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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

CONCOMITANT-ACTION CLAUSES

27.1 INTRODUCTION

Concomitant action clauses are clauses marked with the aspectual enclitic <=*butuŋ*> (WHILE). This enclitic is found on the predicates of independent subordinate clauses that function as Temporal-Location adjunct in the matrix clause; <=*butuŋ*> indicates concomitant action, i.e. that the event in the subordinate clause takes place simultaneously with the event in the matrix clause, or that the event in the subordinate clause is already on-going when the event in the main clause occurs. Predicates carrying the concomitant action enclitic occur in two different syntactic constructions, which will be treated one by one below. The morpheme <=*butuŋ*> occurs on:

1. predicates of Temporal-Location-adjunct clauses marked with <=*ci*> (LOC),
2. the predicates of temporal attributive-clauses.¹

These constructions will be treated separately below. Predicates carrying the concomitant action enclitic can be negated but are not attested with any other aspect or modality enclitics.

27.2 TEMPORAL-LOCATION ADJUNCT CLAUSES

The predicates of Temporal-Location clauses indicating concomitant action have to be marked with <=*butuŋ*> (WHILE) and <=*ci*> (LOC). The Temporal-Location clause and the matrix clause do not have to share any arguments, e.g. (915), (916) and (917), but can share them, e.g. (918) and (919). Verbs, nouns and adjectives have all been recorded as predicates of concomitant action type Temporal-Location clauses.

Example (915) presents a Type 2 adjective, viz. *thəmbəloŋ* 'to have holes' as the head of the predicate of the subordinate clause. Type 2 adjectives can function as modifiers as well as predicates and are treated in §5.3.

¹ Out of a total of 23 predicates with the concomitant action suffix in the recorded material, 18 occurred in Temporal Location adjunct clauses, i.e. 78%, and 5 occurred in temporal attributive clauses, i.e. 22%.

- (915) *ie ram thəmbəloŋbutuŋci gari galatok.*
ie ram thəmbəloŋ =butuŋ =ci gari galat =ok
 PROX road have.holes =WHILE =LOC car fall =ASP
 ‘When this road was damaged, cars fell.’

Example (916) illustrates the concomitant action enclitic on a subordinate nominal predicate. The locative-marked clause functions as Temporal Location.

- (916) *ge?theŋ sa?gəraybutuŋciba sansan paləŋsaŋ na? punna re?eŋwa*
ge?theŋ sa?gəray =butuŋ =ci =ba
 3SG child =WHILE =LOC =INDF
san san paləŋ =saŋ na? pun =na re?eŋ =wa
 day REP jungle =MOB fish catch.fish =GOAL go.away =FACT
 ‘When he was a child, he went to the jungle every day to catch fish.’

The next examples show verbal predicates carrying the concomitant action enclitic. In (917) there is no coreference between the implied subject of the subordinate clause and the stated subject of the main clause. The implied Agent of the first clause (the Temporal Location adjunct) is the Lazy King, who is sad because he does not have any friends, while the Agent of the main clause is *na?pit* ‘barber’.

- (917) *phepci səntibutuŋci te?ewe na?pit məŋ? sa ray?phaknoro.*
phep =ci sənti =butuŋ =ci
 banyan.tree =LOC suffer =WHILE =LOC
te?ew =e na?pit məŋ? sa
 now =CT barber CLF:HUMANS one
ray? -pha =k =no =ro
 come -IN.ADDITION =ASP =QUOT =DECL
 ‘While [the Lazy King] was suffering in the banyan tree, a barber came by, it is said, really.’

- (918) *ətəkəyməŋ thəməy caybutuŋcie atoŋaw nukokno ge?theŋe?*
ətəkəyməŋ thəm =ay cay =butuŋ =ci =e
 so.then lay.in.ambush =ADV watch =WHILE =LOC =CT
atoŋ =aw nuk =ok =no ge?theŋ =e
 what =ACC see =ASP =QUOT 3SG =CT
 ‘So then, while [he]_i was lying in ambush and watching, what did he_i see?’

The subordinate predicate in (919) is the Type 1 adjective, *nem* ‘to be good’ with the event-specifier suffix <-khal> (CP).

- (919) *sagaba naw nemkhalbutuŋci thəyok*
sa =gaba naw nem -khal =butuŋ =ci thəy =ok
 be.ill =ATTR younger.sister good -CP =WHILE =LOC die =ASP
 ‘When [my] younger sister was getting better, [she] died.’

The absence of locative enclitic on the predicate *saʔ=butuŋ* (eat=WHILE) in (920) can be explained when we consider the two predicates *saʔ=butuŋ* (eat=WHILE) and *rəŋ=butuŋ* (drink=WHILE) to be part of a complex predicate with one locative enclitic attached to the right of it.

- (920) *aŋ babaci amaci maha maha saʔbutuŋ rəŋbutuŋcian, randay saʔna jamca.*
aŋ baba =ci ama =ci maha maha
 1SG father =LOC mother =LOC great REP
 {*saʔ =butuŋ rəŋ =butuŋ*} =ci =an
 eat =WHILE drink =WHILE =LOC =FOC
randay saʔ =na jam =ca
 meat eat =GOAL finish =NEG
 ‘While I ate and drank in great amounts at my father and mother ‘s [place], [we] didn’t finish eating meat.’

Example (921) contains an illustration of a negated Temporal-location clause.

- (921) *geʔtheŋ jəwcabutuŋci kərəŋgaba nawa*
geʔtheŋ jəw =ca =butuŋ =ci kərəŋ =gaba na =wa
 3SG sleep=NEG =WHILE =LOC make.sound =ATTR hear =FACT
 ‘While he was not [yet] sleeping, he heard a sound’

27.3 TEMPORAL ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

Attributive clauses are treated in §18.11.1, which the reader is advised to read first to acquire the necessary background information needed to understand this section. Temporal attributive clauses are subordinate clauses embedded in a Noun Phrase, called the arch NP, where they modify the head. In (922) we see that the temporal attributive clause modifies the head *sok* ‘sprout’ and that the whole arch NP is accusative-marked for its function in the matrix clause of which the predicate is *saʔ=wa* (eat=FACT). A possible inferred semantic relationship of the head of the arch NP to the predicate of the attributive clause is that of Effector.

- (922) *una aludaraŋaw rədəmbutuŋ sokaw saʔwaməŋ gəməŋ teʔew manap caywacido gumukan cekarumokno.*
una alu =daraŋ =aw
 therefore potato =PL =ACC
 -----matrix clause-----
 -----arch NP-----
 -----AC-----
 |[*rədəma =butuŋ*] *sok =aw*] *saʔ =wa*] =məŋ gəməŋ
 sprout =WHILE sprout =ACC eat =FACT =GEN reason
teʔew manap cay =wa =ci =do
 now morning look =FACT =LOC =TOP

gumuk =an coka -rum =ok =no
 all =FOC tear -GROUP =ASP =QUOT

'Therefore, when he looked in the morning, the potatoes were all torn, because all the sprouts were eaten while they were sprouting, it is said.'

In (923), the arch NP is a Temporal location adjunct and its head is *somay* 'time'. The head is modified by the clause *uci mu?butuŋ* 'while [they] stayed there'. The entire example sentence is the matrix clause. I cannot conceive of any semantic relationship between *somay* and the predicate of the attributive clause.

(923) *uci mu?butuŋ somayci badri neman man?ay sa?ano.*

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

[|u =ci mu? =butuŋ| somay] =ci

DST =LOC stay =WHILE time =LOC

badri neman man? =ay sa? =a =no

Badri very in.great.amounts =ADV eat =CUST =QUOT

'At the time [they] were living there, Badri was very rich, it is said.' Alternatively:

'At the time while [they] were staying there, Badri ate in great amounts'.

Whereas non-temporal attributive clauses can occur on both sides of the head of an arch NP, temporal ones are only attested to precede the head they modify.

In example (924), we see a headless arch NP that carries prototypical nominal morphology, i.e. the plural enclitic <=*dəraŋ*> (PL). The accusative enclitic <=*aw*> (ACC) marks the arch NP for its semantic role of Patient in the matrix clause.

(924) *sala burbok sa?gəraŋ na?a niŋ jəwsukbutuŋdəraŋaw atakna halaka?wa?*

sala burbok sa?gəraŋ na?a

INTERJ idiot child 2SG

-----arch NP-----

-----AC-----

[|niŋ |jəw -suk =butuŋ|] =dəraŋ =aw

1PL/EXCL sleep -COMFORTABLY =WHILE =PL =ACC

atakna hala ka? =wa

why disturb do =FACT

'Damn you idiot child! Why did you disturb us, while [we] were comfortably asleep?'

In (925), from the same story as (922), we see a headless arch NP in which the implied head is *gore* 'horse'. The predicate of the temporal attributive clause is *sa? =butuŋ* (eat=WHILE) and the predicate of the matrix clause in which the arch NP functions as Patient is *nuk =ok =no* (see=ASP=QUOT).

- (925) *teʔewe beanbebe ranrasaŋmi gore maŋsa rayʔaaymən geʔtheŋ alubagan habijabi samcakaw saʔbutuŋaw nukokno.*

-----arch NP----->
teʔew =e beanbebe [ranra =saŋ =mi gore maŋ sa
 now =TOP truly sky =MOB =GEN horse CLF:ANIMALS one
 >-----arch NP----->

-----AC----->
rayʔa =ay =mən |geʔtheŋ alu bagan bari
 come =ADV =SEQ 3SG potato garden garden
 >-----arch NP----->

>-----AC----->
habijabi samcak =aw saʔ =butuŋ]] =aw
 all.sorts vegetable =ACC eat =WHILE =ACC
nuk =ok =no
 see =ASP =QUOT

‘Now [he] truly saw a horse having come from the sky while [the horse was] eating all kinds of vegetables of his garden.’ Alternatively: ‘[He] truly saw a horse having come from the sky, which [horse] at that time was eating all kinds of vegetables of his garden.’

Hale (1976) uses the label “adjoined relative clause” to refer to a clause type that can have both adverbial and relative functions, similar to the clause with a predicate head marked by *<=butuŋ>* (WHILE) in Atong. The classic illustration of the adjoined relative clause comes from Warlpiri. (Hale, 1976: 78, example 1), here represented as (926).

- (926) *Ngajulu-rlu rna yankirri pantu-rnu, [kuja-lpa ngapa nga-rnu].*
 I-ERG AUX emu spear-PAST COMP-AUX water drink-PAST
 ‘I speared the emu which was/while it was drinking water’