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## East Fataluku

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### Citation

Engelenhoven, A. T. P. G. van, & Huber, J. (2020). East Fataluku. In A. Schapper (Ed.), *Pacific Linguistics* (pp. 347-426). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9781501511158-006

Version: Publisher's Version

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Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3220784>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Aone van Engelenhoven and Juliette Huber

## **6 East Fataluku**

- 1 The language scene — 349**
- 2 Phonology — 350**
  - 2.1 Consonant phonemes — 350
  - 2.2 Vowel phonemes — 352
  - 2.3 Phonotactics — 354
  - 2.4 Stress — 357
  - 2.5 Morpho(phono)logy — 359
    - 2.5.1 Compounding — 359
    - 2.5.2 Initial consonant mutations on verbs — 360
    - 2.5.3 Reduplication — 361
    - 2.5.4 Derivational morphology — 363
  - 2.6 Other Fataluku dialects — 365
    - 2.6.1 South Fataluku — 366
    - 2.6.2 Central Fataluku — 368
  - 2.7 Orthography — 370
- 3 Basic clausal syntax — 370**
  - 3.1 Verbal predicates — 372
  - 3.2 Verbal compounds — 373
  - 3.3 Non-verbal predicates — 374
  - 3.4 Negation — 376
- 4 Noun phrases — 377**
  - 4.1 Attributes — 378
    - 4.1.1 Numerals — 379
    - 4.1.2 Relative clauses — 382
  - 4.2 Determiners — 383
    - 4.2.1 Plural markers — 384
    - 4.2.2 Reference markers — 387
  - 4.3 The pronominal demonstrative — 388
  - 4.4 Possession — 389

|                         |                                                                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>5</b>                | <b>Pronouns and other pro-forms — 393</b>                                 |
| 5.1                     | Personal pronouns — 393                                                   |
| 5.2                     | Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns — 395                                   |
| 5.3                     | Interrogative pronouns — 396                                              |
| 5.4                     | Other interrogative pro-forms — 397                                       |
| <b>6</b>                | <b>Agreement and verbal morphology — 398</b>                              |
| 6.1                     | Number agreement on verbs — 398                                           |
| 6.2                     | Object vowel prothesis — 401                                              |
| <b>7</b>                | <b>Serial verb constructions and other multi-verb constructions — 403</b> |
| 7.1                     | Direction verb SVCs — 404                                                 |
| 7.1.1                   | Directed motion SVCs — 404                                                |
| 7.1.2                   | Allative SVCs — 405                                                       |
| 7.2                     | Prospective SVCs — 407                                                    |
| 7.3                     | ‘Take’ SVCs — 408                                                         |
| 7.3.1                   | Instrumental ‘take’ SVCs — 409                                            |
| 7.3.2                   | Causative ‘take’ SVCs — 409                                               |
| 7.3.3                   | Transfer ‘take’ SVCs — 411                                                |
| 7.3.4                   | ‘Take’ SVCs with verbs of saying — 412                                    |
| 7.3.5                   | Postpositional ‘take’ SVCs — 412                                          |
| 7.4                     | Biclausal multi-verb constructions — 413                                  |
| 7.4.1                   | Ablative constructions — 414                                              |
| 7.4.2                   | Modal verb constructions — 415                                            |
| <b>8</b>                | <b>Aspect and mood marking — 416</b>                                      |
| 8.1                     | Mood — 417                                                                |
| 8.1.1                   | MOOD <sub>1</sub> marker — 417                                            |
| 8.1.2                   | MOOD <sub>2</sub> markers — 418                                           |
| 8.2                     | Aspect — 419                                                              |
| 8.2.1                   | ASPECT <sub>1</sub> markers — 419                                         |
| 8.2.2                   | ASPECT <sub>2</sub> markers — 420                                         |
| <b>9</b>                | <b>Discussion — 423</b>                                                   |
| <b>References — 425</b> |                                                                           |

# 1 The language scene

Fataluku (ISO 639-3 code: ddg) is spoken in Timor-Leste's easternmost district, Lautém. It is referred to by its speakers as *Fatalukunu*, which translates as 'correct speech' (*fata* 'correct', *luku* 'speak', *-n* NMLZ; *-u* is a paragogic vowel). In early Portuguese sources, an alternative name for the language, Dagada, can be found. However, McWilliam (2007: 360) reports that speakers were unfamiliar with the term and speculates that it may be an exonym used by Makasae speakers (cf. Hull 2004: 24).

Fataluku is part of the Eastern Timor subgroup of the TAP family, which includes Fataluku, Oirata, Makasae and Makalero (Schapper, Huber and van Engelenhoven 2012). Fataluku and Oirata form a low-level subgroup called Frata by Schapper, Huber and van Engelenhoven (2012). The split of Frata into Fataluku and Oirata can be dated with a high degree of accuracy: according to Riedel (1886: 403), the Oirata fled to Kisar island from Loikera, in the Fataluku-speaking area, in 1721. Oirata is reportedly still mutually intelligible with some Fataluku dialects (Schapper 2017a: 3).

In the Tutuala subdistrict, at the far eastern tip of Lautém, Fataluku appears to have expanded into territory previously occupied by speakers of an Austronesian language, Makuva (also known as Lóvaia). Makuva is reported to have been spoken in a handful of remote villages up until the 1960s (van Engelenhoven 2009: 335).

According to Timor-Leste's 2015 census (Statistics Timor-Leste 2015), Fataluku is spoken by a population of 41,500, making it one of the major TAP languages. Eberhard, Simons and Fennig (2019) classify it as vigorous. This assessment is confirmed by Heston (2015: 5–6). However, the vast majority of speakers are at least bilingual with Tetun, and it is possible that a switch to that language may take place in the future (cf. McWilliam 2007: 360).

There is a fair number of linguistic materials on Fataluku: Campagnolo (1973) is an early French-language grammar. A grammar sketch in English is presented in Hull (2005). The same author published a rather extensive grammatical and lexical comparison of the TAP languages of Timor (Hull 2004). Papers on various aspects of Fataluku structure have been produced by van Engelenhoven (2009, 2010) and Stoel (2008). Heston (2015) completed a substantial thesis on Fataluku phonology, and various sociolinguistic issues are discussed in Conceição Savio (2016). Heston has also published several further articles (e.g. Heston 2016; Heston 2020). There is also a useful Fataluku-Portuguese dictionary (Nácher 2012; originally published in two parts in 2003 and 2004). Despite the comparative wealth of materials, however, Fataluku remains the

only TAP language of Timor that still lacks a comprehensive English-language reference grammar.

Following Hull (2005), van Engelenhoven (2009: 334) distinguishes five main Fataluku dialects: East Fataluku, South Fataluku, Central Fataluku, North Fataluku and Northwest Fataluku. The differences that exist between those dialects, especially beyond phonology, are unclear and require more research. This sketch focuses on East Fataluku, which is spoken in the Tutuala subdistrict. It is based on some 12 hours of recorded speech collected by van Engelenhoven between 2001 and 2011. In addition, the corpus includes emails and phone calls from East Fataluku speakers to van Engelenhoven.

## 2 Phonology

The segmental phonology of Fataluku is largely similar to that of its neighbors of the Eastern Timor subgroup, Makalero and Makasae (cf. Huber 2017). A notable exception is the presence of palatal obstruent phonemes in Fataluku. Individual Fataluku dialects differ with respect to the phonetic realization of these obstruents, the presence of a glottal stop phoneme and a voicing distinction in stops, as well as aspects of the stress system. Lacking voiced and glottal stops as well as phonemic vowel length, East Fataluku is the least complex of all Fataluku dialects. Sections 2.1 to 2.5 give a description of East Fataluku phonology. A concise comparison with other Fataluku dialects follows in 2.6. Section 2.7 briefly discusses the Fataluku orthography.

### 2.1 Consonant phonemes

Table 1 sets out the 15 consonant phonemes of East Fataluku. Segments in round brackets are loan phonemes. Orthographic symbols are shown in angled brackets. The minimal pairs presented in Table 2 demonstrate the contrastiveness of the consonant phonemes in initial and medial position.

The loan phonemes /b/ and /d/ are found mainly in the speech of younger people and those who frequently travel outside of Tutuala. Older, less traveled, speakers tend to devoice /b/ into /p/ and replace /d/ with the voiceless palatal stop /c/, as in [bisikileta ~ pisikileta] ‘bicycle’ (> Portuguese *bicicleta*) and [modo ~ moco] ‘vegetables’ (> Tetun *modo*), respectively. There is no phonemic glottal stop in East Fataluku. It is retained clearly only at morpheme boundaries

in reference stacks which would otherwise result in a sequence of two vowels (see section 4.2.2). The glottal stop is phonemic in other Fataluku dialects (see section 2.6).<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1:** Consonant phonemes.

|             | BILABIAL |     | LABIO-DENTAL | ALVEO-DENTAL |     | PALATAL | VELAR | GLOTTAL |
|-------------|----------|-----|--------------|--------------|-----|---------|-------|---------|
| STOP        | p        | (b) |              | t            | (d) | c       | ʃ <j> | k       |
| NASAL       |          | m   |              |              | n   |         |       |         |
| FRICATIVE   |          |     | f            | s            |     |         |       | h       |
| APPROXIMANT |          |     | ʊ <v>        |              |     |         |       |         |
| LATERAL     |          |     |              | l            |     |         |       |         |
| TRILL       |          |     |              | r            |     |         |       |         |

**Table 2:** Minimal pairs.

|           | INITIAL POSITION          |                     | MEDIAL POSITION    |                      |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| /p/ ≠ /m/ | /palu/ ‘father’           | /malu/ ‘loincloth’  | /hapa/ ‘snake sp.’ | /hama/ ‘banyan sp.’  |
| /p/ ≠ /f/ | /pani/ ‘but’              | /fani/ ‘tasty’      | /apa/ ‘mountain’   | /afa/ ‘1PL.INCL.SBJ’ |
| /f/ ≠ /v/ | /fata/ ‘truly’            | /vata/ ‘coconut’    | /kafa/ ‘eight’     | /kava/ ‘short’       |
| /m/ ≠ /n/ | /mau/ ‘come’              | /nau/ ‘really’      | /numu/ ‘very’      | /nunu/ ‘banyan sp.’  |
| /p/ ≠ /t/ | /paru/ ‘widow’            | /taru/ ‘liana’      | /apu/ ‘with’       | /atu/ ‘belly’        |
| /t/ ≠ /n/ | /taru/ ‘liana’            | /naru/ ‘hole’       | /matu/ ‘old’       | /manu/ ‘wound’       |
| /t/ ≠ /s/ | /tai/ ‘stutter’           | /sai/ ‘finished’    | /pata/ ‘trunk’     | /pasa/ ‘wet’         |
| /l/ ≠ /r/ | /lata/ ‘domain’           | /rata/ ‘long ago’   | /pali/ ‘absent’    | /pari/ ‘wind’        |
| /t/ ≠ /c/ | /tura/ ‘more’             | /cura/ ‘rat’        | /moto/ ‘reed’      | /moco/ ‘child’       |
| /c/ ≠ /ʃ/ | /cala/ ‘net’ <sup>†</sup> | /ʃala/ ‘rooster’    | /cece/ ‘clean’     | /ʃe~ʃe/ ‘RDP~alone’  |
| /t/ ≠ /k/ | /tara/ ‘first’            | /kara/ ‘banyan sp.’ | /utu/ ‘off’        | /uku/ ‘thorn’        |
| /s/ ≠ /h/ | /sala/ ‘shelf’            | /hala/ ‘only’       | /asi/ ‘shrimp’     | /ahi/ ‘devil’        |

<sup>†</sup> > Indonesian *jala* ‘net’

<sup>1</sup> Note, however, that according to Heston (2015: 109–110), it is rarely realized as a full glottal closure in Central Fataluku. Instead, it may be deleted altogether, possibly suggesting that it is in the process of being lost (cf. Huber 2017: 274 on the weakness of the glottal stop in neighboring Makalero).

## 2.2 Vowel phonemes

Table 3 gives the vowel phonemes of East Fataluku.

**Table 3:** Vowel phonemes.

|      | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| HIGH | i     |         | u    |
| MID  | e     |         | o    |
| LOW  |       | a       |      |

Table 4 illustrates the contrastiveness of the five vowel phonemes in initial and second syllables.

**Table 4:** Minimal pairs.

| INITIAL SYLLABLE |                               |                            | SECOND SYLLABLE            |                             |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| /i/ ≠ /u/        | /pira/ ‘bronze’               | /pura/ ‘sell’              | /vari/ ‘ear’               | /varu/ ‘Hibiscus sp.’       |
| /i/ ≠ /e/        | /pili/ ‘nut sp.’              | /peli/ ‘tie’               | /ori/ ‘deceive’            | /ore/ ‘sticky rice’         |
| /i/ ≠ /o/        | /pila/ ‘battery’ <sup>†</sup> | /pola/ ‘ball’ <sup>‡</sup> | /osi/ ‘to force’           | /oso/ ‘plaited net’         |
| /i/ ≠ /a/        | /ina/ ‘eye’                   | /ana/ ‘1SG.SBJ’            | /vani/ ‘bee’               | /vana/ ‘night’              |
| /u/ ≠ /e/        | /hula/ ‘spoon’                | /hela/ ‘remove’            | /matu/ ‘old’               | /mate/ ‘charm’              |
| /u/ ≠ /o/        | /punu/ ‘sacred’               | /ponu/ ‘tap’               | /kolu/ ‘split’             | /kolo/ ‘stalk’              |
| /u/ ≠ /a/        | /pula/ ‘pea’                  | /pala/ ‘garden’            | /fanu/ ‘face’              | /fana/ ‘advise’             |
| /o/ ≠ /e/        | /toku/ ‘valley’               | /teku/ ‘mix’               | /koto/ ‘bean’ <sup>※</sup> | /kote/ ‘correct’            |
| /o/ ≠ /a/        | /poli/ ‘kettle’               | /pali/ ‘absent’            | /toto/ ‘see’               | /tota/ ‘talk rapidly’       |
| /a/ ≠ /e/        | /mata/ ‘ocean’                | /meta/ ‘mourn’             | /maka/ ‘tread on’          | /make/ ‘scold’ <sup>‡</sup> |

<sup>†</sup> > Portuguese *pilha* ‘battery’

<sup>‡</sup> > Indonesian *bola* ‘ball’

<sup>※</sup> > Tetun *koto* ‘bean’

<sup>‡</sup> > Indonesian *maki* ‘insult, abusive words’

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ have palatal and bilabial glide allophones, which occur as onglides in syllable onsets and as offglides in complex nuclei (cf. section 2.3). As offglides, they result in eight diphthongs. As onglides, they are mostly found before /a/ only. Some examples are given in (1). Syllable boundaries are indicated in the phonetic transcriptions with [.].

| (1) Phonemic | Phonetic              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| /uane/       | [ <sup>?</sup> wa.ne] | ‘be under’      |
| /tau/        | [taw]                 | ‘pumpkin’       |
| /tau-ete/    | [ta.we.te ~ ta.wɛ.tɛ] | ‘pumpkin plant’ |
| /kaiare/     | [ka.ja.re]            | ‘be tired’      |
| /loiasu/     | [lo.ja.su ~ ɭ.ja.su]  | ‘ship’          |

The mid vowel phonemes have closed ([e], [o]) and open ([ɛ], [ɔ]) allophones, conditioned by the height of the following vowel. If a lexeme consists of two syllables with mid vowel nuclei, both mid vowels can be realized as either open or closed. In monosyllabic morphemes, /e/ tends to be realized as [e], whereas /o/ can be heard as either [o] or [ɔ]. In diphthongs, they are always closed. This is exemplified in (2).

| (2) Phonemic | Phonetic                                 |                                                  |
|--------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| /meta/       | [mɛ.ta]                                  | ‘mourning’                                       |
| /meti/       | [me.ti]                                  | ‘low tide’                                       |
| /ete/        | [ <sup>?</sup> ɛ.te ~ <sup>?</sup> e.te] | ‘tree’                                           |
| /tei/        | [tej]                                    | ‘sacred’                                         |
| /taraleu/    | [ta.ra.lew]                              | ‘rooster’                                        |
| /ropa/       | [rɔ.pa]                                  | ‘trousers’ (< Portuguese <i>roupa</i> ‘clothes’) |
| /hoku/       | [ho.ku]                                  | ‘mud’                                            |
| /moko/       | [mɔ.kɔ ~ mo.ko]                          | ‘child’                                          |
| /oj/         | [ <sup>?</sup> ɔj ~ <sup>?</sup> oj]     | ‘Corky Bark Tree ( <i>Carallia brachiata</i> )’  |
| /rou/        | [row]                                    | ‘leafy’                                          |

All five vowels furthermore have short, half-long and long allophones. Long vowels occur in monosyllabic lexical morphemes of the shape (C)V. Monosyllabic lexical morphemes of the shape (C)VC have half-long vowel nuclei. Short vowels appear everywhere else, i.e. in polysyllabic morphemes as well as monosyllabic lexical morphemes of the shape (C)VG(C). Some examples are shown in (3) (see section 2.3 for more information on phonotactics). Note that vowel length is maintained in monosyllabic (C)V and (C)VC morphemes even if they are suffixed with the derivational morphemes discussed in 2.5.4. This accounts for length-based minimal pairs such as that seen in (4). The forms with the adjectivizing suffix /-ana/ show clearly that the final /e/ is part of the root in (4b), but not in (4a).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> More research is necessary on the behavior of long vowels in monosyllabic roots if they appear in longer forms. For instance, the lengthening seems to disappear if a noun appears in a

- |     |                                                |                                                  |
|-----|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| (3) | Monosyllabic (C)V<br>/la/ [la:]<br>'go'        | Monosyllabic (C)VC<br>/lan/ [la'n]<br>'friend'   |
|     | Polysyllabic (C)V<br>/lata/ [lata]<br>'domain' | Polysyllabic (C)VC<br>/lalan/ [lalan]<br>'murky' |
- (4)
- |    |                                          |                                                     |
|----|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| a. | /ner-e/ [ne're]<br>/ner-ana/ [ne'rana]   | 'be flat' (flat-VBLZ)<br>'flat (thing)' (flat-ADJZ) |
| b. | /nere/ [nere]<br>/nere-n-ana/ [nerenana] | 'follow'<br>'following (thing)' (follow-ADJZ)       |

## 2.3 Phonotactics

East Fataluku distinguishes between monosyllabic and polysyllabic lexical morphemes, which differ with respect to syllable structure as well as the distribution of segments within syllables.

The syllable structures found in Fataluku are listed and exemplified in (5). (C)VGC syllables are restricted to monosyllabic lexical morphemes. The remaining syllable patterns occur in all types of roots. Closed syllables appear morphemically only; there are thus no consonant clusters in monomorphemic items. A paragogic vowel /u/ is commonly added to break up a consonant cluster when a word ending in a closed syllable is followed by a consonant-initial word, or when a closed syllable appears at the end of a phonological phrase (see also section 2.5.4). When a morpheme ending in an open syllable is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme, an epenthetic /n/ is frequently inserted (section 2.5.4).

- |     |                    |                          |                         |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (5) | Syllable structure | Monosyllabic morpheme    | Polysyllabic morpheme   |
|     | (C)V               | /la/ [la:] 'go'          | /pala/ [pala] 'field'   |
|     | (C)VC              | /lan/ [la'n] 'friend'    | /lalan/ [lalan] 'murky' |
|     | (C)VGC             | /lai/ [laj] 'lord'       | /malai/ [malaj] 'king'  |
|     | (C)VGC             | /laik/ [lajk] 'rosewood' |                         |

---

bisyllabic form with the paragogic vowel /u/ (see section 2.3), or if it is the first element in a compound: /cal/ [ca'l] 'grandchild', /cal-u/ [cal-u] 'grandchild', /cal-nami/ [cal-nami] 'grandson' (literally 'grandchild man').

Inherited lexical morphemes in East Fataluku typically consist of two and maximally of three syllables. Longer words are either morphologically complex or loans, as in the examples in (6). The examples also show that consonant clusters in loans are commonly broken up by epenthetic vowels.

- |     |            |                       |               |                                 |
|-----|------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| (6) | /sapuraki/ | [sapuraki]            | ‘orange’      | < Tetun <i>sabraka</i>          |
|     | /leteratu/ | [leteratu ~ leteratu] | ‘photo’       | < Portuguese <i>retrato</i>     |
|     | /perecuwa/ | [pɛɾɛcuwa ~ perecuwa] | ‘pardon’      | < Portuguese <i>perdoar</i>     |
|     | /turupasa/ | [turupasa]            | ‘interpreter’ | < Indonesian <i>juru bahasa</i> |

Table 5 summarizes the distribution of the consonant phonemes, including both inherited and loan phonemes. All consonants can occur as syllable onsets, but there are some minor differences between initial and non-initial syllables. The palatal glide [j] appears root-medially only. The bilabial glide [w] is found as an onset both initially and medially, but is rare in this function and is hence bracketed in Table 5. A non-phonemic glottal stop appears before [w] in root-initial position, as well as before root-initial vowels. Intervocally, [ʔ] is found exclusively in reference stacks (see section 4.2.2). The voiced palatal stop [ɟ] is restricted to root-initial position. The only instance where it is found medially is when a root with initial [ɟ] is reduplicated (e.g. /ɟe~ɟe-nu/ (RDP~alone-NMLZ) ‘uniqueness’, from /ɟe/ ‘alone’). The loan phoneme /b/ has been attested only as an onset in initial position, e.g. /bis/ ‘bus’ (from Indonesian *bis*). In contrast, the loan phoneme /d/ is found as an onset initially and medially, e.g. /dosi/ ‘candy’ (from Tetun *dosi*) and /modo/ ‘vegetables’ (from Tetun *modo*). With respect to the coda position, there are different restrictions for monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots. The fricatives, the nasals and the liquids can all appear in coda position, both in monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots; among the stops, only /t/ and /k/ can. The bilabial and palatal stops, /p/ and /c/, are found as codas only in monosyllabic, but not in polysyllabic, roots. The labiodental approximant /v/ can appear in the coda of polysyllabic roots only. Finally, only /n/ and /l/ can appear at the end of a phonological phrase, as in the one-word answers in (7). In all other cases, coda consonants are resyllabified as onsets when either a paragogic /u/ or a derivational suffix (section 2.5.4) are added.

- (7) a. /ina=i/        – /macen/  
       what=PRED    food  
       ‘What is this?’ – ‘Food.’
- b. /uman=i/    – /a=pal/  
       who=PRED     1SG.POSS=father  
       ‘Who is this?’ – ‘My father.’

Table 5: Distribution of consonants.

| ONSET              | /p/ | /b/ | /m/ | /f/ | /v/ | [w] | /t/ | /d/ | /n/ | /s/ | /l/ | /r/ | /c/ | /ʃ/ | [j] | /k/ | /h/ | [ʔ] |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| #_V                | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | (✓) | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   |
| V_V                | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | (✓) | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | (✓) | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | (✓) |
| MONOSYLLABIC ROOTS |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| V_#                | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | -   |
| POLYSYLLABIC ROOTS |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| V_#                | -   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | -   | ✓   | ✓   | ✓   | -   |

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ can combine into diphthongs with all other vowels, resulting in eight diphthongs. Examples are given in (8).

- (8)
- |      |          |                    |
|------|----------|--------------------|
| /ei/ | /kei/    | ‘nearby’           |
| /ai/ | /kai/    | ‘pipe’             |
| /ui/ | /kuikui/ | ‘bird species’     |
| /oi/ | /koi/    | ‘parakeet’         |
| /iu/ | /kiukiu/ | ‘chirp’            |
| /eu/ | /keu/    | ‘kind of bracelet’ |
| /au/ | /kau/    | ‘Baumea grass’     |
| /ou/ | /kou/    | ‘tree species’     |

Three sequences of three vowels have been found in East Fataluku: /aia/, /aiu/ and /oia/. Example (9) shows that they are pronounced as two syllables, with intervocalic /i/ functioning as the onset of the second syllable. While the sequence /aia/ is relatively frequent, /aiu/ and /oia/ are found in only one example each, one of which (/loiasu/ ‘ship’) is a compound (*loi* ‘boat’ + *asu* ‘steel’, < Portuguese *aço*), although it is not synchronically analyzable for native speakers.

- (9)
- |          |            |          |
|----------|------------|----------|
| /aia/    | [ʔa.ja]    | ‘rain’   |
| /paiah/  | [pa.jah]   | ‘mango’  |
| /paiur/  | [pa.jur]   | ‘paddle’ |
| /loiasu/ | [lo.ja.su] | ‘ship’   |

## 2.4 Stress

The accent systems of various Fataluku dialects have been analyzed, sometimes in contradictory ways, in Campagnolo (1973), Stoel (2008), and Heston (2015). There is to date no detailed analysis of the accent system in East Fataluku. This section provides a preliminary account, and much work remains to be done.

East Fataluku is a pitch-accent language. In every lexical morpheme, there is one syllable that is prosodically marked by a slight rise in pitch. Function words, which can be either monosyllabic or disyllabic (e.g. /nara/ ‘if’), have no pitch accent with the exception of the third person possessive pronoun /i/ ~ /ih/, the reflexive possessive /hin/ and the second person singular subject pronoun /a/. Lexical morphemes fall into the three types of prosodic words illustrated in Table 6.

**Table 6:** Prosodic word types in East Fataluku.

| CLASS | SYLLABLES | FEET             | EXAMPLE    |                           |            |
|-------|-----------|------------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|
| 1     | 1         |                  | /le/       | [l'e:]                    | 'house'    |
|       | 2         | trochee          | /lipal/    | [l'ipal]                  | 'wed'      |
| 2     | 3         | dactyl           | /mukeue/   | [l'mukeue]                | 'fragrant' |
| 3     | 4         | trochee ~ dactyl | /sapuraki/ | [l'sapu'raki ~ sa'puraki] | 'orange'   |

Class 1 lexemes are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. A minimal phonological word is bimoraic; for this reason, the nucleus of monosyllabic lexical morphemes is lengthened if they are uttered in isolation (see section 2.2).

When a bisyllabic Class 1 root is combined with the paragogic vowel /u/ or the verbalizer /-e/ (cf. section 2.5.4), resulting in a trisyllabic prosodic word, accent placement varies. In isolation, the accent may either remain on the initial syllable of the lexeme or shift to the penultimate of the word. In a larger phrase, the accent remains on the initial syllable. This is illustrated in (10).

- (10) [tupur]                      'woman'  
       [tupur-u] ~ [tu'pur-u]    'woman' (+ paragogic /u/)  
       [tupur-e] ~ [tu'pur-e]    'be female' (+ verbalizer /-e/)  
       [tahi-'tupur-u]            'Banda sea' (toponym, literally 'sea-woman-NMLZ')  
       [tupur-'moco]             'girl' (literally 'woman-child')

Class 2 words consist of three light syllables. The accent lies on the initial syllable and remains on this syllable even in affixation and compounding, as seen in (11) and (12), respectively.

- (11) /fulehe/                      [fulehɛ]                      'return'  
       /fulehe-nana/               [fulehɛ-nana]               'the returning one' (return-ADJZ)
- (12) /mumina/                      [mumina]                      'iron'  
       /mumina-karas-u/           [mumina-'karas-u]           'brass' (iron-yellow-NMLZ)

Class 3 words, finally, consist of four light syllables and can be stressed either according to a trochaic or a dactylic pattern. Ongoing research suggests that the trochaic pattern is associated with casual speech, while dactylic stress is preferred in careful speech. Stress remains constant in compounding and affixation, as shown in (13) and (14).

- |                  |                     |                    |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (13)             | Casual speech       | Careful speech     |                   |
| /savarika/       | [ˈsavaˈrika]        | [saˈvarika]        | ‘scorpion’        |
| /savarika-karan/ | [ˈsavaˈrika-ˈkaran] | [saˈvarika-ˈkaran] | ‘scorpion-pincer’ |
- 
- |              |                |                |                |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (14)         | Casual speech  | Careful speech |                |
| /eceremu/    | [ʔeˈceˈremu]   | [ʔeˈceremu]    | ‘think’ (root) |
| /eceremu-nu/ | [ʔeˈceˈremu-n] | [ʔeˈceremu-n]  | ‘thought’      |

## 2.5 Morpho(phono)logy

East Fataluku has a number of productive morphophonological and morphological processes, including compounding (section 2.5.1), initial consonant mutations on verbs in verbal compounds (section 2.5.2), and reduplication (section 2.5.3). There are also several productive derivational processes (section 2.5.4), setting Fataluku apart from the neighboring Eastern Timor languages Makalero and Makasae, which tend towards isolating (Huber 2017).

### 2.5.1 Compounding

Compounding is a very productive process in East Fataluku. Nominal compounds are head-final, as seen in (15); some further examples, along with information on stress in compounds, are given in section 2.4. Compounds consisting of three elements are also fairly common and may create rather long phonotactic structures; examples are given in (16). Some nominal compounds are not fully transparent, as one of their constituent parts has been lost. Such cases can, however, still be recognized as compounds if they contain consonant clusters, which do not occur in monomorphemic words. Verbal compounds are also very common; their properties are discussed in more detail in section 3.2 (see also section 7.3.5).

- |      |    |                    |  |                   |
|------|----|--------------------|--|-------------------|
| (15) | a. | /vata-ira/         |  | ‘coconut milk’    |
|      |    | coconut-water      |  |                   |
|      | b. | /savarika-karan-u/ |  | ‘scorpion pincer’ |
|      |    | scorpion-pincer-PV |  |                   |
- 
- |      |    |                                                    |  |                 |
|------|----|----------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| (16) | a. | /mua-cau-uele/ [mu.wa.caw.ue.lɛ]                   |  | ‘world’         |
|      |    | soil-head-skin                                     |  |                 |
|      | b. | /lahuna-paia~paia-asa/ [la.hu.na.pa.ja.pa.ja.a.sa] |  | ‘kind of onion’ |
|      |    | onion-RDP-necklace-leaf                            |  |                 |

2.5.2 Initial consonant mutations on verbs

A majority of East Fataluku verbs exhibit initial consonant mutations, where forms with altered initial consonants appear when they are used as the second element in a verbal compound (see section 3.2). There are five types of initial consonant mutation, shown in (17).

- (17) /f/ → /p/  
      /t/ → /c/  
      /h/ → /c/  
      /h/ → /s/  
      /s/ → /c/

Examples of these mutations are given in Table 7. Not all mutations are equally frequent: for instance, /h/ → /s/ and /s/ → /c/ are known from only a handful of examples each. A smaller set of verbs does not exhibit this alternation. This includes all loans and verbs which start with phonemes other than /f/, /t/, /h/ and /s/; in addition, there are a few verbs with these initial phonemes that are non-alternating, as shown in (18). A similar mutation is found in Makalero and Makasae, although it is a much less pervasive phenomenon in these languages (Huber 2017: 282).

Table 7: Initial consonant mutation on verbs.

|       |         |            |                      |
|-------|---------|------------|----------------------|
| f → p | /fulu/  | → /-pulu/  | ‘spit’               |
|       | /fetil/ | → /-petil/ | ‘stumble’            |
|       | /fo/    | → /-po/    | ‘be inside (PL)’     |
|       | /fai/   | → /-pai/   | ‘do’                 |
| t → c | /tipal/ | → /-cipal/ | ‘play drum’          |
|       | /tutef/ | → /-cutef/ | ‘blow’               |
|       | /te/    | → /-ce/    | ‘measure’            |
|       | /to/    | → /-co/    | ‘be inside (SG)’     |
|       | /taja/  | → /-caja/  | ‘sleep’              |
| h → c | /hina/  | → /-cina/  | ‘plait’              |
|       | /hura/  | → /-cura/  | ‘take from the fire’ |
|       | /here/  | → /-cere/  | ‘dry’                |
|       | /ha/    | → /-ca/    | ‘warp’               |
| h → s | /hufak/ | → /-sufak/ | ‘excrete’            |
|       | /holok/ | → /-solok/ | ‘be stepped on’      |
| s → c | /sil/   | → /-cil/   | ‘bind’               |

- (18) /foil/ ‘angry’  
       /tene/ ‘distribute’  
       /har/ ‘order’  
       /suk/ ‘slip’

The sentences in (19) illustrate the contexts in which the two verb forms appear. The verb /fai/ ‘do’ appears in the unaltered form with initial /f/ if used as a simple predicate as in (19a). In (19b), where the same verb is compounded with /masu/ ‘good (ADV)’, it appears in the form /pai/.

- (19) a. /tava hil hai=fai/  
       3SG trap INITIAL=do  
       ‘He made a trap.’  
       b. /i halivana hai=m masu-pai/  
       3.POSS place INITIAL=take good.ADV-MUT.do  
       ‘(He) repaired (lit. made good) his place’

### 2.5.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a productive process in East Fataluku as well as in all other Fataluku dialects. Almost all content words can be reduplicated. Reduplication of nouns signals either diversity of the referents or similarity of the referent with that of the base noun. Reduplication of activity verbs marks pluractionality: with certain transitive verbs, it implies a plurality of object referents where the simplex is understood to have a single object referent. It may also signal repetition or continuation of an action. With stative verbs, reduplication signals intensity, i.e. that the state is holding to a high degree. Some adverbials can also be reduplicated. Again, this has an intensifying effect.

East Fataluku uses both full and partial reduplication, depending on the length of the root (with reduplication apparently occurring before derivation, cf. section 2.5.4). In the case of morphemes with an uneven number of syllables (i.e. monosyllabic and trisyllabic morphemes), the initial syllable is reduplicated, as illustrated in Table 8. Vowel length in monosyllabic morphemes appears to be lost in the process. The accent is copied to the reduplicated syllable and maintained on the base syllable, resulting in a sequence of two accented syllables. Final consonants are never copied. If the initial syllable has the shape VG, the offglide of the reduplicant functions as the onset for the base syllable.

Morphemes with an even number of syllables (i.e. disyllabic and tetrasyllabic ones) with a simple vowel nucleus in the initial syllable reduplicate the initial (C)VCV.

**Table 8:** Reduplication of monosyllabic and trisyllabic lexical morphemes.

|                    | INPUT                                 | OUTPUT                                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Mono-syllabic root | #(C)V(G)(C)                           | #(C)V(G)~CV(G)(C)                            |
|                    | /i/ [ʔi:] ‘to spin’                   | /i~i/ [ʔi.i] ‘to twine’†                     |
|                    | /ne/ [ʔne:] ‘name’                    | /ne~ne/ [ʔne.ʔne] ‘nickname’                 |
|                    | /leul/ [ʔlew] ‘play’‡                 | /leu~leul/ [ʔlew.ʔlew] ‘be playful’‡         |
| Tri-syllabic root  | #(C)VCVCV                             | #(C)V~(C)VCVCV                               |
|                    | /fulehe/ [ʔfu.ʔe.hɛ] ‘to return’      | /fu~fulehe/ [ʔfu.ʔfu.ʔe.hɛ] ‘keep returning’ |
|                    | /kurisa/ [ʔku.ri.sa] ‘chili’          | /ku~kurisa/ [ʔku.ʔku.ri.sa] ‘spice’          |
|                    | /nairete/ [ʔnaj.rɛ.tɛ] ‘hang (intr.)’ | /nai~nairete/ [ʔnaj.najrɛtɛ] ‘keep hanging’  |

† Audible in careful speech only. In rapid speech unreduplicated /i/ and reduplicated /i~i/ are indistinguishable.

‡ In order to be used as predicates, these forms would need to be suffixed with the verbalizer /-e/ (section 2.5.4).

In other words, disyllabic morphemes are fully reduplicated. The resulting reduplicated forms have four or six syllables, respectively, and as such have two prosodic realizations. In casual speech, pitch accent follows a trochaic pattern, but a dactylic one in careful speech (see section 2.4). The examples in Table 9 are from casual speech. Disyllabic lexemes where the initial syllable has the shape CVG copy that syllable only. As in the case of monosyllabic and trisyllabic morphemes, the accent is also copied to the reduplicant. All tetrasyllabic bases that have been attested in reduplicated forms have the form (C)VCVCVCV, and it is unclear if a tetrasyllabic morpheme with an initial CVG syllable would follow the same pattern.

**Table 9:** Reduplication of disyllabic or tetrasyllabic lexical morphemes.

|                    | INPUT                             | OUTPUT                                             |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Disyllabic Root    | #(C)VCV                           | #(C)VCV~CVCV                                       |
|                    | /ili/ [ʔi.li] ‘mountain’          | /ili~ili/ [ʔi.li.ʔi.li] ‘mountain range’           |
|                    | /pula/ [ʔpu.la] ‘pea’             | /pula~pula/ [ʔpu.la.ʔpu.la] ‘Vitex trifolia’       |
|                    | /kukus/ [ʔku.kus] ‘illness’       | /kuku~kukus/ [ʔku.ku.ʔku.kus] ‘rough’              |
|                    | #CVGCV                            | #CVG~CVGCV                                         |
|                    | /seura/ [ʔsew.ra] ‘Java sparrow’  | /seu~seura/ [ʔsew.ʔsew.ra] ‘Timor sparrow’         |
| Tetrasyllabic Root | /mautul/ [ʔmaw.tul] ‘tired’       | /mau~mautul/ [ʔmaw.ʔmaw.tul] ‘lazy’                |
|                    | #(C)VCVCVCV                       | #(C)VCV~CVCVCVCV                                   |
|                    | /afatula/ [ʔa.fa.ʔtu.la] ‘bamboo’ | /afa~afatula/ [ʔa.fa.ʔa.fa.ʔtu.la] ‘Kurowai grass’ |
|                    | /piapara/ [ʔpi.ja.ʔpa.ra] ‘feed’  | /pia~piapara/ [ʔpi.ja.ʔpi.ja.ʔpa.ra] ‘look after’  |

### 2.5.4 Derivational morphology

East Fataluku has three productive derivational suffixes whose main functions are to derive verbs, nouns and adjectives, respectively. The suffix /-e/ is a verbalizer. The main function of /-n/ is that of a nominalizer, but it is also used to form adverbials and sometimes adjectives. Finally, /-ana/ derives forms which are prototypically used as attributes in NPs (see section 4.1) and is hence called an adjectivizer here. Sometimes lexemes derived with this suffix are also used nominally.<sup>3</sup> This is summarized in Table 10, where a bold x marks the main function of each affix. None of these suffixes has a parallel in Makalero and Makasae or any of the remaining languages of the family, suggesting they are innovative.

**Table 10:** Derivational morphemes.

|        | NOMINALIZATION | ADJECTIVIZATION | VERBALIZATION |
|--------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| /-e/   |                |                 | <b>x</b>      |
| /-n/   | <b>x</b>       | x               |               |
| /-ana/ | x              | <b>x</b>        |               |

Most consonant-final roots are analyzed as nominal. Consequently, they occur unsuffixed if used as arguments. If used as predicates, they appear with the /-e/ suffix, and with the /-ana/ suffix if used as adnominal modifiers. Some examples are shown in Table 11. Where one of these nouns appears at the end of a phonological phrase, a paragogic /u/ is added (cf. section 2.3). For instance, in lexical elicitation, verbs will appear with the /-e/ suffix and nouns with a final /u/. In fact, the vast majority of cases where the paragogic vowel appears is on nouns, such that a final /u/ usually implies nominal status (cf. van Engelenhoven 2009, where it is actually analyzed as a nominalizing suffix).

**Table 11:** Derivational suffixes with consonant-final roots.

| ROOT    |         | ELICITATION FORM |         | DERIVED VERB |            | DERIVED ADJECTIVE |                 |
|---------|---------|------------------|---------|--------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| /matar/ | ‘stone’ | /mataru/         | ‘stone’ | /matar-e/    | ‘be stony’ | /matar-ana/       | ‘stony’         |
| /karas/ | ‘gold’  | /karasu/         | ‘gold’  | /karas-e/    | ‘be gold’  | /karas-ana/       | ‘golden’        |
| /lauh/  | ‘life’  | /lauhu/          | ‘life’  | /lauh-e/     | ‘live’     | /lauh-ana/        | ‘living, alive’ |

<sup>3</sup> Heston (2015: 21–22) analyzes /-ana/ as a nominalizer forming abstract nouns in Central Fataluku.

The suffixation potential of vowel-final roots is determined by their category: adverbial roots can occur with all three suffixes. Verbal roots can be nominalized with /-n/ and adjectivized with /-ana/, but cannot combine with the verbalizer /-e/. Nominal roots can combine with the nominalizer /-n/ to derive a related concept and may also form the basis of derived adjectives with /-ana/. Denominal verbs are rare, although the verbalizer /-e/ is sometimes found with nominal roots. Examples of the derivational suffixes with various types of roots are shown in Table 12. Where the verbalizer /-e/ and the adjectivizer /-ana/ are used on vowel-final roots, an epenthetic /n/ is inserted to avoid a hiatus.

**Table 12:** Derivational suffixes on vowel-final roots.

| ROOT   |            | DERIVED VERB    | DERIVED NOUN | DERIVED ADJECTIVE               |
|--------|------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| Adverb | /je/       | /je-n-e/        | /je-n/       | /je-n-ana/                      |
|        | ‘alone’    | ‘be alone’      | ‘difference’ | ‘different’                     |
| Verb   | /aci/      | –               | /aci-n/      | /aci-n-ana/                     |
|        | ‘see’      |                 | ‘vision’     | ‘(thing) seen’                  |
| Noun   | /raka/     | /raka-n-e/      | /raka-n/     | /raka-n-ana/                    |
|        | ‘firewood’ | ‘dry over fire’ | ‘attic’      | ‘(thing) fire-dried,<br>smoked’ |

There are in East Fataluku a number of vowel-final roots where, exceptionally, no epenthetic /n/ is inserted. This can be explained by assuming that these roots originally had a final glottal stop. This phoneme has been lost in East Fataluku, making the roots vowel-final. Indeed, in other Fataluku dialects which retain this phoneme, a glottal stop appears in these items between the root and the suffix. Table 13 shows the comparison between /oto/ ‘inside’ in East Fataluku and the corresponding Central Fataluku form.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the productive adjectivizer /-ana/, there are two unproductive adjectivizing suffixes, /-ina/ and /-aka/. These are lexically determined and are found only with seventeen and six lexical roots, respectively. Most of these roots also occur with the /-ana/ suffix, which seems to be replacing the other suffixes. There appears to be no semantic distinction between the two variants, as shown in (20).

<sup>4</sup> Whether or not the final glottal stop is synchronically part of the root in Central Fataluku is unclear. According to Heston (2015: 81), it is non-phonemic and inserted to avoid a vowel hiatus.

**Table 13:** Derived forms without epenthetic /n/.

|                   | EAST FATALUKU      | CENTRAL FATALUKU | GLOSS                   |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| Root              | /oto/ [ɔtɔ]        | /ɔtɔ(ʔ)/         | ‘inside (something)’    |
| Derived verb      | /oto-e/ [ɔtɔe]     | /ɔtɔʔ-e/         | ‘be inside (something)’ |
| Derived adjective | /oto-ana/ [ɔtɔana] | /ɔtɔʔ-ana/       | ‘internal’              |

|      |                             |                           |                                 |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (20) | Derived verb                | Derived adjectives        |                                 |
|      | /laik-e/<br>‘honor’         | /laik-ina/<br>‘honorable’ | /laik-ana/<br>‘honorable’       |
|      | /oto-e/<br>‘be inside (SG)’ | /oto-ina/<br>‘internal’   | /oto-ana/<br>‘internal’         |
|      | /somil-e/<br>‘mix’          | /somil-aka/<br>‘mixed’    | /somil-ana/<br>‘mixed’          |
|      | /meit-e/<br>‘be stupid’     | /meit-aka/<br>‘stupid’    | /mei-meit-ana/<br>‘very stupid’ |

There is also a semi-productive suffix /-r/, associated mostly with the nominal domain. It functions as a plural marker with a small class of nouns, mostly kinship terms. It is likely also the base of most other nominal and verbal plural markers (see section 4.2.1 and section 6.1). In some cases, it derives nouns from other nouns without an apparent change in meaning, as illustrated in Table 14. The derived forms can in turn be verbalized with the /-e/ suffix. Finally, /-r/ is also found in emphatic pronoun forms (see section 5.1). A nominalizing /-r/ formative is also found in Makalero (Huber 2017: 289).

**Table 14:** The /-r/ formative.

| ROOT                     | DERIVED FORM WITH /-r/     | VERBALIZED FORM           |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| /moko/ ‘child’           | /moko-r/ ‘child’           | /moko-r-e/ ‘be small’     |
| /noko/ ‘younger sibling’ | /noko-r/ ‘younger sibling’ | /noko-r-e/ ‘be young(er)’ |
| /kaka/ ‘older sibling’   | /kaka-r/ ‘older sibling’   | /kaka-r-e/ ‘be old(er)’   |

## 2.6 Other Fataluku dialects

Fataluku dialects show some differences in their segmental and suprasegmental phonologies. The most conspicuous differences concern the realization of

the phonemes that correspond to the East Fataluku palatal stops, /c/ and /ɟ/, the presence of a /ʔ/ phoneme, the nature of vowel length, and prosody. The following sections give brief summaries of these differences. South Fataluku and Central Fataluku have been described by Campagnolo (1973) and Heston (2014, 2015), respectively, and the examples in the following sections are taken from these sources unless otherwise indicated. North and Northwest Fataluku are very poorly known and no comparison is included in this sketch. However, a conspicuous characteristic of the Northwest dialect is the presence of voiced plosives (in particular /b/ and postalveolar /d/).

2.6.1 South Fataluku

South Fataluku has an apico-dental affricate phoneme /ts/ that corresponds to the East Fataluku voiceless palatal stop phoneme /c/ (Campagnolo 1973: 27–28). It also has a /j/ phoneme which is realized as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] in initial position and as a palatal glide [j] in intervocalic position (Campagnolo 1973: 31). The [ʒ] allophone corresponds in most instances to East Fataluku /ɟ/, which is restricted to root-initial position (cf. section 2.3). The [j] allophone corresponds to the [j] allophone of the vowel /i/ in East Fataluku. In both dialects, [j] is found morpheme-internally only. The fact that they are treated as allomorphs of different sounds in the two dialects is thus essentially a matter of analysis. Examples are shown in (21).

|      |                |          |               |          |         |
|------|----------------|----------|---------------|----------|---------|
| (21) | South Fataluku |          | East Fataluku |          |         |
|      | Phonemic       | Phonetic | Phonemic      | Phonetic |         |
| a.   | /atsi/         | [ʔatsi]  | /aci/         | [ʔaci]   | ‘see’   |
| b.   | /jeu/          | [ʒe:w]   | /ɟeu /        | [jɛw]    | ‘wife’  |
| c.   | /taja/         | [taja]   | /taia/        | [taja]   | ‘sleep’ |

South Fataluku furthermore has a glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/ in intervocalic position (Campagnolo 1973: 32–33), as shown in (22). This phoneme has been lost from East Fataluku.

|      |                |          |               |          |         |
|------|----------------|----------|---------------|----------|---------|
| (22) | South Fataluku |          | East Fataluku |          |         |
|      | Phonemic       | Phonetic | Phonemic      | Phonetic |         |
|      | /raʔu/         | [raʔu]   | /rau/         | [raw]    | ‘plate’ |

There are also subtle differences between South Fataluku and East Fataluku with respect to vowel length. Long vowels occur in South Fataluku in two

phonotactic contexts: firstly, all monosyllabic lexemes have a long vowel nucleus, including those with the shape (C)VG and (C)VC; see (23a) as well as (21b) above. This is in contrast to East Fataluku, where the nuclei of (C)V monosyllables are long, those in (C)VC syllables half-long, and those in (C)VG syllables short (see section 2.2). Like in East Fataluku, vowel length is maintained in monosyllabic morphemes with derivational suffixes such as the verbalizer */-e/* in (23b). Secondly, a long vowel appears in the first syllable of bisyllabic morphemes of the form (C)VCVG in South Fataluku, as in (23c); in East Fataluku, these morphemes always have short vowels.

|      |                |                 |                |                |               |
|------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| (23) | South Fataluku |                 | East Fataluku  |                |               |
|      | Phonemic       | Phonetic        | Phonemic       | Phonetic       |               |
| a.   | <i>/le/</i>    | <i>[le:]</i>    | <i>/le/</i>    | <i>[le:]</i>   | ‘house’       |
| b.   | <i>/lor-e/</i> | <i>[lo:re]</i>  | <i>/lor-e/</i> | <i>[lo're]</i> | ‘fold-VBLZ’   |
| c.   | <i>/lafai/</i> | <i>[la:faj]</i> | <i>/lafai/</i> | <i>[lafaj]</i> | ‘be big (SG)’ |

There are some rather noticeable differences between East Fataluku and South Fataluku with respect to suprasegmental phonology. Whilst Campagnolo (1973) described the prosody of South Fataluku in terms of pitch accent and distinguished seven accent classes, Stoel (2008) proposes an analysis in terms of tone. In this analysis, a syllable may either have a high tone or no tone, and there are two types of high tones: boundary tones and lexical tones. Boundary tones are high tones associated with the final syllable of a prosodic phrase and indicate that another phrase follows. There are three classes of prosodic words: (a) words with a lexical tone on the first syllable (e.g. */lafai/* [*ˈla:fai*] ‘be big (SG)’); (b) words with a lexical tone on the second syllable (e.g. */posi/* [*poˈsi*] ‘cat’); and (c) words without lexical tone, for example */nara* [*nara*] ‘if’. However, lexical tones shift to other syllables or are deleted in certain contexts; for instance, there is a rule which forbids a lexical H tone from appearing on the final syllable of a prosodic phrase. A similar rule does not exist in East Fataluku.

Some of the prosodic differences between South Fataluku and East Fataluku are illustrated in (24). In South Fataluku, both */posi/* ‘cat’ and */toto/* ‘see’ have a lexical H tone on the second syllable, while in East Fataluku, they are accented according to a trochaic pattern, i.e. have a pitch accent on the first syllable. A syntagm */posi toto/* can be interpreted either as a verb preceded by its P argument, with no overt subject (i.e. ‘(he) sees the cat’), or as a verb with its A argument, with no overt object (‘the cat sees (him)’). In East Fataluku, these two readings are not prosodically distinct, but they are differentiated in South

Fataluku, due to the fact that an object-verb construction in that dialect forms a single prosodic phrase, while a subject forms a prosodic phrase separate from the verb. Thus in (24a), where /posi/ is the object of /toto/, there is a single prosodic phrase, while there are two in (24b), where /posi/ is the subject of /toto/ (see Stoel 2008 for details).

- |      |                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (24) | South Fataluku<br>/posi toto/<br>cat see<br><br>a. [po'si toto]<br>' (He) sees the cat.'<br><br>b. [posi 'toto]<br>'The cat sees (him)'.<br>(adapted from Stoel 2008) | East Fataluku<br>/posi toto/<br>cat see<br><br>['posi 'toto]<br>' (He) sees the cat.'<br><br>['posi 'toto]<br>'The cat sees (him)'. |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

## 2.6.2 Central Fataluku

The Central Fataluku equivalent of East Fataluku /j/ and South Fataluku /j/ is the voiced alveolar fricative /z/. According to Heston (2015: 68–69), this phoneme has a fricative allophone [z] and an affricate allophone [dz], which are in free variation, as shown in (25a, b). There is also a phonemic palatal glide /j/, which has an alveolar fricative allophone [z] in some lexical items (25c). Heston (2015: 78) characterizes this variation as idiolectal and dialectal.

- |      |                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                       |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (25) | Central Fataluku<br>Phonemic    Phonetic<br>a. /zeu/        [zew] ~ [dzew]<br>b. /aza/        [ʔaza] ~ [ʔadza]<br>c. /taja/        [taza] ~ [taja] | East Fataluku<br>Phonemic    Phonetic<br>/jeu/        [jew]        'wife'<br>/aia/        [ʔaja]        'rain'<br>/taia/        [taja]        'sleep' |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Like South Fataluku, Central Fataluku has a voiceless affricate phoneme /ts/ corresponding to East Fataluku /c/. This phoneme can be realized either as a dental or an alveolar affricate and is lightly aspirated (Heston 2015: 63). There is also an intervocalic /ʔ/, which in rapid speech is realized as a period of creakiness on the following vowel or deleted altogether. In cases where the preceding and the following vowels are identical, deletion of /ʔ/ thus results in a long vowel. Examples are given in (26).

|      |                  |                      |               |                     |        |
|------|------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------|
| (26) | Central Fataluku |                      | East Fataluku |                     |        |
|      | Phonemic         | Phonetic             | Phonemic      | Phonetic            |        |
| a.   | /itsa/           | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> itsa] | /ica/         | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> ica] | ‘some’ |
| b.   | /taʔa/           | [taʔa]~[taʔ]~[ta:]   | /ta/          | [ta:]               | ‘say’  |

Other long vowels are, according to Heston (2015: 86–87), “not predictable either from the segmental or the suprasegmental environment”. He concludes that vowel length has to be analyzed as phonemic, although its functional load is low.<sup>5</sup>

The prosody of Central Fataluku is analyzed in Heston (2015: 120–143) not in terms of pitch accent assigned on the lexical level, but rather in terms of intonational phrases, where pitch peaks are assigned on a post-lexical level based on weight-sensitive feet following a roughly trochaic pattern. Heavy syllables (those with long vowels or a diphthong) attract pitch peaks. While Heston’s analysis is phrased in rather different terms from that presented in section 2.4. for East Fataluku, the intonation patterns for words uttered in isolation are largely identical between the two dialects, as illustrated in (27) for words with a heavy initial syllable, and (28) for words with a light initial syllable. Like East Fataluku, but unlike South Fataluku, there are no words in which the pitch peak falls on the final syllable.

|      |                  |                          |               |                       |                              |
|------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| (27) | Central Fataluku |                          | East Fataluku |                       |                              |
|      | Phonemic         | Phonetic                 | Phonemic      | Phonetic              |                              |
| a.   | /to:/            | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> to:]      | /to/          | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> to:]   | ‘coconut shell’ <sup>6</sup> |
| b.   | /leura/          | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> lewra]    | /leura/       | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> lewra] | ‘meat’                       |
| c.   | /ho:tsava/       | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> ho:tsava] | /ocava/       | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> ocava] | ‘lord’                       |

|      |                  |                          |               |                           |          |
|------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|----------|
| (28) | Central Fataluku |                          | East Fataluku |                           |          |
|      | Phonemic         | Phonetic                 | Phonemic      | Phonetic                  |          |
| a.   | /vani/           | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> vani]     | /vani/        | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> vani]      | ‘bee’    |
| b.   | /anukai/         | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> anukaj]   | /anukai/      | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> anukaj]    | ‘thread’ |
| c.   | /sapuraki/       | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> sapuraki] | /sapuraki/    | [ <sup>ʔ</sup> sapu'raki] | ‘orange’ |

<sup>5</sup> In our analysis, many of the examples given in Heston (2014) could in fact be accounted for as a) monosyllabic roots (which predictably have long or half-long vowel nuclei) suffixed with the verbalizer /-e/, b) morphologically complex lexemes involving a monosyllabic morpheme, or c) actually involving a V?V sequence.

<sup>6</sup> ‘bowl’ according to Heston (2015: 130).

## 2.7 Orthography

The first Fataluku orthography was devised in 2002 by Justino Valentim, a native speaker of Central Fataluku. Because of some idiosyncrasies, however, it did not become widely accepted. In the same year Timor-Leste's newly founded National Institute of Linguistics (INL) proposed a National Orthography intended to be used for all of the nation's languages, which was likewise never adopted by Fataluku society. In 2004, linguists in van Engelenhoven's Fataluku Language Project (FLP) were tasked with devising a Fataluku orthography based on the National Orthography. It is this orthography which is used in this sketch. It is largely phonetic, with <i> and <v> being used for the palatal glide and the voiced labial fricative, respectively, and <c> and <j> for the palatal plosives, irrespective of their concrete phonetic value in individual Fataluku dialects. We depart from the FLP phonology only in two instances, viz. in representing the glottal stop in reference stacks as <q>, and in using an equal sign <=> between clitics and their hosts. According to the FLP orthography, they would be spelled as separate words.

Following the implementation of Timor-Leste's policy of mother tongue-based early education, a Fataluku Language Council was established in Lospalos in 2011. The Council introduced yet another orthography for the language, which differs from the FLP orthography in a few points. For instance, it stipulates that clitics should be spelled as one word with their host; thus, where the FLP orthography had *a le* (1SG.POSS house) 'my house', the Council's orthography has *ale*. In this sketch, we use *a=le*. Furthermore, the Council proposes that phonemes whose phonetic value differs across dialects be represented phonetically, effectively resulting in alternative orthographies for different dialects.

## 3 Basic clausal syntax

East Fataluku has the SV/APV constituent order typical of the TAP languages. Figure 1 shows the basic template of a simple clause. The possible positions of the S/A argument are marked with asterisks. For the position of the P argument, which is analyzed as part of the verbal predicate, see section 3.1.

A clause minimally consists of a predicate, whose head may either be verbal or nominal. Both types of predicates and their internal structures are discussed in section 3.1 and 3.3, respectively. The predicate is preceded by four slots. Of these, the second (TEMP) contains temporal adjuncts, and the third (LOC) locational adjuncts. The first and the fourth slots (MOOD<sub>1</sub> and MOOD<sub>2</sub>) are for modal particles

(see section 8.1 for a brief discussion). Examples illustrating the position of the S/A argument and the various pre-predicate modifiers are given in (29).

\* (MOOD<sub>1</sub>) \* (TEMP) \* (LOC) \* (MOOD<sub>2</sub>) PREDICATE

**Figure 1:** East Fataluku clausal template.

- (29) a. *Ula*<sub>MOOD1</sub> *tava*<sub>S/A</sub> *rahin*<sub>TEMP</sub> [*hai=fai*]<sub>PRED...</sub>  
 EPIS 1SG.SBJ yesterday INITIAL=do  
 ‘He probably did (it) yesterday already...’
- b. *Ait-vaci*<sub>TEMP</sub> [*fat-ater*<sub>S/A</sub>=*i=a*]<sub>S/A</sub> [*e na-e*]<sub>LOC</sub>  
 now-day four-PL.HUM=NEUT.DEM=SPEC PROX.DEM at-VBLZ  
 [*e uku nava*]<sub>PRED?</sub>  
 PROX.DEM all eat?  
 ‘Did the four of them eat all of this in here today?’
- c. *Karu=a*<sub>TEMP</sub> [*Maria=e i lata na-e*]<sub>LOC</sub> *ira*<sub>S/A</sub>  
 now=EMPH Maria=PROX.DEM 3.POSS village at-VBLZ water  
*vari*<sub>MOOD2</sub>=*an-e*<sub>PRED...</sub>  
 IPFV=exist-VBLZ  
 ‘Now there is always water in Maria’s village...’

Elements that appear in the TEMP slot may be nominal, as in (29b), or verbal. This is clearly evidenced by the presence of the verbalizing suffix *-e* (see section 2.5.4) on the temporal adjuncts in (30a). However, the verbalizing suffix may variably be absent, with no apparent change in meaning, as in (30b). It is possible that this is a dialectal difference. The use of the verbalizer with temporal adjuncts appears most common in East Fataluku. A temporal adjunct missing the verbalizer suffix could be termed an adverb.

- (30) a. ... *nop-e*<sub>TEMP</sub> *tatu-n-e*<sub>TEMP</sub> *umu*<sub>PRED...</sub>  
 tomorrow-VBLZ day.after.tomorrow-EP-VBLZ die  
 ‘...(they) die tomorrow or the day after tomorrow...’
- b. ... *nop*<sub>TEMP</sub> [*vacu piti*]<sub>TEMP</sub> *ina*<sub>S/A</sub> *la*<sub>PRED</sub> [*Tutuala mara*]<sub>PRED</sub>  
 tomorrow sun white 1PL.EXCL.SBJ go Tutuala go  
 ‘... tomorrow at noon we go to Tutuala.’

Locative adjuncts with *na-* ‘in, on, at’, as in (29b) and (29c), are obligatorily verbalized. Other locational bases such as *mucu* ‘inside’ and *mica* ‘on top’ cannot be ver-

balized if used in the LOC slot, where they function as genuine postpositions. This is exemplified in (31a) with the postpositional phrase *i mucu* (NEUT.DEM inside) ‘inside this’. If it is verbalized, as in (31b), it can no longer appear in the LOC slot. Instead, it functions as a separate predicate, as seen by the presence of the conjunction =*n*.

- (31) a. ... [*i*            *mucu*]<sub>LOC</sub> [*ih*    *ia=m*    *an-e*]<sub>PRED...</sub>  
                  NEUT.DEM inside    3.POSS leg=take exist-VBLZ  
                  ‘... put its legs inside...’
- b. ... [*i*            *pal=a*]<sub>S/A</sub>    [*le*    *mucu-n-e*]<sub>PRED=n</sub>    [*hai=vari*]<sub>PRED...</sub>  
                  3.POSS father=SPEC house inside-EP=VBLZ=SIM INITIAL=hear  
                  ‘... his father in the house heard (it)...’

### 3.1 Verbal predicates

The basic template of a verbal predicate is given in Figure 2. The verbal head appears in the final position and is preceded by five modifier slots. The first of these contains the negator (NEG), while the second and fourth are for aspect markers (ASPECT<sub>1</sub> and ASPECT<sub>2</sub>; see section 8.2). The position of an aspect marker in either the ASPECT<sub>1</sub> or ASPECT<sub>2</sub> slot is lexically specified. The third slot, located between the two aspect slots, holds the P argument of a transitive verb. The fifth preverbal slot holds a small set of adverbs (ADV). Examples are given in (32).

(NEG) (ASPECT<sub>1</sub>) (ARG<sub>P</sub>) (ASPECT<sub>2</sub>) (ADV) V

Figure 2: East Fataluku verbal predicate template.

- (32) a. ... *cal*            *pal*    [*ono*<sub>ASP1</sub> *afi<sub>P</sub>=vari<sub>ASP2</sub>=tolun-e<sub>V</sub>*]<sub>PRED.</sub>  
                  ancestor father CONT 1PL.INCL.OBJ=IPFV=help-VBLZ  
                  ‘... the ancestors will always help us.’
- b. *I*            *leren* [*aka*<sub>NEG</sub> *ono*<sub>ASP1</sub> *mara~mara*]<sub>PRED.</sub>  
                  3.POSS sister NEG CONT RDP~go  
                  ‘Their sister never went out.’

The template in Figure 2 shows that there is a single argument position within the predicate. The S/A argument stands outside the predicate (see section 3 above). States of affairs involving more than two participants have to make use of a serial verb construction with the light verb =*m* ‘take’, as in (33) (see section 7.3).

The same holds for clauses in which an adjunct forms a verbal compound with the verb (section 3.2).

- (33) *Mar e-n hai=m tava ina.*  
 person PROX.DEM-EP INITIAL=take 3SG give  
 ‘The person has given this to him’

Arguments can be topicalized or focalized, as in (34b), in which case they appear as extra-clausal constituents preceding the remainder of the clause. (34a) shows the regular constituent order.

- (34) a. ... *tava<sub>S/A</sub> [hin sei=e]<sub>P</sub> fal-e<sub>PRED</sub>...*  
 3SG REFL.POSS bean=PROX.DEM grab-VBLZ  
 ‘... he took his bean...’  
 b. [*Ih upa=t*]<sub>TOP</sub> *ula<sub>MOOD1</sub> tava<sub>S/A</sub> akam<sub>NEG</sub> u-fal-e<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
 3.POSS sugarcane=TOP EPIS 3SG NEG OBJ-grab-VBLZ  
 ‘Its cane, she probably didn’t take it.’

### 3.2 Verbal compounds

Both transitive and intransitive verbs can combine with certain preverbal elements to form verbal compounds. Most commonly, such verbal compounds involve locative postpositions. There are thus two ways in which locative adjuncts can be expressed in East Fataluku: either in the pre-predicate LOC slot shown in the clause template in Figure 1, or as part of a verbal compound. In a locative verbal compound, the verb is immediately preceded by a postposition with which it forms a morphosyntactic unit. This is particularly clear with verbs which undergo initial consonant mutation (section 2.5.2), which appear in verbal compounds in the alternated forms, as illustrated in (35a) and (36a). For comparison, the unalternated forms of the same verbs are seen in (35b) and (36b). The transitivity of verbal compounds is determined by the compound’s first element. Thus, locative verbal compounds are monotransitive, irrespective of the transitivity of the head verb. The verbal compound’s P argument slot is occupied by the object of the postposition; in (35a), this is *i puku~pukur* ‘his fists’. *Serika* ‘few’, the logical object of the transitive verb *hura* ‘spoon, scoop’, is expressed as the object of the light verb *=m* ‘take’ (see also section 7.3.5). (35b) shows that the light verb does not appear when *hura* ‘spoon, scoop’ is not part of a verbal compound. In (36),

*taia* ‘sleep’ is an intransitive verb and has no P argument (36b). In a verbal compound, the object of the postposition appears in the P argument position (36a).

- (35) a. ... *serika=m i puku~pukur mucu-cura...*  
           few=take 3.POSS RDP~fist in-MUT.spoon  
           ‘... (he) scooped a bit into his hands...’
- b. *Tavar la i kaka apoi-n=i hura.*  
      3PL go 3.POSS older.sibling cook-NMLZ=NEUT.DEM spoon  
      ‘They scoop the food of her older brother.’
- (36) a. *halivana nita=puhu~puhu-caia-tere*  
          place RECP=RDP~on-MUT.sleep-PL  
          ‘bunkbed’  
          (lit.: ‘place where they sleep on top of each other’)<sup>7</sup>
- b. *Hair un-u taia.*  
      IMM one-PV sleep  
      ‘One is about to go to sleep.’

The verbal compounds of Fataluku correspond to what has been described as a type of incorporation in Makalero and Makasae (Huber 2017). Like in Fataluku, locative and manner adjuncts in those languages form morphological units with the following verb, triggering initial consonant mutations and causing the verb’s logical object to be expressed as an argument of the light verb ‘take’.

### 3.3 Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates are headed by a noun or NP, or an adjective formed with the suffix *-ana*. The otherwise productive derivational morphology of East Fataluku is rarely used to derive denominal verbs (see section 2.5.4). With non-verbal predicates, the subject argument appears obligatorily. This is in contrast with verbal predicates, where the subject argument may be omitted if its reference is clear.

Non-verbal predicates are characterized by the obligatory presence of a predicate marker *=i* in final position. This marker is homophonous with and

<sup>7</sup> The example is taken from the Oxford Fataluku Internet Dictionary, which is based on the Central and South Fataluku dialects. In East Fataluku, *alivana* ‘place’ does not have an initial /h/.

probably cognate with the neutral demonstrative (see section 4.2.2). They have two aspect slots and an adverb slot, as illustrated by the template in Figure 3. Note that, unlike verbal predicates illustrated in Figure 2, the non-verbal predicate is not straightforwardly head-final, with the ASPECT<sub>2</sub> and the ADV slots following the head.

(NEG) (ASPECT<sub>1</sub>) (NP) (ASPECT<sub>2</sub>) (ADV)=PRED

**Figure 3:** East Fataluku non-verbal predicate template.

A simple non-verbal predicate is illustrated in (37). In rapid speech, the clause-final predicate marker *=i* appears to be deleted. However, in cases like (38a) and (38b), the epenthetic *n* still appears on the preceding adverb *nau* ‘really’, which suggests that it is underlyingly present. The predicate marker is always clearly pronounced in cases like (39a), where *=i* constitutes the non-verbal predicate by itself. If a modifier such as an aspect marker or an adverb appears, final *=i* may be dropped again. This is shown in (39b), where the initial boundary marker *hai=* appears in the ASPECT<sub>2</sub> slot (section 8.2.2).

- (37) *E-n ula [[a=jeu]<sub>NP</sub>=i]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
 PROX.DEM-EP EPIS 1SG.POSS=wife=PRED  
 ‘This might be my wife.’
- (38) a. *E<sub>SUBJ</sub>-n [ono<sub>ASP1</sub> moco<sub>NP</sub> nau<sub>ADV</sub>-n(=i)]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
 PROX.DEM-EP CONT child really-EP=PRED  
 ‘This is still really a child.’  
 b. *E<sub>SUBJ</sub> [moco<sub>NP</sub> hai<sub>ASP2</sub>=nau<sub>ADV</sub>-n(=i)]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
 PROX.DEM child INITIAL=really-EP=PRED  
 ‘This is already really a child.’
- (39) a. *E<sub>SUBJ</sub>-n[=i]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
 PROX.DEM-EP=PRED  
 ‘This is it.’  
 b. *Ivi<sub>SUBJ</sub> [hai<sub>ASP2</sub>-n=i]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
 DIST.DEM INITIAL-EP=PRED  
 ‘That is it already.’

### 3.4 Negation

Like its neighbors Makalero and Makasae (Huber 2017), but unlike other languages of the TAP family (Schapper 2014; Schapper 2017b), Fataluku has predicate-initial negation, as the templates in Figures 2 and 3 show. The form of the negator in East Fataluku is *aka*. Even among older speakers, however, *aka* frequently alternates with *akam*, which is the form of the negator in the Western dialects:<sup>8</sup> the sentences in (40a) and (40b), which were uttered by the same storyteller, in the same story, with an interval of three lines, exemplify this variation. *Aka(m)* is used to negate both verbal (40a, b) and non-verbal predicates (40c). In casual speech, *aka(m)* is frequently abbreviated to *ka(m)* or *ak*.

- (40) a. *I            jeu=a            [aka<sub>NEG</sub>    navar-e<sub>V</sub>]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
           3.POSS wife=SPEC NEG        know-VBLZ  
           ‘His wife did not know (it).’
- b. *I            jeu=a            [akam<sub>NEG</sub>    navar-e<sub>V</sub>]<sub>PRED</sub>.*  
           3.POSS wife=SPEC NEG        know-VBLZ  
           ‘His wife did not know (it).’
- c. *E-n                    [aka<sub>NEG</sub>    a=moco            ih            ari<sub>NP=i</sub>]<sub>PRED</sub>*  
           PROX.DEM-EP NEG        1SG.POSS=child 3.POSS liver=PRED  
           ‘This is not my child’s liver...’

East Fataluku has two inherently negative verbs, *upe* ‘be none’ (41a) and *pali* ‘not exist’. *Upe* may be negated with *aka(m)*, resulting in a positive meaning, as in the example from the Fataluku translation of the Gospel According to Luke in (41b). It is also often used in short replies to negate a previous remark (42).

- (41) a. *Aka            e                    na-e            upe.*  
           monster PROX.DEM at-VBLZ be.none  
           ‘There is no monster here.’
- b. *...    mace~mace-n                    akam    upe.*  
           RDP~eat-NMLZ                    NEG    be.none  
           ‘... (they) have bread enough.’ (Luke 15:17)  
           (lit.: ‘... meals are not none.’)

<sup>8</sup> Van Engelenhoven (2010: 198) hypothesizes that *akam* is morphologically complex, consisting of the negator *aka* and the light verb =*m* ‘take’.

- (42) *Er=o a Tava i lan-u un-u! – Ana*  
 2SG.EMPH=too 2SG.SBJ 3SG 3.POSS friend-PV one-PV 1SG.SBJ  
*upe.*  
 be.none  
 ‘You are one of His friends! – I am not.’ (Luke 22:58)

*Upe* ‘be none’ can be used to negate a nominalized clause. The resulting construction, in which the nominalized clause functions as the subject of *upe*, superficially resembles a clause with a predicate-final negator, as shown in (43). This type of negation is rare and considered very marked.

- (43) ... [*i hiar=a la i nal ho i pal=a*]<sub>S/A</sub>  
 3.POSS pay=SPEC go 3.POSS mother and 3.POSS father=SPEC  
*upe*<sub>PRED\*</sub>  
 be.none  
 ‘...he did not even pay her parents.’  
 (lit.: ‘... his payment to her mother and her father was none.’)

*Pali* ‘not exist’ negates the existence of the subject referent (44). There are no attested instances where *pali* is negated by *aka(m)*.

- (44) a. ... *ahar afi=Fataluku i ne-mana pali.*  
 REPORT 1PL.INCL.POSS=Fataluku 3.POSS name-fruit not.exist  
 ‘... (they say) that our Fataluku is meaningless.’  
 (lit.: ‘... the meaning of our Fataluku does not exist.’)
- b. *Afi=moco pali...*  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=child not.exist  
 ‘We do not have children...’  
 (lit.: ‘... our children do not exist...’)

## 4 Noun phrases

The structure of the Fataluku noun phrase is given in Figure 4. The head noun (*N<sub>HEAD</sub>*) is followed by two slots: an attribute slot (*ATTR*) and a determiner slot (*DET*). It may be preceded by adnominal possessors (*POSS*) and a special emphatic demonstrative (*EMPH.DEM*). The possessor slot is minimally occupied by a possessive pronoun, which is optionally preceded by a possessor NP. The individual

components of the Fataluku NP are illustrated in more detail in the following sections, starting with the post-nominal slots.

[EMPH.DEM – POSS – N<sub>HEAD</sub> – ATTR – DET]<sub>NP</sub>

**Figure 4:** East Fataluku NP template.

## 4.1 Attributes

The attribute slot can be filled by either a noun, a verb, or an adjective. Nominal attributes predominantly give information on the age and/or sex of the head noun, as in (45a, b), or its location or origin, as in (45c). The head-initial order distinguishes them from nominal compounds as in (46), where the modifying noun precedes the head noun (see section 2.5.1).

- (45) a. *pai<sub>N</sub> nal-u<sub>ATTR</sub>* 'sow'  
           pig mother-PV
- b. *pai<sub>N</sub> moko<sub>ATTR</sub>* 'piglet'  
           pig child
- c. *lata<sub>N</sub> Timor<sub>ATTR</sub>* 'Timorese village'  
           village Timor
- (46) *savarika-karan-u* 'scorpion pincer'  
       scorpion-pincer-PV

Verbal and adjectival attributes are more frequent than nominal ones. The examples in (47) show that the same kind of information may be expressed either as a verbal or as an adjectival attribute: in (47a), the root *lever* 'spread' is verbalized, but adjectivized in (47b) (see section 2.5.4), with no apparent difference in meaning. It is also possible to mark the adjectivized attribute with an attributive marker, *i* 'ATTR', as in (47c).<sup>9</sup> Example (47c) is characteristic of careful speech, (47b) of fast speech. Verbal attributes as in (47a) are more frequent in the speech of young speakers.

<sup>9</sup> The attributive marker is formally identical to the possessive marker *i*. For this reason, Campagnolo (1973) and Hull (2005) analyze these attributes as nominalizations (see van Engelenhoven 2009, and Huber 2017 for a comparison with Makalero and Makasae).

- (47) a. *mu-asa lever-e=i*  
 banana-leaf spread-VBLZ=NEUT.DEM  
 ‘the spread-out banana leaf’
- b. *mu-asa lever-ana=i*  
 banana-leaf spread-ADJZ=NEUT.DEM  
 ‘the spread-out banana leaf’
- c. *mu-asa i lever-ana=i*  
 banana-leaf ATTR spread-ADJZ=NEUT.DEM  
 ‘the spread-out banana leaf’

The main formal difference between adjectival and verbal attributes is that a verbal attribute is essentially a subordinated clause which may appear with predicate modifiers such as aspect markers; in the example in (48), *alah-e* ‘be startled’ is modified by the aspect marker *hai=*.

- (48) ... [*i jeu=ra* [*hain=alah-e*]<sub>ATTR=i</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>, *tavar*  
 3.POSS wife=PL INITIAL=startled-VBLZ=NEUT.DEM 3PL
- nita=hain=aci ta...*  
 RECP=INITIAL=see say  
 ‘... their wives who were startled, they said to each other...’

The neutral demonstrative *=i* signals the end of the bracketed NP in (48), showing clearly that the verbal predicate *hain=alah-e* ‘be startled’ is a complex attribute embedded in the NP. An alternative construction involves a sequence of two predicates, optionally marked with the conjunction *=n*, which signals a relation of simultaneity, as in (49). The pragmatics of this construction are unclear.

- (49) ... *mar-lauh-ana lafan-e(=n) hai=malufe.*  
 person-live-ADJZ many-VBLZ(=SIM) INITIAL=forget  
 ‘... many people have forgotten (it).’  
 (lit.: ‘... people are many and have forgotten (it).’)

#### 4.1.1 Numerals

Table 15 shows the basic numerals of East Fataluku, which also occupy the attribute slot, occurring after all other attributes. Except for ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’ and ‘ten’, all numerals are Austronesian loans. Instead of the Fataluku numerals, most East Fataluku speakers prefer to use Indonesian numerals. The only Fata-

**Table 15:** East Fataluku numerals.

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| 1     | <i>un, ukan, ukan-e</i> |
| 2     | <i>ec-e</i>             |
| 3     | <i>utu-e</i>            |
| 4     | <i>fat-e</i>            |
| 5     | <i>lim-e</i>            |
| 6     | <i>nem-e</i>            |
| 7     | <i>fitu</i>             |
| 8     | <i>kafa</i>             |
| 9     | <i>siva</i>             |
| 10    | <i>tan-e</i>            |
| 100   | <i>rah-e</i>            |
| 1,000 | <i>rehun-e</i>          |

luku numeral to be used consistently is *un, ukan* ‘one’. For ‘two’ and ‘three’, both the Indonesian and the Fataluku forms occur frequently. With the exception of the numerals ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’, East Fataluku numerals are most commonly used with the verbalizer suffix *-e*.

The numeral ‘one’ has three forms, *un, ukan*, and *ukan-e*. The form *un* can only be used as an adnominal attribute, as in (50a). *Ukan* and *ukan-e*, on the other hand, can only be used predicatively. The form *ukan* occurs in non-verbal predicates (see section 3.3), as in (50b). *Ukan-e*, with the verbalizing suffix, is a regular verbal predicate (50c).

- (50) a. [*tau lafai un=i*]<sub>NP</sub>  
pumpkin big.SG one=NEUT.DEM  
‘the one big pumpkin’
- b. ... [*i cau-leu*]<sub>NP</sub> *ukan=i*<sub>PRED=n-u</sub> *hai=pukal-e*<sub>PRED</sub>.  
3.POSS head-hair one=PRED=SIM-PV INITIAL=drop-VBLZ  
‘... one of her hairs fell off.’  
(lit.: ‘among her hairs was one and it fell off.’)
- c. ... [*i cau-leu*]<sub>NP</sub> *nau-n=ukan-e*<sub>PRED=n</sub> *hai=pukal-e*<sub>PRED</sub>.  
3.POSS head-hair really-EP=one-VBLZ=SIM INITIAL=drop-VBLZ  
‘... her only hair fell off.’  
(lit.: ‘her hair is really one and fell off.’)

There are two contexts where numerals are used without the verbalizer: when they function as arguments by themselves, as in (51a), and in ordinal numerals, where they are constructed with the attributive marker *i*, as in (51b).

- (51) a. *Ana ec-u fal-e.*  
1SG.SBJ two-PV grab-VBLZ  
'I took two.'
- b. *le i lim-u*  
house ATTR five-PV  
'the fifth house'

The numerals from 'two' to 'ten' can appear with a plural marker (section 4.2.1), as seen in Table 16. This is a property they share with a subgroup of intransitive verbs (see section 6.1). Most numerals take a special numeral plural marker, *-atere*. If it refers to humans, the numeral 'two' can also be combined with the [+HUM] plural marker *-afu*. Indonesian numerals, which are commonly used by East Fataluku speakers, cannot take a plural marker.

Table 16: East Fataluku numerals with plural markers.

|       | NO PLURAL MARKER        | WITH PLURAL MARKER |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1     | <i>un, ukan, ukan-e</i> |                    |
| 2     | <i>ec-e</i>             | <i>ec-atere</i>    |
| 3     | <i>utu-e</i>            | <i>utu-atere</i>   |
| 4     | <i>fat-e</i>            | <i>fat-atere</i>   |
| 5     | <i>lim-e</i>            | <i>lim-atere</i>   |
| 6     | <i>nem-e</i>            | <i>nem-atere</i>   |
| 7     | <i>fitu</i>             | <i>fitu-atere</i>  |
| 8     | <i>kafa</i>             | <i>kafa-tere</i>   |
| 9     | <i>siva</i>             | <i>siva-tere</i>   |
| 10    | <i>tan-e</i>            | <i>tan-atere</i>   |
| 100   | <i>rah-e</i>            |                    |
| 1,000 | <i>rehun-e</i>          |                    |

Plural marking on numerals is optional and only possible when a numeral is used attributively, as in the possessor NP in (52). It is more common in the speech of older people and in careful speech. Younger speakers tend to use the verbalized forms in the same contexts (i.e. using *ec-e* 'two' instead of *ec-atere* in the example below). Numerals in predicative function cannot be marked for plurality, as seen in (52).

- (52) *Rata-n* [nami=rara ec-aterɛ]<sub>NP</sub> ih ipar=a  
 formerly-NMLZ male=PL.HUM two-PL.NUM 3.POSS dog=SPEC  
*ec-e=n<sub>PRED</sub>...*  
 two=VBLZ=SIM  
 ‘Once upon a time, there were two men who had two dogs...’  
 (lit.: ‘Formerly, the dogs of two men were two...’)

### 4.1.2 Relative clauses

The attribute slot may also contain relative clauses, as in (53). They are introduced by the relative clause marker *it*. Relativization of both subjects (53a) and objects (53b) is possible. If both a simple attribute and a relative clause are coordinated, the relative clause always follows the simple attribute, as in (54). Note also that any verbal attribute can be expanded into a relative clause; compare (55) with (47a) above.

- (53) a. *afi=cal* *Paula* [*it* *le* *na-e*]<sub>ATTR</sub>  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=ancestor Paula REL house at-VBLZ  
 ‘our grandmother Paula who is at home’
- b. *sorot* [*it* *kaka* *e-m* *Ingles* *na-kere-kere*]<sub>ATTR</sub>  
 letter REL older.sibling OBJ-take English at-RDP~write  
 ‘the letter that you wrote in English’
- (54) *mu-asa* [*lever-e*]<sub>ATTR</sub> [*it* *ana* *toto*]<sub>ATTR</sub>=*i*  
 banana-leaf spread-VBLZ REL 1SG.SBJ see=NEUT.DEM  
 ‘the spread out banana leaf that I see’
- (55) *mu-asa* [*it* *lever-e*]<sub>ATTR</sub>  
 banana-leaf REL spread-VBLZ  
 ‘the banana leaf that is spread out’

Etymologically, the relative clause marker *it* is made up of the neutral demonstrative *i* and the sequential conjunction  $=t$ . This grammaticalization may be due to contact: in Tetun, the Austronesian lingua franca of Timor-Leste, the relativizer *ne'ebe* likewise involves a demonstrative *ne'e*. Relative clauses can sometimes be found to be concluded by the sequential conjunction  $=t$  (56), showing that they may indeed originate in sequential constructions.

- (56) *Po i leren [it ahar apul moco vai]<sub>ATTR</sub> (=t) akam*  
 But 3.POSS sister REL REPORT illegitimate child lap=SEQ NEG

*semu=ni!*

receive-EXCLAM

‘But his sister who they said was pregnant with an illegitimate child did not get (anything), you know!’

(lit.: ‘His sister, they said she was pregnant with an illegitimate child and then she did not get anything’)

The sequential conjunction  $=t$  furthermore appears to be grammaticalizing into a relative clause marker by itself. In (57a),  $=t$  can be interpreted either as a coordinating conjunction linking two clauses (reading A), or as relativizer introducing a relative clause (reading B). Example (57b) shows that  $=t$  cannot be used to construct headless relative clauses. This property is likely inherited from the origin of  $=t$  as a sequential conjunction, which cannot be used without a preceding clause.

- (57) a. *Navar-ana=t-u e navar-e.*  
 know-ADJZ=SEQ/REL-PV PROX.DEM know-VBLZ

A: ‘(He is an) expert so (he) know this.’

B: ‘(He is an) expert who knows this.’

- b. \* *t-u navar-e*  
 SEQ/REL-PV know-VBLZ  
 (intended: ‘(one) who knows’)

## 4.2 Determiners

There are seven clitic markers which can be grouped into two sets that can occur in the determiner slot of the East Fataluku NP: (i) plural markers and (ii) reference markers. Their forms and functions are summarized in Table 17.

The two types of determiners are mutually exclusive and cannot co-occur within a single noun phrase. Thus, NPs that are modified by a reference marker cannot additionally be plural-marked, and vice versa, NPs which are plural-marked cannot contain a reference marker, as seen in (58).



the determiner slot, but is suffixed to the head noun. The plural markers are not obligatory and do not commonly appear if the plural meaning is implied or overtly expressed elsewhere. For instance, they do not appear if subject number is encoded in the verb (section 6.1).

- i. =*ere* has the widest distribution: it is used with the vast majority of nouns, including nouns with human, non-human animate and inanimate referents. New nouns borrowed into Fataluku are incorporated into this class.
- ii. =*ra*, =*ara* or =*rara* are used with a small closed class of nouns with human referents.<sup>10</sup>
- iii. =*afu* is used with a small closed class of [+HUM] nouns, mostly denoting kin relations.<sup>11</sup>
- iv. -*r* is used with a small closed class of [+HUM] nouns, mostly denoting kin relations.

**Table 18:** Classes of nouns with plural markings.

|             | UNSPECIFIED    | PLURAL-MARKED                      | GLOSS                          |
|-------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Class (i)   | <i>api</i>     | <i>api=ere</i>                     | 'fish'                         |
|             | <i>le</i>      | <i>le=ere</i>                      | 'house'                        |
|             | <i>matar</i>   | <i>matar=ere</i>                   | 'stone'                        |
|             | <i>mavalin</i> | <i>mavalin=ere</i>                 | 'enemy'                        |
|             | <i>kareta</i>  | <i>kareta=ere</i>                  | 'car' < Port. <i>carreta</i>   |
|             | <i>pacain</i>  | <i>pacain=ere</i>                  | 'artisan' < Tet. <i>badaen</i> |
| Class (ii)  | <i>lan</i>     | <i>lan(-u)=ra</i>                  | 'friend'                       |
|             | <i>leren</i>   | <i>leren(-u)=ra</i>                | 'sister'                       |
|             | <i>tupur</i>   | <i>tupur=ara</i>                   | 'woman'                        |
|             | <i>eleh</i>    | <i>eleh(-u)=ra</i>                 | 'husband'                      |
|             | <i>jeu</i>     | <i>jeu=ra</i>                      | 'wife'                         |
|             | <i>nami</i>    | <i>nami=ra</i><br><i>nami=rara</i> | 'man'                          |
| Class (iii) | <i>cal</i>     | <i>cal=afu</i>                     | 'ancestor'                     |
|             | <i>nal</i>     | <i>nal=afu</i>                     | 'mother'                       |
|             | <i>pal</i>     | <i>pal=afu</i>                     | 'father'                       |
|             | <i>mar</i>     | <i>mar=afu</i>                     | 'person'                       |
| Class (iv)  | <i>tamu</i>    | <i>tamu-r</i>                      | 'father's sister'              |
|             | <i>noko</i>    | <i>noko-r</i>                      | 'younger sibling'              |
|             | <i>moco</i>    | <i>moco-r</i>                      | 'child'                        |
|             | <i>ocava</i>   | <i>ocava-r</i>                     | 'lord'                         |

<sup>10</sup> A cognate plural suffix is used with kinship terms in Makalero (cf. Huber 2017).

<sup>11</sup> This marker is also found on the numeral 'two', see section 4.1.1.

The plural clitic =*afu* (Class iii) has an allomorph =*afur*. The form =*afur* appears to be used in vocative constructions (60a) and in contrastive contexts (60b).

- (60) a. *Mar=afur-u, ana vacu piti meci una!*  
 person=PL.HUM-PV 1SG.SBJ sun white palolo.worm eat  
 ‘People, in the afternoon I eat palolo worm!’
- b. ... *afi=pal=afur ih eceremu-n ucut-e.*  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=father=PL.HUM 3.POSS think-NMLZ ask-VBLZ  
 ‘... (we) ask the opinion of our fathers (not someone else’s).’

Several instances of double plural marking have been observed in East Fata-luku. These appear to be on different levels within the NP. For instance, in (61), a complex NP consisting of five coordinated plural-marked NPs is as a whole marked for plural with =*ere*.

- (61) ... [[*afi=nal*]<sub>NP</sub> ho [*afi=pal*]<sub>NP</sub>,  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=mother and 1PL.INCL.POSS=father  
 [*afi=noko-r*]<sub>NP</sub> [*afi=pain-u=ra*]<sub>NP</sub>  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=younger.sibling-PL.HUM 1PL.INCL=parent.in.law-PV=PL.HUM  
 [*afi=cal=afur*]<sub>NP</sub>=*ere*]<sub>NP</sub> nau=uku ica rau~rau=*ere*.  
 1PL.INCL=ancestor=PL.HUM=PL really=all heart RDP~good=PL  
 ‘... our mother and our father, our younger siblings, our parents-in-law,  
 our grandparents are all feeling fine.’

For object NPs, another way of indicating that multiple referents are intended is the use of a reduplicated verb (see section 2.5.3). Whereas the clitic plural marker in the NP signals plurality, verb reduplication implies a diversity of referents of the object NP. If the verb is reduplicated, the object NP cannot appear with a clitic plural marker. The sentences in (62) show the possible constructions: in (62a), a single action affecting a single undergoer is described. In (62b), the action affects multiple individuals, and in (62c), multiple (diverse) actions affect a diverse set of individuals. Finally, (62d) shows that verb reduplication and plural marking of the object NP cannot be combined.

- (62) a. *Mai=o ini=aca-moko pair-e.*  
 eagle=too 1PL.EXCL.POSS=chicken-child drill-VBLZ  
 ‘And an eagle grabs our chick.’

- b. *Mai=o ini=aca-moko=ere pair-e.*  
 eagle=too 1PL.EXCL.POSS=chicken-child=PL drill-VBLZ  
 ‘And an eagle grabs our chicks.’
- c. *Mai=o ini=aca-moko pai~pair-e.*  
 eagle-too 1PL.EXCL.POSS=chicken-child RED~drill-VBLZ  
 ‘And an eagle grabs many (different ones) of our chicks.’
- d. \* *Mai=o ini=aca-moko=ere pai~pair-e.*  
 eagle-also 1PL.EXCL.POSS=chicken-child=PL RED~drill-VBLZ

Interestingly, NPs with attributes which include verbs and numerals with plural suffixes cannot include a reference marker, as seen in (63) and (64). In both examples, the plural suffixes are clearly verbal (section 6.1); there are no nominal plural clitics with these forms. Verbal and numeral plural markers thus seem to occupy the NP’s determiner slot. Indeed, the most common verbal plural markers are formally identical or similar to the nominal plural marker *=ere*.

- (63) a. *nami lauh-oro*                      b. \* *nami lauh-oro ivi*  
 man live-PL                              man live-PL DIST.DEM  
 ‘living men’
- (64) a. *moco ec-ater*                      b. \* *moco ec-ater=a*  
 child two-PL.NUM                      child two-PL.NUM=SPEC  
 ‘two children’

#### 4.2.2 Reference markers

East Fataluku has a four-term system of reference as follows. The term ‘reference’ is used to include both the specifier as well as the three postnominal demonstratives.

- i. *=a* ‘SPEC’ signals that an entity is known to the speaker.
- ii. *=(q)i* ‘NEUT.DEM’ is neutral with respect to the speaker’s location and serves to point at the precise entity that is of issue in the discourse, i.e. ‘the one (precisely)’.
- iii. *=(q)e ~ (q)e* ‘PROX.DEM’ locates an entity in space near the speaker.
- iv. *ivi* ‘DIST.DEM’ locates an entity in space far away from the speaker.

The distal demonstrative *ivi* carries a pitch accent and is therefore treated as an independent word. The remaining forms are unstressed if they modify a head

noun and are hence represented as clitics. However, all demonstratives, including the neutral and the proximal demonstratives, can function as NPs by themselves. In contrast, the specifier *=a* is always an NP clitic.

East Fataluku allows particular combinations of reference markers. The pragmatic functions of these reference stacks are unclear and require further research. Table 19 illustrates the reference stacks found in the data with the noun *le* ‘house’. The only markers which cannot co-occur are the proximal and distal demonstratives. However, both proximal and distal markers can be combined with the specific marker and the neutral demonstrative, which can also be combined with each other. The sequence in which the markers are combined appears to be fixed. For instance, the distal marker *ivi* can only occur as a left stack member.

**Table 19:** Reference markers and reference stacks in combination with *le* ‘house’.

| LEFT STACK MEMBER    | RIGHT STACK MEMBER |                      |                         |               |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
|                      | SPEC               | NEUT.DEM             | PROX.DEM                | DIST.DEM      |
|                      | <i>=a</i>          | <i>=(q)i</i>         | <i>=(q)e</i>            | <i>ivi</i>    |
|                      | <i>le=a</i>        | <i>le=i</i>          | <i>le=qe</i>            | <i>le ivi</i> |
| SPEC <i>=a</i>       | –                  | –                    | –                       | –             |
| NEUT.DEM <i>=i</i>   | <i>le=i=a</i>      | <i>le=i=qi</i>       | –                       | –             |
| PROX.DEM <i>(q)e</i> | <i>le qe-n=a</i>   | <i>le qe-n=i(=a)</i> | <i>le qe-n=e-n(=i)†</i> | –             |
| DIST.DEM <i>ivi</i>  | <i>le iv(i)=a</i>  | <i>le ivi=qi</i>     | –                       | –             |

† Reference stacks of two proximal and a neutral demonstrative with a specific marker have been found in emphatic exclamations: *Le qe-n=e-n=i=a!* ‘(It’s) this house here!’

If the proximal demonstrative *(q)e* is followed by another reference marker, the epenthetic *n* is inserted. As the left member of a reference stack, it carries a pitch accent. Like the distal demonstrative *ivi*, it is therefore treated as an independent word in such contexts. If it is added to a noun with a final vowel *-e*, it appears with an initial glottal stop *q-*. An obligatory glottal stop also appears on the neutral demonstrative *=qi* if it is the second member of a reference stack and the preceding vowel is high. These are the only contexts where a glottal stop occurs in East Fataluku (cf. section 2.1).

### 4.3 The prenominal demonstrative

Only one item, the emphatic demonstrative *fan* (EMPH.DEM) can appear in the prenominal demonstrative slot. It can be combined with all postnominal demonstratives in the determiner slot (65a, b); however, it cannot co-occur with the specific marker *=a* (65c).

- (65) a. ... *fan*            *tupur*    *ivi*            *eluh-e=n*            *apur-kave*.  
              EMPH.DEM   woman   DIST.DEM   want-VBLZ=SIM   with-marry  
              ‘... *that* woman over there wanted to marry (him).’
- b. ... *fan*            *tupur=i*            *eluh-e=n*            *apur-kave*.  
              EMPH.DEM   woman=NEUT.DEM   want-VBLZ=SIM   with-marry  
              ‘... *that* woman wanted to marry (him).’
- c. \*... *fan*            *tupur=a*            *eluh-e=n*            *apur-kave*.  
              EMPH.DEM   woman=SPEC   want-VBLZ=SIM   with-marry

## 4.4 Possession

In the default possessive construction, the possessor precedes the possessed noun, as seen in Figure 4 (section 4). The possessive pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons are treated as clitics because they are always unstressed. The possessive pronoun for the 3rd person, on the other hand, has its own pitch accent and is thus represented as a free form.

If the possessed noun is vowel-initial, there are distinct possessive pronouns for alienable and inalienable possession in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and the 2nd person plural, as shown in Table 20. An alienable possessive relation is signaled by a possessive pronoun with a final *-h*, whereas inalienable possession is indicated by a possessive pronoun with a final *-n*. The possessive pronoun of the 3rd person distinguishes neither number nor (in)alienability, but has a final *-h* before all nouns with an initial vowel.

**Table 20:** Possessive pronouns with vowel-initial possessed nouns.

|   | SG         |             | PL                                       |             |
|---|------------|-------------|------------------------------------------|-------------|
|   | ALIENABLE  | INALIENABLE | ALIENABLE                                | INALIENABLE |
| 1 | <i>ah=</i> | <i>an=</i>  | <i>afi=</i> (INCL)<br><i>ini=</i> (EXCL) |             |
| 2 | <i>eh=</i> | <i>en=</i>  | <i>ih=</i>                               | <i>in=</i>  |
| 3 |            | <i>ih</i>   |                                          |             |

The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is illustrated in (66). In (66a), the vowel-initial inalienable noun *ina* ‘eye’ requires the inalienable possessive pronoun *an=* ‘1.SG.INAL’, while the alienably possessed noun *ipar* combines with the pronoun *ah=* (66b).

- (66) a. *an=ina*  
 1SG.POSS.INAL=eye  
 ‘my eye’  
 b. *ah=ipar*  
 1SG.POSS.ALIEN=dog  
 ‘my dog’

Table 21 shows the possessive pronouns that occur with consonant-initial possessed nouns. In these cases, East Fataluku makes no formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possessive marking. However, inalienable nouns are obligatorily marked for possession, whereas alienable nouns may freely occur with or without possessive marking.

The third person possessive pronoun *i ~ ih* is also used where the possessor is a full NP, as in (67).

**Table 21:** Possessive pronouns with consonant-initial possessed nouns.

|   | SG        | PL                                       |
|---|-----------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>a=</i> | <i>afi=</i> (INCL)<br><i>ini=</i> (EXCL) |
| 2 | <i>e=</i> | <i>i=</i>                                |
| 3 | <i>i</i>  |                                          |

- (67) [*Timor i*]<sub>POSS</sub> *cau-hafa=ere*  
 Timor 3.POSS head-bone=PL  
 ‘the leaders of Timor’

There is furthermore a reflexive possessive pronoun, *hin*. It occurs with object NPs when the possessor is co-referent with the subject of the clause (68a). It can also occur in subject NPs, in which case it refers back to the subject of the preceding clause, which is bracketed in the example in (68b). In rapid speech, *hin* is realized as a clitic *n=*, as seen in (69).

- (68) a. *Tava hin pala mica-n-e...*  
 3SG REFL.POSS garden up-EP-VBL  
 ‘He was up in his garden...’



used.<sup>12</sup> For 1st and 2nd person possessors, possessive constructions with *hVn* are not found in NPs as attributes, but only predicatively (e.g. ‘it is mine’), or as separate NPs (e.g. ‘my one’). The forms illustrated in Table 22 can be full NPs, as shown by the presence of the neutral determiner *=i*, which occupies the last slot of an NP, or nominal predicates.

**Table 22:** Possession with *hVn* ‘POSS.N’.

| PRON.POSS=POSS.N=NEUT.DEM               |                       |                  |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1SG                                     | <i>a=han=i</i>        | ‘mine’           |
| 2SG                                     | <i>e=hen=i</i>        | ‘yours’          |
| 1PL.INCL                                | <i>afi=hin=i</i>      | ‘ours (INCL)’    |
| 1PL.EXCL                                | <i>ini=hin=i</i>      | ‘ours (EXCL)’    |
| 2PL                                     | <i>i=hin=i</i>        | ‘yours (PL)’     |
| 3SG/3PL/NOUN + 3.POSS + POSS.N=NEUT.DEM |                       |                  |
| 3SG                                     | <i>(tava) i hin=i</i> | ‘his, hers’      |
| 3PL                                     | <i>tavar i hin=i</i>  | ‘theirs’         |
| father                                  | <i>pal i hin=i</i>    | ‘father’s (one)’ |

The inverted possessive construction with *hVn* is commonly used if the possessed NP is particularly long and complex, as in (72a), where it consists of three coordinated nouns; as a comparison, the regular possessive construction is shown in (72b). The inverted possessive construction is also used in cases where the NP contains borrowed words (73).

- (72) a. [*fai~fai-n*,      *luku-n*      *ho*    *hopon=i*  
 RDP~do-NMLZ    speak-NMLZ    and    inform=NEUT.DEM  
*lauh=ana*]<sub>POSSESSED</sub>    [*Lospala-moco-r*    *i*      *hin=i*]<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>  
 live-ADJZ                      Lospalos-child-PL    3.POSS    POSS.N=NEUT.DEM  
 ‘the deeds, speech and message, the life of the Lospalos people’
- b. *Lospala-moco-r*    *i*      *fai~fai-n*,      *luku-n*      *ho*    *lauh-ana*  
 Lospalos-child-PL    3.POSS    RDP~do-NMLZ    speak-NMLZ    and    live-ADJZ  
 ‘the deeds, speech and life of the Lospalos people’
- (73) ... *ana*      *analyze*    *morofolojia*    *Fataluku*    *i*      *hin=i*                      *fai...*  
 1SG.SBJ    analysis    morphology    Fataluku    3.POSS    POSS.N=NEUT.DEM    do  
 ‘... I do the analysis of the Fataluku morphology...’

<sup>12</sup> Similarly, in Makalero, the third person pronouns *kiloo* and *kiloora* are constructed in possessive constructions like lexical nouns (Huber 2017: 321).

## 5 Pronouns and other pro-forms

Section 5.1 discusses personal pronouns, section 5.2 the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns and section 5.3 the interrogative pronouns. Finally, section 5.4 briefly introduces other interrogative pro-forms.

### 5.1 Personal pronouns

Table 23 summarizes the personal pronouns of East Fataluku. The 1st and 2nd person pronouns distinguish a subject, an object, and an emphatic form, whereas the 3rd person singular and plural have a single form, respectively. The third person plural pronoun *tavar* is transparently derived from singular *tava* with the *-r* suffix discussed in section 2.5.4.

**Table 23:** Personal pronouns.

|   | SG         |                   |             |      | PL         |              |             |
|---|------------|-------------------|-------------|------|------------|--------------|-------------|
|   | SUBJECT    | OBJECT            | EMPHATIC    |      | SUBJECT    | OBJECT       | EMPHATIC    |
| 1 | <i>ana</i> | <i>a(n)=, ani</i> | <i>anir</i> | INCL | <i>afa</i> | <i>afi=</i>  | <i>afir</i> |
|   |            |                   |             | EXCL | <i>ina</i> | <i>ini=</i>  | <i>inir</i> |
| 2 | <i>a</i>   | <i>e(n)=</i>      | <i>er</i>   |      | <i>ia</i>  | <i>i(n)=</i> | <i>ir</i>   |
| 3 |            | <i>tava</i>       |             |      |            | <i>tavar</i> |             |

The object pronouns in the 1st and 2nd person singular as well as the 2nd person plural have an allomorph with a final *-n*, which is used before vowels, and a form consisting of a single vowel, which is found before consonants. In the 1st person singular only, there is a second object form, *ani* ‘1SG.OBJ’, which occurs mainly in ritual and poetic language.

Table 24 shows that the object pronouns are formally identical to possessive pronouns. As seen in section 4.4, the 1st person plural possessive pronouns *afi=* and *ini=* are used in all contexts. In the 1st person singular and the 2nd persons, possessive pronouns with a final *-n* are used in inalienable possession with vowel-initial nouns. Vowel-final possessive pronouns are used with consonant-initial nouns. Only the personal pronouns for the 3rd persons are formally unrelated to the possessive pronouns. The 3rd possessive pronoun *i* is a reflex of TAP \*ga- (Schapper, Huber and van Engelenhoven 2017), whereas the personal pronoun form *tava* is an innovation; no cognates are found in other TAP languages, even closely related Oirata.

**Table 24:** Possessive pronouns and object pronouns.

| <i>n</i> -FINAL FORMS |             |               |                   |                |                 |
|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
|                       |             | <i>ia</i>     | ‘foot’            | <i>aci</i>     | ‘see’           |
| 1SG                   | <i>an=</i>  | <i>an=ia</i>  | ‘my foot’         | <i>an=aci</i>  | ‘see me’        |
| 2SG                   | <i>en=</i>  | <i>en=ia</i>  | ‘your foot’       | <i>en=aci</i>  | ‘see you’       |
| 1PL.INCL              | <i>afi=</i> | <i>afi=ia</i> | ‘our (INCL) feet’ | <i>afi=aci</i> | ‘see us (INCL)’ |
| 1PL.EXCL              | <i>ini=</i> | <i>ini=ia</i> | ‘our (EXCL) feet’ | <i>ini=aci</i> | ‘see us (EXCL)’ |
| 2PL                   | <i>in=</i>  | <i>in=ia</i>  | ‘your (PL) feet’  | <i>in=aci</i>  | ‘see you (PL)’  |

  

| VOWEL-FINAL FORMS |             |               |                    |                 |                 |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                   |             | <i>le</i>     | ‘house’            | <i>toto</i>     | ‘see’           |
| 1SG               | <i>a=</i>   | <i>a=le</i>   | ‘my house’         | <i>a=toto</i>   | ‘see me’        |
| 2SG               | <i>e=</i>   | <i>e=le</i>   | ‘your house’       | <i>e=toto</i>   | ‘see you’       |
| 1PL.INCL          | <i>afi=</i> | <i>afi=le</i> | ‘our (INCL) house’ | <i>afi=toto</i> | ‘see us (INCL)’ |
| 1PL.EXCL          | <i>ini=</i> | <i>ini=le</i> | ‘our (EXCL) house’ | <i>ini=toto</i> | ‘see us (EXCL)’ |
| 2PL               | <i>i=</i>   | <i>i=le</i>   | ‘your (PL) house’  | <i>i=toto</i>   | ‘see you (PL)’  |

East Fataluku has a set of emphatic pronouns, which are derived from object pronouns with the *-r* formative (section 2.5.4). They are usually used in subject function and always co-occur with the regular subject pronouns, as seen in (74). An emphatic pronoun may be part of the same phonological phrase as the subject pronoun, in which case it is analyzed as sharing the S/A argument slot of the basic clausal template (section 3) with the subject pronoun; this is indicated with square brackets in (74a). An emphatic pronoun may also constitute a phonological phrase of its own, indicated in (74b) and (74c) with commas. In this case, they can be thought of as extra-clausal constituents and obligatorily appear in a form with a final vowel. In (74b), this is the paragogic vowel *u* (see section 2.3), and in (74c), the adverbial clitic *=o* ‘too’ ensures that the phonological phrase does not end in a consonant.

- (74) a. [*Inir*                    *ina*]<sub>S/A</sub>                    *rah*                    *keh-e...*  
           1PL.EXCL.EMPH 1PL.EXCL.SBJ   hundred   count-VBLZR  
           ‘We ourselves counted a hundred (of them)...’
- b. ... *afir-u*,                    *afa*                    *kelu=n...*  
           1PL.INCL.EMPH-PV   1PL.INCL.SBJ   refuse=SIM  
           ‘... we refuse (it) ourselves and ...’
- c. ... *anir=o*,                    *ana*                    *navar-e...*  
           1SG.EMPH=too 1SG.SBJ   know-VBLZR  
           ‘... me too, I know (it)...’

Emphatic pronouns have been found in the corpus in object function only with the transfer verb *ina* ‘give’. In all cases, the emphatic object pronoun is separated from the verb which governs it through an aspect marker or an adverb (section 3.1). In (75a), these are the adverbs *nau* ‘really’ and *uku* ‘all’. Furthermore, the emphatic object pronoun does not co-occur with a regular object pronoun. In (75b), where the object pronoun is directly adjacent to the verb, the regular object form *in=* appears.

- (75) a. ... *ana e-m ir nau=uku=ina...*  
           1SG.SBJ OBJ-take 2PL.EMPH really=all=give  
           ‘... I give it really to all of you...’
- b. ... *ana nau=uku=m in=ina...*  
           1SG.SBJ really=all=take 2PL.OBJ=give  
           ‘... I really give it all to you...’

## 5.2 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

The reflexive pronoun *ni=* is mainly used in serial verb constructions with ‘take’ (section 7.3). An example is given in (76a). More commonly used as a reflexive marker is *jen*, a nominalization of the adverbial *je* ‘alone’. *Jen* can be used by itself (76b), or as part of a complex marker *jen hin* (76c). Section 4.4 shows that *hin* is also used as a reflexive possessive. Thus, as with the personal pronouns discussed in 5.1, the object function and the possessive function are expressed by the same pronominal forms.

- (76) a. *Ana ni=m ipinaka na-liar-e...*  
           1SG.SBJ REFL=take star at-turn-VBLZ  
           ‘I transformed (lit. ‘changed myself’) into a star.’
- b. ... *afa jen ukun-e...*  
           1PL.INCL.SBJ REFL rule-VBLZ  
           ‘... we are independent...’  
           (lit. ‘we rule ourselves’)
- c. *Tava jen hin liar-e=n...*  
           3SG REFL POSS.N turn-VBLZ=SIM  
           ‘She changed herself and...’

The reciprocal pronoun *nita=* is exemplified in (77a) and (77b). It too is known to function as a possessive pronoun, as seen e.g. in (122).

- (77) a. ... *afa*                      *nita=vari=hef-e...*  
           1PL.INCL.SBJ    RECP=always=know-VBLZ  
           ‘... we always recognize each other...’
- b. *Ratu hala-hala=i=po*                      *nita=m*                      *o-leura*                      *fai*.  
       clan    RDP~just=NEUT.DEM=but    RECP=take    mouth-meat    make  
       ‘It is exclusively the clans who make rations for each other.’

### 5.3 Interrogative pronouns

East Fataluku has three interrogative pronouns, *uman* ‘who’, *ina* ‘what’, and *te=* ‘where, how’. *Uman* ‘who’ and *ina* ‘what’ are used as S/A or P arguments or in the possessor slot of an NP. Argument uses of both pronouns are shown in (78a). In (78b), *ina* ‘what’ appears in the possessor slot of the NP headed by *le* ‘house’; this translates as ‘what kind of’. A possessive use of *uman* ‘who’ translates as ‘whose’. If it has multiple referents, *uman* ‘who’ can be plural-marked with *=afu(r)* ‘PL.HUM’ (79). This is not possible with *ina* ‘what’.

- (78) a. *Uman e*                      *na-e*                      *ina*                      *fai?*  
       who    PROX.DEM    at=VBLZ    what    do  
       ‘Who does what around here?’
- b. *Tava ina=le*                      *hai=m*                      *Tutuhala*                      *na-pai?*  
       3SG    what=house    INITIAL=take    Tutuala                      at-MUT.make  
       ‘What kind of house did he build in Tutuala?’
- (79) *Uman=afur=i*                      *olo?*  
       who=PL.HUM=PRED    EXCLAM  
       ‘Who may these be?’

Similarly, *te=* ‘where, how’ can be used as a possessor or as a P argument, although not as an S/A argument. As a P argument in a predicate headed by a position or movement verb, it translates as ‘where’, as in (80a); if it is headed by the verb *va-n-e* ‘be like’, it yields the meaning ‘how’ (80b). As an adnominal possessor (80c), it translates as ‘which’. With the predicate marker *=i* (see section 3.3), *te=* is also very commonly used as a nonverbal-predicate, as in (81).

- (80) a. *Hai=m te=na-e?*  
 INITIAL=take INTERR=at-VBLZ  
 ‘Where did you put it?’
- b. *Kaka te=hai=va-n-e?*  
 older.sibling INTERR=INITIAL=like-EP-VBLZ  
 ‘How are you, brother?’
- c. *A te=ratu na-e=n mau?*  
 2SG.SBJ INTERR=clan at-VBLZ=SIM come  
 ‘Which clan are you from?’
- (81) *Te-n=i?*  
 INTERR-EP=PRED  
 ‘Which one (is it)?’

## 5.4 Other interrogative pro-forms

There are two interrogative words derived from the base *taru*, namely *tarute* ‘when’ and *tarupaha* ‘how much’. By itself, *taru* ‘how’ appears confined to sung poetry texts. *Tarute* ‘when’ stands in the TEMP slot of the clause, as in (82) (cf. section 3). *Tarupaha* ‘how much’ can be used either as an argument by itself, as in (83a), or as an attribute within an NP (section 4.1), as seen in (83b). It cannot, however, co-occur with any other elements in the attribute slot. *Tarupaha* is also commonly used predicatively, as in (84). Example (84) also shows that it can be marked with the numeral plural *-tere* ‘PL.NUM’.

- (82) *Afa tarute meci ali una?*  
 1PL.INCL.SBJ when palolo.worm again eat  
 ‘When is it that we eat palolo worm again?’
- (83) a. *Ia tarupaha fal-e?*  
 2PL.SBJ how.many grab-VBLZ  
 ‘How many did you take?’
- b. *Ipar tarupaha ivi na-e?*  
 dog how.many DIST.DEM at-VBLZ  
 ‘How many dogs are over there?’

- (84) *Tarupaha-tere?*  
 how.many-PL.NUM  
 ‘How many (are they)?’

## 6 Agreement and verbal morphology

A subset of East Fataluku verbs agree with their subject in number, and another set indexes a P argument with a prothetic vowel. Subject number agreement (section 6.1) is quite restricted, but prothetic object vowels (section 6.2) are found on a substantial number of verbs.

### 6.1 Number agreement on verbs

A small class of mostly intransitive verbs agree with their subject in number. The list in Table 25 is intended to be exhaustive, but excludes numerals, which are analyzed as stative verbs and may also occur with plural marking. The suffix *-e* in the singular (and some plural) forms is the verbalizer (section 2.5.4). The verbs can be assigned to four groups, i.e. states, actions, positions and locations.

Plural forms are either suppletive or derived from the singular form using a plural suffix. In cases where the singular form occurs with the verbalizer *-e*, the plural form is formed by replacing the verbalizer with the plural suffix. The plural suffix has a variety of allomorphs whose distribution is mostly predictable: *-ere* generally appears after consonant-final roots; with vowel-final roots, the form *-re* is used. If the final vowel of the verb root is /u/, the plural suffix is *-oro* (or a similar form). In some cases, we find an unpredictable initial consonant on the suffix, e.g. *umu-noro* ‘die (PL)’, *taia-tere* ‘sleep (PL)’, and with some vowel-final verbs, the suffix *-ere* is found instead of the expected *-re*, e.g. *mucu-ere* ‘be inside (PL)’, *mica-ere* ‘be on top (PL)’. All of the plural suffix allomorphs involve the *-r*-formative, which, among others, marks plurality on nouns. In fact, the most common plural marker in the NP is formally identical with the verbal plural suffix *-ere* (section 2.5.4; section 4.2.1).

With the exception of *-fo-* ‘be inside (PL)’, all suppletive plural roots either end in *-r* or *-rV*, possibly also reflecting the *-r*-formative. Three suppletive plural forms are homophonous with semantically unrelated verbs which do not distinguish singular and plural subject forms, i.e. *heler-e* ‘flow’, *neher-e* ‘follow’, *teper-e* ‘be silent’.

**Table 25:** Verbs which agree with subject number.

|          |            | GLOSS                 | SINGULAR FORM   | PLURAL FORM           |
|----------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| STATE    | SUPPLETIVE | ‘big’                 | <i>lafai</i>    | <i>laficar-e</i>      |
|          |            | ‘high/long’           | <i>lohai</i>    | <i>lohicar-e</i>      |
|          | SUFFIXAL   | ‘full’                | <i>polu</i>     | <i>polu-re</i>        |
|          |            | ‘dead’                | <i>umu</i>      | <i>umu-noro</i>       |
|          |            | ‘live’                | <i>lauh-e</i>   | <i>lauh-oro</i>       |
|          |            | ‘sleep’               | <i>taia</i>     | <i>taia-tere</i>      |
| ACTION   | SUPPLETIVE | ‘hide’ (intr.)        | <i>palak-e</i>  | <i>peler-e</i>        |
|          |            | ‘run, flee’           | <i>tifar-e</i>  | <i>heler-e</i>        |
|          | SUFFIXAL   | ‘laugh’               | <i>kel-e</i>    | <i>kel-ere</i>        |
|          |            | ‘come’                | <i>mau</i>      | <i>mau-ere</i>        |
|          |            | ‘eat’ (intr.)         | <i>mace</i>     | <i>mace-re</i>        |
|          |            | ‘fly’                 | <i>ipil-e</i>   | <i>ipil-ere</i>       |
|          |            | ‘disappear’           | <i>molu</i>     | <i>molu-re</i>        |
|          |            | ‘slip’                | <i>suk-e</i>    | <i>suk-oro</i>        |
| POSITION | SUPPLETIVE | ‘stand’               | <i>nat-e</i>    | <i>neher-e</i>        |
|          |            | ‘sit’                 | <i>imir-e</i>   | <i>icuar-e</i>        |
|          |            | ‘lay’                 | <i>laku</i>     | <i>teper-e</i>        |
|          |            | ‘hang’                | <i>vaiak-e</i>  | <i>verir-e</i>        |
|          |            | ‘stand upright’       | <i>cumai</i>    | <i>cutoro</i>         |
| LOCATION | SUPPLETIVE | ‘extend’              | <i>kusina</i>   | <i>kusevere</i>       |
|          |            | ‘be inside’           | <i>-to-e</i>    | <i>-fo-e</i>          |
|          | SUFFIXAL   | ‘be placed (at etc.)’ | <i>PP-mai</i>   | <i>PP-ere, PP-iri</i> |
|          |            | ‘be at’               | <i>na-e</i>     | <i>na-ere</i>         |
|          |            | ‘be at’               | <i>hici-n-e</i> | <i>hici-n-ere</i>     |
|          |            | ‘be inside’           | <i>mucu-n-e</i> | <i>mucu-ere</i>       |
|          |            | ‘be on top’           | <i>mica-n-e</i> | <i>mica-ere</i>       |

Two of the singular verb forms given in Table 25, *cumai* ‘stand upright’ and *PP-mai* ‘be placed (at etc.)’, involve the form *mai* ‘be placed, located’, which is combined with various postpositional elements into a verbal compound (section 2.5.1, section 3.2). *Cumai* ‘stand upright’ is not segmented in this sketch because the element *cu* ‘upright (?)’ is not found in other contexts. *Cumai*, as in (85a), can be assumed to be a verbal compound equivalent to *na-mai* ‘be at’ in (85c), although with an unproductive first element. This is supported by the fact that, like *na-mai*, *cumai* requires serialization with the light verb =*m* ‘take’ (section 7.3.5) both in the singular and in the plural form, as seen in (85a) and (85b). *Mai* ‘be placed’ has a variety of suppletive plural forms which are used in verbal compounds with specific first elements. With *cu-*, for instance, the plural of *mai* is *toro* (85b); with the locative postposition *na*, it is *iri* (85d). Note that in all of the sentences in (85), the object of the light verb =*m* ‘take’ is the subject of *mai* ‘be placed, located’.

- (85) a. ... *e-m*                      *loiasu-tutu*   *hia-cumai...*  
                  OBJ-take        boat-mast   up-stand.upright.SG  
                  ‘... (they) placed him up the mast...’
- b. ... *e-m*                      *rakan*   *hia-cutoro.*  
                  OBJ-take   attic   up-stand.upright.PL  
                  ‘... (they) put them in the attic.’
- c. *Kaka-r*                              *mutu*   *un-u=m*                      *ili*                      *na-mai.*  
                  older.sibling-PL.HUM   torch   one-PV=take   mountain   at-be.placed.SG  
                  ‘The older brothers put one torch on the mountain.’
- d. *Kaka-r*                              *mutu*   *ec-ater=m*                      *ili*  
                  older.sibling-PL.HUM   torch   two-PL.NUM=take   mountain  
                  *na-iri.*  
                  at-be.placed.PL  
                  ‘The older brothers put two torches on the mountain.’

The subject of a plural-marked verb may or may not appear with an explicit plural marker. This is seen in (86), which shows two consecutive sentences from a fairy tale. In (86a), plural marking appears on the verb only, whereas in (86b), both the subject and the verb are marked. It is not possible, however, for plural marking to appear only on the subject, but not on the verb, as in (86c).

- (86) a. ... *lua*                      *hai=mau-ere.*  
                  monkey   INITIAL=COME-PL  
                  ‘... the monkeys came.’
- b. ... *lua=ere*                      *nau=uku=heler-e...*  
                  monkey=PL   really=all=run.PL-VBLZ  
                  ‘... the monkeys all ran away...’
- c. \* *Lua=ere*                      *hai=mau.*  
                  monkey=PL   INITIAL=come  
                  (Intended: ‘The monkeys came.’)

As shown in section 4.2, if a verb with a plural suffix is embedded within an NP, the plural suffix appears to be interpreted as occupying the determiner slot of the NP. The determiner slot contains either a plural marker or a reference marker. The two types of markers are mutually exclusive. Thus, the demonstratives and the specifier cannot appear in an NP with an embedded verb with a suffixal plural marker. If, on the other hand, the verb’s plural form is suppletive, reference markers can appear with it, as in (87).

- (87) *cau-leu=t-u*                      *e*                      *kusever-e=i=a*  
head-hair=REL-PV    PROX.DEM    extend.PL-VBLZ=NEUT.DEM=SPEC  
‘those (head) hairs that are this long’

In the attribute slot of the NP, verbal plural suffixes are sometimes found with verbs which are not normally plural-marking. For instance, *louk-e* ‘jump’ is never plural-marked if used as a predicate of an independent clause. In (88), however, it appears with the plural marker *-oro*. This is a plural suffix found only with verbs with the vowel /u/ in the last syllable; it is not used as a plural marker in the determiner slot of the NP. The nature of the plural marker in NPs with embedded verbs is thus somewhat ambiguous in that it behaves like a verbal plural marker in some respects, but like a nominal plural marker in others.

- (88) *lua*            *it*            *ira*            *mucu-louk-oro*  
monkey REL water in-jump-PL  
‘the monkeys that jump in the water’

6.2 Object vowel prothesis

A substantial set of East Fataluku verbs – the majority of consonant-initial transitive ones – have forms with a prothetic vowel. Whether or not a given verb has a vowel-initial form and which vowel is used is a lexical property. Table 26 provides a selection of verbal allomorphs with and without the prothetic vowel. If the first vowel of the verbal root is a mid vowel, the prothetic vowel is nearly always a copy. In other cases, however, the prothetic vowel is unpredictable and can either be /i/, /u/ or /a/. Table 26 also shows that some of the verbs which take vowel prothesis have allomorphs with initial consonant mutation (section 2.5.2).

Table 26: Verb forms with prothetic vowels.

| PROTHETIC VOWEL |                 | ROOT           | ALTERNATED FORM | GLOSS         |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| i               | <i>i-pah-e</i>  | <i>-pah-e</i>  |                 | ‘disseminate’ |
|                 | <i>i-cuar-e</i> | <i>-cuar-e</i> |                 | ‘sit (PL)’    |
|                 | <i>i-mir-e</i>  | <i>-mir-e</i>  |                 | ‘sit (SG)’    |
|                 | <i>i-tih-e</i>  | <i>-tih-e</i>  | <i>-cih-e</i>   | ‘reheat’      |
|                 | <i>i-hir-e</i>  | <i>-hir-e</i>  | <i>-cir-e</i>   | ‘wait’        |
|                 | <i>i-sil-e</i>  | <i>-sil-e</i>  | <i>-cil-e</i>   | ‘bind’        |

| PROTHETIC VOWEL |                  | ROOT            | ALTERNATED FORM | GLOSS                |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| u               | <i>u-nam-e</i>   | <i>-nam-e</i>   |                 | ‘catch in the hands’ |
|                 | <i>u-lavere</i>  | <i>-lavere</i>  |                 | ‘clothe’             |
|                 | <i>u-lur-e</i>   | <i>-lur-e</i>   |                 | ‘sweep’              |
|                 | <i>u-fal-e</i>   | <i>-fal-e</i>   | <i>-pal-e</i>   | ‘grab’               |
|                 | <i>u-fan-e</i>   | <i>-fan-e</i>   | <i>-pan-e</i>   | ‘feed’               |
|                 | <i>u-tu-e</i>    | <i>-tu-e</i>    | <i>-cu-e</i>    | ‘plant’              |
|                 | <i>u-huleve</i>  | <i>-huleve</i>  | <i>-culeve</i>  | ‘spoon up’           |
| e               | <i>e-m-e</i>     | <i>-m-e</i>     |                 | ‘take’               |
|                 | <i>e-ler-e</i>   | <i>-ler-e</i>   |                 | ‘read’               |
|                 | <i>e-keh-e</i>   | <i>-keh-e</i>   |                 | ‘count’              |
|                 | <i>e-fer-e</i>   | <i>-fer-e</i>   | <i>-per-e</i>   | ‘wipe’               |
|                 | <i>e-te</i>      | <i>-te</i>      | <i>-ce</i>      | ‘measure’            |
| o               | <i>o-kolev-e</i> | <i>-kolev-e</i> |                 | ‘embrace’            |
|                 | <i>o-nof-e</i>   | <i>-nof-e</i>   |                 | ‘recognize’          |
|                 | <i>o-fot-e</i>   | <i>-fot-e</i>   | <i>-pot-e</i>   | ‘cut up’             |
|                 | <i>o-fo</i>      | <i>-fo</i>      | <i>-po</i>      | ‘be.inside.PL’       |
|                 | <i>o-to</i>      | <i>-to</i>      | <i>-co</i>      | ‘be.inside.SG’       |
| a               | <i>a-har-e</i>   | <i>-har-e</i>   |                 | ‘send’               |
|                 | <i>a-kan-e</i>   | <i>-kan-e</i>   |                 | ‘flare’              |
|                 | <i>a-pe</i>      | <i>-pe</i>      |                 | ‘move on (sth.)’     |
|                 | <i>a-ruka</i>    | <i>-ruka</i>    |                 | ‘send’               |
|                 | <i>a-ha</i>      | <i>-ha</i>      | <i>-ca</i>      | ‘warp’               |

The prothetic vowel anaphorically refers to a previously mentioned object. The consonant-initial form is used when the object is overtly expressed in the same clause, as in (89a) and (90a). In the (89b) and (90b), where the P arguments are realized as extraclausal constituents, they are indexed on the verbs by the prothetic vowel. The prothetic vowel does not agree with the left-dislocated argument in either person or number. In (89b), for-instance, the argument indexed by the vowel is a 3rd person, but a 2nd person in (90b). The vowel-initial form is also used as the citation form for transitive verbs in elicitation, referring to a generic object as it were.

- (89) a. ... *ana*      *rahin*      *kaka*      *i*      *mensajem=i*  
1SG.SBJ yesterday older.sibling 3.POSS message=NEUT.DEM  
*hai=ler-e...*  
INITIAL=read-VBLZ  
‘... I read your message yesterday...’

- b. *Rahin kaka i sms, ana hai=m*  
 yesterday older.sibling 3.POSS SMS 1SG.SBJ INITIAL=take  
*afi=nal ina=t-u hai=e-ler-e.*  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=mother give=SEQ-PV INITIAL=OBJ-read-VBLZ  
 ‘Your SMS yesterday, I gave it to our mother and she has read it.’

- (90) a. *Tava e=seil-e.*  
 3SG 2SG.OBJ-pull-VBLZ  
 ‘He abducted you.’
- b. *Er=i=t tava a-seil-e...*  
 2SG.EMPH=PRED=TOP 3SG OBJ-pull-VBLZ  
 ‘It is you that he abducted...’

The subset of verbs with prothetic object vowels includes position verbs such as *-mir-e* ‘sit (SG)’ and *-nat-e* ‘stand (SG)’. These verbs imply a location, which is expressed by means of a locative postposition in a verbal compound. Whenever a PP is absent, the verb has to appear with the prothetic vowel, as in (91a). In a verbal compound with a locative postposition as in (91b), the consonant-initial form is used. (91c) shows that it is not possible to use the allomorph with the prothetic vowel in this context. With position verbs, the locative PP thus counts as an argument.

- (91) a. *Tava i-mir-e.*  
 3SG OBJ-sit.SG-VBLZ  
 ‘She is sitting.’
- b. *Tava kacera na-mir-e.*  
 3SG chair at-sit.SG-VBLZ  
 ‘She is sitting on a chair.’
- c. \**Tava kacera na-i-mir-e.*  
 3SG chair at-OBJ-sit.SG-VBLZ  
 (Intended: ‘She is sitting on a chair.’)

## 7 Serial verb constructions and other multi-verb constructions

Like in the neighboring Eastern Timor languages Makalero and Makasae (Huber 2017), there are two main types of serial verb constructions in East Fataluku: those involving direction verbs (section 7.1) and those where an additional par-

ticipant is introduced with a partially grammaticalized ‘take’ verb (section 7.3). There is a third, minor, type of SVC involving direction verbs which expresses an aspectual notion (section 7.2). Aspectual SVCs are nowhere near as pervasive as in Bunaq and the Alor-Pantar languages. All East Fataluku serial verb constructions are asymmetrical, i.e. one of the verbs involved comes from a restricted set. Formally, all verbs used in SVCs are independent and can be used as predicates by themselves; in other words, morphemes which require verbal derivation to function as predicates are indeed verbalized in SVCs. No conjunction can appear between the verbs, and they share at least one argument. Predicate-internal modifiers (see 3.1) precede the first verb in the sequence, and the V2 cannot be independently modified.

Section 7.4 briefly discusses a set of partially grammaticalized multi-verb constructions which involve coordinated clauses. They show a number of semantic and syntactic parallels to SVCs, but are conjoined by conjunctions.

## 7.1 Direction verb SVCs

Direction verb SVCs involve the verbs *mau* ‘come’ and *la* ‘go’, which signal movement toward the deictic center versus movement elsewhere, respectively. They occur in a number of different constructions either as V1s or V2s.

### 7.1.1 Directed motion SVCs

In the directed motion SVC, the V1 is a motion or transfer verb and the V2 one of the two direction verbs. The constructions are represented schematically in the template in Figure 5. For simplicity, all predicate-internal modifiers are subsumed in  $\text{MOD}_{\text{PRED}}$ . They precede the V1, but have scope over the whole construction.

SBJ ( $\text{MOD}_{\text{PRED}}$ )  $V_{\text{MOTION}}$   $V_{\text{DIRECTION}}$

SBJ ( $\text{MOD}_{\text{PRED}}$ ) OBJ ( $\text{MOD}_{\text{PRED}}$ )  $V_{\text{TRANSFER}}$   $V_{\text{DIRECTION}}$

**Figure 5:** Directed motion SVCs.

The sentences in (92) illustrate directed motion SVCs with a motion verb and a transfer verb, respectively. As seen in (92a), the aspect marker *hai=* precedes the V1. The verbalizer *-e*, while obligatory in principle, may be deleted in rapid speech, as in (92b).

- (92) a. *I lan-u=ra ... hai=fulehe mau.*  
 3.POSS friend-PV=HUM.PL INITIAL=return come  
 ‘Her friends... came back.’
- b. *... un-u napa titip(-e) mau ana.*  
 one-PV please scoop-VBLZ come or  
 ‘... scoop one up for me please.’

### 7.1.2 Allative SVCs

There are two types of allative SVCs, both of which involve the direction verbs *la* ‘go’ and *mau* ‘come’. The first resembles the directed motion SVC (section 7.1.1) in that the direction verb is the V2. The V1 is a verbal compound with *-pe* ‘move’, a verb which only occurs with a preceding postpositional marker whose object is the goal of the movement.<sup>13</sup> The SVC is schematically represented in Figure 6.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) PP-*pe* V<sub>DIRECTION</sub>

**Figure 6:** Allative SVC with *-pe* ‘move’.

Examples are given in (93). The locative postposition *na-* as in (93a) implies that the goal is reached, while it is not reached if *hau-* ‘for’ is used (93b).

- (93) a. *... i jeu kaka i le na-pe mau...*  
 3.POSS wife older.sibling 3.POSS house at-move come  
 ‘... his first wife arrived at his house...’
- b. *... e=ta tasu hau-pe la.*  
 2SG.OBJ=TOP frying.pan for-move go  
 ‘... and then you head for the frying pan.’

<sup>13</sup> Heston (2015: 25), in his grammatical outline of Central Fataluku, analyzes *-pe* as a combination of a suffix *-p*, which indicates movement towards a goal, and the verbalizer *-e*. In his analysis, the *-p* suffix contrasts with *-n*, which indicates static location, thus e.g. *mucu-n-e* ‘be inside’ and *mucu-p-e* ‘go inside’. In our analysis, *-n* is not a meaningful morpheme, but an epenthetic consonant which is commonly inserted between vowels to avoid a hiatus. That the morphological make-up of *mucu-n-e* ‘be inside’ and *mucu-pe* ‘go inside’ is not identical is shown clearly when they are adjectivized: the adjective describing stative location is *mucu-n-ana* ‘internal’, where *-ana* replaces the verbalizer *-e*. In *mucu-pe-n-ana* ‘entering’, on the other hand, the adjectivizer is suffixed to *mucu-pe* as a whole, showing that the final *-e* of *-pe* cannot be the verbalizer suffix.

Figure 7 shows that the direction verb is the V1 in the second allative SVC. The V2 is either a stative location verb or the telic movement verb *mara* ‘go’. Either is transitive and is directly preceded by its object; the object of a location verb encodes the location, while the object of *mara* ‘go’ encodes the goal of the movement. Again, all predicate modifiers precede the V1.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) V<sub>DIRECTION</sub> OBJ V<sub>LOCATION</sub>

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) V<sub>DIRECTION</sub> OBJ *mara*

**Figure 7:** Allative SVCs with location verb or *mara* ‘go’.

An example of the allative construction with the stative location verb *mica-n-e* ‘be on top (of)’ is given in (94). The literal translation illustrates that the construction is time-iconic, with the dynamic V1 expressing the movement and the stative V2 the resulting location (cf. section 7.4.1 on ablative constructions).

- (94) *Tava hai=la ili mica-n-e.*  
 3SG INITIAL=go mountain on.top-EP-VBLZ  
 ‘He climbed the mountain.’  
 (lit.: ‘He went (and) was on the top of the mountain.’)

(95) illustrates the allative construction with *mara* ‘go’. While (95a) resembles (92a) in that both involve a sequence of the verbs *fulehe* ‘return’ and *mau* ‘come’, note that *fulehe* is followed in (95a) by the conjunction =*n*, showing that that verb is not part of the SVC. (95b) illustrates the position of a predicate-internal modifier, the aspect marker *hai=*, preceding the V1. (95a) also shows that the deictic center to which the movement expressed by *mau* ‘come’ is directed may be different from the location of the speaker: the sentence comes from a conversation in which the speaker and the addressee were discussing their shared village of origin while outside of Timor.

- (95) a. *Ana=ta fulehe=n mau afi=lata Timor mara.*  
 1SG.SBJ=TOP return=SIM come 1PL.INCL.POSS=village Timor go  
 ‘I return to our Timorese village.’
- b. *Vaci un-u na-e ih eleh=e hai=la*  
 day one-PV at-VBLZ 3POSS husband=PROX.DEM INITIAL=go  
*pala mara.*  
 garden go  
 ‘One day this husband of hers went to the garden.’

In rapid speech, *mara* ‘go’ may be omitted, as in (96). This results in a construction in which the direction verb is followed by an NP denoting the goal of the movement (see Huber 2018 for a similar construction in Makalero).

- (96) *Fan la i=qi.*  
 EMPH.DEM go NEUT.DEM=NEUT.DEM  
 ‘That one goes there.’

Finally, there is a complex hybrid allative SVC which seems to be a combination of the two types of allative SVCs discussed above. In this hybrid construction, the V1 is a direction verb, while the complex V2 is itself an allative SVC, that with *-pe* ‘move’ illustrated in Figure 6. As seen in Figure 8, the direction verb occurs twice in this construction: as V1 and as part of the complex V2.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) V<sub>DIRECTION</sub> OBJ PP-*pe* V<sub>DIRECTION</sub>

**Figure 8:** Hybrid allative SVC.

The brackets in (97a) illustrate the structure of this complex SVC. The ungrammatical sentences in (97b) and (97c) show that the two direction verbs that appear in this construction have to be identical.

- (97) a. *Tava... hai=[mau]<sub>V1</sub> le [na-[pe]<sub>V1</sub> [mau]<sub>V2</sub>]<sub>V2</sub>.*  
 3SG INITIAL=come house at-move come  
 ‘He... came home.’  
 b. \* *Tava... hai=la le na-pe mau.*  
 3SG INITIAL=go house at-move come  
 c. \* *Tava... hai=mau le na-pe la.*  
 3SG INITIAL=come house at-move go

## 7.2 Prospective SVCs

The direction verbs *la* ‘go’ and *mau* ‘come’, used as V1s in an SVC, may signal an aspectual notion called here prospective, i.e. that the event expressed by the V2 is expected to take place shortly. An unusual property of the prospective SVC is that some modifiers can appear with the V2; in all other SVCs discussed in this chapter, only the V1 can be modified.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) V<sub>DIRECTION</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) (OBJ) (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) V

**Figure 9:** Prospective SVC.

*La* ‘go’ is probably used as a prospective aspect marker somewhat more commonly than *mau* ‘come’; an example is given in (98a). The use of *mau* ‘come’, as in (98b), implies the speaker’s personal involvement in the action in some way. Thus, (98b) could be used e.g. if the speaker is in Dili, or has some connection to the place the subject is moving to. Note that (98b) cannot be interpreted as an allative construction (section 7.1.2), even though it corresponds to the allative SVC template in Figure 7; in order for the construction to be read as expressing allative motion, *mara* ‘go’ would have to be used instead of the stative location verb *na-e* ‘be at’.

The prospective aspect SVC appears to be somewhat less grammaticalized than the other East Fataluku SVCs, because some modifiers, such as the adverbs *ali* ‘again’ and *helu* ‘again’ in (98a), can appear with the V2. However, not all predicate-internal modifiers can appear; for instance, the V2 could not be negated.

- (98) a. *Tava ali la ali helu jeu-val-e...*  
           3SG again go again again wife-possess-VBLZ  
           ‘He is about to remarry...’
- b. *Tava mau Dili na-e...*  
           3SG come Dili at-VBLZ  
           ‘She is about to stay in Dili...’

### 7.3 ‘Take’ SVCs

As noted in section 3, a simple mono-predicative clause can encode two arguments at most, the S/A and the P. States of affairs involving more than two participants are expressed using ‘take’ SVCs. In these constructions, the V1 is the light verb *-m-e* ‘take’. The V2 contains the semantically main verb. The verbalizer *-e* is commonly deleted from the ‘take’ verb in phonotactic contexts where the preceding argument is vowel-final or the following word vowel-initial; in these contexts, *=m* is treated as a clitic.<sup>14</sup> ‘Take’ SVCs are used to express instruments (7.3.1), causees in causatives (7.3.2), themes in transfer constructions (7.3.3) and with verbs of saying (7.3.4), and P arguments of postpositional verbal compounds (7.3.5).

<sup>14</sup> Hull (2005) analyzes *-m* as a suffixal dative marker.

### 7.3.1 Instrumental ‘take’ SVCs

In instrumental ‘take’ SVCs, the ‘take’ verb introduces either an instrument used to perform the action expressed by the V2, or, if the V2 has the appropriate semantics, the material out of which something is made. Figure 10 shows the SVC template for both intransitive and transitive V2s.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>INSTR</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* V<sub>ITR</sub>

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>INSTR/MATERIAL</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* OBJ<sub>PAT</sub> V<sub>TRANS</sub>

**Figure 10:** Instrumental ‘take’ SVCs.

The sentences (99a) and (99b) illustrate examples of instrumental ‘take’ SVC with an intransitive and a transitive V2, respectively. If the V2 is a verb of producing or creating something, as in (99c), the object of =*m* ‘take’ refers to the material out of which the V2’s P argument is made. (99d) shows that aspect is marked on the V1, i.e. =*m* ‘take’.

- (99) a. ... *e=lan-u=ra*                      *tour*    *ina=m*            *cicirai=nani?*  
           2SG.POSS=friend-PV=PL crowd what=take play=QM  
           ‘... with what did all your friends play?’
- b. *Tava lapizera=m sorot fai.*  
       3SG pencil=take letter make  
       ‘He writes a letter with a pencil.’
- c. ... *anir=o*                      *lavan=i=m*                      *oi~oil*            *fai.*  
           1SG.EMPH=also gold=NEUT.DEM=take RDP~whistle do  
           ‘... me too, I make a flute out of this gold.’
- d. *Ratu hala~hala... nita=hai=m*                      *o-leura*            *fai.*  
       noble RDP~only RECP=INITIAL=take mouth-meat make  
       ‘Noble clans... prepare rations for each other.’

### 7.3.2 Causative ‘take’ SVCs

In causative ‘take’ SVCs, =*m* ‘take’ is the V1; the V2 is either an intransitive movement verb, an intransitive verbal compound with the verb *fai* ‘make, do’, or a transitive verbal compound with a location verb. The first element in the verbal compounds with *fai* ‘make, do’ is an adjective, an adverb or an intransitive verb. *Fai* ‘make, do’ is one of the verbs which undergo initial consonant mutation in verbal compounds

(section 2.5.2) and appears in these causative constructions in the mutated form *-pai*. The first element in the verbal compounds with location verbs are generally postpositions. The causative constructions are schematically represented in Figure 11.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>CAUSEE</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* V<sub>MOVEMENT</sub>  
 SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>CAUSEE</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* V<sub>ITR</sub>/ADJ/ADV-*pai*  
 SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>CAUSEE</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* OBJ<sub>LOCATION</sub> PP-V<sub>LOCATION</sub>

**Figure 11:** Causative ‘take’ SVCs.

A causative construction with a movement verb, *fulehe* ‘return’, is shown in (100). Causative constructions with *fai* ‘do, make’ are given in (101). In (101a), the first element of the verbal compound is a stative intransitive verb, *kapar* ‘be bad’; in (101b) it is a deverbal adjective, *tahan-ana* ‘suffering’, and in (101c) an adverb, *ura* ‘away’.

- (100) ... *karu lepur hai=m fulehe*.  
           now book INITIAL=take return  
           ‘... now (they) have returned the book.’

- (101) a. *Tapa e=m kapar-u-pai*.  
           PROH OBJ=take bad-PV-MUT.do  
           ‘Don’t destroy it.’  
       b. ... *tapa jen hin=i=m tahan-ana-pai*.  
           PROH REFL POSS.N=NEUT.DEM=take suffer-ADJZ-MUT.do  
           ‘... do not torment yourself.’  
       c. *E=ta ira-olo utu-pai-n=i=m*  
           2SG.OBJ=TOP water-jar off-MUT.do-NMLZ=NEUT.DEM=take  
           *ura-pai*.  
           away-MUT.do  
           ‘You take the lid of the water jar away.’

Caused location SVCs are shown in (102). The object of *=m* ‘take’ is a theme which undergoes a change of location, and the object of the verbal compound is the location.

- (102) a. ... *pot-ina aratana=e=m e na-co-n-e...*  
           ill-ADJZ plague=PROX.DEM=take PROX.DEM at-far-EP-VBLZ  
           ‘(The ancestors come to) let his illness and plague be far from here...’

- b. *Ana la proposta-tolun-ana=e=m governu*  
 1SG.SBJ go proposal-help-ADJZ=PROX.DEM=take government  
*na~na-cu-e...*  
 RDP~at-plant-VBLZ  
 ‘I definitely go submit this aid proposal to the government...’

### 7.3.3 Transfer ‘take’ SVCs

In a simple East Fataluku clause, two arguments at most can be expressed (section 3). Transfer events, which logically involve three participants, therefore make use of a ‘take’ SVC. The theme is encoded as the object of =*m* ‘take’, while the semantically main verb’s object encodes the recipient. Figure 12 shows a schematic representation of this construction. An example is given in (103).

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>THEME</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* OBJ<sub>RECIPIENT</sub> V<sub>TRANSFER</sub>

**Figure 12:** Transfer ‘take’ SVC.

- (103) *Mar e-n hai=m tava ina.*  
 person PROX.DEM-EP INITIAL=take 3SG give  
 ‘The person has given this to him’

Either of the object NPs may be omitted if its referent is known. If the theme is not overtly expressed, the ‘take’ verb appears with a prothetic object vowel. Transfer verbs do not have forms with object vowels (section 6.2). Thus, in (104a), the vowel-initial form *e-m* of the ‘take’ verb indexes the non-overt theme NP. In (104b), the recipient NP is omitted but implied even though it is not indexed on *mesen-* ‘hand over’.

- (104) a. *Tava e-m kacera na-mor-e.*  
 3SG OBJ-take chair at-put-VBLZ  
 ‘He puts (it) on the chair.’  
 b. ... *cau-vari ivi=m Ø mesen-e.*  
 head-hair DIST.DEM=take hand.over-VBLZ  
 ‘... (they) present that hair (to them).’

### 7.3.4 ‘Take’ SVCs with verbs of saying

A rather complex SVC, with two light verbs, is used with verbs of saying. The V1 is *=m* ‘take’, whose object encodes the theme (what is said). The addressee is encoded as the object of *aci* ‘see’, which is the V2. Finally, the verb of saying, which does not have an argument in this construction, is the V3.<sup>15</sup> Like in all SVCs, predicate modifiers appear with the V1. A template for this construction is given in Figure 13. The sentence in (105) is an example.

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>THEME</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* OBJ<sub>ADDRESSEE</sub> *aci* V<sub>SAYING</sub>

**Figure 13:** ‘Take’ SVCs with verbs of saying.

- (105) *Cal=afur rata=m afi=aci lolo...*  
 grandparent=PL.HUM tale=take 1PL.INCL.OBJ=see tell  
 ‘Our grandparents told us stories...’

Where no addressee is expressed, the theme is the object of the verb of saying; no SVC is used (106).

- (106) *Cau-hafa un-u lolo=ni.*  
 head-bone one-PV tell=IMP  
 ‘You tell one (a story), sir.’

### 7.3.5 Postpositional ‘take’ SVCs

A very common type of ‘take’ SVC is used with verbal compounds in which the first element is a postposition and the second element a transitive verb. As discussed in section 3.2, the argument position of the compound is occupied by the postpositional argument. The main verb’s logical argument is expressed as the object of *=m* ‘take’, as shown in Figure 14.

<sup>15</sup> It appears that the theme can be encoded as the object of the verb of saying in other Fataluku dialects (see Náchér 2012: 133 for Central Fataluku).

SBJ (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>) OBJ<sub>V</sub> (MOD<sub>PRED</sub>)=*m* OBJ<sub>PP</sub> PP-V

**Figure 14:** Postpositional ‘take’ SVCs.

Probably the most common postpositional ‘take’ SVCs are those that involve verbal compounds with locative postpositions like *mucu-* ‘in(side)’ in (107a). (107b) shows that *hura* ‘spoon, scoop’ can also appear as a transitive verb by itself. However, other postpositions are also found in compounds. For instance, (108a), with *ahu-* ‘for’, is a benefactive construction. In (108b), the verbal compound consisting of the locative postposition *na-* and the transitive verb *liar-e* ‘change’ expresses a change of state or transformation.

- (107) a. ... *serika=m i puku~pukur mucu-cura...*  
           few=take 3.POSS RDP~fist in-MUT.spoon  
           ‘... (he) scooped a bit into his hands...’
- b. *Tavar la i kaka apoi-n=i hura.*  
           3PL go 3.POSS older.sibling cook-NMLZ=NEUT.DEM spoon  
           ‘They scoop the food of her older brother.’
- (108) a. *Ana akam sorot nau=m kaka ahu-pai.*  
           1SG.SUBJ NEG letter really=take older-sibling for-MUT.do  
           ‘I did not really write (lit. ‘make’) a letter for you.’
- b. *Ana ni=m ipinaka na-liar-e.*  
           1SG.SUBJ REFL=take star at-turn-VBLZ  
           ‘I transformed (lit. ‘changed myself’) into a star.’

## 7.4 Biclausal multi-verb constructions

This section briefly discusses two further types of multi-verb constructions, ablative constructions (7.4.1) and modal verb constructions (7.4.2). Both constructions involve two verbs, but because a conjunction is cliticized to the first verb, they cannot be analyzed as serial verb constructions. Nevertheless, they share some properties with SVCs: they are asymmetrical in that one verb comes from a restricted set and semantically modifies the other. Furthermore, in the modal verb construction, we find restrictions on the predicate modifiers that appear in the second clause in some cases. The ablative construction, on the other hand, mirrors the allative SVC both semantically and syntactically.

### 7.4.1 Ablative constructions

Figure 15 shows that movement away from a location is expressed in a construction which is essentially the reverse of the allative SVC shown in Figure 7 (section 7.1.2): The first verb in the sequence is a location verb (either the general locative verb *na-e* ‘be in, on, at (SG)’ or *-to-e* ‘be inside (SG)’). The second clause contains one of the two direction verbs, *la* ‘go’ and *mau* ‘come’. An important difference between the two constructions, however, is that the simultaneous conjunction *=n* is used in the ablative construction, making the construction biclausal. An example is given in (109a). If the conjunction is omitted, the result is not read as ablative motion; instead, as (109b) shows, the locative verb and its object are understood as a clause-level locative adverbial (see section 3).

SBJ OBJ  $V_{\text{LOCATION}} = n V_{\text{DIRECTION}}$

**Figure 15:** Ablative construction.

- (109) a. *I pal Leti na-e=n hai=mau.*  
           3.POSS father Leti at-VBLZ=SIM INITIAL=come  
           ‘His father came from Leti.’  
       b. *I pal [Leti na-e]<sub>LOC</sub> hai=mau.*  
           3.POSS father Leti at-VBLZ INITIAL=come  
           ‘His father came (to some place while) in Leti.’

*Na-e* ‘be in, on, at (SG)’ belongs to the subgroup of East Fataluku verbs which agree with their subject in number (section 6.1); it appears in the form *na-ere*, with a suffixal plural marker, if the subject is plural. In the ablative construction, however, only the singular form can be used, even if the subject is marked as plural, as seen in the examples in (110). This shows that the construction is partly grammaticalized. Likewise, *-to-* ‘be inside (SG)’ agrees with subject number. However, no example of an ablative construction with a plural subject has been found with that verb; it is hence unclear whether it would behave like *na-* in this context.

- (110) a. *I pal=afu Leti na-e=n hai=mau-ere.*  
           3.POSS father=PL.HUM Leti at-VBLZ=SIM INITIAL=come-PL  
           ‘His uncles had come from Leti.’  
       b. \* *I pal=afu Leti na-ere=n hai=mau-ere.*  
           3.POSS father=PL.HUM Leti at-PL=SIM INITIAL=come-PL

### 7.4.2 Modal verb constructions

There are three modal verbs in East Fataluku: *uhul-e* ‘can’, *eluh-e* ‘want’ and *keluh-e* ‘refuse’. The clause containing the modal verb is followed by the clause expressing the semantically main verb. Where the actor of the second clause is identical to the subject of the modal verb, the two clauses are conjoined with the simultaneous conjunction  $=n$ , and the subject of the second clause is omitted. Where the two clauses have different subjects, the different subject sequential conjunction  $=t$  is used, as shown in Figure 16. An example of a same-subject modal verb construction is shown in (111a). Example (111b) shows a different-subject construction.

SBJ  $V_{\text{MODAL}}=n$  (OBJ) V  
 SBJ<sub>1</sub>  $V_{\text{MODAL}}=t$  SBJ<sub>2</sub> (OBJ) V

**Figure 16:** Modal verb constructions.

- (111) a. *Ana eluh-e=n nacun ta.*  
           1SG.SBJ want-VBLZ=SIM thing say  
           ‘I want to say something.’
- b. ... *ina eluh-e=t-u a horu-pe-n-u*  
           1PL.EXCL.SBJ want-VBLZ=SEQ-PV 2SG.SBJ with-move-NMLZ-PV  
           *somon-e...*  
           carry-VBLZ  
           ‘... we (EXCL) want you to carry the luggage...’

*Eluh-e* ‘want’ cannot be negated with *aka(m)*; instead, the inherently negative *keluh-e* ‘refuse’ is used.<sup>16</sup> Where the actor of the semantically main verb in the second clause is identical to that of *keluh-e*, the second clause has to be negated, as in (112) and (113a). If the negator is not present, the second clause is not interpreted as being modified by the modal verb, but as being conceptually independent, as in (113b). If the two clauses have different subjects, as in (113c) and (114), the second clause is not negated.

<sup>16</sup> Hull (2004: 91, footnote 99) suggests that *keluh-e* ‘refuse-VBLZ’ is a contraction of *akam eluh-e* ‘NEG want-VBLZ’.

- (112) *Mar       keluh-e=n               aka   afi=fiar-e.*  
 person   refuse-VBLZ=SIM   NEG   1PL.INCL.OBJ=believe-VBLZ  
 ‘People don’t want to believe us.’
- (113) a. *I           jeu   keluh-e=n               aka   pai   uca.*  
           3.POSS   wife   refuse-VBLZ=SIM   NEG   pig   kill  
           ‘His wife does not want to kill the pig.’
- b. *I           jeu   keluh-e=n               pai   uca.*  
           3.POSS   wife   refuse-VBLZ=SIM   pig   kill  
           ‘His wife refuses and kills the pig.’
- c. *I           jeu   keluh-e=t               ana   pai   uca.*  
           3.POSS   wife   refuse-VBLZ=SEQ   1SG.SBJ   pig   kill  
           ‘His wife does not want me to kill the pig.’  
           or: ‘His wife refuses, and I kill the pig.’
- (114) *... ina               keluh-e=t-u               mar   tapa   mau...*  
           1PL.EXCL.SBJ   refuse-VBLZ=SEQ-PV   person   PROH   come  
           ‘... we do not want people to come...’

The modal verb *-hul-* ‘be able’ always appears with a prothetic object vowel as *u-hul-e*, as in (115a) and (115b). Unlike *eluh-e* ‘want’ and *keluh-e* ‘refuse’, *-hul-e* ‘be able’ can be negated (115b).

- (115) a. *Afa               u-hul-e=n               e-ler-e.*  
           1PL.INCL.SBJ   OBJ-able-VBLZ=SIM   OBJ-read-VBLZ  
           ‘We can read (it).’  
           (lit. ‘We can do (it) and read (it)’).
- b. *Ana       aka   u-hul-e=n               kaka           i       sms*  
           1SG.SBJ   NEG   OBJ-able-VBLZ=SIM   older.sibling   3.POSS   SMS  
           *liar-e...*  
           turn-VBLZ  
           ‘I cannot reply to your SMS, brother...’

## 8 Aspect and mood marking

The primary means of aspect and mood marking in East Fataluku are preverbal and pre-predicate particles, respectively. Other, more restricted, means of aspect

marking include verb reduplication (sections 2.5.3, 4.2.1) and verb serialization (section 7.2). There are two positions for aspect particles within the predicate, ASPECT<sub>1</sub> and ASPECT<sub>2</sub> (see section 3.1). Likewise, there are two positions for mood particles, MOOD<sub>1</sub> and MOOD<sub>2</sub>, analyzed as part of the clause rather than the predicate (section 3). Whether a given marker appears in ASPECT<sub>1</sub> or ASPECT<sub>2</sub>, or MOOD<sub>1</sub> and MOOD<sub>2</sub>, is lexically defined. Table 27 summarizes the mood and aspect markers and shows with which slot they are associated. There are no grammaticalized tense markers. Instead, adverbial indications of time are expressed in the TEMP slot of the clause.

**Table 27:** Mood and aspect markers.

| MOOD <sub>1</sub> |           | MOOD <sub>2</sub> |        | ASPECT <sub>1</sub> |              | ASPECT <sub>2</sub> |          |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|----------|
| <i>ula</i>        | EPISTEMIC | <i>ten(e)</i>     | ‘may’  | <i>on(o)</i>        | CONTINUATIVE | <i>hai(n)</i>       | INITIAL  |
|                   |           | <i>(a)har</i>     | ‘must’ | <i>hair</i>         | IMMINENT     | <i>vari(n)</i>      | HABITUAL |

8.1 Mood

Figure 1 in section 3 shows the two slots for mood markers. The particles that occupy them express epistemic modality and deontic modality, respectively. Section 8.1.1 introduces the single marker that appears in the MOOD<sub>1</sub> slot and section 8.1.2 discusses the markers that go into the MOOD<sub>2</sub> slot.

8.1.1 MOOD<sub>1</sub> marker

The MOOD<sub>1</sub> slot, which precedes the clause’s subject, is reserved for the marker *ula*. *Ula* is a marker of epistemic modality and signals the speaker’s uncertainty about his or her statement. Examples are given in (116).

- (116) a. *Ula aŋi=eleh-u=ra* *hai=sai...*  
EPIS 1PL.INCL.POSS=husband-PV=PL.HUM INITIAL=finish  
‘Our husbands may be dead...’
- b. ... *ula afa* *hala=laru-suk-oro.*  
EPIS 1PL.INCL.SBJ just=return-slip-PL.HUM  
‘... we may just slip back (in).’

8.1.2 MOOD<sub>2</sub> markers

The MOOD<sub>2</sub> slot, which directly precedes the predicate, expresses deontic modality. There are two mutually exclusive markers that can occupy it, *ten(e)* ‘may’ and *(a)har* ‘must’. Van Engelenhoven (2010: 192) suggests that *ten(e)* ‘may’ is derived from the lexical verb *te-n-e* (try-EP-VBLZ). Example (117a) shows that this marker can be combined with the epistemic modality marker *ula* in the MOOD<sub>1</sub> slot. The consonant-final form *ten* is used when the marker is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme like the neutral demonstrative in (117a). The form *tene*, with a final vowel, appears when the following morpheme is consonant-initial, as in (117b).

- (117) a. *Ula ten i tapi=va-n-e.*  
 EPIS may NEUT.DEM very=like-EP-VBLZ  
 ‘Perhaps it may be like that.’
- b. *Tene fa=i-sil-e=ne?*  
 may very=OBJ-bind-VBLZ=EXCLAM  
 ‘Can it be tied well?’

The marker *(a)har* ‘must’ is transparently derived from *-har-e* ‘send, order’ (van Engelenhoven 2010: 191–192), which is used in a sequential construction as in (118). As a MOOD<sub>2</sub> marker, it lacks the verbalizer, as seen in (119a). Where the S/A argument is a personal pronoun, the object form of the pronoun is used; (119b) shows that the use of the subject form of the pronoun results in an ungrammatical sentence. The MOOD<sub>2</sub> marker differs from the lexical verb also in the distribution of the vowel-initial and the consonant-initial allomorphs: on the verb, the initial vowel *a-* indexes an object (see section 6.2), whereas the vowel-initial form *ahar* of the MOOD<sub>2</sub> marker occurs mainly with 1st person singular pronouns, as seen in (120).

- (118) *Rei hin mar-lauh-ana hai=har-e=t-u la toto.*  
 king REFL.POSS person-live-ADJZ INITIAL=order-VBLZ=SEQ-PV go see  
 ‘The king ordered his people to go and see.’
- (119) a. ... *afi=har hala=fata-ca.*  
 1PL.INCL.OBJ=must just=correct-MUT.say  
 ‘... we just have to talk correctly.’
- b. \* *afa har hala=fata-ca*  
 1PL.INCL.SBJ must just=correct-MUT.say

- (120) *An=ahar fulehe=n le mara.*  
 1SG.OBJ-must return=SIM house go  
 ‘I have to go home.’

It appears that the grammaticalization of *-har-* from a lexical verb to a MOOD<sub>2</sub> marker is not fully complete, and many transitional forms with the verbalizer suffix are found in the corpus.

## 8.2 Aspect

There are two positions for aspect markers within the predicate: the ASPECT<sub>1</sub> position precedes the P argument of a transitive verb, while the ASPECT<sub>2</sub> marker follows it (see section 3.1). With intransitive verbs, they are adjacent to one another.

### 8.2.1 ASPECT<sub>1</sub> markers

There are two aspect markers which appear in the ASPECT<sub>1</sub> position, the continuative *on(o)* and the imminent action marker *hair*. The distribution of the *ono* ~ *on* allomorphs is equivalent to that of the MOOD<sub>2</sub> marker *ten(e)*: the form *ono* appears when the following morpheme is consonant-initial, as in (121a), while the form *on* is used when the marker is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme (121b). The combination of *on(o)* with the negator *aka(m)* translates as ‘not yet’, as in (122).

- (121) a. *I jeu=a ono le na-e...*  
 3.POSS wife=SPEC CONT house at-VBLZ  
 ‘His wife was still at home...’
- b. *Ana on a=nal ih aca kokot-ana vari.*  
 1SG.SBJ CONT 1SG.POSS=mother 3.POSS chicken crow-ADJZ hear  
 ‘I still hear the crowing of my mother’s chicken.’
- (122) *Tavar aka on nita=sapa navar-e....*  
 3PL NEG CONT RECP=kindness know-VBLZ  
 ‘They don’t know each other’s kindness yet.’

The continuative marker is mutually exclusive with *hair*, which signals that an action is about to start, as in (123a) and (123b). It is also commonly used in imperatives (124).

- (123) a. *Ana hair nau=uku=m masu-pai...*  
 1SG.SBJ IMM really=all=take good-MUT.do  
 ‘I am about to correct everything...’
- b. *An=ta hair eh=alivana na-e=n la.*  
 1SG.OBJ=TOP IMM 2SG.POSS.ALIEN=place at-VBLZ=SIM go  
 ‘I am about to set off from your place.’  
 (lit. ‘I am about to go.’)
- (124) ... *olo i nal=a i ta ‘hair la!’*  
 bird 3.POSS mother=SPEC NEUT.DEM say IMM go  
 ‘... the bird’s mother said this: “get going!”’

### 8.2.2 ASPECT<sub>2</sub> markers

The aspect markers that can occupy the ASPECT<sub>2</sub> slot are *hai(n)* and *vari(n)*. Like its cognates in Makalero and Makasae (Huber 2017), *hai(n)* is the most common aspect marker in East Fataluku and marks a category called ‘initial boundary’, which is described in Huber and Schapper (2014) as expressing the inception of an event, or the entry into a state. With stative verbs, *hai(n)* refers to the initial boundary of the state, as in (125).

- (125) *A=moco-r hai=laficar-e.*  
 1SG.POSS=child-PL INITIAL=big.PL-VBLZ  
 ‘My children are already big.’

With activity verbs, *hai(n)* selects either the initial boundary, as in (126), or the final boundary, as in (127). According to Huber (2017: 343–344), the cognate markers in Makalero and Makasae are read as inchoative with unbounded activities, and as perfective with activities with a prominent endpoint. The examples in (126) and (127) suggest that this holds for East Fataluku *hai(n)* as well.

- (126) *Mar un le hia hain=aru~arur-e...*  
 person one house up INITIAL=RDP~cry-VBLZ  
 ‘Someone in the house started to cry...’
- (127) *Ana ale hai=tapul-e.*  
 1SG.SBJ rice INITIAL=buy-VBLZ  
 ‘I already bought rice.’

*Hai(n)* is also used in narrations where a series of actions takes place one after the other, as in the short extract from a folk tale shown in (128).<sup>17</sup> In a sequence of events, “the termination of each event is seen as setting the stage for the next event to happen” (Huber and Schapper 2014: 162).

- (128) *I lan-u=ra hai=mau=n hai=atan-e...*  
 3.POSS friend-PV=HUM.PL INITIAL-come=SIM INITIAL=ask-VBLZ  
 ‘Her friends came and asked...’

In non-verbal predicates, the *hai=* allomorph occurs before consonant-initial morphemes, while *hain=* is used before vowel-initial morphemes, as seen in (129). This is consistent with an analysis of *-n* as the epenthetic consonant found also in other contexts to avoid a hiatus.

- (129) a. *tavar hai=katuas=i*  
 3PL INITIAL=old.person=PRED  
 ‘they who are old’  
 b. ... *i=t mar-lauh-ana*  
 NEUT.DEM=SEQ person-live-ADJ  
*hain=e-n=e-n=i.*  
 INITIAL=PROX.DEM-EP=PROX.DEM-EP=PRED  
 ‘... it is that this one is already a human.’

In verbal predicates, however, the distribution of the allomorphs is more complex and not fully understood. For instance, the allomorph *hain=* occurs in front of vowel-initial verbs if it is preceded by a monosyllabic object pronoun, as in (130a), where the 1st person singular object form *a=* is used. If no object is overtly expressed and the marker is preceded by the homophonous 2nd singular subject pronoun, the form *hai=* appears, as in (130b). (130c) shows that the allomorph *hai=* also appears if the preceding object pronoun is bisyllabic rather than monosyllabic.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The conjunction *=n*, glossed here as *SIM* ‘simultaneous’ for simplicity, is actually semantically underspecified with respect to simultaneity or sequentiality. It signals a very close connection between the clauses involved and is thus commonly associated with simultaneity and subject continuity (cf. Huber 2011: 457, on the Makalero cognate *=ini*).

<sup>18</sup> The only exception to this rule is the reciprocal pronoun *nita=*, after which *hain* is used, e.g. *nita=hain=aci* ‘see each other’. This may be attributed to *nita=* originally being a morphologically complex form; cf. *ni=* (REFL; see 5.2).

- (130) a. *Kaka*                    *a=hain=aci*.  
 older.sibling 1SG.OBJ=INITIAL=see  
 ‘You see me.’
- b. *A*                    *hai=aci*                    *an=upe?*  
 2SG.SBJ INITIAL=see or=be.none  
 ‘Have you seen (it) or not?’
- c. *Kaka*                    *ini=hai=aci*.  
 older.sibling 1PL.EXCL.OBJ=INITIAL=see  
 ‘You see us.’

*Vari(n)=* is an imperfective aspect marker, signaling that an action or state is ongoing or habitual, as seen in (131). It is most commonly combined with reduplication of a part of the predicate.

- (131) a. *I*                    *nal=a*                    *poko*                    *vari=helu~helu-cina...*  
 3.POSS mother=SPEC box IPFV=RDP~again-MUT.weave  
 ‘His mother is still replaiting the box.’
- b. *I*                    *jeu*                    *hai=vari=paha~paha*.  
 3.POSS wife INITIAL=IPFV=RDP~beat  
 ‘He (habitually) beats his wife.’
- c. ... *i*                    *lanu-u-ra*                    *tour*                    *vari=a-nekul-e...*  
 3.POSS friend-PV-HUM.PL crowd IPFV=OBJ-angry-VBLZ  
 ‘... his friends are still angry with (him)...’

The distribution of the allomorphs, *vari=* and *varin=*, is unclear. In East Fataluku, *vari=* is much more common; examples are shown in (131). *Varin=*, as in (132), is found in isolated instances. It is possible that this form is more common in Central Fataluku.

- (132) *Po=luku~luku-n*                    *tara-ceru-n=e*                    *varin=eceremu*.  
 but=RDP~speak-NMLZ first-call-NMLZ=PROX.DEM HAB=think  
 ‘So, keep this salute (lit. first called word) in mind.’

The ASPECT<sub>2</sub> markers are occasionally combined into the sequence *hai=vari=*. In (133), this sequence highlights the initial boundary and the ensuing state.

- (133) ... *i*            *nami*   *hai=vari=sikir=ere...*  
           3.POSS   man   INITIAL=IPFV=dance=PL  
           ‘... his men who were still dancing...’

## 9 Discussion

Representative for Fataluku in general, this sketch of East Fataluku shows that this language is far from being “a Papuan language with the typology of Chinese”, as it has previously been described (McWhorter 2008: 179). Indeed, as Schapper (forthcoming) shows, any study of Fataluku language structure that goes beyond the most superficial level demonstrates this clearly.

Fataluku shares many properties with the closely related Eastern Timor languages, Makalero and Makasae, that set this subgroup apart from the remainder of the TAP family. Among them are the (almost) complete absence of aspectual and mood serial verb constructions. Only one serial verb construction with aspectual semantics, the prospective SVC, has been identified in Fataluku. It has been shown, however, that this construction seems somewhat less grammaticalized than the more common direction verb and ‘take’ SVCs. ‘Take’ SVCs are probably the most pervasive type of serial verb construction in Fataluku, and as in the other Eastern Timor languages, they are intimately connected to another characteristic of this subgroup, namely the extensive compounding of locative elements with verbs and the associated transitivity effects. Another characteristic of the Eastern Timor languages that is not found elsewhere in the family is the use of special bound verb forms characterized by initial consonant mutations in such verb compounds. There is evidence that these consonant mutations are in the process of being lost from Makasae (Huber 2017: 282), and while it is still robust in Makalero, the alternation is found with a relatively limited set of verbs. In Fataluku and its relative Oirata, however, a large set of verbs undergo initial consonant mutation. Another property Fataluku and Oirata have in common with Makalero and Makasae is the presence of suppletive number agreement with a limited set of intransitive verbs. Again, this is not found elsewhere in the TAP family.

While Makalero and Makasae have been characterized as “the least complex languages of the family” (Huber 2017: 348), Fataluku shows more complexity in various domains. Examples are the pervasiveness of verb forms with initial consonant mutations mentioned above, as well as the extent of plural marking on verbs and nouns (Schapper forthcoming). Similarly, a majority of consonant-initial transitive verbs in Fataluku are marked with an unpredictable, lexically determined prothetic vowel whenever the P argument is not in the unmarked

position. The object vowels are clearly reflexes of the TAP 3rd person prefix (Schapper, Huber and van Engelenhoven 2017: 102), although in some cases, vowels that were originally part of the root appear to have been reanalyzed as object vowels (Schapper forthcoming). In Makalero and Makasae, reflexes of these prefixes are very restricted, and indeed present only in fossilized forms in Makasae. Fataluku, like Oirata, has also retained a distinction between subject and object forms in personal pronouns, and has a special set of emphatic pronouns. We also find a distinction between alienable and inalienable possessive pronouns in some person/number combinations. Makalero and Makasae, in contrast, have a single set of personal pronouns and a single set of possessive pronouns.

Fataluku also displays a range of properties which are unusual within the TAP family. Schapper (forthcoming) demonstrates that they are also found in closely related Oirata (see also Josselin de Jong 1937) and can thus be said to be characteristic of the Frata subgroup in general. Most striking is the productive derivational morphology through which verbs, nouns and adjectives (or, in other analyses, abstract nouns) can be derived. Furthermore, suffixal or clitic number marking, which is found on both nouns and on verbs, is highly productive. Together with Makalero, East Fataluku is also unique in the family in lacking straight forward voicing distinctions in the plosives. Within Timor-Leste, the phonology of Fataluku dialects is furthermore distinctive due to the palatal plosives /c/ and /j/. Palatal plosives are found in several TAP languages, but are not found in the Eastern Timor subgroup, and are indeed unusual in the languages of Timor-Leste.

In sum, this sketch shows that Fataluku (and in many cases Oirata), while sharing many characteristics with the Eastern Timor languages Makalero and Makasae, has a range of unique structures. However, our knowledge of this intriguing language is far from complete: despite the relative wealth of linguistic publications on Fataluku, it remains the only TAP language of Timor for which we do not have a modern English-language reference grammar. Many of the existing resources have, furthermore, made reference to individual Fataluku dialects, but little is known about the extent of the differences between them, especially beyond the phonology.

**Acknowledgments:** A substantial part of the data on which this sketch is based were collected during van Engelenhoven's Fataluku Language Project (FLP; Dutch Research Council NWO project number 256-70-560). We thank Antoinette Schapper for her insightful comments and patience.

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