Bunaq:
A Papuan language of central Timor

Antoinette Schapper

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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.

[Signature]
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,
der 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.
Acknowledgements

This thesis began with my mother’s involvement in the East Timorese independence movement. After independence, when I was looking for something to do, working on one of the many languages in East Timor seemed like a great idea. Alas this was not to be due to ongoing conflict and unrest across the nation. And so I ended up in West Timor, Indonesia, which I am unendingly grateful for (not least of all because the buses go(ish) and the food is good- except for the corn).

The suggestion to work on Bunaq came from John Bowden. To him, I am immensely thankful. In the early stages of this project he provided me with support, direction, encouragement, and amazing-est of all read my first and most erratic attempts at description. Early thanks also go to Aone van Engelenhoven who advised me on issues of working in East Timor which ultimately led to my move to West Timor.

My actually getting to work on Bunaq was again due the infinite networking ability of my mother, who introduced me to the Jose Louis Barreto, the loro Aiasa, and his wife Isabella, who just happened to be living in Perth. Louis taught me my first words of Bunaq and gave me all the connections I needed to start on Bunaq. Most importantly, he introduced me to Ama Nasu Kali, the loro Lamaknen. Ama Nasu and his wife Eme Rosa, along with his daughters, Yati, Isi and Dorce as well as kakak Laura, provided me with every kind of support that I could have ever hoped for. It was them who made the field such a joy. Ama Nasu introduced me to Eme Eta who put me up in Gewal, fed me, protected me from all manner of imagined evil and not least of all stubbornly spoke Bunaq to me. Finally, thanks to all the kids of Gewal for all the great times we had, especially Aris, Novi, Ela, Laura, Markus, Diana and Yati.

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Contents
Abstract .................................................................................................................................. v
Acknowledgements .............................................................................................................. vii
Contents ................................................................................................................................ xi
List of maps, figures and tables ...................................................................................... xxiv
Abbreviations and glossing conventions .......................................................................... xxix
Pictures ............................................................................................................................ xxxiii

Chapter 1:  The Bunaq speakers and their language ..................................................... 1
1.1 Introduction: locating the Bunaq ......................................................................... 1
1.2 Language names ..................................................................................................... 4
1.3 Historical setting: extent and dispersal of the Bunaq ............................................. 6
  1.3.1 Bunaq in West Timor .................................................................................. 6
    1.3.1.1 Bunaq in northern Belu ............................................................................. 7
    1.3.1.2 Bunaq in southern Belu ............................................................................. 8
  1.3.2 Bunaq in East Timor.................................................................................... 10
    1.3.2.1 Bunaq in Bobonaro and Zumalai............................................................. 10
    1.3.2.2 Bunaq in western Covalima ................................................................... 11
    1.3.2.3 Bunaq in Ainaro and Manufahi ............................................................... 12
1.4 Sociolinguistic setting: numbers, vitality and bilingualism............................... 14
1.5 Bunaq Dialects ...................................................................................................... 16
1.6 Genetic affiliations............................................................................................... 18
  1.6.1 High-level affiliations .................................................................................. 18
  1.6.2 Low-level affiliations ................................................................................... 19
1.7 Borrowing and influence...................................................................................... 22
1.8 Ritual language: parallelism ............................................................................... 25
1.9 Linguistic type...................................................................................................... 27
  1.9.1 Typological overview .................................................................................. 27
  1.9.2 Bunaq as a Papuan language ....................................................................... 28
1.10 Previous work ...................................................................................................... 31
1.11 This work: fieldwork and data ........................................................................... 33
  1.11.1 Fieldwork ..................................................................................................... 33
  1.11.2 Kinds of data................................................................................................ 33

Chapter 2:  Phonology and morphophonology .............................................................. 35
2.1 Phoneme inventory ............................................................................................... 35
  2.1.1 Vowel phonemes ........................................................................................ 35
2.1.2 Diphthong phonemes ................................................................. 36
2.1.3 Consonant phonemes ............................................................... 39
  2.1.3.1 Voiceless stops ................................................................. 40
  2.1.3.2 Voiced stops ................................................................. 40
    2.1.3.2.1 /b/ ........................................................................ 41
    2.1.3.2.2 /d/ ........................................................................ 41
    2.1.3.2.3 /g/ ........................................................................ 42
  2.1.3.3 Fricatives ................................................................. 43
  2.1.3.4 Voiceless palatal affricate .................................................. 43
  2.1.3.5 Liquids ................................................................. 45
  2.1.3.6 Nasals ................................................................. 46
  2.1.3.7 Bilabial glide ............................................................... 47
  2.1.3.8 Glottal stop ............................................................... 48
  2.1.4 Phoneme adaptation in loans ................................................ 48
  2.2 Orthography ................................................................. 52
  2.3 Phonotactics ................................................................. 53
    2.3.1 Syllable structure .......................................................... 53
    2.3.2 Word templates .......................................................... 54
    2.3.3 Phoneme distribution .................................................... 56
    2.3.4 Cluster constraint violations ........................................... 58
    2.3.5 Vowel sequences ........................................................ 59
      2.3.5.1 Phonetic glide insertion between VV sequences .......... 60
    2.3.6 Glottal stop as boundary marker ...................................... 61
  2.4 Stress ................................................................. 62
  2.5 Morphophonology ............................................................... 64
    2.5.1 Vowel harmony ............................................................ 65
    2.5.2 Vowel deletion ............................................................ 65
    2.5.3 Metathesis ................................................................. 66
    2.5.4 Loss of initial /h/ .......................................................... 67
    2.5.5 Reduplication ............................................................. 68
  2.6 Irregularities in prefixation ....................................................... 70
    2.6.1 Irregular prefixes .......................................................... 70
    2.6.2 Irregular roots ............................................................. 71
      2.6.2.1 Root reduction ......................................................... 72
      2.6.2.2 Root mutation ........................................................ 73
      2.6.2.3 Initial consonant alternations ................................. 73
5.2.3 Nouns referring to inanimates................................................................. 176
  5.2.3.1 Nouns referring to entities with animate-like properties ..................... 177
  5.2.3.2 Nouns referring to edible plant cultivars ........................................... 178
  5.2.3.3 Nouns referring to items of human production.................................... 180
  5.2.3.4 Nouns referring to oral and written forms of literature ...................... 181
  5.2.3.5 Nouns referring to items of clothing & jewellery................................ 182
  5.2.3.6 Nouns referring to money and currency .......................................... 183
  5.2.3.7 Nouns referring to rocks................................................................. 183
  5.2.4 Noun class reassignment....................................................................... 184
    5.2.4.1 Reassignment in reference to groups of animates............................ 184
    5.2.4.2 Reassignment in reference to controlled natural elements .............. 185
  5.2.5 Underspecification: hotel ‘tree, wood’.............................................. 186
  5.3 N_{MOD} modifiers of N_{HEAD}................................................................ 187
    5.3.1 Inalienably possessed nouns as N_{MOD}........................................... 188
    5.3.2 An agreeing N_{MOD}........................................................................... 190
  5.4 Relative clauses.......................................................................................... 191
    5.4.1 Non-restrictive relative clauses......................................................... 191
    5.4.2 Restrictive relative clauses............................................................... 193
    5.4.3 NP accessibility to relativisation....................................................... 194
      5.4.3.1 Unmarked obliques as RC heads.................................................... 195
      5.4.3.2 NP complements of verbal postpositions as RC heads .................... 195
      5.4.3.3 NP complements of postpositions as RC heads............................... 196
      5.4.3.4 Possessors as RC heads............................................................... 197
  5.5 Nominal quantification.............................................................................. 197
    5.5.1 Human plurality: halaqi ‘3PL’............................................................ 197
    5.5.2 Quantificational mil ‘inside’.................................................................. 199
      5.5.2.1 Human collective............................................................................. 199
      5.5.2.2 Temporal duration.......................................................................... 201
    5.5.3 Animate group plural: g-inil ‘3AN-name’............................................. 202
    5.5.4 Animal group plural: g-omoq ‘3AN-udder’.......................................... 203
    5.5.5 Partitive: wagen ‘PART’........................................................................ 203
    5.5.6 Universal quantification: hotu-hotu ‘all’............................................ 204
    5.5.7 Naran ‘every (sort)’............................................................................. 206
    5.5.8 Quantification ‘of kinds’....................................................................... 206
    5.5.9 Distributive plurality by reduplication.............................................. 207
  5.6 Nominal coordination................................................................................. 208
    5.6.1 Zero coordination............................................................................... 208
    5.6.2 Coordination with o ‘AND’................................................................. 209
5.6.3 Coordination with halali '3DU' ................................................................. 210
5.6.4 Coordination with ai 'ONLY' ................................................................. 211
5.6.5 Disjunction with ka 'OR' ......................................................................... 211

Chapter 6: Pronouns and person reference ................................................................. 213
6.1 Pronominal person reference......................................................................... 213
6.1.1 Pronouns and person prefixes ................................................................... 214
6.1.2 Pronoun and determiner combinations ..................................................... 216
6.1.3 Dual versus plural number in pronouns..................................................... 218
6.1.4 Additional referential uses of pronouns..................................................... 219
   6.1.4.1 Generic reference.............................................................................. 219
   6.1.4.1.1 Generic i '1PL.INCL' ................................................................. 219
   6.1.4.1.2 Generic eto '2SG' ....................................................................... 221
   6.1.4.2 Polite reference.................................................................................. 222
   6.1.4.2.1 Superior nei '1PL.EXCL' ............................................................. 223
   6.1.4.2.2 Honorific i '1PL.INCL' ............................................................... 224
   6.1.4.2.3 Respectful ei '2PL' ....................................................................... 226
   6.1.4.2.4 Polite halaqi '3PL' and halali '3DU'............................................. 226
   6.1.4.2.5 Hierarchy of polite pronoun uses.................................................. 227
6.2 Non-pronominal person reference .................................................................. 228
   6.2.1 Kin terms ............................................................................................. 229
   6.2.1.1 With kin ........................................................................................... 231
   6.2.1.2 With non-kin .................................................................................... 232
6.2.2 Personal names ......................................................................................... 234
6.3 Summary ...................................................................................................... 237

Chapter 7: Determiners .............................................................................................. 239
7.1 Introduction ..................................................................................................... 239
7.2 Demonstratives ............................................................................................... 241
   7.2.1 Proximal demonstrative ........................................................................ 241
   7.2.1.1 Spatial use ....................................................................................... 241
   7.2.1.2 Temporal use .................................................................................... 243
   7.2.1.3 Use in denoting 'closeness' of relation ............................................... 245
   7.2.1.4 Textual use ....................................................................................... 247
   7.2.2 Non-proximal demonstrative .................................................................. 248
   7.2.2.1 Spatial use ....................................................................................... 249
   7.2.2.2 Temporal use .................................................................................... 250
   7.2.2.3 Textual use ....................................................................................... 251
7.2.3 Specifier demonstrative ................................................................. 260
  7.2.3.1 Spatial use .............................................................................. 260
  7.2.3.2 Temporal use ......................................................................... 262
  7.2.3.3 Textual use ........................................................................... 263
7.2.4 Contrastive demonstrative .............................................................. 265
  7.2.4.1 Textual use ........................................................................... 265
    7.2.4.1.1 Contrastive use ............................................................... 265
    7.2.4.1.2 Topic shift use ............................................................... 268
  7.2.4.2 Sequential use ........................................................................ 269
  7.2.4.3 Discourse deictic use .............................................................. 271
7.2.5 Counter-expectational demonstrative ............................................. 274
7.3 Definite article .................................................................................. 276
  7.3.1 Adnominal use .......................................................................... 276
  7.3.2 Adclausal use ............................................................................ 280
7.4 Summary .......................................................................................... 282

Chapter 8: Locationals ........................................................................... 285
8.1 Introduction ..................................................................................... 285
8.2 Syntax of locational and $N_{HEAD}$ ...................................................... 286
  8.2.1 Pre-$N_{HEAD}$ use ..................................................................... 286
  8.2.2 Post-$N_{HEAD}$ use ................................................................... 288
  8.2.3 No $N_{HEAD}$ use ...................................................................... 289
  8.2.4 Frequency of locational uses ....................................................... 291
8.3 Semantics of locationals .................................................................... 291
  8.3.1 Spatial locationals ...................................................................... 292
  8.3.2 Place locationals ........................................................................ 294
  8.3.3 Temporal/textual locational ....................................................... 297
  8.3.4 Addressee locational .................................................................. 301
8.4 Combining locationals ...................................................................... 305
  8.4.1 Place locationals: here + there .................................................. 305
  8.4.2 Spatial and place locationals ...................................................... 305
  8.4.3 Spatial locationals + addressee locational ................................. 306
  8.4.4 Temporal/textual locational + addressee locational .................... 309
8.5 Summary .......................................................................................... 310
Chapter 9: Adnominal possession and related constructions ................................... 311
9.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................... 311
9.2 Alienable possession ....................................................................................... 313
  9.2.1 Non-predicative alienable possessors ..................................................... 313
    9.2.1.1 Associativity: alienable possessor constructions without possessum 315
  9.2.2 Predicative alienable possessors ............................................................... 316
    9.2.2.1 Possessor as destination ........................................................................ 317
    9.2.2.2 Possessor as origin ................................................................................ 319
9.3 Inalienable possession ...................................................................................... 321
  9.3.1 Class I: g- ‘3AN-’ only .............................................................................. 322
  9.3.2 Class II: h- ‘3INAN-’ ................................................................................. 323
  9.3.3 Class III: n- ‘LOC-’ .................................................................................... 326
  9.3.4 Class IV: t- ‘ABSIL-’ ................................................................................ 328
  9.3.5 Class V: Differentially marked possessors ............................................. 329
  9.3.6 Class VI: Unmarked possession ............................................................... 331
  9.3.7 Inalienable possession as compounding .................................................. 332
9.4 Summary: possession and iconicity ............................................................... 335

Chapter 10: Verbs ........................................................................................................... 337
10.1 Introduction ......................................................................................................... 337
10.2 Bivalent verbs ..................................................................................................... 338
  10.2.1 Class I bivalent verbs ............................................................................... 339
  10.2.2 Class II bivalent verbs ................................................................................ 340
  10.2.3 Class III bivalent verbs ............................................................................. 341
  10.2.4 Class IV bivalent verbs ............................................................................. 342
    10.2.4.1 h-conjugation verbs .............................................................................. 343
      10.2.4.1.1 Note on /h/-initial items borrowed from Tetun............................ 345
    10.2.4.2 s-conjugation verbs ............................................................................... 347
    10.2.4.3 t-conjugation verbs ............................................................................... 348
    10.2.4.4 d-conjugation verb ................................................................................ 349
    10.2.4.5 l-conjugation verbs ................................................................................ 350
  10.2.5 Bivalent verb classes with distinct agreement patterns .......................... 351
    10.2.5.1 Two transport verbs: tula ‘move’ and penen ‘shift’ ........................ 351
    10.2.5.2 Two keeping verbs: lumaq ‘take care of’ and bilan ‘keep’ ............... 353
  10.2.6 Clausal transitivity effects on bivalent verb agreement .......................... 354
10.3 Monovalent verbs ............................................................................................... 357
  10.3.1 Monovalent verbs without prefixes .......................................................... 357
  10.3.2 Monovalent verbs with prefixes ............................................................... 358
11.4.5 Type 3 deponents with \( tV \)-`RECP-` .......................................................... 399
11.4.6 Special uses of \( tV \)-`RECP` on verbal postpositions ......................... 400
11.4.6.1 Joint action \( te-rel \) `RECP-INS` ...................................................... 401
11.4.6.2 Uniting of participants: \( ti-ta \) `RECP-GL` ..................................... 402
11.4.6.3 Symmetrical participation: \( t-o \) `RECP-SRC` .................................. 404

Chapter 12: Expressing peripheral NPs .......................................................... 407
12.1 Postpositions .......................................................................................... 407
  12.1.1 \( no \) `OBL` ...................................................................................... 407
    12.1.1.1 Locative function ...................................................................... 407
    12.1.1.2 Temporal function .................................................................. 409
  12.1.2 \( gene \) `LOC` .................................................................................. 410
  12.1.3 \( goet \) `LIKE` .................................................................................... 411
    12.1.3.1 Similative function ................................................................. 411
    12.1.3.2 Demonstrative manner function ............................................. 413
    12.1.3.3 Introducing quotations function ............................................. 414
  12.2 Reason \( gie \) `BECAUSE` .................................................................... 415
12.3 Verbal postpositions .............................................................................. 417
  12.3.1 \( g-utu \) `3-COM` .............................................................................. 418
  12.3.2 \( dele \) `INS` ..................................................................................... 420
    12.3.2.1 Instrument .............................................................................. 421
    12.3.2.2 Cause ....................................................................................... 422
    12.3.2.3 Manner .................................................................................... 422
    12.3.2.4 Non-controlling comitants ..................................................... 423
  12.3.3 \( a-ta \) `3INAN-GL` .......................................................... 424
    12.3.3.1 Goal ........................................................................................ 425
    12.3.3.2 Interest .................................................................................... 426
    12.3.3.3 Motive ..................................................................................... 427
  12.3.4 \( g-o \) `3-SRC` .................................................................................. 428
    12.3.4.1 Human source ........................................................................ 429
    12.3.4.2 Point of relation/comparison ................................................. 430
    12.3.4.3 Maleficiary ............................................................................. 431
    12.3.4.4 Addressee .............................................................................. 432
  12.3.5 \( h-otol \) `3INAN-WITHOUT` ......................................................... 433
  12.3.6 \( h-ege \) `3INAN-BEN` .............................................................. 435
    12.3.6.1 Beneficiary ............................................................................. 435
    12.3.6.2 Addressee .............................................................................. 437
    12.3.6.3 Theme of a cognitive event .................................................. 437
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.3.7</td>
<td>h-os ‘3INAN-WAIT’</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3.8</td>
<td>h-onogo ‘3INAN-SEPARATE’</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 13: Serial verb constructions .......................................................... 441
13.1 Introduction: properties of Bunaq SVCs ............................................... 441
13.2 Types of SVCs in Bunaq ................................................................. 444
13.3 Causative serialisation ................................................................. 446
13.4 Resultative serialisation ................................................................. 447
13.5 Manner serialisation ........................................................................ 448
13.5.1 Participant-oriented manner serialisation .................................... 448
13.5.2 Event-oriented manner serialisation ............................................ 450
13.6 Intensifying serialisation ............................................................... 451
13.7 Modal serialisation with loi ‘be good’ .......................................... 453
13.8 Aspectual serialisation ..................................................................... 454
13.8.1 Serialisation with haqal ‘finished’ ........................................... 454
13.8.1.1 Completed action ........................................................................ 455
13.8.1.2 Complete state ............................................................................ 456
13.8.1.3 ‘Complete’ quantification ......................................................... 457
13.8.2 Serialisation with liol ‘continue’ ................................................. 459
13.8.2.1 Continuous action ........................................................................ 459
13.8.2.2 Immediate action ......................................................................... 460
13.8.3 Frequent action with des ‘still’ .................................................... 461
13.8.4 Persistent action with ciluq ‘rest’ .................................................. 462
13.9 Motion serialisation .......................................................................... 463
13.9.1 Origin-Motion-Goal SVCs ............................................................ 464
13.9.2 Centrifugal motion SVCs ............................................................... 468
13.9.3 Directional SVCs .......................................................................... 469

Chapter 14: Adverbs, verbal and clausal modifiers ............................................. 473
14.1 Preverbal modification ....................................................................... 473
14.1.1 Modal adverbs .............................................................................. 474
14.1.1.1 misti ‘must’ .................................................................................. 474
14.1.1.2 sala ‘should’ ............................................................................... 475
14.1.1.3 asal ‘necessarily’ .......................................................................... 476
14.1.1.4 hilaq ‘SURPRISE’ ....................................................................... 476
14.1.1.5 hele ‘perhaps’ .............................................................................. 477
14.1.1.6 kalaq ‘maybe’ .............................................................................. 478
14.1.1.7 hani ‘PROH’ ................................................................................. 479
14.1.2 Manner adverbs .......................................................... 480
14.1.2.1 nor 'randomly' .......................................................... 480
14.1.2.2 naqi 'simply' ......................................................... 480
14.1.3 Temporal adverbs .......................................................... 481
14.1.4 Negative adverbs .......................................................... 482
14.2 Postverbal modification .................................................. 483
14.2.1 De-agentiviser wen 'UNAGENT' .................................... 484
14.2.2 Postverbal adverbials ................................................... 487
14.2.2.1 Duration/distance measure nominals ......................... 487
14.2.2.2 Temporal/aspectual adverbs ..................................... 488
14.2.2.3 Adverbs of addition and comparison ......................... 489
14.2.2.4 Intensifiers .......................................................... 490
14.2.3 Performative on 'DO' ................................................... 491
14.2.3.1 Emphasis .......................................................... 491
14.2.3.2 Durative/progressive events ..................................... 493
14.2.3.3 Causation .......................................................... 494
14.2.4 Prospective gie 'PROSP' .............................................. 496
14.2.4.1 gie oa 'be about to' ............................................... 499
14.2.4.2 gie taq 'just going to' ............................................. 499
14.2.5 Restrictive particle ..................................................... 500
14.2.6 Aspectual particles ..................................................... 501
14.2.6.1 Imperfective taq 'IPFV' ............................................ 502
14.2.6.1.1 niq taq 'not yet' ............................................... 504
14.2.6.2 Perfective oa 'already' ............................................ 504
14.2.6.2.1 niq oa 'no more' ................................................. 506
14.2.7 Information markers .................................................. 507
14.2.7.1 Reportative gin 'REPORT' ....................................... 507
14.2.7.2 Informative nai 'INFORM' ....................................... 508

Appendix A: Texts ................................................................ 510
Text 1: How to make yellow rice ........................................... 510
Text 2: Why Bunaq people live on the mountain tops .............. 512
Text 3: The founding of Lakus village ................................... 514
Text 4: Tale of monkey and mouse ....................................... 519
Text 5: Birth difficulties ..................................................... 525
Appendix B: Lists of texts in Lamaknen Bunaq ...................... 530
Appendix C: Layout of deictic scene ..................................... 533
References ........................................................................... 535
xxii
List of maps, figures and tables

Map 1.1: Bunaq in its wider geographical context ............................................................. 1
Map 1.2: The main languages of Timor .............................................................................. 3
Map 1.3: The extent of the Bunaq language ....................................................................... 5
Map 1.4: Bunaq villages in Lamaknen and Raihat ............................................................. 7
Map 1.5: Bunaq villages in southern Belu and south western Covalima ............................ 9
Map 1.6: The Dutch Maukatar enclave ............................................................................. 10
Map 1.7: Bunaq place name extent map ........................................................................... 11
Map 1.8: Bunaq villages in Ainaro and Manufahi ............................................................ 13
Map 1.9: The major Bunaq dialect areas .......................................................................... 16
Map 1.10: The non-Austronesian languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family ............... 21

Figure 1.1: Subgrouping the TAP languages on phonological grounds ......................... 20
Figure 2.1: Spectrogram of /sai/ ‘exit’ ............................................................................. 37
Figure 2.2: Spectrogram of /sa.i/ ‘be amused’ .................................................................. 38
Figure 2.3: Delayed release of final /t/ in mit ‘sit’ .............................................................. 40
Figure 2.4: Non-final syllable structure ............................................................................. 54
Figure 2.5: Final syllable structure .................................................................................... 54
Figure 4.1: Bunaq clause formula .................................................................................... 121
Figure 4.2: Pitch traces of left-dislocation in example (109) ........................................... 160
Figure 4.3: Pitch traces of right-dislocation in example (117) .......................................... 160
Figure 4.4: Hierarchy for ordering of non-agentive clauses ............................................. 168
Figure 5.1: Template of the extended NP .......................................................................... 171
Figure 5.2: Elaborated template of the NP core ............................................................... 172
Figure 5.3: The Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy ..................................................... 194
Figure 5.4: The Bunaq NP Accessibility Hierarchy ........................................................ 195
Figure 14.1: Possible positions of preverbal modifiers .................................................... 473
Figure 14.2: Template for postverbal modifiers ............................................................... 483

Table 1.1: Bunaq speakers in East Timor (2006) .............................................................. 15
Table 1.2: Phonological characteristics of Bunaq dialects ............................................... 17
Table 1.3: Lexical characteristics of Bunaq dialects ........................................................ 18
Table 1.4: pTAP pronouns ............................................................................................... 20
Table 1.5: Papuan-Austronesian phonology compared ................................................... 29
Table 1.6: Papuan-Austronesian morphology compared ................................................ 30
Table 1.7: Papuan-Austronesian syntax compared ........................................................ 30
Table 1.8: Summary of Bunaq comparative features ....................................................... 31
Abbreviations and glossing conventions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Bunaq morpheme</th>
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<tr>
<td>ABSL</td>
<td>absolute possessor prefix</td>
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### Category labels

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<td>cover term for the single argument of a non-verbal predicate</td>
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<td>VpP</td>
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### Other abbreviations used in text

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<td>Alor-Pantar languages</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAP</td>
<td>Timor-Alor-Pantar language family</td>
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---

`g(V)-`  
`h- / s- / t- / d- / l-`  
`halali`  
`halaqi`
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 *hulilq* 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.
Com offered to the *bosok* 'stone representing ancestor' at *paqol sau* 'corn harvest festival' in the *mot* 'ritual stone area' of Gewal.

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.
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.

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 known 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** \(\text{Emaq g-epal legul. En Bunaq g-epal gol.}^{1}\)  
   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.

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.
Map 1.2: The main languages of Timor (after the Atlas of East Timor 2006: 24)
1.2 Language names

The name of the Bunaq people and their language name has been written variously as *Bunak, Buna, Bunaq, Bunã* 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 *Gaëq*. 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
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

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. 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.
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 Raqakfaq trace their origins to Fatuloro in Maukatar and those in Sukakesikun 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.
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.

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 rebellion⁵ 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 Leoi, 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
Leoi. 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

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Bunaq Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ainaro</td>
<td>3,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobonaro</td>
<td>22,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covalima</td>
<td>23,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufahi</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dili</td>
<td>839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other districts</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50,621</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 tf with s. Loss of *w and glottalisation of final *r together characterise the three eastern dialects, with subsequent loss of *? in Ainaro and Manufahi. Sporadic loss of initial *h is found in the North-East and Ainaro dialects. The loss of *? 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pBunaq</th>
<th>South-West</th>
<th>Lamaknen</th>
<th>North-East</th>
<th>Ainaro</th>
<th>Manufahi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*d &gt; d</td>
<td>d / d- r / #</td>
<td>d- r / #</td>
<td>d / #</td>
<td>d / #</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r / elsewhere</td>
<td>r / elsewhere</td>
<td>d-r/ elsewhere</td>
<td>r / elsewhere</td>
<td>d-r/ elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*r &gt; r</td>
<td>d- r / #</td>
<td>? / #</td>
<td>? / #</td>
<td>? / #</td>
<td>? / #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r- l / elsewhere</td>
<td>l / elsewhere</td>
<td>l / elsewhere</td>
<td>l / elsewhere</td>
<td>l / elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*? &gt; ?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h &gt; h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h- ø / #</td>
<td>h- ø / #</td>
<td>h- ø / #</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>tf- s / # i</td>
<td>tf / # i &amp; u</td>
<td>tf- t / # i</td>
<td>tf- t / # i</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t / elsewhere</td>
<td>t / elsewhere</td>
<td>t / elsewhere</td>
<td>t / elsewhere</td>
<td>t / elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*w &gt; w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ø- u / #</td>
<td>ø- u / #</td>
<td>ø- u / #</td>
<td>ø- u / #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø- b / elsewhere</td>
<td>ø- b / elsewhere</td>
<td>ø- b / elsewhere</td>
<td>ø- b / elsewhere</td>
<td>ø- b / elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ta?e* ‘sleep’). By contrast, for ‘stand’, the South and Lamaknen have innovative *du?at* < *du-hu?at* ‘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 *hazi?* ‘disappear’, the latter from *muel* ‘be thin’. Finally, Manufahi is distinct from all other dialects in its item for ‘exist’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1.3: Lexical characteristics of Bunaq dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>South-West</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘BIG’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘WIFE’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘HUSBAND’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘SLEEP’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘STAND’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘PLAY’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘NOT WANT’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘I’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘NOT EXIST’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘EXIST’</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minimal</th>
<th>augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>*ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Buna7) 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)](image)

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. 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. 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). 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

---

8 Hull (2004) shows that Makalero is closely related to Makasai and is part of the eastern Timor subgroup.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bunaq</th>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baruq</td>
<td>‘bored’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>besik</td>
<td>‘exact, precise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bokul</td>
<td>‘fat, healthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hananu</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-amos</td>
<td>‘3INAN-clean (of garden)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko?us</td>
<td>‘cradle (of a child)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamar</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meak</td>
<td>‘be reddish-brown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me?i</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piar</td>
<td>‘believe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punu</td>
<td>‘war, fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tara</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teke?</td>
<td>‘look at, examine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bunaq 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; baruq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘anger, bored’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; besik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be close’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; bokur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; hananu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; hamos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘clean (of garden)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; ko?us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be pregnant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; mamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; meak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; mehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; fiar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘believe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; funu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘war, fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; tada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; hateke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bunaq</th>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>‘drum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakat</td>
<td>‘rhizophore (plant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>‘bow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakibat</td>
<td>‘banyan tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kebokoq</td>
<td>‘grub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labarain</td>
<td>‘spider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalenok</td>
<td>‘mirror’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisan</td>
<td>‘personality, trait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loron</td>
<td>‘road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne?ek</td>
<td>‘k.o. black ant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabi</td>
<td>‘key’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakan</td>
<td>‘upper leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu?</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teki</td>
<td>‘k.o. small lizard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bunaq 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; baba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; bakat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rhizophore (plant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; rama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; kakibat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘banyan tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; keboko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘caterpillar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; labadain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; lalenok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mirror’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; lisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tradition, custom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; luron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; nehek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; sabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘key’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; sakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; susuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; teki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lizard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Particular concentrations of Tetun words are found in the domains of rank, rulership and ritual. Examples are given in (4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bunaq</th>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dato</td>
<td>‘noble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denu</td>
<td>‘commoner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lok</td>
<td>‘offer betel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loro</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mako?an</td>
<td>‘historian, poet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na?i</td>
<td>‘royal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teberaiq</td>
<td>‘dance to drum (of women)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei</td>
<td>‘dance with feet stomping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paqol sau</td>
<td>‘festival lifting ban on corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muk ukon</td>
<td>‘govern’ lit. ‘land rule’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukur</td>
<td>‘power, authority’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma metan</td>
<td>‘ruling house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bunaq</th>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaqa</td>
<td>‘old brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana</td>
<td>‘old sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tata</td>
<td>‘ancestor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mone</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lihur</td>
<td>‘thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taho?</td>
<td>‘low cloud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huan</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hul</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cf. Tet./Kmk./Mam. mane ‘man’

Kmk. rihur ‘thousand’
Kmk. taho? ‘cloud, mist’
Kmk. huan ‘heart’
Mam. hul ‘moon’
Mam. si ~ sis ‘meat’; Kmk. si ‘meat’
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

| 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’       |
| tilu?| ‘stay, rest’   | < Kmk. tilu?    | ‘stay, rest’ |
| hui  | ‘wild’         | < Kmk./Mam. hui | ‘wild’       |
| lulai| ‘move’         | < Mam. lolai    | ‘walk’       |
| doq  | ‘cut off’      | < Mam. do       | ‘cut, hack’  |
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 sage - irak biruk sage,
   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, ?, s, z, h, ŋ, l, r, m, n, w/, while the inventory of Bunaq Lolotoen adds an aspirated stop series /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/ to this, but lacks /ŋ, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Austronesian</th>
<th>Papuan</th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Vowels</td>
<td>5 vowels</td>
<td>5 vowels + ø; front rounding</td>
<td>5 vowels (+ 3 diphthongs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Places</td>
<td>P - T - K (~C)</td>
<td>P - T - (C/s) - K</td>
<td>P - T - (C) - K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Manner</td>
<td>P ≠ B; B = MB</td>
<td>no pattern</td>
<td>P ≠ B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Fricatives</td>
<td>f v - s - γ</td>
<td>fricatives = stops p/θ/β; t/r/l; k/g/γ</td>
<td>s z - h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Liquids</td>
<td>r ≠ 1</td>
<td>r = 1</td>
<td>r ≠ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Syllables</td>
<td>(C)V</td>
<td>C(C) V C</td>
<td>(C)V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Stress</td>
<td>penultimate stress</td>
<td>phonemic stress</td>
<td>penultimate stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Tone</td>
<td>typically no tone</td>
<td>tone present</td>
<td>no tone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Austronesian</th>
<th>Papuan</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Phonology</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Morphology</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Syntax</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (of 22)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.


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 Emé (‘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 Emé 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 to 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 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/<del>/e</del>/i~/o~/u/</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>'1PL_INCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'prawn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’
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’
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricative</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 2.4: Consonant minimal pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p<del>b</del>m~w</td>
<td>/pel/</td>
<td>‘be rotten’</td>
<td>l~r</td>
<td>/mal/</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bel/</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/mar/</td>
<td>‘farm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/mel/</td>
<td>‘wake’</td>
<td>s~z</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/wel/</td>
<td>‘be burnt’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/zi/</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t<del>d</del>n</td>
<td>/ten/</td>
<td>‘be ready’</td>
<td>s~h</td>
<td>/se/</td>
<td>‘clear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/den/</td>
<td>‘dry in sun’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/he/</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nen/</td>
<td>‘not even’</td>
<td>?<del>k</del>Ø</td>
<td>/sele/</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k~g</td>
<td>/kal/</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/selek/</td>
<td>‘fountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/gal/</td>
<td>‘rib’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/sele/</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m~n</td>
<td>/mo/</td>
<td>‘sea’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/no/</td>
<td>‘in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 [p’] [t’] [k’] 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pe/ ‘be swollen’</td>
<td>/apa/ ‘cow’</td>
<td>/op/ ‘highland’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/ten/ ‘be ready’</td>
<td>/neto/ ‘1SG’</td>
<td>/pit/ ‘throat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/koen/ ‘nice’</td>
<td>/naka/ ‘mud’</td>
<td>/pak/ ‘chop’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/bin/ ‘seed’</td>
<td>/laba/ ‘slice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/de/ ‘be right’</td>
<td>/tada/ ‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/guzel/ ‘charcoal’</td>
<td>/sagal/ ‘seek’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d] ~ [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>/ V_V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’ [dana] [*rara]
/dade/ ‘all sorts’ [dare] [*rara]
/dadi/ ‘happen, succeed’ [dari] [*rari]
/dado/ ‘until’ [daro] [*raro]
/dida/ ‘fuse a knife blade’ [dira] [*rira]
/dida?/ ‘dew’ [dira?] [*rira?]

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 [ɬʃ] 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.8: Allophony of /g/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The items in (8) illustrate the allophony.

8. /gia/ ‘eat it/him/her’ [giə ~ ɬʃia]
/gie/ ‘his/hers/its’ [giε ~ ɬʃie]
/gial/ ‘carry it/him/her’ [giʃal ~ ɬʃial]
/gio/ ‘his/her/its faeces’ [gio ~ ɬʃio]
The clause-final prospective aspect marker *gie* ‘PROSP’ (§14.2.4) may be reduced to [dʒe] 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 ~ dʒie ~ dʒe]
   /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 /ʃ/. (§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 [dʒ]. 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 [dʒ] 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.9: Distribution of fricatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3.4 Voiceless palatal affricate

The voiceless alveolar affricate /ʃ/ is a minor phoneme found in a total of 14 lexical items (out of a corpus of 2000 + lexical items), given in (10).
The phoneme /tf/ has a voiceless fricative allophone [s] in free alternation with [tf]. Most speakers show considerable variation with affricate and fricative realizations co-occuring within a single utterance. For the higher frequency lexical items with /tf/, such as /tfio/ ‘who’, /tfie/ and /tfier/, the affricate realisation is rarely heard with [sio], [sie] and [sier] being the overwhelmingly dominant realisations for each. This points to /tf/ being in the course of merging with /s/ in Bunaq Lamaknen.

We can see from (10) that /tf/ is restricted to word-initial position preceding a high front vowel /i/ in multi-syllabic words. This highly restricted distribution is the result of /tf/ once having been a conditioned allophone of /t/. In Bunaq Lamaknen /tf/ has gained phonemic status due to the allophonic rule in which /t/ is realised as [tf] 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 /tf/ contrasts with /t/. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/tf/</th>
<th>/t/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. /tfio/</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tfie/</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tfia/</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.10: Allophony of /t/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, /t/ has also remained [t] in some items which have the appropriate 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, *ʧili]
/tilik/ ‘k.o. bird’ [tilik, *ʧilik]
/tigi/ ‘drip’ [tigi, *ʧigi]
/timi/ ‘deshelled’ [timi, *ʧimi]

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/ > [ʧ] / _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 [l] 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/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[l] ~ [f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/.

Table 2.12: Distribution of liquids

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/rama/ ‘arrow’</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/lak/ ‘between’</td>
<td>/tolo/ ‘put in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/pol/ ‘send’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/mo/ ‘sea’</td>
<td>/mami/ ‘tasty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/nor/ ‘randomly’</td>
<td>/ene/ ‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/bon/ ‘k.o.stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. /hilo?on/ ‘two’ [hilo?on ~ hilo?o]
   /goni?on/ ‘three’ [goni?on ~ goni?o]
   /saru?an/ ‘complain’ [saru?an ~ saru?a]

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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ʔ/</th>
<th>( \emptyset )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. /baʔi/</td>
<td>‘PROX.INAN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haʔal/</td>
<td>‘be finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/okoʔ/</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/niʔ/</td>
<td>‘NEG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bai/</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hal/</td>
<td>‘dandruff’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oko/</td>
<td>‘valley’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ni/</td>
<td>‘OBL’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ʔ/</th>
<th>/C/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. /toʔi/</td>
<td>‘hollow out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/leʔa/</td>
<td>‘roll up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sieʔ/</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/goeʔ/</td>
<td>‘be ancient’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/toli/</td>
<td>‘be together, be complete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/leba/</td>
<td>‘carrying pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sien/</td>
<td>‘weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/goet/</td>
<td>‘be like’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source phoneme</th>
<th>Bunaq phoneme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/p/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ &amp; medial /r/</td>
<td>/d/ [d–r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initial /r/</td>
<td>/l/ or /r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final /r/</td>
<td>/l/ or /r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medial /h/</td>
<td>/h/ or /ʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final /k/</td>
<td>/k/ or /ʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final /V/</td>
<td>/V/ or /ʔV/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/&lt;V&gt;/</td>
<td>/V/ or /ʔV/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dʃ/</td>
<td>/z/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ʃ/ 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian/Portuguese</th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21. /adat/ ‘custom’ &gt; [adat ~ arat]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jadi/ ‘so’ &gt; [dʒədi ~ dʒəri]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/apodeti/ ‘Popular Democratic Association of Timor’ &gt; [apodeti ~ aporeti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/adel/ ‘Adel’ &gt; [adel ~ arel]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetun</th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. /rama/ ‘arrow’ &gt; /rama/ [rama] (*dama)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/redi/ ‘net’ &gt; /redi/ [reri] (*dedi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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 Associação Popular Democrática 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetun</th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. /bokur/</td>
<td>/bokul/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kahur/</td>
<td>/kahul/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mamar/</td>
<td>/mamal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hanaur/</td>
<td>/hanaul/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. /fiar/</td>
<td>/piar/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fetor/</td>
<td>/petor/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tetun Bunaq

25. /bokur/ ‘fat’ > /bokul/
/kahur/ ‘mix’ > /kahul/
/mamar/ ‘soft’ > /mamal/
/hanaur/ ‘burn’ > /hanaul/

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetun</th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. /mehi/</td>
<td>/meʔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nehek/</td>
<td>/neʔek/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tatehan/</td>
<td>/tateʔan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. /tudik/</td>
<td>/tudiʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/susuk/</td>
<td>/susuʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/toke/</td>
<td>/tokoʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(possibly originally &lt; Malay tokel)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tetun Bunaq

27. /mehi/ ‘dream’ > /meʔi/  [turiʔ?]
/nehek/ ‘black ant’ > /neʔek/ |
/tatehan/ ‘reflect’ > /tateʔan/ |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian/Malay</th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ḍaga/ ‘guard’</td>
<td>/zaga/ [zaga~ḍaga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ḍawa/ ‘Java’</td>
<td>/zawa/ [zawa~ḍawa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ḍepit/ ‘clip’</td>
<td>/zepit/ [zepit~ḍepit]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ? h s ẓ tʃ  l r m n w
   Orthographic: p b t d~r k g q h s 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, /tfio/ may be realised as [tfio] or [sio]. When the speaker produces the former the orthography is <tfio>, 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 /tʃ/ 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 <aɪ>, <eɪ> and <oɪ> 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 ɗ j
   Orthographic: f j ɗ ng y

Note that the [ɗ] 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.
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.ko?/ ‘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.?V : /bu.a.?i/ ‘yarn’
   CV.CV.?V : /ba.li.?a/ ‘k.o. plant’
   CV.CV.?V : /ba.ni.?a/ ‘guest’
   CV.CV.?V(C) : /sa.du.?an/ ‘complain’
   CV.CV.?VC : /bu.le.?en/ ‘red’
Trisyllabic onomatopoeic words are composed according to a general template \([C_1V_1C_2V_2C_2V_2?]\) in which the second syllable is reduplicated in the third syllable with the addition of a glottal stop in coda position:

\[
\begin{align*}
39. CV.CV.CV? & : /ka.ka.ka?/ \text{ ‘cackle’} \\
CV.CV.CV? & : /ke.ke.ke?/ \text{ ‘giggle’} \\
CV.CV.CV? & : /ka.da.da?/ \text{ ‘crackle, pop’} \\
CV.CV.CV? & : /ko.ro.ro?/ \text{ ‘hoorah, cheer’} \\
CV.CV.CV? & : /tu.lu.lu?/ \text{ ‘squelch’} \\
CV.CV.CV? & : /si.gu.gu?/ \text{ ‘sizzle, whizz’}
\end{align*}
\]

In all but one item the vowel is identical throughout, yielding a template of this kind \([C_1V_1C_2V_1C_2V_1?]\). In two items it is not only the vowel which is identical across all three syllables but also the consonant, yielding the template \([C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2V_1?]\).

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’.

\[
\begin{align*}
40. V.CV.CV.C & : /a.ma.de.?u/ \text{ ‘k.o. plant’} \\
V.CV.CV.VC & : /a.ti.to.u?/ \text{ ‘k.o. bird’} \\
CV.CV.CV.CV & : /go.mo.la.le/ \text{ ‘persuade’} \\
CV.CV.CV.CV & : /ku.ru.ku.ru/ \text{ ‘k.o. game’} \\
CV.CV.CV.CVC & : /hi.le.de.no?/ \text{ ‘two days prior’}
\end{align*}
\]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel phoneme</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/an/</td>
<td>/matas/</td>
<td>/apa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/el/</td>
<td>/selek/</td>
<td>/eni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/in/</td>
<td>/sipik/</td>
<td>/ipi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/op/</td>
<td>/loto/</td>
<td>/oko/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/ul/</td>
<td>/puluk/</td>
<td>/uku/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ai/</th>
<th>/ei/</th>
<th>/oi/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/D/</td>
<td>/ai/ ‘only’</td>
<td>/ei/ ‘2PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/CD/</td>
<td>/bai/ ‘thing’</td>
<td>/dei/ ‘further’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/CDC/</td>
<td>/dain/ ‘bind’</td>
<td>/beik/ ‘dumb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/(C)DCV(C)/</td>
<td>/aiba’/ ‘eD’</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/CVCD/</td>
<td>/lulai/ ‘move’</td>
<td>/kawei/ ‘sit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>fj</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>word-initial</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(onset)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word-medial</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(onset)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word-final</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(coda)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.ko?/ ‘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 /gontfiet/ ‘five’ is typically realised [gon.tfi.et] with a consonant cluster across the syllable boundary. For some speakers it may also be realised as [go.ni.tfet]. ‘five’, while for still others it can be further realised as [go.in.tfet]. The cluster of /n/ and /tj/ 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 /gontfiet/ is the underlying form, the metathesis of /i/ and /tj/ in the realisation [go.ni.tfet] would appear to have taken place in the speech of many speakers to break up the cluster of /n/ and /tj/; the realisation [go.in.tfet] may be then seen as an extension of the metathesis process (cf. §2.5.3).

Finally, there a two items, /ereno?/ ‘day before’ and /hilereno?/ ‘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 /inano?/ or /hilede/.

42. /edeno?/ ‘day before’ [e’reno? ~ ’erno?] 
   /hiledeno?/ ‘two days before’ [hile’reno? ~ hi’lerno?] 
   /inano?/ ‘night before’ [i’nano?] 
   /hilede/ ‘tomorrow’ [hi’lere]
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

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

**CVD**

43. /u.ai/ ‘moo’ [u"aj]
    /ke.ai/ ‘wail’ [ke"aj]
    /te.ai/ ‘stare at’ [te"aj]
    /ko.ei/ ‘squeal’ [ko"ej]
    /te.oi/ ‘thwack’ [te"oj]

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, [\'] and ["]. Epenthesis of each of these is illustrated in (44) and (45) respectively.³

[\'] insertion

44. cía ‘burn’ [ti\'ja]
    deu ‘house’ [de\'u]
    sío ‘who’ [si\'o]
    lokomeaq ‘k.o.eagle’ [lokome\'a?]

["] insertion

45. uor ‘vegetable’ [u\"or]
    guel ‘light’ [gu\"el]
    loi ‘good’ [lo\"i]
    kou ‘slip’ [ko\"u]

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 ba?i ‘MID.AN’ and ba?a ‘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

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a?a (8)</td>
<td>a?e (8)</td>
<td>a?i (6)</td>
<td>a?o (2)</td>
<td>a?u (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘close’</td>
<td>‘wear’</td>
<td>‘much’</td>
<td>‘corn’</td>
<td>‘wear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e?a (4)</td>
<td>e?e (8)</td>
<td>e?i (2)</td>
<td>e?o (3)</td>
<td>e?u (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘pray’</td>
<td>‘ripe’</td>
<td>‘near by’</td>
<td>‘shack’</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i?a (4)</td>
<td>i?e (0)</td>
<td>i?i (7)</td>
<td>i?o (2)</td>
<td>i?u (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘advance’</td>
<td>‘insert’</td>
<td>‘k.o grain’</td>
<td>‘ever’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o?a (9)</td>
<td>o?e (4)</td>
<td>o?i (3)</td>
<td>o?o (6)</td>
<td>o?u (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘great’</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
<td>‘peanut’</td>
<td>‘enough’</td>
<td>‘question’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u?a (4)</td>
<td>u?e (3)</td>
<td>u?i (0)</td>
<td>u?o (0)</td>
<td>u?u (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tu?al/</td>
<td>/hu?e/</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>pu?up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘swap’</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘peak’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. ‘teke?’ ‘look at’
   ‘pana’ ‘woman’
   ‘bini’ ‘steal’
   ‘lo.i’ ‘good’
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Root</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>'extract'</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>g'ul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49. gV-  +</td>
<td>'ul</td>
<td>'extract'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>g'ul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gV-  +</td>
<td>'il</td>
<td>'water'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>g'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gV-  +</td>
<td>'bul</td>
<td>'base'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>gu'bul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gV-  +</td>
<td>'wit</td>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>gi'wit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. gV-  +</td>
<td>'iwal</td>
<td>'pick'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>g'iwal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gV-  +</td>
<td>'ube</td>
<td>'block'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>g'ube</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gV-  +</td>
<td>'teke?'</td>
<td>'look'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>ge'teke?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gV-  +</td>
<td>'hukat</td>
<td>'raise'</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>gu'hukat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.21: Pronominal prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1EXCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $+ \text{bol} \ 'value' > \text{no-bol}$
   \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{  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 } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{   } \text{
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 CV₁V₂C under prefixation where V₁ is high (/i/ or /u/) and V₂ non-high. Metathesis involves V₁ 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 *sieg* ‘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 + *sieg* ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unprefixed form</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE prefixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>li/el</td>
<td>g-ulel</td>
<td>‘skin, peel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mien</td>
<td>g-imen</td>
<td>‘immediately,’ customarily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niat</td>
<td>g-inat</td>
<td>‘first (one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuas</td>
<td>g-unas</td>
<td>‘stink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuek</td>
<td>g-unek</td>
<td>‘be smelly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sieq</td>
<td>g-iseq</td>
<td>‘rip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuek</td>
<td>g-utek</td>
<td>‘be heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziek</td>
<td>g-izek</td>
<td>‘fry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since it is the most morphologically unmarked form of the verb, I regard the CV,V2C form of metathesizing items as basic. However, it might be possible to argue that the form V,CV2C is basic and that CV,V2C is the metathesized form. This analysis might be tenable if metathesis to the form CV,V2C 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, (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,CV2C 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,CV2C 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,CV2C 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain of Reduplication</th>
<th>Function of Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal domain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative V</td>
<td>intensity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-verbal numeral</td>
<td>distributivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal domain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHEAD</td>
<td>distributivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier of NHEAD</td>
<td>distributivity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tas</td>
<td>'tas~'tas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'unu</td>
<td>'unu~'unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi'loqon</td>
<td>hi'loqon~hi'loqon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tas</td>
<td>'village after village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'unu</td>
<td>'really quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi'loqon</td>
<td>'two by two'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Repeated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>liol</td>
<td>liol liol ‘keep going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mele</td>
<td>mele mele mele ‘keep walking on and on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pie</td>
<td>pie pie pie pie ‘keep steaming on and on and on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Repeated phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g-ua gene ‘3AN-footprint LOC’</td>
<td>gua gene gua gene ‘keep following X’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘in X’s footprints’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e. ‘follow X’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baqa goet ‘NPRX.INAN LIKE’</td>
<td>baqa goet baqa goet ‘like that over &amp; over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(do) like that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  
   i-al   1INCL/2-carry 
   gi-al  3AN-carry 
   zal    carry

   b.  ni-a  1EXCL-eat 
   i-a  1INCL/2-eat 
   gi-a  3AN-eat 
   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).

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.

---

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. $(C)V + BV_1LV_1(k) > (C)V_BV_1(k)$

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unprefixed form</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE prefixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belek</td>
<td>gebek</td>
<td>‘turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilik</td>
<td>gibik</td>
<td>‘bind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolok</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palak-ter</td>
<td>gapak-ter</td>
<td>‘kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pili</td>
<td>gipi</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakak</td>
<td>gawak</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welek</td>
<td>gewek</td>
<td>‘hug’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unprefixed form</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE prefixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuqu</td>
<td>gutuq</td>
<td>'beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buqu</td>
<td>gubuq</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mene</td>
<td>gemen</td>
<td>'straighten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dele</td>
<td>gerel</td>
<td>'INS'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unprefixed form</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE prefixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagal</td>
<td>gagabal</td>
<td>'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binun</td>
<td>gibibun</td>
<td>'gather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buqu</td>
<td>gububu</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ili</td>
<td>gigili</td>
<td>'wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilaq</td>
<td>gipiala</td>
<td>'tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uti</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation class</th>
<th>Example 3rd INANIMATE</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h-class</td>
<td>h-azal</td>
<td>g-azal</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-class</td>
<td>s-agal</td>
<td>g-agal</td>
<td>‘seek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-class</td>
<td>t-inik</td>
<td>g-inik</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-class</td>
<td>d-oenik</td>
<td>g-oenik</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-class</td>
<td>l-ual</td>
<td>g-ual</td>
<td>‘bend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial consonant alternation observed in these verbs is not a regular morphophonological 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Example 3rd INANIMATE</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/-initial</td>
<td>hukat</td>
<td>gubukat</td>
<td>‘lift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/-initial</td>
<td>sarat</td>
<td>gasarat</td>
<td>‘drag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/-initial</td>
<td>tiba</td>
<td>gitiba</td>
<td>‘order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/-initial</td>
<td>daqu</td>
<td>garaqu</td>
<td>‘rip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/-initial</td>
<td>lete</td>
<td>gelete</td>
<td>‘step on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
N_{\text{HEAD}} & N_{\text{MOD}} & N_{\text{MOD}} & \text{RC} & \text{QUANT} \\
\text{en} & \text{pana} & \text{gol} & \text{na} & \text{koen} & \text{ginil} \\
\text{person} & \text{female} & \text{small} & \text{FOC} & \text{pretty} & \text{GRP} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LCT</th>
<th>PSR</th>
<th>N&lt;sub&gt;HEAD&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ola</td>
<td>Markus</td>
<td>gi-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>Markus</td>
<td>3-POSS mango</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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’.

   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.
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 [‘meaq ’gol']. 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-oI* ‘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.
   ? 3AN-child 1EXCL-hit
   ‘The child hit me.’
   b. Neto meaq *g-ol* g-ue.
   1SG ? 3AN-child 3AN-hit
   ‘I hit the child.’

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

e. *Meaq* n-ue.
   ? 1EXCL-hit
   f. *Neto* meaq g-ue.
   1SG ? 3AN-hit
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\_\text{\textsc{head}} modified by an N\_\text{\textsc{mod}}. Whereas in a left-headed NN compound it is not possible to have multiple modifying Ns, two N\_\text{\textsc{mod}s} coordinated by \textit{o ‘AND’} can modify a single N\_\text{\textsc{head}}. See §5.3 for exemplification of Bunaq N\_\text{\textsc{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 \(N_{\text{\textsc{whole}}}\) to which the head is part. Whole-part modification only occurs where both N\_\text{\textsc{head}} and the modifying N have inanimate referents, as in:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
14. \text{a.} & N_{\text{\textsc{whole}}} \quad N_{\text{\textsc{head}}} \\
& \text{\textit{deu puqup}} \\
& \text{\textit{house (‘s) roof}} \\
\text{\textit{‘house(‘s) roof’}} \\
\text{\textit{N\_\text{\textsc{whole}} N\_\text{\textsc{head}}}} \\
\text{\textit{b.} } & N_{\text{\textsc{whole}}} \quad N_{\text{\textsc{head}}} \\
& \text{\textit{oto mil}} \\
& \text{\textit{car (‘s) inside}} \\
& \text{\textit{‘car(‘s) inside’}} \\
\text{\textit{N\_\text{\textsc{whole}} N\_\text{\textsc{head}}}} \\
\text{\textit{c.} } & N_{\text{\textsc{whole}}} \quad N_{\text{\textsc{head}}} \\
& \text{\textit{hotel wa}} \\
& \text{\textit{tree (‘s) top}} \\
& \text{\textit{‘tree top’}} \\
\text{\textit{N\_\text{\textsc{whole}} N\_\text{\textsc{head}}}} \\
\text{\textit{d.} } & N_{\text{\textsc{whole}}} \quad N_{\text{\textsc{head}}} \\
& \text{\textit{mar alan}} \\
& \text{\textit{garden (‘s) border}} \\
& \text{\textit{‘garden(‘s) border’}} \\
\end{array}
\]

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15. a.</th>
<th>16. a.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roof</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bi</td>
<td>*bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deu</td>
<td>oto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puqup</td>
<td>mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba /</td>
<td>ba /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the house(‘s) roof’
‘car(‘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 possessive classifier gi-e ‘3AN-POSS’ (§9.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17. a.</th>
<th>17. c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*deu</td>
<td>*hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gereja</td>
<td>lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puqup</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AND</td>
<td>AND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td>mountain top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roof</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘house’s and church’s roof’
‘tree and mountain top’

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  
   house nice NPRX_INAN_roof  
   ‘the pretty house roof’  

b. deu koen baqa gi-e puqup  
   house nice NPRX_INAN_3-POS_3-POS  
   ‘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  
       mother father  
       ‘parents’  

b. *ama eme  
       father mother

20. a. kauq kaqa  
       younger.sibling older.sibling  
       ‘siblings’  

b. *kaqa kauq  
       older.sibling younger.sibling

21. a. g-on g-iri  
       3AN-arm 3AN-leg  
       ‘his limbs’  

b. *g-iri g-on  
       3AN-leg 3AN-arm

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 licenses a single S argument. In (24) *tekeq* ‘watch’ is the sole predicate of the clause and licenses two arguments, an A and a P, in the clause.

23. *Zo tuek.*
   mango heavy
   ‘The mango (is) heavy.’

   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.

   1SG 1EXCL-heavy  
   'I (am) heavy.'

b. N-utek.  
   1EXCL-heavy  
   '(I am) heavy.'

   1SG Markus 3AN-watch  
   'I watched Markus.'

b. Ge-tekeq.  
   3AN-watch  
   '(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’

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’
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.’

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

30. *En bari ncto na g-osok los.*  
   person PROX.AN 1SG FOC 3AN-receive very  
   ‘These people, I received I lot.’

31. *Sore baqa koen raza los.*  
   machete NPRX.AN beautiful different very  
   ‘That machete was really differently beautiful.’

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).’

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.’
34. **Halali** gi-e u bilik baqis lesin.

3DU 3-POSS undergrowth bound much more

‘Those two’s bound grass was much more.’

35. **Huqe** gene koen lesin.

HERE LOC beautiful more

‘Here is nicer.’

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.’

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1: A selection of 'character' NV compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EXPRESSION</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WITH ALIENABLELY POSSESSED NOUNS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tueq</em> <em>lilak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ikan ... nuas / nuek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pit saq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aruq legul / rukut ...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eme / ama ... kereq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WITH INALIENABLELY POSSESSED NOUNS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-epal koke</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-ewen buk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-ewen tomak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-ewen danu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-iral bulu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gi-mil loi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-on laun / rono</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-otok saqe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-otok wel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gu-bul bel</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.  
   1SG alcohol crazy  
   ‘I’m alcohol crazy.’, i.e. ‘drunk’

   b. *Neto tueq bare lilak.  
   1SG alcohol PROX.IAN crazy  
   ‘I’m crazy (with) this alcohol.’

   c. *Tueq neto lilak.  
   alcohol1SG crazy  
   ‘(For) alcohol I’m crazy.’

   d. *Neto tueq nor lilak.  
   1SG alcohol randomly 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.  
   1SG 1EXCL-liver ascend  
   ‘I’m raised as to my liver.’  
   i.e. ‘I’m angry’

   b. *Neto d-otok saqe.  
   1SG REFL-liver ascend  
   ‘I’m raised as to my own liver.’
Where the V takes prefixes for S (applicable in the case of \textit{nuas} ‘stink’ and \textit{nuek} ‘smell’. See §10.3.2, agreement is with the S (39a) and not with the N (39b).

39. a. \textit{Neto ikan n-unas.} 
1SG fish 1EXCL-smell
‘I smell fishy.’

b. *\textit{Neto ikan g-unas.} 
1SG fish 3AN-smell

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 \textit{en} ‘person’ were a possessor NP dependent on \textit{g-iwiq} ‘3AN-skin’ rather than an S, relativisation as in (40) would not be possible (see §5.4.3).

40. [\textit{[N PZi/?, [I I A D [g-iwiq belis]}]} Tima\textit{or 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):

\begin{verbatim}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{inel}</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ilok}</td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{teqa}</td>
<td>‘prayer’</td>
<td>‘pray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{lili}</td>
<td>‘flame’</td>
<td>‘flame, burn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{verbatim}
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.  
   1EXCL-POSS sick/ness PROX.INAN good 1SG sick/ness  
   ‘This sickness is better.’ [Bk-40.017]  

b. Neto memel.  
   1SG sick/ness  
   ‘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).
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
   person 3-POSS dog
   ‘a person’s dog’

   b. halaqi gi-e zap
      3PL 3-POSS dog
      ‘their dog’

   c. *en gi-e halaqi
      person 3-POSS 3PL
      [Not.07-01]
The restriction on possessors modifying a pronoun may be taken to indicate that pronouns occupy a syntactic position other than $N_{\text{HEAD}}$. For instance, pronouns could be seen as occupying the possessor position (§5.1) followed by null $N_{\text{HEAD}}$. In an alternative analysis, the restriction could be seen as pragmatically motivated: if a possessor is viewed as functioning to identify the referent of $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3: Basic interrogatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>cio</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ciro</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nego</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tero</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuen</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All basic Bunaq interrogative words are nominal and can occur in the NP either as $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ or modifying an $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ (i.e. as an $N_{\text{MOD}}$. §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 $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ *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?’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuen-tuen</strong></td>
<td>when when</td>
<td>'how much/many (time/quantity)?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuen goet on</strong></td>
<td>when LIKE DO</td>
<td>'how?', 'in what manner?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teo goet on</strong></td>
<td>where LIKE DO</td>
<td>'how?', 'in what manner?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nego on</strong></td>
<td>what DO</td>
<td>'why?', 'for what reason?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. 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 NHEAD 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’

---

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.
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’.

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]
no pause or break in intonation between the locational and the NP. Secondly, the locational can also follow the N\text{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.
\hspace{1cm} \text{NPRX.AN LOW walk}
\hspace{1cm} ‘They walk down there.’

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\text{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\text{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
\hspace{1cm} \text{LOW}
\hspace{1cm} ‘(location) down (there)’

b. ola baqa
\hspace{1cm} \text{LOW NPRX.INAN}
\hspace{1cm} ‘that (location) down (there)’

c. *ola (na) ate
\hspace{1cm} \text{LOW FOC far}
\hspace{1cm} ‘far (location) down (there)’

d. *ni-e ola
\hspace{1cm} \text{1EXCL-POSS LOW}
\hspace{1cm} ‘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). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVES</th>
<th>ANIMATE</th>
<th>INANIMATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROXIMAL</td>
<td>'PROX'</td>
<td>bari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-PROXIMAL</td>
<td>'NPRX'</td>
<td>baqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIFIER</td>
<td>'SPEC'</td>
<td>doi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRASTIVE</td>
<td>'CONTR'</td>
<td>himo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTER-</td>
<td>'CNTREXP'</td>
<td>beri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 'that mango is the soft' d. zo mamal mango soft *'the (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

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th></th>
<th>Bunaq</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>uen</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>siwe</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hiloqo(n)</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>sogo</td>
<td>tens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>goniqo(n)</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>sogo gal</td>
<td>+ teens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>goniqil</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>sogo +</td>
<td>tens of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>gonciet</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>atus +</td>
<td>hundreds of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tomol</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>libur +</td>
<td>thousands of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>hitu</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>begin +</td>
<td>tens of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>walu</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thousands of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ($\S$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.’
ZERO COORDINATED ATTRIBUTIVE NUMERAL

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10,000s</th>
<th>1,000s</th>
<th>100s</th>
<th>10s</th>
<th>plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 63. (*beqin* DIGIT) (*lihir* 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 NHEAD. In (69) and (70) uen 'one' occurs without an NHEAD 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.’

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.’
Secondly, *uen* ‘one’ is used modifying an \( N_{\text{HEAD}} \) to introduce a new human participant into the narrative (cf. Givón 1983). The numeral marks an \( N_{\text{HEAD}} \) 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 \( N_{\text{HEAD}} \) *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.*

\[\text{person one come weaving INS} \quad \text{REFL-wrap}\]

‘A person came along wrapped up in a blanket.’

b. *Bel halali hot t-ege sasi, sio na en bari*

\[\text{wind 3DU sun RECP-BEN say who FOC person PROX.AN}\]

\[g-\text{ini tais h-apal, baqi na solat lesin.} \quad \text{3AN-CAUS cloth 3AN-open NPRX.AN FOC strong more}\]

‘The sun and the wind said to each other, whoever makes this person take off his blanket, he is the stronger.’

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.*

\[\text{person female two one laugh}\]

‘Two girls were laughing together as one.’

73. *[Mau Paran en real uen] gi-ta sai.*

\[\text{Mau Paran person many one 3AN-GL exit}\]

‘Mau Paran came upon a large (group of) people.’

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 NPR.X.AN sick one–REDUP again
   ‘The child was sick just the same again.’ [Bk-39.047]

75. Tubi raka na baqa.
    cake k.o. cake FOC NPR.X.INAN cake 3INAN-roast NPR.X.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 simulative 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.

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-azaJ.  
NPRX.AN house FOC 1SG sit 3INAN-see  
'She saw the house that I was sitting (in).'</n>  [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 ‘CONTEXT’ 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 ‘CONTEXT’ 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-nil no bu], ei Ø-ini n-ie muk gi-e r-ige.
   1EXCL-insideOBL GIVEN 2PL 1INCL/2-CAUS 1EXCL-POS1 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-iwik kacq.
   Bui Guloq sand CONTEXT 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 ‘CONTEXT’ is the historical base of the counter-expectational demonstrative beréberi (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. [Tunel 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]

1PLEXCL 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 initi 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]
'When she was well again, then she went to Malaysia.'

'I called for the doctor to come down, as it was as if my breathing was about to stop.'

'The water was gone, once (the child had) drunk (it).'

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

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]

   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 bu-la, [da-rau matas mil ni-e ama balaqi 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 [da-rau 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 [da-rau 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 categorical 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' 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). 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. 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'.


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.
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).

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).
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† 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, *nar* 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

\(^{13}\) 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.

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<tr>
<th>Pre-N&lt;sub&gt;NHEAD&lt;/sub&gt; or Post-N&lt;sub&gt;NHEAD&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Without N&lt;sub&gt;NHEAD&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>With other modifiers?</th>
<th>With other QUANT?</th>
<th>Position in NP?</th>
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<td>numeral</td>
<td>post-num, pre-RC</td>
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<td>post</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>RC, Det</td>
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<td>post-RC</td>
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<td>RC, Det</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>hotu-hotu 'all'</td>
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<td>naran 'any, various'</td>
<td>pre</td>
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<td>gewen-gwen 'all sorts'</td>
<td>post</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>RC, Det</td>
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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 a 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

\[(\text{Peri}) \text{Arg}_1 (\text{Peri}) \text{Arg}_2 (\text{Peri}) \text{Pred} \text{Arg}_3 (/\text{Peri}) (\text{Neg})\]

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 *gqaql‘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).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V \\
1. a. & Neto & memel. \\
& 1SG & sick \\
& ‘I’m sick.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V \\
b. & Manek & zemal. \\
& Manek & go.down \\
& ‘Manek went down.’
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & S-V \\
2. a. & Neto & n-utek. \\
& 1SG & 1EXCL-heavy \\
& ‘I (am) heavy.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & S-V \\
b. & Manek & g-utek \\
& Manek & 3AN-heavy \\
& ‘Manek (is) heavy.’
\end{array}
\]

A plural ANIMATE S restricts for the floating universal quantifier \textit{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 \textit{gaqal} ‘all.AN’.1

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & S-V \\
3. a. & Nei & memel \textit{gaqal}. \\
& 1PL.EXCL & sick \textit{all.AN} \\
& ‘We all are sick.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & S-V \\
b. & *Neto & memel \textit{gaqal}. \\
& 1SG & sick \textit{all.AN} \\
& ‘I all am sick.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & S-V \\
4. a. & Nei & n-unas \textit{gaqal}. \\
& 1PL.EXCL & 1EXCL-stink \textit{all.AN} \\
& ‘We all stink.’
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & S-V \\
b. & *Neto & n-unas \textit{gaqal}. \\
& 1SG & 1EXCL-stink \textit{all.AN} \\
& ‘I all stink.’
\end{array}
\]

---

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 \textit{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.

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  
 7. a. Neto zo zal.  
   1SG mango carry
   ‘I carried the mango.’

   P A V
 7. b. Zo neto zal.  
   mango 1SG carry
   ‘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).

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

   Markus mango choose
   ‘Markus chose a mango.’

ANIMATE P, verbal prefixing with $gV$

   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

   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).

    Markus 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-CAUS dog 3AN-choose
    ‘Markus made us choose the dogs.’

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.

\[\begin{array}{lllll}
A & P & \text{INS} & \text{P-V} \\
\hline
11. Markus & Ela & d-on & dele & go-hoqat. \\
\end{array}\]

Markus Ela REFLE-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.

\[\begin{array}{llll}
A & R & V & T \\
\hline
12. a. Eta nei n-ege paqol. \\
   Eta 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-give corn
   'Eta gave us corn.' \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
A & R & T & V \\
\hline
b. Eta nei paqol n-ege. \\
   Eta 1PL.EXCL corn 1EXCL-give
   'Eta gave us corn.' \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
A & T & R & V \\
\hline
c. Eta paqol nei n-ege. \\
   Eta corn 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-give
   'Eta gave us corn.' \\
\end{array}\]
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).

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).
An **ANIMATE** R argument binds the floating quantifier (14). Neither A nor T can bind the floating quantifier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>QUANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Halaqi</em></td>
<td>nei</td>
<td><em>n-ege</em></td>
<td>zap</td>
<td><em>gaqal.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>1EXCL-give</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>all.AN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 REF1-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 **nə 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 an 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Verb Semantics</strong></th>
<th><strong>Role of Obl</strong></th>
<th><strong>Example (Obl = bold)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturation verbs</td>
<td>location of saturation</td>
<td><em>blood EXCL-hand cover</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Blood is covering my hand.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of hurt</td>
<td>location of hurt</td>
<td><em>sael sak an hinal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pig thigh be.injured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘The pig is injured in its thigh.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential verbs</td>
<td>possessed item</td>
<td><em>nei il hobel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1PL.EXCL water not.exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘We have no water.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of excretion</td>
<td>theme of excretion</td>
<td><em>zap ho dawaq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dog blood defecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘The dog shits blood.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion verbs</td>
<td>goal of motion</td>
<td><em>baqi tas mal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NPRX.AN village go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘S/he goes to the village.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of teaching</td>
<td>taught thing</td>
<td><em>baqi ingris hanorin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NPRX.AN English teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘S/he learns English.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

17. a. *Neto kura saqe.  
1SG horse ascend

b. Kura neto saqe.  
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.

18. a. Nei kura saqe gaqal.  
1PL.EXCL horse ascend all.AN

b. Kura nei saqe gaqal.  
horse 1PL.EXCL ascend all.AN

'We all ascended the horse(s).',  
'The horse(s) we all ascended.',

*‘We all 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).

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.

1SG horse REFL-leg INS ascend

*I ascended the horse with my legs.’,  
**I ascended the horse with its legs.’

130
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRE-V</th>
<th>INITIAL</th>
<th>AGR</th>
<th>QUANT FLOAT</th>
<th>CAUS PRED</th>
<th>REFL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Timor & PROX.INAN & 1EXCL-POSS \\
\hline
land & & \\
\end{tabular}

‘Timor here is my (home)land’. \[OS-07.01\]

\(^5\) 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.'  

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.'

24. #/? *En Islam en bari.*

person Islam person PROX.AN

'A Muslim person is this person.'

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.'

26. *Ni-e rale na bare ai.*

1EXCL-POSS talk FOC PROX.INAN ONLY

'My speech is this only.'

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]

   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). 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<sub>3</sub>). The lists for peripherals given in the table are complete, except for the position between ARG<sub>1</sub> and ARG<sub>2</sub> which presents only a sample of the most common items appearing in this position.

---

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.
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 ARG₁, 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 ARG₁ and preceding ARG₂ encodes origin location of a motion (35). A locative PP following the ARG₂ (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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERI</th>
<th>ARG₁</th>
<th>PERI</th>
<th>ARG₂</th>
<th>PERI</th>
<th>PRED</th>
<th>PERI/ARG₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE PP</td>
<td>(setting)</td>
<td>LOCATIVE PP</td>
<td>(motion origin)</td>
<td>LOCATIVE PP</td>
<td>(goal ARG₂)</td>
<td>LOCATIVE PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VpP</td>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td>SIMILATIVE</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td>VpP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VpP</td>
<td>ORIGIN VpP</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>VpP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENEFICATIVE</td>
<td>GOAL VpP</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>VpP</td>
<td>INSTRUMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| VpP | ...

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 simulative PP (§12.1.3), before or after a predicate, makes no
difference to the meaning of a clause. With verbs of speaking, a simulative 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 simulative 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.
   I.PL.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 aspecktual 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 togo mete
   work NPRX.INAN 1SG 3INAN-do NEG continue until NOW
   ‘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 EXCL-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!*  
\textsuperscript{1}EXCL-BEN  say  
‘Tell me!’  
[OS-07.04]

55. *Eto  tebe  on  oa!*  
\textsuperscript{2}SG  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!*  
\textsuperscript{1}EXCL-head  massage  IMP  
‘ Massage my head!’  
[Bk-43.074]

58. *N-ege  ga-saqe  naq!*  
\textsuperscript{1}EXCL-BEN  3AN-bring.up  IMP  
‘Bring him up for me!’  
[Bk-69.051]

59. *Eto  hali  naq!*  
\textsuperscript{2}SG  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 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
ccompanier 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!’  

b. *Nei ei Ø-osok.*
   1PL.EXCL 2PL 1INCL/2-receive
   ‘We will receive you.’

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.’

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!’

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!’

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 tock bare, i Ø-ege sasi bu loi*
   royal 1SG talk PROX.INAN 1PL.INCL/INCL/2-BEN speak GIVEN good
   *ka niq?*
   or NEG
   ‘Sire, I am talking, (am I) permitted to speak to you or not?’  

B. *Eme sasi mal!*
   mother speak go
   ‘Speak away mother!’

[LB-8.025]  
[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! Loj, 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. \textit{Nego na 0-ege?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{what FOC 1INCL/2-give} \\
   \text{‘What did (they) give to you?’} \quad \text{[Bk-4.036]}
   \end{align*}

b. \textit{*0-ege nego na?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{1INCL/2-give what FOC} \\
   \text{[Not-09.01]}
   \end{align*}

c. \textit{0-ege nego?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{1INCL/2-give what} \\
   \text{‘(They) gave you what?’} \quad \text{[Not-09.01]}
   \end{align*}

73. a. \textit{Teo goet on na pelek?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{where LIKE DO FOC plant} \\
   \text{‘How is it that (you) plant (them)?’} \quad \text{[Bk-65.080]}
   \end{align*}

b. \textit{*Pelek teo goet on na?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{plant where LIKE DO FOC} \\
   \text{[Not-09.01]}
   \end{align*}

c. \textit{Pelek teo goet on?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{plant where LIKE DO} \\
   \text{‘How (do you) plant (them)?’} \quad \text{[Not-09.01]}
   \end{align*}

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 \textit{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. \textit{Eto teo gene na mit gie?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{2SG where LOC FOC sit PROSP} \\
   \text{‘You are going to live where?’} \quad \text{[Not-09.01]}
   \end{align*}

b. \textit{Teo gene na eto mit gie?}
   \begin{align*}
   \text{where LOC FOC 2SG sit PROSP} \\
   \text{‘Where are you going to live?’} \quad \text{[Not-09.01]}
   \end{align*}
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 interogatives 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]
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?’

[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?’

B. Bego  e!

pulped  TAG

‘(It was) so pulped!’

84. A. Hele  muk  g-omo  niq?

perhaps  earth  3AN-owner  NEG

‘Perhaps it wasn’t a spirit (lit. an earth owner)?’

B. Muk  g-omo  on  e!

earth  3AN-owner  DO  TAG

‘(It was) so a spirit (lit. an earth owner)!’

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?’

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?’
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]
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]
Negative answers to negative polar questions also echo the verb and *niq* ‘NEG’, as in (97), or just *niq* ‘NEG’ (98).

97. A. *Ei* ḫ-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?’

B. *Man* *niq.*

   come NEG

   ‘(She) did not come (towards us).’

98. A. *Eto heten niq?*

   2SG want NEG

   ‘Do you want to?’

B. *Niq.*

   NEG

   ‘No (I don’t want to).’

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’*. 

153
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
c. 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–loi.
before OBL good–REDUP
‘Before (that I was) fine.’ [Bk-40.002]

c. Neto cier honal loi–loi.
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]
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 baquis 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 ‘IPL.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 oo,*
   garden 3lNAN-leave.behind year three four PFV
   *mar baqa hatak.*
   garden NPRX.INAN ripe

   '(After one has) left the garden for four (or) five years, that garden is ready.'

   [Bk-3.003]

d. *Mar hatak oo si, mar baqa se oo.*
   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 mali 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* ‘3lNAN-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 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]
4.7.2 Variation in word-order

We have seen throughout this chapter that the pragmatically neutral word order in Bunaq is: \textsc{arg}_1 \textsc{arg}_2 \textsc{pred} \textsc{arg}_3. 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.
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. \textit{Ni-e u baqa, halaqi na d-cege seq ai.}
\textit{1EXCL-POSS grass NPRX.INAN 3PL FOC REFL-BEN sell ONLY}

‘As for my grass, they sold (it) for themselves.’ [Bk-12.021]

109. \textit{En mone uen, baqi mal...}
\textit{person man one NPRX.AN go}

‘(There was) a guy, he went...’ [Bk-21.003]
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). 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.

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 IPL.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.


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 bi.*

3PL also RECP-SRC test NPRX.INAN LIKE, poet-REDUP

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).'

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.'

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.'
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 baqa goet.*
   person Makasai person Fataluku NPRX.INAN FOC
   ‘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 IPL.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-POS SPEC.INAN

   woa mele kou.
   woa walk slip

   ‘Now this young midwife from Java was -woa- walking (and) slipping.’

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 preverbal 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. *Wagen 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 kokoko 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* bogoq-bogoq *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.

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.

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).
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.

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.
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’

[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](image)

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 \textsc{animate} versus \textsc{inanimate} noun class.\footnote{Small caps ‘\textsc{animate}’ and ‘\textsc{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.} 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 \textsc{animate} noun class on the basis of their association with real-world animates. That is, whilst all nouns denoting animates are of \textsc{animate} noun class, a small set of nouns denoting inanimates are of \textsc{animate} noun class; the remaining (majority of) inanimates belong to the \textsc{inanimate} noun class (Table 5.1).

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Semantic animacy} & \textbf{animate} & \textbf{inanimate} \\
\hline
\textbf{NOUN CLASS} & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\hline
\textbf{ANIMATE} & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\hline
\textbf{INANIMATE} & -- & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Bunaq noun class assignment}
\end{table}

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).\footnote{There are two further individual items that agree with controllers on the basis of noun class: the noun \textit{niat} ‘earliest’ (§5.3.2) and the floating quantifier \textit{gaqal} ‘all,AN’ (§13.8.1.3).}

In (1a), the \textsc{inanimate} noun \textit{zo} ‘mango’ is modified by the \textsc{inanimate} form of the definite article and does not agree on the verb (see §4.2.2 on differential P agreement).
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]

   
   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).

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.

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.an 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANIMATE</th>
<th>INANIMATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paqol 'corn'</td>
<td>balo 'taro'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dila 'papaya'</td>
<td>uor 'leafy vegetable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ope 'pumpkin, cucumber'</td>
<td>mok 'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulo 'jackfruit'</td>
<td>hoza 'coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keliq 'soybean'</td>
<td>ipi 'rice (plant)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goiga 'k.o. guava'</td>
<td>zo 'mango'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekal 'potato'</td>
<td>pao 'k.o. bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 'onion'</td>
<td>me 'k.o. tuber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikotel 'cassava'</td>
<td>telo 'k.o. tuber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoqi 'peanut'</td>
<td>dik 'k.o. cassava'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabul 'orange'</td>
<td>ho 'nut, bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mura 'pomelo'</td>
<td>molen 'sago'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deloq 'lemon'</td>
<td>ma 'bamboo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masin 'lime'</td>
<td>molo 'betel vine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ANIMATE</strong></th>
<th><strong>INANIMATE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hasan</em> 'water drain, gutter'</td>
<td><em>uer</em> 'pot (earthen/metal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kanu</em> 'rice-paddy bank'</td>
<td><em>bogeq</em> 'wooden bowl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>solo</em> 'drain, gutter'</td>
<td><em>suluq</em> 'spoon (wood/metal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>keu</em> 'stake, wedge’</td>
<td><em>deu</em> 'house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teuq</em> 'ground stake’</td>
<td><em>tazuq</em> 'door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hequ</em> 'whistle’</td>
<td><em>tais</em> 'cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kurus</em> 'cross, crucifix’</td>
<td><em>mun</em> 'rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuteq</em> 'spinning top’</td>
<td><em>turiq</em> 'machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>satan</em> 'crossbeam’</td>
<td><em>nut</em> ‘k.o. metal hoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sabi</em> 'key’</td>
<td><em>taka</em> 'woven basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oe</em> 'rattan’</td>
<td><em>hoto</em> ‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>magap</em> 'bamboo fire torch’</td>
<td><em>wilik</em> 'fan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wetin</em> 'firesticks, torch’</td>
<td><em>le</em> 'daylight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>barut</em> 'candlenut (lamp)’</td>
<td><em>guel</em> 'morning light’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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* ‘folktales’, *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 folktales.AN 3AN-say NEG

‘During the day (we) don’t tell folktales.’

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 loi niq.*

1SG history.AN past 3-POSS 3AN-open too good NEG

‘I can’t reveal too much of the history of the past’
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 (e.g. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANIMATE nouns</th>
<th>INANIMATE nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dikit</td>
<td>'ring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabata</td>
<td>'k.o. large earring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karubu</td>
<td>'earring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keke</td>
<td>'tight bracelet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kacamata</td>
<td>'glasses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boru / celana</td>
<td>'trousers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog tiq</td>
<td>'cloth sown in a tube to fit waist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolas</td>
<td>'wide male belt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butan</td>
<td>'button'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarik</td>
<td>'zip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaebauk</td>
<td>'k.o. metal headdress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesu</td>
<td>'k.o. metal headdress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peq</td>
<td>'necklace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabitun</td>
<td>'forearm clasp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luketon</td>
<td>'upper arm clasp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lipa</td>
<td>'k.o. white ikat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaluk</td>
<td>'pocket, bag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaket</td>
<td>'jacket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tais</td>
<td>'cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haru</td>
<td>'shirt, clothes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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*
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
*CONTR.AN* | *return* | *exchange* | 1SG | *money.AN* | *Indonesia*

‘Change those dollars back, I get Indonesian money.’ [Bk-11.006]

The 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* | *gagal*.
---|---|---|---
*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. 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 ‘descendence’. 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.

   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.  \textit{Bis ba mele oa.} \quad \textit{bus DEF.INAN walk PFV}

   \textit{‘The bus is gone.’}

b.  \textit{Bis bi mele oa.} \quad \textit{bus DEF.AN walk PFV}

   \textit{‘The bus (carrying people) is gone.’} \quad \textbf{[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 \textit{g-iri ‘3AN-leg’} and \textit{il ‘water’}. In (18a) \textit{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.\textsuperscript{7} Similarly in (19a) \textit{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.  \textit{G-iri baqa tugal.} \quad \textit{3-leg NPRX.INAN break}

   \textit{‘That leg of his was broken.’} \quad \textbf{[Bk-1.024]}

b.  \textit{G-iri hiloqon himo g-al.} \quad \textit{3-leg two CONTR.AN 3AN-ereet}

   \textit{‘(We) erect the two legs (of the trap).’} \quad \textbf{[Bk-32.008]}

19. a.  \textit{Pana gol uen na ri-e il kokoq no ba} \quad \textit{female small one FOC REFL-POSS water bucket OBL DEF.INAN}

   \textit{g-ege.} \quad \textit{3AN-give}

   \textit{‘(There was) one girl who gave him the water in her bucket.’} \quad \textbf{[Bk-6.026]}

\textsuperscript{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 finished SEQ GIVEN 1PL.INCL water 3AN-bring.in PFV
   ‘Once the rice is all planted, then we bring in the water.’

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-icp.
   tree CONTR.AN 3AN-chop
   ‘(They) chop those trees down.’

   3PL three REFL-POSS wood DEF.INAN INS return
   ‘The three of them return with their own wood.’

22. 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.’

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
    person female
    ‘female person’

    b. g-iol Kemak
    3AN-voice Kemak
    ‘Kemak language’

    c. sabul bolu
    orange ball
    ‘orange fruit’

    d. sael zon
    pig wild.animal
    ‘wild pig’

Unlike NN compounds (§3.2.1), multiple N_MODs coordinated by o ‘AND’ can modify a single N_HEAD. Multiple N_MOD are:

25. a. en [N_MOD pana o mone]
    person female AND male
    ‘females and males’

    b. g-iol [N_MOD Emaq o Bunaq]
    3AN-voice Kemak AND Bunaq
    ‘Kemak and Bunaq languages’
c. \textit{sabul} \textsubscript{MOD} \textit{bolu} \textit{o} \textit{bul} \textunderscore \textit{orange ball AND base} ‘orange fruits and trunks’
d. \textit{sael} \textsubscript{MOD} \textit{zon} \textit{o} \textit{hina} \textunderscore \textit{pig wild.an. AND domestic.an} ‘wild and domestic pigs’

That \(N\textsubscript{MOD}\) can be coordinated with \textit{o} ‘and’ indicates that \(N\textsubscript{MOD}\) is not a simple modifying \(N\) in an NN compound. Rather it suggests that \(N\textsubscript{MOD}\) 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 \(N_{\text{HEAD}}\) controls agreement, not the \(N\textsubscript{MOD}\). Compare the agreement patterns shown by the NPs containing \textit{bolu} ‘ball’ in (26) in which both \textit{sabul} ‘orange’ and \textit{tuat} ‘cake’ are modified by the \textsc{inanimate} noun \textit{bolu} ‘ball’. In (26a) the head of the object NP is \textit{sabul} ‘orange’ which, as an \textsc{animate} class noun, triggers \textsc{animate} agreement on the definite article and on the verb \textit{iwal} ‘pick’. In (26b) the head noun \textit{tuat} is \textsc{inanimate} and thus triggers \textsc{inanimate} agreement on the verb \textit{h-oqon} ‘\textsc{inanimate}-make’.

26. a. \[[\text{NP} \textit{Sabul} \textit{bolu} \textit{hiloqon} \textit{bi}] \textit{g-ege} \textit{g-iwal}.\]
\textit{orange.AN ball.INAN two DEF.AN 3AN-BEN 3AN-pick}
‘(They) picked the two oranges for him.’

\[\text{[Bk-4.042]}\]

b. \[G\textit{-ege} \[[\text{NP} \textit{tuat} \textit{bolu} \textit{uen}] \textit{h-oqon}.\]
\textit{3AN-BEN cake.INAN ball.INAN one 3INAN-make}
‘(She) made a cake for him.’

\[\text{[LB-8.127]}\]

Note that the different placements of beneficiary encoding \textit{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 \(N\textsubscript{MOD}\)

A few bound nouns (§9.3) are used in their 3\textsuperscript{rd} person form as \(N\textsubscript{MOD}\). For instance, \textit{g-ol} ‘3AN-child’ in (27a) and \textit{g-amal} ‘3AN-male animal’ in (28a) must be in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person form inflection, with the other person inflections being ungrammatical (27b & 287b).

27. a. \textit{mone} \textit{g-ol} \textunderscore \textit{male 3AN-child} ‘boy’ or ‘small man’
b. \textit{*mone} \textit{n-ol} \textunderscore \textit{male 1EXCL-child}
28. a. *sie g-amal
    chicken 3AN-male.animal
    ‘rooster’, lit. ‘male chicken’

b. *sie 0-amal
    chicken 1INCL/2-male.animal

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 $N_{HEAD}$ 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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$N_{HEAD}$</th>
<th>$N_{MOD}$</th>
<th>PSR</th>
<th>$N_{HEAD}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>g-ol</td>
<td></td>
<td>ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>3AN-child</td>
<td></td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’s younger brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘father’s child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$N_{HEAD}$</th>
<th>$N_{MOD}$</th>
<th>PSR</th>
<th>$N_{HEAD}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>g-ol</td>
<td></td>
<td>ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>3AN-child</td>
<td></td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’s younger brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘father’s child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. \([\text{NP } Gi-e \text{ turiq}_{\text{HEAD}} g-ol_{\text{MOD}} homo] \text{ ret golaq topol.}\]
   \[\begin{array}{llllll}
   & \text{3-POSS} & \text{machete.INAN} & \text{3AN-child} & \text{CONTR.INAN} & \text{all.alone} & \text{fall} \\
   \end{array}\]
   ‘His knife fell all on its own.’

b. \([\text{NP en}_{\text{HEAD}} g-ol_{\text{MOD}} roi}] \text{ topol?}\]
   \[\begin{array}{lllll}
   \text{what} & \text{DO} & \text{FOC PERSON.AN} & \text{3AN-child} & \text{SPEC.AN} & \text{fall} \\
   \end{array}\]
   ‘Why did this child fall?’

c. \([\text{NP iskola}_{\text{PSR}} g-ol_{\text{HEAD}}] \text{ gu-sura.}\]
   \[\begin{array}{lllll}
   \text{NPRX.AN} & \text{school.INAN} & \text{3AN-child} & \text{3AN-ask} \\
   \end{array}\]
   ‘He asked for a school’s child.’ i.e. ‘He propositioned a school child.’

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. \([\text{NP en}_{\text{HEAD}} pana_{\text{MOD}} gol_{\text{MOD}} bi}] \text{ g-utu cier gie.}\]
   \[\begin{array}{llllllll}
   \text{NPRX.AN} & \text{person female} & \text{small DEF.AN 3-COM sleep PROSP} \\
   \end{array}\]
   ‘He wanted to sleep with the girl (lit. small female person).’

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. \([\text{NP Niat} no halali ta-tara oa.]\]
   \[\begin{array}{lllll}
   \text{earliest OBL 3DU RECP-know PFV} \\
   \end{array}\]
   ‘In the beginning the two of them would get to know one another.’
Niat can also appear as an N\textsubscript{MOD} where it agrees in animacy with the N\textsubscript{HEAD}; it is the only N\textsubscript{MOD} that shows agreement in this way. Compare the agreement patterns shown by the NPs containing niat ‘earliest’ in (34). In (34a) the N\textsubscript{HEAD} is the inanimate noun misa ‘mass’ and is modified by the N\textsubscript{MOD} niat ‘earliest’ which does not show any agreement with the N\textsubscript{HEAD}. In (34b) where the N\textsubscript{HEAD} is the animate noun kaqa ‘older brother’, niat ‘earliest’ takes the animate prefix g\textsuperscript{V}- ‘3AN-’ (see §2.5.3 on the metathesis shown by this noun).

34. a. Misa niat iskola g-ol g-egc.
   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 modify N\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{HEAD} is gapped in the RC and appears at the front, that is, to the left of the RC. The N\textsubscript{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. \((N_{\text{HEAD}}) [\text{RC} \ldots] (\text{DET})\)

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. \(\text{Halaqi} [\text{NP} g\text{-}iri_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{RC} tugal] \text{homo}] \text{perbal.}\)

‘They bandaged up that broken leg.’

37. \(\text{Bai}_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{NP} s\text{-}alak] \text{baqa} [\text{RC} ten] \text{haqal.}\)

‘Those things which were roasting were all cooked.’

38. \(\text{Makleqat}_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{NP} soron goniqil gi-e] \text{go-poi gie}.\)

‘(You) are going to elect the overseers from the four areas.’

39. \(\text{Eli} [\text{NP} zipil_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{RC} mar g\text{-}ebu no] ini naq!}\)

‘You two go burn the leaves which are at the bottom of the garden!’

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. \(\text{Hele} [\text{NP} O_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{RC} hosu]] \text{hati?}\)

‘Perhaps there is another (thing)?’

41. \(\text{Mete}_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{NP} ri\text{-}e rale] \text{bi} ola gene r\text{-}obon\)

‘The (one mentioned just) now talking of himself hanged himself dead down there.’
42. Adat gie, [NP\(\text{HEAD}\) [RC hiloqon]] mit,...

43. [NP \(\text{HEAD}\) [RC Ate gene] roi] na toek ta-tara niq taq,...

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\(\text{HEAD}\) \(na\) [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 \(E_n\text{HEAD}\) \(na\) [RC talu kororoq]] tara niq.

46. [NP \(U_k\text{HEAD}\) \(na\) [RC nei h-oze]\(p\) baqa] hot mil sabtu

47. [NP Keke\(\text{HEAD}\) \(na\) [RC en hesor g-on no] bi] kasu oa.

193
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. \([\text{NP nego}_\text{HEAD} na \ [\text{RC} i \ Gewal \ gene \ te-rel \ h-oqon] \ ba] \)

\(\text{hani} \ r-oenik.\)

PROH 3INAN-forget

‘Don’t forget, what we did in Gewal.’

49. \(\text{Tiap malam} [\text{NP sio}_\text{HEAD} na [\text{RC teqa ikut niq]} g-ue.\)

every evening who FOC pray follow NEG 3AN-hit

‘Every evening, whoever doesn’t go to prayers, is hit.’

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**

\[\text{SUBJECT} > \text{OBJECT} > \text{INDIRECT OBJECT} > \text{OBLIQUE} > \text{GENITIVE}\]

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 Keenan 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.
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 *sage* ‘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. \[ \text{[np} Kura_{\text{HEAD}} \quad na \quad [\text{rc} \text{neto} \quad sage \quad \text{bi}] \quad he \quad laun \quad los.} \]
\[ \text{horse} \quad \text{FOC} \quad 1SG \quad \text{ascend} \quad \text{DEF.AN} \quad \text{run} \quad \text{fast} \quad \text{very} \]

‘The horse that I mounted runs really fast.’ [Not-01.07]

51. \[ \text{[np} Nawa_{\text{HEAD}} \quad [\text{rc} \quad paqol \quad kaqe] \quad homo] \quad h-aziq.} \]
\[ \text{head.basket} \quad \text{corn} \quad \text{fill} \quad \text{CONTR.INAN} \quad 3INAN\text{-disappear} \]

‘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. \[ \text{[np} Hik_{\text{HEAD}} \quad [\text{rc} \quad i \quad a-ta \quad mit] \quad bare] \quad h-azal \quad oa.} \]
\[ \text{path} \quad \text{1PL.INCL} \quad 3INAN-GL \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{PROX.INAN} \quad 3INAN\text{-see} \quad \text{PFV} \]

‘(We) now see this path we are sitting at.’ [Bk-23.064]

53. \[ \text{[np} Sirubisu_{\text{HEAD}} \quad na \quad [\text{rc} \quad nei \quad a-ta \quad sai] \quad baqa \]} \]
\[ \text{work} \quad \text{FOC} \quad 1PL.EXCL \quad 3INAN-GL \quad \text{go.out} \quad \text{NPRX.INAN} \]
\[ \text{h-ini} \quad \text{apa} \quad g-ege \quad u \quad h-ozep.} \]
\[ 3INAN\text{-call cow} \quad 3AN\text{-BEN} \quad \text{undergrowth} \quad 3INAN\text{-cut} \]

‘The work that we found involved (lit. was called) cutting grass for cows.’ [Bk-12.004]

195
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.’

   Yati table FOC corn lie DEF.INAN 3INAN-CAUS bad
   ‘Yati broke the table (on) which the corn was lying.’

   c. *Yati [NP meja] [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).’

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. *Domba [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. *[\text{NP}_{\text{MoneHEAD}}(na) \ [\text{RC}_{gi-e \ reu \ koen} \ bi \ ] \ Atambua \ mal.]

\text{man} \quad \text{FOC} \quad 3\text{-POSS} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{nice} \quad \text{DEF.AN} \quad \text{Atambua} \quad \text{go}

‘The man whose house is nice went to Atambua.’

[Not-09.01]

b. *[\text{NP}_{\text{MoneHEAD}}(na) \ [\text{RC}_{neto \ gu-bul \ pak} \ bi \ ] \ heser \ oa.]

\text{man} \quad \text{FOC} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad 3\text{AN-head} \quad \text{chop} \quad \text{DEF.AN} \quad \text{dead} \quad \text{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: \textit{halaqi} ‘3PL’

The pronoun \textit{halaqi} ‘3PL’ (§6.1) can be used to mark plurality with human referents.\(^8\) In (57) \textit{halaqi} ‘3PL’ marks a N\(_{\text{HEAD}}\) with a plural human referent. In (58) there is no N\(_{\text{HEAD}}\),

\(^8\) Tetun uses its 3\textsuperscript{rd} person plural pronoun \textit{sira} as a plural marker in the NP, but usage differs from Bunaq in that, used pronominally \textit{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 *sage* ‘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. [Ena 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 *sage* ‘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} *sage*] [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. \[[NP Pan*a koen] =i n-azal oa.\]
\hfill [Not-09.01]

woman pretty HUM.PL 1EXCL-see PFV

‘The pretty girls have seen me already.’

63. \[[NP Paq Desa] =i g-o gene na ciluq gin.\]
\hfill [Bk-63.032]

Mr village HUM.PL 3-SRC LOC FOC stay REPORT

‘Apparently (she) hangs out at the house of the village head and his family.’

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-etc.
\hfill [Not-09.01]

person ascend HUM.PL five CONTR.AN return 3AN-throw

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]


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', g-inil is most often used in reference to humans (77), but can also be used in reference to animals (78).

77. [NP Guru g-inil] 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 g-inil] 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 NHEAD delimiting the membership of group. In (81) the NHEAD 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-ego sasi,...
  1SG person Jew 3-POS 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 A pa 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\(^\text{10}\) 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 \textit{waqen} have inanimate referents; the partitive also occurs with human referents both with an N\textsubscript{HEAD} (84) and without (85).

84. \texttt{[NP En wag\textit{en}] mar hobel.} \\
\hspace{1em}person \hspace{1em}part \hspace{1em}garden \hspace{1em}not.exist \\
\hspace{1em}‘Some people don’t have gardens.’ \hspace{1em} [Bk-24.007]

85. \texttt{[NP Wag\textit{en}] g-one oa.} \\
\hspace{1em}part \hspace{1em}3AN-hold \hspace{1em}PFV \\
\hspace{1em}‘Some had already been caught.’ \hspace{1em} [Bk-29.030]

\textit{Wag\textit{en}...wag\textit{en} ‘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. \texttt{[NP Wag\textit{en} a, wag\textit{en} dele tuat h-oqon.} \\
\hspace{1em}part \hspace{1em}eat \hspace{1em}part \hspace{1em}ins \hspace{1em}rice.cake \hspace{1em}3INAN-make \\
\hspace{1em}‘(They) eat some (of the rice), and with some they make rice cakes.’ \hspace{1em} [LB7.013]

5.5.6 Universal quantification: \textit{hotu-hotu} ‘all’

\textit{Hotu-hotu} ‘all’ is used in reference to any count noun. Unlike the floating universal quantifier \textit{gaqal} ‘all.AN’ (§13.8.1.3), \textit{hotu-hotu} ‘all’ can be used with animate (87-88) and inanimate referents (89).

87. \texttt{[NP En hotu-hotu] haqe gene na il ho.} \\
\hspace{1em}person \hspace{1em}all \hspace{1em}THERE \hspace{1em}LOC \hspace{1em}FOC \hspace{1em}water \hspace{1em}draw \\
\hspace{1em}‘The people all fetch water there.’ \hspace{1em} [Bk-7.022]

88. \texttt{[NP En hotu-hotu] gi-e mar hati.} \\
\hspace{1em}person \hspace{1em}all \hspace{1em}3-POSS \hspace{1em}garden \hspace{1em}exist \\
\hspace{1em}‘All the people have a garden.’ \hspace{1em} [Bk-24.006]

89. \texttt{Ni-e muk bare [NP muk hotu-hotu] g-o lesin liol.} \\
\hspace{1em}1EXCL-POSS land \hspace{1em}PROX.INAN \hspace{1em}land \hspace{1em}all \hspace{1em}3-SRC more \hspace{1em}continue \\
\hspace{1em}‘My land here is better than all other lands.’ \hspace{1em} [Bk-24.042]

\textsuperscript{11} In Tetun, \textit{hotu-hotu} and \textit{hotu} have distinct distributions, see van Klinken (1999: 120). Only the reduplicated form is attested in Bunaq Lamaknen \textit{hotu-hotu} ‘all’. In eastern varieties of Bunaq the unreduplicated form \textit{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. \[[\text{NP} \text{Halaqi}] \quad \text{hotu-hotu}] \quad \text{teai}.\]
\[3\text{PL all} \quad \text{amazed}\]
‘They all were amazed.’

b. \[[\text{NP} \text{Halaqi}] \quad \text{teai} \quad \text{gaqal}.\]
\[3\text{PL amased all.AN}\]
‘They were all amazed.’

c. *\text{Halaqi} \quad \text{hotu-hotu} \quad \text{teai} \quad \text{gaqal}.\]
\[3\text{PL all amased all.AN} \quad [\text{Not-07.03}]\]

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. *\text{En} \quad \text{hotu-hotu} \quad \text{bari} \quad \text{mal}.\]
\[\text{person all PROX.AN go} \quad [\text{Not-07.03}]\]
‘All these people went.’

92. *\text{Hotu-hotu} \quad \text{mal}.\]
\[\text{all go} \quad [\text{Not-07.03}]\]
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 NHEAD.\(^1\) In (93) we see that *naran* modifies the NHEAD, *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. \([\text{NP } \text{Naran nego na Suri Guloq h-oqon ba }], \text{ gi-e eme}\)
   \begin{align*}
   \text{every what} & \quad \text{FOC} & \quad \text{Suri Guloq} & \quad \text{3INAN-do} & \quad \text{DEF.INAN} & \quad \text{3-POSS mother} \\
   h-ini & \quad \text{sal} & \quad \text{minak}.
   \end{align*}
   ‘Everything (lit. every what) that Suri Guloq did, his mother said was completely wrong.’

94. \([\text{NP } \text{Gi-e naran ipi }] \text{ reu kaeq}.
   \begin{align*}
   \text{3-POSS every rice house filled}
   \end{align*}
   ‘His rice of every sort filled the house.’

*Naran* cannot occur by itself in the NP but must always be followed by either an NHEAD 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’\(^1\) (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* \(dik, \text{ balo, sekal, [NP gewen-gewen baqa]} \) \(s\)-*alak.
   *Suri Guloq* cassava taro potato all sorts NPRX.INAN 3INAN-roast
   ‘Suri Guloq roasted the cassavas, taros, potatoes, all those sorts of things.’
   \[Bk-6.050\]

\(^1\) This order appears to be retained from Tetun, where *nara-n* ‘name-3SG’ is used prenominally to denote indefiniteness ‘any’.

\(^1\)  *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 Tunel oik-oik] neto h-osoq 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:

   Suri Guloq fire sticks NPRX.INAN house-REDUP 3INAN-GL divide
   ‘Suri Guloq distributed those fire sticks to the different houses.’ [Bk-6.064]

   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 PPFV
    ‘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:
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 NHEADs 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.’

105. Rik balo sekal gi-wil / *wil.
yam taro potato 3AN-dig dig

‘(They) dug up cassava, taro, potato.’
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. \[\text{NP} \text{Pana} \text{bi} \ o \ [\text{NP} \text{mone} \text{bi}] \text{tueq lilak.} \]

   female DEF.AN AND male DEF.AN alcohol crazy

   'The woman and the man were drunk.' [Bk-43.060]

107. \[\text{NP} \text{Ni-e} \text{eme} \ o \ [\text{NP} \text{ni-e} \text{ama}] \text{ton.} \]

   1EXCL-POSS mother AND 1EXCL-POSS mother marry

   'My mother and my father married.' [Bk-29.066]

108. Halali \text{g-ini} \ [\text{NP} \text{Manek Tuas}] \ o \ [\text{NP} \text{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\text{MOD}s that have a single N\text{HEAD}, as in (109). Alternatively it can coordinate two simple non-restrictive RCs, as in (110).

109. \[\text{NP} \text{En}_{\text{HEAD}} \text{rato}_{\text{MOD}} \ o \ [\text{NP} \text{renu}_{\text{MOD}}] \text{gi-e raza na baqa.} \]

   person noble AND commoner 3-POSS difference FOC NPRX.INAN

   'The nobles and the commoners have these differences.' [Bk-18.050]

110. \[\text{NP} \text{Bai}_{\text{HEAD}} \text{buleqen}_{\text{RC}} \ o \ [\text{NP} \text{belis}_{\text{RC}} \text{ba}] \text{tumel minak.} \]

   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\textsubscript{HEAD}s to be coordinated with \textit{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\textsubscript{HEAD}s of the NP agrees not with the first noun \textit{ANIMATE paqol 'corn'}, but with the second noun \textit{INANIMATE ipi 'rice'}.

111. \textit{Halaqi [\textsubscript{NP} dik\textsubscript{HEAD} o balo\textsubscript{HEAD} s-alak\textsubscript{RC} baqa]} \textit{te-rel a.}

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
3PL & cassava & AND & taro \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
3INAN-roast NPRX.INAN \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
RECP-INS \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
et \end{tabular}

‘They are the roasted cassava and taro together.’ \hfill [Bk-6.057]

112. \textit{Halali hage gene [\textsubscript{NP} paqol\textsubscript{HEAD} o ipi\textsubscript{HEAD} topol\textsubscript{RC} ba]} \textit{h-ek.}

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
3DU & THERE & LOC & corn \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
AND \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
rice \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
fall \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
DEF.INAN \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
3INAN-pick.up \end{tabular}

‘The two there picked up the corn and the rice that had fallen.’ \hfill [LB7.011]

The additive particle is not used to coordinate more than two elements. Where more than two elements are coordinated, \textit{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. \textit{[\textsubscript{NP} Apa o pip kura bi]} \textit{ga-bilan.}

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
cow & AND & goat & horse \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
DEF.AN \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
3AN-keep \end{tabular}

‘(People) keep cows, goats and horses.’ \hfill [Bk-19.001]

114. \textit{Neli [\textsubscript{NP} Bora o Tahon Builalu]} \textit{mal gie.}

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
1DU.EXCL & Bora & AND & Tahon \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
Builalu \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
go \end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{c}
PROSP \end{tabular}

‘We two are going to Bora, Tahon and Builalu.’ \hfill [OS.09-01]

5.6.3 Coordination with \textit{halali '3DU'}

Where reference is to exactly two entities, the pronoun \textit{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 \textit{o 'AND'}, \textit{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  
‘(You) mix both the banana and the flour (mentioned just) now together.’  
[Bk-76.016]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.1: Bunaq pronouns</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1EXCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]


   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 versus 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Person prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1EXCL</td>
<td>nV-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL/2</td>
<td>V-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AN</td>
<td>gV-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Person prefixes regularly co-index pronouns. In 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefix, non-singular readings are available without a pronoun. That is, it is not obligatory for a non-singular 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *Pan* *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 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 -<i>e</i> ‘-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.

   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 -<i>ta</i> ‘-GL’ (§12.3.3). The pronoun emphasises that the spirit did not go towards the speaker, but by contrast ran away (7b).

   3AN-CAUS not.want1SG 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. 1<sup>st</sup> (inclusive and exclusive) and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance specification</th>
<th>Noun class specification</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of DET</td>
<td>of DET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; persons</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; persons</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; persons</td>
<td>Non-proximal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The patterns displayed in the table are exemplified in (8):

1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON

8. a. *Nei* bare moroi porsa.

1PL.EXCL PROX.INAN sleepy really

'We here are really sleepy.' [Bk-4.017]

2<sup>ND</sup> PERSON

b. *Ei* bare teo gene man?

2PL PROX.INAN where LOC come

'You there, where have you come from?' [LB-2.212]

3<sup>RD</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons arises out of the fact that noun class is only assigned to 3<sup>rd</sup> persons in Bunaq. Thus, despite prototypically having animate referents, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are local persons, that is, they are participants present in the speech situation and are therefore construed as proximal. By contrast, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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).

   3DU go continue
   'They both went on…'
   [LB-3.175]

   b. *Jadi baqa ni halaqi loi* gene mit o.
   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 o.
    1DU.INCL RECP-INS person 1PL.INCL INCL/2-know PFV
    '(If) we two (go) together, people will recognise us.'
    [LB-8.215]

11. *Neli* nei ni-e cme o nei ni-e
    1DU.EXCL 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-POSS mother AND 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-POSS
    ama g-agal?
    '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.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1PL.INCL & \text{corn} \\
& 3AN-pound
\end{array}
\]

‘We pound the corn.’ [Bk-45.006]

b. *Paqol g-ao, i g-apiq taq.*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{corn} & \text{3AN-pound} & 1PL.INCL & \text{3AN-sift}
\end{array}
\]

‘(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* 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>kauq</strong></th>
<th><strong>kaqa</strong></th>
<th><strong>g-ege</strong></th>
<th><strong>loï</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL younger.sibling</td>
<td>older.sibling</td>
<td>3AN-give</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘We (should) be good to your brothers and sisters.’

[Bk-4.096]

14. *I* 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ri-e</strong></th>
<th><strong>baba</strong></th>
<th><strong>g-ol</strong></th>
<th><strong>g-utu</strong></th>
<th><strong>na</strong></th>
<th><strong>ton, ton</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL REFL-POSS</td>
<td>maternal.uncle</td>
<td>3AN-child</td>
<td>3-COM</td>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>marry marry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>baqa</strong></th>
<th><strong>koen</strong></th>
<th><strong>niq</strong>.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPRX.INAN</td>
<td>nice</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(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* 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ni-e</strong></th>
<th><strong>moen</strong></th>
<th><strong>mil</strong></th>
<th><strong>nei</strong></th>
<th><strong>te-rel</strong></th>
<th><strong>teqa on.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>finally</td>
<td>1EXCL-POSS</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>1PL.EXCL RECP-INS</td>
<td>pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘In the end, I prayed together with friends.’

[Bk-40.011]

b. *Teqa, i* 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ri-e</strong></th>
<th><strong>piar</strong></th>
<th><strong>h-alolo</strong>.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pray</td>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>REFL-POSS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We prayed (and thereby) followed our own beliefs.’

[Bk-40.012]
16. a. *Hot saqe a-ta mal ba na, ni-nil 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 late 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.
   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.
      ‘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.

   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 nig i ‘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.

   1EXCL-inside GIVEN still NEG very
   ‘I felt so very unsettled.’

   b. Neto misti suster tama.
   1SG must sister enter
   ‘I had to enter the sisterhood.’

   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...’
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.*

*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.

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

### Example (26)

26. *Nei ni-e Ama pan esen gene, i Ø-inil*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1PL.EXCL</th>
<th>1EXCL-POSS</th>
<th>father</th>
<th>sky</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>1PL.INCL</th>
<th>1INCL/2-name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h-atetu</td>
<td>gie.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3INAN-worship</td>
<td>PROSP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Our father who are art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.’

### Example (27)

27. *Tabe Maria, huruk bulas 1 kaeq, Hot Esen i Ø-utu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>greet</th>
<th>Maria</th>
<th>cold</th>
<th>???</th>
<th>full</th>
<th>sun</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>1PL.INCL</th>
<th>1INCL/2-COM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti-ta</td>
<td>RECP-GL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you.’

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.

### Example (28)

28. *Naqi, perdua, i masaq nei ni-e deu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>royal</th>
<th>excuse</th>
<th>1PL.INCL</th>
<th>big</th>
<th>1PL.EXCL</th>
<th>1EXCL-POSS</th>
<th>house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ola</td>
<td>sael</td>
<td>g-iel</td>
<td>goet</td>
<td>bere</td>
<td>tama gie</td>
<td>ka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>3AN-nest</td>
<td>LIKE</td>
<td>CNTREXP.INAN</td>
<td>enter</td>
<td>PROSP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Lord, excuse me, does your greatness really wish to enter our house which is like a pig’s sty down there?’

---

1 The phrase *hunik 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. Ne to 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-azai?”

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 3NAN-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Less Polite</th>
<th>More Polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>neto '1SG'</td>
<td>nei '1PL.EXCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>eto '2SG'</td>
<td>i '1PL.INCL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person dual</td>
<td>eli '2DU'</td>
<td>halali '3DU'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>ei '2PL'</td>
<td>halaqi '3PL'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>less polite</th>
<th>more polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name / (eto '2SG')</td>
<td>borrowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin term /</td>
<td>generic titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin term + name</td>
<td>bapaq/ibu/nona etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Mr/Mrs/Miss' (WT)</td>
<td>'senor/senora/senhorita'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sir/madam/miss'(ET)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Table 6.6: Basic Bunaq kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin term</th>
<th>Address?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tataq</strong></td>
<td>'great grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bei</strong></td>
<td>'grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eme</strong></td>
<td>'mother', 'parent’s sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ama</strong></td>
<td>'father', 'father’s brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-otil</strong></td>
<td>'spouse' (lit. 'cheek')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-ip</strong></td>
<td>'wife' (south-west dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-enen</strong></td>
<td>'husband' (south-west dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>baba</strong></td>
<td>'mother’s brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>naqi</strong></td>
<td>'mother’s older brother' (honorific of baba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kela</strong></td>
<td>'brother in law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ai</strong></td>
<td>'sister in law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kaqa</strong></td>
<td>'older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nana</strong></td>
<td>'older sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kauq</strong></td>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-ol</strong></td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-intili</strong></td>
<td>'member of same generation, but opposite sex where the degree of relatedness does not permit marriage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>apa</strong></td>
<td>'eldest child (male)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aibaq</strong></td>
<td>'eldest child (female)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pou</strong></td>
<td>'second child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uzu</strong></td>
<td>'third child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uka</strong></td>
<td>'fourth child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-uloq</strong></td>
<td>'fifth child' (lit. 'tail')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>buaq</strong></td>
<td>'child(ren) following the g-uloq' esp. for male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-atal</strong></td>
<td>'grandchild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gu-buk</strong></td>
<td>'great grandchild' (lit. 'flower')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g-alel</strong></td>
<td>'great great grandchild'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 IPLEXCL go PFV

   ‘Third one, we are going now!’

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).’

38. *Aibaq t-inik gie loi.*

   eldest daughter 3INAN-cook PROSP good

   ‘Oldest sister can go ahead and cook.’

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 bagis, eme mobel.*

third.child Loe thing eat much mother like

'(When) third child Loe eats a lot, mother likes (it).’

[OS-07.03]


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-ège tabe baqis–baqis.*

1PL.EXCL 1INCL/2-POS young.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 huge a-ta wil ba,*

slip finished 1SG HERE 3INAN-GL come.down DEF.INAN

*i-e bapaq roi i-e kauq*

1INCL/2-POS father SPEC.AN 1INCL/2-POS 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 loi niq, ri-ta paksu, 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 ‘1INCL-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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ati</em></td>
<td><em>Loe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Atok</em></td>
<td><em>Luan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bau</em></td>
<td><em>Mali</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bauk</em></td>
<td><em>Mau</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bere</em></td>
<td><em>Mauk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hale</em></td>
<td><em>Nak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hasuk</em></td>
<td><em>Nali</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Koli</em></td>
<td><em>Seran</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hale →</td>
<td>Bui →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boles</td>
<td>Lotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa →</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau →</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali →</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bere →</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bau →</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Rosinus*, using his Christian name also.
6.3 Summary

A wide range of 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 |
|----------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| **DEMONSTRATIVES**                    | **ANIMATE** | **INANIMATE** |
| PROXIMAL 'PROX'                       | bari    | bare   |
| NON-PROXIMAL 'NPRX'                   | baqi    | baqa   |
| SPECIFIER 'SPEC'                      | doi     | doc    |
| 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>SYNTACTIC SCHEMA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adnominal function</td>
<td>[\textit{np} ... \textit{DET}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal function</td>
<td>[\textit{npDEM}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adclausal domain creating function</td>
<td>[\textit{clause} ... \textit{DET}], [\textit{clause} ...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adclausal state of affairs marking function</td>
<td>[\textit{clause} ... \textit{DET}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proclausal discourse deictic function</td>
<td>[\textit{clause} ...]. \textit{DEM}, [\textit{clause} ...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

240
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’.


   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]


   person Gewal OBL PROX.AN miss 3AN-ask always

   ‘These people here in Gewal always ask after miss.’

   [Bk-14.011]

241
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”?’  

   B. *Suta gol bare h-ini nanun.*  
   thread small *PROX.INAN* 3INAN-call k.o. thread  
   ‘This small thread here is called “nanun”.’

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?’

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’. 

   night one OBL 1DU.EXCL *PROX.INAN* OBL  
   ‘One night, we two were in this (place).’

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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]


*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).'

[Book-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

[Book-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 mo lo 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]

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.

   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.’

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.’

   SPCPLC LOC person Belu
   ‘Here are Belu people.’

b. *Belu bare h-ini moen.*
   Belu PROX.INAN 3INAN-call friend
   ‘Belu means “friend”.’

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 loi’ niq oa.
   CONTR.INAN GIVEN thing eat good NEG PFV
   ‘If that’s so (that the earth is carried down), (we) cannot eat anymore.’
   [Bk-65.026]

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?’  

   B. Roe h-ini nanun.  
   SPEC.INAN 3INAN-call k.o. thread  
   ‘This is called “nanun”.’  

24. A. Suta baqa h-ini nanun?  
   thread NPRX.INAN 3INAN-call k.o. thread  
   ‘That thread is called “nanun”?’  

   B. Suta gol bare h-ini nanun.  
   thread small PROX.INAN 3INAN-call k.o. thread  
   ‘This small thread here is called “nanun”.'
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. *Baqi* 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-nil 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**

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]
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]

   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.

    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.’  

34. [NP 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.’

In many languages, the word for ‘the’ and the word for ‘that’ are one and the same (Schächter 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 (baq’baq’i) 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. \textit{II muk mili a-ta tama on, hani leleq.}\textit{\small{\footnotesize{water earth inside 3INAN-GL enter do PROH flow}}}
\textit{\small{\footnotesize{‘(When) the water enters the soil, it should not flow away.’}}} \[Bk-65.109\]
b. \textit{Baqa gi-e na, nei sekal g-olo, dikotel o g-olo.}\textit{\small{\footnotesize{NPRX.INAN 3-POSS FOC 1PL.EXCL potato 3-bury casava AND}}}
\textit{\small{\footnotesize{3-bury}}}
\textit{\small{\footnotesize{‘It is because of that we plant potatoes and cassava too.’}}} \[Bk-65.110\]

36. a. \textit{Heser oa.}\textit{\small{\footnotesize{dead PFV}}}
\textit{\small{\footnotesize{‘(You) are dead.’}}} \[Bk-9.004\]
b. \textit{Baqa bu, rasal.}\textit{\small{\footnotesize{NPRX.INAN GIVEN stop}}}
\textit{\small{\footnotesize{‘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) 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]

Bobonaro LOC come Aiasa Honaru LOC come  
’(He) came from Bobonaro, came from Aiasa Honaru.’  [Bk-70.004]
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Adnominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG ref</td>
<td>PL ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'.
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 koin 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.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CONTR.INAN} & \quad \text{finished SEQ} & \quad \text{SPEC.INAN} & \quad \text{call} & \quad \text{p.o.loom} \\
& \quad \text{‘And then, this is called “rosan”.’} & \quad \text{[Bk-35.033]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

b. *Rosan roe* *na* *mete* *suta* *huqe* *gene* *homo*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p.o.loom} & \quad \text{SPEC.INAN} & \quad \text{FOC} & \quad \text{NOW} & \quad \text{thread} & \quad \text{HERE} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{CONTR.INAN} \\
& \quad \text{h-ake} & \quad \text{wen} & \quad \text{gie} & \quad \text{h-ini.} & \quad \text{3INAN-push} & \quad \text{UNAGENT} & \quad \text{PROSP} & \quad \text{3INAN-CAUS} \\
& \quad \text{‘It is this “rosan” which is made to be put through in the thread here.’} & \quad \text{[Bk-35.034]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 [ɾ(ə)e] and [ɾ(ə)i].
c. *Homo haqal soq, roi g-ini g-iri gol.*

\[\text{CONTR.INAN finished SEQ SPEC.AN 3AN-call 3AN-leg small}\]

‘And then, this is called “little leg”.’

[Bk-35.035]

d. *G-iri gol roi na i nanun roe no g-olo.*

\[\text{3AN-leg small SPEC.AN FOC 1PL.INCL small.thread SPEC.INAN OBL}\]

‘It is this “little leg” that is put into this small thread.’

[Bk-35.036]

e. *Nanun roe no t-olo.*

\[\text{small.thread SPEC.INAN OBL 3INAN-put}\]

‘It’s put into this small thread.’

[Bk-35.037]

f. *Homo haqal soq, hiqit.*

\[\text{CONTR.INAN finished SEQ lift}\]

‘And then, it’s lifted.’

[Bk-35.038]

g. *Homo naq na, nolu roe i t-olo.*

\[\text{CONTR.INAN FIRST FOC p.o.loom SPEC.INAN 1PL.INCL 3INAN-put.in}\]

‘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.*

\[\text{cloth PROX.INAN cloth man cloth SPEC.INAN cloth woman}\]

‘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).

\(^5\) 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* *baqī* *negara* *uen* *oa.*  

`That land over there, those people are one [ie. their own] country now` [Bk-11.021]  

45. *Nego* *o* *roe?*  

`What’s that you’ve got?` [OS-06.01]  

7.2.3.2 Temporal use  

The *inan* 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 (hearth) 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* *hatti* *roe]*.  

`And so, there were henceforth fires in houses in the villages.’` [Bk-6.066]  

47. *Tuen* *goet* *on* *oa*, *[Mau* *Paran* *heser* *haqal* *roe]*?  

`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.*  

`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

‘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.’

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.”’

b. Baqa uen-uen, Makasai.
NPRX.INAN same Makasai

That’s the same, (as) Makasai is.’

c. Kalo “nua”, hage gene “mua”.
if eat THERE LOC eat

‘Well (it’s) “nua” (in Makasai), there (in Dawan) it’s “mua”.

d. [Kemak gi-e roe] neto tara niq.
Kemak 3-POSS SPEC.INAN 1SG know NEG

‘That of Kemak I don’t know.’
In (52) there are two NPs marked by the specifier. In the first the specifier marks a pronominaly headed NP referring 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
    ‘(He must) repair the girl on the one hand.’ (i.e. repair the wrong he did the girl). [Bk-21.029]

    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 gonicet.**
    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.ANGO 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 ube,...*  
   CONTR.INAN FOC person female CONTR.AN scared REFL-POSS door 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]
   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]
c. Mele mele mele daro esen o Durato Pur Bul
   walk walk walk until HIGH ADDR Durato Pur Bul
   homo pir.
   CONTR.INAN reach
   'Keep walking until (you) reach this Durato Pur Bul up there.' [Bk-34.018]

d. Durato Pur Bul homo no menal,
   Durato Pur Bul CONTR.INAN OBL go.up
   Leto Sun a-ta sai.
   Leto Sun 3INAN-GL exit
   'From this Durato 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]

   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]
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. *Hoa* 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, *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.' [Bk-12.013]

b. *Homo* be, halali gi-e u bilik baquis 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

'Ve didn’t take water with us, we didn’t.' [Bk-37.068]
b. \textit{Homo, nei biasa Lakaqan bul gene Il Diraq} \\
\textit{CONTR.INAN IPL.EXCL usually Mt.Lakaan base LOC water dew} \\
\textit{gene na il a.} \\
\textit{LOC FOC water eat} \\
'That (is because) we were used to drinking water from [the spring] Il Diraq at the foot of Mount Lakaqan.' \\
\textit{[Bk-37.069]} \\

Whilst in the vast majority of instances \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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. \textit{Halaqi mete kelompok–kelompok baqi ta-tara niq taq.} \\
\textit{3PL NOW group–REDUP NPRX.AN RECP-know NEG IPFV} \\
'Now these groups they don’t know (about) each other yet.' \\
\textit{[Bk-15.005]} \\

b. [\textit{Daro t-iol tara homo}] naq na, en baqi \\
\textit{until RECP-VOICE know CONTR.INAN FIRST FOC person NPRX.AN} \\
\textit{Bunaq o niq.} \\
\textit{Bunaq AND NEG} \\
'Once people know each other’s languages, then (they recognize) that person isn’t also Bunaq' \\
\textit{[Bk-15.006]} \\

69. a. \textit{Inanoq nei bai pies gie mal.} \\
\textit{last.night 1PL.EXCL thing clean PROSP go} \\
'Last night we went to go wash things.' \\
\textit{[Bk-47.001]} \\

b. [\textit{Nei bai pies homo}], \textit{nei ne-rel mon.} \\
\textit{1PL.EXCL thing clean CONTR.INAN 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-INS afternoon} \\
'(As) we were washing things, we were benighted.' \\
\textit{[Bk-47.002]} \\

c. [\textit{Nei ne-rel mon homo}], \textit{nei milik.} \\
\textit{1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-INS afternoon CONTR.INAN 1PL.EXCL afraid} \\
'Being benighted, we got scared.' \\
\textit{[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. 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 REF-POSS slave small CNT-EXP AN 3-COM walk

‘What am I doing walking around with my own slave!’ [LB-6.010]

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.'

[Br-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.'[Br-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}.' [Br-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. Halalqi 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 tunel 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-surå.*

person man one NPRX.ANgO 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-surå 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 ube,*...

CONTR.INAN FOC person female CONTR.AN scared REFL-POSS door 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. 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]
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.’

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.’
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.'

[Bk-6.024]

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. Ne to mar mal.
   1SG garden go
   'I’m going to (my) garden.'

b. Ne to mar ba mal.
   1SG garden DEF.INAN go
   'I’m going to the (aforementioned/not my) garden.'

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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SPATIAL</th>
<th>TEMPORAL</th>
<th>TEXTUAL</th>
<th>DISCOURSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROXIMAL</strong></td>
<td>PRO/ADNOMINAL</td>
<td>PRONOMINAL</td>
<td>ADNOMINAL</td>
<td>ANAPHORIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speaker proximal</td>
<td>present time reference</td>
<td>unexpected, non-continuing topic</td>
<td>speaker associated referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NON-PROXIMAL</strong></td>
<td>speaker non-proximal</td>
<td>past time reference</td>
<td>expected, continuing topic</td>
<td>foregrounded definite referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPECIFIER</strong></td>
<td>distance neutral proximal</td>
<td>recent past time reference</td>
<td>specific referent</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONTRASTIVE</strong></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>contrastive-sequential referent</td>
<td>proposition linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COUNTER-EXPECTATIONAL</strong></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>unexpected referent</td>
<td>unexpected proposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEFinite</strong></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>backgrounded definite referent</td>
<td>setting for proposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARTICLE</strong></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 NHEAD. §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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8.1: Locationals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPATIAL LOCATIONALS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ola</td>
<td>'LOW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ota</td>
<td>'LEVEL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esen</td>
<td>'HIGH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PLACE LOCATIONALS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huge</td>
<td>'HERE'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hage</td>
<td>'THERE'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoqe</td>
<td>'SPCPLC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TEMPORAL/DISCOURSE LOCATIONAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mete</td>
<td>'NOW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADRESSEE LOCATIONAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
o                     | 'ADDR' |
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 $N_{\text{HEAD}}$

In this section I deal with the syntax of locationals relative to the $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ of an NP. Locationals are found in three syntactic contexts with reference to an $N_{\text{HEAD}}$: the basic pre-$N_{\text{HEAD}}$ position (§8.2.1); a marked post-$N_{\text{HEAD}}$ position (§8.2.2), and; without $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ (§8.2.3). Finally, in §8.2.4, I look at the frequency of locationals across the different uses.

8.2.1 Pre-$N_{\text{HEAD}}$ use

In the NP template in §5, we saw that locationals precede the $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ 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 $N_{\text{HEAD}}$.


   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]


   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’.

   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]

   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).

   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{PSR} & \text{PSR-N_{HEAD}} \\
   6. [Ola himo] keke [g-on] kaeq. & \\
   \text{LOW CONTR.INAN} & \text{bracelet 3AN-hand filled} \\
   \text{‘That one down there’s hands were filled with bracelets.’} & \text{[Bk-68.066]} \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{N_{HEAD}} & \text{PSR} \\
   7. [En tuan [ota Eropa gi-e]] na zal mina. & \\
   \text{person master LEVEL Europe 3-POSS FOC carry come.up} \\
   \text{‘It was the priests from over there in Europe who brought up (the stuff).’} & \text{[Bk-34.062]} \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   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* ]  

   LEVEL  
   DEF.INAN  
   3INAN-call  
   street  
   political.party

   'The (street) over there is called Apodeti Street.'

   [Bk-2.033]

8.2.2 Post-NHED use

A locational may also directly follow the NHEAD whose location it denotes. A post-NHEAD locational is pragmatically marked, focusing on the location of the referent. It aids in the identification of the referent by restricting the referential scope of the preceding NHEAD 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 NHEAD, 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 NHEAD, 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 NHEAD, but only provides information about its location.

10. a. [ *Lolo*  
   *esen*  
   *ba* ]  

   mountain  
   HIGH  
   DEF.INAN  
   OBL  
   3PL  
   three  

   ru-huqat.

   'The three of them stood on the mountain (that is) up there.'

   [Bk-29.051]

b. [ *Esen*  
   *lolo*  
   *ba* ]  

   HIGH  
   mountain  
   DEF.INAN  
   OBL  
   3PL  
   three  

   ru-huqat.

   '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].’

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.’

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.’

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pre-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}}</th>
<th>post-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}}</th>
<th>No \text{N}_{\text{HEAD}}</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ota}</td>
<td>'LEVEL'</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hage}</td>
<td>'THERE'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mete}</td>
<td>'NOW'</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{o}</td>
<td>'ADDR'</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table, we see that place locationals, represented in the count by \textit{hage} 'THERE', are overwhelmingly most frequent in the function without an \text{N}_{\text{HEAD}}, with both ad-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} uses being roughly equally infrequent (together approximately 20% of occurrences). Spatial locationals, represented in the count by \textit{ota} 'LEVEL', are slightly more frequent in their pre-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} function (50% of occurrences) than in their function without an \text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} (40% of occurrences), with their post-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} use being relatively infrequent (roughly 10% of occurrences). Both \textit{mete} 'NOW' and \textit{o} 'ADDR' show significant skewing towards the pre-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} uses (roughly 75% and 70% of occurrences respectively). The majority of remaining uses of \textit{mete} 'NOW' are post-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}}, while it occurs without an \text{N}_{\text{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-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} adnominal function, with the post-\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} adnominal function following as the marked variant position.

The tendency for some locationals to be used more often without an \text{N}_{\text{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. 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).

garden NPRX.INAN far LOW river side LOC

‘The garden is far away, down by the side of the river.’

perhaps LEVEL Deloq-Toi OBL FOC 3AN-pick

‘Perhaps (they) picked (the pumpkins) in Deloq Toi.’

walk 1PL.EXCL HIGH Lakaqan base 3INAN-hold DO

‘Walking along, we kept to the base of Mount Lakaqan up there.’

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 (Kratochvil 2007) and in Makasai (Huber 2005). Levinson (1983: 82) notes that elevation is often encoded in deictic elements of Papuan languages more generally.

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]

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.’

[Bk-1.050]

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 \(N_{\text{HEAD}}\) 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 \(N_{\text{HEAD}}\) 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!’

[Bk-37.083]

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 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 to the highschool in Weluli as HIGH.

24. *Lain* tutu neli *mama Eta* [esen SMP Weluli]

`long` past `IDU.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 addresser are located at the time of speaking. Similarly, in (26) *huqe* ‘HERE’ refers to the place at which both speaker and hearer are located.

   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.’

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.’

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 addresser 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
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]

*Hage* 'THERE' typically refers to a place removed from the location of the speech participants. The place referred to by *hague* '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 *hague* 'THERE' refers anaphorically to Mrs Yip’s place from the previous clause.

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, [hague] gene
hot INS 1SG Mrs Yip 3-SRC go THERE LOC
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, *hague* ‘THERE’ takes the addressee as its referential anchor. That is, the place referred to by *hague* ‘THERE’ is interpreted as being associated with the addressee, such as being their place of residence or origin. In (31) *hague* ‘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 *hague* ‘THERE’.

296
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]

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]

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-nil ‘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-nil na hoqe ziq bare], baqi g-utu man.
3AN-name FOC SPCPLC write PROX.INAN NPRX.AN3-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.’

b. *Lal h-oqon niq mesaq bu, en piar, [mete en heser bi] bei g-utu ti-ta bolu niq.*
   matter 3INAN-do NEG if GIVEN person believe NOW person
   dead DEF.AN ancestor 3-COM RECP-GL be.undied NEG
   ‘Should the problem not be dealt with, people believe that this person now who died will not be together with the ancestors.’

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].
   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.’

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).’

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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.
   *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.

   yarn.ball 3INAN-CAUS big  
   ‘Make the ball of yarn big.’  
   [Bk-64.032]

b. *Homo soq naq na, tebe ola ba no putar teni.*  
   CONTR.INAN SEQ FIRST FOC in.turn LOW DEF.INAN OBL turn  
   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?"  

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."

43. *[O ope baqi] g-ini man naq!

   `ADDR pumpkin NPRX.AN 3AN-CAUS come IMP`

   "Pass over that pumpkin near you!"

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?"

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.

   old Bere FOC ADDR DEF.AN PFV
   ‘That’s old Bere {you hear}.’ [Bk-73.041]

   NPRX.AN thief experience NEG NPRX.ANdumb randomly talk NEG
   Homo na, [o bi] urus taq.
   CONTR.inan FOC ADDR DEF.AN manage IPPV
   ‘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.

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.

   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.

   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.’

   b. *Meie 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-34.006]

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?’
That person up there is {known with certainty to be} the child of Mr Mateus.

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. 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]
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 “nuia”.
   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 “nuia”.’ [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]
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 $N_{\text{HEAD}}$, whose location they refer to, but can follow $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ in restrictive identificational contexts. Locationals can also occur independently without a referent for a $N_{\text{HEAD}}$ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTICS</th>
<th>LEVEL OF FORMATION</th>
<th>ORDERING OF PSR/PSM</th>
<th>PREFIXATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALIENABLE</td>
<td>syntax (phrasal)</td>
<td>- PsR PSM, or</td>
<td>indirect PsR&lt;sub&gt;x&lt;/sub&gt;AGR&lt;sub&gt;x&lt;/sub&gt;-e PSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- PSM [&lt;sub&gt;PRED&lt;/sub&gt;PsR]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INALIENABLE</td>
<td>morphology (compounding)</td>
<td>PsR PSM</td>
<td>- direct PsR&lt;sub&gt;x&lt;/sub&gt;AGR&lt;sub&gt;x&lt;/sub&gt;-PSM, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- no prefix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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’: the alienable possessor pronoun hosts agreement prefixes indexing the person of the alienable possessor.

1. a. *apa gi-e luhan
   cow 3-POSS stable
   ‘(a) cow’s stable’
   b. luhan apa gi-e
      stable cow 3-POSS
      ‘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
    cow 3AN-horn
    ‘(a) cow’s horn’
    b. g-ipe apa
       3AN-horn cow

3. a. deu puqup
    house roof
    ‘(a) house’s roof’
    b. *puqup deu
       house roof

1 The NP encoding an alienable possessor when preceding the NHEAD cannot be modified by a deictic; deictics always refer to the NHEAD 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.2: Possessive pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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]

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 [3pl 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. \[ \text{NP}_{\text{PSR}} Lusin \text{ roi gi-e ] pagu-pilaq ] hobel.} \\
\text{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. \( (\text{PSR}) \text{ PSR-e [\text{NP.CORE } \emptyset] (DET)} \) \\
‘(that) of (PSR)’

In (12) the 3rd person inflection of the alienable possessive pronoun with the possessor expressed by the NP, \textit{Timor Timur} ‘East Timor’ has the S argument function of the verbal predicate \textit{koleq} ‘tired’. In (13) \textit{ri-e ‘REFL-POSS’} stands alone to act as the NP complement of the goal encoding verbal postposition \textit{a-ta ‘3INAN-GL’}.

12. \[ \text{Timor Timur gi-e ] koleq.} \\
\text{Timor east 3-POSS tired} \\
'(That) of East Timor is tired.', i.e. 'Everything about East Timor is worn.' [Bk-2.036]

13. \[ \text{Baqi [ri-e] a-ta tan–tan.} \\
\text{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. \[ \text{Ei 0-ini [ni-e muk gi-e ] r-ige.} \\
\text{2PL 1INCL/2-CAUS 1EXCL-POSS land 3-POSS REFL-learn} \\
'(I want) to make you learn all about my land.' [Bk-24.041]
1SG INCL/2-BEN REFL-POSS village 3-POSS tell PROSP
‘I’m going to tell you all about my village.’ [Bk-7.001]

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]

1SG food hang 3-POSS DEF.INAN say PROSP 1PFV
‘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 liquul ba [PRED halaqi gi-e ].
neddle 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 NHEAD. 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. \[\text{NP} \text{atis} \quad o \quad \text{liquil} \quad [\text{RC} \text{halaqi} \quad \text{gi-e}] \quad \text{ba}] \\
needle \quad \text{AND} \quad \text{thread} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad 3\text{-POSS} \quad \text{DEF.INAN} \\
‘the needle and thread (that’s) theirs.’ \quad \text{[Not-07.01]} \\

21. \[\text{NP}[\text{RC-nei} \quad \text{gunung} \quad \text{ni-e}] \quad \text{homo}] \\
1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{mountain} \quad 1\text{EXCL-POSS} \quad \text{CONTR.INAN} \\
‘that (type of cake) is ours, us mountain people’s.’ \quad \text{[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 ‘possession’, 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

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).

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\_rii-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.

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.

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]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE</th>
<th>3rd INANIMATE</th>
<th>Kind of relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$g$-‘3AN’</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>body parts, kin terms, intimates$^4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>$g$-‘3AN’</td>
<td>$h$-‘3INAN-’</td>
<td>body parts, intimates, plant parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>$g$-‘3AN’</td>
<td>$n$-‘LOC-’</td>
<td>intimates, plant parts, spatial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>$g$-‘3AN’</td>
<td>$t$-‘ABSL-’</td>
<td>absolute, non-possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>$gV$-‘3AN’</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>body &amp; plant parts, part-whole, spatial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>part-whole, spatial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

$^4$ 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. 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 1NCL/2-nose  Ø-ol 1NCL/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 REFLE-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.

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gaban</th>
<th>'umbilical stump'</th>
<th>gizil</th>
<th>'vagina'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaqel</td>
<td>'shoulder'</td>
<td>gobut</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gagar</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
<td>gol</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gal</td>
<td>'rib'</td>
<td>goleq</td>
<td>'belly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamal</td>
<td>'male (animal)'</td>
<td>golep</td>
<td>'lower back, abdomen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawas</td>
<td>'forehead'</td>
<td>goli</td>
<td>'armpit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gebu</td>
<td>'bottom'</td>
<td>gomoq</td>
<td>'udder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemel</td>
<td>'female (animal)'</td>
<td>gonos</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gepal</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
<td>gopo</td>
<td>'lung'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gewe</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td>goral</td>
<td>'penis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gewen</td>
<td>'face'</td>
<td>gosun</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gezel</td>
<td>'stomach, womb (animal)'</td>
<td>got</td>
<td>'feather, fur, body hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibis</td>
<td>'navel'</td>
<td>gotil</td>
<td>'cheek; spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibul</td>
<td>'ancestry, family'</td>
<td>gozul</td>
<td>'saliva, spittle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giel</td>
<td>'nest'</td>
<td>gubel</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigal</td>
<td>'gum'</td>
<td>gubu</td>
<td>'flesh (of humans)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigoq</td>
<td>'beak'</td>
<td>gubut</td>
<td>'headless corpse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gina</td>
<td>'inheritance'</td>
<td>guen</td>
<td>'heel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gino</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
<td>gubin</td>
<td>'lap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gintili</td>
<td>'siblings'</td>
<td>guk</td>
<td>'joint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginup</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
<td>gulik</td>
<td>'urine, semen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gio</td>
<td>'shit'</td>
<td>guloq</td>
<td>'tail; digit; youngest child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gipe</td>
<td>'horn'</td>
<td>guol</td>
<td>'back of knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giral</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td>gup</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giri</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
<td>gusal</td>
<td>'upper back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giwiq</td>
<td>'skin, body'</td>
<td>gut</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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-infection 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-'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3\textsuperscript{rd} INANIMATE</th>
<th>3\textsuperscript{rd} ANIMATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hak</td>
<td>‘rights’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hegil</td>
<td>‘shade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heruk</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hinil) †</td>
<td>‘name, kind of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>‘source, centre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(holoq)</td>
<td>‘container’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hopil)</td>
<td>‘power; force’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hotok)</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hua</td>
<td>‘footprint, track’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hun</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gak</td>
<td>‘rights’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gegil</td>
<td>‘shadow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geruk</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginil</td>
<td>‘name, kind of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘source, home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(go)</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goloq</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gon</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopil</td>
<td>‘power’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gotok</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gua</td>
<td>‘footprint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 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  
$Ø$-egil 1INCL/2-shadow  
g-egil 3AN-shadow  
h-egil 3INAN-shadow  
b. $n$-ua 1EXCL-footprint  
$Ø$-ua 1INCL/2-footprint  
g-ua 3AN-footprint  
h-ua 3INAN-footprint

The basic choice of form of a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person possessor prefix depends on the animacy and the perceived alienability of the possessor: an 3\textsuperscript{rd} person animate possessor takes the $g$- ‘3AN-’ marked form, while an 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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):

   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
   person 3AN-shadow
   ‘a person’s shadow’

   b. *en h-egil
   person 3INAN-shadow

   c. hol g-egil
   stone 3AN-shadow
   ‘shade of stone (due to overhang etc.)’

   d. hol h-egil
   stone 3INAN-shadow
   ‘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 \( n^-\text{'LOC-'} \) 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 \( n^-\text{'LOC-'} \) marked nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>3rd person animate</th>
<th>3rd person inanimate</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nala</td>
<td>'remainder'</td>
<td>gala</td>
<td>hala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netel</td>
<td>'root'</td>
<td>getel</td>
<td>hetel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netiq</td>
<td>'bark'</td>
<td>getiq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nil</td>
<td>'inner juice'</td>
<td>gil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nilin</td>
<td>'centre point'</td>
<td></td>
<td>hilin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niol</td>
<td>'sound'</td>
<td>giol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noqet</td>
<td>'other side'</td>
<td>goqet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noq</td>
<td>'flesh (of fruit)'</td>
<td>goq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare (41a) and (41b), illustrating the contrast between \( n^-\text{'1'} \) and \( n^-\text{'LOC-'} \): the latter can be cross-referenced with a 3rd person, whereas the former cannot. In (41b) \( n^-\text{'LOC-'} \) indicates that the noise issues from a location internal to the motorbike, whereas in (41c) \( g^-\text{'3AN-'} \) marks simply that the sound is that of a motorbike.

41. a. \( n^-\text{iol} \)
   1EXCL-voice
   'my voice'

b. \( \text{motor} n^-\text{iol} \)
   motorbike LOC-voice
   'sound from (inside) the motorbike'

c. \( \text{motor} g^-\text{iol} \)
   motorbike 3AN-voice
   'the motorbike’s sound'

In (42a) we see \( n^-\text{'LOC-'} \) marking \( il^-\text{'water'} \), referring to the water internal to the nut of the coconut palm (known as either 'coconut juice' or 'coconut water'). In (42b) \( il^-\text{'water'} \) is marked with the prefix \( g^-\text{'3AN-'} \) 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 \( il^-\text{'water'} \), 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. lpi 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 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.,

328
The contrast between using the form of 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 Mali 3AN-grave ‘Mali’s grave (he’s dead)’
   b. t-el ABSL-grave ‘(a) grave’
   c. *Mali t-el Mali ABSL-grave ‘(a) grave’
   d. Mali gi-e t-el 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

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  
a-wa 1INCL/2-top  
ga-wa 3AN-top  
wa top  

b. ni-tin 1EXCL-price  
i-tin 1INCL/2-price  
gi-tin 3AN-price  
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  
mango.INAN stem 3AN-stem

b. sabul ga-nal / *nal  
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  
pot.INAN price

b. apa gi-tin  
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)'

330
Table 9.7: Class V with differential possessor marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Inanimate</th>
<th>3rd Animate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bol 'cost'</td>
<td>gobol 'cost'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buk 'flower'</td>
<td>gubuk 'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bul 'base, origin'</td>
<td>gubul 'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak 'place between'</td>
<td>galak 'place between'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luel 'peel, skin'</td>
<td>gulel 'peel, skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mil 'inside'</td>
<td>gimil 'feelings, thoughts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nal 'stem'</td>
<td>ganal 'stem, earlobe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nap 'side'</td>
<td>ganap 'side, flank (body)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne 'portion'</td>
<td>gene 'portion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nes 'fleck, speck'</td>
<td>genes 'fleck, speck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nor 'leaf'</td>
<td>(gonor)† 'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuas 'smell'</td>
<td>gunas 'smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin 'price'</td>
<td>gitin 'price'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tul 'part'</td>
<td>gutul 'part'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa 'top'</td>
<td>gawa 'top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zup 'sliver, morsel'</td>
<td>guzup 'sliver, morsel'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 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
   1EXCL-POSS base
   'my origins, descent'

   b. nu-bul
   1EXCL-head
   '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
   house peak
   ‘house peak’

   b. mar alan
   garden border
   ‘border area/flank of the garden’

   c. zol iti
   river opposite
   ‘river’s opposite (side)’

   d. mok pol
   banana comb
   ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP NP</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE PHRASES</th>
<th>NN</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE COMPOUNDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>independent modification</td>
<td>no/little independent modification</td>
<td>possessor simple N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessor NP with determiner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential possessor</td>
<td>non-/ weakly referential possessor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(instance-specific)</td>
<td>(type-specific)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flexible word order</td>
<td>fixed word order</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 koen puqup
   house nice roof
   ‘[nice house]’s roof’

   b. deu puqup
   house roof
   ‘house roof’

   c. *deu ba puqup guzu
   house DEF.INAN roof black
   ‘[the house]’s roof’

   d. *deu puqup guzu
   house roof black
   ‘black [house roof]’

   e. deu koen ba gi-e puqup guzu
   house nice DEF.INAN 3-POSS roof black
   ‘[the pretty house]’s [black roof]’

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
    chicken 3AN-egg
    ‘chicken’s egg’

c. #cie belis  g-ut
    chicken white 3AN-egg
    ‘[white chicken]’s egg’

d. *cie ba  g-ut
    chicken DEF.INAN 3AN-egg
    ‘[the chicken]’s egg’ [Not-09.01]

54. a. en  g-on
    person 3AN-hand
    ‘person’s hand’

c. en heser  g-on
    person dead 3AN-hand
    ‘dead person’s hand’

d. *en bi  g-on
    person DEF.AN 3AN-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]
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. **valency**, 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. **prefixation**, 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 INANIMATE. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1EXCL unprefixed</th>
<th>CLASS II</th>
<th>CLASS III†</th>
<th>CLASS IV†</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1INCL/2</td>
<td>unprefixed</td>
<td>nV-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AN</td>
<td>unprefixed</td>
<td>gV-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3INAN</td>
<td>unprefixed</td>
<td>unprefixed</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>h-, s-, t-, d-, l-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 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)’
   *koi̯l* ‘whittle, scratch with a knife (of wood)’
   *koim* ‘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’
   *koqe* ‘roll’
   *koqus* ‘cradle’
   *kulaq* ‘cuddle (a child)’
   *lo̱hi* ‘cane’
   *sawaq* ‘cradle in a sling’
   *seka* ‘castrate’
   *tenaq* ‘thieve’

339
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.’

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

   *i-wit* 1INCL/2-fetch

   *gi-wit* 3AN-fetch

   *wit* fetch

   b. *ne-tekeq* 1EXCL-watch

   *e-tekeq* 1INCL/2-watch

   *ge-tekeq* 3AN-watch

   *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.’

---

### 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd PERSON ANIMATE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>3rd PERSON ANIMATE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>g-agil</em></td>
<td>‘eat (of corn)’</td>
<td><em>g-iser</em></td>
<td>‘instruct (of human)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-amail</em></td>
<td>‘lead (of animal)’</td>
<td><em>g-iti</em></td>
<td>‘remove (of lice)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-amaq</em></td>
<td>‘murder’</td>
<td><em>g-ohiq</em></td>
<td>‘rip off (of corn shell)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-asal</em></td>
<td>‘search for (of animate)’</td>
<td><em>g-olo</em></td>
<td>‘bury’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-asu</em></td>
<td>‘expel, exorcise (of animate)’</td>
<td><em>g-omolale</em></td>
<td>‘persuade, coax (of animate)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-elen</em></td>
<td>‘dizzy, nauseate (of animate)’</td>
<td><em>g-ulan</em></td>
<td>‘encourage (of human)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-esi</em></td>
<td>‘shoo (of animal)’</td>
<td><em>g-ue</em></td>
<td>‘hit (of animate)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-eweq</em></td>
<td>‘deshell (of peanuts)’</td>
<td><em>g-ume</em></td>
<td>‘kill (of human)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-iep</em></td>
<td>‘hit with axe (of animate)’</td>
<td><em>g-uraq</em></td>
<td>‘beat (of corn)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g-ilan</em></td>
<td>‘bind (of corn)’</td>
<td><em>g-ureq</em></td>
<td>‘pick (corn)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. a.</th>
<th>n-ue</th>
<th>1EXCL-hit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø-ue</td>
<td>1INCL/2-hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-ue</td>
<td>3AN-hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>n-ume</td>
<td>1EXCL-kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-ume</td>
<td>1INCL/2-kill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-ume</td>
<td>3AN-kill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *boqi* ‘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 ∅ ‘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.’

7. 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.’

8. 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.

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugation class</th>
<th>Example 3rd inanimate</th>
<th>Example 3rd animate</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>See:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h-class</td>
<td>h-azal</td>
<td>g-azal</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>§10.2.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-class</td>
<td>s-agal</td>
<td>g-agal</td>
<td>'seek'</td>
<td>§10.2.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-class</td>
<td>t-inik</td>
<td>g-inik</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
<td>§10.2.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-class</td>
<td>d-oenik</td>
<td>g-oenik</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
<td>§10.2.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-class</td>
<td>l-ual</td>
<td>g-ual</td>
<td>'bend'</td>
<td>§10.2.4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

   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]

1 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
    \( \emptyset-ek \)  1INCL/2-choose  \( \emptyset-iqil \)  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
    \( \emptyset-one \)  1INCL/2-hold  \( \emptyset-uza \)  1INCL/2-chase
    \( g-one \)  3AN-hold  \( g-uza \)  3AN-chase
    \( h-one \)  3INAN-hold  \( h-uza \)  3INAN-chase

e. \( n-azal \)  1EXCL-see
    \( \emptyset-azal \)  1INCL/2-see
    \( g-azal \)  3AN-see
    \( h-azal \)  3INAN-see

The initial /h/ of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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 3\textsuperscript{rd} person INANIMATE Ps are bivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIVALENT VERB, 3RD PERSON INANIMATE FORM</th>
<th>MONOVALENT VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. ( he-beqen ) 3INAN-destroy</td>
<td>( beqen ) be.squashed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( h-erik ) 3INAN-pin</td>
<td>( erik ) be.pinned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( hu-hukut ) 3INAN-wrap up</td>
<td>( hukut ) be.huddled.up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *b̥ari '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 'CONEXP' (§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.

---

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/-initial Tetun borrowings to Class II versus Class IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class II example</th>
<th>Class IV example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd INANIMATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>heri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>hiqiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>huq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd PERSON INANIMATE</th>
<th>3rd PERSON ANIMATE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>3rd PERSON INANIMATE</th>
<th>3rd PERSON ANIMATE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sagal</td>
<td>gagal</td>
<td>'search'</td>
<td>sili</td>
<td>gili</td>
<td>'prize off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapuq</td>
<td>gapuq</td>
<td>'nurse'</td>
<td>silik</td>
<td>gilik</td>
<td>'draw into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salak</td>
<td>galak</td>
<td>'roast'</td>
<td>sorul</td>
<td>gorul</td>
<td>'drench'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebuq</td>
<td>gebuq</td>
<td>'dig out'</td>
<td>suq</td>
<td>guq</td>
<td>'dig up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selaq</td>
<td>galaq</td>
<td>'arrange'</td>
<td>subeqen</td>
<td>gubeqen</td>
<td>'pinch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seroq</td>
<td>geroq</td>
<td>'apportion'</td>
<td>sumak</td>
<td>gumak</td>
<td>'cover up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sile</td>
<td>gile</td>
<td>'separate'</td>
<td>sumi</td>
<td>gumi</td>
<td>'hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sileqen</td>
<td>gileqen</td>
<td>'drop on'</td>
<td>susuk</td>
<td>gusuk</td>
<td>'agitate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
   1SG vegetable.INAN 3INAN-search
   ‘I look for vegetables.’

b. *Neto si*  g-agal.
   1SG meat.AN 3AN-search
   ‘I look for meat.’

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANIMATE</td>
<td>ANIMATE</td>
<td></td>
<td>INANIMATE</td>
<td>ANIMATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tabaq</em></td>
<td><em>gabaq</em></td>
<td>‘hoe’</td>
<td><em>tirik</em></td>
<td><em>girik</em></td>
<td>‘hold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tao</em></td>
<td><em>gao</em></td>
<td>‘pound’</td>
<td><em>tolo</em></td>
<td><em>golo</em></td>
<td>‘put inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tereq</em></td>
<td><em>gereq</em></td>
<td>‘beat (dust)’</td>
<td><em>toma</em></td>
<td><em>goma</em></td>
<td>‘message’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tape</em></td>
<td><em>gape</em></td>
<td>‘touch, feel’</td>
<td><em>tomon</em></td>
<td><em>gomon</em></td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tapiq</em></td>
<td><em>gapiq</em></td>
<td>‘sort, sift’</td>
<td><em>tubak</em></td>
<td><em>gubak</em></td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
<td><em>gin</em></td>
<td>‘tie’</td>
<td><em>tuk</em></td>
<td><em>guk</em></td>
<td>‘collect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tinik</em></td>
<td><em>ginik</em></td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td><em>turuk</em></td>
<td><em>guruk</em></td>
<td>‘pierce’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The full inflection paradigms of two members of the conjugation are given in (14).

---

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 Hübner 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. \( n\text{-}ao \) & 1EXCL-pound & b. \( n\text{-}ape \) & 1EXCL-touch  \\
\( \emptyset\text{-}ao \) & 1INCL/2-pound & \( \emptyset\text{-}ape \) & 1INCL/2-touch  \\
g\text{-}ao & 3AN-pound & g\text{-}ape & 3AN-touch  \\
t\text{-}ao & 3INAN-pound & t\text{-}ape & 3INAN-touch  

In (15) we see \textit{t-} '3INAN-' prefix in agreement with 3\textsuperscript{rd} person INANIMATE Ps (15a), against \textit{g-} '3AN-' with 3\textsuperscript{rd} person ANIMATE Ps (15b).

15. a. \textit{Neto} \textit{ipi} \textit{t-ao}.  \\
1SG rice.grain.INAN 3INAN-pound  \\
'I pound rice.'

b. \textit{Neto} \textit{paqol} \textit{g-ao}.  \\
1SG corn.AN 3AN-pound  \\
'I pound corn.'

[Not-07.01]

The initial \textit{t-} prefix of \textit{t-} conjugation verbs goes back to the reciprocal prefix, \textit{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 \textit{tV-RECP-} are discussed in Chapter 11.

10.2.4.4 \textit{d-} conjugation verb

There is only one member of the \textit{d-} conjugation of class IV bivalent verb, given in (16):

16. \textit{n-oenik} & 1EXCL-forget  \\
\( \emptyset\text{-}oenik \) & 1INCL/2-forget  \\
g\text{-}oenik & 3AN-forget  \\
d\text{-}oenik & 3INAN-forget  

Example (17) illustrates The use of the \textit{d-} '3INAN-' form to agree with 3\textsuperscript{rd} person INANIMATE Ps (17a) and its replacement by other prefixes marking other Ps, in this case a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person ANIMATE P (17b).

17. a. \textit{Neto} \textit{ipi} \textit{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.'

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  1-conjugation verbs

The full set of 9 1-conjugation class IV bivalent verbs is presented in Table 10.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANIMATE</td>
<td>ANIMATE</td>
<td></td>
<td>INANIMATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laba</td>
<td>gaba</td>
<td>'slice'</td>
<td>lobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labak</td>
<td>gabak</td>
<td>'spread'</td>
<td>logo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebel</td>
<td>gebel</td>
<td>'chuck'</td>
<td>lorul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lepek</td>
<td>gepek</td>
<td>'approve'</td>
<td>lual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lilik</td>
<td>gilik</td>
<td>'revolve'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

18. b. *O-aba* 1INCL/2-slice  

b. *O-epek* 1INCL/2-approve

18. c. *g-aba* 3AN-slice  

b. *g-epek* 3AN-approve

18. d. *l-aba* 3INAN-slice  

b. *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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20. a.</th>
<th>nu-*tula</th>
<th>1EXCL-move</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>*ne-*penen</th>
<th>1EXCL-shift</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*u-*tula</td>
<td>1INCL/2-move</td>
<td>*e-*penen</td>
<td>1INCL/2-shift</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gu-*tula</td>
<td>3AN-move</td>
<td>*ge-*penen</td>
<td>3AN-shift</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tula</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>*penen</td>
<td>shift</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. \textit{Nei kura ge-rel paqol tula.}

\begin{tabular}{l}
1PL.EXCL & horse.AN & 3AN-INS & corn & move \\
\end{tabular}

‘We transported the corn with the horse.’ \[Not-07.04\]

b. \textit{Baqi sabul hiloqon bi tais lequ wa no gu-tula.}

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
NPRX.AN & orange.AN & two & DEF.AN & cloth & wrap & top & OBL & 3AN-move \\
\end{tabular}

‘He placed the two oranges on the wrapped up cloth.’ \[Bk-4.048\]

22. a. \textit{Halali d-ege cie gol uen penen.}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
3DU & REFLEX-BEN & chicken.AN & small one & shift \\
\end{tabular}

‘They took a small chicken along for themselves.’ \[LB-2.224\]

b. \textit{Biasanya en paqol ge-penen.}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
usually & people & corn.AN & 3AN-shift \\
\end{tabular}

‘Usually people put some corn away (for safe-keeping).’ \[OS-07.04\]

A prefix cross-referencing a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person ANIMATE P focuses on the A’s particular choice of goal location for the P. The absence of a 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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 3\textsuperscript{rd} person ANIMATE Ps; 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} persons are always prefixed, 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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).\textsuperscript{9} In an alternative analysis, the different agreement patterns could be taken to mean that the forms \textit{tula} ‘move’ and \textit{penen} ‘shift’ each have two separate lexical entries one with 3\textsuperscript{rd} person ANIMATE agreement in the manner of a class II bivalent verb and one without in the manner of a class I bivalent verb.

\textsuperscript{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* *zi* *gi* *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).


1SG mother.An 3AN-fetch

'I fetched mother'

b. *Manek paqol gi-a.*

Manek corn.An 3AN-eat

'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-* '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
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10.8: Transitivity-based alternations in P agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3AN-’ prefixing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3AN-’ prefixing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

27. a. *Neto musik mak.*
1SG music hear
‘I hear music.’

MORE AGENTIVE

b. *Neto Musik ga-mak.*
1SG music 3AN-hear
‘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.
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 $h$-$azal$ ‘$3INAN$-see’ in (29b) was consistently rejected by speakers and only accepted with the addition of $loj$ ‘good/can’ (§13.7) which would flag the clause as describing a potential event.

IRREALIS

29. a. *Neto* *reu* *mil* *gene* *listrik* *sia* *h-$azal$* *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.
In front of the church, you can buy vegetables.

I’ll carry (these here) vegetables.

I have left the key behind in mother Eta’s house.

Novi went to school but left the key behind.

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.’

   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.\(^\text{10}\) Table 10.9 presents an overview of the distribution of prefixing monovalent verbs inflectional classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV h-conjugation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV other conjugations</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{10}\) 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).
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.  
   3AN-child new  
   ‘Their child is new (i.e. newborn).’

   b. *Reu* por tip.  
   house holy new  
   ‘The church is new.’

35. a. *Bai* bare gi-tip.  
   thing PROX.INAN 3-new  
   ‘This thing is new (unfamiliar).’

   person PROX.AN 3-new  
   ‘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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>38. a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n-ege</td>
<td>‘1-give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-ege</td>
<td>‘1INCL/2-give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-ege</td>
<td>‘3AN-give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-ege</td>
<td>‘3INAN-give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ini</td>
<td>‘1-call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-ini</td>
<td>‘1INCL/2-call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-ini</td>
<td>‘3AN-call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-ini</td>
<td>‘3INAN-call’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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.’

   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.’

   c. *Hele nei n-ini gu-rumak.*
   **perhaps 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-call 3AN-push**
   ‘(He) said that perhaps we pushed him.’

   d. *Nei n-ini g-ini topol on.*
   **1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-call 3AN-CAUS fall DO**
   ‘(He) said that we made him fall.’

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*
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]
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. 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’, \textit{lai} ‘set’ and \textit{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).’

47. Neto botil lolit.
   1SG bottle.INAN set.lengthways
   ‘I set the bottle (down).’

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.

   book.AN set
   ‘The book is set (down).’

49. Botil lolit.
   bottle.INAN set.lengthways
   ‘The bottle is set (down).’

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.*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Meaq} & \text{gol} & \text{iskola} & \text{gene} \\
\text{child} & \text{school} & \text{loc} & \text{learn}
\end{array}
\]

‘The children learn at school.’

53. *Guru meaq gol iskola gene g-anorin.*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Guru} & \text{meaq} & \text{gol} & \text{iskola} \\
\text{teacher} & \text{child} & \text{school} & \text{loc}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{g-} & \text{anorin} \\
3 \text{INAN-teach}
\end{array}
\]

‘The teacher teaches the children at school.’

*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.*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Neto} & \text{paqol} & \text{kahul} \\
1 \text{SG} & \text{corn} & \text{mix}
\end{array}
\]

‘I mix (different kinds of) corn (together).’

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).
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIVALENT</th>
<th>MONOVALENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>danu</td>
<td>'layer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'be layered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokul</td>
<td>'puff up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'be puffed up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapo</td>
<td>'stick to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'be stuck to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lequ</td>
<td>'wrap up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'be wrapped up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soran</td>
<td>'stir up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'be stirred up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uku</td>
<td>'tip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'be tipped'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-init ‘3INAN-CAUS’. Thus, if the S of a
monovalent frame of a causative labile verb was in fact a P it would not occur as the P of \textit{h-ini} '3\textsc{inan-CAUS}'. Yet, we see that \textit{naka} 'mud' of (56) unproblematically becomes the P of \textit{h-ini} '3\textsc{inan-CAUS}' in (58). Similarly, we see that the A, \textit{neto} '1SG' of (57) becomes the P of \textit{h-ini} '3\textsc{inan-CAUS}' in (59).

58. \textit{Neto} naka \textit{h-ini} hotel gene kapo.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG & mud & 3\textsc{inan-CAUS} & tree \textsc{loc} stick \\
\end{tabular}

'I made the mud stick to the tree.'

59. \textit{Makus} neto \textit{n-ini} naka hotel gene kapo.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
Markus & 1SG & 1\textsc{excl-CAUS} & mud & tree \textsc{loc} stick \\
\end{tabular}

'Markus made me stick mud to the tree.'

Contrast the pattern shown in the following examples. In (60) \textit{naka} 'mud' is the P of the bivalent verb \textit{siqil} 'deposit' whose A argument is unexpressed. \textit{Naka} 'mud' as the P of \textit{siqil} 'deposit' cannot be the P of \textit{h-ini} '3\textsc{inan-CAUS}' in serialisation (61), but must be an A (62).

60. \textit{Naka} hotel gene siqil.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
mud & tree & \textsc{loc} deposit \\
\end{tabular}

'The mud was deposited on the tree.'

61. *\textit{Neto} naka \textit{h-ini} hotel gene siqil.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG & mud & 3\textsc{inan-CAUS} & tree \textsc{loc} deposit \\
\end{tabular}

'I made mud be deposited on the tree.'

62. \textit{Neto} Markus g-ini \textit{naka} hotel gene siqil.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
1SG & Markus & 3\textsc{an-CAUS} & mud & tree \textsc{loc} deposit \\
\end{tabular}

'I made Markus deposit mud on the tree.'

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).

\[ S \quad OBL \]

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.

\[ S \quad PP \quad PP \quad S \]

64. a. *Ipi* hober *no* *kaeq*.

rice cave OBL fill

‘Rice filled in the cave.’ [Not-07.01]

b. *Hober* *no* *ipi* *kaeq*.

cave OBL rice fill

‘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).
65. a. [Neto] memel.  
   1sg    sick  
   ‘I am sick.’

   b. [N-iri] memel.  
   1excl-leg    sick  
   ‘My leg is sick (i.e. hurts).’

   c. [N-ie sakan] memel.  
   1poss    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.

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]

   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).

67. a. [Neto] [n-iri] memel.  
   1sg    1excl-leg    sick  
   ‘I am sick (as to) my leg.’  
   [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:

68. Neto *n-iri* no *memel*.  
1SG 1EXCL-leg OBL sick  
‘My leg is sick.’  

69. Neto *sakan* no *memel*.  
1SG thigh OBL sick  
‘I am sick in the thigh.’  

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.’  

71. Erenoq *masala* uen *hati*.  
yesterday problem one exist  
‘Yesterday there was a problem.’
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad [\text{Ni-e tumel}] \ hati. \\
\text{OBL} & \quad [\text{Neto}] \ [\text{tumel}] \ hati.
\end{align*}
\]

\[\begin{align*}
1 & \text{EXCL-POSS} \ \text{money exist} & 1 & \text{SG} \ \text{money exist} \\
‘I have money (and it is mine).’ & ‘I am in possession of money (but it’s not mine).’ & [\text{Not-07.04}]
\end{align*}\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad [\text{Gi-e mar}] \ hati. \\
\text{3-POSS} & \ \text{garden exist} \\
‘S/he has a garden.’ & \quad [\text{Bk-24.020}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad [\text{Ni-e ama gi-e sore legul uen}] \ hati. \\
1 & \text{POSS} \ \text{father} & 3 & \text{POSS} \ \text{machete belong} & 1 & \text{one exist} \\
‘My father owns a big machete.’ & \quad [\text{Bk-24.028}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad \text{OBL} \\
75. & \quad [\text{En wagen}][\text{mar}] \ \text{hobel}. \\
\text{person} & \text{some} & \text{garden} & \text{not.exist} \\
‘Some people don’t have gardens (i.e. to access to plant crops).’ & \quad [\text{Bk-24.007}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad \text{OBL} \\
76. & \quad [\text{Nei}] \ [\text{listrik}] \ \text{hobel} \\
1 & \text{PL-EXCL} & \text{electricity} & \text{not.exist} \\
‘We don’t have electricity (i.e. available in the village).’ & \quad [\text{Bk-34.052}]
\end{align*}
\]
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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
S & S \quad \text{obl} \\
77. a. & \text{Neto } dawaq. \\
   & 1SG \quad \text{defecate} \\
   & \text{‘I shat.’} \\
77. b. & \text{Neto } ho \quad dawaq. \\
   & 1SG \quad \text{blood} \quad \text{defecate} \\
   & \text{‘I shat blood.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

[Not-09.01]

10.6.5 Motion verbs: unmarked goal oblique

Four Bunaq motion verbs optionally subcategorise for an unmarked goal oblique: *mal* ‘go’, *sage* ‘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).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
S & S \quad \text{obl} \\
78. a. & \text{Neto } mal. \\
   & 1SG \quad \text{go} \\
   & \text{‘I go.’} \\
78. b. & \text{Neto } mar \quad mal. \\
   & 1SG \quad \text{garden} \quad \text{go} \\
   & \text{‘I go to the garden.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

[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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
S & S \quad \text{pp} \\
79. a. & \text{Neto } [\text{mar } a-ta \] \quad mal. \\
   & 1SG \quad \text{garden} \quad 3INAN-GL \quad \text{go} \\
   & \text{‘I go towards the garden.’} \\
79. b. & \text{Neto } mal \quad [\text{mar } no]. \\
   & 1SG \quad \text{go} \quad \text{garden} \quad \text{OBL} \\
   & \text{‘I go (and be) in the garden.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

[Not-06.01]
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 \( dV^- '\text{REFL-}' \) or \( tV^- '\text{RECP-}' \); 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 \( dV^- '\text{REFL-}' \) or \( tV^- '\text{RECP-}' \) 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 \( dV^- '\text{REFL-}' \) or \( tV^- '\text{RECP-}' \) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Productive ( dV^- / tV^- )</th>
<th>Deponent ( dV^- / tV^- )</th>
<th>Unproductive ( dV^- / tV^- )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Always valency reducing</strong></td>
<td><strong>Type 1:</strong> Derivation-like alternations</td>
<td><strong>Type 3:</strong> Semantically empty conjugation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Type 2:</strong> Conjugation marker denoting semantics of ( dV^- / tV^- )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes valency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three basic types I differentiate in deponents involve:

Type 1. Prefixes \( dV^- '\text{REFL-}' \) and \( tV^- '\text{RECP-}' \) 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-like alternation.

\(^1\) An additional minor deponent use of morphology in Bunaq is using the \( gV^- '3\text{AN-}' \) prefix for both animate and inanimate agreement controllers. See §10.2.3.

\(^2\) Fossilised instances of \( dV^- '\text{REFL-}' \) and \( tV^- '\text{RECP-}' \) are apparent when comparing verb forms across dialects. In Bunaq Lamaknen, they include: on the invariable bivalent verb \( \text{doloq} '\text{slide forward}' \) < the inalienably possessed noun \( g-\text{oloq} '3\text{AN-place}' \), and on the invariable bivalent verb \( \text{tuqal} '\text{exchange}' \).
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).

---

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  
  k.o.bird  
  REFLE-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 REFLE-GL force REFLE-hand  
  suei rele.  
  left INS  
  ‘I couldn’t do a thing, (but I) forced myself, (I did it) with my left hand.’  
  [Bk-46.021]

6. **Bagi**  
  * r-otol sabul hiloqon bi tais lequ wa  
  NPRX.AN REFLE-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, does his, own wife wrong.’ [Bk-21.017]

   b. *Baqi* gi-e pana g-ege sal.
   NPRX.AN  3-POSS  woman 3AN-give  wrong
   ‘He, does his, 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, \textit{n-1EXCL-}.

10. a. \textit{Eto ri-e matas mil g-utu man naq!}\[80x652] 2SG \textit{REFL-POSS} old \textit{COLL} 3-COM come \textit{IMP} \\
\textit{‘You come with your parents!’} [Bk-38.005]

b. \textit{Neto ni-e ama g-utu mar mal.}\[61x572] 1SG \textit{1EXCL-POSS} father 3-COM garden go \\
\textit{‘I go to the garden with my parents!’} [Bk-24.010]

The only circumstance in which marking of an alienable possessor with \textit{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 \textit{reu} ‘house’ is the \textit{A}, \textit{halaqi} ‘3PL’, and not the P, \textit{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, \textit{Suri Guloq} as NP adjacent to the possessive inflection can be co-referent with the possessor, not the A. In (11c), where \textit{Suri Guloq} appears after the goal PP, the possessor of \textit{reu} ‘house’ can only be interpreted as coreferent with the A, but not the P.

\textit{‘They carried Suri Guloq to their house.’} [Bk-21.005]

b. \textit{Halaqi Suri Guloq gi-e reu a-ta gi-al.}\[298x54] 3PL, Suri Guloq, 3\textit{POSS} house 3INAN-GL 3ANJ-carry \\
\textit{‘They carried Suri Guloq to his house.’} [Not-07.02]

c. \textit{Halaqi gi-e reu a-ta Suri Guloq gi-al.}\[297x-11] 3PL, 3\textit{POSS} house 3INAN-GL Suri Guloq, 3ANJ-carry \\
\textit{‘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 occurring 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]

On some verbs, middle $dV^-$ ‘REFL-’ is not always valency reducing. For instance, the $dV^-$ marked form of the class IV h-conjugation verb ($\S$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.

Manek rice.plant 3INAN-dry
‘Manek dries the rice.’ [OS-07.04]

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 $dV^-\text{REFL}^-$ 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 $dV^-\text{REFL}^-$ 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 $dV^-\text{REFL}^-$ 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-gwen 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 $dV^-\text{REFL}^-$ in clauses denoting spontaneous events. In (16) $dV^-\text{REFL}^-$ marks the inalienably possessed noun g-io ‘3AN-faeces’, the P of the clausal verb a ‘eat’. The combination of verb and $dV^-\text{marked noun}$ 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.

   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- moulded.skin DO

'We don’t die, we take on another form.'

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.'

19. En muk ukon nei n-ege baqa $g$-ua
person ruler govern 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-give NPRX.1NAN 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.'

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 buakac
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.’

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).

1SG THERE LOC REFL-stab
‘I got an injection there.’

b. Neto meaq gol g-ege r-ota.
1SG child 3AN-BEN REFL-stab
‘I gave the child an injection.’

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’
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 3\(^{rd}\) person ANIMATE \(gV\) ‘3AN-’ (27c).

27. a. \textit{Novi} \textit{taka} \textit{masak baqa} \textit{d-oenik}.

Novi basket big NPRX.INAN REFL-forget

‘Novi forgot the big basket.’ \[OS-06.01\]

b. \textit{Nona} \textit{hani} \textit{nei} \textit{n-oenik}.

miss PROH 1PL.EXCL 1EXCL-forget

‘May our older sister not forget us.’ \[Bk-14.003\]

c. \textit{Halaqi} \textit{sabi} \textit{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 \(h-oen\) ‘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. \textit{Eme} \textit{meja} \textit{g-o} \textit{d-onen}.

mother table 3-SRC REFL-lean

‘Mother leans onto the table.’ or ‘Mother is leaning onto the table.’ \[Not-07.01\]

\(^6\) Fossilisation and lexicalisation of middle marking on a posture verb has occurred in the case of \textit{duqat} ‘stand’ in Bunaq Lamaknen. This is an innovative form based on a reduction of \textit{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). 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]

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).'

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-ège* 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-POS 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’ < h-oli ‘3INAN-pursue’
talik ‘be tied together’ < h-alik ‘3INAN-wrap’
terik ‘be squashed together’ < h-erik ‘3INAN-wedge’

‘be tied together’ < h-alik ‘3INAN-wrap’
‘pin each other down’

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 1-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 go1 $t$-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-mpi* ‘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-mpi*.
   worm fire OBL RECP-bend
   ‘The worm writhed in the fire.’ [OS-07.01]

50. Dia Laho o *gene* *t-mpi*.
   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. 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reciprocal reading</th>
<th>‘Fighting’ verb reading</th>
<th>3rd person form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$t$-ete</td>
<td>‘chop each other’</td>
<td>‘war’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$-iep</td>
<td>‘spear each other’</td>
<td>‘fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$-oqon</td>
<td>‘do each other’</td>
<td>‘battle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$-usuk</td>
<td>‘prick each other’</td>
<td>‘clash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).’

---

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.
This use of \( tV^-\text{RECP} \) 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 \( tV^-\text{RECP} \) is semantically motivated by the fact that fighting is prototypically an 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 \( tV^-\text{RECP} \)-marked deponents: \( t-eqe \text{RECP-have sex} \) and \( t-ape \text{RECP-touch} \).

The verb, \( t-eqe \text{RECP-have sex} \) is marked with \( tV^-\text{RECP} \) and can have a generic or a reciprocal meaning. For instance, (53a) where we have a plural participant with \( t-eqe \text{RECP-have sex} \) can be interpreted as reciprocal with the \( tV^-\text{RECP} \) marking symmetrical co-reference between the plural referents of A. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as refer to ‘sex’ generically, with the \( tV^-\text{RECP} \) 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 \( tV^-\text{RECP} \) on \( t-eqe \text{RECP-have sex} \) thus marks semantic, but not necessarily syntactic, plurality of participation.

53. a. \( Nei \text{RECP-have sex} \text{like} \text{mobel.} \)

\( 1\text{PL.EXCL} \text{RECP-have sex} \text{like} \text{mobel.} \)

‘We like having sex with each other.’ or ‘We like having sex.’

b. \( Neto \text{RECP-have sex} \text{like} \text{mobel.} \)

\( 1\text{SG} \text{RECP-have sex} \text{like} \text{mobel.} \)

‘I like having sex.’

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 \( gV^-\text{3AN-} \) in place of \( tV^-\text{RECP-} \). 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.'

   1SG dog 3AN-collect RECP-collect
   'I collect the dogs.'

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.
   1SG mango RECP-gather
   'I gathered the mangos.'

   b. Neto zap g-ubak.
   1SG dog 3AN-gather
   '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.
    1SG rope 3INAN-undo
    'I undid (the strands of) the rope.'

58. b. *Neto mun t-ilin.
    1SG rope  RECP-undo
    'I undid the rope (e.g. holding the mat together).'</n
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 3rd 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.
    1SG mango RECP-hold.together
    'I hold the mangos together.'

59. b. *Neto zap g-irik.
    1SG dog 3AN-hold.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
3rd 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 3rd 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd INANIMATE P/RECIPIRAL</th>
<th>3rd ANIMATE P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-abaq</td>
<td>g-abaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-hoe’</td>
<td>‘3AN-hoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ao</td>
<td>g-ao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-grind’</td>
<td>‘3AN-grind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-apiq</td>
<td>g-apiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-sift’</td>
<td>‘3AN-sift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ereq</td>
<td>g-ereq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-beat.dust.out’</td>
<td>‘RECP-beat.dust.out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-inik</td>
<td>g-inik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-cook’</td>
<td>‘3AN-cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-olo</td>
<td>g-olo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-put’</td>
<td>‘3AN-put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-oma</td>
<td>g-oma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-message’</td>
<td>‘3AN-message’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-omon</td>
<td>g-omon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘RECP-smoke’</td>
<td>‘3AN-smoke’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ate [the roasted cassava and taro] together.’ *‘They ate [the roasted cassava and taro] together.’ [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-POS 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
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.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{1SG corn RECP-GL 3AN-collect} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I collect the corn to one another i.e. together.'

[OS-07.03]

71. *Halali te-rel kolun t-ul ba ni, ti-ta zipil kama.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{3DU RECP-INS fallow RECP-pull DEF.INAN OBL RECP-GL} \\
\text{leaves for burning pile} \\
\end{array}
\]

'While they, two were working together clearing the fallow land, (they), piled leaves, onto one another,,' not "While they, two were working clearing the fallow land, (they), piled leaves, onto one another,,'”

[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.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{corn NPRX.AN vegetable 3-COM RECP-GL 3AN-cook} \\
\end{array}
\]

'(They) cook the corn together with the vegetables.'

[Bk-24.032]

73. *Neto en g-utu ti-ta sai.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{1SG person 3-COM RECP-GL exit} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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 loi niq.
   PROX.INAN OBL IDU.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. *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’.

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.
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.

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.
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, I with my three friends, we were looking for work.’ [Bk-12.001]

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).

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*.

   LOW LOC IPL.EXCL RECP-BEN thing 3-bury
   ‘We bury stuff for each other.’ [Bk-11.010]

    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]

    1SG Lamaknen LOC sit
    ‘I live in Lamaknen.’ [Bk-24.003]

17. En bei mil biasa r-on g-onos koil,
    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.


   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]


   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\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{HEAD} of the RC is elided, leaving just the RC predicate with goet ‘LIKE’ and its complement, baqi ‘NPRX.AN’.

23. \([\text{NP \textsubscript{Pan}} [\text{RC bare goet}]] \text{pan porat.}\]
\text{season PROX.INAN LIKE season dry.season}

‘A season (which is) like this is a dry season.’  \[\text{Bk-7.014}\]

24. \(Neto ri-mil, \text{hot mil no} [\text{NP-sore [RC baqa goet]}]\)
\text{1SG REFL-inside sun DUR OBL machete NPRX.INAN LIKE}
\text{r-ege wit gie.}
\text{REFL-BEN buy PROSP}

‘I think, one day I’m going to buy myself a machete like that.’  \[\text{Bk-24.040}\]

25. \([\text{NP} \text{Baqi goet}] \text{g-ek haqal,...}\]
\text{NPX.AN LIKE 3AN-pick.up finished}

‘(When we have) finished picking up (stones) like those,...’  \[\text{Bk-30.085}\]

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. \(N-iwiq ba mamut~mamut goet.\)
\text{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.’  \[\text{Bk-40.003}\]

27. \(N-osil hobel gie goet oa.\)
\text{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.’  \[\text{Bk-40.009}\]
28. *Hoto* *narakamil* *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-pincher 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 EXCL-child PROX.AN 3AN-love true
   "If you really love this child of mine..."

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:

   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."

Goet 'LIKE' can function on its own to introduce direct speech as in the following clause with an 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 INCL/2-POSS father 3AN-penis gape NPRX.INAN LIKE
   "Your father's penis gapes", (they say) like that."

38. "Hai naq", roe goet on.
   pause IMP SPEC.INAN LIKE DO
   "'Hang on a second', (he said) like this."

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'. 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...’  

40. **Teqa** *gie* *na*, *ni-e* *memel* *bare*  
   prayer  BECAUSE  FOC  IEXCL-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  IEXCL-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 S₁ is the reason for S₂.

43. **S₁, DEM gie, S₂.**
   ‘S₂ occurs on account of S₁’

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-ief*

3-POSS father 3AN-forehead FOC split k.o.bird 3AN-chop
de niq.

'(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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12.1: Verbal postpositions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>g-utu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>dele</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>a-ta</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>g-o</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>h-otol</em></td>
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<td><em>h-ege</em></td>
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<td><em>h-os</em></td>
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<td><em>h-onogo</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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: 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 concomitant 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]
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)§ 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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§ 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 _gao_ 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.
   '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-reli 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.’

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.’

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.’

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 lbu Yip g-o mal.
   hot INS 1SG Mrs Yip 3-SRC go
‘Feverish (lit. with hotness) I went to Mrs Yip’s.’
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* ge-rel ciwal.

1EXCL-POSS older.brother 3AN-first 1EXCL-POSS mother 3AN-belly OBL

‘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.’

   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.’

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.

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.’

   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’.
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 REF'L-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 loi-loi.
   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-ogon 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. 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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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 liquul 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).'

[Byk-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 REF-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 loî.

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);
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. *AriLoqu 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.
derunderneath 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* | *vel* | *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

'Verse. 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  
come  
FOC  
help  
ask  

‘Ask God for help!’  
[Bk-61.022]  

432
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.ANREFL-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 EXCL-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

435
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 sabsi 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).'</n

[Bk-4.042]

Benefactive *hege* 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 *hege*.

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) *hege* 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 hege.  
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

'Vee 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

'Ve here believe in that.'

126. *Neto keluarga g-ege hanoin.*

1SG family 3AN-BEN think

'I was thinking of my family.'

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.'

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 niqi.*

Berek AND Mauk 3-SRC believe NEG

'Berek and Mauk didn't believe him.'

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'
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-ebcqen.*

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!*

INCL/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,\(^\text{10}\) 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-POS 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 *h-onogo* '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 *h-onogo* '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. 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 have 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
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 IEXCL-give water drink  
   ‘He gave me water to drink.’

**MULTICLAUSAL**

b. *Baqi n-ege il soq, a.*  
   NPRX.AN IEXCL-give water SEQ drink  
   ‘He gave me water, then (I) drank (it).’

**MULTICLAUSAL**

c. *Neto il a, n-ege soq.*  
   lSG water drink IEXCL-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 IEXCL-give water drink PROSP  
   ‘He is going to give me water to drink.’
5. a. *Baqi  n-ege  gie  il  a.  
NPRX.AN  IEXCL-give  PROSP  water  drink

MULTICLAUSAL

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 VPs, can occur between the V₁ and V₂, thus: NP (NP) V₁ (NP...) V₂. 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: 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...) V₁V₂. Verbs in nuclear serialisation share their S/A argument and occur in the scope of a single negator.

c. ambient serialisation: ambient serialised verbs do not share an argument, rather V₂ takes the whole event denoted by V₁ as its argument, providing adverbial

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2 The ‘core’ versus ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13.1: Characteristics of different syntactic types of serialisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argument sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant-oriented manner SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin-Motion-Goal SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centrifugal motion SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directional SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event-oriented manner SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifying SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal SVCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual SVCs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) 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 V, 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]
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 V₁ encodes a cause and V₂ the result of it. The V₁ is bivalent and agentive, while V₂ is monovalent and stative. The P of the V₁ is the S of the V₂. 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 CNTREXPNAN 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 V₁ lai 'set' and V₂ 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.’
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.


1SG quick thing eat

'I am quick at eating.'

b. *Neto bai a laun.*

1SG thing eat quick

'I eat quickly.'

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 $V_1$ *omal* 'naked' refers to the condition in which the $S$ undertook the $V_2$ *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 $V_1$ and is used to express that the $S/A$ participant is either unaccompanied (17) or unaided (18) in the event denoted by $V_2$.

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-POS 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 $V_1$ *han* and the semantically main $V_2$ *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 V₁ and the manner adverbial V₂. Rather the V₂ takes V₁ as its argument, denoting the manner in which the event V₁ occurs. While V₂ is always monovalent, V₁ can be monovalent or bivalent.

Examples (23-24) illustrate event-oriented manner serialisation where the V₁ is monovalent. Examples (25-26) illustrate event-oriented manner serialisation where the V₁ 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]
flow   slow–REDUP
'The water) runs really slowly.'

25. Muk  bare  ei  b-oqon  koen?
land   PROX.INAN  2PL   3INAN-do  fine
'Did you do (i.e. farm) this land well?'

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 V₁, here the nominal cognitive predicate ri-mil 'REFL-inside' (see §11.3.2.3), and V₂, ate 'far', and has scope over both. By contrast, in (28) niq 'NEG' intervenes between the V₁ tara 'know', and V₂ masak 'big'. The negator thus only has scope over the V₁, while the V₂ has both the negator and the V₁ 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.'

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 V₂ taking the preceding V₁ as its argument. Several monovalent verbs can appear as a V₂ directly following a V₁ 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 V₁, which may be monovalent (29) or bivalent (30).

29. Ni-e  koar  tol  tepel.
1EXCL-POSS  wrist  broken  true
'My wrist was really broken.'
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.*

‘The (men) like him also make the discussions completely clean (i.e. tie up all loose ends).’

32. *En milik tepel liol.*

‘The people were really truly afraid.’

The monovalent verb *pisi* ‘(be) clean’ is frequently used for intensification of the meaning of V, in the sense of ‘thoroughly, completely’, as in (33).

33. *Gi-e g-ua~g-ua ba tara pisi oa.*

‘(We) know the journeys of them thoroughly already.’

The monovalent verb *loï* ‘good’ is frequently used as a V₂ expressing intensification of meaning of non-agentive V₁, 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 *loï* ‘good’ and the verb it intensifies *buis* ‘arrogant’, while in (36) *niq* ‘NEG’ occurs between *loï* ‘good’ and the verb it intensifies *iki* ‘tiny’.

34. *Nei ní-e sirubisu koen loï.*

‘Our work was very fine.’
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 loi’ oa.

tiny NEG good PFV

‘(It) was already so not tiny.’, i.e. ‘It was huge.’

[bk-71.048]

Agentive verbs with loi‘good’ have a modal interpretation, see §13.7.

13.7 Modal serialisation with loi ‘be good’

As a main verb, loi is a monovalent verb meaning ‘good’, as in (37):

37. En na serani loi.

person FOC Christian good

‘People who are Christian are good.’

[Bk-34.092]

In ambient serialisation with agentive verbs, loi‘good’ expresses deontic modality. It occurs as V₂ directly following the V₁, which may be monovalent or bivalent. Modal loi‘good’ is used to expresses statements of permission and permissibility. In (38) loi‘good’ is used with niq ‘NEG’ to denote the impermissibility of working during the pre-planting festival. In (39), loi‘good’ expresses that the burning of gardens is permitted following a particular ceremony.

38. Biasa bon g-ete, karna sirubisu h-oqon loi 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 loi.

CONTR.INAN finished SEQ FIRST FOC garden burn good

‘Once that is finished, then (we) can burn the gardens.’

[Bk-8.003]

Loi‘good’ also occurs as V₂ in SVCs where it denotes judgements of potentiality and possibility. In (40) loi‘good’ is used as V₂ with h-alolo ‘3INAN-follow’ to denote the possibility of taking a road or a small path to the church. In (41) loi‘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 loi.
if Lolobul road FOC 3INAN-follow good
‘As for Lolobul (people, they) can follow a road.’

b. Hik gol na h-alolo loi.
path small FOC 3INAN-follow good
‘(Or they) can follow a small path.’

41. Hatak, tumel buleqen, belak baqa en hosok
gold.coin metal red silver.plate NPRX.INAN person receive
niq, tan baqa rele bai wit loi niq, baqa
NEG because NPRX.INAN INS thing fetch good NEG NPRX.INAN
rele toko mal loi 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.’

13.8 Aspectual serialisation
Serial verbs expressing aspect are ambient: they occur as V₂ after the semantically main verb of a clause, V₁, which they take as an argument and for which they express aspect, and; they allow niq ‘NEG’ to intervene between V₁ and V₂. 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.’

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.

‘(They) said my hand or whatever was completely broken.’

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.

‘Even the flames had finished dispersing.’ or ‘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-V₁ 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.

‘The mango(es) had finished ripening.’, or ‘The mango(es) were completely ripe.’, or ‘All the mangoes were ripe.’
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 V₂ 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 V₁. However, as with ambient serialisation, quantificational uses of *g-aqal* ‘3AN-finished’ allow *niq* ‘NEG’ to either follow (56) or intervene between V₁ and V₂ (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’.

458
‘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]

   459
61. Neto baqa na b-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 nîiq 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.’

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.’

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.’

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’

b. *Baqi lulai niq oa.*

NPRX.AN move NEG PFV

‘He wasn’t moving any more.’

As a V₂ 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.’
72. Neto  hot  mil  misa  no  botil  Weluli ma\textit{l} des.
\begin{verbatim}
1SG  sun  DUR  mass  OBL  bottle  Weluli  go  still
\end{verbatim}
‘On Sundays (lit. on mass day) I would go to Weluli with bottles.’ [Bk-13.013]

73. G-e\textit{gil}  g-\textit{azal}  des.
\begin{verbatim}
3AN-shadow  3AN-see  still
\end{verbatim}
‘(She) saw shadow’s constantly.’ i.e. ‘She was constantly suspicious.’ [Bk-39.042]

There is one example in the corpus where \textit{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 \textit{des} ‘still’ occurs as V\textsubscript{2} with the monovalent verb \textit{lulai} ‘move’ to denote the nervous shaking of the limbs of a just killed person.

74. G-on  o  g-iri  roe  lulai  res.
\begin{verbatim}
3AN-arm  AND  3AN-leg  SPEC.INAN  move  still
\end{verbatim}
‘His arms and legs were moving constantly.’ [Bk-52.028]

In some cases, the use of \textit{des} ‘still’ as a V\textsubscript{2} in serialisation can be ambiguous. For instance, in (75) \textit{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 \textit{ciluq} ‘rest’
The monovalent verb \textit{ciluq} denotes ‘rest, relax, hang out’ when used as a main verb in Bunaq.\textsuperscript{6} This is illustrated in (76).

\footnote{\textit{Ciluq} ‘rest’ appears to be a borrowing of Kemak \textit{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.*

IPL.EXCL IEXCL-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).'</nobr> [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,...*

79. *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!.*

80. *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 \( \text{PRED[PP(origin)] PRED[v motion]} \) \( \text{PRED[PP(goal)]} \). 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. ORIGIN</th>
<th>2. CENTRIFUGAL MOTION</th>
<th>3. GOAL</th>
<th>4. MANNER OF MOTION VERB</th>
<th>5. DIRECTIONAL VERB†</th>
<th>6. GOAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X gene 'LOC'</td>
<td>tebe 'return'</td>
<td>X a-ta '3INAN-GL'</td>
<td>he ‘run’</td>
<td>debel ‘descend’ man ‘come’</td>
<td>X gene 'LOC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X no ‘OBL’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mele ‘walk’</td>
<td>saqe ‘ascend’ wil ‘come down’</td>
<td>X no ‘OBL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X g-o ‘3-SRC’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ciwal ‘flee’</td>
<td>tama ‘enter’ mina ‘come up’</td>
<td>X pir ‡ ‘reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>topol ‘fall’</td>
<td>sai ‡ ‘exit’ zemal ‘go down’</td>
<td>X mal ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sikit ‘leap’</td>
<td></td>
<td>X ata mal ‘go towards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>el ‘crawl’</td>
<td></td>
<td>X ata sai ‘come to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.’

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’

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 loi he GOAL[haqe a-ta mal].
person much good run THERE 3INAN-GL go
‘A good many people run to there.’

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.’

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 a-ta 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-POS school go
   '(We) return to our school'  [Bk-1.052]

Origin + centrifugal + non-deictic directional (1+2+5a)

90. *En huqe gene tebe sage.*
   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
   '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* [loi soq,...]

CONTR-AN 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
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.’

98. Tirin g-ewen gene topol rebel.
cliff 3AN-face LOC fall descend
‘(She) fell down from the cliff face.’

Manner of motion + deictic directional (2 + 5b)

99. He mina.
run come.up
‘(She) came running up here.’

100. Mele mele zemal.
walk walk go.down
‘(You) keep walking down.’

The direction of non-motion actions may also be specified by means of serialisation
with directional verbs. The action verb is V₁ 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 hapec honal.
3-POSS person HERE LOC 3AN-BEN mobile.phone go.across
‘Her people here mobile-phoned across to her.’

102. Lolo wa gene na g-ete rebel.
mountain top LOC FOC 3AN-hit descend
‘From the mountain top (they) hit down.’
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 be ‘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 be 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 V₂ 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 heterogeneous 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

\[(\text{ADV}_1) \quad \text{S/A} \quad (\text{ADV}_2) \quad \text{P} \quad (\text{ADV}_3) \quad \text{V}\]

Temporal adverbs are barred from the position between P and V \((\text{ADV}_3)\), while other preverbal modifiers are also barred from the pre-S/A position \((\text{ADV}_1)\). 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14.1: Modal adverbs</th>
<th>Pre-A/S?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>misti</td>
<td>‘must’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sala</td>
<td>‘should’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asal</td>
<td>‘necessarily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilaq</td>
<td>‘SURPRISE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hele</td>
<td>‘perhaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalaq</td>
<td>‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hani</td>
<td>‘PROH’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.

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. \[\text{Ei g-azal, ei misti teqa.}\]
\[\begin{array}{llll}
2\text{PL} & 3\text{AN-see 2PL} & \text{must} & \text{pray}
\end{array}\]
‘If you see (them), you must pray.’  [Bk-47.084]

2. \[\text{Baqa misti h-one tama.}\]
\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{NPRX.INAN} & \text{must} & 3\text{INAN-hold} & \text{enter}
\end{array}\]
‘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. \[\text{Eto sala mal, ...}\]
\[\begin{array}{llll}
2\text{SG} & \text{should} & \text{go}
\end{array}\]
‘You should go, ...’  [LB5.145]

4. \[\text{D-agar sala tais.}\]
\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{REFL-mouth} & \text{should} & \text{cloth}
\end{array}\]
‘(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. \[\text{Sala hoto wit ai, i heser niq.}\]
\[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{should} & \text{fire} & \text{fetch} & \text{ONLY} & 1\text{PL.INCL} & \text{die} & \text{NEG}
\end{array}\]
‘Should (she) have just fetched the fire, we would not die.’  [LB10.041]

6. \[\text{Sala en on gie bu, neto g-utu ton ai.}\]
\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{should} & \text{person} & \text{DO} & \text{PROSP} & \text{GIVEN} & 1\text{SG} & 3\text{-COM} & \text{marry} & \text{ONLY}
\end{array}\]
‘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.


   NPRX.AN  
   necessarily  
   work  

   ‘For him/her to work is necessary.’  

   [OS.07-01]

   b. *Asal baqi siribusu*  

   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,...’  

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)?’  

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?’  

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.’  

  maybe person 1EXCL-see PFV

  ‘Maybe people have seem me already.’  

See also §3.5.8.2 on the use of kalaq ‘maybe’ as a clause conjunction meaning ‘if’.
14.1.1.7 *hani* ‘PROH’

*Hani* ‘PROH’ 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 GIVEN fire PROH 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*

NPRX.INAN 3INAN-da because CONTR.INAN FOC NPRX.ANPROH seed seed

*h-arat.*

3INAN-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!*

2PL PROH continue

‘Don’t keep going.’ [Bk-29.041]

23. *Hani hik gene muk ni ga-lai.*

PROH path LOC earth OBL 3AN-set

‘Don’t on the way lay it down on the ground.’ [LB-2.229]

24. *Il cinoq hani reu gene zal.*

water hot PROH house LOC 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*.

\[
\text{NPRX.AN} \quad \text{randomly} \quad \text{wander} \quad \text{DO}
\]

‘He wanders around aimlessly.’

[Bk-18.020]

26. *Ligi*  *ba,*  *nor*  *g-ue*.

\[
\text{be.sleepless} \quad \text{DEF.INAN} \quad \text{randomly} \quad \text{3AN-hit}
\]

‘(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*.

\[
\text{miss} \quad \text{simply} \quad \text{Fulur} \quad \text{3INAN-GL} \quad \text{continue finished}
\]

‘Miss had simply continued on to Fulur.’

[Bk-63.007]

28. *Biasa*  *baqi*  *g-otok*  *sia*  *bu,*  *nor*  *naqi*  *nei*  *n-ue*.

\[
\text{usually} \quad \text{NPRX.AN} \quad \text{3AN-liver} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{GIVEN} \quad \text{randomly} \quad \text{simply}
\]

\[
\text{1PL.EXCL} \quad \text{1EXCL-hit} \quad \text{1EXCL-hit}
\]

‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14.2: Bunaq preverbal temporal adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erenoq ~ernoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilerenoq ~ hilernoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le gie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metensi ~ metenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nare wen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekil-tekil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalo en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal-sal en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hori-hori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hocinoq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-POS 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 tunnel 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 NEG2 ONLY ASPECT] INFO3

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)

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 'grimace' 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

'Ver 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]
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, hogo a-ta.*  
come path two PFV SPCPLC 3INAN-GL  
‘(He’s) come twice now, (come) to here.’  

53. *Baqa goet hik goniqon.*  
NPRX.INAN LIKE path three  
‘(He did) like that three times.’  

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.’  

55. *Hik hitu lai.*  
path seven set  
‘(He) sets (the goods) seven times.’  

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-63.020]  

[Bk-5.163]  

[Bk-24.023]  

[Bk-38.054]  

488
‘It wasn’t raining much yet, (but) it was about to (rain a lot) again.’

Table 14.3: Postverbal temporal/aspectual adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teni</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duquk</td>
<td>‘always, constantly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delele</td>
<td>‘all night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koto4</td>
<td>‘ceaselessly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doli-doli</td>
<td>‘at the same time, simultaneously’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gimen</td>
<td>‘immediately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dauq-dauq</td>
<td>‘continually’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tut(u)</td>
<td>‘initially’†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niat</td>
<td>‘first’†</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lesin</td>
<td>‘more’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuran</td>
<td>‘less’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kori</td>
<td>‘less, not so much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuqan</td>
<td>‘further, additionally’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. tuqan! ‘(do it) further!’. Examples of the use of these items are:

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dua</em></td>
<td>'indeed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>porsa</em></td>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>los</em></td>
<td>'very, extremely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tanan</em></td>
<td>'too, too much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>basuk</em></td>
<td>'too, very'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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490
62. **Tut** no **lilak** **rua**.
   past OBL crazy indeed
   ‘In the past (she) was crazy indeed.’

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.

64. **NPRX.AN** **h-ota** **los** **oa**.
   3INAN-plant very PFV
   ‘They really plant full on.’

65. **En** **bi** gi-e **lal** **h-oqon** **nare** **tanana** **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.’

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 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 emphasise 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-POS 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 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, (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 \textit{on} ‘DO’.

81. \textit{In} \textit{ziek} \textit{baqa} \textit{n-ini} \textit{bilat} \textit{on}.  
\begin{tabular}{l}
onion \ fyr \ NPRX.INAN \ IEXCL-CAUS \ hungry \ DO \\
\end{tabular}  
‘Frying onions makes me do being hungry.’, i.e. ‘Frying onions makes me hungry.’  
\[OS-06.01\]

82. \textit{Baqi} \textit{n-ini} \textit{higal} \textit{on}.  
\begin{tabular}{l}
NPRX.INAN \ IEXCL-CAUS \ laugh \ DO \\
\end{tabular}  
‘She makes me do laughing.’, i.e. ‘She makes me laugh.’  
\[Bk-1.035\]

14.2.4 Prospective \textit{gie} ‘PROSP’

As mentioned in §9.2, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person inflection of the possessive marker \textit{gi-e} ‘3-POSS’ appears post-verbally denoting prospective aspect, in which case it is glossed as ‘PROSP’.\footnote{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 3\textsuperscript{rd} person possessive to mark irrealis (Klamer forthcoming). It is interesting to note that the Tetun imminent aspect suffix -\textit{n} is homophonous with the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular inalienable possessive suffix -\textit{n}. However, van Klinken (1999: 239) points out that the imminent aspect suffix -\textit{n} may simply be a reduction of the imminent aspectual marker \textit{onan}.} Prospective aspect is where a state is related to a subsequent future time (Comrie 1985: 64-65). \textit{Gie} ‘PROSP’ cannot be used on its own without a predicate or some other element, such as a modal adverb, standing in for a predicate, even where the predicate can be anaphorically retrieved.

In Bunaq, prospective aspect with \textit{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 \textit{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. \textit{Teo} \textit{mal} \textit{gie}?  
\begin{tabular}{l}
where \ go \ PROSP \\
\end{tabular}  
‘Where (are you) going to?’  
\[LB-10.041\]
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) gię ‘PROSP’ marks a prospective event which does not take place, as the girl closes the door on the offending male (89b).

88. a. \textit{Halaqi hitu bi d-opil no d-oter gię.}  
\textit{3PL seven DEF.AN REFL-power OBL REFL-snatch PROSP}  
'Those seven were wanting to getting themselves away.' [Bk-6.051]

b. \textit{Suri Guloq halaqi hitu baqi g-ilin.}  
\textit{Suri Guloq 3PL seven NPRX.AN 3AN-unleash}  
'Suri Guloq unleashed those seven.' [Bk-6.057]

89. a. \textit{Baqi en pana gol bi gu-sura, g-utu cier gię.}  
\textit{NPRX.AN person female small DEF.AN 3AN-ask 3-COM sleep PROSP}  
'He propositioned the girl, wanting to sleep with her.' [Bk-21.004]

b. \textit{Homo na, en pana himo milik, di-e tazuq ube.}  
\textit{CONTR.INAN FOC person female CONTR.AN scared REFL-POSS door shut}  
'With that, the girl got scared (and) shut her door.' [Bk-21.005]

Finally, where two clauses stand in parataxis, gię ‘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 gię ‘PROSP’ is present, as in (91).

90. \textit{Naqi pana gi-e reu mal, memel ba h-oqon gię.}  
\textit{royal female 3-POSS house go sickness DEFINAN 3INAN-do PROSP}  
'(He) went to the princess’ home to cure her sickness.' [Bk-4.024]

91. \textit{Reu taqa gię, hut dele on.}  
\textit{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.AN 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’.

    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 0-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.’

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.’

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  I  PL-EXCL  understrowth  3INAN-cut  IPFV
   ‘In the early hours of the next day, we were cutting understrowth.’ [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 t-inik taq.*  
    3AN-sift finished CONTR.INAN SEQ 1PL.INCL food coarse  
    ‘(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]

\(^8\) ‘Achieved’ is used here rather than 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 1P.L.INCL REFL-head govern Japan FOC
*nei nu-bul ukon oa.*  
1P.L.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 o memel oa.*  
NPRX.INAN OBL 1SG cry because bottle heavy 1EXCL-belly
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 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]
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* loi niq, en Dili mil kampanye, kaco *gin*
   go.via good NEG person Dili COLL campaign be.in.uproar REPORT 
   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 0-utu te-rel*
    hey Mrs Mrs PROX.AN 2PL 1INCL/2-COM RECP-INS
    *gie.*
    ‘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. *Baqta 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]
Appendix A: Texts

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.’

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-o-lo.
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).

   prepare finished customarily 3INAN-name 3INAN-call rice yellow
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).’

   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.'

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 '1PL.INCL' in lines 9 & 11, the generic inclusive 'we' referring to all Timorese, versus '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 goniqilgal**
   time come year thousand one hundred nine ten four plus
   goniqiel 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 1PFV

   ‘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.

`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-ilegen.

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-ège
   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.'

   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.'

'It is) up there, on the top up there.'

30. *Tan hage gene na man, baqa gie na, muk bare h-ini Lakus.*

'Because it was there (that they) came from, on that account, this land is called Lakus.'
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.
   folktales 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.’

   fallow.garden 3INAN-pull.out do.in-turns
   ‘(They would) take turns clearing the fallow.’

   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.’

   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,
ligh 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.
ligh 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.1NAN 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."

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

**hage** huge **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.*
   NPRX.INAN  3-POSS  pumpkin  3AN-fruit
   'That's the end of the story.'

---

2 This formulaic phrase is used to end *zapa* '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 EXCL-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.’
   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...'

    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 *kaq* 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.’

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. *Baqi* 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.’
"(On) a day like this, after that, (it) fell.'

'That (time) also, a midwife... the witch doctor, she got it out.'
Appendix B: List of texts in Bunaq Lamaknen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text no.</th>
<th>Text name</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A nasty fall</td>
<td>Manek Rofinus</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Fulur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>When I got sick</td>
<td>Eme Rosa</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lakus</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The farming year</td>
<td>Eme Eta</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tale of Asa Paran Mau</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Why Bunaq people live on the mountain tops?</td>
<td>Eme Eta</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tale of Suriq the Youngest</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>About Asueman village</td>
<td>Videlis Bau</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Asueman</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Huliliq Festival</td>
<td>Paq Desa Gewal</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How to play 'hol okoq' stone hole</td>
<td>Diana Bui</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How to play 'bon gete'</td>
<td>Paq Desa Gewal</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Illegal trade with Timor</td>
<td>Manek</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Looking for work</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Going to Weluli</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Farewell</td>
<td>Ari, Laura, Ela, Nofi</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bunaq names</td>
<td>Ama Nasu Kali</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sun and the wind</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Planting vegetables</td>
<td>Diana Bui</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Marriage alliances</td>
<td>Suster Imand</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Speech to village women</td>
<td>Dato gol Gewal</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ripening bananas</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>What happened yesterday</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Buy something?</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Earth spirits Nualain</td>
<td>Dato Nualain</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Literacy in Timor</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Speeches at harvest festival</td>
<td>Makoqan Gewal</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Description of birth</td>
<td>Bete Uka</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Paq Mateus</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Planting vegetables</td>
<td>Diana Bui</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>The founding of Lakus</td>
<td>Dato Lakus</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lukus</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Swearing in Bunaq</td>
<td>Diana Bui</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>The nature of democracy</td>
<td>Manek</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>How to make a trap</td>
<td>Dominikus Laku</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Elections in Gewal</td>
<td>Paq Desa</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Directions to Nualain</td>
<td>Eme Eta</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text no.</td>
<td>Text name</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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<td>Origin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>How to weave</td>
<td>Fredrika Lawa Asaq</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Fatobenao</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>The festival of <em>tubila</em> 'cake laying'</td>
<td>Suster Imanda</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Walking to Atambua</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Paying a bride-price</td>
<td>Eme Rosa</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lakus</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Cannibal story</td>
<td>Eme Rosa</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lakus</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>My recent sickness</td>
<td>Eme Rosa</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lakus</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Going to Australia</td>
<td>Suster Imanda</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Being a refugee</td>
<td>Ibu guru</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Durarato</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>The crazy woman from Lolobul</td>
<td>Maria Olo</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lolobul</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Cooking corn porridge</td>
<td>Toko gomo</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lolobul</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Cooking corn soup</td>
<td>Toko gomo</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lolobul</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Broken arm</td>
<td>Luisia Soi</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Lolobul</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Earth spirits - children</td>
<td>Ela, Laura, Nofi</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>History of Leowalu</td>
<td>Makoqan Leowalu</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Tale of dead parents</td>
<td>Makoqan Leowalu</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Tale of monkey and mouse</td>
<td>Makoqan Leowalu</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Makoqan song</td>
<td>Makoqan Leowalu</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>My accident</td>
<td>Wili Loe</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Nualain</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Teaching Father Rot</td>
<td>Wili Loe</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Nualain</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Crying – Easter song</td>
<td>Women of Lolobul</td>
<td>20 - 60</td>
<td>Lolobul</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Theft of a cow</td>
<td>Makoqan Leowalu</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women of Leowalu</td>
<td>20 - 60</td>
<td>Lolobul</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>The Bunaq of Raihat</td>
<td>Videlis Bau</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Asueman</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Bean anointment</td>
<td>Suster Imanda</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Birth difficulties</td>
<td>Mama Rosina</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lolo Gomoq</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Doing rice</td>
<td>Bete</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Counting in Bunaq</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Accidents</td>
<td>Pius Tai</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lakus</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Bunaq marriages</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Crazy guy from Lakmaras</td>
<td>Martina Mare</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Fulur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Spinning cotton</td>
<td>Eme Marta</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>How to make terraces</td>
<td>Manek</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Working with refugees</td>
<td>Suster Imanda</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>History of Lamaknen</td>
<td>Makoqan Dirun</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text no.</td>
<td>Text name</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Tale of Mother Liloq Taiq</td>
<td>Regina Ili</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Tale of the sweet potatoes</td>
<td>Regina Ili</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Description of Louis Berthe</td>
<td>Yulianus Kali</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Tale of Bui Guloq</td>
<td>Maria Asi</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Weluli</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Tale of Buik Ikun</td>
<td>Adel Het Lese</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Nuawain</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Tale of Bere Ama Lakan</td>
<td>Goreti Lika</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>How to roast pumpkin</td>
<td>Hironimus Mau</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Mount Lakaqan</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>How to make roasted cakes</td>
<td>Eme Eta</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Description of <em>ipi lete</em> ‘rice stepping’ harvest festival</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tale of cockatoo and crow</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Tale of Suriq the only child</td>
<td>Maria Asi</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Weluli</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Bean anointment</td>
<td>Eme Florentina</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Description of A Beretalo</td>
<td>Paulus Bere</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Weluli</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>How to make <em>tubu lemet</em></td>
<td>Yuni Soi</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>How to make nasi kuning</td>
<td>Yuni Soi</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>How to make corn flour</td>
<td>Yuni Soi</td>
<td>&gt; 15</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Entering the church</td>
<td>Suster Imanda</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Tale of monkey and pig</td>
<td>Maria Soi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sisi</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Description of the <em>dato</em> ‘nobles’ of Gewal</td>
<td>Gregorius Bauq</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Transferring a woman from one house to another</td>
<td>Dato Pertama</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Drunken conversation about elections</td>
<td>Men of Gewal</td>
<td>20-60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Describing rice</td>
<td>Suster Imanda</td>
<td>&lt; 60</td>
<td>Gewal</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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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