

PLACE REFERENCE AND LOCATION FORMULATION
IN KULA CONVERSATION

by

NICHOLAS JAY WILLIAMS

A.B., Dartmouth College, 2008

M.A., University of Colorado, 2011

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Linguistics

2016

This dissertation entitled:

Place Reference and Location Formulation in Kula Conversation

written by Nicholas Jay Williams
has been approved for the Department of Linguistics

Dr. Barbara Fox

Dr. David Rood

Dr. Andrew Cowell

Dr. Nick Enfield

Dr. Gary Holton

Dr. Javier Rivas

Date_____

The final copy of this dissertation has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

IRB protocol #10-0435

Williams, Nicholas Jay (Ph.D., Linguistics)

Place Reference and Location Formulation in Kula Conversation

Thesis directed by Professors Barbara A. Fox and David S. Rood

Kula is an endangered Papuan (or non-Austronesian) language spoken in the highlands of eastern Alor island in southeastern Indonesia. Along with the closely related Sawila and Wersing languages, it is a member of the recently established Timor-Alor-Pantar language family. Published work on Kula is limited to a wordlist (Stokhof 1975) and an analysis of verbal person marking morphology (Donohue 1996). This dissertation represents the first in depth study of the Kula language. The description and analyses of Kula linguistic practices are based on an annotated corpus of video-recorded Kula language use, collected over the course of nearly two years of fieldwork in Desa Tanglapui, a Kula village in eastern Alor.

In addition to the first detailed grammatical description of Kula, this dissertation reports on a study of place reference in everyday conversation among speakers of Kula. While person reference as a pervasive feature of everyday conversation has received significant attention in recent years (e.g. Sacks and Schegloff 1979, Schegloff 1996, Stivers and Enfield 2007, Enfield 2012), and linguistic and gestural ways of referring to space have been studied extensively across a range of languages (e.g. Levinson 2003, Kita ed. 2003, Levinson and Wilkins 2006), very little work has examined the formulation of reference to places in conversational interaction (exceptions include Schegloff 1972, and, very recently, Blythe et al. 2016, San Roque 2016, Sicoli 2016). This dissertation represents one of the first in depth studies of place reference from an interactional perspective.

The interactional approach to place reference taken here has multiple goals. First, it provides an alternative approach to grammatical description. Rather than identifying forms by

elicitation or analysis of monologic texts, the interactional approach begins with a persistent problem of social interaction (e.g. how to refer to a place) and identifies recurrent linguistic and gestural resources deployed in solving that problem. In my analysis of over 200 minutes of video-recorded interaction in Kula, I identify and describe practices for referring to place, including use of place names, elevationals, demonstratives, landmarks, and two formally and functionally distinct types of pointing.

I then propose a set of principles underlying the distribution of these practices across distinct sequential environments. While the principles identified here for doing reference to place in Kula are preliminary, they point to some important differences with the reference to persons. While a preference for recognition is one fundamental principle underlying formulation of person reference across languages, many instances of reference to place in Kula can be characterized as vague and not fully recognitional. On the other hand, significant evidence points to the relevance of a preference for minimization in place reference in Kula. Other principles underlying the cases of place reference examined here include whether the place has a conventional name or not, whether the reference is functioning as a setting of location, as well as what relative epistemic status each of the speakers inhabits. My analysis of place reference in Kula points to the need for more comparative work across languages and domains of reference.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would never have been possible without the help of many people. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep and sincere appreciation and indebtedness to all those who supported this project from inception through completion.

I am deeply indebted to the Kula speakers who worked with me to document their language. On my very first visit, †Om Andreias Malaikosa taught me my very first words in Kula and accompanied me on my first visit to eastern Alor. Bapak Oktavius Mauturin gave me a place to stay, fed me, and inspired me as few others could. Ibu Mary Tangkuya, Bapak Paulus Tangkuya and Polikarpus Tangkuya began teaching me their language with true patience and commitment. Later, I was introduced to Penipius Mosali, to whom a special thanks are due. Penipius accompanied throughout much of the project and did much of the heavy lifting. In addition to the daily linguistic work, he worked tirelessly both to make me feel welcome and to introduce me to important members of the community. My dear friend Elyas Asamau first introduced me to the family of Bapak Eduard Lapuimolana, who welcomed me into their home, taught me their language, fed me, clothed me, and made me laugh when I needed it the most. The entire community of *Desa Tanglapui* took me in and treated me as one of their own.

Before arriving in *Desa Tanglapui* I was helped by many along the way. I am grateful to June Jacob who welcomed me in Kupang and was always eager to discuss my research plans. In Kalabahi, Christian Dami and Ibu Lily welcomed me into their home and treated me like a son. Their home remained a refuge for me throughout my time in Alor. Another strong supporter in Alor was Bapak Eddy Kande, Rektor of the Universitas Tribuana. Before departing, in Boulder Scott Youngman was always supportive and full of useful information. In Jakarta, I was lucky to

have the support of Universitas Katolik Atma Jaya and the friendship of Yanti, Yassir Nasanius, and Tim Mckinnon.

The first inklings of this project were born during my time at Dartmouth College. I am indebted to the entire faculty in the Linguistics Program for their encouragement and support as a young, lost, and confused undergrad. Special thanks go to David Peterson, who has never stopped believing in me. Dartmouth also introduced me to Anna Guenther, without whom I would never have survived those four years. After Dartmouth, I was given the opportunity for a much needed break – thanks for that opportunity are due to Andrew Garrod.

Once I arrived in Boulder, I found a very welcoming and supportive environment in the linguistics department. Thanks are due to Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Rebecca Scarborough, Bhuvana Narasimhan, and Laura Michaelis who led me through a transformative period in my linguistic education. Kira Hall supported my work by welcoming me into the CLASP lab. David Rood was with me from the beginning, inspiring through example and always willing to sit down for a chat about the finer points of Kula grammar. Barbara Fox deserves special mention. Her course with the rather mundane title “syntactic theory”, first opened my eyes to conversation analysis and the study of language and social interaction. Barbara has cheered me on through thick and thin. Her combination of intellect, humor, and compassion are unmatched. I could not ask for a better mentor. I am also grateful to Javier Rivas, Nick Enfield, and Gary Holton for their support and helpful feedback on my dissertation.

The students of the linguistics department also contributed by being part of a vibrant intellectual community in which the ideas in this dissertation first came into being. Michael Thomas and Finn Thyé welcomed me on my first day and showed me the way. Steve Duman and Kate Phelps have been true friends, in academics and life. Ashwini Vaidya was always

encouraged breaks and hikes in the mountains. I am especially grateful to Rich Sandoval, who engaged in countless debates and discussions on topics covered in this dissertation. He is a true friend and exemplary scholar whose work continues to inspire me. After joining the CLASP lab, I was lucky to receive emotional and intellectual support on a daily basis from its members, who have included Jenny Davis, Susanne Stadlbauer, Joshua Raclaw, Irina Wagner, Jessica Holman, Velda Khoo, Bazil Manietta, Nina Jagtiani, Lal Zimman, and Marcu Avelar. Other colleagues in the linguistics department who have contributed to my intellectual formation in various ways through interaction in and out of class include Will Styler, Timothy O’Gorman, Jonnia Torres, Kevin Gould.

Outside the linguistics department I must thank Margaretha Sudarsih, who introduced me to Indonesia and the Boulder Indonesian community. Among the many friends, special thanks are due to Gandasari Win and U Kyaw Win for the unrelenting support.

Institutional and financial support came in the form of a Fulbright Student Research Fellowship (2011-2012), an Individual Graduate Student Fellowship from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, a Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages Program (Award Number #1159510), and a Beverly Sears Grant from the University of Colorado Boulder. Initial fieldwork in Alor was conducted with support from the Department of Linguistics at the University of Colorado Boulder and the Consortium for the Teaching of Indonesian and Malay summer program in Salatiga, Indonesia. During the final analysis and writing stages, I received much needed support from a Dissertation Completion Fellowship from the Graduate School at the University of Colorado Boulder.

Finally, I cannot fully state my indebtedness and the deepness of my gratitude to my family for enabling me to pursue this work and believing in me the whole way. From an early age, my parents embedded in me a curiosity and desire to learn that burns til this day. They have never relented in encouraging me to pursue my dreams, no matter how far from home they have taken me. From my grandmother, I learned empathy and how to carry on in difficult situations. My four siblings (Adam, Ben, Amanda, Char) deserve no less thanks for their encouragement and inspiration. †Meiniarti Subijanto became a second mother through her constant love and support.

Rianne Subijanto has held my hand the whole way. This project is as much hers as it is mine. She took on everything with me, successes and failures, and exhibited an enormous amount of patience and understanding when things were tough. Just as the dissertation itself was taking form, she delivered Daya into this world. Together, they brought me joy and meaning when I needed it the most. This work would never exist without them. I love you.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Aims and Motivation for the Study	1
1.2	The Kula Documentation Project	4
1.2.1	Previous Research on Alor-Pantar Languages	7
1.2.2	Previous Work on Kula and a Typological Overview	8
1.2.3	Documenting Everyday Conversation in Kula	10
1.3	The Language of Space	11
1.4	Reference in Conversation	14
1.4.1	A “Matter of Selection”	15
1.4.2	Reference as an Interactional Achievement	17
1.4.3	Factors Determining Choice of Formulation	18
1.4.3.1	Preferences	19
1.4.3.2	Form/position	21
1.5	Toward an Approach to Place Reference	22
1.6	Fieldwork and Data Collection	27
1.6.1	Elevation, Geography, and Village Layout in Lantoka ...	29
1.6.2	Conversational Data Analyzed in this Study	37
1.7	Overview of the Dissertation	44
II.	A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF KULA	45
2.1	The Language Scene	45
2.1.1	Fieldwork	46
2.2	Phonology	47
2.2.1	Consonants	47
2.2.1.1	Bilabials	48
2.2.1.1	Consonant Allophony	47
2.2.1.2	Alveolars	50
2.2.1.3	Palatals /j/ and /dʒ/	51
2.2.1.4	Velars	52
2.2.1.5	Nasals, Liquids, and Glides	53
2.2.2	Vowels	54
2.2.2.1	Vowel Minimal Pairs	55
2.2.2.2	Vowel Allophony	56
2.2.3	Phonotactics	58
2.2.4	Syllable Structure	60
2.2.5	Stress	62
2.2.6	Morphophonemics	63
2.2.6.1	Word-shape Alternations	63
2.2.6.2	Vowel Harmony	66
2.2.7	Orthography	66
2.3	Basic Clausal Syntax	67
2.3.1	Verbal Predicates	67

2.3.2	Locational and Existential Predicates	70
2.3.2.1	Locative/Existential Verb <i>míya</i>	70
2.3.2.2	Posture Verbs	71
2.3.2.3	Other Existential Verbs	72
2.3.2.4	Specifying Location	73
2.3.3	Nominal Predicates (Equational Clauses)	74
2.3.4	Negation	75
2.4	Noun Phrases	76
2.4.1	Attributes	77
2.4.1.1	Adjective-like Attributes	77
2.4.1.2	Relative Clauses	78
2.4.2	Numerals and Quantification	79
2.4.2.1	Kula Numerals	79
2.4.2.2	Non-numeral Quantifiers	81
2.4.3	Demonstratives and Determiners	84
2.4.3.1	Pronominal Demonstratives	84
2.4.3.2	Adnominal Demonstratives	86
2.4.3.3	Adverbial and Manner Demonstratives	87
2.4.4	Prenominal Topic Marker <i>gána</i>	88
2.4.5	Possession	88
2.5	Pronouns	90
2.5.1	Nominative Pronouns	92
2.5.2	Potentive Pronouns	93
2.5.3	Focus Pronouns	95
2.5.4	Possessive Pronouns	96
2.5.5	Numeral Pronouns	96
2.5.6	Pronoun Combination	98
2.6	Verbal Prefixes: Person Marking and Applicatives	98
2.6.1	Agreement Patterns	100
2.6.1.1	Agreement on Intransitive Verbs	103
2.6.1.1.1	Class I Intransitive Verbs	103
2.6.1.1.2	Class II Intransitive Verbs	105
2.6.1.1.3	Class III Intransitive Verbs	106
2.6.1.1.4	Class IV and Class V Intransitive Verbs	107
2.6.1.2	Agreement on Transitive Verbs	108
2.6.1.2.1	Class I Transitive Verbs (IA and IB)	111
2.6.1.2.2	Class Tr-II Transitive Verbs	114
2.6.1.2.3	Class Tr-III Transitive Verbs	115
2.6.1.3	Valence-Increasing Uses of Agreement Prefixes	116
2.6.1.3.1	Set III Prefixes	116
2.6.1.3.2	Set IV Prefixes	116
2.6.2	Applicative Prefixes	118
2.6.2.1	<i>Le-</i>	118
2.6.2.2	<i>Mi-</i>	121
2.6.2.3	<i>We-</i>	121

2.7 Aspectual Marking	123
2.7.1 <i>di</i> ‘IPFV’	123
2.7.2 <i>tenu</i> ‘PFV’	125
2.7.3 <i>gaya</i> ‘PROSP’	127
2.7.4 <i>giya</i> ‘PROG’	127
2.8 Serial Verb Constructions	128
2.8.1 Adding Arguments	128
2.8.2 Aspectual Serialization	129
2.8.3 Causative Serialization	131
2.8.4 Resultative Serialization	132
2.8.5 Motion Verb Serialization	133
2.8.6 Posture Verb Serialization	134
2.9 Conclusion and Discussion	135
 III. GRAMMATICAL PRACTICES FOR REFERRING TO PLACE IN KULA	137
3.1 Introduction	137
3.1.1 Identifying Practices for Formulating Reference to Place	138
3.2 Place Names.....	144
3.3 Landscape and Geographic Features	149
3.4 Elevationals.....	151
3.5 Demonstratives	161
3.6 Pointing.....	161
3.6.1 Manual Pointing in Reference to Place.....	163
3.6.2 Non-manual Pointing in References to Place	169
3.6.3 Toward an Understanding of Kula Pointing in Place Reference	175
3.7 Landmarks.....	178
3.8 Conclusion	178
 IV. SOME FACTORS AFFECTING FORMULATION OF PLACE REFERENCE IN KULA CONVERSATION.....	180
4.1 Introduction.....	180
4.1.1 Reference in Conversation: Comparing Person and Place	182
4.2 ‘Settings’ and ‘Locations’ in Referring to Place.....	185
4.3 Named and Unnamed Places	193
4.3.1 Referring to Named Places	195
4.3.2 Referring to Unnamed Places	200
4.4 Epistemics and Action in Location Formulation	211
4.4.1 Equal Epistemic Status	212
4.4.2 Epistemic Asymmetry.....	216
4.4.3 Formulating Location for an Unknowing Recipient.....	222
4.4.4 Adjusting Epistemic Expectations	229
4.4.4.1 Claiming Epistemic Access and	

	Derailaing a Complaint	230
	4.4.4.2 Displaying and Responding to Epistemic Incongruence.....	239
	4.5 Conclusion	243
V.	CONCLUSION.....	247
	5.1 Summary of Findings	247
	5.2 Limitations	252
	5.3 Future Research	253
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	254

TABLES

Table

1.	Kula Elevationals	29
2.	Kula conversation recordings	38
3.	Kula consonant phonemes	48
4.	Kula vowel phonemes.....	54
5.	Distribution of consonant phonemes	58
6.	Vowel sequences in Kula.....	59
7.	Examples of Kula stress	63
8.	Kula elevationals.....	73
9.	Kula numerals	79
10.	Kula pronominal demonstratives	84
11.	Additional demonstratives	84
12.	Kula possessor prefixes	89
13.	Kula pronouns	90
14.	Kula plural-marked pronouns	91
15.	Kula numeral pronouns.....	96
16.	Kula person marking prefixes.....	100
17.	Intransitive verb classes in Kula	103
18.	Intransitive verb subclasses IA and IB.....	104
19.	Sample Verbs in Class Intr-II	105
20.	Basic transitive verb classes.....	108
21.	Sample Class Tr-IB verbs	113
22.	Sample Class Tr-II verbs	114
23.	Sample Class Tr-III verb roots.....	115
24.	Sample verbs occurring with set IV prefixes.....	116
25.	Aspectual serial verbs	129
26.	Sample place names in Kula	145
27.	Deictic motion verbs in Kula	152
28.	Kula derived non-verbal elevationals	155

FIGURES

Figure

1.	Enfield (2012)'s summary of person reference principles	18
2.	Map of Alor.....	28
3.	Map of <i>Desa Tanglapui</i>	28
4.	Satellite view map of <i>Lantoka</i> and <i>Samuda</i>	29
5.	Map of eastern Alor with <i>Mampere</i> labeled	32
6.	Hand drawn map of <i>Desa Tanglapui</i>	33
7.	Hand drawn map of <i>Desa Tanglapui</i> with locations marked	35
8.	Hand drawn map of <i>Desa Tanglapui</i>	33

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of transitive verb
ADD	additive
APPL	applicative
AFF	affectedness marker
ATTR	attribute
CAUS	causative
COMPL	completive
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direction
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DP	discourse particle
DU	dual
FIN	final
FOC	focus
IMP	imperative
INAL	inalienable
HIGH	elevation higher than DC
INCL	inclusive
INCOMPL	incompletive
INTER	interjection
INV	inverse
IPFV	imperfective
LEVEL	elevation level with DC
LOC	locative
LOW	elevation lower than DC
NEG	negative
NFIN	non-final
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
OBL	oblique
P	patient-like argument of transitive verb
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRIOR	priorative
PROSP	prospective
PROH	prohibitive

PROX	proximal
R	recipient argument
REL	relativizer
RECP	reciprocal
RDP	reduplicant
S	single argument of intransitive verb
SG	singular
T	Theme argument in a ditransitive construction

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The list below provides the symbols and conventions used in transcription of excerpts of everyday Kula conversation analyzed in this dissertation. The list represents a subset of the standard transcription symbols and conventions used in Conversation Analysis and other studies of language in social interaction. Transcription is always a work in progress and work on the Kula corpus of everyday interaction is ongoing. Updated transcriptions and annotated videos can be found in the Kula collection at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), current link: <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0311>.

[]	Overlapping speech
(.7)	Silence
-	cut off
=	latching (no gap between turns)
xx	indiscernible speech
(text)	difficult to discern speech. Text represents a best guess arrived at through work with native-speaker consultants
((text))	description of non-verbal behavior
.hh	inhalation
hh	aspiration
?	rising final intonation
.	falling final intonation

NOTE ON DATA CITATION AND ACCESS

All examples and excerpts presented in this dissertation can be accessed through the Endangered Languages Archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. The current link to the Kula collection of materials is: <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0311>. Excerpts of conversation are identified by their filename/ID and a timestamp, as in the following example:

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [00:32.200-00:42.750]

The first two letters identify the original data collector (in this case, Nick Williams). The second three letters identify the primary language used in the recording (tpg is the ISO code for Kula). The additional numbers identify the date the recording was originally made (here January 11, 2013). The 01 indicates that this was the first of multiple recordings made that day. The time stamp identifies the start and end time for each excerpt. Each excerpt can be searched for in ELAR using the filename. Users can then identify the particular excerpt within the recording using the time stamp provided.

The entire corpus is set as open access, with permission from the Kula speakers who appear in the recordings. Examples in the sketch grammar (chapter 2) can be searched for in the corpus.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and motivation for the study

This dissertation is a study of language and social interaction in Kula (Alor-Pantar, Indonesia), an endangered and previously undescribed language spoken in the eastern highlands of Alor in southeastern Indonesia. It consists of two main parts: (1) a basic grammatical description of the language (Chapter 2) and (2) an exploratory study of place reference in everyday conversation in Kula (Chapters 3 and 4). As such, it brings together two historically distinct fields of inquiry and approaches to the study of language – language documentation and description and the study of language and social interaction.

In recent years, a number of approaches to the description and documentation of previously un- or under-studied languages have embraced interactional data and methods. These approaches are diverse in their aims, but all prioritize interactional data and methods in the description and analysis of grammatical practices¹ in understudied languages. Two prominent interactional approaches use theory and methods from conversation analysis and interactional linguistics to study either (1) the use of some particular grammatical forms in conversation or (2) the nature of some aspect of social interaction (e.g. turn-taking, repair, person reference, etc.) in the language under study. Examples of the first type of work include Enfield's (Enfield 2003) study of demonstratives in Lao and Gipper's work on evidential enclitics in Yurakaré (Gipper

¹ My understanding of grammar and grammatical practice draws on work by Fox (2007) and Ford, Fox, and Thompson (1996), among others, in which grammar is defined as a “physically embodied display,” including non-verbal aspects of communicative behavior, such as gestures, eye-gaze, body orientation, prosody, etc.

2011). Examples of the second type of work include examinations of conversational structures in a single language, such as Blythe's study of person reference in Murrinhpatha (Blythe 2009), as well as prominent comparative studies of conversation across a typologically diverse set of languages (e.g. Stivers & Enfield 2007 on person reference, Fox & Wouk forthcoming on self-repair, Dingemanse & Enfield 2015 on other-initiated repair).

This dissertation falls in the second group of studies, focusing on place reference in everyday conversation in Kula. Its motivations are both theoretical and empirical. Theoretically, place reference in conversation is an almost entirely unexplored topic in the study of language and social interaction (but see Schegloff 1972, Heritage 2007, Enfield 2012). Work on reference in conversation has focused primarily on person reference (Sacks & Schegloff 1979, Schegloff 1996, Stivers & Enfield 2007, Lerner & Kitzinger 2007, Blythe 2009), while the linguistic expression of spatial concepts has been studied primarily from a typological and cognitive perspective (Levinson & Wilkins 2006, Anderson & Keenan, 1985, Diessel 1999, Dixon 2010, among others). While some work has looked at the use of spatial grammar in interaction (e.g. Hanks 1990, 1992, 2005, Enfield 2003), there does not exist a focused study of place reference in conversation outside of Schegloff's early exploration of 'location formulations' in American English (Schegloff 1972).²

Empirically, Kula offers a particularly interesting linguistic and cultural context in which to explore the relationship between the grammatical encoding of space and the interactional achievement of place reference. Among other resources for formulating reference to place in

² There has, however, been some recent work in this area, for example in a forthcoming special issue of *Open Linguistics* on place reference in conversation. As of May 2016, two papers have been published, one on responses to 'where-questions' in Duna (San Roque 2016) and another on giving directions in Murrinhpatha (Blythe et al. 2016). The scope of these studies is narrower, however, looking at place reference only in particular sequential environments.

conversation, speakers of Kula use an elaborate system of verbal and non-verbal ‘elevationals’ (cf. Schapper 2014). These elevationals are a feature shared with other Alor-Pantar languages, and are uniquely suited to the mountainous environment in which these speakers live.³ While all Alor-Pantar languages encode an elevational distinction in their deictic motion verbs (minimally six verbs for ‘come’ and ‘go’ depending on elevation, HIGH, LOW, or LEVEL), the languages display varying levels of complexity in additional sets of elevational locationals (or simply ‘elevationals’) and demonstratives. Kula elaborates the system in a unique way, using combinations of the deictic motion verbs along with a locational prefix *ní-/nu-* to produce an extensive paradigm of elevationals that are used both as modifiers and locational nouns. These elevationals are used to formulate locations, either to specify the settings of an event or to locate other entities (e.g. objects or persons). The use of these elevationals to locate objects or persons invokes an absolute frame of reference (Levinson 2003, Levinson & Wilkins 2006). As such, my analysis of the use of Kula elevationals in reference to place in conversation represents one of the first studies of the use of an absolute frame of reference system in conversational interaction.

Another empirical fact motivating the focus on place reference in Kula concerns the frequently observed practice of non-manual head pointing. While cross-linguistic work on pointing is still too limited to evaluate how common this type of pointing is, either in terms of its form or function, the description of the practice presented here offers an important point for comparison to pointing in place reference in other languages. Enfield, Kita, & De Ruiter (2007) provide a useful categorization of pointing gestures using data from Lao, based on formal and functional characteristics, into B-points and S-points. However, their account does not mention

³ Note, I am not making a claim here about the origin of these forms or any causal relationship between the environment and the structure of a language’s spatial grammar, since this is outside the scope of the present study.

any non-manual points. This makes the preliminary description of non-manual head pointing in Kula an important contribution to our understanding of the cross-linguistic typology of pointing as well as the multimodality inherent in reference to place in conversation.

The following sections provide further context for the study, starting with an overview of the Kula documentation project and Kula grammar in the context of research on the Alor-Pantar languages, highlighting several notable features of Kula within the family (1.2). I then situate the study of place reference within two streams of research: (1) the cross-linguistic study of spatial grammar (1.3) and (2) conversation analytic studies of reference in interaction (1.4). Drawing on both of these fields of research, I then articulate an approach to place reference in conversation to be taken up in chapters 3 and 4 (1.5). Section 1.6 provides crucial background information on the fieldwork, data collection, and aspects of Kula geography and daily life. Finally, I conclude with an overview of the rest of the dissertation (1.7).

1.2 The Kula documentation project

This study is part of a larger project to document the Kula language, focusing on the everyday life of the language in informal interaction⁴. The project was conceived of originally as an experiment in ‘interactional language documentation.’ Initially, the project had two major goals: (1) document everyday conversation in Kula using high quality video recording, and (2) use this video documentation of everyday conversation to produce a grammatical description and an account of place reference in Kula. Over the course of the fieldwork (described more in

⁴ Much has been said regarding the ‘genre’ of speech known as ‘conversation’. Rather than engage with the debate on what counts as formal or informal interaction, I here consider any spontaneous interaction between two or more speakers to count as ‘informal interaction.’ Additionally, I use the terms ‘informal/casual/spontaneous interaction/conversation’

section 1.6), this plan was modified to include more non-interactive data in both the documentation (based primarily on native speaker interests) and the grammatical description (based both on the data available and the challenge of basing a grammatical description on interactive data only). Consequently, the description and analysis components became more of a two-part enterprise to (1) describe the basic grammatical structure of the language, in traditional terms and methods of grammatical description, drawing on data from both interactive and non-interactive sources, and (2) produce an interactive analysis of place reference in Kula, based entirely on video recordings of everyday conversation and social interaction in Kula. This dissertation reports on the results of this two-part project.

Some of the benefits of a more fully interactive approach to language documentation and description remains to be seen. A more fully interactive approach might base the grammatical description of a language on interactive data and use interactive methods (e.g. those associated with Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics) to arrive at the meanings and functions of grammatical practices in the language. Furthermore, it would attempt to integrate description of the structure of social interaction (e.g. reference, repair, etc.) with the description of basic grammatical phenomena (e.g. noun-phrases, morphosyntactic alignment, etc.). as I have done here for the topic of place reference. These goals are lofty, to say the least, and this dissertation stands as a testament to the challenge, but also the benefit of an interactive approach. Future research on Kula and other languages under the umbrella of ‘interactive approaches’ will continue to grapple with the question of what interactive data and methods contribute to the task of documenting and describing the many endangered and under-described languages.

Kula is a non-Austronesian language⁵ belonging to the Alor-Pantar (AP) family of languages (Holton et al. 2012, Holton & Robinson 2014a). These languages remained almost unknown in the linguistic literature prior to the 21st century (but see Du Bois 1944, Stokhof 1975). Thanks to a surge of interest and several well-funded comparative projects, a significant amount of work has been published on the AP languages in the past decade, including an edited volume on historical and typological issues (Klamer ed. 2014), as well as two volumes of sketch grammars (Schapper 2014, forthcoming), in addition to a growing number of studies on various grammatical topics in the languages. Historical-comparative work has now established the AP languages as a genetically related family (Holton et al. 2012). Subsequent historical-comparative work has argued for the relatedness of the AP languages to a handful of non-Austronesian languages spoken in the neighboring islands of Timor and Kisar (Schapper et al. 2014). Any relationship to language families from mainland Papua remains speculative and unproven, leading the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) family to be categorized as an isolate (Holton & Robinson 2014). In light of the surge of interest in AP languages, this project aims to document and describe one of the more endangered, almost entirely undescribed, and reportedly typologically divergent, languages in the family – Kula. In the following two subsections (1.2.1-1.2.2), I review prior work on Kula and other AP languages and a typological overview of Kula, previewing the grammatical description in chapter 2.

⁵ Generally, the term non-Austronesian has been preferred over ‘Papuan’ for these languages, since genetic relatedness to other languages of Papua has not been proven.

1.2.1 Previous research on Alor-Pantar languages

Previous work on the Alor-Pantar languages has focused on traditional documentary and descriptive work, publishing dictionaries (e.g. Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008, Holton & Lamma Koly 2008, Schapper & Manimau 2011, Klamer & Sir 2011), grammars (Kratochvíl 2007, Baird 2008, Klamer 2010), and studies of specific grammatical topics of typological interest (e.g. papers in Klamer ed. 2014, Holton 2010, Fedden et al. 2013, 2014, Kratochvil 2011a, 2011b, Klamer & Schapper 2012, among many others). This work was recently surveyed in a state-of-the-art bibliographical review of work on the languages of Timor, Alor, Pantar, and Kisar (Schapper & Huber 2012). While most work has focused on the languages of Alor and Pantar, recent historical-comparative work has established the relatedness of the AP languages to several languages spoken in Timor and one language on Kisar (Oirata). The review here will focus only on the Alor-Pantar subgroup, given the more distant relationship with the languages of Timor and Kisar.

Given the previous lack of work on the AP languages, much of the work so far has focused on establishing basic genetic relationships and proving the relatedness of all the AP languages as a single family. Additional typologically oriented work has analyzed the grammatical structures of the AP languages, with a focus on typologically unusual phenomena attested in these languages, such as the tendency to mark only the patient-like arguments of transitive verbs, leaving the more agent-like arguments unmarked (Fedden & Brown 2014), the extreme diversity of morphological alignment systems across the AP languages (Fedden et al. 2013, Fedden & Brown 2014), the existence of quinary numeral systems (Schapper & Klamer 2014), and the complex systems of deictic expressions including an elevational component (Schapper 2014). Research on the AP languages continues, including basic grammatical

description (Schapper ed. forthcoming.), further historical-comparative work (Huber forthcoming), studies of language contact and shift (projects by Klammer and Saad, no published work yet), and recently planned work on ethnobotany (Holton). Much work remains to be done, however, even in establishing a full list of distinct languages belonging to the family. Comparing language maps in published work from 2000-present demonstrates the changes in our understanding of how many languages are actually spoken in the area. Additional languages have been identified recently, including Kaera by Klammer and Suboo, Tiee, Moo, by Kratochvil (see Klammer ed. 2014 for an updated map). Much of the grammatical description is in preliminary sketches and there has been no work at all on everyday language use in these communities. The typologically unusual features and uniqueness of this language family call for more detailed work on the family in the future.

1.2.2 Previous work on Kula and a typological overview

Previous published work on Kula itself is limited to a wordlist (Stokhof 1975) and one paper on the typologically atypical inverse marker in the language (Donohue 1996). Additionally, there is some unpublished work by SIL affiliates, including partial Bible translations into Kula, a preliminary sketch of Kula phonology, and other materials including a calendar and preliminary lexical database (Johnston n.d., Johnston & Haan n.d.). This work was completed by Neil Johnston and his late wife Linda Johnston, along with a team of Kula speakers trained by the Johnstons in bible translation. Unfortunately, the Johnstons left Alor before completing more than a couple preliminary translations and no work was ever published. Their preliminary translations, notes, and other materials are included in the database of Kula

materials used for this dissertation. This is one of the major motivations for the present study – to fill a crucial gap in our knowledge of Kula and thus the AP family.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed sketch of Kula grammar, including sections on the phonology, basic clausal syntax, verbal pronominal prefixes, independent pronouns, noun phrases, tense/aspect/mood marking, and serial verb constructions. The description situates Kula among the other two major languages of eastern Alor, Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014) and Wersing (Schapper & Henderey 2014). Here I provide a brief typological overview of Kula grammar in the context of the Alor-Pantar languages, especially Sawila and Wersing.

The typological profile of Kula is similar in many ways to the other Alor-Pantar languages, with some important differences. In terms of phonology, Kula exhibits a relatively small inventory of consonants and vowels – 18 consonants and 7 vowels. The makeup of this set of phonemes is somewhat unusual. First, there is only one fricative, /s/. The velar nasal phoneme occurs frequently in word-initial position, restricted in neighboring languages (e.g. Sawila – Kratochvíl 2014). While /r/ and /l/ contrast, /r/ is a more marginal phoneme with restricted distribution. Several other marginal phonemes exist, including a bilabial fricative /β/, palatal plosive /dʒ/, and the labiovelars /k^w/ and /g^w/. Morphosyntactically, Kula exhibits head-final syntax and APV/SV.⁶ Morphological alignment in Kula is a thorny issue, though it appears to be mixed: nominative-accusative in independent pronouns, but semantic alignment in pronominal prefixes. There are multiple paradigms of both verbal pronominal prefixes and independent pronouns, though these domains are not as elaborated as in some neighboring languages (e.g. Kamang – Schapper 2014). A special inverse prefix is used for highly animate P arguments.

⁶ The A refers to the more agent-like argument of a transitive verb, P refers to the more patient like argument of a transitive verb, and S refers to the single argument of an intransitive verb.

Other notable typological features include frequent use of serial verb constructions, a three-way possession contrast that appears to cut across the expected alienable/inalienable divide, and a large set of post-verbal particles expressing tense/aspect/mood/evidentiality. There is also an elaborate set of demonstratives which are not fully understood yet, as well as multiple paradigms of non-verbal elevationals (described in chapter 3). The grammatical description in chapter 2 explores each of these topics in more detail.

1.2.3 Documenting everyday conversation in Kula

Beyond the motivation to document an underdescribed and endangered language and thus contribute to the preservation of knowledge of this special family of languages, this project was conceived of as an experiment in what are coming to be known as ‘interactional approaches to language documentation’ (Williams & Sandoval 2015). These approaches integrate interactional data and methods in the documentation and description of languages, especially endangered and understudied languages. This approach is motivated by developments in the analysis of language use in everyday conversation which have shown that (1) the meaning of grammatical forms is tied to their use in everyday interaction, oftentimes necessitating interactional data and interactionally-sensitive analysis to fully account for their meaning(s) (e.g. Enfield 2003, Gipper 2011), and (2) despite the immense diversity of linguistic structure and the vanishingly few true universals of linguistic structure (Evans & Levinson 2009), certain aspects of conversational structure appear to show up in language after language (Stivers & Enfield 2007, Dingemanse, Torreira, & Enfield 2013). These two findings correspond to the two prominent interactional approaches to language documentation and description mentioned above (section 1.1) – (1) analysis of the meaning and use of grammatical forms in everyday interaction and (2) studies of

aspects of social interaction and the sequential organization of conversation across a typologically diverse set of languages and cultures. The research on Kula reported in this dissertation took an interactional approach to both the documentation – focusing on collection of everyday conversation – and the analysis of place reference – using methods of conversation analysis and interactional linguistics in attempting to understand how speakers use their language to refer to place in everyday talk.

One prominent field of inquiry in the second type of interactional language documentation is the crosslinguistic study of reference in conversation (Stivers & Enfield 2007, Enfield 2012, San Roque 2016). This work has focused primarily on the domain of person reference, given the interest in anaphora and referent tracking in linguistics (Fox 1987, 1996), the early interest in conversation analysis on reference to persons (e.g. Sacks & Schegloff 1979, Schegloff 1996), and the central role of person reference in maintaining and negotiating social relations (Blythe 2009). Recent calls for broadening this work to include reference to other domains and work on a wider range of languages was an additional motivation for the present study (Enfield 2012). The empirical, theoretical, and methodological background to the study of reference in conversation is outlined in detail in section 1.4. First, I turn to the study of language and space, which also contributed to the motivation for this study.

1.3 The language of space

Space has been a topic of perennial interest to scholars of language from many fields, including linguistics, anthropology, and psychology for decades. While a diverse range of approaches, aims, and findings define this extensive body of work on space in language, two major lines of thought have influenced and motivated the present study.

The first approach has focused on the grammatical expression of space crosslinguistically and the relationship between the diversity of linguistic categorizations of space, on the one hand, and non-linguistic cognition, on the other. This work, primarily associated with the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, Netherlands, is exemplified by Levinson's seminal work on space in language and cognition (Levinson 2003) and the companion grammars of space (Levinson & Wilkins 2006). Of particular interest in this work is Levinson's typology of 'frames of reference' (FoR) – ways of identifying the location of an entity – including intrinsic, relative, and absolute. Palmer (2015) has updated Levinson (2003)'s treatment of the absolute frame of reference, arguing that absolute FoR is a ternary, rather than binary, relation, and that the systems are not necessarily fixed, abstract, nor arbitrary, as Levinson suggests. Further, Palmer argues that spatial systems involving absolute FoR are both anchored in and motivated by the external physical environment. This is of particular relevance to the Kula case, and possibly spatial systems in Alor-Pantar languages in general, in which elevationals based on an absolute up-level/across-down contrast are used in locating objects.

While definitional criteria for frames of reference and other aspects of spatial systems continue to be debated, this research has made the more general contribution of expanding our understanding of how languages can vary in the expression of space. Through careful deployment of standardized elicitation protocols across a wide range of unrelated languages, researchers have shown that languages not only vary in the types of grammatical forms used to express the same spatial concepts, but that the types of spatial meanings encoded in languages itself varies a great deal. Thanks to this research, we now have a better understanding of what types of spatial contrasts a language can encode and how this might affect non-linguistic cognition.

A second approach to space in language comes from linguistic anthropology, primarily the work of William Hanks on deixis and reference more generally (1990, 1992, 2005). Hanks has shown that elements of language that have traditionally been described as fundamentally spatial, demonstratives and ‘spatial’ deixis for example, are embedded in a rich social context. Their meanings and uses are “socially constituted,” not based on “sheer physical relations” (2005:210). Hanks’s focus is on the relation between the origo and the object reference encoded in deictic forms, arguing that this relation is not necessarily spatial, as assumed by most research in linguistics. Instead, the relation may be spatial, but also temporal, perceptual, cognitive, or something else. While Levinson et al.’s work has focused more on cognition and issues of language and thought, Hanks’s work has focused on the social basis of these ‘spatial’ forms.

This wealth of work offers a useful background for understanding the way places are referred to in everyday conversation. First, the descriptive-typological work provides necessary tools for describing the grammatical practices relevant to place reference in Kula. Most importantly, it helps us understand the use of elevationals in Kula as an expression of an absolute frame of reference for locating objects – one of the key reasons speakers refer to places in conversation. Second, Hanks’ work encourages an analysis of spatial forms that looks beyond their apparent spatial meanings to their embedding in broader social fields.

In addition to the verbal expression of spatial concepts in languages, gesture plays an important role in the relationship between language and space. Specifically, pointing gestures are a key component of place reference and location formulation. While crosslinguistic and cross-cultural research on pointing from a linguistic point of view is in its infancy, recent work has established some basic guiding principles, including an apparent formal, and corresponding functional, distinction between B(ig)-points and S(mall)-points (Enfield et al. 2007), and the fact

that pointing practices are as diverse as the corresponding verbal means of referring to space (Kita ed 2003). Haviland has shown that pointing gestures are as complex as their spoken counterparts, exhibiting paradigmatic contrasts and social complexity on par with verbal reference (Haviland 2005). While pointing in Kula is not the central focus of this study, some aspects of its forms and functions in referring to places will be explored (see chapters 3 and 4).

The next section will introduce the concept of reference and situate it in the study of conversation and human social interaction.

1.4 Reference in conversation

Reference is another topic that has been of interest to scholars of language from a range of fields, including philosophy, linguistics, and anthropology. Historically, in philosophy and formal semantics, reference has been thought of as the relationship between a word and the object it names. This relationship has been thought of primarily in terms of truth conditions. In the field of conversation analysis, the focus has been more on the process of referring in interaction. In this view, referring is a **social act** in which a speaker points to some referent, sometimes with an actual pointing gesture, in order to maintain joint attention on it with a recipient and, typically, to say something about it (Enfield 2012). It is also a **matter of selection** among a set of alternative possible formulations for the intended referent. Much of the work on reference in conversation has endeavored to identify the factors that determine participants' choice of a particular formulation at a particular point in the sequential order of interaction. This work has focused primarily on reference to persons, due to its central role in managing social relations and the general preoccupation of conversationalists in keeping track of who they are talking about.

In the following subsections (1.4.1-1.4.4), I outline the key components of the system for referring to persons in conversation. These principles were originally identified through work on American English conversation (Sacks & Schegloff 1979, Schegloff 1996), but have been largely borne out, with some modifications, through the study of person reference in a typologically diverse set of languages (Stivers & Enfield 2007, Blythe 2009). These findings form the backdrop for the investigation of other domains of reference, e.g. object, place, time, activity, etc. After reviewing the principles underlying the system for person reference in interaction, I consider their application to the domain of place reference and point to some fundamental differences between person and place reference, necessitating a modified approach for the study of place reference in conversation (section 1.5).

1.4.1 A “matter of selection”

One of the key concepts in the study of reference in conversation is the idea of alternative formulations. Even non-interactional linguists would readily acknowledge that the name *Daya*, the kinship-based minimal description *my daughter*, and the pronoun *she* all refer to the same person. Whether each formulation points to the same referent, with distinct senses, or if the referents are in fact distinct, is a question of formal semantics irrelevant here. What is abundantly clear is that these alternative formulations can be used in conversation to refer to one and the same person. As originally argued by Schegloff (1972) in his work on ‘location formulations’, and reiterated by subsequent work on person reference (Sacks & Schegloff 1979, Schegloff 1996), in any given instance of reference to a person, place, object or other ontological domain, speakers are confronted with the problem of how to formulate that reference – that is, among the

set of alternative possible formulations, speakers must select one particular way of formulating the person, place, object, etc.

This fact is most clearly demonstrated with an example from the domain of person reference. Consider, for example, the following excerpt from a conversation in Kula. At the time of this recording, I had only recently arrived in the community and this was my first time meeting Isakh. Peny and I were visiting the location where the recording was made to record a story from another speaker not present in this excerpt.

Excerpt 1

nw-tpg-20120605-02 [01:54.220-02:06.500]

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Isakh | and-
so | su
come | námála (.)
who | wele
together | maráng
alongwith | mít
NFIN.sit | guna=
EVID |
| | | | | | | | | 'So, who has (he) come to stay with?' |
| 2 | Peny | | =hã?
'Huh?' | | | | | |
| 3 | | | (.9) | | | | | |
| 4 | Peny | su | ya-do (1.1)
come 2POSS.II-child | o:
? | mantan
former | desa
village | sak
old | ogo
DEM |
| | | | | | | | | '(He) came, uh, the former village (head), you know ...' |
| 5 | Isakh | a:: | 'uh...' | | | | | |
| 6 | | | (.3) | | | | | |
| 7 | Peny | ang | wele
DIST | míti
together | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | 'That's (who) he's staying with.' |
| 8 | Isakh | o::
? | amáng
DIST.like | wele-
togheter | lipi
L. | [mo]lang | we[le
together | (míti)
FIN.sit |
| | | | | | | | | 'Oh, like that? He's staying with Lipi-molang.' |
| 9 | Peny | | | | [ha ah]
yeah | | [lipimolang
L. | |
| | | wele
together | míti
NFIN.sit | | | | | 'Yeah, he's staying together with Lipi-molang.' |

In line 1, Isakh asks Peny a question about me – **námála** (.)wele maráng mít guna?

Isakh thus initiates reference to the person in question with this question and his use of the question word **námála** 'who'. In line 3, Peny answers Isakh's question, formulating reference to

the person in question (i.e. who I was staying with at the time) as *yado ... mantan desa sak ogo* – a kinterm (though not used literally) plus a minimal description (*mantan desa sak ogo*). Eventually, this is reformulated as a name, *Lipi molang*, by Isakh in line 8 and as confirmation by Peny in line 9.

Thus, we can see that reference to a single individual is formulated in at least four different ways in this short exchange. In addition to these verbal means for formulating the person reference, inspection of the video recording of this interaction shows a series of pointing gestures from Peny in lines 4-7. These pointing gestures play an important role in formulating reference as well. What factors determine speakers' choice among these practices for formulation of reference will be addressed in the rest of this section.

1.4.2 Reference as an interactional achievement

As Enfield (2012) puts nicely in his summary review of work on reference in conversation, when referring to persons, objects, places, etc., we cannot simply 'use the word for it'. As demonstrated in 1.4.1, for any referent, there are always multiple ways of formulating it. This is as true for other domains of reference as it is for person reference, as has been demonstrated for place reference (Schegloff 1972), as well as reference to times (Enfield 2012) and even activities (Sidnell & Barnes 2013). A key concern in speakers' choice among alternative formulations is ensuring that the recipient of the formulation can recognize the intended referent. Recipients themselves display understanding of the reference as formulated by 'nodding through' and not specifically attending to it, in this way maintaining progressivity of the talk and allowing the main course of action to proceed. On occasions when the recipient does not immediately recognize the intended referent as formulated, resources such as repair are available for recipients to bring their understanding in line with that of the initial speaker. In this

way, speakers and recipients of referential formulations both contribute to the process of referring in conversation. For example, in excerpt 1, Isakh demonstrates his understanding of Peny's formulation in 4 with his own reformulation using a name in line 8. Why Peny initially does not use the name, with which he is equally familiar, as he claims in line 9, is beyond the scope of the current discussion. What we can say, however, is that both initial speaker and recipient contribute to the formulation of this person reference. Thus, reference is not only the production of a single speaker, but a prime example of joint action between speakers and recipients.

1.4.3 Factors determining choice of formulation

The question remains – what factors determine the formulations employed by speakers at a given point in interaction? Research in conversation analysis has argued for a number of factors, including a set of conversational preferences, the sequential position of the reference, and other factors. Enfield (2012) has summarized a number of different factors, including those described as preferences and those described in other ways, as a set of conversational preferences operating in at least some languages. Which preferences operate and the ranking of the preferences varies across languages (Stivers & Enfield 2007, Blythe 2009).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (11) Summary of 'preference' type principles for reference to persons | |
| i. | Design the expression for the recipient |
| | a. achieve recognition (=Sacks & Schegloff) |
| | b. invoke or display relationship proximity/type |
| ii. | Minimize the expressive means |
| | a. use a single referring expression (=Sacks & Schegloff) |
| | b. use a name rather than description |
| | c. use only one name from a binomial if possible |
| iii. | Fit the expressive format to the action being performed |
| iv. | Observe local cultural/institutional constraints |
| v. | Associate the referent explicitly with one of the speech participants |

Figure 1. Enfield (2012)'s summary of person reference principles

This summarizes the main principles argued to underlie speakers' selection of formulation for referring to persons in interaction. The one other crucial feature, which has been shown to operate in every language studied, is the position of the reference – initial (first mention) or subsequent (anaphoric reference). An important argument made in much of the literature on person reference is that by conforming to these principles, participants do *reference simpliciter* or 'just referring.' Enfield (2007) has argued that, in at least some languages, 'just referring' is never really possible. Nevertheless, in every language investigated, speakers are shown to have means to do 'marked' reference by deviating from the 'default' expectations. This crucial notion allows analysts to demonstrate how speakers convey extra pragmatic meanings and do additional interactional work by referring to persons in an unexpected ('marked') way.

In the next three sections, I look at these principles in more detail, discussing the role of preferences (1.4.3.1) and position (1.4.3.2) in formulating reference to persons in conversation.

1.4.3.1 Preferences

The earliest work on person reference argued for the existence of two competing preferences, *minimization* (use a single reference form) and *recognition* (use a form that invites and allows for the addressee to recognize the intended referent). One piece of evidence for these preferences is that minimization can be relaxed in a stepwise fashion in pursuit of recognition (Sacks & Schegloff 1979). Consider, for example, the following excerpt from that pioneering study.

- (8)
- | | |
|----|--------------------------|
| A: | Hello? |
| B: | 'Lo, |
| B: | Is Shorty there, |
| A: | Ooo jest- Who? |
| B: | Eddy? |
| B: | Woodward? |
| A: | Oo jesta minnit. |
| | (1.5) |
| A: | Its fer <u>you</u> dear. |

When the initial reference form (*Shorty*) is not recognized by the recipient (indicated by repair initiation – *ooo jest- who?*), the initial speaker then reformulates the reference in an effort to achieve recognition on the part of the recipient (*Eddy? Woodward?*). Notice, however, that the reformulations occur in a step-by-step fashion, in a way that maintains the preference for minimization simultaneous to the pursuit of recognition.

Other preferences have been identified through work on person reference in languages other than English. Notably, preferences for *circumspection* and *association* (11iv and 11v in Enfield's summary, Figure 1 above) have been argued to operate in languages as diverse as Murrinhpatha (Blythe 2009), Yeli Dnye (Levinson 2007), Yucatec Mayan (Hanks 2007). The most common type of circumspection or otherwise observing local cultural constraints is the operation of a taboo on personal names. In Murrinhpatha, a taboo against certain place names has been shown to operate in reference to places, as well (Blythe 2016).

Another 'preference', at least considered a preference by Enfield (2012), is that the format be 'fit' to the action performed by the speaker's utterance. This is arguably more of a general principle of reference formulation than a specific conversational preference. One example of its operation in conversation is the use of 'associative' forms (e.g. *your daughter* spoken by a father to a mother about their shared child) in complaint sequences (Stivers 2007). Enfield (2012) discusses a number of examples of this principle operating in other domains as well, including reference to times and places.

Together these principles "generate the possibilities" for referring to persons in conversation. Though limited work exists on reference to persons in the nearly 7,000 human languages spoken across the world, most existing literature argues that these principles are universal features of social interaction, rather than principles that vary significantly from

language to language. An open question remains regarding the existence of other preferences and the possible relative rankings of these preferences in various cultural and institutional contexts.

1.4.3.2 Form/position

Traditionally, a distinction has been made between the form of a referential formulation and its position – initial vs. subsequent (Schegloff 1996, Fox 1987). A reference in initial position is the first mention of that reference in a spate of talk, while a reference occurs in subsequent position when it has just recently been mentioned, often in the immediately preceding turn. Certain forms tend to appear in initial position (e.g. names, minimal descriptions) while other forms typically occur in subsequent position (e.g. pronouns, verbal cross-reference). Not only do these initial and subsequent forms typically occur in the corresponding positions, but by doing so, speakers do ‘nothing special’. That is, by using an initial form in initial position, speakers do unmarked or default reference.

What is particularly powerful about this distinction is that it enables speakers to do more than simply referring by creating a mismatch between the form and position of their reference. The simplest example of this is the use of pronouns for initial mentions in English. Enfield (2012) uses a classic example, Paul Bremmer’s “Ladies and gentlemen, we got *him*”, spoken at a press conference in 2003 in Baghdad. This use of a pronoun, a subsequent reference form, in his initial reference to Saddam Hussein, indexed the “ready accessibility” of the referent to all listeners.

Note that some work has argued for a more elaborate system of form/position distinctions, including both a ‘local’ pattern (the one described here) and a ‘global’ pattern. This

has been argued for Murrinhpatha (Blythe 2009), building on Fox's (1987) notion of the 'return pop' in English conversation.

These principles have been developed in the study of person reference in conversation, with only occasional and sporadic analyses of reference to other ontological domains. I turn now to the domain of place and argue for the need to develop an alternative framework within conversation analysis for the study of place reference in conversation.

1.5 Toward an approach to place reference

Enfield makes an important point in his 2012 paper regarding the relevance of the principles outlined in 1.4:

Note that the preferences as given here apply in everyday interactions of the maximally informal kind, between people who are socially close. As soon as the interaction becomes formal, or involves strangers, the applicability of the preferences changes in various ways – most obvious being restrictions due to recipient design (*I cannot use a name to refer to someone if I figure you do not know the person I am referring to*) [emphasis added] ... (2012)

In the present study, I have also restricted the analysis to video recordings of "everyday interactions of the maximally informal kind." However, while "maximally informal" conversation among "people who are socially close" most often involves referring to persons whom all participants can be reasonably assumed to know and even know the names of, the same is not true for reference to places. Even in maximally informal conversation, many of the places referred to are either unknown to all participants or, at least, less familiar to some participants than others. This is because of several fundamental differences between the domain of place and other ontological domains (especially, persons), which I outline in the rest of this section. I further argue that these ontological differences are consequential for the organization of practices of referring to persons or places in interaction.

First, not all places are named. While place names do exist probably in every language, and every place referred to technically is located within some named place, it is often the case that the particular place referred to is much narrower than the named place within which it exists. In order to fit the formulation to the action underway, a place name fails the task of referring. For this reason, in many cases place names are not a viable alternative formulation of the place being referred to. This constitutes a significant difference with person reference, in which personal names can be considered always available (barring cultural taboos) when referring to a person known by both speaker and recipient(s). In fact, person names are uniquely designed for achieving recognitional reference while still conforming to the preference for minimization.

Consider, for example, the location of some movable object, say your mobile phone. If someone were to approach you at this moment and ask ‘Where is your phone?’ – while the action may actually be a request – one relevant response type would be to formulate the current location of your phone. This formulation might look something like ‘next to the TV’ or ‘downstairs’ or, possibly something more vague, like ‘over there’, with an accompanying point, if the phone is in our shared immediately visible environment. Notice that none of these formulations involve place names and, barring some unusual circumstance, it is hard to imagine a scenario in which a place name would be an appropriate formulation of your mobile phone’s location. Certainly it is ‘true’ that my phone is in Boulder, Colorado, but if I were to formulate the phone’s location in this way, I would be producing a highly dispreferred response to the initial request formulated as a question about the location of my phone.

Relatedly, places, as referred to in interaction, are more ephemeral and unbounded than persons. Outside of reference in conversation, persons can be seen to exist as individuated entities, bounded and contained within individual human bodies. Places, on the other hand, do

not enjoy this same individual existence outside of reference to them in conversation. Of course the physical space exists whether it is referred to or not. However, the place, as it is formulated on a given occasion of reference, does not really exist as a place until it is referred to. This is due to the fact that the ontological domain we are dealing with when referring to places is actually space. Space, unlike persons, is basically unstructured. It is only through human intervention in and categorization of space that places come to exist. One way of creating places out of physical space is to name them. In the absence of names, languages provide many additional resources for formulating places out of physical space. The main point here is that the effect of referring to a place in interaction is fundamentally different from referring to a person. While reference to persons serves to maintain joint attention on that person, typically to say something about the person, reference to places serves to create the place out of the amorphous domain of space, typically for some other purpose, not only to say something about it.

Third, the function of place reference is quite different from the function of person reference. While persons are typically referred to in order to say something else about the person, places are typically referred to for some other purpose, not simply to talk about the place. One function of place reference is to locate some other referent, e.g. an object or a person. In preliminary crosslinguistic work reported in Enfield (2012), another function identified for place reference is expressing ‘settings’. In chapter 4, I look at this function in several examples from Kula, showing that speakers use place reference on some occasions to create a ‘setting’ for an extended telling. The reference to place, often involving a place name and accompanied by a temporal reference, indicates to other participants that the current speaker intends to pursue a multi-turn extended telling. Because place reference serves different functions from person

reference, we should expect different types of principles to underlie speakers' practices for formulating place reference.

Lastly, since places are not typically referred to in order to 'talk about' or 'say something else about them' (e.g. we do not typically 'gossip' about places), they are rarely referred to subsequently. This means that the distinction between position and form of reference is likely irrelevant for referring to place in conversation. It is possible to formulate subsequent reference to a place using words like 'here' or 'there' – (e.g. A: You know Mt. Sanitas? B: Yeah A: I was up **there** yesterday). And, presumably, using a demonstrative adverb like 'there' in the initial mention of a place would be marked.⁷ However, this type of subsequent reference is exceedingly rare, at least in the Kula data examined for this study. Given the fact that speakers rarely initiate reference to a place in order to simply talk about that place with other participants, there is little reason to refer to a place subsequently. The one context in which we see reformulations regularly is when the initial mention is deemed insufficient or inadequate for some reason by either the speaker or recipient and, as a result, repair of the place reference is initiated. In these cases, we often see multiple non-initial reformulations following the initial mention. Given their restricted distribution (only in repair sequences), I avoid calling these 'subsequent' formulations, preferring instead the term 'non-initial.' For this reason, the distinction between initial and subsequent forms and positions of reference appears less relevant for the domain of place. In the Kula data analyzed here, most formulations of place reference are either initial references that are never reformulated or reformulations due to a failure of recognition of the initial intended referent. Analysis of these repair sequences and non-initial

⁷ 'Here', on the other hand, is generally used to refer to the current location of speaker, making it easily recognized and thus unmarked even in initial mentions.

reformulations of place reference plays a prominent role in the factors determining the use of grammatical resources in formulation of place reference (see chapter 4).

This section has outlined some differences between the ontological domains of place and person, arguing that place differs from person (and possibly other domains like ‘object’) in several fundamental ways.

- 1) Many places referred to in conversation are unnamed
- 2) Place reference involves human categorization of space, an amorphous, unbounded, non-individuated domain (at least compared to persons)
- 3) The function of place reference is often to locate another entity (e.g. object, person)
- 4) Places are rarely referred to ‘anaphorically’

These differences prompt a reconsideration of the principles underlying reference in conversation identified through work on reference to persons. While some of the core principles of person reference, such as *recipient design* and the preference for *minimization*, are undoubtedly relevant to place reference (see analyses in chapter 4 supporting this), their application and interaction with other principles unique to place reference remains to be determined. For instance, are the principles the same when referring to named and unnamed places? Is the preference for recognition ranked as highly for place reference as it is for person reference? The Kula data point to a modification of these principles in participants’ practices for referring to place. Additional research on place and person reference in Kula, and across a wide range of languages, is needed in order to answer this question with more confidence.

Finally, before further pursuing the analysis of place reference in Kula, it is important to address the additional principles for the organization of what Schegloff (1972) calls ‘location formulations’ in conversation. Schegloff argues that any instance of location formulation has

involved three types of ‘analysis’: *location analysis*, *membership category analysis*, and *topic/activity analysis*. While his ‘location analysis’ is largely irrelevant for co-present participants who are typically in the same location,⁸ the other two types of ‘analysis’ do seem to be relevant for an analysis of place reference in Kula. For example, Enfield (2012) argues that Schegloff’s *topic/activity analysis* is essentially covered by the principle of fitting the formulation to the action being performed. In chapter 4, I will explore the role of these factors in place reference, arguing that the selection of formulation in Kula place reference depends on its function (‘setting’ or ‘location’), the status of the place as named or unnamed, the activity and/or type of action underway in the talk in which it occurs, as well as the relative epistemic status of each participant with regard to knowledge of the intended referent.

It is important to note what this study is not doing, since there has been a great deal of interest in spatial language and the expression of space cross-linguistically. This is not a study of landscape terminology and its relationship to cognition (ethnophysiogeography) (Mark 2013), nor is it a Kula ‘grammar of space’ (Levinson & Wilkins 2006). While these types of analysis would offer additional insight into the resources available to Kula speakers for formulating reference to place, their study awaits future research.

1.6 Fieldwork and data collection

Fieldwork for this dissertation was conducted over approximately two years, from early 2012 to early 2014, with one additional trip in July-August 2014. During this time, I lived in the village known officially as *Tanglapui*, which includes the sub-village level areas known as

⁸ Schegloff’s initial study included data from phone calls, in which participants are in different locations. In these cases, referring to a place requires participants to know where each other is located.

Lantoka, *Samuda/Moduda*, and *Kaipera*. Most of the data analyzed here was collected in and around Lantoka and Samuda. Figure 2 shows the location of *Desa Tanglapui* in Alor. It is located along the main road that runs east from the capital, Kalabahi, to the eastern coast of Alor.



Figure 2 – Alor (red marker = Lantoka)

Figures 3 and 4 show maps of the area where data was collected. The green box covers the area referred to as *Samuda*, the red box *Lantoka*, and the yellow box *Kaipera*.



Figure 3. Desa Tanglapui – (green=samuda, red=lantoka, yellow=kaipera)



Figure 4 – Lantoka (red) and Samuda (green)

1.6.1 Elevation, geography, and village layout in Lantoka

Elevation is central to the way Kula speakers talk about places. It is a component of basic deictic motion verbs and a set of three non-verbal elevational items used in place reference.

These are given in table 1 below and described in more detail in chapter 4.

Table 1. Kula elevationals

	Verbs		Non-verbal elevationals
LEVEL	we	me	gomán
HIGH	mda	mde	goyon
LOW	ji	si	gotín

In their talk about the spatial environment, including route descriptions, locating objects and persons, and formulating reference to places, Kula speakers utilize elevational contrasts in a

way that reflects a general conceptualization of the environment as ‘tilted’ (cf. Brown and Levinson 1993 on a similar system in Tzeltal). That is, the spatial environment is treated as divisible into three broad areas: at the same level as the speaker (LEVEL), ‘above’ the speaker (HIGH), or ‘below’ the speaker (LOW). Note that ‘above’ and ‘below’ are most commonly used to mean ‘at a higher/lower elevation’ along the absolute slope of the land, but can also be used for differences in vertical height (e.g. going ‘up’ into a tree can involve the verb *mda* ‘go.HIGH’). This conceptualization of the world as ‘tilted’ is likely shared among many or all of the Alor-Pantar languages, given that all the Alor-Pantar languages exhibit some type of elevational contrast. However, little work has been done on the use of elevationals and their role in place reference and spatial conceptualization in the Alor-Pantar languages (but see Schapper 2014).

The majority of the excerpts presented in this dissertation were collected in and around Lantoka, a village of a few hundred people in the highlands of eastern Alor. The name ‘Lantoka’ refers to both the village as a whole and a particular sub-division of the official village (Indonesian *desa*), Tanglapui. Official village names are rarely used by Kula speakers. These ‘villages’ are official designations by the regional government and typically encompass several distinct local hamlets. Below is a hand drawn map of the sub-division of Tanglapui typically referred to as Lantoka as well as a map pointing out the location of Tanglapui/Lantoka in eastern Alor. While this hand-drawn map does not represent actual locations accurately, it provides a useful sketch of the village layout for understanding reference to places in and around Lantoka.

Lantoka sits at approximately 800 meters above sea level, just a few kilometers from the highest point in the Alor archipelago, Mount *Koya-Koya* (see map below). Due to a history of forced migrations in Alor following Indonesian independence in 1945, most settlements, such as Lantoka, are now at lower elevations in valleys between the higher peaks in the area or along the

coast. The settlements in the interior, such as Lantoka, are placed along the one major road that transverses the island from west to east, seen in the map of Alor below. This road travels from Kalabahi, the capitol and only city on the island, east to the villages of Kolana and Maritaing on the far eastern coast. The same road is visible in the sketch map of Lantoka as well. This sketch is oriented with north on the right and south on the left. The road runs through the middle of drawing, colored gray in this picture.

As mentioned above, elevation is key to spatial description in Kula, including route descriptions, locating entities, and formulating reference to places. Route descriptions provide a clear illustration of the system and the way elevation contrasts reflect elevation in the actual environment. Below I given an excerpt of a route description from Lantoka to Mamper, a hamlet located about 20 kilometers to the southwest of Lantoka (see figure 5).

Excerpt 2

nw-tpg-20120725-01 [01:32.800-02:57.500]

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | suba-mu
house-LOC | ngá-laka
1EXCL.II-step | si
come.DOWN | we
go.LEVEL | taukale
outside |
| ‘I step out of my house,’ | | | | | |
| 2 | nge-giang
1EXCL.V-travel | n-ji
1EXCL.I-go.LOW | lurena
road | | |
| ‘I go down to the road,’ | | | | | |
| 3 | awa
then | nge-giang
1EXCL.V-travel | we
go.LEVEL | mda
go.HIGH | wase
PN |
| ‘Then, I go up to Wase,’ | | | | | |
| 4 | bakakila
PN | gige
3POSS.II-road | angal
DIST.direction | nguda
1EXCL.I-go.HIGH | |
| ‘I take the Bakakila (Belemana) road up,’ | | | | | |
| 5 | nguda bakakila tan mus ka ige tukuda, luren=s algwatan nanu | | | | |
| ‘I go up to Bakakila (Belemana), then a short cut, not the main road,’ | | | | | |
| 6 | ige tukuda ngali | | | | |

‘I take a short cut,’

7 nlula ngegiang ngku nguda nlula Mula ga ng an tani
‘I go traveling, I go up to Mula, it’s called, arrive there,’

8 ang awa nguda we bililasi ga nga an tani
‘Then I go up to Bililasi, it’s called, arriving there,’

9 ang awa giaaang ngku nguda nlula
‘Then travel (for a while), going up,’

10 lonbakulung tani
‘and arrivei n Lonbakulung,’

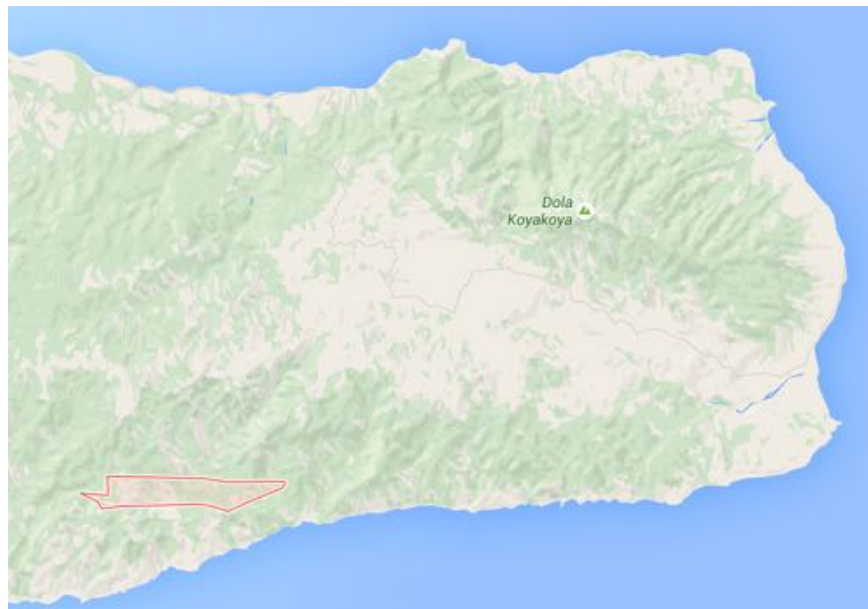


Figure 5

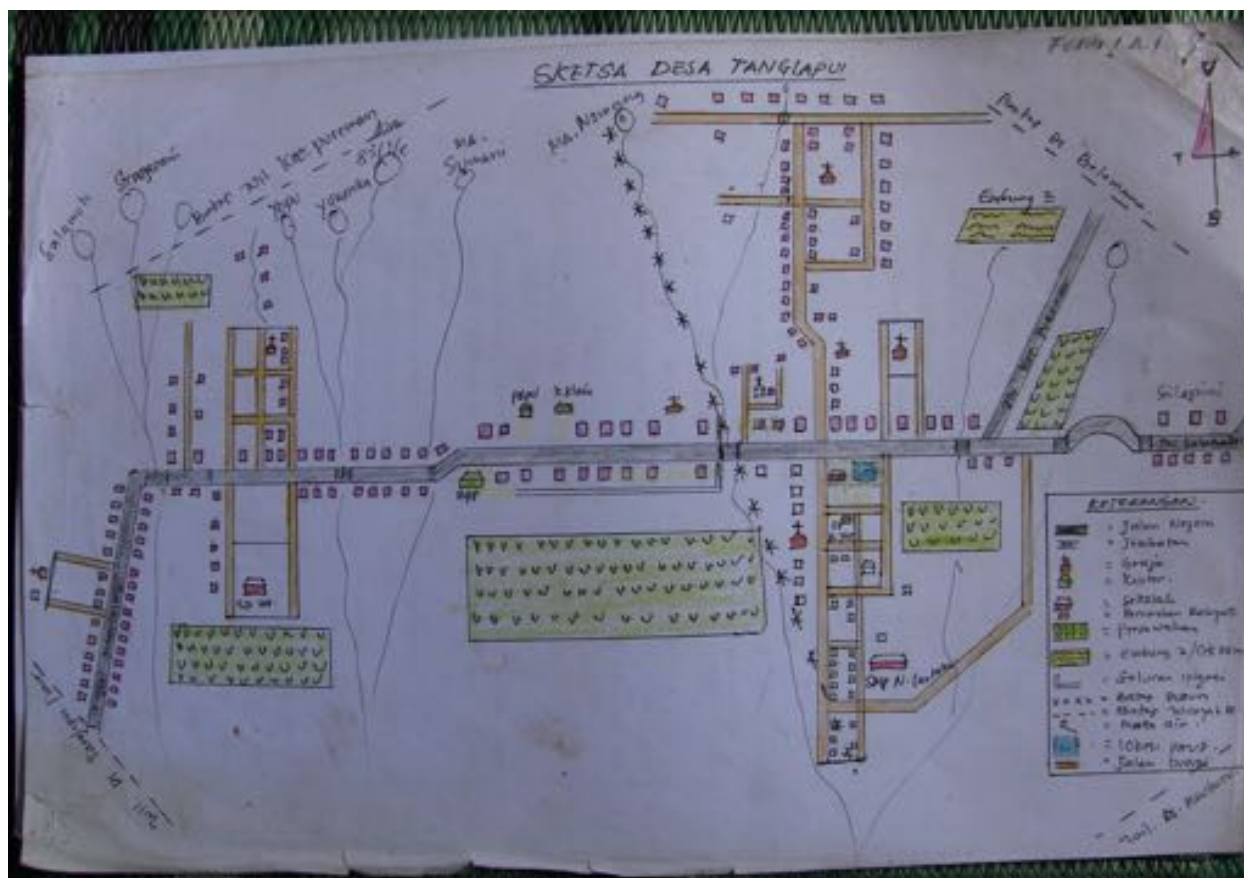


Figure 6

It is clear from this excerpt that deictic motion verbs with an elevation component are used in route descriptions to describe the travel from one village to the next based on the relative elevations of those two villages or the source of the motion event to its goal.

In Lantoka, there is a general up-down axis along which the village is organized which corresponds with the flow of water from a number of springs that supply drinking water to the village. Travel across this axis is considered LEVEL. When describing movement between two locations, as in a route description, or formulating reference to a place using non-verbal elevationals, the relationship is always relative to the current location of the speaker. That is, there is no absolute correlation between ‘up’ and ‘down’ with cardinal directions or any other geographic feature.

For example, consider the three locations marked on the sketch map of Lantoka below.

The verb used to describe travel from one of these areas to another is based on the speaker's location and the relative elevation of the goal location. For instance, travel from *Watatuku* (yellow area) to *Lansaku* (green area) would require the verb *mda* 'go.HIGH' if the speaker is in *Watatuku* or the verb *mde* 'come.HIGH' if the speaker is in *Lansaku*. Travel from the *Samuda* (red area) to *Lansaku* would require the verb *ji* 'go.LOW' if the speaker is in *Samuda* or *si* 'come.LOW' if the speaker is in *Lansaku*. Most locations to the left and right of *Lansaku* (the green area) on this map would require one of the LEVEL verbs, *we* 'go.LEVEL' or *me* 'come.LEVEL'. In many cases, however, the travel involves both relatively level movement preceded or followed by motion up or down in relative elevation. For example, travel from *Lansaku* (green area) to the area labeled *Silapini* (just to the right of *Lansaku* on the right edge of the map) is typically referred to using a serial verb construction *we mda* 'go.LEVEL go.HIGH', because it involves relatively level motion followed by a short climb into the area referred to by *Silapini*. On the other hand, following the road in the center of the map to the south and east (left on the map), the elevation eventually descends enough that travel from anywhere in *Lantoka* to locations further along the road is referred to with the verb *ji* 'go.LOW'. Similarly, travel between *Lantoka* and the city, *Kalabahi*, some 75 kilometers to the west along a narrow, winding road, is referred to simply using *ji* (*Lantoka* → *Kalabahi*, speaker in *Lantoka*) or *mde* (*Kalabahi* → *Lantoka*, speaker in *Lantoka*).



Figure 7. Hand drawn map of Desa Tanglapui

The same considerations are relevant to speaker's use of non-verbal elevationals in formulating reference to place, discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Take, for example, the formulation in excerpt (3) below. In the immediately preceding context, the participants have been discussing a garden nearby and one participant asks who the garden belongs to. In line 1, Penny initiates repair on the formulation of the location of the garden by asking where it is. In line 2, Matilda produces a reformulation of the reference as *nu-mda-we dák awa miya*. While there are two important components to this formulation, the elevational *numdawe* and the landmark *dák awa*, let us focus here on the elevational. Looking at the still in figure 8, we can see that Matilda also points toward the direction of the location as part of her formulation, with her arm at its fullest extent just as she begins the syllable *-we* of *nu-mda-we*. This interaction was recorded at a house in the lower portion of *Samuda* (red area in the map above). In figure 8 Matilda is pointing roughly west, further 'up' into *Samuda*. While the garden is quite close by and walking from the current location of the interaction to the garden involves mostly level

travel, it is in the ‘up’ direction and so Matilda uses the elevational *numdawe*, roughly, ‘up over there’, indicating that the place is a bit ‘up’ and ‘across’ from their current location. This use of non-verbal elevationals is prevalent in place formulations in the data to be examined further in chapters 3 and 4.

Excerpt 3

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [18:19.700-18:23.500]

- 1 Peny te? nungal kda ()
 QP where.direction just
 ‘What? Just where is that?’
- 2 Mat nu-mda-we dák awa míya
 LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL ditch side FIN.be.located
 ‘It’s up over there next to the ditch (water drainage).’



Figure 8.

1.6.2 Conversational data analyzed in this study

In this dissertation, I examine a small collection of video recordings of everyday conversation in Kula. These videos were collected over nearly two years of fieldwork in Alor, Indonesia (2012-2014). Fifteen video recordings totaling just over 200 minutes were chosen for transcription, annotation, and further analysis based on how well they conformed to the following criteria: clear audio and video, visibility of all speakers, maximally informal interaction, and containing instances of place reference. This subset of videos was then mined for instances of place reference. The study of place reference in chapters 3 and 4 consists primarily of detailed single-case analyses, rather than a comprehensive account of the entire collection of instances. Future work based on the entire collection will be needed to complement the analyses presented here.

Table 2 lists the recordings analyzed in this dissertation, along with names of speakers, the location of recording, and a brief indication of the content of each conversation. These recordings can be accessed in the Kula language archive at the Endangered Languages Archive managed by SOAS University of London. The current link for the Kula materials is <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971878>. The Kula collection will also include a special collection consisting of only the excerpts analyzed in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

Table 2. Kula conversation recordings

Filename/ID	Speakers	Content	Location
nw-tpg-20120605-01, -02, -03	Matilda, Peny, Isakh, Nick	Conversations in Samuda while waiting for Sem Mosali	Samuda (house of Matilda and Sem)
nw-tpg-20120725-02	Isakh, Yesya, Peny, Nick	Talk before map task	Peny's house in Lansaku (Lantoka)
nw-tpg-20130111-01	Edu, Linda	Discussion about man who recently died	Edu's house (Lantoka)
nw-tpg-20121121-07	Sengko, others	Talk on walk from Pureman to Kewala	Kewala
nw-tpg-20130917-01	??(no names)	Talk inside Lukas' house in Samuda	Samuda
nw-tpg-20120701-06	Leonardus, Cornelius, Peny, Nick	Conversation at Cornelius' house in Kaipera	Kaipera
nw-tpg-20121114-01	??, Edu	Talk about political dispute at Edu's house	Edu's house (Lantoka)
nw-tpg-20121210-01	Leonardus, Peny, Nick	Narrative elicitation task	Leonardus' house (<i>Pumang</i> near Kaipera)
nw-tpg-20120523-03	Peny, two others	Interview	Kaipera
nw-tpg-20131011-01	Edu, other man, young girl	Conversation at Edu's house	Edu's house (Lantoka)
al-tpg-201310208-01	Edu, 'Malekoni', others	multi-party conversation at night in Edu's house	Edu's house (Lantoka)
nw-tpg-20121207-01	Linda, Lalu, two other women	women talking in kitchen behind Edu's house	Edu's house (Lantoka)
nw-tpg-20121021-01	Linda, other woman, Anne, Nick, Isabella	talk during a picnic	Several kilometers walk downstream/east of Lantoka

Using these recordings, a collection of instances of place reference was assembled. The collection included the widest range of instances possible (approximately 100 cases), including reference to named and unnamed places, cases of giving directions involving deictic motion verbs with no explicit mention of the goal or source location, and a range of other instances of talk involving formulation of places or locations in conversation. Stills from each video recording are given below, along with the names of the participants.

nw-tpg-20120605-01, nw-tpg-20120605-02, nw-tpg-20120605-03



Figure 9 (L-R: Matilda, Isakh, Peny)

nw-tpg-20120725-02



Figure 10 (L-R: Peny, Isakh, Yesya)

nw-tpg-20130111-01



Figure 11 (L-R): Edu, (no name recorded), Linda

nw-tpg-20121121-07



Figure 12 (L-R): (no name), Sengko, (no name), (no name)



Figure 13. (no name), (no name), Sengko

nw-tpg-20130917-01



Figure 14

20120701-06



Figure 15

another conversation at Edu's house.
20121114-01



Figure 16. ??, Edu

Narrative elicitation task
nw-tpg-20121210-01



Figure 17. (L-R) Leonardus, Peny

Short 'interview' style recording where new high school was being built.
20120523-03



Figure 18 (??, ?? – no names recorded)

Discussions at Edu's house.
20131011-01



Figure 19. L-R: Edu, ??



Figure 20. L-R: ??, Edu

Multi-party discussion at night at Edu's house.
al-tpg-201310208-01



Figure 21. L-R: Andi/Endi, ??, Edu, 'Malekoni', ??

Conversation in the kitchen behind Edu's house.
nw-tpg-20121207-01



Figure 22. L-R: ??, Linda, ??, Lalu

Interactions during picnic with Linda and ??
nw-tpg-20121021-01



Figure 23. L-R: Linda, ??, Anne

1.7 Overview of the dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows. In chapter 2, I present an overview of Kula grammar. Chapter 3 uses the collection of cases of place reference in Kula to describe Kula speakers' practices for formulating reference to places in conversation. As such, it represents an intermediate step between the relatively context-free grammatical description (chapter 2) and the fully contextualized analysis of place reference as an interactional achievement (chapter 4). Finally, in chapter 4, I present an analysis of place reference in Kula conversation, arguing for several factors underlying speakers' selection of alternative formulations. These factors include what the place reference does in the interaction (e.g. locate an object), whether there is a name

for the place or not, as well as what the speaker and recipient can be assumed to know about the place (*epistemic status*), and, on the other hand, what they claim to know (*epistemic stance*). In chapter 5 I summarize the findings, discuss limitations of the study, and point to some potential future directions of this research.

CHAPTER II

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF KULA

2.1 The language scene

Until recently the name Tanglapui was used to refer collectively to both the Kula and Sawila languages, spoken in adjacent regions in eastern Alor. Kula (ISO: tpg) is spoken by approximately 5,000 people between the Kamang area in central-eastern Alor and the Sawila and Wersing areas on the eastern coast, including the hamlets Maukuru, Takala, Peisaka, Waika and Kiralela on the north coast, Pureman, Irakena, Dukila, Managomo, Paitoko and Kewala on the south coast, and Lantoka, Moduda/Samuda, Kaipera, Kobra, Naumang (possibly others) in the mountainous interior. These are all “new villages” (Indonesian *kampung baru*), where people have lived semi-permanently for only the past 50 years or so. The traditional lands in the mountains include hundreds of named places and “old villages” (Indonesian *kampung lama*), where some people maintain gardens and raise animals. Previous work (Haan 2006) has identified two dialects, exemplified by the Kula spoken in Maukuru and Lantoka, respectively. Speakers do not distinguish particular dialects, but claim that the language varies significantly from village to village. Future research will be needed to sort out these issues through a survey of the area where Kula is spoken. Kula speakers are sometimes also fluent in Wersing or Sawila due to frequent contact and intermarriage.

In the years since the resettlement, Kula has become endangered. While adults use a mixture of Kula and Malay among themselves, children are most frequently spoken to in Malay. Most children have a passive knowledge of Kula, understanding simple instructions, but regularly responding in Malay. Kula is still *de facto* forbidden in schools, a holdover from the

1970s when teachers punished students for using Kula in the classroom. Still, Kula culture remains strong and *adat* ('local customs') plays an integral part of daily life in the communities I have observed. At least at the present time, nearly all young adults know the language well enough to interact with elders and sometimes use Kula among themselves.

Published work on Kula is limited to a wordlist (Stokhof 1975) and an article on inverse morphology (Donohue 1996). Other available unpublished work includes a partial description of Kula phonology (Haan 2006), as well as a short dictionary and a number of texts translated into Kula from Indonesian (Johnston n.d.).

2.1.1 Fieldwork and methods

This sketch is based on available data from published and unpublished sources, as well as primary data collected by the author from 2012-2014. Data for the sketch was collected in the context of a documentation project focused on documenting conversation and social interaction in Kula. This project has produced an extensive corpus of video-recorded Kula language use (deposited at the Endangered Languages Archive, <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI971878>). Examples in the sketch are drawn primarily from this corpus, which also includes audio recordings of traditional narratives, responses to picture stimuli such as the topological picture series, and other directly elicited material. The small number of examples collected through direct elicitation are marked as such. All other examples can be found in the archived corpus.

Recordings were made primarily in Tanglapui village, which includes the hamlets Lantoka, Samuda, and Kaipera. A handful of recordings were made in other locations, including Kiralela, Pureman, and Kewala. Data was transcribed and translated with assistance from several Kula consultants from Lantoka, especially Penipius Mosali.

What follows is a sketch of the phonology and some of the more prominent aspects of Kula morphosyntax, highlighting those features that distinguish Kula from other languages of Alor and Pantar, particularly the closely related languages, Sawila (Kratochvil 2014) and Wersing (Schapper & Hendery 2014). The sketch contributes to the general description and documentation of Kula, which has previously received very little attention from linguists. This sketch sets the ground for future research into the grammar of Kula. It also further contextualizes the account of practices for referring to place in Kula conversation presented in chapters 3 and 4.

2.2 Phonology

The phonology of Kula is similar to that of other languages of eastern Alor. The phonemic inventory is relatively small. Notable features of the consonant inventory include the single fricative /s/ (no /h/, /f/, or /x/), significant consonant allophony due recent innovation and homonym avoidance, and the frequency of word-initial /ŋ/. In the seven-vowel system, partial loss of a historical length contrast has resulted in a set of five peripheral vowels with approximately cardinal values and two shorter central vowels (see section 2.2.2).

2.2.1 Consonants

There are 18 native consonant phonemes in Kula, including nine plosives, two fricatives, three nasals, two glides and two liquids (Table 3). The bilabial fricative /β/, palatal plosive /dʒ/, and labiovelars /k^w/ and /g^w/ are marginal phonemes (discussed further in 2.2.1.1 (/β/ and /g^w/), 2.2.1.3 (/dʒ/) and 2.2.1.4 (/k^w/)). /r/ is restricted to word-medial position in native Kula words, while /w/ and /j/ are restricted to onsets. Other consonant phonemes exhibit wider distribution. There is no phonemic glottal stop in Kula.

Table 3. Consonant phonemes⁹

	LABIAL		ALVEOLAR		PALATAL	VELAR		LABIOVELAR	
PLOSIVE	p	b	t	d		(dʒ)	k	g	(k ^w) (g ^w)
FRICATIVE		(β)	s						
NASAL		m		n			ŋ		
GLIDE		w			j				
LIQUID			r	l					

Several of these phonemes exhibit allophonic variation. This variation is discussed in the following subsections (2.2.1.1 – 2.2.1.4).

2.2.1.1 Bilabials

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts among bilabial sounds, /p/, /b/, /m/, /w/, as well as the marginal bilabial phonemes /β/ and /g^w/.

- (1)
- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|--------|----------|
| /pula/ | ‘sleepy’ | /bula/ | ‘blind’ |
| /pu/ | ‘break(INTR)’ | /mu/ | ‘run’ |
| /a'bi/ | ‘strong’ | /a'mi/ | ‘breast’ |
| /wad/ | ‘sun’ | /bad/ | ‘shirt’ |
| /pɛ/ | ‘pig’ | /wɛ/ | ‘blood’ |
| /wɛ/ | ‘blood’ | /βɛ/ | ‘go’ |
| /g ^w ɛ/ | ‘goat’ | /wɛ/ | ‘blood’ |

/β/ and /g^w/ are marginal phonemes, each exhibiting limited allophony with [w]. /g^w/ occurs in a small set of lexical items and can be realized as either [w] or [g^w]. In the environments a_V_(+back) and V_(+back)_a, this consonant can be lost entirely.

- (2) a. /g^w/ → [g^w] ~ [w] / __[V_{-back}]

/g ^w ɐ/	‘rock’	[g ^w ɐ] ~ [wɐ]
/g ^w ata/	‘coconut’	[g ^w ata] ~ [wata]
/g ^w ansa/	‘big’	[g ^w ansa] ~ [wansa]
/kɛtu'g ^w ala/	‘dog’	[kɛtu'g ^w ala] ~ [kɛtu'wala] ~ [kɛt'wala]

⁹ Marginal phonemes are presented in parentheses ().

/alg ^w ɛ'tan/	‘follow’	[alg ^w ɛ'tan] ~ [aluwɛ'tan]
/'jɛg ^w a/	‘yes’	['jɛg ^w a] ~ ['jɛwa]
/'dug ^w a/	‘PL’	['dug ^w a] ~ ['dua]
/g ^w ɛ/	‘goat’	[g ^w ɛ] ~ [wɛ]
/'g ^w ita/	‘call’	['g ^w ita] ~ ['wita]
/'g ^w ina/	‘hold’	['g ^w ina] ~ ['wina]
/'g ^w i/	‘eucalyptus’	[g ^w i] ~ [wi]

b. /g^w/ → [g^w] ~ [w] ~ ∅/ a__[V_{+back}]

/ag ^w u'lana/	‘fishing.hook’	[ag ^w u'lana] ~ [awu'lana] ~ [au'lana]
/'mag ^w o/	‘TAM ¹⁰ ’	['mago] ~ ['mawo] ~ ['mao]
/'ag ^w uma/	‘tasty’	['ag ^w uma] ~ ['awuma] ~ ['auma]

However, this variation is not attested in all words with underlying /g^w/. For example,

- (3)
- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------|
| /'tug ^w a/ | ‘TAM’ | [tug ^w a] ~ *[tuwa], *[tua] |
| /'tug ^w an/ | ‘owner’ | [tug ^w an] ~ *[tuwan], *[tuan] |
| /gwi'lana/ | ‘be afraid’ | [gwilana] ~ *[wilana] |

One word has been attested with variation between [g^w] and [g]. The word /'guta/ ‘chop’ occurs as both ['guta] and ['g^wuta]. This appears to be an effect of the /u/ vowel following /g/, and does not affect the analysis of other /g^w/ segments.

The data provided here are exhaustive of words with /g^w/ in the current corpus. At first glance this appears to be a straightforward simplification of the /g^w/ cluster to /w/. However, the sequence is relatively rare in the language and those lexical items with cognates in neighboring Sawila occur in that language with a simple /w/. Furthermore, /tug^wan/ is a transparent borrowing of Indonesian/Malay *tuan* ‘owner’. These facts point to the existence of /g^w/ as an innovation. Thus, /g^w/ segments may reflect /w/ historically. It is still not clear what might motivate the change from /w/ to /g^w/.

¹⁰ This and several other post-verbal particles are glossed only as TAM at this stage.

In the speech of some speakers we find evidence of a phonemic bilabial fricative, /β/, which contrasts with all other bilabial sounds (stops /p/, /b/, nasal /m/ and glide /w/). The best minimal pair for this contrast is given in (4).

- (4) /βɛ/ ‘go.LEVEL’ /wɛ/ ‘blood’ (also, /pɛ/ ‘pig’, /mɛ/ ‘come’, */bɛ/)

This phoneme seems to be restricted to older speakers. For many younger speakers, /β/ is realized as [w], resulting in homophony for these words. Two frequently attested examples of this are /βɛ/ ‘go.LEVEL’ [βɛ] ~ [wɛ] and /-βiŋ/ ‘FOC’ [βiŋ] ~ [wiŋ].

2.2.1.2 Alveolars

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts among alveolar phonemes /t/, /d/, /n/, /s/, /r/ and /l/.

- (5) /'mala/ ‘man’ /'mana/ ‘village’
 /ti/ ‘row’ /di/ ‘COMPL’ /si/ ‘come.LOW’
 /'sara/ ‘broom’ /'kada/ ‘hole’ /'sala/ ‘coral’

There is limited allophony in the alveolars. One attested variation involves the palatalization of /t/ in combination with /i/ before /a/. Examples are given in (6).

- (6) /ti/ > [ti] ~ [tʃ] / __a

/tia/	‘PROHIB’	[tia] ~ [tʃa]
/lɛ-tian/	‘chew’	[lɛ-tian] ~ [lɛ-tʃan]
/tialɛ/	‘day before yesterday’	[tialɛ] ~ [tʃalɛ] ~ [tʃualɛ]

These sequences of /ti/ frequently reduce to [tʃ] before the vowel /a/, but may be realized as [ti] in more careful speech.

2.2.1.3 Palatals /j/ and /dʒ/

There is at least one possible minimal pair for /j/ and /dʒ/, given in (7).

- (7) /dʒa/ ‘water’ /-ja/ ‘mother’

However, the word for ‘water’ exhibits variation, attested in the following realizations: [dʒa] ~ [iʲa] ~ [ja]. The word for mother, however, exhibits no variation (*[-dʒa] ‘mother’). A number of other words show variation between [j] and [dʒ]. For these words we posit the [dʒ] forms as underlying. These contrast with words with underlying /j/ which occur with only one realization, [j] (like /-ja/ ‘mother’). In (8) we give examples of words with phonemic /dʒ/ and their phonetic realizations.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| (8) | /tadʒi/ | ‘rattan rope’ | [tadʒi] ~ [taji] |
| | /dʒi-/ | ‘2POSS’ | [dʒi-] ~ [ji] |
| | /'dʒɪki/ | ‘sturdy’ | ['dʒɪki] ~ ['jɪki] |
| | /'dʒima/ | ‘hot’ | ['dʒima] ~ ['jima] ~ ['ima] |
| | /'dʒala/ | ‘female’ | ['dʒala] ~ ['jala] |
| | /'dʒina/ | ‘fill’ | ['dʒina] ~ ['jina] |
| | /'dʒo/ | ‘storage house’ | [dʒo] ~ [jo] |
| | /'dʒika/ | ‘red’ | ['dʒika] ~ ['jika] ~ ['ika] |
| | /'dʒusa/ | ‘divide’ | ['dʒusa] ~ ['jusa] |

In (9), I suggest a rule of unconditioned allophony for /dʒ/. Note that this segment is occasionally lost entirely when the following vowel is /i/.

- (9) /dʒ/ allophony

/dʒ/ > [j] ~ [ɨ] ~ [dʒ]

Some words have been attested with [dʒ] only.

- (10) /adʒi/ ‘I don’t know’ /-dʒi/ ‘go.down’

It is still unclear what motivates this variation, but it may be due to dialectal and/or generational variation. In most cases [dʒ] occurs in word-initial onset only, with just a few exceptions (e.g. [adʒi], [tadʒi], [ndʒi]). These exceptions do not exhibit any allophonic variation.

The restricted distribution of /dʒ/ contrasts with the palatal glide /j/, which occurs in a large number of lexical items in both word-initial and word-medial positions. Furthermore, /j/ is realized as [j] only and exhibits no allophony. A few examples are given in (11). /j/ is widespread throughout the lexicon. The * in these examples represents unattested realizations.

- (11) /'jati/ 'bad' [jati] ~ *[dʒati]
 /'jənu/ 'you' [jənu] ~ *[dʒənu]
 /'jəku/ 'two' [jəku] ~ *['dʒəku]
 /a'jək/ 'rice' [ajək] ~ *[a'dʒək]
 /-jo/ 'wife' [-jo] ~ *[-dʒo]
 /'joka/ 'itchy' ['joka] ~ *[dʒoka]

2.2.1.4 Velars

Minimal pairs contrast the three primary velar phonemes, /k/, /g/, and /ŋ/. Each phoneme is described in more detail below.

- (12) /'kana/ 'good' /'gana/ 'hunt'
 /-ku/ 'stay' /gu/ 'hour, time'
 /'ŋənu/ 'I' /'gənu/ 'he/she'
 /'wəka/ 'burn' /gə'ka/ 'skin'

/ŋ/ > [ŋ] ~ [n]

In addition to morphophonemic variation of /ŋ/ discussed in 2.2.2.4, underlying /ŋ/ also (optionally) assimilates word internally to following consonants. For example,

- (13) /mowiŋsa/ > [mo'winsa]
 /waŋsa/ > ['wansa]

/gi-/ > [gi-] ~ [dʒ-] / __a

For some speakers, initial /gi/ is realized as the palatal plosive /dʒ/ before /a/, as in the following examples:

- | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| (14) | /gi-ayang/ | ‘3POSS-top’ | [giayang] ~ [dʒayang] |
| | /giana/ | ‘travel’ | [giana] ~ [dʒana] |
| | /gi-jara/ | ‘3POSS-flower’ | [gijara] ~ [dʒara] |

/k^w/ and /g^w/

The labio-velars /k^w/ and /g^w/ are marginal phonemes in Kula. The voiced /g^w/ is limited to a small set of lexical items and exhibits allophonic variation with /w/ as described in section 2.2.1.1 above.

While a small number of minimal pairs contrast /k^w/ and /k/ (15), /k^w/ is rare throughout the lexicon.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|---------------|--------|--------------------|
| (15) | /k ^w ila/ | ‘k.o. basket’ | /kila/ | ‘peninsula’ |
| | /k ^w a/ | ‘fruit’ | /ka/ | ‘so’ (conjunction) |
| | /k ^w i/ | ‘pocket’ | /ki/ | ‘cry’ |

Other words with /k^w/ include /-nik^wa/ ‘eye’, /tu^wk^weli/ ‘cook inside bamboo’, /t^wuk^wa/ ‘basket’, /-amk^wε/ ‘face’, /suk^wa/ ‘like’¹¹, /a^wik^wa/ ‘dry’,

The phoneme /ŋ^w/ does not appear to have phonemic status, leaving a noticeable gap in the Kula phonemic inventory if /k^w/ and /g^w/ are given full phonemic status. This segment occurs only due to assimilation across word and morpheme boundaries, as described in 2.2.4.2 below.

Examples include:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (16) | /ŋ ^w iti/ | ‘I sit’ (> ŋ- ‘1EXCL’ + -m ^w ti ‘sit’) |
| | /ŋ ^w an/ | ‘I wear/put on (shirt)’ (> ŋ- ‘1EXCL’ + -man ‘put on’) |
| | /tar ^w ana/ | ‘Taramana (village name)’ (> tar ^w ‘?’ + mana ‘village’) |

2.2.1.5 Nasals, liquids, and glides

These phonemes are described together because they do not seem to exhibit any allophonic variation. The minimal pairs in (17) demonstrate contrasts among articulatorily similar consonants in these three classes. The liquid phonemes /r/ and /l/ are a trill and lateral approximant, respectively.

¹¹ Apparently borrowed from Indonesian ‘suka’.

- (17) *nasals*
 /mɛ/ ‘come’ /nɛ/ ‘drink’ /ŋɛ/ ‘I/we drink’
- laterals*
 /'sara/ ‘broom’ /'sala/ ‘coral’
- glides*
 /'jala/ ‘woman’ /'wala/ ‘egg’

2.2.2 Vowels

Kula has a seven-vowel system with five cardinal vowels and two non-cardinal vowels (Table 4). The distinction between cardinal and non-cardinal vowels in Kula is one of both quality and length: in stressed syllables, cardinal vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ are long with a typical duration of about 100 milliseconds (can be longer), whilst stressed non-cardinal vowels /ɪ, ʊ/ are shorter with a duration of approximately 50 milliseconds (may be shorter than 50ms). The length difference between cardinal and non-cardinal vowels in unstressed syllables remains to be investigated in detail, but initial analysis shows that cardinal vowels in unstressed syllables are shorter, in the 50ms range similar to stressed central vowels, /ɪ, ʊ/. This shows that length and stress coincide to a certain extent. Minimal pairs demonstrating phonemic contrast between the cardinal and non-cardinal vowels are limited to stressed syllables. There is no clear contrast between cardinal and non-cardinal or long and short vowels in unstressed syllables.

Table 4. Kula vowel phonemes			
	front	central	back
High	i		u
		ɪ (í)	
Mid	e		o
		ʊ (á)	
Low		ɑ	

2.2.2.1. Vowel minimal pairs

Minimal pairs demonstrating the phonemic status of the five cardinal vowels are given in (18).

(18)	/-pa/	‘father’	/pu/	‘NFIN.break’	/po/	‘but’
	/pe/	‘pig’	/i'pi/	‘areca nut’		
	/mi/	‘take’	/me/	‘come.LEVEL’	/mu/	‘NFIN.run’
	/ti/	‘row’	/te/	‘sleep’		
	/to/	‘also’	/tu/	‘three’		

Minimal pairs illustrating the phonemic contrast between cardinal and non-cardinal vowels are comparatively fewer, particularly for /i/ and /ɪ/. Minimal and near minimal pairs for /i/ versus /ɪ/ and /a/ versus /æ/ are given in (19) and (20) respectively. All attested minimal pairs contrast these vowels in stressed syllables.

(19)	/mi/	‘take’	/mɪ/	‘NFIN.be.located’
	/ˈpisi/	‘strike’	/ˈpɪsi/	‘mango’
	/aˈkiki/	‘choose’	/aˈkɪki/	‘grasshopper’
	/mi-si/	‘bring down’ ¹²	/ˈmɪs/	‘torch’

(20)	/-pa/	‘father’	/pɛ/	‘NFIN.garden’
	/tan/	‘NFIN.arrive’	/-tɛn/	‘hand’
	/man/	‘put on’	/-mɛn/	‘neck’
	/ˈsaku/	‘FIN.old’	/sɛk/	‘rip’
	/ˈlali/	‘FIN.play’	/ˈlɛli/	‘FIN.light (a fire)’ (verb)
	/ˈgaya/	‘FIN.say’	/ˈgɛya/	‘FIN.laugh’

Minimal and near minimal pairs contrasting the non-cardinal vowels /ɪ/ and /æ/ are provided in (21).

(21)	/gɛs/	‘cooked rice’	/gɪs/	‘NFIN.contents’
	/a-ˈtɛn/	‘3POSS-hand’	/aˈtɪŋ/	‘NFIN.swollen’
	/ˈapɛ/	‘NFIN.bamboo.wall’	/ˈapɪ/	‘NFIN.fish’
	/ˈmadɛŋ/	‘NFIN.worker’	/mɛˈdɪŋ/	‘NFIN.plant’

¹² This item is a compound composed of /ˈmi/ ‘take’ and /ˈsi/ ‘come.LOW’.

2.2.2.2. Vowel allophony

Vowel allophony is mostly limited to non-cardinal vowels. The cardinal vowels do not appear to exhibit any significant allophonic variation. The phoneme /ɪ/ has an allophone [i] which appears before or after velar consonants. Examples are given in (22).

(22) /ɪ/ > [i] / [+velar] ___ -or- ___ [+velar]

e.g.	/pa'dangkɪ/	[padangkɪ]	'crocodile'
	/i'niŋki/	[i'niŋki]	'stoveplace'
	/pɪŋki/	[piŋki]	'plate'
	/a'kiŋ/	[akiŋ]	'emotion'

The [i] allophone has been attested in some limited other environments as well.

(23) /'apɪ/ ['apɪ] 'fish.NFIN'
/'miti/ ['miti] 'sit'

The phoneme /ɐ/ has a fronted allophone [ɛ] that occurs in the environment immediately preceding /j/ and, in stressed syllables, following /j/. Examples are provided in (24).

(24) /'pɛja/ ['pɛja ~ 'pɛja] 'FIN.garden'
/'ɲɛja/ ['ɲɛja ~ 'ɲɛja] 'my mother'
/'gɛja/ ['gɛja ~ 'gɛja] 'laugh'
/'jɛnu/ ['jɛnu ~ 'jɛnu] 'you'

In addition to these allophonic variations, there are a number of other alternations, some motivated by phonotactic preferences. First, unstressed word-final high vowels (/ɪ/, /i/ and /u/) are frequently devoiced or dropped entirely in non-final clause position. Note that devoicing only occurs after voiceless stops and fricatives, but not following nasals (e.g. /'tani/ and /'deni/). (25) summarizes these alternations and examples for each vowel are given in (25a-c).

(25) $V_{[+high]} > \emptyset / _\#$
 $V_{[+high]} > V_{[-voice]} / C_{[-voice]} _\#$

- (a) /'apɪ/ ['apɪ ~ 'apɪ̥ ~ 'ap] 'NFIN.fish'
/'busɪ/ ['busɪ ~ 'busɪ̥ ~ bus] 'sand'
- (b) /'tani/ ['tani ~ 'tan] 'fall'

	/deni/	['denɪ ~ 'den]	‘name’
	/miti/	['miti ~ 'miti̯ ~ 'mit]	‘sit’
	/pati/	['pati ~ 'pati̯ ~ 'pat]	‘eat, bite’
(c)	/tuku/	['tuku ~ 'tuku̯ ~ 'tuk]	‘cut’
	/gusu/	['gusu ~ 'gusu̯ ~ 'gus]	‘shoot arrow’
	/saku/	['saku ~ 'saku̯ ~ 'sak]	‘old’
	/a'teku/	[a'teku ~ a'teku̯ ~ a'tək]	‘earth’

Additionally, unstressed initial /i/ is commonly dropped. Examples of this are provided in (18a-b). Note that this does not occur where initial unstressed /i/ is the set I first person-marking prefix *i-* ‘1PL.INCL’, e.g. *i'pati* ‘we eat’ cannot occur as **'pati* ‘we eat’. One exception to this rule is the set II first-person prefix, *igá-* which can occur as *gá-* as in (26b), despite the stress falling on the initial /i/ of *igá-*.

(26)	a.	/i'pi/	[i'pi ~ 'pi]	‘betel nut’
		/i'li/	[i'li ~ 'li]	‘river’
		/i'nɪŋki/	[i'nɪŋki ~ 'nɪŋki]	‘stoveplace’
	b.	/igə-/	[igə- ~ gə]	‘1INCL.POSS.II’

There is also some limited evidence for unconditioned raising of /o/ to [u] in some words. Examples are given in (27). Note that this variation has only been observed in a small number of words with /o/, and the full extent of this raising remains to be determined.

(27)	/po/	[po ~ pu]	‘but (CONJ)’
	/mo'si/	[mo'si ~ mu'si]	‘if (CONJ)’

However, many words with /o/ are never attested with a raised vowel (28).

(28)	/to/	[to] - *[tu]	‘also’
------	------	--------------	--------

The Kula vowel system, including seven vowel phonemes, with 2 short non-cardinal vowels and 5 longer cardinal vowels, contrasts with its closest relatives, Wersing with 5 cardinal vowel phonemes (Schapper & Hendery 2014) and Sawila with six vowels and a length distinction for all six (Kratochvil 2014). The historical origins of the Kula vowel system remain

to be investigated systematically, but, in many cases, /ɪ/ and /e/ appear to be cognate with short /i/ and short /a/ in Sawila, and stressed /i/ and /o/ in Wersing.

2.2.3 Phonotactics

Consonant distribution in Kula is characterized by greater restriction in coda position than in onset position. Nearly all consonants occur in onsets, both initial and medial. Two phonemes, /r/ and /ŋ/, are restricted in word-initial onsets: word-initial /r/ is limited to loanwords and word-initial /ŋ/ is restricted to person-marking prefixes (which, however, make it pervasive). In word-final codas only /k/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/ and /l/ are attested. Word-medial codas are attested with /k/, /s/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /r/, but not /l/. A summary of these restrictions is given in Table 5 and illustrative examples can be found in section 2.2.2.4. Kula also permits consonant clusters, described in section 2.2.2.5.

Table 5. Distribution of consonant phonemes¹³

	p	b	t	d	k	g	s	m	n	ŋ	r	l	w	j
word-initial onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
word-medial onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
word-medial coda	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
word-final coda	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-

Distribution of single vowel phonemes in Kula is unrestricted. All seven vowels are attested in both open and closed syllables. Sequences of vowels are more limited. The attested rising and falling sequences are given in Table 6. There is some overlap with vowel sequences in neighboring Sawila (Kratochvil 2014), although the prevalence of certain sequences differs in the two languages. For example, Kula has more /ai/ sequences and comparatively fewer /ea/ sequences, particularly since many /ea/ sequences in Sawila are a result of vowel harmony

¹³ (+) indicates a consonant which occurs in the specified position only in surface forms or loan words.

processes that are absent in Kula. Note that while falling sequences constitute a single nucleus, rising sequences are typically syllabified as separate nuclei. For example, /laisoma/ ‘onion’ is realized as [ˈlai.so.ma], while /tia/ ‘PROHIB’ is realized as [ˈti.a].

Table 6. Vowel sequences in Kula

	i	e	a	o	u
i			ai		
a	ia	ea			ua
o					uo
u			au		

Examples of falling sequences— /ai/ and /au/ – are given in (29) below. Both are common in Kula, while /ai/ is only attested in one word in Sawila and /au/ is apparently not attested (Kratochvil 2014). For /ai/, this is due to a sound change in which Sawila /r/ regularly corresponds to Kula /j/ or /i/, resulting in sequences of /ai/ in Kula for sequences of /ar/ and /aru/ in Sawila. Illustrative examples of Sawila-Kula cognates are given in (30).¹⁴

(29) Falling vowel sequences

/laiŋki/	‘ant’	/laisoma/	‘onion’
/aiwaka/	‘civet cat’	/aikwa/	‘dry’
/aisabaku/	‘deer’	/kaiki/	‘orphan’
/baura/	‘work’	/mraungki/	‘watermelon’
/tau/	‘too’	/baulana/	‘Monday’

(30) **Sawila**

/aruko/	‘dry’
/aruwaaka/	‘civet cat’
/arusa/	‘roe buck’
/araka/	‘rice’

Kula

/aikwa/	‘dry’
/aiwaka/	‘civet cat’
/aisabaku/	‘roe buck’
/ajək/	‘rice’

Rising sequences are comparatively less common in Kula. Attested sequences include /ia/, /ea/, and /ua/. Examples of each are given in (31).

¹⁴ The correspondence is not attested in all cognate pairs. For example, consider Sawila /aroosa/ ‘brush’ ~ Kula /arosa/ and Sawila /araasiiku/ ‘four’ ~ Kula /arasiku/ ‘four’. More work is needed on the history of languages of eastern Alor to fully understand the changes in vowel systems in these languages.

- (31) Falling vowel sequences
 /tia/ 'PROHIBITIVE'
 /gea/ 'tree'
 /moaja/ 'sap from a k.o. tree'
 /ipua/ 'sugar cane'

2.2.4. Syllable structure

Kula syllable structure allows for both open and closed syllables. Words consist minimally of a nucleus and an onset (CV) or coda (VC). In words of more than one syllable, initial syllables may consist of a single vowel (V). Maximum syllable shape is CCVC or CCVV. Complex onsets and nuclei are all found, but restricted, as described in section 2.2.3. Words range from monosyllabic (CV) to complex three- and four-syllable words. Onset clusters occur both word-initially and word-medially, consisting of either a stop and a liquid (/bl/, /pl/, /br/, /tr/, /kr/) or an /s/ and a liquid or stop (/sl/, /sr/, /sp/). Another unique phonotactic feature among the Alor-Pantar languages is the existence of syllabic nasals in Kula (e.g. /nta/ 'or' and /mpati/ 'I eat'). The observed syllable types are set out in (32). Short/central vowels (/e/ and /i/) are indicated by Ǟ. Stress is marked with <'> for primary stress and <,> for secondary stress before the onset of the stressed syllable.

- | | | | |
|------|-------|--------|------------------------|
| (32) | CǞ | pǞ | 'garden' |
| | CV | pe | 'pig' |
| | CVV | tau | 'too' |
| | CǞC | sǞk | 'torn' |
| | CVC | kul | 'leg' |
| | CCVV | blai | 'papaya' ¹⁵ |
| | CCǞC | plɨŋ | 'accompany, take with' |
| | V.CǞ | 'a.pɨ | 'NFIN.fish' |
| | V.CV | a.'ji | 'I don't know' |
| | V.CVV | i.'pua | 'sugar cane' |
| | V.CǞC | a.'tɨŋ | 'swollen' |
| | VC.CV | am.'pa | so that' |

¹⁵ An alternate form /'bla.ke/ 'papaya' is also attested.

C.CV	n. 'ta	'or'
CV̆.CV̆	[not attested]	
CV̆.CV	'mi.ti	'sit'
CV.CV̆	'bu.sɪ	'sand'
CV.CV	'wa.la	'egg'
CV.CVV	ma. 'kai	'salty (water)'
CVV.CV	'moa.ja	'sap from a k.o. tree'
CV̆.CVC	[not attested]	
CV.CVC	'ŋe.kul	'my foot'
CVC.CV	'wik.si	flood
C.CVCV	m. 'pati	'I/we eat'
CV.CCV	'pu.kra	'spurt'
CV.CCVC	'ta.brin	'fall apart'
CCV.CV	'bli.na	'write'
V.CV.CV	a. 'la.ta	'taro'
V.CVC.CV	a. 'jum.pa	'board'
VC.CV.CV	ar. 'pa.ne	'chase'
CV.CV.CV	'ka.pi.ta	'flood'
CV.CVC.CV	wa. 'lɛŋ.ka	'green'
CV.CV.CCV	ba. 'la.tra	'piece of bamboo'
CVV.CV̆.CV	wai. 'ki.ki	'candlenut'
CVV.CV.CV	bau. 'la.na	'Monday'
CVC.CV.CV	'bom.bu.la	'tomato'
CV.CV.CV.CV	gɤ.ka. 'ba.ku	'cat'
CVC.CV.CV.CV	lɔŋ.ku. 'ki.ta	'frog'

Preferred syllable structure in Kula is CV. While some onset clusters are allowed, these are highly restricted. Coda clusters are unattested and coda consonants are also highly restricted. Where attested, coda consonants are rare as can be seen from the examples in (32) above.

Despite the restriction on consonant clusters, Kula seems to be developing additional onset clusters due to an ongoing loss of unstressed vowels in the initial syllables of disyllabic words. Examples of this phenomenon are given in (33). Two facts argue against the analysis of underlying clusters broken up by epenthetic vowels: 1) The quality of the vowel in the initial syllable is unpredictable, and 2) the quality of the initial vowel typically corresponds to the quality of the vowel in cognate forms of the words in closely related Sawila (see Kratochvil 2014). However, because these words rarely occur with a full vowel in the first syllable, they are

written as consonant clusters in the practical orthography (e.g. *pta* for /puta/, *kne* for /kine/, etc.).

This is based on native speaker preference, as well.

- (33)
- | | |
|--------|-----------------|
| /puka/ | [pəka] ~ [puka] |
| /puta/ | [pəta] ~ [puta] |
| /muda/ | [məda] ~ [muda] |
| /kine/ | [kəne] ~ [kine] |
| /mura/ | [məra] ~ [mura] |
| /sika/ | [səka] ~ [sika] |

One other process related to preserving optimal syllable structure is the limited loss of initial /i/ vowels. Examples are given in (34). The initial vowels are always present in slow speech and citation forms.

- (34)
- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|---|---------------|
| /ipi/ | ‘areca nut’ | → | [pi] |
| /ili/ | ‘river’ | → | [li] |
| /igə/ | ‘1PL’ | → | [gə-] ~ [gə-] |

This deletion is not possible when the /i/ vowel is the first person inclusive plural agreement marker, /i-/ , due to the high functional load of this grammatical marker.

- (35) /i-/ + /-pati/ → /ipati/ → [i.'pa.ti], but *['pa.ti] ‘we (INCL) eat’

2.2.5 Stress

Stress is realized as a combination of higher volume and pitch and interacts with the length/quality contrasts. The contrast between short/central and long/peripheral vowels, /i/ and /ɪ/, /a/ and /ə/, is only robustly attested in stressed syllables. In unstressed syllables, there is no evidence of this distinction. It is possible that the “short” vowels in Kula have become more centralized under stress. In table 7 I provide examples of word level stress in Kula.

Table 7. Examples of Kula stress

	Syllable	Examples
DISYLLABIC	1 st	/mana/ ‘village’ [ˈma.na], /miti/ ‘sit’ [ˈmi.ti], /lula/ ‘go’ [ˈlu.la], /jəku/ ‘two’ [ˈjə.ku]
	2 nd	/mda/ ‘go.up’ [məˈda], /aˈjək/ ‘rice’ [aˈjək], /aˈda/ ‘fire’ [aˈda]
TRISYLLABIC	1 st	/asəka/ ‘tree’ [ˈa.sə.kə], /tatuku/ ‘talk about’ [ˈta.tu.ku]
	2 nd	/taˈtaku/ ‘meet, find’ [taˈta.ku], /disˈpaka/ ‘squash’ [disˈpa.kə]
	3 rd	/baluˈne/ ‘sweet potato’ [ˌba.luˈne]
QUADRISYLLABIC	3 rd	/adaˈmasa/ ‘bird’ [ˌa.daˈma.sa], /gəkaˈbaku/ ‘cat’ [ˌgə.kaˈba.ku], /milaˈpiki/ ‘lightning’ [ˌmi.laˈpi.ki]

Stress apparently makes some limited phonemic contrasts, but further analysis is required to confirm this. The minimal pair in (36) appears to contrast only in terms of stress placement.

- (36) /kula/ [ˈku.la] ‘split in two’
 /kuˈla/ [kuˈla] ~ [kuˈlua] ‘foam’

2.2.6. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic processes in Kula include to word-shape alternations (2.2.6.1) and limited vowel harmony (2.2.6.2).

2.2.6.1. Word-shape alternations

A portion of Kula lexical roots occur in two forms, the ‘final’ and ‘non-final’ forms (following Kratochvil 2014). The majority of lexical items in Kula occur in only one form. As in Sawila, the final forms typically end in a vowel (/a/, /i/ or /u/ in Kula), while non-final forms end in a consonant (37a-b). One exception to this in Kula is the third set of lexical items undergoing this alternation (37c), in which the non-final roots are verb-final and the final forms add a glide /j/ between the root-final vowel and the /-a/ marking the words as ‘final’. Examples of each set are given in (37a-c).

- (37) a. /amən/ /aməna/ ‘DIST.like’
 /buraŋ/ /burana/ ‘very, just’
 /kaŋ/ /kana/ ‘good’
 /dəŋ/ /dəna/ ‘one, some’
 /anɪŋ/ /anɪna/ ‘person’
 /marɪŋ/ /marɪna/ ‘small’
- b. /alək/ /aləki/ ‘mud’
 /pin/ /pini/ ‘nose’
 /den/ /deni/ ‘name’
 /ler/ /leri/ ‘king’
 /ŋən/ /ŋənu/ ‘1EXCL.NOM’
 /atək/ /atəku/ ‘land’
- c. /apɪ/ /apɪja/ ‘fish’
 /mɪ/ /mɪja/ ‘be.located’
 /pɐ/ /pɐja/ ‘garden’
 /ile/ /ileja/ ‘tomorrow’
 /pu/ /puja/ ‘snap’
 /gɐ/ /gɐja/ ‘laugh’

The two forms occur in distinct syntactic positions. The final forms occur at the end of a phrase, while non-final forms occur elsewhere. Directly elicited citation forms are always given as the final form, providing an easy way to identify final and non-final forms. While affecting only a small portion of the lexicon (compare roughly 25% in Sawila – Kratochvil 2014), the alternation is seen in all word types, including nouns, verbs, aspectual markers. Examples of the type shown in (37a) are given below in (38)-(41). In (38), *giana* is final element of a verb phrase. In (39), *giang* is followed by an additional verb, *aku* ‘stay’, in an aspectual serial verb construction (see section 8.2). Similarly, in (40), *tana* is the final element of the verb phrase *burang tana*, while in (41) *tang* is followed by a prospective aspectual marker, *giya*.

- (38) gi-pa ai kələn opas awa **giana**
 3POSS.II-father INTERJ now commander then FIN.travel
 ‘His father (said), “Hey! Opas, get going now!”’
- (39) opas awa **giang** aku=ŋa
 commander then NFIN.travel stay=DIST

‘(After) the commander had been going for a while ...’

- (40) ləməna bureŋ **tana**
 immediately just FIN.plant
 ‘(And they) then immediately just planted.’

- (41) ləməna bureŋ **taŋ** giya
 immediately just NFIN.plant PROSP
 ‘Then (let’s) just plant.’

(42)-(43) illustrate the use of final and non-final forms of the verb *tani* ‘arrive’. Other lexical items in (37b) function similarly. Notice that in (42) *tani* is the final element of both the verb phrase and the entire utterance, while *tan* is followed by /kəsa/ ‘finish’, another aspect-marking verb in a serial verb construction.

- (42) sirata ape miuŋo mana~mana **tani**
 letter make to village~REDUP FIN.arrive
 ‘(They) made letters and sent them to every village.’

- (43) mana~mana **tan** kəsa gunamən=ŋa ...
 village~REDUP NFIN.arrive finish afterwards=DEF
 ‘(The letters) having arrived then in all the villages ...’

The examples in (44)-(45) contrast final and non-final forms of the noun /alək/ ‘mud’. In (44), *alák* is the applicative object of *mu-ate*, while in (45), *aláki* functions predicatively on its own.

- (44) gən alək mu-ate nəka
 3NOM NFIN.mud APPL-sleep usually
 ‘He’s used to sleeping in the mud.’

- (45) an=si aləki momo
 DIST=TOP mud Momo
 ‘That (over there) is muddy, Momo.’

In (46), the evidential marker *guna* is used twice, first in its non-final form, *gun*, before the conjunction *nta* ‘or’ and then in its final form *guna* at the end of a VP.

- (46) amən-da sen=nga a-mit gun nta gita we-pake
 DIST.like-SEQ money=DIST 3I-NFIN.sit EVID or 3POT APPL-use

 le guna

finish EVID

‘So, was the money still there or did he already use it?’

2.2.6.2 Vowel harmony

Limited vowel harmony is also attested in Kula. The clearest examples involve the vowel /u/. Examples are given in (47). The addition of the [u] vowel in the final syllable is allophonic.

In most cases, tokens without the vowel harmony also occur.

(47)	/suka/ →	[sukua]	‘like’
	/tupa/ →	[tupua] ~ [tupa]	‘close’
	/puta/ →	[putua] ~ [puta] ~ [pta]	‘pray’

2.2.7 Orthography

Since the work of Neil Johnston (n.d.), there has been a working orthography used for Kula. This orthography is based on the Indonesian orthography. The differences in the phonology of Kula and Indonesian, particularly the existence of two short/central vowels in Kula, have resulted in inconsistencies in the use of this orthography. Short/central vowels are sometimes written, sometimes not. Both short vowels and the epenthetic /ə/ are both sometimes written with orthographic {e}.

In this sketch we use a modified version of this orthography. In orthographic representation, the three vowel phonemes without short counterparts (/e, o, u/) are represented with the graphs {e, o, u}. The short/central vowels are distinguished from their long/peripheral counterparts by means of diacritics. /a/ and /i/ are represented with single graphs {a, i}, while /ə/ and /ɪ/ are represented with {á} and {í}, respectively. Unstressed epenthetic schwas are not written.

Consonant phonemes are written with the graph that is identical to the IPA representations of their underlying form, with three exceptions, all following Indonesian

orthographic conventions: {y} is used for the phoneme /j/, {j} is used for the phoneme /dʒ/ and {ng} is used for /ŋ/. Stress, although potentially phonemic, bears a low functional load and as such will not normally be marked in the orthography used here.

This modified orthography is used exclusively in the remainder of the sketch.

2.3 Basic clausal syntax

This section describes the structure of verbal (2.3.1), locative and existential (2.3.2), and non-verbal clauses (2.3.3). I also address clausal negation (2.3.4). Basic clause structure in Kula consists of a predicate preceded by its arguments and followed by aspect and mood markers. Arguments are frequently omitted when discernible from discourse context. The set of post-verbal aspectual markers are described in section 2.7.

2.3.1 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates in Kula take a maximum of two arguments. Intransitive predicates occur with a single argument (S) expressed as a noun phrase or pronoun preceding the predicate and sometimes with a person-marking prefix on the verb. Transitive predicates allow for two arguments, one more agent-like (A) and one more patient-like (P). Transitive verbs take person-marking prefixes for either the A or P arguments. Prefixes for both A and P arguments on a single verb occur rarely, but are attested. No true ditransitive predicates exist. Arguments are frequently omitted when easily identifiable from preceding discourse context.

The single argument of an intransitive verb (S) typically precedes the verb. This argument is frequently omitted when easily interpreted from preceding context, as in the second clause of (48).

- (48) *Ngán dua to nguda, lámána giana.*
 ngán=dua=to ng-mda lámána giana

[1NOM=PL=also]_S 1.IS-go.HIGH then FIN.leave
 ‘We also got on (the boat) and then left.’

Transitive predicates allow for two arguments, A (the more agent-like) and P (the more patient-like). The unmarked order in transitive clauses is APV (49). A focused P argument can also occur before the A argument through left-dislocation in the marked order PAV (50). Pronouns can be used to express A arguments, but never P arguments (51). Person-marking prefixes are not always present, as can be seen in example (51). More details on the behavior of these prefixes is given in section 2.6.1.

(49) *Kumapu asáka gámi.*

kuma-pu asáka gá-mi
 back-NFIN.break wood 3II_A-take
 ‘The crippled one (‘kumapu’) took the wood.’

(50) *Pe nga ngápa yusup gagusu.*

pe=nga ngá-pa yusup gá-gusu
 [pig=DEF]_P [1POSS.II-father Yusuf]_A 3_A-shoot.with.arrow
 ‘Then Yusuf shot the pig.’

(51) *Gánto gisaku dua dígini, ngánto ngásaku, ngátukwa ing wisa*

gán=to gi-saku=dua dígini ngán=to ngá-saku
 3NOM=also 3POSS.II-sack=PL FIN.lift 1NOM=also 1POSS.II-sack

ngá-tukwa=nga wisa
 1POSS.II-basket=DEF carry.on.shoulder
 ‘He picked up his sacks, and I also picked up my sack and basket and carried them on my shoulders.’

Both A and P arguments of transitive verbs can be omitted when recoverable from the preceding context. In (52), the A and P arguments for the final verb *le-lila* are both omitted, given their recoverability from the explicit mentions of those shared arguments from the preceding clauses.

(52) *Waikiki nga bukula baleka dánt gunamannga, ngáya Ribka ngánáku wisa nji Petuka mu dasin lelila.*

waikiki=nga bukula baleka dánt gunamannga ngá-ya
 candlenut=DEFhusk container one afterward 1POSS.II-mother

Ribka	ngán-yáku	wísa	ng-ji	Petuka-mu
R.	1NOM-two	carry.on.shoulder	1Is-go.LOW	P.-LOC

dasin le-lila

SCALE APPL-hang

‘(I) husked candlenut (and got) one ‘blek’, after that Ribka and I, the two of us carried (it) down to Peitoko and weighed (it).

Only one marginally trivalent verb is attested in Kula, the verb *-yáni* ‘give’. This verb always occurs with the applicative prefix *we-*. The T (theme) argument is typically introduced as the argument of a separate verb, *mi* ‘take’, making this more like a serial verb construction (54).

- (53) *Apá le amáng laporan mi camat wegayán amána.*

apá	le	amáng	laporan	mi
NFIN.evening	finish	NFIN.DIST.like	report	take

camat	we-ga-yán	amána
district.head	APPL-3II _A -NFIN.give	FIN.DIST.like

‘Yesterday, the district head (Ind. *camat*) gave (them) a report like that.’

- (54) *Ngápte abu nga mi ngápa bayáku wegani¹⁶, pte sle nga ngán nga ngánáku mpati.*

ngá-pte	abu=nga	mi	ngá-pa	ba-yáku
1POSS.II-corn	dust=DEF	take	1POSS.II-father	BA-two

we-ga-yáni	pte	sle=nga	ngán=nga	ngánáku
APPL-3II-give	corn	flat=DEF	1NOM=DEF	1DUAL

ng-pati

1EXCL.I-FIN.eat

‘I gave the ground corn to the two men. The flattened corn, the two of us ate.’

However, T arguments may also be included in the clause without the addition of *mi* (55).

- (55) *Pte ma buráng ake wegayáni.*

pte	ma	buráng	ake	we-ga-yáni
corn	cooked	NFIN.only	spoon	APPL-3II-FIN.give

‘They only (were able to) give him food with a spoon.’

¹⁶ In fast speech, *ga-* + *yáni* → *gani*.

This is potentially due to the lack of an overt R argument. Another case in which no R argument is expressed and the T argument is not marked with *mi* is given in (56). Because the R argument is not expressed, the T argument does not require extra flagging with *mi*.

- (56) *Gimasing amít nga wegayáni.*
 gi-masing a-mít=nga we-ga-yáni
 3POSS.II-NFIN.food 3I-NFIN.sit=DEF APPL-3II-FIN.give
 ‘Give (him) his food.’

Thus, this verb, *-yáni*, is not a typical ditransitive verb. When all three arguments are overtly expressed, the T argument is marked with *mi*, resulting in a serial verb construction. When the R argument is omitted, the T argument is not marked with *mi*.

2.3.2 Locational and existential predicates

Location and existence are expressed in several ways involving the general locative verb *míya* ‘be located’, a set of posture verbs, the verb *giya* ‘put’, as well as deictic elevationals and positional nouns. This section describes the available constructions for expression of location and existence in Kula.

2.3.2.1 Locative/existential verb *míya*

The general locative verb *míya* ‘be located’ is commonly used to express both location and general existence. There are two basic types of constructions as depicted in (57a-b). There are two slots for NPs, with the location either preceding the theme (57a) or the theme preceding the location (49b). Examples of each construction are given in (58)-(59). In (58), *sirusa* ‘work’ is the theme located in the village *Lantoka*, while in (59), *kine* ‘knife’ is the theme located in *tas* ‘bag’.

- (57) a. NP_{LOC} NP_T *míya*
 b. NP_T NP_{LOC} *míya*

- (58) *Lantoka to sirusa míya.*

lantoka=to sirusa míya
 L.=also work be.located
 ‘There is work in Lantoka, too.’

(59) *Kne tas míya.*

kine tas míya
 knife bag be.located
 ‘The knife is in the bag.’

This verb is also used to express existence when no location is specified (60).

(60) *Yo inga gitatuk míya.*

yo=nga gi-tatuku míya
 storage=DEF 3POSS.II-story FIN.be.located
 ‘This storage house has a story (about it).’

2.3.2.2. Posture verbs

In addition to the locative verb *míya*, a set of posture verbs is used to express the location and existence of both human (61) and non-human (62) entities. These constructions express temporary existence at the time of utterance rather than a permanent sense of existence.

(61) *Kris míti nta nanu?*

kris míti nta nanu
 K. FIN.sit or NEG
 ‘Is Kris there or not?’

(62) *Kursi amít muna.*

kursi a-mít muna
 chair 3I-NFIN.sit EVID
 ‘There’s probably a chair (there).’

Other posture verbs used in existential and locative constructions include *duka* ‘stand’ (63), *lila* ‘hang’ (64), and *te* ‘lie’ (65). While humans occur only with *míti* ‘sit’, choice of posture verb with non-humans depends on either the position of the entity in the situation described or some physical property of the entity.

- (63) *Ngáles pe nijiwe ngu **duka** muna.*
 ngá-les pe ní-ji-we=nga=mu **duka** muna
 1II-NFIN.think pig LOC-go.LOW-go.LEVEL=DEF=LOC¹⁷ **stand** EVID
 ‘I think the pig/deer is (lit. ‘standing’) down over there.’

- (64) *Payengke tan gayogu, ngátukwa dua **lila** nanu.*
 Payengke tan gayogu ngá-tukwa=dua
 P. NFIN.arrive CONJ 1POSS.II-basket=PL

lila nanu
hang NEG
 ‘Having arrived in Payengke, my baskets were not (lit. ‘hanging’) there.’

- (65) *Kátuala ng tau lika **ateya**, an dua to mi gámuna*
 kátuala=nga tau lika **ateya** ang=dua=to mi
 dog=DEF too many FIN.sleep DIST=PL=also take

 ga muna
 NFIN.PROSP FIN.EVID
 ‘There are so many dogs lying around, they will be recorded (lit. ‘taken) too.’

2.3.2.3 Other existential verbs

Other verbs used in existential constructions include *ku* ‘stay’, *gi* ‘put’, *agátu* ‘be absent’, *nanu* ‘not exist’.

- (66) *Mery, kta níweji ili gi wawa.*
 mery kta ní-we-ji ili gi wawa
 M. NEG.MOD LOC-go.LEVEL-go.DOWN river put NEG.MOD
 ‘Mery, there’s not a river down there, is there?!’
- (67) *Níweji aku táma*
 ní-we-ji a-kuya
 LOC-go.LEVEL-go.LOW 3I-FIN.stay
 ‘(It’s) down over there.’
- (68) *Kawiyang agátu.*
 kawiyang agátu
 mosquito be.absent
 ‘There are no mosquitoes (here).’

¹⁷ See section 3.2.3 for explanation of location specification.

- (69) *Goko si nanu nga.*
 goko=si nanu nga
 bark=TOP NEG DIST
 ‘There’s no bark (for rolling cigarettes)’.

2.3.2.4 Specifying location

More specific locative relationships can be expressed by using positional nouns such as *mura* ‘inside’ with the basic locative verb *míya* (70).

- (70) *Api nga mangkok gimura míya.*
 api=nga mangkok gi-mra míya
 NFIN.fish=DEF cup 3.POSS.II-inside FIN.be.located
 ‘The fish is inside the cup.’

Other positional words are used in constructions with posture verbs, such as *tuka* ‘bottom’ used with *míti* ‘sit’ in (71) to express the location of a historic relic.

- (71) *Ang numda sup gituka mítí.*
 ang nu-mda supu gi-tuka mítí
 DIST LOC-go.HIGH canoe 3.POSS.II-bottom FIN.sit
 ‘(It) is up there, below the canoe.’ (lit. ‘it sits up there at the end of the boat’)

An elaborate set of deictic elevational terms are also used with locative constructions to encode more specific locative relations. These forms are typically used with posture verbs and rarely attested with the basic locative verb *míya* ‘be.located’. One example is found in (6271) above, in which *numda* ‘up there’ occurs prior and in apposition to *sup gituka* ‘bottom of the canoe’. Another example involving *gomán* and *níwe* is given in (72) and the basic set of elevational terms summarized in Table 8.

- (72) *Gomán níwe ja mít nta nanu?*
 gomán ní-we ja mít nta nanu
 there.LEVEL LOC-go.LEVEL water NFIN.sit or NEG
 ‘Is there any water over there or not?’

Table 8. Kula elevationals

	LOW	LEVEL	HIGH
THERE	gotín	gomán	goyon
COME	si	me	mde
GO	ji	we	mda

As shown in Table 8, the basic deictic verbs for ‘come’ and ‘go’ in Kula include a three-way distinction based on elevation (LOW, LEVEL, and HIGH). These verbs combine with a prefix *ní-/nu-* to produce an extensive set of elevational terms, supplementing the basic set of three (*gotín*, *gomán*, *goyon*). They are used in the same way as the elevationals in (72) above. The attested forms with free translations are given in (73).

- (73)
- | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| ní-si | ‘down here’ |
| ní-ji | ‘down there’ |
| ní-si-me | ‘down over here’ |
| ní-ji-we | ‘down over there’ |
| ní-we-ji | ‘down over there’ |
| nu-mda-we | ‘up over there’ |
| ní-we-mda | ‘up over there’ |
| ní-si-mde | ‘across over here’ (e.g. across a river or valley) |
| ní-ji-mda | ‘across over there’ (e.g. across a river or valley) |

2.3.3 Nominal predicates (equational clauses)

Equational clauses involve the use of nominal predicates. In these clauses, two NPs are simply juxtaposed with no other predicative element. Kula does not require the use of a copula or any other marker for an equational nominal clause. Examples are given in (74) to (75).

- (74) *Ayo to jawa yala pka.*

a-yo=to	jawa	yala	pka
3POSS.I-wife=also	Javanese	female	child

‘His wife also (is) a Javanese girl.’

- (75) *Inga, ado yala nga, atam giskwa.*

inga	a-do	yala=nga	a-tamu	gisukwa
PROX	3POSS-child	female=DEF	3POSS-grandchild	probably

‘This one, the female child, (is) probably her grandchild.’

- (76) *Ang giwe sona.*

ang	gi-we	sona
-----	-------	------

DIST 3POSS.II-go.LEVEL one
 ‘That (is) the first (one).’

2.3.4 Negation

The particle *nanu* is used for clausal negation in both verbal (77, 79) and non-verbal clauses (78).

(77) *Ngku nanu.*

ng-ku nanu
 1I-NFIN.stay NEG
 ‘I didn’t stay.’

(78) *Gán to gur nanu.*

gán=to gur nanu
 3NOM=also teacher NEG
 ‘He is also not a teacher.’

(79) *Nága dán to mi nanu.*

nága dán=to mi nanu
 thing NFIN.one=also take NEG
 ‘(He) didn’t take anything.’

Negative imperatives use the clause-final particle *tia*.

(80) *He, yágwilan tia!*

he yá-wilan tia
 INTERJ 2II-NFIN.afraid PROHIB
 ‘Hey, don’t be afraid!’

Other negative polarity items include *tabila* ‘may not, not permitted’ and the discontinuous *kta* ... *wawa* ‘there’s not ... is there?’. *Tabila* is typically used with the clause-final negator, *nanu*, though this is not obligatory.

(81) *Tabila dǎng aku nanu.*

tabila dǎng a-ku nanu
 may.not NFIN.one 3-stay NEG
 ‘Don’t let any remain.’

(82) *Mery, káta níweji ili gi wawa.*

mery káta ní-we-ji ili gi wawa
 M. NEG.MOD LOC-go.LEVEL-go.DOWN river put NEG.MOD
 ‘Mery, there’s not a river down there, is there?!’

2.4 Noun phrases

A noun phrase template is provided in (83). Noun phrases in Kula are headed by nouns, which are distinguished from verbs primarily by being able to host a possessor prefix (2.4.5). The noun phrase template consists of a head noun, optionally hosting a possessor prefix, and followed by slots for attributes, degree words, numerals or non-numeral quantifiers, and demonstratives. Aside from possessor prefixes, topic-marking *gána* is the only other pre-nominal element in the noun phrase. Post-nominal enclitics include *=si* (TOP) and *=to* ('also'), which are mutually exclusive. Relative clauses are optionally marked by *=nga*, which occurs phrase finally and derives from the demonstrative determiner, *=nga* (2.4.1.2).

$$(83) \quad \text{NP} \rightarrow [\text{POSS-N} \quad \text{ATTR} \quad \text{DEGREE} \quad \text{NUM/QUANT} \quad \text{DET}]=\text{ALSO/TOP}$$

Examples of noun phrases with different slots occupied are given in (84) – (87). While no single noun phrase has all slots occupied, these examples provide evidence for each individual slot and their proposed order. Numerals and non-numeral quantifiers occupy the same slot.

- (84) N QUANT DET
pe du onga
 pe=du=onga
 pig=PL=DIST
 'Those pigs'

- (85) PSR-N ATTR DEGREE
gikwila banang burána
 gi-kwila banang burána
 3.POSS.II-grass NFIN.forest FIN.INTENS
 'His very thick grass'

- (86) *gána* N(ATTR) NUM *=to*
gána saku yákwán to
 gána saku yákwán=*to*

DEM old NFIN.two=also
 ‘Those two old (people) as well’

- (87) N ATTR QUANT
jala pka dua
 jala pka=dua
 womansmall=PL
 ‘young women’

Sections 4.1 – 4.5 describe each slot in more detail.

2.4.1 Attributes

This section describes the use of both adjective-like attributes and relative clauses to modify head nouns in a noun phrase. Both always follow the head noun.

2.4.1.1 Adjective-like attributes

There is no distinct category of adjective in Kula. Some attributes are nominal roots, like *jala* ‘female’ in (88) – compare with (89), where *jala* is used as a noun. Other attributes are not distinct from verbs and can typically be used predicatively. For example, *wansa* ‘big’ is used as a predicate in (90), while it is used as an attribute for the noun *ige* ‘road’ in (91). Attributes always follow the nouns they modify.

- (88) *ado jala*
 a-do **jala**
 3.POSS.I-child female
 ‘his/her daughter’

- (89) *jala pka*
jala pka
 female small
 ‘little girl’

- (90) *Yánu wansa.*
 yánu **wansa**
 FIN.2.NOM big
 ‘You are big/important.’

- (91) *Igá wansa mu giang lula ape.*
 igá wansa-mu giang lula ape
 road big-LOC NFIN.travel go do
 ‘Take the main road.’

2.4.1.2 Relative clauses

Nouns in Kula can also be modified by relative clauses, a clause that modifies the head noun and any associated attributes. Relative clauses are typically unmarked, as in (92) and (93). The head noun may express any role (S, A or P) in both the relative clause and the main clause. In (92), the head noun expresses the S argument in both the relative clause and the main clause. In (93), the head noun expresses the S argument in the relative clause, but the P argument of the main clause.

- (92) *Jala sak ado yákwang píling gian to gita ki tau yat burána.*
 [[jala sak]_S a-do yákwang píling
 womanNFIN.old 3.POSS.I-child NFIN.two NFIN.accompany
 gian]_{RC}=to gíta ki tau yat burana
 NFIN.travel=also 3POT cry too NFIN.bad FIN.INTENS
 ‘The woman (who) brought her two kids along, she cried horribly.’
- (93) *Igákwila du nga atansi po asiape dāng nijimda si ingu adi, káta ayám adapa wawa!*
 igá-kwila=du=nga a-tan-si po
 1INCL.POSS.II-basket=PL=PROX CAUS-arrive-come.LOW so.that
 [[asiape dāng]_S ní-ji-mda si ingu]_{RC}
 deer NFIN.one LOC-go.LOW-go.HIGH come.LOW here
 adi káta ayám adapa wawa
 NFIN.see NEG.MOD NFIN.die close NEG.MOD
 ‘Put our baskets down so (we can) see the deer (that) came down here from over there, what if it’s almost dead?’

While most relative clauses are unmarked, some include an optional marker =*nga*. This marker is likely related to the definite marker, =*nga* (cf. *ba* in Kamang (Schapper 2014)). Note that the head noun *sen nga* ‘the money’ in (94) is the P argument of both the relative and main clauses. In

(95), *pka ngo* ‘that child’ is the S argument of the relative clause and the A argument of the main clause.

(94) *Sen nga tanagan-tanagan nga mi si le-gasámu.*

[[sen=nga]_{NP} tanagan-tanagan=nga]_{RC} mi si le-gasámu
 money=DEF gather~REDUP=REL take come.LOW APPL-save
 ‘We took down and saved the money that we had gathered.’

(95) *Gipa, ‘pka ingo mít aku ingo ngáleso nága dǎng ape aku gisukwa!’.*

gi-pa [[pka=ngo]_{NP} mít aku=nga]_{RC}
 3.POSS.II-father small=DIST NFIN.sit stay=REL

ngá-leso nága dǎng ape aku gisukwa
 1EXCL-FIN.think thing one do stay probably
 ‘His father (said) “That kid who is at home, I think, he probably did something (wrong).”’

2.4.2 Numerals and quantification

Number is not obligatorily marked on nouns in Kula. However, numerals (4.2.1) and other non-numeral quantifiers (4.2.2) are used to express number and other quantity concepts in noun phrases. An optional plural enclitic is common, though not obligatory. Both types of quantifiers follow the head noun and any other attributes modifying the head noun.

2.4.2.1 Kula numerals

Basic numerals are given in Table 9 below. The Kula numeral system is quinary. While some other AP languages have a separate monomorphemic word for 6, Kula uses the quinary numeral, 5 + 1. Numerals 1, 2, and 3 have two forms. The longer citation forms are given in Table 9. The shorter forms encountered in spontaneous speech are /sona/, /jeku/, and /tu/.

Table 9. Kula numerals

1	/sonadēna/	6	/jawatɪn sona/
2	/jekwana/	7	/jawatɪn jeku/
3	/tukana/	8	/jawatɪn tu/
4	/arasiku/	9	/jawatɪn arasiku/
5	/jawatɪna/	10	/adajeku/

An example of a higher, more complex numeral is given in (96). There is a native Kula word for ‘100’, *gasáka*, while the term for ‘1000’, *ribu*, is borrowed from Indonesian. These complex numerals are typically used in referring to specific calendar years. Otherwise they are uncommon. Note that when counting, ‘one’ is expressed by *dána* alone without *sona*. The applicative prefix *mí-* here is used to express the tens place, literally ‘eight in ten’. *Arasíng*, ‘plus’, is used before the ones digit in any number above ‘10’.

- (96) *Ile rib dána gasáka yawatín arasiku adayáku miyawatín tu arasíng arasik nga ngwe ujiani.*

ile	rib	dána	gasáka	yawatín	arasiku
NFIN.year	thousand	FIN.one	hundred	NFIN.five	FIN.four
adayáku	mí-yawatín	tu	arasíng	arasik=nga	
ten	APPL-NFIN.five		NFIN.three	add	
NFIN.four=DEF					
ng-we					
ujiani					
LEXCL-go.LEVEL	FIN.exam				
‘The year 1984, I went to take the exam.’					

Classifiers in Kula are limited to the prefix *ba-*, which functions as an optional human classifier. The prefix attaches to numerals in a construction denoting the number humans for the preceding noun, as in (97). The prefix is optional, however, as can be seen by its absence for the noun phrase *ado yákwang* in (98). The example in (99) demonstrates counting in natural discourse and the absence of any classifiers for non-human nominals.

- (97) *Saku batu nga, dǎng abasáya wána, dǎng atáke nga wána, dǎng gitana wána.*
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------------|---------------|----------|
| saku | ba-tu=nga | dǎng | abasáya | wána | dǎng |
| FIN.old | CLF.HUM-three=DEF | NFIN.one | rib | carry.on.head | NFIN.one |
| atáke=nga | wána | dǎng | gi-tana | wána | |
| head=DEF | carry.on.head | NFIN.one | 3.POSS.II-thigh | carry.on.head | |
| ‘There were three old men, one carried the ribs, one carried the head, and one carried the thighs (of a deer).’ | | | | | |

- (98) *Jala sak ado yákwang piling gian to gita ki tau yat burána.*
 [[jala sak]_s a-do yákwang piling
 womanNFIN.old 3.POSS.I-child NFIN.two NFIN.accompany
 gian]_{RC}=to gita ki tau yat burana
 NFIN.travel=also 3.POT cry too NFIN.bad FIN.INTENS
 ‘The woman (who) brought her two kids along, she cried horribly.’
- (99) *Motra sálál aku muna, motra nga tukana nan yákwana ...*
 motra sálál a-ku muna motra=nga
 motorbike NFIN.search 3-stay FIN.EVID motorbike=DEF
 tukana nan yákwana
 FIN.three NFIN.NEG FIN.two
 ‘(They) were searching for a motorbike, it seems, either three or two motorbikes ...’

This lack of classifiers, other than the one optional human classifier, is interesting from the perspective of Alor-Pantar languages more generally. Klammer (2014) has shown that the presence of classifiers increases as one moves westward towards Flores, thus more common in the languages of western Alor and Pantar. The absence of classifiers in Kula is in line with and might even be predicted by this pattern.

2.4.2.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers in Kula include the modifiers *lika* ‘many’, *padiki* ‘a bit’, *anawe* ‘all’, *dindini* ‘each one’, *dána* ‘one, some, INDEF’, and the plural clitic =*dua*. These quantifiers all follow the head noun they modify.

First, Kula uses an optional plural enclitic, =*dua* ‘PL’ to express both a vague plural sense (100) and an associative plural sense (101). The plural clitic is never used with numerals.

- (100) *Jala sak dua jiada nga anawe ape akáni.*
 jala sak=dua ji-ada=nga anawe ape akáni
 female NFIN.old=PL 2.POSS.II-fire=DEF all make FIN.extinguish
 ‘Ladies, put out all of your fires!’

- (101) *Lipidama du ga nan tenu.*
 Lipidama=du ga nan tenu
 Lipidama=PL say NFIN.NEG FIN.PFV
 ‘Lipidama and those guys haven’t said (anything).’

This plural clitic can also be used with inanimate referents (102).

- (102) *Ada du nga anawe yuka akáni.*
 ada=du=nga anawe yuka akáni
 fire=PL=DEF all pour.water FIN.extinguish
 ‘Extinguish all the fires!’

The modifiers *lika* and *padiki* are used to express the quantificational concepts ‘lots, many’ and ‘a little, not much’ respectively (103-104). *Lika* is much more common than *padiki*, with only one clear instance of *padiki* attested in the current corpus, given in (103).

- (103) *Doki lika mi su pa wáka.*
 doki lika mi su pat wáka
 mouse many take come so.that roast
 ‘Bring lots of here to roast.’

- (104) *Seng padik dǎng mi ka.*
 seng padik dǎng mi
 money NFIN.little NFIN.some take
 ‘Take a little bit of the money.’

Another non-numeral quantifier, *dindini*, conveys the sense of ‘each one of many’ (105). This is a reduplication of the word *dini* ‘how much?’, used to questions quantity.

- (105) *Sirusa dindini yatáng mura mí ...*
 sirusa dindini ya-táng mura mí
 work each.one 2.POSS.II-NFIN.hand inside NFIN.be.located
 ‘All of / each one of the tasks is in your hands.’

The quantifier *anawe* expresses ‘all’, a notion similar to that expressed by *dindini*, but without enumerating individual members of the set.

- (106) *Aningkang anawe lula gu gaya.*
 aning kang anawe lula gu gaya
 NFIN.person NFIN.good all go hit.gong PROSP
 ‘Everyone went to hit the gong.’

The quantifier, *dána* ‘one, some, SPEC/INDEF’ has several uses. The form derives from the numeral *sonadána* ‘one’. However, this full form is uncommon. *Sona* alone is used when counting, as in (107). The non-numeral quantifier *dána* is never used for counting.

- (107) *Ya! ngialiku, ‘sona, yáku, tua,’ amántuanga, anawe jaluk iji.*
 ya ngi-aliku sona yáku tua amántuanga anawe
 INTERJ 1EXCL.V-count one two three afterwards all

 ja luk i-ji
 water hole 1INCL.I-go.LOW
 ‘OK! I’ll count, 1, 2, 3, and then we all go down into the pool.’

Dána can be used to mean ‘one’ without *sona* when enumerating items. For example, ‘one container’ is expressed as *bleka dána* in (108).

- (108) *Ayák ntana gigís bleka yáku. Pte to lepuku, bleka dána.*
 ayák ng-tana gi-gís bleka yáku
 rice 1EXCL.I-FIN.grind 3.POSS.II-NFIN.content container two

 pte=to le-puku bleka dána
 corn=also APPL-husk container FIN.one
 ‘I pounded unhusked rice (to remove the husk), and the result was two containers. I also husked corn, and (got) one container.’

Note that *sona* can also be used on its own as a modifier without *dána* to enumerate (109).

- (109) *Talpi mana sona ngwiti.*
 talpi mana sona=nga míti
 Talpi village one=DEF FIN.sit
 ‘Talpi will occupy one village.’

Dána may also be used as a nominal modifier but without the precise meaning of a numeral. In these cases, its function is to indicate an indefinite but specific referent. For example, in (110), *sirusa dāng* refers to a specific, but indefinite, activity or job that the speaker intends to do.

- (110) *anuna sirusa dāng ape giya.*
 anuna sirusa dāng ape giya
 because work NFIN.one do PROG
 ‘Because there is something (we) are going to do.’

2.4.3 Demonstratives and determiners

Kula has a complex set of demonstratives and determiners outlined in Table 10. This section offers an initial analysis of demonstrative forms in Kula and a description of their primary functions. The proximal/distal contrast is expressed primarily through the vowels *i* in the proximal forms and *a* in the distal forms. This contrast does not hold for adnominal demonstratives, however. In fact, there does not appear to be a robust spatial contrast in adnominal demonstratives. I posit *=onga* as the proximal form and *=nga* as the distal form, though they are not used consistently this way in everyday speech (see below for examples and further discussion).

Table 10. Kula pronominal demonstratives

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
Pronominal	<i>inga</i>	<i>anga</i>
Adverbial	<i>ingu</i>	<i>angu</i>
Manner	<i>inína</i>	<i>amána</i>
Adnominal	<i>=onga</i>	<i>=nga</i>

Additionally, the pronominal and adnominal demonstratives can be modified with an additional enclitic, *=o*, producing the four additional forms in Table 11. The *=o* enclitic is also used as a placeholder and to indicate an ensuing word search (Amiridze et al. 2010).

Table 11. Additional demonstratives

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
Pronominal	<i>ingo</i>	<i>ango</i>
Adnominal	<i>=ongo</i>	<i>=ngo</i>

2.4.3.1 Pronominal demonstratives

First, *inga* ‘PROX’ and *anga* ‘DIST’ are used only as third person pronouns and never as determiners to modify nouns. These pronominal demonstratives are often accompanied by a point when used to refer to something in the immediate physical environment. They can also be

used to point to chunks of discourse. Examples of their use in the immediate environment are given in (111-113). These examples are all taken from a recording of two Kula speakers doing the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al. 2012). In this task, the speakers are presented with a series of pictures and asked to order them and tell a narrative using the pictures. Each of the demonstratives used here refers to one of the pictures as the speakers are presented with it, discussing it, or handing it back to me.

- (111) *Inga maka gisukwa?*
 inga maka gisukwa
 PROX banana maybe
 ‘This is maybe a banana?’ (pointing at picture of a person holding bananas)

- (112) *Kála inga pá mu gasu lámána gámi su tugwa.*
 kála inga pá-mu gá-su
 now PROX NFIN.garden-LOC 3II-come

 lámána gá-mi su tugwa
 immediately 3II-take come already
 ‘Now, this one is him coming from the garden, then (in this other one) he’s already bringing (his produce).’ (pointing to a picture)

- (113) *Anga giweyawatína.*
 anga gi-we-yawatína
 DIST 3.POSS.II-APPL-five
 ‘That’s the fifth one.’ (referring to the fifth in a series of pictures)

Pronominal demonstratives can be used to point to elements of the preceding discourse as well, as in (114), a common phrase said at the beginning of a narrative text.

- (114) *Anga inína.*
 anga inína
 DIST FIN.PROX.like
 ‘That was like this.’

Both pronominal demonstratives can take the enclitic =*o*. The precise function of this enclitic requires further study, but some idea can be gathered from examples (104) and (105) below. In

(115), the speaker has primary access to the referent and is drawing the addressee's attention to it.

- (115) *Ingo, mda lila gána mi tan walin si tenu.*
 inga=o mda lila gána mi tansi tenu
 PROX=PROX go.HIGH hang 3.NOM take fall PFV
 'This one here, (something) hanging, he made it fall already.'

- (116) *Ango, yikaku Wisal wina.*
 anga=o yi-kaku wisal wina
 DIST=PROX 2.POSS.II-younger.sibling Wisal hold
 'That's, uh, your younger brother Wisal holds (that area).
 (referring to a plot of land that belongs to Wisal)

The =o clitic appears to indicate the initiation of a word search, a common function for demonstratives in some languages. Because of its function and similarity with –o in Sawila, I here tentatively gloss it as 'proximal.'

2.4.3.2 Adnominal demonstratives

Of the two adnominal demonstratives, the distal =nga is highly frequent and often used in elicitation contexts to mark specific, identifiable referents. In fact, =nga appears to be developing into more of a definite determiner than true distal demonstrative. The proximal onga is frequently used for discourse deixis (119), though spatial uses are also attested (118).

- (117) *Ngáwáge inga*
 ngá-wáge=nga
 1.POSS.II-tooth=DIST
 'My tooth'

- (118) *Yáwáge onga*
 yá-wáge=onga
 2.POSS.II-tooth=PROX
 'This tooth of yours'

- (119) *Mi su bására su onga, seng ngáles gámi tugwa.*
 mi su bására su=onga seng ngáles gá-mi tugwa
 take come market come=PROX money 1EXCL-think 3-take already

‘Bringing (it) here, this one (where he’s) coming from the market, I think he’s taking money.’

The distal =*nga* as a definite determiner is used to modify pronominal demonstratives in (120) and (121) and personal names (122).

(120) *Inga nga, aningo mata kali.*

inga=nga aning=ngo mata kali
 PROX=DEF person=DIST hurt sick
 ‘This one [looking at a picture], that person is sick.’

(121) *Anga nga giwe yawatín sona.*

anga=nga gi-we-yawatín-sona
 DIST=DEF 3.POSS.II-APPL-five-one
 ‘That was the sixth one.’

(122) *Kátuala pe alula gunamángo, ngápa Yusup nga, gálemuyi.*

kátualape	alula	gunamango	ngá-pa		
dog	pig	bark	afterward	1.POSS.II-father	Yusup=nga Yusuf=DEF

gá-le-muyi
 3.II-APPL-FIN.run
 ‘After the dog barked at the animal, Yusup chased after it.’

2.4.3.3 Adverbial and manner demonstratives

The meaning and use of adverbial (*ingu* and *angu*) and manner demonstratives (*inína* and *amána*) is more straightforward. Also, neither of these types can be combined with the =*o* enclitic. Examples of each are given below.

(123) *Anawe yasu ingu tánágana.*

anawe ya-su ingu tánágana
 all 2.I-come here FIN.gather
 ‘Everyone come here and gather together.’

(124) *Angu ngwít ngku.*

angu ng-mít ng-ku
 there 1.I-NFIN.sit 1.I-stay
 ‘I was sitting there.’

- (125) *Anga inína.*
 anga inína
 DIST FIN.PROX.like
 ‘That (story) was like this.’
- (126) *Amáng-amáng aku gun amána, lula pilawáka dán letani.*
 amáng~amáng aku gun amána
 like.DIST~REDUP stay NFIN.EVID FIN.DIST.ike
 lula pilawáka dán le-tani
 go.DIST month NFIN.one APPL-FIN.reach
 ‘So it went like that for a month.’

2.4.4 Prenominal topic marker *gána*

Finally, *gána* occurs in a prenominal slot separate from the rest of the noun phrase. Examples are given in (127a-b). Identified as a topic marker in Sawila (Kratochvil 2014), the difference with other ‘topic’ markers (=si in Kula and =si and =ba in Sawila) remains to be investigated.

- (127) a. *Amána gána pe inga ...*
 amána gána pe=nga
 DIST.like DIST pig=DEF
 ‘Like that, that pig ...’
- b. *Gána sen anto ngáwe pake nanu.*
 gána sen ang=to ngá-we-pake nanu
 DIST money DIST=DEF=also1 EXCL-APPL-use NEG
 ‘I didn’t use that money either.’ (lit. ‘That money, I didn’t use it either.’)

2.4.5 Possession

Possession in Kula is marked by a prefix on the possessed noun for the possessor. The possessor is also optionally expressed as a separate noun phrase immediately preceding the possessed noun, as in (128a-b).

- (128) a. *Edu gisuba*
 Edu gi-suba
- b. *gisuba*
 gi-suba

Edu 3.POSS.II-house
‘Edu’s house’
[elicited example]

3.POSS.II-house
‘His/her house’
[elicited example]

Kula possessive prefixes belong to one of the three sets listed in Table 12. Nouns occur with only one set of prefixes. Set I and II prefixes are common, each occurring with a roughly equal proportion of nouns. Set III prefixes are used on a very small group of nouns, so far attested with *kárik* ‘finger’, *kul* ‘foot’ and *kás* ‘foot (sore)’.

Table 12. Kula possessor prefixes

	Set I/inalienable	Set II/alienable	Set III (e-series)
	/-jo/ ‘wife’	/-jo/ ‘shed’	/-kərik/ ‘finger’
1EXCL	ng-yo ¹⁸	ngá-yo	nge-kárik
2	ya-yo	yi-yo	ye-kárik
3	a-yo ¹⁹	gi-yo	ge-kárik
1INCL	i-yo	igi-yo	ige-kárik
DISTRIB	tá-yo	ti-yo	te-kárik

Whether a noun takes prefixes from Set I or Set II is lexicalized and based loosely on the concept of alienability. Set I prefixes occur primarily with kinship and bodypart nouns (129), while set II prefixes occur with a wider range of nouns (130). Obligatorily possessed nouns (mostly kinship and bodypart terms) occur in both set I and set II. Thus, not all kinship and bodypart terms occur with set I/inalienable possessor prefixes (131). All examples given in (129)-(131) were directly elicited.

- (129) a. *Atamu*
a-tamu
3.POSS.I-grandchild
‘his/her grandchild’
- b. *Ngikwa*
ng-nikwa
1EXCL.POSS.I-eye
‘my/our eye’
- c. *Ntán*
ng-tán
1EXCL.POSS.I-hand
‘my/our hand’
- (130) a. *Gisuba*
gi-suba
3.POSS.II-house
‘his/her house’
- b. *Giseng*
gi-seng
3.POSS.II-money
‘his/her money’
- c. *Ngápte*
ngá-pte
1EXCL.POSS.II-corn
‘my/our corn’

¹⁸ The first person exclusive prefix, *ng-*, undergoes place assimilation to the initial consonant of the possessed noun (see section 2.6).

¹⁹ *giayo* ‘his wife’ is also attested and involves reanalysis of *-ayo* as the root, rather than *-yo*.

- (131) a. *Gipa*
gi-pa
 3.POSS.II-father
 ‘his/her father’
- b. *Ngáya*
ngá-ya
 1EXCL.POSS.II-mother
 ‘my/our mother’
- c. *Giti*
gi-ti
 3.POSS.II-stomach
 ‘his/her stomach’

2.5 Pronouns

Kula has multiple sets of pronouns, though fewer than some other AP languages (see, for example, Schapper 2014 on Kamang). Table 13 presents the five paradigms that appear in the current corpus. Note that the singular/plural distinction has been lost in Kula in all pronouns and pronominal prefixes.

Table 13. Kula pronouns

	Nominative	Potitive	Focus	Possessive	Dual
1	ngánu	nta	ngawing	ngánggiya	ngánáku
1INCL	igánu	ite	iwing	igánggiya	ináku
2	yánu	ita	yawing	yánggiya	yánáku
3	gánu	gita	gawing	gánggiya	(g)ánáku

Number is optionally marked analytically with the plural clitic =*du* ‘PL’. For example, a first person pronoun may refer to a single individual (the speaker) or multiple individuals. The appropriate number, singular or plural, must be inferred by the hearer from the discourse context, if not explicitly marked with =*du* ‘PL’. The following examples show a singular first person pronoun referring to a singular individual (132), a plural first person pronoun referring to multiple individuals (133), and a first person pronoun unmarked for number used to refer to multiple individuals (134).

- (132) *Gána ile angu to, ngán nga ngwe ujiani.*
 gána ile angu=to ngán=nga ng-we ujiani
 TOP year there=also 1NOM-DEF 1EXCL-go.LEVEL FIN.exam
 ‘And that year, too, I went (to take) the exam.’

- (133) *Jala araman nga, ngán du nga anawe wetela.*
 jala araman=nga ngán=du=nga anawe we-tela
 female family=DEF 1NOM=PL=DEF all APPL-speak

‘The women’s group, we all discussed (it).’

(134) *Ngán nga, ngáklompok mi nga, an tela klompok samudra.*

ngán=nga ngá-klompok mi=nga ang tela
1NOM-DEF 1POSS-group take=DEF DIST speak

klompok samudra
group ocean(Malay)

‘Us, our group, it’s called the ‘Ocean group.’

Expression of plurals for second and third person pronouns functions the same as first person.

Since plural marking is optional, a simple second or third person pronoun form (*yán* or *gán*) can refer to either singular or plural participants. The remaining form, *igán*, refers to the speaker and addressee(s), i.e. first person inclusive.

In order to explicitly refer to a non-singular referent, pronouns may be affixed with a plural marker. However, not all pronouns allow explicitly plural forms. While the *nu*-series plural forms are all attested in the corpus, the plural forms for the focus pronouns were only confirmed through elicitation. Explicitly plural forms of the *te*-series and the possessive pronouns are unattested. Attested pronoun forms with plural marking are given in Table 14.

Table 14. Kula plural-marked pronouns		
	Nominative	Focus
1	ngán-dua	ngán-dua-wing
12	igán-dua	igán-dua-wing
2	yán-dua	yán-dua-wing
3	gán-dua	gán-dua-wing

The same plural morpheme can be found suffixed to the verb when it is affixed by bound pronominal prefixes (135). This could be seen as a marker of pluractionality, indicating that many people engaged in many individual acts of drinking.

(135) *Tuák ne aku dugwa.*

tuák ne a-ku=dugwa²⁰

²⁰ =*dugwa* is a variant of /=*duwa*/ (cf. section 2.2.1.2).

palm.wine drink 3-stay=PL
 ‘They are drinking palm wine.’

The following subsections describe the functions of each individual pronominal paradigm.

2.5.1 Nominative pronouns

The nominative pronouns are the most frequently appearing free pronouns in Kula. In their full, vowel-final form, these pronouns encode single arguments of nonverbal clauses, (136) and (137). In their reduced, consonant-final form, they encode both S (138)-(139) and A (141)-(142) arguments, but never P arguments.

- (136) *Wansa, yánu wansa.*
 wansa yánu wansa
 big 2NOM big
 ‘Great, you are great.’

- (137) *Ang gánu.*
 ang gánu
 DEM 3NOM
 ‘That’s it/him/her’ (lit. that is *he* (NOM)).

- (138) *ngán* for S argument
Ngán nga tombang nsiyi.
 Ngán=nga tombang ng-si-yi
 1NOM=DEF Tombang 1EXCL-come.LOW-go.LOW
 ‘I went down to Tombang.’

- (139) *gán* for S argument
Gán to duka.
 gán=to duka
 3NOM=also stand
 ‘He also stood up.’

- (140) *ngán* for S_P argument
Ngán ngo ... ngánakali.
 ngán=ngo ngá-na-kali
 1NOM=DEF.PROX 1EXCL-INV-not.want
 ‘I don’t want (that).’

- (141) *ngán* for A argument
Ngán nga musa ska ngá-gwina.
 ngán=nga musa ska ngá-gwina
 1NOM=DEF bow arrow 1EXCL-hold
 ‘I held my bow and arrow’

- (142) *yán* for A argument
Tabila yán ngo pe wáka nanu.
 tabila yán=ngo pe wáka nanu
 PROHIB 2NOM=DEF.PROX pig roast NEG
 ‘You are not allowed to roast the pig!’

While nominative pronouns are never used to encode standard P arguments in a regular transitive clause, they are attested for the P-like argument of a transitive affective verb using the *na*-prefix (see section 2.6 for more on *na*-). However, since there is no explicit A argument in these types of constructions, the single argument behaves more like an S argument – thus allowing a nominative pronoun. An example is given in (143).

- gán* for S_P
 (143) *Stel mde gán to gánami da ...*
 stel mde gán=to gá-na-mi da
 install go.HIGH 3NOM=also 3-INV-take SEQ
 ‘Set it up there so he gets recorded too.’

2.5.2 Potentive pronouns

Potentive pronouns appear much less frequently in Kula texts than the nominative pronouns. The third person form, *gíta*, is relatively frequent, while *ite* and *nite/nta* are much less common. There are no attested examples of *ita* in the corpus, only from direct elicitation. There is no difference between potentive and nominative pronouns with regard to position in the clause. These pronouns are commonly used in combination with other pronouns (see 2.5.6 on pronoun combinations).

Examples of this series of pronouns are given in (144)-(149). These pronouns typically encode agentive arguments that have or had the potential or intention to do some action (144-146), similar to their cognate paradigm in Sawila (Kratochvil 2014). However, the Kula pronouns appear in a broader range of contexts, encoding the agentive arguments of completed actions (147-148). In general, these pronouns are more restricted and much less frequent than the nominative paradigms.

- (144) *Amáng Gita ngayati kása gunamánnga ngánáku nga nte giana.*

amáng Gita ng-ayati kása gunamánnga ngánáku=nga
NFIN.DIST.like G. 1EXCL-inform COMPL subsequently 1DUAL=DEF

nta giana

1POT FIN.leave

‘We informed Gita and then the two of us were leaving.’

- (145) *Ngáya dua anto su to nsuran da nta gotela nanu.*

ngá-ya=dua=ng=to su=to ng-surán da
1POSS-mother=DEF=PL come=also 1EXCL-angry SEQ

nta go-tela nanu

1POT 3-speak NEG

‘Those women also came, (but) I was angry so I wouldn’t speak to them.’

- (146) *Aya si nunung goko pisi gaya? Nanu, ite giana.*

aya si nunung goko pisi gaya nanu
rain come.LOW how leaf.type cut PROSP NEG

ite giana

1POT FIN.leave

‘It’s raining, how (can we) cut ‘goko’ leaves? No, we’ll just leave.’

- (147) *Oto inga, gána ile angu inga, sona-sona pka, amánda iku limpa nanu, kálán ite miwa.*

oto=nga gána ile angu=nga sona~sona pka
truck=DEF DEM year there=DEF one~REDUP little

amán-da i-ku limpa nanu káláng **ite** miwa²¹
DIST.like-SEQ 1INCL-stay long NEG now 1POT return

‘That year, there were only a few trucks, so we didn’t stay long. We returned right away.

²¹ Defective paradigm for this verb: *mu-ng-wa* ‘I return’, *mu-ga-wa*, ‘s/he returns’, *m-i-wa* ‘we return’. No attested form for ‘you return’ – *ya-lilawa*.

- (148) *Gisen nga lámána gíta wepakeya.*

gi-sen=nga lámána gíta we-pakeya
 3POSS-money=DEF immediately 3POT APPL-FIN.use
 ‘They immediately used the money.’

- (149) *Gíta muyi, anuna sen ong gíta mi legasám nanu, gíta pake agátu*

gíta muyi anuna sen=ong gíta mi
 3POT FIN.run because money=PROX 3POT take
 le-gasam nanu gíta pake agátu
 APPL-store NEG 3POT use gone
 ‘He ran away, because he hadn’t saved our money. He used it all up.’

2.5.3 Focus pronouns

Focus pronouns consist of a pronominal prefix plus the focus particle, *winga*. The same focus particle is also present elsewhere, on non-pronominal NPs (150)-(151).

- (150) *Kapala kantor winga bantuan mi me duk ng wegani.*

kapala kantor winga bantuan mi me duka=nga
 head office FOC help take come stand-NOM

we-ga-yáni

APPL-3II_A-give

‘It’s the office head who, coming and standing here, gave him the help.’

- (151) *Ngáya dua ngápa dua winga gíta wetayáni.*

ngá-ya=dua ngá-pa=dua winga gíta we-tayeni
 1POSS.II-mother-PL 1POSS.II-father=PL FOC 3POT APPL-FIN.sell

‘The older men and women, they sold (the black rocks)’ (i.e. instead of someone else selling them)

The focus pronouns are typically glossed in Indonesian with a cleft construction (e.g. *saya yang* ... ‘It’s me who ...’), implying that these forms encode a kind of identificational focus. Examples of the focus pronouns are given in (152)-(154).

- (152) *Awing baba ayám nta ngáwing ngágusu*

awing baba ayám nta ngáwing ngá-gusu
 3FOC beat NFIN.die or 1FOC 1EXCL-FIN.shoot
 ‘Did he₁ beat him₂ to death or did I shoot him₂ with an arrow?’

- (153) *Yawinga yawe lona lika lewaka gaya.*

yawinga ya-we lona lika le-waka gaya
 2FOC 2-go.LEVEL snake big APPL-watch PROSP
 ‘You, you’ll go watch over the big snake.’

- (154) *Ya, iwing tela ukum bására gimura míya.*

ya iwing tela ukum bására gi-mura míya
 yeah 1INCL.FOC say law market 3POSS-inside be.located.FIN
 ‘Yeah, we call that “being in jail”.’

2.5.4 Possessive pronouns

These pronouns are used in place of a typical possessed noun phrase construction. Examples are given in (155) and (156).

- (155) *Talona, yali? Yángiya? Talona, yángiya kása?*

Talona ya-ali yángiya talona yángiya kása
 T. 2-buy 2PRO.POSS T. 2PRO.POSS COMPL
 ‘Talona, did you buy (betel nut)? Is this yours? Talona, is yours gone?’

- (156) *Anawe igánggiya.*

anawe igánggiya
 all 1INCL.POSS
 ‘They (betel nut trees) are all ours.’

The possessive pronouns are not used independently as pronouns to express clausal arguments.

2.5.5 Numeral pronouns

Several sets of numeral pronouns exist as well. The most common are dual pronouns, transparently derived from the nominative pronouns and a numeral. This is a semi-productive process. The nominative pronouns can be combined with nearly any numeral in elicitation. The forms attested in the current corpus, however, are restricted to numerals two through four. A few illustrative examples are given below.

- (157) *Ngántu mpati.*

ngán-tu ng-pati
 1NOM-three 1EXCL-eat

‘The three of us eat (it).’

- (158) *Ngánáku kdas nanu ampo ngángarasiku.*
 ngán-yáku kda=si nanu ampo ngán-arasiku
 1NOM-two just=TOP NEG but 1NOM-four
 ‘It wasn’t just the two of us, but the four of us.’

- (159) *Anáku gita wetela.*
 aning-yáku gita we-tela
 person-two 3POT APPL-speak
 ‘The two of them agreed.’

The most common and with a full paradigm regularly attested are the dual pronouns given in table 15 below. These function as typical non-numeral independent pronouns, as demonstrated in (160).

Table 15. Kula numeral pronouns

<i>ngánáku</i>	1DUAL.EXCL
<i>ináku</i>	1DUAL.INCL
<i>yánáku</i>	2DUAL
<i>anáku</i>	3DUAL

- (160) *Martin mde gunamánnga ngánáku nguda lengwíti.*
 martin mde gunamánnga ngánáku ng-mda
 M. come.HIGH CONJ 1DUAL.EXCL 1EXCL-go.HIGH
 le-ng-míti
 APPL-1EXCL-sit
 ‘(The truck) having come up from Maritaing, the two of us got on (it).’

These numeral pronouns have two additional uses, as a pronoun in a complex noun phrase expressing the speaker and one other participant (161) and as a predicative element on its own (162).

- (161) *Wanta dán nga ngápa Yusup ngánáku tasola.*
 wanta dán=nga ngá-pa yusup ngánáku ta-sola
 day one=DEF 1POSS-father Y. 1DUAL.EXCL DISTR-invite
 ‘One day, Yusuf and I urged/invited each other [to] ...’

- (162) *Ngánáku, awa Halena to gipa anáku ngángarasiku.*
 ngánáku awa Halena=to gi-pa anáku ngán-arasiku
 1DUAL.EXCL then H.=also 3POSS-father 3DUAL 1EXCL-four

‘There were two of us, then with Halena and her father, there were four of us.’

2.5.6 Pronoun combination

Pronoun doubling is occasionally attested. In all cases, the second pronoun is from the potentiative paradigm. The first pronoun may come from either the nominative or focus paradigms. Doubled pronouns always encode an S or A argument.

(163) *Ngásen gándua wing gíta pake.*

ngá-sen	gán=dua	wing	gíta	pake
[1POSS-money] _P	[3PRO=PL	FOC	3POT] _A	use

‘They used our money.’

(164) *Amáksayán lámána gán to gíta ki giape.*

amáksayán	lámána	gán=to	gíta	ki	gi-ape
ask	immediately	[3NOM=also	3POT] _S	cry	3-do

‘(We) asked (him), and he immediately almost cried.’

2.6 Verbal prefixes: person marking and applicatives²²

The basic Kula verb template is given in (165). There are at least four distinct slots in the Kula template, although typically no more than three are filled at the same time. There is also variation in which prefixes occur and in which order.

(165) Kula verb template: AGR₂-INV-APPL-AGR₁-V

AGREEMENT SLOT 1 (AGR₁) occurs closest to the verb and is occupied by agreement prefixes from each of the five sets (described in 2.6.1 below). Set I and II prefixes mark S, A and P arguments, depending on the verb, while set III and IV prefixes mark primarily P arguments. Set V prefixes mark only A arguments on a small set of transitive verbs. The APPLICATIVE SLOT comes next, between AGR₁ and the affectedness marker. This slot is filled by one of three

²² The analysis presented here is based almost entirely on actual attested examples of verbs and person marking prefixes drawn from the corpus of Kula language use.

applicative prefixes (*le-*, *mí’-*, *we-*). The AFFECTED SLOT (AFF) is occupied by only one morpheme, *na-*. The outermost prefix slot is the AGREEMENT SLOT 2 (AGR₂). This second agreement slot can be occupied by prefixes from sets I, II or III and may co-occur with prefixes in the AGR₁ slot. Use of AGR₂ with no prefix in AGR₁ is also possible with use of the affectedness and applicative prefixes. This set of possibilities is shown in examples (166)-(172). Note that no single verb form has all four slots occupied at the same time.

(166) AGR₁-V

Nte ngkuya.

n-te **ng-kuya**
 1EXCL.IS-sleep 1EXCL.IS-stay.FIN
 ‘I/we are sleeping.’

(167) APPL-AGR₁-V

Pá mingkuya.

pá **mí-ng-kuya**
 planted.field APPL-1EXCL.IS-FIN.stay
 ‘I’ve been living in the fields.’

(168) AGR₂-APPL-V

Kálán nga ngápárenta gi nga, yálemagina.

kálán=nga **ngá-párenta** **gi=nga** **yá-le-magina**
 now=DEF [1EXCL-order PROSP=DEF]_P 2II_A-APPL-hear
 ‘Now, listen to my orders.’

(169) AGR₂-AGR₁-V

lámána ginana gagogwita.

lámána **gi-nana** **gá-go-gwita**
 then [3POSS-older.sibling]_P 3II_A-3IV_P-call
 ‘Then he called his older brother.’

(170) AGR₂-INV-APPL-V

Latala indálesayána.

latala **i-ná-le-sayána**
 god_A 1INCL.II_P-INV-APPL-care.for
 ‘God loves us.’

- (171) AGR₂-INV-V
Nganalosa.
ngá-na-losa
 1EXCL_S-INV-tired
 ‘I/we are exhausted.’
- (172) *Kaweana ngánapati.*
 kaweana **ngá**-na-pati
 [mosquito]_A 1EXCL.IIp-INV-bite
 ‘The mosquito bit me.’

In the rest of this section I will present an outline of verbal person marking in Kula (2.6.1), with more detailed descriptions of person marking for intransitive (2.6.1.1) and transitive verbs (2.6.1.2). Finally, I will describe the use of three applicative prefixes in Kula (2.6.2).

2.6.1 Agreement patterns

Kula has five paradigms of person marking prefixes (Table 16). Morphological similarity across the sets is readily apparent. The primary difference across the sets is the quality of the vowel (/a/ or no vowel for set I, /á/ for set II, /e/ for set III, /o/ for set IV, and /ia/ for set V). While possessor prefixes on nouns show morphological similarity to these person marking prefixes, the paradigms are not identical (see section 2.2.4.4).

Table 16. Kula person marking prefixes

	SET I	SET II	SET III	SET IV	SET V
1EXCL	ng- / <i>nga-</i>	ngá-	nge-	ngo-	ngi-
1INCL	i-	i- ~ igá- ²³	ige-	igo- ~ gio- ²⁴	igi-
2	ya-	yá-	ye-	yo-	yi-
3	Ø- a-	gá-	ge-	go-	gi-
DISTR	ta-	tá-	te-	to-	ta-

²³ The *i-* allomorph occurs when the affectedness marker is present (e.g. *i-na-le-sayána*). The /i/ of *igá-* is frequently dropped (see deletion of initial unstressed /i/ in the section on morphophonemics 2.2)

²⁴ These two forms occur in free distribution.

Number is not marked in Kula agreement prefixes. Plurality is optionally marked with =*dua* ‘PL’ encliticizing to the verb, as in (173). This plural marking expresses both plurality of the A arguments and pluractionality of the event. This example comes from a narrative problem solving task in which the speaker is referring to multiple actions of multiple participants across a series of pictures used in the task. Plural marking of independent pronouns is described in section 2.5.

(173) *Nadua paku dua guna?*

na-dua	a-pe	a-ku	dua	guna
what-PL	3 _A -do	3 _A -stayPL		EVID

‘What are they all doing?’

First person forms are marked for clusivity rather than number. Using set I forms to illustrate, the *i-* form marks first person inclusive, while the *ng-* form marks first person exclusive. An example of the first person inclusive, *i-*, is given in (174).

(174) *Kuma-pu tela ilula pegang gipo ngán nga ngakuma puya.*

kuma-pu	tela	i-lula	pegang	gí	po
back-snap	speak	1INCL.IS-go	hunt	PROSP	but

ngán=nga *nga-kuma* *puya*

1NOM=DEF 1POSS-back FIN.snap

‘*Kumapu* said, “Let’s go hunting, but I’m crippled (lit., my back is broken)”.’

The exclusive form, *ng-* can be interpreted as singular or plural. For example, in (175) below, the first person exclusive prefix *ng-* on the verb *mda* ‘go.HIGH’ is interpreted as plural due to the plural marking on the first person exclusive pronoun, *ngán*. Without the independent pronoun, the verb could be interpreted as singular or plural, as in (175).

(175) *Ngándua to nguda lámána giana.*

ngán=dua=to	ng-mda	lámána	giana
1NOM=PL=also	1EXCL.IS-go.HIGH	immediately	FIN.depart

‘... and then we got up (onto the horses) and left.’

- (176) *Igá limpa nsu.*
 igá limpa n-su
 way long 1EXCL.IS-come
 ‘I/we came a long way.’

Set I and Set II prefixes are similar in form, with major differences only in the third and first person forms. Set I prefixes are used to encode S arguments of intransitive verbs, while set II prefixes mark A and P participants of transitive verbs. Set III and IV prefixes are used to mark P participants when P is a non-prototypical patient, typically a locative goal (set III) or source (set IV) arguments. Set III prefixes are also used on at least one intransitive verb (class V intransitive verbs – see section 2.6.1). Set V prefixes are used on a small set of /a/-initial transitive verbs. A few basic examples of each prefix set are given below.

- (177) Set I
Nsu tenu.
 ng-su tenu
 1EXCL.IS-come PERF
 ‘I/we have come.’
- (178) Set II
Pte ngátana.
 pte ngá-tana
 corn 1EXCL.IIA-plant
 ‘I/we plant corn.’
- (179) Set III
Ngegian letumpa.
 nge-gian le-tumpa
 1EXCL.III_S-travel APPL-continue
 ‘And then we continued traveling.’
- (180) Set IV
Ngayogwita yame.
 ngá-yo-gwita ya-me
 1EXCL.IA-2IV_P-call 2IS-come.LEVEL
 ‘I called you to come here.’
- (181) Set V
Waikiki ngialomana.
 waikiki=dua=to ngi-alomana
 candlenut=PL=also 1EXCL.VA-choose
 ‘I/we chose candlenuts too (pick them from the ground).’

I describe agreement patterns of intransitive verbs first (2.6.1.1), followed by agreement patterns of transitive verbs (2.6.1.2). Applicatives will be covered in section 2.6.2.

2.6.1.1 Agreement on intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs can be divided into five classes, based on their combination with agreement prefixes from sets I – V. The marking of S on the five basic classes is set out in Table 17. Person marking on intransitive verbs primarily involves the first agreement slot (AGR₁). Class I and II verbs use the second agreement slot (AGR₂) due to the presence of the affectedness marker.

Table 17. Intransitive verb classes in Kula

	Prefixation pattern	Membership	
Class I	Set I prefix for S (AGR ₁)	Largest class - many verbs	2.6.1.1.1
Class II	Set II prefix for S (AGR ₂) + affectedness marker	10+ verbs	2.6.1.1.2
Class III	No prefix, or Set II prefix for S (AGR ₂) + affectedness marker	few verbs	2.6.1.1.3
Class IV	Set II for S (AGR ₂) + affectedness marker, or Set IV prefix for S (AGR ₁)	only one verb attested	2.6.1.1.4
Class V	Set III prefix for S (AGR ₁)	only one verb attested	2.6.1.1.4

2.6.1.1.1 Class I intransitive verbs

Class Intr-I²⁵ is the largest intransitive verb class in Kula and includes many frequently used intransitive verbs, including verbs of motion, posture, and consumption. These verbs combine with set I prefixes to mark their single S arguments. A few basic examples are given in (182)-(184) [elicited examples].

²⁵ References to classes in the proceeding discussion will use the abbreviations Intr-1, Intr-2, etc. and Tr-1a, Tr-1b, etc. to avoid confusion between transitive and intransitive verbs.

(182) *Yamiti.*
ya-míti
 2_{IS}-sit
 ‘You sat (down)’ or ‘Sit (down)!’

(183) *Ngwala.*
ng-wala
 1_{EXCL.IS}-drunk
 ‘I am drunk.’

(184) *Iwe.*
i-we
 1_{INCL.IS}-go
 ‘We went.’

There are two subclasses within class Intr-I, based on observed variation in the 3rd person forms of verbs.²⁶ While subclass Intr-IA verbs show no overt third person prefix, subclass Intr-IB verbs are marked with an *a-* prefix. Otherwise the agreement inflections are identical. Table 18 lists sample verbs from each class and provides one sample paradigm for each set.

Table 18. Subclasses IA and IB			
	Subclass IA: null-prefixed	Subclass IB: <i>a</i> -prefixed	
	<i>lula</i>	<i>te</i>	‘go away’ ‘sleep’
1 _{EXCL}	<i>n-lula</i>	<i>n-te</i>	
1 _{INCL}	<i>i-lula</i>	<i>i-te</i>	
2	<i>ya-lula</i>	<i>ya-te</i>	
3	<i>lula</i> (* <i>a-lula</i>)	<i>a-te</i> (* <i>te</i>)	
DISTRIB	<i>ta-lula</i>	<i>ta-te</i>	
	<u>Sample IA Verbs</u>	<u>Sample IB Verbs</u>	
	<i>su</i>	<i>páma</i>	‘consume’
	<i>lula</i>	<i>wala</i>	‘be.intoxicated’
	<i>we</i>	<i>yámu</i>	‘die’
	<i>me</i>	<i>te</i>	‘sleep’
	<i>ji</i>	<i>ku</i>	‘stay’
	<i>si</i>	<i>lilawa</i>	‘return’
	<i>mda</i>		
	<i>mde</i>		
	<i>mu</i>		

²⁶ In the first person, we also find variation, but this is limited to surface allomorphy of the first person exclusive prefix, as described in section 2.

(187) *Niweji Lantukam skola si nganakali.*

ní-we-ji lantuka=m skola=si
 LOC-go.LEVEL-go.LOW Lantoka=LOC school=TOP

ngá-na-kali

1EXCL.IIS-INV-not.want

‘I did not want to go to school down in Lantoka.’

Table 19 provides a non-exhaustive list of verbs in class Intr-II, based on currently available data used for this sketch. This verb class contains, for the most part, stative verbs with an “affected” S argument.

Table 19. Sample Verbs in Class Intr-II

Root	Gloss	Root	Gloss
<i>biki</i>	‘full, strong’	<i>masína</i>	‘hungry’
<i>kali</i>	‘dislike’	<i>mata</i>	‘sick’
<i>kon</i>	‘small, young’	<i>mulang</i>	‘not.want’
<i>loki</i>	‘wet’	<i>parekang</i>	‘soaking.wet’
<i>losa</i>	‘exhausted’	<i>tan-ji/-si</i> ²⁷	‘fall down’

2.6.1.1.3 Class III intransitive verbs

Class Intr-III intransitive verbs code their S argument in one of two ways: S can be unmarked on the verb or can be marked with a set II agreement prefix plus *na-*, in the manner of a class II intransitive verb. The (a) constructions without an agreement or inverse prefix encode a more permanent state, while the (b) constructions imply a process and possible unexpressed agent. For instance, the verb in (188b) can be combined with the perfective aspect marker, *tenu*, to express “I have already grown up.”

- (188) a. *Ngán wansa.* b. *Ngánawansa.*
 ngán wansa. **ngá-na-wansa**
 1NOM big 1EXCL.IIS-INV-big
 ‘I am big/important.’ ‘I am big/important.’

²⁷ The verb *tan* ‘arrive’ combines with *ji* ‘go.LOW’ and *si* ‘go.HIGH’ to form the verbs *tanji* ‘fall down there (from up here)’ and *tansi* ‘fall down here (from up there).’

- (189) a. *Ngán limpa.*
 ngán limpa
 1NOM tall
 ‘I am tall.’
- b. *Ngánalimpa.*
 ngá-na-limpa
 1EXCL.IS-INV-tall
 ‘I am tall.’

*[all elicited examples]

The class is very small, with only four verb roots being attested in the corpus thus far: (i) *limpa* ‘tall’, (ii) *mata* ‘sick’, (iii) *paniki* ‘suffer’, and (iv) *wansa* ‘big’.

2.6.1.1.4 Class IV and Class V intransitive verbs

Class Intr-IV and class Intr-V have one member each, and are perhaps best characterized as irregular prefixing verbs rather than verb classes.

The class Intr-IV verb, *yima* ‘hot’ can be used with set II prefixes and the affectedness prefix *na-* (like a Class II intransitive verb), or with a set IV prefix, as seen in (189). In (189a), the set II prefix encodes an experiencer S argument, while in (189b), the set IV prefix encodes a reflexive recipient.

- (189) a. *Ngánayima.*
 ngá-na-yima
 1EXCL.IIS-INV-hot
 ‘I have a fever’.
 [elicited]
- b. *Ngoima.*
 ngo-yima
 1EXCL.IV_{A/P}-hot
 ‘I warm myself (e.g. by the fire).’
 [elicited]

Finally, the class Intr-V intransitive verb, *giana* ‘go’, takes a set III prefix, a paradigm otherwise reserved for certain transitive verbs (see 2.6.1.3.1).

- (190) *Ngegiana.*
 nge-giana
 1EXCL.III_S-leave
 ‘I’m leaving.’
 [elicited]

2.6.1.2 Agreement on transitive verbs

Transitive verbs exhibit complex agreement patterns involving both AGR₁ and AGR₂. The predominant pattern is to mark A arguments with a set II prefix. Some verbs are attested with the same agreement prefixes for non-third person P arguments as well. In a few cases, human third person P arguments are marked with a prefix. The three major classes of transitive verbs and their agreement marking patterns are laid out in Table 20, followed by examples of A and P marking with prefixes.

Table 20. Basic transitive verb classes

	Prefixation pattern	Membership size	
Class IA	Set II prefix for A, and Set II prefix for P	<i>many</i>	2.6.1.2.1
Class IB	Set II prefix for A, and Set II prefix + <i>na-</i> for P	~10	2.6.1.2.2
Class II	Set II prefix for A, and set IV prefix for P	~10	2.6.1.2.3
Class III	Set V prefixes for A	~5-10	2.6.1.2.4

Most transitive verbs can occur without the agreement prefixes listed in table 20. This is common with third person A arguments which are expressed by full noun phrases or pronouns in the clause or preceding clause(s). In (191) and (192), the verbs *dage* ‘fry’ and *mi* ‘take’ are used without any person marking prefix. In (191), *ngáya* ‘my mother’ is the A argument of *dage* ‘fry’. In (192) the verb *mi* ‘take’ has no explicit A argument. The A argument of *mi* is understood as ‘the driver’, identical to the S argument of the intransitive serial verb construction in the immediately preceding clause (in parentheses).

(191) *Ngáya pte dage.*

ngá-ya pte dage
1POSS-mother corn fry
‘My mother fried corn.’

(192) *Sufiri mu aku su Nailang tani, giya gitama mi, mi lula wejina.*

sufiri mu aku su nailing tani gi-ya
driver run PROG come N. arrive 3POSS-water

gi-tama mi mi lula wejina
 3POSS-ocean take take go FIN.fill

‘The driver was running until he came to Nailang, (where) (he) took oil (and) filled up (the tank of the truck).’

Both verbs do also occur with person marking prefixes, as shown in examples (193) and (194) below. In (193), taken from a narrative text, the verb *dage* is used again, now with a third person prefix from set II.

(193) *Ngáya pte dage. Pte gádage kása gunamánnga, gápána ape abu.*

ngá-ya pte **dage** pte **gá-dage** kása
 [1POSS-mother]_A corn fry corn 3II_A-fry COMPL

gunamánnga gá-pána ape abu
 afterward 3II_A-grind make powder

‘My mother fried corn. After she finished frying the corn, then she ground it into flour.’

In (194), the verb *mi* occurs with a set II prefix marking the A argument. In this case, no independent nominal for the A argument is present, so *gá-* functions as the sole marker of the A argument.

(194) *Lagimoka gámi níngk ayang legamíti.*

lagimoka gá-mi níngk ayang le-ga-míti
 cooking.pot 3II_A-take NFIN.stove above APPL-CAUS-sit

‘He took a cooking pot (and) put it on top of the stove.’

Some class Tr-Ib verbs, which typically occur with a set II prefix for the A argument, can also occur with only one prefix marking the P argument. This occurs with third person A arguments acting on non-third person P arguments. Examples (195) and (196) show class Tr-Ib verbs with set II prefixes for their A argument, while examples (197) and (198) show the same verbs with marking of a human P argument and no prefix for the A argument. These verbs require use of the *na-* inverse prefix with a human P argument, following the pattern originally identified by Donohue (1996).

- (195) *Tabak dǎng yapati.*
 tabak dǎng yá-pati
 tobacco some 2II_A-eat
 ‘Chew (lit. eat) some tobacco.’
- (196) *Ngán=nga musa ska ngágwina.*
 ngán=nga musa ska ngá-gwina
 1EXCL.PRO=DEF bow arrow 1EXCL.II_A-hold
 ‘I hold my bow and arrow.’
- (197) *Kaweana ngánapati.*
 kaweana ngá-na-pati
 mosquito 1II_P-INV-bite
 ‘The mosquito will bite me’ or, possibly, ‘I’ll get bitten by a mosquito’.
- (198) *Ado, yanagwina tenu.*
 ado yá-na-wina tenu
 INTERJ 2II_P-INV-hold PERF
 ‘Ohh, it’s got you now!’

Class Tr-II verbs may also occur with set IV prefixes for their P argument and set II prefixes to mark A arguments. In many attested uses the set II prefix for the A argument is absent, as in (199).

- (199) *Gimni inga lapun dígin lula giya gipa gotatuku.*
 gi-mni=nga lapun dígin lula gi-ya
 3POSS-fragrance=DEF wind NFIN.lift go 3POSS-mother
- gi-pa go-tatuku
 3POSS-father 3IV_P-tell
 ‘The wind brought the (bean’s) fragrance and told his mother and father
 (that their son had cooked the beans).’

Aside from these cases, transitive verbs showing agreement for P arguments alone are rare. Class Tr-IA verbs never occur with a prefix marking only the P argument. Marking of P arguments, with no prefix for the A argument, is limited to class Tr-II and Tr-IB transitive verbs.

It is worth noting that non-third person A arguments may also be unmarked on transitive verbs when the argument is expressed in the same clause or immediately preceding clause on

another verb or by means of an independent pronoun. For example, in (200) the class Tr-IV transitive verb *lata* occurs with no prefixes. The A argument is expressed on the verb *we* and the P argument is expressed as a full noun phrase, *igámama inga*.

(200) *Iwe pa igamama inga lata.*

i-we=pa	igá-mama=nga	lata
1INCL.IS/A-go.LEVEL=so.that	1INCL.POSS-field=DEF	burn

‘Let’s go burn our fields.’

To summarize, agreement prefixes on transitive verbs in Kula are used predominantly for marking A arguments. The same agreement prefixes are used to mark non-third person P arguments and, in a few cases, human third person P arguments. In sections 2.6.1.2.1 – 2.6.1.2.3, I describe the use of agreement prefixes on transitive verbs in more detail.

2.6.1.2.1 Class I transitive verbs (IA and IB)

Class Tr-IA is the largest set of transitive verbs. Verbs in this class most commonly occur with set II prefixes marking the A argument of the verb. Examples with the verb *mi* ‘take’ and each set II prefix are given in (201)-(203).

(201) *Wata dua to ngámi.*

wata-dua=to	ngá-mi
coconut-PL=also	1EXCL.IIA-take

‘I took some coconuts, too.’

(202) *Asáka gomán-gomán áma, ansi yámi.*

asáka	gomán~gomán=áma	an=si	yá-mi
wood	there.LEVEL~REDUP=DEM	DIST=TOP	2IIA-take

‘Those other kinds of wood, that you (can) take.’

(203) *Pte gámi we tana.*

pte	gá-mi	we	tana
corn	3IIA-take	go.LEVEL	plant

‘They took corn there and planted (it).’

There is no attested case of *igá-* with the verb *mi*, so I provide an example with another class Tr-I verb, *mádína* ‘to plant’ in (204).

- (204) *Ya, maka igámádína.*
 ya? maka igá-mádína
 INTERJ banana 1INCL.IIA-FIN.plant
 ‘OK, let’s plant bananas.’

While most Tr-I verbs occur with a set II prefix for the A argument, human P arguments may also be marked with an agreement prefix. There are two distinct patterns for marking human P arguments with Tr-I verbs, here labelled class Tr-IA and Tr-IB.

Class Tr-IA verbs are attested with two set II prefixes, one for A and one for P, while **Class Tr-IB** verbs require use of the *na-* prefix and, unlike Tr-IA verbs, allow just one prefix, which is for the P argument. Examples of Tr-IA are given in (205) and (206). Attested examples of Tr-IA verbs are restricted to these three verbs in the current corpus.

- (205) *Yán ngáyasi yalula.*
 yán ngá-yá-asi ya-lula
 2NOM 1IIA-2IIp-command 2IS-go.DIST
 ‘You, I told you to go.’
- (206) *Ngáyátána kang-kang mawo.*
 ngá-yá-tána kang-kang mawo
 1IIA-2IIp-teach good~REDUP PRF
 ‘I’ve taught you well.’
- (207) *Tinale naduas ngáyayat nanu?*
 tinale na=dua=si ngá-yá-ayat nanu
 last.night what=PL=TOP 1IIA-1IIp-inform NEG
 ‘What didn’t I tell you (to do) last night?’

There are no attested examples of third person P arguments marked on Tr-IA verbs. While two set II prefixes are allowed, this is only attested for first and second person arguments. Very few verbs are attested with P arguments explicitly marked by a pronominal prefix. In all existing cases, the P argument is highly human and 1st or 2nd person. Expression of the P argument seems to be allowed only for highly animate arguments.

Class Tr-IB is a smaller set of transitive verbs. The set of attested Tr-IB verbs are listed in Table 21.

Table 21. Sample Class Tr-IB verbs

<i>baba</i>	‘hit’
<i>gwina</i>	‘hold’
<i>láta</i>	‘slap’
<i>mi</i>	‘take’
<i>ne</i>	‘drink’
<i>pati</i>	‘eat, bite’
<i>plíng</i>	‘usher’

The distinguishing feature of Tr-IB verbs is that they require use of the affectedness prefix, *na-*, for marked P arguments. An example of a first-person P argument with a Tr-IB verb is given in (208). The verb *pati* ‘eat, bite’ occurs with a set II prefix marking the first person P argument, while the third person A argument is unmarked.

- (208) *Ngánapati.*
 ngá-na-pati
 1EXCL.IIp-INV-bite
 ‘It (will) bite me.’

Similarly, a human third person P argument can be expressed with no prefix for the A argument (209). Notice the presence of *na-* again and the distinct sense of the verb here. This patterns like other S_P arguments.

- (209) *Gán to gánami!*
 gán=to gá-na-mi
 3NOM=also 3IIp-INV-take
 ‘Record (lit. ‘take’) him too!’

Like Tr-IA verbs, Tr-IB verbs mark both first and second person P arguments with set II prefixes, and both arguments may be marked on one verb. However, Tr-IB verbs require use of *na-* in each case.

- (210) *Yángánami.*
 yá-ngá-na-mi
 2IIA-1EXCL.IIp-INV-take

‘You take me.’

- (211) *Ngáyánaplíng giana.*
 ngá-yá-na-plíng giana
 1EXCL.IIA-2IIP-INV-accompany go
 ‘I (will) accompany you (there).’

The prefix *na-* is attested with a third person P argument in a kind of reciprocal construction (212). Notice the absence of the distributive prefix, *ta-*, often used in the expression of reciprocal events along with the inverse marker, e.g. *ta-na-baba* ‘hit each other’.

- (212) *Gánaplíng amáng we-we.*
 gá-na-plíng amáng we~we
 3-INV-usher DIST.like go.LEVEL~REDUP
 ‘They went like that leading each other along.’

2.6.1.2.2 Class Tr-II transitive verbs

Tr-II verbs constitute a small class; all four instances attested in the corpus are given in Table 22. These verb roots occur with a Set IV prefix marking P (see 2.6.1.1.4 for the distinct valence-increasing use of set IV prefixes with intransitive verbs). Examples are given in (213)-(216) below. In each case, the P argument is a non-prototypical patient. In (213) and (215), the P is a recipient, and in (214) a goal.

Table 22. Sample Class Tr-II verbs

<i>gwita</i>	‘call’
<i>te</i>	‘dig’
<i>musu</i>	‘help’
<i>lata</i>	‘burn (a field)’

- (213) *Ngápa nga ngágogwita.*
 ngá-pa=nga ngá-go-gwita
 1POSS-father=DEF 1EXCL.IIA-3IVP-call
 ‘I called my father.’

- (214) *Lula kayubaka gote gisukwa.*
 lula kayubaka go-te gisukwa
 go turmeric 3IVP-dig probably
 ‘They’re probably digging up turmeric roots.’

- (215) *Wána ngku le ngangka ayám da yángomusu.*
wána ng-ku le ngá-ngka ayám da
carry 1EXCL.IS-stay finish 1POSS-shoulder NFIN.die SEQ
yá-ngo-musu
2II_A-1IV_P-help
‘I carried (them) all until my shoulders were dead, so you (should) help me.’
- (216) *Doki winga gagolata.*
doki winga gá-go-lata
mouse FOC 3II_A-3IV_P-burn
‘The mouse was the one who burned it (=the field).’

Note that in each case the Set IV prefix is used to mark the P argument, rather than the transitive A argument.

2.6.1.2.3 Class Tr-III transitive verbs

Class Tr-III consists of a handful of transitive verbs, all with roots beginning in *a-*. These verbs take set V prefixes to encode A arguments. For instance,

- (217) *Nadua pka dǎng jiape tenu.*
na-dua pka dǎng ji-ape tenu
what-PL little one 2V_A-make PERF
‘What little thing have you done?’
- (218) *Waikiki dua to ngialomana.*
waikiki-dua=to ngi-alomana
candlenut-PL=also 1V_A-pick
‘I picked (through) the candlenuts too.’

Table 23. Sample class Tr-III verb roots.

<i>ape</i>	‘make, do’
<i>alomana</i>	‘pick, choose’
<i>awanta</i>	‘do in place of’
<i>adi</i>	‘see’
<i>aluatan</i>	‘follow’

2.6.1.3 Valence increasing uses of agreement prefixes

In addition to their standard uses described in section 2.6.1.2, set III and IV prefixes can also be used with a valence-increasing function with otherwise intransitive verbs.

2.6.1.3.1. Set III prefixes

Set III prefixes can be used with certain intransitive verbs to add a P argument. This use is observed primarily with motion verbs where it adds a human goal participant, as in (219). The prefixing pattern of the S argument in its basic intransitive use is unaffected by the valence-increasing Set III prefix. So in (219) on *me* ‘come’ the mover is unmarked while the added goal is marked by a prefix, while in (220) both are marked; the added goal argument occurs in AGR₂ while the mover in AGR₁.

(219) *Gán geme.*

<i>gán</i>	<i>ge-me</i>
3NOM _A	3III _P -come.LEVEL
‘He ₁ comes to him ₂ .’	

(220) *Genlula.*

<i>ge-n-lula.</i>
3III _P -1EXCL.I _A -go
‘I go to him.’

2.6.1.3.2. Set IV prefixes

With a handful of intransitive verbs listed in Table 24, set IV prefixes add a P argument. With the verb *irína*, for example, the set IV prefixes add a source argument (221). With verbs of speaking (*tatuku* ‘tell’ and *tela* ‘speak’), the set IV prefix adds a goal argument (222).

Table 24. Sample verbs occurring with set IV prefixes

<i>irína</i>	‘fly’
<i>tatuku</i>	‘tell (a story)’
<i>tela</i>	‘speak’

(221) *Adamasa gogirína.*

adamasa go-irína
bird 3-fly
'The bird flew away from him (go-).'

(222) *Gimni inga lapun dígin lula giya gipa gotatuku.*

gi-mni=nga lapun dígin lula gi-ya
3POSS-fragrance=DEF wind NFIN.lift go 3POSS-mother

gi-pa go-tatuku
3POSS-father 3IV_P-tell
'The wind brought the (bean's) fragrance and told his mother and father
(that their son had cooked the beans).'

In some cases, a reciprocal construction requires the use of a prefix from set IV, rather than the more typical set II *tá-*. This occurs when the verb roots are intransitive and the set IV prefix *to-* encodes a non-prototypical P argument as the simultaneous A and P of the reciprocal construction. Examples are given in (223) – (224). These verbs are not attested in the more common reciprocal construction with *tá-*, but they are attested robustly with other standard agreement patterns.

(223) *Towe tomeyi.*

to-we to-meyi
DISTR-go.LEVEL DISTR-FIN.come.LEVEL
'(They) went back and forth on each other (i.e. debating something).'

(234) *Pi-masa ngo toyagyag burana.*

pi-masa=ng-o to-yag~yag burána
betel-pepper=DEF-PROX DISTR-ask.for~REDUP INTENS
'We are always asking each other for betel nut.'

In the current corpus, set IV prefixes have also been attested on numerals, with a similar applicativizing effect (225).

(225) *Gágoyáku*

gá-go-yáku
3-3-two
'Do again, do a second time.'

2.6.2 Applicative prefixes

Kula has three productive applicative prefixes: *le-*, *mí-*, and *we-*. These prefixes combine with transitive and intransitive verb roots to add a participant to the clause. The most general applicative prefix, *le-*, combines with non-verbal roots as well. The examples below (226a-b) show how the applicative prefix *le-* adds a location argument to the clause. The third person prefix *a-* is dropped when the applicative is present (226b). Note that the location cannot be specified without the applicative prefix (226c).

- (226) a. *Gákabaku nga amíti.*
gákabaku=nga a-míti
cat=DEF 3_{IS}-FIN.sit
'There's a cat' or 'The cat sits.'
- b. *Gákabaku nga parka le-míti.*
gákabaku=nga parka le-a-míti
cat=DEF rug APPL-3_{IS}-FIN.sit
'There's a cat on the rug' or 'The cat sits on the rug.'
- c. **Gákabaku nga parka mítí.*

In the following sections (2.6.2.1-2.6.2.3), I will discuss the applicativizing use of these three prefixes in more detail.

2.6.2.1. *Le-*

There are several distinct applicativising uses for *le-*. One frequent use of this prefix is with posture verbs (e.g. *míti* 'sit', *lila* 'hang', *duka* 'stand', etc.) to indicate the location of the erstwhile S participant. The locative relations expressed by this function of *le-* include *on top of* (227), *attachment to a vertical surface* (228), and *horizontal contact/support* (229). However, there is some overlap between the locative relations expressed by *le-* and those expressed by *m'-* (see 2.6.2.2 on *m'-*).

- (227) *Gákabaku nga parka lemiti.*
 gákabaku=nga parka le-a-míti
 cat=DEF rug APPL-3_{IS}-FIN.sit
 ‘There’s a cat on the rug’ or ‘The cat sits on the rug.’

- (228) *Saliat nga giasáka lelila.*
 Saliat=nga gi-asáka le-lila
 flag=DEF 3POSS-tree APPL-hang
 ‘The flag is hanging on its pole (lit. tree).’

- (229) *Adin nga tembok leisa duka.*
 adin=nga tembok le-isa duka
 ladder=DEF wall APPL-lean stand
 ‘The ladder is leaning on the wall.’

Another applicativizing function of this prefix is to add an argument towards which the action of the verb is directed. In (230), with the addition of *le-*, *nadua* ‘what’ becomes the object of *ki* ‘cry’, an otherwise intransitive verb.

- (230) *Gán nadua leki akuya.*
 gán na-dua le-Ø-ki a-kuya
 3_{NOM} what-PL APPL-3_{IA}-cry 3_I-stay.FIN
 ‘What is she crying about?’

In other cases, this prefix is not applicativizing, but functions to increase the discourse transitivity of the clause (in the sense of Hopper & Thompson 1980). For instance, the basically transitive verb *magina* ‘hear’ is used in (231) without *le-*. The same verb is used in (232) with *le-*, but with no increase in number of arguments. Since the clause in (232) does not display the typical features of an applicative construction, the presence of *le-* serves only to increase the semantic sense of transitivity. This can be captured roughly by the English translations *magina* ‘hear’ and *le-magina* ‘listen to’.

- (231) *Aningkang gigís adi nanu amák kda magina.*
 aning kang gi-gís adi nanu amák kda magina
 person good 3POSS-body see NEG voice just FIN.hear
 ‘People didn’t see their bodies, (they) only heard (a) voice.’

- (232) *Kálán nga ngaprenta gi nga yálemagina.*
 kalan=nga nga-prenta gi=nga yá-le-magina
 now=DEF 1POSS-order PROSP=NOM 2II_A-APPL-FIN.hear
 ‘Now, you listen to what I’m about to command!’

This prefix is also used with other transitive verbs, but with no alternative form without the prefix. For these verbs, it appears that the use of *le-* is lexicalized. One example is given in (233).

- (233) *Kálán námála winga jala saku-saku nga le-waka (*waka)*
 kálán námála-wing=nga jala saku-saku=nga le-waka
 now who-FOC=DEF womanold-REDUP=DEF APPL-watch
 ‘Now, who is that will watch over the women?’

The very same prefix can be used with non-verbal roots, such as *skoli* ‘school’ in (234) as a verbalizer.

- (234) *Angu SMP leskoli.*
 angu SMP²⁸ le-skoli
 there middle.school APPL-school
 ‘(She) did her middle school there.’

Finally, there is an idiosyncratic use of this prefix with the verb *tani* ‘arrive’ to express durations of time, an apparent extension of the basic spatial semantics, (235) and (236).

- (235) *Lámána klompok to gang nanu, kálán letani.*
 lámána klompok=to gang nanu kálán le-tani
 then group=also NFIN.travel NEG now APPL-FIN.reach
 ‘Then the group hasn’t been ‘going’, up until now.’

- (236) *Amáng-amáng aku gun amána, lula pilawáka dán letani.*
 amáng~amáng aku gun amána
 like.that~REDUP PROG NFIN.EVID FIN.DIST.ike

 lula pilawáka dán le-tani
 go.DIST month NFIN.one APPL-FIN.reach
 ‘So it went like that for a month.’

²⁸ SMP is an abbreviation borrowed from the Indonesian *Sekolah* (school) *Menengah* (middle) *Atas* (upper).

2.6.2.2. *Mi-*

This prefix has two main functions. The first is as a locative applicative prefix, similar to the first function of *le-*. The main topological relation expressed by *mí-* is *containment* (237). A looser sense of containment is captured in (238), in which the boat floats on top of the water, but is contained within the larger ‘ocean’ (cf. *le-lila* in (228) in section 2.6.2.1).

- (237) *Apel nga mangkok mí-míti.*

apel=nga mangkok mí-míti
apple=DEF cup APPL-sit
‘The apple is in the cup.’

- (238) *Kapla nga tama ayang mí-lila.*

kapla=nga tama ayang mí-lila
boat=DEF ocean above APPL-hang
‘The boat is floating (lit. ‘hanging’) in the ocean.’

- (239) *Gána wik lika si nga gámibungwa*

gána wik lika=si=nga gá-mí-bungwa
TOP flood INTENS=TOP=DEF 3IIA-APPL-throw.out
‘He threw it (=the bananas) into the flood waters.’

This same prefix is used to indicate movement further into a state (240).

- (240) *Pka-pka mílika, sak-sak mísaku.*

pka~pka mí-lika saku~saku mí-saku
child~REDUP APPL-many old~REDUP APPL-old
‘The (number of) young people is increasing, and the adults are getting older.’

2.6.2.3. *We-*

This applicative prefix derives from the independent verb *we* ‘use’. Its primary applicative use is as an instrumental applicative (241) – (243).

- (241) *Ang kula wape.*

ang kula we-ape
DIST kula.language APPL-do
‘Say (lit. do) it using Kula’ or ‘Use Kula to do it.’

- (242) *Giado madíma inga kás ng webaba weláta.*
 gi-ado madíma=nga kás=ng we-baba we-láta.
 3POSS-child oldest=DEF thorn=NFIN.DEF APPL-hit APPL-beat
 ‘(She) hit and beat her oldest child with a thorny branch.’

- (243) *Ngekás wegang gayong tela, nanu, wad jima.*
 nge-kás we-gang gaya ong tela nanu
 1POSS-foot APPL-NFIN.travel PROSP NFIN.PROX say NEG

 wad jima
 NFIN.sun hot
 ‘(We) were going to travel by foot, (but) no, the sun was (too) hot.’

The applicative effect does not always add an explicit instrumental argument. For instance, the verb *tela* ‘speak, say’ is used intransitively in (244) without an applicative prefix. In (245), the *we-* prefix is added, but the clause remains intransitive. The meaning changes to ‘discuss, agree to something’.

- (244) *Anda ngátela amáng kda.*
 an-da ngá-tela amáng kda
 DIST-SEQ 1II_S-speak DIST.like just
 ‘So, that’s it.’ (common final utterance of a narrative)

- (245) *Gán nga we-tela ampa anáku tabita mu.*
 gán=nga we-tela ampa anáku tabita mu
 3NOM=DEF APPL-speak so.that 3DUAL contest run
 ‘They agreed that they (two) would have a running race.’

One additional use of the *we-* prefix is with the verb *yán* ‘give’. Since Kula does not have fully ditransitive verbs (see section 2.3.2), it encodes the theme argument as the single argument of a separate verb, *mi* ‘take’, while the A and R (recipient) arguments are marked as typical A and P arguments of a transitive verb. Additionally, the verb, *yán*, always occurs with the prefix *we-*. An example is given in (246), in which the theme argument is omitted, easily understood from the immediately preceding clause. Note the use of the prefix *we-*. In (247), an example with *mi* flagging the theme argument is given.

- (246) A: *Yisiwa tau aposín kda!*
 yi-siwa tau aposín kda
 2POSS-clothing too NFIN.beautiful just
 ‘Your clothes are just too nice!’
- B: *Ngatama awing wenjáni.*
 ngá-tama awing we-n-yáni
 1POSS-grandparent 3FOC APPL-1-give.FIN
 ‘My grandparent (is the one who) gave it to me.’
- (247) *Ngápte abu inga mi ngápa bayáku wegani.*
 ngá-pte-abu=nga mi ngá-pa ba-yáku we-ga-yáni
 1POSS-corn-dust=DEF take 1POSS-father BA-two APPL-3-give
 ‘I gave my ground corn to the two men.’

2.7 Aspectual marking

Kula clauses can be marked for a range of aspectual and epistemic categories. The majority of morphemes encoding these categories occur post-verbally. In this section, I present a preliminary analysis of the most frequently occurring aspect markers. Kula aspect marking resembles that in neighbouring Wersing (see Schapper 2014), with a three-way contrast between imperfective, perfective and prospective aspect (2.7.1-2.7.3). Imperfective and prospective markers are cognate with their Wersing counterparts, while Kula utilizes a distinct perfective aspect marker. Several additional post-verbal aspect markers are used, but their precise functions remain less well understood.

2.7.1 *di* ‘IPFV’

The imperfective aspect marker, *di* ‘IPFV’, always occurs before the predicate. The position of *di* relative to arguments is flexible. The marker may occur immediately before the verb (248), or before an NP preceding the verb (249) – (250). There is no evidence that there is any difference in meaning associated with these different positions.

(248) *Di limpa.*

di limpa
IPFV long
'(It's) still (too) long.'

(249) *Di ja mí gisukwa, Momo.*

di ja mí gisukwa Momo
IPFV water NFIN.be.located probably M.
'Momo, there's probably still water (in those betel nuts).'

(250) *Di mama tát kása nanu.*

di mama tát kása nanu.
IPFV field cut finish NEG
'(They) still hadn't finished clearing the fields.'

When *di* occurs in a clause marked with the negator *nanu* 'NEG' post-verbally, the interpretation is 'not yet', as in (251) and (252). The form in (252) is an alternate pronunciation, *de*, with the same function as *di*.

(251) *Di ga nanu.*

di ga nanu
IPFV speak NEG
'(She) hasn't spoken yet.'

(252) *De siwe nan gisukwa.*

de si-we nanu gisukwa
IPFV come.LOW-go.LEVEL NEG probably
'(They) probably haven't come out yet.'

The sense conveyed by *di* is of a previous event continuing into the present, with something like the effect of English 'still'. Another type of imperfectivity is also encoded in Kula by the progressive aspect marking serial verb *-ku* 'stay, live'. This contrasts with *di*, instead expressing a current ongoing state that is true only for the present time, not a continuation of a previous state (253). See section 2.8 or more on serial verb constructions.

(253) *Angu oto lewaka ngwít ngku.*

angu	oto	le-waka	ng-míti	ng-ku
there	truck	APPL-watch	1Is-sit	1Is-stay

‘We sat there waiting for the truck.’

2.7.2 *tenu* ‘PFV’

The postverbal particle *tenu* marks perfective aspect in Kula, translated roughly as ‘already’. It refers to events that have already occurred with reference to some point in time, whether in the past or present time. It occurs with a range of predicate types, but primarily states and motion verbs. Examples with a variety of predicate types are given below, starting with states in (254) and (255), a motion verb in (256), and activities in (257) ‘sing’ and (258) ‘do/make’.

(254) *Nsu Baumi tani, malen tenu.*

ng-su	baumi	tani	malen	tenu
1Is-come	Baumi	arrive.FIN	evening	PFV

‘(Once) we arrived in Baumi, it was already evening.’

(255) *Ngátela nduka tenu.*

ngá-tela	ng-duka	tenu
1Is-speak	1Is-stand	PFV

‘I’m already here speaking (to you).’

(256) *Tama luk ji tenu.*

tama	luk	ji	tenu
ocean	NFIN.hole	go.low	PFV

‘He’d already gone down (i.e. fell) into the ocean.’

(257) *Tais ngadaya tenu!*

tais	ngá-daya	tenu
middle	1IIs-sing	PFV

‘I’m in the middle of singing already!’

(258) *Tamán-tamána gisirusa lengwa si nanu, ampu pta suba gán nga gisirusa ape tenu.*

tamán-tamána	gi-sirusa	le-ng-wa=si	nanu
each-REDUP	3POSS.II-work	APPL-1IA-remember=TOP	NEG

pta suba gán=nga gi-sirusa ape tenu
 pray house 3NOM=DEF 3POSS.II-work do PFV
 ‘Everyone didn’t think about their own work, but they were already doing the
 work of the church (i.e. building the church).’

In each of these examples, *tenu* marks the predicate as having already occurred, relative to some other reference point in time. For example, in (254), by the time the speaker arrived in Baumi, it was ‘already’ evening. The change of state into ‘evening’ happened prior to the event of arriving in Baumi, thus the use of *tenu* ‘already’. In (255), *tenu* marks the event expressed by *ngátela ngduka* ‘I am speaking’ as already in progress before the current time at the time of speaking. *tenu* marks the event as having started already before the time of speaking. (257) is another interesting example, in which the speaker, who is singing a song, is interrupted by another person singing in the background. To get the other person to stop singing she says ‘I’m already singing here!’ in (257) – using *tenu* because her singing had already started before the interruption and time of her utterance in (257).²⁹

The perfective marker *tenu* is frequently used in combination with the verbs *lea* ‘finish, done’ and *kása* ‘finish off, complete’. Examples are given in (259)-(262) below. That these words occur on their own with no other predicative element (e.g. (260) and (262)) indicates that they are fully independent verbs rather than aspectual particles like *tenu*, *gaya*, and *giya*. These aspectual serial verbs are described in more detail in section 2.8.2.

(259) *Yimasing yisera wisa nsi kása tenu.*

yi-masing yi-sera wisa n-si kása tenu
 2POSS-food 2POSS-sustenance carry 1-come.down finish PFV
 ‘I have already finished carrying down all your food.’

²⁹ One reviewer suggested calling this a ‘perspectival’ aspect marker. While this seems reasonable, it is not a commonly used aspectual category. For the time being, I leave the term ‘perfective’ and let the examples illustrate the nuances of this aspectual marker.

(260) *Kása ten e?*

kása tenu e
finish PFV Q
'All done, huh?'

(261) *Le ten tabak dán yapati.*

le-tenu tabak dán ya-pati
finish-PFV tobacco one 2-chew
'That's done (eating betel nut), so chew a piece of tobacco (too).'

(262) *Leten nga, ipati.*

le-ten=nga i-pati
finish-PFV-DEF 1INCL-eat
'That's finished, (so let) us eat.'

2.7.3 *gaya* 'PROSP'

The prospective aspect in Kula is marked with the postverbal particle *gaya* 'PROSP'. This is a frequent aspectual particle, contrasting with the perfective marker *tenu*, and often translated with an immediate future (*mau*) in Indonesian. Examples are given below. In (263), the speaker is explaining my role in the community to another older male speaker, telling him that I will "take the language abroad and read/speak it there."

(263) *Nungal yalula gaya?*

nungal ya-lula gaya
to.where 2II_S-go PROSP
'Where are you going?'

(264) *Mi lula gomán nga basa gaya.*

mi lula gomán=nga basa gaya
take go there.LEVEL=DEF read PROSP
'(He) is going to take (our language) over there and read it.'

2.7.4 *giya* 'PROG'

The postverbal particle *giya* (possibly related to the verb *gi* 'put, place') expresses progressive aspect, contrasting with the prospective aspect expressed by *gaya*. The progressive *giya* typically refers to an event that is ongoing and will continue into the immediate future.

Occasionally, the events marked by *giya* have not yet begun but are imminent and the use of *giya* indicates that they are effectively ongoing from the speaker's perspective. The use in (265) is a good example of this. This example is taken from a conversation in which the speaker is responding to another speaker's insistence that they go to the house to eat betel nut from their current location near the betel nut trees. In response to her insistence, the speaker says *yo iwe giya* 'yeah, we're going', implying that they are already moving and the event expressed by *iwe* is already ongoing.

(265) *Ngápa, yán yamiti yaku do, ngán nga nhula sápe lengu giya.*

ngá-pa	yán	ya-míti	ya-ku	do	ngán=nga	ng-lula
1POSS-father	2PRO	2-sit	2-stay	DP	1PRO-DEF	1-go

sápe	le-ng-mu	giya
crab	APPL-1-run	PROG

'Father, you just sit there, I'm going to hunt for crabs.'

(266) *Mana dǎng angu we gaya onga wiksi giya.*

mana	dǎng	angu	we	gaya	onga	wiksi	giya
village	one	there	go.LEVEL	PROSP	PROX	flood	PROG

'(I) was going to go to a certain village, (and) there was a flood.'

(267) *Yo, yo, iwe giya.*

yo	yo	i-we	giya
INTERJ	INTERJ	1Is-go.LEVEL	PROG

'Yeah, yeah, we're going.'

2.8 Serial verb constructions

This section describes serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Kula. These are common in Kula, like in other Alor-Pantar languages, and have a range of different functions described in the following subsections. The data for this section comes primarily from a single retelling of the Frog Story in Kula. Further research may reveal additional types and functions of SVCs in Kula. The SVCs described below are grouped by function, including adding arguments (2.8.1), aspectual (2.8.2), causative (2.8.3), resultative (2.8.4), and motion/directional (2.8.5).

2.8.1 Adding arguments

Kula lacks truly ditransitive verbs. Instead, additional arguments can be added to a clause with the verb *mi* ‘take’ in a type of serial verb construction. For example, in (268), *mi* marks the theme arguments *yamsalo* ‘cassava’ and *maka* ‘banana’. This type of construction is required with the verb *yani* ‘give’, which is not a true ditransitive in Kula (269).

(268) *Nte dalani, yamsalo mi maka mi tukwa wejina.*

n-te	dalani	yamsalo	mi	maka	mi
1EXCL.I-sleep	morning	cassava	take	banana	take

tukwa wejina

basket fill

‘We slept until morning, (then) filled the basket(s) with cassava and bananas.’

(269) *Ngákib mi wenján dápa nguda mi di!*

ngá-kib	mi	we-n-ján	dápa	ng-mda
1POSS.II-payment	take	APPL-1EXCL.I-give	PRIOR	1EXCL.I-go.up

mi di

take DIR

‘Give me my payment first before I go up to take (them=’the underwear’).’

2.8.2 Aspectual serialization

Three verbs are used in serial verb constructions to express aspectual notions. These verbs are listed in Table 25.

Table 25. Aspectual serial verbs

<i>Ku</i>	Stay	imperfect	After
<i>Le</i>	finish	perfect	After
<i>Kása</i>	complete	completive	After

Ku ‘stay’ is used as a serial verb to encode imperfect aspect for ongoing actions. It follows the main lexical verb in a serial verb construction.

(270) *Sirusa ape iku*
 sirusa ape i-ku
 work do 1INCL.I-stay
 ‘We are doing work.’

(271) *Ináku gomán níwe imít iku.*
 i-n-yáku gomán ní-we i-mít i-ku
 1INCL.DUAL there.LEVEL LOC-go.LEVEL 1INCL.I-sit 1INCL.I-stay
 ‘We two are sitting over there!’ (pointing at a video camera screen)

(272) *Lewaka ngku awa gaka dǎng gimra mi.*
 le-waka ng-ku awa gaka dǎng gi-mra mi
 APPL-watch 1EXCL.I-stay then week NFIN.one 3POSS-inside in
 ‘I stood watch for a week.’

le ‘finish’ is used in serial verb constructions for situations that have occurred but are not necessarily complete (compare with *kása* for the completive aspect). Like *ku*, it follows the main verb and occurs as the last verb in the serial verb construction.

(273) *Aning mi lula pte pá mu lekwi ba pat leya.*
 aning mi lula pte pá-mu lekwi ba pat
 person take go corn NFIN.garden-LOC tie.up TOP eat
 leya
 FIN.finish
 ‘Someone took (the cow) and tied it up at the corn field and it ate (corn).’

(274) *Ngáparka dua to lok parekang leya.*
 ngá-parka=dua=to lok parekang leya
 1POSS.II-jacket=PL=also NFIN.wet soaked FIN.finish
 ‘Our jackets were also soaking wet.’

The use of *le* as an independent lexical verb (275) distinguishes it from other TAM suffixes.

(275) *Lungkukita gimaka onga gigis leya.*
 lungkukita gi-maka=onga gi-gis leya
 frog 3POSS.II-banana=DIST 3POSS-NFIN.filling FIN.finish

Finally, *kása* ‘complete’ is used in serial verb constructions to express completive aspect. In contrast with *le*, *kása* indicates the completion of an event. Compare, for instance, *pat kása* in

(276) with *pat leya* in (275) above. In (275), the cow has not eaten ALL the corn in the field, while in (276) below, ALL of the meat has been eaten.

(276) *Gipe ng pat kása.*

gi-pe=nga	pat	kása
3POSS.II-meat=DEF	NFIN.eat	complete

This verb, *kása*, also occurs with certain semelfactive verbs like ‘die’ which are inherently fully completed once they occur (277).

(277) *Giya gipa ayámu kása.*

gi-ya	gi-pa	ayámu kása
3POSS.II-mother	3POSS.II-father	FIN.die complete

‘His mother and father have died.’

Note that these two verbs are commonly used together as well (99).

(278) *Anawe nga blina kása leya.*

anawe=nga	blina	kása	leya
all=DEF	write	complete	FIN.finish

‘(I) have already written all (of them).’

2.8.3 Causative serialization

Causative SVCs in Kula involve the verb *–pe* ‘do, make’ as the first verb in the sequence. The verb(s) following *–pe* express the caused event. The causer is encoded as the A argument of *–ape*, while the causee is encoded as the S of the intransitive verb, *–yámu* ‘die’ (279) and *akáni* ‘extinguish’.

(279) *Pe gátataku dáma aniyáku giape ayámu.*

pe	gá-tataku	dáma	aning-yáku	gi-ape	ayámu
pig	3II-find	CONJ	NFIN.person-two	3-make	FIN.die

‘After they found the pig, the two of them killed it.’

(280) *Jala sak dugwa, jiada nga anawe ape akáni.*

jala	sak=dua	ji-ada=nga	anawe	ape	akáni
woman	NFIN.old=PL	2POSS.II-fire=NEG	all	make	FIN.extinguish

‘Women, all of you put your fires!’

2.8.4 Resultative serialization

In resultative serialization, an intransitive predicate follows the main verb(s) and indicates the state resulting from the event expressed by the main verb(s). These intransitive verbs are most frequently posture verbs, e.g. *ate* ‘lie’ in (281), which indicates the end result of the falling (*tansi*) event.

- (281) *Gákte manga lámána tansi ate.*

<i>gákte</i>	<i>manga</i>	<i>lámána</i>	<i>tan-si</i>	<i>a-te</i>
surprise	CONJ	immediately	fall-come.LOW	3I-lie

‘He was surprised and immediately fell down flat.’

Not all resultative serial verb constructions involve posture verbs. In (282), the verb *ayámu* ‘die’, expressing the state of the P argument (*gána pka nga*) resulting from the action expressed by the main verb, *baba* ‘hit, beat’.

- (282) *Ginana aniyaku asurang akína gána pka nga gikaku baba ayámu.*

<i>gi-nana</i>	<i>aning-yáku</i>	<i>asurang</i>	<i>akína</i>
3POSS.II-older.sibling	NFIN.person-two	NFIN.emotion	FIN.anger

<i>gána</i>	<i>pka=nga</i>	<i>gi-kaku</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ayámu</i>
TOP	little=DEF	3POSS.II-younger.sibling	hit	FIN.die

‘His two older siblings were angry and beat their younger sibling to death.’

Similarly, in (283), the verb *agátu* ‘disappear’, expresses the resulting end state of the S argument (*lungkukita*) of the intransitive *mu*.

- (283) *Lungkukita nga lámána si me, mu agátu.*

<i>lungkukita=nga</i>	<i>lámána</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mu</i>
frog=DEF	immediately	come.LOW	come.LEVEL	run

agátu
disappear
‘The frog then immediately went out (of the jar) and ran away.’

2.8.5 Motion verb serialization

There are two types of motion verb serialization in Kula. In the first type, motion-action serialization, a motion verb precedes the main verb expressing a separate non-motion event. The two verbs expressing separate events occurring in succession, the motion event followed by the non-motion event. When the second verb is transitive, the optionally expressed P argument occurs between the motion verb and the non-motion verb, as in the second example given here (285).

- (284) *Níwe pá suba nga iwe imíti.*
 ní-we pá suba=nga i-we
 LOC-go.LEVEL NFIN.garden house=DEF 1INCL.I-go.LEVEL
 i-míti
 1INCL-FIN.sit
 ‘We go sit over there (at) the garden house.’

- (285) *Pátára nlula lewaka giya.*
 pátára n-lula lewaka giya
 moment 1EXCL.I-go guard PROG
 ‘In a moment, we’ll go stand guard.’

- (286) *Sufiri mu aku su nailang tani.*
 sufiri mu a-ku su nailang tani
 driver run 3I-stay come N. FIN.arrive
 ‘The driver ran until he reached Nailang.’

The second type of serialization with a motion verb involves the main verb followed by a motion verb, indicating the directional path of the main event. The first verb in these constructions is most frequently a non-deictic motion verb such as in (287), but may also be a deictic motion verb (288) or a non-motion verb (289) and (290).

- (287) *Kátuala inga lámána koda mda.*
 kátual=nga lámána koda mda
 NFIN.dog=DEF immediately leap go.HIGH
 ‘The dog then immediately leaped up.’

- (288) *Gikátuala to we mda asa leduka.*

gi-kátuala=to we mda asa le-duka
 3POSS.II-dog=also go.LEVEL go.HIGH hill APPL-stand
 ‘His dog also went up and stood on a hill.’

(289) *Ginura nga adi si me.*

gi-nura=nga adi si me
 3POSS.II-owner=DEF look come.LOW come.LEVEL
 ‘His (the frog’s) owner looked down this way (at the empty jar).’

(290) *Gán nga ngámi lula.*

gán=nga ngá-mi lula
 3NOM=NEG 1EXCL.II-take go
 ‘I took them away.’

Finally, some of the combinations of deictic motion verbs, e.g. *we mda* in (288), take on idiomatic meanings in the right context. For instance, the serial verb construction involving two deictic motion verbs, *si me*, in (291), is used to refer to the frog escaping from its jar. This use has its origins in the traditional house construction in Alor. Since traditional Alorese homes are elevated several feet above the ground, people must literally descend from their houses to exit them – thus the use of *si me* for ‘exit’ or ‘go out of’ of a jar, in this case, the frog’s home.

(291) *Lungkukita nga lámána si me.*

lungkukita=nga lámána si me
 frog=DEF immediately come.LOW come.LEVEL
 ‘The frog then immediately went out (of the jar).’

2.8.6 Posture verb serialization

Similar to the use of motion verbs in direction serialization, posture verbs may occur following the main verb to express the position of the A or S argument of the main verb as the event takes place. The posture verbs used in this serialization include *míti sit*’ (293 and 294), *duka* ‘stand’ (292), *lila* ‘hang’ (294) – (possibly also *te* ‘lie’, but not attested).

(292) *Lungkukita lemnik duka.*

lunkukita lemnik duka

frog NFIN.sniff stand
 ‘Standing, the frog sniffed (him).’

(293) *Ginura nga adi míti.*

gi-nura=nga adi míti
 3POSS.II-owner=DEF look FIN.sit
 ‘(The frog’s) owner sat looking (at him).’

(294) *Atakagus to ayang lila ayámu, Tukagus to lámána míti ayámu.*

atakagus=to ayang lila ayámu
 A.=also top hang FIN.die

tukagus=to lámána míti ayámu
 T.=also immediately FIN.sit FIN.die
 ‘Atakagus died hanging from above, and then Tukagus died sitting.’

2.9 Conclusion and discussion

This sketch presents the first published description of the Kula language. With the facts presented here, we are able to position Kula within the family and in relation to its closest relatives, Sawila and Wersing. In many aspects, Kula is intermediate between these two close relatives – sharing some features of each. This sketch also provides a starting point for more detailed investigation of Kula grammar.

Kula phonology is complex, with a unique seven-vowel system and numerous phonological processes, including final versus non-final word alternations for a subset of the lexicon, vowel epenthesis, and extensive nasal assimilation. While most Alor-Pantar languages display a length contrast in their vowel systems, Kula exhibits only the remnants of a length distinction. In Kula, the contrast between /a/ and /ə/, /i/ and /ɪ/, seem to correlate with historically long and short /a/ and /i/. In Kula, the remaining short vowels have been centralized, resulting in a contrast that is defined more by vowel quality than length. This positions Kula uniquely among the languages of

Central-Eastern Alor, with Abui, Kamang and Sawila maintaining the length contrast, while Wersing has lost it entirely.

With regard to morphosyntactic features, Kula exhibits an average number of pronominal paradigms and verbal person-marking prefix series, compared with other Alor-Pantar languages. Several of these pronominal and prefix series appear more peripheral, pointing to Kula's intermediate position between languages of eastern and western Alor. Unlike some western Alor languages, Kula allows prefixes to mark S, P and A. However, the agreement marking paradigms are relatively complex and still not fully understood. A unique feature of Kula person marking is the so-called 'inverse' marker, here analyzed as an affectedness prefix on certain verb classes. Kula also shares many features with its close relatives, Sawila and Wersing, including applicative prefixes and multiple postverbal aspectual markers. Kula's system of elevationals and demonstratives is relatively complex compared to the simpler system of Wersing.

CHAPTER III

GRAMMATICAL PRACTICES FOR REFERRING TO PLACE IN KULA

3.1 Introduction

The first task in understanding how speakers of Kula refer to places is to identify the set of communicative practices involved. The second major task – analyzing the distribution of these practices in the sequential organization of conversational interaction – will be addressed in chapter 4. In this chapter, I draw on a collection of approximately 100 instances of place reference (as defined in section 1.5), identified in 15 video recorded conversations in Kula, to describe the range of practices, both verbal and non-verbal, involved in achieving place reference. This approach embraces embodied communicative practices, including pointing, gestures, prosody, etc. as fully grammatical and regularly oriented to by participants in interaction as such (Fox 2011, 2007). While the set of practices is identified in actual instances of place reference in conversation, the description relies on structural grammatical categories, such as ‘demonstratives’, ‘deictic motion verbs,’ ‘place names’ or ‘pointing gestures.’ Chapter 4 focuses on the interactional and other factors that determine how speakers choose among these options when formulating reference to a place. As such, this chapter represents an intermediate stage between the more context-independent grammatical description represented by the sketch grammar in chapter 2 and the fully contextualized account of place reference in interaction presented in chapter 4.

I begin this chapter in 3.1 with discussion of a single case of place reference that involves a range of communicative practices, both verbal and non-verbal, for accomplishing the reference through multiple cases of repair and reformulation. This discussion introduces several of the

practices to be described in more detail in the remaining sections of this chapter and shows how they are involved in the achievement of reference to a place in that conversation. The example is returned to in chapter 4 and analyzed in more detail. Following this introductory case, I then present an overview of all attested communicative practices involved in formulating place reference in Kula, beginning with place names in section 3.2, followed by terms for landscape and geographical features in 3.3, elevationals in 3.4, demonstratives in 3.5, pointing in 3.6 and landmarks in 3.7. Of particular interest is the complex system of elevationals and the prevalent use of nominals as landmarks, a resource that typically would not be described in an account of a language's grammar of space. Section 3.8 offers concluding remarks on this set of practices, comparing to what is known about practices for formulating place reference in other languages (Schegloff 1972, Levinson & Wilkins 2006, San Roque 2016, Blythe 2016).

3.1.1 Identifying practices for formulating reference to place

In this section I would like to introduce some of the practices observed when Kula speakers formulate reference to places in conversation by examining one conversational fragment in some detail. The focus here will be on the grammatical practices themselves. I will return to the same excerpt in chapter 4 to explore what accounts for speakers' formulations in the way they unfold here.

It is important to note that places referred to in conversation are often not well defined prior to the particular occasion on which participants refer to them. That is, the identity and bounds of the place emerge in the process of participants' formulation of the reference itself. This is often due to the fact that the place referred to is not a named place and has no conventional way of referring to it, for example, a particular cultivated area in the forest, the

current location of someone's cow, or which part of the hillside you are planning to burn (all types of 'places' referred to in the Kula data). For a place to be referred to, participants must be oriented to the same area and the speaker must make use of a variety of resources, both verbal and non-verbal, to achieve recognition of the intended referent from the other participants. This turns out to be more problematic than it is for reference to other domains, such as person, given that place is not as individuated as persons. While persons can be referred to as parts of larger and larger groups in a kind of 'fractal' organization, we tend to be more focused on reference to individual persons. Places, on the other hand, mostly exist only as a result of our referring to them. That is, the individual places referred to in interaction are not immediately perceivable as individual places with clear boundaries outside of reference to them. We can and do readily identify individual persons when they are in front of us. Places, on the other hand, require careful formulation to define the exact bounds of the intended place, even when the place referred to is in our immediately visible environment. Fortunately humans have elaborate linguistic and other communicative/semiotic practices available for formulating spatial referents in ways others can then identify. This chapter describes the set of practices engaged in by speakers of Kula to deal with this problem.

Excerpt (4), 'Isakh's garden', comes from the conversation in Samuda involving Isakh, Matilda, Peny, and me, as we were waiting for another speaker to show up to tell us a story. In this excerpt, Isakh makes reference to a garden (*pá* - line 20) in the course of producing a complaint about the quantity of betel nut offered to him. Peny, the recipient of Isakh's initial complaint, takes up this place reference through an instance of other-initiated repair (line 21). The location of Isakh's garden ends up being the focus of the rest of the sequence, effectively derailing the main course of action – Isakh's complaint. A more detailed analysis of this excerpt

is provided in chapter 4. Here, we will focus on the range of practices involved in formulating and reformulating reference to the place in question, focusing on lines 20-28. Verbal aspects of the formulations are bolded below.

Excerpt (4)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [00:10:53.600-00:11:20.000]

- 1 Isakh na-dua pe?
 what-PL do
 ‘What are you doing?’
- 2 (.5)
- 3 Peny ng-we pi míya
 1EXCL.I-go.LEVEL betel FIN.take
 ‘I/we go to take betel nut.’
- 4 (.8)
- 5 Isakh ()
- 6 Peny hm-m
 ‘mhm.’
- 7 (3.0)
- 8 Peny pi ngá-mi n-su pat ga guna
 betel 1EXCL.I-take 1EXCL.I-come.UNELEVNFIN.eat PROSP EVID
 ‘We brought the betel here to eat.’
- 9 (3.8)
- 10 Isakh eh mi si awa
 INTERJ take come.LOW ?TAM
 ‘Hey, bring some (down) here!’ (i.e. to Isakh)
- 11 (.3)
- 12 Peny hm?
 ‘Huh?’
- 13 (6.0)
- 14 Isakh ing lika sak ngi-ya
 PROX many little 1EXCL.V-get
 ‘This is all I get?’ (lit. ‘this, a little much, I get.’)
- 15 (.7)
- 16 Mat yáwa am [pka ngá]-nana
 yes DIST small 1POSS.II-older.sibling
 ‘Yes, older brother, just that.’
- 17 Peny [am pka]
 DIST small
 ‘That’s it!’
- 18 (3.5)
- 19 Peny lika sak ji-ya gi pu (1.0) amám pka da=
 many little 2.V-get TAM but DIST.like small SEQ

- 20 Isakh ‘You could have gotten a bit more, it was just like that, so ...’
 =**pá** mí-ng-kuya:::³⁰
 garden APPL-1EXCL.I-FIN.stay
 ‘I’m staying in the fields!’
- 21 Peny **hã?** (1.0) **pá** mí-ya-kuya?=
 huh garden APPL-2.I-FIN.stay
 ‘Huh? You’re staying in the fields?’
- 22 Isakh =**pá** mí-lakata lewaka ng-kuya::
 garden APPL-tend watch 1EXCL.I-FIN.stay
 ‘I’ve been staying and watching over the fields.’
- 23 Peny **nu-mda-we-o** **slapin** anto
 LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL-PROX PN or
 ‘Up over there, uh, (in) Slapin? or ...’
- 24 (4)
- 25 Isakh **me-we-o** **mde-mda-o::=**
 come.LEVEL-go.LEVEL-PROX come.HIGH-go.HIGH-PROX
 ↑[head point]_{Fig. 1}
 ‘Over here, up there, in uh, ...’
- 26 Peny =**saika?** (.) eh **o::...**
 PN INTERJ PROX
 ‘Saika? Er, uh ...’
- 27 Isakh **pungka** **gi-** **[lomang** **gi-tapa]**
 ax 3POSS.II-hill 3POSS.II-side
 ‘On the other side of ‘Ax hill’.’
- 28 Peny **[pungka-** **pungka** **gi-]****lomang** **gi-tapa** **ánu?**
 Ax ax 3POSS.II-hill 3POSS.II-side DEM
 ‘Ax-, the other side of ‘Ax hill’, huh?’
- 29 (.)
- 30 Isakh **yáwa**
 INTERJ
 ‘Yeah.’
- 31 Peny **õ** (.9) ang kana
 INTERJ DIST good
 ‘Oh, that’s good.’

At the start of this excerpt, Peny, Matilda, and I had just returned to the house (*vo*), where Isakh is sitting, after we had picked some betel nut from a small grove of trees located nearby (see figure 24).

³⁰ /a/ at the end of *ngkuya* is 1.5 seconds long



Figure 24. Peny walking back from betel nut grove.

As I argue in chapter 4, the main course of action in this excerpt is a complaint from Isakh about the amount of betel nut offered to him. His complaint is first produced in line 14 as *ing lika sak ngiya?* ‘this is all I get?’ The first reference to Isakh’s garden comes in line 20, as an account for his initial complaint. With the formulation of his account, *pá mí-ngkuya:::* – ‘I’m staying in the garden!’ – Isakh tries to provide a legitimate reason for his complaint, i.e. not simply because he is greedy. Peny demonstrates his culpability by offering explanations in response to Isakh’s complaint in lines 17 and 19. When Isakh reproduces his complaint by means of an account in line 20, Peny finds a way out by initiating repair on the place reference included in Isakh’s turn – *pá*. Isakh’s response to this repair initiation comes in line 21, in which he maintains the same formulation as he produced in line 20 – *pá*. This formulation does not pick out a particular garden, but rather refers to the ‘garden’ in a generic sense – ‘I’m staying in the/a garden’. This type of formulation, with no demonstrative or definite marking on the noun *pá*, does the referring while maintaining the focus on fact that he is *staying* in the garden. Peny then initiates repair a second time in line 23, this time focusing clearly on the place reference by offering a candidate formulation.

From lines 23 to 28, then, we see a number of practices that are regularly involved in formulating reference to places in Kula conversation. First, the generic noun *pá* is a kind of geographic/landscape feature. The types of geographic/landscape terms used include both those for man-made features, like gardens, water reservoirs, roads, etc., and naturally occurring features, like rivers, hillsides, etc. Then, in Peny's candidate formulation, we see use of an elevational term, *nu-mda-we*, the demonstrative particle *o*, and a place name *Slapin*. Isakh's initial response to Peny's repair introduces another commonly observed practice – a non-manual head point, which he produces simultaneously with another elevational, *me-we* and *mde-mda*. Pursuing the referent again in line 26, Peny uses another place name (*Saika*), as well as a point, this time a larger manual point, a B-point in Enfield's terminology (Enfield et al. 2007). Finally, Isakh and Peny reformulate the place again in lines 27-28, this time using a place name that involves some terms for geographic features, as well as a recognitional demonstrative.

These practices are among the most commonly observed in formulating reference to place in the Kula data. In the rest of this chapter I will delve into a more detailed description of each of the practices seen in excerpt (4) and provide examples of several additional practices. This descriptive account of the practices involved in formulating place reference serves as a necessary background for the analysis of factors affecting speakers' choice among alternative formulations provided in chapter 4.



Figure 25



Figure 26.

3.2 Place names

Place names are a common solution to achieving recognitional place reference in Kula. Their use is necessarily limited to *named* places (see discussions in section 1.5 and chapter 4). This section describes the structure of place names and their functions in achieving reference to place.

Place names in Kula are mostly binomial, consisting of either two non-generic terms or a non-generic term followed by a generic term. Names consisting of two non-generic terms are typically given by speakers as monomorphemic items and will be written as a single word. While many can be easily analyzed, some names remain opaque as to the origin of at least one part of the binomial. Speakers themselves are not always able to identify the parts of a place name and are sometimes surprised by suggested analyses of the two parts. For example, the place names *Watatuku* and *Mailuku* both appear decomposable into two non-generic parts: *wata* ‘coconut’ +

tuku ‘cut’ and *mai* ‘corpse’ + *luku* ‘bury’. These names both refer to areas within a village, usually associated with a certain family. However, speakers themselves do not typically offer these morphological analyses. Names consisting of a non-generic part followed by a generic part are typically given without the generic element. For example, the names *Saika* and *Mumu* both refer to sections of rivers and, possibly, the area immediately surrounding those river sections. The generic word for river, *ili*, is only optionally provided when eliciting these terms and very rarely occurs when the names are used in spontaneous conversation.

Table 26 provides a sample of place names, collected both through elicitation and recordings of spontaneous conversation. I give the name, its literal translation, and the Kula term for the category each refers to. Many of the names collected are names of villages or neighborhoods, for lack of a better term, which in fact refer to smaller areas within a village such as *Lantoka* or *Samuda* (see discussion in 1.6). Notice that many of these village names are morphologically simple, including two examples given here, *Wase* and *Wila*. Much remains unknown regarding the history of place names among the Kula. This was not explored in great detail given the focus of this study on how place names are actually used in conversation to refer to places.

Table 26. Sample place names in Kula

Name	Literal translation	Category
<i>Ja Tan</i>	water – fall	lomang (‘hill’)
<i>Sala Pálina</i>	corral – clean	kali (‘river, stream’)
<i>Pe Awaláka</i>	pig – ear	asa limpa (‘mountain’)
<i>Sla Pini</i>	rope – nose/end	mana (‘village’)
<i>Atáku mí-kawi</i>	earth – eat at ³¹	mana (‘village’)
<i>Asir pat</i>	salt – eat	mana (‘village’)
<i>Wase</i>	(no meaning)	mana (‘village’)
<i>Wila</i>	(no meaning)	mana (‘village’)

³¹ *mí-kawi* refers to an animal eating or chewing at the land, e.g. a deer.

- 13 Yesya hai amán-da ing tatuk blina gaya kla ang awa nunung
INTERJ like.DIST-SEQ PROX tell write PROSP now DIST then how
- 14 gaya
PROSP
'Hey! That's what we we're going to talk about and write down, so then how do you want it?'
- 15 (.3)
- 16 Isakh ang ga guna
DIST say EVID
'Yeah, exactly!' (lit. 'that (is) said')
- 17 (.)
- 18 Yesya mmm
hmm/yeah
- 19 (2.5)
- 20 Isakh i-lula- a- anda námálawing tatuk blina? (1.2) an=to
1INCL-go so who FOC tell write DIST=also
- 21 amána=
like.DIST
'We go-, uh-, so who is going to talk about it? That's how it is, too.'
- 22 Yesya anda si de lansak wakda (le-tatuku di) (1.0)
so come.LOW come.HIGH PN just (APPL-tell IMPF)
- 23 ní-ji-mda=s ga tia de
LOC-go.LOW-go.HIGH=TOP say PROHIB IMPF
'So, just talk about up here in Lansaku, don't talk about down there.'
- 24 (2.0)
- 25 Isakh (ang gán blina takik di) (2.4) awanan tela mung
DIST TOP write ? IMPF instead speak EVID
- 26 wáti awang gang wáti=
REPORT INSTEAD travel REPORT
'(That's what we'll write down), that's probably speaking for someone, taking someone else's road, it's said.'
- 27 Yesya =mm
'mm.'
- 28 (1.6)
- 29 Isakh hak rampas burán ()=
rights steal(Ind.) INTENS
'(That's) really taking away someone's rights ().'
- 30 Yesya =mm
'mm.'



Figure 27

This excerpt is taken from the beginning of a video recording of an elicitation session with the two men pictured in figure 27. At line 1, Yesya informs Isakh of the reason for calling him there (Peny's house) – to discuss the names of places in the village. Isakh responds first with surprise, then by refusing Yesya's request for him to talk about these places, by suggesting in line 6 that someone else is better qualified – *yado Tayap Alila*. While the reason for Isakh's refusal is not immediately clear, we find out in line 19 that Isakh believes talking about other places that do not 'belong' to him is not right and is stepping on the rights of others. This interaction continues for a while longer, with Isakh continuing to suggest that to talk about the meaning of these place names would be inappropriate. He expresses this several different ways, including *hak rampas* 'steal rights' and *awanta tela* 'speak for s.o.' – taking someone's rights or speaking for them. This indicates that the names and the meaning behind the names is highly privileged information and something that belongs to particular people, the people who live in and have the rights to the land in question. This not only made it difficult to do much elicitation of these place names, but it also proved the point that names in Kula (as elsewhere in Alor – cf. Holton 2011) are closely tied to the history of the places people inhabit. Because history is so contentious in the Kula speaking area, talking about place names and their meanings is itself a highly contentious activity. For this reason, I decided not to spend much time eliciting place

names. More detail on the use/function of place names in formulating place reference in conversation is discussed in chapter 4.

3.3 Landscape and geographic features

A second grammatical resource for formulating reference to place in Kula consists of terms for landscape and geographic features. These include terms for both natural and man-made features. We saw an example of a man-made landscape feature in excerpt (4) from section 3.1 in Isakh's initial formulation as *pá* 'garden'. Other man-made features are limited, but include things like *mana* 'village' and *ige* 'road'. Natural geographic features include terms such as *ili* 'river', *lomang* 'hill', *tapa* '(hill)side', etc. Since the focus here is on place reference in interaction, I do not provide an exhaustive listing of landscape terminology. This awaits further research. As an example of a term for a natural geographic feature, consider the use of *ili gawa* 'river bank' in excerpt (6) below. This example is taken from a discussion about local place names and changes in village layout over the speaker's lifetime. He names the place he grew up, in a nearby village known as *Bakakila* in Kula, *Beleman* in Malay. The specific neighborhood in his village was named *Anipeya*. Anton, the interviewer, asks where *Anipeya* is located. The speaker, Andi, then formulates the location of *Anipeya* in lines 5-6 using the geographic feature terms *ili* 'river' and *gawa* 'rivebank', in addition to other resources.

Excerpt (6)

nw-tpg-20131012-02 [02:32.000-02:40.000]

- | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1 | Andi | atáku-ng | gi-aden-nga | anípeya |
| | | land-DEF | 3POSS-name-DEF | PN |
| | | ‘The land’s name is <i>Anipeya</i> .’ | | |
| 2 | (.2) | | | |
| 3 | Anton | ang | nungu giya bapa | |
| | | DIST | where put | father |
| | | ‘Where’s that, father?’ | | |

- 4 (.5)
 5 Andi anga ili gawa áma gána skol suba míti si
 DIST river bank DEM TOP school house sit come.LOW
 6 ili gawa áma anga anipeya
 river bank DEM DIST PN
 ‘That’s (by) the river bank, (where) that school is, come down to the river bank,
 that’s *Anipeya*.’

In other cases, speakers use man-made features of the environment. For example, in excerpt (7), the speaker uses a borrowing from English via Malay, *aspal* ‘asphalt road’, to refer to the main road running through Lantoka.

Excerpt (7)

nw-tpg-20130917-01 [01:31.000-01:36.600]

- 1 A male ngaya yanu ní-ji-we-ng duka
 M. mother Y. LOC-go.LOW-go.LEVEL-DEF stand
 2 kak(u) a-lila duka?
 younger.sibling CAUSE-hang stand
 ‘Male, is mother Yanu standing over there, holding the younger kids?’
 3 (1.6)
 4 boy ((shakes head))
 5 A aspal lula tuna ()
 asphalt.road go already
 ‘(Maybe she) already went to the road.’

Other landscape/geographic features include terms like *tama* ‘ocean’, *ili* ‘river’, *lomang* ‘peak’, *asa* ‘hill’, *ja lila* ‘lake’, *ja ni* ‘spring’ (lit. ‘water eye’), *kila* ‘hillside’, *luk* ‘hole, concave area, valley’, *wá-tuka* ‘cave’, *atáku sel* ‘island’. These are not especially frequent in the current data, but do occur occasionally. Another example is given in excerpt (8). The speaker uses the term *tama luk* to indicate the place where the person fell.

Excerpt (8)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [01:35.400-01:37.200]

- 1 B tama luk ji tenu
 ocean hole go.LOW PFV
 ‘He went down (i.e. fell) into the ocean.’

Occasionally, names for trees can be used as features of the landscape to formulate a place as well. In excerpt (9), taken from a video recording of men clearing land to build a new high school, Peny asks one of the men where he has been. After first responding that he has gone ‘down’ to the border of the plot of land set aside for the school, he then formulates the location of the border as *ji waikik du* ‘down (at) the candlenut trees.’

Excerpt (9)

pm-tpg-20120523-03 [01:11.800-01:15.000]

1	C	anuna	ji	waikik-du	ang	weseda
		because	go.LOW	candlenut-PL	DIST	border
		‘Because, (if you) go down to those candlenut (trees), that’s the border.’				

In this case, while the candlenut trees are a feature of the natural environment, they are used similar to other ‘landmarks’ as described in section 3.7.

3.4 Elevationals³²

Elevationals play a prominent role in place reference and the grammar of space more generally in Kula. The semantic component of elevation is a feature shared by all Alor-Pantar languages. In all Alor-Pantar languages, there is an attested set of six deictic motion verbs, ‘come’ and ‘go’ each marked for HIGH, LOW, or LEVEL elevation. These verbs express motion trajectories at a certain elevation relative to the deictic center (as we will see, not always the speaker). In addition to the deictic motion verbs, each language has a set of non-verbal elevational terms used in a variety of ways – predicatively, as a verbal and/or nominal modifier, and/or as a locational noun, depending on the language. Most languages, including Kula, have a

³² This discussion of elevationals in Alor-Pantar languages is based on Schapper (2014).

set of non-verbal elevationals that are morphologically unrelated to the motion verbs. In some languages, also including Kula, there are other sets of non-verbal elevationals derived or otherwise transparently related to the motion verbs. In this section, I present the formal paradigms of elevational items in Kula, describe their meanings and provide examples of their uses in examples of place reference in conversation.

First, Kula maintains the three-way HIGH, LOW, LEVEL contrast in deictic motion verbs present in all other Alor-Pantar languages. In addition to these six deictic motion verbs, Kula has two deictic motion verbs unspecified for elevation – glossed here as UNELEVATED (after Schapper 2014). The full paradigm is given in table 27 and examples of each are given below.

Table 27. Deictic motion verbs in Kula

	AWAY FROM DEICTIC CENTER ('go')	TOWARD DEICTIC CENTER ('come')
LEVEL	we	me
HIGH	mda	mde
LOW	ji	si
UNELEVATED	lula	su

The following examples give an idea of the range of contexts these verbs are used in.

(295)

- a. *we* dádap duka angal **ya-we**
dedap.tree stand direction.DISTAL **2I-go.LEVEL**
‘(Where) a Dedap tree is (lit. ‘stands’), (you) go across that way.’
- b. *me* ang nga-yo-gwita **ya-me**
DIST 1II-2III-call **2I-come**
‘That’s (why) I called you to come here.’
- c. *mda* **ya-mda** ng-wansáya le-ya-míti
2I-go.HIGH 1POSS.II-neck/shoulder APPL-2II-sit
‘(You) go up and sit on my shoulders.’
- d. *mde* angu **n-ji** gi-batas le mang
there 1EXCL-go.LOW3POSS.II-border finish CONJ
n-de tenu
1EXCL.I-come.HIGH PFV
‘I went down there to the border, then/now I came up here already.’
- e. *ji* (see 301d)
- f. *si* ile n-lilawa **n-si** dápa
tomorrow 1EXCL.I-return 1EXCL.I-come.LOW first
ngwít gaya

- g. *lula* 1EXCL.I-NFIN.sit PROSP
 ‘I’ll come sit (with you) tomorrow when I return coming down this way.’
 amán=nga gi-pa gi-ya=nga **lula** mama táti
 like.DIST=DEF 3POSS.II-father 3POSS.II-mother=DEF go field cut
 ‘Then his parents went to cut/clear the fields.’
- h. *su* tim takuda **n-suya**
 straight short 1EXCL.I-FIN.come
 ‘I took a short cut coming here.’

Each of these verbs can also be used in serial verb constructions. Attested are combinations of two or more motion verbs (296) or a motion verb with non-motion verbs (297) and (298).

- (296) iníng ya-ji ya-we nan mang
 like.PROX 2I-go.LOW 2I-go.LEVEL NFIN.NEG CONJ
 ya-mda=p ya-we
 2I-go.HIGH=so.that 2I-go.LEVEL
 ‘(You) go down like this, go across, no, then, go up so that you go across!’
 [see chapter 4 for more discussion of this example in its interactional context]
- (297) gi-nura=nga adi si me
 3POSS.II-owner=DEF look come.LOW come.LEVEL
 ‘His (the frog’s) owner looked down this way (at the empty jar).’
- (298) gán=nga ngá-mi lula
 3NOM=NEG 1EXCL.II-take go
 ‘I took them away.’

Also attested are a number of idiomatic combinations of motion verbs which occur as a single unit with just one pronominal prefix, e.g. *ya-mda-we* in (299).

- (299) *Yamdawe bására?*
 ya-mda-we bására?
 2-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL market
 ‘(Are) you going up to the market?’

Certain combinations of motion verbs encode specific idiomatic meanings, e.g. *si me* ‘exit’. The idiomatic meaning of this combination is clear in (300) since the motion involved is actually up and out of the jar, not down.

- (300) *Lungkukita nga lámána si me.*

lungkukita=nga	lámána	si	me
frog=DEF	immediately	come.LOW	come.LEVEL

‘The frog then immediately went out (of the jar).’

These verbs are used to express motion between two locations, a source and a goal location.

Either the source (301) or the goal (302) location can be explicitly mentioned, but typically not both.

(301) martin mde
 PN come.HIGH
 ‘(s/he) came up from Maritaing.’

(302) pistuka mda
 PN go.HIGH
 ‘(s/he) went up to Pistuka.’

The source/goal argument can also be omitted, as in excerpt (10), lines 1-2 repeated here.

In line 1, speaker A uses the verb *mda* ‘go.HIGH’ to formulate reference to Lonakoni (refers to me – Lonakoni is a common local Kula name, here used to refer to me instead of ‘Nick’) going up to the market to buy betel nut. While she does not explicitly formulate the goal of the movement expressed by *mda*, the implicit goal is repairable as evidenced by Edu’s repair in line 2, where he replaces an unpronounced goal (possibly *basara* ‘market’) with *kalambasa* ‘Kalabahi’ – note that Kalabahi is the capital of Alor, known to everyone, and ‘lower’ than Lantoka.

Excerpt (10)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [16:28-16:35]

1	A	ing	kang	kda	lunakon	mda	pi	masa	dáng
		PROX	good	just	L.	go.HIGH	betel	pepper	some
		ali	su	mang	i-pat	e			
		buy	come	CONJ	1INCL-NFIN.eat	INTERJ			
		‘This is good Lonakoni went up to buy some betel nut and bring it for us to eat.’							
2	Edu	nanu	(.)	kalambasa	mi	suya			
		NEG		PN	take	FIN.come			
		‘No, he brought it here from Kalabahi.’							

So far, I have demonstrated the use of these verbs in the expression of motion events. Additionally, these verbs are combined to produce a large set of non-verbal elevationals when combined with the prefix *ní-/nu-*. For example, in line 23 of excerpt (4), reproduced here as example (303), Peny uses the elevational *numdawe*, which is transparently derived from the LEVEL verb *we* and the HIGH verb *mda*, with the non-verbal elevational prefix *nu-*.

Table 28 lists all attested non-verbal elevationals that are transparently derived from the motion verbs described above. An approximate translation of each is given as well. Simple elevationals involve only the prefix *ní-/nu-* with one verb root. Complex elevationals involve two verb roots in addition to the *ní-/nu-* prefix.

	Simple
<i>ní-we</i>	‘over there’
<i>ní-ji</i>	‘down there’
<i>ní-si</i>	‘down here’
<i>nu-mda</i>	‘up there’
<i>ní-de</i>	‘up here’
* <i>ní-me</i>	Unattested
	Complex
<i>ní-we-mda</i>	‘over up there’
<i>nu-mda-we</i>	‘up over there’
<i>ní-ji-we</i>	‘down over there’
<i>ní-we-ji</i>	‘over down there’
<i>ní-ji-mda</i>	‘across there’
<i>ní-si-mde</i>	‘across here’
<i>ní-si-me</i>	‘down over here’

Speakers choose among this large set of elevationals roughly based on the direction of motion required to move between the speaker's current location and the location of the intended referent. For instance, the elevational used in excerpt (4) from section 3.1, *numdawe*, points to a

location later referred to with a place name, *Slapin*, which would involve walking some distance level before ascending slightly from the speaker's location at the time of the speech event. Here I provide simple examples of each, drawing from both conversational and narrative data for ease of explication. The elevationals are used to refer to places, in many cases to locate an object or person or other place, but occasionally to only formulate the place itself.

(304)

a. *ní-we*

ní-we	pá	suba=ng	i-we	i-míti
LOC-go.LEVEL	garden	house=DEF	1INCL-go.LEVEL	1INCL-FIN.sit

'Let's go sit at the garden house over there.' (narrative)

b. *ní-ji*

ní-ji-o	endang=dua	weli=dua ...	wele	i-lula
LOC-go.LOW-?PROX	Endang=PL	Weli=PL	together	1INCL-go

'(Those) down there, Endang, Weli and them, let's all go together.'

c. *ní-si*

ní-si=ng=o	a-mít	muna	nta
LOC-come.LOW=DEF=?PROX	3INAN-NFIN.sit	EVID	or

'(There's a chair) sitting down here maybe, or ...?'

d. *nu-mda*

nu-mda-o	koya-koya	mana	mí-lula
LOC-go.HIGH-?PROX	koya-koya	village	APPL-go

'Up there, they went to the villages around Koya-Koya.'

e. *ní-de*

ní-de=ng	a-mít	onu
LOC-come.HIGH=DEF	3INAN-sit	?DEM

'(the one=house) sitting up here.'

f. *ní-we-mda*

ngán	ní-we-mda	tinale	...
1NOM	LOC-go.LEVEL-go.HIGH	last.night	

'I, up over there last night, (said) ...'

g. *nu-mda-we*

A: bakakila nunguya?
'Where's Bakakila?'

B: bakakila ... nu-mda-we

Bakakila LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL
 ‘Bakakila (that is) up over there ...’

- h. *ní-ji-we*
 ngá-les pe ní-ji-we=ngu duka muna
 1EXCL-think deer LOC-go.LOW-go.LEVEL=DEF.LOC stand EVID
 ‘I the deer is standing down over there, probably.’
- i. *ní-we-ji*
 ní-we-ji aku táma kopi fanili ang gánu
 LOC-go.LEVEL-go.LOW stay ?VIS coffee vanilla DIST 3NOM
 ‘(it’s) down over there, where there’s coffee and vanilla, that’s it.’
- j. *ní-ji-mda*
 ní-ji-mda wila to mít mda
 LOC-go.LOW-go.HIGH wila also NFIN.sit go.HIGH
 ‘Across there, in Wila there were many sitting up there.’
- k. *ní-si-mde*
 ní-si-mde ingu ngwíti
 LOC-come.LOW here 1EXCL.sit
 ‘We (stayed) sitting on this side over here.’

In some cases, it appears that the elevational verbs can be used without the prefix, *ní-*, as non-verbal elevationals – as in example (305).

- (305) ja sli si de
 water pipe come.LOW come.HIGH
 ‘The water pipe up over here (on this side).’

In addition to these elevationals derived from the set of deictic motion verbs, another set of non-verbal elevationals not related to the motion verbs is also attested and occurs in instances of place reference. This set also has cognates in most other Alor-Pantar languages. The three-way contrast is between *gománg* LEVEL, *goyong* LOW, and *gotíng* HIGH. These can be used in location formulations to pick out a large, somewhat imprecise, area either across from, above, or below the speakers current location. They are not mutually exclusive with the elevationals described above, indicating that their function is distinct. Examples for each are given below.

(306) – *gotíng* – HIGH
 anawe ya-mda gotíng tánagana
 everyone 2I-go.HIGH HIGH gather
 ‘Everyone go up to gather together up there.’

(307) – *gománg* – LEVEL
 gománg imít táma
 LEVEL 1INCL-NFIN.sit ?VIS
 ‘We’re sitting over there!’ (pointing at the camera screen showing them being recorded)

(308) – *goyong* – LOW
 naka=si ingu penduduk leluka goyona
 long.ago=TOP here inhabitants continue FIN.LOW
 ‘That long time ago, (there were) inhabitants here all the way down there!’

These can be used in combination with the other elevationals above. *Goyon niji* for example or *goman niwe*.

I will now present a few cases of these elevationals as they are used in reference to places in actual conversation. In excerpt (11), two different elevationals are used to distinguish two gardens located next to each other but not visible to the participants. While other practices contribute to these formulations in successfully distinguishing the two gardens (especially pointing, see section 3.6), the use of two distinct elevational terms helps to clarify the difference.

Excerpt (11)
 nw-tpg-20120605-03 [18:30.000-18:52.000]

- 1 Isakh ngan nga=s ining ng-kuya welmus=to (.)
 1NOM 1NOM=TOP PROX.like 1EXCL.I-stay W.=also
 lal(u) maria gunta
 L. or
 ‘I’m here like, eh, Welmus also ... Lalu Maria, or?’
- 2 Mat nanu an=s ang **ni-si-de-o** atamp-e ogo
 NEG DIST=TOP DIST LOC-come.LOW-come.HIGH-? level.land ?
 ‘No, that’s down over here, this level ground’
- 3 Peny mm

- 4 Mat **biya** **míya** ang gawing ape
 cage/pen be.located DIST 3FOC make
 ‘(by) the pig pen, that’s what she’s doing’ (i.e. the garden she made)
- 5 Peny mmmm
- 6 Mat amp **iníng** **we-mda** **got** **palak** gi=s
 but PROX.like go.LEVEL-go.HIGH ditch next.to? put=TOP
- angó (.) yi-kaku wa eta miungo wi katarina anáku
 DIST 2POSS-younger.siblingW. with W. 3DUAL
 ‘But up over this way, next to the ditch, that’s your younger sister Wa-Eta, along
 with Wi-Katarina, the two of them ...’
- 7 Isakh oooh
- 8 P?: amáng giya
 DIST.like PRES
 ‘It’s like that’

First, let us consider Matilda’s formulation in line 2. Matilda formulates the location of one of the two gardens in question as *ní-si-de* – LOC-come.LOW-come.HIGH – ‘this place up over here’ (roughly). The elevational she uses includes two ‘come’ verbs, *si* ‘come down’ and *mde* ‘come up’³³. This type of elevational, like its opposite *ní-ji-mda*, is used in formulating reference to a place located across a river or valley, since travel from the other side of the river, valley, or similar depression requires descending as well as ascending. While *níjimda* is often used to refer to a place across a river from the speaker’s current location, the use of *níside* in this case involves a triangulation between the speaker’s location, an external reference point, and the location of the intended referent. In this case, the external reference point is across the river or depression in the land. While not visible in the photos below, there is a small stream flowing just behind the row of banana and other trees. By using *níside* here, Matilda is able to formulate the

³³ Note the /m/ in *mde* is lost when used in a non-verbal elevational as well as non-third person verb forms (*n-de* ‘I come up’, *ya-de* ‘you come up’).

location as just on ‘this’ side of the stream. This is more specific than alternative elevationals she could have used in this context, such as *numda* or *numdawe*. By using *níside*, Matilda picks out as narrow a spatial domain as possible. However, this formulation is not sufficient, and she uses a number of other resources including a manual point (figure 28), a landscape term *atámpa* ‘area of flat/level land’, and a landmark object *biya* ‘pig pen’.



Figure 28

Later, in line 6 Matilda refers to the location of a second garden, saying *iníng we-mda got palak gi=s ango* (like.PROX go.LEVEL-go.HIGH ditch ? put=TOP DIST) ‘going up over this way, where there’s that ditch.’ She also uses a contrastive manual point, articulated with a unique handshape, with her palm flat facing out, representing the ditch that serves as the border of the location she is formulating (see figure 29). But if we consider the elevational alone, it provides an important contrast with the elevational *níside* from the previous formulation in line 2. While *níside* points to a place on ‘this’ side of the stream just a short distance from their current location, *iníng wemda* ‘(go) up over like this’ points to a location at a significant distance from their current location, involving level motion (*we*) and some ascending (*mda*) from their current position. Notice, also, that both formulations begin with an elevational – a highly frequent practice in formulating place reference in Kula (see discussion in chapter 4).



Figure 29

3.5 Demonstratives

Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives were described in section 2.4.3. The adverbial demonstratives, *ingu* ‘here’ and *angu* ‘there’ can be used in formulating place reference, though they are not as commonly used as personal pronouns in person reference. An example of anaphoric reference with *angu* ‘there’ is given in (309).

- (309) nguda gotíng suba ape míti madíma sak to
 go.HIGH HIGH house make FIN.sit older old also
- angu** suba ape **angu** ng-ku
 there house make there 1EXCL-stay
 ‘We went up and built a house sitting up **there**, (and) the older ones also made a house **there**, we stayed there.’

The proximal *ingu* is not used anaphorically since its reference is always immediately available and identifiable as ‘here’, the current location of speaker and addressee.

3.6 Pointing

Pointing plays a prominent role in place reference, frequently accompanying other verbal resources for formulating place reference, as seen in some of the excerpts discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. Occasionally, pointing contributes spatial information in

Excerpt (12)
nw-tpg-20121114-01 [04:08.400-04:09.400]

While pointing occurs in many contexts, I will here focus on points occurring as part of place reference and location formulations. Two main types of points have been identified in the collection of references to place based on formal characteristics – manual and non-manual points. Here I will present several examples of each to sketch out the formal properties of the two practices. An account of their distribution and role in place reference more generally will be taken up in chapter 4, where I show that these formally distinct pointing practices are associated

with qualitatively distinct functions in interaction. In this section, I begin with manual pointing in 3.6.1, followed by non-manual pointing in 3.6.2.

3.6.1 Manual pointing in reference to place

Manual pointing gestures in Kula place reference correspond formally to what Enfield et al. (2007) call “B-points” – “gestures in which the whole arm is used as articulator, outstretched, with elbow fully raised.” Non-manual points, while sharing some functional properties with S-points, are formally distinct from Enfield et al. (2007)’s S-points, which they define as “gestures in which the hand is the main articulator, the arm is not fully straightened, typically with faster and more casual articulation” (but see 3.7.2 for more on the formal properties of non-manual pointing in Kula). Manual points resembling Enfield et al.’s S-points are not robustly attested in the Kula data, possibly due to the prevalence of non-manual points. In this section, I provide examples of manual points in Kula place reference, surveying the range of formal practices included in this category of pointing gestures.

First, in excerpt (13), Leo points with a fully extended left arm and forefinger in the direction of his kitchen just as he begins his turn in line 6 and before he actually utters the word *dapur* ‘kitchen.’ Figure 31 shows his position during the pause at line 5. Notice in figure 32, Isakh both extends his left arm, with elbow fully raised, while simultaneously shifting his head position and eye gaze in the same direction as his point. The point, then, involves coordination of multiple parts of the body. Additionally, Leo’s point here ends before he produces the verbal component of his formulation of the intended place referent – *dapur* ‘kitchen.’ Figure 32 shows his position just prior to uttering *dapur-mu* in line 6.

While we cannot see the addressee here in the video, the way Leo constructs his turn in line 6, with the cut-off initial formulation *mu- mura-mu* ... and the large visible B-point, he

appears to be trying to attract the gaze of his addressee, Peny, who has just left to look for a chair. Given the practical goal of the activity here – i.e. direct Peny to the location where there is likely a chair available – the B-point in figure 32 serves to maximize the chance that Peny will recognize the intended place referent.

Excerpt (13)

nw-tpg-20121210-01 [00:40.400-00:53.000]

- 1 Leo eh- (.) kursi a-mít muna=
 INTERJ chair 3INAN-NFIN.sit FIN.EVID
 ‘Hey-, there’s a chair, probably.’
- 2 Peny =oh yo yo
 ‘oh, ok, ok.’
- 3 (1.2)
- 4 Leo aaii (1.1) lalu (.2) eh (1.0) ai ní-si-ngu
 INTERJ L. INTERJ INTERJ LOC-come.LOW-DEM.PROX
 a-mít mun nta
 3INAN-NFIN.sit NFIN.EVID or
 ‘Hey, Lalu! Uh, hey, there’s one down here, maybe, or ...’
- 5 (2.3)
- 6 Leo mu- mura-mu- ee- dapur-mu a-mít muna
 in- inside-LOC INTERJ kitchen(Malay)-LOC 3INAN-NFIN.sit FIN.EVID
 ‘in, inside, uh, there’s maybe one in the kitchen.’

Near end of pause in line 5

as he pronounces *mu-* and begins *mura-mu...*



Figure 31.



Figure 32.

Excerpt (14) presents another example of a manual B-point. This case is very similar to Leo’s point in excerpt (13) above. In this case, Peny initially has his hand on a piece of paper on which he and the other two speakers are drawing up a map of the village. Peny traces a path on the paper with his index finger as he produces the turn in line 1. Just as he begins to produce the

turn in line 2, he turns his head to the right, followed by lifting his hand from the page and extending it in the direction of his head and eye gaze (see figure 33-34). He then holds the point for the rest of his turn as he continues to formulate the place reference. Several features of this turn indicate that Peny is initiating a word search, beginning with the pause and ‘uh’ at the end of line 1. While holding the point fully extended through his turn in line 2, Peny shifts his gaze to Isakh and Yesya, in an attempt to elicit help from them in formulating the river mentioned in line 2. Eventually, Isakh does produce a place name for the river in line 4, which is then confirmed by Peny in line 5. Figures 33-40 show the progression of the interaction, starting with Peny’s hand on the paper and both men attending to the paper in figure 33, through Peny’s gaze shifts to elicit help in the word search (figures 35-38) , through Isakh’s completion of the word search (figure 38) and their eventual return to the task of discussing the map in figure 40.

Excerpt (14)

nw-tpg-20120725-02excerpt [03:26.300-03:33.800]

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------|------|------|----------|----|
| 1 | Peny | ingu | lelika | we | onga | nga | (.5) | uh |
| | | PROX | continue | go.LEVEL | PROX | DIST | | |
| | | ‘Here, going on this way, uh... | | | | | | |
| 2 | Peny | ní-we | na-ng | ili | ga | giya | jambatan | |
| | | LOC-go.LEVEL | what-DEF | river | say | PROG | bridge | |
| | | gána | ili | si | ánu | | | |
| | | TOP | river | go.LOW | ?DEM | | | |
| | | ‘Over there, what’s that river called, the bridge, that river going down there...’ | | | | | | |
| 3 | | (.) | | | | | | |
| 4 | Isakh | mailili= | | | | | | |
| | | PN | | | | | | |
| | | ‘Mailili.’ | | | | | | |
| 5 | Peny | =mailili | gi-liya | | | | | |
| | | PN | 3POSS.II-FIN.river | | | | | |
| | | ‘River Mailili.’ | | | | | | |



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 40

Finally, in excerpt (15), Matilda responds to a where-question from Isakh with a point just as she begins her turn in line 5 – *níweji* (figure 41). She then expands her formulation using names of

two crops planted in the area she is referring to, *kopi fanili*, accompanied by another point. This second point, however, involves a modified hand shape, as seen in figure 42.

Excerpt (15)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [20:19.300-20:29.500]

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------------------|
| 1 | Isakh | in | sli | si-de | ngán- | nunggán | le-gatani |
| | | PROX | pipe | come.LOW-come.HIGH | 1NOM | where | APPL-? |
| | | | | ‘This pipe coming down over here, where does that reach?’ | | | |
| 2 | Mat | hã | | | | | |
| | | | | ‘huh?’ | | | |
| 3 | Peny | hã | | | | | |
| | | | | ‘huh?’ | | | |
| 4 | Isakh | ja | sli | si-de=ng | ga | guna | |
| | | water | pipe | come.LOW-come.HIGH=DEF | say | EVID | |
| | | ‘That water pipe coming up over here, it’s said.’ | | | | | |
| 5 | Mat | ní-we-ji | | aku | táma | kopi | fanili ang gánu |
| | | LOC-go.LEVEL-go.LOW | | stay | ?VIS | coffee | vanilla DIST 3PRO |
| | | ‘It’s down over there [+point], (where there’s) the coffee (and) vanilla, that’s it.’ | | | | | |
| 6 | Isakh | o:: | | | | | |
| | | ‘Ohh.’ | | | | | |



Figure 41.



Figure 42.

Pointing with modified hand shapes is common and can help to distinguish two places in close proximity. For example, excerpt (11) from section 3.4 involved two distinct pointing gestures with distinct hand shapes in addition to the contrastive use of the elevationals and other practices. Pictures of Matilda’s two points are reproduced below as figures 43 and 44. Notice that in the first point (figure 43), Matilda is using a more typical fully extended forefinger point. In the second point, corresponding with her verbal formulation of reference to the second garden,

she uses a fully extended arm with an extended flat palm. This hand shape contributes spatial information to her formulation of the location of the second garden, apparently indicating that it is up against or next to a ditch (*got palak*).



Figure 43.



Figure 44.

Finally, there are some cases of manual points that look more like Enfield et al.'s S-points, such as the point in excerpt (16) below. Peny first asks speaker E a question about where he has been, formulated as *niji nga yaji da kla yade tenu anta?* – '(did) you just go down there and now come up here already, or ...?' The older man responds to Peny's question first with a simple *yáwa* 'yes', but after a brief pause in line 3, reformulates the place first referred to by Peny as simply *niji* 'down there'. His reformulation involves both the noun *gi-batas* 'the border' as well as a manual point, pictured in figure 46 below. Notice that his arm is not fully extended, and he uses the cigarette in his hand to point with rather than the more typical extended forefinger (as seen in the previous examples above). While I still count this as a manual point, here, it is certainly reduced in form compared to other cases of clear B-points. This reduced form may conform to the needs of the participants in their current activity. Unlike excerpts 14 and 15, speaker E is not directing Peny to the intended place, nor does he need to carefully distinguish it from some other nearby place. Thus, what might be an S-point here serves to maximize the recognizability of the referent without bringing it fully into focus (cf. Enfield et al. 2007).

nw-tpg-20120523-03 [01:00.000-

- during pause in line 3

just as he starts $-ji$ of $n\text{-}ji$



Figure 45.



Figure 46.

3.6.2 Non-manual pointing in references to place

In addition to manual pointing, non-manual pointing is a common practice in formulations of place reference in Kula. These non-manual points are most typically done with the entire head in a quick and subtle movement in the direction of the intended referent. These head points are sometimes done so quickly that they are only noticeable through close inspection of the video. Occasionally, this pointing can be done with eye-gaze and head position alone. Other types of non-manual pointing (e.g. lip-pointing) have been observed, but do not feature prominently in place reference and are not clearly attested in the data examined in this study.

Below I provide several examples of these non-manual head points to give an idea of what they look like formally. Consulting the actual video recordings is particularly important for this set of pointing practices, as they are often rapid, subtle movements difficult to capture in stills from the videos. More analysis of the distribution of non-manual points and a comparison with the manual points described in 3.7.1 can be found in chapter 4. Here I will simply illustrate the main practices.

In this first excerpt (17), Edu asks speaker C ‘Where is Timtius?’ in line 1. Speaker C responds to Edu’s question in line 2 with ‘Up at Kris’s house’, formulating the location with an elevational *numda*, a noun for a built structure used as a landmark, *suba*, and the locative verb *míya* ‘be located’. In addition to these verbal aspects of the formulation, speaker C points to the location of Kris’s house with his head just prior to the rest of his turn. Figure 47 shows his position during Edu’s question in line 1 and figure 48 shows the full extent of his head point just before he begins to say *numda*. Notice, also, that he closes his eyes just before making the point with his head (figure 49 – a larger version of figure 48).

Excerpt (17)

nw-tpg-20131011-01 [08:49.500-08:53.500]

- | | | |
|---|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Edu | kála timtius nunguya?
now T. FIN.where
‘So where’s Timtius now?’ |
| 2 | C | nu-mda kris suba míya
LOC-go.HIGH K. house FIN.be.located
‘Up at Kris’s house.’ |



Figure 47.



Figure 48.



Figure 49.

In this second case (excerpt 18), Isakh produces a series of head points as he produces an initial formulation of a garden located nearby. The first point happens just after *welmus-o*. The second just after *ape-o*, and the third as he utters *numdawe*. Inspection of the video recording shows that recipients, Peny and Matilda, do not follow the direction of these small head-points with their gaze, instead maintaining a fixed gaze on Isakh himself. Matilda then does her own head point in the same direction, reaching its full extent as she produces *-mda-* and returns to facing Isakh as she says *-we*.

Excerpt (18)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [18:00.000-18:12.000]

- 1 Isakh welmus-o wing apeya itang walaka
 Welmus-?PROX FOC FIN.make vegetable green?³⁴
 gang kda nu-mda-we
 nearby just LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL
 ‘It’s Welmus who make a garden jupst up over there, right?’
- 2 Mat nu-mda-we to midíng giya?
 LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL ALSO PLANT PROG
 ‘Up over there is planted, too?’
- 3 Isakh hee
 ‘hey’
- 4 Mat ango yi-kak wisal wina
 DIST 2POSS-younger.siblingWisal hold
 ‘That is your younger sister Wisal (who) holds (it).’



Figure 50.

³⁴ The common form of the word for ‘green’ is *walángka*.



Figure 51.

Finally, in excerpt (19), Edu points toward the camera with his head position and eye gaze only. In this case, the intended place referent – the screen on the video recorder filming them – is immediately visible to all participants. The addressee, speaker F, immediately attends to Edu's head point/gaze-direction by shifting his own gaze, first toward Edu (figure 55), then toward the camera where Edu is looking (figure 56).

Excerpt (19)

al-tpg-201310208-01 [07:41.300-07:48.000]

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| 1 | Edu | ee.. | [gománg | i-mít | táma] |
| | | | LEVEL | 1INCL-NFIN.sit | ?VIS |
| | | | 'We're sitting over there.' | | |
| 2 | F | | [ang- ang | amáng] | mung musu |
| | | | DIST- DIST | like.DIST | EVID if |
| | | | 'That, if it's maybe like that, ...' | | |
| 3 | Edu | ee | [male]koni | | |
| | | hey | malekoni | | |
| | | | 'Hey, Malekoni!' | | |
| 4 | F | | [()] | | |
| | | (.) | | | |
| 5 | F | we- we- | taya- | | |
| | | sell | | | |
| | | | '(then we can) sell ...' | | |

- 6 Edu [malekoni
 malekoni
 ‘Malekoni!’
- 7 (.)
- 8 F mm?
 hm?
 ‘Huh?’
- 9 (.35)
- 10 Edu gomán i-mít táma=
 LEVEL 1INCL-NFIN.sit ?VIS
 ‘We’re sitting over there!’
- 11 F =yo ang ga guna
 INTERJ DIST say EVID
 ‘Yeha that’s what (they) said.’



Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54.



Figure 55.



Figure 56.

3.6.3 Toward an understanding of Kula pointing in place reference

So, what can we say generally about pointing in Kula place reference? First, that non-manual pointing is pervasive and must play some distinct function in Kula interaction. Second, the two types of points appear to occur in distinct interactional environments and thus accomplish distinct tasks.

First, the manual point, mostly B-points in Enfield et al. (2007)'s terminology, each occur in environments that involve a distinct epistemic asymmetry (Heritage & Raymond 2005, Stivers et al. 2011, Enfield 2011). In the first case, excerpt 13, Leo is providing information to Peny who has just made a request for another chair (there is only one chair and the two of them need to sit together to work on a task that we were recording). This puts Peny in a distinctly low epistemic status relative to Leo. Furthermore, Peny is engaged in actively looking for a chair at the moment Leo provides his formulation of the chair's possible location in line 4-6 of excerpt 13. His point

occurs just as he is producing an expansion of his previous formulation, which seems to treat his initial formulation as inadequate. Notice, for example, the long pause between the two turns (reproduced here as excerpt 20).

Excerpt (20)

nw-tpg-20121210-01 [00:43.100-00:53.000]

- 4 Leo aaii (1.1) lalu (.2) eh (1.0) ai ní-si-ngu
 INTERJ L. INTERJ INTERJ LOC-come.LOW-DEM.PROX
- a-mít mun nta
 3INAN-NFIN.sit NFIN.EVID or
 ‘Hey, Lalu! Uh, hey, there’s one down here, maybe, or ...’
- 5 (2.3)
- 6 Leo mu- mura-mu- ee- dapur-mu a-mít muna
 in- inside-LOC INTERJ kitchen(Malay)-LOC 3INAN-NFIN.sit FIN.EVID
 ‘in, inside, uh, there’s maybe one in the kitchen.’

In the second case of a manual B-point examined above (excerpt 14), Peny is again in a state of relatively low epistemic status, evidenced by the extended format of his formulation, the long pause in line 1, and filler ‘uh’, all indications of an ongoing word search, pointing to his own lack of access to knowledge of the referent (Amiridze et al. 2010).

Finally, the third case (excerpt 15) involves a question from Isakh about the location of a certain water pipe/irrigation line. The way Isakh produces this seems to put him at a relatively lower epistemic status. First, it is formulated as a question, but in his question, Isakh offers a candidate formulation of the pipe’s location – *si de* ‘coming down up here’ (on this side of the stream?). Crucially, Isakh’s initial question is responded to with repair initiations from both Peny and Matilda. This leads Isakh to reformulate his question, but this time offering no candidate location formulation and adding the final particles *ga guna* – ‘it’s said’ – which seems to mark Isakh’s source of knowledge regarding the pipe as what someone else said, rather than his own

direct observation. This reformulation of the question puts Isakh at a lower epistemic status, which Matilda then responds to with a multi-clause response formulating the location of the pipe, including a manual point in the direction of the intended referent.

What about non-manual points? Based on the cases examined in 3.7.2, these types of points, head points in particular, occur when the verbal information is possibly sufficient to achieve recognition of the intended referent and the recipient is treated as having equal epistemic status regarding knowledge of the referent. In excerpt 17, Edu can be assumed to have detailed knowledge of the village layout and where ‘Kris’ house’ – they are talking at Edu’s house in Edu’s village and speaker C is a visitor. C’s brief head point is unnecessary for achieving a recognizable reference, and thus is not attended to by Edu in any obvious way. In excerpt 18, similarly, the head points appear to be unnecessary for achieving reference to the intended place. In Isakh’s first formulation in line 1, the place is referred to only later in the turn, as the focus is on seeking confirmation for his assumption that the intended garden belongs to Welmus. Matilda signals some trouble with this action in line 2, repairing Isakh’s formulation of the place, since, as we find out in line 4, Isakh was mistaken about who the garden belongs to. In both formulations, it appears that the speakers are treating their addressee as having equally high epistemic status and knowledge of the intended place referent. Again, we see only brief head points, indicating that there is no problem with the formulation of the place referent. Here, the problem is apparently with the person reference. Finally, Edu’s point toward the camera in excerpt 18 similarly does ‘no problem’ referring, in this case not only is his verbal formulation sufficient, but the location referred to is immediately visible to his addressee, making a more elaborate manual point unnecessary.

This represents an initial analysis of the distribution of manual and non-manual points in

the context of referring to places in Kula. In chapter 4, I provide some additional examples in longer sequences of formulation and reformulation of place referents. However, some additional research will need to be done to more definitely answer this question. In particular, it remains to be seen *why* speakers use non-manual points at all, given the fact that they are often not attended to and seem unnecessary for achieving recognitional reference.

3.7 Landmarks

Many of the previous categories of practices discussed can be defined in terms of grammatical properties separate from their use in interaction. One additional type of formulation, landmarks, is less of a grammatical category and more of an interactionally defined category. Landmarks, as used in formulating place reference in Kula, are typically nouns referring to objects, but also people, and used to narrow down the search domain for a particular place.

Consider the formulation in excerpt (21) below. After Peny initiates repair on Matilda's previous place formulation (not included here), Matilda reformulates the reference, repeating the elevational *numdawe* 'up over there,' but now including a landmark noun, *dák* 'ditch,' to expand on the previous formulation, which is treated as insufficient by Peny's repair.

Excerpt (21)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [18:19.700-18:23.500]

- | | | | | |
|---|-------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1 | Peny: | te? | nungal | kda () |
| | | QP | which.direction | just |
| | | Huh? Where's that? | | |
| | | | | |
| 2 | Mat: | nu-mda-we | dák | awa míya |
| | | LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL | ditch side | be.located |

I will return to the question of landmarks and their use in particular instances of place reference in chapter 4.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the set of practices identifiable in instances of place reference in Kula conversation. This includes both verbal resources, such as place names, elevationals, demonstratives, landmarks, etc. as well as non-verbal practices – here focusing on manual and non-manual pointing. Two key findings are summarized below:

- 1) Elevationals play a central role, occurring in a large number of cases of place reference.

The paradigm of elevationals in Kula is more elaborated than in closely related languages (Kratochvil 2014 on Sawila, Schapper & Hendery 2014 on Wersing). This raises the question of how place reference is accomplished in these closely related languages.

- 2) Speakers frequently point when referring to places. While pointing is not obligatory, we identified two distinct forms of pointing – manual and non-manual. These two types of pointing appear to occur in distinct sequential and interactional environments.

Specifically, manual points are used when an issue of epistemic asymmetry makes recognition of the intended referent problematic. Non-manual points occur when recognition is unproblematic and epistemic status is treated as equal among participants.

In chapter 4, I turn to an analysis of the organization of these practices in interaction. The goal is to uncover the principles underlying speakers' choice of referential formulation in doing reference to place in Kula. The resulting set of principles can then be compared to analyses of place reference in other languages as well as the already well-established principles of person reference (see Enfield 2012 for an overview).

CHAPTER IV

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING FORMULATION OF PLACE REFERENCE IN KULA CONVERSATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the description of practices for referring to places presented in Chapter 3, showing how these practices are distributed in conversational interaction and describing the factors that affect speakers' choice of formulation. The analysis is interactional in both the kind of data considered and the analytic methods employed, drawing primarily on previous work in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics on reference in conversation (see overview in chapter 1). So far, very little published work exists on the topic of place reference in interaction (but see Schegloff 1972, San Roque 2016, Blythe 2016, Heritage 2007, Kitzinger et al. 2013 for some initial work on this topic). My analysis of place reference in Kula provides an important starting point and raises several crucial issues for working toward a systematics of place reference.

Since reference is essentially a "matter of selection" (Enfield 2012, Schegloff 1972), the fundamental question for a study of place reference in conversation is how and why speakers choose a certain formulation of reference at a given point in interaction – a more specific version of the general analytic question in CA *why that now?* (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). Schegloff (1972) suggests that speakers choose a "right formulation" of a location (or any other domain) by attending to certain aspects of the interaction, including "where-we-know-we-are" (*location analysis*), "who-we-know-we-are" (*membership category analysis*), and "what-we-are-doing-at-

this-point-in-the-conversation" (*topic analysis*). Since Schegloff (1972) based his analyses on phone calls, including emergency calls, and even invented examples, this chapter revisits the question of location formulation in the context of video-recorded everyday interaction among speakers of Kula. Rather than simply try to apply Schegloff's claims to the Kula data, I make the case for several additional factors that influence speakers' selection of location/place formulation (at least in Kula, but likely relevant for other languages as well). These additional factors include:

- (1) whether the place referred to is a 'setting' or 'location' (5.2);
- (2) whether the place is named or unnamed (5.3); and
- (3) the activity in which the reference occurs (5.4);
- (4) the relative epistemic statuses of the participants (5.4).

Because of the nature of place and the way it is talked about in conversation, some of the factors that have been established as crucial for determining speaker's' formulation of reference to persons are irrelevant here. For example, the distinction between initial and subsequent referential positions, and the unmarked or default forms for those positions, does not hold for the domain of place reference (see discussion in section 1.6). The operation of conversational preferences is relevant, but of perhaps less importance than the other factors raised here. For this reason, and because the two central preferences for minimization (*economy*) and recognition (*recipient design*) are general features of social interaction, I do not address them specifically here. In each section I will make more specific claims regarding the effect of the 4 factors raised above on the speakers' practices for formulating reference to place. More generally, I argue that the approach to reference developed in the study of person reference is insufficient for

understanding place reference. This chapter represents a first attempt at developing an alternative approach.

Before diving into the analysis of place formulation selection in Kula conversation, it is helpful to situate this account in the context of previous work on reference in conversation, most of which has focused on the domain of person reference. Since this was discussed in more detail in the introduction, I here summarize and highlight the key findings and discuss implications for the following discussion of place reference.

4.1.1 Reference in conversation: comparing person and place

This study of place reference is situated in the extensive literature on another domain of reference in conversation – reference to persons. The case was made in chapter 1 for the study of reference in general as a window on the maintenance of social relations in social interaction and as an ideal testing ground for exploring the relationship between structures of social interaction and grammatical practices. However, there does not yet exist a general theory of reference in conversation that can be applied to domains other than person reference. Recently, the call has been made to expand research on reference in conversation to include other domains, including place, object, time, activity, among others (Enfield 2012, Lerner & Kitzinger 2007). Given the extensive research on person reference and the lack of any substantial findings for other domains, the findings on person reference are a reasonable place to start any study of other domains of reference. What, then, are the central features of the system of person reference in conversation identified through study of this domain across numerous unrelated languages? (cf. Stivers & Enfield 2007).

Since the early studies by Schegloff (1972) and Sacks & Schegloff (1979), significant progress has been made on the principles underlying reference in conversation. The key components of the system for person reference, established by Sacks & Schegloff (1979) and borne out by subsequent studies (Fox 1987, Stivers & Enfield 2007, Lerner & Kitzinger 2007), are (1) the position of the reference (initial or subsequent) and (2) the effect of certain conversational preferences (including, at least, minimization, recognition, association, and circumspection). Additionally, a more general principle, that the formulation be ‘fit’ to the action of the utterance in which it occurs, has also been identified as an important factor, which Enfield (2012) categorizes as one of a set of conversational preferences. While the operation of these principles in achieving reference to persons in conversation has been established largely based on analysis of data from (American) English, the central aspects of the system have withstood analysis of data from a range of other unrelated languages (Stivers & Enfield 2007). From studies of person reference in languages other than English, the most significant findings relate to the number of relevant conversational preferences and their relative importance (see especially papers by Brown, Levinson, and Hanks in Stivers & Enfield 2007, as well as Blythe 2009). Other modifications of the established theory of person reference include Blythe’s expansion of the position/form distinction to include two levels, ‘global’ and a ‘local’.

The goal here is not to evaluate the validity of these claims for person reference, but instead to ask how we can apply these findings to the study of place reference in a previously unstudied language? And, more broadly, what can such an approach tell us about the relationship between grammatical practices and social interaction in that language? A reasonable hypothesis that has guided this research is that references to places may also exhibit a form/position distinction and that the preferences identified for person reference may also constrain or

influence the selection of formulations for place reference. In addition to these factors, I have considered Schegloff's (1972) three types of 'analysis' engaged in by speakers in any instance of 'location formulation' in conversation: location analysis – *where are you?*, membership category analysis – *who are you?*, and topic analysis – *what are we talking about/doing with our talk?* So what does an analysis of place reference in Kula conversation show? How do these principles – the form/position distinction, conversational preferences, and Schegloff's analyses – affect speakers' practices for referring to place in everyday conversation?

Perhaps surprisingly, a close analysis of a collection of cases of place reference and location formulation in Kula conversation shows two things – that some of the principles of person reference are irrelevant and that some additional factors play a significant role in speakers' selection of alternative formulations for referring to a place/location. First, the distinction between 'form' and 'position' of reference, which plays a central role in understanding patterns of anaphora in the system of person reference, plays almost no role in place reference. As discussed at length in chapter 1, places are simply not talked about in the same way as persons. No human language has the elaborate system for tracking place referents that ALL human languages have for tracking person referents. In my collection of instances of references to place in Kula conversation, there are vanishingly few cases of subsequent reference to a place, unless there is some trouble with the reference, as indicated by repair sequences and subsequent reformulations. While persons are often mentioned in conversation specifically to be talked about and are thus referred to anaphorically in subsequent positions following their initial mention, places are very rarely referred to anaphorically. For this reason, it is unrevealing to attempt any form/position analysis of place referents in conversation. We will have to look elsewhere for factors underlying the distribution of practices for referring to places in Kula.

On the other hand, conversational preferences, such as *minimization* and *recognition*, and the importance of fitting the reference form to the action it performs, can be shown to operate in place reference formulation as well. However, several other factors can also be shown to affect speakers' selection of referential formulation Kula. This chapter argues for four additional factors – places as 'settings' vs. 'locations' (4.2), places as named or unnamed (4.3), the current course of action, and speakers' relative epistemic status (4.4) – in the organization of practices for place reference in Kula conversation.

4.2 'Settings' and 'locations' in referring to place

As suggested by Enfield (2012), 'place' may be too general of a category to capture what speakers actually refer to in conversation. Based on unpublished work by Enfield and colleagues, two categories that appear to better reflect what speakers refer to are 'settings' and 'locations.' This categorization is borne out by the Kula data as well.

This also reflects a difference with reference to persons, since persons are more individuated entities with a more persistent existence (in the form of individual human bodies), while many places only exist insofar as they are referred to in a particular spate of talk. Of course, certain places are more well established, including possible formally/legally defined boundaries (e.g. the city of Boulder, the country Indonesia). However, the fact remains that space, as compared with persons, is a relatively amorphous, unbounded entity. Note that, for space/place, we have the two terms to distinguish the ontological domain itself, *space*, and the human categorization of that domain into *places*³⁵, while there is no similar distinction for

³⁵ There is a significant literature on this distinction in geography and (linguistic) anthropology which I do not discuss in more detail here.

persons. That is, the referential formulations of persons in interaction point directly to an actual person, tied to a specific, individual, identifiable human body. Places, on the other hand, only become individuated, identifiable entities through the referential process itself.

Because of this fact about places, their formulation often serves some other function, rather than to simply talk about the place itself, as is the case often with persons. In the collection of references to ‘place’ in Kula, the two referential functions – establishing a ‘setting’ and referring to the ‘location’ of some other entity – can be identified and are typically involve formulation with distinct grammatical practices.

Settings are the clearest example of reference as Enfield (2012) defines it – “establish[ing] or maintain[ing] a communicative focus on some entity, usually in order to say something about it.” Consider the references in excerpts (22) and (23) below. In (22), Lalu initially formulates the setting with an elevational (*we mde*) and a manual B-point (see figure 57), as well as possibly another elevational (*níweji*) that is difficult to hear due to overlap. Her turn overlaps significantly with another speaker, resulting in no uptake of her attempt to initiate the story. In line 6, she then reformulates the reference to the setting of her story with both a temporal reference *tuale* and a place name *jakána*. Notice that this setting formulation initiates a multi-turn telling from Lalu in line 6, with no interruption or overlap from other speakers. This setting formulation involves both elevationals, a place name, a manual B-point.

Excerpt (22)

nw-tpg-20121207-01 [02:28.000-02:45.000]

- | | | | | | | |
|---|------|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1 | Lalu | kung kda | [[(ní-we-ji)]] | we | mde | owa |
| | | earlier just | ((LOC-go.LEVEL-go.DOWN)) | go.LEVEL | come.HIGH | NVIS |
| | | ‘That one time, ((down over there), going, coming up here ...’ | | | | |
| 2 | Selv | [an=s o] | | | | |
| | | DIST=TOP ? | | | | |
| | | ‘That one is ... uh ...’ | | | | |

- 3 (.)
- 4 Selv ní-ji-o [endang=dua weli=dua rame-rame i-lula]
 LOC-go.LOW-? E.=PL W.=PL crowded-REDUP 1INCL-go
 ‘(Those) down there, Endang, Weli and them, let’s all go together.’
- 5 Lalu (((dur-)) ge-kás **iníng** ((si)) **ji** ()]
 (((??)) 3POSS.III-foot like.PROX ((??)) go.LOW ())
 ‘He went down this way by foot ...’
- 6 Lalu aduh lalu tuale **jakána** **n-ji=ngo** (.2) **iníng**
 INTERJ L. that.time PN 1EXCL-go.LOW like.PROX
 kda n-ji tujuh-belas kilo n-ji
 just 1EXCL.I-go.LOW seven-teen kilo 1EXCL-go.LOW
 amáng gaya
 NFIN.like.DIST say
 ‘Wow, Lalu, that time I went down to Jakana(Arakana), we went down like this,
 we went down seventeen kilometers, he said.’



Figure 56



Figure 57

Similarly, in excerpt (23), the speaker formulates a setting to initiate an extended telling, using the same temporal reference as Lalu in excerpt (22) above, *tuale*, followed by a formulation of the spatial setting with a place name (*Aning míti*), a term for a landscape feature (*kila*), and a manual B-point (see figure 59-60). Notice that this formulation initiates an extending telling, again, though it continues longer than Lalu’s in excerpt (22).

Excerpt (23)

nw-tpg-20121121-07 [09:28.500-09:45.500]

- 1 A tuale amáng ngwíti amángo **aning-míti**
 that.time like.DIST 1EXCL.sit like.DIST-? PN(person-sit)
- 2 **kila=ngu** putar gunamánngo ngá-mkwe-ing baluna (.)
 hillside=DEM turn.around then 1POSS.II-face-DEF burned

- 3 ngá-musa mu- musa pu lelika giang tugwa
 1POSS.II-bow bo- bow break continue leave already
- 4 ngá-musa bungwa gita giya=
 1POSS.II-bow discard 3POT FIN.put.down
 ‘That time, I was sitting there like that, on the hillside ‘Aningwiti’, (when) I got
 turned around like that and then my face was totally burned, my bow, my bow
 broke and I immediately left, threw my bow down ...’
- 5 Seng =eh!
 ‘hey/wow!’
- 6 A ngá-tas ingu a-míti wáka bánt gap- () tan- () (.2)
 1POSS.II-bag here 3INAN-SIT roast ash ? fall?
- 7 nta ng-we-ji to awa ngá-kne pka wakda
 1POT 1EXCL-go.LEVEL-go.LOW also ? 1POSS.II-knife little only
- 8 n-le-wawana (1.0) ng-we n-ji
 1EXCL.I-APPL-remember 1EXCL.I-go.LEVEL 1EXCL.I-go.LOW
- 9 ngá-mkwe=ng baluna kása le
 1POSS-face=DEF burned complete finish
 ‘My bag, sitting here, was roasted to ashes, fell down, (and) I went down also and
 I remembered my little knife, I went down and my face was totally burned
 already.’
- 10 (.5)
- 11 Seng eh!
 ‘hey!’



Figure 58.



Figure 59.



Figure 60.

In both excerpts (22) and (23), the speaker initiates what ends up being a multi-turn extended telling, using a reference to the setting, both temporal and spatial, of the events to be recounted. This contrasts with reference to locations of objects and persons, a frequent use of ‘place reference’ found in the Kula data. These references to the setting of an event to be recounted in an extended telling typically involve a place name, though other practices can be observed including manual B-points and elevationals, which help increase the likelihood of the recipients recognizing the intended referent.

How do these references to settings differ from references to locations? Consider first the following excerpts (24) and (25). In excerpt (24), Edu (speaker on the left) asks speaker B (on the right) about the location of a third person, here referred to with a personal name, *Timtius*. Speaker B responds to Edu’s question with what we can call a ‘location formulation’. While the references to settings we saw in excerpts (22) and (23) above were a part of initiating actions (beginning an extended telling), this location formulation occurs in second position as a response to a question. The formulation involves an elevational (*numda*), along with a landmark consisting of a personal name (*kris*) and the word for ‘house’ (*suba*). While a place name could possibly be used here, speaker B chooses to provide a more specific formulation. Notice that his

verbal formulation is accompanied by a brief head point (figure 61-62), which occurs just prior to the beginning of the verbal part of his turn.

Excerpt (24)

nw-tpg-20131011-01 [08:49.500-08:53.500]

- 1 Edu kála timtius nunguya?
 now T. FIN.where
 ‘So where’s Timtius now?’
- 2 B ((head point)) nu-mda kris suba míya
 LOC-go.HIGH K. house FIN.be.located
 ‘Up at Kris’s house.’



Figure 61.



Figure 62.



Figure 63.

Consider now the initial location formulation in line 3 of excerpt (25) below. This formulation again occurs in second position in response to speaker C's other-initiated repair in line 2, in which she targets the location of the house (*rumah*) referred to by Edu in line 1. Edu's formulation of the location of the house in line 4 again involves a brief head point (figure 64), along with an elevational (*níwemda*) and a landmark noun phrase (*sawah gi-páya*). This formulation mirrors exactly speaker B's formulation of Timtius's location in excerpt (24) above.

Excerpt (25)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [14:17.000-14:36.000]

1	Edu	besok	kita	semua pigi	ko	kasi	naik	itu	rumah
		tomorrow	we(INCL)	all go	SEQ	CAUS	go.up	DIST	house
2		dulu (.)	angin	kasi turun		ada	tidur	baik-baik	
		do.first	wind	CAUS go.down		EXIST	sleep	good-REDUP	
		'Tomorrow let's all go and put that house back up first. Wind knocked it down and it's laying down.' (in Malay)							
3	C	ang	nunu?						
		DIST	where						
		'Where's that?'							
4	Edu	[ní-we-mda]		sawah		gi-páya		(ono)	
		LOC-go.LEVEL-go.HIGH		rice.field		3POSS.II-FIN.garden		?DEM	
		'Up over there, (at) the rice field's garden.' ³⁶							
5	Linda	[sawah]							
		wet.rice.field(Malay)							
		'(at the) rice field.'							
6		(.3)							
7	Edu	nguda	n-lula	gay-o		e:::		gi-	
		1EXCL.go.HIGH	1EXCL.I-go	PROSP-?		INTERJ(surprise)			
8		gi-wansa	inína						
		3POSS.II-big	like.PROX						
9	C	ang	ní-we	bukit-o	damalupa	gi-yo			
		DIST	LOC-go.LEVEL	hill(Malay)-?	PN	3POSS.II-traditional.house			
10		lik	owa						
		many	?NVIS						
		'That's over there, the hill, Damalupa's many houses?'							
11	Edu	si	le						

³⁶ Recall that Kula speakers cultivate 'gardens' sometimes near their rice fields.

- come.LOW finish
 ‘(it) came down already.’
- 12 C si apale gun nta tuale gun nta
 come.LOW yesterday EVID or that.time EVID or
- 13 si káláta a-míti gung wáti
 come.LOW flat 3INAN-FIN.sit NFIN.EVID REPORT
 ‘(it) came down, yesterday or that one time it came down sitting flat, I heard.’
- 14 (1.0)
- 15 C ngán ntá ga amán- e talpi yita ya-ku
 1NOM 1POT say like.DIST INTERJ T. 2POT 2II-stay
 ‘I did say like that, hey, Talpi, you stay (there) ...’



Figure 64.

Finally, in line 5, speaker C initiates a repair of the initial formulation, seeking confirmation of her understanding of the intended location referred to by Edu in line 3. She does this in a way similar to other location formulations seen so far, using an elevational (*níwe*), a geographic feature (*bukit*), a place name (*damalupa*), and a landmark (*giyo lik owa*). This formulation is relatively elaborate, utilizing multiple resources, which demonstrates her inability to recognize the place based on Edu’s original formulation. Speaker C appears to use a sort of head point as well, though she does this by tilting her head backward and jutting her chin out just a bit, due to her position facing the direction of the intended referent (figure 66).



Figure 65



Figure 66

In both cases examined here, the location formulation is embedded in an answer to a question about the location of a person (24) or object (25). The reference is part of a single turn and does not set off an extended telling, as the references to settings did in excerpts (24) and (25). In terms of the practices involved in formulating the locations, these cases contrast with the cases of ‘settings’ in that these location formulations generally lack place names, *do* involve landmarks, and lack the manual B-points seen in the setting formulations in favor of off-record head points/S-points. While other factors certainly play a role in the speakers’ selection of location formulation in these excerpts, we can see that the distinction between ‘settings’ and ‘locations’ is significant and reflected in the different practices involved for each.

4.3 Named and unnamed places

Recall from the discussion in chapter 1 that a major difference between the set of potential place referents differs from the set of potential person referents, for any language, is that not all places have names. This fact about place referents is far from trivial and, in fact, has important consequences for the way places are referred to in conversation. For persons, it is probably a safe assumption that every potential person referent has a name. Sacks & Schegloff

(1979) first identified these names, personal names, as a unique solution to the problem of choosing a formulation that simultaneously conforms to the competing conversational preferences for *recognition* and *minimization*. Of course, in some cases, either the speaker or the recipient does not know the name of the intended referent, and this presents another problem for referring to persons.³⁷ Given the presumed universality of person names and their prevalence in conversation as formulations of person reference, it might be assumed that place names play an equally prominent role in the achievement of place reference. However, for the domain of place, the great majority of potential referents do not have conventional names. Consider, for instance, where your shoes are at this moment, or the last place you had lunch out, or where you parked your car this morning, etc. All of these places are likely to be formulated as locations without place names as the places referred to do not have conventional names associated with them. There is no place name to refer to something as specific as ‘under the table’ or ‘at my friend’s house’. This means, of course, that place names necessarily play a more limited role in formulating reference to places when compared to the role of person names in person reference, since a name is often not among the set of possible formulations.

Place names are an (obvious) option when the intended referent is a named place (see section 3.2 for a structural description of some of the properties of place names in Kula). Here I would like to provide some examples of the deployment of these place names to refer to places in actual conversation. Place names are actually used by speakers to refer to both named and unnamed places. First, I will focus on the use of place names to refer to named places and some other practices observed in referring to named places. This will both give an idea of how named

³⁷ Note, however, that in smaller societies, people are generally likely to know the names of most potential person referents.

places are referred to and provide a point of comparison for the more complex situation speakers face when referring to unnamed places.

4.3.1 Referring to named places

A subset of the places and locations referred to in Kula conversation have conventional place names associated with them. I refer to these as **named places**. The default or unmarked way to refer to these places is to use the place name themselves and alone without any other accompanying verbal or non-verbal practices. In this way, reference to named places mirrors reference to persons, in which personal names uniquely satisfy the preference for a recognitional yet minimal form. As in person reference, place names often go unnoticed or ‘nodded through’ (Heritage 2007), tacitly recognized by recipients as adequate for referring to the intended setting or location.

A clear example of this preference for names in the act of referring to named places is in narrative texts and route descriptions. In these sorts of texts, place names are pervasive and are used to identify particular named places along a journey or where particular events in a narrative occurred. For example, consider the lines taken from a route description which narrates the journey from Lantoka to a village to the southwest of Lantoka known as Mampere. Place names are bolded in both the Kula lines and English translations.

Excerpt (26)

nw-tpg-20120725-01 [01:32.800-02:57.500]

1	suba-mu	ngá-laka	si	we	taukale
	house-LOC	1EXCL.II-step	come.DOWN	go.LEVEL	outside
	‘I stop out of my house,’				

- 2 nge-giang n-ji **lurena**
 1EXCL.V-travel 1EXCL.I-go.LOW **road**
 ‘I go down to the **road**,’
- 3 awa nge-giang we mda **wase**
 then 1EXCL.V-travel go.LEVEL go.HIGH PN
 ‘Then, I go up to **Wase**,’
- 4 **bakakila** gige angal ngda
 PN 3POSS.II-road DIST.direction 1EXCL.I-go.HIGH
 ‘I take the **Bakakila** (Belemana) road up,’
- 5 nguda **bakakila** tani
 1EXCL.I-go.HIGH PN arrive
 ‘I go up to **Bakakila** (Belemana).’
- [several lines omitted here]
- 6 n-lula nge-giang ngku nguda n-lula
 1EXCL.I-go 1EXCL.V-travel 1EXCL.I-stay 1EXCL.I-go.HIGH 1EXCL.I-go
- 7 **Mula** ga ng an tani
 PN say DEF DIST arrive
 ‘I go traveling, I go up to Mula, it’s called, arrive there,’
- 8 ang awa nguda we **bililasi** ga nga an tani
 DIST then 1EXCL.I-go.HIGH go.LEVEL PN say DEF DIST arrive
 ‘Then I go up to Bililasi, it’s called, arriving there,’
- 9 ang awa giaaang ng-ku nguda n-lula
 DIST then travel 1EXCL.I-stay 1EXCL.I-go.HIGH 1EXCL.I-go
 ‘Then travel (for a while), going up,’
- 10 **lonbakulung** tani
 PN arrive
 ‘and arrivei n Lonbakulung,’

In other cases, place names are used for well-known places that recipients can be assumed to know. For example, names of larger cities, *Kalabahi* (capital of Alor) and *Kupang* (capital of the province of which Alor is a part, *Nusa Tenggara Timur*), are regularly used in interaction without any other accompanying practices of place formulation. These references are

typically treated tacitly as adequate referential formulations for the intended locations or settings. In some cases, the recipient of the initial formulation may repeat or reformulate the reference, as in excerpt (27) below. Here speaker C is referring to a person named *Lipi Opni*, and Edu initiates repair on this person reference in line 7, after a .4 second pause, clearly indicating some trouble with his recognition of the person reference. There is a reference to the named place *Kupang* in his repair initiation, which speaker C then repeats in line 8 as confirmation of Edu's understanding of the person reference.

Excerpt (27)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [00:32.200-00:42.750]

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | Edu | námála (lipi opni) | | | | | | | |
| | | who | | | | | | | |
| | | 'Who? Lipi opni?' | | | | | | | |
| 2 | C | ã? | | | | | | | |
| | | INTERJ | | | | | | | |
| | | 'Huh?' | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Edu | (lipi opni) | | | | | | | |
| 4 | isa | mama::: | | | | | | | |
| | | 'mom!' | | | | | | | |
| 5 | C | yo be- be- lipi-opni gi-si ga guna | | | | | | | |
| | | INTERJ ? ? L. 3POSS.II-descendant say EVID | | | | | | | |
| | | 'Yeah, be-, be-, Lipi Opni's child, it's said.' | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | (.4) | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Edu | lula ku:- kupang -mu aku tá-na-mi su o | | | | | | | |
| | | go ku- PN-LOC stay DISTRIB-INV-take come ? | | | | | | | |
| | | '(The one who) went and stayed in Kupang, and brought each other back?' | | | | | | | |
| 8 | C | aa (.) kupang aku tá-na-mi su ong ga guna | | | | | | | |
| | | yeah PN stay DISTRIB-INV-take come PROX say EVID | | | | | | | |
| | | 'Yeah, those who stayed in Kupang and brought each other back (<i>ga guna</i>).' | | | | | | | |

While reference to named places is most frequently done without any trouble by using easily recognizable place names, in some other cases reference to a named place involves other practices such as elevationals, pointing, terms for geographic features or landmarks. Most commonly, these are initiated with an elevational and some type of point, followed by the place

name. These formulations involve more than place names, apparently relaxing the preference for minimization/economy (Sacks & Schegloff 1979, Levinson 2007), due to other factors, including especially issues of epistemic status and stance discussed in section 4.4 below. Consider, for example, Peny's formulation of the reference to *koya-koya* in the following fragment. Notice the multiple pauses and lack of uptake from his recipient, Isakh, following Peny's initial formulation in line 1. This is similar to the extended tellings involving place names discussed above under 'settings'.

Excerpt (28)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [22:55.500-23:02.250]

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|---------------|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------|-----------|
| 1 | Peny | nu-mda-o | (.6) | koya-koya | mana | mi-lula-o | (.5) | agát |
| | | LOC-go.HIGH-? | | PN | village | APPL-go-? | | disappear |
| 2 | | ogu | (.8) | na-dua | le-tatuk | | | tuna |
| | | ?DEM | | what-PL | APPL-tell | | | TAM |
- 'Up there, uh, going to the villages on Koya-Koya, all disappeared, what is there to say about that?'



Figure 67

In a similar case, a speaker uses a distal demonstrative, along with a manual point (figure 68), before producing the place name *Makamang* in excerpt (29).

Excerpt (29)

nw-tpg-20120701-06 [01:46.750-01:49.200]

- 1 Nelis anga ngo (.) o: makamang mde (tenu)
 DIST PROX ? PN come.HIGH (PFV)
 |---((B-point))---|
 ‘That ... (is in) up here from Makamang.’



Figure 68

Finally, in excerpt (30), speaker A initially formulates a place as an unnamed location where he thinks some people are clearing land. In line 5, speaker B corrects him, repairing the formulation to refer to a named place, using two place names (*Pilmang, Bilbo*) in addition to elevationals (*ya-we-mda* and *níwe míweya*).

Excerpt (30)

nw-tpg-20121121-07 [11:31.000-11:41.000]

- 1 A nu-mda sa- aku nu-mda sal aku
 LOC-go.HIGH ? stay LOC-go.HIGH clean? stay
 ‘Up there, they’re cleaning, they’re cleaning up there ...’
 2 (.5)
 3 A ((gán-dua)) mi aku guna
 3NOM-PL take stay EVID
 ‘They’re taking (all the burned stuff).’
 4 (.)
 5 B nanu (.) mi si o ((nangkayaat))-o (.9)

NEG take come.LOW ? ?-?
 |---((B-point))-|
 pilmang-o ya-we-mda bilbo ní-we mí-weya
 PN-? 2I-go.LEVEL-go.HIGH PN LOC-go.LEVEL APPL-FIN.go.LEVEL
 ‘No! It’s down here, uh, in Pilmang, (if) you go up over there, Bilbo, here and there.’



Figure 69

In this section I have shown how speakers refer to named places, frequently using place names as a default format, but occasionally involving other practices such as elevationals and pointing. When and why speakers use these more marked, non-default formulations for named places will be returned to in section 4.4.

4.3.2 Referring to unnamed places

While place names offer speakers a useful recognitional format for referring to named places, one that simultaneously conforms to the general conversational preferences for minimization and recognition as identified in the study of person reference (Sacks & Schegloff 1979), many, perhaps most, places referred to in conversation, both in Kula and other languages, are **unnamed**. Consider the following example discussed in Heritage (2007). In the midst of telling about an “automobile escapade,” the location of the protagonist in the story is formulated

as “on the opposite side a’the driver ri:ght?” This is then corrected through reformulation in line 5 as “on the sa-:me side ez the driver,” and later in line 8 as “in d’ba:ck seat.” Each of these formulations would be impossible to formulate with a place name as the locations referred to have no conventional place names associated with them – they are unnamed places. While it is true that the person in question is also located in a number of named places, for example the city or neighborhood where the people were driving, this would be an inadequate formulation of his position for the purpose of the action underway – i.e. telling a story about what happened during their “automobile escapade.”

Example (26) (Goodwin:G84:M:3)

1 G: => He w’z o:n the opposite side a’the driver ri:ght?
 2 (.)
 3 G: “with iz::”
 4 (0.4)
 5 M: -> No he w- (.) e-he w’z on the sa-:me side ez
 6 the driver [r
 7 G: => [Oh on nuh ba:ck seat?=
 8 M: =Yeah in d’ba:ck seat

There is likely some cultural variation in the density of named places and, consequently, the prevalence of place names in formulating reference to places in a given language. While there are presently no good measures of this, it can be assumed that speakers of English in urban locations have access to a large number of place names and named landmarks, including both names of cities, neighborhoods, localities, etc., as well as street names and the names of the huge number of built structures in any modern urban environment, which can be used as named landmarks in formulating locations and settings in conversation. Kula speakers living in the villages of eastern Alor, on the other hand, have access to a much more restricted set of place names and named landmarks. This is due to the fact that these Kula speakers live in an

environment that is far less structured by human construction. Of course, there are houses, churches, schools, and other man-made structures and landmarks, including gardens, roads, and reservoirs. However, much of the environment in which Kula speakers live is what we might call ‘unstructured forest.’ Furthermore, landmarks such as gardens are non-permanent. The lack of named places in this type of environment means that speakers must rely on other available resources for formulating reference to places. It is my purpose here to show that this is the case and that the practices involved in referring to unnamed places are quite distinct from those involved in referring to named places.³⁸

Consider, for example, the speaker’s formulation of the location of his bag in the following excerpt. While this might not seem like a prototypical case of ‘place reference’, I categorize it and similar cases as such given the practices used by the speaker and recipients, which treat it in the same way as other cases of ‘place reference’. For example, the speaker points to the place in question, uses a spatial adverb *ingu* ‘here’, expresses the existence of the object in question (his bag) in the location referred to using a posture verb *míti* ‘sit’ – all practices typical of standard-looking cases of location formulation and place reference.

Excerpt (31)

nw-tpg-20121121-07 [09:34.000-09:40.800]

1	A	...	ngá-tas	ingu	a-míti ...
			1POSS.II-bag	here	3INAN-sit
			‘... (and) my bag was here ...’		

³⁸ Note that place names can be used in formulating reference to unnamed places as well, in an attempt to locate the place in question using named places as a way of narrowing down the search domain. In these cases, however, the name itself does not denote the place in question as it does in reference to named places. For an example of this use of place names, see section 4.4.4.1.

The only verbal element in this speaker's turn that formulates the location of his bag is *ingu* 'here'. Inspection of the video recording shows that this speaker makes a gesture toward his belt, indicating that his bag was attached to his belt. Figure 70 shows the speaker's position before saying *ngátas*, while figure 71 shows his position just after saying *ngátas* and before he says *ingu*.



Figure 70



Figure 71

Certainly the location of the speaker's bag could not have been formulated using a place name. Since the place is immediately visible to all co-participants, the speaker is able to use an almost equally economical formulation, thus conforming to the general preference for economy or minimization, involving only the form *ingu* 'here' and a kind of point consisting of both hands moving to his belt and directing his eye gaze toward his hands.

Another frequently observed practice for formulating reference to an unnamed place or location involves the use of an elevational, sometimes with an accompanying point (figure 72 – speaker, Linda, is circled on the left). Consider Linda’s formulation in the following excerpt. In this case, the place is possibly not immediately visible to the recipient (it is outside the frame of the video), but by following the speaker’s point, the recipient is able to determine the intended referent. This is also a case in which the precise location is not essential to the action performed by the speakers turn. The relatively vague *ining imdawe* is treated as sufficient – i.e. not repaired or reformulated in any way.

Excerpt (32)

nw-tpg-20121021-01 [02:54.500-02:56.000]

1	linda	wele	giang	ining	i-mda-we
		together	travel	like.PROX	1INCL-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL
		‘We’ll go up over there like this.			



Figure 72



Figure 73

The following excerpt provides another case in which an unnamed place is referred to through a vague formulation involving only a point and an elevational. In this case, the place referred to is not visible and the exact location is highly irrelevant to the action performed. In fact, there does not appear to be any precise location intended. However, the contrast with *ingu* makes the reference with *gomán* easily identifiable as ‘over there’ in a foreign place, i.e. ‘not here.’³⁹ Thus, identifiability and vagueness must be considered separately. While the formulation here remains vague, the contrast with *ingu* and the point make it easily identifiable. In fact, many instances of place reference in Kula conversation involve relatively vague formulations. While these are occasionally treated by their recipients as problematic, in many cases (such as this one) they are treated as sufficiently identifiable, despite remaining vague.

Excerpt (33)

nw-tpg-20120605-01 [02:43.200-02:50.000]

1	Peny	ang	gán	le-ape	su	ingu	(.)	kula	(.)	kula	gi-
		DIST	3SG	APPL-make	come	here		kula		kula	3POSS-
		igá-tela		igá-daya=							
		1INCL.POSS-speak		1INCL.POSS-sing							
		‘That’s what he’s doing coming here , our speaking, Kula ...’									

³⁹ Note that this meaning of *gomán* is common when used as a modifier as well, for example, *asáka gomán-gomán ma* – ‘other kinds of trees’, that is, not ‘this’ kind of tree.

- 2 Isakh ang mi lula to ang **gomán**[()]
 DIST take go also DIST LEVEL
 ‘He’s taking it, over there...’
- 3 Peny [mi lula **gomán**ngo
 take go LEVEL PROX?

 basa gaya
 language PROSP
 ‘He wants to take it over there and make it a language.’



Figure 74



Figure 75



Figure 76



Figure 77

In each of the last two cases, the exact identity of the place referred to is not crucial to the action performed by the utterance. These places are formulated with relatively vague elevationals and points, both manual and non-manual. In other cases, recipient's understanding of the exact location is necessary for understanding the action of the utterance in which its formulation occurs. In these cases, speakers avoid the vague formulations such as in (32), preferring more specific formulations. One resource for formulating more specific and less vague reference is the

use of landmarks – objects or places known to be in the vicinity of the intended referent (see excerpt 34 below).

When the location referred to is in the immediately visible environment of the recipient(s) and relevant for the action underway, reference formulation is often done simply with a demonstrative + point format (as in excerpt 31 above). In other cases, the exact location is both crucial to the action underway and not currently visible to the recipient (and possibly to the speaker as well). Consider, for example, Edu's formulation of the location of a house,⁴⁰ which has recently fallen down and needs rebuilding, in excerpt (34) below, discussed previously under 'location' formulation (section 4.2). Here, speaker C's question about the location of the house identifies its location as necessary preliminary information before she can agree to Edu's proposal/request for help in rebuilding the house. In this case, Edu is able to make use of a landmark (*sawah*), which he can assume his recipient to have knowledge of, to ensure that the recipient knows the precise location of the intended referent. The *sawah* 'wet rice field' referred to here is a permanently cultivated area of the village, and thus functions like any other permanent landmark such as 'the church' or 'the road'. Later in the sequence, speaker C demonstrates her understanding of the house's location (line 9-10) followed by a claim of epistemic access to knowledge of it falling down (lines 12-13). It is not entirely clear if this is displaying her willingness/agreement to Edu's proposal or not. This is, potentially, a case of focusing the sequence on achieving recognition of the place referent in an effort to derail the main course of action, i.e. Edu's proposal/request (see also 4.4.4.1).

Excerpt (34)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [14:17.000-14:36.000]

⁴⁰ Traditional houses are made of bamboo and grass, thus at the mercy of high winds.

- 1 Edu besok kita semua pigi ko kasi naik itu ruma
 tomorrow we(INCL) all go SEQ CAUS go.up DIST house
 2 dulu (.) angin kasi turun ada tidur baik-baik
 do.first wind CAUS go.down EXIST sleep good-REDUP
 (Malay): ‘Tomorrow let’s all go and put that house back up first. Wind knocked it
 down and it’s laying down.’
 3 C ang nunu?
 DIST where
 ‘Where’s that?’
 4 **Edu** **[ní-we-mda]** **sawah** **gi-páya**
 LOC-go.LEVEL-go.HIGH rice.field 3POSS.II-FIN.garden
 ‘Up over there, (at) the rice field’s garden.’⁴¹
 5 Linda [sawah]
 wet.rice.field(Malay)
 ‘(at the) rice field.’
 6 (.3)
 7 Edu nguda n-lula gay-o e:::: gi-
 1EXCL.go.HIGH 1EXCL.I-go PROSP-? INTERJ(surprise)
 8 gi-wansa inína
 3POSS.II-big like.PROX
 9 C ang ní-we bukit-o damalupa gi-yo
 DIST LOC-go.LEVEL hill(Malay)-? PN 3POSS.II-traditional.house
 10 lik owa
 many NVIS
 ‘That’s over there, the hill, Damalupa’s many houses?’
 11 Edu si le
 come.LOW finish
 ‘(it) came down already.’
 12 C si apale gun nta tuale gun nta
 come.LOW yesterday EVID or that.time EVID or
 13 si káláta a-míti gun wáti
 come.LOW flat 3INAN-FIN.sit EVID REPORT
 ‘(it) came down, yesterday or that one time it came down sitting flat, I heard.’
 14 (1.0)
 15 C ngán ntá ga amán- e talpi yita ya-ku
 1NOM 1POT say like.DIST INTERJ T. 2POT 2II-stay
 ‘I did say like that, hey, Talpi, you stay (there) ...’

In another case (excerpt 35), Matilda uses the names of plants that are grown in the area of the intended referent to formulate its location. In line 5, following Isakh’s reformulation of his

⁴¹ Kula speakers cultivate ‘gardens’ sometimes near their rice fields.

question in line 4, Matilda answers with the location of the *ja sli* ‘water pipe’, using an elevational *níweji* along with a manual point (figure 78) and the terms *kopi* and *fanili* used as landmarks.

Excerpt (35)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [20:19.300-20:29.500]

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------------|-------|-------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Isakh | in | sli | si-de | ngán- | nunggán | le-gatani |
| | | PROX | pipe | come.LOW-come.HIGH | INOM | where | APPL-? |
| | | ‘This pipe coming down over here, where did (they) install that?’ | | | | | |
| 2 | Mat | hã | | | | | |
| | | ‘huh?’ | | | | | |
| 3 | Peny | hã | | | | | |
| | | ‘huh?’ | | | | | |
| 4 | Isakh | ja | sli | si-de-ng | ga | guna | |
| | | water | pipe | come.LOW-come.HIGH-DEF | say | EVID | |
| | | ‘That water pipe coming up over here, it’s said.’ | | | | | |
| 5 | Mat | ní-we-ji | | aku | táma | kopi | fanili ang gánu |
| | | LOC-go.LEVEL-go.LOW | | stay | VIS? | coffee | vanilla DIST 3PRO |
| | | ‘It’s down over there [+point], (where there’s) the coffee (and) vanilla, that’s it.’ | | | | | |
| 6 | Isakh | o:: | | | | | |
| | | ‘Ohh.’ | | | | | |



Figure 78

Thus, we see that in addition to the frequent use of elevationals in initial formulations for unnamed locations, when a more precise understanding of the location is needed, one available resource frequently used by speakers are landmarks, such as *sawah* and *kopi fanili*. Of course,

these landmarks are in fact simple nouns, and so differ from other practices that form a more closed class of options, such as pointing and elevationals. Unsurprisingly, place names are far less common, and in fact a marked rather than default way of referring, in formulations of unnamed places. Occasionally, when the initial recipient is unaware of the intended referent, place names can be used to help locate the referent (see excerpt 42 in 4.4.4.1 below for more on this possibility).

The point might be raised that any of these unnamed places *could* be referred to as a named place. That is, in each case, the unnamed places referred to are in fact located within some higher level named place. However, my claim is that these places, whether named or unnamed, do not actually exist outside of their formulation in some spate of talk and, thus, the most fitting formulation of the location at the particular sequential position in which it occurs is as an unnamed place.

In the following section, I discuss two additional factors that affects speakers' choices in formulating reference to places, focusing primarily on unnamed places. I do this through analysis of several extended conversational excerpts involving reference to unnamed locations and repeated non-initial ('subsequent') reformulations of the same reference. The issues explored here include the type of action being pursued (e.g. directive, complaint, etc.), as well as the deontic stance of the participants with regard to the action. Additionally, issues of epistemic status and stance play a role in determining what types of referential formulations speakers produce.

4.4 Epistemics and activity in location formulation

This section presents in depth sequential analyses of a handful of lengthier excerpts in which place reference becomes a primary focus of the interaction through repeated repair and reformulation of the reference. To understand why the locations are formulated the way they are, I consider the activity in which the reference is embedded as well as the relative epistemic status of initial speaker and recipient(s). I look first at several cases of equal epistemic status, showing that participants orient to their shared epistemic access and equal epistemic status by treating the location formulations as unproblematic – no repair, try-marking, or other signs of trouble with the formulation (section 4.4.1). Then, I analyze three longer cases, all drawn from the same recording, in which three factors are at play: relative asymmetries in epistemic status, epistemic incongruence resulting from differing epistemic stances taken by the participants, as well as the type of activity in which the location formulation occurs (section 4.4.2-4.4.4). In the course of the analysis and discussion, I make several claims regarding the effect of these factors on speakers' selection of practices for formulating the reference:

1. When epistemic status is equal, reference is typically unproblematic and achieved through use of place names, elevationals, or left unexpressed;
2. Speakers treat recipients as having high epistemic status by formulating locations without any indication of trouble, even relatively vague formulations;
3. Locations formulated for a recipient of lower epistemic status very often involve multiple practices, especially the use of landmarks;

4. Speakers treated as having lower epistemic status can claim higher status through displaying a higher epistemic stance, leading to epistemic incongruence, with effects on the practices used to formulate reference;
5. Different activities necessitate different types of place formulations.

The next section provides evidence for each of these points.

4.4.1 Equal epistemic access

Consider first the exchange in excerpt (36). In this excerpt, the participants are discussing the betel nut that I bought and brought to Edu's home (the site of the recording) in Lantoka. At line 1, speaker A produces an utterance which assumes a place/source for the purchase of the betel nut. Here, speaker A does not explicitly formulate a place reference. However, her turn design implies a location by using the deictic elevational verb *mda* 'go up' and formulating the activity *pi masa dǎng ali su* 'buy some betel nut (and) come here'. This interaction was recorded at Edu's home, which is located just 'below' the location of the weekly market in Lantoka (see figure 79).



Figure 79

Red circle = Edu's home
Blue circle = Market

Thus A's use of the verb *mda* along with her formulation of the reported activity makes relevant an assumption by the recipients that the place she has in mind is the market just 'up' from Edu's house. By leaving the location not explicitly mentioned, A treats it as a part of her and the recipients' shared common ground, implying equal epistemic access on the part of both speaker and recipient. As we can see in line 2, however, this was a miscalculation on A's part. In line 2, Edu initiates repair, reformulating the source of the betel nut as *kalambasa* 'Kalabahi', not the local market. Linda produces a similar repair reformulation of her own in line 3, which is then reproduced by speaker A in line 4 as a request for confirmation of her understanding of the reformulated referent. In doing so, both speakers (Edu and Linda) demonstrate that their epistemic status is equal to A's – they know the intended referent of A's turn, despite it being

‘incorrect’. In line 4, A demonstrates her shared knowledge of the ‘corrected’ referent, *Kalambasa*, using the place name unproblematically.

Excerpt (36)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [16:28 – 16:35]

- | | | | |
|---|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | A | ing kang kda lunakon mda pi masa dǎng | |
| | | PROX good just L. go.HIGH betel pepper some | |
| | | ali su mang i-pat e | |
| | | buy come CONJ 1INCL-NFIN.eatINTERJ | |
| | | ‘This is good Lonakoni went up to buy some betel nut and bring it for us to eat.’ | |
| 2 | Edu | nanu, kalambasa mi suya | |
| | | NEG PN take FIN.come | |
| | | ‘No, he brought it here from Kalabahi.’ | |
| 3 | Linda | in=s kalam[basa mi suya] | |
| | | PROX=TOP PN take FIN.come | |
| | | ‘This he brought from Kalabahi | |
| 4 | A | [e- ing kalambasa mi] mde= | |
| | | INTERJ PROX PN take come.HIGH | |
| | | ‘Eh-, this one (he) brought up here from Kalabahi?’ | |
| 5 | Linda | =uh-huh | |
| | | ‘Uh-huh.’ | |
| 6 | Edu | [eyebrow flash] | |



This excerpt shows that when epistemic status is treated as equal, i.e. the speaker assumes the recipient to share knowledge of the intended referent, the formulation can actually be done without explicitly mentioning the place at all. Furthermore, this case shows that the ‘place’ is

negotiated through work by both the initial speaker and the recipient of the initial formulation, particularly when there is an asymmetry in epistemic access, despite the speaker's assumption of equal status. Specifically, in this case Edu and Linda's repair of A's implied reference to the market treat A's initial formulation as not just inadequate, but inaccurate.

Let us consider first the case in excerpt (37), in which the location is not explicitly mentioned because of the shared epistemic access that Edu and G have to knowledge of the intended referent. The initial speaker, G, treats Edu as having equal epistemic access to knowledge of the place. Edu's response in line 3 treats the unexpressed reference as unproblematic, indexing their shared knowledge and equal epistemic status with regard to the referent. As such, the (unmentioned) place reference is accepted as adequate without any repair or indication of trouble.

Excerpt (37)

nw-tpg-20131011-01 [11:48.000-12:02.250]

- | | | | |
|-----|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | G | ngápa n-ji
father 1EXCL.I-go.LOW
'Father, I'm going (down).' | giya
PRES |
| 2 | | (.3) | |
| 3 | Edu | yo:
'Yeah/ok.' | |
| ... | | | |
| 4 | Nick | kalambasa ji
PN go.LOW
'She's going down to Kalabahi?' | giya?
PRES |
| 5 | Edu | naungwana
PN
'Naumang.' | |

After the speaker gets up to leave and is out of sight, I produced the turn in line 4, seeking confirmation of my understanding of the original reference in her turn in line 1. My incorrect understanding is corrected in line 5 by Edu, showing clearly that I did not share some

background knowledge that Edu could be assumed to have by the original speaker. Thus, speaker G's 'formulation' was designed for Edu alone, treating me as outside the participation framework at that point in the interaction. This is clear both from the design of G's turn, including the address term *ngápa*, designed for Edu, and the alignment of the two speakers in a tightly arranged two-party interaction with me behind the camera at some distance (see figure 80).



Figure 80

4.4.2 Epistemic asymmetry

Now let us reconsider excerpts (34) and (35), discussed previously under referring to unnamed places and reproduced here as excerpts (38) and (39). In both cases, the location formulation includes a point (manual in excerpt 39, non-manual in 38) and a landmark (*sawah gipáya* and *kopi fanili*) in addition to the elevationals. These differ from the previous examples of reference to unnamed places in 5.3 which involved relatively vague elevationals only. Why the more elaborate formulations in (38) and (39)? The answer lies in the relative epistemic status of each of the participants in these two interactions. In both cases, the recipient is in a position of

relatively lower epistemic access. In (38), the eventual recipient (speaker C) has asked *ang nunu?* literally, ‘that’s where?’ – targeting the location of the garden house referred to in the previous turn, line 1, by Edu. This puts C in a position of lower epistemic status (and thus authority) and indicates that she has generally less knowledge of the intended and asked-about referent. Edu, to whom the question in line 2 is addressed, is in a position of greater epistemic authority for two reasons: 1) Edu was the speaker to initially refer to the ‘house’ which C asks about in line 2, so presumably he has knowledge of its location, and 2) C’s question in line 2 not only positions her as a participant with relatively lower epistemic status and knowledge of the location of the house, but also treats Edu as having relatively higher epistemic status and makes relevant an informing response from Edu in line 3, which requires him to have, or at least claim, some access to knowledge of the house’s location (Heritage 2012, 2013).

Excerpt (38)

nw-tpg-20130111-01 [14:17.000-14:36.000]

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|-----|---------------------|-------|------------|-------|
| 1 | Edu | besok | kita | semua pigi | ko | kasi | naik | itu | ruma |
| | | tomorrow | we(INCL) | all go | SEQ | CAUS | go.up | DIST | house |
| 2 | | dulu (.) | angin | kasi turun | | ada | tidur | baik-baik | |
| | | do.first | wind | CAUS go.down | | EXIST | sleep | good-REDUP | |
| | | (Malay): ‘Tomorrow let’s all go and put that house back up first. Wind knocked it down and it’s laying down.’ | | | | | | | |
| 3 | C | ang nunu? | | | | | | | |
| | | DIST where | | | | | | | |
| | | ‘Where’s that?’ | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Edu | [ní-we-mda] | | sawah | | gi-páya | | | |
| | | LOC-go.LEVEL-go.HIGH | | rice.field | | 3POSS.II-FIN.garden | | | |
| | | ‘Up over there, (at) the rice field’s garden.’ ⁴² | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Linda | [sawah] | | | | | | | |
| | | wet.rice.field(Malay) | | | | | | | |
| | | ‘(at the) rice field.’ | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | (.3) | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Edu | nguda | n-lula | gay-o | | e::: | | gi- | |
| | | 1EXCL.go.HIGH | 1EXCL.I-go | PROSP-? | | INTERJ(surprise) | | | |

⁴² The Kula sometimes cultivate ‘gardens’ near their rice fields.

8		gi-wansa 3POSS.II-big		inína like.PROX					
9	C	ang DIST	ní-we LOC-go.LEVEL	bukit-o hill(Malay)-?	damalupa PN	gi-yo 3POSS.II-traditional.house			
10		lik many	owa NVIS						
		'That's over there, the hill, Damalupa's many houses?'							
11	Edu	si come.LOW	le finish						
		'(it) came down already.'							
12	C	si come.LOW	apale yesterday	gun EVID	nta or	tuale that.time	gun EVID	nta or	
13		si come.LOW	káláta flat	a-míti 3INAN-FIN.sit	gun EVID	wáti REPORT			
		'(it) came down, yesterday or that one time it came down sitting flat, I heard.'							
14		(1.0)							
15	C	ngán 1NOM	ntá 1POT	ga say	amán- like.DIST	e INTERJ	talpi T.	yita 2POT	ya-ku 2II-stay
		'I did say like that, hey, Talpi, you stay (there) ...'							

What effect then does this epistemic asymmetry have on Edu's formulation of the house's location in line 3? In several ways, we can see that Edu's formulation of the house's location in line 3 is designed with C in mind, with careful attention to her particular epistemic access and status. At the beginning of his formulation, Edu simultaneously produces an elevational, *níwemda* 'up over there', and a head point (figure 82). This works to provide a bounded search domain for C, increasing the likelihood that she will recognize the location – crucial given her relatively lower epistemic status displayed by her question in line 2. This is followed by a landmark – *sawah gipáya* 'the rice field garden' – and a final recognitional demonstrative, *ono*. Referring to a landmark, i.e. another place or object in the vicinity of the intended referent, provides something the recipient can recognize. The final demonstrative indicates that the place is somewhere the recipient can recognize, that is, something she does in fact have epistemic access to – despite her display of relatively lower epistemic access in line 2.

Some background knowledge of the village layout and daily life is helpful here in understanding why Edu is able to formulate the location in this way. The *sawah* ‘wet rice fields’ are a prominent feature of the village and an area speaker C can be assumed to know about, as would any adult member of the community. The elevational and head point work to distinguish the intended rice fields from some others located in other parts of the village.



Figure 81



Figure 82

Similarly, in excerpt (39) below, Isakh asks about the location of a ‘water pipe’ (*ja sli*) in line 1, putting him in a position of relatively lower epistemic access. On the other hand, by formulating the reference to the object in question as *ja sli si-de*, Isakh indicates that he does have some knowledge of the object and its location. Crucially, his use of the elevational verb combination *si-de* ‘come.LOW-come.HIGH’ provides an initial formulation of the pipe’s location. Thus, while Isakh’s question in line 1, reformulated after repair in line 4, puts him in a position of relatively lower epistemic status, he asserts some access, higher than speaker C in excerpt (39), by including an initial formulation of the pipe’s location with *si de* ‘over on this side’⁴³. This particular epistemic position has a direct effect on Matilda’s eventual formulation of the pipe’s location in line 5. Matilda initiates the formulation with an elevational, *ní-we-ji* ‘LOC-

⁴³ This elevational involves the verb *si* ‘come.LOW’ followed by the verb *mde* ‘come.HIGH’, used in combination to express motion down and then up, for example across a valley or riverbed.

go.LEVEL-go.LOW’ (‘over down there’) as is common practice in location formulations. She also uses a landmark, *kopi fanili* ‘coffee (and) vanilla (plants)’, indicating that the pipe is in the area ‘down over there’ near where the coffee and vanilla plants are located. In addition to her use of a landmark to index another object Isakh can be assumed to know the location of, Matilda also uses the ‘visible’ demonstrative, *táma*. This indicates that the pipe and plants in question are visible even from their current position. It is for this reason, the visibility of the intended referent for the participants, that Matilda can and does use a manual B-point, rather than a non-manual head point. Matilda’s point is initiated before she produces the verbal part of her formulation and reaches its fullest extent just as she produces the *-we-* of the elevational component *ní-we-ji* (see figure 83 – note that Isakh is just off screen to the right here).

Excerpt (39)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [20:19.300-20:30.000]

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1 | Isakh | in | sli | si-de | ngán- | nunggán | le-gatani |
| | | PROX | pipe | come.LOW-come.HIGH | 1NOM | where | APPL-? |
| | | ‘This pipe coming down over here, where did (they) install that?’ | | | | | |
| 2 | Mat | hã | | | | | |
| | | ‘huh?’ | | | | | |
| 3 | Peny | hã | | | | | |
| | | ‘huh?’ | | | | | |
| 4 | Isakh | ja | sli | si-de-ng | ga | guna | |
| | | water | pipe | come.LOW-come.HIGH-DEF | say | EVID | |
| | | ‘That water pipe coming up over here, it’s said.’ | | | | | |
| 5 | Mat | ní-we-ji | aku | táma | kopi | fanili | ang gánu |
| | | LOC-go.LEVEL-go.LOW | stay | VIS? | coffee | vanilla | DIST 3PRO |
| | | ‘It’s down over there [+point], (where there’s) the coffee (and) vanilla, that’s it.’ | | | | | |
| 6 | Isakh | o:: | | | | | |
| | | ‘Ohh.’ | | | | | |



Figure 83

What I have aimed to show with these two cases of place formulation in response to a where-question is that the relative asymmetry in epistemic access and status, at least as displayed by the participants through the practices in their formulation of the question itself, have a direct effect on how the location is formulated by the speaker who answers the question. In the first case (excerpt 38), we see the use of an elevational, head-point (to a non-visible location) and a well-known landmark as a way of formulating the location for a recipient who displays herself as having low epistemic access to knowledge of the location in question, but who can be reasonably assumed to share certain knowledge of the village layout and well-known landmarks. In the second case, we see similar practices used to formulate the location of a water pipe using an elevational, manual point, along with a landmark and kind of deictic visibility particle (*táma*). This formulation is carefully designed for its recipient, Isakh, who has displayed some knowledge of the location by referring to the object to be identified (*ja sli*) and including an initial formulation in his own question (*si de*). This contrasts with speaker C's question formulation in excerpt (38 – *ang nunu?* 'where's that?' – which includes no mention of the object being located nor any attempt at formulating its location. Matilda's formulation of the pipe's location is designed for Isakh, using an elevational that contrasts with Isakh's initial formulation

and the landmark (*kopi fanili*), a manual B-point, and the visible access particle (*táma*) to maximize the recognizability of the referent.

In the next section, I move on to three more complex cases in which issues of relative epistemic status, as well as epistemic stances embedded in formulations of place, interact with the activity in which the reference is embedded to influence the way places are formulated and how the sequence unfolds. Specifically, we see a different pattern of formulation and reformulation in an activity such as the one in 4.4.3, giving directions, than we do in the cases in 4.4.4, in which the exact locations are possibly less relevant but, in both cases, pursued by at least one participant.

4.4.3 Formulating location for an unknowing recipient

Let us first consider a case in which the speaker of the initial formulation (Matilda) has high access to knowledge of the place in question, while the recipient (Peny) has comparatively much lower epistemic access. Both participants maintain distinct epistemic stances, i.e. Matilda is the more knowledgeable person regarding the location of the intended referent, a certain betel nut tree. As the interaction progresses, however, Peny transforms from a relatively unknowing recipient eventually to having equal epistemic status with Matilda. In fact, this is the apparent goal of providing Peny with multiple formulations of the intended referent in the form of directions over the course of the sequence.

The place in question is the location of a betel nut tree. Prior to this interaction, Isakh made a request for betel nut from Matilda, to which Matilda responds that she has no betel nut. She suggests that there is betel nut available on the trees nearby her house, but all three participants display their inability and/or unwillingness to go procure the betel nut. This sequence comes at the start of a video recording, so we do not know how it was that Peny

became the one to go collect the betel nut, although given the nature of collecting betel nut from a tree, Peny is the most likely to be able to do it. Matilda mentions several times, including at line 14 in the excerpt below, that it would be nice if some younger boys (*mala pka dua*) would come by to pick the betel nut. Since Peny is the closest to a *mala pka* ‘young male’, he became the one to go pick the betel nut. The excerpt below begins as Peny is off screen, preparing to go pick the betel nut, and Matilda is giving him directions from her position under the house where all three speakers were previously sitting (see figures 84 and 85). More discussion and analysis can be found following the transcript.

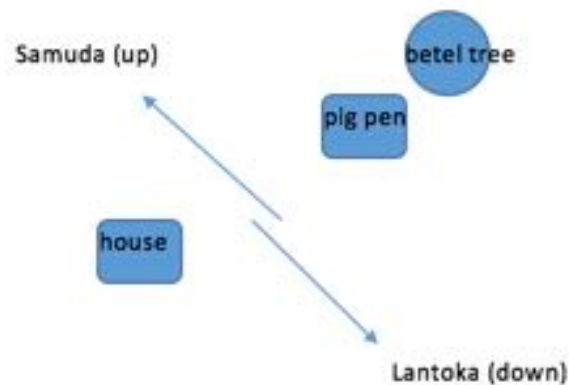


Figure 84. Schematic layout of area around Matilda's house



Figure 85

Excerpt (40)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [00:04:000-00:50.000]

- 1 Mat iníng ya-ji ya-we
 like.PROX 2I-go.LOW 2I-go.LEVEL
 ‘Go down and over this way!’
- 2 (.3)
- 3 Peny te?
 ‘huh?’
- 4 (.2)
- 5 Mat nan mang iníng ya-mda=p ya-we (.) ya-ji
 NEG CONJ like.PROX 2I-go.HIGH=so.thhat 2I-go.LEVEL 2I-go.LOW
 ‘No, then, you go up like this so you can go over there, then go down.’
- 6 (.5)
- 7 Peny? [()]
- 8 Mat [an-si a]láke momo
 DIST=TOP mud M.
 ‘That’s muddy, Momo.’
- 9 (.2)
- 10 Peny nung-al gaya
 where-direction PROSP
 ‘Which way should (I go)?’
- 11 (.)
- 12 Mat ing-al ya-da-mda pe biya mít
 PROX-direction 2I-come.HIGH-go.HIGH pig pen NFIN.sit
 táma (.7) dádap duka ang-al ya-we
 NVIS k.o.tree stand DIST-direction 2I-go.LEVEL
 ‘Go come here (then) go up this way [+point], (where) there’s a pig pen there.
 (when) there’s a ‘dadap’ tree, go (level) that way.’



Figure 86

- 13 (4.0)
 14 Mat mala-pka=dua=to dǎng su-pá si-p pi mi
 male-small=PL=also some come-so.that come.LOW-so.that betel take
 gupo
 ?
 ‘(if only) some young boys (would) come to, come down to take (some) betel
 nut.’
- 15 (2.0)
 16 Nick wakíki
 kemiri
 ‘candlenut.’
- 17 (.8)
 18 Mat waikiki
 kemiri
 ‘candlenut.’
- 19 Nick waikiki
 ‘candlenut.’
- 20 (8.0)
 21 Peny ngáya!
 Mama!
- 22 (.9)
 23 Peny ngáya!
 Mama!
- 24 (.5)
 25 Mat we!
 yeah? (response to a call)
- 26 (.4)
 27 Peny (pe) gámka lila ang gánu
 (pig) face/front hang DEM DEM
 this one in front (of the pig cage), is that it?
- 28 (.2)
 29 Mat yo:
 yep!/that's right
- 30 (2.0)
 31 Peny [()]
 32 Mat [anawe igáng]giya
 all 1INCL.POSS
 ‘They’re all ours (inclusive).’
- 33 (1.9)
 34 Mat yo anawe igánggiya anáka
 yes all 1INCL.POSS usually
 ‘Yeah, it's all ours anyway.’
- 35 (2.5)
 36 Peny pak nick
 ‘Nick! ...’

Throughout the interaction, the location of the betel nut tree(s) which Peny will pick from are formulated as directions. Matilda begins in line 1 with a deictic adverbial, *iníng* ‘like this’, and a directional serial verb construction, *yaji yawe* ‘you go down (and) go across.’ This formulation uses Matilda’s position, under the house, as the point of departure or ‘deictic center.’ Peny’s response in line 3 – *hã - huh?* – initiates repair on Matilda’s initial formulation, but due to its open-class format, does not indicate what the source of his trouble was. Matilda, however, treats the repair as targetting trouble with the format of her formulation. Instead of repeating her original formulation, in line 5 Matilda reformulates the directions, prefacing her turn with *nanu*, which appears to indicate explicitly that it is a replacement of her initial formulation. In this reformulation, she now provides directions from Peny’s perspective, with Peny as the ‘deictic center’.

After no apparent uptake, and an expansion formulated as an informing, *ansi aláke*, *Momo* ‘it’s muddy, Momo’ (Momo is Peny’s Kula name), Peny eventually initiates repair again in line 10, but this time with a different format. Rather than use an open class repair initiator like *te?* or *hã?*, in line 10 Peny repairs the formulation with the Wh-question *nungál gaya?* Similar to the cases examined in 5.4.2 above, this more specific repair formulation elicits a response from Matilda that involves a more specific location formulation as well. Of particular note is Matilda’s use of a landmark, *pe biya* ‘pig pen’, and, after a significant silence indicating lack of uptake from Peny, another landmark, *dádap duka* ‘(where) the Dedap tree is (lit. ‘stands’)’. This reformulation is designed for Peny at this point, having upgraded his repair formulation to indicate somewhat higher epistemic status – initially *te?* in line 3, now *nungál gaya?* ‘go which way?’ in line 10. However, since he is initiating a question-answer sequence with a fairly generic interrogative, he maintains his relatively low epistemic status, just slightly higher than when he

produced the open-class initiator in line 3. As in excerpts (38) and (39) from section 4.4.2, this more specific repair format, indexing his low epistemic status but also a deontic stance indicating his willingness to engage in the task (i.e. go find the betel nut tree), makes relevant a more specific formulation of the intended location involving landmarks and a manual point.

This final instruction is followed by a lengthy silence (4.0s). Lines 14 – 20 then occur while Peny is not present and therefore not part of the current participation framework. The exchanges in lines 14 – 20 are primarily between me and Matilda, and are thus irrelevant to the work being done previously. However, in line 21 Peny summons Matilda, *ngáya*, which he repeats in line 23 after a lack of uptake in line 22. After Matilda displays her availability as a recipient in line 25, Peny produces a third repair of the initial formulation – this time as a candidate understanding of the intended location formulation. This check for understanding receives confirmation from Matilda in line 28, *yo:*, followed by the end of the sequence in line 34.

This excerpt shows that an epistemic asymmetry can influence the speaker's formulation of a place/location and that this may change throughout the sequence in response to slight adjustments of epistemic status or stance through a claim to higher epistemic access. I focus here on lines 1-5, 10-12, and 21-29. Following Matilda's initial reference to the location of the betel nut tree, formulated as directions given to Peny, *ining yaji yawe* 'go down over this way', Peny initiates repair three separate times. Peny's formats for repair index his gradually updated epistemic access, simultaneously demonstrating his understanding of Matilda's previous formulations and maintaining his claim of low epistemic access to knowledge of the referent's location. The format of repair changes from an open-class repair initiator, *te?*, to a wh-question format *nungal gaya?*, to a candidate understanding *(pe) gámka lila ang gánu*, which then is the

the final formulation as confirmed by Matilda in line 29 – *yo*: ‘yeah.’ Matilda’s reformulations in response to these three distinct repair initiators are carefully designed for Peny and his epistemic status at each point. Her first reformulation remains relatively vague, treating Peny’s repair *te?* as a problem of understanding (not hearing), but not providing a more specific formulation involving landmarks because Peny’s displayed epistemic status remains too low. Following his second repair in line 10, *nungal gaya?*, Matilda produces her most elaborate formulation. Finally, Peny signals his change of state through a confirmation check in line 27, reformulating the landmark used by Matilda in line 12. Given this demonstration of understanding, which displays his now equal epistemic status with Matilda, she responds with a simple *yo*:, confirming Peny’s re-formulation.

In addition to the role of the relative epistemic asymmetry between Matilda and Peny, Matilda’s formulations are fitted to the activity she is pursuing – directing Peny to the location of the intended betel nut tree. In fact, most of the formulations of location are not explicitly expressed, but rather remain implicit in her use of deictic elevational motion verbs to direct Peny *toward* the intended referent – the betel nut tree. Throughout the sequence, Matilda’s directions and formulation of the eventual goal location change as Peny moves closer to the tree. Thus, the formulation of the tree’s location depends not only on Peny’s current epistemic status, but also the activity both Peny and Matilda are engaged in – directing Peny to the betel nut tree. Notice, specifically, that the linguistic practices used in this sequence are limited to motion verbs and landmarks. Matilda does not use a single place name, geographic or landscape term, or demonstrative pronoun in her formulations here.

Let us now consider two additional examples of reference to a location in which a recipient of relatively lower epistemic status displays a greater epistemic stance, thus claiming

more epistemic authority than they are treated as having by the other participants – what Hayano (2013) calls ‘epistemic incongruence’.

4.4.4 Adjusting epistemic expectations

I will examine two cases here in which one participant claims higher epistemic status than is otherwise warranted based how other participants treat that person – a display of epistemic incongruence (Hayano 2013). I aim to show that both the asymmetry in epistemic status between initial speaker and recipient, as well as the display of incongruence through one participants’ attempts to adjust the asymmetry, have a noticeable effect on their choice of formulation and how the sequence unfolds.

By displaying epistemic incongruence and claiming greater epistemic status, participants are able to do something beyond simple reference. This is clearest in the first excerpt (42) in which Peny’s actions help to eventually derail the initial speaker (Isakh’s) main action, complaining. Both examples are taken from the same set of recordings as excerpt (40) in 4.4.3 above. In the first case, reference is made to a garden that Isakh has been staying in and taking care of, which is then followed by further discussion of the location of this garden (4.4.4.1). In the second excerpt, Isakh formulates a reference to a nearby garden, seeking confirmation for who he believes the owner of that garden is (4.4.4.2). His initial understanding turns out to be wrong (at least according to Matilda), resulting in multiple reformulations of the garden in question and another garden just next to it.

4.4.4.1 Claiming epistemic access and derailing a complaint (Isakh's garden)

This excerpt comes from the same recording as excerpt (40). It begins just as Peny and I are returning from picking the betel nut and are walking back toward the house. Isakh has returned and is sitting under the house alone. Figure 87 shows Isakh alone at the house, while Peny, Matilda, and I pick betel nut (figure 88), before we walk back 'up' toward the house from the grove of betel nut trees, me following Peny with the camera (figures 89-90)



Figure 87



Figure 88



Figure 89



Figure 90

This sequence of events actually began with a request from Isakh for betel nut as Peny, Matilda, Isakh and I were sitting under the house, Peny and I having just arrived looking for Matilda's husband. It is common practice in Alor for guests, even uninvited ones, to be offered betel nut on such occasions. Matilda responded that she was 'all out' but that there was some they could pick nearby – in some trees that belong to her (this is, of course, Matilda's house).

That initial exchange is reproduced here as excerpt (41). Isakh first formulates the request in line 1, without actually uttering the word for ‘betel nut’, indicating something of the delicate, though acceptable, nature of his request. After a repair, as an insert expansion, which elicits the object of Isakh’s request (lines 3-4), Matilda refuses the request by demonstrating her lack of betel nut – she shows him the empty basket. During the two second silence at line 6, Matilda returns the empty basket to its previous position and, in so doing, sees a piece of betel nut husk next to her, which she picks up and throws away from her just as she begins her turn in line 7. Line 7 then appears to be an expansion of her account for refusing Isakh’s request – that is, not only is there none in the basket, but this piece of husk you see is just the ‘skin’. She then produces the first formulation of the location of the betel nut trees which, eventually, she will direct Peny to (see excerpt 40) – *pi=s ní-we lila táma* ‘(there’s) betel nut hanging over there.’ The rest of this sequence consists of each participant displaying their inability and/or unwillingness to go pick the betel nut that is still ‘hanging’ in the tree – Isakh in line 10 (‘someone will come take it’), Matilda in line 12-14 (‘who wants to take it? (if) you can climb, go take it’) and Peny, potentially, through his laughter in line 15 in response to Matilda’s line 12-14. Peny of course is the most likely candidate to go pick the betel nut, which might explain his lack of full verbal refusal or excusing himself as Matilda and Isakh have done.

Excerpt (41)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [09:25.300-09:51.000]

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------------------------------------------|-------|------|------|----------|----------|
| 1 | Isakh | ai | (ka-) | dáng | adi | si | weyáni |
| | | INTERJ | ? | some | look | come.LOW | FIN.give |
| | | ‘Hey, look and give me some (betel nut)?’ | | | | | |
| 2 | | (.7) | | | | | |
| 3 | Mat | na-du? | | | | | |
| | | what-PL | | | | | |
| | | ‘(give some) what?’ | | | | | |
| 4 | Isakh | ipi | ánu | | | | |

- betel DEM
'That betel nut there.'
- 5 Mat ss- innn- agátu lika
this gone INTENS
'it's all gone!'
- 6 (2.0)
- 7 Mat gi-ke- ing gánu (.9) pi=s ní-we lila táma
3POSS-skin? PROX 3NOM betel=TOP LOC-go.LEVEL hang ?
- 8 amp námálawing mda mi gaya
but who FOC go.HIGH take PROSP
'It's skin-, this is it, there's betel over there, but who'll want to go up and get it?'
- 9 (5.0)
- 10 Isakh ai d- d-áng su-p [mi:
hey s- some come-so.that take
'Hey, (if) some would come to take (the betel) ...'
- 12 Mat [() pi=s ní-we lul-
betel=TOP LOC-go.LEVEL go-
13 lila táma námálamda mi gaya? (.2) ya-tumpa manga
hang VIS who go.HIGH take PROSP 2II-climb(?) then
14 ya-we-p mi
2I-go.LEVEL-so.that take
'There's betel hanging over there, (but) who wants to go up (to) take it? (If) you
can climb (the tree), then go take it.'
- 15 Peny ah- hēhēhi=
- 16 Mat =aha ha ha [ha
- 17 Isakh [ai pátára aning kang su ()
hey soon person good come
'Hey, someone will come soon ...'

Let us now return to the main excerpt in question – (42). I provide the full transcript here first, followed by discussion and analysis below.

Excerpt (42)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [00:10:53.600-00:11:20.000]

- 1 Isakh na-dua pe?
what-PL do
'What are you doing?'
- 2 (.5)
- 3 Peny ng-we pi miya

⁴⁴ /a/ at the end of *ngkuya* is 1.5 seconds long

- 24 (4)
- 25 Isakh **me-we-o** **mde-mda-o::=**
 come.LEVEL-go.LEVEL-PROX come.HIGH-go.HIGH-PROX
 ↑[head point]_{Fig. 1}
 ‘Over here, up there, in uh, ...’
- 26 Peny =**saika?** (.) eh **o:**...
 PN INTERJ PROX
 ‘Saika? Er, uh ...’
 ↑[forefinger point]_{Fig. 2}
- 27 Isakh **pungka** **gi-** **[lomang** **gi-tapa]**
 ax 3POSS.II-hill 3POSS.II-side
 ‘On the other side of ‘Ax hill’.’
- 28 Peny **[pungka-** **pungka** **gi-]****lomang** **gi-tapa** **ánu?**
 Ax ax 3POSS.II-hill 3POSS.II-side DEIC
 ‘Ax-, the other side of ‘Ax hill’, huh?’
- 29 (.)
- 30 Isakh **yáwa**
 INTERJ
 ‘Yeah.’
- 31 Peny **õ** (.9) ang kana
 INTERJ DIST good
 ‘Oh, that’s good.’

The primary claim I will make here is that the way Peny repairs Isakh’s initial reference to his garden (line 20) allows for an expansion of the sequence which, effectively, then derails Isakh’s initial activity – a complaint. Thus, formulating (and reformulating) the location of Isakh’s garden here does much more than “simply referring” (cf. Enfield 2007). Second, the format of the successive formulations in lines 20-28 are both fit to the current action underway (e.g. Isakh’s rather unspecific *pá* -- the focus is on his complaint, not the location) and the current speaker’s (claimed) epistemic status. To illustrate these claims, let us first return to the excerpt to get an idea of how this happens.

After procuring some betel nut, Peny, Matilda, and I are returning to the house where Isakh is now sitting alone. As we are approaching, Isakh produces the turn in line 1 – *nadua pe?* ‘what are/were you doing?’ This question, along with Peny’s answer in line 3, as well as its expansion in line 8, serve as a pre-sequence for the request Isakh produces in line 10 – another

request for betel nut, but this time made relevant by the fact that there is now some betel nut available.⁴⁵ There is no clear verbal response to Isakh's request, but Peny appears to present Isakh with the betel nut they have collected, during the long silence in line 13. Then, in line 14, Isakh produces his complaint. This finally sets up the context for the ensuing sequence of repairs and reformulations of the place reference initiated by Isakh at line 20 simply as *pá* 'garden'.

Consider now the multiple formulations of Isakh's garden, beginning in line 20 and ending with Isakh's confirmation in line 30. My aim here is to show that the reasons for reformulating the location, and the means by which Peny and Isakh do this reformulation, depend crucially on their individual and asymmetrical epistemic statuses, which at some points conflict with their own claims to epistemic access or authority.

The place referred to is first formulated by Isakh in line 20 as *pá* 'garden'. However, the place reference is not the focus of his turn, which is formulated as an account for his complaint back in line 14. Specifically, he uses the fact that he is 'living in the garden' to account for his initial complaint about the small amount of betel nut offered by Peny. The implication here is that, because he is living in the garden, he does not have easy access to things like betel nut, and was hoping for more to take back to the garden with him. This reference to the garden is repeated in line 21, as Peny initiates repair on Isakh complaint, and in line 22 as Isakh repeats his complaint. Rather than reformulate the reference in a more specific way, say by pointing, using a place name or landmark of some sort, Isakh simply repeats it as *pá*. In this way Isakh treats Peny's repair in line 21 as indicating trouble with the formulation of his complaint, not with the formulation of the place. Peny then proceeds with a different repair strategy in line 23, this time

⁴⁵ I consider lines 5-6 some type of insertion sequence, though due to poor audio quality it is not clear what Isakh says in line 5.

focusing his repair clearly on the formulation of the place reference initiated by Isakh's *pá*. Peny does this repair *not* by asking a wh-question, which he could do – something like ‘where’s the garden?’ or ‘which garden?’ – but instead by offering a candidate formulation – *numdawe-o slapin anto* ... produced with a rising question intonation, as well as the turn-final *anto* ‘or’. This is responded to by Isakh in line 25 with another formulation (*me-we-o mde-mda-o::* with a head point), this one even more vague than Peny’s candidate formulation in line 23. Peny again offers a candidate formulation in line 26 (*saika?* – a place name), which is replaced finally by Isakh’s formulation in line 27 (*pungka gilomang gitapa* – a place name, *pungka gilomang* – ‘ax hill’, plus a landscape feature *gi-tapa* ‘its side’). Peny then produces an almost identical formulation in line 28, overlapping with Isakh’s formulation in line 27. Peny again treats this as a candidate formulation, with a rising/question intonation and the recognitional deictic particle *ánu*. Isakh finally confirms this in line 30, followed by a change-of-state, sequence-closing third ‘oh’ from Peny in line 31.

The key question here is why does Peny formulate the location of the ‘garden’, initially referred to by Isakh in lines 20 and 22, the way he does? And furthermore, what explains the form of Isakh’s responses in line 25 and 27? Let us first focus on Peny’s repair-initiation in line 23 before looking at Isakh’s response.

The construction of Peny’s turn in line 23 works to shift the focus of the sequence from Isakh’s complaint to the location of his garden, by targeting the location in his repair through the candidate formulation format and *not* responding in any other way to Isakh’s complaint. While such an interruption of the progressivity of the interaction would normally not be tolerated, Peny appears quite focused here on doing just that. It is possible that this is due to the delicate nature

of his position, being the person responsible for the insufficient amount of betel nut which Isakh has just complained about.

Epistemic issues play an important role in this work. Since the garden referred to is where Isakh is currently staying, we can assume he has direct experience and knowledge of its location, giving him a relatively higher status than Peny. Peny, on the other hand, has relatively lower epistemic access to knowledge of Isakh's garden, although as a life-long resident of Lantoka and a member of Isakh's extended family, he does have access to knowledge of the general village layout and the potential location of Isakh's garden. While Peny could have formulated his repair in line 23 as a where-question, he instead uses the candidate formulation strategy. I argue that he does this to display higher epistemic stance, despite the lower status he is treated as having by Isakh. By displaying a higher stance, he is able to effectively re-focus the interaction on formulating the location of the garden. If he had formulated his repair as a where-question, it is possible that Isakh would have responded in one turn and then returned to his complaint. Instead, the format of Peny's repair indicates that he knows something about the location of Isakh's garden, but not enough to formulate it himself – note especially his use of turn-final *anto* 'or', which Drake (2015) describes as an "epistemic downgrade" – and thus makes relevant a subsequent reformulation by Isakh. Peny's formulation effectively allows for an expansion of the sequence which otherwise would have possibly ended with a more preferred response to Isakh's complaint.

In line 25, Isakh does reformulate the location of his garden, but in a peculiar way. Isakh's formulation in line 25 provides little information that Peny might use to identify the intended referent. Specifically, he does a very brief head point, to which Peny fails to attend. Furthermore, he uses two rare elevational constructions that are composed of antonymous

elevational verbs *me-we* and *mde-mda*. The particle *o* is attached to both elevationals, indicating that Isakh is perhaps still searching for an adequate formulation, or possibly that a more precise formulation is unnecessary (since he would like to return to his complaint!). Thus, Isakh's formulation of the garden's location in line 25 is possibly related to his attempt to dismiss Peny's repair and preoccupation with formulation the location of his garden. Unfortunately for Isakh, Peny offers yet another candidate formulation in 26, using a place name *Saika*. However, he quickly cuts this off and makes a manual point in the direction of the intended location, as he produces the *eh o::* part of his turn, indicating that he is continuing to search for an adequate formulation of the garden's location. This formulation helps to maintain Peny's delicate position as having less epistemic access than Isakh, but claiming to have perhaps more than Isakh treats him as having.

Finally, as Isakh responds to Peny's second candidate reformulation in lines 26-27, Peny very quickly begins his own reformulation, mirroring the format of Isakh's and overlapping with him significantly (line 28). As such, Peny maintains his epistemic stance of greater access to the very end, until he receives confirmation (*yáwa*) of his proposed formulation in line 28. This provides Peny the opportunity to close the sequence with a change-of-state marker, *ō* 'oh' in line 31. At this point, significantly removed from Isakh's initial complaint formulation back in line 20, Peny's repeated reformulations, accomplished through repeated claims of a higher epistemic status, have effectively derailed the initial course of action and provided Peny with an interactional 'out' to avoid responsibility for his role in Isakh's complaint.

This analysis has shown that location formulations can do more than simply referring. By providing an opportunity for sequence expansion, Peny's initial repair of Isakh's formulation works to derail the action underway – Isakh's complaint. Additionally, I have shown how

epistemic issues, specifically the epistemic incongruence here between Peny's status as treated by Isakh and the epistemic stance displayed in his repeated repair initiations, influence the linguistic practices used for formulating reference to the location.

4.4.4.2 Displaying and responding to epistemic incongruence

In this section I examine an additional case in which an epistemic asymmetry again plays a central role in the formulation of the location of a garden. Participants display a range of epistemic statuses, depending on their interactional goals. In this excerpt, taken from the same recording as excerpts (40) and (42), Isakh has initiated a new sequence by asking a question about another nearby garden. Isakh's question is formulated as a question about *who* the garden belongs to, rather than *where* the garden is. The location of the garden is implicit in Isakh's question, formulated as *gang kda numdawe* 'just nearby up over there'. However, there is some confusion about which garden Isakh has referred to, as there are several gardens nearby. This leads to repair and reformulation of the location of the garden Isakh first asks about and, eventually, formulation of the location of another garden in the same vicinity. Crucially, the way Isakh, Matilda, and Peny each talk about these places depends on their claimed epistemic status as displayed in the construction of each turn.

Excerpt (43)

nw-tpg-20120605-03 [18:00.000-18:49.500]

1	Isakh	welmus-o	(.6)	wing	ape-o	itáng	walaka
		W.		FOC	FIN.make-?	vegetable	plants?
		gang kda	duk-ng		nu-mda-we-o		
		side just	stand-REL		LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL-?		

- 2 'Is it Welmus who made a garden that's (standing) on the side just up over there?'
(1.0)
- 3 Mat nu-mda-we to midíng gi (guna)
LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL also plant PRES
'Up over there is already planted, too, then?'
- 4 (.8)
- 5 Isakh hee
'Yeah, of course.'
- 6 (.8)
- 7 Mat: angó yi-kaku wisal wina (.8) wi katarina
DIST 2POSS-younger.siblingW. hold W. K.
'That's your sister, Wisal holds (it), Wi-Katarina'
- 8 (.4)
- 9 Isakh: eh↑
'hey/oh!'
- 10 Mat: a:: (.) male-sal gi-ayoya
INTERJ M. 3POSS-FIN.wife
'Yeah, Malesal's wife'
- 11 (1.0)
- 12 Isakh: mm[m!
INTERJ
'mhm!'
- 13 Mat: [wa etaya (.) ang anáku wing ape ji tenu=
W. DIST 3DUAL FOC make go.LOW PFV
'Wa-Etaya, that the two of them made (going down) already'
- 14 Peny: =[te? nungal kda ()]
QP which.direction just
Huh? Where's that?
- 15 Isakh: =[a::: []
'ooooh'
- 16 Mat: [nu-mda-we-o] dák awa
LOC-go.HIGH-go.LEVEL ditch side
[míya
be.located
'up over there, next to the ditch.'
- 17 Peny: [o::: [()]
'oh'
- 18 Isakh: [itra [duka] gana bak o:]
bambu stand TOP large.container
'(Where) the bambu is (standing), that water container ...'
- 19 Mat: [kakak- bapak welmus gi:-]
older.sibling father(Ind) W. 3POSS-
'Welmus's, uh...'
- 20 (.3)
- 21 Isakh: bak o: -

- large.container
'The container, uh ...'
- 22 Mat: gi-kib ()-
3POSS-?
'His ...'
- 23 Isakh **ja bak (muda/dida) mdawe ()**
water large.container(go.HIGH/line.up) go.HIGH-go.LEVEL
'The water container(s) lined up over that way'
- 24 Mat hm
'oh'
- 25 (.2)
- 26 Peny: hmmm
'oh'
- 27 Isakh: ngan nga=s iníng ngkuya eh welmus to (.8)
1NOM 1NOM=TOP PROX.like 1EXCL.I-stay INTERJ W. also
[coughs] lal(u) maria [gun nta
L. EVID or
'I'm staying here like ('thinking'), eh, Welmus also ... Lalu Maria, or?
- 28 Mat: [nanu an=s ang
NEG DIST=TOP DIST
ní-si-de-o atámp-e ogo
LOC-come.LOW-come.HIGH-? level.land ?
'No, that's down over here, (on) this level ground'
- 29 (.4)
- 30 Peny: hmm
- 31 Mat: **bob- biya** miya ang ga-wing apeya
age/pen be.located DIST 3-FOC FIN.make
'(by) the pig pen, that's what she's doing' (i.e. the garden she made)
- 32 (.4)
- 33 Peny: mmmm
'Ohhhh.'
- 34 Mat: amp **iníng wemda got palak-ng** gi=s ango (.3)
but PROX.like go.LEVEL-go.HIGH ditch next.to? DIST

yi-kaku wa eta miungo (.4) wi katarina anaku
2POSS-younger.siblingW. with W. 3DUAL
'But up over this way, next to the ditch, that's your younger sister Wa-Eta, along
with Wi-Katarina, the two of them ...'
- 35 Isakh: oooh
- 36 Peny?: mmmm
DIST.like
'like that?'

It is useful to divide this excerpt into three parts: lines 1-13, lines 14-17, and lines 18-36. In the first part (1-13), Isakh formulates the location of one of the gardens in a question about who owns it in line 1 – the garden is formulated as *itáng walaka gang kda duk ng numdawe-o* ‘the vegetables standing just nearby up over there ...’ This formulation is relatively vague, relying primarily on the elevational *numdawe* ‘up over there’ and a brief head point (see accompanying video). By producing the initial formulation of the garden’s location, Isakh claims some familiarity with the garden’s location, but remains in a lower epistemic status due to the action of his turn as a request for confirmation. Recall that Isakh has walked by these gardens on his way to the house (and see him reference this again in line 27). This does give Isakh some direct visual experience with the location of the garden, but he has lower epistemic access to knowledge of the owners of these gardens. Matilda, on the other hand, living in that house, has the highest epistemic authority among the three participants, based both on direct access through living there and status-based authority as having greater knowledge of her own home area. Given her relatively higher epistemic authority, Matilda then is in a position to question Isakh’s initial formulation, which she does in line 3 through a repair of the location formulation from Isakh’s turn in line 1. Given her high epistemic access, she is able to keep the formulation vague, using again only an elevational with a brief head point to formulate the location. Lines 7-13 then consist of Matilda’s correction of Isakh’s person reference – it is not Welmus’ garden, but rather a garden belonging to two women, Katarina (Malesal’s wife) and Etaya.

Now consider the next sequence in lines 14-17, which differs significantly from both the location formulations in the first part of this excerpt (lines 1-13), as well as Isakh’s formulations in response to Peny’s repair of Isakh’s formulation of his own garden’s location from excerpt (42) above. While in excerpt (42), Peny’s first repair was initiated by means of a candidate

formulation, indexing his claim to a relatively higher epistemic status, perhaps equal to Isakh's, in the case below, Peny's repair of the location formulation comes in the form of a where question, indexing his relatively lower epistemic status and making no claims to higher access or authority. In response to this type of repair initiation, Matilda reformulates the location as *numdawe-o dák awa mīya* 'up over there, next to the ditch.'

The crucial question, of course, is how does Matilda's formulation in line 16 differ from (1) her formulation in line 3 and (2) Isakh's formulation in line 25 of excerpt (42), which came in response to Peny's candidate formulation repair. As we see in line 16, Matilda produces a reformulation that is uniquely designed for an Peny as a participant of relatively lower epistemic status, but who has enough epistemic access to knowledge of the area where the garden is that Matilda can use a landmark like *dák* 'ditch' to formulate the location of Katarina and Etaya's garden. Recall that Peny has just returned from that area, where he went to pick betel nut. Peny registers understanding of Matilda's formulation in line 17 with an extended *o:::*.

Finally, we can consider lines 18-36. Here we see Isakh also reformulating the location of the garden, reasserting his own epistemic authority. Much of this is in overlap with Matilda, as inspection of the video shows that she is still facing Peny. Matilda's turns in line 18 and 22 are addressed to Peny, with her head turned directly facing him (see figure 91).



Figure 91

Thus, an additional interactional reason for Isakh's repeated reformulations in lines 18, 21, and 23. He produces these in increments, with multiple hitches and restarts, in an attempt to attract the gaze and reciprocity of Matilda. It is not until just before his longer formulation in line 23. Thus, two main factors affect Isakh's formulation of the garden's location: (1) his epistemic authority and his claim to higher epistemic authority than he is granted; and (2) his attempt to attract the attention (i.e. eye gaze) of his interlocutors.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have aimed to develop a number of principles underlying speakers' selection among the available grammatical practices for formulating reference to places in Kula conversation. I have focused on the use of place names, elevationals, landmarks, and manual vs. non-manual points. To understand how speakers make these selections, I considered four principles and argued that each has an effect on speakers' selection.

First, speakers refer to places to either locate another entity or to formulate the setting of an upcoming story or extended telling. The practices observed in each case are different. When formulating the setting for an extended telling, speakers typically use place names, which refer to a relatively large geographic area (compared to more specific location formulations). Furthermore, once a speaker has successfully formulated the setting, the formulations are treated as unproblematic by the recipients. The way speakers produce these formulations indicates that their primary function is to introduce an extended telling, not to identify the location of some other entity. When formulating the location of some other entity, speakers less commonly use place names, preferring more specific formulations involving landmarks. These landmarks pick

out a much more specific location than a place name can, thus better serving the function of locating another person or object.

Second, participants are shown to treat named and unnamed places differently. When referring to named places in the local environment, place names are a preferred solution, uniquely able to satisfy the general conversational preferences for economy/minimization and recognition. Occasionally, named places are introduced with an elevational and pointing gesture. These more elaborate formulations of reference to named places occurs in cases of potential failure of recognition on the part of the recipient. For example, in excerpt 30, speaker B uses a place name and a B-point to ‘correct’ speaker A’s vague formulation deemed incorrect. Thus, as in reference to (named) persons, minimization can be relaxed in pursuit of recognition. However, these preferences are irrelevant when referring to unnamed places, given the problem that participants cannot be assumed to share knowledge of the intended referent. This presents a special problem for referring to places in conversation, particularly since unnamed places represent a significant portion of places referred to.

When referring to unnamed places, in many cases the exact location of the referent is not crucial for the action underway. In these cases, relatively vague formulations, e.g. with an elevational only or even an adverbial demonstrative like *ingu* ‘here’ is sufficient to achieve recognitional reference. In other cases, the precise location of the intended unnamed referent is crucial to the action underway, for example requesting help in doing something in the place referred to (e.g. Edu’s request for help rebuilding the house in excerpt 34). In these cases, we still do not usually see place names, instead finding frequent use of landmarks, which uniquely identify a location. Crucially, speakers must select landmarks that their recipients can be reasonably assumed to know about.

Finally, I have argued that in formulating reference to unnamed places, the types of practices observed depend crucially on two additional factors: relative epistemic status of the speaker and recipient(s), as well as the type of activity or action currently underway.

Furthermore, epistemic status may conflict with a speakers displayed epistemic stance. In these cases, complex cases of epistemic incongruence (Hayano 2013) lead to extended sequences, interrupting progressivity of the talk and derailing the main action of the sequence.

These are not necessarily the only principles relevant for the achievement of reference to places in conversation. What I have aimed to do here is sketch an initial approach to the analysis of place reference in conversation. Given the inapplicability of many of the principles established for other domains of reference (e.g. person reference), we are faced with a particular challenge in identifying the principles underlying place reference.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of findings

This dissertation represents the culmination of an ambitiously conceived project focused on the documentation and description of language and social interaction in an endangered language community. The project had two primary goals:

- 1) Describe the basic grammatical practices in Kula from the perspective of everyday interaction.
- 2) Identify the principles underlying place reference in conversation, using a collection of instances of reference to place in Kula conversation as a case study.

The first goal was founded on the hypothesis that an accurate and comprehensive description of the grammar of any language must integrate data from everyday interaction and analyze those data using methods attuned to the sequential nature of social interaction. While some preliminary work on particular grammatical topics has argued that interactional data and analyses are essential to understanding not only how grammatical forms are used but even what they encode semantically (Enfield 2003, Gipper 2011), the question of how important interactional data and methods are for a description of less interactionally-sensitive areas of grammar remains open. While the meanings of deictic and context-dependent forms such as demonstratives and evidentials can be expected to rely on aspects of social interaction, that is less clear for other grammatical phenomena such as, say, nominal possessor marking or aspectual marking. The study of the relationship between these other areas of grammar and social interaction is still in its

infancy, making a project describing an entirely undocumented language from an interactional perspective probably impossible at our current state of knowledge.

For this reason, what is reported here is instead a two-part study. On the one hand, a grammatical description, based on both interactional and non-interactional data, uses traditional descriptive linguistics techniques of grammatical analysis to describe the broad outlines of the grammar of Kula. The grammatical description covered phonology, basic clausal syntax, structure of the noun phrase, verbal pronominal prefixes, applicatives, aspect marking, and serial verb constructions, among other topics. I situated the grammar of Kula in the larger context of Alor-Pantar languages and, more specifically, the closely related languages of eastern Alor, Sawila and Wersing.

Compared with its close relatives, Kula differs in several important ways. First, an historical vowel length distinction is apparently being lost in Kula, resulting in an intermediate system with only two length contrasts, for /a/ and /i/, in which the shorter vowels differ in quality as well as length with their longer counterparts. A number of marginal consonant phonemes also point to a system in the midst of some changes. Other typologically notable features of Kula include an alienable/inalienable contrast in nominal possessor marking, multiple sets of verbal pronominal prefixes and independent pronouns, and an atypical ‘inverse’ prefix used for marking highly animate P arguments. A complex set of demonstratives defies straightforward description and requires further research. Unlike its neighbors, Kula has also elaborated a set of non-verbal elevational derived from the set of six elevational deictic motion verbs. These non-verbal elevationals are of particular interest for the second part of the study – the analysis of place reference in everyday conversation.

In chapters 3 and 4, I presented an analysis of place reference in everyday conversation, the most significant contribution of this study. The analysis took a second type of interactional approach which integrates sequential analysis into the description of grammatical resources as they are deployed in interaction. The method of sequential analysis, developed in the fields of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, is able to show why particular practices occur at particular moments in interaction. It does this by focusing on the social actions embodied in speakers' turns at talk and showing how speakers formulate their turns carefully in response to the immediately talk.

This type of sequential interactional analysis also allows us to take an alternative approach to accounting for grammatical forms. Rather than beginning with previously identified grammatical forms from an interactional perspective to determine how those forms are used in interaction, the approach taken in the chapters 3 and 4 instead began with a persistent problem of social interaction – how do speakers refer to places? I used interactional data and methods to first describe the range of grammatical practices identifiable in a collection of cases of reference to places, broadly defined (chapter 3) and then to analyze the distribution of these practices in actual fragments of conversation by identifying the principles that underlie participants' selection of a particular formulation at a given point in the ongoing interaction.

In chapter 3, the description of grammatical practices for referring to place revealed two important facts. First, Kula speakers make extensive use of the paradigm of non-verbal elevationals in referring to places in conversation. While it is tempting to tie this fact somehow to the mountainous environment of Kula speakers, this raises the question of how place reference is accomplished in closely related languages spoken in the same or similar environments in Alor, but which lack the elaborate set of elevationals present in Kula. This will require comparative

study of place reference in other languages in the family. Second, this description revealed the fact that speakers use a strategy which would otherwise not be captured in the description of a language's 'grammar of space' – specifically, what I call 'landmarks' – in referring to places. Landmarks are any entity, typically some object, but could be a person or animal, that is located in the vicinity of the intended place referent. These landmarks are often mentioned when formulating reference to a place that is more difficult to identify (e.g. an 'unnamed' place) and when its identification is necessary for the task-at-hand.

This last point brings us to the analysis of place reference in conversation presented in chapter 4. In this chapter, I accounted for the distribution of ways of formulating places in Kula conversation by identifying a set of principles underlying speakers' selection. These principles include what is actually being referred to, e.g. a 'setting' or 'location', as well as whether the place referred to is a 'named' or 'unnamed' place. This second principle, the named vs. unnamed contrast, is related to a fundamental difference between place as a domain of reference and other ontological domains – e.g. persons. Places are less individuated than persons and generally only come into being as places, human categorizations of space, when they are referred to in interaction. This is particularly true for unnamed places, but arguably the case for named places as well. Due to this feature of place, speakers often do not have names at the ready to refer to places in conversation. Furthermore, in many cases there is an asymmetry of knowledge of the intended referent between the initial speaker and recipient(s) of the reference.

Finally, this last point is central to the organization of reference to places in interaction – specifically, many of the places referred to are not commonly known places or even places that have ever been referred to or will ever be referred to again. That is, the places referred to in conversation often serve a purpose only in that particular interaction (e.g. Matilda's referring to

the location of a certain betel nut tree in chapter 4). In chapter 4, I argued that relative epistemic asymmetries may lead speakers to formulate their references to places in particular ways. For example, if a recipient is treated as having relatively lower epistemic status, the speaker might formulate her reference using a landmark, which can increase the likelihood that the recipient will recognize the referent. When epistemic status is equal and both speaker and recipient share knowledge of the referent, however, we see less elaborate formulations – e.g. simply a place name or an elevational.

Finally, an additional factor interacts with the role of epistemic asymmetries in the organization of preferences for referring to places in Kula – the type of activity or action currently underway in the interaction. For example, when Matilda provides directions to her intended referent – a particular betel nut tree – she uses a combination of elevational motion verbs and landmarks, which are uniquely suited to directing Peny (who has no knowledge of the location of the trees) to the correct location. On the other hand, when Peny pursues reference to a place that Isakh treats as unimportant for his current action (complaining), we see a different set of practices. In that case, Peny used place names and non-verbal elevationals to claim higher epistemic stance than he was treated as having. Isakh, on the other hand, continue to treat the reference as unimportant to his project of complaining. Eventually, however, Peny's pursuit of the reference led Isakh to reformulating his reference in a more recognitional way, effectively derailing his complaint and closing off the sequence. In both cases, the formulation of reference is fit precisely to the action underway.

More generally, this study has shown that much more work is needed on the domain of place reference. Since most existing published work on reference in conversation has focused on reference to persons, we are currently ill equipped to analyze reference to other ontological

domains. As argued throughout this dissertation, the domain of place differs in several fundamental ways from person and other ontological domains. These differences necessitate a revised approach to understand what principles underlie speakers' choice of referential formulation. I have here outlined one possible set of factors. Further research will no doubt reveal other factors and help determine which of these might be part of a system for referring to places in interaction that is relevant across all languages and cultures.

5.2 Limitations

Due to the exploratory nature of this project, there are some limitations to the types of claims I have made. In this section I note four such limitations, each of which points to possible future directions for research on the topic of (place) reference in interaction.

First, due to the approach taken and time limitations, I have not offered a complete Kula 'grammar of space', nor have I examined carefully the ethnophysioecography of Kula landscape terminology. These both would provide additional knowledge of the practices involved in referring to place in Kula and would make for a richer study.

Second, the analysis of pointing presented here is somewhat preliminary. The biggest open question on this topic concerns the frequent use of non-manual gestures and how this relates to Enfield et al. (2007)'s distinction between B-points and S-points.

Third, the principles presented in chapter 4 are just one way of understanding place reference in conversation. It is likely possible that a) some of these principles do not apply in other languages, and b) other principles also are relevant for Kula speakers' formulation of place reference. The only way to determine this will be further comparative cross-linguistic work on place reference in conversation.

Lastly, due to the unique aspects of place as a domain of reference, I was unable to apply the principles of reference developed through the study of reference to persons in interaction. This leaves open the question of how the system for reference to persons relates to the system for reference to places and what general principles we might be able to determine underlie reference to all ontological domains. One way of approaching this issue would be to limit the types of place reference to named places. In this way, we might be able to make comparisons between reference to persons and place. Since all persons have names, and we have generally been interested in reference to persons among social intimates who share knowledge of those persons' names, limiting the analysis to reference to named places that all participants can be assumed to know might provide a useful point of comparison. One recent study that takes this approach is Blythe (2016).

5.3 Future research

This study has raised some important considerations for the study of a) Alor-Pantar languages, b) the use of the typologically unusual elevational system, c) the organization of reference in conversation, and d) the relationship between grammatical practices and social interaction more generally. Future research on these topics might proceed in a number of ways.

- 1) More in depth work on the grammar of Kula and comparative work on grammars of the Alor-Pantar languages – many issues in the grammar of Kula remain underexplored and unanswered
- 2) Comparative work on the 'grammar of space', ethnophysiogeography, elevational systems across Alor-Pantar languages

- 3) Comparative work on place reference in conversation in other Alor-Pantar languages
– this would help uncover what practices speakers of other languages use in lieu of the elaborate system of elevationals present in Kula
- 4) More work on pointing in Kula as well as other Alor-Pantar languages
- 5) Comparative studies of place reference in other languages (some work is in progress, see San Roque 2016, Blythe 2016, Sicoli 2016)

Much work remains to be done to sort out this thorny area of language and social interaction. I hope to have begun a conversation by exploring a range of issues in the organization of reference to place in one language with elaborate grammatical resources for the task.

References

- Amiridze, N., Davis, B. H., & MacLagan, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Fillers, pauses and placeholders* (Vol. 93). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Anderson, S. R., & Keenan, E. L. (1985). Deixis. *Language typology and syntactic description*, 3, 259-308.
- Baird, L. (2008). *A grammar of Klon: a non-Austronesian language of Alor, Indonesia* (Vol. 596). Pacific Linguistics.
- Blythe, J., Mardigan, K. C., Perdjert, M. E., & Stoakes, H. (2016). Pointing out directions in Murrinhpatha. *Open Linguistics*, 2(1), 132-159.
- Blythe, J. (2009). Doing referring in Murriny Patha conversation.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1993). "Uphill" and "downhill" in Tzeltal. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 3(1), 46-74.
- Diessel, H. (1999). *Demonstratives: form, function and grammaticalization* (Vol. 42). John Benjamins Publishing.se
- Dingemanse, M., & Enfield, N. J. (2015). Other-initiated repair across languages: towards a typology of conversational structures. *Open Linguistics*, 1(1).
- Dixon, R.M.W. (2003). Demonstratives: A cross-linguistic typology. *Studies in Language* 27. 62–112.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2010a). *Basic linguistic theory: Methodology* (Vol. 1). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2010b). *Basic linguistic theory: Grammatical topics* (Vol. 2). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Donohue, M. (1996). Inverse in Tanglapui. *Language and linguistics in Melanesia*, 27(2), 101-118.
- Drake, V. (2015). Indexing Uncertainty: The Case of Turn-Final Or. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 48(3), 301-318.
- Du Bois, Cora (1944). The People of Alor, with analysis by A. Kardiner and Emil.
- Enfield, N. J. (2003). Demonstratives in space and interaction: Data from Lao speakers and implications for semantic analysis. *Language*, 82-117.

- Enfield, N. J. (2007). Meanings of the unmarked: How 'default' person reference does more than just refer. In *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural, and social perspectives* (pp. 97-120). Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. (2013). Reference in conversation. In J. Sidnell, & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 433-454). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell
- Enfield, N. J., & Stivers, T. (Eds.). (2007). *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives* (Vol. 7). Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J., Kita, S., & De Ruiter, J. P. (2007). Primary and secondary pragmatic functions of pointing gestures. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(10), 1722-1741.
- Evans, N., & Levinson, S. C. (2009). The myth of language universals: Language diversity and its importance for cognitive science. *Behavioral and brain sciences*, 32(05), 429-448.
- Fedden, S., Brown, D., Corbett, G., Holton, G., Klammer, M., Robinson, L. C., & Schapper, A. (2013). Conditions on pronominal marking in the Alor-Pantar languages.
- Fedden, S., & Brown, D. (2014). Participant marking: Corpus study and video elicitation. *The Alor-Pantar languages*, 413.
- Fedden, S., Brown, D., Kratochvíl, F., Robinson, L. C., & Schapper, A. (2014). Variation in pronominal indexing: lexical stipulation vs. referential properties in Alor-Pantar languages. *Studies in Language*, 38(1), 44-79.
- Ford, C. E., Fox, B. A., & Thompson, S. A. (1996). Practices in the construction of turns: the TCU revisited. *Pragmatics*, 6, 3-427.
- Fox, B. A. (1987). *Discourse structure and Anaphora: Written and conversational English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, B. A. (2007). Principles shaping grammatical practices: an exploration. *Discourse Studies*, 9(3), 299-318.
- Gipper, S. (2011). Evidentiality and intersubjectivity in Yurakaré: An interactional account.
- Haan, John and Neil Johnston. n.d. "Phonology of Kula (pantai – gunung)". [Unpublished manuscript, Kupang Indonesia.]
- Hanks, W. F. (1990). *Referential practice: Language and lived space among the Maya*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hanks, W. F. (1992). 2 The indexical ground of deictic reference. *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*, (11), 43.

- Hanks, W. (2005). Explorations in the Deictic Field¹. *Current Anthropology*, 46(2), 191-220.
- Hanks, W. F. (2007). Person reference in Yucatec Maya conversation. *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives*.
- Haviland, J. B. (2005). Commentary on Hanks, W. (2005). Explorations in the Deictic Field. *Current Anthropology*, 46(2), 191-220.
- Hayano, K. (2013). *Territories of knowledge in Japanese conversation*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Heritage, J. (2007). Intersubjectivity and progressivity in person (and place) reference. *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives*, 255-280.
- Heritage, J. (2012). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 45(1), 1-29.
- Heritage, J. (2013). Epistemics in conversation. *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 370-394.
- Holton, G. (2010). Person-marking, verb classes, and the notion of grammatical alignment in Western Pantar (Lamma).
- Holton, G. (2011). Landscape in Western Pantar, a Papuan outlier of southern Indonesia. *Landscape in language*, 143-166.
- Holton, G., & Koly, M. L. (2008). Kamus pengantar Bahasa Pantar Barat (Companion dictionary of Western Pantar). *Kupang, Indonesia: UBB-GMIT*.
- Holton, G., & Robinson, L. C. (2014). The internal history of the Alor-Pantar language family. *The Alor-Pantar languages: History and typology*, 55-97.
- Holton, G., Klammer, M., Kratochvíl, F., Robinson, L. C., & Schapper, A. (2012). The historical relations of the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 51(1), 86-122.
- Johnston, Neil. n.d. "Kula: lexicon and texts". [Unpublished Toolbox, SIL International, Indonesian Branch.]
- Kita, S. (Ed.). (2003). *Pointing: Where language, culture, and cognition meet*. Psychology Press.
- Kitzinger, C., Lerner, G. H., Zinken, J., Wilkinson, S., Kevoe-Feldman, H., & Ellis, S. (2013). Reformulating place. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 55, 43-50.
- Klammer, M. A. F. (2010). *A grammar of Teiwa* (Vol. 49). Walter de Gruyter.
- Klammer, M. (2014). The history of numeral classifiers in Teiwa (Papuan). *Number: constructions and semantics. Case studies from Africa, India, Amazonia & Oceania*, 135-166.

- Klamer, M. (2014). The Alor-Pantar languages: Linguistic context, history and typology. *The Alor-Pantar languages: History and typology*, ed. by Marian Klamer, 5-53.
- Klamer, M., & Kratochvíl, F. The Expression of Number in languages of East Nusantara: An Overview. *Number and quantity in East Nusantara*, 1.
- Klamer, M., & Schapper, A. (2012). 'Give' Constructions in the Papuan Languages of Timor-Alor-Pantar. *Linguistic Discovery*, 10(3), 174-208.
- Klamer, M., & Sir, A. (2011). Kosakata bahasa Teiwa-Indonesia-Inggris [Teiwa-Indonesian-English word list]. *Kupang: Language and Culture Unit UBB*.
- Kratochvíl, F. (2007). *A grammar of Abui: A Papuan language of Alor* (Doctoral dissertation, External Organizations).
- Kratochvíl, F. (2011). Transitivity in Abui. *Studies in Language*, 35(3), 588-635.
- Kratochvíl, F. (2011). Discourse-structuring functions of Abui demonstratives. *Nominalization in Asian languages: Diachronic and typological perspectives*, 2, 761-792.
- Kratochvíl, F., & Delpada, B. (2008). Kamus Pengantar Bahasa Abui. *Abui-Indonesian-English dictionary*. Kupang, Indonesia: UBB-GMIT.
- Lerner, G. H., & Kitzinger, C. (2007). Introduction: person-reference in conversation analytic research. *Discourse Studies*, 9(4), 427-432.
- Levinson, S. C. (2003). *Space in language and cognition: Explorations in cognitive diversity* (Vol. 5). Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, S. C., & Wilkins, D. P. (Eds.). (2006). *Grammars of space: Explorations in cognitive diversity* (Vol. 6). Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (2007). Optimizing person reference—perspectives from usage on Rossel Island. *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural, and social perspectives*, 29-72.
- Mark, D. M. (2013). Ethnophysiogeography: Documenting categories of landscape features.
- Mark, D. M., Turk, A. G., Burenhult, N., & Stea, D. (Eds.). (2011). *Landscape in language: Transdisciplinary perspectives* (Vol. 4). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Palmer, B. (2015). Topography in language. *Language Structure and Environment: Social, cultural, and natural factors*, 6, 179.

- Robinson, L. C., & Holton, G. (2012). Reassessing the wider genetic affiliations of the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages.
- Robinson, L. C., & Holton, G. (2012). Internal classification of the Alor-Pantar language family using computational methods applied to the lexicon. *Language Dynamics and Change*, 2(2), 123-149.
- Sacks, H., & Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology*, 15-21.
- San Roque, L. (2016). 'Where'-questions and their responses in Duna (Papua New Guinea). *Open Linguistics*, 2(1), 85-104.
- San Roque, L., Gawne, L., Hoenigman, D., Miller, J. C., Rumsey, A., Spronck, S., ... & Evans, N. (2012). Getting the story straight: Language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task.
- Schapper, A. (Ed.). (2014a). *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 1: Sketch Grammars* (Vol. 644). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
- Schapper, A. (2014b). Elevation in the spatial deictic systems of Alor-Pantar languages. *The Alor-Pantar languages*, 247. Language Sciences Press.
- Schapper, A. (2014c). Kamang. *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 1: Sketch Grammars*, 644, 285.
- Schapper, A. Forthcoming. *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 2: Sketch Grammars*.
- Schapper, A., Huber, J., & van Engelenhoven, A. (2012). The historical relations of the Papuan languages of Timor and Kisar. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia*, 192-240.
- Schapper, A., & Klamer, M. (2014). Numeral systems in the Alor-Pantar languages. *The Alor-Pantar languages*, 285. Language Sciences Press.
- Schapper, A., & Manimau, M. (2011). Kamus pengantar bahasa Kamang-Indonesia-Inggris (Introductory Kamang-Indonesian-English dictionary). *Kupang: Language and Culture Unit UBB*.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1972). Notes on a conversational practice: Formulating place. *Studies in social interaction*, 75, 75-119.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996). Some practices for referring to persons in talk-in-interaction: A partial sketch of a systematics. *Typological studies in language*, 33, 437-486.

- Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 8(4), 289-327.
- Senft, G. (1997). *Referring to space: Studies in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Clarendon Press.
- Sidnell, J., & Barnes, R. (2013). Alternative, subsequent descriptions. *Conversational repair and human understanding*, 322-342.
- Stivers, T. (2007). Alternative recognitionals in person reference. In *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural, and social perspectives* (pp. 73-96). Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, T., Mondada, L., & Steensig, J. (Eds.). (2011). *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (Vol. 29). Cambridge University Press.
- Stokhof, W. A. L. (1975). *Preliminary Notes on the Alor and Pantar Languages: East Indonesia* (No. 43). Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Thompson, S. A., Fox, B. A., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2015). *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions* (Vol. 31). Cambridge University Press.