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4 Reta

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501511158-004

1 The language scene

Reta (sometimes spelled Retta, ISO 639–3 code: ret) is spoken chiefly in the south of the islets Pura (~600 speakers) and Ternate (~800 speakers), and in two small settlements on the West coast of Alor. Smaller pockets of speakers can also be found in Kalabahi, Kupang and Riau. While the total number of speakers most likely lies somewhere between 2000 and 3000 (contra estimates of around 800 by Steinhauer 2010: 12; Simons and Fennig 2017), Reta is endangered. Like most other Alor-Pantar languages, it is under serious pressure from Malay, which is used in every domain except at home. Children still learn Reta and use it amongst themselves, although they are generally more competent in Malay. Child-directed speech is also very often in Malay, further contributing to language loss.

The name *Reta* is an exonym said to be derived from the Klon phrase *let aal* 'very far'. This led to the name *Letal*, which is still the name of the anchorage at the foot of the village, and which later became Reta. Speakers themselves generally refer to the language as *pi?abaŋ hur* 'our village language'.

Almost all Reta speakers are bilingual in Malay. Steinhauer (2014: 149) reports that in the 1970s all Reta speakers on Pura were fluent in Blagar, its closest neighbor both in linguistic and geographical terms, as well. This was confirmed by my consultants, but is currently no longer the case; the advent of motorboats allowed speakers to visit mainland Alor to buy and sell goods, and they therefore no longer rely on barter with Blagar-speaking peoples. Where Reta and Blagar speakers meet (e.g. weddings or rituals), communication is often in Malay and today there are only a handful of older Reta speakers that can still speak Blagar well. Stokhof (1975: 8), based on a comparative wordlist, concludes that Reta and Blagar are dialects of the same language. I follow Steinhauer's (2010: 12) claim, however, that they are in fact different languages, based on mutual intelligibility; Reta speakers generally have passive competence in Blagar, but this is a result of prolonged exposure rather than mutual intelligibility, and Blagar speakers are almost invariably unable to understand Reta.

There are few dialectal differences in Reta. Within the Reta community on Pura, where the fieldwork for this sketch was conducted, there are no dialectal differences. Between communities there are some small phonological and lexical dissimilarities that do not impair mutual intelligibility. Reta as spoken in Wolang and Hula on the West coast of Alor is lexically and phonologically identical to the varieties spoken on Pura and Ternate, although they show some influences from Adang, Alorese and Klon in every-day speech.

Previous work on Reta is scarce, and I am only aware of the following documents. Stokhof (1975) contains a 117-item Reta word list. Robinson (2010) and Willemsen (2016, 2018) are word lists recorded in Southern Ternate, Southern Pura and Hula for Kaiping, Edwards and Klamer's (2019) LexiRumah project. Willemsen and Hjorth Miltersen (forthcoming) contains a description of Reta phonaesthemic alternations, and Willemsen and Brink Siem (submitted) contains a description of Reta phonology.

The data for this sketch were mainly collected in Pura Selatan (Southern Pura), and were gathered by means of regular elicitation, and by recording and transcribing stories and other forms of spontaneous speech. Various occasional consultants, all born on either Pura or Ternate, assisted in providing data and helping with transcriptions. The majority of work was done with a single consultant called Paulus Hinadonu, with whom I conducted some 250 hours of elicitation in total. The corpus, which is based on around 2 hours of recordings, consisted of 12,239 words worth of running speech, and a lexicon of around 2,300 words at the time of writing. A full descriptive grammar and a dictionary of Reta are currently in progress.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

With 16 consonants Reta has a somewhat large consonant inventory in the context of the family, especially compared to most Alor languages.[1] Table 1 below displays its consonant inventory. Orthographic symbols as used in other sections are in angled brackets.

Voiceless plosives are not aspirated, and voice onset time is close to zero. All plosives, as well as the implosive /ɓ/ and the affricates /b͡v/ and /d͡ʒ/, can occur in initial and medial position. All except /ʔ b͡v d͡ʒ/ occur in final position. Minimal pairs between (im)plosives and affricates are given in (1).

1 Like Blagar (Steinhauer 2014: 152), Reta also has a very marginal palatal approximant [j] occurring in words like /jɔ/ 'yes' and a number of proper nouns. Outside of these, however, it may be emphatically realized as [i] and is therefore analyzed as a glided vowel here (see section 2.2.2).

Table 1: Reta consonant phonemes.

	Labial		Alveolar		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	d	k	g	ʔ
Implosive		ɓ					
Affricate	b͡v <v>		d͡ʒ <j>				
Fricative			s				h
Nasal		m		n			
Trill				r			
Lateral				l			

(1) /tɛl/ 'finger' ≠ /dɛl/ 'stiff' ≠ /d͡ʒɛl/ 'point in time' ≠ /b͡vɛl/ 'leaf' ≠ /pɛl/ 'scorpion'
/ʔɑn/ 'NPROX' ≠ /ɑn/ '2SG.NOM' ≠ /gɑn/ '3SG.NOM'
/ba:l/ 'ball' ≠ /ɓa:l/ 'big' ≠ /b͡va:l/ 'child'
/pin/ '1PL.INCL' ≠ /ɓin/ 'seed' ≠ /gin/ '3PL' ≠ /kin/ 'mosquito' ≠ /d͡ʒin/ 'genie'
/to:/ 'coconut shell' ≠ /do:/ 'PROSP' ≠ /bo:/ 'want, say' ≠ /go:/ '(get) hit'

The alveolar fricative /s/ is somewhat rare, as it mainly, if not exclusively, occurs in non-native vocabulary. It may occur in initial, medial and final position. The glottal fricative /h/, which is very common, is restricted to initial and medial position. Minimal pairs between /s/ and /h/, as well as other modes of articulation, are given in (2).

(2) /sɔlɑ/ 'slither' ≠ /hɔlɑ/ 'winnow'
/si/ 'snail' ≠ /hi/ 'DEONT'
/sɛn/ 'finished' ≠ /tɛn/ 'RECP'
/sɑu/ 'k.o. bamboo glass' ≠ /d͡ʒɑu/ 'mushroom sp.'
/kɑsi/ 'papaya' ≠ /ka:hi/ 'split, slice, section'

Words that do not have an onset are realized phonetically with slight word-initial aspiration, e.g. /ɑlɔ/ [ʰɑlɔ] 'two', which contrasts with phonemic /h/. Word-initial /h/ also contrasts with /ʔ/. Minimal pairs are given in (3).

(3) /hi/ 'DEONT' ≠ /ʔi/ 'go down'
/a:hi/[ʰa:hi] 'fruit' ≠ /ha:hi/ 'rough, coarse'

The nasals /m/ and /n/ are realized as [ŋ] in final position. Evidence for either /m/ or /n/ as an underlying form for [ŋ] is generally lacking, and final nasals are

phonemically represented as /n/ for convenience. Word-finally, /n/ is always realized as [ŋ], but in syllable-final position, when followed by an obstruent, it may assimilate with it. This is often the case in loanwords, which tend to be marked by insertion of a nasal that may then assimilate to a succeeding bilabial or alveolar plosive, as shown in (4). Minimal pairs between /m/ and /n/ in initial position are given in (5).

(4) /dɑnpur/ > [dɑmpur ~ dɑŋpur] 'kitchen' (< Mly. *dapur* 'kitchen')
/sɑrintɑ/ > [sɑrintɑ ~ sɑriŋtɑ] 'story' (< Mly. *cerita* 'story')

(5) /nɑn/ [nɑŋ] '1SG.NOM' ≠ /mɑn/ [mɑŋ] 'just, only'
/nɛn/ [nɛŋ] '1SG.ACC ≠ /mɛn/ [mɛŋ] 'thatch, reed'

The liquids /r/ and /l/ display two types of contrast. Firstly, there is regular phonemic contrast as between any two phonemes, as in (6).

(6) /bulɑn/ 'suture, stitch' ≠ /burɑn/ 'sky'
/hul/ 'color' ≠ /hur/ 'language'

Secondly, there is an interesting sound-symbolic type of contrast in which a word containing /r/ is phonaesthemically derived from a word with /l/, and sees an increase in vulgarity, severity, force of action, or size (7). It is likely that this contrast is ultimately a result of borrowing from Blagar: /r/ is rare in native Reta vocabulary, and many occurrences are loans from either Blagar or Malay. Further, many instances of /r/ in Blagar words correspond to /l/ in Reta (e.g. Bl. *jar* 'water', Rt. *jial* 'water'). This distinction is unproductive but, with over 30 attested pairs, is lexically well-preserved. This contrast is described in detail in Willemsen and Hjorth Miltersen (forthcoming).

(7) /bili/ 'pull' ≠ /biri/ 'pull hard, yank'
/bugul/ 'hole' ≠ /bugur/ 'big hole, orifice'
/ɓɛlɑ/ 'not good' ≠ /ɓɛrɑ/ 'bad, terrible'
/gɑlɑb͡vɑk/ 'break it' ≠ /gɑrɑb͡vɑk/ 'destroy it'
/hɛlɑ/ 'descend' ≠ /hɛrɑ/ 'drop down'
/-oːl/ 'penis' ≠ /-oːr/ 'cock, prick'
/-aːl/ 'vagina' ≠ /-aːr/ 'cunt'

2.2 Vowels

Reta has an eight-vowel system consisting of five cardinal short vowels and three long vowels. In addition to the three long vowels, the cardinal vowels /i ɑ u/ may be realized as geminate (double) vowels /ii ɑɑ uu/ as a result of affixation (see section 2.5.1 further below). In word-initial position, all vowels are subject to slight phonetic aspiration, e.g. /ɛn/ [^{h}ɛŋ] '2SG.ACC', which contrasts with word-initial /h/ and /ʔ/. The vowel phoneme chart is displayed in Table 2. Orthographic spellings as used in other sections are in angled brackets.

Table 2: Reta vowel phonemes.

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
HIGH-MID	e: <ee>	o: <oo>
LOW-MID	ɛ <e>	ɔ <o>
LOW	a: <aa> ɑ <a>	

2.2.1 Single vowels

Minimal pairs between the eight single vowels /i eː ɛ ɑ aː ɔ oː u/, as displayed in Table 2, are given in (8).

(8) /ʔi/ 'go down' ≠ /ʔu/ 'yield, produce' ≠ /ʔaː/ 'fathom, arm span' ≠ /ʔeː/ 'house'
/b͡vɑ/ 'go.LEVEL' ≠ /b͡vaː/ 'father' ≠ /b͡veː/ 'blood' ≠ /b͡vɛ/ 'corn husk'
/tuni/ 'cut' ≠ /toːni/ 'carry on shoulders'
/mɔn/ 'snake' ≠ /moːn/ 'jew plum'
/kɛtɑ/ 'sick' ≠ /keːtɑ/ 'defecate'
/pɑk/ 'extinguish fire' ≠ /paːk/ 'k.o. instrument to shoo boars'

The long vowels /eː oː aː/ differ from the cardinal short vowels /i ɛ ɑ ɔ u/ in both quality and length. They only occur in stressed syllables, which suggests contrastive vowel lengthening is a recent development. Since stress is otherwise regular, and not all stressed syllables contain long vowels, stress is considered non-phonemic in Reta (see section 2.4).

2.2.2 Vowel sequences and diphthongs

In addition to the eight single vowels, Reta has diphthongs and disyllabic vowel sequences (this does not include geminate vowels – these are the result of affixation and are discussed in section 2.5.1). Diphthongs are monosyllabic and are always descending and closing, e.g. [a͡u̯], whereas disyllabic sequences are always ascending and opening, e.g. [i.a]. In all attested cases, the more closed and less prominent phone of a disyllabic sequence is /i/, /ɛ/ or /u/. Furthermore, diphthongs, similarly to single long vowels such as /eː oː aː/, form a single heavy syllable and always receive stress. Disyllabic vowel sequences consist of two separate syllables, either of which can be either light or heavy.

In (9), some observed diphthongs are listed. As the phonetic renderings show, /i/ and /u/ may be realized as glides in diphthongs.

(9)	/ɑi/	–	/ʔɑi/	[ʔɑj]	‘rain’
	/ɔi/	–	/bɔin/	[bɔjŋ]	‘not enough’
	/oːi/	–	/moːin/	[moːjŋ]	‘swarm, hum, rustle’
	/ɛi/	–	/tɛi/	[tɛj]	‘stab, stick, insert, plant’
	/ɑu/	–	/sɑu/	[sɑw]	‘k.o. glass from bamboo’
	/ui/	–	/bui/	[buj]	‘female name’

In (10) below, some disyllabic vowel sequences are listed. Contrary to diphthongs, these are ascending and opening; the most frequent initial members are /i/ and /u/, and the second member is most often /ɑ/. An initial high vowel of a vowel sequence may be realized as a glide if it is unstressed, e.g. /u.eː/ [weː] ‘hello’. These glides do not form a syllable, but attach to the syllable to their right. The bottom two forms in (10) provide additional examples.[2]

(10)	/ʔɛ.ɑn/		‘wind’
	/ɑdɔ.ɑ/		‘cook food’
	/nu.ɑ/		‘good’
	/i.ɑ.kɑ/	[i.ɑ.kɑ ~ jɑ.kɑ]	‘your foot, feet’
	/u.eː/	[u.eː ~ weː]	‘hello’

2 The /i/ in /i.ɑ.kɑ/ ‘your foot, feet’ is unstressed because it is the antepenultimate syllable, and the /u/ in /u.eː/ ‘hello’ is unstressed because it occurs next to a long vowel /eː/. See section 2.4 on stress.

2.3 Phonotactics

Table 3 shows which consonants are allowed in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position, as well as in consonant clusters. It does not deal with relative frequency, but extremely marginal examples (i.e. three attestations or less over approximately 2300 lexemes) are marked with a wavy hyphen ~.

All consonants may occur initially and intervocalically. Many consonants may appear in word-final position, although for most consonants this is uncommon; /p b s r ɓ d g/ are all very rare in final position, while /t k l/ occur commonly. Both /m/ and /n/ are realized as [ŋ] in word-final and syllable-final position.[3]

Consonant clusters never occur within a syllable. Clusters across syllables occur but are almost completely restricted to combinations of a nasal and a following plosive. In such a cluster, [m] and [n] must be followed by a homorganic stop, whereas [ŋ] need not. Cross-linguistically, this is unexpected, as it is usually coronal nasals that assimilate to a following consonant, whereas dorsal and bilabial nasals usually do not (Lahiri & Reetz 2010: 53).

In many loanwords, there is a default insertion of a nasal before a stop, which may either be realized as [ŋ] or assimilate with the following plosive (11). This type of assimilation may also extend across the morpheme and word domain (12).

(11) /dɑnpur/ > [dɑmpur ~ dɑŋpur] ‘kitchen’ (< Mly. *dapur* ‘kitchen’)
/sɑrintɑ/ > [sɑrintɑ ~ sɑriŋtɑ] ‘story’ (< Mly. *cerita* ‘story’)

(12) /ɑn bɑkɛ/... [ɑmbɑkɛ ~ ɑŋbɑkɛ]
2SG.NOM DEONT
‘You should (go and) ...’

2.4 Stress

Stress is trochaic; in multi-syllabic words it falls on the penultimate syllable, as shown in (13). As I argue below, stress is not phonemic in Reta.

3 One word in the table, [ɑtiɑm] ‘fish sp.’, violates the rule that /m n/ are realized as [ŋ] in final position. Its origin is unclear, but in Blagar the cognate *itiam* also appears to be the only word with final [m] (Hein Steinhauer, pers. comm.). Speakers of Reta are unable to come up with any other [m]-final words. Another word, [ʔɑŋɑ] ‘NPROX’ appears to violate the rule that [ŋ] is restricted to final position, but is historically analyzable as consisting of a root [ʔɑŋ] and a non-proximate suffix [ɑ].

Table 3: Distribution of consonants, including [ŋ].

	#_V	V_V	V_$C	$C_V	V_#
p	√ pɛl 'scorpion'	√ ʔɑpɑl 'close'	–	√ ɑmpɔ 'forgive'	√ laːp 'stern'
b	√ bɑ 'FOC'	√ hɑbɑ 'chop'	–	√ kumbur 'grave'	√ ʔaːb 'fish'
t	√ taː 'sleep, lie'	√ ɓutɑ 'four'	–	√ sɑriŋtɑ 'story'	√ -ɑt 'buttocks'
d	√ daːŋ 'grave'	√ mɑdɑ 'come up'	–	√ ʔɑndɛ 'think'	√ mud 'food'
k	√ kɑlilɑ 'sour'	√ hɛkɛŋ 'breath'	–	√ ʔɛŋkuɑli 'lontar'	√ hɛk 'attic, ceiling'
g	√ gɑŋ '3SG.NOM'	√ bɔgɑ 'body'	–	√ riŋgi 'k.o. song'	√ gig '3PL.POSS'
ʔ	√ ʔuliŋ 'see'	√ tɛʔɔ 'tuber sp.'	–	–	–
ɓ	√ ɓiliŋ 'grow'	√ hɑɓaː 'hit'	–	–	√ hiɓ 'chicken'
ʤ	√ ʤɔɔ 'some'	√ ɑʤi 'whole'	–	~ poːhɑŋʤaːhi 'joke'	–
b͡v	√ b͡vɑtɑ 'urinate'	√ ɑb͡veː 'owl'	–	–	–
s	√ siŋ 'snot'	√ usɛr 'fast'	–	~ muŋsɑlɑ 'headband'	√ pɑrɑs 'cut'
h	√ hɑɓaː 'hit'	√ aːhi 'fruit'	–	~ hɔlɑŋhol 'tuber sp.'	–
m	√ mɔŋ 'snake'	√ bɔmɑ 'old man'	√ ɑmpɔ 'forgive'	–	~ ɑtiɑm 'fish sp.'
n	√ neː 'name'	√ gɛnɛ 'do, make'	√ hɔndɑl 'front'	–	–
[ŋ]	–	~ ʔɑŋɑ 'NPROX'	√ b͡vɑŋgɑt 'span'	–	√ sɛŋ 'finished'
r	√ raːɛ 'many'	√ biri 'pull hard'	~ kɑrboː 'buffalo'	–	√ hur 'language'
l	√ lɛtɑ 'far'	√ bili 'pull'	~ ʔɛlmɔ 'magic'	–	√ ʔil 'thing'

(13) /ˈɓi.ɓɑ/ 'red'
/ɑˈ.ɓeː.tɑl/ 'life'
/ɑ.ˈgɑ.lɑ/ 'laugh'

Enclitics and suffixes, which are all monosyllabic, form a phonological word with their host. When they attach to a multi-syllabic word, they cause the stress to shift one syllable to the right. This is shown in (14), where the enclitic *=mi* 'in, at' (see section 7.3 on *=mi*) and the denominal suffix *-i* cause a shift in stress.

Examples of stress shift caused by enclitic and suffixes

(14)	/ɑ.ʤi/	[ˈʰɑ.ʤi]	‘whole, intact’
	/ɑ.ʤi=mi/	[ʰɑ.ˈʤi.=mi]	‘everything, everyone’
	/kɑ.lɑn.bɑ.hɑ/	[kɑ.lɑm.ˈbɑ.hɑ]	‘Kalabahi’
	/kɑ.lɑn.bɑ.hɑ=.mi/	[kɑ.lɑm.bɑ.ˈhɑ.=mi]	‘in Kalabahi’
	/bu.rɑn/	[ˈbu.rɑŋ]	‘sky’
	/bu.rɑn=mi/	[bu.ˈrɑŋ=mi]	‘in the sky’
	/ɑ.bɑt/	[ˈʰɑ.bɑt]	‘wound’
	/ɑ.bɑt.-i/	[ʰɑ.ˈbɑ.t-i]	‘wounded’

Some roots diverge from the trochaic pattern and have stress on the initial or final syllable rather than the penultimate syllable. These always contain a heavy syllable, which in Reta are syllables with either diphthongs, single long vowels such as /eː oː aː/, or geminated vowels. Single short vowels do not form heavy syllables, nor do codas have any effect on syllable weight. Example (15) shows some examples of words with non-penultimate stress. As it shows, the stressed syllable contains either a single long vowel or a diphthong in every case.

(15)	/ɓɑ.ˈloːn/	‘enemy, bandit’
	/tɑ.ˈlaː/	‘bone’
	/kɑ.ˈpaːin/	‘scrutinize’
	/kɑ.ˈmɑus/	‘so-so, ordinary’

There are a number of examples which, at first glance, suggest a phonemic stress contrast, such as the two apparent minimal pairs in (16).

(16)	/ˈtɑ.lɑ/	‘with each other’	≠	/tɑ.ˈlaː/	‘bone’
	/ˈɑ.lɔ/	‘two’	≠	/ɑ.ˈloː/	‘civet cat’

Crucially, these differ in stress as well as in vowel quality. I therefore analyze stress as non-phonemic: in all instances of non-penultimate stress, i.e. in all instances where words diverge from the regular trochaic stress pattern, the syllable is heavy. Since heavy syllables always receive stress, but not all stressed syllables are heavy, it is syllable weight that causes a word to diverge from the regular stress pattern, and not the other way around.

Heavy syllables almost never occur in antepenultimate or pre-antepenultimate position in a root. They do however occur in prefixes that contain a long vowel, such as applicativizing person prefixes (see section 6.2.2) and Set III possessive prefixes (see section 4.6). This means that long prefixes receive stress alongside the final or penultimate stress found in the root. The stress in the root remains

unchanged relative to unstressed syllables, although it is then secondary to the initial stress of the prefix, as the examples in (17) show.

(17) /mɑ.ˈnaː/ ‘place’ > /ˈgeː.mɑ.ˌnaː/ ‘her/his/its place’
/ˈpu.ni/ ‘hold’ > /ˈtoː.ˌpu.ni/ ‘together’

2.5 Morpho(phono)logy

2.5.1 Geminate vowels

The geminate vowels /ii ɑɑ uu/ are sequences of two short vowels /i ɑ u/ as a result of affixation. The geminate vowel /ɑɑ/ occurs when an /ɑ/-initial root is combined with a singular possessive prefix such as /ɑ-/ ‘2SG.POSS’, and is somewhat common, whereas /ii/ and /uu/ are extremely rare. Examples of /ɑɑ/ are given below in (18).

(18) /ɑb͡veː/ ‘owl’ ≠ /ɑɑb͡veː/ ‘your owl’
/ɑbukɑ/ ‘hill’ ≠ /ɑɑbukɑ/ ‘your hill’

Geminate /uu/ occurs when the applicative /u=/ is attached to an /u/-initial root. Given the rarity of /u/-initial roots, only one such instance has been observed. As for /ii/, one occurrence is in a historical contraction of the proximal determiner /ʔɑdi/ and the proximal affix /gi/: /ʔɑdigi/ > [ʔɑdii] ‘here.VIS’. It can also occur when a plural possessive prefix is combined with an /i/-initial root, which is very rare.

(19) /ʔɑdi/ ‘PROX’ ≠ /ʔɑdii/ ‘here.VIS’
/ikɑk/ ‘rice earhead bug’ ≠ /iikɑk/ ‘your (pl.) rice earhead bug’
/unaːn/ ‘mumble’ ≠ /uunaːn/ ‘mumble about’

2.5.2 Reduplication

Reta makes extensive use of both partial and full reduplication. In full reduplication, the entire root is copied, e.g. *luaŋ* ‘long’ > *luaŋ~luaŋ* ‘very long’. In partial reduplication, only the first syllable is copied. The vowel of the reduplicant is fixed as /ɑ/, while the consonant is copied from the first consonant of the root. If the root does not have an initial consonant, the consonant succeeding the first

root vowel is copied and moves to the first syllable of the root phonetically. Partial reduplication of C-initial and V-initial roots is exemplified in (20).

(20) *luaŋ* [lu.ɑŋ] 'long' > *la~luaŋ* [lɑ.lu.ɑŋ] 'a while, quite long'
anu [ʰɑ.nu] 'one' > *an~anu* [ʰɑ.nɑ.nu] 'one by one'

Partial reduplication occurs on stative and active verbs, numerals, nouns and interrogatives. Partially reduplicated numerals acquire the distributive meaning 'in groups of NUM', as shown in (21).

(21) *nama* ***at~atoga*** *mada*
person RDP~three come.up
'They came in three at a time.'

Partial reduplication of interrogatives results in emphasis on the interrogative, as exemplified in (22). It occurs on all interrogatives (on which see section 3.6) except *getabani* 'why'.

(22) *Giŋ boola ʔaŋ se, eŋ ʔadi a-nee* ***al~alaŋ?***
3PL say NPROX when 2SG.ACC PROX 2SG.POSS.I-name RDP~who
'They said, so what is your name exactly?'

Partial reduplication of nouns is uncommon, and is generally used to denote entities associated with those denoted by the reduplicated noun, e.g. *ba~bee* RDP~pig 'kind of insect that resembles a pig when it rolls into a ball' and *va~vaŋgat* RDP~span 'kind of caterpillar that crawls in an inching, peristaltic/undulating fashion'.

Partially reduplicated stative verbs acquire a meaning along the lines of 'quite/somewhat X', as shown in (23) and (24). The use of partially reduplicated *ɓaal* 'big' in sentential context is shown in (25).

(23) *aɓar* 'hazy'
aɓ~aɓar 'quite hazy, somewhat hazy'

(24) *ɓaal* 'big'
ɓa~ɓaal 'quite big, somewhat big'

(25) *Aŋ hiɓ ɓaana ma ʔiba se hiɓ* ***ɓa~ɓaal***.
2SG.NOM chicken bring come but when chicken RDP~big
'You bring a chicken, but a fairly big one.'

Active verbs may be partially reduplicated to create aspectual distinctions. A partially reduplicated active verb often acquires an element of continuation or extension of the action, or a habitual reading. In (26) the verb *tagaaniŋ* 'ask' becomes continuative, in (27) *sariŋta* 'recount' becomes iterative as the joint action requires taking turns, and in (28) the verb *sadaha* has a habitual reading.

(26) *Nama toohiŋ raae baruati e* ***ta~tagaaniŋ*** *jia.*
person many many afraid CONJ RDP~ask placed
'Many people were afraid and were asking continuously.'

(27) *Piŋ t-ala* ***sa~sariŋta.***
1PL.INCL RECP-with RDP~recount
'We talk back and forth.'

(28) *Nama ba matul ʔaŋa u=**sa~sadaha** ɓenaŋ amina jema.*
person FOC old.woman NPROX APPL=RDP~care ANAPH die go
'The person that used to nurse that lady has already died.'

Full reduplication is less common than partial reduplication, but does occur regularly. It is found on interrogatives, nouns, and stative and active verbs.

Full reduplication occurs on all interrogatives except *adedeŋ* 'how much/many'. Such reduplicated interrogatives can indicate a strongly emphasized question (29), plurality (30) or non-specificity (31).

(29) ***Tavediŋ~tavediŋ*** *ba boma Jero ʔadiŋ mi ʔadu?*
RDP~when FOC old.man Jero PROX in arrive
'Whenever is Mr. Jeroen coming (back) here?'

(30) *Aŋ boola kabiab ɓeli se,* ***taʔaŋ~taʔaŋ*** *mamaauŋ?*
2SG.NOM want goat buy when RDP~which just
'You want to buy which goats exactly?'

(31) *ʔoli* ***neeniŋ~neeniŋ*** *ba niŋ gi-ʔe ɓaana ʔadu...*
and RDP~what FOC 1PL.EXCL PROX-be bring arrive
'And whatever we bring here...'

Stative verbs acquire a stronger, augmented meaning when fully reduplicated. The examples shown above in (23) and (24) are repeated below with full reduplication. Example (34) shows the use of the stative verb *aviŋ* 'full' in sentential context.

(32) *aɓar* ‘hazy’
aɓar~aɓar ‘all hazy, very hazy’

(33) *ɓaal* ‘big’
ɓaal~ɓaal ‘all big, very big’

(34) *Ga-boga* ***aviŋ~aviŋ*** *ɓenaŋ ʔadiŋ se hela jema.*
3SG.POSS.I-body RDP~full ANAPH PROX when descend go
‘His body which was all full has now started to dwindle.’

Full reduplication of active verbs is uncommon but appears to be productive. In most cases it results in a reading of iteration, often with consequences for the participants in an event, i.e. involving different agents or undergoers, such as *loo* ‘bark’ > *loo~loo* ‘bark repeatedly, in numbers’. Two instances of full reduplication have been observed in which the verb is interpreted as extended or continued: *miha* ‘sit’ > *miha~miha* ‘be sat, sit around’ and *lamal* ‘walk’ > *lamal~lamal* ‘take a walk, travel’, both of which appear to be Malay calques. Other instances appear to be more lexicalized, e.g. *jema* ‘go’ > *jema~jema* ‘later’, *jia* ‘placed’ > *jia~jia* ‘suddenly’.

Full reduplication of nouns signals variety and/or abundance (35). This differs from the more common collective, formed by the collective marker *gonoŋ*, in usually not denoting a specific collective of referents, but meaning something along the lines of ‘various, some, many X’. This becomes apparent in (36), where *manaa~manaa* means something like ‘all kinds of places, everywhere’.

(35) *hiɓ* ‘chicken(s)’
hiɓ gonoŋ ‘(a group of) chickens’
hiɓ~hiɓ ‘(various/some/many) chickens’

(36) *Tee haaru eretete, tibarakaŋ lila* ***manaa~manaa*** *kanap.*
tree fall fall.continuously scatter fly RDP~place whole
‘Trees will come crashing down, scattered high and low.’

Given the fact that collectives marked with *gonoŋ* denote more specific groups of referents, it is no coincidence that nominal reduplication tends to be used for inanimate referents, whereas a phrase with *gonoŋ* most often denotes a collective of people. Full nominal reduplication is outnumbered by collective marking with *gonoŋ* with a factor of around 5 in my corpus. Combinations of full nominal reduplication and *gonoŋ* are rejected in elicitation, but do occasionally occur in running speech. Collective marking is elaborated on in section 4.5.

2.5.3 Compounding

In terms of headedness, Reta has three types of compound: right-headed, left-headed and coordinating compounds. Right-headed compounds are the most common type. They include compounds based on meronymy, source and location as the examples in (37) show.

(37)	*vaani jial*	bee water	'honey'
	taaŋ ʔid	sea star	'starfish'
	-biaŋ vel	head leaf	'hair'
	valaŋda boma	white/Dutch old.man	'white/Dutch man'
	ʔabaŋ hur	village language	'village language'

Left-headed compounds are less common, and are primarily based on association or resemblance. Their most common head is *ʔil* 'thing, place, situation', although other heads occur as well (38).

(38)	*ʔil adagal*	place garden	'garden'
	ʔil moro	situation dust	'fog'
	vaar-abuka	stone hill	'boulder'
	nama hial	person woman	'woman'
	vaal amu	child man	'boy, son'

It should be noted that, although the headedness of compounds is mainly semantically determined, there is at least one morphosyntactic test distinguishing them; the head in a right-headed compound can generally take a third person singular possessive prefix, e.g. *ʔabaŋ gahur* 'the village's language'. No such possessive prefixing is allowed in left-headed compounds.

The third type, the coordinating compound, involves apposition of two roots, and denotes the sum of these roots. When they consist of two nouns, they denote two items culturally considered to form a unit. This does not appear to be restricted to fixed pairs of nouns, as two characters in a story are often expressed binomially, e.g. *Donu Malani* 'Donu and Malani'.

(39)	*ʔumat kaburit*	bow arrow	'bow and arrow'
	hial vaal	mother child	'mother and child, family'
	buraŋ palika	sky island	'heaven and earth'
	bi mat	betel.nut betel.vine	'betel nut and betel vine'

2.5.4 Suffixation

Reta has three suffixes: *-naŋ, -i* and *-a*, none of which are productive. This section briefly discusses them in turn.

The suffix *-naŋ* is a deverbalizing suffix that can have either of two forms; on roots (i) consisting of only one syllable or (ii) ending in a long vowel it is realized as *-naŋ*, and on multi-syllabic roots it is realized as *-ŋ*. Its effects are quite versatile, and I have not been able to unite these into a single function. Its most common occurrence is as a nominalizer, in which case it yields a noun denoting a specific object associated with the nominalized verb, or an abstract noun. Some examples of this are given in (40).

(40) *sudi* 'measure' > *sudi-ŋ* 'measuring device'
hika 'broken, cut off' > *hika-ŋ* 'shore, edge, something which is cut off'
amina 'die, dead' > *amina-ŋ* 'death, casualty'
keta 'sick, hurt' > *keta-ŋ* 'disease'
tula 'first' > *tula-ŋ* 'the first, at first'
mugu 'fall, fallen' > *mugu-ŋ* 'fallen goods'

When *-naŋ* is not nominalizing it yields another verb, although its semantic outcome is generally unpredictable. In all cases, it changes the verbal semantics, as in (41).

(41) *ʔadu* 'arrive' > *ʔadu-ŋ* 'land (V)'
-ola 'look for' > *ola-ŋ* 'gather, make a living'

It is also obligatorily used in certain constructions with reduplicated motion verbs, such as *va~vanaŋ* RDP~go.LEVEL-DVRB 'go a bit'. In other cases, it obligatorily appears in combination with a person prefix with a causative function, e.g. *haaru* 'fall down' > *gahaaruŋ* 3SG-fall.down-DVRB 'make her/him/it fall down' (also see section 6.1.3). These non-nominalizing instances are all rare and appear to be fossilized.

In a small number of cases, the suffix *-i* may serve as a verbalizer (42). This is restricted to very few items and is unproductive. Twelve instances have been observed, three of which are given in (44).

(42) *tooŋ* 'burden stick' > *toon-i* 'carry on shoulders'
tut 'coast, shore' > *tut-i* 'move eastward along the coast'
kaal 'phlegm, mucus' > *kaal-i* 'cough'

The suffix *-a* appears to have a similar function to *-i*, albeit with a less transparently derived meaning, and has been attested on nine roots. Example (43) shows some attested occurrences.

(43) *hur* 'language' > *hul-a* 'utter'
haak 'section, border' > *haak-a* 'restrict, limit'
ʔuŋ 'market' > *ʔun-a* 'trade, barter'

3 Basic clausal syntax

3.1 Constituent order in verbal clauses

Reta clauses consist of at least a predicate. Verbal predicates may consist of several serialized verbs and their complements. The unmarked constituent order for Reta clauses is SV/APV, as shown in (44)–(45). PAV-clauses are commonly constructed as a means of foregrounding the P (46), in which case the A is often realized as *nama* 'person'. When the P is not expressed by a full noun or NP (i.e. when it is pronominal) and the verb is obligatorily prefixed, the pronoun is not realized and the person prefix itself expresses the P referent. When P is represented by a full noun or NP, the P argument is still cross-referenced, as in (47).

(44) S V
Naŋ *ʔeehi.*
1SG.NOM run
'I run.'

(45) A P V
Naŋ *jial* *na.*
1SG.NOM water drink
'I drink water.'

(46) P A V
[*Boma* *ga-bariŋ* *ɓenaŋ*] *nama* *toon-i.*
old.man 3SG.POSS.I-corpse ANAPH person burden.stick-DNML
'The old man's corpse was carried (lit. the old man's corpse people carried).'

(47) a. *Naŋ* *ga-ʔuliŋ.*
1SG.NOM 3SG-see
'I see her/him/it.'

b. *Naŋ* *jobal* *ga-ʔuliŋ.*
1SG.NOM dog 3SG-see
'I see the dog.'

Between the predicate and the arguments it takes, markers of mood and aspect may intervene. The predicate may be succeeded by lexical aspectual verbs, a negator (part of an embracing negation, see section 3.5), and a clause-final conjunction such as *se* 'when, if'. The following examples show markers of modality and aspect and embracing negations in sentential context.

(48) S ASP V
Palika *ʔadi* *doo* *ɓohiŋ.*
island PROX PROSP empty
'This island was still empty.'

(49) S V ASP
ʔaad *ɓenaŋ* *valiŋ* *jema.*
fire ANAPH burn go
'The fire is already burning.'

(50) A MODAL P V
[*Nama* *ba* *jema* *milil* *ʔaŋa*] *malekaŋ* *kalaaŋ* *ɓaana.*
person FOC go fight.war NPROX DEONT k.o.sword bring
'The people that go to war must bring swords.'

(51) S NEG V NEG
ɓaka-ɓaka *ɓenaŋ* *ka* *ga-lokaŋ* *ba* *naga.*
frog ANAPH NEG 3SG-alone FOC NEG
'The frog was not alone.'

Verbal predicates are divided into intransitives, transitives and ditransitives, which all vary in the way they index arguments on the verb morphologically. Intransitive verbs combine a predicate with a single S-argument and are generally unprefixed, although a small number of them take person prefixes indexing S. Further, some intransitive verbs may be subject to A-adding or P-adding prefixation. Monotransitives combine an A and a P argument with a transitive verb,

which are roughly split between those that obligatorily take a person prefix and those that do not. This is discussed in section 6.1. Ditransitives are represented by a single verb, which is discussed in the following section.

3.2 'Give'-constructions

Reta has one ditransitive verb *-enaŋ* 'give', which requires an A, a Theme (T) introduced by the complex verb *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL', and a Recipient (R), which is indexed on *-enaŋ* 'give'. An example is given in (52), where the theme *bi mat* 'betel nut' is hosted by *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL' and the R *boma* 'old man' is hosted by, and co-indexed on *-enaŋ* 'give'.

(52)

A	T	V		R	V
Gaŋ	*bi mat*	*mia*	*ma*	*boma*	*genaŋ.*
3SG.NOM	betel.nut	take	come.LEVEL	old.man	3SG.give

'He gave the old man betel nut.'

As in Blagar (Steinhauer 2014: 169–170), due to fusion with *ma* 'come.LEVEL', and what looks like a historical process of vowel harmony, *-enaŋ* 'give' has developed some irregular forms. These, as well as the regular forms, are laid out in Table 4. Note that the second person forms have both fused forms and regular forms.

Table 4: Forms for *-enaŋ* 'give'.

	REGULAR	FUSED WITH *MA*
1SG	–	*meneŋ*
2SG	*enaŋ*	*menaŋ*
3SG	*genaŋ*	–
1PL.INCL	*piniŋ*	–
1PL.EXCL	–	*miniŋ*
2PL	*inaŋ*	*minaŋ*
3PL	*ginaŋ*	–
RECP	*tenaŋ*	–

The pattern displayed above, where the theme is either introduced by *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL' or by *mia* 'take' with *ma* 'come.LEVEL' fused with *-enaŋ* 'give', is quite consistently provided in elicitation. In running speech, however, many constructions that do not adhere to this pattern are found. In many cases either *mia* or *ma* is used instead of *mia ma*, as shown in (53) and (54).

(53) *Vaal ʔaŋa malekaŋ jial ʔuhi* ***mia*** *tuaŋ guru genaŋ.*
child NPROX DEONT water draw take master teacher 3SG.give
'The children must draw water to give to the teacher.'

(54) *Gaŋ moŋ* ***ma*** *vaal ʔol anu genaŋ.*
1SG.NOM snake come.LEVEL child small one 3SG.give
'He gives a snake to a small child.'

In other cases only fused *ma* is used (55), and in very few cases *mia ma* is used alongside fused *ma* (56). This constitutes free variation to some degree, although there is some textual evidence to support the fact that more complex acts of transfer (e.g. taking and giving) are preferably marked by *mia* or *mia ma*.

(55) *Aŋ gi-ʔe hal anu* ***meneŋ.***
2SG.NOM PROX-be bronze.kettledrum one 1SG.give
'You gave me a bronze kettledrum.'

(56) *Tuak ʔaŋa* ***mia ma*** ***meneŋ.***
palm.wine NPROX take come.LEVEL 1SG.give
'Give me that palm wine.'

As with other transitive verbs, the theme introduced by *mia ma* can be left unexpressed if recoverable from the context. This is shown in (57), where the unexpressed theme is represented by 'ø'.

(57) *Giŋ ø* ***mia ma*** *jobal genaŋ.*
3PL take come.LEVEL dog 3SG.give
'They gave (it) to the dog.'

While the theme is usually introduced by *mia* (or) *ma*, in some cases another verb of transfer can be used. Usually, a construction with *mia ma* does not specify the way in which a theme was transferred. In (58), however, the theme is explicitly brought to the recipient, hence the verb *ɓaana* 'bring' introduces the theme instead. Yet, we do find instances of verbs that denote transfer, which introduce a theme along with *mia ma*. In (59), for instance, the theme *seŋ* 'money' is introduced by *panatu* 'send' as well as *mia ma*. See sections 7.2.2 and 7.4 for more on the different functions of *mia ma*.

(58) *Giŋ ʔaha too e vil too* ***ɓaana*** *jema Donu Malani ginaŋ.*
3PL feces shell CONJ urine shell bring go Donu Malani 3PL.give
'They brought the shells with urine and feces to Donu and Malani.'

(59) *Naŋ seŋ* ***panatu mia ma*** *ni-maaŋ genaŋ.*
1SG.NOM money send take come.LEVEL 1.POSS.II-father 3SG.give
'I send money to my father.'

3.3 Equationals

Equationals are defined as non-verbal predicates that assign the qualities of a nominal predicate to an S. They are identifying equationals, meaning the S and the predicate constitute the same referent and are usually reversible in order. Attributing constructions, which assign a non-nominal quality, are expressed by stative verbs. The S of an equational can be either a full noun or NP as in (60), or a pronoun as in (61). Between the S and its predicate, the focus particle *ba* may intervene to put the S in focus (62).

(60) [*Pi-ʔabaŋ hur*]$_{SBJ}$ [*Reta hur.*]$_{PRED}$
1PL.INCL.POSS.I-village language Reta language
'Our village language is Reta.'

(61) [*ʔaŋa*]$_{SBJ}$ [*nama kilavali ʔaŋa ga-setaŋ.*]$_{PRED}$
NPROX person sorcerer NPROX 3SG.POSS.I-ghost
'That was the sorcerer's ghost.'

(62) [*Vaal amu ʔadiŋ*]$_{SBJ}$ *ba* [*vaal kono topol.*]$_{PRED}$
child male PROX FOC child breast end
'It was this boy who was the youngest child.'

3.4 Existentials

Existential constructions are formed with an existential 'be'-verb. In most cases this is *aʔe* 'NPROX-be', which is unmarked for proximity and elevation, but it may also be another, such as *poʔe* 'DIST.LOW-be', should the S be situated in a more specific location (these verbs are discussed further in section 7.1). An example is given in (63).

(63) *Ga-lelaŋ* *di* *a-ʔe*, *doru* *di* *a-ʔe*,
3SG.POSS.I-dancing.place too NPROX-be altar too NPROX-be

ga-boma, *ga-kapaalaŋ* *di* *a-ʔe*.
3SG.POSS.I-old.man 3SG.POSS.I-head too NPROX-be
'There is also its dancing place and an altar, and its elders and the village head too.'

Affirmative existential clauses (e.g. *there is X*) as in (63) are formally indistinguishable from locational clauses (eg. *X is here*), as both take a 'be'-verb as their predicate. Existential clauses do however differ from locational constructions in the way they are negated. Existentials only take the simple negator *naga*, whereas locational constructions must be negated by the embracing negation *ka* [...] *ba naga*. That is, negative existentials do not require a 'be'-verb like *aʔe* 'NPROX-be' that can be locked in inside the embracing negation, but negative locational constructions do. This is exemplified below. In (64) the existential predicate only takes *naga*, while the locational predicate in (65) takes the embracing negation *ka* [...] *ba naga*. Negation is discussed further in section 3.5.

(64) *Jial* *naga*.
water NEG
'There's no water.'

(65) *Ga-bariŋ* [*ka* *a-ʔe* *ba* *naga*.]$_{\text{NEG}}$
3SG.POSS.I-corpse NEG NPROX-be FOC NEG
'His corpse was not there.'

3.5 Negation

3.5.1 Clausal negation

An overt predicate that is not an existential predicate, as in (64), is negated by one of the embracing negations *ka* [...] *ba naga* 'not' (the last part of which is often truncated to *bana*) or *ka* [...] *ba doo* 'not yet'. An example of each is given below. As example (66) shows, nominal predicates also take the embracing negation. 'Not yet'-constructions are elaborated on further below.

(66) *Giŋ* *joa* [*ka* *ʔadu* *ba* *naga*.]$_{\text{NEG}}$
3PL some NEG arrive FOC NEG
'None of them arrived.'

(67) *Nama joa* [*ka ʔaŋa mi aɓeetal ba doo.*]$_{\text{NEG}}$
person some NEG NPROX in live FOC PROSP
'No one lived there yet.'

(68) *ʔadiŋ* [*ka moŋ ma~molo ba naga.*]$_{\text{NEG}}$
PROX NEG snake RDP~right FOC NEG
'This was not a normal snake.'

The embracing negation determines the focus of the negation. Some serial verb constructions may be partly negated by the embracing negation. Consider the difference between (69) and (70): the construction in (69) implies that he is together with his wife and that neither is going to Kalabahi, whereas in (70) it is implied that he might go, just not with his wife.

(69) *Geŋ ga-hial g-ala* [*ka Kalaŋbaha=mi mida bana.*]$_{\text{NEG}}$
3SG.ACC 3SG.POSS.I-wife 3SG-with NEG Kalabahi=in go.up FOC.NEG
'He and his wife are not going to Kalabahi.'

(70) *Geŋ* [*ka ga-hial g-ala Kalaŋbaha=mi mida bana.*]$_{\text{NEG}}$
3SG.ACC NEG 3SG.POSS.I-wife 3SG-with Kalabahi=in go.up FOC.NEG
'He is not going to Kalabahi with his wife.'

As was shown in (64), existential predicates do not require the embracing negation and are negated by the bare negator *naga* 'no, not' alone. This bare negator is also used when entire unexpressed predicates or clauses are negated. This is shown in (71), where it occurs after the conjunction *e* 'and, or'. It is also used to respond negatively to polar interrogatives (72). A bare negator has scope over an entire proposition.

(71) *Piŋ maŋ ga-ʔuliŋ gaŋ mi jia e* ***naga.***
1PL.INCL just 3SG-see 3SG.NOM in placed CONJ NEG
'We'll just see if it's going to happen or not.'

(72) a. *Denmark mi popo ʔil babila e* ***naga?***
Denmark in DIST.LOW situation cold CONJ NEG
'Is it cold down in Denmark or not?'

b. *Naga.*
NEG
'No.'

'Not yet'-constructions are formed by the embracing negation *ka* [...] *ba doo*. Its final element *doo* 'still, not yet' is a prospective marker (see section 8), the meaning of which is largely dependent on context, i.e. what is anticipated. In elliptic constructions it generally means 'not yet' (73), as what it has scope over is generally an affirmative clause. In predicate-initial position it expresses anticipation of the start or end of an event (e.g. 'still', 'going to, about to'). In (74) it occurs twice; once anticipating the end of an event ('still'), and once in the embracing negation *ka* [...] *ba doo* 'not yet'.

(73) *ʔaad ʔaŋa valiŋ jema e* ***doo****?*
fire NPROX burn go CONJ PROSP
'Is the fire already burning or not yet?'

(74) *Tula-ŋ ʔaŋa, palika ʔadi* ***doo*** *ɓohiŋ,*
first-DVRB NPROX island PROX PROSP empty
'In olden times, this island was still empty...'

nama joa [***ka*** *ʔaŋa mi aɓeetal* ***ba*** ***doo***.]$_{\text{NEG}}$
person some NEG NPROX in live FOC PROSP
'...no one lived there yet.'

The initial element of an embracing negation, *ka* 'NEG', is frequently omitted in running speech. Two examples of this are given below.

(75) *Tula ʔaŋa, daat-a gonoŋ sakola* ***ba*** ***naga***.
first NPROX grandchild-DNML COLL school FOC NEG
'Back in the day, our forefathers didn't go to school.'

(76) *Naŋ kopi na* ***ba*** ***doo*** *se, naŋ maŋ atautaŋ.*
1SG.NOM coffee drink FOC PROSP when 1SG.NOM just dazed
'Before I've had any coffee, I'm not worth a dime.'

3.5.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitives are formed with *ake* [...] *gaanaŋ*, which is an embracing negation signaling negative deontic modality (77). Similar to the embracing negation *ka* [...] *ba naga* 'not' and *ka* [...] *ba doo* 'not yet' (see section 3.5.1), the initial element *ake* is often left out (78).

(77) *La~luaŋ giŋ a-ʔagaŋ se,* ***ake*** *voi* ***gaanaŋ.***
RDP~long 3PL 2SG-call if NEG.DEONT reply NEG.DEONT
'If they call you in a while, don't answer.'

(78) *ʔil ʔaŋa u=matee* ***gaanaŋ!***
thing NPROX APPL=stand NEG.DEONT
'Don't step onto that thing!'

The embracing negation *ake* [...] *gaanaŋ* is not restricted to speech acts of prohibition and can be accompanied by any overt subject, which may be the addressee or any other referent. An example is given in (79), where the subject *gaŋ* '3SG.NOM' is included. As the subject is external to the speech situation, the sentence is not interpreted as a prohibitive. Rather, it expresses the possibility of something undesirable happening.

(79) *Gaŋ* ***ake*** *a-ʔe ba naga* ***gaanaŋ.***
3SG.NOM NEG.DEONT NPROX-be FOC NEG NEG.DEONT
'Lest it not be there.'

'Don't [...] yet'-constructions are formed by adding the prospective marker *doo* to the predicate, as in (80).

(80) *Ake* ***doo*** *jema gaanaŋ!*
NEG.DEONT PROSP go NEG.DEONT
'Don't go yet!'

3.6 Interrogatives

Content interrogatives are formed by in-situ question words, seven of which have been identified. These are laid out in Table 5. Some of these are partly analyzable, such as *taʔaŋ* 'which', which consists of a (historical) interrogative particle *ta-* and *ʔaŋ* 'NPROX'. *Tavediŋ* 'when', consists of *ta-*, *vede*/*vid* 'today/day' and an unidentified element *iŋ*.[4] As discussed in section 2.5.2, all interrogative words

4 The sources of the other question words are less certain. *Alaŋ* 'who' is likely derived from *-ala* 'with', while *neeniŋ* 'what' may be derived from *-nee* 'name, call'. The recurring element *-ŋ* could be either a deverbal suffix or a remnant of *ʔaŋa* 'that'. This, however, remains a matter of speculation.

except *getabani* 'why' can be partially reduplicated, whereas all interrogative words except *adedeŋ* 'how much' can be fully reduplicated.

Table 5: Reta question words.

taʔaŋ	'which'
alaŋ	'who'
neeniŋ	'what'
tavediŋ	'when'
tabani	'how'
getabani	'why'
adedeŋ	'how much'

Question words remain in-situ, i.e. they occupy a slot in the clause that would normally be occupied by the constituent that is questioned. In (81), *neeniŋ* 'what' replaces an immediately preverbal P, and in (82) *alaŋ* 'who' replaces a nominal predicate.

(81) *Uee, iŋ a-ʔe* ***neeniŋ*** *gene jia?*
hello 2PL NPROX-be what do placed
'Hello, what are you lot doing?'

(82) *A-hial ba* ***alaŋ****?*
2SG.POSS.I-wife FOC who
'Who is your wife?'

Question words can be front-shifted to foreground them, in which case they are usually marked by the focus particle *ba*. This is shown in (83), where *neeniŋ* 'what' would normally occur directly before the verb *u=tagaaniŋ* 'ask for', but occurs in front-shifted position.

(83) ***Neeniŋ*** *ba iŋ u=tagaaniŋ?*
what FOC 2PL APPL=ask
'What (is it) you lot are asking about?'

Polar interrogatives are morphosyntactically identical to declarative clauses (84), but may be uttered with a rising final intonation. They are optionally accompanied by the question tag *e naga* 'or not' (85), which itself has falling intonation.

(84) *Aŋ* *aaga?*
2SG.NOM 2SG.not.want
'You don't want to?'

(85) *Denmark* *mi* *popo* *ʔil* *babila* ***e*** ***naga?***
Denmark in DIST.LOW situation cold CONJ NEG
'Is it cold down in Denmark or not?'

Interestingly, another way to form polar questions is to insert the borrowed conjunction *kalu* 'if' (<Mly. *kalau* 'if') in between the S/A and the predicate. This is shown in (86).

(86) *Aŋ* *kalu* *kubal?*
2SG.NOM if sated
'Are you sated?'

3.7 Imperatives

Imperatives have the same morphosyntactic make-up as declarative clauses. The S/A may be left unrealized (87) (though this is not exclusive to imperatives), or it may be left in place (88).

(87) *Batal* *ɓaana* *mada!*
corn bring come.up
'Bring up the corn!'

(88) *Aŋ* *moo-mi* *va!*
2SG.NOM DIST.LEVEL-in go.LEVEL
'You go over there!'

4 Noun phrases

Nouns in Reta are characterized by their ability to take nominal modifiers such as possessive prefixes, and by their ability to function as a clausal argument with or without such modifiers. The template for Reta NPs is given in (89).

Template of Reta NP

(89) POSS-[$\text{NOUN}_{\text{HEAD}}$ ATTR NUM/QUANT REL DET COLL]NP

As the template shows, the nominal head of an NP may take a possessive prefix and it may be succeeded by one or more attributes, a numeral or quantifier, a relative clause, a determiner and a collective marker. The collective marker and a putative numeral or quantifier are mutually exclusive: an NP can take either, but never both. The examples in (90) and (91) exhaust the NP template in (89).

(90) *ga-bee* *aɓal* *ɓaal* *atoga* *ba* *mo-ʔe* *moo-mi*
3SG.POSS.I-pig white big three FOC DIST.LEVEL-be DIST.LEVEL-in

vala *ʔaŋa*
swim NPROX
'her/his three big white pigs that are swimming over there'

(91) *ga-bee* *aɓal* *ɓaal* *ba* *mo-ʔe* *moo-mi*
3SG.POSS.I-pig white big FOC DIST.LEVEL-be DIST.LEVEL-in

vala *ʔaŋa* *gonoŋ*
swim NPROX COLL
'her/his big white pigs that are swimming over there'

4.1 Attributes

Attributes occupy a slot directly to the right of the head noun. They can be either nouns, as in (92), or stative verbs, as in (93). Nominal attributes such as *amu* 'male' form a compound with the head noun, while stative verbs are simply modifiers. Nominal attributes occur closer to the head noun than stative verbs, e.g. *nama amu baloolu* 'tall man'.

(92) *nama* *amu*
person male
'man'

(93) *adual* *baloolu*
mountain high
'high mountain'

At first glance, Reta does not appear to have a class of adjectives that can be formally distinguished from verbs, as both stative verbs like *baloolu* 'tall, high' and active verbs like *ʔeehi* 'run' can be used predicatively without a copula. However, in attributive function, active verbs occupy a different slot in the NP than stative verbs: whereas stative verbs typically occur to the left of the numeral/quantifier slot (see the template above), active verbs are usually part of relative clauses, which occur to its right. In other words, based on their respective slots in the NP template, stative verbs differ from active verbs. I elaborate on this in section 4.3.

4.2 Quantifiers and numerals

The quantifier slot can be filled by a numeral such as *anu* 'one' or *alo* 'two', or a quantifier such as *adedeŋ* 'some' or *toohiŋ* 'much, many' (94). Quantifiers and numerals occur to the right of the attribute, as displayed in (95)–(96).

(94) *ʔaa* ***alo***, *vaŋgat* ***atoga***
fathom two span three
'two fathoms, three spans'

(95) *nama amu* ***alo***
person male two
'two men'

(96) *kabiab aɓal* ***atoga*** *ʔaŋa*
goat white three NPROX
'the three white goats'

Table 6 below lists the numerals 1–10 in ordinal and cardinal form, including the composition for those numerals that are not monomorphemic.

As the table shows, the numerals 1 to 6 are made up of simplex monomorphemic forms. The numerals 7 to 9 are made up of subtractive forms; 8 and 9 are subtractions of 2 and 1 from an obsolete form of 10, and 7 is made up of a borrowed form for 7 and a subtraction of three. In all likelihood, the original form for *ɓititoga* 'seven' was similar to the forms for 8 and 9, after which the form for 10 was replaced by a loanword for the numeral 7 from a neighboring Austronesian language (see Schapper and Klamer 2017 for an analysis).

Multiplications are formed by addition of the multiplier to the right of the multiplied, e.g. *raatu* 'hundred' + *alo* 'two' > *raatu alo* 'two hundred'. Additions

Table 6: Reta numerals.

VALUE	CARDINAL FORM	ORDINAL FORM
1	*anu*	*ga=mi anu*
2	*alo*	*ga=mi alo*
3	*atoga*	*ga=mi atoga*
4	*ɓuta*	*ga=mi ɓuta*
5	*avehaŋ*	*ga=mi avehaŋ*
6	*talaauŋ*	*ga=mi talaauŋ*
7	*ɓititoga* [7–3]	*ga=mi ɓititoga*
8	*tulalo* [10–2]	*ga=mi tulalo*
9	*tukanu* [10–1]	*ga=mi tukanu*
10	*kar anu* [10*1]	*ga=mi kar anu*

of numerals 1 to 9 to decades are formed by the operator word *vaaluŋ*, which only ever occurs in additive numeral constructions, e.g. *raatu* 'hundred' + *alo* 'two' + *vaaluŋ* 'operator' + *alo* 'two' > *raatu alo vaaluŋ alo* 'two hundred and two'.

Multiplicative numerals are formed by addition of the locative verb *mi* 'in, at' which precedes the numeral (97).

(97) *mi* *alo*
in two
'twice'

To form cardinal numerals, a third person singular possessive marker is added to a multiplicative numeral such as (97). While possessive markers are usually prefixal, in such cases they attach to an entire phrase and act as clitics (98). The proclitic *ga=* in these constructions does not have an identifiable referent. It has a similar use on other lexemes where its function is selection of a referent from a larger pool of potential referents, e.g. *ga-koɓol* 3SG.POSS.I-young 'the young one(s)', which is discussed in section 4.6.

(98) *ga=mi* *alo*
3SG.POSS.I=in two
'the second'

The passage in (99) exemplifies the use of both cardinal and ordinal numerals further. As it shows, all numerals appear to the right of the nominal head, e.g. *vid ga=mi tukanu* 'the ninth day', and complex numbers are formed by addition

of multipliers and the operator word *vaaluŋ* to form additives. The number '1963' below is analyzable as *ribu anu* [1000 * 1] + *raatu tukanu* [100 * 9] + *kar talaauŋ* [10 * 6] + *vaaluŋ atoga* [OPERATOR 3].

(99) *vid* ***ga=mi*** ***tukanu,*** *ʔuru* ***mi*** ***tukanu,*** *tuŋ*
sun 3SG.POSS.I=in nine moon in nine year

ribu ***anu*** ***raatu*** ***tukanu*** ***kar*** ***talaauŋ*** ***vaaluŋ*** ***atoga***
thousand one hundred nine ten six OPRTR three
'the ninth of September 1963'

4.3 Relative clauses

Reta does not have any formal means of marking relative clauses, and a relative clause has the same structure as an independent clause. An example of a relative clause is given in (100).

(100) *Nama* *ba* [*jema* *milil* *ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$ *malekaŋ* *kalaaŋ* *ɓaana.*
person FOC go fight.war NPROX must k.o.sword bring
'The people that go to war must bring swords.'

While there are no formal means of marking them, there are a number of traits that characterize relative clauses: (i) they are demonstrably part of an NP and occupy a slot directly to the right of the numeral slot in the NP template (see (89) above), (ii) they tend to be preceded by the focus particle *ba* which focalizes the preceding noun, and (iii) they are usually marked as definite by means of a determiner such as *ʔaŋa* 'NPROX'.

As for the difference between relative clauses and attributes (see section 4.1), consider *amina* 'die' in example (101) below. At first glance, this could be either an attribute or a relative clause.

(101) [*Kabiab* ***amina*** *ʔaŋ*]$_{NP}$ *g-otok* *maŋ* *ta-bikil.*
goat die NPROX 3SG.POSS.I-stomach just RFL-bloated
'The goat that died its stomach was very bloated.'

If we quantify the NP, however, we see that the verb *amina* 'die' is placed to the right of the numeral, as shown in (102). This is not the case when we replace it with a stative verb such as *aɓal* 'white', which is an attribute (103).

(102) [*kabiab atoga* [*amina*]$_{RC}$ *ʔaŋa*]$_{NP}$ (*ʔkabiab amina atoga ʔaŋa*)
goat three die NPROX
'the three goats that died'

(103) [*kabiab* ***aɓal*** *atoga ʔaŋa*]$_{NP}$ (*ʔkabiab atoga aɓal ʔaŋa*)
goat white three NPROX
'the three white goats'

Example (104) below also shows how *aɓal* 'white' and *ɓaal* 'big', which are stative verbs, are placed before the numeral, whereas the locative verb *moomi* 'over there', which is an active verb and forms a relative clause, is placed after it. This suggests that, in attributive function, there is some distributional distinction between stative and active verbs. In predicative use, however, there is no such difference.

(104) *bee* ***aɓal*** ***ɓaal*** *atoga* [***moo-mi***]$_{RC}$ *ʔaŋa*
pig white big three DIST.LEVEL-in NPROX
'the three big white pigs over there'

As for the way head nouns are coded according to their function in the relative clause, Reta makes use of a gapping strategy for all roles that can be fulfilled by the head noun. The following examples, in which the gap is indicated by 'ø' and linked to the head noun by means of subscript '$_i$', illustrate this. In (105) *nama* 'person' is an intransitive subject, as it is the only argument of the predicate *jema milil* 'go to war'. In (106) *vaal* 'child' is the P of *ugajaali* 'give birth to'.

(105) *Nama*$_i$ *ba* [ø$_i$ *jema milil ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$ *malekaŋ kalaaŋ ɓaana.*]$_{RC}$
person FOC go fight.war NPROX must k.o.sword bring
'The people that go to war must bring swords.'

(106) *Vaal*$_i$ *ba* [*daat-a Mandi* ø$_i$ *u=g-ajaali ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$
child FOC grandchild-DNML Mandi APPL=3SG-give.birth NPROX

ga-nee Baŋgarame.
3SG.POSS.I-name Banggarame
'The child that Mandi the elder gave birth to was called Banggarame.'

In (107) *tuak* 'palm wine' is a theme, as it is introduced by the theme marker *ma* 'come.LEVEL' in the relative clause (see section 3.2 on ditransitives and section 7.4 on *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL'). In (108), *nama* 'person' is the recipient of the 'give'-verb *genaŋ* 'give her/him/it'.

(107) *Tuak*$_{i}$ *ba* [*naŋ* ø$_{i}$ *ma* *genaŋ* *ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$
palm.wine FOC 1SG.NOM come.LEVEL 3SG.give NPROX

tuak *ɓera.*
palm.wine bad
'The palm wine I gave him was bad palm wine.'

(108) *Nama*$_{i}$ *ba* [*naŋ* *mud* *ma* ø$_{i}$ *genaŋ* *ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$
person FOC 1SG.NOM cooked.food come.LEVEL 3SG.give NPROX

ta~tabi *malapal.*
RDP~right hungry
'The person I gave the food to was hungry indeed.'

In (109), *nama* 'person' is a possessor. As the example shows, nominal possessors can be gapped but the possessive prefix must remain in place. As possessive markers are morphologically bound inflectional items, this can still be considered a gapping strategy.

(109) *Nama*$_{i}$ *ba* [*naŋ* ø$_{i}$ ***ga**-tuak* *ga-ɓuniŋ* *ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$
person FOC 1SG.NOM 3SG.POSS.I-palm.wine 3SG-hide NPROX

a-ʔe *n-ola* *jia.*
NPROX-be 1SG-look.for placed
'The person whose palm wine I stole is looking for me now.'

Lastly, locative head nouns are also gapped. This is shown in (110) and (111), where in both cases *manaa* 'place' is introduced by the locative verb *mi* 'in, at'. In (110), *mi* is the sole predicate of the relative clause whereas in (111) it is part of a serial verb construction.

(110) *Natalehi* *ʔaŋa* *mi* *mida* *manaa*$_{i}$ *ba* [*moŋ* ø$_{i}$ *mi* *ʔaŋa.*]$_{RC}$
Natalehi NPROX in go.up place FOC snake in NPROX
'Natalehi then went up to the place where the snake was.'

(111) *Giŋ* *mida* *manaa*$_{i}$ *ba* [*nama* ø$_{i}$ *mi* *moŋ* *geŋ* *tamina* *ʔaŋa*]$_{RC}$
3PL go.up place FOC person in snake 3SG.ACC kill NPROX

mi *se…*
in when
'When they went to the place in which the snake was killed…'

4.4 Determiners

The Reta determiners consist of a set of demonstratives, which can be used adnominally and pronominally, and a single anaphoric determiner *ɓenaŋ* '(the one) mentioned', which is only used adnominally. There are three distal demonstratives which are marked for elevation, and two are marked for proximity. The determiners are laid out in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Reta determiners.

DEMONSTRATIVES		DETERMINERS	
DIST.LEVEL	*mo(mo)*	ANAPH(oric)	*ɓe(naŋ)*
DIST.HIGH	*to(to)*		
DIST.LOW	*po(po)*		
NPROX	*ʔaŋ(a)*		
PROX	*ʔadi(ŋ)*		

The elevationally marked demonstratives *momo* 'that over there', *toto* 'that up there' and *popo* 'that down there' are only used for referents that are neither close to the speaker nor to the addressee. They can be used adnominally and pronominally, and they mark the referent as definite (112).

(112) *(Jial)* ***popo*** *ʔuhi.*
water DIST.LOW draw.water
'Draw that (water) down there.'

The demonstratives, which operate in the nominal domain, differ from other spatially marked items, which are locative verbs (see section 7.1). An example of a locative verb is given in (113).

(113) *Vaat* ***poo-mi*** ***popo*** *ga-ʔuliŋ.*
coconut DIST.LOW-in DIST.LOW 3SG-see
'Take a look at that coconut tree down there.'

The proximal and non-proximal demonstratives *ʔadi* 'this' and *ʔaŋa* 'that', which often surface as *ʔadiŋ* and *ʔaŋ*, are usually speech participant-anchored, either in a spatial or a discursive sense. As a non-proximate demonstrative, *ʔaŋa* is primarily used to specify referents that are in the vicinity of the addressee but not in the vicinity of the speaker, or not in the direct vicinity of either interlocutor. It is also used for referents that have been firmly established in the discourse, and it is

the default definite marker. As a proximal demonstrative, *ʔadi* is used to specify referents in the speaker's vicinity. Such a referent is often located closer to the speaker than to the addressee, but this is not always the case, e.g. a referent such as in (114) is neither closer to the speaker nor to the addressee. It is also used to specify referents that are new in the discourse, as well as referents that are under immediate observation. Both *ʔadi* and *ʔaŋa* can accompany pronouns (115).

(114) *palika ʔadi*
village PROX
'this island'

(115) a. *giŋ ʔadiŋ gonoŋ*
3PL PROX COLL
'they here'

b. *giŋ ʔaŋa gonoŋ*
3PL NPROX COLL
'they there'

The determiner *ɓenaŋ* 'the one mentioned', sometimes in combination with *vede* '(earlier) today' is used anaphorically to refer to a referent mentioned earlier in the discourse (116). It can only be used adnominally, i.e. it is a determiner rather than a demonstrative.

(116) *Gaŋ moŋ ɓenaŋ hola mi atoga.*
3SG.NOM snake ANAPH slash in three
'He slashed the snake (mentioned earlier) three times.'

4.5 Collectives

As was discussed briefly in section 2.5.2, collectives are marked by the collective marker *gonoŋ*.[5] It appears at the right edge of the NP, and it is the only element

5 I adopt the term 'collective' rather than 'plural' here, for several reasons. Unlike plurals in most languages, collective markers are optional and are generally absent when the noun is also modified by a numeral or quantifier (Rijkhoff 2002: 104–117), which is also the case in Reta. Further, rather than indicate that we are dealing with a multiplicity of singular referents, collective markers like *gonoŋ* specify the type of set that is expressed, i.e. a collective rather than a singleton set.

of the NP occurring after a determiner, as shown in (117). As (118) shows, it may modify a pronoun. It can, however, not be used pronominally itself.

(117) *vaal ʔaŋa gonoŋ*
child NPROX COLL
'those children'

(118) *giŋ ʔadiŋ gonoŋ*
3PL PROX COLL
'they here'

Two examples of *gonoŋ* in sentential context are provided below. As (120) shows, it can also be used to collectivize the addressee.

(119) *Giŋ u=geve se, moŋ ba vaalakiri ʔadi* ***gonoŋ*** *kede.*
3PL APPL=peek when snake FOC small.children PROX COLL eat
'When they peeked inside, a snake was eating these small children.'

(120) *Seeraŋ* ***gonoŋ****, piŋ lamal~lamal taaŋ mi hela!*
comrade COLL 1PL.INCL RDP~walk sea in descend
'Comrades, we're going down to sea!'

Reta also has an associative collective marker *namiŋ* which can combine with kin terms and proper nouns, e.g. *Refael namiŋ* 'Refael and his associates'.

4.6 Possession

Possessors in Reta are marked on the head noun with a possessive prefix on its left, which may co-occur with a full nominal possessor (121).

(121) a. *nee-manaa*
1SG.POSS.III-place
'my place'

b. *tamokuŋ gee-manaa*
village.head 3SG.POSS.III-place
'the village head's place'

There are three sets of possessive prefixes, laid out in Table 8. Set I is divided into two subsets, as the choice between them is not just lexically but also phono-

logically determined: Set I-a is used for most consonant-initial, inalienably possessed nouns and most alienably possessed nouns, and Set I-b is only used for vowel-initial inalienably possessed nouns. The two other sets, Set II and Set III, only occur on a handful of roots. The possessive paradigm includes a 'common' category, which does not denote a specific possessor (e.g. *ta-biaŋ* 'one's head, people's heads').

Table 8: Reta possessive prefixes and proclitics.

	Set I-a	Set I-b	Set II	Set III
1SG	*na-*	*n-*	*ni-*	*nee-*
2SG	*a-*	*ø-*	*i-*	*ee-*
3SG	*ga-*	*g-*	*gi-*	*gee-*
1PL.INCL	*pi-*	*pi-*	*pi-*	*piee-*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-*	*ni-*	*ni-*	*niee-*
2PL	*i-*	*i-*	*i-*	*iee-*
3PL	*gi-*	*gi-*	*gi-*	*giee-*
CMN	*ta-*	*t-*	*ti-*	*tee-*

As the table shows, the distinction between Set I-a, Set I-b and Set II is neutralized when the possessor referent is plural. Further, in Set II the distinction between 1SG and 1PL.EXCL, 2SG and 2PL, and 3SG and 3PL is neutralized.

Set I-a is by far the most frequently occurring set. It is used for (i) most inalienably possessed nouns that start with a consonant (some belonging to Set II), and (ii) most alienably possessed nouns (one belonging to Set III), regardless of their initial phoneme. If the root starts with /ɑ/, adding a Set I-a singular prefix yields a geminate vowel /ɑɑ/, such as *na-avee* 'my owl' (see section 2.5.1 for a discussion of geminate vowels). Table 9 shows paradigms for the nouns *-biaŋ* 'head' and *ʔee* 'house' with Set I-a prefixes.

Table 9: Some possessed nouns with Set I-a prefixes.

	'head'	'house'
1SG	*na-biaŋ*	*na-ʔee*
2SG	*a-biaŋ*	*a-ʔee*
3SG	*ga-biaŋ*	*ga-ʔee*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-biaŋ*	*ni-ʔee*
1PL.INCL	*pi-biaŋ*	*pi-ʔee*
2PL	*i-biaŋ*	*i-ʔee*
3PL	*gi-biaŋ*	*gi-ʔee*
CMN	*ta-biaŋ*	*ta-ʔee*

Set I-a is formally identical to the verbal person prefix paradigm (see section 6.1). Contrary to the verbal person prefixes, however, Set I-a prefixes have proclitic allomorphs. This can be demonstrated by the fact that they attach to entire verb phrases such as in (122), where the verb *mi* 'in, at' is incorporated into the verb phrase *mi nua* 'better, best' (see section 7.3 on *mi*). Furthermore, they occur to the left of the applicative proclitic *u=* in constructions such as (123), where an applicativized verb is used nominally (see section 6.2.1 on *u=*). By contrast, verbal person prefixes coalesce with the applicative to form applicativizing person prefixes (see section 6.2.2). In (124), for example, the prefix *noo-* is a coalescence of the person prefix *na-* and the applicative *u=*.

(122) *ga=mi* *nua*
3SG.POSS.I=in good
'that which is best'

(123) *na=u=ga-luali*
1SG.POSS.I=APPL=3SG-follow
'my trust/belief'

(124) *noo-ga-luali*
1SG.APPL-3SG-follow
'trust me'

It is further worth noting that the third person singular prefix *ga-* is sometimes used without a specific possessor referent, in which case it serves to select a nominal referent from a pool of other potential referents, e.g. 'the old/blue/small one(s)'. This is shown in (125), where *ga-boma* and *ga-koɓol* mean 'the old ones' and 'the young ones' respectively. A somewhat similar use was shown in section 4.2, where *ga-* attaches to the locative verb *mi* 'in, at' to form ordinal numerals.

(125) *Uee,* *iŋ* *a-ʔe* *neeniŋ* *gene* *jia?*
hello 2PL NPROX-be what do placed

Ga-boma *ʔaŋa* *naga* *e* ***ga-koɓol*** *ʔaŋa!*
3SG.POSS.I-old.man NPROX NEG CONJ 3SG.POSS.I-youngster NPROX
'Hello, what are you all doing? Not the old ones but the young ones!'

Set I-b, shown in Table 10, is used for vowel-initial inalienably possessed nouns. This includes most body parts, but not all: many body parts such as *vee* 'blood'

and *talaa* ‘bone’ are not obligatorily possessed, and some body parts belong to Set II. The nouns that have been observed to take Set I-b-prefixes include *-oomi* ‘inside’, *-eeŋ* ‘eye’, *-oto* ‘testicle(s)’, *-ool* ‘penis’, *-aal* ‘vagina’, *-oot* ‘neck’, *-amaŋ* ‘voice’, *-aag* ‘mouth’ *-otok* ‘stomach’ and *-ataŋ* ‘hand’.

Table 10: Some possessed nouns with Set I-b prefixes.

	‘eye’	**‘testicles’**
1SG	*n-eeŋ*	*n-oto*
2SG	*eeŋ*	*oto*
3SG	*g-eeŋ*	*g-oto*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-eeŋ*	*ni-oto*
1PL.INCL	*pi-eeŋ*	*pi-oto*
2PL	*i-eeŋ*	*i-oto*
3PL	*gi-eeŋ*	*gi-oto*
CMN	*t-eeŋ*	*t-oto*

Set II, displayed in Table 11, occurs on a limited set of roots and is restricted to nouns denoting body parts and family members. In this set, the distinction between 1SG and 1PL.EXCL, 2SG and 2PL, and 3SG and 3PL is neutralized. The roots on which Set II-prefixes have been observed are the following: *-daat* ‘grandchild’, *-kuna* ‘same-sex sibling’, *-maaŋ* ‘father’, *-vaa* ‘mother’, *-aka* ‘foot/feet’, *-at* ‘buttocks’ and *-avakal* ‘face’.

Table 11: Some possessed nouns with Set II prefixes.

	‘buttocks’	**‘mother’**
1SG	*ni-at*	*ni-vaa*
2SG	*i-at*	*i-vaa*
3SG	*gi-at*	*gi-vaa*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-at*	*ni-vaa*
1PL.INCL	*pi-at*	*pi-vaa*
2PL	*i-at*	*i-vaa*
3PL	*gi-at*	*gi-vaa*
CMN	*ti-at*	*ti-vaa*

It is quite likely that Set II emerged out of *i*-initial loans that were subsequently rebracketed; for *nivaa* ‘my mother’ and *nimaaŋ* ‘my father’, the forms *niva* and *nimaŋ* are also observed, with short vowels and with stress on the penultimate, rather than the final syllable. These appear to be loans from Blagar, where the roots are *-imaŋ* and *-iva* (see Steinhauer 2014: 16). Another possible loan from

Blagar is *-idat* used for anyone two or more generations older or younger than ego in Blagar (Steinhauer 2010), which means 'grandchild' in Reta.

Set III, displayed in Table 12, has been observed on only one root: *manaa* 'place'. This is a very frequent lexeme but also the only host for Set III prefixes, and as a result such prefixes have an extremely low type frequency but a relatively high token frequency.

Table 12: Set III prefixes on *manaa* 'place'.

	'place'
1SG	*nee-manaa*
2SG	*ee-manaa*
3SG	*gee-manaa*
1PL.EXCL	*niee-manaa*
1PL.INCL	*piee-manaa*
2PL	*iee-manaa*
3PL	*giee-manaa*
CMN	*tee-manaa*

The noun *manaa* 'place' can take both Set I-a and Set-III prefixes, with different meanings: *ga-manaa* simply means 'her/his place', whereas *geemanaa* 'her/his place' adds a sense of intrinsicness or ownership, and often denotes someone's house, bed or room (126).

(126) *Anu ba ga-lolaŋ ʔadiŋ Laha ʔol* ***gee-manaa.***
one FOC 3SG-lower PROX Laha ʔol 3SG.POSS.III-place
'The one below was Laha ʔol's place.'

5 Pronouns

Reta has at least seven sets of pronouns, some of which are derived from (combinations of) other lexemes: (i) nominative pronouns, denoting most S/A arguments; (ii) accusative pronouns, denoting P arguments as well as some S/A arguments, primarily those which are put in focus; (iii) possessive pronouns, expressing a possessive relation, either within an NP or as a predicate; (iv) quantified pronouns, which are used for non-singular human referents that are accompanied by a numeral or quantifier; (v) dual pronouns, which are used for referents comprising a set of exactly two; (vi) emphatic pronouns, which typically emphasize

the agentive nature of an S or A argument, and (vii) reflexive pronouns. The paradigms are given in Table 13.

Table 13: Reta pronouns.

	NOM	ACC	POSS	QNT	DUAL	EMPH	REFL
1SG	*naŋ*	*neŋ*	*neg*	–	–	*naʔil*	*naavak*
2SG	*aŋ*	*eŋ*	*eg*	–	–	*aʔil*	*aavak*
3SG	*gaŋ*	*geŋ*	*geg*	–	–	*gaʔil*	*gaavak*
1PL.EXCL	*niŋ*	*niŋ*	*nig*	*ninaŋ*	*nibala*	*niʔil*	*niavak*
1PL.INCL	*piŋ*	*piŋ*	*pig*	*pinaŋ*	*pibala*	*piʔil*	*piavak*
2PL	*iŋ*	*iŋ*	*ig*	*inaŋ*	*ibala*	*iʔil*	*iavak*
3PL	*giŋ*	*giŋ*	*gig*	*ginaŋ*	*gibala*	*giʔil*	*giavak*
RECP/CMN	–	*teŋ*	*teg*	–	–	–	*taavak*

S-prefixing verbs like *-lokaŋ* ‘alone’, *-aaga* ‘not want’ and *-manaka* ‘of one’s own accord’ can also occur in argument position, and therefore display some pronominal behavior. These are discussed further in section 6.1.5.

5.1 Nominative and accusative pronouns

The two primary sets of pronouns in Reta are the nominative and accusative pronouns. As a rule of thumb, nominative pronouns can be used as S/A arguments in any kind of predicate. This is exemplified in (127) and (128).

(127) *Aŋ* *ɓela.*
2SG.NOM not.good
‘You’re no good.’

(128) *Naŋ* *nama* *amu* *haɓaa.*
1SG.NOM person man hit
‘I hit a man.’

Accusative pronouns typically express P arguments (129). As (130) and (131) show, however, they may also express S or A arguments.

(129) *Gaŋ* *neŋ* *haɓaa.*
3SG.NOM 1SG.ACC hit
‘S/he hit me.’

(130) *Naŋ / neŋ guru.*
1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC teacher
'I'm a teacher.'

(131) *Naŋ / neŋ ʔee gene.*
1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC house make
'I built a house.'

Both nominative and accusative pronouns are generally permitted in S/A position. Textual evidence, however, suggests that the chance of an accusative pronoun being used is greatest for equational predicates, somewhat less with stative verbs, and lesser still with active intransitive verbs. They only rarely occur as an A in a transitive predicate, and, as (132) shows, cannot immediately precede a pronominal P. They may, however, co-occur when the A is marked by a focus particle.

(132) a. **Geŋ neŋ haɓaa.*
3SG.ACC 1SG.ACC hit
Intended: 'S/he hit me.'

b. *Geŋ ba neŋ haɓaa.*
3SG.ACC FOC 1SG.ACC hit
'It was her/him that hit me.'

There is evidence to support the idea that one of the functions of accusative pronouns is to foreground an S or A, hence they constitute a marked alternative to the regular pattern. The predicate in (133), for instance, would not allow a nominative pronoun in S position, as *geŋ* 'him' in combination with *ʔadi* 'this' is meant to contrast the referent with others.

(133) *Milu Hulu di boola* ***geŋ*** (**gaŋ*) ***ʔadiŋ*** *ga-viaki tutuk.*
Milu Hulu too say 3SG.ACC PROX 3SG-last speak
'Milu Hulu also said that *he* would speak last.'

Similarly, when a pronominal referent is put in focus with the focus particle *ba*, a nominative pronoun cannot be used. This is shown below, where *ba* with an accusative pronoun is grammatical (134a), but yields an ungrammatical clause with a nominative pronoun (134b).

(134) a. *Neŋ ba ʔee ʔadi mi miha.*
1SG.ACC FOC house PROX in sit
'It's me who lives in this house.'

b. **Naŋ ba ʔee ʔadi mi miha.*
1SG.NOM FOC house PROX in sit
Intended: 'It's me who lives in this house.'

Further, two pronominal referents may be contrasted with one another in separate clauses, in which case the referent may be emphasized with an accusative pronoun in each clause (135).

(135) *Geŋ nama behil, neŋ nama pataaki.*
3SG.ACC person kill.with.cleaver 1SG.ACC person cut
'He kills people, I cut them up.'

The data above suggest that one of the main functions of accusative pronouns is to contrast referents, or to put them in focus. While the degree of transitivity has some effect, agentivity itself does not seem to play a major role in the choice between nominative and accusative pronouns (e.g. (135)). In S/A position, the nominative pronouns outnumber the accusative pronouns around 6-to-1 in my corpus, and clearly are the unmarked option.

The accusative set also has a reciprocal pronoun *teŋ* (136). Contrary to the reciprocal person prefix *t(a)-* and the prefix *ta-* (see section 6.1), which has a number of other functions, in my data its function is always reciprocal. It can only be used in P-position.

(136) *Giŋ teŋ haɓaa.*
3PL RECP hit
'They hit each other.'

5.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns differ from possessive prefixes in three ways: (i) they are not morphologically bound, (ii) they occur to the right of the head noun, and (iii) they are able to function as an independent argument or nominal predicate. Their ability to function as a predicate is shown in (137).

(137) *Ta~taʔaŋ ba neg?*
RDP~which FOC 1SG.POSS
'Which is mine exactly?'

When possessive pronouns occur to the right of the possessed noun, the possessor may intervene, as in (138), where the possessor *Laha ɓaal* appears between the possessive pronoun and the possessum *saligaŋ* 'bed'.

(138) *Saligaŋ Laha ɓaal* ***geg*** *ʔaŋa mia ma ga-tela*
bed Laha ɓaal 3SG.POSS NPROX take come.LEVEL 3SG.POSS.I-top

halia.
hang
'The bed that was Laha ɓaal's was hung from the top.'

5.3 Quantified pronouns

Quantified pronouns denote human, non-singular referents and must be accompanied by a quantifier or numeral. As their referents are necessarily human and non-singular, the final element *-naŋ* in these pronouns can be considered a human classifier. The examples below show that they can be used as S/A arguments (139) and as P arguments (140).

(139) *Ginaŋ aji=mi moŋ ɓenaŋ biri.*
3PL.QNT whole=in snake ANAPH pull.hard
'They all pulled the snake.'

(140) *Lahatala ba bisa pinaŋ aji=mi pi-ʔuliŋ.*
God FOC can 1PL.EXCL.QNT whole=in 1PL.INCL-see
'God is the one who can see us all.'

Quantified pronouns are not only used when a pronoun is modified within an NP by means of a quantifier or numeral, but must also be used when quantification is predicated. This is shown in (141), where *toohiŋ e raae* 'very many' forms the predicate for the quantified pronominal subject *pinaŋ*.

(141) *Pi-too-puni g-oomi ʔadiŋ mi,*
1PL.INCL.POSS.I-RECP.APPL-hold 3SG.POSS.I-inside PROX in

tantu pinaŋ toohiŋ e raae.
of.course 1PL.INCL.QNT many CONJ many
'In our coming together here, of course we are very many.'

5.4 Dual pronouns

Dual pronouns are used for non-singular referents consisting of exactly two. These are most often used in A position, but are not restricted to it. Dual number is not obligatorily expressed, as dual referents can be expressed by plural pronouns as well. In (142), the dual pronoun functions as an S. In (143) it functions as a P, and in (144) it functions as an A.

(142) *Naŋ* *hela,* *nibala* *duguŋ* *g-oomi* *ma~mulal*
1SG.NOM descend 1DU.EXCL stone.heap 3SG.POSS.I-inside RDP~play
hi!
DEONT
'I'm going down, the two us will have a romp inside the stone heap!'

(143) *Naŋ* *gibala* *gi-ʔuliŋ.*
1SG.NOM 3DU 3PL-see
'I saw the two of them.'

(144) *Nibala* *ʔagual* *mi* *hela.*
1DU.EXCL harbor in descend
'The two of us are going down to the harbor.'

The dual pronouns undoubtedly emerged out of the verb *-ala* 'with' and an unidentified element *-b-*, but are analyzed as pronouns here. Their verbal origin is still reflected in some of their uses. In example (145), for instance, *ibala*, which usually acts as a dual pronoun, appears to introduce *alaŋ* 'who'. It does so in much the same way as the verb *gala* 'with her/him/it' introduces it in (146), except for the fact that the plural prefix *i-* in (145) indexes a 'cumulative' referent, i.e. it indexes both *eŋ* and *alaŋ*, which is otherwise unattested in verbs. It should further be noted that dual pronouns almost always occur on their own as clausal arguments. Their status as pronouns is further corroborated by the fact that a dual pronoun like *ibala* can be an argument of the verb *-ala* 'with' (147), which strongly suggests they have grammaticalized into pronouns.

(145) *Eŋ* *alaŋ* *i-b-ala* *lamal?*
2SG.ACC who 2PL-DU-with walk
'With whom are you going?'

(146) *Eŋ* *alaŋ* *g-ala* *lamal?*
2SG.ACC who 3SG-with walk
'With whom are you going?'

(147) ***Gibala*** *mulai* *ʔaŋa* *mi* ***t-ala*** *magaada.*
3DU begin NPROX in RECP-with garden
'The two of them began gardening together there.'

Duals may also be realized by a combination of a quantified pronoun and a specialized form of the numeral 'two', *molo* 'two, the two of X'. This is presumably a historical contraction of *ma* 'come.LEVEL' and *alo* 'two'. Similar derivations occur on two other elements, *atoga* 'three' and *tula* 'first, in front' to form *matoga* 'three, the three of X' and *matula* 'first, the first one'. With a combination of a quantified pronoun and either *molo* or *matoga*, duals and trials can be formed, e.g. *inaŋ molo* 'the two of you', *inaŋ matoga* 'the three of you'. The forms *molo* and *matoga* only ever accompany quantified pronouns. Upwards of 'four', the bare numeral is used, e.g. *inaŋ ɓuta* 'the four of you', not **inaŋ maɓuta*.

5.5 Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns consist of *ʔil*, which in other contexts means 'thing', and a prefix coreferential with the subject.[6] Emphatic pronouns generally signify that an action is carried out by oneself, often emphasizing the agentive nature of a referent (148)–(149). They can only be used in S/A-position, and can either stand alone as pronouns or accompany a coreferential nominative pronoun or subject NP.

(148) (*Naŋ*) *naʔil* *lamal.*
1SG.NOM 1SG.EMPH walk
'I'll walk by myself.'

(149) (*Naŋ*) *naʔil* *geŋ* *tamina.*
1SG.NOM 1SG.EMPH 3SG.ACC kill
'I myself killed him / I killed him myself.'

6 It is not immediately clear that the word for 'thing' should be related. This type of pronoun is, however, also found in Klon and Blagar, where they likewise include a word for 'thing' (Baird 2008: 77; Steinhauer and Gomang 2016: 179). The Klon and Blagar words for 'thing', *ngan* and *na*, do not appear to be related to Reta *ʔil*.

5.6 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns signify that an A and a P have the same referent in a predicate. They consist of the noun *-avak* 'self' and a prefix coreferential with the A and P. Examples are given in (150)–(151). There is also a 'common' reflexive pronoun *taavak* 'oneself, ourselves'.

(150) *Naŋ* *naavak* *u=ola-ŋ.*
1SG.NOM 1SG.REFL APPL=search-DVRB
'I support myself.'

(151) *Hial* *pata-ŋ* *ɓenaŋ* *gonoŋ* *giavak* *ga-buala* *moŋ.*
rope tie-DVRB ANAPH COLL 3PL.REFL 3SG-change snake
'The ropes turned (lit. changed themselves) into snakes.'

6 Verbal prefixes

Reta has two sets of person-marked verbal prefixes, which are laid out in Table 14, as well as an applicative proclitic *u=*. The first set, the P-indexing person prefixes, generally index a P argument but may index S or A in a number of cases. The applicativizing prefix set generally increases valence and introduces locative and stimulus clausal participants, but may also alter the semantics of the predicate without an increase in valence. The applicativizing prefixes are analyzable as coalescences of P-indexing prefixes and the applicative *u=*.

Table 14: Reta verbal person prefixes.

	P-INDEXING	APPLICATIVIZING
1SG	*n(a)-*	*noo-*
2SG	*(a)-*	*oo-*
3SG	*g(a)-*	*goo-*
1PL.EXCL	*pi-*	*pioo-*
1PL.INCL	*ni-*	*nioo-*
2PL	*i-*	*ioo-*
3PL	*gi-*	*gioo-*
RECP/REFL	*t(a)-*	*too-*

The following section discusses the interaction between P-indexing prefixes and different verb types, and section 6.2 discusses applicativization.

6.1 P-indexing prefixes

P-indexing prefixes typically index a P on prefixing transitive verbs. If the P is pronominal, the prefix denotes the referent itself (152a). If the P is represented by a full noun or NP, the prefix is still obligatory and is coreferential with it (152b). An accusative pronoun cannot be used alongside a P-indexing prefix (152c).

(152) a. *Naŋ* *ga-ʔuliŋ.*
1SG.NOM 3SG-see
'I see her/him.'

b. *Naŋ* *jobal* *ga-ʔuliŋ.*
1SG.NOM dog 3SG-see
'I see the dog.'

c. **Naŋ* *geŋ* *ga-ʔuliŋ.*
1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC 3SG-see
Intended: 'I see her/him.'

The P-indexing prefix *t(a)-* (see Table 14) has a number of functions. Firstly, it occurs on some intransitive verbs, in which case the verb becomes transitive, e.g. *takimaŋ* 'silent' > *ta-takimaŋ* 'silent to one another'. When it is added to transitive verbs, these usually become reciprocal, e.g. *-taa* 'shoot' > *ta-taa* 'shoot one another', though in a handful of cases they become reflexive, as in (153). As the example shows, the verb can then be made reciprocal by partially reduplicating the prefixed verb.

(153) a. *ta-ɓuniŋ*
REFL-hide
'hide (oneself)'

b. *ta~ta-ɓuniŋ*
RDP~RECP-hide
'hide-and-seek (lit. hide from one another)'

In addition to the indexation of P arguments, P-indexing prefixes also fulfill a number of other functions. Firstly, on some intransitive verbs they may be used as transitivizers to add P-arguments. Secondly, they may be used as causativizers on a number of intransitive verbs, in which case they add an A argument. Further, some verbs index S with a P-indexing prefix, while some index either S or P. The following sections discuss these respective functions.

6.1.1 Obligatory indexing on monotransitive verbs

Transitive verbs are roughly split between those that obligatorily take a person prefix and those that never do. Table 15 below lists a number of transitive verbs according to their prefixing behavior. The division appears to be largely lexical in nature, although a considerably high number of prefixing transitive verbs take an animate P.

Table 15: Some transitive verbs according to prefixing behavior.

Always take P-prefix		Never take P-prefix	
-pika	'pinch'	*ɓaana*	'bring'
-ola	'look for'	*tamina*	'kill'
-eteŋ	'ask'	*ɓeei*	'cast'
-ohi	'order'	*haɓaa*	'hit'
-daaŋ	'follow, face'	*na*	'drink'
-ɓuniŋ	'hide'	*kede*	'eat'
-eli	'know, get'	*pataaki*	'cut'
-ahi	'feed'	*baloli*	'wrap'

The difference between prefixing and non-prefixing transitive verbs is shown in the two examples below. In (154) the verb *-taa* 'shoot' indexes the P *nama anu* 'someone', while in (155) the verb *haɓaa* 'hit' remains unprefixed.

(154) Prefixing transitive verb
Naŋ *nama* *anu* *ga-taa.*
1SG.NOM person one 3SG-shoot
'I shot someone.'

(155) Non-prefixing transitive verb
Naŋ *nama* *anu* *haɓaa.*
1SG.NOM person one hit
'I hit someone.'

6.1.2 P-adding prefixation

An optional person prefix can be added to a number of intransitive verbs to increase its valence by adding a P argument. These include all motion verbs, such as *ma* 'come.LEVEL', and some 15 other verbs. A few examples are given below.

(156) *koo* 'cry' > *ga-koo* 'mourn her/him'
ʔuliŋ 'see, look' > *ga-ʔuliŋ* 'see, look at her/him'
ɓotaŋ 'insulting' > *ga-ɓotaŋ* 'insult her/him'

When motion verbs are prefixed, the referent prefixed on the verb is interpreted as a goal or reason for the movement (157).

(157) *Naŋ* *ʔil* *anu* *ga-ma.*
1SG.NOM thing one 3SG-come.LEVEL
'I've come for something.'

Additionally, a number of transitive verbs may or may not index P with a person prefix based on animacy. That is, some verbs that usually take an inanimate P argument may demote this argument to oblique, and add a human argument which acts as a goal by means of a person prefix. The verbs for which this has been attested are verbs of transfer and include *mega* 'place, put', *halia* 'hang', and *panatu* 'send'. An example is given in (158), where *seŋ* 'money', which is a P in the first example, is demoted to oblique by *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL', and *Paulus* is incorporated as a P by means of the prefix *ga-*.

(158) a. *Naŋ* *seŋ* *panatu.*
1SG.NOM money send
'I send money.'

b. *Naŋ* *seŋ* *mia* *ma* *Paulus* *ga-panatu.*
1SG.NOM money take come.LEVEL Paulus 3SG-send
'I send Paulus money.'

6.1.3 A-adding prefixation on intransitive verbs

Some intransitive verbs may be causativized by means of a person prefix. This is exemplified in (159), where the intransitive stative verb *hika* 'broken, torn' is causativized by means of the prefix *ga-*, which is coreferential with the causee *kapa* 'yarn', and the A *gaŋ* is licensed as a result. As (159c) shows, causativizing prefixes may also express the causee referent pronominally.

(159) a. *Kapa* *ʔaŋa* *hika.*
yarn NPROX broken
'The yarn is broken.'

b. *Gaŋ* *kapa* *ʔaŋa* *ga-hika.*
3SG.NOM yarn NPROX 3SG-broken
'He tears the yarn apart.'

c. *Gaŋ* *ga-hika.*
3SG.NOM 3SG-broken
'He breaks it.'

Causativization involves stative verbs as well as a number of active intransitive verbs and a handful of nouns. These have the full prefix paradigm at their disposal, but have by far the highest text frequency with inanimate, third person causees. Table 16 lists a number of attested active and stative verbs that may be causativized by means of a person prefix.

Table 16: Some causativizable verbs in Reta.

ACTIVE > CAUSATIVE		STATIVE > CAUSATIVE	
sooru	'slide'	*tutuŋ*	'hot'
taa	'lie down'	*ɓohiŋ*	'empty'
tootu	'flow'	*molo*	'straight'
mugu	'fall'	*hamoolaŋ*	'clean'
bale	'return'	*tepul*	'scorched'
koola	'fall, tumble'	*liali*	'clear, open'
miha	'sit'	*hika*	'broken, torn'
hipal	'spring'	*taɓokaŋ*	'short'

6.1.4 Verbs indexing S, A or P

There is a small class of verbs that indexes either S, A or P with a person prefix, which to some extent resembles the inherently reflexive verbs in Nedebang (Schapper, this volume). These verbs can be divided into two types. For one type only S can be indexed, while for the other type either A or P may be indexed.

The first type consists of two verbs, *tajobiŋ* 'forget' and *-eeliŋ* 'remember', which both take a person prefix indexing A. This is obligatory for *-eeliŋ* 'remember' (which also obligatorily takes an applicative), but it is optional for *tajobiŋ* 'forget'. However, without a person prefix, *tajobiŋ* can only be used intransitively. An example is given in (160), where *tajobiŋ* 'forget' is used transitively and the prefix *pi-* indexes A.

(160) *Oo, ʔadi piŋ pi-tajobiŋ!*
EXCL PROX 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-forget
'Oh, this we forgot!'

There is also a set of five posture verbs that are obligatorily prefixing, and whose prefix indexes either S or P. These are *-lomuŋ* 'upright', *-ala ɓeɓe* 'supine', *-tukuŋ* 'bow, bend', *-at takuli* 'upside down' and *-doodu* 'prone'. When their prefix indexes S, the construction is intransitive, but it becomes transitive when it indexes P. This contrast is exemplified in (161).

(161) a. *Naŋ na-doodu.*
1SG.NOM 1SG-prone
'I lie prone.'

b. *Naŋ ga-doodu.*
1SG.NOM 3SG-prone
'I lay her/him/it prone.'

6.1.5 Intransitive verbs indexing S

Reta has a number of so-called S-prefixing verbs. Those that have been attested are *-aaga* 'not want', *tula* 'first', *viaki* 'last, from behind', *-lokaŋ* 'alone', *-manaka* 'of one's own accord' and *-egeł* 'have one's turn to'. The indexation of S is optional for *tula* 'first' and *viaki* 'last, from behind', and obligatory for the other four. An example is given in (162).

(162) *Gaŋ g-aaga.*
3SG.NOM 3SG-not.want
'S/he doesn't want to.'

S-prefixing verbs are somewhat idiosyncratic in that, rather than function as a predicates, they can be used in argument position, as exemplified in (163). As these examples show, they are optionally accompanied by a coreferential NP, noun or pronoun.

(163) a. *Vede (giŋ) **gi-lokaŋ** ʔil kede.*
today 3PL 3PL-alone thing eat
'Today they ate alone.'

b. *Vede* (*giŋ*) ***gi-viaki*** *ʔil* *kede*.
today 3PL 3PL-last thing eat
'Today they ate last.'

c. *Vede* (*giŋ*) ***gi-tula*** *ʔil* *kede*.
today 3PL 3PL-first thing eat
'Today they ate first.'

The following examples illustrate further the difference between S-prefixing verbs in predicates and in argument position. In (164), *galokaŋ* occurs inside the embracing negation and is part of the predicate. In (165) it is shown that it can also occur outside the predicate: adverbs like *vede* 'today' always occur on the left edge of the predicate, and, as the examples show, *galokaŋ* can either occur inside or outside of it, and either alone or with a coreferential noun, NP or pronoun.

(164) *ʔiba* *se* *ɓaka-ɓaka* *ɓenaŋ* [*ka* ***ga-lokaŋ*** *ba* *naga*.]$_{\text{PRED}}$
but when frog ANAPH NEG 3SG-alone FOC NEG
'...but the frog was not alone.'

(165) a. *Ni-maaŋ* [*vede* ***ga-lokaŋ*** *taaŋ* *mi* *hela* *jema*.]$_{\text{PRED}}$
1.POSS.II-father today 3SG-alone sea in descend go
'Today father went to the beach alone.'

b. *Ni-maaŋ* ***ga-lokaŋ*** [*vede* *taaŋ* *mi* *hela* *jema*.]$_{\text{PRED}}$
1.POSS.II-father 3SG-alone today sea in descend go
'Today father alone went to the beach.'

c. ***Ga-lokaŋ*** [*vede* *taaŋ* *mi* *hela* *jema*.]$_{\text{PRED}}$
3SG-alone today sea in descend go
'S/he alone went to the beach today.'

S-prefixing verbs behaving as pronouns have been attested in a number of different roles, such as undergoers and recipients. Example (166) below shows *gitula* 'them first' as an undergoer, and example (167) shows *giviaki* 'them last' as a recipient.

(166) *Naŋ* *meleŋ* ***gi-tula*** *gi-ʔuliŋ*.
1SG.NOM before.today 3PL-first 3PL-see
'I saw them first yesterday.'

(167) *Naŋ* *bi mat* *mia* *ma* ***gi-viaki*** *ginaŋ*.
1SG.NOM betel.nut take come.LEVEL 3PL-last 3PL.give
'I gave them betel nut last.'

Like the dual pronouns described in section 5.4, S-prefixing verbs find themselves somewhere on the cline between verb and pronoun. Contrary to dual pronouns, however, they are analyzed as verbs rather than pronouns, because they usually occur in predicates rather than in argument position, and are most often accompanied by a coreferential noun or pronoun.

6.2 Applicativizing prefixes

6.2.1 Applicative *u=*

The applicative proclitic *u=* is a very productive applicative that primarily transitivizes one-place verbs and promotes oblique participants to core argument (168). It is analyzed as a clitic because it can attach to entire verb phrases with accusative pronouns, which is shown further below. It may also coalesce with a person prefix and become an applicativizing person prefix. This is discussed in section 6.2.2.

(168) a. *Naŋ* *hipal.*
1SG.NOM jump
'I jump.'

b. *Naŋ* *vaal* *ʔaŋa* *u=hipal.*
1SG.NOM stone NPROX APPL=jump
'I jumped towards the stone.'

The semantic roles that can be fulfilled by the licensed argument are locatives (generally goals) and 'stimuli' in the sense of a subject of thought or discussion, as shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Licensing of allatives and stimuli.

ROOT	APPLICATIVIZED
hera 'drop, fall'	*u=hera* 'drop, fall onto'
ʔande 'think'	*u=ʔande* 'think about'

When used on an intransitive active verb or non-prefixing transitive verb, *u=* is attached directly to the root. When it is used on a prefixed verb, e.g. a causativized stative verb or an obligatorily prefixing transitive verb, it appears to the left of the person prefix. This is shown in Tables 18 and 19 below.

Table 18: Applicativization of causativized stative verbs.

ROOT	PREFIXED FORM	APPLICATIVIZED
liali 'bright'	*ga-liali* 'make it bright'	*u=ga-liali* 'shine on'
kaahi 'split'	*ga-kaahi* 'split it'	*u=ga-kaahi* 'tear it out, off'

Table 19: Applicativization of prefixing transitive verbs.

ROOT	PREFIXED FORM	APPLICATIVIZED
-ɓuniŋ 'hide'	*ga-ɓuniŋ* 'hide it'	*u=ga-ɓuniŋ* 'hide it from'
-luali 'follow'	*ga-luali* 'follow her/him'	*u=ga-luali* 'believe, obey'

There are cases when *u=* does not license an additional argument, i.e. is valence-preserving, which is only ever the case when it occurs on a transitive verb. In these cases the P is usually marked as allative, e.g. *haɓaa* 'hit' > *u=haɓaa* 'hit at'. Two examples are given in Table 20.

Table 20: Valence-preserving applicativization.

ROOT	APPLICATIVIZED
pataaki 'cut'	*u=pataaki* 'cut on(to), carve (away) at'
bukaŋ '(sit) near, close to'	*u=bukaŋ* 'guard, watch over'

Valence-preserving applicativization tends to affect the intensity of the action. An example of this in sentential context is given in (169), where *u=* intensifies the transitive verb *nalia* 'lick'.[7]

(169) *Ga-jobal ɓenaŋ navera, ʔaŋa mi ga-manaakiŋ* ***u=nalia***.
3SG.POSS.I-dog ANAPH happy NPROX in 3SG.POSS.I-owner APPL=lick
'This dog of his was happy, and then licked his owner up and down.'

Formally, *u=* is analyzed as a clitic, because it may attach to entire verb phrases that contain an accusative pronoun. In such cases, the licensed argument constitutes a reason or cause. An example is given in (170), where *u=* licenses *ʔil* 'thing' as a reason.

7 This type of re-analysis of applicatives is cross-linguistically common (Willemsen 2017).

(170) *ʔil* *ba* *piŋ* ***u=teŋ*** ***gahiŋ*** ***jema*** ***ɓaana*** ***ʔadu***
thing FOC 1PL.INCL APPL=RECP order go bring arrive

ʔaŋa *ka* *ɓaana* *ʔadu* *ba* *naga.*
NPROX NEG bring arrive FOC NEG
'The thing we send each other for does not arrive.'

Numerals and some nouns may also take applicative *u=*, yielding a meaning like 'make X into Y', e.g. *atoga* 'three' > *u=atoga* 'make it into three'. Nominal examples include *sarinta* 'story' > *u=sarinta* 'make into a story, tell a story about' and *jaal* 'dream' > *u=jaal* 'have a dream about'. In example (171) below, the use of *u=* on numerals is exemplified.

(171) *Matul* *a-ʔe* *ʔaab* *tuni* ***u=atoga.***
old.woman NPROX-be fish cut APPL=three
'The lady is cutting the fish into three.'

6.2.2 Applicativizing person prefixes

Applicativizing person prefixes license additional pronominal arguments. They can be analyzed as coalescences of *u=* and a person prefix, and are exclusive to human referents (172). This coalescence is optional when the referent is also expressed by a nominal subject (173).

(172) a. *Gaŋ* *moŋ* *u=ɓaliliŋ.* (**goo-ɓaliliŋ*)
3SG.NOM snake APPL=afraid 3SG.APPL-afraid
'He's afraid of the snake.'

b. *Moŋ* *goo-ɓaliliŋ.*
snake 3SG.APPL-afraid
'The snake is afraid of him.'

(173) a. *Naŋ* *nama* *ʔaŋa* *u=hipal.*
1SG.NOM person NPROX APPL=jump
'I jump towards that person.'

b. *Naŋ* *nama* *ʔaŋa* *goo-hipal.*
1SG.NOM person NPROX 3SG.APPL-jump
'I jump towards that person.'

As was shown in section 6.2.1, applicative *u*= occurs to the left of any person prefix, e.g. *gaɓuniŋ* 'hide it' > *ugaɓuniŋ* 'hide it from'. In most cases, *u*= can then still coalesce with a person prefix, resulting in two participants indexed on the verb (174)–(175).

(174) a. *u=ga-liali*
APPL=3SG-bright
'make it bright for'

b. *goo-ga-liali*
3SG.APPL-3SG-bright
'make it bright for her/him'

(175) a. *u=ga-ɓuniŋ*
APPL=3SG-hide
'hide it from'

b. *goo-ga-ɓuniŋ*
3SG.APPL-3SG-hide
'hide it from her/him'

As the data provided thus far suggest, applicativizing person prefixes fulfil largely the same function as the bare applicative *u*=, albeit with a pronominally expressed, human referent. There are, however, a number of cases where the applicativizing person prefix yields an idiosyncratic meaning compared to the bare applicative *u*= (176).

(176) *Naŋ* *noo-ʔuliŋ.* (cf. *u=ʔuliŋ* 'stare/gaze at')
1SG.NOM 1SG.APPL-see
'I dress up / show off.'

7 Serial verb constructions

Like all other TAP languages, Reta makes extensive use of serial verbs. This section describes the most important of these. Section 7.1 discusses the marking of direction and elevation, and section 7.2 discusses participant-introducing SVCs. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 are devoted to discussions of two prominent verbal elements with a wide variety of purposes, *mi* 'in, at' and *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL'. Aspect and mood, which are often marked by means of SVCs, are discussed in section 8.

7.1 Direction and elevation

7.1.1 Elevational and deictic verbs

In addition to the elevationally marked determiners which were discussed in section 4.4, Reta has a sizeable paradigm of elevationally marked distal verbs,

as well as deictic, speech-participant anchored verbs. These are laid out in Table 21. All such verbs are effectively inflected for location, and are the result of re-iterating combinations of deictic elements and other parts-of-speech. Some of them, like the *goa*-set and the *mi*-set in columns 2 and 4, can also take a nominal or pronominal complement.

Table 21: Reta elevationally and spatially marked verbs.

	'be'	'here, there' (non-visible)	'here, there' (visible)	'near, via, side'		'follow, along'
				AXAL	NON-AXAL	
DIST.LEVEL	*moʔe*	*moomi*	*ʔadimoo*	*mogoa*	*magoa*	*moogooni*
DIST.HIGH	*toʔe*	*toomi*	*ʔaditoo*	*togoa*	*tagoa*	*toogooni*
DIST.LOW	*poʔe*	*poomi*	*ʔadipoo*	*pogoa*	*pagoa*	*poogooni*
NPROX	*aʔe*	*ʔaŋ(a)mi*	*ʔadia*	*agoa*		*agani*
PROX	*giʔe*	*ʔadi(ŋ)mi*	*ʔadii*	*gigoa*		*giani*

The paradigms combine a dimension of distance, i.e. PROXIMATE, NON-PROXIMATE and DISTAL, with a dimension of elevation, i.e. HIGH, LEVEL and LOW. It should be noted that the term 'elevation' here corresponds to more than physical elevation. For example, Kalabahi, which can be seen from the slopes of Pura, is situated lower and also appears as such. Yet, it is marked as HIGH from this viewpoint. Conversely, the Retta village on the slopes of Pura is marked as LOW from the viewpoint of Kalabahi. As is argued in Willemsen (in preparation), this is because compass points also play a role in the mapping of elevation onto elevational verbs and motion verbs. Further, any location far removed from the Alor-Pantar archipelago, e.g. Jakarta, is marked as LOW. I will now briefly discuss the respective paradigms in turn.

The 'be'-set and the non-visible 'here, there'-set in the first two columns are by far the most commonly used elements. They often occur together and their functions overlap to some degree. The 'be'-set, characterized by the bound element *-ʔe*, consists of existential verbs marked for proximity and elevation (177). When modifying a verb, they typically occur to its left and signal that an action is carried out at this location (178).

(177) *To-ʔe* *ba* *naga!*
DIST.HIGH-be FOC NEG
'(It's) not up there!'

(178) *To-ʔe* *paleteŋ* *mi* *jia.*
DIST.HIGH-be height in placed
'(It's) sat up high.'

The non-visible 'here, there'-set in the second column are locatives. While they can form a predicate on their own (179), they are most often accompanied by a motion verb, in which case the location becomes an allative or ablative (180).

(179) *bee* *aɓal* *ɓaal* *atoga* *moo-mi* *ʔaŋa*
pig white big three DIST.LEVEL-in NPROX
'the three big white pigs over there'

(180) *Aŋ* *moo-mi* *va!*
2SG.NOM DIST.LEVEL-in go.LEVEL
'You go over there!'

As Table 21 shows, the non-visible 'here, there'-set is characterized by the addition of *mi* 'in, at' to spatial prefixes such as *moo-*. As such, they can be replaced by other locative phrases. This is shown in (181), where *poomi* 'down there' is replaced by a more specific locative phrase.

(181) a. *Ni-vaa* *po-ʔe* ***poo-mi***.
1.POSS.II-mother DIST.LOW-be DIST.LOW-in
'Mother is down there.'

b. *Ni-vaa* *po-ʔe* ***i-ʔee*** ***mi***.
1.POSS.II-mother DIST.LOW-be 2PL.POSS.I-house in
'Mother is at your house (down there).'

The visible 'here, there'-set in the third column has a function and distribution largely similar to the non-visible set, but is only used when the location expressed is visible, known, or otherwise accessible to both the speaker and the addressee, and its use is often accompanied by a pointing gesture. An example is given in (182).

(182) *Gaŋ* *ʔadipoo!*
3SG.NOM yonder.LOW.VIS
'He's down there (look)!'

The items in the *goa*-set are semantically versatile, and can be used as nouns and verbs. As nouns, they mean 'vicinity' or 'side', as in (183). The fact that *goa* is a noun in this example is clear from the fact that it is introduced by *mi* 'in, at'.

(183) *Gaŋ* *gi-ʔe* *neg* *goa* *mi*.
3SG.NOM PROX-be 1SG.POSS side/vicinity in
'S/he is at my side / near me.'

As a verb in an SVC, *goa* modifies the verb occurring to its right and denotes movement towards or along a certain path in space. When it modifies a motion verb, it implies movement in a certain direction, although never a specific location (184). If it modifies a non-motion verb, approximate location is implied (185).

(184) *Gaŋ* *po-goa* *ʔi.*
3SG.NOM DIST.LOW-via go.down
'S/he's going somewhere downward / passing down there.'

(185) *Geŋ* *mo-goa* *miha.*
3SG.ACC DIST.LEVEL-around/side sit
'S/he's sitting somewhere over there / on yonder side.'

The elevationally marked members of the *goa*-set are divided into an axal and a non-axal set. The difference between these is that the axal set is used when the speaker is located on the height axis, whereas the non-axal set is used when the speaker is removed from this axis. The use of the axal *pogoa* in example (184), for instance, implies that the speaker is situated above the referent expressed by *gaŋ* '3SG.NOM'. Using a non-axal form like *pagoa*, rather than the axal *pogoa*, would imply that the referent *gaŋ* is situated in a downhill position relative to another object in space, but that the speaker is situated neither above nor below the referent.

The verbs in the *(g)Vni*-set in the last column, roughly meaning 'follow, along', express a path or direction. As such, they cannot be combined with non-movement verbs such as *miha* 'sit'. They typically modify a motion verb to their right and indicate movement to a specific location (186). This set, especially the proximal and non-proximal forms, are often used in an abstract, non-spatial sense, e.g. *agani* 'that way, like that' or *giani* 'this way, like this'.

(186) *Moo-gooni* *va!*
DIST.LEVEL-follow/along go.LEVEL
'Go (along) yonder way!'

Reta also has a number of comparative verbs that may take a free pronominal object such as *geŋ* '3SG.ACC' or *momo* 'that over there (level)', but which may also take a spatial prefix. The paradigms are given in Table 22. An example is given in (187) below.

Table 22: Reta elevationally and spatially marked comparative verbs.

	'as much as'	'as big as'	'as high as'
DIST.LEVEL	*monoaŋ*	*movaaŋ*	*mosuɓaŋ*
DIST.HIGH	*tonoaŋ*	*tovaaŋ*	*tosuɓaŋ*
DIST.LOW	*ponoaŋ*	*povaaŋ*	*posuɓaŋ*
NPROX	*anoaŋ*	*avaaŋ*	*asuɓaŋ*
PROX	*ginoaŋ*	*givaaŋ*	*gisuɓaŋ*

(187) *Geŋ* *ʔaŋa* *po-vaaŋ.*
3SG.ACC NPROX DIST.LOW-as.big.as
'He there, he's as big as that down there.'

7.1.2 Motion verbs

Motion verbs are not morphologically marked for elevation and deixis, and take a single argument. As discussed in section 6.1.2, they may be subject to P-adding prefixation, which is not further discussed here. Motion verbs combine a dimension of movement relative to a deictic center with a dimension of elevation. The paradigms are laid out in Table 23.

Table 23: Reta motion verbs.

	FROM DEICTIC CENTER	TO DEICTIC CENTER	NEUTRAL
LEVEL	*va* 'go.LEVEL'	*ma* 'come.LEVEL'	–
HIGH	*mida* 'go up'	*mada* 'come up'	*mada* 'ascend'
LOW	*ʔi* 'go down'	*ja* 'come down'	*hela* 'descend'
NEUTRAL	*jema* 'go'	*ʔadu* 'arrive'	–

The elevationally neutral motion verbs, *ʔadu* 'arrive' and *jema* 'go', are used when elevation is irrelevant, which implies movement to a location too far for elevation to either matter or be determined at all. The motion verbs neutral to the deictic center, *mada* 'come up, ascend' and *hela* 'descend', are used when the deictic center is irrelevant, e.g. in case of smoke rising in the distance. Notice that *mada* 'ascend' is used for general ascension ('ascend') and ascension towards the deictic center ('come up').

When acting as the sole verb of a predicate, motion verbs simply mean 'come (up/down)', 'go (up/down)', etc. (188).

(188) a. *Naŋ* *va.*
1SG.NOM go.LEVEL
'I go.'

b. *Naŋ* *ma.*
1SG.NOM come.LEVEL
'I come.'

When used in a serial verb construction, they mark another verb for direction and appear to its right (189)–(191).

(189) *Batal* ***ɓaana*** ***ma****!*
corn bring come.LEVEL
'Bring the corn here!'

(190) *Aluaɓ* *aveniŋ* *alo* *ʔaŋa* *mi* ***ɓiliŋ*** ***mada****.*
chain long two NPROX in grow ascend
'Two long chains grew upwards there.'

(191) *Moŋ* *ɓaal* *anu* *ali* *taaŋ* ***mugu*** ***hela****.*
snake big one banyan.tree on fall descend
'A big snake fell down from the banyan tree.'

When a motion verb appears to the left of a verb rather than to its right, it is not interpreted as marking it for direction. This is shown in (192), where *va* 'go.LEVEL' with *taa* 'lie down' forms a symmetric serial verb construction expressing purpose.

(192) *Naŋ* *va* *taa.*
1SG.NOM go.LEVEL lie.down
'I'm going to sleep.'

Locative verbs are ambiguous between a static locative verb and a verb implying movement: *taaŋ* for instance, can mean both 'on', 'from on' and 'onto'. Adding a motion verb like *ʔadu* resolves this ambiguity (193).

(193) *Gi-ɓalooŋ* *ka* *giŋ* ***taaŋ*** ***ʔadu*** *ba* *naga.*
3PL.POSS.I-enemy NEG 3PL on arrive FOC NEG
'Their enemies will not approach (lit. arrive onto) them.'

7.2 Participant-introducing serialization

The types of clausal participants that can be introduced by means of serial verbs include themes, locatives of various kinds, instruments, comitatives and causees.

As themes were already discussed in section 3.2 on 'give'-constructions, this section is limited to the latter four.

7.2.1 Locatives

Locative verbs introduce a locative participant into the clause. They host a noun or NP to their left to form an oblique phrase, which then modifies a verb to its right. The following are among those that have been observed: *mi* 'in, at', *taaŋ* 'on', *dumaŋ* 'under', *goa* 'near, via, around', and *-daaŋ* 'follow, in front of'. These can all head a predicate on their own, but show varying degrees of grammaticalization: whereas for instance *-daaŋ* 'follow, in front of' is quite often found as the sole verb of a predicate, *mi* 'in, at' and *taaŋ* 'on, onto' most often modify other verbs. Some examples are given below.

(194) *Gaŋ* ***viag*** ***ejel*** ***ga-daaŋ*** *matee*.
3SG.NOM stairs base 3SG-follow stand
'He stands right in front of the door.'

(195) *Aŋ* ***taaŋ*** ***mi*** *hela* *se,* *kasimaataŋ* *ɓaana* *hi.*
2SG.NOM sea in descend if glasses bring DEONT
'If you go down to the sea, bring your goggles.'

(196) *Aluha* *to-ʔe* ***abuka*** ***taaŋ*** *matee.*
deer DIST.HIGH-be hill on stand
'The deer is standing on the hill.'

(197) *Giŋ* ***tee*** ***dumaŋ*** *miha.*
3PL tree under sit
'They're sat under a tree.'

(198) *Namol* *ʔol* *anu* *a-ʔe* ***kadera*** ***ga-mota*** ***goa*** *ta-ɓuniŋ.*
child small one NPROX-be chair 3SG.POSS.I-back near REFL-hide
'A small child is hiding behind (lit. near the back of) a chair.'

7.2.2 Instruments

Instruments are introduced by the complex verb *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL'. As was discussed in section 3.2, *mia ma* also serves to introduce themes in 'give'-construc-

tions. While both *mia* 'take' and *ma* 'come.LEVEL' can act as the head of a predicate, *mia ma* as a complex verb cannot. See section 7.4 for other functions of *mia ma*.

Examples (199) and (200) show the use of *mia ma* in an instrumental construction. In most cases the instrument occurs directly to the left of *mia ma* and the P occurs directly to the left of the main verb (199), but quite often the instrumental phrase will occur in between the P and the main verb (200).

(199) *Jero* ***tuta*** ***mia*** ***ma*** *ga-ʔee* *vei.*
Jero corr.iron take come.LEVEL 3SG.POSS.I-house roof
'Jeroen uses corrugated iron to roof his house.'

(200) *Jero* *ga-ʔee* *ʔaŋa* ***tuta*** *ba* ***mia*** ***ma*** *vei.*
Jero 3SG.POSS.I-house NPROX corr.iron FOC take come.LEVEL roof
'Jeroen's house, (he) uses corrugated iron to roof (it).'

It is tempting to analyze *mia ma* as composed of the action of taking something and bringing it somewhere (or, in ditransitive clauses, to transfer it to a recipient). However, either *mia* or *ma* is often dropped, which would leave one of two actions underexposed (201). Further, *mia* 'take' does not entail taking the referent because when the act of taking is explicitly expressed, *mia* 'take' is used along with *mia ma* (202).

(201) *Gaŋ* ***hameeliŋ*** ***ma*** *kiaŋ* *pataaki.*
3SG.NOM knife come.LEVEL cloth cut
'He cuts the cloth with a knife.'

(202) *Gaŋ* *ʔoli* ***ga-peda*** *di* ***mia*** *e* ***mia*** ***ma***
3SG.NOM also 3SG.POSS.I-sword too take CONJ take come.LEVEL

ʔoli *g-ataŋ* *g-ala* *hi* *se,*
also 3SG.POSS.I-hand 3SG-with DEONT when

moŋ *g-oomi* *taaniŋ* *mida.*
snake 3SG.POSS.I-inside shove go.up
'He also took his sword and, together with his hand, impaled the snake with it.'

7.2.3 Comitatives

Comitatives are formed by *-ala* 'with'. It may denote joint action as in (203), but may also imply a referent is taken somewhere (204).

(203) *Naŋ* ***hial*** ***vaal*** ***g-ala*** *ʔadu.*
1SG.NOM wife child 3SG-with arrive
'I arrive with my family.'

(204) *Naŋ* ***g-ala*** *jema ʔil adagal ʔaŋa mi geŋ tamina.*
1SG.NOM 3SG-with go thing garden NPROX in 3SG.ACC kill
'I'll take him to the garden and kill him there.'

7.2.4 Causatives

Causative SVCs are formed with the verb *gene* 'make, do'. In non-causative constructions, i.e. when its P is a noun, pronoun or NP and there is no predicate of effect, it simply appears to its right (205).

(205) *Naŋ* *ʔee* *gene.*
1SG.NOM house make
'I built a house.'

In a causative SVC, it appears to the right of the causee and to the left of the predicate of effect (206). As the causee is the P of *gene* 'make, do' and the S/A of the predicate of effect, such constructions can be considered switch-subject SVCs.

(206) *Gaŋ* ***na-noovaŋ*** ***gene*** *karita*
3SG.NOM 1SG.POSS.I-sarong make dirty
'She made my sarong dirty.'

An alternative way of forming causatives is by means of a complement clause. This clause is then the predicate of effect as well as the complement of *gene*. This is exemplified in (207). The fact that the complement of *gene* is a clause rather than the causee NP is made clear by the fact that the first person pronoun in the complement clause appears in the nominative.

(207) *Gaŋ* ***gene*** [*naŋ* *ʔil* *ʔaŋa* *ga-ʔuliŋ.*]$_{\text{COMPL}}$
3SG.NOM make 1SG.NOM thing NPROX 3SG-see
'He had me look at it.'

It should be pointed out that the alternative realization of causatives such as in (206) by means of a complement clause (207) also distinguishes them from

so-called cause-effect SVCs. To illustrate, in example (206), *gene* 'make, do' does not refer to the act of producing something, hence it is a causative and may alternatively be realized with a complement clause (208). If we change the predicate of effect to e.g. *ɓiɓa* 'red', however, *gene* can only be interpreted as denoting the act of producing something ('she made my sarong red'), in which case it is not a causative, and consequently realization by means of a complement clause is questionable for most speakers.

(208) *Gaŋ* ***gene*** [*na-noovaŋ* *karita/ʔɓiɓa.*]$_{\text{COMPL}}$
3SG.NOM make 1SG.POSS.I-sarong dirty/red
'She caused my sarong to be dirty/?red.'

7.3 *Mi* 'in, at'

The verb *mi* 'in, at' deserves further elaboration because it is highly versatile in function and appears to be grammaticalizing into a de-verbal element. Firstly, *mi* often behaves like an applicative, as it remains within the predicate phrase in case the noun or NP it introduces is displaced. Secondly, it may appear to the left of temporal nouns and numerals. Thirdly, it may form a phonological word with its nominal complement and appear more postposition-like.

Firstly, *mi* is a verb that hosts a locative noun (209). It is often accompanied by a locative 'be'-verb such as *aʔe* 'NPROX-be', but regularly occurs as the sole verb of a predicate.

(209) *Gaŋ* *a-ʔe* *ʔee* *mi.*
3SG.NOM NPROX-be house in
'S/he is in the house.'

When *mi* is part of an SVC, it may introduce participants such as locations (209) and ablatives (210), as well as allatives and illatives (211). It generally appears to the left of the verb it modifies and is by default adjacent to the noun it hosts. However, as (209) above implies, it is not necessarily postpositional in the sense of modifying other predicates.

(210) *Giŋ* *po-ʔe* ***taaŋ*** ***g-oomi*** ***mi*** *mada.*
3PL DIST.LOW-be sea 3SG.POSS.I-inside in come.up
'They came from the sea.'

(211) *Jial ʔaŋa mia* ***sere mi*** *boal.*
water NPROX take kettle in pour
'Pour that water into the kettle.'

Although *mi* typically occurs adjacent to the noun or NP it introduces, it is in many cases part of the predicate phrase. This becomes evident when the noun or NP it introduces is front-shifted. Consider (212). Here the NP *manaa polol ʔaŋa* 'that haunted place' is front-shifted, yet *mi* stays within the predicate phrase.

(212) ***Manaa polol ʔaŋa*** *nama ka* ***mi*** *lamal ba naga.*
place haunted NPROX person NEG in walk FOC NEG
'That haunted place, people don't go there.'

Internally to a predicate phrase, *mi* displays some functions beyond the increase of valence. When combined with a transitive verb root, for instance, it usually indicates decreased intensity (213), and in some cases an illative meaning (214).

(213) *Naŋ maŋ geŋ* ***mi deegi****.*
1SG.NOM just 3SG.ACC in touch
'I only touched her a bit.'

(214) *Kabiab ʔaŋa gonoŋ, lotal ɓaal alo ʔaŋa*
goat NPROX COLL male big two NPROX

ka gi-oto ***mi kede*** *ba doo.*
NEG 3PL.POSS.I-testicle in eat FOC PROSP
'Those goats, the two bucks weren't castrated yet (lit. their testicles weren't bit into).'

With stative verbs, the addition of *mi* augments a property (215).[8]

(215) *Nibala se, neŋ* ***mi nua****.*
1DU.EXCL if 1SG.ACC in good
'I'm better than him (lit. if us two, I'm better).'

When *mi* does not license any additional arguments and the main verb is intransitive, the verb acquires a locative or illative meaning (216).

8 This type of construction is also found in Adang (see Robinson and Haan 2014: 246; Haan 2001: 136) as well as in Kui (Glenn Windschuttel pers. comm.).

(216) *Gaŋ* *mi* *tutuk*.
3SG.NOM in speak
'He speaks in (there) / speaks into (it).'

Below, some examples are provided of the different effects incorporated *mi* can have on the main verb. In (217), examples of decreased intensity are given, in (218) augmentation and repetition, and in (219) locatives and illatives. It appears that transitive verbs display decreased intensity, stative verbs acquire an augmented meaning, and active intransitive verbs acquire a locative or illative meaning.

(217) *haɓaa* 'hit' > *mi haɓaa* 'hit a little'
pak 'extinguish fire' > *mi pak* 'extinguish fire a little'
gahiŋ 'order her/him' > *mi gahiŋ* 'order her/him a little'

(218) *dagili* 'strong' > *mi dagili* 'stronger'
nua 'good' > *mi nua* 'better'
baloolu 'tall, high' > *mi baloolu* 'taller, higher'

(219) *tutuk* 'speak' > *mi tutuk* 'speak in/into (it)'
ʔeehi 'run' > *mi ʔeehi* 'run in/into (it)'
taa 'lie down' > *mi taa* 'lie down in (it)'

While it is clear that *mi* can occur to the left of the verb within the predicate phrase, strikingly, it may also occur to the left of temporal NPs such as *ʔil liali* 'daytime, daybreak', where it yields the meaning 'the next (night/day/etc.)'. This resembles the augmentative effect we saw on verbs in examples like (218), i.e. 'one more, the next', albeit on temporal nouns.

(220) ***Mi*** ***ʔil*** ***liali*** *ʔaŋ* *mu* *se,* *giŋ* *koo~koo* *matee*.
in thing bright NPROX after when 3PL RDP~morning get.up
'The next day they got up at the break of dawn.'

Further, as was touched upon in section 4.2, *mi* is also placed before numerals to form multiplicative numerals (221), and, in combination with the third person singular possessive marker, to form ordinal numerals (222).

(221) *Gaŋ* *moŋ* *ɓenaŋ* *hola* ***mi*** ***atoga***.
3SG.NOM snake ANAPH slash in three
'He slashed the snake three times.'

(222) *Keta-ŋ* *ba* *geŋ* *gene* ***ga=mi*** ***alo*** *ʔadi* *talaalu*
sick-DVRB FOC 3SG.ACC make 3SG.POSS.I=in two PROX too

tamaadi.
heavy
'The disease he caught the second time was too severe.'

While it is clear from the examples above that *mi* is usually part of the predicate phrase, there are examples in which it cliticizes to the noun it hosts. In such cases, it forms a phonological word with the NP, which causes the stress to shift one syllable to the right (see section 2.4). To which nouns *=mi* cliticizes appears to be lexically determined. In (223)–(224) below, some examples of *=mi* versus *mi* are listed.

(223) *aji* 'whole' > *aji=mi* 'everyone, everything'
Dolabaŋ 'place name' > *Dolabaŋ=mi* 'in Dolabang'
ʔadi 'PROX' > *ʔadi=mi* 'here'
Maluk 'mountain name' > *Maluk=mi* 'on Mount Maru'
buraŋ 'sky' > *buraŋ=mi* 'in the sky'

(224) *g-oomi* 'its inside' > *g-oomi mi* 'inside of it'
ʔagual 'harbor' > *ʔagual mi* 'at the harbor'
Meelaŋvala 'place name' > *Meelaŋvala mi* 'in Melangwala'
ʔabaŋ 'village' > *ʔabaŋ mi* 'in the village'
Letal 'harbor name' > *Letal mi* 'at Letal harbor'

7.4 *Mia ma* 'take come'

This section elaborates on the complex verb *mia ma* 'take come', which has acquired a number of different functions, chief among which are the introduction of (i) instruments, (ii) themes, (iii) moved participants and (iv) participants that are assigned a new nominal state. Strikingly, it is also found as a preposed focus particle, roughly meaning 'as well as'.

Each of its components, *mia* 'take' and *ma* 'come.LEVEL', can function separately as the sole verb of a predicate, but *mia ma* as a complex verb cannot. As was shown in sections 3.2 and 7.2.2, *mia ma* is used transitively as a postpositional verb introducing themes in 'give'-constructions, as well as instruments. In ditransitive constructions it takes a subject argument, the 'giver', and a theme (225), and in instrumental constructions it takes a subject argument, the 'user', and an instrument (226).

(225) *Gaŋ* ***bi mat*** ***mia*** ***ma*** *boma* *genaŋ.*
3SG.NOM betel.nut take come.LEVEL old.man 3SG.give
'He gave the old man betel nut.'

(226) *Gaŋ* *taak* ***mia*** ***ma*** *tee* *pataaki.*
3SG.NOM axe take come.LEVEL tree cut
'He chops the wood with an axe.'

While *mia ma* usually expresses transfer of a theme in 'give'-constructions, in cases where the means of transfer is specified by another verb it usually appears alongside it (see also section 3.2). This is shown in (227), where transfer is effectively coded by *panatu* 'send', but where *mia ma* appears alongside it nonetheless. This is interesting, as it suggests that the concept of transfer is essentially over-exposed, and that *mia ma* functions as an indicator of movement of some kind.

(227) *Naŋ* ***seŋ*** *panatu* ***mia*** ***ma*** *ni-maaŋ* *genaŋ.*
1SG.NOM money send take come.LEVEL 1.POSS.II-father 3SG.give
'I send money to my father.'

It is reasonable to assume that *mia ma* as a verb contains a transitive component, *mia* 'take' and an intransitive component *ma* 'come.LEVEL', which signals movement to a deictic center. In the case of a theme in a 'give'-construction, *ma* 'come.LEVEL' applies to the transferred theme, i.e. it signifies movement of the theme to a deictic center, the recipient. *Mia* 'take' then signifies causation by the giver. Similarly, in instrumental constructions, the instrument can be interpreted as being moved to a certain place of event.[9] As was shown in section 3.2, however, both *mia* and *ma* are frequently left unrealized.

Another construction where caused movement to a deictic center becomes apparent is (228). In this clause, *mia ma* marks an unexpressed object (a golden chain), which is also the P of *baloli* 'wrap', and *mia ma* is obligatorily used to indicate caused movement to another location.

(228) *Giŋ* ø ***mia*** ***ma*** *saputaŋan* *mi*
3PL take come.LEVEL handkerchief in
'They wrapped (it) in a handkerchief.'

9 See Klamer (2010a: 324–337, 2010b) for analyses of the Teiwa verb *ma* 'come', which displays similar functions, but, contrary to *mia ma*, is analyzed as a one-place verb.

This is also the case in (229), where *mia ma* obligatorily marks *ɓuhu ʔaŋa* 'the spoon' as a transferred object along with the verb *mega* 'put', and serves to indicate caused movement.

(229) ***ɓuhu*** ***ʔaŋa*** ***mia*** ***ma*** *hora* *mi* *mega.*
spoon NPROX take come.LEVEL spoon.container in put
'Put the spoon in the container.'

Additionally, *mia ma* may indicate a caused change of state rather than a change in location. In such constructions, new nominal properties are assigned to a causee, i.e. 'make/turn X into Y'. This is shown in (230), where the causee *nama hial ʔaŋa* 'that woman' is introduced by *mia ma* alongside the causative predicate *gahial gene* 'make (into) his wife'.

(230) *Geŋ* *ba* *Tonuŋpito* *ʔaŋa* ***nama*** ***hial*** ***ʔaŋa*** ***mia***
3SG.ACC FOC Tonungpito NPROX person woman NPROX take

ma *ga-hial* *gene.*
come.LEVEL 3SG.POSS.I-wife make
'The one called Tonungpito made that woman his wife.'

Another example is given in (231), where *geŋ* '3SG.ACC', which is the P of *tamina* 'kill', is also marked by *mia ma* to indicate a change of state, and is subsequently the causee of the causative predicate *ɓiŋ gene* 'make (into) a seed'.

(231) *Vaal* *ʔaŋa*, *gaŋ* ***geŋ*** *tamina* ***mia*** ***ma***
child NPROX 3SG.NOM 3SG.ACC kill take come.LEVEL

ɓiŋ *gene* *tei* *jema.*
seed make plant go
'The child, she had killed it, made it into a seed and planted it.'

A somewhat unexpected function of *mia ma* is its ability to function as a preposed focus particle conjoining nouns and NPs, roughly meaning 'as well as'. Two examples of this are shown in (232)–(233).

(232) [*Milu Hulu Vanda Hulu*]$_{N}$ ***mia*** ***ma*** [*ʔabaŋ* *ga-manusia*]$_{NP}$
Milu Hulu Vanda Hulu take come.LEVEL village 3SG.POSS.I-person

aji=mi *mida.*
whole=in go.up
'Milu Hulu Vanda Hulu as well as the villagers, everyone went up.'

(233) *Daat-a* *Laha ʔol* *ʔaŋa* [*vaal* *amu* *alo*]$_{NP}$
grandchild-DNML Laha ʔol NPROX child male two

mia ***ma*** [*vaal* *hial* *avehaŋ.*]$_{NP}$
take come.LEVEL child female five
'Laha ʔol had two sons as well as five daughters.'

The constructions in (232)–(233) are best explained by the concept of addition, i.e. adding one referent to another. This becomes clear when considering example (234): a referent which is added to something else must be introduced by *mia ma*, as it is essentially 'moved' onto another clausal participant. This clausal participant is marked by the verb *gala* in (234), but in (232)–(233) no such marking takes place, leaving only *mia ma* to signify addition.

(234) *Aŋ* *juta* *avehaŋ* ***mia*** ***ma*** *neg* *ʔadi* *g-ala.*
2SG.NOM million five take come.LEVEL 1SG.POSS PROX 3SG-with
'You add five million to my (contribution).'

8 TAM marking

Aspect and modality are primarily marked by predicate-initial or predicate-final markers, most of which are fully lexical verbs. The most frequent of these are laid out in Table 24. In addition to these markers, verbs may be reduplicated to create quantitative aspectual distinctions, which was discussed in section 2.5.2 on reduplication. There is no tense marking.

Table 24: Reta TAM markers.

MARKER	POSITION	EFFECT
jema 'go'	Final	Perfect aspect
doo 'still, not yet'	Initial	Prospective aspect, epistemic modality
matee 'stand (up)'	Initial	Ingressive aspect
jia 'placed'	Final	Progressive aspect
seŋ 'finished'	Final	Completive aspect
malekaŋ 'must, obliged'	Initial	Deontic modality
bake 'ought to, should'	Initial	Deontic modality
hi 'must, should'	Final	Deontic modality
ake … gaanaŋ 'don't, lest'	Embracing	Negative deontic modality

Perspectival aspect is marked by predicate-initial *doo*, which expresses prospective aspect, and predicate-final *jema*, which expresses perfect aspect. Prospective *doo* anticipates, and perfect *jema* looks back upon, the commencement or termination of an event. The contrast between these is exemplified in (235).

(235) *Aŋ* *bale* *Denmark* *mi* ***jema*** *e* ***doo*** *a-ʔe*
2SG.NOM return Denmark in go CONJ PROSP NPROX-be

Valanda *mi?*
Netherlands in
'Have you returned to Denmark or are you still in the Netherlands?'

When *doo* expresses anticipation of the commencement of an event, the construction may have an epistemic modal reading, i.e. it expresses the expectation that something will occur. This is shown in (236). As was discussed in section 3.5.1, *doo* also enters into an embracing negation in 'not yet'-constructions.

(236) *Piŋ* ***doo*** *amina* *ba* *piŋ* *ʔeehi!*
1PL.INCL PROSP die FOC 1PL.INCL run
'We're (certainly) gonna die, so let's run!'

The phasal aspect markers are *matee* 'stand, get up', which expresses ingressive aspect, *jia* 'placed', which expresses progressive aspect, and *seŋ* 'finished', which expresses completive aspect. I now briefly discuss these in turn.

The verb *matee* 'stand (up)' may express ingressive aspect when used in predicate-initial position. It is restricted to volitional, active verbs and has a low text frequency compared to *jia* and *seŋ*. Example (237) shows the use of *matee* as an ingressive marker; in the situation that is sketched, the woman was already standing because she just arrived at the garden, so *matee* has lost its literal meaning in this case and serves as an ingressive marker.

(237) *Samper* *ʔil* *adagal* *mi* *mu se*,
arrive thing garden in after

nama *hial* *ɓenaŋ* ***matee*** *vaal* *ɓenaŋ* *geŋ* *tamina.*
person woman ANAPH stand.up child ANAPH 3SG.ACC kill
'Having arrived at the garden, the woman started killing her child.'

Progressive aspect is expressed by addition of the verb *jia* 'placed' (238). As example (239) shows, perspectival aspect takes scope over progressive aspect.

(238) *Boma ʔaŋa miha ʔeŋkuali pakiala* ***jia***.
old.man NPROX sit palmyra whittle placed
'The man is sat whittling palm leaves.'

(239) *Tee aahi* ***doo*** *a-ʔe tee taaŋ hila~hila* ***jia***.
tree fruit PROSP NPROX-be tree on RDP~hang placed
'Fruits are still hanging in the tree.'

Completive aspect is marked by *seŋ* 'finished', as in (240). As a phasal aspect marker, it differs from perfect aspect as marked by *jema* 'go' in specifying the phase of development of an event, in this case total completion. By contrast, *jema* implies relevance of an event to the present, but leaves implicit whether this event has reached completion or not (241). These markers may be combined, in which case perfect aspect takes scope over completive aspect (242).

(240) *Naŋ ʔee gene* ***seŋ***.
1SG.NOM house make finished
'I finished building the house (I will not build another).'

(241) *Naŋ ʔee gene* ***jema***.
1SG.NOM house make go
'I've already built/started building the house (I might build another).'

(242) *Naŋ ʔee gene* ***seŋ*** ***jema***.
1SG.NOM house make finished go
'I've finished building the house (I will not build another).'

The following examples further exemplify this difference: whereas *jema* in (243) and (244) implies at least the commencement of a state-of-affairs relevant to the speech moment, which may or may not be fully completed, *seŋ* in (245) implies total completion at a point in the past.

(243) *Niŋ gi-ʔe too-puni* ***jema***.
1PL.EXCL PROX-be RECP.APPL-hold go
'We have already gathered (we're here now).'

(244) *ʔil ka~kua* ***jema***.
thing RDP~dark go
'It is already (getting) dark.'

(245) *Aji=mi* *mi* *jia* ***seŋ***.
whole=in in placed finished
'It all already happened.'

Modality is not expressed nearly as frequently as aspect. In (239) above we already saw that the prospective marker *doo* may express epistemic modality, i.e. the expectation that an event will occur. Epistemic modality may also be expressed by one of the markers *ba giʔe* and *ba aʔe*, which consist of a focus particle *ba* and a 'be'-verb. These markers express the speaker's personal commitment to the truth value of an entire proposition, or signal that the propositional content is not common ground between the speaker and the addressee.[10]

(246) *Iŋ* *g-eli* ***ba*** ***a-ʔe***.
2PL 3SG-know FOC NPROX-be
'You know it, I reckon (lit. you know it is what is there).'

Deontic modality comes in two types. The first type, which is marked by the predicate-initial markers *malekaŋ* and *bake*, expresses obligation for a clausal participant to engage in an event. *Malekaŋ* and *bake* express strong and mild obligation respectively, as shown in (247).

(247) a. *Nama* *ba* *jema* *milil* *ʔaŋa* ***malekaŋ*** *kalaaŋ* *ɓaana*.
person FOC go fight.war NPROX DEONT k.o.sword bring
'The people that go to war must bring swords.'

b. *Nama* *ba* *jema* *milil* *ʔaŋa* ***bake*** *kalaaŋ* *ɓaana*.
person FOC go fight.war NPROX DEONT k.o.sword bring
'The people that go to war should bring swords.'

The second type of deontic modality marking expresses the desirability for an event to occur according to a set of societal norms, without this desirability being the responsibility of any clausal participant. It is expressed by the predicate-final marker *hi*, as shown in (248).

10 The choice between proximate *ba giʔe* and non-proximate *ba aʔe* is mainly dependent on the accessibility of information with respect to both interlocutors. For instance, if the truth value of a proposition is purely the estimation of the speaker based on their own experience, this is generally marked by proximate *ba giʔe*. However, if the truth value constitutes information that is retrievable from the addressee, non-proximate *ba aʔe* is generally used.

(248) *Kondo u=ɓaa jema ʔaŋa looluŋ* ***hi.***
shirt APPL=hit go NPROX rinse DEONT
'The washed shirt should be rinsed.'

The negative counterpart of *hi* is the embracing negation *ake* [...] *gaanaŋ*, as shown in (249). This embracing negation was shown to be used in prohibitives in section 3.5.2, where it was also argued that it expresses a broader notion of negative deontic modality.

(249) *Kondo u=ɓaa jema ʔaŋa* ***ake*** *looluŋ* ***gaanaŋ.***
shirt APPL=hit go NPROX NEG.DEONT rinse NEG.DEONT
'The washed shirt should not be rinsed.'

9 Discussion

Reta has a straightforward phonological system with little interaction between phonology and morphology. The size of its consonant inventory lies somewhere between the larger inventories found on Pantar and the smaller systems found on Alor. Its stress system is trochaic but may be disrupted by heavy syllables occurring in non-penultimate position. This is also (to some degree) found in Teiwa (Klamer 2010a: 43), Kui (Windschuttel and Shiohara 2017: 118–119), Klon (Baird 2008: 21, 42–44) and Abui (Kratochvíl 2007: 12). Reta is unusual in having two affricates /ʤ ʋ͡ʋ/, the latter of which does not appear to occur elsewhere in the family, and an implosive /ɓ/, which it shares with Blagar (Steinhauer 2014: 152). The sound-symbolic contrast between /r/ and /l/ is another point of interest.

Reta has two verbal prefix sets, one of which is the result of a coalescence between P-indexing person prefixes and the applicative *u=*. The P-indexing set occurs on verbs to index P, on stative and active verbs to form causatives, and in some cases as a transitivizer. The applicativizing set occurs on verbs to introduce a variety of thematic roles, as well as on nouns and numerals. It may also preserve valence and alter the semantics of the verb. Reta's moderate verbal-morphological complexity lies somewhere in between the elaborate and productive morphology of Alor languages like Kamang and Abui, and the near complete lack of morphology found in Pantar languages like Western Pantar. Morphosyntactically, Reta has what we might call 'leaky' accusativity (after Schapper 2014: 13), which is also found in some other languages like Kaera (Klamer 2014: 135); nearly all prefixing verbs mark P, except for a handful that mark S or A.

There are three possessive prefix sets, two of which are unproductive. One of these, Set II, appears to be the result of rebracketing loanwords from Blagar, and the other set (Set III) occurs on a single lexeme only. All suffixes are unproductive, and only *-naŋ* occurs with some frequency. This suffix is reasonably productive in Blagar (Steinhauer 2014: 163), but in various Alor-Pantar languages some version of this suffix appears on a small number of fossilized items.

Comprising at least seven sets, Reta has a fairly large number of pronouns. In addition to these sets, S-prefixing verbs can also be used in argument position and are analyzable as pronouns to some degree. These are, however, analyzed as verbs here, because they are most often used predicatively.

There are some phenomena that especially deserve further investigation. Firstly, Reta has highly versatile reduplication. Unfortunately, a want of data, time and space has made a deeper investigation difficult, and this chapter has not been able to provide much more than a list of observed functions.

Secondly, Reta has elevationally marked terms that are reminiscent of the Blagar elevational system (Steinhauer 1991, 2014: 217), which are used extensively to create subtle distinctions in direction, type of movement and location. The elaborateness of this system is only matched by a few nearby Alor-Pantar languages, most notably Blagar, Western Pantar and Adang (see Schapper 2017 for an overview). Willemsen (in preparation) provides an overview of elevational marking in Reta.

Lastly, I have attempted to provide an account of two other multifaceted items, *mi* 'in, at' and *mia ma* 'take come.LEVEL', both of which are in need of further investigation.

Acknowledgments: Many people contributed to the successful completion of this chapter. I would firstly like to express my gratitude to Antoinette Schapper for the opportunity to publish my work. I would like to thank Hein Steinhauer, Marian Klamer, Laura Robinson, George Saad, Glenn Windschuttel and Daniel Patrick Quinn for sharing practical knowledge with me, and June Jacob for her assistance in arranging my visa. I am grateful to William McGregor and Jan Rijkhoff for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter, and to Rens van der Knoop for proofreading. Lastly, I am more than grateful to the Reta community for sharing their language and way of life with me. I thank Refael Molina and the Besituba family in particular for their assistance and hospitality. I am most indebted, however, to Joi Dakamoly and his family for selflessly accommodating me for three months, and to Paulus Hinadonu for his tireless patience and enthusiasm during countless hours of elicitation. The fieldwork for this sketch was funded by VSB fonds as part of my MA project under grant number VSB.15/186, and by the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research.

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