Nedebang

Antoinette Schapper

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1. The language scene[1]

Nedebang (ISO 639-3: nec) is the indigenous language of three coastal villages in the north of Pantar: Baolang, Balungada and Air Panas (Malay = Hot Water). All three villages are said to originate from a single upland village called Nedebang. The indigenous origin story is that the Nedebang come from a small island nearby called Pulau Rusa (Malay = Deer Island) from which they had to flee when a tsunami hit the island. They established themselves on Pantar and named the village Nedebang after a *moko*, a kind of kettle drum, of that name, which they had brought with them when they fled from Pulau Rusa.

The logonym Nedebang was established in the literature on the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages by Stokhof (1975). It is widely recognized by people in Pantar. However, some Nedebang speakers themselves prefer to designate their language as Klamu, after the royal clan (Malay *suku raja*) of the ancestral village. I continue with the use of the name Nedebang here for the sake of continuity with earlier sources.

Holton (2006) puts the total number of fluent speakers of Nedebang at around 200, making it arguably the most endangered TAP language. He observes that in the Christian village Balungada, Nedebang is not used for everyday communication in homes, and almost

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without exception school children have no knowledge of even basic phrases in Nedebang. Language shift is even more advanced in the Islamic villages, Baolang and Air Panas, which have experienced large influxes of people from Baranusa speaking a variant of the Austronesian language Alorese (described locally by my informants as Bahasa Baranusa). Holton estimates that the youngest fluent speakers are around 40 years of age, giving the language little more than 25 years before functional extinction. Given that Holton's visit was 15 years ago, Nedebang is likely to cease to be a living language in the next few years.

Contributing to the endangerment of Nedebang are local perceptions of the language. Nedebang is considered, both by its speakers and by speakers of neighboring languages, as difficult to learn. My informants observed that when they were children, people who married into Nedebang-speaking villages typically did not learn to speak the language actively. Instead, they would continue to speak their own language, but would be answered in Nedebang. Today, people from different ethno-linguistic groups speak Malay with one another. The songs accompanying *lego-lego* circle dances traditionally sung by Nedebang speakers are said to be in the Western Pantar language, suggesting that multilingualism and inter-group borrowing was probably significant in the past.

Previous work on Nedebang is limited. Stokhof (1975) contains a short word list of 117 items. Glottolog lists a 15-page manuscript (Fox n.d.) as containing a wordlist of Nedebang among other languages, while Pampus (2006) re-elicits the Stokhof list. Holton (2006) also presents this list plus four pages containing some description of the phonology, pronouns and basic morpho-syntax. The only archived material is a recording of a 400-item word list made by Laura Robinson in 2010 in The Language Archive, Nijmegen, that is made use of in Holton et al. (2012). Finally, a 4-minute recording of a text being read in Nedebang was made by Nicholas Williams in 2013, but it is not to my knowledge available in the public domain.

My own work on Nedebang is perhaps the most extensive to date.[2] Fieldwork was carried out in periods of two to three weeks each in November 2015, January 2016, May 2018 and April 2019. On each of these occasions, I worked with Nedebang speakers in Kalabahi. They were Daud Beri, Lamek Lalang, Karel Lamma, Fredrik Serang, Yakob Gammi and Amos Sir. In this time, I conducted extensive elicitation of Nedebang with a particular focus on the complex segmental phonology, the inflectional paradigms and lexical distinctions. In addition, we conducted a one-week workshop at TUFS University in Tokyo in March 2017 where we recorded ten folk stories in Nedebang told by Sem Serang; these were then transcribed and translated into Indonesian by Amos Sir. In total I have around 15 hours of recordings, of which around 14 hours is in audio recording and 1 hour in video recording. At present, this data comes to 836 elicited sentences, a lexicon of 1027 items and 15 narrative texts, not all of which have been analyzed.

2. Phonology

The phonological description of Nedebang in this section represents a significant revision of the analysis of Schapper (2017).

[2] Amos Sir reports that the Indonesian Badan Pengembangan Bahasa dan Perbukuan [Language and Book Development Agency] recently conducted documentation work on Nedebang. Their work may be more significant in size than my own, but I have not been able to verify this.

2.1. Vowels

Nedebang has a fairly typical system of five vowel phonemes (Table 1). The mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ can be realized as [e ~ ɛ] and [o ~ ɔ]. These two vowel phonemes are infrequent compared to /i/, /u/ and /a/.

Table 1: Vowel inventory

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
MID	e	o
LOW	a	

Minimal pairs and sets illustrating the contrastiveness of the five vowel phonemes are given in (1).

Contrast between vowel phonemes

(1) /poia/ 'fold' ≠ /puia/ 'blow'
/bali/ 'bed' ≠ /balu/ 'male (bird)'
/jeci/ 'bad' ≠ /jicci/ 'fruit'
/ta/ 'sea' ≠ /te/ 'tree' ≠ /to/ 'glass'

Word-finally /i/ and /a/ can be dropped in situations where the word is followed by another word with which it is in a phrase or compound. Examples where this dropping is evidenced are given in (2). See section 2.6.2 for description of the environments in which this dropping (and associated degemination) occurs.

Dropping of final /i/ or /a/

(2) /weri/ [we:ri ~ we:r] 'sun'
/mari/ [ma:ri ~ ma:r] 'take'
/qarra/ [qar:a ~ qar] 'rice'
/matta/ [mat:a ~ mat] 'betel vine'

While /u/ is common word-finally, final /o/ is rare in Nedebang. It can be realized as [o] but is often raised to [u], as in (3).

(3) /-θoʔo/ [-θo:ʔo ~ -θo:ʔu] 'belly'
/-ssaro/ [-s:aro ~ -s:aru] 'catch sight of'
/maqqo~maqqo/ [maq:o~maq:o ~ maq:u~maq:u] 'quiet'
/amaʔo~amaʔo/ [ama:ʔo~ama:ʔo ~ ama:ʔu~ama:ʔu] 'slowly'

After initial /j/, non-back vowels, most typically /a/, are often fronted to [e] and sometimes raised to [i]. Examples are presented in (4).

(4) /jadda/ [jad:a ~ jed:a] 'still'
/janna/ [jan:a ~ jen:a] 'dig'
/jaxaŋ/ [jaxa:ŋ ~ jexa:ŋ] 'hole in ground'
/jattar/ [jat:ar ~ jit:ar] 'mushroom species'
/jea/ [je:a ~ ji:a] 'path'

After initial /w/, unstressed /a/ sometimes rounds to [o]. Examples are presented in (5).

(5) /wadebu/ [wade:bu ~ wode:bu] 'milkweed, *Calotropis gigantea*'
/waʔaŋ/ [waʔa:ŋ ~ woʔa:ŋ] 'person, human'
/watala/ [wata:la ~ wota:la] 'throw'

Many sequences of two vowels are typically realized as diphthongs in Nedebang. Many can be monophthongized in normal speech. Examples of diphthongs are presented in (6).

(6)	/tua/	[tu͡a ~ tᵘa ~ to:]	‘lontar palm, palm wine’
	/gia/	[gi͡a ~ gʲa]	‘go’
	/malau/	[mala͡u ~ maloᵘ ~ malo:]	‘fine earth, dust’
	/dou/	[do͡u ~ doᵘ ~ do:]	‘walking stick’
	/heinu/	[ʰe͡inu ~ ʰeʲnu ~ ʰe:nu]	‘your name’
	/malaica/	[mala͡ica ~ malaʲca ~ male:ca]	‘wet’

This phenomenon is not limited to vowels that could be considered to be in a single syllable nucleus; even when adjacent vowels are in separate syllables, we can observe monophthongization. Some trisyllabic words with the structure /CV.V.CV[C]/ have stress on the penultimate syllable, thereby separating the first two vowels into distinct syllables. As illustrated in (7), these lexemes can also be realized as disyllabic by way of monophthongization.

(7)	/naomaŋ/	[na.ˈo.maŋ ~ ˈno:.maŋ]	‘shellfish collected in the intertidal zone’
	/yiaθa/	[ji.ˈa.θa ~ ˈje:.θa]	‘maleo bird’
	/duala/	[du.ˈa.la ~ ˈdo:.la]	‘bench’

In (6), we saw that non-final /ai/ and /ei/ can both monophthongize as [e:]. Finally, however /ai/ does not monophthongize but rather can be realized as either [a͡i] or [e͡i], as in (8). Final /ei/ can be realized either as a diphthong or a monophthong, as in (9).

(8)	/-nai/	[-na͡i ~ -ne͡i]	‘younger sibling’
	/-θai/	[-θa͡i ~ -θe͡i]	‘egg’
	/mai/	[ma͡i ~ me͡i]	‘banana’

(9)	/hei/	[he͡i ~ he:]	‘canoe’
	/wei/	[we͡i ~ we:]	‘child’
	/-nei/	[-ne͡i ~ -ne:]	‘same-sex younger sibling’

2.2. Consonants

Nedebang has 21 singleton consonant phonemes (Table 2). Orthographic representations of phonemes that differ from IPA symbols are given in brackets. This inventory stands out for its unique constellation of phonemes. The five fricative phonemes, particularly /θ/, are unusual in the family. The two plosives /c/ and /q/ are also notable additions to the standard TAP consonant inventory, although not unique to Nedebang.

Table 2: Singleton consonant inventory

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	UVULAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b		t d	c	k g	q	ʔ <’>
FRICATIVE	ɸ <f>	θ <th>	s		x		h
NASAL	m		n		ŋ <ng>		
APPROXIMANT	w			j <y>			
TRILL			r				
LATERAL			l				

Nedebang has contrastive geminate counterparts for 14 consonant phonemes in its inventory (Table 3). There are systematic gaps in the geminate inventory compared to the singleton one: glottal phonemes, approximants and fricatives (with the exception of /s/) do not have geminate counterparts. Taken together with the singletons, these bring the total number of consonant phonemes in Nedebang to 35, making it the largest inventory among the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages.

Table 3: Geminate consonant inventory (gaps marked by boxes)

	BILABIAL		DENTAL	ALVEOLAR		PALATAL	VELAR		UVULAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	pp	bb		tt	dd	cc	kk	gg	qq	
FRICATIVE				ss						
NASAL		mm			nn			ŋŋ		
APPROXIMANT										
TRILL					rr					
LATERAL					ll					

Minimal (or near minimal) pairs illustrating the contrastiveness of the non-geminate consonant phonemes are presented in (10).

(10)	/apa/	'walk'	≠	/aɸa/	'fathom'			
	/paci/	'close door'	≠	/baci/	'beehive'			
	/baqa/	'hollow in wood'	≠	/ɸaqa/	'other'	≠	/waqa/	'skin'
	/bata/	'dregs'	≠	/baθa/	'maize'			
	/tama/	'where'	≠	/dama/	'snake'			
	/jeci/	'bad'	≠	/jesi/	'fig species'			
	/knika/	'children'	≠	/ixa/	'bamboo species'	≠	/jiʔa/	'burn'
	/kali/	'basket type'	≠	/gali/	'shoot him/her'			
	/kula/	'breadfruit'	≠	/qula/	'snot'			
	/iʔi/	'red'	≠	/i/	'Job's tears'			
	/hala/	'rain'	≠	/ala/	'sty'			
	/buma/	'flower'	≠	/buna/	'sea cucumber'			
	/bana/	'wild kapok'	≠	/baŋa/	'request'			
	/hala/	'rain'	≠	/hara/	'fire'			
	/wanna/	'exist'	≠	/janna/	'dig'			

Minimal (or near minimal) pairs for geminate versus non-geminate consonants are illustrated in (11). Geminate and singleton consonant phonemes have a roughly 2 to 1 ratio in terms of duration. Geminate fricatives, nasals and liquids are simply prolonged, while geminate plosives involve prolonging the obstruction of the airway, that is, the stop closure is held for longer. There is never more than one geminate in a simplex word.

(11)	/tappa/	'plant'	≠	/tapas/	'co-wife'
	/gabbir/	'wall'	≠	/gaba/	'nearby'
	/batta/	'wound'	≠	/bata/	'dregs'
	/haddu/	'ladder'	≠	/ada/	'big'
	/bacci/	'tomorrow'	≠	/baci/	'beehive'
	/mukku/	'swallow'	≠	/-muku/	'kiss'
	/gagga/	POSSESSIVE	≠	/gaga/	'open mouth'
	/miaqqa/	'white'	≠	/miaqa/	'fodder'
	/issi/	'be placed on'	≠	/kisi/	'drongo bird'

/camma/	‘small’	≠	/cama/	‘here’
/bunna/	‘smoke’	≠	/buna/	‘sea cucumber’
/baŋŋa/	‘alive’	≠	/baŋa/	‘request’
/alla/	‘female’	≠	/ala/	‘pig sty’
/burra/	‘shoo chicken’	≠	/buraŋ/	‘grass species’

Geminate consonant phonemes have not been observed to display any significant allophony. However, because of their restriction to word-medial position, geminate consonants degeminate when final vowel apocope means that they are no longer medial, e.g., /matta/ > [mat] in [mat si͡a] ‘chew betel’ or /qarra/ > [qar] in [qar taˈpːa] ‘pound rice’.

Singleton consonant phonemes show some notable allophony. The phonemic contrast between /c/ and /s/ is relatively weak, as set out in (12). The phoneme /c/ is realized word-medially as [c], but word-initially either as [s] or [c]. However, the sibilant realization is by far the most common. Words with initial /s/ are therefore only identifiable by their not having the palatal stop realization as an alternative. The older speakers I worked with observed that the initial palatal stop is a recent emergence and that when they were children it was unknown. They noted one exception /cicci/ ‘dry’ which they observed had always been realized as [cicːi] and still today cannot be realized with a sibilant *sicːi.

(12)	/c/ >	[s ~ c]	/ #_	e.g., /ˈcua/	[cu͡a ~ su͡a]	‘throw’
		[c]	/ elsewhere	e.g., /ˈbaci/	[baːci] [*baːsi]	‘beehive’
	/s/	[s]		e.g., /suˈara/	[suaːra] [*cuaːra]	‘grass species’

The fricatives /ɸ/, /θ/ and /x/ are relatively infrequent phonemes. In the current database (1027 items), /ɸ/ occurs in 61 distinct items, while /θ/ and /x/ occur in 31 distinct items each. Diachronically, these three fricatives originated as ungeminated medial allophones of the now distinct phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ respectively. The contrast between medial stops and these fricatives has arisen through the borrowing of items with medial /p/, /t/ and /k/. However, the historical relationship of these phonemes can still be observed in patterns of allophony today. I have noticed some allophonic alternations involving p ~ ɸ, t ~ θ and k ~ x as part of compounding processes. For example, initial /p/ and /k/ will be realized as [ɸ] and [x] respectively in compounds where they come to occur intervocalically, (13a) and (13b). At the same time, /θ/ can be realized as [t] where it comes to be in a word final position due to the loss of final /a/ in compounds (13c).

(13) a. p ~ ɸ
[-amːi ˈɸaːta] < /-ammi/ ‘inside’ + /ˈpata/ ‘bad’
inside bad
‘forget’

b. k ~ x
[be ˈxia] < /be/ ‘pig’ + /kia/ [kia ~ kiː] ‘eagle’
pig eagle
‘eagle species that is known for stealing piglets’

c. t ~ θ
[ˌwat doˈbaːr] < /ˈwaθa/ ‘coconut’ + /doˈbar/ ‘spathe’
coconut spathe
‘sheath that covers a coconut’s inflorescence’

Liquid phonemes are common in general, but quite rare word initially: /r/ occurs in 14 distinct items initially, while /l/ occurs in 20. The liquids are mostly stable. However, in a few items, /l/ is optionally lost between non-front vowels. The two examples in my data are:

(14)	/-ola/	[-oːla ~ -oː]	'ear'[3]
	/qalaci/	[qalaːci ~ qaːci]	'hut'

Word-initially, the glottal fricative /h/ is only very lightly articulated and often difficult to perceive. Phonetically, I represent this as [ʰ]. Vowel-initial words are preceded by a phonetic glottal stop. The word-initial onset contrast between /h/ and zero therefore often seems to perceptually comes down to the presence versus absence of a glottal closure. Medial /h/ is rare in Nedebang occurring in only 14 distinct items in my database.

There is some limited variation in the realization of initial /j/ before a high front vowel /i/. This does not appear to represent general allophony as such, but a lexical phenomenon. Initial /j/ can be dropped in the items in (15) and realized as [ʰ] in those in (16).

(15)	/jicci/	[jicːi ~ ʔicːi]	'fruit'
	/jisaraqqu/	[jisaraqːu ~ ʔisaraqːu]	'seven'
	/jisaθagu/	[jisaθaːgu ~ ʔisaθaːgu]	'eight'
	/jisauθu/	[jisauːθu ~ ʔisauːθu]	'nine'
(16)	/jiɸu/	[jiːɸu ~ ʰiːɸu]	'fly (insect)'
	/jila/	[jiːla ~ ʰiːla]	'water'

It is not clear at this stage whether the medial contrast between vowels and glides (i.e., semi-vowels) is completely phonemic. At this stage, I tentatively distinguish between /j/ and /i/ and between /w/ and /u/. I illustrate this with the examples of medial /u/ and /w/ in (17). We see that between /a/ vowels, there is a distinction in the realization of these segments: /u/ is realized as the second element in a diphthong with the preceding /a/ (17a), while /w/ is an onset syllabifying with the following /a/ (17b).

(17)	a.	/daua/	[da͡u.a]	'cook'
		/qaua/	[qa͡u.a]	'good'
		/maua/	[ma͡u.a]	'male (animal)'
		/panaua/	[pa.na͡u.a]	'female juvenile (animal)'
	b.	/tiawaŋ/	[ti.aː.waŋ]	'pole for carrying things'
		/liawaŋ/	[li.aː.waŋ]	'tall'
		/taˈwa/	[ta.waː]	'person leading singing'
		/ˈrawaŋ/	[raː.waŋ]	'melon'

2.3. Phonotactics

Table 4 presents an overview of the distribution of the individual consonants in Nedebang.

[3] The homophonous lexeme /-ola/ 'tail' does not show this medial loss, always being realized with the medial liquid, i.e., [-oːla]. The realization of /-ola/ 'ear' as [-oː] appears chiefly in compounds, e.g., /-ola waʔa/ ear leaf 'outer ear' is realized as [-oː waːʔa].

Table 4: Consonant phoneme distribution in roots

	Initial	Medial	Final
p	+	+	-
b	+	+	-
t	+	+	-
d	+	+	-
c	+	+	-
k	+	+	-
g	+	+	-
q	+	+	-
ʔ	-	+	-
ɸ	-	+	-
θ	-	+	-
s	+	+	+
x	-	+	-
h	+	+	-
m	+	+	-
n	+	+	+
ŋ	-	+	+
r	+	+	+
l	+	+	+
w	+	+	-
j	+	+	-

Codas are highly restricted in terms of the consonants that they can contain. We see that only the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/, the fricative /s/, and the liquids /r/ and /l/ occur in final codas. Plosives sometimes come to be in a word-final position through the dropping of certain vowels finally (see section 2.6.4 on apocope), but they are never underlyingly found in a final coda.

The velar nasal never occurs initially. The glottal stop is only ever found medially and then only in a small number of items. The glides /j/ and /w/ occur initially and medially, but only rarely in the latter position.

Geminate phonemes only occur word medially. This is consistent with geminates arising in medial consonants in PTAP disyllabic roots with final stress (Schapper, Huber and Engelenhoven 2014: 128; Schapper 2017).

The fricatives /ɸ/, /θ/, /x/ are underlyingly present in medial position, but can surface in apparent word-initial positions under certain circumstances (see examples in (12) in section 2.2).

Initial unstressed /ha/ before certain consonants can be omitted in fast speech in the items in (18). This means that usually medial-only fricatives can occur initially (see also the compounding evidence presented in (12)). As noted in the previous section, the liquid phonemes are uncommon initially, but before /l/ in particular dropping of initial /ha/ is common.

Dropping of initial unstressed /ha/

(18)	/haˈɸeri/	[ʰaɸeːri ~ ɸeːri]	‘tree species’
	/haɸilli/	[ʰaɸilːi ~ ɸilːi]	‘dove, bird species’
	/haˈθagu/	[ʰaθaːgu ~ θaːgu]	‘three’
	/haˈla/	[ʰalaː ~ laː]	‘pot’
	/haˈlai/	[ʰala͡i ~ la͡i]	‘unhusked rice’
	/haˈlaɸi/	[ʰalaːɸi ~ laːɸi]	‘search’
	/halanna/	[ʰalanːa ~ lanːa]	‘clothes’
	/haˈlisi/	[ʰaliːsi ~ liːsi]	‘monitor lizard’
	/haˈlua/	[ʰalu͡a ~ lu͡a]	‘carry on shoulder’
	/halunni/	[ʰalunːi ~ lunːi]	‘slice’
	/haranna/	[ʰaranːa ~ ranːa]	‘how much’

2.4. Syllable structure

Nedebang has a minimal word constraint: a lexical word is minimally a heavy syllable. Where a lexical word is underlyingly a simple /(C)V/, the vowel is lengthened, as in the examples in (19). This lengthening can be seen as a side-effect of carrying lexical stress, which causes lengthening of the stressed vowel (see section 2.5).

Examples of /(C)V/ lexical words

(19)	/a/	[ʔaː]	‘fence’
	/be/	[beː]	‘pig’
	/bi/	[biː]	‘mat’
	/ce/	[ceː ~ seː]	‘house’
	/ci/	[ciː ~ siː]	‘bamboo bucket’
	/i/	[ʔiː]	‘Job’s tears’
	/o/	[oː]	‘grasshopper’
	/ta/	[taː]	‘sea’
	/to/	[toː]	‘grass’

Function words may be shorter, not carrying full lexical stress (20). The linker /ba/ can encliticize as [=b] on vowel final words, as in /ta ba da/ [ˈtaː=b ˈdaː] (sea=LNK rise) ‘it was the sea rising’. Both instances of *ma* are function words derived from lexemes: *ma* ‘COHORT’ from the motion verb /ma/ [maː] ‘come’ (see section 3.6) and *ma* ‘INSTR’ from the handling verb /mari/ ‘take’.

Examples of /(C)V/ function words

(20)	/ni/	[ni]	‘PRIOR’
	/ba/	[ba ~ =b]	‘LNK’
	/ma/	[ma]	‘COHORT’
	/ma/	[ma]	‘INSTR’
	/ca/	[ca ~ sa]	‘PROX’
	/cu/	[cu ~ su]	‘DIST’

Monosyllabic lexical words are relatively small in number in Nedebang (21). The vast majority of words are disyllabic (22) or trisyllabic (23).

Non-(C)V monosyllabic lexical words

(21)	CVV	/kau/	‘kind of rattan’
	VC	/ur/	‘tree sp., *Sterculia foetida*’
	CVC	/bar/	‘dog’
	CCV	/kni/	‘child’

CCVV /clai/ ‘coconut shell’

Disyllabic lexical words

(22)

V.CV	/a.da/	‘big’
VV.V	/ai.u/	‘non-head louse’
CV.V	/ji.a/	‘path’
CV.CV	/ba.la/	‘platform’
CV.CV V	/ha.mai/	‘loincloth’
V.CVC	/u.kaŋ/	‘glass, mirror’
CV.CVC	/ha.ɸaŋ/	‘village’
CVV.V	/mai.a/	‘put, place’
CVV.VC	/kai.ar/	‘carry on shoulder’
CVV.CV	/qai.ma/	‘break, snap off’
CVV.CVC	/qai.raŋ/	‘jackfruit’
CVC.CV	/kon.da/	‘shirt’
CCV.CV	/bra.ki/	‘scatter’
CCV.CVC	/bla.jaŋ/	‘moko drum’

Trisyllabic lexical words

(23)

CV.V.CV	/ji.a.θa/	‘maleo bird’
CV.CV.CV	/de.ra.xu/	‘kind of ant’
CV.CV.CVC	/ta.la.qaŋ/	‘pole’
CV.CVV.CV	/ba.qai.ma/	‘break’
CV.CVC.CV	/qu.lan.da/	‘snore’
CV.CVC.CVC	/he.ran.dis/	‘forced labor’
CV.CV.CVV	/qa.ra.bau/	‘buffalo’
CV.V.CV	/qe.a.qu/	‘jungle’
CV.V.CVV	/je.a.lau/	‘sea turtle’

A handful of 4-syllable words are also found in my corpus (24). However, many cases appear likely to be multimorphemic or onomatopoeic.

4-syllable lexical words

(24)

CV.CV.CV.CV	/to.nu.ga.si/	‘worm’
V.CV.CV.CVC	/u.hu.lu.luŋ/	‘pigeon’
CV.CV.VV.V	/qa.mi.au.a/	‘green snake’
CV.CV.V.CV	/qa.ɸi.a.qa/	‘shell of maize’
CV.CVC.CV.CV	/qa.laŋ.ba.si/	‘gum-lac tree’
CV.CV.CVC.CV	/ha.ra.wan.da/	‘myna bird’
CV.CV.CV.CVC	/sa.pa.ka.maŋ/	‘belt’

There are two kinds of consonant cluster in Nedebang, both extremely limited in their number. The first type are medial homorganic clusters of a nasal plus a voiced plosive: /nd/ and /mb/. These clusters occur across syllable boundaries. In the database, /nd/ occurs in six items (25a) and /mb/ in two (25b). In addition, there is one instance of an /ns/ cluster (25c). At least some of these appear to originate in borrowings, while others might have originally been compounds.

Medial /nd/ clusters

(25)

a.

/harabunda/	[^{h}a.ra.ˈbun.da]	‘bird species’
/eʔendaga/	[^{ʔ}e.ʔen.ˈda.ga]	‘appear, show oneself’
/qulanda/	[qu.lan.ˈda]	‘snore’
/herandis/	[^{h}e.ˈran.dis]	‘forced labor’ < Dutch *herendienst*

/konda/ [ˈkon.da] ‘shirt’ < Alorese *konda*
/walanda/ [wa.ˈlan.da] ‘foreign, Dutch’ < Malay *bəlanda* < Port. *holanda*

Medial /mb/ clusters

b. /humbanga/ [ʰum.ˈba.ŋa] ‘thank you’[4]
/simbur/ [sim.ˈbur] ‘insect species’

Medial /ns/ cluster

c. /prinsakku/ [prin.sakːu] ‘old, yellow (of coconut)’

The second type of consonant cluster in Nedebang is word-initial. Initial consonant clusters may be broken up in more careful speech by an epenthetic vowel [ɐ]. The most common type of initial cluster in my data is a plosive plus /l/ (26a), followed by clusters of a plosive plus /r/ (26b). In addition, there are two instances of two other clusters, /sɸ/ (26c) and /kn/ (26d).

(26)

Initial plosive plus /l/ clusters

a. /blanna/	[blanːa ~ bɐlanːa]	‘change skin’
/blappa/	[blapːa ~ bɐlapːa]	‘split, shoot’
/blola/	[bloːla ~ bɐloːla]	‘clear, bright’
/clai/	[cla͡i ~ sla͡i ~ cɐla͡i ~ sɐla͡i]	‘coconut shell’
/glala/	[glaːla ~ gɐlaːla]	‘finished’
/klaɸu/	[klaːɸu ~ kɐlaːɸu]	‘not ripe’
/klamu/	[klaːmu ~ kɐlaːmu]	‘Klamu (clan name)’

Initial plosive plus /r/ clusters

b. /gruʔi/	[gruːʔi ~ gɐruːʔi]	‘grab’
/pramma	[pramːa ~ pɐramːa]	‘let ripen’
/prinsakku/	[prinsakːu ~ pɐrinsakːu]	‘old, yellow (of coconut)’

Initial /sɸ/ clusters

c. /sɸai/	[sɸa͡i ~ sɐɸa͡i]	‘bamboo species’
/sɸili/	[sɸiːli ~ sɐɸiːli]	‘uneven, slanting’

Initial /kn/ clusters

d. /kni/	[kne͡i ~ kne͡i ~ kɐniː ~ kɐniː]	‘child, young human’
/knika/	[knika ~ kɐnika]	‘children’

2.5. Stress

Stress is realized in Nedebang primarily by means of duration. In words without geminate consonants, vowels of stressed syllables, regardless of whether they are open or closed, are longer. In words with a geminate consonant, stress is attracted to the syllable with the geminate onset. In these syllables, the vowel is not lengthened.

Stress in Nedebang is phonemic. Minimal pairs found in my database demonstrating the contrast are presented in (27). In these disyllabic words, the stress difference is apparent through the length of the vowel on the first versus second syllables. No stress-differentiated minimal pairs are found for 3- or 4-syllable words.

[4] A reviewer suggests that this may be from Teiwa *umbangan* ‘APPL-ask.for’.

Stress minimal pairs

(27)	/aˈɸa/	[ʔaɸaː] ‘dream’	≠	/ˈaɸa/	[ʔaːɸa] ‘fathom’
	/aˈli/	[ʔaliː] ‘arrow type’	≠	/ˈali/	[ʔaːli] ‘shoot oneself’
	/aˈmaŋ/	[ʔamaːŋ] ‘grass sp.’	≠	/ˈamaŋ/	[ʔaːmaŋ] ‘his/her own voice’
	/haˈɸi/	[ʰaɸiː] ‘tree sp.’	≠	/ˈhaɸi/	[ʰaːɸi] ‘fish’
	/haˈla/	[ʰalaː] ‘pot’	≠	/ˈhala/	[ʰaːla] ‘rain’
	/muˈθa/	[muθaː] ‘rosewood’	≠	/ˈmuθa/	[muːθa] ‘fish sp.’
	/taˈɸi/	[taɸiː] ‘soft	≠	/ˈtaɸi/	[taːɸi] ‘crab’

Words with diphthongs show a different pattern of stress placement. In disyllabic words, diphthongs are always stressed. Examples of this regular stress attraction are given in (28). In 3- and 4-syllable words with diphthongs, stress placement is unpredictable. Diphthongs count as long and show no lengthening under stress.

Disyllabic words with diphthong in first syllable

(28)	a.	/heinu/	[ˈʰe͡inu ~ ʰeʲnu ~ ʰeːnu]	‘your name’
		/kaiar/	[ˈka͡iar ~ ˈkaʲ͡ar]	‘carry on shoulder’
		/qaima/	[ˈqa͡ima ~ ˈqe͡ima]	‘break’
		/aiu/	[ˈaʲ͡u]	‘louse (body or clothes)’

Disyllabic words with diphthong in final syllable

	b.	/malau/	[maˈla͡u ~ maˈloː]	‘fine earth, dust’
		/kamou/	[kaˈmo͡u ~ kaˈma͡u]	‘cat’
		/hamai/	[ʰaˈma͡i]	‘loincloth’
		/karei/	[kaˈre͡i]	‘ant species’

Words with geminate consonants display a regular pattern, with stress being drawn to the syllable with the geminate onset. The vowel of the syllable with a geminate consonant does not lengthen. While the lengthened medial consonant adds prominence to the syllable in which it occurs, the lack of the long vowel means that stress in these items is perceived as more evenly distributed across syllables.

Although contrastive, the overwhelmingly majority pattern is for words without geminates and diphthongs to have penultimate stress. Approximately 80%–90% of words consisting only of light syllables (i.e., (C)VCV or (C)VCVCV and even (C)VCVCVCV) have penultimate stress. In the same way, disyllabic words with a final coda (i.e., the shape (C)VCVC) almost all have penultimate stress; only four out of 33 items have final stress. Almost all 3- and 4-syllable words without a geminate consonant also have stress on the penultimate syllable. Examples are given in (29).

Trisyllabic words with penultimate stress

(29)	/aliŋa/	[aˈliŋa] ‘plant species’
	/bahulu/	[baˈhulu] ‘quail’
	/baqaima/	[baˈqa͡ima] ‘break’
	/calaqa/	[caˈlaqa] ‘peel (of coconut)’
	/damaia/	[daˈma͡ia] ‘cool’
	/deraxu/	[deˈraxu] ‘kind of ant’
	/jiaθa/	[jiˈaθa] ‘maleo bird’
	/kalamaŋ/	[kaˈlamaŋ] ‘kind of red fruit’
	/naomaŋ/	[naˈomaŋ] ‘shellfish in the intertidal zone’
	/pataquŋ/	[paˈtaquŋ] ‘lobster’
	/talaqaŋ/	[taˈlaqaŋ] ‘pole’
	/wa.de.bu/	[waˈdebu] ‘milkweed’

A weak secondary stress is found with tri-syllabic words that have their primary stress either finally or initially. This includes lexical words with a geminate consonant in the final coda. A weak secondary stress is also found initially on 4-syllabic words, all of which appear to have penultimate stress in my data. Examples are given in (30).

Examples of secondary stress

(30)			
	/qulanˈda/	[ˌqulanˈdaː]	‘snore’
	/ˈhamajan/	[ˈʰaːmaˌjan]	‘your beard’
	/walagga/	[ˌwalaˈgːa]	‘door’
	/tonugasi/	[ˌtonuˈgasi]	‘worm’
	/qamiaua/	[ˌqamiˈa͡ua]	‘green snake’

Obligatory agreement prefixes, the applicative prefix /wa-/ and the object dummy pronominal prefix /i-/ (section 5.3.2) are outside the domain of stress assignment. Thus, these prefixes never receive stress:

Unstressed prefixes

(31)			
	/ga-θaŋ/	[gaˈθaːŋ]	‘his/her hand’
	/wa-teʔi/	[waˈteːʔi]	‘scared of’ < /ˈteʔi/ [teːʔi] ‘scared’
	/i-danna/	[idaˈnːa]	‘burn a garden’

Optional agreement prefixes (section 6.2) show variable behavior in relation to stress. On monosyllabic roots, stress is attracted to the prefix (32a). On multisyllabic roots, stress remains on the root (32b).

Stress with optional agreement prefixes

(32) a. Stress on prefixation of monosyllabic roots

/ma/	[ˈmaː]	‘come’
/gama/	[ˈgaːma]	‘make (him/her) come’
/gia/	[ˈgi͡a ~ ˈgʲa]	‘go’
/gagia/	[ˈgaːgi͡a ~ ˈgaːgʲa]	‘make (him/her) go’

b. Stress on prefixation of multisyllabic roots

/karaŋ/	[ˈkaːraŋ]	‘angry’
/gakaraŋ/	[gaˈkaːraŋ]	‘angry at (him/her)’
/tuŋŋa/	[tuˈŋːa]	‘argue’
/gatuŋŋa/	[ˌgatuˈŋːa]	‘argue with (him/her)’

2.6. Morphophonemics

2.6.1. Prefixal allomorphy

Nedebang has a single paradigm of agreement prefixes that obligatorily occur on both nouns and verbs. As in other TAP languages, the paradigm is characterized by particular consonants (or their absence) marking different persons (/n/ = 1EXCL, /p/ = 1INCL, /h/ = 2, /g/ = 3, Ø = 3.REFL), vowels mark number (/a/ = SG, /i/ = PL). The paradigm has three allomorphic series conditioned by the initial segment of the root onto which it is prefixed, as summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: Obligatory agreement prefix allomorphy

		Consonant-initial roots	/a/-initial roots	Other vowel-initial roots
1SG	/na-/	[na-]	[n-]	[n-]
2SG	/ha-/	[^{h}a-]	[^{h}-]	[^{h}-]
3SG	/ga-/	[ga-]	[g-]	[g-]
3SG.REFL	/a-/	[a-]	[Ø-]	[Ø-]
1PL.EXCL	/ni-/	[ni-]	[ni-]	[n-]
1PL.INCL	/pi-/	[pi-]	[pi-]	[p-]
2PL	/hi-/	[^{h}i-]	[^{h}i-]	[^{h}-]
3PL	/gi-/	[gi-]	[gi-]	[g-]
3PL.REFL	/i-/	[i-]	[i-]	[Ø-]

There are two additional agreement prefixes that are part of these paradigms; they are not given in the above table because there appear to be separate forms for nouns and verbs in Nedebang. The prefixes for 1PL.INCL+ are *ta-* on nouns (section 4.4.1) and *pa-* on verbs (section 6.1). These are infrequent prefixes whose behavior is somewhat aberrant. The prefix /ta-/ has the allomorph [t-] that occurs on vowel-initial roots, while /pa-/ merges with /pi-/ '1PL.INCL' on vowel-initial roots, being realized as [p-].

The three series of allomorphs involve different levels of reduction in the prefixal vowels. The 'full' series consisting of a prefix with the [C]V- shape is found on consonant-initial roots. In the series used on /a/ initial roots, the /a/ vowel of the singular inflections is lost. In the plural, however, the [C]i- shape of the prefix is maintained. In the fully reduced allomorphic series used on roots with initial /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/, prefixal vowels are completely lost so there is no distinction between singular and plural. The loss of vowels from prefixal allomorphs in the singular of the /a/-initial series and in the singular and plural of the other-vowel initial series means that it is the absence of a prefix (indicated for ease of interpretation in Table 5 above as a zero prefix [Ø-]) that indicates 3rd person reflexive on those roots with the relevant forms. Table 6 illustrates the inflectional allomorphs of the agreement prefixes on roots of different shapes.

Table 6: Prefixal allomorphy on example roots

	-meli 'praise'	*-alanna* 'follow'	*-ola* 'return'
1SG	*nameli*	*nalanna*	*nola*
2SG	*hameli*	*halanna*	*hola*
3SG	*gameli*	*galanna*	*gola*
3SG.REFL	*ameli*	*alanna*	*ola*
1PL.EXCL	*nimeli*	*nialanna*	*nola*
1PL.INCL	*pimeli*	*pialanna*	*pola*
2PL	*himeli*	*hialanna*	*hola*
3PL	*gimeli*	*gialanna*	*gola*
3PL.REFL	*imeli*	*ialanna*	*ola*

The optional or P-adding agreement prefixes (see section 6.2) do not show the allomorphy that the obligatory agreement prefixes do. That is, when prefixed onto a vowel initial root, the full CV-prefix is still used and a partial glottal closure separates the resulting sequence of vowels, e.g., /ga-anna/ 3SG-arrive [gaʔanːa] 'make come, bring'. For singular prefixes with the shape [(C)a-], sporadic harmonization of the prefixal vowel with the first vowel of the root has been observed. For example, /na-moli/ 'help me' can be realized as [naˈmoːli ~ noˈmoːli]. Vowel harmonization of this kind seems to be more common where the first vowel of the root is [+back].

2.6.2. Gemination on prefixation of *i-*

Prefixation with the dummy object pronoun *i-* (section 5.3.2) can cause non-phonemic gemination. With disyllabic roots, gemination does not occur on prefixation of *i-* (33a). However, on monosyllabic roots, the initial consonant geminates with the prefixing of *i-* (33b).

Gemination with *i-* 'DUMMY'

(33) a. Prefixation of disyllabic roots

/danna/	[daˈnːa]	'burn'
/i-danna/	[idaˈnːa]	'prepare a garden by burning'

b. Prefixation of monosyllabic roots

/na/	[ˈnaː]	'eat (tr.)'
/i-na/	[inːa]	'eat (intr.)'

2.6.3. Compounding

Noun-noun compounds are common in Nedebang. The vast majority in my data are right-headed possessive compounds, such as those in (34). See section 4.4.4 for more examples and discussion. Less common are coordinate compounds, such as those in (35). Left-headed compounds are yet to be observed in Nedebang.

(34)	/-oŋ waʔa/	head leaf	'head hair'
	/te waqa/	tree skin	'bark'
(35)	/matta buia/	betel.vine betel.nut	'betel vine and nut'
	/alla maua/	female male	'men and women, people'

2.6.4. Apocope and blending

Final vowels /a/ and /i/ are subject to frequent apocope in Nedebang. The apocope is observed where a word with final /a/ or /i/ occurs followed by another word in a phrasal unit or compound, as in the examples in (36). In (36a), /qarra/ undergoes apocope and is realized as [qar]. In (36b) /weri/ undergoes apocope to be realized as [wer].

(36) a. /qarra/ 'rice' + /tappa/ 'pound' > [ˈqar taˈpːa] 'pound rice'

b. /ˈweri/ 'sun' + /nukku/'one' > [ˈwer nuˈkːu] 'one day'

Related to apocope, blending is where phonological reduction of word edges occurs in a phrase or compound such that a single phonological word is the result. Blends are lexicalizations of originally complex constructions consisting of elements commonly

occurring together. For example, in the blends in (37), we see lexicalizations based on variable elements: N+N, Poss+N, N+V and V+V.

(37) /tualla/ [tu͡aˈlːa ~ tʷaˈlːa] ‘tuak palm’ < /tua/ ‘palm wine’ + /halla/ ‘tree trunk’
/gagammi/ [ˌgagaˈmːi] ‘liver’ < /gagga/ ‘3.INAN.POSS’ + /g-ammi/ ‘3SG-inside’
/mididdi/ [ˌmidiˈdːi] ‘angry, fuming’ < /ammi/ ‘3SG.REFL:inside’+ /adiddi/ ‘angry’
/mataʔa/ [maˈtaːʔa]‘take more’ < /mari/ ‘take’ + /taʔa/ ‘add, more’

2.6.5. Reduplication

Full reduplication is found in Nedebang to denote that a situation has extended duration or heightened intensity. Examples are given in (38). However, this kind of reduplication is not very frequent and may be calqued from Malay.

(38)	/lafi~lafi/	‘search on and on’	<	/halafi/	‘search’
	/biri~biri/	‘run on and on’	<	/biri/	‘run’
	/weri~weri/	‘every day, day after day’	<	/weri/	‘day, sun’
	/yuŋ~yuŋ/	‘very long time’	<	/yuŋ/	‘long time, old (of things)’
	/dia~dia/	‘very quick’	<	/dia/	‘quick’

2.7. Orthography

The orthographic conventions used for phonemes in this sketch were given in Tables 1 and 2. In the following sections, where an allophone of a phoneme is itself also an independent phoneme, the orthographic form used is that of the surface realization, not that of the underlying form. For example, /camma/ ‘small’ may be realized as [camma] or [samma], while /raqqo/ ‘two’ may be realized as [raqqo] or [raqqu] When the speaker produces the former the orthography is <camma> and <raqqo>, when the latter <samma> and <raqqu>. This convention is in accordance with native speaker preferences and is practical given that ongoing mergers, for example of /c/ with /s/, often make it difficult for speakers to identify surface realizations with underlying forms.

Stress is not marked where it falls regularly on the penultimate syllable. Because vowel length is the main correlate of stress in Nedebang, unpredictable stress (i.e., falling on non-penultimate syllables) is indicated by a doubling of the vowel grapheme in the practical orthography used here. For example, while /ˈaɸa/ ‘fathom’ is rendered with <afa>, /aˈɸa/ ‘dream’ is represented as <afaa> in orthography. I also use doubling of the vowel grapheme to distinguish stress-bearing from non-stress bearing words. For example, /ni/ ‘1PL.EXCL.POSS’ is an indirect possessive marker that bears stress and therefore is realized in the orthography as <nii>. By contrast, /ni/ ‘PRIOR’ does not bear stress, often cliticizing to the preceding phrasal or clausal element, and thus is represented simply as <ni>.

3. Basic clausal syntax

This section describes the structure of the clause in Nedebang, including clausal word orders, the major types of clauses, the expression of negation and locations, and so forth.

3.1. Verbal clauses

Like all other TAP languages, Nedebang has a basic SV/APV clause order, (39) and (40). The unmarked order of a derived ditransitive clauses is also verb-final with AT/RV (41).[5]

	S	V
(39)	*Nang*	*ta'a*.
	1SG.NOM	sleep
	'I am sleeping.'	

	A	P	V
(40)	*Nang*	*mai*	*naa*.
	1SG.NOM	banana	eat
	'I eat bananas.'		

	A	T		APPL-R-V
(41)	*Gang*	*in*	*nukku*	*ma-g-ena.*
	3SG.NOM	thing	one	APPL-3-give:SG
	'He gives him something.'			

A P or T argument may be highlighted by fronting to a clause-initial position, as in (42) and (43).

	P		A	V		
(42)	***Bar***	***su***	*ging*	*buggi*	*ba*	*abagu.*
	dog	DIST	3PL.NOM	hit	LNK	whimper
	'The dog was hit by them with the result that it let out a whimper.'					

	T		A	APPL-R-V
(43)	… ***talaqa***	***sa***	*nang*	*ma-h-ina.*
	earth	PROX	1SG.NOM	APPL-2-give:PL
	'… I will get the soil for you.'			

It is common for at least one argument of a clause to not be expressed with any free nominal or pronominal elements. These are simply elided where reference is clear from the discourse context.

3.2. Adjectival clauses

Property words are typically not analyzed as morphosyntactically distinct from verbs in TAP languages. The analysis presented here, however, involves positing a distinct class of adjectives. Nedebang adjectives express properties of objects such as *large, blue, healthy, difficult,* etc. They can act as stand-alone predicates (44a) or occur as an adnominal attribute (44b).

(44) a. Predicative use of adjective

Wei	*su*	***agga***.
child	DIST	hot

'The child is hot.'

[5] T/R is the notation used here because I have no recordings in which both T and R are overtly expressed by free nominal elements with the derived 'give' verb. See section 6.3 for more information on this verb and its uses.

b. Attributive use of adjective
yila ***agga***
water hot
'hot water'

The defining feature of the adjective class in my analysis is that the unmarked choice of pronoun for the S of a predicative adjective is an accusative pronoun, as in (44c).

c. Accusative pronoun with adjectival predicate
Ne'ing ***agga***.
1SG.ACC hot
'I am hot'

See section 5.1.2 on accusative pronouns for potential problems with this analysis.

3.3. Equational and simulative clauses

Equational and simulative clauses are non-verbal predications in Nedebang. These are clauses where one entity is being equated to or likened with another. These clauses are made up of two NPs: the second NP is the predicate, while the first NP is its argument. When this argument is expressed with a pronoun, the accusative pronoun is used, as is argued to be necessary for non-verbal predicates.

The basic equational clause specifies that the referent of the argument (first NP) has the position denoted by the second, predicative NP. This is illustrated in (45) and (46).

(45) [*Ne'ing*]$_{NP}$ [*tuang guru*]$_{NP}$.
1SG.ACC master teacher
'I am a teacher.'

(46) [*Ne'ing sa*]$_{NP}$ [*me'e*]$_{NP}$ *ba hang n-itti?*
1SG.ACC PROX slave LNK 2SG.NOM 1-order
'Am I a slave such that you can order me about?'

There is a special equational clause used in presentational contexts. In this, the predicative NP is fronted to a position before the other NP. The fronted NP is marked with *ba* (see section 3.9), while the following NP is encoded by a demonstrative pronoun, as in (47).

(47) [*Nei ta'a g-ecing*]$_{NP}$ *ba* [*sa'a*]$_{NP}$.
1SG.POSS sleep 3-place LNK PROX.PRO
'This is my bed.' (lit. 'my bed is this (one)')

In Nedebang, equational clauses are also used to express bodily features of S. In these clauses the referent of the first NP is identified as having the physical characteristic expressed by the predicative NP. This predicative NP is composed of a noun referring to something on or part of the body plus an adjective. Examples of this clause type are provided in (48) and (49).

(48) [*Wei su*]$_{NP}$ [*wattu dumma*]$_{NP}$.
child DIST skin.dirt much
'That child has dirty skin.' (lit. 'that child much skin dirt')

(49) [*Ge'ing*]$_{NP}$ [*waqa yeci*]$_{NP}$.
3SG.ACC skin bad
'He is skinny.' (lit. 'he bad skin')

Simulative clauses express that one entity bears some similarity to another entity. In these clauses the referent of the first NP is identified as having similarities to the referent of the second NP. The second NP is typically bracketed by *dadi* … *nicci* (50a), though speakers indicated that it was also possible to leave *dadi* off and just use *nicci* as (50b).

(50) a. [*He'ing* *sa*]$_{NP}$ ***dadi*** [*mutha*]$_{NP}$ ***nicci***.
2SG.ACC PROX SIM fish sp. SIM
'You are like a *mutha* fish (i.e., lazy).'

b. [*He'ing* *sa*]$_{NP}$ [*mutha*]$_{NP}$ ***nicci***.
2SG.ACC PROX fish sp. SIM
'You are like a *mutha* fish (i.e., lazy).'

The morphosyntactic status of (*dadi*…) *nicci* is unclear. The fact that its S takes an accusative pronoun indicates that it is not a verb. Whilst the category of adposition is absent in Nedebang, the simulative marker can perhaps be best described as adpositional (occurring either circumpositionally or postpositionally). This is supported by the appearance of the simulative following an adjectival predication, as in (51).

(51) *Na-thang* *su* *maxafu* ***dadi*** ***qusi*** ***nicci***.
1SG-hand DIST cold SIM corpse SIM
'My hand is cold like a corpse.'

3.4. Existential and possessive clauses

The Nedebang verb *wanna* is used for the predicative expression of existence. *Wanna* is an intransitive verb; its S argument denotes the referent whose existence is asserted by the clause, as in (52). Occasionally, a locative demonstrative is used with *wanna* to specify the location where the referent of S exists (53).

(52) *Lalla* ***wanna***.
omen exist
'There is an omen.'

(53) *Suma* *su* *mala* ***wanna***.
DIST.LOC DIST bamboo exist
'There was bamboo there.'

Unlike some other TAP languages which have dedicated negative existential verbs, Nedebang expresses the absence/non-existence of an entity by negating *wanna* with the standard negator *wai*:

(54) *Hangi* ***wanna*** *wai* *ba,* *illa* *agga*.
wind exist NEG LNK DUMMY hot
'When there is no wind, it is hot.'

When the S of *wanna* is possessed, it is possible to view an existential clause as expressing predicative possession. This is illustrated in (55) and (56).

(55) ***Gagga*** *yexang sampai sekarang* *yadda* ***wanna***.
3.INAN.POSS hole until now still exist
'It has a hole even now.' (lit. 'its hole exists still until this day')

(56) *Feri* *wa'a* ***gagga*** *uia* ***wanna***.
tree.sp leaf 3.INAN.POSS foam exist
'The leaves of the *feri* tree have suds.' (lit. '*feri* tree leaves' foam exists')

A human possessor can be expressed in a clause with *wanna* in one of two ways. The possessor can be encoded as the grammatical possessor S (57a). Alternatively, the possessor can be encoded as a P argument of *wanna* using an accusative pronoun (57b).

(57) a. ***Nei*** *seng* *wanna* *wai*.
1SG.POSS money exist NEG
'I don't have any money.' (lit. 'my money does not exist')

b. *Seng* ***ne'ing*** *wanna* *wai*.
money 1SG.ACC exist NEG
'I don't have any money.' (lit. 'money does not exist me')

3.5. Expressing locations, sources and goals

Nedebang has two verbs used in the expression of locative predications, *mia* and *issi*. These are transitive verbs denoting stative locative relations. *Mia* denotes a containment relationship whereby one entity is contained within another, as in (58). *Issi* denotes a non-containment relationship whereby one entity's location is identified in relationship to another but either with only surface contact or no contact between the two, as in (59). *Mia* and *issi* are glossed 'be in' and 'be at', respectively. It is common for a locational noun, such as *gammi* 'inside' (58c, 59c) or *yogana* 'beneath' (59b), to be used to specify more precisely the position of the referent.

Examples of locative verb *mia*

(58) a. *Hafi* *kili* *n-efi kili* ***mia*** *ba* *nang* *kala'a*.
fish bone 1-throat be.in LNK 1SG.NOM vomit
'A fish bone was in my throat, such that I vomited.'

b. *Ga-thang* *su* *killa* ***mia***.
3SG-arm/hand DIST ring be.in
'There's a ring on her hand.' (lit. 'her hand is in a ring')

c. *Bukku* *su* *tas* *g-ammi* ***mia***.
book DIST bag 3SG-inside be.in
'The book is inside a bag.'

Examples of locative verb *issi*

(59) a. *Maxara* *bo'ong* *roma* ***issi***.
garden highland HIGH be.at
'The garden is up at a highland location.'

b. *Bola* *su* *dola* *yogana* ***issi***.
ball DIST bench beneath be.at
'The ball is below the bench.'

c. *Woa* *su* *galang* *g-ammi* ***issi***.
mango DIST bangle 3SG-inside be.at
'The mango is inside the bangle (not touching).'

Unlike most other TAP languages, Nedebang does not appear to use its locative verbs in serialization with other verbs to denote locations at, toward and from which an event or motion occurs (see Schapper 2011 for a description of this serialization pattern). Nedebang is

unusual in allowing an NP denoting a location to be added to the clause without any explicit marking of their locative status. Each example in (60) contains a verb preceded by its arguments plus an unmarked locative NP. Whether the unmarked locative NP is interpreted as denoting a static location (61a, 61b), a goal location (61b, 61c, 61d) or a source location (61e) is a matter of whatever interpretation fits best with the semantics of the verb.

(60) a. Intransitive verb with unmarked NP denoting static location
Qaqafu ***gabbir*** *hera*.
spider wall crawl
'The spider is crawling on the wall.'

b. Transitive verb with unmarked NP denoting static/goal location
Nang ***walagga*** *ne'ing* *gaba*.
1SG.NOM door 1SG.ACC lean
'I am leaning on the door' or 'I lean myself onto the door.'

c. Transitive verb with unmarked NP denoting goal location
Gang *woa* *su* ***a-nei*** *watala*.
3SG.NOM mango DIST 3SG.REFL-younger.sibling throw
'He threw the mango at his little brother.'

d. Intransitive verb with unmarked NP denoting goal location
Nang ***taa*** ***g-ammi*** *cukku*.
1SG.NOM sea 3SG-inside descend
'I descended into the sea.'

e. Intransitive verb with unmarked NP denoting source location
Nang ***watha*** ***tagga*** *ba'a*.
1SG.NOM coconut top fall
'I fell from the top of the coconut tree.

Unmarked locative NPs are not considered arguments, but rather adjuncts. This analysis is based on the observation that Nedebang verbs appear not to be able to have more than two arguments. There are no underived ditransitive verbs in Nedebang. With *-ena*/*-ina* 'give', A, R and T can only be expressed in a single clause through argument-adding verb serialization or the addition of an applicative prefix to the verb (see section 6.3 for discussion and illustration). A locative NP, however, can unproblematically be added to clauses with two arguments, such as in (55c) above. I take this to indicate that locative NPs are non-arguments.

The intransitive posture verbs *missi* 'sit' (61) and *tasi* 'stand' (62) are frequently used in the expression of location. In such cases, an unmarked locative NP encodes the location where the S is situated. In the examples presented here speakers judged posture verbs necessary and rejected the possibility of *mia* 'be in' and *issi* 'be at' for expressing the appropriate locative relations here.

(61) *Nang* *see* ***missi***.
1SG.NOM house sit
'I am at home.'

(62) *Tee* *su* *illa* *mining* ***tasi***.
tree DIST place slope stand
'The tree is on a slope.'

3.6. Imperatives and hortatives

There is no special morphosyntactic form for imperatives in Nedebang. They are marked simply by a rising intonation clause-finally. Imperatives take the form of a standard clause with a (frequently elided) second person A or S. Examples are provided in (63) and (64).

(63) *Qar* *tappa!*
rice pound
'Pound the rice!'

(64) *Biri!*
run
'Run!'

Negative imperatives are marked by the dedicated form *oli*. Like other negators (see section 3.7), it stands post-verbally, as seen in (65) and (66).

(65) *See* *g-ammi* *mali* *pulumma* ***oli!***
house 3SG-inside spit spit NEG.IMP
'Don't spit in the house!'

(66) *H-abba* ***oli!***
2SG-shake NEG.IMP
'Don't shake!'

A 2nd person free pronoun can be expressed as the A/S in an imperative. The pronoun seems to be included in adhortative contexts where particular focus is placed on the referent of A/S as the one to perform the action. For example, in (67) the suggestion is that the addressee should carry out the action without the help of another. In (68) the action that the addressee is commanded to perform stands in juxtaposition to what the speaker is going to do.

(67) ***Hang*** *hanaqai* *ela!*
2SG.NOM 2SG.ALONE do
'Do it on your own!'

(68) ***Hing*** *maxara* *aqqa,* *nang* *apa*
2PL.NOM garden guard 1SG.NOM walk
'You watch the garden, I'm off.'

As is common in Indonesian languages, exhortation is signaled by the final prioritive particle *ni* 'PRIOR', as in (69) and (70). The prioritive marks that the speaker urges the addressee to bring about the proposition denoted by the utterance.

(69) *Qarra* *su* *peci* ***ni!***
rice DIST divide PRIOR
'Divide up the rice!'

(70) *Wei,* *hang* *yaa* ***ni!***
child 2SG.NOM come.down PRIOR
'Child, you come down here!'

Cohortatives, or first person imperatives, are characterized in Nedebang by an initial cohortative particle *ma* followed by *ping* '1PL.INCL.NOM' and the verb denoting the action to be carried out together. Examples are given in (71) to (72). The cohortative particle *ma* is an unstressed form of the verb *maa* 'come'.

(71) ***Ma*** ***ping*** *soi!*
COHORT 1PL.INCL.NOM lego-lego
'Let's do a lego-lego dance!'

(72) ***Ma*** ***ping*** *p-ola!*
COHORT 1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL-return
'Let's go home!'

3.7. Negation

Standard negation in Nedebang is expressed by means of a post-predicative negator, *wai*. The negator is not limited to a particular type of predicate. Examples are given with a verbal predicate (73), an adjectival predicate (74), and a nominal predicate (75).

(73) *Nang* *ga-fara* ***wai***.
1SG.NOM 3SG-kill NEG
'I didn't kill him.'

(74) *Yila* *su* *hubba* ***wai***.
water DIST sweet NEG
'The water is not fresh.' (lit. 'the water is not sweet')

(75) *In* *dena* ***wai***.
thing some NEG
'Don't worry.' (lit. '(it's) not a thing')

Wai is also used as a negative interjection 'no', as in (76)

(76) ***Wai,*** *nii* *quang* *suma* *talaqa* ***mia***.
NEG 1PL.EXCL.POSS moko.drum DIST.LOC earth be.in
'No, our moko drum is there in the ground.'

In addition, *wai* can be used as a question tag (discussed in section 3.8).

As already mentioned in section 3.6, Nedebang has a special negator *oli* used in negative imperatives (77). *Oli* may also be used in prohibitive contexts such as (78). Like *wai*, *oli* occurs in a postverbal position.

(77) *Naqqa* ***oli****!*
argue.loudly PROH
'Don't make such a racket.'

(78) *Ping* *hafi* *gammu* *yung~yung* *ni,* *gagga* *kili*
1PL.INCL.NOM fish chew RDP~long.time PRIOR 3.INAN.POSS bone
t-amahacci *saqqa* ***oli***.
1PL.INCL-throat stuck PROH
'We chew fish for a long time, so that its bones don't get stuck in our throats.'

In Pantar languages, some items gain negative polarity when placed in a postverbal position (e.g., Blagar, Steinhauer 2014: 174). Nedebang follows this pattern: *yadda* means 'still' when used preverbally (79a), but 'not yet' when used postverbally (79b).

(79) a. Preverbal *yadda*
Bammala *su* ***yedda*** *bangnga*.
old.woman DIST still alive
'The old woman is **still** alive.'

b. Postverbal *yadda*

Nang	*nei*	*maxara*	*danna*	***yedda***.
1SG.NOM	1SG.POSS	garden	burn	still

'I have **not yet** burnt my garden.'

The avoiditive *aki* is used to express a wish that the proposition denoted by the utterance not be realized. *Aki* occurs in a clause-initial position (80). For this reason, it is perhaps best not considered a negator, but is mentioned here for convenience.

(80)

Aki	*ping*	*hilling*.
lest	1PL.INCL.NOM	hungry

'May we not get hungry.'

3.8. Questions

Nedebang polar questions are formed with the usual declarative word order, but with rising intonation at the end of the clause (81).

(81)

Hang	*i-nna*	*wowa?*
2SG.NOM	DUMMY-eaten	already

'Have you eaten?'

A tag question is formed with the negator *wai* (section 3.7), as in (82). Intonationally, tag questions are distinct from identical statements with negative polarity. The question tag is preceded by a short pause and then accompanied by a sharply rising intonation. In a declarative, there would be no pause before *wai* and intonation would fall slightly.

(82)

Yila	*su*	*hubba*	***wai****?*
water	DIST	sweet	NEG

'Is that water drinkable?'

The question words that I have in my corpus are given in Table 7. These are used in the formation of content questions in Nedebang.

Table 7: Question words

'where'	*tama*
'what'	*anna*
'who'	*yamma*
'how much'	*haranna*
'why'	*anna ela*

Question words typically occur in the position of the questioned constituent, as illustrated in (83) to (86).

(83)

Hang	*seng*	***tama***	*maia?*
2SG.NOM	money	where	put

'Where did you put the money?

(84)

Hang	***anna***	*yenna?*
2SG.NOM	what	dig

'What are you digging?'

(85) ***Yamma*** *gei* *hei?*
who 3SG.POSS canoe
'Whose canoe is this?'

(86) *Mudda su* *g-a'a* ***haranna****?*
citrus DIST 3SG-price how.much
'How much are the lemons?'

The one interrogative that occurs in clause-initial position is *anna ela* 'why' (87a). Literally, this interrogative means 'what do', a meaning which is still found when *anna ela* is used in-situ, (87b).

(87) a. Clause-initial *anna ela*
Anna ***ela*** *hang* *sama* *qai* *ta'a* *sa?*
what do 2SG.NOM PROX.LOC only sleep PROX
'Why are you lying here?'

b. In-situ *anna ela*
Hang ***anna*** ***ela****?*
2SG.NOM what do
'What are you doing?'

3.9. *ba* and its uses

Ba (or its encliticized allomorph *=b*) is frequently used in Nedebang marking NPs, clauses, and interrogatives. It follows the items it marks and signals that the marked items have a relation to the following items.

In verbal clauses *ba* is used to highlight the referent of the marked NP as the particular one at issue. An NP marked with *ba* occurs in clause-initial position. In (88) the A is marked with *ba* while occurring in its normal clause-initial position. In (89), however, the P is marked with *ba* and is in both clauses fronted to a position before A, *gang*.

(88) *Ging* ***ba*** *ii* *ela*.
3PL.NOM LNK 3PL.INDEP make
'It is them by themselves who do (it).'

(89) *Bukan*[6] *siaqqa* ***ba*** *gang* *garu'i,* *tapi* *piring* ***ba*** *gang*
not chicken LNK 3SG.NOM grab but plate LNK 3SG.NOM
garu'i.
grab
'It wasn't a chicken that he grabbed, but rather it was a plate that he grabbed.'

As mentioned already in section 3.3, *ba* is also used in presentational equational clauses. In these, the fronted predicative NP is marked with *ba*, while the following NP is encoded by a demonstrative pronoun, as in (90). See also example (47).

(90) *Sa'a* *nii* *hafang,* *nii* *see* ***ba***
PROX.PRO 1PL.EXCL.POSS village 1PL.EXCL.POSS house LNK
sa'a.
PROX.PRO
'This is our village, our house is this (one).'

[6] This negator is a borrowing from Malay. The text from which this clause is taken contains frequent code-switching.

The obligatorily fronted interrogative *anna ela* 'why' (see section 3.8) can also be marked with *ba*, as in (91).

(91) *Anna ela* ***ba*** *hing yexang g-ammi sam missi?*
what make LNK 2PL.NOM hole 3SG-inside PROX.LOC sit
'Why is it that you are sitting here inside a hole?'

Finally, *ba* is used to link clauses to one another, as in (92) and (93).

(92) *Nang tallang kalala* ***ba,*** *nang edimmu wai.*
1SG.NOM swim know LNK 1SG.NOM drown NEG
'I know how to swim so I won't drown.'

(93) *Illa damaia* ***ba,*** *ping kareang.*
DUMMY cool LNK 1PL.INCL.NOM work
'It's cool, so we are working.'

4. Noun phrases

Nedebang nouns are identified by the ability to enter into possessive constructions. Nouns are not morphologically marked for number or gender/noun class in Nedebang.

Nedebang noun phrases have most modifiers following the head noun including an adjective or relative clause, a quantifier, and a demonstrative. A possessor NP precedes the possessed noun. The optional possessor NP (PSR_{NP}) is introduced by means of an indirect possessive classifier preceding or an agreement prefix (POSS) on the N_{HEAD}. A numeral phrase may also precede the head noun of an NP.

In what follows I present details and illustration of these major elements of the NP.

4.1. Attributes and relative clauses

Adjectives have been illustrated in their predicative function in section 3.2. Attributive adjectives directly follow the noun which they modify. For example:

(94) *hallang* ***ada*** *nukku*
eagle big one
'a big eagle'

(95) *noang* ***i'i*** *su*
cloth red DIST
'that red cloth'

Adjectives may also express quantification, as discussed in section 4.2.3.

Relative clauses are almost non-existent in my corpus. From the data available, it appears that the indirect possessive marker *gagga* (section 4.4.3) is used to introduce headed (96) and headless (97) relative clauses where the S of the relative clause is the head.[7]

[7] A reviewer points out that these may not be relative clauses, but rather constructions in which a 3rd person possessive marker can be used as a kind of dummy referent 'the one which', serving to select a referent from a pool of other potential referents based on a quality or action. This may be the case. However, the Nedebang structure may also be a relative clause grammaticalized from just such a source. At this stage I do not have sufficient data to be able to make a conclusive argument.

(96) [*Wee* ***gagga*** *lilla su*]$_{NP}$ *anna yedda*.
child REL sick DIST come still
'The child who is sick has not come yet.'

(97) *Ging ulli sakka* [***gagga*** *anna sa*]$_{NP}$…
3PL.NOM see ? REL come PROX
'They saw who was coming…'

Relative clauses where the P is the head of the relative clause seem to use *anna* 'what' as the relative clause marker, as in (98).

(98) … [*ina nukku* ***anna*** *pinni ela su*]$_{NP}$ *jadi piring gasali sa*.
thing one what hold make DIST become plate PROX.MAN PROX
'…this thing which I have been holding has become a plate.'

4.2. Quantification

Number is not marked on nouns in Nedebang, but may be signaled optionally by a range of quantificational items. Numerals and their morphosyntax are dealt with in section 4.2.1. Nedebang lacks numeral classifiers for the most part, but does have one obligatory classifier used when enumerating humans, discussed in section 4.2.2. The range of other non-numeral quantifiers that are available in Nedebang is treated in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1. Numerals

The basic Nedebang numerals are given in Table 8. Nedebang uses the quinary base only for numerals from '7' to '9'. In these numerals, the initial element *yis-* originates in a reduced form of the numeral *yesing* '5' (Schapper and Klamer 2014: 297-299).

Table 8: Basic numerals

1	*nukku*	6	*teama*
2	*raqqo*	7	*yisaraqqo* (5+2)
3	*hathagu*	8	*yisathagu* (5+3)
4	*uthu*	9	*yisauthu* (5+4)
5	*yesing*		

Nedebang has three base numerals: *qaa* 'base-10', *ratu* 'base-100' and *ribu* 'base-1000'.[8] While a basic numeral can stand on its own, a base numeral must be followed by another numeral signaling the multiplication of the base numeral. For instance:

(99) a. *qaa nukku*
tens one
'10'

b. *ratu thagu*
hundreds three
'300'

c. *ribu teama*
thousands six
'6000'

An additive operator *wai* is used to add a numeral within decades. *Wai* occurs following the base numeral and its multiplying numeral before the numeral it introduces. Examples are:

[8] *Qaa* is a native numeral, but *ratu* and *ribu* are borrowings of Malay *ratus* '100' (via Alorese *ratu* in the case of '100') and Malay *ribu* '1000' respectively.

(100) a. *qaa* *nukku* *wai* *nukku*
tens one ADD one
'11'

b. *qaa* *raqqo* *wai* *raqqo*
tens two ADD two
'22'

When used in the NP, a numeral always follows the head noun (101a). Numerals can also be used predicatively (101b). Numerals can occur following a verb when marked with a prefix. A numeral marked with *gona-* denotes how many items result from the action described by the verb (101c). A numeral marked with *mala-* denotes how many times the action described by the verb was carried out (101d).

(101) a. *bar* ***raqqo***
dog two
'two dogs'

b. *Bar* *su* ***raqqo***.
dog DIST two
'There are two dogs.' (lit. 'the dogs are two')

c. *Nang* *tee* *su* *taxanna* *gona-**raqqo***.
1SG.NOM tree DIST cut PIECE-two
'I cut the tree in two pieces.'

d. *Nang* *ge'ing* *buggi* *mala-**raqqo***.
1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC hit TIMES-two
'I hit him twice.'

4.2.2. Human numeral classifier

Nedebang does not for the most part have numeral classifiers. However, as in most other AP languages, there is an obligatory classifier used when enumerating human referents above one. In Nedebang the human numeral classifier *lamma* (cognate with Abui *ama*, Kamang *alma* 'person') is always followed by a numeral. Together these form a tight unit that I will call a numeral phrase (NUMP).

Unusually for an AP language, the order of the head noun and the NUMP is variable, with both N NUMP (102a) and NUMP N (102b) attested in my data. One speaker suggested that the unexpected order, NUMP N, is actually more common in natural speech.[9]

(102) a. N–NumP order
[[*Alla*]$_{\text{HEAD}}$***lamma*** *hathagu*]$_{\text{NUMP}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ong* *kung* *halafi*.
female CLF:HUM three 3.REFL:head louse search
'Three women search each other's head for lice.'

[9] Amos Sir also stated that the NumP N order was the preferred order in the neighboring language Teiwa.

b. NumP–N order

[[***Lamma***	*raqqu*]NUMP	[*alla*	*mau*]HEAD	*su*]NP	*g-ina*	*ging*	*sia*.
CLF:HUM	two	female	male	DIST	3-give:PL	3PL.NOM	chew

'(He) gave the couple (betel and betel vine) to eat.'

Lamma is also used when enumerating an NP headed by the noun *wa'ang* 'human, person' (103). In some other AP languages, the generic noun for 'human, person' does not cooccur with the human classifier.

(103)

See	*su*	*gagga*	***wa'ang***	***lamma***	*raqqu*	*qai*.
house	DIST	3.INAN.POSS	person	CLF:HUM	two	only

'That house has only two owners.'

4.2.3. Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers are not a class in Nedebang, but rather a motley assortment of items belonging to other classes or no known class.

Adjectives such as *dumma* and *qorunnu* are used to express the quantificational concepts of 'much, many' and 'a little, some'. For example:

(104)

Hafang	*su*	*yaqqa*	***dumma***	*g-ola*	*kuanga*.
village	DIST	person	many	3-ear	deaf

'In that village there are many deaf people.'

The noun *dena* 'portion' can also be used in quantification meaning 'some, part of'. As a quantifier, *dena* occurs as the right-most noun in a NN compound (105a), as a possessed noun coded with indirect possessive classifier (105b), and as an independent noun (105c).

(105) a. NN compound

wa'ang	***dena***
person	portion

'some people'

b. N POSS N

Isama'a	*wa'ang*	*gei*	***dena***	*su*	*ga-birang…*
last.night	person	3SG.POSS	portion	DIST	3SG-speak

'Last night (he) told some of the people...'

c. Independent N

Dena	*mari*	*n-ena*.
portion	take	1-give:SG

'Give me some.'

The quantifier *gope'i* 'all' has a form which appears to contain a fossilized third person prefix and so may have originally been a possessed noun. *Gope'i* quantifies a preceding plural pronoun, as in (106) and (107).

(106)

Hing	***gope'i***	*i-nna*	*wowa*.
2PL.NOM	all	DUMMY-eat	already

'You have all already eaten.'

(107)

Ging	***gope'i***	*sapatu*	*aia*	*mi'a*.
3PL.NOM	all	shoe	3SG.REFL:foot	insert

'They all put on their shoes.' (lit. 'they all inserted their feet into shoes')

Ina is a plural word, that is, it is a free-standing item whose primary function is to indicate plurality. It occurs after the noun it quantifies, as in (108) and (109). In all examples in my corpus, *ina* cooccurs with a demonstrative, but it is not clear whether this is required.

(108) *Wa'ang* ***ina*** *su* *gi-tta* *bagga* *bolar*.
person PL DIST 3PL-eye seed blaze
'The people's eyes are ablaze.'

(109) *Gang* *sementara* *yedda* *kni* ***ina*** *sa* *urus…*
3SG.NOM meanwhile still child PL PROX organize
'In the meantime, he was organizing the children…'

Finally, one noun *knei* [kn̄ei ~ kni:] can be used to refer to 'child' in the singular or plural, but there is also a dedicated plural form *knika* 'children'. However, this is a lexicalized plural: there is no known morpheme **-ka* in Nedebang and no other nouns are known to have a dedicated plural form. *Knika* is also infrequent and it is more common in my corpus to find *knei ~ kni* with other kinds of plural markers, for example, as in (109) above.

4.3. Demonstratives

The four series of Nedebang demonstratives are given in Table 9. The basic opposition in the Nedebang demonstrative paradigms is a simple one of proximal (i.e., near the speaker) or distal (i.e., not near the speaker). In the locative series, an additional distinction is present: the proximal refers to a location near the speaker, the distal a location near the addressee and the super-distal a location far from the speaker and addressee. Not all are relevant to a discussion of the NP, but they are introduced together because their forms are patently related to one another: across the demonstrative series, /sa/ characterizes the proximal dimension, /su/ the distal, and /so/ the super-distal.[10]

Table 9: Demonstratives

	ADNOMINAL	PRONOMINAL	MANNER	LOCATIVE
PROXIMAL	*sa*	*sa'a*	*gasali*	*sama*
DISTAL	*su*	*su'u*	*gasuli*	*suma*
SUPER-DISTAL	--	--	--	*soma*

The four series have different morpho-syntactic properties: (i) an adnominal demonstrative occurs at the right edge of the NP and cannot stand independent of other NP elements (110); (ii) a pronominal demonstrative stands in for an NP (111); (iii) a manner demonstrative is a verb referring to the way in which something is done (112), and (iv) a locative demonstrative is adverbial and refers to a location (113).

Adnominal demonstrative

(110) *Talaqa* ***sa*** *nang* *ma-h-ina*.
land PROX 1PL.NOM APPL-2-give:PL
'This land, I will give to you.'

[10] The absence of elevationally marked terms from this paradigm is notable given their abundance in other languages of Pantar and the Straits. On the basis of similarity to the Western Pantar forms and the Nedebang locative demonstratives, it looks like Nedebang *roma* 'HIGH' is an elevational locative demonstrative. However, the corresponding LOW and LEVEL forms do not occur in my corpus and I was unable to elicit them.

Pronominal demonstrative

(111) ***Sa'a*** *nii* *hafang,…*
PROX.PRO 1PL.EXCL.POSS village
'This is our village,…'

Manner demonstrative

(112) *Gang* *birang* ***gasali****…*
3SG.NOM speak PROX.MAN
'He spoke like this…'

Locative demonstrative

(113) *Anna* *ela* *ba* *hing* *yexang* *g-ammi* ***sam*** *missi?*
what make LNK 2PL.NOM hole 3SG-inside PROX.LOC sit
'Why are you sitting here inside a hole?'

Most relevant for the present discussion of the NP are the demonstrative articles, *su* and *sa*, that occur at the right-edge of the NP. These are ubiquitous in Nedebang discourse, where they are used not spatially but anaphorically and recognitionally. *Su* is the most common in discourse where it tracks an already mentioned referent, as in (114). *Sa* is used anaphorically, but also has a recognitional function. This is seen in (115) where *sa* occurs in the first utterance of a narrative marking the two main characters who are being introduced.

(114) *Imaraqqu* *i-lia* *anna* [*qar* ***su***]$_{NP}$ *tappa*.
3DU 3PL.REFL-invite come rice DIST pound
'The two of them asked one another to come pound the rice.'

(115) [*Kni* *raqqu* ***sa***]$_{NP}$ *ha'a bina*.
child two PROX orphan
'There were two children who were orphans.'

4.4. Possession

The template for Nedebang possession is set out in (116). As in other AP languages, the NP denoting the possessor, where expressed overtly, precedes the NP denoting the possessum. The possessive relationship between NPs is signaled by a grammatical morpheme whose identity is dependent on the lexical class of the possessed noun.

Possessive construction template

(116) [POSSESSOR]$_{NP}$ [CLF.POSS POSSESSUM]$_{NP}$
[POSSESSOR]$_{NP}$ [PRFX.POSS-POSSESSUM]$_{NP}$

Like other Pantar and Pantar Straits languages, Nedebang has a contrast between direct and indirect possession (Donohue and Schapper 2008). Direct possession is found with a closed class of nouns with body part and kin referents (typical "inalienables") that are obligatorily marked by a possessive prefix (117a). Indirect possession is used with the remaining, so-called alienable, nouns that do not require a possessive prefix in Nedebang. There are two distinct free possessive classifiers that can be used for indirect possessive relations, the animate possessive classifier (117b) and the inanimate possessive classifier (117c).

(117) a. *ga-thang* b. *gei* *bar* c. *gagga* *yicci*
3SG-hand 3SG.POSS dog 3INAN.POSS fruit
'his/her hand' 'his/her dog' 'its fruit'

In the following sections I describe the distribution and function of the different forms of Nedebang possession.

4.4.1. Direct possession

The inflectional paradigm of direct possessive prefixes is given in Table 10 as they occur on the noun *-thang* 'hand'. The paradigm is identical to the paradigm used on verbs (section 6.1.1) and shows the allomorphy patterns described in section 2.6.1.

Table 10: Direct possessive prefixes

		-thang 'hand'
1SG	*na-*	*na-thang*
2SG	*ha-*	*ha-thang*
3SG	*ga-*	*ga-thang*
3SG.REFL	*a-*	*a-thang*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-*	*ni-thang*
1PL.INCL	*pi-*	*pi-thang*
1PL.INCL+	*ta-*	*ta-thang*
2PL	*hi-*	*hi-thang*
3PL	*gi-*	*gi-thang*
3PL.REFL	*i-*	*i-thang*

Notable in this inflectional paradigm is the presence of an additional contrast in the 1st person inclusive: *pi-* '1PL.INCL' takes in the speaker and the addressee(s), while *ta-* '1PL.INCL+' has broader reference and refers not only to the speaker and addressee but a wider group which they are perceived to be a part of (cf. *pa-* and *ta-* occurring on obligatorily prefixed and optionally prefixed verbs, described in section 6.1 and 6.2).[11] An example of *ta-* '1PL.INCL+', or rather its allomorph [t-] on vowel-initial roots, is presented in (118). The 1PL.INCL+ morpheme on *-amahacci* 'throat' is licensed by the generic use of *ping* in the previous clause; a more natural translation of (118) into English would use generic *you*, but I use *we* here to preserve some flavor of the original.

(118) *Ping* *hafi* *gammu* *yung~yung* *ni,* *gagga* *kili*
1PL.INCL.NOM fish chew RDP~long.time PRIOR 3.INAN.POSS bone
t-amahacci *saqqa* *oli.*
1PL.INCL+-throat stuck PROH
'We chew fish for a long time, so that its bones don't get stuck in our (i.e., people in general's) throats.'

Table 11 presents kin terms that are directly possessed in my data. The term *-oaqa* 'child' is exclusively for kin, while *wei* 'child' and *knei* 'child' are used for non-kin children. There are also several kin terms in my data which are not directly possessed, such as *tapas* 'co-wife', *mathua* 'eldest child', *ikka* 'youngest child'.

[11] This distinction is found in the Blagar possessive paradigm with a cognate prefix (Steinhauer 2014: 182), but is otherwise not typical of TAP languages.

Table 11: Directly possessed kinship nouns

-aggu	‘grandmother; wife’	*-nang*	‘older sibling’
-agi	‘younger sister (of male)’	*-nning*	‘husband’
-eang	‘younger brother (of female)’	*-oaqa*	‘child’
-iang	‘sibling in-law’	*-oaa*	‘mother’
-mang	‘father’	*-rasi*	‘niece, nephew; aunt, uncle’
-nai	‘younger sibling of same-sex’	*-thaia*	‘grandfather; grandchild’

Table 12 presents body part nouns that are directly possessed in my data. There are many body part nouns in Nedebang that are not directly possessed, such as *kili* ‘bone’ *waqa* ‘skin’, *uppi* ‘finger, toe’, *ukku* ‘joint’, and *hafu* ‘penis’. Bodily fluids and excretions are also not directly possessed in Nedebang, such as *mali* ‘spit’, *wee* ‘blood’ and *qula* ‘snot’.

Table 12: Directly possessed body part nouns

-aia	‘leg, foot’	*-finni*	‘nose’
-af talla	‘thigh’	*-lefu*	‘tongue’
-a'a	‘inside of mouth’	*-ola*	‘ear’
-amahacci	‘throat’	*-oung*	‘head’
-asia	‘forehead’	*-tha'u*	‘stomach’
-ax	‘arm pit’	*-tta*	‘eye’
-ciala	‘shoulder’	*-thang*	‘hand, arm’
-emeaqua	‘nape’	*-ua*	‘back’
-efi kili	‘neck’	*-using*	‘tooth’
-eti	‘bottom’	*-wala*	‘chin’
-faa kili	‘spine’	*-xola*	‘brain, marrow’
-fang	‘face’	*-yaqa*	‘lip, outside of mouth’

Several nouns referring to parts of animals and plants or the products of animals also appear to be directly possessed, although in my database they only occur with a 3rd person inflection. They are: *g-ola* ‘3-tail’, *ga-sili* ‘sprout, shoot’, *ga-thanni* ‘branch’, *ga-thei* ‘3SG-egg’, *ga-riang* ‘3SG-horn’ and *ga-sei* ‘3SG-nest’. This last item appears to be the result of phonological differentiation from the indirectly possessed noun *see* ‘house’.

In addition to the more typical “inalienables” referring to body part and kin relations, Nedebang has a range of other directly possessed nouns including what might be described as “intangible” body parts and relational locations (Table 13). Within the TAP languages, it is not uncommon for items with such semantics to have obligatory possessive marking by means of prefixal inflections.

Table 13: Other directly possessed nouns

-amang	‘voice’	*-einu*	‘name’
-ammi	‘inside, seat of emotions’	*-olama'a*	‘spirit, soul’
-aba	‘side, near’	*-orana*	‘behind’
-ara	‘side, flank’	*-oya*	‘grave’
-ecing	‘place, spot’	*-xappi*	‘side’

4.4.2. Indirect possession with animate possessors

Table 13 presents the paradigm of indirect possessive classifiers used with animate possessors. The classifiers are in part homophonous with the 'only' pronouns (e.g., /nei/ [nei͡ ~ ne:] '1SG.POSS' versus /ne/ [ne:] '1SG.INDEP'; /ni/ [ni:] '1PL.EXCL.POSS' versus /ni/ [ni:] '1PL.EXCL.INDEP') but can be differentiated from them by their different syntax (see section 5.1.3 on the 'only' pronouns).

Table 13: Animate indirect possessive classifiers

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
1	*nei*	EXCL	*nii*
		INCL	*pii*
2	*hei*		*hii*
3	*gei*		*gii*

Animate indirect possessive classifiers can occur both adnominally and pronominally. Compare the behavior of the possessive classifier in the following equative clauses (see section 3.3 on equational clauses). In (119a), a pronominal demonstrative occupies the first NP position, while the second NP consists of the possessive classifier and the possessed noun *hafang* 'village'. In (119b) the noun *topi* with an adnominal demonstrative forms the first NP of the equative clause, while the possessive classifier occupies the second NP slot on its own. In addition to its long vowel (see wordhood properties in section 2.4), the ability of the indirect possessive classifier to stand on its own without a nominal head or any other NP element demonstrates its independent morphosyntactic status.

(119) a. Adnominal use
[*Sa'a*]$_{NP}$ [***nii*** *hafang*]$_{NP}$.
PROX.PRO 1PL.EXCL.POSS village
'This is our village.'

b. Pronominal use
[*Topi sa*]$_{NP}$ [***nei***]$_{NP}$.
hat PROX 1SG.POSS
'This hat is mine.

This paradigm of direct possessive classifiers is used most typically with possessors that have human referents. However, as can be seen in (120), animal possessors can also be encoded with them. I have no examples of an inanimate used with one of these possessive classifiers; that appears to be the exclusive preserve of *gagga*, discussed in the following section.

(120) *Nang bee* ***gei*** *muddi paxa'u*.
1SG.NOM pig 3SG.POSS hair scrape
'I scraped off the pig's hair.'

4.4.3. Indirect possession with inanimate possessors

Gagga is a dedicated indirect possessive classifier for inanimate possessors. Unlike the animate possessive classifiers, *gagga* is not part of a paradigm of possessive forms; it is exclusively found in the third person. Synchronically, it would be possible to analyze *gagga* as part of the paradigm in Table 13, resulting in an animacy opposition in the 3rd person of the

possessive paradigm.[12] Such an opposition would be unique in possessives in the TAP languages.[13]

However, the syntactic properties of *gagga* differ from those of the other indirect possessive classifiers: *gagga* cannot substitute for a whole NP, but must occur with an overt N denoting the possessed referent. For this reason, I treat *gagga* separately here. While the possessed N cannot be omitted, the N denoting the possessor can be where the referent is retrievable from context. For example, in (121) the identity of the possessor encoded by *gagga* is clearly *watha* 'coconut' introduced in the preceding clause.

(121) *Nang watha cira, **gagga** yicci mari mora.*
1SG.NOM coconut ascend 3.INAN.POSS fruit take drop
'I climb the coconut and take its fruits and drop them down.'

Most common in my data is that possessive relationships between plants and their component parts or products are encoded with *gagga*. For example:

(122) *Pala su **gagga** wa'a maniamma.*
eucalypt DIST 3.INAN.POSS leaf fragrant
'The eucalypt's leaves are fragrant.'

(123) *Feri wa'a **gagga** uia wanna.*
tree.sp leaf 3.INAN.POSS foam exist
'The leaves of the *feri* tree have foam.' (lit. '*feri* tree leaves' foam exists')

Inanimate possessors of other kinds are less frequent in my corpus, but examples such as the following can be found:

(124) *See su **gagga** wa'ang lamma raqqu qai.*
house DIST 3.INAN.POSS person HUM:CLF two only
'That house has only two owners.'

(125) *Qamiaua Labba **gagga** yexang sampai sakarang yadda wanna.*
Qamiaua Labba 3.INAN.POSS hole until now still exist
'Qamiaua Labba's hole is still there even now.'

Possessors with animate referents can also be found with *gagga* where they are viewed as inanimate. For example, in (126) (repeated from (118) above) the possessive antecedent for *gagga* is *hafi* 'fish'. *Gagga* can be used to indicate possession here because what is meant is fish meat rather than live fish.[14]

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[12] Diachronically, Nedebang *gagga* originates as the 3rd person singular form of a separate paradigm of possessive pronouns; the other forms of this paradigm have been lost in Nedebang.

[13] Animacy oppositions are found sporadically throughout the TAP family, but typically with different forms and agreement targets. Bunaq has an inanimate versus animate contrast in verb agreement and determiners, Teiwa has an animate verbal agreement prefixal paradigm, one dialect of Abui has a contrast between human and nonhuman 3rd person in its verbal agreement paradigm, and languages of the Eastern Timor subgroup have contrastive numerals for human and nonhuman entities.

[14] *Hafi* could be analyzed as polysemous, meaning both 'fish' and 'fish meat'. The noun *dahing* 'meat' does not appear to be used for the flesh of fish, but is used exclusively of mammals and birds in my data.

(126) *Ping* *hafi* *gammu* *yung~yung* *ni,* ***gagga*** *kili*
1PL.INCL.NOM fish chew RDP~long.time PRIOR 3.INAN.POSS bone
t-amahacci *saqqa* *oli*.
1PL.INCL-throat stuck PROH
'We chew fish for a long time, so that its bones don't get stuck in our throats.'

4.4.4. Possessive compounds

In addition to the phrasal constructions expressing possession that we dealt with in the previous sections, Nedebang has possessive compounds which are morphosyntactically and semantically distinct (cf. section 2.6.3). In a possessive compound, possessor and possessum are each expressed by a simple N; the possessor precedes the possessum, but without any intervening signal of the possessive relationship. The possessor N in a possessive compound has only generic reference. This differs from a possessive construction where the possessor phrase is referential, as apparent from the contrast between possessive compounds and the possessive constructions given in the following:

(127) a. *kalani* *uru*
canarium wax
'canarium wax'

b. *kalani* *gagga* *uru*
canarium 3INAN.POSS wax
'wax of specific canarium nuts/trees'

(128) a. *kula* *qua*
breadfruit sap
'breadfruit sap'

b. *kula* *gagga* *qua*
breadfruit 3INAN.POSS sap
'sap of specific breadfruit'

In Nedebang, as in other AP languages, there is also a class of nouns that do not take possessor prefixes but still cannot stand on their own, rather they must occur with some independent expression of a possessor. The identity of these nouns is often apparent from word lists where they are typically presented in a possessive compound with a generic possessor. In Nedebang, for example, when elicited in isolation, 'leaf' is given as *tee wa'a*, literally 'tree leaf'. The Nedebang class of obligatorily indirectly possessed nouns also includes items such as *waci* 'inhabitant of, member of' which must be preceded by another noun specifying the wider set which the referent is part of, e.g., *Kabir waci* 'person from Kabir', *boga waci* 'youth, young person'.

5. Pronouns

In this section, I discuss the different types of pronouns used in Nedebang. The numerous paradigms of personal pronouns are discussed in section 5.1. Indefinite pronouns are discussed in section 5.2 and the dummy pronouns in section 5.3. Demonstrative pronouns have already been treated together with their adnominal counterparts in section 4.3.

5.1. Personal pronouns

Like other TAP languages, Nedebang has numerous paradigms of personal pronouns. Table 14 presents an overview of the Nedebang personal pronouns. In the table '--' indicates that I have no evidence for a pronominal form of that feature specification.

Table 14: Pronouns

	NOMINATIVE	ACCUSATIVE	INDEPENDENT	ALONE	DUAL
1SG	*nang*	*ne'ing*	*nee*	*nanaqai*	--
2SG	*hang*	*he'ing*	*hee*	*hanaqai*	--
3SG	*gang*	*ge'ing*	*ee*	*anaqai*	--
3SG.REFL	--	*e'ing*	--	--	--
1PL.EXCL	*ning*	*ni'ing*	*nii*	*ninaqai*	*nimaraqqo*
1PL.INCL	*ping*	*pi'ing*	*pii*	*pinaqai*	*pimaraqqo*
1PL.INCL.RECP	--	*te'ing*	--	--	--
2PL	*hing*	*hi'ing*	*hii*	*hinaqai*	*himaraqqo*
3PL	*ging*	*gi'ing*	*ii*	*inaqai*	*imaraqqo*
3PL.REFL	--	*i'ing*	--	--	--

The main formal difference between paradigms of personal pronouns is that the accusative paradigm has additional forms for 3rd person reflexive and 1st person inclusive reciprocal not found elsewhere. The dual paradigms lack singular forms, since they by definition have non-singular reference. The independent, alone and dual paradigms also do not display the initial /g/ that characterizes non-reflexive 3rd persons in the nominative and accusative paradigms.

Personal pronouns may occur in apposition to a co-referential noun phrase or another personal pronoun. In (129) the 3rd person accusative pronoun occurs in apposition to the NP *wei su*. In (130) the pronoun *hanaqai* occurs in tight apposition to a 2nd person singular nominative pronoun.

(129) *Wei su* ***ge'ing*** *wattu dumma*.
child DIST 3SG.ACC skin.dirt much
'That child has dirty skin.'

(130) *Hang* ***hanaqai*** *ela*.
2SG.NOM 2SG.ALONE make
'You do it on your own.'

In addition, personal pronouns can have NP elements occur in apposition to them. In (131) the demonstrative pronoun *sa'a* occurs in apposition to *hi'ing*, a focused used of the accusative pronoun. In (132) the NN compound *alla maua* is used in apposition to the dual pronoun *imaraqqu*.

(131) ***Hi'ing*** *sa'a anna ela yexang g-ammi sam missi?*
2PL.ACC PROX what do hole 3SG-inside PROX.LOC sit
'You there, why (are you) sitting in a hole?'

(132) … ***imaraqqu*** *alla maua sira tagga suma missi*.
3DU female male go.up top DIST.LOC sit
'…the two of them, man and woman, went up and sat atop there.'

In the following sections, I discuss the functions of the different pronominal paradigms.

5.1.1. Nominative pronouns

Nominative pronouns are used with verbal predicates to encode the A argument of a transitive verb (133) and the S of an intransitive verb (134).

Nominative pronoun for A of transitive verb

(133) ***Nang*** *bar* *buggi*.
1SG.NOM dog hit
'I hit the dog.'

Nominative pronoun for S of intransitive verb

(134) ***Ging*** *cira*.
3PL.NOM go.up
'They got up.'

The use of the nominative pronoun is not affected by the semantics of the verbal predicate. The nominative pronoun is also found with verbs that have a non-controlling participant. Examples are given in (135) to (137).

(135) ***Nang*** *watha* *tagga* *ba'a*.
1SG.NOM coconut top fall
'I fell from the top of the coconut tree.'

(136) ***Nang*** *dimmu*.
1SG.NOM sink
'I'm drowning.'

(137) ***Ging*** *bunuga~bunuga*.
3PL.NOM naked
'They are naked.'

5.1.2. Accusative pronouns

Accusative pronouns are used with verbal predicates to encode the P argument of a transitive verb that does not take agreement prefixes (cf. section 6.1.1). Examples of this use of the accusative pronoun are given in (138) and (139).

(138) *Nang* ***he'ing*** *buggi*.
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC hit
'I will hit you.'

(139) *Bar* ***ne'ing*** *cia*.
dog 1SG.ACC bite
'The dog bit me.'

Accusative pronouns have a second, more marginal use encoding an A/S of a verbal predicate in restrictive focus. Compare the use of pronouns in the pairs of contrastive examples in (140) and (141). In (140a) the nominative pronoun is used for the S of the verbal predicate *ta'a* 'sleep', meaning that no pragmatic emphasis is placed on the referent. In (140b), by contrast, the accusative pronoun is used for S. According to speaker judgements, this has the effect of placing restrictive focus on the identity of the referent, thereby singling out the referent of S as the person going to sleep on the bed.[15] Similarly, in (141a), a nominative pronoun is used to encode the A, while the P is encoded with an agreement prefix

[15] One of the functions of *ba* 'LNK' described in section 3.9 is similar. It is not clear at this stage what the difference is between an accusative pronoun A/S and a *ba*-marked A/S.

on *-fara* ‘kill’. But in (141b) A is encoded with the accusative pronoun, placing restrictive focus on its referent as a killer.

(140) a. Non-focus use of nominative pronoun for verbal S
Nang *bal* *tagga* *ta'a*.
1SG.NOM bed on sleep
‘I am going to sleep on the bed.’

b. Restrictive focus use of accusative pronoun for verbal S
Ne'ing *bali* *tagga* *ta'a*.
1SG.ACC bed on sleep
‘It is me who is going to sleep on the bed.’

(141) a. Non-focus use of nominative pronoun for verbal A
Gang *na-fara.*
3SG.NOM 1SG-kill
‘He will kill me.’

b. Restrictive focus use of accusative pronoun for verbal A
Gi'ing *su* *anna* *ni-fara.*
3PL.ACC DIST come 1PL.EXCL-kill
‘It is they who are coming to kill us.’

It is not clear at this stage what the syntactic restrictions on the focused use of an accusative pronoun might be. In my corpus, it is infrequent; there are only a handful of occurrences. Speaker judgements also make it clear that it is not possible to have two accusative pronouns in a single clause, i.e., an accusative pronoun cannot be used for a focused A argument and a P argument in the same clause. An accusative pronoun used for a focused referent always occurs utterance initially. This can be seen in the textual examples of focused accusative pronouns in (142) and (143).

(142) ***He'ing*** *mari* ***ne'ing****,* *ping* *ang* *nasi gia*.
2SG.ACC take 1SG.ACC 1PL.INCL.NOM market go.to
‘You and me, let’s go to the market.’

(143) ***Hi'ing*** *sa'a* *anna* *ela yexang gammi* *sam* *missi?*
2PL.ACC PROX what do hole inside PROX.LOC sit
‘You there, why (are you) sitting in a hole?’

A third use of accusative pronouns is to encode the single argument of a non-verbal predicate, which I will refer to as S, parallel to the single argument of a verbal predicate. Examples of accusative pronouns used for the S of a nominal predicate are given in (144) and (145). See section 3.3 on nominal predicates in Nedebang.

(144) ***Ne'ing*** *tuang* *guru*.
1SG.ACC master teacher
‘I am a teacher.’

(145) ***Ne'ing*** *baqqa* *macca*.
1SG.ACC body weak
‘I have a weak body.’

With adjectival predicates, S is also encoded with an accusative pronoun. In (146) the referent of the A of *-amuya* ‘play’ is in the first clause and encoded with a nominative pronoun, but in the second clause it is the S of the adjective *balaqqas* ‘dirty’ and is coded with an accusative

pronoun. In (147), the referent of the P of the verb *wana* 'afflict, impact on adversely' in the first clause and of the S of the adjective *qaqa* in the second clause is coded with an accusative pronoun.

(146) *Gang* *maloo* *g-amuya* *ba,* ***ge'ing*** *balaqqas*.
3SG.NOM soil 3SG.play LNK 3SG.ACC dirty
'She plays in the soil and so becomes dirty.'

(147) *Sirung* *ne'ing* *wana* *ba* ***ne'ing*** *qaqa*.
butterfly.sp 1SG.ACC afflict LNK 1SG.ACC itchy
'Butterflies come into contact with me and so I get itchy (i.e., have an allergic reaction).'

The distinction between an adjective and an intransitive verb with stative semantics is made here on the basis of the pronoun paradigm used for S with each predicate type. While a verb takes an S with a nominative pronoun (as with *te'i* in (148a)), an adjective takes an S with an accusative pronoun (as with *hilling* in 149a). In each case, speakers either rejected the other pronoun type outright or judged it to be semantically bizarre, (148b) and (149b). An alternative (in labels more than analysis) would be to say that both types are verbs, but that they form lexicalized classes requiring different pronoun types. This would mean Nedebang has a split-S alignment of a similar form to other AP languages (in particular Western Pantar, as described by Holton 2010), but does not have the analytic neatness of the verbal/non-verbal split in the coding of S presented here. This neatness may, in any event, be illusory; examples such as that in (149c) where a nominative pronoun may be used for the S of *hilling* to impart a modal reading together with the avoiditive *aki*, implying a certain degree of control on the part of the participant to avoid hunger. A fuller data set is needed to elucidate the availability of the two pronouns paradigms for S and the possible role of semantic factors in determining pronoun choice.

Pronoun availability with verb *te'i* 'afraid'

(148) a. ***Nang*** *te'i*.
1SG.NOM afraid
'I am afraid.'

b. */?***Ne'ing*** *te'i*.
1SG.ACC afraid
'I am afraid.'

Pronoun availability with adjective *hilling* 'hungry'

(149) a. ***Ne'ing*** *hilling*.
1SG.ACC hungry
'I am hungry.'

b. */?***Nang*** *hilling*.
1SG.NOM hungry
'I'm hungry.'

c. *Aki* ***ping*** *hilling*.
lest 1PL.INCL.NOM hungry
'May we not get hungry.'

In Table 14, it was shown that the accusative series of pronouns has three more members than other series of personal pronouns: *e'ing*, *i'ing* and *te'ing* used in the encoding of reflexive and reciprocal relations. *E'ing* and *i'ing* are dedicated 3rd person singular and plural reflexive

pronouns, as in (150a) and (150b). These are available because *buggi* does not permit prefixation and so cannot host reflexive prefixes (see section 6.1). The plural reflexive in (150b) also permits a reciprocal reading.

Reflexive pronouns

(150) a. *Gang* ***e'ing*** *buggi*.
3PL.NOM 3SG.REFL hit
'He hits himself.'

b. *Ging* ***i'ing*** *buggi*.
3PL.NOM 3PL.REFL hit
'They hit themselves/each other.'

For other persons, reflexive relations are expressed by means of an accusative pronoun with the same person and number as the A, as for example with the first person singular in (150c).

c. *Nang* ***ne'ing*** *buggi*.
1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC hit
'I hit myself.'

It appears that the reflexive pronouns can sometimes be used without being bound to a syntactically higher antecedent. For example, the 3rd person reflexive *e'ing* '3SG.REFL' encodes the subject of an equational clause in (151), where *ge'ing* '3SG.ACC' would be expected. It is not clear what the difference between *ge'ing* and *e'ing* would be here. Holton (2014) observes a similar pattern in Western Pantar and argues that the equivalent of the reflexive forms (called 4th person by Holton) function as switch-reference markers signaling that a referent is not co-referential with the currently tracked referent. More research is needed to see whether this is also true of Nedebang.

(151) ***E'ing*** *jadi* *hee*.
3SG.REFL become canoe
'It became a canoe.'

On the basis of the currently available data, *te'ing* appears to be a dedicated 1st person plural inclusive reciprocal pronoun used with verbs that do not permit a reciprocal prefix (152a). Any other person/number/clusivity specification is not an acceptable antecedent for *te'ing* (152b). A 1st person plural inclusive reflexive is expressed with the accusative pronoun (152c).

1st person plural inclusive reciprocal and reflexive pronouns

(152) a. *Ping* ***te'ing*** *buggi*.
1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL.RECP hit
'We hit each other.'

b. **Ning* ***te'ing*** *buggi*.
1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL.RECP hit

c. *Ping* ***pi'ing*** *buggi*.
1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL.ACC hit
'We hit ourselves.'

The pronoun *te'ing* is formally and semantically related to the prefix *ta-* occurring on nouns (section 4.4.1) and verbs (section 6.2).

5.1.3. Alone and independent pronouns

Alone and independent pronouns express that their referents acted individually. The semantic difference between the two pronominal paradigms is one of exclusivity.

An alone pronoun (glossed with 'ALONE') expresses that the referent(s) is/are entirely without companion, i.e. that no one acted or experienced as the referent did, as in (153) and (154).

(153) *Buna* *tetap* *menang,* *walaupun* *ge'ing* ***anaqai***.[16]
sea.cucumber remain win although 3SG.NOM 3SG.ALONE
'The sea cucumber still won, although he was on his own.'

(154) *Hang* ***hanaqai*** *ela*.
2SG.NOM 2SG.ALONE make
'You do it on your own.'

By contrast, an independent pronoun (glossed with 'INDEP') expresses that the referent(s) acted entirely on their own without aid from anyone else who may have been present or similarly engaged, as in (155) and (156).

(155) *Gang* ***ee*** *a-fara*.
3SG.NOM 3SG.INDEP 3SG.REFL-kill
'He killed himself all by himself.'

(156) *Nang* ***nee*** *blappa*.
1SG.NOM 1SG.INDEP split
'I chopped (the wood) all by myself.'

5.1.4. Dual pronouns

Dual pronouns are used when the speaker wants to specify that the referents number precisely two, as in (157) and (158). The use of dual pronouns for two participants is not obligatory in Nedebang, cf. example (142) where *ping* '1PL.INCL.NOM' is used in reference to two participants.

(157) ***Nimaraqqo*** *tasi* *su,* *gang* *na-fakki*.
1DU.EXCL stand DIST 3SG.NOM 1SG-exceed
'When the two of us are standing, he exceeds me (i.e., is taller than me).'

(158) ***Imaraqqo*** *ong* *kung* *halafi*.
3DU 3.REFL:head head.lice search
'The two of them searched each other's heads for lice.'

Dual pronouns typically trigger plural agreement prefixes, as in (159). Note, however, that the number distinction for 3rd person reflexives is weakened (see section 6.1).

(159) ***Imaraqqu*** *i-lia* *anna* *qar* *su* *tappa*.
3DU 3PL.REFL-invite come rice DIST pound
'The two of them asked one another to come pound the rice.'

A dual pronoun can appear in apposition to another pronoun, as in (160). It can also itself have a following appositional NP, as in (161).

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[16] This sentence contains a significant amount of Malay code-switching; *tetap*, *menang*, and *walaupun* are all from Malay.

(160) *Ging* ***imaraqqu*** *ga-nei* *ga-nang* *a-thang* *garui*.
3PL.NOM 3DU 3SG-yS 3SG-eS 3SG.REFL-hand shake.up.down
'The two siblings shook hands.'

(161) … ***Imaraqqu*** *alla* *maua* *sira* *tagga* *suma* *missi*.
3DU female male go.up top DIST.LOC sit
'…the two of them, man and woman, went up and sat atop there.'

The second element of the Nedebang dual pronoun is transparently related to the numeral /raqqo/ [raqːo ~ raqːu] (see section 4.2.1).

5.2. Indefinite pronouns

Nedebang has a dedicated indefinite pronoun *lee* for humans. This item cannot be modified by an adjective, quantified or marked with a demonstrative. In my data, *lee* is used when the identity of the referent is backgrounded or unimportant in the speech situation. For example, in (162) the P *qorang* is highlighted by fronting to initial position. In (163) the referent of A is backgrounded, being encoded simply as *lee* 'someone', even though the identity of his mother was presumably known to the speaker.

(162) *Qorang* *su* ***lee*** *tee* *halla* *pratta*.
rope DIST INDEF.HUM tree trunk tie.on
'The rope was tied on the tree trunk by someone.'

(163) ***Lee*** *Kalangbasi* *ne'ing* *missi*.
INDEF.HUM Kalabahi 1SG.ACC sit
'I was born in Kalabahi.' (lit. 'someone gave birth to/sat me in Kalabahi')

When *lee* is used as a possessor, it takes a plural possessive classifier, as seen in (164).

(164) *Nang* ***lee*** *gii* *qarra* *blanna*.
1SG.NOM INDEF.HUM 3PL.POSS rice borrow
'I borrowed rice from someone/some people'

In nukku is an indefinite pronoun for inanimates and originates in the lexical noun *ina* [ina ~ in] 'thing' with the numeral *nukku* 'one'. Examples of *in nukku* are given in (165) and (166).

(165) ***In nukku*** *qorang* *woru*.
INDEF.INAN rope hang
'There's something hanging on a rope.'

(166) *Gang* ***in nukku*** *ma-g-ena*.
3SG.NOM INDEF.INAN APPL-3-give:SG
'He gave him something.'

5.3. Dummy pronouns

Dummy pronouns are words that function grammatically as pronouns, but which do not have antecedents like other pronouns and are only placeholders. Nedebang has dummy pronouns for S (section 5.3.1) and P (section 5.3.2).

5.3.1. Dummy S pronoun *illa*

Illa is a lexical noun meaning 'place'. In this function, it can head an NP as attested by its ability to modified by an adjective (167) or occur with an adnominal demonstrative (168).

(167) *Gang* [***illa*** *aua*]$_{NP}$ *gia*.
3SG.NOM place far go.to
'He went to a far away place.'

(168) [***Illa*** *su*]$_{NP}$ *g-einu* *Qamiaua Labba*.
place DIST 3-name Qamiaua Labba
'That place was called Qamiau Labba.'

In addition to its lexical function, *illa* is used as a dummy pronoun in predications for weather events (169) and (170), as well as for ambient circumstances (171) and (172). In this function, *illa* is not referential and cannot be modified nor can it be omitted from the clause.

(169) ***Illa*** *banakka*.
DUMMY overcast
'It's overcast.'

(170) *Ping* *uyang* *gia,* ***illa*** *maxafu*.
1PL.INCL.NOM highlands go.to DUMMY cold
'When we go to the highlands, it's cold.'

(171) ***Illa*** *qana*.
DUMMY black
'It's dark.'

(172) ***Illa*** *duggu,* *ging* *cira*.
DUMMY thud.sound 3PL.NOM go.up
'There was a thudding sound and they got up.'

5.3.2. Dummy P pronoun *i-*

In Nedebang, where transitive verbs lack a referent for P, the P argument cannot simply be elided; a dummy object pronominal prefix *i-* is used. For example, *puia* 'blow' is a transitive verb (173a), but where there is no specific entity being blown, *i-* must be used (173b). The lack of a dummy prefix in (173c) entails that there is a referent for P retrievable from the surrounding discourse.

(173) a. *Nang* *hara* ***puia,*** *gang* *bolor*.
1SG.NOM fire blow 3SG.NOM flare
'I blow on the fire and it flares up.'

b. *Hangi* ***i-puia***.
wind DUMMY-blow
'The wind blew.'

c. *Hangi* ***puia***.
wind blow
'The wind blew (something).'

In (174), we see that *i-* cannot be combined with any nominal elements expressing P. See section 2.6.2 on the gemination triggered by prefixation of *i-* on monosyllabic roots.

(174) a. *Nang* *mai* ***naa***.
1SG.NOM banana eat
'I ate a banana.'

b. *Nang* ***i-nna***.
1SG.NOM DUMMY-eat
'I ate.'

c. **Nang* *mai* ***i-nna***.
1SG.NOM banana DUMMY-eat

The dummy object pronominal prefix does not occur in the same slot on a transitive verb as an agreement prefix for P (see section 6.1). With a transitive verb such as *-amuia* 'play with' illustrated in (175a), a 3rd person singular prefix is used together with the dummy object prefix where there is no referent for P (175b).

(175) a. *Gang* *maloo* ***g-amuia*** *ba* *ge'ing* *blaqqa*.
3SG.NOM soil 3SG-play.with LNK 3SG.ACC dirty
'He played with dirt and so got dirty.'

b. *Soma* ***i-g-amuia***.
SDIST.LOC DUMMY-3SG-play.with
'Play over there.'

An alternative analysis would be to see *i-* as a detransitivizing prefix. I do not adopt this analysis because *i-* appears to have an ad hoc meaning on some verbs. For example, in (176) and (177), *i-* is used to create expressions relating to gardening, the meaning of the second of which is not decomposable from the parts. Such ad hoc meanings, I would argue, are more consistent typologically with a dummy pronoun than detransitivization.

(176) *Ping* ***i-diaqqa***.
1PL.INCL.NOM DUMMY-farm
'We do gardening.'

(177) *Ping* ***i-danna***.
1PL.INCL.NOM DUMMY-burn
'We burn forest to make a garden.'

The prefix *i-* may in fact not be limited to act as a dummy for P. There is one elicited example in my data that suggests that the dummy pronouns *illa* and *i-* may have some degree of interchangeability. While *illa* in (178a) was said by speakers to refer to a specific cliff, *i-* could also be used on *yeci* to denote cliffy ground in general (178b). More data are needed to clarify the precise properties of *i-* in such situations.

(178) a. ***illa*** *yeci*
DUMMY bad
'cliff (particular place)' (lit. 'bad place')

b. ***i-****yeci*
DUMMY-bad
'cliff (generic)'

6. Agreement and applicative prefixes

Nedebang verbs host a small amount of prefixal morphology. There are no known suffixes in Nedebang. Verbs can take agreement prefixes (section 6.1), P-adding prefixes (section 6.2), the prefix *ma-* used on the 'give' verb (section 6.3), and the applicative prefix *wa-* (section 6.4). On the data available, a verb cannot host more than one of these prefixes at a time. This prohibition does not count for the pronominal prefix *i-* that was discussed in section 5.3.2.

6.1. Verbal agreement prefixes

Table 15 presents the forms of the prefixes that are known to occur on verbs (largely repeated from Table 5 in section 2.6.1).

Table 15: Verbal agreement prefixes

	Consonant initial roots	/a/-initial roots	Other vowel initial roots
1SG	*na-*	*n-*	*n-*
2SG	*ha-*	*h-*	*h-*
3SG	*ga-*	*g-*	*g-*
3SG.REFL	*a-*	Ø	Ø
1PL.EXCL	*ni-*	*ni-*	*n-*
1PL.INCL	*pi-*	*pi-*	*p-*
1PL.INCL+	*pa-*	--	--
2PL	*hi-*	*hi-*	*h-*
3PL	*gi-*	*gi-*	*g-*
3PL.REFL	*i-*	*i-*	Ø

As seen in the inflectional paradigm for directly possessed nouns (section 4.4.1) the Nedebang inflectional paradigm for verbs has an additional contrast in the 1st person inclusive: *pi-* '1PL.INCL' takes in the speaker and the addressee(s) (179a), while *pa-* '1PL.INCL+' has broader reference and refers not only to the speaker and addressee but the wider group which they are perceived to be a part of (179b).[17]

(179) a. *pi-thiala*
1PL.INCL-chase
'chase us (speaker and addressee(s) of the current situation)'

b. *pa-thiala*
1PL.INCL+-chase
'chase us (people in general)'

I do not have any evidence for this distinction from naturalistic data. It was raised by native speakers of Nedebang as a noteworthy feature of the language that was not present in neighboring languages such as Teiwa.

The contrast between the 3rd person reflexive and nonreflexive prefixes is characteristic of the languages of Pantar. This parallels the distinction already seen in the 3rd person accusative free pronouns (section 5.1.2). The distinction between singular and plural reflexive is

[17] On nouns the 1PL.INCL+ form is *ta-* (see section 4.4.1) and is related to the reciprocal prefix *ta-* (see section 6.2).

weakened on Nedebang agreement prefixes. A 3rd person singular A can be the antecedent of a 3rd person singular reflexive prefix, but not of a plural reflexive prefix (180a). By contrast, a 3rd person plural A can be the antecedent of a 3rd person plural reflexive prefix (180b) or of a 3rd person singular reflexive prefix (180c).

(180) a. *Gang* ***a-ssaru***. (**i-ssaro*)
3SG.NOM 3SG.REFL-catch.sight
'He catches sight of himself.'

b. *Ging* ***i-ssaru***.
3PL.NOM 3PL.REFL-catch.sight
'They see themselves/each other.'

c. *Ging* ***a-ssaru***.
3PL.NOM 3SG.REFL-catch.sight
'They see themselves/each other.'

Agreement prefixes in Nedebang are not pronominal; they do not replace or exclude the expression of free nominal elements. A participant indexed by an agreement prefix can simultaneously be encoded by free nominal elements, either a pronoun (181) or, in the case of 3rd person referent, an NP (182).

(181) *Ma* ***ping*** ***p****-ola!*
COHORT 1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL-return
'Let's go home!'

(182) *Wei g-oaqa* ***oaa*** ***ga****-tta*.
child 3-child 3.REFL:mother 3SG-call
'The child calls its mother.'

In the following sections I present an overview of the different appearances of agreement prefixes in Nedebang.

6.1.1. Obligatory agreement on transitive verbs

Transitive verbs divide into two primary classes: those that do not take an obligatory agreement prefix for P and those that do. The division between these two is lexical and not semantic. In the following examples, we see the contrast between a verb that takes an agreement prefix for P (183) and one that does not take a prefix (184). It is ungrammatical to add a prefix to the latter.

(183) *Bammala su* ***na****-muku*.
old.woman DIST 1SG-kiss
'The old woman kisses me.'

(184) *Wei su* ***ne'ing*** *ulli*. (**n-ulli*)
child DIST 1SG.ACC see
'The child sees me.'

The classes are significantly different in size: in my corpus, 120 transitive verbs do not take prefixes for P, while just 28 do. Table 16 sets out the known P-prefixing transitive verbs.

Table 16: Transitive verbs with agreement prefix for P

-alanna	'follow'	*-muku*	'kiss'
-ali	'shoot'	*-oyawa*	'surround'
-amuia	'play with'	*-ra'i*	'give birth to'
-ateli	'protect'	*-rani*	'wait for'
-ecing	'replace'	*-sifa*	'spear'
-fakki	'exceed'	*-ssaro*	'catch sight of'
-fara	'kill'	*-teli*	'block'
-finni	'grab, catch'	*-thaga*	'ask'
-foliwaqa	'hug'	*-thagga*	'live with'
-itti	'order'	*-thanni*	'wake up'
-'ia	'pity'	*-thappi*	'stick onto'
-lakki	'tie onto'	*-thiala*	'chase'
-lela	'gaze at'	*-tta*	'call'
-meli	'praise'	*-xiala*	'tickle'

6.1.2. Obligatory agreement on inherently reflexive verbs

Inherently reflexive verbs are a small class that obligatorily occur with an agreement prefix for one of their arguments. The defining characteristic of the class is that 3rd person S is co-indexed on the verb with a reflexive prefix. There are two subtypes of inherently reflexive verb.

The first subtype consists of the four intransitive verbs in Table 17, all of which must occur with an agreement prefix for S. Further investigation may reveal more verbs of this type.

Table 17: Intransitive inherently reflexive verbs

-e'endaga/-i'indaga †	'appear:SG/PL'
-ola	'return, go home'
-pala	'shy'
-tawaia	'not want'

† This verb has a singular/plural alternation in the vowels of the root, cf. *-ena/-ina* 'give:SG/PL' discussed in section 6.3.

In the 3rd person, S agrees with a reflexive prefix on the verb, as can be seen with *-pala* 'shy' in (185a). The 3rd person non-reflexive agreement prefix *ga-* cannot be used on this verb. In other persons, the appropriate prefix for the person/number of S is used, such as in 1st person singular in (185b).

(185) a. 3rd person agreement for S
Gang ***a-pala***. (**gapala*)
3SG.NOM 3SG.REFL-shy
'He is shy.'

b. 1st person agreement for S
Na-pala.
1SG-shy
'I am shy.'

The second subtype of inherently reflexive verbs consists of labile verbs, occurring in both an intransitive and a transitive frame. Table 18 sets out the four known members of this class.

Table 18: Labile inherently reflexive verbs

	Intransitive meaning	Transitive meaning
-abba	'vibrate, move'	'shake (sth./so.)'
-aminni	'emit a smell, stink'	'smell (sth./so.)'
-oia	'wash oneself'	'wash (so.)
-unni	'hide oneself'	'hide (sth./so.)'

The behavior of these verbs is illustrated in (186) with the verb *-abba* 'shake'. In the intransitive frame, *-abba* behaves the same as seen above for *-pala*: S takes a reflexive prefix on the verb in the 3rd person (186a), and the appropriate prefix for other persons of S (186b). The difference is that this verb also occurs in a transitive frame. In this, S takes the non-reflexive prefix on the verb in the 3rd person (186c) as for other persons of P (186d).

(186) a. Intransitive: 3rd person agreement for S
Illa ***abba***. (**gabba*)
DUMMY 3SG.REFL:shake
'There's an earthquake.' (lit. 'it's shaking')

b. Intransitive: 1st person agreement for S
Nang ***n-abba***.
1SG.NOM 1SG-shake
'I am moving.' (lit. 'I'm shaking')

c. Transitive: 3rd person agreement for P
Nang ***g-abba***. (**abba*)
1SG.NOM 3SG-shake
'I'm shaking him.'

d. Transitive: 1st person agreement for P
Gang ***n-abba***.
3SG.NOM 1SG-shake
'He's shaking me.'

The difference between the two subclasses of inherently reflexive verb is the availability of the transitive frame. The labile inherently reflexive verbs are perhaps better regarded as simple transitive verbs that are frequently used reflexively due to their typically 'middle' semantics. The intransitive inherently reflexive verbs perhaps began as such and eventually lost their ability to occur in a transitive frame.

6.2. P-adding prefixation

An optional agreement prefix can be added to intransitive verbs to increase the verb's valency by adding a P argument. Table 19 sets out the Nedebang P-adding prefixes. Formally similar to the obligatory agreement prefixes discussed in section 6.1, the P-adding prefixes differ only in the form of the 1PL.INCL+ *ta-* and in the presence of an additional /a/ in the plural prefixes.

Table 19: P-adding agreement prefixes

1SG	*na-*
2SG	*ha-*
3SG	*ga-*
3SG.REFL	*a-*
1PL.EXCL	*nia-*
1PL.INCL	*pia-*
1PL.INCL+	*ta-*
2PL	*hia-*
3PL	*gia-*
3PL.REFL	*ia-*

That the argument added by one of these prefixes is a P is apparent from the impossibility of using P-adding prefixes with transitive verbs. This is illustrated in (187a) for a non-prefixing transitive verb and in (188a) for a prefixal transitive verb. Verbs of these types require an accusative pronoun (187b) and an agreement prefix (188b), respectively, to encode P.

Encoding P with non-prefixing transitive verbs

(187) a. **Ning* ***ga****-buggi*.
1PL.EXCL.NOM 3SG-hit
'We hit him.'

b. *Ning* ***ge'ing*** *buggi*.
1PL.EXCL.NOM 3SG.ACC hit
'We hit him.'

Encoding P with prefixal transitive verbs

(188) a. **Ging* ***nia****-thiala*.
3PL.NOM 1PL.EXCL-chase
'They chased us.'

b. *Ging* ***ni-****thiala*.
3PL.NOM 1PL.EXCL-chase
'They chased us.'

Two types of valency-increasing prefixation can be differentiated with the P-adding prefixes. The first type is agent-preserving prefixation. In this, the S of the basic intransitive frame becomes the A in the derived transitive frame; both S and A are coded as independent (pro)nominal constituents, while the prefix-added P encodes a semantic patient. The verb *moli* 'help' illustrates this pattern:

(189) a. Intransitive *moli*
Gang *anna* ***moli***.
3SG.NOM come help
'He's come to help.'

b. Transitive *moli* with agreement prefix
Gang ***na-moli***.
3SG.NOM 1SG-help
'He helps me'

The second type is agent-adding prefixation. In this, the S of the basic intransitive frame becomes the P in the derived transitive frame, while the new argument is the A. The verb *dimmu* 'sink, drown' illustrates this pattern:

(190) a. Intransitive *dimmu*
Nei *hee* ***dimmu***.
1SG.POSS canoe sink
'My canoe sank.'

b. Transitive *dimmu* with agreement prefix
Nang *hee* *su* ***ga-dimmu***.
1SG.NOM canoe DIST 3SG-sink
'I sank the canoe.'

In some cases, the derived transitive frame may have a different meaning to the basic intransitive frame. For example, the verb *lilla* means 'hurt, injured' in its intransitive use (191a), but has a figurative meaning 'upset' when used with the seat of emotions noun *-ammi* 'inside' (191b). Only the latter figurative meaning is found in the derived transitive frame in my data (191c).

(191) a. Intransitive *lilla*
Tentara *su* *g-aia* ***lilla***.
soldier DIST 3SG-leg hurt
'The soldier's leg is hurt.'

b. Intransitive *lilla* with *-ammi* 'inside'
N-ammi ***lilla***.
1SG-inside hurt
'I'm upset.' (lit. 'my insides are hurt')

c. Transitive *lilla* with agreement prefix
N-ammi ***ha-lilla***.
1SG-inside 2SG-hurt
'I'm upset with you.'

On motion verbs, an optional agreement prefix is agent-adding and results in the meaning 'make P undergo motion'. The P argument of a derived caused motion verb may be marked as a 'displaced theme' with *mari* 'take' (see section 7.1 on serialization with *mari* 'take'). For example, the derived transitive form of *maa* 'come' (see section 2.5 on the stress shift with the prefixation of monosyllabic verbs) occurs by itself with the P *tummang* in (192a), but shares the P *qafita hamata* 'bow and arrow' with *mari* in (192b).

(192) a. Without *mari*
Tummang *su* ***gaa-ma***, *nang* *kaiar*.
water.bucket DIST 3SG-come 1SG.NOM carry.on.shoulder
'Bring that bucket, I will carry (it).'

b. With *mari*
Qafita hamata *su* ***mari*** ***gaa-ma***.
arrow bow DIST take 3SG-come
'Bring those bow and arrows.'

In my data, the plural P-adding prefixes are frequently used in encoding reciprocal relations. In the 3rd person, the reflexive prefixes are used to encode reciprocal in addition to reflexive relations, as in (193) and (194).

(193) *Kni su* ***ia-****pakki*.
child DIST 3PL.REFL-fight
'The children are fighting themselves/one another.'

(194) *Ging* ***ia-****karang*.
3PL.NOM 3PL.REFL-angry
'They are angry at themselves/one another.

The prefix *ta-* '1PL.INCL+' is only used in reciprocal contexts in my data. While *ta-* denotes that an action happens between many groups of people (195a), *pia-* in the same context refers to a single group involving the speaker and the interlocutors (195b). *Ning* '1PL.EXCL.NOM' is not an acceptable antecedent for *ta-* (195c).

(195) a. *Ping* ***ta-****birang*.
1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL+-talk
'We talk to one another (many groups of people).'

b. *Ping* ***pia-****birang*.
1PL.INCL.NOM 1PL.INCL-talk
'We talk to ourselves/one another (one group).'

c. **Ning* ***ta-****birang*.
1PL.EXCL.NOM 1PL.INCL+-talk

6.3. The prefix *ma-* and the verb 'give'

The Nedebang verb used to express 'give' (Table 20) has an irregular inflectional pattern and is the only verb to take the applicative *ma-*.

Table 20: 'Give' verb inflections

	Transitive	Ditransitive
1SG	*nena*	*manena*
2SG	*hena*	*mahena*
3SG	*gena*	*magena*
3SG.REFL	*ena*	*maena*
1PL.EXCL	*nina*	*manina*
1PL.INCL	*pina*	*mapina*
2PL	*hina*	*mahina*
3PL	*gina*	*magina*
3PL.REFL	*ina*	*maina*

Inflectionally, this verb is irregular because it has distinct, but related, singular /-ˈena/ 'give:SG' and plural /-ˈina/ 'give:PL' stems. The alternation between /e/ versus /i/ is analyzed as an alternation in the vowel of the stem, rather than the vowel of the prefix, because stress falls on the syllables with /e/ and /i/ vowels and not on the final syllable [na]. Prefixes are not normally stressed in Nedebang (see section 2.5), nor does /e/ normally alternate with /i/ in prefixes (see section 2.6.1). Thus, the alternative analysis in which the 'give' root is treated as

/-na/ and the /e/ and /i/ vowels are part of the prefixal inflections presents more problems than a simple irregular paradigm analysis like the one presented here.[18]

The verb has two main morphosyntactic contexts in which it is used. In both, the agreement prefix on *-ena*/*-ina* 'give' co-indexes a recipient. In its monotransitive frame, *-ena*/*-ina* 'give' occurs as the second verb of a serial verb construction (SVC) following a verb of dividing, sending etc.; it functions to introduce the recipient of the P of the previous verb, as in (196). The second context is a derived ditransitive frame in which *-ena*/*-ina* 'give' is marked with *ma-*. That is, when marked with *ma-*, *-ena*/*-ina* 'give' occurs with three arguments independently, i.e., without another verb in serialization, as in (197). In this example, *ma-* introduces the T and the agreement prefix the R.

(196) *Ping* *qar* *peci* *kni* ***g-ina***.
1SG.NOM rice divide child 3-give:PL
'We divide the rice amongst the children.'

(197) *Gang* *in* *nukku* ***ma-g-ena***.
1SG.NOM thing one APPL-3-give:SG
'He gave her something.'

The *ma-* prefix originates in a grammaticalized form of the verb *mari* 'take' (commonly used in serialization strategies for coding give events in other TAP languages, see Klamer and Schapper 2012). While derivation with *ma-* is the most common strategy to code a theme, it is also possible to use *mari* to introduce the theme as part of serialization with *-ena*/*-ina* 'give', as in (198). See section 7.1 for more on SVCs with *mari* 'take'.

(198) *Dena* ***mari*** ***n-ena***.
portion take 1-give:SG
'Give me some.'

In addition to its function encoding recipients, *-ena*/*-ina* 'give' is also used to express purposive causation in transfer events. This is a serialization construction in which the 'give' verb is followed by a transitive verb specifying the purpose of the transfer event. In (199) a couple are the recipients of the 'give' verb and also the agents, here additionally coded by the independent pronoun *ging*, of the second serial verb *sia* 'chew'.

(199) *Lamma* *raqqu* *alla* *mau* *su* ***g-ina*** *ging* *sia*.
CLF:HUM two female male DIST 3-give:PL 3ACT.PL chew
'(He) gave the couple (betel and betel vine) to eat.'

6.4. Applicative prefix *wa-*

The Nedebang applicative prefix *wa-* adds an NP with a stimulus thematic role to a clause. For instance, *te'i* is an intransitive verb 'scared' (200a), but when marked with *wa-* a second NP the stimulus that causes the event denoted by the verb can be added (200b).

(200) a. *Nang* ***te'i***.
1SG.NOM scared
'I'm scared.'

[18] There is another verb that shows a similar vowel root alternation: *-e'endaga*/*-i'indaga* 'appear:SG/PL', discussed in section 6.1.2.

b. *Nang* *bohoo* ***wa-te'i***.
1SG.NOM crocodile APPL-scared
'I'm scared of crocodiles.'

The *wa-* prefix does not always introduce a new participant. In (201), the stimulus indicated by *wa-* is not an entity, but the event denoted by the previous clause: *wa-* functions to introduce the cause of their hardship as having to spend the day pounding rice husks for food.

(201) *Weri* *ge'en* *su* *ging* *missi* *tappa* *su,* *ging* ***wa-susa***.
sun ? DIST 3PL.NOM sit pound DIST 3PL.NOM APPL-in.hardship
'That day they sat pounding (the rice husks), they suffered hardship from (it).'

7. Serial verb constructions

Like other TAP languages, Nedebang makes use of a range of serial verb constructions to express different event types. This section gives a preliminary account of the most frequent serializations in the language. Serializations involving *-ena*/*-ina* 'give' are dealt with in section 6.3. Completive serialization with *glala* 'finished' is dealt with in section 8. Further investigation into the language will no doubt reveal other SVCs that are not present in the small corpus currently available.

7.1. Serialization with *mari* 'take'

The verb *mari* 'take' occurs frequently in Nedebang to introduce additional NPs into a clause. There are several different NP-adding SVCs in which *mari* is used. In section 6.3, it was shown that *mari* or its grammaticalized variant *ma-* introduces the theme in clauses with *-ena*/*-ina* 'give'. In this section, I will detail the other functions of *mari* 'take' in my data.

The most frequent use of *mari* 'take' in serialization is to introduce an instrument into a clause.[19] For example:

(202) *Noang* *su* ***mari*** *meja* *ga-teli*.
cloth DIST take table 3SG-cover
'Cover the table with the cloth.'

(203) *Gang* *sibing* *su* ***mari*** *peda* *su* *todu*.
3SG.NOM pumice.stone DIST take machete DIST rub
'He sharpens the machete with the pumice stone.'

While most examples in the corpus have the instrument introduced by *mari* preceding the P, it also possible for the instrument phrase to intervene between the P and the main semantic verb. The examples in (204) illustrate the two available word orders.

(204) a. A Instrument P V
Nang *ci'a* ***mari*** *dahing su* *paia*.
1SG.NOM knife take meat DIST cut
'I cut the meat with a knife.'

[19] As is cross-linguistically common for items expressing 'with', *mari* is also used for NP conjoining, e.g., *racci mari buna* deer take sea cucumber 'deer and sea cucumber', *he'ing mari ne'ing* 2SG.NOM take 1SG.NOM 'you and me'.

b. A P Instrument V
Nang *dahing su* *ci'a* ***mari*** *paia*.
1SG.NOM meat DIST knife take cut
'I cut the meat with a knife.'

In its instrumental use, *mari* 'take' frequently occurs in the reduced form *ma*, as in the examples in (205) and (206).

(205) *Nang* *bamma* ***ma*** *tee* *guru*.
1SG.NOM axe INSTR tree chop.down
'I chopped the tree down with an axe.'

(206) *Atta* ***ma*** *i-alanna*.
3SG.REFL:eye INSTR 3PL.REFL-follow
'They follow each other with their eyes.'

Mari 'take' is also used in a causative construction with non-agentive posture and positional verbs. For example, *natta* 'stand up' is an intransitive verb used in reference to inanimates that are in a standing position, as in (207a).[20] In order to add an extra participant, namely a causer, *mari* 'take' must be added to the clause, as in (207b). This is a form of so-called "switch subject" serialization: the new participant, *nang* '1SG.NOM', is the A of *mari*, while the S of the intransitive clause becomes the P of *mari*, but remains the S of the posture verb *natta*.

(207) a. Intransitive posture verb
Tee *su* *suma* ***natta***.
tree DIST DIST.LOC stand.up
'The wood is standing up over there.'[21]

b. Caused posture with *mari*
Nang *tee* *su* ***mari*** ***natta***.
1SG.NOM tree DIST take stand.up
'I stood up the wood.'

Finally, *mari* 'take' may be used to introduce a displaced theme. A 'displaced theme' is taken here to refer to an entity that undergoes a change of location. A displaced theme introduced by *mari* is co-referent with the P of the transitive verb with which it is serialized. Flagging of a displaced theme with *mari* is typical but not obligatory. For example, compare the clauses with the transitive verb *mi'a* 'insert, put inside' in (208). In (208a) *sapatu*, the P of *mi'a*, occurs alongside the unmarked locative adjunct NP without any special flagging. By contrast, in (208b) the P *qarra* is flagged with *mari* and is followed as expected by the unmarked locative adjunct *rana*.

(208) a. Unmarked P
Gang *sapatu* *aia* ***mi'a***.
3SG.NOM shoe 3SG.REFL:foot insert
'He put the shoe on his foot.'

[20] *Natta* typically occurs with a locative demonstrative adverb (section 4.3) or unmarked locative NP adjunct denoting the location where S is standing (section 3.5).

[21] Note that *tee* can denote either 'tree' or 'wood'. If a living tree had been meant here, then the posture verb *tasi* 'stand' used for animates would be used in place of *natta*, as can be seen in example (62).

b. Marked P: displaced theme with *mari*
Qarra su ***mari*** *rana* ***mi'a***.
rice DEF take above insert
'Put the rice in the attic.'

Most often a serialization with a displaced theme involves *mari* followed by a motion verb. Repeating the contrastive examples from (192) in (209), it is clear that that marking of P with *mari* is again optional. The derived transitive form of *maa* 'come' occurs by itself with the P *tummang* in (209a), but shares the P *qafita hamata* 'bow and arrow' with *mari* in (209b).

(209) a. Without *mari*
Tummang su ***gaa-ma****, nang kaiar*.
water.bucket DIST 3SG-come 1SG.NOM carry.on.shoulder
'Bring that bucket, I will carry (it).'

b. With *mari*
Qafita hamata su ***mari*** ***gaa-ma***.
arrow bow DIST take 3SG-come
'Bring those bow and arrows.'

Although *mari* 'take' is by far the most common verb in these constructions, *pinni* 'hold' can also be used for displaced themes, as in (210). It is not clear what the difference is between *mari* 'take' and *pinni* 'hold'. There is one example in the corpus where they are used together (211), suggesting that they are not entirely identical in function.

(210) *Gang matta buia* ***pinni*** *gaa-gia piring su gammi*
3SG.NOM betel.vine betel.nut hold 3SG-go plate DIST 3SG-inside
maia,…
place
'He moves the betel vine and betel nut and puts (them) in a plate,…'

(211) *Mala su* ***mari*** ***pinni*** *yaa ni,…*
bamboo DIST take hold come.down PRIOR
'Come down with the bamboo, then…'

7.2. Motion serialization

Motion serialization is a common type of serialization in Nedebang. There are several types of motion serialization.

Motion-action serialization is a frequent form of SVC. As in other TAP languages, this involves a motion verb followed by a verb denoting an action which the motion led up to, as in (212) to (214).

(212) *Wai, n-amahacci cicci ba, nang* ***yaa*** *taa* ***wa'a***.
NEG 1SG-throat dry LNK 1SG.NOM come.down sea drink
'No, I was thirsty, so I came down to drink sea water.'

(213) *Gi'ing su* ***anna*** ***na-fara***.
3PL.ACC DIST arrive 1SG-kill
'It is them who come to kill me.'

(214) *Ging* ***gia*** *talaqu su* ***yanna****…*
3PL.NOM go earth DIST dig
'They went to dig up the earth …'

The second form of motion verb serialization in Nedebang is directional serialization. This is where a motion verb denotes the direction in which the action denoted by another verb is done. The directional verb directly follows the action verb for which it provides the orientation. Directional verbs are always intransitive, while the preceding action verbs can be either intransitive (215) or transitive (216).

(215) *Hallang ada **yilla** **cukku**, siaqqa g-oaqa mari olla*
eagle big fly descend chicken 3-child take 3REFL:return
cira gia.
ascend go
'The eagle flies down, and with the baby chicken goes up again.'

(216) *Bola su **cua** **maa***.
ball DIST throw come
'Throw the ball this way (towards speaker).'

It was shown in section 3.5 that goal locations can be encoded as unmarked adjuncts in many cases in Nedebang. In addition to that construction, the motion verb *gia* 'go, move away from deictic center' can be used in serialization to encode motion towards a goal. In this type of SVC, *gia* introduces the location towards which the motion denoted by the preceding motion verb is oriented, as in (217) and (218).

(217) *Nang **biri** hafang **gia***.
1SG.NOM run village go
'I run to the village.'

(218) *Yila **qarari** taa g-ammi **gia***.
water flow sea 3SG-inside go
'The water flows into the sea.'

Gia is also used in the construction *nasi gia*. This is a lexically restricted construction that is only used for two specific goals, *taa* 'sea' and *ang* 'market'. An example of this in a SVC is presented in (219).

(219) *Nang **guru** ang **nasi gia***.
1SG.NOM go.down market go.to
'I went down to the market.'

7.3. Causative serialization

The verb *ela* 'do, make' is used in causative serialization constructions in Nedebang. *Ela* is a transitive verb that in a causative SVC introduces the causer as its A and the causee as its P, while a following verb denotes the caused situation. The P of *ela* is the S of the second verb where intransitive (220) and the A where transitive (221).

(220) *Nang handuk **ela** **baqa***.
1SG.NOM towel make have.hole
'I make a hole in the towel.' (lit. 'I make the towel have a hole')

(221) *Nang n-aia **ela** batta **wana***.
1SG.NOM 1SG-leg make wound afflict
'I wounded my leg.' (lit. 'I made my leg be afflicted by a wound')

7.4. Adverbial serialization

Two types of adverbial serialization can be distinguished on the basis of the position of the verb expressing the "adverbial" meanings. [22]

The first type is adverbial SVCs that serve to elaborate the manner in which one of the verbs is carried out. In these manner serializations, an intransitive verb follows the main semantic verb of the clause, describing the manner in which the event is acted out. In (222) and (223), the verbs *daga* and *haraki* indicate the manner in which the acts of speaking and sitting were done respectively.

(222) *Hang* ***daga*** *birang*.
2SG.NOM clear speak
'You speak clearly.'

(223) *Gang* ***harakiri*** *missi*.
3SG.NOM crooked sit
'He sits crookedly.'

The second type of adverbial SVC sees the adverbial serial verb follow the main semantic verb. In these serializations, the adverbial serial verb does not appear to denote manner, but rather the intensity with which or the duration over which the event denoted by the preceding verb is acted out. In (224) and (225), the verbs *dia* and *yung* indicate the speed and length of time in which the acts of walking and sitting were done respectively.

(224) *Apa* ***dia****!*
walk fast
'Walk fast!'

(225) *Nang* *missi* ***yung****,* *n-atta* *quda*.
1SG.NOM sit long.time 1SG-eye sleepy
'When I sit for a long time, I get sleepy.'

It may be that the two types of adverbial serialization identified here have nothing to do with semantics. Rather the different positions may simply represent lexical differences in the behavior of these verbs, or ongoing grammaticalization into adverbs.

8. Aspect marking

Nedebang has no grammaticalized tense, mood or evidentiality marking. Time can be expressed in a clause by means of temporal adverbs (e.g., *waddi* 'just now', *bacci* 'tomorrow', *tula* 'previously, in the past' etc.), but these are not obligatory. The most important and most frequently marked category is aspect. This is expressed by a set of dedicated free adverbs and a verb 'finished'.

The basic opposition in Nedebang aspect marking is between *waua* ~ *wowa* 'already' (realized as [w͡aua ~ wo:ʷa]) and *yadda* 'still' (realized as [jad:a ~ jed:a]). These differ syntactically in that while *wowa* is postverbal (226a), *yadda* is preverbal (226b). As discussed

[22] For Bunaq, Schapper (2010: 448-451) identifies two types of manner serialization (Participant-oriented manner serialization versus Event-oriented manner serialization) that are distinguished on the basis of position relative to the main semantic verb. The Nedebang situation may be similar to this.

in section 3.7, where *yadda* appears in a postverbal position, it takes on the negative polarity meaning 'not yet' (226c).

(226) a. Postverbal 'already'
Na-thaia *minna* ***wowa***.
1SG-grandfather dead already
'My grandfather is already dead.'

b. Preverbal 'still'
Na-thaia ***yadda*** *bangnga*.
1SG-grandfather still alive
'My grandfather is still alive.'

c. Postverbal 'still'
Na-thaia *minna* ***yadda***.
1SG-grandfather dead still
'My grandfather is not yet dead.'

Preverbal *yadda* 'still' also appears in imperative constructions where it seems to express the need for immediacy, as in (227).

(227) *Wei,* *hang* *yaa* *ni,* ***yedda*** *yaa* *ni!*
child 2SG.NOM come.down PRIOR still come.down PRIOR
'Kid, you come down, come down now!'

In addition to *wowa* 'already', Nedebang has several other morphemes in the perfective aspectual domain. *Galla* appears to be a preverbal perfect aspect marker, denoting that a situation holds up into the present time. *Galla* can stand on its own in the clause (228a) and cooccur with the postverbal marker *wowa* 'already' (228b). More data are needed to clarify the precise meanings and uses of *galla*.

(228) a. Preverbal *galla*
N-ammi ***galla*** *dia*.
1SG-inside PRF light
'I am relieved.' (lit. 'my insides are light')

b. Preverbal and postverbal *galla …wowa*
N-ammi ***galla*** *dia* ***wowa***.
1SG-inside PRF light already
'I am already relieved.' (lit. 'my insides are already light')

Glala is an independent verb meaning 'finished' (229). It is used as a serial verb denoting completive aspect. Most typically, its aspectual use is observed in clauses denoting a sequence: event X finished, then event Y. Examples are given in (230) and (231).

(229) *Nei* *hing* *hoyang* ***glala***.
1SG.POSS breath almost finished
'I have almost stopped breathing.' (lit. 'my breath is almost finished')

(230) *Mari* *ga-anna* ***glala,*** *g-itti* *ging* *sia*.
take 3SG-arrive finished 3-order 3PL.NOM bite
'Once (they) had brought (the betel), (they) ordered them to eat.'

(231) *Hala* *utha* ***glala,*** *sangi* *e'endaga*.
rain precipitate finished rainbow 3SG.REFL:appear
'After it rained, a rainbow appeared.'

Qaua[23] is an infrequent marker of aspect in Nedebang that occurs in clause-initial position.[24] Glossed tentatively as 'ACCOMP' here, *qaua* appears to denote that an event has successfully come to pass. For example, in response to the question 'have you eaten?', an approriate Nedebang response would be to say *qaua* to signal that the speaker has indeed eaten. *Wowa* 'already' would not be an acceptable response, according to native speakers. (232) and (233) represent the two textual examples that are found in the corpus.

(232) ***Qaua*** *ba* *hing* *sama* *missi.*
ACCOMP LNK 2PL.NOM PROX.LOC sit
'Now you have come to be seated here.'

(233) ***Qaua*** *gang* *ga-birang* *glala,* *gang* *mari* *ga-anna.*
ACCOMP 3SG.NOM 3SG-speak finished 3SG.NOM take 3SG-arrive
'Once he had come to finish speaking to him, he brought (him) in.'

9. Discussion

This sketch has provided a preliminary overview of the Nedebang language. More extensive documentation of Nedebang is an urgent priority for Timor-Alor-Pantar linguistic studies. The highly endangered status of the language means that the oldest people in originally Nedebang-speaking villages represent, in all likelihood, the last speakers of the language. The place of the Nedebang language in the TAP family is also in need of clarification. While it certainly subgroups with the other Alor-Pantar languages, its relationships to other Pantar languages remain equivocal. Holton et al. (2012) consider that Nedebang and the other Pantar languages are each family-level isolates within the Alor-Pantar subgroup. It seems likely that the failure to identify a subgroup or linkage amongst Pantar languages was due to a lack of systematic phonologies and detailed lexical materials. With these now available for a reasonable number of Pantar languages, we can expect a considerable restructuring of the relationships of the western-most languages of the TAP family (Schapper in prep).

Nedebang stands out from other AP languages for its large consonant inventory of both singleton and geminate phonemes. Phonemic geminates are also known in Western Pantar, but the number is greater in Nedebang. The 5-vowel phoneme inventory, without contrastive vowel length, is typical of many Pantar and Straits languages. Phonemic stress with a relatively low functional load such as found in Nedebang is typical of the AP languages. In terms of word shape, Nedebang is more conservative than its neighbors, Western Pantar and Teiwa. Teiwa has lost most unstressed final vowels and now allows a wide array of consonants in word-final codas, while Western Pantar has lost final liquids. Neither is true of Nedebang.

Morphologically, Nedebang is an average Pantar language in terms of the number and nature of affixal morphology it possesses. Like other languages of western Pantar, Nedebang lacks suffixes, including the dependency and derivational suffixes typically found in eastern Pantar and Straits languages. Nedebang's two inflectional paradigms for obligatory and

[23] *Qaua* here is homophonous with and likely related to *qaua* 'good'. There is a persistent association between lexemes meaning 'good' and perfective aspects in Alor-Pantar languages. For example, Wersing *kana* marking perfective aspect appears to be a realis marked form of *kang* 'good' (Schapper and Hendery 2014: 500-501).

[24] Nedebang *qaua* appears to be cognate with Western Pantar *kauwa*, a postverbal negative marker which carries a completive sense (Holton 2014: 51-52).

optional prefixes are of a form similar to those in other Pantar languages, though their functions differ slightly. Like other Pantar and Straits languages, Nedebang has 3rd person reflexive prefixes that consist of a single vowel. The contrast between indirect and direct possession on nouns that is found in Nedebang is also typical of Pantar and Straits languages. The Nedebang applicative prefixes *ma-* and *wa-* do not have exact parallels in its nearest neighbors, Western Pantar and Teiwa, but they are not exceptional in the family at large: cognates of *ma-* and *wa-* are found on 'give' verbs in relatives in the Eastern Timor and Eastern Alor languages, respectively.

Syntactically, Nedebang has a relatively typical profile for languages of the family. It keeps the SOV word order that is found in other members and, like them, also allows a small number of grammatical items to occur postverbally. The Nedebang pronominal paradigms are similar in number and function to those of other Pantar languages. The ability for locative NPs to be encoded as unmarked adjuncts is something that is frequently seen in Pantar languages, but appears to be absent elsewhere in the family. The Nedebang pattern of differential marking of S with nominative versus accusative pronouns is similar to the pronominal system of Western Pantar (using what Holton 2014 labeled Actor and Undergoer pronouns). Further research is needed to clarify the exact parameters governing pronoun choices in Nedebang. Finally, Nedebang has a set of demonstrative morphemes similar in form to Western Pantar, but seems to be lacking the rich system of elevational marking that is found in languages like Western Pantar and Blagar.

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