

1 *Western Pantar*

1. The language scene

Western Pantar (ISO 639-3 code *lev*) is spoken by an estimated 10,804 people on the southwestern portion of Pantar, west of the Sirung volcanic massif. The dry region of western Pantar is separated from the northern peninsula of the island by a physical barrier consisting of a number of steep-walled canyons. No road yet connects the northern peninsula with the western part of the island. In most of the academic literature the language is referred to as Lamma, though that name more properly refers to only a single dialect of the language. This description is based on first-hand field work by the author between 2004 and 2010.¹

There are three mutually-intelligible primary dialects—Lamma, Tubbe, and Mauta—spoken respectively in the western, central, and eastern parts of the region. Phonological differences between dialects are best described as tendencies, such as: the presence of final lateral in Lamma; diphthongization in Tubbe; and retention of final rhotic in Mauta. These phonological differences are exemplified in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Phonological differences across Western Pantar dialects

Lamma	Tubbe	Mauta	gloss	features
<i>niba</i>	<i>niar</i>	<i>nissar</i>	‘my father’	loss of <i>-r</i> in L
<i>nekul</i>	<i>niaku</i>	<i>nebu</i>	‘my younger sibling’	<i>-l</i> in L; diphthong in T
<i>nau</i>	<i>niu</i>	<i>niau</i>	‘my mother’	variation in diphthongs
<i>ginaka</i>	<i>ganiaka</i>	<i>ganeka(r)</i>	‘see (it)’	diphthong in T; <i>-r</i> in M
<i>yel</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>si</i>	‘go’	<i>-l</i> in L; diphthong in T

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In terms of lexicon the Lamma dialect is most distinctive; however, most speakers have knowledge of lexical synonyms across all three dialects. Table 2 compares lexical differences across the three dialects.

Table 2: Lexical differences across Western Pantar dialects

Tubbe	Mauta	Lamma	gloss
<i>bis</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>salepi</i>	‘mat’
<i>haweri</i>	<i>haweri</i>	<i>bana</i>	‘many’
<i>kalla</i>	<i>kalla</i>	<i>kisang</i>	‘small’
<i>karani</i>	<i>karani</i>	<i>sinnal</i>	‘ <i>Canarium sp.</i> ’
<i>sai</i>	<i>hoba</i>	<i>hobi</i>	‘quiver’
<i>sussung</i>	<i>sussung</i>	<i>kutti</i>	‘throw out’
<i>tuang</i>	<i>tuang</i>	<i>talasing</i>	‘scrape’

There are few systematic phonetic differences in pronunciation, and most of these differences can be formulated in terms of tendencies which are more or less prominent in one dialect or another. For example, the in all three dialects the phoneme /j/ may occur as liquid [j] or palatalized as [tʲ] or affricated as [dʒ]. However, the affricate pronunciation is much more strongly associated with the Lamma dialect.

The description in this sketch applies equally to all three major dialects; however, the examples and other data draw heavily from the Tubbe dialect. Where a particular feature or phenomenon is restricted to only one or two dialects, this is noted in the text. All examples in this sketch were recorded by the author in Pantar. Examples derived from continuous speech are notated with an identifying text name and line number in square brackets (e.g., [pubila078] refers to line 78 of the text “pubila”). Examples which are not so marked are based on elicitation or participant observation.

In spite of pervasive multilingualism the use of Western Pantar remains vigorous within the domestic sphere. Children in the region grow up with Western Pantar as their first language, and immigrants gain at least passing fluency in the language. Malay is the preferred language in political, religious, and educational domains. The economy is dominated by subsistence agriculture, and opportunities for cash income are limited. Many residents seek temporary employment in the district capital of Kalabahi, providing an additional source of language contact.

2. Phonology

Two aspects of Western Pantar phonology stand out as distinctive. First, most consonants exhibit a phonemic length contrast in medial position. While geminates are found in other AP languages, WP is unique in the extent to which it has phonemicized this distinction. Second, the glottal fricative is retained as a reflex of

original *h in forms other than pronouns, though it is only weakly articulated. There is no evidence for phonemic pitch distinctions.

2.1. Consonants

Western Pantar has a relatively small consonant inventory consisting of 16 consonants: voiceless plosives /p t k ʔ/ and voiced plosives /b d g/; voiceless fricatives /s h/; nasals /n m ŋ/; alveolar liquids /r/ and /l/; and glides /w/ and /j/. Table 3 lists WP consonants in IPA. Practical orthography, where different, is given in angle brackets.

Table 3: Western Pantar consonant inventory

	labial	alveolar	velar	glottal
plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i> <'>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
fricatives		<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i> <ng>	
liquids		<i>r</i>		
		<i>l</i>		
approximants	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i> <y>	

The glottal consonants are exceptional in their limited distribution. The glottal stop occurs only word-medially between vowels. The glottal fricative occurs only in onset position at the beginning of a morpheme. The remaining consonants have a much wider distribution, as discussed below. Voicing contrasts are present at each place of articulation for stops (excepting glottal), but there are no voiced fricatives.

This inventory is typical for the languages of the Alor-Pantar group. However, the WP consonant inventory differs somewhat from that found in neighboring Nedebang and Teiwa, both of which have somewhat larger inventories. Nedebang contains both labial and velar fricatives /f/ and /x/, as well as an alveolar affricate. Teiwa includes both voiced and voiceless labial fricatives /v/ and /f/, as well as a uvular stop /q/ and a pharyngeal fricative /ħ/.

2.1.1. Plosives

The plosive inventory includes both voiceless and voiced plosives at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. (See below for discussion of the glottal stop.) The voiceless stops lack any significant aspiration. Voice onset time is close to zero for word-initial voiceless stops. In intervocalic position more aspiration may be present, though voice onset time is typically less than 15% of closure duration. Voiced stops are fully voiced throughout. Place of articulation and voicing contrasts in stops are indicated in the following examples.

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(1)	<i>pi</i>	‘our’
	<i>ti</i>	‘tuak container’
	<i>ki</i>	‘maggot’
	<i>bi</i>	‘k.o. drum’
	<i>di</i>	‘rat’
	<i>gi</i>	‘their (3PL)’

With only a few exceptions, plosives are limited to initial and medial positions (see §2.3 below).

2.1.2. The fricative /s/

The fricative /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative and is the only true fricative in the WP consonant inventory. The fricative /s/ occurs in all positions. It may also occur geminated.

(2)	<i>si</i>	[si]	ART
	<i>losi</i>	[losi]	‘cucumber’
	<i>hisnakkung</i>	[hisnak:uŋ]	‘six’
	<i>bis</i>	[bis]	‘mat’
	<i>gissi</i>	[gis:i]	‘bite’

The fricative /h/ is discussed below under glottal consonants.

2.1.3. Nasal consonants

In initial and medial positions /m/ and /n/ contrast.

(3)	Contrast between /m/ and /n/	
	<i>ma</i> ‘come’	<i>na</i> ‘eat’
	<i>tame</i> ‘where’	<i>tane</i> ‘face’

The bilabial nasal /m/ is limited to word-initial and medial positions except when it occurs as the enclitic allomorph of the locative postposition *me*. The enclitic allomorph occurs following a word which ends in a vowel (4a); or a word which ends in a nasal (4b), in which case it replaces the nasal.

(4)	a.	/bla me/ [bla me]	/bla=m/ [blam]	‘at the house’
	b.	/habbang me/ [hab:aŋ me]	/habba=m/ [hab:am]	‘at the village’

The alveolar nasal /n/ is limited to word-initial and medial positions with two identified lexical exceptions, as follows.

(5)	Word-final /n/	
	<i>kan</i>	‘also’
	<i>an</i>	RELATIVIZER

The alveolar nasal /n/ occurs in a small number of words of foreign origin in medial coda position.

- (6) Medial coda /n/
 kunda ‘shirt’
 hundar ‘afraid’
 undi ‘stalk’
 sanlak ‘ten thousand’

With the exception of these two words in (5) the velar nasal /ŋ/ (<ng>) is the only nasal which can occur in final position. Conversely, with a very few exceptions, the velar nasal is limited to final position. An exhaustive list of known exceptions where /ŋ/ occurs in coda position is given below.

- (7) *giŋtamme* ‘woman’s female cross-cousin’
 iŋbina ‘seed’
 taŋge ‘middle’
 siŋlap ‘rock lobster’
 biŋge ‘nautilus’

Some of the forms in (7) may be historically analyzed as compounds. The bilabial and alveolar nasals can also occur geminated in medial position.

- (8) *bunna* ‘smoke’
 ammu ‘boy’

In contrast, the velar nasal does not occur as a geminate. Given their near complementary distribution, it may be preferable to treat the velar nasal as an allophone of the alveolar nasal. For expository purposes /ŋ/ is treated here as a distinct phoneme.

2.1.4. Liquids /r/ and /l/

The liquids /r/ and /l/ occur in initial, medial, and final positions. In initial position the rhotic trill /r/ is often preceded by a short low vowel. In non-initial position /r/ is pronounced as an alveolar flap [ɾ]. The following example illustrates the phonemic and phonetic contrast between initial /r/, initial vowel, and initial /h/.

- (9) *ra* [ʳa] ‘fire’
 ara [ʔara] ‘large’
 hara [hara] ‘ember’

The phonemes /r/ and /l/ contrast phonemically in all positions.

- (10) Contrast between /r/ and /l/
ra ‘fire’ *la* ‘caldron’
ara ‘large’ *ala* ‘interior’, ‘forest’
tor ‘main road’ *dol* ‘bench’

Word-final /l/ is more commonly preserved as such in the Lamma dialect than in the other dialects.

- (11) Correspondence of Lamma -l and Tubbe -Ø
- | <u>Lamma</u> | <u>Tubbe</u> | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>yabbal</i> | <i>yabbe</i> | ‘dog’ |
| <i>Tubbal</i> | <i>Tubbe</i> | ‘name of a clan’ |
| <i>yel</i> | <i>dia</i> | ‘go’ |
| <i>tamál</i> | <i>tamé</i> | ‘tamarind’ |
| <i>pinnil</i> | <i>pinni</i> | ‘hold’ |
| <i>maddal</i> | <i>madde</i> | ‘necklace’ |
| <i>nekul</i> | <i>niaku</i> | ‘my younger sibling’ |

2.1.5. Approximants /w/ and /j/

The consonant /j/ (orthographic <y>) is a voiced palatal approximant [j], though it may sometimes be slightly to heavily affricated as [dʒ], especially in the Mauta dialect. It may occur in word-initial or word-medial position, but always as a syllable onset.

- (12) *ya* [j], [dʒa] ‘road’
weya [weja], [wedʒa] ‘door’

The consonant /w/ is a voiced labio-velar approximant [w]. Like /j/, it may occur in word-initial or word-medial position, but always as a syllable onset.

- (13) *wa* ‘go’
tawa ‘ocean’

The approximants /j/ and /w/ contrast in all positions in which they occur.

The approximants are distinguished from the high vowels /i/ and /u/ primarily on phonotactic evidence. Vowels but not approximants may occur in coda position. Thus, *ai* ‘lice’ and *au* ‘grasshopper’ are permissible but **ay* and **aw* are not. However, vowels and approximants can be distinguished phonemically as well. The following near-minimal pair distinguishes /i/ and /j/.

- (14) *iaka* ‘youngest child’
yakal ‘to jerk’

These phonemes can be further distinguished via dialect correspondences. The vowel sequence /ia/ in the Tubbe dialect corresponds regularly to a mid-front vowel /e/ in the Mauta dialect. In contrast, the phoneme /y/ is realized in Mauta as an affricate. Thus, *iaka* corresponds to [eka] in Mauta, but never *[dzaka].

2.1.6. Glottal consonants /h/ and /ʔ/

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs only in morpheme-initial position preceding a vowel. Vowels preceded by /h/ are sometimes referred to as “weak” vowels (see below), as the phoneme /h/ is very lightly articulated, represented here phonetically as a raised h [h̥]. Word-initial vowels which are not preceded by /h/ are pronounced with a preceding glottal stop. This gives rise to a phonemic contrast between /h/ and Ø (zero) in word-initial position which is realized phonetically as a contrast between Ø~[h̥] and [ʔ], respectively.

(15) contrast between /h/ and /Ø/

<i>hang</i>	[h̥aŋ]	‘you’	<i>ang</i>	[ʔaŋ]	‘market’
<i>hai</i>	[h̥ai]	‘boat’	<i>ai</i>	[ʔai]	‘clothing louse’
<i>har</i>	[h̥ar]	‘for you’	<i>ar</i>	[ʔar]	‘root’
<i>habbang</i>	[h̥ab:aŋ]	‘village’	<i>abbang</i>	[ʔab:aŋ]	‘shake’
<i>hu</i>	[h̥u]	‘cobra’	<i>u</i>	[ʔu]	‘k.o. banana’

In casual speech this contrast is often neutralized and the glottal stop insertion rule is blocked, resulting in apparent homonyms. When the glottal fricative occurs word-medially preceded by a prefix it is always retained as such rather than being deleted. Thus, the morpheme *hapang* ‘near’, when prefixed with the third person singular person-marking prefix *ga-* gives rise to [ga^{h̥}aŋ] ‘near her/him’, not *[gaapaŋ] or *[ga:paŋ].

In addition to the phonetic glottal stop which is inserted preceding word-initial vowels, some bound morphemes contain initial phonemic glottal stop which may contrast with zero. Thus compare the behavior of the following root forms. The first contains a glottal stop when prefixed, whereas, the second does not.

(16)

-’ung	‘head’	<i>na’ung</i>	[naʔuŋ]	‘my head’
-ule	‘neck’	<i>naule</i>	[naule]	‘my neck’

Phonemic glottal stop also occurs in word-medial position between two vowels. See the description of vowel sequences below.

2.2. Geminate consonants

Consonants /p t k b d g s m n l/ contrast in length with longer geminate counterparts /pp tt kk bb dd gg ss mm nn ll/.

- (17) Contrast between short and long consonants
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>sipe</i> ‘kingpost’ | <i>sippe</i> ‘flea’ |
| <i>gatang</i> ‘on it’ | <i>gattang</i> ‘his hand’ |
| <i>dala</i> ‘ripe’ | <i>dalla</i> ‘tomorrow’ |
| <i>dake</i> ‘now’ | <i>dakke</i> ‘dry pandanus’ |
| <i>duba</i> ‘slippery’ | <i>dubba</i> ‘to push’ |
| <i>idia</i> ‘they go’ | <i>iddia</i> ‘have gone’ |
| <i>taga</i> ‘which’ | <i>tagga</i> ‘incision’ |
| <i>hasi</i> ‘roof thatch’ | <i>hassi</i> ‘bite you’ |
| <i>gima</i> ‘they come’ | <i>gimma</i> ‘their smell’ |
| <i>hina</i> ‘you (pl.) eat’ | <i>hinna</i> ‘to die’ |

Voiceless geminate stops are typically more than 50% longer in duration than their non-geminate counterparts, while voiced geminates are may be only slightly longer than their voiced non-geminate counterparts.

Gemination is also an active morpho-phonological process, discussed in §2.7.2 below.

2.3. Phonotactics

Table 4 describes the distribution of consonants across syllables. Parentheses indicate consonants which occur only in loanwords.

Table 4: Distribution of consonants

	onset		coda	
	word-initial	word-medial	word-medial	word-final
p	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
t	✓	✓	(✓)	--
k	✓	✓	(✓)	(✓)
ʔ	✓	✓	--	--
b	✓	✓	(✓)	(✓)
d	✓	✓	(✓)	--
g	✓	✓	(✓)	--
s	✓	✓	✓	✓
h	✓	✓	--	--
m	✓	✓	--	(✓)
n	✓	✓	--	(✓)
ŋ	--	--	✓	✓
r	✓	✓	✓	✓
l	✓	✓	✓	✓
w	✓	✓	--	--
y	✓	✓	--	--

Word-final plosives are extremely rare and are restricted largely to borrowings, onomatopoeic forms, and contractions. Borrowings include *hap* ‘fish’ (perhaps from

neighboring Nedebang; compare the native form *ke'e*) and *sanlak* 'ten thousand'. Contractions include the enclitic allomorph =*b* of the relativizing particle *ba*, as in *hinani=b ga-niaka?* 'what is it that you saw?' (what-REL 3SG-see).

(18) Distribution of plosives

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>pai</i> 'slice'	<i>kapi</i> 'smashed'	<i>hap</i> 'fish'
<i>ti</i> 'tuak container'	<i>pati</i> 'pay'	
<i>ki</i> 'maggot'	<i>doki</i> 'vaccinate'	<i>sanlak</i> 'ten thousand'
<i>bi</i> 'k.o. drum'	<i>sabi</i> 'pumice'	<i>bub-bub</i> 'k.o. quail'
<i>dake</i> 'now'	<i>wedi</i> 'decant'	
<i>gai</i> 'his/her'	<i>hoga</i> 'untruth'	

Other forms with word-final plosives result from recent apocope, as evidenced by the existence of corresponding vowel-final forms in other dialects. For example, Tubbe *singlap* 'rock lobster' corresponds to Lamma *silapu*. Word-medial coda plosives occur only as part of geminates.

Word-final nasals are limited to the velar place of articulation, with just a few exceptions. A handful of lexical items contain a final alveolar nasal. Final labial nasals do not occur in basic lexical items but result from phonological reduction of the postposition *me* to the enclitic for =*m*. On the other hand, the velar nasal is limited to coda position.

The frequency of word-medial liquids in coda position is quite low, and in some cases the words which have liquids in coda position might be better analyzed as compounds, as suggested in (19).

(19) Word-medial liquids in coda position

<i>wirwiang</i>	'barred dove (<i>Geopelia maugei</i>)' (cf. <i>wiri</i> 'back')
<i>hulbarang</i>	'cardinal fish (<i>Apogonidae</i>)' (cf. <i>hule</i> 'neck')
<i>yénarpang</i>	'day before yesterday' (cf. <i>yer</i> 'still', <i>waddipang</i> 'yesterday')

The glottal consonants occur /h/ and /ʔ/, as well as the glides /w/ and /j/ occur only in onset positions. The remainder of the consonants may occur freely in all positions. In particular, WP freely permits word-final consonants.

Consonant sequences occur only in medial position across syllable boundaries. Apparent word-initial clusters may arise in casual speech when an obstruent is followed by a liquid /r/ or /l/. In careful speech such forms are always pronounced with an intervening unstressed low central vowel /a/.

(20) Apparent word-initial clusters with liquids

<i>bla</i>	[b'la], [ba'la]	'house'
<i>gling</i>	[g'liŋ], [ga'liŋ]	'edge'
<i>bro</i>	[b'ro], [ba'ro]	'flour, dust'
<i>griang</i>	[g'riaŋ], [ga'riaŋ]	'to care for'
<i>srau</i>	[s'rau], [sa'rau]	'that above'

2.4. Vowels

The vowel inventory is a fairly typical five-vowel system. A minimal set contrasting the vowel phonemes is given below.

- (21) Contrast between vowel phonemes
- | | | |
|-----------|------|-----------------------|
| <i>bi</i> | [bi] | ‘k.o. drum’ |
| <i>be</i> | [be] | ‘shadow’ |
| <i>ba</i> | [ba] | relativizing particle |
| <i>bo</i> | [bo] | ‘ocean wave’ |
| <i>bu</i> | [bu] | ‘areca nut’ |

The structure of the vowel system differs somewhat across the dialects, especially with regard to the realization of diphthongs. The description here is based on the Tubbe dialect.

Most vowels exhibit unconditioned phonetic height variation. The vowel /e/ varies [e] ~ [ɛ], apparently without contrast.

- (22)
- | | | |
|------------|-------------------|----------|
| <i>bes</i> | [bɛs] | ‘papaya’ |
| <i>he</i> | [^h ɛ] | ‘or’ |

The vowel /a/ is generally expressed as a low central vowel [a] but may occur as [ə] or [ɐ].

- (23)
- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|---------|
| <i>was</i> | [wəs], [wɛs] | ‘day’ |
| <i>ara</i> | [ʔara] | ‘large’ |
| <i>halia</i> | [^h aliə] | ‘water’ |

Preceding a high back vowel, /a/ occurs as [o], as in *gaume* [goume] ‘inside’. Preceding a high front vowel, /a/ may be raised to [e], as in *gaing* [geiŋ] 3SG.UND. Preceding /r/ the vowel /a/ may occur as schwa [ə], as in *war* [wər] ‘burn’.

2.4.1. Diphthongs

Diphthongs are possible between the vowels /a/ and /u/, the vowels /a/ and /i/, and the vowels /e/ and /u/. The phonetic diphthongs [ei] and [oa] are here analyzed as an allophones of /ai/ and /ua/, respectively (see above).

- (24) Diphthongs
- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>au</i> | <i>lau</i> | [l ^h au] | ‘to bark’ |
| <i>ua</i> | <i>kuang</i> | [ku ^h ɑŋ] | ‘moko drum’ |
| <i>ai</i> | <i>bai</i> | [b ^h ai] | ‘pig’ |
| <i>ia</i> | <i>pia</i> | [p ^h i ^h ɑ] | ‘descend’ |
| <i>eu</i> | <i>eu</i> | [ʔe ^h u] | ‘woman’ |
| <i>ue</i> | <i>kue</i> | [ku ^h ɛ] | ‘fish spear’ |

2.4.2. Vowel sequences

Diphthongs can be distinguished from sequences of vowels separated by a glottal stop. These vowel sequences are here analyzed as forming distinct syllable nuclei. Thus, the vowel sequences are disyllabic.

- (25) Vowel sequences
- | | | |
|---------------|----------|------------|
| <i>la'u</i> | [la.ʔu] | ‘crawl’ |
| <i>mu'ang</i> | [mu.ʔaŋ] | ‘under’ |
| <i>ba'ai</i> | [ba.ʔai] | ‘to drink’ |
| <i>si'a</i> | [si.ʔa] | ‘finger’ |

While the intervening glottal stop is only weakly articulated, spectrographic analysis reveals two distinct vowel articulations in these forms. In addition to these vowel sequences which are broken up by a glottal stop, there are also examples of sequences of identical vowels which are not broken up by a glottal stop. These arise as a result of de-gemination of the following consonant. For example, the form *gaata* ‘already’ is a dialect variant of *gatta*, in which phonetic vowel length preserves the phonemic consonant length.

2.5. Syllable structure

The minimal Western Pantar syllable is (C)V. Phonemically vowel-initial words are pronounced with an initial phonetic glottal stop (see above).

- (26) Mono-syllabic words
- | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| V | <i>u</i> | ‘k.o. plant, <i>pisang air</i> ’ |
| CV | <i>bu</i> | ‘areca nut’ |
| CVV | <i>pia</i> | ‘slice’ |
| VC | <i>ur</i> | ‘blowpipe’ |
| CVC | <i>dol</i> | ‘bench’ |
| CCV | <i>bro</i> | ‘flour’ |
| CCVV | <i>brai</i> | ‘ringworm’ |
- (27) Di-syllabic words
- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|---------------------|
| V.CV | <i>ala</i> | ‘interior’ |
| CV.CV | <i>dala</i> | ‘ripe’ |
| CVV.CVC | <i>mai.yang</i> | ‘place’ |
| CVC.CVC | <i>mid.dang</i> | ‘return from below’ |
| CV.CVV | <i>ba.'ai</i> | ‘drink’ |
- (28) Tri-syllabic words
- | | | |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| V.CV.CV | <i>e.no.ni</i> | ‘k.o. moth’ |
| CV.CV.CV | <i>bu.wa.re</i> | ‘few’ |
| CV.CVC.CVC | <i>ga.tag.gang</i> | ‘area above it’ |

Consonant clusters within syllables are found only in syllable onsets. There are no complex codas. Across syllable boundaries consonant clusters (sequences) are extremely limited. Other than geminate consonants only the following types of sequences are found. These are either clusters in which the first member is /r/ or clusters of homorganic consonants.

- (29) Clusters within native vocabulary
tim.ber ‘think over’
his.nak.kung ‘six’
- (30) Clusters within non-native vocabulary
kar.bau ‘buffalo’
kan.de.ra ‘chair’
pren.ta ‘order’

Most apparent initial consonant clusters are actually broken up by an unstressed vowel in careful speech. These have been here analyzed as CVC sequences, as below.

- (31) *balá* [bla] ~ [b^hla] ‘house’
bawá [bwa] ~ [b^hwa] ‘large’
baká [bka] ~ [b^hka] ‘maybe’

This approach has the admitted disadvantage of requiring the overt specification of lexical stress (in this case ultimate) on the above examples. An approach grounded in epenthesis might thus be better, and this approach is indeed taken in the practical orthography.

Clusters with /r/ are true clusters and are not broken up by epenthetic vowels even in careful speech.

- (32) *bro* [bro] ‘flour’
kro [kro] ‘snot’
brai [brai] ‘ringworm’

2.6. Stress

Phonetic correlates of stress include increased intensity, higher pitch, and increased duration. In words without geminate consonants stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

- (33) Penultimate stress
kabi [ˈka.bi] ‘chief’s house’
ba’ai [ˈba.ʔai] ‘drink’
betalaku [be.ta.ˈla.ku] ‘seven’
tawaka [ta.ˈwa.ka] ‘hot’

Obligatory affixes are within the domain of stress assignment and may be stressed. Thus, the prefixes on the monosyllabic bound roots in (34) receive stress.

- (34) Stressed affixes
galu [ˈga.lu] ‘expel him’
gane [ˈga.ne] ‘his face’

Optional affixes attached to unbound root are outside the domain of stress assignment and do not receive stress.

- (35) Unstressed affixes
tang [ˈtaŋ] ‘on’
gatang [ga.ˈtaŋ] ‘on it’

Clitics are also outside the domain of stress assignment and do not receive stress. Thus, in (36) the proclitic *gai* does not receive stress, and the enclitic *me* does not count in the calculation of the penultimate syllable.

- (36) Clitics outside domain of stress assignment
gai=be [gai.ˈbe] ‘his shadow’
kebang=me [ˈke.baŋ.me] ‘on the barn’

When the penultimate syllable is closed by a geminate consonant, the penultimate stress pattern is more difficult to hear. The long medial consonant adds prominence to the following syllable, effectively distributing stress evenly across the penultimate and ultimate syllables. This is sometimes interpreted by speakers as ultimate stress but is better described as a lack of penultimate stress, as in (37).

- (37) Even stress with geminate
balla [bal.la] ‘friend’
takkang [tak.kanŋ] ‘hit’

Some words which contain a fossilized prothetic vowel have irregular stress patterns. For example, the first four numerals begin with *a-*.

- (38) *anuku* [a.ˈnu.ku] ‘one’
alaku [a.ˈla.ku] ‘two’
atiga [a.ˈti.ga] ‘three’
atu [a.ˈtu] ‘four’

For the purposes of stress assignment the initial vowel in these forms is treated as an optional affix and thus outside the domain of stress assignment, thus explaining the irregular ultimate stress on *atu* ‘four’. Ultimate stress can also be found on some

words in which the penultimate syllable is not closed by a geminate consonant and does not consist of a prefix. Some examples are given below.

- (39) Ultimate stress without geminate
- | | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>da.</i> | <i>'geng</i> | ‘wind’ |
| <i>ka.</i> | <i>'re</i> | ‘red ant’ |
| <i>ta.</i> | <i>'wa</i> | ‘ocean’ |
| <i>ba.</i> | <i>'la</i> | ‘house’ |
| <i>ma.</i> | <i>'ta</i> | ‘k.o. sulphurous creek’ |
| <i>ta.</i> | <i>'me</i> | ‘tamarind’ |

It is not accidental that the first syllable of each form in (39) contains the vowel /a/. The ultimate stress pattern is always found in words whose penultimate syllable contains the vowel /a/. This suggests that the vowel /a/ may be non-phonemic in these forms, inserted epenthetically in order to break up phonemic consonant clusters. Under this analysis these forms consist underlyingly of initial clusters, e.g., /kre/ ‘red ant’ or /bla/ ‘house’. However, as noted in the preceding section, there exist at least some phonemic clusters which are not broken up via an epenthetic vowel. We can even find contrasts between forms with a phonemic cluster, and forms with unstressed vowel breaking up a cluster.

- (40) Contrast between clusters and non-clusters
- | | | |
|----|----------|--------------------|
| a. | [kro] | ‘snot’ |
| b. | [ka.'ro] | ‘k.o. beach plant’ |

The two examples in (40) cannot have the same underlying form, or else we would have no way to prevent the rule of cluster simplification from applying to (40a). Hence, (40b) must be analyzed as having phonemic stress on the ultimate syllable. I have not found minimal pairs for the other forms in (39), but speaker intuition also suggests that the cluster analysis is not valid. Even words such as ‘house’ are frequently written by speakers as disyllables. Nevertheless, the uniformity of the vowel quality in the unstressed syllable remains suspicious. In fact, not only is the vowel uniform throughout these forms with ultimate stress, but the vowel is also uniformly reduced, occurring as a slightly raised lower mid vowel [ɐ] (though clearly lower than schwa). It is possible that the cluster analysis is at least historically valid. That is, at one point WP may have been more tolerant of initial phonemic clusters such as CCV. These clusters then came to be phonetically broken up via epenthesis of a low mid vowel CaCV, with stress remaining on the phonemic vowel. These forms have been reanalyzed in the modern language as simple CVCV sequences with final stress. A very few minimal pairs distinguished by stress can be identified.

- (41) Minimal pairs for stress
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>'ma.ta</i> ‘luck, fortune’ | <i>ma.'ta</i> ‘k.o. sulphurous creek’ |
| <i>'ta.me</i> ‘where’ | <i>ta.'me</i> ‘tamarind’ |
| <i>'da.ma</i> ‘share’ | <i>da.'ma</i> ‘jicama’ |
| <i>'tau.we</i> ‘our ears’ | <i>tau.'we</i> ‘snail’ |
| <i>'a.la</i> ‘male animal’ | <i>a.'la</i> ‘interior’ |

In the practical orthography unpredictable final stress may be optionally indicated with an acute accent over the stressed vowel, thus, *tamé* ‘tamarind’.

2.7. Morphophonemics

2.7.1. Reduction of vowel sequences

With bound stems beginning with a vowel other than /u/, the vowel of the prefix is elided. So, for example, the noun *-eba* ‘nape of neck’ is obligatorily possessed and must occur with an inalienable possessive prefix, as in (42). Deletion of the prefix vowel results in homophonous singular and plural forms, which can then be optionally distinguished via the use of an alienable possessive proclitic *gai*=3SG.POSS or *gi*=3PL.POSS.

- (42) Deletion of prefix vowel in *-eba* ‘nape’
- | | | |
|---------------|--------|---------------|
| <i>ga-eba</i> | [geba] | ‘his nape’ |
| <i>gi-eba</i> | [geba] | ‘their napes’ |

Bound stems which begin with a high back vowel exhibit less predictable behavior. In some cases the prefix vowel is retained, resulting in a diphthong, as with *-ule* ‘neck’ in (43).

- (43) Retention of prefix vowel in *-ule* ‘neck’
- | | | |
|---------------|---------|---------------|
| <i>ga-ule</i> | [gaule] | ‘his neck’ |
| <i>gi-ule</i> | [giule] | ‘their necks’ |

In other cases the prefix low vowel is retained, while the high prefix vowel is deleted, as with *-ume* ‘liver’ in (44).

- (44) Deletion of prefix vowel in plural form of *-ume* ‘liver’
- | | | |
|---------------|---------|----------------|
| <i>ga-ume</i> | [gaume] | ‘his liver’ |
| <i>gi-ume</i> | [gume] | ‘their livers’ |

2.7.2. Non-phonemic gemination

The progressive prefix *i-* triggers gemination of stem-initial consonants when it occurs immediately preceding a short verb stem. A short verb stem is one which consists of a single open syllable. This process is at least in part morphologically conditioned, as not all /i/ preceding a short verb stem trigger such gemination. For

example, the vowel of the first person exclusive plural *ni-* in (45) does not trigger gemination. However, the vowel of the progressive prefix in (46) *does* trigger gemination. Here the low vowel of the first-person singular prefix is deleted (see §2.7.1 above), with the result that these two examples become minimal pairs distinguished via gemination of the stem-initial consonant.

(45) *hoang me nipia*
hoang me ni-pia
 beach LOC 1EXCL-descend
 ‘We are descending to the beach.’

(46) *hoang me nippia*
hoang me na-i-pia
 beach LOC 1SG-PROG-descend
 ‘I have descended to the beach.’

2.7.3. Compounding

Nominal compounding is pervasive throughout the lexicon, and the use of compounds and other types of parallelisms is one of the most salient features of the language.

(47) nominal compounds (N N)

<i>di'ing hauwe</i>	<i>eu ittar</i>	<i>ga-uta hagang</i>
firestarter rock	woman basket	3SG-foot coconut.shell.interior
‘coal’	‘basket for fruit’	‘his/her ankle’

(48) adjectival compounds (N Adj)

<i>kusi miaka</i>	<i>bla kalla</i>	<i>kamau ara</i>
nail white	little house	cat big
‘cuticle’	‘kitchen’	‘thumb’

Possessive compounds are formed with the third-person prefix *ga-*.

(49) possessed nominal compounds (N *ga*-N)

<i>ala ga-ume</i>	<i>bla ga-'ung</i>
grass 3SG-inside	house 3SG-head
‘interior (geographic)’	‘ridgepole’

In noun-verb compounds the verb follows the noun.

(50) noun-verb compounds (N V)

<i>was baulung</i>	<i>halia salili</i>	<i>mua mising</i>
sun fall	water flow	earth sit
‘sunset’	‘river’	‘centerbeam of a house’

Verbal compounds are much less common, although some serial verb constructions discussed in §6 might be equally analyzed as compounds. Some examples of verb-verb compounds are given in (51).

- (51) verb-verb compounds (V V)
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>lelu</i> | <i>sayang</i> | <i>ga-llang</i> | <i>ga-wanung</i> |
| give.tribute | imprecise | 3SG-search | 3SG-focus.on |
| ‘wander without purpose’ | | ‘head toward an objective’ | |

2.7.4. Reduplication

Reduplication may be used with certain motion verbs to indicate continuing aspect, as with *lama* ‘walk’ in (52). However, this usage is not productive and is limited to a very few lexical items.

- (52) *wenang ye lama-lama wa yattu ara haila ye natar*
 man one RDP-walk go tree large CLF one stand
 ‘A man is walking along and without seeing a large tree,’

ga-niaka kauwa wang raung pia
 3SG-see NEG exist climb descend
 ‘bumps into it and keeps going.’ [C16]

Full reduplication may also be used to derive certain nominal compounds, as exemplified in (53). As with the motion verb reduplication this usage is not productive. Moreover, the semantic relationship between original noun and the reduplicated noun is opaque.

- (53) Reduplicated nouns
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>baling</i> | ‘axe’ | <i>baling-baling</i> | ‘dragonfly’ |
| <i>ding</i> | ‘sea urchin’ | <i>ding-ding</i> | ‘earthworm’ |
| <i>kati</i> | ‘flea’ | <i>kati-kati</i> | ‘corn with few kernels’ |
| <i>kis</i> | ‘twig’ | <i>kis-kis</i> | ‘k.o. termite’ |

3. Basic clausal syntax

This section outlines the structure of simple verbal clauses, ditransitive constructions, equational constructions, and existential constructions. Postpositional phrases are also discussed here. This section concludes with a description of clausal negation.

3.1. Simple verbal clauses

Word order in isolated (elicited) simple verbal clauses is SOV (or SV/APV), as in the following examples. Aspectual and discourse connective particles may follow the verb within the same intonation contour.

- (54) *nang mising*
 1SG.ACT sit
 ‘I am sitting.’
- (55) *gaing pali*
 3SG.UND afraid
 ‘S/he is afraid.’
- (56) *inamme gang gaing mukkung*
 DEM 3SG.ACT 3SG.UND swallow
 ‘There it (the whale) swallowed him.’ [bm009]
- (57) *gang yattu walli ga*
 3SG.ACT tree trim PFV
 ‘S/he cut down the tree.’

Core arguments may be highlighted using a left dislocation structure which results in an alternate PAV word order, as in (58) and (59).

- (58) *duang ning lu'ung gaterannang kanna ga ya*
 snake 1EXCL.ACT cut all.of.them already PFV CONJ
 ‘The snake we cut up completely.’ [tonu.119]
- (59) *gai ke'e maru si aname ging haggi kanna*
 3SG.POSS fish PL ART person 3PL.ACT take already
 ‘People took those fish of ours.’ [tonuburi073]

Core arguments may also occur post-verbally in a right dislocation structure under a single intonation contour.

- (60) *i-ga-niaka allang duang*
 4PL-3SG-see thus snake
 ‘They saw a snake.’ [tonu.110]

In natural discourse it is rare for two core arguments to be expressed as full nouns or independent pronouns. Elision of one or more arguments is common.

- (61) *nang ga-niaka*
 1SG.ACT 3SG-see
 ‘I saw him.’
- (62) *naing na-niaka*
 1SG.UND 1SG-see
 ‘[Someone] saw me.’

- (63) *ha-ttang lu'ung hala*
 2SG-hand cut FOC
 'Watch out that your hand doesn't get cut.'

Core nominal arguments are often omitted altogether when reference is clear from the wider discourse context.

- (64) *lama ga*
 walk PFV
 'Let's go.'

- (65) *aukung ma hos wang a-diakang*
 exit come outside exist INCP-descend
 '[They] started to come out going down.' [tonu.110]

3.2. Ditransitive constructions

Western Pantar has a single ditransitive construction, formed with the intransitive verb *ma* 'come' and the transitive verb *-nia* 'give', inflected with a person-marking prefix indexing the recipient. This construction might be equally analyzed as a serial verb construction (see §6 below); however, it is highly lexicalized, uttered under a single intonation contour.

- (66) *nang maggi ma ga-nia*
 1SG banana come 3SG-give
 'I fetched him a banana.'

The semantics of this construction emphasizes the path of movement of theme to recipient; example (66) implies that the banana is not right at hand but must be retrieved from another location. Hence, the gloss 'fetch'. A simple 'give' construction does not require the verb *ma*.

- (67) *maggi hissa na-nia*
 banana fruit:CLF 1SG-give
 'Give me a banana.'

More typically, ditransitive constructions are formed with the verb *haggi* 'take' marking the theme.

- (68) *biaggi gi-sussung i-ti'ang ha ging pi allang*
 drum take 3PL-throw.out PROG-stay DISC 3PL.ACT descend then
 '(They) took the drum and gave it to them, then they went down.' [soli041]

3.3. Equational constructions

Equational constructions express either the equivalence of a single nominal argument with an entity expressed by a nominal predicate or the inclusion of an argument in a class of entities. The nominal argument precedes the nominal predicate. There is no copula and no inflection for person.

- (69) [*nang*]_{NP1} [*wenang Amos ga'ai*]_{NP2}
 1SG.ACT old.man A. 3SG.GEN
 'I am Mr. Amos' (child).'
- (70) [*h-iu saina*]_{NP1} [*tabba hoga birang wala*]_{NP2}
 2SG-mother DIST.VIS most untruth speak person
 'Your mother is the biggest liar.' [tonu045]

The predicate role in an equational construction can be filled by a demonstrative pronoun.

- (71) *taga ba saiga*
 which REL PROX.VIS
 'Who is this?'

3.4. Existential constructions

Existential constructions are formed with *wang*. This form does not admit person-marking prefixes.

- (72) *halia wang?*
 water exist
 'Is there any water?'
- (73) *ning ga-niaka ga masi huppa smaume wang*
 1INCL.ACT 3SG-see PFV sulphur.creek also LEVEL.DEF exist
 'We saw that there is also a sulfur creek there.'

The existential can be negated with the negative *kauwa*.

- (74) *habbang me si listrik wang kauwa*
 village LOC DEM electricity exist NEG
 'There is no electricity in this village.'

Existential *wang* often predicates existence of an unreferenced third person argument.

(75) *mea galling wang*
 table edge exist
 ‘[It is] at the edge of the table.’

(76) *wang he kauwa?*
 exist or NEG
 ‘Is it [there] or not?’

3.5. Postpositional phrases

The category of postposition is not clearly delineated in Western Pantar. Bound postpositions are similar to obligatorily possessed nouns in that they must be obligatorily be inflected with a person-marking prefix.

(77) [*bla ga-ne*] *wang*
 house 3SG-front exist
 ‘It’s in front of the house.’

(78) *nia marung haggi aukung [bla ga-ume] maiyang*
 things PL take enter house 3SG-inside put
 ‘Take these things and put them inside the house.’ [3.87]

Unbound postpositions differ in that they do not require or admit a person-marking prefix. Thus, the unbound postposition *gegung* ‘under’ in (79) cannot occur with a prefix *ga-*.

(79) *tiaku [mea gegung] migang*
 glass table under place
 ‘Set the glass under the table.’

**tiaku [mea ga-gegung] migang*

Unbound postpositions also share many properties with verbs. In particular, they may be used predicatively, as in (80) and (81).

(80) *wa allang gob hauwe butang ye tang*
 go then DISC rock tall one on
 ‘Going and then (being) on top of a tall rock.’

(81) *biring diggang ga-wenung me*
 run take.shelter 3SG-return LOC
 ‘Run back and take shelter.’

The verby nature of unbound postpositions makes possible an alternative analysis of constructions such as (81) as serial verb constructions (see §6).

Complex postpositions may be built up from combinations of both bound and unbound postpositions. In this case the bound postposition precedes the unbound postposition, and the semantics are combinatorial.

(82) *soru lamura [hauwe ga-ling tang] maiyang*
 cane straight rock 3SG-surface.edge on place
 ‘A straight cane place on the edge of a rock.’ [pspv035]

(83) [*kapa ge’e waddang*] *i-ti’ang*
 river 3SG-container.edge along PROG-stand
 ‘(It) was standing along the edge of the river.’

In certain cases postpositional phrases may be discontinuous. In (84) the third-person plural pronoun intervenes between the noun phrase *tawa si* ‘the ocean’ and the complex postposition *me tang*.

(84) *tawa si ging me tang lama kauwa*
 ocean ART 3PL.ACT in on walk NEG
 ‘They could not walk on/in the water.’ [pubila431]

3.6. Negation

Clausal negation is accomplished via the clause-final negative particle *kauwa*. This same form is used as an exclamation to express a negative response.

(85) *anaga was arugga kauwa*
 today sun hot NEG
 ‘It’s not hot today.’

(86) *gang ga-ume banang kauwa*
 3SG.ACT 3SG-inside like NEG
 ‘He doesn’t like it.’

(87) *ging naing hukung kauwa*
 3PL.ACT 1SG.UND sentence NEG
 ‘They didn’t put me in jail.’ [publia460]

The negative *kauwa* may also be used to negate non-verbal predicates, as in (88).

(88) *halia maro’o kauwa, di hala ba raung*
 frog NEG rat FOC REL climb
 ‘It wasn’t a frog, but rather a rat which climbed up.’ [frog054]

The negative *kauwa* retains limited verbal attributes. It can function as a predicate, as in (89), and may even be inflected for aspect, as in (90).

(89) *nang kauwa hai*
 1SG.ACT NEG EXC
 ‘I’m not (doing that)!’

(90) *i-kauwa ing ha-ttang i-lu’ung*
 PROG-NEG then 2SG-hand 4PL-cut
 ‘Not (being the case) then they will cut off your hands.’ [publia287]

The negative *kauwa* carries a completive sense indicating an expectation that the proposition it modifies will remain false. For example, if the weather is not hot but there is a reasonable expectation that it will become hot, then (85) above would be infelicitous. Instead, such incomplete negation is expressed with the adverb *yadda* ‘not yet’. This form occurs in complementary distribution with *kauwa*.

(91) *nang hori yadda*
 1SG.ACT eat not.yet
 ‘I have not eaten yet.’

The alternative *hori kauwa* would imply that I have not eaten and do not expect to eat, implying perhaps that I am fasting or starving. The adverb *yer* may occur with *yadda*, in which case *yer* still precedes the verb and *yadda* follows the verb.

(92) *gang yer ma yadda*
 3SG.ACT still come not.yet
 ‘He still hasn’t come.’

Negative imperative constructions are marked with the clause-final particle *gayang*.

(93) *horang gayang*
 make.noise NEG.IMP
 ‘Don’t make noise’

(94) *ga-leba kassing wang haliati gayang*
 3SG-lip split exist tease NEG.IMP
 ‘Don’t tease someone with a harelip.’

The negative imperative may be combined with the incomplete *yadda* ‘not yet’.

- (95) yadda maiyang gayang
 not.yet place NEG.IMP
 ‘Don’t put them down yet.’ [pubila097a]

4. Noun phrase

Nouns are here formally delineated by their ability to accept nominal morphology, particularly possessive prefixes. Nouns may head a noun phrase structured as follows.

- (96) structure of the noun phrase
 [N ADJ CLF NUM DEM ART]_{NP}

Noun phrases may co-occur in apposition with free pronouns. In this case the pronoun follows the entire noun phrase.

- (97) [[*tibbi si*]_{NP} *gang*]_{NP} [[*ai hali*]_{NP} *me*]_{PP} *dekan* *ga*
 crab ART 3SG.ACT 4SG.POSS water be.located descend PFV
 ‘The crab took his water down.’ [sirung041]

The use of a co-referential pronoun is the preferred strategy with names and complex noun phrases.

- (98) [[*tabang alaku Duinni Maggangkala*]_{NP} [*ging*]_{NP}]_{NP}
 slave two D.M. 3PL.ACT
a-raung yattu ga-ung mising
 INCP-climb tree 3SG-head sit
 ‘The two slaves Duinni Maggangkala climbed up and sat in the tree.’
 [tonu057]²

WP nouns are not marked for gender or noun class, nor are such markings indicated on the verb or via possessive prefixes. Gender is not marked on any other word class either.

Nouns referring to less time-stable concepts can be derived from nouns via the addition of nominal morphology. For example, the noun ‘running’ in (99) is derived from the verb *biring* ‘to run’ via the addition of possessive prefix.

- (99) *gai biring tabba diala*
 3SG.POSS run very fast
 ‘His running is very fast.’ / ‘He runs very fast.’

² Duinni Maggangkala is a single (binomial) name give to the pair of slaves together.

4.1. Number

WP nouns are not obligatorily marked for number, though the plural marker *maru(ng)* may be optionally used to indicate plurality of both animate (100) and inanimate referents (100).

(100) *wenang marung ging pia*
 old.man PL 3PL.ACT descend
 ‘The old men went down.’ [bm016]

(101) *pia gi hai sampan marung sing*
 descend 3PL.POSS boat/canoe PL ART
 ‘(They) went down to their canoes.’ [conflict042]

The plural word cannot occur with numeral (102) or numeral classifier (103).

(102) **ke'e kealaku maru*
 fish twenty PL

(103) **ke'e bina/dis maru*
 fish CLF/CLF PL

The plural word cannot occur independently in the noun phrase slot (104), but it can occur in a noun phrase in apposition with a pronoun, as in (100) above.

(104) **marung lama ta*
 PL walk IPFV

The human nominalizing morpheme *wala* may also function as an associative plural for nouns referring to humans.

(105) [*Deka Ang wala*] *sura si kang rakki ya wang i-ti'ang*
 D.A. person letter ART hit tear road exist PROG-sleep
 ‘Deka Ang and his men tore up the letter and leaving it lying on the road,’
 [pubila045]

4.2. Adjectives

Adjectives can be distinguished from both nouns and verbs by a lack of inflectional morphology. In particular, adjectives do not admit person-marking prefixes. Adjectives may be used in both attributive and predicative functions. Attributive adjectives directly follow the noun which they modify.

(106) [*toggo ara ye*] *i-diakang*
 python large one PROG-descend
 ‘A large python was coming down.’

- (107) *ging* [sabu miaka] *wang putar kanna gob*
 3PL.ACT cloth white exist turn already then
 ‘They bound [them] with white cloth, then.’ [pubila375]

Predicative adjectives pattern as verbs which do not admit person-marking prefixes (see §5.2.2). Adjectives may function to express quantification, as discussed in the following section.

4.3. Quantification

Quantification is expressed with adjectives or with nouns. Adjectival quantifiers immediately follow the noun.

- (108) *aname buware gauning ga-niaka*
 person few just 3SG-see
 ‘(I) saw just a few people.’
- (109) *wakke~wakke haweri wang Tubbe birang kalalang*
 child~PL many exist T. speak know
 ‘most/many children can speak the Tubbe language.’

Quantification may also be expressed with nouns. The quantifier *der* ‘some’ is a noun which occurs in apposition to the noun phrase.

- (110) [[*hai bloppa sing*]_{NP} *der*]_{NP} *ga-r diakang*
 2SG.POSS weapon ART some 3SG-with descend
 ‘Bring down some of your weapons.’ [publia152]

The quantifier *gaterannang* ‘all of them’ is a noun which contains a fossilized third-person person-marking prefix and so resembles an adnominal possession construction. Unlike the other nominal quantifier, *gaterannang* exhibits some distributional variation, occurring both to the left (111) and to the right (112) of the article.

- (111) *ha hing gaterannang si*
 yes 2PL.ACT all.of.them ART
 ‘Yes, the lot of you.’ [publia304]
- (112) *habbang sing gaterannang gi-mma=m sussung kanna*
 village ART all.of.them 3PL-nose=LOC throw.out already
 ‘It could already be smelled by that entire village.’ [bm063]

4.4. Numeral classifiers

WP makes extensive use of numeral classifiers describing the shape or structure of an object. Classifiers exist along a cline between lexicon and morphosyntax (Grinevald 2007), and most WP classifiers still retain lexical functions in addition to their classifier functions. Numeral classifiers follow the noun phrase and precede the numeral.

- (113) *bla (haila) ye*
 house CLF.area one
 ‘One house.’

Numeral classifiers are generally optional but may be obligatory in cases where they provide additional specifying information, as with mensural classifiers. In (114) the classifier *bina* ‘detached’ indicates individual fish as opposed to bundles of fish.

- (114) *ke’e bina dinni?*
 fish CLF.general how.many
 ‘How many individual fish?’

In (115) the classifier *gamma* ‘nose ridge, point of land’ indicates that the reference is to a stick rather than an entire tree.

- (115) *yattu gamma ye boti ge’e tang ti’ang*
 tree CLF.sticklike one basket rim on lay
 ‘A stick of wood lying across the rim of a basket.’

Some common numeral classifiers and examples of their use are given in Table 5 below. This list is not exhaustive.

Table 5: Common Western Pantar numeral classifiers

Classifier	Usage	Meaning of source lexeme
<i>bina</i>	general classifier	‘detached’
<i>haila</i>	objects with areal extent	‘base, area’
<i>dawal</i>	rope-like object (rope, nylon, cable thread, etc.)	‘roll, coil’
<i>dis</i>	object strung on a string	‘stringer’
<i>kakka</i>	long, stiff, flat objects	‘stiff’
<i>gamma</i>	sticklike objects	‘nose, point of land’
<i>hissa</i>	fruit, contents	‘fruit’
<i>kassi</i>	split-off objects	‘to split’
<i>lu’a</i>	rounded object	‘rounded, oblong’
<i>waya</i>	flat, flexible objects	‘leaf’

4.5. Demonstratives

WP demonstratives may function as determiners within the noun phrase or as pronouns. The demonstratives index spatial deixis along three mutually exclusive dimensions of geophysical elevation, visibility, and specificity. The forms are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Demonstratives

	visible		non-visible	
	SPEC	NON-SPEC	SPEC	NON-SPEC
proximal (PROX)	<i>saiga</i>	<i>aiga</i>	<i>sigamme</i>	<i>igamme</i>
distal (DIST)	<i>saina</i>	<i>aina</i>	<i>sinamme</i>	<i>inamme</i>
above (ABOVE)	<i>sraugu</i>	<i>daugu</i>	<i>sraume</i>	<i>daume</i>
below (BELOW)	<i>spaugu</i>	<i>paugu</i>	<i>spaume</i>	<i>paume</i>
same level (LEVEL)	<i>smaugu</i>	<i>maugu</i>	<i>smaume</i>	<i>maume</i>

4.5.1. Visibility

The distinction between visible and non-visible is addressee based but controlled by the speaker. That is, a speaker uses visible forms when she expects that the hearer is able to see the referent. Similarly, non-visible forms are used when the speaker does not expect the hearer to be able to see the referent. For example, the non-visible demonstrative *smaum* in (116) is felicitous regardless of whether the referent ‘book’ is located in an adjacent room out of sight of both the speaker and the hearer, or simply located behind the speaker out of sight of the hearer.

- (116) *buku smaume haggi*
 book LEV.SPC.NVIS take
 ‘Get the book over there (not visible to you).’

- (117) *tar pi-gaddi ta aname smaugu haddung pi-galu*
 what 1INCL-make IPFV person LEV.SPC.VIS steal 1EXCL-expel
 ‘What can we do to get rid of those people over there (visible) who are stealing?’

4.5.2. Specificity

Specific demonstratives are used to emphasize a particular location rather than a more general, areal location. Specific forms indicate a precise location. In (118) the speaker wishes to indicate the location at which he wants to turn into the forest to follow a trail inland. The trail is not yet visible but the speaker knows well the location of the trail, though the hearer does not.

- (118) *smaume ta pi-mia*
 LEV.SPEC.NVIS IPFV 1INCL-ascend
 ‘Let’s ascend from that (precise) place over there.’

In contrast, non-specific forms are commonly used to express that a speaker knows only the general location, not the precise location of a referent. For example, in reply to a question about the location of a certain thing or person, a speaker may use the non-specific form *inam(me)* ‘there (somewhere)’.

- (119) *ga-niaka allang bila kalla ye inam a-lelang*
 3SG-see then cliff small one DIST.NSP.NV INCP-sheltered
inam i-ti'ang
 DIST.NSP.NV PROG-stay
 ‘(they) saw a small sheltered protrusion sitting there.’

If the precise location is known, such as the specific house where the person or thing is located, then the speaker will use the specific form *sinam(me)* instead.

- (120) *sinam kaweni ging tang saukang kalung allang*
 DIST.SPEC.NVIS children 3PL.ACT on look here.there then
 ‘they looked around at the children there.’ [bm152]

In contrast to visibility, specificity is speaker-based, in that it is based on the speaker’s assessment of whether the hearer will be able to identify a referent. In narrative contexts initial reference is often made using a non-specific demonstrative, while continuing reference is made using a specific demonstrative, as in the following example.

- (121) *gang mittung si maum bukkus me*
 3SG.ACT first ART LEV.NSPC.NVIS room be.located
eu gai bukkus me smaume gar halli
 woman 3SG.POSS room LOC LEV.SPEC.NVIS with cry
 ‘at first the woman is in a room [then] she cries in her room.’ [marriage146]

4.6. Articles

WP has two articles *sing* and *si* which may optionally mark identifiable referents of significance to the discourse. The articles *sing* and *si* can be loosely described as proximal and distal, respectively, though their precise function is difficult to characterize. Articles may occur with full NPs or names.

- (122) *Jawa eu manne marung sing ayang ma*
 Java woman wife PL ART drift come
 ‘These Javanese married women came in noisily.’ [publia465]

- (123) *Peing Lila si gakkang*
 P.L. ART 3SG-strike
 ‘That Peing Lila was killed.’ [darang052]

- (124) *gai ke'e maru si aname ging haggi kanna*
 3SG.POSS fish PL ART person 3PL.ACT take already
 'People took those fish of ours.' [tonuburi073]

4.7. Possession

Western Pantar makes use of four distinct strategies for expressing nominal possession: alienable possessive proclitic; inalienable possessive prefix; undergoer pronoun; and genitive pronoun. These strategies are exemplified in Table 7 with third-person singular.

Table 7: Summary of nominal possession strategies

alienable possessive proclitic	<i>gai bla</i> 'his house'
inalienable possessive prefix	<i>ga-wasing</i> 'his tooth'
undergoer pronoun	<i>gaing ke'e</i> 'his bone'
genitive pronoun	<i>bala ga'ai</i> 'the house of his'

4.7.1. Alienable possession

Alienable possession is indicated via the use of an alienable possessive proclitic indexing the person and number of the possessor. These proclitics attach to the possessed noun phrase and may optionally be preceded by an adjunct noun phrase referring to the possessor. Though written here as separate words following the practical orthography, they are bound forms which cannot occur independently. The alienable possessive proclitics have essentially the same phonological shape as the inalienable possessive prefixes (below), with the addition of a high front vowel. In contrast to the inalienable prefixes they are never phonologically integrated into the noun stem. As illustrated below, the possessive pronoun construction is right-headed, and the proclitics function as a linker between the possessor and the possessum.

- (125) Possessive pronoun construction
 (NP_{POSSESSOR}) LINK_{AL} N_{POSSESSUM}

The paradigm of possessive alienable possessive proclitics is given in Table 8.

Table 8: Alienable possessive proclitics

	singular	plural
1	<i>nai</i>	<i>pi/tai/ni</i>
2	<i>hai</i>	<i>hi</i>
3	<i>gai</i>	<i>gi</i>
4	<i>ai</i>	<i>i</i>

While alienable possessive proclitics may be used optionally in the inalienable possessive construction (see below), the alienable construction is distinguished via the lack of an inalienable possessive prefix. An adjunct noun phrase referring to the possessor may optionally precede the possessive pronoun.

- (126) *wenang gai bla*
 man 3SG.POSS house
 ‘the man’s house’

Nouns which are obligatorily possessed normally occur in the inalienable construction (see below). However, such nouns may also be alienably possessed using the alienable possessive proclitic. Alienable possession of obligatorily possessed nouns is generally used to indicate non-intrinsic possession of nouns which would otherwise be inalienably possessed. The prototypical usage is to indicate possession of a body part which is not part of one’s own body.

- (127) *ke’e* ‘bone’
nake’e ‘my bone’ (in my body)
nai ke’e ‘my bone’ (part of an animal being butchered)

Another example can be found lexicalized in the word *ai wake* ‘orphan’, literally, ‘his/her (fourth person) child (alienable)’. Compare *na-wake* ‘my child’

4.7.2. Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession is expressed morphologically via an inalienable possessive prefix indexing the person and number of the possessor. The inalienable possessive prefixes are formally identical to the person-marking prefixes on verbs (see §5.2). (In addition to nouns and verbs, person-marking prefixes also occur with postpositions.) Inalienable possessive prefixes may be optionally used in conjunction with alienable possessive proclitics (see above). An adjunct noun phrase referring to the possessor may also precede the inalienable possessive prefix. Like the alienable possession construction above, the inalienable possession construction is right headed.

- (128) Inalienable possession
 (NP_{POSSESSOR}) (LINK_{AL}) LINK_{INAL}-N_{POSSESSED}

As with other person-marking paradigms, the paradigm of inalienable possessive prefixes includes three forms referring to first person plural, written here in the order inclusive/distributive/exclusive. The fourth-person forms are often used to refer to a distinct third person, similar to an obviative pronoun; however, they may also have a reflexive function, quite different from the obviative usage (see below).

Table 9: Inalienable possessive prefixes

	singular	plural
1	<i>na-</i>	<i>pi-/ta-/ni-</i>
2	<i>ha-</i>	<i>hi-</i>
3	<i>ga-</i>	<i>gi-</i>
4	<i>a-</i>	<i>i-</i>

Inalienable possession is the standard way to express possession of nouns which are obligatorily possessed, including many nouns referring to body parts and kinship and locational nouns. An example is given below.

- (129) Possessive paradigm for *-wasing* ‘tooth’
- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>(nai) nawasing</i> | ‘my tooth’ |
| <i>(hai) hawasing</i> | ‘your tooth’ |
| <i>(gai) gawasing</i> | ‘his/her/it’s tooth’ |
| <i>(ai) awasing</i> | ‘his/her/it’s tooth’ (distinct) |
| <i>(pi) piwasing</i> | ‘our (inclusive) tooth’ |
| <i>(tai) tawasing</i> | ‘each of our (distributive) tooth’ |
| <i>(ni) niwasing</i> | ‘our (exclusive) tooth’ |
| <i>(hi) hiwasing</i> | ‘your tooth’ |
| <i>(gi) giwasing</i> | ‘their tooth’ |
| <i>(i) iwasing</i> | ‘their tooth’ (distinct) |

Other consonant-initial obligatorily-possessed nouns follow the same pattern of inalienable possession. Some examples with the third-person singular prefix *ga-* are given below.

- (130) Consonant-initial obligatorily possessed nouns
- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>-s</i> | <i>gas</i> | ‘it’s stomach’ |
| <i>-lebu</i> | <i>galebu</i> | ‘it’s tongue’ |
| <i>-’ung</i> | <i>ga’ung</i> | ‘it’s head’ |
| <i>-ru</i> | <i>garu</i> | ‘his wife’ |
| <i>-’ar</i> | <i>ga’ar</i> | ‘his male cross-cousin’ |

When a nominal adjunct is present the use of an alienable possessive proclitic in addition to the inalienable possessive prefix is the preferred strategy for animate referents (131) but not for inanimates (132).

- (131) *kuba* *gai* *g-iar* (? *kuba giar*)
 old.woman 3SG.POSS 3SG-father
 ‘the old woman’s father.’

- (132) *yattu ga-'ung* (? *yattu gai ga-'ung*)
 tree 3SG-head
 'the head (top) of the tree'

The use of inalienable possession is not restricted to obligatorily possessed nouns but may be used to indicate intrinsic possession of any noun where semantically possible. Moreover, some nouns which might be thought on semantic grounds to be obligatorily possessed do not always occur with a possessive prefix. For example, the noun *uwe* 'ear' may occur in unpossessed form in certain idiomatic constructions such (133).

- (133) *ging mang mising uwe la'ai*
 3SG.ACT only sit ear tie
 'They just sat with their ears tied (i.e., listening intently).' [soli027]

This noun can also occur inalienably possessed, for example, *nauwe* 'my ear'. In addition, nouns which are usually inalienably possessed may occur without possessive morphology in nominal attribution constructions.

- (134) *do buka*
 sago trunk/body
 'trunk of a sago tree.'

However, for most non-obligatorily possessed nouns the inalienable possession construction is not possible. For example, **nabla* is not acceptable for 'my house'.

Since obligatorily possessed nouns occur in citation form with either a third-person or distributive prefix. However, the distributive plural prefix *ta-* is extremely rare in natural discourse and is generally used when individuation is required, as in (135).

- (135) *ta-gas be ta-buka yattang*
 1DISTR-reflection shadow 1DISTR-body same.length
 '(Each of) our shadows are as long as (each of) our bodies.'

4.7.3. Another inalienable possession construction

There is one further method of expressing inalienable possession which makes use of the undergoer independent pronouns. While this construction is not possible with all nouns, where it is possible it contrasts in meaning with the usual inalienable possessive construction formed with the possessive prefix. The construction with the undergoer pronoun refers to a particular item or part of an item, while the construction with the prefix refers to an entirety of items. For example, consider the noun *ke'e*, which can mean 'bone' or 'fish/meat'.

(136) *naing ke'e*
 1SG.UND bone
 'my bone, one of the bones in my body'

(137) *na-ke'e*
 1SG-bone
 'my bones, all the bones in my body'

Thus, both the undergoer pronoun and the prefix can express inalienable possession of a body part. In contrast, the possessive pronoun can only be used with the meaning 'fish/meat', not to express possession of a body part.

(138) *nai ke'e*
 1SG.POSS fish/meat
 'my fish/meat'

Similarly, with the noun *killi* 'skin'. The use of the undergoer pronoun refers to a part of skin, for example, a patch of skin which is infected or fungal. The use of the prefix refers to the entirety of one's skin.

(139) *naing killi*
 1SG.UND skin
 'my skin, a particular part of my skin'

(140) *na-killi*
 1SG-skin
 'my skin, my entire skin'

4.7.4. Genitive construction

An alternative possessive construction is formed using the genitive pronouns rather than the possessive pronouns. The genitive pronouns may occur either independently or in conjunction with an adjunct noun phrase referring to the possessor. Genitive pronouns function as the head of a genitive phrase. In contrast to the possessive construction with the possessive pronoun, the possessor follows the possessum. The possessum noun phrase can also be omitted altogether when the reference is clear from context.

(141) Word order in genitive construction
 (NP_{POSSESSUM}) (NP_{POSSESSOR}) PRO_{GEN}

The form of the genitive pronoun follows the same pattern as that of the other pronouns, as shown in the table below.

Table 10: Genitive pronouns

	singular	plural
1	<i>na'ai</i>	<i>pi'i/ta'ai/ni'i</i>
2	<i>ha'ai</i>	<i>hi'i</i>
3	<i>ga'ai</i>	<i>gi'i</i>
4	<i>a'ai</i>	<i>i'i</i>

The genitive construction differs structurally from the ordinary possessive construction in that the latter is head-final, while the former is head-initial.

(142) Comparison of genitive and possessive constructions

- a. (*Jon*) *gai* *bla*
 J. 3SG.POSS house
 'his house' ('John's house')
- b. *bla* (*Jon*) *ga'ai*
 bla J. 3SG.GEN
 'the house of his' ('the house of John's')

Like other NPs, genitive pronouns may be followed by a quantifier. In the following example the third-person genitive pronoun is followed by an article. The resulting noun phrase *ga'ai sing* then functions as an argument of the transitive verb *maggar*.

- (143) *ga'ai* *sing* *maggar* *gayang*
 3SG.GEN ART work.garden NEG.IMP
 'Don't work in his garden.' (lit. 'Don't work to clear that which he owns.')
- [pubila061]

As indicated above, the genitive pronoun may optionally occur with a noun phrase referring to the possessor and the possessed. In (144) the nominal compounds *ber mauwa* 'history' and *yau Pu Bila* 'Pu Bila war' serve as possessum and possessor, respectively.

- (144) [*ber mauwa*]_{POSSESSUM} [*yau Pu Bila*]_{POSSESSOR} *ga'ai* *na-birang*
 words old war Pu Bila 3SG.GEN 1SG-speak
 'I will tell the history of the Pu Bila war.' [pubila002]

Either one or both of the possessum and possessor NPs could be omitted if the referent were already established in discourse. The first example below omits explicit nominal reference to the possessor *yau Pu Bila*. The second example omits explicit reference to the possessum *ber mauwa*. The third example omits explicit reference to both the possessum and the possessor.

- (145) a. [ber mauwa]_{POSSESSUM} ga'ai na-birang
 words old 3SG.GEN 1SG-speak
 'I will tell its history.'
- b. [yau Pu Bila]_{POSSESSOR} ga'ai na-birang
 war Pu Bila 3SG.GEN 1SG-speak
 'I will tell that (history) of the Pu Bila war.'
- c. ga'ai na-birang
 3SG.GEN 1SG-speak
 'I will tell about its (history).'

Like any noun phrase, genitive pronouns may function as a nominal predicate in an equational construction. In this case the genitive pronoun predicates ownership or possession. Since reference to the possessor and possessed may be omitted, a genitive pronoun alone can function as a predicate.

- (146) na'ai
 1SG.GEN
 'mine' / 'it is mine' / 'that of mine'
- (147) bla sing na'ai
 house ART 1SG.GEN
 'that house is mine' / 'that is my house'
- (148) talle gaterannang ha'ai
 ancestor all.of.them 2SG.GEN
 'These are all of your ancestors.' (lit. 'All these ancestors are yours.')
- [tonu258]
- (149) nang wenang Amon ga'ai
 1SG.ACT old.man A. 3SG.GEN
 'I am Mr. Amon's child' (lit. 'I am Mr. Amon's.', 'I belong to Mr. Amon.')

Genitive pronouns may also occur as part of nominal compounds.

- (150) tawa ga-ume ga'ai
 ocean 3SG-inside 3SG.GEN
 'sea-life' (lit. 'that which the inside of the ocean owns')

Pragmatically, genitive pronouns differ from possessive pronouns in having more of an emphatic reading, asserting the possessive relationship.

- (151) na'ai na-raung
 1SG.GEN 1SG-climb
 'I am the one who will climb.'

- (152) *na'ai na-birang*
 1SG.GEN 1SG-speak
 'Let me speak.' (lit. 'It is mine, I will speak.')
- (153) *saina=b ha'ai*
 DIST.VIS=REL 2SG.GEN
 'That is what you must do.' (lit. 'That's what is yours.')
- [bela024]

Genitive pronouns are often used to refer to actions, as in (152) and (153) above. In the following example the third plural genitive refers to something done by a third party. Thus, this example could be literally translated as 'what shall we do to return theirs?', a reference to revenge.

- (154) *gob tar pi-gaddi ta gi'i as wang pi-golang?*
 thus how 1INCL-do before 3PL.GEN also exist 1INCL-return
 'How will we respond to what they have done?' [port013]

4.8. Locational nouns

Locational nouns (N_{LOC}) are nouns which designate a location with respect to second referent (NP_{REF}). The referenced entity may be unexpressed or may be expressed via a pronominal prefix, usually third-person singular *ga-*. The prototypical locational noun construction is thus a type of inalienable adnominal possessive construction in which N_{LOC} is the possessum (head) noun and NP_{REF} is the possessor. The structure of the locational noun construction is diagrammed below.

- (155) Locational noun construction
 ((NP_{REF}) *ga-*) N_{LOC}

When NP_{REF} is overtly specified in the locational noun construction, the construction refers to the area located in a specified direction or elevation from NP_{REF} . When NP_{REF} is not specified, the construction refers to the area located in a specific direction or elevation from an already established reference point.

- (156) *kebang ga-wannang*
 barn 3SG-uphill
 'the area uphill from the barn'
- (157) *ga-wannang*
 3SG-uphill
 'the area uphill from it'

- (158) *bai* [[*kakus*]_{NPREF} [*ga-lawang*]_{NPLoc}] *ga-laking*
 pig toilet 3SG-area.downhill 3SG-tie
 ‘The pig is tied up in the area downhill of the toilet.’
- (159) *kuri* [[*bla*]_{NPREF} [*ga-manang*]_{NPLoc}] *natar*
 marongga.tree house 3SG-front stand
 ‘The marongga tree stands in front of the house.’ (between the speaker and the house)

There are eight locational nouns, and they include both terms which refer to geophysical elevation and terms which refer to global elevation, in the sense of Burenhult (2008).

Table 11: Locational nouns

<i>wanang</i>	‘behind, other side’ (same level)	geophysical elevation
<i>manang</i>	‘in front, this side’ (same level)	
<i>lawang</i>	‘downhill’ (below)	
<i>bila / dimmang</i>	‘uphill’ (above)	
<i>butang</i>	‘above’ (not touching)	global elevation
<i>taggang</i>	‘above’ (in contact)	
<i>pittung</i>	‘below’ (in contact)	
<i>muang</i>	‘below’ (not touching)	

The forms *bila* and *dimmang* are synonymous, differing in distributional in that only *bila* may also occur as a free form without a pronominal prefix. The forms *wanang* and *manang* also refer to geophysical elevation, but they assume a reference object (NP_{REF}) which is capable of obstructing the view. The forms *butang*, *taggang*, *pittung*, and *muang* refer to vertical height above or below and object. Of these, *taggang* and *pittung* indicate physical contact, while the forms *butang* and *muang* indicate lack of physical contact.

Locational nouns alternate syntactically with postpositions. The phrase *bla gamanang* ‘the region in front of the house’ contrasts with the semantically similar but syntactically distinct postpositional phrase *bla gane* ‘in front of the house.’ Locational nouns also contrast semantically with postpositions, in that they depend crucially on location of the deictic center for their interpretation. Thus, *bla gane* refers to an intrinsically determined front of the house: the side with the front door, opposite the kitchen. In contrast, *bla gamang* refers to the area in front of the house from deictic center. In terms of frames of reference (Levinson 2003), constructions using postpositions describe an intrinsic frame of reference, whereas those using locational nouns describe a relative frame of reference.

Locational nouns can be used alone as nouns denoting an area, as in (160) and (161).

- (160) *ma butang ya*
 come area.above head.toward
 ‘Head toward the area above.’
- (161) *taggang lama*
 above walk
 ‘Walk on the higher side (of the path).’

Postpositions would not be felicitous in these contexts. On the other hand, locational nouns cannot substitute for postpositions either. For example, neither *taggang* or *butang* can be substituted for the postposition *tang* ‘on’ in the following example.

- (162) *tiaku mea tang migang*
 glass table on set
 ‘set the glass on the table’

**tiaku mea taggang/butang migang*

However, a locational noun may occur within a postpositional phrase headed by a semantically similar postposition.

- (163) *a-raung daum lupp butang tang garung,*
 4SG-climb ABOVE.NSP bale-bale area.above on lepas
 ‘he climbed up on a tall raised bamboo platform and set her there’ [bm054]

Both the locational noun and the postposition can occur with a pronominal prefix. The prefix is obligatory when a locational noun occurs with in apposition with a noun.

5. Pronouns and person-marking prefixes

The system of personal pronouns and person-marking prefixes includes four distinct paradigms indexing person and number of the referent. Free pronouns and bound prefixes function as part of a single referent-tracking system and hence are discussed together here. There are four paradigms of independent (free) pronouns: actor (ACT), undergoer (UND), genitive (GEN), and reflexive (REFL); and two paradigms of bound person-marking prefixes, one marking alienable possession (POSS) and one general prefix marking both inalienable possession on nouns (§4.7.2) and core arguments on verbs and postpositions.

Table 12: Personal pronouns and person-marking prefixes

	ACT	UND	GEN	REFL	POSS	prefix
1SG	nang	naing	na'ai	neri	nai	na-
2SG	hang	haing	ha'ai	heri	hai	h-
3SG	gang	gaing	ga'ai	geri	gai	ga-
4SG	ang	aing	a'ai	eri	ai	a-
1INCL	ping	pi'ing	pi'i	piri	pi	pi-
1DISTR	tang	taing	ta'ai	teri	tai	ta-
1EXCL	ning	ni'ing	ni'i	niri	ni	ni-
2PL	hing	hi'ing	yi'i	hiri	yi	hi-
3PL	ging	gi'ing	gi'i	giri	gi	gi-
4PL	ing	i'ing	i'i	iri	i	i-

The first person distributive actor and undergoer independent pronouns, while theoretically plausible forms, are extremely difficult to elicit and extremely rare in natural speech. I have recorded only one example of a patient distributive pronoun in spontaneous speech. The same is true of the first person distributive person-marking prefix *ta-* with verbs. However, distributive *ta-* does occur with nouns and postpositions, particularly in citation form or with generic reference.

The fourth-person actor and undergoer pronouns have several functions. First, fourth-person pronouns may be used as a reflexive marker to indicate co-reference between two core arguments.

- (164) *gang aing daranung*
 3SG.ACT 4SG.UND protect
 'He is protecting himself.'

The reflexive construction in (164) is only possible for third person referents. For non-third persons reflexivity must be indicated using a reflexive pronoun, as in (165) and (166).

- (165) *neri na-niaka*
 1SG.REFL 1SG-see
 'I saw myself.'

- (166) *nai ber asang si heri kalalang lamala hai*
 1SG.POSS word say ART 2SG.REFL know certainly DISC
 'You can understand for yourself what I am saying.' [adat 2.014]

The reflexive *eri* can be used with third person referents as well, resulting in a functional overlap with the fourth person pronouns. Thus, both the reflexive pronoun (167a) and the fourth person undergoer pronoun (167b) are acceptable as the marker of reflexivity, though with this particular lexical item ('to see') the reflexive pronoun is preferred.

- (167) a. *gang* *eri* *a-niaka*
 3SG.ACT 4SG.REFL 4SG-see
 ‘He saw himself.’
- b. *gang* *aing* *a-niaka*
 3SG.ACT 4SG.UND 4SG-see
 ‘He saw himself.’

In discourse context fourth-person pronouns function as switch-reference markers signaling that a referent is not co-referential with the currently tracked referent. In (168) the fourth-person pronoun does not indicate reflexivity but rather points anaphorically to a previously established referent.

- (168) *perung gang aing mukkung*
 whale 3SG.ACT 4SG.UND swallow
 ‘The whale swallowed him.’ [bm092]

Similarly, in (169) the fourth-person pronoun references a previously established participant.

- (169) *aing ping wa pussur itami hubba yasa*
 4SG.UND 1INCL.ACT go spatter until wet bad
 ‘We were spattered by him until we were completely wet.’ [tonuburi262]

In the following text excerpt about marriage customs the third-person pronoun *gang* refers to the groom, while the fourth-person *ing* refers to the bride’s parents. The use of the fourth-person eliminates potential ambiguity whereby the referent of the second clause could be read as referring to the bride and groom.

- (170) *inata eu sing gang bisa haggi.*
 so.that girl ART 3SG.ACT able take
 kalau kauwa ing ma bla me,
 if NEG 4PL.ACT come house be.located
 ‘So that he can take (marry) the girl. If not, they (the parents) come to the house,’ [marriage039]

Fourth-person prefixes have a reflexive function.

- (171) *gang a-kkang*
 3SG.ACT 4SG-hit
 ‘He hit himself.’

(176) *nang mising*
 1SG.ACT sit
 ‘I am sitting.’

(177) *naing massa*
 1SG.UND tired
 ‘I am tired.’

In transitive clauses both actor and undergoer pronouns may occur, indexing A and P argument, respectively, as in (178).

(178) *nang gaing lu'ung*
 1SG.ACT 3SG.UND cut
 ‘I cut him.’

Independent pronouns may occur in apposition with a co-referential noun or noun phrase. In (179) the third-person actor pronoun occurs in apposition with the name *Hen*, while in (180) the pronoun occurs in apposition to a full noun phrase *aname ara sing* ‘this big man’.

(179) *Hen gang mising*
 H. 3SG.ACT sit
 ‘Hen is sitting.’

(180) *aname ara sing gang mising*
 person large ART 3SG.ACT sit
 ‘This big man is sitting.’

Independent pronouns may occur with co-referential person-marking prefixes, as in (181).

(181) *nang na-lama ta*
 1SG.ACT 1SG-walk IPFV
 ‘I will go.’

In (182) the undergoer pronoun occurs with the noun phrase adjunct *kuba* ‘old woman’, additionally co-indexed by the person-marking prefix *ga-*.

(182) *gang kuba gaing si ga-nia*
 3SG.ACT old.woman 3SG.UND ART 3SG-give
 ‘He gave (them) to the old woman.’

Where varying degrees of control can be attributed to a participant, an alternation between actor and undergoer pronoun is possible. The verb *muddi* ‘strong’ typically occurs with an undergoer pronoun, as in (183), reflecting less participant control.

- (183) *naing muddi*
 1SG.UND strong
 ‘I am strong.’

In (184) the use of the actor pronoun imparts a modal reading, implying a certain degree of control on the part of the participant. This could be felicitous when the participant has the intention to be strong, to endure a challenge.

- (184) *nang muddi*
 1SG.ACT strong
 ‘I should be strong.’

Both actor and undergoer independent pronouns may index inanimate referents.

- (185) *kauwa, bunne gang ma*
 NEG haze 3SG.ACT come
 ‘No, [instead] haze came.’ [tonuburi053]

Since independent pronouns are semantically aligned it is possible for a single clause to contain two undergoer pronouns indexing core arguments. This may occur when neither core argument is sufficiently controlling, as in (186). In this example the use of the first-person undergoer pronoun implies less control, less agency. Rather than physically taking the person outside, this example implies that other means of persuasion were used to cause the person to go outside.

- (186) *naing gaing hoswang haggi*
 1SG.UND 3SG.UND outside take
 ‘I took (coaxed) him outside.’

In contrast, were a first-person actor pronoun substituted the example would imply that the person was physically moved outside. On the other hand, it is not possible for two actor pronouns to occur with a single predicate.

- (187) **nang gang hoswang haggi*
 1SG.ACT 3SG.ACT outside take

5.2. Person-marking prefixes

The use of person-marking prefixes with noun roots was discussed in §4.7 in connection with nominal possession. WP verbs can be classified according to whether they (i) require an obligatory person-marking prefix; (ii) do not admit a person-marking prefix; or (iii) may optionally occur with a person-marking prefix. (For a more detailed classification see Holton 2010).

5.2.1. Verbs with obligatory person-marking prefixes

A small class of verbs require a person-marking prefix. These verbs are always transitive and the prefix indexes the P or R argument.

- (188) Verbs which require a person-marking prefix
-nia 'give'
-ussar 'hunt'
-niaka 'see'
-llang 'search for'
-kkang 'hit'

These verb stems cannot be uttered in isolation and in citation form occur with a third singular prefix. With animate referents the person-marking prefix may occur with a co-referential undergoer independent pronoun.

- (189) *gaing ga-niaka*
 3SG.UND 3SG-see
 'He was seen.'

With inanimate referents the person-marking prefix may not occur with a co-referential undergoer pronoun.

- (190) *nang bla ga-niaka*
 1SG.ACT house 3SG-see
 'I saw the house.'
 **nang gaing ga-niaka*
 'I saw it.'

A limited number of verbs which require person-marking prefixes may optionally occur with a second prefix indexing the actor.

- (191) *ke'e pi-ga-ussar*
 fish 1INCL-3SG-catch
 'We are catching fish.'

But the actor prefix may also follow the undergoer prefix, as in the following examples.

- (192) *wee ga-i-tiaring*
 fishpond 3SG-4PL-close
 'They are guarding the fishpond.'

- (193) *nang ana ha-asang kauwa ing gob,*
 1SG.ACT now 2SG-say NEG if

ana dinni ta ha-na-asang
 day how.many before 2SG-1SG-say
 ‘If I don’t tell you now, how long will it be before I can tell you?’

5.2.2. Verbs which do not admit a person-marking prefix

Verbs which do not admit person-marking prefixes are primarily stative intransitive verbs. The single argument is indexed by an undergoer independent pronoun rather than a prefix.

- (194) Verbs which do not admit a person-marking prefix
- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>gaing batta</i> | ‘he is stupid’ |
| <i>gaing kutta</i> | ‘he is fat’ |
| <i>gaing maba</i> | ‘he is cold, well’ |
| <i>gaing irpatang</i> | ‘he understands’ |

Holton (2010, based on a paper delivered in 2005) reported a number of transitive verbs which also do not admit person-marking prefixes. However, this characterization is not strictly correct. While certain transitive verbs rarely admit person-marking prefixes, under certain conditions they may in fact occur with person-marking prefixes. For example, the verb *lu’ung* ‘cut’ typically occurs without a prefix, as in (195).

- (195) *nang yattu lu’ung*
 1SG.ACT tree cut
 ‘I cut the tree.’
 **nang yattu ga-lu’ung*

However, while *lu’ung* may not occur with a person-marking prefix indexing an undergoer, in (196) it occurs with a prefix indexing the actor.

- (196) *hi ber tang na-lu’ung*
 2PL.POSS words on 1SG-cut
 ‘I’m going to cut you off.’ [oikos035]

Thus, *lu’ung* might be better classified with those verbs which may optionally occur with a prefix, to be discussed below. However, *lu’ung* differs from those verbs in that its use with a prefix is extremely rare and does not occur in elicitation.

5.2.3. Verbs which optionally occur with a person-marking prefix

The majority of WP verbs may occur with or without a person-marking prefix. Verbs within this class differ as to which persons and which semantic roles can be indexed by the person-marking prefix when present. Some of these verbs only

permit prefixes to index first and second person referents; third person referents must be indexed with an independent pronoun.

- (197) *na-olang ta*
 1SG-fall.over IPFV
 ‘I’m about to fall over
- (198) *gang olang ta (*ga-olang ta)*
 3SG.ACT fall.over IPFV
 ‘he’s about to fall over

Other verbs in this class do allow prefixes to index third person referents, but only as the undergoer in a transitive construction (199), not as the single argument in an intransitive construction (200).

- (199) *ga-pessing*
 3SG-sneeze
 ‘Sneeze him (wipe his nose).’ *Not: ‘He is about to sneeze.’*
- (200) *na-pessing*
 1SG-sneeze
 ‘I’m about to sneeze.’ *Not: ‘Sneeze me (wipe my nose).’*

Some transitive-only verbs also follow this pattern. With these verbs prefixes index first and second person actors and third person undergoers.

- (201) *hatua hissa na-kasi*
 coconut fruit 1SG-split
 ‘I split the coconut.’
- (202) *nang ga-kasi*
 1SG.ACT 3SG-split
 ‘I split it.’

The examples above give only a hint of the extremely complex nature of the WP prefix system. A more complete description of verb classes and restrictions on prefixes can be found in Holton (2010).

6. Serial verb constructions

A serial verb construction (SVC) expresses a single (but possibly complex) conceptual event with a combination of two or more lexical verbs, sharing at least one argument, under a single intonation contour. In the simplest examples the two elements of an SVC express individual components of a complex event. For

example, the SVC *tipping lama* in (203) expresses the sequential events of getting up and then walking. A single shared argument is indexed by the third-person plural pronoun *ging*.

- (203) *ging tipping lama*
 3PL.ACT get.up walk
 ‘They got up and walked.’

A nominal or pronominal argument may intervene between the elements of the SVC indexing an additional argument. In (204) the third-person singular prefix *ga-* intervenes between the verbs *ma* and *-nia*. The latter is a bound verb which requires a person-marking prefix. The argument indexed by the first-person pronoun *nang* is the actor argument of both verbs.

- (204) *nang maggi ma ga-nia*
 1SG banana come 3SG-give
 ‘I fetched him a banana.’

SVCs have several characteristics which distinguish them from either compounds or conjoined clauses. Unlike compounds, nominal and pronominal arguments may intervene between members of an SVC. That is, SVCs are separable. SVCs contrast with conjoined verb phrases in that:

- the individual members of an SVC share aspectual and negative inflection
- the members of an SVC must have one argument in common
- the SVC falls under a single intonation contour
- no conjoining particle may intervene between the members of the SVC

In the remainder of this section SVCs are described according to their semantic properties.

6.1. Symmetrical SVCs

Symmetrical SVCs include two or more verbs from open classes. In WP symmetrical SVCs are employed to encode complex events, manner, and cause-effect.

6.1.1. Complex events

Symmetrical SVCs may be used to describe complex events consisting of many individual sub-events in an iconic manner, following the temporal sequence of events. In this and the remainder of examples in this section SVC’s are highlighted in boldface.

- (205) *yabbe gang hailang ti'ang*
 dog 3SG.ACT crawl stand
 'The dog crawled (out) and stood up.' [frog071]
- (206) *ging dul tipping lama*
 3PL.ACT immediately get.up walk
 'They immediately got up and left.' [pubila269]
- (207) *wakke bogga gai aname ging aukung banang*
 child young.man 3SG.POSS person 3PL.ACT enter ask
 'The young man's people go in and ask.' [marriage155]

Nominal arguments may intervene between sequences of verbs, as in (208).

- (208) *pi-mising tua pi-ba'ai*
 1INCL-sit tuak 1INCL-drink
 'Let's sit down and drink tuak.' [wedding2]

6.1.2. Manner

Symmetrical SVCs may serve to elaborate the manner in which one of the verbs is carried out. In (209) the second verb *sauke-yabe* elaborates the first by indicating how the people are making noise. Equally, it could be said that the first verb elaborates the second by specifying that the dancing was done noisily.

- (209) *habbang mau aname horang sauke-yabe*
 village there person make.noise dance-lego.lego
 'Over there in the village people are making noise dancing lego-lego.'
 [tonu155]

In (210) the verb *dalagar* 'gaze up' specifies the manner in which the participant is lying down.

- (210) *aname a-ttang a-eba lukku a-nne dalagar ti'ang*
 person 4SG-hand 4SG-neck pillow 4SG-face gaze.up lie.down
 'A person is lying down gazing up with his hands behind his head as a pillow.' [P19]

Verbs which take clausal complements can be expressed as complex SVCs. In (211) the meaning 'order them to go tell' is expressed as a complex event: he ordered them, then they went, then they told.

- (211) *as tang gi-hauwang wa kuba ga-asang*
 also further 3PL-order go grandmother 3SG-say
 'then (he) ordered them to go tell grandmother.'

6.1.3. Cause-effect

Symmetrical SVCs may specify causation, where the first verb indicates the cause and the second verb indicates the result, or effect. In (212) the slicing of the neck results in death, and in (213) the attack (literally, ‘hit’) results in disappearance.

(212) *a-ule pai hinna kanna gaata*
 4SG-neck slice die finish already
 ‘They sliced his neck and killed him.’ [tonuburi197]

(213) *hing ya hailing, ging hi-kkang bawang*
 2PL.ACT road crawl.up 3PL.ACT 2PL-hit disappear
 ‘(If) you crawl (sneak) up the road, they will hit (attack) you till you disappear.’ [conflict094]

6.2. Asymmetrical SVCs

Asymmetrical SVCs consist of one verb from a small, closed class and one or more additional verbs from an unrestricted class. The denotation of the construction is provided by the unrestricted verb(s), while the restricted verb provides modificational specification (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006).

6.2.1. Directional SVCs

Directional SVCs combine a motion verb with one or more verbs from a closed class of eight directional verbs specifying path of motion using geophysical elevation. The system of directional verbs in **Table 13** distinguishes three levels of elevation, as well as motion away from (TRANSLOCATIVE) or toward (CISLOCATIVE) the deictic center. In addition, the up and down translocative domains distinguish relative slope.

Table 13: Directional verbs

	TRANSLOCATIVE		CISLOCATIVE	
level	<i>wa</i>	go (not far, any direction)	<i>ma</i>	come (not far, any direction)
down	<i>pia</i>	descend (gentle slope, westward)	<i>yang</i>	return from above (east)
	<i>diakang</i>	descend (steeper)		
up	<i>mia</i>	ascend (gentle slope, eastward)	<i>middang</i>	return from below (west)
	<i>raung</i>	ascend (steeper)		

The level terms *wa* and *ma* are used only for short distances. For longer distances up or down terms are used, recognizing that any long distance movement must involve a change in elevation. The direction verb occurs following the motion verb. The direction verb *middang* in (214) specifies the path of motion toward the deictic center and moving upward, while the direction verb *ma* in (215) specifies the path of motion toward the deictic center with no significant elevation change.

(214) *Tubbe Pering gang golang middang*
 T.P. 3SG.ACT return up.CIS
 ‘Tubbe Pering came back home (upward)’ [pubila449]

(215) *aname ging biring ma*
 person 3PL.ACT run come
 ‘The people came running.’ [bm138]

Example (216) has two directional SVCs, each elaborating the motion verb *kolang* ‘roll’. The second SVC uses three directional verbs to indicate the path.

(216) *kolang raung bila ara tang, kolang wa pia diakang*
 roll climb hill large on roll go down.TRANS down.TRANS
 ‘It rolled up onto the large hill, (then) rolled away down.’ [motion3.05]

Note that direction verbs may also occur alone without a motion verb, in which case they indicate motion but without specifying the manner of motion.

6.2.2. Aspect-marking SVCs

A restricted class of verbs may be used in SVCs to indicate aspect. The verb *kanna* ‘be finished’ functions as a perfect marker, denoting a past event which is of current relevance.

(217) *nang hori kanna*
 1SG.ACT eat finish
 ‘I have already eaten.’ / ‘I have finished eating.’

(218) *gang mulai gi-ong kaulang ayang ma mising kanna*
 3SG.ACT begin 3PL-area call drift come sit finish
 ‘He began to call them to come in and sit down.’ [pubila118]

In this usage *kanna* contrasts with the perfective marker *ga* (see §7.1).

(219) *ir patta ga*
 condition dark PFV
 ‘It’s (already) dark.’

(220) *ir patta kanna*
 condition dark finish
 ‘it has gotten dark.’

The verb *yadda* ‘be not yet’ occurs in SVCs to mark incomplete aspect.

- (221) *yadda sauke gayang ha*
 be.not.yet dance NEG.IMP DISC
 ‘Don’t dance yet.’ [bm073]
- (222) *gi-masala saiga si yadda haulung i-t’iang*
 3PL- PROX.SPEC.VIS ART be.not.yet hang PROG-
 problem lie.down
 ‘Their problem there is not yet being hung down (resolved)’ [conflict168]

The verb *gatta/gaata* is used in SVCs to mark completive aspect. It is often used as an explicit linker of sequential events, as (223), where *gatta* signals that the act of staying occurred prior to the act of running away.

- (223) *mis gatta biring wa*
 stay already run go.TRANS
 ‘(They) stayed and then afterward they ran away.’ [darang092]

6.2.3. Auxiliary verbs

Another type of asymmetrical SVC involves the use of a semantically bleached verb or postposition as an auxiliary or preverb. The set of verbal auxiliaries is a closed class of seven items: *me*, *wang*, *kang*, *tang*, *-ong*, *-r*, and *ir*. While some auxiliaries are homophonous with primary verbs (e.g., *wang* ‘exist’) or postpositions (e.g., *tang* ‘on top’), others do not occur outside this class. The function of these auxiliaries is easily not captured in a simple gloss. The auxiliary *me* is used in SVC’s which indicate greater a greater degree of affectedness.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|--|
| (224) | <i>tubang</i> ‘point’ | <i>me tubang</i> ‘point something out, indicate’ |
| | <i>asang</i> ‘say’ | <i>me asang</i> ‘tell’ |
| | <i>kle’e</i> ‘vomit’ | <i>me kle’e</i> ‘vomit on’ |
| | <i>using</i> ‘pick up’ | <i>me using</i> ‘carry on back’ |
| | <i>tukka</i> ‘be short’ | <i>me tukka</i> ‘be not enough’ |

The auxiliary *me* may also function to create verbalizations from nominal forms.

- (225) *pammung* ‘grave’ *me pammung* ‘to inter, bury’

The auxiliary *wang* forms middle constructions describing an extended event, as exemplified in the following verbal lexemes.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|---|
| (226) | <i>birang</i> ‘to speak’ | <i>wang birang</i> ‘to tell a story’ |
| | <i>golang</i> ‘to return’ | <i>wang golang</i> ‘to reply, answer’ |
| | <i>galu</i> ‘to chase’ | <i>wang galu</i> ‘to be expelled’ |
| | <i>pering</i> ‘to pour’ | <i>wang pering</i> ‘to splash on’ |
| | <i>pinni</i> ‘to hold’ | <i>wang pinni</i> ‘to fasten, to follow orders’ |
| | <i>ranung</i> ‘to catch sth falling’ | <i>wang ranung</i> ‘to take aim’ |
| | <i>garung</i> ‘to release’ | <i>wang garung</i> ‘to imitate’ |
| | <i>tuppung</i> ‘to grow’ | <i>wang tuppung</i> ‘to spill’ |

The auxiliary *kang* acts as a caustivizer deriving transitive verbs.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---|
| (227) | <i>diggi</i> ‘to be bright’ | <i>kang diggi</i> ‘destroy’ |
| | <i>bina</i> ‘to be detached’ | <i>kang bina</i> ‘to wipe out, scatter’ |

The auxiliary *tang* often imparts a sense of repetition.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|--|
| (228) | <i>saukang</i> ‘watch’ | <i>tang saukang</i> ‘watch out for’ |
| | <i>baulang</i> ‘fall over’ | <i>tang baulang</i> ‘pounce’ |
| | <i>ussing</i> ‘to tie’ | <i>tang ussing</i> ‘decide’ |
| | <i>hillang</i> ‘to fly’ | <i>tang hillang</i> ‘to violate’ |
| | <i>pering</i> ‘to pour’ | <i>tang pering</i> ‘to pour on’ |
| | <i>pinni</i> ‘to hold’ | <i>tang pinni</i> ‘to grope’ |
| | <i>golang</i> ‘to return’ | <i>tang golang</i> ‘to repeat, add to’ |
| | <i>hori</i> ‘to eat’ | <i>tang hori</i> ‘to feed’ |
| | <i>tasing</i> ‘to fall down’ | <i>tang tasing</i> ‘to fall on’ |

The auxiliary *-ong* refers to an area, or to a place being opened up. This auxiliary is usually inflected with a person-marking prefix, and it may inflect in two ways, intransitively or transitively. The prefix vowel *a* is deleted before *-ong*, while the prefix vowel *i* merges with the vowel of the auxiliary to yield a high back vowel.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--|
| (229) | <i>assing</i> ‘remove, open’ | <i>gong assing</i> ‘unravel, untie’ |
| | <i>tuppung</i> ‘grow’ | <i>gong tuppung</i> ‘extend’ |
| | <i>baulang</i> ‘fall over’ | <i>gong baulang</i> ‘give birth’ |
| | <i>diggi</i> ‘to be clean, open’ | <i>gong diggi</i> ‘to clean an area entirely’ |
| | <i>ta'ai</i> ‘to cut’ | <i>gong ta'ai</i> ‘to cut away, clear out an area’ |
| | <i>kaulang</i> ‘to call’ | <i>gong kaulang</i> ‘to call out to him/her’ |

Some examples of *-ong* conjugated for other person and number combinations are given below.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|-----------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------|
| (230) | <i>gang</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>lamuli</i> | <i>marung</i> | <i>gaterannang</i> | <i>gi-ong</i> | <i>kaulang</i> |
| | 3SG.ACT | 3SG.POSS | hero | PL | all.of.them | 3PL-AUX | call |
| | ‘He called all his heroes together.’ [pubila298] | | | | | | |

- (231) *n-ong na-ayanung*
 1SG-AUX 1SG-be.first
 ‘I will go first.’

The fourth person forms *ong* and *ung* may also function as reciprocal markers.

- (232) *tiaku ong pinni*
 glass 4SG.AUX hold
 ‘Hold the glasses together.’

- (233) *ging ung baulung*
 3PL.ACT 4PL.AUX fall
 ‘They gathered together.’

The auxiliary *-r* usually functions as an applicative adding an additional argument. It is obligatorily inflected with a person-marking prefix, most often the third singular *ga-*.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|--|
| (234) | <i>ma</i> ‘come’ | <i>gar ma</i> ‘bring’ |
| | <i>wa</i> ‘go’ | <i>gar wa</i> ‘take’ |
| | <i>middang</i> ‘return from below’ | <i>gar middang</i> ‘bring back from below’ |
| | <i>pati</i> ‘to pay’ | <i>gar pati</i> ‘to pay for something’ |
| | <i>palena</i> ‘to teach’ | <i>gar palena</i> ‘to teach someone’ |
| | <i>natar</i> ‘to stand’ | <i>gar natar</i> ‘to erect’ |

With some roots *-r* derives intransitive verbs from transitive one.

- (235) *pinni* ‘to hold O’ *gar pinni* ‘to continue, endure’

The auxiliary *-r* can also be inflected with other person-marking prefixes.

- (236) *gaata gi-r mi raung Si Domma me*
 afterward 3PL-AUX ascend climb S.D. LOC
 ‘Afterwards they were brought to Si Domma.’ [soli_hist]

The fourth person plural form *ir* derives verbs which refer to an abstract condition or place.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|--|
| (237) | <i>kalalang</i> ‘to know’ | <i>ir kalalang</i> ‘to understand’ |
| | <i>patang</i> ‘to be unable’ | <i>ir patang</i> ‘to be stupid’ |
| | <i>lera</i> ‘to be light’ | <i>ir lera</i> ‘to be daylight, daytime’ |
| | <i>war</i> ‘to shine’ | <i>ir war</i> ‘to burn’ |

- (238) *gang ir patang*
 3SG.ACT AUX not.able
 ‘He is stupid.’

6.2.4. Dual constructions with *-ilaku*

The verb *-ilaku* ‘be two’ (derived from the numeral *alaku* ‘two’) can be used with person-marking inflection to mark dual number for actor arguments.

- (239) Dual markers from *alaku*
pilaku 1INCL ‘the two of us’
nilaku 1EXCL ‘the two of us (excluding addressee)’
hilaku 2PL ‘the two of you’
ilaku 3PL ‘the two them’

The resulting dual verbs then function in serial verb constructions to mark dual reference.

- (240) *pi-laku pi-lama ta*
 1INCL-two 1INCL-go IPFV
 ‘Let’s (just) the two of us go.’

In the case of first and second person arguments *-ilaku* must take the same person-marking prefix as the actor prefix on the main verb. However, the form *ilaku* is used with both third and fourth person arguments.

- (241) *ging i-laku kap-kap birang*
 3PL.ACT 4PL-two whisper talk
 ‘They two of them are whispering.’

6.2.5. Comitative constructions with *-tu*

The verb *-tu* ‘be together with’ functions in serial verb constructions as a comitative to mark an event or state undertaken with the main verb.

- (242) *pi-tu pi-lama ta*
 1INCL-together 1INCL-walk IPFV
 ‘Let’s go together.’

- (243) *na-dia kaweni ni-tu au ni-ga-llang*
 1SG-go children 1EXCL-together grasshopper 1EXCL-3SG-search
 ‘I am going with my friends to look for grasshoppers.’

7. Aspect-marking

In contrast to the languages of central and eastern Alor, Western Pantar lacks significant morphology expressing aspect. Tense and modality are also not morphologically marked.

7.1. Aspectual particles

Aspect is most commonly marked via the particles *ta* and *ga*, marking imperfective and perfective, respectively. These particles follow the predicate. Imperfective *ta* almost never occurs with predicates whose referent is indexed only via a full pronoun. Similarly, perfective *ga* almost never occurs with predicates whose referent is indexed via a person-marking prefix.

(244) na-lama ta (? nang lama ta)
 1SG-walk IPFV
 ‘I’m going.’

(245) gang lama ga (? ga-lama ga)
 1SG.ACT walk PFV
 ‘He left.’

Imperfective *ta* often signals intention. Thus, in (246) there is an intention to build fences, and in (247) there is an intention to check something out, have a look.

(246) ping dalla siga=b lama dia maum
 1SG.ACT tomorrow there=REL walk go LEV.SPEC.NVIS
 pi badde using kalung ta
 1INCL.POSS fence raise here.and.there IPFV
 ‘Tomorrow we will go there and put up our fences here and there.’
 [pubila188]

(247) na-ga-llang na-ga-niaka ta
 1SG-3SG-look.for 1SG-3SG-see IPFV
 ‘I will take a look for him.’ [bm032]

The imperfective is also often used in imperative constructions, as in the examples below.

(248) tigung ta
 add IPFV
 ‘Have some more (food).’

(249) yasa marung sing ga-r diakang tang gaddi a-akku ta
 bad PL ART 3SG-with descend on make INCP-good IPFV
 ‘Bring down your bad ones [weapons] and fix them up.’ [pubila153]

As the examples above suggest, the imperfective marker has a strong functional association with the marking of mood, specifically irrealis mood. A more complete description of the use of aspectual particles to mark mood would require a detailed examination of discourse data which is beyond the scope of this sketch.

7.2. Aspectual prefixes

Two aspectual-marking prefixes *a-* and *i-* may occur with verbs, marking inceptive and progressive aspect, respectively. These prefixes are semantically and grammatically complementary, and hence they do not co-occur. Both aspectual prefixes *a-* and *i-* are optional. The location of the aspectual prefix depends on the morphological status of the verb root. With bound roots the aspectual prefix precedes the obligatory person-marking prefix, as shown in (250).

(250) Position of aspectual prefix with bound roots

(PRON ₂)	ASP	PRON ₁	ROOT
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With free roots the aspectual prefix precedes the root and follows the person-marking prefix, if present.

(251) Position of aspectual prefix with free roots

(PRON)	ASP	ROOT
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An example of the progressive aspect prefix with a bound root is given in (252).

(252) *John na-i-ga-niaka*
 J. 1SG-PROG-3SG-see
 ‘I am seeing / have been watching John.’

7.2.1. Inceptive prefix *a-*

The verb prefix *a-* marks inceptive aspect. Its interpretation is dependent on the implied tense. With past situations this prefix generally marks events which have just begun, just started to happen. With non-past situations this prefix marks events which are about to occur.

(253) *tame a-dia ga'ai?*
 where INCP-go 3SG.GEN
 ‘Where did she (just) go?’

(254) *a-kanna ga?*
 INCP-finish PFV
 ‘[Are you] (about to be) finished?’

- (255) *wakke bogga ye kalau eu ye a-haggi ga'ai*
 child young.man one if woman one INCP-take 3SG.GEN
 'If a young man is to marry a girl,' [marriage006]
- (256) *aname tawagang mising hala=b a-bloppa ta-b*
 person middle sit FOC=SEQ INCP-shoot IPFV-SEQ
 'It's the people sitting in the middle who will start to shoot first.'
 [pubila196]

The inceptive prefix can also have an inchoative reading, indicating a coming into being. This is the case in the following textual example, in which the character Imam Blegur is introduced.

- (257) *Imam Blegur*
 I.B.
 'Imam Blegur,'
- b. *aname Lamma tapi gang pau=m asa Bara=m mising*
 person L. but 3SG.ACT below=LOC so B.=LOC sit
 'was from the Lamma clan but he stayed down at Baranusa.'
- c. *as Islam ya dia*
 so I. toward go
 'So he entered Islam.'
- d. *Latuna wala*
 L. person
 'He came from Latuna.'
- e. *raja*
 chief
 '[He was] a chief,'
- f. *tapi pau=m Bara=m mising*
 but down=LOC B.=LOC sit
 'but he lived in Baranusa.'
- g. *Bara=m mising*
 B.=LOC sit
 'Living in Baranusa,'
- h. *Bara eu haggi as Islam ya a-dia*
 B. woman take so Islam toward INCP-go
 '[he] took a Baranusa wife so entered Islam (became a Muslim).'
- [conflict061]

In (257c) the phrase *Islam ya dia* occurs meaning 'enter Islam, go toward Islam'. This same phrase is repeated later in (257h) but with an inceptive prefix emphasizing the inchoative sense.

7.2.2. Progressive prefix *i-*

The verb prefix *i-* marks progressive aspect.

(258) *depang wang i-dekang si kauwa ging ga-kkang ga*
 ladder exist PROG-descend go NEG 3PL.ACT 3SG-hit PFV
 ‘Before he could descend the ladder they assaulted him.’ [tonuburi041]

(259) *n-iu ang me i-golang*
 1SG.POSS-mother market LOC PROG-return
 ‘My mother is returning from the market.’

The progressive prefix is homophonous with the fourth-person plural prefix *i-*. However, unlike the fourth-person prefix, the progressive prefix triggers gemination of stem-initial consonants of short verb stems. The progressive prefix may co-occur with person-marking prefixes, in which case it follows the person-marking prefix and triggers deletion of the prefix vowel. In particular, with consonant-initial verb stems which lack the progressive prefix there is a contrast between first singular and first exclusive plural person-marking prefixes, as in *nama* ‘I come’ versus *nima* ‘we (excl.) come’. However, when the progressive prefix is present this contrast is neutralized, as in *nimma* ‘I/we (excl.) have come’. Nevertheless, the presence of the progressive prefix is clear from the gemination.

(260) *ni-ar ni-hauwang n-i-mma ganung saiga*
 1EXCL-father 1EXCL-order 1EXCL-PROG-come just PROX.VIS
 ‘Our father is ordering us to come here.’ [tonu036]

The progressive prefix may have a modal evidential function, asserting the truth of an utterance in spite of a lack of direct evidence, as in (261) and (262).

(261) *n-iu n-iaku i-ga-aulang*
 1SG.POSS-mother 1SG.POSS-sibling PROG-3SG-bathe
 ‘My mother is bathing my brother [but I can’t see it].’

(262) *n-i-mising*
 1SG-PROG-sit
 ‘I am sitting [but you can’t see me].’

The preceding examples also demonstrate the contrast in the position of the progressive prefix. With bound transitive roots such as *-aulang* ‘bathe’ the progressive prefixes precedes the person-marking prefix indexing the less agent-like argument. With free roots (transitive or intransitive) such as *mising* ‘sit’ the person-marking prefix follows the person-marking prefix.

In serial verb constructions only the final verb may be marked with an aspectual prefix. This is exemplified in the following excerpt were the SVC *wena me* ‘get

ready' is repeated in the second intonation unit with an additional verb, thus *wena me lamala* 'get ready completely'. The location of the inceptive prefix shifts from *me* to *lamala*, accordingly.

- (263) *dul* *hi-wena* *a-me,*
 immediately 2PL-prepare INCP-be.located
hi-wena *me* *a-lamala.*
 2PL-prepare be.located INCP-do.completely
 'All of you get ready immediately, get ready completely.' [pubila305]

8. Summary

The features of Western Pantar which distinguish it from other languages of the Alor-Pantar family. While the phoneme inventory is typical of AP languages, the presence of a complete set of phonemic geminates (§2.2) is unique. Geminates are present sporadically in other languages of the family but do not play such a fundamental role in the phonology. Another unique aspect of WP phonology is the retention of the initial glottal fricative, though weakly articulated (§2.1.6).

In comparison to the languages of eastern Alor, WP is striking for its almost complete lack of morphology. Nouns may be inflected with a proclitic and prefix indexing alienable and inalienable possession, respectively (§4.7), while verbs may be inflected with a single paradigm of person-marking prefixes (§5.2) and one of two aspectual prefixes (§7.2). However, this single paradigm of person-marking prefixes interacts with the pronominal system to create an extremely complex system of grammatical relations not found in other AP languages. Independent pronouns are semantically-aligned, patterning according to an agent-patient system (§5.1), while the indexing of arguments on verbs is at least in part governed by lexical semantics (§5.2). This results in a situation in which a single verb prefix may index any of the A, S, or P macro-roles; not just the P role (or S and P roles), as is the case for most other Alor-Pantar languages. Related to this lack of syntactic alignment is a lack of valency-changing morphology.

Finally, though not discussed in detail here, WP has a rich system of elevation-based spatial deixis reflected in several different areas of the grammar, including demonstratives (§4.5), locational nouns (§4.8), directional verbs (§6.2.1), and deictic adverbs. The wide distribution of this elevation semplate across distinct syntactic domains, and its pervasive use in everyday discourse, clearly reflects the prominence of elevation in WP grammar (Holton 2011).

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