnanoʔ]

    /hilede/   'tomorrow'   [hiˈlere]

2.3.5 Vowel sequences

All vowels occur in VV sequences. Vowels in VV sequences belong to separate syllables. All sequences are attested except that there are no long vowels, that is, no homorganic sequences of vowels (cf. §2.3.6).

Table 2.19 presents the 20 possible VV sequences and the number of times a particular VV sequence is attested in a lexicon of approximately 2000 words and an example of each. Vowel sequences in loan words are excluded from the count.

From the overview offered by Table 2.19, it is obvious that some sequences occur much more frequently than others. We find that:

i.   though /ie/ and /ue/ are most common, frequency is not necessarily related to the high vowels, with the sequence /oe/ also being very frequent;

ii.   vowels in sequence need not be maximally different and there seems to be no preference for maximal contrasts in height and frontness, and;

iii. there is no strong restriction in direction, cf. /ia/ occurs 6 times and /ai/ 5 times, though it must be noted that /uV/ and /Ve/ are altogether more frequent than /Vu/ and /eV/ respectively.

Table 2.19: Bunaq vowel sequences

	a	e	i	o	u
a	--	a.e (7) /aen/ 'shy'	a.i (5) /saï/ 'be amused'	a.o (2) /tao/ 'pound'	a.u (6) /laun/ 'fast'
e	e.a (2) /mea// 'virgin'	--	e.i (5) /meï/ 'bleat'	e.o (7) /teo/ 'where'	e.u (5) /deu/ 'house'
i	i.a (6) /sia/ 'burn'	i.e (19) /hien/ 'louse'	--	i.o (7) /niol/ 'sound'	i.u (3) /iu/ 'maggot'
o	o.a (5) /moal/ 'earth'	o.e (12) /goet/ 'be like'	o.i (2) /loï/ 'good'	--	o.u (12) /kou/ 'slip'
u	u.a (12) /dua/ 'indeed'	u.e (19) /kuel/ 'worm'	u.i (11) /hui/ 'wild'	u.o (2) /uor/ 'vegetable'	--

In addition to sequences of two basic vowels, a diphthong may occur following a basic vowel. The sequence VD (where D stands for diphthong) is only a marginal pattern, occurring in a total of 5 items, presented in (43).

(C)VD

43. /u.ai/   'moo'   [uʷaj]

/ke.ai/   'wail'   [keʲaj]

/te.ai/   'stare at'   [teʲaj]

/ko.ei/   'squeal'   [koʷej]

/te.oi/   'thwack'   [teʲoj]

2.3.5.1 Phonetic glide insertion between VV sequences

Non-phonemic glides are regularly inserted between sequences of vowels. Glide epenthesis is most frequent and most distinct where the height and backness values of the vowels in sequence differ most significantly. Following front vowels modifications are in the direction of the palatal glide and following back vowels in the direction of the bilabial glide. Epenthetic glides are not typically realised as full glides [j] and [w], but colorations of these, [ʲ] and [ʷ]. Epenthesis of each of these is illustrated in (44) and (45) respectively.[3]

[ʲ] insertion

44. *cia*   'burn'   [tʃɨʲa]

deu   'house'   [deʲu]

sio   'who'   [sɨʲo]

lokomeaq 'k.o.eagle'   [lokomeʲaʔ]

[ʷ] insertion

45. *uor*   'vegetable'   [uʷor]

guel   'light'   [guʷel]

loï   'good'   [loʷi]

kou   'slip'   [koʷu]

---

[3] The phenomenon of glide insertion is attested in native speaker orthographies where glides are sometimes also written between sequential vowels: e.g. ＜rowe＞ for /doe/ 'SPEC.INAN'. Epenthetic glides are not represented in the practical phoneme orthography used here.

Glide insertion may be seen as a low level phonetic process or a rule creating well-formed CV syllables. That is, epenthetic glides may be taken as the default onsets of medial syllables with an underlying shape V(C). If this view is taken, epenthetic glides are parallel to glottal stop which performs the same function word-initially (§2.3.1).

2.3.6   Glottal stop as boundary marker

In §2.3.1 we saw that glottal stop appears non-phonemically as a default onset for vowel-initial words in Bunaq. That is, glottal stop functions as a kind of 'boundary marker' delimiting one word from another.[4] There is evidence to suggest that, although synchronically phonemic, medial glottal stop may historically have also been a non-contrastive boundary marker.

Table 2.20 below presents the attested sequences with an intervening glottal stop, the number of (non-loan) attestations of each and an example. Forms exhibiting a medial glottal stop may be compared with the corresponding sequences of vowels without glottal stop presented in Table 2.19. Most obvious in comparing the two tables is that, while glottal stop regularly appears between sequences of identical vowels, these same homorganic vowel clusters are completely absent without the glottal stop. That is, glottal stop appears to have been epenthetic medially, being inserted to distinguish the boundaries of syllables with the same vowel nucleus where the first syllable was (C)V and the second V(C).

Additional phenomena pointing to glottal stop as being a boundary phenomenon come from historically suffixed forms. For instance, consider the forms of the pronouns *halaqi* '3PL' and *halali* '3DU' historically composed of a root suffixed with *–*i* 'PL' and *-*li* 'DU' (Donohue and Schapper 2007), and the demonstratives *baʔi* 'MID.AN' and *baʔa* 'MID.INAN' historically built by adding proto-Bunaq *-*i* 'AN' and *-*a* 'INAN' to the pTAP demonstrative *ba (Schapper 2007).[5] The glottal stop in these items appears at the morpheme boundary between vowel final roots and vowel initial affixes seemingly to

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[4] Trubetzkoy (1936) posited the notion of *Grenzsignale* 'boundary signals' that serve delimitative functions in a language and occur at the boundaries of units of meaning, such as morphemes, in relation to the appearance of glottal stop in German.

[5] Note that the pTAP *–*i* 'PL' and pBunaq *-*i* 'AN' are historically related. In Bunaq, the plural marker was extended to mark animate singular. See Schapper (2006) for discussion of the grammaticalisation path.

prevent a sequence of vowels. Glottal stop was similarly seen in the examples in (28) of §2.1.4 to appear breaking up vowel sequences in loan words which had no glottal stop.

Table 2.20: Vowel sequences interrupted by glottal stop

	a	e	i	o	u
a	aʔa (8) /taʔa/ 'close'	aʔe (8) /aʔen/ 'wear'	aʔi (6) /baʔis/ 'much'	aʔo (2) /paʔol/ 'corn'	aʔu (8) /naʔut/ 'wear'
e	eʔa (4) /teʔa/ 'pray'	eʔe (8) /beʔen/ 'ripe'	eʔi (2) /deʔin/ 'near by'	eʔo (3) /weʔon/ 'shack'	eʔu (2) /heʔu/ 'whistle'
i	iʔa (4) /iʔal/ 'advance'	iʔe (0) --	iʔi (7) /siʔil/ 'insert'	iʔo (2) /piʔo/ 'k.o grain'	iʔu (3) /piʔu/ 'ever'
o	oʔa (9) /boʔal/ 'great'	oʔe (4) /goʔet/ 'other'	oʔi (3) /hoʔi/ 'peanut'	oʔo (6) /noʔok/ 'enough'	oʔu (2) /toʔuk/ 'question'
u	uʔa (4) /tuʔal / 'swap'	uʔe (3) /huʔe/ 'here'	uʔi (0) --	uʔo (0) --	uʔu (5) puʔup 'peak'

In sum, whilst glottal stop in Bunaq is both non-contrastive initially and contrastive non-initially, there is evidence to suggest that it may have also in the past had non-contrastive functions word-medially.

2.4   Stress

In my preliminary analysis of Bunaq stress, stress appears to fall regularly on the penultimate syllable of the phonological word, as in the following disyllabic (46) and trisyllabic words (47).

46. ˈtekeʔ   'look at'
    ˈpana   'woman'
    ˈbini   'steal'
    ˈlo.i   'good'

47. buˈleʔen   'look at'

  niˈsui   'woman'

  hoˈnogo   'be separate'

  koˈroroʔ   'cheer'

In words of four syllables primary stress still falls on the penultimate syllable. There also appears to be a secondary stress that falls on the initial syllable (48). Syllables with secondary stress are perceptually louder than unstressed syllables. However, I have not been able to establish the exact phonetic correlates of secondary stress and how they differ from those of primary stress due to the very small number of items with four syllables. This question remains to be investigated in detail.

48. ˌsiruˈbisu   'work'

  ˌbereˈlikuʔ 'k.o. bird'

  ˌhileˈrenoʔ 'k.o. bird'

In Bunaq stress is assigned before the application of any morphophonological processes to a lexical item. That is, prefixes are extrametrical and are not counted in stress assignment rules. The items in (49) illustrate prefixation of monosyllabic roots and (50) of disyllabic roots with the 3rd person ANIMATE prefix *gV*- '3AN-'. See §2.5 for morphological rules governing prefixation.

	Prefix		Root			
49.	*gV-*	+	ˈul	'extract'	=	gˈul
	gV-	+	ˈil	'water'	=	gˈil
	gV-	+	ˈbul	'base'	=	guˈbul
	gV-	+	ˈwit	'take'	=	giˈwit
50.	*gV-*	+	ˈiwal	'pick'	=	gˈiwal
	gV-	+	ˈube	'block'	=	gˈube
	gV-	+	ˈtekeʔ	'look'	=	geˈtekeʔ
	gV-	+	ˈhukat	'raise'	=	guˈhukat

The penultimate stress analysis is based upon elicitation of words in isolation. In discourse, however, it is apparent that the place of a word in an intonation unit can

effect its realisation. In particular, for many items it is possible to reduce or entirely omit the apparently lexically accented syllable in particular phrasal positions. This is seen, for instance, with the INANIMATE form of contrastive demonstrative *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' (§7.2.4) which in isolation follows the regular penultimate stress pattern. However, when used at the end of a 'continuing' intonation unit, characterised by a high tonal target on the final syllable, the vowel of stressed syllable nucleus of *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' is omitted. The prevalence of such behaviour could mean that lexical accents are 'ignored' for the purposes of intonation in Bunaq. Alternatively, Bunaq may lack lexical accent altogether.[6] The nature of stress in Bunaq and its relationship to intonation remains to be investigated.

2.5   Morphophonology

Morphophonemic processes in Bunaq centre on the paradigm of person prefixes, given in Table 2.21. These prefixes are specified for person but not number (see §6.1.1 on use of pronouns to specify number). No more than one prefix can occur on any root. Prefixes appear on nouns marking possessors and on verbs marking typically P arguments.

The person prefixes are analysed as having an unspecified vowel segment, represented by V. An alternative analysis would see the prefixes as consisting simply of consonantal roots and the vowel as epenthetic, occurring to break up disallowed consonant clusters. This latter analysis is not favoured here for the reason that there is no consonant associated with the 2nd and 1st person inclusive inflection, so the single vowel characterising inflections in these persons cannot be explained away as simply epenthetic.

Table 2.21: Pronominal prefixes

1EXCL	*nV-*
1INCL/2	*V-*
3AN	*gV-*
REFL	*dV-*
RECP	*tV-*

---

[6] Himmelmann (forthcoming) suggests such analysis for Waima'a, an Austronesian language of East Timor.

The productive synchronic processes associated with person prefixes in Bunaq are vowel harmony (§2.5.1), vowel deletion (§2.5.2), consonant-vowel metathesis (§2.5.3), and the optional loss of initial /h/ under prefixation (§2.5.4).

2.5.1　Vowel harmony

On prefixation to consonant initial roots, the vowel of the prefix takes its specifications for height and backness from that of the initial vowel of the root. Prefixal vowel harmony is illustrated in (51) with the noun *bol* 'value' and in (52) with the class II bivalent verb (§10.2.2) *wit* 'fetch'.

51. Prefix   +   *bol* 'value '   >   *no-bol*   '1EXCL-value'
    o-bol   '1INCL/2-value'
    go-bol   '3AN-value'
    do-bol   'REFL-value'
    to-bol   'RECP-value'

52. Prefix   +   *wit* 'fetch'   >   *ni-wit*   '1EXCL-fetch'
    i-wit   '1INCL/2-fetch'
    gi-wit   '3AN-fetch'
    di-wit   'REFL-fetch'
    ti-wit   'RECP-fetch'

Note that there are a handful of cases where the prefixal vowel is not harmonised with that of the root. These are regarded as older prefixal vowels that have been irregularly retained from before vowel harmony was at work in the language. They are described in §2.6.1.

2.5.2　Vowel deletion

Where the root is vowel initial, the prefixal vowel is deleted. This means that for the 1st person inclusive and second person, there is no surface manifestation of the prefix. The prefix *V-* '1INCL/2' is represented as *Ø-* where it is deleted on prefixation to vowel initial roots. This is illustrated in (53) with the noun *il* 'water' and in (54) with the verb *obon* 'hang'.

53. Prefix   +   *il*   'water'   >   *n-il*   '1EXCL-water'

                                            Ø-il   '1INCL/2-water'

                                            g-il   '3AN-water'

                                            d-il   'REFL-water'

                                            t-il   'RECP-water'

54. Prefix   +   *obon*   'hang up'   >   *n-obon*   '1EXCL-hang'

                                            Ø-obon   '1INCL/2-hang'

                                            g-obon   '3AN-hang'

                                            d-obon   'REFL-hang'

                                            t-obon   'RECP-hang'

2.5.3   Metathesis

Metathesis occurs with roots of the shape CV_1V_2C under prefixation where V_1 is high (/i/ or /u/) and V_2 non-high.[7] Metathesis involves V_1 swapping places with the initial consonant when a prefix is added. Examples of metathesis are presented with the noun *luel* 'peel' in (55) and with the verb *sieq* 'rip' in (56). Note that the unprefixed, unmetathesised forms of these items are used where the former has an INANIMATE possessor (§9.3.5) and the latter an INANIMATE P (§10.2.2).

55. Prefix   +   *luel*   'peel'   >   *n-ulel*   '1EXCL-peel'

                                            Ø-ulel   '1INCL/2-peel'

                                            g-ulel   '3AN-peel'

                                            d-ulel   'REFL-peel'

                                          t-ulel   'RECP-peel'

56. Prefix   +   *sieq*   'rip'   >   *n-iseq*   '1EXCL-rip'

                                            Ø-iseq   '1INCL/2-rip'

                                            g-iseq   '3AN-rip'

                                          d-iseq   'REFL-rip'

                                            t-iseq   'RECP-rip'

---

[7] Metathesis is a striking feature of the Timor and the south-western Maluku region. Unlike in other languages of the area such as Dawan (Steinhauer 1996), Mambai (Hull 2003) and Leti (van Engelenhoven 2004), metathesis has no syntactic function in Bunaq.

The number of items displaying the appropriate phonological shape for metathesis to occur is small. In the corpus there are a total of eight items undergoing metathesis (Table 2.22). Not all roots of the appropriate shape for metathesis take prefixes and therefore do not show metathesis, e.g. *muel* 'thin'.

Table 2.22: Metathesizing lexical items

Unprefixed form	3rd ANIMATE prefixed form	Gloss
luel	*g-ulel*	'skin, peel'
mien	*g-imen*	'immediately, customarily'
niat	*g-inat*	'first (one)'
nuas	*g-unas*	'stink'
nuek	*g-unek*	'be smelly'
sieq	*g-iseq*	'rip'
tuek	*g-utek*	'be heavy'
ziek	*g-izek*	'fry'

Since it is the most morphologically unmarked form of the verb, I regard the CV_1V_2C form of metathesizing items as basic. However, it might be possible to argue that the form V_1CV_2C is basic and that CV_1V_2C is the metathesized form. This analysis might be tenable if metathesis to the form CV_1V_2C could be perceptually motivated, for instance, if the first consonant were a better signaller of the word edge (e.g. a stop) than the V_1, (disregarding the presence of a phonetic glottal stop on vowel initial words). The test of this hypothesis is whether there are words with a surface shape V_1CV_2C where the first consonant is not a good signaller of the word edge in comparison to those in words with metathesis. There are only three roots of the appropriate V_1CV_2C shape in Bunaq: *ilek* 'listen', *iwal* 'pick' and *urep* 'break off'. Such a small number is hardly illuminating, and since the first consonant /l/ in *ilek* 'listen' participates in metathesis, there is little to support a hypothesis seeing the form V_1CV_2C of metathesizing words as basic.

2.5.4 Loss of initial /h/

Verbal roots with initial /h/ may have this optionally deleted under prefixation. This is an occasional feature of rapid speech and not a hard and fast morphophonological rule

in the language; in careful speech initial /h/ is always retained. The example in (57) illustrates the optional deletion of the initial /h/ taking the verb *hukat* 'lift'

57.   /nu-hukat/   '1EXCL-lift'   [nuhukat ~ nukat]
       /u-hukat/   '1INCL/2-lift'   [uhukat ~ ukat]
       /gu-hukat/   '3AN-lift'   [guhukat ~ gukat]

Optional /h/ deletion in such examples as (57) is distinct from that found with verbs of h-conjugation (see §2.6.2.3).

2.5.5 Reduplication

Bunaq uses full reduplication to express a range of grammatical concepts (summarised in Table 2.23).

Table 2.23: Constructions in which reduplication takes place

DOMAIN OF REDUPLICATION	FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATION
VERBAL DOMAIN	
stative V	intensity
post-verbal numeral	distributivity
NOMINAL DOMAIN	
N$_{HEAD}$	distributivity
Modifier of N$_{HEAD}$	distributivity

Reduplication in Bunaq is simple, that is, the reduplicant matches the base from which it is copied without phoneme changes or additions. Each reduplicant attracts primary stress. (58) gives some examples of reduplication in Bunaq.

	ROOT		REDUPLICATED FORM	
58.	'tas	'village'	'tas~'tas	'village after village'
	'unu	'quiet'	'unu~'unu	'really quiet'
	hi'loqon	'two'	hi'loqon~hi'loqon	'two by two'

Because there is little morphology in Bunaq, it is difficult to distinguish between reduplication and repetition (a problem treated in detail in Gil 2005). Like reduplication, repetition involves the iteration of linguistic material. However, unlike reduplication, repetition involves may involve between one and three copies; more than three copies are not attested. Repetition is used to encode iteration and durativity, as in the examples in (59) from the corpus.

	Root			Repeated form	
59.	liol	'continue'		liol liol	'keep going'
	mele	'walk'		mele mele mele	'keep walking on and on'
	pie	'steam'		pie pie pie pie	'keep steaming on and on and on'

The phonological differences between reduplication and repetition in Bunaq remain to be investigated. Impressionistically, there is no prosodic difference between reduplications and repeats. This suggests that what I have called repetition here may in fact be a form of multiple word reduplication, involving two or more copies, such as that described for Thao by Blust (2001).

Against the reduplication analysis is the fact that we find other types of phrasal predicates repeated with iterative meaning. For instance, predicative postpositional phrases (§4.3.2), such as those in (60), occur repeated with the same kinds of iterative meanings as the verbs in (59).

	Phrase		Repeated phrase	
60.	*g-ua gene* '3AN-footprint LOC'		*gua gene gua gene*	'keep following X'
	'in X's footprints'			
	i.e. 'follow X'			
	baqa goet 'NPRX.INAN LIKE'		*baqa goet baqa goet*	'like that over & over'
	'(do) like that'			

That these are clearly phrases and not roots suggests that the copying of linguistic material to express iterativity/durativity is discourse level repetition and not word-forming reduplication.

For the purposes of keeping instances of copying only involving one copy and those allowing more than one copy, apart I will use the following terminology in this work: I will reserve the term 'reduplication' (glossed 'REDUP' and with the copied form connected by a tilde '~') for instances of copying where there can be no more than one

copy, and; I will use the term 'repetition' (with each element glossed separately and with no hyphen etc. connecting copies) for instances of copying denoting iteration/durativity where there can be more than one copy.

2.6 Irregularities in prefixation

Bunaq has a collection of lexical items which show irregularities in their prefixation. The irregularity discussed here is of three types: i. the form of the prefixal vowel differs from that predicted by the above outlined rules (§2.6.1), and; ii. the root changes form on prefixation (§2.6.2). Their treatment here is justified as they can be seen to exist on the one hand as the result of incomplete application of synchronic morphophonemic processes and on the other as remnants of earlier productive morphophonemic and morphological processes.

2.6.1 Irregular prefixes

While the productive shape of person prefixes in Bunaq is (C)V- with harmony and deletion rules applying as already described, there are several roots which do not conform to this pattern of prefixation and for which the prefixal vowel is already specified, either as (C)i- or (C)a-.

(C)i- is the shape found with *zal* 'carry' and *a* 'eat', two high frequency class II bivalent verbs (§10.2.2). The inflectional paradigm of these verbs is given in (61). Note that the initial voiced fricative of *zal* is deleted under prefixation. Unmarked verb forms have 3rd person inanimate object arguments.

61. a. *ni-al*   1EXCL-carry   b. *ni-a*   1EXCL-eat

     i-al   1INCL/2-carry   *i-a*   1INCL/2-eat

     gi-al   3AN-carry   *gi-a*   3AN-eat

     zal   carry   *a*   eat

The possessive classifier in the TAP proto-language reconstructs unambiguously as **-e* (Donohue and Schapper 2008). This reveals the prefix of the Bunaq possessive pronoun paradigm also to have had the form (C)i- (62).

62. *ni-e*   '1EXCL-POSS'

   i-e   '1INCL/2-POSS'

   gi-e   '3AN-POSS'

(C)a- is the prefixal shape found with the two verbs given in (63). Note that 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person agreement forms are rare as these verbs are used prototypically in reference to domestic animals. In additional to their forms, the agreement patterns and semantics associated with prefixation differ from the norm (§10.2.5).[8]

63. a. *na-lumaq*   '1EXCL-care.for'   b. *na-bilan*   '1EXCL-raise'

     a-lumaq   '1INCL/2-care.for'   *a-bilan*   '1INCL/2-raise'

     ga-lumaq   '3AN-care.for'   *ga-bilan*   '3AN-raise'

     lumaq   'care.for'   *bilan*   'raise'

Both the high front vowel /i/ and the low central vowel /a/ are found in the inflectional paradigm of the goal marking serial verb *-ta* (§12.3.3). The prefixes with /i/ denote ANIMATE 3ʳᵈ persons and speech participants (also semantically animate). The prefix with /a/ occurs without an additional consonant and is restricted to INANIMATE 3ʳᵈ persons. The full inflectional paradigm is given in (64).

64. *ni-ta*   '1EXCL-GL'

   i-ta   '1INCL/2-GL'

   gi-ta   '3AN-GL'

   a-ta   '3INAN-GL'

The vowels /a/ and /i/ in prefixes appear to have been historically prior, but largely lost under the thorough-going effects of vowel harmony (cf. reconstructed TAP pronominal prefixes in §1.6.1).

2.6.2   Irregular roots

There is a group of roots, mostly verbs, which on prefixation undergo changes in their stem. Though the stem alterations cannot be predicted, several different patterns can be distinguished, suggesting that they go back to earlier productive morpho-phonological processes.

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[8] The aberrance of the vowel in this prefix appears to be because it reflects the Tetun causative prefix *ha-* (cf. van Klinken 1999: 59-66). This is suggested by both verbs being Tetun borrowings: *lumaq* < Tetun *lumak* 'be domestic', *bilan* < Tetun Belu *bilan* 'transact'. See §10.2.4.1.1 on the incorporation of Tetun h-initial words into the Bunaq verb classes.

2.6.2.1 Root reduction

Disyllabic verb roots of the form $BV_1LV_1(k)$ -where B stands for any bilabial consonant, V_1 for any identical vowel and L for the liquid phoneme /l/ - typically delete the medial LV syllable in the manner represented in (65).

Prefix   Root
65. (C)V   + $BV_1LV_1(k)$ > $(C)V_1BV_1(k)$

Table 2.24 presents all the roots in the corpus to which this applies. There are two roots in the corpus with the appropriate shape which do not show the reduction of the medial liquid initial syllable. They are: *wilik* 'fan' but *gi-wilik* '3AN-fan' not **gi-wik*, and *pelek* 'plant' but *ge-pelek* '3AN-plant' not **gepek*.

Table 2.24: Roots with medial liquid reduction

Unprefixed form	3rd ANIMATE prefixed form	Gloss
belek	*gebek*	'turn'
bilik	*gibik*	'bind'
bolok	*gobok*	'cover'
palak-ter	*gapak-ter*	'kick'
pili	*gipi*	'break'
walak	*gawak*	'carry'
welek	*gewek*	'hug'

Note also that in the corpus there is one instance of reduction of this kind, *bini* 'steal', where the consonant of the deleted syllable is /n/ and not /l/: *bini* / *gibi* 'steal'. There are no other prefixing roots with the appropriate form with which to establish whether there is a similar trend of reduction with /n/ as with /l/.

A final pattern of root reduction under prefixation is found in a further three verb roots in the corpus in which the final vowel segment is deleted (Table 2.25). Again these roots are characterised by being disyllabic and having identical vowels in their two syllables. On the unprefixed verb form, stress is regular falling on the penultimate syllable of the verb.

Table 2.25: Final vowel deletion

Unprefixed form	3rd ANIMATE prefixed form	Gloss
tuqu	*gutuq*	'beat'
buqu	*gubuq*	'bite'
mene	*gemen*	'straighten'
dele	*gerel*	'INS'

Note that *buqu* 'bite' has not only the prefixed form *gu-buq* '3AN-bite', but also *gu-bubu* '3AN-bite'; there is no verb **bubu* 'bite'.

2.6.2.2 Root mutation

Table 2.26 presents the forms of the small number of verb roots show change in form under prefixation. There is no easily generalizable pattern of mutation in these forms with additional consonant and vowels appearing unpredictably. Suppletion may also play a role in the difference between *uti* 'bite' and *g-i* '3AN-bite'.

Table 2.26: Verbs with root mutation

Unprefixed form	3rd ANIMATE prefixed form	Gloss
bagal	*gagabal*	'split'
binun	*gibibun*	'gather'
buqu	*gububu*	'bite'
ili	*gigili*	'wash'
pilaq	*gipiala*	'tell'
uti	*gi*	'bite'

2.6.2.3 Initial consonant alternations

Bunaq has a small group of verbs (described in §10.2.4) whose initial consonant alternate with person prefixes of other persons when prefixed. Items showing initial consonant alternation are divided into conjugation classes according to their initial consonant. Table 2.27 presents the five different conjugations with an example of each. We see that with a 3rd person ANIMATE agreement controller, typically P, the initial

consonant of the 3rd person INANIMATE agreement form is replaced by the 3rd person ANIMATE prefix.

Table 2.27: Bunaq initial consonant alternation conjugations

| Conjugation | Example | | |
class	3rd INANIMATE	3rd ANIMATE	Gloss
h-class	*h-azal*	*g-azal*	'see'
s-class	*s-agal*	*g-agal*	'seek'
t-class	*t-inik*	*g-inik*	'cook'
d-class	*d-oenik*	*g-oenik*	'forget'
l-class	*l-ual*	*g-ual*	'bend'

The initial consonant alternation observed in these verbs is not a regular morpho-phonological process in the language. Each of the classes has only a small number of non-predictable members relative to the whole lexicon; the vast majority of items with the consonants at issue not showing alternation of the initial consonant under prefixation. Examples of these are presented in Table 2.28.

Table 2.28: Examples of items with initial consonants identical to conjugation marking consonants

| Initial | Example | | |
consonant	3rd INANIMATE	3rd ANIMATE	Gloss
/h/-initial	*hukat*	*guhukat*	'lift'
/s/-initial	*sarat*	*gasarat*	'drag'
/t/-initial	*tiba*	*gitiba*	'order'
/d/-initial	*daqu*	*garaqu*	'rip'
/l/-initial	*lete*	*gelete*	'step on'

Diachronically, alternating initial consonants represent prefixes of different sources indexing different kinds of P arguments (see individual sections in §10.2.4 for discussion of the different origins of these prefixes). Since a root cannot host more than one prefix (§2.5), the replacement of these initial consonants points to their ongoing synchronic status as 3rd INANIMATE prefixes, albeit with lexically very limited distributions.

Chapter 3:   Word classes

This chapter offers an overview of the word classes in Bunaq on the basis of their morphosyntactic distribution. Many of the word classes described here are discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. See individual sections for referral onwards to these later discussions.

3.1   Introduction

Bunaq has two major word classes, nouns (§3.2) and verbs (§3.3). These have for the most part open membership, but each includes some small closed sub-classes. There is also a sizeable group of roots that may appear without derivation as either nouns or verbs (§3.4).

The remaining word classes are closed, minor classes (§3.5). These classes show less internal division and have much smaller membership than the major classes. The members of minor classes also often lack isolatable meaning, having only a general, abstract grammatical function in specific constructions.

In addition to these well defined classes, there are many items in Bunaq which cannot be easily categorised. §3.6 discusses issues complicating the categorisation of items into individual classes in the lexicon and relates them to processes of grammaticalisation.

3.2   Nouns

The class of nouns in Bunaq is defined by the ability of its members to occur in the following syntactic constructions. The heads of NPs are nouns. NP heads (N_{HEAD}) may be modified by an attributive noun (N_{MOD}: §5.3), relative clause (RC: §5.4), and/or lexical item indicating quantity (QUANT: §3.6.2 & §5.5). Example (1) illustrates the use of a noun as the head of an NP with two nominal attributes, a restrictive RC and a quantifier.

N_{HEAD}	N_{MOD}	N_{MOD}	RC		QUANT
1. *en*	*pana*	*gol*	*na*	*koen*	*ginil*
person	female	small	FOC	pretty	GRP

'group of girls who are pretty'

Nouns can also be possessed (PSR: §9) and modified by a locational (LCT: §3.5.3), both occurring prior to the head of the NP (2).

| | LCT | PSR | | N_{HEAD} |

2. *ola*   *Markus*   *gi-e*   **zo**
   LOW   Markus   3-POSS   mango
   'Markus' mangoes down there'

A noun can occur as an argument of a predicate and a complement of a postposition. In (3) the noun *hol* 'stone' is the S argument of a monovalent verb, while in (4) the nouns *bel* 'wind' and *mok* 'banana' are respectively the A and P arguments of a bivalent verb. In (5) the noun *deu* 'house' is the complement of the locative postposition *gene* 'LOC'.

3. **Hol**   *topol.*
   stone   fall
   'The stone fell.'

4. **Bel**   **mok**   *pili.*
   wind   banana   bend
   'The wind bent the banana tree.'

5. *Eme*   **deu**   *gene.*
   mother   house   LOC
   'Mother is at home.'

Nouns are specified for ANIMATE or INANIMATE noun class (see §5.2 for a summary of assignment rules). These are manifested in grammatical agreement on determiners (6-7) and verbal prefixes (8-9).

6. **en**   *pana*   *gol*   *koen*   *ginil*   **bi**
   person.AN   female   child   pretty   GRP   DEF.AN
   'the group of pretty girls'

7. **zo**   *na*   *neto*   *a*   **ba**
   mango.INAN   FOC   1SG   eat   DEF.INAN
   'the mangoes which I ate'

8. *Markus* **en** **ge**-*sen.*
   Markus　　　person.AN　　　3AN-point.to

   'Markus pointed to the person.'

9. *Markus* **zo** *sen.*
   Markus　　　mango.INAN　　　point.to

   'Markus pointed to the mango.'

Nouns can occur in possessive constructions. In (10) there are nouns denoting both the possessor and the possessed item.

10. **en** *gi-e* **zap**
    person　　　3-POSS　　dog

    'a person's dog'

Bunaq has a closed subset of nouns marked with prefixes denoting an inalienable possessor. Subsets of prefixed nouns are distinguished according to the array of prefixes which the individual nouns take and are discussed in §9.3. See also the discussions of pronouns (§3.5.1) and interrogatives (§3.5.2), both classes with similar distributions to nouns.

3.2.1 Nominal compounds

The Bunaq nominal lexicon contains a large number of nominal compounds. A compound is a lexeme composed of two roots. The individual roots in a compound cannot be separated by other lexemes and cannot be independently inflected or marked in any way. Nominal compounds are of three types: left-headed compounds (§3.2.1.1), right-headed compounds (§3.2.1.2) and coordinative compounds (§3.2.1.3).

3.2.1.1 Left-headed compounds

Left-headed compounds are nominal compounds which consist of either NV or NN. The left-hand noun is the head of the compound. It is this noun which carries the phrasal accent (realised by higher pitch & intensity) and which determines the noun class of the compound. The INANIMATE noun *deu* 'house' and the ANIMATE noun *sekal* 'potato' head the NN (a) and NV (b) compounds in (11) and (12) respectively. The respective heads give their noun class to each of the compounds as a whole, making those in (11) INANIMATE and those in (12) ANIMATE.

	N	N			N	V
11. a.	*deu*	*hoto*	b.	*deu*	*memel*	
	house.INAN	fire.INAN		house.INAN	sick	
	'traditional thatched house'			'hospital'		

	N	N			N	V
12. a.	*sekal*	*mun*	b.	*sekal*	*a*	
	potato.AN	rope.INAN		potato	eat	
	'sweet potato'			'k.o. potato'		

The meaning of left-headed compounds is often not semantically decomposable from the meaning of its parts. In some left-headed compounds, one member is semantically empty; that is, one member cannot be assigned an independent meaning, and only appears in a compound. For instance, the compound *meaq gol* denoting 'child (alienable/generic)' comprises two distinct phonological words with primary word stress [ˈmeaq ˈgol]. The roots form a syntactic unit with a fixed morpheme order (**gol meaq*) which move around the sentence together and cannot be split up, (13a) and (13b). *G-ol* '3AN-child' is an inalienable noun and can appear on its own, but then has a different meaning denoting an inalienably possessed noun, as in (13c) and (13d). *Meaq* has no independent meaning and cannot appear on its own without *gol*, as in (13e) and (13f), despite being an independent phonological word.

13. a.	*Meaq*	*g-ol*		*n-ue.*	b.	*Neto*	*meaq*	*g-ol*		*g-ue.*
	?	3AN-child		1EXCL-hit		1SG	?	3AN-child		3AN-hit
	'The child hit me.'					'I hit the child.'				

c.	*G-ol*		*n-ue.*	d.	*Neto*		*g-ol*		*g-ue.*
	3AN-child		1EXCL-hit		1SG		3AN-child		3AN-hit
	'His/her/their child hit me'				'I hit his/her/their child'				

e.	**Meaq*		*n-ue.*	f.	**Neto*		*meaq*	*g-ue.*
	?		1EXCL-hit		1SG		?	3AN-hit

In a few cases, the roots in historically left-headed nominal compounds have fused together to become a single phonological word. For instance, *dikotel* 'cassava' is etymologically composed of the independent words *dik* 'tuber' and *hotel* 'wood', but synchronically forms a phonological word with a single stress on the penultimate

syllable [di'kotel]. The loss of initial /h/ of *hotel* 'tree' prevents a consonant cluster across the syllable boundary, conforming to well-formedness constraints in the language's phonotactics (§2.5). *Dikotel* 'cassava' is unusual in that its noun class is ANIMATE, whereas *dik* 'tuber' is INANIMATE noun class. This suggests that compounds in which elements are phonologically fused are not headed by one of their etymological elements. Rather noun class is directly assigned to the fused items in the lexicon. That is, they are not synchronically compounds, but distinct lexical entries.

Instances of left-headed nominal compounds composed of NN differ from instances of N_{HEAD} modified by an N_{MOD}. Whereas in a left-headed NN compound it is not possible to have multiple modifying Ns, two N_{MOD}s coordinated by *o* 'AND' can modify a single N_{HEAD}. See §5.3 for exemplification of Bunaq N_{MOD}.

3.2.1.2 Right-headed compounds

Right-headed nominal compounds are NN compounds in which the right-hand noun is the head. Unlike left-headed compounds, which are frequently not semantically decomposable, right-headed compounds are lexically productive, compositional and semantically transparent. Right-headed compounds are used in the expression of inalienable possession, especially part-whole relations where the left-hand N denotes the whole (N_{WHOLE}) to which the head is part. Whole-part modification only occurs where both N_{HEAD} and the modifying N have inanimate referents, as in:

	N_{WHOLE}	N_{HEAD}			N_{WHOLE}	N_{HEAD}
14. a.	*deu*	*puqup*		b.	*oto*	*mil*
	house	roof			car	inside
	'house('s) roof'				'car('s) inside'	

	N_{WHOLE}	N_{HEAD}			N_{WHOLE}	N_{HEAD}
c.	*hotel*	*wa*		d.	*mar*	*alan*
	tree	top			garden	border
	'tree top'				'garden('s) border'	

That the right-hand noun is the head is indicated by the fact that it takes the phrasal accent (see illustration in §5.3) and gives its noun class to the compound as a whole. In (15) and (16) we see that the definite article agrees in noun class with the right-hand noun. In (15a) where the head noun is INANIMATE *puqup* 'roof' the definite article takes

the form *ba* 'DEF.INAN', while in (15b) where the head noun is ANIMATE *liqas* 'carving' the definite article takes the form *bi* 'DEF.AN'. In (16) we see that the head noun INANIMATE *mil* 'inside' controls agreement on the definite article, even where the modifying noun changes from INANIMATE *oto* 'car' in (16a) to ANIMATE *sabul* 'orange' in (16b).

	INAN	INAN				INAN	AN		
15. a.	*deu*	*puqup*	*ba* /	**bi*	b.	*deu*	*liqas*	*bi* /	**ba*
	house	roof	DEF.INAN	DEF.AN		house	drawing	DEF.AN	DEF.INAN
	'the house('s) roof'					'the house('s) carvings'			

	INAN	INAN				AN	INAN		
16. a.	*oto*	*mil*	*ba* /	**bi*	b.	*sabul*	*mil*	*ba* /	**bi*
	car	inside	DEF.INAN	DEF.AN		orange	inside	DEF.INAN	DEF.AN
	'car('s) inside'					'orange('s) inside'			

That these constructions are compounds is furthermore suggested by the fact that no more than one N can modify a single N_HEAD in a right-headed compound. In (17), the coordination of multiple N_WHOLEs with *o* 'AND' results in ungrammaticality. Coordinated possessors can only be expressed with the inclusion of the inalienable possessor classifier *gi-e* '3AN-POSS' (§9.2).

17. a.	**deu*	*o*	*gereja*	*puqup*	b.	**oto*	*o*	*reu*	*mil*
	house	AND	church	roof		car	AND	house	inside
	'house's and church's roof'					'car's and house's inside'			

c.	**hotel*	*o*	*lolo*	*wa*	d.	**mar*	*o*	*zol*	*alan*
	tree	AND	mountain	top		garden	AND	river	border
	'tree and mountain top'					'garden's and river's border'			

Secondly, the left-hand N denoting the whole must be a simple N and cannot be expanded to a full NP in which it is modified and/or determined independent of the N_HEAD. Thus, the NP in (18a) occurs with *puqup* 'roof' to denote 'church's roof' in (18a). In order to be grammatical, either only a simple N *deu* 'house' can encode the possessor of the N_HEAD as in (15a), or the inalienable possessive classifier must occur between the NP and *puqup* 'roof', as in (18b).

18. a. *deu   koen   baqa   puqup   b. deu koen baqa   gi-e   puqup
       house nice   NPRX.INAN roof   house nice NPRX.INAN 3-POSS   roof
       'the pretty house roof'   'the pretty house's roof'

See §9.3.7 for further discussion of inalienable possession, including part-whole and spatial relations of the type discussed here, as expressed by compounding in Bunaq.

3.2.1.3 Coordinative compounds

There are a small number of NN compounds in which the relation between members is like one of coordination (known also as 'dvandva' compounds: Matthews 2005: 77, or 'co-compounds': Wälchli 2005). Coordinative compounds always involve referents occurring in natural pairs, and can semantically be equated to general cover terms in other languages lacking in Bunaq: *eme ama* 'mother father' > 'parents' (19a); *kauq kaqa* 'younger sibling older sibling' > 'siblings' (20a), and; *g-on g-iri* '3AN-arm 3AN-leg' > 'limbs' (21a). The order of nouns is fixed and switching results in ungrammaticality as seen in the (b) examples below. Where the nouns are inalienably possessed as in the case of (21), they must be inflected for the same person (21c).

19. a. *eme   ama*   b. **ama   eme*
       mother father   father mother
       'parents'

20. a. *kauq   kaqa*   b. **kaqa   kauq*
       younger.sibling older.sibling older.sibling younger.sibling
       'siblings'

21. a. *g-on   g-iri*   b. **g-iri g-on*
       3AN-arm 3AN-leg   3AN-leg 3AN-arm
       'his limbs'

    c. **g-on   n-iri*
       3AN-arm 1EXCL-leg

The analysis of these items as compounds is supported by the fact that the elements of the pairs occur within a single intonation contour; no pause may intervene between the two Ns. Similarly, no element may intervene between Ns, and they cannot be

independently modified or determined without a change in meaning. For instance, where the nouns *eme* 'mother' and *ama* 'father' are overtly coordinated with *o* 'AND' (§5.6.2), each noun has a referent distinct from one another, 'mother' and 'father', and not a shared one 'parents' (22a). Accordingly, each of the nouns in the coordinated pair may be a full NP and independently modified, determined and possessed (22b).

22. a. *eme   o   ama*
  mother   AND   father
  'mother and father'

 b. *ni-e   eme   memel bari   o   gi-e   ama   bokul*
  1EXCL-POSS   mother sick   PROX.AN   AND   3-POSS father fat
  baqi
  NPRX.AN
  'my sick mother here and his fat father there'

3.3   Verbs

Syntactically, verbs are those items that can typically function as a predicate head in the clause. Each verb has lexically-specified valency and licenses a specific number of arguments. In (23), *tuek* 'heavy' acts alone as predicate and licences a single S argument. In (24) *tekeq* 'watch' is the sole predicate of the clause and licences two arguments, an A and a P, in the clause.

23. *Zo   tuek*.
  mango   heavy
  'The mango (is) heavy.'

24. *Markus   zo   tekeq*.
  Markus   mango watch
  'Markus watches (the) mango.'

Morphologically, verbs may take a prefix which is co-referent with an argument in the clause. In (25a), the verb *tuek* 'heavy' takes a 1st person prefix coreferent with the S argument. In (26a) the verb *tekeq* 'watch' takes a 3rd person ANIMATE prefix coreferent with the P argument of the clause. Verbs allow the elision of their arguments (25b and

26b), under conditions described in §4.7.1.1, as well as fronting of non-S/A arguments in the case of polyvalent verbs (26c), the pragmatics of which is discussed in §4.7.2.2.

25. a. *Neto* **n-utek**.　　　　　b. *N-utek.*
　　　1SG　　1EXCL-heavy　　　　　　1EXCL-heavy
　　　'I (am) heavy.'　　　　　　　　'(I am) heavy.'

26. a. *Neto　Markus*　　**ge-tekeq**.　b. *Ge-tekeq.*
　　　1SG　　Markus　　　3AN-watch　　　3AN-watch
　　　'I watched Markus.'　　　　　　　'(I) watched (Markus).'

　　c. *Markus　neto*　　**ge-tekeq**.
　　　Markus　　1SG　　　3AN-watch
　　　'Markus, I watched.'

Verbs are divided into classes on the basis of two criteria: i. valency, i.e. whether the verb takes one, two, three or a variable number of arguments with a secondary division as to the kind of argument (core versus oblique) taken, and; ii. inflectional prefixes, what inflections does the verb have. These two criteria typically intersect to robustly define individual classes of verb. Detailed treatment of Bunaq verb classes is found in Chapter 10.

3.3.1　Lack of an adjective class

There is no distinct adjective class in Bunaq. The items encoding Dixon's (1982) 'adjectival notions'- value, age, colour, dimension, speed, physical property and human propensity- are monovalent stative verbs in Bunaq. The reasons for not seeing these items as constituting a separate word class are outlined below.

In Bunaq all verbs can occur attributively. That is, regardless of whether a verb is stative or active, monovalent or bivalent, it can occur modifying the head of an NP. In (27) we see that the head of the NP, *en* 'person', is modified without constructional difference by a monovalent stative non-agentive verb (26a), a monovalent dynamic non-agentive verb (27b), a monovalent agentive verb (27c), bivalent verb in the A role (27d) and bivalent verb in the P role with agreement on the verb (27e).

27. a. *en   matas bi*
person old   DEF.AN
'the old person'

b. *en   topol   bi*
person fall   DEF.AN
'the fallen person'

c. *en   sok   bi*
person swear   DEF.AN
'the swearing person'

d. *en   bai   seqo   bi*
person thing   sell   DEF.AN
'the selling person'

e. *en   ge-seqo   bi*
person 3AN-sell   DEF.AN
'the sold person',
i.e 'the person (who was) sold'   [Not.06-01]

In Bunaq, there is no difference in the adverbials that can apply to a class of adjectives rather than verbs as in many languages with a adjective-verb distinction, e.g. English 'very'. In Bunaq all verbs can occur with intensifiers, such as *los* 'very', irrespective of whether they are used attributively (28) or predicatively (29). The translations given in (28) and (29) do not pretend to be idiomatic English, but seek to preserve something of the flavour of the Bunaq original in which *los* 'very' indicates merely that the event denoted by the verb is done intensely. Whether the intensity indicated by *los* 'very' refers to severity, quantity, frequency etc. is disambiguated by context. A more natural English translation, e.g. 'a lot', 'a long way', 'greatly' etc., would force a particular reading of the nature of the intensity which is not present.

28. a. *en   matas los   bi*
person old   very   DEF.AN
'the very old person'

b. *en   topol   los   bi*
person fall   very   DEF.AN
'the very fallen person',
i.e. 'the person (who) fell badly'

c. *en   sok   los   bi*
person swear   very   DEF.AN
'the very swearing person'
i.e. 'the person (who) swears a lot'

d. *en   bai   seqo los   bi*
person thing   sell   very   DEF.AN
'the very selling person'
i.e. 'the person (who) sells a lot'

e. *en   ge-seqo los   bi*
person 3AN-sell   very   DEF.AN
'the very sold person'
i.e. 'the person (who gets) sold a lot'   [Not.06-01]

29. a. *En   baqi   matas los.*
    person NPRX.AN old   very
    'That person (was) very old.'

b. *En   baqi   topol los.*
   person NPRX.AN fall   very
   'That person fell badly.'

c. *En   baqi   sok   los.*
   person NPRX.AN swear very
   'That person very swore a lot.'

d. *En   baqi   bai seqo los.*
   person NPRX.AN thing sell very
   'That person sold a lot.'

e. *En   baqi   ge-seqo   los.*
   person NPRX.AN 3AN-sell   very
   'That person (was) sold a lot.'   [Not.06-01]

Textual examples of the use of *los* 'very' with stative and active verbal predicates are given in (30) and (31) respectively.

30. *En   bari   neto   na   g-osok   los.*
    person   PROX.AN   1SG   FOC   3AN-receive   very
    'These people, I received I lot.'   [Bk-2.024]

31. *Sore   baqa   koen   raza   los.*
    machete NPRX.AN   beautiful   different   very
    'That machete was really differently beautiful.'   [Bk-24.039]

Similarly, comparatives are not limited to occurring with stative and active predicates, such as might be expected were there a class of adjectives separate from verbs. We see that the comparative adverb *lesin* 'more' occurs with both active verbs, such as *a* 'eat' (32) and *mele* 'walk'(33), as well as 'adjectival notions', such as *baqis* 'much' (34) and *koen* 'beautiful' (35). See §14.2.2.3 for more on comparatives in Bunaq.

32. *Le ai   le   ai,   nei   paqol na   gi-a   lesin.*
    day ONLY day ONLY 1PL.EXCL corn FOC 3AN-eat more
    'Day in day out, it is corn that we eat more (than anything else).'   [Bk-24.033]

33. *En   gereja gi-e   ukon   dele   na   mele   lesin.*
    person   church 3-POSS governance INS   FOC   walk   more
    'People walk (i.e. obey) with the teachings of the church more.'   [Bk-62.030]

34. *Halali   gi-e   u   bilik   baqis   lesin.*
    3DU   3-POSS   undergrowth   bound   much   more
    'Those two's bound grass was much more.'   [Bk-12.013]

35. *Huqe   gene   koen   lesin.*
    HERE   LOC   beautiful   more
    'Here is nicer.'   [Bk-30.092]

Verbs encoding 'adjectival notions' differ from other kinds of verbs in the way that they combine with aspect markers. However, this different behaviour arises not from any word class distinction, but simply because of semantic and pragmatic restrictions on combinatorics. For instance, consider how the prospective aspect marker *gie* 'PROSP' (§14.2.4) combines with the different verbs in (36). In (36a) *gie* 'PROSP' combines with agentive monovalent verb, *mal* 'go', to denote the intentionality and volitionality of the S to carry out the event. In (36b) the marker is also acceptable with the prototypically non-agentive dynamic verb, *topol* 'fall', to suggest the agentivity of the S in the act of falling. However, (36c), combining *gie* 'PROSP' with the stative monovalent verb, *moroi* 'sleepy', is judged semantically bizarre. This is because the use of *gie* 'PROSP' entails intentionality on the part of the participant and it is difficult to construe the S of a stative event such as *moroi* 'sleepy' as in any way controlling.

36. a. *Yati   mal   gie.*
         Yati   go   PROSP
         'Yati is about to go.'

    b. *Yati   topol   gie.*
        Yati   fall   PROSP
        'Yati is about to fall down (deliberately).'

    c. #*Yati   moroi   gie.*
         Yati   sleepy   PROSP
         'Yati is about to be(come) sleepy.'   [Not.06-01]

Finally, there are no morphological grounds for distinguishing verbs from adjectives. For the most part, monovalent verbs regardless of whether they refer to an 'adjectival notion' or a dynamic event take no prefixal marking of their participant. Of the very small number of monovalent verbs which do take prefixes, all have a non-

agentive S, and only some of these are covered under the rubric 'adjectival notion', such as 'stinky' and 'heavy', but not 'be disappeared' (§10.3.2).

In sum, none of the morphological or syntactic which we have applied shows any difference amongst verbs which are sufficient to confirm the existence of an adjective word class, separate from that of verbs.

Table 3.1: A selection of 'character' NV compound

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
WITH ALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS		
tueq lilak	alcohol crazy	'drunk'
ikan ... nuas / *nuek*	fish stink / smell	'stink of fish'
pit saq	throat dry	'thirsty'
aruq legul / *rukut ...*	hair long / curly	'be long-/curly-haired'
eme / *ama ... kereq*	mother / father single	'share a mother/father'
WITH INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS		
g-epal koke	3AN-ear deaf	'be deaf'
g-ewen buk	3AN-face flower	'be dizzy'
g-ewen tomak	3AN-face complete	'be unknown'
g-ewen danu	3AN-face layered	'be insane'
g-iral bulu	3AN-eye blind	'be blind'
gi-mil loi	3AN-inside good	'be happy'
g-on laun / *rono*	3AN-hand fast / slow	'be good / bad workers'
g-otok saqe	3AN-liver ascend	'get angry'
g-otok wel	3AN-liver burnt	'be angry'
gu-bul bel	3AN-head wind	'be smart'

3.3.2 NV compounds of physical & emotional characteristics

Physical, emotional and character traits are expressed in Bunaq by means of a variety of verbal compounds composed of a noun plus a monovalent verb.[1] The N, typically denoting a body part, can be either an inalienably possessed noun marked by possessor

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[1] Similar constructions have been described as occurring in Tetun (so-called 'body-good' predicates, van Klinken 1999: 196-204) and other languages of eastern Indonesia ('phrasal emotion predicates', Klamer 2001).

prefixes (§9.3), or an alienably possessed noun without inherent marking for a possessor (§9.2). These verbal NV compounds are themselves always monovalent, taking a single S argument.

Table 3.1 presents a selection of the most frequently occurring 'character' NV compounds in the Bunaq corpus. In the table, '...' represents that the preceding N or V is not lexically fixed but can be replaced by another (semantically coherent and syntactically appropriate) item. Compounds of this kind tend to be more semantically transparent and compositional. Compounds showing a significant degree of lexicalisation tend to have little or no flexibility in the lexical identity of N and/or V.

The evidence for seeing these expressions as compounds is discussed below. Firstly, the N and V cannot be prosodically separated from one another. That is, there can be no pause or break in intonation between N and V. Syntactically, there can also be no separation of N and V. The N must be a simple N (37a). It cannot be independently modified or determined in any way (37b). It can also not be fronted to a position before the experiencer NP (37c), nor can any element, such as an adverb, come between the N and V (37d).

37. a. *Neto   tueq   lilak.*   b. **Neto tueq   bare   lilak.*
       1SG   alcohol crazy   1SG   alcohol PROX.INAN crazy
       'I'm alcohol crazy.', i.e. 'drunk'   'I'm crazy (with) this alcohol.'

   c. **Tueq neto   lilak.*   d. **Neto tueq   nor   lilak.*
       alcohol1SG   crazy   1SG   alcohol randomly   crazy
       '(For) alcohol I'm crazy.'   'I craze alcohol randomly.'

Where the N is an inalienably possessed, bound noun, the prefix must agree in person with the S (38a). Agreement with other prefix forms, such as the reflexive, is not possible (38b). This would be possible were the N of the compound an argument NP. See §11.3.1 on reflexive binding.

38. a. *Neto   n-otok   saqe.*   b. **Neto d-otok   saqe.*
       1SG   1EXCL-liver ascend   1SG   REFL-liver   ascend
       'I'm raised as to my liver.'   'I'm raised as to my own liver.'
       i.e. 'I'm angry'

Where the V takes prefixes for S (applicable in the case of *nuas* 'stink' and *nuek* 'smell'. See §10.3.2, agreement is with the S (39a) and not with the N (39b).

39. a. *Neto   ikan   n-unas.*   b. **Neto   ikan   g-unas.*
      1SG   fish   1EXCL-smell   1SG   fish   3AN-smell
      'I smell fishy.'

One final piece of evidence for seeing these constructions as NV compounds is that it is possible to relativise on their S as on that of any other monovalent verb, as in (40). If *en* 'person' were a possessor NP dependent on *g-iwiq* '3AN-skin' rather than an S, relativisation as in (40) would not be possible (see §5.4.3).

40. [NP*En*HEAD [RC *g-iwiq*   *belis*]]   *Timor mil   tama.*
      person   3AN-skin   be.white   Timor   inside   enter
      'The people who had white skin entered into Timor.'   [Bk-29.002]

3.4   Noun-verb conversion

Noun-verb conversion refers to roots that can appear in the syntactic frame of a noun or that of a verb without any morphological change where noun and verb have related senses. The number of roots which are ambiguous in this way in Bunaq is relatively small in comparison to the whole lexicon.

Bunaq noun-verb roots of this kind all refers to inanimates. They are divisible into two main categories:

a.   verbs denoting an event/state and a noun denoting the associated instrument, result or patient of that event, and;
b.   verbs denoting an event/state and a noun denoting that same event/state.

Examples are given in (41):

	ROOT	NOUN	VERB
41.	*inel*	'rain'	'rain'
	ilok	'flood'	'flood'
	teqa	'prayer'	'pray'
	lili	'flame'	'flame, burn'

luma	'competition'	'compete'
luni	'pillow'	'put head down to rest'
ari	'grinding stone'	'grind on a stone'
sil	'sweat'	'sweat, be sweaty'
memel	'sickness'	'be sick'
potok	'blister'	'be blistered'
luqes	'wound'	'be wounded'
bouq	'swelling'	'be swollen'
tues	'fine'	'be fined'
huruk	'cold'	'be cold'
cinoq	'heat, fever'	'be hot'

The question raised here is: what is the status of these roots? Should they be interpreted as pre-categorial, being neither noun nor verb? Alternatively, should one be derived from the other, and if so, is noun or verb basic? Or do we simply have two distinct lexical entries, one as noun one as verb, of a homophonous form? This is a question that has challenged many researchers of languages showing such patterns (see Vonen 2001 for a discussion of the debate in Polynesian languages). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with these questions. As a matter of descriptive convenience, I will label items, such as *memel* 'sick/ness' and others in (41), 'noun' when they appear in a nominal frame, i.e. as an NP head (42a), and 'verb' when they appear in a verbal frame, i.e. as a predicate (42b).

42. a. *Ni-e* **memel** *bare* *loi.* b. *Neto* **memel**.
1EXCL-POSS sick/ness PROX.INAN good 1SG sick/ness
'This sickness is better.' [Bk-40.017] 'I'm sick.' [Bk-40.001]

3.5 Minor word classes

3.5.1 Pronouns

Pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural numbers and have three persons, including an inclusive-exclusive distinction in both non-singular numbers. The complete set of free pronouns is presented in Table 3.2. Note that there is no 3rd singular personal pronoun; demonstratives are used in this role (see §7.2.2.5).

Table 3.2: Pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1EXCL	*neto*	*neli*	*nei*
1INCL		*ili*	*i*
2	*eto*	*eli*	*ei*
3	--	*halali*	*halaqi*

Like nouns, pronouns function as the head of NPs and fill argument slots in the clause. Also in the manner of nouns, they can be modified by relative clauses (43), determiners (43) and locationals (44), as in:

43. [***Halaqi***   *na*   *meten*   *no*   *en*   *g-ebeqen*   *o*   *bai*   *bi*]
     3PL   FOC   past   OBL   person   3AN-kill   AND   thing   DEF.AN
     en   *g-utu*   *sesuq.*
     person   3-COM   argue
     'They who in the past were killing people and so on were arguing with people.'
                                            [Bk-66.045]

44. *Gi-e*   *pie*   [*ola*   ***nei***]   *n-o*   *pir*   *doe.*
    3-POSS   waft   LOW   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-SRC   reach   SPEC.INAN
    'Its waft reached us down there just now.'   [Bk-69.021]

Pronouns differ from nouns, however, in that they cannot be modified by a preceding possessor. In (45a), we see that nouns are used to denote both the possessor and the possessed item in an alienable possessor construction (§9.2). Yet, whilst it is possible for a pronoun to encode a possessor (45b), it is not possible for it to encode the possessum (45c). This restriction holds even when *halaqi* '3PL' occurs modifying the head noun in (45d) (see §5.5.1).

45. a.   ***en***   *gi-e*   *zap*   b.   ***halaqi***   *gi-e*   *zap*
       person   3-POSS   dog   3PL   3-POSS   dog
       'a person's dog'   'their dog'

    c.   *en   *gi-e*   *halaqi*   d.   *en   *gi-e*   *mila*   *halaqi*
        person 3-POSS   3PL   person   3-POSS   slave   3PL
                                                                 [Not.07-01]

The restriction on possessors modifying a pronoun may be taken to indicate that pronouns occupy a syntactic position other than N$_{HEAD}$. For instance, pronouns could be seen as occupying the possessor position (§5.1) followed by null N$_{HEAD}$. In an alternative analysis, the restriction could be seen as pragmatically motivated: if a possessor is viewed as functioning to identify the referent of N$_{HEAD}$ by locating it relative to a possessor[2], then pronouns do not require marking with a possessor since the use of a pronoun implies that the referent is identifiable within the speech context (cf. Ewing 2005: 126-127). This analysis would mean that pronouns are a closed class within the larger class of nouns. See Chapter 6 for discussion of the use of pronouns in Bunaq.

3.5.2 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are lexical items that occur in questions indicating what part of the proposition the asker wishes to know about (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 185). Table 3.3 gives the basic Bunaq interrogative words.

Table 3.3: Basic interrogatives

cio	'who?'
ciro	'which (person)?'
nego	'what?'
tero	'which (thing)?'
teo	'where?'
tuen	'when?'

All basic Bunaq interrogative words are nominal and can occur in the NP either as N$_{HEAD}$ or modifying an N$_{HEAD}$ (i.e. as an N$_{MOD}$: §5.3). This is illustrated in (46) with the interrogative *tuen* 'when?'. In (46a) *tuen* 'when' stands alone as the complement of the oblique postposition *no* 'OBL', while in (46b) *tuen* 'when' modifies the N$_{HEAD}$ *hul* 'moon, month' for the NP that forms the complement of *no* 'OBL'.

46. a. *Eto*   **tuen**   *no*   *man?*
       2SG   when   OBL   come
       'When are you coming?'

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[2] Possessors and related categories are often regarded as 'pragmatic anchors' (cf. Fraurud 1990, Hawkins 1981, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001) or 'reference-points' (cf. Langacker 1993) for identifying the possessor.

b. *Eto*   **hul**   **tuen**   *no*   *man?*
    2SG   month   when   OBL   come
    'What month are you coming?'   [Not.07-02]

In questions an interrogative cannot be modified by a relative clause or a determiner. This restriction is pragmatic: in questions interrogatives refer to entities with unidentified referents, whereas referents encoded with determiners are by their very marking signalled as identifiable and definite (§7.1). Thus, in questions an interrogative marked with a determiner is uninterpretable. Compare the grammaticality of the examples in (47):

47. a. *Nego*   *loï*   *niq?*
        what   good   NEG
        'What is not good?'

    b. #*Nego*   *ba*   *loï*   *niq?*
        what   DEF.INAN   good   NEG
        'The what is not good?'   [Not.07-02]

That the restriction is not syntactic is evident from the fact all basic interrogatives can also be used in 'wh-' embedded interrogative clauses and in this function they are modified by a restrictive relative clause and an optional determiner, as in (48-49).

48. [**Nego**   *na*   *i*   *Gewal gene*   *te-rel*   *h-oqon*
    what   FOC   1PL.INCL   Gewal   LOC   RECP-INS   3INAN-do
    ba]   *hani*   *r-oenik.*
    DEF.INAN   PROH   3INAN-forget
    'Don't forget that which we did together in Gewal.'   [Bk-14.010]

49. [**Sio**   *na*   *dato*   *gol*]   *gi-e*   *si*   *det*   *ga-lai.*
    who   FOC   noble   small   3-POSS   meat   alone   3AN-set
    'Whoever it is who is a small (i.e. lower ranked) noble also sets their meat (down).'
                                                    [Bk-70.190]

Schachter (1985: 34) observes that '[t]he set of interrogative pro-forms typically cuts across other part-of-speech classes'. This is true of Bunaq interrogatives as they

occur in interrogative phrases. The interrogative phrases used in Bunaq Lamaknen are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Non-basic interrogatives

tuen-tuen	when when	'how much/many (time/quantity)?'
tuen goet on	when LIKE DO	'how?', 'in what manner?'
teo goet on	where LIKE DO	'how?', 'in what manner?'
nego on	what DO	'why?', 'for what reason?'

Unlike the basic interrogatives, *tuen-tuen* only occurs adnominally, either with common nouns questioning quantity (50a) or with temporal nouns questioning duration (50b) (see §14.2.2.1.2 on the post-verbal of temporal duration nominals). The equivalents without a head noun are ungrammatical (51).

50. a. *Eto* [*zo* **tuen-tuen**] *a?*
        2SG   mango how.much   eat
        'How many mangoes did you eat?'

   b. *Eto*   *mit*   [*hul* **tuen-tuen**]*?*
       2SG   sit   month how.much
       'How many months did you stay?'   [Not.07-01]

51. a. *Eto **tuen-tuen**   *a?*
        2SG   how.much   eat
        'How many did you eat?'

   b. *Eto *mit*   **tuen-tuen***?*
        2SG   sit   how.much
        'How long did you stay?'   [Not.07-01]

Interrogative phrases questioning reason and manner can occur either as predicates or as clausal adverbs in clause-initial or clause-final position. These three positions are illustrated with the interrogative phrase *tuen goet on* in the examples in (52).

52. a. *En*   *Makasai*   ***tuen***   ***goet***   ***on?***
     person Makasai   when   LIKE   DO
     'What are the Makasai people like?'   [Bk-61.071]

   b. ***Tuen*** ***goet*** ***on***   *suku* *bari*   *hati?*
     when   LIKE   DO   clan   PROX.AN   exist
     'How did these clans come to exist?'   [Bk-70.024]

   c. *A*   *bokal* *h-oqon*   ***tuen*** ***goet*** ***on?***
     food   coarse 3INAN-make when   LIKE   DO
     'How (do you) make porridge?'   [Bk-44.015]

Finally, two interrogatives can occur with non-interrogative indefinite meaning.[3] The interrogative *nego* 'what?' is used non-interrogatively to mean 'whatever (thing/s)'. The interrogative *tuen* 'when?' occurs in two phrases where it has non-interrogative indefinite meaning. *Tuen-tuen uen* 'when when one' is a mid-scalar quantifier meaning 'several' and has the same distribution as its interrogative source expression, *tuen-tuen* 'how much/many?, how long (time)?'. *Tuen n-oq* 'when LOC-seed' is used as a temporal adverb referring to an indefinite past time.

3.5.3 Locationals

Locationals occur in the NP denoting a location which acts as the ground for the referent of the NP head as figure.[4] There are four distinct sets of locationals in Bunaq (Table 3.5), specifying elevation, place, addressee location and temporal/textual location. Locationals occupy a distinct syntactic position in the NP preceding the N$_{HEAD}$ and its possessor (53a); a position following the possessor results in ungrammaticality (53b & c).

53. a. *ola*   *Markus*   *gi-e*   *reu*
     LOW   Markus   3-POSS house
     'Markus' house down there'

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[3] Mushin (1995) called items which were polysemous, being both interrogatives and indefinites, 'epistemes'.

[4] The name for the parallel word class in existing grammars on related languages is variously: 'deictics' in Klon (Baird 2008: 61), 'deictic adverbs' in Western Pantar (Holton 2007) and 'spatial deictics' in Teiwa (Klamer forthcoming). The term 'deictic' is not used here, as there are manner other word classes in Bunaq that perform deictic functions, e.g. pronouns, determiners etc.

b. *_Markus_   _ola_   _gi-e_   _reu_
    Markus   LOW   3-POSS   house

c. *_Markus_   _gi-e_   _ola_   _reu_
    Markus   3-POSS   LOW   house   [Not.07-01]

Table 3.5: Locationals

	Gloss
SPATIAL LOCATIONALS	
ola	'LOW'
ota	'LEVEL'
esen	'HIGH'
PLACE LOCATIONALS	
huqe	'HERE'
haqe	'THERE'
hoqe	'SPCPLC'
TEMPORAL/DISCOURSE LOCATIONAL	
mete	'NOW'
ADDRESSEE LOCATIONAL	
_o_	'ADDR'

That locationals are distinct from possessors is seen in their ability to co-occur with a pronoun. Whilst pronouns cannot be possessed (§3.5.1), they can have their location specified by a locational. We see in (54) that the spatial locational _ola_ 'LOW' modifies _nei_ '1PL.EXCL', while in (55) the discourse locational _mete_ 'NOW' modifies _halaqi_ '3PL'.

54. _Gi-e_   _pie_   [_**ola**_   _nei_]   _n-o_   _pir_   _doe._
    3-POSS   waft   LOW   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-SRC   reach   SPEC.INAN
    'Its waft reached us down there just now.'   [Bk-69.021]

55. [_**Mete**_   _halaqi_ _guni_ _gene_ _roi_]   _na_   _ate_   _gene..._
    NOW   3PL   outside LOC   SPEC.AN FOC   far   LOC
    'It is now those who were on the outside are at a distance...'   [Bk-15.013]

Locationals belong to the NP; this is seen in a number of points. Firstly, prosodically, a locational occurs in a single intonational unit with the NP; there can be

no pause or break in intonation between the locational and the NP. Secondly, the locational can also follow the N$_{HEAD}$ whose locational it refers to, and in this position occurs to the left of the determiner, i.e. within the NP (see 8.2.2 for illustration). Thirdly, it is unacceptable to have a locational simply appear in a clause without being associated with an NP slot. For instance, (56) is unacceptable as *ola* 'LOW' is not associated with an NP position: the verb *mele* 'walk' takes a single S encoded in this case by the determiner *baqi* and the locational occurs to the right of the NP periphery marked by the determiner, thus necessarily outside the NP.

56. *Baqi   ola   mele.
       NPRX.AN   LOW   walk
    'They walk down there.'   [Not-06-03]

Locationals can be used independently to denote locations, but then they must be associated with an NP slot in the clause. That is, they can be used on their own without an N$_{HEAD}$ to indicate a vague location, as in (57a). Used in this way, the locational can only be modified by a determiner (57b). Unlike an N$_{HEAD}$, the locational cannot be modified by a (restrictive/non-restrictive) relative clause (57c) or a possessor (57d), though there is no apparent pragmatic motivation for the restriction.

57. a. *ola*
           LOW
        '(location) down (there)'

    b. *ola*   *baqa*
           LOW   NPRX.INAN
        'that (location) down (there)'

   c. *ola   (na)   ate
           LOW   FOC   far
        'far (location) down (there)'

    d. *ni-e   ola
           1EXCL-POSS   LOW
        'my (location) down (there)'

The addressee locational is distinct from the other locationals in that it is syntactically dependent and requires other elements to be expressed in the NP along with it, while the other Bunaq locationals do not, being able to stand alone in the NP. See Chapter 8 for a full discussion of Bunaq locationals.

3.5.4 Determiners

The set of determiners in Bunaq encompasses the demonstratives and the definite article (Table 3.6).[5] Like locationals discussed in the previous section, determiners are used for locating and identifying of entities. However, whereas locationals refer to the location of an entity, determiners refer to an entity by locating it in space, time or the discourse.

Table 3.6: Bunaq Lamaknen determiners

		ANIMATE	INANIMATE
DEMONSTRATIVES			
PROXIMAL	'PROX'	*bari*	*bare*
NON-PROXIMAL	'NPRX'	*baqi*	*baqa*
SPECIFIER	'SPEC'	*doi*	*doe*
CONTRASTIVE	'CONTR'	*himo*	*homo*
COUNTER-EXPECTATIONAL	'CNTREXP'	*beri*	*bere*
DEFINITE ARTICLE	'DEF'	*bi*	*ba*

Syntactically, determiners appear at the right periphery of the NP. All elements of the NP must occur to the left of the determiner, as in (58a). We see in (58b) that where *mamal* 'soft' occurs to the right of the determiner *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN', it is not part of the NP, but can only be interpreted as the predicate of a clause. Only one determiner is permitted in the NP (58c) and no NP is syntactically required to be marked by a determiner (58d).

58. a. *zo   mamal   baqa*
    mango soft   NPRX.INAN
    'that soft mango'

b. *zo   baqa   mamal*
    mango NPRX.INAN soft
    *'that soft mango', but
      'that mango is soft'

c. **zo   mamal   baqa   ba*
    mango soft   NPRX.INAN DEF.INAN

d. *zo   mamal*
    mango soft
    '(a/the) mango'

---

[5] In using the label 'determiner' here, I do not posit the existence of a 'determiner phrase' as in the 'DP hypothesis' of Abney (1987). There are a very many unresolved issues concerning the idea that determiners are heads of DPs with NPs as their complements (outlined in Matthews 2007: 11-26 & 61-78), particularly in languages such as Bunaq that do not syntactically *require* a determiner.

As mentioned above, determiners are of two syntactic types: a. demonstratives, which can occur syntactically independently of a noun, where the referent can be understood from the context or identified from the preceding discourse (59), and; b. the definite article, which is syntactically dependent and cannot occur as the only element in the NP (60).

59. a. *zo   baqa*
    mango   NPRX.INAN
    'that mango'

    b. *baqa*
       NPRX.INAN
       'that (mango)'

60. a. *zo   ba*
    mango   DEF.INAN
    'the mango'

    b. **ba*
       DEF.INAN

Morphologically, determiners are characterised by being marked for noun class. Each determiner has an ANIMATE and an INANIMATE form and agrees in noun class with the head of the NP, as in:

61. a. *zo   bare   / *bari*
    mango.INAN PROX.INAN   PROX.AN
    'this mango'

    b. *en   bari   / *bare*
    person.AN   PROX.AN   PROX.INAN
    'this person'

Determiners may also be used to determine clauses. This use along with detailed description of the individual functions of Bunaq determiners are found in Chapter 7.

3.5.5 Numerals

Bunaq numerals constitute their own word class with distributional properties distinct from other classes. The basic members of the set of numerals are listed in Table 3.7. Numerals 7 through 9 as well as terms for 100, 1,000 and 10,000 are borrowed from neighbouring Austronesian languages.[6]

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[6] The numerals for 7-9 are borrowed from the surrounding the Austronesian languages, Dawan, Kemak and Tetun (as well as many others), but not Mambai which has a quinary system. All surrounding Austronesian languages have *atus* for '100', while *lihur* '1000' is Kemak. *Beqin* '10,000' is Tetun.

		Table 3.7: Bunaq numerals			
1	*uen*	one	9	*siwe*	nine
2	*hiloqo(n)*	two	10	*sogo*	tens
3	*goniqo(n)*	three	11-19	*sogo gal* +	teens
4	*goniqil*	four	20+	*sogo* +	tens of
5	*gonciet*	five	100+	*atus* +	hundreds of
6	*tomol*	six	1,000+	*lihur* +	thousands of
7	*hitu*	seven	10,000+	*beqin* +	tens of
8	*walu*	eight			thousands of

Bunaq numerals are verb-like in that they may act both predicatively (62a) and attributively (62b). Yet, they differ from verbs in that they may be reduplicated with a meaning different from that of reduplication in other word classes (§2.5.5). numerals appear following a predicate reduplicated to denote distributivity (62c), a common cross-linguistic pattern (Gil 2008). Also unlike verbs, numerals may be zero coordinated to denote approximate quantity, in both their predicative (62d) and attributive use (62e).

PREDICATIVE NUMERAL

62. a. *Pana* *bi* **hiloqon**.
      girl   DEF.AN two
      'The girls are two.', i.e. 'There are two girls.'

ATTRIBUTIVE NUMERAL

b. *pana* **hiloqon** *bi*
    girl   two   DEF.AN
    'the two girls'

REDUPLICATED NUMERAL

c. *Pana* *bi* *man* **hiloqon~hiloqon**.
    girl   DEF.AN come two~REDUP
    'The girls came two by two.'

ZERO COORDINATED PREDICATIVE NUMERAL

d. *Pana* *bi* **hiloqon** *goniqon*.
    girl   DEF.AN two   three
    'The girls were two (or) three.', i.e. 'There were two (or) three girls.'

e. *pana*   **hiloqon**   **goniqon**   *bi*
   girl   two   three   DEF.AN
   'the two (or) three girls'

With the exception of *uen* 'one' who has some unique referential and morphosyntactic properties among numerals (§3.5.5.1), no difference in behaviour (and thus word class membership) has been found between higher and lower numerals, as is common in many languages.

Finally, only numerals can fill slots in the formula for a complex numeral. The formula for the formation of complex numerals is given in (63). The term 'DIGIT' is used to refer numerals from 1-9. Examples are given below.

|10,000s | 1,000s | 100s | 10s | plus |

63. (*beqin* DIGIT) (*lihur* DIGIT) (*atus* DIGIT) (*sogo* DIGIT) (*gal*) DIGIT

Sogo 'ten' is the base of all numerals between eleven and ninety-nine. Numerals from 11 to 19 are formed with *sogo* 'ten' + *gal* + a DIGIT (64). The items *sogo* 'ten' and *gal* typically collapse and are realised as a single phonological word *sogal* 'teens' in normal rapid speech, but may be keep separate in careful speech.

64. a. *sogo*
      10
      'ten'
   b. *sogo* *gal*   *uen*
      10   plus   1
      'eleven'
   c. *sogo* *gal*   *hiloqon*
      10   plus   2
      'twelve'
   d. *sogo* *gal*   *goniqon*
      10   plus   3
      'thirteen'
   e. *sogo* *gal*   *goniqil*
      10   plus   4
      'fourteen' ...

Note that in East Timorese dialects, *resi(n)* 'more', a borrowing from Tetun, is used in the place of *gal* (cf. *lesin* 'more' in Bunaq Lamaknen).

Numerals of twenty and above are formed with *sogo* plus a numeral with *gal* introducing a DIGIT (65). Sequences of [go], as in *sogo goniqon* '30', are optionally reduced in rapid speech. The final vowel of *sogo* is dropped and the velar consonant devoiced resulting in *sok goniqon* '30', *sok goniqil* '40', *sok gonciet* '50'.

65. a.   *sogo*   *hiloqon*
        10   2
        'twenty'

    b.   *sogo*   *hiloqon*   *gal*   *uen*
        10   2   plus   1
        'twenty-one'

    c.   *sogo*   *hiloqon*   *gal*   *hiloqon*
        10   2   plus   2
        'twenty-two' ...

Atus 'hundred', *lihur* 'thousand' and *beqin* 'ten thousand' are the bases for units of numerals for hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, respectively. These bases are always be accompanied by a DIGIT: e.g. *atus uen* 'one hundred' not **atus* '100'. Their use is illustrated in (66). Note also that when a numeral involves a base plus a simple unit of ten, *sogo* 'ten' must be accompanied with *uen* 'one', thus *sogo* '10', but *atus uen sogo uen* '110' and not **atus uen sogo*.

66. a.   *atus*   *goniqon*   *sogo*   *hiloqon*   *gal*   *tomol*
        100   3   10   2   +   6
        '326'

    b.   *lihur*   *uen*   *atus*   *siwe*   *sok*   *goniqil*   *gal*   *gonciet*
        1000   1   100   9   10   4   +   5
        '1945'

    c.   *beqin* *tomol* *lihur* *hitu*   *sogo*   *uen*
        10000 6   1000 7   10   1
        '67010'

Some older speakers insist that, when counting from 1 to 9 following a unit of a hundred, the verb *kereq* 'single' must introduce a unit of 1 to 9, as in (67). Above 10,

kereq 'single' is not used (68). The star '*' in these examples is for older speakers; younger speakers, particularly those more influenced by Indonesian/Malay produce the starred phrases below.

67. a. *atus*   *uen*   *kereq* *uen*   / *atus   *uen*   *uen*
     100   1   single 1   100   1   1
     '101'

   b. *atus*   *uen*   *kereq* *hiloqon*   / *atus   *uen*   *hiloqon*
     100   1   single 2   100   1   2
     '102' ...

68. a. *atus*   *uen*   *sogo* *uen*   / *atus uen   *kereq sogo* *uen*
     100   1   10   1   100 1   single 10   1
     '110'

   b. *atus*   *uen*   *sogal* *uen*   / *atus uen   *kereq sogal* *uen*
     100   1   teens 1   100 1   single teens 1
     '111' ...

3.5.5.1 Excursus on the numeral *uen* 'one'

The numeral *uen* 'one' is not simply used to denote that an entity has a quantity of precisely one. It also has particular referential properties and syntactic combinational properties that set it apart from the other numerals.

Firstly, as in languages such as German and English, *uen* 'one' is used in the expression of specific indefiniteness, that is, in indefinite contexts where a human referent is uniquely identified. In this function, the numeral is morphosyntactically distinct from other numerals in that it regularly occurs without an N$_{HEAD}$. In (69) and (70) *uen* 'one' occurs without an N$_{HEAD}$ to denote a specific but unidentified human referent, in the manner of the English pronoun 'someone', who is mentioned only once in the discourse.

69. **Uen**   *gi-e*   *tazuq* *gene*   *tama.*
    one   3-POSS door   LOC   enter
    '(She) went into someone's house.'   [Bk-43.029-30]

70. **Uen**   *g-ini*   *mal*   *matas* *mil*   *gi-wit.*
    one   3AN-CAUS   go   old   COLL   3AN-fetch
    'Someone was made to go fetch the parents.'   [Bk-1.026]

Secondly, *uen* 'one' is used modifying an N~HEAD~ to introduce a new human participant into the narrative (cf. Givón 1983). The numeral marks an N~HEAD~ referring to a human discourse participant on their first mention in a text where they persist in the subsequent discourse. By contrast, a noun referring to an entity mentioned only once in a discourse does not typically occur with *uen* 'one'. For instance, in (71) the N~HEAD~ *en* 'person' referring to the participant at the centre of the sun and the wind's competition is initially introduced with *uen* 'one' but in its subsequent mention the referent of *en* 'person' is tracked with the proximal demonstrative (§7.2.1).

71. a. **En**　**uen**　*man*　*tais*　*rele*　*ru-hukut.*
　　 person　one　come　weaving INS　REFL-wrap
　　 'A person came along wrapped up in a blanket.'　　　　　[Bk-16.002]

　 b. *Bel*　*halali*　*hot*　*t-ege*　*sasi,*　*sio*　*na*　**en**　**bari**
　　 wind　3DU　sun　RECP-BEN　say　who　FOC　person　PROX.AN

　　 g-ini　　*tais*　*h-apal,*　*baqi*　　*na*　*solat*　*lesin.*
　　 3AN-CAUS　cloth　3AN-open　NPRX.AN　FOC　strong　more
　　 'The sun and the wind said to each other, whoever makes this person take off his blanket, he is the stronger.'　　　　　[Bk-16.003]

Thirdly, *uen* 'one' can co-occur with other quantificational items in the NP, often with non-singular reference. Following other numerals and quantification verbs in the NP, *uen* 'one' denotes that the plurality of participants referred to form a single unit together. In (72) and (73), *uen* 'one' occurs after the numeral *hiloqon* 'two' and quantificational verb *deal* 'be many' respectively denoting that a plural.

72. [*En*　　*pana*　**hiloqon**　　*uen*]　*higal.*
　　 person　female　two　　　　one　laugh
　　 'Two girls were laughing together as one.'　　　　　[Bk-4.054]

73. [*Mau Paran*　　*en*　　**real**　*uen*]　*gi-ta*　*sai.*
　　 Mau Paran　　person　many　one　3AN-GL　exit
　　 'Mau Paran came upon a large (group of) people.'　　　　　[Bk-4.014]

Finally, when reduplicated, *uen* 'one' does not have the meaning 'one by one' as would be predicted from the meaning of other reduplicated numerals. Rather it means,

'same, identical'. Reduplicated *uen* 'one' not only appears following a main verb (74), but also may itself be an independent predicate (75).

74. *En   gol   baqi   memel **uen~uen**   teni.*
    person   small   NPRX.AN   sick   one~REDUP   again
    'The child was sick just the same again.'   [Bk-39.047]

75. *Tubi   raka   na   baqa.   Tubi   s-alak   baqa*
    cake   k.o.cake FOC   NPRX.INAN   cake   3INAN-roast   NPRX.INAN
    ***uen~uen**.*
    one~REDUP
    'That was *raka* cakes. Roasted cakes are the same (as *raka* cakes).'   [Bk-76.036-37]

In sum, the numeral *uen* 'one' has several referential, semantic and syntactic properties not found with other numerals.

3.5.6 Postpositions

The class of postpositions in Bunaq has three members, the oblique (locational and temporal) postposition *no* 'OBL' (and its dialectal variant *ni* 'OBL'), the locational postposition *gene* 'LOC' and the similative postposition *goet* 'LIKE'.

Postpositions occur as the heads of postpositional phrases. The complement of a PP is an NP. Postpositions head locative predicates (76) or introduce an NP with a locative or temporal thematic role into the clause (77).

76. *Neto   reu   gene.*
    1SG   house   LOC
    'I (am) at home.'   [Not-07.03]

77. *Neto   reu   gene   mit.*
    1SG   house   LOC   sit
    'I sit at home.'   [Not-07.03]

Unlike verbs (§3.3) and verbal postpositions (§3.6.1), postpositions do not take prefixes and require an overt *in situ* NP complement. We see in (78) that the postposition *goet* 'LIKE' has the same form, regardless of whether its NP complement is 1st person (78a) or 3rd person (78b).

78. a. *Baqi*   *neto*   *goet.*
     NPRX.AN   1SG   LIKE
     'S/he is like me.'

   b. *Baqi*   *gi-e*   *ama*   *goet.*
     NPRX.AN   3-POSS father   LIKE
     'S/he is like his/her father.'   [Not-07.03]

Example (79b) is ungrammatical because the postposition's complement, *tas* 'village' from (79a), is missing.

79. a. *Neto*   *tas*   *gene.*
     1SG   village LOC
     'I (am) in the village.'

   b. **Neto Ø*   *gene.*
     1SG   LOC
     'I (am) in (the village).'   [Not-07.03]

When the complement of a locative postposition, whether *no* 'OBL' or *gene* 'LOC', is relativised, the postposition is deleted from the relative clause (see §5.4.3.3). Example (80) shows *reu* 'house' as the head of a relative clause based on (76). We see that, with the extraction of *reu* 'house' as head to the front of the relative clause, the postposition, *gene* 'LOC' marking the locative role of *reu* 'house' is obligatorily deleted in the RC.

80. *Baqi* [_{NP} *reu*_{HEAD} *na* [_{RC} *neto* *Ø*   *mit*]] *h-azal.*
   NPRX.AN   house FOC   1SG   sit   3INAN-see
   'She saw the house that I was sitting (in).'   [Not-07.03]

See §4.4 for overview of the position of postpositions in the clause and §12.1 for full discussion of the semantics of postpositions.

3.5.7 Discourse particles

Discourse particles are a class of phonologically independent, i.e. stress bearing, morphemes signalling that one part of the discourse is dependent on another (Blakemore

1987: 125). They are in a paradigmatic relationship with one another and do not co-occur. Syntactically, discourse particles differ from items of other word classes in that they can mark an NP, a PP or a clause. They do not attach to embedded phrases, that is, for instance, a discourse particle cannot mark an NP which is the complement of a postposition, but must mark the PP as whole.

Discourse particles are divided into two functional types: relator particles (§3.5.7.1) and focus particles (§3.5.7.2).

3.5.7.1 Relator particles

Relators are pragmatic particles indicating a relation between the phrase which they mark and the larger linguistic unit in which they are embedded (Trask 1993: 84). There are two relators: *bu* 'GIVEN' marking given relations (i.e. given X then Y holds')[7] and *be* 'CONTEXP' marking counter-expectational relations.[8]

Marking an NP or PP, the relator denotes the manner of relation between the referent and the proposition denoted by the clause in which it is found. In (81) *bu* 'GIVEN' marks a PP headed by *no* 'OBL', where it denotes an 'as for' topic which establishes the background against which the information in the clause holds (cf. Haiman 1978). In (82) *be* 'CONTEXP' marks the NP *sele* 'sand' to denote that the sand filling Bui Guloq's body was unexpected after her drowning in the water.

81. [*Ni-mil   no   bu*],   *ei   Ø-ini   n-ie   muk   gi-e   r-ige.*
    1EXCL-inside OBL   GIVEN   2PL 1INCL/2-CAUS 1EXCL-POSS   land   3-POSS   REFL-teach
    'As for in my mind, (I) want to make you learn about my land.'   [Bk-24.041]

82. *Bui   Guloq   [sele   be*]   *g-iwiq   kaeq.*
    Bui   Guloq   sand   CONTEXP   3AN-body   fill
    'Bui Guloq's body was full of sand!'   [LB5.123]

---

[7] The functions of *bu* 'GIVEN' in Bunaq parallel those of Indonesian/Malay *kalau ~ kalo* 'if' which indicate hypothetical ('if') and real ('when') conditions when marking clauses and topics when marking NPs and PPs (Ewing 2005: 241-243). The relator *bu* 'GIVEN' also appears together with the cranberry morpheme *mesaq* following it. *Mesaq bu* is only used to mark clauses stating a necessary condition.

[8] *Be* 'CONTEXP' is the historical base of the counter-expectational demonstrative *bere/beri* (Schapper 2007). Synchronically, they are still very close in meaning and do not co-occur although they appear in different syntactic positions. That their non-cooccurrence is not a syntactic constraint is seen in that the counter-expectational relator can mark NPs determined by other demonstratives and that the counter-expectational demonstrative (§7.2.4) can occur with the relator *bu* 'GIVEN'.

Marking a clause, relators denote the kind of the relation which holds between the proposition denoted by the clause it marks and another proposition in a coordinated clause. In (83) *bu* 'GIVEN' marks a clause providing a hypothetical condition in terms of which the information in the following coordinated clause is to be interpreted; i.e. given the hypothetic situation involving a man getting angry, it does not hold that he will swear. In (84) *be* 'CONTEXP' denotes that the proposition is against the expectation given the information in the first clause; i.e. it was not expected that the man returns to the earth without having 'picked' the woman.

83. [*Mone*   *mil*   *g-otok*   *saqe*   **bu**], *nor*   *sok*   *niq.*
    male   COLL   3AN-liver   rise   GIVEN randomly   swear NEG
    'If men get angry, they don't just randomly swear.'   [Bk-30.037]

84. *Uen*   *man* *g-iwal*   *gie,*   *g-ere*   *niq,* [*tebe* *rebel*
    one   come 3AN-pick   PROSP 3AN-reach   NEG   return descend
    muk   *gene* **be**].
    land   LOC   CONTEXP
    'One came to pick (her), not reaching (her), instead (he) returned back down to the ground.'   [Bk-72.036]

The counter-expectational relator may also occur clause finally without a coordinated clause, though this occurs very infrequently, as in (85). This use is not attested for *bu* 'GIVEN'.

85. *Kebokoq* *uen*   *roi*   *koen*   *be!*
    grub   one   SPEC.AN   beautiful   CONTEXP
    'This one grub is beautiful!'   [Bk-30.037]

3.5.7.2 Focus particles

Focus particles serve to evaluate the meaning of a proposition relative to a set of alternatives (König 1991: 58). There are three focus particles in Bunaq: the additive focus particle *o* 'AND', the scalar additive focus particle *sa* 'EVEN', and the restrictive focus particle *na* 'FOC'. While the additive and scalar focus particles include some alternative(s) as possible value(s) for the variable of their scope, the restrictive particle implies that none of the alternatives satisfies the proposition.

Like phrase relators, focus particles can attach to an NP and a PP. Examples (86-88) and (89-91) illustrate each of the focus particles marking an NP and a PP/VₚP respectively.

86. *Ipi* *hober kaeq.* [*Tumel o*] *kaeq* *los* *oa.*
  rice cave fill money AND fill very PFV
  'The cave was full of rice. It was also very full of money.' [Bk-68.021]

87. [*Gereja* *sa*] *dara* *niq* *taq.*
  church EVEN build NEG IPFV
  'Not even the church was built yet.' [Bk-23.028]

88. *Nei* [*Bunaq* *na*] *sasi.*
  1PL.EXCL Bunaq FOC speak
  'It is Bunaq that we speak.' [Bk-7.011]

89. [*Nualain* *gene* *o*] *en* *gereja kaeq* *niq.*
  Nualain LOC AND person church fill NEG
  'Also in Nualain the church was not full with people.' [Bk-34.088]

90. *En*   *gie* *mar* *h-iqil,* [*mil* *gene* *sa*] *kaleq*
  person 3-POSS garden 3INAN-leave inside LOC EVEN k.o.tree
  go-lola *gaqal.*
  3AN-trim all.AN
  'People's gardens are left (and) even inside (the garden the animals) strip back all the trees.' [Bk-19.001]

91. [*Paqol* *ge-rel* *na*] *halaqi u.*
  corn 3AN-INS FOC 3PL live
  'It is from corn which they live.' [Bk-7.025]

The focus particles can also mark a clause which is followed by a coordinated clause, as in (92-94).

92. [*Hotel* *na* *wit* *o*], *h-ini* *ugar* *minak.*
  tree FOC fetch AND 3INAN-call green entire
  'Also (when) it was wood (that he) fetched, (his mother) said that (the wood) was all green.' [Bk-6.004]

93. [*Si*   *gi-a*   *gie*   **sa**],   *i*   *baruq*   *oa.*

     meat   3AN-eat   PROSP   EVEN   1PL.INCL   bored   PFV

     'Even at the prospect of eating meat, we are bored.'   [LB-8.153]

94. [*Malaysia gene*   *man*   **na**]*,*   *tebe*   *lilak*   *teni.*

     Malaysia   LOC   come   FOC   return   crazy   again

     'It was (when) she came back from Malaysia, (that) she went back to being crazy.'

                                                                                 [Bk-43.037]

There are a few occurrences of *sa* 'EVEN' clause-finally with no following coordinated clause in the corpus, such as (95). Neither *o* 'AND' nor *na* 'FOC' occur clause-finally without a following clause.

95. *Deu*   *bare*   *duta*   *Australia*   *man*   *mos*

     house   PROX.INAN   ambassador   Australia   come   also

     o   *g-osok*   **sa***.*

     AND   3AN-receive   EVEN

     'This house even welcomed also the Australian ambassador who came.'[Bk-2.032]

Additional functions of the particles covered elsewhere are: the use of restrictive focus particle *na* 'FOC' in question focus (§4.6.2.1) and in marking restrictive relative clauses (§5.4.2), and; the use of the additive particle, *o* 'AND', as a medial connective in NP coordination (§5.6.2).

3.5.8   Clause coordinators

3.5.8.1   Final clause coordinators

Bunaq has two final clause coordinators: *si* 'REAS' marking reason clauses, and *soq* 'SEQ' marking clauses denoting a sequentially prior event. The final clause coordinators occur following the predicate, all postverbal modifiers (§14.3) and any clausal determiner (§7.1). Final coordinators typically mark the first clause of a coordinated pair, as in (96-97). Less frequently, a clause marked by a final coordinator may also follow the clause with which it is coordinated, as in (98-99).

96. *En*   *bei*   *mil*   *na*   *h-oqon*   **si***,*   *nei*   *o*

     1PL.EXCL   ancestor   COLL   FOC   3INAN-do   REAS   1PL.EXCL   AND

     baqa   *na*   *h-oqon.*

     NPRX.INAN   FOC   3INAN-do

     'Because the ancestors did it, we also do it.'   [Bk-23.050]

97. *Baqi*   *tebe*   *loï*   **soq**,   *Malaysia*   *mal.*

NPRX.AN   return   good   SEQ   Malaysia   go

'When she was well again, then she went to Malaysia.'   [Bk-43.036]

98. *Neto*   *doktor*   *g-ege*   *seq*   *"mina"*,   *n-osil*

1SG   doctor   3AN-BEN   call   come.down   1EXCL-breath

hobel   *gie*   *goet*   *o*   **si***.*

not.exist   PROSP   LIKE   PFV   REAS

'I called for the doctor to come down, as it was as if my breathing was about to stop.'   [Bk-40.008]

99. *Il*   *hobel*,   *a*   **soq***.*

water   not.exist   eat   SEQ

'The water was gone, once (the child had) drunk (it).'   [OS-07.02]

3.5.8.2 Initial clause coordinators

Bunaq Lamaknen has three coordinators which occur clause-initially marking a dependent clause in a coordinated pair: *tan* 'because' (100), *mais* 'but' (101) and *kalaq* 'if' (102) (see also §14.1.1.6). These coordinators are borrowings from Tetun Terik, but are now part of the Bunaq lexicon.[9]

100.   *Halali*   *en*   *g-o*   *bai*   *a*   *sura*   *liol*   *liol*,   **mais**

   3DU   person   3-SRC   thing   eat   ask   continue   continue   but

   en   *halali*   *g-ege*   *niq.*

   person   3DU   3AN-give   NEG

   'Those two asked people for food continuously, but the people didn't give the two (any food).'   [LB-7.008]

101.   *Hulul*   *gene*   *en*   *baqis*   *los*,   **tan**   *misa*   *kereq*   *ai.*

   Hulul   LOC   person   much   very   because   mass   single   ONLY

   'In Hulul, there's lots of people, because there's only a single mass.'

        [Bk-34.090]

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[9] Other conjunctions from Indonesian/Malay such as *kalau ~ kalo* 'if', *karna* 'because' and *tapi* 'but' are also frequent in Bunaq discourse. These are not treated here as Bunaq words following the intuitions of Bunaq people speakers as to the status of these words. Note that *mais* 'but' is ultimately of Portuguese origin.

102. ***Kalaq*** *kasu* *oa,* *malu* *g-o* *gi-wit* *niq* *oa.*

      if   remove PFV   bride.giver   3-SRC   3AN-fetch   NEG   PFV

      'If (they) remove (it) already, (they can't) take (it) from the bride giver (family)

      any more.'   [Bk-18.009]

The borrowed initial clause coordinators can be combined with Bunaq final ones of similar meaning. This has the effect of bracketing both ends of the dependent clause in a coordinated pair. Thus initial *mais* 'but' can be combined with final *be* 'CONTEXP' (§3.5.7.1) as in (103). Initial *tan* 'because' can be combined with final *si* 'REAS' (§3.5.8.1) as in (104). Finally, initial *kalaq* 'if' can be combined with final *bu* 'GIVEN' (§3.5.7.1) as in (105).

103.   *Halaqi soqat,* ***mais*** *bokul* ***be****.*

      3PL   poor   but   fat   CONTEXP

      'They are poor but fat.'   [OS-07.01]

104.   *Hulul* *gene* *en*   *baqis* *los,* ***tan***   *misa* *kereq* *ai*   ***si****.*

      Hulul   LOC   person   much   very   because mass   single   ONLY   REAS

      'In Hulul, there's lots of people, because there's only a single mass.'

                                                           [OS-06.01]

105.   ***Kalaq*** *man* ***bu****,* *g-azal niq*   *oa.*

      if   come   GIVEN   3AN-see NEG   PFV

      'If (he) came, (I) didn't see him any more.'   [Bk-63.013]

3.5.9 Adverbial clause coordinators

Bunaq has two adverbial clause coordinators used to locate an event by referring to a period of time or to another event: *helo* 'since' and *daurau* 'until' (also realised [darau, daro]). Two features set adverbial clause coordinators off from both postpositions and clause coordinators: a. adverbial clauses coordinators can take a clause, an NP or a PP as complement, and; b. phrases headed by adverbial clause coordinators cannot be a clausal predicate.

Despite sharing these distinctive features, the two adverbial clause coordinators differ in their syntactic position: *helo* 'since' is head-final while *daurau* 'until' is head-initial. The adverbial coordinators thus do not share all the distributional properties of a

word class, but they are grouped together here on account of the properties they do have in common distinct from other word classes.

Helo 'since' is shown following its complement where the complement is a clause in (106), an NP in (107), and a PP in (108).

106. [*N-iri*   *tol*   **helo**]*, neto*   *mele*   *lomar niq.*
     1EXCL-leg   broken since   1SG   walk   straight NEG
     'Since I broke my leg, I don't walk right.'   [OS-07.03]

107. [*Hari Senin*   **helo**] *gi-e*   *ama*   *g-aziq.*
     Tuesday   since   3-POSS   father   3AN-not.seen
     'Since Tuesday his father has not been seen.'   [OS-07.01]

108. [*Baqi*   *Maret no*   **helo**]   *Timor gene.*
     NPROX.AN   March   OBL   since   Timor   LOC
     'She's been in Timor since March.'   [OS-07.02]

Daurau 'until' is shown to precede its complement with a clause in (109), an NP in (110), and a PP in (111).

109. *Muk*   *bula,* [***darau*** *matas mil*   *ni-e*   *ama*   *halaqi g-ege*
     land pasture until   old   COLL   1EXCL-POSS   father   3PL   3AN-BEN
     solat   *h-one*].
     be.hard   3INAN-hold
     'The land was pasture, until they gave it to my parents, to my father, to work.'   [Bk-29.072]

110. *Loro*   *saen, reu*   *gene*   *sai*   [***daurau***   *tel*].
     king   send.off house   LOC   exit   until   grave
     '(They) do the sending off of the king from (the time they) exit the house until the grave.'   [Bk-18.031]

111. *Homo*   *gene*   *honal*   [***daurau***   *ota*   *Mazoq Giral*
     CONTR.INAN   LOC   go.on.flat   until   LEVEL   Mazoq   Giral
     gene].
     LOC
     'From that (place, they) went across until in Mazoq Giral.'   [Bk-19.032]

3.6 Problems in the classification of the lexicon

In every language there are problems in the absolute interpretation of the place of individual items in the lexicon. Processes of language change lead to some members of the lexicon moving between word classes, or showing some properties consistent with one word class and others with another. Borrowing of lexical items from other languages may also contribute to categorial confusion, particularly where the loanwords are transferred with the source language's syntactic features, which differ from that of the target language. This section briefly addresses the problem of the representation in the lexicon of items with ambiguous categorial status. Three cases in point from Bunaq are briefly summarised below: §3.6.1 looks at verbal postpositions, §3.6.2 at items with a quantificational function in the NP and §3.6.3 at items with an adverbial function.

3.6.1 Verbal postpositions

'Verbal postpositions'[10] is the label used here to describe a set of lexical items that display characteristics consistent in different ways with two other word classes, verbs and postpositions (§3.5.6).[11] Table 3.8 presents an overview of the morphosyntactic properties of postpositions and verbal postpositions from least verbal to most verbal for comparison.

Bunaq verbal postpositions appear to have their origins in serial verbs which functioned to introduce NPs with peripheral thematic roles into the clause.[12] We see from the table that whilst some of the items used as verbal postpositions are still very much verbal, others are not. Verbal postpositions have morphosyntactic properties consistent with verbs (§3.3), such as inflecting for person, e.g. (112a versus 112b), and allowing the elision or fronting of their NP complement (112c).

[10] The term 'verbal postposition' is adapted here from 'verbal preposition' in the Austronesian literature, especially Durie (1988). The switch from 'pre-' to 'post-' reflects Bunaq's head-final syntactic typology in contrast to the typical head-initial one of Austronesian. Other labels for these items are termed variously 'prepositional verbs' and 'verboids'.

[11] See Enfield (2006) for discussion of a similar classificatory problem.

[12] The diachronic emergence of adpositions from serial verbs is a well-described grammaticalisation path, e.g. Lichtenberk (1991) and Pawley (1973). Inflecting adpositions have also been known to arise through the fusion of pronouns and adposition, e.g. in Irish and Hungarian. The possibility of a similar process having occurred in Bunaq cannot be entirely excluded. However, there do appear to be good internal evidence and comparative etymologies to support the view that verbal postpositions do indeed come verbs. These are discussed in the individual sections on the verbal postpositions in §12.3.

112. a. *Baqi*   ***ni-ta***   *man.*   b. *Baqi*   ***i-ta***   *man.*

         NPRX.AN   1EXCL-GL come   NPRX.AN   1INCL/2-GL come

         'S/he came to me.'   'S/he came to me.'

     c. ***Baqi***   *neto*   ***gi-ta***   *man.*

         NPRX.AN   1SG   3AN-GL come

         'S/he came to me.'

However, verbal postpositions often lack the crucial verbal property of being able to appear finally as the independent main predicate of a clause. And where they can act as a main predicate in the clause, there may be little or no connection between their meaning as a main final verb and that as a medial verbal postposition. Compare the meanings of *ni-ta* '1EXCL-GL' the verbal postposition in (113a) and *ni-ta* '1EXCL-GL' the verb in (113b).

         VERBAL POSTPOSITION   VERB

113. a. *Baqi*   ***ni-ta***   *man.*   b. *Baqi*   ***ni-ta***

         NPRX.AN   1EXCL-GL come   NPRX.AN 1INCL/2-GL

         'S/he came to me.'   'S/he shot me.'

Some verbal postpositions also lack distinct 3rd person ANIMATE/INANIMATE inflections. For instance, on comitative *g-utu*, g- agrees with both 3rd person ANIMATE (114a) and INANIMATE complements. We see also in (114) that verbal postpositions may lack the A/S sharing properties of verbs in core serialisation (§13.2), with some also sharing P (114b).

         ANIMATE / S SHARING

114. a. *Neto*   ***baqi***   ***g-utu***   *man.*

         1SG   NPRX.AN   3-COM come

         'I came with her/him.'

         INANIMATE / P SHARING

     b. *Neto*   *tun*   ***mok***   ***baqa***   ***g-utu***   *kahul.*

         1SG   flour   banana NPRX.INAN   3-COM mix

         'I mix banana with that flour.'

Table 3.8: Non-/verbal properties of postpositions and verbal postpositions

				Elision/ fronting of NP COMP?	Person inflection?	ANIMATE / INANIMATE inflection?	Independent predicate?	Sharing A/S?	See:
Postpositions		*no / ni*	'OBL'	X	X	X	✔	--	§12.1.1
		gene	'LOC'	X	X	X	✔	--	§12.1.2
		goet	'LIKE'	X	X	X	✔	--	§12.1.3
Verbal postpositions	Least verb-like	*g-utu*	'3-COM'	✔	✔	X	X	X	§12.3.1
		dele	'INS'	✔	✔	✔	X	✔	§12.3.2
		a-ta	'3INAN-GL'	✔	✔	✔	(✔)†	X ‡	§12.3.3
		g-o	'3-SRC'	✔	✔	X	(✔)†	X ‡	§12.3.4
		h-otol	'3INAN-WITHOUT'	✔	✔	✔	(✔)†	✔	§12.3.5
		h-ege	'3INAN-BEN'	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	§12.3.6
	Most verb-like	*h-os*	'3INAN-WAIT'	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	§12.3.7
		h-onogo	'3INAN-SEPARATE'	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	§12.3.8

† Independent use synchronically entirely unrelated to postpositional use.

‡ Reciprocal marked form only (see §11.4.5).

The exact mix of verbal characteristics varies from item to item, such that what we see is an apparent process of grammaticalisation from full lexical verb into postposition involving the step-by-step attrition of verbal features. However, the inability of verbal postpositions to occur as a predicate head is also unlike postpositions, since postpositions can do so (§3.5.6). Verbal postpositions thus only functionally resemble Bunaq postpositions in so far as they add peripheral NPs to a clause. Bunaq's verbal postpositions do not appear to be on a grammaticalisation cline between verb and postposition, but rather look as if they are forming into a word class distinct from that of the existing postpositional class in Bunaq.

See §12.3 for description of the functions of the individual verbal postpositions, and other items functioning to introduce peripheral NPs.

3.6.2 Quantificational items in the NP

A quantifier is a lexeme that expresses the number or amount of an NP's referent. Gil (2001) observes '[t]here is probably no language within which there is a formal category consisting exactly of all quantifiers but no other expressions.'

This is also true of Bunaq. There is no coherent morphosyntactic properties that can be found to define a class of quantifiers in Bunaq. In fact, the items performing quantificational functions in the NP are a 'mixed bag', showing significant diversity in their distributional properties. Table 3.9 presents an overview of the distributional properties of quantificational items in the NP. We see that each of the items differs as to which other items it can occur with in the NP and where it occurs relative to them.

In the right-most column of Table 3.9, we see that the majority of the NP quantifiers can be traced back to members of another word class. Their morphosyntactic heterogeneity is the result of multiple constructional specific grammaticalisations from a diverse range of word classes (as per Croft 2005).[13] This miscellany has been added to by a range of borrowings from Tetun, which have retained aspects of their original syntax. For instance, *naran* in Tetun occurs before the noun and this syntax has been kept in Bunaq although it contrasts with all the other quantificational items which follow. These two points, constructional grammaticalisation and borrowing, mean that the distributional properties and combinatorics of items is on a construction by

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[13] For obvious reasons of space, each grammaticalisation path from lexeme to NP quantifier cannot be described here.

construction basic, with few generalisations to be made across all items. See §5.4.2 for full description.

Table 3.9: Distributional properties of quantificational items in the NP

	Pre-N_HEAD or Post-N_HEAD?	Without N_HEAD?	With other modifiers?	With other QUANT?	Position in NP?	Source?
halaqi 'PL'	post	✓	RC, Det	numeral	post-num, pre-RC	pronoun *halaqi* '3PL'
mil 'COLL'	post	X	X	*uen* 'one' / *ginil* 'GRP'	--	noun *mil* 'inside'
ginil 'GRP'	post	X	RC, Det	only *mil* 'COLL'	post-RC	inalienable N *g-inil* '3AN-name' calqued from Tetun
gomoq 'FLOCK'	post	X	RC, Det	X	post-RC	inalienable N *g-omoq* '3AN-udder'
waqen 'PART'	post	✓	RC, Det	X	pre-RC	?<Tetun *wa'in* 'many'
hotu-hotu 'all'	post	X	X	X	--	<Tetun *hotu* 'all'
naran 'any, various'	pre	X	RC, Det	X	--	<Tetun *naran* 'name, any'
gewen-gewen 'all sorts'	post	✓	RC, Det	X	pre-RC	inalienable N *g-ewen* '3AN-face' calqued from Tetun
oik-oik 'all sorts'	post	✓	RC, Det	X	pre-RC	< Tetun oi'-oik 'face-face'

3.6.3 Adverbs

In the absence of an adjective class, adverbs are defined here as modifiers of constituents in the clause other than nouns. Crosslinguistically, defining a class of adverbs morphosyntactically is often extremely problematic (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 20). It is also not easy typologically to identify a semantic prototype for adverbs (Ramat and Ricca 1994).

In Bunaq, the designation of a single adverbial class is similarly problematic. Items serving to modify non-nominal constituents in the clause are a massively heterogeneous bunch. Only a few negative morphosyntactic attributes can be used to narrow down the field: adverbs cannot head predicates, have no valency (unless one considers the clause their argument, cf. 'ambient' serialisation §13.2) and cannot be modified.

However, the group of Bunaq adverbs isolated by this definition still encompasses significant variance in distributional properties. In particular, adverbs in Bunaq vary as to whether they occur preceding or following the predicate. Yet, even within the pre-predicate group and post-predicate group, there are noteworthy syntactic differences: in the preverbal group, for instance, a modal adverb, such as *misti* 'must', can occur without an predicate where the event denoted by the predicate can be contextually retrieved, whilst a participant-oriented adverb, such as *nor* 'randomly', cannot have its predicate omitted.

As suggested by the labels 'modal' and 'participant-oriented' used in the previous paragraph, some broad semantic subsets can be discerned amongst adverbs in the pre-predicate and post-predicate groups. Within these semantic subsets, there are also typically syntactic differences between members. For instance, whilst some modal adverbs can precede an A/S argument, others cannot.

In sum, there is little to unite 'adverbs' into a single group in Bunaq. What is more, there is often few characteristics which are shared in common between smaller semantic subsets of adverbial items. See Chapter 14 for further discussion and illustration of the various kinds of 'adverbs' in Bunaq.

Chapter 4:   The clause

This chapter is concerned with the structure of the clause in Bunaq. Following an overview of clause structure in §4.1, I look at the different kinds of clauses in Bunaq: verbal clauses are considered in §4.2, and non-verbal clauses in §4.3. Peripheral constituents in the clause are treated in §4.4 and the construction of negative clauses in §4.5. Non-declarative clauses are dealt with in §4.6, while pragmatic variation in the clause is treated in §4.7.

4.1   Overview of the structure of the clause

A basic independent clause consists of a predicate (PRED) and its arguments (ARG). Arguments are realised by morphosyntactically unmarked NPs subcategorised for by the predicate. Depending on the predicate type, a predicate can have between one and three arguments. Predicates with one or two arguments have their arguments preceding the predicate, while predicates with a third argument have it following the predicate.

NPs in postpositional (§12.1) and verbal postpositional (§12.3) phrases are peripheral constituents (PERI) (or 'external' NPs in the terms of Andrews 2007: 152); that is, they are not subcategorised for by the predicate. Peripheral constituents can occur, according to their function, in any position between a predicate and its arguments. Finally, the clausal negator (NEG) follows the predicate and any post-verbal arguments or adjuncts.

Figure 4.1 gives an overview of the clause structure as just outlined. Optional elements are give in brackets. The slash '/' introducing the right-most peripheral constituent reflects the fact that there are no predicates in Bunaq which allow both a postverbal third argument and a postverbal peripheral. The ordering of elements in the clause formula can be manipulated for pragmatic effect, while obligatory arguments can also be elided where they can be contextually understood (§4.7).

Figure 4.1: Bunaq clause formula

(PERI) ARG$_1$ (PERI) ARG$_2$ (PERI) PRED ARG$_3$ (/PERI) (NEG)

Throughout this chapter, the above clause formula will be discussed and elaborated.

4.2 Verbal clauses

The most frequent clause type is one with a verb as predicate. Subtypes of verbal predicate are distinguished by the number of arguments of the verb (1 to 3). The arguments of the Bunaq verbal clause will be discussed in terms of the following semantic-syntactic roles of the following arguments (following Comrie 1978, and Dryer 1986):

S:	single argument of a monovalent clause
A:	most agent-like argument of a bi-/trivalent clause
P:	most patient-like argument of a bivalent clause
R:	most recipient-like argument of a trivalent clause
T:	most theme-like argument of a trivalent clause

In the following sections, we will further define each of the above argument types in the verbal clause as they behave in regards to:

a.	unmarked word-order;
b.	agreement on the verb;
c.	restriction of the floating quantifier *gaqal* 'all.AN' (§13.8.1.3);
d.	syntactic pivot of the causative predicate *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' (§10.4);
e.	binding of the reflexive *dV-* 'REFL-' (§11.3.1).

On the basis of the behaviour of Bunaq arguments in the above constructions, I will propose the existence of an additional category of argument, the unmarked oblique (OBL). This argument type has properties distinct from P and occurs with a limited and non-predictable set of verbs. In the following sections, we will also see that the various morphosyntactic properties of S align it variably with both A and P, and that T is syntactically more closely aligned with OBL than P or R.

Monovalent verbs are discussed in §4.2.1, bivalent verbs in §4.2.2, trivalent verbs in §4.2.3 and verbs with an unmarked oblique in §4.2.4. Finally, §4.2.5 summarises the results.

4.2.1 Monovalent clauses

The single argument of a monovalent verbal clause is S and precedes the verb. Monovalent verbs typically do not take any pronominal prefixes and their single argument is realised by independent constituents (1).

	S	V		S	V
1. a.	*Neto*	*memel.*	b.	*Manek*	*zemal.*
	1SG	sick		Manek	go.down
	'I'm sick.'			'Manek went down.'	

There is a small group of seven verbs whose single S argument is indexed on the verb by a person prefix, as in (2). Relevant to these verbs is the contrast between S_A, referring to an agentive argument of a monovalent verb, and S_P, a non-agentive of a monovalent verb. Monovalent verbs with prefixation only take S_P and not S_A arguments. See §10.3.2 on these verbs.

	S	S-V		S	S-V
2. a.	*Neto*	*n-utek.*	b.	*Manek*	*g-utek*
	1SG	1EXCL-heavy		Manek	3AN-heavy
	'I (am) heavy.'			'Manek (is) heavy.'	

A plural ANIMATE S restricts for the floating universal quantifier *gaqal* 'all.AN' with both monovalent verbs with and without prefixing for S, as in (3a) and (4a). The examples in (3b) and (4b) show that a singular S is unacceptable with *gaqal* 'all.AN'.[1]

3. a.	*Nei*	*memel*	*gaqal.*	b.	**Neto*	*memel*	*gaqal.*
	1PL.EXCL	sick	all.AN		1SG	sick	all.AN
	'We all are sick.'				'I all am sick.'		

4. a.	*Nei*	*n-unas*	*gaqal.*	b.	**Neto*	*n-unas*	*gaqal.*
	1PL.EXCL	1EXCL-stink	all.AN		1SG	1EXCL-stink	all.AN
	'We all stink.'				'I all stink.'		

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[1] Note one informant suggested that (3b) and (4b) were acceptable in Bunaq, where the singular S is interpreted as referring to 'I (with others we) all'. Such use of *gaqal* 'all.AN' with a grammatically singular S pronoun was not accepted by any other speakers in elicitation and does not occur in any texts in the corpus.

The underlying S becomes the matrix P of the causative predicate *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' for all monovalent verbs, regardless of whether or not they are prefixed (5).

5. *Markus   nei   n-ini   memel.*
   Markus   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-CAUS sick
   'Markus made us sick.'

An S can be the antecedent of the reflexive prefix *dV-* 'REFL-'. Example (6) is thus grammatical: the peripheral NP introduced by the instrumental verbal postposition *dele* 'INS' (§12.3.2) is marked reflexive and has the S as its antecedent.

	S	INS	V
6.	*Neto*	*de-rel*	*mele.*
	1SG	REFL-INS	walk

'I went walking with myself.'

4.2.2   Bivalent clauses

The two arguments of a bivalent verb are A and P. The basic pragmatically unmarked constituent order of the bivalent clause is A-P-V (7a), though the P can be fronted to a position before A (7b).

	A	P	V			P	A	V
7. a.	*Neto*	*zo*	*zal.*		b.	*Zo*	*neto*	*zal.*
	1SG	mango	carry			mango	1SG	carry

   'I carried the mango.'   'The mango I carried.'

On bivalent verbs, prefixes agree with P; there are no bivalent verbs for which prefixes agree with A. While 1st and 2nd person Ps are consistently realised with *nV-* '1EXCL-' and *V-* '1INCL/2-' respectively, 3rd person Ps are differentially marked: 3rd person ANIMATE Ps are indexed on the verb with *gV-* '3AN-' (8a), while 3rd person INANIMATE Ps receive no verbal indexing (8b).[2] Fronting of P does not affect agreement (8c-8d).

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[2] This is the majority pattern. See §10.2 for further details on the prefixal patterns of indexing 3rd person P arguments on the verb.

INANIMATE P, no verbal prefixing

8. a. *Markus   zo   poi.*
   Markus   mango   choose
   'Markus chose a mango.'

ANIMATE P, verbal prefixing with *gV-*

   b. *Markus   zap   go-poi.*
   Markus   dog   3AN-choose
   'Markus chose a dog.'

FRONTED INANIMATE P, no verbal prefixing

   c. *Zo   Markus   poi.*
   mango   Markus   choose
   'A mango Markus chose.'

FRONTED ANIMATE P, verbal prefixing with *gV-*

   d. *Zap   Markus   go-poi.*
   dog   Markus   3AN-choose
   'A dog Markus chose.'

An ANIMATE P argument binds the floating quantifier (9a), even when the P is fronted (9b). The A cannot bind the floating quantifier.[3]

9. a. *Nei   zap   go-poi   gaqal.*
   1PL.EXCL   dog   3AN-choose   all.AN
   'We choose all the dogs.' not 'We all choose the dogs.'

   b. *Zap   nei   go-poi   gaqal.*
   dog   1PL.EXCL   3AN-choose   all.AN
   'All the dogs we choose.' not 'The dogs we all choose.'

Only the underlying A of the bivalent verb can be the matrix P of the causative predicate *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' (10a) and never the underlying P (10b).

10. a. *Markus   nei   n-ini   zap   go-poi.*
    Markus   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-CAUS   dog   3AN-choose
    'Markus made us choose the dogs.'

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[3] See §5.5.6, the NP-internal quantifier, *hotu-hotu* 'all', would be used in this context and in order to universally quantify over the A.

b. *_Markus_   _zap_   _g-ini_   _nei_   _go-poi._
   Markus   dog   3AN-CAUS   1PL.EXCL   3AN-choose
'Markus made the dogs be chosen by us.'

In a bivalent verbal clause, the reflexive is bound by A and not P. In (11) we see that the possessor of the peripheral NP encoded by the instrumental verbal postposition _dele_ 'INS' (§12.3.2) is encoded with the reflexive _dV-_ 'REFL-'. The antecedent for this reflexive possessor prefix can only be the referent of A, i.e. Markus, and not that of P, i.e. Ela.

    A   P   INS   P-V
11. _Markus_   _Ela_   _d-on_   _dele_   _go-hoqat._
    Markus   Ela   REFL-hand   INS   3AN-strike
'Markus struck Ela with his own hand.'
*'Markus struck Ela with her own hand.'

4.2.3 Trivalent clauses

The three arguments of a trivalent verb are A, R, and T. The basic constituent order of the trivalent clause is A-R-V-T (12a). T can also appear in a diverse range of preverbal positions (12b-c) or be fronted (12d). Neither A nor R can appear in a post-verbal position. See below on this verb's agreement.

    A   R   V   T
12. a. _Eta_   _nei_   _n-ege_   _paqol._
    Eta   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-give   corn
'Eta gave us corn.'

    A   R   T   V
b. _Eta_   _nei_   _paqol_   _n-ege._
    Eta   1PL.EXCL   corn   1EXCL-give
'Eta gave us corn.'

    A   T   R   V
c. _Eta_   _paqol_   _nei_   _n-ege._
    Eta   corn   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-give
'Eta gave us corn.'

	T	A	R	V
d.	*Paqol*	*Eta*	*nei*	*n-ege.*
	corn	Eta	1PL.EXCL	1EXCL-give

'Eta gave us corn.'

R can also be fronted to a position before A (12e). If R is fronted, T occurs post-verbally, presumably to avoid pragmatic overload, e.g. (12f-12g).

	R	A	V	T
e.	*Nei*	*Eta*	*n-ege*	*paqol.*
	1PL.EXCL	Eta	1EXCL-give	corn

'We were given corn by Eta.'

	R	A	T	V
f.	**Nei*	*Eta*	*paqol*	*n-ege.*
	1PL.EXCL	Eta	corn	1EXCL-give

	R	T	A	V
g.	**Nei*	*paqol*	*Eta*	*n-ege.*
	1PL.EXCL	corn	Eta	1EXCL-give

Of the trivalent verbs' three arguments, only R is indexed on the verb (see §10.4 on the differences between the two Bunaq trivalent verbs). As with the P of a bivalent verb, 1st and 2nd person Rs are realised with *nV-* '1EXCL-' and *V-* '1INCL/2-' respectively, while 3rd person Rs are differentially marked: an ANIMATE 3rd person R is prefixed with *g-* '3AN-' (13a), while an INANIMATE 3rd person R is signalled by *h-* '3INAN-' (13b), the marker of the h-conjugation (mentioned already in §2.6.2.3 and described in §10.2.4.1).

		A	R	R-V	T
13.	a.	*Nei*	*Markus*	*g-ege*	*tumel.*
		1PL.EXCL	Markus	3AN-give	money

'We gave Markus money.'

		A	R	R-V	T
	b.	*Nei*	*gereja*	*h-ege*	*tumel.*
		1PL.EXCL	church	3INAN-give	money

'We gave the church money.'

An ANIMATE R argument binds the floating quantifier (14). Neither A nor T can bind the floating quantifier.

A	R	V	T	QUANT
14. *Halaqi*	*nei*	*n-ege*	*zap*	*gaqal.*
3PL	1PL.EXCL	1EXCL-give	dog	all.AN

'They gave all of us dog(s).'

*'All of them gave us the dogs.', *'They gave us all of the dogs.'

Only the underlying A of a trivalent can be the matrix P of the causative predicate *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' (15a) and never the underlying R (15b), or the underlying T (15c).

15. a.
Markus	*nei*	*n-ini*	*ei*	*Ø-ege*	*zap.*
Markus	1PL.EXCL	1EXCL-CAUS	2PL	1INCL/2-give	dog

'Markus made us give the dogs to you.'

b.
*Markus	*ei*	*Ø-ini*	*nei*	*Ø-ege*	*zap.*
Markus	2PL	1INCL/2-CAUS	1PL.EXCL	1INCL/2-give	dog

'Markus made you be given the dogs by us.'

c.
*Markus	*zap*	*g-ini*	*nei*	*ei*	*Ø-ege.*
Markus	dog	3AN-CAUS	1PL.EXCL	2PL	1INCL/2-give

'Markus made the dogs be given to you by us.'

With a trivalent verb, the reflexive is bound only by the A. In (16) the possessor of the T encoded with the reflexive *dV-* 'REFL-'. The antecedent for this reflexive possessor prefix can only be the referent of A, Markus, and not that of R, Ela.

16.
Markus	*Ela*	*g-ege*	*d-on.*
Markus	Ela	3AN-give	REFL-hand

'Markus gave Ela his hand.', *'Markus gave Ela her hand.'

4.2.4 Verbal clauses with unmarked obliques

The term 'unmarked oblique' (OBL)[4] is used here to refer to an NP that occurs in the clause headed by a limited set of verbs without any overt marking, such as a

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[4] Note that the category label 'OBL' refers to an argument, and contrasts with the gloss 'OBL', the postposition *no/ni* which encodes non-argument NPs with locative and temporal roles (§12.1.1).

postposition, but that is not a P. Table 4.1 provides and overview of the small range of verb types that have unmarked obliques. Unmarked obliques are arguments, that is, they are subcategorised for by the verb and part of the lexical information entered for the verb. The reason for seeing unmarked obliques as subcategorised for by the verb is: whilst unmarked obliques are part of the predictable semantics of the verb they occur with (e.g. that a motion has a goal), the ability for a verb to take an unmarked oblique is not predictable merely from the semantics of a verb (e.g. not all motion verbs take an unmarked goal oblique). What is more, while some verbs taking unmarked obliques always have the unmarked oblique present, others only take an unmarked oblique in one of their subcategorisation frames with a difference in verb meaning between the frame with the oblique and that without.

Table 4.1: Verbs taking unmarked obliques

VERB SEMANTICS	ROLE OF OBL	EXAMPLE (OBL = bold)
Saturation verbs	location of saturation	*ho* **n-on** *pegar*
		blood 1EXCL-hand cover
		'Blood is covering my hand.'
Verbs of hurt	location of hurt	*sael* **sakan** *hinal*
		pig thigh be.injured
		'The pig is injured in its thigh.'
Existential verbs	possessed item	*nei* **il** *hobel*
		1PL.EXCL water not.exist
		'We have no water.'
Verbs of excretion	theme of excretion	*zap* **ho** *dawaq*
		dog blood defecate
		'The dog shits blood.'
Motion verbs	goal of motion	*baqi* **tas** *mal*
		NPRX.AN village go
		'S/he goes to the village.'
Verbs of teaching	taught thing	*baqi* **inggris** *hanorin*
		NPRX.AN English teach
		'S/he learns English.'

Unmarked obliques occur with monovalent verbs in the immediately preverbal position (17a). They can be fronted, occurring before the S in the manner of a P (17b).

However, we see also in the examples in (17) that, unlike an ANIMATE P but like a T, an ANIMATE OBL is not indexed on the verb.

	S	OBL	V			OBL	S	V
17. a.	*Neto*	*kura*	*saqe.*		b.	*Kura*	*neto*	*saqe.*
	1SG	horse	ascend			horse	1SG	ascend
	'I ascended the horse.'					'The horse I ascended.'		

An unmarked oblique is distinguishable from a P in that the floating quantifier cannot refer to the OBL as it would to a P. Rather *gaqal* 'all.AN' refers to an ANIMATE S (18a), even when the OBL is fronted (18b), again similar to T.

	S	OBL	V	QUANT		OBL	S	V	QUANT
18. a.	*Nei*	*kura*	*saqe*	*gaqal.*		b.	*Kura*	*nei*	*saqe*	*gaqal.*
	1PL.EXCL	horse	ascend	all.AN			horse	1PL.EXCL	ascend	all.AN
	'We all ascended the horse(s).',						'The horse(s) we all ascended.',			
	*'We ascended all the horses.'						*'All the horses we ascended.'			

As with monovalent verbs, only the S of a verb with an unmarked oblique can be the P of the causative predicate *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' (19a) and not the OBL (19b).

19. a.	*Markus*	*nei*	*n-ini*	*kura*	*saqe.*
	Markus	1PL.EXCL	1EXCL-CAUS	horse	ascend
	'Markus made us ascend the horse.'				

b.	**Markus*	*kura*	*g-ini*	*nei*	*saqe.*
	Markus	horse	3AN-CAUS	1PL.EXCL	ascend
	'Markus made the horse be ascended by us.'				

Also like the S of a monovalent verb, the only S of a verb with an unmarked oblique can be the antecedent for the reflexive prefix *dV-* 'REFL-'. In (20) the NP complement of the instrumental verbal postposition *dele* 'INS' has a possessor marked with the reflexive. This can only have the S as its antecedent and not the unmarked oblique.

20.	*Neto*	*kura*	*d-iri*	*dele*	*saqe.*
	1SG	horse	REFL-leg	INS	ascend
	'I ascended the horse with my legs.', *'I ascended the horse with its legs.'				

See §10.6 for further description of the individual properties of sub-classes of unmarked oblique and the types of oblique they encode.

4.2.5 Summary

Table 4.2 summarises the properties of the arguments for each type of verbal predicate that have been seen in the preceding sections.

Table 4.2: Overview of properties of Bunaq arguments

	PRE-V	INITIAL	AGR	QUANT FLOAT	CAUS PRED	REFL
A	+	+	-	-	+	+
S	+	+	- / (+)	+	+	+
P	+	-	+	+	-	-
R	+	-	+	+	-	-
T	-	-	-	-	-	-
OBL	+	-	-	-	-	-

The arguments A and S pattern together in that they appear as the first in a pragmatically neutral ordered clause, while P, R and OBL all come later. T is set apart from all other argument types in that it alone occurs post-verbally.

In terms of verbal agreement, P and R pattern together in taking verbal agreement prefixes. S patterns mainly like A, T and OBL in lacking agreement on the verb; however, a subset of Ss are like P in taking agreement.

S, P and R pattern together in terms of restricting reference of the floating quantifier in contrast to A, T and OBL which do not. Finally, causative serialisation and reflexive binding target the highest argument in a clause, picking out A or S.

In sum, there is some evidence for a 'subject' grouping of A and S in Bunaq, but it is weakened by the fact that S also shares properties in common with P and R. The 'object' grouping of P and R (so-called 'secundative' alignment: Dryer 1986) is robust. The T is defined by the absence of any of the properties displayed by any other of the

arguments, and may be better characterised as an OBL, a category with which it shares more properties in common.[5]

On account of the fuzziness in the behaviour of S, throughout this thesis I will avoid the labels 'subject' and 'object' in reference to the arguments of verbal clauses. Instead I will continue to refer to semantic-syntactic roles: S, A, P etc.

4.3   Non-verbal clauses

There are three types of clauses with non-verbal predicates in Bunaq: clauses with nominal predicates (§4.3.1), clauses with predicates headed by postpositions (§4.3.2) and clauses with predicates headed by the alienable possessor classifier (§4.3.3).

Each of these predicate types takes a single non-predicative NP. This NP will for descriptive convenience be called 'subject'. It evidences the same control behaviour as that shared in common by A or S, namely control of the reflexive and occurring as the P of the causative verb in causative serialisation.

4.3.1   Nominal clauses

Two NPs, of which the second is the predicate, can be juxtaposed to express a relationship of identity between two entities. In Bunaq there is no copula intervening between the two NPs.

Two kinds of identity relationship are expressed by nominal clauses (Dryer 2007: 233-236): clauses of equation, where the first NP has one and the same entity referent as that of the second, predicative NP (21), and; clauses of 'proper inclusion' (also known as 'ascriptive' clauses), where the first NP has a referent that is among the class of items specified by the second NP (22).

21. *Timor   bare   ni-e   muk.*
    Timor   PROX.INAN   1EXCL-POSS   land
    'Timor here is my (home)land'.   [OS-07.01]

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[5] The similarities between T and OBL versus P and R may support a 'split O'-style analysis in the manner of Bowden (n.d.), i.e. that the language allows for Os (objects) to be encoded in one way for one set of verbs and another way with another set of verbs in the same manner as split-intransitive systems allow different codings of S.

22. *En   bari   en   Islam.*
    person   PROX.AN   person   Islam

    'This person is a Muslim person.'   [Bk-37.051]

The two different kinds of nominal clause differ as to their reversibility. Reversal of the ordering of equative NPs is permissible: because the NPs of (21) are entirely coreferential, their reversal in (23) is grammatical. This is not the case for clauses of proper inclusion where reversal results in bizarre semantics and questionable grammaticality: in the reversal of (22) given in (24) there is a disparity of referentiality between the NPs, with the class identifying NP preceding the specific and referential NP.

23. *Ni-e   muk   Timor bare.*
    Timor   1EXCL-POSS   land   PROX.INAN

    'My (home)land is Timor here.'   [Not-07.01]

24. #/?*En   Islam   en   bari*
    person   Islam   person   PROX.AN

    'A Muslim person is this person.'   [Not-07.01]

There is a sub-type of equational clause used in presentational contexts. In this, the predicative NP is fronted to a position before the other NP. The fronted NP is marked with the restrictive focus marker *na* 'FOC' (§3.5.7.2), while the following NP is encoded by a demonstrative, as in (25-26)

25. *En   rato   o   renu   gi-e   raza   na   baqa.*
    person   noble   AND   commoner 3-POSS   difference   FOC   NPRX.INAN

    'The differences between nobles and commoners are those.'   [Bk-18.050]

26. *Ni-e   rale   na   bare   ai.*
    1EXCL-POSS talk   FOC   PROX.INAN   ONLY

    'My speech is this only.'   [Bk-7.026]

4.3.2 Postpositional clauses

Postpositional clauses are clauses in which the predicate is headed by one of the three Bunaq postpositions: *no* 'OBL', *gene* 'LOC' and *goet* 'LIKE' (see §3.5.6 on the morphosyntactic properties defining postpositions). Postpositional predicates headed by

no 'OBL' and *gene* 'LOC' specify the location of an NP, while those headed by *goet* 'LIKE' express the entity to which an NP is similar. The NP expressing the entity that is located/likened precedes the predicative postpositional phrase, consisting of an NP plus the postposition governing it, as in (27-29).

27. *Il   kokoq   no   niq.*
    water   bucket   OBL   NEG
    'Water is not in the bucket.', i.e. 'There is no water in the bucket.'   [Bk-6.026]

28. *Neto   reu   memel   gene.*
    1SG   house   sick   LOC
    'I (was) in hospital.'   [Bk-2.018]

29. *Baqi   gi-e   ama   goet.*
    NPRX.AN   3-POSS   father   LIKE
    'He is like his father.'   [OS-07.03]

See §4.4 for an overview of the placement of postpositional phrases when encoding a peripheral constituents, and §12.1 for more on the semantics of the postpositions.

4.3.3   Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses are those in which the predicate is headed by an inflected form of the alienable possessive classifier *-e* '-POSS' (see §9.2), plus any cross-referencing NP. The predicate expresses the possessor, while the NP preceding it expresses the possessed item, as in (30-31).

30. *Atis   o   liqul   ba   halaqi gi-e.*
    needle   AND   thread   DEF.INAN   3PL   3-POSS
    'The needle and thread is theirs.'   [LB-1.058]

31. a. *Homo   nei   gunung   ni-e.*
        CONTR.INAN   1PL.EXCL   mountain   1EXCL-POSS
        'That (type of cake) is ours, us mountain people's.'   [Bk-76.039]

    b. *Tubi   s-alak   roe   en   ewi   gi-e.*
        cake   3INAN-roast   SPEC.INAN   person   stranger 3-POSS
        'Those roasted cakes belong to the foreigners.'   [Bk-76.040]

Possessive clauses are also used to encode location of origin. In this function, *gi-e* '3-POSS' heads the predicate and takes an NP denoting a location as its complement; the preceding NP denotes the entity whose origin location is being referred to. Examples of possessive clauses denote origin location are given in (32-33).

32. *Neto*   *Gewal*   *gi-e.*
     1SG   Gewal   3-POSS
     'I am from Gewal.'   [Bk-68.010]

33. *Halaqi*   *Timor-Leste*   *gi-e.*
     3PL   East Timor   3-POSS
     'They are from East Timor.'   [Bk-11.013]

Possessive predicates with the alienable possessive classifier *-e* '-POSS' are derived from an adnominal possessive strategy discussed in chapter 9.

4.4 Peripheral constituents in the clause

As mentioned in §4.1, there are no predicates that absolutely require an NP expressed in a postpositional phrase (PP) or verbal postpositional phrase (VPP). I have labelled NPs encoded in such phrases as 'peripheral constituents' (PERI).[6] A peripheral constituent can be expressed in any clause where it is semantically compatible with the event denoted by the clause. In this section, I give a brief overview of the basic positions of peripheral constituents with different roles.

Table 4.3 summarises the position of peripheral constituents relative to the predicate and its arguments. No post-verbal peripheral co-occurs with a post-verbal T argument of a trivalent clause (ARG$_3$). The lists for peripherals given in the table are complete, except for the position between ARG$_1$ and ARG$_2$ which presents only a sample of the most common items appearing in this position.

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[6] Note that there are cases in which, although the VPP is not obligatorily required by the verb, the verb seems to control the semantic role of the NP in the VPP, making it difficult to decide between an oblique and adjunct status for the VPP. This problem is known in many languages (see discussions in e.g., Gawron 1986, Jackendoff 1990, Wechsler 1995). See §12.3 for description of the semantics of individual Bunaq verbal postpositions and their combinatorics with verbs.

Table 4.3: Positions of peripheral constituents in the clause

PERI	ARG$_1$	PERI	ARG$_2$	PERI	PRED	PERI/ARG$_3$
LOCATIVE PP (setting)		LOCATIVE PP (motion origin)		LOCATIVE PP (goal ARG$_2$)		LOCATIVE PP (motion goal)
		COMITATIVE VPP		SIMILATIVE PP		SIMILATIVE PP
		ORIGIN VPP		COMITATIVE VPP		
		BENEFICATIVE VPP		GOAL VPP		
		INSTRUMENT VPP				
		...				

As can be seen from Table 4.3, locative PPs (§12.1.1-§12.1.2) have the greatest flexibility in their placement, with different positions having different functions. Preceding ARG$_1$, a locative PP encodes a setting, information about the time/location of event denoted by the clause, as in (34) with *no* 'OBL' (§12.1.1; see also n. 4 in §4.2.4 on this gloss). A locative PP following ARG$_1$ and preceding ARG$_2$ encodes origin location of a motion (35). A locative PP following the ARG$_2$ (P of a bivalent verbal clause) encodes the goal location for the referent of P in non-motion events (36). Finally, a locative PP following the predicate encodes the goal location of a motion (37).

34. **Baqa** **no,** *neto* *holon.*
    NPRX.INAN OBL 1SG cry
    'At that (point) I cried.'

35. *Neto* **mar** **no** *zo* *zal* *reu* *mal.*
    1SG garden OBL mango carry house go
    'I carried the mango home from the farm.'

36. *Neto* *il* **botil** **no** *t-olo.*
    1SG water bottle OBL 3INAN-put.in
    'I put the water in the bottle.'

37. *Neto* *zemal* **tas** **no.**
    1SG go.down village OBL
    'I go down to the village.'

The placement of a similative PP (§12.1.3), before or after a predicate, makes no difference to the meaning of a clause. With verbs of speaking, a similative PP cataphorically refers to a complement clause encoding what is spoken, and typically occurs before the predicate (38), but can also follow (39). In bivalent verbs where a P is expressed the similative PP follows the predicate.

38. *Pana   gol   hitu   baqi   t-ege   roe   goet sasi.*
    female   small   seven   NPRX.INAN   RECP-BEN   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   say
    'Those seven girls spoke like this to each other.'   [Bk-6.028]

39. *En   pana   hiloqon   sasi   roe   goet.*
    person   female two   say   SPEC.INAN   LIKE
    'The two females spoke like this.'   [Bk-4.054]

An NP introduced by the comitative verbal postposition, *g-utu* '3-COM' (§12.3.1) directly follows the argument it refers to. Other peripherals do not intervene, as in (40) where the instrumental NP marked by the verbal postposition *dele* 'INS' (§12.3.2) follows the comitative.

40. *Asa Paran **Mau Paran**   g-utu   zap   ge-rel mele.*
    Asa Paran Mau Paran   3-COM   dog   3AN-INS walk
    'Asa Paran with Mau Paran went walking taking dogs.'   [Bk-4.065]

See Chapter 12 for description of the range of functions of postpositions and verbal postpositions.

4.5   Negative clauses

4.5.1   Clausal negation with *niq* 'NEG'

Clauses are negated by means of the clausal negator *niq* 'NEG' following the predicate. *Niq* 'NEG' is used to negate a clause irrespective of the type of predicate, as illustrated in the (41-44) examples:

VERBAL CLAUSE

41. *G-ot   sa   wel   niq.*
    3AN-fur   EVEN burnt NEG
    'His fur wasn't even burnt.'   [Bk-50.020]

NOMINAL CLAUSE

42. *Nei*   *milisi*   *niq.*
    1PL.EXCL   militia   NEG
    'We are not militia.'   [Bk-61.044]

POSTPOSITIONAL CLAUSE

43. *Neto*   *ota*   *gene*   *niq.*
    1SG   LEVEL   LOC   NEG
    'I was not over there.'   [Bk-29.068]

POSSESSIVE CLAUSE

44. *Hot*   *esen*   *bi*   *ni-e*   *niq.*
    sun   HIGH   DEF.AN   1EXCL-POSS   NEG
    'The one (of) the high sun is not mine'   [LB-10.017]

Whilst it always follows the main verb, *niq* 'NEG' occurs very readily to both the right and the left of other postverbal elements and may even intervene between the elements of an ambient serial verb construction (§13.2). Different postverbal positions of *niq* 'NEG' correspond to differences in scope and meaning. For instance, compare the relative ordering *niq* 'NEG' and the verb *liol* 'continue' in (45-46). In (45) *liol* 'continue' is V₂ in a serial verb construction providing aspectual specification (§13.8.1) for the V₁, *h-oqon* '3INAN-do'. *Niq* 'NEG' follows the VV sequence and has scope over both verbs and denotes the *non-continuance of doing* (an event). Again in (46) *liol* 'continue' is V₂ in a serial verb construction with the V₁, *h-oqon* '3INAN-do', but this time we see that *niq* 'NEG' intervenes between the verbs. Here *niq* 'NEG' only has scope over the verb to its left *h-oqon* '3INAN-do', while the verb to its right, *liol* 'continue', has scope over the whole clause. By contrast, this ordering denotes the *continuance of not doing* (an event).

45. *Gi-e*   *ama*   *heser*   *o*   *si,*   *baqa*   *h-oqon*   *liol*   **niq.**
    3-POSS   father dead   PFV   REAS   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-do   continue   NEG
    'Because her father had already died, (she) didn't continue to do that.'[Bk-70.128]

46. *Sirubisu*   *baqa*   *neto*   *h-oqon*   **niq**   *liol*   *toqo*   *mete*
    work   NPRX.INAN   1SG   3INAN-do   NEG   continue   until   NOW
    bare.
    PROX.INAN
    'That work I continued to not do until this very day.'   [Bk-12.023]

A further example of the flexible positioning of *niq* 'NEG', this time relative to the postverbal floating quantifier *gaqal* 'all.AN' (§13.8.1.3), is given in (47-48). In (47) we see that *niq* 'NEG' follows the verb *kou* 'slip' and *gaqal* 'all.AN' and has scope over both to denote 'some slipped, some didn't'. By contrast, in (48) *niq* 'NEG' follows and has scope over the verb *re* 'strike' and is followed by *gaqal* 'all.AN' referring to the P, *sogo baqi* 'those ten'. The quantifier has scope over *niq* 'NEG' and denotes that 'all (of the ten) were not struck', i.e. 'none'. See §4.7.2.4 on the ordering of postverbal elements.

47. *Sogo   baqi   kou   gaqal   niq.*
    ten   NPRX.AN   slip   all.AN   NEG
    'Those ten didn't all slip.'   [Bk-10.012]

48. *Halaqi   sogo   baqi   re   niq   gaqal.*
    3PL   ten   NPRX.AN   strike NEG   all.AN
    'They didn't strike any of those ten.'   [Bk-10.020]

4.5.2   Other negators

In addition to the clausal negator, *niq* 'NEG', there are four items in Bunaq used in the expression of negative polarity. These will be mentioned here briefly before the reader is referred on to other sections for more information.

Firstly, *hani* 'PROH' is a modal adverb used in the expression of prohibitive modality. It indicates that the action dented by the main verb is not permitted (49) and in negative imperatives (50). See §4.6.1 and §14.1.1.7 for further illustration of *hani* 'PROH'.

49. *Ini   mesaq bu,   hoto   hani   rene.*
    set.alight IRR   GIVEN   fire   PROH   spread
    'When burning (the fields), the fire is not permitted to spread.'   [Bk-3.023]

50. *Hani   nei   n-oenik!*
    PROH   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-forget
    'Don't forget us!'   [Bk-14.003]

Secondly, the negative existential verb, *hobel* 'not exist', is the negative polarity form of the existential verb, *hati* 'exist' (§10.6.3). For instance, in (51) we see that

hobel 'not exist' is used in a negative response to a question with *hati* 'exist'; the formulation *hati niq 'exist NEG' is not acceptable in Bunaq Lamaknen.

51. A. *Hele   hosu   hati?*
     perhaps other   exist
     'Perhaps there is something else?'   [Bk-44.014]
   B. *Hobel*   *oa.*
     not.exist   PFV
     'No, that's it.'   [Bk-44.015]

Finally, Bunaq has two negative adverbs *ozol* 'NOT' and *nen* 'NOT' (< Tet. *nen* 'nor, not even'). The negative adverbs occur preverbally in a clause marked negative with *niq* 'NEG'. The adverbs function to emphasise the negation to relation the particular constituent in the clause which they precede. In (52-53) *ozol* 'NOT' and *nen* 'NOT' emphasis the negation of the following NPs headed by *nego* 'what'. See §14.1.4 for further illustration of the negative adverbs.

52. *Nei*   *homo*   **ozol** *nego* *uen* *o*   *bai* **niq.**
    1PL.EXCL   CONTR.INAN   NOT   what   one   AND   thing   NEG
    'We didn't do not a thing.'   [Bk-1.046]

53. *G-ege*   **nen** *nego* *uen* *sa* *dari* **niq** *ai.*
    3AN-BEN   NOT   what   one   EVEN succeed NEG ONLY
    'For him not even a thing was successful.'   [LB-2.010]

4.6 Non-declarative clauses

4.6.1 Imperatives

Imperatives are clauses that function to issue commands, directives and requests. Positive imperatives in Bunaq do not have to have any overt syntactic marker of the fact that they are imperative. They may be marked simply by a rising intonation clause-finally. An NP/pronoun encoding the addressee may or may not be included in an imperative. (54) gives an example of an imperative without explicit encoding of the addressee and (55) with the a 2nd person pronoun encoding the addressee.

54. *N-ege   sasi!*
    1EXCL-BEN   say
    'Tell me!'   [OS-07.04]

55. *Eto   tebe   on   oa!*
    2SG   return DO   PFV
     'You go back now!'   [Bk-63.008]

As mentioned in §4.5.2, negative imperatives are encoded with the prohibitive modality adverb, *hani* 'PROH' as in (56). See §14.1.1.7 for further illustration of this morpheme.

56. *Hani   wa!*
    PROH   discard
    'Don't throw (it) out!'   [OS-07.03]

There are two morphemes used to mark different types of commands: *naq* 'IMP' for imperatives and hortations (§4.6.1.1) and the verb *mal* 'go' for giving permission and offering invitations (§4.6.1.2).

4.6.1.1 Imperative *naq* 'IMP'

Naq 'IMP' is a post-verbal imperative-hortative marker. It is used to denote imperatives, that is, an appeal to the addressee(s) to make the state of affairs true, as in (57-59).

57. *Nu-bul   kumu   **naq**!*
    1EXCL-head massage   IMP
    'Massage my head!'   [Bk-43.074]

58. *N-ege   ga-saqe   **naq**!*
    1EXCL-BEN   3AN-bring.up IMP
    'Bring him up for me!'   [Bk-69.051]

59. *Eto   hali   **naq**!*
    2SG   be.prior IMP
    'You go first!'   [Bk-50.021]

Naq 'IMP' is also used in the expression of hortations, that is, appeals to make a state of affairs true directed at individuals that are not only the addressee (van der Auwera, Dobrushina and Goussev 2008). Hortations may include the addressee(s), as in (60), or exclude the addressee, as in (61). There are no examples of hortations with 3rd persons (i.e 'let him' etc.) in the corpus.

60. *I*   *rasal*   **_naq_**_!_
    1PL.EXCL   stop   IMP
    'Let's stop!'   [Bk-37.097]

61. *Nei*   *mal*   **_naq_**_!_
    1PL.EXCL   go   IMP
    'Let's go!'   [OS-07.02]

Note that *naq* is also used to denote to denote that one event or time occurs before another event. In these constructions, *naq* is glossed 'FIRST' and is always followed by *na* 'FOC' (§3.5.7.2). The clauses in (62) occur in a textual sequence: the proposition in (62a) is referred back to by *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' and marked as occurring prior to the event in (62b) by *naq* 'FIRST'.

62. a. *Mone tumel rele molo-pu*   *lai.*
        man   money INS   betel-areca   set
        'The man sets betel and areca down with money.' fig. for 'The man pays a deposit of money for the bride-price.'   [Bk-38.008]
    b. *Homo*   **_naq_**   *na,*   *halali baqi*   *te-rel*   *mele.*
        CONTR.INAN   FIRST   FOC   3DU   NPRX.AN   RECP-INS   walk
        'Once that (is done), then those two (can) walk together.'   [Bk-38.009]

4.6.1.2 Invitations/permissions with *mal* 'go'

The verb *mal* 'go' is an imperative marker used to issue invitations and to grant permission to proceed with an action. In this function *mal* 'go' follows the main verb of the clause and is only used with 2nd person S/As.

Examples (63-64) illustrate the use of *mal* 'go' to extend invitations to the addressee. In (63) *mal* 'go' marks *man* 'come' to express an invitation for the addressee to join the speaker in West Timor. In (64), the invitation of speaker A to ride their

horses is rejected by speaker B for themselves, but speaker A is invited to get the accompanier of speaker B to get on the horse; this invitation is signalled by *mal* 'go'.

63. a. *Ei   man   **mal**!*
       2PL   come   go
       'Go ahead and come!'   [Bk-66.062]
    b. *Nei   ei   Ø-osok.*
       1PL.EXCL   2PL   1INCL/2-receive
       'We will receive you.'   [Bk-66.063]

64. A. *Mama hiloqon,   ota   kura   bari   na   saqe   oa.*
       mother two   LEVEL horse PROX.INAN   FOC   ascend PFV
       '(You) two ladies, mount these horse over here.'   [Bk-37.083]
    B. *Hani, neli   roe   bu   mele o   han.*
       PROH   1DU.EXCL   SPEC.INAN   GIVEN walk AND   no.problem
       'Don't, for us walking is also no problem!'   [Bk-37.084]
    B. *En   gol   bari   na   g-ini   kura   saqe   **mal**!*
       person small PROX.AN   FOC   3AN-CAUS   horse ascend go
       'Get this little person to ride the horse!'   [Bk-37.085]

Examples (65-66) illustrate the use of *mal* 'go' to indicate to the addressee that they have permission to proceed. In (65) speaker B uses *mal* 'go' with *sasi* 'speak' to grant permission for speaker A to say something following her request to do so. In (66), following an assertion by speaker A that there is a person wanting to walk with speaker B, speaker B responds favourably using *mal* 'go' with *mina* 'come.up' to signal that she is permitted to come up and join them.

65. A. *Naqi, neto toek bare,   i   Ø-ege   sasi   bu   loï*
       royal   1SG   talk PROX.INAN   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-BEN speak GIVEN good
       ka   niq?
       or   NEG
       'Sire, I am talking, (am I) permitted to speak to you or not?   [LB-8.025]
    B. *Eme   sasi   **mal**!*
       mother speak go
       'Speak away mother!'   [LB-8.026]

66. A. *Baqi   o   mele   gie   heten.*
      NPRX.AN   AND   walk   PROSP   want

     'She also wants to walk.'   [Bk-37.023]

   B. *O   baqi   mele   heta   bu,   mina   **mal**!*
      ADDR   NPRX.AN   walk   can   GIVEN   come.up go

     'If she near you is able to walk, (she should) come up!'   [Bk-37.024]

4.6.1.3 Responses to imperatives

The addressee(s) of an imperative typically responds with *hou* 'ok', when expressing compliance with it, as in (67-68). *Hou* 'ok' is also used by an addressee to acknowledge a call to them. *Hou* 'ok' is not used in positive responses to questions.

67. A. *Ibu,   eto   bai   a   naq!*
      mother 2SG   thing   eat   IMP

     'Mrs, you eat something!'   [Bk-37.056]

   B. ***Hou**! Loi,̈   ibu.*
      ok   good   mother
     'Ok! (That's) fine, Mrs.'   [Bk-37.058]

68. A. *Eli   mal   sai   kolun   ba   leqat   naq.*
      2DU   go   go.to.garden   fallow.garden   DEF.INAN   inspect IMP
     'You to go to the garden (and) check out the fallow!'   [LB-2.014]

   B. ***Hou**!*
      ok
     'Ok!'   [LB-2.015]

     Orders with which the addressee is not compliant may go unanswered or will use *hani* 'PROH' as the response of speaker B in (64).

4.6.2 Questions

4.6.2.1 Information questions

Information (or 'wh') questions make use of the class of interrogatives which are discussed in §3.5.2. Basic interrogatives typically occur *in situ*, i.e. filling the syntactic position in the question as the answer would in the statement corresponding to the question. In (69) *nego* 'what?' questions the T of the trivalent verb *h-ini* '3INAN-call'

and accordingly occurs following the verb (§4.2.3). In (70) *cio* 'who?' questions the possessor of the house and accordingly occurs in the position of a possessor NP marked by *gi-e* '3-POSS' (§9.2).

69. *Toren*   *wa*   *h-ini*   **nego?**
     ceiling   top   3INAN-call   what
     'What's the ceiling top called?'   [Bk-47.123]

70. *Eto*   **cio**   *gi-e*   *reu*   *gene?*
     2SG   who   3-POSS   house   LOC
     'You are in whose house?'   [Bk-43.071]

In the examples in (71), *teo* 'where?' occurs as the complement of the postposition *no* 'OBL'. We see that the PP occurs in different positions in the clause depending on the type of location questioned, as described for declarative clauses in §4.4. In (71a) the preverbal position of the PP questions the origin location of the motion. In (71b) the position of the PP between P and V questions the goal of the P in the action (71b). Finally, in (71c) the postverbal position of the PP questions the goal location of the motion.

71. a.   *Eto*   **teo**   *no*   *man?*
        2SG   where   OBL   come
        'Where did you come from?'   [Bk-61.029]

    b.   *Eto*   *il*   **teo**   *no*   *t-olo?*
        2SG   water   where   OBL   3INAN-put.in
        'Into where did your pour the water?   [OS-07.01]

    c.   *Eto*   *zemal*   **teo**   *no?*
        2SG   go.down   where   OBL
        'Where did you go down to?   [OS-07.02]

Interrogatives or the phrases in which they occur can be optionally focussed with the restrictive focus particle *na* 'FOC' (§3.5.7.2). Focussed interrogatives must occur in a non-final position. This is illustrated with a focussed interrogative questioning the T of a trivalent verb in (72), and with a focussed interrogative questioning manner (73). In

(72c) and (73c) respectively we see that these interrogatives can occur finally when not focussed.

72. a. *Nego na Ø-ege?*
    what　FOC　1INCL/2-give
    'What did (they) give to you?'　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-4.036]

　　b. **Ø-ege nego na?*
    1INCL/2-give　what　FOC　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Not-09.01]

　　c. *Ø-ege nego?*
    1INCL/2-give　what
    '(They) gave you what?'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Not-09.01]

73. a. *Teo goet on na pelek?*
    where　LIKE　DO　FOC　plant
    'How is it that (you) plant (them)?'　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-65.080]

　　b. **Pelek teo goet on na?*
    plant　where　LIKE　DO　FOC　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Not-09.01]

　　c. *Pelek teo goet on?*
    plant　where　LIKE　DO
    'How (do you) plant (them)?'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Not-09.01]

Examples (72-73) represent the most frequent natural language pattern: when a focussed interrogative is present in a clause, no other clausal constituent apart from the verb is typically expressed. When other elements, in particular the S/A of the clause, the focussed interrogative still typically *in situ*, like the locative PP in (74a: 8 similar tokens in the corpus). It is infrequent but possible for such a locative PP to occur before the clausal S/A (74b: 1 similar token in the corpus).

74. a. *Eto teo gene na mit gie?*
    2SG　where　LOC　FOC　sit　PROSP
    'You are going to live where?'

　　b. *Teo gene na eto mit gie?*
    where　LOC　FOC　2SG　sit　PROSP
    'Where are you going to live?'　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Not-09.01]

There are no natural language examples of questions containing more than one interrogative word. In elicitation, speakers approved of examples such as (75) with two interrogatives.

75. *Sio   nego   h-oqon?*
    who   what   3INAN-do
    'Who did what?'   [Not-07.02]

4.6.2.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are ones to which the expected answer is the equivalent of 'yes' or 'no' (sometimes called yes-no questions). Polar questions in Bunaq can be syntactically unmarked (§4.6.2.2.1), or marked by means of one of three question tags: *e* 'TAG' (§4.6.2.2.2), *ka* 'OR' (§4.6.2.2.3), or *to* 'CONF' (§4.6.2.2.4).

The Bunaq question tags all appear in Tetun also, and are probably borrowed from Tetun.[7] Question tags always appear as the last element in a clause, following the aspectual particles and in the same position as information markers (§14.2.7.2). The question tags are accompanied by rising intonation. They sometimes also appear in non-interrogative clauses, where they retain their rising intonation pattern.

4.6.2.2.1 Unmarked polar questions

Polar questions may be denoted by rising intonation clause-finally and no change of word order. Unmarked polar questions of this kind have neutral polarity, that is, there is no expectation on the part of the speaker that the answer will be either positive or negative. Examples (76-77) illustrate Bunaq unmarked polar questions.

76. *Niat   ni   ei   teras   h-oqon   ba,   teras   koen   na*
    first   OBL   2PL   terrace 3INAN-make   DEF.INAN   terrace nice   FOC
    h-oqon   gimen?
    3INAN-make immediately
    'In the beginning (when you made terraces), were they good terraces straightaway?'
                                                                          [Bk-65.066]

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[7] Note, however, that *to* is also found in Kupang Malay and many other varieties of Malay, and is ultimately from Dutch *toch*. The tag may have been borrowed from directly from Malay and not necessarily via Tetun. I note that there are no instances of the question tag *to* in the texts of Friedberg (van Klinken 1999: 299-300), suggesting that it has only entered the language recently, a period in which Malay/Indonesian has been more dominant than Tetun, see §1.4.

77. *Taq   Topol ola   zol   mil   gene?*
    axe   fall   LOW   river inside LOC
    'Is Taq Topol down there in the river?'   [Bk-29.055]

It is unusual for a unmarked polar question to be marked negative with *niq* 'NEG'. In the corpus, there are only three unmarked polar questions in the negative. All three instances come from a single speaker in a single text. The questions appear to have weak negative polarity, and all three are answered in the negative. One of the three is presented in (78).

78. A. *Ei   Ø-azal   soq,   baqi   ei   i-ta   man   niq?*
       2PL   1INCL/2-see   SEQ   NPRX.AN   2PL   1INCL/2-GL   come   NEG
       'Having seen you, she didn't come towards you?'   [Bk-47.026]
    B. *Man   niq.*
       come   NEG
       '(She) didn't come.'   [Bk-47.027]

4.6.2.2.2 Agreement tag: *e* 'TAG'

E 'TAG' is used in polar interrogatives in situations where the speaker invites the agreement of the addressee, as in (79-80). Questions tagged with *e* 'TAG' such as these may or may not elicit a response from the addressee, being used by the speaker to ensure the compliance of the addressee.

79. *Ei milisi e?*
    2PL militia TAG
    'You're militia, right?'   [Bk-47.027]

80. *D-ol   o   bi   g-ege   sasi   e?*
    REFL-child ADDR   DEF.AN 3AN-BEN   say   TAG
    '(You're) going to say (something) to your kid, right?'   [Bk-22.006]

Polar questions soliciting active confirmation from the addressee are marked by *e* 'TAG' followed by *niq* 'NEG', as in (81-82).

81. *Ei matas mil   heten e   niq?*
    2PL old   COLL   want   TAG   NEG
    'You parents want to, don't you?'   [Bk-38.077]

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82.

Eto	n-igo	bare	h-azal	milik	e	niq?
2SG	1EXCL-beak	PROX.INAN	3INAN-see	afraid	TAG	NEG

'You are afraid of this beak of mine, aren't you?' [Bk-49.020]

E 'TAG' is also used a range of non-interrogative functions, where it retains the high rising intonation of a question. Declarative *e* 'TAG' is used in emphatic affirmative answers to questions of both positive (83) and negative (84) polarity.

83. A.

Baqa	beqo?
NPRX.INAN	pulped

'That was pulped?', i.e. 'That (head) was squashed to pulp?' [Bk-52.035]

B.

Beqo	e!
pulped	TAG

'(It was) so pulped!' [Bk-52.036]

84. A.

Hele	muk	g-omo	niq?
perhaps	earth	3AN-owner	NEG

'Perhaps it wasn't a spirit (lit. an earth owner)?' [Bk-47.072]

B.

Muk	g-omo	on	e!
earth	3AN-owner	DO	TAG

'(It was) so a spirit (lit. an earth owner)!' [Bk-47.073]

Declarative *e* 'TAG' is also used in imperative clauses to encourage compliance from the addressee and in statements reminding the addressee of a point which is obvious, as in (85-86).

85.

Dia	Laho,	ni-ta	tuk	teni	naq	e!
Dia	Laho	1EXCL-GL	pile.up	again	IMP	TAG

'Dia Laho, pile (it) up onto me again, won't you?' [Bk-50.023]

86.

Bapaq,	eto	tumel	roe	r-oenik	o	e!
Mr	2SG	money	SPEC.INAN	3INAN-forget	PFV	TAG

'Mr, you have forgotten this money, haven't you?' [Bk-50.023]

4.6.2.2.3 Alternative questions with *ka* 'OR'

An alternative question 'presents two or more possible answers and presupposes that only one is true' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985: 823). Bunaq uses the disjunction *ka* 'OR' (§5.6.5) to mark alternative questions. The two alternatives may be specified in which case they are conjoined by *ka* 'OR', as in (87-89), or may be left unspecified in which case *ka* 'OR' appears finally (90).

87. *Biqan   esen   ba   h-apal   sal   on   **ka**   de   on?*
    plate   HIGH   DEF.INAN   3INAN-open wrong   DO   OR   right   DO
    '(Did you) open up the plates up there wrong or right?'   [LB-2.147]

88. *Eto   na-tara   **ka**   na-tara   niq?*
    2SG   1EXCL-know   OR   1EXCL-know NEG
    'Do you know me or not?'   [Bk-43.065]

89. *Domba   hati   **ka**   niq?*
    sheep   exist   OR   NEG
    'Are there are sheep or not?'   [OS-07.03]

90. *Ei   i-e   mar   gene   rik   o   balo   hati   **ka?***
    2PL   1INCL/2-POSS farm   LOC   cassava   AND   taro   exist   OR
    'Is there cassava and taro in your garden?'   [Bk-6.042]

4.6.2.2.4 Monitoring the addressee questions with *to* 'CONF'

The question tag *to* 'CONF' functions to monitor the attention and understanding of the addressee by soliciting a confirming answer (typically in the form of gesture) from the speaker. In accordance with this 'understanding monitoring' function, the majority of examples of *to* 'CONF' in the corpus mark a clause in which the speaker repeats information that they have already given in a prior clauses, as in (91-92).

91. a. *Baqi   boqal   oa.*
       NPRX.AN   grown.up   PFV
       'She was grown up now.'   [Bk-69.062]

    b. *Baqi   boqal   oa   to?*
       NPRX.AN   grown.up   PFV   CONF
       'She was grown up now, you know?'   [Bk-69.064]

92. a. *G-ebu*   *memel.*
       3AN-bottom   sick
       'Her bottom was sore.'   [Bk-37.129]

    b. *G-ebu*   *memel*   ***to?***
       3AN-bottom   sick   CONF
       'Her bottom was sore, you know?'   [Bk-37.130]

There is one clear use of the question tag *to* 'CONF' to ask a question confirming a piece of information with the addressee, given in (93).

93. *O*   *yang*   *wa*   *los*   *baqa*   ***to?***
     ADDR   that.which   top   very   NPRX.INAN   CONF
     'You mean that thing at the very top, yeah?'   [Bk-47.126]

4.6.2.2.5 Answers to polar questions

Positive answers to positive polar questions typically echo the predicate, as in (94); there is no word for 'yes'. Negative answers to positive polar questions either echo the verb of the question with *niq* 'NEG' following (95) or have just the negative particle (96).

94. A. *G-azal?*
       3AN-see
       '(Did you) see (her)?'   [Bk-47.014]

    B. *G-azal.*
       3AN-see
       '(We) saw (her).'   [Bk-47.015]

95. A. *Asrama*   *gene*   *loi?*
       boarding.school   LOC   good
       '(Is it) good in the boarding school?'   [Bk-30.071]

    B. *Loï*   *niq.*
       good   NEG
       '(It's) not good.'   [Bk-30.072]

96. A. *Aruq*   *g-ewen*   *taqa?*
       hair   3AN-face   close
       'Was hair covering her face?'   [Bk-47.076]

B. *Niq.*

NEG

'No.' [Bk-47.077]

Negative answers to negative polar questions also echo the verb and *niq* 'NEG', as in (97), or just *niq* 'NEG' (98).

97. A. *Ei   Ø-azal   soq,   baqi   ei   i-ta   man   niq?*

2PL   1INCL/2-see   SEQ   NPRX.INAN   2PL   1INCL/2-GL   come   NEG

'After (she) saw you, she didn't come towards you?' [Bk-47.026]

B. *Man   niq.*

come   NEG

'(She) did not come (towards us).' [Bk-47.027]

98. A. *Eto   heten   niq?*

2SG   want   NEG

'Do you want to?'

B. *Niq.*

NEG

'No (I don't want to).' [OS-09.01]

See example (51) in §4.5.2 on a negative responses to questions with *hati* 'exist'.

4.7   Pragmatic variation in the clause

In this section I give a brief overview of some patterns of pragmatic variation in the clause. §4.7.1 looks at variation in the realisation of arguments, peripheral constituents and predicates. §4.7.2 examines patterns of word order variation in which the arguments and peripherals are ordered differently to the typical order shown in Figure 4.1.

Sub-topics relevant to pragmatic marking in the clause that are not discussed here are: relator particles (§3.5.7.1), focus particles (§3.5.7.2), and the use of determiners (§7.1) and the temporal/discourse locational (§8.3.3) in reference tracking.

4.7.1   Variation in argument realisation

4.7.1.1   Anaphoric elision

Neither arguments nor the complements of verbal postpositions are overtly realised by NPs in every clause. That is, they may be covertly referenced through zero anaphora. A

lack of any overt reference signals that the hearer should identify the elided argument as a participant that has already been referred to in the preceding discourse. For example, in (99), after his initial mention, *Ama Mau Kasu* (bolded) is not overtly expressed again. A second participant is understood from the preceding events in the narrative and is not realised by NPs, but is signalled by the obligatorily agreement prefixes on the verbal postpositions *dele* 'INS' (§12.3.2) in (99a) and *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' (§12.3.6) in (99b-d). NPs are used to signal the goal of the motion, i.e. *hober* 'cave' in (99a-b), and new participants, i.e. the stolen items in (99c-d).

99. a. ***Ama Mau Kasu*** *na* *ge-rel* *hober* *tubuk* *mal.*
      father Mau Kasu FOC   3AN-INS cave   burrow go
      'It was father Mau Kasu who took (her) to a cave.'   [Bk-68.013]

   b. *Hober* *tubuk* *tama,* *homo* *na,* *g-ege...*
      cave   burrow enter   CONTR.INAN   FOC   3AN-BEN
      '(He) entered the cave, then, for (her)...'   [Bk-68.014]

   c. *G-ege* *su* *il* *bini.*
      3AN-BEN   breast water steal
      '(He) stole milk for (her).'   [Bk-68.015]

   d. *G-ege* *si* *g-ibi.*
      3AN-BEN   meat   3AN-steal
      '(He) stole meat for (her).'   [Bk-68.016]

When a participant maintains the same grammatical function, it is not typically overtly mentioned after the initial reference. However, participants are often overtly referenced at points of change, i.e. where there is discontinuity of both identity and/or argument type. That is, where a clause intervenes in which a different participant is in that grammatical function, an established participant may receive an overt mention in order to clarify that the relevant relation has switched back to them. For instance, in (100a), the A argument, *polisi* 'police', is overtly realised but then zero mentioned in the following clause where it has the same relation. In the first clause of (100b), however, there is a different A, such that in the second clause, where *polisi* 'police' is again the A, it receives another overt mention. Now established again as A, *polisi* 'police' is elided in (100c), but is overtly mentioned in the second clause of (100d), due to the first clause having a different S, *nei* '1PL.EXCL'.

100. a. *Kalo* **polisi** *nei* *n-one,* *nei* *n-ini* *bui* *tama.*

      if   police   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-grab   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-CAUS   prison   enter

      'If the police catch us, (they) put us in jail.'   [Bk-11.012]

   b. *Kalo* *halaqi* *Timor-Leste* *gi-e* *na* *man,* **polisi** *halaqi*

      if   3PL   East Timor   3-POSS   FOC   come   police   3PL

      g-one.

      3AN-grab

      'If they come from East Timor, the police catch them.'   [Bk-11.013]

   c. *Homo* *soq,* *halaqi* *g-ini* *bui* *tama.*

      CONTR.INAN   SEQ   3PL   3AN-CAUS   prison   enter

      'Then, (the police) put them in jail.'   [Bk-11.014]

   d. *Nei* *Timor-Leste* *gene,* *halaqi* *gi-e* **polisi** *nei*

      1PL.EXCL   East Timor   LOC   3PL   3-POSS   police   1PL.EXCL

      n-one.

      1EXCL-grab

      '(If) we are in East Timor, their police catch us.'   [Bk-11.015]

A switching of function does not necessarily entail an overt mention of a participant with an NP, so long as there is no possibility of ambiguity in the reference. In (101a) *Palatina Soi* is established as the topical S with a non-proximal demonstrative, *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' (§7.2.2.5). Following this, the referent is elided throughout the remaining string, despite the fact that the referent shifts to a peripheral role as the complement of *g-ege* '3AN-BEN' with the introduction of a new S participant in (101c; bolded). Identification of the missing argument is supported here by the fact that there are no other participants mentioned in the text such that the earlier S is the only possible referent for the prefix *g-ege* '3AN-BEN'. When *Palatina Soi* becomes S again in (101e) it is also without overt mention, since the reference is clear from the fact that she if the underlying S of *man* 'come' with the causative construction in (101d).

101. a. **Palantina Soi, baqi** *Malaysia* *gene.*

      Palantina   Soi   NPRX.AN   Malaysia   LOC

      'Palantina Soi, she was in Malaysia.'   [Bk-43.002]

   b. *Malaysia* *mal.*

      Malaysia   go

      '(She) went to Malaysia.'   [Bk-43.003]

c. *Homo   na,   gi-e   **en**   **huqe**   **gene**   g-ege   hape*
   CONTR.INAN FOC 3-POSS person HERE   LOC   3AN-BEN   mobile.phone

honal.
go.across

'Then, her people here called by mobile across to (her).'   [Bk-43.004]

d. *SMS   honal,   g-ini   man   gie.*
   SMS   go.across   3AN-CAUS   come   PROSP

'(They) texted across, to get (her) to come.'   [Bk-43.005]

e. *Homo   na,   man   Kupang   pir.*
   CONTR.INAN FOC come Kupang   reach

'Then, (she) came in Kupang.'   [Bk-43.006]

Highly animate subjects with 'topical continuity' (Givón 1983) in Bunaq tend not be continuously elided, but are typically realised by a succession of free pronouns. The repetition of the pronoun typically occurs at points of change and narrative advancement and is most obvious with 1st person narrators. In (102) the first person narrator is established with the pronoun *neto* '1SG' at the beginning of the narrative (102a) and then reoccurs throughout the story when something new happens in the narrative (bolding).

102. a. **Neto**   *memel.*
    1SG   sick

'I was sick.'   [Bk-40.001]

b. *Meten   no   loi~loï.*
   before   OBL   good~REDUP

'Before (that I was) fine.'   [Bk-40.002]

c. **Neto**   *cier   honal   loi~loï.*
   1SG   sleep   go.across   good~REDUP

'I went to sleep fine.'   [Bk-40.003]

d. *Ene   no   tekil-tekil,   **neto**   meqi, en   na   sarat*
   night   OBL   suddenly   1SG   dream person FOC   limp

honal   na   sarat   man.
go.across FOC limp   come   [Bk-40.004]

'In the night suddenly I dreamt a person was limping to and fro.'

e. *Baqa   haqal, le gie mel,   **neto**   mel,...*
   NPRX.INAN finish next.day wake 1SG   wake

'After that, the next morning, I got up,...'   [Bk-40.005]

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4.7.1.2 Zero-pro of generic/non-referential As: a functional passive?

In descriptions of procedures, the speaker may make no reference to a human actor in the A role, throughout the text without ever establishing a referent for it. This is permitted as the actions described are event-oriented and generic, being done in the same way independent of the identity of the actor. I will call this 'zero pro' of A.

Example (103) comes from the beginning of a text describing the manner in which *tubi lemet* '*lemet* cakes' are made. As in this excerpt, at no point in the text is an A mentioned. The bivalent verbs *parut* 'peel', *kumu* 'squeeze' and *ha-sai* '3INAN-bring.out' occur only with Ps.

103. a. *Pertama,* *rikotel parut.*
          first   cassava grate
          'First, (one) grates the cassava.'   [Bk-82.001]

      b. *Rikotel*   *parut, g-ini*   *baqis* *haqal, homo*   *haqal*
          cassava   grate 3AN-CAUS   much   finished CONTR.INAN   finished

          soq,   *g-il*   *kumu.*
          SEQ   3AN-water   squeeze
          '(One) grates the cassava, after (one) has made a lot, after that, (one) squeezes its water out.'   [Bk-82.002]

      c. *G-il*   *homo*   *ha-sai*   *haqal, homo*   *naq*   *na,*
          3AN-water CONTR.INAN   3INAN-bring.out finished CONTR.INAN   FIRST   FOC

          mok   *nor*   *wa*   *no.*
          banana   leaf   top   OBL
          'After (one) has taken the water out, once that is done, (put it) on top of banana leaves.'   [Bk-82.003]

In some procedural texts, a generic A is encoded in one of the opening clauses either with the generic noun *en* 'person' (104) or the generic *i* '1PL.INCL' (§6.1.4.1.1) (105), but is elided throughout the remaining text.

104. a. **En**   *tani*   *sirubisu,*   *mar*   *na*   *h-oqon.*
          person   farmer work   garden FOC   3INAN-make
          '(When) farmers work, it is gardens (that they) make.'   [Bk-3.002]

      b. *Mar*   *h-oqon*   *roe*   *goet* *on.*
          garden   3INAN-make   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO
          '(One) makes a garden is like this.'   [Bk-3.002]

c. | *Mar* | *h-iqil* | | *to* | *goniqon* | *goniqil* | *oa,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| garden | 3INAN-leave.behind | | year | three | four | PFV |

mar	*baqa*	*hatak.*
garden	NPRX.INAN	ripe	[Bk-3.003]

'(After one has) left the garden for four (or) five years, that garden is ready.'

d. | *Mar* | *hatak* | *oa* | *si,* | *mar* | *baqa* | *se* | *oa.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| garden | ripe | PFV | REAS | garden | NPRX.INAN | cut | PFV |

'Because the garden is already ready, (one) now cuts the garden.'[Bk-3.004]

105. a. | *Paqol* | *g-ureq* | *gie* | *mal,* | *tebe* | *i* | *g-ohiq,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| corn | 3AN-pick | PROSP | go | return | 1PL.INCL | 3AN-strip |

ge-rel	*man.*
3AN-INS	come

'Going to pick corn, we come back with (it) to strip (it).'   [Bk-44.001]

b. | *G-ohiq* | *haqal,* | *g-apiq,* | *g-ini* | *pisi~pisi.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3AN-strip | finished | 3AN-sort | 3AN-CAUS | be.clean~REDUP |

'After (one) strips (it), (one) sorts (it), (one) makes (it) very clean.'[Bk-44.002]

c. | *G-otol* | *il* | *dara.* |
|---|---|---|
| 3AN-WITHOUT | water | prepare |

'(One) leaves (the corn) to the side to prepare the water.'   [Bk-44.003]

An A may be realised as 'zero pro' in contexts where focus of the discourse is on the referent of P is and attention to the A is downgraded. Whilst this is functionally like a passive, syntactically it is not; the valency of the verb does not change and the P remains P with the associated syntactic properties, as outlined in §4.2.2. Consider the examples in (106a-b) with the bivalent verb *ha-susar* '3INAN-afflict'.[8] Example (106a) has overtly expressed A and P arguments, whilst (106b) has only an P expressed with no referent for A being retrievable. In (106a) the clause denotes an agentive event in which the A, *eme* 'mother', wilfully imposes suffering upon the P. By contrast, in (106b), the non-referential A is realised 'zero pro'. The pragmatic force of (106b) is on the effect on the P, with the connotation that their predicament is being actively imposed upon the P by an external force.

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[8] The verb is a borrowing of the monovalent Tetun verb *susar* 'be in difficulties' plus the Tetun causative prefix *ha-* 'CAUS'. This prefix appears in Bunaq on borrowed Tetun verbs as a transitiviser, cf. 10.2.4.1.1.

106. a. *Ei i-e   eme   na-susar.*
      2PL 1INCL/2-POSS   mother 1EXCL-afflict
      'Your mother afflicts me.'   [Bk-30.053]

   b. *I   bare   a-susar   masak.*
      1PL.INCL   PROX.INAN   1INCL/2-afflict big
      'We here are greatly afflicted upon.'   [Bk-19.037]

The construction in (106b) in turn differs from (106c-d) with the related stative monovalent verb *susar* 'afflicted'. Examples (106c-d) depict a stative monovalent verbal predicate (§4.2.1) and a locative postpositional predicate (§4.3.2) respectively in which a condition simply holds without any implication of an effector.

   c. *Mama   susar.*
      mum   afflicted
      'Mum is afflicted.'   [Bk-22.004]

   d. *Neto   susar   ni.*
      1SG   afflicted   OBL
      'I am in affliction.'   [Bk-61.021]

A further example of a 'zero pro' realisation of an A is given in (107), the continuation of the answer to the question in (98). We see that in the reply to the question, the speaker tells of the regular beatings that are endured by the inmates of the boarding school. However, at no point in the discourse is the referent of A, who conducted the beatings, identified. The verb *g-ue* '3AN-hit' only occurs with an overt encoding of P. English non-referential 'they' is used in the translation to represent this.

107. a. *I   Ø-ue   ruquk.*
      1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-hit   always
      '(They) are always hitting us.'   [Bk-30.073]

   b. *I   pukul   terus*
      1PL.INCL   hit   continue
      '(They) hit us continually.'   [Bk-30.074]

   c. *I   Ø-ue.*
      1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-hit
      '(They) hit us.'   [Bk-30.075]

d. *I   aturan ikut   niq   bu,   i   Ø-ue.*
  1PL.INCL   rules follow NEG   GIVEN 1PL.INCL 1INCL/2-hit
  'When we don't follow the rules, (they) hit us.'   [Bk-30.076]

'Zero pro' of an A in generic and non-referential contexts is pervasive in Bunaq discourse; there are no apparent restrictions on A elision given the appropriate discourse situation.

4.7.2   Variation in word-order

We have seen throughout this chapter that the pragmatically neutral word order in Bunaq is: ARG₁ ARG₂ PRED ARG₃. In addition to this unmarked order, there are a number of pragmatically marked word order constructions, in which a phrase that is pragmatically prominent appears in another position in the clause, typically, at the front or back of the clause.

In the following sections, I present an overview of the main patterns of word-order variation observed in Bunaq. In §4.7.2.1, I look at dislocation, while in §4.7.2.2 fronting and other types of clause-internal word-order variation. In §4.7.2.3, I treat animacy effects on word-order in non-agentive clauses.

See chapter 14 on variation in the placement of preverbal adverbs relative to arguments, and postverbal elements relative to one another and the differences in scope entailed by different orderings.

4.7.2.1   Dislocation

Dislocation refers to the distinct prosodic treatment of a phrase (so-called 'comma intonation', Payne 1997: 274-275) at the left or right periphery of a clause. In the case of left-dislocation, the dislocated phrase typically involves a slightly rising terminal pitch (i.e. a rise on the last syllable of the phrase) and is followed by a pause, before the speaker continues (Figure 4.2). In the case of right-dislocation, the dislocated phrase follows a falling terminal pitch and is itself characterised by such a falling contour (Figure 4.3).

Dislocation may also involve copying. Copying refers to the coreference of a left- or right-dislocated constituent with a pronominal or demonstrative element within the clause.
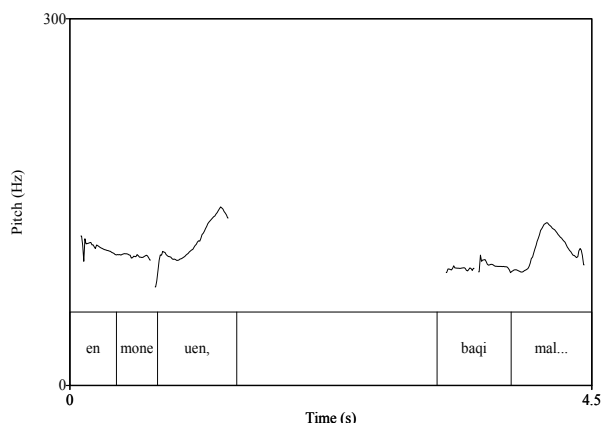
Figure 4.2: Pitch traces of left-dislocation in example (109).
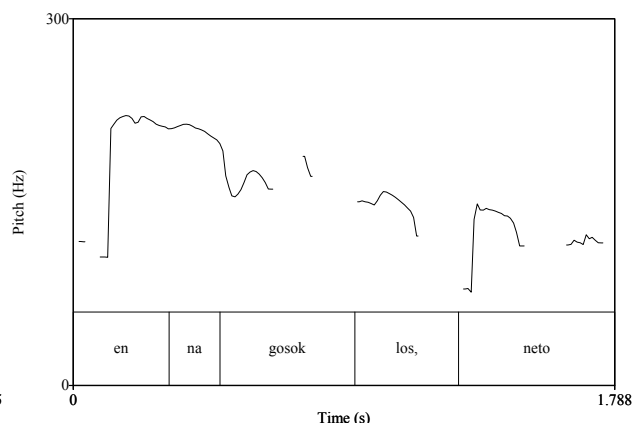
Figure 4.3: Pitch traces of right-dislocation in example (117).

Left-dislocation (§4.7.2.2.1) is associated with the pragmatic property of 'topic', i.e. what the proposition expressed by a clause is 'about' (Lambrecht 1994: 118). Right-dislocation (§4.7.2.2.2) is associated with an element expressing 'afterthought topicalisation' (Payne 1997: 275), i.e. clarification of reference in a clause that the speaker sees as unclear.

4.7.2.1.1 Left-dislocation

Topical elements of the clause frequently appear in the left-dislocated position. The constituents most commonly encountered in the left topicalised position are NPs. A left-dislocated phrase can occur with or without resumption of the topicalised phrase in the clause, though bound agreement markers on the verb cannot be omitted under any circumstance.

Left-dislocated topics typically make use of the non-proximal demonstrative (§7.2.2), either marking the topic itself, as with the left-dislocated P in (108), or representing the topic in the clause as resumptive, as with the left-dislocated S in (109).

108. *Ni-e   u   baqa,   halaqi na   d-ege   seoq   ai.*
     1EXCL-POSS   grass NPRX.INAN   3PL   FOC   REFL-BEN   sell   ONLY
     'As for my grass, they sold (it) for themselves.'   [Bk-12.021]

109. *En   mone uen,   baqi   mal...*
     person man   one   NPRX.AN   go
     '(There was) a guy, he went...'   [Bk-21.003]

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Left-dislocated topics are not only marked by the non-proximal demonstrative, but may be marked with any of the determiners depending on the type of topic (see chapter 7 for description of the individual determiners and their function). In (110), we see a contrastive demonstrative marking the left-dislocated topic encoding the T, and in (111) a definite article marking an A. Finally, in (112) we see that there is no marking on the left-dislocated topic. This example is unusual for the fact that the dislocated element encodes a peripheral role, the NP complement of the instrumental verbal postposition *dele* 'INS' which is left behind in the clause.

110. ***Misa   masak homo,***   *en*   *linkungan*   *g-ege.*
     mass   big   CONTR.INAN   person   ties   3AN-give
     'The big mass (by contrast), it's given to people with obligations.' [Bk-38.038]

111. ***Mone mete   g-inat***   ***bi,***   ***baqi***   *na*   *h-oqon bare.*
     male   now   3AN-earliest   DEF.AN   NPRX.AN   FOC   3INAN-do PROX.INAN
     'The boy mentioned just now, the oldest, it is him who's building (this).'
                                                                          [Bk-46.067]

112. ***Turiq soq,***   *nei*   *n-ini*   *rele*   *mona* *baqa*
     machete blunt   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-CAUS   INS   forest NPRX.INAN
     h-ose   *gie.*
     3INAN-clear   PROSP
     'Blunt machetes, we were made to clear the forest with.'   [Bk-65.055]

In the preceding examples, the left-dislocated topics were either argument NPs or peripheral NPs in the clause. However, a left-dislocated topic does not necessarily have to have even a peripheral role in the clause, but can have a general 'scene-setting' function, referring to 'a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds' (Chafe 1976: 50).[9] In (113) the predicative numeral can only take a single argument *leteq* 'step'; *reu* 'house' is a left-dislocated topic which functions to orient the hearer as to where the seven steps presented in the clause are. In (114) *hol okoq* 'stone hole' is a left-dislocated topic, referring to the game which the speaker then begins to describe in the following bivalent verbal clause.

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[9] These structures 'scene-setting' topics in Bunaq are similar to clausal topics in East Asian topic-comment structures, such as Japanese.

113. ***Reu   baqa,***   *leteq   hitu.*

    house   NPRX.INAN   step   seven

    'The house, (its) steps are seven.'   [Bk-6.032]

114. ***Hol   okoq   baqa,***   *i*   *okoq   na wil*   *tut.*

    stone hole   NPRX.INAN   1PL.INCL   hole   FOC dig   first

    '(As for the game) stone-hole, we dig a hole first.'   [Bk-9.001]

In addition to NPs with no clear grammatical role in the clause, left-dislocated topics can be clauses. A clausal topic denotes an event which sets the scene for the following clause. Topicalised clauses are nominalised with a determiner; as with NP topics, the choice of which is dependent on the type of temporal setting the topical clause is providing. In (116) the topical clause is nominalised with the definite article, while in (115) the specific demonstrative is used. The use of determiners to nominalise clauses and create 'domains' (Reesink 1994) is discussed further in chapter 7.

115. ***En   hiloqo heser ba,***   *neto   rai-rai*   *niq.*

    person   two   dead   DEF.INAN   1SG   be.anything   NEG

    'Two people died, (but) I was not touched.'   [Bk-61.003]

116. ***I***   *reu   a-ta*   ***mal   roe,***   *bai   a   mami.*

    1PL.INCL   house   3INAN-GL   go   SPEC.INAN   thing   eat   tasty

    'When we came home just now, we ate tasty food.'   [Bk-30.092]

4.7.2.1.2 Right-dislocation

A right-dislocated element is added to a clause in order to disambiguate the referent of a particular role from a range of possible referents in the discourse (Foley 2007: 446). Right-dislocation is not used to establish new topics in the discourse. A right-dislocated element is never contrastive, but it is somewhat emphatic, in so far as it functions to highlight either the identity of a referent or something about the nature of the referent. Right-dislocation is not limited to clarifying the identity or nature of a referent in the discourse, but may also be used to clarify a temporal setting of an event or something about the event itself as described in the clause.

In the examples in (117-118), the referent of the right-dislocated element is not mentioned with an NP in the clause, and the right-dislocated element functions to clarify who is meant in the role. In (117) the A is the right-dislocated element, in (118) the P.

117. *En   na   g-osok   los,   **neto**.*
     person FOC   3AN-receive very   1SG

    'Taking people in a lot, I (was).'   [Bk-2.019]

118. *Neli   g-otol,   **baqi**.*
     1DU.EXCL   3AN-take.care.of   NPRX.AN

    'We two were looking after (her), her (it was).'   [Bk-43.073]

Phrases encoding peripheral roles are also frequently found right-dislocated. In (119) a verbal postposition encoding an addressee with *g-o* '3-SRC' (§12.3.4) is right-dislocated, while in (120), a verbal postposition encoding a beneficiary with *g-ege* '3AN-BEN' (§12.3.6) is right-dislocated.

119. *En   Gewal no   bari   nona   gu-sura   ruquk, **eme***
     person Gewal OBL   PROX.AN   Miss   3AN-ask   always mother
     ***Eta   g-o**.*
     Eta   3-SRC   [Bk-14.011]

    'These people in Gewal ask after Miss constantly, mother Eta (they ask).'

120. *Wendi   bari   g-iri   kumu,   **g-ege**.*
     Wendi   PROX.AN   3AN-leg message   3AN-BEN

    'Wendy here was massaging his leg, for him (she did it).'   [Bk-43.052]

A right-dislocated NP is occasionally co-referent with an NP in the clause. In (121), *zo* 'mango' appears in the clause encoding the P and right-dislocated where the description of the mango as ripe is added to. In (122), the right-dislocated NP clarifies the identity of *halaqi* '3PL'.

121. *Nei   zo   zal,   zo   za.*
     1PL.EXCL   mango carry   mango ripe

    'We carried a mango, a ripe mango.'   [Bk-37.072]

122. ***Halaqi** mos   t-o   koko baqa   goet, **makoqan~makoqan***
     3PL   also RECP-SRC   test NPRX.INAN   LIKE, poet~REDUP
     ***bi**.*
     DEF.AN

    'They also tested each other liked that, the different poets (did).'   [Bk-70.037]

Temporal settings (§4.4) also appear occasionally appear right-dislocated, where the speaker seeks to clarify the time-reference of the clause, as in (123). Finally, predicates also occasionally appear right-dislocated, where the speaker seeks to clarify the nature of the verb. In (124), *pesiar* 'stroll' appears with *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' (§11.4.5.1) in a right-dislocated position where it elaborates on the nature of the joint motion denoted by *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' in the clause.

123. *Uen* *tekeq,* ***nei*** ***n-on*** ***no.***
      one   look.at   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-hand   OBL
      'One would watch (it), in our time (lit. in our hand).'   [Bk-38.072]

124. *Halaqi* *na* *te-rel,* ***te-rel*** ***pesiar.***
      3PL   FOC   RECP-INS   RECP-INS   stroll
      'It is they who (go) together, (that is) stroll together.'   [Bk-38.020]

4.7.2.2 Fronting and other clause internal word order variation

Non-dislocation, or clause-internal word-order variation, is defined by the absence of 'comma intonation' and copying. In this section, I will discuss fronting of elements to a position before the S/A and movement of elements to preverbal position. These positions are associated with the pragmatic property of focus, which functions to present 'new' information. A focused position may provide new information completing a perceived gap in the hearer's knowledge (Dik 1989: 392), or pick out prominent new information, often which is in contrast to some other piece of information (Choi 1996).

Throughout §4.2, it was seen that NPs encoding the arguments of a verbal predicate could be reordered such that a non-S/A argument could appear before the S/A. This was called 'fronting' and is only relevant to non-S/A arguments, since S/A typically precede other arguments in an unmarked clause order. The examples in (125-126) present instances of P-fronting. In (125b) the P (bolded) is fronted, as it constitutes new information which completes the hearer's understanding of the conditions under which a young couple could go walking together as described in (125b). The clause in (125c) then further explains the new information given in (125b).

125. a. *Te-rel* *mele* *mos.*
          RECP-INS   walk   also
          '(We) would walk together as well.'   [Bk-38.037]

b. ***Meaq gol uen*** *nei* *gi-al.*

child   one   1PL.EXCL   3AN-take

'A child we would take along.'   [Bk-38.038]

c. *Ret* *mele* *niq,* *tut.*

alone   walk   NEG   past

'(We) didn't walk (together) alone, (we didn't) back then.'   [Bk-38.039]

In (126c) we see P-fronting used to pick out a prominent piece of new information (bolded). In the preceding discourse, illustrated in (126a-b), the speaker relates the quickness to anger he observed in the Makasai and Fataluku, in response to a question on what those people's were like. In (126c), he changes tack in his description offering this new characterisation of the people and their language.

126. a. *Bai* *gol* *uen,* *t-oqon, t-ota* *baqa* *goet* *los.*

thing   small   one   RECP-do RECP-stab   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   very

'A little thing, (and they) fight (and) stab each other like that.' [Bk-61.074]

b. *En* *Makasai* *en* *Fataluku,* *baqi* *na*

person   Makasai   person   Fataluku   NPRX.INAN   FOC

baqa *goet.*

NPRX.INAN   LIKE

'Makasai people (and) Fataluku people, they are like that.'   [Bk-61.075]

c. ***En*** *halaqi g-iol* *i* *tara* *soqat.*

person   3PL   3AN-voice   1PL.INCL   know   hard

'Their language we know with difficulty.'   [Bk-61.085]

The example in (127) illustrates a very unusual instance involving fronting of a peripheral. In (127a) the peripheral NP introduced by the comitative *g-utu* '3-COM' (§12.3.1) is fronted, as a phrase asserting prominent new information on the basis of which the predication is to be understood. The proposition denoted by (127a) is in turn contrasts with that denoted by (127b), since the young midwife is not so used to walking in sandals on muddy ground. This is the only example of its kind in the corpus.

127. a. *Homo,* ***sendel g-utu*** *nei* *roe* *toman*

CONTR.INAN sandal   3-COM   1PL.EXCL   SPEC.INAN   accustomed

oa, *mele.*

PFV walk

'Yet, with sandals we here were already accustomed, (to) walk (that is).'

[Bk-37.033]

b. *Mete*   *en*   *gol*   *bidan*   *Jawa* *gi-e* *roi*

NOW   person small midwife   Jawa 3-POSS SPEC.INAN

woa   *mele* *kou.*

woa   walk   slip

'Now this young midwife from Java was -woa- walking (and) slipping.'

[Bk-37.035]

In addition to fronting, Bunaq uses the immediately preverbal position to express focus. As in many verb final languages, the preverbal position is associated with unmarked focus (Kim 1988). Unlike fronting which focuses a P or much less frequently a peripheral element in a clause where there only other element expressed is an A or an S respectively, preverbal focus effects the ordering of P/R, T and peripheral NPs relative to one another and requires that more than one of these occur in the clause. Some examples are discussed below.

In §4.2.3, we saw that the T of a trivalent verb could, in addition to its unmarked postverbal position, occur in a position before the verb. Example (128) illustrates this. In (128a) both the P (him) and the T (water) of *g-ege* '3AN-give' are elided under anaphora from the preceding discourse. In (128b), we see that the T occurs in the pre-verbal focus position: the water in the bucket that was given is in contrastive focus with the water which was not given in the previous clause.

128.   a. *Waqen*   *g-ege*   *heten* *niq.*

PART   3AN-give   want   NEG

'Some didn't want to give (him any water).'   [Bk-6.025]

b. *Pana*   *gol*   *uen*   *na*   **ri-e**   *il*   *kokoq* *no*

female   small one   FOC   REFL-POSS   water bucket OBL

ba   **g-ege.**

DEF.INAN   3AN-give

'It was one girl who gave (him) the water in her bucket.'   [Bk-6.026]

In §4.4, we saw that the unmarked position of most peripheral constituents is following the ARG₁ (S/A of a verbal clause) and preceding the ARG₂ (P or OBL of a verbal clause) where one is expressed. The unmarked word order is illustrated in (129) with benefactive *g-ege* '3AN-BEN' (§12.3.6) preceding the P. By contrast, (130) shows a marked word order, with *g-ege* '3AN-BEN' following the P. This preverbal position functions to place focus on the beneficiary, emphasising that the oranges were picked

just for him. Note that the 3rd person ANIMATE agreement on the predicate *iwal* 'pick' is with the P, headed by the ANIMATE noun *sabul* 'orange'.

129. **G-ege**   *tuat*   *bolu*   *uen*   *h-oqon.*
     3AN-BEN   cake   ball   one   3INAN-make

     '(She) made a cake for him.'   [LB-8.127]

130. *Sabul* *bolu*   *hiloqon*   *bi*   **g-ege**   *g-iwal.*
     orange   ball   two   DEF.AN   3AN-BEN   3AN-pick

     '(They) picked the two oranges for him.'   [Bk-4.042]

Finally, in (131) and (132) we see that *no* 'OBL' introduces an NP referring to the goal location of a P as part of the act of setting and dividing respectively. Example (131) represents the unmarked word ordering, with P preceding the locative PP. In (132) the ordering is marked, with the locative PP preceding the P. In (132) the P is focussed, highlighting the pragmatically unusual point that the participants are eating uncooked rice grain, as opposed to cooked rice.

131. *Baqa*   **hoto**   **wa**   **no**   *lai.*
     NPRX.INAN   fire   top   OBL   set

     '(You) set that on top of the fire.'   [Bk-76.069]

132. *Halaqi* **bogeq~bogeq** **no**   *piral*   *t-ege*   *ge-neq.*
     3PL   plate~REDUP   OBL   grain   RECP-BEN   3AN-divide

     'They divide up the grain onto plates for each other.'   [Bk-6.036]

4.7.2.3   Animacy effects on word-order

The A of a bivalent verb always comes as the first NP expressed in the clause in a pragmatically neutral ordering, regardless of the animacy of the participants. So, for instance, (133) is a pragmatically unmarked clause in which an inanimate A occurs before an animate P. Were the P, *en* 'person', to precede the A, i.e. be fronted, then the referent of P would be pragmatically focused in the clause.

	A		P	PERI		P-V	
133.	*Tues*	*ba*	*en*	*hik*	*a-ta*	*g-ebek*	*niq.*
	fine	DEF.INAN	person	path	3INAN-GL	3AN-turn	NEG

     'The fines don't turn people to the path.'   [Bk-53.102]

However, in the absence of an agentive predicate, the pragmatically unmarked linear ordering of NPs in a clause is determined by person and animacy, as per the hierarchy in Figure 4.4 (after the first animacy hierarchy proposed by Silverstein 1976). The hierarchy says that local (1st & 2nd) persons are more eligible for clause-initial position than non-local (3rd) persons, and that semantically animate 3rd persons are more eligible for clause-initial position than semantically inanimate 3rd persons.[10]

Figure 4.4: Hierarchy for ordering of non-agentive clauses
1st & 2nd persons > animate 3rd persons > inanimate 3rd persons

Cross-linguistically, the role that animacy plays in determining the ordering of arguments in (di)transitive sentences is well-known, with the principle that an animate entity should occur at the beginning of a sentence being referred to as the 'Animate First principle' (e.g., Bock and Warren 1985, Tomlin 1986, van Nice and Dietrich 2003). The Bunaq reflex of this principle is interesting, because it does not apply to bivalent (or transitive) clauses as in many languages, but only clauses in which the predicate does not involve an agentive argument, e.g., in experiencer constructions etc. (cf. similar examples in Foley 1986: 121-127, 190-194, Pawley 2000). In this section, I will briefly illustrate the ways in which the hierarchy effects the ordering of non-agentive clauses in Bunaq.

Consider the ordering of NPs in (134) and (135). Both examples have non-agentive monovalent verbal predicates with the S, *memel* 'sickness'; NPs encoded by a verbal postposition, *ni-ta* '1EXCL-GL' and *g-o* '3-SRC' respectively, denote the experiencer of the sickness. The verbal postpositions occur between the S and the predicate as would be expected from the description in §4.4. However, the independent nominal constituents encoding the nominal complement of the verbal postpositions, i.e. *neto* '1SG' and *baqi* 'NPRX.AN', precede the S. This is because the 1st person and 3rd person ANIMATE referents respectively are higher on the above hierarchy than that of the S. Where the complement of the verbal postposition are expressed by independent nominal constituents, this ordering is the pragmatic neutral ordering; having the S clause-initially constitutes is pragmatically marked.

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[10] The local versus non-local person distinction plays a role in other parts of Bunaq grammar, namely, the obligatoriness of pronouns co-indexing prefixes (§6.1.1) and the choice of determiner with a pronoun (§6.1.2).

	PERI	S	PERI-VpP	V
134.	*Neto*	*memel*	***ni*-ta**	*topol.*
	1SG	sickness	1EXCL-GL	fall

'Sickness fell to me.', i.e. 'I fell sick.'   [Bk-46.057]

	PERI	S	PERI-VpP	V
135.	*Baqi*	*memel*	***g*-o**	*re.*
	NPRX.AN	sickness	3-SRC	right

'Sickness righted against her', i.e. 'She was struck down sick.'   [Bk-70.084]

A similar ordering phenomenon can be observed in (136) and (137). Both examples have the non-agentive verbal predicate *kaeq* 'filled', which subcategorises for an S and an OBL (§10.6.1) Both S and OBL have inanimate referents and are ordered neutrally with respect to one another, that is, with the S preceding the OBL. However, in each case, the OBL is an inalienably possessed 'bound' noun (§9.3), whose possessor is animate. These animate possessors are expressed by NPs that occur in clause-initial position, preceding the S. Again, this clause-initial position of the animate possessor is unmarked in these clauses, since the other participants are neither animate nor agentive.

	PSR		S	PSR-OBL	V
136.	*Ola*	*himo*	*keke*	***g*-on**	*kaeq.*
	LOW	CONTR.INAN	bracelet	3AN-hand	filled

'That one down there's hands were filled with bracelets.'   [Bk-68.066]

	PSR	S	PSR-OBL	V	
137.	*Bui*	*Guloq*	*sele*	***g*-iwiq**	*kaeq*	*oa.*
	Bui	Guloq	sand	3AN-body	filled	PFV

'Bui Guloq's body was filled with sand.'   [LB-5.123]

In the previous examples, we have seen a 1st person outranking a 3rd person INANIMATE and a 3rd person animate outranking a 3rd person inanimate. Example (138) illustrates a 1st person outranking a 3rd person animate: the initial NP, *neto* '1SG', refers to the possessor of the inalienably possessed 'bound' noun that is the NP complement of the predicative postposition, *no* 'OBL'. Example (139) illustrates a 2nd person outranking a 3rd person animate: the initial pronominal, *eto* '2SG', refers to the possessor of the inalienably possessed 'bound' noun, the predicate of the equative clause.

	PSR	SUBJECT		[PRED PSR-NP	POSTPOSITION]	
138.	*Neto*	*Yati*	*bari*	*n-oq*	*no*	*taq.*
	1SG	Yati	PROX.AN	1EXCL-belly	OBL	IPFV

'This Yati was still in my belly.', i.e. 'I was still pregnant with Yati'

[Bk-2.002]

	PSR	SUBJECT	[PRED PSR-NP]
139.	*Eto*	*eme*	*Ø-owo.*
	2SG	mother	1INCL/2-conceiver

'(Your) mother was your conceiver.' [OS-07.03]

There are no examples in which a 1st person and a 2nd person co-occur in a non-agentive clause. It remains to be seen how they are ordered relative to one another.

Chapter 5: Noun phrases

This chapter is concerned with introducing the noun phrase (NP) in Bunaq. The NP is prototypically a referring expression, that is, it is used to refer to entities in a possible world. As mentioned in §3.2, NPs chiefly serve as the arguments of predicates.

The template for the Bunaq NP is given in Figure 5.1. The figure represents a maximally 'extended' NP that includes locationals (LCT) at the left periphery of the NP, followed by a possessor (PSR), and a determiner (DET) occurring at the right periphery of the NP. At the 'core' of the Bunaq NP is the head noun (N_{HEAD}), followed by a nominal modifier (N_{MOD}) and a relative clause (RC).

Figure 5.1: Template of the extended NP

LCT PSR [$_{CORE}$ N_{HEAD} N_{MOD} RC] DET

Nouns in Bunaq belong to either the INANIMATE or ANIMATE noun class; the N_{HEAD} gives its noun class to the whole of the NP. No item in the NP is obligatory, and the N_{HEAD} is readily elided where its referent is contextually or anaphorically retrievable. However, in some cases, the presence of one item syntactically requires the presence of another constituent in the NP. The following syntactic constraints are observed:

a.   if an N_{MOD} is expressed, then a N_{HEAD} must be overtly expressed (see §5.3);
b.   if an RC is restrictive, the N_{HEAD} must be overtly expressed (see §5.4.2);
c.   if a definite article occurs as determiner, then another NP constituent must be expressed (see §7.4);
d.   if an addressee-centered locational occurs, then another NP constituent must be expressed (see §8.3.4).

This chapter focuses on the constituents of the NP core as well as strategies for quantifying and coordinating NPs. Specific topics relevant to the extended NP and its constituents are discussed in subsequent chapters: Chapter 6 discusses pronouns and other forms of person reference; Chapter 7 describes the functions and meanings of determiners; Chapter 8 treats deictics; and, Chapter 9 describes the different types of adnominal possessors.

5.1 Introduction

The NP core consists of an N_{HEAD} and its modifiers. The N_{HEAD} of an NP can be a noun (§3.2), a pronoun (§3.5.1) or an interrogative (§3.5.2). The N_{HEAD} gives its noun class to the whole of the NP.

An N_{MOD} may directly follow the N_{HEAD}. An N_{MOD} is a noun describing a property of the referent of an N_{HEAD}, such as its shape, sex or size. Up to two N_{MOD}s can modify a single N_{HEAD}, though the second N_{MOD} is lexically restricted.

Following an N_{MOD}, a relative clause can be expressed. An RC may be non-restrictive (head unmarked) or restrictive (head marked with *na* 'FOC').

In addition to these modifiers, Bunaq has a variety of items used to express quantity in the NP (QUANT) that neither fit into any word class, such as numeral or verb, nor display uniform morphosyntactic properties among themselves. Depending on the individual lexical item, a QUANT may precede N_{HEAD}, or occur between an N_{MOD} and a RC or following an RC.

Figure 5.2 presents an overview of the elaborated template of the NP core that has been described here. Different aspects of this template will be discussed and exemplified throughout this chapter.

Figure 5.2: Elaborated template of the NP core

QUANT N_{HEAD} N_{MOD} N_{MOD} QUANT RC QUANT

In §5.2 I discuss the N_{HEAD} property of noun class and look at the division of nominals between ANIMATE and INANIMATE noun class. In §5.3 I deal with N_{MOD}. §5.4 looks at the expression of relative clauses, while §5.5 is concerned with non-verbal, non-numeral quantificational strategies in the NP. Finally, §5.6 looks at different functional strategies for coordination of nominals.

5.2 Nominal classification

Bunaq has a category 'noun class' (also known as 'gender'). That is, nouns are lexically specified for the noun class they are assigned to, with distinct agreement patterns being associated with each noun class (Aikhenvald 2000, Corbett 1991).

The Bunaq nominal classification system involves a two-way class distinction of ANIMATE versus INANIMATE noun class.[1] The system has a strong semantic basis, that is, in most cases it is sufficient to know the meaning of a noun in order to determine its noun class. However, the basic pattern is complicated by the inclusion of entities that lack discernable semantic animacy in the ANIMATE noun class on the basis of their association with real-world animates. That is, whilst all nouns denoting animates are of ANIMATE noun class, a small set of nouns denoting inanimates are of ANIMATE noun class; the remaining (majority of) inanimates belong to the INANIMATE noun class (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Bunaq noun class assignment

		Semantic animacy	
		animate	inanimate
NOUN CLASS	ANIMATE	✓✓✓	✓
	INANIMATE	--	✓✓

Following a brief overview of noun class agreement in §5.2.1, I discuss the classification of animates in §5.2.2 and inanimates in §5.2.3. Finally, I look at a few cases in which a noun/group of nouns show variable noun class agreement patterns, cases of noun class reassignment in §5.2.4 and a single case of class underspecification in §5.2.5.

5.2.1 Overview of noun class agreement targets

Noun class is a covert property of Bunaq nouns. It is reflected on two agreement targets, prefixes on verbs (§10.1) and determiners (§7.1).[2]

In (1a), the INANIMATE noun *zo* 'mango' is modified by the INANIMATE form of the definite article and does not agree on the verb (see §4.2.2 on differential P agreement).

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[1] Small caps 'ANIMATE' and 'INANIMATE' are used in reference to the grammatical classification of nouns in Bunaq, while lower case 'animate' and 'inanimate' are used in reference to the real-world, semantic animacy of referents. Throughout §5.2, agreement targets and their controllers are bolded.

[2] There are two further individual items that agree with controllers on the basis of noun class: the noun *niat* 'earliest' (§5.3.2) and the floating quantifier *gaqal* 'all.AN' (§13.8.1.3).

In (1b), the ANIMATE noun *zap* 'dog' is modified by the ANIMATE form of the definite article and takes the agreement prefix *gV-* '3AN-' on the verb.

1. a. *Neto* *zo*   *ba*   *tekeq.*
      1SG   mango.INAN   DEF.INAN   watch
      'I'm watching the mangoes.'

   b. *Neto* *zap*   *bi*   *ge-tekeq.*
      1SG   dog.AN   DEF.AN   3AN-watch
      'I'm watching the dog.'   [Not-06.01]

5.2.2 Nouns referring to animates

Classification of nouns with animate referents is relatively uncomplicated: all nouns with sentient, animate referents, both higher (humans, mamals etc.) and lower animates (reptiles, insects etc.), belong to the ANIMATE noun class. There are no biologically sentient entities that are classified as INANIMATE.

Example (2) illustrates ANIMATE agreement with a noun with a human referent on the determiner *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' (as opposed to *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN'; §7.2.2). In (3) and (4) we see verbal ANIMATE agreement with nouns denoting higher animates (mammal) and lower animates respectively.

2. *En*   *baqi*   *Bunaq.*
   person   NPRX.AN   Bunaq
   'That person is Bunaq.'   [Bk-15.006]

3. *Asa Paran Mau Paran* *g-utu* *zap* *ge-rel mele,* *zon* *o* *zulo g-agal.*
   Asa Paran Mau Paran   3-COM dog   3AN-INS walk   wild   AND civet 3AN-seek
   'Asa Paran with Mau Paran went walking taking along dogs, looking wild (pigs) and civets.'   [Bk-4.065]

4. *G-otol*   *keleq* *ga-lalin,*   *tokoq* *gi-wit.*
   3AN-WITHOUT   frog   3AN-bring   gecko   3AN-fetch
   '(The children) without (their parents knowing) brought frogs (and) fetched geckos.'
                                                                 [LB-4.201]

Whilst belonging to the ANIMATE noun class is strongly tied to the noun having an animate referent, ANIMATE agreement is not dependent on the sentience of the referent,

but rather is a lexical property of the noun. Nouns referring to animates take ANIMATE agreement regardless of whether the referent is living or dead. Thus, in (5-6), although their referents are dead as seen by the context, the ANIMATE nouns, *en* 'person' and *zon* 'wild (pig)', take the ANIMATE determiner forms, *bi* 'DEF.AN' and *himo* 'CONTR.AN' (as opposed to *ba* 'DEF.INAN' and *himo* 'CONTR.INAN') respectively.

5. ***En***   *heser*   *bi*   *bei*   *g-utu*   *ti-ta*   *bolu*   *niq.*

    person   dead   DEF.AN   ancestor   3-COM   RECP-GL   united   NEG

    'The dead person is not united together with his ancestors.'   [Bk-18.019]

6. ***Zon***   *himo*   *heser*   *oa.*

    wild   CONTR.AN   dead   PFV

    'The pig was already dead.'   [LB-4.134]

Finally, noun class is a category relevant to 3rd persons only; local (1st and 2nd) persons are not specified for noun class. As such, although the referents of 1st and 2nd pronouns are almost always animate and prototypically human, NPs headed by a 1st and 2nd person pronoun take INANIMATE determiner forms, as in (7-8).[3]

7. ***Neto***   *roe*   *gi-ta*   *zaga.*

    2PL   SPEC.INAN   3AN-GL   watch.over

    'I watched over him.'   [Bk-1.026]

8. ***Ei bare***   *teo*   *gene*   *man?*

    2PL PROX.INAN   where   LOC   come

    'Where have you here come from?'   [LB-3.020]

By contrast, ANIMATE determiners are required for noun phrases headed by a 3rd person pronoun, as in (9).

9. ***Halaqi***   *hitu*   *bi*   *d-opil*   *no*   *d-oter*   *gie.*

    3PL   seven   DEF.AN   REFL-power   LOC   REFL-snatch   PROSP

    'They tried with all their might to tear themselves away.'   [Bk-6.051]

See §6.1.2 for more on pronoun-determiner combinations.

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[3] An alternative approach would be to say that 1st and 2nd pronouns are specified as INANIMATE. This is not favoured here as it would mean positing a very limited and unprincipled exception to the otherwise exceptionless rule that animate referents belong to the ANIMATE noun class.

5.2.3 Nouns referring to inanimates

Nouns with inanimate referents are split between INANIMATE and ANIMATE noun class. That is, whilst all INANIMATE nouns have inanimate referents, some nouns with inanimate referents belong to the ANIMATE noun class. Although items of this kind do not form a very significant proportion of the class of nouns in Bunaq, included amongst them are many high frequency nouns, such that their departure from the standard semantics principle of noun class assignment is very salient.

The assignment of nouns referring to inanimates to ANIMATE noun class is not random. ANIMATE nouns with inanimate referents are not typically semantically isolated instances of ANIMATE noun class, but rather cluster into sets with semantically similar members. And there is evidence to suggest that exceptional assignment of inanimates to ANIMATE noun class does have a semantic basis. For one, children acquiring the language do not appear to have to learn the noun class of items individually.[4] Moreover, loanwords are directly assigned to the same noun class independently by different speakers, both within and across dialects. For instance, the nouns *buku* 'book' (< Indonesian *buku* 'book' < Dutch *boek* 'book') in West Timorese Bunaq dialects and *libru ~ libur* 'book' (< Tetun *libru* 'book' < Portuguese *livru* 'book') in East Timorese Bunaq dialects are both assigned to the ANIMATE noun class (§5.2.3.4).

In the most general terms, assignment of inanimates to ANIMATE class is based on 'association': nouns whose inanimate referents are associated with the animate world may be assigned to the ANIMATE noun class. There are diverse ways in which an inanimate entity can be associated with animates and become part of the ANIMATE class. In Bunaq, the following associations have been observed:

a. physical or behavioural resemblance to animates;
b. belonging to or consisting of animates;
c. being used, controlled or constructed by animates;
d. occupying an important role in the livelihood of animates;
e. mythological connection to animates.

Any individual one or combination of these four different association types can be seen to play into the assignment of an inanimate to ANIMATE noun class. However, noun

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[4] This is based on my own observations of noun class assignment amongst children. I lived in a household with five children between the ages of 6 and 16, and helped at the local pre-school that met once a week for children between the ages of 3 and 6. So I had ample opportunity to observe children's speech.

class assignment by association is a guiding principle only, not an absolute; it does not explain all instances of ANIMATE noun class assignment to inanimate referents, nor why some inanimate referents are not assigned ANIMATE. What is more, an association which allows a noun to be assigned ANIMATE may be indirect: a semantic pattern in the assignment ANIMATE to inanimate referents often appears to be the result of clustering around an initial member/set of members which have a direct association with animates (a phenomenon described, e.g., in Lakoff 1987).

In §5.2.3.1-§5.2.3.7, I look at the main semantic categories of ANIMATE nouns with inanimate referents and consider the basis of their association with animates. Since cultural specific abstractions must be seen as at least partly responsible for the classifications, it is best to think of the following discussion as an attempt to distill various aspects of the way in which Bunaq taxonomize their environment.[5]

5.2.3.1 Nouns referring to entities with animate-like properties

Nouns referring to entities displaying human-like or animal-like properties in either their form or manner of conduct belong to the ANIMATE noun class.

Association of this kind includes nouns referring to members of the spirit world such as: *melo* 'soul', *mugen* 'ghost', *ui* 'spirit', *muk gomo* 'earth spirit' lit. 'earth owner'. Bunaq animist belief centres on the idea that spirits of the dead, both human and animal, occupy portions of their environment. The ANIMATE classification of nouns denoting these referents is thus a reflection of their status as animate in the mortal world.

ANIMATE classification is also given to any item made in the image of an animate entity, such as *aitos* 'wooden/stone figure', *liqas* 'carving of human on house', and *hutus* 'weaving motif'. The ANIMATE classification of *hutus* 'weaving motif' is based on that traditional weaving motifs depicted only animal figures, most typically lizards and geckos (cf. *hutus tokoq* 'gecko motif'). Modern floral themes in weaving motifs (eg. *hutus paen*) are of recent European origin (Yeager and Jacobson 2002: 85). Although they lack the direct association with animates as the original weaving motifs do, because they belong to the class of *hutus*, these motifs are still ANIMATE class.

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[5] As mentioned above, nominal classification is an independent Bunaq development, that is, it is not shared by any of its relatives, nor by any of the surrounding Austronesian languages. The classifications discussed here are, then, based on specifically Bunaq classifications, and not inherited ones.

A final, high frequency, member of this semantic group is the ANIMATE noun *si* 'meat'. Meat is naturally associated with the animal it comes from and its ANIMATE classification reflects this association. In Bunaq we can talk of eating the meat of an animal, as in (10a) where the P is *si* 'meat' N$_{HEAD}$ with *sael* 'pig' as its N$_{MOD}$, or we can eat the animal, as in (10b) where the P is headed by *sael* 'pig'.

10. a. *En   g-utu si   sael   na   gi-a.*
     person 3-COM meat.AN pig.AN FOC   3AN-eat
     '(He) would eat pig meat with people.'   [Bk-70.171]

  b. *Sael gi-wit,   en   g-utu sael   baqi   gi-a.*
     meat   3AN-buy   person 3-COM pig.AN NPRX.AN   3AN-eat
     '(He) would buy (the pig), (and) eat that pig with people.'   [Bk-70.172]

5.2.3.2 Nouns referring to edible plant cultivars

Whilst members of the plant kingdom are typically classified as INANIMATE in Bunaq, a small number of nouns referring to edible products of cultivars are in the ANIMATE noun class. Example (11) illustrates this division with the different agreement patterns of ANIMATE *paqol* 'corn' and INANIMATE *ipi* 'rice'.

11. *Baqi   paqol g-ota   ka,   ipi   hota   ka,...*
     NPRX.AN   corn.AN 3AN-plant OR   rice.INAN plant   OR
     'They plant corn or (they) plant rice,...'   [Bk-3.034]

Table 5.2 presents the most frequently occurring nouns for edible plant cultivars and how they divide between ANIMATE and INANIMATE noun classes. A variety of factors appear to be behind the differential classification of edible cultivars. Immediately apparent is that cultivars of ANIMATE noun class on the whole tend to be more recent introductions into Timor (cf. Fox 1991, Oliveira 2008). However, more broadly, the most significant appears to be the extent of a plant's domestication, the intensity of its agriculture and its general importance as a crop. In the ANIMATE class are the nouns referring to corn, potato and pumpkin, foods which are at the centre of the diets of the Bunaq people and are the focus of agricultural production. By contrast, the crops of the INANIMATE noun class items, such as taro and rice, are on the whole much less significant in the livelihoods of the Bunaq.

Other ANIMATE nouns, such as onions and papayas, are not such important food sources but are plants which do not grow wild in Timor, and whose presence must result from human introduction and deliberate cultivation. By contrast, INANIMATE nouns, such as the tubers *me* and *telo*, are not typically cultivated but are found wild, while other INANIMATE nouns grow in a semiwild state and do not require replanting from year to year, such as bananas and mangos, and, in the case of coconut and betel, readily self-multiply.

Table 5.2: ANIMATE - INANIMATE split in edible plant cultivars

ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
paqol	'corn'	*balo*	'taro'
dila	'papaya'	*uor*	'leafy vegetable'
ope	'pumpkin, cucumber'	*mok*	'banana'
kulo	'jackfruit'	*hoza*	'coconut'
keliq	'soybean'	*ipi*	'rice (plant)'
goiga	'k.o. guava'	*zo*	'mango'
sekal	'potato'	*pao*	'k.o. bean'
in	'onion'	*me*	'k.o. tuber'
dikotel	'cassava'	*telo*	'k.o. tuber'
hoqi	'peanut'	*dik*	'k.o. cassava'
sabul	'orange'	*ho*	'nut, bean'
mura	'pomelo'	*molen*	'sago'
deloq	'lemon'	*ma*	'bamboo'
masin	'lime'	*molo*	'betel vine'

Finally, the ANIMATE classification of citrus fruits appears to be the result of a mythological association. In Bunaq folktales, *sabul* 'orange' represent women, and in my corpus are three separate stories in which oranges transform into women. This association appears to underlie the assignment of *sabul* 'orange' to ANIMATE noun class, with the classification being extended to other nouns referring to citrus on account of their similarity to oranges, although they do not themselves have a direct association with an animate. They are no INANIMATE nouns referring to citrus.

5.2.3.3 Nouns referring to items of human production

Items produced by humans are split between the ANIMATE and INANIMATE noun classes. The broad pattern of assignment appears to be that things in nature, such as earth, wood etc., and that are controlled by humans tend to be classified as ANIMATE, while less human influenced things are generally INANIMATE. For instance, INANIMATE *hut* 'thatch' refers to a dried palm leaf still its natural state before being tied to the roof, while ANIMATE *esaq* 'palm leaf rip' denotes a palm leaf that has been stripped of its leaves. The latter ANIMATE noun is changed in form directly at the hands of a human, while the former INANIMATE noun retains its natural shape and is changed in form by the sun.

Table 5.3 presents some of the most common nouns illustrating the opposition in the classifications of items of human production. Included in the ANIMATE class are nouns referring to elements such as earth, wood and plant matter, parts of the natural non-human world, which have been processed by humans into forms for their own use. By contrast, INANIMATE class nouns refer to cultural items which are inherently associated with the human world, including semantic fields such as food preparation, shelter, clothing and metal tools.

Table 5.3: ANIMATE - INANIMATE split in goods of human production

ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
hasan	'water drain, gutter'	*uer*	'pot (earthen/metal)'
kanu	'rice-paddy bank'	*bogeq*	'wooden bowl'
solo	'drain, gutter'	*suluq*	'spoon (wood/metal)'
keu	'stake, wedge'	*deu*	'house'
teuq	'ground stake'	*tazuq*	'door'
hequ	'whistle'	*tais*	'cloth'
kurus	'cross, crucifix'	*mun*	'rope'
kuteq	'spinning top'	*turiq*	'machete'
satan	'crossbeam'	*nut*	'k.o. metal hoe'
sabi	'key'	*taka*	'woven basket'
oe	'rattan'	*hoto*	'fire'
magap	'bamboo fire torch'	*wilik*	'fan'
wetin	'firesticks, torch'	*le*	'daylight'
barut	'candlenut (lamp)'	*guel*	'morning light'

One further group of nouns of ANIMATE class refers to small portable, modern appliances, such as *tifi* 'TV', *radio* 'radio', *kaset* 'cassette', *kabel* 'electrical cable'. By contrast, large modern items are INANIMATE, e.g. *satelit* 'satellite dish', *genset* 'generator', *pesawat* 'aeroplane' etc. These words are all borrowed from Indonesian.

5.2.3.4 Nouns referring to oral and written forms of literature

Nouns referring to forms of oral literature and writing, including any implement involved in the activity of writing, are classified as ANIMATE, such as: *zapal* 'folktale', *libur por* 'bible, lit. holy book', *sejara* 'history', *cerita* 'story', *surat* 'letter', *buku* 'book', *pena* 'pen'. We can see that many nouns of this class are borrowings from Indonesian. ANIMATE agreement for items of this set is illustrated in (12).

12. *Hot   baq   no   **zapal**   **ga**-sasi   niq.*
    sun   noon   OBL   folktale.AN   3AN-say   NEG
    'During the day (we) don't tell folktales.'   [Bk-70.102]

The connection between the diverse elements of this class appears to stem from the fact that traditional forms of storytelling are closely associated with the animate entities that are characters in them. *Zapal* 'folktales' are associated with one or more animate referents and are typically named after them: for instance, *Zapal Suri Guloq* 'Story (of) Suri the Youngest', or *Zapal Bui o Mau* 'Story (of) Bui and Mau'. I suggest that due to the close association between folktales and their animate subjects, the noun *zapal* is classified as ANIMATE.

Similarly, the notion of history for the Bunaq people is centered around the identification of ancestors and description of their journeys (cf. Berthe 1972). This association between ancestors and the telling of history appears to underlie the ANIMATE class assignment of borrowed words in this semantic field, for instance, with Indonesian *sejara* 'history' illustrated in (13).

13. *Neto   **sejara**   tut   gi-e   **g**-apal   tanan   loï   niq.*
    1SG   history.AN   past   3-POSS 3AN-open   too   good   NEG
    'I can't reveal too much of the history of the past'   [Bk-67.021]

5.2.3.5 Nouns referring to items of clothing & jewellery

The total number of ANIMATE items in the domain of clothing and jewellery is small. Table 5.4 presents a complete list of ANIMATE items in the corpus identified for this domain with some representative examples from the INANIMATE class to illustrate the oppositions involved.

The split between ANIMATE and INANIMATE in the domain of clothing and jewellery is based upon boundness to the body. Items which are closely fitted to or around the body are classified as ANIMATE, whereas items which are open in form (eg. clasps) and which do not grasp the body firmly of themselves are INANIMATE. In particular, items which are fixed around the waist are always ANIMATE. Thus, trousers and cloths that are fastened around the waist with either a belt or by means of being sown closed or having their own fastening are ANIMATE. By contrast, clothing which remain unfastened at the waist such as shirts and open cloths that are folded and tucked around the waist are INANIMATE.

The basis of the association between tightly fitting or fixed items and animates seems to be that they are physically fastened or bound tightly to an animate and are thus in a sense also animate. By indirect association, items which are used in fastening clothing and jewellery, such as buttons, zips and belts, are also classified ANIMATE.

Table 5.4: ANIMATE - INANIMATE split in clothing/jewellery

ANIMATE nouns		INANIMATE nouns	
dikit	'ring'	*kaebauk*	'k.o. metal headdress'
kabata	'k.o. large earring'	*lesu*	'k.o. metal headdress'
karubu	'earring'	*peq*	'necklace'
keke	'tight bracelet'	*kabitun*	'forearm clasp'
kacamata	'glasses'	*luketon*	'upper arm clasp'
boru / *celana*	'trousers'	*lipa*	'k.o. white ikat'
doq tiq	'cloth sown in a tube to fit waist'	*kaluk*	'pocket, bag'
bolas	'wide male belt'	*jaket*	'jacket'
butan	'button'	*tais*	'cloth'
tarik	'zip'	*haru*	'shirt, clothes'

5.2.3.6 Nouns referring to money and currency

Nouns denoting types of money and currency are classified as ANIMATE, such as: *hatak* 'gold coin', *dolar* 'dollar', *rupia* 'rupiah', *nota* 'bill', *doqit* 'cash', and *uang* 'money'. These nouns appear all to be borrowed either from Indonesian/Malay or Tetun. The noun *sasikun* 'hairpin' is assigned to the ANIMATE class, because of its being made from a *hatak* 'gold coin'. The ANIMATE classification of currency nouns is illustrated in (14) with *dolar* taking an ANIMATE determiner form, and with *uang* taking ANIMATE agreement on *h-osok* '3INAN-receive'.

14. **Dolar**   **himo**   *tebe*   *tuqal,*   *neto*   **uang**   *Indonesia*
    dollar.AN   CONTR.AN   return   exchange   1SG   money.AN   Indonesia

    gi-e   **g-osok.**
    3-POSS   3AN-receive

    'Change those dollars back, I get Indonesian money.'   [Bk-11.006]

ANIMATE classification of currency nouns probably resulted from a general association between the cash economy and developed human culture. This is suggested by the fact that, while ANIMATE class items refer to introduced currencies, traditional forms of payment in Bunaq culture that predate the modern cash economy are classified INANIMATE, such as: *tumel* 'metal' (but now also used to mean 'money'), *belak* 'silver chest plate', *tain* 'silver plate', *buleqen* 'gold, red' and *belis* 'silver, white'.

5.2.3.7 Nouns referring to rocks

Nouns referring to different types of rocks are classified ANIMATE in Bunaq, for instance: *hol* 'stone, rock', *bosok* 'large rounded stone pile representing an ancestor', *mot* 'stone ritual area containing *bosok*', *ari* 'grinding stone', *bon* 'gaming stone'. This assignment is illustrated in (15):

15. **Bon**   **baqi**   *heser*   **gaqal.**
    gaming.stone.AN   NPRX.AN   dead   all.AN

    'The gaming stones are all knocked over.'   [Bk-10.017]

In Bunaq mythology, the apical ancestors are believed to have turned into stone on death, and rock features in the landscape are often identified as ancestral personages. *Mot* are stone ceremonial areas where rituals worshipping ancestors are carried out; they are not only icons for the clan, the ancestors and their descendants, but also

typically contain several *bosok,* stones believed to represent various ancestors.[6] The mythological association between ancestral identities and stones appears to have meant that nouns referring to those stones are classified as ANIMATE and by extension other nouns referring to stones.

5.2.4 Noun class reassignment

INANIMATE class nouns from a small number of semantic fields can occasionally be reassigned to the ANIMATE noun class in order to highlight a particular association between the referent and an animate or group of animates.

5.2.4.1 Reassignment in reference to groups of animates

Nouns referring to clans are typically INANIMATE, but can be construed as ANIMATE where emphasis is placed on the fact that the clan is composed of humans. Nouns showing this variation include *deu* 'house', *suku* 'clan', *turunan* 'descendance'. The examples in (16) illustrate the variation with *suku* 'clan'. In (16a), *suku* refers to the names of the clans that the referent of *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' sought; the lack on animate agreement on *s-agal* '3INAN-seek' shows the INANIMATE classification of *suku.* In (16b), *suku* refers to the members of the clans that had come together to sit in meeting; the form of the determiner *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' shows the ANIMATE classification.

16. a. **En   gi-e   suku~suku,   baqi   s-agal.**
    person   3-POSS   clan~REDUP   NPRX.AN   3INAN-seek
    'Those people's clans, he sought.'   [Bk-70.023]

   b. **Suku   baqi   mit   soq   oa.**
      clan   NPRX.AN   sit   SEQ   PFV
      'Those clan (members) now sat.'   [Bk-23.018]

Agreement variation of this kind is also observed in reference to vehicles that can carry a group of people, such as *bis* 'bus', *oto* 'car' and *kreta* 'train'. These nouns are typically INANIMATE, as in (17a), but are very occasionally reassigned ANIMATE, as in

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[6] This is a feature of traditional religion across Timor, and multiple anthropological studies have recognised the importance of 'rock' in the ancestral religion of Timor (e.g. Fox 1989, Fox 2006, McWilliam 2006).

(17b), when there is emphasis on the vehicle as containing a collection of human individuals.

17. a. ***Bis***   ***ba***   *mele*   *oa.*   b. ***Bis***   ***bi***   *mele*   *oa.*

     bus   DEF.INAN   walk   PFV   bus   DEF.AN   walk   PFV

     'The bus is gone.'   'The bus (carrying people) is gone.'

                                                       [Not.07-03]

5.2.4.2 Reassignment in reference to controlled natural elements

In §5.2.3.3, we saw that inanimate nouns referring to items made of natural elements had a tendency to be INANIMATE, whereas things less influenced by humans and as ANIMATE where there was greater manipulation by humans. There are also instances where an INANIMATE noun is reassigned to ANIMATE noun class where the referent shows greater human influence.

The two pairs of sentences in (18-19) illustrate the contrasting classifications possible for the nouns *g-iri* '3AN-leg' and *il* 'water'. In (18a) *g-iri* '3AN-leg' refers to the leg of a human individual and is classified as INANIMATE, while in (18b) it refers to the supporting posts of a house and is ANIMATE.[7] Similarly in (19a) *il* 'water' refers to water drawn from a river and is INANIMATE, whilst in (19b) it denotes water which is artificially flooded into a rice paddy from a river and is ANIMATE.

18. a. ***G-iri***   ***baqa***   *tugal.*

     3-leg   NPRX.INAN   break

     'That leg of his was broken.'   [Bk-1.024]

   b. ***G-iri***   *hiloqon*   ***himo***   ***g****-al.*

     3-leg   two   CONTR.AN   3AN-erect

     '(We) erect the two legs (of the trap).'   [Bk-32.008]

19. a. *Pana*   *gol*   *uen*   *na*   *ri-e*   ***il***   *kokoq*   *no*   ***ba***

     female   small   one   FOC   REFL-POSS   water   bucket   OBL   DEF.INAN

     g*-ege.*

     3AN-give

     '(There was) one girl who gave him the water in her bucket.'   [Bk-6.026]

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[7] Note Bunaq does not systematically use body-parts in reference to parts of inanimate things.

b.
Ipi	pelek	haqal	soq	bu,	i	il	ga-tama	oa.
rice	plant	finsihed	SEQ	GIVEN	1PL.INCL	water	3AN-bring.in	PFV

'Once the rice is all planted, then we bring in the water.'   [Bk-51.018]

5.2.5 Underspecification: *hotel* 'tree, wood'

There is one noun, *hotel*, in Bunaq, which varies so frequently in its agreement patterns that it appears to not have an entirely fixed, lexical noun class. Rather it appears to encode two related lexical concepts whose separate identity is clear from the fact that they are treated separately in the grammar. Meaning variously 'tree' or 'wood', *hotel* displays variable nominal classification dependent on the broad semantic criteria of animacy as associated with the nature of the referent. Nominal classification of this item is often manipulated to create various subtle discourse effects.

When the referent is growing and fixed in the earth, *hotel* is assigned to the ANIMATE noun class, as in (20). When the referent is dead and/or removed from the tree, *hotel* is assigned to the INANIMATE noun class. In (21), *hotel* refers to old, fallen wood and is assigned to INANIMATE class, while in (22) *hotel* refers to green, freshly chopped wood. A similar part-whole distinction can also be seen to effect choice of ANIMATE versus INANIMATE possessor prefixes on certain bound nouns (§9.3).

20. **Hotel** *himo* *g-iep.*

Hotel	himo	g-iep.
tree	CONTR.AN	3AN-chop

'(They) chop those trees down.'   [Bk-3.010]

21. *Halaqi* *goniqon* *di-e* **hotel** *ba* *dele* *tebe.*

Halaqi	goniqon	di-e	hotel	ba	dele	tebe.
3PL	three	REFL-POSS	wood	DEF.INAN	INS	return

'The three of them return with their own wood.'   [LB5.013]

22. **Hotel** *na* *wit* *o,* *h-ini* *ugar* *minak.*

Hotel	na	wit	o,	h-ini	ugar	minak.
wood	FOC	fetch	AND	3INAN-call	green	completely

'(She) fetched wood and (her mother) said it was all green.'   [Bk-6.004]

Assignment of noun class to *hotel* is also used to create effects more subtle than those captured in English by the independent lexemes 'tree' and 'wood'. In (23) a child in despair addresses the trees surrounding him as he searches for the parts for his mother's loom: in (23a) *hotel* is treated as INANIMATE, but then in (23b) it is treated as ANIMATE. According to native speaker introspections about this variation, the initial

INANIMATE classification implies that the child addresses the trees but does not believe that they can hear him, while the later ANIMATE assignment suggests that they are sentient and that the child expects a response to his imploration.

23. a. **Hotel** **ba**   *g-o*   *di-e*   *eme*   *gi-e*   *atis*
       tree   DEF.INAN   3-SRC   REFL-POSS   mother   3-POSS   p.o.loom
       o   *nolu*   *sura.*
       AND   p.o.loom   ask
       '(The child) asked the trees about his mother's loom parts.'   [Bk-49.010]

    b. *Atis*   *o*   *nola*   *sura,*   **hotel**   **bi**   *g-ege*   *baqa*
       p.o.loom AND   p.o.loom   ask   tree   DEF.AN   3AN-BEN   NPRX.INAN
       goet   *on,...*
       LIKE   DO
       'Asking about the loom parts, (he) went like this to the tree,...'   [Bk-49.011]

5.3   N_{MOD} modifiers of N_{HEAD}

An N$_{MOD}$ is a noun which modifies an N$_{HEAD,}$ describing a property of it, such as shape, sex or size. An N$_{MOD}$ occurs directly following the N$_{HEAD}$. An N$_{MOD}$ cannot occur without an explicit N$_{HEAD}$. Examples of an N$_{MOD}$ modifying an N$_{HEAD}$ are:

24. a. *en*   *pana*   b. *g-iol*   *Kemak*
       person   female   3AN-voice   Kemak
       'female person'   'Kemak language'

    c. *sabul*   *bolu*   d. *sael*   *zon*
       orange   ball   pig   wild.animal
       'orange fruit'   'wild pig'

Unlike NN compounds (§3.2.1), multiple N$_{MOD}$s coordinated by *o* 'AND' can modify a single N$_{HEAD}$. Multiple N$_{MOD}$ are:

25. a. *en* [$_{MOD}$*pana*   *o*   *mone*]   b. *g-iol* [$_{MOD}$ *Emaq o*   *Bunaq*]
       person   female   AND   male   3AN-voice   Kemak   AND   Bunaq
       'females and males'   'Kemak and Bunaq languages'

c. *sabul* [_{MOD} *bolu o   bul*]   d. *sael* [_{MOD} *zon   o   hina*]

   orange   ball AND base   pig   wild.an. AND domestic.an

   'orange fruits and trunks'   'wild and domestic pigs'

That N_{MOD} can be coordinated with *o* 'and' indicates that N_{MOD} is not a simple modifying N in an NN compound. Rather it suggests that N_{MOD} occurs on the same syntactic level as verbal modifiers, i.e. non-restrictive RCs, as they can also be coordinated in this manner (§5.6.2).

The N_{HEAD} controls agreement, not the N_{MOD}. Compare the agreement patterns shown by the NPs containing *bolu* 'ball' in (26) in which both *sabul* 'orange' and *tuat* 'cake' are modified by the INANIMATE noun *bolu* 'ball'. In (26a) the head of the object NP is *sabul* 'orange' which, as an ANIMATE class noun, triggers ANIMATE agreement on the definite article and on the verb *iwal* 'pick'. In (26b) the head noun *tuat* is INANIMATE and thus triggers INANIMATE agreement on the verb *h-oqon* '3INAN-make'.

26. a. [_{NP} **Sabul**   **bolu**   **hiloqon**   **bi**]   *g-ege*   **g-iwal.**

        orange.AN   ball.INAN   two   DEF.AN   3AN-BEN   3AN-pick

        '(They) picked the two oranges for him.'   [Bk-4.042]

   b. *G-ege*   [_{NP} **tuat**   **bolu**   **uen**] **h-oqon.**

       3AN-BEN   cake.INAN   ball.INAN   one   3INAN-make

       '(She) made a cake for him.'   [LB-8.127]

Note that the different placements of beneficiary encoding *g-ege* '3AN-BEN' in these examples is irrelevant here. See §4.7.2.2 on the word order variation.

5.3.1 Inalienably possessed nouns as N_{MOD}

A few bound nouns (§9.3) are used in their 3rd person form as N_{MOD}. For instance, *g-ol* '3AN-child' in (27a) and *g-amal* '3AN-male animal' in (28a) must be in the 3rd person form inflection, with the other person inflections being ungrammatical (27b & 287b).

27. a. *mone*   *g-ol*   b. **mone*   *n-ol*

        male   3AN-child   male   1EXCL-child

        'boy' or 'small man'

28. a. *sie*　　　　*g-amal*　　　　　　b. *sie　　　　*Ø-amal*

　　chicken　　　3AN-male.animal　　　　chicken　　1INCL/2-male.animal

　　'rooster', lit. 'male chicken'

The use of inalienable nouns as N$_{MOD}$ is distinguishable in a number of ways from possessive constructions in which the inalienable noun is the N$_{HEAD}$ and the preceding noun a possessor. Firstly, constructions in which an inalienable possessed noun is N$_{MOD}$ and those in which it is an N$_{HEAD}$ have different semantics. Compare the examples in (29) below representing the identical sequences of words *ama* and *g-ol*. The N$_{HEAD}$ N$_{MOD}$ sequence in (29a) literally means 'small father' and is a kin term denoting 'father's younger brother', while the PSR N$_{HEAD}$ in (29b) denotes the possessive relationship 'father's child'.

　　　　N$_{HEAD}$　　　　　N$_{MOD}$　　　　　　　PSR　　　　N$_{HEAD}$

29. a. *ama*　　　　*g-ol*　　　　　　b. *ama*　　　*g-ol*

　　father　　　3AN-child　　　　　　father　　3AN-child

　　'father's younger brother'　　　　'father's child'

Secondly, prosodically an N$_{HEAD}$ is more prominent than an N$_{MOD}$ or a possessor. In (30a) the first element *ama* 'father' is the N$_{HEAD}$ and is realised by a higher pitch and greater intensity, while the second element *g-ol* '3AN-child' is an N$_{MOD}$ characterised by lower pitch and intensity. In (30b) the second element *g-ol* '3AN-child' is the N$_{HEAD}$ realised by a higher pitch and greater intensity, while the first element *ama* 'father' is a possessor cross-referenced by the 3rd person animate prefix on the N$_{HEAD}$ and is lower in pitch and intensity.

　　　　N$_{HEAD}$　　　　　N$_{MOD}$　　　　　　　PSR　　　　　N$_{HEAD}$

30. a. *ama*　　　　*g-ol*　　　　　　b.　*ama*　　　*g-ol*

　　father　　　3AN-child　　　　　　　father　　3AN-child

　　'father's younger brother'　　　　'father's child'

Thirdly, an N$_{HEAD}$ controls agreement, which neither an N$_{MOD}$ nor a PSR do. Compare the agreement patterns shown by the NPs containing *g-ol* '3AN-child' in (30). In (31a) the N$_{HEAD}$ is the INANIMATE noun *turiq* 'knife' showing INANIMATE agreement on the determiner *homo* 'CONTR.INAN', while in (31b) the ANIMATE N$_{HEAD}$, *en* 'person',

triggers ANIMATE agreement on the determiner *roi* 'SPEC.AN'. By contrast, in (31c) we have a possessive construction in which INANIMATE *iskola* 'school' is a possessor cross-referenced by the prefix on *g-ol* '3AN-child', the N$_{HEAD}$. In accordance with its N$_{HEAD}$ status, *g-ol* '3AN-child' controls agreement, as shown by the ANIMATE agreement on the verb, *sura* 'ask'.

31. a. [$_{NP}$ *Gi-e*   *turiq*$_{HEAD}$ *g-ol*$_{MOD}$ *homo*]   *ret golaq*   *topol.*
       3-POSS   machete.INAN   3AN-child   CONTR.INAN   all.alone   fall
       'His knife fell all on its own.'   [Bk-1.043]

   b. *Nego   on   na* [$_{NP}$*en*$_{HEAD}$ *g-ol*$_{MOD}$ *roi*]   *topol?*
       what   DO   FOC   person.AN   3AN-child   SPEC.AN   fall
       'Why did this child fall?'   [Bk-1.034]

   c. *Baqi*   [$_{NP}$ *iskola*$_{PSR}$ *g-ol*$_{HEAD}$]   *gu-sura.*
       NPRX.AN   school.INAN   3AN-child   3AN-ask
       'He asked for a school's child.' i.e. 'He propositioned a school child.'
                                                        [Bk-21.003]

Elsewhere in this work, where an inalienably possessed noun is used as a N$_{MOD}$ the possessor prefix is not segmented. So, for instance, the N$_{MOD}$ *gol* is glossed 'small', while the homophonous N$_{HEAD}$ is *g-ol* '3AN-child'. As an N$_{HEAD}$, *g-ol* '3AN-child' can occur in any of its person inflections and does not have the meaning 'small'. Note also that *gol* is also the only N$_{MOD}$ which is attested as being able to follow another N$_{MOD}$, as in (32).

32. *Baqi*   [$_{NP}$ *en*$_{HEAD}$ *pana*$_{MOD}$ *gol*$_{MOD}$ *bi*]   *g-utu   cier   gie.*
       NPRX.AN   person   female   small   DEF.AN   3-COM   sleep   PROSP
       'He wanted to sleep with the girl (lit. small female person).'   [Bk-21.004]

5.3.2   An agreeing N$_{MOD}$

Niat is a temporal noun denoting 'earliest time', 'beginning', as in (33) where it appears in a PP headed by *no* 'OBL':

33. *Niat*   *no*   *halali ta-tara*   *oa.*
       earliest   OBL   3DU   RECP-know   PFV
       'In the beginning the two of them would get to know one another.'   [Bk-38.001]

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Niat can also appear as an N~MOD~ where it agrees in ANIMACY with the N~HEAD~; it is the only N~MOD~ that shows agreement in this way. Compare the agreement patterns shown by the NPs containing *niat* 'earliest' in (34). In (34a) the N~HEAD~ is the INANIMATE noun *misa* 'mass' and is modified by the N~MOD~ *niat* 'earliest' which does not show any agreement with the N~HEAD~. In (34b) where the N~HEAD~ is the ANIMATE noun *kaqa* 'older brother', *niat* 'earliest' takes the animate prefix *gV-* '3AN-' (see §2.5.3 on the metathesis shown by this noun).

34. a. *Misa   niat   iskola g-ol   g-ege.*
         mass   earliest school 3AN-child   3AN-give
         'The earliest mass is given to the school children.'   [Bk-34.077]

   b. *Ni-e   kaqa   g-inat   ni-e   eme   g-olep   no.*
       1EXCL-POSS   older.brother   3AN-earliest   1EXCL-POSS mother 3AN-belly   OBL
       'My oldest brother was in my mother's tummy.'   [Bk-29.067]

5.4   Relative clauses

Bunaq RCs are clauses which modifiy N~HEAD~ within the NP. There are two types of RC in Bunaq: non-restrictive RCs (§5.4.1), and restrictive RCs (§5.4.2). NPs of almost any role can be relativised on; §5.4.3 discusses the few restrictions on the 'accessibility' of participants of different roles to the head position within an RC and the distribution of the different RC types across them.

5.4.1   Non-restrictive relative clauses

Non-restrictive RCs do not aid in the identification of the referent of the head, but only provide information about it, fulfilling the function of adjectives in other languages. In the absence of an adjectival class in Bunaq (§3.3.1), all verbal modifiers of nouns constitute non-restrictive RCs, albeit simple ones, consisting of a single word in the case of stative monovalent verbs.

   In a non-restrictive RC, the N~HEAD~ is gapped in the RC and appears at the front, that is, to the left of the RC. The N~HEAD~ itself may also be elided where its referent is anaphorically or contextually retrievable. A determiner may optionally appear to the right of the RC. The structure of the non-restrictive RC may be modeled as in (35).

Non-restrictive RC structure

35. (N_{HEAD}) [_{RC} ...] (DET)

Examples (36-39) illustrate the non-restrictive RC with different types of predicate. In (36-37) the predicates of the RC are verbal and the heads of the RCs are an S and P respectively. In (38) the RC is a possessive predicate (§4.3.3), while in (39) it is a locative postpositional predicate (§4.3.2).

36. *Halaqi*   [_{NP}*g-iri*_{HEAD}   [_{RC} *tugal*] *homo*]   *perbal.*
    3PL   3AN-leg   break   CONTR.INAN   bandage
    'They bandaged up that broken leg.'   [Bk-1.049]

37. [_{NP} *Bai*_{HEAD}   [_{RC}*s-alak*]   *baqa*]   *ten*   *haqal.*
       thing   3INAN-roast   NPRX.INAN   cooked   finished
    'Those things which were roasting were all cooked.'   [Bk-6.056]

38. [_{NP} *Makleqat*_{HEAD}   [_{RC} *soron*   *goniqil*   *gi-e*]] *go-poi*   *gie.*
       overseers   land.division   four   3-POSS 3AN-choose   PROSP
    '(You) are going to elect the overseers from the four areas.'   [Bk-19.026]

39. *Eli*   [_{NP} *zipil*_{HEAD} [_{RC} *mar*   *g-ebu*   *no*]]   *ini*   *naq!*
    2DU   leaves   garden 3AN-bottom   OBL   burn   IMP
    'You two go burn the leaves which are at the bottom of the garden!'   [LB2.019]

As mentioned above, the head of a non-restrictive RC may be elided. In (40) the elided head of the RC is the S of *hosu* 'be other', while in (41) it is the A of *obon* 'hang' (see §8.3.3 on the function of *mete* 'NOW'). In (42) and (43) the RC head is elided where the RC has a numeral predicate and a postpositional predicate respectively.

40. *Hele*   [_{NP}Ø_{HEAD}[_{RC} *hosu*]]   *hati?*
    perhaps   be.other   exist
    'Perhaps there is another (thing)?'   [Bk-44.014]

41. [_{NP} *Mete* Ø_{HEAD}   [_{RC}*ri-e*   *rale*] *bi*]   *ola*   *gene*   *r-obon*
       NOW   REFL-POSS   speak   DEF.AN LOW   LOC   REFL-hang
    heser   *haqal.*
    dead   finished
    'The (one mentioned just) now talking of himself hanged himself dead down there.'

                                                             [Bk-23.045]

42. *Adat*　　　*gie,*　　　[_{NP}Ø_{HEAD} [_{RC}　*hiloqon*]]　　　*mit,...*
　　　tradition　　COS　　　　　　　　　　　two　　　　　sit

　　　'Because of tradition, two (people) would sit, ...'　　　　　[Bk-38.070]

43. [_{NP} Ø_{HEAD}　[_{RC}*Ate gene*]　*roi*]　　　*na*　　*toek*　*ta-tara*　　*niq*　　*taq,...*
　　　　　　　　　　far　　LOC　　SPEC.AN　　FOC　　talk　RECP-know　NEG　　IMP

　　　'Those (people) at a distance don't know each other's language yet,... [Bk-15.013]

5.4.2　Restrictive relative clauses

A restrictive RC functions to identify the referent in question restricting the noun's scope of reference to a single entity or set of entities.

　　　The head of a restrictive RC occurs at the front of the RC marked with the restrictive focus particle *na* 'FOC' (§3.5.7.2). As with non-restrictive RCs, the head is gapped, that is, is missing from inside the RC itself. Unlike non-restrictive RCs, restrictive RCs cannot be headless. The structure of the restrictive RC is presented in (44).

　　　Restrictive RC structure
44. N_{HEAD} *na* [_{RC}...] (DET)

　　　Some examples of restrictive RCs are given below. In (45) and (46) the head of the RC has the S and the P role in the RC respectively. In (47) the RC has a postpositional predicate.

45. [_{NP} *En*_{HEAD}　*na*　[_{RC} *talu*　*kororoq*]]　　*tara*　*niq.*
　　　person　　FOC　　gamble cheer　　　　know　NEG

　　　'People who gamble merrily don't know'　　　　　　　　[Bk-23.037]

46. [_{NP}*U*_{HEAD}　　　*na*　[_{RC} *nei*　　*h-ozep*]　*baqa*]　　　*hot*　*mil*　*sabtu*
　　　undergrowth　　FOC　　1PL.EXCL　3INAN-cut　NPRX.INAN　sun　DUR　Saturday

　　　no　　　*na*　*oto*　*rele*　*tula.*
　　　OBL　　FOC　car　INS　transport

　　　'The grass which we cut (we) transported on Saturday with the car.'　[Bk-12.015]

47. [_{NP}*Keke*_{HEAD}*na*　　[_{RC}*en*　　　*heser*　*g-on*　　*no*]　*bi*]　*kasu*　*oa.*
　　　bracelet　FOC　　　person　　dead　3AN-hand OBL　DEF.AN　remove　PFV

　　　'The bracelet which was on the hand of the dead person is now removed.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-18.009]

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The head of a restrictive RC may be an interrogative (§3.5.2); RCs headed by an interrogative are never non-restrictive. In (48) *nego* 'what' is the RC head and has the P function in the RC. In (49) *cio* (~*sio*) 'who' is the head of the RC and the A of the RC.

48. [~NP~*Nego*~HEAD~ *na*   [~RC~ *i*   *Gewal gene*   *te-rel*   *h-oqon*]   *ba*]
     what   FOC   1PL.INCL   Gewal LOC   RECP-INS 3INAN-do   DEF.INAN

  hani   *r-oenik.*
  PROH   3INAN-forget
  'Don't forget, what we did in Gewal.'   [Bk-14.06]

49. *Tiap*   *malam* [~NP~*sio*~HEAD~   *na*   [~RC~ *teqa*   *ikut*   *niq*]]   *g-ue.*
  every   evening   who   FOC   pray   follow   NEG   3AN-hit
  'Every evening, whoever doesn't go to prayers, is hit.'   [Bk-30.076]

5.4.3   NP accessibility to relativisation

Figure 5.3 represents the noun phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), an implicational scale that 'expresses the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions in a simplex main clause' (Keenen and Comrie 1977: 66). The AH predicts that, if an NP of a particular role is accessible to relativisation, then NPs higher on the hierarchy (i.e. to the left) are also accessible to relativisation.

Figure 5.3: The Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy
SUBJECT > OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > OBLIQUE > GENITIVE

In Bunaq, there are no restrictions on the relativisation of arguments (S/A, P/R or T of verbal clauses) corresponding to 'subject', 'object' and 'indirect object' in Keenen and Comrie's (1977) terms. In the following sections, I look at restrictions on the relativisation of the Bunaq equivalents of Keenen and Comrie's 'oblique' and 'genitive'. Bunaq has several categories of NP equivalent to 'oblique': unmarked oblique NPs (§5.4.3.1), NP complements of verbal postpositions (§5.4.3.2) and NP complements of postpositions (§5.4.3.3). 'Genitive' corresponds to Bunaq NPs encoding possessors, alienable and inalienable (§5.4.3.4). We will see that the line for NP accessibility to relativisation in Bunaq falls to the right of NP complements of verbal postpositions and to the left of possessor NPs, with the NP complements of different postpositions behaving differently, as represented in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: The Bunaq NP Accessibility Hierarchy

CORE ARG > OBLIQUE ARG > COMP OF VPP > ‖COMP OF PP‖ > PSR

5.4.3.1 Unmarked obliques as RC heads

A participant with an unmarked oblique argument function (defined in §4.2.4) in an RC may be the head of an RC, either restrictive or non-restrictive. In (50) the unmarked goal oblique *kura* 'horse' of the RC predicate *saqe* 'ascend' is the head of the restrictive RC. In (51) the unmarked locative oblique *nawa* 'head basket' of the RC predicate *kaqe* 'fill' is the head of a non-restrictive RC.

50. [NP*Kura*HEAD   na [RC*neto   saqe*] *bi*]   *he*   *laun   los.*
    horse   FOC   1SG   ascend   DEF.AN   run   fast   very
    'The horse that I mounted runs really fast.'   [Not-01.07]

51. [NP*Nawa*HEAD   [RC *paqol   kaqe*]   *homo*]   *h-aziq.*
    head.basket   corn   fill   CONTR.INAN   3INAN-disappear
    'The head baskets filled with corn have disappeared.'   [Not-01.07]

5.4.3.2 NP complements of verbal postpositions as RC heads

The complements of verbal postpositions (§3.6.1) can also occur as the heads of non-restrictive (52) and restrictive (53) RCs. In both examples, the RC head is the gapped NP complement of the goal marking verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL'.

52. [NP *Hik*HEAD   [RC *i   a-ta   mit*]   *bare*]   *h-azal   oa.*
    path   1PL.INCL   3INAN-GL   sit   PROX.INAN 3INAN-see   PFV
    '(We) now see this path we are sitting at.'   [Bk-23.064]

53. [NP *Sirubisu*HEAD   na [RC *nei   a-ta   sai*] *baqa*]
    work   FOC   1PL.EXCL   3INAN-GL   go.out NPRX.INAN

    h-ini   apa   g-ege   u   h-ozep.
    3INAN-call   cow   3AN-BEN   undergrowth 3INAN-cut
    'The work that we found involved (lit. was called) cutting grass for cows.'

                                                             [Bk-12.004]

5.4.3.3 NP complements of postpositions as RC heads

Where the complement of a locative postposition, either *gene* 'LOC' or *no* 'OBL' (§3.5.6), is the head of an RC, the postposition is deleted in the RC. Example (54a) represents a clause with a locative postpositional predicate with an NP complement, while (54b) presents a clause in which the locative NP of (54a) is the head of a RC. It can be seen that on relativisation the locative NP is extracted out of the RC to a position at its front, while the postposition is deleted. Context serves to disambiguate the role of the locative encoding NP in the RC. RCs of this kind can also be non-restrictive, as in (54c).

54. a. *Paqol meja no lai.*
    corn   table   OBL   lie
    'The corn was lying on the table.'

   b. *Yati* [NP*meja*HEAD   *na* [RC *paqol lai*] *ba*]   *h-ini*   *late.*
    Yati   table   FOC   corn lie   DEF.INAN   3INAN-CAUS   bad
    'Yati broke the table (on) which the corn was lying.'

   c. *Yati* [NP*meja*HEAD [RC*paqol lai*] *ba*]   *h-ini*   *late.*
    Yati   table   corn lie   DEF.INAN   3INAN-CAUS   bad
    'Yati broke the table the corn was lying (on).'   [Not-07.01]

The similative postposition, *goet* 'LIKE', does not allow relativisation of its complement at all. In (55a) the similative postposition heads the predicate. In (55b) we see that it is not possible to relativise on *domba* 'sheep' the NP complement of *goet* 'LIKE' in (55a), rather *domba* 'sheep' must be the 'subject' of the non-verbal RC in order for (55b) to be grammatical.

55. a. *Markus domba goet.*
    Markus   sheep   LIKE
    'Markus is like a sheep.'

   b. [NP*Domba*HEAD (*na*) [RC*Markus goet*]] *heser.*
    sheep   Markus   LIKE   dead
    'Sheep which is like Markus is dead.',not *'Sheep which Markus is like is dead.'
        [Not-09.01]

5.4.3.4 Possessors as RC heads

Functionally equivalent to 'GENITIVE' in Keenan and Comrie's AH hierarchy are Bunaq NP encoding possessors. Possessors are of two types in Bunaq: alienable (§9.2) and inalienable (§9.3). There are no instances in the corpus of the possessor of an alienable noun or inalienable noun being the head of an RC. In elicitation also, speakers invariably rejected attempts to relativise on an alienable and inalienable possessor for both restrictive and non-restrictive RCs, as illustrated in (56).

56. a.   *[$_{NP}$*Mone*$_{HEAD}$(*na*) [$_{RC}$*gi-e*   *reu*   *koen*]   *bi*]   *Atambua*   *mal.*
              man   FOC   3-POSS house   nice   DEF.AN Atambua   go
          'The man whose house is nice went to Atambua.'   [Not-09.01]

   b.   *[$_{NP}$*Mone*$_{HEAD}$(*na*) [$_{RC}$*neto*   *gu-bul*   *pak*]   *bi*]   *heser* *oa.*
              man   FOC   1SG   3AN-head   chop   DEF.AN dead   PFV
          'The man whose head I struck is dead.'   [Not-09.01]

5.5   Nominal quantification

Nouns are unmarked for number in Bunaq. Number may be optionally expressed through the use of items with quantificational meaning, specifying the amount of the referent. Typically only a single, if any, quantifier is used in an NP. There are, however, some highly restricted combinations of quantifiers which are discussed in the individual sections below.

As discussed in §3.6.2, Bunaq does not have a morphosyntactically coherent class of quantifiers, but a diverse array of items that perform a quantificational function in the NP. In §5.5.1-§5.5.9 I illustrate the functions and behaviour of the most frequent (non-verbal, non-numeral) quantificational items.

5.5.1   Human plurality: *halaqi* '3PL'

The pronoun *halaqi* '3PL' (§6.1) can be used to mark plurality with human referents.[8] In (57) *halaqi* '3PL' marks a N$_{HEAD}$ with a plural human referent. In (58) there is no N$_{HEAD}$,

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[8] Tetun uses its 3rd person plural pronoun *sira* as a plural marker in the NP, but usage differs from Bunaq in that, used pronominally *sira* can only refer to animates, used quantificationally it is unrestricted as to the type of referent it may take.

the pronoun follows the RC *saqe* 'ascend' and is itself followed by an anaphoric demonstrative as determiner.

57. [*Tani* **halaqi**]*mar*   *na*   *h-oqon.*
     farmer   3PL   farm   FOC   3INAN-do
     'The farmers work the land.'   [Bk-7.013]

58. [*Saqe*   **halaqi** *himo*]   *tebe*   *g-ete.*
     ascend   3PL   CONTR.AN   return   3AN-throw
     'Those (people) go up back to throwing.'   [Bk-6.015]

Halaqi '3PL' can also be used to form associative plurals with human reference (Moravcsik 2003). That is, *halaqi* may follow a nominal which has unique reference, usually a person's name or a kin term, to denote 'X and other people associated with X'. (59) and (60) provide examples of this associative use:

59. [*Markus*   **halaqi**]   *reu*   *gene*   *ai.*
     Markus   3PL   house   LOC   only
     'Markus and his family just stay at home.'   [OS-09.01]

60. [*Eme*   *Eta*   **halaqi**] *gereja mal,*   *teqa*   *gie.*
     mother   Eta   3PL   church go   pray   PROSP
     'Mrs Eta and her associates (in the prayer group) went to the church to pray.'
                                                                         [OS-09.01]

Halaqi '3PL' in the examples seen thus far is not strictly a quantifier in the NP, but constitutes an appositional N_HEAD. There may be a pause before *halaqi*, as is often possible between different elements in appositions. What is more, *halaqi* can take its own modifier, which suggests that it is the N_HEAD of a separate phrase within the extended NP. In (61) *en* 'person' is modified by the verb *saqe* 'ascend' in a simple RC, while *halaqi* '3PL' is modified by *gonciet* 'five'. These two phrases are then determined by a single demonstrative.

61. [NP [*En*HEAD *saqe*] [*halaqi*HEAD   *gonciet*]   *himo*]   *tebe*   *g-ete.*
     person   ascend 3PL   five   CONTR.AN   return   3AN-throw
     'Those five (people) go up back to throwing.'   [Bk-6.015]

In casual speech human plural marking *halaqi* '3PL' may also be reduced, encliticising to the preceding NP as unstressed *=i*, glossed here as 'HUM.PL'. Example (62) illustrates *=i* marking a human referent as plural, while (63) shows it with an NP with a unique human referent to mark associative plurality.

62. [_{NP} *Pana koen*] *=i*   *n-azal*   *oa.*
     woman pretty   HUM.PL   1EXCL-see   PFV
    'The pretty girls have seen me already.'   [Not-09.01]

63. [_{NP} *Paq Desa*] *=i*   *g-o*   *gene na ciluq gin.*
     Mr village   HUM.PL   3-SRC   LOC FOC stay   REPORT
    'Apparently (she) hangs out at the house of the village head and his family.'
                                                  [Bk-63.032]

While the range of meanings of the enclitic is identical to that of the full pronominal form, *=i* 'HUM.PL' cannot take its own modifier (61′) unlike *halaqi* '3PL' in (61). This indicates that the enclitic form of the human plural marker does not head an apposed NP, but is syntactically bound to the NP, its enclitic host.

61′. *En*   *saqe* *=i*   *gonciet*   *himo*   *tebe*   *g-ete.*
     person   ascend   HUM.PL five   CONTR.AN   return   3AN-throw [Not-09.01]

5.5.2   Quantificational *mil* 'inside'

The topological noun *mil* 'inside' is used in the NP with two different quantificational functions: human collective marker (§5.5.2.1), and; temporal duration marker (§5.5.2.2).

5.5.2.1   Human collective

Mil can be used as an N_{MOD} to express that a set of human referents is referred to collectively as a single unit without enumeration of individuals that make up the collective. In this function, *mil* is glossed as 'COLL'.[9]

    In (64) marking with *mil* indicates that there is a collective tendency for *pana* 'women' to swear in contrast with the collective avoidance of swearing by *mone* 'men'.

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[9] Rather 'collective' the term 'exhaustive' might be more fitting here.

Similarly, in (65) the use of *mil* denotes that the referents of the N_{HEAD}, *moen* 'friend' pray as a collective.

64. [_{NP} *Pana* **mil**] *sok* *ebel.* [_{NP} *Mone* **mil**] *g-otok* *saqe* *bu,*
    woman COLL swear strongly man COLL 3AN-liver ascend GIVEN

    nor *sok* *niq.*
    randomly swear NEG

    'Women swear greatly. When men get angry, (they) don't just randomly swear.'

    [Bk-30.037-38]

65. *Akirnya,* [_{NP} *ni-e* *moen* **mil**] *nei* *te-rel* *teqa* *on.*
    finally 1EXCL-POSS friend COLL 1PL.EXCL RECP-INS pray DO

    'Finally, my friends, we prayed together.' [Bk-40.011]

Mil 'COLL' can also co-occur with other quantificational items in the NP as well as with determiners. Example (66) shows *mil* together with the proximal demonstrative determiner modifying the inalienably possessed noun *n-ol* '1EXCL-child', while in (67) *mil* occurs together with the group marker *ginil* 'GRP' (§5.5.3). In (68) the numeral *uen* 'one' can combine with *mil* to give the partitive meaning 'one of a collective'. However, it is ungrammatical for any higher numerals to occur with *mil* (69).

66. *Nei* *n-ol* **mil** *bari* *g-utu* *ciluq* *heten* *niq.*
    1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-child COLL PROX.AN 3-COM relax want NEG

    '(He) didn't want to hang out with our kids' [Bk-22.06]

67. *Mone* **mil** *ginil* *haru* *r-on* *legul* *na* *t-olo.*
    man COLL GRP shirt REFL-hand long FOC 3INAN-put.on

    'All the men put on shirts with long arms.' [Bk-24.027]

68. *Naqi* **mil** *uen* *heser.*
    royal COLL one dead

    'One of the royals died.' [Bk-68.011]

69. **Naqi* **mil** *hiloqon* / *goniqon* *heser.*
    royal COLL two three dead

    'Two/three of the royals died.' [Not-09.01]

5.5.2.2 Temporal duration

There are two schemas in which *mil* 'inside' is used with temporal nouns to express temporal duration. This use of *mil* 'inside' is glossed as 'DUR'.

The first schema expresses 'for the duration of X' and involves a temporal noun followed by *mil* and then a quantificational verb or numeral. In (70) and (71), the absence of *mil* between the temporal noun and the numeral would mean that the NPs headed by the temporal nouns would be interpreted not duratively but punctually as 'in the fourth year, in year four' and 'at one o'clock' respectively.

70. *Halaqi* [ₙₚ*to*   **mil**   *goniqon*]   *Lebos bare*   *gene.*
    3PL   year   DUR   three   Lebos   PROX.INAN   LOC
    'They were in this Lebos for three years.'   [Bk-29.005]

71. *Mele*   [ₙₚ *tuku*   **mil**   *uen*]   *lesin ai.*
    walk   hour   DUR   one   more   ONLY
    '(We) only walked for a little more than an hour.'   [Bk-34.042]

Bunaq has no single dedicated lexical item referring to the temporal concept of 'day'. Whilst East Timorese dialects have typically borrowed the Tetun *loro* 'sun, day', Bunaq Lamaknen has a collocation of *hot* 'sun' followed by *mil* to express 'the duration of a sun', i.e. 'day'. *Hot mil* is in (72) used to refer to the expanse of a single day particular, while in (73) it refers to a series of days.

72. [ₙₚ *Hot*   **mil**   *minggu*]   *no,*   *misa   hiloqon.*
    sun   DUR   Sunday   OBL   mass   two
    'On Sunday, there are two masses.'   [Bk-34.076]

73. *Baqi*   *Gewal ni* [ₙₚ*hot*   **mil**   *tuen-tuen*   *uen*].
    NPRX.AN   Gewal   OBL   sun   DUR   how.much   one
    'He was in Gewal for several days.'   [Bk-70.006]

The second temporal schema with *mil* 'DUR' expresses 'during the period X'. In this schema, a temporal noun is followed by a modifier defining the temporal period referred to, then *mil* and the oblique postposition. This is illustrated in (74-76).

74. [_{NP} *Hot* *mil* *tomol*] ***mil*** *no* *nei* *n-ege* *rale.*

    sun   DUR   six   DUR   OBL   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-BEN   say

    'Over six days, (they) talked to us.'   [Bk-65.073]

75. *Hot* *mil* *uen* *no* [_{NP}*to* *1987* ***mil***] *no,* *neto* *ni-e*

    sun   COLL   one   OBL   year   1987   DUR   OBL   1SG   1EXCL-POSS

    moen *goniqon* *g-utu,* *nei* *sirubisu* *s-agal.*

    friend   three   3-COM   1PL.EXCL   work   3INAN-seek

    'One day during 1987, my friends and I, we were looking for work.'   [Bk-12.001]

76. *Halaqi* *ti-ta* *bei* *g-ua* *tuir* *bare* [_{NP} *minggu* *uen*

    3PL   RECP-GL ancestor 3AN-footprint   follow   PROX.INAN   week   one

    mil] *no.*

    DUR   OBL

    'They followed the course of the ancestors over a week.'   [Bk-70.035]

5.5.3 Animate group plural: *g-inil* '3AN-name'

The 3rd person inflection of the inalienable noun *g-inil* '3AN-name' is used quantificationally in the NP to denote that the referent forms a group of which the members are of a single class or kind. Glossed here as 'GRP', *ginil* is most often used in reference to humans (77), but can also be used in reference to animals (78).

77. [_{NP}*Guru* ***ginil***] *gi-e* *kansera* *h-one.*

    teacher   GRP   3-POSS   salary   3INAN-hold

    '(I) got the pay of the group of teachers.'   [Bk-52.08]

78. *Lele* [_{NP}*i-e* *apa* ***ginil***] *baqis* *oa.*

    nowadays   1INCL/2-POSS   cow   GRP   much   PFV

    'These days your herds of cows are a lot.'   [Bk-19.022]

Ginil 'GRP' refers to specific groups, and not to broad generic groups. Accordingly, *ginil* 'GRP' always follows any RC modifying the N_{HEAD} delimiting the membership of group. In (81) the N_{HEAD} *en* 'person' is modified by an RC denoting origin with *ginil* following and thus having scope over the RC, i.e 'the group of people from Yahudi'.

79. *Neto* [_{NP} *en*_{HEAD} [_{RC} *Yahudi* *gi-e*] **_ginil_**] *g-ege* *sasi,...*
  1SG   person   Jew 3-POSS GRP 3AN-BEN say
  'I said to the group of people of Jewish (faith),...'   [Bib-195]

5.5.4 Animal group plural: *g-omoq* '3AN-udder'

The inalienable noun *g-omoq* '3AN-udder' is used in the NP as an animal group marker denoting a number of animals of one kind, feeding or travelling in company, glossed here as 'FLOCK'. Although chiefly applied to domestic animals kept together under the charge of one or more persons, such as cows, goats or horses (80), it can also be used for an assemblage of birds (81).

80. [_{NP} *Apa* **_gomoq_** *bi*] *g-aziq.*
   cow FLOCK DEF.AN 3AN-disappear
  'The herd of cows have disappeared.'   [LB9.044]

81. [_{NP} *Hos* **_gomoq_** *uen*] *he* *lolo.*
   bird FLOCK one run be.in.a.line
  'The flock of birds fly in a line.'   [OS-07.03]

5.5.5 Partitive: *waqen* 'PART'

Plural and mass indefinites are expressed using the partitive[10] noun, *waqen* 'PART'. A plural indefinite with *waqen* is illustrated in (82) with an N_{HEAD} and a mass indefinite in (83) without an N_{HEAD}.

82. *Tapi* [_{NP} *tas* **_waqen_**] *gene* *baqa* *goet* *dari* *niq.*
  but   village PART LOC NPRX.INAN LIKE happen NEG
  'But in some villages it doesn't happen like that.'   [Bk-62.006]

83. *Il* *kokoq* *no* *baqa* *a,* [_{NP} **_waqen_**] *leleq* *rebel.*
  water bucket OBL NPRX.INAN eat PART   flow descend
  '(He) drank the water in the bucket (and) some (water) dribbled down.'
                        [Bk-6.027]

---

[10] The term 'partitive' is often used in refer to a case relation, e.g. in Russian. In using this term I do not refer to a case, but use 'partitive' in its more literal sense, i.e. denoting 'part of a whole'.

The above instances of *waqen* have inanimate referents; the partitive also occurs with human referents both with an N_{HEAD} (84) and without (85).

84. [_{NP} *En*   **waqen**]   *mar*   *hobel.*
    person   PART   garden not.exist
    'Some people don't have gardens.'   [Bk-24.007]

85. [_{NP} **Waqen**]   *g-one*   *oa.*
    PART   3AN-hold   PFV
    'Some had already been caught.'   [Bk-29.030]

Waqen…waqen 'PART...PART' is often used in the contrasting of two partitive sets of a single group of entities with the meaning 'some...others'. This is illustrated in (86).

86. **Waqen**   *a,*   **waqen** *dele*   *tuat*   *h-oqon.*
    PART   eat   PART   INS   rice.cake   3INAN-make
    '(They) eat some (of the rice), and with some they make rice cakes.' [LB7.013]

5.5.6   Universal quantification: *hotu-hotu* 'all'

Hotu-hotu 'all' is used in reference to any count noun. Unlike the floating universal quantifier *gaqal* 'all.AN' (§13.8.1.3), *hotu-hotu* 'all' can be used with animate (87-88) and inanimate referents (89).[11]

87. [_{NP}*En*   **hotu-hotu**]   *haqe*   *gene*   *na*   *il*   *ho.*
    person   all   THERE LOC   FOC   water draw
    'The people all fetch water there.'   [Bk-7.022]

88. [_{NP}*En*   **hotu-hotu**]   *gi-e*   *mar*   *hati.*
    person   all   3-POSS garden exist
    'All the people have a garden.'   [Bk-24.006]

89. *Ni-e*   *muk*   *bare*   [_{NP}*muk*   **hotu-hotu**]   *g-o*   *lesin*   *liol.*
    1EXCL-POSS land   PROX.INAN   land   all   3-SRC more   continue
    'My land here is better than all other lands.'   [Bk-24.042]

---

[11] In Tetun, *hotu-hotu* and *hotu* have distinct distributions, see van Klinken (1999: 120). Only the reduplicated form is attested in Bunaq Lamaknen *hotu-hotu* 'all'. In eastern varieties of Bunaq the unreduplicated form *hotu* is frequently also found, with distribution paralleling that of Tetun

Hotu-hotu 'all' is also not restricted from marking NPs of certain roles and ANIMACY, in the way that *gaqal* 'all.AN' is (§13.8.1). In (87) *hotu-hotu* 'all' marks an A, in (89) a possessor NP and in (91) an peripheral NP, both NP-types that *gaqal* 'all.AN' cannot quantify. However, *hotu-hotu* 'all' and *gaqal* 'all.AN' are not in complementary distribution, but can occur in overlapping domains. In (90a) we see that *hotu-hotu* 'all' modifies the S of a monovalent clause, and that in (90b) *gaqal* 'all.AN' modifies the same argument. In (90c) we see that the two universal quantifiers do not occur together marking the same argument.

90. a. [_{NP}*Halaqi*   *hotu-hotu*]   *teai.*
        3PL   all   amazed
   'They all were amazed.'

   b. [_{NP} *Halaqi*]   *teai*   *gaqal.*
        3PL   amazed all.AN
   'They were all amazed.'

   c. **Halaqi*   *hotu-hotu*   *teai* *gaqal.*
        3PL   all   amazed all.AN   [Not-07.03]

Hotu-hotu also cannot be used in combination with any determiners (91). This restriction is seen here to be semantic and pragmatic, not syntactic, as *hotu-hotu* 'all' lacks the syntactic properties of determiners (§3.5.4). Determiners are used in order to identify the referent. Universal quantification means that *all* members of the referent set are identified, such that a determiner identifying a particular referent would be not merely redundant, but also in conflict with the universal quantifier (cf. Gil 2001: 1278). *Hotu-hotu* 'all' can also not occur without an overt N_{HEAD} (92).

91. **En*   *hotu-hotu*   *bari*   *mal.*
   person   all   PROX.AN   go
  'All these people went.'   [Not-07.03]

92. **Hotu-hotu*   *mal.*
   all   go   [Not-07.03]

5.5.7 *Naran* 'every (sort)'

In Bunaq, *naran* 'every, every sort' differs from other quantificational modifiers in the NP in that it occurs prior to the N$_{HEAD}$.[12] In (93) we see that *naran* modifies the N$_{HEAD}$, *nego* 'what'. In (94) we see that *naran* is distinct from a prenominal deictic in that it appears following a possessor and not prior to it.

93. [$_{NP}$ **Naran** *nego* *na* *Suri* *Guloq* *h-oqon* *ba*], *gi-e* *eme*
     every   what   FOC   Suri   Guloq   3INAN-do   DEF.INAN   3-POSS   mother
   h-ini *sal* *minak.*
   3INAN-call   wrong   complete
   'Everything (lit. every what) that Suri Guloq did, his mother said was completely wrong.'   [Bk-6.005]

94. [$_{NP}$ *Gi-e* **naran** *ipi*] *reu* *kaeq.*
    3-POSS   every   rice   house   filled
   'His rice of every sort filled the house.'   [Bk-68.083]

Naran cannot occur by itself in the NP but must always be followed by either an N$_{HEAD}$ or a determiner.

5.5.8 Quantification 'of kinds'

Quantificational items associated with reference to 'all kinds' have reduplicated forms. There are three quantifiers of this sort: *gewen-gewen* 'all sorts' (95), *oik-oik* 'all sorts' (96) and *dai-dai* 'all kinds'[13] (97). These quantificational items share the property of being able to occur as the sole element in the NP; they do not co-occur with RCs, but do with determiners.

95. *Suri Guloq* *dik,* *balo,* *sekal,* [$_{NP}$ **gewen-gewen** *baqa*] *s-alak.*
   Suri Guloq   cassava   taro   potato   all.sorts   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-roast
   'Suri Guloq roasted the cassavas, taros, potatoes, all those sorts of things.'
        [Bk-6.050]

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[12] This order appears to be retained from Tetun, where *nara-n* 'name-3SG' is used prenominally to denote indefiniteness 'any'.

[13] *Dai-dai* 'all kinds' is realised variously as ['dai 'dai, 'dairai, 'dare, 'rare]. This is similar to the variation observed in the realisation of

96. [_{NP} *Tumel* **oik-oik**]   *neto*   *h-osok*   *loi.*

    money   all.sorts   1SG   3INAN-receive   good

    'I can accept all sorts of money.'   [OS.07-03]

97. [_{NP} *Bai*   **dai-dai**]   *deu*   *mil*   *no*   *baqis.*

    thing   all.kinds   house   inside   OBL   many

    'There were many things of all kinds in the house.'   [LB1.079]

5.5.9   Distributive plurality by reduplication

Nominal reduplication is used in contexts of distributive plurality, where individual members of a set of like referents are to be regarded or treated separately. Distributive reduplication is not grammatically required in any context; the choice to reduplicate is made according to whether the collection of plural objects is to be regarded as constituting a more or less uniform mass, in which case there is no reduplication, or made up of a number of discrete objects, in which case reduplication may take place. Examples of nominal reduplication from the corpus include:

98. *Suri Guloq*   *hoto*   *witin*   *baqa*   [_{NP} **reu~reu**]   *a-ta*   *neq.*

    Suri Guloq   fire   sticks   NPRX.INAN   house~REDUP   3INAN-GL   divide

    'Suri Guloq distributed those fire sticks to the different houses.'   [Bk-6.064]

99. *Halaqi* [_{NP} *mete*   **kelompok~kelompok**   *baqi*]   *ta-tara*   *niq*   *taq.*

    3PL   NOW   group~REDUP   NPRX.AN   RECP-know   NEG   IPFV

    'They, those different groups don't know each other yet.'   [Bk-15.004]

Where a noun with an individuated multitude of referents is modified, the modifier may be reduplicated in place of the head noun (100), but this is not obligatory (101).

100.   [_{NP} *En*   **matas~matas**]   *g-ubak.*

      person   old~REDUP   3AN-collect

      'The different elders gathered.'   [Bk-21.012]

101.   [_{NP} **Tas~tas**   *hosu*] *gene* *halaqi* *h-oqon*   *niq*   *oa.*

      village~REDUP   other LOC 3PL 3INAN-do   NEG   PFV

      'In the other various villages they don't do it anymore.'   [Bk-8.036]

Interrogatives may also be reduplicated where the identities of multiple individuals in a single role are being questioned. For instance:

102. *Jenis* *kaen* *baqa* [NP **nego~nego**]*?*

     kind   weaving   NPRX.INAN   what~REDUP

     'What are the different kinds of weavings?'   [Bk-8.036]

103. [NP*En* **sio~sio**] *g-azal?*

      person   who~REDUP   3AN-see

     'Who were the different people (you) saw?'   [OS-07.01]

5.6 Nominal coordination

There is no single dedicated nominal coordinator in Bunaq. There are four strategies for coordination of nominals: zero coordination (§5.6.1); coordination with the additive focus particle *o* 'AND' (§5.6.2); coordination with *halali* '3DU' (§5.6.3), and; coordination with *ai* 'ONLY' (§5.6.4). Disjunction with *ka* 'OR' is discussed in §5.6.5. Patterns of agreement resolution with coordinated nominals of different noun classes are treated in §5.6.6.

5.6.1 Zero coordination

Zero coordination or juxtaposition of NPs is used in reference to sets of two or more referents which the speaker regards as grouping together in a particular context. A pause separates zero-coordinated elements. Zero coordination occurs only on the level of the NP; constituents within the NP cannot be zero-coordinated, e.g. two zero-coordinated N_HEADs cannot be determined by a single determiner.

    In (104) we have three zero-coordinated nominals, each independently marked with a possessor. In (105), three bare nouns with a P role are zero coordinated.

104. *Baqi* *gi-e* *kaqa,* *gi-e* *kauq,* *g-intili* *mil*

     NPRX.AN   3-POSS older.brother   3-POSS younger.sibling 3AN-siblings   COLL

     g-azal *milik.*

     3AN-see   scared

     'He was scared of seeing his brothers and cousins.'   [Bk-21.03]

105. *Rik* *balo* *sekal* *gi-wil* / **wil.*

     yam   taro   potato 3AN-dig   dig

     '(They) dug up cassava, taro, potato.'   [Bk-6.048]

Bunaq noun class resolution rules follow a principle of closest conjunct agreement. In a string of zero-coordinated nouns of differing noun classes, agreement is calculated on the value of the final nominal. Notice in (105) the ANIMATE agreement on the verb, *wil* 'dig'. This is because the final noun, *sekal* 'potato' is ANIMATE, while the other nouns further to the left, *dik* 'yam' and *balo* 'taro' are INANIMATE.

5.6.2 Coordination with *o* 'AND'

The additive particle *o* 'AND' (§3.5.7.2) can function as a medial connective in the construction 'X AND Y'. The particle *o* 'AND' typically coordinates on the level of the NP, as in (106-108):

106. [NP *Pana*   *bi*]   *o*   [NP*mone   bi*]   *tueq   lilak.*
        female   DEF.AN   AND   male   DEF.AN   alcohol   crazy
        'The woman and the man were drunk.'   [Bk-43.060]

107. [NP*Ni-e*   *eme*]   *o*   [NP*ni-e*   *ama*]   *ton.*
        1EXCL-POSS   mother   AND   1EXCL-POSS   mother   marry
        'My mother and my father married.'   [Bk-29.066]

108. *Halali*   *g-ini*   [NP *Manek Tuas*]   *o*   [NP*Bere Soro*].
        3DU   3AN-call   Manek Tuas   AND   Bere Soro
        'Those two were called Manek Tuas and Bere Soro'.   [Bk-12.012]

The additive particle *o* 'AND' can also coordinate constituents within the NP. It can coordinate two N$_{MOD}$s that have a single N$_{HEAD}$, as in (109). Alternatively it can coordinate two simple non-restrictive RCs, as in (110).

109. [NP*En*$_{HEAD}$ *rato*$_{MOD}$ *o*   *renu*$_{MOD}$]   *gi-e   raza*   *na baqa.*
        person   noble   AND   commoner   3-POSS   difference   FOC NPRX.INAN
        'The nobles and the commoners have these differences.'   [Bk-18.050]

110. [NP*Bai*$_{HEAD}$ *buleqen* $_{RC}$ *o*   *belis*$_{RC}$ *ba*]   *tumel minak.*
        thing   red   AND   white   DEF.INAN   metal   complete
        'The gold and silver was all precious metal.'   [Bk-24.035]

It is also possible for two N$_{\text{HEAD}}$s to be coordinated with *o* 'AND' that share a single RC and/or determiner, as in (111-112). Notice also in (112), the nearest conjunct agreement of the determiner: the definite article that determiners the two N$_{\text{HEAD}}$s of the NP agrees not with the first noun ANIMATE *paqol* 'corn', but with the second noun INANIMATE *ipi* 'rice'.

111. *Halaqi* [$_{\text{NP}}$ *dik*$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *o*   *balo*$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *s-alak*$_{\text{RC}}$ *baqa*]   *te-rel*   *a.*
     3PL   cassava AND taro   3INAN-roast NPRX.INAN   RECP-INS   eat
     'They are the roasted cassava and taro together.'   [Bk-6.057]

112. *Halali haqe   gene* [$_{\text{NP}}$ *paqol*$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *o*   *ipi*$_{\text{HEAD}}$ *topol*$_{\text{RC}}$ *ba*]   *h-ek.*
     3DU   THERE   LOC   corn   AND rice   fall   DEF.INAN 3INAN-pick.up
     'The two there picked up the corn and the rice that had fallen.'   [LB7.011]

The additive particle is not used to coordinate more than two elements. Where more than two elements are coordinated, *o* 'AND' normally coordinates only the first and second, while the third noun is juxtaposed; there is no pause between second and third conjuncts. Examples in the corpus include:

113. [$_{\text{NP}}$*Apa o*   *pip*   *kura*   *bi*]   *ga-bilan.*
       cow AND   goat   horse   DEF.AN 3AN-keep
     '(People) keep cows, goats and horses.'   [Bk-19.001]

114. *Neli*   [$_{\text{NP}}$*Bora* *o*   *Tahon*   *Builalu*]   *mal* *gie.*
     1DU.EXCL   Bora   AND   Tahon   Builalu   go   PROSP
     'We two are going to Bora, Tahon and Builalu.'   [OS.09-01]

5.6.3   Coordination with *halali* '3DU'

Where reference is to exactly two entities, the pronoun *halali* '3DU' may coordinate two NPs to stipulate that those two entities are being referred to exclusively. Whilst the pronoun can typically only refer to humans (§6.1), when coordinating NPs, it can conjoin nouns that have human (115) or non-human referents (116). Unlike *o* 'AND', *halali* '3DU' cannot coordinate constituents within the NP.

115. *Dato Gol*   *halaqi* [*Louis Berthe*]_{NP}   **halali** [*g-otil*]_{NP}   *g-ege*

Dato Gol   3PL   Louis Berthe   3DU   3AN-spouse   3AN-BEN

tumel   *ha-tama.*

money   3INAN-bring.in

'The people of *Dato Gol* got Louis Berthe together with his wife to contribute money.'   [Bk-70.121]

116. *Tapi* *i*   *adat* *h-ua*   *gene* *on,* [*hutus morok*]_{NP}

but   1PL.INCL   tradition 3INAN-footprint LOC   DO   motif   orange

halali [*lak   gol   roe*]_{NP}*.*

3DU   between small   SPEC.INAN

'But if we follow tradition, both the *hutus morok* and the *lak gol* are these (traditional kinds of weaving).'   [Bk-35.98]

5.6.4 Coordination with *ai* 'ONLY'

In the nominal domain, the restrictive particle *ai* 'ONLY' is used to coordinate NPs; it does not coordinate constituents within the NP (§14.2.5 on its use in the verbal domain). *Ai* 'ONLY' appears in two constructions coordinating NPs in which it is iterated: a. X *ai* Y *ai*, meaning 'both X and Y' (117), and; b. X *ai* X *ai*, meaning 'every X', where X is a temporal noun (118). Each *ai* 'ONLY' in a construction brackets prosodically with the preceding NP; an NP marked by *ai* 'ONLY' does not stand alone, but is always followed by another marked by *ai* 'ONLY.

117. [*Mok* **ai**] [*mete* *o*   *tun*   **ai**]   *kahul.*

  banana ONLY   NOW   ADDR flour ONLY   mix   [Bk-76.016]

'(You) mix both the banana and the flour (mentioned just) now together.'

118. [*To*   **ai**] [*to*   **ai**]   *baqa*   *goet* *h-oqon*   *des.*

year   ONLY year   ONLY NPRX.INAN LIKE 3INAN-do   constantly

'Year after year (we) do like that constantly.'   [Bk-8.048]

5.6.5 Disjunction with *ka* 'OR'

In §4.6.2.2.3, we saw that *ka* 'OR' could be used a disjunctive question tag, and it was also mentioned that *ka* 'OR' can be used as a disjunctive coordinator in declarative clauses. As in its interrogative function, *ka* 'OR' brackets prosodically with the preceding constituent and is accompanied by a rising pitch. Examples are (119-120).

119.

Tasu	late	**ka**	hol	beseq	hoto	wa	baqa	no	lai.
wok	bad	OR	stone	flat	fire	top	NPRX.INAN	OBL	set

'Set an old wok or a flat stone on top of the fire.' [Bk-76.028]

120.

Biasa	en	sogo	**ka**	sogo	lesin	t-ege	g-asaq.
usually	person	10	OR	10	more	RECP-BEN	3AN-count [Bk-8.012]

'Usually, 10 or more than 10 people count out (the stones) for each other.'

Chapter 6:   Pronouns and person reference

This chapter discusses the patterns of person reference and address in Bunaq. There are multiple pronominal and non-pronominal options for referring to persons. This chapter will consider how factors such as politeness and familiarity influence the manner of person reference in Bunaq. Pronominal options for person reference, including the syntax of pronouns, will be addressed in §6.1. Non-pronominal strategies of person reference, kin terms and names, are treated in §6.2.

6.1   Pronominal person reference

The Bunaq pronouns are given in Table 6.1. Pronouns distinguish three numbers: singular, plural and dual. First person plural shows a distinction between inclusive (i.e. including the addressee) and exclusive (excluding the addressee). Third person pronouns only refer to humans (though see §5.6.3). There are no singular 3rd person pronouns, with demonstratives being used for this purpose (§7.2.2.5).

Table 6.1: Bunaq pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1EXCL	*neto*	*neli*	*nei*
1INCL	--	*ili*	*i*
2	*eto*	*eli*	*ei*
3	--	*halali*	*halaqi*

Each person in the pronominal paradigm is associated with a different initial formative: 1st person exclusive is characterized by [ne]; 1st person exclusive by [i]; 2nd person by [e], and; 3rd person by [hala]. Similarly, each number has their own final formative with which they are associated in the pronominal paradigm: singular number is characterised by [to]; dual number by [li], and; plural by [i]. Before the restrictive focus marker *na* 'FOC', the final [to] of the 1st and 2nd pronouns is optionally deleted, as in (1). See (1) as an instance of the final [to] being dropped before *na* 'FOC'.

1. *Baqa   goet   dele,   ne   na   seq.*
    NPRX.INAN   LIKE   INS   1SG   FOC   call

    'In that manner I did call.'   [Bk-22.017]

The pronouns presented in Table 6.1 are not marked for any case or pragmatic function, and so can appear in any syntactic or pragmatic role called for. This can be seen in the following examples, which show the same pronoun, *nei* '1PL.EXCL', appearing as S (2a), A (2b), P (2c) and 'subject' of a nominal clause (2d).

2. a. ***Nei***   *na*   *honal.*
   1PL.EXCL   FOC   go.across
   'We go across.'   [Bk-11.015]

  b. ***Nei***   *t-ege*   *bai*   *g-olo.*
   1PL.EXCL   RECP-BEN   thing   3-bury
   'We bury things for each other.'   [Bk-11.010]

  c. *Polisi* ***nei***   *n-one.*
   police   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-arrest
   'The police arrest us.'   [Bk-11.012]

  d. ***Nei***   *Indonesia.*
   1PL.EXCL   Indonesia
   'We are Indonesia.', i.e 'We are people of Indonesia.'   [Bk-11.022]

In the following sections, I will discuss various aspects of the syntax and reference of the Bunaq pronouns: §6.1.1 looks at pronoun and person prefix agreement; §6.1.2 looks at agreement restriction between pronouns and determiners; §6.1.3 looks at the obligatoriness of using dual verus plural pronouns in reference to two referents, and; finally, §6.1.4 treats referential extensions of individual pronouns in Bunaq.

6.1.1 Pronouns and person prefixes

As discussed in §2.5, prefixes are bound person markers. Table 6.2 presents the three person prefixes (valency reducing prefixes excluded, see §11.1). Unlike pronouns, person prefixes are unmarked for number and do not distinguish between 1st person inclusive and 2nd person. Person prefixes can mark the argument on a verb (§4.2), the complement of a verbal postposition (§3.6.1) and the possessor of a noun (§9). They are obligatory in the presence of the appropriate agreement trigger and cannot be omitted under any circumstances.

Table 6.2: Person prefixes

1EXCL	nV-
1INCL/2	V-
3AN	gV-

Person prefixes regularly co-index pronouns. In 1st and 2nd person singular reference, a person prefix is used without a co-indexing pronoun. We see the examples in (3) can only be interpreted as having singular reference.

3. a. *Baqi* **na**-*tara.*
   NPRX.AN   1EXCL-know
   'S/he knows me.',
   *'S/he knows us (excl.).'

   b. *Baqi* **a**-*tara.*
   NPRX.AN   1INCL/2-know
   'S/he knows you (sg.).',
   *'S/he knows us (incl.)',
   *'S/he knows you (du./pl.).'

For 1st and 2nd person non-singular reference, the prefix must be coindexed by the appropriate non-singular pronoun, as in (4).

4. a. *Baqi* *nei* **na**-*tara.*
   NPRX.AN   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-know
   'S/he knows us (excl.).'

   b. *Baqi* *eli* **a**-*tara.*
   NPRX.AN   2DU.INCL   1INCL/2-know
   'S/he knows you (du.).'

With a 3rd person prefix, non-singular readings are available without a pronoun. That is, it is not obligatory for a non-singular 3rd person pronoun to occur with the prefix in non-singular reference, it is optional once the non-singular reference has been clearly established, as in (5). After the establishment of the two girls as topic in (5a), they are tracked with the 3rd person dual pronoun *halali* co-indexed by the prefix on *zal* 'carry' in the first clause of (5b). However, in the second clause of (5b), there is no *halali* and the girls are only referenced by the prefix on the instrumental *dele* 'INS'(§12.3.2).

5. a. *Pana   gol   koen   hiloqon   na   homo   no.*
   female   small   beautiful   two   FOC   CONTR.INAN   OBL
   'There were just two beautiful girls there.'   [Bk-4.057]

   b. *Mau   Paran   **halali**   **gi**-al,   **ge**-rel   reu   mal.*
   Mau   Paran   3DU   3AN-carry   3AN-INS   house   go
   'Maran Paran took them, (and) went home with (them).'   [Bk-4.058]

Although rare, it is possible to explicitly co-index a 1ˢᵗ or 2ⁿᵈ person prefix with a singular pronoun. The choice of this 'strong agreement' pattern (cf. Donohue n.d.: 235-236) has the pragmatic effect of placing contrastive focus on or emphatically asserting the identity of the referent. In (6a) and (6b) the pronouns *neto* '1SG' and *eto* '2SG' respectively are co-indexed by the appropriate agreement prefixes on the alienable possessor classifier *-e* '-POSS' (§9.2). The inclusion of the pronouns serves to empathically contrast the speaker's and the addressee's claims of possession over the disputed child and the conditions under which the dispute will be settled.

6. a. *Hul*   *gu-tul*   *g-awas*   *no*   *hati,*   **neto**   **ni**-*e.*
      moon   3AN-part   3AN-forehead   OBL   exist   1SG   1EXCL-POSS
      '(If) there's a crescent moon on his forehead, (he's) *mine*.'

  b. *Hul*   *gu-tul*   *hobel,*   **eto**   **i**-*e.*
      moon   3AN-part   not.exist   2SG   1INCL/2-POSS
      '(If) there's no crescent moon, (he's) *yours*.'   [LB-10.023]

In (7a) we see *neto* '1SG' is co-indexed by the appropriate agreement prefix on the goal marking verbal postposition *-ta* '-GL' (§12.3.3). The pronoun emphasises that the spirit did not go towards the speaker, but by contrast ran away (7b).

7. a. *G-ini*   *ciaq* **neto** **ni**-*ta*   *man.*
      3AN-CAUS   not.want 1SG   1EXCL-GL   come
      '(The prayer) made (the spirit) not want to come to *me*.'   [Bk-47.135]

  b. *Baqi*   *g-ini*   *he.*
      NPRX.AN   3AN-CAUS   run
      '(Rather it) made (him) run away.'   [Bk-47.136]

6.1.2 Pronoun and determiner combinations

NPs headed by pronouns can occur with a determiner. Determiners agree with personal pronominal heads in terms of noun class ANIMACY, and distance specification. 1ˢᵗ (inclusive and exclusive) and 2ⁿᵈ person pronouns can be determined by proximal demonstrative determiners, but not non-proximal demonstrative determiners; the agreement form with these persons of the proximal determiner must be INANIMATE. By contrast, 3ʳᵈ person pronouns can be determined by non-proximal determiners, but not proximal determiners; they must also take ANIMATE agreement forms of the determiner. Table 6.3 summarises these patterns.

Table 6.3: Pronoun and determiner combinations

	Distance specification of DET	Noun class specification of DET
1st persons	Proximal	INANIMATE
2nd persons	Proximal	INANIMATE
3rd persons	Non-proximal	ANIMATE

The patterns displayed in the table are exemplified in (8):

1ST PERSON

8. a. ***Nei***   ***bare***   *moroi*   *porsa.*
    1PL.EXCL   PROX.INAN   sleepy   really
    'We here are really sleepy.'   [Bk-4.017]

2ND PERSON

b. ***Ei***   ***bare***   *teo*   *gene*   *man?*
    2PL   PROX.INAN   where   LOC   come
    'You there, where have you come from?'   [LB-2.212]

3RD PERSON

b. ***Halaqi***   ***baqi***   *g-ege*   *tumel*   *gol*   *uen.*
    3PL   NPRX.AN   3AN-give   money   small   one
    'Those people give (them) a little money.'   [Bk-18.011]

As discussed in §5.2.2, the INANIMATE agreement of 1st and 2nd persons arises out of the fact that noun class is only assigned to 3rd persons in Bunaq. Thus, despite prototypically having animate referents, 1st and 2nd persons take INANIMATE agreement as the least marked, default agreement pattern.

The difference between the way in which pronouns combine with distance marked demonstratives can be explained by the (non-)participation of their referents in the speech situation. 1st and 2nd persons are local persons, that is, they are participants present in the speech situation and are therefore construed as proximal. By contrast, 3rd persons are non-local, that is, are not speech participants, and are thus construed as non-proximal. See §7 for further discussion of determiners.

6.1.3 Dual versus plural number in pronouns

Dual pronouns are used pervasively in everyday Bunaq speech. However, marking for dual number is not obligatory in the Bunaq agreement system. Instead of dual pronouns, plural pronouns may be used in reference to only two participants, once the dual reference has already been established in the clause. For instance, in (9a) the 3rd person dual pronoun is used initially, but the pair are subsequently referred to with 3rd third person plural (9b).

9. a. ***Halali*** *mal* *liol.*
    3DU   go   continue
    'They both went on…'   [LB-3.175]

  b. *Jadi* *baqa* *ni* ***halaqi*** *loï* *gene* *mit* *oa.*
    SO   NPRX.INAN   OBL   3PL   good   LOC   sit   PFV
    'So in that place they lived in comfort.'   [LB-3.180]

In (10) we see the same pattern of initial use of a dual pronoun, in this case *ili* '1DU.INCL', to establish dual reference, followed by the use of the plural *i* '1PL.INCL' in reference to the same participants. Similarly, in (11) the A is expressed by *neli* '1DU.EXCL', yet the same referent is encoded with *nei* '1PL.INCL' when referring to the possessor introduced by *ni-e* '1EXCL-POSS'.

10. ***Ili*** *te-rel,* *en* *i* *a-tara* *oa.*
    1DU.INCL   RECP-INS   person   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-know   PFV
    '(If) we two (go) together, people will recognise us.'   [LB-8.215]

11. ***Neli*** ***nei*** *ni-e* *eme* *o* ***nei*** *ni-e*
    1DU.EXCL   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   mother   AND   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS
    ama *g-agal?*
    father   3AN-search
    'We two are searching for our mother and our father.'   [LB-2.045]

That dual and plural pronouns occur without feature clashes in these examples indicates that the plural pronouns are not in fact marked as plural, i.e. referring to 3 or more, as would be expected in a pronominal system with dual (Corbett 2000: 20), but as non-singular, i.e. referring to 2 or more. Whilst dual number may not be an obligatory part of the Bunaq agreement system, dual pronouns are nevertheless very common. In fact, it is rare for two entities to be referred to with a plural pronoun. The variations

observed here appear to be governed by stylistic considerations, namely, that repetition of a pronoun is avoided.

6.1.4 Additional referential uses of pronouns

In the previous sections, we have seen uses of pronouns that are in accordance with their "normal" meaning based on the sum of their feature specifications for person and number, e.g. a 3rd person plural pronoun refers to a plural entity that is not a speech participant. However, in Bunaq, as in many languages, some pronouns do not have the same referential properties in every context in which they are used. In this section, I examine the use of Bunaq pronouns in generic reference (§6.1.4.1) and in polite reference (§6.1.4.2).

6.1.4.1 Generic reference

Generic reference is reference to a whole class, rather than to individual and specified members of it. Bunaq uses the pronouns *i* '1PL.INCL' (§6.1.4.1.1) and *eto* '2SG' (§6.1.4.1.2) in generic reference.

6.1.4.1.1 Generic *i* '1PL.INCL'

The pronoun *i* '1PL.INCL' may be used with generic reference in the description of general and hypothetical situations, typical practices, and cultural norms. The generic *i* '1PL.INCL' may be used even where neither the speaker nor the hearer is intended in the class of people under discussion.

Example (12) comes from a procedural text. We see here the use of *i* '1PL.INCL' generically to detail the steps which 'one' would go through in making corn porridge without suggesting that either speaker or hearer would be doing so.

12. a. *I   paqol g-ao.*
       1PL.INCL   corn   3AN-pound
       'We pound the corn.'   [Bk-45.006]
    b. *Paqol g-ao,   i   g-apiq   taq.*
       corn   3AN-pound   1PL.INCL   3AN-sift   IPFV
       '(After) pounding the corn, we keep sifting it.'   [Bk-45.007]

See also §4.7.1.2 on elision of A/S participants in 'generic' situations.

Bunaq uses *i* '1PL.INCL' also to express generalisations holding over of a group of people (such as social standards etc.), similar to the generic use of 'we' in English (Kamio 2001). In (13) *i* '1PL.INCL' is used to indicate that this is how all siblings ought to behave to one another, regardless of who they are. In (14), a male speaker uses *i* '1PL.INCL' in telling a female that it is not acceptable for a person to marry the child of their own maternal uncle. As both speaker and hearer are already married, there is no question of the situation applying to either of them.

13. *I*　　　　*kauq*　　　　*kaqa*　　　　*g-ege*　　　*loi:*

　　1PL.INCL　younger.sibling　older.sibling　3AN-give　good

　　'We (should) be good to your brothers and sisters.'　　　　　　[Bk-4.096]

14. *I*　　　　*ri-e*　　　　*baba*　　　　*g-ol*　　　*g-utu*　*na*　　*ton,*　*ton*

　　1PL.INCL　REFL-POSS　maternal.uncle　3AN-child　3-COM　FOC　marry　marry

　　baqa　　*koen*　*niq.*

　　NPRX.INAN　nice　NEG

　　'(If) it is our mother's brother's child that we marry, it's not a good marriage.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-62.011]

Generic *i* '1PL.INCL' can also be used in situations where reference is in fact exclusive, typically to a 1ˢᵗ person singular. By employing the 1ˢᵗ person inclusive, a speaker signals his inclusion of the hearer in the discourse. In (15) the speaker begins with *nei* '1PL.EXCL' before switching in the second clause the pronoun *i* '1PL.INCL' in recognition of the hearer's shared status as Catholic even though she did not actually take part in the prayer on this occasion. In (16) the speaker gives voice to his feelings of isolation living in the east of Timor; he switches from talking about himself in the 1ˢᵗ person exclusive in (16a) to using the generic *i* '1PL.INCL' in (16c) to arouse the sympathy in his hearer regarding his lonely predicament and generalise his experience beyond himself.

15. a. *Akirnya*　　*ni-e*　　　　*moen*　*mil*　*nei*　　*te-rel*　　*teqa*　*on.*

　　　finally　　1EXCL-POSS　friend　COLL　1PL.EXCL　RECP-INS　pray　DO

　　　'In the end, I prayed together with friends.'　　　　　[Bk-40.011]

　　b. *Teqa,*　*i*　　　　*ri-e*　　　*piar*　*h-alolo.*

　　　pray　1PL.INCL　REFL-POSS　believe　3INAN-follow

　　　We prayed (and thereby) followed our own beliefs.'　　　[Bk-40.012]

16. a.

Hot	saqe	a-ta	mal	ba	na,	**ni**-mil	susar.
sun	ascend	3INAN-GL	go	DEF.INAN	FOC	1EXCL-inside	afflicted

'When I went east, I felt sad (lit. my insides were troubled).'   [Bk-61.007]

b.

En	keluarga	hobel.
person	family	not.exist

'There was no family.'   [Bk-61.008]

c.

I	en	ga-tara	o	hobel.
1PL.INCL	person	3AN-know	AND	not.exist

'There was no one we knew.'   [Bk-61.009]

In generic propositions with more than two participant roles, generic *i* '1PL.INCL' is used for one role and the generic noun *en* 'person' for the other, as in (17-18). *I* '1PL.INCL' and *en* 'person' are not used for two generic roles within a single proposition.

17.

I	**en**	g-ege	late	h-oqon	bu,	*i*	o
1PL.INCL	person	3AN-BEN	bad	3INAN-do	GIVEN	1PL.INCL	AND

late	*a-ta*	*sai.*
bad	3INAN-GL	exit

'If we do bad to someone, we too will meet with bad.'   [Bk-4.097]

18.

Kalo	*i*	**en**	g-ini	puan,	**en**	*i*
if	1PL.INCL	person	3AN-call	cannibal	person	1PL.INCL

Ø-o	*hosok*	*niq.*
1INCL/2-SRC	reply	NEG

'If we call someone cannibal, people won't respond to us.'   [Bk-39.015]

6.1.4.1.2 Generic *eto* '2SG'

The pronoun *eto* '2SG' is also used with generic reference in Bunaq. It is used in familiar, informal contexts by a speaker to enliven the discourse by making the addressee a participant, although the pronoun does not refer to the actual addressee in the speech act (cf. generic 'you' in English and *du* in German). Generic uses of *eto* '2SG' are less frequent in the corpus than generic *i* '1PL.INCL'.

Example (19) comes from a text describing the traditional prohibition against unmarried men and women spending time together. The speaker describes what used to happen to a man who violated the prohibition putting the hearer in the role of the offender by using *eto* '2SG'. The past time setting and that the hearer is female shows that the pronoun here is not being used with strict 2nd person reference.

19. a. *Kalo   tut   baqa   goet,   **eto**   mone   Ø-ini   tues.*
      if   past   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   2SG   man   1INCL/2-make   fine

   'In the past it was like that, you as a man were fined.'   [Bk-38.022]

   b. *Nor   en   gol   pana   g-utu   mele   niq.*
      randomly   person   small   female   3-COM   walk   NEG

   '(You) didn't just walk around with a girl.'   [Bk-38.023]

   c. *En   gol   pana   g-on   h-one   niq.*
      person small   female   3AN-hand   3INAN-hold   NEG

   '(You didn't just) take a girl by the hand.'   [Bk-38.024]

   d. *G-on   hone,   **eto**   g-ubeqen   bare   goet,   en*
      3AN-hand   hold   2SG   3AN-squeeze   PROX.INAN   LIKE   person
      ***e*-rel**   huk.
      1INCL/2-INS   shout

   'If (you) take her by the hand (and) you squeeze like this, people would take you
   away shouting.'   [Bk-38.025]

   e. ***Eto***   tues   masak.
      2SG   be.fined big

   'You would be fined a lot.'   [Bk-38.026]

Similarly, in (20) the generic *eto* '2SG' is used to bring the hearer into the discourse. Whilst demonstrating the spinning of cotton, the speaker describes what she is doing. Although the addressee is not himself (going to be) spinning, generic *eto* '2SG' is used to cast the hearer as a participant in the process.

20. a. *H-ini   nigi   gie,   pese.*
       3INAN-CAUS   fine   PROSP   press

   'To make (the thread) fine, squeeze (it).'   [Bk-64.012]

   b. *Pese,   **eto**.*
      press   2SG

   'Squeeze, you (do).'   [Bk-64.013]

6.1.4.2 Polite reference

The most common non-prototypical uses of pronouns involve the expression of a social relation between the speaker and the addressee or the people he refers to, such as respect or superiority. Particularly important for politeness is the avoidance of directness of reference, which can be considered confronting and rude depending on the discourse context. In accordance with typological norms (cf. Cysouw 2003, Head 1978),

Bunaq uses pronominal features such as (in)clusivity, non-singular number and the 3rd person to circumvent direct person reference.

6.1.4.2.1 Superior *nei* '1PL.EXCL'

The pronoun *neto* '1SG' is often substituted with *nei* '1PL.EXCL' in order to avoid repeated direct reference to one's self as "I". *Nei* '1PL.EXCL' pronoun is felt to bring more dignity and authority to a speaker and to be characteristic of *g-iol nigi* '3AN-voice fine' or 'refined language'. This use of *nei* '1PL.EXCL' is most common in the speech of formally educated Bunaq speakers and may be as a result of the influence of Indonesian and varieties of Malay, which also use the 1st person plural exclusive in polite self-reference (e.g. Donohue and Smith 1998).

The interaction between direct self-reference with *neto* '1SG' and indirect self-reference with *nei* '1PL.EXCL' is often complex. Example (21) comes from a text in which the speaker frequently switches between referring to herself with *neto* '1SG' and *nei* '1PL.EXCL'. The use of *neto* '1SG' (21b) and the absence of a plural pronoun cross-referencing the person marking on *mil* 'inside' (21a) reflects the intimacy and personal importance of the events to the speaker. The switch to *nei* '1PL.EXCL' in (21c) in introducing a portion of direct speech indicates the social distance between the speaker and *Pator Rot* 'Father Rot' and the formal setting of their meeting. That is, just as the speaker and *Pator Rot* would have addressed one another indirectly in their conversation, so the speaker recreates the distance between them by referring to herself indirectly with *nei* '1PL.EXCL' in reporting those events.

21. a. ***Ni-****mil*   *bu*   *res*   *niq*   *los.*
      1EXCL-inside   GIVEN   still   NEG   very
      'I felt so very unsettled.'   [Bk-85.102]

   b. ***Neto***   *misti*   *suster*   *tama.*
      1SG   must   sister   enter
      'I had to enter the sisterhood.'   [Bk-85.103]

   c. *Baqi,*   *pastor Rot*   *bi,*   *en*   *Jerman*   *gi-e*   *bi,*   *baqi*
      NPRX.AN priest   Rot   DEF.AN   person Germany   3-POSS   DEF.AN   NPRX.AN
      nei   ***n-****ege*   *Hailulik*   *gene*   *sasi...*
      1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-BEN   Hailulik   LOC   speak
      'He, Father Rot, the person from Germany, he said to me in Hailulik...'
                    [Bk-85.104]

The use of *nei* '1PL.EXCL' with singular reference frequently signals the speaker's sense of social superiority over the addressee. Example (22) is an excerpt from a public speech made by a *dato* 'noble' to villagers; the speaker uses *nei* '1PL.EXCL' to assert himself and silence the chattering populace, which he addresses directly with *ei* '2PL'. In (23), the use of *nei* '1PL.EXCL' contrasts with the two earlier instances of the possessive where it is absent. The appearance of *nei* '1PL.EXCL' at the end indicates the forceful insistence of the speaker that the meat belongs to him, distinct from the earlier uses of *ni-e* '1EXCL-POSS', which are neutral statements of 1st person possession.

22. **Nei**   *toek,*   *ei*   *o*   *rale*   *bu,*   *man.*
    1PL.EXCL   talk   2PL   AND   speak   GIVEN   come
    'I'm talking, if you also want to speak, then come (up here).'   [Bk-19.025]

23. *Kakaq*   *na*   **ni-e**   *haru*   *zal*   *ba*   *na,*   *si*
    cockatoo   FOC   1EXCL-POSS   clothes   bear   DEF.INAN   FOC   meat
    bari   **nei**   **ni**-*e.*
    PROX.AN   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS
    'Cockatoo was wearing my clothes, (so) this meat must be *mine*.'   [Bk-78.086]

6.1.4.2.2 Honorific *i* '1PL.INCL'

First person plural inclusive pronouns are cross-linguistically frequently used in 2nd person honorific address (Cysouw 2005). This pattern is attested in the Austronesian (e.g. Tetun: van Klinken 1999: 111) and non-Austronesian languages of Timor (Huber 2005: 20). Bunaq also uses *i* '1PL.INCL' for honorific address of high-ranked individuals. In (24-25) the speaker respectfully addresses members of the royal class with *i* '1PL.INCL'.

24. *Naqi,*   *o*   *sael*   *masak* *zigi*   *no*   *bi*   *i*   *g-ini*
    royal   ADDR   pig   large   beneath   OBL   DEF.AN   1PL.INCL   3AN-CAUS
    bin   *lai*   *oa.*
    seeds   set   PFV
    'Lord, your pig down there, please make him go for the seeds.'   [LB4.016]

25. *Neto*   *toek*   *bare,*   *i*   *Ø-ege*   *sasi*   *bu,*   *loi*
    1SG   talk   PROX.INAN   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-BEN   speak   GIVEN   good
    ka   *niq?*
    OR   NEG
    'Is it permitted for me to talk to you like this?'   [LB8.025]

God and other figures of the Catholic Church are addressed in prayers and the Bible with *i* '1PL.INCL'. Example (26) is taken from the Bunaq 'Our Father' or *Nei ni-e Ama* '1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-POSS father' and shows the use of *i* '1PL.INCL' in the address of 'God'. Example (27) comes from the Bunaq 'Hail Mary' or *Tabe Maria* 'greet Maria' and similarly exhibits the use of honorific *i* '1PL.INCL' in the address of Mary.

26. *Nei   ni-e   Ama   pan   esen   gene,   i   Ø-inil*
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   father sky   HIGH   LOC   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-name
    h-atetu   gie.
    3INAN-worship   PROSP
    'Our father who are art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.'   [Bk-Pray.2]

27. *Tabe   Maria, huruk bulas*[1] *kaeq,   Hot   Esen   i   Ø-utu*
    greet   Maria cold ???   full   sun   HIGH   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-COM
    ti-ta.
    RECP-GL
    'Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you.'   [Bk-Pray.3]

Hull (2004) reports the construction *i masaq*[2] '1PL.INCL big' being used for honorific second person address in Bunaq of East Timor. Literally 'we great', it is probably calqued from the Tetun honorific 2nd person address form *ita boot* '1PL.INCL big' (Williams-van Klinken and Hajek 2006: 11-12). The texts of Friedberg (1978) evidence occasional use of the construction in the address of royalty (28), as does the Bunaq prayer book (29). The construction *i masaq* does not occur in my corpus.

28. *Naqi,   perdua,   i   masaq nei   ni-e   deu*
    royal   excuse   1PL.INCL   big   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   house
    ola   sael   g-iel   goet   bere   tama   gie   ka?
    LOW   pig   3AN-nest   LIKE   CNTREXP.INAN   enter PROSP OR
    'Lord, excuse me, does your greatness really wish to enter our house which is like a pig's sty down there?'   [LB-6.029]

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[1] The phrase *huruk bulas* is used to denote 'grace' in the Bunaq prayer book. The meaning of *bulas* and the origin of the phrase in which it occurs is unknown.

[2] The form *masaq* 'big' is found in these examples instead of the more widespread form *masak* 'big' with the velar stop [k] in place of the glottal stop. This is because the authors of these texts come from the region of Dirun, where this is the usual form of this lexical item.

29. *Neto*   *piar,*   *i*   **masaq** *naqi*   *pan*   *o*   *muk*   *g-omo.*

    1SG   believe   1PL.INCL   big   royal   sky   AND   earth   3AN-owner

    'I believe, your greatness is the lord of the heavens and earth.'   [Bk-Pray.10]

6.1.4.2.3   Respectful *ei* '2PL'

Address of a 2nd person singular referent may use *ei* '2PL' in order to express respect and deference to the addressee's experience or knowledge over the speaker's own. In (30) *ei* '2PL' is used respectfully by children in the address of an elderly snake in an attempt to coax information from him on the whereabouts of their mother and father.

30. a. *Zi*   *uen*   *g-utu*   *botus,*   *g-o*   *sura,*

      snake   one   3-COM   meet   3-SRC   ask

      '(They) met with a snake, (and) asked him,'   [LB-1.022]

    b. *"Bei*   *zi,*   *bei*   *zi,*   **ei**   *hele*   *nei*

      grandparent   snake   grandparent   snake   2PL   perhaps   1PL.EXCL

      ni-e   *eme*   *nei*   *ni-e*   *ama*   *g-azal?"*

      1EXCL-POSS   mother   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   father   3AN-see

      '"Mr Snake, Mr Snake have you perhaps seen our mother and our father?"'

                                           [LB-1.023]

In (31) *ei* '2PL' is used in recognition of the singular addressee's knowledge of events questioned. The addressee is deferred to in this way because it was his forefathers who did the work and, although the addressee was not yet born and so not part of the group of individuals who farmed the land in the beginning, he is seen to have greater knowledge of events.

31. *Muk*   *bare*   **ei**   *h-oqon*   *koen?*

    earth   PROX.INAN   2PL   3INAN-do   nice

    'Could you work the land here well?'   [Bk-29.070]

6.1.4.2.4   Polite *halaqi* '3PL' and *halali* '3DU'

The 3rd person non-singular pronouns, *halaqi* '3PL' and *halali* '3DU', may also be used in polite 2nd person address. The plural pronoun can be used in singular or plural 2nd person address, while the dual pronoun is restricted to the address of exactly two individuals. Not attested in texts but frequent in everyday speech, this form of address is reserved for calling out and is common in this context even amongst children. It is considered coarse to call out to someone using either a 2nd person pronoun or their

name. Thus, indirect address with *halaqi* '3PL' and *halali* '3DU' are neither honorific nor respectful *per se*, but they are polite in so far as they function to mitigate the rudeness associated with the act of calling out.

In (32) the eldest child of a family calls for her two younger siblings to come and eat using *halali* '3DU', while in (33) using *halaqi* '3PL' a women calls from her house to a single person passing by on the road enquiring as to his destination. In (34) *halaqi* '3PL' is used to call out to a group of people.

32. *Hei   **halali**, man   naq! Bai   a   gie   oa.*
    hey   3DU   come IMP   thing eat   PROSP PFV
    'Hey you two, come on! We're about to eat.'   [OS-07.01]

33. *Teo   mal,   **halaqi**?*
    where go   3PL
    'Where are you off too?'   [OS-07.03]

34. ***Halaqi**   mar   mal   ka?*
    3PL   garden go   OR
    'Going to the garden, are you?'   [OS-07.02]

In (35) we see the use of a 3rd person pronoun in calling by speaker A. When speaker B (me) approaches to talk, speaker A switches to a different form of address, the kin term *aibaq* 'eldest daughter' (see §6.2.1). The use of *halaqi* '3PL' in address once the addressee has approached would be semantically bizarre.

35. A. ***Teo**   mal   gie,   **halaqi**?*
      where go   PROSP   3PL
      'Going to the garden, are you?'
   B. *Lakus mal   gie.*
      Lakus go   PROSP
      '(I'm) going to Lakus.'
   A. *Baqa   bu,   n-ege   hoqi gi-al,   **aibaq**.*
      NPRX.INAN   GIVEN 1EXCL-BEN peanut 3AN-carry eldest.daughter
      'If that's (the case), bring me some peanuts, daughter?'   [OS-07.01]

6.1.4.2.5 Hierarchy of polite pronoun uses

Table 6.4 presents polite uses of pronouns in a ranking from least respectful and most informal to most respectful and most formal terms. The ranking is approximate in that

not all pronominal forms may be available in a given speech act, e.g. the polite 2ⁿᵈ person address use of 3ʳᵈ person pronouns is restricted to contexts of calling out to the addressee.

Table 6.4: Politeness ranking of pronouns

ADDRESSEE	less polite ←———————————→				more polite
1ˢᵗ person singular	*neto* '1SG'				*nei* '1PL.EXCL'
2ⁿᵈ person singular	*eto* '2SG'	*ei* '2PL'	*halaqi* '3PL'	*i* '1PL.INCL'	*i masaq* '1PL.INCL'
2ⁿᵈ person dual	*eli* '2DU'	--	*halali* '3DU'	"	"
2ⁿᵈ person plural	*ei* '2PL'	--	*halaqi* '3PL'	"	"

We see that indirect forms of reference are preferred over direct reference. Most polite are 1ˢᵗ person plural forms of address and self-reference, while least polite are forms in which the referent is directly identified by the pronoun. In between these poles, plurality in 2ⁿᵈ person singular address and 3ʳᵈ person in 2ⁿᵈ person address are used to create moderately polite forms.

Outside this hierarchy are of course forms of non-pronominal address, which can also be used to avoid direct address. These forms of address are discussed in §6.2.

6.2 Non-pronominal person reference

In Bunaq the major options for non-pronominal person reference and address are kin terms (§6.2.1), and/or personal names (§6.2.2). Similar systems of personal reference and address exist in Indonesian and varieties of Malay (cf. Sneddon 1996: 160-163), and in Tetun Dili (cf. Williams-van Klinken and Hajek 2006), languages which have in the past and continue to exert significant influence on the different dialects of Bunaq.

Table 6.5 presents an overview of the relative politeness of non-pronominal address forms. As with pronominal address, we see that indirect forms of address and reference are preferred over direct forms. Address by name is equivalent to direct address with a 2ⁿᵈ person pronoun. Address with a kin term, with or without a name, is familiar but polite, while address with titles, equivalent to English 'Mr' and 'Mrs etc., is formal and polite.

Table 6.5: Politeness ranking of non-pronominal address forms

less polite	⟵⟶	more polite
name /	kin term /	borrowed
(*eto* '2SG')	kin term + name	generic titles
		bapaq/ibu/nona etc.
		'Mr/Mrs/Miss' (WT)
		señór/señora/senhorita
		'sir/madam/miss'(ET)

In the following sections, I will exemplify and elaborate on forms of non-pronominal person reference in Bunaq. Because of the great variety of non-pronominal terms of person reference available, this section is limited to describing the general pattern of non-pronominal address with the most common terms.

6.2.1 Kin terms

Table 6.6 presents the basic terms of Bunaq kinship; it does not include extensions and multi-word terms. Basic Bunaq kin terms are grammatically of two types: those nouns that are inalienably possessed 'bound' nouns, cited here with the possessor prefix *g-* '3AN-' (§9.3); and those nouns that are alienably possessed and do not host possessor prefixes (§9.2). Many of the inalienably possessed items in Table 6.6 denote body parts in the first instance, and on the basis of a body part metaphor have extended to denote kin relations, e.g. *g-otil* denotes both the body-part 'cheek' and the kin relation 'spouse'.

Kin terms are the most widely used non-pronominal terms of address in Bunaq. Kin terms can be employed both within the family to denote respect and deference and outside of it to lessen distance and formality, and emphasise solidarity between interlocutors. Only a few of the kin terms in Table 6.6 have been observed in address and are marked as such. Kin terms for the parent, grandparent and child/sibling generation are those used most frequently in address. I will focus on the use of these in the following sections.

In §6.2.1.1, I look at some patterns in the use of kin terms with kin, and in §6.2.1.2, with non-family. In particular, we will see that kin terms can be used in a range of contexts where they do not denote biological relationships. These uses of kin terms often have the purpose of lowering or raising the status of the referent and expressing accordingly supplication or mockery.

Kin term		Address?
tataq	'great grandparent'	
bei	'grandparent'	✔
eme	'mother', 'parent's sister'	✔
ama	'father', 'father's brother'	✔
g-otil	'spouse' (lit. 'cheek')	
g-ip	'wife' (south-west dialect)	
g-enen	'husband' (south-west dialect)	
baba	'mother's brother'	
naqi	'mother's older brother' (honorific of *baba*)	✔
kela	'brother in law'	
ai	'sister in law'	
kaqa	'older brother'	✔
nana	'older sister'	✔
kauq	'younger sibling'	✔
g-ol	'child'	✔
g-intili	'member of same generation, but opposite sex where the degree of relatedness does not permit marriage'	
apa	'eldest child (male)'	✔
aibaq	'eldest child (female)'	✔
pou	'second child'	✔
uzu	'third child'	✔
uka	'fourth child'	✔
g-uloq	'fifth child' (lit. 'tail')	✔
buaq	'child(ren) following the *g-uloq*' esp. for male	✔
g-atal	'grandchild'	
gu-buk	'great grandchild' (lit. 'flower')	
g-alel	'great great grandchild'	

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[3] It was observed in §1.8 that Bunaq has been significantly influenced by surrounding Austronesian groups. This is seen not only in that a large number of kin terms that have been borrowed from Austronesian, but also in that the system that the kin terms make up is very similar to that of Austronesian languages in Timor (James Fox pers. comm.), for instance, the Tetun kin system (Therik 2004: 135-147).

6.2.1.1 With kin

Within the family, kin terms are more common in the address of family members than pronouns or names. This pattern is, however, asymmetrical across generations. Children and younger family members typically address their elders with the appropriate kin term. Older family members address younger ones either by the kin term referring to their birth-rank in the case of parents, or by name, or by the familiar pronoun *eto* '2SG'.

Whilst kin terms referring to birth-rank strictly encode a relation between parent and child, these terms may also be used between siblings in contexts in which use of a name or pronoun is dispreferred, such as calling out (see §6.1.4.2.4). For instance, this occurs in (36) where the *pou* 'second child' calls out to her younger sister, the third of five children.

36. *Uzu,*   *nei*   *mal*   *oa.*
     third.child   1PL.EXCL   go   PFV
     'Third one, we are going now!'   [OS-07.02]

By using a kin term different from that appropriate to the kin relationship between speaker and addressee, a speaker can express irony or sarcasm towards an inferior. For example, a kin term above the kin status of the addressee may be used. In (37) a parent sarcastically addresses their children as *eme* 'mother' after the children disobeyed the order from the mother to not cook the cassava; this form of address is ironic, signalling the children to be wilful and demanding beyond their status. Similarly, in (38) the bossy *uzu* 'third child' is addressed with the higher kin term *aibaq* 'eldest female child', highlighting the irony of her younger sibling running the evening meal preparation.

37. *Eme,*   *eli*   *bu*   *belan*   *o*   *balun*   *na*   *mal*   *oa!*
     mother   2DU   GIVEN   one.half   AND   other.half   FOC   go   PFV
     'Mother, as for you two, go to one side or the other (i.e. get lost).'   [Bk-69.022]

38. *Aibaq*   *t-inik*   *gie*   *loi.*
     eldest daughter   3INAN-cook   PROSP   good
     'Oldest sister can go ahead and cook.'   [OS-07.02]

Kin terms are also frequent in self-reference, with the kin term chosen according to the relationship between speaker and addressee. Self-reference with a kin term is familiar, but polite as it avoids direct reference. For instance, in (39) a parent addresses her child by name, but refers to herself as *eme* 'mother' sweetly attempting to cajole the

child into eating more. By contrast, kin terms are omitted in favour of more direct person reference strategies when angry or annoyed. For instance, in (40) a mother expresses anger at –what she sees as– her parasitic children, addressing them directly with *ei* '2PL' and referring to herself directly with *neto* '1SG'.

39. *Uzu*   *Loe*   *bai*   *a*   *baqis,*   **eme**   *mobel.*
    third.child   Loe   thing   eat   much   mother   like
    '(When) third child Loe eats a lot, mother likes (it).'   [OS-07.03]

40. **Ei** *bai*   *a*   *los.*   **Neto**   *n-ini*   *koleq.*
    2PL   thing   eat   very   1SG   1EXCL-CAUS   tired
    'You lot eat so much. It wears me out.'   [OS-07.03]

6.2.1.2   With non-kin

Bunaq kin terms are regularly extended to non-family members. Incorporation of outsiders into the kin system by means of kin terms indicates familiarity and solidarity between interlocutors.

Young people may use the Bunaq kin terms *eme* 'mother' or *ama* 'father' in the address of non-kin adults with whom they are on familiar terms. Instead of these, the Bunaq in West Timor may use Indonesian/Malay kin terms, such as *om* 'uncle', *mama* 'mum' and *neneq* 'grandmother' which all appear in my corpus.[4] The term *bei* 'grandparent, ancestor' is also common as a term of respectful address to the elderly. Example (41) was overheard in a bus: as an elderly man was getting out of the bus, a teenage girl gently reminded him about a sack he had left behind, addressing him courteously with *bei*. In (42) we see *bei* used in respectful third person address of a car owner.

41. **Bei,**   *hani*   *karon*   *uen*   *roe*   *r-oenik.*
    ancestor   PROH   sack   one   SPEC.INAN   3INAN-forget
    'Elder, don't forget one (of your) sacks.'   [OS-07.02]

42. *Oto*   *saqe,*   *oto*   *Bei*   *Mikael*   *ota*   *o*   *Fulur*   *no...*
    car   ascend   car   grandparent   Mikael   LEVEL   ADDR   Fulur   OBL
    '(I) got into a car, (the) car (of) Elder Mikael over there in Fulur...'   [Bk-58.13]

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[4] In West Timor, Indonesian *(ba)paq* 'Mr' (< 'father') and *(i)bu* 'Mrs' (< 'mother') are reserved for more formal, distant situations.

In East Timor, Bunaq speakers often use *abo* 'ancestor' (< Tet. Dili *avo* 'grandparent' < Portuguese *avô/avó* 'grandfather/grandmother') in much the same manner as *bei* in West Timor.

Sibling kin terms *kauq* 'younger sibling', *kaqa* 'older sibling/brother' and *nana* 'older sister' are often used to indicate solidarity between non-kin referents. In (43) the children in Gewal village familiarly refer to themselves as my little brothers and sisters. In (44) we see compound sibling kin terms (see §3.2.1.3). are used to encourage split communities to come together again despite disputes.

43. *Nei*   *i-e*   **kauq**   *mil*   *Ø-ege*   *tabe*   *baqis~baqis.*
    1PL.EXCL   1INCL/2-POSS   younger.sibling   COLL   1INCL/2-BEN   greet   much~REDUP
    'We your little brothers and sisters greet you heartily.'   [Bk-14.007]

44. *Ei*   **kauq**   **kaqa,**   *ei*   **kauq**   **nana.**
    2PL   younger.sibling   older.brother   2PL   younger.sibling   older.sister
    'You are brothers, you are sisters.'   [Bk-66.050]

In place of Bunaq sibling kin terms, Tetun Dili *maun* 'older brother' and *mana* 'older sister' and Indonesian/Malay *kakak* 'older sibling' are often used in non-kin peer reference in East Timor and West Timor respectively.

In non-kin reference, many kin terms can be used with broader reference, including a wider range of ages than would normally be acceptable within the family. Native and borrowed kin terms of higher and lower status can alternate in complex ways to create particular pragmatic effects. The text in (45) illustrates both these patterns. In the excerpt, I am being addressed by an old woman who describes to me the difficulties of her life since she broke her wrist and asks for help. Consider the variety of kin terms used in address:

45. a. *Kou*   *haqal,*   *neto*   *huqe*   *a-ta*   *wil*   *ba,*
      slip   finished   1SG   HERE   3INAN-GL   come.down   DEF.INAN
      i-e   **bapaq**   *roi*   **i-e**   **kauq**
      1INCL/2-POSS   father   SPEC.AN   1INCL/2-POSS   younger.sibling
      n-os,   *roe*   *no.*
      1EXCL-wait   SPEC.INAN   OBL
      'After I slipped when I came down here, your father and younger siblings were waiting in this place.'   [Bk-46.056]

b. *N-on*   *han*   *leqak wen*   *roe*   *goet*   *on,*

1EXCL-hand   no.matter   bend   UNAGENT   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO

aibaq.

eldest.daughter

'My hand was just all twisted up like this, oldest daughter.'   [Bk-46.057]

c. *Neto*   *bai*   *h-oqon*   *loï*   *niq,*   *ri-ta*   *paksa,*   *r-on*   *suel*

1SG   thing   3INAN-do   good   NEG   REFL-GL   force   REFL-hand   left

rele,   *ni-e*   *eme.*

INS   1EXCL-POSS   mother   [Bk-46.058]

'I couldn't do a thing, I forced myself to use my left hand, my mother.'

Throughout this text, the speaker addresses me using a range of kin terms. The variety of kin terms used here creates multiple perspectives on my position, on the one hand placing me in reference to other people present and on the other hand indicating that I am someone for whom the speaker has respect. In (45a) the kin terms, *bapaq* 'father' (< Malay *bapak*) and *kauq* 'younger sibling', are directed to me as addressee with the appending of the 2ⁿᵈ person form of the possessor *i-e* '1INCL2-POSS'. At the same time the use of *kauq* 'younger sibling' rather than *kaqa* 'older brother' or *nana* 'older sister' indicates respect as they place me as addressee above the referents of *kauq* 'younger sibling', some of whom were substantially older than me. The familiarity of this address is a function of the personal nature of the story and the pleading tone with which it was told. It is also striking as it was the first time I had met the speaker. In (45b) the speaker addresses me as *aibaq* 'eldest daughter', a term which again suggests a degree of acquaintance between speaker and hearer, but also respect. Finally, in (45c) the speaker becomes entirely deferential addressing me, her much younger hearer, as 'my mother'.

6.2.2 Personal names

Bunaq people have multiple given names. Bunaq personal names are of three types: Christian names, ancestral (and clan) names and nicknames.

Christian names (referred to as *g-inil serani* '3AN-name Christian' or *g-inil agama* '3AN-name religion' in Bunaq Lamaknen) are of either Dutch or Portuguese origin. In address, Christian names are typically shortened: e.g. *Hironimus* > *Hiro*, *Ignatius* > *Nasu*, *Johanis* > *Anis*, *Florentina* > *Tina* and *Marieta* > *Eta*. The use of a Christian name in address indicates familiarity between interlocutors, and is most common amongst children and close adult friends, or by older people to younger people.

Amongst adults, a first name may be coupled with a kin term or title in more polite, respectful address, e.g. *Ama Nasu* 'father Nasu', though zero address may be favoured over this.

Christian names are followed by an ancestral name.[5] Table 6.7 lists some of the male and female ancestral names amongst the Bunaq of Lamaknen. An ancestral name is comprised of any two of these names. The first element appears as in the table, while the second, if vowel final, takes a final glottal stop. Thus, we find the male names *Bau Maliq* and *Mali Bauq*, but not any of the following: **Maliq Bau*, **Bauq Mali*, **Bau Mali*. Typically only one of the first of these names is used, often coupled to a kin term, e.g. *Loe Uzu* 'Loe the third child'.

Table 6.7: Sample of Bunaq names in Lamaknen

MALE		FEMALE	
Ati	*Loe*	*Balok*	*Lawa*
Atok	*Luan*	*Belak*	*Lese*
Bau	*Mali*	*Biaq*	*Lika*
Bauk	*Mau*	*Boeq*	*Lilo*
Bere	*Mauk*	*Bui*	*Mako*
Hale	*Nak*	*Ili*	*Mare*
Hasuk	*Nali*	*Irik*	*Motu*
Koli	*Seran*	*Koeq*	*Soi*

Some of the ancestral names in Table 6.7 have conventionalised polite, avoidance versions. Table 6.8 presents the ancestral names (left) and their polite equivalents (right). These avoidance names replace only the first of an individual's two Bunaq names. These few avoidance names were the only ones obtained in elicitation and no other examples exist in the current data. It is unclear if there are further names with polite alternatives and why there are only alternates for some names and not others.

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[5] The process of giving an ancestral name involves saying an ancestor's name to a new-born child and then offering the mother's breast to it. If the child takes the breast, then the ancestor's name also becomes the child's. If not, a new name must be selected and the process is repeated until the child takes the mother's breast.

Table 6.8: Bunaq avoidance names

MALE			FEMALE		
Hale	→	*Boles*	*Bui*	→	*Lotu*
Asa	→	*Keri*			
Mau	→	*Sinas*			
Mali	→	*Taus*			
Bere	→	*Manus*			
Bau	→	*Lole*			

In addition, to these names, individuals may be also identified by their clan name. Clan names themselves often invoke the name of the clan's apical ancestor, for instance, *Tes g-atal* 'Tes 3AN-descendents' i.e. 'Descendents of Tes'. Other clan names seem to refer to a founding group, such as *Mone Sogo* 'Ten Men', and *Bein Goniqil* 'Four Chiefs', or to a founding event, such as *Tama Op* 'Enter Highlands', a Bunaq Bobonaro clan name. Whilst clan names are important for locating an individual within the complex networks of clan relations, they are not used in address.

Many individuals are known widely only by a nickname, and can only be identified with difficulty by their proper names. For instance, a young boy in Gewal village was known to everyone as *Bibel* 'morning star, Venus' and not his Christian name *Markus*. Nicknames often draw on some physical property of the individual. Nicknames I encountered for older males used *bei* 'ancestor' followed by a modifier, such as *Bei Rukut* 'elder curly', referring to the referent's very curly hair, and *Bei Giral* 'elder 3AN-eye' in homage to the referent's intelligence. These names were not normally used in address.

Nicknames of noble-ranked individuals are prefixed by *bete* for females and *manek* for males. Both terms are of Tetun origin: Tetun *bete* 'dear one' and *manek* probably from Tetun *mane* 'man'. Nicknames with these elements, particularly for women, draw on a physical characteristic of the referent, such as in *Bete Koen* 'dear beautiful' and *Bete Lalenok* 'dear mirror', both used in reference to girls who were considered particularly beautiful. In some cases, individuals are referred to simply with *bete* and *manek* without an additional epithet or in combination with the individual's Christian name. For instance, one of my informants had the Christian name *Vinsensius*, but was always referred to simply as *Manek*, while another was known as *Manek Rofinus*, using his Christian name also.

6.3   Summary

A wide range or person reference and address strategies, both pronominal and non-pronominal in nature, are available to Bunaq speakers. The Bunaq system of person reference has been significantly complicated and enriched with other languages, most recently Indonesian/Malay in the west and Tetun Dili in the east. This has resulted in a very pliable system of person reference, in which there is in any given situation more than one way to address or refer to an individual. The choice of forms of person reference is governed by factors such as the relative status of interlocutors, their familiarity and the formality of the setting. Address forms inappropriate according to these factors may also be chosen in order to express different effects, such as sarcasm, censure or esteem.

Chapter 7: Determiners

Determiners are pervasive in Bunaq speech. Although not obligatory in any context, almost every utterance contains at least one determiner. Determiners function to locate entities and events in space, time and discourse (cf. Anderson and Keenan 1985, Levinson 2003), as well as encoding a range of purely pragmatic meanings such as definiteness and counter-expectation (cf. Himmelmann 1996, 1997, Levinson 2004). In this chapter I will focus on describing the individual determiner's deictic, anaphoric and pragmatic functions. Dialects vary considerably in their determiner inventories and the deictic categories they encode. This chapter deals only with the determiners of the Bunaq Lamaknen dialect.

Sub-topics relevant to determiners discussed elsewhere are: §3.5.4 treating the properties that define determiners as a word class; §6.1.2 dealing with how determiners combine together with pronouns of different persons, and §12.2.3 looking at cataphoric uses of the demonstratives with the postposition *goet* 'LIKE'.

7.1   Introduction

The set of determiners in Bunaq encompasses the demonstratives and the definite article given in Table 7.1. While the definite article is used to determine an overtly expressed NP/clause, only demonstratives can substitute for an NP/clause.

Table 7.1: Bunaq Lamaknen determiners

		ANIMATE	INANIMATE
DEMONSTRATIVES			
PROXIMAL	'PROX'	*bari*	*bare*
NON-PROXIMAL	'NPRX'	*baqi*	*baqa*
SPECIFIER	'SPEC'	*doi*	*doe*
CONTRASTIVE	'CONTR'	*himo*	*homo*
COUNTER-EXPECTATIONAL	'CNTREXP'	*beri*	*bere*
DEFINITE ARTICLE	'DEF'	*bi*	*ba*

Determiners are in a paradigmatic relationship with one another and never co-occur. Each determiner has two forms, an ANIMATE and an INANIMATE form. ANIMATE forms of determiners are characterised by the presence of a high front vowel /i/, which in all but one case occurs finally; INANIMATE forms of determiners are characterised by the absence of the high front vowel.

Determiners occur at the right periphery of the NP or, less commonly, of the clause. Determiners have different functions and agreement behaviour in these two situations.

Determining an NP, determiners agree in noun class with the N$_{HEAD}$. They mark their referent of the NP as definite and unique within a contextually given set of entities. The different determiners encode different types of deictic and pragmatic information by which the referent can be identified. All determiners can be used adnominally, only demonstratives appear pronominally.

Determining a clause, determiners do not refer to any participant in the clause, but have scope over the clause as a whole and always take the INANIMATE agreement form. In such uses, the determiner refers to the state of affairs denoted by the clause. A clause marked by a determiner can be free-standing, or it can be dependent on a conjoined clause. An adclausal determiner with a coordinated clause functions as a 'domain-creator' (Reesink 1994), i.e. denoting the frame in terms of which the event in the conjoined clause is to be understood. An adclausal determiner marking an independent clause denotes something about the time, state of affairs and/or truth-value of the proposition expressed by the clause. Demonstratives can also be used 'proclausally', i.e. as a discourse deictic referring back or forward to a proposition expressed in a previous clause.

The syntactic functions of determiners (DET), and the sub-set of demonstratives (DEM) are summarised schematically in Table 7.2. Not all determiners/demonstratives can appear in all functions listed in the Table.

Table 7.2: Overview of syntactic functions of determiners

FUNCTION	SYNTACTIC SCHEMA
Adnominal function	[$_{NP}$ ... DET]
Pronominal function	[$_{NP}$DEM]
Adclausal domain creating function	[$_{CLAUSE}$ ... DET], [$_{CLAUSE}$ ...]
Adclausal state of affairs marking function	[$_{CLAUSE}$ ... DET]
Proclausal discourse deictic function	[$_{CLAUSE}$ ...]. DEM, [$_{CLAUSE}$ ...]

In the following sections, I will describe the various functions of the individual Bunaq Lamaknen determiners. §7.2 treats the five different demonstratives in Bunaq: proximal (§7.2.1), non-proximal (§7.2.2), specifier (§7.2.3), contrastive (§7.2.4) and counter-expectational (§7.2.5). §7.3 treats the definite article. Finally, §7.4 summarises the discussion of determiner functions.

7.2   Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions used to direct the hearer's attention to entities within a domain, often relative to a deictic centre. The domains to which Bunaq demonstratives serve to orient are those of spatial, temporal, referent tracking in texts, discourse deixis (referring to propositions) and that of expectation.

7.2.1   Proximal demonstrative

The proximal demonstrative is used for items which are spatially (§7.2.1.1), temporally (§7.2.1.2) or metaphorically (§7.2.1.3) close to the speaker. It is also used textually to refer to an antecedent that is not expected as topic in the context (§7.2.1.4).

7.2.1.1   Spatial use

The proximal demonstrative picks out a referent close to the speaker in space. The position of the addressee is immaterial to the use of the proximal. In (1) *bare* 'PROX.INAN' marks an entity held by the speaker, and which is thus proximal to the speaker but not the addressee. In (2) the speaker and addressee are both in, thus equally proximal to, the village referred to with *bare* 'PROX.INAN'. Example (3) comes from a letter and it is only the speaker who is proximal to the village *en* 'people' marked by *bari* 'PROX.AN'.

1. *Eli   hiloq **bare**   zal.*
   2DU   oil   PROX.INAN   carry
   'You two, take this oil'   [Bk-4.071]

2. *Halaqi   mina,   tas   **bare**   a-ta.*
   3PL   come.down   village PROX.INAN   3INAN-GL
   'They came down to this here village.'   [Bk-29.020]

3. *En   Gewal no   **bari**   nona   gu-sura   ruquk.*
   person   Gewal   OBL   PROX.AN   miss   3AN-ask   always
   'These people here in Gewal always ask after miss.'   [Bk-14.011]

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Example (4) shows the use of the proximal in contrast to that of the non-proximal demonstrative. Speaker A queries the name of the item using *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' removed from him. Speaker B responds by taking hold of the thread and confirming it as the thread in question using a demonstrative description with the proximal *bare* 'PROX.INAN'.[1]

4. A. *Suta* **baqa** *h-ini* *nanun?*
   thread NPRX.INAN 3INAN-call k.o. thread
   'That thread is called "nanun"?' [Bk-35.091]

   B. *Suta* *gol* **bare** *h-ini* *nanun.*
   thread small PROX.INAN 3INAN-call k.o. thread
   'This small thread here is called "nanun". [Bk-35.092]

See §7.2.3.1 on the use of the proximal with the specifier in contrastive proximal deixis.

An item marked with the proximal demonstrative cannot be used to refer to entities proximal to the hearer, but not the speaker. This is seen in the impossibility of combining the proximal demonstrative with the addressee proximal locational *o* 'ADDR' (§8.3.4), as in (5).

5. **Nego* *o* **bare?** .
   what ADDR PROX.INAN
   'What's this you have?' [Not-07.04]

The INANIMATE form of the proximal demonstrative, *bare* 'PROX.INAN', is frequently used on its own to refer to the speaker's current location. In this function, *bare* 'PROX.INAN' occurs as the complement of a postposition. In (6) the speaker refers to her present location with *bare* 'PROX.INAN' as the complement of *no* 'OBL'.

6. *Ene* *uen* *no* *neli* **bare** *no.*
   night one OBL 1DU.EXCL PROX.INAN OBL
   'One night, we two were in this (place).' [Bk-43.050]

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[1] Examples from text 35 used in this chapter are from a video-taped conversation about how to weave. Speaker B is sitting on the ground strapped into a back-strap tension loom, while speaker A sits just beside the loom on a chair. The speaker layout is given in Appendix C.

7.2.1.2 Temporal use

The INANIMATE proximal, *bare*, appears in contexts of temporal deixis to denote present time. With this meaning, the proximal may appear marking a temporal noun, as in (7), or on its own without any nominal, as in (8).

7. | **Lele** | **bare** | *i* | *en* | *g-ini* | *puan* | *gie,...* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | nowadays | PROX.INAN | 1PL.INCL | person | 3AN-call | cannibal | PROSP |

   'These days now, (if) we want to call a person a cannibal,...'   [Bk-39.068]

8. | *Jadi* | *nei* | *h-one* | *h-oqon* | *daro* | **bare**. |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | so | 1PL.EXCL | 3INAN-hold | 3INAN-make | until | PROX.INAN |

   'Thus we have held on to (the custom) until this [time].'   [Bk-8.034]

The proximal demonstrative also has temporal reference when determining clauses. Used clause-finally, *bare* 'PROX.INAN' has scope over the whole event denoted by the clause and marks the event as ongoing in the present. In (9) the appearance of *bare* 'PROX.INAN' clause-finally indicates that the process of building the house is ongoing. (10) comes from a text where the speaker describes a prolonged illness that she experienced; clause-final *bare* 'PROX.INAN' in the second clause denotes that her good health has continued since she recovered from the illness and still holds in the present time.

9. | *Mone* | *mete* | *g-inat* | *bi,* | *baqi* | *na* | *h-oqon* | **bare**. |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | man | NOW | 3AN-earliest | DEF.AN | NPRX.ANFOC | | 3INAN-make | PROX.INAN |

   'My first son, it is him who is building (the house).'   [Bk-46.067]

10. | *Homo* | *naq* | *na,* | *neto* | *mele* | *loï.* | *Jadi* | *neto* | *loï* | **bare**. |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | CONTR.INAN | FIRST | FOC | 1SG | walk | good | so | 1SG | good | PROX.INAN |

    'Then, I could walk. And so I am well (ongoingly as now).'   [Bk-40.014]

Where a clause marked by *bare* 'PROX.INAN' is first in the coordinated pair, it provides a present ongoing frame for the event described in the following clause. In (12) the speaker comments that the child's present riding of the horse is the setting for (and by implication the cause of) the event described in the second clause, namely the child's fatigue. Example (11) is spoken as the speaker demonstrates the playing of the *hol okoq* 'stone hole' game; the initial clause marked with the proximal denotes the

playing of the game as the setting during which the gaming pebbles are put into the holes.

11. *En*   *gol*   *bari*   *kura*   *saqe*   **bare,**   *setenga*   *mati.*
    person   small   PROX.AN   horse   ascend   PROX.INAN   half   dead
    'This horse riding of the child, (she) is completely worn out (lit. half dead).'

                                                           [Bk-37.099]

12. *I*   *bukuq*   **bare,**   *hol*   *g-oq*   *baqi*   *g-olo*
    1PL.INCL   play   PROX.INAN   stone   3AN-seed   NPRX.AN   3AN-put.in
    g-olo   *g-olo*   *g-olo.*
    3AN-put.in   3AN-put.in   3AN-put.in   [Bk-9.003]
    'With us playing (like) this, (we) put the pebbles in (the holes) again and again.'

A clause-final proximal is also very occasionally used to assert the truth of the proposition, both in present and past time contexts. Compare the use of clause-final *bare* 'PROX.INAN' in (13) denoting a present situation and in (14) referring to a past one. In (13) the *bare*-marked clause describes the reddened mouth of the speaker as the current results of the continuous areca chewing depicted in the first clause. Since the speaker's mouth is presently red, the truth of the speaker's assertion is visible to the addressee.

13. *Nei*   *molo*   *a*   *dau-dau,*   *nei*   *n-agar*   *mea~mea*
    1PL.INCL   areca   eat   continuously   1PL.INCL   1EXCL-mouth   red~REDUP
    bare.
    PROX.INAN
    '(Since) we eat areca continuously, our mouths are very red {as you see}.'[LB-2.180]

Example (14) comes from a text in which a group of children recount a claimed encounter with a spirit to an adult. The adult is sceptical at the story and suggests that it wasn't a *muk gomo* 'earth spirit' that they saw. One of the children reacts against this suggestion, saying that the sighted individual had her face covered in blood, (a characteristic implied to be inconsistent with those of a normal person). The clause in which the child makes the observation is determined by *bare*. This marking functions to assert the truth of the clausal proposition by making it as if it were a present state of affairs that is visible and thus apparent to the addressee.

14. A. *Hele muk g-omo   niq?*

       perhaps earth 3AN-master NEG

       'Perhaps it was not an earth spirit?'   [Bk-47.072]

   B. *Muk g-omo   on e! Baqi hasi g-ewen   ho~ho*

       earth 3AN-master DO TAG NPRX.AN thus 3AN-face bloody~REDUP

       *on **bare.***

       DO PROX.INAN

       'It was an earth spirit! Her face was all bloodied thus {as you see}.' [Bk-47.073-4]

7.2.1.3 Use in denoting 'closeness' of relation

There is a minor pattern in which the proximal may mark a discourse participant on its first mention. In these cases, the proximal demonstrative description is licensed by a non-spatial, but metaphorically 'close' association between the speaker and the referent.

In (15) and (16), *bari* 'PROX.AN' marks a first mention of a proper name referring to a kin of the speakers. In (17) *bare* 'PROX.INAN' marks a first mention of the speaker's clan name. In each case the referent of the proximal marked NP is absent from the speech situation. The presence of the proximal serves to clarify that the referent of the proper name is the speaker's kin of that name, to the exclusion of other persons of that name.

15. *Neto **Yati bari**   n-oq   no   taq.*

     1SG Yati PROX.AN 1EXCL-waist OBL IPFV

     'Yati here was in my womb still', i.e. 'I was still pregnant with Yati.' [Bk-2.002]

16. ***Wendy bari***   na   gu-bul   kumu.

     Wendy PROX.AN FOC 3AN-head massage

     'It was this (ie. my daughter) Wendy who massaged his head.'   [Bk-43.052]

17. *Ni-e   reu   **Rato Alin**   **bare.***

     1EXCL-POSS house Rato Alin PROX.INAN

     'My house is this Rato Alin.'   [Bk-67.281]

Use of the proximal demonstrative in contexts of metaphorical closeness does not always introduce a new participant, but may also apply to referents with an antecedent in the discourse. In (18) the proximal is used to denote an already mentioned referent *dik* 'yam', but it does not track the referent. The first use of *bare* 'PROX.INAN' marking *dik* 'yam' in (18a) is licensed by spatial closeness to the speaker: the mother points the

dik 'yam' out to the children as the one they are not allowed to eat. In the text, the mother then goes to the garden leaving the yam with the children, which the children decide to cook and eat. In this part of the discourse we see that *dik* 'yam' is not (and cannot) be tracked by the proximal, but rather by the contrastive, *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' (§7.2.4). When the mother smells the cooking yam and exclaims that the children are cooking her yams, here the proximal is again used to mark *dik* 'yam' in (18e) and (18f). However, it is not conditioned by spatial nearness (since the mother is in the garden), but denotes that the *dik* 'yam' are figuratively near to the speaker, i.e. the mother's property. The proximal marking on *meaq gol* 'child' in (18e) is also licensed by the close association between the parent as speaker and the children as referents.

18. a. *"Dik*   *buleqen*   *bare*   *eli*   *hani*   *t-inik.*

     yam   red   PROX.INAN   2DU   PROH   3INAN-cook

     '"This red yam you two don't cook.'   [Bk-69.009]

  b. *Eli*   *bai*   *hosu*   *na*   *t-inik."*

     2DU   thing   other   FOC   3INAN-cook

     'You two cook something else."'   [Bk-69.0010]

  c. *Homo*   *haqal soq,*   *halaqi mar*   *mal.*

     CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ   3PL   garden go

     'Then, they went to the garden.'   [Bk-69.0012]

  d. *Meaq gol*   *hiloqon*   *himo*   *d-opol*   *d-opol,*   *dik*

     child   two   CONTR.AN   REFL-lead   REFL-lead   yam

     buleqen   *homo*   *na*   *t-inik.*

     red   CONTR.INAN   FOC   3INAN-cook

     'Those two children did as they pleased, cooking that red yam.'   [Bk-69.0013]

  e. *Gi-e* *pie*   *homo*   *leleq,* *gi-e* *eme*   *gi-e* *ama*   *g-o*   *pir.*

     3-POSS steam CONTR.INAN   float   3-POSS mother 3-POSS father 3-SRC reach

     'That steam of it wafted, reaching their mother and their father.'   [Bk-69.0015]

  f. *Homo*   *na,*   *"Meaq gol*   *hiloqon*   *bari*   *ciaq,*

     CONTR.INAN   FOC   child   two   PROX.AN   not.want

     g-ini   *dik*   *bare*   *t-inik.*

     3AN-CAUS   yam   PROX.INAN   3INAN-cook   [Bk-69.0016]

     'Then (the mother said), "These two children refuse to not cook these yams.'

  g. *Halali* *dik* *bare*   *t-inik*   *oa."*

     3DU   yam   PROX.INAN   3INAN-cook   PFV

     'They are cooking this yam already."'   [Bk-69.0017]

7.2.1.4 Textual use

The proximal demonstrative is used in textual deixis to track anaphoric referents which are less expected as topics in the discourse, typically in contexts where there is low-referential distance. Topic marking with the proximal is infrequent in comparison to that with the non-proximal, which is used to mark referents that are expected and/or continuing topics in the discourse (§7.2.2.3.1). Unlike the non-proximal marking topics, the proximal is not used to track different topics in successive clauses, or to track a single topic over multiple clauses. Two uses of the proximal in anaphoric reference are attested in the corpus; textual uses of the proximal without an antecedent, i.e. on first mention of a referent (cf. English, ***this*** *bloke comes up...*), are not found.

Topics marked by the proximal are digressive; they function to temporarily bring the referent to the foreground of the discourse in contexts where they are not expected to persist in the discourse. In (19a) and (20a) *zo* 'mango' and *Belu* 'Belu (province)' respectively are introduced into the discourse without any demonstrative marking and in their subsequent mention (19b) and (20b) these nouns are marked with the proximal demonstrative. Both (19b) and (20b) form asides to the main narrative, in which the speaker digresses to explain a point about the new referents *zo* 'mango' and *Belu* 'Belu (province)' before returning to the central storyline.

19. a. *Nei*   ***zo***   *za*   *zal.*
    1PL.EXCL   mango ripe   carry
    'We were carrying a ripe mango.'   [Bk-37.073]

   b. *Bai* *a*   *haqal,* *g-ini*   ***zo***   ***bare***   *na*   *a*   *ai.*
     thing eat   finished 3AN-CAUS   mango PROX.INAN   FOC   eat   ONLY
    'After eating, (we) made her eat this mango.'   [Bk-37.074]

20. a. *Hoqe* *gene* *en*   ***Belu****.*
    SPCPLC LOC   person Belu
    'Here are Belu people.'   [Bk-66.100]

   b. ***Belu***   ***bare***   *h-ini*   *moen.*
    Belu   PROX.INAN   3INAN-call   friend
    'Belu means "friend".'   [Bk-66.101]

The second anaphoric use of the proximal demonstrative is in summative contexts, where it marks the topic of the preceding discourse in a speaker's concluding remarks. The antecedents of the proximal in these contexts are less expected in that they are

discontinuitive, i.e. they do not continue the narrative forward, but break it off by referring back to the beginning of the narrative. For instance, in (21) *teras* 'terrace' is established in (21a). The noun does not occur again until (21e) where *teras* 'terrace' occurs marked with the proximal in the speaker's summing up of his explanation for the need for the terraces.

21. a.

Kalo	*i*		***teras***	*h-oqon*		*niq,*	*muk*	*g-io*		*il*
if	1PL.INCL		terrace	3INAN-make		NEG	earth	3AN-faeces		water

zal	*haqal.*
carry	finished

'If we didn't make terraces, the stuff in the earth would all be carried by the ` water.'   [Bk-65.024]

b.

Dele	*muk*	*toiq*	*gene*	*haqal,*	*i*	*i-e*		*muk*	*roe*
INS	earth	flat	LOC	finished	1PL.INCL	1INCL/2-POSS		earth	SPEC.INAN

muk	*tewe*	*si.*
earth	slope	REAS

'(It would be carried) with (it) and all (end up) on the flat earth, because this land of ours is sloping land.'   [Bk-65.025]

c.

Homo	*bu,*	*bai*	*a*	*loï*	*niq*	*oa.*
CONTR.INAN	GIVEN	thing	eat	good	NEG	PFV
[Bk-65.026]

'If that's so (that the earth is carried down), (we) cannot eat anymore.'

d.

Homo	*gi-e*	*na,*	***teras***	***bare***	*h-oqon.*
CONTR.INAN	3-POSS	FOC	terrace	PROX.INAN	3INAN-make

'For this reason, (we) build these terraces.'   [Bk-65.027]

Another example of the summative proximal is given in (22). This example occurs at the end of a text describing the cycle of the agricultural year. *Bare* 'PROX.INAN' marks *bai* 'thing' which refers not to a referent in the preceding discourse, but sums up, referring to the various stages of the agricultural cycle described in the preceding text.

22.

Bai	***bare***		*bei*	*mil*	*g-on*		*no*	*h-oqon*	*mien.*
thing	PROX.INAN		ancestor	COLL	3AN-hand		OBL	3INAN-do	routinely

'These things were done routinely in the time of the ancestors.'   [Bk-8.033]

7.2.2 Non-proximal demonstrative

The non-proximal demonstrative is used for items which are spatially (§7.2.2.1), or temporally (§7.2.2.2) removed from the speaker. In texts, the non-proximal is used to

track and situate discourse participants both anaphorically and non-anaphorically (§7.2.2.3). The non-proximal is also used to connect propositions in the discourse (§7.2.2.4), and in person deixis to refer to 3ʳᵈ person singular human referents (§7.2.2.5).

7.2.2.1 Spatial use

The non-proximal demonstrative contrasts with the proximal demonstrative; it is not distal, but rather is used to pick out entities which are viewed as not proximal to the speaker. That is, it is an unmarked term in that it can be used to refer to things just about anywhere in space, except where reference is very proximal, e.g. when the speaker is holding the item (cf. Enfield 2003).

The use of the non-proximal in spatial deixis is illustrated in (23) and (24), text excerpts from a videotaped conservation about weaving. In each excerpt, speaker A queries Speaker B as to the name of a part of the loom, respectively, *nanun* 'k.o. of small thread' situated directly in front of the speaker A and *hasarai* 'embroidery frame' located half-way up the loom. Example (23) shows the use of the non-proximal in contrast to that of the specifier and proximal demonstrative. Speaker A uses *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' with a pointing gesture to query the identity of an item, and speaker B responds using the specifier *roe* 'SPEC.INAN' to denote that it is the questioned item in particular that is called *nanun* 'k.o. of small thread'. Speaker A queries the name of the item using *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' again, to which speaker B responds by taking hold of the thread and confirming it as the thread in question using a demonstrative description with the proximal *bare* 'PROX.INAN'.

23. A. **Baqa**   *h-ini*   *nego?*
       NPRX.INAN   3INAN-call   what
       'What's that called?'   [Bk-35.089]

    B. *Roe*   *h-ini*   *nanun.*
       SPEC.INAN   3INAN-call   k.o. thread
       'This is called "nanun".'   [Bk-35.090]

    A. *Suta*   **baqa**   *h-ini*   *nanun?*
       thread   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-call   k.o. thread
       'That thread is called "nanun"?'   [Bk-35.091]

    B. *Suta*   *gol*   *bare*   *h-ini*   *nanun.*
       thread   small   PROX.INAN   3INAN-call   k.o. thread
       'This small thread here is called "nanun".   [Bk-35.092]

Example (24) illustrates how the non-proximal demonstrative can be used to point to any item outside of the very immediate personal space of the speaker. Speaker A uses the non-proximal *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' to query a part of the loom which he labels *g-on g-iri* '3AN-arm 3AN-leg'. Speaker B again responds using the specifier *roe* 'SPEC.INAN', with speaker A repeating the item's name in confirmation again using the non-proximal to refer to it. Speaker B confirms the name and now herself uses the non-proximal *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' accompanied with a pointing gesture to clarify that it is the embroidery loom that she is referring to. Although closer to speaker B than speaker A, speaker B can refer to the embroidery loom with the non-proximal demonstrative like speaker A because the item is not in her immediate space and even when pointing she is still removed from the item.

24. A. *Homo*　　　*gi-e*　*g-on*　　　*g-iri*　**baqa**　　　*h-ini*

CONTR.INAN　　3-POSS　3AN-hand　　3AN-leg　NPRX.INAN　　3INAN-call

nego?　　*G-on*　　　*g-iri*　　*na*　*rele*　　*bai*

what　　　3AN-hand　　3AN-leg　　FOC　INS　　　thing

selu　　　*gie*　　**baqa.**

weave　　　PROSP　　　NPRX.INAN

'What is that bit called? That bit with which you weave.'　　[Bk-35.022]

B. *G-on*　　　*g-iri*　　*hasarai.*　　　*Hasarai*　　　*na*

3AN-hand　　3AN-leg　　embroidery.frame　　embroidery.frame　　FOC

roe.

SPEC.INAN

'The bit is the embroidery frame. This is the embroidery frame.'　[Bk-35.022-23]

A. **Baqi**　　　*g-ini*　　*hasarai?*

NPRX.AN　　3AN-call　　embroidery.frame

'That's called "embroidery frame"?'　　　　　[Bk-35.024]

B. **Baqi**　　　*g-ini*　　*hasarai.*

NPRX.AN　　3AN-call　　embroidery.frame

'That's called "embroidery frame".'　　　　　[Bk-35.025]

7.2.2.2　Temporal use

The inanimate inflection of the non-proximal *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is used in temporal deixis to refer to past time. *Baqa* may mark temporal nouns (25) or clauses (26) referring to past events/times.

25. *Halaqi*   *he*   *gaqal, tan*   **waktu baqa**   *pas*   *neto*   *halaqi*

    3PL   run   all.AN   because   time   NPRX.INAN   fit   1SG   3PL

    g-azal,   *neto*   *langsung*   *ri-mil*   *hukat.*

    3AN-see   1SG   immediate   REFL-inside   lift

    'They all ran away, because at that time I saw them, I immediately lifted my thoughts up (i.e. sent my thoughts to God).'   [Bk-47.115]

26. *Halali*   *mal*   **baqa,**   *zap*   *gol*   *uen*   *g-ua*   *gene*   *mal.*

    3PL   go   NPRX.INAN   dog   small   one   3AN-footprint   LOC   go

    'That going of theirs, a small dog followed them.' i.e. 'When they went,...'

                                                                              [Bk-69.033]

See §7.2.2.4 for further discussion of examples such as (26) where *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' marks a clause with a coordinated clause following.

7.2.2.3   Textual use

In texts, the non-proximal is also used anaphorically to refer to a referent that is expected as topic in the discourse context (§7.2.2.3.1) or non-anaphorically as a definite article marking a foregrounded participant (§7.2.2.3.2).

7.2.2.3.1   Anaphoric use

The non-proximal demonstrative is used anaphorically in topic-comment structures to mark the topicality of the referent. This high frequency pattern is illustrated in (27) and (28). In their first mention, *sore* 'machete' and *guru* 'teacher' are not marked by a demonstrative (27a & 28a). In their next occurrence, *sore* 'machete' and *guru* 'teacher' are marked as topical by the non-proximal demonstrative with the clause forming a comment on them.

27. a.   *Ni-e*   *ama*   **sore**   *legul*   *uen*   *r-oq*   *ni*   *t-olo.*

      1EXCL-POSS   father   machete long   one   REFL-waist   OBL   3INAN-put.in

      'My father puts a long machete in his belt.'   [Bk-24.037]

   b.   **Sore baqa**   *koen*   *raza*   *los.*

      machete NPRX.INAN   beautiful   different   very

      'That machete is so very beautiful.'   [Bk-24.038]

28. a. *Nei*　　　*ni-e*　　　**guru**　*uen*　*g-ini*　　　*Donatus*　　*Mau.*
　　　1PL.EXCL　　1EXCL-POSS　teacher　one　3AN-call　　Donatus　　Mau

　　　'One of our teachers was called Donatus Mau.'　　　　　　　[Bk-70.094]

　b. **Guru**　**baqi**　　　*g-utu*　*te-rel*　　　*mele.*

　　　teacher　NPRX.AN　　3-COM　RECP-INS　　walk

　　　'That teacher went walking with her.'　　　　　　　　　[Bk-70.095]

In contrast to the textual use of the proximal demonstrative (§7.2.1.4), the non-proximal marks an anaphoric referent whose topicality is expected in the discourse. 'Expected' here means not simply that the topicality of the referent is predictable from the immediately preceding discourse, as that could also hold for topic-comment structures with the proximal. Rather the topicality of the referent marked by the non-proximal is neither surprising nor emphatic, but part of the predictable course of the advancement of the narrative. In accord with this, the non-proximal can track a different topic from clause to clause as new thematically prominent referents enter the discourse. In (29) after two non-topical mentions in (29a & 29b), *mar* 'garden' is then made topic with marking by the non-proximal in (29d). In the comment on topical *mar* 'garden' the place name *Hol Taqol* is mentioned for the first time, becoming the non-proximal marked topic in (29e). In turn, the *zo* 'mango' mentioned in the comment on topical *Hol Taqol* in (29e) (and earlier in the discourse) becomes the topic with non-proximal marking in (29f).

29. a. *Hot*　*mil*　*uen*　*no,*　*nei*　　　*ni-e*　*moen*　*mil*　*g-utu*

　　　sun　DUR　one　OBL　1PL.EXCL　1EXCL-POSS　friend　COLL　3-COM

　　　nei　　　*goniqo ola*　**mar**　*mal.*

　　　1PL.EXCL　three　LOW　garden　go

　　　'One day, we –my friends (and I)-, we three went down to a farm.'[Bk-1.011]

　b. *Nei*　　　**mar**　*gene*　*zo*　*a*　*gie.*

　　　1PL.EXCL　garden　LOC　mango　eat　PROSP

　　　'We were going to eat mangos in the farm.'　　　　　　　[Bk-1.012]

　c. *Le gie*　　*mel,*　*kira-kira*　　*tuku*　*hitu,*　*nei*　　　*kampung*

　　　next.day　wake　approximately　hour　seven　1PL.EXCL　village

　　　gene　*sai.*

　　　LOC　exit

　　　'The next morning, around 7 o'clock, we left the village.'　　[Bk-1.013]

d. **Mar   baqa,**   *mar   ate   h-ini   Hol   Taqol, ola   zol*

    farm   NPRX.INAN   garden   far   3INAN-call   stone   pebble   LOW   river

    alan   gene.

    side   LOC

    'That farm was a farm far away called Hol Taqol, down by the river.' [Bk-1.014]

e. **Hol   Taqol baqa**   *no   nei   ni-e   zo   masak bul   hiloqo.*

    stone   pebble   NPRX.INAN OBL   1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-POSS   mango   big   trunk   two

    'At that (place) Hol Taqol, we had two big mango trees.'   [Bk-1.015]

f. **Zo   baqa**   *za   haqal oa.*

    mango   NPRX.INAN   ripe   finished   PFV

    'Those mangoes were already all ripe.'   [Bk-1.016]

Also different from the proximal's anaphoric use is that the anaphoric non-proximal may track a single, continuing topical referent across clauses, as in (30). *Mar* 'garden' is introduced into the discourse in (30a). Subsequently, *mar* 'garden' appears marked as topic with the non-proximal where the predicate forms a comment on *mar* 'garden' in (30b & c). Unmarked instances of *mar* 'garden' are not topic-comment clauses, but occur coordinated with clauses of the topic-comment kind. They provide background or 'framing' information for the following topic-comment clauses in the form of a temporal setting in the first instance and tail-head linkage in the second instance.

30. a. **Mar   h-oqon   roe   goet   on.**

    garden   3INAN-make   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO

    'Making a garden is like this.'   [Bk-3.002]

b. **Mar   h-iqil   to   goniqon goniqil oa,   mar   baqa**

    garden   3INAN-leave.behind   year   three   four   PFV   garden   NPRX.INAN

    hatak   oa.

    ready   PFV

    '(Once) the garden has been left behind for three (or) four years, that farm is then ready.'   [Bk-3.003]

c. **Mar   hatak   oa   si,   mar   baqa**   *se   oa.*

    garden   ready   PFV   REAS   garden   NPRX.INAN   cut.back   PFV

    'Because the farm is ready, that garden is now cut back.'   [Bk-3.004]

7.2.2.3.2 Non-anaphoric use

The non-proximal demonstrative is used non-anaphorically to refer to entities that are definite and identifiable to speaker and hearer. The referent of an NP marked by a non-anaphoric non-proximal constitutes new information that is thematically prominent in the discourse, in that, it is part of the narrative advancement.

In (31) and (32) the non-proximal is used non-anaphorically to mark *mar* 'garden' and *zobuq* 'forest' respectively on their first discourse mention. The referents of *mar* 'garden' and *zobuq* 'forest' are inferentially retrievable: in (31c), the identity of the garden referred to is inferred as those gardens owned by the referent of *nei* '1PL.EXCL', and; in the response of speaker B in (32), because the hearer knows the location of the water, the referent of forest calibrate from their knowledge of the surroundings of the water. In both cases, the referent marked by the non-proximal constitute new information which advances the narrative: *mar* 'garden' in (31) is the location in which the planned terraces are to be built as the speaker goes on to describe; *zobuq* 'forest' in (32) refers to the latest location towards which the participant moves in a series of movements which are described in the discourse.

31. a. *Niat   no   ti-ta   mit   na   tut.*
       earliest OBL   RECP-GL   sit   FOC   first
       'In the beginning (we) sit together first.'   [Bk-65.005]

   b. *Homo   si,   nei   rale.*
      CONTR.INAN   REAS   we   talk
      '(We do this) so that we (can) talk.'   [Bk-65.006]

   c. *Ti-ta   bolu   haqal,   homo   soq,   le gie mel   nei   mulai*
      RECP-GL united finished CONTR.INAN   SEQ   next.day morning 1PL.EXCL   begin

      mar   baqa   *h-amos.*
      garden   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-clear
      'After (we've sat) together, then, the next morning we begin to clear those gardens.'   [Bk-65.007]

32. A. *Il   ni   mal,   hosu   mal?   Il   ni   sai?*
       water   OBL   go   other   go   water   OBL   exit
       'From the water, (she) went to another (place)? (She) left the water?'[Bk-47.038]

   B. *Baqi   **zobuq** **baqa**   a-ta   mal.*
      NPRX.AN   forest   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-GL   go
      'She went to that forest.'   [Bk-47.039]

Where inferential or contextual clues for identifying the non-anaphoric referent of NPs marked with the non-proximal are few, a relative clause often provides information needed to identify the referent ('establishing modifiers' in Himmelmann's (1996: 217) terms). In (33) the referent of *kale o hotel gol* 'small plants and trees' is identifiable on account of the relative clause which locates them in the garden. Similarly, in (34) the *a noq* 'food' referred to is delimited in a relative clause as that of the speaker's liking. As in the previous examples (31-32), the marking with the non-proximal in (33-34) indicates that the referents of the relevant NPs constitute thematically prominent new information which will persist in the discourse.

33. *Uen* [NP *kale o hotel gol* [RC *mar mil no*] ***baqi***] *g-iep.*
    one   k.o.plant AND   tree   small   garden inside OBL   NPRX.AN 3AN-cut
    'One cuts back those plants and small trees inside the garden.'   [Bk-3.006]

34. [NP*A noq na* [RC *neto mobel*] ***baqa***]   *g-ini*   *paqol.*
    eat   seed FOC 1SG   like   NPRX.INAN 3AN-call   corn
    'That food which I like is called corn.'   [Bk-24.031]

In many languages, the word for 'the' and the word for 'that' are one and the same (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 39). Whilst this is true of the Bunaq non-proximal demonstrative, the situation is more complex in that there is also a dedicated definite article (§7.3). The non-anaphoric use of the non-proximal is very close to that of the definite article and speakers typically accept the definite article in all contexts where the non-proximal is used non-anaphorically. However, the non-anaphoric non-proximal demonstrative and the definite article differ in that, whilst the non-proximal marks thematically prominent new information, the definite article tends to mark less important or backgrounded information.[2]

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[2] It should also be noted here that the non-proximal demonstrative (*baqa/baqi*) and the definite article (*ba/bi*) are similar in form. A formal relationship between 'that' and 'the' has been observed in many languages and it has been claimed to the result of the 'that' demonstrative reducing in unstressed definite article function: see Greenberg (1978) for the original proposal, and Diessel (1999: 128), and references therein for subsequent descriptions of this pathway. However, Schapper (2007) argues that the synchronic Bunaq definite article is not a reduction of the synchronic non-proximal demonstrative, but is the historical non-proximal demonstrative, while the synchronic non-proximal demonstrative is a reinforced form of the historical non-proximal demonstrative, now definite article. This process of demonstrative

7.2.2.4 Discourse deictic use

The inanimate form of the non-proximal may be used anaphorically to refer the proposition denoted by the preceding clause. The proposition referred to by *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is topical providing a presupposed 'setting' (or 'domain' in Reesink's (1994) terminology) which ties a new proposition with one in the preceding discourse.

This use is illustrated in (35) and (36) where we see that *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is discourse deictic referring back to the proposition denoted in the preceding clause. The clause anaphorically referred to by *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is topical for the following clause in that it constitutes a spatial, temporal, or individual frame within which the main predication of the clause holds: in (35) so that the water does not wash away the soil, trees are planted, while in (36) the figurative death of one of the participants results in the end of the game.

35. a. *Il   muk   mil   a-ta   tama   on,   hani   leleq.*
       water   earth inside 3INAN-GL   enter   do   PROH   flow
       '(When) the water enters the soil, it should not flow away.'   [Bk-65.109]

  b. ***Baqa***   *gi-e   na,   nei   sekal   g-olo,   dikotel o*
       NPRX.INAN   3-POSS   FOC   1PL.EXCL   potato 3-bury   casava   AND
       g-olo.
       3-bury
       'It is because of that we plant potatoes and cassava too.'   [Bk-65.110]

36. a. *Heser   oa.*
       dead   PFV
       '(You) are dead.'   [Bk-9.004]

  b. ***Baqa***   *bu,   rasal.*
       NPRX.INAN   GIVEN   stop
       'If that's the case, (we) stop (playing).'   [Bk-9.005]

The vast majority of discourse deictic uses of the non-proximal are pronominal as in (35) and (36). However, *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is occasionally found marking the second clause in tail-head linkage, as in (37). The presence of *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' in (37a)

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renewal by stacking is also widely observed in the languages of the world, and is also described in Greenberg (1978).

marking the head clause indicates it to be a topical frame in which the following clause holds in the same manner as in the above examples.

37. a. *Tais   tul   wit,   roq   pelek.*
       cloth   piece   take   cut.off   plant
       'Get a bit of cloth, cut it off and plant it.'   [Bk-23.062]

   b. ***Hik   gene   pelek   haqal   baqa,***   *i   Ø-ewen   ler   oa.*
       path   LOC   plant   finished   NPRX.INAN   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-face   bright   PFV
       'Once that planting in the path is done, then our eyes are opened (lit. our faces brighten).'   [Bk-23.063]

The non-proximal is limited to encoding topical frames in discourse deixis. It also cannot be used anaphorically in conjunction with the clause coordinators *soq* 'SEQ' and *si* 'REAS' which only combine with the contrastive demonstrative: see §7.2.4.2 on the discourse deictic use of this demonstrative.

7.2.2.5   Use in person deixis

In §6.2 it was observed that Bunaq has no personal pronouns in the 3rd person singular. The non-proximal demonstrative fills this gap: the ANIMATE form of the non-proximal, *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' is regularly used pronominally to track persisting topics with a singular human referent, as in (38).

38. a. *Tuan   Bert,   Luis   Bert,*   ***baqi***   *man.*
       sir   Berthe   Louis   Berthe   NPRX.AN come
       'Mr Berthe, Louis Berthe, he came.'   [Bk-70.001]

   b. *Pertama*   ***baqi***   *man,   hoqe   muk   Lamaknen*   *tama.*
       first   NPRX.AN   come   SPCPLC   land   Lamaknen   enter
       'The first time he came, (he) entered Lamaknen here.'   [Bk-70.002]

   c. *Bobonaro*   *gene   na   man,*   ***baqi.***
       Bobonaro   LOC   FOC   come   NPRX.AN
       '(He) came from Bobonaro, he (did).'   [Bk-70.003]

   d. *Bobonaro*   *gene   man,   Aiasa   Honaru*   *gene   man.*
       Bobonaro   LOC   come   Aiasa   Honaru   LOC   come
       '(He) came from Bobonaro, came from Aiasa Honaru.'   [Bk-70.004]

e. **Baqi**   *Gewal ni.*

NPRX.AN   Gewal OBL

'He was in Gewal.' [Bk-70.005]

f. *Gewal ni*   *haqal,* **baqi** *Gewal ni*   *hot*   *mil*   *tuen-tuen*   *uen*

Gewal OBL   finished NPRX.AN Gewal OBL   sun   DUR   how.many   one

haqal, **baqi**   *langsung*   *Lakmaras*   *mal.*

finished NPRX.AN   directly   Lakmaras   go

'Being finished in Gewal, finished after several days in Gewal, he went directly to Lakmaras.' [Bk-70.006]

A count in a sample of fifty texts shows that the tendency for pronominal *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' to be used in singular reference is strong. The results are summarised in Table 7.3. We see that, whilst adnominal *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' is relatively frequent in both singular and plural reference, there is a clear skewing to singular reference in pronominal use. In the same fifty text sample, there was no skewing in the marking of singular versus non-singular referent across adnominal and pronominal uses for the INANIMATE form of the non-proximal, *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN'. What is more, adnominal and pronominal uses of *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' were as common as one another.

Table 7.3: Type count of reference of *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' in 50 texts

Pronominal		Adnominal	
SG ref	PL ref	SG ref	PL ref
123	5	63	33

Of the five pronominal uses of *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' with plural reference, only one, given in (39), has human plural reference. There is, however, some ambiguity in the example: *tani* 'farmer', the apparent antecedent of *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' is unusually distant, occurring some twenty lines earlier with no subsequent mention prior to *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' itself. As such, it is not entirely clear that the speaker had *tani* 'farmer' in mind as the antecedent of the later pronominal *baqi* 'NPRX.AN'.

39. a. *Nei*   *tani.*

1PL.EXCL   farmer

'We are farmers.' [Bk-3.001]

b. *En   tani   sirubisu,   mar   na   h-oqon.*
   person farmer work   garden FOC   3INAN-make

   '(When) farmers work, it is gardens that they make.'   [Bk-3.002]

c. *Kalo   koïn   haqal oa,   inel   man   mien, **baqi**   h-ota*
    if   burn.garden finished PFV   rain   come   usually NPRX.AN 3INAN-plant

   los   oa.
   very PFV

   '(When) the garden burning is finished, (when) the rain comes as usual, they plant like mad.'   [Bk-3.021]

The remaining examples of pronominal *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' with plural reference have animal, not human referents. The two instances are given in (40) and (41).

40. a. *Jadi   **sael**   biasa paqol gi-a,   **orel**   biasa paqol gi-a.*
       so   pig   usually corn   3AN-eat monkey usually corn   3AN-eat

       'So pigs and monkeys usually eat corn.'   [Bk-8.007]

   b. *Jadi   **baqi**   ge-rel   huliliq.*
      so   NPRX.AN   3AN-INS   planting.festival

      'So (we) do the *huliliq* festival (to scare) them.'   [Bk-8.018]

   c. *Homo   na,   **baqi**   hani   paqol g-arat.*
      CONTR.INAN FOC   NPRX.AN   PROH   corn   3AN-destroy

      'Then they don't destroy the corn.'   [Bk-8.019]

41. a. *Sael   makao g-epal legul baqa   goet.*
       pig   Macao 3AN-ear long   NPRX.INAN   LIKE

       'Macao pigs have long ears like that.'   [Bk-47.101]

   b. ***Baqi***   g-epal legul baqa   goet.*
      NPRX.AN   3AN-ear long   NPRX.INAN   LIKE

      'They have long ears like that.'   [Bk-47.102]

In sum, *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' appears to be in the course of specialising in its pronominal use for 3rd person singular referents, while *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is still frequent in pronominal and adnominal reference. The strong tendency of *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' to be used pronominally in singular human reference appears to arise out of pressure to fill the gap

in the pronominal paradigm caused by the fact the 3ʳᵈ person personal pronouns, *halaqi* '3PL' and *halali* '3DU', which only refer to non-singular humans.[3]

7.2.3 Specifier demonstrative

The specifier demonstrative indicates that the referent is exactly the entity or set of entities at issue (Payne 1997: 264). The specifier is used in spatial deixis (§7.2.3.1), in temporal deixis (§7.2.3.2) and in textual deixis (§7.2.3.3).[4]

7.2.3.1 Spatial use

The specifier is distance-neutral in spatial deixis. However, like distance-marked demonstratives, the specifier may be used to focus the hearer's attention on entities in the surrounding situation, with or without an accompanying pointing gesture.

Examples of the situational use of the specifier were already seen in (23) and (24) in contrast to the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives. Example (42) further exemplifies the specifier's situational use from the same text as (23) and (24). In this part of the text, the speaker is going through the different names for the parts of the loom as she weaves. We see that each new item that the speaker takes hold of in the process of weaving is marked with the specifier. The specifier is used repeatedly in this way to bring referents into the attentional focus of the hearer and specify that only the referent alone is meant in the context.

42. a. *Homo*   *haqal soq,*   **roi**   *g-ini*   *rosan.*
     CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ   SPEC.INAN   call   p.o.loom
     'And then, this is called "rosan".'   [Bk-35.033]

   b. **Rosan roe**   *na*   *mete*   *suta*   *huqe*   *gene*   *homo*
     p.o.loom SPEC.INAN   FOC   NOW   thread   HERE   LOC   CONTR.INAN
     h-ake   *wen*   *gie*   *h-ini.*
     3INAN-push   UNAGENT   PROSP   3INAN-CAUS
     'It is this "rosan" which is made to be put through in the thread here.' [Bk-35.034]

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[3] Givón (1984: 353-360) has shown that the pronominal demonstratives often develop into 3ʳᵈ person pronouns. In Bunaq, whilst *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' has become de-stressed and is used to track persisting topics in the manner of a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun (Diessel 1999: 120), it is still syntactically a determiner.

[4] In rapid speech, specifiers are often unstressed. Unstressed their /o/ vowel either reduces to a weak schwa or drops out entirely, thus *doe* and *doi* can be realised as [r(ə)e] and [r(ə)i].

c. *Homo*   *haqal*   *soq,*   **roi**   *g-ini*   *g-iri*   *gol.*

    CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ   SPEC.AN   3AN-call   3AN-leg small

    'And then, this is called "little leg".'   [Bk-35.035]

d. **G-iri**   **gol**   *roi*   *na*   *i*   **nanun**   **roe**   *no*

    3AN-leg small   SPEC.AN FOC   1PL.INCL   small.thread   SPEC.INAN   OBL

    g-olo.

    3AN-put

    'It is this "little leg" that is put into this small thread.'   [Bk-35.036]

e. **Nanun**   *roe*   *no*   *t-olo.*

    small.thread   SPEC.INAN   OBL   3INAN-put

    'It's put into this small thread.'   [Bk-35.037]

f. *Homo*   *haqal*   *soq,*   *hiqit.*

    CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ   lift

    'And then, it's lifted.'   [Bk-35.038]

g. *Homo*   *naq*   *na,*   **nolu**   *roe*   *i*   *t-olo.*

    CONTR.INAN   FIRST   FOC   p.o.loom   SPEC.INAN   1PL.INCL 3INAN-put.in

    'Then, this "nolu" is put in.'   [Bk-35.039]

The specifier is also found in contexts of contrastive proximal spatial deixis, illustrated in (43). The proximal demonstrative is used to introduce the first item and the specifier the contrasting second item; both may be accompanied by a pointing gesture. The proximal demonstrative is not used to contrast two proximal entities in Bunaq.

43. **Tais**   **bare**   *tais*   *mone.* **Tais**   **roe**   *tais*   *pana.*

    cloth   PROX.INAN   cloth   man   cloth   SPEC.INAN   cloth   woman

    'This cloth is a man's cloth. This cloth is a woman's cloth.'   [OS-06.01]

The use of the specifier in contrastive proximal deixis is a relic of the specifier's historical derivation from a proximal demonstrative.[5] Synchronically in Bunaq Lamaknen, the specifier otherwise retains no distance-bound situational deictic meaning. This is seen in that, in addition to referring to speaker-proximal items, the specifier readily combines with spatial locationals (44; see §8.3.1), and the addressee proximal locational (45; see §8.3.4).

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[5] This is seen in that in the conservative south-western Bunaq dialect (§1.5), the specifier is used in proximal reference. The proximal demonstrative in Bunaq Lamaknen does not exist in southern Bunaq.

44. *Muk*   ***ota***   ***roe***,   *en*   *baqi*   *negara uen*   *oa.*

    land   LEVEL   SPEC.INAN   person   NPRX.AN   country   one   PFV

    'That land over there, those people are one [ie. their own] country now'[Bk-11.021]

45. *Nego*   *o*   ***roe?***

    what   ADDR   SPEC.INAN

    'What's that you've got?'   [OS-06.01]

7.2.3.2 Temporal use

The INANIMATE form of the specifier is used in temporal deixis to mark a clause referring to a past time event, whose effects are still felt in the present. Typically, a clause marked by *doe* 'SPEC.INAN' is from the recent past, as an event which occurred recently is naturally more likely to still hold in the present, but need not be.

In (46) *doe* 'SPEC.INAN' marks a clause referring to an event that occurred in the very distant, mythical past and signals that the event, namely that fire (hearths) became part of houses, is still the case today. In (47) *doe* 'SPEC.INAN' marks a clause referring to an event from a few days prior to the speech time which has resulted in the speakers' confusion and need to ask what they should do now.

46. *Homo*   *no*   *na,*   [*tas*   *mil*   *gene*   *reu*   *hoto*   *hati*   ***roe***].

    CONTR.INAN   OBL   FOC   village   COLL   LOC   house   fire   exist   SPEC.INAN

    'And so, there were henceforth fires in houses in the villages.'   [Bk-6.066]

47. *Tuen*   *goet*   *on*   *oa,*   [*Mau*   *Paran*   *heser*   *haqal*   ***roe***]?

    how   be.like   DO   PFV   Mau   Paran   be.dead   finished   SPEC.INAN

    'What (should we) do now that Mau Paran has died?'   [Bk-4.069]

Where a clause marked by *doe* 'SPEC.INAN' is first in the coordinated pair, it provides a recent past frame for the event described in the following clause. In (48), the recent event of returning from boarding-school meant that the speaker got to eat good food. Similarly, in (49) the recent request that the referent come and carry pumpkins went unheard.

48. [*I*   *reu*   *a-ta*   *mal*   ***roe***],   *bai*   *a*   *mami.*

    1PL.INCL   house   3INAN-GL   go   SPEC.INAN   thing   eat   tasty

    'When we came home just now, we ate tasty food.'   [Bk-30.092]

49. [*Ope*   *gi-al*   *gie*   **roe**]   *bu,*   *mak* *niq.*

    pumpkin   3AN-carry   PROSP SPEC.INAN   GIVEN hear   NEG   [Bk-22.021]

'When there were pumpkins to be carried recently, (he) didn't hear (the call).'

A final, more unusual example of the specifier marking a recent past event is given in (50). Here the specifier marks a clause referring to a recent past event which is a fronted complement acting as the P of *dale* 'tell' in the following clause.

50. [*Ibu*   *tara*   **roe**],   *mete* *paq*   *Donatus*   *bi*   *na*   *ibu*

    Mrs   know SPEC.INAN   NOW   Mr   Donatus   DEF.AN FOC Mrs

    g-ege   *rale.*

    3AN-BEN speak

'That which Mrs knows (and told) just now, it was this Mr Donatus who told it to Mrs.'   [Bk-70.101]

7.2.3.3 Textual use

In textual deixis, the specifier may be used either non-anaphorically or anaphorically to pick out a referent as the specific one being referred to in the discourse.

In (51) and (52) we observe the use of the specifier in non-anaphoric reference. In (51) the speaker is comparing different words for 'eat' in Timorese languages he knows. After comparing the word in Dawan and Makasai, he notes that he does not know the word for 'eat' in Kemak, a new referent in the discourse. The headless NP referring to Kemak in (51d) is determined by the specifier in order to define the scope of the reference to Kemak specifically (see §9.2.1.1 on possessive constructions with no head).

51. a. *Dawan*   *na*   *"mua".*

      Dawan   FOC   eat

      'Dawan('s word for eat is) "mua".'   [Bk-61.095]

   b. *Baqa*   *uen-uen,*   *Makasai.*

      NPRX.INAN   same   Makasai

      That's the same, (as) Makasai is.'   [Bk-61.096]

   c. *Kalo "nua", haqe gene "mua".*

      if   eat   THERE LOC   eat

      'Well (it's) "nua" (in Makasai), there (in Dawan) it's "mua".'   [Bk-61.097]

   d. [*Kemak*   *gi-e* **roe**]   *neto* *tara* *niq.*

      Kemak   3-POSS SPEC.INAN   1SG   know   NEG

      'That of Kemak I don't know.'   [Bk-61.098]

In (52) there are two NPs marked by the specifer. In the first the specifier marks a pronominally headed NP refering to a new discourse referent in reference and denotes that it is specifically the people geographically removed from the Bunaq people that call them by the name Marae. The second NP determined by the specifier is appositional to the first and elaborates on the content of the first in order to ensure that the reference is clear.

52. a. *Marae, en   Bunaq mos   o   da-tara.*
       Marae   person Bunaq also   AND   REFL-know
       'Marae, the Bunaq people also know themselves (as that).'   [Bk-15.012]

    b. *Halaqi en   Bunaq, tapi   mete   [halaqi guni   gene   **roi**]   na,*
       3PL   person Bunaq but   NOW   3PL   outside LOC   SPEC.AN FOC

       [*ate   gene   **roi***]   *na   toek.*
       far   LOC   SPEC.AN   FOC   talk
       'They are Bunaq people, but now it is those (people) on the outside, those at a distance that talk (like this, calling Bunaq people "Marae").'   [Bk-15.013]

In (53) the specifier is used anaphorically, referring to an entity whose identity is clear from the events previously described in the text. On its first mention, in (53a) *g-otil* '3AN-spouse' occurs without a determiner, but on its second mention in (53b) it is marked by the specifier. This determiner emphasises that the wife of the dead man is the precise entity in question.

53. a. ***G-otil***   *na   man.*
       3AN-spouse   FOC   come
       'It was his wife who came.'   [Bk-70.088]

    b. ***G-otil***   *roi,   baqi   gi-e   jurisan   hosu,   botani.*
       3AN-spouse   SPEC.AN NPRX.AN   3-POSS discipline   other   botany
       'This wife of his, her discipline was different, (it was) botany.'   [Bk-70.089]

Since it is used to pick out an individual referent or particular set of referents, contrastive meaning can be a contextual implicature of the specifier's use, but it is by no means entailed in it. For instance, contrastiveness of the specifier marked argument is suggested in (51d) above where, having just given the lexemes for 'eat' in the Dawan and Makasai languages, the speaker proceeds to profess his ignorance of it in Kemak. Another example of the specifier's apparent contrastiveness is given in (54). In (54b)

the speaker describes how he was left behind to care for his injured friend, while in (54a) his other friend went to fetch the adults. In this example, the contrastiveness arises out of the juxtaposition of different referents within the discourse and does not come from the specifier itself, which functions merely to circumscribe the reference to a single entity.

54. a. *Uen g-ini   mal matas mil gi-wit.*
    one 3AN-CAUS   go   old   COLL 3AN-fetch
    'One was made to go fetch the parents.'   [Bk-1.026]

   b. *Neto **roe**   gi-ta zaga,   baqa   no.*
      1SG   SPEC.INAN   3AN-GL watch.over NPRX.INAN   OBL
      'I specifically watched over him there.'   [Bk-1.027]

Unlike the specifier, the contrastive demonstrative described in the following section (§7.2.4) has inherent contrastive semantics.

7.2.4 Contrastive demonstrative

The contrastive demonstrative has no spatial deictic meaning, but is used extensively in textual deixis to contrast referents (§7.2.4.1) and in discourse deixis to link sentences (§7.2.4.2).

7.2.4.1 Textual use
7.2.4.1.1 Contrastive use

In textual deixis the contrastive demonstrative refers to an entity in the discourse and contrasts it, either implicitly or explicitly, with another entity. The entity referred to by the contrastive may be anaphoric or non-anaphoric, illustrated in (55) and (56) respectively.

In (55b) the contrastive demonstrative marks *dolar* 'dollar' after it has already been established in the discourse (55a) and sets up a contrast between the dollar and the *uang Indonesia gie* 'Indonesian money' which the speaker will get for the dollar on exchange.

55. a. *En   halaqi n-ege   roqit **dolar.***
    person 3PL   1EXCL-give   cash   dollar
    'Those people give me dollars'   [Bk-11.005]

b. **_Dolar himo_**   _tebe_   _tuqal,_   _neto_   _uang_   _Indonesia_   _gi-e_

dollar   CONTR.AN   return   exchange   1SG   money   Indonesia   3-POSS

g-osok.

3AN-recieve

'In turn (I) exchange these dollars, (and) I get Indonesian money.' [Bk-11.006]

In (56c) _homo_ 'CONTR.INAN' marks a new discourse referent _WC_ 'toilet'. The contrastive demonstrative juxtaposes the toilet's stinking with the general mess of the boarding-house described in the preceding clauses, a sample of which is given in (56a-b). That is, the contrast here does not involve direct opposition between different entities, but rather involves entities being juxtaposed to one another in order to pragmatically highlight one referent over another in the discourse.

56. a.   _Nego_   _bare_   _baqis_   _los_

     what   PROX.INAN   much   very

     '(In the boarding house, there is) lots of this kinda of junk (lit. what).'[Bk-30.101]

   b.   _Lobot._

     dust

     '(The boarding house is) dusty.'   [Bk-30.102]

   c.   _Apa lagi,_   **_WC_**   **_homo_**   _seleq_   _nuas._

     what about   toilet   CONTR.INAN   urine   stink

     'And what about those toilets, (they) stink of urine.'   [Bk-30.103]

Anaphoric and non-anaphoric uses of the contrastive demonstrative differ in their frequency, with non-anaphoric uses being only marginal in comparison to the anaphoric. Syntactically, there is also a distinction between anaphoric and non-anaphoric uses: whereas an anaphoric contrastive demonstrative can be used either adnominally or pronominally, non-anaphoric instances of the contrastive demonstrative are always adnominal. This is the obvious corollary of the fact that, where the referent is previously unmentioned, it therefore requires explicit identification with a nominal. Example (57a) illustrates the pronominal use of the contrastive demonstrative in anaphoric reference. In (57b) the contrastive demonstrative is used pronominally to refer back to the road which heads toward Lakus mentioned in (57a). The contrast denoted by the contrastive demonstrative here is implicit with the presence of the fork in the road entailing that there be two choices of road although only the branch to Lakus is mentioned.

57. a. *Zemal*   *hik*   *sorun* *Lakus* *a-ta*   *mal.*

       go.down   path   fork   Lakus   3INAN-GL   go

       'Go down to the Lakus fork in the road.'   [Bk-34.007]

   b. ***Homo***   *h-alolo.*

       CONTR.INAN   3INAN-follow

       'Follow this one (and not the other fork in the road).'   [Bk-34.008]

Whereas the item that is being contrasted with that marked by the contrastive demonstrative is contextually implicit in (57), there may also be explicit juxta-positioning of two referents both marked with the contrastive demonstrative. In (58) the two wronged women are contrasted with one another being marked adnominally with *himo* 'CONTR.AN' (58b-c). Similarly, in (59) *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' is used pronominally with anaphoric reference to the differing sums received for the bottles of contrasting size (59b-c). There is never more than two contrasting entities in such uses of the contrastive demonstrative.

58. a. *En*   *mone* *baqi*   *g-ini*   *sal*   *hiloqon.*

       person   male   NPRX.AN   3AN-CAUS   wrong   two

       'That man was said to have wronged in two ways.'   [Bk-21.028]

   b. ***Pana* *gol***   ***himo***   *tebe*   *g-ariqa.*

       female   small   CONTR.AN   return   3AN-repair   [Bk-21.029]

       '(He must) repair the girl on the one hand.' (i.e. repair the wrong he did the girl).

   c. ***Di-e***   *pana*   *himo*   *tebe*   *g-ewen*   *h-ariqa.*

       REFL-POSS   female   CONTR.AN   return   3AN-face   3INAN-repair

       '(He must) repair the (lost) face of his wife on the other hand.'   [Bk-21.031]

59. a. *Botil*   *uen*   *hini*   *nota*   *sogal*   *gonciet.*

       bottle   one   CAUS   note   tens   five

       'One bottle is (worth) 15 notes.'   [Bk-13.011]

   b. ***Homo***   *botil*   *legul*   *gi-e.*

       CONTR.INAN   bottle   tall   3-POSS

       'That's for a big bottle.'   [Bk-13.012]

   c. *Nota*   *sogo,*   ***homo***   *botil*   *barak*   *gi-e.*

       note   ten   CONTR.INAN   bottle   short   3-POSS

       '10 notes, that's for a small bottle.'   [Bk-13.013]

7.2.4.1.2 Topic shift use

The contrastive demonstrative is also used anaphorically to mark a shift in topic to an NP with a less topical referent in the preceding discourse. For instance, in (60) the man is established first as the topical referent and is tracked by the expected non-proximal *baqi* 'NPRX.INAN' in (60a-b), while the girl is a backgrounded participant marked by the definite article (60b) after her first mention without demonstrative marking in (60a). In (60c) when the focus of the discourse shifts from the man to the girl, the contrastive demonstrative is used to mark the girl as the new topical participant. Note that the INANIMATE contrastive demonstrative, *homo* 'CONTR.INAN', at the beginning of (60c) marks the sequence between events (§7.2.4.3).

60. a. *En   mone uen,   baqi   mal   en   iskola gol   gu-sura.*
       person   man   one   NPRX.AN go   person   school small   3AN-ask
       '(There was) a man, he went and propositioned a school kid.'   [Bk-21.003]

   b. *Baqi   en   pana   gol   bi   gu-sura   g-utu   cier   gie.*
      NPRX.AN   person female small DEF.AN   3AN-ask   3-COM   sleep   PROSP
      'He asked the little girl to sleep with him.'   [Bk-21.004]

   c. *Homo   na,   en   pana   himo   milik   di-e   tazuq*
      CONTR.INAN   FOC   person female CONTR.AN   scared REFL-POSS   door
      ube,...
      close
      'Then, this girl out of fear locked herself in her room,...'   [Bk-21.005]

Similarly, in the extract given in (61) the discourse initially concentrates on the various tasks performed by a range of participants in order to get the injured boy back to the village. In this part of the discourse (61b), the boy is referred to only by agreement on the verbal postposition *gi-ta* '3AN-GL' (cf. §4.7.1.1 on NP elision). When the discourse attention shifts back to the boy himself in (61d), the contrastive demonstrative marks the *en topol* 'fallen person' as a less topical antecedent and functions to reactivate the referent as the topic of the discourse.

61. a. *Uen g-ini   mal   matas mil   gi-wit.*
       one 3AN-CAUS   go   old   COLL   3AN-fetch
       'One (of us) went to get the parents.'   [Bk-1.026]

   b. *Neto roe   gi-ta   zaga, baqa   no.*
      1SG   SPEC.INAN   3AN-GL manage NPRX.INAN   OBL
      'I myself kept an eye on him there.'   [Bk-1.027]

c. *Kira-kira   tuku   uen,   matas mil   Gewal gene   sai.*
   approximately hour   one   old   COLL   Gewal LOC   exit

   'About one o'clock the parents came down from Gewal.'   [Bk-1.028]

d. ***En***   *topol*   ***himo***   *g-ukat.*
   person   fall   CONTR.AN   3AN-lift

    'That one who had fallen was lifted.'   [Bk-1.029]

See also §8.3.3 on the use of the deictic *mete* 'NOW' with the contrastive demonstrative in topic shifts.

7.2.4.2 Sequential use

In §7.2.4.1 we saw that the contrastive demonstrative was used to contrast one entity with another or to shift topicality from one entity to another. In this function the contrastive demonstrative was seen to only mark one or two NPs in the discourse. There are, however, also examples of the contrastive demonstrative marking multiple NPs over a stretch of discourse. In these contexts, the contrastive demonstrative marks sequentiality of one or more referents, e.g. 'the (next/in turn)'. There are two types of multiple NP marking with the contrastive demonstrative that can be distinguished.

First, the contrastive demonstrative can mark multiple NPs with different referents, where there is sequentiality in the occurrence of the marked NPs in the discourse. This is illustrated in (62), a partial route description naming the sequence of places that is encountered when travelling from Gewal to Nualain village. We see that as each new placename enters into the discourse it is determined by the contrastive demonstrative. The places are not being directly contrasted with one another, rather the contrastive demonstrative functions to mark that they occur in a sequence where each location is followed by and takes the place of another along the route between villages.

62. a. *Pie Asa Toiq a-ta   zemal.*
       Pie Asa Toiq   3INAN-GL   go.down
       'Go down towards to Pie Asa Toiq.'   [Bk-34.016]

   b. *Pie Asa Toiq a-ta   zemal   haqal soq,   **Pie Asa Toiq***
      Pie Asa Toiq   3INAN-GL   go.down   finished SEQ   Pie Asa Toiq

      homo   *no*   *zemal.*
      CONTR.INAN   OBL   go.down

      'Once finished going down to this Pie Asa Toiq, go down from this Pie Asa Toiq.'   [Bk-34.017]

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c. *Mele   mele   mele   daro   esen   o   **Duarato**   **Pur Bul***
   walk   walk   walk   until   HIGH   ADDR   Duarato   Pur Bul

   homo   *pir.*
   CONTR.INAN   reach

   'Keep walking until (you) reach this Duarato Pur Bul up there.'   [Bk-34.018]

d. ***Duarato***   ***Pur Bul***   ***homo***   *no*   *menal,*
   Duarato   Pur Bul   CONTR.INAN   OBL   go.up

   Leto   Sun   a-ta   sai.
   Leto   Sun   3INAN-GL   exit

   'From this Duarato Pur Bul go up, (and) come out to Leto Sun.'   [Bk-34.019]

e. ***Leto   Sun   homo***   *no*   *menal   teni.*
   Leto   Sun   CONTR.INAN   OBL   go.up   again

   'From this Leto Sun go up again.'   [Bk-34.020]

Second, there is an infrequent use of the contrastive demonstrative in which it determines multiple NPs that have a single referent, or rather tracks different phases of a single referent over several clauses. This is seen in (63) where *g-oq* '3AN-seed' referring to 'cotton' is the topical discourse entity tracked by *himo* 'CONTR.INAN' across three separate clauses (63c, d & f). The contrastive demonstrative marks that the cotton goes through a sequence of events and is changed in form from stage to stage in the process of being made into thread.

63. a. *Bei   mil   g-on*   *homo,*   *suta   hobel   taq.*
      ancestor COLL   3AN-hand   CONTR.INAN   thread   not.exist IPFV
      'In the time of the ancestors, there was no (store-bought) thread.' [Bk-35.002]

  b. *Homo*   *si,*   *nei*   *g-oq*   *ge-rel   na*   *h-oqon.*
      CONTR.INAN   REAS   1PL.EXCL   3AN-seed   3AN-INS FOC   3INAN-make
      'Because of this, it was with cotton that we made (thread).'   [Bk-35.003]

  c. ***G-oq***   ***himo***   *nei*   *mar   gene   kali.*
      3AN-seed   CONTR.AN   1PL.EXCL   garden   LOC   strew
      'This cotton we strew in the garden.'   [Bk-35.004]

  d. *Kalo   pan   porat,   nei*   ***goq***   ***himo***   *g-iwal.*
      if   season dry   1PL.EXCL   3AN-seed   CONTR.AN   3AN-pick
      'When is dry season, we pick this cotton.'   [Bk-35.005]

  e. *G-iwal,*   *ge-rel*   *man.*
      3AN-pick   3AN-INS   come
      'Having picked (it), (we) take (it) home.'   [Bk-35.006]

f. *Nei*   **_g-oq_**   *himo*   *g-amos.*

   1PL.INCL   3AN-seed   CONTR.AN   3AN-clean

   'We clean this cotton.'   [Bk-35.007]

The sequence marking function of the contrastive demonstrative is not regarded as distinct from its contrastive marking function. It is rather an application of the demonstrative's contrastive semantics to a sequential series of referents. While there is no direct opposition between the roles played by referents, the referents are contrastive in so far as one takes the place of the other.

7.2.4.3 Discourse deictic use

The INANIMATE form *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' is used extensively as a sentence connector, where it refers to the proposition of the preceding clause and links it to that of the following clause. In this function, the contrastive demonstrative marks that the linked propositions occur in a particular temporal or causal sequence relative to one another, and, unlike the discourse deictic function of the non-proximal demonstrative (§7.2.2.4), does not denote that the referred to propositions are in any way topical.

The contrastive demonstrative combines with a range of clause linking items to indicate the nature of the relationship between the linked propositions, typically sequential phases or events in a process or narrative. In (64) we see that *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' is used to refer back to the proposition of the preceding clause and links it with that of the next. *Homo* 'CONTR.INAN' combines with the reason coordinator *si* 'REAS' (64b; §3.5.8.1) , the completive verb *haqal* 'finished' (64c) and a combination of *naq* 'FIRST' (64d; §4.6.1.1), and the restrictive focus particle *na* 'FOC' (§3.5.7.2) denoting 'once X, (then Y)' in (64e).

64. a. *Ho gapa*   *hati,*   *soro.*

      k.o.bean   exist   mix

      '(If) there are beans, mix (them) in.'   [Bk-44.006]

   b. **_Homo_**   *si,*   *mami.*

      CONTR.INAN   REAS   tasty

      'That's (so as to make it) tasty.'   [Bk-44.007]

   c. **_Homo_**   *haqal,* *i*   *g-ini*   *ten.*

      CONTR.INAN   finished 1PL.INCL   3AN-CAUS   ready

      'After that, we ready (the corn).'   [Bk-44.008]

d. *G-ini*   *koen~koen.*

    3AN-CAUS   nice~REDUP

    '(We) make (it) really nice.'   [Bk-44.009]

e. ***Homo***   *naq*   *na,*   *i*   *ge-rel* *reu* *mil* *a-ta*   *tama.*

    CONTR.INAN   FIRST FOC 1PL.INCL 3AN-INS house inside 3INAN-GL   enter

    'Once that's (done) we bring it into the house.'   [Bk-44.010]

Examples (65-66) provide further illustration of the use of *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' to link propositions in combination with the clause combining items, *soq* 'SEQ' (§3.5.8.1) and *be* 'CONTEXP' (§3.5.8.2).

65. a. *Piral*   *bokal* *g-oq*   *g-olo.*

    rice.grain   coarse 3AN-seed   3AN-put.in

    '(You) put in the coarse rice grains.'   [Bk-45.011]

  b. ***Homo***   *soq,* *i*   *ho*   *g-oq*   *g-utu* *campur.*

    CONTR.INAN   SEQ 1PL.INCL   bean 3AN-seed   3-COM mix

    'After that, you mix it with nuts.'   [Bk-45.012]

66. a. *Nei*   *goniqil*   *te-rel*   *u*   *h-ozep.*

    1PL.EXCL   four   RECP-INS   undergrowth   3INAN-slash

    'The four of us cut the undergrowth together.'

  b. ***Homo***   *be,*   *halali* *gi-e* *u*   *bilik* *baqis* *lesin.*

    CONTR.INAN   CONTEXP   3DU   3-POSS undergrowth   bind   much   more

    'But those two, the undergrowth they bound was much more.'   [Bk-12.013]

The contrastive demonstrative can also be used as a general discourse connector without any accompanying coordinating element. On its own clause-initial *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' links the preceding sentence together with the following sentence in a loose way, with pragmatics supplying the additional inferences about the relation of the propositions in the two sentences. A brief intonation break follows *homo* 'CONTR.INAN'. In (67) *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' links the following sentence to the preceding one with the later providing a reason for the event denoted in the former. In this function *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' can reduce to [hmo ~ mo].

67. a. *Il*   *zal*   *niq,*   *nei.*

    water   carry NEG   1PL.EXCL

    'We didn't take water with us, we didn't.'   [Bk-37.068]

b. **Homo,**   *nei*   *biasa Lakaqan*   *bul*   *gene* *Il*   *Diraq*
   CONTR.INAN   1PL.EXCL   usually Mt.Lakaan   base   LOC   water   dew

   gene   *na*   *il*   *a.*
   LOC   FOC   water   eat

   'That (is because) we were used to drinking water from [the spring] Il Diraq at the foot of Mount Lakaqan.'   [Bk-37.069]

Whilst in the vast majority of instances *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' is used to refer back to the preceding sentence, it is occasionally also found in the clausal demonstrative position. The nominalised clause marked by *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' repeats information from the immediately previous discourse and links it to the following clause either using clause coordinators or simple parataxis of clauses. The clause marked by *homo* can be a reformulation of a previous proposition, as in (68), or, as is more often the case, it is an almost direct repetition of the previous clause, as in (69).

68. a. *Halaqi mete*   *kelompok~kelompok baqi*   *ta-tara*   *niq*   *taq.*
       3PL   NOW   group~REDUP   NPRX.AN RECP-know   NEG   IPFV
       'Now these groups they don't know (about) each other yet.'   [Bk-15.005]

   b. [*Daro* *t-iol*   *tara*   **homo**]   *naq*   *na,*   *en*   *baqi*
      until   RECP-voice   know   CONTR.INAN   FIRST   FOC   person   NPRX.AN

      Bunaq *o*   *niq.*
      Bunaq   AND   NEG

      'Once people know each other's languages, then (they recognize) that person isn't also Bunaq'   [Bk-15.006]

69. a. *Inanoq*   *nei*   *bai*   *pies*   *gie*   *mal.*
       last.night   1PL.EXCL   thing   clean   PROSP   go
       'Last night we went to go wash things.'   [Bk-47.001]

   b. [*Nei*   *bai*   *pies*   **homo**],   *nei*   *ne-rel*   *mon.*
      1PL.EXCL   thing   clean   CONTR.INAN   1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-INS   afternoon
      '(As) we were washing things, we were benighted.'   [Bk-47.002]

   c. [*Nei*   *ne-rel*   *mon*   **homo**],   *nei*   *milik.*
      1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-INS   afternoon   CONTR.INAN   1PL.EXCL   afraid
      'Being benighted, we got scared.'   [Bk-47.003]

Such recapitulative tail-head linkage is particularly common in texts with a clear sequence of events, such as narratives and procedurals, and is very widespread in Papuan languages (de Vries 2006).

7.2.5 Counter-expectational demonstrative

The counter-expectational demonstrative is a pragmatic marker, with no spatial, temporal or discourse deictic meaning. It denotes that the marked element, either an NP or a clause, contradicts the presupposition that is expected to hold in the given speech situation.[6] Following from this, the counter-expectational demonstrative often conveys surprise on the part of the speaker. Alternatively it may be used by the speaker as an emphatic marker to assert the truth of what they are saying, particularly where there is the expectation that the hearer is unlikely to believe them.

Marking an NP, the counter-expectational denotes that the referent of the NP has an unexpected referent in relation to the proposition denoted by the clause. In (70), the counter-expectational marking *mila* 'slave' expresses the speaker's surprise at the identity of her accompanier, it being contrary to normal expectation that a master would walk together with his own slave. Similarly, in (71) the counter-expectational denotes that the referents of the two marked NPs, *en Melus* 'Melus people' and *Lakan wa* 'top of Mount Lakaqan', are not the expected ones: in the dominant version of Bunaq mythology, the Melus were not the people to appear on the top of Lakaqan, but rather were the people who rose up out of the earth as the sea receded and Timor came into being.

70. *Neto   di-e   mila gol   **beri**   g-utu mele.*
    1SG   REFL-POSS   slave small CNTREXP.AN   3-COM walk
    'What am I doing walking around with my own slave!'   [LB-6.010]

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[6] The counterfactual demonstrative has an obvious similarity in form and pragmatic function to *be* 'CONTEXP', the counter-expectational phrase relator (§3.5.7.1). In elicitation speakers cannot provide any difference in meaning between the two except to say that the demonstrative form is *lebih pasti* 'more precise (Ind.)', referring to the specificity and definiteness entailed by the demonstrative's use. Given their closeness in meaning, it is not surprising that the counter-expectational phrase-relator does not occur marking an NP determined by the counter-expectaional demonstrative. That this is not a syntactic constraint is seen in that the counter-expectational phrase relator can mark NPs determined by other demonstratives and that the counter-expectational demonstrative can occur with the relator *bu* 'GIVEN' (§3.5.7.1).

71. *En*   *Melus* **beri**   *tiba-tiba*   *muzuk esen*   *Lakan*   *wa*

person   Melus   CNTREXP.AN   suddenly   land   HIGH   Mt.Lakaqan   top

bere   *no.*

CNTREXP.INAN   LOC

'The Melus people indeed suddenly appeared on the earth, indeed high atop of Lakan.'   [Bk-67.144]

In the corpus, the counter-expectational demonstrative is also found determining NPs headed by personal pronouns. It is typically found in speaker self-exclamations with 1st person pronouns, as in (72) and (73). In (72) the speaker laments the unexpected difficulties of her life, while in (73) the speaker is surprised at their being able to drink water directly from a pond.

72. *Neto*   **bere**   *muk*   *wa*   *no*   *susar*   *bare,*   *hoto*   *naraka*

1SG   CNTREXP.INAN   earth   top   OBL   afflicted PROX.INAN   fire   hell

mil   *gene*   *goet*   *on.*

inside   LOC   LIKE   DO

'I {believe me} am hard up on this earth here, like being in the hellfires.'[Bk-46.053]

73. *I*   **bere**   *il*   *uen*   *a*   *na*   *loi.*

1PL.INCL   CNTREXP.INAN   water   one   eat   FOC   good

'We indeed can drink a little water.'   [LB-5.005]

Clause-final counter-expectational demonstratives convey that the event denoted by the clause was contrary to expectation. In (74) the speaker recounts the story of an accident in which the car became jammed between the riverbanks with clause-final *bere* 'CNTREXP.INAN' denoting that this event was not consistent with the normal, expected itinerary of the bus. In (75) the clause-final demonstrative is emphatic being used by the speaker to assert the truth of her statement, namely that a foreigner speaks Bunaq, and thereby to preempt the disbelief of her hearers.

74. *Oto*   *zol*   *lak*   *gene*   *h-abit*   *wen*   *on*   **bere.**

car   river   between   LOC   3INAN-wedge   UNAGENT DO   CNTREXP.INAN

'The car just got wedged in the middle of the river {unbelievably}.'   [Bk-52.039]

75. *Baqi*   *Bunaq sasi*   **bere!**

NPRX.AN   Bunaq   speak   CNTREXP.INAN

'She speaks Bunaq {believe it not}!'   [OS-09.01]

7.3   Definite article

In Bunaq the definite article is used in marking the definiteness of both NPs (§7.3.1) and clauses (§7.3.2). Unlike the definite article in many languages, the definite article in Bunaq is not grammatically obligatory in any context.

7.3.1   Adnominal use

The definite article marks the referent of the NP as definite, identifiable and unique, but as constituting less important, backgrounded information in the discourse context. The definite article may be used in contexts of both anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference.

In its anaphoric use, the definite article marks an NP whose referent is typically less topical and de-accented in the discourse (cf. Givón's (1983) comments on definite article use). This function contrasts with anaphoric uses of demonstratives which have thematically prominent continuing topics as referents as in the case of the non-proximal demonstrative, as illustrated in (76). We see *bai buleqen o belis* 'gold and silver' occur without a determiner when first introduced into the discourse in (76a). On its second, thematically prominent mention, topical *bai* 'thing' (coreferent with *bai buleqen o belis* 'gold and silver' in the previous clause) is marked with the non-proximal demonstrative in (76b). On its third mention in (76c) *bai buleqen o belis* 'gold and silver' are simply tracked with the definite article.

76. a. *Halaqi o   bai   buleqen   o   belis   t-olo.*
       3PL   AND   thing   red   AND   white   3INAN-put.in
       'They also put in gold and silver things.'   [Bk-24.021]

    b. *Bai   baqa   ru-bul   gi-e, kalaq gi-e   o   r-on   gi-e.*
       thing   NPRX.INAN   REFL-head 3-POSS neck 3-POSS AND   REFL-hand 3-POSS
       'Those are things for the head, for the neck and for the hands.'   [Bk-24.022]

    c. *Bai   buleqen   o   belis   ba   tumel   minak.*
       thing   red   AND   white   DEF.INAN   precious.metal complete
       'The gold and silver things are completely of precious metal.'   [Bk-24.023]

Compare also the use of the non-proximal and contrastive demonstratives and the definite article in (77) repeated from (60) in §7.2.4.1.2. *En mone* 'man' is the topical participant in the discourse and is tracked with the non-proximal after the first mention. By contrast, *en pana gol* 'girl' constitutes less topical information and is marked with the definite article in (77b), following her undetermined first mention in (77a). Only

when the focus of the discourse switches to her, is it that the definite article is replaced with the contrastive demonstrative in (77c).

77. a. *En   mone uen,   baqi   mal   **en**   **iskola** **gol**   gu-sura.*
       person man   one   NPRX.AN go   person school   small   3AN-ask
       '(There was) a man, he went and propositioned a school kid.'   [Bk-21.003]

  b. *Baqi   **en**   **pana** **gol**   **bi**   gu-sura   g-utu   cier   gie.*
      NPRX.AN person female small   DEF.AN 3AN-ask   3-COM   sleep PROSP
      'He asked the little girl to sleep with him.'   [Bk-21.004]

  c. *Homo   na,   **en**   **pana** **himo**   milik   di-e   tazuq*
      CONTR.INAN   FOC   person female CONTR.AN   scared REFL-POSS   door
      ube,...
      close
      'Then, this girl out of fear locked herself in her room,...'   [Bk-21.005]

As well as having a direct antecedent in the discourse, the use of the definite article may be licensed by a 'bridging' antecedent.[7] Consider the use of the definite article on *mil* 'inside' and *lal* 'problem' in (78) and (79) respectively. In each case there is no direct antecedent for those nouns. The use of the definite article is supported by a given referent or event in the preceding text. The referent of *mil* 'inside' in (78b) is identifiable as it is part of the previously introduced *mar* 'garden' in (78a). The arresting of a man in (79a) presupposes that a crime has been committed and that the *lal* 'problem' of that crime in (79b) must be resolved.

78. a. *Ni-e   matas mil   gi-e   mar   nolaq.*
       1EXCL-POSS   old   COLL   3-POSS garden wide
       'My parents' farm is expansive.'   [Bk-24.007]

  b. ***Mil**   **ba**   no   halali paqol g-ota.*
      inside   DEF.INAN   OBL   3DU   corn   3AN-plant
      'Inside (it) they plant corn.'   [Bk-24.008]

79. a. *Mone baqi   g-one   h-aqal,   ge-rel tas   mil   gene.*
       man   NPRX.AN 3AN-hold   finished   3AN-INS village inside LOC
       'After he man was arrested, he was taken to the village.'   [Bk-21.011]

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[7] Lyons (1999) used the term 'bridging cross-reference' for this manner of definite article licensing. Hawkins (1978) referred to this use as the 'associative anaphoric'.

b. *En   matas g-ubak,   homo   si,   **lal   ba**   urus.*
   person old   3AN-gather   CONTR.INAN REAS   problem DEF.AN manage
   'The elders were gathered together to deal with the crime.'   [Bk-21.012]

Non-anaphoric uses of the definite article are largely limited in Bunaq to immediate situational uses in which the physical situation in which the speaker and hearer are located contributes to the identifiability of the referent of the definite NP. For instance, in (80) both speech participants are able to identify the referent of definite *esen* 'HIGH', since within the village –their current location– there is only one elevated area, and it is familiar and immediately visible to all.

80. A. *Teo   mal?*
       where   go
       'Where (are you) going?'
    B. ***Esen   ba***   *mal.*
       HIGH   DEF.INAN   go
       '(I'm) going up the top.'   [OS-07.02]

In non-anaphoric uses where situational information and the definite article may alone not be sufficient to identify the referent, NP modifiers are frequently used as an anchor by which the scope of possible referents for the NP head is restricted. For instance, in (81) *kura* 'horse' is mentioned for the first time in the text, with the definite article marking the referent of the noun as unique. A restrictive RC is also appended to *kura* 'horse' in order to assist in the correct identification of the referent. The most frequent anchors to aid identification when using a definite article in first mentions are possessors and locations, as in (82).

81. *Neto   ni-e   ama   g-utu mal   gie   mobel,   tan*
    1SG   1EXCL-POSS   father 3-COM go   PROSP like   because
    nei   [kura   na   he   laun   los   bi]   na   saqe.
    1PL.EXCL   horse FOC   run   fast   very   DEF.AN FOC   ascend
    'I like to go with my father (to town), because we ride the horse which
    runs really fast.'   [Bk-24.036]

82. [*Halaqi*   *gi-e*   *il*   *kokoq*   *no*   ***ba***]   *Suri*   *Guloq*

    3PL   3-POSS water bucket OBL   DEF.INAN   Suri   Guloq

    a   *gie*   *sura.*

    drink   PROSP ask

‘Suri Guloq asked to drink some of the water of theirs that was in the bucket.’

<div align="right">[Bk-6.024]</div>

Of the crosslinguistically attested definite article uses discussed in Himmelmann (1997: 35-42), the following non-anaphoric uses of the definite article are not possible in Bunaq:

a. for entities with self-sufficient descriptions, i.e. nouns that denote a singleton due to their semantics eg. *the sun*;

b. in reference to entities in generic statements, eg. *the corn harvest is in April*, and;

c. in reference to entities which have a stereotypical interpretation, cf. *I go home* where the absence of the definite article is taken to refer to the speaker's place of resident ‘my home’.

Unlike in other languages with definite articles, nouns with reference of this kind are undetermined in Bunaq. Compare the pairs of minimally contrastive clauses in (83-85). (85).

83. a. *Hot*   *no*   *cinoq.*

    sun   OBL   hot

    ‘It's hot in the sun.’

b. *Hot*   *ba*   *no*   *cinoq.*

    sun   DEF.INAN   OBL   hot

    ‘It was hot on the (identifiable) day.’   [Not-07.04]

84. a. *Paqol*   *sauq*   *hul*   *goniqil.*

    corn   harvest month four

    ‘The corn harvest is in April.’

b. *Paqol*   *sauq*   *ba*   *hul*   *goniqil.*

    corn   harvest DEF.INAN   month four

    ‘The (aforementioned) corn harvest was in April.’   [Not-07.04]

85. a. *Neto   mar   mal.*
      1SG   garden go
      'I'm going to (my) garden.'

   b. *Neto   mar   ba   mal.*
      1SG   garden DEF.INAN   go
      'I'm going to the (aforementioned/not my) garden.'   [Not-07.04]

Bare NP *hot* 'sun' in (83a) denotes the unique referent 'sun', whereas its use with the definite article in (83b) has the meaning 'day'- referring to the passing of the sun across the sky on a particular day- and requires that the speaker be able to identify which day is meant from the discourse context. In (84a) undetermined *paqol sauq* 'corn harvest' has generic reference describing the event as it is happens habitually year in year out, while (84b) with the definite article reference is a particular year and bears the connotation that the time of the harvest was in some way unusual. Finally, the bare NP *mar* 'garden' in (85a) is taken to refer to the speaker's own garden, while the use of the definite article in (85b) indicates that, contrary to stereotypical practice, the speaker is going to another person's garden, the identity of which is clear from the preceding discourse.

7.3.2 Adclausal use

The inanimate inflection of the definite article *ba* 'DEF.INAN' is also used as clausal determiner. A clause nominalised by *ba* 'DEF.INAN' forms the 'setting' for the event denoted in the following clause. That is, the nominalised clause denotes an event that is the 'domain relevant for' understanding the event denoted in the following clause (Reesink 1994: 119). Consider the clauses determined by *ba* 'DEF.INAN' in the following examples. In (86), the *ba*-clause refers to the practice of poets to 'bring down' the ancestors, while the following clause explains what that involves.[8] In (87), the *ba*-clause encodes the habitual location and activity of the men, when they do the event, eating *raka* cakes, denoted in the next clause. In (88), the *ba*-clause encodes the context, the

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[8] The ritual of *tata gatun* 'bringing down the ancestors' is performed when a person dies. The dead person's genealogy is recited from their first 'apical' ancestor all the way down to the dead person themselves. This is done to ensure that the dead can find their way 'home', that is, return to their family in the afterlife.

death of two people, in which the 'all-rightness' of the speaker denoted in the next clause is to be understood.

86. *Makoqan tata g-atun* **ba**, *bei mil gi-e g-ua*
    poet   ancestor 3AN-bring.down DEF.INAN ancestor COLL   3-POSS 3AN-footprint
    h-araq.
    3INAN-recount
    '(When) the poets (figuratively) bring down the forebears, (they) recount the journeys of the ancestors.'   [Bk-18.026]

87. *Mona gene zon g-oli* **ba**, *tubi raka na a.*
    forest   LOC wild 3AN-hunt   DEF.INAN   cake k.o.cake FOC eat
    '(When) in the bush hunting pigs, it is *raka* cakes that (they) eat.'   [Bk-76.044]

88. *En hiloqo heser* **ba**, *neto rai-rai niq.*
    person   two   dead DEF.INAN   1SG   be.poorly   NEG
    '(Although) two people died, I wasn't hurt at all.'   [Bk-61.003]

    A clause determined by *ba* 'DEF.INAN' may also be complement of the postposition of *no* 'OBL' (§12.1.1). The event encoded by the postpositional phrase constitutes the time at which the event in the following clause takes place. The event encoded by the definite clause may be anaphorically retrievable from the discourse, as in (89) where the death of Mau Paran has just been described, or be identifiable on the basis of the uniqueness of the time period named, as in (90) where the speaker can only have been ten years old once in his life.

89. *Mau Paran heser* **ba** *no, halali h-oqon tuen goet on?*
    Mau Paran   dead DEF.INAN   OBL   3DU   3INAN-make how LIKE   DO
    'What did those two do at the time of Mau Paran's death?'   [Bk-4.081]

90. *Ni-e to sogo taq* **ba** *no, ni-e nana*
    1EXCL-POSS year ten   IPFV DEF.INAN   OBL   1EXCL-POSS   older.sister
    hatak kawen.
    ripe   marry
    'When I was still ten years old, my nubile older sister married.'   [Bk-24.037]

7.4 Summary

Table 7.4 presents a summary of the functions of the Bunaq Lamaknen determiners in the different deictic domains as discussed in this chapter.

Whilst all determiners are used in endophoric (textual and discourse) deixis, only three demonstratives are used in exophoric (spatial and temporal deixis). The fact that half of the Bunaq demonstratives have no spatial use at all may be taken to support Himmelmann's (1997: 53-62) claim that the spatial use of demonstratives is not basic (see Diessel 1999: 119-112 for arguments against this view, see Enfield 2003 and Hanks 2005 for arguments in favour).

The three-way system of spatial deixis comprised by demonstratives is: the speaker-anchored proximal demonstrative versus the speaker-anchored non-proximal demonstrative versus the spatially neutral specifier demonstrative. Such a system is not mentioned in the demonstrative typology of Anderson and Keenan (1985). This three-way system is paralleled in temporal deixis: the proximal demonstrative referring to present time versus the non-proximal demonstrative referring to past time versus the specifier demonstrative referring to recent past time.

In textual deixis, the specifier, counter-expectational and some functions of the contrastive demonstrative do not differ in function depending on whether they are used anaphorically and non-anaphorically. In anaphoric reference to topics, the main distinction is between the proximal demonstrative refers to unexpected, non-continuing topics and the non-proximal demonstrative refers to expected continuing topics. In addition, the contrastive demonstrative is used to mark a shift in topic. In non-anaphoric reference in textual deixis, there is a contrast between the non-proximal demonstrative denoting a foregrounded definite referent and the definite article denoting a less prominent, backgrounded definite referent.

In discourse deixis, only the non-proximal and the contrastive demonstrative can be used pro-clausally, i.e. to refer back to a proposition in the preceding discourse. All demonstratives can appear marking a clause with scope over the state-of affairs denoted by the clause.

In the next chapter, we will see how another word class, locationals (§3.5.3), is used to add to the deixis of determiners by encoding extra deictic and pragmatic features, such as elevation, place relative to speech participants, addressee proximity and referent activation.

Table 7.4: Overview of the functions of Bunaq Lamaknen determiners

	SPATIAL	TEMPORAL		TEXTUAL		DISCOURSE	
				ANAPHORIC	NON-ANAPHORIC		
	PRO/ ADNOMINAL	PRONOMINAL	ADNOMINAL	ADNOMINAL	PRO/ ADNOMINAL	PROCLAUSAL	ADCLAUSAL
PROXIMAL	speaker proximal	present time reference		unexpected, non-continuing topic	speaker associated referent	--	present ongoing proposition
NON-PROXIMAL	speaker non-proximal	past time reference		expected, continuing topic	foregrounded definite referent	topical setting proposition	
SPECIFIER	distance neutral proximal	--	recent past time reference	specific referent		--	recent past time propostion
CONTRASTIVE	--	--		contrastive-sequential referent topic shift	--	proposition linker	
COUNTER-EXPECTATIONAL	--	--		unexpected referent		--	unexpected proposition
DEFINITE ARTICLE	--	--		backgrounded definite referent		--	setting for proposition

Chapter 8:   Locationals

This chapter is concerned with the description of Bunaq locationals. Like determiners, Bunaq locations are used in the locating and identification of the referent of an NP. However, whereas a determiner refers to an entity by locating it in space, time or the discourse, a locational denotes a location relative to which a referent can be identified in space or in discourse. That is, a locational is referential to a location which acts as the ground for a figure.

Section §8.1 presents an overview of the forms of the locationals. §8.2 discusses the different syntactic positions in which locationals occur relative to the N_{HEAD}. §8.3 deals with the semantics of the individual locationals. §8.4 looks at the syntax and semantics of various combinations of locationals, followed by a summary of locationals in §8.5. See §3.5.3 for a summary and illustration of the morphosyntactic properties that define locationals as a word class.

8.1   Introduction

Table 8.1 presents the set of locationals in Bunaq. There are four distinct sub-sets of locationals, each denoting the location of the referent of an NP head according to different parameters, such as their elevation, distance from present location, proximity to addressee or location in time or discourse.

<div align="center">

Table 8.1: Locationals

	Gloss
SPATIAL LOCATIONALS	
ola	'LOW'
ota	'LEVEL'
esen	'HIGH'
PLACE LOCATIONALS	
huqe	'HERE'
haqe	'THERE'
hoqe	'SPCPLC'
TEMPORAL/DISCOURSE LOCATIONAL	
mete	'NOW'
ADDRESSEE LOCATIONAL	
o	'ADDR'

</div>

The addressee locational is distinct among locationals in that it is syntactically dependent and requires other elements to be expressed in the NP along with it, while the other Bunaq locationals do not, being able to stand alone in the NP. The monosyllabic addressee locational differs in form from the other disyllabic locationals. In these respects, the addressee locational is the locational equivalent of the definite article (§7.4) which also differs from the other members of the determiner class in these ways.

Throughout the chapter, square bracketing is used to highlight the relevant NP, while bolding is used to highlight the relevant locational/s within the NP.

8.2   Syntax of locational and N~HEAD~

In this section I deal with the syntax of locationals relative to the N~HEAD~ of an NP. Locationals are found in three syntactic contexts with reference to an N~HEAD~: the basic pre-N~HEAD~ position (§8.2.1); a marked post-N~HEAD~ position (§8.2.2), and; without N~HEAD~ (§8.2.3). Finally, in §8.2.4, I look at the frequency of locationals across the different uses.

8.2.1   Pre-N~HEAD~ use

In the NP template in §5, we saw that locationals precede the N~HEAD~ whose referent's location they denote. This is the unmarked position of locationals. In (1) *esen* 'HIGH' marks the location of the seminary as being higher in elevation than the speaker's current location. In (2) *o* 'ADDR' denotes the location of the book as proximal to the addressee. In (3) *huqe* 'HERE' denotes the location of both the village as being that of speaker's current location. In all three examples the locational precedes the N~HEAD~.

1. *Neto*   [***esen***   *seminari*]   *gene*   *iskola.*
   1SG   HIGH   seminary   LOC   school
   'I was at school in the seminary up there.'   [Bk-37.014]

2. [***O***   *buku*   *baqi*]   *nego?*
      ADDR   book   NPRX.AN   what
   'What's that book you've got?' lit. 'That book at you is what?'   [OS-07.03]

3. *Masala*   *baqa*   [***huqe***   *tas*   *mil*]   *gene.*
   problem   NPRX.INAN   HERE   village   inside   LOC
   'That problem was within the village here.'   [Bk-21.002]

Where a possessor is also included in the NP, the locational occurs to the left of the possessor, as illustrated in (4) and (5). Placing the locational after the possessor is ungrammatical: *Markus gi-e ola 'Markus 3-POSS LOW' and *ri-e ota 'REFL-POSS LEVEL'.

4. *Neto*   [*ola*   *Markus*   *gi-e*   *mok*   *bul*]   *h-azal.*
   1SG   LOW   Markus   3-POSS   banana trunk   3INAN-see
   'I see Markus' banana tree down there.',
   *'I see the banana tree of Markus (who is) down there.'   [Not-09.01]

5. *Halaqi*   [*ota*   *ri-e*]   *gene*   *mit*   *gaqal*   *oa.*
   3PL   LEVEL   REFL-POSS   LOC   sit   all.AN   PFV
   'They are all in their own (homes) over there.'
   *'They are all in their (being) over there own (homes).'   [Bk-2.025]

Where a possessor co-occurs with a locational in the NP, the locational cannot be interpreted as referring to the location of the possessor, but must refer to that of the referent of the N_{HEAD} of the NP which is possessed. In order to express the location of a possessor with a locational, the possessor must appear as the head of a separate NP removed from that whose possessor it encodes, as in (6; see §4.7.2.3 on the word order of this clause), or the possessor must be postposed to be the predicate of a relative clause, as in (7; see §9.2.2 on predicative possessors) .

       PSR   PSR-N_{HEAD}
6. [*Ola*   *himo*]   *keke*   [*g-on*]   *kaeq.*
   LOW   CONTR.INAN   bracelet 3AN-hand   filled
   'That one down there's hands were filled with bracelets.'   [Bk-68.066]

       N_{HEAD} PSR
7. [*En*   *tuan*   [*ota*   *Eropa* *gi-e*]] *na*   *zal*   *mina.*
   person   master   LEVEL   Europe   3-POSS   FOC   carry   come.up
   'It was the priests from over there in Europe who brought up (the stuff).'
                                                                      [Bk-34.062]

Locationals can substitute for the head of an NP where the referent is anaphorically retrievable. In (8) *ola* 'LOW' in its first use provides the location for *zol* 'river'. In its subsequent appearance *ola* 'LOW' stands alone with *zol* 'river' elided being understood from the preceding clause. In (9) the contextually understood referent 'street' is not

mentioned in the first NP, but is substituted for by the locational *ota* 'LEVEL' determined by *ba* 'DEF.INAN', lit. 'the (one) over there'.

8. | *Hik* | *iti* | *gene* | *zemal,* | [*ola* | *zol* | *masak*] *a-ta* | | *sai,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| path | opposite LOC | go.down | | LOW | river | big | 3INAN-GL | exit |

[*ola*]	*a-ta*	*sai.*
LOW	3INAN-GL	exit

'From the other side (of the road) go down to the big river down below, until you come to (it) down below.'   [Bk-29.057]

9. | [*Ota* | *ba*] | *h-ini* | *jalan* | *APODETI.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| LEVEL | DEF.INAN | 3INAN-call | street | political.party |

'The (street) over there is called Apodeti Street.'   [Bk-2.033]

8.2.2   Post-N~HEAD~ use

A locational may also directly follow the N~HEAD~ whose location it denotes. A post-N~HEAD~ locational is pragmatically marked, focussing on the location of the referent. It aids in the identification of the referent by restricting the referential scope of the preceding N~HEAD~ to the one in the location denoted by the locational. A postposed locational is typically not the last element in the NP, but is usually followed by a determiner and/or an RC.

Example (10) presents a pair of minimally different sentences as to the positioning of the locational *esen* 'HIGH' in the initial setting NP. In (10a) where the locational follows the N~HEAD~, the referent of *lolo* 'mountain' is identified as being specifically the one located on *esen* 'HIGH' as opposed to any other mountain. In (10b) where the locational precedes the N~HEAD~, the location of the referent of *lolo* 'mountain' is referred to as being located on *esen* 'HIGH'. In this position, the locational does not aid in the identification of the referent of the N~HEAD~, but only provides information about its location.

10. a. | [*Lolo* | *esen* | *ba*] | *no* | *halaqi* | *goniqon* | *ru-huqat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mountain | HIGH | DEF.INAN | OBL | 3PL | three | REFL-stand.up |

   'The three of them stood on the mountain (that is) up there.'   [Bk-29.051]

   b. | [*Esen* | *lolo* | *ba*] | *no* | *halaqi* | *goniqon* | *ru-huqat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HIGH | mountain | DEF.INAN | OBL | 3PL | three | REFL-stand.up |

   'The three of them stood up there on the mountain.'   [Not-07.01]

The distinction between post-posed and pre-posed locationals is thus functionally similar to that between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses (§5.4). Postposed locationals, however, show several different syntactic properties setting them apart from restrictive RCs. I will illustrate this using textual examples with the temporal/discourse locational *mete* 'NOW', which occurs very frequently in combination with relative clauses. As mentioned above, where a RC is included in a NP with a post-posed locational, the locational precedes the RC as does *na* 'FOC' in a restrictive RC (11). Unlike a restrictive RC, the N_{HEAD} preceding a post-posed locational may be omitted where the referent is retrievable (12). Although infrequent, it is also possible for the restrictive RC marker particle *na* 'FOC' to co-occur with a postposed locational. In this case, the locational follows *na* 'FOC' (13).

11. [*En*   *mete*   *jaga*   *himo*],   *himo*   *na*   *ge-sen.*

    person   NOW   watch.over   CONTR.AN   CONTR.AN   FOC   3AN-point.to

    'The person who was just now overseeing, it is him (you must) point to.'

    [Bk-10.030]

12. [*En*   *mete*   *g-ete*   *himo*]   *tebe*   *karaq.*   [*Mete*

    person   NOW   3AN-throw   CONTR.AN   return   stand.up   NOW

    himo]   *karaq* *tebe*   *saqe.*

    CONTR.AN   stand.up return   ascend

    'The person who was just now throwing goes back to standing up. (The person) who was just now standing up goes back up (to throwing).'   [Bk-10.014-15]

13. *En*   *atus~ atus,*   [*en*   *na*   *mete*   *g-ini*   *Melus bari*].

    person   hundred REDUP   person   FOC   NOW   3AN-call   Melus   PROX.AN

    'There were hundreds and hundreds of people, these people just now who it was that were called the Melus (people).'   [Bk-67.156]

8.2.3   No N_{HEAD} use

Locationals can also be used without a N_{HEAD} or a discourse antecedent. In this function, the locational refers to a general location or time. Locationals used in this manner cannot be analyzed as an N_{HEAD}, as they cannot be preceded by a possessor and cannot be modified by an N_{MOD} (§5.3) or an RC (§5.4). See §3.5.3 for illustration of this.

Examples (14) and (15) illustrate the independent use of a spatial locational and a place locational respectively. In each, contextual and situational information disambiguates the locations referred to by *esen* 'HIGH' and *haqe* 'THERE'.

14. *Kalo*   *lele*   *halaqi, baqa*   *bu,*   *h-oqon*   *kuran~ kuran.*
    if   nowadays   3PL   NPRX.INAN   GIVEN   3INAN-make   less   REDUP
    Tentu,   *nona*   [*esen*]   *gene*   *h-azal.*
    assuredly   Miss   HIGH   LOC   3INAN-see
    'Nowadays they, as for that (bride price ceremony), do it much less. Certainly, Miss saw it up there [in the mountains where the Bunaq live].'   [Bk-38.028-29]

15. *Milik*   *baqa*   *gi-e*   *na,*   *en*   *baqis* *loi*   *he*   [*haqe*]
    scared   NPRX.INAN   3-POSS   FOC   person   many   good   run   THERE
    a-ta   *mal.*
    3INAN-GL   go
    'Because of that fear, a great many people ran away to there.'   [Bk-66.013]

The temporal/textual locational *mete* 'NOW' may also be used independently to refer to a temporal location. This temporal location denoted by *mete* 'NOW' is not necessarily the time of speaking, but may be a narrative-internal 'present' time, as in (16).

16. *Uen*   *man*   *g-iwal*   *gie,*   *g-ereq*   *niq.*   *Tebe* *rebel.*
    one   come   3AN-pick   PROSP   3AN-reach   NEG   return   descend
    Daro   [*mete*], *pana*   *gol*   *bi*   *gi-ta*   *sai*   *niq.*
    until   NOW   female   small   DEF.AN   3AN-GL   exit   NEG
    'Someone came to pick (her), (but) didn't reach (her). (He) went back down. Until now, the girl had not been got to.'   [Bk-72.037-39]

Of the locationals, only the addressee proximal locational *o* 'ADDR' is syntactically dependent and cannot occur independently without any other NP constituent; it is the locational equivalent of the definite article, a determiner which is similarly syntactically dependent (§7.3). In (17a) we see *o* 'ADDR' occurring by itself is ungrammatical, while (17b) where the locational occurs with another NP constituent, the definite article, is grammatical.

17. a. *o   b. *o*   *ba*
      ADDR   ADDR   DEF.INAN
     '(location/thing) near you'   'the (location/thing) near you'

8.2.4 Frequency of locational uses

The different sets of locationals occur with different frequencies across the three different positions/functions discussed in the preceding sections. Table 8.2 presents the results of a count of the positions/functions for one locational from each of the sets in the corpus.

Table 8.2: Frequency of use of locationals in the corpus

		pre-N_{HEAD}	post-N_{HEAD}	No N_{HEAD}	Total
ota	'LEVEL'	31	6	25	62
haqe	'THERE'	4	5	40	49
mete	'NOW'	98	29	5	132
o	'ADDR'	33	16	--	49

From the table, we see that place locationals, represented in the count by *haqe* 'THERE', are overwhelmingly most frequent in the function without an N_{HEAD}, with both ad-N_{HEAD} uses being roughly equally infrequent (together approximately 20% of occurrences). Spatial locationals, represented in the count by *ota* 'LEVEL', are slightly more frequent in their pre-N_{HEAD} function (50% of occurrences) than in their function without an N_{HEAD} (40% of occurrences), with their post-N_{HEAD} use being relatively infrequent (roughly 10% of occurrences). Both *mete* 'NOW' and *o* 'ADDR' show significant skewing towards the pre-N_{HEAD} uses (roughly 75% and 70% of occurrences respectively). The majority of remaining of uses of *mete* 'NOW' are post-N_{HEAD}, while it occurs without an N_{HEAD} in only 5% of its uses. In sum, type frequencies across the sets confirm that the basic use of locationals is in the pre-N_{HEAD} adnominal function, with the post-N_{HEAD} adnominal function following as the marked variant position.

The tendency for some locationals to be used more often without an N_{HEAD} is semantically motivated. As we will see in §8.3, spatial and place locationals have clear situational referentiality and can therefore be used in reference to a location in space without ambiguity in most speech situations. By contrast, the temporal/discourse locational typically functions to activate referents in the discourse and thus requires explicit reference to that referent in order for its activation to be successful.

8.3 Semantics of locationals

A locational denotes a physical or temporal location which, when used adnominally, acts as the ground for the referent of the NP. Several locationals also have extensions of

their core deictic meaning. In this section, I will look at the semantic ranges of the different sets of locationals, including how they combine with other items in Bunaq used in deixis and encoding location.

8.3.1 Spatial locationals

Spatial locationals denote locations according to their elevation relative to the location of the speaker.[1] Referents are located as on a plane lower than the speaker's location (*ola* 'LOW': 18), approximately level with the speaker's location (*ota* 'LEVEL': 19), and on a plane higher than the speaker's location (*esen* 'HIGH': 20).

18. *Mar*   *baqa*   *ate,*   [*ola*   *zol*   *alan*]   *gene.*
    garden   NPRX.INAN   far   LOW   river   side   LOC
    'The garden is far away, down by the side of the river.'   [Bk-1.014]

19. *Hele*   [*ota*   *Deloq-Toi*]   *no*   *na*   *g-iwil.*
    perhaps   LEVEL   Deloq-Toi   OBL   FOC   3AN-pick
    'Perhaps (they) picked (the pumpkins) in Deloq Toi.'   [Bk-22.018]

20. *Mele,*   *nei*   [*esen*   *Lakaqan*   *bul*]   *h-one*   *on.*
    walk   1PL.EXCL   HIGH   Lakaqan   base   3INAN-hold   DO
    'Walking along, we kept to the base of Mount Lakaqan up there.'   [Bk-37.009]

Ota 'LEVEL' is the default spatial locational. It is used in reference to locations significantly beyond Lamaknen, the area where the Bunaq dialect from which the examples are taken is spoken (cf. Map 1.9), regardless of elevation. In (21) we see *ota* 'LEVEL' used in reference to the location of the hospital in the capital of Belu, Atambua, a town of much lower elevation than anywhere in Lamaknen, where the story was told. Locations at a great distance in the wider world are also invariably referred to with *ota* 'LEVEL', as in (22) where the location referred to is the very distant Europe. Whilst *ota* 'LEVEL' is not obligatory in these, as in other, contexts, it is very frequent.

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[1] In Bunaq, elevation is not only a semantic component of the spatial deictic series, but is also found in the deictic motion verbs, see §13.8. Elevation is found as a component of deictic elements in the related TAP languages: e.g., in Western Pantar (Holton 2007), in Abui (Kratochvíl 2007) and in Makasai (Huber 2005). Levinson (1983: 82) notes that elevation is often encoded in deictic elements of Papuan languages more generally.

21. *En   tuan   [ota   Eropa] gi-e   na   zal   mina.*
    person   master LEVEL   Europe 3-POSS FOC   carry come.up

    'It was the priests from over there in Europe who brought up (the stuff).'

22. *Baqi   [ota   reu   memel] gene kira-kira   haqe   gene hul*
    NPRX.AN   LEVEL   house   sick   LOC   approximately   THERE   LOC   month

    goniqo.
    three

    'He was in the hospital over there for about three months.'

Spatial locationals are not distance marked. However, on account of their only vague locational reference, they are not typically used in relation to items that are very close to a speaker. Following on from this, we might think that the spatial locationals would not mark an N_{HEAD} that is determined by the proximal demonstrative (§7.2.1), but only the non-proximal demonstrative (§7.2.2) and other distance-neutral determiners. Yet, there are examples in the corpus in which a spatial locational and a proximal demonstrative do mark one and the same N_{HEAD} with a kind of 'mediated' semantic. For instance, in (22) the spatial locational, *ota* 'LEVEL' and a proximal demonstrative, *bari* 'PROX.INAN' modify one and the same noun *kura* 'horse'. This combination indicates that the horses are distant from both the speaker and the hearer but that they are closer to (and level with) the speaker than the hearer

23. *Mama   hiloqon,   [ota   kura   bari]   saqe   naq!*
    mother   two   LEVEL   horse PROX.AN   ascend   IMP

    '(You) two Mrs, mount these horses over there!'

Reference to the elevation of entities is often subject to 'ultimate orientation' effects (Haugen 1957). In Bunaq spatial locationals (and elevation marked motion verbs; §13.9) are within particular domains used inaccurately according to a strict measure of elevation. For instance, though built on level ground, houses in Bunaq are referred to with elevation marked terms: the front of the house is *esen* 'HIGH', while the back of the house is *ola* 'LOW'.[2]

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[2] The general locative semantics of spatial locationals means that they are not used in encoding topological relations like 'top' and 'bottom' in reference to small items. Instead, a set of topological nouns is used, e.g. *wa* 'top' and *bul* 'bottom'. These are discussed in §9.3.5.

Social factors also appear to play a role in the use of elevation marked deictic terms. The main town Weluli within Lamaknen[3] is referred to with *esen* 'HIGH', although it lies at a relatively low elevation compared to the rest of Lamaknen. For instance, in (24) the speaker is located in Gewal at a considerably higher elevation than Weluli but still refers is to the highschool in Weluli as HIGH.

24. *Lain*   *tutu*   *neli*   *mama Eta*   [*esen*   *SMP*   *Weluli*]
     long   past   1DU.EXCL   mother Eta   HIGH   high.school   Weluli

     gene   *en*   *g-ige.*
     LOC   person   3AN-teach

     'Long ago Mama Eta and I taught up there in the highschool in Weluli.' [Bk-37.001]

The obvious motivation for treating Weluli as HIGH is because of its importance as Lamaknen's administrative and commercial centre. However, reference to other important places, such as Atambua, the capital of Belu, are not treated as HIGH. What is more, within Lamaknen, treatment of Weluli as HIGH is itself limited to villages lying roughly on the axis extending eastward from Weluli, including Gewal, Fulur, Lolobul, Leowalu, Lakus (see Map 1.4). As one moves further away from the east-west axis, reference to Weluli as HIGH decreases and is overridden by a strictly height based system. For instance, whilst speakers in Duarato categorically treat Weluli as HIGH, in Nualain and Ekin located further south but still east of Weluli, reference is variable with both HIGH and LOW being heard. However, in Dirun, located south-west of Weluli and at a considerably higher elevation, reference is categorically LOW. Thus it appears that it is the combination of westness and importance that makes Weluli HIGH.

8.3.2 Place locationals

Place locationals refer to a physical locality, area or region of space. Whilst most often used without an N$_{\text{HEAD}}$ (§8.2.4), place locationals are also used adnominally, most typically with place-names; they are not used adnominally to locate bounded entities, be it small or large, such as a house or a person. Paralleling the three-way opposition in demonstratives used in spatial deixis (§7.4), place locationals are divided into proximal

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[3] Lamaknen is the area where the Bunaq dialect from which the examples are taken is spoken, see. Map 1.9. Other varieties of Bunaq show different patterns of ultimate orientation in their use of elevation marked deictics. A detailed comparative study remains to be done.

huqe 'HERE' versus non-proximal *haqe* 'THERE' versus specific and distance-neutral *hoqe* 'SPCPLC'. However, unlike deictic demonstratives which are speaker-anchored, the locations referred to by the distance-specified place locationals *huqe* 'HERE' and *haqe* 'THERE' may be anchored not only to the speaker but also to the addressee.

Huqe 'HERE' refers to the current location of the speech participants. In (25) *huqe* 'HERE' indicates the location of the village Gewal to be where both speaker and addressee are located at the time of speaking. Similarly, in (26) *huqe* 'HERE' refers to the place at which both speaker and hearer are located.

25. *Aturan*   *r-agar*   *balas* *baqa*   [***huqe*** *Gewal*]   *gene.*
    rules   REFL-mouth   slap   NPRX.INAN   HERE   Gewal   LOC
    'Those are the rules of making amends (lit. slapping one's own mouth)
    here in Gewal.'   [Bk-21.021]

26. *Gi-e*   *en*   [***huqe***] *gene*   *g-ege*   *hape*   *honal.*
    3-POSS   people HERE   LOC   3AN-BEN   mobile.phone   go.across
    'Her people here rang her.'   [Bk-43.004]

In the above examples *huqe* 'HERE' refers to the speaker's and the hearer's location, and not one or the other's. Where only speaker's location is intended, the proximal demonstrative is used (§7.2.1). Though it does not necessarily exclude the addressee, the proximal demonstrative differs from the proximal locational *huqe* 'HERE' in that its meaning makes no mention of the addressee. Thus, there is no direct semantic conflict between the proximal demonstrative, they simply differ in the scope of what they include in 'hereness': while *huqe* 'HERE' refers to a vaguely defined 'HERE' place, the proximal demonstrative refers to a specific 'HERE' space anchored to the speaker.

Consider the use of the proximal demonstrative and the proximal locational in the examples below. Example (27) comes from a letter written to me in Australia. *Huqe* 'HERE' is not and cannot be used since I was not present at the location referred to, while the proximal demonstrative can be used in reference to *en* 'person' as the referents are in the same location as the speaker. By contrast, in (28) *huqe* 'HERE' can be used as it refers to a place where both the speaker and the addressee are located, while the proximal demonstrative is also permissible determining the N$_{HEAD}$ *ei* '2PL' as it refers to a speech participant (§6.1.2). Crucially, in this example, however, *huqe* 'HERE' and the proximal demonstrative do not modify one and the same N$_{HEAD}$.

27. [*En*　　*Gewal no*　　**bari**]　　*nona*　*gu-sura*　　*ruquk, eme*　*Eta*
　　person　Gewal　OBL　PROX.AN　　miss　3AN-ask　　always　mother　Eta

　　g-o.
　　3-SRC

　　'These people in Gewal ask after miss constantly, Eme Eta (they ask).'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-14.011]

28. [*Ei*　　**huqe**　*gene*　**bare**]　　*reu*　*tuen-tuen?*
　　2PL　　HERE　LOC　PROX.INAN　　house　how.many

　　'How many houses of you here in this place were there?'　　[Bk-29.059]

Haqe 'THERE' typically refers to a place removed from the location of the speech participants. The place referred to by *haqe* 'THERE' is identified either through being explicitly mentioned, as in (29) where the place referred to is overtly expressed, *Pie Bulak*, or through being retrievable from the surrounding discourse, as in (30) where *haqe* 'THERE' refers anaphorically to Mrs Yip's place from the previous clause.

29. [*Esen*　　**haqe**　*o*　　*Pie Bulak*]　　*gene*　*wil*　　　*Nualain*　　*mal.*
　　HIGH　　THERE　ADDR　Pie　Bulak　　LOC　come.down　Nualain　　　go

　　'(I) came down from there at Pie Bulak to Nualain.'　　　[Bk-34.096]

30. *Cinoq*　*dele*　*neto*　*ibu*　*Yip*　*g-o*　　　*mal,*　[**haqe**]　*gene*
　　hot　　INS　1SG　Mrs　Yip　3-SRC　　　go　　THERE　LOC

　　r-ota.
　　REFL-stab

　　'Feverish I went to Mrs Yip's place and got an injection.'　　[Bk-40.005]

Where there is no antecedent as a referential anchor for its use, *haqe* 'THERE' takes the addressee as its referential anchor. That is, the place referred to by *haqe* 'THERE' is interpreted as being associated with the addressee, such as being their place of residence or origin. In (31) *haqe* 'THERE' is used together with *ota* 'LEVEL' to refer to a distal place for which there is no anaphorically retrievable referent. As such, the place referred to must be interpreted as referring to a place associated with the addressee, in this case, Australia, my country of origin. By contrast, in (32) and (33) where there is no association between me as addressee and the places referred to, only the spatial locational *ota* 'LEVEL' is possible, with speakers consistently rejecting the use of *haqe* 'THERE'.

31. [*Ota*   ***haqe***] *gene* *en*   *roti* *a*   *los*   *ka?*

     LEVEL   THERE LOC   person bread eat   very   OR

     'Do people over there eat bread a lot?'   [OS-07.01]

32. *En*   *tuan* [***ota*** *Eropa*] *gi-e* *na*   *zal*   *mina.*

     person   master LEVEL Europe 3-POSS FOC   carry come.up

     'It was the priests from over there in Europe who brought up (the stuff).' [Bk-34.062]

33. *Neto*   [***huqe***] *gene* *hoto tuka,* [***ota***] *gene* *niq.*

     1SG   HERE   LOC   give birth   LEVEL LOC   NEG

     'I gave birth here and not over there.'   [Bk-29.068]

Hoqe 'SPCPLC' is the place locational equivalent of the specifier demonstrative (§7.2.3), denoting that the place it refers to is exactly the one at issue. The location denoted by *hoqe* 'SPCPLC' may either include or exclude the speech participants. In (34) *hoqe* 'SPCPLC' is used twice: in its first use, *hoqe* 'SPCPLC' refers to Aiasa, a place far from the speech participant as signalled by the spatial locational *ota* 'level' marking the same N$_{HEAD}$ (see §8.4.2); and, in its second use, *hoqe* 'SPCPLC' marks the N$_{HEAD}$ *g-inil* '3AN-name' as being in a place proximal to the speaker as clear from the proximal demonstrative determining the N$_{HEAD}$.

34. *En*   [*ota* ***hoqe***   *Aiasa*] *gi-e* *bi,*   [*en*   *halaqi sogo*

     person   LEVEL SPCPLC   Aiasa 3-POSS DEF.AN person 3PL   ten

     g-inil   *na*   ***hoqe***   *ziq*   *bare*],   *baqi* *g-utu* *man.*

     3AN-name FOC   SPCPLC   write PROX.INAN   NPRX.AN 3-COM come

     'The people from Aiasa over there, those 10 people whose names which these are here written, come with them.'   [Bk-66.118]

Note that many speakers do not appear to have a distinction between *hoqe* 'SPCPLC' and *huqe* 'HERE', with the functions of both being subsumed under the form *huqe*. This merger is probably the result of the frequently observed raising of /o/ to [u] (§2.1.1).

8.3.3 Temporal/textual locational

In §8.2.3 it was seen that used independently without a referent, the locational *mete* 'NOW' refers to present time. When marking an NP with a referent, *mete* 'NOW' is not strictly temporal in meaning, but serves to locate and activate a referent that is not

currently in the focus of the discourse. *Mete* 'NOW' is used by the speaker to direct the hearer's attention to a referent in the discourse, announcing either the introduction of a new referent or the resumption of reference to an old one.

Mete 'NOW' is used most often to activate a referent already established in the discourse. For instance, in (35a) we see the referent *orel* 'monkey' is introduced into the discourse for the first time, indicated by the marking with *uen* 'one' (see §3.5.5.1). The monkey is quickly backgrounded in (35c) as the narrative focuses on the search that the parents conduct for their child. In (35d) *mete* 'NOW' is used to reactivate *orel* 'monkey' functioning to connect the referent of the marked *orel* 'monkey' with the *orel* 'monkey' introduced earlier. This redirecting of the hearer's attention to the monkey correlates with the topic shifting to the monkey, as marked by the contrastive demonstrative (§7.2.4.1.2).

35. a. *Homo*   *na,*   ***orel***   ***uen***   *man.*
     CONTR.INAN   FOC   monkey   one   come
     'Then, a monkey came.'   [Bk-68.006]

    b. *Man,*   *kasu*   *g-ibi*   *gi-al.*
     come   remove   3AN-steal   3AN-carry
     '(He) came, removed (and) stole (the child) carrying him off.'   [Bk-68.007]

    c. *Gi-e*   *eme*   *gi-e*   *ama*   *g-agal*   *o*   *g-azal*   *niq.*
     3-POSS   mother   3-POSS   father   3AN-search   AND   3AN-see   NEG
     'His mother (and) his father searched for him and didn't find him.' [Bk-68.008]

    d. *Hilaq*   [***mete*** *orel*   *himo*]   *g-ini*   *gi-e.*
     SURPRISE   NOW   monkey   CONTR.AN   3AN-CAUS   3-POSS
     'What a surprise, it was this monkey just now who had made (the child) his.'
                                                    [Bk-68.010]

In (36) and (37) we see similar uses of *mete* 'NOW' to direct the attention of the hearer towards a particular referent already established in the discourse. In (36) there is similarly a correlation between marking with *mete* 'NOW' and a shift in topic. The use of *mete* 'NOW' here ensures that the referent of *en* 'person' is correctly identified as coreferential with the dead person established earlier in the discourse and not the *en* 'person' of the immediately preceding clause which has generic reference. In (37) *mete* 'NOW' marks a right-dislocated NP (§4.7.2.1.2) which seeks to clarify the identity of the referents of the pronoun *halali* '3DU' in the clause. The locational functions to direct the

hearer to connect the earlier mentioned couple of Louis Berthe and his wife with the referents of this NP.

36. a. *Kalaq* **en** **uen** *heser,* *biasanya* *lal* *h-oqon.*
     if   person one   dead   usually   matter 3INAN-do
     'When a person dies, usually the matter is dealt with.'   [Bk-18.018]

   b. *Lal* *h-oqon* *niq* *mesaq bu,* *en* *piar,* [*mete* *en*
     matter 3INAN-do   NEG   if   GIVEN person believe NOW   person
     heser *bi*] *bei* *g-utu* *ti-ta* *bolu* *niq.*
     dead   DEF.AN ancestor 3-COM RECP-GL   be.united   NEG
     'Should the problem not be dealt with, people believe that this person now who died will not be together with the ancestors.'   [Bk-18.019]

37. *Jadi* *waktu matas roi* *heser,* *heser* *niq* *taq,* **halali** *t-ege*
    so   time old   SPEC.AN die die   NEG   IPFV   3DU   RECP-BEN
    por *h-oqon,* [*mete* *Luis* *Bert* *halali*].[4]
    holy   3INAN-do   NOW Louis Berthe 3DU
    'So at the time this old (man) was dying, before (he was) dead, they two did the exchanging of blessings, (that is,) the Louis Berthe (and wife just mentioned) now.'
         [Bk-70.115]

An NP marked by *mete* 'NOW' need not have a direct antecedent in the discourse, but may be licensed by a "bridging" antecedent. In (38) the referent of the NP with *mete* 'NOW' has not previously been mentioned, but is understood from the preceding discussion of *makoqan* 'poets' to be one of their number. In (38b) *mete* 'NOW' is used to activate a new referent in the discourse.

38. a. *Halaqi mos* *t-o* *koko* *baqa* *goet,* *makoqan~*
     3PL   also RECP-SRC try   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   poet
     makoqan *bi.*
     REDUP   DEF.AN
     'They also tested each other like that, the poets (did).'   [Bk-70.037]

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[4] The pronoun *halali* '3DU' here functions as an associative dual marker marking *Luis Bert* to mean 'Louis Berthe and the one associated with him', with the associate being contextually retrievable as his wife. Cf. §5.5.1 on similar use of the 3rd person plural pronoun and §5.6.3 the use of the dual to coordinate NPs.

b. [*Mete Gewal gi-e bi*] *pintar liol.*

    NOW   Gewal 3-POSS DEF.AN clever   continue

    'Now the one from Gewal was really clever.'   [Bk-70.038]

c. *Matas baqi   Gewal gi-e   uen.*

    old   NPRX.AN   Gewal 3-POSS one

    'This old (guy) was one of Gewal's (poets).'   [Bk-70.039]

An NP marked by *mete* 'NOW' may also introduce an entirely new referent into the discourse where it develops or progresses the actions which must be performed to achieve a goal. In (39) the NP marked by *mete* 'NOW' has no direct or indirect antecedent in the discourse. In (39c), *mete* 'NOW' serves to shift the hearer's attention to the new referent whose introduction marks a new stage in the discourse, i.e. the progression from spinning to dyeing the yarn. In the translations of *mete* 'NOW' in the following examples, I use English 'now' in an attempt to preserve something of the flavour of the Bunaq original and as English 'now' has a similar discourse function (Aijmer 2002). The translation should, however, not be taken to mean that Bunaq *mete* 'NOW' is adverbial in the same way as English 'now'; in the examples *mete* 'NOW' continues to be a constituent of the NP.

39. a. *Hulun   h-ini   masak.*

    yarn.ball   3INAN-CAUS   big

    'Make the ball of yarn big.'   [Bk-64.032]

b. *Homo   soq   naq   na,   tebe ola   ba   no   putar*

    CONTR.INAN SEQ   FIRST FOC   in.turn LOW DEF.INAN   OBL turn

    teni.

    again

    'Then once that's done, turn it down there again.'   [Bk-64.033]

c. *Lale haqal soq,   tebe   *[*mete* *taun hotel nor   baqa*]*,*

    spin   finished SEQ   in.turn NOW indigo tree   leaf   NPRX.INAN

    baqa   no   t-olo.

    NPRX.INAN   OBL   3INAN-put.in

    'After the spinning, then, now those leaves of the indigo tree, put (the yarn) in them.'   [Bk-64.034]

Finally, (40) illustrates *mete* 'NOW' being used to direct a hearer's attention both to a new referent and to an old one. In its first use *mete* 'NOW' in (40c) marks an NP with a

new referent whose introduction marks a progression in the described procedure, namely the preparation of *tubi* 'cakes'. The second use of *mete* 'NOW' in (40f) is with an NP whose referent is already established and signals that the hearer should return their attention to the referent.

40. a. *Homo   haqal soq,   mogor   nor   suel gene homo*
       CONTR.AN   finished SEQ banana.leaf leaf left LOC   CONTR.INAN
       h-ekal.
       3INAN-fold
       'Then after that, fold the banana leaf on the left.'   [Bk-76.067]

   b. *Heten gene   homo   h-ekal.*
      right   LOC   CONTR.INAN   3INAN-fold
      'Fold (it) on the right.'   [Bk-76.068]

   c. *Hotol,   [mete hol   masak] ka,   atau niq   o,   ola*
      WITHOUT   NOW   stone big   OR   or   NEG   AND   LOW
      o   tasu, tasu   late.
      ADDR   wok   wok   bad
      'Leaving (the cake) to one side, take now a big stone, or (if there) isn't (one), a wok, an old wok.'   [Bk-76.071]

   e. *Baqa   hoto   wa   no   lai.*
      NPRX.INAN   fire   top   OBL   set
      'Put it on the fire.'   [Bk-76.072]

   f. *Tasu o   hol   baqa   cinoq oa,   [mete tubi   mogor*
      wok   AND   stone NPRX.INAN   hot   PFV   NOW   cake   banana.leaf
      nor   no   homo]   haqe   gene lai.
      leaf   OBL   CONTR.INAN   THERE   LOC   set
      '(When) the wok or stone is already hot, put now that cake in the banana leaf on there.'   [Bk-76.073]

8.3.4 Addressee locational

The addressee locational *o* 'ADDR' differs not only in syntax from the other sets of locationals, but also semantically in that the deictic meaning of *o* 'ADDR' is functionally linked to the addressee. That is, *o* 'ADDR' makes use of the location of the addressee as reference point, or deictic anchor, for locating the referent of the NP.

In (41) the speaker uses *o* 'ADDR' to question the identity of an item held by the addressee. In (42) *o* 'ADDR' refers to the location of the referent as close to the addressee, while the determiner *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' points to the referent as being not proximal to the speaker. In (43) *o* 'ADDR' is used by the speaker to point out the *ope* 'pumpkin' they require as being located at the addressee. In (44) the speaker questions the identity of the individual mocking him and uses *o* 'ADDR' to indicate that the perpetrator is located at the addressee, i.e. is one of the group of addressees.

41. *Nego*   [*o*   *roe*]*?*

     what   ADDR   SPEC.INAN

     'What's that you've got there?'   [OS-07.03]

42. [*O*   *baqi*]   *mele*   *heta*   *bu,*   *mina*   *mal.*

     ADDR   NPRX.AN   walk   can   GIVEN   come.up   go

     'If she near you can walk, then come on up.'   [Bk-37.024]

43. [*O*   *ope*   *baqi*]   *g-ini*   *man*   *naq!*

     ADDR   pumpkin   NPRX.AN   3AN-CAUS   come   IMP

     'Pass over that pumpkin near you!'   [OS-07.04]

44. *Cio*   *bun*   [*o*   *rale*   *higal*   *bi*]*?*

     who   SOME   ADDR   talk   laugh   DEF.AN

     'Who is the one of you who is one laughingly talking?'   [Bk-4.053]

The addressee locational thus allows an additional deictic anchor to be overlaid on top of the speaker-anchored demonstrative system (§7.4). Due to their feature clash, the addressee-anchored locational *o* 'ADDR' cannot occur with the speaker-anchored proximal demonstrative (see example (4) of §7.2.1.1). The addressee locational *o* 'ADDR' freely combines with all other demonstratives, such as the non-proximal as in (42-43) above.

The addressee locational has associative extensions, whereby it can be used to denote a closeness in association between addressee and the referent of the NP (see §7.2.1.3 on similar extensions of the proximal demonstrative). Most often an associative *o* 'ADDR' refers to a referent which is the property of the addressee.

In (45) the marking of *buku* 'book' with *o* 'ADDR' is licensed by the fact that the referent belonged to the addressee, although it was being held by the speaker at the time

of utterance. In (46) the speaker refers to the livestock possessed by the addressee; the possessive relationship between the addressee and the possessum is signalled by *i-e* '1INCL/2-POSS'. Although no livestock are present at the time of speaking, *o* 'ADDR' is included in the NP to signal that the referent is located not at the addressee themselves, but on the addressee's property. Making the distinction between straightforward possession by the addressee and the location of referent relative to the addressee in this way is important in the context of the text as it deals with the problem of people's crops being destroyed by their tying up their livestock in their gardens.

45. [*Buku*   *o*   *bi*]   *koen.*
    book   ADDR   DEF.AN   nice
    'This book of yours is nice.'   [OS-07.03]

46. [*O*   *i-e*   *kereq* *o*   *hiloqon*]   *g-osok*   *on.*
    ADDR   1INCL/2-POSS   single AND   two   3AN-receive   DO
    '(You) receive your one or two (cows) given to you.'   [Bk-19.012]

Example (47) presents another instance of the addressee locational being used in a situation where the referent is not straightforwardly addressee proximal. This was an overheard utterance in which the speaker informed the addressee that a *suster* 'nun' had come by earlier in the day looking for the addressee. Although the referent was not present at the time of speaking, the speaker uses *o* 'ADDR' in referring to her, construing the addressee as the location of the nun.

47. [*Suster*   *o*   *bi*]   *man.*
    nun   ADDR   DEF.AN come
    'Your nun came.' i.e. 'Some nun came by for you.'   [OS-07.03]

The addressee locational has further extensions into non-spatial deictic domains. *O* 'ADDR' may be used of a referent that is non-visible and removed from the speech situation, but identifiable to the speech participants on the basis of their knowledge of the parameters of the speech event. Such extension of the locational's referential domain is possible in that, by construing an unseen entity as being at a location proximal to the addressee, the speaker suggests the availability of the identity of the referent to the addressee. The implication of shared knowledge arises, in turn, in that by indicating that

the referent is known to the addressee, the speaker establishes a speaker-addressee common ground (cf. Clark, Schreuder and Buttrick 1983: 257), since it is assumed that, if a speaker refers to an entity, then the entity is also known to the speaker.[5]

Examples of non-spatial, identificational *o* 'ADDR' are given below. Example (48) comes from a text in which *Matas Bere* 'Old (man) Bere' comes at night singing threateningly to families locked inside their homes. He is referred to with predicative *o bi* 'ADDR DEF.AN' as he is not visible to the speaker and hearer but can be identified by his voice. In (49) *o bi* 'ADDR DEF.AN' cannot be taken as coreferential with the referent of *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' in the immediately preceding discourse, but must refer to a referent not present in the surrounding situation, namely, the *kepala desa* 'village head (Ind.)' referred to in an early part of the text as having left the village to collect evidence about the theft. The village head is referred to here with *o bi* 'ADDR DEF.AN' by the speaker because he is not personally known to the hearer, but can be identified as the referent due to the contextual knowledge of the situation provided by the speaker in the discourse.

48. *Matas   Bere   na   [o   bi]   oa.*
    old   Bere   FOC   ADDR   DEF.AN PFV
    'That's old Bere {you hear}.'   [Bk-73.041]

49. *Baqi   tenaq   piqu   niq.   Baqi   laga.   Nor   toek   niq.*
    NPRX.AN thief   experience   NEG   NPRX.AN dumb   randomly   talk   NEG
    Homo   na,   [o   bi]   urus   taq.
    CONTR.INAN FOC   ADDR   DEF.AN manage IPFV
    'He had never thieved before. He's dumb. He doesn't talk. So the (boss) {you know the one} has still got to deal (with what punishment to deal out to the thief).'
                                         [Bk-55.016]

Further identificational uses of *o* 'ADDR' are discussed in §8.4.3 and §8.4.4.

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[5] Thus, addressee location plays a crucial role in referent identification. This is consistent with Sacks and Schegloff's (1979) maxim of recipient design which says that speakers tailor their utterances so that addressees are not required to make reference to information that the speaker knows or assumes they do not have access to.

8.4 Combining locationals

In the NP template in §5, only a single locational position was included. But, in fact, also unlike determiners, more than one locational can mark a single NP, though the possible combinations are relatively restricted. This section describes commonly observed combinations of locationals and their functions.

8.4.1 Place locationals: here + there

Locationals of the same set cannot simultaneously mark a single NP due to the resulting semantic clash. The one exception to this is a restricted combination of the distal and proximal place locationals: *haqe huqe* 'THERE HERE' is the only permitted combination of place locationals, with even the reversing of the order to **huqe haqe* 'HERE THERE' being ungrammatical.

In (50) *haqe huqe* 'THERE HERE' occur as the last element in the NP denoting that reference is to both parts or parties in a symmetrical relationship. In (51) *haqe huqe* 'THERE HERE' appears adverbially, indicating the multidirectional manner of the dirt dispersal.

50. [*Mar belan **haqe huqe***] *ni halali ini haqal oa.*
    garden half THERE HERE OBL 3DU light.fire finished PFV
    'On the here and there (i.e. both) halves of the garden, the two of them had already finished lighting fires.'   [LB-2.030]

51. *DiaLaho o gene t-ipi ba, lobot titiq*
    Dia Laho nowhere LOC RECP-shake DEF.INAN dirt disperse.in.air
    *tasal, **haqe huqe** boto.*
    be.opposite THERE HERE disperse
    'When Dia Laho appeared out of nowhere shaking, dirt went flying all over the place, being dispersed here and there.'   [Bk-50.019]

8.4.2 Spatial and place locationals

A spatial locational and a place locational, either distal or specific, are frequently found marking a single referent within the same NP. The order of the spatial locational and the place locational is free, though it is more usual for the spatial locational to precede the place locational. This pattern is illustrated in (52), while the place locational preceding

the spatial locational is illustrated in (53). In these examples, the spatial locational and place locational are coreferential to a location; they do not modify one another.

52. *Hik*   *hiloqon*   [*ola*   *hoqe*   *Salele*] *gene,*   *Suai* *gene.*
    path   two   LOW   SPCPLC   Salele LOC   Suai   LOC
    '(I) was twice down (in) that place Salele, in Suai.'   [Bk-66.069]

53. *G-agal,*   *i*   [*haqe* *ota*]   *gene*   UNCHR   *g-ege*   *sasi,...*
    3AN-seek 1PL.INCL   THERE LEVEL LOC   UNCHR   3AN-give   say
    'Searching for (them), we would (be) over there (and) say) to the UNCHR,...'
                                                         [Bk-66.117]

8.4.3   Spatial locationals + addressee locational

A location may be referred with a spatial locational followed by an addressee locational in 'symbolic' spatial deixis (Fillmore 1971: 63, Levinson 1983: 66). That is, these locationals are used together without a pointing gesture and where the location referred to is not visible. Identification of the location relies on the speech participants' knowledge of the location and the spatial parameters of the speech event for the identification. The combination of spatial locational and addressee locational signals that the speaker knows exactly the location referred to and believes the hearer to also know it. In the corpus, spatial locationals followed by an addressee locational mark place names, i.e. are used in reference to precise locations.

    Example (54) illustrates the symbolic combination of a spatial locational and an addressee locational. Speaker and addressee are located inside a house and there is no gesture accompanying the reference. The reference to Duarato as *esen* 'HIGH' is relative to the location of the speech participants in the village of Lakus, located on the valley floor (cf. Picture 8). The addition of *o* 'ADDR' indicates to the hearer that the speaker is activating knowledge about the communicative situation and the location of Duarato beyond the immediately visible. For *o* 'ADDR' to be absent in (54), Duarato would have to be immediately visible to the speech participants with the possibility of an accompanying pointing gesture.

54. *Neto*   [*esen* *o*   *Duarato*]   *gene* *en*   *g-ige.*
    1SG   HIGH   ADDR Duarato   LOC   person 3AN-teach
    'I teach up in Duarato.'   [Bk-61.052]

Example (55) comes from a detailed route description of the way between Gewal and Nualain village, in which we see spatial locationals and the addressee locational used together in symbolic deixis. That we are dealing with symbolic deixis in this example also is clear from the 'deictic projection' (Lyons 1977: 579) on the part of the speaker: the spatial locationals are not relative to the location of the speech participants, but to the point in the route which the speaker has reached in the description. The two locations referred to with locationals in (55) would in non-symbolic, gestural deixis all be referred to with *ota* 'LEVEL' as to the eye they are roughly the same elevation as Gewal, the location of the speech participants. Yet, in the description we also find *esen* 'HIGH' , e.g. in (55b) because the path leading to Duarato descends into a deep saddle on the ridge with a substantial climb up to the village ensuing.

55. a. *Tebe*   *Sele*   *Lolo*   *gene*   *zemal,*   *honal*   [*ota*   *o*   *Bele*
    in.turn Sele   Lolo   LOC   go.down   go.on.flat   LEVEL   ADDR   Bele

    Boso   *Nokar*]   *gene*   *tama.*
    Boso   Nokar   LOC   enter

    'Then going down from Sele Lolo, go across (and) enter Bele Boso Nokar over there.'   [Bk-34.006]

   b. *Mele*   *mele*   *mele*   *daro*   [*esen*   *o*   *Duarato*   *Pur*   *Bul*
    walk   walk   walk   until   HIGH   ADDR   Duarato   Pur   Bul

    homo]   *pir.*
    CONTR.INAN   reach

    'Walk (and) walk until (you) reach that Duarato Pur Bul up there.'[Bk-34.0017]

The spatial locational *ola* 'LOW' is often found with the addressee locational in contexts where it cannot be interpreted as referring to a location of lower elevation, as it does in (52) above. The combination *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' is often used as an assertive discourse particle, indicating that clear evidence is available for an assertion such that it is generally agreed upon. For instance, in (56) the referent is identified as at a higher location by the question of speaker A. Thus in the response of speaker B, the *ola* 'LOW' in *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' is clearly not spatial in meaning. Rather *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' as a unit denotes that the identity of the referent as the child of Mr Mateus is evidenced and is not subject to dispute, or 'beneath' dispute, as it were.

56. A. [*En*   *esen*   *bi*]   *sio?*
       person   HIGH   DEF.AN   who
       'Who's the person up there?'

B. *En esen baqi* [*ola o Paq Mateus g-ol*].
person HIGH NPRX.AN LOW ADDR Mr Mateus 3AN-child
'That person up there is {known with certainty to be} the child of Mr Mateus.'

[Not-07.04]

The development of *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' to denote the availability of evidence for an assertion is the result of a metaphorical extension of a spatial sense of *ola* 'LOW' in symbolic deictic contexts. The motivating metaphor here appears to be a flip-side to the well-known metaphor UP is CONTROL, whereby an entity with power is equated with being in a higher spatial position. In Bunaq, the metaphor DOWN is BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL has allowed *ola* 'LOW', in combination with the shared speaker-addressee knowledge implied by *o* ADDR', to be interpreted as denoting evidential availability, since that which is accessible to an individual is in a sense under their power.[6] See on §8.3.1 on the use of *esen* 'HIGH' to refer to places of importance, a possible manifestation of the metaphor UP is CONTROL in Bunaq.

The interpretation of *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' depends on contextual information as to the nature of the evidence for an assertion, namely, whether it comes from background knowledge or through personal perception or experience. In (57) *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' occurs in an imperative clause, where it acts as a reminder to the hearer of something that it was possible for them to know, i.e. that they should have been able to work out on their own, namely that the mat needs to be spread. Similarly, in (58) *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' denotes that an event that the speaker did not witness, but whose the truth value is not subject to debate, because it is understood from general knowledge that medical treatment is given out in hospitals. In (59) *ola o* 'LOW ADDR' denotes certainty in the availability of evidence for the utterance is based on the speaker's own witnessing of the event.

57. *Ola o pil zewen oa!*
LOW ADDR mat spread.out PFV
'{It is clear} the mat is to be spread out now!' [OS-07.03]

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[6] Crosslinguistically such metaphors are very common. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) show the precise relations among spatial senses and describe metaphorical extensions of the spatial senses based on the more detailed investigation of English 'over'. The opposite metaphorical extension appears also to be possible: in Taba, the deictic particle *ya* 'up' is used in reference to known entities (Bowden 2001: 292-293).

58. *Reu*   *memel gene*   **ola**   *o*   *perawat*   *g-ege*   *hetel.*

     house   sick   LOC   LOW   ADDR   caregiver   3AN-give   medicine

     'In the hospital, nurses {it is clear} gave him medicine.'   [Bk-1.049]

59. *Baqi*   **ola**   *o*   *zo*   *gene*   *topol.*

     NPRX.AN   LOW   ADDR   mango   LOC   fall

     'He {definitely} fell from the tree.'   [Bk-1.038]

8.4.4 Temporal/textual locational + addressee locational

The temporal/textual locational *mete* 'NOW' is frequently followed by the addressee locational *o* 'ADDR'. This combination is pragmatically only very mildly different from that when *mete* 'NOW' independently marks an NP, as described in §8.3.3. *Mete o* 'NOW ADDR' appears in the same contexts in which *mete* 'NOW' is found on its own, namely, activating a new referent (60) or reactivating an old one not currently in the focus of the discourse (61). The addition of *o* 'ADDR' signals hearer orientation on the part of the speaker. That is, its inclusion emphasises that the speaker sees that the referent is located in the hearer's memory and thus identifiable and retrievable to them. Thus, in (60) and (61) the speaker accentuates with *o* 'ADDR' that the referents of *Makasai* 'Makasai' and *tun* 'flour' which he is activating are known to the hearer.

60. A. *Bai*   *a*   *h-ini*   *nego?*

       thing   eat   3INAN-call   what

       'What's (the word for) 'eat'?'   [Bk-61.089]

    B. *Bai*   *a*   *h-ini*   *"mace",*   *kalo*   *hoqe*   *Lospalos*

       thing   eat   3INAN-call   eat   if   SPCPLC   Lospalos

       gi-e.   *Kalo*   [**mete** *o*   *Makasai*]   *ya*   *h-ini*   *"nua".*

       3-POSS   if   NOW   ADDR   Makasai   yes   3INAN-call   eat

       '(The word for) eat is "mace", that's in Lospalos (i.e. Fataluku language). As for {you know} Makasai here, (the word for eat) is "nua".'   [Bk-61.090-91]

61. a. **Tun**   *homo*   *mok*   *za*   *g-utu*   *kahul.*

       flour   CONTR.INAN   banana   ripe   3-COM   mix

       'That flour is mixed with ripe banana.'   [Bk-76.012]

    b. *T-o*   *pir,*   *t-o*   *pir*   *oa.*

       RECP-SRC   reach   RECP-SRC   reach   PFV

       'Fold them in to one another, fold them in to one another.'   [Bk-76.014]

c. *Mok   ai*   [*mete   o*   *tun*]   *ai*   *kahul   t-o*   *pir.*
   banana both   NOW   ADDR   flour   both   mix   RECP-SRC   reach
   'Both the banana and this here flour get mixed into one another.'   [Bk-76.015]

8.5   Summary

Bunaq locationals are a class of items used to refer to the location of an entity in space, time and/or discourse. Spatial locationals refer to the location of the referent according to their elevation relative to the speaker, with some special, 'ultimately oriented' uses within particular domains. Place locationals refer to a general location relative to the distance from the speech participants. The temporal/textual locational refers to present time and functions to activate referents in the discourse. The addressee locational refers to the location of the referent as at the addressee with extensions to denote a referent's association with the addressee and shared knowledge between speaker and addressee.

In pragmatically neutral position locationals precede the N_{HEAD} whose location they refer to, but can follow N_{HEAD} in restrictive identificational contexts. Locationals can also occur independently without a referent for a N_{HEAD} where they denote a location. Multiple locationals can modify a single NP to locate a referent according to a range of complex criteria. In one case, we saw that the combination of *ola* 'LOW and *o* 'ADDR' has give rise to evidential meaning 'clearly'.

Chapter 9: Adnominal possession and related constructions

Possession prototypically expresses the relationship of a human possessor to an inanimate possessum. Yet, as in many languages, possessive constructions in Bunaq are not limited to such contexts. Possessive constructions have semantic extensions to refer to situations involving other relationships between entities, such as kinship, spatial and part-whole relations, which do not involve one entity literally possessing another.

This chapter describes adnominal possession and related constructions in Bunaq. We will see that Bunaq has a contrast between alienable and inalienable possession encoded on different morphosyntactic levels in the language. Note that, whilst in/alienable possession is associated with some prototypical semantics, a clear semantic motivation for the split is not always clear, and the labels 'inalienable' and 'alienable' are used here for structurally defined categories.

After an introduction in §9.1, I look at the expression of alienable possession in §9.2 and that of inalienable possession in §9.3. See §10.6.3 for the use of existential verbs in the expression of possessive relations.

9.1 Introduction

The morphosyntactic realisation of an adnominal possessive relationship in Bunaq depends on the alienability of the possessive relationship between possessor (PSR) and possessum (PSM). Table 9.1 overviews the patterns for the encoding of alienable and inalienable possessive relations. In the table, we see that there are two possible orderings for possessor and possessum in alienable possessive relations, and two possible prefixation patterns, 'direct' prefixes or no prefixes, in inalienable possessive relations. These are given preliminary illustration below.

Table 9.1: Inalienable versus alienable possessive relations

SEMANTICS	LEVEL OF FORMATION	ORDERING OF PSR/PSM	PREFIXATION
ALIENABLE	syntax (phrasal)	- PSR PSM, or - PSM [$_{\text{PRED}}$ PSR]	indirect PSR$_\text{X}$ AGR$_\text{X}$-e PSM
INALIENABLE	morphology (compounding)	PSR PSM	- direct PSR$_\text{X}$AGR$_\text{X}$-PSM, or - no prefix

Alienable possession is expressed in Bunaq in the syntax, i.e. at the level of the phrase, with the possessor encoded by an independently modified and determined NP.[1] An alienable possessor is introduced by a free possessive pronoun, which occurs adnominally preceding the possessum (1a). An alienable possessive pronoun can also follow the possessum as the head of a possessive predicate (1b). Prefixation of alienable possessors is 'indirect'[2]: the alienable possessor pronoun hosts agreement prefixes indexing the person of the alienable possessor.

1. a. *apa*   *gi-e*   *luhan*   b. *luhan* *apa*   *gi-e*
        cow   3-POSS   stable   stable   cow   3-POSS
        '(a) cow's stable'   'stable (which is) of (a) cow',
                                           'the stable is of (a) cow'

Inalienable possession in Bunaq is realised at the morphological level by means of compounding, with the possessor showing limited ability to be expanded beyond a simple N. An inalienable possessor precedes its possessum (2a & 3a) and cannot grammatically follow the possessor (2b & 3b). Inalienable possessors are realised either by a prefix directly on the possessed noun (2a), or by no prefix (3a). The presence of 'direct' prefixes encoding an inalienable possessor depends on the lexical identity of the possessed noun, its phonological form and the noun class ANIMACY of the possessor.

2. a. *apa*   *g-ipe*   b. **g-ipe*   *apa*
        cow   3AN-horn   3AN-horn cow
        '(a) cow's horn'

3. a. *deu*   *puqup*   b. **puqup*   *deu*
        house roof   house   roof
        '(a) house's roof'

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[1] The NP encoding an alienable possessor when preceding the N_HEAD cannot be modified by a deictic; deictics always refer to the N_HEAD of the NP core, see §8.2.1.

[2] The 'direct' versus 'indirect' contrast in possessor encoding is best known in the Austronesian languages of the Oceanic branch (Lynch 1982), but is also found in Austronesian languages in the east of New Guinea (Lichtenberk 1985) and the non-Austronesian relatives of Bunaq (Donohue and Schapper 2008).

In the following sections, alienable and inalienable possessive constructions are discussed in detail.

9.2 Alienable possession

Alienable possession typically expresses a variety of semantic relationships between a possessor and a possessum which are not of a permanent and inherent type; i.e. in which no semantic dependency exists between the possessor and possessum (Chappell and McGregor 1989: 25). The majority of nominals in Bunaq enter into alienable possessive constructions.

Alienable possession is expressed by means of possessive pronouns. Historically, these consist of the alienable possessive classifier *-e* inflected for the person of the possessor (Donohue and Schapper 2008). The forms are given in Table 9.2 (see §2.6 on prefixal irregularity of this paradigm). Note that there is no specific INANIMATE inflection of the possessive pronoun: the *g-* prefix typically reserved for ANIMATE agreement controllers is used on *gi-e* '3-POSS' for both ANIMATE and INANIMATE possessors.

Alienable possessors either precede (§9.2.1) or follow the possessum (§9.2.2). The preceding possessor is non-predicative, i.e. part of the extended NP, while the following is predicative. Not all types of alienable possessors can appear in both positions, with the position of an alienable possessor depending on its properties: alienable possessors that are animate and controlling typically precede and only rarely follow the possessum; alienable possessors that lack prototypical possessor features only follow the possessum.

Table 9.2: Possessive pronouns

ni-e	1EXCL-POSS
i-e	1INCL/2-POSS
gi-e	3-POSS
di-e	REFL-POSS
ti-e	RECP-POSS

9.2.1 Non-predicative alienable possessors

Alienable possessors are expressed adnominally by an inflected form of the alienable possessor pronoun which precedes the possessum (4). An NP explicitly expressing the possessor can precede the inflected pronoun (5). See §6.1.1 on the obligatoriness of pronouns coindexing agreement prefixes.

4. a. *gi-e*   *zap*   b. *ni-e*   *turiq*
      3-POSS   dog   1EXCL-POSS   knife
      'his/her dog'   'my knife'

5. a. *Manek*   *gi-e*   *zap*   b. *nei*   *ni-e*   *turiq*
      Manek   3-POSS   dog   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   knife
      'Manek's dog'   'our knife'

Textual examples of this adnominal alienable possessor construction are given below. In (6) we have a human possessor, in (7) an animal, *apa* 'cow', and in (8) an inanimate possessor, *desa* 'village group (Ind.)'.

6. *Bel*   *en*   *baqi*   *gu-huq,*   [*en*   *gi-e*   *tais*]
   wind   person   NPRX.AN   3AN-blow   person   3-POSS   cloth
   h-apal   *niq.*
   3INAN-open   NEG
   '(When) the wind blew that man, (it) didn't open the man's coat.'   [Bk-16.005]

7. *Hot*   *mil*   *sabtu*   *no*   *zal*   [*apa*   *gie*   *luhan*] *mal.*
   sun   DUR   Saturday   OBL   carry   cow   3-POSS   pen   go
   'That undergrowth which we had cut, (we) carried to the cow's pen on Saturday.'
                                                    [Bk-12.015]

8. [*Desa~desa*   *gi-e*   *hok*   *baqa*]   *mos*   *sa*   *tara*
   village.group~REDUP   3-POSS   border   NPRX.INAN   also   EVEN   know
   haqal   *niq.*
   finished   NEG
   'The borders of the different village groups aren't even fully known.' [Bk-67.088]

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate that an alienable possessor can be expressed by a full NP marked by a determiner:

9. *Halaqi*   *gie*   *kaqa*   *mete*   [_{NP}[_{PSR} **zon**   **bi**   **gi-e**]   *su*   *ba*]
   3PL   3-POSS   eB   NOW   pig   DEF.AN   3-POSS   milk   DEF.INAN
   gi-e   *kauq*   *g-ege*   *hois.*
   3-POSS   younger.sibling   3AN-give   suckle
   'Their older brother gave his younger sibling the milk of the pig to suckle.'
                                                   [Bk-69.056]

10. [_{NP}[_{PSR}***Lusin*** *roi* ***gi-e***] *pagu-pilaq*] *hobel.*

        Lusin   SPEC.AN 3-POSS portion   not.exist

  'This portion of Lusin's did not exist.'   [Bk-67.225]

9.2.1.1 Associativity: alienable possessor constructions without possessum

An alienable possessor encoded by an alienable possessive pronoun can occur without a possessum as expressed by the NP core (see §5.1 on constituency of the NP core). In this construction, the possessum is not simply anaphorically elided. Rather the construction has a generic interpretation and conveys associative meaning i.e. '(those things/people) associated with X'. The construction is represented schematically in (11):

11. (PSR)   PSR-*e* [_{NP.CORE} Ø]   (DET)

    '(that) of (PSR)'

In (12) the 3rd person inflection of the alienable possessive pronoun with the possessor expressed by the NP, *Timor Timur* 'East Timor' has the S argument function of the verbal predicate *koleq* 'tired'. In (13) *ri-e* 'REFL-POSS' stands alone to act as the NP complement of the goal encoding verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL'.

12. [*Timor*   *Timur gi-e*] *koleq.*

   Timor   east   3-POSS tired

   '(That) of East Timor is tired.', i.e. 'Everything about East Timor is worn.'

                                  [Bk-2.036]

13. *Baqi*   [*ri-e*]   *a-ta*   *tan~tan.*

   NPRX.AN   REFL-POSS   3INAN-GL   more~REDUP

   'He adds more and more to his own.' i.e. 'He just keeps on doing that which is his own (and doesn't help anyone else).'   [Bk-22.015]

In the above examples, the possessor is the only element of the NP that is expressed. In the majority of associative possession constructions, however, the possessor is itself possessed (14-15) or the NP including the possessor is determined (16-17).

14. *Ei*   *Ø-ini*   [***ni-e***   *muk* *gi-e*] *r-ige.*

   2PL   1INCL/2-CAUS   1EXCL-POSS   land 3-POSS REFL-learn

   '(I want) to make you learn all about my land.'   [Bk-24.041]

15. *Neto*   *Ø-ege*   [***ri-e***   *tas*   *gi-e*] *rale*   *gie.*
    1SG   1INCL/2-BEN   REFL-POSS   village   3-POSS   tell   PROSP
    'I'm going to tell you all about my village.'   [Bk-7.001]

16. [*Tais*   *gi-e*   ***baqa***]   *en*   *lele*   *tara*   *kuran.*
    cloth   3-POSS   NPRX.INAN   person   nowadays   know   less
    'People don't know so much about those (things) of cloth nowadays'. i.e. 'People
    don't know so much about cloth and the things associated with it these days.'
                                                [OS-07.02]

17. *Neto*   [*a*   *obon*   *gi-e*   ***ba***]   *sasi*   *gie*   *taq.*
    1SG   food   hang   3-POSS   DEF.INAN   say   PROSP   IPFV
    'Now I'm talking the (things) of the hanging food.' i.e. 'I am going to tell you
    about (the festival of) "the food hanging".'   [Bk-18.043]

In these examples, both the possessor of the possessor and the determiner can be seen as acting as 'reference-points' (cf. Langacker 1993) which aid in the interpretation and identification of the associative reference in the absence of an NP core.

9.2.2   Predicative alienable possessors

An inflection of the alienable possessive pronoun along with an NP expressing the possessor can follow the possessum to make a predicative possessor construction (see §4.3.3 on possessive clauses). In these constructions, the possessed noun is given, and is often marked by a determiner. Examples of the predicative use of the alienable possessive pronoun are:

18. *Atis*   *o*   *liqul*   *ba*   [PRED*halaqi*   *gi-e*].
    needle   AND   thread   DEF.INAN   3PL   3-POSS
    'The needle and thread is theirs.'   [LB-1.058]

19. *Homo*   [PRED*nei*   *gunung*   *ni-e*].
    CONTR.INAN   1PL.EXCL   mountain   1EXCL-POSS
    'That (type of cake) is ours, us mountain people's.'   [Bk-76.039]

The predicates in the above examples can in theory also act as the predicate of a relative clause (RC) with the possessum as head of the NP (20-21). In these examples, the possessor is simply encoded as an attribute of the N_HEAD. Note, however, that in (21)

the head is elided. Pragmatically, postposing the possessor relative to the possessum functions to place weak stress on the identity of the possessor. Semantically, however, there is no difference in the nature of the possessive relation between the post-posed possessors in these examples and those with the preposed possessor, described in §9.2.1.

20. [_{NP} *atis*　　*o*　　*liqul*　　[_{RC} *halaqi gi-e*]　*ba*]
　　　　needle　AND　　thread　　　　3PL　　3-POSS　DEF.INAN
　　'the needle and thread (that's) theirs.'　　　　　　　　　　　[Not-07.01]

21. [_{NP}[_{RC}*nei*　　　　*gunung*　　　*ni-e*]　　　　*homo*]
　　　1PL.EXCL　　　mountain　　　1EXCL-POSS　　CONTR.INAN
　　'that (type of cake) is ours, us mountain people's.'　　　　　　[Not-07.01]

Whilst the above uses of a predicative possessor in the RC are possible, they are next to unknown in spontaneous discourse. The vast majority of instances of predicative possessors in the RC are not identificational in function, but rather are used to encode possessive relationships in which a 3rd person possessor lacks prototypical properties of 'possessorship', like being the owner or controller of the possessum. Predicative possessors are further 'removed' (Schapper 2009) from their possessum than non-predicative, adnominal possessors in that they do not denote an actual, current possessive relationship, but potential or past ones.

Two types of predicative possessor are distinguished: a. the possessor is construed as the intended *destination* of the possessum (§9.2.2.1), and; b. the possessor is construed as the *origin* of the possessum (§9.2.2.2).[3] Both these types of predicative possession are only found with third person possessors.

9.2.2.1 Possessor as destination

Third person alienable possessors are post-possessed where they express a "possessor" to which the possessum is intended to belong (22) or in connexion with which it is intended to be used (23). In both cases, the postposed possessor does not own or have control over the possessum, rather it is the end-point or intended destination of the possessum. A post-posed 'destination' possessor also always has a non-specific, hypothetical reference (as in Radden and Dirven 2007: 94). A postposed possessor can

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[3] There are two further extensions of the postposed possessor construction discussed elsewhere: extension to encoding NP with a reason role (§12.2), and extension to encoding prospective aspect (§14.2.4).

be the predicate of a relative clause as in (22), or the predicate of a main clause as in (23).

22. a. [*Tais*   [_{RC}*pana*   *mil*   *gi-e*]   *ba*]   *h-ini*   *tais*   *pana.*
      cloth   female   COLL   3-POSS   DEF.INAN   3INAN-call   cloth   female

      'A cloth for females is called a female cloth.'   [Bk-24.026]

    b. [*Tais*   [_{RC} *mone*   *gi-e*]   *ba*]   *h-ini*   *tais*   *mone.*
      cloth   man   3-POSS   DEF.INAN   3INAN-call   cloth   male

      'A cloth for men is called a male cloth.'   [Bk-24.030]

23. *Bai*   *baqa*   [_{PRED} *ru-bul*   *gi-e*]*,*   [_{PRED} *kalaq*   *gi-e*   *o,*
     thing   NPRX.INAN   REFL-head   3-POSS   neck   3-POSS   AND

   [_{PRED} *r-on*   *gie*]*.*
       REFL-hand   3-POSS

    'Those things are of the head, of the neck and of the hands.' i.e. 'Those (jewellery) items are intended for (being worn on) the head, the neck and the hands.'

                                                               [Bk-24.024]

In the above examples, having the possessor preceding the possessum results in a change of meaning. The non-predicative possessors in (24) and (25) must denote a current possessive relationship in which the possessor is the owner/controller of the possessum and in which the possessor as owner has a specific referent.

24. *kalaq*   *gi-e*   *bai*   *baqa*
     neck   3-POSS   thing   NPRX.INAN

     'neck's things', i.e. the neck's features or characteristics.'   [Not-07.02]

25. *mone*   *gi-e*   *tais*   *ba*
     man   3-POSS   cloth   DEF.INAN

     'man's cloth' i.e. 'the particular cloth possessed by a specific man'   [Not-07.02]

Some further textual examples of predicative 'destination' possessors are given below. In (26) the possessor is the predicate of the RC modifying *mak-leqat* 'overseer', while in (27) there are two predicative possessor phrases acting as main clause predicates. In (26) the predicative possessor encodes the potential patch of the land to be managed by the to-be-elected overseers; a non-predicative possessor here would mean that the overseers own the land of the different *soron* 'land divisions' which is not the case. In (27) the predicative possessor encodes the potential sum of money a bottle

of each size could fetch; the possessor here cannot be non-predicative as a bottle is not the owner of the money it buys, i.e. does not have control over it.

26. [*Mak-leqat*   [RC*soron*   *goniqil*   *gi-e*]] *go-poi*   *gie.*
     hear-watch   land.division   four   3-POSS   3AN-choose   PROSP
     '(We) will choose the overseers of the four land divisions.'   [Bk-19.026]

27. *Botil*   *uen*   *h-ini*   *nota*   *sogal* *gonciet.*   *Homo*   [PRED *botil*
     bottle   one   3INAN-call   note   10s   five   CONTR.INAN   bottle
     legul   *gi-e*]. *Nota* *sogo*   *homo*   [PRED *botil* *barak*
     tall   3-POSS   note   10   CONTR.INAN   bottle   short
     gi-e].
     3-POSS
     'One bottle made 15 notes. That was for a big bottle. 10 notes, that was for a small bottle.'   [Bk-13.011]

9.2.2.2   Possessor as origin

3rd person alienable possessors are predicative where they express an entity in which the possessum originates. For instance, possessors referring to *bei mil* 'ancestors' are postposed in the corpus, as in these 'ancestors' are referred to as the origin of the possessum. In (28) and (29) the predicative possessors refer to the ancestors in which the present *zapal* 'folktale' and *ton* 'marriage' originate. According to native speaker intuitions, the use of non-predicative possessors in examples like (28) and (29) would mean that the possessed items are alone the property of the Bunaq people of the past and not those of the present day, i.e. the ancestors are not the origin of an entity in the present day but the owners of an entity that no longer exists.

28. [*Zapal*   [RC *bei*   *mil*   *gi-e*]   *uen*],   *roe*   *goet*   *on.*
     folktale   ancestor COLL   3-POSS one   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO
     'One of the ancestors' folktales goes like this.' i.e. 'One of the folktales originating from our ancestors goes like this.'   [Bk-50.001]

29. *Tapi*   [*ton*   [RC *en*   *bei*   *mil*   *gie*]]   *h-alolo.*
     but   marriage   person ancestor COLL   3-POSS   3INAN-follow
     'But (we) follow the marriage of the ancestors.' i.e. 'We conform to the marriage traditions which come from our ancestors.'   [Bk-62.021]

A predicative possessor may also encode an origin location. In (30) and (31) the NPs encoding the possessor are placenames and refer to the origin location of the possessum. The use of a non-predicative possessor would mean that the location had ownership and control over the possessum. That is, that the church was owned and run by the people of Nualain in (30) and that the money was directly that of the state of Indonesia in (31) and not just the currency of the nation.

30. [*Reu   por* [_{RC}*Nualian   gi-e*]] *a-ta   tama.*
     house   holy   Nualain   3-POSS   3INAN-GL   enter
    '(I) entered into the church of Nualain.'   [Bk-34.026]

31. *Neto   [uang   [_{RC}Indonesia   gi-e*]] *g-osok.*
    1SG   money   Indonesia   3-POSS   3AN-receive
    'I received money of Indonesia, i.e. Indonesian money.'   [Bk-11.006]

Finally, the predicative possessor encoding origin is distinct from the non-predicative possessor construction in that it allows the possessum to be encoded with a pronoun, as in (32a) and (33a). In §3.5.1 we saw that a non-predicative possessor could not modify a pronoun, and we see that a non-predicative possessor in (32b) and (33b) results in outright ungrammaticality; speakers could not even assign semantically bizarre meanings to these clauses.

32. a. *Neto   Gewal   gi-e.*
       1SG   Gewal   3-POSS
       'I am from Gewal.'   [Bk-68.010]

    b. **Gewal   gi-e   neto*
       Gewal   3-POSS 1SG   [Not-07.02]

33. a. *Halaqi Timor-Leste   gi-e*
       3PL   East Timor   3-POSS
       'They are from East Timor.'   [Bk-11.013]

    b. **Timor-Leste gi-e   halaqi*
       East Timor   3-POSS 3PL   [Not-07.02]

9.3   Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession encodes possessive relations in which there is typically a more permanent and inherent semantic association between a possessor and possessum (Chappell and McGregor 1996). In Bunaq possessive relations of this kind are denoted by compounding. The possessor of an inalienable possessor compound always precedes the possessum.

Inalienable possessors can be realised in a variety of ways by prefixes on the possessum; six different classes are recognised on the basis of the inflectional options they show in the 3rd person (Table 9.3). 1st persons and 2nd persons are predictable across classes.

Table 9.3: Inalienable possessive classes

	3rd ANIMATE	3rd INANIMATE	Kind of relation
CLASS I	*g*- '3AN'	--	body parts, kin terms, intimates[4]
CLASS II	*g*- '3AN'	*h*- '3INAN-'	body parts, intimates, plant parts
CLASS III	*g*- '3AN'	*n*- 'LOC-'	intimates, plant parts, spatial
CLASS IV	*g*- '3AN'	*t*- 'ABSL-'	absolute, non-possessed
CLASS V	*gV*- '3AN'	unmarked	body & plant parts, part-whole, spatial
CLASS VI	--	unmarked	part-whole, spatial

Classes I through V are small closed classes of nouns taking prefixes for inalienable possessors. Classes I through IV contain obligatorily possessed nouns: these nouns obligatorily require prefixal inflection for a possessor and cannot be used alone.[5] Classes I through IV are differentiated on the range of their 3rd agreement forms. Class V nouns only take possessor inflection when the possessor is a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person ANIMATE, while 3rd person INANIMATE is unmarked. Class VI is an open possessive class with no prefixal encoding of possessors: it is used to express inalienable possessive relations between a possessor expressed by any INANIMATE noun and a possessum expressed by any INANIMATE noun (constrained only by semantic appropriateness of the combination).

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[4] The term 'intimate' is used here for items aside from body-parts and kin that a person can (for socio-cultural reasons) not help having (Stolz 2008: 56), e.g. such as a name, a language, a soul etc.

[5] Often also called 'bound nouns' (Bickel and Nichols 2008).

The semantics of each of the inalienable possessive classes are discussed individually in §9.3.1-§9.3.6.[6] Finally, the evidence for seeing inalienable possession as a morphological process is presented in §9.3.7.

9.3.1 Class I: *g-* '3AN-' only

Inalienable possessive Class I contains obligatorily possessed nouns with only *g-* '3AN-' in the 3rd person. This is the largest class of obligatorily possessed nouns in Bunaq. The person inflections of two members of this class are given in (34).

34. a. *n-inup*   1EXCL-nose   b. *n-ol*   1EXCL-child

    Ø-inup   1INCL/2-nose   *Ø-ol*   1INCL/2-child

    g-inup   3AN-nose   *g-ol*   3AN-child

Table 9.4 presents an overview of the members of Class I; forms are cited with the 3rd person inflection. The majority of this class designates parts of the body. Body-part terms typically refer to either humans or animals, but sometimes differ in their translation between the different types of possessor, e.g. *g-ot* refers to 'body hair' for a human possessor, 'fur' for a mammal possessor and 'feather' for a bird avian possessor. For those terms where the possessor is invariably an animal (e.g. *g-ipe* '3AN-horn' etc.), the noun occurs most frequently with 3rd person inflection; only when animals are anthropomorphosized do we find other inflections of these items, as in (35):

35. *Eli*   *uen*   *n-iri*   *doe*   *ni*   *d-obon.*

    2DU   one   1EXCL-leg   SPEC.INAN   OBL   REFL-hang

    'One of you two hang onto my leg here.'   [LB-2.078]

Several items in class I refer to intimate possessions, such as *g-ebel* '3AN-name' and *g-ina* '3AN-inheritance'. The class includes items referring to bodily fluids/excretions, such as *g-ozul* '3AN-saliva' and *g-io* '3AN-faeces'. The handful of kinship terms that are inalienable are also members of this class.

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[6] The following citation forms are used for possessive nouns: Class I g-form, Class II h-form, Class III n- or h-form, Class IV t-form, Class V & VI bare form.

Table 9.4: Class I inalienably possessed nouns

gaban	'umbilical stump'	*gizil*	'vagina'
gaqel	'shoulder'	*gobut*	'elbow'
gagar	'mouth'	*gol*	'child'
gal	'rib'	*goleq*	'belly'
gamal	'male (animal)'	*golep*	'lower back, abdomen'
gawas	'forehead'	*goli*	'armpit'
gebu	'bottom'	*gomoq*	'udder'
gemel	'female (animal)'	*gonos*	'nail'
gepal	'ear'	*gopo*	'lung'
gewe	'tooth'	*goral*	'penis'
gewen	'face'	*gosun*	'wing'
gezel	'stomach, womb (animal)'	*got*	'feather, fur, body hair'
gibis	'navel'	*gotil*	'cheek; spouse'
gibul	'ancestry, family'	*gozul*	'saliva, spittle'
giel	'nest'	*gubel*	'fat'
gigal	'gum'	*gubu*	'flesh (of humans)'
gigoq	'beak'	*gubut*	'headless corpse'
gina	'inheritance'	*guen*	'heel'
gino	'tear'	*guhin*	'lap'
gintili	'siblings'	*guk*	'joint'
ginup	'nose'	*gulik*	'urine, semen'
gio	'shit'	*guloq*	'tail; digit; youngest child'
gipe	'horn'	*guol*	'back of knee'
giral	'eye'	*gup*	'tongue'
giri	'leg'	*gusal*	'upper back'
giwiq	'skin, body'	*gut*	'egg'

9.3.2   Class II: *h-* '3INAN-'

In addition to ANIMATE 3rd person inflection with *g-* '3AN-', a small set of obligatory possessed nouns has a 3rd person INANIMATE form marked by the prefix *h-* '3INAN-' (paralleling the h-inflection on verbs described in §10.2.4.1). The complete set of these nouns in the corpus is presented in Table 9.5. Aside from ANIMACY, the agreement

prefix taken by nouns in this class is affected by the alienation, or 'closeness', of the relationship between possessor and possessum, lexicalisation and loss of forms.

Table 9.5: Class II: inalienably possessed nouns with *h-* '3INAN-'

3rd INANIMATE		3rd ANIMATE	
hak	'rights'	*gak*	'rights'
hegil	'shade'	*gegil*	'shadow'
heruk	'thorn'	*geruk*	'thorn'
(hinil) †	'name, kind of'	*ginil*	'name, kind of'
ho	'source, centre'	*go*	'source, home'
ho	'blood'	*(go)*	'blood'
(holoq)	'container'	*goloq*	'place'
hon	'hand'	*gon*	'hand'
(hopil)	'power; force'	*gopil*	'power'
(hotok)	'liver'	*gotok*	'liver'
hua	'footprint, track'	*gua*	'footprint'
hun	'back'	*gun*	'back'

† Brackets indicate a form which is rare and undergoing loss

The class contains a mixed bag of items, ranging from canonical inalienables, such as body parts, to a range of items denoting intimates and plant parts. The person inflections of two members of this small class are given in (36).

36. a. *n-egil*   1EXCL-shadow   b. *n-ua*   1EXCL-footprint

   Ø-egil   1INCL/2-shadow   *Ø-ua*   1INCL/2-footprint

   g-egil   3AN-shadow   *g-ua*   3AN-footprint

   h-egil   3INAN-shadow   *h-ua*   3INAN-footprint

The basic choice of form of a 3rd person possessor prefix depends on the ANIMACY and the perceived alienability of the possessor: an 3rd person ANIMATE possessor takes the *g-* '3AN-' marked form, while an 3rd person INANIMATE possessor takes *h-* '3INAN-'. This contrast is illustrated with the agreement on *h-un* '3INAN-back' in the temporal phrase *hun taru* 'appear once s.th./s.o. is over/gone' (37).

37. a. *Neto inel h-un / *g-un taru.*
      1SG   rain   3INAN-back   3AN-back   appear

    'I appear (at) the back of the rain' i.e. 'I appear after the rain is over.'

  b. *Neto eme g-un / *h-un taru.*
      1SG   mother 3AN-back   3INAN-back   appear

    'I appear (at) the back of the mother' i.e. 'I appear after mother has left.'

                                          [Not-07.02]

In many cases, either the *h-* '3INAN-' or *g-* '3AN-' form is undergoing loss and subject to replacement by the other with both ANIMATE and INANIMATE agreement controllers. Typically, it is the *h-* '3INAN-' form which is being replaced by the *g-* 3AN-' form. For instance, whilst *h-inil* '3INAN-name' is initially used with an INANIMATE possessor, *ipi* 'rice' (38a), later in the same text the speaker used with *g-inil* '3AN-name' (38b). In fact, this is one of only two instances of *h-inil* '3INAN-name' in the corpus, with *g-inil* '3AN-name' appearing almost invariably regardless of the ANIMACY of its possessor.

38. a. *Ipi h-inil nego~nego?*
      rice   3INAN-name   what~REDUP

    'What are the kinds of rice?'   [Bk-90.01]

  b. *Ipi g-inil baqa na neto tara ai.*
      rice   3AN-name   NPRX.INAN   FOC   1SG   know   ONLY

    'Those are the only names for that rice which I know.'   [Bk-90.10]

In other cases where a *h-* '3INAN-' is preserved, it is often only in specific constructions. For instance, the form *h-un* '3INAN-back' is limited to only a few temporal phrases, such as that in (37); in locative contexts only *g-un* '3AN-back' is attested, as in (39):

39. *Neto dou g-un / *h-un gene.*
      1SG   house   3AN-back   3INAN-back   LOC
    'I am at the back of the house.'   [Not-07.02]

The loss of the *h-* '3INAN-' form in such cases as (38) appears partly to have to do with inalienability. That is, forms in *h-* '3INAN-' tend to have been lost more frequently in situations where there is a permanent, indissoluble relationship between the possessor

and possessum. For instance, *h-un* '3INAN-back' is retained in temporal contexts, i.e. where there is no inherent relationship between possessor and possessum, but lost in locative contexts, where the possessum is physically part of the possessor even if the referent is not ANIMATE.

Another example of this is provided in (40) with *h-egil* '3INAN-shade'. Whilst an ANIMATE possessor can only take the *g-* '3AN-' inflection of this noun (40a), an INANIMATE possessor can take either the *g-* '3AN-' inflection (40c) or the *h-* '3INAN-' inflection (40d). The different inflections correspond to a difference in alienation between possessor and possessum: (40c) with *g-* '3AN-' inflection refers to the area of shade created by the rock itself in that it is overhanging and blocks out the sun, while (40d) with *h-* '3INAN-' indicates a greater alienation between possessor and possessum in that the rock itself is not viewed as reasonable for the shadow but the sun.

40. a. *en*   *g-egil*   b. *en   *h-egil*
     person   3AN-shadow   person   3INAN-shadow
     'a person's shadow'

    c. *hol*   *g-egil*   d. *hol*   *h-egil*
     stone   3AN-shadow   stone   3INAN-shadow
     'shade of stone (due to overhang etc.)'   'shadow of stone (cast by sun)'

Some further *h-* '3INAN-' marked nouns that alternate with a prefix *n-* 'LOC-' are discussed in §9.3.3.

9.3.3 Class III: *n-* 'LOC-'

A small subset of obligatorily possessed nouns are characterised by taking the locative morpheme *n-* 'LOC-', a prefix homophonous with, but distinct from the 1st person prefix. Locative *n-* 'LOC-' expresses that the referent of the noun it marks has an internal or middle location; the location to which the referent of the noun is internal is encoded as a possessor and, as in other possessive constructions, precedes the possessum.

The complete set of nouns marked with *n-* 'LOC-' that have been identified in the corpus is presented in Table 9.6. The morpheme has only been sporadically preserved. Notice that nouns with *n-* 'LOC-' vary in regards to what other inflections they are found with. Most frequently *n-* 'LOC-' alternates with *g-* '3AN-'; only a few *n-* 'LOC-' marked nouns have a *h-* '3INAN-' inflected form; one item, *il* 'water', can occur with *n-* 'LOC-',

but also without any other prefix. The *n-* 'LOC-' prefix on the class appears to be diachronically related to the s-conjugation of verbs (§10.3.5).

Table 9.6: Class III: inalienably possessed nouns with *n-* 'LOC-' marked nouns

LOCATIVE		3RD PERSON ANIMATE		3RD PERSON INANIMATE		UNMARKED	
nala	'remainder'	*gala*	'remainder'	*hala*	'rubbish'	---	---
netel	'root'	*getel*	'root, sprout'	*hetel*	'medicine'	---	---
netiq	'bark'	*getiq*	'bark, scab'	---	---	---	---
nil	'inner juice'	*gil*	'sap, juices'	---	---	*il*	'water'
nilin	'centre point'	---	---	*hilin*	'halfway point'	---	---
niol	'sound'	*giol*	'voice, language'	---	---	---	---
noqet	'other side'	*goqet*	'other person'	---	---	---	---
noq	'flesh (of fruit)'	*goq*	'fruit'	---	---	---	---

Compare (41a) and (41b), illustrating the contrast between *n-* '1' and *n-* 'LOC-': the latter can be cross-referenced with a 3rd person, whereas the former cannot. In (41b) *n-* 'LOC-' indicates that the noise issues from a location internal to the motorbike, whereas in (41c) *g-* '3AN-' marks simply that the sound is that of a motorbike.

41. a. *n-iol*
      1EXCL-voice
      'my voice'

    b. *motor   n-iol*
       motorbike LOC-voice
       'sound from (inside) the motorbike'

    c. *motor   g-iol*
       motorbike   3AN-voice
       'the motorbike's sound'

In (42a) we see *n-* 'LOC-' marking *il* 'water', referring to the water internal to the nut of the coconut palm (known as either 'coconut juice' or 'coconut water'). In (42b) *il* 'water' is marked with the prefix *g-* '3AN-' referring to an inherent part of the coconut plant, the vital fluid which circulates through it, i.e. its sap. In (42c) where there is no prefixation on *il* 'water', the possessive relation is spatial, with the coconut being the

location at which the coconut is located (i.e. we have a class VI possessive relation, §9.3.6).

42. a. *hoza*   *n-il*
    coconut   LOC-water
    'coconut juice'

    b. *hoza*   *g-il*
    coconut   3AN-water
    'sap of the coconut tree'

    c. *hoza*   *il*
    coconut   water
    lit. 'coconut water',
    i.e. 'water in a location with coconuts'

Lexicalisation and bleaching of the specifically internal locative meaning of the morpheme *n-* 'LOC-' is apparent in the items *n-oqet* 'LOC-other side' and *n-ala* 'LOC-remainder'. On these items, the presence of *n-* 'LOC-' is only evident from the fact that it alternates with *g-* '3AN-', with *n-* 'LOC-' having the appearance of just another INANIMATE agreement form. Examples (43a) and (44a) show *n-* 'LOC-' marked forms co-indexing INANIMATE possessors, while in (43b) and (44b) *g-* '3AN-' co-indexes respectively a possessor with an animate referent *en* 'person' and a possessor of ANIMATE noun class, *paqol* 'corn'.

43. a. *reu*   *n-oqet*
    house   LOC-other.side
    'house's other side'

    b. *en*   *g-oqet*
    person   3AN-other.side
    'other person',
    < *'person's other side'

44. a. *Ipi*   *n-ala*
    rice   LOC-remainders
    'left-over rice'

    b. *paqol*   *g-ala*
    corn   3AN-remainders
    'small corn for giving away',
    < *'left-over corn'

9.3.4 Class IV: *t-* 'ABSL-'

There is one obligatory possessed noun characterised by its taking a prefix *t-* 'ABSL-', which marks absolute possession, i.e. that the noun is not inalienably possessed. The person inflections of the noun, *t-el* 'ABSL-grave', are given in (45).[7]

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[7] The *t-* 'ABSL-' prefix is homophonous with the reciprocal prefix and is probably historically related to it, see §11.4.4. Similar uses of the cognate reciprocal prefix are evidenced in related languages: e.g.,

45. *n-el*   1EXCL-grave

    Ø-el   1INCL/2-grave

    g-el   3AN-grave

    t-el   ABSL-grave

The contrast between using *t-* 'ABSL-' and a specific person agreement form, such as *g-* '3AN-', is illustrated in (46). In (46a) where the possessor of *-el* 'grave' is encoded with *g-* '3AN-', the relationship between possessor and possessum is permanent: Mali is dead and occupying his grave. In (46b) we see that the *t-* 'ABSL-' marked form of *-el* refers to a 'grave' without mention of a possessor, and in (46c) we see that it is unacceptable to cross-reference *t-* 'ABSL-' with a noun encoding possessor. It is, however for the *t-* 'ABSL-' marked form of *-el* 'grave' to be possessed by an alienable possessor marked by the pronoun *-e* 'POSS', as in (46d). This can have a variety of readings all of which involve a less permanent relationship between possessor and possessum than (46a); e.g. it's Mali's grave but he's not dead yet or Mali owns the grave but it is not intended for him etc.

46. a. *Mali*   *g-el*   b. *t-el*

      Mali   3AN-grave   ABSL-grave

      'Mali's grave (he's dead)'   '(a) grave'

   c. **Mali*   *t-el*   d. *Mali*   *gi-e*   *t-el*

      Mali   ABSL-grave   Mali   3-POSS   ABSL-grave

                                                'Mali's grave'

Another instance of the prefix *t-* 'GEN-' is likely to be represented by the initial /t/ of *ton* 'branch'. This noun appears (historically) to be formed by prefixation of *t-* 'ABSL-' onto body part noun *g-on* '3AN-hand'.

9.3.5 Class V: Differentially marked possessors

The final subset of nouns taking direct markers of the possessor have differential marking of 3rd person ANIMATE and INANIMATE possessors: ANIMATE possessors trigger *gV-* '3AN-' on the possessum, while INANIMATE possessors trigger no agreement on the possessum; other persons are encoded with *nV-* '1EXCL-' and *V-* '1INCL/2-'. The person

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Kamang also uses the reciprocal prefix on nouns to denote absolute possession: *ta-tang* 'RECP-hand' for absolute 'hand(s)' (Kamengmai and Stokhof 1978).

inflections of two members of this class are given in (47). This pattern of agreement class parallels that of bivalent verb Class II (§10.2.2).

47. a. *na-wa*   1EXCL-top   b. *ni-tin*   1EXCL-price

    a-wa   1INCL/2-top   *i-tin*   1INCL/2-price

    ga-wa   3AN-top   *gi-tin*   3AN-price

    wa   top   *tin*   price

The full set of members of this class is given in Table 9.7. The class is composed of locational nouns, quantificational nouns indicating parts of wholes, nouns denoting plant parts and some intimates. Notice that all but two members of the class are monosyllabic: *luel* 'peel' and *nuas* 'smell' do, however, show the same agreement patterns as the other items and, like the other members of the class, they are disyllabic when prefixed due to the metathesis of the high front vowel (see §2.5.3).

The differential marking of 3rd persons is illustrated in (48) with the plant part term *nal* 'stem'. In (48a) the possessor *zo* 'mango' is INANIMATE and triggers no agreement on *nal* 'stem', while in (48b) where the possessor *sabul* 'orange' is ANIMATE, agreement with *gV-* '3AN-' is found on *nal* 'stem'. The absence of the correct agreement prefix for the particular controller results in ungrammaticality.

48. a. *zo*   *nal* / **ga-nal*   b. *sabul*   *ga-nal* / **nal*

    mango.INAN stem   3AN-stem   orange.AN 3AN-stem   stem

    'stem of the mango'   'stem of the orange'

Example (49) illustrates the use of a class V noun with a non-3rd person, human possessor on *tin* 'price'. Examples (49a) and (49b) parallel the examples in (48) having INANIMATE and ANIMATE possessors and non-agreement/agreement respectively. In (49c) we have a 1st person possessor with the resulting meaning of 'bride price'.

49. a. *uer*   *tin*   b. *apa*   *gi-tin*

    pot.INAN   price   cow.AN   3AN-price

    'pot's price'   'cow's price'

    c. *ni-tin*

       1EXCL-price

       'my price', i.e. 'my bride price (of a woman)'

Table 9.7: Class V with differential possessor marking

3RD INANIMATE		3RD ANIMATE	
bol	'cost'	*gobol*	'cost'
buk	'flower'	*gubuk*	'flower'
bul	'base, origin'	*gubul*	'head'
lak	'place between'	*galak*	'place between'
luel	'peel, skin'	*gulel*	'peel, skin'
mil	'inside'	*gimil*	'feelings, thoughts'
nal	'stem'	*ganal*	'stem, earlobe'
nap	'side'	*ganap*	'side, flank (body)'
ne	'portion'	*gene*	'portion'
nes	'fleck, speck'	*genes*	'fleck, speck'
nor	'leaf'	*(gonor)†*	'leaf'
nuas	'smell'	*gunas*	'smell'
tin	'price'	*gitin*	'price'
tul	'part'	*gutul*	'part'
wa	'top'	*gawa*	'top'
zup	'sliver, morsel'	*guzup*	'sliver, morsel'

† This form is only found in eastern dialects of Bunaq (§1.5).

There is some lexicalisation of meaning of unprefixed and prefixed pairs. Divergent meanings are partly conditioned by differences in in/alienability, as was already seen with *h-* '3INAN-' versus *g-* '3INAN-' forms of Class II nouns (§9.3.2). For instance, *bul* refers to 'origin, base', but with prefixes refers to the body part 'head'. Thus in (50a) we see that with a 1st person possessor encoded with *-e* '-POSS', *bul* denotes simply 'my origins'. By contrast, in (50b) with 1st person possessor encoded with a prefix we get 'my head'.

50. a. *ni-e   bul*   b. *nu-bul*
       1EXCL-POSS base   1EXCL-head
       'my origins, descent'   'my head'

9.3.6 Class VI: Unmarked possession

In the inalienable possessive class VI, possessor and possessum both have semantic inanimate referents. The possessive relations expressed by this class are typically part-

whole or spatial relationships (both cross-linguistically common uses for possessives, cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001). No person prefix or person prefixed possessive pronoun intervenes between possessor and possessum. Word-order alone signals the possessive relationship: the possessum denoting the "part" is preceded by the possessor. Examples are presented in (51).

51. a. *reu*   *maten*   b. *mar*   *alan*
       house   peak   garden   border
       'house peak '   'border area/flank of the garden'

    c. *zol*   *iti*   d. *mok*   *pol*
       river   opposite   banana   comb
       'river's opposite (side)'   'comb of bananas'

9.3.7   Inalienable possession as compounding

In §3.2.1.2, I described unmarked (class VI) possessive constructions as right-headed compounds. In this section, I will present evidence for viewing all inalienable possessor constructions as representing a continuum of compound to compound-like constructions, distinct from phrasal possessive constructions expressing alienable possession. Table 9.8 (after Taylor 2000: 287-314 looking at possessives in English) presents syntactic and referential criteria which can be used to distinguish possessive phrases from possessive compounds.

Table 9.8: Characteristics distinguishing possessive phrases and compounds

NP NP Possessive Phrases	NN Possessive Compounds
independent modification	no/little independent modification
possessor NP with determiner	possessor simple N
referential possessor	non-/ weakly referential possessor
(instance-specific)	(type-specific)
flexible word order	fixed word order

Where there is an inanimate possessor and an inanimate possessum in a (class VI) inalienable possessive construction, we find prototypical compound behaviour: possessor and possessum are each expressed by a simple N (52a); the possessor N can

not be independently modified (52b) and any modifier following the possessum N has scope over possessor and possessum as a whole (52c); the possessor N is only weakly referential at best and cannot be marked definite (52d). Only with the inclusion of the alienable possessive pronoun can possessor and possessum be fully referential NPs with the possibility of independent modification and determination (52e).

52. a. *deu   puqup*
  house roof
  'house roof'

  b. *deu *koen* *puqup*
   house nice roof
   '[nice house]'s roof'

 c. *deu* *puqup* *guzu*
  house roof black
  'black [house roof]'

  d. *deu *ba* *puqup*
   house DEF.INAN roof
   '[the house]'s roof'

 e. *deu* *koen* *ba* *gi-e* *puqup* *guzu*
  house nice DEF.INAN 3-POSS roof black
  '[the pretty house]'s [black roof]'   [Not-09.01]

As already seen in §9.1, inalienable possessors, regardless of whether or not they are encoded by a prefix on the possessum, must precede the possessum, as shown by the contrasting grammaticality of (53a & 54a) and (53b & 54b). This fixedness of word order in inalienable possessive constructions suggests a close bound between possessor and possessum, consistent with a process of compounding.

However, the animacy of the possessor does appear to increase the likelihood of acceptability of independent possessor modification. The animal possessor in (53c) is marginally acceptable with a single simple modifier; this is one of a handful of tokens in the corpus, while the human possessor in (54c) is acceptable with a single simple modifier (five similar tokens in the corpus). Independent modification of inalienable possessors is still highly limited, with one modifier being the maximum found in the corpus. What is more, despite the availability of independent modification of the possessors in these instances, the referentiality of the possessor is not different from those in (52): (53a) and (53c) and (54a) and (54c) are also type-specific, referring generically to egg(s) of a non-particular (white) chicken or hand(s) of a non-particular (dead) person. Their status as such is evidenced in the unacceptability of marking the possessor as definite in each case (53d) and (54d).

53. a. *cie*   *g-ut*   b. *g-ut   *cie*
       chicken   3AN-egg   3AN-egg chicken
       'chicken's egg'

     c. #*cie*   *belis*   *g-ut*   d. *cie   *ba*   *g-ut*
       chicken white   3AN-egg   chicken DEF.INAN 3AN-egg
       '[white chicken]'s egg'   '[the chicken]'s egg'   [Not-09.01]

54. a. *en*   *g-on*   b. *g-on   *en*
       person   3AN-hand   3AN-hand   person
       'person's hand'   'person's hand'

     c. *en*   *heser* *g-on*   d. *en   *bi*   *g-on*
       person   dead   3AN-hand   person DEF.AN   3AN-hand
       'dead person's hand'   '[the person]'s hand'   [Not-09.01]

In the corpus, instance-specific (i.e. fully referential) inalienable possessors are invariably encoded with the alienable possessor pronoun *gi-e* '3-POSS' in addition to any prefixal agreement on the possessum. That is, the possessor is no longer part of a compound with the possessum, but is expressed as the head of a possessor phrase. Such 'double possessor marking' (direct + indirect prefix) is illustrated on a class V inalienable noun with an ANIMATE possessor, *paqol* 'corn' in (55), on a class I inalienable noun with a semantically animate possessor in (56) and on a class I inalienable noun with a lexically ANIMATE possessor in (57).

55. *Sekola*   *gene*   *tebe,*   *neto*   [NP[PSR *paqol g-inik*   *bi*   **gi-e**]
       school   LOC   return   1SG   corn   3AN-cook   DEF.AN   3-POSS
     g-unas]   *mobel.*
     3AN-smell   like
     '(When I) return from school, I like the smell of the cooking.'   [Bk-24.034]

56. *Makoqan* *tata*   *g-atun*   *ba,*   [NP[PSR *bei*   *mil*   **gi-e**]
       poet   ancestor 3AN-bring.down   DEF.INAN   ancestor COLL   3-POSS
     g-ua]   *rale.*
     3AN-footprint   recount
     '(When) poets "bring down the ancestors", (they) recount the footsteps (i.e. journeys) of the ancestors.'   [Bk-18.026]

57. [$_{\text{NP}}$ [$_{\text{PSR}}$ *Bingkai-A himo*   ***gi-e***]   ***g-iri***]   *hiloqon.*
         A-frame   CONTR.AN   3-POSS   3AN-leg two

     'The legs of an A-frame are two.' i.e. 'An A-frame has two legs.'   [Bk-65.010]

Such behaviour is consistent with inalienable possessors being part of a compound where there are limited possibilities for independent modification and instance-specific reference. The coding with *gi-e* '3-POSS' would appear to take the possessor outside the compound, thereby allowing the possessor nominal to have full referential and modificational properties.

In sum, an inalienable possessor forms a tight unit with its possessum, each having limited possibility for the expansion of both possessor and possessum beyond an N. The higher the animacy of the possessor the more acceptable it is for the possessor to take its own simple modifier. Yet, we have seen that, even when independently modified, the possessor is type-specific and cannot be marked definite, independent of the possessum N. So, while inalienable possessive constructions with both inanimate possessor and possessum are NN compounds, those with an animate possessor are compound-like: they do not constitute full possessive phrases, as they cannot be expanded to a maximal, determined NP and only have weak referentiality.

9.4   Summary: possession and iconicity

In this chapter, we have seen that Bunaq has a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. The former is encoded at the level of the phrase with indirect prefixation and the latter at the level of the word with direct prefixation, if any.

The grammatical closeness of the bond between an inalienable possessor and its possessum and the direct prefixation of the possessor on the possessum in Bunaq accords with the iconicity principle (Haiman 1983). That is, it reflects the smaller conceptual distance between an inalienable possession and its possessor, than the relationship between an alienable possessor and its possessum (cf. Croft 2003: 205-207 and, Seiler 1983: 68 on this typologically widely attested phenomenon).

Also in accordance with iconicity is the variation observed in the encoding of alienable possessors: alienable possessors with prototypical possessor properties, such as being the owner or controller of the possessum are encoded as the head of a possessor phrase; alienable possessors that lack these possessor properties by virtue of being non-

current ('origin' or 'destination') possessors are removed from the NP to head a predicate.

Chapter 10: Verbs

The dominant morphosyntactic patterns in the encoding of arguments (S, A, P, T, R and OBL) displayed by verbs in Bunaq were detailed in §4.2. This chapter is concerned with a closer categorisation of Bunaq verbs on the basis of a combination of morphosyntactic and semantic properties. The chapter details the major and minor verb classes, including groups of verbs with distinct morphological behaviour which set them apart within or from the major verb classes.

Following an introduction in §10.1, I discuss the classes of bivalent verbs (§10.2), monovalent verbs (§10.3) and trivalent verbs (§10.4). Classes of labile verbs are treated in §10.5 and verbs with unmarked obliques in §10.6.

10.1 Introduction

Bunaq verbs are classified primarily according to two properties:

    a.   <u>valency</u>, the number of arguments (1, 2, 3 or a variable number) and the type of arguments (core or core and oblique) the verb takes, and;

    b.   <u>prefixation</u>, the set of prefixes the verb takes, in particular how 3rd person ANIMATE versus INANIMATE arguments[1] are marked, and the argument (P, S or R) the prefix agrees with.

For the most part, the classes defined by these properties result in semantically similar verbs being grouped together.

Table 10.2 provides an overview of the morphological behaviour of the different verb classes (see §2.5 on the morphophonemics of prefixation in Bunaq). A verb cannot host more than one prefix at a time. Verbs divide into four basic morphological types based on their prefixation patterns.[2]

Class I verbs take no prefixes regardless of the person or ANIMACY of the agreement controller. Class II verbs take no prefix when the agreement controller is 3rd person

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[1] Note, as per glossing conventions, 'ANIMATE' and 'INANIMATE' are used to denote the grammatical ANIMACY, i.e. noun class membership, of Bunaq nouns, while 'animate' and 'inanimate' refers to the semantic property of animacy of the referents of nouns.

[2] This chapter concentrates on the person prefixes (1, 2 and 3); discussion of reflexive and reciprocal prefixes is reserved for Chapter 11.

INANIMATE, but prefixes in other persons. Classes III and IV share the same inflectional pattern for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person ANIMATE controllers, but differ in their treatment of 3rd person INANIMATEs. Class III verbs for the most do not take 3rd person INANIMATE arguments and therefore lack a 3rd person INANIMATE agreement form. Class IV verbs mark 3rd person INANIMATE agreement controllers with one of five different prefixes represented by different initial consonants.[3]

Table 10.1: Morphological summary of different verb classes

	CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS III†	CLASS IV†
1EXCL	unprefixed	*nV-*	*n-*	*n-*
1INCL/2	unprefixed	*V-*	*Ø-*	*Ø-*
3AN	unprefixed	*gV-*	*g-*	*g-*
3INAN	unprefixed	unprefixed	--	*h-, s-, t-, d-, l-*

†Note that Class III and Class IV verbs for the most part have vowel-initial roots and thus do not realise the unspecified vowel of the prefix as is on Class II verbs. See §2.5 on the morphophonemics of prefixation in Bunaq.

The distribution of these four morphological patterns differs across verbs of different valencies. The vast majority of verbs taking prefixes are bivalent (§10.2). Only a few monovalent verbs take prefixes (§10.3.2). Trivalent verbs both take prefixes, but the class is small, having only two members (§10.4). Some labile verbs take prefixes in their bivalent frames (§10.5), while verbs with unmarked obliques do not take prefixes for the most part (§10.6).

10.2 Bivalent verbs

The class of bivalent verbs is significant in size with 612 members listed in the corpus (containing 2000+ lexemes). Individual subclasses vary in size, with some having only a handful of members and others over a hundred.

Bivalent verbs take an A and a P argument (distinct from verbs with an S and an OBL, discussed in §10.6). Prefixes on bivalent verbs index the P argument, and never the A. Bivalent verbs divide into the four classes seen above, with the division made chiefly according to the prototypical ANIMACY of the P argument and the manner in

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[3] As noted for nouns in §9.3, the citation form of a prefix taking verb is its 3rd person INANIMATE agreement form. Thus, a Class IV h-conjugation verb is cited as *h-ukat* '3INAN-lift'.

which it is coindexed on the verb. In differentiating prefixing classes of bivalent verbs, the 3rd person inflectional pattern is diagnostic.

Class I bivalent verbs typically have INANIMATE Ps and do not take any prefixes for any person of P (§10.2.1). Class II bivalent verbs take ANIMATE and INANIMATE 3rd person Ps, the former being prefixed with the 3rd *gV*- '3AN-' and the latter unprefixed (§10.2.2). Class III bivalent verbs take ANIMATE Ps and have only an ANIMATE 3rd person prefix form (§10.2.3). Finally, Class IV bivalent verbs take ANIMATE and INANIMATE 3rd person Ps, the former again prefixed by *g*- '3AN-', while the latter are realised by a range of different prefixes (§10.2.4).

10.2.1 Class I bivalent verbs

Class I bivalent verbs do not take pronominal prefixes. There are 123 bivalent members of class I in the corpus, examples of which are given in (1). Notice that these verbs typically take INANIMATE Ps.

1. *ari*   'grind, sharpen (of knives, spears etc.)'
   cile   'pour (of liquids)'
   es   'wear around shoulders (of clothes, blankets)'
   kali   'throw; strew (of seeds)'
   koil   'whittle, scratch with a knife (of wood)'
   koin   'draw (of fire)'
   kuku   'wear on head (of hats, clothes etc.)'
   sakat   'carry slung across chest (of bags, sacks etc.)'
   zewen   'spread out (of mats)'

Eight class I bivalent verbs in the corpus allow ANIMATE Ps. These verbs are given in (2).

2. *kesi*   'cradle'   *lohi*   'cane'
   koqe   'roll'   *sawaq* 'cradle in a sling'
   koqus 'cradle'   *seka*   'castrate'
   kulaq 'cuddle (a child)' *tenaq* 'thieve'

Example (3) shows that these verbs do not take prefixes with either INANIMATE or ANIMATE Ps.

3. a. *Neto   r-on   koqus.*
        1SG   REFL-hand.INAN cradle
        'I cradle my arm.'

    b. *Neto   r-ol   koqus.*
        1SG   REFL-child.AN cradle
        'I cradle my child.'   [Not-07.01]

10.2.2 Class II bivalent verbs

Class II is the largest of the bivalent verb classes with 196 members in the corpus. In this class, P arguments are differentially marked on the verb according to noun class: INANIMATE Ps are uninflected, i.e. take no verbal agreement prefix, while P arguments of the ANIMATE noun class agree in person with pronominal prefixes on the verb. The full inflectional paradigms of 3 members of class II are given in (4). Not that the prefix *Ø-* in (4c) represents *V-* '1INCL/2' which it is deleted on prefixation to vowel initial roots, such as *iwal* 'pick' (§2.5.2).

4. a. *ni-wit*   1EXCL-fetch   b. *ne-tekeq*   1EXCL-watch
        i-wit   1INCL/2-fetch   *e-tekeq*   1INCL/2-watch
        gi-wit   3AN-fetch   *ge-tekeq*   3AN-watch
        wit   fetch   *tekeq*   watch

    c. *n-iwal*   1EXCL-pick
        Ø-iwal   1INCL/2-pick
        g-iwal   3AN-pick
        iwal   pick

The differential P-marking pattern for Class II verbs is illustrated in (5) with the verb *wit* 'fetch'. In (5a) the ANIMATE P *zap* 'dog' triggers agreement on the verb, while in (5b) the INANIMATE P *il* 'water' does not trigger any agreement on the verb.

5. a. *Neto   zap   gi-wit.*
        1SG   dog.AN   3AN-fetch
        'I fetched the dog.'

b. *Neto   il   wit.*
   1SG   water.INAN   fetch
   'I fetched the water.'   [Not-07.01]

10.2.3 Class III bivalent verbs

Class III is the smallest of the bivalent verb classes, with a total of 20 members in the corpus (Table 10.3), plus an additional member discussed in §10.6.6. The P arguments taken by these verbs are of the ANIMATE noun class. These verbs have only a single 3rd person inflection form, *g-* '3AN-', and no distinct 3rd person INANIMATE agreement form.

Table 10.2: Class III bivalent verbs

3RD PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS	3RD PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS
g-agil	'eat (of corn)'	*g-iser*	'instruct (of human)'
g-amail	'lead (of animal)'	*g-itil*	'remove (of lice)'
g-amaq	'murder'	*g-ohiq*	'rip off (of corn shell)'
g-asal	'search for (of animate)'	*g-olo*	'bury'
g-asu	'expel, exorcise (of animate)'	*g-omolale*	'persuade, coax (of animate)'
g-elen	'dizzy, nauseate (of animate)'	*g-ulan*	'encourage (of human)'
g-esi	'shoo (of animal)'	*g-ue*	'hit (of animate)'
g-eweq	'deshell (of peanuts)'	*g-ume*	'kill (of human)'
g-iep	'hit with axe (of animate)'	*g-uraq*	'beat (of corn)'
g-ilan	'bind (of corn)'	*g-ureq*	'pick (corn)'

Class III bivalent verbs denote events with a negative impact on an ANIMATE P, in particular humans and/or animals, such as striking or killing. The full paradigms for two verbs of this class are given in (6).

6. a. *n-ue*   1EXCL-hit   b. *n-ume*   1EXCL-kill
        Ø-ue   1INCL/2-hit   *Ø-ume*   1INCL/2-kill
        g-ue   3AN-hit   *g-ume*   3AN-kill

Also belonging to class III are a number of verbs relating to practices with ANIMATE Ps referring to animals exclusively, such as *g-itil* 'remove (lice)', or *g-esi* 'shoo (animal)'. There are also a number of verbs in the class which occur exclusively to ANIMATE class noun referring to certain plants (§5.2.3.2), namely *paqol* 'corn' and *hoqi* 'peanut'. As referents of this kind are not usually speech participants, i.e. 1st or 2nd persons, these verbs typically only occur in the 3rd person form marked by the ANIMATE prefix *g-* '3AN-'; they can also, but do not typically, occur with *n-* '1EXCL-' and *Ø-* '1INCL/2-' inflections.

With one exception, 3rd person Ps of the INANIMATE noun class do not occur with class III bivalent verbs, i.e. the *g-* '3AN-' inflection is not used in reference to 3rd person INANIMATE Ps. This is illustrated in (7) with the class III verb *g-ue* '3AN-hit': with the ANIMATE P, *en* 'person', *g-ue* '3AN-hit' can be used (7a), but with the INANIMATE P, *bai* 'thing', it is ungrammatical (7b); another lexical verb of hitting is required to express 'hit (a thing)' in Bunaq. By contrast, we see in (8) that the class III verb *g-olo* '3-bury' can be used with both the ANIMATE P, *en* 'person' (8a) and the INANIMATE P, *bai* 'thing' (8b). Hence the gloss '3-' is used rather than '3AN-' for the *g-* inflection on this verb.[4]

7. a. *Neto en g-ue.*
   1SG   person.AN 3AN-hit
   'I hit a person.'

   b. **Neto bai g-ue.*
   1SG   thing.INAN 3AN-hit
   'I hit a thing.'

8. a. *Neto en g-olo.*
   1SG   person.AN 3-bury
   'I bury a person.'

   b. *Neto bai g-olo.*
   1SG   thing.INAN 3-bury
   'I bury a thing.'

10.2.4 Class IV bivalent verbs

Like Class II bivalent verb, class IV bivalent differentially mark 3rd person Ps. They differ in that, while Class III bivalent verbs do not prefix for 3rd person INANIMATE Ps, Class IV have distinct 3rd person INANIMATE Ps prefixes. Class IV bivalent verbs are divided into conjugation classes according to the consonant of the prefix of their 3rd

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[4] There are a few other instances in which the 3rd person ANIMATE prefix has come to be used with both 3rd person ANIMATE and INANIMATE agreement controllers. This is the case for the verbal postpositions, *g-utu* '3-COM' (§12.3.1) and *g-o* '3-SRC' (§12.3.4), as well as for the inalienable possessive classifier (§9.2). See also the monovalent verb *gi-tip* '3AN-new' discussed in §10.3.2.

person INANIMATE P agreement form. Table 10.3 presents an overview of the five different conjugation classes and gives an example of each in their 3rd INANIMATE and 3rd ANIMATE P agreement contexts.[5]

Diachronically, the initial consonants of class IV verbs appear to represent prefixes that marked different types of Ps. Synchronically, these prefixes are not productive and are lexically specified for only a limited number of verbs. They are semantically bleached agreement makers that do not make any distinct contribution to the meaning of the verb root, i.e. their presence/absence does not change root meaning.

Table 10.3: Class IV bivalent verb conjugation classes

| Conjugation class | Example | | Gloss | See: |
	3rd INANIMATE	3rd ANIMATE		
h-class	*h-azal*	*g-azal*	'see'	§10.2.4.1
s-class	*s-agal*	*g-agal*	'seek'	§10.2.4.2
t-class	*t-inik*	*g-inik*	'cook'	§10.2.4.3
d-class	*d-oenik*	*g-oenik*	'forget'	§10.2.4.4
l-class	*l-ual*	*g-ual*	'bend'	§10.2.4.5

In the following subsections, I discuss the individual class IV conjugations and outline the origins of each of their 3rd person INANIMATE prefixes.

10.2.4.1   h-conjugation verbs

In the corpus, the h-conjugation of Class IV bivalent verbs has 95 members. In this class, 3rd person INANIMATE Ps have *h-* '3INAN-' (9a), while 3rd person ANIMATE Ps are marked on the verb by the prefix *g-* '3AN-' (9b).

9. a. *Neto   il   h-azal.*
        1SG   water.INAN   3INAN-see
        'I see the water.'

    b. *Neto   zap   g-azal.*
        1SG   dog.AN   3AN-see
        'I see the dog.'   [Not-07.01]

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[5] See §2.6.2.3 for discussion of the lack of phonological motivation for the replacement of these initial consonants by prefixes.

The paradigms in (10) illustrate the inflection paradigm of verbs of the h-conjugation. We see that *h-* '3INAN-' is found before vowels of all qualities.

10. a. *n-ek*   1EXCL-choose   b. *n-iqil*   1EXCL-leave.behind

     Ø-ek   1INCL/2-choose   *Ø-iqil*   1INCL/2-leave.behind

     g-ek   3AN-choose   *g-iqil*   3AN-leave.behind

     h-ek   3INAN-choose   *h-iqil*   3INAN-leave.behind

   c. *n-one*   1EXCL-hold'   d. *n-uza*   1EXCL-chase

     Ø-one   1INCL/2-hold   *Ø-uza*   1INCL/2-chase

     g-one   3AN-hold   *g-uza*   3AN-chase

     h-one   3INAN-hold   *h-uza*   3INAN-chase

   e. *n-azal*   1EXCL-see

     Ø-azal   1INCL/2-see

     g-azal   3AN-see

     h-azal   3INAN-see

The initial /h/ of the 3rd person INANIMATE P agreement form of this conjugation class appears to originate in an agreement prefix, *h(V)-* '3INAN-', for INANIMATE Ps. This analysis is supported by the existence of a number of roots which appear both with and without the putative '3INAN-' prefix. In (11) we see that unprefixed verbs are monovalent, while their equivalents with an *h(V)-* indexing 3rd person INANIMATE Ps are bivalent.

BIVALENT VERB, 3RD PERSON INANIMATE FORM   MONOVALENT VERB

11. *he-beqen*   3INAN-destroy   *beqen*   be.squashed

    h-erik   3INAN-pin   *erik*   be.pinned

    hu-hukut   3INAN-wrap up   *hukut*   be.huddled.up

The agreement prefix *h(V)-* '3INAN-' in turn appears to have its origins in a (pronominal) demonstrative *ha that cliticised on the verb, before coming part of the inflection (as per the well-known grammaticalisation path described in Givón 1976). Reflexes of *ha are found in all Bunaq dialects: for instance, in the Manufahi dialect *habadi* 'DIST.AN' where initial /ha/ represents the demonstrative *ha which has been 'reinforced' with the newer demonstrative form *badi*, which is found on its own cross

the Bunaq area (cf. *bari* 'PROX.INAN' in Bunaq Lamaknen, §7.2); the demonstrative *ha is also found in two pan-Bunaq sentence connectives, *habe* 'yet' and *hasi* 'therefore', which composed of *ha plus the clause coordinating items *be* 'CONTEXP' (§3.5.7.1) and *si* 'REAS' (§3.5.8.1).[6]

Reflexes of proto-Bunaq *ha also appear as agreement markers in some of the related languages of Alor: *wo-* in Kamang (Schapper forthcoming), as *we-* in central Abui dialects (František Kratochvíl pers. comm.), and *u-* in Klon (Baird 2008: 95-99) are used to add an inanimate argument to a verb in the same manner as *ha.[7]

10.2.4.1.1 Note on /h/-initial items borrowed from Tetun

Items with initial /h/ borrowed from Tetun as verbs inflect either as class II (9 instances) or class IV (25 instances) bivalent verbs in Bunaq, or do not inflect at all (i.e. class I: 2 instances). There do not appear to be hard and fast phonological conditions determining which inflectional class /h/-initial items are assimilated into.

Borrowed items with initial-/h/ followed by a low non-front vowel, /a/ or /o/, always assimilate to the class IV inflectional paradigm. Borrowed items with initial-/h/ followed by /e/ always inflect as class II verbs. Finally, borrowed items with initial-/h/ followed by a high vowel, /i/ or /u/ may be assigned either to class II or class IV. Table 10.4 illustrates these patterns. The gaps observed in the distribution of /h/-initial borrowings may reflect insufficient sampling. However, given the size of the corpus, this seems unlikely.

Bunaq has also assimilated Tetun borrowings with the Austronesian causative prefix *ha-* 'CAUS-' to the class IV inflectional paradigm. However, it is not always clear what the underlying form and segmentation of such *ha-* marked borrowings are in Bunaq. For instance, Tetun *ha-tama* 'CAUS-enter' has been borrowed into Bunaq, with regular penultimate stress (§2.4). The underlying representation in Bunaq could be taken to be either *ha-tama* or *h-atama*. As the Tetun verb *tama* 'enter' has also been borrowed into Bunaq and is regularly associated by Bunaq speakers with *hatama* 'cause to enter, bring in' it could be argued that speakers segment *ha-* 'CAUS-' as the prefix and *tama* 'enter' as the root of this verb.

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[6] See Diessel (1999: 125-127) on the crosslinguistically common development of sentence connectives from a demonstrative plus some other element, such as an adverb or adposition.

[7] Note the sound change pTAP *w > h before non-front vowels is regular in Bunaq.

Table 10.4: Assignment of /h/-intial Tetun borrowings to Class II versus Class IV

	Class II example				Class IV example			
	3rd INANIMATE	3rd ANIMATE	Bunaq gloss	Tetun	3rd INANIMATE	3rd ANIMATE	Bunaq gloss	Tetun
/a/	--	--	--	--	*hakara*	*gakara*	'love'	*hakarak* 'want'
/e/	*heri*	*geheri*	'spear'	*hedi* 'pierce'	--	--	--	--
/i/	*hiqit*	*gihiqit*	'lift'	*hi'it* 'lift'	*hisik*	*gisik*	'spray'	*hisik* 'spray'
/o/	--	--	--	--	*hoban*	*goban*	'soak'	*hoban* 'soak'
/u/	*huq*	*guhuq*	'blow'	*huu* 'puff'	*humul*	*gumul*	'punch'	*humul* (n.) 'fist'

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However, in other borrowings with *ha-* 'CAUS-', segmentation along Tetun lines clearly does not take place. For instance, Tetun *ha-tun* 'CAUS-collapse' has been borrowed into Bunaq, but unlike in Tetun, in Bunaq the stress is on the penultimate syllable, ['hatun]. This is the regular stress pattern for disyllabic roots in Bunaq and points to the segmentation in Bunaq being *h-atun* '3INAN-bring, take down' and not *ha-tun* as in Tetun.

10.2.4.2   s-conjugation verbs

The complete set of 16 class IV bivalent verbs of the s-conjugation are given in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5: Class IV s-conjugation verbs

3ʳᵈ PERSON INANIMATE	3ʳᵈ PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS	3ʳᵈ PERSON INANIMATE	3ʳᵈ PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS
sagal	*gagal*	'search'	*sili*	*gili*	'prise off'
sapuq	*gapuq*	'nurse'	*silik*	*gilik*	'draw into'
salak	*galak*	'roast'	*sorul*	*gorul*	'drench'
sebuq	*gebuq*	'dig out'	*suq*	*guq*	'dig up'
selaq	*gelaq*	'arrange'	*subeqen*	*gubeqen*	'pinch'
seroq	*geroq*	'apportion'	*sumak*	*gumak*	'cover up'
sile	*gile*	'separate'	*sumi*	*gumi*	'hide'
sileqen	*gileqen*	'drop on'	*susuk*	*gusuk*	'agitate'

The inflection paradigms of two of the members of the s-conjugation are given in (12).

12. a. *n-agal*   1EXCL-search   b. *n-umi*   1EXCL-hide
        Ø-agal   1INCL/2-search   *Ø-umi*   1INCL/2-hide
        g-agal   3AN-search   *g-umi*   3AN-hide
        s-agal   3INAN-search   *s-umi*   3INAN-hide

In (13) we see that 3ʳᵈ person INANIMATE Ps have *s-* '3INAN-' (13a), and 3ʳᵈ person ANIMATE Ps have *g-* '3AN-' (13b).

13. a. *Neto   uor   s-agal.*
       1SG   vegetable.INAN   3INAN-search
       'I look for vegetables.'   [Not-07.01]

   b. *Neto   si   g-agal.*
       1SG   meat.AN   3AN-search
       'I look for meat.'   [Not-07.01]

The modern Bunaq s-conjugation on these verbs appears to go back to a locative prefix *n-* 'LOC' (still found on nouns, see §9.3.3) that has assimilated on originally /h/-initial verbs, causing a change in the place of articulation: i.e. n + h = s.[8]

10.2.4.3   t-conjugation verbs

The full set of 14 t-conjugation class IV bivalent verbs is presented in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6: Class IV t-conjugation verbs

3RD PERSON INANIMATE	3RD PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS	3RD PERSON INANIMATE	3RD PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS
tabaq	*gabaq*	'hoe'	*tirik*	*girik*	'hold'
tao	*gao*	'pound'	*tolo*	*golo*	'put inside'
tereq	*gereq*	'beat (dust)'	*toma*	*goma*	'message'
tape	*gape*	'touch, feel'	*tomon*	*gomon*	'warm'
tapiq	*gapiq*	'sort, sift'	*tubak*	*gubak*	'gather'
ti	*gin*	'tie'	*tuk*	*guk*	'collect'
tinik	*ginik*	'cook'	*turuk*	*guruk*	'pierce'

The full inflection paradigms of two members of the conjugation are given in (14).

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[8] The strongest evidence for this comes from Makalero, a relative of Bunaq on Timor (§1.6.1). Makalero has a small number of /h/-initial and /t/-initial verbs where the initial /h/ becomes /s/ and initial /t/ becomes /d/, when preceded by a locative argument: eg. *hat ~ sat* 'dry', and; *teri ~ deri* 'cut' (Juliette Hüber pers. comm.). Some Bunaq verbs of the s-conjugation are also clearly cognate with Makalero verbs with the h~s alternation, e.g. Makalero *haka ~ saka* 'search'. The changing of place of articulation and the voicing which takes place on these Makalero verbs is consistent with the historical assimilation of a prefix alveolar nasal [n]: i.e. n + h = s and n + t = d. Makalero locative marked verb *saka* 'search' is cognate with Bunaq *sagal* 'search', but Bunaq does not attest a cognate to the basic Makalero, and probably historically prior, verb form *haka*.

14. a. *n-ao*   1EXCL-pound   b. *n-ape*   1EXCL-touch

       Ø-ao   1INCL/2-pound   *Ø-ape*   1INCL/2-touch

       g-ao   3AN-pound   *g-ape*   3AN-touch

       t-ao   3INAN-pound   *t-ape*   3INAN-touch

In (15) we see *t-* '3INAN-' prefix in agreement with 3rd person INANIMATE Ps (15a), against *g-* '3AN-' with 3rd person ANIMATE Ps (15b).

15. a. *Neto*   *ipi*   *t-ao.*
       1SG   rice.grain.INAN   3INAN-pound
       'I pound rice.'

   b. *Neto*   *paqol*   *g-ao.*
       1SG   corn.AN   3AN-pound
       'I pound corn.'   [Not-07.01]

The initial t-prefix of t-conjugation verbs goes back to the reciprocal prefix, *tV-* 'RECP-'. The presence of reciprocal prefixes on these verbs is part of a much wider phenomenon of deponent uses of valency-reducing morphology. Such deponent uses of *tV-* 'RECP-' are discussed in Chapter 11.

10.2.4.4   d-conjugation verb

There is only one member of the d-conjugation of class IV bivalent verb, given in (16):

16. *n-oenik*   1EXCL-forget

   Ø-oenik   1INCL/2-forget

   g-oenik   3AN-forget

   d-oenik   3INAN-forget

Example (17) illustrates The use of the *d-* '3INAN-' form to agree with 3rd person INANIMATE Ps (17a) and its replacement by other prefixes marking other Ps, in this case a 3rd person ANIMATE P (17b).

17. a. *Neto*   *ipi*   *d-oenik.*
       1SG   rice.grain.INAN   3INAN-forget
       'I forgot the rice.'

b. *Neto   paqol   g-oenik.*
   1SG   corn.AN   3AN-forget
   'I forgot the corn.'   [Not-07.01]

The d-conjugation verb goes back to a deponent use of valency-reducing morpheme, in this case the reflexive prefix, *dV-* 'REFL-'. The development of deponent uses of *dV-* 'REFL-' is discussed in Chapter 11.

10.2.4.5   l-conjugation verbs

The full set of 9 l-conjugation class IV bivalent verbs is presented in Table 10.7.

Table 10.7: Class IV l-conjugation verbs

3RD PERSON INANIMATE	3RD PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS	3RD PERSON INANIMATE	3RD PERSON ANIMATE	GLOSS
laba	*gaba*	'slice'	*lobo*	*gobo*	'pull out'
labak	*gabak*	'spread'	*logo*	*gogo*	'shake'
lebel	*gebel*	'chuck'	*lorul*	*gorul*	'aggravate'
lepek	*gepek*	'approve'	*lual*	*gual*	'bend back and forth'
lilik	*gilik*	'revolve'			

The full inflection paradigms of two members of the conjugation are given in (18).

18. a. *n-aba*   1EXCL-slice   b. *n-epek*   1EXCL-approve
      Ø-aba   1INCL/2-slice   *Ø-epek*   1INCL/2-approve
      g-aba   3AN-slice   *g-epek*   3AN-approve
      l-aba   3INAN-slice   *l-epek*   3INAN-approve

The use of the *l-* '3INAN-' prefix form of the verb for 3rd person INANIMATE Ps and its alteration with other prefixes is illustrated in (19).

19. a. *Neto   zo   l-aba.*
       1SG   mango.INAN   3INAN-slice
       'I slice mango.'

   b. *Neto   si   g-aba.*
      1SG   meat.AN   3AN-slice
      'I slice meat.'   [Not-07.01]

Historically, the 1- prefix in Bunaq appears to have been a derivational morpheme. This is suggested by the class II bivalent verb *ual* 'bend' from which *lual* 'bend back and forth'. Comparative evidence from the Alor-Pantar languages suggests that the 1-morpheme goes back to an applicative morpheme. AP *le/el- is reflected in: Tanglapui general transitivising morpheme *le-*; Adang allative applicative *el-*; and, Kolana applicative *le-* (Donohue and Schapper 2007).

10.2.5 Bivalent verb classes with distinct agreement patterns

The dominant pattern of prefixation of 3rd person Ps seen in the above discussion on bivalent verbs involved ANIMATE Ps being prefixed by *gV-* '3AN-' and INANIMATE Ps receiving either no prefixation or a different 'prefix' (i.e. conjugation marker).

In this section, I look at a small number of bivalent verbs that do not display these canonical patterns of agreement between their P arguments and prefixes, allowing 3rd person ANIMATE Ps to be either prefixed or unprefixed. The presence/absence of the prefixal agreement corresponds to differences in the interpretation of the event denoted by the verb.

§10.2.5.1 looks at a set of two verbs denoting transport events, while §10.2.5.2 looks at a set of two verbs denoting keeping events.

10.2.5.1 Two transport verbs: *tula* 'move' and *penen* 'shift'

The verbs *tula* 'move' and *penen* 'shift' pattern morphologically with class II bivalent verbs. The inflectional paradigms for these verbs are given in (20).

20. a. *nu-tula* 1EXCL-move   b.   *ne-penen*   1EXCL-shift
       u-tula   1INCL/2-move   *e-penen*   1INCL/2-shift
       gu-tula   3AN-move   *ge-penen*   3AN-shift
       tula   move   *penen*   shift

The conditions under which 3rd person ANIMATE Ps trigger agreement differ from other class II bivalent verbs. Third person ANIMATE P arguments co-occur with both marked and unmarked forms of these verbs. Compare the following pairs of examples. The unprefixed verbal forms in (21a) and (22a) refer to an act of transporting a P from one location to another. By contrast, the prefixed verbal forms in (21b) and (22b) refer

to non-translational motion events involving no significant displacement of the P argument, referring instead to their careful placement in a particular location.

21. a. *Nei*   *kura*   *ge-rel*   *paqol*   **tula.**
        1PL.EXCL   horse.AN   3AN-INS   corn   move
        'We transported the corn with the horse.'   [Not-07.04]

   b. *Baqi*   *sabul*   *hiloqon bi*   *tais*   *lequ*   *wa*   *no*   **gu-tula.**
       NPRX.AN orange.AN   two   DEF.AN   cloth   wrap   top   OBL   3AN-move
       'He placed the two oranges on the wrapped up cloth.'   [Bk-4.048]

22. a. *Halali*   *d-ege*   *cie*   *gol*   *uen*   **penen.**
        3DU   REFL-BEN   chicken.AN   small   one   shift
        'They took a small chicken along for themselves.'   [LB-2.224]

   b. *Biasanya*   *en*   *paqol*   **ge-penen.**
       usually   people   corn.AN   3AN-shift
       'Usually people put some corn away (for safe-keeping).'   [OS-07.04]

A prefix cross-referencing a 3rd person ANIMATE P focuses on the A's particular choice of goal location for the P. The absence of a 3rd person ANIMATE P prefix indicates a transport event where the emphasis is on the movement from one location to another. This distinction is only found with 3rd person ANIMATE Ps; 1st and 2nd persons are always prefixed, 3rd person INANIMATE is always unprefixed.

In sum, prefixation with these verbs is not simply a matter of syntactic agreement, but rather also functions to change the interpretation of the action denoted by the verb (cf. §10.2.6).[9] In an alternative analysis, the different agreement patterns could be taken to mean that the forms *tula* 'move' and *penen* 'shift' each have two separate lexical entries one with 3rd person ANIMATE agreement in the manner of a class II bivalent verb and one without in the manner of a class I bivalent verb.

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[9] This contrast is similar to that between directed motion verbs and manner of motion verbs, where directed motion verbs are morphologically more complex than manner of motion verbs. See Levin and Hovav (2001: 255 ff.).

10.2.5.2   Two keeping verbs: *lumaq* 'take care of' and *bilan* 'keep'

The verbs *lumaq* 'take care of' and *bilan* 'keep' display atypical agreement patterns in two ways: the form of pronominal prefixes and the context triggering agreement. The prefixal vowel with these verbs is exceptionally the central back vowel /a/, thus *ga-* '3AN-' etc. (see §2.6.1 on irregular prefixes). The inflectional paradigm of these verbs is given in (23). Note that 1st and 2nd person agreement forms are rare as these verbs are used prototypically in reference to domestic animals.

23. a. *na-lumaq*   1EXCL-take.care.of   b. *na-bilan*   1EXCL-keep

      a-lumaq   1INCL/2-take.care.of   *a-bilan*   1INCL/2-keep

      ga-lumaq   3AN-take.care.of   *ga-bilan*   3AN-keep

      lumaq   take.care.of   *bilan*   keep

As with the verbs of transport discussed in the previous section, 3rd person ANIMATE P arguments co-occur with both prefixed and unprefixed forms of these verbs; the differences in prefixation correlate with different verb meanings. Prefixation of a 3rd person ANIMATE P emphasises that the A actively engages in caring for and tending to the referent of the P. In (24a) with unprefixed *lumaq*, the speaker states merely that animals are kept by his family. By contrast, in (24b) with prefixed form of the verb, the inference is that the father personally and intimately nurtures his child.

24. a. *Reu   zigi   gene   nei   sael   o   cie   **lumaq**.*
      house   underneath   LOC   1PL.EXCL pig.AN AND   chicken.AN   take.care.of
      'Underneath the house we keep pigs and chicken.'   [Bk-24.019]

   b. *Baqi   d-ege   **ga-lumaq**,   baqi   g-ol.*
      NPRX.AN REFL-BEN   3AN-take.care.of NPRX.AN   3AN-child.AN
      'He raised (the child) for his own sake, his child.'   [LB-5.025]

Similarly, in (25a) with unprefixed *bilan*, the suggestion is that the dog belongs to the household, but it is neither fed nor looked after in any way being expected to fend for itself. In (25b) where the prefixed form of the verb is used, the named domestic animals are highly prized by their owners and are fed and generally cared for.

25. a. *Reu   gene   nei   zap   uen   **bilan**.*
      house   LOC   1PL.EXCL   dog.AN one   keep
      'At home we keep a dog.'   [OS-07.01]

b. *En   apa   o   pip   kura   bi   **ga-bilan**.*
   person cow.AN AND goat.AN horse.AN DEF.AN 3AN-keep
   'People own and raise their cows and goats and horses.'   [Bk-19.001]

As with the verbs of transport, the different agreement patterns could be taken to mean that *lumaq* and *bilan* each have two separate lexical entries one with 3rd person ANIMATE agreement in the manner of a class II bivalent verb and one without in the manner of a class I bivalent verb. The differences observed with these verbs are also reminiscent of the transitivity alternations in agreement discussed in the following section (§10.2.6). The pattern is, however, different in that with these two verbs of keeping, Ps with semantically animate referents show agreement variation; this is not observed in the case of transitivity alternations on the agreement of other verbs, which is restricted to Ps with semantically inanimate referents.

10.2.6 Clausal transitivity effects on bivalent verb agreement

In the preceding sections it has been seen that except for in a few cases 3rd person P arguments belonging to the ANIMATE noun class are indexed on bivalent verbs with the pronominal prefix *gV-* '3AN-'. The prefix agrees with the ANIMATE noun class noun *eme* 'mother' with an animate referent in (26a), and with the ANIMATE noun class noun *paqol* 'corn' with an inanimate referent in (26b).

26. a. *Neto   eme   gi-wit.*   b.   *Manek paqol gi-a.*
       1SG   mother.AN   3AN-fetch   Manek corn.AN 3AN-eat
       'I fetched mother'   'Manek ate corn'

ANIMATE nouns with animate referents in P function such as (26a) consistently show verbal agreement with a 3rd person ANIMATE prefix *gV-/g-* '3AN-'. This is also the default agreement pattern for ANIMATE noun class Ps with inanimate referents such as in (26b). However, there is a minor pattern of variation in agreement with Ps with inanimate referents, regardless of whether they are of ANIMATE or INANIMATE noun class (see §5.2 on noun class assignment).

The variation in agreement patterns for Ps with inanimate referents correlates with differing degrees of semantic transitivity in a clause: the presence of a '3AN-' prefix with an INANIMATE class noun with an inanimate referent signals the clause to be high

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in transitivity; the absence of '3AN-' prefix with ANIMATE noun with an inanimate referent signals the clause to be low in transitivity. That is, in the absence of an P with an animate referent, the '3AN-' prefix may be taken to not so much encode any particular property of the P argument, but rather the overall transitivity of the clause. Table 10.8 summaries the observed variations in the inanimate agreement the environments in which '3AN-' prefixation occurs.

The semantic components identified by Hopper and Thompson (1980) as correlating with higher transitivity in a clause are eventive action, completive aspect, punctuality, volition, affirmative, realis mode, high agentivity, high affectedness of the P argument, highly individuated P argument. Agreement variations in Bunaq showing reflexes of these transitivity properties of increased agentivity, completive aspect and realis are illustrated in the following pairs of sentences.

Table 10.8: Transitivity-based alternations in P agreement

	Animate referent	ANIMATE noun with inanimate referent	INANIMATE noun with inanimate referent
'3AN-' prefixing	obligatory	default	high transitivity
'3AN-' prefixing	ungrammatical	low transitivity	default

In (27) the use of the 3rd ANIMATE prefix correlates with increased agentivity: in (27a) music is heard in passing from a distance, while in (27b) it has the speaker's positive and undivided attention.

LESS AGENTIVE   MORE AGENTIVE

27. a. *Neto   musik **mak**.*   b.   *Neto   musik **ga-mak**.*

      1SG   music   hear   1SG   music   3AN-hear

      'I hear music.'   'I listen to music.'   [OS-06.01]

In (28) variation in agreement for INANIMATE *meja* 'table' correlates with a difference in as to the completion of the event: whilst the default INANIMATE agreement in (28a) bears no particular inference as to whether the speaker has or has not already proven their ability to lift the table, (28b) with ANIMATE agreement carries with it the positive implication that he has successfully already done so.

LESS COMPLETIVE				MORE COMPLETIVE			

28. a. *Neto meja* **ħ-ukat** *heta.*   b.   *Neto meja* **g-ukat** *heta.*

     1SG   table   3INAN-lift   be.able   1SG   table   3AN-lift   be.able

     'I will be able to lift the table.'   'I am able to lift the table.'

                                                           [Not-06.02]

Similarly, in (29) the use of the ANIMATE *gV-* prefix with the INANIMATE noun class P *listrik* 'electricity' is reflective of realis status of the event denoted in the clause. In (29a) the speaker has personally not yet seen the lights so the described event is irrealis, while (29b) is an affirmation, a statement of fact which implies that the speaker has himself seen the lights. The possibility of using *ħ-azal* '3INAN-see' in (29b) was consistently rejected by speakers and only accepted with the addition of *loï* 'good/can' (§13.7) which would flag the clause as describing a potential event.

     IRREALIS

29. a. *Neto reu mil gene listrik sia* **ħ-azal** *niq taq.*

     1SG   house   inside   LOC   electricity   burn   3INAN-see   NEG   IMP

     'I'm inside and still haven't seen the lights.'   [OS-06.01]

     REALIS

   b. *Ene no lolo wa gene eto listrik sia* **g-azal.**

     night   OBL   mountain top   LOC   2SG   electricity   burn   3AN-see

     'At night on top of the mountain you see the lights.'   [OS-06.01]

This is further illustrated by the variable verbal agreement in (30) with *uor* 'vegetable' and in (31) with *sabi* 'key'. In (30a) reference to the vegetables is general and indefinite, and the INANIMATE noun *uor* takes no prefix. By contrast, in (30b) the speaker is referring to specific, spatially proximal vegetables, and there is co-indexing with the 3rd person ANIMATE prefix. Similarly, in (31a) where reference is to the specific, current, i.e. temporally proximal, situation of the key having been left behind; thus, ANIMATE noun *sabi* retains its default ANIMATE agreement. By contrast, in (31b), the 3rd person ANIMATE prefix is not used; the event description is general and altogether less discourse prominent, having occurred at some time in the past, but with no commitment as to when or how often.

30. a. *Gereja g-ewen*   *no*   *eto*   *uor*   ***wit***   *loï.*
church   3AN-face   OBL   2SG   vegetables   buy   good
‘In front of the church, you can buy vegetables.’   [OS-06.02]

SPECIFIC

    b. *Neto*   *uor*   ***gi-al***   *gie.*
1SG   vegetables   3AN-carry   PROSP
‘I’ll carry (these here) vegetables.’   [OS-06.01]

SPECIFIC

31. a. *Neto*   *eme*   *Eta*   *gi-e*   *reu*   *no*   *sabi*   ***g-iqil.***
1SG   mother   Eta   3-POSS   house   OBL   key   3AN-leave.behind
‘I have left the key behind in mother Eta’s house.’   [OS-06.01]

NON-SPECIFIC

    b. *Novi*   *iskola*   *mal,*   *tapi*   *sabi*   ***h-iqil.***
Novi   school   go   but   key   3INAN-leave.behind
‘Novi went to school but left the key behind.’   [Not-06.02]

Transitivity based variation in semantically inanimate 3rd person P agreement is a minor pattern characteristic of conversational Bunaq. In the vast majority of clauses in narrative texts, the default pattern of agreement according to noun class is followed.

10.3 Monovalent verbs

The majority of monovalent verbs do not take agreement prefixes and are treated in §10.3.1. The handful of monovalent verbs taking agreement prefixes are discussed in §10.3.2.

10.3.1 Monovalent verbs without prefixes

There are 502 monovalent verbs in the corpus. Each subcategorises for only an S argument (see §10.6 on verbs taking an S and an OBL) and take no agreement prefix. The lack of agreement across persons by these monovalent verbs is illustrated with *wil* ‘come down’ in (32).

32. a. *Neto   wil.*

       1SG   come.down

    'I came down.'

  b. *Eli   wil.*

       2DU   come.down

    'You two came down.'

  c. *Halaqi wil.*

       3PL   come.down

    'They came down.'

10.3.2 Monovalent verbs with prefixes

In the corpus, there are seven monovalent verbs which have agreement prefixes coindexing their S argument. The S arguments of prefixing monovalent verbs are patientive, being low in properties such as control and volition.[10] Table 10.9 presents an overview of the distribution of prefixing monovalent verbs inflectional classes.

Table 10.9: Classes of monovalent
prefixing verbs

CLASS	No.
II	4
III	1
IV h-conjugation	2
IV other conjugations	0

    The full inflectional forms of three of the verbs following the class II inflectional pattern are set out in (33). See §2.5.3 on the metathesis which takes place on prefixation of these verbs.

33. a. *n-uas*   1EXCL-smell   b. *n-unek*   1EXCL-stink

    Ø-unas   1INCL/2-smell   *Ø-unek*   1INCL/2-stink

    g-unas   3AN-smell   *g-unek*   3AN-stink

    nuas   smell   *nuek*   stink

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[10] The presence of S prefixation on these verbs may be a remanent of an earlier system of split-S alignment. Semantic alignment is robustly attested in eastern Indonesian (Donohue 2004), including in many of the languages related to Bunaq (Klamer 2008).

c. *n-utek*   1EXCL-heavy

   Ø-utek   1INCL/2-heavy

   g-unek   3AN-heavy

   tuek   heavy

The fourth prefixed class II monovalent verb is *tip* 'new'. However, for this verb, prefixed and unprefixed forms of this verb differ in meaning. Unprefixed *tip* 'new' means 'recently made, acquired' of an item, and 'recently come into a particular state, position, or relationship' of a person; it can be used with an S of any person, as illustrated in (34). By contrast, prefixed *tip* means 'new' in the sense of an item or person which/who is of recent arrival or appearance and with which people are unfamiliar. The 3rd person prefixed form of *tip* 'new' can be used with both an INANIMATE P, e.g. *bai* 'thing' (35a), and an ANIMATE P, e.g. *en* 'person' (35b).

34. a. *G-ol*   *tip.*   b. *Reu*   *por*   *tip.*

       3AN-child   new   house   holy   new

       'Their child is new (i.e. newborn).'   'The church is new.'

35. a. *Bai*   *bare*   *gi-tip.*   b. *En*   *bari*   *gi-tip.*

       thing   PROX.INAN   3-new   person   PROX.AN   3-new

       'This thing is new (unfamiliar).'   'This person is new (unfamiliar).'

The one monovalent verb following the class III inflectional pattern is *g-igaq* '3AN-content' (36).

36. *n-igaq*   1EXCL-be.content

    Ø-igaq   1INCL/2-be.content

    g-igaq   3AN-be.content

The two verbs with prefixation following the class IV h-conjugation inflectional pattern are given in (37). The two verbs differ in that while *h-aziq* '3INAN-not visible' inflects for all persons (37a), *h-aqal* '3INAN-finished' is restricted to the 3rd person (37b). See §13.8.1 on the uses of *h-aqal* '3INAN-finished' and its agreement patterns.

37. a. *n-aziq*   1EXCL-not.visible   b.   **n-aqal*   1EXCL-finished

    Ø-aziq   1INCL/2-not.visible   **Ø-aqal*   1INCL/2-finished

    g-aziq   3AN-not.visible   *g-aqal*   3AN-finished

    h-aziq   3INAN-not.visible   *h-aqal*   3INAN-finished

10.4 Trivalent verbs

Morphologically trivalent verbs adhere to the prefixal pattern displayed by class IV h-conjugation verbs. There are two members of the trivalent verb class in Bunaq: *h-ege* '3INAN-give' (38a) and *h-ini* '3INAN-call' (38b).

38. a. *n-ege*   '1-give'   b.   *n-ini*   '1-call'

    Ø-ege   '1INCL/2-give'   *Ø-ini*   '1INCL/2-call'

    g-ege   '3AN-give'   *g-ini*   '3AN-call'

    h-ege   '3INAN-give'   *h-ini*   '3INAN-call'

H-ege '3INAN-give' is the only true trivalent verb in Bunaq, with all three argument slots, <giver, givee, gift>, being realised as simple NPs, as in (39). The given argument is indexed by the prefixes on the verb. See §4.2.3 for more on trivalent verb clauses with *h-ege* '3INAN-give'.[11]

39. *Neto*   *Markus*   *g-ege*   *paqol.*

    1SG   Markus   3AN-give   corn

    'I gave Markus corn. '

H-ini '3INAN-call' is a trivalent verb, but differs from *h-ege* '3INAN-give' in that its third postverbal argument is not an NP but itself an argument-taking predicate. That is, *h-ini* '3INAN-call' has the following argument structure <caller, callee, PRED>.[12] The S/A of a verbal embedded predicate or single argument of a non-verbal embedded

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[11] See also §12.3.6 on its functions as a beneficiary adding verbal postposition and §13.3 as a causative serial verb respectively.

[12] Clauses with *h-ini* cannot be considered SVCs as the verb does not meet the requirements of a serial verb as per section 13.1. In particular, all verbs involved in a SVC must be able to occur as the sole predicate of an independent main clause. This never occurs in the case of *h-ini*. Clauses with *h-ini* always have a secondary (embedded) predicate. Thus *hini* must be treated as a trivalent verb which takes as its third argument a predicate.

predicate of *h-ini* '3INAN-call' is coreferent with the callee argument. The callee argument is indexed by prefixes on the verb. Consider the equative clause in (40). In (40a) *Novi* is the predicate and *baqi* its subject. In (40b) *Novi* is the embedded predicate representing the third argument of *h-ini* '3INAN-call'; *baqi* 'NPRX.AN' is the argument of the embedded predicate and is identified as the person called.

40. a. *Baqi*   *Novi.*
    NPRX.AN   Novi
    'She is Novi. '

   b. *En*   *baqi*   *g-ini*   *Novi.*
    people   NPRX.AN   3AN-call   Novi
    'People call her Novi. '

When its embedded predicate is verbal, *h-ini* '3INAN-call' functions to introduce suppositions by the caller about the conduct of the callee, i.e. 'say X to have Y'd'. In (41) we see *n-ini* '1EXCL-call' is used to introduce two suppositions by the village head about the speaker having been responsible for the boy falling, suggesting the that he committed the acts denoted by the embedded verb in (41c) and in (41d). Note that *g-ini* '3AN-CAUS' in (41d) is a straightforward causative with the verb *topol* 'fall' and not introducing a supposition; see below.

41. a. *En*   *kepala desa*   *nei*   *n-ege*   *seq.*
    person   head   village   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-BEN   call
    'The village head called us.'   [Bk-1.033]
   b. *Nei*   *n-o*   *sura,*   *nego*   *on*   *na*   *en*   *gol*   *roi*   *topol.*
    1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-SRC   ask   what   DO   FOC   person   small   SPEC.AN   fall
    '(He) asked us, why did that child fall.'   [Bk-1.034]
   c. *Hele*   *nei*   **n-ini**   *gu-rumak.*
    perhaps 1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-call   3AN-push
    '(He) said that perhaps we pushed him.'   [Bk-1.035]
   d. *Nei*   **n-ini**   *g-ini*   *topol*   *on.*
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-call   3AN-CAUS   fall   DO
    '(He) said that we made him fall.'   [Bk-1.036]

Similarly, in (42b) *n-ini* '1EXCL-call' is used to introduce a supposition about the speaker, which is then contradicted in (42c). In (42e) we see the inflections *n-ini*

'1EXCL-call' and *h-ini* '3INAN-call' again used to introduce a range of suppositions about the health of the speaker.

42. a. *Berita* *huqe* *mama* *g-ege* *sasi.*
   message HERE mother 3AN-BEN say
   'A message told mother here (about the accident).' [Bk-52.013]

   b. *Halaqi* *zemal* *gie,* **n-ini** *memel baqis.*
   3PL go.down PROSP 1EXCL-call sick much
   'They were about to go down, saying me to be really sick.' [Bk-52.014]

   c. *Tapi* *memel baqis* *niq.*
   but sick much NEG
   'But I wasn't really sick.' [Bk-52.015]

   d. *En* *halaqi* *ni-ta* *holon.*
   person 3PL 1-GL cry
   'The people were crying for me.' [Bk-52.018]

   e. **N-ini** *heser,* **n-ini** *memel baqis,* *nu-bul* **h-ini**
   1EXCL-call dead 1EXCL-call sick much 1EXCL-head 3INAN-call
   beqo, *n-on* **h-ini** *tol.*
   crushed 1EXCL-hand 3INAN-call broken
   '(They) said me to be dead, said me to be really sick, said my head to be crushed, said my hand to be broken.' [Bk-52.019]

In addition to being a lexical verb meaning 'call', *h-ini* '3INAN-call' is also used as a causative predicate (see §4.2) and is the most highly productive and regular way in which causative meaning is expressed (cf. §13.3 on the limited use of *h-ege* '3INAN-give' SVCs expressing causation). Causative *h-ini*, glossed 'CAUS', has the same argument structure as *h-ini* '3INAN-call', that is, <causer, causee, PRED>, where the S/A of the embedded predicate denoting the caused event is coreferent with the causee argument. Examples are given in (43-45).

43. *Ni-e* *moen* *roi* **g-ini** *matas* *mil* *g-ege* **seq.**
   1-POSS friend SPEC.AN 3AN-CAUS old COLL 3AN-BEN call
   '(We) made this friend of mine call to the parents.' [Bk-1.045]

44. *Sio* *na* *en* *bari* **g-ini** *tais* **h-apal...**
   who FOC person PROX.AN 3AN-CAUS cloth 3INAN-open
   'Whoever makes this person take off their cloth... [Bk-16.003]

45. *Eme*   *Yati*   **g-ini**   **n-ege** *buku*   *bari.*
    mother   Yati   3AN-CAUS   1-give   book   PROX.AN
    'Mother made Yati give me this book.'   [OS-06.07]

10.5 Labile verbs

Bunaq has a number of labile verbs (11 in my corpus) that can appear either with a single S argument or with an A and a P argument without any additional valency-changing morphemes.[13] Cross-linguistically two types of labile verbs are widely attested (Kulikov 2003, McMillion 2006): A-preserving labile verbs, where the referent of the A in the bivalent frame is the S in the monovalent frame (e.g. English 'eat'), and; P-preserving labile verbs, where the referent of the P in the bivalent frame is the S in the monovalent frame (e.g. English 'break').

Bunaq labile verbs largely conform to the P-preserving type. However, some labile verbs in Bunaq cannot be strictly classified as either A-preserving or P-preserving, since the S of the monovalent frame is simultaneously agentive and patientive, both initiating and undergoing the event denoted by the verb. There are no clear instances of A-preserving labile verbs in Bunaq.

That the verbs described in this section are labile is seen in the control properties of their different arguments in the monovalent versus bivalent frames. These properties have been discussed in §4.2, and are briefly reviewed here: the S of a labile verb in its monovalent frame controls agreement on the floating quantifier, binds the reflexive and can be the P of the causative predicate; the A of a labile verb in its bivalent frame binds the reflexive and can be the P of the causative predicate, while the P controls agreement on the floating quantifier.

Labile verbs are discussed in classes according to their morphosyntax and semantics: verbs of setting (§10.5.1), verb of learning/teaching (§10.5.2), verbs of mixing (§10.5.3), and causative labile verbs (§10.5.4).

10.5.1 Verbs of setting

The two verbs of 'setting', *lai* 'set' and *lolit* 'set lengthways', are labile in Bunaq. In their bivalent frame, the verbs take person prefixes for P following the pattern of class

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[13] Instead of 'labile', some scholars use other terms for verbs of this type, such as 'ambitransitive' (Dixon 1994) or 'optionally transitive' (Miller 1993).

II verbs (§10.3.3): 3rd person ANIMATE P arguments trigger agreement with pronominal prefixes on the verb, but INANIMATE 3rd persons do not. In (46) the A is *neto* '1SG', while the P is the ANIMATE noun *buku* 'book' and shows verbal agreement with the prefix *gV-* '3AN-'. In (47) the is *neto* '1SG', while the P is the INANIMATE noun *botil* 'bottle' which does not trigger agreement on the verb.

46. *Neto* *buku*   *ga-lai.*
  1SG   book.AN   3AN-set
  'I set the book (down).'   [Not-07.01]

47. *Neto* *botil*   *lolit.*
  1SG   bottle.INAN set.lengthways
  'I set the bottle (down).'   [Not-07.01]

Used monovalently the S of *lai* 'set' and *lolit* 'lay' is never prefixed on the verb, as in (48) with an ANIMATE S and in (49) with an INANIMATE S. Both clauses denote a stative event and have a non-agentive S.

48. *Buku* *lai.*
  book.AN set
  'The book is set (down).'   [Not-07.01]

49. *Botil* *lolit.*
  bottle.INAN set.lengthways
  'The bottle is set (down).'   [Not-07.01]

Monovalent uses of *lai* 'set' and *lolit* 'lay' may also be active. Examples (50) and (51) have an S with an animate referent, and can have either an active, and thus necessarily agentive, reading, or a stative reading with ambiguity as to whether the S is controlling and volitional or not.

50. *Hos* *meja* *wa* *no* *lai.*
  bird table top OBL set
  'The bird sets itself (down) on the table.' or 'The bird is set (down).'[Not-07.01]

51. *Neto* *muk* *no* *lolit.*
  wood yard OBL set.lengthways
  'I lay myself (down) on the ground.' or 'I lie on the ground.'   [Not-07.01]

10.5.2 Verb of learning/teaching

The verb *hanorin* is in Bunaq a P-preserving labile verb. In its monovalent frame, *hanorin* is a verb unchanging in form meaning 'learn', i.e. the S argument encodes the person who is taught (52). In its bivalent frame Bunaq *hanorin* is a class IV h-conjugation verb, meaning 'teach', i.e. the A argument encodes the teacher while the P argument encodes the person who is taught (53).

52. *Meaq gol iskola gene   hanorin.*
    child   school   LOC   learn
    'The children learn at school.'   [Not07-02]

53. *Guru   meaq gol   iskola gene   g-anorin.*
    teacher   child   school   LOC   3INAN-teach
    'The teacher teaches the children at school.'   [Not07-02]

Hanorin 'teach' follows the same pattern as *g-ige* '3AN-teach' encoding the thing taught is an oblique argument; see §10.6.6.

10.5.3 Verbs of mixing

Verbs of mixing, *kahul* 'mix' and *soro* 'combine', have both a bivalent and a monovalent frame. In their bivalent frame, the verbs have an A and P argument and denote an agentive event in which two or more substances are combined together. The verbs belong to the bivalent verb inflectional class I (§10.2.1), not changing in form regardless of the ANIMACY of the P. Thus, in (54) the P is the ANIMATE noun *paqol* 'corn', but there is no agreement on the verb.

54. *Neto   paqol kahul.*
    1SG   corn   mix
    'I mix (different kinds of) corn (together).'   [Not-07.01]

In their monovalent frame, these verbs denote 'associate, keep company with'. The S argument has a plural human referent which is both agentive and patientive, that is, the referent both 'mixes' and 'is mixed with'. There is no prefixation on the verb, as seen in (55).

55. *Nei   iskola gene   kahul.*
    1PL.EXCL   school LOC   mix
    'We mix (together) at school.'   [Not-07.01]

10.5.4 Causative labile verbs

There is a small group of six causative P-preserving labile verbs in Bunaq (Table 10.10). The monovalent frame of these verbs denotes 'be/come X', while the bivalent frame denotes 'cause X'. Morphologically, causative labile verbs belong to class I, taking no prefixes in either of their frames.

Table 10.10: Causative labile verbs

	BIVALENT	MONOVALENT
danu	'layer'	'be layered'
hokul	'puff up'	'be puffed up'
kapo	'stick to'	'be stuck to'
lequ	'wrap up'	'be wrapped up'
soran	'stir up'	'be stirred up'
uku	'tip'	'be tipped'

These verbs allow no agreement prefixes in any of their frames and their S is never agentive, as it is with some of the labile verbs discussed in the previous sections. The two frames of the causative labile verbs are illustrated with *kapo* 'stick' in (56) for 'be X', and in (57) for 'cause X'.

56. *Naka   hotel gene   kapo.*
    mud   tree   LOC   stick
    'The mud stuck to the tree.'   [Not-09.01]

57. *Neto   naka   hotel gene   kapo.*
    1SG   mud   tree   LOC   stick
    'I stuck the mud to the tree.'   [Not-09.01]

The monovalent frame of a causative labile verb is distinguishable from situations where the A of a bivalent verb is simply elided for pragmatic reasons (§4.7.1.2) by the way in which it serialises with the causative verb *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS'. Thus, if the S of a

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monovalent frame of a causative labile verb was in fact a P it would not occur as the P of *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS'. Yet, we see that *naka* 'mud' of (56) unproblematically becomes the P of *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' in (58). Similarly, we see that the A, *neto* '1SG' of (57) becomes the P of *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' in (59).

58. *Neto   naka   h-ini   hotel   gene   kapo.*
    1SG   mud   3INAN-CAUS   tree   LOC   stick
    'I made the mud stick to the tree.'   [Not-09.01]

59. *Makus   neto   n-ini   naka   hotel   gene   kapo.*
    Markus   1SG   1EXCL-CAUS   mud   tree   LOC   stick
    'Markus made me stick mud to the tree.'   [Not-09.01]

Contrast the pattern shown in the following examples. In (60) *naka* 'mud' is the P of the bivalent verb *siqil* 'deposit' whose A argument is unexpressed. *Naka* 'mud' as the P of *siqil* 'deposit' cannot be the P of *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' in serialisation (61), but must be an A (62).

60. *Naka   hotel   gene   siqil.*
    mud   tree   LOC   deposit
    'The mud was deposited on the tree.'   [Not-09.01]

61. **Neto   naka   h-ini   hotel   gene   siqil.*
    1SG   mud   3INAN-CAUS   tree   LOC   deposit
    'I made mud be deposited on the tree.'   [Not-09.01]

62. *Neto   Markus   g-ini   naka   hotel   gene   siqil.*
    1SG   Markus   3AN-CAUS   mud   tree   LOC   deposit
    'I made Markus deposit mud on the tree.'   [Bk-Not09.01]

10.6 Verb classes with unmarked obliques

There are several sets of verbs in Bunaq that can occur with an unmarked oblique argument. The syntactic properties of unmarked obliques distinct from Ps are discussed in §4.2.4. Not all verbs which can take unmarked oblique arguments have an unmarked oblique in all their subcategorisation frames. Of the verb classes with unmarked oblique,

only verbs of teaching have an A and P in addition to their OBL, and prefixation (for P); the remainder have S and OBL with no prefixes indexing any argument.

In this section, I look at the individual semantic sets of unmarked oblique taking verbs. They are: saturation verbs (§10.6.1), verbs of hurt (§10.6.2), existential verbs (§10.6.3); (some) motion verbs (§10.6.4), and verbs of teaching (§10.6.5).

10.6.1 Saturation verbs: unmarked locative obliques

The verbs *kaeq* 'filled', *liwe* 'brimming', *base* 'full' and *nur* 'empty' form a set in Bunaq. They are semantically unified by their expression of complete presence/absence of an entity (e.g., water) in respect to a location (e.g., a bucket). Syntactically the verbs share a distinct argument structure, subcategorising for two arguments: an S, expressing the entity which is present/absent, and; an unmarked oblique, expressing the location of the entity, illustrated in (63).

	S	OBL	
63.	*Ipi*	*hober*	*kaeq.*
	rice	cave	fill

'Rice filled the cave.' [Not-07.01]

Some speakers also allow the unmarked locative oblique to be encoded with a locative postposition, such as *no* 'OBL'. This PP can follow (64a) or precede (64b) the S.

		S	PP					PP		S	
64.	a.	*Ipi*	*hober*	*no*	*kaeq.*	b.	*Hober*	*no*	*ipi*	*kaeq.*
		rice	cave	OBL	fill		cave	OBL	rice	fill

'Rice filled in the cave.'   'In the cave, (it was) full (of) rice.'

[Not-07.01]

10.6.2 Verbs of hurt: unmarked source obliques

There are three verbs of hurt which occur with unmarked obliques: *memel* 'sick', *hinal* 'injured', *lues* 'wounded'. Each can occur in three different subcategorisation frames.

In the first frame, the verb has only an S argument, either the individual (65a) or the body part of the individual. The possessor of the body part is encoded by inalienable possessor prefixes on inalienably possessed nouns (65b) and by an inflected form of the alienable possessor classifier *-e* on alienably possessed nouns (65c).

S   S
65. a. [*Neto*] *memel.*   b. [*N-iri*]   *memel.*
        1SG   sick   1EXCL-leg   sick
        'I am sick.'   'My leg is sick (i.e. hurts).'

        S
   c. [*N-ie sakan*] *memel.*
        1-POSS thigh   sick
        'My thigh is sick (i.e. hurts).'   [Not-07.01]

In the second frame, the injured individual is the S and the injured body part is encoded as an unmarked oblique occurring between the S and the verb, as in (66a). In this frame *neto* '1SG' shows all the control properties of an S (§4.2.1). For instance, the 1st person S of (66a) must be the P of the causative verb *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' in serialisation, thus (66b) but not (66c) is grammatical.

        S   OBL
66. a. *Neto   sakan   memel.*
        1SG   thigh   sick
        'I am sick (as to) the thigh.'

   b. *Markus   n-ini   sakan memel.*
        Markus   1EXCL-CAUS   thigh   sick
        'Markus made me be sick in the thigh.'   [Not-07.01]

   c. **Markus   sakan h-ini   neto   memel.*
        Markus   thigh   3INAN-CAUS   1SG   sick   [Not-07.01]

If the noun encoding the body part is inalienably possessed, then there is ambiguity between the monovalent and the bivalent frame with the unmarked oblique. In (67) *neto* '1SG' can be interpreted either as S (67a) or as (emphatically) encoding the possessor marked on the inalienable noun *n-iri* '1-leg' (i.e. 'strong agreement' as described in §6.1.1) which is the S (67b).

        S   OBL
67. a. [*Neto*] [*n-iri*]   *memel.*
        1SG   1EXCL-leg   sick
        'I am sick (as to) my leg.'   [Not-07.01]

	PSR	PSR-S	

b. [*Neto n-iri*]   *memel.*

  1SG   1EXCL-leg   sick

  '*My* leg is sick.'   [Not-07.01]

Finally, the third frame in which verbs of hurt occur involves encoding the injured individual as S and the injured body part as the complement of the postposition *no* 'OBL', as in:

	S		PP	

68. *Neto   n-iri   no   memel.*

  1SG   1-leg   OBL   sick

  'I am sick in my leg.'   [Not-07.01]

	S		PP	

69. *Neto   sakan   no   memel.*

  1SG   thigh   OBL   sick

  'I am sick in the thigh.'   [Not -07.01]

10.6.3 Existential verbs: possessor obliques

The existential verb *hati* 'exist' and the negative existential verb *hobel* 'not exist' have two subcategorisation frames: one with a simple S and one with an S and an oblique. Each of the frames is associated with a distinct function.

The first frame with the single S argument expresses the (non-)existence of an entity encoded as S. A locative PP is often found in this frame (70), but it is not obligatory (71).

70. *Gewal   gene ewi   hati.*

  Kewar   LOC   soldier exist

  'There are soldiers in Kewar.'   [Bk-11.021]

71. *Erenoq   masala   uen   hati.*

  yesterday   problem   one   exist

  'Yesterday there was a problem.'   [Bk-21.001]

The existential verbs are also used in the expression of possessive relations. In this function, the existential verbs have two sub-categorisation frames: a frame in which the possessed item is encoded as S and the possessor a dependent constituent encoded with an inflection by the inalienable possessive classifier -*e* '-POSS' (72a), and; a frame in which the possessor is the S and the possessed item an unmarked oblique (72b). These differ as to the type of possessor relationship they encode: (72a) expresses a straightforward ownership relationship, while (72b) is the physical possessor or location of the money, but not necessarily its owner.

	S				S	OBL	
72. a.	[*Ni-e*	*tumel*] *hati.*		b.	[*Neto*]	[*tumel*] *hati.*	
	1EXCL-POSS	money	exist		1SG	money	exist
	'I have money (and it is mine).'				'I am in possession of money (but it's not mine).'		[Not-07.04]

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Textual examples of the two different possessive uses of existential verbs are given in (73-74) for 'ownership' possessive relations and in (75-76) for 'locative' possessive relations.

	S		
73.	[Gi-e	mar]	*hati.*
	3-POSS	garden	exist
	'S/he has a garden.'		[Bk-24.020]

	S						
74.	[*Ni-e*	*ama*	*gi-e*	*sore*	*legul*	*uen*]	*hati* .
	1-POSS	father	3-POSS	machete	be.long	one	exist
	'My father owns a big machete.'						[Bk-24.028]

	S		OBL	
75.	[*En*	*waqen*]	[*mar*]	*hobel.*
	person	some	garden	not.exist
	'Some people don't have gardens (i.e. to access to plant crops).'			[Bk-24.007]

	S	OBL	
76.	[*Nei*]	[*listrik*]	*hobel*
	1PL.EXCL	electricity	not.exist
	'We don't have electricity (i.e. available in the village).'		[Bk-34.052]

10.6.4 Verbs of excretion: unmarked theme oblique

Four verbs denoting excretion events have two categorisation frames: *dawaq* 'defecate', *hizak* 'vomit', *puluk* 'spit' and *seleq* 'urinate'. In the one frame the single S argument denotes the person that excretes (77a), In the second frame, the single S argument denoting the person excreting is joined by an oblique theme denoting the excreted substance (77b). The frame with the oblique theme is used in pragmatically marked contexts, i.e. where excreted substance is not that which is unexpected.

	S			S	OBL	
77. a.	*Neto*	*dawaq.*	b.	*Neto*	*ho*	*dawaq.*
	1SG	defecate		1SG	blood	defecate
	'I shat.'			'I shat blood.'		[Not-09.01]

10.6.5 Motion verbs: unmarked goal oblique

Four Bunaq motion verbs optionally subcategorise for an unmarked goal oblique: *mal* 'go', *saqe* 'ascend, rise', *pir* 'reach' and *tama* 'enter'. These verbs may simply appear with S argument (78a), or with an S argument and an unmarked goal oblique (78b).

	S			S	OBL	
78. a.	*Neto*	*mal.*	b.	*Neto*	*mar*	*mal.*
	1SG	go		1SG	garden	go
	'I go.'			'I go to the garden.'		[Not-06.01]

There are a range of alternative strategies for encoding the goal of a motion with these verbs with semantic differences (§13.9.1). For instance, either the goal-marking verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' (79a) or a postposition such as *no* 'OBL' (79b) can be used.

	S	PP			S		PP	
79. a.	*Neto*	[*mar*	*a-ta*]	*mal.*	b.	*Neto*	*mal*	[*mar*	*no*].
	1SG	garden	3INAN-GL	go		1SG	go	garden	OBL
	'I go towards the garden.'					'I go (and be) in the garden.'			[Not-06.01]

10.6.6 Verbs of teaching

Morphologically the verb *g-ige* 'REFL-teach' belongs to class III, i.e. it has no agreement form for INANIMATE Ps (for semantically obvious reasons), inflecting *n-ige* '1-teach', *Ø-ige* '1INCL/2-teach' and *g-ige* '3AN-teach'. The A is 'teacher' and the prefix-marked P is 'recipient of the teaching'. The thing taught may be encoded either as an unmarked oblique (80a) or with an instrumental verbal postposition, *dele* 'INS' (80b). With *g-ige* '3AN-teach', the thing taught may also be left unspecified to denote the generic act of teaching without reference to the specific skill taught (80c).

80. a. *Nei*   *Bunaq baqi*   *g-ige.*
     1PL.EXCL   Bunaq   NPRX.AN   3AN-teach
     'We are teaching her Bunaq.'   [OS-06.02]

   b. *Nei*   *baqi*   *Bunaq dele*   *g-ige.*
     1PL.EXCL   NPRX.AN   Bunaq   INS   3AN-teach
     'We are teaching her (with) Bunaq.'   [OS-06.02]

   c. *Tues* *ba*   *en*   *g-ige*   *niq.*
     fine   DEF.INAN   person 3AN-teach   NEG
     'The fines don't teach people.'   [Bk-53.103]

The verb *hanorin* 'learn, teach' discussed in §10.5.2 shows these same options for encoding the thing taught.

Chapter 11: Valency changing morphology and deponency

In Chapter 10 we saw that verb class membership in Bunaq is determined by morphosyntactic criteria, in particular the set of person prefixes taken by a verb and the valency of the verb. This chapter is concerned with the functions of valency reducing morphology, two prefixes *dV-* 'REFL' and *tV-* 'RECP'. The chapter includes discussion of non-valency reducing functions of these morphemes, so-called 'deponent' uses.

11.1 Introduction

Bunaq has two valency reducing prefixes *dV-* 'REFL' and *tV-* 'RECP'. These prefixes are in a paradigmatic relationship with the person marking prefixes (§2.5), and themselves do not vary for number or person. The prefixes *dV-* 'REFL' and *tV-* 'RECP' are most frequently and productively used to express reflexive and reciprocal relations respectively.

Both *dV-* 'REFL' and *tV-* 'RECP' also have several other uses that are cross-linguistically well-known semantic extensions of reflexives and reciprocals. In addition to its reflexive functions, the Bunaq prefix *dV-* 'REFL' marks a wide range of 'middle' situations, namely spontaneous natural events, self-benefactive events, cognitive events, body action events, and is used in impersonal contexts. The prefix *tV-* 'RECP' marks reciprocal relations, stative symmetrical relations, iterative motion, and a range of situations involving a plurality of participants. Extended uses of *dV-* 'REFL' and *tV-* 'RECP' often do not cause valency reduction and are treated as 'deponent', that is, they show a mismatch between their morphological form and their actual function

Following a discussion of deponency in §11.2, I discuss the functions of *dV-* 'REFL-' in §11.3 and those of *tV-* 'RECP-' in §11.4. The treatment given here is necessarily on an item by item basis, as the use of *dV-* 'REFL' and *tV-* 'RECP' in non-valency reducing functions shows considerable idiomaticity and resists an entirely unified account.

11.2 Deponency in Bunaq

Many of the items to be discussed in this chapter are 'deponent', a term mentioned already in §10.2.4.3-§10.2.4.4 for class IV d- and t-conjugation verbs. Adopting Baerman's (2007) extended sense of the term, I take 'deponency' to refer to a mismatch between the expected function of a morpheme and its actual function. Bunaq deponents

are a subset of verbs marked with either *dV-* 'REFL-' or *tV-* 'RECP-'; these prefixes do not function to reduce the number of arguments in the clause, but rather have various non-referential, non-argument functions.[1] Deponent functions range from derivation-like alternations of the basic verb meaning to semantically empty conjugation markers.

Table 11.1 presents the different types of deponents. It represents them as intermediate stages on the continuum between fully productive valency reducing occurrences of *dV-* 'REFL-' or *tV-* 'RECP-' and entirely unproductive uses where the prefix is fossilised onto the verb in all forms.[2] The 'grey' area occupied by deponents represents different degrees of lexicalisation of the *dV-* 'REFL-' or *tV-* 'RECP-' prefixes. Thus, Type 1 represents the most productive and semantically transparent of deponent types, while Type 3 represents the least productive and semantically most obscure deponent types.

Table 11.1: Continuum from productive to fossilised valency reducing morphology

Productive dV- / tV-	Deponent dV- / tV-			Unproductive dV- / tV-
	Type 1: Derivation-like alternations	Type 2: Conjugation marker denoting semantics of dV- / tV-	Type 3: Semantically empty conjugation marker	
Always valency reducing	Sometimes valency		Never valency reducing	Fossilised on verb

The three basic types I differentiate in deponents involve:

Type 1. Prefixes *dV-* 'REFL-' and *tV-* 'RECP-' appear on bivalent verbs to add some specification about the nature of the event denoted by the verb (e.g. 'for one's own benefit'); the valency reducing prefixes alternate in a derivation-

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[1] An additional minor deponent use of morphology in Bunaq is using the *gV-* '3AN-' prefix for both ANIMATE and INANIMATE agreement controllers. See §10.2.3.

[2] Fossilised instances of *dV-* 'REFL-' and *tV-* 'RECP-' are apparent when comparing verb forms across dialects. In Bunaq Lamaknen, they include: on the invariable bivalent verb *doloq* 'slide forward' < the inalienably possessed noun *g-oloq* '3AN-place', and on the invariable bivalent verb *tuqal* 'exchange'.

like way with ordinary P marking forms of verbs that do not add any extra semantic specification;

Type 2. Prefixes *dV-* 'REFL-' and *tV-* 'RECP-' obligatorily mark the INANIMATE P agreement form of the verb alternate with person prefixes; the valency reducing prefixes have apparent semantic motivation, but their presence/absence does not change the verb's meaning;

Type 3: Prefixes *dV-* 'REFL-' and *tV-* 'RECP-' obligatorily mark INANIMATE P agreement form of the verb; prefixes are semantically empty conjugation markers which alternate with other prefixes; the valency reducing prefixes do not bear any identifiable semantic motivation.

Deponent types 2 and 3 are from a synchronic point of view effectively the same (with both types being members of the class IV t- and d-conjugations): the valency reducing prefixes do not make any independent semantic contribution to the meaning of the verb, but obligatorily appear as conjugation markers for the 3rd person INANIMATE agreement controllers. They differ in that, whereas the semantic/diachronic motivation of the valency-reducing morphology on Type 2 deponents is transparent, it is not on Type 3 deponents.

Throughout the chapter, I will refer back to these types so as to orient the reader as to which the nature of the deponency displayed by a verb. We will see that deponent verbs with *dV-* 'REFL-' tend more towards Type 1 on the deponent scale, while those with *tV-* 'RECP-' typically incline more towards Type 2 and 3 on the deponent scale.[3]

11.3 Reflexive *dV-*

The prefix *dV-* 'REFL-' [4] canonically marks reflexive relations (§11.3.1). In addition, the prefix *dV-* has non-reflexive, or so-called 'middle' functions (§11.3.2).

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[3] Throughout this chapter I will gloss deponent instances of the valency reducing morphemes *dV-* 'REFL-' and *tV-* as 'REFL-' and 'RECP-' respectively. Elsewhere, instances of these morphemes acting as a 3rd INANIMATE P agreement form are glossed as '3INAN-' as per §10.2.4.4 and §10.2.4.5. That is, for example, *t-ubak* 'RECP-gather' in this chapter is elsewhere glossed as *t-ubak* '3INAN-gather'.

[4] Also *rV-*, cf. §2.1.3.3.2 on d~r allophony in Bunaq and its orthographic representation in this work.

11.3.1 Reflexive situations

In §4.2 we saw that the antecedent/binder of the reflexive must be either the S/A of a verbal clause or the 'subject' of non-verbal clauses. In this section, we look further at the use of the reflexive on verbs and verbal postpositions (§11.3.1.1) and nouns (§11.3.1.2).

11.3.1.1   On verbs and verbal postpositions

On verbs and verbal postpositions, where there is coreference between an S/A and the P/R of a verb or the complement of a verbal postposition, the reflexive prefix must be used.

In (1) *hukut* 'wrap up' is marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' and depicts a prototypical reflexive situation in which the referent is self-affecting. In (2) the A and P are also coreferential, but, following from the semantics and argument structure of the verb, self-affectedness is not a feature of the reflexive marking. That is, the reflexive of *tara* 'know' expresses the self-recognition and self-identification of the Bunaq people.

1. *En   uen   man   tais   rele   **ru-hukut**.*
   person   one   come   cloth   INS   REFL-wrap.up
   'A person came along wrapped up in a blanket.'   [Bk-16.002]

2. *En   Bunaq mos   o   **da-tara**.*
   person   Bunaq also   AND   REFL-know
   'The Bunaq people also know themselves (i.e. have a sense of their own identity).'
               [Bk-15.012]

On trivalent verbs the prefix *dV-* 'REFL-' indicates coreferentiality between the A and R arguments. In (3) and (4) the trivalent verbs *h-ege* '3INAN-give' and *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' are marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' and denote self-directed action.

3. *Neto   ret   **r-ege**   di-e   iskola gi-e   urus.*
   1SG   alone   REFL-give   REFL-POSS   school 3-POSS business
   'I alone gave myself my own school needs.', i.e. 'I alone provided for my needs at school.'   [Bk-13.017]

4. *Berelikuq*　　*d-ini*　　　*en.*
    k.o.bird　　　　REFL-CAUS　　person
    'The bird made himself into a person.'　　　　　　　　[LB-4.064]

The prefix *dV-* 'REFL-' can also appear on verbal postpositions (§12.3) to indicate coreference between the referent of the A/S and that of the complement of the verbal postposition. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate the use of *dV-* 'REFL-' on a verbal postposition whose coreferent is an S and an A respectively.

5. *Neto*　　*bai*　　*h-oqon*　　*loi*　　*niq,*　　***ri-ta***　　　*paksa, r-on*
    1SG　　　thing　　3INAN-do　　good　　NEG　　REFL-GL　　　force　　REFL-hand
    suel　　*rele.*
    left　　　INS
    'I couldn't do a thing, (but I) forced myself, (I did it) with my left hand.' [Bk-46.021]

6. *Baqi*　　***r-otol***　　　*sabul hiloqon*　　*bi*　　*tais*　　*lequ*　　　　*wa*
    NPRX.AN　REFL-WITHOUT　orange　two　　　　DEF.AN　cloth　　wrapped　　　top
    no　　*gu-tula.*
    OBL　　3AN-transport
    'He without (concerning) himself transported the two oranges on the top of a wrapped up cloth.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-4.048]

11.3.1.2　On nouns

The prefix *dV-* 'REFL-' is used with nominals to express coreference between an A/S and a possessor of an NP with a non-A/S role. Possessors that are coreferent with A/S are not obligatorily marked with *dV-* 'REFL-'. Obligatoriness depends on the alienability of the possessor.

Where an A/S argument is coreferent with an inalienable possessor expressed by a prefix on a bound noun (§9.3), then the possessive relation must be marked as reflexive. This is illustrated in the examples below with the inalienably possessed noun *g-on* '3AN-hand'. In (7a) the A must be the referent for the possessor of the P *r-on* 'REFL-hand'. In (7b) first person marking on hand means that the A is not co-referent with the possessor of P and that the A is unexpressed; the pronoun *neto* is in 'strong agreement' (§6.1.1) with the possessor on the P. In (8a) the possessor of the complement of *gene* 'LOC' is

marked reflexive and must be coreferent with the A. In (8b) the 3rd person possessor cannot be coreferent with the A.

7. a. *Neto* ***r-on***   *doq.*
   1SG   REFL-hand   cut
   'I cut my hand.'   [Bk-12.019]

   b. *Neto* ***n-on***   *doq.*
   1SG   1EXCL-hand   cut
   '(Someone) cut my hand.'   [OS-07.01]

8. a. *Baqi*   *mun*   ***r-on***   *gene*   *t-olo*   *haqal.*
   NPRX.AN   rope   REFL-hand   LOC   3INAN-put   finished
   'He finished putting the rope on his hand.'   [Bk-23.046]

   b. *Baqi*   *mun*   ***g-on***   *gene*   *t-olo*   *haqal.*
   NPRX.AN   rope   3AN-hand   LOC   3INAN-put   finished
   'He finished putting the rope on someone else's hand.'   [OS-07.01]

Where an alienable possessor marked on the possessor classifier *-e* '-POSS' (§9.2) is coreferent with the A/S, then the possessive relation is only optionally marked as reflexive. In (9a) the reflexive marked possessor of the P, *pana* 'woman', can only be interpreted as coreferent with the A. In (9b) the possessor can be interpreted as either coreferent with A or with another 3rd person referent, if one is available in the discourse context.

9. a. *Baqi*   ***ri-e***   *pana*   *g-ege*   *sal.*
   NPRX.AN   REFL-POSS   woman   3AN-give   wrong
   'He$_i$ does his$_i$ own wife wrong.'   [Bk-21.017]

   b. *Baqi*   ***gi-e***   *pana*   *g-ege*   *sal.*
   NPRX.AN   3-POSS   woman   3AN-give   wrong
   'He$_i$ does his$_{i/j}$ wife wrong.'   [Bk-21.018]

In (10a), the addressee (S) of the imperative is coreferent with the reflexive marked possessor of the NP complement of the comitative verbal postposition *g-utu* '3-COM'. In (10b) the S encoded by *neto* '1SG' is also coreferent with possessor of the NP

complement of the comitative, but the agreement for the possessor is marked, *n-* '1EXCL-'.

10. a. *Eto   ri-e   matas mil   g-utu   man   naq!*
       2SG   REFL-POSS   old   COLL   3-COM come   IMP
       'You come with your parents!'   [Bk-38.005]

   b. *Neto   ni-e   ama   g-utu   mar   mal.*
      1SG   1EXCL-POSS   father 3-COM garden go
      'I go to the garden with my parents!'   [Bk-24.010]

The only circumstance in which marking of an alienable possessor with *dV-* 'REFL-' appears to be obligatory is where there is the possibility of referential ambiguity. As expected, in (11a) the coreferent of the reflexive marked possessor of *reu* 'house' is the A, *halaqi* '3PL', and not the P, *Suri Guloq*. However, if the possessor is encoded with a 3rd person inflection, the coreference is determined by linear ordering. That is, the antecedent is the nearest NP with appropriate person feature. In (11b) only the P, *Suri Guloq* as NP adjacent to the possessive inflection can be co-referent with the possessor, not the A. In (11c), where *Suri Guloq* appears after the goal PP, the possessor of *reu* 'house' can only be interpreted as coreferent with the A, but not the P.

11. a. *Halaqi Suri Guloq   ri-e   reu   a-ta   gi-al.*
       3PL$_i$ Suri Guloq$_j$ REFL$_{i/*j}$-POSS   house 3INAN-GL   3AN$_j$-carry
       'They carried Suri Guloq to their house.'   [Bk-21.005]

   b. *Halaqi Suri Guloq   gi-e   reu   a-ta   gi-al.*
      3PL$_i$ Suri Guloq$_j$ 3$_{*i/j}$-POSS   house 3INAN-GL   3AN$_j$-carry
      'They carried Suri Guloq to his house.'   [Not-07.02]

   c. *Halaqi gi-e   reu   a-ta   Suri Guloq   gi-al.*
      3PL$_i$ 3$_{i/*j}$-POSS   house 3INAN-GL   Suri Guloq$_j$ 3AN$_j$-carry
      'They carried Suri Guloq to their house.'   [Not-07.02]

11.3.2 Middle situations

The reflexive prefix is also found in situations commonly subsumed under the label 'middle'. Middle situations are similar to reflexive ones in that the participant

performing the action and the participant affected by the action have one and the same referent. Whilst middle and reflexive situations are similar in that they both involve self-directed action, they differ in distinguishability of participant roles. In a reflexive situation, a single participant performs an action filling two distinct roles in the action. By contrast, in a middle situation, a single participant performs an action for which there is a low elaboration of roles (Kemmer 1993: 238). That is, the roles of the participant as initiator of the action and as its end point are not fully distinguishable.[5]

The specific semantic event types associated with middle uses of *dV-* 'REFL-' in Bunaq are outlined in sections §11.3.2.1-§11.3.2.4. For the most part, discussion will be of verbs, but some cases of middle marking on nouns will also be dealt with. Deponent behaviour of middle marked forms will be discussed on an item by item basis as fossilisation and lexicalisation of *dV-* 'REFL-' in particular prefix-root combinations is advanced to differing degrees in individual forms/constructions.

11.3.2.1   Spontaneous events

In Bunaq *dV-* 'REFL-' is found on a selection of bivalent verbs to express physical processes or actions occuring spontaneously without the direct initiation of a human agent. For instance, in (12a) the bivalent verb *olu* 'remove' is marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' and has a single inanimate, non-controlling participant *sesal* 'bone'; the clause denotes a spontaneous event whereby the bones are stripped of flesh naturally of themselves, without the intervention of a human causer. By contrast, in (12b) where the single participant is animate and controlling, the clause denotes a reflexive action in which a volitional entity acts on itself. So in the middle situation *dV-* 'REFL-' marks a single participant that undergoes the event, but does not cause it, while in the reflexive situation *dV-* marks a single entity that acts on itself, being both agent and patient.

12. a. *Sesal*   *d-olu*   *haqal.*
         bone   REFL-remove   finish
         'The bones were completely bare.'   [Bk-4.092]

   b. *Neto*   *d-olu*   *haqal.*
         1SG   REFL-remove   finish
         'I finished undressing myself.'   [OS-07.04]

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[5] See Shibatani and Artawa (2007) on some difficulties in distinguishing reflexive from middle situations.

On some verbs, middle *dV-* 'REFL-' is not always valency reducing. For instance, the *dV-* marked form of the class IV h-conjugation verb (§10.4.1) *h-en* '3INAN-dry' can for some speakers be used in active bivalent clauses. In (13a) *h-en* '3INAN-dry' occurs with distinct referents for its A and P arguments and agreement on the verb is with the P *ipi* 'rice plant'. In (13b) and (13c) we see *h-en* '3INAN-dry' is marked reflexive and occurs with a single participant occupying both A and P syntactic roles. However, whilst (13b) denotes a reflexive situation with a self-affecting participant in the agent and patient roles, (13c) denotes a middle situation in which a single non-agentive participant spontaneously undergoes a change of state, i.e. without clear articulation of the participant as both agentive and patientive. Finally, in (13d) we see *h-en* '3INAN-dry' marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' but with two participants. (13d) denotes indirect causation: Manek puts the rice out to dry but is not directly responsible for the rice becoming dry. By contrast, (13a) suggest greater agentivity on the part of Manek in the actual process of drying the rice, e.g. he turned it regularly etc. That is, *d-en* 'REFL-dry' used bivalently with middle semantics is in a derivational-like alternation with the non-middle bivalent form *h-en* '3INAN-dry', behaviour consistent with a Type 1 deponent verb.

13. a. *Manek*   *ipi*   *h-en.*
        Manek   rice.plant   3INAN-dry
        'Manek dries the rice.'   [OS-07.04]

    b. *Manek*   *d-en.*
        Manek   REFL-dry
        'Manek dries himself.'   [OS-07.04]

    c. *Ipi*   *d-en.*
        rice.plant   REFL-dry
        'The rice is drying.' lit. 'The rice dries itself.'   [OS-07.04]

    d. *Manek*   *ipi*   *d-en.*
        Manek   rice.plant   REFL-dry
        'Manek lets the rice dry itself.'   [OS-07.04]

Note only younger Bunaq Lamaknen speakers and speakers of north-eastern Bunaq have been heard to produce sentences like (13c) and (13d); older Bunaq Lamaknen speakers tend to reject these examples in elicitation. Such causative bivalent uses of middle marked verbs are not productive.

Instances of *dV-* 'REFL-' encoding spontaneous natural events have passive-like meanings, in that the role of the initiator of the event is downplayed or virtually non-existent (cf. Steinbach 2002: 307). Consider the uses of the *dV-* 'REFL-' marked verbs *belek* 'turn' in (14) and *h-ini* '3INAN-call' in (15). Example (14) comes from a text which tells the story of a man who has the power to change items into anything he wishes. In the example, we see *belek* 'turn' is marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' to denote the spontaneous transformation of the slaves and wealth. By marking the verb in this way the role of the owner of the ring who was responsible for the transformation is downplayed. Example (15) could be interpreted as denoting a reflexive or middle situation. The monkeys could have spontaneously become girls without wilfully initiating the transformation (middle), or they could have intentionally changed form (reflexive).

14. a. *Gi-e   mila   o   **d-ebek**   loi   niq   oa.*
       3-POSS slave   AND   REFL-turn   good   NEG   PFV
       'His slave could also not be turned back any more.'   [LB-5.189]

    b. *Gi-e osan   gewen-gewen **d-ebek**   loi   niq   oa.*
       3-POSS money   all.sorts   REFL-turn   good   NEG   PFV
       'All his different kinds of money could not be turned back any more.'[LB-5.190]

15. *Orel   hiloqon   bi   **r-ini**   pana   gol   hiloqon.*
    monkey   two   DEF.AN REFL-call   woman   small   two
    'The two monkeys turned into girls.'   [LB-2.211]

Inalienably possessed nouns are also found marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' in clauses denoting spontaneous events. In (16) *dV-* 'REFL-' marks the inalienably possessed noun *g-io* '3AN-faeces', the P of the clausal verb *a* 'eat'. The combination of verb and *dV-*marked noun is the lexicalised expression for the spontaneous event of 'rusting' in Bunaq. In (17) the inalienably possessed noun *g-urul* '3AN-moulted snake skin' is marked with *dV-* and used predicatively to denote a spontaneous event in which people on death "shed their skin", i.e. take on a new form.

16. *Turiq   gol   **r-io**   a.*
    machete   small   REFL-faeces   eat
    'The knife rusts / is rusty.' lit. 'The knife eats its own faeces.'   [OS-06.02]

17.

I	*heser*	*niq,*	*i*	***d-urul***	*on.*
1PL.INCL	dead	NEG	1PL.INCL	REFL- moulted.skin	DO

'We don't die, we take on another form.' [LB-10.041]

11.3.2.2 Self-benefactive events

The prefix *dV-* 'REFL-' is used to mark self-benefactive middle situations, where a participant does not act on itself, but allows itself to be acted upon (i.e. passive causation) for its own benefit.

Consider the use of the bivalent verb *h-ariqa* '3INAN-repair' marked reflexive in (18) and (19). The clause in (18) has a single participant and denotes not that the people literally repaired themselves, but that the people had improved their standard of living by following the directives of the government. This context is clear in the example from the same text in (19) where we find *d-ariqa* 'REFL-repair' again used to refer to the same self-benefactive action on the part of the participant. Here we do not have a single participant, however, but find a P, *u* 'life' along with self-benefactive *dV-* 'REFL-' on the verb. The contrast between bivalent *h-ariqa* '3INAN-repair' and bivalent 'REFL-repair' meaning 'repair X for one's self' is the kind of derivation-like prefixal alternation typical of Type 1 deponent verbs.

18.

En	*denu*	*bari*	***d-ariqa***	*oa.*
person	commoner	PROX.AN	REFL-repair	PFV

'These common people have improved their lot.' [Bk-65.051]

19.

En	*muk*	*ukon*	*nei*	*n-ege*	*baqa*	*g-ua*
person	ruler	govern	1PL.EXCL	1EXCL-give	NPRX.INAN	3AN-footprint

rale,	*nei*	*u*	*bisa*	***d-ariqa***	*loi.*
speak	1PL.EXCL	life	can	REFL-repair	good

'(When) the government told us its footprints (i.e. how to do it), we could repair our lives.' [Bk-65.091]

The absence of valency reduction in self-benefactive middle situations marked by *dV-* 'REFL-' is relatively frequent. In (20) we see the class IV t-conjugation verb *t-inik* '3INAN-cook' is marked with *dV-*, but does not have reduced valency occurring with two arguments, *nei* '1PL.EXCL' and *buakae* 'provisions'. The *dV-* marking on the verb is clearly self-benefactive: the A does not cook themselves, rather *for* themselves.

20. *Nei*   *Atambua*   *mal*   *gie,*   *misti* *ene* *no* *mel* *buakae*

    1PL.EXCL   Atambua   go   PROSP   must night OBL wake provisions

    d-inik*.*

    REFL-cook

    'If we want to go to Atambua, (we) must get up in the night and cook ourselves

    provisions.'   [Bk-37.011]

Lexicalisation of meaning and fossilisation of *dV-* 'REFL-' are notable on several verbs denoting self-benefactive middle events. The verb *hota* 'stab' marked with *dV-* has the self-benefactive meaning 'get an injection': in (21a) there is a single participant who does not literally stab itself, but allows his/herelf to be 'stabbed' for its own benefit, i.e. injected with a needle. The verb *d-ota* 'REFL-stab' has further extended its use to be able to denote active 'injecting' events: in (21b) there are two participants, an A who does the injecting and a recipient of the injection encoded with the benefactive verbal postposition *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' (§12.3.6).

21. a.   *Neto* *haqe* *gene* ***r-ota****.*

          1SG   THERE LOC REFL-stab

          'I got an injection there.'   [Bk-40.005]

    b.   *Neto* *meaq gol*   *g-ege*   ***r-ota****.*

          1SG   child   3AN-BEN   REFL-stab

          'I gave the child an injection.'   [OS-07.01]

One of the most frequently occurring self-benefactive middle marked verbs is *d-ige* 'REFL-teach', literally 'teach oneself' (see §10.6.6 on this verb's argument structure). *D-ige* 'REFL-teach' is used in contexts where the participant is clearly not self-instructing, but merely 'learning'. The school context of (22) indicates that the children are not responsible for their own instruction. In (23) the participant may be understood as self-instructing given the absence of study materials for the Bunaq language.

22. *Iskola*   *gene* *meaq gol*   *hasaq* ***r-ige****.*

    school   LOC child   count REFL-teach

    'In school the children learn counting'   [OS-06.01]

23. *Baqi*   *Bunaq* **r-ige**.

    NPRX.AN   Bunaq   REFL-teach

    'S/he is learning Bunaq'   [OS-06.01]

Note that the regular and productive way of denoting self-benefaction is with a *dV-* 'REFL-' marked form of the benefactive verbal postposition (§12.3.6), *d-ege* 'REFL-BEN'.

11.3.2.3   Cognitive events

The prefix *dV-* 'REFL-' is used to form predicates describing events involving cognition, belief and feeling. In the examples below, *dV-* marked forms of the verbs *mak* 'hear' (24) and *ilek* 'listen' (25) denote the participant's mental state or process. In each case, there is no distinguishability of participants; the experiencer is both initiator and endpoint of the mental event.

24. *Eme*   **da-mak**   *koen*   *niq.*

    mother   REFL-hear   beautiful   NEG

    'Mother isn't feeling well.'   [OS.07-02]

25. *Neto*   **r-ilek**,   *ni-e*   *muk* *bare*   *muk* *hotu-hotu*

    1SG   REFL-listen   1EXCL-POSS   land PROX.INAN   land all

    g-o   *lesin*   *liol.*

    3-SRC   more   continue

    'I think that my land is better than all other lands.'   [Bk-24.042]

The topological noun *mil* 'inside' can be marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' to act as a predicate describing a cognitive event, as in (26).

26. *Halali*   **ri-mil**   *ate* *niq,* *baqa*   *h-ua*   *gene* *na*

    3DU   REFL-inside   far NEG NPRX.INAN 3INAN-footprint LOC FOC

    h-oqon   *besik.*

    3INAN-do   exact

    'They two didn't think long, (but) just did exactly as they were told.' [Bk-4.091]

The cognitive process verb *d-oenik* 'REFL-forget' is a Type 2 bivalent deponent verb: 3rd person INANIMATE Ps and complement clauses always take a form of the verb

marked by *dV-* 'REFL-'(27a); P of other persons replace this prefix and are marked on the verb, e.g. *nV-* '1' (27b) and 3rd person ANIMATE *gV-* '3AN-' (27c).

27. a. *Novi   taka   masak baqa   d-oenik.*
      Novi   basket big   NPRX.INAN   REFL-forget
      'Novi forgot the big basket.'   [OS-06.01]

  b. *Nona   hani   nei   n-oenik.*
      miss   PROH   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-forget
      'May our older sister not forget us.'   [Bk-14.003]

  c. *Halaqi sabi   g-oenik.*
      3PL   key.AN 3AN-forget
      'They forgot the key.'   [OS-06.01]

Dialectal evidence shows *d-oenik* 'REFL-forget' is originally a class IV h-conjugation bivalent verb with the INANIMATE agreement form *h-oenik* '3INAN-forget', still evidenced sporadically in the south-west dialect (§1.5).

11.3.2.4   Body action events

A range of body action events, including change of posture, non-translational motion, self-induced motion and excretion events are denoted by *dV-* 'REFL-'. Events of this kind are both reflexive-like in that they denote an action in which an entity acts volitionally on its own body and middle-like in that the participant is both beginning and endpoint of the action.

    In (28) and (29) we see reflexive marking on the bivalent verbs *h-onen* '3INAN-lean' and *obon* 'hang' respectively to denote change of posture events. Middle situations of this kind can have both active and stative reading.[6]

28. *Eme   meja   g-o   d-onen.*
    mother   table   3-SRC   REFL-lean
    'Mother leans onto the table.' or 'Mother is leaning onto the table.'   [Not-07.01]

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[6] Fossilisation and lexicalisation of middle marking on a posture verb has occurred in the case of *duqat* 'stand' in Bunaq Lamaknen. This is an innovative form based on a reduction of *du-huqat* 'REFL-erect' in Bunaq Lamaknen (§1.5) and can represent either a stative or an active event, 'be standing' or 'stand up'.

29. *Neto   hotel   gene   d-obon.*

    1SG   tree   LOC   REFL-hang

    'I hang myself from the tree.' or 'I'm hanging from the tree.'   [Not-07.01]

In (30) we see *dV-* 'REFL-' marking the bivalent verb *h-oter* '3INAN-snatch' to denote a self-induced motion event 'getting away'. In (31) *d-ese* 'REFL-split' is used with a plural participant to denote their parting of ways in a motion event and not that they are themselves literally split

30. *Halaqi   hitu   bi   d-opil   no   d-oter   gie.*

    1SG   seven DEF.AN REFL-power   OBL   REFL-snatch PROSP

    'They seven with all their might tried to snatch themselves, i.e. get away.'

                                                                          [Bk-6.051]

31. *Neli   d-ese   oa.*

    1DU.EXCL   REFL-split   PFV

    'We split ourselves already.', i.e. 'We go our separate paths now.'   [OS-09.01]

Examples (32) and (33) illustrate *dV-* 'REFL-' marking on predicative inalienably possessed nouns to mark non-translational motion events. In (32) the noun *g-omoq* '3AN-resting place' is marked with *dV-* 'REFL-' and functions predicatively (in an RC) to denote the event of 'settling one's self down'. In (33) the noun *luel* 'skin (of fruit), peel' is used predicatively and marked by *dV-* 'REFL-' to denote an event in which the participant literally 'skins himself' in charcoal.

32. *Ola   hol   g-egil   no   d-omoq   bi   nei*

    LOW   stone 3AN-shade   OBL   REFL-resting.place   DEF.AN 1PL.EXCL

    bu   g-azal.

    GIVEN   3AN-see

    'The (one) down there (who) has settled himself in the shade of a stone, we saw him.'   [LB-4.109]

33. *Guzel   mil   no   d-ulel,   g-iwiq   tomak guzu.*

    charcoal inside OBL   REFL-skin   3AN-body   whole   black

    'He covered himself (lit. skinned himself), (until) his whole body was black.'

                                                               [Bk-6.021]

Finally, in (34) we observe the use *dV-* 'REFL-' on the bivalent verb *h-isik* '3INAN-spray' to denote a body excretion event. *D-isik* 'REFL-spray' is a common, polite expression for 'urinate' in Bunaq Lamaknen.

34. *Neto*   *r-isik*   *gie*   *taq!*
     1SG   REFL-sprinkle   PROSP   IPFV

     'I'm just going to the toilet!' lit. 'I'm just going to sprinkle myself.'   [OS-07.03]

11.3.2.5   Impersonal middles

The *dV-* 'REFL-' prefix is also found on inalienably possessed 'bound' nouns (§9.3) in contexts where there is no referent for a possessor, but where the grammar requires a possessor prefix to be present.

For instance, in (35) and (36) there is no semantically coherent antecedent for the reflexive prefixes on the 'bound' nouns, *-bul* 'head' and *-on* 'hand'. Syntactically, the antecedent of the reflexive is *bai* 'thing' in (35) as 'subject' of the possessive clause (§4.3.3), and *keke* 'bracelet' in (36) as S of the oblique taking verb *kaeq* 'fill' (§10.6.1).[7] However, neither 'things' nor 'bracelets' have 'heads' or 'hands', such that they cannot be the semantic antecedent of *dV-* 'REFL-' on the 'bound' nouns in these examples. Rather, *dV-* 'REFL-' here denotes an impersonal possessive relation, e.g. 'one's head', 'one's hand'. In the same contexts where impersonal reflexives are found on bound nouns, non-bound alienably possessed nouns occur without any expression of a possessor, as in *kalaq* 'neck' in (35).

35. *Bai*   *baqa*   **ru-bul**   *gi-e,*   *kalaq*   *gi-e*   *o*   **r-on**   *gi-e.*
     thing   NPRX.INAN   REFL-head   3-POSS   neck   3-POSS   AND   REFL-hand   3-POSS

     'These things are for the head, for the neck and for the hands.'   [Bk-24.024]

36. *Keke*   **r-on**   *kaeq.*
     bracelet   REFL-hand   fill

     'Bracelets filled one's hands.'   [Bk-68.044]

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[7] Note that the impersonal reflexive in these examples, although lacking a semantic antecedent, still requires a syntactic antecedent. That is, an impersonal reflexive –or any other kind reflexive for that matter– cannot occur on a bound noun in S function in the clause, as then there is no syntactically 'higher' (verbal S/A or non-verbal 'subject') antecedent to bind the reflexive.

Impersonal *dV-* 'REFL-' also appears to be present on the Type 1 deponent verb *sa* 'sweep'. This verb is unusual in that its 3rd person INANIMATE agreement form can occur without any prefixation (37a) or with a *dV-* 'REFL-' (37b). The contrast between these two forms appears to be to do with genericity: whilst (37a) has a specific reading, e.g. sweep a specific location, (37b) has a general one, e.g. sweep general area. No other verbs evidence a semantic alternation of this kind.

37. a. *Yati   hala   sa.*
         Yati   rubbish sweep
         'Yati sweeps the rubbish (specific).'

    b. *Yati   hala   da-sa.*
         Yati   rubbish REFL-sweep
         'Yati sweeps up rubbish (general).'   [Not-06.01]

11.4 Reciprocal *tV-*

The morpheme *tV-* 'RECP-' is used most productively to denote reciprocal situations (§11.4.1). In addition, Bunaq *tV-* 'RECP-' is used to mark symmetrical states (§11.4.2), iterative motion (§11.4.3), and in a range of Type 1 and 2 deponent contexts involving semantic plurality of relations (§11.4.4). It is also found as a semantically empty Type 3 deponent on a set of verbs (§11.4.5). Finally, *tV-* 'RECP-' has non-predictable syntax and semantics in uses with a set of verbal postpositions, discussed in §11.4.6.

11.4.1 Reciprocal situations

A reciprocal situation is one with at least two participants, X and Y, where the semantic relation between X and Y is symmetrical, i.e. is the same as the semantic relation between Y and X (König and Kokutani 2006). As with the reflexive, the antecedent/binder of reciprocal *tV-* 'RECP-' must be either the S/A of a verbal clause or the 'subject' of a non-verbal clause.

11.4.1.1   On verbs

On bivalent verbs, *tV-* 'RECP-' prototypically denotes a reciprocal event involving multiple participants, in which each participant is linked to two identical thematic roles. In this function, the antecedent of the reciprocal prefix is A/S, while the role filled by

the prefix is a non-A/S role, either a P (38) or the complement of a verbal postposition (39).

38. *Pana*　　*gol*　　*mone*　*gol*　　***ta-tara****.*
　　　female　　small　　male　　small　　RECP-know

　　　'The girl and the boy know each other.'　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-38.001]

39. *Ola*　　　*gene*　*nei*　　　　***t-ege***　　　*bai*　　*g-olo.*
　　　LOW　　　LOC　　1PL.EXCL　　RECP-BEN　　thing　　3-bury

　　　'We bury stuff for each other.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-11.010]

11.4.1.2　　On nouns

On nouns, *tV-* 'RECP-' denotes that a reciprocal relation holds between a plural A/S and the possessor of a NP with a non-A/S role. In (40) an inalienably possessed noun (§9.3) and in (41) an alienably possessed noun (§9.2), both in P function, are marked with *tV-* 'RECP-' where their possessors are co-referent with the A and in a symmetrical relationship.

40. *Halali*　***t-on***　　　　*h-one.*
　　　3DU　　　RECP-hand　　3INAN-hold

　　　'They held each other's hands.' i.e. 'They shook hands.'　　　[LB-8.187]

41. *Halaqi*　***ti-e***　　　***lisan***　　*tara.*
　　　3PL　　　RECP-POSS　　character　　know

　　　'They knew each other's character.'　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-66.091]

In (42) *tV-* 'RECP-' marks a class V inalienably possessed noun *nap* 'side' (§9.3.5), which is the complement of the postposition *ni* 'OBL' and denotes reciprocal relations between the plural participants. In (43) the alienably possessed noun, *pana* 'woman' is marked as alienably reciprocally possessed, with the reciprocal prefix referring to the As, Manek and Hiro.

42. *Halali*　***ta-nap***　　　*ni*　　*mit.*
　　　3DU　　　RECP-side　　OBL　　sit

　　　'They two sit at each other's side.'　　　　　　　　　　[OS-07.01]

43. *Manek   Hiro   tazuq   **ti-e**   **pana**   gi-ta   taqa.*

    Manek   Hiro   door   RECP-POSS   woman 3AN-GL   close

    'Manek and Hiro closed the door on each other's wives.'   [Not-07.01]

11.4.2 Symmetrical states

Some bivalent verbs marked with *tV-* 'RECP-' may be interpreted as denoting either a reciprocal event, or a non-agentive, stative event in which two participants are in a symmetrical relation to one another (44). This differs from non-reciprocal uses of the verbs with distinct referents for A and P, as these have active readings.

	Reciprocal		3rd person INANIMATE form	
44. *tobok*	'be doubled, twined', 'bind each other'	<	*bolok*	'bind'
toli	'be complete, in full' 'pursue each other'	<	*h-oli*	'3INAN-pursue'
talik	'be tied together' 'tie each other up'	<	*h-alik*	'3INAN-wrap'
terik	'be squashed together' 'pin each other down'	<	*h-erik*	'3INAN-wedge'

Two examples of such uses of *tV-* 'RECP-' are given below. In (45) the children are in a symmetrical relation to one another, but are not both A and P, equally acting and receiving binding at the hands of the other. Similarly, in (46) the participants are both squashing and being squashed by the other, but they are not actively doing so.

45. *Meaq gol halali   **t-obok**.*

    child   3DU   RECP-bind

    'Those two children are twins.' lit. 'are doubled together'   [OS-07.01]

46. *Neli   kursi   no   mit   **t-erik**.*

    1DU.EXCL   chair   OBL   sit   RECP-wedge

    'We sit squashed up together on the chair.'   [OS-07.03]

11.4.3 Iterative events

In Bunaq, the prefix *tV-* 'RECP' is used on bivalent verbs to denote iterative motion (a common polysemy of reciprocals, cf. Nedjalkov 2007: 247-249). In this function, *tV-* 'RECP-' marks a single participant event with no symmetrical sharing of roles. In (47), we see the class IV l-conjugation bivalent verb *logo* 'move' marked with *tV-* 'RECP' to denote 'shake' of the singular participant, *neto* '1SG'. In (48) the bivalent verb *h-iqit* '3INAN-lift' marked with *tV-* 'RECP' is used to denote iterative 'lifting' on the part of the participant. In (48) the participant can be interpreted as singular or plural; denoting an iterative event, where the participant is plural, each individual participant acts discretely and distinct from other 'jumpers'.

47. *Neto*   ***t-ogo,***   *mel*   *loï*   *niq.*
    1SG   RECP-move   rise   good   NEG
    'I was shaking, (and) couldn't get up.'   [Bk-40.007]

48. *Meaq gol* ***t-iqit***   *bukuq.*
    child   RECP-lift   play
    'The child/children bounced around playfully.'   [OS-07.01]
    (Also reciprocal interpretation: 'The children lifted each other playfully.')

Iterative events marked by *tV-* 'RECP' can involve a controlling or non-controlling participant, with the interpretation depending on context. Compare the instances of *t-ipi* 'RECP-bend' (< *pili* 'bend') in (49) and (50). In (49), the participant *kebokoq* writhes uncontrollably as it burns in the fire, while in (50) the mouse is the instigator and controller of his shaking as he emerges from the ground.

49. *Kebokoq*   *hoto*   *no*   ***t-ipi.***
    worm   fire   OBL   RECP-bend
    'The worm writhed in the fire.'   [OS-07.01]

50. *Dia Laho* *o*   *gene*   ***t-ipi.***
    Mr mouse   nowhere   LOC   RECP-bend
    'Mr Mouse (appeared) out of nowhere shaking (himself off).'   [Bk-50.019]

The semantic overlap between the reciprocal and iterative meanings of *tV-* 'RECP' is that both describe situations involving multiple discrete events.

11.4.4 Situations with plurality of participants

The prefix *tV-* 'RECP' is also found in a variety of situations where it implies a semantic plurality of participants in the event without necessarily assigning the participants to distinct syntactic roles.[8] Several distinct sub-types of verb with *tV-* 'RECP' marking unspecified plural participation are recognised. These are deponents belonging to Type 1 and 2.

11.4.4.1   Fighting events

Bunaq uses *tV-* 'RECP' on a selection of bivalent verbs in semantic derivation-like alterations (i.e. Type 1 deponents) to denote physical fighting/warring events. Examples are given in (51):

	Reciprocal reading	'Fighting' verb reading		3rd person form	
51. *t-ete*	'chop each other'	'war'	<	*h-ete*	'3INAN-chop'
t-iep	'spear each other'	'fight'	<	*g-iep*	'3AN-spear'
t-oqon	'do each other'	'battle'	<	*h-oqon*	'3INAN-do'
t-usuk	'prick each other'	'clash'	<	*susuk*	'stand'

Verbs of this kind may appear with a plural or singular participant. Where only one reciprocant in the fighting event is mentioned, the interpretation is generic. In (52a) we see that the plural participant can be interpreted as representing either both reciprocants in the fighting event or simply one with the second reciprocant left unspecified. In (52b) there is a singular participant with the second reciprocant also left unspecified.

52. a. *Nei*   *t-oqon.*
         1PL.EXCL   RECP-do
         'We fight each other', or 'We fight (other people).'

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[8] The term 'plurality of participants' is adapted here from Lichtenberk (1999) and Creissels and Nouguier-Voisin (2008). Lichtenberk (1999) refers to Oceanic *paRi- as a marker of 'plurality of relations', encoding not only reciprocal events but also chaining, collective, distributive and repetitive events. Creissels and Nouguier-Voisin (2008) use the term 'co-participation' to describe the meaning of a (set of) morpheme which express a range of meanings, but have in common that they denote events which require multiple participants.

b. *Neto*   *t-oqon.*

     1SG   RECP-do

     'I fight (other people).'   [Not-07.01]

This use of *tV-* 'RECP' has a derivation-like functioning in that it creates predicates with different semantics and different syntax from those expected for the prefix. The use of *tV-* 'RECP' is semantically motivated by the fact that fighting is prototypically a event in which multiple participants occupy symmetrical roles in relation to one another.

11.4.4.2   Physical contact events

Events involving contact require two participants, the contacter and the contactee. Two Bunaq verbs referring to close physical contact events are *tV-* 'RECP'-marked deponents: *t-eqe* 'RECP-have sex' and *t-ape* 'RECP-touch'.

     The verb, *t-eqe* 'RECP-have sex' is marked with *tV-* 'RECP' and can have a generic or a reciprocal meaning. For instance, (53a) where we have a plural participant with *t-eqe* 'RECP-have sex' can be interpreted as reciprocal with the *tV-* 'RECP' marking symmetrical co-reference between the plural referents of A. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as refer to 'sex' generically, with the *tV-* 'RECP' marking not reciprocity, but that there is an inherent plurality of relations in the act of having sex. Similarly, in (53b) the interpretation must be generic as the participant is singular. The *tV-* 'RECP' on *t-eqe* 'RECP-have sex' thus marks semantic, but not necessarily syntactic, plurality of participation.

53. a. *Nei*   **t-eqe**   *mobel.*

       1PL.EXCL   RECP-have.sex   like

       'We like having sex with each other.' or 'We like having sex.'

     b. *Neto*   **t-eqe**   *mobel.*

       1SG   RECP-have.sex   like

       'I like having sex.'   [Not-07.01]

     Where there is asymmetrical involvement of participants in a sex event, the agentive participant is encoded as A and the patientive one as P. The P is then indexed on the verb by *gV-* '3AN-' in place of *tV-* 'RECP-'. Example (54) illustrates this pattern.

54. *Baqi   pana   bi   g-eqe.*
    NPRX.AN   female DEF.AN 3AN-have.sex
    'He had sex with the woman (she did not reciprocate).', i.e. 'He raped her.'

Whilst the *tV-* 'RECP-' marked form of *t-eqe* 'RECP-have.sex' does not allow the inclusion of a syntactic P argument, *t-ape* 'RECP-touch' is always bivalent, having an A and a P. Where the A participant is plural, the *tV-* 'RECP-' marked form of the verb can be interpreted as reciprocal or as the agreement form for 3rd INANIMATE Ps with the P elided, as in (55a). Where the A participant is singular, *tV-* 'RECP-' can only be interpreted as the agreement form for an 3rd INANIMATE P, as in (55b). Prefixes indexing Ps of other person replace *tV-* 'RECP-' on the verb (55c).

55. a. *Nei   t-ape.*
       1PL.EXCL   RECP-touch
       'We touch each other.', or 'We touch (s.th.)'

    b. *Neto   zo   t-ape.*
       1SG   mango   RECP-touch
       'I touch the mango.'

    c. *Neto   zap   g-ape.*
       1SG   dog   3AN-touch
       'I touch the dog.'

11.4.4.3   Gathering events

In Bunaq, verbs denoting gathering events are bivalent and semantically denote a plurality of P participants being gathered into one place or group. These verbs are similar to the verbs denoting symmetrical ('together') relations discussed in §11.4.2. However, they differ from them in that the verbs of gathering depict active and agentive events in which symmetrically is between the P participants. Verbs of this kind are either Type 1 or Type 2 reciprocal deponents.

There are two Type 1 deponent gathering verbs: *duk* 'collect' and *ul* 'pull.out'. On these verbs, *tV-* 'RECP-' may function to reduce valency and denote reciprocal relations, as in (56a). 3rd person INANIMATE Ps may be un-indexed on the verb, following the expected agreement pattern of a class II bivalent verb, as in (56b). Alternatively, *tV-*

'RECP-' may index a 3rd person INANIMATE Ps to denote that multiple P participants are gathered together into a single location, as in (56c). Ps of other persons must take the appropriate agreement form on the verb, as with the 3rd person ANIMATE P in (56d).

56. a. *Neli*   *tu-ruk.*
   1DU.EXCL   RECP-collect
   'We two collect each other.'

   b. *Neto*   *zo*   *duk.*
   1SG   mango   collect
   'I collect the mangoes.'

   c. *Neto*   *zo*   *tu-ruk.*
   1SG   mango   RECP-collect
   'I collect the mangoes together.'

   d. *Neto*   *zap*   *gu-ruk* /   **tu-ruk.*
   1SG   dog   3AN-collect   RECP-collect
   'I collect the dogs.'   [Not-07.01]

There are also two Type 2 deponent gathering verbs: *t-ubak* 'RECP-gather' and *t-uk* 'RECP-pile'. On these verbs, *tV-* 'RECP-' neither denotes reciprocity nor causes valency reduction; instead it functions as the agreement form for 3rd person INANIMATE Ps (57a). Ps of other persons cause the replacement of *tV-* 'RECP-' with the relevant person prefix, such as *gV-* '3AN-' (57b).

57. a. *Neto*   *zo*   *t-ubak.*   b. *Neto*   *zap*   *g-ubak.*
   1SG   mango   RECP-gather   1SG   dog   3AN-gather
   'I gathered the mangos.'   'I gathered the dogs.'

11.4.4.4   Verbs of (un)joining

Events of (un)joining involve two or more participants with identical participation in respect to one another, i.e. that which is (un)joined and that with which it is (un)joined. There are three verbs denoting events of this kind that are reciprocal deponents in Bunaq.

The class IV h-conjugation bivalent verb *h-ilin* '3INAN-undo' is a Type 1 deponent verb. On this verb, a 3rd person INANIMATE P can be encoded on the verb either by the

expected, unmarked form *h-ilin* '3INAN-undo' or with *tV-* 'RECP-'. We see in (58) these different inflections depict different types of 'undoing' in relation to the INANIMATE P, *mun* 'rope'. In (58a), *h-ilin* '3INAN-undo' denotes unraveling the individual strands of the rope from one another such that they no longer make up a rope. In (58b) *t-ilin* 'RECP-undo' denotes untying the two ends of a rope that are tied to one another.

58. a. *Neto* *mun* **h-ilin**.   b. *Neto* *mun* **t-ilin**.
    1SG   rope   3INAN-undo   1SG   rope   RECP-undo
    'I undid (the strands of) the rope.'   'I undid the rope (e.g.
                                      holding the mat together).'

Note that the *tV-* 'RECP-' marked form of *h-ilin* '3INAN-undo' may also denote straightforward reciprocal relations, i.e. 'untie one another'.

The two Type 2 deponent verbs denoting (un)joining events are *t-irik* 'RECP-hold together' and *t-i* 'RECP-tie together'. On these verbs, *tV-* 'RECP-' never denotes reciprocity and does not cause valency reduction. Instead it functions as the agreement form for 3^(rd) person INANIMATE Ps (59a). Ps of other persons cause the replacement of *tV-* 'RECP-' with the relevant person prefix, such as *gV-* '3AN-' (59b). That is, the *tV-* 'RECP' on these verbs marks semantic but not syntactic plurality of participation.

59. a. *Neto* *zo* **t-irik**.   b. *Neto*   *zap* **g-irik**.
    1SG   mango RECP-hold.together   1SG   dog   3AN-hold.together
    'I hold the mangos together.'   'I hold the dogs together.'

11.4.5 Type 3 deponents with *tV-* 'RECP-'

In the previous sections, we have seen the use of *tV-* 'RECP-' as an agreement form for 3^(rd) person INANIMATE Ps. These verbs were said to be Type 1 and 2 deponents, since there was apparent (synchronic or diachronic) semantic motivation for the marking *tV-* 'RECP-' in terms of plurality of relations.

There is also a set of bivalent verbs with *tV-* 'RECP-' marking 3^(rd) person INANIMATE Ps that are Type 3 deponents (60). On these, the prefix *tV-* 'RECP-' has no readily identifiable semantic motivation; it is a semantically entirely empty conjugation marker

which functions as the 3rd person INANIMATE P agreement form of the verb and alternates with other prefixes.[9]

	3rd INANIMATE P/ RECIPROCAL		3rd ANIMATE P
60. *t-abaq*	'RECP-hoe'	*g-abaq*	'3AN-hoe'
t-ao	'RECP-grind'	*g-ao*	'3AN-grind'
t-apiq	'RECP-sift'	*g-apiq*	'3AN-sift'
t-ereq	'RECP-beat.dust.out'	*g-ereq*	'RECP-beat.dust.out'
t-inik	'RECP-cook'	*g-inik*	'3AN-cook'
t-olo	'RECP-put'	*g-olo*	'3AN-put'
t-oma	'RECP-message'	*g-oma*	'3AN-message'
t-omon	'RECP-smoke'	*g-omon*	'3AN-smoke'

Example (61) illustrates the prefixal alternation displayed by these verbs on the basis of the most frequent member, *t-inik* 'RECP-cook':

61. a.

I	*a*	*bokal*	*t-inik*	*taq.*
1PL.INCL	food	coarse	RECP-cook	IPFV

'We keep cooking the corn porridge (lit. coarse food).'   [Bk-45.008]

b.

Neto	*paqol*	*g-inik.*
1SG	corn	3AN-cook

'I cooked corn.'   [Bk-24.034]

11.4.6 Special uses of *tV-* 'RECP' on verbal postpositions

In §11.4.1 we saw that the antecedent/binder of *tV-* 'RECP-' is always the S/A of a verbal clause or the 'subject' of non-verbal clauses. This is not always the case with reciprocal *tV-* 'RECP-' marking on verbal postpositions. In this section, I will examine special uses of *tV-* 'RECP-' on the instrumental verbal postposition (§11.4.5.1), on the

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[9] As suggested for the nominal *t-* 'ABSL-' prefix in §9.3.4, the origin of the reciprocal prefix on these verbs is probably that previously the reciprocal was also used as a generic prefix in contexts where there was no specific referent for P, e.g. in English sentences like *I ate*. The prefix bleached in meaning grammaticalising to become part of the paradigm of the verb as the 3rd person INANIMATE P agreement form.

goal marking verbal postposition (§11.4.5.2), and on the source-marking verbal postposition (§11.4.5.2).

11.4.6.1   Joint action *te-rel* 'RECP-INS'

Where two or more participants are joint agents, their co-agentivity is expressed by *te-rel* 'RECP-INS', the reciprocal inflection of the instrumental verbal postposition *dele* 'INS' (§12.3.2.). Examples (62) and (63) show *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' being used to denote co-agency with bivalent verbs. In (62) *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' occurs after the NP encoding the A and in (63) after the NP encoding P argument. In both cases, *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' can only refer to the co-participation of the A participants. That is, *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' is always bound by A such that (63) cannot mean that the referents of P were eaten together.

62. *Nei   goniqil   te-rel   u   h-ozep.*
    1PL.EXCL   four   RECP-INS   grass   3INAN-cut
    'We four cut the grass together.'   [Bk-12.013]

63. *Halaqi   dik   o   balo   s-alak   baqa   te-rel   a.*
    3PL   cassava AND   taro   3INAN-roast   NPRX.INAN   RECP-INS   eat
    'They$_i$ ate [the roasted cassava and taro]$_j$ together$_i$.' *'They$_i$ ate [the roasted cassava and taro]$_j$ together$_j$'.   [Bk-6.057]

Te-rel 'RECP-INS' also occurs with monovalent verbs with an agentive S, exemplified in (64). It cannot refer to co-participation in a non-agentive event (65).

64. *Akirnya   ni-e   moen   mil   nei   te-rel   teqa   on.*
    finally   1EXCL-POSS   friend   COLL   1PL.EXCL   RECP-INS   pray   DO
    'In the end, my friends and I prayed together.'   [Bk-40.011]

65. **Halali   baqi   te-rel   memel.*
    3DU   NPRX.AN   RECP-INS   sick
    'They two were sick together.'   [Not-07.03]

Te-rel 'RECP-INS' does not combine with the generic motion verb *mal* 'go'. In the description of generic motion events with *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' where *mal* 'go' would normally appear, the verb is omitted, as in (66) and (67); context serves to carry the

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predicative meaning. Omission of the predicate with *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' does not occur in other, non-motion contexts.

66. *Hei,*   *ibu*   *bari*   *ei*   *Ø-utu*   *te-rel*   *gie.*
hey   Mrs   PROX.AN   2PL   1INCL/2-COM   RECP-INS   PROSP
'Hey, Mrs here wants to (go) together with you.'   [Bk-37.020]

67. *Sampai*   *ene*   *ni-e*   *moen*   *bun*   *nei*   *te-rel.*
until   night   1EXCL-POSS   friend   SOME   1PL.EXCL   RECP-INS
'Until night, some friends of mine (and me), we (went) together.'   [Bk-61.084]

11.4.6.2   Uniting of participants: *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL'

Whereas *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' denotes two or more agents doing an action together *in unison*, the process of two or more participants *uniting* to do an action together is denoted by *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL', the reciprocal marked form of the goal encoding verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' (§12.3.3).

     Ti-ta 'RECP-GL' can refer to the S of a monovalent verb (68-69). *Ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' in these examples denotes that the participants were united together in a single location to do the described action. The use of *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' in place of *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' in these examples would indicate that the participants merely did the action of crying/sitting simultaneously and does not mean that they came together in a single location to do the action.

68. *Baqa*   *goet*   *ti-ta*   *holon.*
NPRX.INAN   LIKE   RECP-GL   cry
'Like that, they cried to one another i.e. together.'   [LB-2.151]

69. *Halali*   *baqa*   *ni*   *ti-ta*   *mit.*
3DU   NPRX.INAN   OBL   RECP-GL   sit
'They two sat to one another, i.e. together.'   [LB-3.121]

     Ti-ta 'RECP-GL' also differs from *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' in that it refers to the uniting of its nearest conjunct whereas *te-rel* 'RECP-INS' can only refer to an agentive S/A. Binding of the reciprocal on *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' is determined by linear order. That is, it refers to the

P of a bivalent verb where it follows the P (70) and the A of a bivalent where it precedes the P (71).

70. *Neto*   *paqol* **ti-ta**   *g-uk.*
    1SG   corn   RECP-GL   3AN-collect
    'I collect the corn to one another i.e. together.'   [OS-07.03]

71. *Halali*   *te-rel*   *kolun* *t-ul*   *ba*   *ni,*   **ti-ta**
    3DU   RECP-INS   fallow RECP-pull   DEF.INAN   OBL   RECP-GL
    zipil   *kama.*
    leaves.for.burning   pile
    'While they$_i$ two were working together clearing the fallow land, (they)$_i$ piled leaves$_j$ onto one another$_i$.', not *'While they$_i$ two were working clearing the fallow land, (they)$_i$ piled leaves$_j$ onto one another $_j$.'   [Bk-50.006]

It is common for comitative *g-utu* '3-COM' (§12.3.1) to be used together with *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' to conjoin distinct sets of referents for a single argument. In (72) ANIMATE *paqol* 'corn' is the P and triggers agreement on the verb, while *uor* 'vegetable' is the complement of *g-utu* '3-COM'; *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' follows both the P and the verbal postpositional phrase headed by *gu-tu* '3-COM' and refers to the corn and the vegetables as being cooked conjointly. Similarly, in (73) the S argument *neto* '1SG' is conjoined with *en* 'person' plus *g-utu* '3-COM'; *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' follows both to denote that the participants were in a symmetrical relationship to one another, being equally meeting and met.

72. *Paqol*   *baqi*   *uor*   *g-utu* *ti-ta*   *g-inik.*
    corn   NPRX.AN   vegetable   3-COM RECP-GL   3AN-cook
    '(They) cook the corn together with the vegetables.'   [Bk-24.032]

73. *Neto*   *en* *g-utu* *ti-ta*   *sai.*
    1SG   person 3-COM RECP-GL   exit
    'I met together with (some) people.'   [Bk-61.027]

Finally, *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' can serve as a clausal predicate where it describes a stative situation of 'being in unity, being together' (74-75). Other inflections of the goal

marking verb do not have such a stative meaning and cannot be used as independent clausal predicates (§12.3.3). For instance:

74. *I*   *ti-ta*   *gie*   *oa!*
    1PL.INCL   RECP-GL   PROSP   PFV
    'We will be together!'   [LB-5.051]

75. *Bare*   *no*   *ili*   *ti-ta*   *hori-hori*   *loï*   *niq.*
    PROX.INAN   OBL   1DU.INCL   RECP-GL   eternally   good   NEG
    'Here we two cannot be together eternally.'   [LB-8.009]

11.4.6.3   Symmetrical participation: *t-o* 'RECP-SRC'

The reciprocal marked form of the source-marking verbal postposition (§12.3.4), *t-o* 'RECP-SRC', is used to denote that two or more entities come or are brought together in the performance of an event.

    T-o 'RECP-SRC' is used with a range of agentive monovalent verbs denoting 'naturally reciprocal events' (defined by Kemmer 1993: 127), such as meeting and greeting. With these verbs, *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' denotes that the event has symmetrical involvement of participants. Consider the different encoding of the participants with the monovalent verb *botus* 'meet' in (76). In (76a), where the plural S of *botus* 'meet' is encoded with two zero-coordinated NPs, there is no special implication of (a)symmetricality in the meeting of participants. In (76b) *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' refers to the two zero-coordinated NPs and carries the implication that both participants equally met and were met with, either accidentally or deliberately. By contrast, in (76c), where Markus is S and Anto the complement of comitative *g-utu* '3-COM', there is an implication of asymmetrical involvement, with Markus being more the 'meeter' than the 'met'.

76. a.   *Markus*   *Anto*   *botus.*
        Markus   Anto   meet
        'Markus and Anto met.'

   b.   *Markus*   *Anto*   *t-o*   *botus.*
        Markus   Anto   RECP-SRC   meet
        'Markus and Anto met with each other.'

c. *Markus*   *Anto*   *g-utu*   *botus.*
   Markus   Anto   3-COM   meet
   'Markus met Anto.'   [Not-07.01]

T-o 'RECP-SRC' is only attested in the corpus binding the P of a bivalent verb, as in (77a). That *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' binds the P, *kacamata* 'glasses' here and not the A, *halali* '3DU', is shown by two points. Firstly, it is grammatical to have a singular A, as in (77b) which would not be allowed if *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' bound the A. Secondly, speakers judge it ungrammatical to have *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' preceding the P, as in (77c); this ungrammaticality results from a violation of the linear ordering constraint (Bresnan 1995), i.e. that *tV-* 'RECP-' cannot precede the argument it refers to, indicating that P is its antecedent/binder.

77. a. *Halali kacamata*   **t-o**   *tuqal.*
      3DU   glass   RECP-SRC   exchange
      'They two exchanged the glasses one in place of the other.'

   b. *Neto kacamata*   **t-o**   *tuqal.*
      1SG   glass   RECP-SRC   exchange
      'I exchanged the glasses one in place of the other.'

   c. **Halali*   **t-o**   *kacamata*   *tuqal.*
      3DU   RECP-SRC   glass   exchange   [Not-07.01]

It seems unlikely that the reciprocal on *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' cannot be bound by A at all; it is rather probably the case that the semantically appropriate context is simply yet to be identified.

Finally, it is possible to combine *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' with *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' with mixing verbs, as in (78). Here *ti-ta* 'RECP-GL' refers to putting the coconut and turmeric together e.g. in a single container, while *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' refers to them being mixed into one another.

78. *Hoza*   *o*   *kirun* **ti-ta** **t-o**   *kahul.*
    coconut   AND   turmeric RECP-GL RECP-SRC   mix
    'Mix the coconut and the turmeric together.'   [Bk-83.004]

Chapter 12: Expressing peripheral NPs

The core and unmarked oblique arguments of verbs have been discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter is concerned with items used to express peripheral NPs, i.e. NPs that are not subcategorised for by the predicate (non-arguments). Three kinds of item are used in Bunaq: a. postpositions (§12.1); b. the possessive *gi-e* '3-POSS' (§12.2), and; c. verbal postpositions (§12.3). This chapter focuses on the semantics of the different items used to express peripheral NPs. See §4.4 for an overview on the position of peripheral NPs in the clause.

12.1 Postpositions

Bunaq has three postpositions: *no* 'OBL', *gene* 'LOC' and *goet* 'LIKE'. Their properties as a class are the absence of inflection, the ability to act as a predicate head and the inability to elide or front their NP complement (see §3.5.6 for illustration of the word class properties of postpositions). The individual functions of *no* 'OBL' and *gene* 'LOC' are discussed in §12.1.1 and §12.1.2 respectively, while *goet* 'LIKE' is discussed in §12.1.3.

12.1.1 *no* 'OBL'

The postposition *no* 'OBL' is used to encode NPs with locative and temporal roles. This postposition has the dialectal variant form *ni* 'OBL'.[1]

12.1.1.1 Locative function

Marking locative NPs, *no* 'OBL' has a broad range of meanings, being used to express many types of locations, 'in', 'on', 'at', 'into' etc. *No* 'OBL' may introduce a clause-initial locative setting NP, i.e. an NP providing information about the location where the event denoted by the clause takes place, as in (1-2). Relevant PPs are bracketed.

1. [*Il   baqa   no*], *pana gol   hitu   il   ho.*
   water   NPRX.INAN   OBL   female small seven water scoop
   'At the water(hole), the seven girls drew water.'   [Bk-6.023]

---

[1] As mentioned in §4.2.4, the gloss 'OBL' refers TO the postposition *no*/*ni* which encodes NPs with locative and temporal roles, while the category label 'OBL' refers to a non-core argument.

2. [*Reu   mil   no*],   *keke   o   g-on   kaeq.*
   house   inside   OBL   bracelet AND   3AN-hand   fill

   'Inside the house, bracelets also filled her hands.'   [Bk-68.026]

Clause-medial locative NPs introduced by *no* 'OBL' have 'inner' reference, giving locative information about a participant in the event rather than that of the event or state as a whole (Andrews 2007: 140). The locative PPs introduced by *no* 'OBL' in (3) and (4) refer to the location of the preceding participant, P and S respectively.

3. *Nei   en   [kelompok   mil   no]   g-ubak.*
   1PL.EXCL   person   group   inside   OBL   3AN-gather

   'We gather the people in a group.'   [Bk-65.002]

4. *En   [il   bul   uen   no]   rasal.*
   person   water   base   one   OBL   stop

   'The person stopped at a water spring.'   [Bk-69.110]

Unlike setting locatives which invariably refer to a static location, non-setting locatives often identify the direction of motion of a participant rather than a static location. In (5) and (6) *no* 'OBL' introduces an NP following the P referring to the goal location of a P as part of the act of setting. See §4.7.2.2 on pragmatically marked variations on this word order.

5. *Baqa   [hoto   wa   no]   lai.*
   NPRX.INAN fire   top   OBL   set

   '(You) set that on top of the fire.'   [Bk-76.069]

6. *Sabul   bi   [tais   lequ   wa   no]   na   ga-lai.*
   orange   DEF.INAN   cloth   wrapped top   OBL   FOC   3AN-set

   'Set the oranges on top of a wrapped up cloth.'   [Bk-4.043]

With motion verbs, an NP marked by *no* 'OBL' encodes a source location when it precedes the motion verb (7), and a goal location when following the motion verb (8). See §13.9 for more on the encoding of complex motion events.

7. [*Zol   gol   no]   zemal.*
   river   small   OBL   go.down

   'Go down from the small river.'   [Bk-67.042]

8. *Neto*   *zemal*   [*mo*   *alan*   *no*].
    1SG   go.down   sea   border   OBL

'I went down (and was) at the sea side.'   [Not-06.02]

12.1.1.2 Temporal function

The postposition *no* 'OBL' also marks NPs providing information about time. Temporal setting NPs marked with *no* 'OBL' typically appear in clause-initial position (9), but they may also occur in a clause-medial position (10).

9. [*To*   *1987 mil*   *no*],   *neto ni-e*   *moen goniqon*   *g-utu,*
    year   1987   DUR   OBL   1SG   1EXCL-POSS   friend   three   3-COM
    nei   *sirubisu*   *s-agal.*
    1PL.EXCL   work   3INAN-search

'During the year of 1987, 1 with my three friends, we were looking for work.'

                                                      [Bk-12.001]

10. *N-ol*   *uen*   [*hul*   *tomol no*]   *na*   *heser.*
    1EXCL-child   one   month   six   OBL   FOC   dead
    'One of my children died in the sixth month (i.e. June),'   [Bk-46.040]

   The postposition *no* 'OBL' is occasionally dropped when marking a temporal setting, as in (11).

11. *Nei*   *na*   *n-on*   *rono* [*hot mil*   *uen*]   *lesin gol*   *uen*   *ai.*
    1PL.EXCL   FOC   1EXCL-hand tardy   sun   DUR   one   more   small   one   ONLY
    'We who were slow handed (in) one day would (do) only a little more.' [Bk-12.010]

   A temporal setting introduced by *no* 'OBL' may also be a clause nominalised by a determiner. A nominalised setting clause marked by *no* 'OBL' always occurs clause-initially, as in (12). See §7.3.2 for more on the 'domain creating' function of the definite article.

12. [*Ipi*   *lete*   *ba*   *no*],   *en*   *denu,*   *pana mone hati.*
    rice.plant   step   DEF.INAN   OBL   person   commoner   female   man   exist
    'During the stepping of the rice, the whole population was there, men (and) women.'
                                                   [Bk-70.049]

12.1.2 *gene* 'LOC'

Like *no* 'OBL', the postposition *gene* 'LOC' is also used to express a broad range of location types. The locatives *no* 'OBL' and *gene* 'LOC' can occur almost interchangeably. The difference between the two is that, whilst *no* 'OBL' provides a specific location, *gene* 'LOC' introduces a more general one. In particular, *gene* 'LOC' can be used with a complement consisting of a spatial locational (13; see §8.3.1) or place locational (14; see §8.3.2), both items with only vague locative reference, whilst *no* 'OBL' does not: **ola no* and **haqe no*.

13. [*Ola*   *gene*] *nei*   *t-ege*   *bai*   *g-olo.*
     LOW   LOC   1PL.EXCL   RECP-BEN   thing   3-bury
     'We bury stuff for each other.'   [Bk-11.010]

14. *En*   [*haqe*   *gene*] *gereja* *tekeq.*
     person   THERE   LOC   church   look
     'People in that (place) were looking at the church.'   [Bk-34.064]

Example (15) illustrates *gene* 'LOC' introducing a locative setting NP in clause-initial position. Example (16) shows *gene* 'LOC' introducing a stative locative NP in clause-medial position denoting the location in which the S lives. Example (17) shows *gene* 'LOC' introducing a non-stative locative NP with 'inner' reference denoting the location in which the P is planted.

15. [*Hik*   *gene*], *baqi*   *pit*   *saq.*
     path   LOC   NPRX.AN throat   dry
     'On the way he got thirsty.'   [Bk-4.046]

16. *Neto*   [*Lamaknen*   *gene*] *mit.*
     1SG   Lamaknen   LOC   sit
     'I live in Lamaknen.'   [Bk-24.003]

17. *En*   *bei*   *mil*   *biasa*   *r-on*   *g-onos*   *koïl,*
     person   ancestor COLL   usually   REFL-hand   3AN-nail   shave.off
     tais   *tul*   *roq,*   [*muk*   *gene*] *pelek.*
     cloth   piece   cut.off   earth   LOC   plant
     'The ancestors used to shave off (a bit of) fingernail, cut off a bit of material (and plant (them) in the ground.'   [Bk-23.059]

In the same manner as *no* 'OBL', an NP introduced by *gene* 'LOC' encodes an origin location when it precedes a motion verb (18), and a goal location when following a motion verb (19). More detail on the expression of complex motion events is provided in §13.9.

18. *Nei*   [*kampung*   *gene*] *sai.*
    1PL.EXCL   village   LOC   exit
    'We left the village.'   [Bk-1.013]

19. *Tebe*   *sai*   [*tas*   *Gewal gene*].
    return   exit   village Gewal LOC
    '(He) came out back to the village Gewal.'   [Bk-1.051]

Unlike *no* 'OBL', The postposition *gene* 'LOC' cannot be used to encode temporal NPs.

12.1.3 *goet* 'LIKE'

12.1.3.1 Similative function

Goet 'LIKE' is a postposition denoting that one entity has characteristics or qualities similar to some other entity. In (20-21), *goet* 'LIKE' heads a predicate phrase composed of it and its NP complement; the referent of the NP complement of *goet* 'LIKE' is equated to the referent of first NP in the clause. In (20) a son, encoded by *baqi* 'NPRX.AN', is said to be similar to his father. In (21) and (22) the NP with which the complement of *goet* 'LIKE' is compared is elided, being retrievable from the previous clause.

20. *Baqi*   **gi-e**   **ama**   **goet**.
    NPRX.AN   3-POSS father   LIKE
    'He is like his father.'   [OS-07.01]

21. *Le*   *gol*   *uen*   *halaqi gi-ta,* **senta** **goet**.
    light   small   one   3PL   3AN-GL torch   LIKE
    'A little light struck them, (it was) like a torch.'   [Bk-47.112]

22. *G-epal*   *legul~legul,* **sael**   **Makao goet**
    3AN-ear   long~REDUP   pig   Macau LIKE
    'His ears were really long, (they were) like a Macau pig('s).'   [Bk-47.100]

Goet 'LIKE' can also give information about a participant in an event. In this function *goet* 'LIKE' is the head of RC predicate dependent on the N$_{HEAD}$ of a non-restrictive RC (§5.4.2). In (23) *goet* 'LIKE' is the predicate head of an RC modifying the head of the first NP in an equative clause; the complement of *goet* 'LIKE' is the demonstrative *bare* 'PROX.INAN' which refers to (the season) of the present time (§7.2.1). In (24) the RC predicate headed *goet* 'LIKE' modifies, *sore* 'machete', the P of *wit* 'fetch'; the complement of *goet* 'LIKE' is the demonstrative *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' which refers back to the machete of the speaker's father mentioned in the previous clause. In (25) N$_{HEAD}$ of the RC is elided, leaving just the RC predicate with *goet* 'LIKE' and its complement, *baqi* 'NPRX.AN'.

23. [$_{NP}$*Pan* [$_{RC}$*bare*   *goet*]]   *pan*   *porat.*
    season   PROX.INAN   LIKE   season   dry.season

   'A season (which is) like this is a dry season.'   [Bk-7.014]

24. *Neto*   *ri-mil,*   *hot*   *mil*   *no*   [$_{NP}$*sore* [$_{RC}$*baqa*   *goet*]]
    1SG   REFL-inside   sun   DUR   OBL   machete   NPRX.INAN   LIKE

   r-ege   *wit*   *gie.*
   REFL-BEN   buy   PROSP

   'I think, one day I'm going to buy myself a machete like that.'   [Bk-24.040]

25. [$_{NP}$Ø   [$_{RC}$*Baqi*   *goet*]] *g-ek*   *haqal,...*
       NPRX.AN   LIKE   3AN-pick.up   finished

   '(When we have) finished picking up (stones) like those,...'   [Bk-30.085]

Goet 'LIKE' can also take a stative predicate as its complement in place of an NP. This use of *goet* 'LIKE' functions to indicate that the participant experiences something similar to or resembling the state denoted by the complement of *goet* 'LIKE', as in:

26. *N-iwiq*   *ba*   *mamut~ mamut*   *goet.*
    1EXCL-body DEF.INAN   soft~REDUP   LIKE

   'My body was like (it was) really soft.' i.e. 'It was as if my body was really soft.'
                      [Bk-40.003]

27. *N-osil*   *hobel*   *gie*   *goet*   *oa.*
    1EXCL-breath   not.exist   PROSP   LIKE   PFV

   'My breath was already like (it was) about to not exist.', i.e. 'It was as if my breathing were about to stop.'   [Bk-40.009]

28. *Hoto*   **naraka mil**   *gene*   *goet*   on.
     fire   hell   inside   LOC   LIKE   DO
     '(I feel) like (I am) in the fires (of) hell.' i.e. 'It is as if (I am) in hell.' [Bk-46.053]

12.1.3.2 Demonstrative manner function

Goet 'LIKE' is frequently used with a demonstrative as complement to denote the manner in which something is done, i.e. 'like this', 'like that' etc. The phrase introduced by *goet* 'LIKE' can precede the main verb of the clause (29), or follow it (30).

29. *Baqi*   **baqa**   *goet*   *liol*   *liol.*
     NPRX.AN   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   continue continue
     'He continued on and on like that.'   [Bk-70.015]

30. *Eto*   *g-ubeqen*   **bare**   *goet.*
     2SG   3AN-pinch   PROX.INAN   LIKE
     '(If) you pinch her like this.'   [Bk-38.025]

The choice of the demonstrative to be the complement of *goet* 'LIKE' depends on the reference (see Chapter 7 on the functions of individual demonstratives). In (35) *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' is an anaphoric discourse deictic demonstrative which refers back to the event described in the previous clause; in (36) *bare* 'PROX.INAN' is used because it is accompanied by a gestural demonstration of pinching by the speaker.

Demonstrative complements of *goet* 'LIKE' may also be cataphoric. In (31) the proximal demonstrative *bare* 'PROX.INAN' refers forward to the description of the manner in which Bouq Memoq weaves in the following clause. Similarly in (32) *doe* 'SPEC.INAN' refers forward to a description of how to spin cotton.

31. *Bouq*   *Memoq*   *tais*   *selu*   **bare**   *goet*   on.
     Bouq   Memoq   cloth   weave   PROX.INAN   LIKE   DO
     'Bouq Memoq weaved cloth like this.'   [LB-6.025]

32. *Gubul*   *hiliq*   **roe**   *goet.*
     cotton   spin   SPEC.INAN   LIKE
     '(We) spin cotton like this.'   [Bk-64.001]

Bunaq demonstratives are only ever used cataphorically when they are the complement of *goet* 'LIKE'. One of the most frequent uses of cataphoric demonstratives with *goet* 'LIKE' is in quotatives, described in the next section.

12.1.3.3 Introducing quotations function

Goet 'LIKE' is frequently used with verbs of speaking to introduce direct speech. In (33a) the verb of speech *sasi* 'say' occurs together with *goet* 'LIKE' whose complement is a cataphoric discourse deictic demonstrative that refers forward to the quote in the following clause (33b). In (34) we find the same structure with the addition of an addressee encoded by *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' (see §12.3.6.2) on the clause introducing the quote. The demonstrative and *goet* 'LIKE' may precede the verb of speaking (33a), but more frequently follows as in (34a).

33. a. *Naqi* **baqa** **goet** *sasi,*
   royal   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   say
   'The king said like this: [Bk-72.033]

  b. *"Sio* *na* *hotel* *gu-buk* *bari* *g-iwal* *g-ere,..."*
     whoever FOC tree 3AN-flower PROX.AN 3AN-pick 3AN-reach
   "'Whoever reaches (and) picks this flower...'"   [Bk-72.034]

34. a. *Kepala desa* *g-ege* **rale** **baqa** **goet,**
   head   village 3AN-BEN   speak   NPRX.INAN   LIKE
   '(We) spoke to the head of the village like this: [Bk-1.039]

  b. *"Nei* *goniqo zo* *baqa* *saqe* *gaqal."*
     1PL.EXCL three mango NPRX.INAN ascend all.AN
   "'We three all ascend those mango (trees).'"   [Bk-1.040]

The verb of speaking in clauses such as in (33a) and (34a) is regularly omitted altogether; *goet* 'LIKE' with a cataphoric demonstrative as complement can function on its own to introduce the direct speech in the following clause, as in (35) without encoding of the addressee or (36) with an explicit addressee encoded by *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' (§12.3.6.2).

35. a. *En* *pana* *gi-e* *matas* *mil* **baqa** **goet,**
   person female 3-POSS old   COLL NPRX.INAN   LIKE
   'The woman's parents (say) like this: [Bk-38.005]

b. *"Kalo   eto   n-ol   bari   g-akara   tepel,...*
   if   2SG   1EXCL-child   PROX.AN   3AN-love   true
   '"If you really love this child of mine..."'   [Bk-38.006]

36. a. *Neto   mal   Eta   g-ege   **roe**   **goet,***
    1SG   go   Eta   3AN-BEN   SPEC.INAN   LIKE
   'I went (and said) to Eta like this: [Bk-37.046]

   b. *"Mama   Eta,   en   gol   bari   bilat   o   nai."*
     mother   Eta   person small PROX.AN   hungry PFV INFORM
   '"Mother Eta, this little person is certainly hungry already."'   [Bk-37.047]

Goet 'LIKE' can function on its own to introduce direct speech as in the following clause with a anaphoric discourse deictic demonstrative as complement. In (37), *goet* 'LIKE' introduces *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN', a discourse deictic demonstrative referring back to the direct speech (an insult exchanged between school children) in the previous clause. Similarly, in (38) *doe* 'SPEC.INAN' refers back to the quotation of the previous clause, in which the speaker is asked to wait.

37. *"Ei   i-e   ama   g-oral   hai ",* ***baqa***   ***goet.***
   2PL   1INCL/2-POSS   father 3AN-penis   gape NPRX.INAN   LIKE
   '"Your father's penis gapes", (they say) like that.'   [Bk-30.016]

38. *"Hai   naq", roe   goet   on.*
   pause   IMP   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO
   '"Hang on a second", (he said) like this.'   [Bk-19.002]

12.2 Reason *gie* 'BECAUSE'

The 3rd person inflection of the alienable possessive classifier, *gi-e* '3-POSS' (§9.2), is used to introduce NPs denoting a reason with translation equivalents such as 'due to' and 'on account of'.[2] In this function, *gi-e* '3-POSS' does not vary in form (i.e. no 1st or 2nd person inflections), and will be glossed as 'BECAUSE' with no segmentation.

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[2] The use of reason encoding use of possessive *gi-e* '3-POSS' is seen to have developed out of the possessive origin encoding function (§9.2.2.2). If an event is precipitated by or occurs as a consequence of another event or entity, it can be seen to have its *origins* in that event. That is, the earlier event can be

Typically the NP introduced by *gie* 'BECAUSE' is clause-initial (39-40), but it may also be clause-medial (41-2).

39. **Adat**   *gie,*   *hiloqon*   *mit...*
    tradition   BECAUSE   two   sit
    'Because of tradition, two (people) sit...'   [Bk-38.070]

40. **Teqa**   *gie*   *na,*   *ni-e*   *memel bare*   *loï.*
    prayer   BECAUSE   FOC   1EXCL-POSS   sickness PROX.INAN   good
    'It is on account of prayers that my sickness is better.'   [Bk-40.017]

41. *Nei*   **milik** *gie*   *he*   *tebe.*
    1PL.EXCL   fear   BECAUSE   run   return
    'We run back on account of fear.'   [Bk-47.013]

42. *Nei*   *real*   **oto**   **terbalik**   *gie*   *ni-mil*   *susar.*
    1PL.EXCL   many   car   crash   BECAUSE   1EXCL-inside   be.in.difficulty
    'Us lot, we were worried on account of the car crash.'   [Bk-52.046]

Gie 'BECAUSE' also functions as a sentence connective in the construction given in (43). Following a final-intonation contour, *gie* 'BECAUSE' introduces a demonstrative which refers back to the preceding proposition, and indicates the relationship between the conjoined propositions: i.e. the event described in S_1 is the reason for S_2.

43. S_1. DEM *gie,* S_2.
    'S_2 occurs on account of S_1'

The construction is illustrated in (44) and (45). We see in (44) that the non-proximal demonstrative, *homo* 'CONTR.INAN' (§7.2.4), is used to connect propositions, while in (45) it is the non-proximal demonstrative, *baqa* 'NPRX.INAN' (§7.2.2).

44. a. *Naran nego na*   *Suri Guloq*   *h-oqon*   *ba,*   *gi-e*
         every what FOC   Suri   Guloq   3INAN-do   DEF.INAN   3-POSS
         eme   *h-ini*   *sal*   *minak.*
         mother 3INAN-CAUS   wrong   complete
         'Everything that Suri Guloq did, his mother said was all wrong.'   [Bk-6.005]

construed as the reason for the later one: i.e. 'from X' > 'because of X'. On the basis of this metaphor, *gi-e* '3-POSS' is seen to have come to encode reason NPs.

b. ***Baqa***   *gie*   *na,*   *Suri*   *Guloq*   *gi-mil*   *susar.*

     NPRX.INAN   BECAUSE   FOC   Suri   Guloq   3AN-inside   be.in.difficulty

     'It was because of that, Suri Guloq had a bad time of it.'   [Bk-6.006]

45. a. *Gi-e*   *ama*   *g-awas*   *na*   *bagal,*   *berelikuq*   *g-iep*

        3-POSS   father   3AN-forehead   FOC   split   k.o.bird   3AN-chop

        de   *niq.*

        true   NEG

        '(He) split his father's forehead (open), not hitting the bird.'   [LB-4.055]

   b. ***Homo***   *gie,*   *ama*   *himo*   *heser*   *oa.*

        CONTR.INAN   BECAUSE   father   CONTR.AN   dead   PFV

        'Because of that, the father was dead.'   [LB-4.056]

See also §12.3.3.3 on the encoding of reason denoting NPs with *a-ta* '3INAN-GL'.

12.3 Verbal postpositions

Verbal postpositions form a restricted class of eight members in Bunaq (Table 12.1).[3] Like postpositions, verbal postpositions function to introduce NPs with a range of different peripheral semantic roles into a clause.

Table 12.1: Verbal postpositions

g-utu	'3-COM'
dele	'INS'
a-ta	'3INAN-GL'
g-o	'3-SRC'
h-otol	'3INAN-WITHOUT'
h-ege	'3INAN-BEN'
h-os	'3INAN-WAIT'
h-onogo	'3INAN-SEPARATE'

    As we saw in §3.6.1, verbal postpositions differ morphosyntactically not only from verbs, but also from postpositions. They are distinct from postpositions in that they have

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[3] As noted for prefix taking nouns and verbs in §9.3 and §10.1 respectively, the citation form of a verbal postposition is its 3rd person INANIMATE agreement form.

inflection like verbs, allow the elision/fronting of their NP complement and do not occur as an independent predicate head. They are distinct from verbs in that they lack the ability to occur clause-finally as an independent clausal verb, or at least differ significantly in meaning from their independent use. Some verbal postpositions also do not display the argument sharing restrictions which would be expected if they were serial verbs (see §13.2), while several verbal postpositions also show inflectional loss, extending their 3rd person ANIMATE agreement form to INANIMATEs, or reduction in valency. If the hypothesis (floated in §3.6.1) that verbal postpositions originate in argument-adding serial verbs is correct, these are all signs of grammaticalisation away from a verbal status (Aikhenvald 2006: 45-47).

In §12.3.1-§12.3.8, we will focus on the diverse semantic roles encoded by individual verbal postpositions. We will see that some verbal postpositions occur in combination with a few verbs with distinct lexical meanings. As mentioned in §4.4, this may be taken to indicate that the verbal postposition is subject to the lexical control of the verb, that is, it does not make a fully independent contribution to the meaning of the clause and that its NP is therefore a kind of oblique argument of the verb. However, the fact that there is no verb that absolutely requires a verbal postposition, and the broad semantic motivations that are evident in verbal postposition use mean that overall an adjunct analysis of verbal postpositions is favoured here, with only a very few constructional exceptions to be made.

12.3.1 *g-utu* '3-COM'

The verbal postposition *g-utu* '3-COM' is synchronically the least verb-like of the verbal postpositions[4]: it does not occur independently in final position as a main clausal verb, and is not bound by the A/S argument sharing restrictions of true serial verbs; it lacks reciprocal, reflexive and a distinct 3rd person INANIMATE inflections (hence gloss '3-' instead of '3AN-'). In the manner of a class III verb (§10.2.3), *g-utu* '3-COM' inflects for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person only.

The verbal postposition *g-utu* '3-COM' is used to express comitative relations. A comitative relation expresses that two separate entities participate in a single event jointly, in the same role. A comitative NP introduced by an inflection of *g-utu* '3-COM'

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[4] I have been unable to identify cognates for *g-utu* '3-COM' in related languages, with the possible exception of the Blagar inflecting postposition *-at* 'together with'.

follows the argument whose role it shares. In (46-47) *g-utu* '3-COM' introduces an NP which is the concomitant of the A argument in a bivalent verbal clause.

46. *Baqi*   **en**   ***g-utu*** *si*   *sael* *na*   *gi-a.*
    NPRX.AN   person 3-COM meat pig   FOC   3AN-eat
    'He ate pig's meat with the people.'   [Bk-70.171]

47. ***Nei***   ***n-utu***   *nei*   *ni-e*   *eme* *g-ua*
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-COM   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   mother 3AN-footprint
    ba   *inil*   *naq!*
    DEF.INAN   examine   IMP
    'Look for our mother's footprints with us!'   [LB-3.025]

In (48-49) *g-utu* '3-COM' introduces an NP which denotes accompaniment to the S argument in a monovalent verbal clause. In these clauses the comitant participants could be realised together with a single noun or pronoun, but *g-utu* '3-COM' provides an alternative allowing the participants to be construed as two separate sets of entities.

48. *Lakus*   ***Duarato***   ***g-utu*** *hok.*
    Lakus   Duarato   3-COM border
    'Lakus borders with Duarato.'   [Bk-29.058]

49. ***Gi-e***   *eme* *gi-e* *turunan*   *baqi* ***g-utu*** *nor*   *ton* *niq.*
    3-POSS   mother 3-POSS descendant   NPRX.AN 3-COM randomly marry NEG
    '(They) don't just randomly marry one of their mother's family.'   [Bk-18.013]

In the above examples, *g-utu* '3-COM' introduces an NP comitant with an A or S argument. *G-utu* '3-COM' can also be used to express an NP which accompanies a P. In (50-51), the NP complements of *g-utu* '3-COM' express a referent that goes together with the referent of the P in the event denoted by the verb. *G-utu* '3-COM' cannot be used to introduce an NP comitant with an R, T, OBL or in a PP.

50. *Paqol*   *baqi*   ***uor***   ***g-utu*** *ti-ta*   *g-inik.*
    corn   NPRX.AN   vegetable   3-COM RECP-GL   3AN-cook
    '(They) cook that corn together with vegetables.'   [Bk-24.032]

51. *Tun*   *homo*   *t-ubak*   *haqal soq*   *bu,*   **mok za**   **g-utu** *kahul.*
flour   CONTR.INAN 3INAN-gather finished SEQ   GIVEN   banana ripe   3-COM   mix

'Once that flour has been gathered, then mix (it) with the ripe banana.'[Bk-76.011]

There is one instance in the corpus in which *g-utu* '3-COM' introduces an NP whose referent cannot be seen as a co-participant semantically equal to that which it is conjoined to. In (52) we see that *sendel* 'sandals' is conjoined with the S argument by means of *g-utu* '3-COM'. The semantically inanimate referent of *sendel* 'sandals' means that it cannot be an absolute equal of the animate S *nei* '1PL.EXCL'; instead it must be regarded as an instrument, normally encoded by *dele* 'INS'. See §12.3.2.4 on the contrast between *dele* 'INS' and *g-utu* '3-COM'.

52. **Sendel**   **g-utu,** *nei*   *roe*   *toman oa,*   *mele.*
sandal   3-COM   1PL.EXCL   SPEC.INAN   used.to PFV   walk

'With sandals, we here were used to, (used to) walking (with).'   [Bk-37.033]

12.3.2 *dele* 'INS'

Dele 'INS' is used primarily to introduce NPs expressing instruments into a clause (§12.3.2.1). It can also introduce NPs denoting a cause (§12.3.2.2), manner (§12.3.2.3) or non-controlling comitant (§12.3.2.4).

The verbal postposition *dele* 'INS' inflects like a class II verb (§10.2.2)[5] and can have its complement elided/fronted. Both points are illustrated in (53) by the lack of inflection on *dele* 'INS' with an INANIMATE complement and by the fact that the postpositional phrase with *no* 'OBL' can intervene between *dele* 'INS' and its complement.

53. *Mais*   *neto*   *botil*   *baqa*   *r-opil*   *no*   *dele*   *Weluli pir.*
but   1SG   bottle   NPRX.INAN   REFL-power   OBL   INS   Weluli reach

'But I forced myself on to Weluli with those bottles.'   [Bk-13.009]

Dele 'INS' also cannot occur as an independent clause final verb. The exception to this is the reciprocal inflection, *te-rel* 'RECP-INS', which can occur as an independent verb

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[5] Note that *dele* 'INS' is slightly irregular in that when inflected the final /e/ is deleted (§2.6.2.1). Recall also here that /d/ can be realised as either [d] or [r] initially and is also [r] medially (§2.1.3.3.2).

denoting conjoint motion (§11.4.6.1), a function which is perhaps a hangover from an earlier verbal status.

12.3.2.1 Instrument

Dele 'INS' is used most frequently to introduce an NP encoding an instrument. The instrument introduced by *dele* 'INS' may be a tool (54) or, when combined with a verb of locomotion, a vehicle (55), or even an abstract force (56).

54. **Rama**   **rele**   *g-ao*   *gie.*
    arrow   INS   3AN-shoot   PROSP
    '(They) intend to shoot him with arrows.'   [Bk-5.005]

55. *U*   *na*   *nei*   *h-ozep*   *baqa*   *hot*   *mil*   *Sabtu*
    grass   FOC   1PL.EXCL   3INAN-cut   NPRX.INAN   sun   DUR   Saturday

    no   *na*   **oto**   **rele**   *tula.*
    OBL   FOC   car   INS   move.
    'On Saturday the grass which we had cut was transported with the car.'[Bk-12.015]

56. *Hot*   *g-iral*   *r-opil*   *ha-sai,*   *baqi*   *ri-e*
    sun   3AN-eye   REFL-power   3INAN-bring.out NPRX.AN   REFL-POSS

    cinoq   **rele**   *en*   *g-ini*   *sil.*
    hot   INS   person   3AN-CAUS   sweat
    'The sun unleashed his power and with his heat made the person sweat.'

                                                        [Bk-16.006]

The above examples represent prototypical situations involving instruments: there are three participants, an A working upon a P using an instrument (Stolz 2001: 591). However, *dele* 'INS' may also be used to express *the means by* which an event is achieved. For instance:

57. *En*   **r-iol**   **rele**   *Makasai*   *o*   *Fataluku*   *na*   *rale.*
    person   REFL-voice   INS   Maksai   AND   Fataluku   FOC   talk
    'The people talk in their own languages, Makasai and Fataluku.'   [Bk-61.010]

58. **Paqol**   **ge-rel** *na*   *halaqi* *u.*
    corn   3AN-INS FOC   3PL   live
    'It is corn which they live off.'   [Bk-7.025]

12.3.2.2 Cause

Dele 'INS' may also introduce an NP encoding a cause. An instrument can be interpreted as cause in that the item with which an action is carried out can be seen to bring about the state resulting from that action (Durie 1988: 7). The cause NP encoded with *dele* 'INS' is always inanimate. In (59) *dele* introduces *milik* 'fear' the cause for the girl's crying. In (60) it is on account of *soqat* 'poverty' marked by *dele* 'INS' that the children are forced to move about, while in (61) hardship marked by *dele* 'INS' causes people to go to the speaker.

59. *En* *pana* *himo*   *milik,* *di-e*   *tazuq* *ube,* *tebe*
  person female CONTR.AN fear REFL-POSS   door close return

  sai *heten* *niq,* *loka* *mil* *gene* **milik** **rele** *holon* *ai.*
  exit want NEG room inside LOC fear   INS   cry ONLY

  'The girl got scared, she closed her door and wouldn't come out, but just cried in her room out of fear.'   [Bk-21.005]

60. *Gi-e* *eme* *ama* *heser* *gaqal,* *tebe* *susar,*   **soqat** **dele**
  3-POSS mother father dead all.AN return be.in.difficulty poor INS

  mele *liol*   *liol.*
  walk continue   continue

  'Their parents were both dead and they fell on hard times and out of poverty were forced to keep moving about.'   [Bk-49.003]

61. *En* *na* **susar** **rele** *i*   *i-ta*   *man.*
  person FOC hardship INS   1PL.INCL 1INCL/2-GL come

  'People come to us out of hardship.   [Bk-66.102]

12.3.2.3 Manner

Dele 'INS' is also found introducing NPs encoding the manner in which an action is done. In this function, the complement of *dele* 'INS' is always inanimate and denotes an action or state (i.e. they are zero-conversion noun-verbs: §3.4), as in (62-64).

62. **Cinoq** **dele**, *neto* *Ibu* *Yip* *g-o*   *mal.*
  hot   INS   1SG Mrs Yip 3-SRC go

  'Feverish (lit. with hotness) I went to Mrs Yip's.   [Bk-40.005]

63. *Baqi*   *sues*   ***dele***   *na*   *sasi.*
    NPRX.AN   sit.with.legs.stretched.out   INS   FOC   say

    'She said (it) with her legs stretched out in front of her.'   [Bk-72.040]

64. *Gi-ta*   *tama,*   ***holon*** ***dele.***
    3AN-GL   enter   cry   INS

    '(He) came into him, crying.'   [Bk-68.078]

12.3.2.4 Non-controlling comitants

Dele 'INS' is also used to encode NPs whose referents are concomitant in an action but whose role in that action is non-controlling, non-agentive. In (65-67) *dele* 'INS' introduces an additional NP denoting an entity that was taken along by the agentive S of the motion events denoted by the clause.

65. *Neto*   ***botil*** ***dele*** *Weluli*   *mal.*
    1SG   bottle   INS   Weluli   go

    'I went to Weluli with the bottles.'   [Bk-13.002]

66. *Hoza*   *bara,*   *nu*   *bara*   ***ne-rel***   *menal.*
    coconut   short   coconut   short   1EXCL-INS   go.up

    'Little coconut, little coconut, go up with me.'   [Bk-6.011]

67. *Ni-e*   *kaqa*   *g-inat*   *ni-e*   *eme*   *g-olep*   *no*
    1EXCL-POSS older.brother   3AN-first   1EXCL-POSS   mother   3AN-belly   OBL

    ge-rel   *ciwal.*
    3AN-INS   flee

    'My mother fled with my oldest brother *in utero.*'   [Bk-29.067]

Dele 'INS' is also used with non-motion monovalent predicates to denote a participant to whom the predicate happened. In (68) *dele* 'INS' encodes the participant to whom the event denoted by the environmental condition predicate, *mon* 'evening', happened. Similarly, in (69), the participant encoded by *dele* 'INS' is the one to whom the shouting occurs.

68. ***Nei***   ***ne-rel***   *mon.*
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-INS   evening

    '(It became) evening with us.', i.e. 'We were benighted.'   [Bk-47.002]

69. *Eto*   *g-ubeqen*   *bare*   *goet,* *en*   **e-rel**   *huk.*

      2SG   3AN-pinch   PROX.INAN   LIKE   person   1INCL/2-INS   shout

      'If you squeeze her (hand) like this, people would shout with you.', i.e. '..., people would shout you away.'   [Bk-38.025]

The contrast between comitative *g-utu* '3-COM' (§12.3.1) and comitative *dele* 'INS' is illustrated in (70). *G-utu* '3-COM' introduces Asa Paran, an agentive human accompanier of the A, Mau Paran. By contrast, *dele* 'INS' encodes *zap* 'dog', a non-human entity under the control of the A.

70. *Mau Paran Asa Paran*   *g-utu*   *zap*   *ge-rel* *mele* *zon*   *o*   *zulo*

      Mau Paran   Asa Paran   3-COM   dog   3AN-INS walk   game   AND   civet

      g-agal   *gi-e*   *mal.*

      3AN-seek   3-POSS   go

      '(He) went walking with Asa Paran and the dogs to look for wild pigs and civets.'

                                                         [Bk-4.078]

12.3.3   *a-ta* '3INAN-GL'

The verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' has the verbal characteristics of inflecting (see §2.6.1 on its irregular inflection pattern), and allowing elision/fronting of its complement, as in (71); see also §5.4.3.2 on this.[6]

71. *Hik*   *na*   *i*   *a-ta*   *mit*   *bare*   *h-azal*   *oa.*

      path   FOC   1PL.INCL   3INAN-GL   sit   PROX.INAN   3INAN-see   PFV

      '(We) see the path which we sit at is this.'   [Bk-23.064]

The form *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' can appear as an independent predicate meaning 'shoot, aim'. As a verbal postpositional, however, the meaning of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is semantically much more general: it is used primarily to introduce peripheral NPs expressing goals (§12.3.3.1), as well as ones denoting interest (§12.3.3.2) and motive

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[6] The Bunaq goal marking verbal postposition appears to go back to a verb *ta meaning 'add'. This is reflected in languages such as Adang *ta* 'add (to)' and Kabola *ta* 'add, top'. In other languages, verbal *ta has become postpositional and has the meaning '(on) top', as in Teiwa *ta* 'top', Blagar *ta* 'on', and Abui *ta* 'on top'.

(§12.3.3.3). An additional use of the reciprocal form of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is discussed in §11.4.5.2.

12.3.3.1 Goal

The verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' encodes an NP expressing the goal towards which a motion takes place. In (72-73) we see *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' used in conjunction with a verb of motion to denote movement towards an animate goal. Compare with other goal-encoding strategies discussed in §13.9.1.

72. *Halaqi* **en** *Jepang* **gi-ta** *na* *mal* *oa.*
    3PL   person   Japan   3AN-GL   FOC   go   PFV
    'They had gone to (i.e. sided with) the Japanese.'   [Bk-29.010]

73. *Baqa* *ni* **Berek o** **Mauk gi-ta** *he.*
    NPRX.INAN   OBL   Berek   AND   Mauk   3AN-GL   run
    'At that, Berek and Mauk ran to her.'   [LB-2.209]

Examples (74-75) illustrate *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' denotes movement towards an inanimate goal location.

74. *Akirnya* *halaqi* **ri-e** **muk** **a-ta** *tebe.*
    finally   3PL   REFL-POSS   land   3INAN-GL   return
    'In the end they returned to their own land.'   [Bk-29.014]

75. *Nona* **Australia** **a-ta** *tebe* *bu* *mele* *loï~loï.*
    miss   Australia   3INAN-GL   return   GIVEN   walk   good~REDUP
    'May miss have a good trip back to Australia.'   [Bk-14.009]

In the examples seen thus far *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' has denoted the goal of an S in a motion event. *A-ta* '3INAN-GL' is optionally used with bivalent predicates to denote a person or thing towards which the P is directed, as in (76-77).

76. *Jepang* *gene* *Amerika* **Hiroshima** *o* **Nagasaki** **a-ta**
    Japan   LOC   America   Hiroshima   AND   Nagasaki   3INAN-GL
    bom *g-ileqen.*
    bomb   3AN-drop
    'In Japan America dropped the bomb onto Hiroshima and Nagasaki.' [Bk-29.011]

77. *Eli*   *hiloq*   *bare*   *zal,*   **gi-ta**   **uku**.

2DU	coconut.oil	PROX.INAN	carry	3INAN-GL	tip

'You two take this coconut oil, (and) pour (it) on him.'   [Bk-4.071]

In the previous examples, the goal NP encoded by *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is entirely optional, not being required by any of the verbs at all. There is, however, a special collocation of the verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' and the verb *sai* 'exit', which has the lexicalised meaning 'find, come across'. This lexicalisation can be seen in that the collocation may be used in contexts where there is no 'exiting' or even physical motion involved. In (78) two women search for their husband and 'exit to him' already dead. In (79) a man lost in the forest suddenly 'exits to the path', i.e. comes across the path he was looking for. In (80) the entity which is 'exited to' is not a physical location but the abstract concept of 'badness'.

78. *Halali*   **gi-ta**   *sai*   *roe*   *bu,*   *heser*   *haqal*   *oa.*

3DU	3AN-GL	exit	SPEC.INAN	GIVEN	dead	finished	PFV

'When they found him this time, he was already dead.'   [Bk-4.068]

79. *Tebe*   *hik*   *hazal,*   *tebe*   **hik**   **a-ta**   *sai.*

return	path	see	return	path	3INAN-GL	exit

'He saw the path again, he found the path again.'   [Bk-23.58]

80. *I*   *en*   *g-ege*   *late*   *h-oqon*   *bu,*   *i*   *o*

1PL.INCL	person	3AN-BEN	bad	3INAN-do	GIVEN	1PL.INCL	AND

    late   **a-ta**   *sai.*

bad	3INAN-GL	exit

'If we do evil to others, we too come across (i.e. meet with) evil.'   [Bk-4.097]

12.3.3.2 Interest

A-ta '3INAN-GL' is used to encode NPs expressing a participant not directly involved in an action, but in whose interest or to whose advantage the action takes place.[7] This use of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is found with several different semantic class of verbs, including verbs of helping, managing and praying, and is a metaphorical extension of the verbal

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[7] Kittilä (2005) calls this a 'substitutive beneficiary'. I reserve the term 'beneficiary' for what Kittilä (2005) calls a 'recipient-beneficiary'. See §12.3.6.1.

postposition's use goal-encoding use: the goal of a motion is the motion's endpoint and is the purpose for which the motion is undertaken, while a person in whose interest an action is done can be construed as the purpose for which the action is undertaken. See also §12.3.3.3 on the reason encoding function of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL'.

In (81) *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is combined with the monovalent verb *tulun* 'help' and expresses the party to whom assistance is given. In (82) *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' introduces *meaq gol* 'child', the person for whose sake the praying is undertaken. Similarly, in (83) *gi-ta* '3AN-GL' is used with verbs of speaking to denote the person on whose behalf the speaking was done, contrasting with *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' which encodes the addressee of the speaking (see §12.3.4.4).

81. *Ni-e   eme   o   ama   gi-ta   tulun.*
    1EXCL-POSS mother AND   father 3AN-GL   help
    '(I) helped my parents.'   [Bk-13.012]

82. *Nei   meaq gol   gi-ta   timon.*
    1PL.EXCL   child   3AN-GL   pray.to.ancestors
    'We pray to the ancestors for the sake of the children.'   [Not-07.01]

83. *Hiro   halaqi g-ege   ni-ta   sasi.*
    Hiro   3PL   3AN-BEN   1EXCL-GL   speak
    'Hiro speaks to them on my behalf', i.e. 'Hiro defends me to them.'   [Not-06.01]

12.3.3.3 Motive

As the endpoint of a motion or action, a goal can also be interpreted as the grounds on which the action is undertaken, that is, the motive for the action. Accordingly *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' can introduce an NP expressing the motive for the event expressed in the clause. Example (84) illustrates *a-ta* encoding an inanimate motive and (85) encoding an animate motive.

84. *Atis   o   liqul   ba   a-ta   na   en*
    p.o. loom AND   p.o.loom   DEF.INAN 3INAN-GL   FOC   person
    nei   n-ue.
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-hit
    'It is only because of the loom parts that the people hit us.'   [LB-1.056]

85.

Sael	senti	atus	uen	sok	gonciet	na	i
pig	cm	100	one	10s	five	FOC	1PL.INCL

i-ta	gi-a,	en	dato	mil.
1INCL/2-GL	3AN-eat	person	noble	COLL

'(They) eat a pig (which is) 150cm (long) because of use, the nobles (do).'

[Bk-38.027]

Like *gie* 'BECAUSE' (§12.2), motive marking *a-ta* can function as a sentence connective. Following a final-intonation contour, *a-ta* introduces a demonstrative which refers back to the preceding proposition, and indicates that the event described in the first sentence is the reason for that in the second sentence, as in (86).

86. a.

Halaqi	ni-e	atis	o	liqul	ba
3PL	1EXCL-POSS	p.o. loom	AND	p.o.loom	DEF.INAN

h-ini	di-e	na	baqa	oa.
3INAN-call	REFL-POSS	FOC	NPRX.INAN	PFV.

'They say my loom parts are theirs, that's what.' [LB-1.059]

b.

Baqa	a-ta,	eli	Ø-oqon	loi.
NPRX.INAN	3INAN-GL	2DU	1INCL/2-do	good

'Because of that, (they) can do (i.e. bash) you two.' [LB-1.060]

12.3.4 *g-o* '3-SRC'

The verbal postposition *g-o* '3-SRC' cannot occur as an independent clause final verb, but, like a verb, it can have its complement omitted (see examples 87-88) and inflects like a class III verb (§10.2.3). The 3rd person ANIMATE inflection is used for 3rd person complements of both ANIMATE and INANIMATE class (hence '3-' instead of '3AN-').[8]

G-o '3-SRC' functions to introduce NPs identified with the semantic role 'SOURCE', including: human sources (§12.3.4.1), points of relation/comparison (§12.3.4.2);

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[8] The verbal postposition appears to have originally been part of the class IV h-conjugation with an INANIMATE inflection, *h-o* '3INAN-SRC'. This form is synchronically not part of the verbal postpositional paradigm, but is preserved as a main verb in the phrase *il ho* 'source water', i.e. 'draw water (from spring etc.)', and as a class II bound noun meaning 'home' in ANIMATE inflections and 'core' in INANIMATE inflections, see §9.3.2. Probable cognates to this verbal postposition in Bunaq are the 'locational' prefixes with [o] in Eastern Alorese languages, such as Abui and Klon.

maleficiaries (§12.3.4.3), and the addressees of verbs of questioning and answering (§12.3.4.4).

12.3.4.1 Human source

The verbal postposition *g-o* '3-SRC' most frequently introduces an NP denoting a human source. With bivalent verbs, *g-o* '3-SRC' marks a human referent from whom the P is taken, as in (87) and (88).

87. *Baqi*   *il*   *ho,*   *gi-e*   *eme*   *h-ini*   *sikot,*   ***g-o***   *uku*   *on.*
     NPRX.AN   water   scoop   3-POSS   mother   3INAN-call   muddy   3-SRC   tip.out   DO
     '(When) he hauled water, his mother said (it) was muddy, took (it) from him (and) tipped it out.'   [Bk-6.003]

88. *Tais*   *na*   *en*   *aibaqa*   *olu*   *baqa*   ***g-o***   *tebe*
     cloth   FOC   person   bride.giver   remove   NPRX.INAN   3-SRC   return
     wit   *niq*   *oa.*
     take   NEG   PFV
     'The weaving which the bride-giver removed can no longer be taken back from them.'   [Bk-18.041]

With verbs of motion, *g-o* '3-SRC' encodes the human referent away from whom the motion takes place, as in (89) and (90). Inanimate locations from which a motion takes place are encoded with preverbal postpositional phrases, see §13.9.1.

89. *Ari* **Loqu** *g-o*   *he*   *on,*   *Ø-ue*   *bu.*
     Ari   Loqu   3-SRC   run   DO   1INCL/2-hit   GIVEN
     'Ari, run away from Loqu, if (he) is hitting you.'   [Bk-22.009]

90. *Nis*   *ba*   *dele*   *he*   *saqe*   *loi*   *niq,*   *tebe*   ***g-o***   *topol.*
     mortar   DEF.INAN   INS   run   ascend   good   NEG   return   3-SRC   fall
     '(She) couldn't run up with the mortar, (as it) fell back down from her.'[LB-3.005]

The normally bivalent motion verb *zal* 'carry' has a special lexicalised P-less use with *g-o* '3-SRC' to denote 'win over, defeat'. In (91), we see *g-o* '3-SRC' is used with bivalent *zal* 'carry' to mark a human referent from whom the P, *hoto* 'fire', is taken. In (92), however, there is no P for *zal* 'carry' is used without and *g-o* '3-SRC' denotes the

defeated party. The collocation of *g-o* and *zal* to mean 'win over' appears to have developed from bivalent *zal* 'carry' by means of a semantic extension whereby a person who is defeated is seen to suffer a loss in the same way as a person from whom an item is taken.

91. *Naqi*   **Lakabiruk**   **g-o**   *na*   *hoto*   *zal.*
     royal   Lakabiruk   3-SRC   FOC   fire   carry
     'The princess continued on up carrying the fire away from Lakabiruk.'[LB-10.041]

92. *Hot*   **bel**   **g-o**   *zal.*
     sun   wind   3-SRC   carry
     'The sun beat the wind.'   [Bk-16.008]

12.3.4.2 Point of relation/comparison

The verbal postposition *g-o* '3-SRC' is also used to introduce a point in relation to which the A/S participant is located. This point may be physical or metaphorical: in (92) the rain is close in physical location to the speaker expressed by *n-o* '1EXCL-SRC'; in (93) the speaker's father is identified as being lower in social position in relation to the *dato* 'noble' marked by *g-o* '3-SRC'.

93. *Inel*   *man*   *oa,*   **n-o**   *reqin*   *oa.*
     rain   come   PFV   1EXCL-SRC   close   PFV
     'The rain was coming already, (it) was already close to me.'   [Bk-13.021]

94. *Ni-e*   *bapaq*   *gi-e*   *reu*   *roe*   **en**   *halaqi* *g-o*
     1EXCL-POSS   father   3-POSS   house   SPEC.INAN   person   3PL   3-SRC
     zigi   *no,*   *reu*   *dato.*
     underneath   OBL   house   noble
     'My father's house is beneath those people, (the people from) the noble houses.'
     [Bk-29.062]

A point of relation can also have a semantically inanimate referent. In (95) *g-o* '3-SRC' is marked reciprocal and denotes that the gaming stones denoted by the ANIMATE class noun *bon* 'gaming stone' are located at a distance relative to one another. In (96) the town Maliana encoded by *g-o* '3-SRC' is the point relative to which the S, *tas* 'village', is located.

95. **Bon**   *himo*   *t-o*   *ate.*

    gaming.stone   CONTR.AN   RECP-SRC   far

    'Those gaming stones are (placed) far from one another.'   [Bk-10.026]

96. *Kalo*   *i*   *Maliana*   *mal* *gi-e* *baqa,*   *ni-e*

    if   1PL.INCL   Maliana   go 3-POSS NPRX.INAN   1EXCL-POSS

    tas   **Maliana**   *g-o*   *reqin.*

    village   Maliana   3-SRC   close

    'If you want to go to Maliana, my village is close to Maliana.'   [Bk-7.008]

In addition to marking points relative to one another, the verbal postposition *g-o* '3-SRC' is used in comparative constructions with the adverbs *lesin* 'more' and *kuran* 'less' (§14.2.2.3) to introduce the second member of the comparison, as in (97-98).

97. *Hot*   **bel**   *g-o*   *solat* *lesin.*

    sun   wind   3-SRC   strong more

    'The sun was stronger than the wind.'   [Bk-16.008]

98. *Mila*   *bari*   *di-e*   *tais*   *h-ini*   **n-o**   *lesin* *on*

    slave   PROX.AN REFL-POSS   cloth   3INAN-CAUS   1EXCL-SRC   more DO

    oa.

    PFV

    'This slave has already produced more cloth than me.'   [LB-6.042]

12.3.4.3 Maleficiary

The verbal postposition *g-o* '3-SRC' is also used to denote a variety of relations subsumed here under the label 'maleficiary'. In uses of this kind, *g-o* '3-SRC' denotes a referent against/counter to whom or to whose disadvantage an event takes places.

In (99) *g-o* '3-SRC' encodes that what is said is contrary to that which is said by its referent. In (100) *n-o* '1EXCL-SRC' denotes that the death happens contrary to the efforts of the speaker, while in (101) *g-o* '3-SRC' encodes that the death deprived a family of their youngest sibling.

99. *Il*   *ho*   *man,* **g-o**   *h-ini*   *sikot.*

    water   scoop come 3-SRC   3INAN-call   muddy

    '(He) came back from fetching water, (and his mother) called (it) muddy contrary to him (i.e. he said the water was not muddy).'   [Bk-72.009]

100. *Baqi*   ***n-o***   *heser.*
NPRX.AN   1EXCL-SRC   dead

'He died from me.', i.e. 'He died and I was deprived of him.'   [OS-09.01]

101. *Malaysia*   *gene,*   ***mete***   ***gi-e***   ***kaqa***   ***tuen-tuen***   ***uen***
Malaysia   LOC   NOW   3-POSS   older.brother   several   one

g-o   *oto*   *na*   *g-eze*   *heser.*
3-SRC   car   FOC   3AN-crush   dead

'In Malaysia, a car crushed him dead depriving his several older brothers (of him).'   [Bk-46.046]

Malefactive *g-o* '3-SRC' occurs in a lexicalised combination with the monovalent verb *de* 'right, accurate' to denote an adverse bearing in respect to a participant. In (102-103), the inanimate S argument of *de* 'right, accurate' impacts negatively on the referent of the NP complement of *g-o* '3-SRC'. Note that in (103) the NP complement of *g-o* '3-SRC' is fronted. See §4.7.2.3 on the effects of animacy on the word order of non-agentive clauses like these.

102. *Le*   *gol*   *uen*   *man,*   ***halaqi***   ***g-o***   *re.*
light   little   one   come   3PL   3-SRC   strike

'A little light came, (and) struck them.'   [Bk-47.107]

103. ***Eme***   *o*   ***ama***   ***bi***   *memel* ***g-o***   *re.*
mother   AND   father   DEF.AN   sick   3-SRC   strike

'Sickness struck against the mother and father.'   [LB-7.004]

12.3.4.4 Addressee

The verbal postposition *g-o* '3-SRC' is used with verbs of asking and questioning to introduce an addressee, as in (104-105). Compare this encoding of addressee NPs with that of verbs of speaking in §12.3.6.2.

104. ***Hot esen***   ***g-o***   *na*   *tulun*   *sura!*
God   3-SRC   FOC   help   ask

'Ask God for help!'   [Bk-61.022]

105. *Halali **g-o** toquk.*
     3DU   3-SRC   question
     'The two of them questioned him.'   [LB-3.042]

In addition, the normally class IV bivalent verb *h-osok* '3INAN-receive' has a special P-less use with *g-o* '3-SRC' to denote the speech act 'respond'. In (106), we see *g-o* '3-SRC' is used with bivalent *h-osok* '3INAN-receive' to mark a human referent from whom the P, *bai a* 'food', is taken. In (107) *h-osok* '3INAN-receive' does not have a P and denotes 'respond', with *g-o* '3-SRC' encoding the party to whom the speaker responds. The collocation of *g-o* and *h-osok* to mean 'respond to' appears to have developed from bivalent *h-osok* 'receive' by means of a semantic extension whereby the person who is responded to is seen as the origin or source of the speech event. In its use to mean 'respond', the 3rd person inanimate prefix of *hosok* will not be segmented, but will be glossed 'respond' as a whole.

106. *Pengungsi   **suster g-o**   bai   a   h-osok.*
     refugee   nun   3-SRC   thing   eat   3INAN-recieve
     'The refugees received food from the sisters.'   [Not-07.02]

107. *I   en   g-ini   puan,   en   i   o*
     1PL.INCL   person 3AN-CAUS   cannibal person 1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-SRC
     hosok niq.
     respond NEG
     '(If) we call someone a cannibal, the person is not going to respond to us.'
                                                                         [Bk-39.015]

12.3.5 *h-otol* '3INAN-WITHOUT'

The verbal postposition *h-otol* '3INAN-WITHOUT' does not occur as an independent clause final verb,[9] but like a verb can have its complement omitted and inflects like a

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[9] There is a homophonous class IV h-conjugation verb *h-otol* meaning 'take care of, watch over.' This meaning is so far removed from that of the verbal postposition of the same form that, at least synchronically, no relation can be claimed between them. *H-otol* is also found in verb compounds with *inil* 'investigate' and *tekeq* 'watch'. In the compounds, *hotol-inil* 'check (visually)' and *hotol-tekeq* 'monitor (visually)', *h-otol* does not introduce an peripheral NP but shares A and P arguments with the following verb; both verbs in the compound must show the same inflection, so *gotol-ginil* 'check on him', not *gotol-inil, where the first verb is inflected but not the second.

class IV h-conjugation verb (§10.2.4.1); see examples (108-109) for exemplification. *H-otol* functions to introduce NPs into the clause whose referents are excluded or removed from the event denoted in the clause.

Examples (108-109) come from procedural texts in which *h-otol* denotes an item that is left aside while another action is performed. In (110) reflexive marked *h-otol* denotes that the A 'removes himself' from the P, *sabul* 'orange' by placing them on the ground.

108. *I*   *g-otol*   *il*   *dara.*
      1PL.INCL   3AN-WITHOUT   water   prepare
      'We prepare the water without (adding the corn).'   [Bk-44.021]

109. *Tuban*   *uen*   *kaeq,*   *h-otol*   *hoto*   *toqa.*
      k.o.basket   one   full   3INAN-WITHOUT   fire   light
      '(When) one basket is full (of flour), (we) leaving (the flour) aside light a fire.'
                                                                        [Bk-76.027]

110. *Baqi*   *r-otol*   *sabul*   *hiloqon*   *bi*   *tais*   *lequ*
      NPRX.AN   REFL-WITHOUT   orange   two   DEF.AN   cloth   wrapped

      wa   *no*   *gu-tula.*
      top   OBL   3AN-put.on
      'He, absenting himself, puts the two oranges on top of a wrapped cloth.'
                                                                        [Bk-4.048]

H-otol may also encode an NP whose referent has no knowledge of or without consideration for whom the event denoted in the clause is carried out. In (111) *h-otol* refers to the speaker being still asleep when her guest got up. Example (112) refers to the S returning to take up land belonging to Lusin, the person he has secretly left behind in the highlands.

111. *Baqi*   *n-otol*   *mel.*
      NPRX.AN   1EXCL-WITHOUT   wake
      'She got up without me (i.e. without my knowing).'   [Bk-29.009]

112. *Tebe*   *Lusin*   *g-otol*   *rebel.*
      return   Lusin   3AN-WITHOUT   descend
      '(He) went back down without Lusin (knowing).'   [Bk-67.229]

H-otol is particularly common with monovalent verbs of anger where it denotes the individual with whom the S is angry, as in (113-114). The use of *h-otol* in these examples carries the implication that the anger is unexpressed and unknown to the referent, in contrast to examples, such as (124) in §12.3.6.2 with *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' which introduces an entity which is the recipient of active verbal expressions of anger.

113. | *Asa Paran* | *ri-e* | *kauq* | *g-otol* | *hirus.* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Asa Paran | REFL-POSS | younger.sibling | 3AN-WITHOUT | furious |

'Asa Paran was furious with his younger sibling.' [Bk-4.094]

114. | *En* | *mete* | *Belanda* | *g-ua* | *gene* | *g-ua* | *gene* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| person | NOW | Dutch | 3AN-footprint | LOC | 3AN-footprint | LOC |
| *himo* | *nei* | *ni-e* | *matas* | *mil* | *g-otol* | |
| CONTR.AN | 1PL.EXCL | 1EXCL -POSS | old | LOC | 3AN-WITHOUT | |
| *na.* | | | | | | |
| angry | | | | | | |

'Those people just now who were after and after the Dutch were angry at our parents.' [Bk-29.009]

12.3.6 *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN'

The verbal postposition *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN(IFICIARY)' originates in the trivalent verb *h-ege* '3INAN-give' (§10.4) and maintains the class IV h-conjugation inflectional pattern of the verb. The verbal postposition differs from the verb in that, whilst the verb always occurs with three participants, the verbal postposition can occur in a clause where there are less than three, i.e. with reduced valency; see below for illustration. The verbal postposition *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' is also semantic bleached, showing conventionalisation of meaning in combination with verbs of particular semantic classes, functioning to encode: beneficiaries in bivalent and monovalent verbal clauses (§12.3.6.1); addressees with verbs of speaking (§12.3.6.2), and; the themes of cognitive events (§12.4.6.3).

12.3.6.1 Beneficiary

H-ege is most frequently used to introduce an NP denoting a beneficiary, the person for whose benefit an action is carried out. In (115-116), the participants introduced by *h-ege*

are not only the beneficiaries of the acts described but are also the intended recipients of the P of the bivalent verb.

115. *Ni-e*   *eme*   **halaqi** **g-ege**   *sabi*   *g-iqil*   *g-oenik.*
1EXCL -POSS   mother   3PL   3AN-BEN   key   3AN-leave.behind 3AN-forget
'My mother forgot to leave the key behind for them.'   [OS-06.01]

116. *Sabul bolu*   *hiloqon*   *bi*   **g-ege**   *g-iwal.*
orange ball   two   DEF.AN   3AN-BEN   3AN-pick
'(He) picked the two round oranges for (them).'   [Bk-4.042]

Benefactive *h-ege* is also used in situations where no actual transfer of an item is implied. This is seen in (117-118) where no physical transfer of the P arguments of the clausal bivalent verbs can be seen to take place to the participant encoded by *h-ege*.

117. *Cio*   *na*   **nei**   **n-ege**   *tazuq* *ul*   *gie*   *taq?*
who   FOC   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-BEN   door   pull   PROSP   IPFV
'Who is going to pull the door for us?'   [LB-1.088]

118. *Sejara baqi*   **n-ege**   *g-apal*   *coba!*
history   NPRX.AN   1EXCL-BEN   3AN-open   try
'Try (and) open (i.e. reveal) that history for me!'   [Bk-67.146]

Similarly, in (119-120) *h-ege* cannot be regarded as encoding a recipient as the clausal verb in each is monovalent, with no possible P to transfer.

119. *Naqi*   *pana,*   **n-ege**   *debel*   *gie.*
royal   female   1EXCL-BEN   descend   PROSP
'Princess, come down to me!'   [LB-10.013]

120. *Tapi*   *neto*   *ene*   *le*   *sirubisu,*   **Timor Timur bare**   **h-ege.**
but   1SG   night   day   work   Timor   east   PROX.INAN 3INAN-BEN
'But I worked night and day, for East Timor here.'   [Bk-2.003]

12.3.6.2 Addressee

H-ege is also used with verbs of speaking to encode an addressee, the person to whom speech is transferred. Examples (121-123) illustrate this usage with three different verbs of speaking.

121. *En*   *kepala desa*   **nei**   **n-ege**   *seq.*
     person head   village 1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-BEN   call
     'The village head called to us.'   [Bk-1.032]

122. *Mete* *paq*   *Donatus*   *bi*   *na*   **ibu** **g-ege**   *rale.*
     NOW   Mr   Donatus   DEF.AN FOC   lady 3AN-BEN   tell
     'It was Mr Donatus (mentioned just) now that told (it) to the lady.'[Bk-70.101]

123. *Neli*   **t-ege**   *sasi,...*
     1DU.EXCL   RECP-BEN   say
     'We said to each other,...'   [Bk-37.038]

We saw in §12.1.3.3 that *h-ege* could be used even without a verb of speaking to denote the addressee of a speech event. Indeed, *h-ege* can be used to encode the addressee of a verbal event with a wide range of different types which don't necessarily involve speaking. For instance, in (124) we see the monovalent verb *na* 'angry' is used together *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' to denote a speaking event in which the referent introduced by *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN' received angry words (cf. §12.3.5, examples 113-114); however, *na* 'angry' itself doesn't necessarily involve speech, but can be a state which ii simply experienced.

124. *Neneq*   *Eta* *roi*   **Ela** **g-ege**   *na.*
     grandmother   Eta   SPEC.AN Ela   3AN-BEN   angry
     'Grandmother Eta was angry at Ela.'   [Bk-30.051]

12.3.6.3 Theme of a cognitive event

The use of *h-ege* to encode the addressee of a verbal event is extended to include the theme of cognitive events: in the same way that an addressee is the entity to which words are directed, a cognitive theme is the entity to which thought is directed. In (125-126) the predicates are verbal, while in (127) the predicate is the reflexive marked

locational noun *mil* 'inside' which is frequently used predicatively to denote cognition (see §11.3.2.3 on this predicate).

125.   *Nei*   *huqe*   *gene*   **baqa**   **h-ege**   *piar.*
      1PL.EXCL   HERE   LOC   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-BEN   believe
      'We here believe in that.'   [Bk-8.038]

126.   *Neto*   **keluarga**   **g-ege**   *hanoin.*
      1SG   family   3AN-BEN   think
      'I was thinking of my family.'   [Bk-2.020]

127.   *Nei*   *reu*   *Gewal gene*   **nona**   **g-ege**   *ri-mil*   *los.*
      1PL.EXCL   house   Gewal LOC   miss   3AN-BEN   REFL-inside   very
      'We (at) home in Gewal think a lot much about miss.'   [Bk-14.001]

A theme of the verb *piar* 'believe' can also be encoded with *g-o* '3-SRC' (128), in contrast to *h-ege* in (125). Used with *g-o* '3-SRC', *piar* 'believe' denotes a state that is seen to originate or stem from the referent of the NP introduced by *g-o* '3-SRC'. By contrast, with *h-ege*, *piar* 'believe' is construed as being given from the S to the referent of the NP introduced by *h-ege*.

128.   *Berek o*   *Mauk* **g-o**   *piar*   *niq.*
      Berek   AND   Mauk   3-SRC   believe   NEG
      'Berek and Mauk didn't believe him.'   [LB-2.054]

12.3.7 *h-os* '3INAN-WAIT'

The verbal postposition *h-os* '3INAN-WAIT' is related to the independent class VI h-conjugation bivalent verb *h-os* meaning 'wait for'. The waiter is coded as A, while the awaited is realised as P with verbal coindexing, as in:

129.   *Manek*   *luron no*   **n-os**   *oa.*
      Manek   road   OBL   1EXCL-wait   PFV
      'Manek is already waiting for me in the road'   [OS-07.01]

The verbal postposition *h-os* has a semantically more general meaning than the verb of the same form. It functions to introduce an NP into the clause in whose absence the event denoted in the clause takes place, as illustrated in (130-131).

130.   *Meaq gol*   *bari*   *kesi*   *mone* *mesaq* *bu*   **n-os**   *g-ebeqen.*
      child   PROX.AN give.birth   male   if   GIVEN   1EXCL-WAIT 3AN-kill
      'If this child (which you) give birth to is a boy, kill him before I get back and bury him at the base of the steps.'   [LB-8.005]

131.   *Mon*   *pir*   *bu*   *gi-e*   *eme* *o*   *ama* **g-os**
      afternoon   reach   GIVEN 3-POSS mother AND   father 3AN-WAIT
      hobel   *oa.*
      not.exist   PFV
      'When afternoon arrived, their mother and father had left in their absence.'
                                               [LB-2.036]

In (132-133), the events of going happen not so much in the absence of the participant denoted by *h-os*, but simply without them. The use of *h-os* '3INAN-WAIT' in these examples implies that the participant left behind is aware of their exclusion. This differs from 'excluded' participants encoded by *h-otol* '3INAN-WITHOUT' as seen in §12.3.5 in that they are not typically aware of their exclusion.

132.   **Ø-os**   *mal!*
      1INCL/2-WAIT   go
      'We're going without you!'   [OS-07.01]

133.   *Neto* *nona* **g-os**   *mal*   *tut.*
      1SG   miss   3AN-WAIT   go   first
      'I'll go on ahead without miss.'   [OS-07.01]

12.3.8 *h-onogo* '3INAN-SEPARATE'

The verbal postposition *h-onogo* '3INAN-SEPARATE' does not appear as an independent clause final verb in the corpus,[10] but like a verb can have its complement omitted and inflects like a class IV h-conjugation verb (§10.2.4.1).

H-onogo '3INAN-SEPARATE' has a similar, but less extensive, range of functions to *g-o* '3-SRC' and its use is altogether much less frequent. In (134) we see *h-onogo* '3INAN-SEPARATE' used to denote source of the P in a bivalent verbal clause. In (134) it denotes the source of an S in a monovalent verbal clause. In (135) *h-onogo* '3INAN-SEPARATE' denotes the second member of a comparison.

134. **G-onogo**   *alan*   *a-ta*   *wa.*
     3AN-SEPARATE   border 3INAN-GL   discard
     '(She) took it from (him and) threw (it) to the side.'   [Bk-72.012]

135. *Mit*   *haqal,*   *tebe*   **g-onogo**   *rebel* *teni.*
     sit   finished   return 3AN-SEPARATE descend again
     'After living (there), (he) went back down again from (him).'   [Bk-67.245]

136. *Nei*   *ni-e*   *reu*   *maten* *legul,* *hotel* **g-onogo**   *legul*
     1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   house roof tall   tree 3AN-SEPARATE tall
     lesin.
     more
     'The roof of our house is tall, taller than the trees.'   [Bk-24.013]

There appears to be little difference between *h-onogo* '3INAN-SEPARATE' and *g-o* '3-SRC' (§12.3.4) in the above contexts and speakers allow either verbal postposition to be used. However, unlike *g-o* '3-SRC', *h-onogo* '3INAN-SEPARATE' is not used to encode maleficiaries, addressees or as a locational noun.

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[10] Note that in elicitation some informants allowed *honogo* 'SEPARATE' to be used as an independent verb, while other informants did not permit an independent use at all. In the absence of textual attestation of its independent use, I choose here to regard *honogo* 'SEPARATE' purely as a verbal postposition.

Chapter 13: Serial verb constructions

As in other Eastern Indonesian and New Guinea area languages (cf. Crowley 2002, Senft 2008), serial verb constructions (SVCs) are a prominent feature of Bunaq. A SVC comprises a sequence of two or more verbs acting together as a single predicate in a monoclausal structure to describe what is conceptualised as a single complex event (Aikhenvald 2006, Bisang 2009, Durie 1997, Foley and Olson 1985).

Verbs are serialised together in diverse ways to express a wide variety of complex events. Verb serialisation in Bunaq functions to:

a. express causation (§13.3) and resultative (cause-effect) relations (§13.4);
b. encode adverbial information including manner (§13.5), intensity (§13.6), modality (§13.7), and aspect (§13.8);
c. describe complex events involving motion and direction (§13.9).

Following an overview of the properties SVCs (§13.1) and the types of SVCs (§13.2) , I discuss the individual semantic types of SVCs in Bunaq.

13.1   Introduction: properties of Bunaq SVCs

SVCs involve verbs that are full lexical verbs which can head simple predicates in their own right.[1] Whilst SVCs encompass significant constructional diversity (see §13.2), there are a range of formal properties which warrant their treatment as a unified phenomenon. The properties that are shared by Bunaq SVCs and that separate them from other grammatical phenomena are:

- **SVCs describe a single event with a close connection between subparts**.

Evidence supporting the view that SVCs comprise a single 'verbal unit' is seen in the fact that SVCs contrast in meaning with multiclausal coordinated structures. Compare the meaning of the SVC and multiclausal construction in (1). We see that the SVC in (1a) describes a single complex event with a close connection between subparts: the second verb, *rebel* 'descend', describes the direction in which the event denoted by the first verb, *wa* 'discard' occurs. By contrast, in the multiclausal construction in (1b), *rebel* does not

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[1] This criterion synchronically excludes for the most part the verbal postpositions examined in §12.3, even though they otherwise share many properties with verbs, see §3.6.1. Seen as SVCs, verbal postpositions constitute non-contiguous SVCs; see §13.2 on the different syntactic types of serialisation.

further describe the act of throwing, rather it is a separate motion event which occurs subsequent to it.

SVC

1. a. *Markus*   *bola*   *wa*   *rebel.*
    Markus   ball   discard   descend
    'Markus threw the ball away downwards.'

MULTICLAUSAL

  b. *Markus*   *bola*   *wa,*   *rebel.*
    Markus   ball   discard   descend
    'Markus threw the ball away, (and he went) downwards.'

- **SVCs has the same intonational properties as monoverbal clauses.**

SVCs have the same intonational properties as monoverbal clauses. A clausal boundary is marked by falling pitch and an intonation break; a SVC thus involves only a single falling intonation over the last elements of the construction with no dividing prosodic mark of a clause boundary, as in the SVC in (2a). This contrasts with instances of simple clause chaining or zero-coordination constructions (§3.5.8) where each verb comprises its own clause. We see in the multiclausal construction in (2b) that there is a break in intonation between the first verb and the second verb. The first verb has a non-final 'continuing' intonation characterised by a rise in pitch, while the second verb is accompanied by a final falling intonation contour.

SVC

2. a. *Markus*   *bola*   *wa*   *rebel.*
    Markus   ball   discard   descend
    'Markus threw the ball away downwards.'

MULTICLAUSAL

  b. *Markus*   *bola*   *wa,*   *rebel.*
    Markus   ball   discard   descend
    'Markus threw the ball away, (and he went) downwards.'

- **SVCs have no intervening marker of subordination or coordination.**

SVCs have no intervening marker of subordination or coordination and contrast in meaning with multiclausal coordinated structures which do. For instance, in (3) we see the inclusion

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of the sequential clause coordinator *soq* 'SEQ' (§3.5.8.1) changes the meaning of the SVC. Instead of the single purposive act of giving in the causative SVC (§13.3) in (3a), the multiclausal construction with *soq* 'SEQ' in (3b) denotes two separate acts one of giving one of drinking. What is more, whilst it is not possible to disrupt the iconic ordering of serialised elements in (3a), iconicity must not be observed in the multiclausal construction with *soq* 'SEQ', as in (3c).

SVC

3. a. *Baqi   n-ege   il   a.*
   NPRX.AN   1EXCL-give   water   drink
   'He gave me water to drink.'

MULTICLAUSAL

b. *Baqi   n-ege   il   soq,   a.*
   NPRX.AN   1EXCL-give   water   SEQ   drink
   'He gave me water, then (I) drank (it).'

MULTICLAUSAL

c. *Neto   il   a,   n-ege   soq.*
   1SG   water   drink   1EXCL-give   SEQ
   'I drank the water, once (he) gave me (it).'

- **SVCs share scope for aspect.**

Unlike multiclausal structures, the individual components of a SVC cannot independently select for aspect. Aspectual markers, such as prospective *gie* 'PROSP' (§14.2.4), must have scope over all verbs in a single SVC. We see that *gie* 'PROSP' can unproblematically follows the verbs in the causative SVC in (4a), but that it is ungrammatical for it to follow just the first verb in the SVC in (4b). By contrast, in the complement clause constructions [bracketed] in (5), we see that independent aspect marking is permitted for both matrix and complement clauses. In (5a) the P-complement clause is independently marked with *gie* 'PROSP', while the main clause verb, sura 'ask' is marked with *taq* 'IPFV' (§14.2.6.1). Similarly, in (5b) we see that the reduced complement taking verb *heten* 'want' can have a complement independently marked with *gie* 'PROSP'.

SVC

4. a. *Baqi   n-ege   il   a   gie.*
   NPRX.AN   1EXCL-give   water   drink   PROSP
   'He is going to give me water to drink.'

b. *Baqi   n-ege   gie   il   a.
   NPRX.AN   1EXCL-give   PROSP water drink

5. a. Baqi [teo gene neto cier gie   ba]   sura   taq.
      NPRX.AN where LOC   1SG   sleep PROSP DEF.INAN   ask   IPFV
      'She is still asking [where am I going to sleep].'   [OS-06.01]

   b. Baqi   o   [mal gie   heten].
      NPRX.AN   AND   go   PROSP want
      'She also wants [to walk].'   [Bk-37.023]

13.2   Types of SVCs in Bunaq

The different functional and semantic types of SVCs may be divided from one another according to the relationship that holds between the verbs in serialisation and between nominal arguments associated with each of the serialized verbs. There are three syntactic types of serialisation in Bunaq:

a. **core serialisation**: core serialised verbs form independent phrasal units. This is seen in that independent constituents, such as NPs, PP or VPPs, can occur between the V_1 and V_2, thus: NP (NP) V_1 (NP...) V_2. Verbs in core serialisation share one argument, either S/A (i.e. 'subject'-sharing) or a non-S/A (i.e. non-'subject'-sharing), and occur in the scope of a single negator.

b. **nuclear serialisation**[2]: nuclear serialised verbs occur in a single phrase together. That is, the serialised verbs form a contiguous unit between which no constituents can intervene, thus: NP (NP...) V_1V_2. Verbs in nuclear serialisation share their S/A argument and occur in the scope of a single negator.

c. **ambient serialisation** [3]: ambient serialised verbs do not share an argument, rather V_2 takes the whole event denoted by V_1 as its argument, providing adverbial

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[2] The 'core' verus 'nuclear' serialisation distinction originates in Foley and Van Valin (1984: chaps. 4-5) and Foley and Olson (1985). This contrast in contiguity has been called "core" versus "nuclear" serialisation by Foley and Olson (1985). It corresponds closely to the distinction between 'non-contiguous' and 'contiguous' serial verbs made by Durie (1997) and later by Aikhenvald (2006).

[3] The term 'ambient' serialisation was developed by Crowley (2002: 41-42), after Chafe (1970: 101-102), in reference to serial verbs which do not refer to any participant in the clause, but rather functions adverbially taking another verb as their argument. The idea of argument sharing being a necessary criterion for verbs in serialisation has been the subject of some debate. See Baker (1989) and criticism by Durie (1997).

information about it. A V_2 in ambient serialisation is distinguishable from a V_2 in nuclear and core serialisation in that it is possible for the negator, *niq* 'NEG'[4], either to intervene between V_1 and V_2 or to follow V_1 and V_2 , with each order accompanied by differences in the scope of the negation (discussed in §4.5.1).

Table 13.1 presents an overview of the different properties dividing core, nuclear and ambient serialisation from one another, and of how different semantic types of SVCs map onto them. We see that some semantic types of serialisation are split up across different syntactic types. For instance, SVCs expressing manner are core when they encode 'participant-oriented' manner, and ambient when they encode 'event-oriented' manner. These two different manner SVCs are discussed together in §13.5 so as to highlight their semantic differences. Similarly, complex motion events are encoded with different serialisation types depending on the component of the motion being expressed. The different types very frequently combine and are discussed together in §13.9.

Table 13.1: Characteristics of different syntactic types of serialisation

	Argument sharing		Intervening	Negative	See:
	S/A Sharing	Non-S/A Sharing	NP/PP/VPP	sharing	
Core					
Causative SVCs	+	—	+	+	§13.3
Resultative SVCs	—	+	+	+	§13.4
Participant-oriented manner SVCs	+	—	+	+	§13.5.1
Origin-Motion-Goal SVCs	+	—	+	+	§13.9.1
Centrifugal motion SVCs	+	—	+	+	§13.9.2
Nuclear					
Directional SVCs	+	—	—	+	§13.9.3
Ambient					
Event-oriented manner SVCs	—	—	—	—	§13.5.2
Intensifying SVCs	—	—	—	—	§13.6
Modal SVCs	—	—	—	—	§13.7
Aspectual SVCs	—	—	—	—	§13.8

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[4] So whilst all serialised verbs must share the scope of aspectual markers, it is only verbs in nuclear and core serialisation that must share the scope of the negator. That ambient serial verbs do not have to share the scope of the negator is a typologically unusual property of Bunaq. Most languages require all forms serial verbs to have the same polarity.

13.3 Causative serialisation

Causative serialisation is a form of core serialisation expressing purposive causation in transfer events. The trivalent verb *h-ege* '3INAN-give' (§10.4) is the V₁ and combines with a bivalent V₂ which specifies the purpose of the transfer event. V₁ and V₂ share two arguments: the T of the V₁ is the P of the V₂, while the R of the V₁ is the A of the V₂. This construction is illustrated in the three examples below. In (6), the cakes are transferred for carrying, in (7) the water is transferred for drinking, while in (8) the land is transferred for having as gardens.

6. *G-otil*   *mone* *mal*   *an*   *gene* *gi-e* ***g-ege***   *tubi*
    3AN-spouse male   go   grass   LOC   3-POSS 3AN-give   cake

    baqa   *na*   ***zal.***
    NPRX.INAN   FOC   carry

    'The women give their husbands bread to carry to the fields.'   [Bk-76.042]

7. *Neto*   *baqi*   ***g-ege***   *il*   ***a.***
    1SG   NPRX.AN   3AN-give   water   drink

    'I gave him water to drink.'   [OS-07.02]

8. *Muk*   *bula,* *darau* *matas* *mil*   *ni-e*   *ama*   *halaqi* ***g-ege***
    land   field   until   old   COLL   1EXCL-POSS   father   3PL   3AN-give

    mar   ***h-one.***
    garden   3INAN-hold

    'The land was fields, until the elders gave it to my father to have as gardens.'

    [Bk-29.072]

In §13.1, we saw that the individual verbs in causatives SVCs cannot independently select for aspect. This is also true for negation. We can negate a causative SVC, such as that in (7) with *niq* 'NEG' occurring clause finally (9a). It is however not possible for *niq* 'NEG' to occur between verbs of the causative SVC (9b), negating only one of the verbs of the SVC.

9. a. *Neto* *baqi*   *g-ege*   *il*   *a*   ***niq.***
        1SG   NPRX.AN   3AN-give   water   drink   NEG

        'I did not give him water to drink.'

    b. **Neto* *baqi*   *g-ege*   ***niq*** *il*   *a.*
        1SG   NPRX.AN   3AN-give   NEG   water   drink   [Not-07.02]

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This causative SVC with *h-ege* '3INAN-give' does not occur very frequently in Bunaq. Causative *h-ege* '3INAN-give' still carries a clear 'giving' meaning and cannot serialise with monovalent verbs (see §10.4 on *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' for this function). Causative *h-ege* '3INAN-give' is thus unlike the related verbal postposition *h-ege* '3INAN-BEN', which is not restricted to events involving a transfer, and which freely combines with both monovalent and bivalent verbs, see §12.3.6.

13.4 Resultative serialisation

Resultative serialisation is a form of core serialisation in which V_1 encodes a cause and V_2 the result of it. The V_1 is bivalent and agentive, while V_2 is monovalent and stative. The P of the V_1 is the S of the V_2. In (10) *heser* 'dead' is an effect caused by the car on the child as P. In (11) the *sore* 'machete' strikes the *gu-bul* '3AN-head' with the effect that it is *tol* 'broken'. See §13.8.1 on the 3rd serial verb, *haqal*, in this example.

10. *N-ol   uen   oto   **g-eze**   heser.*
    1EXCL-child one   car   3AN-crush   dead
    'One of my children was crushed dead by a car.'   [Bk-46.045]

11. *Sore   rebel,   gu-bul   bere   **pak tol** haqal.*
    machete descend   3AN-head   CNTREXP.INAN strike broken finished
    'The machete descended (and) struck his head splitting it completely.' [Bk-69.085]

That we are dealing with core serialisation here is seen in (12) where the series of V_1 *lai* 'set' and V_2 *ratu* 'stacked' is interrupted by the verbal postposition *t-o* 'RECP-SRC' (§12.3.4).

12. *U   bilik baqa   nei   **lai** t-o   **ratu** on.*
    undergrowth bind NPRX.INAN   1PL.EXCL   set RECP-SRC   stacked DO
    'Those bales (of) undergrowth we set stacked against each other.' [Bk-12.006]

It is possible to negate a resultative SVC, such as that in (12) with final *niq* 'NEG' (13b), but the negator cannot occur between verbs of the SVC with only one of the verbs in its scope (13b).

13. a. *Nei   lai t-o   ratu **niq**.*
    1PL.EXCL   set RECP-SRC   stacked NEG
    'We did not stack them against each other.'

b. *_Nei_   _lai_   **_niq_**   _t-o_   _ratu._
   1PL.EXCL   set   NEG   RECP-SRC   stacked   [Not-07.02]

13.5   Manner serialisation

Manner serialisation involves a monovalent verb expressing the manner in which the event described by the main verb is acted out. Two types of manner serialisation are distinguished:

a.   **participant-oriented** manner serialisation is a form of core serialisation, in which the manner verb occurs as a monovalent V_1 between the A/S and the main verb/predication (V_2) and denotes a property of the A/S with respect to their performance of the event described by the main verb; these SVCs share A/S, and;

b.   **event-oriented** manner serialisation is a form of ambient serialisation, in which the manner verb is V_2 in the SVC and describes the manner of the performance of the event denoted by the V_1 and not about any particular participant in the event.

The semantic contrast between participant- and event-oriented manner serialisation is illustrated with the monovalent verb _laun_ 'quick' in (14). In (14a) we have a participant-oriented manner SVC: _laun_ 'quick' is V_1 and functions to denote quickness on the part of the agent in the act of eating, denoted by the V_2, _a_ 'eat'. In (14b) we have an event-oriented manner SVC: _laun_ 'quick' is V_2 and functions to denote that the act of eating happened quickly.

14. a. _Neto_ **_laun_** _bai_   **_a_**.   b. _Neto_   _bai_   **_a_** **_laun_**.
        1SG   quick   thing   eat   1SG   thing   eat quick
        'I am quick at eating.'   'I eat quickly.'   [Not-07.01]

The participant-oriented and event-oriented manner SVCs are illustrated further in §13.5.1 and §13.5.2 respectively.

13.5.1 Participant-oriented manner serialisation

A participant-oriented manner serial verb refers to the A/S of the clause and the manner of its performance or experience of an action or state. The manner verb is monovalent and occurs between the S/A and the main verb, sharing its S/A argument with the semantically main verb, which may be monovalent or bivalent.

In (15a) we see that the V₁ *omal* 'naked' refers to the condition in which the S undertook the V₂ *he* 'run'. By contrast, (15b) is semantically bizarre because nakedness cannot be understood as a property of running, but can be the property of a person who is in the act of running as in (15a). Note that *omal* 'naked' is not a modifier within the NP denoting the S, since then it would have to appear to the left of the determiner, *baqi* 'NPRX.AN', which appears at the right periphery of the NP.

15. a. *Baqi*   *omal*   *he*.
    NPRX.AN   naked   ran
    'She ran naked.' [Bk-43.039]

    b. *#Baqi*   *he*   *omal*.
    NPRX.AN   ran   naked
    'She ran nakedly.' [Not-07.01]

A verb that occurs frequently as a serial verb in participant-oriented manner serialisation is *det* 'alone'. In (16) we see that *det* 'alone' can appear as an independent clausal predicate. In serialisation *det* 'alone' occurs as V₁ and is used to express that the S/A participant is either unaccompanied (17) or unaided (18) in the event denoted by V₂.

16. *Gi-e*   *ama*   *det*.
    3-POSS   father   alone
    'His father was alone.'   [LB-5.166]

17. *Neto*   *ret*   *r-ege*   *di-e*   *iskola gi-e*   *urus*.
    1SG   alone   REFL-give   REFL-POSS   school 3-POSS   business
    'I alone was going to give myself my own school business.', i.e.
    'I wanted to pay my own way through school by myself.'   [Bk-13.017]

18. *Nego*   *na*   *sura,*   *det*   *hati*.
    what   FOC   ask   alone   exist
    'Whatever (they) asked for, appeared by itself.'   [LB-5.041]

Another verb frequently occurring in participant-oriented manner SVCs is *han*, a verb denoting 'be no matter, of no import', illustrated in (19). In manner serialisation the meaning of *han* is paraphrasable as 'do nothing else but'. That is, it indicates that the participant does just that thing denoted by the semantically main predicate, as in (20-21). Notice in (20) that a PP intervenes between the manner V₁ *han* and the semantically main V₂ *lai*, as expected in core serialisation. See §13.8.1 on the 3ʳᵈ serial verb, *liol* 'continue', in (20).

19. *Baqa*   **han***!*
    NPRX.AN   be.no.matter

    'It doesn't matter.'   [LB-4.035]

20. *Oto*   *mil*   *no*   **han**   **kou**   *liol.*
    car   inside   LOC   be.no.matter   faint   continue

    '(She) just kept fainting in the car.'   [Bk-43.010]

21. *Hos*   *berelikuq*   *uen*   **han**   *nei*   *ni-e*   *ama*
    bird   k.o.bird   one   be.no.matter   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   father

    g-awas   *ni*   **lai***.*
    3AN-forehead   OBL   set

    'The bird just goes landing on father's forehead.'   [LB-4.046]

As a form of non-contiguous serialisation, participant-oriented manner serial verbs must occur in the scope of a single final *niq* 'NEG', as in (22). It is ungrammatical for the negator to occur between verbs of the SVC.

22. *Nei*   *det*   *golaq*   *ta-tara*   *niq.*
    1PL.EXCL   alone   all   RECP-know   NEG

    'We didn't (get to) know each other all alone.'   [Bk-38.016]

13.5.2 Event-oriented manner serialisation

Event-oriented manner serialisation is a form of ambient serialisation used to describe the manner in which an action is performed. In event oriented manner serialisation, there is no argument sharing between the semantically main V_1 and the manner adverbial V_2. Rather the V_2 takes V_1 as its argument, denoting the manner in which the event V_1 occurs. While V_2 is always monovalent, V_1 can be monovalent or bivalent.

Examples (23-24) illustrate event-oriented manner serialisation where the V_1 is monovalent. Examples (25-26) illustrate event-oriented manner serialisation where the V_1 is bivalent. There are no instances of event-oriented manner serialisation with trivalent verbs in the corpus. Recall from §3.3 that there is no adjective class in Bunaq and that items such as *baqis* 'much' are monovalent verbs.

23. *Meaq-gol*   **memel baqis***.*
    child   sick   much

    'The child is really sick'   [OS-07.01]

24. *Leleq   enoq~enoq.*

    flow   slow~REDUP

    '(The water) runs really slowly.'   [Bk-65.107]

25. *Muk   bare   ei   h-oqon   koen?*

    land   PROX.INAN   2PL   3INAN-do   fine

    'Did you do (i.e. farm) this land well?'   [Bk-29.070]

26. *Sio   g-azal milik?*

    who   3AN-see scared

    'Who (are you) afraid of seeing?', lit. 'Who (are you) seeing scaredly?'[OS-06.01]

In (27-28), we see illustration of the different placement of *niq* 'NEG' allowed in ambient serialisation. In (27) *niq* 'NEG' follows both V$_1$, here the nominal cognitive predicate *ri-mil* 'REFL-inside' (see §11.3.2.3), and V$_2$, *ate* 'far', and has scope over both. By contrast, in (28) *niq* 'NEG' intervenes between the V$_1$ *tara* 'know', and V$_2$ *masak* 'big'. The negator thus only has scope over the V$_1$, while the V$_2$ has both the negator and the V$_1$ in its scope.

27. *Halali   ri-mil   ate   niq.*

    3DU   REFL-inside   far   NEG

    'They two didn't think far.', i.e. 'They didn't think it through.'   [Bk-4.091]

28. *Eto   hilaq   bai   tara   niq   masak o!*

    2SG   SURPRISE   thing   know NEG   big   EMPH

    'Gosh, you don't know a thing greatly!', i.e. 'Gosh, you know nothing!'[OS-07.03]

13.6   Intensifying serialisation

Intensifying serialisation is ambient, with the intensifying V$_2$ taking the preceding V$_1$ as its argument. Several monovalent verbs can appear as a V$_2$ directly following a V$_1$ to express intensification. See §14.2.2.4 on non-verbal intensifiers in Bunaq.

The monovalent verb *tepel* 'true' is frequently used for intensification of meaning of V$_1$, which may be monovalent (29) or bivalent (30).

29. *Ni-e   koar   tol   tepel.*

    1EXCL-POSS wrist   broken true

    'My wrist was really broken.'   [Bk-67.216]

30. *Eto*   *n-ol*   *bari*   **_g-akara_**   *tepel,...*

     2SG   1EXCL-child   PROX.AN   3AN-love   true

    '(If) you really love this child of mine,...'   [Bk-39.044]

The monovalent motion verb *liol* 'continue' also functions as an intensifier. In (31) and (32) it denotes that the state expressed by the preceding verb is 'thoroughly' the case. Example (32) has double intensifiers, with *liol* 'continue' intensifying the preceding intensifying V, *tepel* 'true' discussed above. See §13.8.2 on the use of *liol* 'continue' in aspectual serialisation. Context disambiguates whether the reading of *liol* 'continue' is intensifying or aspectual.

31. *Baqi*   *goet* *bi* *o*   *toek noq*   *bu*   *h-ini*   **_pisi_** **_liol_**.

    NPRX.AN   LIKE   DEF.AN AND   discussion   GIVEN   3INAN-CAUS clean   continue

    'The (men) like him also make the discussions completely clean (i.e. tie up all loose ends).'   [Bk-38.073]

32. *En*   **_milik_** **_tepel_** **_liol_**.

    person   afraid   true   continue

    'The people were really truly afraid.'   [Bk-66.012]

The monovalent verb *pisi* '(be) clean' is frequently used for intensification of the meaning of V$_1$ in the sense of 'thoroughly, completely', as in (33).

33. *Gi-e*   *g-ua~g-ua*   *ba*   **_tara_** **_pisi_** *oa.*

    3-POSS   3AN-footprint~3AN-footprint   DEF.INAN   know   be.clean PFV

    '(We) know the journeys of them thoroughly already.'   [Bk-65.076]

The monovalent verb *loi* 'good' is frequently used as a V$_2$ expressing intensification of meaning of non-agentive V$_1$, as in (34). Examples (35) and (36) illustrate the different placements of *niq* 'NEG' possible in intensifying serialisation. In (35), we see that *niq* 'NEG' follows both *loi* 'good' and the verb it intensifies *buis* 'arrogant', while in (36) *niq* 'NEG' occurs between *loi* 'good' and the verb it intensifies *iki* 'tiny'.

34. *Nei*   *ni-e*   *sirubisu*   **_koen_** **_loi_**.

    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   work   fine   good

    'Our work was very fine.'   [Bk-65.049]

35. *Nei*   *ni-e*   *ama*   *bari*   *buis*   **loï**   **niq.**
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   father   PROX.AN   arrogant good   NEG
    'Our father here is not so arrogant.', i.e. 'Our father is impossibly arrogant.'

                                                                     [LB-9.112]

36. *Iki*   **niq**   *loï*   *oa.*
    tiny   NEG   good   PFV
    '(It) was already so not tiny.', i.e. 'It was huge.'   [Bk-71.048]

Agentive verbs with *loï* 'good' have a modal interpretation, see §13.7.

13.7   Modal serialisation with *loï* 'be good'

As a main verb, *loï* is a monovalent verb meaning 'good', as in (37):

37. *En*   *na*   *serani*   *loï.*
    person   FOC   Christian   good
    'People who are Christian are good.'   [Bk-34.092]

In ambient serialisation with agentive verbs, *loï* 'good' expresses deontic modality. It occurs as V$_2$ directly following the V$_1$, which may be monovalent or bivalent. Modal *loï* 'good' is used to expresses statements of permission and permissibility. In (38) *loï* 'good' is used with *niq* 'NEG' to denote the impermissibility of working during the pre-planting festival. In (39), *loï* 'good' expresses that the burning of gardens is permitted following a particular ceremony.

38. *Biasa*   *bon*   *g-ete,*   *karna* *sirubisu*   **h-oqon** *loï*   *niq.*
    usually   gaming.stone   3AN-whack   because work   3INAN-do good   NEG
    'Usually (we) whack stones (i.e. play the game *bon gete*) because (we) are not allowed to work'   [Bk-10.033]

39. *Homo*   *haqal* *soq*   *naq*   *na,*   *mar*   **ini**   *loï.*
    CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ   FIRST   FOC   garden burn   good
    'Once that is finished, then (we) can burn the gardens.'   [Bk-8.003]

Loï 'good' also occurs as V$_2$ in SVCs where it denotes judgements of potentiality and possibility. In (40) *loï* 'good' is used as V$_2$ with *h-alolo* '3INAN-follow' to denote the possibility of taking a road or a small path to the church. In (41) *loï* 'good' refers to the

potentiality of using traditional forms of payment such as gold coins for purchasing things from shops in the modern world.

40. a.　*Kalau*　*Lolobul*　　　*loron*　*na*　***h-alolo***　　*loï.*
　　　　if　　　Lolobul　　　　road　　FOC　　3INAN-follow　good
　　　　'As for Lolobul (people, they) can follow a road.'　　　　　[Bk-34.106]

　　b.　*Hik*　*gol*　*na*　***h-alolo***　　*loï.*
　　　　path　small　FOC　3INAN-follow　good
　　　　'(Or they) can follow a small path.'　　　　　[Bk-34.107]

41. *Hatak,*　　*tumel*　*buleqen,*　　*belak*　　　*baqa*　　　*en*　　*hosok*
　　gold.coin　metal　red　　　　　silver.plate　NPRX.INAN　person　receive

　　niq,　　*tan*　　*baqa*　　　*rele*　*bai*　***wit***　*loï*　*niq,*　*baqa*
　　NEG　　because　NPRX.INAN　INS　　thing　fetch　good　NEG　　NPRX.INAN

　　rele　　*toko*　***mal***　*loï*　*niq.*
　　INS　　shop　go　　good　NEG

　　'Such coins, gold, and silver plates, people don't accept because with them (they) can't buy things, with them (they) can't go to the shop.'　　　　　[Bk-21.027]

13.8　Aspectual serialisation

Serial verbs expressing aspect are ambient: they occur as V$_2$ after the semantically main verb of a clause, V$_1$, which they take as an argument and for which they express aspect, and; they allow *niq* 'NEG' to intervene between V$_1$ and V$_2$. There are four serial verbs that are regularly used to denote aspect in Bunaq, they are: *haqal* 'finished' denoting completive aspect (§13.8.1); *liol* 'continue' denoting continuous aspect (§13.8.2); *des* 'still' denoting frequentive aspect (§13.8.3), and; *ciluq* 'stay' denoting persistent action (§13.8.4).

13.8.1　Serialisation with *haqal* 'finished'

The monovalent verb *h-aqal* '3INAN-finished (§10.3.1) can be used as the sole verb in a clause. The agreement pattern of the verb is defective: 3rd person INANIMATE Ss are marked by *h-* '3INAN-' (42a), while ANIMATE Ss of all persons are marked by *g-* '3AN-' (42b) with an ANIMATE 3rd person (42c).

42. a.　*Pesta*　*h-aqal*　　　*oa.*
　　　　festival　3INAN-finished　PFV
　　　　'The festival was finished.'

b. *Neto* *g-aqal* *oa.*
1SG   3AN-finished   PFV
'I was finished.', i.e. 'I was dead.'

c. *Zap* *g-aqal* *oa.*
dog   3AN-finished   PFV
'The dog was finished.', i.e. 'The dog was dead.'   [Not-06.01]

In serialisation *haqal* 'finished' has three functions: being used to indicate that the event specified by a non-stative verb is finished (§13.8.1.1), or denoting a state that the state is entered into completely (§13.8.1.2), or, finally, as a floating universal quantifier (§13.8.1.3). In its aspectual use, *haqal* 'finished' will be glossed without segmentation.

13.8.1.1   Completed action

Haqal 'be finished' is used to indicate that an event denoted by a non-stative verb is finished. Completive *haqal* 'finished' can combine with monovalent verbs (35), bivalent verbs (43) and trivalent verbs (44). Notice in (45) that the perfective *oa* 'PFV' follows the SVC complex.

43. *Pana*   *mone* **ton**   **haqal**.
female   man   marry   finished
'The woman (and) man have married.'   [Bk-38.046]

44. *En*   *baqi*   **g-olo** **haqal**.
person   NPRX.AN   3-bury   finished
'The person has finished being buried.' i.e. 'and is now buried.'   [Bk-18.047]

45. *Halaqi*   **t-ege**   *sal*   **haqal**   *oa.*
3PL   RECP-give   bad   finished   PFV
'They have finished giving bad to each other.',
i.e. 'They had stopped behaving badly to one another.'   [Bk-39.061]

In serialisation with motion verbs, *haqal* 'finished' indicates not that the motion event is finished but that it has begun. In (46) and (47), *haqal* 'finished' is serialised with the motion verbs *mal* 'go' and *liol* 'continue' respectively; here *haqal* 'finished' refers to the fact that the S participant has already departed and says nothing about the completion of the event of going as a whole.

46. *Gi-e*   *moen* *himo*   *ge-tekeq*   *bu,*   *gi-e*   *moen*
    3-POSS   friend CONTR.AN   3AN-look.for   GIVEN 3-POSS friend

    Atambua   *roe*   ***mal*** ***haqal***.
    Atambua   SPEC.INAN   go   finished

    'When (we) went to look for that friend of his, his friend had gone (i.e. set off) to
    Atambua.'   [Bk-37.108]

47. *Nona*   *Fulur* *a-ta*   ***liol***   ***haqal***.
    miss   Fulur   3INAN-GL   continue   finished

    'Miss had continued on to Fulur.'   [Bk-63.007]

Haqal 'finished' is also used extensively in clause sequencing where it indicates that the
event described in the following clause occurs after that to which it refers, as in (48-49).

48. *Nei*   *iskola* ***haqal***, *neto* *botil* *dele* *Weluli*   *mal.*
    1PL.EXCL   school   finished   1SG   bottle   INS   Weluli   go

    '(When) we finished school, I would go to Weluli with bottles.'   [Bk-63.007]

49. *H-ini*   *nigi*   ***haqal***,   *tebe* *pulas* *rebel.*
    3INAN-CAUS fine   finished   return twist   descend

    'After (the yarn) has been made fine, then twist it downwards.'   [Bk-64.017]

13.8.1.2 Complete state

In serialisation with verbs denoting a state, *haqal* 'finished' denotes not that the state is
finished, but that it has been entered into completely (cf. Haspelmath 1995). In (50) the
speaker questions the description of a person as having a bloody face, asking if it was
completely bloody (*haqal* 'finished'). In (51), a bird shows some children its mouth, saying
that it is completely (*haqal* 'finished') red (from the eating of flesh). In (52) the speaker's
family (*haqal* 'finished') say her hand is completely (*haqal* 'finished') broken, after she
falls on her home.

50. *G-ewen*   ***ho***   ***haqal***?
    3AN-face   bloody   finished

    'Was her face completely bloody?'   [Bk-47.054]

51. *N-agar*   *sa*   ***buleqen***   ***haqal***.
    1EXCL-mouth   EVEN   red   finished

    'My mouth is completely red.'   [Bk-49.028]

52. *N-on   o   bai   h-ini   **tol**   **haqal**.*

    1EXCL-hand AND   thing   3INAN-call   broken finished

    '(They) said my hand or whatever was completely broken.'   [Bk-52.012]

In (53), the monovalent verb *boto* can be interpreted dynamically as 'disperse' or statively as 'dispersed'. Thus, in serialisation with *haqal* 'finished' it can also have either the completed event or the complete state reading. A third reading is also possible in (46): *haqal* 'finished' can be seen as a floated quantifier referring to 'all' the flames.

53. *Lili   sa   **boto** **haqal**.*

    flame   EVEN   disperse finished

    'Even the flames had finished dispersing.' or   [Bk-43.006]

    'Even the flames had completely dispersed.' or

    'Even all the flames had dispersed.'

See §13.8.1.3 on the use of *haqal* 'be finished' as a quantifier 'all'.

13.8.1.3   'Complete' quantification

It was seen in §13.8.1.2 that in addition to the temporal point at which an activity is completed, *haqal* 'finished' can also be used quantificationally, expressing that the event described by the verb is carried out completely. In this function, *haqal* does not specifically refer to any of the arguments of the predicate. However, *haqal* may also refer to an argument of the predicate, quantifying it universally. As a universal quantifier *haqal* is always floating; it does not ever appear inside the NP that it quantifies (see §5.5.6), but remains in the post-V$_1$ position of the completive aspect verb.

The floating quantifier *haqal* can only refer to INANIMATE referents and is always ambiguous between its completive aspect, completive quantificational and universal quantificational readings. For instance, in (54), *haqal* can be interpreted aspectually, or adverbially (i.e. meaning 'completely') or as quantifying universally over the INANIMATE S, *zo* 'mango'. Note that in the first two readings the S may be interpreted as singular or plural.

54. *Zo   baqa   **za**   **haqal**.*

    mango   NPRX.INAN   ripe   finished

    'The mango(es) had finished ripening.', or

    'The mango(es) were completely ripe.', or

    'All the mangoes were ripe.'   [Bk-1.016]

In contrast to its invariable form as an aspectual and adverbial modifier, as a floating universal quantifier, *haqal* inflects for the ANIMACY of the noun it refers to. The form *g-aqal* '3AN-finished' is used when the quantifier refers to non-singular NPs in the 1st (55a), 2nd (55) or 3rd person ANIMATE (55c). In (55d), we see that *g-aqal* '3AN-finished' cannot be used with an NP headed by an INANIMATE noun. In serialisation, *g-aqal* '3AN-finished' can only be interpreted as a universal quantifier, and cannot denote completive aspect. For this, *haqal* 'finished' must be used, as in (55e).

55. a. *Nei*   *mal*   *g-aqal.*
       1PL.EXCL   go   3AN-finished
       'We all went.'

    b. *Ei*   *koleq* *g-aqal.*
       2PL   tired   3AN-finished
       'You are all tired.'

    c. *Paqol*   *baqi*   *za*   *g-aqal.*
       corn   NPRX.AN   ripe   3AN-finished
       'All the corn was ripe.'

    d. **Zo*   *baqa*   *za*   *g-aqal.*
        mango   NPRX.INAN   ripe   3AN-finished
       'All the mangoes were ripe.'

    e. *Paqol*   *baqi*   *za*   *haqal.*
       corn   NPRX.AN   ripe   finished
       'The corn has finished ripening.'

That we have agreement between a participant in the clause and the *haqal* as V$_2$ suggests that we are no longer dealing with a case of ambient serialisation, but one of argument sharing where the S of *haqal* is held in common with S/P/R of the V$_1$.[5] However, as with ambient serialisation, quantificational uses of *g-aqal* '3AN-finished' allow *niq* 'NEG' to either follow (56) or intervene between V$_1$ and V$_2$ (57). As such, quantificational *g-aqal*

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[5] The floating quantifier is restricted to modifying the P of a bivalent clause, the R of a trivalent clause, the S of a monovalent verb, or the 'subject' of a non-verbal clause. These restrictions are illustrated with *g-aqal* '3AN-finished' in §4.2, where it is, as elsewhere in this grammar, glossed as *gaqal* 'all.AN'.

'3AN-finished' is problematic to classify. Its mixed properties are perhaps a result of ongoing grammaticalisation from a SVC to a postverbal quantifier (§14.2.2).

56. *Sogo*   *baqi*   *kou*   *g-aqal*   *niq.*
    ten   NPRX.AN   slip   3AN-finished   NEG
    'Those ten didn't all slip.'   [Bk-10.012]

57. *Halaqi*   *sogo*   *baqi*   *re*   *niq*   *g-aqal.*
    3PL   ten   NPRX.AN   strike   NEG   3AN-finished
    'They didn't strike any of those ten.'   [Bk-10.020]

13.8.2 Serialisation with *liol* 'continue'

Liol 'continue' is a motion verb meaning 'continue', as in (58). The verb is often repeated to denote iteration, as in (59).

58. *Nei*   *liol*   *oa.*
    1PL.EXCL   continue   PFV
    'We continue (on moving) now.'   [Bk-13.013]

59. *Baqi*   *baqa*   *goet*   *liol*   *liol.*
    NPRX.AN   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   continue   continue
    'He continued (moving) on and on like that.'   [Bk-70.015]

In aspectual serialisation, *liol* 'continue' is used to denote continuous action (§13.8.2.1) and immediate action (§13.8.2.2). A third use in serialisation is as an intensifier and was discussed in §13.6. See §4.5.1 for illustration of the different possibilities of placing the negator with *liol* 'continue', and thus its status as an ambient serial verb.

13.8.2.1   Continuous action

Liol 'continue' can be used in serialisation to express a non-habitual event which is continued, prolonged and maintained (Comrie 1985: 26). *Liol* 'continue' combines not only with verbs denoting motion events (60), but also with verbs denoting any events with prototypical agents (61), or non-agents (62). See §13.5.1 on the meaning of *han* in this last example.

60. *Meaq gol*   *hiloqon*   *mele*   *liol.*
    child   two   walk   continue
    'The two children continued to walk.'   [LB1.020]

61. *Neto* *baqa* *na* **h-oqon** *liol.*
    1SG NPRX.INAN FOC 3INAN-make continue
    'It was these (terraces) that I continued to make.' [Bk-65.071]

62. *Inel* *debel, han* *muk* *gene* **re** *liol.*
    rain descend be.no.matter earth LOC strike continue
    'The rain fell, just striking the earth continually.' [Bk-65.101]

Liol 'continue' can also serialise with verbs referring to states where it denotes that the state is retained in place, condition, etc., as in (63-64).

63. *Baqi* *u* *niq* *oa,* *baqi* **heser** *liol.*
    NPRX.AN live NEG PFV NPRX.AN dead continue
    'He didn't live any more, he kept on being dead.' [Bk-4.093]

64. *Muk* *Timor-Leste tekil* *en* *hobel,* *muk* **nur** *liol.*
    land East Timor certainly person not.exist land empty continue
    'The land (of) East Timor certainly had no people, the land continued to be empty.'
    [Bk-66.015]

As in its independent use, *liol* 'continue' can be repeated to indicate iteration when referring to an active event, as in (65-66).

65. **Pese** *liol* *liol,* *baqa* *goet.*
    squeeze continue continue NPRX.INAN be.like
    'Squeeze again and again, like that.' [Bk-64.014]

66. *Nei* **ge-lelu** *liol* *liol.*
    1PL.EXCL 3AN-beat continue continue
    'We keep beating him and beating him.' [Bk-65.015]

13.8.2.2 Immediate action

Liol 'continue' can be used in serialisation to indicate an immediately following event. In examples (67-69), *liol* 'continue' marks the clause it occurs in as happening immediately after the one denoted in the previous clause. Note in (69) that *liol* 'continue' is paired in the same clause with Indonesian *langsung* 'directly', emphasising the immediacy.

67. *Hapal   de,   eli   **tama**   **liol**.*
    open   correct 2DU   enter   continue
    'Open correctly, (and) you (will) enter immediately.'   [LB2.143]

68. *G-awas   pak,   baqi   **rebel** **liol**.*
    3AN-forehead   whack   NPRX.AN   down   continue
    '(She) hit him on the head, (and) went on down immediately.'   [Bk-43.75]

69. *Ei g-azal,   ei   misti teq,   **langsung**   **teqa** **liol**.*
    2PL 3AN-see   2PL   must   pray   directly   pray   continue
    '(When) you see them, you must pray, pray immediately.'   [Bk-47.084]

13.8.3 Frequent action with *des* 'still'

The monovalent verb *des* is an independent verb meaning '(be) still, unmoving, calm', as in:

70. a. *Baqi   **res**.*
        NPRX.AN   still
        'He was still'   [Bk-65.018]

    b. *Baqi   lulai niq   oa.*
        NPRX.AN   move   NEG   PFV
        'He wasn't moving any more.'   [Bk-65.019]

As a V$_2$ in ambient serialisation, *des* 'still' is used to denote frequentive aspect. Depending on the context, the frequentive aspect denoted by *des* 'still' may be interpreted as either habitual or iterative in meaning.

The term 'habitual' is taken here to refer to 'a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time' (Comrie 1985: 27). The use of *des* 'still' in habitual serialisation is illustrated below. In (71) *des* 'still' is used to denote an event that happens year in year out. In (72) *des* 'still' denotes that the taking of bottles to Weluli on Sundays was habitual for the speaker. In (73) *des* 'still' is used to describe the ongoing paranoia of the A, following the death of her child.

71. *To   ai   to   ai   baqa   goet hoqon **des**.*
    year   ONLY year ONLY NPRX.INAN   LIKE do   still
    'Year after year, (we) do it like that.'   [Bk-8.048]

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72. *Neto*   *hot*   *mil*   *misa*   *no*   *botil*   *Weluli* **mal**   **des**.

    1SG   sun   DUR   mass   OBL   bottle   Weluli   go   still

    'On Sundays (lit. on mass day) I would go to Weluli with bottles.'   [Bk-13.013]

73. *G-egil*   **g-azal**   **des**.

    3AN-shadow   3AN-see   still

    '(She) saw shadow's constantly.' i.e. 'She was constantly suspicious.' [Bk-39.042]

There is one example in the corpus where *des* 'still' is used to denote iterative rather than habitual aspect. Iterative refers to repeated occurrences of an event within a single situation (Declerck 1991: 277). In (74) we see that *des* 'still' occurs as V$_2$ with the monovalent verb *lulai* 'move' to denote the nervous shaking of the limbs of a just killed person.

74. *G-on*   *o*   *g-iri* *roe*   **lulai** **res**.

    3AN-arm   AND   3AN-leg SPEC.INAN   move   still

    'His arms and legs were moving constantly.'   [Bk-52.028]

In some cases, the use of *des* 'still' as a V$_2$ in serialisation can be ambiguous. For instance, in (75) *des* 'still' can be interpreted either as referring to the manner in which the S is sitting ('sitting stilly') or as referring to frequentive (habitual) action ('sitting constantly'). Context serves to disambiguate the reading.

75. *Markus*   *mit*   **des**.

    Markus   sit   still

    'Markus sits stilly.' or 'Markus sits constantly.'   [Not-07.03]

13.8.4 Persistent action with *ciluq* 'rest'

The monovalent verb *ciluq* denotes 'rest, relax, hang out' when used as a main verb in Bunaq.[6] This is illustrated in (76).

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[6] *Ciluq* 'rest' appears to be a borrowing of Kemak *cilu* 'stay' (cf. §2.1.4 on the insertion of glottal stop in borrowings), where it is used in serialisation to denote continuous aspect. The use of a verb meaning 'stay' as a continuous aspect has been described for other Austronesian languages of Timor, such as Tetun Dili (Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger 2002: 79-80), and is a well-known grammaticalisation path crosslinguistically (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 277-278).

76. *Nei*   *n-ol*   *mil*   *bari*   *g-utu*   **ciluq.**
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-child   COLL   PROX.AN   3-COM   rest

    '(He) hangs out with our children.'   [Bk-22.010]

Ciluq 'rest' is occasionally used in serialisation, where it denotes persistent action. In both examples in the corpus, *ciluq* 'rest' is serialised with the motion verb *mal* 'go'. In (77) *ciluq* 'rest' denotes that the participant kept going to the chicken fights. In (78) *ciluq* 'rest' is used to denote that the efforts of farmers to clear their gardens of undergrowth prior to planting are persistent.

77. *Baqi*   *di-e*   *zap*   *g-ilan,* *mete* *baqa*   *goet*   **mal**   **ciluq.**
    NPRX.AN   REFL-POSS   dog   3AN-tie NOW   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   go   rest

    'He tied up his dog and like that kept going (to the chicken fight).'   [LB-8.178]

78. *U*   *t-ul*   **mal**   *siluq.*
    undergrowth 3INAN-pull   go   rest

    '(They) keep going to clear undergrowth.'   [Bk-3.008]

13.9   Motion serialisation

In Bunaq the serialisation of motion verbs to express complex motion events is highly productive. Motion SVCs follow a strictly ordered sequence such that a template with distinct slots can be used to describe the observed combinations and ordering of motion verbs in serialisation. The template for the serialisation of motion verbs in Bunaq is presented in Table 13.2. The elements in motion SVCs which appear left-most following the S/A are in column 1 with items in other columns following in order until column 6 whose items appear as the right-most elements of the motion SVC. The ordering of the template is iconic: origin of motion precedes verbs denoting the motion, with goal of motion in turn following those verbs denoting the motion.

    Lists in the columns of the template are complete, with exception of column 4 which represents only a sample of the manner of motion verbs, albeit the most common ones, which can possibly occur in this slot. Only one item is included per clause from each of columns 1, 3 and 6. That is, if a goal or origin is encoded in one way within the clause it excludes the possibility of the goal encoding strategies being used in the same clause. This holds not only for goal encoding strategies occupying the same slot in the template, but

also across the two goal slots. So, where a goal is expressed using a strategy from slot 3, it excludes the possibility of any additional goal being expressed by another form in that slot and in slot 6, and vice versa.

There are four basic strategies for the encoding of goals in Bunaq. However, there are some limited possibilities for more than one item from the verbs in columns 4 and 5.

In the following sections, I will illustrate and elaborate on aspects of this motion serialisation template. In §13.9.1, I look at the use of core serialisation to express origin and goal locations in motion SVCs, that is, items in column 1, 3 and 5 function to add NPs (= 'X' in the template). In §13.9.2, I look at the encoding of centrifugal motion with the verb, *tebe* 'return'. Finally, in §13.9.3 I look at nuclear serialisation with motion verbs from within columns 4 and 5 in the template.

13.9.1 Origin-Motion-Goal SVCs

As mentioned above, the expression of goal and origin in a motion SVC is strictly iconic with the origin (column 1) always precedes a verb denoting the motion or the goal of the motion, either one expressed in column 3 (79) or one expressed in column (80).

Origin location + centrifugal + goal + deictic directional (1 + 2 + 3 + 5b)

79. *Nona*   *Australia*   *gene*   *tebe*   *Gewal a-ta*   *man,...*
     miss   Australia   LOC   return   Gewal   3INAN-GL   come
     '(When) miss comes back from Australia to Gewal,...'   [Bk-14.004]

Origin location + manner of motion + goal (1 + 4 + 6)

80. *G-o*   *he*   *reu*   *mal!.*
     3-SRC   run   house   go
     'Run away from (him) to home!'   [OS-07.01]

The items used to express goal and origin NPs in motion SVCs constitute a mixed bag of postpositions, verbal postpositions and verbs. The postpositions, *no* 'OBL' (§12.1.3) and *gene* 'LOC' (§12.1.2) can head predicates (§3.5.6), and their role in motion SVCs (in column 1-6) constitutes a clear form of serial predication in which there is S/A sharing between the motion verb and the PP, thus: S/A $_{PRED1}$[$_{PP}$origin] $_{PRED2}$[$_V$ motion] $_{PRED3}$[$_{PP}$goal]. Goal encoding strategies using postpositions following a motion verb are resultative: the motion is completed and the result is that the participant is *at* the goal location, as in (81-82).

Table 13.2: Template of motion verb serialisation

1. ORIGIN	2. CENTRIFUGAL MOTION	3. GOAL	4. MANNER OF MOTION VERB	5. DIRECTIONAL VERB† A. NON-DEICTIC B. DEICTIC		6. GOAL
X *gene* 'LOC'	*tebe* 'return'	X *a-ta* '3INAN-GL'	*he* 'run'	*debel* 'descend'	*man* 'come'	X *gene* 'LOC'
X *no* 'OBL'			*mele* 'walk'	*saqe* 'ascend'	*wil* 'come down'	X *no* 'OBL'
X *g-o* '3-SRC'			*ciwal* 'flee'	*tama* 'enter'	*mina* 'come up'	X *pir* ‡ 'reach'
			topol 'fall'	*sai* ‡ 'exit'	*zemal* 'go down'	X *mal* 'go'
			sikit 'leap'		*menal* 'go up'	X *ata mal* 'go towards'
			el 'crawl'		*honal* 'go across'	X *ata sai* 'come to'
			etc.			

Notes on column items:

† Column 5 gives a complete list of the directional verbs in Bunaq. Non-deictic motion verbs express motion inwards/outwards or upwards/downwards; the motion denoted by non-deictic motion verbs is not anchored to any deictic center. Deictic motion verbs express motions events with reference to the speaker as deictic centre: motion towards speaker ('come'); motion away from speaker ('go'). Deictic motion verbs include an addition dimension of geographical plane: motion to lower elevation = 'down'; motion to higher elevation = 'up'. One verb *man* 'come' is neutral as to changes of plane in the motion, while another *honal* 'go across' denotes motion on a level plane ('across'); these two verbs lack deictic opposites in the paradigm, i.e. *'come across' and *'go'. The verb *mal* glossed as 'go' in column 6 has no deictic ground, but can be used in describing events both to and from the deictic ground, cf. Wilkins and Hill (1995) on the cross-linguistic meaning of 'go' verbs relative to 'come'.

‡ The verbs *sai* 'exit' and *pir* 'reach' have an additional deictic motion meaning 'go down to garden' and 'go up to home' respectively, when used independently without any specification for origin and/or goal location. Gardens are typically located on sloping ground in valleys below villages, while villages are located on ridges. See picture 8.

Origin + deictic directional + goal (1 + 5b + 6)

81. *Sun Gewen*   *gene*   *honal*   _{GOAL}[*Ukaq Getel*   *gene*].

    Sun Gewen   LOC   go.across   Ukaq Getel   LOC

    '(You) go across from Sun Gewen (and be) at Ukaq Getel.'   [Bk-34.001]

Deictic directional + goal (5b + 6)

82. *Halaqi*   *mina*   _{GOAL}[*ola*   *Lakus*   *mual*   *bare*   *no*].

    3PL   come.up   LOW   Lakus   land   PROX.INAN   OBL

    'They came up (and were) at this low land (of) Lakus .'   [Bk-29.019]

Alternatively, verbal postpositions can be used to express origin, in the case of *g-o* '3-SRC' expressing human origin locations (illustrated in 80, §12.3.4), and goal in the case of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' (§12.3.3) expressing the location *towards* which a motion takes place, for both semantically animate (83) and inanimate (84) goals.

Goal + manner motion + non-deictic directional (3 + 4 + 5a)

83. _{GOAL}[*Toren*   *wa*   *a-ta*]   *he*   *saqe.*

      beam   top   3INAN-GL   run   ascend

    '(He) ran up to the top of the beam.'   [Bk-47.132]

Human goal + motion (3 + 5b)

84. *Baqi*   _{GOAL}[*ei*   *i-ta*]   *man*   *niq?*

    NPROX.AN   2PL   1INCL/2-GL   come   NEG

    'He didn't come to you?'   [Bk-47.026]

Given their inability to head predicates (§3.7.1), the appearance of verbal postpositions in a SVC template is syntactically problematic. However, because their appearance expressing origin and/or goal location blocks other true serial predications, which express those same roles, from appearing in a clause as described in §13.9, they must be considered as part of the motion template.

There are two verbs, *mal* 'go' and *pir* 'reach', which are used to express goal in column 6 of the template. i.e. following the verb of motion, in motion SVCs.[7] *Mal* 'go'

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[7] Both these verbs can also occur as independent clausal predicates with the goal location NP encoded as an unmarked oblique (§10.6.5). That is, their ability to encode goals is not restricted to a SVC. As independent main verbs, *mal* 'go' and *pir* 'reach' can also appear without goal obliques. In the case of *mal* 'go', this means that the goal of the motion is simply left unspecified.

is neutral as to the 'achievedness' of the motion to the goal location, i.e. the participant may or may not have arrived at the goal (85). *Pir* signifies an achieved goal, i.e. that the motion occurs *right up to* the goal location (86).

Deictic directional + goal (5b + 6)

85. *Neto   rele   zemal*   _{GOAL}[*Weluli   mal*].
    1SG   INS   go.down   Weluli   go
    'I went down with (them) to Weluli.'   [Bk-13.005]

Centrifugal + deictic directional + goal (2 + 5b + 6)

86. *Baqi   tebe   man*   _{GOAL}[*deu   pir*].
    NPRX.AN   return   come   house   reach
    'She came back (and) reached the house'   [LB-5.180]

Finally, we see in column 6 that there are two complex goal encoding strategies in which the verbal postposition *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is nested as the complement of the verbs *mal* 'go' and *sai* 'exit'. That *mal* 'go' and *sai* 'exit' form a unit together with *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' is seen from the fact that, when co-occurring with *mal* 'go' or *sai* 'exit', *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' follows a manner and/or direction motion verb, as in (87) and (88). This contrasts with the expected order in which a goal encoded by *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' alone must precede a manner (column 4) and/or direction motion verb (column 5).[8]

Manner motion + goal (4 + 6)

87. *En   baqis loï   he* _{GOAL}[*haqe a-ta   mal*].
    person   much   good   run   THERE   3INAN-GL   go
    'A good many people run to there .'   [Bk-66.013]

Manner of motion (x2) + non-deictic directional + goal (2 + 5a + 6)

88. *Baqi   he   sikit   rebel*   _{GOAL}[*an   gol   uen   a-ta   sai*].
    NPRX.AN   run   leap   descend   grass small one   3INAN-GL   exit
    'He ran leapingly down (and) came onto a patch of grass.'   [Bk-6.019]

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[8] Note that *sai* cannot appear in the same clause both in column 5a as a directional verb and in column 6 as a kind of goal encoder. See §12.3.3.1 for further illustration of the combination *ata sai*.

Like other verbs in column 6, the units *ata mal* 'go towards' and *ata sai* 'exit towards' do not only appear in SVCs, but can also occur as independent clausal predicates. Semantically, *ata mal* 'go towards' denotes the direction towards which another motion is directed, with seemingly little difference between simple uses of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' in column 3. The combination *ata sai* refers to an accidental goal which is simply 'come across' (see §12.3.3.1).

13.9.2 Centrifugal motion SVCs

The verb *tebe* 'return' expresses centrifugal motion. It occurs before any verb expressing motion whether with or without intrinsic direction. Examples of the different combinations of *tebe* 'return' with verbs from other templatic slots filled in various manners are given in (89-91):

Centrifugal + goal (2 + 6)

89. *Nei*   **tebe**   *ri-e*   *iskola mal.*
    1PL.EXCL   return   REFL-POSS   school   go
    '(We) return to our school'   [Bk-1.052]

Origin + centrifugal + non-deictic directional (1 + 2 + 5a)

90. *En*   *huqe*   *gene*   **tebe**   *saqe.*
    person   HERE   LOC   return   ascend
    'The person ascended back from here.'   [Bk-10.019]

Centrifugal + deictic directional (2 + 5b)

91. *Belanda*   **tebe**   *man*   *teni*   *oa.*
    Holland   return   come   again   PFV
    'The Dutch had already come back again.'   [Bk-29.015]

There is one notable deviation from the template presented in Table 13.2 involving *tebe* 'return'. As the template depicts, *tebe* 'return' occurs in serialisation before a goal location in column 3 of the template where a manner and/or directional motion verb follow, as illustrated in (92). However, when *tebe* 'return' is the only motion verb of a clause, it occurs after the goal encoded by *a-ta* '3INAN-GL', as in (93). This constraint is a reflection of the verbal postpositional status of *a-ta* '3INAN-GL' and of the fact that it cannot occur as an independent clause final predicate.

Origin location + centrifugal + goal + deictic directional (1+2+3+5b)

92. *Nona   Australia   gene   **tebe**   Gewal **a-ta**   man,...*
    miss   Australia   LOC   return   Gewal 3INAN-GL   come

    '(When) miss comes back to Gewal from Australia,...'   [Bk-14.004]

Goal + centrifugal motion (3+2)

93. *Akirnya   halaqi ri-e   muk   **a-ta**   **tebe**.*
    finally   3PL   REFL-POSS   earth   3INAN-GL   return

    'In the end, they went back to their own land.'   [Bk-29.014]

Note also that *tebe* 'return' is not limited to denoting centrifugal motion. It may also be used denote any action that involves a restoration or return to a previous state, as in (94-95).

94. *Pana   gol   himo   **tebe**   g-ariqa.*
    female   small   CONTR.AN   return   3AN-repair

    '(He has to) repair back that girl.', i.e. '(He has to) restore that girl's reputation.'
    [Bk-21.029]

95. *Homo   na,   baqi **tebe**   loï   soq,...*
    CONTR.INAN FOC   NPRX.AN return   good   SEQ

    'After that she returned (to being) good,...'   [Bk-43.036]

Tebe 'return' may also introduce an event that happens 'in turn', i.e in sequence, to the event in the previous clause, as in (96). In this function, *tebe* 'return' occurs at the beginning of the clause in the manner of a sentence connecting adverb, and, unlike *tebe* 'return' denoting a motion event, does not follow an origin of motion where one is expressed. In this function, *tebe* is elsewhere glossed as 'in turn'.

96. ***Tebe***   *Jepang   man.*
    return   Japan   come

    'Then the Japanese came.'   [Bk-29.007]

13.9.3 Directional SVCs

Directional serialisation is nuclear: the verbs share the S/A argument and form a tight unit together, with no other constituents, including the negator, able to occur between

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the serialised verbs. Manner of motion verbs lack directional orientation. As the template depicts, direction may be specified for these motion verbs by a following directional verb, either a non-deictic directional (97-98) or a deictic directional (99-100).

Manner of motion + non-deictic directional (4 + 5a)

97. *Mel   ba,   ciwal sai.*
    awake   DEF.INAN   flee   exit
    '(When she) woke up, (she) fled outside.'   [Bk-43.056]

Origin + manner of motion + non-deictic directional (1 + 4 + 5a)

98. *Tirin   g-ewen   gene topol rebel.*
    cliff   3AN-face   LOC   fall   descend
    '(She) fell down from the cliff face.'   [Bk-4.066]

Manner of motion + deictic directional (2 + 5b)

99. *He   mina.*
    run   come.up
    '(She) came running up here.'   [LB-3.127]

Manner of motion + deictic directional (2 + 5b)

100. *Mele   mele   zemal.*
      walk   walk   go.down
      '(You) keep walking down.'   [Bk-34.037]

The direction of non-motion actions may also be specified by means of serialisation with directional verbs. The action verb is V$_1$ and may be monovalent (101) or bivalent (102). The second verb may be drawn from either the class of non-deictic directional verbs (102) or that of deictic directional verbs (101).

101. *Gi-e   en   huqe   gene   g-ege   hape   honal.*
      3-POSS person HERE   LOC   3AN-BEN   mobile.phone go.across
      'Her people here mobile-phoned across to her.'   [Bk-43.004]

102. *Lolo   wa   gene   na   g-ete rebel.*
      mountain   top   LOC   FOC   3AN-hit descend
      'From the mountain top (they) hit down.'   [Bk-5.004]

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There are only a few examples in the corpus of non-deictic directional (5A) and deictic verbs to be serialised together (5B). The attested combinations are given in (103-105). Notice that the non-deictic verb always precedes the deictic verb.

103. *Mali* *G-el*   *Pur* *Masak*   *a-ta*   **saqe**   **menal**.
      Mali   3AN-grave   banyan big   3INAN-GL   ascend   go.up
      '(You) ascend going up to Mali's Grave Big Banyan Tree.'   [Bk-34.007]

104. *Homo*   *soq* *naq*   *na,*   *tebe*   **tama**   **man**.
      CONTR.INAN   SEQ   FIRST   FOC   return   enter   come
      'Once that was (done), (he) came back in.'   [Bk-67.127]

105. *Uen*   *o*   *gene*   **debel** **man**.
      one   nowhere   LOC   descend   come
      'One (bird) came down out of nowhere.'   [LB-3.082]

It is also possible for pairs of non-deictic directional verbs (5A) or pairs of deictic motion verbs to be serialised together (5B) in cases where the paired verbs denote the opposite motion, i.e. 'to and fro'. In (106-107) we see similar pairings of deictic motion verbs motion to denote 'go back and forth' and 'go up and down' respectively.

106. *I*   **honal**   **man**.
      1PL.INCL   go.across   come
      'We go (and) come.' i.e. 'We go back and forth.'   [Bk-39.020]

107. *Baqi*   **menal** **wil**   *gie.*
      NPRX.AN   go.up   come.down   PROSP
      'He is going to go up (and) come down.'   [OS-06.01]

The final form of nuclear serialisation observed is with two manner-of-motion verbs, though this is rare. For instance, in (108) the V₁ *he* 'run'[9] is serialised with the V₂ *sikit* 'leap' to denote that the running was done in a leaping manner, with *rebel* 'descend' following to describe direction. Similarly in (109), the V₁ *borus* 'move

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[9] The meaning of *he* is better characterised as 'move at speed', as it can refer to 'fly' of a bird, or 'swim' of a fish, or 'run' of a human.

through' is serialised with the V$_2$ *ciwal* 'flee' to denote that the moving through was done in a fleeing manner.

108. *Baqi*   *he*   *sikit*   *rebel*   *an*   *gol*   *uen*   *a-ta*   *sai.*
     NPRX.AN   run   leap   descend   grass   small   one   3INAN-GL   exit
     'He ran leapingly down (and) came onto a patch of grass.'   [Bk-6.019]

109. *Tebe*   *tama*   *sai,*   *borus*   *ciwal*   *liol.*
     return   enter   exit   move.through   flee   continue
     'In turn (she) went in (then) out, continuing going through in flight.' [Bk-43.077]

Chapter 14: Adverbs, verbal and clausal modifiers

This chapter is concerned with items which function to modify elements other than nouns. Items with this function constitute a semantically and syntactically heterogenous group (§3.6.3), which can be variously characterised as 'adverbs', 'verbal modifiers' or 'clausal modifiers'. These items will be discussed together here as a matter of descriptive convenience. For the most part, I will discuss individual adverbial words, but some discussion of adverbial phrases in also included.

The main distinction to be made between non-nominal modifying elements is between those that occur before the clausal predicate (here, 'pre-verbal': §14.1) and those that occur following it ('post-verbal': §14.2). There is often considerable freedom for an element to occur in different preverbal/postverbal positions with correlating differences in scope within the preverbal and postverbal positions. Throughout this chapter, I will concentrate on the semantics of non-nominal modifiers with only brief reference to the different possible positions of the items.

14.1   Preverbal modification

Preverbal modifiers in Bunaq can typically occur between any of the preverbal constituents, as in Figure 14.1. The different preverbal positions differ in scope and meaning. A preverbal adverb has scope over clausal constituents to its right. So, for example, a modifier preceding the S/A has scope over the whole clause, while a modifier occurring immediately before the predicate (V) has scope over the predicate alone.

Figure 14.1: Possible positions of preverbal modifiers

(ADV_1) S/A (ADV_2) P (ADV_3) V

Temporal adverbs are barred from the position between P and V (ADV_3), while other preverbal modifiers are also barred from the pre-S/A position (ADV_1). There is no restriction on the number of preverbal modifiers that are permissible, though it is rare for more than one to occur in any of the positions in Figure 14.1.

Bunaq preverbal modifiers are adverbs encoding modality (§14.1.1), manner (§14.1.2), time (§14.1.3), and emphatic negation (§14.1.4).

14.1.1 Modal adverbs

Modality is the linguistic expression of a speaker's attitude towards a proposition, including its likelihood, necessity and desirability. In Bunaq, modality is expressed by means of a set of adverbs (also see §13.7), given in Table 14.1.[1]

These adverbs appear directly after the verb/predicate they modify. They can also occur without a verb, if it can be understood from context, e.g. *misti!* '(you) must (do it)!'. The majority of modal adverbs can occur between any preverbal constituents from before an A/S to directly before the verb itself; only two are not found to occur prior to an A/S.

Table 14.1: Modal adverbs

		Pre-A/S?
misti	'must'	N
sala	'should'	Y
asal	'necessarily'	Y
hilaq	'SURPRISE'	Y
hele	'perhaps'	Y
kalaq	'maybe'	Y
hani	'PROH'	N

Bunaq speakers also regularly use modals from the contact languages, Indonesian/Malay and Tetun Dili, some of which are: *bele* 'can, may' (< Tet.), *bisa* 'can' (< Ind. 'can'), and *harus* 'must' (< Ind. 'must'). In §14.1.1.1-§14.1.1.7, only the modal adverbs which Bunaq speakers identify as belonging to Bunaq are discussed, although some of these are borrowings.

14.1.1.1 *misti* 'must'

The modal *misti*, also for a small number of speakers *musti*, is used to express deontic modal meaning 'must, have to'. This item is probably a borrowing from Tetun *musti* 'must', but ultimately originates in Malay *mesti* 'must'; *misti* is not recognised as a loan by Bunaq speakers and is found across all dialects of Bunaq.

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[1] The term auxiliary is not used here, since the ability of placing a modal in between a P and the verb suggests that the Bunaq modals are not located in a structural position above VP as is typically posited for an auxiliary, cf. Barbiers (2006).

Misti 'must' always follows the A/S of a clause, as in (1), and occasionally also follows the P (2):

1. *Ei   g-azal, ei   **misti** teqa.*
   2PL   3AN-see 2PL   must   pray
   'If you see (them), you must pray.'   [Bk-47.084]

2. *Baqa   **misti** h-one   tama.*
   NPRX.INAN must   3INAN-hold   enter
   'That must be held entering.'   [Bk-70.082]

14.1.1.2 *sala* 'should'

Sala 'should' is a deontic modal that is used in strong statements of duty, obligation, or propriety. Typically it follows the A/S of a clause (3), but may also occur following P (4).

3. *Eto   **sala**   mal, ...*
   2SG   should   go
   'You should go, ...'   [LB5.145]

4. *D-agar   **sala** tais.*
   REFL-mouth should cloth
   '(I) should (tie shut with a) cloth my mouth.'   [Bk-67.110]

Sala is used to denote a necessary condition, referring to what would occur or would have occurred under certain hypothetical conditions in the past or present. In (5) *sala* is used in the first clause to express an unreal condition, whose fulfilment would have meant the avoidance of death for humanity. In (6) *sala* stipulates that the speaker would marry him, on the condition that the grub the speaker found is human.

5. ***Sala***   *hoto   wit   ai,   i   heser   niq.*
   should   fire   fetch ONLY   1PL.INCL   die   NEG
   'Should (she) have just fetched the fire, we would not die.'   [LB10.041]

6. ***Sala***   *en   on   gie   bu,   neto   g-utu ton   ai.*
   should   person DO   PROSP   GIVEN 1SG   3-COM marry ONLY
   'Should (he) be going to be a human, I would just marry him.'   [Bk-71.009]

14.1.1.3 *asal* 'necessarily'

Asal 'necessarily' is used to denote deontic modality in which the speaker expresses how the world ought to be, according to a certain norm or their own expectations. In (7) *asal* 'necessarily' is used to indicate that *mal* 'going' as an action whose fulfilment is required. In (8) *asal* 'necessarily' is used to refer to the changing standards in modern society whereby marriages cannot be arranged blind, but the pair must also like each other for the marriage to take place.

7. *Neto*　　**asal**　　*mal.*
   2SG　　necessarily　　go
   'It is necessary that I go.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[OS.07-01]

8. *Ton,*　　*en*　　**asal**　　*to-mobel.*
   marriage　person　necessarily　RECP-like
   '(In) marriage (these days), it is necessary for the people to like each other.'
   　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Bk-62.028]

Asal may occur either before or after the clausal A/S. The difference between these two positions is illustrated by the pair of minimally contrastive examples in (9). In (9a) *asal* follows the S and emphasises that it is the referent of S who needs to work. In (9b) where *asal* is initial and has scope of the whole clause; the pragmatic focus is on the necessity of working in general.

9. a. *Baqi*　　*asal*　　*sirubisu.*
   　　NPRX.AN　necessarily　work
   　　'For him/her to work is necessary.'　　　　　　　　[OS.07-01]

　　b. *Asal*　　*baqi*　　*siribisu*
   　　necessarily　NPRX.AN　work
   　　'It is necessary for him/her to work'　　　　　　　[OS.07-01]

14.1.1.4 *hilaq* 'SURPRISE'

Hilaq 'SURPRISE' is an evaluative modal adverb which denotes that that the proposition expressed by a clause is against either the expectation of the speaker or some general expectation on probable worlds. *Hilaq* can occur clause initially or following the S/A argument and is often accompanied by a rising intonation.

In (10) *hilaq* is used to highlight that the surprising event of a person talking to a turtle really did happen. In (11) clause-initial *hilaq* highlights surprise at the fact that it was a monkey who had stolen the child.

10. *Zol*   *gene*   ***hilaq***   *lenuk* *g-utu* *rale.*
    river   LOC   SURPRISE   turtle   3-COM speak
    'At the river (she) spoke with a turtle surprisingly.'   [Bk-72.017]

11. ***Hilaq***   *mete*   *orel*   *himo*   *g-ini*   *gi-e.*
    SURPRISE   NOW   monkey CONTR.AN   3AN-CAUS   3-POSS
    'What a surprise, the monkey (mentioned just) now had made her his.'[Bk-68.010]

Hilaq is frequently used in demonstrative presentational clauses (§4.3.1) identifying an individual. In (12-13), *hilaq* is used to express surprise at the person's identity.

12. *Berek*   *o*   *Mauk* ***hilaq***   *bari.*
    Berek   AND   Mauk SURPRISE   PROX.AN
    'What a surprise, these are Berek and Mauk.'   [LB-3.158]

13. ***Hilaq***   *gi-e*   *eme*   *na*   *baqi.*
    SURPRISE   3-POSS mother FOC   NPRX.INAN
    'What a surprise, it's her mother.'   [Bk-72.019]

14.1.1.5 *hele* 'perhaps'

Hele 'perhaps' is used in the expression of epistemic possibility, denoting the speaker's subjective belief in the possibility of the proposition in a clause. *Hele* occurs either preceding the A/S (14) or following the A/S (15). In elicitation, *hele* was seen also to be able to occur between P and V, but this is not attested in any natural language examples in the corpus.

14. *Hele*   *en*   *halaqi* *lekot*   *baqi*   *misa* *niq*   *be,*
    perhaps   person 3PL   obligated   NPRX.INAN   mass   NEG   CONTEXP
    ota   *o*   *Nualain*   *gi-e*   *bu*   *ate.*
    LEVEL   ADDR   Nualain   3-POSS GIVEN far
    'Perhaps those obligated people perhaps come in succession,...'   [Bk-34.094]

15. *En*   ***hele***   *zonal*   *gene*   *man, ...*
     person   perhaps   succession   LOC   come

     'People perhaps come in succession,...'   [Bk-67.319]

Hele is also regularly used in yes-no questions to suggest the possibility of the questioned proposition to the addressee, as in (16-17).

16. ***Hele***   *hosu*   *hati?*
     perhaps   other   exist

     'Perhaps there's (an)other (thing)?'   [Bk-44.014]

17. *Ei* ***hele***   *nei*   *ni-e*   *eme*   *o*   *nei*   *ni-e*
     2PL perhaps   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   mother   AND   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS

     ama   *g-azal?*
     father   3AN-see

     'Have you perhaps seen our mother and father?'   [LB1.013]

14.1.1.6 *kalaq* 'maybe'

Kalaq is an adverb expressing the epistemic modal meaning 'maybe'. *Kalaq* is borrowed from Tetun *kala* (also *kal*) 'maybe', and is perhaps ultimately from Malay *kalau* '(also *kalo*) 'if'. *Kalaq* 'maybe' is relatively infrequent in Bunaq, appearing in the speech of only a few older speakers in the corpus.

As an adverb, *kalaq* is attested in clause-medial position following an A/S (18), but also clause initially (19).

18. *Bari*   *na*   ***kalaq***   *bare*   *h-oqon.*
     PROX.AN   FOC   maybe   PROX.INAN   3INAN-do

     'It was maybe this (person) who did this.'   [Bk-72.046]

19. ***Kalaq***   *en*   *n-azal*   *oa.*
     maybe   person   1EXCL-see   PFV

     'Maybe people have seem me already.'   [Bk-72.021]

See also §3.5.8.2 on the use of *kalaq* 'maybe' as a clause conjunction meaning 'if'.

14.1.1.7 *hani* 'ᴘʀᴏʜ'

Hani 'ᴘʀᴏʜ' is a directive adverb expressing prohibitive modality, i.e. that the proposition denoted by a clause is not permitted. *Hani* typically follows the A/S in declarative clauses, illustrated in (20-21).

20. *Ini   mesaq bu,   hoto **hani**   rene.*
    set.alight   if   ɢɪᴠᴇɴ fire   ᴘʀᴏʜ   spread
    '(When they) burn (their garden), the fire is not permitted to spread.' [Bk-3.023]

21. *Baqa   h-oqon,   tan   homo   na,   baqi   **hani** biso bin*
    ɴᴘʀх.ɪɴᴀɴ 3ɪɴᴀɴ-do   because ᴄᴏɴᴛʀ.ɪɴᴀɴ   ꜰᴏᴄ   ɴᴘʀх.ᴀɴ ᴘʀᴏʜ seed seed
    h-arat.
    3ɪɴᴀɴ-destroy
    '(We) do that, because then, they may not (i.e. are not permitted) to destroy the seeds.'   [Bk-8.006]

As mentioned in §4.6.1, *hani* is also used in negative imperatives. In imperatives, *hani* may follow a second person pronoun (22), or, where the pronoun is omitted, in clause-initial position (23). *Hani* may occur after a P (24) where the focus of the negation is on the predicate. In this example, the speaker is chastising the addressee for taking hot water from the house, when in fact the addressee should have directly prepared the hot water in the place where it was needed.

22. *Ei **hani**   liol!*
    2ᴘʟ ᴘʀᴏʜ   continue
    'Don't keep going.'   [Bk-29.041]

23. ***Hani**   hik   gene   muk   ni   ga-lai.*
    ᴘʀᴏʜ   path   ʟᴏᴄ   earth ᴏʙʟ   3ᴀɴ-set
    'Don't on the way lay it down on the ground.'   [LB-2.229]

24. *Il   cinoq **hani** reu   gene   zal.*
    water   hot   ᴘʀᴏʜ   house ʟᴏᴄ   carry
    'Don't carry the hot water from the house.'   [Bk-4.089]

14.1.2 Manner adverbs

There are two preverbal manner adverbs in the corpus: *nor* 'randomly' (§14.1.2.1) and *naqi* 'simply' (§14.1.2.1). These cannot occur independently as a clausal predicate, nor can they occur without the predicate even where it can be contextually understood, e.g., **nor* '(it was done) randomly'. These manner adverbs can occur between any constituents following the A/S and following P prior to the verb.

14.1.2.1 *nor* 'randomly'

Action which is performed without reason, purpose or motivation is expressed by the pre-verbal adverb *nor* 'randomly', as in (25-26).

25. *Baqi* **nor** *kakolo* *on.*
    NPRX.AN randomly wander DO
    'He wanders around aimlessly.' [Bk-18.020]

26. *Ligi* *ba,* **nor** *g-ue.*
    be.sleepless DEF.INAN randomly 3AN-hit
    '(During the time of) sleeplessness, (she) would hit people without reason.'
    [Bk-43.022]

14.1.2.2 *naqi* 'simply'

Action performed 'simply' for itself without any other thought or view is encoded with *naqi* (27-28). Whilst *naqi* patterns syntactically in the same way as *nor* 'randomly' and is close in meaning to it, *naqi* is altogether much less common than *nor* 'randomly'. Note that in (28) both *naqi* and *nor* 'randomly' are used in the clause.

27. *Nona* **naqi** *Fulur* *a-ta* *liol* *haqal.*
    miss simply Fulur 3INAN-GL continue finished
    'Miss had simply continued on to Fulur.' [Bk-63.007]

28. *Biasa* *baqi* *g-otok* *sia* *bu,* *nor* **naqi**
    usually NPRX.AN 3AN-liver burn GIVEN randomly simply
    nei *n-ue* *n-ue.*
    1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-hit 1EXCL-hit
    'Whenever she gets angry, (she) just randomly hits and hits us without thinking.'
    [Bk-30.057]

14.1.3 Temporal adverbs

A non-exhaustive list of preverbal temporal adverbs is given in Table 14.2. Many of these adverbials are multi-word expressions.

Table 14.2: Bunaq preverbal temporal adverbs

erenoq ~ernoq	'yesterday, day before'
hilerenoq ~ hilernoq	'day before yesterday, two days prior'
noqi	'currently, at the moment'
le gie	'tomorrow, next day'
hilere	'day after next'
inanoq	'last night, the previous night'
meten	'recently, just now'
metensi ~ metenti	'very recently (past or present)'
nare wen	'after a little while'
tekil-tekil	'suddenly, all of a sudden'
lalo en	'in a while'
sal-sal en	'in a little while, shortly'
hori-hori	'eternally'
hotin	'occasionally'
hocinoq	'in the daytime'

Temporal adverbs such as those given in Table 14.2 typically occur clause-initially (29) and can be separated from the clause by an intonation break (30); they may also follow an NP in S/A function (31). They do not occur between P and V.

29. **Erenoq**   *masala*   *uen*   *hati.*
    yesterday   problem   one   exist
    'Yesterday there was a problem.'   [Bk-21.001]

30. **Tekil-tekil**, *i*   *i-e*   *moen roi*   *topol*   *rebel.*
    suddenly   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-POSS   friend SPEC.AN   fall   down
    'All of a sudden this friend of ours falls down.'   [Bk-1.041]

31. *Neto*   **hocinoq**   *he*   *o*   *los.*
    1SG   day.time   run   AND   fly
    'In the daytime I run and fly.'   [Bk-49.018]

14.1.4 Negative adverbs

As mentioned in §4.5.2, there are two negative adverbs, *ozol* and *nen*, which are used with the clausal negator, *niq* 'NEG' (§4.5.1), to emphasise the negation in respect to the element following the negative adverb. Neither *ozol* nor *nen* can be used without *niq* 'NEG'.

Examples of *ozol* 'NOT' are given in (32-34). In (32) *ozol* 'NOT' emphasises that the negation of the comitative phrase introduced by *g-utu* '3-COM' in order to ensure the Muslim addressee that the food was safe to eat. In (33) emphasises the negation of the A, *nei* '1PL.EXCL'. In (34) *ozol* 'NOT' precedes the clausal verb, *baqis* 'much', emphasising its negation.

32. *I   ozol   minaq sael   g-utu   niq.*
    1PL.INCL   NOT   oil   pig   3-COM   NEG
    'We (cook) not with pig's oil.', i.e. 'We don't cook with pig's oil.'   [Bk-37.054]

33. *Ozol   nei   tumel bini   niq.*
    NOT   1PL.EXCL   money   steal   NEG
    'Not us, (we) didn't steal the money.'   [OS-07.01]

34. *Na   ozol   baqis   niq.*
    anger   NOT   much   NEG
    '(Her) anger was not much at all.'   [LB-4.036]

The negative adverb *nen* 'NOT' (borrowed from Tetun *nen...nen* 'neither...nor') has the same syntax as *ozol* 'NOT', but is far less frequent. There are no examples of its use in my corpus, but there are two instances in the texts of Friedberg (1978). They are given in (35-36). Notice that both instances of *nen* occur with additive focus particles, *sa* 'EVEN' and *o* 'AND' (§3.5.7.2).

35. *G-ege   nen   nego   uen   sa   dari   niq   ai.*
    3AN-BEN   NOT   what   one   EVEN   succeed NEG   ONLY
    'Not even a thing given (them) succeeded.'   [LB2.010]

36. *Bouq   Memoq   g-iep   baqa   ni,   nen   luqes*
    Bouq   Memoq   3AN-chop   NPRX.INAN   OBL   NOT   wounded
    wen   o   niq   ai.
    UNAGENT   AND   NEG   ONLY
    'In being struck, Bouq Memoq wasn't even just a little wounded.'   [LB6.055]

14.2   Postverbal modification

In many Papuan languages the verb is strictly clause final, while in others the postverbal position, which is limited to a single locative/temporal nominal (Foley 1986: 168-169). Despite being basically verb-finally, Bunaq contrasts with both these patterns, allowing a great many elements to follow the verb. These include items encoding aspect, temporal duration, manner, addition, polarity and information. It is unusual for more than three or four elements to follow a verb, but there is no formal restriction on the number.

Figure 14.2 gives a template for the typical ordering of postverbal modifiers. The label 'ADVERBIAL' covers a broad range of elements encoding manner, time, aspect, intensity etc discussed in §14.2.2. The other positions in the template refer to well-defined, closed positions filled by only one or two items: the de-agentiviser *wen* 'UNAGENT' (§14.2.1); the performative *on* 'DO' (§14.2.3); the prospective *gie* 'PROSP' (§14.2.4); the restrictive particle *ai* 'ONLY' (§14.2.5); the aspectual particles ('ASPECT'), *taq* 'IPFV' and *oa* 'PFV' (§14.2.6), and the information markers ('INFO'), *gin* 'REPORT' and *nai* 'INFORM' (§14.2.7).

Figure 14.2: Template for postverbal modifiers

V   UNAGENT [ADVERBIAL DO PROSP NEG[2] ONLY ASPECT]   INFO[3]

The 'typical ordering' given in the template refers to the most commonly observed ordering of postverbal elements; it is not the only possible ordering of elements. The bracketed elements in the template represent those elements whose ordering shows some degree of flexibility with respect to one another; elements outside the brackets must occur in those positions. As discussed in §4.7.2.4, different orderings of these elements correspond to differences in scope, with a modifier on the right having scope over any modifier to its left. For instance, in (37a) *teni* 'again' occurs in the scope of *gie* 'PROSP' to mean that the speaker has the intention to ascend again, while in (37b)

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[2] The negator *niq* 'NEG' has already been discussed in §4.5.1. It is discussed in this chapter only insofar as it is used with other items such as those in the template in Figure 14.2. It should be noted that, while the position of the negator given in the template is the most common, the negator very readily changes positions depending on the scope of negation as discussed in §4.5.1. See also §14.2.6 for discussion of the position of the negator, relative to the aspectual particles.

[3] The 'tags' discussed in §4.6.2.2 also occur in the 'INFO' position.

gie 'PROSP' occurs in the scope of *teni* 'again' to mean that the speaker again has the intention to ascend.

37. a. *Neto*   [[*saqe* **teni**] ***gie.***]
     1SG   ascend again   PROSP
     'I intend to ascend again.'

   b. *Neto*   [[*saqe* **gie**] ***teni.***]
     1SG   ascend PROSP again
     'I again intend to ascend.'   [Not.07.01]

In the following sections, discussion will focus on the typical ordering of postverbal modifiers. The treatment of elements moves from left to right on the template, i.e. starting with those items appearing closest to the verb and ending with those farthest away.

14.2.1 De-agentiviser *wen* 'UNAGENT'

The de-agentiviser *wen* 'UNAGENT' is a free morpheme that is syntactically tightly bound to the preceding verb. No element can intervene between *wen* 'UNAGENT' and the verb it marks. We see in (38-39), for instance, that *wen* 'UNAGENT' immediately follows the bivalent verb it modifies, *koqe* 'roll' and *leket* 'bare (of teeth)' respectively; *wen* 'UNAGENT' comes before the serial verb of denoting direction of motion/manner, *debel* 'descend' and *lelek* 'gimace' respectively, which would normally immediately follow the verb with which they are serialised (see §13.2).

38. *Asa Paran*   *tirin* *gene* *koqe* ***wen***   *rebel.*
    Asa Paran   cliff LOC   roll   UNAGENT descend
    'Asa Paran rolled down from the cliff.'   [Bk-4.079]

39. *Dia*   *Karawa*   *na*   *g-ewe*   *leket* ***wen***   *lelek.*
    Dia   Karawa   FOC   3AN-teeth   bare   UNAGENT   grimace
    'The teeth of Dia Karawa were bared in a grimace.'   [Bk-50.029]

The de-agentiviser *wen* 'UNAGENT' has two functions. With bivalent verbs with an agentive A participant, *wen* 'UNAGENT' signifies that the event denoted by the verb

occurs by itself without the action of an agent, as in (38-39) above. Syntactically, the inclusion of *wen* 'UNAGENT' causes the A to be deleted.

Compare the clauses in (40). In (40a) we have a straightforward bivalent verbal clause with A and P expressed and the ANIMATE P, *buku* 'book', marked by agreement on the verb. In (40b), where *wen* 'UNAGENT' marks the verb, the action happens by itself, there is no A, and the P retains agreement on the verb. In (40c) we see that it is ungrammatical to include the A when *wen* 'UNAGENT' marks the verb, while (40d) shows that the P must agree on the verb even in the presence of the *wen* 'UNAGENT'.

40. a. *Neto   buku   g-apal.*
    1SG   book   3AN-open
    'I open the book.'

    b. *Buku   g-apal   wen.*
    book   3AN-open   UNAGENT
    'The book opens.'

    c. **Neto buku   g-apal   wen.*
    1SG   book   3AN-open   UNAGENT

    d. **Buku   h-apal   wen.*
    book   3INAN-open   UNAGENT   [Not-09.01]

Agentless events marked by *wen* 'UNAGENT' differ from spontaneous natural events with middle marking by *dV-* 'REFL-' (§11.3.2.1) in that *wen* 'UNAGENT' is not used to refer to natural events, such as decaying and rusting, in the way the middle does. Rather *wen* 'UNAGENT' is reserved for more 'unnatural' events that would be expected to involve an agent. Textual examples of *wen* 'UNAGENT' marking bivalent verbs are given in (41-43).

41. *Lakus   bare   bare   no   dara   **wen.***
    Lakus   PROX.INAN   PROX.INAN   OBL   erect   UNAGENT
    'This (village) Lakus here came about on its own.'   [Bk-29.002]

42. *Pan   h-iqit   **wen**   menal*
    sky   3INAN-raise   UNAGENT   go.up
    'The sky lifted up.'   [LB-8.282]

43. *N-on*   *bare*   *han*   *leqak*   **wen**.

    1EXCL-hand PROX.INAN   be.no.matter   bend   UNAGENT

    'This hand of mine was just hanging there.'   [Bk-46.007]

The second function of *wen* 'UNAGENT' is with monovalent non-agentive verbs. Most typically, *wen* 'UNAGENT' is used with non-agentive monovalent to mean 'having the appearance of being X' or 'in or after the manner of X', where X represents the state denoted by the verb. Textual examples of this use of *wen* 'UNAGENT' are given in (44-46). Note there is no reduction in valency in this case.

44. a. *Baqi*   *muda* **wen**   *taq.*

      NPRX.AN   young UNAGENT   IPFV

      'She still seemed like she was young.'   [Bk-47.041]

    b. *Tapi* *matas* **wen**   *gie*   *oa.*

      but   old   UNAGENT   PROSP   PFV

      'But (she) seemed like she was about to be old.'   [Bk-47.042]

45. *Muk*   *res*   **wen**   *oa.*

    earth   still   UNAGENT   PFV

    'The earth seems like it is calm now.'   [Bk-66.041]

46. *Tas*   *Nualain*   *legul*   **wen**.

    village   Nualain   high   UNAGENT

    'The village (of) Nualain seems like it is high.'   [Bk-34.046]

There are no instances in the corpus of *wen* 'UNAGENT' occurring with monovalent agentive verbs. In elicitation, the use of *wen* 'UNAGENT' with a monovalent agentive verb was permitted and did not cause valency reduction, as in (47). Speakers' interpretations of such clauses consistently see that the S 'was not really walking' or 'was doing as if they were walking'. This suggests that here also *wen* 'UNAGENT' functions to diminish the agency of the S. Further investigation of such uses of *wen* 'UNAGENT' is required.

47. *Neto*   *mele*   **wen**.

    1SG   walk   UNAGENT

    'It was like I was walking.'   [Not-07.01]

The fact that *wen* 'UNAGENT' picks out As for deletion but not Ss provides further evidence that A and S do not form a single abstract grammatical function 'subject' in Bunaq, as suggested in §4.2.5.

14.2.2 Postverbal adverbials

14.2.2.1 Duration/distance measure nominals

The distance or duration over which the event denoted by a predicate takes place is encoded postverbally by a measure phrase, i.e. measure or temporal noun plus a numeral. This measure phrase plus numeral can be followed by a comparative adverb, a restrictive particle and/or and aspectual particle.

Examples (48-49) illustrate a postverbal measure phrase denoting distance over which the event denoted by the verb takes place.

48. *Ni-e   tas   Atambua   gene   menal   kilo   sogo*

1EXCL-POSS	village	Atambua	LOC	go.down	kilometre	10

goniqon.
three
'My village is down from Atambua (by) 30 kilometres.'   [Bk-7.007]

49. *Ret golaq bitil   wen   kira-kira   meter   goniqo.*

all.alone	spin	UNAGENT	approximately	meter	three

'(The knife) spun approximately three metres all by itself.'   [Bk-1.043]

Examples (50-51) illustrate a postverbal measure phrase denoting time over which the event denoted by the verb takes place.

50. *Mele   tuku   uen   lesin.*

walk	hour	one	more

'(We) walk for more than one hour.'   [Bk-34.034]

51. *Mok   sumak   hot   mil   goniqil   gontiet.*

banana	ripen	day	inside	four	five

'Ripen the bananas for four (or) five days.'   [Bk-20.009]

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Frequency of occurrence is also encoded post-verbally, with the noun *hik* 'path' plus a numeral being used to denote the number of times/occurrences of the event of the verb, as in:

52. *Man*   ***hik***   ***hiloqo***   *oa,*   *hoqe*   *a-ta.*
    come   path   two   PFV   SPCPLC   3INAN-GL
    '(He's) come twice now, (come) to here.'   [Bk-63.020]

53. *Baqa*   *goet*   ***hik***   ***goniqon.***
    NPRX.INAN   LIKE   path   three
    '(He did) like that three times.'   [LB-5.163]

Measure phrases of this kind do not exclusively occur post-verbally, as seen in (54-55), but that is their most frequent and unmarked position. Measure phrases of duration and frequency that occur preverbally are weakly emphasised.

54. *Halaqi*   ***to***   ***mil***   ***goniqon***   *Lebos*   *bare*   *gene.*
    3PL   year   inside   three   Lebos   PROX.INAN   LOC
    'They were three years in Lebos here.'   [Bk-24.023]

55. ***Hik***   ***hitu***   *lai.*
    path   seven   set
    '(He) sets (the goods) seven times.'   [Bk-38.054]

14.2.2.2 Temporal/aspectual adverbs

A list of the temporal and aspectual postverbal adverbs in the corpus is given in Table 14.3. These adverbs appear directly following the verb/predicate they modify. They can also occur without a verb, if it can be understood from context, e.g. *teni!* '(do it) again!'. A few examples of the postverbal temporal and aspectual adverbs are given in (56-57):

56. *Teras*   *koen*   *na*   *h-oqon*   ***gimen?***
    terrace   nice   FOC   3INAN-make   immediately
    'Did you make nice terraces immediately?'   [Bk-65.066]

57. *Inel*   *masak niq   taq,*   **teni**   *gie   oa.*
    rain   big   NEG   IPFV   again   PROSP   PFV

'It wasn't raining much yet, (but) it was about to (rain a lot) again.'   [Bk-13.020]

Table 14.3: Postverbal temporal/aspectual adverbs

teni	'again'
duquk	'always, constantly'
delele	'all night'
koto [4]	'ceaselessly'
doli-doli	'at the same time, simultaneously'
gimen	'immediately'
dauq-dauq	'continually'
tut(u)	'initially'†
niat	'first'†

† These two items also appear as temporal nouns in PPs: nominal
tut(u) means 'past' and nominal *niat* means 'beginning'.

14.2.2.3 Adverbs of addition and comparison

Table 14.4 presents the adverbs used to express that an event or situation described by a verb holds to a greater or lesser degree. With the exception of *kori* 'less', these adverbs are borrowings from Tetun.[5]

Table 14.4: Adverbs addition/comparison

lesin	'more'
kuran	'less'
kori	'less, not so much'
tuqan	'further, additionally'

These adverbs appear directly following the verb/predicate they modifier. They can also occur without a verb, if it can be understood from context, e.g. *tuqan!* '(do it) further!'. Examples of the use of these items are:

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[4] Only occurs with the negative following.

[5] *Lesin* 'more' < Tet. *resin* 'more, extra'; *kuran* 'less' < Tet. *kuran* 'less', possibly < Ind. *kurang* 'less'; *tuqan* 'less' < Tet. *tu'an* 'grow'.

58. *En*   *lele*   *gereja gi-e*   *ukon*   *dele*   *na*   *mele*   **lesin***.*

person   nowadays   church 3-POSS rules   INS   FOC   walk   more

'People nowadays walk more with the rules of the church.'   [Bk-62.030]

59. *Seq*   **kori**   *e!*

call   less   TAG

'Call less why dontcha!'   [Bk-22.019]

60. *Lele*   *huqe*   *gene*   *tut*   *ba*   *h-oqon*   **kuran~ kuran***.*

nowadays   HERE   LOC   earlier DEF.INAN   3INAN-do   less~REDUP

'Nowadays (they) do the (things of) earlier less (and) less.'   [Bk-38.019]

61. *En*   *tais*   *rele*   *ru-hukut*   **tuqan**   *on.*

person   cloth   INS   REFL-wrap.up   further DO

'The person wrapped himself up further with the cloth.'   [Bk-16.005]

In the above examples, no second member of the comparison is expressed. See §12.3.4.2 on the coding of these.

14.2.2.4 Intensifiers

In addition to the intensifying SVCs discussed in §13.6, Bunaq has a set of dedicated postverbal intensifiers (Table 14.5). With the exception of *dua* 'indeed', the Bunaq intensifiers have been borrowed from Tetun.[6]

Table 14.5: Postverbal intensifiers

dua	'indeed'
porsa	'very'
los	'very, extremely'
tanan	'too, too much'
basuk	'too, very'

Intensifiers do not allow elision of the verb they refer to even where it can be contextually understood. Examples illustrating Bunaq intensifiers are given in (62-65).

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[6] *Porsa* < Tet. *forsa* 'force' < Port. *força* 'force'; *los* < Tet. *los* 'right, correct, well'; *tanan* < Tet. *tanan* 'bare, simple, plain'; *basuk* < Tet. *basuk* 'very, extremely'.

62. *Tut*   *no*   *lilak*   ***rua.***

     past   OBL   crazy   indeed

     'In the past (she) was crazy indeed.'   [Bk-43.031]

63. *En*   *hiloqon*   *bu*   *g-on*   *laun*   ***porsa.***

     person   two   GIVEN   3AN-hand   fast   very

     'As for two of the people, their hands were really fast.   [Bk-12.011]

64. *Baqi*   *h-ota*   ***los***   *oa.*

     NPRX.AN   3INAN-plant   very   PFV

     'They really plant full on.'   [Bk-3.021]

65. *En*   *bi*   *gi-e*   *lal*   *h-oqon*   *nare*   ***tanan*** *niq.*

     person   DEF.AN   3-POSS   problem   3INAN-do   long.time   too   NEG

     '(They) dealt with the person's problem in not too long a time.'   [Bk-18.021]

14.2.3 Performative *on* 'DO'

On 'DO' is a performative auxiliary, which, broadly characterised, functions to give a clause an (additional) sense of active performance on the part of the S/A participant. Unlike 'do' auxiliaries in many languages, Bunaq *on* 'DO' is not obligatory in any context, e.g. in the presence of a negator as, for instance, in English 'I **do** not know'. *On* 'DO' can mark clauses denoting both events with an agentive participant and ones with a non-agentive participant, and can be used with predicates of all kinds: verbal, postpositional, nominal etc. However, it cannot itself be a predicate or stand in for one, but always occurs with an overt predicate or with some other element which can stand in for a clause.

    The diverse appearances of the performative auxiliary *on* 'DO' in Bunaq are treated here under three labels: emphasis (§14.2.3.1), durative/progressive events (§14.2.3.2), and causation (§14.2.3.3).

14.2.3.1 Emphasis

The performative *on* 'DO' is used very frequently to emphasise the way in which an event is done or happens, in contrast to some other way of possible way of doing it. The contrast may be contextually explicit or implied.

    In (66) *on* 'DO' marks that the clause emphasises what the fertiliser (must) do, while the paratactic clause without *on* 'DO' tells us what it may not do. Similarly, in (67a) *on*

'DO' is used to emphasise what the person did do (wrap themselves with a blanket), as opposed to taking off the blanket (67b). In (68b) we see *on* 'DO' used to emphasise how an non-agentive event did happen, as opposed to how it did not happen as related in (68b).

66. *Baqi   muk   mil   a-ta   tama   **on**,   hani   leleq.*
    NPRX.AN   earth   COLL   3INAN-GL   enter   DO   PROH   leak
    'That (fertiliser) **does** enter into the earth, (it) does not leak away.'   [Bk-65.108]

67. a. *En   gi-e   tais   h-apal   niq.*
    person   3-POSS   cloth   3INAN-open   NEG
    'The person didn't take off his blanket.'   [Bk-16.004]

    b. *En   tais   rele   ru-hukut   tuqan   on.*
    person   cloth   INS   RELF-wrap.up   further   DO
    'He **did** pull it tighter around him', i.e. 'Rather he pulled...'   [Bk-16.005]

68. a. *Nei   homo   ozol   nego   uen   o   bai   niq.*
    1PL.EXCL   CONTR.INAN   NOT   what   one   AND   thing   NEG
    'We didn't do a single thing.'   [Bk-1.046]

    b. *Baqi   ret   topol   **on**.*
    NPRX.AN   alone   fall   DO
    'He **did** fall all by himself.' i.e. 'Rather he fell...'   [Bk-1.047]

In (69-70) *on* 'DO' is used to emphasis the manner in which an event is done or happens, without there being any explicit contrast with another manner. In (69) *on* 'DO' is used to emphasise that when walking (to Atambua) one hugs the base of Mount Lakaqan. In (70) *on* 'DO' functions to underline that the addressee simply receives their cows. In both cases, the use of *on* 'DO' suggests that the manner in which the events occur contrast with some other possible manner in which they could occur, e.g. keeping to the road when going by car, or buying cows.

69. *Mele,   nei   esen   Lakaqan   bul   h-one   **on**.*
    walk   1PL.EXCL   HIGH   Lakaqan   base   3INAN-hold   DO
    'Walking, we keep to the base of Lakaqan (as opposed to some other way of
    going).'   [Bk-37.009]

70. *O   i-e   kereq o   hiloqon   g-osok   **on**.*
    ADDR   1INCL/2-POSS single AND   two   3AN-receive   DO

    'You receive your one or two (cows) (as opposed to some other way of acquiring
    them).'   [Bk-19.012]

Emphatic *on* 'DO' is also often used in questions and answers. In the questions in
(71), *on* 'DO' functions to contrast the two alternatives propositions presented in the
speaker's rhetorical questions. In (72) speaker B uses *on* 'DO' to emphasise that the
entity in question was a ghost, objecting to the suggestion by speaker A that it wasn't.

71. a. *Indonesia   a-ta   tama **on**   gie   ka?*
        Indonesia   3INAN-GL   enter DO   PROSP OR

        'Did (the East Timorese) want to enter Indonesia?'   [Bk-66.003]

    b. *He   ret   ruqat **on**   gie?*
        or   alone stand DO   PROSP

        'Or did (they) want to stand on their own?'   [Bk-66.004]

72. A. *Hele   muk   g-omo   niq?*
        perhaps earth 3AN-master   NEG

        'Perhaps (she was) not an earth spirit?'   [Bk-47.072]

    B. *Muk   g-omo   on   e!*
        earth 3AN-master   DO   TAG

        '(She) *was* an earth spirit!'   [Bk-47.073]

14.2.3.2 Durative/progressive events

On 'DO' is also used in a range of contexts to denote that an event happens over a
period time (durative) or is in progress at a specific time (progressive).

On 'DO' is common in describing a situation or event which holds of a period of
time. In (73) *on* 'DO' emphasises that the participant wandered habitually. In (74) *on*
'DO' is used to denote that the replacements are not a one off event but happen
repeatedly over the course of the period of singing. In (75) the use of *on* 'DO' denotes
that the people spent a protracted period in the forest and were not simply there at a
single point in time.

73. *Baqi   nor   kakolo   **on**.*
    NPRX.AN   randomly   wander   DO

    'She wandered on and on aimlessly.'   [Bk-18.020]

74. *En   goniqon   o   goniqil halaqi biasanya   te-selu   on.*

    person   three   AND   four   3PL   usually   RECP-replace   DO

    'Three or four people usually keep taking each others' (places).'   [Bk-18.027]

75. *En   nor   mona mil   gene   on.*

    person   randomly   forest inside LOC   DO

    'They were living in the forest.'   [Bk-66.017]

The performative auxiliary *on* 'DO' is also used to denote actions which the A/S is in the process of carrying out. Compare the clauses with the motion verb *tebe* 'return' in (76). Example (76a) without *on* 'DO' is the greeting given when one has returned home. By contrast, example (76b) with *on* 'DO' can only be used when one is in the course of going home.

76. a. *Tebe   oa.*

       return   PFV

      '(I am) returned.', i.e. 'I'm back/home.'   [OS-07.01]

   b. *Tebe   on   oa.*

       return   DO   PFV

      '(I am doing) returning.', i.e. 'I'm on my way back/home.'   [OS-07.01]

Further examples of the progressive use of *on* 'DO' are given in (77-78).

77. *Baqi   bupati   on   niq   taq.*

    NPRX.AN   governor   DO   NEG   IPFV

    'He wasn't doing (the job of) governor yet.'   [Bk-29.035]

78. *Baqi   heser on, ...*

    NPRX.AN   dead   DO

    '(When) she was doing dying,...' i.e 'She was in the process of dying,...'

                                                          [Bk-46.037]

14.2.3.3 Causation

On 'DO' can be used to emphasise the sense of causation in a clause and to focus on the achievement of the event or state denoted by a verb.

In agentive clauses, *on* 'DO' may serve to highlight the achievement of the event and underline the agentivity of the A participant. For instance, in (79) *on* 'DO' serves to heighten the sense of intentionality and volition on the part of the mother in tipping out the water and discarding the firewood fetched by her son.

79. a. *Baqi*   *il*   *ho,*   *gi-e*   *eme*   *h-ini*   *sikot,*   *g-o*
      NPRX.AN   water   scoop   3-POSS   mother   3INAN-call   muddy   3-SRC
      uku   **on**.
      tip.out   DO
      '(When) he hauled water, his mother said (it) was muddy, (and taking it) from him tipped (it) out.'   [Bk-6.003]

    b. *Hotel*   *na*   *wit*   *o,*   *h-ini*   *ugar*   *minak,* *g-o*   *wa*   **on**.
      wood   FOC   fetch   AND   3INAN-call   green   complete   3-SRC   discard   DO
      '(When he) fetched wood too, (his mother) said it was all green, took it from her and threw it out.'   [Bk-6.004]

In clauses with stative verbs, *on* 'DO' denotes that the participant is actively experiencing the state denoted by the verb. Consider the examples in (80) with the stative verb *milik* 'afraid'. Example (80a) without *on* 'DO' is neutral as to the nature of the *milik* 'afraid', denoting simply that the S participant experiences the state of being scared. In (80b), however, *milik* 'afraid' is marked with *on* 'DO' describes an experience in which the S participant is actively engaged and for which there is an unspecified stimulus/cause.

80. a. *Neto*   *milik.*
      1SG   afraid
      'I am scared.'

    b. *Neto*   *milik* **on**.
      1SG   afraid   DO
      'I do being scared.', i.e. 'I am made scared'   [OS-07.01]

The role of *on* 'DO' in adding a sense of causation is also seen in its frequent use in clauses with the causative predicate *h-ini* '3INAN-CAUS' (§10.4). In (81-82) *on* 'DO' functions to emphasise the achieved causation of hungriness and laughing respectively.

Note the translations, whilst not idiomatic English, attempt to bring out something of the flavour of Bunaq *on* 'DO'.

81. *In   ziek   baqa   n-ini   bilat   **on**.*
    onion   fry   NPRX.INAN   1EXCL-CAUS   hungry   DO

    'Frying onions makes me do being hungry.', i.e. 'Frying onions makes me hungry.'

    [OS-06.01]

82. *Baqi   n-ini   higal   **on**.*
    NPRX.INAN 1EXCL-CAUS   laugh   DO

    'She makes me do laughing.', i.e. 'She makes me laugh.'   [Bk-1.035]

14.2.4 Prospective *gie* 'PROSP'

As mentioned in §9.2, the 3rd person inflection of the possessive marker *gi-e* '3-POSS' appears post-verbally denoting prospective aspect, in which case it is glossed as 'PROSP'.[7] Prospective aspect is where a state is related to a subsequent future time (Comrie 1985: 64-65). *Gie* 'PROSP' cannot be used on its own without a predicate or some other element, such as an modal adverb, standing in for a predicate, even where the predicate can be anaphorically retrieved.

In Bunaq, prospective aspect with *gie* 'PROSP' includes the senses 'intend to', 'going to' and 'want to', and typically involves volitional and controlling human agents. Examples (83-85) illustrate these senses of *gie* 'PROSP'. Note that, while (83-84) denote prospective events in the near future, (85) refers to an event that is to take place at an undetermined future time.

83. *Teo   mal   **gie**?*
    where   go   PROSP

    'Where (are you) going to?'   [LB-10.041]

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[7] The grammaticalisation path from possessive to a prospective aspect marker is described in Schapper (2008). Teiwa, a language related to Bunaq which is spoken on Pantar, uses the 3rd person possessive to mark irrealis (Klamer forthcoming). It is interesting to note that the Tetun imminent aspect suffix *-n* is homophonous with the 3rd person singular inalienable possessive suffix *-n*. However, van Klinken (1999: 239) points out that the imminent aspect suffix *-n* may simply be a reduction of the imminent aspectual marker *onan*.

84. *Neto*   *Ø-ege*   *ri-e*   *tas*   *gi-e*   *rale*   ***gie.***

    1SG   1INCL/2-BEN   REFL-POSS   village   3-POSS   say   PROSP

    'I'm going to tell you about my village.'   [Bk-7.001]

85. *Neto*   *ri-mil,*   *hot*   *mil*   *no*   *sore*   *baqa*   *goet*

    1SG   REFL-inside   sun   DUR   OBL   machete   NPRX.INAN   LIKE

    r-ege   *wit*   ***gie.***

    REFL-BEN   fetch   PROSP

    'I feel, one day I would like to buy myself a machete like that.'   [Bk-24.040]

In the above examples, the prospectivity marked by *gie* 'PROSP' is relative to the time of speaking. However, *gie* 'PROSP' may also mark an event as relative to time in the narrative. In (86b) the drinking of water is prospective to the time in the narrative, when the participant got thirsty (86a). Similarly, in (87b) the eating of the mangoes is prospective to the going to the garden (87a).

86. a.   *Hik*   *gene,*   *baqi*   *pit*   *saq.*

        road   LOC   NPRX.AN   throat   dry

        'On the way he got thirsty.'   [Bk-04.046]

    b.   *Baqi*   *il*   *a*   ***gie.***

        NPRX.AN   water   eat   PROSP

        'He wanted to drink water.'   [Bk-04.047]

87. a.   *Hot*   *mil*   *uen*   *no*   *nei*   *ni-e*   *moen*   *mil*

        sun   DUR   one   OBL   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   friend   COLL

        g-utu   *nei*   *goniqo*   *ola*   *mar*   *mal.*

        3-COM   1PL.EXCL   three   LOW   farm   go

        'One day we three, my friends and I, we went down to the garden.'[Bk-1.011]

    b.   *Nei*   *mar*   *gene*   *zo*   *a*   ***gie.***

        1PL.EXCL   farm   LOC   mango   eat   PROSP

        'We wanted to eat mangoes in the garden.'   [Bk-1.012]

Gie 'PROSP' can also be used in the context of past actions which were going to be carried out, but which were not achieved due to intervening factors. In (88a) we see that *gie* 'PROSP' marks a prospective event in which the participants attempt to escape their bonds. We learn in a later clause, (88b), that they were unsuccessful in their attempts to

escape, being later released by Suri Guloq. Similarly, in (89a) *gie* 'PROSP' marks a prospective event which does not take place, as the girl closes the door on the offending male (89b).

88. a. *Halaqi hitu   bi   d-opil   no   d-oter   gie.*
       3PL   seven   DEF.AN REFL-power   OBL   REFL-snatch PROSP
       'Those seven were wanting to getting themselves away.'   [Bk-6.051]

    b. *Suri Guloq   halaqi hitu baqi   g-ilin.*
       Suri Guloq   3PL   seven NPRX.AN   3AN-unleash
       'Suri Guloq unleashed those seven.'   [Bk-6.057]

89. a. *Baqi   en   pana gol   bi   gu-sura,   g-utu   cier*
       NPRX.AN   person female small DEF.AN 3AN-ask   3-COM   sleep
       gie.
       PROSP
       'He propositioned the girl, wanting to sleep with her.'   [Bk-21.004]

    b. *Homo   na,   en   pana himo   milik, di-e   tazuq*
       CONTR.INAN   FOC   person female CONTR.AN   scared REFL-POSS   door
       ube.
       shut
       'With that, the girl got scared (and) shut her door.'   [Bk-21.005]

Finally, where two clauses stand in parataxis, *gie* 'PROSP' marks a clause expressing the purpose for which the action depicted in the other clause is carried out. The prospective marked clause expressing purpose typically follows the clause expressing the action that is done in order to achieve it, as in (90). However, this iconic ordering can also be perturbed when *gie* 'PROSP' is present, as in (91).

90. *Naqi   pana gi-e   reu   mal, memel ba   h-oqon   gie.*
    royal   female 3-POSS house go   sickness DEF.INAN 3INAN-do   PROSP
    '(He) went to the princess' home to cure her sickness.'   [Bk-4.024]

91. *Reu   taqa   gie,   hut   dele   on.*
    house   cover   PROSP palm.leaf INS   DO
    'To cover (i.e. roof) a house, (it is) done with palm leaves.'   [Bk-24.012]

14.2.4.1 *gie oa* 'be about to'

Where *gie* 'PROSP' is followed by *oa* 'PFV' (see §14.2.6.2), the combination denotes imminent aspect, i.e. that an action or state is impending. Examples (92) and (93) illustrate the use of *gie oa* with agentive bivalent and monovalent verbs respectively to signal the action is about to take place.

92. *En   heser   bi   g-olo   **gie**   **oa**.*
    person   dead   DEF.AN   3-bury   PROSP   PFV
    '(They) were about to bury the dead person.'   [Bk-18.010]

93. *Nei   ni-e   u   tula   **gie**   **oa**.*
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   undergrowth   transport   PROSP   PFV
    'We were about to transport our undergrowth.'   [Bk-12.017]

Examples (94) and (95) show *gie oa* with two non-agentive verbs to denote imminent entry into a state.

94. *Eme   heser   **gie**   **oa**.*
    mother   dead   PROSP   PFV
    'Mother was about to die.'   [Bk-43.008]

95. *Inel   masak   niq   taq,   teni   **gie**   **oa**.*
    rain   big   NEG   IPFV   again   PROSP   PFV
    'The rain was not yet much, (but it was) about to be (so) again.'   [Bk-13.020]

14.2.4.2 *gie taq* 'just going to'

When *gie* 'PROSP' is followed by *taq* 'IPFV' (see §14.2.6.1), it denotes that the event is just about to be in progress. It is typically used by a speaker to herald what they are about to do in continuation of an earlier event, as in (96-98). In (98) *gie taq* is used in a question to ask who is going to keep pulling the door in the future.

96. *Bare   no,   neto   a   obon   gi-e   ba   sasi   **gie**   **taq**.*
    PROX.INAN   OBL   1SG   food   hang   3-POSS   DEF.INAN   say   PROSP   IPFV
    'Now, I'm just going to talk about the hanging of the food.'   [Bk-18.043]

97. *Neto*   *r-isik*   ***gie***   ***taq****.*

    1SG   REFL-sprinkle   PROSP   IPFV

    'I'm just going to the toilet.'   [OS-07.01]

98. *Sio*   *na*   *nei*   *n-ege*   *tazuq*   *ul*   ***gie***   ***taq****?*

    who   FOC   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-BEN   door   pull   PROSP   IPFV

    'Who is going to keep pulling the door for us?'   [LB1.088]

14.2.5 Restrictive particle

The restrictive particle *ai* 'ONLY' serves to limit reference to the situation denoted by the clause. The restrictive particle cannot stand alone in a clause, even if the predicate is retrievable in the discourse; it always require a predicate or some other item standing in for the predicate to be expressed in the clause preceding it.

    In (99-100) we see *ai* 'ONLY' being used to express that the event denoted by the predicate should happen 'precisely in that way', 'exactly in that manner'.

99. *Ri-e*   *lokar*   *mil*   *gene*   *milik*   *rele*   *holon*   *ai.*

    REFL-POSS   room   inside   LOC   scared   INS   cry   ONLY

    '(She) just cried in her room out of fear.'   [Bk-21.006]

100.   *I*   *r-ege*   *bai*   *wit*   *o*   *bai,*   *baqa*   *na*

       1PL.INCL   REFL-BEN   thing   buy   AND   thing   NPRX.INAN   FOC

       a   ***ai****.*

       eat   ONLY

       'We buy ourselves something to eat or whatever, (and it is) that alone (that) we eat.'   [Bk-30.089]

    Examples (101-102) show *ai* 'ONLY' with stative predicates. Here also *ai* 'ONLY' functions to delimit reference to just that state denoted by the predicate.

101.   *Nona*   *bare*   *no*   *ai*   *oa.*

       miss   PROX.INAN   OBL   ONLY   PFV

       'Miss just be here now.', i.e. 'Don't move.'   [Bk-14.014]

102.   *Meaq*   *gol*   *hiloqon*   *unu~unu*   *on*   *ai.*

       child   two   quiet~REDUP   DO   ONLY

       'The children just kept really quiet.'   [LB-1.081]

Ai 'ONLY' occasionally appears with the negator *niq* 'NEG' in its scope, where it functions to reinforce the negation, as in (103-104).

103. A. *Ei*   *Ø-azal*   *nare*   *niq?*
       2PL   1INCL/2-see   long.time   NEG
      '(She) didn't see you for long?'   [Bk-47.030]

     B. *Nare*   *niq*   **ai**.
       long.time   NEG   ONLY
      'For not a long time at all.'   [Bk-47.031]

104. a. *Gi-e*   *ama*   *heser* *o*   *si,*   *baqa*   *h-oqon liol*   *niq.*
       3-POSS   father dead PFV REAS NPRX.INAN 3INAN-do continue   NEG
      'Because her father had died, (they) didn't go on with that.'   [Bk-70.130]

     b. *Baqa*   *ni,*   *malu-ai*   *h-oqon*   *liol* *niq*   **ai**.
       NPRX.INAN OBL   uniting.of.houses 3INAN-do   continue NEG   ONLY
      'At that (time), (they) didn't continue to do the uniting of houses at all.'
                                                [Bk-70.131]

Finally, the restrictive particle occurs in the construction *ai* V *ai* V to denote 'just keep doing V' where V represents the verb/predicate. In (105) we see this construction with an agentive verb and in (106) with a stative verb. See §5.6.4 on the same construction in the nominal domain.

105. *Tuk*   *ai*   *tuk*   *ai.*
      pile.up ONLY   pile.up ONLY
      '(He) just kept piling up (the grass).'   [Bk-50.024]

106. *Hoza baqa*   *legul ai*   *legul ai.*
      coconut NPRX.INAN   tall   ONLY   tall   ONLY
      'The coconut tree just kept getting taller and taller.'   [Bk-6.018]

14.2.6 Aspectual particles

The basic aspectual distinction in Bunaq is between imperfective and perfective, marked by the particles *taq* 'IPFV' (§14.2.6.1) and *oa* 'PFV' (§14.2.6.2) respectively. The aspectual particles cannot stand on their own (107a) even where the predicate is

retrievable in the discourse, but require a predicate or some other element to be expressed preceding them, such as the negator (107b).

107. a. *Oa!
          PFV
          '(It's) already (done).'

      b. Niq   oa.
          NEG   PFV
          '(It's) not (the case) anymore.'   [Not-07.03]

The particles *taq* 'IPFV' and *oa* 'PFV' typically occur to the right of the negative particle *niq* (see §14.2.6.1.1 & §14.2.6.2.1). In elicitation, however, all informants accepted examples in which an aspectual particle preceded *niq* 'NEG' in the context of negating a question containing the aspect particle, as in (108). In the absence of spontaneous utterances with this ordering of aspectual particle relative to negator, it remains to be seen whether this is a truly natural construction in Bunaq.

108. A. Memel   taq?
          sick   IPFV
          '(Is she) still sick?'

      B. Memel   taq   niq.
          sick   IPFV   NEG
          '(She's) not still sick.'   [Not-07.01]

14.2.6.1 Imperfective *taq* 'IPFV'

Taq 'IPFV' is a high frequency item in Bunaq, denoting that an action, state or process is not completed, but ongoing and continuous. Examples (109-110) illustrate the use of *taq* 'IPFV' in agentive clauses, to an ongoing event.

109. Le gie   gol   no,   nei   u   h-ozep   **taq**.
      next.day   small OBL   1PL.EXCL   undergrowth   3INAN-cut   IPFV
      'In the early hours of the next day, we were cutting undergrowth.' [Bk-12.018]

110. Le   gol   h-azal   taq,   g-ini   kama ziqui   **taq**.
      light   small 3INAN-see   IPFV   3AN-CAUS   pile.up nevertheless IPFV
      '(Whilst he) still saw a little light, (he) made him keep piling up (leaves).'
                                                                            [Bk-50.012]

Examples (111-112) illustrate the use of *taq* 'IPFV' in non-agentive clauses to denote that a state is ongoing.

111.   *Lui*   *Bert*   *u*   ***taq****.*
      Louis   Berthe   live   IPFV
      'Louis Berthe was still alive.'   [Bk-70.116]

112.   *Ton*   *baqa*   *ton*   *ho*   *mil*   *no*   ***taq****.*
      marriage   NPRX.INAN   marriage   blood   inside   OBL   IPFV
      'That marriage is still a marriage within blood (i.e. incestuous).'   [Bk-62.006]

In procedural texts, *taq* 'IPFV' emphasises that a marked event lasts for a period of time, illustrated in (113-114).

113. a.   *Homo*   *haqal,*   *mar*   *baqa*   *h-en*   ***taq****.*
         CONTR.INAN finished   garden   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-dry   IPFV
         'After that, the gardens are drying.'   [Bk-3.013]
   b.   *Hen*   *baqa,*   *kaleq* *g-ini*   *saq*   ***taq****.*
         dry   NPRX.INAN   k.o.tree 3AN-CAUS   dried   IPFV
         'That drying (means), the trees are being made dry.'   [Bk-3.014]

114. a.   *I*   *paqol* *g-ao.*
         1PL.INCL   corn   3AN-pound
         'We pound the corn.'   [Bk-45.006]
   b.   *Paqol*   *g-ao,*   *i*   *g-apiq* ***taq****.*
         corn   3AN-pound   1PL.INCL   3AN-sift IPFV
         '(After) pounding corn, we are sifting it.'   [Bk-45.007]
   c.   *G-apiq*   *haqal,*   *homo*   *soq,* *i*   *a*   *bokal*
         3AN-sift   finished   CONTR.INAN   SEQ   1PL.INCL   food   coarse
         t-inik   ***taq****.*
         3INAN-cook IPFV
         '(When) sifting is finished, then, we are cooking the coarse food (=corn porridge).'   [Bk-45.008]

14.2.6.1.1 *niq taq* 'not yet'

Taq frequently occurs following the negative *niq* to denote the continuing non-achievement of the event denoted in the clause, i.e. 'not yet, still not', as in:

115. | *Kalo* | *niq,* | *te-rel* | | *mele* | *niq* | *taq.* | |
     |--------|--------|----------|---|--------|-------|--------|---|
     | if | NEG | RECP-INS | | walk | NEG | IPFV | |

     'If (it is) not (done), (they) cannot yet walk together.' [Bk-38.010]

116. | *Bapaq* | *bari* | | *mos* | *memel* | | *nare* | | *niq* | *taq.* |
     |---------|--------|---|-------|---------|---|--------|---|-------|--------|
     | father | PROX.AN | | also | sick | | long.time | | NEG | IPFV |

     'Father here also was not yet long ago sick. [Bk-46.020]

14.2.6.2 Perfective *oa* 'already'

The perfective aspect particle *oa* 'PFV' refers to a situation as a complete unit without consideration to its internal constituency. Although often used in reference to past time events, *oa* 'PFV' is not limited to them and can be used in reference to present, future and irrealis events (cf. its use *gie* 'PROSP' in §14.2.4). Note that *oa* 'PFV' reduces to [o] when followed in the clause by another element.

Perfective *oa* 'PFV' is used in reference to events that have 'already' been achieved by a reference time.[8] A clause marked with *oa* 'PFV' may refer to an event that has been achieved by the time of speaking, as in (117-118). We see in these examples that *oa* 'PFV' denotes that the situation still holds in the present.

117. | *Lele* | | *moderen* | *tama* | | **oa.** |
     |--------|---|-----------|--------|---|---------|
     | nowadays | | modernity | enter | | PFV |

     'Nowadays modernity has already entered.' [Bk-29.030]

118. | *Reu* | *por* | *baru* | *gene* | *na* | *misa* | *h-oqon* | | **oa.** |
     |-------|-------|--------|--------|------|--------|----------|---|---------|
     | house | holy | new | LOC | FOC | mass | 3INAN-do | | PFV |

     '(They) already do the mass in the new church.' [Bk-34.059]

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[8] 'Achieved' is used here rather then completed, since while *oa* 'PFV' describes a complete situation, the situation is not 'completed'. As per Comrie (1985: 18), '[t]he use of "completed"... puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of the situation than on any other part of the situation.' Completion is expressed by Bunaq *haqal* 'finished' (§13.8.1).

A clause marked with *oa* 'PFV' may also refer to an event that has been achieved relative to some point specified time in the narrative (119-120).

119.
Tan	*n-on*	*hinal*	***oa,***	*neto*	*u*	*bilik*	*baqis~baqis*
because	1EXCL-hand	injured	PFV	1SG	undergrowth	bind	much~REDUP

baqa	*h-iqil,*	*reu*	*mal.*
NPRX.INAN	3INAN-Leave.behind	house	go

'Because my hand had already hurt, I left behind the many bundles of undergrowth (and) went home.' [Bk-12.020]

120.
Jepang	*g-ini*	*i*	*ru-bul*	*ukon,*	*Jepang na*	
Japan	3AN-CAUS	1PL.INCL	REFL-head	govern	Japan	FOC

nei	*nu-bul*	*ukon*	***oa.***
1PL.EXCL	REFL-head	govern	PFV

'(We) made Japan our rulers, (and) the Japanese ruled over us.' [Bk-29.008]

Used in stative clauses, *oa* 'PFV' denotes that the state has 'already' been entered into at the time of reference. The reference time may be the time of speaking (121) or some past time in a narrative (122).

121.
Matas	***oa***	*si,*	*basin*	***oa.***
old	PFV	REAS	forgetful	PFV

'Because she is old already, she's already forgetful.' [Bk-30.061]

122.
Baqa	*no*	*neto*	*holon,*	*tan*	*botil*	*tuek,*	*n-ezel*
NPRX.INAN	OBL	1SG	cry	because	bottle	heavy	1EXCL-belly

o	*memel*	***oa.***
AND	sick	PFV

'At that point, I cried, because the bottles were heavy and my stomach hurt already.' [Bk-13.008]

Oa 'PFV' is also often used in reference to a present time event which is in the process of being achieved, with the sense 'now'. This use of *oa* 'PFV' is particularly common in exclamations and imperatives, as in (123-124).

123. *Mal* **oa.**

    go   PFV

    '(I'm) going now.'   [OS-06.01]

124. *Ei*   *sai*   **oa.**

    2PL   exit   PFV

    'You leave now.', i.e. 'Off you go'   [Bk-22.001]

Oa 'PFV' may be also used in irrealis contexts to denote that a hypothetical event/state is achieved. Example (125) is an excerpt from a procedural text in which the speaker describes the way in which a kind of cake is made. *Oa* 'PFV' is used repeatedly to denote that some point in the preparation of the cakes is reached.

125. a. *Mete*   *ubi*   *mogor*   *nor*   *no*   *homo*   *hol*   *beseq*

       NOW   cassava banana.leaf   leaf   OBL   CONTR.INAN   stone flat

      wa   *baqa*   *no*   *lai.*

      top   NPRX.INAN   OBL   set

      'Now the cassava on the banana leaf is set on that flat stone.' [Bk-76.030]

   b. *Kalo*   *mogor*   *no*   *homo*   *lewen*   **oa,...**

      if   banana.leaf   OBL   CONTR.INAN   ignited   PFV

      'If those (things) on the banana leaves are already aflame,...' [Bk-76.031]

   c. *Lewen*   *los*   **oa,**   *homo*   *tekeq.*

      ignited   very   PFV   CONTR.INAN   look.at

      '(If it's) already aflame a lot, have at look at it.'   [Bk-76.032]

   d. *Ten*   **oa,**   *h-atun*   **oa.**

      ready   PFV   3INAN-take.down PFV

      '(If it's) already ready, take it down already.'   [Bk-76.033]

See also §14.2.4.1 on the use of *oa* 'PFV', which can also be used in reference to reference to events which are to be achieved in the future with *gie* 'PROSP'.

14.2.6.2.1 *niq oa* 'no more'

The negator *niq* 'NEG' frequently occurs to the left of *oa* 'PFV'. The resulting meaning of the combination is 'no longer, not any more'. For instance:

126. *Kalaq* *man*   *bu,*   *g-azal* *niq*   **oa.**

    maybe come   GIVEN 3AN-see NEG   PFV

    'If (he) has come, (I) didn't see him any more.'   [Bk-63.013]

127. | *Nei* | *matas* | *mil* | *gi-e* | *h-one* | *niq* | *oa.* |
| 1PL.EXCL | old | COLL | 3-POSS | 3INAN-hold | NEG | PFV |

'We don't hold to (the practices) of the elders any more.' [Bk-63.013]

14.2.7 Information markers

Bunaq has two markers that denote the nature of the information conveyed in the clause: *gin* 'REPORT' marking reported speech, and *nai* 'INFORM' marking the speaker seeks to provide the hearer with information. The markers cannot be negated or followed by any postverbal adverbials and/or clause-modifying particles; only clause-coordinators follow an information marker, though their co-occurrence is rare. The markers do not co-occur and the clauses they mark cannot be elided under conditions of contextual anaphora.

14.2.7.1 Reportative *gin* 'REPORT'

The reportative marker *gin* 'REPORT' serves to denote that the information in the clause issues from a 3rd party beyond the speech situation. The 3rd party source of the information is typically left unspecified, but is occasionally retrievable from the discourse context. *Gin* 'REPORT' thus can be translated as 'I'm told', 'they say', or 'it is said'.

In (128-129) *gin* 'REPORT' denotes that speaker the information in the clause was obtained from a 3rd party. The 3rd party who was the source of the information is left unspecified, being neither explicitly named nor contextually retrievable from the discourse.

128. A. | *Eto* | *roe?* |
| 2SG | SPEC.INAN |

'You here?' i.e. 'What's with you?' [Bk-68.061]

B. | *Neto* | *ni-e* | *en* | *heser* | *o* | **gin**. |
| 1SG | 1EXCL-POSS | person | dead | PFV | REPORT |

'(One of) my people has died {I'm told}.' [Bk-68.062]

129. | *Lewat* | *loï* | *niq,* | *en* | *Dili* | *mil* | *kampanye,* | *kaco* | **gin** |
| go.via | good | NEG | person | Dili | COLL | campaign | be.in.uproar | REPORT |

| *si.* |
| REAS |

'(We) couldn't go via (Dili), because the people (in) Dili were campaigning, (they were) in uproar {it was said}.' [Bk-61.036]

In (130a) *gin* 'REPORT' also denotes that speaker heard the information in the clause from a 3rd party, however, the identity of the 3rd party is known. In (130b) the speaker implicates the source of the information as the person under discussion by mentioning the children as having received the information from her.

130. a. *Paq*   *desa =i*   *g-o*   *gene*   *na*   *ciluq*   ***gin.***
          Mr   village HUM.PL 3-SRC   LOC   FOC   hang.out   REPORT
          '(She) hangs out at sets (the goods) seven times {I'm told}.'[Bk-63.032]

      b. *Baqi*   *na*   *sasi,*   *en*   *meaq* *gol~gol*   *g-ege.*
          NPRX.AN   FOC   say   person child   small~REDUP   3AN-BEN
          'It was her who said, (she said it) to the little children.'   [Bk-63.033]

There are in the corpus a few instances of a clause marked by *gin* 'REPORT' being a paratactic complement clause of a preceding clause of thought or speaking, such as in (131a). In these cases, *gin* 'REPORT' does not refer to a report from the A/S of the clause of thought and speaking, but rather to a 3rd party reporting the participant's thoughts/words. Thus, in (131b), the speaker uses *gin* 'REPORT' to denote that the thoughts of the militias which she recounts are only as is generally reported, and that she has not specifically heard them from the militias themselves.

131. a. *Akir*   *Augustus*   *en*   *milisi* *o*   *tentara* *Indonesia*
          end   August   person   militia AND   army   Indonesia
          ri-mil:
          REFL-inside
          'At the end of August, the militia and Indonesian army thought:'[Bk-66.006]

      b. *En*   *na*   *Indonesia*   *tama*   *gie*   *g-ini*   *na*   *baqis*
          person   FOC   Indonesia   enter   PROSP   3AN-CAUS   FOC   much
          gie   ***gin.***
          PROSP   REPORT
          '(They) were going to make (there be) many people to enter Indonesia {it was said}.'   [Bk-66.007]

14.2.7.2 Informative *nai* 'INFORM'

The informative marker *nai* 'INFORM' serves to denote that the speaker intends to impart knowledge or communicate information to the addressee, often as part of a warning; possible translations of *nai* 'INFORM' include 'I'm telling you' and 'be warned'.

In (132) we see *nai* 'INFORM' is used in a reply to a request for a person to go with speaker B. *Nai* 'INFORM' functions to impress on speaker A that the speaker B is walking and that if the lady also wishes to accompany them she must also walk.

132.   A.   *Hei   ibu,   ibu   bari   ei   Ø-utu   te-rel*

hey	Mrs	Mrs	PROX.AN	2PL	1INCL/2-COM	RECP-INS

                    gie.
                    PROSP

                    'Hey Mrs, this lady wants (to go) together with you.'   [Bk-37.020]

     B.   *Nei   mele   on   **nai**.*

1PL.EXCL	walk	DO	INFORM

                    'We're doing it on foot {I'm telling you}.'   [Bk-37.021]

     A.   *Baqa   han   e!*

NPRX.INAN	no.problem	TAG

                    'That's no problem.'   [Bk-37.022]

More examples of the informative marker *nai* 'INFORM' are given below. In (144) *nai* 'INFORM' is used to convey to the addressee that it is getting dark with the suggestion that they should not be out at such a late hour. In (145) *nai* 'INFORM' marks a clause referring to a past event, informing the addressee that they failed to lock the door previously and indicating that this should not be repeated. In (146) the speaker uses *nai* 'INFORM' to assert their opinion to the addressee that their accompanier must be hungry.

133.   *Pan   mon   o   **nai**.*

sky	evening	PFV	INFORM

       'The sky (is in its) evening (state) already {I'm telling you}.'   [OS-07.01]

134.   *Inanoq   kunci   niq   **nai**.*

last.night	lock.up	NEG	INFORM

       'Last night (you) didn't lock up {I'm telling you}.'   [OS-07.02]

135.   *Mama Eta,   en   gol   bari   bilat   o   nai.*

mother Eta	person	small	PROX.AN	hungry	PFV	INFORM

       'Mother Eta, this little person is hungry already {I'm telling you}.'[Bk-37.047]

Text 1: How to make yellow rice.

Told by Yuni Soi of Gewal, aged 15, on 13/06/07. The text is procedural, describing the process of making yellow rice (*nasi kuning* Ind./Mal.) In Bunaq, *kirun* denotes both the plant 'turmeric' and the colour 'yellow'; the Bunaq item is a metathesis of the Tetun *kinur*, which is probably cognate with Ind./Mal. *kuning* 'yellow'.

1. *Nasi   kuning,   hoqe   roe   goet   on.*
    rice   yellow   SPCPLC SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO
    'Yellow rice is done like this here.'

2. *Pertama, ...*
    first
    'First,...'

3. *Tut   no,   roe   goet   on.*
    beginning   OBL   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO
    'In the beginning, (it) is done like this.'

4. *Hoza parut haqal, kirun   parut, hoza o   kirun   ti-ta*
    coconut shred finished turmeric   shred coconut AND turmeric   RECP-GL
    t-o   kahul.
    RECP-SRC   mix
    'After the coconut is shred, shred the turmeric, (and) mix the coconut and the turmeric together.'

5. *Kahul haqal soq,   il   t-olo,   hoza o   kirun baqa*
    mix   finished SEQ   water 3INAN-put.in coconut AND turmeric NPRX.INAN
    a-ta.
    3INAN-GL
    'Once the mixing is finished, put the water in, into the coconut and turmeric.'

6. *Homo   haqal soq, ola   o   g-il   homo   kumu.*
    CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ LOW   ADDR 3AN-water   CONTR.INAN squeeze
    'Once that's finished, squeeze out its water.'

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[1] In the following texts, incomplete or interrupted phrases or clauses are represented by '...'.

7. *Homo*   *haqal soq,*   *piral*   *homo*   *a-ta*
CONTR.INAN   finished SEQ   rice.grain   CONTR.INAN   3INAN-GL

t-olo.
3INAN-put.in

'Once that's finished, pour (it) into the rice grain.'

8. *Homo*   *haqal*   *soq,*   *dara.*
CONTR.INAN   finished   SEQ   prepare

'Once that's finished, prepare (it).' (i.e. put it on to cook).

9. *Dara*   *haqal,*   *mien*   *h-inil*   *h-ini*   *nasi*   *kuning,*
prepare finished customarily   3INAN-name   3INAN-call   rice   yellow

kirun.
yellow

'(When) the preparation is finished, customarily its name is yellow rice, that is, yellow (rice).'

Text 2: Why Bunaq people live on the mountain tops?

Told by Marieta Soi of Gewal, aged 67, on 06/09/06. The text gives an historical justification for the Bunaq settlement patterns on knolls, cf. picture 8.

1. *Halaqi*   *lolo*   *gene* *mit,* *tan* *gi-e* *bei* *mil* *lain* *tutu*
3PL   mountain   LOC   sit   because 3-POSS ancestor COLL long   past
t-ete   *opil.*
RECP-chop powerfully
'They live in the mountains, because their ancestors in the old days were at war with another continually.'

2. *Homo*   *gie*   *na,*   *halaqi* *lolo*   *wa*   *gene* *na*   *mit.*
CONTR.INAN BECAUSE   FOC   3PL   mountain   top   LOC   FOC sit
'It is on that account that they live on the mountain tops.'

3. *En*   *mek* *o*   *gene* *man* *g-azal* *liol.*
person   enemy anywhere   LOC   come   3AN-see continue
'(They could) immediately see enemies coming from anywhere.'

4. *G-azal* *liol* *si,*   *lolo*   *wa*   *gene* *na* *g-ete*   *rebel.*
3AN-see   continue REAS mountain   top   LOC   FOC 3AN-chop   descend
'Because (they) saw (them) immediately, (they) would chop down (at them) from the mountain tops.'

5. *G-iep*   *rebel.*
3AN-strike   descend
'(They) would strike down (at them).'

6. *G-ota*   *rebel.*
3AN-stab   descend
'(They) would stab down (at them).'

7. *Rebel*   *si,*   *g-ota*   *gie.*
descend   REAS 3AN-stab   PROSP
'(They) would go down to stab (them).'

8. *Rama*   *rele*   *g-ao*   *gie.*
   arrow   INS   3AN-shoot   PROSP

   '(They) would shoot them with a arrows.'

9. *Baqa*   *gie*   *na,*   *halaqi lolo*   *gene*   *na*   *mit.*
   NPROX.INAN   BECAUSE   FOC   3PL   mountain   LOC   FOC   sit

   'Because of that, they live in the mountain tops.'

Text 3: The founding of Lakus village

Told by the Dato of Lakus village, age approx. 60, on 20-04-07, in Lakus. It tells the story of how his parents along with other families from Lebos came to Lamaknen, at the end of World War II. Note the use of *i* '1PL.INCL' in lines 9 & 11, the generic inclusive 'we' referring to all Timorese, versus *nei* '1PL.EXCL' in lines 12-13 referring specifically to the speaker's parents experiences; the speaker includes himself in the events even though he wasn't born at the time.

1. *Lakus*   *bare*   *bare*   *no*   *dara*   *wen.*
   Lakus   PROX.INAN   PROX.INAN   OBL   erect   UNAGENT
   'This Lakus came to stand in this (place) on its own.'

2. *Waktu*   *man, to*   *lihur*   *uen*   *atus*   *siwe*   *sogo*   *goniqil gal*
   time   come   year   thousand   one   hundred nine   ten   four   plus
   gonciet   *no*   *na*   *man.*
   five   OBL   FOC   come
   '(The) time (of) coming, (it was) in (the) year 1945 (that we) came.'

3. *Bul~bul*   *haqe*   *gene*   *man*   *baqa,...*   *tan*   *waktu*   *en*
   origin~REDUP   THERE   LOC   come   NPRX.INAN   because time   person
   g-iwiq   *belis.*
   3AN-skin   white
   'The origins of (our) coming from there (was).... because (it was the) time (of the) white skinned people.'

4. *En*   *Belanda*   *o*   *Jepang.*
   person   Holland   AND   Japan
   'The Dutch and Japanese people.'

5. *Waktu*   *Jepang Timor mil*   *tama, to*   *lihur*   *uen*   *atus*   *siwe*
   time   Japan   Timor   inside   enter   year   thousand   one   hundred nine
   sogo   *goniqil*   *gal*   *hiloqon*   *no.*
   ten   four   plus   two   OBL
   '(The) time (of the) Japanese entering Timor, (it was) in (the) year 1942.'

6. *Halaqi*   *to*   *mil*   *goniqon*   *Lebos bare*   *gene.*
   3PL   year   DUR   three   Lebos   PROX.INAN   LOC
   'They were three years in this Lebos.'

7. *Homo   na,   nei   ni-e   matas   mil...*
   CONTR.INAN   FOC   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   old   COLL

   'Then, our parents...'

8. *En   Belanda   mit   taq.*
   person   Dutch   sit   IPFV

   'The Dutch people were still there...'

9. *Belanda   na   i   u-bul   ukon.*
   Dutch   FOC   1PL.INCL   1INCL/2-head   govern

   'It was the Dutch who ruled us.'

10. *Tebe   Jepang man.*
    in.turn   Japan   come

    'Then the Japanese came.'

11. *Tebe   Jepang   g-ini   i   ru-bul   ukon.*
    in.turn   Japan   3AN-CAUS   1PL.INCL   REFL-head   govern

    'Then (we) made the Japanese rule us.'

12. *Jepang   na   nei   nu-bul   ukon   oa.*
    Japan   FOC   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-head   govern   PFV

    '(So) it was now the Japanese that ruled us.'

13. *Homo   ni,   en   mete   Belanda   g-ua   gene   g-ua*
    CONTR.INAN   OBL   person   NOW   Dutch   3AN-footstep   LOC   3AN-footstep

    gene   himo,   tebe   nei   n-otol...
    LOC   CONTR.AN   then   1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-WITHOUT

    'Then, those people just now who had followed and followed the Dutch, (they) were
    then (angry) with us.'

14. *Nei   ni-e   matas   mil   g-otol...   na,   tan   halaqi en*
    1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   old   COLL   3AN-WITHOUT   FOC   because 3PL   person

    Jepang   gi-ta   na   mal   oa.
    Japan   3AN-GL   FOC   go   PFV

    '(They) were {secretly} angry with our parents, because they had sided with the
    Japanese.'

15. *Homo   na,   tebe   ota   gene.*
    CONTR.INAN FOC   return LEVEL LOC

    'Then, (they) returned to being over there (i.e. being in East Timor).'

16. *Waktu   to   lihur   uen   atus   siwe   sok   goniqil   gal*
    time   year   thousand   one   hundred nine   tens   four   plus

    gonciet,   hul   Augustus   ka,   hul   baqa   goet,   Jepang
    five   month   August   OR   month   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   Japan

    gene   Amerika   Hiroshima   o   Nagasaki   a-ta   bom
    LOC   America   Hiroshima   AND   Nagasaki   3INAN-GL   bomb

    g-ileqen.
    3AN-drop

    '(In the) year 1945, in (the) month (of) August, or thereabouts, in Japan America dropped a bomb onto Hiroshima and Nagasaki.'

17. *Halaqi   Jepang   r-on   dara.*
    3PL   Japan   REFL-hand   erect

    'The Japanese surrendered.'

18. *R-on   dara.*
    REFL-hand   erect

    '(They) surrendered.'

19. *Akirnya,   halaqi ri-e   muk   a-ta   tebe.*
    finally   3PL   REFL-POSS   land   3INAN-GL   return

    'Finally, they went back to their own land.'

20. *Halaqi   ri-e   muk   a-ta   tebe   haqal,   tebe*
    3PL   REFL-POSS   land   3INAN-GL   return finished   in.turn

    Belanda   tebe   man   teni   oa.
    Dutch   return come   again   PFV

    'After they went back to their own land, then the Dutch came back again.'

21. *Belanda   tebe   man   teni,   homo   ni   mete   Belanda   gi-ta*
    Dutch   return come   again   CONTR.INAN   OBL   NOW   Dutch   3AN-GL

    mal   himo   en...
    go   CONTR.AN   people

    '(When) the Dutch came back again, at that point, those who had just now gone to the Dutch, people...'

22. *Himo   na   tebe   nei   ni-e   matas mil   g-ege*
    CONTR.AN   FOC   return 1PL.EXCL   1EXCL-POSS   old   COLL   3AN-BEN

    h-oqon   gie   oa.
    3INAN-do   PROSP   PFV

    'It was those (people) who now wanted to do (harm) to our parents.'

23. *Homo   no   na,   halaqi ciwal man.*
    CONTR.INAN OBL   FOC   3PL   flee   come

    'It was at that point that they came (to here) fleeing.'

24. *Halaqi   ciwal   man,   meten   no   zol... ola   zol   alan   gene*
    3PL   flee   come   beginning   OBL   river   LOW   river side   LOC

    taq.
    IPFV

    '(When) they came fleeing, in the beginning (they stayed) down by the river.'

25. *Tebe   hul   uen   hiloqon   goniqon,   halaqi mina...   ola*
    in.turn   month   one   two   three   3PL   come.up   LOW

    bare   no.
    PROX.INAN OBL

    'Then, (after) one two three months, they came up to this (place) down here.'

26. *Tebe   hul   goniqil   gonciet   tomol baqa   goet   teni,*
    in.turn   month   four   five   six   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   again

    halaqi   mina,   tas   bare   a-ta.
    3PL   come.up   village PROX.INAN 3INAN-GL

    'Then (after) four five six months in the same manner again, they came up, (up) to
    this village.'

27. *Baqa   na   h-ini   Lakus.*
    NPRX.INAN FOC   3INAN-call Lakus

    'It was Lakus that (they) called it.'

28. *Lakus   bare,   tan   lolo   masak bun   esen   gene*
    Lakus   PROX.INAN   because mountain   big   SOME   HIGH   LOC

    h-ini   Lakus.
    3INAN-call Lakus

    'This (name) 'Lakus' (was chosen), because of a big mountain up there called
    Lakus.'

29. *Esen*   *baqa,*   *wa*   *gene* *esen* *baqa.*

HIGH   NPRX.INAN   top   LOC   HIGH NPRX.INAN

'(It is) up there, on the top up there.'

30. *Tan*   *haqe* *gene* *na*   *man,*   *baqa*   *gie*   *na,*

because   THERE LOC FOC come   DEF.INAN   BECAUSE   FOC

muk   *bare*   *h-ini*   *Lakus.*

land   PROX.INAN   3INAN-call   Lakus

'Because it was there (that they) came from, on that account, this land is called Lakus.'

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Text 4: Tale of monkey and mouse

Told by the Makoqan of Leowalu, aged 67, 11/05/07, in Leowalu. The story of *Bei Dia Karawa* and *Bei Dia Laho* is a *zapal* 'folkstory'. It tells the story of a clever mouse that outwits a stupid monkey; the stupidity of monkeys is a common theme in many traditional Timorese stories. The story appears to be borrowed from Tetun: *Karawa* means 'monkey' in Tetun, while *Laho* means 'mouse'; *dia* means 'trap' and is somewhat strangely included in the names of characters in this telling of the story. Between lines 10-11, the *makoqan* makes a somewhat unexplained jump forward in the story from *Bei Dia Karawa* and *Bei Dia Laho* each wondering what the other was thinking (how tasty the other would be) to a competition where they test each other's resistance to fire.

1. *Zapal*   *bei*   *mil*   *gi-e*   *uen*   *roe*   *goet*   *on.*
   folktale   ancestor COLL   3-POSS   one   SPEC.INAN   LIKE   DO
   'One of the folktales of the ancestors (goes) like this.

2. *Bei*   *Dia Karawa*   *halali*   *Bei*   *Dia Laho*   *mar*   *h-one.*
   ancestor   Dia Karawa   3DU   ancestor   Dia Laho   garden   3INAN-hold
   'Both Mr Dia Karawa and Mr Dia Laho ran gardens.'

3. *Kolun*   *t-ul*   *lurin.*
   fallow.garden   3INAN-pull.out   do.in.turns
   '(They would) take turns clearing the fallow.'

4. *Hot*   *baq,*   *halali*   *bai*   *a.*
   sun   midday   3DU   thing   eat
   '(One) noon, they two were eating.'

5. *Bai*   *a,*   *Dia Laho*   *hukat,*
   thing   eat   Dia Laho   pipe.up
   'Eating, Dia Laho One) noon, they two were eating.'

6. *"Orel*   *g-on*   *tuluk* *uen*   *tuluk* *uen*   *bai*   *a*   *a*   *gie*
   monkey   3AN-hand   knuckle one   knuckle one   thing   eat   eat   PROSP
   roq.
   cut.off
   '"(I'm going to) cut off Monkey's knuckles one after another to eat (with) rice.'

7. *Roq,   rele   bai   a   piqa.”*
   cut.off   INS   thing eat   eat.with.rice

   'Having cut it off, (I'm going to) eat rice with (it).'''

8. *Baqa   goet   baqa   goet   hot   mil   goniqo goniqil,   halali*
   NPRX.INAN   LIKE   NPRX.INAN LIKE   sun   DUR   three four   3DU

   te-rel   kolun   t-ul.
   RECP-INS fallow.garden 3INAN-pull.out

   'Like that over and over (for) three four days, they cleared the fallow.'

9. *Kolun   t-ul   ba   ni,   ti-ta   zipil   kama.*
   fallow.garden 3INAN-pull.out DEF.INAN OBL   RECP-GL burn.off   pile.up

   'Whilst clearing the fallow, (they) piled up garden refuse for burning onto one
   another'

10. *Ti-ta   zipil   kama, halali ti-mil   sura.*
    RECP-GL   burn.off pile.up 3DU   RECP-inside   ask

    'Whilst clearing the fallow, they asked each what they thinking.'

11. *Dia Karawa   be,   himo   gi-ta na   kama tutu   gie.*
    Dia Karawa   CONTEXP   CONTR.AN   3AN-GL FOC   pile.up first PROSP

    'Dia Karawa, he wanted to be piled onto first.'

12. *Dia Laho be   niq.*
    Dia Laho   CONTEXP   NEG

    'Dia Karawa (did) not (want to).'

13. *“Eto   ni-ta   na   kama tutu.”*
    2SG   1EXCL-GL   FOC   pile.up first

    '"You pile the (burn-off) onto me."'

14. *Homo   ni,   Dia Karawa g-iol   h-ua   gene, mete Bei*
    CONTR.INAN OBL   Dia Karawa 3AN-voice   3INAN-footprint LOC   NOW   ancestor

    Dia Laho gi-ta   zipil   kama,   g-ini   hoku   soq.
    Dia Laho   3AN-GL burn.off   pile.up   3AN-CAUS   curl.up   SEQ

    'At that, doing as Dia Karawa had said, Mr Dia Laho piled the burn-off onto him,
    having made him curl up.'

15. *Le   gol   h-azal   taq   g-ini   kama ziqui   taq,*

    light   small   3INAN-see   IPFV,   3AN-CAUS   pile.up unstopping   IPFV

    muk   tubuk   toqi   legul   niq   taq   si.

    land   hollow burrow deep   NEG IPFV REAS

    '(So long that Dia Karawa) still saw a little light, (he) made (Dia Laho) keep piling up (the burn-off), since his burrowed hollow (in the) earth was not yet deep enough.'

16. *Le   gol   sa   hobel,   okoq   legul   oa.*

    light   small EVEN not.exist   hole deep PFV

    '(When) There was not even the slightest bit of light, the hole was already deep.'

17. *Dia Laho okoq   mil   gene   d-umi.*

    Dia Laho   hole   inside   LOC   REFL-hide

    'Dia Laho hid himself inside the hole.'

18. *Homo   na,   g-ege,*

    CONTR.INAN FOC   3AN-BEN

    'Then, (he said) to (him),'

19. *"Dia Karawa   duqut   oa   e,   zipil!"*

    Dia Karawa   set.alight   PFV   TAG   burn.off

    '"Dia Karawa set alight the burn off!"'

20. *"Zipil   duqut   oa."*

    burn.off   set.alight   PFV

    '"(Ok, I'm) setting alight the burn off."'

21. *Hoto   sa   t-olo.*

    fire   EVEN   3INAN-put.in

    'He poured even the fire in.'

22. *Dia Karawa   hoto   t-olo,   hoto   lili   esen   gene   menal.*

    Dia Karawa   fire   3INAN-put.in   fire flame HIGH LOC go.up

    '(When) Dia Karawa poured the fire in, flames went up form the top.'

23. *Lili   sa   boto   haqal.*
    flame   EVEN   disperse finished
    'Even the flames had finished dispersing.'

24. *Na   sa   guzu   haqal,*
    hot.coal   EVEN   black   finished
    'Even the hot coals were gone black.'

25. *Dia Laho o   gene   t-ipi   ba,   lobot   titiq   tasal*
    Dia Laho   nowhere LOC   RECP-bend   DEF.INAN   ashes   fly   be.opposite
    haqe   huqe   boto.
    THERE   HERE   disperse
    '(When) Dia Laho (came) out of nowhere quavering, ashes flew all over the place dispersing here (and) there.'

26. *G-ot   sa   wel   niq.*
    3AN-fur   EVEN   be.burnt NEG
    'His fur wasn't even burnt.'

27. *Homo   ni,   Dia Laho   sasi,*
    CONTR.INAN   OBL   Dia Laho   say
    'At that, Dia Laho said,'

28. *"Eto   hali   naq,   Dia Karawa!"*
    2SG   be.in.turn   IMP   Dia Karawa
    "'You're on, Dia Karawa!'"

29. *Homo   ni,   Dia Karawa   hoku,   Dia Laho   g-ini   ri-ta   zipil*
    CONTR.INAN   OBL   Dia Karawa   curl.up Dia Laho   3INAN-CAUS   REFL-GL burn.off
    t-uk   oa.
    3INAN-pile PFV
    'At that, Dia Karawa curled up (and) made Dia Laho pile burn off only him.'

30. *Hoku,   r-ina   mete   Dia Laho   gi-e   baqa   goet.*
    curl.up   REFL-stay   NOW   Dia Laho   3-POSS   NPRX.INAN   LIKE
    'Curled up, (he) did for himself like Dia Laho (had done) just now.'

31. *"Le   gol   h-azal   taq,   Dia Laho   ni-ta   t-uk   teni*
   light   small   3INAN-see   IPFV   Dia Laho   1EXCL   3INAN-pile   again

naq   e!"
IMP   TAG

   '"(I) can still see a little light, Dia Laho pile on more (burn off)!"'

32. *T-uk   ai   t-uk   ai,   le   gol   sa   h-azal   niq.*
   3INAN-pile   ONLY   3INAN-pile   ONLY   light   small   EVEN   3INAN-see   NEG

   'Piling (it) on piling (it) on, (Dia Karawa) didn't see even a little light.'

33. *"Dia Laho hoto   t-olo   oa."*
   Dia Laho   fire   3INAN-put.in   PFV

   '"Dia Laho put in the fire."'

34. *Dia Laho   sa   hoto   t-olo.*
   Dia Laho   EVEN   FIRE   3INAN-put.in

   'Dia Laho put in the fire.'

35. *Zipil   o   ruqut   h-alik   t-oli.*
   burn.off   AND   set.alight   3INAN-wrap   RECP-chase

   '(He) set the burn off also alight all around.'

36. *Hoto   sa   more.*
   fire   EVEN   exhausted

   'The fire was all exhausted.'

37. *Zipil   sa   mohu   haqal.*
   burn.off   EVEN   be.gone   finished

   'The burn off was gone entirely.'

38. *Dia Karawa   na   g-ewe   leket   wen   lelek.*
   Dia Karawa   FOC   3AN-teeth   bare   UNAGENT   grimace

   'Dia Karawa's teeth were bared in a grimace.'

39. *Heser,   o   doi.*
   dead   ADDR   SPEC.AN

   'Dead, (he was) this (one) {you know}.'

40. *Heser   oa.*
    dead   PFV

    '(He was) already dead.'

41. *Baqa   gi-e   ope   g-oq.*[2]
    NPRX.INAN   3-POSS   pumpkin   3AN-fruit

    'That's the end of the story.'

---

[2] This formulaic phrase is used to end *zapal* 'folktales'; it means literally 'that (is it's) pumpkin fruit'.

Text 5: Birth difficulties

Told by Mama Rosina, aged 34, from Lolo Gomoq, a sub-village of Gewal. In the text the speaker describes the difficulties she experienced delivering her two children: the first where she experiences umbilical cord prolapse; the second where she experiences adherent placenta (*placenta accreta*).

1. *Meaq gol g-inat   baqi   hoto tuka   niq   taq.*
   child   3AN-earliest   NPRX.AN   born   NEG   IPFV
   'The first child was not born yet.'

2. *Mete   gi-e   kaqa   baqa,   baqa   sai   tut.*
   NOW   3-POSS umbilical.cord NPRX.INAN   NPRX.INAN   exit   first
   'That umbilical cord of his, it came out first.'

3. *Homo   no,   neto   ni-mil   kukun los.*
   CONTR.INAN OBL   1SG   1EXCL-inside   dark   very
   'At that point, my thoughts were very dark.'

4. *"O!*
   EXCLAM
   '"Oh dear!'

5. *Neto   bare   heser on   ka,   u   on   ka?*
   1SG   PROX.INAN   die   DO   OR   live   DO   OR
   'Here I am, (am I going to) die or live?'"

6. *Bare,   meaq gol   o   sai   niq   taq.*
   PROX.INAN   child   AND   exit   NEG   IPFV
   'Here, the child hasn't even come out yet.'

7. *Hen niq   no,   gi-e   kaqa   sai   oa."*
   speed   OBL   3-POSS umbilical.cord exit   PFV
   'With speed, his umbilical cord has come out.'"

8. *Susar   los,   ni-mil   susar.*
   afflicted   very   1EXCL-inside   afflicted
   '(I was) in a really bad way, my thoughts were bad.'

9. *Neto   heser   h-azal   milik.*
   1SG   dead   3INAN-see   afraid
   'I was scared of death.'

10. *N-ol   be   hobel.*
    1EXCL-child CONTEXP   not.exist
    'My child {unexpectedly} was not delivered.'

11. *Hobel   taq,   baqi   na   ginat.*
    not.exist   PFV   NPRX.AN   FOC   3AN-earliest
    'Still not delivered, the first one (he wasn't).'

12. *Ne-rel   deu   memel mal.*
    1EXCL-INS   house   sick   go
    'I was taken to the hospital.'

13. *Oto   saqe,   oto   Bei   Mikael ota   o   Fulur   no...*
    car   ascend car   grandparent Mikael LEVEL ADDR   Fulur   OBL
    '(I) got into a car, (the) car (of) Mr Mikael over there in Fulur...'

14. *Baqi   Gewal gi-e.*
    NPRX.AN   Gewal 3-POSS
    'He's from Gewal.'

15. *Baqi   gi-e   oto   na   saqe,   tahun baru no.*
    NPRX.AN   3-POSS car   FOC   ascend year   new   OBL
    'It was his car that (I) got into, in the new year (it was).'

16. *To   niat   no,   oto   Bei   Mikael gi-e   baqa   saqe,*
    year   new   OBL   car   grandparent Mikael 3-POSS NPRX.INAN ascend
    ne-rel   reu   memel mal.
    1EXCL-INS house   sick   go
    'In the new year, (I) got into the car which belonged to Bei Mikael (and) was taken to hospital.'

17. *Ne-rel   reu   memel mal,...*
    1EXCL-INS   house   sick   go
    'I was being taken to hospital,...'

18. *Ni-e   mama bari   heser.*
    1EXCL-POSS mother PROX.AN   dead

    'My mother here is dead.'   [Speaker points to photo on wall]

19. *Bari   ni-e   kauq   uen   ota   Flores gene.*
    PROX.AN   1EXCL-POSS   younger.sibling one LEVEL Flores LOC

    'This is one of my younger siblings (who is) over in Flores.'

                                                 [Speaker points to another photo]

20. *Baqi   n-utu   reu   memel mal.*
    NPRX.AN   1EXCL-COM   house sick go

    'She went with me to hospital.'

21. *Haqe   gene   suster na   tebe   kaqa   baqa   ha-tama*
    THERE   LOC   sister FOC   return umbilical.cord NPRX.INAN   3INAN-enter
    on.
    DO

    'There, the sisters put the umbilical cord back in.'

22. *Ha-tama   haqal, tebe, homo   naq   na,   meaq gol   baqi   ga-sai.*
    3INAN-enter finished in.turn CONTR.INAN   FIRST FOC   child   NPRX.AN 3AN-exit

    'After putting (it) in, then it was that (they) took out the child.'

23. *Hoto tuka late   los.*
    birth   bad   very

    'The birth was really bad.'

24. *Meaq gol sai   zonal,   mete kaqa   baqa   na   tut.*
    child   exit be.subsequent NOW   umbilical.cord NPRX.INAN   FOC first

    'The child came out later, it was the umbilical cord that was first.'

25. *Baqa   bahaya los.*
    NPRX.INAN danger very

    'That's really dangerous.'

26. *I   heser ka,   u   ka?*
    1PL.INCL dead OR   live OR

    'Are we going to live or die?'

27. *Baqa,*   *Hot Esen*   *g-o*   *na*   *tulu*   *sura*   *oa.*

NPRX.INAN   God   3-SRC   FOC   help   ask   PFV

'(In) that (case), (we) ask for help from God.'

28. *Baqa*   *haqal, tebe*   *meaq gol*   *kedua, mete*   *mone*   *gol*   *baqi.*

NPRX.INAN   finished then   child   2nd   NOW   male   small   NPRX.AN

'After that, then (there was) child number two, the boy.'

29. *Baqi*   *hoto tuka*   *teni*   *baqa*   *goet.*

NPRX.AN   born   again   NPRX.INAN   LIKE

'He was born like that again.'

30. *Kaqa*   *baqa*   *rasal ruquk hot*   *mil*   *uen*   *ene*   *uen.*

umbilical.cord   NPRX.INAN   stop   always sun   DUR   one   night   one

'The umbilical cord was constantly stopped (from coming out) for one night and one day.'

31. *Bare*   *no*   *na,*   *neto*   *hoto tuka,*   *kama*   *bare*   *no.*

PROX.INAN   OBL   FOC   1SG   birth   room   PROX.INAN   OBL

'I gave birth here in this room.'

32. *Neto*   *hoto tuka*   *oa,*   *hot*   *bare*   *goet.*

1SG   birth   PFV   sun   PROX.INAN   LIKE

'I had given birth, (it was) a day like this.'

33. *Baqi*   *kesi*   *oa.*

NPRX.AN   birth   PFV

'He was already born.'

34. *Kesi,*   *tapi*   *mete*   *kaqa*   *homo*   *rebel*   *niq*   *ruquk.*

birth   but   NOW   umbilical.cord   CONTR.INAN   descend   NEG   always

'(He was) born, but that umbilical cord was not coming down at all.'

35. *Tahan*   *sampai ene*   *uen.*

stop   until   night   one

'(It was) stopped for a night.'

36. *Hot*   *mil*   *uen*   *bare*   *goet,*   *homo*   *naq*   *na,*   *topol.*

sun   DUR   one   PROX.INAN   LIKE   CONTR.INAN   FIRST   FOC   fall

'(On) a day like this, after that, (it) fell.'

37. *Baqa*   *mos,*   *en*   *bidan...*   *en*   *mete*   *agan*   *baqi,*

NPRX.INAN   also   person   midwife   person   NOW   witch.doctor   NPRX.AN

baqi   *na*   *baqa*   *ha-sai.*

NPRX.AN   FOC   NPRX.INAN   3INAN-exit

'That (time) also, a midwife... the witch doctor, she got it out.'

Appendix B: List of texts in Bunaq Lamaknen

Text no.	Text name	Speaker	Age Range	Origin	Sex
1	A nasty fall	Manek Rofinus	40	Fulur	M
2	When I got sick	Eme Rosa	< 60	Lakus	F
3	The farming year	Eme Eta	< 60	Gewal	F
4	Tale of Asa Paran Mau Paran	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
5	Why Bunaq people live on the mountain tops?	Eme Eta	< 60	Gewal	F
6	Tale of Suriq the Youngest	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
7	About Asueman village	Videlis Bau	50	Asueman	M
8	Huliliq Festival	Paq Desa Gewal	40	Gewal	M
9	How to play *hol okoq* 'stone hole'	Diana Bui	> 15	Gewal	F
10	How to play 'bon gete'	Paq Desa Gewal	40	Gewal	M
11	Illegal trade with Timor	Manek	40	Gewal	M
12	Looking for work	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
13	Going to Weluli	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
14	Farewell	Ari, Laura, Ela, Nofi	>15	Gewal	M/F
15	Bunaq names	Ama Nasu Kali	< 60	Gewal	M
16	Sun and the wind	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
17	Planting vegetables	Diana Bui	> 15	Gewal	F
18	Marriage alliances	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F
19	Speech to village women	Dato gol Gewal	50	Gewal	M
20	Ripening bananas	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
21	What happened yesterday	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
22	Buy something?	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
23	Earth spirits Nualain	Dato Nualain	50	Gewal	M
24	Literacy in Timor	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
25	Speeches at harvest festival	Makoqan Gewal	30	Gewal	M
		Ama Nasu Kali	< 60	Gewal	M
26	Description of birth	Bete Uka	20	Gewal	F
27	My life	Paq Mateus	50	Gewal	M
28	Planting vegetables	Diana Bui	> 15	Gewal	F
29	The founding of Lakus	Dato Lakus	< 60	Lakus	M
30	Swearing in Bunaq	Diana Bui	> 15	Gewal	F
31	The nature of democracy	Manek	40	Gewal	M
32	How to make a trap	Dominikus Laku	30	Gewal	M
		Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
33	Elections in Gewal	Paq Desa	40	Gewal	M
34	Directions to Nualain	Eme Eta	< 60	Gewal	F

Text no.	Text name	Speaker	Age ~	Origin	Sex
35	How to weave	Fredrika Lawa Asaq	30	Fatobenao	F
		Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
36	The festival of *tubi lai* 'cake laying'	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F
37	Walking to Atambua	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
38	Paying a bride-price	Eme Rosa	< 60	Lakus	F
39	Cannibal story	Eme Rosa	< 60	Lakus	F
40	My recent sickness	Eme Rosa	< 60	Lakus	F
41	Going to Australia	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F
42	Being a refugee	Ibu guru	30	Duarato	F
43	The crazy woman from Lolobul	Maria Olo	< 60	Lolobul	F
44	Cooking corn porridge	Toko gomo	< 60	Lolobul	F
45	Cooking corn soup	Toko gomo	< 60	Lolobul	F
46	Broken arm	Luisia Soi	< 60	Lolobul	F
47	Earth spirits - children	Ela, Laura, Nofi	> 15	Gewal	F
		Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
48	History of Leowalu	Makoqan Leowalu	< 60	Leowalu	M
49	Tale of dead parents	Makoqan Leowalu	< 60	Leowalu	M
50	Tale of monkey and mouse	Makoqan Leowalu	< 60	Leowalu	M
51	Makoqan song	Makoqan Leowalu	< 60	Leowalu	M
52	My accident	Wili Loe	< 60	Nualain	M
53	Teaching Father Rot	Wili Loe	< 60	Nualain	M
54	Crying – Easter song	Women of Lolobul	20 - 60	Lolobul	F
55	Theft of a cow	Makoqan Leowalu	< 60	Leowalu	M
		Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
		Women of Leowalu	20 - 60	Lolobul	F
56	The Bunaq of Raihat	Videlis Bau	50	Asueman	M
57	Bean anointment	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F
58	Birth difficulties	Mama Rosina	30	Lolo Gomoq	F
59	Doing rice	Bete	20	Leowalu	F
60	Counting in Bunaq	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
61	Accidents	Pius Tai	30	Lakus	M
62	Bunaq marriages	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
63	Crazy guy from Lakmaras	Martina Mare	30	Fulur	F
64	Spinning cotton	Eme Marta	< 60	Leowalu	F
65	How to make terraces	Manek	40	Gewal	F
66	Working with refugees	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F
67	History of Lamaknen	Makoqan Dirun	< 60	Dirun	M

Text no.	Text name	Speaker	Age ~	Origin	Sex
68	Tale of Mother Liloq Taiq	Regina Ili	< 60	Gewal	F
69	Tale of the sweet potatoes	Regina Ili	< 60	Gewal	F
70	Description of Louis Berthe	Yulianus Kali	< 60	Dirun	M
71	Tale of Bui Guloq	Maria Asi	< 60	Weluli	F
72	Tale of Buik Ikun	Adel Het Lese	< 60	Nuawain	F
73	Tale of Bere Ama Lakan	Goreti Lika	40	Dirun	F
74	How to roast pumpkin	Hironimus Mau	40	Dirun	M
75	Mount Lakaqan	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
76	How to make roasted cakes	Eme Eta	< 60	Gewal	F
77	Description of *ipi lete* 'rice stepping' harvest festival	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
78	Tale of cockatoo and crow	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
79	Tale of Suriq the only child	Maria Asi	< 60	Weluli	F
80	Bean anointment	Eme Florentina	< 60	Gewal	F
81	Description of A Beretalo	Paulus Bere	< 60	Weluli	M
82	How to make *tubi lemet*	Yuni Soi	> 15	Gewal	F
83	How to make nasi kuning	Yuni Soi	> 15	Gewal	F
84	How to make corn flour	Yuni Soi	> 15	Gewal	F
85	Entering the church	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F
86	Tale of monkey and pig	Maria Soi	30	Sisi	F
87	Description of the *dato* 'nobles' of Gewal	Gregorius Bauq	50	Gewal	M
88	Transferring a woman from one house to another	Dato Pertama	< 60	Gewal	M
89	Drunken conversation about elections	Men of Gewal	20-60	Gewal	M
90	Describing rice	Suster Imanda	< 60	Gewal	F

Appendix C: Layout of deictic scene

This diagram gives the layout of the video-taped conversation referred to in chapter 7 on the use of demonstratives in spatial deixis. Speaker A is seated on a chair behind away from speaker B. Speaker B is seated on the ground in a back tension loom weaving.
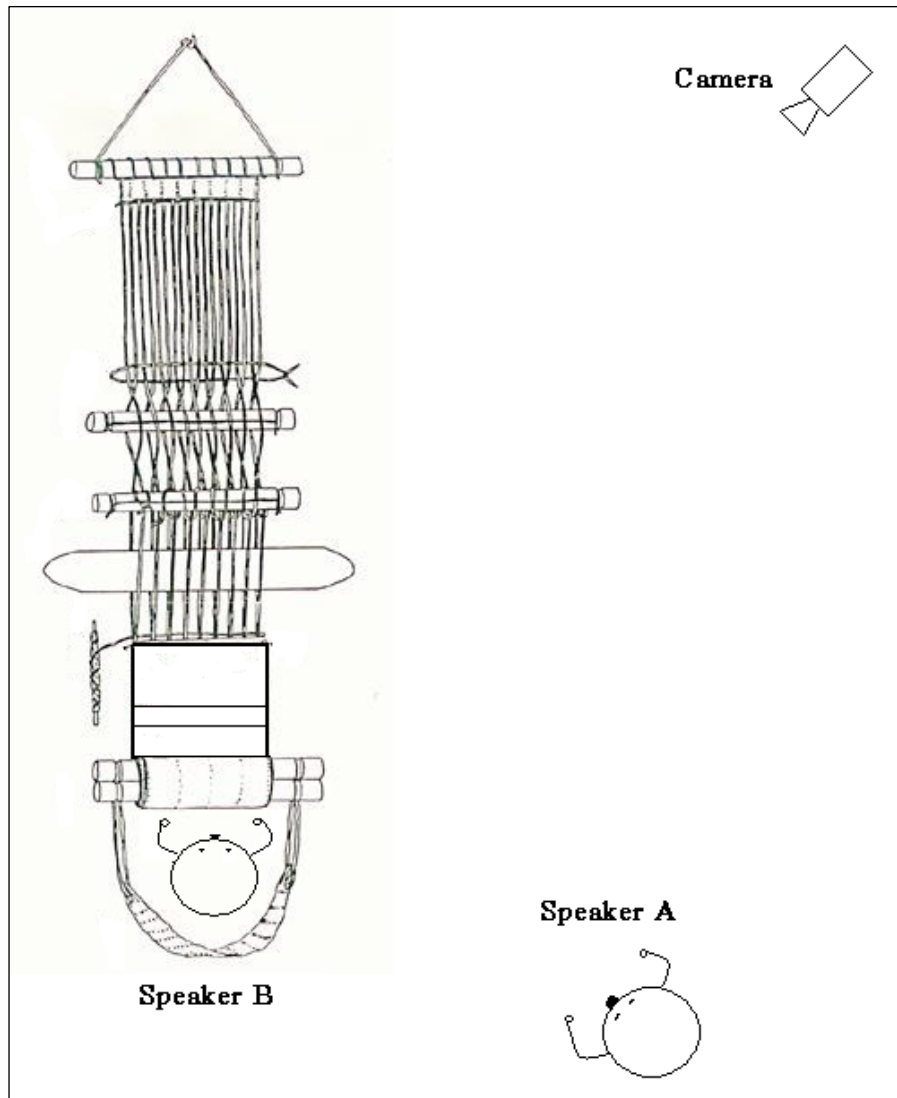
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