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A grammar of Abui: A Papuan language of Alor

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A Papuan language of Alor

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This book is a linguistic account of an amazing journey. As a small boy I used to hear stories about Indonesia from my father's friend who worked there and found it the most beautiful place on Earth. Later, during my studies in Nijmegen, I took courses in Indonesian and fieldwork methods, and became convinced that I could travel to those remote islands myself and describe a language.

The first step of this journey started in Leiden in 2002. My whole-hearted thanks belong to those who guided me patiently along the journey, and whom, as the tradition dictates, I may not name.

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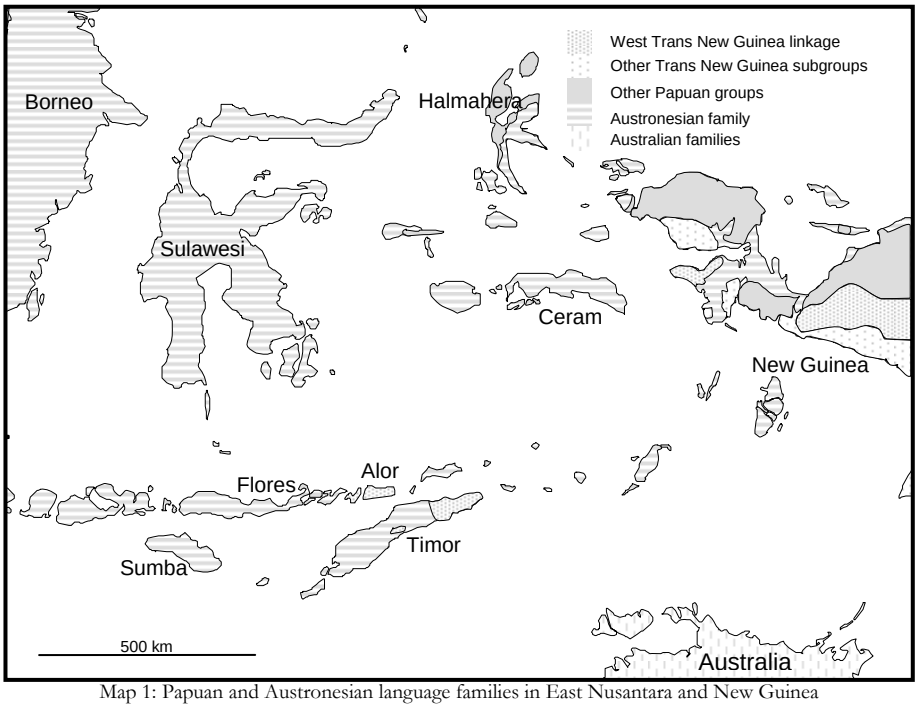
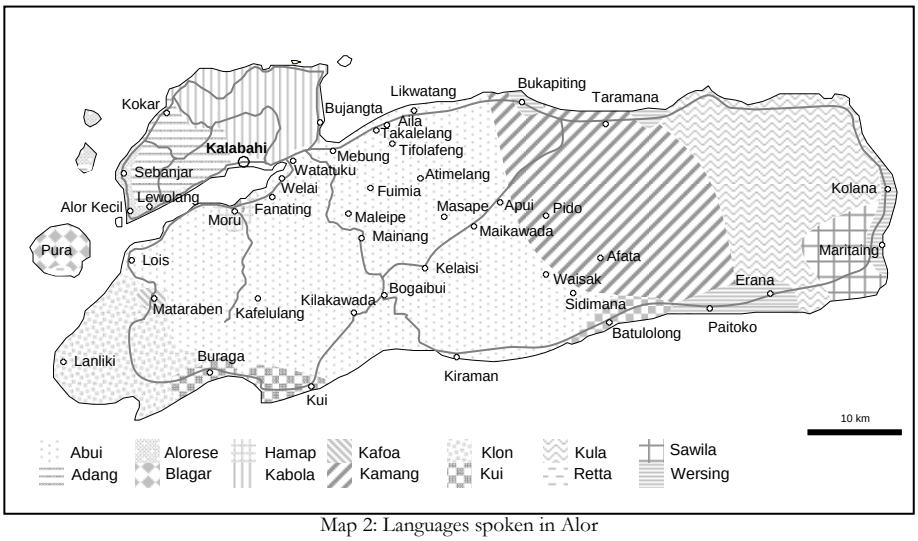


Map 1: Papuan and Austronesian language families in East Nusantara and New Guinea

Source: (Ross, 2005:20, 31)



Map 2: Languages spoken in Alor

Sources: Gordon 2005, survey data collected by Louise Baird in 2003, and information from Kantor Pertanahan Kabupaten Alor

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List of glosses

1SG	first person singular pronoun
1PL	first person plural pronoun
2SG	second person singular pronoun
2PL	second person plural pronoun
3I	third person bound pronoun expressing the U argument or possessor with the same reference as the A argument in the same clause
3II	third person bound pronoun expressing the U argument or possessor with a distinct reference from the A argument in the same clause
3A	third person free pronoun realizing the A argument
A	actor argument
AL	alienable possession
CC	complement clause
CNT	continuative verb stems
CONJ	conjunction marker
CPL	completive verb stem or completive aspectual marker
DISTR	distributive bound pronouns (*ta-*, *te-*, *to-*)
DST	distal deictic (*oro*) or deictic verb (*ya*) indicating a distal location of an entity, or index verb (*ha*, *hi*, *hu*)
DST.H	distal deictic (*wó*) indicating a high and distal location
DST.L	distal deictic (*wò*) indicating a low and distal location
DUR	durative aspectual suffix (*-a*)
E	exclusive reference of first person plural pronouns
I	inclusive reference of first person plural pronouns
INAL	inalienable possession
ICP	inceptive verb stem

INCP.C inceptive completive aspectual marker *te*

INCP.I inceptive inchoative aspectual marker *se*

IPFV imperfective aspectual suffix (*-e*)

LNK sequence linker (*ba*) with intersective reference indicating that the linked elements belong to the same domain

LOC bound pronoun realizing U argument identified as location or benefactive

MD medial deictic, anaphoric demonstrative (*o*, *lo*), deictic verb (*la*), or an index verb (*wa*, *wi*)

MD.AD medial anaphoric demonstrative (*yo*) based in the addressee, deictic verb (*fa*)

MD.H deictic demonstrative (*ó*) indicating a medial high location

MD.L deictic demonstrative (*ò*) indicating a medial low location

NEG negator verb (*naha*)

NP noun phrase

OS indicates opposite gender in possessor based kinship term *ura*

QNT quantity indicating verb *ning* 'be.QNT'

PAT bound pronoun realizing U argument identified as patient undergoing a change of state or condition

PFV perfective aspectual suffix (*-i*)

PL plural quantifier (*loku*)

PHSL.C phasal completive aspectual marker (*ti*)

PHSL.I phasal inchoative aspectual marker (*si*)

PRH prohibitive marker (*he*)

PRX proximal deictic (*do*), anaphoric demonstrative (*do*), deictic verb (*ma*), or index verb (*na*, *ni*, *nu*)

PRX.AD proximal deictic (*to*), anaphoric demonstrative (*to*), or deictic verb (*ta*) indicating the location of an entity as proximate for the addressee

PRF perfect aspectual suffix (*-u*)

PNCT	punctual aspectual marker (*-o*)
RC	relative clause
REC	bound pronoun realizing U argument identified as recipient or goal
RED[ ]	reduplicated morpheme or number of morphemes
SEQ	sequence linker (*ya*) indicating that the linked constituents belong each to its own domain
SPC	anaphoric demonstrative (*hu*) indicating a specific reference (typically information new for the addressee)
SPC.AD	anaphoric demonstrative (*nu*) indicating a specific reference also known to the addressee
SS	indicates same gender in possessor based kinship terms such as *muknehi*
U	undergoer argument
-	morpheme break
≡	coreferential arguments ($A{\equiv}U_{PAT}$)
=	clitic
+	intonational break
#	full stop in intonation, marking the end of a clause chain

1 Introduction

This book is a description of Abui, a Papuan language spoken on Alor Island in eastern Indonesia. It presents essential parts of Abui grammar in a theoretically neutral way.

This chapter contains some general information about Abui, its speakers and the area in which Abui is spoken. This chapter is organised in the following fashion. The geographic position of the area where Abui is spoken is defined in section 1.1. The genetic affiliation of Abui, together with a brief overview of the historical sources concerning Alor Island and Abui people, is discussed in section 1.2. In section 1.3 I give some general information about the Abui community, the number of speakers, their typical occupation and way of living. The linguistic situation of the area where Abui is spoken is described in section 1.4. Information about the contexts in which Abui is used and about language endangerment will also be included in this section. In section 1.5 I give an overview of previous linguistic efforts focused on Abui; and in 1.6 I discuss Abui genetic affiliation. I present a typological sketch of Abui in section 1.7. Section 1.8 discusses how the language data was collected. It describes the fieldwork and gives some basic information about the language consultants. Section 1.9 deals with composition of the corpus and gives a list of recorded texts that are included in it. Section 1.10 gives an outline of this book and introduces the conventions in which the language data will be presented.

1.1 Geographic position

Abui (ISO code: abz) is a Non-Austronesian 'Papuan' language spoken in the central part of Alor Island; small communities are also found outside Alor: in Kupang, Bali and Jakarta.[1] Alor Island belongs geographically together with Timor, Sumba, Flores and other smaller islands to the Lesser Sunda Islands, which are part of South East Indonesia (see **Map 1**). The size of Alor and Pantar Islands are approximately 2070 km^2 and 711 km^2, respectively, which together make up about 4.9% of the total size of the Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) Province.[2] The area in which Abui is spoken belongs administratively to the Alor Regency, of which the capital is Kalabahi. The geographical position of Kalabahi is 8º 12' southern longitude and 124º 30' eastern latitude. According to the same source, the total population of the Alor Regency is about 160,000, living in the capital as well as in 175 villages that are divided in six administrative units (Indonesian: *kecamantan* 'district').

According to the internet version of the Ethnologue (Gordon, 2005), Abui is spoken by about 16,000 people in an area divided over four *kecamatan*, including (i) Kecamatan Alor Selatan with the main settlement Kelaisi; (ii) Kecamatan Alor Barat Daya with the large Abui speaking settlements Mataru and Moru; (iii) Kecamatan Teluk

[1] See http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=abz where the on-line version of Ethnologue provides some basic information about Abui.
[2] cf. Sensus 2002

Mutiara with the largest settlements Welai, Fanating, and Lembur; and (iv) Kecamatan Alor Tengah Utara, comprising the traditional settlements Ateng Melang and Mainang.

In the Alor regency, the predominant religion is Protestant. The second largest religion (judging from the number of mosques and churches mentioned in Sensus 2002) is Islam. In addition to being widespread among the Austronesian population of Alor and Pantar, Islam is also the religion of many civil servants originating from the traditional Muslim regions of Indonesia. Catholicism is a minority religion in Alor. Catholic communities are found in Kalabahi and among Abui in Takalelang and Mainang. Other religions and animism are not mentioned in the official statistics.

1.2 History

The first documented encounter with the Alorese population dates back to 1521. In that year, Magalhães' fleet passed through the Alor Strait on its historical voyage around the world. Antonio Pigafetta (cf. Le Roux, 1929:18-25), an Italian nobleman that made it through the whole journey, describes the Alorese population as wild and notes their head-hunting habits. He describes their traditional tree bark clothes and the typical Alorese hairstyles and also reports that Alor was a suitable place to replenish water and food supplies. For this purpose it was visited by traders of sandal wood heading to Timor. This use is reported also by Baron van Lynden (1851), who mentions the Binongko and Buginese traders exporting food to Timor. Baron van Lynden reports wood trade and earlier slave trade. He also lists artefacts suitable for trade with the Alorese, among which the bronze drums called 'moko'. These drums are unique Alorese artefacts that are still used as traditional bride price payments. The 'moko' drums and (possibly Indian) fabrics called 'fatola' play an important role in the culture of Alorese ethnic groups such as Abui. The moko drums originate from the bronze-age culture of Dong Son located in today's Vietnam where they were produced in the second half of the first millennium BC (cf. Higham, 1996:109-11, 129-35). The moko drums were probably imported to Alor and neighbouring areas where they are also found (Wetar, Lombok Island, and Maluku Islands cf. Higham, 1996:298) by Austronesians. Bellwood (1985, 1992) proposed that Austronesians spread from Taiwan to the island Southeast Asia about in the course of the fourth and third millennium BC. The prehistoric findings on neighbouring Timor indicate that an Austronesian population settled in Timor by the middle of the third millennium BC (cf. Higham, 1996:298). Later, moko drums were made and imported from other places such as Jawa and Makassar. Most moko drums were collected and destroyed by the Dutch administration in colonizing efforts in the first and second decade of the twentieth century (cf. Nieuwenkamp, 1922:75). During this period thousands of Alorese were carrying out forced labour in building roads and infrastructure.

The tensions between the Alorese and the colonial administration resulted in an uprising in September 1918, mentioned briefly by Nieuwenkamp (1922:78-79), who visited Alor for three weeks in May and June 1918. The uprising became a legend for the Abui people. This conflict started in the village Fungwati during the visit of the local Dutch-appointed dignitary Rajah Bala Nampira and his men. Probably upset by the enforcement of tax payments, Abui men killed the Rajah and his men. One of the men escaped and informed the troops. The revolt spread in the whole Abui speaking

area including Ateng Melang, Kelaisi, Mataru, Apui, Welai and Lembur. The subsequent prosecution resulted in a bloodshed during which about three hundred Abui men were killed, which was about 2-4 percent of the male population of north-west Alor at that time. The villages Fungwati, Afung Beka, and Manet were destroyed. Other villages were forced to resettle. The mountain forts were abandoned and people had to move to concentrated villages in valleys such as Mainang (cf. Stokhof, 1984:110, 149-155).

1.3 Abui community

The term 'Abui' is an Abui word that means 'mountains' or alternatively 'enclosed place'. This term is also used in local Malay to refer to Abui speakers who refer to their language as *Abui tanga* 'mountain language' and to themselves as *Abui loku* 'the mountain people'. In Abui oral tradition (cf. Nicolspeyer, 1940; Djeki, 1986, my own records) Abui people settled in Alor in ancient times and did not find other settlers there. Later some of them moved to the Kabola peninsula. The same tradition accounts that they dwelled in caves in the mountains in the Mainang area. In this area also some rock art is found. They refer to neighbouring tribes as 'younger siblings' or as 'new arrivals'. However, the oral tradition in Alor serves too often as a political instrument. The oral tradition has not been verified by archaeological research yet.

Abui speakers are mainly farmers, just like other inhabitants of Alor. However, in mountainous areas hunting and gathering is also an important supplement to the staple diet of corn, cassava, and rice.[3] In the coastal areas, which are less favourable for agriculture, many farmers have switched to fishing, the traditional activity of the Austronesian population. Traditional livestock are pigs and chicken. However, livestock seldom supplement the diet due to frequent swine fever and poultry diseases. Thus, the diet is not well balanced, often resulting in poor health conditions and anaemia, especially among children and women. In the mountainous areas the situation is better as traditional hunting provides a more balanced diet. The mountains also favour a number of important cash crops such as coconuts, coffee, cloves, cocoa, cashew nuts, candle nuts, vanilla and tobacco. These provide the farmers with additional income, which results in generally better living standards than for people in the coastal areas.

Educational facilities in the Abui area are limited to elementary and secondary schools in district capitals. The nearest university is in Kalabahi, which offers limited training in economy, law, English and computer science. The more significant educational institutions are found in Kupang, the provincial capital of NTT.

In the interbellum period, the Abui community was studied by scholars Cora Du Bois and Martha M. Nicolspeyer. Cora Du Bois was a psychologist who spent two years in Ateng Melang (a.k.a. Atimelang), carrying out psychological research focussing mainly on the personality structure of Abui people and the relationship between personality and culture. She is considered to be one of the founding scholars of this subject, together with Sigmund Freud, Edward Sapir, Abram Kardiner and others. The research that Du Bois carried out among Abui people resulted in the monumental monograph *The People of Alor* (Du Bois, 1944; 1960). Du Bois' colleague, Martha M. Nicolspeyer, accompanied Du Bois during her research in Ateng Melang and published a dissertation about the sociological structure of Abui society (Nicolspeyer, 1940).

[3] Source: Sensus 2002

Nicolspeyer attached to her dissertation a corpus of texts in the Ateng Melang dialect. These texts were recorded jointly with Du Bois; they are glossed in Dutch and a Dutch translation is provided together with a word list. Although Nicolspeyer's corpus is included in the corpus for my research I do not refer to it in this grammar because the present work describes the Takalelang dialect.

1.4 Linguistic situation

Abui is spoken in a linguistically diverse area where Austronesian and Papuan languages are spoken. The Alor-Pantar area comprises approximately twenty five languages of which only a number have been studied and documented. **Map 2** shows both Papuan and Austronesian languages spoken in the Alor-Pantar area. The immediate neighbours of Abui are Kamang, Kui, Hamap, Klon, Kafoa, and Kabola. The map does not mention Alor Malay, which has an increasing number of speakers in the area. The Abui community is relatively large (16,000 speakers) compared to other ethnic groups in Alor-Pantar area. Abui is reported to be the target of language shift in some of its neighbouring languages such as Kafoa or Hamap (Katubi 2004).

In the recent past, a large number of settlements (practically all larger villages such as Takalelang, Fanating, or Mainang) have been moved down from their mountainous habitat either to the coast or to valleys. As a result of the resettlement, many settlements are now located near markets, roads, or the sea where they have more contact with other language communities. These factors stimulate the language shift of the youngest generation towards Malay. The northern and western settlements such as Takalelang, Welai, Fanating and Moru are most affected by the shift while small mountainous settlements are least affected. In Takalelang, most children are brought up in Malay, though they become more proficient in Abui when they grow up because it is still the main language used between adults.

The situation is different in small settlements such as Tifol Afeng, where I conducted a part of my fieldwork. Here, people are fluent in Malay, but in their daily lives Abui is the main language and is used in communication with children. Children remain monolingual in Abui until the age of five or six, the age at which they start going to school.

In churches, the situation varies. In Takalelang, the protestant church uses exclusively Indonesian; the catholic community uses the Indonesian liturgy. Abui is used in parish council meetings and in worship where the priest is not present, such as in Rosary worship that takes place in the houses of parish members. The first attempt to translate the Gospel in Abui has been made by the late Julius Onkari Manimabi. It resulted in a typescript of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Mark which is included in the corpus.

In schools, Abui is banned. Despite official policy stimulating bilingual education in Indonesia, in Alor education is monolingual and many teachers are unaware of the official policy. To my knowledge, instruction materials in Abui have not been made available or developed up to this day.

In the market, members of various Alorese ethnic groups address each other using each other's native terms, which is considered very good manners. Abui speakers are identified by their pronunciation of the sound [k], which is pronounced as the uvular stop [q] in word-internal and word-final positions.

A number of languages given in **Map 2** have been the subject of linguistic study. These include Adang (Haan, 2001), Blagar (Steinhauer, 1991), Kabola (Stokhof, 1987), Klon (Baird, 2005, in preparation), Kui (Donohue, 1997a), Western Pantar (also referred to as Lamma) (Holton, 2005; To appear), Sawila/Tanglapui (Donohue, 1997a), Teiwa (Klamer, In prep.). No linguistic studies have yet been done on Kula, Wersing, and Retta. There are at least six languages reported in linguistic sources that are not listed on the map. They are Kaera (Klamer, To appear-b), Kolana (Donohue, 1997b), Manata, Mauta, Alor Malay (a local variety of the Indonesian lingua franca) and Alorese (sometimes referred to as Bahasa Alor). Alor Malay and Alorese are spoken mainly in coastal areas. Alor Malay is being used in many communities to bring up the youngest generation and is the strongest candidate to become the most commonly used language in the Alor-Pantar area.

1.5 Earlier descriptions of the Abui language

As mentioned in 1.3, Abui language was briefly studied by Martha M. Nicolspeyer. Her dissertation includes an appendix containing a number of glossed texts in Abui as well as an Abui-Dutch wordlist, but no grammatical analysis. A first linguistic description was Stokhof (1984).[4] In his analysis, Stokhof first defines the area where Abui is spoken and shows its relationship with other non-Austronesian languages of the Alor-Pantar area. The descriptive part of the paper is based on a text from Du Bois that describes an uprising in September 1918.

Stokhof gives a basic overview of Abui phonology as spoken in Ateng Melang. It differs from Takalelang Abui phonology (as described in this book) in having the phonemes /ɡ, ʋ/, and a number of vowel sequences /uɛ, au, aɔ, ɔu, ɔɛ/ (cf. Stokhof, 1984:116).

In nominal morphology, two types of possessive inflection are identified: inalienable and alienable. Inalienably possessed nouns are semantically characterized as referring to body parts or kinship relations (1984:120). Pronominal prefixes containing **t-* are described as having generic reference. In verbal morphology, Stokhof distinguishes free and bound verb stems. Bound verb stems obligatorily combine with a pronominal prefix (1984:124).

In syntax, Stokhof claims the basic constituent order to be SOV, but frequent fronting is mentioned (1984:137). In an NP, modifiers follow heads in the order: attribution, quantification, specification (1984:139). In a clause, the phrases expressing temporal settings of an event precede the arguments. The sketch provides rich comparative data with other Alorese languages such as Kabola or Woisika, as well as Timorese Bunak.

[4] Wim Stokhof and Hein Steinhauer carried out a survey of Alor-Pantar languages published in Stokhof (1975). Stokhof continued working on Woisika (also referred to as Kamang), and also worked on Abui (1984) and Kabola (1987). Steinhauer focussed on Blagar (Steinhauer, 1986; 1991).

1.6 Genetic affiliation

Abui is classified as belonging to the Timor-Alor-Pantar branch of the Trans-New Guinea (TNG) family (Capell, 1969; Stokhof, 1975; 1984; Pawley, 1998:655; 2001; Ross, 2005:22-4; Gordon, 2005). The majority of languages spoken in the Alor-Pantar area belong to same branch of the TNG family.[5] TNG languages extend over the mountainous area of New Guinea, but also in the northern and southern lowlands; and as far as the Timor-Alor-Pantar area, where Abui belongs (see **Map 1**).[6] It is unclear when speakers of TNG languages arrived in the Timor-Alor-Pantar area, but is very likely that it was before the Austronesians (cf. Klamer et.al., In press).

In general, most linguists agree that there is a possible connection between the development of taro and other root crop agriculture in New Guinea 6,000-9,000 years ago and the initial dispersal of TNG languages (cf. Foley, 1986:275-277; Pawley, 1998: 655; Ross 2005:41-42). Ross (2005:42) argues, that the mountainous east-central region of New Guinea is probably the place of origin of TNG languages, as the diversity found there is greatest and may coalesce with the area of taro domestication. As one proceeds towards the periphery, the diversity decreases. Ross further speculates, that the extreme of the West TNG linkage in Timor, Alor, and Pantar may represent a relatively late TNG settlement. However, it is probable that the speakers of TNG languages reached the area before the Austronesian migration that occurred by mid third millennium BC.

Ross (2005:36) groups the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages, and the languages of Bomberai Peninsula of the Bird's Head together with the western part of the main mountain chain into a so called 'West Trans New Guinea linkage'. He argues that the group resulted from an earlier dialect chain rather than from a single protolanguage.

Languages assigned membership in the Trans-New Guinea family (TNG) show systematic resemblance in the pronominal system and regular sound correspondences in their basic vocabulary, of which about two hundred etyma have been reconstructed so far (cf. Pawley, 2005-b). There are alternative groupings of Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 1986) and some linguists are reserved about the extension of the TNG family.

As mentioned above, the membership in the TNG family is established by a set of free pronouns. The reconstructed proto-TNG pronouns (cf. Ross, 2005:29) and corresponding Abui forms are listed in **Table 1**.

---

[5] There are also a number of 'Papuan' languages spoken on Timor claimed to belong to the same branch of the TNG family such as Bunak, Fataluku, Makasae, Makalero, and on the Southwest Moluccan island of Kirsar Oirata.

[6] Austronesian migration to the area started less than 4,000 years ago; however, much less is know about the migrations of the Papuan population. Almost certainly the Papuan languages represent populations that have been in the New Guinea area much longer than the Austronesian population. Earliest archeological evidence dates the human settlement to as early as 50,000 years ago. Australia and New Guinea are part of the same continental shelf called Sahul. As the seas were low during the last ice age period, both the Australian mainland and New Guinea were joined by a land bridge into one continental area (Sahul) until about 8,000 years ago, when the rising seas overflowed the lowlands and separated the large continent. This means that till about 8,000 years ago, the ancient population was able to migrate accros the area (cf. Foley, 1986:269, Spriggs, 1998:932-3). The Timor-Alor-Pantar area was separated from this land mass by a relatively narrow strait (about 90 km). The area where the Sahul shelf drops into deep sea is referred to as Lynedekker's Line. It defines the eastern boundary of a biogeografical area known as Wallacea to which Timor-Alor-Pantar belongs. In the west, Wallacea is separated from the Sunda area by the Wallace line.

Table 1: Comparison of the proto-TNG and Abui pronouns

PERSON	PROTO-TNG	ABUI
1ST SINGULAR	**na*	*na*
1ST NON-SINGULAR (*i* GRADE)	**ni*	*ni* (exclusive)
1ST NON-SINGULAR (*u* GRADE)	**nu*	–
	–	*pi* (inclusive)
2 ND SINGULAR	**ŋga*	*a* [ʔa]
2 ND NON-SINGULAR (*i* GRADE)	**ŋgi*	*ri*
2 ND NON-SINGULAR	**nja*	–
3RD SINGULAR	**[y]a/*ua*	*di*
3 RD NON-SINGULAR (*i* GRADE)	**i*	*di*
DUAL (NON-SINGULAR SUFFIXES)	**-li/*-t*	*ta-/te-/to-* (distributive)
DUAL (INCLUSIVE SUFFIX)	**-p-*	–

As illustrated above, the first person singular proto TNG form **na* and the non-singular (*i* grade) form are preserved in Abui. The *u* grade form is not found. Abui inclusive pronoun *pi* (1PL.I) is related to the innovative inclusive form **bi* found in other languages of the West TNG linkage (Ross, 2005:36). However, it may also be related to proto TNG dual inclusive suffix **-p-*. The second person singular form is clearly related to the proto TNG form. The second plural form *ri* (2PL) seems to be an innovation. Abui third person pronoun *di* (3A) seems to be an innovation too. The proto-TNG dual suffix **-t* may be related to Abui distributive pronouns, which have either reciprocal or distributive reading.

According to Pawley (1998:683), lexical evidence to assign Timor-Alor-Pantar languages to the TNG family is weak. Pawley (2001) gives a list of 98 reconstructed proto-TNG forms and adds some more in (2005-b), together about 200 items. In **Table 2**, I give 31 corresponding Abui forms, that were selected according to their form and meaning, as described by Pawley. I also took in consideration the outcomes in other TNG languages, as listed in Pawley (2001). The left-hand column refers to Pawley's numbering of the reconstructed protoforms, the last five forms are not numbered, they are listed in Pawley (2005-b). It is followed by the form itself in the second column. The cognate Abui form is given in the third column. The fourth column gives outcomes in other languages of the TNG family, as listed in Pawley (2001), that are similar to the Abui form.

Table 2: Abui cognates with proto-TNG forms[7]

NO.	PROTO-TNG	ABUI	OTHER TNG LANGUAGES
2	**mbapa* 'father'	*maama*	Ekagi *wawa* (NW; *Wis*)
11	**pu-* 'go'	*we* 'leave'	Osum *we* (MAD; *SAd*)
12	**pululu-* 'fly, flutter'	*li*	Blagar *alili* (TIM)

[7] Abreviations: CEN: Central (*Asm*: Asmat-Kamoro family, *Aw-Du*: Awyu-Dumut family, *EStr*: East Strickland family, *Ok*: Ok family); EHL: Eastern Highlands (*Ch-W*: Chimbu-Wahgi family); FH: Finisterre-Huon region (*Erp*: Erap family, *Yup*: Yupna family); MAD: Madang group (*Kal*: Kalam-Kobon family, *Mab*: Mabuso family, *NAd*: North Adelbert family, *Rai*: Rai family, *SAd*: South Adelbert family); TIM: Timor-Alor-Pantar region; NW: North Western group (*Wis*: Wissel Lakes)

14	**ambi* 'man'	*ama*	Gusan *ama* Nuk *eme* (F-H; *Erp*)
16	**mbena* 'arm, forearm'	*-bang* 'shoulder'	Telefol *ban* (CEN; *Ok*), Asmat *eme* (CEN; *Asm*)
17	**kambu(s,t)(a,u)* 'smoke'	*tabo* 'fog, cloud'	Kewieng *abu-[lak]* (F-H; *Yup*)
18	**kumbutu* 'wind, breeze'	*timoi* 'wind'	Usino *kibul* (MAD; *Rai*)
19	**ŋgambu* 'fly, n.'	*kumal* 'mosquito'	Kalam *kab[kol]* (MAD; *Kal*)
22	**tukumba(C)* 'short'	*tuk-u* 'shortened'	Waskia *tuku[naŋ]* (MAD; *NAd*)
25	**(k,ŋg)a(nd,t)apu* 'bark, skin'	*kai*	Wambon *kotay* (CEN; *Aw-Du*)
36	**t(i,e)-* 'do, make'	*-r* 'reach'	Mugil *-r-*, Kowaki *–r-* (MAD; *NAd*), final verb in compounds
39	**tV-* 'take'	*d-* 'hold, acquire'	Kalam *d-* (MAD; *Kal*)
40	**tVk-* 'cut,chop'	*tukong*	M. Waghi *tuk-* (EHL; *Ch-W*)
46	**(nd,s)umu(n,t)(V)* 'hair'	*amur*	Pila *umun* (MAD; *NAd*)
47	**mundu* 'nose'	*-min*	Samo *mini* (CEN; *ESt*)
48	**mundun* 'belly, internal organs'	*mata*	Yenimu *modu* (CEN; *Aw-Du*)
49	**inda* 'tree'	*bataa*	Makasai *ata*, Oirata *ada* (TIM)
53	**mund-maŋgV* 'heart'	*bukomang*	M. Waghi *mund muŋ* (EHL; *Ch-w*)
54	**ata* 'excrement'	*asi*	Asmat *asa* (CEN; *Asm*); Blagar *as* (TIM)
59	**k(i,u)tuma* 'night'	*tuntama*	Tifal *kutam[iib]* (CEN; *Ok*)
63	**(ŋg,k)atata* 'dry'	*takata*	Oirata *tata* (TIM)
71	**-it* or *-il* 'you/they (dual)'	*ri* 'you (pl)'	Girawa *-er* (MAD; *Mab*)
72	**ŋga(-)* 'you (sg)'	*a* [ʔa]	Asmat *o* (CEN; *Asm*)
84	**kumV-* 'die'	*mong*	Oirata *umu-*, Blagar *imina* (TIM)
85	**ku(y)a* 'cassowary'	*kuya* 'bird'	Sawuy *kuye* (CEN; *Aw-Du*)
87	**nVŋg-* 'know, hear'	*iéng/ng* 'see'	Kalam *ng* (MAD; *Kal*)
	**titi* 'tooth'	*-weti*	
	**mVna-* 'live, stay'	*mang* 'possess, domesticate'	
	**pu-* + verb 'blow'	*pupu+k*	
	**me-* 'come'	*me*	
	**na-* 'eat'	*nee*	

Although the Abui outcomes listed above are tentative, their number is relatively high. Pawley (2005-b) mentions that in many languages the number is not higher than 20, mainly, because the languages are poorly documented. Abui sound changes are summarized in (1). All prenasalized stops have been eliminated. The ambiguous outcome from the changes of prenasalized stops is well-attested also in other Papuan languages (cf. Pawley, 2001:290-5). Final syllables were simplified and the initial syllables often dropped.

(1)

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a.	**mb* > *m/b*	**mb* > *m/b*	**ŋg(V* > *ŋ*
	Examples:		
	**mbapa* > *maama*	**ambi* > *ama*	**mund-maŋgV* > *bukomang*
	**mbena* > *-bang*	**kumbutu* > *timoi*	**nVŋg* > *ieŋ/ ŋ*
		**ŋgambu* > *kumal*	
b.	**ŋg* > *k/ʔ*	**nd* > *n/t*	
	Examples:		
	**(k,ŋg)a(nd,t)apu* > *kai*	**inda* > *bataa*	
	**ŋgambu* > *kumal*	**mundun* > *mata*	
	**ŋga(-)* > *ɔa*		
c.	**k* > *t*	**t* > *s*	
	Examples:		
	**kambu(s,t)(a,u)* > *tabo*	**ata* > *asi*	
	**kumbutu* > *timoi*		
	**k(i,u)tuma* > *tuntama*		

Additional evidence for TNG family membership can be found in more general typological characteristics of a language such as phonology, morphology, and syntax. Foley (1998, 506-515) listed a number of typological features (phonological, morphological and syntactic), which distinguish Austronesian languages from Non-Austronesian languages. In what follows, I specify a number of diagnostic features, listed by Foley (1998), for Abui. A list of features for three grammatical domains is followed by a section in which Abui features are evaluated in the context of Austronesian and Papuan languages, as discussed by Foley (1998, 2000).

Features of Abui phonology:

(i) five phonemic vowels
(ii) four phonemic places of articulation for stops (labial, alveodental, velar, and glottal)
(iii) voicing distinction only in labial and alveodental stops
(iv) restricted fricatives /f, s, h/
(v) two liquids /l ~r/
(vi) open and closed syllables, no consonant clusters
(vii) final stress, iambic feet with optional extrametrical syllable

Evaluation: It is common for Papuan languages to have five phonemic vowels, but the same holds also for Austronesian languages. Abui lacks prenasalized stops, commonly found in other TNG languages, and instead voiced stops are found. Fricatives are restricted, as is common in Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 2000:367-8). There is also phonemic contrast between stop [t] and the flap [r], and there are two liquids [l] and [r]. Both of these features are not very common in TNG languages; but are almost universal in Austronesian languages (cf. Pawley, 1998:670-4; Foley, 2000:369). Papuan languages typically lack consonant clusters, or use epenthetic vowels to split them (cf. Foley, 2000:369), but many Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia show the same tendency (Klamer, 2002:367). We can conclude that Abui shares some characteristics with Papuan languages, and some with the Austronesian languages surrounding it.

Features of Abui morphology:

(i) agglutinative morphological structure, elaborate verbal morphology
(ii) developed inflectional morphology (aspect, person)
(iii) prefixes for person inflection, suffixes for aspect inflection
(iv) nouns inflect only for possessor
(v) no case inflection of NPs, no gender
(vi) no agreement for subject/actor
(vii) verbs may combine with up to three bound aspectual markers (two suffixes, one clitic)
(viii) roots display categorial indeterminacy, sharp division only between prototypical nouns (persons) and verbs

Evaluation: Abui nouns do not inflect for number nor are they classified for gender, as is common in many Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 2000:371-2). Nouns are classified through posture verbs such as 'stand', 'sit' – long-shaped objects 'stand', flat-shaped objects 'lie' etc. Such classification systems are well-known from some of the highland languages (cf. Lang, 1975). There is no case in Abui, grammatical relations are signalled with pronominal prefixes on the verb or by additional verbs employed in serial verb construction. Abui has semantic alignment, a feature also found in other languages in Eastern Indonesia, Papuan as well as Austronesian (cf. Klamer, To appear-a). Pronouns in Abui show an inclusive/exclusive distinction, which is typical for Austronesian languages, but rarely found among Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 2000:376).

Agglutinative morphological structure and elaborate verbal morphology are typical TNG features, including the common distinction between 'medial' and 'final' verbs. In Abui, final verbs are typically fully inflected, medial verbs lack inflection. While verbs in many TNG languages typically carry subject suffixes, Abui lacks such subject suffixes. Instead, pronominal prefixes co-indexing undergoers are found, which are common in many Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 2000:378). Abui roots display a high degree of categorial indeterminacy. It contrasts with the typical situation in Papuan languages which make a sharp distinction between nouns and verbs, and in this respect Abui sides with Austronesian languages that commonly display a high degree of categorial indeterminacy (cf. Foley, 2000:370).

As in other Papuan languages, Abui has a small class of verbs (referred to as generic verbs in this study) that derive new verbs. This is a feature specific of Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 2000:386). Generic verbs also frequently combine with other verbs, and then function as auxiliaries. Abui has no ditransitive verbs and most verbs may occur in both transitive and intransitive construction. These features are common among Papuan languages (cf. Foley, 2000:376-7).

Features of Abui syntax:

(i) basic Actor-Undergoer-Verb (AUV) constituent, pragmatic UAV order
(ii) no adpositions (instead, serial verb constructions are used)
(iii) anaphoric demonstratives follow the noun
(iv) modifiers follow the head noun (only deictic demonstratives precede)
(v) frequent clause chaining without conjunctions

Evaluation: Abui shows clause chaining and tail-head linkage, which are both commonly found among Papuan languages. It is also very rich in serial verb constructions. Switch reference, sometimes found in TNG languages (cf. Foley, 2000:384), is not found in Abui. In sum, Abui has many features that are typically Papuan, but also shares some features with the Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia. There is a possibility that Papuan languages of Alor-Pantar predated the Austronesian languages (cf. Pawley, 2005-b:100). In that case, it is expected that there has been diffusion of features from Austronesian to Papuan and vice versa (cf. Klamer et.al., In press).

1.7 Typological sketch

After having given the specification of some distinctive typological features for Abui with relation to other Papuan languages, I will now address each of the topics (phonology, morphology and syntax) in more detail below as they are dealt with in this book.

PHONOLOGY. Abui is a language with a relatively simple segmental inventory. There are 16 native consonants (the three loan consonants are given in curly brackets) covering five places of articulation and six manners of articulation, as exemplified in **Table 3** below. Where the orthographic representation differs from phonetic, it is given in round brackets.

Table 3: Abui consonants

	PLACE				
MANNER	[LABIAL]	[ALVEODENTAL]	[PALATAL]	[VELAR]	[GLOTTAL]
[PLOSIVE] [-VOICED]	p	t		k	ʔ (')
[+VOICED]	b	d		{g}	
[AFFRICATE] [-VOICED]			{ʧ} (*j*)		
[+VOICED]			{c}		
[FRICATIVE] [-VOICED]	f	s			
[+VOICED]					h
[NASAL]	m	n		ŋ (*ng*)	
[TRILL]		r			
[LATERAL]		l			
[APPROXIMANT]	w		j (*y*)		

There are five short vowels each of them having a long counterpart. An overview of the vowels is given in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Abui vowels

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
	[-LONG]	[+LONG]	[-LONG]	[+LONG]	[-LONG]	[+LONG]
HIGH	ɪ (*i*)	iː (*ii*)			u	uː (*uu*)
MID	ɛ (*e*)	eː (*ee*)			ɔ (*o*)	oː (*oo*)
LOW			ɑ (*a*)	aː (*aa*)		

The syllable structure is simple: syllables preferably have an onset (CV); closed (CVC) syllables are common; consonant clusters within one syllable are avoided; the nucleus is maximally bimoraic (CVVC).

Syllables are combined to form prosodic words, in which heavy syllables (syllables with a complex nucleus) attract stress. Light syllables have a simple nucleus and are mostly open. Abui feet are iambic counted from right to left, with an optional extrametrical syllable in cases where the penultimate syllable is heavy. Stress is phonetically realized as lengthening of the stressed syllable, rising of pitch, and increasing of intensity. Distinctions in pitch are lexicalised in a number of cases so that one can speak of lexical tone in Abui.

MORPHOLOGY. Abui can be characterized as an agglutinating polysynthetic language. Nouns tend to be morphologically simple; the possessive inflection is the only nominal inflection. Verbs tend to be morphologically complex; they are inflected for person and aspect. In (2), I give an overview of morphological structures found in Abui. Words consist minimally of a free root (i). Free roots may combine with optional morphemes, prefixes (ii), suffixes (iii), bound roots (iv), or both prefix and suffix (v). Free roots may form a complex stem with a bound root and still combine with affixes (vi). A number of roots are bound; they obligatorily combine with prefixes (vii), suffixes (viii), or both of them (ix), other bound roots (x), bound roots and suffixes (xi), or all of them (xii) to form a word.

		MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	EXAMPLES	
(2)	i.	*free root*	*lui* 'knife', *nee* 'eat', *ba* (LNK)	
	ii.	*prefix-free root*	*he-maama*	'his father'
	iii.	*free root-suffix*	*nee-i*	'already eaten'
	iv.	*free root-bound root*	*namu-l*	'to wound'
	v.	*prefix-free root-suffix*	*o-nee-i*	'already fed you'
	vi.	*prefix-free root-bound root-suffix*	*ha-bui-d-a*	'get it shortened'
	vii.	*prefix-bound root*	*na-táng*	'my arm, my hand'
	viii.	*bound root-suffix*	*mop-i*	'already put together'
	ix.	*prefix-bound root-suffix*	*na-lal-e*	'I am laughing'
	x.	*bound root-bound root*	*bek-a*	'be bad'
	xi.	*bound root-bound root-suffix*	*bek-d-i*	'make broken'
	xii.	*prefix-bound root-bound root-suffix*	*ha-bek-d-i*	'it became broken'

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES. Abui distinguishes open and closed grammatical categories. Open grammatical categories are only nouns and verbs. Closed grammatical categories are adjectives, deictics, quantifiers, aspectual markers, linkers, adverbs, and question words. There is a closed set of generic verbs which are monosegmental roots and have a number of grammatical functions in argument realization and verb derivation.

NOUNS. Abui nouns are only identified unambiguously by their referential properties when they have animate referents. Inanimate nouns are typically underspecified for number, shape, or size; in other words, their reference is generic. Many lexical items are categorially indetermined and may refer to objects and substances as well as to events.

Abui nouns are divided in two groups by possessive inflection. Inherently possessed nouns require possessive inflection. Semantically these are body parts and kinship terms. This distinction is illustrated in (3), where the bound nominal stem *min* 'nose' combines with the inalienable possessive prefix *na-* (1SG.INAL). In (b), the noun *fala* 'house' belongs to the second group of optionally possessed nouns. The possessive prefix *ne-* (1SG.AL) marks the alienable possession. In third person, the possessor is optionally expressed with a noun that precedes the possessum denoting noun, as illustrated in (c).

(3)	a.	*na-min*	b.	*ne-fala*	c. *maama he-fala*
		1SG.INAL-nose		1SG.AL-house	father 3II.AL-house
		'my nose'		'my house'	'father's house'

NOUN PHRASES. In an NP, Abui nouns (N) combine, in addition to possessive inflection (PROPOSS), with a number of adnominal modifiers such as deictic demonstratives (DEICT), modifier nouns (N_{MOD}), stative verbs (V), adjectives (ADJ), quantifiers (QUANT), and anaphoric demonstratives (DEM) in a fixed order, as illustrated in (4).

(4) **NP →** (DEICT) (N_{POSS} PROPOSS-) **N** (N_{MOD}) (ADJ/V) (QUANT) (DEM)

Optionally, an NP may be modified by a modifier linked to the head noun with the linker *ba* (LNK); typically, a relative clause (RC). The linked modifier may either precede or follow the head noun as illustrated in (5). It forms a single intonational unit with the modified NP. In (a), the modifier clause precedes the head noun *bataa* 'wood'. In (b), the modifier clause follows the head noun. The second order is more common.

(5) a. {*no-pa* *mi-a*}$_{RC}$ *ba* [*bataa* *do*]$_{NP}$ *ha-fik-i*
1SG.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR LNK wood PRX 3II.PAT-pull.away-PFV
'that log that is on me, drag it away' [B07.040.04]

b. [*bataa*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*no-pa* *mi-a* *do*}$_{RC}$
wood LNK 1SG.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR PRX
'that log that is on me'

ARGUMENT REALIZATION. In Abui, argument realization is semantically based. Controlling and volitional participants of an event are identified as actors. Actors are realized as A arguments with NPs and/or free pronouns. This is illustrated in (6). In (a), the A argument is expressed with the NP *maama* 'father' and the free pronoun *di* (3A); in (b), the A argument is expressed by the free pronoun *di* (3A).

	TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE	
(6)	a. *maama di tafaa nuku mihi*		b. *di miei*	
	father 3A drum one set.CPL		3A come.CPL	
	'the father set down one drum'		's/he/they came'	

Affected participants of an event are identified as undergoers and realized as U arguments with NPs and/or bound pronouns. This is illustrated in (7). In (a), the U argument is expressed with the NP *wil* 'child' and with the bound pronoun *ho-* (3II.REC). In (b), the U argument is expressed with the bound pronoun *no-* (1SG.REC).

	TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE	
(7)	a. *Simon de-wil ho-dik*		b. *no-lil-a*	
	name 3I.AL-child 3II.REC-prick		1SG.REC-hot-be.at	
	'Simon is tickling his child'		'I feel hot'	

There are three sets of bound pronouns that express arguments with a specific reference. Their distribution is determined by the semantic features of the participants

such as [±change of state] and [±individuated]. In (8), the U argument of the verb *loi* 'put far, chase' is realized in a number of constructions.

(8) a. *kaai ya oro nala nuku he-loi do*
dog be.DST DST what one 3II.LOC-put.far PRX
'the dog over there just barked for something' [B05.031.05]

b. *kaai ya oro nala nuku ho-loi do*
dog be.DST DST what one 3II.REC-put.far PRX
'the dog over there just barked at somebody/something' [B05.031.05]

c. *Simon di kaai ha-loi*
name 3A dog 3II.PAT-put.far
'Simon chased the dog' [B05.031.02]

d. **Simon di na-loi*
name 3A 1SG.PAT-put.far

e. *Simon ne-l to-ha-loi*
name 1SG.LOC-give DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far
'Simon chases me'

In (a), the U argument *nala nuku* 'something' is co-indexed as LOC; it has a specific non-individuated referent that must be understood in a very broad sense as 'purpose' or 'reason'. In (b), the same U argument is co-indexed as REC; its referent is [+individuated] and probably a human or some other clearly distinguished referent. In (c), the U argument *kaai* 'dog' is affected by the event chasing, and effectively chased away. While in (a) and (b) the meaning of the verb *loi* was translated as 'bark', the translation 'chase' is more appropriate in (c). As illustrated in (d), the use of the PAT bound pronoun is not felicitous to refer to first and second person participants. Instead, the benefactive serial construction with the generic verb *l* 'give' must be used. The first person participant is expressed as the U argument of the verb *l* 'give'. Note that the verb *loi* 'put far' combines with two bound pronouns. The distributive form *to-* (DISTR.REC) refers to a plural number of participants that are 'recipients' of chasing. The PAT form *ha-* (3II.PAT) indicates that a single participant is chased. The first person prefix may not appear here. The combinations of prefixes in double U transitive constructions are restricted.

Depending on its semantic properties a single participant of an event may be expressed as different types of arguments of the same verb. In (9), the single participant of the event of 'leaving (towards a DC)' is expressed as actor (a), experiencer (b), and undergoer (c).

(9) a. *na làk*
1SG leave.for
'I go away'

b. *na no-làk*
1SG 1SG.REC-leave.for
'I go away, retreat myself'

c. *no-làk*
1SG.REC-leave.for
'I retreat'

VERBS. Abui verbs inflect for aspect and person and may alternate their stem. Only verb stems may be combined with the REC prefix. This is illustrated in (10), where the verb

làk 'leave for' combines with the REC prefix *ho-* (3II.REC) in (a). The noun *fala* 'house' in (b) may not combine with the REC prefix.

(10) a. *na Simon ho-làk-i*
1SG name 3II.REC-leave.for-PFV
'I stepped on Simon'

b. **no-fala*
1SG.REC-house

In (11), I give three examples of stem alternation. Verb stems alternate to encode events with distinct telic properties. There are three basic distinctions made depending on the inner temporal structure of the event. Inceptive stems (ICP) indicate events that have an initial point. Completive stems (CPL) indicate events that have a final point. Continuative stems (CNT) indicate events that are viewed as having neither initial nor final point.

(11) a. *takei* ~ *takai*
bite.ICP bite.CPL

b. *sui* ~ *si*
scoop.ICP scoop.CPL

c. *fanga* ~ *fangi*
say.CNT say.CPL

d. *koi* ~ *kof*
cut.down.ICP cut.down.CPL

The verbs are divided in three classes according to the morphological properties of the stem as illustrated in (12).

(12)

CLASS	CHARACTERISTICS	NUMBER OF ITEMS
I.	no alternation	many
II.	alternation of the coda	
a.	*k ~ t*	many
b.	*k ~ p*	few
c.	*ng~ n*	many
d.	*l ~ r*	many
e.	*∅ ~ r/t*	two
f.	*i ~ f/b/h/t*	many
III.	alternation of the rime	
a.	*a ~ i*	many
b.	*e ~ iei*	one
c.	*a ~ (i)ei*	three
d.	*ai ~ aai*	several
e.	*ei ~ i*	one
f.	*ui ~ i*	one
g.	*ei ~ ai*	three
h.	*ei ~ iei~ aai*	one

VERB PHRASES. In (13), the verb phrase template is given. The template contains two argument slots that may be filled with pronominal prefixes expressing the U arguments

(the A argument is not expressed inside the VP). The template contains three slots for aspect.

(13) VP TEMPLATE: PRO.2-PRO.1-**VERB.STEM**-ASPECT.1-ASPECT.2=ASPECT.3

Many Abui verbs occur with one or two arguments. There are no ditransitive verbs. However, it often proves difficult to identify the valence of a verbal stem. With respect to the dichotomy of transitivizing and detransitivizing languages (cf. Nichols et al., 2004), Abui can be characterized as 'neutral'. Therefore, verbs are described as occurring in a number of constructions listed in (14). There are four major constructions: A-U transitive, U-U transitive, intransitive and experiencer constructions. Below, the subtypes of each construction are listed. Each construction is described in terms of its typical argument constellation and the type of event that it may express.

(14) Verb construction types

A-U transitive constructions (actor and undergoer argument)

i.	A-U	(animate A affecting inanimate U with generic reference)
ii.	A-U_{LOC}	(animate A affecting specific U: location, purpose/benefactive)
iii.	A-U_{REC}	(animate A affecting another human U: recipient/goal)
iv.	A-U_{PAT}	(animate A or force affecting specific U and causing change of state)

U-U transitive constructions (two undergoer arguments)

v.	U-U	(an inanimate U located with respect to another inanimate U)
vi.	U-U_{LOC}	(an inanimate U located with respect to a specific/animate U: location)
vii.	U-U_{REC}	(an inanimate U affecting a human U: experiencer)
viii.	U-U_{PAT}	(a bodily process U affecting a human U causing a change of state)
ix.	U_{REC}-U_{LOC}	(a human U affected by emotion with respect of another human U)
x.	U_{LOC}-U_{REC}	(an inanimate source U experienced by a human involuntary U)
xi.	U_{LOC}-U_{PAT}	(an inanimate U located with respect to a U in resultant state)
xii.	U_{REC}-U_{PAT}	(a human U experiencing a U in resultant state)

Intransitive constructions (actor or undergoer argument)

xiii.	A	(an animate acting and controlling A)
xiv.	U	(an inanimate U in a state/resultant state)
xv.	U_{LOC}	(an animate U in a state)
xvi.	U_{REC}	(a human U experiencing a state)
xvii.	U_{PAT}	(a U undergoing a change of state)

Experiencer constructions (two coreferential arguments)

xviii. A≡U_{REC} (a human experiencer of own activity)
xix. A≡U_{PAT} (a self-affecting experiencer causing a change of state)
xx. A≡<U>≡U_{REC} (a human A affecting an inanimate U to his own-profit)
xxi. A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{REC} (an experiencer of a cognitive process triggered by U)
xxii. A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{PAT} (an experiencer affected by a cognitive process triggered by U)
xxiii. A≡U_{REC}-U_{PAT} (a human A affecting U and experiencing a resultant state of U)
xxiv. U_{LOC}≡U_{REC}(a human experiencer of emotion triggered by himself)
xxv. U_{REC}≡U_{PAT} (a human experiencer of resultant state of his own activity)

A single verb stem usually occurs in more than one of the constructions listed in (14).

CLAUSE. In (15), Abui clause structure is given. In the core, the VP combines with optional NPs or free pronouns that express the A and U arguments. Adverbial modifiers precede the arguments or intervene between them. The left-most position is pragmatically marked for focus. The VP is followed by negator, 'affirmative' marker, or anaphoric demonstratives, which are the final constituents.

(15) Abui clause structure

{FOCUS} [ADVERBIALS] [NP PRO_A ADV] [NP_U **VP**] [NEG/APM] [DEM]
↑ left periphery ↑ left edge ↑ core ↑ right edge ↑ right periphery

COMPLEX VERBS. A large portion of Abui the verbal inventory is derived. As illustrated in (16), new verbs can be derived by combining a generic root such as *d* 'hold' or *l* 'give' with a nominal, adjectival, or verbal root.

(16)

mulang-d- straight-hold	'become straightened'	*paliking-d-* crooked-hold	'become crooked'
fui-d- flat-hold	'become flat, flatten'	*kupil-d-* round-hold	'become round'
namu-l wound-give	'wound'	*wayang-d-* row-hold	'row'

The final generic verbs are the head of the derived verb; they transfer their argument structure to the newly derived verb and contribute their semantics to the new verbal predicate. As illustrated in (16), the generic verb *d* 'hold' derives a verb that typically combines with an argument expressing the semantic role of actor. The generic verb *l* 'give' combines typically with an actor and a benefactive/malefactive argument.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS. The second type of multiple-verb constructions are serial verb constructions (SVCs). Two serial verb constructions are given in (17).

(17) a. *ha-wai* *mi-a!*
3II.PAT-turn take-DUR
'take it back!'

b. *na* *mi* *ha-wai* *miei*
1SG take 3II.PAT-turn come.CPL
'I brought it back'

Abui SVCs consist minimally of two verbs as illustrated in (17). However, a large portion of Abui SVCs consists of more than two verbs as in (b). Different meaning components of the verbs conjoined in a SVC can be activated. This is illustrated by the verb *me* 'come' in (18) that has two grammatical functions here. In (a) *me* 'come' encodes direction towards the deictic centre (DC), while in (b) it describes the 'gradual' manner of somebody becoming ill.

(18) a. *di* *tur-i* *ya* *mi* *me*
3A scoop.CPL-PFV SEQ take come
'she scooped up and brought it (towards DC)

b. *di* *me* *ha-rik-i*
3A come 3II.PAT-hurt-PFV
'he got gradually ill'

I distinguish between two types of SVCs according to their compositional properties: symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs. SVCs in which the verbs have 'equal' grammatical status and are not restricted to a limited set are symmetrical. The verbs in symmetrical SVCs encode the reported event in a step by step fashion by listing the verbs as in (19):

(19) *fe* *mi* *me* *feng!*
pig take come injure
'slaughter the pig here!' [B10.014.08]

Asymmetrical SVCs consist of a 'minor verb' from a restricted set and a 'major verb' from an unrestricted set. Minor verbs are grammaticalized to express different grammatical functions. Major verbs express the event, functioning as the semantic 'head' of an asymmetrical SVC. As illustrated in (18), the minor verb *me* 'come' may precede or follow the major verb. When the minor verb follows the major verb, its grammatical functions relate to the right edge of the clause. These functions include aspect, direction, manner and mood. In (20), the verb *me* 'come' is serialized with the verb *pe* 'be near' that indicates the aspect.

(20) *nu-tafuda* *he-n* *me* *pe*
1PL.E.REC-be.all 3II.LOC-see.CPL come be.near
'we are about to come there' [B07.013.07]

When the minor precedes the major verb, it introduces participants or event settings. These functions relate to the left edge of the clause such as complements, event location, participant oriented manner and mood which is illustrated in (21), where the verb *l* 'give' introduces the malefactive of 'injuring' or 'murdering' expressed by the verb *feng* 'injure'.

(21) *ko* *na* *e-l* *feng* *ha*
soon 1SG 2SG.LOC-give injure be.like.DST.CNT
'I will really kill you' [B05.018.04]

1.8 Fieldwork and language informants

The data for this grammar was collected during fieldwork in Alor between 2003 and 2005. In 2003, I stayed in the field for seven months. The first two weeks I spent in Kalabahi. Initially, I worked on the Fanating dialect. After two weeks I moved to the village of Takalelang where I stayed with the family of Mr. Timoteus Lanma. Takalelang became my main fieldwork site from which I made several trips to Tifol Afeng, a nearby hamlet in the surrounding mountains. In 2004, I spent five months in Alor, mainly in Takalelang. I made a few trips to Tifol Afeng and also spent almost a week in Mainang. During the year I participated in the teaching program of the Artha Wacana University branch in Kalabahi and had an opportunity to work with Abui speakers from Mataru. In July 2004, I co-organized a workshop on the orthography of local languages. Participants were teachers and language consultants.[8] In 2005, I spent in total two months in Takalelang and Tifolafeng.

In Table 5, I list Abui speakers with whom I worked. Whenever possible, I give their ages and the languages they speak. In the right-hand column the name of the village/dialect is given. Note that I make a distinction between Malay and Indonesian; Alor Malay is a distinct variety of Malay, quite different from standard Indonesian (Baird et.al. 2006). Older people that I worked with often only spoke Malay, not Indonesian.

Table 5: Language consultants

NAME	M/F	AGE	OTHER LANGUAGES	DIALECT
Timoteus Lanma	m	(*1943)	Malay	Takalelang
Amalia Lanma	f	(*1944)	Malay, Indonesian, Adang, Kamang	Takalelang
Piter Lanma	m	(60+)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Orpa Lanma	f	(*1972)	Malay, Indonesian, English	Takalelang
Dorkas Lanma	f	(*1975)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Daniel Lanma	m	(*1992)	Malay, Indonesian, English	Takalelang
Martinus Maufani	m	(70+)	Malay, Indonesian	Alila
Alfred Maufani	m	(70+)	Malay	Alila
Lambertus Maufani	m	(50+);	Malay	Alila
Waksi Maufani (m),	m	(*1985)	Malay, Indonesian, English	Alila
Andirias Padafani	m	(45+)	Malay	Tifol Afeng
Piter Padafani	m	(*1991)	Malay, Indonesian	Tifol Afeng
Elias Atafani	m	(45+)	Malay	Tifol Afeng
Fransiskus Fanmalei	m	(*2000)	Malay	Tifol Afeng
Selfius Fanmaley (m),	m	(50+)	Malay, Indonesian	Tifol Afeng
Loriana Fantang	f	(50+)		Alila
Benidiktus Delpada	m	(*1984)	Malay, Indonesian, English, Tetun	Takalelang
Jon Melang	m	(*1970)	Malay, Indonesian	Mabu
Naema Lema	f	(*1976)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Antonius Maisina	m	(*1957)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang

[8] See http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/aapp/orthoReport.html for more information about the workshop.

Markus Atafani	m	(50+)	Malay, Indonesian, Kabola	Takalelang
Karel Malbiyeti	m	(45+)	Malay, Indonesian	Alila
Simson Padama	m	(30+)	Malay, Indonesian	Alila
Yahya Malbieti	m	(50+)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Mai Yetimauh	m	(80+)		Takalelang
Karel Yetimauh	m	(80+)		Takalelang
Ayub Yetimauh	m	(60+)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Abner Yetimauh	m	(40+)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Vinsen Yetimauh	m	(40+)	Malay, Indonesian	Takalelang
Peter	m	(60+)	Malay, Indonesian	Fanating
Neng	m	(30+)	Malay, Indonesian, English	Fanating
Adelbertus Lanata	m	(*1995)	Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Goderius Padabeka	m	(*1996)	Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Karel Maina	m		Malay, Indonesian	Fungwati
Ronaldus Padalani	m		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Daniel Malaipada	m		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Arnoldus Maleipada	m		Malay, Indonesian	Kuya Masang
Andreas Maleipada	m		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Andreas Lanma	m		Malay, Indonesian	Fungwati
Sakarias Mailani	m		Malay, Indonesian	Ateng Melang
Yosep Mangma	m		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Yulius Mabilani	m		Malay, Indonesian	Fungwati
Yubal Ruwolbeka	m		Malay, Indonesian	Fui Mia
Yasinta Padama	f		Malay, Indonesian	Ateng Melang
Martinus Kafomai	m		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Yan Mapada	m		Malay, Indonesian	Malei Pe
Arkadius Maima	m		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Sisilia Mangma	f		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang
Mariana Lanma	f		Malay, Indonesian	Mainang

1.9 Corpus

This grammar is based on a corpus that contains about 60,000 words. The data were collected between 2002 and 2006 consisting of recorded, written and elicited texts from four dialects. In Table 6, an overview of the recorded texts is given.

Table 6: Collected texts

TEXT NAME	CONTENT	SPEAKERS	TIME
Sentences	short sentences list	Timoteus Lanma	8:34
fala ong	description of how a house is built	Timoteus Lanma	1:03
frog story I	frog story	Daniel Lanma	3:34
frog story II	Idem.	Piter Lanma	2:46
sentences II	short sentences list	Piter Lanma	5:25
Takalelang Abui	Wordlist	Timoteus Lanma	41:35
afeida	description of a day	Daniel Lanma	1:39
moku mayol	description of bride-price negotiations and marriage	Alfred Maufani	3:50
son's marriage	Idem.	Piter Lanma	3:23
house burned	a story about a house burnt out by the lightning	Timoteus Lanma	2:34
lego-lego	traditional poetry and dance	Various	87:00
Mon Mot mon	traditional story about a giant snake	Andrias Padafani	9:35

afeida II	description of a day	Piter Padafani	0:42
Kewai mahapang	a story about a stupid man from Kewai	Elias Atafani	15:25
moku ayoku	a story about two orphans	Elias Atafani	26:41
pi pun namei	field labours of the agricultural year	Karel Atafani	3:15
fu mununa	a story about fragrant betel nut	Amelia Lanma	10:24
Fuluk Mununa	a story about a woman called Fuluk Mununa	Amelia Lanma	26:40
la teitu nikalieta	ancestral legend of the Aila tribe	Alfred Maufani	10:15
old words I	conversation about some old words mentioned in the text *la teitu nikalieta*	Alfred Maufani, Waksi Maufani	4:00
biel tuku	a traditional story about origin of fire	Lambertus Maufani	3:10
old words II	conversation about some old words mentioned in the text *biel tuku*	Lambertus Maufani, Waksi Maufani	1:43
tafaa loku	description of 'moko' drums and their value	Martinus Maufani	8:30
halifi lohu I	a traditional story about a zombie with a long tongue	Martinus Maufani	4:37
ruwol bira	ancestral story about two siblings that argued about a chicken egg	Martinus Maufani	2:21
old words III	conversation about some old words mentioned in the text *ruwol bira*	Martinus Maufani, Waksi Maufani	1:48
niya homi kang	a song about deceased parents	Loriana Fantang	5:39
halifi lohu II	another version of the traditional story about a zombie with a long tongue	Amalia Lanma	12:06
Poying Pada Lehi	a traditional story about a child that became a pigeon	Amalia Lanma	10:22
luka-luka ya yoikoi I	a fable about monkey and turtle	Amalia Lanma	3:38
luka-luka ya tafui	a fable about monkey and crab	Amalia Lanma	3:00
night conversation	a conversation at the end of the day	Various	30:42
Mai Awen	a conversation and telling of traditional story *Mai Awen*	Lambertus Maufani Yefta Maufani Karel Maufani Waksi Maufani	12:36
Archery	an instructive text about bow shooting	Timoteus Lamna Daniel Lanma	18:46
luka-luka ya yoikoi II	A fable about turtle and monkey	Amalia Lanma	7:57
pikai bula	a fable about a sharp headed person	Amalia Lanma	1:28
takang siking	a conversation with the fable *takang siking*, a fable about a very thin person	Amalia Lanma Dorkas Lanma Benidiktus Delpada	2:47
pikai bula II	a fable about a sharp headed person and a conversation about it	Amalia Lanma Dorkas Lanma Benidictus Delpada	2:22
Kafola neng nuku	a story about a pregnant woman who died after giving birth	Amalia Lanma	5:34
night conversation II	jokes, gossip, etc.	Dorkas Lamna Benidictus Delpada Amalia Lanma Naema Lema	23:48

Mainang Abui I	a collection of texts in Mainang dialect	Fransiskus Fanmalei Karel Maina, Ronaldus Padalani, Daniel Malaipada, Arnoldus Maleipada	29:49
frog story III	Frog story in Mainang dialect	Adelbertus Lanata	2:03
frog story IV	Frog story in Mainang dialect	Goderius Padabeka	3:54
parish council	a recording of a parish council meeting	Various	15:21
tikak fak	a traditional negotiation about bride price	Various	62:34
man tree game 1	a recording of a MPI elicitation tool	Waksi Maufani Benidictus Delpada	13:49
man tree game 2	Idem.	Waksi Maufani	6:11
man tree game 3	Idem.	Simon Lanma Orpa Lanma	8:27
man tree game 4	Idem.	Benidictus Delpada Waksi Maufani	7:10
man tree game 5	Idem.	Benidictus Delpada	9:04
tribal war in thirties	an account of a tribal conflict	Timoteus Lanma	15:00
forest walk	botanical walk through the fields and forest	Elias Atafani	25:16
Fanating Abui I	Wordlist	Neng	8:42
Fanating Abui II	Wordlist	Piter	19:17

Abui texts from Atimelang were collected by Cora Du Bois and Martha Margaretha Nicolspeyer in 1938. These texts were published by Nicolspeyer (1940). Another text that I included in my corpus is a translation of chapter 1 of the gospel according to Mark. The biblical text was translated by Mr. Julius Onkari Manimabi in his own Apui dialect of Abui. I received the text by the courtesy of the SIL team Kupang. Elicited data are also included in the corpus together with a number of e-mails and text messages that I have received from Abui speakers while in the Netherlands. In this grammar, I only use the data from speakers of Takalelang, Alila and Tifol Afeng dialect.

1.10 Outline of the grammar and the presentation of data

This book is organized as follows. In chapter 2, I give a description of the Abui phonological system. Morphology and grammatical categories are given in chapter 3. In chapter 4, nouns and noun phrases are described. Chapter 5 discusses argument realization. Verb phrases and clauses are described in chapter 6. The final two chapters focus on multi-verb constructions. In chapter 7, I describe complex verbs; chapter 8 gives an overview of serial verb constructions. In the appendixes, a number of texts are given as well as Abui-English and English-Abui wordlists.

Abui language data are presented in the following fashion, as illustrated in (22).

(22) *na* *abui* *tanga* *he-tahai=se* **<*abui*>**
1SG mountain speech 3ILLOC-search-INCP.I <English GLOSS>
'I am about to start learning Abui language' [B04.027.2]<'English translation' [source]>

In the first line of an example, the Abui data is given <*abui*>. The data is presented in lower case, except for proper names. Morpheme breaks are marked with a HYPHEN sign, clitics with an EQUALS sign. In the second line the glosses are given <English GLOSS>. An overview of the adopted glosses can be found below in this section. In the third line, English translation is provided and the source is given referring to the location in the corpus <'English translation' [source]>.

In chapter 7, I discuss the morphology of Abui complex verbs. The verb stems are split into segments that are glossed as generic verbs. These glosses are given only in chapter 7. Elsewhere, I adopt simplified glossing as illustrated in the left-hand column.

	CHAPTERS 1-6 & 8		CHAPTER 7	
(23)	*ar* burn	'burn'	*ar* burn	'burn'
	ara be.in.fire/fire	'be on fire, fire'	*ar-a* burn-be.at	'be on fire, fire'
	ara-l fire-give	'set on fire'	*ar-a-l* [burn-be.at]-give	'set on fire, set fire to'
	arang glow	'glow'	*ar-a-ng* [burn-be.at]-see	'glow'

2 Phonology

In this chapter, I give an overview of Abui phonology. In other words, I discuss the different sounds of the language and how they are combined together. The data presented in this chapter are from the Takalelang, Alila and Tifol Afeng dialect. In a small number of cases, data from the Fanating dialect are used. These cases are explicitly marked.

This chapter is organized as follows: in section 2.1.1, the phonemic inventory of Abui is discussed. The distribution of the phonemes within words and syllables are described in 2.2, with subsections for consonants (2.2.1) and vowels (2.2.2). Syllable structure is described in 2.3 and further referred to in 2.4 where I give an overview of prosodic word types. In a prosodic word, syllables are stressed following the iambic pattern (2.5); a penultimate heavy syllable causes the final syllable to be extrametrical (2.5.3). A small number of Abui word has lexical tone (2.5.4). This chapter ends in 2.6 with an overview of orthographic conventions used in this grammar.

2.1.1 Segmental inventory

Abui segmental inventory consists of 16 native consonants and 3 borrowed consonants [ɟ], [c], and [g] (given in curly brackets).[1] An overview of all consonants is given in **Table 7**:

Table 7: Abui consonant inventory

	Place				
Manner	[Labial]	[Alveodental]	[Palatal]	[Velar]	[Glottal]
[Plosive] [-Voiced]	p	t		k	ʔ (')
[+Voiced]	b	d		{g}	
[Affricate] [-Voiced]			{ɟ} (*j*)		
[+Voiced]			{c}		
[Fricative] [-Voiced]	f	s			
[+Voiced]					h
[Nasal]	m	n		ŋ (*ng*)	
[Trill]		r			
[Lateral]		l			
[Approximant]	w		j (*y*)		

Borrowed consonants /ɟ/, /c/, and /g/ occur only in words recently borrowed from Malay or Indonesian. They are not part of the native inventory; consequently, they are

[1] Where the orthographic symbol differs from the IPA symbol, the orthographic representation is given in brackets.

excluded from the discussion of the distributional properties of Abui phonemes. The velar plosive /k/ has two different realizations: it is realized as [k] in word initial position and as uvular [q] in word medial and word final position.

The Abui vowel inventory contains five cardinal vowels that occur in pairs with a quantity distinction as illustrated in **Table 8**:

Table 8: Abui vowel inventory

	FRONT		MID		BACK	
	[-LONG]	[+LONG]	[-LONG]	[+LONG]	[-LONG]	[+LONG]
HIGH	ɪ (*i*)	iː (*ii*)			u	uː (*uu*)
MID	ɛ (*e*)	eː (*ee*)			ɔ (*o*)	oː (*oo*)
LOW			ɑ (*a*)	aː (*aa*)		

Note that the short vowels given in **Table 8** are characterized as lax and are generally lower than the long vowels that are tense. However, this does not yield a phonological contrast in addition to the quantity contrast. In slow speech, short vowels are about 100ms, long vowels are 160ms. In normal speech, short vowels are about 60ms; long vowels about 100ms (compare **Figure 1** and **Figure 2**). In very rapid speech, short vowels are about 30ms, and long vowels about 60ms. In addition, the short mid vowels /ɛ, ɔ/ are phonetically reanalyzed as so-called 'broken' vowels when stressed (see section 2.5.5).

2.1.2 Minimal pairs of consonants

Phonemic oppositions between the consonants are illustrated by the following minimal pairs. In the following examples contrasts among plosives are given:

(1) /d/~/t/

/dɑ'táŋ/	*da-táng* 3I.INAL-hand	'his hand'
/tɑ'táŋ/	*ta-táng* DISTR.INAL-hand	'our hands'
/dɔ/	*do* PRX	'this (near me)'
/tɔ/	*to* PRX.AD	'this (near you)'

(2) /b/~/p/

/'beːkɑ/	*beka*	'be bad'
/'peːkɑ/	*peka*	'be near'
/bɔl/	*bol*	'hit'
/pɔl/	*pol*	'hammer'

Minimal pairs for fricatives are given in example (3):

(3) /f/~/s/~/k/

/fɛŋ/	*feng*	'injure, kill'
/sɛŋ/	*seng*	'money'
/kɛŋ/	*keng*	'sarong'

In (4) and (5), I give minimal pairs of nasals that occur in both onset and coda position. Note that the nasal /ŋ/ does not occur as word initial onset (see also 2.2.1).

(4) /m/~/n/

/mɛŋ/	*meng*	'wear'
/nɛŋ/	*neng*	'man'

(5) /n/~/ŋ/

/mɔn/	*mon*	'snake; already died'
/mɔŋ/	*mong*	'die'

As in other 'Papuan' languages of the Alor-Pantar area, Abui distinguishes between /l/ and /r/ in both onset and coda positions.[2]

(6) /l/~/r/

/luj/	*lui*	'knife'
/ruj/	*rui*	'rat'
/wal/	*wal*	'more, augment'
/war/	*war*	'sun'
/tur/	*tur*	'spoon n., already scooped v.'
/tul/	*tul*	'scoop v.'
/hɛl/	*he-l* 3II.LOC-give	'give him'
/hɛr/	*he-r* 3II.LOC-reach	'gave him already'

2.1.3 Minimal pairs of vowels

Examples (7)-(9) give minimal pairs that contrast Abui short vowels:

[2] In many Papuan languages on mainland Papua, consonants [r] and [l] do not have phonemic status and are often allophones of the phoneme /t/ (Foley 1986:55).

(7) /ɛ/~/ɔ/~/ɪ/

/wɛ/	*we*	'go away'
/wɔ/	*wo*	'over there (DST)'
/wɪ/	*wi*	'stone'

(8) /ɑ/~/ɛ/~/ɪ/

/kɑŋ/	*kang*	'be good, can'
/kɛŋ/	*keng*	'sarong'
/kɪŋ/	*king*	'be long'

(9) /ɔ/~/u/~/ɑ/

/lɔŋ/	*long*	'be long'
/luŋ/	*lung*	'door'
/lɑŋ/	*lang*	'wash'

The following (near) minimal pairs of nouns illustrate the quantity distinction between short and long vowels.

(10) /ɑ/~/ɑː/

/jɑ/	*ya*	'water'
/jɑː/	*yaa*	'road'
/fɑ'lɑ/	*fala*	'house'
/'fɑːlɑ/	*faala*	'shield on the house poles'
/pɑ'kɑj/	*pakai*	'basket'
/'pɑːkɑj/	*paakai*	'broom'
/kɑj/	*kai*	'tree bark'
/kɑːj/	*kaai*	'dog n., be voracious v.'
/wɑj/	*wai*	'urine'
/wɑːj/	*waai*	'roof, cover'
/kɑ'fɑk/	*kafak*	'spear'
/kɑ'fɑːk/	*kafaak*	'tobacco'

The phonetic properties of short and long vowels [ɑ] vs. [ɑː] of the minimal pair given in (11) are illustrated in **Figure 1** and **Figure 2** below.

(11) /a/~/aː/

/baˈta/	*bata*	'seed'
/baˈtaː/	*bataa*	'wood, tree'

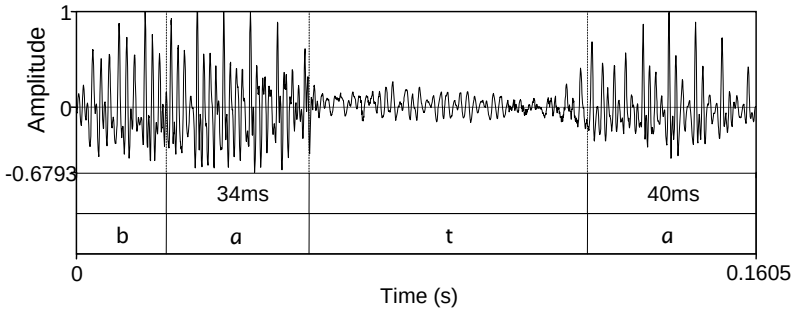


Figure 1: ***bata*** 'seed'[3]

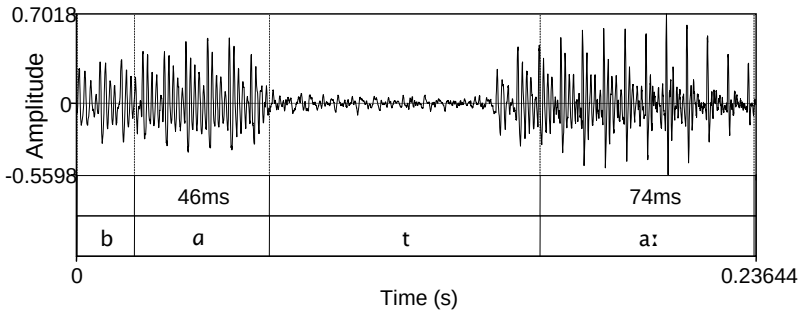


Figure 2: ***bataa*** 'wood, tree'

Minimal pairs that illustrate the distinction between /ɛ/ vs. /eː/ are given in examples (12) and (13):

(12) /ɛ/~/eː/

/baˈlɛj/	*balei*	'be around, surround'
/baˈleː/	*balee*	'sweet potato'
/baˈleːj/	*baleei*	'banana'

[3] All figures were created using the Praat program written by Boersma and Weenink (2006).

/pɛj/	*pe-i* be.near-PFV	'be already nearby'
/peːj/	*peei*	'scorpion'

Phonetic properties of the minimal pair given in (13) are illustrated in **Figure 3**.

(13) /ɛ/~/eː/

/nɛ /	*ne*	'name n., name v., call'
/neː/	*nee*	'eat'
/mɛ'tɪŋ /	*meting*	'small shells'
/'meːtɪŋ/	*meeting*	'betel vine'

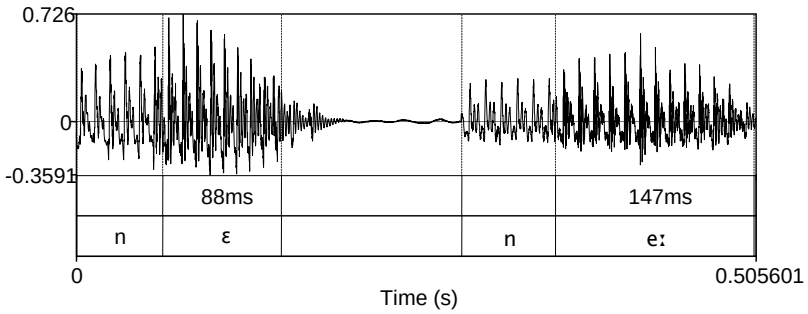


Figure 3: ***ne*** 'name, v.' ~ ***nee*** 'eat'

Finally, the distinction between the long and short vowel /u/, /ɔ/ vs. /oː/ and /ɪ/ vs. /iː/is illustrated by the minimal pairs below:

(14) /u/~/uː/

/luk/	*luk*	'rub'
/luːk/	*luuk*	'dance'
/buk/	*buk*	'bunch n., tie up, embrace v.'
/buːk/	*buuk*	'consume'

(15) /ɔ/~/oː/

/'nɛtɔ'ku/	*ne-ŧoku* 1SG.AL-leg	'my leg'
/nɑ'toːk/	*na-ŧook* 1SG.INAL-intestine	'my guts'

I have no minimal pairs of nouns contrasting the long and short vowel /ɪ, iː/. In (16), I give two verb forms that illustrate the distinction between the vowels.

(16) /ɪ/~/iː/

/mɪ/	*mi* be.in/take.CPL	'be in, take'
/miː/	*mi-i* take.CPL-PFV	'already taken'

2.2 Phonotactics

In this section, I describe the distribution of phonemes in syllables. I base my analysis mainly on nouns, because they tend to be morphologically simple, unlike verbs that may consist of more than one root (for details, see section 3.1). In section 2.2.1, I describe the distributional properties of consonants, vowel sequences are discussed in section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Distribution of consonants

The following overview of the phonotactic distribution of Abui consonants takes into account their occurrence in (i) syllables: either in syllable onset or coda; and in (ii) words: either in word-initial, word-medial or word-final position:

Table 9: Distribution of the consonants in onset and coda

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

The distribution of each consonant given in the table is exemplified in the following examples:

(17) /p/

/pɔl/	*pol*	'hammer'
/lɪ'pa/	*lipa*	'blanket'

*CV[p]CV…

*CV[p]#

(18) /b/

/bɑ'taː/	*bataa*	'wood, tree'
/ɑlɔ'bɑ/	*aloba*	'thorn'

*CV[b]CV#

*CV[b]#

(19) /t/

/tɑ'dɑ/	*tada*	'bean'
/wɑ'tɑ/	*wata*	'coconut'

*CV[t]CV#

/fɑt/	*fat*	'corn'

(20) /d/

/dɛ'kɪ/	*deki*	'trousers'
/kɔ'dɑ/	*koda*	'cloth'

*CV[d]CV#

*CV[d]#

In (21), distribution of the velar /k/ is given. In a single case the velar /k/ occurs as word medial coda. It is possible that the noun *muknehi* 'sibling of same sex' is morphologically complex.

(21) /k/

/kɑ'wɛn/	*kawen*	'machete'
/pɑ'kɑ/	*paka*	'fruit'
/mukɳɛ'hɪ /	*muknehi*	'sibling of the same sex'
/kɑ'fuk/	*kafuk*	'arrow'

In (22), the nasal /m/ occurs as word medial coda only in a single case: the noun *yambuk* 'glass' is a derived word consisting of three morphemes. The word-final use of /m/ is attested only in the verbal domain. The generic verb *m* 'be in, take' may occur word finally.

(22) /m/

/mɑ'rɛl/	*marel*	'bat'
/'mɑːmɑ/	*maama*	'father'
/jɑm'buk/	*yambuk*	'glass'
/nɔm/	*no-m*	'inside me'

In (23), the nasal /n/ occurs in a single case as word medial coda. The noun *tukonrek* 'stick' is possibly derived from the verb *tukon* 'cut'.

(23) /n/

/nɛŋ/	*neng*	'man'
/'naːna/	*naana*	'older sibling'
/tukɔn'rɛk/	*tukonrek*	'stick'
/mɔn/	*mon*	'snake'

As illustrated in (24), the nasal /ŋ/ does not occur as word-initial onsets. It occurs often as word medial coda in morphologically complex nouns such as *angmona* 'dead corpse' or *la-kang-fak* 'tree ant sp.'

(24) /ŋ/

*[ŋ]V

/tɛ'ŋa/	*tenga*	'plate'
/aŋmɔ'na/	*angmona*	'dead corpse, dead person'
/lakaŋ'fak/	*lakangfak*	'tree ant sp.'
/sɔŋ/	*song*	'jackfruit'

(25) /r/

/ra'fuŋ/	*rafung*	'hornet'
/bɪ'ra/	*bira*	'egg'
/mur'tɪk/	*murtik*	'lizard'
/tur/	*tur*	'spoon n., already scooped v.'

(26) /l/

/lu/	*lu*	'river'
/fa'la/	*fala*	'house'

*CV[l]CV#

/kamɔl/	*kamol*	'basket for betel nut'

(27) /f/

/fɛ/	*fe*	'pig'
/tɔ'fa/	*tofa*	'shelter'

*CV[f]CV#

*CV[f]#

(28) /s/

/sɛ'raŋ/	*serang*	'clan'
/ma'saŋ/	*masang*	'sanctuary, Ind. mezbah'

*CV[s]CV#

*CV[s]#

(29) /h/

/hɪɛ̀ŋ/	*h-ièng*[4]	'his eye'
/na'ha:/	*nahaa*	'younger sibling'

*CV[h]CV#

*CV[h]#

(30) /w/

/'wɪ/	*wi*	'stone'
/nɔ'waŋ/	*nowang*	'cover, blanket Ind. selimut'

*CV[w]CV#

*CV[w]#

(31) /j/

/ja/	*ya*	'water'
/ku'ja/	*kuya*	'bird'

*CV[j]CV

/ka:j/	*kaai*	'dog n., be voracious v.'

Glottal stop /ʔ/is commonly inserted as 'default' onset in vowel-initial words. In that position it is not represented in orthography (see also 2.6). The glottal stop appears in pronunciation clearly when nouns such as *aremang* 'tribe', *ata* 'leaves' or *eti* 'shrimp' combine with possessive prefixes, which are open light syllables consisting of a consonant and a vowel (for further details about possessive prefixes, see section 3.3.2). Glottal stop occurs word internally in the word *he'e* 'yes' that is used as answer for a yes-no question.

[4] The grave accent indicates the low tone.

(32) /ʔ/

/ʔa/	*a*	'you (2SG)'
/ʔa'táŋ/	*a-táng*	'your hand'
/ʔarɛ'maŋ/	*aremang*	'tribe'
/ʔa'ta/	*ata*	'leaves'
/ʔɛ'tɪ/	*eti*	'shrimp'
/hɛ'ʔɛ/	*he'e*	'yes'
/hɛʔama 'kang/	*he-ama kang*	'his man, person'

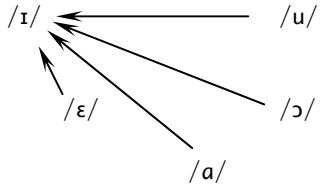
*CV[ʔ]#

In sum, all Abui indigenous consonants occur as word medial onsets. Except for the nasal velar [ŋ], all consonants occur also word initially. The coda position is relatively more restricted than the onset position. Only eight consonants are allowed in word-final coda position: /t, k, m, n, ŋ, r, l, j/. The word-medial coda position is even more restricted, as it allows only five consonants: /k, m, n, ŋ, r/. There is a clear asymmetry in the distribution of /j/ and /w/. The glide /j/ occurs as coda while /w/ does not occur as coda. A similar asymmetry is also found among liquids, as the liquid /r/ is found in word-medial codas across the lexicon, while the liquid /l/ is only found in word-medial coda position in complex verbs.

2.2.2 Vowel sequences

Abui vowel sequences are of two types. The first type is a rising vowel sequence that always ends in high front vowel /ɪ/ with any other cardinal vowel as its first member. This type is schematically represented in (33).

(33) Rising vowel sequence



Rising vowel sequences are exemplified below:

(34) /aɪ/

['fajsɛ'waŋ]	/'faɪsɛ'waŋ/	*faisewang*	'bamboo floater'
[fa'haj]	/fa'haɪ/	*fahai*	'sea crocodile'
[ku'paj]	/ku'paɪ/	*kupai*	'forest'
[kaɪk]	/kaɪk/	*kaik*	'orphan'
[waɪk]	/waɪk/	*waik*	'dirt'

(35) /ɛɪ/

[mɑ'nɛj]	/mɑ'nɛɪ/	*manei*	'string'
[tɪ'lɛj]	/tɪ'lɛɪ/	*tilei*	'comb'

*/lɛɪk/

Note that the vowel sequence of /ɛ/ followed by /ɪ/ occurs in a closed syllable. The second phoneme might be considered as ambiguous and either interpreted as a glide /j/ filling up the coda, or as the second member of the nucleus. Both interpretations are plausible, because they do not violate the core syllable structure, however, the analysis as vowel sequence is supported by the prosodic behaviour of these syllables. The vowel sequences count as heavy syllables and attract the stress (see also 2.5).

(36) /ɔɪ/

[tɑ'kɔj]	/tɑ'kɔɪ/	*takoi*	'bean'
[jɔj]	/jɔɪ/	*yoi*	'flood'
[tu'kɔj]	/tu'kɔɪ/	*tukoi*	'strong'

(37) /uɪ/

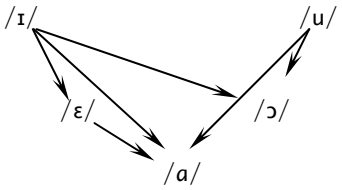
[luj]	/luɪ/	*lui*	'knife'
[tɑ'fuj]	/tɑ'fuɪ/	*tafui*	'crab'
['sujdɑ]	/'suɪdɑ/	*sui-d-a*	'be three times'
		three.CPL-hold-DUR	

*/tɑ'fuɪk/

The vowel sequences /ɛɪ/, /uɪ/, and /ɔɪ/ occur only in open syllables. The vowel /ɪ/ is pronounced as /j/.

The other type of vowel sequence is the falling vowel sequence, schematically represented in (38). This sequence starts in any of the cardinal vowels except /ɑ/ and continues in the second vowel that is always lower and for the front vowels also more back:

(38) Falling vowel sequence



The most typical falling vowel sequence ends in the low vowel /ɑ/ as illustrated below. Note that the vowel sequences that start in /ɪ/ or /ɛ/ and end in /ɑ/ are typically pronounced with [j] in between.

(39) /ɪa/

[ˈfɪʲaj]	/ˈfɪaj/	*fiai*	‘candlenut sp. Aleurites moluccana’
[ˈkɪʲak]	/ˈkɪak/	*kiak*	‘collect fruits between leaves’

(40) /ɛa/

[ˈmɛʲa]	/ˈmɛa/	*mea*	‘mango’
[ˈwɛʲa]	/ˈwɛa/	*wea*	‘blood’

(41) /ua/

[ˈsuʷa]	/ˈsua/	*sua*	‘three’

The ungrammatical forms in (39) and (40) indicate that the falling vowel sequences that start in /u/ and /ɛ/ do not occur in closed syllables. Only the vowel sequence /ɪa/ may occur in closed syllable. The vowel sequence /ɔa/ is not allowed altogether.

The vowel /ɛ/ as the second member of a vowel sequence occurs following the high front vowel [ɪ]. Other combinations are not found.

(42) /ɪɛ/

[ˈsɪʲɛŋ]	/ˈsɪɛŋ/	*sieng*	‘rice’
[kaˈlɪʲɛta]	/kaˈlɪɛta/	*kalieta*	‘old person’
[taˈdɪʲɛlaŋ]	/taˈdɪɛlaŋ/	*tadielang*	‘stipel’

(43) */aɛ/ */ˈCaɛ/ */ˈCaɛC/

*/uɛ/ */ˈCuɛ/ */ˈCuɛC/

*/ɔɛ/ */ˈCɔɛ/ */ˈCɔɛC/

The vowel /ɔ/ follows often the high back vowel /u/ and high front vowel /ɪ/ in a vowel sequence. Both vowel sequences are pronounced with a glide between the vowels.

(44) /uɔ/

[ˈbuʷɔt]	/ˈbuɔt/	*buot*	‘back basket’
[maˈpuʷɔ]	/maˈpuɔ/	*mapuo*	‘firefly’
[ˈfuʷɔkuŋ]	/ˈfuɔkuŋ/	*fuokung*	‘gong’
[ˈluʷɔkaj]	/ˈluɔkaɪ/	*luokai*	‘rattan fish trap’
[taˈbuʷɔŋ]	/taˈbuɔŋ/	*tabuong*	‘dust’

(45) /ɪɔ/

[ˈtɪʲɔkdɑ]	/ˈtɪɔkdɑ/	*tiokda*	'jump'
[pɑˈlɪʲɔl]	/pɑˈlɪɔl/	*paliol*	'witch'
[ˈtiʲɔŋwɑt]	/ˈtiɔŋwɑt/	*tiong-wat*	'pineapple'

(46) */ɑɔ/ */Cɑɔ/ */CɑɔC/

(47) /ɛɔ/

/ˈmɛɔ/	*me-o* come-PNCT	'then, following'

*/ˈCɛɔC/

Vowel sequences ending in back high vowel /u/ never occur:

(48) */ɪu/ */ˈɑɪuC/ */ˈCɪuC/

*/ɑu/ */ˈCɑuC/

*/ɛu/ */Cɛu/ */CɛuC/

*/ɔu/ */CɔuC/

The combinatory possibilities of the vowels are summarized in **Table 10** which shows the vowels /ɪ, ɑ, ɛ, ɔ/ that occur in the second position of a vowel sequence. The vowel /u/ does not occur in this position. The low mid vowel /ɑ/ and high front vowel /ɪ/ are the preferred second members of vowel sequences. The vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ occur only in a small number of instances: the mid front vowel /ɛ/ occurs as second in the sequence following only the /ɪ/; the mid back vowel /ɔ/ occurs only after the high vowels /ɪ/ and /u/. The vowel sequence of /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ occurs only once in the whole corpus in the functional word *me-o* 'then, following' that is morphologically complex and therefore is not taken into account here. The back vowels /u/ and /ɔ/ occur only as short vowels in vowel sequences.

Table 10: Abui vowel sequences

	SECOND VOWEL			
FIRST VOWEL	/ɪ/	/ɑ/	/ɛ/	/ɔ/
/u/	uɪ	uɑ		uɔ
/ɪ/		ɪɑ	ɪɛ	ɪɔ
/ɑ/	ɑɪ			
/ɛ/	ɛɪ	ɛɑ		
/ɔ/	ɔɪ			

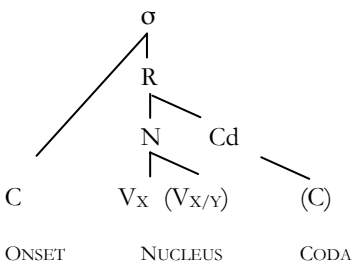
Long vowels do not occur in sequence, but in some cases two long vowels /aː/ and /eː/ are followed by the sound [j]. However, such forms are analysed as long vowels

followed by a coda consonant. This analysis is based on the assumption that the syllable in Abui contains maximally two morae, and as a long vowel is bimoraic, the third segment [ɪ] is analysed as a glide in coda position. This predicts that a syllable of this type will never have an additional coda, which is borne out by the data.

2.3 Syllable structure

In a syllable, segments are organized according to their sonority. In Abui, each syllable (σ) contains a sonority peak, a nucleus (N) that corresponds to a vowel on the segmental level. A single vowel is the minimal shape of an Abui syllable (see 2.2.2). Nuclei are surrounded by elements with lower sonority: the onset (O) and coda (Cd). Both onset and coda are filled with consonants (see 2.2.1). Abui syllable structure is schematically represented in (49). The coda (Cd) joins the nucleus in rime (R), a higher structure, projected by the nucleus. The rime projects the syllable in which it combines with onset.

(49)



An Abui syllable consists minimally of a simple nucleus projected by a short vowel (V_X). A complex nucleus is filled by two vowels. The second vowel (V_Y) forms a vowel sequence with the first vowel (V_X). Long vowels are analyzed as sequences of two identical vowels (V_XV_X). For the distribution of vowels in nuclei and phonotactic restrictions on vowel sequences in nuclei see section 2.2.2. As represented in (49), a syllable may contain an onset and a coda. Neither onset nor coda may contain consonant clusters. The coda position is more restricted than the onset; while all 16 indigenous consonants are found in onset position, the coda position only allows eight, respectively five consonants (see 2.2.1). The possible syllable structures in Abui are exemplified below. In my corpus, there are only two Abui words that consist of just a nucleus; both are function words.

(50) V

/ɔ/	*o*	'there (MD)'
/ɛ/	*e*	'before'

Free nominal roots with a simple nucleus have a default glottal stop onset. Many monosyllabic words consist of open syllables, as illustrated in (51):

(51) CV

/ˈfɛ/	*fe*	'pig'
/ˈfu/	*fu*	'betel nut'
/ˈlu/	*lu*	'river'
/ˈja/	*ya*	'water'

More frequently, a syllable also contains a coda. This is illustrated in (52), where a number of monosyllabic words are given that all contain an onset and a coda.

(52) CVC

/ˈbɛŋ/	*beng*	'little beam'
/ˈdɔl/	*dol*	'pestle to pound the rice'
/ˈfat/	*fat*	'corn'
/ˈfɪr/	*fír*	'star'
/ˈfut/	*fut*	'mat'
/ˈkat/	*kat*	'green bean'
/ˈkɛt/	*ket*	'comb'
/ˈkɔt/	*kot*	'flower'
/ˈkɪr/	*kir*	'key, wooden pin'
/ˈlɪk/	*lik*	'bamboo platform'
/ˈluŋ/	*lung*	'door'
/ˈmɔn/	*mon*	'snake'
/ˈmɔt/	*mot*	'ancestor'
/ˈmur/	*mur*	'lemon'
/ˈnɛŋ/	*neng*	'man'
/ˈpal/	*pal*	'ray fish'
/ˈpɛt/	*pet*	'bow'
/ˈpɔl/	*pol*	'hammer'
/ˈrar/	*rar*	'arrow for fish or little birds'
/ˈsɔl/	*sol*	'oar'
/ˈsɔŋ/	*song*	'jackfruit'
/ˈtuk/	*tuk*	'little mortar for betel nut'
/ˈtuŋ/	*tung*	'year'
/ˈtut/	*tut*	'shore'
/ˈwar/	*war*	'sun'
/ˈʔut/	*ut*	'garden'
/ˈʔɔr/	*or*	'scoop, tablespoon'

The nucleus of a monosyllabic word may be complex. As represented in (49) above, a complex nucleus either contains a long vowel or a vowel sequence. Monosyllabic words given in (53) illustrate complex nuclei filled by a long vowel.

(53) $CV_XV_X(C)$

/ˈbaː/	*baa*	'fence'
/ˈjaː/	*yaa*	'go'
/ˈtaː/	*taa*	'lie, sleep'
/ˈneː/	*nee*	'eat'
/ˈbuːk/	*buuk*	'drink, smoke'
/ˈluːk/	*luuk*	'dance'
/ˈkaːj/	*kaai*	'dog, be voracious'
/ˈpeːj/	*peei*	'scorpion'

The nuclei of the monosyllabic words given in (54) all contain vowel sequences. In all cases the syllable also contains an onset.

(54) CV_XV_Y

/ˈmɛa/	*mea*	'mango'
/ˈwɛa/	*wea*	'blood'
/ˈsua/	*sua*	'three'
/ˈsuɔ/	*suo*	'three (Fanating dialect)'
/ˈbuɔt/	*buot*	'back basket'
/ˈdɪɛŋ/	*dieng*	'pot'
/ˈkaɪk/	*kaik*	'orphan'
/ˈsɪɛŋ/	*sieng*	'rice'
/ˈtɪɛŋ/	*tieng*	'needle'
/ˈwaɪk/	*waik*	'rubbish'

Consider the words in (55).

	Pronunciation		I		II	Orthography	Meaning
(55)	[CVC]	→	/CV_XV_Y/	~	/CVC/		
	['fɔj]		/'fɔɪ/		/'fɔj/	*foi*	'wave n.'
	['fuɪ]		/'fuɪ/		/'fuj/	*fui*	'flat land n., be flat v.'
	['kaj]		/'kaɪ/		/'kaj/	*kai*	'tree bark'
	['luj]		/'luɪ/		/'luj/	*lui*	'knife'
	['maj]		/'maɪ/		/'maj/	*mai*	'bamboo'
	['jaj]		/'jaɪ/		/'jaj/	*yai*	'folk n., already sung'
	['jɔj]		/'jɔɪ/		/'jɔj/	*yoi*	'flood'
	['ʔaj]		/'ʔaɪ/		/'ʔaj/	*ai*	'root, side'
	['ʔuj]		/'ʔuɪ/		/'ʔuj/	*ui*	'back'
	['naj]		/'naɪ/		/'naj/	*nai*	'sugar palm'
	['ruj]		/'ruɪ/		/'ruj/	*rui*	'rat'
	['saj]		/'saɪ/		/'saj/	*sai*	'fan n.'
	['tɛj]		/'tɛɪ/		/'tɛj/	*tei*	'field n., dig v.'

The rime of these words can be analysed as consisting of two vowels (column I) or as consisting of a vowel and a glide (column II). I analyze them as consisting of two vowels in analogy of words such as /kaɪk/ 'orphan' that contain in addition to a complex nucleus also a coda. Recall that consonant clusters are not allowed in native words.

The syllable structures discussed so far match the canonical syllable structure given in (49). However, there are some loan words (mainly originating from Dutch and borrowed through Malay) that retained their original consonant clusters in onset position. As illustrated by the pair *stel* ~ *satel* in (56), there is a pressure to change the shape of these words to conform to Abui syllable structure.

(56) CCV(C)

/trɔ'mɛl/	*tromel*	'box, Dutch: trommel'
/pla'nɛt/	*planet*	'planet'
/'stɛl/, /sa'tɛl/	*stel, satel*	'adjust, Dutch: stellen'

Some loans have been adapted to Abui syllable structure. I assume that these loans have been around for a longer time than the loans that are not adapted. The original consonant clusters in the older loans were syllabified. As illustrated in (57), some loans have been borrowed again at a later stage with a different meaning. The loan *baleka* '10 liter volume unit' (from Dutch blik and Malay blek) was according to the language consultants used already before the WWII and referred to a volume unit of rice or corn. This volume unit was used to quantify the tax in natura to be paid to the administration. As volume unit the word *baleka* is still used today. The loan word *blek* 'can, bucket' was borrowed more recently, and refers to any type of metal can or bucket.

(57)	CCV(C)	~	CVCV	
	/ˈblɛk/		*blek*	'can n., bucket, Dutch: blik'
	/baˈlɛka/		*baleka*	'volume unit of 10 liter, Dutch: blik'

Complex words that consist of cliticized verbal roots may have a non-standard syllable structure (see also 8.4.2.1).

(58)	/mˈbeːka/	*m=beka*	'poor thing'
		be.in=be.bad	

2.4 Prosodic word

In Abui, syllables building up prosodic words are either heavy (h) or light (l). A light syllable is characterized by a monomoraic nucleus; the nucleus of a heavy syllable is bimoraic. A bimoraic nucleus contains either a long vowel or a vowel sequence that both attract the stress (see 2.5). In this section, I discuss the prosodic words in three subgroups according to their composition and function. These factors seem to be reflected by the phonological shape of each group. As first, in section 2.4.1, I discuss Abui nouns. Abui nouns tend to be morphologically simple and consist of maximally three syllables allowing heavy syllables typically in word-final position and in a few cases in the penultimate position. In section 2.4.2, I give an overview of loans that are adapted to Abui prosodic word structure. The verbs and function words are discussed in section 2.4.3. They tend to be morphologically complex and consist of up to five syllables.

2.4.1 Nouns

Nouns are typically monomorphemic words that consist of minimally a single syllable and maximally three syllables. For the monosyllabic nouns, the single syllable has either (a) a monomoraic or (b) bimoraic nucleus, as illustrated in (59).

(59)	a. /CV(C)/			b. /CVV(C)/		
	/lu/	*lu*	'river'	/mɛa/	*mea*	'mango'
	/ʔut/	*ut*	'garden'	/peːj/	*peei*	'scorpion'
	/fat/	*fat*	'corn'	/sɪɛŋ/	*sieng*	'rice'

As illustrated in (60), disyllabic nouns come in several shapes. The words in (a) consist of two light syllables; the words in (b) consist of a light syllable followed by a heavy one. The words in (c) contain a heavy syllable followed by a light one. Only few of disyllabic words consist of two heavy syllables with bimoraic nuclei (d). The initial heavy syllable typically does not contain a coda.

(60) a. /CV|CV(C)/

/tɔ|fa/	*tofa*	'shelter'
/mɛ|tɪŋ/	*meting*	'betel vine'
/ʔa|nu/	*anu*	'market'

b. /CV|CVV(C)/

/ka|faːk/	*kafaak*	'tobacco'
/ta|buɔŋ/	*tabuong*	'dust'
/fa|haj/	*fahai*	'crocodile'

c. /CVV|CV/

/maː|ma/	*maama*	'father'
/faː|la/	*faala*	'wooden disk on the top of the beam'

d. /CVV|CVV/

/paː|kaj/	*paakai*	'broom, arrow'

e. */CVVC|CVV(C)/

In (61) below, I list the attested shapes of trisyllabic words. They may consist of three light syllables (a), two light syllables followed by a heavy one (b).

(61) a. /CV|CV|CV(C)/

/ta|jɔ|ka/	*tayoka*	'earthquake'
/ra|ta|la/	*ratala*	'grandchild'
/ʔa|wɛ|rɪŋ/	*awering*	'ladder, necklace'
/ma|hɪ|tɪŋ/	*mahiting*	'meat'
/ka|fɛ|rɪŋ/	*kafering*	'villain n., horrify v.'

b. /CV|CV|CVV/

/ma|la|taɪ/	*malatai*	'sand'
/ʔu|ku|lɛɪ/	*ukulei*	'turtledove'

In (62), a number of trisyllabic nouns are listed that diverge from the typical shape. These nouns seem to keep a trace of a morphological boundary (indicated as ||) by (i) having a closed syllable in word-initial (a) or word-medial position (b); or by (ii) having a heavy syllable in word-medial position. The ungrammatical shapes are listed in (d-g).

(62) a. /CVC||CV|CV/

/muk||nɛ|hɪ/	*muknehi*	'sibling of same sex'

b. /CV|CVC||CVC/

/ka|laŋ||fɔr/	*kalangfor*	'kind of evil spirit'
/tu|kɔn||rɛk/	*tukonrek*	'stick n.'

c. /CV|CVV||CV(C)/

/kɑ|waː||kɑ/	*kawaaka*	'tree sp.'
/bɑ|koː||tɪŋ/	*bakooting*	'seed remnants'

d. */CV(C)|CVV(C)| C V V (C)/

e. */CVV(C)|CV(C)|CVV(C)/

f. */CVV(C)|CVV(C)|CVV(C)/

g. */CVV(C)|CVV(C)|CV(C)/

2.4.2 Loan words

The syllable structure of loan words differs from indigenous words; this was illustrated in (56) and (57). There is a pressure to adapt the phonological shape of the loans, but it cannot keep pace with the increasing influx of new loans from Malay and Indonesian. As a result of this situation, many of the loans keep their original phonological shape. Adapting to the indigenous phonological system begins with changing segments. The Malay word *raja* 'king' contains the palatal fricative [ɟ] that is not part of the indigenous consonant inventory (see 2.1.1). Interestingly, the word seems to be borrowed twice to Abui with a distinct meaning. The noun *raha* 'chief, big man' was phonologically adapted to Abui segmental inventory by replacing the palatal fricative [ɟ] with the glottal fricative [h]. The noun *raja* 'king' was not adapted. I assume that the adapted loan *raha* 'chief, big man' is the elder of both.

(63)	/'rɑ|ɟɑ/	→	/rɑ|hɑ/	*raha*	'chief, big man'
	/'rɑ|ɟɑ/	→	/rɑ|ɟɑ/	*raja*	'king, (honorary title)'

The original segments such as /g/ are preserved in Malay/Indonesian loans such as *agama* 'religion', *keluarga* 'family', or *gerobak* 'cart'.

The syllable structure of loans may be adapted. Recall that Abui onsets and codas do not allow consonant clusters, and there is a tendency to avoid them in loans as well. As illustrated in (57) and repeated in (64), there is another pair of loans *blek* 'can n.' and *baleka* 'can, volume unit' from the same source item blik 'can'. The syllable structure of the first word is unchanged; the structure of the latter is adapted as a trisyllabic word.

(64)	/'bəlɛk/	→	/bɑ'lekɑ/	*baleka*	'volume unit of 10 liter, Dutch: blik'
	/'bəlɛk/	→	/'blɛk/	*blek*	'can n., Dutch: blik'

In (65), the disyllabic Malay word *gelas* 'glass' became a trisyllabic word *kalasi* 'glass' in Abui.

(65) /ˈgəlas/ → /kalaˈsɪ/ *kalasi* 'glass'

The velar /g/ onset was changed into the nearest velar /k/ and the schwa was replaced with /a/. The fricative /s/ in the coda became the onset of the third syllable and the vowel /ɪ/ was added. The original number of syllables is preserved in other loans such as *karfai* 'water buffalo', a loan from Indonesian *kerbau*, but the structure differs from a canonical Abui word in that the first syllable is closed:

(66) /ˈkərˈbau/ → /karˈfaj/ *karfai* 'water buffalo'

In most loans, the original Malay schwa /ə/ is replaced by /a/. Consonants such as /h/ in coda position are deleted, and four syllable words such as *pemerintah* 'government' are shortened to fit the maximal trisyllabic shape of Abui nouns.

(67)

/ə/	→	/a/		
/səˈmɛn/	→	/saˈmɛŋ/	*sameng*	'cement'
/səkɔˈlah/	→	/sakɔla/	*sakola*	'school n., school v., teach'
/səˈtɛl/	→	/saˈtɛl/	*satel*	'set up, Dutch: stellen'
/ˈtulɪs/	→	/tuluˈsa/	*tulusa*	'writing n., write v.'
/pɛməˈrɪntah/	→	/paˈrɛnta/	*parenta*	'government'

Complex onsets are found in loans from Indonesian or Dutch, such as *planet* 'planet' or *tromel* 'box'. Recent Indonesian loans also include *kades* 'village head (acronym of *kepala desa* Ind.)' or *hamba* 'servant(<*hamba* Ind.)'.

2.4.3 Verbs and Function words

Abui verbs and function words show more variety in syllable structure than nouns. In (68), a number of monosegmental verbs and function words are given. Further there are a number of bound monosegmental roots that obligatorily combine with other morphemes to form a proper prosodic word. These are generic verbs (for more information, see section 3.4.5.2).

(68) /(C)V/

/a/	*a*	'be at'
/ɔ/	*o*	'MD'
/ɛ/	*e*	'before'
/ɪ/	*ì*[5]	'put'

In (69), a number of monosyllabic verbs and function words are given that consist of a light syllable. These words are typically unstressed.

[5] The grave accent indicates the low tone.

(69)

/ba/	*ba*	'LNK'
/ja/	*ya*	'SEQ'
/kɔ/	*ko*	'soon'
/dɔ/	*do*	'PRX'
/la/	*la*	'be.MD'
/lɪ/	*li*	'fly'
/fa/	*fa*	'be.MD.AD'

In (70), some verbs and function words are given that have the shape of a closed light syllable. These words typically do not attract stress.

(70) /CVC/

/jaŋ/	*yang*	'perhaps'
/bak/	*bak*	'snatch'
/dak/	*dak*	'clutch'
/tak/	*tak*	'bring down, shoot, empty'
/hɔŋ/	*ho-k* 3II.REC-bring	'bring to him, towards him'[6]
/hak/	*ha-k* 3II.PAT-bring	'feed him, bring him up'

The monosyllabic verbs and function words listed in (71) have a complex nucleus:

(71) /CVV/

/lɛɪ/	*lei*	'reach over'
/maɪ/	*ma-i* be.PRX-PFV	'when'
/baɪ/	*ba-i* say-PFV	'be as well, as well'
/mɪja/	*mi-a* be.in-DUR	'be in'
/mɛɔ/	*me-o* come-PNCT	'following'

Disyllabic verbs and function words are typically morphologically complex:

[6] Generic verbs such as *k* 'bring' are discussed in sections 3.4.5.2, 7.3 and 8.4.2.

(72) /CV|CV(C)/

/nɑ'hɑ/	*naha*	'not be, be elsewhere, (NEG)'
/nɑ'hɑŋ/	*nahang*	'be everywhere'
/lɪ'lɑ/	*lil-a* hot-be.at	'be hot'
/bɑ'mɪ/	*ba mi* LNK take	'for purpose'
/hɑ'rɛ/	*ha-r-e* be.like.DST.CNT-reach-IPFV	'so (conclusive)'
/hɑ'bɑ/	*ha ba* be.like.DST.CNT LNK	'but'
/hɔ'mɪ/	*ho-mi* 3II.REC-be.in	'inside it, inside him'
/nɔ'mɪ/	*no-mi* 1SG.REC-be.in	'in me, inside me'
/ʔɔ'mɪ/	*o-mi* 2SG.REC-be.in	'in you, inside you'
/jɑ'lɑ/	*yal-a* now-be.at	'be now'
/hɛ'nɪl/	*he-ni-l* 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give	'and so, happens this way'
/hɛ'nɪr/	*he-ni-r* 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach	'already so, happened this way'

Many disyllabic verbs and function words consist of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable, as illustrated in (73).

(73) /CV|CVV(C)/

/wɑ'hɑɪ/	*wahai*	'watch, look out'
/hɑ'wɑɪ/	*ha-wai* 3II.PAT-turn	'turn him over, turn it'
/hɑ'jɛɪ/	*ha-yei* 3II.PAT-fall	'it, he, she/they fall'

In (74)-(76), the first syllable either contains a coda or is heavy because its nucleus is bimoraic. The presence of the consonant coda or complex nucleus typically indicates a morphological boundary there:

(74) /CV(C)|CVV(C)/

/dɪŋ'kɑŋ/	*di=ng kang* 3A=see be.good	'perhaps, possibly'
/kɔr'bɑj/	*ko-r ba-i* soon-reach say-PFV	'in a while'

(75) /CVV|CV(C)/

/ˈmaɪsɛ/	*ma-i=se*	'only if'
	be.PRX-PFV=INCP.I	

(76) /CVVC|CV/

/ˈpɪɛjla/	*piei-l-a*	'dream'
	dream-give-DUR	

Some of the verbs and function words are trisyllabic prosodic words consisting of three light syllables (77) or two light syllables followed by a heavy on (78). In a number of cases the middle syllable is heavy (79).

(77) /CV|CV|CV(C)/

/lataˈra/	*la*	*ta-ra*	'each of them is'
	be.MD	DISTR.PAT-start	
/tafuˈda/	*tafuda*		'be all'
/hawɛˈlɪ/	*ha-wel-i*		'each of them is'
	3II.PAT-pour-PFV		
/taˈdɪa/	*tadi-a*		'slice'
	slice-DUR		
/kaˈfɪa/	*kafi-a*		'scrape, scratch'
	scrape-DUR		
/naˈrɪaŋ/	*na-riang*		'raise me, bring me up'
	1SG.PAT-raise		

(78) /CV|CV|CVV(C)/

/bulɔŋaɪ/	*bulongai*		'green, blue'
/nɔhaˈlɔɪ/	*no-ha-loi*		'chase from me'
	1SG.REC-3II.PAT-put.far		
/tahaˈmɪa/	*tah-a*	*mi-a*	'be on the top'
	put.on.CPL-DUR	be.in-DUR	
/hɔmɪˈmɪa/	*ho-mi*	*mi-a*	'be in it, be inside it'
	3II.REC-be.in	be.in-DUR	

(79) /CV|CVV|CV(C)/

/kaˈwaɪsa/	*kawaisa*	'be rich'
/tɪˈleːsɪŋ/	*tileesing*	'be wide'

As illustrated in (80), the four syllable words come in a variety of shapes. They typically consist of two or more morphemes. The first syllable is often a pronominal prefix, the second syllable may also be a pronominal.

(80) /CV|CV|CV|CV/

/pɔtafu'da/	*po-tafuda*	'all of us are'
	1PL.I.REC-be.all	
/hɛʔafɛ'nɪ/	*he-afen-i*	'stay in it, dwell in (some place)'
	3II.LOC-stay-PFV	
/hɛtatɔ'pɪ/	*he-ta-top-i*	'put it on the top of each other'
	3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-drop.CPL-PFV	

/CV|CV|CVC|CV/

/hɛnajɔŋ'fɪ/	*he-na-yongf-i*	'I forgot about it'
	3II.LOC-1SG.PAT-forget-PFV	
/hɛʔabɪk'nɪ/	*he-abikni*	'quickly do it'
	3II.LOC-be.quick.CPL	

In (81)-(82) some five syllable words are given.

(81) /CV|CV|CV|CV|CV/

/hɛnɔma'rani/	*he-no-maran-i*	'I am satiated of it'
	3II.LOC-1SG.REC-come.up.CPL-PFV	

/CV|CV|CV|CVC|CV/

/hɛtɔʔanan'rɪ/	*he-to-ananri*	'tell to each other about it'
	3II.LOC-DISTR.REC-tell.CPL	
/hɛnɔkalɛn'rɪ/	*he-no-kalen-r-i*	'it thwarts me'
	3II.LOC-1SG.REC-avoid.CPL-reach-PFV	

(82) /CV|CV|CVC|CVC|CV/

/hɛkɪlɛm'pakdi/	*he-kilempak-d-i*	'got swung at it'
	3II.LOC-swing-hold-PFV	

2.5 Stress

In this section, I describe Abui stress. Phonetically, the stress is characterized by rise in intensity, pitch, and by lengthening. In Abui the stress is assigned in an iambic pattern. In other words, a foot is right-headed and counts at least two morae. The head's sibling in a right-headed foot counts precisely one mora. The foot system is 'quantity-sensitive' which means that any heavy syllable (a syllable with a complex nucleus) projects a foot. Heavy syllables may occur in both word-final and word-medial position. When a foot is projected from a word-medial heavy syllable, the final syllable of the prosodic word is extrametrical.

2.5.1 Monosyllabic words

Monosyllabic words consisting of a light syllable do not attract stress. However, in combination with other words monosyllabic words such as illustrated in (83) can be

stressed when they occur as the last member of a prosodic unit. Prosodic words that consist of a single heavy syllable project a foot, as illustrated in (84).

(83) /CV(C)/

/ˈja/	*ya*	'water'
/ˈluŋ/	*lung*	'door'
/ˈfɛŋ/	*feng*	'injure, kill'
/ˈnɛl/	*ne-l*	'gives me'
	1SG.LOC-give	

(84) /CVV(C)/

/ˈbuɪ/	*bui*	'short'
/ˈjaː/	*yaa*	'go'
/ˈdɪɛŋ/	*dieng*	'pot'
/ˈsɪɛŋ/	*sieng*	'rice'

2.5.2 Iambic pattern

Prosodic words that consist of more than one syllable form iambic feet; in other words, a foot consists of two syllables of which the second one is stressed. Prosodic words consisting of two light syllables are given in (85).

(85) /CV|CV(C)/

/ʔaˈnu/	*anu*	'market'
/nuˈku/	*nuku*	'one'
/ʔaˈfu/	*afu*	'fish'
/buˈku/	*buku*	'region'
/kaˈfuk/	*kafuk*	'arrow'
/kaˈfak/	*kafak*	'axe'
/mɛˈtɪŋ/	*meting*	'betel vine'
/kuˈja/	*kuya*	'bird'
/tɛˈŋa/	*tenga*	'plate'
/taˈma/	*tama*	'sea'
/sɔˈra/	*sora*	'sword'
/puˈlaŋ/	*pulang*	'arrow'
/tɔˈfa/	*tofa*	'shelter'
/ʔaˈta/	*ata*	'leaves'
/nɛˈfu/	*ne-fu*	'my betel nut'
	1SG.AL-betel.nut	
/nɪˈèŋ/	*n-ièng*	'my eyes'
	1SG.INAL-eye	

/kɔk'da/	*kokda*	'younger sibling'

Note that a closed syllable in the word *kokda* 'younger sibling' above does not influence the foot pattern. Recall that only bimoraic nuclei project the head of a foot. The prosodic words discussed in (72) follow the same pattern regardless of their morphological structure. In (86), prosodic words are illustrated that consist of a light syllable followed by a heavy one that contains a bimoraic nucleus.

(86) /CV(C)|CVV(C)/

/na'haː/	*nahaa*	'younger sibling'
/ba'leː/	*balee*	'sweet potato'
/ka'faːk/	*kafaak*	'tobacco'
/pa'lɪɔl/	*paliol*	'python'
/ta'buɔŋ/	*tabuong*	'dust'
/pɪ'ŋaɪ/	*pingai*	'plate'
/fa'haɪ/	*fahai*	'sea crocodile'
/pa'kaɪ/	*pakai*	'back basket'
/pɪ'kaɪ/	*pikai*	'head'
/ka'maɪ/	*kamai*	'cat n., guard v.'
/na'mɔɪ/	*na-moi*	'my voice'
	1SG.INAL-voice	
/ha'lɔɪ/	*ha-loi*	'chase him, it'
	3II.PAT-put.far	
/jɔj'kɔɪ/	*yoikoi*	'turtle'

In the prosodic words given in (86), the initial syllable is in most cases open, except for the word *yoikoi* 'turtle'.

In prosodic words consisting of three syllables, in most cases all three syllables are light (87), but in some cases the final syllable may be heavy (88).

(87) /CV(C)|CV(C)|CV(C)/

/ʔawɛ'rɪŋ/	*awering*	'ladder, necklace'
/mahɪ'tɪŋ/	*mahiting*	'meat'
/muknɛ'hɪ/	*muknehi*	'sibling of same sex'
/tukɔn'rɛk/	*tukonrek*	'stick n.'
/ʔajɔ'ku/	*ayoku*	'two'
/balɔ'ka/	*baloka*	'grass'
/kalaŋ'fɔr/	*kalangfor*	'kind of evil spirit'
/kafɛ'rɪŋ/	*kafering*	'villain n., horrify'
/sɪbɪ'rɛl/	*sibirel*	'worm'

(88) /CV|CV|CVV/

/mala'taɪ/	*malatai*	'sand'
/bulɔ'ŋaɪ/	*bulongai*	'green'

Prosodic words listed in (77) pattern as (87), those in (78) pattern as (88).

Stress is phonetically realized by pitch, intensity and vowel lengthening. This is illustrated in **Figure 4**. An adult male speaker pronounces the stressed second syllable of the prosodic word *kiki* 'flower' with higher pitch (in average about 178Hz vs. 159Hz in the first syllable). The intensity of the stressed syllable is slightly higher (86dB vs. 82dB in the first syllable). From the figure it is obvious that the second syllable is also lengthened in consequence of being the stress locus.

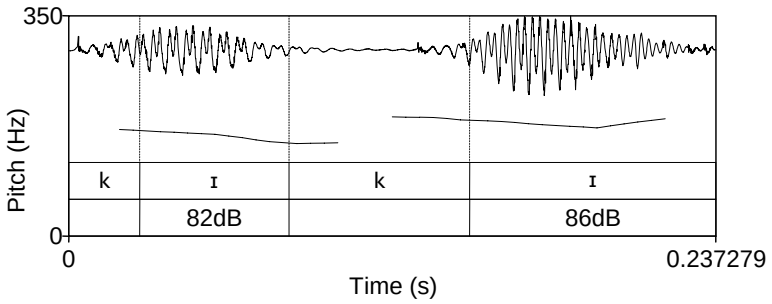


Figure 4: ***kiki*** 'flower'

In **Figure 5**, the prosodic word *bikeng* 'louse' is illustrated. The final closed syllable is stressed as indicated by a higher pitch (about 203Hz vs. 166Hz in the unstressed syllable). A secondary effect of stress is the lengthening of the vowel /ɛ/ that is pronounced as a broken vowel [ɛa] (see also 2.5.5):

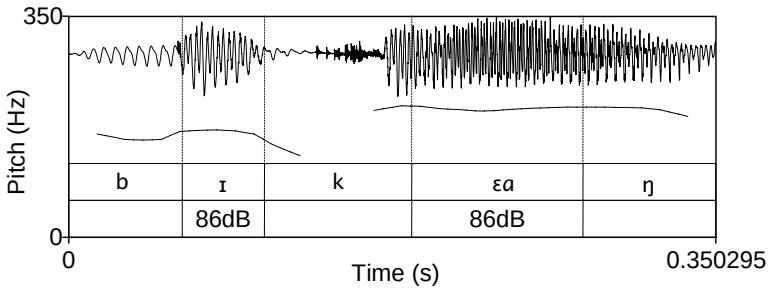


Figure 5: ***bikeng*** 'louse'

Prosodic words that consist of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable show a slightly different picture. In **Figure 6,** the final syllable of the word *balee* 'sweet potato' contains a long vowel that is stressed. However, pith and intensity are not significantly different in either syllable. The pitch of the heavy final syllable is about the same as the pitch of the light initial syllable (143Hz in stressed syllable vs. 140Hz in the first syllable) and the intensity does not seem to play an important role (stressed syllable is 80dB in average while the unstressed is 83dB). This suggests that the length of a syllable is the primary characteristic of stress in Abui.

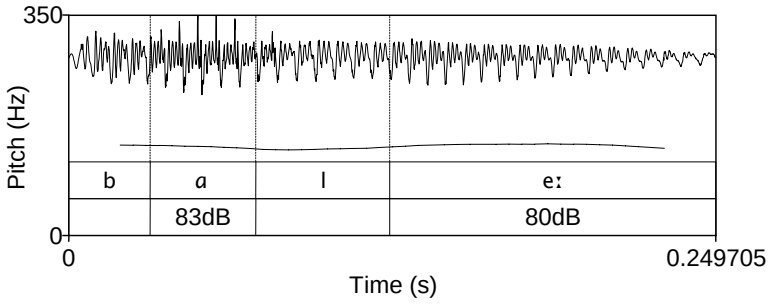


Figure 6: ***balee*** 'sweet potato'

The results of measuring trisyllabic words follow the patterns found in disyllabic words. As illustrated in **Figure 7,** the final syllable of the word *baloka* 'grass' is identified as stressed by higher pitch (179Hz in the stressed syllable vs. 153Hz and 158Hz in non-stressed syllables) and lengthening. The intensity does not differ significantly.

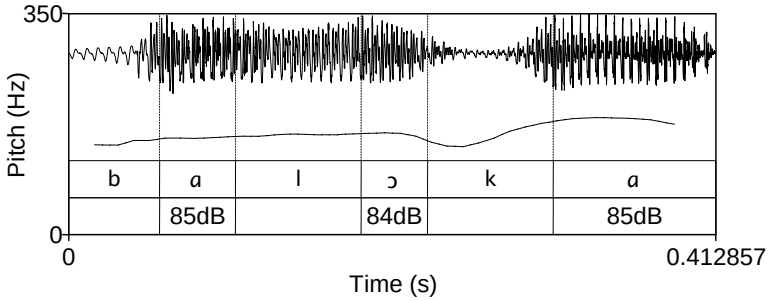


Figure 7: ***baloka*** 'grass'

In **Figure 8**, a trisyllabic prosodic word *walangai* 'blue, green' is illustrated. The final heavy syllable is marked as stressed by its length and by higher pitch (193Hz in stressed syllable vs. 157Hz and 173Hz). There is no variation in intensity.

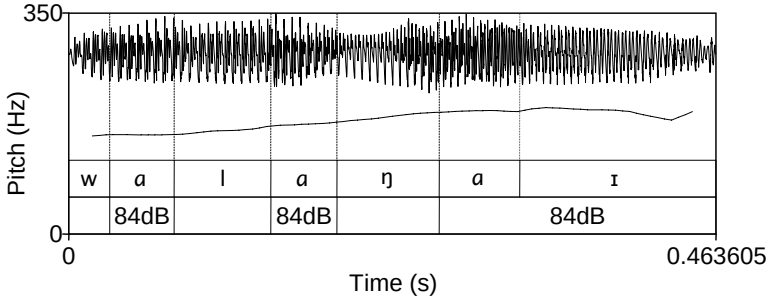


Figure 8: ***walangai*** 'blue, green'

2.5.3 Iambic pattern with extrametricality

There are prosodic words that consist of a heavy syllable followed by a light syllable. These words are typically verbs and function words plus the nouns listed below in (89). In these prosodic words, the penultimate heavy syllable attracts the stress and causes the final light syllable to become extrametrical.

(89) /CVV(C)|CV(C)/

/ˈbuɪdə/	*bui-d-a* short-hold-DUR	'become short'
/ˈlɔɪdə/	*loi-d-a* long-hold-DUR	'become long'
/ˈnaɪdɪ/	*nai-d-i* lost-hold-PFV	'got lost'

/ˈsaɪlɑ/	*sai-l-a* fan-give-DUR	'to fan'
/ˈmuɪlɑ /	*mui-l-a* play-give-DUR	'to play'
/ˈpɪɛjlɑ /	*piei-l-a* dream-give-DUR	'to dream'
/ˈkuɔjlɑ /	*kuoila* slip.CNT	'to slip out'
/ˈfaːlɑ/	*faala*	'wooden disk on the top of the beam'
/ˈkaːlɑ/	*kaala*	'pap'
/ˈkeːlɑ/	*keela*	'bamboo wattle for building houses'
/ˈfeːlɑ/	*feela*	'friend'
/ˈmaːmɑ/	*maama*	'father'
/ˈnaːnɑ/	*naana*	'older sibling'
/ˈmeːtɪŋ/	*meeting*	'betel vine'

The same pattern is found by the trisyllabic words listed in (90). The head of the iambic foot is the heavy syllable; the final syllable is extrametrical.

(90) CV | CVV | CV(C)

/tɪˈleːsɪŋ/	*tileesing*	'wide'
/tɑˈdɪɛlɑŋ/	*tadielang*	'stipel, first leaf' (possibly derived)
/bɑˈkoːtɪŋ/	*bakooting*	'seed remnants'
/kɑˈwɑɪsɑ/	*kawaisa*	'rich'
/tɑˈlaːmɑ/	*talaama*	'six'

In words with an extrametrical syllable such as *naana* 'older sibling' the stress is phonetically realized by both pitch and intensity, as illustrated in **Figure 9**. The pitch of the stressed syllable is significantly higher in the stressed syllable (174Hz vs. 130Hz in the extrametrical syllable) and the intensity is also higher (83dB vs. 75dB):

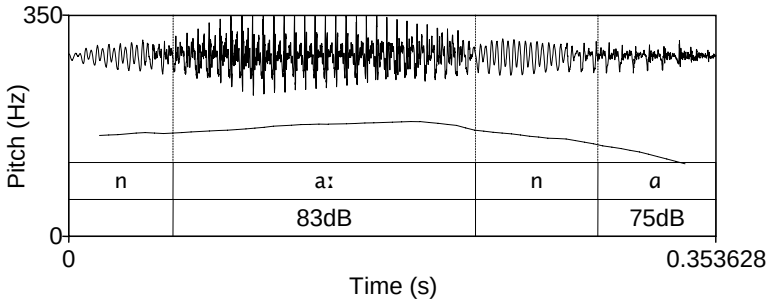


Figure 9: ***naana*** 'older sibling'

Some disyllabic words have an extrametrical syllable with a complex nucleus. An example is the word *baakai* 'wing' given in **Figure 10**. The stressed syllable is longer than the extrametrical final syllable and both pitch and intensity of the stressed syllable are higher than in the extrametrical syllable (127Hz vs. 105Hz and 76dB vs. 70dB):

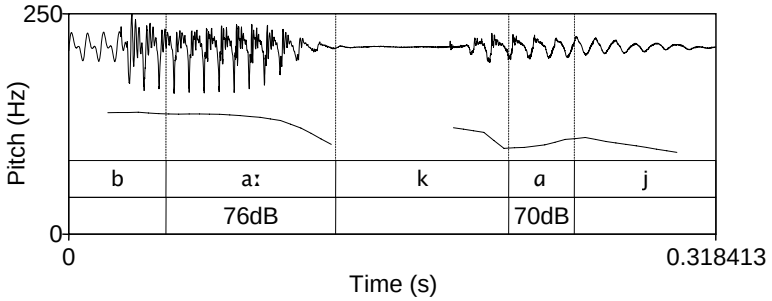


Figure 10: ***baakai*** 'wing'

The word *meeting* 'betel vine' in **Figure 11** has a high pitch in the second syllable that is probably caused by the syntactic context in which the word was uttered. The stressed penultimate syllable is here still at least twice as long as the final syllable.

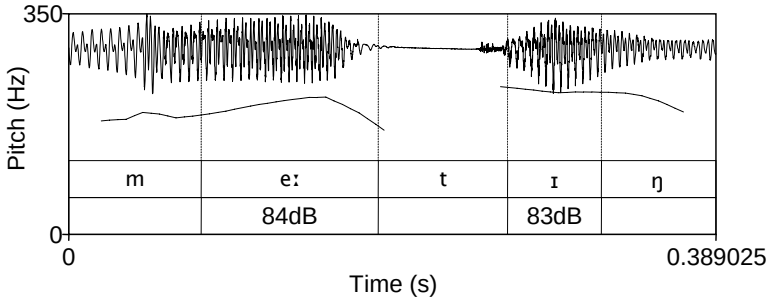


Figure 11: ***meeting*** 'betel vine'

An illustration of a trisyllabic word is *bataako* 'cassava sp.' in **Figure 12**. The penultimate heavy syllable of this word is stressed, which is marked by higher pitch than the first and final syllable (175Hz vs. 151Hz and 141Hz) and also the intensity of the penultimate syllable is higher.

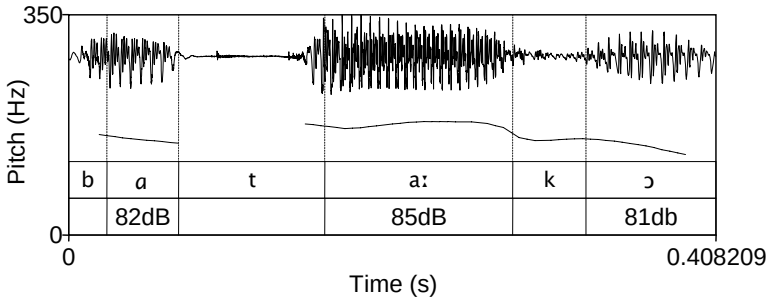


Figure 12: ***bataako*** 'cassava sp.'

The word *talaama* 'six' given in **Figure 13** shows a similar pattern; however, in this case the pitch and intensity of penultimate and final syllable are similar. What seems to be crucial in this case is the length of the vowel in the penultimate syllable.

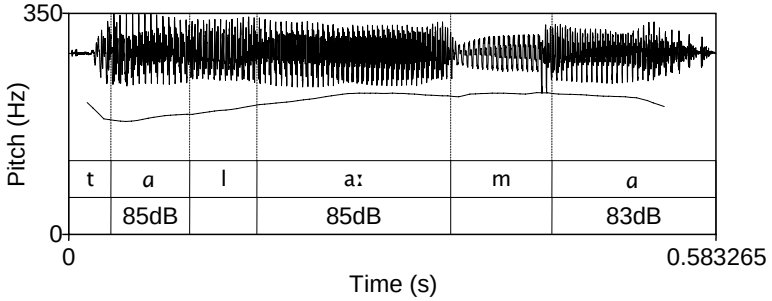


Figure 13: ***talaama*** 'six'

In sum, the Abui metric pattern is iambic. The stress is primarily realized with lengthenin, secondarily with raised pitch and finally with increased intensity. Bimoraic syllables attract stress because of their length, which is the only significant characteristic of the stressed syllable. The rise in pitch and intensity is not significant. However, extrametrical heavy syllables also tend to have high pitch.

2.5.4 Stress and tone

In a relatively small number of monosyllabic and disyllabic words, the stress pattern results into differentiation of the pitch contour which is lexicalized. There are a number of words that have lexical tone. Although yet underdocumented from the Timor-Alor-Pantar area, Abui is clearly a language with lexical tone. For the Takalelang dialect, words with lexical tone were recorded in an experiment, where they were randomly mixed with other words without lexicalized pitch contour. The syntactic position of all recorded words was kept constant to minimize interference of the clausal pitch contour. In orthography, the high tone is marked with the acute accent diacritic on the vowel; the low tone is marked with the grave accent diacritic as illustrated in (91).

(91)	/ˈʔía/	*ía*	'moon'
	/ˈʔìa/	*ì-a* put-DUR	'put down'
	/ˈʔɪja/	*iya*	'tree stem, trunk'

The words *ía* 'moon' and *ìa* 'put' contrast only in pitch. In both cases, the words are pronounced with a glottal stop at the end. In **Figure 14**, the words *ía* 'moon' and *ìa* 'put' are compared. They are uttered by an adult female speaker. In the word *ía* 'moon' the pitch is 227Hz; in the word *ìa* 'put' it is 161Hz. The glottal stop in *ía* 'moon' changes into creaky voice. The glottal stop in *ìa* 'put' becomes a low creaky voice and the pitch disappears.

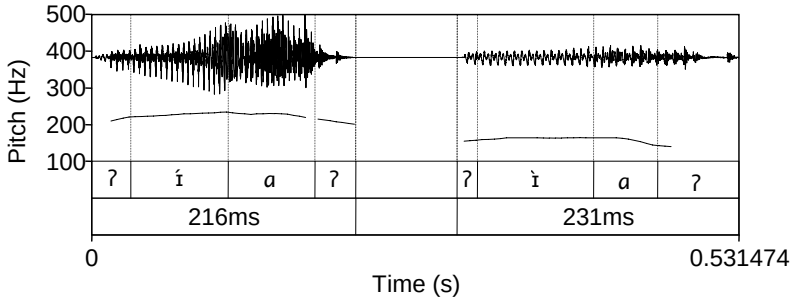


Figure 14: Pitch contrast between ***ía*** 'moon' and ***ìa*** 'put'

The disyllabic word *iya* 'trunk' contrasts with both words illustrated in **Figure 14**. It is contrasted in **Figure 15** with the word *ía* 'moon'. Note that the word *iya* 'trunk' is much longer and the vowels /ɪ/ and /a/ are separated by the approximant /j/ that is marked with a circle in the figure. The figure also shows the pitch contrast between both words.

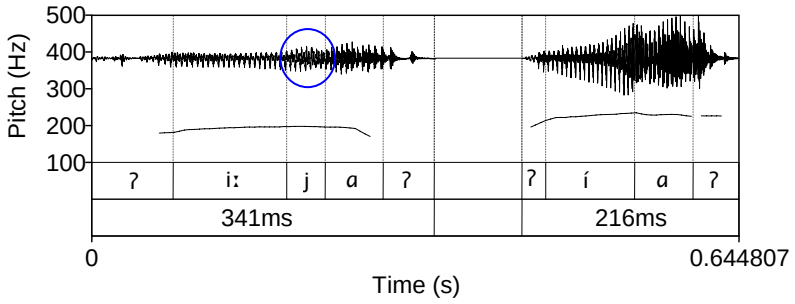


Figure 15: Pitch contrast between ***iya*** 'trunk' and ***ía*** 'moon'

Another case of lexical tone is illustrated in (92), where the deictic words *wó* 'above' and *wò* 'below' are contrasted.

(92) *wó* 'above'
wò 'below'

The phonetic contrast is illustrated with the recording of an adult female speaker given in **Figure 16**. Note that the pitch of the high tone vowel is about 227Hz while the low tone vowel is about 155Hz. The high tone goes together with higher intensity (as can be seen from the amplitude) and the syllable is slightly longer, but not long enough to be considered a long vowel.

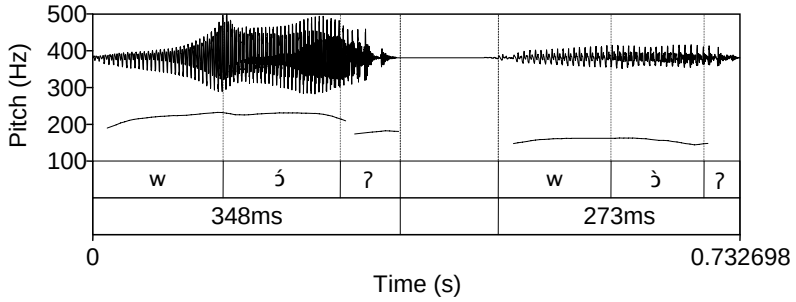


Figure 16: Pitch contrast between ***wó*** 'above' and ***wò*** 'below'

Another minimal pair that contains lexical tone is given in (93). The verbs *lák* 'break', *làk* 'leave for', and *lak* 'mark' are differentiated by lexical tone.[7]

(93) /'lák/ *lák* 'break'
/'lāk/ *lak* 'mark'
/'làk/ *làk* 'leave for'

The phonetic distinction between the verbs *lák* 'break' and *làk* 'leave for' is illustrated in **Figure 17** presenting a recording of a young female speaker. Note that the vowels have almost exactly the same length but differ in pitch (the high vowel pitch frequency is 200Hz and the low vowel is 175Hz). The high vowel has slightly higher intensity (80dB vs. 75dB), confirming the same tendency stated above. Unfortunately, I do not have a recording of the third verb *lak* 'mark' from the same speaker.

[7] Note that the form *lak* 'mark' is characterized by a mid tone. In the current orthography the mid tone is not represented by any special symbol.

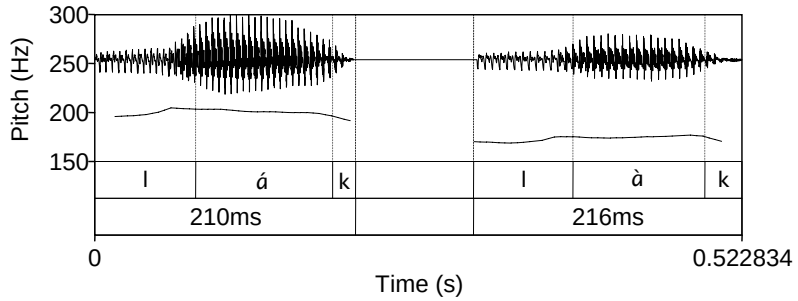


Figure 17: Pitch contrast between ***lák*** 'break' and ***làk*** 'leave for'

Some other forms that have lexical tone contrast in Takalelang dialect are given in (94).

(94) *fír* 'star'
fir 'rush'

A tone distinction is found in some 'homophonous' lexical items to mark a categorial distinction between nouns and verbs. This is illustrated in (95).

(95) *táng* 'hand'
tàng 'release'

iéng 'see'
ièng 'eye'

A number of minimal pairs are from the Fanating dialect, spoken to the west of Takalelang area, are given in (96). These minimal pairs were extracted from a survey wordlist of 150 items. It is possible that tone is more widespread in the Fanating dialect than in Takalelang, my primary fieldwork site.

(96) /ˈkɔ́ː/ *koó* 'cassava'
/ˈkɔ̀ː/ *koò* 'grass'

/ˈwɪ́/ *wí* 'child'
/ˈwɪ̀/ *wì* 'stone'

/ˈkafɪ́/ *kafí* 'scratch v.'
/ˈkafɪ̀/ *kafì* 'claw n.'

2.5.5 Stress and vowel quality

The length, pitch and intensity of vowels change under stress. In fast speech, also the quality of the stressed vowels is affected. As illustrated in (97), the mid front vowel /ɛ/ followed by the velars [k, ŋ] is lowered, slightly lengthened, and pronounced as the diphthong [ɛa] when under stress. The 'breaking' of /ɛ/ does not occur in slow and careful speech.

(97) /ɛ/ → [ɛa]/_{k, ŋ}#

/'kɛŋ/	*keng*	['kɛaŋ]	'sarong'
/'sɛŋ/	*seng*	['sɛaŋ]	'money'
/ta'dɛŋ/	*tadeng*	[ta'dɛaŋ]	'day'
/tɪ'dɛŋ/	*tideng*	[tɪ'dɛaŋ]	'whetstone'
/fɛŋ/	*feng*	[fɛaŋ]	'injure, kill'
/bɪ'kɛŋ/	*bikeng*	[bɪ'kɛaŋ]	'louse'
/'mɛŋ/	*meng*	['mɛaŋ]	'wear'
/'nɛŋ/	*neng*	['nɛaŋ]	'man'
/a'tɛŋ/	*ateng*	[a'tɛaŋ]	'fable'
/kon'rɛk/	*konrek*	[kon'rɛak]	'shirt'
/'tɛk/	*tek*	['tɛak]	'dry in sun'
/'lɛk/	*lek*	['lɛak]	'mark'

The same process applies to vowel sequences ending in /ɛ/ when stressed, as illustrated in (98).

(98) /ɛ/ → [ɛa]/_{k, ŋ}#

/'dɪɛŋ/	*dieng*	['dɪɛaŋ]	'pot'
/'sɪɛŋ/	*sieng*	['sɪɛaŋ]	'rice'
/'tɪɛŋ/	*tieng*	['tɪɛaŋ]	'needle'

2.5.6 Affixes

Affixes and clitics in Abui are light syllables that do not attract stress. Pronominal prefixes fit the iambic pattern of the word as illustrated in the following examples:

(99) /CV|CV(C)/

/hɛ'fu/	*he-fu* 3II.AL-betel.nut	'his betel nut'
/ha'táŋ/	*ha-táng* 3II.AL-hand	'his hand'

/CV|CVV(C)/

/nɛ'kaːj/	*ne-kaai* 1SG.AL-dog	'my dog'

/CV|CV|CV(C)/

/nɛfa'la/	*ne-fala* 1SG.AL-house	'my house'

/CV|CVV|CV/

/ʔɛ'kaːla/	*e-kaala* 2SG.AL-pudding	'your pudding (sweet pudding from corn)'

Aspectual markers are light syllables (or single vowels) that form a prosodic word with the verb. As illustrated in (100), the verbs *tukon* 'cut' and *marang* 'come up' consist of two light syllables stressed in iambic pattern. When these verbs are inflected for aspect the stress moves to the final syllable and is placed on the clitic.

(100) CV|CV(C)|CV

/tu'kɔn/	*tukon*	'cut'
/tukɔ'nɪ/	*tukon-i* cut.CPL-PFV	'already cut'
/ma'raŋ/	*marang*	'come up'
/maraŋ'tɛ/	*marang=te* come.up=INCP.C	'come up here finally'

In Abui, some stems lack a word-initial onset. When they combine with the pronominal prefixes from set III (see section 3.3.2) that contain the vowel [a], the vowel [a] is deleted and the consonant segment of the prefix becomes the word-initial onset of the inflected word. A number of cases are illustrated in (101).

(101) /a/ → [ø]/ # {C}_{V(V)}

/haakun/	*h-akun* 3II.PAT-dark	[ha'kun]	'extinguish it'
/naɪɛ̀ŋ/	*n-ièng* 1SG.INAL-eye	['nɪɛn]	'his eye'
/ʔaɪɛk/	*∅-iek* 2SG.INAL-buttocks	['ʔɪɛk]	'your buttocks'
/hɑɔɪ/	*h-oi* 3II.INAL-vagina	['hɔɪ]	'her vagina'

2.5.7 Conclusion

Abui prosodic words are stressed following the iambic pattern, with an optional extrametrical syllable. Bimoraic nuclei are heavy and attract stress. In (102) an overview of disyllabic prosodic words is given, containing words with the common iambic pattern (a-c) and with an iambic foot with an extrametrical syllable in (d):

(l *l)

(102) a. CV|CV(C)

/tɑ'mɑ/	*tama*	'sea'
/pu'lɑŋ/	*pulang*	'arrow'

(l *l)

b. CVC|CV(C)

/kɔk'dɑ/	*kokda*	'younger sibling'

(l *h)

c. CV|CVV(C)

/bɑ'leː/	*balee*	'sweet potato'
/kɑ'faːk/	*kafaak*	'tobacco'
/pɑ'lɪɔl/	*paliol*	'python'

(*h)< l >

d. CVV|CV(C)

/'feːlɑ/	*feela*	'friend'

Trisyllabic prosodic words, listed in (103), have the common iambic pattern (a-d), with extrametricality in case the penultimate syllable is heavy (e):

(l) (l *l)

(103) a. CV|CV|CVC

/mɑhɪ'tɪŋ/	*mahiting*	'meat'

(l) (l *l)

b. CV|CVC|CVC

/tukɔn'rɛk/	*tukonrek*	'stick n.'

(l) (l *l)

c. CVC|CV|CV

/muknɛ'hɪ/	*muknehi*	'sibling of same sex'

(l) (l *h)

d. CV|CV|CVV
/mala'taɪ/ *malatai* 'sand'

(l *h) < l >

e. CV|CVV|CVC
/ta'dɪɛlaŋ/ *tadielang* 'stipel, first leaf' (possibly derived)

The extrametricality is triggered by a heavy syllable in penultimate position. As the majority of words have a light syllable in this position, extrametricality is rare. Most words with a complex rime in non-final syllables such as *mang'mat* 'adopted child', *ran'ta* 'villain', *kon'rek* 'stick' or *tukang'rek* 'stick' are morphologically complex words.

2.6 Abui orthography

In previous sections, phonetic transcription, phonological representation and orthographical representation were used in parallel. In this section, I present some of the orthographic conventions used in this grammar. This orthography was developed during the periods of fieldwork and has been presented on the Orthography workshop in 2004 in Kalabahi. Abui orthography is based on the current Indonesian orthography. The phonemes /p, t, f, b, d, l, r, g, n, m, s, k, w/ are spelled with the same character. The glide /j/ is spelled with character *y*, the nasal /ŋ/ with *ng*; the loan phonemes /ɟ, c/ are spelled as *j*, and *c*, as in Indonesian. The vowels /a, ɛ, ɪ, ɔ, u/ are spelled as *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. The long vowels are spelled with two same characters. The high tone is marked with the acute accent on the vowel (*á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*); the low tone is marked with the grave accent on the vowel (*à*, *è*, *ì*, *ò*).

The glides /j, w/ and the high vowels /ɪ, u/ are spelled following the Indonesian convention. As illustrated in (104), in coda position, the sound [j] is spelled as *i*; following the spelling of words such as *pantai* 'sea shore' in Indonesian.

(104) CV_XV_Y/j/

/ka'fɪɛj/	*kafiei*	'goat'
/'sɪɛj/	*siei*	'already coming down'

In nucleus, the sound [ɪ] is spelled as *i*, and [u] as *u*, such as *diam* 'silent' or *dua* 'two' in Indonesian. This is illustrated in (105).

(105)

/'tuokda/	*tuokda*	'jump, throw'
/pa'lɪol/	*paliol*	'witch'

The sounds [j] and [w] that occur between two vowels are spelled as *y* and *w*, analogically to the Indonesian words such as *kayu* 'wood', or *jiwa* 'soul'. This is illustrated in (106).

(106)	/maʼjɔl/	*mayol*	'woman'
	/ruʼwɔl/	*ruwol*	'chicken'

Monosegmental function words are spelled together with the words they precede. Monosyllabic function words such as aspectual markers or linkers are spelled separately although they do not constitute an independent prosodic word.

3 Grammatical Categories

In this chapter, I describe Abui grammatical categories. Grammatical categories are sometimes referred to as 'part-of-speech classes'; they are the building blocks of linguistic structures. Grammatical categories are either open or closed. Open categories contain a virtually unlimited number of items, while closed categories have a limited set of members. In Abui, open grammatical categories are only nouns and verbs. Closed grammatical categories are adjectives, deictics, quantifiers, aspectual markers, linkers, adverbs and question words.

In Abui, many lexical items appear to be ambiguous. Their categorial membership must be determined by the combination of their distributional, functional, and semantic properties (cf. Schachter, 1985; Andward et al., 1997). With the term 'distributional properties' I refer to the word-internal (morphological) and word-external (syntactic) distribution of an item. In section 3.1, I give an overview of Abui morphology describing various morpheme types (bound, free, prefixes, suffixes, roots, and stems).

Word-external (syntactic) distributional properties refer to the status of items in syntactic units such as phrases, clauses and sentences. Items may be restricted in their distribution within syntactic units; not all items may occur as heads. Items have different functional properties. They can express various grammatical functions such as arguments, aspectual markers, or linkers. Finally, items can have a different type of reference (time-stable or versatile) and different referents (persons, events, etc.).

In section 3.2, I describe nouns. Nouns are items that canonically refer to time-stable concepts such as persons, objects or places. The nominal reference is permanent. Pronouns are discussed in section 3.3. Pronouns refer to time-stable concepts, however, their reference is not permanent as the nominal reference but versatile and context dependent. In section 3.4, I discuss Abui verbs. Verbs are defined morphologically as items that may combine with REC pronominal prefix and aspectual markers. Syntactically, they are the head of a verb phrase. Verbs serve as predicates in a clause and may combine with arguments.

The remainder of this chapter gives an overview of closed grammatical categories; they are discussed in section 3.5. The closed grammatical categories are adjectives (3.5.1), demonstratives (3.5.2), quantifiers (3.5.3), aspectual markers (3.5.4), conjunction markers (3.5.6), adverbs (3.5.5), and question words (3.5.7).

3.1 Morphological typology

This section discusses the morphological make-up of a word. In Abui, a word is defined as a unit by its phonological and distributional properties. A word is a unit characterized by its prosodic properties such as stress that is generally borne by the final syllable of a word. A word is a minimal free form.

Abui words may consist of one or more morphemes. A number of mono-morphemic words are given in (1). The words in the first row refer to time stable

concepts. The words in the second row refer to events. The words in the third row are functional elements that refer to various relations between other units.

(1)	a.	*fe* 'pig'	b.	*bataa* 'wood'	c.	*lui* 'knife'	d.	*maama* 'father'
	e.	*nee* 'eat'	f.	*bui* 'be short'	g.	*fui* 'be flat'	h.	*mit* 'sit'
	i.	*ya* SEQ	j.	*ba* LNK	k.	*do* PRX	l.	*naha* NEG

Morphologically simplex morphemes that may occur independently will be referred to as 'free roots'. Words may consist of more than one morpheme; a number of examples are given in (2). A number of free roots (a, c, d) from the first row in (1) combine with other elements into morphologically complex words. In (b) the form *-táng* 'hand' is a bound morpheme that cannot appear independently in a clause.

(2)	a.	*ne-fe* 1SG.AL-pig 'my pig'	b.	*na-táng* 1SG.INAL-hand 'my hand'	c.	*e-lui* 2SG.AL-knife 'your knife'	d.	*he-maama* 3II.AL-father 'his/her father'

In (2), pronominal forms are attached in front of the free roots *fe* 'pig', *lui* 'knife' and *maama* 'father', and in front of the bound root *-táng* 'hand'. These pronominal forms do not occur independently in a clause. They are bound morphemes and are prefixes since they always occur in front of roots. In (2), the pronominal prefixes combine with the free roots *fe* 'pig', *lui* 'knife', and *maama* 'father', to express the possessor in (a, c, d). In (b), the bound form **táng* 'hand' obligatorily combines with a pronominal prefix; in this case it combines with the prefix *na-* (1SG.INAL).

The forms that refer to events may combine with other morphemes. Observe the morphological structures in (3).

(3)	a.	*nee-i* eat-PFV 'already eaten'	b.	*ha-bui-d-a* 3II.PAT-be.short-hold-DUR 'get it shortened'	c.	*na-lal-e* 1SG.PAT-laugh-IPFV 'I am laughing'

In (a), the free morpheme *nee* followed by the suffix *-i* (PFV) that marks aspect. This aspectual marker is a bound morpheme. It occurs only attached to other morphemes. In (b), the free morpheme *bui* 'be short' combines with the pronominal prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) and with the morpheme *d* 'hold, get'. The morpheme *d* 'hold, get' is bound. It obligatorily combines with other constituents, such as *bui* 'be short', or with pronominal prefixes. It is followed by the aspectual suffix *-a* (DUR) that has the same distributional properties as the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). Finally, in (c), the morpheme *lal* 'laugh' is a bound root that obligatorily combines with pronominal prefixes, in this case *na-* (1SG.PAT). The bound root *lal* 'laugh' may be combined with the suffix *-e* (IPFV).

From the presented data, we can construct a number of morphological templates of Abui words. They are listed in (4) and represent the possible morphological structures of Abui words. Abui words consist minimally of a free root (i). Free roots may combine with optional morphemes, either prefixes (ii) or suffixes (iii), or with both (iv). They may form a complex stem with a bound root and be combined with affixes (v). There are also bound roots. To form a word, bound roots obligatorily combine with prefixes (vi), suffixes (vii) or other bound roots (viii).

	MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	EXAMPLES	
(4) i.	*free root*	*lui* 'knife', *nee* 'eat', *ba* (LNK)	
ii.	*prefix-free root*	*he-maama*	'his father'
iii.	*free root-suffix*	*nee-i*	'already eaten'
iv.	*prefix-free root-suffix*	*o-nee-i*	'already fed you'
v.	*prefix-free root-bound root-suffix*	*ha-bui-d-a*	'get it shortened'
vi.	*prefix-bound root*	*na-táng*	'my arm'
vii.	*prefix-bound root-suffix*	*na-lal-e*	'I am laughing'
viii.	*bound root-suffix*	*bek-a*	'be bad'
ix.	*prefix-bound root-bound root-suffix*	*ha-bek-d-i*	'got it broken'

The morphological structure of a word helps to identify the grammatical category of a word. Generally, free roots, illustrated in (i), are found in all grammatical categories. Free and bound roots that combine with pronominal prefixes (ii, vi) are either nouns or verbs. Only verbal roots combine with both pronominal prefixes and aspectual suffixes (iii, iv, vii). Stems that consist of two roots, of which one is bound, are interpreted as verbs.

In Abui, verb stems may display stem alternation. This is illustrated in (5), where a number of stems show an alternation in their rime. The alternation affects either the coda, as illustrated in the first and second row, or the nucleus, as illustrated in third row where no coda is present.

(5)	*mok*	~	*mop*	*buuk*	~	*buut*	
	put.together		put.together.CPL	drink		drink.CPL	
	lang	~	*lan*	*bel*	~	*ber*	
	wash		wash.CPL	pull		pull.CPL	
	pa	~	*piei*	*sui*	~	*si*	
	go.down		go.down.CPL	scoop.ICP		scoop.CPL	

The stem alternation encodes aspectual properties of the referred event. The completive stems (CPL) refer to an event that has a final point. The inceptive stems (ICP) choose the opposite perspective; they refer to an event that has an initial point. The

stem alternation is a typical morphological characteristic of the verbal category. It is discussed in detail in sections 3.4.2.3 and 6.1.1.1 as an aspect marking device.

In Abui, a number of bound roots cliticize to free forms to form a prosodic word. They are aspectual particles *te* (INCP.C), *se* (INCP.I), *si* (PHSL.I), and *ti* (PHSL.C), and the bound root *ng* 'see'. As illustrated in (6), these forms can be characterized as enclitics, as they are always attached to the preceding prosodic word.

(6) a. *pi* *làk-i=te*
1PL.I leave.for-PFV=INCP.C
'we will go away' [B01.098.01:28]

b. *moku loku* *sakola=ng* *yaar-i*
kid PL school=see go.CPL-PFV
'children went to school' [B04.019.01]

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Semantic properties

The grammatical category of nouns contains items that refer to time-stable concepts: persons, objects, places, and substances (cf. Payne, 1997:33; Schachter, 1985:7; Anward et al., 1997:173). In Abui, the words given in (7) are identified as nouns, as they share these semantic properties.

(7)	*feela*	'friend'	*maama*	'father'
	Ata Pula	'name of a person'	*Fan Ata*	'name of a person'
	Ateng Melang	'village name, lit. Old Village'	*kafak*	'spear'
	ía	'moon'	*war*	'sun'
	wi	'rock'	*fe*	'pig'

However, the definition of the grammatical category of nouns cannot be primarily semantic as many items that are in some contexts identified as nouns (typically with non-human referent) may also refer to events. Instead, the grammatical category of nouns is identified by its distributional properties (see section 3.2.3).

3.2.2 Categorial indeterminacy

There are a number of ambiguous lexical items that are identified as nouns or verbs. The ambiguity is resolved by the syntactic context in which the items occur. Consider the form *luuk* in (8).

(8) a. *he-luuk* *do* *he-feela* *afenga* *wi-d-a*
3II.INAL-dance PRX 3II.AL-friend be.other be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'his dance resembles his friend's dance' [B07.053.03]

b. *ama* *luuk* *do* *di* *ning* *ayoku* *de-meting* *takai*
person dance PRX 3A be.QNT two 3I.AL-betel.vine bite.CPL
'while people were dancing, the two were eating their betel nut' [B02.087.08:17]

The lexical item *luuk* in (8) is identified a noun in (a) because it combines with the possessive prefix and serves as an argument of the verb *wida* 'become like that, resemble'. In (b), the form is identified as a verb because it combines with a single argument expressed with the noun *ama* 'person'. In both cases the form *luuk* is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *do* that marks the end of a domain. In (a), *do* (PRX) marks the end of an NP. In (b), it has a nominalising function, it marks the end of a clause that serves as background information for the second clause.

Another ambiguous item is *tur*, illustrated in (9). Both examples are taken from a narrative. In (a), the form *tur* refers to a 'spoon' that fell out from the house and must be picked up again. In (b), the form *tur* is used as a predicate 'scoop up' and combines with the U argument is *fat ma* 'cooked corn'.

(9) a. *ah, na* *sei* *tur* *mi=se* *yo!*
oh 1SG come.down.CNT spoon take=INCP.I MD.AD
'ah, I come down to pick up the spoon!' [B02.164.03:24]

b. *fat* *ma* *tur* *ba* *di* *takei=se!*
corn ripe spoon.up.CPL LNK 3A bite=INCP.I
'dish up cooked corn so that he eats!' [B02.019.11:47]

In (10), the use of the form *yaa* is illustrated. The form *yaa* refers to a 'road' in (a). The same form *yaa* is used in (b), where it refers to the activity of 'going'.

(10) a. *na* *yaa* *foka=ng* *ha-fui-d-a*
1SG road be.big=see 3II.PAT-flat-hold-DUR
'I level the road' [B04.053.03]

b. *a* *kul* *yaa!*
2SG must go
'you must go' [B05.065.04]

Some more ambiguous lexical items are listed in (11)-(14). There is a semantic relation between their two meanings in the sense that the noun refers to a U argument of the verb in a very broad sense. The semantic relations may be described in pairs such as undergoer/result-activity, instrument-activity, location-activity, and entity-property (cf. Comrie and Thompson 1985:349)

UNDERGOER/ACTIVITY

(11)	*yar*	'offspring/bear'	*tuku*	'piece/meassure off'
	ara	'fire/burn'	*luuk*	'dance, n./dance, v.'
	ha-mun	'its (bad) smell/it stinks'	*tafang*	'ghost/die by accident'
	fuk	'fart, n./fart, v.'	*fung*	'heap, pile, n./pile up'
	wài	'roof, n./cover, v.'	*yai*	'song/sing'
	tanga	'speech/speak'	*ananra*	'story/tell'

INSTRUMENT/ACTIVITY

(12)	*tur*	'spoon/scoop v.'	*kak*	'arrow/stab'
	lasing	'bracelet/embrace'	*towang*	'oar, row, n./row, v.'
	bol	'pound stone/hit'	*tuk*	'mortar, n./to stick in, stick out'

LOCATION/ACTIVITY

(13)	*yaa*	'road/go'	*lik*	'platform, support n./support v.'
	tei	'field/dig'	*afeng*	'hamlet /stay, dwell'

ENTITY/PROPERTY

(14)	*toku*	'leg/put down'	*fui*	'flatland/be flat'
	mang	'possession/posses'	*akun*	'morning/be dark'
	foka	'size, boss/be big'	*kang*	'goodness/be good'
	beka	'sin/be bad'	*kalieta*	'old person/be odd, be widow'
	rofi	'truth/be true, right'	*takata*	'shore, dry place/be dry'
	lila	'blessing before dying/be hot'	*balekna*	'surroundings/be arround'
	liki	'fighter/be strong'	*kafering*	'fighter, soldier/horrify'
	upi	'fruit/be whole'	*moku*	'kid/be small'
	kaai	'dog/be voracious'	*lei*	'ancestor/reach over'

The ambiguous lexical items given in (11)-(14) may be used referentially (as the head of an NP) or predicatively (as the head of a VP). The same categorial ambiguity is found also by lexical items that are borrowed from Malay, as illustrated in (15). The two uses of *sakola* display the location-activity relationship; *tulusa* displays the undergoer-activity relationship:

(15) a. *sakola*
'school/school, teach'

b. *tulusa*
'writing/write'

As exemplified above, ambiguous items are identified as either noun or verb by the syntactic and morphological context, in which they occur. The presented data suggests that Abui sides with Austronesian languages in categorial indeterminacy and not with Papuan (cf. Foley, 1998:509, 512; Himmelmann, 2005:126-131), which normally have a strict division in nominal and verbal categories.[1]

3.2.3 Distributional properties

At the word level, nouns are characterized as either free or bound roots that may combine with pronominal prefixes (for an overview of pronominal inventory, see section 3.3). Pronominal prefixes serve to express possessors (for a detailed discussion of possession, see section 4.2). Nominal morphology is restricted to the possessor marking by pronominal prefixes. Other inflections such as for number, case, class, or gender are not found in Abui.[2]

Two free roots combined with pronominal prefixes are given in (16). The pronominal prefixes belong to set I, glossed as AL(inenable) below. The free root *feela* 'friend' combines with pronominal prefix *ne-* (1SG.AL). The free root *maama* 'father' combines with pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.AL):

(16) *ne-feela* 'my friend' *he-maama* 'his father'
1SG.AL-friend 3II.AL-father

Bound roots combine with pronominal prefixes from set III, glossed as INAL(ienable) below. As illustrated in (17), the bound roots *–táng* 'hand' and *wei* 'ear' combine with pronominal prefixes *na-* (1SG.INAL) and *ha-* (3II.INAL) respectively.

(17) *na-táng* 'my hand' *ha-wei* 'his ear'
1SG.INAL-hand 3II.INAL-ear

There is a distinction between the nouns in (16) and (17). The nouns in (17) obligatorily combine with the pronominal prefixes that express a possessor (see section 4.2.2). The nouns in (16) combine optionally with pronominal prefixes (see section 4.2.3).

Nouns never combine with pronominal prefixes from set II, glossed as REC(ipient) below, which may only be attached to verbs. In (18), this restriction

[1] Categorical indeterminacy is a typical feature of Austronesian languages. As discussed by (Foley, 1998) Austronesian morphology is typified by the roots that 'exhibit categorical indeterminacy, i.e. a given root can be used nominally or verbally without derivation by being head of syntactically nominal or verbal construction' (Foley, 1998:509). However, 'the roots in Papuan languages show a sharp division into nominal and verbal categories and can only change via morphological derivation' (Foley, 1998:512). Another Papuan language that shows similar categorical indeterminacy is Sulka. This language has been in long-termed contact with Austronesian languages (Reesink, 2005:145) which resulted in sharing the typological feature of indeterminacy with AN languages (Reesink, 2005:163).

[2] The lack of case and number inflection of nouns is claimed to be a common feature among other Papuan languages (Foley, 1986:93-96) as they rather employ verbal affixation to signal case relations.

disqualifies the ambiguous forms *malaida*, *beka*, *fing*, and *kang* in (b, d, f, h) to be interpreted as nouns. The pronominal prefix belonging to set II identifies these lexemes as verbs.

(18) a. *ne-malaida*
1SG.AL-misfortune
'my misfortune'

b. *no-malaida*
1SG.REC-die.by.accident.CNT
'I am dying by accident'

c. *ne-beka*
1SG.AL-be.bad
'my sin, mischief'

d. *no-beka*
1SG.REC-be.bad
'I am dying, suffering', lit.: 'bad to me'

e. *ne-fing*
1SG.AL-eldest
'my eldest sibling'

f. *no-fing*
1SG.REC-eldest
'I feel eldest, I am eldest'

g. *he-kang*
3II.AL-be.good
'his goodness, agreement'

h. *no-kang*
1SG.REC-be.good
'I like it, I agree'

The lexemes given in (a, c, e, g) are identified as nouns; they may serve as the head of an NP and express arguments of verbs.

3.2.4 Relation between semantic and distributional properties of nouns

In Abui, semantic properties of nouns, such as animacy or individuation, are in relation to their distributional properties. In general, actors are animate. They are realized with NPs and co-indexed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). This is illustrated in (19) where the NP *naana* 'older sibling' combines with *di*.

(19) *naana* *di* *na-wel*
older.sibling 3A 1SG.PAT-pour
'my older sibling bathes me' [B01.032.08]

Inanimate referents may be identified as a force and realized as the A argument of a verb. As illustrated in (20), the force *timoi foka* 'big wind' is co-indexed with the pronoun *di* (3A) as the A argument of the verb *-lák* 'break'. Note that the free pronoun *di* (3A) combines exclusively with A arguments.

(20) *timoi* *foka* *di* *lik* *fala* *ha-lák*
wind be.big 3A platform house 3II.PAT-break
'the big wind broke the house and verandah' [B06.011.02]

Both animate and inanimate participants may be identified as undergoers. In general, animate and human undergoer participants are realized in more complex constructions than inanimate undergoer participants. This is illustrated in (21) where the verb *bol* 'hit' combines in (a) with an inanimate undergoer realized as the NP *wó kanai do* 'the canari

nuts up there'. In (b), the verb *bol* 'hit' combines with a human undergoer *Arjun*. This participant is identified as a benefactive and expressed as the U argument of the verb *l* 'give' and co-indexed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC). The verb *l* 'give' is grammaticalized to encode benefactive participants.

(21) a. *he-kuta* *wó* *kanai* *do* *bol*
3II.AL-grandparent DIST.H canari.nut PRX hit
'his grandfather hits the canari nuts up there'

b. *Mai Fan* *Arjun* *he-l* *bol*
name name 3II.LOC-give hit
'Mai Fan hits Arjun'

Another semantic property of nouns is individuation. It has been suggested in the literature (cf. Gentner and Boroditsky 2001) that nouns differ in their ontological status ranging from prototypical objects such as 'man' to prototypical substances such as 'water'. This scale is referred to as 'Individuation Continuum' (cf. Gentner and Boroditsky 2001:230). Prototypical objects in languages such as 'man' or 'father' are individuated. Prototypical substances such as 'water' or 'wood' are not individuated. In Abui, the feature [±individuated] is manifested in the asymmetrical use of the quantifier *loku* (PL).[3] The quantifier indicates a plural number of individuated referents. It is ungrammatical to use the quantifier *loku* with typical mass nouns such as *bataa* 'wood'. This is illustrated in (22).

(22) a. *bataa*
wood
'wood, forest, trees'

b. **bataa* *loku*
wood PL

The quantifier *loku* may not be used with nouns referring to small animals, typically occurring in large groups such as *fikai* 'ant sp.'; this identifies them as mass nouns.

(23) a. *fe* *loku*
pig PL
'pigs'

b. *mutang* *loku*
bee PL
'bees'

c. **fikai* *loku*
ant PL

Mass nouns can be individuated when they combine with a numeral. Numerals contribute the feature [+individuated] and can make nouns such as *bataa* 'wood, forest, trees' countable. Another related strategy is the use of a modifier noun such as *tuku* 'piece'. The semantics of the noun *tuku* 'piece' describes the shape of the substance and helps to conceptualize it as a [+individuated] object. This is illustrated in (24).

[3] The form is etymologically related with the form *loku* 'person, figure, man' that refers to fetish puppets representing a person. The puppets *loku* are believed to hold magic powers about depicted persons. They are used in rituals to put a curse on somebody by stabbing the puppet *loku* with needles or burning it.

(24) a. *bataa ayoku*
wood two
'two trees'

b. *bataa tuku*
wood piece
'stick, piece of wood'

Another manifestation of the individuation of nouns is the use of the pronominal prefix from set II (see section 3.3). The prefix II expresses or co-indexes an individuated, typically human participant. This is illustrated in (25). In (a), the inanimate NP *ne-toku* 'my leg' is co-indexed with the pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) from set I. In (b), the animate and individuated participant *Nani* is co-indexed with the prefix *ho-* (3II.REC) from set II.

(25) a. *ne-wil ne-toku he-fahat*
1SG.AL-child 1SG.AL-leg 3II.LOC-embrace.CPL
'my child embraced my leg'

b. *maama di Nani ho-fahat*
father 3A name 3II.REC-embrace.CPL
'father embraced Nani'

A prefix from set II is required also when the NP expressing the U argument of the verb contains the quantifier *loku* (PL). In (26), the head noun *kantor* 'office' combines with the quantifier *loku* (PL). The inanimate referent of the NP is [+individuated].

(26) *afei-d-a na kantor loku to-tilei lol-e*
pass.CPL-hold-DUR 1SG office PL DISTR.REC-hang.ICP walk-IPFV
'I was going along the (various) offices yesterday' [B10.019.05]

More examples showing the distinct distribution of individuated nouns can be found in 5.6.

3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are identified by their functional properties. They refer to persons, objects, places, and substances, just as nouns. While nominal reference can be characterized as a constant relationship with the referents, the pronominal reference is not permanent, but versatile, and context dependent (cf. Foley, 1986:65). Morphologically, pronouns can be divided in two closed paradigms. They are either free or bound morphemes.

3.3.1 Free pronouns

The free pronouns serve to express or co-index Actor (A) arguments. As in some other Papuan languages (Foley, 1986:65-74) the set of free pronouns primarily includes only egophoric reference pronouns (referring to speech participants). The third person pronoun *di* (3A) does not mark number. Gender is irrelevant for all pronouns. The form *di* may originally have been an auxiliary that has become grammaticalized to a free pronoun. Free pronouns are used to express participants identified as the A argument.

Note that in the first person plural there is an INCLUSIVE/EXCLUSIVE distinction. The free pronoun paradigm is given in Table 11.

Table 11: Free pronouns

PERSON	FREE PRONOUN
1SG	*na* [na]
2SG	*a* [ʔa]
1PL.E	*ni* [nɪ]
1PL.I	*pi* [pɪ]
2PL	*ri* [rɪ]
3A	*di* [dɪ]

The use of free pronouns is illustrated in (27) where the free pronoun *na* (1SG) expresses the A argument of the verb *tukong* 'cut'. In (b), the free pronoun *di* (3A) co-indexes the NP *Simon* as the A argument of the verb *sei* 'come down'.

(27) a. *na* *bataa* *tukong*
1SG wood cut
'I cut wood'

b. *Simon* *di* *sei*
name 3A come.down.CNT
'Simon is coming down'

3.3.2 Pronominal prefixes

In Abui, the bound pronouns are prefixed to nouns and verbs. Bound pronouns are divided into three formally distinct sets. Pronominal prefixes are polysemous. They combine with verbs to express the Undergoer (U) arguments and with nouns to express possessors.[4]

Pronominal prefixes from all three sets combine with verbs to express or co-index the Undergoer (U) arguments. The U arguments identified as LOC (location) are expressed with set I, REC (recipient) with set II, and PAT (patient) with set III (for more details, see section 5.5). Pronominal prefixes from sets I and III combine also with nouns. They express or co-index possessors (see 4.2). The prefixes from set III serve to express possessor in inalienable possessive relations (INAL), set I is used to express possessor in alienable possessive relations (AL). The prefixes from set I are polysemous, they refer to locations and possessors. In fact, possessors are encoded as a 'location' of the possessed entity.[5] An inalienably possessed body part is marked in the same way as a PAT(ient) argument because both are fully controlled by the POSSESSOR

[4] Polysemous pronominal prefixes used in both nominal and verbal domain are found in other related Alor Pantar languages such as Teiwa (Klamer and Kratochvíl, 2006; Klamer, In prep.), and Adang (cf. Haan 2001:38, 46). Steltenpool and Stap (1959) report polysemous prefixes for Ekari (referred to as Kapauku), a language from the Wissel Lakes-Kemandoga group of the TNG family. They observe a similarity between possessor marking on body parts and kinship terms and the object marking: 'considering the extremely passive nature of the acquisition of such 'possession' it is not a coincidence that these prefixes are reminiscent of the passive voice' (Steltenpool and Stap, 1958:20, translation F.K.).

[5] Polysemous pronominal possessor and benefactive markers are also found in Lower Grand Valley Dani (Bromley 1981:190). Lichtenberk (2002) and Margetts (2004) argue for possessive-benefactive polysemy in broader cross-linguistic perspective.

and ACTOR respectively. The full paradigm of pronominal prefixes is given in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Abui bound pronouns

	I	II	III
DOMAIN	FUNCTION		
N	AL	*	INAL
VP	LOC	REC	PAT
PERSON	EGOPHORIC REFECENCE		
1SG	*ne-*	*no-*	*na-*
2SG	*e-*	*o-*	*a-*
1PL.E	*ni-*	*nu-*	*ni-*
1PL.I	*pi-*	*pu-/po-*	*pi-*
2PL	*ri-*	*ru-/ro-*	*ri-*
	ALLOPHORIC REFERENCE		
3I	*de-*	*do-*[6]	*da-*
3II	*he-*	*ho-*	*ha-*
	DISTRIBUTIVE REFERENCE		
DISTR	*te-*	*to-*	*ta-*

In the table, prefixes are organized according to their reference. The egophoric prefixes, referring to the speech act participants are listed first. In egophoric plural forms there is no distinction between sets I and III; while set II displays free alternation in plural forms (1PL.I and 2PL). The allophoric prefixes refer to other than the speech act participants. In allophoric reference, two subtypes are distinguished: 3I and 3II. The 3I prefixes share the same referent with the A argument within the same domain. The 3II prefixes do not share the same referent with the A argument within that domain.
The referential domain of allophoric and distributive prefixes is maximally a clause. In complex structures with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) as illustrated in (28), the 3I prefix refers to the nearest NP within the structure. In this case, the 3I possessive prefix *de-* (3I.AL) co-indexes the NP *Timo* as possessor and the A argument of the verb *on* 'make'.

(28) *ama* *nu* *miei* *ba* *Timo* *de-fala* *on-i*
person SPC.AD come.CPL LNK name 3I.AL-house make.CPL-PFV
'a certain man$_i$ came so that Timo$_j$ built his$_j$ own house' [B04.003.05]

The referential domain of the 3II prefixes is a clause, including serial verb constructions and complex structures that contain the intersective linker *ba* (LNK). This is illustrated in (29), where two verbs are linked with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) and non-

[6] Some speakers distinguish between two 3I.REC prefixes: the form *do-* is used for singular (3SG.I.REC), while the plural form is *du-* (3PL.I.REC), and shows the same vowel alternation as the other plural REC forms. An example of the alternation can be found in section 6.2.5.1.

intersective linker *ya* (SEQ). In (a), the referential domain of 3II prefix *he-* (3II.AL) is the whole structure, in which the NP *ama nu* 'a certain man' is identified as the A argument. The 3II prefix *he-* (3II.AL) co-indexes the nearest NP *Timo* as possessor. Consequently, the NP *Timo* cannot be the A argument of the verb *on* 'make'.

In (b), the non-intersective linker *ya* (SEQ) is used that links two verbs expressing two subsequent events. The referential domain of the 3II prefix is limited to a single clause starting with the NP *Timo*. The 3II prefix cannot co-index the nearest NP *Timo* as possessor, because this NP serves as the A argument of the clause. Consequently, the 3II prefix co-indexes another participant. This participant is identified in discourse as the previous NP *ama nu* 'a certain man', which happens to be the A argument in the first clause.

(29) a. *ama* *nu* *miei* *ba* *Timo* *he-fala* *on-i*
person SPC.AD come.CPL LNK name 3II.AL-house make.CPL-PFV
'a certain man came and built Timo's house' [B04.003.05]

b. *ama* *nu* *miei* *ya* *Timo* *he-fala* *on-i*
person SPC.AD come.CPL SEQ name 3II.AL-house make.CPL-PFV
'a certain man$_i$ came and Timo$_j$ built his$_i$ house' [B04.005.01]

In the verbal domain, the referential properties of the pronominal prefixes are the same. In (30), the referential domain of the 3I prefix *da-* (3I.PAT) is illustrated. The 3I prefix co-indexes the nearest A argument (NP or free pronoun), which is here expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). Free pronoun *di* (3A) is used anaphorically and refers to the NP *baleei* 'banana' expressing the U argument of the first clause.

(30) *afe* *pi* *baleei* *tukon-i* *ya* *yal* *di* *kang*
passed 1PL.I banana cut.CPL-PFV SEQ moment 3A be.good

he-da-ring-r-a
3II.LOC-3I.PAT-oust-reach-DUR [B05.007.02]
'we cut the banana tree previously, but now it is coming back again sprouting'

In (31), the referential properties of the 3II prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) are illustrated. The prefix refers to another argument than the A argument within the same domain. Here it co-indexes the nearest NP *Bui Fulen* because the A argument of the verb *l* 'give' is the free pronoun *na* (1SG), which is shared with the verb *mi* 'take'. Note that both verbs are linked together with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK).

(31) *Maria* *di* *sura* *mi* *ne-ta-bot-i* *na* *mi*
name 3A book take 1SG.LOC-DISTR.PAT-inform.CPL-PFV 1SG take

ba *Bui Fulen* *he-l*
LNK name 3II.LOC-give
'Maria sent me a letter for Bui Fulen', lit. Maria sent me a letter (so that) I give it to Bui Fulen' [B04.063.04]

Distributive reference prefixes are listed in the third section of the table. Distributive prefixes express arguments with some plural characteristics. Distributive prefixes have a distributive reading in transitive constructions and a reciprocal reading in intransitive constructions, as illustrated in (32):

PRO$_A$ [NP$_U$] PRO$_U$V

(32) a. *di* *ama* *loku* *ta-luk*
3a person PL DISTR.PAT-rub
'he hits all of the people one by one'

[NP] PRO$_A$ PRO$_U$-V

b. *ama* *loku* *di* *ta-luk*
person$_i$ PL 3A DISTR.PAT$_i$-rub
'people hit/fight each other' [B04.023.02]

In the nominal domain, the distributive prefix expresses possessors that display some plurality. It typically occurs as the default possessor marker with body parts. This is illustrated in (33), where in (a) the body part *-táng* 'hand'. In (b), the distributive prefix from set I *te-* (DISTR.AL) combines with the noun *faling* 'axe' to refer to distributively possessed 'axes'.

(33) a. *ta-táng*
DISTR.INAL-hand
'our hands', lit.: 'hands of each of us'

b. *te-faling*
DISTR.AL-axe
'axes of each of us'

In Abui, only verbs (not nouns) may combine with two pronominal prefixes. The set of verbs that combine with two prefixes is limited. The prefixes express two U arguments as illustrated in (34). The verb *yei* 'fall' combines either with one (a) or two pronominal prefixes (b-c):

(34) a. *wata* *ha-yei*
coconut 3II.PAT-fall
'coconut falls, coconuts fall' [B01.033.13]

b. *o-ha-yei*
2SG.REC-3II.PAT-fall
'it hit you, falls at you' [B05.037.04]

c. *buoka* *he-ha-yei* *naha*
be.far 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-fall NEG
'it did not fall far' [B07.083.00:00]

Another verb that may combine with two prefixes is *baai* 'be angry' in (35).

(35) a. *Simon* *ayoku* *te-baai*
name two DISTR.LOC-be.angry
'the two Simons are angry with each other' [B04.031.02]

b. *o-ne-baai*
2SG.REC-1SG.LOC-be.angry
'you feel angry with me' [B02.158.02:15]

c. *no-e-baai*
1SG.REC-2SG.LOC-be.angry
'I feel angry with you'

Not all combinations of prefixes are allowed. A PAT prefix if present is attached immediately to the root/stem. As discussed in 6.2.3, the order of LOC and REC prefixes co-occurring on a single verb stem/root reflects the direction of the event (the more 'affected' participant is expressed by the prefix nearer to the verb stem). Referents ranked higher on the animacy scale are expressed adjacent to the verb root/stem (the human participant is expressed by the prefix nearer to the verb stem, inanimate participant is expressed by the second prefix).

3.4 Verbs

In Abui, the grammatical category of verbs is identified by a combination of their semantic (3.4.1), distributional (3.4.2 and 3.4.3) and functional properties (3.4.4 and 3.4.5). In sections 3.4.4 and 3.4.5, an overview is given of the Abui verb inventory. In section 3.4.4, open verb classes are discussed that contain both dynamic and stative verbs. The verbs are grouped in a number of semantic classes such as motion, locomotion, impact verbs etc. In 3.4.5, an overview is given of the closed verb classes such as generic, deictic, location and index verbs.

3.4.1 Semantic properties

Semantically, verbs are identified as forms that refer to events, states, or properties. A number of typical verbal forms are given below. The verbs in (36) refer to events: they are dynamic. The verbs in (37) refer to properties and states: they are stative verbs:

(36)	*ayong*	'swim'	*firei*	'run'
	kafia	'scrape, scratch'	*kol*	'bind'
(37)	*foka*	'be big'	*kang*	'be good'

However, many of forms that are characterised semantically as verbs are categorially indetermined (as discussed in section 3.2.2). Therefore additional properties are necessary to define the grammatical category of verbs.

3.4.2 Morphological properties

The morphological properties that identify a lexeme as a verb are: (i) aspectual inflection, (ii) person inflection, and (iii) stem alternation. Syntactically, verbs are identified as constituents that project into a verb phrase (VP) and combine with arguments. Verbs may be conjoined in larger multi-verb constructions such as complex verbs or serial verb constructions (see chapters 7 and 8).

3.4.2.1 Aspectual inflection

In Abui, verbs are forms that may carry aspectual inflection. This is a unique feature of the verbal grammatical category. In (38), the verb *làk* 'leave for' combines with perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) in (a). In (b), it combines with imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV):

(38) a. *na* *làk-i*
1SG leave.for-PFV
'I have gone away'

b. *na* *làk-e*
1SG leave.for-IPFV
'I am going away'

3.4.2.2 Person inflection

In Abui, verbs may carry person inflection (pronominal prefixes expressing the U argument). As discussed in section 3.2.3, also nouns may combine with pronominal prefixes from set I and III. Only prefixes from set II are used exclusively with verbs. Any item that combines with a prefix from set II is automatically identified as a verb. An example is given in (39). In (a), the verb *làk* 'leave for' combines with pronominal prefix *ho-* (3II.REC) expressing the U argument of the verb together with the noun *Simon*. The first person participant affects Simon by going away, and Simon is identified as recipient (human goal) of going. The construction refers to a situation in which Simon is stepped on by the speaker (see also 6.2.2.3). In (b), the verb *làk* 'leave for' combines with the pronominal prefix *no-* (1SG.REC) expressing the U argument that refers to the speaker. The construction has a 'reflexive' reading of 'returning oneself' because both pronominal forms are coreferential (see also 6.2.5.1).

(39) a. *na* *Simon* *ho-làk*
1SG name 3II.REC-leave.for
'I stepped on Simon'

b. *na* *no-làk*
1SG 1SG.REC-leave.for
'I go back home'

Some verb stems are bound and require obligatory person inflection. This is illustrated in (40). The verb stem *wel* 'pour' requires person inflection. It refers to 'washing' when used in a transitive A-U$_{PAT}$ construction and to 'flowing' or 'pouring' when used in a A≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction.

(40) a. *na* *Simon* *ha-wel*
1SG name 3II.PAT-pour
'I washed Simon'

b. *ya* *di* *ta-wel*
water 3A DISTR.PAT-pour
'water streams, pours'

c. **wel*
pour

Verbs are the only grammatical category that may combine with two pronominal prefixes (see 6.1.2).

3.4.2.3 Verb stem alternation

Another morphological property unique of verbs is stem alternation.[7] There are two morphological types of stem alternation, listed in (41), which divided Abui verbs in

[7] Verb stem alternation related to the inner aspect properties of referred events is found in other Papuan languages (Foley 1986). For instance in Telefol and Kiwai two alternating stems refer to different events with

three classes. This classification is used in the dictionary to indicate inflectional properties of verb stems. The first class shows no alternation, it includes both native and loan stems. The second class is characterized by an alternation affecting the coda of the verb stem. This type of alternation is relatively productive and predictable. The third class is characterized by an alternation affecting the entire rime (of the final syllable). With exception of the productive type III.a (*a* ~ *i*), this alternation is not predictable and is not productive. However, the verbs that show this irregular alternation are verbs used with high frequency, such as *mara* 'go up'. The verbs displaying each type of alternation are listed below in this section.

(41)

CLASS	CHARACTERISTICS	NUMBER OF ITEMS
I.	no alternation	many
II.	alternation of the coda	
a.	*k* ~ *t*	many
b.	*k* ~ *p*	few
c.	*ng*~ *n*	many
d.	*l* ~ *r*	many
e.	∅ ~ *r/t*	two
f.	*i* ~ *f/b/h/t*	many
III.	alternation of the rime	
a.	*a* ~ *i*	many
b.	*e* ~ *iei*	one
c.	*a* ~ *iei/dei*	two
d.	*ai* ~ *aai*	several
e.	*ei* ~ *i*	one
f.	*ui* ~ *i* [j]	one
g.	*ei* ~ *ai*	three
h.	*ei/a* ~ (*i*)*ei* ~ (*aa*)*i*	two

Abui verb stems alternate their morphological shape to refer to events that differ in their internal temporal structure (inner aspect, Aktionsart). I distinguish three stem types: continuative (CNT), completive (CPL), and inceptive (ICP). For more details about the aspectual properties of stem types, see 6.1.1.1, where the various types are exemplified.

As illustrated in (41), for the first type, the coda of the stem is alternated. In all cases the alternation contrasts the completive (CPL) stem and non-completive continuative (CNT) or inceptive (ICP) stem. In (42) a number of verbs are given that alternate the final consonant of the stem.

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distinct aspectual properties (Foley 1986:146-8). In Telefol some verb stems obligatorily combine with aspectual suffixes while other do not. In Kiwai, continuative stems must end in non-low vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. The punctiliar stems terminate in low vowel *a* or in diphthong *ai* (Foley 1986:147). In Marind (Drabbe 1955) alternations of the 'momentary' and 'durative' stems are found. The durative stems end in /*a*/ and the momentary stems in a consonant.

(42) a. *buuk* ~ *buut* (type II.a)
drink drink.CPL

b. *mok* ~ *mop* (type II.b)
put.together put.together.CPL

c. *lang* ~ *lan* (type II.c)
wash wash.CPL

d. *bel* ~ *ber* (type II.d)
pull pull.CPL

The set of verbs that alternate the final /k/~/t/ such as *buuk* 'drink' illustrated in (a) contains other verbs such as *bok* 'dig, poke, perforate, push in/inform', *pok* 'split', *buk* 'brace', *wak* 'embrace', *wok* 'throw', *muk* 'blow', *eik* 'defecate', *batek* 'strike', *wik* 'carry away', *piek* 'pass along', *lek* 'move towards', *kek* 'prod', *tik* 'stretch', *akuk* 'not see (close one's eyes)'. Other verbs such as *mok* 'put together' illustrated in (b) alternate final /k/~/p/. These include *tak* 'bring down', *uk* 'withdraw', *tok* 'put', *talok* 'lean', *tuk* 'reach'. A large group of verbs alternate /ŋ/~/n/ such as *lang* 'wash' in (c). These include *tukong* 'cut', *tàng* 'release', *mong* 'die', *pung* 'grab', *feng* 'injure, kill', *paneng* 'make', *bang* 'carry on shoulder', *meng* 'wear', *marang* 'come up', *iéng* 'see', *mang* 'bear, possess', *pang* 'feel', *rang* 'be turned towards', *reng* 'turn towards', *ong* 'make', *akung* 'be dark'. Many verbs alternate /l/~/r/ such as *bel* 'pull' in (d). They include verbs as *kul* 'throw', *tul* 'scoop', *nal* 'make like this', *nil* 'already like this', *mal* 'prepare food', *kol* 'bind, trick', *-uol* 'strike'. These alternations correlate with the alternation of the generic verbs *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach'. None of these alternations is really productive in the sense that loan items are not affected by it. In (43), the remaining verb stems belonging to the first type are given. For the stem *yaa* 'go' the final consonant /r/ is added. For the bound stem *nate* 'stand up' the consonant /t/ is attached to the stem. For the stems *takai* 'steal' and *koi* 'cut down' the final /j/ is alternated with /f/, while for the stem *baai* the final /j/ alternates with /b/.

(43) a. *yaa* ~ *yaar* (type II.e)
go go.CPL

b. *nate-a* ~ *natet* (type II.e)
stand.up-DUR stand.up.CPL

c. *takai* ~ *takaf* (type II.f)
steal steal.CPL

d. *koi* ~ *kof* (type II.f)
cut.down cut.down.CPL

e. *baai* ~ *baab* (type II.f)
strike strike.CPL

The second type of stem alternation in (41) affects the final rime of a verb stem. The alternation /ɑ/~/ɪ/ is frequent. As illustrated in (44), the alternated final vowels

match the regular pattern of aspectual inflection with aspectual suffixes (see section 3.5.4, and 6.1.1). Two analyses are possible:

(44) a. *fanga* ~ *fangi* (type III.a)
say.CNT say.CPL

b. *fang-a* ~ *fang-i*
say-DUR say-PFV

In (44), the verb stem can be either analysed as alternating or as having a stem that obligatorily combines with an aspectual suffix. This alternation is quite productive and it is found with many other verbs such as *tanga* 'speak', *ananra* 'tell', *aisa* 'urinate', *muila* 'play', *yengra* 'be how many', *falakda* 'get bright', *kanra* 'finish', *arida* 'appear', *kawaisa* 'be rich', *tihaida* 'get heavy', *naida* 'get lost'. In my analysis the alternating stems such as *tanga* 'speak', *fanga* 'say', *ananra* 'tell', *aisa* 'urinate' are analysed as alternating according to type (a) in (44). They alternate the continuative (CNT) and completive (CPL) verb stem. There are no free stems such as **fang* 'say' or **tang* 'speak'. However, instances of complex verb stems such as *ari-d-a* 'become appearing' are analyzed differently. This is illustrated in (45), where the complex stem *ari-d-a* consists of the root *ari* 'appear' and the bound root *d* 'hold' combined with the obligatory durative suffix *-a* (DUR) that alternates with the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). For more details about this property of complex verb stems see section 7.1.3.

(45) *ari-d-a* ~ *ari-d-i* (type III.a)
appear-hold-DUR appear-hold-PFV
'become appearing' 'became appearing'

The remaining alternations of the second type are limited to a relatively small number of frequently occurring verbs. Verb stems given in (46) share only the onset consonant. They alternate the continuative (CNT) or inceptive (ICP) verb stem with the completive (CPL) stem.

(46)

a.	*me* come	~	*miei* come.CPL	(type III.b)
b.	*pa* go.down	~	*piei* go.down.CPL	(type III.c)
c.	*taa* lie.CNT	~	*tadei* lie.CPL	(type III.c)
d.	*kai* drop	~	*kaai* drop.CPL	(type III.d)
e.	*tilei* hang.ICP	~	*tili* hang.CPL	(type III.e)
f.	*sui* scoop.ICP	~	*si* scoop.CPL	(type III.f)

A small group of verb alternates the final two vowels such as *takei* 'bite' in (47), *yei*/*yai* 'laugh' or *firei* 'run':

(47)

takei bite.ICP	~	*takai* bite.CPL	(type III.g)

The verbs 'come down' and 'go up' given in (48) have three different forms indicating inceptive, completive and continuative aspect.

(48)

a.	*siei* come.down.ICP	~	*saai* come.down.CPL	~	*sei* come.down.CNT (type III.h)
b.	*marei* go.up.ICP	~	*mari* go.up.CPL	~	*mara* go.up.CNT (type III.h)

As illustrated in examples above, neither a simple phonotactic rule nor a number of suffixes can predict the shape of the alternating stems. However, a number of observations can be made in respect of the form of the alternating stems: continuative stems mostly end in /a/; verb stems that end in a consonant alternate the final consonant only. It may be concluded that the stem alternation morphology is no longer productive.

3.4.3 Syntactic properties

Only verbs can occur as heads of verb phrases (VPs). In a verb phrase, verbs combine with one or two U arguments that are expressed with pronominal prefixes. In a clause, a VP may combine with arguments expressed as NPs and/or free pronouns. As discussed in section 6.1.2, it often proves difficult to try to determine the valence of Abui verbs. A number of constructions in which verbs occur are listed in (49).

(49) Verb construction types

A U transitive constructions	(actor and undergoer argument)
U-U transitive constructions	(two undergoer arguments)
A intransitive constructions	(actor argument)
U intransitive constructions	(undergoer argument)
Experiencer constructions	(two coreferential arguments)

Abui verbs are 'labile'; this means that they may occur in more than one of the constructions listed in (49). For more details see section 6.2.1.

3.4.4 Open verb classes

I divide the Abui verb inventory into a number of semantic classes. The members of each class share some distributional properties with respect to the verb construction types listed in (49). These properties are further discussed in 6.2.2-6.2.5 where each of the described verbal constructions is constrained as for which verbs may occur in it. As by any semantic classification, the borders of classes are fuzzy. For instance, the verb *sei* 'come down' occurs typically in an intransitive construction as a motion verb. However, it may also occur in A-U transitive constructions to express locomotion (the inanimate moved object is realized as the U argument). I distinguish eight 'open' verb classes, as listed in (50).

(50) Open verb classes

i.	motion verbs	(section 3.4.4.1)
ii.	locomotion verbs	(section 3.4.4.2)
iii.	impact verbs	(section 3.4.4.3)
iv.	posture verbs	(section 3.4.4.4)
v.	utterance verbs	(section 3.4.4.5)
vi.	perception and experience verbs	(section 3.4.4.6)
vii.	bodily process verbs	(section 3.4.4.7)
viii.	stative verbs	(section 3.4.4.8)

3.4.4.1 Motion verbs

Motion verbs refer to events where the participant moves through space. I divide Abui motion verbs into three groups depending on the type of construction in which the verbs are used. The motion verbs listed in (51) typically occur in the A intransitive construction (for examples see 6.2.4.1).

(51)	*sei*	'come down'	*pa*	'go down'
	marang	'come up'	*marei*	'go up'
	me	'come'	*we*	'leave'
	yaa	'go'	*làk*	'leave for'
	firei/furei	'run'	*lol*	'wander'
	li	'fly'	*ayong*	'swim'
	taki	'flee'	*balei*	'surround'
	lai	'spread around'	*afai*	'swarm'

The motion verbs listed in (52) typically occur in U intransitive constructions discussed and exemplified in 6.2.4.2 and 6.2.4.5. The hyphen preceding some of the verbs indicates that they take an obligatory pronominal prefix. The verb *-yei* 'fall' has a defect paradigm which is exemplified in section 6.1.2.2, examples (77)-(81).

(52)	*-yei*	'fall'	*-kai*	'drop, fall'
	tabel	'slide'	*tek*	'slide down'

The motion verbs listed in (53) typically occur in A-U transitive construction (see 6.2.2).

(53)	*-ril*	'climb, get up to'	*-luol*	'gain, follow'
	-pakda	'jump away'	*-tuokda*	'jump, throw'

Some of the motion verbs are oriented in space. They refer to a motion either towards or away from the speaker or deictic centre (DC). This distinction applies only to a subset of the verbs given in (51)-(53). The relevant verbs are repeated in (54). The left-hand column contains the verb expressing motion towards the speaker or DC. The verbs expressing motion away from the speaker or DC are given in the right-hand column.

	TOWARD SPEAKER/DEICTIC CENTRE		AWAY FROM SPEAKER/DEICTIC CENTRE	
(54)	*sei*	'come down'	*pa*	'go down'
	marang	'come up'	*marei*	'go up'
	me	'come'	*we*	'leave'
	làk	'leave for (DC)'	*we*	'leave'
	-kai	'fall (towards speaker, DC)'	*-yei*	'fall (off, away from DC)'

The distinction is illustrated in (55), where the verbs *marang* 'come up' and *mara* 'go up' are contrasted. Note also the distinction between the final verbs *pa* 'go down' and *sei* 'come down'.

(55) a. *ne-feela, a marang daweng mi=se pa!*
1SG.AL-friend, 2SG come.up.ICP medicine take=INCP.I go.down.CNT
'friend, come up (to me) and after you take the medicine go down!' [B04.067.01]

b. *ne-feela, a mara pi-bataako tahai sei!*
1SG.AL-friend 2SG go.up.CNT 1PL.I.AL-cassava search come.down.CNT
'friend, you go up to look for our cassavas (and bring them) down!' [B02.174.00:12]

The motion verbs such as *li* 'fly' do not show spatial orientation but refer to the manner of motion; other verbs, such as *-luol* 'follow, gain', indicate also the path of motion.

3.4.4.2 Locomotion verbs

Locomotion verbs refer to events during which one participant moves another participant through space along a certain trajectory. A number of locomotion verb are given in (56).

(56)

wok	'throw'	*rayak*	'yank out'
-kil	'detach'	*-wai*	'turn'
imal	'turn around'	*-yok*	'lift up, cover'
bang	'carry on shoulder'	*wik*	'carry in arms'
-wak	'bring together, embrace'	*wal*	'gather, augment'
mok	'put together'	*mi*	'take'
ì	'put'	*-tàng*	'release'
pung	'grab'	*tok*	'drop'
tak	'bring on, shoot'	*tal*	'pour on'
bel	'pull'	*-fik*	'pull out'
meng	'wear'	*-liel*	'lift'
mihi	'put down'	*telang*	'pull at'
takai	'steal'	*uk*	'withdraw, remove'
-loi	'put far'	*ting*	'roll'

Locomotion verbs typically occur in A-U transitive constructions (see 6.2.2). Similarly to motion verbs, locomotion verbs may be oriented with respect to the speaker/deictic centre as illustrated in (57). The left-hand column contains verb expressing locomotion

towards the speaker or DC. The right-hand column contains verbs expressing locomotion away from the speaker or DC:

	TOWARD SPEAKER/DEICTIC CENTRE		AWAY FROM SPEAKER/DEICTIC CENTRE	
(57)	*bel*	'pull up, pluck'	*fik*	'pull away'
	kul	'throw'	*wok*	'throw away'
	wal	'gather, augment'	*wak*	'embrace'
	tal	'drop on'	*tak*	'bring on,shoot'

Note that the locomotion verbs oriented towards the speaker or DC end in /l/, while the locomotion verbs directed away from the speaker or DC (towards a goal) end in /k/. In (58), the verbs *ber* 'pull' and *fik* 'pull away' are contrasted.

(58) a. *di* *bataa* *ber-i*
3A wood pull.CPL-PFV
'he pulled up a tree' [B07.034.01]

b. *di* *bataa* *do* *ha-fik-i*
3A wood PRX 3II.PAT-pull.away-PFV
'he pulled away the tree' [B07.040.04]

3.4.4.3 Impact verbs

Impact verbs describe events during which one participant moves with respect to the other participant, the motion results in an impact. A number of impact verbs are listed in (59).

(59)	*bol*	'hit'	*batek*	'hit'
	baai	'strike, grind'	*balasa*	'beat'
	tapei	'pound, grind'	*tukong*	'cut'
	tadi	'mince, cut in bits'	*lai*	'slice, cut'
	fiek	'tear'	*-kol*	'bind'
	-lák	'break down, destroy'	*fak*	'break, break off'
	palel	'strip, pluck down with hand'	*-lak*	'mark'
	bok	'dig, poke, perforate, push in'	*-buk*	'brace, tie, bind away'
	tei	'dig'	*bakol*	'gnaw'
	takei	'bite'	*bahat*	'chisel, screw'
	tinei	'pleat'	*tiol*	'plait'
	kadel	'split'	*pok*	'split, burst'
	dik	'prick, stab'	*lok*	'stab, touch'

tulok	'stab through, stick on'	*-pil*	'tweak'
lek	'mark'	*sik*	'sever'
kek	'prick with pole, prod'	*kok*	'prod'
feng	'injure, kill'	*alei*	'tickle'
luok	'scrub, rub hard'	*-luk*	'rub, sweep off'
lang	'wash'	*paneng*	'make, touch'
namul	'wound'	*kui*	'skin, peel'
kapuk	'sew'	*tak*	'bring down'
-iel	'roast (meat)'	*-ar*	'burn'
rehei	'roast (coffee, corn)'		

Impact verbs typically occur in A-U transitive constructions (see 6.2.2). There are some impact verbs that are oriented with respect to the speaker or DC, as listed in (60).

(60)

TOWARD SPEAKER/DEICTIC CENTRE		AWAY FROM SPEAKER/DEICTIC CENTRE	
tol	'reach'	*tuk*	'stick out'
-kol	'bind up'	*-buk*	'bind away'
bol	'hit'	*batek*	'hit at'
bol	'hit'	*bok*	'dig, poke, perforate, push in'
palel	'strip, pluck down with hand'	*-lák*	'break out, break away'
kadel	'split'	*pok*	'split, splinter'

In (61), I illustrate the contrast between the verbs *-kol* 'bind up' and *-buk* 'bind away'.

(61) a. *maama di bataa ha-kol*
father 3A wood 3IL.PAT-bind
'father binds up the wood'

b. *Fan Malei di kafiei ha-buk-u*
name 3A goat 3IL.PAT-tie-PRF
'Fan Malei tied the goat (away)'

In (62), I illustrate the distinction between the verbs *lák* 'break away, break out' and *palel* 'strip, pluck down with hand'. In (a), the U argument of the verb *lák* 'break away, break out' is a complex NP *fala ba oro nu he-adua* 'the owner of that house over there'. The referent of the U argument has to be 'broken out' of his house that collapsed on him. The verb *lák* 'break away, out' may refer to 'breaking out' of pigs from their bamboo cages. It may also refer to 'breaking away' of houses during natural disasters. In (b) the verb *palel* 'strip, pluck down with hand' is used. It typically refers to breaking of 'fruits' or 'wood' towards the speaker or DC. In the example below it combines with the default 'break' verb *fak* in a serial verb construction:

(62) a. *fala* *ba* *oro* *nu* *he-adua* *ho-lák*
house LNK DST SPC.AD 3II.AL-master 3II.REC-break
'break out the owner of that house (from the collapsed house)! [B06.011.02]

b. *fat* *fak* *palel!*
corn break strip
'pluck the corn (to harvest)!' [B05.014.02]

Note that the morphological correspondence between the final /l/ and motion towards the speaker or DC and /k/ and motion away from the speaker or DC observed in (57) is also found among the impact verbs.

Some impact verbs make distinctions in the manner of impact. The following verbs make distinction whether there was only one impact, or whether it was repetitive:

	SINGLE IMPACT		ITTERATIVE IMPACT	
(63)	*koi*	'cut down (once)'	*tukong*	'cut (repeatedly)'
	bol	'hit'	*balasa*	'beat'
	bok	'dig, poke, perforate, push in'	*tei*	'dig'

The distinction between a single impact and iterative impact is illustrated in (64). The verb *bok* 'dig, poke' is used when the 'digging' is restricted to one movement. When the impact movement is repeated the verb *tei* 'dig' is used instead. This verb is also used to refer to the 'cultivation' of fields, or to the fields themselves, as locations of digging:

	SINGLE IMPACT	ITTERATIVE IMPACT
(64)	a. *di anei bok-u*	b. *pi bataa mi anai tei*
	3A soil dig-PRF	1PL.I wood take soil dig
	'she poked out the soil' [B01.096.00:04]	'we dig the soil with a stick' [B05.040.09]

3.4.4.4 Posture verbs

Posture verbs refer to postures taken by a participant. The posture verbs *taa/tadei* 'lie (animate)', *it* 'lie (inanimate)', *mit* 'sit', *mihi* 'set (inanimate)', *natet* 'stand up', *nati* 'erect, stand', *tili/tilei* 'hang' typically occur in intransitive constructions (see 6.2.4). Some posture verbs prefer an animate participant, while other verbs occur with inanimate participants. This is illustrated in (65), where the verb *nat-i-a* 'stand' can be used only to refer to the upright posture of inanimate participants. The verb *natet* glossed here as 'stand up' refers to the upright posture of animate participants. It may combine with the generic root *d* 'hold' to refer to achieving of the upright posture.

(65) a. *na* *yambuk* *mi* *tai* *nat-i-a*
1SG glass take put.on stand-PFV-DUR
'I took a glass and put it above' [B04.053.01]

b. *na lik tah-a=ng natet-i*
1SG platform put.on.CPL-DUR=see stand.up.CPL-PFV
'I took a stand on the table' [B09.075.02]

c. *di he-n lik tah-a=ng natet-d-i*
3A 3IL.LOC-see.CPL platform put.on.CPL-DUR=see stand.up.CPL-hold-PFV
'he already stood up on the table' [B09.075.02]

The posture verbs such as *palik* 'bend', *luk* 'bend', *afeng* 'stay, dwell', *fahak* 'embrace', *lik* 'lean', *kilai* 'dropped away', *bunui* 'hide' describe the position of two participants with respect to each other. These posture verbs typically occur in transitive constructions (see 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). In (66), the verbs *luk* 'bend' and *bunui* 'hide' are given.

(66) a. *wil neng di de-toku ha-luk-u mit-d-i*
child man 3A 3I.AL-leg 3IL.PAT-bend-PRF sit-hold-PFV
'the son kneeled down' [B06.057.MPI077BR]

b. *ah, e-d-e e-fu do mi n-ièng bunui-a!*
oh 2SG.LOC-hold-IPFV 2SG.AL-betel.nut PRX take 1SG.INAL-eye hide-DUR
'ah, you hid your betelnut from me!' [B02.067.01:33]

The verb *luk* 'bend' occurs in an A-U_{PAT} transitive construction while the verb *bunui* 'hide' is occurs in a U-U transitive construction combining with the NPs *efu do* 'your betelnut' and *nièng* 'my eyes'.

3.4.4.5 Utterance verbs

Utterance verbs refer to different types of communicative acts. They are verbs such as *fanga* 'say', *tanga* 'speak', *ananra* 'tell', *ne* 'call', *tahang* 'ask', *moi* 'sound, answer'. Utterance verbs typically occur in A-U_{LOC} transitive constructions (see 6.2.2.2). In (67), the verbs *fanga* 'say' and *tahang* 'ask' are illustrated.

(67) a. *na nala he-fanga*
1SG what 3IL.LOC-say
'I say something'

b. *moku di ama he-tahang*
kid 3A person 3IL.LOC-ask
'the child asks people'

However, some of the verbs such as *fanga* 'say' may occur also in other types of constructions as illustrated in 5.5. The second type of utterance verbs expresses the manner, in which the utterance is performed. These are verbs such as *kawai* 'argue', *tafayak* 'chat, lie', *kalol* 'foretell'. They typically occur in A intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.1), as illustrated in (68).

(68) a. *maama kalol*
father foretell
'father is telling fortune'

b. *kalieta loku kawai*
old.person PL argue
'old people are arguing'

3.4.4.6 Verbs of perception, cognition and experience

Perception and experience verbs refer to different types of perception, cognitive processes and describe emotions. A number of such verbs are listed in (69).

(69)				
	faaling	'listen'	*maha*	'perceive, notice, note'
	wahai	'look'	*-iéng*	'see'
	-muna	'love, care'	*-munang*	'smell, kiss'
	pang	'feel (emotion), think'	*piela*	'dream'
	-minang	'remember'	*-yongfa*	'forget'
	mielang	'fear'	*marakda*	'get alarmed'
	pari	'touch, fumble'	*paneng*	'make, touch'
	tahai	'search'	*tirei*	'search through, inspect'
	tumal	'spy'		

These verbs occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions as illustrated in (70). In (a), the verb *mahi* 'perceive' occurs in an A-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction (6.2.2.2); in (b), the verb *mahi* 'perceive' occurs in an A intransitive construction (6.2.4.1).

(70) a. *na* *he-tanga* *he-mahi=se*
1SG 3II.AL-speech 3II.LOC-perceive.CPL=INCP.I
'I am about to hear his speech' [B10.046.02]

b. *na* *he-l* *bol* *haba* *di* *mahi-a* *naha*
1SG 3II.LOC-give hit but 3A perceive.CPL-DUR NEG
'I beat him but he does not listen (obey)' [B05.075.02]

The verbs *minang* 'remember' and *yongfa* 'forget' typically occur in experiencer constructions (6.2.5.5). In (71), the use of the verb *yongfi* 'forget' is illustrated.

(71) *Fan Malei* *Simon* *he-da-yongfi*
name name 3II.LOC-3I.PAT-forget.CPL
'Fan Malei forgot about Simon'

3.4.4.7 Verbs of bodily processes and activities

Bodily process verbs refer to processes that occur or involve bodies of animate participants. The verbs of bodily processes and activities are a heterogeneous group with respect to constructions, in which they may occur. The verbs listed in (72) typically occur in A U transitive constructions.

(72)	*nee*	'eat'	*buuk*	'consume, drink, smoke'
	-ful	'swallow'	*akuk*	'close eyes'

In (73) the use of the verbs *akuk* 'close one's eyes' and *buuk* 'drink' is exemplified.

(73) a. *na n-ièng akuk-e*
1SG 1SG.INAL-eye close-IPFV
'I close my eyes'

b. *ama ya lielra buuk*
person water be.crazy consume
'people drink alcohol'

The verbs listed in (74) typically occur in A intransitive constructions.

(74)	*iek*	'defecate'	*aisa*	'urinate'
	ak	'open mouth'	*puina*	'spit'
	tanel	'weep'	*enra*	'cry'
	fuk	'fart'	*inra*	'faint'

In (75) the verbs *enra* 'cry' and *aisa* 'urinate' are exemplified.

(75) a. *Fan Malei enra*
name cry.CNT
'Fan Malei cries'

b. *pi yaa aisi=te*
1PL.I go urinate.CPL=INCP.C
'we are about to go pee'

The verbs given in (76) may occur in both A and U intransitive constructions (see also 6.2.4).

(76)	*rowa*	'live'	*mong*	'die'
	dik-dikda	'jerk'	*parai*	'tingle'

In (77) the verbs *parai* 'tingle' and *dik-dikda* 'jerk' occur in U intransitive constructions. In both cases the NP expressing the argument cannot be followed by the free pronoun *di* (3A).

(77) a. *ne-toku parai*
1SG.AL-leg tingle
'my leg is tingling'

b. *na-pong he-dik-dikda*
1SG.INAL-face 3II.LOC-jerk.CNT
'I am nervous' lit.: '(it) is jerking my face'

Finally, the verbs given in (78) occur in A≡U_{PAT} experiencer constructions. For examples see section 6.2.5.2.

(78)	*-lal*	'laugh'	*-rui-d-a*	'wake up, get up'

3.4.4.8 Stative verbs

Stative verbs refer to states or properties of participants. A number of stative verbs are listed in (79).

(79)

foka	'be big'	*kiding*	'be small'
peka	'be near'	*buoka*	'be far, remote'
ahiling	'be broad'	*karia*	'be narrow'
kupil	'be round'	*paliking*	'be crooked'
daliela	'be high'	*lohu*	'be long'
bui	'be short'	*lunga*	'be long lasting'
fui	'be flat'	*roka*	'be deep'
tukoi	'be strong'	*kilikil*	'be weak, lazy'
kira	'be hard'	*lupa-lupa*	'be soft'
rul	'be slippery'	*kaala*	'be fine grained'
abik	'be quick'	*aleka*	'be quick'
fir	'be quick'	*fala-fala*	'be slow'
takata	'be dry'	*yoka*	'be wet'
lila	'be hot'	*palata*	'be cold'
masupa	'be bitter'	*ralowang*	'be sweet'
alina	'be rotten'	*meli*	'be tasty'
ma	'be ripe'	*kowa*	'be raw'
kang	'be good'	*beka*	'be bad'
salimang	'be dangerous'	*malai*	'be dead, killed'
diei	'be hot, angry, heat up'	*aliking*	'be frowning'
rofi	'be right, correct'	*mahapang*	'be stupid'
fing	'be eldest'	*fila*	'be young'
makiila	'be old'	*tifa*	'be new'
tola	'be adult'	*palaka*	'be naughty'
afung	'be pregnant'	*kofa*	'be barren, sterile'
towa	'be even'	*kala*	'be odd, widowed'

maku	'be silent (person)'	*rama*	'be quiet'
afenga	'be other'	*masena*	'be nice'
falaka	'be bright'	*akun*	'be dark'
kika	'be red'	*walangai*	'be blue, green'

Morphologically, stative verbs can be divided into two subgroups. The members of the first subgroup do not contain the final generic root *a* 'be at'. The members of the second subgroup end in the vowel /a/. They are morphologically complex, consisting of two bound roots. Roots expressing states or properties are bound. Unlike adjectives, they may only be used as adnominal modifier with the generic root *a* 'be at'. As illustrated in (80), the bound roots *fok-* 'big' and *lil-* 'hot' obligatorily combine with another bound root, belonging to the generic verb class.

(80)

fok-a	'be big'	*lil-a*	'be hot'
big-be.at		hot-be.at	

Semantically, the set of stative verbs that obligatorily contains the generic verb *a* 'be at' refers to properties such as size (big, small), colour (red, blue/green, bright), position (near, far, high, deep), material density (fine-grained, soft), material condition (hot/cold). However, the verbal roots given in (80) that combine with *a* 'be at' to refer to states may also combine with other generic roots, such as *d* 'hold', or *r* 'reach' derive other types of verbs as illustrated in (81), for more details see 7.2.1.

(81)

fok-d-i	'get big, grow up, increase'	*lil-r-i*	'heat up'
big-hold-PFV		hot-reach-PFV	

The class of stative verb is identified by its unique syntactic properties. Stative verbs are found as heads in VPs and as adnominal modifiers in NPs. Stative verbs overlap in their adnominal modifier function with adjectives (see 3.5.1). In (82), the use of the stative verbs *lila* 'be hot' and *fing* 'be eldest' is contrasted. In (a), it is used in a noun phrase. In (b), the verb *lila* 'be hot' is the head of a VP combining with an argument realized with the NP *ya do* 'this water'. In (c), *lila* 'be hot' combines with a U argument, expressed with the prefix from set II *no-* (1SG.REC). Analogically, in (d) the verb *fing* 'be eldest' serves as the adnominal modifier in the NP headed by *moku* 'kid'. In (e), *fing* predicates over the NP *moku do* 'the kid'. Finally, in (f), *fing* combines with the set II prefix *do-* (3I.REC).

(82) a. [*tipai* *lila* *do*]$_{NP}$
iron be.hot PRX
'this hot (piece of) iron'

b. [*ya* *do*]$_{NP}$ *lila*
water PRX be.hot
'this (glass of) water is hot'

c. *no-lila*
1SG.REC-be.hot
'I feel hot'

d. [*moku* *fing* *do*]$_{NP}$
kid be.eldest PRX
'this oldest child'

e. [*moku* *do*]$_{NP}$ *fing*
kid PRX be.eldest
'the child is eldest'

f. *do-fing*
3I.REC-be.eldest
'he is eldest'

In contrast to other verbs, stative verbs do not require to be linked with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) to the head noun.

(83) a. [*fala* *peka* *do*]$_{NP}$
house be.near PRX
'the house nearby'

b. [*fala* *do*]$_{NP}$ *peka*
house PRX be.near
'this house is nearby'

c. [*fala*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*fak-i*}$_{RC}$
house LNK break-PFV
'a broken house'

d. [*fala* *do*]$_{NP}$ *fak-i*
house PRX break-PFV
'the house broke down'

3.4.5 Closed verb classes

This section describes closed verb classes. They are modal verbs (3.4.5.1), generic verbs (3.4.5.2), deictic verbs (3.4.5.3), positional verbs (3.4.5.4), quantifier verbs (3.4.5.5), and index verbs (see 3.4.5.6).

3.4.5.1 Modal verbs

Modal verb express the mood in which the event is performed. There are two modal verbs in Abui: *kul* 'must', and *kaleng* 'avoid, not want'. These verbs occur typically in serial verb construction combined with other verbs (see 8.3.4 and 8.4.7). The verb *kul* 'must' precedes the other verb, the verb *kaleng* 'avoid' follows it.

(84) a. *di* *kul* *me*
3A must come
'he must come'

b. *Arjun* *do-làk* *do-kaleng*
name 3I.REC-leave.for 3I.REC-avoid
'Arjun does not want to go back'

As illustrated in (84), the modal verb *kul* 'must' combines typically with an A argument. The verb *kaleng* 'avoid' combines with a U argument that is expressed with the set II (REC) pronominal prefix. The stative verbs *kang* 'be good', and *beka* 'be bad', are used to express other types of modality (see 8.3.4 and 8.4.7).

3.4.5.2 Generic verbs

Abui has a set of eighteen generic verbs. Generic verbs are verbs with a non-specific, general semantics, whose interpretation is often contextually dependent. Morphologically, generic verbs are characterized as mono-segmental bound roots. The root *ì* 'put' is the only free root, other roots are bound. They occur only in combination with pronominal prefixes and/or aspectual suffixes.

In the table below, the inventory of Abui generic verb class is given. The phonological form is given in the left-hand column, the orthographic representation in the second column, the used gloss in the third column. The right-hand column gives a number of possible interpretations that generic verbs may have in context. Note that Abui generic roots are divided into two subsets, according to their valence properties. The [±transitive] roots are given in the upper part of the table; the [−transitive] roots are given in the lower part of the table. The [±transitive] roots are either consonants or [+high] vowels. The [−transitive] roots are [−high] vowels.

Table 13: Abui generic root inventory

a. ±TRANSITIVE GENERIC VERBS

[b]	*b*	join	join, together, hit, attach closely, absorb
[d]	*d*	hold	hold, get, control, become
[f]	*f*	sever	sever, hide, loose, be lost, be unknown
[h]	*h*	lack	lack, be elsewhere, be out, not be here
[k]	*k*	bring	bring, receive(d), pass, feed on, move in
[l],	*l*	give	give, make, affect
[r]	*r*	reach	reach, affect, fix
[m]	*m*	be.in/take	take, be with, be aside
[ŋ]/[n]	*ng*/*n*	see/see.CPL	see, perceive, apply on
[p]	*p*	touch	touch, be near, approach, move downwards
[t]/[s]	*t*/*s*	lie/lie.ICP	lie/ lay, sit, be on, touch surface
[ɪ]/[ɪ̀]	*i*/*ì*/*y*	put	put, lay down, stop, finish
[u]	*u*	leave	leave, be remote, demote, get away, be gone

b. – TRANSITIVE GENERIC VERBS

[ɑ]	*a*	be.at	be at, exist, last
[ɛ]	*e*	move	move, continue, add value
[ɔ]	*o*	point	point, limit
PHONEME	SPELLING	GLOSS	MEANING

Note that some roots are grouped together, and are analyzed as alternating roots. These roots share the same semantic core and have a similar place of articulation. They can be phonologically characterized as alveodental liquids (*l*, *r*), non-labial nasals (*n*, *ng*), and unvoiced alveodental obstruents (*t*, *s*). The alternation reflects the internal temporal structure of the referred event (inner aspect, Aktionsart). An event referred to with the single semantic core is viewed either as having an endpoint (completive), or an initial

point (inceptive).[8] In (85) the alternation of the generic verbs *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach' is illustrated.

(85) a. *ya kabei mi ne-l-e!*
water little take 1SG.LOC-give-IPFV
'give me some water!' [B07.041.02]

b. *Fani sura nu mi ne-r-i*
name book SPC.AD take 1SG.LOC-reach-PFV
'Fani gave me a certain book, books'

Generic roots have a number of grammatical functions in Abui. Their first function is that of a predicate in a monoverbal clause. This is illustrated in (86), where the generic root *ì* 'put' is used as the main predicate of the clause *bataa do ì* 'the wood is put (down)'.

(86) *di yaar-i ya bataa do ì di he-wahai yo*
3A go.CPL-PFV SEQ wood PRX put 3A 3II.LOC-look MD.AD
'he went and looked at the wood (that was) put there' [B02.057.22:55]

The generic roots combine with pronominal prefixes and aspectual suffixes, as other verbal roots. This is illustrated in (87), where the root *ì* 'put' combines with the prefix *no-* (1SG.REC) and with durative suffix *-a* (DUR). It shares the A argument *ama ba nala kapuk adua* 'tailor' with the verb *mi* 'take' in the first clause.

(87) *ama ba nala kapuk adua namang mi ba no-ì-a*
person LNK what sew master cloth take LNK 1SG.REC-put-DUR
'the tailor took the clothes and measured them on me' [B10.051.06]

The generic roots occur frequently in serial verb constructions. An example of the root *ì* 'put' used in a serial verb construction is given in (88). It is serialized with three verbs. The first one is the verb *mi* 'take' that combines with the U argument *sura* 'book'. The second one is the position verb *tai/tah-* 'put on', which combines with the U argument *meja* 'table'. The third one is the generic root *ng* 'see' that encodes the direction towards the table.

(88) *di sura nu mi meja tah-a=ng ì*
3A book some take table put.on.CPL-DUR=see put
'he put the book on the table' [B07.034.06]

[8] The glosses of the generic roots *l*/*r* and *ng*/*n* stresses the distinction [±completive], while the gloss of *s*/*t* stresses the distinction [±inceptive]. The glossing is somewhat misleading because it does not specify the aspectual properties of the [−completive] and [−inceptive] roots. In fact, the roots *t*/*s* can be glossed as *s* 'lie down' and *t* 'lie down.CPL' to match the alternation [±completive] used for the roots *l*/*r* and *ng*/*n*. I decided not to use these glosses because they are too large to gloss a monosegmental root.

In serial verb constructions, the generic roots often serve to realize and mark certain types of participants such as benefactives, recipients, or instruments. In (89), the root *ì* 'put' is serialized with the motion verb *we* 'leave'. Consider the situation where the speaker is about to leave because it is getting late and he should have left before. In those cases the construction given below can be used. The speaker refers to the necessity of his departure. It is encoded as 'put' on him that he should leave. In such a case, the root *ì* 'put' has a modal reading.

(89) *ne-ì* *we*
1SG.LOC-put leave
'I have to leave' [B05.045.04]

Serial verb constructions with generic roots such as those in (88) and (89) are discussed in detail in chapter 8, in particular in section 8.4.2.

Evidence of the verbhood of the generic verb *a* 'be at' is provided in (90). The verb a 'be at' combines with the distributive prefix *to-* (DISTR.REC) and is serialized with the verb *mit-i* 'sit'.

(90) *he-ya* *he-maama* *nu* *to-a* *mit-i*
3II.AL-mother 3II.AL-father SPC.AD DISTR.REC-be.at sit-PFV
'her parents are still alive', lit.: 'her mother and father, they sit together' [B01.083.02:57]

The generic verb *a* 'be at' is related to the durative suffix *-a* (DUR) and derives many stative verbs from bound verbal roots (see 7.2.1).

The generic verb *d* 'hold' can be used as a single predicate as in (91). The verb *d* 'hold, get', or here 'acquire', combines with the perfect suffix *-u* (PRF).

(91) *afe* *tura-tara,* *kawen* *dara* *ha-d-u* *naha,* *mai* *hu* *ama*
pass long.time.ago machete still 3II.PAT-hold-PRF NEG bamboo SPC person
'long time ago, when (they) still did not have machetes, people used bamboo'

mi *mahiting* *tadi-a*
take meat cut-DUR
'to cut the meat with' [B07.070.01]

Another example is given in (92), where a number of functions of the generic verb *d* 'hold' are illustrated. It may derive new verbs from existing verbs, such as *tilak* 'hang up' or *kira* 'hard'. Or it may occur serialized with other verbs. In both cases it requires aspectual inflection, to satisfy phonological constrains.

(92) *tilak-d-i* *ba* *d-i,* *ha-fik-i* *ba* *d-i-a*
hang.up-hold-PFV LNK hold-PFV 3II.PAT-pull.away-PFV LNK hold-PFV-DUR

he-kira-d-i=se
3II.LOC-hard-hold-PFV=INCP.I
'hold it (bow) vertically, and pull it holding until it is very tight' [B07.081.00:23]

Serial verb constructions with the generic verb *d* 'hold, become' are discussed in section 8.4.2.2. In (92)-(93), the verb *d* 'hold' occurs in complex verbs that are discussed in detail in section 7.2. In (93), the verb *d* 'hold' combines with the root *kik* 'red'.

(93) *na-kik-d-i*
1SG.PAT-red-hold-PFV
'I blushed', lit.: 'I became red' [B05.064.08]

The generic verb *h* 'lack' is illustrated in (94). The verb *h* 'lack, take away' combines with other two verbs in serial verb construction.

(94) *di batamal sua mi=ng ha-h-i*
3A papaya three take=see 3II.PAT-lack-PFV
'he took (away) three more papaya's' [B07.054.01]

In (95), the generic verb *b* 'join' occurs as a single predicate in a transitive construction. It refers to leaning of the ladder to the door of the house. Abui houses are built on poles and in order to enter a house, one has to use a ladder.

(95) *di awering do ha-b-i ya mara*
3A ladder PRX 3II.PAT-join-PFV SEQ go.up.CNT
'he leaned the ladder (against the house) and went up' [B02.162.02:07]

The generic verb *k* 'bring' is used as a single predicate in (96). It refers to bringing of food for animals. The U argument of the verb is the noun *fe* 'pig' which is co-indexed with the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT). The A argument *na* (1SG) is shared.

(96) *na alot mi fe ha-k*
1SG fodder take pig 3II.PAT-bring
'I feed the pigs' [B06.025.05]

Generic verbs combine with other roots to derive complex verbs (CVs). A simple example is given in (97), where the generic roots *ì* 'put' and *r* 'reach' derive complex verbs from the adjective root *kul* 'white' (see 3.5.1).

(97) *kul-i-* 'be white' *kul-r-* 'whiten'
white-put white-reach

For more information about the derivation of complex verbs, see 7.1.3.

3.4.5.3 Deictic verbs

Deictic verbs point to locations. There are five monosylabic deictic stems that are identified as verbs, because they may combine with aspectual inflection. The aspectual suffix *-i* (PFV) identifies the form *ma* 'be.PRX' in (98) as a verb. The verb *ma* 'be.PRX'

occurs in serial verb construction with the verb *-rik* 'hurt, be ill'. It indicates that the event expressed by the verb *-rik* 'hurt, be ill' indeed occurred. It is followed by an intonational break marked here with a comma. Together with the first clause it serves as a complement of the verb *uk-d-a* and it is co-indexed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC).

(98) {*a* *pet* *ha-fik-e*}clause *ya* {*a-rik* *ma-i,* }clause {*no-mi*
2SG bow 3II.PAT-pull.out-IPFV SEQ 2SG.PAT-hurt be.PRX-PFV 1SG.REC-be.in

he-uk-d-a}clause
3II.LOC-withdraw-hold-DUR
'it surprises me that you are pulling the bow and (it) already hurts you' [B09.004.04:03]

However, deictic verbs mostly occur in serial verb constructions, and only in few cases they are inflected for aspect or person. This makes them very adverb-like elements, also due to their semantics.

The deictic verbs point to locations with respect to the speech participants. In this respect, they are closely related to demonstratives discussed in 3.5.2. The reference points anchoring the deictic centre are located in speech participants. For SPEAKER BASED DEICTIC VERBS, as the name suggests, the reference point of the deictic centre is based at the speaker. For ADDRESSEE BASED DEICTIC VERBS, the reference point of the deictic centre is based at the addressee. Once the deictic centre is established a three-way distinction can be made along the contrast PROXIMAL/MEDIAL/DISTAL. For the distal locations, the distinction between the speaker based and addressee based deictic verbs is not relevant. An overview of the deictic verbs is given in (99):

	SPEAKER-BASED	ADDRESSEE-BASED
(99)	a. *ma* be.PRX 'be with me/DC'	b. *ta* be.PRX.AD 'be with you'
	c. *la* be.MD 'be further from me/DC'	d. *fa* be.MD.AD 'be further from you'
	e. *ya* be.DST 'be far from me/you/DC'	

The deictic verbs *ma* 'be.PRX' and *ta* 'be.PRX.AD' in (99) express proximity to the deictic centre, located at one of the speech participants. Both verbs can be translated as 'be here' but the interpretation of 'here' depends on the location of the deictic centre at the speaker or at the addressee. The deictic verbs *la* 'be.MD' and *fa* 'be.MD.AD' express a medial distance from the deictic centre, located at the speaker or addressee. The deictic verb *ya* 'be.DST' expresses remoteness and distance from the deictic centre.

Deictic verbs always occur in intransitive constructions. In most cases, they combine with other verbs in serial verb constructions. They serve as minor verbs expressing the location (or modality) of the referred event. This is illustrated in (100), in

a situation where the speaker inquires whether the addressee intends to stay the night in the harbour or come back to the village. The verb *la* 'be.MD' refers to the location of 'sleeping', which is in the 'harbour', that is less proximate to the speech participants at the moment of speaking.

(100) *a* *la* *taa* *re* *a-wai?*
2SG be.MD lie or 2SG.PAT-turn
'will you sleep there or come back?' [B04.009.02]

In (101), the deictic verbs *ta* 'be.PRX.AD', *la* 'be.MD', and *fa* 'be.MD.AD' are contrasted in a similar serial construction. Each of the deictic verbs is serialized with the verb *sei* 'come down'. It indicates the position of the speech participant:

(101) a. *anui* *ta* *sei?*
rain be.PRX.AD come.down.CNT
'is it raining (where you are)?'

b. *anui* *la* *sei*
rain be.MD come.down.CNT
'it is continuously raining'

c. *anui* *fa* *sei*
rain be.MD.AD come.down.CNT
'it is actually raining (you don't know yet)' [B05.082.02]

For more details about the use of deictic verbs in serial verb constructions, see 8.4.4.

3.4.5.4 Positional verbs

Positional verbs are items that express the position of two participants in a similar way as prepositions/postpositions in other languages. In Abui, these items are identified as verbs by two properties: (i) they may combine with one or two pronominal prefixes, and (ii) they display stem alternation. An overview of positional verbs is given in (102).

	NON-COMPLETIVE		COMPLETIVE
(102)	*tai*	'put on'	*tah-*
	put.on		put.on.CPL
	mai	'put in'	*mah-*
	put.in		put.in.CPL
	hanai	'put between'	*hanah-*
	put.between		put.between.CPL
	nahang	'be everywhere'	
	be.everywhere		

The first verbal property of the positional verbs, discussed above, is illustrated in (103). The positional verb *hanai/hanah-* 'put between' combines with two pronominal prefixes to co-index its two U arguments.

(103) *wil* *mayol* *nuku* *lik* *ya* *kadera*
child woman one platform SEQ chair

he-to-hanah-a=ng *natet-d-i*
3II.LOC-DISTR.REC-put.between.CPL-DUR=see stand.up.CPL-hold-PFV
'a girl stood up between the table and the chair' [B06.072.MPI147ET]

The second verbal property of the position verbs is stem alternation. In (104), the alternating non-completive stem *hanai* 'put between' is given.

(104) *di* *futing* *hanai* *bek-bek-d-i=te* *hu,* *de-mui-l-a*
3A yard put.between RED[bad]-hold-PFV=INCP.C SPC 3I.LOC-game-give-DUR

he-yaar-i
3II.LOC-go.CPL-PFV [B05.039.06]
'after he made it bad (caused fights and conflicts) between the houses he went to play'

In (105) the verb *tai/tah-a* 'put on' alternates depending whether the position is already reached or not.

(105) a. *na* *tai* *na-kul*
1SG put.on 1SG.PAT-throw
'I jump above' [B05.085.05]

b. *na* *tah-a=ng* *na-kul*
1SG put.on.CPL-DUR=see 1SG.PAT-throw
'I jump upwards' [B05.085.05]

Positional verbs rarely occur as single predicates. In (106), an example is given of the verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' used as a single predicate. The verb *tah-a* 'put on' is the predicate of the first clause, combining with two arguments. It is linked with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) with the second clause that consists of the verb *làk* 'leave for':

(106) *di* *pelang* *tah-a* *ba* *làk* *do*
3A canoe put.on.CPL-DUR LNK leave.for PRX
'he is going away by canoe', lit.: 'he is on a canoe and goes away' [B02.092.12:33]

Positional verbs are frequently found in serial verb constructions. They serve as minor verbs, expressing the exact position of the participants. This is illustrated in (107), where the verb *tah-a* 'put on' serves as a minor verb. It combines with the general locational verb *mia* 'be in'.

(107) *moku* *loku* *firei* *ya* *tut* *tah-a* *mi-a* *mui-l-a*
kid PL run.ICP SEQ shore put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-DUR play-give-DUR
'children run and play at the beach'

Serial verb constructions that contain the positional verbs listed in this section are discussed in detail in 8.4.5.

3.4.5.5 Quantifying verbs

Quantifying verbs quantify the participants. An overview of the verbs is given in (108).

(108)

ning	'be (quantity)'	*fal*	'separate, only together'
be.QNT		separate	
tafuda	'be all'	*nuk-nuk-d-a*	'be several'
be.all		RED[one]-hold-DUR	
kanakda	'be each'		
be.each			

These items are verbs, because they combine with pronominal prefixes, in particular, the pronominal prefixes from set II that occur only with verbs.[9] This is illustrated in (109), where the verb *fal* 'separate' occurs as the single predicate in the matrix clause. Its argument is realized with the prefix *nu-* (1PL.E.REC) that belongs to set II. The verb *fal* 'separate' combines also with the negator *naha* (NEG).

(109)

di	*nala*	*nee*	*do*	*nu-fal*	*naha*	
3A	what	eat	PRX	1PL.E.REC-separate	NEG	[B07.053.04]

'he ate without us', lit.: 'given that he ate something, he did not separate for us'

The verbs *nuk-nukda* 'be several' and *kanakda* 'be each' also have completive stems *nuk-nukdi* and *kanakdi* respectively. This is illustrated in (110), where the alternating stem *nuk-nukdi* is used as the single predicate in a clause. This clause is linked with the intersective linker *ba* with the following clause represented by a single verb *fak* 'break':

(110)

timoi	*ahana*	*miei*	*fala*	*nuk-nuk-d-i*	*ba*	*fak*	
wind	whirlwind	come.CPL	house	RED[one]-hold-PFV	LNK	break	

'the strong wind came and several houses broke' [B10.017.06]

The quantifier verbs are typically combined with other verbs in serial verb constructions. They serve to quantify (and introduce) participants, as discussed in detail in 8.4.3.

3.4.5.6 Index verbs

The index verbs are the last closed verbal class.[10] These stems are identified as verbs because they may be combined with prefixes of set II and their stems alternate reflecting the aspectual properties of the event referred to. The stems *wi* 'be like.MD' and *ni* 'be like.PRX' are bound forms, other stems occur as free forms. An overview of Abui index verbs is given in (111).

[9] In Stokhof (1984:125) the forms such as *ning* or *fal* are analyzed as a morpheme that is part of a complex pronoun. The form *ning* is analyzed as a classifier 'indicating more than one human being', however, this form only combines with nouns. The Ateng Melang form *fa* corresponding to *fal* is identified in Stokhof (1984:128) as 'together' but its categorial membership is not specified.

[10] Index verbs are also found in the neighbouring language Adang (cf. Haan 2001:259-274).

	CONTINUATIVE	COMPLETIVE	PERFECT
(111)	*na* 'be like this, something' be.like.PRX.CNT	*ni-* 'be this way' be.like.PRX.CPL	*n-u* 'this way' be.like.PRX-PRF/SPC.AD
	wa 'be like that' be.like.MD.CNT	*wi-* 'be that way' be.like.MD.CPL	*?*
	ha 'be such' be.like.DST.CNT	*hi* 'be such' be.like.DST.CPL	*h-u* 'be such' be.like.DST-PRF/SPC

Abui index verbs express or index the manner in which the event is performed or refer to the kind of the referent. The indexed events and referents are located on the familiar PROXIMAL/MEDIAL/DISTAL axis. This axis is found also in Abui demonstratives and deictic verbs. Note that the perfect stems *nu* and *hu* have been grammaticalized as anaphoric demonstratives indicating 'specificity'. For more details, see section 3.5.2.2.

Abui index verbs are used in questions and in constructions that express the kind of the referent. The kind of a referent and the manner of an event is described in a complement clause that serves as an argument of the index verb.[11] The proximal index verbs *na/ni/n-u* 'be like.PRX' are used to refer to the manner and kind obvious and familiar to both speech participants. The medial index verbs *wa/wi* 'be like.MD' are frequently used in questions. The speaker presents the questioned manner or kind as medial. The distal index verbs *ha/hi/h-u* 'be like.DST' are used to refer to manner or kind that is not familiar to the speaker. The verb *ha* 'be like.DST' may be used to refer to the manner in which the addressee intends to perform an event, from which the speaker wants to dissociate himself.

An example of the manner anaphoric use is given in (112). The verb stem *wa* 'be like.MD' combines with the argument, expressed with the pronominal prefix *do-* (3I.REC). It refers to the rain that prevented the participant from going to the market.

(112) *anui sei hare do-wa anu=ng yaar naha*
rain come.down.CNT so 3I.REC-be.like.MD.CNT market=see go.CPL NEG
'because of the rain he did not go to the market' [B07.079.01]

An example of the use referring to the kind of referent is given in (113). The index verb *ha* 'be like.DST' occurs as a single predicate in a question. This question is used in situation when the Abui equivalent of the Malay word *anjing* 'dog' is asked:

(113) *'*anjing*'* *nu nala ha?*
dog SPC.AD what be.like.DST.CNT
'what is the word 'anjing' (in Abui)?' [Note.009.07]

In (114), the perfect stem *n-u* 'be like.PRX' combines with pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC). It marks the first clause as a manner in which the event described in the

[11] Index verbs semantically group the manner of event (in fact kind of event) and the kind of referent in adnominal and question uses. In the literature similar predicates were referred to as kind-anaphoric predicates (cf. Landman and Morzycki, 2003:11).

second clause must be performed. The complement clause is interpreted as a conditional clause.

(114) [*kopi a dikang ma-r=te,*]$_{CC}$ *he-n-u mi me!*
coffee 2SG again ripe-reach=INCP.C 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF take come
'make some coffee again and (when done so) bring it here!' [B10.013.01]

In (115), the use of the stem *h-u* 'be like.DST' is illustrated. It is similar to the use of the stem *n-u* 'be like.PRX' in the previous example. The stem combines with the pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC). Its complement clause is interpreted as a conditional clause. While I was recording Simon learning to shoot with a bow, I was urged to stop until father Timo would bring a new piece of banana trunk.

(115) *Fani, bapa di we baleei kabei mi=se he-h-u*
name father 3A leave banana little take=INCP.I 3II.LOC-be.like.DST-PRF
a na-l-e
2SG be.like.PRX.CNT-give-IPFV
'Fani, father will first take a piece of banana, when it is so, you go on' [B07.081.00:35]

The stem *hu* is grammaticalized as anaphoric demonstrative and discussed in sections 3.5.2.2 and 4.4.3.2.

Note that the index verb *na-* 'be like.PRX' combines with the generic root *l* 'give'. Abui index verbs combine with generic roots in complex verbs.[12] The complex verbs are discussed in detail in chapter 7. Here, I only deal with complex verbs derived from index verbs. They are illustrated in (116) where the continuative root *na-* 'be like.PRX' combines with generic roots *l* 'give', *r* 'reach', and *d* 'hold'.

(116) *na-l* 'make this way' *na-d-* 'get like this'
be.like.PRX.CNT-give be.like.PRX.CNT-hold
na-r- 'made this way'
be.like.PRX.CNT-reach

These complex verbs are used to index the result or manner. In (117) the complex verb *na-r* 'make like this' refers to the manner in which the pants are 'made like'. The manner is expressed by the verb *akanri* 'make black' in the second clause. The clauses are linked together with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK).

(117) *he-deki wan di na-r ba akan-r-i*
3II.AL-pants already 3A be.like.PRX-reach LNK black-reach-PFV
'he already made his trousers so (that they are) black' [B07.031.02]

[12] Abui index verbs are possibly derived forms. They can be analysed as homogeneous complex verbs consisting of the consonant generic roots *n* 'see', *w* 'leave', or *h* 'lack' and vowel generic roots *a* 'be at', *i* 'put', and *u* 'leave'.

Other complex verbs may be derived from the completive stem such as *wi* 'be like.MD', as in (118)-(119). In (118), the verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' combines with two arguments expressed by two NPs. The second NP indicates the kind of the first argument. The verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' combines with its arguments in a U-U transitive construction (see 6.2.3.1).

(118) *ha-moi* *na-moi* *wi-d-a*
3II.INAL-voice 1SG.INAL-voice be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'we have similar voices', lit.: 'his voice is like my voice' [B07.046.03]

In many cases at least one of the arguments is expressed by a complement clause. In (119), the verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' combines with the NP *he-feela afenga* 'his other friends' expressing the manner in which the participant expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A) performs his dance. The first clause serves as a complement of the verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that'.

(119) [*di luuk do,*]$_{\text{complement}}$ [*he-feela afenga*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *wi-d-a*
3A dance PRX 3II.AL-friend be.other be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'given that he is dancing, he does so like his other friends' [B07.053.03]

Complex verbs derived from index verbs occur frequently in manner serial constructions that are discussed in detail in 8.3.5. Another group of complex verbs derived from index verbs are grammaticalized as conjunction markers, as discussed in section 3.5.6.

3.5 Closed grammatical categories

The remaining grammatical categories are closed and contain a limited number of members. On the basis of their distributional and functional properties, I distinguish the following closed grammatical categories: adjectives (3.5.1), demonstratives (3.5.2), quantifiers (3.5.3), aspectual markers (3.5.4), adverbs (3.5.5), conjunction markers (3.5.6), and question words (3.5.7).

3.5.1 Adjectives

In Abui, the grammatical category of adjectives contains only six items. They refer to the properties of participants such as colour, size or age just as stative verbs (see 3.4.4.8). Adjectives are differentiated from the stative verbs because they cannot head a VP. This is illustrated in (120), where the adjectives *akan* 'black' and *abet* 'young' modify the head noun (a, b), and cannot head a VP (c, d). In order to be used as head of a VP, the adjectives *akan* 'black' and *abet* 'young' must combine with a generic root in a complex verb. In (e, f), the adjectives combine with the generic root *ì* 'put'.

(120) a. *kaai akan kaliet-a*
dog black old-be.at
'the black dog is old'

b. *neng abet do*
man young PRX
'the young man'

c. **kaai akan*
dog black
'not good for: the dog is black'

d. **neng abet*
man young
'not good for: the man is young'

e. *kaai akan-i*
dog black-put
'the dog is black'

f. *neng abet-i*
man young-put
'the man is young'

In (121), the remaining four adjectives *maek* 'young', *dakun* 'dirty', *san* 'clean', and *kul* 'white' are given. It is possible, that the adjectival category contains a few more members, which I have not found yet. However, most words that refer to participant properties such as colour, size or age are stative verbs.

(121) a. *mayol maek*
woman young
'young (of women)'

b. *moku dakun*
kid dirty
'dirty child'

c. *baleei san*
banana clean
'ripe banana'

d. *kaai kul*
dog white
'white dog'

3.5.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are forms that indicate the location of a referent or event in space or discourse. They are mainly monosyllabic forms (except for *oro*) that terminate in the vowel /ɔ/. Demonstratives may combine with nouns, verbs on the phrase level, and with clauses on the sentence level.

Demonstratives that locate the referent in space are the deictic demonstratives; they always precede the head noun of an NP. Demonstratives that indicate the location of the referent in discourse are anaphoric demonstratives; they follow the head noun. In combination with verbs, the function of Abui demonstratives is analogous to the nominal domain. When the demonstrative precedes the head verb of a VP, it refers to the location of the event. When it follows the head verb, it locates the event expressed by the VP in discourse.

In this section, I first give an overview of Abui deictic demonstratives (see 3.5.2.1), and then discuss the anaphoric demonstratives (see 3.5.2.2). Details about the usage of the demonstratives in the nominal domain can be found in section 4.4.3; details about the functions of demonstratives in verbal domain in sections 6.3.2 and 6.4.3.

3.5.2.1 Abui deictic demonstratives

Abui deictic precede the head constituent and indicate the spatial location of the head constituent. As in other domains of Abui grammar, the demonstratives are organized along the relative frame of reference based in either speaker or addressee. The horizontal distance from the deictic centre is categorized by the axis PROXIMAL/MEDIAL/DISTAL. The vertical location is specified only for medial and distal referents. As illustrated in (122), the noun *sura* 'book' combines with proximal deictic demonstratives *do* (PRX) and *to* (PRX.AD). Following Levinson (2003), these deictic demonstratives refer to the proximate location of a figure (F) with respect of the viewpoint (V). In (a), the viewpoint is located at the speaker, while in (b); it is located at the addressee. Often the addressee based demonstrative is used to draw addressee attention. Mostly, the speaker based demonstrative is used.

(122) a. *do* *sura*
PRX book
'this book (near me)'

b. *to* *sura*
PRX.AD book
'this book (near you)'

In other words, these deictic demonstratives have a relative frame of reference (cf. Levinson 2003:43-47). They refer to a location with alternating viewpoint (V) over speaker or addressee (cf. Levinson 2003:24-61).

The second axis of Abui deictic systems is a horizontal axis that measures the distance of F from the ground (G). As illustrated in (123), a nearby horizontal distance of F is expressed with the deictic demonstratives *do* (PRX) and *to* (PRX.AD). I refer to these deictic demonstratives as 'proximal'. A distant position of F with respect to G is indicated with the deictic demonstratives *o* (MD) and *yo* (MD.AD) that alternate V over the speaker and the addressee. In (e), the far distance of F, further than the previous one, is expressed with the deictic *oro* (DST). In the distal position the alternation of V does not apply.

(123) a. *do* *fala*
PRX house
'this house (near me)'

b. *o* *fala*
MD house
'that house there (further from me)'

c. *to* *fala*
PRX.AD house
'this house (near you)'

d. *yo* *fala*
MD.AD house
'that house there (further from you)'

e. *oro* *fala*
DST house
'that house over there (far from us)'

The last axis constituting the Abui deictic system is the vertical axis. This axis does not apply to proximate positions and is absolute (V cannot be alternated). The deictic demonstratives in (124) refer to vertically oriented positions of F. Medial (less proximate) positions are expressed with the low medial deictic *ò* (MD.L) and high medial deictic *ó* (MD.H); distal positions are referred to with the low distal deictic *wò* (DST.L) and high distal deictic *wó* (DST.H). The suprasegmental features of a deictic form

indicate either high or low position: the high tone indicates the high position, while the low tone the low position.

(124) a. *ò* *moku*
MD.L kid
'that child below'

b. *ó* *moku*
MD.H kid
'that child above'

c. *wò* *moku*
DST.L kid
'that child below over there'

d. *wó* *moku*
DST.H kid
'that child above over there'

In Table 14, an overview of Abui deictic demonstratives is given.

Table 14: Abui deictic demonstratives

	RELATIVE FRAME OF REFERENCE: VIEWPOINT (V)		VERTICAL PARAMETER	
HORIZONTAL PARAMETER	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	LOW	HIGH
PROXIMAL	*do* (PRX)	*to* (PRX.AD)	*	*
MEDIAL	*o, lo* (MD)[13]	*yo* (MD.AD)	*ò* (MD.L)	*ó* (MD.H)
DISTAL		*oro* (DST)	*wò* (DST.L)	*wó* (DST.L)

The phonological form of Abui deictic demonstratives is characterised by the final vowel /ɔ/. In spoken language, they are usually accompanied by a pointing gesture. The pointing can be done by index finger, lips, eye movement, or chin. Note that the relative frame of reference is neutralized in the distal position. The forms *to* and *lo* may be related to the deictic verbs *ta* 'be.PRX.AD' and *la* 'be.MD' discussed in 3.4.5.3.

Deictic demonstratives occur in nominal and verbal domains indicating the location of the referent or event respectively. This is illustrated in (125), where in the deictic *wò* (DST.L) combines with the noun *fala* 'house' in (a), and with the verb *sei* 'come down' in (b). In (a), it indicates that the house is located below. In (b), the deictic *wò* (DST.L) does not indicate the location of the referent *he-aduo* 'his owner' but refers to the location of the event of 'coming down'.

(125) a. *wò* *fala*
DST.L house
'that house down there'

b. *he-aduo* *wò* *sei*
3II.AL-master DST.L come.down.CNT
'his owner comes down there'

More information about the use of Abui deictics in the nominal domain can be found in section 4.4.3. For further information about the use of deictic demonstratives in the verbal domain, see 6.3.2.

[13] Note that the distal demonstratives based in speaker are neutrally pronounced with the mid tone. In case when the vertical axis is employed, the high and low tone indicates the high and low position respectivelly.

3.5.2.2 Abui anaphoric demonstratives

Anaphoric demonstratives are another subclass of demonstratives. They follow the head constituent and indicate its discourse location. An overview of Abui anaphoric demonstratives is given in Table 15. Note that the anaphoric demonstratives in the first two rows also occur in Table 14 as deictic demonstratives. The anaphoric demonstratives are described along the main parameters found elsewhere in the Abui system: the relative frame of reference and the distance axis PROXIMAL/MEDIAL/DISTAL. The anaphoric demonstratives based on the speaker are presented in the left-hand column; the anaphoric demonstratives based on the addressee are presented in the right-hand column.

Table 15: Abui anaphoric demonstratives

	VIEWPOINT (V)	
DISCOURSE LOCATION	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE
[+PROXIMAL][+DEFINITE]	*do* (PRX)	*to* (PRX.AD)
[+MEDIAL][+DEFINITE]	*o* (MD)	*yo* (MD.AD)
[+DISTAL][−DEFINITE][±SPECIFIC]	*hu* (SPC)	*nu* (SPC.AD)

In the first row, the anaphoric demonstratives *do* and *to* are given. These demonstratives indicate the proximate discourse location of referents (or events). The referents (or events) are shared information of both speech participants and may be considered definite. Such referents (or events) are focused or topical. In the second row, the anaphoric demonstratives *o*/*lo* and *yo* are given. They indicate the medial (less proximate) discourse location of referents (or events) in shared discourse. The referents may be considered definite.

In the third row of the table, the forms *hu* (SPC) and *nu* (SPC.AD) are given.[14] The anaphoric demonstrative *hu* serves as a 'specific' marker; it is glossed as (SPC).[15] It indicates that the referent (or event) is 'specific' in the sense that is it 'accessible' within the discourse of the speaker. However, the specificity does not necessarily extend to the addressee. In fact, the speaker typically uses the demonstrative *hu* to introduce new information into the shared discourse. The demonstrative *hu* contrasts with the anaphoric demonstrative *nu*. The anaphoric demonstrative *nu* indicates that the referent (or event) is 'specific' also from the perspective of the addressee, in the sense that it is accessible for the speaker in his own 'discourse' and shared with the

[14] These forms are derived from index verbs, discussed in section 3.4.5.6. They are listed here as they seem grammaticalized to anaphoric demonstratives.

[15] The anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC.AD) is the grammaticalized index verb stem *hu* 'be.like.else.PRF', which is a homogeneous complex verb. This CV is derived from the generic roots *h* 'lack' and *u* 'leave' indicating that the specific referent has been 'seen' previously only by the speaker and is not accessible of the addressee.

addressee.[16] The speaker typically uses the demonstrative *nu* to refer to specific information that is present in the context and already known to the addressee.

The use of the anaphoric demonstratives in both domains is illustrated below. Only the axis SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE and PROXIMAL-DISTAL apply to anaphoric demonstratives. In (126), the proximal anaphoric demonstratives *do* (PRX) and *to* (PRX.AD) are given.

(126) a. *kaai* *do*
dog PRX
'the dog (I just talked about)'

b. *kaai* *to*
dog PRX.AD
'the dog (you just talked about)'

The use of the anaphoric demonstratives given in (126) is exemplified in (127). In both cases, the referent *fala* 'house' expresses an argument of the verb *fak* 'break'. In (a), a neutral case is given. In (b), the referent *fala* 'house' is located as proximate in the discourse of the addressee. The speaker refers to the house that the addressee talked about. The demonstrative *to* is used to draw addressee's attention.

(127) a. *fala* *do* *fak-i*
house PRX break-PFV
'the house is broken' [B10.017.07]

b. *fala* *to* *fak-i*
house PRX.AD break-PFV
'the house (you just talked about) is broken' [B10.017.07]

The anaphoric demonstratives *do* (PRX) and *to* (PRX.AD) identify the referent as proximate in discourse and as shared information of both speech participants. Such a referent is traditionally considered definite.

In (128), the noun *kawen* 'machete' is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX).

(128) *kawen* *do,* *a* *ha-komang-d-i-a* *naha!*
machete PRX 2SG 3II.PAT-blunt-hold-PFV-DUR NEG
'the machete (I just talked about), don't you make it blunt!' [B05.040.09]

Another example of the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) is given in (129). Consider a situation in which Waksi makes nice drawings in his book. Simon wants to have a look at his book, and asks Waksi to lend him his book. Waksi is afraid that Simon will lose it and tells Simon that he wants to make a copy of his book before Simon may borrow it. He uses the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) in order to refer to his own book that Simon talked about.

[16] The anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC) is the grammaticalized index verb stem *nu* 'be.like.PRF'. This stem is possibly a homogeneous complex verb that is derived from the generic roots *n* 'see' and *u* 'leave' indicating that the specific referent has been 'seen' previously.

(129) *na kul we ne-sura to he-bilen-r-i=te*
1SG must leave 1SG.AL-book PRX.AD 3II.LOC-colour-reach-PFV=INCP.C
'I must go and photocopy my book (that you just talked about) first' [B10.050.12]

In (130), the anaphoric demonstratives *o*/*lo* and *yo* indicate the medial (less proximate) discourse location of referents. As the referents occurred in the shared discourse previously, they may be considered as definite.

(130) a. *kaai o*
dog MD
'that dog (I talked about before)'

b. *kaai yo*
dog MD.AD
'that dog (you talked about before)'

In (131), the noun *pelang* 'canoe' combines with the anaphoric demonstrative *o* (MD). The medial anaphoric demonstrative indicates that the canoe occurred in the discourse earlier, the speaker assumes that the addressee is able to identify the canoe.

(131) *pelang o tut tah-a it-i*
canoe MD shore put.on.CPL-DUR lie.on-PFV
'that canoe (I talked about before) lies on the shore' [B09.076.01]

The anaphoric demonstrative *lo* (MD) has the same function as *o* (MD) discussed in (131). It refers to a previously mentioned referent that is known to both speech participants. As illustrated in (132) an NP is linked with the linker *ba* (LNK) to the adverb *el* 'before' that is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *lo* (MD). The construction is an answer to the question 'what are you roasting there?' The speaker says that the fish was actually a bit 'smelly' and explains 'so that is why I am roasting it'.

(132) [*afu*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*el lo*} *he-amaling fa kabei ho-pa*
fish LNK before MD 3II.LOC-smelly be.MD.AD little 3II.REC-touch.CNT
'that fish from earlier on (I talked about before), it is actually a bit smelly' [B05.042.02]

More information about NPs combined with the linker *ba* (LNK) is provided in section 4.5. In (133), the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) is illustrated. It presents the information as medial (less proximate) from the point of view of the addressee (a) and serves to draw his attention. In (b), the speaker uses *yo* (MD.AD) to present new information in a way as if the addressee is actually aware of it.

(133) a. *karong yo tirei=si taka kang*
bag MD.AD inspect=PHSL.I be.empty be.good
'he looked into the bag (you heard about) and it was really empty' [B06.046.05:18]

b. *he-kariang yo nala nee taka*
3II.AL-work MD.AD what eat be.empty
'he does nothing but eating', lit.: his work is actually only eating' [B07.043.05]

In (134), *yo* (MD.AD) occurs as the final element of a relative clause linked to the NP *kaai* 'dog' with the linker *ba* (LNK). The speaker refers to addressee's knowledge of the 'dog that died' and informs what happened to it. To mark this contrast the NP is combined with the anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) that indicates that the referent is medial (less proximate) in discourse with respect to the addressee.

(134) [*kaai*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*mon-i* *yo*}$_{RC}$ *he-adua* *mi* *ba* *ul* *ì*
dog LNK die.CPL-PFV MD.AD 3II.AL-master take LNK hole put
'that dog (you talked about before) that died, his owner took it and buried' [B05.047.04]

There are two demonstratives *hu* (SPC) and *nu* (SPC.AD) that are restricted to the anaphoric function. They do not have a deictic use and never precede the head noun, as illustrated in (135).

(135) a. *fala* *nu*
house SPC.AD
'a certain house (you know about)'

b. **nu* *fala*
SPC.AD house

c. *fala* *hu*
house SPC
'a house (you do not know about)'

d. **hu* *fala*
SPC house

Both forms indicate that the referent is 'referential' in the sense that is it 'accessible' within the discourse. The anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) contrasts with the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) that indicates a referent 'specific' only for the speaker. That means that the referent is located only in speaker's own 'discourse' and is not shared with the addressee. In (136), a fragment of a narrative is presented. A man ate some of the fragrant betel nut that belonged to his wife and gives this as an explanation to a giant snake, from which he tries to steal some betel nuts.

(136) *ne-mayol* *he-fu* *hu* *na* *takei*
1SG.AL-woman 3II.AL-betel.nut SPC 1SG bite
'I chew some betel nut of my wife' [B02.073.07:49]

In fact, the anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) serves to introduce a new referent into discourse and its anaphoricity is questionable. I consider it as anaphoric only within the discourse of the speaker. It encodes the subtle referential distinction that the presented referent is only new for the addressee but specific for the speaker. In (137), the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) is illustrated. Consider the conversation fragment where one participant inquires whether addressee's wife cooks meat. The answer is that 'some fish' is being cooked. The NP *afu hu* 'some fish' refers to a 'fish' that is only in discourse of the speaker in A, and thus specific; however, it is not shared with the speaker in Q for who the information is new.

(137) Q: *e-mayol* *di* *mahiting* *ma-l?*
2SG.AL-woman 3A meat be.ripe-give
'is you wife cooking meat?'

A: *naha, di* *afu* *hu* *ma-l*
NEG 3A fish SPC be.ripe-give
'no, she is cooking some fish (new information)' [B07.028.02]

The anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) indicates that the referent is 'specific' for both speaker and addressee. In that sense, it may be considered as definite. This is illustrated in (138), where the head noun *fu* 'betel nut' is modified with the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC). The demonstrative indicates that both speech participants can identify the betel nut.

(138) *fu* *nu* *pi* *takai*
betel.nut SPC.AD 1PL.I bite.CPL
'we chewed some betel nut' [B10.050.08]

In (139), the use of the anaphoric demonstratives *hu* (SPC) and *nu* (SPC.AD) is contrasted. In the NP given in (a), the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) combines with the head *bataa* 'wood' that is preceded by the deictic demonstrative *oro* (DST). The NP refers to a specific tree, visible for both speech participants. In (b), the anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) combines with the question word *nala* 'what'. In questions, the anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) is found frequently. It indicates that the questioned referent is new in the shared context.

(139) a. *oro* *bataa* *nu* *ho-ng* *mara!*
DST wood SPC.AD 3II.REC-see go.up.CNT
'climb some tree over there!' [B07.040.05]

b. *nala* *hu* *di* *mi* *bataa* *tukong?*
what SPC 3A take wood cut
'what did he cut the wood with?' [B10.017.03]

In (140), the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) is used in the verbal domain. It follows the verb *taa* 'lie' marking the end of an embedded clause. The anaphoric demonstrative has a nominalizing effect on the VP *di taa* 'he lies'. It expresses that the temporal location of the event of 'lying' as proximate to the event of 'not lying on a mat'.

(140) [*di* *taa*] *do* *adik* *tai* *taa* *naha*
3A lie PRX mat put.on lie NEG
'he sleeps without a mat', lit.: 'when he lies, he doesn't lie on a mat' [B07.053.04]

The use of the anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) in the verbal domain is illustrated in (141). The anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) follows the verb *rik* 'hurt'. It marks the information 'the pig is ill' as new for the addressee.

(141) [*fe* *ha-rik*] *hu* *nala* *nee* *naha*
pig 3II.PAT-hurt SPC what eat NEG
'the pig is sick, that is why it does not eat' [B01.041.02]

In (142), another instance of the use of *hu* (SPC) on clausal level is given. It marks the first clause (all constituents preceding *hu*) as background of the event expressed by the second clause *di miei* 'he came'; however, this background is new for the addressee.

(142) [*moku* *loku* *te-l* *bol* *pe*] *hu* *di* *miei*
kid PL DISTR.LOC-give hit near SPC 3A come.CPL
'the children almost started fighting when he came' [B07.078.01]

In sum, anaphoric demonstratives are not restricted to the nominal domain. They may combine with VPs to specify the temporal location of an event with respect to discourse, introduce background information and other functions. Polysemy of demonstrative elements is also attested in other Papuan languages (cf. Reesink, 1994). More examples about the use of the anaphoric demonstratives in the clausal domain can be found in section 6.4.3.

3.5.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers (QUANT) are forms that express something about quantity of the element that they combine with. Quantifiers combine with both nouns and verbs. In an NP, quantifiers indicate the quantity of the referent. In a VP, quantifiers indicate the temporal extension or frequency of an event. In Abui, there are two types of quantifiers: (i) numerals, and (ii) non-numeral quantifiers. Numerals indicate exact quantity; they are discussed in 3.5.3.1. Non-numeral quantifiers indicate approximate quantity; they are discussed in 3.5.3.2.

3.5.3.1 Numerals

Abui counting system is quinary and decimal, based on the digits of hands and feet. An overview of Abui counting system is given in (143)-(144). In (143), the numerals from one to twenty are given:

(143)

nuku one	'1'	*kar-nuku-wal-nuku* ten-one-augment-one	'11'
ayoku two	'2'	*kar-nuku-wal-ayoku* ten-one-augment-two	'12'
sua/suo/sui three	'3'	*kar-nuku-wal-sua* ten-one-augment-three	'13'
buti four	'4'	*kar-nuku-wal-buti* ten-one-augment-four	'14'
yeting five	'5'	*kar-nuku-wal-yeting* ten-one-augment-five	'15'

talaama six	'6'	*kar-nulu-wal-talaama* ten-one-augment-six	'16'
yeting-ayoku five-two	'7'	*kar-nuku-wal-yeting-ayoku* ten-one-augment-five-two	'17'
yeting-sua five-three	'8'	*kar-nuku-wal-yeting-sua* ten-one-augment-five-three	'18'
yeting-buti five-four	'9'	*kar-nuku-wal-yeting-buti* ten-one-augment-five-four	'19'
kar-nuku ten-one	'10'	*kar-ayoku* ten-two	'20'

In (144), numerals higher than twenty are given:

(144)

kar-yeting ten-five	'50'	*kar-talaama-wal-nuku* ten-six-augment-one	'61'
aisaha-nuku hundred-one	'120'	*aisaha-nuku-kar-ayoku* hundred-one-ten-two	'120'
aisaha-talaama hundred-six	'600'	*aisaha-talaama-kar-yeting-wal-nuku* hundred-six-ten-five-augment-one	'651'
rifi-nuku thousand-one	'1.000'	*rifi-buti* thousand-four	'4.000'
rifi-kar-sua thousand-ten-three	'30.000'[17]	*rat-nuku* million-one	'1.000.000'[18]

rifi-kar-ayoku-wal-nuku-aisaha-talaama-kar-yeting-wal-ayoku '21.652'
thousand-ten-two-augment-one-hundred-six-ten-five-augment-two

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals with the alienable possessive prefix *he-* (3II.AL) such as *he-ayoku* 'second', *he-buti* 'fourth', *he-yeting* 'fifth', or *he-kar-nuku* 'tenth'. The numeral 'first' is and exception, since it is not derived from the cardinal numeral *nuku* 'one', but uses a different root *he-teitu* 'first'. Some examples are given in (145).

(145)

a. *war* *he-teitu*
sun 3II.AL-first
'first day, Monday'

b. *moku* *he-sua*
kid 3II.AL-three
'third child'

Numerals are either used attributively within an NP or in a small number of cases adverbially. As illustrated in (146), the numeral *nuku* 'one' is used attributively; it

[17] The numeral *rifi* 'thousand' is probably a loan item originating in the Malay numeral *ribu* 'thousand'.
[18] The numeral *rat* 'million' is probably related to the Malay *ratus* 'hundred'.

indicates the quantity of the referent *fu* 'betel nut'. The numeral and the noun form an NP that expresses the U argument of the verb *mi* 'take'.

(146) [*fu nuku*]$_{NP}$ *mi ba kadel-e*
betel.nut one take LNK split-IPFV
'take one betel nut and split it' [B05.060.01]

In (147), the numeral *ayoku* 'two' is used predicatively expressing the number of 'houses' belonging to Timo.

(147) [*Timo he-fala*]$_{NP}$ [*ayoku*]$_{predicative\ numeral}$
name 3II.AL-house two
'Timo has two houses' [B01.035.26]

In (148), the numeral *nuku* 'one' is used adverbially. It indicates that the quantity of 'jumping' of *Fan Malei* is just a single 'jump'.

(148) *Fan Malei di da-kur da-pas-i ba we nuku*
name 3A 3I.PAT-throw.CPL 3I.PAT-lie.down-PFV LNK leave one
'Fan Malei jumped away once (one jump)' [B04.057.01]

The numerals are used adverbially with the quantifier verb *ning* 'be.Qnt' as illustrated in (149).

(149) *ri ning yeting-ayoku sei, pi sieng do tapei!*
2PL be.QNT seven come.down.CNT 1PL.I rice PRX pound
'seven of you come down, we will pound the rice!' [B02.038.11:12]

However, the adverbial use of the numerals is rare. Instead, numerals are part of complex verbs that are serialized with the quantified predicates, as illustrated in (150). The numeral *sui* 'three' combines with the generic root *d* 'hold' in the complex verb *sui-d-* 'become three, become three times'. Note that the complex verb may alternate its aspectual inflection accordingly to the aspect of the quantified predicate *kiek* 'cackle'. In both cases the verb *sui-d-* 'become three, become three times' is serialized with the verb *ng* 'see' in allative serial verb construction. The temporal extension of crowing of a rooster is translated to spatial dimension and treated as a location which is then quantified by the verb *sui-d-* 'become three times'. There are many instances like this in Abui where a temporal dimension is translated back to spatial dimension, some are illustrated in 8.4.2.1.

(150) a. [*ruwol wan kiek-i*]$_{complement}$=*ng sui-d-i*
chicken already cackle-PFV=see three-hold-PFV
'the rooster crowed three times' [B05.081.02]

b. [{*ruwol wan* *kiek*}$_{complement}$ *mi*]$_{complement}$=*ng* *sui-d-a*
chicken already cackle be.in=see three-hold-DUR
'the rooster is crowing for the third time' [B05.081.01]

3.5.3.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers express a fuzzy quantity of the referent(s). Four quantifiers will be discussed here: *loku* (PL), *faring* 'much, many', *sila* 'plenty', and *kabei* 'little, few'. The quantifier *loku* (PL) is restricted to the NP domain (see section 4.4.4). It indicates the plural number of human (or animate) referents. In (151), the quantifier *loku* combines with the noun *moku* 'kid' indicating the plural number of 'children, kids'.

(151) *moku* *loku* *de-mui-l-a*
kid PL 3ILOC-play-give-DUR
'the children are playing with each other' [B01.042.03]

The quantifier *loku* (PL) may combine with various elements such as proper names or verbs. In combination with proper names that refer to places it refers to inhabitants of a certain area, as illustrated in (152):

(152) *Kewai* *loku*
place PL
'Kewai people'

The quantifier *loku* (PL) may combine with verbal stems such as *foka* 'be big' or *firai* 'run' to indicate the plural number of human (or animate) referents that are characterized by the property or activity expressed by the verb stem. This is illustrated in (153). For more information about this use of *loku* (PL), see section 4.3.4.

(153) a. *foka* *loku*
be.big PL
'the big ones, chiefs, government officials'

b. *firai* *loku*
run PL
'runners'

The quantifier *faring* 'many, much' indicates a large number or quantity.[19] In combination with nouns, it indicates a large number of referents. In combination with verbs, it indicates that the manner in which an event is performed is excessive. Its use in the verbal domain is illustrated in (154), where *faring* 'many, much' does not refer to the number of dogs (it is already specified with the numeral *nuku* 'one') but to the frequency of 'hitting'. It does not refer to the amount of 'hitting' as the verb *bol* 'hit' refers to a single impact 'hitting' as mentioned in (63).

[19] The quantifier *faring* 'many, much' is possibly related to the quantifier verb *fal* 'be together'.

(154) *Fan Ata de-kaai nuku faring bol*
name 3I.AL-dog one much hit
'Fan Ata hits one of his dogs a lot' [B07.076.03]

To express the meaning 'Fan Ata hits many dogs' the NP *kaai* is combined with the plural quantifier *loku* (PL). However, the quantifier *faring* 'much, many' may serve as a quantifier in an NP, as illustrated in (155):

(155) [*ama kang faring*]$_{NP}$ *me nu*
person be.good much come SPC.AD
'many people came then' [B02.098.16:52]

In (156), the quantifier *faring* 'much, many' quantifies the noun *bikeng* 'louse'. Both words are part of an embedded NP that modifies the noun *kaai* 'dog'.

(156) *kaai ba* [*he-bikeng faring*] *oro do-kafi-a*
dog LNK 3II.AL-louse many DST 3I.REC-scrape-DUR
'dog that has many lice is scratching over there' [B05.060.02]

In some cases it proves difficult to determine whether the quantifier *faring* 'much' is part of an NP or belongs to the verb. An example is given in (157), where *faring* 'much' may be interpreted as either quantifying the noun *ya* 'water' or belonging to the verb *buut* 'drink'.

(157) *di ya faring buut-i*
3A water much consume.CPL-PFV
'she drank a lot of water' [B07.054.01]

The quantifier *sila* 'plenty' combines typically with the verb *nahang* 'be everywhere' as illustrated in (158). It may also serve as a predicate, as illustrated in (b).

(158) a. *afu do sila nahang*
fish PRX plenty be.everywhere
'there is plenty of fish everywhere' [B06.079.01:53]

b. *ah, ama e sila*
oh person before plenty
'there were plenty of people before' [B09.006.06:56]

The quantifier *kabei* 'little, few' expresses a small number or quantity. It combines with both nouns and verbs. An instance of its use in an NP is given in (159) where the noun *baleei* 'banana' combines with the quantifier *kabei* 'be little'.

(159) [*baleei kabei nu*]$_{NP}$ *a* *to-wahai*
banana little SPC.AD 2SG DISTR.REC-look
'look at that little banana (trunk) (and at the arrow)' [T002.00:35]

The quantifier *kabei* 'little' may combine with verbs. This is illustrated in (160), where the quantifier follows the NP *afu do* 'the fish'. It expresses the manner in which the event of 'searching' is performed. Its syntactic position is the standard position for verbal adverbs such as *ko* 'soon' (see also 3.5.5).

(160) *a* *we* *ya* *afu* *do* *kabei* *tahai*
2SG leave SEQ fish PRX little search
'you go and search for the fish a little bit' [T005:00:37]

In (161), the reading of *kabei* 'little' is ambiguous. The quantifier *kabei* may either refer to the quantity of water that is consumed, or to the manner of consumption.

(161) *neng* *moku* *di* *ya* *kabei* *buuk*
man kid 3A water little consume
'the boy drinks little bit of water' [B07.030.03]

In (162), the quantifier *kabei* 'little' is a part of a complex verb. It is reduplicated and combined with the generic root *d* 'hold'. The complex verb stem is inflected for aspect and functions as the predicate in the first clause. It is linked with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) with the second clause:

(162) *seng* *kabei-kabei-d-i* *ba* *mi* *ama* *nu* *he-r-i*
money RED[little]-hold-PFV LNK take person some 3ILLOC-reach-PFV
'he gave some money to people', lit.: 'it was just a little money that he gave to people'

3.5.4 Aspectual markers

In Abui, aspectual markers are a closed set of elements that mark the aspectual properties of the referred event on the verb. Aspectual markers lack prosodic autonomy, they form a prosodic word with the verb. Aspectual markers *-a* (DUR), *-i* (PFV), *-e* (IPFV), *-o* (PNCT), and *-u* (PRF) are analysed as suffixes, because they are restricted to postverbal position and in some cases are an obligatory morpheme of a word.[20] The aspectual markers *te* (INCP.C), *se* (INCP.I), *ti* (PHSL.C), and *si* (PHSL.I) are never an obligatory morpheme. They are analysed as clitics. An overview of Abui aspectual suffixes is given in Table 16.

[20] Stokhof (1984:129-130) mentions the opposition between the -i and -e marker.

Table 16: Abui aspectual suffixes

MARKER	GLOSS	FUNCTION
-a	DUR	durative
-i	PFV	perfective
-e	IPFV	imperfective
-o	PNCT	punctual
-u	PRF	perfect
=te	INCP.C	inceptive completive
=se	INCP.I	inceptive inchoative
=si	PHSL.I	phasal inchoative
=ti	PHSL.C	phasal completive

Aspectual suffixes are attached to verb roots/stems, as illustrated in (163). The verb *nee* 'eat' combines with the aspectual suffix *-i* (PFV) that marks that the event reported by the verb reached its final point.

(163) *na* *el* *sieng* *nee-i*
1SG before rice eat-PFV
'I ate rice' [B01.036.36]

As mentioned above, aspectual suffixes *-a* (DUR), *-i* (PFV), *-e* (IPFV), *-o* (PNCT), and *-u* (PRF) are an obligatory morpheme in some complex verbs, see also 7.1. This is illustrated in (164), the complex verb stem *rimal-d-* contains an obligatorily perfective suffix *-i* (PFV).

(164) *pet* *nu* *ha-rimal-d-i=se!*
bow SPC.AD 3II.PAT-turn-hold-PFV=INCP.I
'turn that bow up side down!' [B09.003.03:02]

The functions of the aspectual markers are discussed in section 6.1.1.

3.5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are identified as forms that do not occur as adnominal modifiers and do not occur as single predicates. Abui has the following adverbs: *yal* 'now', *ko* 'soon', *ka* 'following', *kal* 'another time, next time', *e/el* 'before', *wan* 'already', *wala* 'so', *yang* 'perhaps', *sawai* 'in vain', *taka* 'only', and *bai* 'as well'. They are part of the verb phrase and express either aspect or manner. The aspectual adverbs *yal*, *ko*, *ka*, *kal*, *e/el*, and *wan* always precede the predicate in a clause (see 6.3). Adverbs *sawai* 'in vain' and *taka* 'only' often follow deictic verbs. They might be of verbal origin. The adverb *dara* 'still' originates in serial verb construction and is a lexicalized form of the verb *ra* 'reach, attempt, persist' (see also 8.4.7.3). Examples below include adverbs *wan* 'already', *e/el*

'before, and *yal* 'now'. In (165), the adverb *wan* occurs between the verb *firei* 'run' and the A argument expressed as the free pronoun *na* (1SG):

(165) *na* *wan* *firei* *no-kan-d-i*
1SG already run.ICP 1SG.REC-be.good.CPL-hold-PFV
'I already finished running' [B10.054.01]

The use of the adverb *el* 'before' is illustrated in (166). The adverb *el* follows the A argument *na* (1SG) and precedes the U argument *kopi* 'coffee'.

(166) *na* *el* *kopi* *buut-i*
1sg before coffee consume.CPL-PFV
'I had my coffee before' [B01.036.35]

In (167), the adverb *yal* 'now' occurs between the NP *moku fila* 'small kid' and the free pronoun *di* (3A) that co-indexes the NP as the A argument.

(167) *moku* *fila* *yal* *di* *tadei* *da-yongfi*
kid be.young now 3A lie.CPL 3I.PAT-forget.CPL
'the child is now asleep' [B07.032.04]

Abui doest not have clausal and sentential adverbs. Notions such as 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', 'fortunately' or 'in vain' are expressed by separate predicates. For more details, see sections 6.3.3.7, 6.3.3.6, 8.3.3, and 8.3.4. Adverbs play an important diagnostic role in identification of serial verbs constructions and complex verbs. Both serial verb constructions and complex verbs are contiguous in the sense that no adverb may occur between the conjoined morphemes.

3.5.6 Conjunction markers

In Abui, there are a small number of forms that serve as conjunction markers such as *ba* (LNK), *ya* (SEQ), *e* 'and', and *re* 'or'. The coordination marker *e* 'and' occurs only in the nominal domain. As illustrated in (168), the marker *e* 'and' may combine with nouns referring to humans and inanimate referents.

(168) *Boi* *e* *he-feela* *Simon* *e* *Dori*
name and 3II.AL-friend name and name
'Boi and his friends' 'Simon and Dori'

faling, *kawen* *e* *tideng* *kika*
axe machete and whetstone be.red
'axes, swords and red whetstones'

In coordinating constructions, at least two nouns are conjoined by a conjunction marker or simply listed with an intonational pause after each of the constituents. Coordinating constructions must be distinguished from list compounds (see section

4.3.3). The order of constituents in a list compound is lexicalized, while in case of coordinating construction this is not the case.

The conjunction markers *ba* (LNK), *ya* (SEQ), and *re* 'or' may be used in both the nominal and the verbal domain. The linker *ba* (LNK) joins two constituents so that they have shared reference to a single referent or event. I refer to this linker as 'intersective'. The intersective linker *ba* (LNK) may be used in nominal domain to link an NP to other constituents (relative clauses, numerals, deictics, other NPs) that serve as adnominal modifiers. In (169), the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) links the head noun *kaai* 'dog' with the modifier NP *he-bikeng faring* 'his many lice'. The complex NP serves as the A argument of the verb *kafia* 'scrape, scratch' and it is co-indexed with the prefix *do-* (3I.REC).

(169) [*kaai*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*he-bikeng faring*}$_{NP}$ *oro* *do-kafi-a*
dog LNK 3II.AL-louse many DST 3I.REC-scrape-DUR
'that dog with many lice is scratching (itself) over there' [B05.060.02]

In section 4.5, I discuss other structures that are linked with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) to an NP. In the verbal domain, *ba* (LNK) links two verbs as in (170) the verbs *bang* 'carry' and *yaa* 'go'. The events of 'carrying' and 'going' refer to a complex event 'carry towards'.

(170) *tafaa* *di* *bang* *ba* *yaa* *melang* *mi-a-d-i*
drum 3A carry LNK go village be.in-be.at-hold-PFV
'he carried drums to the village' [B02.118.07:50]

The linked verbs form a tight unit that falls under the scope of a negation. This type of construction is different from serial verb constructions, which are defined as a verb clusters without any conjunction markers (see 8.1). The use of *ba* (LNK) in the verbal domain will not be further analysed in the current description.

The intersective linker *ba* (LNK) contrasts with the non-intersective linker *ya* glossed as SEQ(uential). *ya* (SEQ) indicates a non-intersective union of two constituents (a sequence of phrases or clauses). It may be used in both nominal and verbal domain. In the nominal domain, *ya* (SEQ) links two NPs. This is illustrated in (171), where two NPs are linked. Recall (169), to see the contrast with *ba* (LNK) that can not serve as a coordinating conjunction marker.

(171) a. *Fan Malei* *ya* *Fan Ata*
name SEQ name
'Fan Malei and Fan Ata'

b. *luka-luka* *ya* *yoikoi*
monkey SEQ turtle
'monkey and turtle'

c. *Simon* *ya* *Fan Malei* *di* *ning* *ayoku* *tama=ng* *ayong*
name SEQ name 3A be.QNT two sea=see swim
'Simon and Fan Malei together swim in the sea' [B05.008.06]

In the verbal domain, *ya* (SEQ) links verbs that retain their own reference so that the construction is read as a sequence of events. Example (170) is contrasted with example (172) below. In (172), the verbs *bang* 'carry' and *yaa* 'go' do not refer to a single event because the 'carrying' preceded the 'going'.

(172) *tafaa di bang ya yaa melang mi-a-d-i*
drum 3A carry SEQ go village be.in-be.at-hold-PFV
'he carried drums and (then) went to the village'

In (173), a more complex example is given, where the non-intersective linker *ya* (SEQ) marks that the verbs *we* 'leave', *tahai* 'search' and *marang* 'go up' describe successive events.

(173) *a we ya afu do kabei tahai ya marang na nee re*
2SG leave SEQ fish PRX little search SEQ come.up 1SG eat reach.ICP
'go and search for some fish and come up, i will eat it up' [B06.078.00:37]

The linker *re* 'or' indicates a disjoint set of constituents. It is often used in alternative questions, in which two or more possible answers are presented. It is used in both the nominal and the verbal domain as illustrated in (174).

(174) a. *maama re ni-ya*
father or 1PL.E.AL-mother
'father or mother'

b. *a la taa re a me?*
2SG be.MD lie or 2SG come
'do you sleep (there) or do you return?'

In Abui, clauses are often linked together with verb phrases that contain complex verbs derived from index verbs or linkers discussed above. A number of such phrases are given in (175).

(175) a. *he-ni-l ba*
3ILLOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give LNK
'at that moment', lit.: 'become like that and'

b. *he-ni-l mi*
3ILLOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give be.in
'and then', lit.: 'become like this to'

c. *ma-i ba-i*
be.PRX-PFV say-PFV
'however', lit.: 'X be already and Y too'

d. *naha=te*
not.be=INCP.C
'or', lit.: 'X is not (then) Y'

e. *he-ni-l=ti*
3ILLOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C
'yet', lit.: 'X become like that, then Y'

f. *ma-d-i ya*
be.PRX-hold-PFV be.DST
'but, while', lit.: 'X is, elsewhere Y '

g. *ha ba*
be.like.DST.CNT LNK
'but', lit.: 'is like that and at the same time'

h. *ha-r-e*
be.like.DST.CNT-reach-IPFV
'so', lit.: 'X still like that, Y'

The use of the clauses listed in (175) is illustrated by numerous instances in the appendix of the current description. However, complex clauses will not be further analysed in the current description.

3.5.7 Question words

The last closed grammatical category contains question words. In Abui, question words are forms such as *nala* 'what', *maa* 'who', *te* 'where, how', *teina* 'when' and *yeng* 'how much'. These forms always remain 'in situ'; i.e. in the syntactic position of the questioned constituent. The question word *nala* 'what' is used as default question word referring to non-human entities. In (176), *nala* 'what' occurs in two different syntactic positions. In (a), it occurs clause finally, questioning the identity of the referred object. In (b), it occurs in the position of the U argument, questioning the complement of *ong* 'make'.

(176) a. {*it do*}$_{\text{clause}}$ *nala?*
lie.CPL PRX what
'what is this (lying here)?'

b. *a nala ong?*
2SG what make
'what are you doing/making?'

The question word *nala* may be used to question the species or kind of an entity. This is illustrated in (177). In (a), the kind of a tree is questioned. In (b), the name of a place is asked in a construction that involves a relative clause:

(177) a. *it do nala bataa?*
lie.on PRX what tree
'what (kind of) tree is this?' [Note.007.01]

b. [*buku*] *ba* {*it do*}$_{\text{RC}}$ *ha-ne nala?*
land LNK lie.on PRX 3II.INAL-name what
'what is the name of this place/land?' [Note.010.01]

The form *nala* 'what' can be used in both interrogative and indicative constructions. Although both constructions have identical word orders, they are differentiated by their intonational contour. In (176)-(177) *nala* 'what' is used in interrogative constructions. In (178), the form *nala* is used to refer to non-specific entities and is translated as 'something'. In both cases, the form *nala* expresses a non-specific U argument of the verbs *nee* 'eat' and *lakda* 'read':

(178) a. *Simon nala nee*
name what eat
'Simon eats something', lit.: 'Simon eats what' [B04.057.02]

b. *tuong di no-lek-i na nala ha-lakda*
teacher 3A 1SG.REC-point-PFV 1SG what 3II.PAT-read.CNT
'teacher pointed at me (that) I read something' [B10.020.07]

The question word *maa* 'who' is used to question the identity of humans. It may not be used to refer to animates. This is illustrated in (179). In (a), the speaker assumes a non-human actor that caused a bite. In (b), the speaker assumes that the bite is caused by a human.

(179) a. *nala e-l takei?*
what 2SG.LOC-give bite
'what bit you?'

b. *maa e-l takei?*
who 2SG.LOC-give bite
'who bit you?'

As in other Papuan languages, the name of a person is questioned with *maa* 'who'. However, the question *nala* 'what' can be used as well. This is illustrated in (180):

(180) a. *a-ne nala?*
2SG.INAL-name what
'what is your name?'

b. *a-ne maa?*
2SG.INAL-name who
lit.: 'who is your name?'

A question word that refers to space and manner is *te* 'where'. As illustrated in (181), the question word *te* 'where' is found in the position of the questioned constituent (in situ). In both cases, the question word *te* 'where' combines with the location verb *mi* 'be in':

(181) a. *fe te mi-a*
pig where be.in-DUR
'where is the pig?'

b. *a te he-mi-a taa*
2SG where 3II.LOC-be.in-DUR lie
'where do you stay, where do you sleep?'

The question word *te* 'where, how' combines with the generic root *ng* 'see' when the direction of a motion is questioned. An example is given in (182), where the form *te=ng* combines with the verb *yaar* 'go'.

(182) *ma e-d-o, a te=ng yaar-i?*
be.PRX 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 2SG where=see go.CPL-PFV
'well, you, where did you go?' [Note.013.10]

In some cases the question word *te* 'where' may be used referentially to express a non-specific, random location or direction of the event. This is illustrated in (183), where the speaker expresses that somebody left for no matter where.

(183) *di* *te=ng* *yaar* *re* *sai*
3A where=see go.CPL reach.ICP put.along
'he left for no matter where' [B07.046.04]

The question word *te* 'where' is used in combination with complex verbs such as *wi-d-* 'get like that' to inquire about the kind of the referent, or the manner of the event. For more details about the index verbs, see section 3.4.5.6. In (184), the question word *te* 'where' combines with the complex verb *wi-d-* to inquire about the kind of dog that ate a rodent.

(184) *kaai* *te* *wi-d-a* *hu* *he-l* *rui* *nee*
dog where be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR SPC 3II.LOC-give rat eat
'what kind of dog did eat the rat?' [B10.017.05]

In (185), the question word *te* 'where' is used to question the manner of 'sounding' of a drum. This construction is used when the price of a traditional drum 'moko' is bargained in bride-price negotiations.

(185) *he-tafaa* *e* *te* *wi-l* *da-moi-d-i?*
3II.AL-drum before where be.like.MD.CPL-give 3I.PAT-sound-hold-PFV
'what is his drum worth?, lit.: how did his drum sound?' [B13.006.33:17]

In Abui, there is no question word for 'why'. The reason of the occurrence of a certain event is questioned with a complex construction that involves the question word *te* 'where' combined with a complex verb that is derived from the index verb stem *wi* 'be like.MD'. In (186), the reason of addressee's crying is questioned.

(186) *te* *wi-r=te,* *a* *enra?*
where be.like.MD.CPL-reach=INCP.C 2SG cry.CNT
'why do you cry', lit.: where does it make so, that you cry' [B07.024.03]

In (187), the reason of addressee's going to the village is questioned with the same complex construction *te wir te*.

(187) *te* *wi-r=te* *a* *melang* *yaar-i*
where be.like.MD.CPL-reach=INCP.C 2SG village go.CPL-PFV
'why did you go to the village?' [B07.024.03]

The question word *teina* 'when' is used to question the time of the situation.[21] The question word *teina* 'when' occurs in the left edge of a clause, a typical location for temporal adverbs, or phrases that indicate the temporal location of an event. In (188),

[21] The question word *teina* 'when' is possibly derived. It could be historically derived from the combination of two verb stems *te-i* 'put where' and the index verb stem *na* 'be like this' that compose the notion of 'when' a question about the temporal location of an event that is identical to the event described in the second clause.

the question word *teina* 'when' occurs in a neutral position between the A argument *kaai* 'dog' and the U argument *nala* 'what'.

(188) *kaai teina nala nee?*
dog when what eat
'when did the dog eat?' [B01.040.13]

The question word *teina* 'when' may occur in the focus position. This is illustrated in (188), where the question word *teina* precedes the A argument expressed as the free pronoun *a* (2SG).

(189) *Fani, teina a a-wai-e?*
name when 2SG 2SG.PAT-turn-IPFV
'Fani, when are you coming back?' [Sms.04.01]

The question word *yeng* 'how much, many' is used to inquire about the quantity of a referent. An example is given in (190), where the number of pigs is questioned. The question word *yeng* 'how much' occurs in the final position of the NP. This is the position of the quantifier within an NP, as illustrated by the second clause, where the quantifier *buti* 'four' follows the head noun.

(190) Q: *maama, e-fe yeng?*
father 2SG.AL-pig how.much
'father, how many pigs do you have?'

A: *ne-fe buti*
1SG.AL-pig four
'I have four pigs' [B01.041.03]

Another example of the use of the question word *yeng* 'how much' is given in (191). The question word occurs in the position of the questioned U argument.

(191) *a yeng ha-pun-i?*
2SG how.much 3II.PAT-grab.CPL-PFV
'how many did you catch?' [B07.024.03]

Sometimes the question word *yeng* is used as a quantifier with the meaning 'several' as illustrated in (192).

(192) *wan tung yeng war diei*
already year how.much sun heat.up
'the past years were hot', lit: 'already several years the sun burned' [B07.015.03]

4 Nouns and Noun Phrases

In this chapter, I discuss Abui nouns and noun phrases. Abui nouns are defined by their referential properties as lexical items referring to time-stable concrete entities (unique persons, places, or objects, discussed in 4.1). There are also lexical items that refer to less concrete (typically) uncountable objects and substances. These lexical items are ambiguous as they may as well refer to events, and they are analysed as categorially indetermined (see section 3.2.2). Their grammatical category is determined by their syntactic context. When an ambiguous item is inserted in the head position of an NP structure; it is identified as a noun.

In Abui, there is a systematic difference between animate and inanimate referents. Animate referents are typically expressed by unambiguously nominal lexical items. Nouns referring to animates are treated differently in grammatical operations such as possessive inflection or person inflection on the verbs (see 3.2.4). Inanimate nouns have a more generic reference and denote substances rather than individuated objects; they are underspecified for number, shape or size. In discourse, inanimate nouns often combine with other elements that specify their number, shape, or size.

Abui nouns combine with pronominal prefixes that express possessors (see section 4.2). Nouns can be derived by compounding and nominalization of verbal roots, as discussed in section 4.3. Nouns serve as the head constituent of a noun phrase, presented in section 4.4. In addition to possessors, the head noun combines with a number of adnominal modifiers such as deictic demonstratives, modifier nouns, stative verbs, adjectives, quantifiers and anaphoric demonstratives. The order of these constituents is fixed (see 4.4.5). Optionally, an NP may contain an embedded modifier, typically a relative clause (see section 4.5). Besides expressing arguments, NPs may serve as the main predicate of a sentence, as a nominal predicate. This chapter ends with an overview of nominal predicates in section 4.6.

4.1 Nominal inventory

Abui nouns express highly time-stable concepts such as persons, places and things (cf. Payne, 1997:33; Schachter, 1985:7; Anward et al., 1997:173). The nominal inventory comprises proper names and common nouns. Proper names refer to unique persons and places (see 4.1.1); common nouns refer to objects, and to the functions, roles and properties of people (see 4.1.2).

4.1.1 Proper names

There are two types of proper names: names for humans (see 4.1.1.1); and names for unique geographical locations entities such as places, rivers, villages, towns or countries (4.1.1.2).

4.1.1.1 Names of persons

In monolingual situations, Abui speakers use several varieties of their name, and sometimes nicknames. A list of names that are used in neutral situations is given below:

	GIVEN NAME	PATRONYMIC	GIVEN NAME	PATRONYMIC
(1)	*Ata*	*Fan*	*Ata*	*Kar*
	Ata	*Pula*	*Fan*	*Ata*
	Fan	*Malei*	*Kafel*	*Kai*
	Kol	*Mabi*	*Kol*	*Mai*
	Kol	*Fan*	*Kupai*	*Kai*
	Le	*Lutang*	*Lon*	*Fan*
	Lon	*Kar*	*Lon*	*Pen*
	Lutang	*Fan*	*Lutang*	*Fur*
	Mabi	*Lutang*	*Mani*	*Makani*
	Mai	*Kari*	*Mai*	*Fan*
	Mau	*Fan*	*Melang*	*Fikang*
	Pada	*Fan*	*Pada*	*Ma*
	Pelang	*Mai*	*Tila*	*Kar*
	Tila	*La*	*Yeti*	*Mai*

As illustrated in (1), Abui people refer to each other with a first and second name. The second name is that of the father (patronymic). This means that siblings share their second name. The number of Abui first names is limited. For this reason, the combination of the first name and patronymic is used to avoid misunderstanding about who is being addressed or the subject of conversation. Within the clan, family or among friends, it is sufficient to only use the first name. As illustrated in (2), some of the names still have quite a transparent etymology, those are given in (a). Names listed in (b) are not transparent.

(2) a.

Ata	'leaf'	*Bui*	'short'
Kari	'narrow'	*Melang*	'village'
Hawai	'tail'	*Loni*	'long'
Kapitang	'warrior'	*Peni*	'near'
Kupai	'forest'		

b.

Fikari	*Lehi*
Pada	*Fani*
Lutang	*Makani*

People are often given nicknames. The first type is used to refer to children and young people. In (3), a name as *Ata* is combined with the stative verb *bui* 'short, small':

(3) *Bui* *Ata* 'little Ata'
short name

Older people often use the nickname *Bui* 'short' to refer to young people. In formal contexts, Abui people prefer to address each other with a kinship term. People of the same age address each other as *ne-ura* 'my sibling of the opposite sex' or *ne-muknehi* 'my sibling of the same sex'. When choosing the appropriate kinship term, the social status does not seem to be taken in consideration; what matters is the age. The term *maama* 'father' is used to address older men, the term *ni-ya* 'our mother' is used to address older women. People that are younger may be addressed as *ne-wil* 'my child'. Members of the same clan or friends address each other as *naana* 'older sibling', *nahaa* 'younger sibling', *ne-ura* 'my sibling of the opposite sex' or *ne-muknehi* 'my sibling of the same sex', or *raata* 'in-law'. For endearing addressing, there is a diminutive suffix *-ku* that combines with the name; the form is used to address small children, old people, and closest kin members:

(4)
Mai	>	*Mai-ku*
Loni	>	*Lon-ku*
Peni	>	*Pen-ku*
Fani	>	*Fan-ku*
Ali	>	*Ali-ku*
Pada	>	*Pada-ku*
Ata	>	*Ata-ku*
Amelia	>	*Ame-ku*
Kafel	>	*Kafel-ku*

As illustrated in (4), disyllabic names that end in a high vowel are shortened if the final syllable contains a nasal. In other cases the second syllable remains the same. For names with more than two syllables, the first two syllables are used as the base for the suffix *-ku*. In this way, words meet the requirement that a noun should not have more than three syllables (see section 2.4).

Another type of endearment term is derived by reduplicating the first syllable of the name to form a regular iambic foot. Note that the reduplication can apply also to Christian names such as *Simon*. This type of endearment terms is often used to address children and among children themselves, as well as between close friends:

(5)
Lema	>	*Lele*
Fani	>	*Fafa*
Simon	>	*Sisi*

The onset of the first syllable may be dropped to express endearment towards children:

(6) *Fani* > *Ani*

Finally, the nucleus of the first syllable of a name may be reduplicated to form a disyllabic word with a regular iambic foot. This is illustrated in (7), where forms *E-e* and *A-a* are used express endearment towards very small children:

(7)	*Lema*	>	*E-e*
	Fani	>	*A-a*

Abui names may combine with the vocative suffix *-e* (VOC) which is phonetically realized as [eː] or [jeː] when it follows a vowel. The vocative suffix may be attached to both the native and the Christian names, as well as to kinship terms:

(8)	a.	*Loni*	>	*Loni-e*
		name		name-VOC
	b.	*Fani*	>	*Fani-e*
		name		name-VOC
	c.	*Simon*	>	*Simon-e*
		name		name-VOC
	d.	*maama*	>	*maama-e*
		father		father-VOC

Abui people have been in contact with modern administration for more than a hundred years. Active Dutch colonial administration on Alor started before WW I. The first missionary activities started around the same time. As a result of these efforts, Abui people adopted Christian names next to their native names. Nowadays, names of saints and biblical personages accompany or even replace native names. Christian names are widely used especially among the youngest generation. The official names are used in government administration, education and in church. The official name consists of a Christian name and a family name that refers to a common ancestor of a clan. A family name consists often of a first and second name (e.g. *Fantang = Fan Tang*). For official purposes, names are spelled according to the Indonesian orthography and written as a single word.[1] A number of native and official names are given in (9). The native names are listed in the left-hand column; the official names in the right-hand column.

	NATIVE NAME		OFFICIAL NAME
(9)	*Kupai Kai*	=	*Daniel Simon Lanma*
	Kol Mabi	=	*Loriana Fantang*
	Lema	=	*Benidiktus Delpada*
	Lema	=	*Jon Melang*
	Pada	=	*Vinsen Yetimauh*
	Ata Pula	=	*Yahya Malbieti*

[1] More detailed information about the Abui names can be found in the anthropological studies of Nicolspeyer and Du Bois (Nicolspeyer 1940; Du Bois 1960) and a similar naming system is found in Woisika (a.k.a. Kamang), spoken east of Abui area (Stokhof 1983).

4.1.1.2 Names of places, areas, tribes, and countries

Proper names refer to humans as well as to places, areas, tribes, and countries. In all cases, they have a unique and exclusive reference to areas or groups of people inside and outside of the Abui territory. In some cases, the etymology of these names is quite obvious. A number of native village names and areas are given in (10):

(10)

a.	*Lu* *Melang* river village	village name, lit.: 'River Village'
b.	*Loma* *Lohu* hill be.long	village name, lit.: 'Long Hill, Slope'
c.	*Ateng* *Melang* old village	village name, lit.: 'Old Village'
d.	*Tifol* *Afeng* bamboo.sp. hamlet	village name, lit.: 'Bamboo Hamlet'
e.	*Kalang* *Masang* gum-lac.tree dance.place	village name, lit.: 'Gum-lac Tree Dance Place'
f.	*Tipai* *Bab-i* iron strike.CPL-PFV	'village name, lit.: Iron Forge'
g.	*Kalang* *Fat* gum-lac.tree corn	Abui name for Kalabahi harbour lit.: 'Gum-lac Tree - Corn'[2]
h.	*Tamal* *Wò* tamarind under	a resting place along the path to Tifol Afeng
i.	*Makong* *Pe* kedongdong.tree near	a part of Takalelang village
j.	*Kafaak* *He-ì* tobacco 3II.LOC-put	a part of Takalelang, lit.: 'Tobacco Field'
k.	*Kameng* *Tah-a* sacrifice.stone put.on.CPL-DUR	a part of Takalelang
l.	*Timoi* *Palata* wind cold	a place in the mountains of Sibone

[2] *Kalang Fat*, the name Abui name for the Alor town Kalabahi possibly refers to pre-colonial trade in that place. Alor was a convenient place to replenish the food supplies and water for vessels heading to Timor in search of sandal wood. The comodities traded by the Abui were possibly corn and gum-lac from Acacias (referred to as 'gum-lac trees'). 'Gum-lac trees' produce a resinous exudation from punctures, made by parasitic lac insects.

The areas and peoples outside the Abui territory have in few cases native names. In (11), only the *Walangra* 'new' is native. The etymology of the other names is obscure. These forms are possibly loans from other Alorese languages or from Malay.

(11) a. *Kafola* 'Kabola', (eastern part of the Bird's head Peninsula)

b. *Kewai* 'Kewai', (rivalling tribe in the mountains)

c. *Kewai* *loku*
place PL
'Kewai people'

d. *Kamang* 'Kamang' (tribe living east of Abui, around Bukapiting)

e. *Kamang* *loku*
place PL
'Kamang people'

f. *Walangra* *tanga*
new speak.CNT
'Malay language', lit.: 'New language'

g. *Walangra* *loku*
new PL
'Malay people', lit.: 'New people'

h. *Sina* *loku*
Chinese PL
'Chinese people' (living in Kalabahi)

The names of the areas outside Alor are exclusively loans from Malay. These newly introduced words keep their Malay shape:

(12) a. *Jakarta* 'Jakarta'

b. *Jerman* 'Germany'

c. *Jepang* 'Japan'

d. *Belanda* 'the Netherlands, Holland'

e. *Ceko* 'Czech, Czech Republic'

These words contain phonemes that are not part of the native Abui phonemic inventory. As most people are bilingual, the phonemes are not adapted to fit the native phonotactics. For more details on adapted loans, see section 2.4.2.

4.1.2 Common nouns

In Abui, common nouns refer to either a single object such as *war* 'sun' or have a more generic reference, e.g. *wi* 'rock' describing a solid material occurring in different shapes that may be used for building terraces around villages. In (13), a number of common nouns are listed.

(13)

ía	'moon'	*war*	'sun'
wi	'rock'	*fe*	'pig'
kafak	'spear'	*ya*	'water'
abui	'mountain'	*anui*	'rain'
fat	'corn'	*bataa*	'wood'
ayak	'rice'	*baleei*	'banana'
ata	'leaf'	*kai*	'bark'
ukulei	'turtledove'	*luka-luka*	'monkey'

The items given in (13) are always used non-predicatively. They are identified as unambiguous nouns. The items given in (14) refer to humans and body parts; they often carry possessive inflection. The kinship terms are marked as alienably possessed, the body parts are marked as inalienably possessed (for further details, see section 4.2).

(14)

neng	'man'	*mayol*	'woman'
ne-maama 1SG.AL-father	'my father'	*e-naana* 2SG.AL-older.sibling	'your older sibling'
ranta	'villain'	*lelang*	'family'
ha-táng 3II.INAL-hand	'his hand'	*pikai*	'head'
na-min 1SG.INAL-nose	'my nose'	*a-took* 2SG.INAL-intestine	'your guts'

4.2 Possessive inflection of nouns

In Abui, the nominal category displays only possessive inflection; similar to other Papuan languages, inflections for case or number are not found (cf. Foley, 1986:93-6). The prototypical construction of possession expresses the relationship of ownership between a human possessor and an inanimate possessum. This construction has a number of extensions to refer to other semantic relationships such as kinship or part-whole relation. The Abui possessive construction consists of a noun expressing the possessum and a pronominal prefix expressing the possessor. Optionally, in third person the possessor is expressed with an additional NP. This is illustrated in (15). In (a), the prefix *ne-* (1SG.AL) expresses that the possessor of *fala* 'house' is the speaker. In (b), the prefix *he-* (3II.AL) expresses the possessor of *sepeda* 'bike'. The pronoun refers to the NP *maama* 'father'.

(15)

a. *ne-fala*
1SG.AL-house
'my house'

b. *maama* *he-sepeda*
father 3II.AL-bike
'father's bike'

The nouns that express the possessum are divided into two subgroups according to their morphological properties. There is a closed set of INHERENTLY POSSESSED NOUNS and a set of OPTIONALLY POSSESSED NOUNS.[3] The set of inherently possessed nouns contains bound nominal roots that refer to most body parts, a number of kinship terms and a single relational noun.

4.2.1 Possessive prefixes

Possessive prefixes express possessors. They are attached to a nominal root that denotes the possessum. First and second person possessors are only expressed as bound pronouns. Third person possessors are expressed as bound pronouns and optionally as NPs. The Abui pronominal prefix inventory consists of three sets (see section 3.3.2). In possessive constructions, only prefixes from sets I and III are employed; they are listed in Table 17. As discussed in 3.3.2, sets I and III also combine with verbal roots. Pronominal prefixes from set III express PATIENT arguments and possessors of body parts. The formal parallel is based on the semantic parallel between inalienable possession and PATIENT arguments. Both inalienably possessed items and PAT(ient) arguments are under full control of the POSSESSOR and ACTOR respectively. The nouns denoting body parts are bound roots that require possessive inflection: they are inherently possessed. The pronominal prefixes from set III are glossed as INAL (INALIENABLE) when they combine with nouns. Pronominal prefixes from set I indicate LOC(ation) undergoer arguments and combine with free nominal roots to index the possessor. They are glossed as AL (ALIENABLE).

Table 17: Abui possessive prefixes

PERSON	I	III
1SG	*ne-* [nɛ]	*na-* [nɑ]
2SG	*e-* [ʔɛ]	*a-* [ʔɑ]
3I	*de-* [dɛ]	*da-*[dɑ]
3II	*he-* [hɛ]	*ha-* [hɑ]
DISTR	*te-* [tɛ]	*ta-* [tɑ]
1PL.E	*ni-* [nɪ]	*ni-* [nɪ]
1PL.I	*pi-* [pɪ]	*pi-* [pɪ]
2PL	*ri-* [rɪ]	*ri-* [rɪ]
FUNCTION	ALIENABLE POSSESSION	INALIENABLE POSSESSION
GLOSS	AL	INAL

The singular forms of Abui possessive prefixes contain [-high] [-back] vowel; the plural forms contain [+high] [-back] vowel and the distinction between set I and III found in

[3] Abui possessive construction matches the general cross-linguistic pattern of the area. A closed set of inherently possessed nouns and an open set of optionally possessed nouns are found also in other Papuan languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar group such as Teiwa (Klamer, In prep.), Klon (Baird, In prep.), Adang (Haan 2001), Blagar (Steinhauer, p.c.) or Kui and Tanglapui (Nichols and Bickel 2005). Obligatory possessive inflection has been reported for a number of languages from Papua mainland such as Hatam (Reesink 1999), and Sougb (Reesink 2002); or Ekari, Dani, Asmat, Koiari (Nichols and Bickel 2005) and Amele (Roberts 1987).

singular is in plural neutralized. The distributive prefixes *ta-* and *te-* pattern as singular forms. Singular and distributive forms of pronominal prefixes that belong to set III terminate in vowel /a/. This vowel is deleted when the pronominal prefix combines with a bound nominal root that starts with a vowel, as illustrated in (17) in the following section.

4.2.2 Inherently possessed nouns

In Abui, some nominal roots are bound. These roots obligatorily combine with possessive prefixes. I refer to these nouns as inherently possessed nouns. Semantically, the set of inherently possessed nouns may be described as nouns referring to body parts and to (some) kinship terms. Most body parts are inalienably possessed; they combine with inalienable prefixes (prefixes from set III). In (16), I give an exhaustive list of body part nouns with a consonant-initial root.

(16)				
	ha-to	'his genitals'	**he-to*	**to*
	ha-kikil	'his/her underarm'	**he-kikil*	**kikil*
	ha-bikil	'his/her navel'	**he-bikil*	**bikil*
	ha-muk	'its horn'	**he-muk*	**muk*
	ha-wai	'its tail'	**he-wai*	**wai*
	ha-pal	'his penis'	**he-pal*	**pal*
	ha-loku	'his arm'	**he-loku*	**loku*
	na-min	'my nose'	**ne-min*	**min*
	na-wa	'my mouth'	**ne-wa*	**wa*
	a-wet	'your tooth'	**e-wet*	**wet*
	a-wei	'your ears'	**e-wei*	**wei*
	ha-fo	'his wen, protuberance'	**he-fo*	**fo*
	na-run	'my cheek'	**ne-run*	**run*
	ha-noting	'his spirit, soul	**he-noting*	**noting*
	na-mina	'my side'	**ne-mina*	**mina*
	ha-táng	'his hand'	**he-táng*	**táng*
	ha-bala	'his knee'	**he-bala*	**bala*
	na-mina	'my side'	**ne-mina*	**mina*
	ha-pong	'his face'	**he-pong*	**pong*
	ha-run	'his cheek'	**he-run*	**run*
	ha-bang	'his shoulder'	**he-bang*	**bang*

In (17), noun stems are given that start with a vowel. The phonological shape of the root triggers deletion of the vowel /a/ of the pronominal prefix. The phonological shape of the second person singular pronominal prefix *a-* (2SG.INAL) is /ʔa/. When this prefix is attached to a noun stem which starts with a vowel, the vowel /a/ in the prefix is deleted. The second person singular prefix consists after vowel deletion only of the glottal stop /ʔ/. This is illustrated in (d), where this prefix combines with the bound nominal root *-oi* 'vagina':

(17)	a.	*n-ièng* [nɪɛ̀ŋ] 1SG.INAL-eye	'my eyes'	**ne-ièng*	**ièng*
	b.	*t-ièng* [tɪɛ̀ŋ] DISTR.INAL-eye	'our eyes (each of us)'	**te-ièng*	**ièng*
	c.	*r(i)-ièng* 2PL.INAL-eye	'your pl. eyes'	**te-ièng*	**ièng*
	d.	*Ø-oi* [ʔɔɪ] 2SG.INAL-vagina	'your vagina'	**e-oi*	**oi*
	e.	*h-oi* 3II.INAL-vagina	'her vagina'	**he-oi*	**oi*
	f.	*h-iek* 3II.INAL-buttocks	'his buttocks'	**he-iek*	**iek*

The form *ri-ièng* 'your pl. eyes' in (c) may point to an alternate view on inalienable pronominal prefixes. In this view, there are actually two forms of inalienable prefixes (e.g. *na-* ~ *n-* referring both to first person singular). Such analysis is adopted for both Klon (Baird, In prep.-a) and Teiwa (Klamer, In prep.). In Abui, I have found no other evidence than *r(i)-ièng* 'your pl. eyes' for this analysis, as given in (18).

(18) *r-ièng mok, hare sei ri-ran ba taa!*
2PL.INAL-eye bring.together so come.down.CNT 2PL.PAT-reach.at.CPL LNK lie
'your eyes are closing (sleepy), so come down and sleep!' [B02.048.17:28]

I have found no plural forms such as **n-* (1PL.E.INAL), **p-* (1PL.I.INAL), and **r-* (2PL.INAL). This is caused by the fact that the plural possessors are rare and if present they are expressed by the distributive prefix *ta-* (DISTR.INAL) as illustrated in (19).

(19) *di wò melang pe mi-a, t-ièng akun-r-a*
3A DST.L village near be.in-DUR DISTR.INAL-eye dark.CPL-reach-DUR
'he was below there nearby the village (and) it was getting dark', lit.: 'he was below there nearby the village (and) our eyes were darkened' [B06.080.02:19]

As illustrated in (16), the number of body-part nouns is limited. More specific body parts are referred to with the constructions given in (20)-(21). These constructions are formally possessive constructions or compounds. For the formal criteria distinguishing compounds and noun phrases, see sections 4.3.1 and 4.4.1.

POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

(20)

na-táng	*he-ya*	*n-ièng*	*he-ama*	*kang*
1SG.INAL-hand	3II.AL-mother	1SG.INAL-eye	3II.AL-person	be.good
'my thumb'		'my eye iris'		
na-táng	*ha-wei*	*na-táng*	*ha-min*	
1SG.INAL-hand	3II.INAL-ear	1SG.INAL-hand	3II.INAL-nose	
'my wrist bone projection'		'my finger tip'		

COMPOUNDS

(21)

na-táng *buku* 1SG.INAL-hand joint 'my knuckles'	*na-bala* *buku* 1SG.INAL-knee joint 'my knee'
ha-wa *kul* 3II.INAL-mouth skin 'his lips'	*h-ièng* *amur* 3II.INAL-eye hair 'his eyebrow'
na-wei *ata* 1SG.INAL-ear leaf 'my ear, auricle'	*na-wei* *kadielang* 1SG.INAL-ear stipel 'my inner ear'
n-ièng *bika* 1SG.INAL-eye kernel 'my eye'	*he-rala* *bika* 3II.AL-throat kernel 'his Adam's apple'
ne-pikai *bataa* 1SG.AL-head wood 'my hair'	*na-táng* *paka* 1SG.INAL-hand fruit 'my finger'
na-wet *bika* 1SG.INAL-tooth kernel 'my tooth'	*ha-loku* *bira* 3ii.inal-arm egg 'his biceps'

Except of the body parts, there are a few other nouns that combine with an inalienable prefix, such as *ne* 'name' and *mol* 'enemy'.

(22)

ha-ne	'his/her name'	**he-ne*	**ne*
ha-mol	'his enemy'	**he-mol*	**mol*

A number of lexical items identified in (16)-(22) are ambiguous. These items, given in (23), are found as heads of both NPs and VPs. They are identified as inalienably possessed nouns, or as verbs. In (a), the forms *bang* 'shoulder' and *bang* 'carry on shoulder' are phonologically identical. So are the forms *-mol* 'enemy' and *-mol* 'envy'. The forms in (c, d) carry a different tone. The noun *-ièng* 'eye' is marked with the low tone, while the verb *-iéng* 'see' carries the high tone. The tone distinctions are not systematic; the noun *táng* 'hand' in (d) carries the high tone, while the verb *tàng* 'release' carries the low tone. Other words such as *baki* (e) or *toku* (f) are possibly of verbal origin. For more information about tone, see section 2.5.4.

(23)

a. *bang* 'shoulder/carry on shoulder'	b. *-mol* 'enemy/envy'
c. *-ièng/-iéng* 'eyes/see'	d. *-táng/-tàng* 'hand/release'
e. *baki/bak-i* 'jaw/snatch-PFV'	f. *toku/tok-u* 'leg/drop-PRF'

The ambiguity of the form *-mol* is exemplified in (24). In (a), the form *mol* is used as the head of a VP and combines with two arguments. The presence of the free pronoun *di* (3A) indicates the structure as a clause. At the same time, the free pronoun excludes the possibility of interpreting the structure as a possessive construction. In (b), the form *na-mol* is used referring to a person that hates the speaker.

(24) a. *Orpa di Lon Fan he-mol*
name 3A name 3II.LOC-envy
'Orpa envies, is jealous at Lon-Fan'

b. *na-mol*
1SG.INAL-enemy
'my enemy' [B04.079.01]

The second subset of inherently/inalienably possessed nouns contains two kinship terms *ai* 'wife' and *kuta* 'grandparent'. They are the only kinship terms that combine with prefixes of set I. The other kinship terms are optionally/alienably possessed; I discuss them in section 4.2.3. Consider now example (25) and observe the unusual inflection of the stems *hai*, *ai*, *nai*, *tai* referring to 'wife'. The onset of the stem referring to 'wife' is always the same as the onset of the possessive prefix.

(25) a.	*he-hai*		'his/her wife'	**ha-hai*	**hai*
	3II.AL-wife				
b.	*e-ai*	[ʔɛʔɑɪ]	'your wife'	**a-ai*	**ai*
	2SG.AL-wife				
c.	*ne-nai*		'my wife'	**na-nai*	**nai*
	1SG.AL-wife				
d.	*te-tai*		'wives of each of us'	**ta-tai*	**tai*
	DISTR.AL-wife				
e.	*e-kuta*		'your grandparent'	**a-kuta*	**kuta*
	2SG.AL-grandparent				

The stem referring to 'wife' seems to carry double pronominal inflection. The alienable pronominal prefix is attached to a stem. There is another pronominal prefix attached to the nominal root *ai*. The root *ai* itself is polysemous; it covers a range of meanings such as 'vein', 'root', and 'side'. The meaning 'wife' maybe diachronically derived from the verbal stem *ai* 'be at side' as illustrated in (26). The stem *ai* combines with a pronominal prefix expressing the U argument. The VP is reanalyzed as a new nominal stem and takes alienable possessive inflection.

(26) *ne-*[*n-ai*$_{VP}$]$_{NP}$ 'my wife', lit.: 'my (be at my side)'
1SG.AL-1SG.PAT-be.at.side

4.2.3 Optionally possessed nouns

Only the nouns discussed in 4.2.2 are inherently/inalienably possessed. All remaining nouns are optionally/alienably possessed. That means that they may combine with pronominal prefixes, but that the possessive inflection is not required. These nouns

combine with pronominal prefixes from set I (see Table 17) that are glossed as AL (ALIEANABLE). This is illustrated in (27), where the nouns may combine only with alienable possessive prefixes (see left-hand column), but not with inalienable possessive prefixes (in middle column). These nouns are free forms that do not require possessive inflection (see right-hand column).

(27)

a. *he-fala* 3II.AL-house 'his/her house'	b. **ha-fala* 3II.INAL-house	c. *fala* house 'house'
d. *he-konrek* 3II.AL-shirt 'his/her shirt'	e. **ha-konrek* 3II.INAL-shirt	f. *konrek* shirt 'shirt'
g. *ne-lui* 1SG.AL-knife 'my knife'	h. **na-lui* 1SG.INAL-knife	i. *lui* knife 'knife'
j. *e-fu* 2SG.AL-betel.nut 'your betel nut'	k. **a-fu* 2SG.INAL-betel.nut	l. *fu* betel.nut 'betel nut'

Third person possessors may be expressed with an optional NPs. In (28), the possessor of the nouns *fala* 'house' and *konrek* 'shirt' is minimally expressed with the possessive prefix. The NP expressing the possessor precedes the possessum, and is optional.

(28)

a. *Simon he-fala* name 3II.AL-house 'Simon's house'	b. **Simon ha-fala* name 3II.INAL-house	c. **Simon fala* name house
d. *maama he-konrek* father 3II.AL-shirt 'father's shirt'	e. **maama ha-konrek* father 3II.INAL-shirt	f. **maama konrek* father shirt

While most body part nouns are inherently/inalienably possessed (4.2.2), there are also a number of body part nouns that are optionally possessed:

(29)

ne-toku	'my leg'	**na-toku*	*toku*	'leg'
e-pikai	'your head'	**a-pikai*	*pikai*	'head'
he-ui	'his back'	**ha-ui*	*ui*	'back'
he-tik	'her breast'	**ha-tik*	*tik*	'breast'

The possessive inflection does not appear when the body part noun has a generic reference and is used metaphorically in cases such as *pikai kira* literally 'hard head' that refers to 'stubborn' people, as in (30).

(30) *moku fila ba pikai kira*
kid be.young LNK head be.hard
'a small child that is stubborn' [B07.050.03]

The same holds for the nouns *toku* 'leg' and *ui* 'back'. The noun *toku* 'leg' does not require possessive inflection in cases such as *toku lohu* 'long leg' that refers to a 'tall' person. The noun *ui* 'back' does not require possessive inflection when it refers to the back side of inanimate entities such as houses, as illustrated in (40) in section 4.2.4.

Most kinship terms combine with alienable prefixes. They are optionally possessed.

(31)	*e-ya*	'your mother'	**a-ya*	*yaya*
	ne-maama	'my father'	**na-maama*	*maama*
	ne-kalieta	'my parent (m/f)'	**na-kalieta*	*kalieta*
	he-wil	'his/her child'	**ha-wil*	*wil*
	ne-ura	'my sibling (DS)'	**na-ura*	*ura*
	ne-muknehi	'my sibling (SS)'	**na-muknehi*	*muknehi*
	he-naana	'his older sibling (m/f)'	**ha-naana*	*naana*
	ne-nahaa	'my younger sibling (m/f)'	**na-nahaa*	*nahaa*[4]

The kinship terms given in (31) may occur without possessor prefix in coordinating constructions and in lists. An example is given in (32), which is taken from a traditional narrative that describes the ancestry of Alila village:

(32) *muknehi, wil, kalieta, kokda fing*
sibling.SS child old.person younger oldest
'brothers, children, old people, the young ones and the elder' [B02.120.09:14]

4.2.4 Metaphorical extension of possessive relationship

The possessive construction prototypically expresses the relationship of ownership between a human possessor and an (in)animate possessum. This relationship may be metaphorically extended to express the relationship between two inanimate entities in a part-whole relation. This is illustrated in (33), where the nouns *ahama* 'remnant' and *tantama* 'middle' combine with possessive prefix cross-referencing the 'possessor' realized as the NP *pet* 'bow' or *kariang* 'work' respectively. Note that in both cases, the alienable possessive prefix is used.

[4] Note that for some Abui kinship terms are relative to the ego and gender of the possessor. The form *ura* refers to a sibling of the opposite gender than the possessor. The form *muknehi* refers to a sibling of the same gender as the possessor. For the terms *naana* 'older sibling' and *nahaa* 'younger sibling' the age of the possessor is relevant.

(33) a. *kariang* *he-ahama*
work 3II.AL-remnant
'remnant of work'

b. *pet* *he-tantama*
bow 3II.AL-middle
'middle of a bow'

To refer to locations such as 'back', 'front', or 'side', possessive construction may be used (a list of body part nouns is given in section 4.2.2). The located entity is expressed as the possessor of the body part. For example; the frontal part or position is referred to with the noun *pong* 'face', as illustrated in (34):

(34) a. *lik* *ha-pong*
platform 3II.INAL-face
'frontside of a veranda, platform'

b. *melang* *ha-pong*
village 3II.INAL-face
'frontal side of a village, seawards side'

In (35), the body part nouns *mina* 'side' and *bang* 'shoulder' are given. In (a), the body part noun *mina* 'side' refers to the side of an object or to juxtaposition of two objects. In (b), the noun *bang* 'shoulder' indicates an elevated flat position:

(35) a. *kadera* *ha-mina*
chair 3II.INAL-side
'side of a chair'

b. *melang* *tama* *ha-bang*
village sea 3II.INAL-shoulder
'village on the sea shore' [B07.047]

In (36), the body part nouns *-táng* 'hand', *-wa* 'mouth' refer to parts of vegetal bodies or parts of object that display some analogy with human body such as the edge of a mortar in (b).

(36) a. *bataa* *ha-táng*
wood 3II.INAL-hand
'branch of tree'

b. *natu* *ha-wa*
mortar 3II.INAL-mouth
'the upper edge of mortar'

Note that these constructions cannot be considered as compounds but as regular possessive constructions because the first noun of the construction may be modified. This is illustrated in (37), where the noun *bataa* 'wood' is modified with the stative verb *foka* 'be big'.

(37) *bataa* *foka* *ha-táng*
wood be.big 3II.INAL-hand
'branch of a big tree'

In (38), the noun *ièng* 'eye' is used to refer to the centre of objects:

(38) *masang* *h-ièng*
dance.place 3II.INAL-eye
'centre of a dance place'

ye *h-ièng*
water 3II.INAL-eye
'water source, well, spring'

The reverse side of objects is referred to with the body part *ui* 'back':

(39) *bataa ayoku he-ui*
wood two 3II.AL-back
'back side of two trees'

sura he-ui
book 3II.AL-back
'backside of a book'

In (40), the noun *ui* 'back' does not require possessive inflection when the possessor is inanimate (a). The location of the human participant referred to as *di* (3A) is expressed by the complement clause *fala ui hiéng* 'see the back of the house'. This clause is the U argument of the verb *mia* 'be in'. It encodes disappearing of the participant expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). In (b) the animate possessor *de-ya* 'her mother' must be expressed on the noun *ui* 'back'. Note that the verb *h-iéng* 'see it' expresses orientation of the location (a) or movement (b). For more details see 8.4.2.1.

(40) a. *di fala ui h-iéng mi-a nai-d-i*
3A house back 3II.PAT-see be.in-DUR lost-hold-PFV
'he disappeared behind the house' [B07.058.03]

b. *moku fila de-ya he-ui h-iéng làk-e*
kid be.young 3I.AL-mother 3II.AL-back 3II.PAT-see leave.for-IPFV
'a small child walks away behind her mother', lit.: 'a small child leaves seeing the back of her mother' [B07.059.01]

There are two possessive constructions containing body-part nouns that are used to specify a standard measure unit of trade commodities. The noun *h-ièng* 'its eye' indicates a hand-full quantity of commodities such as betel nut, tobacco, or small fish. For commodities such as corn, the noun *ha-táng* 'hand' is used; it refers to 140 corn spikes.

(41) *fu h-ièng*
betel.nut 3II.INAL-eye
'one bundle of betel nut'

kafaak h-ièng sua
tobacco 3II.INAL-eye three
'three small bundles of tobacco'

afu takata hièng nuku
fish be.dry 3II.INAL-eye one
'one handful of dried fish'

fat ha-táng
corn 3II.INAL-hand
'bunch of corn, 140 pieces'

Note that the constructions given in (41) cannot be analyzed as compounds because the body part can be used on its own once the commodity is mentioned or obvious from the context. The commodity can be expressed by a bare noun or by an NP, such as *afu takata* 'dry fish'.

4.3 Nominal derivation

New nouns can be derived by a number of processes. The most obvious process is compounding where two nouns are combined. When the referential properties are

taken in consideration, three types of compounds are distinguished: (i) ENDOCENTRIC, (ii) EXOCENTRIC, and (iii) LIST COMPOUNDS. Endocentric and exocentric compounds are right-headed structures. List compounds are non-headed compounds. Endocentric compounds are those where the category of the whole is identical to that of the head. They are discussed in detail in section 4.3.1. Exocentric compounds refer to an entity which is not expressed by one of the constituents (cf. Booij, 2005:79). I discuss the exocentric compounds in section 4.3.2. An overview of list compounds is given in 4.3.3. The last type of nominal derivation discussed here is nominalisation of verb phrases. This is discussed in section 4.3.4.

Derived nouns act as single syntactic units with respect to possessive inflection and adnominal modification. In (42), possessive inflection appears in front of the compound *anei dieng* 'clay pot'. The adnominal modifiers follow the head constituent of the compound *mea upi* 'mango fruit'.

(42) *ne-*[*anei dieng*]$_N$ [*mea upi*] *ralowang do*
1SG.AL-soil pot mango fruit sweet PRX
'my crock, my clay pot' 'the sweet mango fruit'

In (43), the nominalised VP *war sei* 'west' is given. This form serves as the head of the NP and combines with the anaphoric demonstrative *do* 'PRX'. The NP expresses an argument of the verb *ng* 'see' that is serialized with the verb *saai* 'come down'.

(43) *bataa nu ha-wata nu tawerang-d-i ba*
wood SPC.AD 3II.INAL-neck SPC.AD bent-hold-PFV LNK

{[*war sei*]$_N$ *do*}$_{NP}$=*ng* *saai*
sun come.down PRX=see come.down.CPL
'the top of that tree is bent and comes down towards the west' [B10.005.07:21]

The illustrated structures may be considered as lexicalized units because their internal structure does not seem to be 'visible' to morphological and syntactic operations as illustrated in (42)-(43). The invisibility of the internal structure distinguishes compounds from NPs that contain modifiers that are nouns (see section 4.4.1). In such NPs, the modifiers that are nouns may be omitted when the structure reoccurs in discourse.

4.3.1 Endocentric compounds

As mentioned above, endocentric compounds are those in which the category of the whole is identical to that of one of the constituents (cf. Booij, 2005:79). Morphologically, these compounds are right-headed because the referent of the right constituent is the same as the referent of the whole.[5] The left constituent specifies some property of the referent. In (44), a number of endocentric compounds are given. The listed compounds are headed by constituent on the right-hand side: *kasing* 'splinter' and *tantama* 'middle'. The first constituent specifies the substance.

[5] Abui nominal compounds are structurally parallel to complex verbs, which are also right-headed structures.

(44) *afu* *kasing*
fish splinter
'fish part'

botol *kasing*
bottle splinter
'bottle splinter'

tun *tantama*
night middle
'midnight'

tama *tantama*
sea middle
'middle of sea, horizon of sea'

Note that the noun *kasing* 'splinter' may also occur as adnominal modifier in enumeration; this is illustrated in section 4.4.4.1, example (88). In (45), the nouns *iya* 'trunk', *foi* 'peel, soft trunk', *upi* 'fruit', and *bika* 'kernel' refer to parts of plants. The species of the plant is specified by the left constituent of the compound:

(45) *wata* *iya*
coconut trunk
'coconut palm trunk'

baleei *foi*
banana peel
'banana trunk'

bataa *bika*
wood kernel
'seed of a tree'

mea *upi*
mango fruit
'mango fruit'

wata *upi*
coconut fruit
'coconut'

The nouns *upi* 'fruit' and *bika* 'kernel' also occur as adnominal modifiers in the enumeration of small round shaped objects, for more details see section 4.4.4.1, examples (89) and (87). In (46), a number of compounds headed by the noun *tuku* 'piece' are given; the left constituent specifies the material of the piece.

(46) *bataa* *tuku*
wood piece
'piece of wood'

tipai *tuku*
iron piece
'piece of iron'

biel *tuku*
liana piece
'piece of liana sp.'

ara *tuku*
fire piece
'piece of firewood'

In (47), the compounds contain the head *buk* 'bunch', referring to parts of vegetal bodies; the left constituent specifies the species:

(47) *kanai* *buk*
canari.nut bunch
'canari nut bunch'

fiyai *buk*
candlenut bunch
'candlenut bunch'

mea *buk*
mango bunch
'mango bunch'

The objects that are held together by a rope are described with the noun *tel* 'bundle'. In (48), the noun *tel* 'bunch' is the head of a number of compounds that are formed in the same way as the previous two types.

(48)

ara	*tel*	*meting*	*tel*	*sieng*	*ata*	*tel*
fire	bundle	betel.vine	bundle	rice	leaf	bundle
'firewood bundle'		'betel vine bundle'		'vegetable bundle'		

In (49), the head constituent expresses a habitat of various animal species; the left constituent specifies the species. One may wonder whether the compounds *ruwol ata* 'chicken nest' and *mutang kadielang* 'bee hive' given in the fist row may be considered endocentric. As for the compound *ruwol ata* 'chicken nest', in Alor, chicken usually nest in mango trees standing in the vicinity of a house. The head *ata* 'leaf' can be taken quite literally as the nest location of a chicken. As for the compound *mutang kadielang* 'bee stipel', bee hives are usually found high in the trees, attached under a branch. In that sense, they resemble the stipel of a plant.

(49)

ruwol	*ata*	*mutang*	*kadielang*	*birel*	*patei*
chicken	leaf	bee	stipel	termite	mound
'chicken nest'		'bee hive, wasp hive'		'termite mound'	

fikai	*maha*	*rui*	*maha*
red.ant	nest	rat	nest
'red ant nest (under ground)'		'rat nest'	

In (50), two compounds headed by the nouns *dieng* 'pot' are given. The left constituent of each compound refers to the material from which a specific 'pot' is made.

(50)

anei	*dieng*	*tipai*	*dieng*
soil	pot	iron	pot
'crock, clay pot'		'iron pot'	

In (51), two types of houses are given. The right constituent is the head of the structure because it denotes the category referred to by the compound. In the compound *bile tofa* 'field shelter', the left constituent *bile* 'sprout' specifies the purpose for which the house (in this case a shelter) is made. In the compound *aremang fala* 'tribal house', the left constituent *aremang* 'tribe' refers to the 'tribe' as an owner of the house.

(51)

bile	*tofa*	*aremang*	*fala*
sprout	shelter	tribe	house
'field shelter to watch over growing crops'		'tribal house'	

Animal species may be distinguished by compounds of the type given in (52). The left constituent specifies the location, in which a species typically occurs. The species is expressed by the head constituent.

(52)

tei	*fe*	*baleei*	*pakak*
field	pig	banana	spider
'wild pig'		'spider sp.'	

Some compounds seem to be calque constructions from Malay. The compound *anei takoi*, given in (53), is a literal calque from Malay *kacang tanah* 'peanut, lit.: bean soil'. Note that the order of constituents is reversed to match Abui compound structure.

(53) *anei takoi*
soil bean
'peanut'

4.3.2 Exocentric compounds

Compounds that refer to an entity which is not expressed by one of the constituents are called EXOCENTRIC (cf. Booij 2005:79). Exocentric compounds are right-headed just as endocentric compounds. A few are listed in (54); they are headed by the noun *tuku* 'piece'. The compounds refer to people that are characterized by the property expressed by the first constituent. The first constituent is in all cases a verb.

(54) *mielang tuku*
be.afraid piece
'coward'

bui tuku
short piece
'shortie'

palet tuku
reach.on.CPL piece
'gawk, clumsy'

4.3.3 List compounds

List compounds are non-headed structures; none of the constituents can be pointed out as the head of the compound. They consist of two nouns that list the referred entities. These structures are not conjunctions because the order of constituent nouns is fixed.

(55) *wil kalieta*
child old.person
'grandparent and child'

he-ya he-maama
3II.AL-mother 3II.AL-father
'his parents'

moling namang
gift clothes
'all what is needed for a funeral'

he-toku ha-táng
3II.AL-leg 3II.INAL-hand
'his helper, assistant'

4.3.4 Nominalized Verb Phrases

In Abui, there are verb phrases that are used non-predicatively. These verb phrases are nominalised and possibly lexicalized; they combine with adnominal modifiers (mainly anaphoric demonstratives) and serve to express arguments. As discussed in section 3.2.2, many lexical items in Abui are categorically indetermined and can be used predicatively and referentially. The ambiguity is usually resolved by the syntactic context in which the item is inserted. The presence of a quantifier or anaphoric demonstrative

typically indicates a nominal structure. However, also a number of verb phrases are nominalised and used referentially, as illustrated in (56). They indicate spatial or temporal locations that are specified by the first constituent. The final constituent of these forms is always a verb. The first constituent is either a noun, expressing an argument of the head verb, or another verb.

(56) *war sei*
sun come.down
'west'

war marang
sun come.up
'east'

fat hanah-a
corn put.between.CPL-DUR
'corn field'

ata tah-a
leaf put.on.CPL-DUR
'nest'

ara pe
fire near
'kitchen, place for cooking'

arida pe
appear.CNT near
'dawn'

ha-wet mi-a
3II.INAL-tooth be.in-DUR
'two main beams of the house supported by vertical poles with mouth-like endings'

In (57), a number of species are grouped according to their typical habitat. The habitat (a 'location') that expressed with an NP is the U argument of the verb *ì* 'put'; it is referred to by the prefix *he-* (3II.LOC). Observe that the first constituent is a noun (*tei* 'field', *mang* 'possession', or an NP (*ahiling tama* 'air'), or another nominalised VP (*tama wal* 'ocean').

(57) *tei he-ì*
field 3II.LOC-put
'wild animals'

mang he-ì
possession 3II.LOC-put
'domestic animals'

ahiling tama he-ì
air sea 3II.LOC-put
'air animals, flying animals'

tama wal he-ì
sea augment 3II.LOC-put
'sea animals'

In (58), various utensils are referred to by their typical 'location'. The constituent expressing the 'location' (usually a noun, and in case of *ara pe* 'kitchen, cooking place' another nominalised VP) is the U argument of the verb *ì* 'put'.

(58) *aremang he-ì*
tribe 3II.LOC-put
'tribal property'

gereja *he-ì*
church 3II.LOC-put
'church belongings'

ara pe he-ì
fire near 3II.LOC-put
'kitchen utensils'

In (59), the nominalised VPs with the verb *ì* 'put' refer to the right-hand and left-hand side.

(59) *kang he-ì* — *bikil he-ì*
good 3II.LOC-put — left 3II.LOC-put
'right-hand side' — 'left-hand side'

The nominalized VPs given in (56)-(59) contain in most cases verbs that refer to locations such as *mi* 'be in', *ì* 'put', *hanai/hanah-a* 'put between', *tai/tah-a* 'put on', or *pe* 'be near'. In fact, these structures possibly originate as headless relative clauses of the type illustrated in (60).

(60) *nala ba {ara pe}*$_{RC}$ > *{ara pe}*$_{RC}$ *ba* > *[ara pe]*$_{N}$
what LNK fire near — fire near LNK — fire near
'something that is nearby fire' — 'that is nearby fire' — 'kitchen'

The nominalised VPs given in (61) refer to containers or instruments. The verb indicates the typical purpose of the tool. The left constituent is a noun that expresses the undergoer argument of the verb and the entity, to which the tool is applied. In Takalelang dialect the word for water is *ya*; however, in Aila dialect the form is *ye*.

(61) *ye=k* — *fu lák*
water=bring — betel.nut break
'bucket, bamboo container for fetching water' — 'betel nut container'

In (62), the nominalized VPs refer to large bodies of water. The VP is headed by the verb *wal* 'augment, add' that combines with a single argument.

(62) *tama wal* — *ya wal*
sea augment — water augment
'ocean' — 'pond'

In (63), the nominalised VP *da-wa bang* (lit.: 'carry his mouth') refers to a person that likes to gossip. This referent is cross-referenced with the possessive prefix *da-* (3I.INAL) as possessor of the noun *wa* 'mouth' that serves as the U argument of the verb *bang* 'carry'.

(63) *da-wa bang*
3I.INAL-mouth carry
'gossip, scandalmonger'

Nominalised VPs such as *dawa bang* (lit.: 'carry his mouth') probably originate in relative clauses. In (64), a complex NP is used to refer to a 'tailor'. The noun *ama* 'person' is the head of the NP and combines with a relative clause given in the brackets. It is followed by the noun *adua* 'master, boss' in a possessive-like construction.

(64) *ni* [*ama*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*nala kapuk*}$_{RC}$ *adua* *ho-pa=ng* *sei*
1PL.E person LNK what sew master 3II.REC-touch=see come.down.CNT
'we come down to the tailor', lit.: 'we went down to the master of people that sew something' [B10.051.06]

The last derivational strategy that derives new nouns employs the non-numeral quantifier *loku* (PL). As discussed in section 4.4.4.2, the quantifier *loku* (PL) is an adnominal modifier that follows the head noun. The quantifier *loku* (PL) indicates that the referent is individuated (mostly human) and occurs in plural number. Any stem that is followed by the quantifier *loku* (PL) is interpreted non-predicatively and serves as the head of an NP. This is illustrated in (65) where a number of verbal stems combine with *loku* (PL).

(65) *pe loku*
near PL
'neighbours'

fing loku
eldest PL
'the elders'

kafering loku
horrify PL
'soldiers, warriors'

kawaisa loku
rich PL
'rich people'

walangra loku
fresh PL
'new people, i.e. Malay people'

firai loku
run PL
'the runners, those who run'

The constructions with *loku* (PL) possibly originate in relative clauses. There are complex NPs containing a relative clause; the head of the NP is sometimes omitted (∅) and only the relative clause and the linker *ba* are left over. The next step is to delete the linker and one arrives at forms listed above.

(66) *ama ba* {*firai*}$_{RC}$ *loku* > ∅ {*firai*} *loku* *ba* > *firai loku*
person LNK run PL run PL LNK run PL
'people who run' '(those) who run' 'runners'

Note that the position of *ba* (LNK) is always following the first constituent regardless of its function. As illustrated in 4.5, the linker usually follows the head NP. However, if the constituent order is reversed, it follows the relative clause and the NP is the final constituent.

4.4 Noun Phrases

A noun phrase (NP) is a syntactic constituent headed by a noun. It expresses the argument of a verb. In Abui, the head noun of an NP combines with a number of adnominal modifiers such as modifier nouns, adjectives, stative verbs, demonstratives,

and quantifiers. Modifier nouns (N_{MOD}) specify some property of the referred entity such as shape, size, age, or gender. Adjectives and stative verbs (ADJ/V) specify some property of head nouns such as colour, quality, size, taste etcetera. Demonstratives (DEM) are modifiers expressing something about the identifiability and referentiality of an NP in space or discourse. Demonstratives that locate the referent in space are referred to as deictic demonstratives (DEICT); demonstratives that locate the referent in discourse are anaphoric demonstratives (DEM). As discussed in section 3.5.2, both subtypes of demonstratives are differentiated by their syntactic position in an NP. The deictic demonstratives precede the head noun while the anaphoric demonstratives follow it. Quantifiers (QUANT) express something about the quantity of referents realized as a noun phrase. As discussed in section 3.5.3, there are two subtypes of quantifiers: the numerals and non-numeral quantifiers. Quantifiers always follow the head noun. In Abui, there are complex NPs that contain more than one adnominal modifier. In such complex NPs, the adnominal modifiers combine in fixed order schematically illustrated in (67). Of all adnominal modifiers, only deictic demonstratives (DEICT) and possessors (N_{POSS}) may precede the head noun, which may carry possessive inflection (PRO_{POSS}) discussed in section 4.2. The nouns, adjectives, stative verbs, numeral and non-numeral quantifiers and anaphoric demonstratives must follow the head noun.[6]

(67) **NP** → (DEICT) (N_{POSS} PRO_{POSS}-) **N** (N_{MOD}) (ADJ/V) (QUANT) (DEM)

In the following sections, I will give an overview of each adnominal modifier type. In section 4.4.1, I describe the modifier nouns that combine with the head noun. In section 4.4.2, I give an overview of the verbs and adjectives. The demonstratives are discussed in section 4.4.3. In 4.4.4, I describe the quantifiers. The combinations of adnominal modifiers in complex NPs are described in section 4.4.5. In section 4.5, I discuss related complex structures characterized by the intersective linker *ba* (LNK). In these structures, a complex modifier (an NP or a clause) is linked by the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) to a head noun.

4.4.1 Modifier Nouns

As discussed in 4.3, NPs consisting of a head noun and a modifier noun must be distinguished from compounds. In (68), a number of NPs that contain a modifier noun are given.

[6] Stokhof (1984:137) states that the modifiers follow the head in the order: attribution, quantification, specification.

(68)

wil *neng*	*wil* *mayol*
child man	child woman
'son'	'daughter'
kalieta *neng*	*kalieta* *mayol*
old.person man	old.person woman
'grandfather, old man'	'grandmother, old woman'
neng *moku*	*mayol* *moku*
man kid	woman kid
'boy'	'girl'

I argue that these structures consist of a head noun followed by a modifier noun. I will refer to them as [N-modifier noun] NPs. There are two pieces of evidence to analyze these structures as NPs. First, in syntactic operations, the [N-modifier noun] structures can be separated; they are not a single unit as compounds. As illustrated in (69), the head of the [N-modifier noun] NP *wil neng* 'son' can occur as a bare NP *wil* 'child' in the following clause.

(69)

kalieta	*neng*	*nuku*	*ai*	*bikil*	*miei*	*ya*	*faling*	*mi*	*ya*
old.person	man	one	side	left	come.CPL	SEQ	axe	take	SEQ

[*de-wil*	*neng*]$_{NP}$	*he-tàn-i*	[*he-wil*]$_{NP}$	*di*	*mi*	*ba*
3I.AL-child	man	3II.LOC-release.CPL-PFV	3II.AL-child	3A	take	LNK

ara *ha-wot-i*
fire 3II.PAT-throw.CPL-PFV
'one old man came from the left side and gave an axe to his son, his child took it and cut the firewood' [B06.073.MPI160MW]

Because the right constituent is omitted and the left constituent re-occurs, the left constituent must be the head and in consequence the structures as *wil neng* 'son' are NPs. In contrast, compounds are right-headed structures that are lexicalized; their internal structure is not 'visible' for syntactic operations and none of the constituents may be omitted.

The second piece of evidence is comes from morphology. Consider the structure *wil neng* 'son' (lit.: 'child man') in (70). In (a), this structure combines with possessive inflection. In (b, c), the possessive marking appears on each of the nouns *wil* 'child' and *neng* 'man' independently. The meaning of the possessed structure *ne-wil neng* 'my son' corresponds to *ne-wil* 'my child' and not to *ne-neng* 'my husband'. From this we can conclude that the structure *wil neng* 'son' is left-headed and therefore an NP.

(70) a. [*ne-*{*wil*}$_{N}$ *neng* *do*]$_{NP}$
1SG.AL-child man PRX
'my son'

b. [*ne-wil* *do*]$_{NP}$
1SG.AL-child PRX
'my child

c. [*ne-neng* *do*]$_{NP}$
1SG.AL-man PRX
'my husband'

The modifier noun indicates some characteristic of the head noun such as gender and age. The modifier noun *bilel* 'sprout' in (71) indicates the young age of the referent expressed by the head noun, referring to younglings of humans, animals and small plants.

(71) *moku* *bilel*
kid sprout
'baby'

kaai *bilel*
dog sprout
'puppy'

fat *bilel*
corn sprout
'new corn, corn sprout'

kameling *bilel*
cockroach sprout
'little cockroach'

tunui *bilel*
locust sprout
'little locust'

In the introduction of this chapter, I argued that many nouns with inanimate reference denote substances rather than well-defined objects. These nouns typically combine with modifier nouns that specify their shape and size. In enumeration, the modifier noun typically co-occurs with the quantifier because the head noun is not sufficiently individuated to be quantified (see also 4.4.4.1). This is illustrated in (72), where the head noun *seng* 'money' combines with two modifier nouns that specify the shape of the 'money' substance. The banknotes are referred to as *watala* 'leaves', while for coins the modifier noun *tipai* 'iron' is used to indicate the material from which this type of money is made. Note that both NPs refer to a type of money and not to a type of leaves or iron, which would be the case if these structures were compounds.

(72) *seng* *watala*
money leaves
'banknote'

seng *tipai*
money iron
'coin'

In (73), the modifier nouns *upi* 'fruit' and *kasing* 'splinter' refer to a heavenly body in various shapes. These NPs contrast with compounds listed in (44)-(45).

(73) *ía* *upi*
moon fruit
'full moon'

ía *kasing*
moon splinter
'moon crescent'

war *kasing*
sun splinter
'sun crescent (during eclipse, sunset)'

The modifier noun *tama* 'sea' indicates the vast shape of the referred entity:

(74)

kupai *tama*	*ahiling* *tama*	*war* *tama*
forest sea	air sea	sun sea
'jungle'	'air, (element)'	'dry season'
tun *tama*	*loma* *tama*	
darkness sea	hill sea	
'night'	'slope of a hill'	

4.4.2 Verbs and Adjectives

In an NP, stative verbs and adjectives serve to specify some property of the head noun (cf. Payne 1997:63). As illustrated in (75), stative verbs and adjectives follow the head noun. In (a), the adjective *kul* 'white' follows the head noun *kaai* 'dog', as well as the stative verbs *kiding* 'small', *foka* 'big' and *fila* 'young' in (b-d):

(75)

a. *kaai* *kul*
dog white
'white dog'

b. *fala* *kiding*
house small
'small house'

c. *bataa* *foka*
wood be.big
'big tree'

d. *moku* *fila*
kid be.young
'little child'

As discussed in section 3.5.1, adjectives are syntactically differentiated from stative verbs. Both grammatical categories may serve as modifiers in an NP, but stative verbs may also serve as a head of a VP and combine with a single argument. In Abui, arguments always precede the verb, which means that a structure consisting of a noun followed by a stative verb is ambiguous and may be interpreted either as an NP or as a VP. On the other hand, the adjectives cannot be used as predicates, heading a VP. These properties are summarized in Table 18:

Table 18: Distributional properties of adjectives and stative verbs

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY	NP DOMAIN	VP DOMAIN
ADJECTIVE	Modifier	*
STATIVE VERB	Modifier	Predicate

The functional asymmetry between adjectives and stative verbs has a consequence, that only the structures consisting of a noun followed by an adjective are unambiguous NPs. This restricted functional property of a noun phrase with an adjectival modifier is further exemplified in (76). In (a, d, g) the adjective modifier of the noun phrase has an attributive function, but as illustrated in (b, e, h) it does not have a predicative function. Instead a complex verb must be used that incorporates the adjectival element:

(76) a. *kaai kul*
dog white
'a white dog'

b. *kaai kul*
dog white
not good for: 'the dog is white'

c. *kaai kul-ì*
dog white-put
'the dog is white'

d. *upi akan*
fruit black
'a black fruit'

e. *upi akan*
fruit black
not good for: 'the fruit is black'

f. *upi akan-ì*
fruit black-put
'the fruit is black'

g. *baleei san*
banana clean
'a ripe banana'

h. *baleei san*
banana clean
not good for: 'the banana is ripe'

i. *baleei san-r-i*
banana clean-reach-PFV
'the banana is ripe'

As discussed in section 3.5.1, the grammatical category of adjectives is closed; it contains only six items. The set of stative verbs is much larger, as shown in section 3.4.4.8. Therefore most NPs that contain an attributive modifier are ambiguous. Structures that consist of a single noun and a stative verb may be interpreted non-predicatively as an NP or predicatively consisting of a stative verb combined with a single argument realized as a bare NP. This ambiguity is illustrated in (77). The structure consisting of the noun *ama* 'person' and the stative verb *tukoi* 'be strong' is ambiguous and can be interpreted either as an NP (a) or as N + VP (b).

(77) a. *ama tukoi*
person be.strong
'strong person'

b. *ama tukoi*
person be.strong
'the person is strong'

Structures similar to those in (77) are disambiguated when another NP-domain constituent is present. This is illustrated in (78), where the numeral *nuku* 'one' follows the stative verb *bui* 'be short'. In Abui, numerals may not modify verbs and therefore the structure in (b) is identified as an NP. Another constituent that occurs exclusively in NP domain is the plural quantifier *loku* (PL). In (d), its presence identifies the given structure as an NP.

(78) a. *lui bui*
knife be.short
'short knife' or 'the knife is short'

b. *lui bui nuku*
knife be.short one
'one short knife'

c. *mayol fing*
woman be.eldest
'first wife' or 'the woman is eldest'

d. *mayol fing loku*
woman be.eldest PL
'the first wives'

As illustrated in (78), the quantifiers *nuku* 'one' and *loku* (PL) follow the stative verb. More details about the NP syntax dealing with more than one modifier can be found in section 4.4.5.

There are cases, where an NP containing a stative verb seems lexicalized. In (79), the head noun *ama* 'person' combines with a stative verb. The noun *ama* 'person'

may occur independently referring to an unspecified human being. The noun *ama* 'person' combines with the stative verb *kang* 'be good' to refer neutrally to a human being, as also illustrated in (80). The stative verb *kang* 'be good' can be alternated with the stative verb *beka* 'be bad', but in that case, the NP has a negative connotation of a 'bad guy'.

(79) *ama kang*
person be.good
'person, guy'

ama beka
person be.bad
'bad guy, villain'

The NP *ama kang* 'person, guy' seems lexicalized. It is typically used to refer to inhabitants of a village or area. Note that area is referred to as a possessor of the noun *ama* 'person' with the possessive prefix *he-* (3II.AL).

(80) *Takalelang he-ama kang*
place 3II.AL-person be.good
'guy from Takalelang, Takalelang person'

Pido he-ama kang
place 3II.AL-person be.good
'guy from Pido, Pido person'

Another example of a lexicalized NP is given in (81), where the modifier *kira* 'be hard' combines with the head noun *pikai* 'head'. The NP refers metaphorically to a stubborn person rather than to a hard head.

(81) *pikai kira*
head be.hard
'stubborn person, pig-headed person'

Other instances of lexicalized NPs that refer to a characteristic property of a human referent are given in (82). The property is assigned to a body part and the human referent is expressed in some cases by an obligatory possessor marking.

(82) *ha-táng beka*
3II.INAL-hand be.bad
'rowdy, fighter'

ha-táng abet
3II.INAL-hand light
'handy person'

ha-moi ha-wa beka
3II.INAL-voice 3II.INAL-mouth be.bad
'person who often makes arguments'

toku lohu
leg be.long
'tall person'

4.4.3 Demonstratives

As discussed in section 3.5.2, Abui demonstratives locate the referent in space or discourse. The two functions of Abui demonstratives are distinguished syntactically. This is illustrated in (83). In (a), the demonstrative *do* (PRX) refers to a proximate spatial

location of the referent *fala* 'house'. In (b), the same form refers to the proximate discourse location of the same referent *fala* 'house'.

(83) a. *do* *fala*
PRX house
'this house (located by me)'

b. *fala* *do*
house PRX
'this house (I talk about)'

This shows that those demonstratives that precede the head noun indicate its spatial location; they are deictic demonstratives (DEICT). The demonstratives that follow the head noun indicate its discourse location; they are anaphoric demonstratives (DEM). Both functions are further discussed below. In Abui, both deictic demonstratives as well as anaphoric demonstratives provide anchoring along a number of axes: SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE, PROXIMAL-DISTAL, and HIGH-LOW (see also section 3.5.2.1). Two of these axes apply to anaphoric demonstratives (SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE, PROXIMAL-DISTAL), and all three of them apply to deictic demonstratives. In the remainder of this section, I deal with both types of demonstratives. In section 4.4.3.1, I give an overview of the axis that constitute Abui deictic system and exemplify the use of deictic demonstratives within an NP. In 4.4.3.2, I discuss anaphoric demonstratives.

4.4.3.1 Deictic demonstratives

Deictic demonstratives combine with nouns to indicate distance or orientation of the referent with respect to speech participants (cf. Payne 1997:103). An overview of Abui deictic demonstratives is given in Table 19.

Table 19: Abui deictic demonstratives

	RELATIVE FRAME OF REFERENCE: VIEWPOINT (V)		VERTICAL PARAMETER	
HORIZONTAL PARAMETER	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	LOW	HIGH
PROXIMAL	*do* (PRX)	*to* (PRX.AD)	*	*
MEDIAL	*o, lo* (MD)	*yo* (MD.AD)	*ò* (MD.L)	*ó* (MD.H)
DISTAL		*oro* (DST)	*wò* (DST.L)	*wó* (DST.L)

The deictic demonstratives are exemplified (139). More details can be found in section 3.5.2.1, in examples (122)-(124).

4.4.3.2 Anaphoric demonstratives

Demonstratives following the head noun identify the referent in discourse. They indicate the referential properties of the nouns such as [±specific] and [±definite]. The proximal and medial anaphoric demonstratives have a relative frame of reference; they alternate the viewpoint (V) over speaker or addressee. Definiteness is generally defined as the identifiability of the referent for both the speaker and the addressee. Considering this, only the proximal and medial anaphoric demonstratives indicate a [+definite] referent. An overview of the anaphoric demonstratives is given in Table 20:

Table 20: Abui anaphoric demonstratives

	VIEWPOINT (V)	
DISCOURSE LOCATION	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE
[+PROXIMAL][+DEFINITE]	*do* (PRX)	*to* (PRX.AD)
[+MEDIAL][+DEFINITE]	*o* (MD)	*yo* (MD.AD)
[+DISTAL][−DEFINITE][±SPECIFIC]	*hu* (SPC)	*nu* (SPC.AD)

In an NP, both types of demonstratives, the deictic and the anaphoric demonstratives, may co-occur; a number of combinations are given in (84).

(84) a. *o* *bataa* *nuku* *do*
MD wood one PRX
'the tree there'

b. *o* *e-fu* *do* *mi-a*
MD 2SG.AL-betel.nut PRX take-DUR
'take the betel nut of yours there'

c. *wó* *bataa* *isi* *do*
DST.H wood fruit PRX
'the fruit up there'

d. *wó* *baleei* *loku* *do*
DST.H banana PL PRX
'the banana's up there'

e. *ò* *ahai* *do*
MD.L outside PRX
'the outside below part of the house'

f. *ò* *de-feela* *do*
MD.L 3I.AL-friend PRX
'his own friend below'

It is possible that there are some restrictions on the combinations of the deictic demonstratives with anaphoric demonstratives, but I have not checked this systematically. For more details about the referential properties of Abui anaphoric demonstratives, see also section 3.5.2.2.

4.4.4 Quantifiers

In an NP, quantifiers (QUANT) indicate the quantity of the referent. In Abui, there are two types of quantifiers: (i) numeral quantifiers that express the exact quantity of the countable referent (see 4.4.4.1); (ii) non-numeral quantifiers that express a fuzzy quantity of both countable and uncountable referents (see 4.4.4.2). Both types of quantifiers are discussed in section 3.5.3. In an NP, quantifiers follow the head noun.

4.4.4.1 Numeral quantifiers

A number of NPs with numeral quantifiers are given in (85). In all cases the numeral follows the head noun:

(85) *mayol* *nuku* — woman one — 'one woman'
bal *ayoku* — ball two — 'two balls'
war *buti* — sun four — 'four days'

In (86), I illustrate the use of numeral quantifiers in context.

(86) *neng nuku mayol nuku do di ta-yaar-i yo*
man one woman one PRX 3A DISTR.PAT-give.birth.CPL-PFV MD.AD

neng ayoku
man two
'one man and one woman, they gave birth, two sons (were born)' [B02.023.00:03]

As discussed in 4.4.1, nouns with inanimate reference denote substances rather than well-defined objects. In quantified NPs, these nouns combine with modifier nouns that specify their shape and size in order to be enumerated. In their function, modifier nouns are very much like classifiers. The modifier noun ***bika*** 'kernel' co-occurs in enumeration with nouns denoting smallish round objects, as illustrated in (87).

(87) *na-wet bika nuku* *h-ièng bika ayoku*
1SG.INAL-tooth kernel one 3II.INAL-eye kernel two
'one tooth of mine' 'his two eyes'

The noun ***kasing*** 'splinter' is used in enumeration of flat shaped objects:

(88) *kabala kasing kar-nuku* *faala kasing nuku*
cloth splinter ten-one slab splinter one
'ten pieces of cloth' 'one slab (on the poles of the house)'

The modifier nouns may also appear in enumeration of human and animal referents to indicate generic (non-specific) reference. In (89), the nouns ***moku*** 'kid' , ***fe*** 'pig', ***ama kang*** 'person', and ***ura*** 'sibling' combine with the modifier noun ***upi*** 'fruit' to refer to a number of unspecified referents.

(89) *moku upi talaama* *fe upi talaama*
kid fruit six pig fruit six
'six children' 'six pigs'

ama kang upi sua *he-ura upi ayoku*
person be.good fruit three 3II.AL-sibling.OS fruit two
'three people' 'her two brothers/his two sisters'

In some cases, an NP containing a numeral quantifier seems lexicalized. An instance is given in (90), where the head noun ***toku*** 'leg' combines with numerals ***ayoku*** 'two' and ***buti*** 'four'. The NP refers to two- and four-legged domestic animals.

(90) *he-toku ayoku buti*
3II.AL-leg two four
'domestic animals'

4.4.4.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

A fuzzy quantity of the referent is expressed by non-numeral quantifiers (see also section 3.5.3.2). Non-numeral quantifiers follow the head noun. There are three non-numeral quantifiers that will be discussed here; the plural quantifier *loku* (PL), the quantifier *kabei* 'few, little' and *faring* 'much, many'.

The quantifier *loku* expresses the plural quantity and is glossed as (PL). The quantifier *loku* (PL) can never be followed by a numeral, which proves that it is not an instance of plural inflection but a plural quantifier. It combines with referents that are countable and individuated; such referents are mostly human. The meaning of the quantifier *loku* (PL) can be translated with 'many' or 'several' or with a plural form of the modified noun; nevertheless, these translations seem to be less felicitous as glosses. A number of examples are given in (91):

(91) *neng loku*
man PL
'the men'

ruwol loku
chicken PL
'the chicken'

he-pet he-pulang loku
3II.AL-bow 3II.AL-arrow PL
'his armour, his bows and arrows'

namang loku
clothes PL
'(various) clothes'

In the clause given in (92), the A argument of the verb *sei* 'come down' is expressed with the NP *moku loku*. The head noun *moku* 'kid' is quantified with *loku* (PL).

(92) *moku loku sakola he-sei*
kid PL school 3II.LOC-come.down.CNT
'the children come down for school' [B03.003.02]

In (93), the quantifier *loku* (PL) occurs with the noun *fe* 'pig' in (a). It was used in a situation where the speaker referred to four pigs. In (b), the noun *fír* 'star' is combined with loku (PL) to mean a high number of stars. Clearly, the quantifier *loku* (PL) indicates "more than one".

(93) a. *fe loku*
pig PL
'pigs'

b. *fír loku*
star PL
'stars'

In (94), the quantifier *loku* (PL) combines with proper names that refer to persons, groups, or areas. However, the NPs that consist of these nouns and the quantifier *loku* (PL) do not simply refer to the plural number of these referents but to a group of people associated with the persons, groups or areas expressed by the proper name. A number of examples is also given in (11) above.

(94) *Afui Ata loku*
name PL
'people of Afui Ata family'

Al loku
Muslim PL
'Muslim people'

Kafola loku
Kabola PL
'people from Kabola'

Kalong loku
Klon PL
'Klon people'

abui loku
mountain PL
'mountain people, Abui people'

These NPs are probably instances of possessed NPs, in which the head noun is omitted. In (95), an example of such a construction is given.

(95) *Takalelang he-ama kang loku* > *Takalelang loku*
place 3II.AL-person be.good PL — place PL
'people of Takalelang' — 'Takalelang people'

The quantifier *loku* is a constituent that occurs exclusively in the NP domain (see also section 4.3.4). The other non-numeral quantifiers may combine with verbs, as discussed in section 3.5.3.2.

The quantifier *kabei* 'little' indicates a small number of a countable referent and a small quantity of an uncountable referent.

(96) *adat do, di he-l seng kabei do, di pun-a ba*
custom PRX 3A 3II.LOC-give money little PRX 3A grab.CPL-DUR LNK

lol-lol
RED[walk]
'the kepala adat[7], he will bring around a little bit of money' [B13.010.36:51]

The quantifier *faring* 'many, much' indicates a large number of countable referents or a large quantity of uncountable referents. In (97), the quantifier *faring* 'many, much' quantifies the NP *ama kang* 'people':

(97) *ama kang faring me*
person be.good many come
'many people come' [B02.098.16:52]

4.4.5 Combinations of adnominal modifiers

The order of adnominal modifiers in an NP is fixed. As discussed in section 4.4, only the deictic demonstratives (DEICT) precede the head noun; other modifiers follow the head noun. The order of modifiers is schematically represented in (98), which is a repetition of the same scheme given in (67):

[7] The Malay word *kepala adat* refers to the 'head of custom, habbits'; that is somebody with the traditional knowledge who is able to negotiate and enter various contracts in a culturally recognized way.

(98) **NP →** (DEICT) (N_{POSS} PRO_{POSS}-) **N** (N_{MOD}) (ADJ/V) (QUANT) (DEM)

The following examples show the ordering of the adnominal modifiers. Modifier nouns immediately follow the head noun. They are followed by adjectives and stative verbs (ADJ/V), quantifiers (QUANT), and anaphoric demonstratives (DEM). A number of examples of complex noun phrases are given in (99). In all cases, stative verbs precede quantifiers; the anaphoric demonstratives are the right most modifiers. In cases when anaphoric demonstratives co-occur with quantifiers, the quantifiers have to precede them:

(99)

DEICT	**N**	V	QUANT
do	*bal*	*kika*	*ayoku*
PRX	ball	be.red	two

'these two red balls'

DEICT	**N**	V	DEM
wó	*bataa*	*foka*	*nu*
DST.H	wood	be.big	SPC.AD

'a big tree above over there'

N	N_{MOD}	QUANT	DEM
wil	*neng*	*ayoku*	*yo*
child	man	two	MD.AD

'those two sons (you talked about)'

N	N_{MOD}	QUANT	DEM
seng	*tipai*	*nuku*	*do*
money	iron	one	PRX

'this one coin'

N	V	QUANT
bataa	*foka*	*nuku*
wood	be.big	one

'one big tree'

N	V	QUANT	DEM
moku	*fila*	*loku*	*do*
kid	be.young	PL	PRX

'the small children'

DEICT	N_{POSS}	PRO_{POSS}-**N**
oro	*afu*	*he-lafufung*
DST	fish	3II.AL-scales.of.fish

'scales of fish over there'

DEICT	PRO_{POSS}-**N**	DEM
ò	*de-feela*	*do*
MD.L	3I.AL-friend	PRX

'his friend below'

DEICT	N_{POSS}	PRO_{POSS}-**N**	V	QUANT
wó	*Pido*	*he-ama*	*kang*	*loku*
DST.H	tribe	3II.AL-person	good	PL

'Pido people up there'

DEICT	N_{POSS}	PRO_{POSS}-**N**	DEM
ò	*pelang*	*he-faisewang*	*do*
MD.L	canoe	3II.AL-floater	PRX

'the canoe floater, outrigger below'

DEICT	N_{POSS}	PRO_{POSS}-**N**	QUANT	DEM
oro	*he-ya*	*he-puyung*	*loku*	*do*
DST	3II.AL-mother	3II.AL-saliva	PL	PRX

'the saliva of his mother over there'

Anaphoric demonstratives (DEM) signal the end of an NP. This is illustrated in (100). In the left-hand column, a verb follows the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) and is interpreted as the constituent head of a VP. In the right-hand column, the verb is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) and is interpreted as an NP modifier. This proves that the anaphoric demonstratives are the right-most constituents.

		[**N**	DEM]$_{NP}$	V		[**N**	ADJ	V	DEM]$_{NP}$
(100)	a.	*kaai*	*do*	*kul-ì*	b.	*kaai*	*kul*	*mahapang*	*do*
		dog	PRX	white-put		dog	white	stupid	PRX
		'the dog is white'				'the white stupid dog'			

		[N	DEM]$_{NP}$	V		[**N**	V	DEM]$_{NP}$
	c.	*fala*	*do*	*foka*	d.	*fala*	*foka*	*do*
		house	PRX	be.big		house	be.big	PRX
		'this house is big'				'this big house'		

Quantifiers are the second right-most adnominal modifiers. In an NP, they are preceded by stative verbs and adjectives. When quantifiers are not followed by an anaphoric demonstrative, they signal the end of an NP. As illustrated in (101) the stative verb *foka* 'be big' must precede the quantifier *ayoku* 'two' in order to be interpreted as an adnominal modifier (b). When the stative verb *foka* 'be big' follows the numeral, it is interpreted as a VP head (a).

		[**N**	QUANT]$_{NP}$	V		[**N**	V	QUANT]$_{NP}$
(101)	a.	*fala*	*ayoku*	*foka*	b.	*fala*	*foka*	*ayoku*
		house	two	be.big		house	be.big	two
		'two houses are big'				'two big houses'		

In spoken language, NPs contain at most two adnominal modifiers. However, complex NPs with three or more adnominal modifiers can be elicited, as illustrated in (102):

(102) *upi akan kupil do*
fruit black round PRX
'the round black fruit'

ya wal dakun roka foka lohu nu
water augment dirty be.deep be.big be.long SPC.AD
'a long wide deep dirty river'

As illustrated in (103), it is not desirable to accumulate adjectives and stative verbs within a single NP. The construction given in (a) contains one adjective and two stative verbs that are not interpreted as adnominal modifiers but as VP heads. In (b), these stative verbs are embedded in the NP with the linker *ba* (LNK) that is discussed in the following section.

(103) a. [*kaai kul*]$_{NP}$ *kalieta takata*
dog white be.old be.dry
'white dog is old and weak'

b. [*kaai kul kalieta*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*takata do*}$_{RC}$
dog white be.old LNK be.dry PRX
'the old white dog that is weak'

4.5 Modifiers linked with *ba*

In this section, I discuss complex structures with the linker *ba* (LNK). In these structures, the linker *ba* (LNK) links the NP with a modifier constituent. Linked modifiers come in a variety ranging from NPs, adnominal modifiers such as stative verbs, quantifiers, demonstratives, to relative clauses and adverbs. In case of relative clauses, the relativized NP is usually not expressed inside the relative clause (it is gapped), unless it is a U argument that has to be obligatorily expressed with a pronominal prefix. In (104), the linked modifier of the bare NP *kaai* 'dog' is the NP *bikeng faring* 'many fleas'.

(104) [*kaai*]NP *ba* {*he-bikeng faring*}NP *oro* *do-kafi-a*
dog LNK 3II.AL-louse many DST 3I.PAT-scratch-DUR
'the dog that has a lot of fleas is scratching over there' [B05:060]

In (105), the head noun *moku* 'kid' is modified by the stative verb *fila* 'be young'. The NP *moku fila* 'little child' is linked with *ba* (LNK) to the modifier NP *pikai kira* 'stubborn person', literally 'hard-headed':

(105) [*moku fila*]NP *ba* {*pikai kira* *nu*}NP
kid be.young LNK head be.hard SPC.AD
'a little child that is stubborn'

In (106) the bare NP *feela* 'friend' is modified with the NP *h-iek bula* 'sharp butt' that refers to the fable character Sharp Butt. The modified NP is referred to with the alienable possessive prefix *he-* (3II.AL). In the fable, Sharp Butt and Sharp Head venture to steal coconuts but lacking savvy and solidarity, both die at the end.

(106) *wah,* [*he-feela*]NP *ba* {*h-iek* *bula* *do*}NP *di* *ò*
ho 3II.AL-friend LNK 3II.INAL-buttocks be.sharp PRX 3A MD.L

mi-a *di* *da-lal*
be.in-DUR 3A 3I.PAT-laugh
'wow, his friend Sharp Butt, he is below laughing' [B06.077.00:58]

In (107), the linked modifier is the deictic *oro* (DST) that is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD). The NP headed by *fala* 'house' contains also the numeral *nuku* 'one'. The complex structure expresses the U argument of the verb *tukai* 'support'.

(107) [*fala* *nuku*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*oro* *nu*}$_{DEICT}$ *he-adua* *di* *tukai*
house one LNK DST SPC.AD 3II.AL-master 3A support

bakai-d-i
grapple-hold-PFV
'that one house over there, the owners already supported it all around' [B05.050.05]

In (108), the linked modifier of the bare NP *ratala* 'grandchild' is the ordinal numeral *he-ayoku* 'second'.

(108) *nu-kuta,* [*e-ratala*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*he-ayoku*}$_{NUM}$ *bai*
1PL.E.AL-grandparent 2SG.AL-grandchild LNK 3II.LOC-two as.well

fa *di* *kabei* *mit-d-i=se*
be.MD.AD 3A little sit-hold-PFV=INCP.I
'grandfather, your second grandson will actually sit a bit' [B02.043.14:32]

As illustrated in (109), the linker *ba* (LNK) may link bare NPs with a single modifier, usually a stative verb in (a, b). The structures in (a, b) have a restrictive reading. Consider also the distinction between (b) and (c). While (b) refers to a person that is bad because of his deeds, (c) has an open reading and refers to a 'bad guy', i.e. a person who does not necessarily do anything bad, but has a potential to do so.

(109) a. *kaai* *ba* *kika*
dog LNK be.red
'dog that is brown'

b. *ama* *ba* *beka*
person LNK be.bad
'person that is bad'

c. *ama* *beka*
person be.bad
'bad guy'

In (110), the noun *ya* 'water' is modified by the stative verb *palata* 'be cold'. The linker *ba* (LNK) is obligatory when the following verb *dakun-i* 'become dirty' is to be interpreted as a modifier (a). The intersective linker *ba* (LNK) follows the modifier *palata* 'be cold' and introduces a relative clause. In (b) and (c), the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) is not present; consequently, both constructions have a different reading. In (c), the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) follows the verb *dakun-i* 'become dirty'. The demonstrative is not interpreted as an adnominal modifier because the verb *dakun-i* 'become dirty' is not embedded but predicates over the NP *ya palata* 'cold water'. For the clause level functions of anaphoric demonstratives see section 6.4.3.

(110) a. [*ya* *palata*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*dakun-i* *do*}$_{RC}$
water be.cold LNK dirty-put PRX
'the cold water that became dirty'

b. [*ya* *palata*]$_{NP}$ *dakun-i*
water be.cold dirty-put
'cold water became dirty'

c. [*ya* *palata*]$_{NP}$ *dakun-i* *do*
water be.cold dirty-put PRX
'cold water just became dirty'

In (111), a full relative clause modifies the list compound NP *fu meting* 'betel nut and betel vine'. The relative clause consists of the A argument *ama* 'person' and the two

verbs *mi* 'take' and *sei* 'come down' conjoined in a serial verb construction. The NP *fu meting* 'betel nut and betel vine' is logically the U argument of the verb *mi* 'take' but in the relative clause it is gapped.

(111) [*fu meting*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*ama mi sei nu*}$_{RC}$ *na mi yaa*
betel.nut betel.vine LNK person take come.down.CNT SPC.AD 1SG take go
'that betel nut and betel vine that people brought me, I accept it' [B01.079.02:01]

In (112) a complex structure serves as the U argument of the verb *tahai* 'search'. In this structure, the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) links the bare NP *kafiei* 'goat' with the relative clause *nai-d-i nu* 'became lost (some time ago)'. Note that the head noun *kafiei* 'goat' is the single argument of the verb *nai-d-* 'get lost'.

(112) *moku loku la sawai* [*kafiei*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*nai-d-i nu*}$_{RC}$ *tahai*
kid PL be.MD in.vain goat LNK lost-hold-PFV SPC.AD search
'the children tried in vain to find the goat that got lost' [B07.013.01]

In (113), the bare NP *fe* 'pig' combines with a relative clause. Observe that the head noun *fe* 'pig' is co-indexed as the possessor of the noun *toku* 'leg' in the relative clause. The noun *toku* 'leg' serves as the U argument of the verb *kor* 'bind'. The A argument of the verb *kor* 'bind' is not expressed. Note that the relativized NP *fe* 'pig' is co-indexed with the possessive prefix *he-* (3II.AL) and PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) inside the relative clause.

(113) [*fe*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*he-toku ha-kor-i yo*}$_{RC}$
pig LNK 3II.AL-leg 3II.PAT-bind.CPL-PFV MD.AD

do-tik-i ba taki
3I.REC-stretch-PFV LNK flee
'that pig that had its legs bound, untied itself and escaped' [B05.046.06]

In (114), the head noun *fala* 'house' is logically the U argument of the verb *ong* 'make' in the relative clause. The verb *ong* 'make' is serialized with the verb *fak* 'break' with which it shares its U argument *fala* 'house'. The A argument of the verb *ong* 'make' is *tayoka* 'earthquake'.

(114) [*fala*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*tayoka ong fak-i nu*}$_{RC}$ *ama da-wai*
house LNK earthquake make break-PFV SPC.AD person 3I.PAT-turn

ong kan-r-a
make be.good.CPL-reach-DUR [B05.040.04]
'that house that was destroyed by the earthquake, people are again repairing it'

In (115), one of the most complex structures found in my corpus is given. The NP headed by *fala* 'house' contains a possessor *e-maama mantan kades* 'your father, former village head'. This NP is linked with a large relative clause given between curly

brackets. The example comes from a conversation concerning the place name *Fota Ailol*. The name refers to a place with a large wide stone that used to be a resting place in the old days. The speaker described the stone as being located with respect to the house of the addressee's uncle. He refers to the house as standing below a big and wide stone like this.

(115) *he-n* *wò* *sei* [(*e-maama* *mantan* *kades*)$_{\text{POSS}}$
3II.LOC-see.CPL DST.L come.down.CNT 2SG.AL-father former village.head

he-fala]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ba* {[(*wi* *tileesing* *foka*)$_{\text{NP}}$ *wò* *na*
3II.AL-house LNK stone be.wide be.big DST.L be.like.PRX.CNT

nu]$_{\text{complement}}$ *mi=ng* *mit* *nu*}$_{\text{RC}}$
SPC.AD be.in=see sit SPC.AD
'coming down there, to that house of your uncle that stands under a big wide stone like this' [B02.127.01:35]

From the previous examples, we can conclude that the linker *ba* (LNK) links an NP and a modifier in a structure that functions as single NP. In fact, this definition can be expanded also to the clause level, as the linker *ba* (LNK) serves to link verbs in a single clause (see also section 3.5.6). The linked *ba* (LNK) has an intersective function; it links two constituents to a single unit on the level of one of them.

In the complex NPs given so far, the NP precedes the linker *ba* (LNK) linking it with a modifier constituent (adnominal modifier or a clause). The modified NP may be considered as the head of the construction. However, in some cases, the modifying constituent precedes the noun or the noun may be omitted. The modifier constituent has either deictic or possessive function and its location corresponds to the location of deictics and possessors within the NP. In (116), the relative clause *nopa mia* 'be touching on me' precedes the NP *bataa do* 'the wood'. The linker *ba* (LNK) follows the clause. In (b), the expected constituent order is given which is also attested.

(116) a. {*no-pa* *mi-a*}$_{\text{RC}}$ *ba* [*bataa* *do*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ha-fik-i*
1SG.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR LNK wood PRX 3II.PAT-pull.away-PFV
'that log that is on me, drag it away' [B07.040.04]

b. [*bataa*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ba* {*no-pa* *mi-a* *do*}$_{\text{RC}}$
wood LNK 1SG.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR PRX
'the log that is on me'

In (117), the relative clause has a deictic function. It precedes the NP *ama kang do* 'the people'. The relative clause is external and it precedes its head *ama* 'person' because its function is deictic; its structure is parallel to that of an NP. As discussed above, deictic modifiers precede the head noun in the NP.

(117) {*melang* *afeng* *mi-a*}$_{\text{RC}}$ *ba* [*ama* *kang* *do*]$_{\text{NP}}$
village hamlet be.in-DUR LNK person be.good PRX
'the people that are in the village' [B02.118.07:50]

In (118), the relative clause is followed by the quantifier *loku* (PL). The head of the NP *ama* 'person' is not expressed but its expected position is marked with ∅ following the relative clause. Because the head is not expressed intersective linker *ba* (LNK) follows the quantifier *loku* (PL). The complex NP serves as argument for the index verb *n-u* 'be like.PRX'. It seems that the relative clause precedes the head because it is deictic.

(118) *Kapitang nu liki, {te-l feng kang}*$_{RC}$ *[∅ loku]*$_{NP}$ *ba,*
name SPC.AD strong DISTR.LOC-give injure be.good PL LNK

he-n-u Kapitang
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF name
'the Kapitang (warriors) are strong, those that can kill each other, like this are the Kapitang' [B06.038.05:20]

In (119), a complex construction is given where an NP headed by the noun *he-kalieta* 'old person' combines with the noun *Kafola* that expresses the possessor of the noun *kalieta* 'old person' referring to the area where the old person comes from. It precedes the NP and is linked with *ba* (LNK). The NP contains an embedded relative clause marked with curly brackets. The evidence that this relative clause is embedded comes from the position of the numeral *nuku* 'one', which follows the relative clause but quantifies the noun *kalieta* 'old person'. The relative clause *he-tafaa do ayoku fala mi-a* 'his two drums are in the house' is not linked to the head *kalieta* 'old person' with the linker *ba* (LNK) as expected. One possibility is that it is omitted in the fast speech (this is a fragment of a conversation); another possibility is that the possessive prefix *he-* (3II.AL) that links the noun *tafaa* 'drum' to the possessor *kalieta* 'old person' is sufficient.

(119) *Kafola=ng akeng mi, {Kafola} ba [he-kalieta {he-tafaa do*
area=see threaten CONJ, area LNK 3II.AL-old.person 3II.AL-drum PRX
'as (they) were about to attack Kabola, one old man from Kafola who had two drums'

ayoku fala mi-a}$_{RC}$ *nuku]*$_{NP}$ *de-kamol mi tai mihi-a*
two house be.in-DUR one 3I.AL-betelnut.basket take put.on set-DUR
'in the house, he took his betel nut basket and put it on (a drum)' [B06.041.10:49]

In (120), the relative clause *el adat he-ì* is linked with *ba* (LNK) to the NP *nala nu* 'those things'. The relative clause precedes the NP because it expresses a possessor. The verb *ì* 'put' is often used in Abui to express possession (see also 8.4.2.7).

(120) *ma, {el adat he-ì}*$_{RC}$ *ba [nala nu]*$_{NP}$ *bai, ri*
be.PRX before custom 3II.LOC-put LNK what SPC.AD as.well 2PL
'and those things that belong to kepala adat[8]'

[8] cf. footnote 7, p. 166.

he-te-ì *nuk-d-i=te*
3II.LOC-DISTR.LOC-put one-hold-PFV=INCP.C
'you should agree on those!' [B13.012.38:14]

However, when the possessor expressed in the relative clause is inanimate, the relative clause is not fronted. This is illustrated in (121), where the relative clause ***mi=ng tanga he-ì do*** follows the NP ***nala*** 'something'. This structure describes a mobile phone as a thing that one uses for speaking (with other people).

(121) *Simon do* [*nala*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*mi=ng tanga he-ì do,*}$_{RC}$
name PRX what LNK take=see speak 3II.LOC-put PRX

di he-wahai=si ho-mi h-iéng lak-a naha
3A 3II.LOC-look=PHSL.I 3II.REC-be.in 3II.PAT-see mark-DUR NEG
'Simon looked at the mobile phone and he did not understand it' [B10.048.02]

The examples (116)-(121) suggest that the location of the modifiers linked with ***ba*** (LNK) with respect of the NP sometimes follows the NP template. Modifiers that denote spatial position or possessor may precede the NP linked to them with ***ba*** (LNK). Although semantically, the NP functions as the head of the structure, the headedness of structures with ***ba*** (LNK) is problematic on the syntactic level, because the relative clause or other linked modifier appears in two positions.

Den Dikken (2006) presents an interesting cross-linguistic account of similar structures that contain a linker and argues that it is actually the linker that is the 'head' of these structures. The other functions of ***ba*** seem to support this analysis (see 3.5.6). The linker ***ba*** (LNK) probably originates in the verb ***ba*** 'say' that is grammaticalized to an affirmative marker (6.4.2.1). The form ***ba*** is sometimes used as a copula, as illustrated in (122). In (a), ***ba*** occurs as final constituent and serves as an optional copula. Because the NP complement ***kaai*** 'dog' of the copula clause is itself a verb (the stative verb ***kika*** 'be red') a copula is not necessary. However, the linking function of ***ba*** is contrasted in (b), where it is grammaticalized to a relator glossed here as (LNK).

(122) a. [*kaai*]$_{\text{copula topic}}$ [*kika*]$_{\text{copula complement}}$ (*ba*)
dog be.red COPULA/say
'a dog is brown, a dog is really brown'

b. *kaai ba* {*kika*}$_{RC}$
dog LNK be.red
'dog that is brown'

4.6 Nominal predicates

A nominal predicate is an NP that serves as the main predicate of a sentence. In Abui, there is no copula that links the nominal predicate with its argument. An example of

nominal predication is given in (123). In (a), the bare NP *kalieta* 'old person' serves as nominal predicate. In (b), the NP *moku fila* 'small child' predicates over *Fan Malei*.

(123) a. *raha* *kalieta*
chief old.person
'the chief is an old person'

b. *Fan Malei* *moku* *fila*
name kid be.young
'Fan Malei (is) a small child'

In (124), the nominal predicates express names of objects or people.

(124) a. [*tafaa* *nuku* [*ha-ne* *yo*]]$_{NP}$ [*Mai* *Awen*]$_{NP}$
drum one 3II.INAL-name MD.AD name
'there is one drum, its name is Mai Awen' [B06.041.09:00]

b. [*na-ne*]$_{NP}$ [*Fani*]$_{NP}$
1SG.INAL-name name
'my name is Fani'

In (125), the NP *upi nuku* 'one fruit' is used in an equative sentence to quantify the NP *fu do* 'the betel nut':

(125) *koi* *do* *mi-a* [*he-fu* *do*]$_{NP}$ [*upi* *nuku*]$_{NP}$
basket PRX be.in-DUR 3II.AL-betel.nut PRX fruit one
'in the basket, there is just one betel nut' [T004.02:12]

The nominal predicates that express kind are linked with their argument by index verbs. This is illustrated in (126) where the index verb *n-u* 'be like.PRX' links the nominal predicate with the NP *Simon ayoku* 'two Simons'. The construction is contrasted with nominal predicative construction in (b).

(126) a. *Simon* *ayoku* *he-n-u* *muknehi*
name two 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.PRF sibling.Ss
'the two Simons are like siblings' [B04.033.03]

b. *Simon* *ayoku* *te-feela*
name two DISTR.AL-friend
'the two Simons are friends' [B04.033.03]

In (127), a similar construction is given where the nominal predicate is replaced by the question word *nala* 'what'. Note that the question word *nala* 'what' is in-situ.

(127) *moku* *kiang* *nu* *he-n-u* *nala?* *moku* *neng* *re* *mayol?*
kid baby SPC.AD 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF what kid man or woman
'what is the baby? a boy or a girl?' [Note.005.01]

While the index verb *n-u* 'be like.PRX' typically occurs between the arguments, the index verb *wi-d-* 'be like.MD' usually follows both NPs. This is illustrated in (128),

where the NPs *Jakarta do* 'Jakarta' and *Takalelang fila* 'small Takalelang' precede the verb *wi-d-* 'become like that'.

(128) [Jakarta *do*]$_{NP}$ *yal* *do* [*he-Takalelang* *fila*]$_{NP}$
place PRX now PRX 3II.AL-place be.young

wi-d-a
be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'Jakarta is now like small Takalelang' [Mail.2006.11.01]

As illustrated in (129), the place of origin of a person is usually expressed with a nominal predicate in which the place of origin is expressed as a possessor. Here it is the NP *Takalelang he-ama kang* 'Takalelang people'.

(129) *ni* [*Takalelang* *he-ama* *kang*]$_{NP}$
1PL.E place 3II.AL-person be.good
'we are people of Takalelang' [B07.027.05]

Nominal predicates may combine with the marker *ba*. As illustrated in (130), the marker *ba* follows a fronted NP that serves as a nominal predicate expressing the topic. Typically it is followed by an intonational pause, marked here with a comma.

(130) [*sameng*]$_{TOP}$ *ba,* *Pak* *Kas* *di* *mi* *ba* *Takpala* *maran-i* *o*
cement say Mr. name 3A take LNK place come.up.CPL-PFV MD
'as for the cement, Mr. Karsten brought it up to Takpala (some time ago)' [Sms.01.03]

The form *ba* is glossed as 'say'; it occurs in the verbal domain as affirmative marker (see 6.4.2.1) and may introduce conditional clauses. In (131), two constructions are given that refer to kind. The NPs *neng loku* 'men' and *mayol loku* 'women' are the arguments of the verb *ba* 'say'. The verb *ba* 'say' marks the NPs as the topic for the index verb *n-u* 'be like.PRX' which is co-indexed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC). The second argument of the index verb *n-u* 'be like.PRX' is expressed by a complement clause that follows.

(131) a. *neng* *loku* *ba,* *he-n-u* [*kaai* *ha-tàng* *kang*]$_{complement}$
man PL say 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF dog 3II.PAT-release be.good
'the men are those who can hunt' [B07.032.06]

b. *mayol* *loku* *ba,* *he-n-u* [*anai* *dieng* *ong* *kang*]$_{complement}$
woman PL say 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF soil pot make be.good
'the women are those who can make pottery' [B07.032.06]

5 Argument Realization

In this chapter, I discuss Abui argument realization. Event participants are realized as different arguments of a verb with NPs and/or pronouns. The choice of the appropriate realization is determined by the semantic properties of the participant. This is discussed in section 5.1. The controlling and volitional participants are identified for the actor (A) macrorole and realized as NPs and/or free pronouns. The affected participants are identified for the undergoer (U) macrorole and realized as NPs and/or bound pronouns. The listed criteria apply to arguments in both transitive and intransitive constructions.

The choice between a pronoun and an NP is determined by the referential properties of the participant. In section 5.2, I show that arguments with a specific reference are expressed with pronouns and optional NPs; arguments with a non-specific reference are expressed with NPs. In section 5.3, I discuss the A arguments that are expressed with free pronouns. In section 5.4, the U arguments expressed with bound pronouns are described. There are three distinct sets of bound pronouns that may express the U arguments. As discussed in section 5.5, the choice of a bound pronoun is determined by the semantic properties of the participants such as [±individuated] and [±change of state]. In section 5.6, I focus on the U argument in transitive constructions. I illustrate multiple ways in which the U argument can be expressed. In section 5.7, the argument realization in intransitive constructions is discussed. The single participant of the intransitive verb may be realized as the A or U argument. In section 5.8, I present a diachronic analysis of the bound pronouns. Finally, in section 5.9 an overview of the argument realization is given.

5.1 Semantic macroroles: actor and undergoer

Event participants are realized as arguments of the verb that encodes the referred event. The arguments are expressed with NPs and/or pronouns (free and bound pronouns). Event participants may be identified for two generalized semantic macroroles **actor** and **undergoer** (cf. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:139-141). Participants that are characterized as volitionally and actively involved in the event or state are identified as actors (cf. Dowty 1991). In Abui, **actors** are realized as the A argument of a verb with an **NP** and/or a **free pronoun**. Participants that are characterized as not actively involved and undergoing the event or state are identified as undergoers. In Abui, **undergoers** are realized as the U argument of the verb with an **NP** and/or a **bound pronoun**. This is schematically represented in **Figure 18**. An event is characterized by a number of semantic properties (state, dynamic, etc.). Each participant carries a number of inherent semantic properties (animacy, individuation).

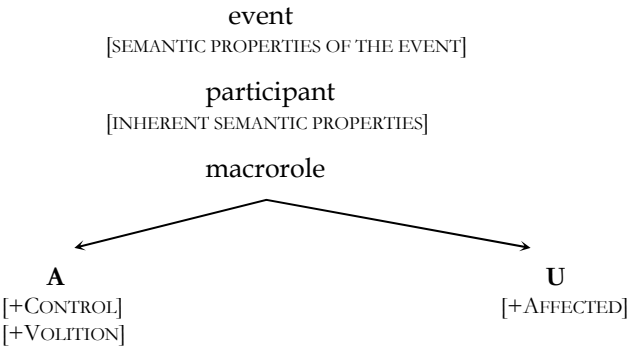


Figure 18: Semantic features identifying participants for A and U macrorole

Inherent semantic properties of the participants (animacy) may be sufficient to determine the direction, in which an event was performed; i.e. who is acting upon whom. In most cases, participants identified as **actor** are animate. They are moving, consuming, cutting etc; they are characterized by features [+CONTROL] and [+VOLITION] (in that order). On the other hand, participants identified as **undergoer** tend to be inanimate. They are consumed, moved, cut; and so on; so in general, they are characterized as [+AFFECTED].

As mentioned in section 3.2.3, Abui nouns do not display any case inflection. When arguments are expressed as lexical NPs, the semantic roles of the arguments are determined by the animacy of their referents. This is illustrated in (1), where a transitive and an intransitive construction are given. In both constructions, the verb occurs in the final position; the arguments precede the verb. In (a), the verb *nee* 'eat' combines with the NPs *ama* 'person' and *sieng* 'rice'. The NP *ama* 'human' has an animate referent and is identified as the A argument. The NP *sieng* 'rice' is identified as the U argument because it is inanimate. In (b), the NP *fala* 'house' is the single argument of the verb *fak* 'break'. It is identified as the U argument because it is affected by course of the event.

(1) a. *ama* *sieng* *nee*
person rice eat
'someone eats rice/people eat rice'

b. *fala* *fak-i*
house break-PFV
'a house broke down'

In transitive constructions, the order of arguments expressed as lexical NPs is determined pragmatically. This is illustrated in (2)-(3), where the syntactic order of the NPs does not indicate whether they should be identified as A or U arguments. The NP *ama* 'person, people' has an animate referent. It is identified as the A argument. The NPs *kawen* 'machete' and *bataa* 'wood' are identified as U arguments because their referent is inanimate. This shows that the semantic role of an argument is identified by the animacy of the referent. In pragmatically neutral order, the A argument precedes the U argument. When the order of arguments is reversed, the semantic roles assigned to the arguments do not change. Instead, the construction with the reversed NP ordering is pragmatically marked; the fronted NP expressing the U argument is in focus.

(2) a. *ama* *kawen* *mi*
person machete take
'someone takes a machete/
people take machetes'

b. *kawen* *ama* *mi*
machete person take
'a machete (is what) someone takes/
machetes (are what) people take'

(3) a. *ama* *bataa* *tukong*
person wood cut
'someone cuts wood/
people cut wood'

b. *bataa* *ama* *tukong*
wood person cut
'wood (is what) someone cuts/
wood (is what) people cut'

5.2 Arguments expressed as NPs vs. pronouns

As mentioned above, the arguments may be expressed as lexical NPs and/or pronouns. In examples (1)-(3), the arguments were expressed with bare NPs. Consider now example (4), where the arguments of the verb *fakda* 'split, break up' are expressed with the lexical NPs *maama* 'father' and *bataa* 'wood'. The semantic role of the arguments is identified by the animacy of the referent. In (b), in addition to both NPs, the verb *fakda* combines with a bound pronoun *he-* that co-indexes the U argument *bataa* 'wood'.

(4) a. *maama* *bataa* *fak-d-a*
father wood break-hold-DUR
'father splits wood'

b. *maama* *bataa* *he-fak-d-a*
father wood 3II.LOC-break-hold-DUR
'father splits the wood, (the nearer defined quantity of wood)' [B05.014.01]

In (4), the second construction has a specific reading. The NP *bataa*, which is co-indexed by the bound pronoun *he-* refers to a specific quantity of wood, known to the speaker. In (a), the NP *bataa* 'wood' refers to any particular quantity of wood, but to wood in general of unspecified quantity; the construction has a generic reading. In sum, participants that are [+specific] are co-indexed with a pronoun.

Another example is given in (5), where the verb *kafi* 'scrape' is used in transitive construction. In (a), the verb *kafi* 'scrape' combines with the U argument *arui* 'ashes'. In (b), the U argument is expressed with the complex NP *e-toku ba yokung nu* 'your septic leg'. It is co-indexed with the pronominal prefix on the verb *kafi* 'scrape, scratch' because the NP has a [+specific] reference, as it is overtly marked by the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD).

(5) a. *kaai* *diking* *pe=ng* *marei* *ba* *arui* *kafi-a*
dog fire.place near=see go.up.ICP LNK ashes scrape-DUR
'the dog goes up to the fireplace to scrape in ashes' [B05.060.03]

b. [*e-toku*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*yokung* *nu*}$_{RC}$ *he-kafi-a* *naha!*
2SG.AL-leg LNK fester SPC.AD 3II.LOC-scrape-DUR NEG
'don't scratch your festering leg!' [B05.060.04]

In examples (4)-(5), the U argument is expressed as either an NP or a bound pronoun. The alternation is triggered by the feature [±specific]. As for the A argument, the same alternation is found. In (6), the A argument of the verb *sei* 'come down' is expressed with the NP *moku loku* 'children'. The verb *sei* 'come down' combines with the U argument *sakola* 'school' that is co-indexed with the bound pronoun. In (a), the NP *moku loku* 'children' has a generic reading; it does not refer to any children in particular. In (b), the NP *moku loku* 'children' has a specific reading because it is co-indexed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). In this case, the speaker refers to a certain group of children that he has in mind.

(6) a. *moku* *loku* *sakola* *he-sei*
kid PL school 3II.LOC-come.down.CNT
'children come down for some school (education)' [B03.003.02]

b. *moku* *loku* *di* *sakola* *he-sei*
kid PL 3A school 3II.LOC-come.down.CNT
'the children come down for some school (education)' [B03.003.02]

In (7), the NP *kaai* 'dog' is the A argument of the verb *fur* 'swallow'. While in (a) the bare NP has a generic reading, in (b) the bare NP is co-indexed by the free pronoun *di* (3A) and has a specific reading (certain dog/dogs).

(7) a. *kaai* *afu* *loku* *ha-fur-i*
dog fish PL 3II.PAT-swallow.CPL-PFV
'dogs swallowed the fish' [B05.024.03]

b. *kaai* *di* *afu* *loku* *ha-fur-i*
dog 3A fish PL 3II.PAT-swallow.CPL-PFV
'a certain dog/certain dogs swallowed the fish' [B05.024.03]

Another example is given in (8), where the NP *kaai* 'dog' is identified as the A argument of the verb *loi* 'put far, chase'. In (a), the NP is bare and has a generic reading. In (b), the NP *kaai do* 'dog (that I just talked about)' is definite. The head noun *kaai* 'dog' combines with anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) and is co-indexed with the free pronoun *di* (3A) as the A argument of the verb. Note that the verb *loi* 'put far, chase' combines with two bound pronouns; more details about verbs that combine with two bound pronouns can be found in section 6.2.1 and 6.1.3.

(8) a. *kaai* *kamai* *to-ha-loi*
dog cat DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far
'dogs chase cats' [B05.017.3]

b. *kaai* *do* *di* *kamai* *to-ha-loi*
dog PRX 3A cat DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far
'the dog chases a cat/cats' [B05.017.03]

In (9), the NP *kumal* 'mosquito' has a generic reference in (a). In (b), specific mosquitoes are referred to; the speaker refers to those mosquitoes that were biting him last night. This is encoded by free pronoun *di* (3A) that co-indexes the NP *kumal* 'mosquito' as the A argument of the verbs *l* 'give' and *takei* 'bite'.

(9) a. *war* *tama* *maiye* *kumal* *tafuda* *mong-e*
sun sea when mosquito be.all die-IPFV
'when it is dry season, mosquitoes will die' [B07.061.02]

b. *tuntama* *do,* *kumal* *di* *ne-l* *takei*
night PRX mosquito 3A 1SG.LOC-give bite
'last night, some mosquitoes were biting me' [B07.034.03]

The argument realization in (b) involves a serial verb construction with the verb *l* 'give' because the U argument is human. More details about this type of constructions can be found in section 8.4.2.4.

The referential properties of the expressed participant may trigger alternation in their realization as arguments as represented in **Figure 19**. In sum, the arguments with [+specific] reference are expressed with a pronoun and an optional NP, while the arguments with [−specific] reference are expressed exclusively with NPs. The distributional properties of pronouns copy the distinction found between the two semantic macroroles. The free pronouns express A arguments, bound pronouns express U arguments.

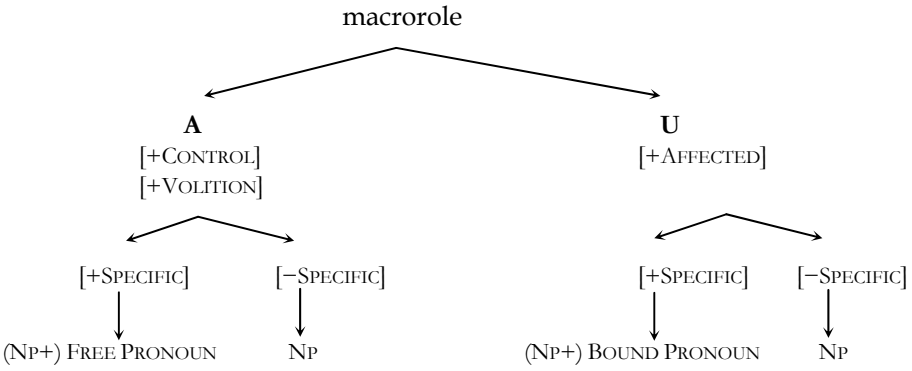


Figure 19: Argument realization and choice between NPs and pronouns

5.3 Arguments expressed as free pronouns

As discussed in section 5.2, participants that are identified as [+specific] are expressed with pronouns; free pronouns express A arguments, bound pronouns express U arguments. In this section, I will discuss A arguments expressed with free pronouns. The paradigm of Abui free pronouns is given in Table 21.

Table 21: Abui free pronouns

PERSON	FREE PRONOUN
1SG	*na* [nɑ]
2SG	*a* [ʔɑ]
1PL.E	*ni* [nɪ]
1PL.I	*pi* [pɪ]
2PL	*ri* [rɪ]
3A	*di* [dɪ]

As illustrated in examples (6)-(9), free pronouns may combine with NPs to co-index them as A arguments. This option is limited to the third person. The first and second person participants (egophoric) are expressed exclusively by pronouns. The specificity feature does not play a role, because the speech participants (first and second person participants) are by definition specific. In the following examples, I exemplify each of the free pronouns listed in the table. Consider now example (10). The free pronoun *na* (1SG) expresses the A argument of the verbs *tukong* 'cut' and *sei* 'come down' that are used in transitive and intransitive construction respectively.

		TRANSITIVE				INTRANSITIVE		
(10)	a.	*na*	*bataa*	*tukong*	b.	*na*	*sei*	
		1SG	wood	cut		1SG	come.down.CNT	
		'I cut wood'		[B05.008.06]		'I come down'		[B02.164.03:24]

In (11), the second person singular participant is expressed with the pronoun *a* (2SG) in both transitive and intransitive construction. It is the A argument of the verbs *buut* 'consume' and *we* 'leave'.

		TRANSITIVE				INTRANSITIVE			
(11)	a.	*a*	*kafaak*	*buut=te?*	b.	*akun*	*a*	*we?*	
		2SG	tobacco	consume.CPL=INCP.C		dark.CPL	2SG	leave	
		'are you about to smoke tobacco?'		[B04.071.01]		'tomorrow, you leave?'			[B04.077.01]

As discussed in section 3.3.1, in the first person plural, there is a distinction between exclusive and inclusive reference. In (12), the free pronoun *ni* (1PL.E) expresses the first person plural participant with exclusive reference; the free pronoun *pi* (1PL.I) has inclusive reference.

		TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
(12)	a.	*ni afu tahai*	b. *pi làk-e*
		1PL.E fish search	1PL.I leave.for-IPFV
		'we are fishing' [B01.035.25]	'we are leaving' [B02.051.19:20]

In (13), the second person plural participant is expressed with the free pronoun *ri* (2PL).

		TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
(13)	a.	*ri ne-l feng he!*	b. *ri luuk-e*
		2PL 1SG.LOC-give injure PRH	2PL dance-IPFV
		'don't injure/harm me' [B02.004.05:20]	'you are dancing' [B02.004.05:20]

Finally, the free pronoun *di* (3A) is illustrated in (14) in transitive construction and in (15) in an intransitive construction. As illustrated in (14), the free pronoun *di* (3A) can be used for both singular and plural third person. In (a), *di* (3A) co-indexes the plural NP *al loku* 'Muslims' as the A argument of the verb *nee* 'eat'. In (b), *di* (3A) does not co-index an A argument expressed by an NP, but serves as the A argument itself.

(14) a. *al loku di fe mahiting nee naha*
Muslim PL 3A pig meat eat NEG
'Muslims do not eat pork' [B07.021.03]

b. *di ruwol amur he-bel*
3A chicken hairs 3IL.LOC-pull
'she plucks feathers of a chicken' [B07.034.01]

In (15), the free pronoun *di* (3A) co-indexes the plural NP *moku fila loku* 'small kids, small children' as the A argument of the verb *muili* 'to play' in (a). In (b), *di* (3A) expresses the single A argument of the verb *we* 'leave'.

(15) a. *moku fila loku di mui-l-i*
kid be.young PL 3A game-give-PFV
'small children played' [B07.057.04]

b. *di we ya si-a*
3A leave water scoop.CPL-DUR
'he went to fetch water' [B07.041.06]

A free pronoun indicates that the participant is controlling and volitional. Consider now example (16). The NP *kaai do* 'the dog' is [+specific] and the referred participant is controlling. However, some speakers find the assignment of the free pronoun *di* (3A) problematic because dogs and other animals are not considered to perform actions volitionally.

(16) *kaai do ?di rui tahai*
dog PRX 3A rodent search
'this dog is looking for mice' [B05.017.02]

The issue of volition is further addressed in sections 5.7.3 and 6.2.5.

5.4 Arguments expressed with bound pronouns

As discussed in section 5.2, bound pronouns express or co-index the U arguments that refer to [+specific] participants. As illustrated in (17), bound pronouns express the U arguments of both transitive (a) and intransitive (b) construction.

		TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE
(17)	a.	*Simon* *no-dik*	b.	*no-lila*
		name 1SG.REC-prick		1SG.REC-be.hot
		'Simon is tickling me'		'I feel hot'

As discussed in section 3.3.2, there are three sets of bound pronouns in Abui. The full paradigm is given in Table 12 and repeated here in Table 22. They are referred to as sets I, II, and III in Table 12 in section 3.3.2, or as LOC, REC, and PAT in the present section. The labels LOC, REC and PAT will be clarified in section 5.5. Further, the listed bound pronouns are divided according to the referential properties into three subsets: EGOPHORIC, ALLOPHORIC and DISTRIBUTIVE.

Table 22: Abui bound pronouns

PERSON	LOC	REC	PAT
	EGOPHORIC REFERENCE		
1SG	*ne-*	*no-*	*na-*
2SG	*e-*	*o-*	*a-*
1PL.E	*ni-*	*nu-*	*ni-*
1PL.I	*pi-*	*pu-/po-*	*pi-*
2PL	*ri-*	*ru-/ro-*	*ri-*
	ALLOPHORIC REFERENCE		
3I	*de-*	*do-*[1]	*da-*
3II	*he-*	*ho-*	*ha-*
	DISTRIBUTIVE REFERENCE		
DISTR	*te-*	*to-*	*ta-*

Observe that the PAT and LOC bound pronouns are distinguished only in singular. Allophoric bound pronouns come in pairs with distinct referential properties. The U argument realized with the 3I bound pronoun has the same referent as the A argument in the same domain. The U argument realized with the 3II bound pronoun has its own referent, distinct from the referent of the A argument in the same domain. As discussed in section 3.3.2, the domain of reference of the bound pronouns is a clause, including complex mono-clausal structures such as serial verb construction and verbs linked with

[1] Some speakers distinguish between two 3I.REC prefixes: the form *do-* is used for singular (3SG.I.REC), while the plural form is *du-* (3PL.I.REC), and shows the same vowel alternation as the other plural REC forms. An example of the alternation can be found in section 6.2.5.1.

the intersective linker *ba* (LNK). More details can be found in section 5.4.1. Referential properties of the bound pronouns with distributive reference are discussed in section 5.4.2.

5.4.1 Referential properties of allophoric bound pronouns

Allophoric bound pronouns come in pairs, in which each of the pronouns glossed as 3I or 3II has distinct referential properties. The U arguments realized with 3I bound pronouns refer to the same participant as the A argument within the same domain. The referred participant is characterized by the features [+affected] and also [+control] and mostly also [+volition]; it is typically an experiencer. This type of construction serves to express also reflexives and is discussed in detail in section 6.2.5.

The U arguments realized with 3II bound pronouns refer to a different participant than the A argument in the same domain. In prototypical transitive constructions involving two participants, the affected allophoric U argument is expressed by a 3II bound pronoun. In (18), both bound pronouns are contrasted:

(18) a. *Fani* *el* *ha-wel-i*
name before 3II.PAT-pour-PFV
'Fani washed him' [B01.042.07]

b. *Fani* *el* *da-wel-i*
name before 3I.PAT-pour-PFV
'Fani washed himself'

In (a), the 3II bound pronoun *ha-* (3II.PAT) to express the U argument. The U argument in this construction does not refer to the participant *Fani* that serves as the A argument of the verb *wel* 'pour' but to another participant, outside the discourse domain. In (b), the 3I bound pronoun *da-* (3I.PAT) refers to the participant *Fani* that is also identified as the A argument of the verb *wel* 'pour'.[2] This construction is formally transitive but has a 'reflexive' reading as the A and U arguments have the same referent. In (19), allophoric bound pronouns express a single argument in an intransitive construction. In (a), the 3II bound pronoun *ho-* (3II.REC) combines with the stative verb *kang* 'be good'. It refers to a participant that is identified as [+affected] by the state of 'being good'. In (b), the 3I bound pronoun *do-* (3I.REC) refers to a participant of the state of 'being good' that is characterized by features [+affected] and [+control]. That means that the participant is improving his condition himself.

(19) a. *ho-kang*
3II.REC-be.good
'he enjoys, he feels good' [B10.047.01]

b. *do-kang*
3II.REC-be.good
'he gets better, he recovers' [B07.060.02]

As illustrated in (20), the complex verb *ran-r-* 'make quiet, become quiet' combines with either one or two arguments. In (a), it combines with two arguments. The U argument is expressed with the NP *n-ièng* 'my eyes' that is co-indexed with the 3II bound pronoun *ha-* (3II.PAT). The A argument is expressed with the free pronoun *na*

[2] The verb root *-wel* is glossed as 'pour' because it refers to washing, when combined with the PAT prefix, and to moving of a body of water when combined with the distributive prefix.

(1SG). In (b), the 3I bound pronoun *da-* (3I.PAT) co-indexes the only argument of the verb *ran-r-* 'make quiet, become quiet' expressed with the NP *anui* 'rain'.

(20) a. *na* *n-ièng* *ha-ran-r-i* *ba* *mit-i*
1SG 1SG.INAL-eye 3II.PAT-be.quiet-reach-PFV LNK sit-PFV
'I took a rest', lit.: 'I made my eyes quiet and sat down' [B10.046.02]

b. *anui* *wan* *da-ran-r-i*
rain already 3I.PAT-be.quiet-reach-PFV
'the rain already stopped, lit.: the rain already stopped itself' [B10.054.02]

5.4.2 Referential properties of distributive bound pronouns

As discussed in section 3.3.2, distributive bound pronouns express or co-index arguments displaying some plurality. In transitive construction, distributive pronouns express or co-index a number of NPs (typically two) that serve as U arguments; they have a distributive reading. In intransitive construction, distributive prefixes co-index a number of A arguments acting upon each other (again formally at least two participants); the distributive pronouns have a reciprocal reading.

In (21), an example of a transitive construction is given. The distributive pronoun *ta-* (DISTR.PAT) co-indexes a number of NPs (underscore in the glossing). The construction has a distributive reading 'each' or 'one by one'. Note that the A argument of verb *bot* 'order' is expressed with the NP *ama* 'person, people'.

(21) *ama* *Al Yoka Wat,* *Ateng Melang,* *Kuya Tai,* *Balet Me,* *Fui Miang*
person place place place place place

ta-bot-i *ya* *siei* *ba* *tafuda* *oro*
DISTR.PAT-order.CPL-PFV SEQ come.down.ICP LNK be.all DST

Kafola=ng *aken-i*
place=see attack.CPL-PFV
'people (from Lilafang) ordered (each of the villages) Al Yoka Wat, Ateng Melang, Kuya Tai, Balet Me, Fui Mia to come down and all attack Kabola' [B06.041.10:30]

In (22), another transitive construction is given. The A argument of verb *nee* 'eat' is the proper name *Simon*. The verb combines with two U arguments: the NP *sieng ma* 'cooked rice' and *lukai* 'pepper', indicating that these two types of food are not eaten together.

(22) *Simon* *di* *sieng* *ma* *nee* *do* *lukai* *to-nee* *naha*
name 3A rice be.ripe eat PRX pepper DISTR.REC-eat NEG
'when Simon eats rice he does not eat peppers to it' [B07.053.04]

In intransitive construction, distributive pronouns have a reciprocal reading. They co-index a single argument (usually A, but U is also possible) that displays some plurality.

The single argument may consist of an NP containing the quantifier *loku* (PL), or of two coordinated NPs. In (32), the verb *luk* 'rub' combines with a single A argument expressed with the NP *ama loku* 'people, men'. This argument is co-indexed with the distributive pronoun *ta-* (DISTR.PAT). Note that the NP *ama loku* is also co-indexed as the A argument with the free pronoun *di* (3A).

(23) [*ama loku*]$_{NP}$ *di ta-luk*
person PL 3A DISTR.PAT-rub
'people hit/fight each other' [B04.023.02]

In (24), the distributive pronoun *te-* (DISTR.LOC) is used in intransitive constructions with a reciprocal reading. In (a), the pronoun *te-* (DISTR.LOC) co-indexes the U argument expressed with the NP *Simon ayoku* 'two Simons'. In (b), the coordinated NPs *maama* 'father' and *Simon* are co-indexed.

(24) a. *Simon ayoku te-baai*
name two DISTR.LOC-be.angry
'two Simons are angry with each other' [B04.031.02]

b. {[*maama*]$_{NP}$ *e* [*Simon*]$_{NP}$} *di ning ayoku te-mol*
father and name 3A be.QNT two DISTR.LOC-envy
'father and Simon envy each other' [B04.079.01]

5.5 Distribution of bound pronouns

In Abui, there are three sets of bound pronouns, listed in Table 22. Typically, [+specific] U arguments are expressed with these pronouns. In this section, I explain under which conditions each of the bound pronouns sets is used.[3]

In examples (25)-(27) the verb *fanga/fangi* 'say' combines with a bound pronoun from each set.

(25) *e na he-tafaa he-fangi*
before 1SG 3II.AL-drum 3II.LOC-say.CPL
'I named their drums before' [B13.002.27:48]

In (25), the verb *fanga* 'say' combines with two arguments. The A argument is expressed with the free pronoun *na* (1SG). The U argument is the NP *he-tafaa* 'their

[3] Multiple realization of the U argument is a feature found in a number of other Alor-Pantar languages. In Kolana and Kui, the transitive U is realized in multiple ways (Donohue, 1997a). The multiple U argument realization is argued to be lexicalized for the following Alor-Pantar languages: Klon (Baird, 2005), Kolana (Donohue, 2004), Tanglapui (Donohue, 1997b), Adang (Haan, 2001), and Western Pantar (Holton to appear-b), In contrast, as shown in this chapter, Abui argument realization is semantically driven and fluid. In Klon (Baird, 2005) and Western Pantar (Holton, to appear-b) the multiple argument realization is found in both transitive and intransitive construction (Split-S).

drums' co-indexed with the bound pronoun *he-* (3II.LOC). The example is a fragment of a bride price negotiation. In such negotiations, the two involved families negotiate about the presents in form of drums or money to be given to the bride's family and others. Here, the speaker bargains saying that he just made an offer about how many drums the village head will receive. The bound pronoun co-indexes the NP *he-tafaa* as theme. It is further discussed in section 5.5.1.
In (26), the verb *fangi* 'say' combines with the bound pronoun *ho-* (3II.REC) that expresses the U argument. The U argument is a human recipient affected by the 'saying'; in other words, somebody who was scold at. More details about the REC bound pronoun can be found in 5.5.2.

(26) *a* *ho-fangi* *re* *naha?*
2SG 3II.REC-say.CPL or NEG
'did you scold at him or not' [B03.008.01]

In (27), the U argument of the verb *fanga* 'say' is expressed with the NP *Simon* co-indexed with the bound pronoun *ha-* (3II.PAT). Simon is highly affected by father's speaking; in fact, he is a patient that is 'ordered'.

(27) *he-maama* *Simon* *ha-fanga*
3II.AL-father name 3II.PAT-say.CNT
'his father orders Simon'

For further details about the PAT bound pronouns, see the section 5.5.3.

5.5.1 U arguments expressed as LOC

As illustrated in examples (4), (5), and (25), the bound pronoun labelled as LOC (LOCATION) expresses or co-indexes a U argument that refers to a [+specific] referent. This argument can be thought of as a 'location', in respect of which an event takes place. Participants that are expressed with LOC bound pronouns are not directly involved in the event. In that sense, they are [-individuated]. Arguments expressed with the LOC bound pronoun (and an optional NP) are prototypical locations, including the benefactives and malefactives (human location), theme (location of the event), and purpose (location in time).

5.5.2 U arguments expressed as REC

As illustrated in (26), the bound pronoun labelled as REC (RECIPIENT) expresses or co-indexes the U argument identified for the semantic role of recipient. In most cases, arguments expressed with REC bound pronouns have human/animate referents, but there are also cases when the REC bound pronoun refers to an inanimate goal. The arguments expressed with REC bound pronouns can be identified by the features [+specific] and [+individuated]. The feature [+individuated] encodes that the referents are directly involved and affected by the event. The referents are typically animate or

inanimate discrete objects are that are clearly activated in the context (cf. Gentner and Boroditsky, 2001:229-230).

5.5.3 U arguments expressed as PAT

In (27), the bound pronoun labelled as PAT (PATIENT) expresses a U argument that refers to participants which are identified as [+specific] and [+individuated] and are significantly affected by the course of the event. In other words, the participants undergo a change of state or condition (cf. Dowty, 1991:572-573; Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:85); they are prototypical patients. Further, there are no restrictions on the used of the PAT prefix as far as the semantic properties of participants, such as animacy, are considered.

5.5.4 Overview of the distribution

The criteria determining the distribution of bound pronouns are schematically given in **Figure 20**.

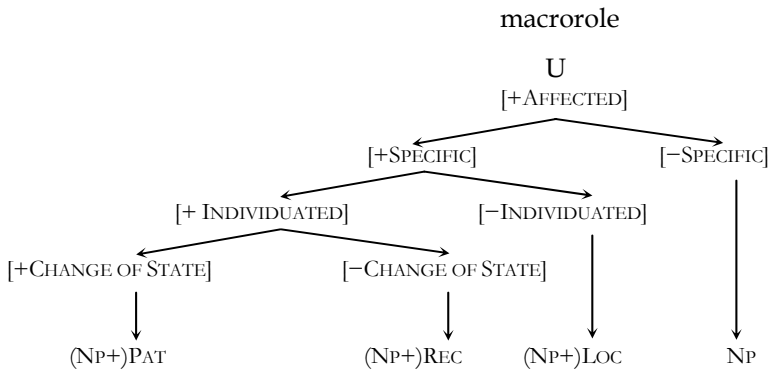


Figure 20: Features determining distribution of bound pronouns

Participants that are affected by the course of event are realized as U arguments. As discussed in section 5.2, participants identified as [−specific] are expressed with an NP; [+specific] participants are expressed with a bound pronoun and an optional NP. The bound pronoun is selected by the features [±individuated] and [±change of state]. Participants referred to with LOC bound pronouns are not radically affected by the event; the event is not oriented towards them. In other words, these participants are not undergoing a change of state, neither are they individuated. Arguments expressed with LOC bound pronouns are typical 'locations'. Human 'locations' are benefactives; inanimate 'locations' are themes, locations, and purposes which are locations in time.

Participants referred to by REC bound pronouns are [+individuated]. That means that the course of the event is oriented towards them. The arguments expressed

as REC are typically identified as recipients (when the referent is human/animate) or goals (inanimate referent).

Participants referred to by PAT are significantly affected by the course of the event; they undergo a change of state or condition. As represented in **Figure 20**, these participants are characterized by the feature [+change of state] and the additional features [+specific], [+individuated]. Typically, the arguments expressed as PAT are identified for the semantic role of patient.

In Abui, the U argument of a single verb stem may be expressed by at least one of these bound pronouns. As discussed in section 6.2.2.1, there are some verbs that in transitive construction typically occur without bound pronouns. However, the pronoun is obligatory whenever the U argument is human. In Table 23, I give a number of verb stems that combine with each of type of bound pronouns: PAT in the left-hand column, REC in the middle column, and finally verbs combining with the LOC in the right-hand column.

Table 23: Distribution of bound pronouns

	PAT	REC	LOC
a.	*ha-fanga* 3II.PAT-say.CNT 'order him'	*ho-fanga* 3II.REC-say.CNT 'scold (at) him'	*he-fanga* 3II.LOC-say.CNT 'say it'
b.	*ha-li-a* 3II.PAT-fly-DUR 'shoot it'	*ho-li* 3II.REC-fly 'fly at him'	*he-li-a* 3II.LOC-fly-DUR 'fly at it'
c.	**ha-faaling*	*ho-faaling* 3II.REC-listen 'listen to him'	*he-faaling* 3II.LOC-listen 'listen to it'
d.	**ha-fahak*	*ho-fahak* 3II.REC-hug 'hug him'	*he-fahak* 3II.LOC-hug 'embrace it'
e.	*ha-dik* 3II.PAT-prick 'pierce it through'	*ho-dik* 3II.REC-prick 'prick/tickle him'	*he-dik* 3II.LOC-prick 'stab (at) it'
f.	*ha-tàng* 3II.PAT-release 'release him/it'	**ho-tàng*	*he-tàng* 3II.LOC-release 'transfer/pass it along'
g.	**ha-lel*	*ho-lel* 3II.REC-impend 'threaten him'	*he-lel* 3II.LOC-impend 'almost do it'
h.	**ha-natet*	*no-natet* 1SG.REC-stand.up.CPL 'I stood myself (reflexive use: I stopped walking)'	*he-natet* 3II.LOC-stand.up.CPL 'wait for him'
i.	**ha-kafi-a*	*ho-kafi-a* 3II.REC-scratch-DUR 'scratch him'	*he-kafi-a* 3II.LOC-scratch-DUR 'scratch for/instead of him'

j.	*ha-tak* 3II.PAT-bring.down 'shoot him down'	**ho-tak*	*he-tak* 3II.LOC-bring.down 'stop him, prevent him'
k.	**ha-bol*	*ho-bol* 3II.REC-hit 'hit him'	*he-bol* 3II.LOC-hit 'hit for/instead of him'

On the basis of these examples, the following observations can be made. First, the bound pronoun *ha-* (PAT) expresses real patients in the sense that they must be an undergoer of a change of state, while the *ho-* (REC) and *he-* (LOC) do not. This is clear from the ungrammatical forms given in (c, d, g, h, i, k): the U argument of these verbs does not undergo a change of state, hence no *ha-* (PAT) form is possible. In (e), the referent of *ha-* is the more affected U, which really underwent a change of state, while the referent of *he-* did not.

Second, some forms do not occur as they would refer to unusual event structures. For example, in (f), the *ho-* (REC) form is not found, because it would describe the event 'to release on someone' that is difficult to conceptualize. In (g), the *ha-* (PAT) form is not attested because an event that is 'about to happen' never can have a participant identified as undergoing a change of state as nothing has actually happened yet.

Third, the distribution of the bound pronouns cannot be determined by looking at the semantic role of the argument only, because the roles of *he-* (LOC) in the right column overlap (to some extent) with the roles of *ha-* (PAT) and *ho-* (REC). The semantic role of *ha-* (PAT) is patient, the semantic role of *ho-* is recipient in (a, k); patient in (d, e, g, i), goal in (b, c), experiencer in (h). The semantic role referred to by *he-* (LOC) is theme in (a, c, f), goal in (b), location in (d), patient (without change of state) in (e) and benefactive in (h, i, j, k).

5.6 Splits in the marking of transitive U

In this section, I focus on the U argument in transitive construction; the intransitive construction is discussed separately in 5.7. As discussed in 5.5.4, verb stems commonly display multiple ways of expressing their U argument. The U argument may be expressed with a bound pronoun and/or an NP. In (28), the U argument of the verb stem *kol* 'bind' is expressed in four distinct ways.

(28) a. *alek-a* *bataa=ng* *kol-e!*
be.quick wood=see bind-IPFV
'quickly bind wood!' [B05.078.03]

b. *ha-táng* *ba* *namu-r* *nu* *he-kor=te!*
3II.INAL-hand LNK wound-reach SPC.AD 3II.LOC-bind.CPL=INCP.C
'his hand that is wounded, bind it up first' [B05.080.01]

c. *kafiei ba di takaf-i nu la mi ba ho-kol-e!*
goat LNK 3A steal.CPL-PFV SPC.AD be.MD take LNK 3II.REC-bind-IPFV
'that goat that he stole, bind onto him' [B05.078.03]

d. *maama di kafe mi bataa ha-kol*
father 3A cord take wood 3II.PAT-bind
'father takes cord and binds the wood' [B01.039.01]

In (a), the U argument of the verb *kol* 'bind' is expressed with the NP *bataa* 'wood, tree'. The U argument is this imperative construction is shared with the verb *ng* 'see' serialized with the verb *kol* 'bind' (see also 8.4.2.1). The argument expressed only with an NP has generic reference; it is [-specific]. The construction refers to 'wood binding' of unspecified quantity and quality of wood. In (b), the U argument, expressed with the complex structure *ha-táng ba namur nu* 'his hand that is wounded', is co-indexed with the LOC bound pronoun *he-* (3II.LOC). The anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) indicates that the reference of the U argument is [+specific]. The argument can be thought of as a 'location' of binding. In (c), the U argument is expressed with the REC bound pronoun. It refers to a human participant that stole a goat. In traditional law, cattle rustling was punished by binding the animal to the thief (who was subsequently killed). The U argument is identified for the semantic role of recipient. It refers to an [+individuated] human participant that does not undergo a change of state. In (d), the U argument is expressed with the NP *bataa* 'wood, tree' co-indexed with the PAT bound pronoun. The U argument is identified as patient. The referent is undergoing a change of state; the wood that was lying around is now tied up with a rope (more details about instrument serial verb construction with *mi* 'take' can be found in 8.4.2.3).

In (29), the possible U arguments the verb *tok* 'drop' are illustrated.

(29) a. *aleka-ng fat ma tok takei!*
be.quick-see corn be.ripe drop bite
'quickly dish up (food) and eat!' [B13.010.37:24]

b. *ya mi ba ara he-tok!*
water take LNK fire 3II.LOC-drop
'take water and pour onto the fire!' [B10.021]

c. *ya mi ba ho-tok!*
water take LNK 3II.REC-drop
'take water and pour onto him!' [B10.021]

d. *falepak ha-wei ha-tok re-i!*
gun 3II.INAL-ear 3II.PAT-drop reach.ICP-PFV
'pull the trigger of the gun!' [B10.021]

In (a), the U argument of the verb *tok* 'drop' is expressed with the NP *fat ma* 'cooked corn'. The argument is identified as [-specific] and refers to 'food' in general. In (b), the U argument is expressed with the NP *ara* 'fire' co-indexed as 'location' with the Loc bound pronoun *he-* (3II.LOC). This argument has a specific reading: the speaker refers to a specific fire that the water should be poured at. In (c), the U argument is expressed with the REC bound pronoun; it is identified as a recipient. In fact, the REC bound

pronoun is the only appropriate choice because the referent is human and [+individuated]. In (d), the U argument is expressed the NP *falepak hawei* 'trigger, lit.: ear of gun' co-indexed as PAT. When the verb *tok* 'drop' combines with a PAT U argument, its meaning shifts from 'drop' to 'press' or even 'push down'.

Many verbs can only combine with a subset of the bound pronouns. An example is the verb *pok* 'burst, split, forcefully touch' illustrated in (30), which cannot combine with a REC bound pronoun.

(30) a. *sepeda he-ban pok-u*
bicycle 3II.AL-tire burst-PRF
'bike tire is punctured/bike tires are punctured' [B05.071.05]

b. *ruwol he-pok-u*
chicken 3II.LOC-burst-PRF
'chicks hatched, burst out of the egg' [B10.022]

c. **ho-pok*
3II.REC-burst

d. *na ruwol bira ha-pok-u*
1SG chicken egg 3II.PAT-burst-PRF
'I broke the chicken egg' [B05.039.07]

As illustrated by the intransitive construction given in (a), the U argument of the verb *pok* 'burst' is expressed with the NP *sepeda he-ban* 'bike tire' that is [-specific]. In (b), another intransitive construction is given. The U argument is expressed with the NP *ruwol* 'chicken' co-indexed as LOC. The event of 'hatching' of chicks is described as 'bursting' at them. As mentioned above, the verb *pok* 'burst' does not combine with the REC arguments, because the referred event 'burst to him' is semantically odd. In (d), the verb *pok* 'burst' occurs in a transitive construction. The U argument is expressed with the NP *ruwol bira* 'chicken egg' co-indexed as PAT. It refers to an egg that underwent a change of state and burst. The A argument expressed with the free pronoun *na* (1SG) expresses the cause.

In (31), the verb *enra* 'cry' combines with two bound pronouns. In a transitive construction, the U argument of the verb *enra* 'cry' is always expressed with a bound pronoun; instances where the U argument is expressed with an NP do not occur in my corpus.

(31) a. *kalieta di moku fila ba mon-i he-enra*
parent 3A kid be.young LNK die.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-cry.CNT
'parents cry for the small child that died' [B05.011.02]

b. *kalieta di moku fila ba mon-i ho-enra*
parent 3A kid be.young LNK die.CPL-PFV 3II.REC-cry.CNT
'parents bemoan the small child that died' [B05.011.02]

c. **na ha-enra*
1SG 3II.PAT-cry.CNT

As illustrated in (a), the U argument of the verb *enra* 'cry' is expressed with the complex NP *moku fila ba moni* 'small child that died' and co-indexed as LOC. This argument is refers to the 'small child that died' as a 'location' of crying (benefactive), rather than as a recipient. The second reading is given in (b), where the same NP is co-indexed as REC. In this case, the U argument is identified as recipient. It refers to the 'small child that died' as to an [+individuated] entity. Finally, as illustrated in (c), the U argument of the verb *enra* 'cry' cannot be expressed with the PAT bound pronoun. The construction would mean either 'I cry him', but this is ungrammatical and semantically odd.

The verb *dik* 'prick, stab' combines with all three prefixes, as illustrated in Table 23. Compare the use of the verb in the contexts given in (32).

(32) a. *rui ba tukola mi-a ma-i yo wan e*
rat LNK hole be.in-DUR be.PRX-PFV MD.AD already before

he-dik-i?
3II.LOC-prick-PFV
'is that rat that was in a hole already stabbed?' [B05.008.03]

b. *ho-dik naha, di marak-d-i he!*
3II.REC-prick NEG 3A scare-hold-PFV PRH
'don't tickle him, lest he be scared' [B05.008.05]

c. *rui tukola mi-a hare bataa mi ha-dik-e!*
rat hole be.in-DUR so wood take 3II.PAT-prick-IPFV
'there are rats in the hole, so take a stick and stab them!' [B05.008.02]

As illustrated in (a), the U argument of the verb *dik* 'prick' is expressed with the NP *rui* 'rat' co-indexed as LOC. The U argument is identified as a specific benefactive (malefactive). Interestingly, there is no instance in my corpus where the verb *dik* 'prick' combines with U argument expressed only with an NP. In (b), the U argument is expressed with the REC bound pronoun. It refers to a human participant that is affected by 'pricking'. In (c), the U argument *rui* 'rat' is co-indexed as PAT because its referent undergoes a change of state and is 'stabbed through'.

In (33), the verb *lák* 'break' combines with all three bound pronouns. In my corpus, there is no instance where the U argument of the verb *lák* 'break' is expressed as an NP only.

(33) a. *he-lák-i ba ha-tama-d-i-a!*
3II.LOC-break-PFV LNK 3II.PAT-middle-hold-PFV-DUR
'repair the broken (thing)!' [B06.011.02]

b. *na fala mi-a a no-lák no-biak do*
1SG house be.in-DUR 2SG 1SG.REC-break 1SG.REC-split PRX
'you just broke me out of the house (that collapsed on me)' [B06.011.03]

c. *timoi foka di lik fala ha-lák*
wind be.big 3A platform house 3II.PAT-break
'the strong wind broke down the house and verandah' [B06.011.02]

In (a), the U argument is expressed with the LOC bound pronoun; it refers to a specific object that is broken. It is unclear, whether the verb *lák* 'break' here is used in a transitive or intransitive construction. In (b), the U argument *no-* (1SG.REC) refers to the speaker as recipient or goal of breaking. In (c), the PAT bound pronoun co-indexes the complex NP *lik fala* 'house and platform' (formally a list compound, see 4.3.3). This NP is identified for the semantic role of patient as the referent undergoes a change of state.

In (34), the verb *dak* 'clutch, grip, hold tightly' combines with two bound pronouns referring in both cases to the speaker. In (b), the U argument expressed as Rec is a recipient of 'clutching'. In (c), the speaker is more affected by the event of 'clutching', he is held tightly.

(34) a. **he-dak*
3II.LOC-clutch

b. *a no-dak na-liel-i*
2SG 1SG.REC-clutch 1SG.PAT-lift-PFV
'you grabbed me and lifted me up' [B10.020]

c. *me na-dak-e*
come 1SG.PAT-clutch-IPFV
'come and hold me tight' [B10.019]

In my corpus, there are no instances of the verb *dak* 'clutch' with NPs as U arguments. Instead, the verb *pung* 'grab' is used to describe events where a human participant acts upon an inanimate participant.

The U argument of the verb *tilei* 'hang' cannot be expressed with the PAT bound pronoun, as illustrated in (35), but REC or LOC pronouns are possible.

(35) a. *ni nala nee-i he-tilei*
1PL.E what eat-PFV 3II.LOC-hang.ICP
'we continue eating' [B04.059.03]

b. *Fan Malei di Lon Rut ho-tilei*
name 3A name 3II.REC-hang.ICP
'Fan Malei dates Lon-Rut' [B04.059.03]

c. **ha-tilei*
3II.PAT-hang.ICP

In (a), the U argument of the verb *tilei* 'hang' is expressed with the LOC bound pronoun. It refers to the event expressed by the phrase *nala neei* 'eat something'. In (b), the REC bound pronoun co-indexes the proper name *Lon Rut* as referring to a recipient. The semantics of the verb *tilei* 'hang' excludes a radical effect on its participant, hence the impossibility of a PAT bound pronoun.

As illustrated in (36), the verb *faaling* 'listen' behaves similarly. It does not combine with the PAT bound pronouns because it would be semantically strange to

identify its affected participant as undergoing a change of state. The bound pronouns LOC and REC are available.

(36) a. *di tifi do he-buka he-faaling*
3A television PRX 3II.LOC-switch.on 3II.LOC-listen
'he switched on the television to watch it' [B03.006.05]

b. *Fan Malei di de-mayol he-ananra na ho-faaling*
name 3A 3I.AL-woman 3II.LOC-tell.CNT 1SG 3II.REC-listen
'Fan Malei tells about his woman, I listen to him' [B03.006.09]

c. **ha-faaling*
3II.PAT-listen

In (a), the LOC bound pronoun *he-* (3II.LOC) co-indexes the NP *tifi* 'television' as the theme of listening. In (b), the listening is oriented towards a human participant expressed with the proper name *Fan Malei*. The REC bound pronoun expresses this participant as the U argument of the verb *faaling* 'listen'.

Quite similar semantic restrictions on the argument realization are imposed on the verb *lel* 'impend, almost do, threaten' illustrated in (37). The semantics of the verb *lel* 'almost do, impend' exclude the combination with a participant that undergoes a change of state. The event referred to by *lel* is one that 'almost' happened. The other two bound pronouns are available.

(37) a. *Waksi oro Takalelang he-lel ba da-wai*
name DST place 3II.LOC-impend LNK 3I.PAT-turn
'Waksi did not reach Takalelang and returned' [B06.014.01]

b. *wi mi kaai ho-lel*
stone take dog 3II.REC-impend
'threaten a dog with a stone, lit. take a stone, threaten a dog' [B06.014.01]

c. **ha-lel*
3II.PAT-impend

In (a), the village *Takalelang* is co-indexed with the LOC bound pronoun as the U argument of the verb *lel* 'impend'. In (b), the animate participant expressed with the NP *kaai* 'dog' is co-indexed with the REC bound pronoun as the recipient that was almost affected by an event.

The verb *fahak* 'embrace' does not combine with PAT bound pronouns, as illustrated in (38). The referred event of 'embracing' cannot bring about a change of state by the affected participant.

(38) a. *kalieta wi hu fahat ba marang*
old.person stone SPC embrace.CPL LNK come.up
'an old person embraced a stone and came up' [B02.100.17:51]

b. *ne-wil* *ne-toku* *he-fahat*
1SG.AL-child 1SG.AL-leg 3II.LOC-embrace.CPL
'my child embraced my leg'

c. *maama* *di* *Nani* *ho-fahat*
father 3A name 3II.REC-embrace.CPL
'the father embraced Nani'

d. *ne-wil* *enra* *hare* *he-l* *fahak*
1SG.AL-child cry.CNT so 3II.LOC-give embrace
'my child is crying so cradle it'

In (a), the U argument of the verb *fahat* 'embrace' is expressed with the NP *wi hu* 'a stone' that refers to a stone that is not familiar to the addressee (see also sections 3.5.2.2 and 4.4.3.2). In (b), the U argument is the NP *ne-toku* 'my leg' that is co-indexed as 'location' by the bound pronoun *he-* (3II.LOC). The NP *ne-toku* 'my leg' has a specific reading because it is possessed by the speaker. In (c), the U argument *Nani* is co-indexed with the REC bound pronoun as recipient because it has a human referent. This referent is identified as [+individuated] as the course of the event is oriented toward it. It contrasts with the U argument in (d). The NP *ne-wil* 'my child' is co-indexed with the LOC bound pronoun as the U argument of the generic verb *l* 'give'. The generic verb *l* 'give' is serialized with the verb *fahak* 'embrace' to express a benefactive participant. The meaning of the benefactive serial verb construction shifts from 'embrace' to 'cradle, give a hug' (for more details about serial verb constructions with *l* 'give', see section 8.4.2.4).

In (39), the verb *loi* 'put far, chase' is exemplified. Note that the verb *loi* glossed here as 'put far' covers a wide range of meanings that can be grouped together under the meaning 'put into distant position' (see also 7.3.2.1). Note that the use of the PAT bound pronoun may be restricted depending on the animacy of the referent.

(39) a. *kaai* *ya* *oro* *nala* *nuku* *he-loi* *do*
dog be.DST DST what one 3II.LOC-put.far PRX
'the dog over there just barked for something' [B05.031.05]

b. *kaai* *ya* *oro* *nala* *nuku* *ho-loi* *do*
dog be.DST DST what one 3II.REC-put.far PRX
'the dog over there just barked at somebody/something' [B05.031.05]

c. *Simon* *di* *kaai* *ha-loi*
name 3A dog 3II.PAT-put.far
'Simon chased the dog' [B05.031.02]

d. **Simon* *di* *na-loi*
name 3A 1SG.PAT-put.far

e. *Simon* *ne-l* *to-ha-loi*
name 1SG.LOC-give DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far
'Simon chases me'

f. **Simon* *ne-l* *to-na-loi*
name 1SG.LOC-give DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far

g. **Simon* *to-na-loi*
name DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far

In (a), the U argument *nala nuku* 'something' is co-indexed as LOC; it has a specific non-individuated referent that must be understood in very broad sense as 'purpose' or 'reason'. In (b), the same U argument is co-indexed was REC; its referent is [+individuated] and probably a human or some other clearly distinguished referent. In (c), the U argument *kaai* 'dog' is affected by chasing and effectively chased away. While in (a) and (b) the meaning of the verb *loi* was translated as 'bark', the translation 'chase' is more appropriate in (c). As illustrated in (d), the use of the PAT bound pronoun is not felicitous in egophoric reference (to refer to first and second person participants). Instead, the benefactive serial construction with the generic verb *l* 'give' must be used (see also 8.4.2.4). The verb *loi* 'put far, chase' is used in U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction combining with two bound pronouns (see 6.2.5.8). The distributive form *to-* (DISTR.REC) refers to a plural number of participants that are 'recipients' of chasing. The PAT form *ha-* (3II.PAT) expresses that (at least) one participant has been successfully chased. The third person prefix is chosen here as default, as the first and second prefix may not appear following the distributive prefix. [4] The participant is identified expressed as the U argument of the verb *l* 'give' that is used in an A-U_{LOC} transitive construction. The other options such as (f, g) are ungrammatical.

In (40), the possible U arguments of verb *sei* 'come down' are given. In (a) and (b), the U argument *sakola* 'school' occurs in two distinct constructions. In (a), it has a non-specific reference and combines with the generic verb *ng* 'see' that encodes the direction (see 8.4.2.1). In (b), the U argument *sakola* 'school' has a specific reference and is co-indexed with the LOC bound pronoun on the verb *sei*. In (c), the verb *sei* 'come down' combines with a single U argument expressed with the REC bound pronoun *ro-* (2PL.REC). The U argument is identified as 'experiencer' of 'coming down'. In (c) and (d), the verb *sei* combines with other verbs in a serial verb construction to express a human undergoer participant. In (c), it is serialized with the generic verb *k* 'bring' to express a remote recipient (see 8.4.2.5). In (d), the verb *sei* 'come down' is serialized with *pa* 'touch' and *ng* 'see' to express a proximate recipient (see 8.4.2.6).

(40) a. *moku* *loku* *sakola=ng* *sei*
kid PL school=see come.down.CNT
'children come down to school (a building)'

b. *moku* *loku* *sakola* *he-sei*
kid PL school 3II.LOC-come.down.CNT
'children come down for the school (education)' [B03.003.02]

[4] Restrictions on the order of the person marking prefixes are found in other Alor-Pantar languages cf. Tanglapui, where the prefixes must follow each other in 1>2>3 fashion (Donohue 1997b).

c. *ne-ratala* *loku* *ma* *ro-sei* *yo*
1SG.AL-grandchild PL be.PRX 2PL.REC-come.down.CNT MD.AD
'my grandchilren, just come down (calm down)' [B02.038.11:12]

d. *pi* *raha* *ho-k* *sei*
1PL.I chief 3II.REC-bring come.down.CNT
'we go down to meet chief (invisible, remote)'

e. *pi* *raha* *ho-pa=ng* *sei*
1PL.I chief 3II.REC-touch.CNT=see come.down.CNT
'we go down to chief (visible, proximate)' [B07.031.01]

In (41), I present the paradigm of the U arguments of the verb *fanga* 'say' to give an impression of the complexity of Abui argument realization.

(41) a. *ha-fanga*
3II.PAT-say.CNT
'order him'

b. *ho-fanga*
3II.REC-say.CNT
'scold him'

c. *he-fanga*
3II.LOC-say.CNT
'say it'

d. *he-l* *fanga*
3II.LOC-give say.CNT
'demand him'

e. *ho-k* *fanga*
3II.REC-bring say.CNT
'tell him, inform him'

f. *he-n* *fanga*
3II.LOC-see say.CNT
'ask for a part, ask for it'

g. *buot* *fanga*
basket say.CNT
'ask for basket'

h. *e-ng* *he-fanga*
2SG.LOC-see 3II.LOC-say.CNT
'you say it anyway'

i. *he-l* *he-fanga*
3II.LOC-give 3II.LOC-say.CNT
'say for her (bride)'

In sum, in this section I have presented thirteen verbs combining with various bound pronouns to express their U arguments. We saw that some verbs allow all four ways of expressing their U argument (NP, LOC, REC, and PAT) but most verbs have restrictions on the ways in which their U argument is expressed. The four options are augmented by a number of serial verb constructions (see 8.4.2) mainly expressing human (and animate) participants.

5.7 Splits in the marking of intransitive arguments

In intransitive constructions, the single argument of a verb is expressed with an NP and/or pronoun. The realization is determined by the semantic properties of the referred participant and event, as schematically represented in **Figure 19**. Controlling and volitional participants are realized as A and expressed with NPs and/or free pronouns. These are discussed in section 5.7.1. Affected participants are realized as U arguments and expressed with NPs and/or bound pronouns. I discuss them in section 5.7.2. In section 5.7.3, I discuss the fluidity in argument realization. Argument realization reflects semantic features of the participants such as [±control], [±volition], and [±affected], and the semantic properties of the events such as the inner aspect (Aktionsart). Broader

areal and typological view of the split marking in intransitive constructions is presented by Klamer (To appear-a) discussing among others also some of the data presented in this section.

5.7.1 Intransitive constructions with a single A argument

The single controlling and volitional participant is realized as A argument with an NP and/or free pronoun. In (42), the A argument in both transitive and intransitive construction is expressed with the NP *ama* 'person'. The argument has a non-specific reference. It matches the features [+control] and [+volition].

		TRANSITIVE					INTRANSITIVE	
(42)	a.	*ama*	*tafaa*	*nuku*	*mihi*	b.	*ama*	*miei*
		person	drum	one	set.CPL		person	come.CPL
		'someone set down one drum'					'someone came'	

Specific A arguments are expressed with a free pronoun and an optional NP. In (43), the NP *ama* 'person' is co-indexed with the free pronoun *di* as the A argument in both transitive and intransitive construction.

		TRANSITIVE					INTRANSITIVE		
(43)	a.	*ama*	*di*	*nala*	*ara-l*	b.	*ama*	*di*	*siei*
		person	3A	what	be.at.fire-give		person	3A	come.down.ICP
		'the man burns out something'					'the man/people come down'		

For egophoric reference, the A argument in intransitive construction is expressed by a free pronoun. This is illustrated by a set of examples in (44).

(44) a. *na* *taa*
1SG lie.CNT
'I lie, sleep'

b. *na* *furai*
1SG run.CNT
'I run'

c. *a* *marang*
2SG come.up
'you come up'

d. *a* *me?*
2SG come
'do you come?'

e. *ni* *sei*
1PL.E come.down.CNT
'we come down'

f. *pi* *làk-e*
1PL.I leave.for-IPFV
'let's go (there)!'

5.7.2 Intransitive constructions with a single U argument

The affected participant is realized as U argument with an NP and/or bound pronoun in both transitive and intransitive constructions. This is illustrated in (45), where the U argument is expressed with the LOC bound pronoun referring to a human 'benefactive' or 'location'.

		TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE	
(45)	a.	*e-maama* *ne-natet*	b.	*e-peka*	*naha*
		2sg.al-father 1SG.LOC-stand.up.CPL		2SG.LOC-be.near	NEG
		'your father waits for me' [B05.076.03]		'you are not near'	[B09.006.06:27]

In (46), a number of intransitive constructions with the U argument expressed with the LOC bound pronoun are given. Note that in (c) the U argument is the NP *ruwol* 'chicken'. The U argument refers to a specific participant affected by the property or event expressed by the verb (see also 8.4.2.2)

(46) a. *he-lunga*
3II.LOC-be.long
'it is long' [B02.073.07:49]

b. *he-beka*
3II.LOC-be.bad
'it is bad' [B05.034.03]

c. *ruwol* *he-pok-u*
chicken 3II.LOC-burst-PRF
'chicken hatched, burst out of the egg' [B10.022]

As illustrated in (47), the U argument expressed with the REC bound pronoun refers to a 'recipient' in both transitive and intransitive construction.

		TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE
(47)	a.	*Simon* *no-dik*	b.	*no-lil-a*
		name 1SG.REC-prick		1SG.REC-hot-be.at
		'Simon is tickling me'		'I feel hot'

In (48), a number of intransitive constructions are given. The single U argument is expressed with the REC bound pronoun.

(48) a. *no-beka*
1SG.REC-be.bad
'I feel bad, I am dying'

b. *no-bui*
1SG.REC-be.short
'I am short'

c. *o-dung* *o-dang*
2SG.REC-mumble 2SG.REC-mumble
'you mumble'

d. *o-kang*
2SG.REC-be.good
'you feel good'

e. *o-kil-r-a*
2SG.REC-lonely-reach-DUR
'you are deserted'

f. *o-mong*
2SG.REC-die
'you die, drop dead'

g. *ho-lila*
3II.REC-be.hot
'he feels hot' [B06.017.03]

h. *ho-fak*
3II.REC-break
'he breaks' [B02.167.06:05]

In (49), the U argument is expressed by the bound pronoun *na-* (1SG.PAT) in both transitive and intransitive constructions.

		TRANSITIVE			INTRANSITIVE	
(49)	a.	*naana*	*di*	*na-wel*	b. *na-rik*	
		older.sibling	3A	1SG.PAT-pour	1SG.PAT-hurt	
		'my older brother washes'		[B01.032.08]	'I am ill'	[B01.033.17]

In both cases, the U argument undergoes a change of state. In (50), I list a number of intransitive constructions, in which the single U argument is expressed with the PAT bound pronoun.

(50) a. *na-yar-i*
1SG.PAT-give.birth.CPL-PFV
'I was born' [B07.025.05]

b. *ha-yei*
3II.PAT-fall
'he/it/they fall' [B01.033.13]

c. *na-kai*
1SG.PAT-drop
'I fall, collapse' [B05.049.03]

d. *ha-yeng*
3II.PAT-place
'it is placed' [B06.025.03]

e. *a-ran*
2SG.PAT-be.quiet
'you are quiet' [B02.043.14:32]

f. *na-ran-r-a*
1SG.PAT-be.quiet-reach-DUR
'I quietened myself' [B10.011.05]

5.7.3 Fluid argument realization in intransitive construction

The argument realization is triggered by either semantic properties of the participants or by internal structure of the event. In consequence, a single participant of an event may be realized as either A or U argument of a single verb depending on its semantic properties. This is illustrated in (51), where the single participant of the event of 'going away' is realized in several ways.

(51)	a.	*na*	*làk*	b.	*na*	*no-làk*	c.	*no-làk*
		1SG	leave.for		1SG	1SG.REC-leave.for		1SG.REC-leave.for
		'I go away, retreat'			'I go away, retreat myself'			'I retreat'

In (a), the single participant is volitional and controlling and therefore realized as the A argument with the free pronoun *na* (1SG) in the A intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.1). In (c), the single participant is affected. It is realized as the U argument of the verb *làk* 'leave for' with the REC bound pronoun *no-* (1SG.REC). In (b), the participant is an experiencer. Experiencers have features of both actor and undergoer. They are controlling and volitional participants that are affected by the course of the event. The single experiencer participant is realized as two morphological arguments of the verb *làk* 'leave for' with the free pronoun *na* (1SG) and the REC bound pronoun *no-* (1SG.REC). The construction given in (b) is a type of $A{\equiv}U_{REC}$ experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.1). While in (b) the participant decides independently to retreat, in (c), the participant is forced to retreat or retreats unintentionally. The construction given in (c) is an alternation of the $A{\equiv}U_{REC}$ experiencer construction, but because the A argument

is not expressed the construction has a reading of unintentionally performed event. However, the participant is still controlling and performing the event himself, as demonstrated on a similar example is given in (52).

In (52), the single participant of the event of 'telling' encoded by the verb *ananri* 'tell' is realized as the A argument in (a), as the A and U argument in (b), and as the U argument in (c). In (b, c), the participant is realized as the U argument with the 3I prefix *do-* (3I.REC) that is coreferential with the A argument. Both instances are type of the A≡U_{REC} experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.1) which has a controlling participant. However, in (c) the construction has a reading of unintentionally performed event, because the controlling participant is not expressed as the A argument with a free pronoun *di* (3A).

(52) a. *di ananri*
3A tell.CPL
'he talks, tells'

b. *di do-ananri*
3A 3I.REC-tell.CPL
'he tells for/to himself'

c. *do-ananri*
3I.REC-tell.CPL
'he mumbles'

The experiencer participant of the verb *lal* 'laugh' is obligatorily realized as the U argument in an A≡U_{PAT} experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.2). In (53), a subtle semantic distinction in participant encoding is illustrated: omission of the free pronoun in an experiencer construction records 'unintentional' controlling participant. In (b), the single affected participant is realized as the U argument of the verb. The construction refers to 'unintentional' laughing, which is 'smiling'. In (a), the single participant is realized as two arguments: the A argument refers to a volitional and controlling referent, while the U argument refers to an affected referent. The semantic features compose a controlling experiencer of 'laughing'.

(53) a. *na na-lal*
1SG 1SG.PAT-laugh
'I laugh (intentionally)'

b. *na-lal*
1SG.PAT-laugh
'I smile (unintentionally)'

In (54), the verb *kafia* 'scrape' displays a similar alternation. The single experiencer participant is realized as the A and U argument of the verb in (a). In (b), the affected unintentional participant is realized as the U argument of the verb *kafia* 'scrape' in an A≡U_{REC} experiencer construction (6.2.5.1).

(54) a. *Ata di do-kafi-a*
name 3A 3I.REC-scrape-DUR
'Ata scratches himself (intentionally)'

b. *Ata do-kafi-a*
name 3I.REC-scrape-DUR
'Ata scratches himself (unintentionally)'

In sum, the 3I bound pronouns refer to the same participant as the A argument in the same clause and signal the A≡U_{REC} experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.1). Whenever the 3I pronoun is used, the expressed participant is controlling. Non-controlling and fully affected participants are expressed with 3II bound pronouns. As illustrated in (55), the single participant of the event expressed by the verb *kai* 'drop' is expressed as the U argument with the PAT bound pronoun as undergoing a change of state. In (a), the 3I bound pronoun encodes that the participant fell intentionally, contrasting with the non-

intentional and non-controlling undergoer of 'dropping' encoded with 3II bound pronoun in (b). The same holds for the single participant of the verb *kang* 'be good' in (c, d). In (c), the 3I pronoun indicates that the participant 'feels good' by his intention or power. In (d), the participant is an involuntary and non-controlling undergoer of 'good feelings'.

(55) a. *da-kai*
3I.PAT-drop
'he dropped himself down'

b. *ha-kai*
3II.PAT-drop
'it fell'

c. *do-kang*
3I.REC-good
'he is alive, he got better'

d. *ho-kang*
3II.REC-good
'he likes, he feels good'

In (56), I illustrate the alternation of the verb *kang* 'be good' given in (c, d) above. Both constructions below are instances of paratactic complement clauses (cf. Noonan, To appear:14-6). In (a), the second clause is semantically a complement of the verb *panen* 'make'. However, the verb *panen* 'make' is formally intransitive, as the complement clause is not co-indexed with the expected LOC prefix. In (b), the first clause can be identified as a complement clause. However, the verb *kang* 'be good' is not co-indexed with the LOC prefix for a second U argument and can be considered intransitive.

(56) a. [*ne-d-e* *panen=te*]$_{\text{clause}}$ [*di* *do-kang*]$_{\text{CC}}$
1SG.LOC-hold-IPFV make.CPL=INCP.C 3A 3I.REC-be.good
'I caused (that) he got better' [B07.060.02]

b. [*moku* *loku* *do-tafuda* *tifi* *ho-roa* *ho-tek-e*]$_{\text{CC}}$
kid PL 3I.REC-be.all TV 3II.REC-watch.CNT 3II.REC-watch-IPFV

[*ho-kang*]$_{\text{clause}}$
3II.REC-be.good
'the children, all of them like to watch television', lit.: 'all of the children watch television, they feel good' [B10.048.02]

Another example is given in (57), where the single participant of the verb *mong* 'die' is realized in two distinct ways. In (a), the single participant of the verb *mon* 'die' is realized as the U argument with the NP *ne-mayol* 'my wife'. The participant is identified as controlling by a simple test: an NP is the A argument of a verb when it may be co-indexed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). In (b), the single participant is realized as the U argument of the verb *mong* 'die'. The 3I bound pronoun indicates that the referent should die by his own doing. However, this construction expresses a wish of the speaker. It seems odd to co-index the optional NP with the free pronoun *di* (3A) in a declarative sentence because the participant is not in control of dying.

(57) a. *ne-mayol* *mon-i*
1SG.AL-woman die.CPL-PFV
'my wife died'

b. *do-mong=ti*
3I.REC-die=PHSL.C
'he should drop dead'

The internal temporal structure of an event (inner aspect, Aktionsart) is reflected in argument realization. In (58), the affected participant is realized in both cases as the U argument. In (a), the U argument is the PAT bound pronoun *na-* (1SG.PAT). It encodes that the referred participant underwent a change of state described as *akuti* 'become blind'. In (b), the U argument is the REC bound pronoun *no-* (1SG.REC) encoding a recipient of the state of being blind.

(58) a. *na-akut-i*
1SG.PAT-not.see.CPL-PFV
'I got blind'

b. *no-akut-a*
1SG.REC-not.see.CPL-DUR
'I feel blind'

As illustrated in (59), serial verb constructions are used to realize affected participants that are characterized by a certain property. These participants are realized as the U argument of the first verb of the construction with the LOC bound pronoun *ne-* (1SG.LOC) as malefactives (human locations) of the state of being blind.

(59) a. *ne-d-o* *akut-a*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT not.see.CPL-DUR
'I am blind'

b. *ne-ì* *akut-a*
1SG.LOC-put not.see.CPL-DUR
'I am always blind'

For more details about the serial verb constructions given in (59), see sections 8.4.2.2 and 8.4.2.7.

5.8 Development of Abui bound pronouns

Abui pronouns seem to be cognate to the pronominal forms found in other Papuan languages of Alor-Pantar area. The formal relation goes even further to the mainland languages of the Trans New Guinea family (TNG), cf. section 1.6. The reconstructed proto-TNG forms **na* and **ka* (Foley, 2000) are found in 1st and 2nd singular respectively and in 1st plural. The velar proto-TNG root [k] indicating second person is possibly related to Abui glottal [ʔ] that characterizes second person singular. In Papuan languages, the singular vs. plural number is indicated by the vowel alternation **a* ~**i* (cf. Foley, 2000:362; Ross, 2006:29); in Abui, this alternation is found as well. In (Ross 2005), a reconstructed inclusive suffix **-p* is given. It is possible that this form is also the source of Abui inclusive forms *pi* (1PL.I), *po-/pu-* (1PL U arguments), and *pi-* (1PL U arguments and possessors).

There is cross-linguistic evidence that diachronically the pronouns were morphologically complex. The consonant roots identify the person while the vowel roots mark the number (cf. Foley, 2000:362). In Abui these basic composed pronominal forms fused later with the generic verbs **a* 'be at', **e* 'add, continue', and **o* 'point' (cf. Klamer and Kratochvíl 2006). In (60), I illustrate the development for

singular bound pronouns. In all given cases, the vowel root [*a*] that codes the singular number was deleted. The pronominal form and the generic verb fused into a single morpheme and became grammaticalized as prefixes.[5]

(60) a. **n-a-a* *fanga* > **n-a=fanga* > *na-fanga*
1-SG-be.at say 1SG-be.at=say 1SG.PAT-say
'tell/order me'

b. **h-a-e* *fanga* > **h-e=fanga* > *he-fanga*
3-SG-add say 3-add=say 3IL.LOC-say
'say it'

c. **n-a-o* *fanga* > **n-o=fanga* > *no-fanga*
1-SG-point say 1SG-point=say 1SG.REC-say
'scold me'

In (61), the development of the plural forms is shown.

(61) a. **n-i-a* *fanga* > **n-i=fanga* > *ni-fanga*
1-PL-be.at say 1PL[be.at]=say 1PL.PAT-say
'tell/order us'

b. **n-i-e* *l* > **n-i=l* > *ni-l*
1-PL-add give 1PL[add]=give 1PL.E.LOC-give
'give us'

c. **r-i-o* *sei* > **r-o=sei* > *ro-sei*
2-PL-point come.down 2PL-point=come.down 2PL.REC-come.down
'you (PL) return down'

As illustrated in (a), the vowel [*a*] deletion process applied. The high front vowel was preserved. In (b), the high vowel fused with the lower vowel and was preserved. The resulting prefix has the same form as the PAT prefix. In (c), the high front vowel was deleted resulting in the REC prefix *ro-*, or in other dialects *ru-*. The vowel alternation seems to reflect the diachronic development. In sum, (60) and (61) suggest that the pronominal prefixes originate from a serial verb construction. Although this might seem unlikely at the first sight, there are other serial constructions reminiscent of these proposed constructions (see 8.4.2). The possessive prefixes developed along the same path as shown in (62).

(62) a. **n-a-a* *táng* > **n-a=táng* > *na-táng*
1-SG-be.at hand 1SG-be.at=hand 1SG.INAL-hand
'my hand'

[5] In Abui, the vowel deletion still applies when a stem without word-initial onset combines with a pronominal prefix containing the vowel [*a*], as discussed in section 2.5.6, in particular example (101).

b. **r-i-a* *moi* > **r-i=moi* > *ri-moi*
2-PL-be.at sound 2PL-[be.at]=sound 2PL.INAL-sound
'your (PL) voice'

c. **n-a-e* *fala* > **n-e=fala* > *ne-fala*
1-SG-add house 1SG-add=house 1SG.AL-house
'my house'

d. **n-i-e* *fala* > **n-i=fala* > *ni-fala*
1-PL-add house 1PL-[add]=house 1PL.E.AL-house
'our house'

As illustrated in (a, b), inalienable possessive prefixes developed along the same path as PAT prefixes. Alienable possessive prefixes developed along the same path as LOC prefixes (c, d).

5.9 Summary of Abui argument realization

In Abui, event participants are realized as A and/or U arguments. The choice of the appropriate argument is determined by the semantic features of both events and participants, represented in **Figure 21** below. There are two macroroles actor (A) and undergoer (U). The participants that have the features [+control], [+volition] are realized as the A argument of a verb with an NP and/or a free pronoun. The participants that are [+affected] are realized as the U argument of a verb with an NP and/or bound pronoun. The choice between the NPs and pronouns is determined by the features [±change of state], [±individuated] and [±specific].

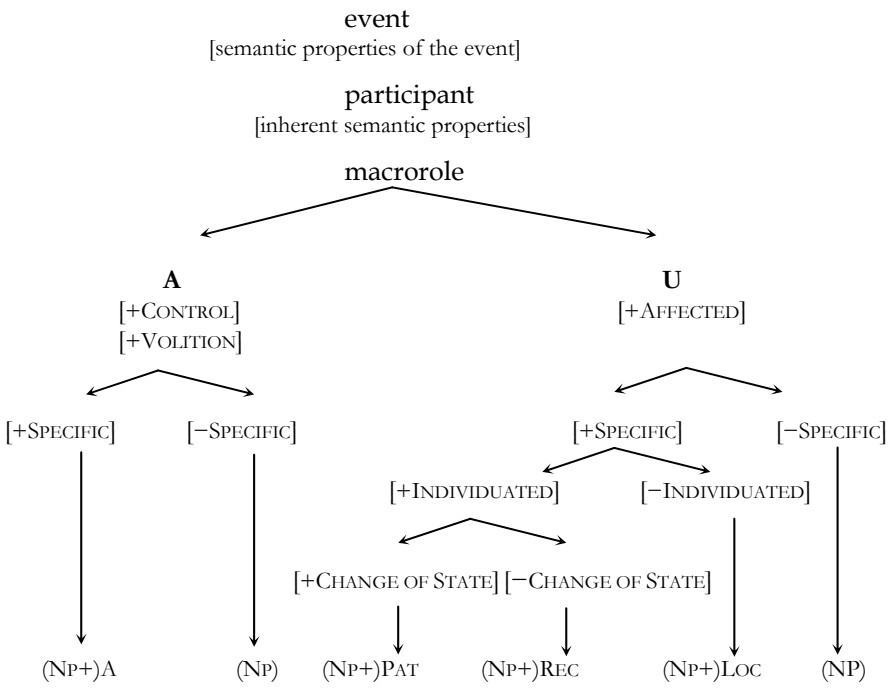


Figure 21: Overview scheme of Abui argument realization

In the case of predicates expressing experience, a single referent is identified for both macroroles. As a result, the participant is realized as both A and U argument of a verb (see 6.2.5).

6 Verb Phrase and Clause

This first part of this chapter deals with the syntactic units headed by verbs: verb phrases (VP). In a VP, Abui verb may either occur bare or associated with additional morphology displaying person and aspect inflection of the head verb, as discussed in 6.1. In aspectual inflection, aspectual suffixes and/or clitics are attached to the verb to indicate the aspectual properties of the referred event. I describe aspectual inflection in 6.1.1. In person inflection, pronominal prefixes indicate the number and type of the U argument(s) of a verb. Person inflection is described in section 6.1.2

Section 6.2 deals with clauses. In a clause, a VP may combine with arguments realized with free pronouns and NPs. In section 6.2.1, I identify the basic constructions in which a VP combines with its argument(s). Section 6.3 gives an overview of adverbial modifiers found in the left edge. Negation, predicate markers, anaphoric demonstratives and illocutionary force particles are found on the right edge or right periphery. I discuss negation in section 6.4.1. Predicate markers are described in section 6.4.2. In 6.4.3, I deal with anaphoric demonstratives that follow a predicate.

6.1 The Abui Verb Phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is a syntactic unit headed by a verb. It has a number of constituents that will be discussed in this section. They are aspectual markers and bound pronouns that express U arguments of the verb. In (1), I give the Abui VP template. Minimally, a VP consists of a free stem, or a bound stem that combines with a pronominal prefix. The other constituents are optional.

(1) VP TEMPLATE: PRO.2-PRO.1-**VERB.STEM**-ASPECT.1-ASPECT.2=ASPECT.3

A VP may contain maximally two pronominal prefixes (PRO.1, PRO.2) and three aspectual markers (ASPECT.1-3). Note that two aspectual markers are suffixes, the third marker cliticizes to the verb stem.

This section is organized as follows. In section 6.1.1, I discuss aspectual inflection. In section 6.1.2, I give an overview of person inflection and valence properties of Abui verb stems. In section 6.1.3, I give an overview of the possible shapes of Abui VPs. In 6.1.4, I address the issue of argument incorporation.

6.1.1 Aspectual inflection

In Abui, aspect is encoded by verb stem alternation and by aspectual markers that are attached to a verb stem. Abui verbs alternate their stems to encode aspectual properties of the referred event (see 6.1.1.1). Abui verb stems combine with aspectual markers (suffixes and particles, see 3.5.4). Aspectual suffixes and particles view the internal structure of the event with respect of the moment of speech. The suffixes view the

event from inside; they indicate the initial, and final boundary, or the absence of a boundary (see 6.1.1.2-6.1.1.6). Aspectual particles view events from outside (see 6.1.1.7-6.1.1.8); they indicate the point just before the start or just before the end (inchoative aspect), or the point right after the start or right after the end of an event (phasal aspect).

6.1.1.1 Verb stem alternation

In Abui, verb stems alternate to reflect the internal temporal structure of the encoded event (Aktionsart). As summed up in (2), verb stem alternation encodes different phases of an event and distinguishes between atelic (continuative) and telic events (completive and inceptive).[1]

	VERB STEM	GLOSS	REFERENCE	ITEMS
(2)	COMPLETIVE	(CPL)	event with end point	many
	CONTINUATIVE	(CNT)	event with neither starting nor end point	many
	INCEPTIVE	(ICP)	event with starting point	few

In section 3.4.2.3, I have introduced three morphological classes of verbs. The members of the first class do not alternate and I will not pay any more attention to them here.

The members of the second class show alternation in the coda (of the final syllable) of their stem. The completive stems for the second class must combine with aspectual inflection in final position (see also 8.1.1); in non-final position it may occur without aspectual inflection if the coda is phonologically allowed in word-final position. The non-restricted stem has aspectual properties of both continuative and inceptive verb stems.

In (3), the class II.a (*k~t*) is exemplified with the verb ***batek/batet*** 'strike'. The completive stem ***batet*** may occur either as a medial stem (non-final) or it must carry aspectual inflection, as illustrated in (b-c).

(3) a. *di bataa batek*
3A wood strike
'he is splitting wood' [B07.033.02]

b. *lakai he-l batet ba mon-i*
epilepsy 3II.LOC-give strike.CPL LNK die.CPL-PFV
'epilepsy hit him and he died' [B06.012.05]

c. *di sora sapada mi batet-i*
3A sword machete take strike.CPL-PFV
'he took the sword and stroke' [B02.064.26:00]

[1] Verb stem alternations reflect the classical distinctions of predicate types as first proposed by Vendler: states, activities, achievements and accomplishments that are distinguished by their internal boundaries in time (Vendler 1967).

The class II.b (*k~p*) is exemplified with the verb *–tak/-tap* 'bring down, shoot' in (4). In (a) the non-completive stem is given, while in (b) the completive stem *-tap* is given, which requires aspectual inflection. The completive stem *-tap* 'bring down' may not occur as a non-final stem, because its coda is not allowed in word final position.

(4) a. *Floris nala ha-tak wan kabei kang*
name what 3II.PAT-bring.down already little be.good
'Floris can already shoot with bow a bit' [B10.052.01]

b. *di bataa ho-ng marei ma re, ama*
3A wood 3II.REC-see go.up.ICP be.PRX reach.ICP person

ha-tap-i
3II.PAT-bring.down.CPL-PFV
'if he climbs the tree, people would shoot him' [B07.038.01]

In (5), I illustrate the alternation of the stem *pung/pun* 'grab' that belongs to the II.c class (*ng~n*). In (b), the completive stem *pun* is used in medial position, where it does not require aspectual inflection. However, in (c, d, e) the completive stem *pun* 'grab' combines with aspectual inflection.

(5) a. *he-toku pung!*
3II.AL-leg grab
'grab his leg!' [B01.041.08]

b. *do pun ba e te wi-r pung!*
PRX grab.CPL LNK before where be.like.MD.CPL-reach grab
'grab it as you did before', lit.: 'this, as you grabbed it before, grab it' [B09.002.00:00]

c. *na daweng pun-a*
1SG medicine grab.CPL-DUR
'I perform magic, sorcery', lit.: 'I hold the medicine' [B10.048.07]

d. *di ha-táng pun-i di ning ayoku làk-e*
3A 3II.INAL-hand grab.CPL-PFV 3A be.QNT two leave.for-IPFV
'he was holding his arm and both of them left' [B06.048.06:05]

e. *a te mi-a ha-pun-i?*
2SG where be.in-DUR 3II.PAT-grab.CPL-PFV
'where did you catch it?' [B07.024.01]

The class II.d (*l~r*) is exemplified in (6) with the verb *-yal/-yar* 'give birth'. The completive stem *-yar* must be inflected for aspect in final position (b), but may occur without aspectual inflection in medial (non-final) position (c).

(6) a. *yal ayoku do, ko di moku do ha-yal*
now two PRX soon 3A kid PRX 3II.PAT-give.birth
'in two days she will give birth to the child' [B02.026.03:19]

b. *mayol do wan de-wil ha-yar-i*
woman PRX already 3I.AL-child 3II.PAT-give.birth.CPL-PFV
'the women already gave birth to her child' [B07.025.04]

c. *ne-d-o na-yar ba wan latukoi lunga*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 1SG.PAT-give.birth.CPL LNK already very.much be.long
'it is already a long time ago that I was born' [B07.025.05]

The class II.e (∅~*r*) contains two items, the verb *yaa*/*yaar* 'go' and the verb *nate*/*natet* 'stand up', which are illustrated in (7)-(8). As in the II.d class, the completive stem may occur without aspectual inflection in medial position; however, in final position it obligatorily combines with aspectual inflection.

(7) a. *na yaa sieng sik-e*
1SG go rice sever-IPFV
'I go harvest the rice' [B04.065.02]

b. *a te=ng yaar-i, raata?*
2SG where=see go.CPL-PFV brother-in-law
'where did you go, brother-in-law?' [Note.013.09]

c. *na ne-melang yaar ba na-wai=se*
1SG 1SG.AL-village go.CPL LNK 1SG.PAT-turn=INCP.I
'I will go to my village and finally return (home)' [B04.059.03]

In (8) the verb *nate*/*natet* 'stand up' is illustrated. The completive stem *natet* 'stand up' occurs without aspectual inflection in medial position (b). In final position, inflection is obligatory (c).

(8) a. *e-l ba-i, he-n o-mi he-nate-a*
2SG.LOC-give say-PFV 3II.LOC-see.CPL 2SG.REC-be.in 3II.LOC-stand.up-DUR
'and you, you have decided about it', lit.: 'it stands up in you' [B01.082.02:19]

b. *wil neng nuku natet ba baleei he-kui*
child man one stand.up.CPL LNK banana 3II.LOC-peel
'a boy stood up and peeled his banana' [B06.072.MPI145ETB]

c. *na lik tah-a=ng natet-i*
1SG platform put.on.CPL-DUR=see stand.up.CPL-PFV
'I stood up on a platform' [B09.075.02]

The class II.f (*i*~*f*/*b*/*h*/s) is exemplified with the verbs *takai*/*takaf-* 'steal', *baai*/*bab-* 'strike', and *tai*/*tah-* 'put on' in (9)-(11). In (9) the verb *takai*/*takaf-* 'steal' is illustrated. The completive stem *takaf* obligatorily combines with aspectual inflection. It may not occur in medial position without aspectual inflection.

(9) a. *di yaa, ama he-baleei do takai*
3A go person 3II.AL-banana PRX steal
'they went, to steal people's banana's' [B02.147.00:20]

b. *ama* *ne-mea* *loku* *tafuda* *takaf-i*
person 1SG.AL-mango PL be.all steal.CPL-PFV
'people stole all my mango' [B04.037.03]

In (10), the verb *baai/baab-* 'strike' is illustrated. As in the previous case, the completive stem *baab-* obligatorily carries aspectual inflection (b).

(10) a. *di* *tipai* *baai* *re* *bataa* *he-kariang*
3A iron strike or wood 3II.LOC-work [Note.006.02]
'is he a smith or a carpenter?', lit.: 'does he forge iron or work with wood'

b. *de-kanai* *do* *baab-i* *ba* *nee*
3I.AL-canari.nut PRX strike.CPL-PFV LNK eat
'he was crushing the canari nuts for himself and ate (them)' [B02.135.04:05]

In (11), the verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' is illustrated. Note that both stems occur as independent predicates as well as in serial verb constructions. Note that the completive stem *tah-* obligatory carries aspectual inflection (d, e). More information about serial verb construction with the verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' can be found in 8.4.5.1.

(11) a. *ama* *he-l* *tai* *tung* *ayok-d-a*
person 3II.LOC-give put.on year two-hold-DUR
'people were curing him for two years' [B07.022.04]

b. *di* *ha-d-o* *ba* *ayating* *yaa,* *di,* *kalieta* *mayol* *do,*
3A 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT LNK house go 3A old.person woman PRX

di *moku* *do* *ho-tai*
3A kid PRX 3II.REC-put.on [B02.017.09:35]
'he went with her to the house, she, the old woman, she laid on the child (a task)'

c. *di* *taa* *do,* *adik* *tai* *taa* *naha*
3A lie PRX mat put.on lie NEG
'when he sleeps, he does not sleep on a mat' [B07.053.04]

d. *pelang* *tah-a* *a* *mit* *do!*
canoe put.on.CPL-DUR 2SG sit PRX
'now you sit on the canoe!' [B02.097.16:21]

e. *ri* *ri-mai* *sak* *he-tel* *tah-i*
2PL 2PL.AL-bamboo pass 3II.AL-bundle put.on.CPL-PFV
'you have put on a bundle of your discarded bamboo' [B02.004.05:20]

The members of the third class show alternation in the rime (of the final syllable) of the stem. Typically the completive stem terminates in /ɪ/. Only the III.a (*a~i*) class is productive. Other classes contain a small number of members. The completive stems of the third class do not combine with aspectual suffixes and may occur in medial as well as final positions.

The class III.a (*a~i*) is exemplified in (12) with the verb *roa/roi* 'watch'. The stem *roa* is glossed as continuative (CNT), the stem *roi* is glossed as completive (CPL).

(12) a. *di tifi do he-buka-d-i ba he-hai di ho-roa*
3A tv PRX 3II.LOC-switch.on-hold-PFV LNK 3II.AL-wife 3A 3II.REC-watch.CNT
'he switched on the television and his wife watched it' [B03.006.04]

b. *di dieng do ma-r kang-kang he-r-i ya*
3A pot PRX ripe-reach RED[be.good] 3II.LOC-reach-PFV SEQ

mit ba he-roi
sit LNK 3II.LOC-watch.CPL [B02.161.00:12]
'she cooked (the food in) the pot till it became cooked and sat and waited for him'

Most of the derived complex verbs pattern as the III.a (*a~i*) class. As illustrated in (13), the complex verb stem *bui-d-* 'become short, shorten' obligatorily carries aspectual inflection. The stem inflected for durative aspect in (a) has similar properties as simple continuative stems; the stem inflected for perfective aspect in (b) is similar to simple completive stems. The stem *loi-d-* in (a) obligatorily combines with perfective aspect.

(13) a. *ni-wata di loi-d-i bui-d-a nu a*
1PL.E.INAL-neck 3A put.far-hold-PFV short-hold-DUR SPC.AD 2SG

mielang-d-i he!
fear-hold-PFV PRH [B02.097.16:21]
'when our necks become long and short, you may not become scared'

b. *di bataa tuku ha-bui-d-i*
3A wood piece 3II.PAT-short-hold-PFV
'he shortened a piece of wood' [B05.070.06]

The class III.b (*e~iei*) contains a single member *me/miei* 'come' illustrated in (14). The stem *miei* is glossed as completive (CPL). It may occur in final position without any further aspectual inflection.

(14) a. *teina a me?*
when 2SG come
'when are you coming' [B07.024.04]

b. *he-feela di fal afe-i-d-a miei*
3II.AL-friend 3A separate pass-put-hold-DUR come.CPL
'he came with his friend yesterday' [B07.004.04]

The class III.c (*a~iei/dei*) contains only two members *pa/piei* 'go down', and *taa/tadei* 'lie (animate)'. It is exemplified in (15) and (16). The stem *pa* is glossed as continuative (CNT) while the stem *piei* is glossed as completive (CPL).

(15) a. *na fat kaala yo mi ba tama=ng pa*
1SG corn pap MD.AD take LNK sea=see go.down.CNT
ha-yok-d-i=te
3II.PAT-wet-hold-PFV=INCP.C
'I took that corn gruel and went down to the sea to soak it' [B02.009.02:11]

b. *Dori di o Bali piei, da-wai Kupang maran-i*
name 3A MD area go.down.CPL 3I.PAT-turn place come.up.CPL-PFV
'Dori went (down) to Bali and came back (up) to Kupang' [B10.049.01]

The verb *taa/tadei* 'lie (animate)' is exemplified in (16). Note that the completive stem *tadei* is formed irregularly: the monosyllabic stem becomes disyllabic.

(16) a. *kaai fala pe=ng taa*
dog house be.near=see lie
'a dog lies nearby a house' [B07.057.02]

b. *anui saai=se, di tadei*
rain come.down.CPL=INCP.I 3A lie.CPL
'after it rained he lied down' [B07.078.03]

The class III.d (*ai~aai*) contains a number of verbs such as *tahai/tahaai* 'search' or *kai/kaai* 'drop'. In (17), the verb *tahai/tahaai* 'search' is illustrated. Both roots may occur in final position. The completive stem *tahaai* may have sometimes the reading of 'find', as illustrated in (b).

(17) a. *Kafola loku afu tahai kang*
area PL fish search be.good
'Kabola people are good fishermen', lit.: 'Kabola people can search fish' [B07.031.03]

b. *di te hu mi-a de-kaai tahaai re sai*
3A where SPC be.in-DUR 3I.AL-dog search.CPL reach.ICP put.along
'he looked for his dog anywhere', lit.: 'he tried to find his dog anywhere' [B07.046.04]

The class III.e (*ei~i*) contains a single verb *tilei/tili* 'hang'. The completive stem requires aspectual inflection in final position (c), but in medial position it occurs without it. (b).

(18) a. *di buot mi bataa awe he-tilei*
3A back-basket take wood end 3II.LOC-hang.ICP
'he took a back basket and hang it out on the beam end' [B07.059.03]

b. *tukonrek o di la tili ba pun-a*
stick MD 3A be.MD hang.CPL LNK grab.CPL-DUR [B09.025.00:00]
'that stick, he is holding it along (his side)', lit.: 'he holds the stick hanging'

c. *tila nu oro tili-a*
cord SPC.AD DST hang.CPL-DUR
'some rope is hanging over there' [B05.038.04]

Also the class III.f (*ui~i*) contains a single stem *sui/si* 'scoop (water)', illustrated in (19). The completive stem *si* may occur in both final and medial position. In final position it may optionally combine with durative suffix *-a* (DUR), as in (b), or occur without aspectual inflection (c). Note that in (c) there is an external, but headless relative clause. The head is omitted because it is already in the first clause.

(19) a. *ah, a mit-i, na we ya sui ba miei=se*
oh 2SG sit-PFV 1SG leave water scoop.ICP LNK come.CPL=INCP.I
'ah, you sit, I will go to scoop up some water and bring it' [B02.027.04:15]

b. *ka di we do, ya si-a*
be.soon 3A leave PRX water scoop.CPL-DUR
'and soon she would go and scoop up water' [B02.027.04:19]

c. *na yaa ye si-a yo, {oro melang ha-pong*
1SG go water scoop.CPL-DUR MD.AD DST village 3II.INAL-face

he-n-u mi-a}$_{RC}$ *ba ∅ si*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF be.in-DUR LNK scoop.CPL [B07.062.01]
'I go to scoop water, I scoop (water that is) over there at the end of the village'

d. *yaa ya si ba siei=se!*
go water scoop.CPL LNK come.down.ICP=INCP.I
'go, scoop water and bring it down (here)' [B05.039.06]

The class III.g (*ai~ei*) is exemplified in (20), with the verb *furai/furei* 'run'. Note that speakers of Aila dialect use the form *firei/firai* instead. The stem *furei/firei* is glossed as inceptive, however, it also covers the continuative uses.

(20) a. *kamai di kaai ba {firei}*$_{RC}$ *h-ién-i*
cat 3A dog LNK run.ICP 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'a cat saw a dog running' [B06.009.03]

b. *na wan firei no-kan-d-i*
1sg already run.ICP 1SG.REC-be.good.CPL-hold-PFV
'I already finished running' [B10.054.01]

c. *yal do a he-abikni ba furai=se*
now PRX 2SG 3II.LOC-be.quick.CPL LNK run.CNT=INCP.I
'now you have to hurry and run for it (not to be late)' [B07.017.01]

The class III.h (*ei~iei~aai*) contains two stems. The stem *sei/siei/saai* 'come down' is illustrated in (21). The stem *mara/marei/mari* 'go up' is illustrated in (22). The stems are glossed as continuative (CNT), inceptive (ICP), and completive (CPL). The continuative stem *sei* refers to the event of 'coming down' that is viewed as having neither initial nor final point (a). The inceptive stem *siei* refers to 'coming down' that has an initial point (b). The completive stem *saai* refers to the event of 'coming down' that is viewed as having a final point (c).

(21) a. *na* *fa* *sei*
1SG be.MD.AD come.down.CNT
'I am actually coming down (now)' [B04.009.03]

b. *na* *siei=se*
1SG come.down.ICP=INCP.I
'I am about to start coming down' [B07.045.02]

c. *na* *fui* *saai*
1SG flat come.down.CPL
'I came down (to the coast)' [B04.013.02]

The verb *marei/mara/mari* 'go up' is exemplified in (22). The stem *marei* is glossed as inceptive (ICP) in (a), the stem *mara* is glossed as continuative (CNT) in (b, c) and the stem *mari* in (d) as completive (CPL).

(22) a. *a* *marei=se!*
2SG go.up.CPL=INCP.I
'go up finally' [B05.048.02]

b. *Arjun* *de-kartipel* *ong* *ba* *mara* *kuya* *ha-tak*
name 3I.AL-catapult make LNK go.up.CNT bird 3II.PAT-bring.down
'Arjun made himself a catapult and went up to shoot the birds' [B06.014.03]

c. *na* *a-reng* *mara*
1SG 2SG.PAT-turn.to go.up.CNT
'I go up towards you' [B01.034.03]

d. *di* *awering* *do* *ha-b-i* *mari*
3A ladder PRX 3II.PAT-join-PFV go.up.CPL
'he put up the ladder and climbed up' [B06.080.02:19]

6.1.1.2 Perfective suffix *–i* (PFV)

The perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) views an event as reaching a final boundary. In other words, it indicates a situation as finished, independently of tense. In (23), the verb stem *we* 'leave' occurs without any aspectual marker. This is the case in (a), where it refers to an ongoing event of 'leaving'. In combination with the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) it refers to a finished event of 'leaving' (b).

(23) a. *na* *Kalang-Fati=ng* *we*
1SG place=see leave
'I leave for Kalabahi'

b. *na* *Kalang-Fati=ng* *we-i*
1SG place=see leave-PFV
'I have left for Kalabahi'

In case of stem alternating verbs (3.4.2.3, 6.1.1.1), aspectual suffixes combine with verb stems that refer to events with compatible aspectual properties as illustrated in (24). In combination with the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV), the completive stem of the verbs 'make' and 'consume' is required.

(24) a. *Timo de-fala on-i*
name 3I.AL-house make.CPL-PFV
'Timo made his own house'

b. **Timo de-fala ong-i*
name 3I.AL-house make-PFV

c. *na el kopi buut-i*
1SG before coffee consume.CPL-PFV
'I have already drunk coffee'

d. **na el kopi buuk-i*
1SG before coffee consume-PFV

The aspectual suffix *-i* (PFV) could have developed from the generic verb *ì* 'put' (see 8.4.2.7). The grammaticalization of the verb 'put' into aspectual marker is not uncommon (Heine and Kuteva, 2002:248), and found in other Papuan languages (Foley, 1986:145).

6.1.1.3 Imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV)

The imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV) views an event as ongoing with an initial point. In (25), the imperfective suffix combines with the verbs *làk* 'leave for' and *-wel* 'pour'.

(25) a. *a làk-e?*
2SG leave.for-IPFV
'are you leaving?'

b. *e-d-e ha-wel-e?*
2SG.LOC-hold-IPFV 3II.PAT-pour-IPFV
'you, are you going to wash him?'

The serial constructions with the verb *-d-e* 'hold' are discussed in section 8.4.2.2. For stem alternating verbs, the imperfective suffix must be compatible with the aspectual properties of the stem. Imperfective prefixes never combine with completive verb stems, as illustrated in (26).

(26) a. *na n-ièng akuk-e*
1SG 1SG.INAL-eye not.see-IPFV
'I am closing my eyes' [B04.053.05]

b. **na n-ièng akut-e*
1SG 1SG.INAL-eye not.see.CPL-IPFV

c. *ma a te=ng yaa-e?*
be.PRX 2SG where=see go-IPFV
'where are you going?'[B02.074.08:41]

d. **ma a te=ng yaar-e?*
be.PRX 2SG where=see go.CPL-IPFV

In some cases the verbs in imperative clauses may combine with the imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV). This is illustrated in (27).

(27) a. *làk-e!*
leave.for-IPFV
'go away' [B07.040.03]

b. *o-làk-e!*
2SG.REC-leave.for-IPFV
'go back (where you came from)!' [B07.040.03]

For details about the serial verb constructions with the generic verb *ng* 'see' see section 8.4.2.1. The imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV) could have developed from the generic verb *e* 'move'.

6.1.1.4 Durative suffix *-a* (DUR)

The durative suffix *-a* (DUR) views an event as having no initial and final point. It differs from the imperfective suffix in that it may be attached to a completive verb stem and that it may follow a perfective suffix. In (28), the verb *si* 'scoop' combines with the durative suffix *-a* (DUR):

(28) *ama* *na-bot* *ba* *he-ya* *si-a*
person 1SG.PAT-inform.CPL LNK 3IL.AL-water scoop.CPL-DUR
'people ordered me to scoop (and fetch) their water' [B05.010.01]

In (29), the durative suffix combines with the completive stem *panen* 'make' following the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) to refer to continuous singing.

(29) *do-yai* *panen-i-a* *ba* *baloka* *bel*
3I.REC-song make.CPL-PFV-DUR LNK grass pull
'he is singing while weeding, pulling out the grass' [B07.035.03]

The durative suffix and the perfective suffix are used productively with process verbs illustrated in (30). The perfective suffix indicates a finished event; durative suffix indicates an ongoing event. The bare stems may occur without aspectual markers as non-final verbs in a serial verb construction (8.1.1).

(30) a. *kafi-i* ~ *kafi-a*
scrape-PFV scrape-DUR
'have scratched' 'scratch'

b. *mahi-i* ~ *mahi-a*
perceive.CPL-PFV perceive.CPL-DUR
'have heard, perceived' 'listen, perceive'

c. *li-i* ~ *li-a*
fly-PFV fly-DUR
'have flown' 'fly'

d. *mi-i* ~ *mi-a*
take-PFV take-DUR
'have taken' 'keep taking'

An example of the use of the verb *mahi* 'hear, perceive' is given in (31):

(31) a. *na* *he-l* *bol* *haba* *di* *mahi-a* *naha*
1SG 3IL.LOC-give hit but 3A perceive.CPL-DUR NEG
'I beat him but he does not feel it' [B05.075.02]

b. *di* *mahi-i* *naha*
3A perceive.CPL-PFV NEG
'she did not hear it' [B06.080.02:19]

c. *na he-tanga he-mahi=se*
1SG 3II.AL-speech 3II.LOC-perceive.CPL=INCP.I
'I will listen to his/her speech' [B10.046.02]

The durative suffix *-a* (DUR) possibly originates from the generic verb *a* 'be at'. The generic verb *a* 'be at' typically combines with bound stative verb stems such as *fok-a* 'be big'. As illustrated in (32), the generic root *a* 'be at' is replaced by the verb *d* 'hold' in the complex verb *fokda* 'get big, become big' (see also 7.2.1).

(32) a. *Timo he-fala fok-a*
name 3II.AL-house big-be.at
'Timo's house is big' [B01.035.26]

b. *a-ne ha-fok-d-a*
2SG.INAL-name 3II.PAT-big-hold-DUR
'hallowed be thy name' (Lord's Prayer)

6.1.1.5 Punctual suffix *-o* (PNCT)

Punctual aspect suffix *-o* (PNCT) indicates that an event occurs in an instant in time (cf. Payne 1997:241). This is illustrated in (33), where the verb *buuk* 'consume' combines with both a punctual and an imperfective aspectual suffix.

(33) a. *hare na buuk-o*
so 1SG consume-PNCT
'so, I just drink' [B02.007.00:51]

b. *na buuk-e*
1SG consume-IPFV
'I (already) drink'

c. *na buuk*
1SG consume
'I drink'

In (34)-(35) two instances of the verb *làk* 'leave for' are given. In each the verb combines either with the punctual or the imperfective suffix. In (34) the verb *làk* 'leave for' combines with the punctual suffix *-o* (PNCT) in a fragment of a story in which two young people decide to attend a traditional dance ceremony in Afeng Hietang village. The young man addresses the young woman in the following way:

(34) *ko pi Afeng Hietang mi-a luuk, hare a siei=se*
soon 1PL.I place be.in-DUR dance so 2SG come.down.ICP=INCP.I
'we will dance in Afeng Hietang, so you should come down'

ko pi làk-o!
soon 1PL.I leave.for-PNCT
'we will be leaving (for Afeng Hietang)' [B02.141.00:07]

In (35), a fragment of the fable about Bad Eye and Bad Ear is given. Bad Eye runs away leaving his friend Bad Ear behind stealing coconuts. Bad Eye tells the owners of the coconuts; they come and beat up his friend. In the following example the scene where Bad Eye is running away is reported:

(35) *he-ni-r-i ya wan he-l it-i*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach-PFV SEQ already 3II.LOC-give lie.on-PFV
'and being like this, that one,'

H-ièng *Beka* *he-n* *di* *furai,* *furai* *ba*
3II.INAL-eye be.bad 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3A run.CNT run.CNT LNK

làk-làk-e
RED[leave.for]-IPFV
'Bad Eye he ran, he was running away' [B06.048.06:35]

As illustrated in (36), the punctual suffix *-o* (PNCT) occurs frequently in imperative constructions, and might possibly be cognate to the illocutionary clitic /o/ found in other Papuan languages that expresses vocative, emphasis, imperatives (Ger Resink p.c.).

(36) a. *yal* *do* *a* *làk-o!*
now PRX 2SG leave.for-PNCT
'and now you will go!'[B07.007.02]

b. *ah,* *pi=ng* *ha-tàng-o!*
ah 1PL.I=see 3II.PAT-release-PNCT
'ah, let's just release him!' [B06.079.01:53]

However, in many cases the punctual is used in situations where no imperative construction is used such as illustrated in (37), where the verb *-ful* 'swallow' combines with the punctual suffix *-o* (PNCT) to indicate that the event of 'swallowing' will occur within an instant. However, it is still utterance final and constituting a threat and can be identified as illocutionary force marker.

(37) *a* *e-maama* *ho-k* *fangi* *na* *a-ful-o!*
2SG 2SG.AL-father 3II.REC-bring say.CPL 1SG 2SG.PAT-swallow-PNCT
'you tell your father (and) I just swallow you' [B02.094.14:17]

In some cases, the punctual suffix is used to refer to past events but there seem to be no illocutionary force expressed. In (38), a fragment from the narrative *Kewai mahapang* is given. The wife of the Kewai man is asking him why did he get injured, referring to his good condition before he left. In this case the punctual aspect seems to be overlapping in its function with the anaphoric demonstratives discussed in 6.4.3. It is used to refer to events that occurred in the past.

(38) *e-d-o,* *afe* *a* *làk-o,* *kang-kang-o*
2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT pass 2SG leave.for-PNCT RED[be.good]-PNCT
'you, before (when) you were leaving, (you were) doing well' [B02.009.02:11]

The punctual suffix *-o* is possibly grammaticalized from the generic verb *o* 'point'.

6.1.1.6 Perfect suffix *-u* (PRF)

The perfect aspect suffix *-u* (PRF) is used to refer to the state brought about by an event. It is used with a limited number of verbs that in most cases terminate in /ɔk/ or /uk/ such as *tulok* 'stab', *pok* 'burst', *fuk* 'fart', *tok* 'spill', *buk* 'bind', *nabuk* 'bury', *yok* 'lift up', *luk* 'rub, bend'. However, there are some exceptions such as *toh-* 'add', *teh-* 'add up, fill', *tah-* 'support, supply, uphold', *loh-* 'lengthen', *foh-* 'peel' or *d* 'get'. With exception of the verb *d* 'get, hold', these verb stems end in a velar or glottal consonant.

The phonological shape of a verb stem does not determine that the perfect suffix must be used. This is illustrated in (39), where the verb 'split' combines with either a perfective or a perfect suffix.[2] In (a) the verb *pok* 'split' refers to the state reached by 'splitting' which can be translated as 'broken' or 'burst'. The speaker is focusing on the final state of the kettle. It contrasts with (b) where the 'splitting' reached a final point; however, the speaker is not focusing on the final state of the cloth but on the process of splitting.

(39) a. *anai dieng do moku ong pok-u*
soil kettle PRX kid make split-PRF
'a child broke the kettle' [B07.026.02]

b. *di kabala he-pot-i*
3A cloth 3II.LOC-split.CPL-PFV
'she split the cloth'

In (39) the verb *pok* 'split' combined with the perfect suffix *-u* (PRF) is used in an intransitive construction and requires the serial verb construction with *ong* 'make' to express the actor. However, *-u* (PRF) cannot be analyzed as a valence decreasing device because in (40) the perfect suffix *-u* (PRF) is attached to the verb *bok* 'dig' that combines with two arguments. In (a), the verb *bok-u* refers to the result of digging, whereas in (b) the same verb is given without aspectual inflection.

(40) a. *mayol de-anai bok-u*
woman 3I.AL-soil dig-PRF
'a woman dug out her soil' [B01.096.00:04]

b. *mayol de-anai bok*
woman 3I.AL-soil dig
'women dig their soil'

In (41) two other instances of the use of the perfect suffix are given with the verb *tulok* 'stab' and *kok* 'prod':

(41) a. *afu kiding loku wan tulok-u*
fish little PL already stab-PRF
'the small fish are already stuck on (a bamboo)'

b. *di tafui do kok-u*
3A crab PRX prod-PRF
'he prodded out the crabs'

The perfect suffix *-u* (PRF) could have developed from the generic verb *u* 'leave'.

6.1.1.7 Inceptive aspect markers *se* (INCP.I) and *te* (INCP.C)

The inceptive markers *se* (INCP.I) and *te* (INCP.C) view an event from outside. They indicate the point just before the start or just before the end of an event. The marker *se* (INCP.I, INCEPTIVE INCHOATIVE) indicates the point just before the start of an event. The inceptive completive marker *te* (INCP.C, INCEPTIVE COMPLETIVE) indicates the point just before the end of an event. Both markers are contrasted in (42), where they combine with the verb *sakola-d-i* 'learn'.

[2] The verb stem *pok* 'split' has a completive stem *pot* 'split' that has to be used with perfective suffix. The perfect aspect suffix does not require the completive stem.

(42) a. *na* *sakola-d-i=se*
1SG school-hold-PFV=INCP.I
'I am about to learn'

b. *na* *sakola-d-i=te*
1SG school-hold-PFV=INCP.C
'I am about to have learnt it'

In (a), the marker *se* (INCP.I) refers that the 'learning' is just about to start. In (b), the marker *te* (INCP.C) indicates that the 'learning' is just about to be completed and the matter to be learnt. In (43) the verb *saai* 'come down' combines with both markers. The marker *se* (INCP.I) indicates that the speaker is at the point before he will start to 'come down'. The marker *te* (INCP.C) views the event of 'coming down' as just about to be completed.

(43) a. *na* *saai=se*
1SG come.down.CPL=INCP.I
'I am about to come down'

b. *na* *saai=te*
1SG come.down.CPL=INCP.C
'I am about to have come down'

Both markers also may combine with verbs inflected for perfective aspect. A number of examples are given in (44). In all cases the aspectual suffixes and markers combine their meaning together. The referred event is viewed as having a final boundary (perfective), and it is about to start (a, b), or about to be completed (c).

(44) a. *pi* *kabei* *nee-i=se*
1PL.I be.little eat-PFV=INCP.I
'we are about to eat up a bit'

b. *a* *oro* *nu=ng* *we-i=se!*
2SG DST SPC.AD=see leave-PFV=INCP.I
'leave finally (and go) over there!'

c. *awering* *no-ha-b-i=te*
ladder 1SG.REC-3II.PAT-join-PFV=INCP.C
'appose the ladder (to the house) for me' [B05.026.01]

The inceptive markers *se* (INCP.I) and *te* (INCP.C) are found frequently in imperative constructions. In (45), three instances are given, in which the speaker stresses priority of his intention above any other activity performed by the addressee at that moment.

(45) a. *a* *sei* *re* *naha* *ba,* *a* *mon=te!*
2SG come.down.CNT or not.be say 2SG die.CPL=INCP.C
'you come down or if not you will die' [B06.048.06.35]

b. *mie-i=se!*
come.CPL-PFV=INCP
'first come here!' [B07.041.01]

c. *a-wai* *mie-i=se!*
2SG.PAT-turn come.CPL-PFV=INCP.C
'come back!' [B07.041.04]

6.1.1.8 Phasal aspect markers *si* (PHSL.I) and *ti* (PHSL.C)

The phasal aspect marker *si* (PHSL.I) refers to the point just after the start of an event. The marker *ti* (PHSL.C) indicates the point right after an event has finished. Both markers are formally related to the inceptive markers. In fact, the inceptive and phasal

markers have reversed functions: inceptive markers refer to the point just before, while phasal markers refer to the point just after. In (46), both phasal markers are contrasted.

(46) a. *di sei=si*
3A come.down.CNT=PHSL.I
'he has just started coming down' [B02.123.02:06]

b. *di yaa=ti*
3A go=PHSL.C
'he just went' [B02.086.07:47]

The phasal inceptive marker *si* (PHSL.I) in (46) indicates that the event of 'coming down' has just started. The phasal completive marker *ti* (PHSL.C) indicates that the event of 'going' just finished. Note that the marker *ti* (PHSL.C) does not require the completive stem of 'go' *yaar*. Another contrastive pair of examples is given in (47).

(47) a. *Arjun di he-wahai=si Mai Fan do-làk*
name 3A 3II.LOC-look=PHSL.I name 3I.REC-leave.for
'Arjun has just started to look (how) Mai Fan is leaving' [B06.008.01]

b. *Arjun di he-wahai=ti Mai Fan do-làk*
name 3A 3II.LOC-look=PHSL.C name 3I.REC-leave.for
'Arjun has just finished looking (how) Maifan is leaving' [B06.008.01]

The phasal markers are often used with complement clauses that follow the verb. An example is given in (48), where the verb *piei-l-a* 'dream' combines with the phasal marker *ti* (PHSL.C) and is followed by a complement clause that expresses the content of the dream. The complement clause contains the affirmative marker *ba* that indicates that the reported event really happened (see also 6.4.2.1).

(48) *na piei-l-a=ti na-noting Kalang-Fat yaa ba*
1SG dream-give-DUR=PHSL.C 1SG.INAL-spirit place go say
'I just dreamt that I (my soul) went to Kalabahi' [B06.025.09]

A similar example is given in (49), where the verb *fanga* 'say' combines with the phasal marker *ti* (PHSL.C) and is followed by a complement clause that expresses the content of what was said.

(49) *a tah-a he-fanga=ti a ko me ba yo*
2SG put.on.CPL-DUR 3II.LOC-say.CNT=PHSL.C 2SG soon come say MD.AD
'you were just saying that you would come' [B07.010.02]

Another use of phasal marker is to introduce a conditional clause in (50)-(51). In (50), the clause *do-mon=ti* 'he died' introduces a hypothetical condition for the statement expressed in the clause *kang* 'it would be good'.

(50) *palaka hare la do-mon=ti kang*
be.naughty so be.MD 3I.REC-die.CPL=PHSL.C be.good
'he is naughty, so if he died, it would be good' [B07.015.09]

In (51), the first clause ending with the aspectual marker *ti* (PHSL.C) expresses the condition of 'being rich' followed by the statement in the second clause.

(51) *a* *kawaisa* *ho-mi* *mi-a=ti* *a* *no-ta-wang?*
2SG be.rich 3IL.REC-be.in be.in-DUR=PHSL.C 2SG 1SG.REC-DISTR.PAT-greet
'if you would become rich, would you still greet me/remember me?' [B05.065.02]

6.1.2 Person inflection and valence

In Abui, the head of a VP may carry person inflection in addition to aspectual inflection discussed in 6.1.1. Person inflection appears in the form of pronominal prefixes (see 3.3.2). Syntactically, these prefixes are (anaphoric) pronouns that express [+specific] arguments (see 5.2). Abui verbs appear in a number of transitive and intransitive constructions. Almost no Abui verb is restricted to a single construction but most verb stems can be characterized as 'labile' (see 6.2.1). Except for the intransitive stative verbs, most Abui verbs appear with one or two arguments. In my corpus, there are no instances of ditransitive verbs; in description of events involving three participants various types of serial verb constructions are used instead (see 8.4.2).

In this section, I illustrate on a sample of verbs that a verb stem may occur in transitive, intransitive, and experiencer construction. I discuss the verbs following their morphological type: (i) free stems that may occur as a VP; (ii) bound stems that obligatorily carry person inflection (see also 3.4.2.2). Both types are discussed in sections 6.1.2.1 and 6.1.2.2 respectively.

6.1.2.1 Person inflection and valence of free verb stems

In this section, I illustrate the variation in person inflection and valence on a sample of free verb stems (stems that may occur without person inflection). The verbs *mit* 'sit', *yaa* 'go', *mong* 'die', *kil* 'detach', *paneng* 'make', and *marang* 'come up' represent various semantic verb classes discussed in 3.4.4.

In examples (52)-(54), I illustrate that the verb *mit* 'sit' can occur as free stem and also with various types of prefixes. In (52), three instances are given. In (a), the VP combines with the free pronoun *na* (1SG) in an intransitive construction (see 6.2.4). In (b), the VP consist of the head combined with the REC pronominal prefix *no-* (1SG.REC), while in (c), a similar case is given for the third person. In (b, c), the verb *mit* 'sit' is used in a A≡U_{REC} experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.1) and has a reading of unintentionally performed event.

(52) a. *na* *mit-i*
1SG sit-PFV
'I sit' [B07.027.05]

b. *no-mit-i*
1SG.REC-sit-PFV
'I sat down'

c. *Fan Malei* *do-mit-i*
name 3I.REC-sit-PFV
'Fan Malei sat down' [B03.005.05]

In (53), the verb *mit* combines with the PAT pronominal prefix *da-* (3I.PAT) that co-indexes the NP *kalieta* 'old person' in another type of A≡U_{PAT} experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.2). Because the NP *kalieta* is not co-indexed with the free

pronoun *di* (3A) the construction has an unintentional reading, the sitting down was performed by the old man, but it was not his intention. As discussed in section 5.7.3, this is a regular alternation in marking of the intransitive argument.

(53) *kalieta* *ma* *he-n* *da-mit-i*
old.person be.PRX 3II.LOC-see 3I.PAT-sit-PFV
'an old man (slipped and) sat there (unintentionally)' [B02.117.06:33]

In (54), the verb *mit* 'sit' combines with the LOC pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that co-indexes the NP *mayol kokda nu* 'that younger wife' as the benefactive/location of 'sitting'. The second argument is expressed with the NP *mayol fing* 'first wife' and co-indexed with the LOC prefix *e-* (2SG.LOC) on the verb *-d-o* 'hold'. It is unclear whether this NP can be considered the A argument of the verb *mit* 'sit' (a case of A-U_{LOC} transitive construction as discussed in 6.2.2.2) or whether it should be considered as a U argument.

(54) *mayol fing, e-d-o mayol kokda nu he-mit-i*
woman oldest 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT woman younger SPC.AD 3II.LOC-sit-PFV
'first wife, you got to look after that younger wife' [B02.026.03:19]

In examples (55)-(59), I exemplify a number of VPs headed by the free verb stem *yaa* 'go'. The verb occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions. In (55), the verb *yaar* 'go' heads a VP that contains only an aspectual suffix. The VP combines with the free pronoun *di* (3A) that expresses the A argument (see also 6.2.4).

(55) *yal wala di yaar-i*
now so 3A go.CPL-PFV
'he has just left' [B07.005.01]

In (56), the verb *yaa* 'go' is the only constituent of a VP. The VP combines with the free pronoun *di* (3A) and with the NP *abui* 'mountain' that expresses the location of the motion in an A-U transitive construction (see 6.2.2.1). The reading of the construction is 'go up' referring to the mountains above and around the village.[3]

(56) *di abui yaa bataako he-tei*
3A mountain go cassava 3II.LOC-dig
'he went up (to the mountains) to dig some cassava's' [B10.047.01]

[3] The direction of a motion may be expressed with an NP also in case of other motion verbs. As illustrated in (1), the motion verb *mara* 'go up' combines with the NP *melang* 'village'.

(1) *ri ko ban-i ya it-i melang mara*
2PL soon carry.on.shoulder.CPL-PFV SEQ lie.on-PFV village go.up.CNT
'we will carry it up to the village' [B02.055.21:42]

In (57), the verb stem *yaar* 'go' combines with LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that co-indexes the NP *sakola* 'school' as the U argument of the verb. The verb is used in a transitive construction with the A argument *Simon*, cf. (40) in 5.6.

(57) *Simon el sakola he-yaar-i naha*
name before school 3II.LOC-go.CPL-PFV NEG
'Simon did not go to school' [B01.036.40]

In (58), the REC prefix in the VP expresses a U argument. The A argument of the construction is realized with the NP *wil neng nuku* 'one boy'.

(58) *wil neng nuku di mie-i ba la=ng ho-yaar-i*
child man one 3A come.CPL-PFV LNK be.MD=see 3II.REC-go.CPL-PFV
'one young man came and walked into her there' [B06.051.MPI005P]

In (59), the VP has a similar shape. The REC prefix *do-* (3I.REC) co-indexes the NP *raha* as the U argument in an A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction. The single participant expresses with the NP *raha* 'king' is realized only with the 3I prefix as controlling participant that does not perform the event intentionally (cf. 5.7.3).

(59) *maa o-k fangi ba raha do-yaar-i?*
who 2SG.REC-bring say.CPL LNK king 3I.REC-go.CPL-PFV
'who told you that the king (had to) depart?' [B07.023.04]

In (60)-(63), I exemplify VPs headed by the verb *mong* 'die'. In all cases, these VPs combine with a single argument. In (60), the verb combines with a single argument *ne-mayol* 'my wife'.

(60) *ne-mayol mon-i, nala on=te?*
1SG.AL-woman die.CPL-PFV what make.CPL=INCP.C
'my wife died, what shall I do?' [B07.005.03]

In (61), the single A argument of the verb *mon* 'die' is realized with the free pronoun *di* (3A) in the third conversational turn. In the third turn, the argument of *mon* 'die' can be identified as A because it is expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). In the second turn the omitted NP *kaai* 'dog' is the U argument of the verb *mon* 'die' because the free pronoun *di* (3A) does not appear.

(61) Q: *kaai te mia?*
dog where be.in
'where is the dog?'

A: *wan mon-i*
already die.CPL-PFV
'already dead'

Q: *te* *wi-r=te* *di* *mon-i?*
where be.like.MD.CPL-reach=INCP.C 3A die.CPL-PFV
'how come it is dead?'

A: *ama* *faling* *mi* *fen-i*
person axe take injure.CPL-PFV
'people killed it with an axe' [B07.025.03]

In (62), the verb *mong* 'die' combines with the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) to refer to a dog that will be killed but also requires the presence of the causative serial verb construction with *ong* 'make'. As illustrated in (b), this VP cannot occur in a transitive construction. Instead, a serial verb construction must be used, as in (c).

(62) a. *ong* *ha-mong-e*
make 3II.PAT-die-IPFV
'kill it (dog)' [B07.081.00:15]

b. **na* *ha-mong-e*
1SG 3II.PAT-die-IPFV

c. *na* *ko* *feng* *mong-e*
1SG soon injure die-IPFV
'I shall murder', lit.: 'I shall injure (her) dead' [B02.022.21:56]

In (63), the verb *mong* 'die' combines in both cases with a U argument expressed with the REC prefix. In (a), the verb *mong* 'die' combines with the REC prefix *no-* (1SG.REC). It is not clear whether the A argument of the verb *mong* 'die' is the free pronoun *di* (3A), or whether this is an instance of a $A{\equiv}U_{REC}$ experiencer construction. In (b), the REC prefix *do-* (3I.REC) expresses the single U argument of the verb *mong* 'die' which is used in an $A{\equiv}U_{REC}$ experiencer construction (cf. 6.2.5.1). The construction has a reading of unintentionally performed event.

(63) a. *di* *na-bek-d-i* *ba* *no-mong-e*
3A 1SG.PAT-bad-hold-PFV LNK 1SG.REC-die-IPFV
'he put a curse on me to let me die' [B07.020.03]

b. *lakang* *palaka* *hare* *la* *do-mong=ti* *kang*
very be.naughty so be.MD 3I.REC-die=PHSL.C be.good
'he is very naughty, so if he dies it would be good' [B07.015.09]

In examples (64)-(69), I illustrate the use of the free verb stem *kil* 'detach'. In (64), the verb stem *kil* 'detach' heads a VP. It combines with a single argument *oto he-ban yo* 'that tire of a car'. For more information about this type of construction, see section 6.2.4.2.

(64) *oto* *he-ban* *yo* *loma* *tama* *mi-a* *kil* *ba* *ha-yei*
car 3II.AL-tire MD.AD hill middle be.in-DUR detach LNK 3II.PAT-fall
'a wheel of a car detached in the middle of a hill and fell' [B05.071.05]

In (65), the verb phrase headed by the verb stem *kil* 'detach' contains the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that co-indexes the NP *lung nu* 'that door' as the U argument. The A argument of this A-U_{LOC} transitive construction (6.2.2.2) is implicit.

(65) *lung nu* *he-kil* *ba* *he-mai* *he-maneh-i=te*
door SPC.AD 3II.LOC-detach LNK 3II.AL-bamboo 3II.LOC-replace.CPL-PFV=INCP.C
'detach that door and replace its bamboo (boards)' [B05.071.05]

In (66), the VP contains the REC prefix *ho-* (3II.REC) that co-indexes the complex NP that is bracketed. The non-specific A argument is realized with the NP *ama* 'person/people'. (For more information about distribution of pronominal prefixes, see section 5.5).

(66) [*ama*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*el* *ayong* *nu*}$_{RC}$ *ama* *oro* *ho-kil*
person LNK before swim SPC.AD person DST 3II.REC-detach
'that guy who dived before, people undress him over there (from diving equipment)' [B05.071.05]

In (67), the VP headed by *kil* 'detach' contains the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) and is used in A-U_{PAT} transitive construction (cf. 6.2.2.4). The PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) co-indexes the NP *sura nu he-ui* 'the back of a book' in (a) and *e-fat pakai* 'your corn basket' in (b). In (a), the A argument is not expressed. In (b), the A argument is shared with the serial construction consisting of the verbs *ì* 'put' and *na* 'be like.PRX' and expressed with the LOC prefix *e-* (2SG.LOC). More details about this type of serial construction can be found in section 8.4.2.7.

(67) a. *sura* *nu* *he-ui* *ha-kil*
book SPC.AD 3II.AL-back 3II.PAT-detach
'turn that book on its back' [B05.071.05]

b. *e-ì* *na* *e-fat* *pakai* *ha-kil* *to*
2SG.LOC-put be.like.PRX.CNT 2SG.AL-corn basket 3II.PAT-detach PRX.AD
'you have to turn your corn basket your self' [B05.071.05]

In (68), the VP headed by *kil* 'detach' contains the PAT prefix *na-* (1SG.PAT) that expresses the single argument of the verb. This is an idiomatic construction that is used to express someone's effort to do something. It is an instance of an A≡U_{PAT} experiencer construction which is further discussed in 6.2.5.2. Because the A argument is not expressed, the construction has a reading of unintentionally performed event.

(68) *na-kil* *na-wai* *beka*
1SG.PAT-detach 1SG.PAT-turn be.bad
'I cannot do anything, I am stuck, lit.: I cannot detach me, turn me' [B05.072.01]

In (69), the VP contains two pronominal prefixes that are attached to the head verb *kil* 'detach'. These two prefixes express two U arguments of the A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{PAT}

experiencer construction (6.2.5.5). The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) refers to the complement clause given in brackets. The REC prefix *da-* (3I.PAT) expresses the human experiencer of turning while asleep. Because the human experiencer is not expressed by a free pronoun *di* (3A) as expected in a A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{PAT} experiencer construction, the construction has a reading of unintentionally performed event (of turning around while asleep).

(69) *ha-rik hare, [di taa ba-i,]*$_{CC}$ *la he-da-kil da-wai*
3II.PAT-hurt so 3A lie say-PFV be.MD 3II.LOC-3I.PAT-detach 3I.PAT-turn
'he is ill, so even when sleeps he turns away from it and turns over' [B05.047.06]

In examples (70)-(72), I illustrate the verb phrases headed by the verb *paneng* 'make'. In (70), the verb *panen* 'make' combines with the aspectual marker *te* (INCP.C). It combines with a single argument expressed as prefix *ne-* (1SG.LOC) as the U argument of the previous verb *-d-e* 'hold' which is discussed in 8.4.2.2. The verb is formally intransitive, even if the final clause is semantically a complement of the first clause.

(70) *ne-de panen=te di do-kang*
1SG.LOC-hold.INPC make.CPL=INCP.C 3A 3I.REC-be.good
'me, I just did (so that) he is getting better' [B07.060.02]

In (71), *paneng* 'make' is the head of a VP. The verb is transitive as it combines with two arguments: its A argument is *a* (2SG), its U argument is *nala* 'what'.

(71) Q: *a nala paneng?*
2SG what make
'what are you doing?'

A: *na kopi baai*
1SG coffee grind
'I am grinding coffee' [B07.002.02]

In (72), the VP headed by *paneng* 'make' contains the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that expresses a specific U argument of the verb expressed in the context. This example is taken from the narrative *la teitu nikalieta* which can be found in the appendix.

(72) *ni-d-e he-ong, ni-d-e he-paneng*
1PL.E-hold-IPFV 3II.LOC-make 1PL.E-hold-IPFV 3II.LOC-make
'it is us (who) make them, us (who) forge them (swords and machetes)' [B02.114.03:31]

In examples (73)-(76), I exemplify a number of VPs headed by the verb *marang* 'come up'. In (73), the verb *marang* 'come up' occurs in a VP that combines with the NP *kalieta loku* 'ancestors' that serves as the A argument.

(73) *kalieta* *loku* *marang* *Likwatang* *buku* *he-rotang-d-i*
old.person PL come.up place land 3II.LOC-land-hold-PFV
'the ancestors came up and disembarked in Likwatang area' [B02.113.01:44]

In (74), the VP headed by the verb *maran* 'come up' contains also an aspectual marker.

(74) *kabei* *ha-sur* *maran=te*
little 3II.PAT-shift.CPL come.up.CPL=INCP.C
'shift it up a little bit' [B07.083.00:00]

In (75), the VP contains the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that expresses the U argument. The argument refers to the purpose of 'coming up', which is 'killing', as expressed by the preceding serial verb construction *te-l feng* 'injure everybody'. The VP combines with the A argument realized with the NP *ama* 'person/people'.

(75) *ama* *he-n* *o* *mahoi-n-i* *ba* *te-l* *feng*
person 3II.LOC-see.CPL MD together-see.CPL-PFV LNK DISTR.LOC-give injure
he-marang
3II.LOC-come.up
'people gathered there to go up and kill everybody' [B06.041.10:30]

In (76), the LOC prefix precedes the REC prefix in a VP headed by the verb *maran* 'come up'. The speaker is filled up by the rice that he consumed. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) co-indexes the NP *sieng ma* 'cooked rice', while the REC prefix *no-* (1SG.REC) expresses the first person participant as an involuntary experiencer (see also 6.2.3.6).

(76) *sieng* *ma* *he-no-maran-i*
rice be.ripe 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-come.up.CPL-PFV
'I am satiated of rice' [B04.045.01]

6.1.2.2 Person inflection and valence of bound verb stems

In this section, I show how person inflection and valence vary in a number of VPs headed by bound verb stems such as *-yei* 'fall', *-rik* 'hurt', and *-loi* 'put far'.

In the VPs exemplified in (77)-(81), the bound verb stem *yei* 'fall' occurs as the head verb. In (77), the VP contains the PAT pronominal prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) that expresses the U argument. The pronoun refers to the NP *moku fila* 'small child'. The 3I prefix *da-* (3I.PAT) cannot combine with the verb *-yei* 'fall' as the event of 'falling' is never controlled by the affected participant.

(77) *moku* *fila* *lik* *ha-pong* *mi-a* *ha-yei*
kid be.young platform 3II.INAL-face be.in-DUR 3II.PAT-fall
'a small child fell from the front of the platform' [B07.059.02]

As illustrated in (78), a VP headed by *-yei* 'fall' cannot combine with an A argument. The first person actor is realized as the A argument of the verb *ong* 'make' with the free pronoun *na* (1SG) as in (62) *ong ha-mong* 'cause to die'.

(78) *na yambuk ong ha-yei*
1SG glass make 3II.PAT-fall
'I dropped a glass' [B04.053.01]

In (79), the verb *-yei* 'fall' combines with two prefixes in a U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction (see 6.2.3.8). The PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) refers to the NP *bataa tuku* 'piece of wood' while the REC prefix *o-* (2SG.REC) refers to the human goal of the motion.

(79) *na bataa tuku ong ha-yei mai=se la o-ha-yei*
1SG wood piece make 3II.PAT-fall be.PRX-PFV=INCP.I be.MD 2SG.REC-3II.PAT-fall
'I dropped a piece of wood and then it fell on you' [B05.037.05]

In (80), the VP contains two pronominal prefixes. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) refers to a 'far' location where an arrow fell.

(80) *buoka he-ha-yei naha*
be.far 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-fall NEG
'it did not fall far' [B07.083.02:51]

As discussed in 5.6, some verbs such as 'fall' or 'put far' do not allow first and second person participants to be expressed with the PAT prefix. Instead, a serial verb construction must be used, as illustrated in (81), where the verb *-yei* 'fall' combines with a U argument expressed with the third person prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT). The first person undergoer is specified as the malefactive with the LOC prefix *ne-* (1SG.LOC) attached to the verb *-l* 'give' (see also 8.4.2.4).

(81) *ne-l ong ha-yei*
1SG.LOC-give make 3II.PAT-fall
'I fell down (vertically)' [B05.086.01]

In (82)-(84), I list a number of VPs headed by the bound verb stem *-rik* 'hurt'. In (82), the verb *-rik* 'hurt' combines with a single prefix, expressing the single U argument of the verb (see 6.2.4.5).

(82) a. *na-rik*
1SG.PAT-hurt
'I am ill'

b. *ni-rik ba-i, a mahi-a naha*
1PL.E.PAT-hurt say-PFV 2SG perceive.CPL-DUR NEG
'even if we are ill, you don't realize' [Sms.01.02]

In (83), the VP contains a single prefix but combines with two arguments. In (a), the second argument is questioned with *nala* 'what'. In (b), the second argument of the verb is the NP *na-táng* 'my arm' which is the inanimate location, or instigator of pain.

(83) a. *nala a-rik?*
what 2SG.PAT-hurt
'what does hurt you?'[B01.033.17]

b. *na-táng na-rik ba-i*
1SG.INAL-hand 1SG.PAT-hurt say-PFV
'my hand hurts as well' [B09.002.00:00]

In (84), the VP headed by *-rik* 'hurt' contains two pronominal prefixes and an aspectual suffix. It is used in a U_{LOC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction (see 6.2.3.7). While the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) refers to the human undergoer, the LOC prefix refers to the reason of pain expressed in the preceding complement clause 'he ate so much meat'.

(84) *di mahiting la faring nee-i ba he-ha-rik-i*
3A meat be.MD much eat-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-hurt-PFV
'he ate so much meat that he became ill (from it)' [B07.020.03]

In examples (85)-(91), VPs headed by the bound verb stem *-loi* 'put far, chase' are given. In (85), the VP contains the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that co-indexes the NP *oro nala nuku* 'something over there' as the U argument. The VP combines with the NP *kaai* 'dog' in a A-U_{LOC} transitive construction (6.2.2.2).

(85) *kaai ya oro nala nuku he-loi do*
dog be.DST DST what one 3II.LOC-put.far PRX
'the dog just barked at something over there' [B05.031.05]

In (86), the VP contains the REC prefix *no-* (1SG.REC) that expresses the speaker as the U argument of the verb. The A argument is the NP *kaai* 'dog'. The VP combines with its arguments in a A-U_{REC} transitive construction (6.2.2.3).

(86) *kaai no-loi na wi mi ba he-l batet-i*
dog 1SG.REC-put.far 1sg stone take LNK 3II.LOC-give strike.CPL-PFV
'a dog barked at me, I took a stone and threw at it (dog)' [B05.031.05]

In (87), the VP contains the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) expressing the U argument. The A argument is *di* (3A). Both arguments combine with the verb in a A-U_{PAT} transitive construction (6.2.2.4). Observe that the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) has a human referent. The PAT prefix can be used only in cases where the acting participant has full control of the undergoer; otherwise a benefactive serial construction is required as in (90).

(87) *he-ura di ha-loi*
3II.AL-sibling.OS 3A 3II.PAT-put.far
'her brother chased her away' [B05.071.03]

Another example of a A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction is given in (88). The verb *-loi* 'put far, chase' combines with the distributive prefix *ta-* (DISTR.PAT). The VP has a reciprocal reading (see also 5.4.2).

(88) *pet kak ama mi ba ta-loi*
bow war.arrow person take LNK DISTR.PAT-put.far
'people war (each other) with bows and arrows' [B07.026.03]

In (89), two instances are given where the VP headed by the verb *-loi* 'put far, chase' contains two pronominal prefixes and in both cases also an aspectual marker. In both cases, the VP combines with two U arguments. There is no third argument slot. The evidence for this claim comes from both examples below. The actor participant that will cause that the flies are chased is cast as the A argument of the verb *me* 'come'.[4]

(89) a. *a me he-ha-loi=se*
2SG come 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-put.far=INCP.I
'you come and chase them (flies) from it (a wounded leg)' [B05.031.01]

b. *a me no-ha-loi=se*
2SG come 1SG.REC-3II.PAT-put.far=INCP.I
'come and chase them (flies) from me' [B05.030.05]

In (90), the VP contains two prefixes that express the U arguments as in examples above. The verb *-loi* 'put far, chase' is serialized with the verb *-l* 'give' to disambiguate who is acting upon whom (see also 8.4.2.4). The benefactive serial verb construction also implicates, that the chasing was not performed with the full control of the undergoer participant, as in the example below.

(90) *kaai di ne-l to-ha-loi hare na kof-i*
dog 3A 1SG.LOC-give DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far so 1SG cut.down.CPL-PFV
'the dog chased me so I cut it (dead, wounded it)' [B05.077.04]

In (91), three VPs contain each two pronominal prefixes. In all cases, the REC prefix occurs further from the verb stem. The bound stems *-baai* 'be angry' and *-l* 'give' have the LOC prefix attached immediately to the stem. Both stems are used in U$_{REC}$-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction (6.2.3.5) which indicates that the second person singular participant expressed with the REC prefix *o-* (2SG.REC) experiences a strong emotion with respect of the first person singular participant expressed by the LOC prefix *ne-* (1SG.LOC). The verb stem *-loi* 'put far, chase' combines with the verb *-l* 'give' in benefactive serial construction to express the first person singular undergoer participant (8.4.2.4).

[4] A similar use of the verb 'come' is found in Teiwa, where combined with other verbs it may mark future of intention of a participant to perform an event (Klamer, to appear:ex.48).

(2) *na ma* [[*tei bun ma*] [*yivar g-ua'*]]
1SG come wood piece Obl dog 3S-hit
'I'll hit the dog with a stick' [Klamer, to appear: ex.48a]

(91) *o-ne-baai* *re* *o-ne-l* *feng* *ba-i,* *ne-l*
2SG.REC-1SG.LOC-be.angry or 2SG.REC-1SG.LOC-give injure say-PFV 1SG.LOC-give

to-ha-loi *naha*
DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far NEG [B02.158.02:15]
'even if you are angry on me or you feel like harming me, do not chase me'

The marker *bai* in (91) is discussed in 6.4.2.2. It indicates that the information expressed in the first two clauses is a hypothetical condition for the second clause. It is followed by an intonational pause that indicates a clausal boundary. Although *bai* is sometimes translated with the Malay adverb *juga* 'as well' and functions as an adverbial modifier (see 6.3.1.11), in postverbal position it is analyzed as verbal.

6.1.3 Overview of the VP structure

In sections 6.1.1.1-6.1.1.8, I have shown that verb stems alternate and combine with aspectual markers. As can be observed in (92), no other constituent may intervene between a verb stem and an aspectual marker. The perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) is attached to the verb stem *we* 'leave'. The construction becomes ungrammatical when the suffix is attached to the negator *naha* (NEG).

(92) a. *pi* *we-i* *naha*
1PL.I leave-PFV NEG
'we did not leave'

b. **pi* *we* *naha-i*
1PL.I leave NEG-PFV

In Abui, aspect comes in several layers. The inner-most layer is encoded by the shape of a verb stem. It distinguishes between states, achievements, accomplishments, and other types of events by alternation of the stem shape (see 3.4.2.3, 3.4.4.8, 7.1.3, 7.3.2.2). The second layer views an event from inside with respect to the referred situation; this aspect layer is encoded with aspectual suffixes. A verb stem may combine with maximally two aspectual suffixes. When two aspectual suffixes co-occur the perfect suffix *-u* (PRF) is the inner-most, followed by the perfective *-i* (PFV) and durative *-a* (DUR), as illustrated in (93).[5]

(93) a. *di* *tila* *mi* *bataa* *he-awe=ng* *buk-u-i*
3A cord take wood 3II.AL-end=see brace-PRF-PFV
'he has bound a rope at the end of a beam' [B07.060.01]

b. *do-da-lal-i-a* *ba* *nala* *ma-l*
3I.REC-3I.PAT-laugh-PFV-DUR LNK what ripe-give
'she cooked smiling (to herself)' [B07.035.02]

[5] The verb *buk* 'brace' displays stem alternation in combination with perfective aspect (see 3.4.2.3). However, in combination with the perfect aspect marker, the alternation is not required.

In addition, there are four aspectual markers that view the structure of the event from outside. These markers are cliticized to the stem (and aspectual suffixes). The maximal structure is exemplified in (94) where the verb *par* 'fumble' combines with three aspectual markers. This fragment is taken from the story *Fuluk Munuma* which narrates about the man Fung Funa Awenkol who fell in love with the woman named Fuluk Munuma. He dressed as a woman and came to visit Fuluk Munuma.

(94) *taa=ti, tuntama=ti, di ho-pa par-i-a=ti*
lie=PHSL.C night=PHSL.C 3A 3II.REC-touch.CNT fumble-PFV-DUR-PHSL.C
'he laid down, it was night, (when) she just has been fumbling at him' [B02.090.10:19]

From the examples presented in 6.1.1, we can construct a template for the right edge of the VP. The two templates are given in (95). Observe also that some combinations appear to be mutually exclusive.

(95) TEMPLATE: **VERBS.STEM**-SUFFIX.ASP.1-SUFFIX.ASP.2=ASPECT.3

ORDER OF SUFFIXES: PRF > PFV > DUR > IPFV, PNCT

COMBINATIONS:

VERB.STEM-PRF-PFV	(*-PRF-DUR/PNCT/IPFV)
VERB.STEM-PFV-DUR	(*-PFV-IPFV/PNCT)
VERB.STEM-PRF=INCP.C	(*-PRF=INCP.I/PHSL.I)
VERB.STEM-PFV=INCP.C/INCP.I/PHSL.C	(*-PFV=PHSL.I)
VERB.STEM-DUR=PHSL.C/PHSL.I	(*-DUR=INCP.I/INCP.C)
VERB.STEM-IPFV=PHSL.C	(*-IPFV= PHSL.I/INCP.I/INCP.C)
*VERB.STEM-PNCT=PHSL.C/PHSL.I/INCP.I/INCP.C	

In section 6.1.2, I showed a number of VPs headed by both free and bound verbs. VPs headed by a free verb stem may contain up to two prefixes. In (96), I list the attested structures.

	MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE	
(96)	FREE.STEM	*kil*	'detach'
	PREFIX.LOC-FREE.STEM	*he-kil*	'detach it'
	PREFIX.REC-FREE.STEM	*ho-kil*	'undress him'
	PREFIX.PAT-FREE.STEM	*ha-kil*	'turn it over'
	PREFIX.LOC-PREFIX.PAT-FREE.STEM	*he-da-kil*	'turn himself from it'
	PREFIX.LOC-PREFIX.REC-FREE.STEM	*he-no-maran-i*	'I am satiated of it '
	PREFIX.REC-PREFIX.LOC-FREE.STEM	*o-ne-baai*	'you are angry with me'
	PREFIX.REC-PREFIX.LOC-FREE.STEM	*no-he-tilaka*	'I hang on it'

The VPs headed by a bound verb stem contain at least one prefix, and optionally a second one. In (97), I list the attested VP structures.

	MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE	
(97)	PREFIX.LOC-BOUND.STEM	*he-loi*	'bark at it'
	PREFIX.REC-BOUND.STEM	*ho-loi*	'bark at him'
	PREFIX.PAT-BOUND.STEM	*ha-loi*	'chase it/him'
	PREFIX.LOC-PREFIX.PAT-BOUND.STEM	*he-ha-loi*	'chase it/him from it'
	PREFIX.REC-PREFIX.PAT-BOUND.STEM	*no-ha-loi*	'chase it from me'
	PREFIX.LOC-PREFIX.REC-BOUND.STEM	*he-no-loi*	'chase it from me'
	PREFIX.REC-PREFIX.LOC-BOUND.STEM	*o-ne-l*	'you want to give me'
	PREFIX.REC-PREFIX.LOC-BOUND.STEM	*ne-no-wa*	'(it) seems to me'

The presented data yield a morphological template for the left edge of Abui VP. It is given in (98).

(98) TEMPLATE: PREFIX.2-PREFIX.1-**VERB.STEM**

ORDER OF PREFIXES: REC-/LOC- < PAT- < STEM

As illustrated in (98), the PAT prefix must be attached in PREFIX.1 position. The other two prefixes occur in both positions. Only when both prefixes refer to the same person, the REC prefix must be attached in PREFIX.1 position. There is a restriction on combination of the first and second person REC and LOC prefix. As illustrated in (99), benefactive serial verb construction (see 8.4.2.4) must be used where the first person singular combines with second person LOC.

(99) a. *ri-l* *he-no-han-r-a*
2PL.LOC-give 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.sad-reach-DUR
'I am sad for you' [B05.034.04]

b. **ri-no-han-r-a*
2PL.LOC-1SG.REC-be.sad-reach-DUR

c. *na* *e-l* *he-no-m* *pang*
1SG 2SG.LOC-give 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in feel
'I am thinking of you' [B04.031.01]

d. **na* *e-no-m* *pang*
1SG 2SG.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in feel

In 3.3.2, an overview of Abui pronominal prefixes is given; the criteria determining their distribution can be found in section 5.5.

6.1.4 Argument incorporation

As discussed in the previous section, pronominal prefixes are attached to the verb stem; no other constituent may intervene between them and the stem. This is illustrated in (100), where the verb *pun* 'grab' combines with the pronominal form *ho-* (3II.REC). The referent of the NP *pingai* 'plate' is [+specific], [+individuated], and [−change of state].[6]

(100) a. *neng* *kalieta* *nuku* *di* *pingai* [*ho-pun-a*]$_{VP}$
man old.person one 3A plate 3II.REC-grab.CPL-DUR
'an old man holds a plate' [B06.071.MPI122PH]

b. **neng* *kalieta* *nuku* *di* *ho-pingai* *pun-a*
man old.person one 3A 3II.REC-plate hold.CPL-DUR

In a few examples, nouns expressing U arguments may occur between a prefix and the verb. I analyze these constructions as involving an incorporated argument. In (101), the VP headed by the verb *panen* 'make' contains an incorporated U argument. The evidence is morphological. Observe the REC prefix *do-* (3I.REC). The REC prefix is the only type of prefix that may occur only in verbal domain; it never expresses possessors. In (101), it expresses the U argument of the complex verb *yai paneng* 'sing', literally 'make songs' and refers to the human participant that is singing for himself. This is an instance of an A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction (6.2.5.1), where the A argument *di* (3A) is not expressed. As discussed in 5.7.3, such constructions encode a participant performing an event unintentionally. The VP further contains two aspectual suffixes.

(101) *do-yai* *panen-i-a* *ba* *baloka* *bel*
3I.REC-song make.CPL-PFV-DUR LNK grass pull
'he is singing (to himself) while weeding, pulling out the grass, weeds' [B07.035.03]

In examples (70)-(72), the verb *paneng* 'make' occur in VPs without incorporated arguments. Another example is given in (102), where noun *baloka* 'grass' is incorporated in the VP headed by the verb *ber-* 'pull'. Also in this case, the REC prefix *do-* (3I.REC) is attached to the noun. Observe, that the verb *panen* 'make' is used in an A-U transitive construction (see 6.2.2.1). The human participant is realized as the A argument with the free pronoun *di* (3A). The REC prefix *do-* (3I.REC) that is attached to the incorporated noun *baloka* 'grass' co-indexes the same human referent.

(102) *di* *yai* *panen* *do* *do-baloka* *ber-i-a*
3A song make.CPL PRX 3A.REC-grass pull.CPL-PFV-DUR
'while she sings she is weeding (grass-pulling) (unintentionally)' [B07.035.03]

In (103), the prefix *do-* (3I.REC) is attached in front of the noun *adik* 'mat'; the noun is incorporated in the VP headed by *tinei* 'plait'.

[6] REC prefixes combine exclusively with verbs, unlike PAT and LOC prefixes, which may be used to express possessors. LOC prefixes correspond to alienable (AL) possessive prefixes, PAT to inalienable (INAL) possessive prefixes.

(103) *do-adik* *tinei-a* *ba* *ananra*
3I.REC-mat plait-DUR LNK tell.CNT
'while she is plaiting mats (mat-plaiting) she tells a story' [B07.035.04]

The complex VPs in (101)-(103) suggest that the incorporated U argument has to be non-specific. It is located in the VP in the PREFIX.1 slot and only one additional argument is allowed, which is expressed with the REC prefix. The structure of a VP with an incorporated argument is given in (104).

(104) {PREFIX.2-(PREFIX.1)-[**FREE.VERB.STEM**]$_V$}$_{VP}$
↑
INCORPORATED.ARGUMENT

As discussed in section 5.2, only [+specific] participants are realized with a pronoun in Abui. However, the example (105) shows that the incorporated U argument may be realized by both prefix and NP. The REC prefix *ho-* (3II.REC) is attached in front of the NP. It refers to the human participant that is opened the door for. This construction is a subtype of the U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction (see 6.2.3.8).

(105) *ho-lung* *ha-liel-i* *saai* *ba* *ara* *yo*
3II.REC-door 3II.PAT-lift-PFV come.down.CPL LNK fire MD.AD

mi *he-r-i*
take 3II.LOC-reach-PFV [B02.123.02:06]
'(they) opened him the door so he came down; and the fire, (they) gave it to him'

The verb stem *liel* 'lift' is bound and requires obligatorily a prefix. An argument can be incorporated only when the prefix is present. The structure of second type of argument incorporation is schematically illustrated in (106).

(106) {PREFIX.2- [PREFIX.1-**BOUND.VERB.STEM**]$_V$}$_{VP}$
↑
INCORPORATED.ARGUMENT

In all presented cases, the incorporated argument was preceded either by a REC or LOC prefix. In case of bound verb stems, this argument was co-indexed with the PAT prefix. This suggests that only the arguments with semantic role of patient or theme may be incorporated.

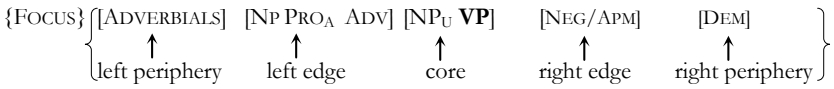
Abui PAT and LOC prefixes are polysemous; they also mark possessor. Instances such as (107) are not analyzed as argument incorporation, because the possessive function is also available and less complex than argument incorporation. Observe, that the prefix *de-* that is attached to the NP *kuya* 'bird' expresses the possessor. However, because of the benefactive-possessive polysemy found in Abui (cf. Lichtenberk, 2002; Margetts, 2004), this construction has a benefactive reading.

(107) *mangmat do de-kuya ha-tap-i-a ba sei*
foster.child PRX 3L.AL-bird 3IL.PAT-bring.down.CPL-PFV-DUR LNK come.down.CNT
'the foster son, going to shoot birds for himself, comes down' [B02.104.20:08]

6.2 Clause

An Abui clause consists minimally of a predicate and optionally contains also arguments, adverbial modifiers, and other particles. In this section, I deal only with verbal predicates. Nominal predicates are discussed in section 4.6. In (108), Abui clause structure is schematically represented.

(108) Abui clause structure



First, I discuss how a predicate combines with arguments in section 6.2.1. Then I discuss adverbial modifiers (ADVERBIALS, ADV) in section 6.3. Negation (NEG), affirmative predicate markers (APM), anaphoric demonstratives (DEM) are right-edge constituents. They are discussed in 6.4.

6.2.1 Verb construction types

As illustrated in chapter 5 and in section 6.1.2, Abui verbs are not restricted to a single construction but may appear with one or two arguments; they are the best characterized as 'labile'.[7] Rather than classifying Abui verbs as simply 'transitive', 'intransitive', or 'ambitransitive', I list a number of constructions in which they may occur. For each construction, I indicate the argument constellation and try to identify the semantic denominator. Where possible, I try to restrict the group of verbs that may access such constructions. The list of the constructions, with references to the relevant sections is given in (109).

[7] The term 'labile' has a broader applicability that the terms such as 'middle' or 'ambitransitive'. The term 'middle' refers to verbs such as 'break'. In intransitive construction, the subject of these verbs is a patient (cf. Payne 1997:216). The term 'ambitransitive' is used for closed sets of verbs that can be used transitively or intransitively. (cf. Nichols et al., 2004:153).

(109) Verb construction types

A-U transitive constructions	(see 6.2.2)
U-U transitive constructions	(see 6.2.3)
Intransitive constructions	(see 6.2.4)
Experiencer constructions	(see 6.2.5)

In section 6.2.6, I deal with 'ditransitive' constructions. As there are no ditransitive verbs in Abui, three-participant events are expressed with multi-verb constructions. These are typically serial verb constructions (see also section 8.4.2).

6.2.2 A-U transitive constructions

In A-U transitive constructions, verbs combine with two arguments. The A argument is expressed with an NP and/or free pronoun. The U argument is expressed with an NP and/or bound pronoun. There are four distinct A-U transitive constructions, as listed in (110).

(110) A-U transitive constructions

i.	A-U transitive construction	(section 6.2.2.1)
ii.	A-U_{LOC} transitive construction	(section 6.2.2.2)
iii.	A-U_{REC} transitive construction	(section 6.2.2.3)
iv.	A-U_{PAT} transitive construction	(section 6.2.2.4)

6.2.2.1 A-U transitive construction

A-U constructions express events during which human participants act on inanimate participants. Both animate and inanimate participants are expressed with NPs that have a generic reference. In (111), two examples of A-U constrictions are given.

(111)

	NP_A	NP_U	V	
a.	*ama*	*sieng*	*nee*	'people eat rice'
	person	rice	eat	[B01.031.05]
b.	*ama*	*ne-mea*	*takaf-i*	'people stole my mango'
	person	1SG.AL-mango	steal.CPL-PFV	[B04.037.03]

In cases where the A arguments are [+specific], they are expressed with free pronouns (PRO_A) with the NPs being optional. The inanimate participants are realized as U arguments with NPs that have a generic reference as illustrated in (112).

(112)

	(NP)	PRO_A	NP_U		V
a.	*Simon*	*di*	*nala*		*nee*
	name	3A	what		eat
	'Simon eats something'				[B04.057.02]
b.	*he-mayol*	*di*	*abui*	*namang*	*men-i*
	3II.AL-woman	3A	mountain	dress	wear.CPL-PFV
	'his wife was wearing traditional dress'				[B02.064.26:00]

In questions and imperative constructions, A arguments (NP/PRO_A) may be omitted. However, they are still retrievable from context. This is illustrated in (113).

(113)

	(NP	PRO_A)	NP_U		V	
a.			*kaai*	*teina*	*nee?*	'when shall we dog (meat)?'
			dog	when	eat	[B01.040.14]
b.			*ara*		*bang-e!*	'carry firewood!'
			fire		carry-IPFV	[B02.017.09:35]

In (114), I list a number of verbs that typically occur in the A-U transitive construction.

(114)

bang	'carry on the shoulder'
lang	'wash'
telang	'pull at'
manei	'replace'
ì	'put'
bai	'hit, grind'
tahai	'search'
takai	'steal'
takei	'bite'
meng	'wear'
mi	'take'
nee	'eat'
buuk	'drink, consume, inhale, smoke'
takda	'plant'
lei	'reach over'
mihi	'put down'
rehei	'fry'
tadia	'cut, slice'
tukong	'cut at, cut in pieces'
takei	'bite'

6.2.2.2 A-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction

A-U$_{LOC}$ transitive constructions are used to describe a two-participant event during which an animate participant acts with respect to a specific participant. The second participant is not radically affected by the course of the event. The affected participant is identified as theme, location, purpose when inanimate, or as benefactive/malefactive when animate. In (115), a number of A-U$_{LOC}$ constructions are given.

(115)

	(NP)	PRO$_A$ (NP$_U$)	PREF.LOC-V
a.	*he-neng*	*di*	*he-fangi*
	3ii.inal-man	3A	3II.LOC-say.CPL
	'her husband said it'		[B02.026.03:19]
b.	*neng abet*	*di ara*	*he-tukong*
	man young	3A fire	3II.LOC-cut
	'the boy cuts (wood) for fire'		[B06.055.MPI062MC]
c.		*di ara do*	*he-mut-i*
		3A fire PRX	3II.LOC-blow-PFV
	'he blew the fire'		[B02.022.21:56]
d.		*di ruwol amur*	*he-bel*
		3A chicken hairs	3II.LOC-pull
	'she plucked feathers of a chicken'		[B07.034.01]
e.	*ma*	*na*	*e-bol*
	be.PRX	1SG	2SG.LOC-hit
	'now I will hit instead of/for you'		[B10.015.05]
f.		*di*	*ne-baai*
		3A	1SG.LOC-be.angry
	'he is angry with me'		[B01.042.03]

The A-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction is used very frequently. All verbs given in (114) occur in this construction when they combine with a [+specific] U argument. In addition, a number of verbs that occur in A-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction are listed in (116). The hyphen preceding some of the verbs indicates a bound verbal stem that requires a pronominal prefix.

(116)

kafering	'horrify'
-l	'give'
natet	'stand up (wait for)'
-tàng	'release, transfer to'
-tak	'bring down, (reading: stop, interrupt)'
wahai	'look at'
afeng	'stay at, dwell in'
ahel	'sniff at'
akeng	'threaten'
balei	'wind up'

bel	'pull, pluck (feathers from chicken)'
kafia	'scratch at'
kil	'detach, remove'
kol	'bind, bandage'

6.2.2.3 A-U$_{REC}$ transitive construction

The A-U$_{REC}$ transitive construction typically expresses an event with two human participants. Participants that are realized as the U arguments are involved and affected (but less than PAT, cf. 5.5.2) by the course of the event. This participant that is realized as the U argument of the verb appears with the REC prefix. Participants realized as the A arguments perform the event. In (117), I give a number of examples of the A-U$_{REC}$ transitive construction. Note that in (e) the U argument has an inanimate referent.

(117) (NP) PRO$_A$ (NP$_U$) PREF.REC-V

a. *na* *Simon* *ho-nee*
1SG name 3II.REC-eat
'I give Simon to eat' [B04.057.02]

b. *maama* *di* *Nani* *ho-fahat*
father 3A name 3II.REC-embrace.CPL
'the father embraced Nani' [B05.012.01]

c. *a* raha *ho-kariang?*
2SG king 3II.REC-work
'do you work for the king (are you his employee)?' [B07.029.01]

d. *na* *Fan Malei* *ho-marakdi*
1SG name 3II.REC-scare.CPL
'I scared out Fan Malei' [B04.053.05]

e. *mayol* *di* *tipai* *pol* *ho-pun-a*
woman 3A iron hammer 3II.REC-grab.Cpl-PFV
'the woman is holding a hammer' [B06.071.MPI122PH]

The group of verbs that occurs in the A-U$_{REC}$ transitive construction is large. In (118), I give a number of them.

(118) *roa*	'watch, observe, look at'
bakai	'grapple'
balei	'wind around'
-buok	'ambush'[8]
dik	'tickle'
faaling	'listen to'
firei	'run after'
lang	'wash'

[8] The verb *-buok* 'ambush' is possibly related to the stative verb *buoka* 'be far, be in a remote place'.

lel	'threaten'
tilei	'hang (out), lit.: be going out with somebody'
dak	'capture, catch'
fak-d-	'investigate'
lek	'point at'
buk	'tie to'

6.2.2.4 A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction

The A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction typically expresses an event, in which a highly affected participant undergoes a change of state. This participant is realized as the U argument with the PAT prefix and an optional NP. The change of state is brought about by the second participant that is realized as the A argument. In (119), a number of A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive constructions are given. Note that in (d) the A argument is only expressed with an NP. The free pronoun is omitted because the possessive prefix *de-* (3I.AL) indicates that the nearest NP is an A argument. A arguments have mostly animate referents; however, inanimate force may be realized as an A arguments as well. This is illustrated in (e).

(119)

	(NP)	PRO$_A$	(NP$_U$)	PREF.PAT-V
a.	*naana*	*di*		*na-wel*
	older.sibling	3A		1SG.PAT-pour
	'older brother bathes me'			[B01.031.08]
b.		*na*	*Fan Malei*	*ha-bot*
		1SG	name	3II.PAT-inform.CPL
	'I ordered Fan Malei'			[B04.055.03]
c.	*kaai*	*di*	*afu loku*	*ha-fur-i*
	dog	3A	fish PL	3II.PAT-swallow.CPL-PFV
	'the dog swallowed (a few pieces of) fish'			[B05.024.03]
d.	*moku loku*		*de-bal*	*ha-kul*
	kid PL		3I.AL-ball	3II.PAT-throw
	'the children are throwing the ball'			[B05.085.03]
e.	*timoi fok-a*	*di*	*lik fala*	*ha-lák*
	wind be.big	3A	platform house	3II.PAT-break
	'the big wind broke the house and verandah'			[B06.011.02]

In (120), I list a number of verbs that occur in A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive constructions. Many of these verbs are bound forms. Complex verbs containing the generic verb *d* 'hold', *l* 'give', and *r* 'reach' often occur in A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive constructions (for an overview, see 7.2.1-7.2.3).

(120)

-liel	'lift up'
li	'throw, shoot, make fly'
bul-r-	'sharpen'

-dal	'handle'
-fik	'pull out'
-fil	'pull towards DC, bind together'
fol	'make thin'
-liol/-luol	'gain, follow'
-loi	'put far, chase'
-pung	'grab, catch'
sik	'sever, break off'
tak	'bring down, (reading: shoot)'
-tàng	'release'

6.2.2.5 Summary

As illustrated in 6.2.2.1-6.2.2.4, there are four distinct types of A-U transitive constructions. As illustrated in 5.6, many verbs may occur in more than one construction. There is a tendency for bound stems to occur in A-U_{PAT} transitive construction. Free verb stems typically occur in the other three transitive constructions.

6.2.3 U-U transitive constructions

In U-U transitive constructions, the verb combines with two U arguments.[9] Abui argument realization is determined by the semantic properties of events and participants. In events where none of the participants can be identified as controlling, both participants may be realized as U arguments. As illustrated in 6.1.3, both U argument slots in the VP may be filled. In U-U transitive constructions, different subtypes are distinguished, as listed in (121).

(121) U-U transitive constructions

i.	U-U transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.1)
ii.	U-U_{LOC} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.2)
iii.	U-U_{REC} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.3)
iv.	U-U_{PAT} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.4)
v.	U_{REC}-U_{LOC} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.5)
vi.	U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.6)
vii.	U_{LOC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.7)
viii.	U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction	(section 6.2.3.8)

[9] Constructions with double U marked verbs are found in some North-American languages such as Yuki, Lakhota, Central Pomo (Mithun, to appear). According to Mithun, 'it is not uncommon in agent-patient systems, where the morphology permits it, for both core arguments of a transitive clause to be classified grammatically as patients if neither participant performs/effects/instigates or controls' (Mithun, 1991:517). Another language, more familiar language, in which 'subjectless' transitive constructions are found is Irish (cf. Noonan, 2001:11-7; 2004).

6.2.3.1 U-U transitive construction

U-U transitive constructions typically express location or position of two inanimate participants with respect to each other. The inanimate participants are realized as U arguments with NPs. The NPs may not be combines the free pronoun *di* (3A). This indicates their U argument status. In addition to location/position verbs, index verbs also may occur in this construction. Animate participants do not appear in this construction. In combination with location/position verbs, animate participants are expressed in the A-U transitive construction. In (122), I list all attested U-U transitive constructions.

(122) (NP$_U$) (NP$_U$) V

a. *fu ba afeida kamol mi-a*
betel.nut LNK yesterday betel.nut.bastet be.in-DUR
'betel nut that is from yesterday is in the betel nut basket' [B04.011.01]

b. *pingai pakai mi-a*
plate basket be.in-DUR
'plates are in the basket' [B04.011.02]

c. *ne-fulak faala tah-a*
1SG.AL-betel.nut.container tray put.on.CPL-DUR
'my betel nut container is on the top of a tray' [B07.073.02]

d. *ha-moi na-moi wi-d-a*
3II.INAL-voice 1SG.INAL-voice be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'his voice is like my voice' [B07.046.03]

e. 'anjing' *nu nala ha*
dog SPC.AD what be.like.DST.CNT
'the word 'anjing' is what (Abui)' [Note.009.07]

6.2.3.2 U-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction

The U-U$_{LOC}$ transitive construction denotes location or possession of an inanimate participant. It occurs only in a few cases that are listed in (123). The argument status of the NP is identified as U because it cannot be combined with the free pronoun *di* (3A). The first NP always has an inanimate referent.

(123) (NP) (NP$_U$) PREF.LOC-V

a. *tokai nu ara he-ì=te*
coconut.shell SPC.AD fire 3II.LOC-put=INCP.C
'those coconut shells must be put in the fire' [B05.046.05]

b. *pelang buti nu raha he-ì*
canoe four SPC.AD king 3II.LOC-put
'those four canoes belong to the chief' [B07.052.02]

c. *adet* *war* *bataa* *he-lai*
pumpkin sun wood 3II.LOC-spread
'the yellow pumpkin has grows over the tree' [B05.032.04]

6.2.3.3 U-U$_{REC}$ transitive construction

The U-U$_{REC}$ transitive construction expresses events in which a human participant is indirectly affected by an inanimate participant. The inanimate participant is not identified as 'force' and cannot be expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). It is identified as a 'theme'. In (124), I list some of the U-U$_{REC}$ transitive constructions found in my corpus.

(124) (NP) (NP$_U$) PREF.REC-V

a. *bataa* *moku* *ho-fak-i*
wood kid 3II.REC-fall
'a tree broke onto a child' [B05.013.01]

b. *ara* *tika* *ho-lai*
fire smoke 3II.REC-spread
'smoke is blown to him' [B05.032.04]

c. *baleei* *no-fok-d-a*
banana 1SG.REC-big-hold-DUR
'I received the larger part of a banana', lit.: 'banana got big to me' [B05.023.03]

d. *seng* *no-pa*
money 1SG.REC-touch.CNT
'I have got money' [B05.063.04]

e. *anui* *do* *no-saai*
rain PRX 1SG.REC-come.down.CPL
'I got soaked by the rain' [B10.046.02]

6.2.3.4 U-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction

The U-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction is a type of involuntary experience construction.[10] In this construction, a human participant experiencing a bodily process or condition is realized as the U argument of the verb with the PAT prefix. The bodily process or condition is realized as the second U argument with an NP. In (125), I give a number of examples of the U-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction. In (d) the human participant is expressed by the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) and co-indexes the proper name *Fuluk Munuma*.

[10] The term 'involuntary experience construction' is borrowed from Pawley (2006). It refers to a number of transitive constructions found across TNG languages. In these constructions 'one participant is an experiencer which is encoded as direct object. The other denotes a bodily or mental condition or process that affects the experiencer' (cf. Pawley, 2006:2).

(125) (NP) (NP_U) PREF.PAT-V

a. *a-táng* *do* *yal* *wala* *a-rik*
2SG.INAL-hand PRX now so 2SG.PAT-hurt
'your hand now already hurts' [B09.004.04:03]

b. *na-took* *na-rik*
1SG.INAL-intestine 1sg.pat-hurt
'my belly hurts (me)' [B01.033.17]

c. *wái* *na-kui-a*
urine 1SG.PAT-peel-DUR
'I need to urinate', lit.: 'urine peels me' [B05.086.03]

d. *tama* *(Fuluk Mununa)* *ha-yei*
sea name 3II.PAT-fall
'Fuluk Mununa fell in the sea' [B02.093.12:59]

6.2.3.5 U_{REC}-U_{LOC} transitive construction

The U_{REC}-U_{LOC} transitive construction expresses two human participants that are affected by a strong emotion. The malefactive participant is expressed with the LOC prefix, the involuntary experiencer of an emotion is expressed with the REC prefix. The U_{REC}-U_{LOC} transitive construction occurs only in two cases given in (126), which both come from the same speaker. Both constructions are related to experiencer constructions discussed in 6.2.5. However, it is unclear whether the second person experiencer can be also expressed as the A argument of the verbs *-l* 'give' and *-beei* 'be angry'.

(126) (NP) (NP_U) PREF.REC-PREF.LOC-V

a. *o-ne-beei*
2SG.REC-1SG.LOC-be.angry
'you feel angry with me' [B02.158.02:15]

b. *o-ne-l* *feng*
2SG.REC-1SG.LOC-give injure
'you feel like injuring me' [B02.158.02:15]

6.2.3.6 U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction

The U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction encodes an involuntary human experiencer of a bodily state or condition. The U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction is rare. A number of instances are given in (127). The human participant is an involuntary experiencer of a mental condition (a, b, c); in (d), a 'passive' like construction is given. The LOC prefix refers to the first NP in (a, b, c) and to the NP *loma do* 'hill' in (d). The human experiencer is expressed by the prefix *no-* (1SG.REC) in (a, b, c). In (d), the human experiencer is expressed with the NP *Pelang Mai* which is co-indexed by the prefix *ho-* (3II.REC).

(127) (NP) (NP_U) PREF.LOC-PREF.REC-V

a. *ne-melang* *he-no-hanra*
1SG.AL-village 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.sad.CNT
'I miss my village' [B05.034.03]

b. *sieng ma* *he-no-maran-i*
rice ripe 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-come.up.CPL-PFV
'I am satiated of rice, I am fed up with rice' [B04.045.01]

c. *nala ha-lak-d-a* *he-no-kalen-r-i*
what 3II.PAT-mark-hold-DUR 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-avoid.CPL-reach-PFV
'I am fed up with learning' [B04.045.01]

d. *Pelang Mai* *loma* *do* *he-ho-li*
name hill PRX 3II.LOC-3II.REC-fly
'Pelang Mai was shot at on the hill side' [B02.117.06:33]

In a number of cases, the U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction occurs as part of a serial verb construction (see 8.4.2.3).

6.2.3.7 U_{LOC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction

The U_{LOC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction expresses an inanimate participant that is in a resultant state of change. This participant is expressed with the PAT prefix. The participant that brought about the state of change is mostly retrievable from context. The second inanimate participant is a location, in which affected participant is placed. This construction occurs in a few cases, illustrated in (128).

(128) (NP) (NP_U) PREF.LOC-PREF.PAT-V

a. *ya* *wi* *do* *he-ha-b-i*
water stone PRX 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-join-PFV
'the water (bucket) leans at the rock' [B02.132.02:38]

b. *bataa foka nu* *fala nu* *he-ha-kai*
wood be.big SPC.AD house SPC.AD 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-drop
'that big tree fell on the house' [B05.050.05]

c. *kapal loku o marang* [*tut taha*]$_{CMP}$ *he-ta-top-i*
boat PL MD come.up shore put.on.CPL-DUR 3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-drop.CPL-PFV
'the boats disembarked on the shore' [B05.029.01]

d. [*buoka*]$_{CC}$ *he-ha-li-a* *beka*
be.far 3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-fly-DUR be.bad
'it cannot be shot far!' [B07.083.02:24]

e. [*buoka*]$_{CC}$ *he-ha-yei* *naha*
be.far 3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-fall NEG
'it did not fall far!' [B07.083.02:51]

f. *nala* *he-ha-mun-i?*
what 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-smell.CPL-PFV
'what does it smell of (here)?' [B02.145.03:32]

In (129), an instance of involuntary experience construction is given. The human participant is expressed with the PAT prefix. The cause of the bodily experience is expressed with the LOC prefix, referring in this case to the preceding clause.

(129) [CLAUSE] PREF.LOC-PREF.PAT-V

a. [*di mahiting la faring nee-i ba*] *he-ha-rik-i*
3A meat be.MD much eat-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-hurt-PFV
'he ate so much meat that he became ill (from it)' [B07.020.03]

6.2.3.8 U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction

The U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction is used to describe events in which the affected inanimate participant undergoes a change of state. This participant combines with a human experiencer. The inanimate participant is expressed with the PAT prefix, the human experiencer with the REC prefix. In some cases, the actor participant bringing about the change of state is retrievable from context. A number of U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive constructions are given in (130).

(130) (NP) (NP_U) PREF.REC-PREF.PAT-V

a. *bataa tuku* *o-ha-yei*
wood piece 2SG.REC-3II.PAT-fall
'a piece of wood fell on you' [B05.037.05]

b. *awering* *no-ha-b-i=te!*
ladder 1SG.REC-3II.PAT-join-PFV=INCP.C
'the ladder must be leant to me!' [B05.026.01]

c. *awering* *no-ha-ì*
ladder 1SG.REC-3II.PAT-put
'the ladder must be put to me!' [B05.026.01]

d. *no-ha-kai* *nuk-d-a*
1SG.REC-3II.PAT-drop one-hold-DUR
'it fell at me at once' [B05.049.03]

e. *kameling* *no-ha-mun-i*
cockroach 1SG.REC-3II.PAT-smell.CPL-PFV
'I am stinky from cockroaches, lit.: cockroach stinks on me' [B05.065.06]

In (131), I list other verbs that may occur in the U_{REC}-U_{PAT} transitive construction.

(131) *lang* 'rub'
lik-d- 'get slant, bend, curve'
ran-r- 'become quiet, quieten'
-tàng 'release'
-ɯai 'turn'

-yak	'put on'
-yor	'bury'
-loi	'put far, chase'
fal	'separate'
siei	'come down'

6.2.3.9 Summary

As illustrated in 6.2.3.1-6.2.3.8, in the U-U transitive constructions typically a human participant is affected by another participant, which cannot be identified as controlling. Because Abui morphological alignment is semantically driven, the two participants may be both expressed as core arguments of a verb. Because the arguments are either expressed with a prefix or cannot combine with the free pronoun *di* (3A), they are identified as U.

6.2.4 Intransitive constructions

In intransitive constructions, a verb combines with a single argument. As discussed in 5.7, a single argument in intransitive construction may be realized as a free pronoun, an NP, or a bound pronoun. As listed in (132), intransitive constructions can be divided into five types.

(132) Intransitive constructions

i.	A intransitive construction	(section 6.2.4.1)
ii.	U intransitive construction	(section 6.2.4.2)
iii.	U_{LOC} intransitive construction	(section 6.2.4.3)
iv.	U_{REC} intransitive construction	(section 6.2.4.4)
v.	U_{PAT} intransitive construction	(section 6.2.4.5)

6.2.4.1 A intransitive construction

The A intransitive construction is used to express a single participant that is controlling and performing an activity. The typically human participant is realized with a free pronoun and an optional NP as illustrated in (133).

(133)

	(NP)	PRO_A		V	
a.	*he-feela*	*di*	*ko*	*me*	
	3II.AL-friend	3A	soon	come	
	'his friend will come soon'				[B07.008.02]
b.	*ama*	*(di)*		*kalol*	
	person	3A		foretell	
	'people are foretelling'				[B02.116.05:38]

c. *na* *làk*
1SG leave.for
'I leave' [B01.034.18]

The set of verbs that may occur in the A intransitive construction is very large. It includes free verb stems that belong to motion, locomotion, impact, posture and utterance verb semantic classes (see 3.4.4.1-3.4.4.5).

6.2.4.2 U intransitive construction

The U intransitive construction is used to express states of inanimate participants. The states are expressed either by stative verbs or dynamic verbs. Stative verbs (see 3.4.4.8) typically occur in the U intransitive construction encoding a property of inanimate participants. Inanimate participants are expressed with NPs that may not combine with the free pronoun *di* (3A) (this indicates their U argument status). This is illustrated in (134).

(134) (NP) V

a. *anui* *foka* 'it's pouring', lit.: 'the rain is big'
rain be.big

b. **anui* *di* *foka*
rain 3A be.big

Dynamic verbs (3.4.4.1-3.4.4.7) that occur in the intransitive U construction encode the resultant state of an inanimate participant. The participant that brought about the resultant state is not expressed and is not retrievable from context. The same U argument status test applies here, as illustrated in (135).

(135) (NP) V

a. *ne-toku* *fak-i* 'my leg is broken' [B01.035.30]
1SG.AL-leg break-PFV

b. **ne-toku* *di* *fak-i*
1SG.AL-leg 3A break-PFV

The verbs listed in (136) are typically used in the intransitive U construction with inanimate participants to indicate their state (position).

(136) *it* 'lie on'
mit 'sit, be set'
mihi 'be put'
tok 'drop'
tek 'slide'
tili 'hang'
natet 'stand up'

The choice of the verb is determined by the shape of the participant. For example the noun *pelang* 'canoe' may only combine with the verb *it* 'lie' as illustrated in (137). Other verbs such as *mit* 'sit' or *natet* 'stand' are not allowed.

(137) *pelang o tut tah-a it-i /*mit-i /*natet-i*
canoe MD shore put.on.CPL-DUR lie.on-PFV sit-PFV stand.up.CPL-PFV
'a canoe lies on the sea shore' [B09.076.01]

The noun *baloka* 'grass' may combine with the verbs *natet* 'stand up' and *it* 'lie' as illustrated in (138). Combination with other verbs listed in (136) is odd.

(138) *baloka natet-i / it-i*
grass stand.up.CPL-PFV lie.on-PFV
'the grass is standing, lies' [B09.077.01]

Human made objects, such as cars can combine with more verbs depending on their use as illustrated in (139).

(139) a. *oto oro nu=ng mit-i*
car DST SPC.AD=see sit-PFV
'a car is parked over there' [B09.076.04]

b. *oto oro nu=ng natet-i*
car DST SPC.AD=see stand.up.CPL-PFV
'a car stopped over there' [B09.076.04]

c. *oto oro nu=ng it-i*
car DST SPC.AD=see lie.on-PFV
'a car lies over there (broken)' [B09.076.04]

6.2.4.3 U_{LOC} intransitive construction

The U_{LOC} intransitive construction expresses states of animate participants. Both stative and dynamic verbs may occur in the U_{LOC} intransitive construction. A number of examples are listed in (140).

(140) (NP) PREF.LOC-V

a. *ruwol* *he-pok-u*
chicken 3II.LOC-split-PRF
'the chicken hatched' [B10.022.03]

b. *ama ba mon war buti* *he-ma-r-i-a*
person LNK die.CPL sun four 3II.AL-ripe-reach-PFV-DUR
'the person who died four days ago is already running of body liquid' [B07.032.02]

c. *ne-rekna*
1SG.LOC-be.thirsty
'I am thirsty' [B05.063.01]

d. *ne-tap-i*
1SG.LOC-bring.down.CPL-PFV
'I was prevented, stopped' [B07.012.02]

The set of verbs that occur in the U_{LOC} intransitive construction is relatively small. The attested verbs are listed in (141).

(141) *beka* 'be bad'
peka 'be near'
buoka 'be far'
foka 'be big'
ì 'put (have to, be obliged)'

In most cases, states and attributes of human participants expressed in serial verb constructions with the verb *-d-o* 'hold' illustrated in (142).

(142) *ne-d-o* *fing*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT be.oldest
'I am eldest' [B05.067.04]

In section 8.4.2.2, more details can be found about serial verb construction with *-d-o* 'hold'.

6.2.4.4 U_{REC} intransitive construction

The U_{REC} intransitive construction expresses a single human participant experiencing a state. As illustrated in (143), the participant is realized as the U argument with the REC prefix.

(143) (NP) PREF.REC-V

a. *moku* *loku* *ho-kang*
kid PL 3II.REC-good
'the children feel good, are happy' [B10.048.02]

b. *no-fing*
1SG.REC-be.oldest
'I am the eldest (by birth)' [B05.022.02]

c. *no-bui*
1SG.REC-be.short
'I feel short' [B05.066.09]

d. *no-weka*
1SG.REC-be.late
'I am delayed, I will come later' [B02.066.00:56]

e. *no-wa* *naha*
1SG.REC-be.like.MD.CNT NEG
'I do not want, I do not agree' [B02.066.00:56]

The verbs such as *kang* 'be good', *beka* 'be bad', *peka* 'be near', *buoka* 'be far', and *lila* 'be hot' may occur in both U_{LOC} and U_{REC} intransitive constructions. Inanimate participants are typically expressed in the U_{LOC} construction (see 6.2.4.3); human participants are typically expressed with the REC prefix.

6.2.4.5 U_{PAT} intransitive construction

The U_{PAT} intransitive construction expresses in most cases human participants that are affected by an event such as 'fall', 'hurt', or 'give birth' and undergo a change of state. The participants are expressed with the PAT prefix. In the third person, the use of the free pronoun *di* (3A) following the NP is ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (144).

(144) (NP) PREF.PAT-V

a. *ni-ya* *ha-rik*
1PL.E-mother 3II.PAT-be.ill
'our mother is ill' [B05.041.03]

b. **ni- ya* *di* *ha-rik*
1PL.E-mother 3A 3II.PAT-be.ill

c. *na-rik*
1SG.PAT-hurt
'I am ill'

d. *o* *pelang* *he-faisewang* *do* *ha-sik-i*
MD canoe 3II.AL-bamboo.floater PRX 3II.PAT-sever-PFV
'over there, the bamboo floater of the canoe broke off' [B02.092.12:33]

e. *nala* *ma* *do* *kul* *ha-d-u*
what ripe PRX must 3II.PAT-hold-PRF
'the food is necessary, one must have the food' [B07.014.03]

In (145), I list the remaining verbs that occur in the U_{PAT} intransitive construction (see also 5.7.2).

(145)
-yei	'fall'
-yal	'give birth (be born)'
-kai	'drop'
-yeng	'be placed'
-ran-r-	'become quiet'
mong	'die'

6.2.4.6 Summary

In 6.2.4.1-6.2.4.5, I have listed the five types of intransitive construction. Because the single participant is expressed in multiple ways, the notion of 'subject' is not relevant for Abui. The A intransitive construction and U_{REC} intransitive construction are used mainly to express a human participant. The U, U_{LOC} and U_{PAT} intransitive constructions are also available for the inanimate participants.

6.2.5 Experiencer constructions

In experiencer constructions, a single human participant is realized as two arguments.[11] Experiencer constructions are very frequent in Abui. They are divided in a number of subtypes, listed in (146). A single experiencer participant is always realized as two coreferential arguments (coreferentiality is indicated with the IDENTICAL TO ≡ symbol).

(146) Experiencer constructions

i.	$A \equiv U_{REC}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.1)
ii.	$A \equiv U_{PAT}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.2)
iii.	$A \equiv <U> \equiv U_{REC}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.3)
iv.	$A \equiv <U_{LOC}> \equiv U_{REC}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.4)
v.	$A \equiv <U_{LOC}> \equiv U_{PAT}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.5)
vi.	$A \equiv U_{REC}$-U_{PAT} construction	(section 6.2.5.6)
vii.	$U_{LOC} \equiv U_{REC}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.7)
viii.	$U_{REC} \equiv U_{PAT}$ construction	(section 6.2.5.8)

A single participant is expressed with a free pronoun and a pronominal prefix in (i, ii, iii, iv, and v). In (vi, vii) a single participant is expressed with two prefixes. Experiencer constructions (iii, iv, v) are truly transitive, as they express two participants. The U argument expressing the second participant is represented in brackets <>. Note that there is no $A \equiv U_{LOC}$ experiencer construction. It is not found because experiencers are by definition [+individuated] and cannot be expressed with the LOC prefix.

The experiencer construction is restricted to human participants. The animate participant *fe* 'pig' in (147) is treated as involuntary experiencer in (a), which is the standard occurrence. However, a context can be constructed (such as a narrative), where the pig is presented as if acting volitionally. In such context, the NP *fe* 'pig' may combine with the free pronoun *di* (3A), as illustrated in (b).

(147) a. *fe* *do-lák*
pig 3I.REC-break
'pig breaks itself out' [B07.013.03]

[11] Traces of similar types of expreriencer constructions are also reported for other languages in the area such as Western Pantar and Nederbang (Holton, to appear-a), Buru (Grimes, 1991), and Tobelo (Holton, to appear-b). In these languages, a single participant of verbs as 'jump', 'sit down' or 'return' is expressed with two coreferential pronominal forms.

b. *fe* *di* *do-lák*
pig 3A 3I.REC-break
'pig breaks itself out'

The use of the free pronoun *di* (3A) seems restricted for participants that are not volitional such as animals (see also discussion of example (16) in section 5.3).

6.2.5.1 A≡U$_{REC}$ construction

The A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction is the most common of all experiencer constructions. Virtually every verb that may be combined with an A argument can occur in the A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction. In (148), a number of A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer constructions are listed. The single participant is expressed with the REC prefix because it is identified as the individuated recipient that is not as strongly affected by the event as PAT. The single participant is also expressed with a free pronoun because it is controlling and volitional.

(148)	(NP)	PRO$_A$	PREF.REC-V	
a.		*na*	*no-làk*	'I go back, I return'
		1SG	1SG.REC-leave.for	
b.		*a*	*o-saila*	'you fan yourself'
		2SG	2SG.REC-fan.CNT	
c.		*na*	*no-kui-a*	'I am soaking myself (in water)'[12]
		1SG	1SG.REC-peel-DUR	
d.		*a*	*o-mit-i*	'you sat down'
		2SG	2SG.REC-sit-PFV	
e.		*di*	*do-natet-i*	'she stood up'
		3A	3I.REC-stand.up.CPL-PFV	

As discussed in 5.7.3, the A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction can be alternated by leaving out the free pronoun to encode that participant is performing an event without volitional involvement. As illustrated in (147), non-human experiencers are typically expressed with the 3I set of prefixes as controlling but non-volitional participants. As noted in 3.3.2, some speakers make distinguish two 3I prefixes: *do-* (3I.REC) alternates with *du-* which is used by some speakers with plural reference (3PL.I.REC). A contrast is given in (149), where in (a) the more common form is given, while in (b) the plural form *du-* (3PL.I.REC) is used. Note that the plural form du- shows the same vowel alternation as other plural REC prefixes.

[12] This construction is used to refer to lengthy washing or bathing. The verb stem *kui* 'peel' further may refer to peeling of fruits.

(149) a. *do-tafuda* *da-wel*
3I.REC-be.all 3I.PAT-pour
'all of them are washing themselves' [B01.031.07]

b. *di* *dieng do* *ma-r-i* *ya* *he-hai* *du-fal* *nee*
3A pot PRX ripe-reach-PFV SEQ 3IL.AL-wife 3PL.I.REC-separate eat
'he cooked the (food in the) pot and they with his wives ate' [B02.067.01:33]

6.2.5.2 A≡U$_{PAT}$ construction

The A≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction occurs frequently. It expresses a human participant that performs an activity that has a direct effect on him and brings about a change of state. In other words, this is the canonical way to express reflexivity in Abui. The participant is expressed with a free pronoun and with the PAT prefix. A number of examples are listed in (150).

(150)	(NP)	PRO$_A$	PREF.PAT-V	
a.	*Simon*	*di*	*da-wel*	
	name	3A	3I.PAT-pour	
	'Simon washes himself'			[B10.018.02]
b.		*di* *kabei*	*da-bel-e*	
		3A little	3I.PAT-pull-IPFV	
	'she pulled herself back a little bit'			[B02.109.24:18]
c.	*ama* *loku*	*di*	*ta-luk*	
	man PL	3A	DISTR.PAT-rub	
	'people hit/fight each other'			[B04.023.02]
d.		*na*	*na-wel*	
		1SG	1SG.PAT-pour	
	'I wash myself'			[B05.063.03]
d.		*na*	*na-lal*	
		1SG	1SG.PAT-laugh	
	'I laugh'			[B06.012.07]
e.		*a*	*a-wai*	
		2SG	2SG.PAT-turn	
	'you turn around'			[Sms.04.01]

In (151), I list a number of verbs that occur in the A≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction. However, many verbs that may occur in the A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction listed in (120) cannot be simply converted to A≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction as they would express semantically odd concepts.

(151) *-moi-d-* 'sound, make sound'
-munang 'smell'
-pak-d- 'land on, jump down'

-rimal	'spin'
-rui-d-	'erect, get up'
-tuok-d-	'jump up'
-kil	'detach, disengage'
-ra	'reach, attempt'
-kul	'throw (jump)'

6.2.5.3 A≡<U>≡U_{REC} construction

There are two instances of A≡<U>≡U_{REC} experiencer construction in my corpus, listed in (152). In these constructions a human acts for his own profit with respect to an inanimate participant. The human experiencer participant is expressed with the free pronoun and with the REC prefix. The inanimate participant is expressed with an NP.

(152) (NP) PRO_A (NP_U) PREF.REC-V

a. *yoikoi do di ama he-baleei do-takai*
turtle PRX 3A person 3II.AL-banana 3I.REC-steal
'the turtle steals someone's bananas for himself' [B02.147.00:20]

b. *he-hai di fitsin bai do-sei*
3II.AL-wife 3A spice as.well 3I.REC-come.down.CNT
'his wife added some spices (in her food)' [B02.009.02:35]

As illustrated in 6.1.4, there is an alternative experiencer construction, in which the inanimate participant is realized as an incorporated U argument.

6.2.5.4 A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{REC} construction

The A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{REC} experiencer construction expresses human participants of cognitive processes or emotions such as 'think about'. The experiencer is not significantly affected by the process. This construction is related to the U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction, which encodes an involuntary human experiencer of a bodily state or condition (see 6.2.3.6). In A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{REC} experiencer construction the human experiencer is marked as controlling and volition, as illustrated in (153). The construction typically occurs with cognition verbs such as *-m pang* 'think, lit.: feel inside' (see also 8.4.2.3).

(153) (NP) PRO_A (NP_U) PREF.LOC-PREF.REC-V_1 V_2

a. *na Simon he-no-m pang*
1SG name 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in feel
'I think of Simon' [B04.031.01]

b. *na e-l he-no-m pang*
1SG 2SG.LOC-give 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in feel
'I think of you' [B04.031.01]

6.2.5.5 A≡<U$_{LOC}$>≡U$_{PAT}$ construction

The A≡<U$_{LOC}$>≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction expresses human participants of cognitive processes or emotions such as 'remember' or 'forget' during which the experiencer participant undergoes a change of state. The experiencer participant is expressed with a free pronoun and with a coreferential PAT prefix. The second participant, either animate or inanimate, is that which triggers the mental process or emotion and is expressed with the LOC prefix. In (154), I list the verbs that may occur in this type of experiencer construction.

(154) (NP) PRO$_A$ (NP$_U$) PREF.LOC-PREF.PAT-V

a. *Fan Malei* *Simon* *he-da-yongfi*
name name 3II.LOC-3I.PAT-forget.CPL
'Fan Malei forgot about Simon' [B04.025.02]

b. *na* *Simon* *he-na-yonfi*
1SG name 3II.LOC-1SG.PAT-forget.CPL
'I forgot about Simon' [B04.025.02]

c. *na* *ne-wil* *he-na-minang*
1SG 1SG.AL-child 3II.LOC-1SG.PAT-remember
'I remember my child' [B04.025.03]

c. *tafui* *do* *he-n* *he-da-lal-i*
crab PRX 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.LOC-3I.PAT-laugh-PFV
'the crab laughed because of it' [B02.175.02:48]

The verb *lal* 'laugh' may also occur in the A≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction. The other verbs *yongfi* 'forget' and *minang* 'remember' may also combine with a single participant. However, because the single participant is not controlling, another construction must be used, which is discussed in section 8.4.2.1, examples (96)-(97).

6.2.5.6 A≡U$_{REC}$-U$_{PAT}$ construction

The A≡U$_{REC}$-U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction is a variation on the A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction discussed in 6.2.2.4. It is closely related to constructions with incorporated arguments, discussed in 6.1.4. The animate experiencer participant is encoded with the free pronoun and with the REC prefix. The inanimate participant that undergoes a change of state is expressed with the PAT prefix. In (155), the instances found in the corpus are given. However, the construction may possibly be applied to all verbs that occur in the A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction.

(155) (NP) PRO$_A$ (NP$_U$) PREF.REC-PREF.PAT-V

a. *ranta mahapang* *di* *bataa* *do-ha-kai*
villain be.stupid 3A wood 3I.REC-3II.PAT-drop
'the stupid thief let the log fall on himself' [B05.050.05]

b. *di* *kul* *it* *do* *do-ha-luol*
3A must lie.on PRX 3I.REC-3II.PAT-gain
'he is determined to follow it, to regain it' [B07.022.03]

c. *ama* *wala* *do-h-ién-i?*
person so 3I.REC-3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'did anybody see?' [B07.023.02]

d. *ni* *mayol* *moku* *nu-ha-pai*
1PL.E woman kid 1PL.E.REC-3II.PAT-keep
'we keep our daughter for us' [B01.083.02:57]

6.2.5.7 U_{LOC}≡U_{REC} construction

In (156), the marginal U_{LOC}≡U_{REC} experiencer construction is given. This construction expresses a human participant that is experiencing an emotion or cognitive process triggered by him. The fragment is taken from the narrative *moku ayoku*. The man in this fragment talks to a woman who he wants to marry as his second wife. His first wife is sterile, so he does not care about the blindness of the woman; he only cares whether she can bear him a child.

(156) *ne-no-wa* *∅-ièng* *akut-a* *nu*
1SG.LOC-1SG.REC-be.like.MD.CNT 2SG.INAL-eye not.see.CPL-DUR SPC.AD
'I think (it seems to me), I did not mention that your eyes are blind'

he-fanga *naha* *ye,* *moku* *ha-yal* *do* *kang* *re*
3II.LOC-say.CNT NEG LNK kid 3II.PAT-give.birth PRX be.good or

naha-e
be.not-IPFV
'but whether you can give birth to a child or not' [B02.026.02:49]

Another example is given in (157), where the verb *minang* 'remember' combines with LOC and REC prefix expressing the second person participant that is urged to recall, or remember himself of what follows in the sentence.

(157) *e-o-minang,* *melang* *falaka* *ba* *sei*
2SG.LOC-2SG.REC-remember village be.bright LNK come.down.CNT
'recall, the informing of the village, that is to be paid,'

nu *el* *tafaa* *ba-i=se* *naha,* *seng!*
SPC.AD before drum say-PFV=INCP.I NEG money
'before we did not say (how many) drums, (we only mentioned) money' [B13.015.42:50]

6.2.5.8 U_{REC}≡U_{PAT} construction

In (158), another marginal experiencer construction is given. This construction expresses a human participant is experiencing the resultant state of his own activity. In my corpus, the U_{REC}≡U_{PAT} construction occurs only once.

(158) *do-da-lal-i-a*
3I.REC-3I.PAT-laugh-PFV-DUR
'he is laughing for himself' [B07.035.02]

6.2.5.9 Summary

In 6.2.5.1-6.2.5.8, I have shown a number of experiencer constructions. In all cases, a human participant is expressed as the U argument of a verb as well as the A argument. Both pronominal forms are coreferential. A number of constructions such as (152)-(155) are truly transitive, because a second U argument is expressed by another pronominal prefix.

6.2.6 'Ditransitive' construction

There are no ditransitive verbs in Abui. Events that involve three participants which may be described with English ditransitive verbs such as 'give' or 'show' are encoded with serial verb constructions in Abui. In (159), a construction describing a 'transfer' event is given. The transferred object, in this case *seng* 'money', is realized as the U argument of the verb *mi* 'take'. The benefactive, in this case *mayol* 'woman', is realized as the U argument of the verb *r* 'reach'.

(159) a. *na seng mi ne-mayol he-r-i*
1SG money take 1SG.AL-woman 3II.LOC-reach-PFV
'I gave my wife the money' [B06.025.06]

b. **na seng ne-mayol he-r-i*
1SG money 1SG.AL-woman 3II.LOC-reach-PFV

In (160), the serial construction describing the event of 'showing' is given. In (a), the showed object, in this case *ía* 'moon' is realized as the U of *mi* 'take'. This argument is shared with the verb *ién-r-* 'show' as the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) indicates. The participant that is shown the moon is realized as the U argument of the verb *ien-r-* 'show'. It is expressed with the PAT prefix *h-* (3II.PAT). In (b), the showed object *de-sura* 'his book/s' is the U argument of *mi* 'take'. The first person participant that is shown the books is expressed with the PAT prefix *n-* (1SG.PAT). In (c), the NP *de-sura do* 'the book/s of his' is specific. It is co-indexed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) as the second U argument of the verb *-ién-r-* 'show'.

(160) a. *Fani he-ya di ía mi ba Bui he-h-ién-r-i*
name 3II.AL-mother 3A moon take LNK name 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-see-reach-PFV
'Fan Malei's mother showed Bui the moon' [B10.046.03]

b. *di de-sura mi n-ién-r-i-a*
3A 3I.AL-book take 1SG.PAT-see.CPL-reach-PFV-DUR
'he showed me his book' [B10.046.02]

c. *di* *de-sura* *do* *mi* *he-n-ién-r-i-a*
3A 3I.AL-book PRX take 3II.LOC-1SG.PAT-see.CPL-reach-PFV-DUR
'he showed me the book of his'

Serial constructions describing three-participant event are very common. For more details see section 8.4.2.

6.3 Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial modifiers specify the temporal and spatial settings of an event. Adverbial modifiers may be adverbs (see 6.3.1), deictic demonstratives (see 6.3.2), or independent nominal or verbal predicates (see 6.3.3). Adverbial modifiers are considered independent predicates when they combine with anaphoric demonstratives. In a clause, usually not more than two adverbials occur at the same time.

Adverbial modifiers are found in the left edge of a clause as illustrated in (161). Adverbials modifiers usually follow the fronted A argument. Optionally, adverbials are extracted to the focus position in the far left of a clause or form a separate adverbial phrase. The deictic demonstratives (DEICT.DEM) are located the closest to the VP, adverbs (ADV) are more to the left, and the independent predicates (ADVERBIALS) often constitute a separate phrase that precedes the clause.

(161) Abui clause structure

[ADVERBIALS]$_{phrase}$	[FOCUS	NP$_{A/U}$	PRO$_{A}$	ADV	NP$_{U}$	DEICT.DEM	**VP**]$_{clause}$
	left periphery	left edge			core		

6.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbial modifiers are typically adverbs. In Abui, there is a small set of adverbs such as *yal* 'now', *el* 'before', *ko* 'soon', *wan* 'already' (see also 3.5.5). Their function as adverbial modifiers is illustrated below.

6.3.1.1 *yal* 'now'

The adverb *yal* 'now' locates an event in present time (temporal location overlapping with the time of speech). In (162), the adverb *yal* 'now' occurs in left edge position in (a), and is extracted to the focus position in (b), where it combines with the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX).

(162) a. *yal* *di* *miei*
now 3A come.CPL
'he came now' [B07.003.04]

b. *yal* *do* *di* *wan* *làk-e*
now PRX 3A already leave.for-IPFV
'he is already leaving now' [B07.007.02]

In about the half of all occurrences of *yal* 'now' in my corpus, the adverb combines with the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX), which I analyze as forming a separate adverbial phrase, located in the periphery, in fact, outside the clause.

6.3.1.2 *el* 'before'

The adverb *el* 'before, earlier on' indicates that the event is antecedent to the time of speech. As illustrated in (163), *el* 'before' occurs either between the A and U argument (a) or may be extracted to the focus position (b).

(163) a. *na el kopi buut-i*
1SG before coffee consume.CPL-PFV
'I have already drunk coffee' [B01.036.35]

b. *el na mahiting mi kaai he-l*
before 1SG meat take dog 3II.LOC-give
'before, I gave the dog some meat' [B01.032.08]

As illustrated in (a), the adverb *el* 'before' tends to co-occur with perfective aspect marker.

6.3.1.3 *wan* 'already'

The adverb *wan* 'already' indicates that an event occurred in time preceding the time of speech. The adverb *wan* 'already' occurs typically between the A and U argument. This is illustrated in (164). In (b), it is found preceding the VP and following the clause *anui sei* 'it rains', which expresses the single argument of the verb *kan-d-* 'get finished'.

(164) a. *di wan yai paneng*
3A already song make
'he is already singing' [B10.053.10]

b. *anui sei wan do-kan-d-i*
rain come.down.CNT already 3I.REC-be.good.CPL-hold-PFV
'it already stopped raining' [B10.054.03]

6.3.1.4 *ko* 'soon'

The adverb *ko* 'soon' indicates that the referred event will occur in near future. It is illustrated in (165), where in (a) it occurs in the neutral position and in (b) it precedes the A argument.

(165) a. *a ko fat takd-a naha?*
2SG soon corn plant-DUR NEG
'won't you plant any corn?' [B07.005.03]

b. *ko anui sei*
soon rain come.down.CNT
'it will rain soon' [B05.082.01]

6.3.1.5 *kal* 'another time'

The adverb *kal* 'another time, next time' indicates a future event that will certainly occur. It often combines with the other adverb *ko* 'soon' that must follow. Its use is exemplified in (166), where in (a) *kal* 'another time' occurs in the neutral position, while in (b), it is fronted.

(166) a. *Fani kal ko sei?*
name another.time soon come.down.CNT
'will Fani come down soon?' [B05.050.04]

b. *kal a ananra to a-lal he!*
another.time 2SG speak.CNT PRX.AD 2SG.PAT-laugh PRH
'later, when you are going you speak (as you just said), don't laugh!' [B06.039.07:03]

6.3.1.6 *dara* 'still'

The adverb *dara* 'still' originates in the verb *ra* 'reach, attempt, persist' (see 8.4.7.3). It indicates that an event is performed in a persistent way. The adverb *dara* 'still' may be combined with negation to refer to events that have not occurred yet. In (167), the adverb *dara* 'still' combines with the verb *afei-d-a* 'be yesterday, lit.: become passed' (see also 6.3.3.7).

(167) *yambuk do dara afei-d-a hu lik tah-a=ng*
glass PRX still pass.CPL-hold-DUR SPC platform put.on.CPL-DUR=see
it-d-i
lie.on-hold-PFV
'it was still yesterday when the glass was put on the table' [B09.075.01]

In (168), the adverb *dara* 'still' occurs in a negated clause marking that the speaker has not visited the village named Ruilak yet.

(168) *na dara Ruilak làk naha haba, na la ha-piet-i*
1SG still place leave.for NEG but 1SG be.MD 3II.PAT-pass.along.CPL-PFV
'I have not visited Ruilak yet, but I passed along there' [Note.013.012]

6.3.1.7 *wala* 'so'

The adverb *wala* 'so, only' indicates a manner in which the event is performed, typically it indicates the extension of an event or the quantity of participants. In (169), the adverb *wala* 'so' indicates how many items were taken.

(169) *di sua buti wala mi ba nee-i*
3A three four so take LNK eat-PFV
'he ate only three or four' [B07.047.04]

In (170), a fragment of a bride price negotiation is given. As the good custom requires, a lot of betel nut has to be consumed during such an event. A number of old men discuss whether they have some betel nut or proceed negotiating. One of the men brings betel nut and betel vine and utters the following construction. The adverb *wala* 'so' indicates that the other men may take betel vine if they wish 'so'.

(170) *meting to ri wala mi ui h-iéng….*
betel.vine PRX.AD 2PL so take back 3II.PAT-see
'the betel vine (that you just talked about), you just take behind…' [B13.013.38:44]

The adverbial *wala* 'so' seems to refer to a kind in some cases. In (171), the adverbial *wala* 'so' indicates that there is no such a person that witnessed the speaker coming back.

(171) Q: *maa Ø-ién ba a melang yaar-i?*
who 2SG.PAT-see.CPL LNK 2SG village go.CPL-PFV
'who saw you going to the village?'

A: *ama wala n-ién naha*
person so 1SG.PAT-see.CPL NEG
'nobody saw me' [B07.003.03]

6.3.1.8 *yang* 'perhaps'

The adverb *yang* 'perhaps' indicates epistemic modality and is used to express speaker's doubts about the reality of the reported event. Neutrally, *yang* occurs between the arguments as illustrated in (172).

(172) *kaai do yang rui tahai*
dog PRX perhaps rodent search
'the dog might be searching rats' [B05.017.02]

In some cases *yang* is found in the focus position, as in (173). Moreover it is followed by the adverb *ko* 'soon' and *wan* 'already'.

(173) *yang ko he-lui wan nai-d-i*
perhaps soon 3.AL-knife already lost-hold-PFV
'perhaps his knife will already soon get lost' [B07.022.05]

6.3.1.9 *sawai* 'in vain'

The adverb *sawai* 'be in vain' encodes that the effort of the participant is fruitless. The adverb *sawai* is related to the verb *sai* 'put along' and also to the form *sai-sai* 'in vain, vainly' (see 8.4.6.4). An example of such construction is given in (174) where *sawai* 'be in vain' combines with the verb *tahai* 'search'.

(174) *di* *la* *sawai* *de-lui* *tahai*
3A be.MD in.vain 3I.AL-knife search
'he searches his knife there in vain' [B07.022.04]

Observe the use of the deictic verb *la* 'be.MD' that refers to the location of searching as 'distant' from the speaker (for more details see section 8.4.4.3). Another example is given in (175), where *sawai* 'in vain' combines with the verb *wit* 'carry in arms'. Note that it is preceded by the verb *fa* 'be.MD.AD' that indicates that the event is unknown to the addressee.

(175) *na* *fa* *sawai* *kafaak* *wit* *ba* *we-i* *haba,*
1SG be.MD.AD in.vain tobacco carry.in.arms.CPL LNK leave-PFV but

ama *bel* *naha*
person buy NEG [B04.077.03]
'I actually brought the tobacco in vain (to the market), people did not buy anything'

6.3.1.10 *taka* 'only'

The adverb *taka* 'only' indicates that the participant performed only a restricted part of an event. It probably originates in the verb *taka* 'be empty'. It combines with the major verb *nee* 'eat' in (176) sharing the argument *mahiting* 'meat':

(176) *Fan Malei* *di* *mahiting* *taka* *nee*
name 3A meat only eat
'Fan Malei eats only meat' [B07.053.01]

In (177), *taka* 'only' combines with *wahai* 'look'. The deictic verb *la* 'be.MD' refers to the 'cognitive' location of the event as 'distant' from the speaker, as the speaker refrains from performing it:

(177) *di* *ma* *làk-e* *ne-ì* *la* *taka* *he-wahai* *naha*
3A be.PRX leave.for-IPFV 1SG.LOC-put be.MD only 3II.LOC-look NEG
'let him go, I don't even want to look at him' [B07.018.02]

For more details about SVCs with *la* 'be.MD' see 8.4.4.3. The minor verb *ì* 'put' expresses the first person participant. Together with the negator *naha* it indicates the participant refusing the obligation to look at the other participant (cf. 8.4.2.7).

6.3.1.11 *bai* 'as well'

The adverb *bai* 'as well' originates in the verb *ba* 'say' inflected for perfective aspect that serves as confirmative marker (see 6.4.2.2). As illustrated in (178), it is glossed as 'as well' whenever it directly precedes the predicate of a clause.

(178) a. *a tanga nu, oro nu bai da-moi-d-a*
2SG speak.CNT SPC.AD DST SPC.AD as.well 3I.PAT-sound-hold-DUR
'when you speak, let it sound over there as well' [B09.002.00:48]

b. *ama nuku bai siei naha*
person one as.well come.down.ICP NEG
'not one man came down' [B07.045.02]

The form *bai* 'as well' that precedes the verb serving as an adverbial modifier must be distinguished from the form *ba-i* that follows the predicate and consists of the verb *ba* 'say' which is inflected for perfective aspect. In (179), two instances are given where *ba-i* follows the predicate. In (a) it serves as confirmative marker (see 6.4.2.2); while in (b) it introduces a conditional clause.

(179) a. *Mai Awen hu pi he-ananra ba-i!*
name SPC 1PL.I 3II.LOC-tell.CNT say-PFV
'Mai Awen, that is that we actually talk about!' [B06.039.07:03]

b. *anui sei ba-i, di kul anu=ng yaar=te*
rain come.down.CNT say-PFV 3A must market=see go.CPL=INCP.C
'even if it rains, he has to go to the market' [B07.079.01]

6.3.2 Deictic demonstratives

As adverbial modifiers, deictic demonstratives indicate the location of an event in space. As discussed in 3.5.2, demonstratives may occur in both the nominal domain and the verbal domain. In both domains, demonstratives may occur in two syntactic positions. They either precede or follow the head. In a clause, deictic demonstratives precede the VP, the anaphoric demonstratives follow it. When the demonstrative precedes the head verb of a VP, it refers to the location of the event. When it follows the head verb, it locates the event expressed by the VP in discourse (see also 4.4.3).
In the following examples, I illustrate the use of the deictic demonstratives as adverbial modifiers. In (180), the deictic demonstrative *do* (PRX) locates the event 'here' by the speaker.

(180) *a do mi-a maiye, ama e-l feng kang*
2SG PRX be.in-DUR when person 2SG.LOC-give injure be.good
'if you stay here, people can harm you' [B07.039.05]

The use of the deictic demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) is illustrated in (181). It indicates a proximate location with respect to the addressee. The verb *ba* 'say' is grammaticalized as an affirmative marker (see 6.4.2).

(181) Q: *nala he-it to mi-a?*
what 3II.LOC-lie.on PRX.AD be.in-Dur
'what is put in here (near you)?

A: *mur* *ba-i*
lemon say-PFV
'it is a lemon' [B07.007.02]

In (182), I give an example of the use of the deictic demonstrative *ò* (MD.I) indicating that a comb fell 'down'. Note that the VP *ha-yei* 'it fell' is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) that indicates the 'temporal' location of the event (see 6.4.3).

(182) *ai, ket ò ha-yei to, na sei mi=se ye!*
oh comb MD.I 3II.PAT-fall PRX.AD 1SG come.down.CNT take=INCP.I INTER
'ah, the comb just fell down (as you see), I will go down and take it!' [B02.142.01:25]

In (183), the deictic demonstrative *oro* (DST) refers to the position of Fani that is playing with a cat as 'over there'. It occurs between the NPs expressing the arguments.

(183) *Fani oro kamai ha-d-a mui-l-a*
name DST cat 3II.PAT-hold-DUR game-give-DUR
'Fani is playing over there with a cat' [B01.042.05]

In (184), the demonstrative *wò* (DST.L) indicates the location where people gather as 'below over there'.

(184) *ama wò to-mahoi-mahoi-n-a do, te=ng yaa-e?*
person DST.L DISTR.REC-RED[together]-see.CPL-DUR PRX where=see go-IPFV
'people are gathering below there just now, so where are you going?' [B02.033.08:28]

6.3.3 Predicates functioning as adverbial modifiers

There are a number of predicates (both nominal and verbal) that are used as adverbial modifiers. These modifiers normally precede the arguments and can be treated as independent predicates.[13] In some cases, they are preceded by one of the arguments. This is illustrated in (185). The adverbial modifier *akun* 'be dark' is found between the VP *làk* 'leave for' and its argument *ama nu* 'somebody' in (a). In (b), the verb *akun* 'be dark' precedes. In that case it is ambiguous and can be treated as a separate clause.

(185) a. *ama nu akun làk*
person SPC.AD dark.CPL leave.for
'somebody is leaving tomorrow' [B01.035.29]

b. *akun di sei*
dark.CPL 3A come.down.CNT
'he comes tomorrow' [B07.006.02]

In (186), the predicates *akun* 'be dark', and *falak-d-* 'become bright' semantically compose the notion of 'tomorrow morning'; they are literally translated as '(it) was dark, (it) became bright' and describe the temporal setting of the event of roasting corn.

[13] Stokhof (1984:139) states that 'usually time phrases precede the subject'.

(186) *akun* *falak-d-a* *di* *de-fat* *do* *rehei*
be.dark.CPL bright-hold-DUR 3A 3I.AL-corn PRX roast
'in the morning she roasted her corn' [B02.069.02:49]

The sequence *akun* 'be dark' and *falak-d-* 'become bright' as in (186) may be interpreted as a clause chain where the first two clauses express the event setting and the following clause the event that happened. Another option is to consider the predicates *akun* 'be dark' and *falak-d-* 'get bright' as secondary predicates that serve as adverbial modifiers. In what follows I give an overview of a number of predicates that refer to the temporal settings of an event.

6.3.3.1 *tuntama* 'night'

The nominal predicate *tuntama* 'night, be night' is used to express that an event occurs in the night. Its use is illustrated in (187).

(187) *tuntama* *di* *ko* *me*
night 3A soon come
'he will come tonight'

Sometimes, it is not clear whether the nominal predicate *tuntama* 'night' should be analyzed as an adverbial or as an argument. In (188), the NP *tuntama* 'night' and the coordinated NPs *ía* 'moon' and *fír* 'star' combine in a U-U transitive construction (see 6.2.3.1) with the verb *mi* 'be in'. The noun *tuntama* 'night' expresses the (temporal) location of the celestial bodies. This phrase serves as a complement of the verb *ng* 'see' expressing a location. The generic verb *ng* 'see' is conjoined with *falakda* 'become bright' in an allative serial construction (see 8.4.2.1).

(188) *tuntama* *ía* *e* *fír* *mi=ng* *falak-d-a* *adi* *ho-ng* *mi-a*
night moon and star be.in=see bright-hold-DUR sky 3II.REC-see be.in-DUR
'in the night the moon and the stars shine on the sky' [B01.044.05]

6.3.3.2 *war* 'sun, day'

NPs headed by the noun *war* 'sun, day' that contain a quantifier (an ordinal or cardinal number) refer to the days of the week. They are used as nominal predicates preceding the modified VP. In (189), I list some of the days of the week in (a, b), the NP referring to 'every day' in (c), and a compound referring to 'Sunday' (d).

(189) a. *war* *he-ayoku*
sun 3II.AL-two
'second day, Tuesday'

b. *war* *he-yeting*
sun 3II.AL-five
'fifth day, Friday'

c. *war* *kanakda*
sun be.each
'be every day'

d. *mok* *war*
bring.together sun
'praying day, Sunday'

6.3.3.3 *tung* 'year'

The noun *tung* 'year'[14] combines with numerals and other predicates such as *ran* 'reach at', *afe* 'pass' to refer to a year. This is illustrated in (190).

(190) a. *ran* *tung* *nuku* *di* *me*
reach.at.CPL year one 3A come
'he will come next year, lit.: one year completes, he comes' [B07.006.02]

b. *afe* *tung* *di* *miei*
pass year 3A come.CPL
'he came last year' [B07.004.03]

However, when the duration of an event is described, different predicate must be used. In (191) the adverbial modifier indicating the length of an event is formally a clause consisting of the VP *ayokda* 'get two, become two' that combines with a single argument expressed with the NP *tung* 'year'.

(191) *ama* *he-l* *tai* *tung* *ayok-d-a*
man 3IL.LOC-give put.on year two-hold-DUR
'they treated him (for a disease) for two years' [B07.022.04]

6.3.3.4 *kor bai* 'in a while'

The predicate *kor bai* 'in a while' indicates that an event is expected to happen very soon. The predicate is formally a clause consisting of the *ko* 'soon' that combines with the verb *r* 'reach' and the confirmative marker *bai* verb glossed here as 'say'.

(192) *ko-r* *ba-i* *tuntama* *di* *me*
soon-reach say-PFV night 3A come
'he will come in a while tonight' [B07.006.02]

The adverbial modifier *kor bai* 'in a while' may be combined with aspectual marker *se* (INCP.I) as illustrated in (193).

(193) *ko-r* *ba-i=se* *di* *ko* *me*
soon-reach say-PFV=INCP.I 3A soon come
'he will come shortly' [B07.006.02]

[14] The noun *tung* 'year' may be a borrowing of the Malay word *tahun* 'year'.

6.3.3.5 *ding kang* 'probably'

The predicate *ding kang* indicates that an event might possibly occur. In fact the *ding kang* consists of free pronoun *di* (3A) combines with the generic verb *ng* 'see' that forms a SVC with *kang* 'be good' as illustrated in :

(194) [*di=ng kang*]$_{\text{adverbial}}$ *ne-kariang do he-ahama do it-i*
3a=see be.good 1SG.AL-work PRX 3II.AL-remnant PRX lie.on-PFV
'probably my work will be left unfinished', lit. 'it could be that the remainder of my work will remain' [B07.037.02]

The adverbial *ding kang* possibly originates in a SVC with *kang* 'be good' discussed in 8.4.7.2. It occurs in the clause-initial position and is followed by adverbs and arguments. It seems plausible to argue that in contexts as (195) the adverbial predicate *ding kang* has been lexicalized to an adverb with meaning 'probably':

(195) [*ding kang*]$_{\text{adverbial}}$ *anui ko sei*
probably rain soon come.down.CNT
'probably it will rain' [B07.039.01]

6.3.3.6 *akun* 'be dark'

The completive verb *akun* 'be dark' indicates the location of an event after some period of darkness. In (196), an adverbial phrase containing *akun* 'be dark' occurs between the A argument of the clause and the VP *we* 'leave'. The phrase consists of the verb *mi* 'be in' that refers to a location the darkness, and serves as a complement clause of the generic verb *ng* 'see'. The generic verb *ng* 'see' combines with the completive stem *akun* 'be dark' in allative serial verb construction (see 8.4.2.1). The adverbial phrase *mi=ng akun* could be literally translated as 'darkened into (it)'.

(196) *a* [*mi=ng akun*]$_{\text{adverbial phrase}}$ *we?*
2SG be.in=see dark.CPL leave
'will you go in the morning?' [B04.077.01]

In (197), *akun* 'dark' combines with the deictic verb *la* 'be.MD' and generic verb *ng* 'see' to refer the time after a previous period of darkness, which is 'this morning'. It combines with the verb *maran* 'come up'. As in the previous example, the deictic verb *la* 'be.MD' serves as a complement of the verb *ng* 'see' which combines in allative serial construction with the verb *akun* 'be dark'.

(197) *Monas di Kupang mi-a la=ng akun maran-i*
name 3A place be.in-DUR be.MD=see dark.CPL come.up.CPL-PFV
'Monas came from Kupang this morning' [B07.004.01]

In (198), the verb *akun* 'be dark' is incorporated in a complex verb headed by the verb *d* 'hold, get'. It combines with two aspectual markers and precedes the modified VP h*o-kariang* 'work for him' and its argument *na* '1SG'.

(198) *akun-d-i=se na ho-kariang yal do na kabei ahel=te*
dark-hold-PFV=INCP.I 1SG 3II.REC-work now PRX 1SG little breathe=INCP.C
'I shall work for him tomorrow; today, I shall rest' [B07.006.01]

The completive stem *akun* of the verb 'be dark' alternates with the stem *akung* that refers to an ongoing event of being dark. The completive stem refers to an event of 'being dark' that has a final point an can be interpreted as a 'morning' or a 'day'.

6.3.3.7 *afe* 'pass'

The adverbial modifier *afe* 'pass' indicates an event that occurred in unspecified past. It occurs in the left-edge of a relative clause preceding the verb *luk* 'rub', as illustrated in (199). The adverb *wan* 'already' is a part of the main clause.

(199) *ama ba afe ta-luk-u wan to-mi nuk-d-i*
person LNK pass DISTR.PAT-rub-PRF already DISTR.REC-be.in one-hold-PFV
'people that were fighting are already reconciled' [B10.046.07]

In (200), *afe* 'pass' combines in a possessive construction with the NP *tung ayoku* 'two years' to refer to an event that occurred two years ago, suggesting that *afe* 'pass' serves here as a nominal that can be translated as 'past'.

(200) *afe he-tung ayoku di miei*
pass 3II.AL-year two 3A come.CPL
'he came two years ago' [B07.004.03]

In (201), I list a number of adverbial modifiers that contain *afe* 'pass'; they occur in contexts similar to (200). Note that *afe* 'pass' precedes the nouns *tung* 'year' in (b) and *war* 'sun' in (c). It is located in the same position as deictic demonstratives in the NP and its function is related to that of deictic demonstratives in the sense that it indicates the location of a period in time. This is not surprising, because Abui NP structure and VP structure are largely parallel.

(201) a. *afe he-tung nuku*
pass 3II.AL-year one
'a year ago'

b. *afe tung*
pass year
'last year'

c. *afe war ba he-yeting*
pass sun LNK 3II.AL-five
'five days ago'

d. *afe beka*
pass be.bad
'long time ago'

e. *afe* *tura-tara* *beka*
pass ancestor.time be.bad
'long time ago, in the time of ancestors'

f. *afe-afe* *beka*
RED[pass] be.bad
'very long time ago'

In a number of cases, *afe* 'pass' is part of a complex verb *afe-i-d-* 'get passed'. The verb combines sometimes with a single argument war 'sun' to refer to either 'evening' or 'yesterday'. It use is illustrated in (202) and (203).

(202) *afe-i-d-a* *di* *la=ng* *akun* *miei* *ya* *war*
pass-put-hold-DUR 3A be.MD=see dark.CPL come.CPL SEQ sun

afe-i-d-a *mai* *mon-i*
pass-put-hold-DUR when die.CPL-PFV
'he came yesterday morning and in the evening he died' [B07.004.04]

(203) *kalieta,* *war* *afe-i-d-i* *do* *a* *te=ng* *yaa?*
old.person sun pass-put-hold-PFV PRX 2SG where=see go
'old woman, the sun already set, where are you going?' [B02.103.19:21]

6.3.3.8 Combinations of adverbial modifiers

There is a preference for a clause to contain maximally one adverbial modifier. However, in a number of cases, a single clause contains two adverbial modifiers as illustrated in the following examples. In (204), the adverb *yal* combines with the adverb *wala* 'be so':

(204) *yal* *wala* *di* *làk-i*
now so 3A leave.for-PFV
'he has left just now' [B07.005.01]

In (205), the adverbial *yal* 'now' precedes the nominal predicate *war do* 'this day, today' in a part of the Lord's Prayer.

(205) [*yal* *war* *do*]$_{ADV}$ *nala* *ba* *he-kang* *hu* *mi* *ba=ng*
now sun PRX what LNK 3II.LOC-be.good SPC take LNK=see

ni-l-e
1PL.E.LOC-give-IPFV
'give us this day our daily bread' [B07.012.04]

In (206), the adverbial *ko* 'soon' precedes the adverbial modifier *akun* 'be dark' in (a), while in (b), it follows it.

(206) Q: *di* *ko* *akun* *me*
3a soon dark.CPL come
'will he come tomorrow?'

A: *he'e, akun di ko me*
yes dark.CPL 3A soon come
'yes, tomorrow, he will come' [B07.005.04]

6.3.3.9 Talking about time

The clause *nala h-uor* 'strike something' is used to refer to time measured in hours; it corresponds to English 'o'clock'. In declarative constructions this clause is followed by a numeral indicating how many times the 'beating' occurred. In questions, the complex verb *yen-r-* 'be how many' is in situ position of the questioned numeral.

(207) Q: *nala h-uor yen-r-a?*
what 3II.PAT-strike.CPL how.much.CPL-reach-DUR
'what's the time?'

A: *nala h-uor yeting-sua*
what 3II.PAT-strike.CPL five-three
'it is eight o'clock' [B10.053.11]

In (208), I give an example of how the time indication is used in a sentence.

(208) *nala h-uor yeting-ayoku wan sakola mi-a*
what 3II.PAT-strike.CPL five-two already school be.in-DUR
'the school starts at seven o'clock' [B10.053.11]

6.4 Right edge constituents

Negator (NEG), prohibitive particles, affirmative predicate markers (APM), and anaphoric demonstratives (DEM) are found in the right edge or right periphery of the clause. Their ordering is schematically represented in (209).

(209) Right edge of the clause

$NP_{A/U}PRO_A$	NP_U	**VP**	NEG	APM	DEM
core			right edge		right periphery

In this section, I first discuss negation in 6.4.1, followed by affirmative predicate markers in 6.4.2. In section 6.4.3, I give an overview of anaphoric demonstratives.

6.4.1 Negation

Clausal negation negates the whole proposition expressed in the clause (cf. Payne 1997:282). It marks the value of a predicate as 'false' or 'absent'. Abui clause is negated

with the verb *naha* 'not be' (see 6.4.1.1). Further, there are two particles, mainly associated with the imperative construction: the prohibitive markers *he* (PRH) and *doma* (PRH) are described in section 6.4.1.2. Both particles in fact express illocutionary force categories, that are in Abui associated with distinct grammatical constructions such as serial constructions with *ng* 'see' (8.4.2.1) or *ì* 'put' (8.4.2.7), (cf. Dahl, 1999).

6.4.1.1 *naha* 'not be/NEG'

Abui clause is negated with the verb *naha* 'not be'. The negator follows the negated VP and is glossed in this use as NEG. In (210), the negator *naha* follows the verb *nee* 'eat' in (a) or the stative verb *tukoi* 'be strong' in (b) negates the whole clause:

(210) a. *al loku di fe mahiting nee naha*
Muslim PL 3A pig meat eat NEG
'Muslims do not eat pork' [B07.021.03]

b. *na tukoi naha*
1SG be.strong NEG
'I am not strong' [B04.039.04]

The negator *naha* (NEG) is used in prohibitive constructions such as in (211).

(211) *yai paneng naha, a-ran-r-a, ama taa!*
song make NEG 2SG.PAT-quiet-give-DUR person lie
'don't sing, be quiet, people are sleeping' [B07.017.05]

Multi-verbal predicates such as serial verb constructions are negated such as mono-verbal predicates. Shared negation in multi-verbal predicates indicates that they may be considered as monoclausal structures. In (212), a number of verbs conjoined in a serial verb construction are negated with *naha* (NEG) in (a). However, when only a part of these verbs should be negated, the serial verb construction cannot be maintained. Instead, as illustrated in (b), two clauses are joined together with the conjunction marker *haba* 'but'. The conjunction marker is followed by an intonational pause, marked in the example with a comma.

(212) a. *e-buot mi ba lik tah-a=ng mihi-a naha*
2SG.AL-basket take LNK platform put.on.CPL=see put-DUR NEG
'don't put your basket on the table' [B09.075.03]

b. *e-buot mi haba, lik tah-a=ng mihi-a naha*
2SG.AL-basket take but platform put.on.CPL=see put-DUR NEG
'take your basket but do not put it on the table'

The verb *naha* 'not be' may occur as a single predicate in a clause and combine with arguments, as illustrated in (213). In (a), *naha* 'not be' combines with a U argument expressed with the REC prefix *nu-* (1PL.E.REC). In (b), it combines with the A argument *ri* (2PL).

(213) a. *nu-naha*
1PL.E.REC-be.not
'we are not there, we are dead' [B05.033.03]

b. *ri naha*
2PL be.not
'it is not you' [B05.033.01]

In (214), an example is given, in which *naha* 'not be' serves as the negator in the first clause and as an independent predicate in the final clause combining with the noun *paliol* 'python, witch'.

(214) *na he-rofi h-iéng naha te wi-l*
1SG 3II.LOC-be.right 3II.PAT-see NEG where be.like.MD.CPL-give

ma=si paliol naha
be.PRX=PHSL.I python be.not
'I don't believe it because witches do not exist' [B10.048.01]

In (215), the verb *naha* 'be not' combines with the numeral *nuku* 'one'. Abui numerals can be used predicatively.

(215) *ne-fala do la nuku naha*
1SG.AL-house PRX be.MD one NEG
'I do not have just one house', lit.: 'my house(s) there are not (just) one' [B07.045.02]

Another verbal property of the verb *naha* 'be not' is that it allows the non-final (medial) stems to precede it. As discussed in section 8.1.1, multi-verb constructions such as serial verb constructions allow for (mainly) completive verb stems to occur without aspectual inflection, if another verb follows. As illustrated in (216), the completive stem *-ién* 'see' may precede the verb *naha* 'not be' without aspectual inflection, as illustrated in (a). However, when the verb *ién* 'see' is the final verb in a clause, it must carry aspectual inflection, as illustrated in (b).

(216) a. *di kuya do nuku taka h-ién naha*
3A bird PRX one be.only 3II.PAT-see.CPL NEG
'he did not see just one bird/ he saw another bird' [B07.054.01]

b. *di kuya afenga nuku h-ién-i /*h-ién*
3A bird be.other one 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'he saw another, different bird' [B07.054.01]

6.4.1.2 Prohibitive particle *he* (PRH)

The prohibitive particle *he* (PRH) indicates a prohibition or an urgent demand. The prohibitive particle *he* (PRH) always appears as the final constituent of a clause or multi-verb construction. In (217), a fragment of the Lord's Prayer is given.

(217) *ni-bek-a* *ni-tafiela* *a* *he-o-m* *pang* *he!*
1PL.E.AL-sin 1PL.E.AL-wrong-doing 2SG 3II.LOC-2SG.REC-be.in feel PRH
'forgive us our trespasses', lit.: 'don't think about our sins and wrong-doing' [B07.012.04]

The prohibitive particle *he* (PRH) may be used in situations where the prohibition is addressed to another participant (typically non-human) that is related to the addressee such as *e-kaai* 'your dog' in (218).

(218) *e-kaai* *di* *nala* *loku* *to-ha-loi* *he!*
2SG.AL-dog 3A what PL DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far PRH
'your dog may not chase all kind of things!' [B07.030.04]

6.4.1.3 Particle *doma* 'no'

The particle *doma* 'no' is used to decline offers made by the addressee. It may independently as a single conversational turn, as illustrated in (219).

(219) Q: *a* *kafaak* *buuk?*
2SG tobacco consume
'do you smoke tobacco?'

A: *ah,* *doma!*
oh no
'no, don't bother' [B05.041.02]

It may be used to refuse proposals and suggestions made by the addressee as illustrated in (220). The particle *doma* 'no' is located in front of the negative clause *muila naha* 'not play'.

(220) A: *me,* *mui-mui-l-a*
come RED[game]-give-DUR
'let's play around'

B: *doma,* *mui-l-a* *naha,* *war* *beka!*
no play-give-DUR NEG sun be.bad
'no, let's not play, it is hot!' [B07.030.05]

The particle *doma* 'no' may occur also within a sentence. This is illustrated in (221), where it is located in the left periphery of the clause headed by the VP *wa* 'be like.MD'.

(221) Q: *te* *a-ra* *mi* *ne-tàn-i!*
INCP.C 2SG.PAT-reach.CNT take 1SG.LOC-release.CPL-PFV
'now, just try to give it (the torch) to me!'

A: *ma* *wan* *ha-mon* *mai* *doma* *to* *wa?*
be.PRX already 3II.PAT-die.CPL when no PRX.AD be.like.MD.CNT
'now, and when it is already dead, then not (what you just said)? [B09.004.04:19]

6.4.2 Affirmative predicate markers

Affirmative predicate markers affirm predicates. That means that they mark them as 'true'. Their function is inverted negation. There are two affirmative predicate markers in Abui: *ba* and *bai* (discussed in 6.4.2.1 and 6.4.2.2). Both items are identified as verbs, because they may combine with person and aspectual inflection. Both markers are related, in fact they are a grammaticalization of the verb *ba* 'say' which is used when direct speech is quoted, as illustrated in (222) where the verb *ba* 'say' follows a direct speech and combines with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC).[15]

(222) *'ah* *Karfe Hawa* *moku* *loku* *do* *taki!'* *he-ba*
oh name kid PL PRX flee 3II.LOC-say
'oh, Karfe-Hawa, the children fled away' they said [B02.045.16:09]

This verb has developed, next to its affirmative functions, also to a relator, complement marker, and an intersective linker in both nominal and verbal domain (see also 3.5.6 and 4.5).[16]

6.4.2.1 Affirmative predicate marker *ba*

The affirmative predicate marker *ba* 'say' affirms the true value of a predicate. Its use is illustrated in (223). The marker *ba* 'say' indicates that the child that is described as 'shivering' in the preceding clause perhaps 'is' ill. The first clause expresses the topic of the predicate, which is expressed in the second clause. Structurally, the construction reminds of the copula clauses given in section 4.5, example (122).

(223) [*moku* *nuku* *oro* *raharak-d-i-a* *do*]$_{\text{clause}}$ [*yang* *ha-rik*] *ba*
kid one DST shiver-hold-PFV-DUR PRX perhaps 3II.PAT-hurt say
'the child over there is shivering, it is perhaps ill' [B05.060.04]

In (224), the marker *ba* 'say' follows the index verb *na* 'be like.PRX'. Also this structure is related to the copula clauses mentioned above. However, as the complement itself is verbal, the verb *ba* 'say' has acquired the affirmative function.

(224) [*ma*]$_{\text{topic}}$ [*na*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *ba*$_{\text{copula/affirmative marker}}$
be.PRX be.like.PRX.CNT say
'it is so' [B09.003.03:02]

A fragment from a negotiation is given in (225). The affirmative marker *ba* is used in both conversation turns. One of the participants inquires whether the solicitors 'will' start bargaining. One solicitor answers that they 'do' intend to do so.

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[15] In this function, *ba* is translated with the Malay verb *bilang* 'say', which is the motivation of the gloss.
[16] Cross-linguistically, copulas may acquire the affirmative function and even develop to a nominalising device with possible extensions as complementizer or relator (cf. LaPolla, 2007:10).

(225) Q: *kan-r-i* *hare,* *yal* *do,* *ri=ng* *to-h-uol*
be.good-reach-PFV so now PRX 2PL=see DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-strike

ba *re?*
say reach.ICP
'ready, so now, you will bargain with each?'

A: *he-n* *bai* *ba*
3II.LOC-see.CPL as.well say
'we do that as well' [B13.012.38:06]

In (226), *ba* 'say' occurs twice in the same sentence. The first *ba* 'say' introduces a conditional clause: *naha ba* 'if not'. The second *ba* 'say' indicates that it is true that there are evil ghosts, if one does not sleep elsewhere.

(226) *do-wa* *he-n* *taa,* *naha* *ba,* *tafang* *beka* *ba*
3I.REC-be.like.MD.CNT 3II.LOC-see.CPL lie NEG say ghost be.bad say
'they have to sleep there, if not then there are bad ghosts (they say)' [B02.126.00:42]

The affirmative marker *ba* 'say' often occurs in constructions that report events or speech that was not witnessed by the addressee. A number of examples are given in (227). In these constructions, *ba* 'say' follows the VP in the complement clause of the utterance verb *fanga/fangi* 'say, speak, utter'.

(227) a. *ne-nahaa* *di* *he-fanga=ti* [*ha-rik* *ba*]$_{CC}$
1SG.AL-younger.sibling 3A 3II.LOC-say.CNT=PHSL.C 3II.PAT-hurt say
'my younger brother was just saying that he is ill' [B07.009.02]

b. *di* *el* *he-fangi* [*di* *ko* *me* *ba*]$_{CC}$
3A before 3II.LOC-say.CPL 3A soon come say
'(but) he already said he will come' [B07.008.03]

c. *a* *tah-a* *he-fanga=ti* [*a* *ko* *me* *ba* *yo*]$_{CC}$
2SG put.on.CPL-DUR 3II.LOC-say.CNT=PHSL.C 2SG soon come say MD.AD
'you just said earlier on that you will come' [B07.010.02]

Note that in (227) the affirmative predicate marker *ba* 'say' is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD). For more details about the use of anaphoric demonstratives in the clause domain see section 6.4.3. In (228), the speaker reports his dream, in which he went to the harbour Kalabahi. In the dream reality, the speaker refers to himself as to his 'spirit' and stresses the true value of his dream report with the affirmative marker *ba* 'say'.

(228) *na* *piei-l-a=ti* [*na-noting* *Kalang-Fat* *yaa* *ba*]$_{CC}$
1SG dream-give-DUR=PHSL.C 1SG.INAL-spirit place go say
'I dreamt that I went to Kalabahi' [B06.025.09]

6.4.2.2 Confirmative predicate marker *bai*

The marker ***bai*** confirms the true value of a predicate. The marker ***bai*** consists of the marker ***ba*** 'say' that is inflected with the perfective suffix ***-i*** (PFV). The marker ***bai*** is used to persuade the addressee of true value of the predication. Consider the fragment in (229). The speaker is requested to shoot with the bow. He complains about the fact that his arm 'does' already hurt.

(229) *na-táng* *na-rik* *ba-i*
1SG.INAL-hand 1SG.PAT-hurt say-PFV
'my hand does hurt' [B09.002.00:48]

In (230), the confirmative marker ***bai*** occurs twice. In the second clause, the marker ***bai*** proves its verbal character when it combines with the aspectual marker ***te*** (INCP.C). The first occurrence of the confirmative marker ***ba-i*** (say-PFV) indicates the true value of the clause 'I just told it to you'. The form ***bai*** serves as a copula, as it takes the first clause as its topic, while the copula complement is expressed by the second clause.

(230) [*na* *el* *he-o-k* *fangi* *do*]clause *ba-i,* [*a-wei*
1SG before 3ILLOC-2SG.REC-bring say.CPL PRX say-PFV 2SG.INAL-ear

do=ng *bok-u* *ba-i=te*]CC
PRX=see dig-PRF say-PFV=INCP.C
'I did just tell it to you, so if you would finally clean your ears' [B07.083.00:15]

In (231), the marker ***bai*** combines with the aspectual marker ***se*** (INCP.I). It indicates that whenever it is about to be true that Dori can then she goes to the market.

(231) *Dori* *kang* *ba-i=se* *anu=ng* *yaa*
name be.good say-PFV=INCP.I market=see go
'if Dori can, (she) goes to market' [B07.072.01]

In (232), the form ***bai*** is a single predicate of a clause. It encodes the existence of the participant expressed as ***nuku wala*** 'one such, such'. The second clause indicates that the participant expressed as ***di*** (3A) did not see such a thing or person.

(232) *nuku* *wala* *ba-i* *di* *h-ién-i* *naha*
one so say-PFV 3A 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV NEG
'he didn't see anyone/anything' [B07.048.01]

6.4.3 Anaphoric demonstratives

Demonstratives that follow the VP indicate the location of the referred event in discourse with respect to other events or with respect to the moment of speech. Both

functions are parallel to the use of the demonstratives as adnominal modifiers. In both cases, the demonstratives follow the head constituent of an NP or a clause. Their function is anaphoric (compare the deictic function in 6.3.2). All six anaphoric demonstratives that occur as adnominal modifier may also combine with a VP (see 3.5.2.2). In (233), an overview of the demonstratives and their functions is given. In the right-hand column, the reference to the relevant section can be found.

(233) Anaphoric demonstratives combining with VPs

i.	*do*	(PRX)	a proximate event	(section 6.4.3.1)
ii.	*to*	(PRX.AD)	a proximate event for the addressee	(section 6.4.3.2)
iii.	*o*	(MD)	a less proximate event	(section 6.4.3.3)
iv.	*yo*	(MD.AD)	a less proximate event for the addressee	(section 6.4.3.4)
v.	*hu*	(SPC)	an event new for addressee	(section 6.4.3.5)
vi.	*nu*	(SPC.AD)	an event occurring in unspecified moment	(section 6.4.3.6)

The anaphoric demonstrative indicates the discourse location of the referred event when it is followed by another phrase or clause. It indicates the location of the event with respect to the moment of speech (temporal location) when it is the final constituent of a sentence. Clauses with anaphoric demonstratives as their final constituent may express complements. The anaphoric demonstrative has nominalising effect and clearly delimits the domain of a clause. As there are no pivots for cross-clause reference, the arguments within the clause delimited with an anaphoric demonstrative are not necessarily accessible for the pronominal reference of the following clause (this feature will be illustrated in 6.4.3.1). The use of the anaphoric demonstratives in different domains is attested also in other Papuan languages (Reesink, 1994). The anaphoric demonstratives have been analysed as having a domain creating function and marking different types of constructions.

6.4.3.1 Anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX)

The anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) indicates the temporal location of an event as proximate to the moment of speech when it is the final constituent of a sentence, such as in (234). The demonstrative *do* (PRX) combines with the verb *-yei* 'fall' to indicate that the event of 'falling' just occurred.

(234)

da-kur	*ba*	*aka=ng*	*ha-yei*	*do*
3I.PAT-jump.CPL	LNK	outside=see	3II.PAT-fall	PRX
'he jumped, fell outside'				[B02.167.06.05]

The temporal location of the event is not by definition in the past. It is any proximate location in time, as illustrated in (235). The speaker complains that his arm hurts. Because of it he will not be able to shoot with the bow.

(235) *na-táng* *ba-i* *na-rik* *hare,* *na-l-a=ti*
1SG.INAL-hand say-PFV 1SG.PAT-hurt so be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR=PHSL.C

beka *do*
be.bad PRX
'my hand really hurts, so will not be able to do anything like this' [B09.006.06:27]

When anaphoric demonstratives occur between two clauses or phrases, they indicate the discourse location of the event. This is illustrated in (236) where the demonstrative *do* (PRX) follows the clause *di ning ayoku* 'they are two'. The demonstrative *do* (PRX) seems to mark the first clause as background information for the second clause. It is followed by an intonational pause, marked in the example with a comma.

(236) [*luka-luka* *ya* *yoikoi* *di* *ning* *ayoku* *do,*]clause
monkey SEQ turtle 3A be.QNT two PRX

[*di* *he-to-k* *fangi*]clause
3A 3II.LOC-DISTR.REC-bring say.CPL
'monkey and turtle, they were just two of them, they told to each other' [B06.044.01:48]

In (237), two instances of *do* (PRX) are given. In (a), the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) locates the event of 'singing' expressed by the first clause as being proximate to 'weeding'. It is a type of a 'when' clause that presents the background information for the event expressed in the second clause. In (b), its function is analogous. It indicates that the event of 'whirlwinds being bad' co-occurs with the 'continuous rain'. The anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) has a nominalising effect on the clause presenting is as background information for the event described in the second clause. In fact, the first phrase is ambiguous and may be also interpreted as an NP because anaphoric demonstratives also occur as final constituents in NPs.

(237) a. [*di* *yai* *panen* *do,*]clause [*do-baloka* *ber-i-a*]clause
3A song make.CPL PRX 3I.REC-grass pull.CPL-PFV-DUR
'given that she sings, she is weeding (lit.: grass-pulling)' [B07.035.03]

b. [*ahana* *beka* *do,*]clause [*anui* *de-ì* *sei*]clause
whirlwind be.bad PRX rain 3I.LOC-put come.down.CNT
'during the rainy season it rains only' [B07.044.04]

In (238), the first clause contains the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX). Note that the argument of the verb *luuk* 'dance' is not accessible for the reference of the free pronoun *di* (3A) in the second clause. This example illustrates that there are no pivots for cross-clause coreference in Abui. In this fragment of the *Fuluk Munuma* narrative, the free pronoun *di* (3A) refers to a young man and woman who chew their betel nut while other people are dancing.

(238) [*ama luuk do,*]$_{\text{clause}}$ [*di ning ayoku de-meting takai*]$_{\text{clause}}$
person dance PRX 3A be.QNT two 3I.AL-betel.vine bite.CPL
'while people were dancing, the two were eating their betel nut' [B02.087.08:17]

Anaphoric demonstratives may occur in clauses which express paratactic complements, as in (239), where the first clause expresses one of the arguments of the verb *fal* 'separate' in the second clause.

(239) [*di nala nee do,*]$_{\text{CC}}$ [*nu-fal naha*]$_{\text{clause}}$
3A what eat PRX 1PL.E.REC-separate NEG [B07.053.04]
'he ate without us', lit.: 'given that he ate something, he did not separate for us'

The anaphoric demonstratives typically occur as final constituent in complement clauses such as in (240). It has a nominalising effect on the complement clause which may be analyzed as a nominal, because it expresses the U argument of the verb *ng* 'see'. The verb *ng* 'see' combines with the verb *we* 'leave' in allative serial verb construction (see 8.4.2.1). Note, that there is no specialized complementizer in Abui, but the complement clauses occur in syntactic position of an argument and often combine with anaphoric demonstratives that seem to serve as nominalizing devices.

(240) *pulang* [*na-pong pe do*]$_{\text{CC}}$*=ng we-i*
arrow 1SG.INAL-face be.near PRX=see leave-PFV
'the arrow passed close to my face' [B07.057.02]

Another example of locational complement clause with *do* (PRX) is given in (241) where the locational verb *hanah-a* 'put between' is used in a U_{LOC}-U_{REC} transitive construction (see 6.2.3.6) expressing the complement of the verb *ng* 'see' which combines with the verb *we* 'leave' in allative serial verb construction. Observe that the free pronoun *di* (3I) precedes the complement.

(241) *he'e, di* [*he-to-hanah-a do*]$_{\text{CC}}$*=ng we*
yes 3A 3II.LOC-DISTR.REC-put.between.CPL-DUR PRX=see leave
'yes, he went to (the place that is) in between then' [B10.003.03:15]

In larger text fragments, the anaphoric demonstrative often has a nominalising function. As illustrated in the following fragment from the narrative *moku ayoku*, the information presented in one clause chain is resumed in the initial part of the next clause chain and marked as background information with an anaphoric demonstrative. The direct speech given in (242) is resumed in the first clause of (243) and marked with the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) as background information. The clause *ya si-a* 'fetch water' serves as a complement clause (CC) of the verb generic *n* 'see' that combines with the verb *we* 'leave' in a purpose serial verb constriction (see 8.4.2.1).

(242) *'ai, a mit-i, na we ya sui ba miei=se!'*
oh 2SG sit-PFV 1SG leave water scoop.ICP LNK come.CPL=INCP.I
'ah, you sit (here), I will go to fetch some water' [B02.027.04:15]

(243) *haba,* [*ma ka di we do,*]$_{\text{clause}}$ [*ya si-a*]$_{\text{CC}}$ *he-n-e*
but be.PRX be.soon 3A leave PRX water scoop.CPL-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL-IPFV
'but (saying) that she would go soon'

he-we naha ya, baleei wataka hu kek he-we
3II.LOC-leave NEG SEQ banana blossom SPC prod.with.pole 3II.LOC-leave
'she did not go to fetch water, (but) went to prod some banana blossom'[B02.027.04:19]

The fragment from the narrative *moku ayoku* is continued in (244). The last clause from (243) is resumed as the initial part of the clause chain. Note that the NP *baleei wataka* 'banana blossom' that is introduced in the first clause is also the implicit U argument of the verb *mi* 'take'.

(244) [*di baleei wataka do kek he-we do,*]$_{\text{clause}}$ *mi miei*
3A banana blossom PRX prod.with.pole 3II.LOC-leave PRX take come.CPL
'going to prod the banana blossom, she took it back'

kan-r-i, da-mina do=ng ì kan-r-i,
be.good.CPL-reach-PFV 3I.INAL-side PRX=see put be.good.CPL-reach-PFV
'and put it at her side'

di mayol do ha-d-a mit-d-i
3A woman PRX 3II.PAT-hold-DUR sit-hold-PFV
'and went to assist the (other) woman to give birth' [B02.027.04:24]

The presented examples (242)-(244) show two instances of tail-head linkage, which is used frequently in Abui narratives (see texts in Appendix for more examples). Tail-head linkage is a typical feature of many Papuan languages (cf. De Vries, 2005).

6.4.3.2 Anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD)

The anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) used as final constituent of a sentence indicates the proximate temporal location of the referred event with respect to the addressee. This means that the speaker presents new information to the addressee as if he already knows about it. An example is given in (245). This is a fragment from the narrative *moku ayoku* which is a story of two orphans. A part of the story was given in (242)-(244). Here a blind woman is cheated by another woman. Her baby is stolen and she is presented a banana blossom and blamed as a witch that cannot bear proper human beings. When the husband returns home and asks about the baby that was born while he was away, the blind woman gives him the following answer:

(245) *baleei wataka hu na ha-yar to*
banana blossom SPC 1SG 3II.PAT-give.birth.CPL PRX.AD
'I just gave birth to some banana blossom' [B02.029.05:30]

In the previous example, the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) referred to an event that occurred in the past. In (246), the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) refers to an event that is about to occur. The completive stem of the verb *aisa/aisi* 'urinate' does not indicate the past but expresses the event of 'peeing' is viewed as having a final point.

(246) Q: *wah, a te=ng yaa-e?*
ho 2SG where=see go-IPFV
'ho, where are you going?'

A: *ai, na aisi to!*
oh 1SG urinate.CPL PRX.AD
'ah, I am just going to pee' [B06.082.04:02]

In (247), the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) occurs in sentence-medial position. It indicates the location of 'telling a story' as proximate to 'laughing'. This construction is uttered as an instruction how to tell a story that is going to be recorded. The speaker chooses the perspective of the addressee, as he is not participating in the event.

(247) *kal a ananra to, a-lal he!*
another.time 2SG tell.CNT PRX.AD 2SG.PAT-laugh PRH
'another time when you are telling a story, don't laugh' [B06.039.07:03]

The addressee oriented anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) expresses speaker's empathy with the addressee. This is again illustrated in (248), where the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) combines with the particle *doma* 'no' to negate the request presented in the first line.

(248) Q: *te a-ra mi ne-tàn-i!*
INCP.C 2SG.PAT-reach.CNT take 1SG.LOC-release.CPL-PFV
'now, just try to give it (the torch) to me!'

A: *ma wan ha-mon mai doma to wa?*
be.PRX already 3II.PAT-die.CPL when no PRX.AD be.like.MD.CNT
'now, and when it is already dead, then not (what you just said)? [B09.004.04:19]

6.4.3.3 Anaphoric demonstrative *o* (MD)

The anaphoric demonstrative *o* (MD) indicates a medial (less proximate) temporal location of an event. It is usually used to refer to events that occurred some time ago, as illustrated in (249).

(249) *Fani, sameng ba, Pak Kas di mi ba Takpala maran-i o*
name cement say Mr. name 3A take LNK place come.up.CPL-PFV MD
'Fani, the cement, Mr. Karsten brought it up to Takpala' [Sms.01.03]

In (250), the anaphoric demonstrative *o* (MD) is used in sentence-medial positions. It indicates that the reported event preceded the event reported by the second phrase or clause. The complement clause in (a) is embedded because the A argument of the verb *ién* 'see' in the matrix clause is fronted to the focus position. The clause *neng di do-làk* 'the man returned' expresses a complement of the verb *ién* 'see' which is co-indexed with the pronominal prefix *h-* (3II.PAT). Note that the A argument of the verb *làk* 'leave for' cannot be cross-referenced as the A argument of the verb *ién* 'see' in the matrix clause. This example provides the evidence of the lack of pivots for cross-clausal coreference in Abui. The complement clause in (a) can be also analyzed as an internal relative clause. In (b), the same event is expressed. This is an instance of a paratactic complement clause (cf. Noonan, To appear: 14-6). The complement clause is not embedded. In (c), a similar meaning is expressed in a construction with again a different structure containing a relative clause. Note that the anaphoric demonstrative *o* (MD) occurs as the final constituent in the relative clause *do-làk o*.

(250) a. *mayol,* [*neng* *di* *do-làk* *o,*]$_{CC}$ *do-h-ién-i*
woman man 3A 3I.REC-leave.for MD 3I.REC-3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'the woman saw (that) the man retreating (going back where he came from)'

b. [*neng* *di* *do-làk* *o,*]$_{CC}$ *mayol* *do-h-ién-i*
man 3A 3I.REC-leave.for MD woman 3I.REC-3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'given that the man was returning, the woman saw it'

c. *Arjun* [*Mai Fan*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*do-làk* *o,*}$_{RC}$ *do-h-ién-i*
name name LNK 3I.REC-leave.for MD 3I.REC-3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'Arjun saw Mai Fan (that) returned' [B06.008.02]

6.4.3.4 Anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD)

The anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) indicates the medial (less proximate) temporal location of the referred event from addressee's perspective. It is usually used to draw addressee's attention to a new piece of information. In (251), a piece of a dialogue is given. The grandfather is about to teach his grandson how to shoot with a long bow. The grandmother asks about what they will be shooting at. The anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) refers to the temporal location of shooting in future.

(251) Q: *mi* *ba* *ri* *nala* *hu* *ha-tak* *ba* *yo?*
take LNK 2PL what SPC 3II.PAT-bring.down LNK MD.AD
'what will you use to shoot at?'

A: *kabei* *hu* *ha-tak* *to!*
little SPC 3II.PAT-bring.down PRX.AD
'we are going to shoot at something small' [B09.006.06:27]

Note that the anaphoric demonstrative *to* (PRX.AD) is used in the answer. It indicates that the shooting is about to occur. The anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) may occur in sentence-medial position as illustrated in (252). The anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) indicates that the referred event preceded the event expressed in the second

clause. The perspective of the addressee is chosen to indicate that the first clause is not the current topic. Also this is an instance of paratactic complementation.

(252) [*moku do-làk yo,*]$_{CC}$ *mayol do-h-ién-i*
kid 3I.REC-leave.for MD.AD woman 3I.REC-3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'the child returned actually, the woman saw it' [B06.008.03]

The anaphoric demonstrative *yo* (MD.AD) may have antithetical or contra-expectation reading as illustrated in (253).

(253) *anui sei yo, di tadei da-yongfi*
rain come.down.CNT MD.AD 3A lie.CPL 3I.PAT-forget.CPL
'even it rained, he slept' [B07.078.02]

6.4.3.5 Anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC)

The anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) indicates the uncertain temporal location of the referred event. In (254), it indicates that the bowstring must be pulled till it becomes very tight. Only after that one can shoot. The free pronoun *di* (3A) and the pronominal prefixes *he-* (3II.LOC) refer to the bowstring that is pulled tight.

(254) *ha-fik re-i! di ya he-kira he-ì=se hu*
3II.PAT-pull.away reach.ICP-PFV 3A be.DST 3II.LOC-be.hard 3II.LOC-put=INCP.I SPC
'pull it! It must become very tight' [B09.002.00:48]

As illustrated in (255), the anaphoric demonstrative *hu* (SPC) may occur in sentence-medial position. It indicates that an event that is new for the addressee occurred preceding the event referred to in the second clause.

(255) *moku loku te-l bol hu, di miei*
kid PL DISTR.LOC-give hit SPC 3A come.CPL
'the children were fighting each other when he came' [B07.078.01]

6.4.3.6 Anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD)

The anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) indicates that an event occurred some time ago and is know to the addressee. An example is given in (256), where the speaker refers to a tribal conflict during which a drum was taken from his clan.

(256) *tafaa foka la mi saai nu*
drum be.big be.MD take come.down.CPL SPC.AD
'a large drum was taken (that time)' [B06.036.03:36]

In (257), the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) indicates that the event will occur in the future, but the speaker does not want to specify exactly when.

(257) *ko* *na* *sei* *la* *mi-a* *nu*
soon 1SG come.down.CNT be.MD take-DUR SPC.AD
'I will go down there soon and take it then' [B02.142.01:25]

In (258), the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD) occurs in sentence-medial position, indicating that event expressed in the first clause precedes the event in the second clause.

(258) *a* *tanga* *nu,* *oro* *nu* *bai* *da-moi-d-a*
2SG speak.CNT SPC.AD DST SPC.AD as.well 3I.PAT-sound-hold-DUR
'when you speak, let it sound over there as well' [B09.002.00:48]

6.5 Summary

Abui verb stems project a verb phrase, which has maximally the following structure:

(259) VP TEMPLATE: PRO.2-PRO.1-**VERB.STEM**-ASPECT.1-ASPECT.2=ASPECT.3

Verb stems are characterized as 'labile' as many of them may occur in one of the constructions listed below depending on the semantic properties of the participant.

(260) Verb construction types

A-U transitive constructions (actor and undergoer argument)

i. A-U (animate A affecting inanimate U with generic reference)
ii. A-U_{LOC} (animate A affecting specific U: location, purpose/benefactive)
iii. A-U_{REC} (animate A affecting another human U: recipient/goal)
iv. A-U_{PAT} (animate A or force affecting specific U and causing change of state)

U-U transitive constructions (two undergoer arguments)

v. U-U (an inanimate U located with respect to another inanimate U)
vi. U-U_{LOC} (an inanimate U located with respect to a specific/animate U: location)
vii. U-U_{REC} (an inanimate U affecting a human U: experiencer)
viii. U-U_{PAT} (a bodily process U affecting a human U causing a change of state)
ix. U_{REC}-U_{LOC} (a human U affected by emotion with respect of another human U)
x. U_{LOC}-U_{REC} (an inanimate source U experienced by a human involuntary U)
xi. U_{LOC}-U_{PAT} (an inanimate U located with respect to a U in resultant state)
xii. U_{REC}-U_{PAT} (a human U experiencing a U in resultant state)

Intransitive constructions (actor or undergoer argument)

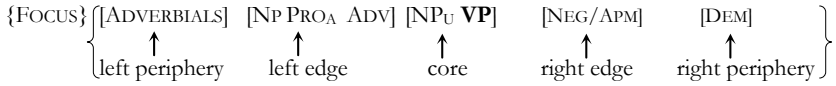
xiii. A (an animate acting and controlling A)
xiv. U (an inanimate U in a state/resultant state)
xv. U_{LOC} (an animate U in a state)
xvi. U_{REC} (a human U experiencing a state)
xvii. U_{PAT} (a U undergoing a change of state)

Experiencer constructions (two coreferential arguments)

xviii. A≡U_{REC} (a human experiencer of own activity)
xix. A≡U_{PAT} (a self-affecting experiencer causing a change of state)
xx. A≡<U>≡U_{REC} (a human A affecting an inanimate U in to his own-profit)
xxi. A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{REC} (an experiencer of a cognitive process triggered by U)
xxii. A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{PAT} (an experiencer affected by a cognitive process triggered by U)
xxiii. A≡U_{REC}-U_{PAT} (a human A affecting U and experiencing a resultant state of U)
xxiv. U_{LOC}≡U_{REC}(a human experiencer of emotion triggered by himself)
xxv. U_{REC}≡U_{PAT} (a human experiencer of resultant state of his own activity)

The VP together with the NPs expressing its core arguments is the minimal structure of a clause. Abui clause template is schematically represented in (261).

(261) Abui clause structure



As in an NP, the final constituents of a clause are anaphoric demonstratives. In a clause, anaphoric demonstratives have a number of functions such as indicating temporal location of the referred event, marking the background information, or marking of a complement clause. They have an important function in organizing discourse.

7 Complex Verbs

This chapter deals with Abui complex verbs (CVs) that are glossed with simplified glosses elsewhere in this book because they are hard to parse.[1] Complex verbs are both semantically and morphologically complex (i.e. composed of a number of morphemes) but function as a single verb (cf. Foley, 1997:355). They form a large part of Abui verbal inventory. In Abui, CVs consist of two (or more) roots, of which at least the final one is a generic verb that serves as the head of the complex. As discussed in section 3.4.5.2, generic verbs with non-specific, general semantics, whose interpretation is often contextually dependent. CVs display the same phonological and distributional properties that identify them as verbs (see 7.1.1 and 7.1.2). The right-headed compound structure is also found in the nominal domain (see 4.3). I distinguish two types of CVs according to their compositional properties (see 7.1.3). The heterogeneous CVs consist of two or more roots that do not belong to the same class. The homogeneous CVs consist of two or more roots that belong to the generic-verb class (see 3.4.5.2). For the heterogeneous CVs, a number of subtypes are distinguished in section 7.2. Homogeneous CVs are dealt with in section 7.3.

7.1 Properties of complex verbs

Abui CVs are characterized by phonological and distributional properties that are the same as those of morphologically simple predicates (see 7.1.1 and 7.1.2). In 7.1.3, I discuss the compositional and semantic properties of CVs and distinguish 'heterogeneous' CVs (see 7.2) from the 'homogeneous' CVs (see 7.3).

7.1.1 Phonological properties

In Abui, CVs are single prosodic units pronounced without a pause. Abui words minimally consist of an open syllable (see 2.2.1). Vocalic generic verbs can occur as independent words, consonant generic roots require a phonological host. This is illustrated in (1). In (a), the generic root *l* 'give' joins the open final syllable of the noun *namu* 'wound'. In (b), the generic root *d* 'hold' cannot join the word final coda position of the verb *mulang* 'straight' because consonant clusters are banned in Abui.[2] Thus, the phrase is ungrammatical. The ungrammatical phrase can be salvaged by adding the aspectual suffix *-i* (PFV), as in (c).

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[1] Parts of this chapter will also appear in (Klamer and Kratochvíl, to appear) and are joint work with Marian Klamer. I benefited from many useful suggestions of Ger Reesink, Geert Booij, William Foley, Boban Arsenijević and the audience of the *Rara & Rarissima conference* held at MPI Leipzig in 2006.

[2] Avoiding of consonant clusters is a feature found across Papuan languages. Often, epenthetic vowels are inserted to break the clusters (cf. Foley, 2000:369).

(1) a. *namu-l*
wound-give
'wound'

b. **mulang-d*
straight-hold

c. *mulang-d-i*
straight-hold-PFV
'got straight, straightened'

The restrictions on the coda position discussed above are part of a larger set of restrictions imposed on Abui syllable (see 2.2.1). These restrictions are imposed on the structure of heterogeneous CVs that contain two (or more) mono-segmental generic roots.[3] The Abui syllable structure is schematically represented in (2). The minimal phonological shape of a complex verb is a single open syllable consisting of a consonant and a vowel, as in (a). Syllables consisting of one (or two) consonants, and consonant clusters are banned. Closed syllables allow maximally one consonant in both coda and onset.

(2) a. *open syllable stems*
CV ~ *C, *CC

b. *closed syllable stems*
VC, CVC ~ *CCVC, *CVCC

Complex nuclei are allowed in Abui. However, some vowel sequences are banned, such as **ao*, **au*, **ou*, **eu*, or **iu* (for further details, see 2.2.2).

7.1.2 Distributional properties

In Abui, CVs display the same inflectional and syntactic properties as simple verbs (see 3.4.2). CVs may be inflected for aspect and person, and their complex stem may in some cases alternate. This is illustrated in (3), where the CV stem *mulang-d-* 'straighten' combines with pronominal prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT). The aspectual suffix *-i* (PFV) is required by Abui phonotactics; the aspectual marker *te* (INCP.C) is cliticized to the CV stem as on simple verbs.

(3) *na* *e-pet* *ong* *ha-mulang-d-i=te*
1SG 2SG.AL-bow make 3II.PAT-straight-hold-PFV=INCP.C
'I will straighten your bow' [B09.002.00:25]

The complex stem of CVs may alternate. In (4), the head generic verb *l* 'give' in the CV *namu-l* 'to wound, lit: wound-give' may be alternated with the root *r* 'reach' (which indicates the 'giving' that has been completed) in cases, when the CV is inflected for perfective aspect, as in (b). In fact, the complex verb *namu-l* 'to wound' patterns in the same way as the verbs of the II.d class (see 3.4.2.3).

(4) a. *moku* *di* *do-namu-l-e*
kid 3A 3I.REC-wound-give-IPFV
'the child is wounding herself' [B07.027.04]

[3] Generic roots will be discussed in detail in a while. For an overview of generic roots, see Table 13 on p. 99.

b. *moku di do-namu-r-i*
kid 3A 3I.REC-wound-reach-PFV
'the child wounded herself' [B07.027.04]

The person agreement prefixes are attached in front of the CV stem. As illustrated in 6.1.3, this is also the case for morphologically simplex verbs. The CVs cannot be analyzed as argument incorporating structures, because they may combine with two U arguments. The arguments are shared by the verbal roots combined in a CV. This property distinguishes the CVs from serial verb constructions. The verbs conjoined in serial verb construction share at least one of their arguments but do not fuse their argument structure.

Syntactic properties of CVs are identical with simple predicates. The negator *naha* (NEG) appears in post-verbal position (see 6.4.1). In (5), a sentence analogous to (4) is constructed. The negator *naha* (NEG) negates the whole predicate realized by the CV *namu-r* 'wound':

(5) *moku di do-namu-r naha*
kid 3A 3I.REC-wound-reach NEG
'the child did not wound itself'

Abui CVs may be divided in a number of subtypes, according to their compositional properties. These are discussed in the following section.

7.1.3 Compositional and semantic properties of CVs

Abui CVs consist of two or more morphemes; these morphemes are free or bound roots that build up a complex stem. The set of roots found in the initial position of the stem is not restricted. The set of roots found in second position is restricted. In vast majority, the second (and following roots) belongs to generic-verb class. Before I elaborate on the compositional and semantic properties of Abui CVs, first I give a brief overview of Abui generic roots.

In the **Table 24**, the inventory of Abui generic-verb class is given (cf. 3.4.5.2). It comprises eighteen mono-segmental roots. The phonological form is given in the left-hand column, the orthographic representation in the second column, and the used gloss in the third column and the possible interpretations in the right-hand column.

Table 24: Abui generic root inventory

a. ±TRANSITIVE GENERIC VERBS

[b]	*b*	join	join, together, hit, attach closely, absorb
[d]	*d*	hold	hold, get, control, become
[f]	*f*	sever	sever, hide, loose, be lost, be unknown
[h]	*h*	lack	lack, be elsewhere, be out, not be here
[k]	*k*	bring	bring, receive(d), pass, feed on, move in
[l]	*l*	give	give, make, affect
[r]	*r*	reach	reach, fix, affect
[m]	*m*	be.in/take	take, be with, be aside
[ŋ]/[n]	*ng*/*n*	see/see.CPL	see, perceive, apply on
[p]	*p*	touch	touch, be near, approach, move downwards
[t]/[s]	*t*/*s*	lie/lie.ICP	lie/ lay, sit, be on, touch surface
[ɪ]/[ɪ̀]	*i*/*ì*/*y*	put	put, lay down, stop, finish
[u]	*u*	leave	leave, be remote, demote, get away, be gone

b. – TRANSITIVE GENERIC VERBS

[a]	*a*	be.at	be at, exist, last
[ɛ]	*e*	move	move, continue, add value
[ɔ]	*o*	point	point, limit
PHONEME	SPELLING	GLOSS	MEANING

The generic roots are divided in two subgroups according to their valence properties. Those given in the above part of the table may be used in both transitive and intransitive construction. With respect to their phonological shape, these generic roots are characterized as consonants or high vowels. In the lower part of the table, the low-vowel roots are given. These roots are always intransitive. Further, the roots that are phonologically characterized as alveodental liquids (*l*, *r*), non-labial nasals (*n*, *ng*), and unvoiced alveodental obstruents (*t*, *s*) are analyzed as alternating roots. Their alternation reflects the internal temporal structure of the referred event (Aktionsart). They refer to the same event that is viewed either as having an endpoint (completive), or an initial point (inceptive).

Having discussed the inventory of Abui generic-verb class, now I turn back to the complex verbs. In this description, I distinguish between two major types of CVs: (i) HETEROGENEOUS COMPLEX VERBS, in which the conjoined roots belong to different classes (of which at least the final root belongs to the generic-verb class), and (ii) HOMOGENOUS COMPLEX VERBS, composed of two or more generic roots. This distinction

is illustrated in (6) and (67). Heterogeneous CVs are explored in detail in section 7.2, homogeneous CVs in section 7.3. In what follows, I will identify the morphological structure of CVs. I use the distinction between free and bound forms and alternation in aspectual marking to identify the head of a CV.

Consider now example (6), where a number of CVs derived from the bound root *bek* 'bad' are given:

(6)

a. *bek-a*	b. *bek-d-a*	c. *bek-d-i*	d. *bek-a-d-i*
bad-be.at	bad-hold-DUR	bad-hold-PFV	bad-be.at-hold-PFV
'be bad'	'be getting bad, broken'	'get bad, broken'	'get ill, pass away'

The root *bek* 'bad' combines with one (a-c) or two generic verbs (d) in heterogeneous CV stems.[4] The verbs derived from the root *bek* 'bad' are exemplified in (7).

(7)

a. *di de-toku beka he-daweng buuk-e*
3A 3I.AL-leg be.bad 3II.AL-medicine consume-IPFV
'he drinks the medicine for his ill leg' [B07.054.03]

b. *di na tifi do ha-bek-d-a*
3A be.like.PRX.CNT tv PRX 3II.PAT-bad-hold-DUR
'she breaks down the television like this' [B02.021.21:14]

c. *moku loku oro kalieta he-bek-bek-d-a*
kid PL DST old.person 3II.LOC-RED[bad]-hold-DUR
'the children are disturbing/teasing the person over there' [B05.040.02]

d. *pi-fala he-ameng kabei bek-d-i*
1PL.I.AL-house 3II.AL-coarse.grass little bad-hold-PFV
'the course grass (roof) of our house is a bit broken' [B10.021.01]

e. *mayol kalieta do wan do-beka-d-i*
woman old.person PRX already 3I.REC-be.bad-hold-PFV
'the old woman already passed away' [B05.029.02]

In (a), the generic root *a* 'be at' is [-transitive]. It derives stative verbs that typically occur in intransitive constructions (see 6.2.4.2). In (b-e), the [±transitive] generic root *d* 'hold, get' is the final root of a CV. It derives verbs that refer to internally caused change of state or condition that may occur in both transitive and intransitive construction. The final root of a CV determines the valence and semantic properties of the CV stem (aspectual suffixes are not counted). It is the syntactic 'head' of a heterogeneous CV. It is in line with the head-final character of Abui morpho-syntax, where objects precede verbs and negations and conjunctions occur at the end of a

[4] Note that the morpheme *a* is polysemous, it is treated differently in (a) and (b). In (a), it derives the stative verb *beka* 'be bad' from the bound root *bek* 'bad'. Because it derives a new verb, it is treated as a generic root 'be at'. In (b), it expresses durative aspect (-DUR). It is the generic root *d* 'hold' that derives the new CV 'get bad, break down' and requires aspectual inflection. In (c), it alternates with the aspectual suffix *-i* (PFV). Both meanings expressed by the form *a* are probably historically related (for more details about aspectual inflection, see 6.1.1).

clause, GVs that derive denominal verbs also occur in final position. As discussed in 4.3, nominal compounds also are right-headed.

Consider now example (8). The free root *al/ar* 'burn' combines with one (or more) generic roots in CVs. Only the CV stem *ar-a* 'be in fire' is intransitive. The other CV stems are [±transitive], as their final roots *l* 'give', *ng* 'see', *d* 'hold' and *i* 'put' are [±transitive]. As discussed in 6.2.4.2, many stative verbs are derived with the generic verb a 'be at'. They typically occur in intransitive constructions. The [-transitive] generic root *a* 'be at' that precedes those roots does restrict the valence of the stems in the same way as it does when it is the final root such as in *ar-a* 'be in fire'.

(8)

ar 'burn' burn.CPL	*ar-a* 'be in fire, fire n.' burn.CPL-be.at
ar-a-l 'set on fire' burn.CPL-be.at-give	*ar-a-ng* 'be glowing, cinder n.' burn.CPL-be.at-see
ar-a-d- 'get burning, catch fire' burn.CPL-be.at-hold	*ar-u-i* 'incinerate, turn in ashes' burn.CPL-leave-put

Therefore, also for these CVs I conclude that the final root is the syntactic 'head' that determines the valence as schematically illustrated in **Figure 22**:

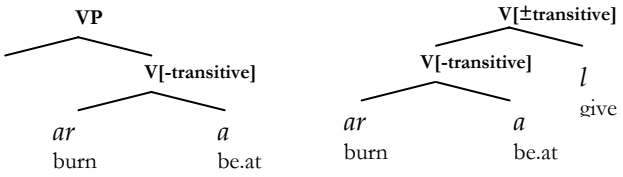


Figure 22: Structure of ***ar-a*** 'be in fire' and ***ar-a-l*** 'set on fire'

In general, the derivation of new CVs is a verb productive process. However, the generic roots deriving new CVs do not occur each with the same frequency. The most frequently used generic root is *d* 'hold, get'. This root is also the default generic root that may combine with loan roots. The other frequently occurring roots are *a* 'be at', *l* 'give', *r* 'reach', *ng* 'see', *t* 'lie', and *i* 'put'.[5] The remaining roots do not occur frequently and are not productive in derivation of new verbs and seem almost exclusively restricted to the homogenous CVs.

[5] The distributional asymmetry of 'clasificatory' verbs is also reported for Enga. Lang (1975:94) reports three verbs that occur in the most cases: 'utter' (32%), 'do, make' (23%) and 'hit, strike' (8%). Other classificatory verbs in Enga do not exceed 5% level.

7.2 Heterogeneous complex verbs

The first type of Abui CVs consists of at least two roots that belong to distinct classes. These CVs are referred to as 'heterogeneous'.[6] Heterogeneous CVs may be divided in a number of subtypes, according to the class of the first root. In some cases the class membership of a root may be difficult to determine as some roots are bound. In those cases semantic properties of the root are used to stipulate its membership. The roots that refer to events, properties and properties are treated as verbal. Heterogeneous CVs that contain a verbal root are discussed in section 7.2.1. In other cases, the first root of a CV is an adjective (see section 7.2.2), a nominal (see section 7.2.3), a loan root (see section 7.2.4), an onomatopoeic root (see 7.2.5), or functional root (see 7.2.6).

7.2.1 Heterogeneous complex verbs with verb root

A large number of heterogeneous CVs contain a verbal root in initial position. The verbal root is either free or bound. It is followed by one or more generic roots. In 7.2.1.1, I will discuss heterogeneous CVs that contain a free verbal root, and subsequently, in 7.2.1.2, heterogeneous CVs that contain a bound verbal root.

7.2.1.1 Heterogeneous complex verbs with free verbal roots

There is a large set of heterogeneous CVs that consist of a free verbal root combined with the generic root *d* 'hold, get'.[7] The generic verb *d* 'hold, get' derives a CV that refers to events with an actor participant that reached the state or performed the event described by the verbal root. This derivation of CVs is very productive as illustrated in (9). The free verb stems belong to number of verbal classes such as stative verbs, posture verbs, locomotion verbs, or verbs of perception. All these verbs obligatorily combine with aspectual inflection and pattern as verbs of III.a class (see 3.4.2.3).

STATIVE VERBS

(9)

mulang-d- straight-hold	'straighten'	*paliking-d-* crooked-hold	'become crooked'
bui-d- short-hold	'become short, shorten'	*momang-d-* clean-hold	'become clean (rice)'
fui-d- flat-hold	'become flat, flatten'	*kupil-d-* round-hold	'become round'
komang-d- blunt-hold	'become blunt'	*sak-d-* pass-hold	'get passed along'
falak-d- bright-hold	'become bright'	*akun-d-* dark-hold	'become dark, darken'

[6] Similar CVs are found frequently in other Papuan languages. The terminology in various accounts of the phenomenon differs. Lang (1975) refers to the restricted verbal roots as 'classificatory verbs'. Other descriptions choose for the covering term 'adjunct constructions' (Foley, 1986; Pawley, 2004). The closed of (inflecting) verbs that has 'classificatory function' is further reported for Kewa (Franklin, 1971), Hua (Haiman, 1980), and for a number of Australian languages (Schultze-Berndt, 2000; McGregor, 2002).

[7] Stokhof (1984:140, 151) mentions that forms with -di/-de have verbalizing function and indicate past tense.

kilikil-d- lazy-hold	'become lazy'	*kafering-d-* horrify-hold	'scare out, shock'

PERCEPTION, COGNITION AND EXPERIENCE VERBS

faaling-d- listen-hold	'listen (completely)'	*lak-d-* mark-hold	'count, recognize, read'
moi-d- sound-hold	'sound, be sounding'	*malai-d-* killed-hold	'die by accident'
mielang-d- scare-hold	'become scared, fear'	*muna-d-* smell-hold	'care, love'

LOCOMOTION VERBS

fik-d- pull-hold	'become tensed, tight'	*uk-d-* withdraw-hold	'get away, complete'
loi-d- put.far-hold	'become long, lengthen'	*tuok-d-* throw.up-hold	'throw, kick up, jump'

POSTURE VERBS

natet-d- stand.up.CPL-hold	'stand up'	*mit-d-* sit-hold	'seat'
ari-d- appear-hold	'rise (sun), show up'	*tilak-d-* hang.up-hold	'hang up'

The usage of the verb *faaling-d-* 'listen' given in (9) is illustrated in (10), where it is contrasted with the verb *faaling* 'listen, hear'. The verb *faaling-d-* refers to listening that has been performed by the participant, while the verb *faaling* refers to continuous listening.

(10) a. *Fan Malei di tep he-faaling-d-i*
name 3A tape 3II.LOC-listen-hold-PFV
'Fan Malei has listened the tape (heard it from the start to the end)' [B03.006.06]

b. *di tifi do he-buka he-faaling*
3A tv PRX 3II.LOC-switch.on 3II.LOC-listen
'he switched on the television to listen (watch)' [B03.006.05]

c. *na yai he-faaling=se*
1SG song 3II.LOC-listen=INCP.I
'I will listen to the song' [B10.046.02]

Another large set of CVs is given in (11); here the generic roots *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach' derive CVs referring to events with an undergoer. The generic verb *l* 'give' derives verbs referring to events where the undergoer participant is being affected and alternates with the verb *r* 'reach', in the same way as the verbs of the II.d class. In (11), only the verb *ma-l* 'cook' patterns in this way. The other free roots in (11) combine

with the *r* 'reach' and pattern as the verbs of III.a class (see 3.4.2.3). The derived verbs refer to resultant states or achievements of the undergoer participant.

(11)	*ma-l* ripe-give	'cook'	*fol-r-* thin-reach	'make thin, plane'
	panen-r- make-reach	'perform, create'	*kan-r-* good.CPL-reach	'finish,complete'
	kiding-r- small-reach	'make small, reduce'	*akun-r-* dark-reach	'make dark, darken'
	kol-r- bind-reach	'make a pitfall, trick, cheat'	*kil-r-* detach-reach	'become lonely, remote'
	wal-r- augment-reach	'exceed, increase'	*ran-r-* quiet-reach	'become quiet, becalm'
	lol-r- walk-reach	'loosen'	*ahel-r-* breathe-reach	'rest out'

The verb *ran-r-* 'quieten, calm down' listed in (11) is contrasted with the verb *ran* 'reach at, be quiet' in (12). While the verb *ran* 'reach at, be quiet' is a completive verb indicating a state, the complex verb *ran-r-* refers to a change of state affecting the undergoer participant. Note that the meaning of the verb stem *ran* 'reach at, be quiet' covers meanings of being quiet when it refers to the state of humans, but with inanimate participants and in combination with the verb *taa* 'lie' is refers to reaching a surface.

(12) a. *na-ran-r-a*
1SG.PAT-be.quiet-reach-DUR
'I became quiet, I calmed down' [B10.011.05]

b. *na-ran* *ba* *taa*
1SG.PAT-reach.at.CPL LNK lie
'I sleep', lit: 'I am quiet and lie' [B02.104.20:08]

Most verbal roots occur either with the generic root *d* 'hold, get', *l* 'give', or *r* 'reach'. A small number of free verbal roots occur with two or more generic roots. The verb *d* 'hold' indicates that one participant reached a state or performed an activity described by the verb root (usually by his own effort). The verbs *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach' indicate that one participant affected another participant so that it reached or will reach the state indicated by the verb stem or performed a certain activity. This is illustrated in (13).

(13)	*kang-d-* good-hold	'become finished, ready'	*fing-d-* eldest-hold	'become eldest, wise, mature'
	kan-r- good.CPL-reach	'finish, make ready'	*fin-r-* eldest-reach	'make elder, wise, mature'

The use of the CVs *kang-d-* and *kan-r-* is illustrated in (14). In (a), the verb *kang-d-* is used in an A≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.1). In (b), the undergoer participant oriented CV is given. It is used in the U intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.2). Speaker is not expressed as an argument in (b); however, it is understood that the work shall be finished by the speaker, expressed here as possessor of *kariang* 'work' with the prefix *ne-* (1SG.AL).

(14) a. *na wan firei no-kang-d-i*
1SG already run 1SG.REC-be.good-hold-PFV
'I already finished running' [B10.054.01]

b. *ne-kariang he-n fa kan-r-a pe*
1SG.AL-work 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.MD.AD be.good.CPL-reach-DUR be.near
'my work is actually almost finished' [B07.037.02]

Another pair of CVs with free verbal root is given in (15). The CV in both cases contains the free verbal root *ha* 'be like.DST'. This root belongs to the index-verb class. It refers to the manner in which an event is performed. In (a), the toy car itself turned to the west (the CV is actor oriented), while in (b) the toy car was turned to the west by an external cause, a child, which is not expressed. In both cases, the verb *ren* 'turn to' combines with two arguments *oto* 'car' and *war sei* 'west' in a U-U$_{PAT}$ construction (see 6.2.4.5).

(15) a. *oto wan war sei ha-ren ha-d-i*
car already sun come.down.CNT 3II.PAT-turn.to.CPL be.like.DST.CNT-hold-PFV
'the car somehow turned itself to the west' [B10.012.06]

b. *oto wan war sei ha-ren ha-r-i*
car already sun come.down.CNT 3II.PAT-turn.to.CPL be.like.DST.CNT-reach-PFV
'the car was somehow already turned to the west' [B10.012.06]

Another set of CVs is given in (16), where the stems derived from the free verbal root *ari* 'appear, be visible, push up' are given in the left-hand column. The stems derived from the free verbal root *muna* 'smell' are given in the right-hand column.

(16)

ari-d-	'rise (sun), show up'	*muna-d-*	'care, love'
appear-hold		smell-hold	
ari-ng	'cram, stuff (food to mouth)'	*muna-ng*	'smell on, kiss'
appear-see		smell-see	
ari-n-	'meet, welcome' lit.: 'appear on'		
appear-see.CPL			
ari-n-a-d-	'get together to meet'	*muna-ng-d-*	'get to smell'
appear-see.CPL-be.at-hold		smell-see-hold	

ari-n-r- 'spring up, sprout'
appear-see.CPL-reach

Observe that the generic root *ng* 'see' derives a verb that refers to an event with an experiencer participant or location. The ambiguity is resolved once the predicate is inserted in a VP (see 6.2.1). In the examples (18)-(22), the CVs derived from *ari* 'appear, be visible, push up' are given to make the semantic relationship between the CVs in (16) more obvious. In (17), the free root *ari* 'appear, be visible, push up' serves as the predicate of the matrix clause of the relative clause that is given between the brackets. It refers to the event where two puppets stand behind each other. The right knee of one of the puppets is not completely visible, it 'appears' a little bit only. Note that the verb *kang* 'be good' also may refer to the right side.

(17) [*ha-bala* *buku*]$_{NP}$ *ba* [*he-ì* *kang* *taka*]$_{RC}$
3II.INAL-knee joint LNK 3II.LOC-put be.good be.only

he-n-u *kabei* *ari*
3II.LOC-be.like.DST-PRF little appear
'his right knee appears only a bit' [B09.035.07:01]

In (18), the generic root *d* 'hold' derives a verb that refers to appearing performed by a participant. In (a), the verb *ari-d-* combines with two arguments in the A-U transitive construction (see 6.2.2.1). In (b, c), the verb *ari-d-* occurs in serial verb constructions and combines with a single participant.

(18) a. *di* *d-ièng* *ari-d-i*
3A 3I.INAL-eye appear-hold-PFV
'he opened his eyes' [B04.019.02]

b. *na* *ho-k* *ari-d-a* *beka*
1SG 3II.REC-bring appear-hold-DUR be.bad
'I cannot appear to him'

c. *pi* *yaa* *pi-l* *ari-d-a* *ma-i* *ye* *la*
1PL.I go 1PL.I.LOC-give appear-hold-DUR be.PRX-PFV SEQ be.MD

te-l *nee*
DISTR.LOC-give eat
'when we appear, we will be eaten' [B01.098.02:10]

Combined with the NP *war* 'sun', the CV refers to the 'sunrise', combined with *kapal* 'boat' it refers to the boats that appear on the horizon.

The CV *ari-ng*, derived with the generic root *ng* 'see', refers to an event affecting a location (or human experiencer). In (19), it is used to refer to cramming of food into Simon's mouth. In particular, the meaning of *ari* 'push up' seems activated. The U argument expressed with the NP *Simon ha-wa* 'Simon's mouth' is interpreted as a 'location' because it is inanimate.

(19) *na* *Simon* *ha-wa* *ha-ak-i* *nala* *ma* *mi*
1SG name 3II.INAL-mouth 3II.PAT-open.mouth-PFV what ripe take

ha-wa=ng *ari-ng*
3II.INAL-mouth=see appear-see
'I opened Simon's mouth and crammed it with some food' [B04.057.02]

In (20), the CV stem *ari-n-* combines with human participants. The U argument is interpreted as an 'experiencer' of 'appearing on'. This refers to 'welcoming'.

(20) *ama* *n-ari-n-a*
person 1SG.PAT-appear-see.CPL-DUR
'people welcome me' [B05.068.03]

As illustrated in (21), the derivation may be brought one step further. The CV stem *ari-n-a-d-* 'get welcomed' is oriented towards an actor participant. It refers to the event where the 'new people' (i.e. guests) 'are affected by people appearing on them', which may be paraphrased as 'get welcomed' by 'people'. The verb occurs in an A-U$_{PAT}$ transitive construction (see 6.2.2.4).

(21) *ama* *tifa* *wala* *sei* *maiye* *ama* *masang* *mi-a*
person be.new so come.down.CNT when person sanctuary be.in-DUR
'when new people arrive, people are in the dance place'

ba *h-ari-n-a-d-i* *ba* *do-kat=te*
LNK 3II.PAT-appear-see.CPL-be.at-hold-PFV LNK 3I.REC-stab.CPL=INCP.C
'and get them (the new people) welcomed and perform the war dance' [B05.068.03]

In (22), the derivation takes another path, instead of the generic root *d* 'hold', generic root *r* 'reach' is used. In both cases the meaning of *ari* 'push up' seems activated. In (a), the CV stem *ari-n-r-* refers to the event of 'driving out' out of a toy car. The CV stem *ari-n-r-* occurs in an experiencer construction (6.2.5.2). In (b), the stem *ari-ng-r-* refers to the sprouting of a banana plant. The CV combines with two pronominal prefixes in an experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.7). The prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) expresses the location of 'sprouting'; the prefix *d-* (3I.PAT) expresses the experiencer participant of the 'sprouting', which is in this case the 'banana plant'.

(22) a. *oto* *ameta* *nuku* *d-ari-n-r-i* *ba* *we-i*
car small one 3I.PAT-appear-see.CPL-reach-PFV LNK leave-PFV
'one toy car drove out (pushed itself) and left' [B06.070.MPI093C]

b. *afe* *pi* *baleei* *tukon-i* *ya* *yal* *di* *kang*
pass 1PL.I banana cut.CPL-PFV SEQ now 3a be.good

he-d-ari-ng-r-a
3II.LOC-3I.PAT-appear-see-reach-DUR [B05.007.02]
'before, we cut the banana tree and now it is sprouting out (pushing itself out) again'

To sum up: the verbs derived with the generic root *d* 'hold, get' refer to events in which the actor reaches the state or performs the event expressed by the verb root. The verbs derived with *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach' refer to events where the actor affects another participant in the way described by the verb root. Verbs derived with the generic root *ng/n* 'see' refer to events where a location is affected (human locations are identified as experiencers). Given the flexibility of Abui verb stems, it is not surprising to find that the complex verb occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions (cf. 6.1.2).

7.2.1.2 Heterogeneous complex verbs with bound verbal roots

Another large set of CV consist of a bound verbal root combined with one or more generic roots. In (23) and (25), the bound roots obligatorily combine with the root *a* 'be at' when used as modifiers in an NP, or as a predicate in a mono-verbal clause. This is a characteristic distributional property of one subset of stative verbs. Observe that the root *a* 'be at' may replaced by the root *d* 'hold, get'. The CV with the root *d* 'hold, get' refers to events with an actor participant.

(23)	*bek-a* bad-be.at	'be bad'	*fok-a* big-be.at	'be big'
	bek-d- bad-hold	'get bad, broken'	*fok-d-* big-hold	'get big, increase'
	bek-a-d- bad-be.at-hold	'get ill, pass away'		

Complex verbs derived from the root *bek* 'bad' are exemplified above in example (7). In (24), complex verbs derived from the root *fok* 'big' are exemplified. Note that the stative verb *fok-a* 'be big' typically occurs in intransitive construction, while other forms show variation between intransitive (b) and transitive (c-f).

(24) a. *ne-fala fok-a naha*
1SG.AL-house big-be.at NEG
'my house is not big' [B01.035.26]

b. *anui fok-d-i*
rain big-hold-PFV
'it started pouring', lit.: 'the rain became big' [B07.061.01]

c. *ya ong ha-fok-d-a*
water make 3II.PAT-big-hold-DUR
'open up the water tap', lit.: 'make the water big' [B05.023.01]

d. *baleei no-fok-d-a*
banana 1SG.REC-big-hold-DUR
'I got the large part of banana', lit.: 'banana became big to me' [B05.023.03]

e. *da-moi ha-fok-ha-fok-d-i ba tanga*
3I.INAL-voice RED[3II.PAT-big]-hold-PFV LNK speak.CNT
'he speaks loudly', lit.: 'he made his voice very big and speaks' [B07.044.03]

f. *he-hai* *do* *me* *ha-rik-i* *ya* *he-fok-a-fok-a-d-i*
3II.AL-wife PRX come 3II.PAT-hurt-PFV SEQ 3II.LOC-RED[big-be.at]-hold-PFV
'his wife became gradually ill more and more' [B02.021.20:50]

In (25), complex verbs derived from roots *yok* 'wet', *pek* 'near' and *kik* 'red' are given. These roots pattern similarly to *fok* 'big' and *bek* 'bad' illustrated above.

(25)

yok-a wet-be.at	'be wet'	*yok-d-* wet-hold	'get wet, soaked'
pek-a near-be.at	'be near'	*pek-d-* near-hold	'get near'
kik-a red-be.at	'be red'	*kik-d-* red-hold	'get red, blush'

In (26), the CVs derived from the bound stem *yok* 'wet' are given. The generic verb *a* 'be at' derives a stative verb. The generic verb *u* 'leave' derives a resultant (permanent) state verb *yok-u* 'soaked'.

(26)

yok-a wet-be.at	'be wet'	*yok-d-* near-hold	'get wet'
yok-u wet-leave	'soaked'	*yok-u-ng* wet-leave-see	'fester'

Another set of bound verbal roots may replace the default root *a* 'be at' with the generic root *r* 'reach' to refer to events that contain an undergoer, as illustrated in (27):

(27)

alin-a rotten-be.at	'be rotten'	*alin-r-* rotten-reach	'become rotten'
lil-a hot-be.at	'be hot'	*lil-r-* hot-reach	'heat up, make hot'
bul-a sharp-be.at	'be sharp'	*bul-r-* sharp-reach	'sharpen'

In (28), the complex verbs *lil-a* and *lil-r-* are contrasted. In (a), the verb *lil-a* 'be hot' combines with a single argument *tipai* 'iron'. In (b), the verb *lil-r-i* 'heat up' combines with the U argument *ya* 'water' that is co-indexed with the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT)on the verb. The A argument is understood as either second person singular or as the pronoun *pi* (1PL.I) that occurs in the following clause.

(28) a. *ya* *mi* *ba* *it-i* *tipai* *lil-a* *nu* *he-tok-u*
water take LNK lie.on-PFV iron hot-be.at SPC.AD 3II.LOC-drop-PRF

ba *ong* *palak-n-a*
LNK make cold-see.CPL-DUR
'take some water and pour it on that hot iron so that it cools down' [B05.040.07]

b. *ya* *nu* *ha-lil-r-i* *ma,* *pi* *kopi* *on*
water SPC.AD 3II.PAT-hot-reach-DUR be.PRX 1PL.I coffee make.CPL

ba *buuk-e*
LNK consume-IPFV
'when some water is heated up we make some coffee to drink' [B05.040.06]

The roots bound roots *tak* 'empty' and *aha* 'outside' combine with one or more generic verbs, as illustrated in (29). As in the previous examples the generic root *a* 'be at' derives a stative verb. Generic root *d* 'hold, get' derives a CV referring to internally caused change of state or condition. Generic root *ng* 'see' indicates that the referred event is oriented towards a location (human location is interpreted as an experiencer). A number of generic roots were not discussed before. The generic root *i* 'put' seems to derive accomplishment verbs. The CV stems *tak-i* 'escape, flee' and *aha-i* 'put outside, put on the edge' refer to accomplishments or resultant state of change. The state that was accomplished is expressed by the bound verbal root. Note also that the generic root *f* 'sever' may be used to indicate a removed undergoer participant, as illustrated in (29), by the CV stem *tak-a-f-* 'stolen'. The function of the generic root *f* 'sever' contrasts with the root *m* 'be in' as illustrated by the CV stem *aha-m-* 'remain'. The generic verb *k* 'bring' derives a CV referring to a change of state or condition that is not directly brought about by an actor or the actor is somewhat remote and affects the undergoer by a motion. Usually the verb *k* 'bring' alternates with *t* 'lie', which indicates that the change of state or condition, or the motion was accomplished.

(29)

tak-a	'be empty, be only'	*aha*	'be outside'
empty-be.at		outside	
tak-d-	'get empty, get consumed'	*aha-ng*	'hesitate, be in two minds'
empty-hold		outside-see	
tak-i	'escape, flee, slip'	*aha-i*	'put outside, on the edge'
empty-put		outside-put	
tak-a-i	'take away, steal'	*aha-n-r-*	'make it two, in halves'
empty-be.at-put		outside-see.CPL-reach	
tak-a-f-	'taken away, stolen'	*aha-m-*	'remain, be left'
empty-be.at-sever		outside-be.in	
tak-a-k	'dry out'	*aha-i-l-*	'yawn'
empty-be.at-bring		outside-put-give	
tak-a-t-	'dried out, be dry'		
empty-be.at-lie			

tak-a-d- 'get to be empty, dry'
empty-be.at-hold

The complex paradigm of the CVs containing the bound root *tak* 'empty' is exemplified in examples (30)-(38) below. In (30), the CV *tak-a* 'be empty' is illustrated in a U intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.2).

(30) *karong* *yo* *tirei=si* *tak-a* *kang*
bag MD.AD inspect=PHSL.I empty-be.at be.good
'he was just inspecting that bag and it was really empty' [B06.046.05:18]

In (31), the CV stem *tak-d-* 'get empty' refers to events with an actor participant. In (a), it is used as the main predicate of an imperative clause. It combines with the pronominal prefix *ha-* co-indexing the NP *pakai foka* 'big basket'. The CV *tak-d-* combines obligatory either with perfective or durative suffix. In addition to that, here the inceptive marker *te* (INCP.C) follows the stem that is occurs in A-U_{PAT} transitive construction. In (b), it combines in serial verb construction with the verb *nee* 'eat' to refer to an event of 'eating up'.

(31) a. *pakai* *foka* *nu* *ha-tak-d-i=te*
basket be.big SPC.AD 3II.PAT-empty-hold-PFV=INCP.C
'empty that big basket' [B05.040.08]

b. *ama* *afenga* *di* *nala* *ralowang* *nee-i* *tak-d-i*
person be.other 3A what be.sweet eat-PFV empty-hold-PFV
'someone else ate up candies' [B10.048.01]

In (113), the CV stem *tak-i* 'flee, escape' is illustrated. It refers the 'escape' of a pig that was previously tied up. The generic verb *i* 'put' derives a resultant state verb.

(32) [*fe*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*he-toku* *ha-kor-i* *yo*}$_{RC}$
pig LNK 3II.AL-leg 3II.PAT-bind.CPL-PFV MD.AD

do-tik-i *ba* *tak-i*
3I.REC-untie-PFV LNK empty-put
'that pig that had its legs bound, untied itself and escaped' [B05.046.06]

The CV stem *tak-a-i* 'steal, take away' is illustrated in (33). It combines with two arguments, the A argument *ama* 'person, people' and the U argument *ri-baleei* 'your bananas'.

(33) *hoo,* *ama* *fa* *ri-baleei* *tak-a-i* *yo!*
INTER person be.MD.AD 2PL.AL-banana empty-be.at-put MD.AD
'hoo, people are actually stealing your bananas!' [B06.045.03:35]

In (34), the use of the CV *tak-a-f-* 'steal' is illustrated. The CV combines with the A argument *ama* 'person, people', and with the U argument *ne-mea loku tafuda* 'all my mango's'. Note that the CV stem obligatorily combines with the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). The verb *tak-a-i/tak-a-f-* 'steal' is related to the noun *takaa beka* 'thief'.

(34) *ama* *ne-mea* *loku* *tafuda* *tak-a-f-i*
person 1SG.AL-mango PL be.all empty-be.at-sever-PFV
'people stole all my mango fruits' [B04.037.03]

The CV *tak-a-k* 'dry out' is illustrated in (35). It combines with a single argument *ne-namang* 'my clothes'. The final root *k* 'bring' alternates when the verb 'dry out' is completive as illustrated in (36)-(37).

(35) *anui* *sei* *mi,* *ne-namang* *dara* *tak-a-k* *naha*
rain come.down.CNT CONJ 1SG.AL-cloth still empty-be.at-bring NEG
'because it rains, my clothes do not dry' [B12.023.09]

In (36), the CV *tak-a-t* is given, it is the completive stem of the verb *tak-a-k* expressing that the clothes already dried. The verb *tak-a-t* combines with a single argument *ne-namang* 'my clothes' as in the previous example.

(36) *ne-namang* *ba* *tilak-a* *nu* *a* *he-panei=se,*
1SG.AL-cloth LNK hang.up-DUR SPC.AD 2SG 3II.LOC-touch=INCP.I

tak-a-t *re* *naha*
empty-be.at-lie or NEG
'my clothes that hang over there, feel them, did they dry or not?' [B12.023.10]

In (37), the CV *tak-a-t-* 'be dry, be emptied' is the last part of a complex serial verb construction. It refers to 'drying out' of a large body of water, translated as 'lake' here. The CV *tak-a-t-* 'be dry, be emptied' is derived with the generic verb *t* 'lie' that refers to a resultant state event which involves an undergoer participant (mostly a location). The CV combines with the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). The verb *tak-a-t-* is serialized with the verbs *mi* 'be in' and *ng* 'see' that indicate an interior location, the structure *mi=ng tak-a-t-i* can be translated as 'emptied inside'. The verb *n* 'see' that precedes them takes the first clause as its complement, co-indexing it with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) to express the temporal location of 'emptying'.

(37) *di* *sei* *aka* *mi-a* *yo* *wal* *do*
3A come.down.CNT outside be.in-DUR MD.AD pond PRX

he-n *mi=ng* *tak-a-t-i*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in=see empty-be.at-lie-PFV
'she went outside and the lake, that (lake) began to dry out' [B02.076.09:45]

For details about serial verb constructions with generic verbs *ng* 'see' and *m* 'be in, take', see 8.4.2. Finally, in (38), the CV *tak-a-d-* 'get dry, get empty' is illustrated. It combines with a single argument *he-ya* 'his water (bamboo tube)' that got empty, waterless, while the child that was carrying it went to search for some nuts. As in the previous example the generic verb *n* 'see' is used in serial verb construction with the verb *tak-a-d-i*. It refers to the location of water which is in this case a bamboo tube.

(38) *di* *we* *de-ya* *do* *he-wahai=si* *he-ya*
3A leave 3I.AL-water PRX 3II.LOC-look=PHSL.I 3II.AL-water

he-n *tak-a-d-i*
3II.LOC-see.CPL empty-be.at-hold-PFV [B02.134.03:13]
'he went away, he just looked at his water (bamboo tube), and his water, it got empty'

In (116), a complex paradigm of verbs is given. These verbs are derived from the root *aku* 'be dark, not see'. The generic verb *k* 'bring' derives verbs that refer to events during which an undergoer participant is affected by a motion or undergoes a change of state not directly brought about by the actor. Such verbs contrast with the CVs derived with the generic verb *t* 'lie' that refer to events in which the undergoer participant is in a resultant state of a motion.

(39)

aku-ng 'darken' be.dark-see	*aku-n* 'already dark' be.dark-see.CPL
aku-k- 'close (eyes)' be.dark-bring	*aku-t-* 'already closed eyes, blind' be.dark-lie
aku-n-d- 'get dark' be.dark-see.CPL-hold	*aku-n-r-* 'make dark, become dark' be.dark-see.CPL-reach

There is a number of CVs that contain a bound index verb stem. Index verb stems are discussed in 3.4.5.6. A number of CVs derived from index verb stem are given in (40)-(42). In (40), a number of complex verbs are given, derived from the index verb *na-/ni-* 'be like.PRX'. In (41), complex verbs derived from the index verb *wa/wi* 'be like.MD' are given. In (42), I list complex verbs derived from *ha* 'be like.DST'.

(40)

na-l 'make this way' be.like.PRX.CNT-give	*na-d-* 'get like this' be.like.PRX.CNT-hold
na-r- 'made this way' be.like.PRX.CNT-reach	
ni-l 'make this way' be.like.PRX.CPL-give	*ni-d-* 'get like this' be.like.PRX.CPL-hold
ni-r- 'made this way' be.like.PRX.CPL-reach	*ni-ng (Num)* 'be (number) ' be.like.PRX.CPL-see

(41) *wa-l* 'augment, make similar' *wa-r-* 'made similar, split up'
be.like.MD.CNT-give be.like.MD.CNT-reach

wi-l 'make that way, make so' *wi-d-* 'get like that'
be.like.MD.CPL-give be.like.MD.CPL-hold

wi-r- 'made that way, made so'
be.like.MD.CPL-reach

(42) *ha-l* 'make so, make somehow' *ha-d-* 'get so, do somehow'
be.like.DST.CNT-give be.like.DST.CNT-hold

ha-r- 'made another way, made somehow'
be.like.DST.CNT-reach

The CVs derived from the bound index verb *na* 'be like.PRX' are exemplified in (43). In all cases, the complex verbs function as a single predicate in a clause, combining with two arguments. Observe that the generic verb *d* 'hold, get' derives an A oriented verb, stressing the ability of the actor to make a chair. The generic verbs *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach' derive a U oriented verb, focuses on the result of the activity.

(43) a. *akun=te* *na* *kadera* *na-l*
dark=INCP.C 1SG chair be.like.PRX.CNT-give
'tomorrow, I will make a chair' [B10.012.06]

b. *di* *wan* *lik* *na-l-e*
3A already platform be.like.PRX.CNT-give-IPFV
'he is already making a table, a platform' [B10.012.05]

c. *di* *kadera* *na-r-i*
3A chair be.like.PRX.CNT-reach-PFV
'he made a chair' [B10.012.02]

d. *di* *wan* *kadera* *na-d-i*
3A already chair be.like.PRX.CNT-hold-PFV
'he made a chair by himself', lit.: 'he already acquired chair making' [B10.012.04]

In (44), the CV *wi-d-* 'do like that, do so' is exemplified.

(44) *mayol* *he-kariang* *neng* *kariang* *wi-d-a?*
woman 3II.AL-work man work be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'do the women do the same work as men?', lit.: 'women their work, men work doing like that?' [B07.032.05]

As illustrated in (45), the verbal root may be reduplicated and combined with a generic root in a CV. The reduplication usually encodes an increased degree or intensive manner, in which the event is performed. Some of the reduplicated forms were illustrated in (7) and (24).

(45) *falak-falak-d-* 'get to be very bright' *fok-a-fok-a-d-* 'get bigger and bigger'
RED[bright]-hold RED[big-be.at]-hold

fal-fal-r- 'secrete, give off' *bul-a-bul-a-d-* 'get very sharp'
RED[separate]-reach RED[sharp-be.at]-hold

amek-amek-n- 'become very small'
RED[small]-see

7.2.2 Heterogeneous complex verbs with adjectival roots

In Abui, the class of adjectives is closed (see 3.5.1). As illustrated in (46), Abui adjectival roots combine with a number of generic roots.[8] Note that the adjectival root *kul* 'white' has to combine with the generic root *i* 'put' or with *r* 'reach' if it is to function predicatively. As in previous cases, the generic verb *d* 'hold' derives a verb referring to a change of state achieved by the actor and usually affecting him. The verb r 'reach' refers again to a change of state affecting an undergoer and usually brought about by an actor. The generic verb *ì/i* 'put' typically derives an accomplishment verb where the participant is in certain state, without focusing how the state was reached.

(46)

abet-d- young-hold	'become young'	*san-r-* clean-reach	'ripen'
kul-i white-put	'be white'	*kul-r-* white-reach	'make white, whiten'
dakun-r- dirty-reach	'make dirty'	*akan-r-* black-reach	'make black'

The use of the CVs containing an adjectival root is illustrated in (47). In (a), the adjective *dakun* 'dirty' combines with the generic root *r* 'reach' in a CV. In (b), the adjective *kul* 'while' combines with the generic root *i* 'put' in an CV expressing accomplishment of 'being white'.

(47) a. *e-konrek dakun-r-i hare, lan=te*
2SG.AL-shirt dirty-reach-PFV so wash.CPL=INCP.C
'(you made) your shirt dirty, so wash it finally' [B06.013.03]

b. *kalieta kang he-pikai kul-i*
old.person be.good 3II.AL-head white-put
'the head (hair) of old people really becomes white' [B01.043.01]

[8] Abui CVs containing an adjectival or verbal root show richer derivational morphology, than other Papuan languages, such as Kobon, as more verbs are allowed. In Kobon, adjectives such as 'big', 'bent', 'cold' or 'bad' typically combine with 'do' (Davies 1984:202).

7.2.3 Heterogeneous complex verbs with nominal roots

There is a group of CVs that consist of a free nominal root combined with a generic verb root. This group is relatively small as illustrated in (48) and (51).[9] The nominal roots combine with the generic root *l* 'give'. The derived verbs refer to events during which an undergoer is affected in the way described by the noun. The nominal root *wayang* 'paddle n., row n.' combines with the generic root *d* 'hold, get' to refer the event that contains an actor participant. In this case the correspondence is with the activity of 'paddling' or 'rowing' in quite literal; it is described as 'holding' of a 'paddle', cf. English 'to row', 'to paddle'. The nominal root *-wa* 'mouth' is bound. It may combine with the generic root *ng* 'see' to refer to an event that contains an undergoer participant (experiencer); it refers to 'greeting'.

(48)	*piei-l-*	'to dream'	*mui-l-*	'to play'
	dream-give		game-give	
	namu-l	'to wound'	*sai-l-*	'to fan'
	wound-give		fan-give	
	-wa-ng	'greet'	*wayang-d-*	'to paddle, to row'
	mouth-see		paddle-hold	

The CV *namu-l* 'to wound' is illustrated in (49). Note that the generic verb *l* 'give' is alternated when the CV combines with perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). In (d), the usage of the noun *namu* 'wound' is illustrated.

(49) a. *nawet* *namu-l*
1SG.INAL-tooth wound-give
'I have a tooth cavity', lit.: '(I) wound my tooth' [B14.005.13]

b. [*ne-toku* *namu-r-i*]$_{CC}$ *he-no-hini-han-r-a*
1SG.AL-leg wound-reach-PFV 3II.AL-1SG.REC-sigh-reach-Dur
'I am sighing because my leg is wounded' [B05.041.03]

c. *moku* *di* *do-namu-r-i*
kid 3A 3I.REC-wound-reach-PFV
'the child wounded herself' [B07.027.04]

d. *di* *namu* *daweng* *buuk-e*
3A wound medicine consume-IPFV
'he drinks a medicine for his wound' [B07.054.03]

The verb *wa-ng* 'greet' is illustrated in (50). In (a), the verb combines with two pronominal prefixes. The REC prefix *no-* (1SG.REC) expresses the recipient of greeting, the PAT distributive prefix encodes the reciprocity of greeting. In (b), the nominal use of the root *-wa* 'mouth' is illustrated. Note that the noun *-wa* 'mouth' is obligatorily possessed.

[9] In other Papuan languages such as Kalam (Pawley, 2004), Kobon (Davies, 1984:201), or Enga (Lang, 1975), the derivation of complex verbs with nominal roots is more productive.

(50) a. *di* *no-ta-wa-ng* *naha*
3A 1SG.REC-DISTR.PAT-mouth-see NEG
'he does not greet me' [B10.021.06]

b. *na* *Simon* *ha-wa* *ha-ak-i*
1SG name 3II.INAL-mouth 3II.PAT-open.mouth-PFV
'I opened Simon's mouth (to feed him)' [B04.057.02]

In (51), the nominal roots *binen* 'colour' and *bale* 'bamboo sp.' combine with a number of generic roots. The CV with the generic root *i* 'put' refers to an accomplishment. The CV stem that contains the generic root *ng* 'see' refers to an event performed towards or in a location. In the CV stem *bale-n-t-* 'serve food cooked in bamboo' the generic root *t* 'lie' refers to serving of the food, while the root *n* 'see' refers to the location where the event took place.

(51) *bilen-i* 'colour' *bale-ng* 'cook in bamboo tubes'
colour-put bamboo-see

bilen-r- 'dye, paint' *bale-n-t-* 'serve food cooked in bamboo'
colour-give bamboo-see.CPL-lie

In (52), the NP *ran tung* 'next year' is incorporated in the CV *ran-tung-d-* 'get next year'. Examples as this one are rare.

(52) *hare* *sakola* *ba* [*Jogja mia* *yo*]RC [*ran-tung-d*]CV-*i=te*
so school LNK place be.in-DUR MD.AD reach.at.CPL-year-hold-PFV=INCP.C

na *he-tilei-e*
1SG 3II.LOC-hang.ICP-IPFV
'so the school in Jogjakarta, about next year only, I will continue it' [Mail.2006.03.15]

As illustrated in (53), the nominal root may be reduplicated to express increased degree, extension or impact of the activity. The verb refers to an event with an undergoer participant that is affected as described by the noun.

(53) *mui-mui-l-* 'play around' *bikeng-bikeng-r-* 'delouse'
RED[game]-hold RED[louse]-reach

Heterogeneous CVs with nominal roots are structurally parallel to verbs with an incorporated argument. For more details about argument incorporation, see section 6.1.2.

7.2.4 Heterogeneous complex verbs with loan roots

Heterogeneous CVs that contain loan roots only allow generic root *d* 'hold'. The derived CVs refer to events containing an acting participant. Logically, when a CV is

used in an intransitive construction, the acting participant is its A argument, but the CV may also occur in transitive constructions, combining with two arguments. The loan roots, given in (54) and (55), are from Malay, with exception of the root *satel* 'set up' that probably originates in the Dutch verb *stellen* 'set up'. This type of CVs is used mainly among younger speakers and is likely to gain in usage.

(54)

buka-d- open-hold	'become open, open up'	*kariang-d-* work-hold	'be done, work, do'
hapus-d- delete-hold	'be deteted'	*terjemahkan-d-* translate-hold	'be translated, translate'
latih-d- exercise-hold	'train, become exercised'	*ulang-d-* repeat-hold	'be repeated, repeat'
bel-d- buy-hold	'purchase, buy up'	*satel-d-* set.up-hold	'set up, adjust'
sama-d- be.with-hold	'accompany, posses'	*pas-d-* alike-hold	'become alike, fit'

The loan roots in (55) may be used as nouns in Alor Malay. This does not seem to affect the derivation in Abui:

(55)

sakola-d- school-hold	'learn, teach'	*dame-d-* peace-hold	'pacify, conciliate'
tanda-d- mark-hold	'mark, sign'	*nilai-d-* level-hold	'level, adjust'

In (56), the CV stem *tulung-d-* 'help' is illustrated. This verb is derived from the Malay verb *tulung* 'help' and combines with aspectual marker *te* (INCP.C). It is serialized with the generic root *l* 'give' to express the first person participant as a benefactive.

(56)

a	*kabei*	*ne-l*	*tulung-d-i=te*
2SG	little	1SG.LOC-give	help-hold-PFV=INCP.C

'help me a little bit' [Mail.2006.03.15]

For more details about benefactive SVC, see 8.4.2.4.

7.2.5 Heterogeneous complex verbs with onomatopoeic roots

Some CVs consist of an onomatopoeic root combined with a generic root. As claimed by the speakers, onomatopoeic roots represent the sound of the referred event in a transparent way. A number of CVs containing an onomatopoeic root are given in (57). The root *pupu* 'sound of blowing' combines with the generic root *k* 'bring'. The generic root derives a verb referring to an event where an undergoer is affected by the

motion (goal/location).[10] The root *eng* 'sound of crying, unclear speech' combines with the root *r* 'reach'.[11] Another root that combines with *r* 'reach' is *in* which refers to the sound made by fainting or when one is alarmed. The generic root *r* 'reach' derives a verb referring to an event with an undergoer participant. The roots *mu* 'sound of humming' and *suoi* 'sound made by hunting' combine with the generic root *ng/n* 'see'. The remaining roots combine with the generic root *d* 'hold' to refer to events with an actor participant. The generic root *d* 'hold' indicates that the sound is internally caused by the event. It contrasts with the root *r* 'reach' that refers to the producing of certain sound.

(57)

pupu-k-	'blow (fire)'	*eng-r-*	'cry, complain'
sound.of.blowing-bring		incomprehensible.sound-reach	
pupu-k-d-	'get blown'	*in-r-*	'faint, be in shock'
sound.of.blowing-bring-hold		sound.of.shock-reach	
dung-dang-d-	'mumble'	*mu-ng*	'hum, sound'
sound.of.mumbling-hold		sound.of.humming-see	
sobak-d-	'slip, slide out'	*suoi-n-*	'set to hunt, hallo dogs'
sound.of.slipping-hold		sound.of.hunting-see.CPL	
kirek-d-	'get torn'	*raharak-d-*	'shiver'
sound.of.tearing-hold		sound.of.shivering-hold	

The use of the verb *pupu-k* 'blow (fire)' is illustrated in (58). The verb occurs in serial verb construction with other verbs with similar meaning.

(58)

di	*ara*	*do*	*he-mut-i*	*pupuk-d-i*	*he-sai-l-a*
3A	fire	PRX	3II.LOC-blow-PFV	sound.of.blowing-hold-PFV	3II.LOC-fan-give-DUR

'she blew at the fire, blew and fanned it' [B02.001.02:53]

In (59), the onomatopoeic roots are reduplicated to refer to persistent sounds. The root eng 'sound of incomprehensible speech' also occurs in CV without reduplication, as illustrated in (57). The remaining roots occur only reduplicated.

(59)

duk-duk-d-	'get upset, alarmed'	*kuluk-kuluk-d-*	'boil'
RED[sound.of.palpitation]-hold		RED[sound.of.boiling]-hold	
eng-eng-r-	'cry on and on'	*hin-han-r-*	'sigh on'
RED[incomprehensible.sound]-reach		RED[sound.of.sighing]-reach	

[10] A similar onomatopoeic root *pu(pu)-* referring to the sound of 'blowing (fire)' is found also in Kobon, a Papuan language from TNG family (Davies 1984:231).

[11] The root eng 'sound of crying, incomprehensible speech' is used in to refer to people who are dumb, or do not articulate properly in another CV *eng beka* (incomprehensible.sound. be.bad).

The verb *kuluk-kuluk-d-a* 'boil' is illustrated in (60). It combines with two arguments, the A argument is expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A), the U argument is the noun *dieng* 'pot' that is co-indexed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) on the verb.

(60) *di ara=ng mut ba dieng di he-kuluk-kuluk-d-a*
3A fire=see blow LNK pot 3A 3II.LOC-sound.of.boiling-hold-DUR
'she blew at the fire so that she would boil (the water in) the pot' [B06.080.02:19]

The set of Abui CVs with onomatopoeic roots remains to certain degree unexplored and counts possibly a larger number of members.

7.2.6 Heterogeneous complex verbs with functional roots

In Abui, a number of functional roots such as the quantifiers *faring* 'much', *kabei* 'little', or *nuk* 'one' may be incorporated in a CV stem, as illustrated in (61). In all cases, the functional root combines with the generic root *d* 'hold'.

(61) *faring-faring-d-* 'become too much' *nuk-nuk-d-* 'do one by one'
RED[much]-hold RED[one]-hold

kabei-kabei-d- 'become very little'
RED[little]-hold

The use of the CV *kabei-kabei-d-* is illustrated in (62), where the verb combines with the A argument *di* (3A) and the U argument *seng* 'money':

(62) *di seng kabei-kabei-d-i ba mi maama he-r-i*
3A money RED[be.little]-hold-PFV LNK take father 3II.LOC-reach-PFV
'he split and took a bit of money and gave it to the father' [B07.052.03]

The verb *naha* 'be not, be lost, NEG' may serve as the first root in a CV. This is illustrated in (63), where the CV *naha-d-* 'become extinct, cease' combines with the pronominal prefix *nu-* (1PL.E.REC) and is inflected for perfective and durative aspect with suffixes *-i* (PFV) and *-a* (DUR). Note that the verb *naha* alternates with *nai* 'loose, lost, vanish' and belongs to the II.f class. It is unclear whether the verb *naha* is further derived or not.

(63) *ni nu-naha-d-i-a bai ba, ri ko ri-i*
1PL.E 1PL.E.REC-be.not-hold-PFV-DUR as.well say 2PL soon 2PL.LOC-put

we ri-i me
leave 2PL.LOC-put come
'even when we are no longer you will have to visit' [B05.033.03]

Another functional root that may be incorporated in a CV is the demonstrative root *wó* 'above, DST.H'. In (64), the CV *wó-n-r-* refers to 'praising' of the Lord, lit.: 'make to be high, above'. The CV consists of the demonstrative root *wó* combined with the generic root *n* 'see' indicating a location 'be above, high'. A further step in the derivation is the completive generic root *r* 'reach' that a CV verb referring to a caused event. The CV stem combines with two arguments, the U argument *Lahatala* 'Lord' is co-indexed with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) on the verb.

(64) *na* *Lahatala* *ha-wó-n-r-a*
1sg Lord 3II.PAT-DST.H-see.CPL-reach-DUR
'I praise the Lord' [B10.025.08]

7.3 Homogeneous complex verbs

The second type of Abui CVs is referred to as 'homogeneous', because roots combining in a homogeneous CV belong to the generic-verb class.[12] This type of complex verbs is very flexible and covers sometimes a number of meanings, determined by the participant constellation. Homogeneous CVs consist of two (or more) bound generic roots.[13] This is illustrated in (65), where a number of homogeneous CVs are given derived from the base *m* 'be in'.

(65) a. *m-a*
be.in-be.at
'be in here (near speaker), exist'

b. *m-e*
be.in-move
'come'

c. *m-i*
be.in-put
'take'

The final root determines the valence properties of the stems. In (a), the stem *m-a* 'be in deictic centre, exist' ends in [-transitive] generic root *a* 'be at' and occurs in intransitive constructions only. In (b), the stem *m-e* 'come' terminates in the [-transitive] generic root *e* 'move'. The motion verb *m-e* 'come' typically occurs in intransitive constructions. In (c), the root *m* 'be in' terminates in the [±transitive] generic root *i* 'put'. The resulting CV *m-i* 'take, be in' occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions. I conclude that the final root of the homogeneous CVs given in (65) , determines the valence properties of the stem. This is illustrated in **Figure 23**:

[12] Similar CVs are found in at least two other Papuan languages from the TNG family: Kalam (Pawley, 1987; 1991; 1993; 2004; 2005; Pawley and Lane, 1997) and Kobon (Davies, 1984). Both languages have a closed verb class with about 100 members. Various strategies are employed to describe a large variety of event. As discussed in 7.2, verbs in these languages may combine with non-verbal roots in complex predicates, traditionally referred to as 'adjunct constructions'. In richly documented Kalam, verbs also combine together to derive more complex verbs that were analysed as SVCs.

[13] All generic roots are bound forms, except of the root *ì* 'put' that may occur as an independent predicate in monoverbal clauses.



Figure 23: Structure of ***m-a*** 'be here, exist' and ***m-i*** 'take'

In (67), a number of homogeneous CVs is given that are derived from the homogeneous CV *t-a* 'be on' that is given in (66). These verbs will be discussed in a while in examples (78)-(86).

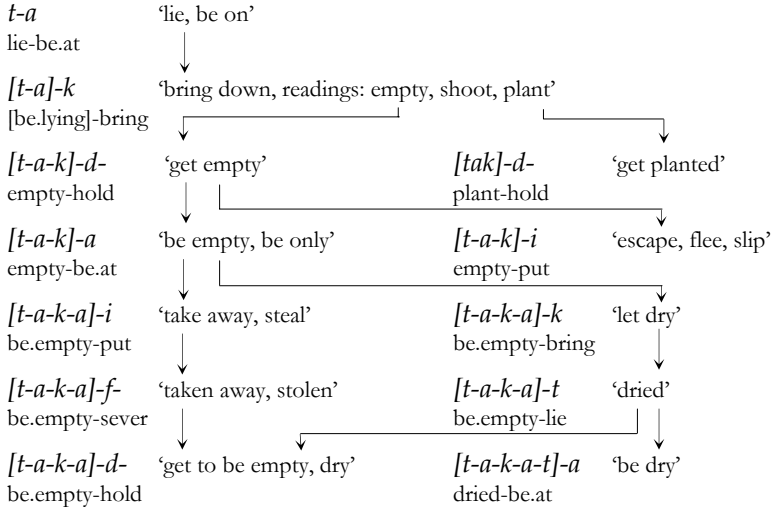
(66) *t-a* 'be on (intr.)'
lie-be.at

(67)

t-a-k	'bring down, shoot, empty'	*t-a-p*	'shot, touching on'
lie-be.at-bring		lie-be.at-touch	
t-a-i	'put on'	*t-a-h-*	'already put on'
lie-be.at-put		lie-be.at-lack	
t-à-ng	'release, let drop'	*t-à-n*	'released, dropped'
lie-be.at-see		lie-be.at-see.CPL	
t-a-l	'drop on'	*t-a-r*	'dropped on'
lie-be.at-give		lie-be.at-reach	

CVs given in (67) end in [±transitive] generic roots and occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions (see 6.2.1). I conclude that the final root is the syntactic head of the CV. The structure of these verbs is parallel to the heterogeneous CVs discussed in (8). So far, I have found no evidence that the number of roots combined is a CV is grammatically restricted in Abui. New stems are derived in a step by step fashion from the original stems. This is illustrated in (68), where a number of CVs are derived from the homogenous CV *t-a* 'be on'. The arrows indicate the direction of the derivation, as sometimes only one of the meanings of the CV continues in the further derivation. In some cases multiple derivational paths are possible. The derivation is cyclic producing each time a new CV stem.

(68)



The derivations from the possibly complex form *tak* 'empty, shoot, bring to lie, empty' are discussed in section 7.2.1 and exemplified in (30)-(38), where I gloss the form *tak* as 'empty'. The meaning shifts illustrated in (68) may obscure the derivation path. To avoid confusion and discussion elsewhere in this book, I use the simplified glossing instead of the full glosses given in this section.

In this analysis, I take the conservative view that the segments of a verb can only be analysed as morphemes when there is positive evidence to do so. A morphologically complex verb that is composed of GVs will only be identified as such under the strict condition that it occurs in a paradigm with other complex verbs which shows a minimal contrast in form coupled to a systematic contrast in meaning. This is why the paradigms discussed below are crucial. There are also many Abui verbs that do not show systematic form/ meaning contrast with other verbs (see 3.4.4). It may be that such verbs are morphologically simple forms, but it may also be that some of them are derived forms whose semantics have shifted so much over time that there is no evidence of their former morphological composition.

In 7.3.1, the CVs consisting of two generic roots are discussed. My data covers the best the homogenous CVs that consists of three generic roots. This substantial subtype is discussed in section 7.3.2. The CVs that consist of more than three generic roots are discussed in section 7.3.3.

7.3.1 Homogeneous complex verbs consisting of two generic roots

The set of homogenous CVs that consist of two generic roots is relatively small. As discussed in section 7.1.1, CVs must obey phonotactic rules. As homogenous CVs consist only of two segments (a consonant and a vowel root) they must match the structure of Abui open or closed syllable. This is illustrated in (69)-(71). Note that all stems, except two last, match the light syllable structure. The stems *i-t* 'lie down' and *u-k* 'draw off, bring away', *a-k* 'open, open mouth', and *e-k* 'summon, invite' are closed syllables.

(69)

p-a	'be attached, attach'	*-r-a*	'reach, attempt, persist'
touch-be.at		reach-be.at	
t-a	'be on'	*m-a*	'be here, exist'
lie-be.at		be.in-be.at	
f-a	'be away'	*l-a*	'be over there'
sever-be.at		give-be.at	

(70)

w-e	'leave, depart, go off'	*m-e*	'come'
leave-move		be.in-move	
p-e	'come near, approach'	*-r-e*	'reach, try'
touch-move		reach-move	

(71)

m-i	'be in, take'	*b-u*	'exceed, surpass'
be.in-put		join-leave	
i-t	'lie down'	*u-k*	'draw off, withdraw'
put-lie		leave-bring	
a-k	'open, open mouth'	*e-k*	'summon, invite'
be.at-bring		move-bring	

As discussed in 7.1.3, the final root of a CV stem is the syntactic head determining the valence. All homogenous CVs given in (69) and (70) end in a [-transitive] generic root. These stems occur in intransitive constructions. The CVs given in (71) end in a [±transitive] generic root and consequently occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions.

An example of the use of the CV *p-a* 'touch' is given in (72). The CV *p-a* combines with a single argument expressed with the pronominal prefix *no-* (1SG.REC). Note that the CV *no-p-a* 'be attached to me' it incorporated in a complex relative clause that modifies the noun *bataa* 'wood'.

(72)

{*no-p-a*	*mi-a*}$_{RC}$	*ba*	[*bataa*	*do*]$_{NP}$	*ha-fik-i*
1SG.REC-touch-be.at	be.in-DUR	LNK	wood	PRX	3II.PAT-pull.away-PFV

'drag the log away from me' [B07.040.04]

The CV *p-a* 'be attached, attach' may serve as base for further derivations. A number of them are illustrated in (73).

(73)

p-a	'go down, touch'	*p-a-i*	'keep, have in possession'
touch-be.at		touch-be.at-put	
p-a-ng	'feel, shape, form'	*p-a-k*	'bring at, slap'
touch-be.at-see		touch-be.at-bring	

p-a-r 'fumble'
touch-be.at-reach

p-a-r-a-i 'tingle'
touch-be.at-reach-be.at-put

p-a-l-e-l 'strip, pluck down with hand'
touch-be.at-reach-move-give

p-a-l-e-k 'reach at, intend to grasp'
touch-be.at-give-move-bring

p-a-l-i-ng 'wipe with hand'
touch-be.at-give-put-see

p-a-k-d- 'fling, slap, jump'
touch-be.at-bring-hold

p-a-k-o-l 'cover with hand'
touch-be.at-bring-point-give

p-a-l-a-k 'handle, touch with hand'
touch-be.at-give-be.at-bring

p-a-l-i-k 'bend down, bow'
touch-be.at-give-put-bring

7.3.2 Homogeneous complex verbs consisting of three generic roots

There is a large set of homogeneous CVs that consist of three roots. As the CVs are subject to the phonotactic restrictions, most frequently occurring phonological shape is the closed syllable. As discussed in section 7.1.1, Abui closed syllables allow a single consonant in the coda. This implies that only the consonant roots will be found in the head position of the CVs that consist of three roots. It implies as well that the derived CVs will be [±transitive] and occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions. This is schematically represented in **Figure 24**.

NON-HEAD		| HEAD	Syntactic structure
GENERIC ROOT	GENERIC ROOT	| GENERIC ROOT	Morphological structure
:	:	:	
C(V$_{[+high]}$**)**	**V**	**C/V**$_{[+high]}$	
onset	nucleus	coda	Syllable structure

Figure 24: Structure of homogeneous CVs

The head position in the coda is available for all the generic verbs, although some generic roots occur more frequently as heads than others. With respect to the non-head positions, phonotactic rules restrict the occurrence of the vowel and consonant generic roots: consonant generic roots only occur as syllable onsets, [-high] vowel generic roots only as syllable nuclei, [+ high] vowel generic roots as nuclei or coda's. Therefore, transitive consonant generic roots are never found in the middle of a derived form.

Abui generic roots refer to motion, locomotion, posture (or location), or impact. In derivation of CVs, the generic roots referring to motion and locomotion play a dominant role. The homogeneous CVs that will be discussed in this section are mainly verbs of motion or locomotion. As illustrated in (74), the CV *t-a-k* 'bring down, stop, empty' is derived from the CV *t-a* 'be on, lie'. The final root describes the type of event that brings about 'lying down'.

(74) *t-a* 'be on, lie'
lie-be.at

t-a-k 'bring down, shoot, stop'
[lie-be.at']-bring

The generic root *k* 'bring' seems to indicate that the event of 'lying down' is oriented away from the deictic centre (DC). The derivation of other types of CVs and the semantics of the final generic roots will be explored in section 7.3.2.1.

In (75), five CVs are given, that alternate their middle root. In all cases the CVs refer to a motion away from the participant/deictic centre. The middle root expresses overtly the inner aspect (Aktionsart) of the referred event. The generic root *a* 'be at' encodes an event that is viewed as having no initial or final boundary. The generic root *o* 'point' encodes that the event is viewed as restricted to a single point. The root *i* 'put' encodes that the event boundary is final. It contrasts with the root *e* 'move' that indicates an initial event boundary. The root *u* 'leave' indicates that the final boundary of the event was passed.

(75)	*t-a-k* lie-be.at-bring	'bring down, shoot, empty'	*t-o-k* lie-point-bring	'drop off, pour'
	t-i-k lie-put-bring	'loosen, untie, stretch'	*t-e-k* lie-move-bring	'slide off'
	t-u-k lie-leave-bring	'stick out, meassure'		

The semantics of the vowel roots will be explored and illustrated further in section 7.3.2.2.

Finally, the initial generic root seems to indicate the 'locus' of the referred event. I use the term 'locus' to refer to the spatial constellation of the participants. This is illustrated in (76), where the fist root of each CV refers to the locus of the event. Note that all events are classified as a motion away from the DC. The location where the motion ends is indicated with the first generic root. The generic root *t* 'lie' indicates a horizontal locus; the inceptive root *s* 'lie' indicates a parallel locus. The root *w* 'leave' indicates a remote locus, the root *d* 'hold' refers to a contact locus:

(76)	*t-a-k* lie-be.at-bring	'bring down, shoot, empty'	*s-a-k* lie.ICP-be.at-bring	'move along, pass along'
	w-a-k leave-be.at-bring	'embrace/abandon'	*d-a-k* hold-be.at-bring	'clutch, trap'

In section 7.3.2.3, I discuss the semantic contribution of the initial root in detail. More paradigms can be found there.

7.3.2.1 Semantic contribution of the final root

As discussed in sections 7.1.3 and 7.3.2, the final root of a homogeneous CV is the syntactic head. An additional function of the final root is that is describes the different types of events, in similar way as the final generic root in heterogeneous CVs discussed in 7.2. As the set of the generic roots is limited, the generic roots may be analyzed as 'event classifiers'. Not all of the generic verbs are equally productive as event classifiers.

For example, in the tripartite derivations, the verbs *h*, *k*, *l/r*, *ng/n*, *p*, *t*, and *i* frequently occur as final root, while *l/r*, *d*, *ng* and *i* are typically used as final root in larger derivations or in heterogeneous verbs, and *f* and *b* have an overall low frequency. The verb *u* is used most often in non-final position, in final position it is ambiguous with the perfect suffix *-u* (PFV). The verbs *s* and *m* are typically used as initial verbs and occur rarely as final roots.

In (74), I demonstrated that the generic root *k* 'bring' can derive other CV stem from the CV *t-a* 'be on, lie'. In (77), the full set of CVs derived from the CV *t-a* 'be on, lie' is repeated:

(77)

t-a-i 'put on' lie-be.at-put		*t-a-h-* 'already put on' lie-be.at-lack	
t-a-k 'bring down, shoot, empty' lie-be.at-bring		*t-a-p* 'shot, touching on' lie-be.at-bring	
t-a-l 'drop on' lie-be.at-give		*t-à-ng* 'release, let drop on' lie-be.at-see	

Note that the derived CVs in (77) cover a wide range of meanings. Some of these meanings will be exemplified in (78)-(86). In (78), the use of the CV *t-a-i* is illustrated. In (a), *t-a-i* is interpreted as 'to put *x* down', in (b), it refers to curing a person by 'putting on' medicine, while in (c), it is used to express an order as something (a duty) that the old woman 'imposes on' the child.

(78) a. *na yambuk mi tai nat-i-a*
1SG glass take [lie-be.at]-put stand-PFV-DUR
'I put the glass down', lit.: 'I take glass, put it down, (it) stands' [B04.053.01]

b. *ama he-l t-a-i tung ayok-d-a*
person 3II.LOC-give [lie-be.at]-put year two-hold-DUR
'people cure him two years' [B07.022.04]

c. *kalieta mayol do di moku do ho-t-a-i*
old.person woman PRX 3A kid PRX 3II.REC-[lie-be.at]-put
'the old woman, she ordered the child' [B02.017.09:35]

The final generic verb *i* 'put' alternates with the verb *h* 'lack' when the event of 'putting down' has been completed. Elsewhere in this book I gloss the stem *t-a-h-* as 'put.on.CPL'. In (79), the verb *t-a-h-* is exemplified. In (a) *t-a-h-* is interpreted as 'already put *x* down'. In (b), it is interpreted as '*x* being put down on *y*' where the y argument is expressed with the noun *pelang* 'canoe' The *x* argument is understood as the second person.

(79) a. *ri ri-mai sak he-tel t-a-h-i*
2PL 2PL.AL-bamboo pass 3II.AL-bundle [lie-be.at]-lack-PFV
'you have put down a bundle of your old (discarded) bamboo' [B02.004.05:20]

b. *pelang* *t-a-h-a* *a* *mit* *do!*
canoe [lie-be.at]-lack-DUR 2SG sit PRX
'on the canoe, you sit!' [B02.097.16:21]

In the verb *t-a-k*, the verb *k* 'bring' derives a verb indicating a motion event, which causes the participant(s) to 'lie down'. Depending on the context in which the verb is used, it may get various interpretations, including 'to shoot *x*', 'to cover *x*' or 'to empty *x*'. In (80), the CV *t-a-k* is used to refer to the 'bringing down' of birds and has here the reading of 'shooting'. The CV combines with two arguments. The A argument is realized with the NP *Arjun*. The U argument is expressed with the NP *kuya* 'bird' co-indexed as patient with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT)

(80) *Arjun* *de-kartipel* *ong* *ba* *mara* *kuya* *ha-t-a-k*
name 3I.AL-catapult make LNK go.up.CNT bird 3II.PAT-[lie-be.at]-bring
'Arjun made himself a catapult to go up and shoot the birds' [B06.014.03]

Interestingly, when the event of 'shooting' was completed, the final root *k* 'bring' alternates with the root *p* 'touch' as illustrated in (81).

(81) *mangmat* *do* *de-kuya* *ha-t-a-p-i* *yaa* *ba* *sei*
foster.child PRX 3I.AL-bird 3II.PAT-[lie-be.at]-touch-PFV go LNK come.down.CNT
'her foster child was shooting birds along the way coming down there' [B02.104.20:08]

The final verb is not alternated for the other meanings of the CV *t-a-k*. In (82), the CV *t-a-k* refers to 'covering' of one's head with a piece of cloth, thus being a possible interpretation of 'to bring *x* to lie on *y*' where the *x* argument is expressed as the U argument of the verb *mi* 'take'.

(82) *ama* *do* *di* *kabala* *do* *mi* *de-fui* *he-t-a-k-i*
person PRX 3A cloth PRX take 3I.AL-vertex 3II.LOC-[lie-be.at]-bring-PFV
'and the people covered the top of their heads with a cloth' [B02.169.08:43]

Another use of the CV *t-a-k* is given in (83). The verb refers to 'stopping' of the speaker to prevent him to step on a snake. The interpretation 'to bring *y* to lie' is translated as 'stop, prevent, interrupt'.

(83) *ne-feela* *di* *ne-t-a-k* *mading* *hu* *mon* *do*
1SG.AL-friend 3A 1SG.LOC-[lie-be.at]-bring so.that SPC snake PRX

di *ne-l* *takai* *naha*
3A 1SG.LOC-give bite.CPL NEG
'my friend prevented me from being bitten by a snake' [B07.012.02]

The final GV *l* 'give' encodes an event that is externally caused and involves a transfer of participants. In the derivation *t-a-l* this renders the interpretation of 'to drop *x* on *y*'. This is illustrated in (84)-(85). In (84), the verb *t-a-l* refers to sewing of tobacco.

(84) *maama di kafaak ha-t-a-l*
father 3A tobacco 3II.PAT-[lie-be.at]-give
'father sows the tobacco' [B08.051.02]

In (85), the CV *t-a-l* refers to dropping of tears.

(85) *t-ièng nai t-a-l-i ayok-ayok-d-a*
DISTR.INAL-eye tears [lie-be.at]-give-PFV RED[two]-hold-DUR
'our eyes were dropping tears (in pairs)' [B08.050.11]

The final GV *ng* 'see' classifies events as motions towards a location. Sometimes the verbs ending in *ng* seem parallel to applicative verbs in other languages. In (86), the CV *t-a-ng* is illustrated. In (a) the verb combines with the noun *kaai* 'dogs' that are released to hunt, while in (b) the benefactive of releasing is expressed with the LOC prefix *ne-* (1SG.LOC)combines with two arguments. The bow that is to be released is the U argument of the verb *mi* 'take'.

(86) a. *neng loku ba, he-n-u kaai ha-tang kang*
man PL say 3II.AL-be.like.PRX-PRF dog 3II.PAT-[lie-be.at]-see be.good
'it is the men who hunt' [B07.032.06]

b. *a-ra mi ne-t-a-n-i*
2SG.PAT-reach.CNT take 1SG.LOC-[lie-be.at]-see.CPL-PFV
'let me do it', lit.: 'try to take (the bow) and release it at me' [B09.004.04:19]

The generic verb *ng* 'see' encodes motions towards a location as well as low involvement of the actor. For example, *t-a-ng* can contrast with *t-a-l* 'to drop *x* on *y*' (discussed above) when it is interpreted as 'to allow *x* to drop on *y*', for example, 'to allow water to drop on the floor'.

Some more examples of CVs with final generic roots *k* 'bring', *i* 'put', *l* 'give', *ng* 'see' are given in (87) where the verbs are listed in four columns according to the final generic root.

	U OF MOTION	ACHIEVEMENT	U (LOC,BEN)	EXPERIENCING U
(87)	*t-a-k* lie-be.at-bring 'bring down'	*t-a-i* lie-be.at-put 'put on'	*t-a-l* lie-be.at-give 'drop on'	*t-à-ng* lie-be.at-see 'release, let drop on'
	l-a-k give-be.at-bring 'mark, count'	*l-a-i* give-be.at-put 'disperse, blow to'	*l-a-l* give-be.at-give 'reach to'	*l-a-ng* give-be.at-see 'wash'
	d-a-k hold-be.at-bring 'clutch, cover'	*d-a-i* hold-be.at-put 'give to use, wear'	*d-a-l* hold-be.at-give 'handle, gripe'	

l-e-k give-move-bring 'point to'	*l-e-i* give-move-put 'miss, not hit'	*l-e-l* give-move-give 'threaten, almost do'	
f-a-k sever-be.at-bring 'break, break off'		*f-a-l* sever-be.at-give 'separate'	*f-a-ng* sever-be.at-see 'harm'
	f-o-i sever-point-put 'peel, strip off bark'	*f-o-l* sever-point-give 'separate, hack off'	*f-o-ng* sever-point-see 'divide from'
k-o-k bring-point-bring 'prod'	*k-o-i* bring-point-put 'cut (once)'	*k-o-l* bring-point-give 'bind away, make out of reach'	
y-o-k put-point-bring 'cover'	*y-o-i* put-point-put 'flood (once)'	*y-o-l* put-point-give 'cover up, bury'	
t-u-k lie-leave-bring 'stick out, measure'		*t-u-l* lie-leave-give 'take out'	*t-u-ng* lie-leave-see 'perforate, pierce'
l-u-k give-leave-bring 'rub, wipe, bend'		*l-u-l* give-leave-give 'waste, disappear'	*l-u-ng* give-leave-see 'be long termed'

The motion verbs oriented away from DC may alternate their final root when the described event reached its final boundary. As illustrated in (88), the final root *t* 'lie' derives verbs that refer to a resultant state of motion. The root *p* 'touch' derives verb referring to finished motion that ended in contact position.

	U OF MOTION	U IN RES. ST. OF MOTION	U OF CONTACT
(88)	*t-u-k* lie-leave-bring 'stick out, measure'	*t-u-t-* lie-leave-lie 'emerge, surface'	*t-u-p-* lie-leave-touch 'stuck out'
	t-a-k lie-be.at-bring 'bring down, shoot'		*t-a-p-* lie-be.at-touch 'already brought down, shot'
	k-a-k bring-be.at-bring 'stab'	*k-a-t* bring-be.at-lie 'stabbed on'	*k-a-p-* bring-be.at-touch 'stabbed (in)'
	l-u-k give-leave-bring 'rub, wipe, bend'	*l-u-t-* give-leave-lie 'already rubbed, bent'	
	l-o-k give-point-bring 'prick, touch forcefully, push'		*l-o-p-* give-point-touch 'already touched, pushed'

m-o-k be.in-point-bring 'put together'	*m-o-t* be.in-point-lie 'lie together, marry'	*m-o-p-* be.in-point-touch 'already put together'
t-e-k lie-move-bring 'slide'	*t-e-t-* lie-move-lie 'slid on'	
k-e-k bring-move-bring 'prod'	*k-e-t-* bring-move-lie 'prodded on, down'	

A number of CVs may alternate their final root to express that the event was finished previously. As illustrated in (89)-(90), the generic root *h* 'lack' encodes that an event was performed in the past. The generic root *b* 'join' encodes that the impact occurred previously, while the generic verb *p* 'touch' encodes a state where participants are in contact. The generic root *s* 'lie' indicates that the impact ended in parallel position. The generic verbs *l* 'give' and *r* 'reach' in (90) indicate caused events.

	ACHIEVEMENT	RESULTANT STATE	IMPACT/CONTACT	U PARALLEL POSITION
(89)	*t-o-k* lie-point-bring 'drop, spill'	*t-o-h-* lie-point-lack 'added, dropped on'	*t-o-p-* lie-point-touch 'drop at, land'	
	t-a-i lie-be.at-bring 'put on'	*t-a-h-* lie-be.at-lack '(already) put on'		
	b-a-i join-be.at-put 'strike, grind'		*b-a-b-* join-be.at-join 'already stroke'	*b-a-s-* join-be.at-lie.ICP 'already attached along'

	MOTION	RESULTANT STATE	CAUSED EVENT	COMPLETED CAUSED E.
(90)	*t-o-k* lie-point-bring 'drop, spill'	*t-o-h-* lie-point-lack 'added, dropped on'	*t-o-l* lie-point-give 'reach on, stretch out'	*t-o-r* lie-point-reach 'cut, hit'

In (91), the paradigm of the CVs derived from the CV *l-o-* is given. The CV stem *l-o-* refers to the in-reach locus. Four CVs are derived with the roots *k* 'bring', *i* 'put', *h* 'lack' and *ng* 'see'.

	U OF MOTION	ACHIEVEMENT	PERFECT EVENT	EXPERIENCING U
(91)	*l-o-k* give-point-bring 'prick'	*l-o-i* give-point-put 'put far, chase'	*l-o-h-* give-point-lack 'be put far, long'	*l-o-ng* give-point-see 'be long'

This is a paradigm of different verb forms whose semantics show some overlap. However, it is impossible to analyse all of them as regularly derived compounds: the semantic contribution of their head (the final generic) is elusive, and it is difficult to

relate it to how it is used in other paradigms. In other words, the overall morphological function of particular generic verbs can only be spotted by comparing their function across various sets of paradigms (cf. the sets discussed above, and the ones to be discussed in the sections below). But even then, the patterns are not always regular and semantically transparent, and there are many paradigms with lexical gaps.

Other generic roots are used with very low frequency in the final position. The generic root *f* 'sever' encodes events of separation such as 'steal', as illustrated in (34), *k-o-f-* 'cut off' that alternates with *k-o-i* 'cut' illustrated in (87), or *-yong-f-* 'forget'. In (92), the order of the generic roots is reversed. Interestingly, also the semantics of the CV is reversed. The CV *t-e-k* refers to downwards motion of 'sliding'. The CV *k-e-t* refers to the upwards motion of 'prodding'.

(92) *t-e-k* 'slide; dry', lit.: 'bring to start lying' *t-e-t-* 'slid on'
lie-move-bring lie-move-lie

k-e-k 'prod' *k-e-t* 'proded on, down'
bring-move-bring bring-move-lie

The use of the CVs given in (92) is illustrated in examples (93)-(96). In (93), the CV *t-e-k* is illustrated. It refers to an event oriented away from the DC. The event is described as 'lying down'. The verb refers to the 'cutting' and 'rolling down' of the weed in the garden. In this way the garden is cleaned, the weed is consequently burden, and new crop planted.

(93) *na* *yaa* *ne-ut* *t-e-k*
1SG go 1SG.AL-garden [lie-move]-bring
'I go to work in my garden', lit.: 'I go to make lay (the weed in) my garden' [B01.035.32]

In (94), the completive CV t-e-t refers to a similar event. The 'stone wall' *kota* collapsed during an earthquake and slid on a man. The person buried under the stones is realized with an NP *ama kang nuku* 'one man' and co-indexed as the recipient/goal with the pronominal prefix *ho-* (3II.REC). Because the event is completed already the CV stem is followed by the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). The original final root *k* 'bring' is replaced by the root *t* 'lie'.

(94) *ama* *kang* *nuku* *kota* *ho-t-e-t-i*
person be.good one wall 3II.REC-[lie-move]-lie-PFV
'the wall slid down on one man' [B05.078.01]

In (95), a contrastive example is given. The CV *k-e-k* refers to an event oriented away from DC. The CV combines with two arguments, the A argument is realized with the free pronoun *di* (3A); the U argument is realized with the NP *baleei wataka do* 'the banana blossom'. The referred event is a motion towards a 'banana blossom' that is best translated as 'prodding to'. It is the reversed motion from 'sliding' or 'rolling down'.

(95) *di* *baleei* *wataka* *do* *k-e-k* *he-we*
3A banana blossom PRX [bring-move]-bring 3II.LOC-leave
'she went to prod the banana blossom' [B02.027.03:59]

In (96), the final root of the CV *k-e-k* is alternated as the verb indicates a completed event of poking out that precedes eating. The U argument is expressed as the NP *nemáng* 'shells' that is co-indexed with the prefix *he-* (3II.LOC).

(96) *na* *wi* *ha-kok-u* *nemáng* *tahai* *ma-r* *kan-r-i*
1SG stone 3II.PAT-prod-PRF shells search ripe-reach be.good-reach-PFV
he-ket *ba* *nee*
3II.LOC-[bring-move]-lie LNK eat
'I prod out the stones, search the shells, cook them, poke them out and eat' [B05.070.02]

Note that in (96) the referred event is not exactly the opposite of 'sliding down' or 'rolling down' as it is when 'fruit-prodding' is referred to.

The **Table 25** gives an overview of event types as encoded by the final generic verb. Note that the generic verb *u* 'leave' is ambiguous as it may be interpreted as a perfect suffix or as the head of a complex verb; the distinction is not always clear.

Table 25: Event type encoded by the generic verbs in final position

ROOT	GLOSS	EVENT TYPE ENCODED BY THE FINAL GENERIC VERB
b	join	Impact event
d	hold	Internally caused change of state
f	sever	Event of separation
h	lack	Perfect event, Previously reached position
k	bring	Motion event (often away from deictic centre = Source)
l	give	Externally caused event
r	reach	Completed caused event
m	be.in	Position within deictic centre
ng	see	Orientation towards a location (often towards deictic centre = Goal)
n	see.CPL	Completed motion towards deictic centre/goal; property
p	touch	State (of contact); Participant(s) in contact position
t	lie	State (horizontal); Participant(s) in horizontal position
s	lie.ICP	State (parallel); Participant(s) in parallel position
a	be.at	State
i	put	Achieved, accomplished event, downward motion
u	leave	Resultant, permament state ~ PRF (Perfect suffix *-u*)

The unpredictable, lexicalised nature of the derivations discussed here is due to (i) the nature of the generic verbs involved, (ii) the semantic alignment (see chapter 5), and (iii) the flexibility of Abui verbal constructions (see 6.2.1). The complex verbs are

built from generic verbs, and such verbs already start out with a rather abstract (or vague) lexical semantic content. Combining with each other to form new verbal compounds, they become reanalysed as morphemes and lose some of their verbal semantics (which was already underspecified to begin with). Abstract verbs interacting with other abstract verbs in a derivation are also bound to undergo semantic drift or shift, with the result that the compound may become reanalysed as a simplex word over time. This is something that often happens with compounds. The meaning contribution of compound structure typically involves a high degree of abstractness and flexibility (cf. Booij, 2005: 210), because the semantic relation between the elements in the compound is not formally expressed.

Despite these complications, however, we have argued that there is evidence to analyse the final generic verbs in CVs as 'event classifiers' that encode information about the type of event denoted by the verb. Interestingly, their function as final verb differs from the function they have when they occur as non-heads, i.e. in medial or initial position. This will be discussed in the next two sections.

7.3.2.2 Semantic contribution of the medial generic root

As illustrated in (75), the vowel roots in medial position of a complex verb encode the inner aspect ('Aktionsart') of the event, providing information on its boundedness.

In **Table 26** I list the five vocalic generic verbs with the aspectual function they have in medial position. The generic root *a* 'be at' encodes an event no initial or final boundary. The generic root *o* 'point' encodes that the event is restricted to a limited time spam ('punctual'). The root *i* 'put', *e* 'move' and *u* 'leave' indicate that the event is viewed as having a boundary. The root *i* 'put' encodes events with a final point ('terminative'). It contrasts with the root *e* 'move' that indicates events with an initial point ('ingressive'). Finally, the root *u* 'leave' indicates that the final point of the event was passed, those events are ('perfect').

Table 26: Telic properties encoded by vocalic generic verbs in medial position

ROOT	GLOSS	BOUNDEDNESS
i	put	Bounded at end
u	leave	Perfect
a	be.at	No boundary
e	move	Bounded at start
o	point	Bounded at start & end

This is illustrated in (97), where three complete paradigms of verbs are given.

(97) Derivations with contrasting generic roots in medial position

a 'be at'	*o* 'point'	*i* 'put'	*e* 'move'	*u* 'leave'
NO BOUNDARY	BOUNDED AT START & END'	BOUNDED AT END	BOUNDED AT START	PERFECT

l-a-k give-be.at-bring 'mark, count'	*l-o-k* give-point-bring 'prick'	*l-i-k* give-put-bring 'bend'	*l-e-k* give-move-bring 'point to/at'	*l-u-k* give-leave-bring 'rub, bend
k-a-k bring-be.at-bring 'penetrate, skewer, stab'	*k-o-k* bring-point-bring 'prod (once)'	*k-i-k* bring-put-bring 'sweep'	*k-e-k* bring-move-bring 'prod'	*k-u-k* bring-leave-bring 'push out'
t-a-k lie-be.at-bring 'put down, shoot'	*t-o-k* lie-point-bring 'drop, pour'	*t-i-k* lie-put-bring 'loosen, untie'	*t-e-k* lie-move-bring 'slide'	*t-u-k* lie-leave-bring 'stick out'

In (98)-(111), I exemplify the use of the homogeneous CVs of the type *t-V-k*, alternating the vowel root for each case. In (98), the CV *t-a-k* refers to 'shooting down' of a pig. In fact, the CV expresses that a pig is going to be 'brought down'. The undergoer participant 'pig' is expressed with the NP *fe nu* 'a pig' and co-indexed as patient with the prefix *ha-* '3II.PAT'.

(98) *no-buoka* *ba* *pulang* *mi* *fe* *nu* *ha-t-a-k*
1SG.REC-be.far LNK arrow take pig SPC.AD 3II.PAT-[lie-be.at]-bring
'from far, I shoot a pig down with bow and arrows' [B05.067.01]

The root *a* 'be at' in the CV *t-a-k* 'bring to lie' refers to the Aktionsart of 'lying'. It indicates that the event of 'lying' has no internal boundary. This does not imply that in context the CV *t-a-k* 'bring to lie' cannot be used to refer to events that have a boundary. This is illustrated in (99), where the CV *t-a-p-* refers to the event of 'bringing to lie (shooting down)' that is completed. From this, I conclude that there are two aspectual layers (inner and outer), that are expressed overtly, and separated in Abui. Only the final root of the CV stem is affected by the outer aspectual inflection.

In (99), the CV *t-a-p-* combines with two arguments. The A argument is expressed with the NP *ama* 'person'. The U argument is expressed with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT). The prefix refers to the actor of the first clause expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A):

(99) *di* *bataa* *ho-ng* *marei* *ma* *re,* *ama*
3A wood 3II.REC-see go.up.ICP be.PRX reach.ICP person

ha-t-a-p-i
3II.PAT-[lie-be.at]-bring-PFV
'if he climbs the tree, he will be shot down by people' [B07.038.01]

In (80)-(83), three other instances of the use of the CV *t-a-k* are given.

The CV *t-o-k* contrasts with the CV *t-a-k*. In (100), the CV *t-o-k* refers to an event of 'pouring down' the water of fire. The generic root *o* 'point' encodes that the event is performed in a limited time spam and occurs once. In fact, the CV *t-o-k* refers

to an event of 'lying down' that is oriented away from the DC and is limited in time. The English verb 'drop' has pretty much the same meaning. The CV *t-o-k* combines with two arguments. The A argument *na* (1SG) is shared with the verb *mi* 'take'. The U argument is expressed with the NP *ara* 'fire' that is co-indexed as location with the prefix *he-* (3II.LOC).

(100) *na ya mi ba ara he-t-o-k*
1SG water take LNK fire 3II.LOC-[lie-point]-bring
'I take water and pour it on the fire' [B10.021.13]

In (101), the CV *t-o-k* refers to 'demolishing' of a house. The CV *t-o-k* describes the event of 'demolishing' as 'dropping'. The undergoer participant is realized with the NP *fala* 'house' that is co-indexed as patient with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT).

(101) *na fala ha-t-o-k*
1SG house 3II.PAT-[lie-point]-bring
'I demolish the house' [B03.002.03]

The CV *t-o-k* refers to an event that occurs in limited time spam. However, in context, the CV may combine with aspectual suffixes to specify the outer aspect of the event. This is illustrated in (102), where the CV *t-o-k* combines with the perfect suffix *-u* (PFV) that indicates the state that was brought about by the event of 'dropping down'. The CV *t-o-k* is serialized with the verb *fen* 'injure, kill' and refers to 'slaughtering down' of the warriors from the Pido tribe.

(102) *di ya wó Sabone mi-a ama fen t-o-k-u*
3A be.DST DST.H place be.in-DUR person injure.CPL [lie-point]-bring-PRF
'over there in Sibone, they slaughtered those (Pido) people' [B05.087.01]

In (103), the CV *t-o-k* alternates the final root as it refers to completed event of 'landing' of boats on the sea shore. The final root is alternated with *p* 'touch' that indicates that there is 'contact' between the participants. The CV combines with the U argument *pelang loku* 'the boats' that is co-indexed as patient with the distributive prefix *ta-* (DISTR.PAT).

(103) *pelang loku wan tut tah-a=ng ta-t-o-p-i*
canoe PL already shore[14] put.on.CPL-DUR=see DISTR.PAT-[lie-point]-touch-PFV
'the boats already landed at the sea shore' [B10.021.08]

In (104), the CV *t-e-k* refers to an event of a motion away from DC. The event is encoded as 'lying down' that has an initial point.

[14] Note that the noun *tut* 'shore' is probably related with the CV *t-u-k* 'emerge, measure, stick out' that is discussed in (108)-(111).

(104) *kota* *no-t-e-k-e*
wall 1SG.REC-[lie-move]-bring
'the wall slides down on me' [B05.078.01]

The CV *t-e-k* is also illustrated in (93)-(94). Note that the inner aspect expressed with the root *e* 'move' is not affected by outer aspect inflection, as illustrated in (94).

The inner aspect of the CV *t-e-k* contrasts with that one of the CV *t-i-k*. While the CV *t-e-k* refers to an event of 'lying down' that has an initial point, the CV *t-i-k* encodes an event of 'lying' that has a final point. An example of the use of the CV *t-i-k* is given in (105). A person that was 'bound up' or 'locked up' gets released. This is encoded as 'lying' that terminates and is oriented away from the DC. In (105), the CV *t-i-k* combines with a single argument that is realized with the free pronoun *di* (3A) as actor and with pronominal prefix *de-* (3I.LOC) as the benefactive of the verb *l* 'give'.

(105) *di* *de-l* *t-i-k-i* *ba* *mui-l-a*
3A 3I.LOC-give [lie-put]-bring-PFV LNK game-give-DUR
'he released himself and played' [B10.023.03]

Another example of the CV *t-i-k* is given in (106). The CV *t-i-k* refers to 'releasing' of a woman that was tied up. The CV *t-i-k* combines with two arguments. The A argument is *ama loku* 'the people'; the U argument is the NP *mayol do* 'the woman' that is co-indexed with the prefix *he-* (3II.LOC).

(106) *ama* *loku* *he-l* *mayol* *do* *he-t-i-k-i*
person PL 3II.LOC-give woman PRX 3II.LOC-[lie-put]-bring-PFV
'the people untied her, this woman' [B02.094.14:17]

In (107), a grammaticalized use of the CV *t-i-k* is given. The CV *t-i-k* encodes that the 'pouring' of water is 'released'. It is deprived of its boundary, which means, that the duration of the 'pouring' is extended. The CV combines with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT).

(107) *ya* *di* *ta-wel* *ha-tik* *ha-loi-d-a*
water 3A DISTR.PAT-pour 3II.PAT-[lie-put]-bring 3II.PAT-long-hold-DUR
'the water is pouring continuously' [B04.017.01]

The CV *t-u-k* covers a range of meanings such as 'measure, emerge, stick out'. In (108), the CV *t-u-k* combines with two arguments. The A argument is *di* (3A), the U argument is the pronominal prefix *ho-* (3II.REC). The CV *t-u-k* refers to the event of 'measuring clothes' that is described as clothes that are laid down away from the DC.

(108) *di* *namang* *mi* *ho-t-u-k*
3A cloth take 3II.REC-[lie-leave]-bring [B10.021.06]
'he took the clothes and measured to him', lit.: 'he took the clothes and laid out on him'

Another example is given in (109). Here the CV *t-u-k* refers to the boats that are 'emerged' on the horizon. The 'emerging' is encoded as persistent 'lying' contact between two participants. The CV *t-u-k* combines with two arguments. The U argument is the NP *pelang loku* 'boats' that is co-indexed with the distributive prefix *ta-* (DISTR.PAT). The location on which the boats appear is expressed as the U argument of the generic root *ng* 'see'.

(109) *pelang loku di tama=ng ta-t-u-p-i*
canoe PL 3A sea=see DISTR.PAT-[lie-leave]-touch-PFV
'the boats emerged at the see (horizon)' [B10.021.01]

In (110), the CV *t-u-k* combines with two U arguments. It refers to the 'emerging of a thought or idea' to the human recipient expressed with the prefix *ho-* (3II.REC).

(110) *nala wala ho-ta-t-u-k naha*
what so 3II.REC-DISTR.PAT-[lie-leave]-bring NEG
'there isn't anything emerging to him' [B10.021.02]

In (111), the CV *t-u-k* refers to the 'knowing' of a person. This meaning is related to the meaning of 'measure'. The speaker is expressed as the U argument with the prefix *na-* (1SG.PAT). The A argument is *di* (3A).

(111) *di dara na-t-u-k naha to*
3A still 1SG.PAT-[lie-leave]-bring NEG PRX.AD
'he does not know me yet' [B10.021.04]

Other homogeneous CVs do not have a complete paradigm, as illustrated in (112). Also in these cases, the vowel generic roots encode the internal temporal structure of the encoded events.

	NO BOUNDARY	BOUNDED AT START & END	BOUNDED AT END	PERFECT
(112)	*w-a-k*	*w-o-k*	*w-i-k*	
	leave-be.at-bring	leave-point-bring	leave-put-bring	
	'abandon, embrace'	'throw (once)'	'carry away'	
	k-a-l	*k-o-l*	*k-i-l*	*k-u-l*
	bring-be.at-give	bring-point-give	bring-put-give	bring-leave-give
	'set away'	'tie, bind away'	'detach'	'throw'
	s-a-k	*s-o-k*	*s-i-k*	
	lie.ICP-be.at-bring	lie.ICP-point-bring	lie.ICP-put-bring	
	'move along'	'pass along (once)'	'break, pluck'	

In fact, the vowel roots overtly express the inner aspect (Aktionsart) of an event. There are established criteria how to categorize the Aktionsart. The tests use the temporal modification and quantification of the arguments (Krifka, 1998; Vendler, 1967; Verkuyl,

1972).[15] In this discussion I use the features ADD TO and BOUNDED to characterize the Aktionsart. The combinations of the features with examples of verbs are shown below:

(113) a. [−BOUNDED][−ADD TO]: be, sleep, know, mark, be red

b. [+BOUNDED][−ADD TO]: drop, hit, sleep an hour, know the number

c. [−BOUNDED][+ADD TO]: slide down, fall, aim, pull

d. [+BOUNDED][+ADD TO]: fall at, slid down, lose the key, pull out a canoe

In sum, the vocalic generic verbs in medial position are analyzed as overt encoders of the inner aspect (Aktionsart) of an event. This may seem strange because cross-linguistically, although stem alternation encoding telic properties of verbs is found elsewhere in Papuan languages, or in Slavic languages. In English, Aktionsart distinctions are typically part of the lexical semantics of a word and are not expressed by derivational morphology. Abui is exceptional in that it has a (limited) set of complex verbs which express Aktionsart systematically and overtly in their derivational morphology.

7.3.2.3 Semantic contribution of the initial root

In this section, I analyse the function of the initial GV in a complex verb as describing something that will be referred to as the 'locus' of the event, or the spatial constellation of the event. As suggested in section 7.3.2 and illustrated in (76), the initial generic root of a homogeneous CV is related to the locus of the event. A large paradigm is given in (114). Because of their final verb *k*, all these verbs refer to events that are classified as motions, while the medial verb *a* 'be at' indicates that the event has no internal boundary. The initial verb is variable, and indicates the spatial constellation of the event.

(114)

t-a-k lie-be.at-bring	'bring down, shoot, empty'	*s-a-k* lie.ICP-be.at-bring	'move along, pass along'
p-a-k touch-be.at-bring	'bring at, slap'	*d-a-k* hold-be.at-bring	'clutch, trap'
b-a-k join-be.at-bring	'swallow, snatch'	*f-a-k* sever-be.at-bring	'break'
l-a-k give-be.at-bring	'mark, count'	*w-a-k* bring-be.at-bring	'abandon, embrace'

[15] Here, a large body of literature on *Aktionsart* and the established classifications as *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments*, and *achievements* (Vendler 1967) is reffered to. More specifically, the distinctions between stative [−ADD TO] and dynamic [+ADD TO] made by (Verkuyl 1972) are particularly interesting, and later *quantized* and *cumulative* feature (Krifka 1998).

As 'locus' marking derivational morphemes, initial generic verbs take a perspective that is quite different from what we are used to in derivational morphology. For example, the verb *t* 'lie' indicates a horizontal 'locus' that is reached by the motion (expressed by *k* 'bring'). The verb *s* 'lie' indicates a parallel 'locus'. The verb *p* 'touch' indicates a locus that may be described as 'touching of a surface', while the root *d* 'hold' encodes that the event involves an 'overall' type of contact between participants and their location. The root *b* 'join' indicates an intersecting locus, while the root *f* 'sever' refers to a separated locus. The root *l* 'give' refers to a locus that may be described as 'in reach'. Practically it means that the involved participants are 'in reach' of each other, but more distant from each other than e.g. when the generic verb is *p* 'touch' or *b* 'join'. At the same time the participants are still within reach of each other, unlike the participants in cases when the roots *u* 'leave' (pronounced and written as *w* in initial position) and *f* 'sever' are used. The verb *u* 'leave' indicates the remote locus. The verb *ì/y* 'put' was illustrated in (87); it indicates an overlay locus. A summary is given in **Table 27**. (An asterisk indicates that the root does not occur at all, brackets indicate other specialized functions.)

Table 27: Event 'locus' encoded by the generic verbs in initial position

ROOT	GLOSS	'LOCUS' ENCODED BY THE INITIAL ROOT
b	join	Intersecting locus
d	hold	Overall contact
f	sever	Separation
h	lack	(Distal index)
k	bring	Out of reach locus
l	give	Within reach
r	reach	Fixed, Reached
m	be.in	Be together in deictic centre
ng	see	*(not allowed in onset)
n	see.CPL	(Proximal index)
p	touch	Contact locus
t	lie	Horizontal locus
s	lie.ICP	Parallel locus
i/y	put	Overlay locus
u/w	leave	Remote locus, (Medial index)

Note that the verbs *h* 'lack', *n* 'see' and *u/w* 'leave' marked with an asterisk have an indexing function and serve as morphological base for index verbs, which are discussed in section 3.4.5.6.

Each of the CVs given in (114) is exemplified in (115)-(126). The CV *t-a-k* was discussed previously in (80)-(83), (98), and (99). The CV *s-a-k* is given in (115). It refers to bamboo moving along each other and being of no further use because the board is broken, this example is a repetition of (79).

(115) *ri* *ri-mai* *s-a-k* *he-tel* *tah-i*
2PL 2PL.AL-bamboo [lie.ICP-be.at]-bring 3II.AL-bundle put.on.CPL-PFV
you have put down a bundle of your broken bamboo' [B02.004.05:20]

In (116), the CV *s-a-k* refers to the event of 'making' appointment. It describes the 'appointment making' or 'agreeing' as lying parallel in the vicinity of speaker.

(116) *ama* *el* *na-pe-i* *s-a-k-i*
person before 1SG.PAT-near-PFV [lie.ICP-be.at]-bring-PFV
'people made an appointment with me' [B02.074.08:16]

The CV *p-a-k* refers to the 'crashing' of car passengers down to a ravine. The first root *p* 'touch' encodes the 'contact' locus of the participants that is brought about by motion away from the DC. The motion is oriented downward.[16] The CV combines with a single argument expressed by the complex NP in the first line:

(117) *oto* *he-ama* *kang* *ba* [*ho-mi* *mi-a* *loku* *yo*]RC
car 3II.AL-person be.good LNK 3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR PL MD.AD

mi *p-a-k* *mahoi-n-i*
take [touch-be.at]-bring together-see.CPL-PFV
'the car passengers that were in the car, they crashed (to ravine) all together' [B05.071.05]

In (118), the CV *d-a-k* refers to 'tight holding' of a participant. The initial root *d* 'hold' indicates the locus of the event as an 'overall contact'. The CV combines with the pronominal prefix *na-* (1SG.PAT) co-indexing the speaker as patient. It is inflected for imperfective aspect with suffix *-e* (IPFV):

(118) *me* *na-d-a-k-e!*
come 1SG.PAT-[hold-be.at]-bring-IPFV
'come and hold me tight!' [B10.019.05]

In (119), the CV *d-a-k* refers to 'clutching' of leaves to the speaker.[17] The U argument of the CV is the NP *tuli tala* 'leaves of tree sp.' that is co-indexed with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) as patient. The speaker is expressed as benefactive with the prefix *ne-* (1SG.LOC) on the verb *l* 'give'.

(119) *tuli* *tala* *mi* *ba* *ne-l* *ha-d-a-k-e*
tree.sp. leaves take LNK 1SG.LOC-give 3II.PAT-[hold-be.at]-bring-IPFV
'take the leaves of the 'tuli' tree and clutch them on me' [B10.021.01]

[16] The root *p* 'touch' refers to downward motion in CVs *p-a* 'go down' or *p-a-k-d-* 'fling, slap, jump'.
[17] In Abui traditional medicine, the diseases with symptoms such as fever or rush are healed by clutching the leaves of the 'tuli' tree to the affected parts of the body.

The stem *d-a-k* is also used to refer to fish and mouse traps. The bamboo traps referred to with the stem *dak* clutch an animal after the trigger part is touched. In (120), the CV *b-a-k* is illustrated. It refers to motion away from the DC with locus described as 'intersection' corresponding to the English verb 'snatch'. It combines with the free pronoun *na* (1SG).

(120) *na* *he-l* *b-a- k-i* *ba* *làk-i*
1SG 3II.LOC-give [join-be.at]-bring-PFV LNK leave.for-PFV
'I snatched him away' [B10.024.05]

The stem *bak* also refers to the 'jaws', or to 'snatching' or 'biting' of food. In (121), the CV *f-a-k* is given. It describes a motion oriented away from the DC. This motion has the separation locus. In (121), the CV *f-a-k* 'break' occurs in intransitive construction.

(121) *abui* *mi-a* *ne-toku* *fak-i*
mountain be.in-DUR 1SG.AL-leg [sever-be.at]-bring-PFV
'my leg broke in the mountains' [B06.017.07]

In (122), the CV *f-a-k* 'break' occurs in transitive construction. It refers to 'breaking' of a banana to be shared by the speaker and addressee.

(122) *pi* *fal* *baleei* *f-a-k*
1PL.I separate banana [sever-be.at]-bring
'we share a banana' [B10.007.01]

In (123), the CV *l-a-k* refers to the event of 'marking'. It describes the motion oriented away from the DC. The locus of this event is described by the root 'give' as being 'in reach'. In (123), the CV *l-a-k* corresponds to the English verb 'mark' or 'recognize'. In serial construction with *iéng* 'see' it gives the meaning of 'know'.

(123) *na* *he-d-o* *n-iéng* *l-a-k* *naha*
1SG 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 1SG.PAT-see [give-be.at]-bring NEG
'I don't know him, I do not recognize him' [B10.047.11]

In (124), the CV *l-a-k* combines with two arguments. It refers to motion away from the DC affecting the 'house' that is 'in reach' of the event. The CV *l-a-k* combines with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) co-indexing the NP *fala* 'house' as patient. Its meaning corresponds to the English verb 'demolish', 'take apart'.

(124) *maama* *di* *fala* *ha-l-a-k*
father 3A house 3II.PAT-[give-be.at]-bring
'father demolished the house' [B06.011.02]

In (125), the CV *w-a-k* refers to a motion oriented away from the DC. The locus of the event is encoded with the root *w* 'leave'. It indicates the 'remoteness' of the participants. The CV *w-a-k* is related to the CV *w-o-k* 'throw'. The U argument of the CV *w-a-k* is the NP *ni-ya maama o* 'mother and father'. The verb refers to 'abandoning' of parents by their children.

(125) *ni-ya* *maama* *o* *wat* *he*
1PL.E.AL-mother father MD [leave-be.at]-lie PRH
'we shall not abandon our mother and father' [B02.158.00:02]

In (126), the CV *w-a-k* combines with the U argument expressed with the distributive prefix *ta-* (DISTR.PAT). It refers to 'embracing' of two participants. This is encoded as a motion away from the DC. The root *w* 'leave' indicates the remote locus. Because both participants are affected they are co-indexed as patients on the CV.

(126) *di* *ning* *ayoku* *ta-w-a-k* *ba* *luuk* *do=ng* *we*
3A be.QNT two DISTR.PAT-[leave-be.at]-bring LNK dance PRX=see leave
'they both embraced each other to enter the dance' [B02.087.08:17]

As illustrated in examples above, the CVs such as *w-a-k* or *l-a-k* present quite descriptions of events from a perspective that is radically different from that of more familiar languages. The paradigms suggest that the question of lexicalization cannot be answered without intensive further research.

Some more paradigms of the CVs with alternating first root are given below. In (127), the root *m* 'be in' encodes the event locus as being in the same location.

(127) *p-a-ng* 'feel, shape, form' *m-a-ng-* 'possess'
touch-be.at-see be.in-be.at-see

t-à-ng 'release' *b-a-ng* 'carry on shoulder'
lie-be.at-see join-be.at-see

In (128), all verbs contain the final root *l* 'give' that indicates that the event is externally caused. The root *u* 'leave' refers to the event that reached its final boundary and has persistent effect. The initial roots encode the locus. As discussed in the initial part of this section, the root *f* 'sever' refers to the separation locus of two participants. The root *k* 'bring' refers to locus that is not in reach but not too remote. The root *r* 'reach' refers to the locus where participants were previously in 'in reach or fixed' of each other. Finally, the root t 'lie' refers to horizontal locus of the participants.

(128) *f-u-l* 'swallow' *k-u-l* 'throw'
sever-leave-give bring-leave-give

t-u-l 'take out' *r-u-l* 'loosen, let slide'
lie-leave-give reach-leave-give

The use of the CV *r-u-l* is illustrated in (129) and (130). In (129), the CV combines with two arguments. The A argument is expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). The U argument is the NP *de-namang* 'her own clothes' and co-indexed with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) as patient on the CV. It corresponds to the English verb 'take off' because it combines with the argument 'clothes'.

(129) *di fa de-namang ha-r-u-l ba ko da-wel*
3A be.MD.AD 3I.AL-cloth 3II.PAT-[reach-leave]-give LNK soon 3I.PAT-pour
'she actually took off her clothes to wash herself' [B07.042.02]

Another use of the CV *r-u-l* is given in (130). In this case, the U argument of the verb *r-u-l* is the NP *de-kafiei* 'his goat'. The CV *r-u-l* corresponds in this case to the English verb 'untie'.

(130) *Simon di de-kafiei ha-r-u-l-e*
name 3A 3I.AL-goat 3II.PAT-[reach-leave]-give-IPFV
'Simon unties the goat' [B07.042.02]

A number of CVs that alternate the first root is given in (131). These CVs refer to a motion event oriented away from the DC. The root *u* 'leave' indicates that the event reached its final boundary and persists. As in the previous cases, the root *b* 'join' refers to an intersection locus, the root *f* to separation locus. The root *k* 'bring' indicates the out-of-reach locus that is not remote. It contrasts with the root *l* 'give' that refers to in-reach locus. The root *t* 'lie' refers to horizontal locus.

(131)

u-k	'draw off, bring away'	*b-u-k*	'conjoin'
leave-bring		join-leave-bring	
f-u-k	'fart'	*k-u-k*	'push out'
sever-leave-bring		bring-leave-bring	
l-u-k	'rub, wipe'	*t-u-k*	'stick out, meassure'
give-leave-bring		lie-leave-bring	

In (132), a similar paradigm of CVs is given. The final root *ng* 'see' indicates that the event oriented towards a location. The root *u* 'leave' has the same semantics as in the previous case. The initial root encodes the locus of the event as described above.

(132)

b-u-ng	'hide'	*f-u-ng*	'heap up'
join-leave-see		sever-leave-see	
p-u-ng	'grab'	*t-u-ng*	'perforate, pierce'
touch-leave-see		lie-leave-see	

One more paradigm is given in (133).

(133)

b-o-k	'dig, poke, perforate, push in'	*k-o-k*	'prod'
join-point-bring		bring-point-bring	
l-o-k	'prick with finger'	*m-o-k*	'put together'
give-point-bring		take-point-bring	
p-o-k	'forcefully touch'	*s-o-k*	'miss, pass, not hit'
touch-point-bring		lie.ICP-point-bring	
t-o-k	'drop, pour, spill'	*w-o-k*	'throw away'
lie-point-bring		leave-point-bring	
y-o-k	'cover'		
put-point-bring			

In (134), a final set of verbs is given, in this headed by the verb *i* 'put' indicating an achieved, accomplished event or a downwards movement. The root *a* 'be at' indicates unbounded event.

(134)

b-a-i	'strike, forge, grind'	*d-a-i*	'retain, become tenancy'
join-be.at-put		hold-be.at-put	
k-a-i	'drop'	*l-a-i*	'diffuse, disperse'
bring-be.at-put		give-be.at-put	
m-a-i	'put in'	*p-a-i*	'be in possession, keep'
be.in-be.at-put		touch-be.at-put	
s-a-i	'put along'	*w-a-i*	'put away, turn'
lie.ICP-be.at-put		leave-be.at-put	

7.3.3 Homogeneous CVs consisting of four and more generic roots

The majority of homogeneous CVs described in this chapter consist of three generic roots. However, there are paradigms that involve more than three generic roots. In this section a number of paradigms are given. The CVs that are found in these paradigms are clearly semantically related and the steps of the derivation can be reconstructed, as illustrated in (68) is section 7.1.3. In (135), the homogeneous CVs derived from the CV *t-u-* 'leave surface' are given, with possible lexicalization paths represented by the arrows.

(135)

t-u-	'leave surface'	*t-u-l*	'take out'
lie-leave		[leave.surface]-give	
t-u-k	'stick out, measure'	*t-u-ng*	'perforate, pierce'
[leave.surface]-bring	↓	[leave.surface]-see	↓
[*t-u-k-o*]-*l*	'cut in'	[*t-u-n*]-*r*	'make a hole, inject'
[stick.out-point]-give	↓	[perforate]-reach	
[*t-u-k-o-l*]-*r-*	'make a hole'	[*t-u-k-o-l-a*]-*d-*	'get a hole, leak'
cut.in-reach		be.cut.in-hold	

Another interesting observation can be made in (136). In some cases generic verbs may be attached in front of the stem involved in derivation. There are a number of forms derived with the verb *a* 'be at' referring to a property or deriving a verb parallel to applicative verbs in other languages or sometimes even nouns. This part is rather speculative and more data is needed to confirm these suggestions.

(136)

ì	'put'	*a-i*	'put at, put aside, select'
put		be.at-put	
fung	'heap up, grow up'	*a-fung*	'be pregnant'
heap.up		be.at-heap.up	
d-u	'possess, own, hold'	*a-d-u-o*	'owner, holder'
hold-PRF		be.at-hold-PRF-PNCT	
kupil	'be round'	*a-kupil*	'be rounded'
be.round		be.at-be.round	
lik-i-ng	'bent at'	*a-liking*	'be bent'
bend-put-see		be.at-bent.at	
w-e	'leave'	*a-we*	'end'
leave-move		be.at-leave	

At this stage of research, I do not understand the derivation of CVs with more than three roots enough to provide a sound analysis. My data does not cover them sufficiently.

7.4 Summary of the semantic contribution of generic roots

As demonstrated in the sections above, the homogeneous CVs frequently encode locomotion and motion events. They offer an interesting look in the event decomposition of the motion and locomotion events in Abui. The structure of these events is schematically represented in (137) and compared with the structure of the heterogeneous CVs.

(137) [EVENT.LOCUS-INNER.ASPECT]-EVENT.TYPE

[Generic.root-	Generic.root]-Generic.root	Homogeneous CVs
[Non-generic.root	]-Generic.root	Heterogeneous CVs

The final verb of a homogeneous CV encodes the event type. It refers to the spatial orientation of the event with respect to the participants and the deictic centre (DC). The vowel roots encode telic properties of the event (inner aspect, or Aktionsart). The initial root describes the 'locus' of the event. An overview of the various functions is given in the Table 28. (Asterisks indicate that the function is not available, bracketed information refers to related functions.)

Table 28: Semantic contribution of Abui generic roots

		INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
		EVENT LOCUS	INNER ASPECT	EVENT TYPE
a. ±TRANSITIVE GENERIC VERBS				
b	join	Intersecting locus	*	Impact event
d	hold	Overall contact	*	Internally caused change of state
f	sever	Separation	*	Event of separation
h	lack	(Distal index)	*	Perfect event, Previously reached position
k	bring	Out of reach locus	*	Motion event; (often away from the deictic centre = Source)
l	give	Within reach	*	Externally caused event
r	reach	Fixed, Reached	*	Completed caused event
m	be.in	Be together in one location	*	Position within deictic centre
ng	see	* (not allowed in onset)	*	Oriented towards a location (often towards the deictic centre = goal)
n	see.CPL	(Proximal index)	*	Completed motion towards deictic centre/goal; property
p	touch	Contact locus	*	State (of contact); Participant(s) in contact position
t	lie	Horizontal locus	*	State (horizontal); Participant(s) in horizontal position
s	lie.ICP	Parallel locus	*	State (parallel); Participant in parallel position
i/y	put	Overlay locus	Bounded at end	Achieved, accomplished event, downward motion
u	leave	Remote locus (Medial index)	Perfect	Resultant, permament state ~ PRF
b. – TRANSITIVE GENERIC VERBS				
a	be.at	Property	No boundary	State
e	move	*	Bounded at start	*
o	point	*	Bounded at start & end	*

When Abui speakers translate the meaning of a complex verb, they often use hand gestures that express the locus and indicate the trajectory of the event (for instance the

verb *d* 'hold' is illustrated by putting one hand on the top of an object, or just on the table, the verb *t* 'lie' is illustrated by putting both hands on each other, etc.). They often find it difficult to translate an Abui verb with a Malay equivalent unable to capture the polysemy of Abui verbs. Systematic research into this use of gesture could provide additional insights in the type of event decompositions suggested in this chapter.

8 Serial Verb Constructions

In general, Abui speakers use more verbs to refer to simple events than English speakers. In (1) the expressed events of 'taking back' and 'bringing back' are spelled out in serial verb constructions that describe the event components in step by step fashion.[1]

(1) a. *ha-wai* *mi-a!*
3II.PAT-turn take-DUR
'take it back!'

b. *na* *mi* *ha-wai* *miei*
1SG take 3II.PAT-turn come.CPL
'I brought it back'

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are often thought of as verb clusters without any over marker of coordination or subordination. Foley and Olson (1985) argue that the verbs in SVCs behave as a single predicate in a simple clause with respect to grammatical operators such as negation or aspectual inflection. As illustrated in (1), Abui SVCs consist minimally of two verbs (a), but often more verbs are serialized (b). In a SVC, different meaning components of the verbs may be activated (cf. Crowley, 2002:22-3). This is illustrated (2). The verb *me* 'come' encodes direction in (a), while in (b) it encodes manner and perhaps some aspect (gradual change).

(2) a. *di* *tur-i* *ya* *mi* *me*
3A scoop.CPL-PFV SEQ take come
'she scooped up and brought it (towards DC)

b. *di* *me* *ha-rik-i*
3A come 3II.PAT-hurt-PFV
'he got gradually ill'

In view of this Abui SVCs should not be dealt with as a single construction, but rather as a collection of constructions sharing the same set of conceptual, grammatical, morpho-syntactic and semantic properties (cf. Crowley 2002:1-23).

In section 8.1, I give grammatical, compositional and semantic characteristics of Abui SVCs. Compositional characteristics of SVCs are taken as the main criterion in describing Abui SVCs (8.1.2). They are described as symmetrical or asymmetrical, following the dichotomy established by Aikhenvald (2006). In section 8.2, I describe symmetrical SVCs in which the verbs have 'equal' grammatical status. The verbs in symmetrical SVCs encode the reported event in a step by step fashion by listing the verbs.

The asymmetrical SVCs consist of a two verbs of 'unequal' grammatical status. The 'minor verb' has a grammatical function as the verb *me* 'come' in (2). The 'major verb' is the semantic head of the SVC. I distinguish two types of asymmetrical SVCs taking the syntactic position of the 'minor' verb as the formal criterion. In section 8.3, I describe asymmetrical SVCs in which the minor verb follows the major verb. The minor verb expresses aspect, direction, manner and mood.

[1] The interaction between grammaticalization and lexicalization of SVCs and the speaker's creativity remains a tricky and puzzling problem (cf. Pawley and Lane, 1998). The border between lexicalized SVCs and those produced following a template (or its functional extensions) is often fuzzy as pointed out in different sections of this chapter.

In section 8.4, I describe asymmetrical SVCs in which the minor verb precedes the major verb. The minor verb introduces participants and has other functions relating to the left edge (see 6.2).

8.1 Characteristics of Abui Serial Verb Constructions

SVCs are defined as constructions expressing what is conceptualized as a single event[2] (Durie 1997:291) sharing a number of grammatical as well as semantic characteristics that were established cross-linguistically (Foley and Olson, 1985; Durie, 1997; Pawley and Lane, 1998; Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2006). For grammatical characteristics, they include:

(3)
i. SVCs are monoclausal units with two or more verbs conjoined without any conjunction;

ii. SVCs are contiguous constructions as no constituents except arguments may intervene between the verbs;

iii. SVCs have intonational properties of a mono-verbal clause (Givón, 1990);

iv. verbs in SVCs may share their inflections, especially for aspect;

v. verbs in SVCs share negation;

vi. verbs in SVCs share at least one argument.

The semantic and compositional characteristics divide SVCs in two large groups as discussed in 8.1.2. The verbs of equal grammatical 'status' combine in symmetrical SVCs. The verbs of unequal grammatical 'status' combine in asymmetrical SVCs. The restricted verb in asymmetrical SVCs expresses grammatical function(s).

8.1.1 Grammatical characteristics of Abui SVC

In the previous sections, I have taken the liberty to refer to the constructions involving 'verb clusters' occurring in the same sentence as SVCs. In this section I will actually show that these constructions meet the established characteristics defining SVCs as listed in (3). I discuss the characteristics listed in (3) in turn below:

MONOCLAUSAL UNITS. In Abui, there are verb clusters, which express what might be seen as conceptualized as a single event. In these verb clusters, the verbs combine without any coordination or subordination markers occurring between the

[2] An indirect supporting evidence for the claim that SVCs express what is the conceptualized as a single event comes from elicitation with the Cut and Break Clips (Böhnemeyer et al., 2001). Language consultants produced a detailed account, using multi-verbal constructions.

verbs. This property is illustrated in (4) with the verbs *me* 'come' and *yai paneng* 'sing', these verbs combine to form a single clause:[3]

(4) *moku me yai paneng*
kid come song make
'the child came to sing' [B07.015.01]

In (3), serial verb constructions are cross-linguistically characterized as monoclausal units without conjunction markers (i). Abui verb clusters have the same property, as illustrated in (4).

CONTIGUOUS CONSTRUCTION. The verb clusters such as in (4) are contiguous; no constituents except the arguments may intervene between the verbs. This is further illustrated in (5) where the form *afeida* 'yesterday' expressing the time of the event must precede the verbs *tilei* 'hang (out)' and *lol* 'walk', see (a). It is ungrammatical to place a non-argument constituent such as *afeida* 'yesterday' between the verbs of the verb cluster, see (b):

(5) a. *afeida na kantor loku to-tilei lol-e*
yesterday 1SG office PL DISTR.REC-hang.ICP walk-IPFV
'I was going along the offices yesterday' [B10.019.05]

b. **na kantor loku to-tilei afeida lol-e*
1SG office PL DISTR.REC-hang.ICP yesterday walk-IPFV

In (3), serial verb constructions are cross-linguistically characterized as contiguous constructions that allow only arguments to intervene between the verbs, see (ii). Other constituents are not allowed to intervene between the verbs.

SHARED INTONATION CONTOUR. Verb clusters such as in (4) and (5) share a single intonation contour similar to that of a monoverbal clause and not to that of a sequence of clauses. There is no intonation break (typically indicating a clause boundary) between the verbs. As listed in (3), serial verb constructions are cross-linguistically characterized by intonational properties of a monoverbal clause.

SHARED ASPECTUAL INFLECTION. The verbs in verb clusters such as illustrated in (4) and (5) share the aspectual inflection in most cases. This is illustrated in (6) where the verbs *wai* 'turn back' and *kok* 'prod' in (a) share the aspectual markers *-u* (PRF) and *te* (INCP.I). The verbs *yaa* 'go' and *sik* 'sever' in (b) share the imperfective aspectual suffix *-e* (IPFV):

[3] The verbs that are serialized in (4) may be combined using a conjunction marker. In the following example, the verbs *me* 'come' and *yai paneng* 'sing' combine in a complex sentence. The sentence consists of two clauses linked with the sequential linker *ya* (SEQ). Constructions like this one will not be considered SVCs.

(1) moku me ya yai paneng
child come SEQ song make
'the child arrives and sings' [B07.015.02]

(6) a. *a-wai* *he-kok-u=te!*
2SG.PAT-turn.back 3ILLOC-prod-PRF=INCP.C
'resume prodding!', lit.: 'turn back, prod it!'

b. *na yaa ayak sik-e*
1SG go rice sever-IPFV
'I am going to harvest rice'

In the literature about Papuan languages, a distinction is made between FINAL and MEDIAL verbs (cf. Foley, 1986:176). Final verbs, as their name suggests, are those verbs that appear in the final position of a verb cluster or verb chain and carry the verbal inflections. Medial verbs, as their name suggests, are those verbs that appear in non-final positions and do not carry the same verbal inflections. The verbal inflections mentioned by Foley (1986:176) include inflections for person and tense.

In Abui, the only inflections that appear following the verb stem are aspectual markers. However, a similar distinction can be made between the verbs in a verb cluster. Only the final verb of a verb cluster appears to carry the aspectual inflections. The 'medial verb(s)' in a verb cluster appear bare, without aspectual inflections. In Abui, a large set of verbs alternate their stems depending on the aspectual inflection that follows, cf. 3.4.2.3. Some of these stems are bound forms that cannot function as predicates in monoverbal clauses. They always require the aspectual inflection. However, these bound stems may appear as 'middle verbs' within a verb cluster, as illustrated in (7). In (a), the stem *yaar* 'go' is used as medial verb of a verb cluster. In (b), the verb stem *yaar* 'go' is used as predicate in monoverbal clause, but such use is ungrammatical as the stem *yaar* 'go' is a bound verb stem; it would require a perfective suffix *-i* (PFV).

(7) a. *ri yaar kan-r-i*
2PL go.CPL good.CPL-reach-PFV
'you go completely, lit.: you go finish' [B02.040.12:44]

b. **ri yaar*
2PL go.CPL

In (3), serial verb constructions are cross-linguistically characterized by shared verbal inflections (iv). In Abui, verb clusters such as (7) share aspectual inflection. They display the same characteristic as what was defined as serial verb constructions (see also 8.1.2).

SHARED NEGATION. In Abui, verbs clusters share negation expressed with the negator *naha* (NEG). In a monoverbal clause, the negator follows the verb. In verb clusters the negator follows the final verb of the cluster negating both verbs. This is illustrated in (8) where in (a) the negator *naha* (NEG) appears following the final verb and both verbs are negated. The negator may not intervene between the two verbs (b):

(8) a. *Fani di Waksi he-l tahai naha*
name 3A name 3ILLOC-give search NEG
'Fani does not look for Waksi'

b. **Fani di Waksi he-l naha tahai*
name 3A name 3ILLOC-give NEG search

Shared negation is one of the cross-linguistically established characteristics of SVCs, as listed in (3). As illustrated in (8), Abui verb clusters display the same property.

SHARED ARGUMENTS. In Abui, verbs in a verb cluster share at least one argument. This argument is either an A or a U argument. This is illustrated in (9). The verbs *wai* 'turn back', *mi* 'take', and *r* 'reach' are conjoined in a verb cluster. They share the A argument *Simon*. However, not all verbs of the cluster share their U arguments. The U argument of *-wai* is expressed as the NP *ne-seng* 'my money' and co-indexed with the PAT prefix *ha-* on the verb. The verb *mi* 'take' is shares the A argument with *-wai* 'turn'. The benefactive participant is realized as the U argument of the verb *r* 'reach' with the LOC prefix *ne-*:

	NP_A	NP_{U1}	PRO_{U1}-V	V	PRO_{U2}-V
(9)	*Simon*	*ne-seng*	*ha-wai*	*mi*	*ne-r-i*
	name	1SG.AL-money	3II.PAT-turn	take	1SG.LOC-reach-PFV
	'Simon gave me back my money'				

However, it is unclear whether the NP *ne-seng* 'my money' is also a U argument of the verb *mi* 'take', because no pronominal prefix appears. As listed in (3), shared arguments are one of the characteristics of serial verb constructions. Abui verb clusters display this characteristics just as other mentioned characteristics. Therefore, it is justified to refer to them henceforth as serial verb constructions (SVCs).

8.1.2 Composition and semantics of SVCs

Abui serial verb constructions are divided into two types according to their compositional and semantic properties. The SVCs of the first type consist of verbs belonging to unrestricted set (see 8.2). These verbs are of equal grammatical status; they do not show any dependency with respect to each other. This means that none of the verbs in the first type of SVC is semantically 'dominant'. As illustrated in (10) a number of verbs combine refer to a single event. The ordering of verbs is conventionalized; it reflects the established conventions about how things are done in Abui community:

(10)	*yaa*	*mit*	*nate-a*	*tanga*	*ananra*			'negotiate'
	go	sit	stand.up-DUR	speak	tell			
	yaa	*mit*	*nate-a*	*tanga*	*ananra*	*tikak*	*fak*	'negotiate about peace'
	go	sit	stand.up-DUR	speak	tell	arrow	break	
	mi	*me*	*feng*					'bring to slaughter'
	take	come	injure					

In Abui, the SVCs of the second type consist of restricted verb(s) combined with unrestricted verb(s). The unrestricted verb is semantically 'dominant' as it expresses the event. The restricted verb is semantically 'dependent' verb of the structure in the sense that is has a grammatical function(s) rather than referring to an event. The restricted verbs will be referred to as 'minor' verbs. The unrestricted verbs will be referred to as 'major verbs'. Aikhenvald (2006) refers to these two types of SVCs

with the terms SYMMETRICAL and ASYMMETRICAL respectively. In my description of Abui, I adopt these terms systematically.

In Abui asymmetrical SVCs, the minor verb either precedes or follows the major verb, distinguishing two subtypes of asymmetrical SVCs (ASVC). This is illustrated in as illustrated in (11). In the first column, the minor verb *l* 'give' precedes a number of major verbs. The verb *l* 'give' has a grammatical function of expressing benefactive (human) participants (for examples see 8.4.2.4). The verb ***kanri*** 'finish' is the minor verb in the second column. It serves to express that an event has been completed (for more examples see 8.3.1.1). Note that for the ease of presenting the full glosses are omitted:

	MINOR	MAJOR		MAJOR	MINOR	
(11)	*-l*	*takei*	'bite s.o.'	*nee*	*kanri*	'finish eating'
	give	bite		eat	finish	
	-l	*tahai*	'search s.o.'	*yaar*	*kanri*	'finish going'
	give	search		go.CPL	finish	
	-l	*feng*	'injure, murder s.o.'	*feng*	*kanri*	'kill'
	give	injure		injure	finish	
	-l	*luk*	'massage s.o.'	*mar*	*kanri*	'finish cooking'
	give	rub		cook	finish	

In an ASVC, ordering of the major and minor verbs is grammaticalized. Therefore a distinction will be made between ASVC.I and ASVC.II. In ASVC.I the minor verb(s) follow the major verb(s). As discussed in 8.3, the minor verbs in ASVC.I express something about the event properties such as aspect, manner, direction of the event, or mood.

In ASVC.II the minor verb(s) precede the major verb(s). The function of the minor verb is to express the participants or describe event settings, as will be discussed in 8.4. The position of the minor verb with respect to the position of the major verb corresponds to the positions of aspectual markers, arguments and adverbs within Abui clause. In a monoverbal clause, arguments and adverbs referring to the settings of the event precede the verb. The aspectual markers and negation always follow (for details see 6.4.1).

In Abui, there is a number of SVCs that display properties of both types. In these SVCs, a number of verbs of 'equal' status combine with one or more major verbs. These SVCs usually occur in narrative texts. The intonational properties of the SVC complex are those of a monoverbal clause; the complex also is under scope of negation. Such SVCs must be treated as 'hybrid' SVCs because they do not fit in the dichotomy symmetrical vs. asymmetrical but have properties of both types. An example of a 'hybrid' SVC is given in (12). The verbs ***top*** 'drop' and ***taha*** 'put on' combine in an ASVC.II. Both verbs share their arguments ***tut*** 'shore' co-indexed with the LOC prefix on ***topi*** 'drop'. They share the argument ***kapal loku*** 'boats' co-indexed with the distributive

prefix on *topi* 'drop' with the first verb *marang* 'come up'. The verbs *marang* 'come up' and *top* 'drop' combine in a symmetrical SVC:

(12) *kapal loku o marang tut tah-a*
boat PL MD come.up.ICP shore put.on.CPL-DUR

he-ta-top-i
3IL.LOC-DISTR.PAT-drop.CPL-PFV
'the boats disembarked on the shore' [B05.029.01]

Hybrid SVCs do not have a specific grammatical function. They seem to be ad-hoc formed constructions depending on the pragmatic decisions of the speaker. Therefore I will not report 'hybrid' SVCs in a separate section. Instead, I will point them out in various sections.

Finally, there is a final remark to be made about the correlation between the shared aspectual inflection and the compositional properties of a SVC. The verbs combined in asymmetric SVCs share always their aspectual inflection. The inflection appears on the final verb of a SVC regardless its 'status', hence, in ASVC.I, aspectual inflection is attached to the minor verb, and in ASVC.II, aspectual inflection is attached to the major verb. However, in symmetrical SVCs and hybrid SVCs the aspectual inflections do not necessarily have to be shared by all verbs.

8.2 Symmetrical serial verb constructions

The verbs in symmetrical SVCs (SSVC) belong to unrestricted sets (as already discussed in 8.1.2). They do not show any dependency in respect of each other. In general, the linear ordering of the verbs in a SSVC is the same as order of sub-events building up the reported event. However, the choice of the verbs reporting various sub-events is conventionalised as an event has to be reported in a culturally and conventionally accepted way (cf. Bruce, 1988; Pawley, 1991).[4]

The SSVC is sometimes indicated by the presence of an aspectual marker between two verbs. In (13) the verb *ban* 'carry' combines with the aspectual marker *te* (INCP.C) that is not shared with the verb *sei* 'come down'. Both verbs form a SSCV characterized by its intonational properties.

(13) *ban=te sei!*
carry.CPL=INCP.C come.down.CNT
'bring it down!' [B02.060.24:01]

The borders of a SSVC may be fuzzy, which makes it difficult to determine whether a SVC is symmetrical, asymmetrical, or hybrid. In (14) the verb *me* 'come' may be interpreted to be part of two SVCs. It either indicates the direction in which the

[4] This type of SVCs is found in other Papuan languages consisting sometimes of more than five verbs in languages such as Kalam (Pawley, 1987; 1991; 1993; 2004) or Kobon (Davies, 1984).

children hide their sea food or it indicates motion and consequent eating expressed with *nee* 'eat':

(14) *moku loku we-i tafui ya eti do bunui me nee-i*
kid PL leave-PFV crab SEQ shrimp PRX hide come eat-PFV
'the children went and hid his crabs and shrimps by them and ate them' [B02.030.06:28]

There are three subtypes of symmetrical SVCs distinguished by their function: narrative SVCs (see 8.2.1), locative SVCs (see 8.2.2), and synonymous SVCs (see 8.2.3).

8.2.1 Narrative SVCs

Narrative[5] SSVCs, sometimes referred to as 'sequential' SVCs (cf. Aikhenvald, 2006), consist of a sequence of verbs referring to a number of sub-events that together make up a description of the referred event. They typically occur in resuming sections of narratives, in which they report a sequence of sub-events in a condensed step-by-step fashion. As illustrated in (15) the verbs *yaa* 'go', *mit* 'sit', *nate-a* 'stand up', *tanga* 'speak' and *ananra* 'tell' are serialized to refer to 'negotiating'.[6]

(15) *ko pi yaa mit nati-a tanga ananra*
soon 1PL.I go sit stand.up-DUR speak.CNT tell.CNT
'we will negotiate' [B01.081.00:55]

The narrative SVC illustrated in (15) consists of five verbs that act as a monoverbal clause with respect to negation. This is illustrated in (16) where the negator *naha* (NEG) follows the final verb and negates all verbs conjoined in the SSVC:

(16) *ko pi yaa mit nate-a tanga ananra naha*
soon 1PL.I go sit stand.up-DUR speak.CNT tell.CNT NEG
'we will not negotiate'

The set of verbs that are used to describe the event of 'negotiation' is conventionalized. The negotiation is described as gathering, sitting down, standing up again and talking, and in that particular order. Another example is given in (17), where the event of 'consulting each other' is referred by the verbs *miti* 'sit' and *pun* 'grab':

(17) *ama he-ta-mi=ng mit-i tanga nuku pun-i*
person 3IL.LOC-DISTR.PAT-be.in=see sit-PFV word one grab.CPL-PFV
'the people were consulting it together' [B10.048.08]

[5] In this description I use the term 'narrative' used by van Staden and Reesink (In press) or Pawley (In press). This term can be used interchangeably with the term 'narrative' coined by Aikhenvald (2006).
[6] Examples like this present a challenge of the generally accepted claim that SVCs represent what is a single conceptual event. Abui is not as radical in this extent as a related Papuan language Kalam (cf. Pawley, 1987; 1991; 1993; 2004).

Note that this construction is in fact a 'hybrid' SVC because the minor verb *mi* 'be in' is also part of the SVC. It combines in an ASVC.II with the major verb is *mit* 'sit'. The minor verb *mi* 'be in' combines with two U arguments. The first U argument is realized as the NP *ama* 'person' and as the bound distributive pronoun *ta-* (DISTR.PAT); the second U argument is realized with *he-* referring to the consulted matter.

Another complex narrative SVCs that must be qualified as 'hybrid' is given in (18) where only the verbs that are glossed in underscored case combine in a SSVC. Note that the minor verb *ng* 'see' combines with the major verb *ì* 'put' in an allative serial construction (see 8.4.2.1). The location is expressed with a complement structure consisting of the verb *mi* 'be in' and its argument. The complement has some properties of a nominal; however, its internal structure is that of a VP combined with an NP expressing its U argument (for more details see 8.4.2.3).

(18) *ama* *mi* *sei* [*na-táng* *ho-mi*]$_{complement}$=*ng* *ì*
person take come.down.CNT 1SG.INAL-hand 3II.REC-be.in=see put

na *pun-a*
1SG grab.CPL-DUR
'the people brought it down putting it down in my hands and I hold it' [B01.078.01:42]

Another instance of a narrative SVC that can be qualified as 'hybrid' is given in (19). The verbs *tol* 'reach', *sei* 'come down', and *mi-a* 'take' constitute a SSVC sharing a single argument *di* (3A). The minor verbs *kang* 'be good' and *la* 'be.MD' combine with *tol* 'reach' in an asymmetrical SVC express modality and event location.

(19) *di* *kang* *da-táng* *la* *ha-tol* *sei* *mi-a*
3A be.good 3I.INAL-hand be.MD 3II.PAT-reach come.down.CNT take-DUR
'he (truly) sticks out his hand down to take it' [B02.142.01:25]

8.2.2 Locative SVCs

Locative SVCs consist of one or more verbs combined with the locative verb *mi-a* 'be in'. The position of *mi-a* 'be in' is flexible. It can precede, follow, or be in between the other verbs. The initial position of *mi-a* 'be in' indicates the location of an event reported by the second verb. This is illustrated in (20) where *mi-a* 'be in' is serialized with *muila* 'play':

(20) *moku* *bataa* *wò* *mi-a* *mui-l-a* *mai* *bataa* *ho-fak-i*
kid tree DST.L be.in-DUR play-give-DUR CONJ tree 3II.REC-break-PFV
'children were playing under the tree, when it broke on them' [B05.013.01]

Note that both verbs in (20) share an argument *moku* 'kid, child'. The location of the event realized as the U argument of *mi-a* with the NP *bataa wò* 'under the tree'. A

similar example is given in (21) where *mi=a* 'be in' and *natet* 'stand up' combine in a locative SVC:

(21) *di firai ba kupai ha-ril mia do-natet-i*
3A run.CNT LNK forest 3II.INAL-edge be.in-DUR 3I.REC-stand.up.CPL-PFV
'he ran and stopped at the edge of the forest' [B07.059.03]

Both verbs share the same argument expressed as the free pronoun *di* (3A). The location is realized with the NP *kupai haril* 'the edge of the forest'.

The verb *mi-a* 'be in' refers to the origin location of an event when it is followed by a motion verb. This is illustrated in (22) where the origin location of the verb *yaa* 'go' is expressed by the argument of *mi-a* 'be in' realized with the NP *fala* 'house':

(22) *fala mi-a yaa!*
house be.in-DUR go
'go from the house!, lit. be in the house, go!' [B03.009.05]

In (23) a similar SVC is given; *mi-a* is serialized with *yei* 'fall' sharing the argument *moku fila* 'small child'. The location from which the small child is 'falling' is an argument of *mi-a* 'be in' expressed as the NP *lik hapong* 'front of the platform':

(23) *moku fila lik ha-pong mi-a ha-yei*
kid be.young platform 3II.INAL-face be.in-DUR 3II.PAT-fall
'the small child fell from the front of the platform' [B07.059.02]

In (24) *mi-a* 'be in' and *yaa* 'go' combine each with one place name in a construction that can be best translated as 'from X to Y'. The SVC forms a clause marked with the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD); it expresses the topic of the following clause.

(24) [*Mebung mi-a Kalang Fat yaa nu*]$_{\text{clause}}$ *fui h-iéng taki-a*
name be.in-DUR name go SPC.AD flat 3II.PAT-see loosen-DUR
'from Mebung to Kalabahi is plain' [B07.079.02]

When the verb *mi-a* 'be in' follows a motion verb, its argument expresses a goal location. This is illustrated in (25) where the motion verbs *firei* 'run' and *yaa* 'go' are serialized with *mi-a* 'be in'. The goal location of 'running' is expressed as the U argument of *mi-a* with the complement clause *tut taha* 'be at the beach'. The verb *mi-a* 'be in' often combines with other verbs in asymmetrical serial construction to express a location complement.

(25) *moku loku firei yaa* [*tut tah-a*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *mi-a mui-l-a*
kid PL run.ICP go shore put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-DUR play-give-DUR
'children run out to the beach to play' [B01.036.33]

A similar example is given in (26). In this SVC the verb *mi-a* is serialized with the motion verb *yaa* 'go'. The location of the movement is a human 'proximate participant' which is expressed in a complement structure. The complement is formally the first part of the asymmetrical serial construction consisting of the minor verb *pa* 'touch' which is serialized with the major verb *mi-a* 'be in'.

(26) *yaa* [*neng* *ho-pa*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *mi-a!*
go man 3II.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR
'go to your husband!' [B01.082.02:19]

For more details about *pa* 'touch' expressing a proximate recipient see section 8.4.2.6.

8.2.3 Synonymous SVCs

Synonymous SVCs consist of a pair of verbs that have either almost synonymous meaning or typically occur together.[7] Synonymous SVCs are a subset of parallel expressions, found in Abui. Parallel expressions are typically used in ritual speech or in stylistically elaborate expressions. These expressions are built up from two elements forming a pair. The first element referring to an entity or event is paraphrased by the second element that is either synonymous or belonging to the same semantic field. Each element in the pair can be composed of one word or more words (a phrase). These parallel expressions seem to be lexicalized or at least highly conventionalized. They are sometimes referred to by the term 'parallelism' (cf. Fox, 1988; Kuiper, 1996). An example of a synonymous SVC is given in (27) containing two synonymous SVCs:

(27) *na* *a-t* *a-wel-i* *ba* *he-fok-d-a*
1SG 2SG.PAT-lie 2SG.PAT-pour-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-big-hold-DUR

he-fin-r-i
3II.LOC-eldest-reach-PFV
'I took care of you till you grew up' lit: 'I fed and washed you until you grew up and became adult' [B05.023.02]

Both SVCs are symmetrical. They consist of unrestricted verbs that belong to an open class. As mentioned earlier, the restrictions here are lexical or conventional, but not grammatical. The first synonymous SVC consists of the verbs *-t* 'lie' and *-wel* 'pour'. Both verbs share their A argument expressed with the free pronoun *na* (1SG). The U argument is also shared and morphologically realized by a bound pronoun on each of the verbs. The second synonymous SVC contains the verbs *fokda* 'get big' and *finri* 'become old'. Both verbs share their U argument expressed as the prefix *he-*(3II.LOC). The pronoun refers to the previous clause.

[7] Synonymous SVCs are sometimes referred to as 'parallel' or 'synonymic'. They are found frequently in the area of Eastern Indonesia, as discussed by Fox (1988).

8.3 Asymmetrical Serial Verb Constructions type I

Asymmetrical SVCs of type I (henceforth ASVC.I) consist of a grammatically restricted 'minor' verb(s) that follows an unrestricted 'major' verb, as defined in 8.1.2. While the major verb identifies the event, the minor one has the grammatical function of expressing aspect, direction, manner,[8] or mood of the event identified by the major verb. The order of the verbs in ASVC.I is fixed and grammaticalized.

The various subtypes of ASVC.I found in this section are discussed according to the grammatical function of the minor verb: SVCs with minor verbs expressing aspect are discussed in section 8.3.1. SVCs with minor verbs expressing motion are discussed in 8.3.2. SVCs with minor verb expressing manner are found in 8.3.3. SVCs with minor verbs expressing mood can be found in section 8.3.4. One type of ASVC.I is characterized by the verb-class membership of the minor verb. As discussed in 8.3.5, the minor verb belongs to the index-verb class. In general, it has a function relating to manner.

8.3.1 SVCs with minor verbs expressing aspect

In this type of ASVC.I the minor verb serves to express the aspectual properties of the event identified by the major verb. A number of minor verbs are used such as *kanri* 'finish', *pe* 'be near', *re* 'reach', *tik* 'stretch', *loida* 'lengthen', or *tilei* 'hang'. The minor verb(s) and the major verbs form a very tight syntactic unit, a contiguous SVC not allowing any other constituent to intervene between them. They share at least one argument, typically the A argument of the major verb. The verbs *tik* 'stretch' and *loida* 'lengthen' obligatorily express their U argument with a bound pronoun while the verbs *kanri* 'finish', *pe* 'be near', and *re* 'reach' do not. This section is organized as follows: the verbs *kanri* 'finish', *pe* 'be near', and *re* 'reach' that occur without U argument are discussed in 8.3.1.1 - 8.3.1.3. They are followed by the verbs *tik* 'stretch' and *loida* 'lengthen' that obligatorily express their U argument in 8.3.1.4.

8.3.1.1 SVC with *kanri* 'finish'

The verb *kanri* 'finish, be ready' is used as minor verb in ASVC.I to express that an event is completed. The verb *kanri* is morphologically complex consisting of the completive stem *kan* 'be good' combined with the completive stem of the generic verb *r* 'reach' and the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). An example is given in (28) where in (a), the verb *wel* 'pour' is serialized with *kanri* 'finish'. It is contrasted with a monoverbal clause in (b) where *wel* combines with the perfective aspect marker *-i* (PFV):

(28) a. *da-wel* *kan-r-i*
3I.PAT-pour good-reach-PFV
'he finished bathing' [B07.072.01]

b. *wan* *da-wel-i*
already 3I.PAT-pour-PFV
'he already bathed' [B07.072.01]

The two constructions have a slightly different reading: the perfective inflection *-i* (PFV) indicates the reached final point of the event. The minor verb *kanri* 'finish' in the

[8] The manner may be expressed also by the asymmetrical SVCs type II (cf. 8.4.6).

ASVC.I indicates that the event of 'bathing' is completed. As discussed in chapters 6 and 7, some verbs alternate their stem according to the aspectual properties of the event, to which they refer. As illustrated in (29), the verb *marang* 'come up' does not combine with perfective inflection *-i* (PFV). Instead, the completive stem *maran* 'come up' is used. In (b) the completive stem combines freely with perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). In (a), the completive stems appears as the middle verb in the ASVC.I, in which it serves as the major verb.

(29) a. *di* *maran* *kan-r-i*
3A come.up.CPL good-reach-PFV
'she arrived above' [B02.091.11:41]

b. *di* *la* *maran-i*
3A be.MD come.up.CPL-PFV
'he came up there' [B02.149.02:37]

To sum up, in the case of perfective aspect inflection, the completive verb stem is required. Another stem-alternating verb *tàng* 'release' is illustrated in (30). The completive stem *tàn* 'release' appears as the major verb in an ASVC.I combined with the minor verb *kanri* 'finish':

(30) *he-hai* *do* *ama* *ha-tàn* *kan-r-i*
3II.AL-wife PRX person 3II.PAT-release.CPL good-reach-PFV
'his wife, people buried her' [B06.079.01:53]

For complex major verbs, aspectual inflection is required, as illustrated in (31). Complex verbs such as *kariangda* 'work' consisting of the loan root *kariang* 'work', the generic *d* 'hold', and the durative suffix *-a* (DUR) alternate the aspectual suffix when they occur in an ASVC.I combined with *kanri* 'finish'. Instead of the durative suffix *-a* (DUR) the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) is used in the complex verb *kariangdi* 'work'.

(31) *na* *he-n* *kariang-d-i* *kan-r-i*
1SG 3II.LOC-see.CPL work-hold-PFV be.good-reach-PFV
'I have finished working at that' [B07.037.01]

Examples (29)-(31) illustrate that the minor verb *kanri* 'finish' forms a very tight unit with the major verb. The minor verb requires that a stem-alternating major verb has similar aspectual properties as the minor verb (either completive stem, or obligatory perfective inflection).

8.3.1.2 SVC with *pe* 'be near'

The minor verb *pe* 'be near' expresses that an event is about to happen. This is illustrated in (32) where *pe* 'be near' is serialized with *sei* 'come down':

(32) *anui* *sei* *pe* *hare* *yaa* *naha*
rain come.down.CNT be.near so go NEG
'it is nearly raining, so don't go' [B07.018.01]

Both verbs share a single argument expressed as the NP *anui* 'rain'. When *pe* 'be near' combines with an alternating verb the continuative stem is used. For complex verbs, the stem ending in durative suffix *-a* (DUR) must be used, as illustrated in (33), where the verbs *kanra* 'finish' contains the durative suffix *-a* (DUR). It is serialized with *pe* 'be near'.

(33) *ne-kariang* *he-n* *fa* *kan-r-a* *pe*
1SG.AL-work 3II.LOC-see be.MD.AD good-reach-DUR be.near
'my work, it is actually nearly finished' [B07.037.02]

This SVC is 'hybrid' as the major verb *kanra* 'finish' is preceded by two other minor verbs. More information about minor verb *n* 'see' can be found in 8.4.2.1, *fa* is discussed in 8.4.4.4.

8.3.1.3 SVC with *re* 'reach'

SVC with the minor verb *re* 'reach' encodes the initial point of an event. The inceptive stem of the verb *re* 'reach' alternates sometimes with the continuative stem *ra* 'reach, attempt'. The stem *re/ra* 'reach' displays except stem alternation also other verbal properties, such as aspectual and person inflection.[9] Abui speakers often translate *re/ra* with the Malay verb *coba* 'try, attempt'. An example is given in (34) where the major verb *tulok* 'stab' is serialized with the minor verb *re* 'reach':

(34) *me* *ne-l* *tulok* *re*
come 1SG.LOC-give stab reach.ICP
'if you dare, come and stab me' [B10.020.09]

In the following case *re* is serialized with *minang* 'remember' that combines with two U arguments. The prefix *a-* (2SG.PAT) refers to the experiencer of 'remembering'. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) refers to the remembered matter. Both verbs share their aspectual inflection; the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) appears on the final minor verb only. The aspectual inflection of the form *re* proves its verbhood.

(35) *he-a-minang* *re-i!*
3II.LOC-2SG.PAT-remember reach.ICP-PFV
'remember it finally!' [B09.007.08:50]

However, it is not always required that the major verb shares the aspectual inflection with *re*. Both major verbs in (36) *marei* 'go up' and *rimaldi* 'turn' combine with the inceptive aspectual marker *se* (INCP.I). This marker is the only aspectual inflection that may intervene between the major and minor verb. The inceptive marker *se* (INCP.I) and the minor verb *re* 'reach' have similar functions. Both forms refer to the initial point of

[9] It is unclear whether the form *re* 'or' is related to this verbal form. The verb *ra/re* 'try, attempt' may originate as complex verb in generic roots *r* 'reach' and *a* 'be at', *e* 'add'.

an event. Note that the minor verb *re* 'reach' is inflected with perfective suffix *-i* (PFV). This aspectual inflection is shared:

(36) a. *a* *marei=se* *re-i!*
2SG go.up.ICP=INCP.I reach.ICP-PFV
'you must go up!, lit.: try finally to start going up!' [B05.048.02]

b. *pet* *nu* *ha-rimal-d-i=se* *re-i!*
bow SPC.AD 3IL.PAT-turn-hold-PFV=INCP.I reach.ICP-PFV
'turn now finally the bow up side down!' [B09.003.03:02]

Another case is given in (37) where the major verb *bulri* 'sharpen' combines with inceptive marker *te* (INCP.C); the minor verb *re* 'reach' combines with the perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) that is shared by both verbs:

(37) *kawen* *ba* [*topa* *nu*]$_{RC}$ *ong* *bul-r-i=te* *re-i!*
machete LNK be.blunt SPC.AD make sharp-reach-PFV=INCP.C reach.ICP-PFV
'sharpen now finally that blunt machete!' [B05.040.09]

The minor verb *re* 'reach' sometimes combines with *sai* 'put along' to refer to events, that might possibly happen, or happen randomly anywhere. This is illustrated in (38). In (a), the major verb *kafering* 'horrify' combines with *re* and *sai* expressing that the second person participant might 'become evil'. In the first clause, the second person singular participant is realized as the U argument of the verb *do* 'hold' with the LOC prefix *e-* (2SG.LOC). For more information about the attributive serial construction with the verb *d-o* 'hold', see section 8.4.2.2. In (b), both verbs combine with the verb *nee-i* 'eat'. In both cases the clause contains either the location question word *te* 'where' or a temporal adverb. Some more examples can be found in 8.3.3.2.

(38) a. *e-d-o* *beka,* *ko* *o-kafering* *re* *sai*
2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT be.bad soon 2SG.REC-horrify reach.ICP put.along
'you are bad, you will become evil' [B05.061.01]

b. *di* *te* *hu* *mi-a* *nala* *nee-i* *re* *sai*
3A where SPC be.in-DUR what eat-PFV reach.ICP put.along
'he ate anywhere' [B07.046.04]

Although there is a tendency among the ASVC.I and ASVC.II to share their aspectual inflection (see 8.1.1), this is not always the case. In aspectual ASVC.I, the major verb may be inflected for aspect too, typically with the inceptive markers *se*/*te* (INCP). The aspectual properties of the inceptive markers are similar to the aspect contributed by the verb *re* 'reach'.

The verb *re* 'reach' often occurs in imperative constructions. Two instances are given in (39). Note that in (b) the verb *re* 'reach' follows the negator *naha* (NEG) which indicates that two verbs are not serialized here. As marked with the brackets, the verb *re* 'reach' is here the main verb while the preceding clause serves as its complement.

(39) a. *marang* *re!*
come.up reach.ICP
'come up!' [B02.161.01:07]

b. [*sai-sai* *pet* *ong* *naha*]$_{CC}$ *re!*
in.vain bow make NEG reach.ICP
'don't make the bow for nothing' [B09.004.04:03]

8.3.1.4 SVC with *tik* 'stretch'

The verb *tik* 'stretch' occurs as the minor verb in an ASVC.I to indicate a postponed final point of the event. This is illustrated in (40), where the major verb *wel* 'pour' is serialized with the minor verb *tik* 'stretch' in (a). In (b), the major verb *wel* 'pour' combines with two minor verbs: *tik* 'stretch' and *loida* 'lengthen'. In both cases, the minor verbs combine with the prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) that refers to the first part of the serial verb construction that functions as a complement of the minor verb.

(40) a. [*Simon* *di* *da-wel*]$_{complement}$ *la=ng* *ha-tik*
name 3A 3I.PAT-pour be.MD=see 3II.PAT-stretch
'Simon is bathing continuously' [B06.024.04]

b. [*ya* *di* *ta-wel*]$_{complement}$ *ha-tik* *ha-loi-d-a*
water 3A DISTR.PAT-pour 3II.PAT-stretch 3II.PAT-long-hold-DUR
'the water is pouring continuously' [B04.017.01]

The meaning of 'stretch' and 'lengthen' is related with the meaning 'continuously' or 'on and on', where in both cases a boundary is either ignored or suspended. In (a), the deictic verb *la* 'be.MD' expresses the location of the event. It is discussed separately in section 8.4.4.3. SVCs with the generic verb *ng* are described in 8.4.2.1.

8.3.2 SVCs with minor verbs expressing direction

In SVCs of direction, a number of motion verbs such as *marang* 'come up', *sei* 'come down', *me* 'come', *we* 'leave', and *lol* 'walk' are used as minor verbs indicating direction.[10] The minor verb shares a single A argument with the major verb. In what follows, I discuss a number of directional SVCs with the minor verbs *marang* 'come up' (8.3.2.1), *sei* 'come down' (8.3.2.2), *me* 'come' (8.3.2.3), *we* 'leave' (8.3.2.4), and *lol* 'walk' (8.3.2.5).

8.3.2.1 SVC with *marang* 'come up'

The minor verb *marang* 'come up' refers to an upward direction or orientation of the activity expressed by the major verb. Consider the situation in which somebody comes running up the hill. In that case the construction given in (41) can be used to order somebody else to run up as next. The major verb *luol* 'gain' combines with *marang* 'come up' that encodes the upward direction of the 'following'.

[10] Directional SVCs are found in many other Papuan languages (Foley 1986:149-152).

(41) *ha-luol* *marang!*
3II.PAT-gain come.up
'follow it up!', lit.: 'come up, gaining on it/him/them' [B05.025.02]

Abui motion verbs form pairs with distinct spatial orientation. The verb *marang* 'come up' refers to an upward motion towards the deictic centre. It contrasts with the verb *mara* 'go up' that refers to a motion away from the deictic centre. In (42) the minor verb *mara* 'go up' refers to the upward direction of 'looking'.

(42) *di=ng* *wahai* *mara*
3A=see look go.up.CNT
'he looks up' [B02.067.01:14]

Note also the use of the generic verb *ng* 'see' which is serialized with the verb wahai to express the single participant of the verb wahai. As discussed in section 8.4.2.1, the generic verb *ng* 'see' is used to introduce a non-volitional controlling participant (typically an experiencer).

8.3.2.2 SVC with *sei* 'come down'

The minor verb *sei* 'come down' encodes the downward motion. In (43) the major verb *furai* 'run' shares its A argument *di* (3A) with *sei* 'come down':

(43) *di* *ning* *ayoku* *di* *furai* *sei*
3A be.QNT two 3A run.CNT come.down.CNT
'two of them ran down' [B02.002.03:57]

8.3.2.3 SVC with *me* 'come'

The minor verb *me* 'come' indicates the orientation towards deictic centre. In (44) *me* 'come' is serialized with the major verbs *telang* 'pull at' and *wai* 'turn' sharing the A argument *di* (3A).

(44) *di* *he-l* *telang* *ha-wai* *me*
3A 3II.LOC-give pull.at 3II.PAT-turn come
'she pulled him back towards herself' [B02.091.11:41]

In (45), the verbs *we* 'leave' and *me* 'some' are expressing the manner of jumping. Note that the serial verb construction is linked to the verb *tuok-d-i* 'jump up' with the linker *ba* (LNK), which is typical for manner clauses.

(45) *Fan Malei* *di* *da-tuok-d-i* *ba* *we* *me* *we* *me*
name 3A 3I.PAT-throw.up-hold-PFV LNK leave come leave come
'Fan Malei is jumping back and forth' [B04.057.01]

In (46), the verbs *we* 'leave' and *me* 'come' are serialized with the verb *ì* 'put'. The combination of both is an idiom used to describe visiting. Formally both verbs are serialized, however, in this case they do not express direction or manner.

(46) *ri-ì* *to-we* *me*
2PL.PAT-put DISTR.REC-leave come
'you have to keep visiting each other', lit.: 'you must go come to each other' [B05.033.03]

8.3.2.4 SVC with *we* 'leave'

The direction of the event away from DC is indicated by the minor verb *we* 'leave'. In (47), the minor verb *we* 'leave' combines with the verb *-luol* 'gain, follow'. Note also that the verb *fen* 'injure, kill' that occurs in the second clause combines with a single A argument expressed with the NP *ama* 'person'. The logical U argument is the NP *kokda* 'younger (sibling)'; however, this NP is not co-indexed as the U argument of the verb *fen* 'hit'.

(47) *kokda* *di* *ha-luol* *we* *hu* *ama* *fen-i*
younger 3A 3II.PAT-gain leave SPC person injure.CPL-PFV
'when the younger one followed him, people killed (him)' [B06.034.01:02]

In (48), both verbs *me* 'come' and *we* 'leave' occur as minor verbs in a SVC with the verb *ì* 'put'. The major verb *ì* 'put' referring to the event of 'repair' is used twice in the synonymous SVC expressing the direction 'back and forth' or 'over and over'. Only the performing participant is expressed with the bound pronoun *de-* as the U argument of the verb:

(48) [*kariang beka*]$_{\text{topic}}$ *ba-i,* *da-wai* *de-ì* *we* *de-ì* *me*
work be.bad say-PFV 3I.PAT-turn 3I.LOC-put leave 3I.LOC-put come
'the badly done work, he keeps redoing it over and over' [B07.035.01]

8.3.2.5 SVC with *lol* 'walk'

The minor verb *lol* 'walk' indicates a random direction similar to English 'about' or 'around'. In (49) the minor verb *lol* 'walk' expresses that the participant was 'telling around' that people don't smoke:

(49) *na* *ananra* *lol=ti* *ama* *kafaak* *buuk* *naha*
1SG tell.CNT walk=PHSL.C person tobacco consume NEG
'I was telling everywhere that people don't smoke' [B04.073.01]

Another example is given in (50) where the actor keeps looking for his brothers and hits them for no particular reason. The second clause linked with the linker *ba* (LNK) to the first clause expresses the purpose of searching. The verb *tahai* 'search' is reduplicated to express intensity. It occurs in a U-U$_{\text{REC}}$ transitive construction (see

6.2.3.3) combining with the NP *e-muknehi loku do* 'the siblings of yours' and with the prefix REC prefix *o-* (2SG.REC) expressing the human recipient.

(50) {[*e-muknehi* *loku* *do*]$_{NP}$ *o-tahai-tahai*}$_{clause}$ *ba* {*bol* *lol*}$_{clause}$
2SG.AL-sibling.SS PL PRX 2SG.REC-RED[search] LNK hit walk
'you just keep looking for your siblings to hit them randomly' [B05.061.01]

8.3.3 SVCs with minor verbs expressing manner

In manner SVCs, the minor verb expresses the manner in which the referred event is performed. The minor manner verb either follows or precedes the major verb with each time a different reading. In this section, I describe manner SVCs in which the minor verb follows the major verb. In section 8.3.3.1, I discuss SVCs expressing the manner of movement. SVCs referring to spatial extension of an event are described in 8.3.3.2. In 8.3.3.3, manner SVCs expressing temporal extension of an event are discussed.

8.3.3.1 SVCs with minor verbs expressing manner of movement

In serial construction of manner of movement the major motion verb is serialized with a minor verb that 'specifies' the manner of movement. In (51), the major verb *làk* 'leave for' combines with the minor verb *tuok-tuokda* 'jump' expressing the manner. Both verbs share the A argument realized as the NP *ama nuku* 'someone'. They also share their U argument referring to the location of the jumping expressed with the prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that refers to the phrase *oro nu* 'over there'. This location is also referred to by the index verb *la* 'be.MD' that precedes the minor verb:

(51) *ama* *nuku* *oro* *nu* *he-làk* *la* *he-tuok-tuok-d-a*
person one DST SPC.AD 3II.LOC-leave.for be.MD 3II.LOC-RED[throw.up]-hold-DUR
'one person leaves jumping to over there' [B05.047.01]

In (52) the minor verb *imaldi* 'be quick' refers to the manner of movement. It is serialized with the major verb *wai* 'turn':

(52) *he-d-o,* *wan* *ho,* *wan* *da-wai* *imal-d-i*
3II.LOC-hold-PNCT already yeah already 3I.PAT-turn be.quick-hold-PFV
'him, he already, yeah, already turned quickly' [B02.050.18:47]

8.3.3.2 SVCs with minor verb expressing spatial extension

Spatial extension of an event is expressed by the verbs *nahang* 'be everywhere' or *re sai* 'anywhere'. The use of the verb *nahang* 'be everywhere' is illustrated in (53). Consider the following situation. In the early morning people start going up to the hills to work at their fields. They do not walk in a group; everybody walks up from his own house to

his own field. The verb *nahang* 'be everywhere' combines with the major verb *mara* 'go up'.

(53) *he-l* *loku* *yo* *ya* *wó* *ut* *mara* *nahang*
3II.LOC-give PL MD.AD be.DST DST.H garden go.up.CNT be.everywhere
'they, over there, they go up to the fields, everywhere' [B05.075.02]

Another example is given in (54) where *nahang* combines with *falakda* 'get bright' referring to the 'bright' shine of the stars 'everywhere' on the sky:

(54) *fír* *la* *kai* *yo* *ya* *wó* *mi=ng* *falak-d-a*
star be.MD drop MD.AD be.DST DST.H be.in=see bright-hold-DUR

nahang
be.everywhere
'the shine of the stars it bright up there everywhere' [B05.075.02]

The second type of SVC referring to the 'spatial' extension combines two minor verbs *re* 'reach' and *sai* 'put along' with a major verb. This construction is used to refer to events happening for no particular reason, randomly. In most cases, SVCs containing the minor verbs *re* 'reach' and *sai* 'put along' also contain the locative particle *te* 'where' that refers to an unspecified, default location. This is illustrated in (55), where the major verb *yaar* 'go' combines with the minor verbs *re* 'reach' which indicates that the participant attempted to go somewhere. The next verb *sai* 'put along' expresses the randomness of the motion. The verbs *yaar* 'go' and *re* 'reach' serve as complement for the verb *sai* 'put along'.

(55) *di* *te=ng* *yaar* *re* *sai*
3A where=see go.CPL reach.ICP put.along
'he left for no matter where' [B07.046.04]

A similar example is given in (56) where the verb *tahaai* 'search' combines with *re* 'reach' and *sai* 'put along' indicating the 'random' location where the dog is 'searched'.

(56) *di* *te* *hu* *mi-a* *de-kaai* *tahaai* *re* *sai*
3A where SPC be.in-DUR 3I.AL-dog search.CPL reach.ICP put.along
'he searched for his dog randomly' [B07.046.04]

8.3.3.3 SVC with minor verbs expressing temporal extension

The temporal extension of an event can be encoded by the following type of SVC. The minor verb that refers to the temporal extension is typically a derived form with a quantifier base. In (57) the major verb *neei* 'eat' combines with the minor verb *nukda* 'become once, happen once' that is derived from the numeral *nuku* 'one'. The minor verb *nuk-d-a* 'become at the same time' indicates that the eating happened 'at the same

time'. It combines with the REC prefix *ho-* (3II.REC) which co-indexes the first part of the serial verb construction as a complement of the verb ***nuk-d-a*** 'become at the same time'.

(57) [*neng loku ya mayol loku nala nee-i*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *ho-nuk-d-a*
man PL SEQ women PL what eat-PFV 3II.REC-one-hold-DUR
'the men and women eat at the same time' [B07.076.1]

In (58), two examples with the minor verb ***ari-d-a/ari-d-i*** 'appear, rise (about sun)' are given. In (a), the extension of an exercise, expressed with the major verb ***latih-d-i*** 'exercise', is described as lasting till the sun will rise with the minor verb ***ari-d-a***. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) co-indexes the first part of the serial verb construction as a complement of the verb ***ari-d-a*** 'appear'. The complement expresses a 'location=event' upon which the sun will appear. In (b), a similar example is given. The verb ***ari-d-i*** indicates the temporal extension of 'sitting'. The first part of the serial verb construction expresses the complement of the verb ***ari-d-i*** 'appear'.

(58) a. [*a he-n he-latih-d-i*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *he-ari-d-a*
2SG 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.LOC-exercise-hold-PFV 3II.LOC-appear-hold-DUR
'you will exercise for it till the morning' [B07.081.01]

b. [*ni mit-d-i*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *la he-ari-d-i do*
1PL.E sit-hold-PFV be.MD 3II.LOC-appear-hold-PFV PRX
'we will sit till the sun rises' [B02.048.17:50]

8.3.4 SVCs with minor verbs expressing modality

Modality expresses speaker's position towards the truth, necessity, desirability of the reported situation including speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood (cf. Payne, 1997:244-8). In Abui modality is expressed in two types of SVCs. In the first type of modal SVCs discussed in this section the minor verb expressing modality follows the major verb. In the other type, discussed in 8.4.7 the modal verb precedes the major verb. This is illustrated in (59) where ***kang*** 'be good' serves as minor verb serialized with ***ayong*** 'swim'. In (a) potential modality is expressed by ***kang*** marking Simon's 'ability' to swim. In (b) ***kang*** has a different function; it expresses the realis mode stressing that Simon 'really' swims:

(59) a. *Simon di ayong kang*
name 3A swim be.good
'Simon can swim'

b. *Simon di kang ayong*
name 3A be.good swim
'Simon (really) swims'

Minor verbs in modal SVC often express different facets of modality, such as deontic modality (speaker's will and desire), epistemic modality (speaker's certainty or evidence about the situation), alethic modality (speaker's opinion about logical consequences of the situation), and mode (speaker's belief in reality of the event).

In modal SVCs verbs such as *kang* 'be good', *beka* 'be bad', *kaleng* 'avoid', and *iéng* 'see' are used to as minor verbs encoding modality. All of these verbs may occur as a single predicate in a monoverbal clause. In SVCs they share at least one argument with the major verb; the shared argument may be expressed overtly. In the remainder of this section I discuss the minor verbs encoding modality in turn: the verb *kang* 'be good' is discussed in 8.3.4.1, *beka* 'be bad' in 8.3.4.2, followed by *kaleng* 'avoid' described in 8.3.4.3; and finally by *iéng* 'see' in 8.3.4.4.

8.3.4.1 SVCs with *kang* 'be good'

The verb *kang* 'be good' is used to express potential modality; that is the ability of the participant to perform the event. As illustrated in (60), the serial verb construction given in (a) must be distinguished from the paratactic construction given in (b). In (a), the verb *kang* 'be good' follows the major verb *tanga* 'speak'. Note that both verbs share the A argument expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A). It is not clear whether the first part of the modal SVC is a complement of the verb kang 'be good' as the verb does not carry any person inflection. In (b), a paratactic construction is given. The first clause serves as a complement of the verb *kang* 'be good'.

(60) a. [*di* *Inggris* *tanga*] *kang*
3A England speak.CNT be.good
'he can speak English' [B10.053.02]

b. [*di* *Inggris* *tanga* *do*]$_{\text{clause}}$ *kang*
3A England speak.CNT PRX be.good
'it is good that he speaks English'

The verb *kang* 'be good' may also be used to express deontic modality. In (61), the minor verb *kang* 'be good' indicates a weak 'obligation', and speaker's approval of the 'coming' expressed with the major verb *me* 'come'. In this construction the first part of the serial verb construction is the complement of the verb *kang* 'be good'. Because no constituent separates the verb *kang* 'be good' from its complement, I analyze (61) as a serial verb construction.

(61) [*di* *me*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *kang*
3A come be.good
'he can, may come' [B07.016.01]

However, in many cases typically an anaphoric demonstrative separates the complement clause from the verb *kang*, as illustrated in (62). The anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX) indicates the boundary of the complement clause. However, the speaker uses this structure to express deontic modality.

(62) *ah,* [*a* *ha-k* *do*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *kang* *haba,* *fe* *yo* *ha-wa*
oh 2SG 3II.PAT-bring PRX be.good but pig MD.AD 3II.INAL-mouth
'ah, you may feed it, but that pig (that you talked about before) bites'

beka *hare,* *ne-d-e* *sei* *ha-k-o!*
be.bad so 1SG.LOC-hold-IPFV come.down.CNT 3II.PAT-bring-PNCT
'so I shall come down to feed it' [B02.142.01:47]

The minor verb *kang* 'be good' may express epistemic modality; that is speaker's belief in the possibility of the expressed event. This is illustrated in (63) where *miei* 'come' combines with *kang* 'be good'. The first clause is a serial verb construction expressing condition. Its structure is illustrated with the brackets. The verb *ma* 'be.PRX' takes the first part of the serial construction consisting of the verbs *k* 'bring' and *fangi* 'say' (see 8.4.2.5) as its complement. In the next step the whole structure becomes a complement of the verb *re* 'reach' that expresses a condition.[11]

(63) ({[*a* *ho-k* *fangi*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *ma*}$_{\text{complement}}$ *re,*)$_{\text{clause}}$ *di* *miei* *kang*
2SG 3II.REC-bring say.CPL be.PRX reach.ICP 3A come.CPL be.good
'he would probably have come if you asked him' [B07.039.04]

8.3.4.2 SVC with *beka* 'be bad, cannot'

The minor verb *beka* 'be bad' expresses potential and deontic modality. In (64) *beka* 'be bad' expresses speaker's disapproval of drinking of beer by little children. This is an example of expressing deontic modality. Also here the first part of the serial verb construction serves as a complement of the verb *beka* 'be bad'.

(64) [bir *do* *moku* *loku* *di* *buuk*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *beka*
beer PRX kid PL 3A consume be.bad
'the children may not drink beer' [B07.014.06]

In some cases, a paratactic construction is used instead, as illustrated in (65), where a fragment from the narrative *la teitu nikalieta* is given. The verb *beka* 'be bad' combines with a complement clause given in the brackets. The clause boundary is indicated by the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX).

(65) *'*[*ri* *sei-sei* *do*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *beka* *hare,* *ri* *tafaa* *it-i*
2PL RED[come.down.CNT] PRX be.bad so 2PL drum lie.on-PFV
'that you keep coming down is bad, so you'

do *bang* *ba* *làk-e!'*
PRX carry.on.shoulder LNK leave.for-IPFV
'take this drum (lying here) and leave'

Potential modality is expressed in (66) where the minor verb *beka* 'be bad' combines with a pair of major verbs *kil* 'detach' and *wai* 'turn'. All three verbs share a single argument expressed with the PAT prefix *na-* (1SG.PAT).

[11] The verb *re* 'try' is usually translated by Abui speakers into Malay with the verb *coba* 'try, attempt'. Moreover, the Malay verb *coba* 'try' is grammaticalized to introduce conditional clauses in Alorese Malay.

(66) *na-kil* *na-wai* *beka*
1SG.PAT-detach 1SG.PAT-turn be.bad
'I cannot do anything, I am stuck', lit.: 'I cannot detach myself and turn' [B05.072.01]

In some cases *beka* 'be bad' may be used to express epistemic modality; it indicates that the expressed event is according to the speaker 'unlikely' to happen. Consider now the use of *beka* 'be bad' in (67), where the verbs *-liel* 'lift' and *beka* 'be bad' share a single argument expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A).

(67) *di* *na-liel* *beka*
3A 1SG.PAT-lift be.bad
'he could not lift me up' [B06.017.07]

8.3.4.3 SVC with *kaleng* 'avoid'

The minor verb *kaleng* 'avoid' is used in modal SVCs to express the negative intention or attitude of speaker. In (68), the minor verb *kaleng* 'avoid' is serialized with the major verb *me* 'come'. Both verbs share a single argument realized as the NP *tuong* 'chief' and indexed with the REC prefix on *kaleng* 'avoid':

(68) *tuong* *me* *do-kaleng*
chief come 3I.REC-avoid
'the chief does not want to come' [B07.011.06]

Another example is given in (69) where the minor verb *kaleng* 'avoid' combines with *wel* 'pour'. Both verbs share a single argument expressed by pronominal prefix on each verb. In the second clause, the minor verb *kul* 'must' combines with the major verb *wel* 'pour' (more details about this type of modal SVC can be found in 8.4.7.1).

(69) *da-wel* *do-kaleng* *haba* *di* *kul* *da-wel-i*
3I.PAT-pour 3I.REC-avoid but 3A must 3I.PAT-pour-PFV
'he does not want to wash himself, but he will have to' [B07.072.02]

In (70), the verb *-lak-d-a* 'read' and *kalen-r-i* 'avoid' are serialized. The first part of the serial verb construction serves as a complement of the verb *kalen-r-i* 'be fed up with' and is co-indexed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC).

(70) [*nala* *ha-lak-d-a*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *he-no-kalen-r-i*
what 3II.PAT-mark-hold-DUR 3II.AL-1SG.REC-avoid.CPL-reach-PFV
'I am fed up with learning' [B04.045.01]

8.3.4.4 SVC with *ién* 'see'

The minor verb *ién* 'see' indicates potential modality but also strongly interacts with aspect. It expresses that the referred event is in its initial stage: either it has started already or it is about to start. Note that *ién* 'see' is the completive stem of the verb *-ién* 'see'. In (71) *-ién* 'see' combines with the verb *kariang* 'work' indicating that *Nani* might 'work'. The verbs *kariang* 'work' and *ién* 'see' share a single argument expressed with the NP *Nani*. The first part of the serial verb construction serves as a complement of the verb *-ién* 'see' and is co-indexed with the PAT prefix *h-* (3II.PAT).

(71) *Nani ba-i,* [*yal do he-n* *kariang*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *h-ién-i*
name say-PFV now PRX 3II.LOC-see.CPL work 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'Nani also might work now' [Mail2006.03.15]

The verb *ién* 'see' often occurs in SVCs together with the minor verb *ra* 'reach' (see 8.4.7.3) indicating together that the participant is going to 'try, attempt' to perform an event as in (72). In (a), the verbs *mara* 'go up', *wahai* 'look' and *-ién* 'see' share a single A argument realized with the free pronoun *na* (1SG). The first part of the SVC serves as a complement of the verb *-ién* 'see'. In (b), the verb *yaar* 'go' is serialized with *-ién* 'see'. Both verbs share the A argument expressed with the free pronoun *na* (1SG). The verb *yaar* 'go' combines in allative serial construction with the verb *ng* 'see' (8.4.2.1). Note that the part of the construction which is marked by the brackets serves as a complement of the verb *-ién* 'see' and is co-indexed with the prefix *h-* (3II.PAT).

(72) a. [*na ra* *mara* *he-wahai*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *h-ién-i*
1SG reach.CNT go.up.CNT 3II.LOC-look 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'let I try to go up to see it' [B05.045.01]

b. [*na ra* *wata do ho-ng* *yaar-i*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *h-ién-i*
1SG reach.CNT coconut PRX 3II.REC-see go.CPL-PFV 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'I will try to climb up the coconut tree' [B05.045.02]

8.3.5 SVCs with index verbs

Index verbs used as minor verbs have a kind-anaphoric function as they refer to the manner in which an event was performed.[12] The manner itself is usually expressed in a preceding complement constituent. The complement is either part of the same serial verb constructions, such as in as in (73), or it an independent clause as in (74). Index verbs are a closed verb class containing five verbs (for more details, see 3.4.5.6). This section is organized as follows: the SVCs with the index verb *na/ni* 'be like.PRX' are discussed in 8.3.5.1, followed by *wa/wi* 'be like.MD' in 8.3.5.2, and finally by *ha* 'be like.DST' in 8.3.5.3.

[12] Abui index verbs have also adnominal and wh- construction uses. The index verbs are best analyzed as an overt kind-anaphora that semantically groups the manner of event (in fact kind of event) and the kind of referent (in adnominal and wh- uses), (cf. Landman and Morzycki 2003).

8.3.5.1 SVC with *na / ni* 'be like.PRX'

As a minor verb *na/ni* 'be like.PRX' is often a part of a complex verb. Consider now (73) where the minor verb *ni-l* 'make like this' combines with the major verb *fur* 'swallow'. It refers to the manner of the 'swallowing' that is expressed by the quantifier verb *tafuda* 'be all'. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) attached to the index verb co-indexes the first part of the serial construction as a complement.

(73) [*tafuda* *ha-fur-i*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *he-ni-l-e*
be.all 3II.PAT-swallow.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give-IPFV
'he swallowed everything this way' [B02.094.14:17]

Note that *fur* 'swallow' is inflected for aspect. Both verbs also express their U argument with pronominal prefixes. The verb *fur* combines with the PAT prefix that refers to the form *tafuda* 'be all'. The verb *nil* 'make like this' combines with the LOC prefix *he-* that refers to the manner in which the 'swallowing' was performed. Note that the manner is not expressed here by a separate clause.

SVC with index verbs has a pragmatic extension illustrated in (74).[13] The verb *ni-d-i* 'be this way' is serialized with the verb *làk-e* 'leave for'. It refers to the complement clause marked with the brackets. At the same time it marks the end of the clause chain. The clause chain that follows usually start with the resumptive verbal form *henil* 'make like this', derived also from the index verb *ni* 'be like.PRX'.

(74) *ama* *o* *marang* *do* *hare,* [*ha-wei* *nuku* *he-bab-i*]$_{\text{manner CC}}$
person MD come.up PRX so 3II.INAL-ear one 3II.LOC-strike.CPL-PFV

ya *wit* *ba* *làk-e* *he-ni-d-i*
SEQ carry.away.CPL LNK leave.for-IPFV 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-hold-PFV
'people are coming up there so break off one handle (of the drum) and they will take it away like this' [B06.036.03:36]

More examples of the index verbs occurring in tail-head linkage can be found in the text appendix. The alternation of the verb *-l* 'give' and *-d* 'hold' deriving the complex verb indicates orientation on either actor or undergoer participant. The generic verb *-l* 'give' occurring in the 'tail' of a clause chain is typically alternated with the completive stem *-r* 'reach' which occurs in the 'head' of the subsequent clause chain.

8.3.5.2 SVC with *wa / wi* 'be like.MD'

The minor verb *wa/wi* 'be like.MD' refer to the way or manner in which the event was performed. This type of manner may be considered as 'medial', it is obvious to both speech participants; however, this type is often used in questions, because the speaker wants to indicate lower awareness of the manner in which an event was performed. The

[13] This strategy is in fact a form of tail head linkage (THL), a typical feature of for many Papuan languages (cf. de Vries, 2005). In Abui usually last clause is recapitulated in THL constructions. The final verb of recapitulated clause combines with an complex index verb.

referred manner is expressed by the complement that precedes the index verb. In (75) the major verb *ayong* 'swim' is serialized with the complex verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' that serves as minor verb. The first complement is a clause, while the second complement is a part of serial verb construction.

(75) [*di ayong do,*]$_{CC}$ [*afu he-n-u ayong*]$_{complement}$
3A swim PRX fish 3II.AL-be.like.PRX-PRF swim

wi-d-a
be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'he swims like a fish', lit.: 'given he swims, he does (so) like a fish swims' [B07.053.02]

Both verbs share the A argument of the verb *ayong* 'swim' realized with the NP *afu* 'fish'. The verb *ayong* 'swim' occurs also in the first clause and combines with a different A argument expressed as the free pronoun *di* (3A). Logically the verb *wida* has to share the argument expressed as the NP *afu* 'fish' with the second verb. It is not clear whether the verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' has a second argument. It seems to be linked in a paratactic topic-comment structure with the first clause *di ayong do* 'he swims'.

In (76) a fragment of the Lord's prayer is given. The verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' is serialized with the verb *mi-a* 'be in' to express the manner in which the earth should be. The bracketed structure *melang san mi-a* 'be in heaven' serves as a complement of the verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that'. The second argument of the verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that' is expressed with the complement clause *buku taha mi-a do* 'be on earth'. Observe also that the VP structure *o-mi* 'inside you' is nominalized in a possessive construction (see also 8.4.2.3).

(76) [*o-mi*]$_{nominal}$ *he-san he-masolang mi ni-l,* [*buku tah-a*
2SG.REC-be.in 3II.AL-clean 3II.LOC-be.pure take 1pl.e.loc-give world put.on.CPL-PFV
'take the cleanness and purity of your heart and give it to us (so that)'

mi-a do,]$_{CC}$ [*melang san mi-a*]$_{complement}$ *wi-d-a*
be.in-DUR PRX village clean be.in-DUR be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'it is on the earth as it is in the heaven', freely translated: 'thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven' [B07.012.04]

In (77), the minor verb *wa* 'be like.MD' combines with the deictic verb *ma* 'be.PRX'. The construction is used to express disapproval of situation being performed in certain manner that is co-indexed with the index verb *wa* 'be like.MD'. The deictic verb *ma* 'be.PRX' combines with the REC prefix that expresses the speaker as experiencer of the disapproval.

(77) *no-ma wa naha*
1SG.REC-be.PRX be.like.MD.CNT NEG
'I do not want it so' [B06.026.04]

8.3.5.3 SVC with *ha* 'be like.DST'

In SVCs, the index verb *ha* 'be like.DST' refers to a manner of way of performing an event that is new to the addressee and can be considered as 'distal'. An example contrasting with (75) is given in (78) below. The minor verb *hari* 'make somehow' is complex. It combines with the major verb *ayon* 'swim'. Both verbs share the aspectual inflection that is expressed on the minor verb.

(78) *di* [*afu* *he-n-u* *ayon*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *ha-r-i*
3A fish 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF swim.CPL be.like.DST.CNT-reach-PFV
'he swam like a fish somehow' [B07.053.02]

In imperative construction the verb *ha* 'be like.DST' may occur serialized as simple verb, not being part of a complex verb. However, in indicative constructions derived forms tend to be used. Consider now example (79) where the minor verbs *ha* 'be like.DST' and *hal* 'make somehow' occur serialized with the major verb *reng* 'turn to'. In (a) *ha* is used in imperative construction; in indicative construction *hal* 'make somehow' must be used instead. In both cases the serialized verbs share the A argument: *a* (2SG) in (a), *di* (3A) in (b). The U argument of the minor verbs *ha* and *hal* is the NP *oto* 'car'. The phrase *war sei* 'sun descends, west' together with the bound pronoun *ha-* (3II.PAT) is the U argument of the major verb *reng* 'turn to'.

(79) a. *a* *oto* *mi* *ba* *war sei* *ha-reng* *ha!*
2SG car take LNK sun come.down 3II.PAT-turn.to.ICP be.like.DST.CNT
'turn somehow the car towards the west!' [B10.012.02]

b. *di* *oto* *mi* *ba* *war sei* *ha-reng* *ha-l*
3A car take LNK sun come.down 3II.PAT-turn.to.ICP be.like.DST.CNT-give
'he somehow turns the car towards the west' [B10.012.03]

8.4 Asymmetrical Serial Verb Constructions type II

Asymmetrical SVCs of type II are composed of a grammatically restricted verb (the 'minor' verb) followed by an open-class verb (the 'major' verb, see also 8.1.2). The major verb identifies the event and the minor verb has a grammatical function relating to argument realization and describing event settings. The ordering of the minor and major verb is parallel to Abui clause structure. In a clause, adverbial modifiers and arguments precede the VP. On semantic grounds, the major verb can be considered as the head of the serial construction. Syntactically, the notion of head is problematic, as the valence of the major verb does not necessarily correspond to the valence of the whole structure (cf. Aikhenvald, 2006:29).

In this section, asymmetrical SVCs of type II are discusses according to the verb-class of the minor verb. In sections 8.4.1 and 8.4.2 I discuss asymmetrical SVCs that are used mainly in argument realization. In section 8.4.2 I describe asymmetrical

SVCs in which the minor verb belongs to the generic-verb class. The quantification SVCs are discussed in 8.4.3. In section 8.4.4, I give an overview of SVCs with minor verbs belonging to the deictic-verb class. SVCs with minor verbs from the positional-verb class are discussed in section 8.4.5. These SVCs express the position of the participants involved in the event. The second type of manner SVCs is described section 8.4.6, it expresses participant oriented manner and differs from the manner SVC described in 8.3.3 which is event oriented. In section 8.4.7, I discuss the second type of modal SVCs, which expresses participant oriented modality and differs from the modal SVC discussed in 8.3.4 which expresses event oriented modality.

8.4.1 Causative SVC with *ong* 'make'

In causative SVCs, the minor verb *ong* 'make' introduces an A argument referring to the acting participant. Consider the causative SVC given in (80) consisting of the verbs *ong* 'make' and *moni* 'die'. The verb *moni* 'die' typically occurs in intransitive constructions (see examples (60)-(63) in section 6.1.2.1). A causative SVC is required to introduce an acting participant involved in the event of 'dying'. The U argument *de-ura* 'his sister' is shared by both verbs. The major verb remains intransitive and indicates the resultant state of participant realized as the U argument of the verb *ong* 'make'.

(80) *di de-ura ong mon-i*
3A 3I.AL-sibling.OS make die.CPL-PFV
'he killed his sister', lit.: 'he made his sister die' [B05.071.02]

The causative SVC with *ong* 'make' is used with verbs that refer to events that do not include acting and volitional human participants such as 'die'. Note that a similar event can be expressed with a transitive construction, such as in (81) using the verb *fen* 'injure, kill' that commonly occurs in transitive construction:

(81) *di de-ura fen-i*
3A 3I.AL-sibling.OS injure.CPL-PFV
'he killed his sister, lit.: he injured his sister (with intention to kill)' [B05.071.02]

Another verb that does not combine with acting human participant is *fak* 'break'. In (82), it occurs in a causative SVC combining with *ong* 'make'. Both verbs share the U argument *bataa* 'wood, tree'. The intransitive verb *fak* 'break' requires the support of *ong* 'make' in order to express the acting force *ahana beka* 'storm' realized as the A argument of *ong* 'make'.

(82) *ahana beka di bataa ong fak-i*
whirlwind be.bad 3A wood make break-PFV
'the storm broke the trees', lit.: 'the storm made the wood broken' [B07.060.01]

The verb *yei* 'fall' requires a causative SVC when an acting participant is involved as illustrated in (83).

(83) *na bataa tuku ong ha-yei*
1SG wood piece make 3II.PAT-fall
'I dropped a piece of wood' [B05.037.05]

Causative SVC may be used with complex verbs derived with the generic verb *d* 'hold' in constructions involving a human participant acting on an inanimate participant, as in (84). The verb *ong* 'make' combines with the complex verb *nai-d-i* 'become lost'. This part of the serial verb construction serves as a complement for the verb *ma* 'be.PRX' and in the next step also for the verb *re* 'reach' which are joined in a SVC expressing a hypothetical condition.

(84) [*moku di de-sura ong nai-d-i*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *ma*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *re,*
kid 3A 3I.AL-book make lost-hold-PFV be.PRX reach.ICP
'if the child would loose his book'

he-maama di bol-i
3II.AL-father 3A hit-PFV
'his father would beat him' [B07.040.01]

8.4.2 SVCs with minor verbs expressing participants

The second subtype of asymmetrical SVCs is characterized by the minor verb that belongs to the generic-verb class (see 3.4.5.2) such as *ng* 'see', *d* 'get, hold', *m* 'take, be in', *l* 'give', *k* 'bring', *p* 'touch', and *ì* 'put'.[14] The function of the minor verb is to express or specify a participant. The arguments of the minor verbs refer to benefactives, instruments, recipients, locations etcetera. I discuss the functions of the minor verbs in the following order: *ng* 'see' (8.4.2.1), *d* 'hold, get' (8.4.2.2), *m* 'take, be in' (8.4.2.3), *l* 'give' (8.4.2.4), *k* 'bring' (8.4.2.5), *p* 'touch' (8.4.2.6), and *ì* 'put' in (8.4.2.7).

8.4.2.1 SVC with *ng* 'see'

The generic verb *ng* 'see' occurs as a minor verb in SVCs encoding three related grammatical functions. (i) In allative SVCs it expresses the goal location of a movement or activity. (ii) In purpose SVCs it serves to express the purpose of an activity. It is, in fact, expressed in the same way as the goal location in time, with the difference that 'purpose' is encoded as a specific argument with the LOC prefix as the U argument of the minor verb *ng* 'see'. (iii) The third function is different. The SVC is used to express an experiencer. The 'experiencer' component is contributed by the semantics of the minor verb *ng* 'see'. The A argument of the minor verb *ng* 'see' expresses the non-volitional actor of the whole construction. These three functions are discussed in turn below:

[14] The monosegmental roots such as *ng* 'see', *d* 'hold, get' etc. are identified as verbs in Abui, because carry aspectual and person inflection and have the ability to derive new verbs from non-verbal roots, as discussed in chapter 7. Cross-linguistically, adpositions inflecting for person are not found frequently, a know example is Irish (cf. Noonan 2001; 2004). However, the other properties of the Abui roots indicate their verbhood.

ALLATIVE SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The first function of the minor verb *ng* 'see' is to express the goal location of a movement. I will refer to this type of construction as 'allative SVC'. The semantics of *ng* 'see' contains the direction component necessary to refer to a goal.[15] The goal location is realized as the U argument of the minor verb *ng* 'see'. The A argument is shared by both serialized verbs. The allative SVC is contiguous: no constituent may occur between the minor and major verb. The major verb is usually a verb of motion or position. An example is given in (85) where the 'allative' SVC is contrasted with the monoverbal clause. In (a), the minor verb *ng* 'see' combines with the U argument *ya* 'water' that is interpreted as the goal location of the motion expressed by the second verb. In (b), the verb *sei* 'come down' occurs in the A-ULOC transitive construction. Its U argument is expressed with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) referring to the NP *ya* 'water'. The U argument is interpreted as a specific location, in this case a purpose.

(85) a. *na ya=ng sei*
1SG water=see come.down
'I come down to water'

b. *na ya he-sei*
1SG water 3II.LOC-come.down
'I come down for some water!'

Note that the minor verb *ng* 'see' does not meet the requirements of the minimal prosodic word. Therefore it forms a single prosodic word with its argument. In case of a full NP argument, the minor verb combines with the last constituent of the NP such as demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives and state verbs (see also 4.4.5). The U argument of the minor verb *ng* 'see' may be realized as a bound pronoun (pronominal prefix). An example is given in (86). In (a), the major verb *yaar-i* 'go' combines with *ng* 'see'. The U argument of the minor verb *wata* 'coconut' is specified by the REC prefix on the verb. The REC prefix refers the NP *wata* 'coconut' that is interpreted as [+individuated]. In result, the construction refers to motion to the 'top'. In (b), *ng* 'see' is serialized with the verb *mit-d-i* 'seat, get sitting' to add the location argument expressed with the NP *kuda* 'horse' and co-indexed with the REC prefix *ho-* (3II.REC).

(86) a. *a wata ho-ng yaar-i*
2SG coconut 3II.REC-see go.CPL-PFV
'you climbed a coconut palm'

b. *di kuda ho-ng mit-d-i*
3A horse 3II.REC-see sit-hold-PFV
'he mounted the horse', lit.: he got seated on the horse' [B07.056.02]

In (87), *ng* 'see' is serialized with *rarak* 'shake'. The U argument of the verb *ng* 'see' is the NP *adi* 'sky', which is co-indexed with the REC prefix *ho-* (3II.REC). It expresses the goal location of the construction, a location to which the hand is shaken.

[15] The allative marker function of the verb 'see' is a known grammaticalization path (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002). It encodes a direction or a goal location. The allative use of the general verb of perception 'see, perceive' is found also in Dani, another remotely related Papuan language of West Papua (Bromley 1981:107-112).

(87) *da-táng* *mi* *ba* *adi* *ho-ng* *ha-rarak*
3I.INAL-hand take LNK sky 3II.REC-see 3II.PAT-shake [B05.060.04]
'he threatens with his hand', lit.: 'he takes his hand and shakes it towards the sky'

The minor verb *ng* 'see' may combine with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) to encode a specific goal location. Consider now example (88) where the minor verb *ng* 'see' is serialized with *yaa* 'go'.

(88) *a* *he-ng* *yaa* *tadeng* *yen-r-a?*
2SG 3II.LOC-see go day how.many.CPL-reach-DUR
'until when are you staying?', lit.: 'for how many days do you go there?' [B07.024.04]

When the referred goal location has been reached the completive stem *n* 'see' is used. This is illustrated in (89) where the major verb *nat-i* 'stand' combines with the completive *n* 'see' in an allative SVC. Note that this is not an instance of assimilation as assimilation of place of articulation across the word boundary is not found in Abui:

(89) *tikonrek* *mi* *he-n* *nat-i-a* *naha*
stick take 3II.LOC-see.CPL stand-PFV-DUR NEG
'don't put the stick there', lit.: 'don't take the stick it stands there' [B09.075.02]

In (90), the verb *piei* 'go down' is serialized with *ng* 'see'. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) expresses a location to which the speaker might descend. The structure of this conditional construction is similar (84).

(90) *na* *he-n* *piei* *ma* *re,* *di* *ne-l* *bol-i*
1SG 3II.LOC-see.CPL go.down.CPL be.PRX reach.ICP 3A 1SG.LOC-give hit-PFV
'if I go down there, he would beat me up' [B07.039.05]

The form *he-n* occurs frequently in narratives serialized with the verb *mi-a* 'be in'. A fragment from the narrative *Mon Mot mon* is given in (91). The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) co-indexes the complement clause as the U argument of the verb *n* 'see'. In this case, the context is ambiguous because the prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) may co-index the NP *anai* 'soil' only.

(91) [*anai* *ha-yei*]$_{CC}$ *ya* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba* *di* *sei*
soil 3II.PAT-fall SEQ 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK 3A come.down.CNT
'he (Mon Mot mon) fell on the ground and being there, they (young men) went down'

ye *he-ni-l=ti* *he-ya* *do-kaleng*
SEQ 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C 3II.AL-mother 3I.REC-avoid
'and after that, their mother didn't want (to come down)' [B02.004.05:20]

In (92), the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) expressing the U argument of the verb *n* 'see' co-indexes the preceding complement clause. The complement clause does not express a

location, but describes participant's fatal illness. This is the bridging context between the allative and purpose SVC.

(92) [*ha-rik-i* *ba* *la=ng* *kabei* *mon-i*]$_{CC}$ *haba,* *he-n*
3II.PAT-hurt-PFV LNK be.MD=see little die.CPL-PFV but 3II.LOC-see.CPL
ho-kan-r-i
3II.REC-be.good.CPL-reach-PFV
'he was ill that he almost died, but he recovered from it' [B07.038.01]

In some cases, the verb root *-iéng/ién* 'see' is used instead of the generic verb *ng* 'see'. Although both roots are related, but it is snot entirely clear to me, what determines their distribution. Some examples are given in (93). In (a-b), the verb *-iéng* 'see' combines with the noun *ui* 'back'. In (c-d), the verb *munang* 'smell at' combines with the completive stem *ién* 'see'. The stem *ién* carries aspectual inflection and together with the main verb refers to 'smelling at someone' or 'kissing'. In both (c-d) the undergoer participant is expressed as the U argument of the verb *ién* 'see'.

(93) a. *moku* *fila* *de-ya* *he-ui* *h-iéng* *làk-e*
kid be.young 3I.AL-mother 3II.AL-back 3II.PAT-see leave.for-IPFV
'a small child walks behind her mother', lit.: 'a small child leaves seeing the back of her mother' [B07.059.01]

b. *de-ura* *he-ui* *h-iéng* *mara* *mit*
3I.AL-sibling.OS 3II.AL-back 3II.PAT-see go.up.CNT sit
'his sister came up after him and sat down' [B06.061.MPI119MC]

c. *Fan Malei* *n-ién-a* *munang*
name 1SG.PAT-see.CPL-DUR smell.at
'Fan Malei is sniffing at me, kissing me' [B10.008.003]

d. *Fan Malei* *de-nahaa* *h-ién-a* *munang*
name 3I.AL-younger.sibling 3II.PAT-see.CPL-DUR smell.at
'Fan Malei is kissing his small sister' [B10.007.005]

PURPOSE SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The second function of the minor verb *ng* 'see' is to express the purpose of an event. The purpose is expressed as the U argument of the completive stem of the minor verb *n* 'see' with the LOC prefix and interpreted as a specific 'location'=purpose. The completive stem *n* 'see' must be used. The LOC prefix is obligatory as the 'purpose' is identified as specific. An example is given in (94) where *n* 'see' is serialized with *fanga* 'say'. The pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) expresses the purpose matter for which has to be 'asked':

(94) *a* *he-n* *fanga*
2SG 3II.LOC-see.CPL say.CNT
'you ask for it, you demand a part of it' [B10.016.07]

Another example is given in (95) where the verbs *latih-d-i* 'exercise' and *n* 'see' combine in a purpose SVC. Both verbs share *a* (2SG) as their A argument, but each of them has its own U argument. The LOC prefix on the verb *n* 'see' refers to the purpose of 'exercise' while the LOC prefix on the verb *latih-d-i* 'exercise' refers to the matter to be 'exercised'. It typically refers to another clause that occurs in preceding context, or if used in conversation.

(95) *a* *he-n* *he-latih-d-i* *he-ari-d-a*
2SG 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.LOC-exercise-hold-PFV 3II.LOC-appear-hold-DUR
'you will exercise for it till the morning' [B07.081.01]

EXPERIENCER SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The third type of SVC with the generic verb *ng* 'see' used as minor verb differs somewhat from the previous two. The main function of this construction is to express an experiencer. It is realized as the A argument of the minor verb *ng* 'see' and shared with the major verb. The generic verb *ng* 'see' specifies the A argument as an experiencer. An example is given in (96) where the single participant is realized as a NP *Simon* and free pronoun *di* (3A) shared by *ng* 'see' and *wahai* 'look':

(96) *Simon* *di=ng* *wahai*
name 3A=see look
'Simon looks, sees'

Non-volitional actor SVCs are typically used to express an active experiencer of mental or bodily processes (see also 6.2.5). In SVCs given in (97) the A argument of the minor verb and the U argument of the major verb have the same referent.

(97) a. *a=ng* *a-yonfi*
2SG=see 2SG.PAT-forget.CPL
'you forgot' [B04.025.02]

b. *na=ng* *na-ruida*
1SG=see 1SG.PAT-erect-hold-DUR
'I wake up' [B04.019.02]

c. *Simon* *di=ng* *da-yonfi*
Simon 3A=see 3I.PAT-forget.CPL
'Simon forgot'

d. *di=ng* *da-minang*
3A=see 3I.PAT-remember
'he remembered'

Serialization with *ng* 'see' is not required in constructions that involve two participants, as illustrated in (98). In (a), a transitive A≡<U_{LOC}>≡U_{PAT} experiencer construction is used (see 6.2.5.5). In (b), a standard A-U_{PAT} transitive construction is used (see 6.2.2.4). In (c), the verb *wahai* 'look' occurs in a standard A-U_{LOC} transitive construction (see 6.2.2.2).

(98) a. *na Simon he-na-yonfi*
1SG name 3II.LOC-1SG.PAT-forget.CPL
'I forgot about Simon' [B04.025.02]

b. *Fani di na-rui-d-a*
name 3A 1SG.PAT-erect-hold-DUR
'Fani wakes me up' [B04.019.02]

c. *di e-roi ba e-wahai=se*
3A 2SG.LOC-watch.CPL LNK 2SG.LOC-look=INCP.I
'they are waiting to see you' [B07.011.05]

As illustrated in (99), the experiencer participant may be expressed also with the LOC prefix as the U argument of the verb *ng* 'see' when the participant should (try to) do something. These constructions are typically imperative; however, the imperative is encoded by a variation of the pitch in the final part of a phase.

(99) *ah, e-ng he-fanga!*
oh 2SG.LOC-see 3II.LOC-say.CNT
'ah, you should say it!' [B02.106.21:35]

Another example is given in (100), where the addressee is summoned to leave and murder somebody. Also in this case the addressee is expressed with the LOC prefix *e-* (2SG.LOC) as the benefactive argument of the generic verb *ng* 'see'.

(100) *e-ng we-i ba he-l koi*
2SG.LOC-see leave-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-give cut.down
'you should go and murder him (by cutting his throat)' [B05.077.04]

Another instance is given in (101), where the verb *ng* 'see' is serialized with the verb *yaa* 'go'. The second person singular participant is expressed with the LOC prefix *e-* (2SG.LOC) as in the previous cases.

(101) *pi nala nuku paneng beka hare, e-ng yaa la*
1PL.I what one make be.bad so 2SG.LOC-see go be.MD
he-l tahai
3II.LOC-give search
'we can not do anything so you should go looking for him (anywhere)' [B07.016.08]

The first person singular participant is expressed with the LOC prefix *ne-* (1SG.LOC) as illustrated in (102), which is a part of the narrative *luka-luka ya yoikoi* that can be found in the appendix. This construction has a slightly different reading from the imperative constructions above. The speaker proclaims that he was forced to cheat the addressee.

(102) *'eh, ne-ng e la a-kol-r-i yo ba-i,*
oh 1SG.LOC-see before be.MD 2SG.PAT-trick-reach-PFV MD.AD say-PFV
'oh, I actually really had to cheat you before'

8.4.2.2 SVC with *d* 'get, hold'

The minor verb *d* 'get, hold' has a number of grammatical functions: (i) in comitative SVCs it expresses the accompanied participant; (ii) in attributive SVCs it expresses the participant with a certain property, (iii) in focus SVCs it serves to express the focused participant. These three functions of the minor verb *d* 'hold, get' are discussed in turn below:

COMITATIVE SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The first function of the minor verb *d* 'hold, get' is to express the accompanied participant affected by the course of the event performed by the acting (human) participant. The generic verb *d* 'hold, get' contributes the semantic component synonymous to 'with' or 'accompany'. The accompanied (mostly animate) participant is realized as the U argument of the minor verb *d* 'hold, get' and expressed with the PAT prefix in an A-UPAT transitive construction (see 6.2.2.4). One argument (typically A) is shared by both serialized verbs. The comitative SVC is contiguous. The major verb is usually a verb of motion or position. An example is given in (103). The minor verb *d* 'hold' is serialized with the verb *muila* 'play'. The NP *Fani* is the shared A argument of both verbs. The U argument of the verb *d-a* 'hold, get' is expressed with the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) referring to the NP *kamai* 'cat'.

(103) *Fani oro kamai ha-d-a mui-l-a*
name DST cat 3II.PAT-hold-DUR play-give-DUR
'Fani is playing with a cat' [B01.042.05]

Note that the minor verb *d* 'hold, get' is not a proper prosodic word. The consonant /d/ is not a valid coda either. Therefore the generic verb *d* 'hold, get' combines with the durative aspectual suffix *-a* (DUR).

The generic verb *d* 'hold, get' combines with the punctual aspectual suffix *-o* (PNCT) when it refers to an event where the contact between the actor and the other participant was limited to a short moment. Both minor verbs with durative and punctual inflection are contrasted in (104). In (a) the U argument *bataa ha-táng* 'tree branch' combines with the minor verb *d-o* 'hold, get' indicating that the 'holding' is limited to a very short time. In other words, the child is 'with' the branch or 'holds it' and consequently the branch breaks. In (b) *bataa ha-táng* 'tree branch' is the U argument of the minor verb *d-a* expressing that the 'holding' persists through the time of 'breaking'. That means that the child still holds the branch when it breaks and both of them fall down the tree:

(104) a. *moku bataa ha-táng ha-d-o fak*
kid tree 3II.INAL-hand 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT break
'the branch broke with the child (the branch fell)' [B05.013.01]

b. *moku* *bataa* *ha-táng* *ha-d-a* *fak*
kid tree 3II.INAL-hand 3II.PAT-hold-DUR break
'the branch broke with the child (both fell)' [B05.013.01]

However, in most cases *d-a* 'hold' is used to expresses an 'accompanied' human participant. Another example is given in (105) where the minor verb *d-a* 'hold, get' combines with the major verb *ananra* 'tell'. The function of *d-a* 'hold' is grammatical as there is no actual 'holding' contact between the participants in (105) but the first person participant is located in vicinity of the actor is being told a story:

(105) *do-eik* *haba* *di* *na-d-a* *ananra*
3I.REC-defecate but 3A 1SG.PAT-hold-DUR tell.CNT
'he is shitting but he is also telling me' [B07.035.05]

Note that the verb *ananra* 'tell' is used in an intransitive construction here and shares only the A argument *di* (3A) with the minor verb. However, the addressees in utterance verbs are often expressed as benefactives or in serial construction with the generic verb *k* 'bring' (see 8.4.2.5). In (106) the verb *d-a* 'hold' is serialized with the loan verb *sakola* 'learn' to refer to the activity of teaching. Both verbs share one argument expressed with the NP *Simon* and co-indexed with the PAT prefix *ha-* (3II.PAT) as the U argument of the verb *d-a* 'hold'.

(106) *Deri* *di* *Simon* *ha-d-a* *sakola*
name 3A name 3II.PAT-hold-DUR learn
'Deri is teaching Simon' [B04.027.02]

Another grammaticalized use of the minor verb *d-a* 'hold, get' is given in (107). Also in this case no actual 'holding' occurs, as the people are only 'driving out' the deer. In the construction the 'driving out' is nevertheless expressed as if the people 'hold' the deer and 'push him out':

(107) *ama* *wó* *mia* *ayut* *ha-d-a* *ring-r-a* *ba* *sei*
person DST.H be.in-DUR deer 3II.PAT-hold-DUR out-give-DUR LNK come.down
'the people are up there and drive the deer out to come down' [B05.007.02]

In (108), the verb *d* 'hold' occurs as a single predicate or as a major verb in serial verb construction. It is linked with the intersective linker *ba* (LNK) to the next clause expressing the purpose of 'being with' somebody. These examples prove the verbhood of the stem *d* 'hold'.

(108) a. *moku* *ba* [*latukoi* *dakun-i*]$_{RC}$ *ha-d-o* *ba* *yaa* *ha-wel*
kid LNK very.much dirty-put 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT LNK go 3II.PAT-pour
'take that very dirty child (with you) and go wash it' [B10.014.06]

b. *di me na-d-u ba we*
3A come 1SG.PAT-hold-PRF LNK leave
'he shall accompany me to leave' [B10.014.09]

c. *na ne-mayol ha-d-o ba taa*
1SG 1SG.AL-woman 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT LNK lie
'I sleep with my wife', lit.: 'I hold my wife and lie' [B04.055.01]

ATTRIBUTIVE SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The second function of the minor verb *d* 'hold, get' is to express a participant attributed a certain property. This SVC will be referred to as 'attributive'. The attributed participant is realized as the U argument of the minor verb *d* 'hold, get' with LOC prefix in an U_{LOC} intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.3). The minor verb is inflected with the punctual suffix *-o* (PNCT)The major verb expressing the attribute belongs to the stative-verb, positional-verb, and index-verb class. Consider now (109) where the stative verb *kawaisa* 'be rich' is illustrated.

(109) a. *e-d-o kawaisa*
2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT be.rich
'you are rich' [B05.065.02]

b. **a kawaisa*
2SG be.rich

c. *Simon, he-d-o kawaisa*
name 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.rich
'Simon, he is rich'

d. *Simon kawaisa*
name be.rich
'Simon is rich, or rich Simon'

The participant attributed as 'being rich' may not be expressed with a free pronoun as illustrated in (b), as only participants identified for actor role may be realized with a free pronoun. Instead the attributive SVC must be used, given in (a). The participant is realized as the U argument of the minor verb *do* 'hold, get' with the LOC prefix. This holds for the speech participants, expressed with the first and second person. Third person participants are either expressed as a NP in simple monoverbal clause (d) or as a bound pronoun in attributive SVC (c). In (110), the verb *do* 'hold' is serialized with the locational verb *mi-a* 'be in'.

(110) *di sei he-d-o mi-a ba ha-kil*
3A come.down.CNT 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK 3II.PAT-detach
'they went there and made efforts'

ha-wai, melang balekna momang-d-i
3II.PAT-turn village be.around clean-hold-PFV
'and cleared (the area) around the village'

In (111), an example of the attributive SVC is given where the verb *do* 'hold' combines with the index verb *wi-d-a* 'become like that'. The LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) co-indexes the complement clause *wer-i ya kil* 'it is noon and empty'.

(111) [*wer-i ya kil*]$_{CC}$ *ba* [*he-d-o wi-d-a*
noon-put SEQ be.lonely LNK 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR
'it is noon and empty (people are not outside) and when it is like that'

do] *moku* *loku* *yo* *ya* *o* *tama=ng* *ayong* *nahang*
PRX kid PL MD.AD be.DST MD sea=see swim be.everywhere
'the children are actually over there and swim everywhere in the sea' [B05.075.02]

As mentioned above, the major verb may not come from other than state-verb, positional-verb, and index-verb class. However, the attributive serial construction may be used in combination with major verbs that typically occur in U intransitive constructions such as *-rik* 'hurt, be ill', as illustrated in (112).

(112) *ne-d-o* *na-rik*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 1SG.PAT-hurt
'I am ill' [B01.033.17]

The use of a major verb belonging to e.g. motion-verb class such as *ayong* 'swim', or *làk* 'leave for' is not attested, as illustrated in (113):

(113) a. **ne-d-o* *ayong*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT swim

b. **he-d-o* *làk*
3II.LOC-hold-PNCT leave.for

NARROW-FOCUS CONSTRUCTION. The narrow focus SVC is a pragmatic extension of the attributive SVC. In narrow-focus construction the domain of the focus is limited to a single constituent, in this case one of the arguments. The normal position of the focused constituent is preceding the minor verb *d* 'hold, get'. It is expressed as the U argument with the LOC prefix in an U_{LOC} intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.3). The minor verb combines either with the punctual suffix *-o* (PNCT), or with the imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV). These combinations are phonologically required as the generic root *d* 'hold, get' is not a prosodic word. An example with the minor verb *d-o* is given in (114):

(114) *e-d-o* *taa,* *ne-d-o* *na-rui-d-a*
2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT lie 1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 1SG.PAT-erect-hold-DUR
'as for you, sleep, as for me, I get up' [B04.019.02]

The minor verb *do* 'hold, get' is serialized with *taa* 'lie'. The focused participant is realized with the LOC prefix. The same holds for the second clause where the verbs *do* 'hold, get' and *ruida* 'wake up' are serialized. The connection with the attributive SVC is still quite obvious. Compare now the previous construction with a parallel construction in (115) where both participants are not under focus but are expressed with a free pronoun. Observe also the use of the serial construction with *ng* 'see' to express the participant of 'waking up' (8.4.2.1).

(115) *a* *taa,* *na=ng* *na-rui-d-a*
2SG lie 1SG=see 1SG.PAT-erect-hold-DUR
'you sleep, I get up'

The minor verb *d-e* 'hold, get' is used to focus on an actor constituent stressing that the actor is still to perform an event. As illustrated in (116), the focused participant is expressed with the LOC prefix on *d-e* 'hold'. This argument shared with the major verbs *mara* 'go up' and *mia* 'take'.

(116) *ne-feela, ma e-de mara mi-a re*
1SG.AL-friend be.PRX 2SG.LOC-hold-IPFV go.up.CNT take-DUR or

ne-d-e mara mi-a?
1SG.LOC-hold-IPFV go.up.CNT take-DUR
'friend, will you go up to take it or me, I go up to take (it)' [B06.050.00:48]

In Abui, focus is primarily encoded by fronting to the left-periphery of the clause.[16] This position is marked by an pause in intonation that follows the focussed constituent. This pragmatic structure may interact with the focus SVC. The minor verb and its U argument are extracted from the core of the clause (realized as contiguous SVC) and placed in the clause-initial pragmatic position. An NP can be extracted to the focus position without leaving any pronominal trace. This is illustrated in (117) where the NP *kawen* 'machete' occurs clause-initially.

(117) *kawen ama mi bataa tukong*
machete person take wood cut
'with machete one cuts wood' [B01.030.03]

The first and second person participant is expressed twice; it occurs in the pragmatic position and also in its original position. An example of such construction is given in (118):

(118) [*ne-d-o,*]$_{\text{nominal}}$ *na pa pi-afu tahai yo*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 1SG go.down.CNT 1PL.I.AL-fish search MD.AD
'me, I go down to look for our fish' [B02.174.00:12]

The status of *ne-d-o* in (118) is puzzling. It might be analysed as grammaticalized to a focus pronoun, just like the form *ne-d-e*. The pause in intonation between *nedo* and *na* in (118) may be used as evidence supporting such an analysis.[17] In my analysis, I choose

[16] The left edge of the clause is a typical location of focussed constituent also in other Papuan languages, as argued by Donohue (2005:187).

[17] In fact, a similar construction occurs in the neighbouring language Kabola (cf. Stokhof: 1987:647) where a pronoun combined with a morpheme *-ri*, which is analyzed as a case marker, may be fronted to a pragmatic position as illustrated in (2). Interestingly, the morpheme *-ri* may be combined with the inceptive aspectual marker *so*.

(2) a. *sa-ri na bɛh-am* b. *sa-ri (so) sam* [Kabola]
3SG-ACC 1SG hit-PFV 3SG-ACC ASP go
'it is he whom I hit; I hit him' 'it is he who goes; he goes' [Stokhof, 1987:637]

Example (3) illustrates that an interesting alternation in Kabola. The accusative case marker can be replaced with the morpheme *ng*, which is not further specified for its meaning. In both cases, the inceptive aspect marker *so* is obligatory.

(3) a. *sa-ng so, na bɛh-am* b. *sa-ng so, na-ri bɛh-am* [Kabola]

for the analogy between the attributive SVC and focus construction and analyse the form *ne-d-o* as a verb phrase that appears in the clause-initial pragmatic position. As illustrated in (119), the pragmatic position has a nominalising effect on the verb phrase occurring in it. The pragmatic position marks any constituent appearing in it as given. The resulting nominal *ne-d-o* has a lot in common with pronouns. The pragmatic position does not allow free pronouns, which cannot be extracted from the clause.

(119) [*ne-d-o,*]$_{\text{nominal}}$ *na yaa buku afenga=ng yaa, melang afenga= ng*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 1SG go land be.other=see go village be.other=see
'me, I will go to other lands, to other villages'

yaa fuokung tafaa tahai=se yo!
go gong drum search=INCP.I MD.AD
'to search for drums and gongs' [B02.027.03:59]

Another example is given in (120), where the second person form *e-d-o* is illustrated. Also in this fragment, the fronted VP seems nominalized and is marked by a pause in intonation as being located in the pragmatic position. The nominalized VP *e-d-o* is followed by the free pronoun *a* (2SG).

(120) *eh, Karfe Hawa-e,* [*e-d-o,*]$_{\text{nominal}}$ *a te-salimang-d-i-a do!*
oh name-VOC 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 2SG DISTR.LOC-danger-hold-PFV-DUR PRX
'ah, Karfe Hawa, you, you bring us in danger' [B02.048.17:28]

As discussed in section 6.3, also adverbial modifiers may occur in the clause-initial pragmatic position. The stem *do* 'hold' should not be confused with the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX), as illustrated in (121). Anaphoric demonstratives do not combine with pronominal prefixes, unlike nouns, verbs and numerals.[18]

(121) a. [*he-d-o,*]$_{\text{nominal}}$ *di ayong*
3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3A swim
'him, he swims' [B05.067.07]

b. **he-do,* *di ayong*
3II.LOC-PRX 3A swim

8.4.2.3 SVC with *m* 'take, be in'

The generic verb *m* is glossed either as 'take' or 'be in' depending on the grammatical context in which it is used. The decisive factors are the type and animacy value of its arguments. In contexts where the minor verb combines with an animate A argument it is glossed as 'take', in other contexts as 'be in'.

3SG-NG ASP 1SG hit-PFV 3SG-NG ASP 1SG-ACC hit-PFV
'it is he who has been hit by me; I hit him' 'it is he who hit me; he hit me'[Stokhof, 1987:647 ex.6]

[18] This view was adopted by Stokhof (1981:127) who argues for the pronominal status of the forms like *ne-do* (1SG.EMPH) and identifies the *-do* following Capell (1975) as a 'defining marker' that 'plays a role in prominence organization of the utterance'. Stokhof distinguishes the *-do* pronominal forms like *ne-do* from *-de* pronouns such as *ne-de*.

Generic verb *m* may serve as a minor verb in SVCs encoding two grammatical functions: (i) In instrumental SVCs it expresses the instrument participant as its U argument; the human A argument is shared. It is glossed as 'take'. (ii) In interior location SVCs it expresses either the interior of objects such as 'house' or the interior 'location' of animates where cognitive and emotional processes take place, similar to English 'heart' or Indonesian/Malay hati 'liver'. In these constructions the verbal form *m* 'be in' is nominalized as it serves often expresses a complement of the major verb.[19]

The generic verb *m* 'take, be in' is not a proper prosodic word. Therefore it mostly combines with the generic verb *ì* 'put' in a completive stem in both SVCs. The completive stem *mi* 'take, be in' is possibly related to the deictic verb *ma* 'be.PRX' discussed in 8.4.4.1 and *me* 'come' (see 8.3.2.3, 8.4.6.2). In the following paragraphs both functions of the minor verb *mi* 'take, be in' are discussed.

INSTRUMENTAL SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The minor verb *mi* 'take' serves to express the instrument, typically combining with two arguments. The A argument is shared with the major verb, while the U argument expresses the instrument. An example of an instrumental SVC is given in (122):

(122) *ama kawen mi bataa tukong*
person machete take wood cut
'one cuts wood with a machete'

The minor verb *mi* 'take' shares its A argument *ama* 'person' with *tukong* 'cut'. Both verbs have each their own U argument; *mi* 'take' combines with the U argument *kawen* 'machete', *tukong* 'cut' combines with *bataa* 'wood'. The instrumental SVC is used as valence-increasing device as the transitive *mi* adds the third argument to the construction.

The form *mi* has been grammaticalized on clausal level to a conjunction marker establishing 'instrument-like' relationship between two clauses. In (123), the first clause serves as a complement expressing the 'instrument' which caused the plate to be broken. Note the form *mi* 'take' also occurs in instrumental SVC with the verb *batek* 'throw, hit'. The U argument of the verb *mi* 'take' is *da-táng* 'his arm', the A argument *di* (3A) is shared with the major verb.

(123) [*neng nuku di da-táng mi lik tah-a=ng batek*]CC
man one 3A 3I.INAL-hand take platform put.on.CPL-PFV=see throw
'a man hit with his hand on the table'

[19] Cognate verbs in other TAP languages express similar grammatical functions: in Adang there is a locative verb mi 'be at' (cf. Haan; 2001);in Blagar *mi* is a locative postposition (Steinhauer, 1991:215), there is also an inalienable noun *-omi* 'inside' (Steinhauer, 1991:215); in Kabola, there is a prefix *mi* that can attach to verbs to derive applicative verbs (Stokhof, 1987:635), and a locative marker *mi* 'be in', however, this form displays some verbal properties as it may combine with aspectual markers (cf. Stokhof, 1987:641,643); in Kaera, there is a postposition *mi* serving as an oblique marker and a transitive verb *ming* 'be at location' (cf. Klamer, to appear:21); in Klon *mi* is a verb meaning 'be at' or 'place' (cf. Baird, to appear:11), and has grammaticalized uses as applicative marker and a conjunction.

mi, [*pingai*]$_{NP}$ *ba* {*lik* *tah-a=ng* *it-i*
take/CONJ plate LNK platform put.on.CPL-DUR=see lie.on-PFV
'(by which) the plate that was put on the table'

yo}$_{RC}$ *pok-u*
MD.AD burst-PRF
'burst' [B06.064.MPI144P]

The verb *mi* often combines with the purpose SVC discussed in 8.4.2.1. Consider now example (124) where the minor verb *mi* 'take' combines with the major verb *kaput* 'sew'. Note that the verb *mi* 'take' is also used in the second clause serialized with the verb *r* 'reach' where the verbs 'take' and 'reach' refer to a transfer event involving three participants.

(124) [*ne-konrek* *kirek-d-i*] *hare,* [*na* *mi* *ne-ura* *he-r-i,*]
1SG.AL-shirt tear-hold-PFV so 1SG take 1SG.AL-sibling.OS 3IL.LOC-reach-PFV

[*di* *mi=ng* *kaput=te*]
3A take=see sew.CPL=INCP.C
'my shirt got torn so I gave to my sister for sewing' [B05.068.01]

The verb *mi* is part of a symmetrical SVC where the A argument of *mi* is shared with the other verb. In the second clause, it is expressed with the free pronoun *na* (1SG). In the third clause, it is expressed with the free pronoun *di* (3A) anaphoric to the NP *ne-ura* 'my sister' The U argument of *mi* 'take' is in both cases the NP *ne-konrek* 'my shirt' in the first clause. The minor verb *ng* 'see' in the third clause serves to express the 'purpose' of taking which is 'sewing up'. In (125) a similar example is given:

(125) *yambuk* *nu* *nu-mi* *we-a* *ba* *ni* *mi=ng* *buuk*
glass SPC.AD 1PL.E.REC-be.in leave-DUR LNK 1PL.E take=see consume
'we want some glasses for drinking, to drink with' [B07.014.02]

The verb *mi* 'take' combines with the A argument *ni* (1PL.E) that is shared with *buuk* 'consume'. Both verbs combine in a symmetrical SVC. The minor verb *ng* 'see' encodes the purpose forming a prosodic word with *mi*. The verb *mi* 'take' combines with the U argument *yambuk nu* 'some glasses' expressed in the first clause. The SVC *numi wea* 'we want' is discussed in detail below.

INTERIOR LOCATION SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The second function of the minor verb *m* 'be in' is to express the interior location of either an animate or inanimate participant. I will first discuss constructions where the verb m 'be in' serves to express interior location of an animate participant. In these constructions, the minor verb *m* 'be in' combines with two U arguments. The human experiencer participant is realized as the U argument of the verb *m* 'be in' with the REC prefix. It is typically shared with the major verb (V_2). An example of an interior location SVC is given in (126) where the minor verb *m* 'be in' combines with the major verb *pang* 'feel' to refer to 'thinking' as 'feeling inside'. The REC prefix *o-* (2SG.REC) expresses the recipient of the 'thought'. The

LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) refers to the manner of 'thinking', in this case the two NPs *ni-beka ni-tafiela* 'our sins, our wrong-doing'.

(126) *ni-beka* *ni-tafiela* *a* *he-o-m* *pang* *he*
1PL.E.AL-be.bad 1PL.E.AL-wrong-doing 2SG 3II.LOC-2SG.REC-be.in feel PRH
'forgive us our trespasses, lit.: don't think about our sins and wrong-doing' [B07.012.04]

In other Alorese languages there is a cognate form **om* that is used to refer to the location of emotion as 'heart'. I will address the nominal properties of Abui constructions with *m/mi* 'be in' further in this section.

There is a large variety of constructions with *mi* 'be in' that refer to various emotions and cognitive events. These constructions can be described with a number of templates. In (127), the template consists of the verb *mi* 'be in' that is serialized with the major verb describing the emotion or cognitive event. The REC prefix expresses the experiencer that is optionally expressed with an NP or with a free pronoun. Note that the major verb may combine with a U argument.

(127)	(NP) PRO_A	PREF.REC-*mi*	V_2	
a.	*na* 1SG	*no-m* 1SG.REC-be.in	*pang* feel	'I think, imagine'
b.		*no-m* 1SG.REC-be.in	*pang* feel	'I wonder, (it) seems to me'
c.	*Simon ayoku* name two	*to-mi* DISTR.REC-be.in	*nuk-d-i* one-hold-PFV	'two Simons reconciliated'
d.		*no-mi* 1SG.REC-be.in	*beka* be.bad	'I feel bad, sad, worried'
e.		*no-mi* 1SG.REC-be.in	*uk-d-a* withdraw-hold-DUR	'I am sad, surprised'
f.		*no-mi* 1SG.REC-be.in	*ha-tuk* 3II.PAT-stick.out	'I contemplate'
g.		*no-mi* 1SG.REC-be.in	*he-uk-d-a* 3II.LOC-withdraw-hold-DUR	'I am shocked by it'
h.	*Lahatala* Lord	*ho-mi* 3II.REC-be.in	*ne-beka* 1SG.LOC-be.bad	'the Lord is merciful to me'
i.	*Kafola tanga* place speech	*no-mi* 1SG.REC-be.in	*h-iéng* 3II.PAT-see	'I know Kabola language'
j.	*he-n* 3II.LOC-see.CPL	*o-mi* 2SG.REC-be.in	*he-natea* 3II.LOC-rise	'you made a decision (about it)'

In (127), the construction given in (h) refers to the cognitive process of 'knowing'. It can be 'recycled' in a more complex construction given in (128) where the verb *lak* 'mark' is added to refer to 'understanding'.

(128) *Kafola tanga do no-mi h-iéng lak-a naha*
place speak.CNT PRX 1SG.REC-be.in 3II.PAT-see mark-DUR NEG
'I don't understand Kabola language' [B10.047.16]

The template given in (129) consists of the verb *mi* 'be in' that combines with the REC prefix expressing the experiencer. The major verb combines with a U argument expressed by an NP, or optionally with a VP that serves as a complement of V_2. For more details about constructions with deictic verbs such as *la* 'be.MD' given in (e), see section 8.4.4.

(129)

	PREF.REC-*mi*	[VP/NP]	V_2	
a.	*no-mi*	*ne-wil*	*he-beka*	'I love my child'
	1SG.REC-in	1SG.AL-child	3II.LOC-be.bad	
b.	*no-mi*	*he-l*	*we-a*	'I love her'
	1SG.REC-be.in	3II.LOC-give	leave-DUR	
c.	*no-mi*	*he-l*	*diei*	'I hate him'
	1SG.REC-in	3II.LOC-give	heat.up	
d.	*no-mi*	*he-l*	*ha-luol*	'I envy him'
	1SG.REC-be.in	3II.LOC-give	3II.PAT-gain	
e.	*no-mi*	*la*	*he-sei*	'I am still hesitating about it'
	1SG.REC-be.in	be.MD	3II.LOC-come.down.CNT	

In (130), a template is given where the verb *mi* 'be in' combines with a single prefix. The REC prefix expresses the experiencer. The major verb (V_2) describes the cognitive process or emotion. The SVC is preceded by a complement clause that describes the matter that triggers the cognitive process or emotion.

(130)

	[(NP)PRO_A	(NP)	VP	] CC	PREF.REC-*mi*	V_2
a.	*di*	*laru*	*buuk*	*do*	*ho-mi*	*we-a*
	3A	palm.wine	consume	PRX	3II.REC-be.in	leave-DUR
	'he likes to drink palm wine'					[B10.049.11]
b.	*di*	*fu*	*takai*		*ho-mi*	*we-a*
	3A	betel.nut	bite		3II.REC-be.in	leave-DUR
	'he likes to chew betel nut'					[B10.049.10]
c.			*na-wel*		*no-mi*	*we-a*
			1SG.PAT-pour		1SG.REC-be.in	leave-DUR
	'I would like to bathe'					[B05.063.03]

In (131), the verb *mi* 'be in' combines with two prefixes. The REC prefix refers to the experiencer, the LOC prefix refers to the perceived matter that is described by the preceding constituents (a complement clause or an NP).

(131)		PRO$_A$	COMPLEMENT/NP	PREF.LOC-PREF.REC-*mi*	V$_2$
	a.	*na*	*Simon*	*he-no-m*	*pang*
		1SG	name	3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in	feel
		'I think of Simon'			
	b.	*na*	*he-l*	*he-no-m*	*pang*
		1SG	3II.LOC-be.in	3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in	feel
		'I think of him'			
	c.	*di*	*la*	*he-do-mi*	*pang-pang*
		3A	be.MD	3II.LOC-3I.REC-be.in	RED[feel]
		'but he keeps thinking about it'			[B02.021.20:50]
	d.	[*ayoku do*	*te h-u*]$_{\text{complement}}$	*he-o-mi*	*marang?*
		two PRX	where be.like.DST-PRF	3II.LOC-2SG.REC-be.in	come.up
		'which of the two do you want?'			[B07.024.01]

In (132), the verb *mi* 'be in' combines with the verb *ng* 'see' that indicates in this case the experiencer of the emotion described metaphorically by the major verb (V$_2$). The event triggering such emotion is optionally described in the preceding complement.

(132)		(NP) PRO$_A$	VP/NP	PREF.REC-*mi=ng*	V$_2$
	a.	*Fan Malei*	*sieng nee*	*ho-mi=ng*	*falak-d-a*
		name	rice eat	3II.REC-be.in=see	bright-hold-DUR
		'Fan Malei likes to eat rice, is happy to eat rice'			[B04.037.01]
	b.			*no-mi=ng*	*kang-r-a*
				1SG.REC-be.in=see	good-reach-DUR
		'I am glad, happy'			
	c.			*no-mi=ng*	*marang*
				1SG.REC-be.in=see	come.up
		'I suddenly think, I realize'			

As mentioned above, the nominal form**om/omi* 'inside' found in other Alor-Pantar languages (cf. Steinhauer, 1991:215; Haan, 2001; Klamer, in prep) corresponds to some uses of Abui *m* 'be in', which often serves as a complement and may be used referentially. This is illustrated in (133) where the phrase *buot ho-mi* 'inside the basket' serves as a complement of the verb *mi* 'be in'. The verb *mi* 'be in' combines with the complement and the NP *kaai fila* 'a puppy, young dog' in a U-U transitive construction (see 6.2.3.1). The verb *mi* 'be in' is serialized with the verb *taa* 'lie'.

(133) {[*kaai fila*]$_{NP}$ [*buot ho-mi*]$_{complement}$ *mi-a*} *taa*
dog be.young basket 3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR lie.CNT
'a puppy sleeps inside the basket' [B01.032.11]

In (134), the phrase *da-táng ho-mi* 'inside his hand' serves as a complement of the verb *ng* 'see' and verb *ì* 'put'.

(134) *di fufai mi* [*da-táng ho-mi*]$_{complement}$=*ng ì ba ho-pun-a*
3A fly take 3I.INAL-hand 3II.REC-be.in=see put LNK 3II.REC-grab.CPL-DUR
'he took a fly and put it inside his hand and holds it' [B07.055.04]

In (135), the phrase *da-wa ho-mi* 'inside his hand' serves as a complement of the verb *mi-a* 'be in'.

(135) *di* {[*nala ma*]$_{NP}$ [*da-wa ho-mi*]$_{complement}$ *mi-a*} *ha-lok*
3A what be.PRX 3I.INAL-mouth 3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR 3II.PAT-touch
'he chews some food in his mouth'

ha-wai-l-i ba lungi=te ha-ful
3II.PAT-turn-give-PFV LNK be.long.CPL=INCP.C 3II.PAT-swallow
'chewing it for a long time before he swallows it' [B07.033.04]

In (136), the form *ho-mi* occurs in a clause that serves as a complement of the verb *ng* 'see'. Note that the stem *mi* 'be in' is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *do* (PRX).

(136) *di rafung nuku ha-pun-i ya mi ba* [*natu ho-mi do*]$_{CC}$=*ng*
3A hornet one 3II.PAT-grab.CPL-PFV SEQ take LNK mortar 3II.REC-be.in PRX=see
'she caught one hornet and took it and released it inside the mortar,'

ha-tàn-i, tenga do mi ba ho-yok-u
3II.PAT-release.CPL-PFV plate PRX take LNK 3II.REC-cover-PRF
'took a plate and covered it' [B02.165.04:50]

A complement clause such as in (136) may be considered a nominal because it contains the anaphoric demonstrative. However, the other structures are ambiguous and analyzing the form *mi* as a noun seems little plausible. Two main pieces of evidence are given in (137). In (a), the REC prefix *nu-* (1PL.EX) indicates that the root is *m*/*mi* and not **om*/**omi* as one may expect by a cognate form **om*/**omi* 'inside'. In Abui, the REC prefix may only occur in VPs. Another property of verbal roots is that they may be combined with two prefixes as in (b) and their stem can be alternated. In (b), the verb *m* 'be in' occurs in A≡<U$_{LOC}$>≡U$_{REC}$ experiencer construction (see 6.2.5.4). As illustrated in (c), possessed nouns cannot be incorporated in a VP in Abui (see 6.1.4). Therefore the analysis of the root *m* as a noun is not viable.

(137) a. *ya* *buuk* *nu-mi* *we-a* / **n-umi*
water consume 1PL.E.REC-be.in leave-DUR
'we want to drink some water' [B07.014.01]

b. *na* *Simon* *he-no-m* *pang*
1SG name 3II.LOC-1SG.REC-be.in feel
'I think of Simon' [B04.031.01]

c. **na* *Simon* *he-n-om* *pang*
1SG name 3II.LOC-1SG.INAL-inside feel

Multifunctional approach offers a solution for this problem (cf. Vonen, 2000:483-5). The root *m/mi* is multifunctional and can be in some contexts interpreted as a nominal 'inside' (possibly with a defective possessive paradigm); however, its verbal properties illustrated in (137) cannot be ignored. This solution is supported by the fact that many lexical items in Abui are categorially indetermined and many appear in both NP and VP (see 3.2.2). Moreover, in a related neighbouring language Klon, a cognate root *mi*, covering more or less the same functions as Abui *m/mi* 'be in', has been analyzed as a verb meaning 'be in' (Baird, L. p.c).

8.4.2.4 SVC with *l* 'give'

The minor verb *l* 'give' has two grammatical functions: (i) in benefactive SVCs it expresses the benefactive or malefactive participant; (ii) in topic SVC it expresses the topical undergoer participant involved in the event. This function of the minor verb *l* 'give' is a pragmatic extension of the benefactive SVC. The topic SVC is a source for a paratactic topic construction with the verb *l* 'give'. These functions of *l* 'give' are discussed in greater detail below.

BENEFACTIVE SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The U argument of the minor verb *l* 'give' is identified as benefactive/malefactive.[20] The U argument is expressed as the LOC prefix in an A-U_{LOC} transitive construction (see 6.2.2.2). An example is given in (138) where the minor verb *l* 'give' is serialized with the major verb *takei* 'bite'. Both verbs share their A argument realized as the NP *kaai* 'dog'.

(138) *kaai* *ne-l* *takei*
dog 1SG.LOC-give bite
'the dog bites me' [B01.032.11]

When the undergoer participant is inanimate the verb *takei* 'bite' may be used in A-U transitive construction (6.2.2.1). Observe that the LOC prefix is chosen to express the benefactive; Abui benefactives are morphologically expressed analogically to possessors and specific locations. The use of the benefactive SVC correlates with the animacy of the participant. Compare the following examples:

[20] The grammaticalization of the verb 'give' expressing the benefactive or malefactive participant is cross-linguistically well-attested (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002:149-151).

(139) a. *Fani di Waksi he-l tahai*
name 3A name 3II.LOC-give search
'Fani looked for Waksi'

b. *Fani afu tahai*
name fish search
'Fani is looking for fish, fishing'

In (139) the human participant *Waksi* cannot be expressed as an argument of the verb *tahai* 'search' directly. Instead, the benefactive SVC must be used, given in (a), expressing the benefactive *Waksi* as the U argument of the minor verb *l* 'give'. However, the animate participant *afu* 'fish' does not require the benefactive construction. However, specific animates are usually expressed with the benefactive SVC such as humans. This is illustrated in (140) where a specific dog *Melang kaai* 'dog (named) Melang' is the malefactive participant realized as the U argument of *l* 'give':

(140) *Melang kaai no-loi, na wi mi ba he-l batet-i*
name dog 1SG.REC-put.far 1SG stone take LNK 3II.LOC-give strike.CPL-PFV
'dog Melang barked at me, I took threw at him with a stone' [B05.031.05]

The benefactive SVC is widely used whenever a human participant is involved. This is illustrated in (141) where two constructions with the verb *bol* 'hit' are given. Only in construction given in (a) the benefactive participant is directly involved in the event. In (b) the participant is still benefactive, but not directly involved and affected by 'hitting':

(141) a. *na palotang mi e-l bol*
1SG rattan take 2SG.LOC-give hit
'I hit you with rattan' [B10.015]

b. *ma na e-bol*
be.PRX 1SG 2SG.LOC-hit
'well, I will hit for/instead of you' [B10.015]

The example (142) is a part of a larger text. The topic argument is the NP *ama kang nuku* 'someone' expressed in the third clause. It is referred to with the LOC prefix in the third clause. The minor verb *l* 'give' is serialized with the verb *koku* 'prod away' that has its own U argument *wi loku* 'the stones':

(142) {*tayoka* *di* *me* *o*}$_{\text{clause}}$ {*ni-melang* *nuku=ng* *yaa-r-i*}$_{\text{clause}}$ *ya*
earthquake 3A come MD 1PL.E.AL-village one=see go.CPL-PFV SEQ
'the earthquake came to our village and'

{*ama* *kang* *nuku* *kota* *ho-tet-i,*}$_{\text{CC}}$ {*he-ni-l*
person be.good one wall 3II.REC-slide.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-be.like.PROX.CPL-give
'one man, a wall slid at him, and so'

mi,}$_{\text{clause}}$ {*ni* *he-l* *wi* *loku* *ha-kok-u*}$_{\text{clause}}$ *ya*
CONJ 1PL.E 3II.LOC-give stone PL 3II.PAT-prod-PRF SEQ
'we prodded for him away the stones and'

{*ho-kok-u*}$_{\text{clause}}$ *ba* {*ha-liel-i*}$_{\text{clause}}$
3II.REC-prod-PRF LNK 3II.PAT-lift-PFV
'prodded him out and lifted him' [B05.078.01]

Finally, some verbs such as *dohung* 'steam' or *yei* 'fall' in (143) require the use of benefactive SVC in order to express their single first or second person participant.

(143) a. *ne-l* *dohung*
1SG.LOC-give steam
'I sweat', lit.: 'gives me steam'

b. *ne-l* *ong* *ha-yei*
1SG.LOC-give make 3II.PAT-fall
'I fall'

For the third person participants, the verb *-yei* 'fall' occurs in U$_{\text{PAT}}$ intransitive construction (see 6.2.4.5). In combination with two arguments it occurs in U$_{\text{LOC}}$-U$_{\text{PAT}}$ and U$_{\text{REC}}$-U$_{\text{PAT}}$ transitive construction (see 6.2.3.7 and 6.2.3.8). The full paradigm of the verb *-yei* 'fall' is given in section 6.1.2.2, examples (77)-(81).

TOPIC (SERIAL) CONSTRUCTION. The benefactive SVC has a pragmatic extension to mark the topic argument of the clause. I will refer to this type of construction as topic SVC. This construction is similar to narrow focus construction discussed in section 8.4.2.2 has parallels in other languages of the area.[21] An example is given in (144). In (a), the verb *l* 'give' is serialized with the major verb *-rui-d-i* 'wake up' to mark the human participant expressed with the NP *neng* 'man' as topical. The NP *neng* 'man' is the shared U argument. It is indexed with the LOC prefix on the minor verb *l* 'give' and with the PAT prefix on the major verb. The A argument is expressed by the free pronoun *di* (3A) and by the NP *moku do* 'the kid, child', it is shared by both verbs. In (b), a regular A-U$_{\text{PAT}}$ transitive construction is used.

(144) a. *moku do,* *di* *he-l* *neng* *ha-rui-d-i*
kid PRX 3A 3II.LOC-give man 3II.PAT-erect-hold-PFV
'the child, she woke him, the man up' [B07.030.01]

b. *moku do* *di* *neng* *ha-rui-d-i*
kid PRX 3A man 3II.PAT-erect-hold-PFV
'the child woke up the man'

[21] See footnote 17, p. 386.

The VP headed by the verb *l* 'give' is often extracted from the serial construction and form a separate clause marked by an intonational pause. It is combined in a paratactic construction with another clause expressing the comment. In (145), the VP *he-l* is followed by the NP *moku do* 'the child'. It forms a separate intonational unit, expressing the topic. It is followed by the comment clause, joined in a paratactic construction.

(145) {*he-l* *moku do,*}$_{\text{topic}}$ {*me* *do-kaleng*}$_{\text{comment}}$
3II.LOC-give kid PRX come 3I.REC-avoid
'as for this child, (she) does not want to come' [B07.011.07]

In (146), the VP *he-l* is nominalized by the quantifier *loku* (PL). It expresses the topic, separated from the comment clause by an intonational pause. It expresses the A argument of the comment clause.

(146) {[*he-l*]$_{\text{VP}}$ *loku* *yo,*}$_{\text{NP}}$ *ya* *wó* *ut* *mara* *nahang*
3II.LOC-give PL MD.AD be.DST DST.H garden go.up.CNT be.everywhere
'as for them, (they) are going up there (each) to (their own) gardens' [B05.075.02]

The paratactic structure may contain three separate clauses, employing also the verb *do* 'hold' as in (147). Note that in the second clause the VP *he-l* precedes the NP ama do 'the people' that specifies its reference.

(147) {*ne-d-o,*}$_{\text{clause}}$ {*he-l* *ama* *do,*}$_{\text{clause}}$ {*ha-d-o*}$_{\text{clause}}$ *ba*
1SG.LOC-hold-PNCT 3II.LOC-give person PRX 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT LNK

{*sei* *kang*}$_{\text{clause}}$
come.down.CNT be.good
'me, as for these people, (I) can bring them down' [B05.035.04]

In (148), the VP *he-l* combines with the NP *tafui do* 'the crab' forming a separate intonational unit. It is followed by a clause in which the NP *tafui do* 'the crab' is referred to with the free pronoun *di* (3A) as the A argument of the verbs *l* 'give' *la* 'be.MD' and *-kol-r-i* 'cheat', which are conjoined in serial verb construction. The NP *luka-luka do* 'the monkey' is the U argument of the verb *-kol-r-i* 'cheat' and is shared with the verb *l* 'give'.

(148) {*he-l* *tafui* *do,*}$_{\text{clause}}$ {*di* *he-l* *luka-luka* *do* *la*
3II.LOC-give crab PRX 3A 3II.LOC-give monkey PRX be.MD

ha-kol-r-i}$_{\text{clause}}$
3II.PAT-trick-reach-PFV
'as for the crab, he cheated him, the monkey' [B02.174.00:58]

8.4.2.5 SVC with *k* 'bring'

The generic verb *k* 'bring' occurs as a minor verb in SVCs encoding the remote recipient participant. The recipient is 'remote' to the location of the event expressed by the major verb. This type of construction will be referred to as **REMOTE RECIPIENT SERIAL CONSTRUCTION**. The remote recipient SVC contrasts with the proximate recipient SVC encoding the recipient in a location proximate to the event (see 8.4.2.6). The recipient participant is by definition either human or animate. The recipient participant is realized with the REC prefix as the U argument of the minor verb. The major verbs denoting the event belong to various verb classes such as motion, locomotion, perception and experience, or speech act verb class. Note that the minor verb *k* 'bring' forms a proper prosodic word with the REC prefix and therefore does not have to combine with other generic verbs.

An example is given in (149) where the minor verb *k* 'bring' is serialized with the motion verb *siei* 'come down'. Both verbs together encode the meaning of 'meet'. The recipient participant is expressed as the U argument of the minor verb with the REC prefix and the optional NP *ama nuku* 'one man'. The free pronoun *na* (1SG) encodes the shared A argument:

(149) *na* *ama* *nuku* *bai* *ho-k* *siei* *naha*
1SG person one as.well 3II.REC-bring come.down.ICP NEG
'I did not meet anybody' [B07.046.05]

The contrast between the remote recipient SVC and a simple recipient construction is illustrated in (150). Consider now both constructions:

(150) a. *na* *ho-k* *fangi* *ba* *de-ya* *kabei* *buuk*
1SG 3II.REC-bring say.CPL LNK 3I.AL-water little consume
'I told him to drink a bit of water' [B07.030.03]

b. *a* *ho-fangi* *re* *naha?*
2SG 3II.REC-say.CPL or NEG
'did you scold him, or not?' [B03.008.01]

In (a) the location of the recipient participant is 'remote' to the event, or in other words, the recipient is not directly affected by the event. The semantics of the minor verb *k* 'bring' contains a component of distance to be passed. In (b) the recipient participant is directly 'affected' by 'speaking' as the encoded meaning is 'scold'. The 'remoteness' of the recipient participant is more obvious in (151) where the minor verb *k* 'bring' is serialized with *wok* 'throw':

(151) *mayol* *nuku* *di* *mea* *mi* *ba* *neng* *ho-k* *wok* *mi*
women one 3A mango take LNK man 3II.REC-bring throw CONJ
neng *di* *ha-pun-i*
man 3A 3II.PAT-grab-PFV
'one woman threw a mango to the man and he caught it' [B06.067.MPI021TA]

8.4.2.6 SVC with *p* 'touch'

The generic verb *p* 'touch' is used as a minor verb in SVCs to express the proximate recipient participant. In contrast to the remote recipient discussed in 8.4.2.5 the proximate recipient is within 'reach' of the event expressed by the major verb. I will refer to this type of construction as **PROXIMATE RECIPIENT SERIAL CONSTRUCTION**. As in the previous construction, the recipient is always human or animate and expressed with the REC prefix and an optional NP. Unlike the generic verb *k* 'bring' the generic verb *p* 'touch' is not a valid coda. Therefore it combines with the generic verb *a* 'be at' in a continuative stem. The allative SVC combines with the proximate recipient SVC whenever the major verb belonging to motion-verb class is used. This is illustrated in (152) where the minor verbs *pa* 'touch' and *ng* 'see' combine with the major verb *miei* 'come':

(152) *Kris* *no-pa=ng* *miei=se* *we-i*
name 1SG.REC-touch.CNT=see come.CPL=INCP.I leave-PFV
'Kris came to me and left again' [B04.029.03]

Note that all verbs in the SVC share the A argument *Kris*. The proximate recipient is expressed with the REC prefix on the minor verb *pa* 'touch'. However, the allative SVC does not always co-occur with the proximate recipient SVC. In (153) the minor verb *pa* 'touch' combines with the major verb *mia* 'be in':

(153) *no-pa* *mia* *ba* *bataa* *do* *ha-fik-i*
1SG.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR LNK wood PRX 3II.PAT-pull.away-PFV
'drag the log away from me' [B07.040.04]

The proximate recipient is realized as the U argument of the minor verb *pa* 'touch'. The A argument is realized in the second clause by the NP *bataa do* 'the log' and share with the major verb *mia* 'be in'. Finally, in (154) the two recipient SVCs are contrasted:

(154) a. *pi* *raha* *ho-k* *sei*
1PL.I chief 3II.REC-bring come.down.CNT
'we go down to meet chief'

b. *pi* *raha* *ho-pa=ng* *sei*
1PL.I chief 3II.REC-touch.CNT=see come.down.CNT
'we go down to chief (visible, proximate)'

The recipient *raha* 'chief' in (a) is in a remote and or invisible location in relation to the actor participant. In (b) on the other hand, the 'chief' is nearby and/or visible.

8.4.2.7 SVC with *ì* 'put'

The generic verb *ì* 'put' is used as a minor verb in SVCs encoding the following grammatical functions: (i) It encodes the possessor of an object in possessive SVCs. (ii) In modal SVC it expresses the participant that is imposed to perform some activity. In

both cases the participant is realized as the U argument of the minor verb *ì* 'put' with the LOC prefix. This suggests that the modal SVC of obligation is a functional extension of the possessive SVC.

POSSESSIVE SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The possessor of an object may be expressed as the U argument of the verb *ì* 'put' with the LOC prefix, that typically expresses locations. The third person argument may be optionally expressed also as a NP. The LOC prefix is polysemous: it expresses also the alienable possessor in the nominal domain (see 4.2.1). The possessors are in fact encoded as 'locations' not only in the possessive SVC but also in the regular possessive construction. In (155) the minor verb *ì* 'put' is serialized with *nari* 'do like this'. The possessor is expressed in the same way as the benefactive with the LOC prefix. Both verbs share the A argument *Waksi*:

(155) *Waksi wan ne-pen mi ne-ì na-r-i*
name already 1SG.AL-pen take 1SG.LOC-put be.like.PRX.CNT-reach-PFV
'Waksi gave me back my pen' [B05.048.01]

Some usages of the possessive SVC are quite puzzling, such as the one given in (156). The minor verb *ì* 'put' is serialized with the major verb *pun* 'grab'. The possessed 'bow and arrow' expressed in the first clause are omitted:

(156) *di de-pet de-pulang pun-a ba làk-e, na ne-ì*
3A 3I.AL-bow 3I.AL-arrow grab.CPL-DUR LNK leave.for-IPFV 1SG 1SG.LOC-put
pun-a naha
grab.CPL-DUR NEG
'he took his bow and arrows and left, I did not take mine' [B07.053.04]

The form *neì* reminds of a free possessive pronoun such as English 'my' or 'mine'. In Abui there are no free possessive pronouns but possessive SVCs could possibly become their source.

MODAL SERIAL CONSTRUCTION. The minor verb *ì* 'put' encodes the participant imposed to perform an event. This SVC will be referred to as 'modal' encoding deontic modality. However, there are a number of other modal SVCs discussed in other parts of this section (see sections 8.3.4 and 8.4.6). An example is given in (89) where the minor verb *ì* 'put' combines with *we* 'leave'. Interestingly, the single participant is encoded in the same way as the benefactive/malefactive with the LOC prefix:

(157) *ne-ì we*
1SG.LOC-put leave
'I have to leave' [B05.045.04]

Observe that the obligation imposed on the participant might be internal as no A argument is expressed. In some instances the previous context identifies the imposing force. Consider now (158) where the minor verb *ì* 'put' combines with the verb *mon* 'die'. The force that imposes the participant to die is expressed in the previous two clauses:

(158) *di* *na-bek-d-i* *ba* *no-mong-e,* *he-ni-l*
3A 1SG.PAT-bad-hold-PFV LNK 1SG.REC-die-IPFV 3IL.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give
'he put a curse on me so that I die, he did like this,'

haba, *ne-ì* *mon* *naha*
but 1SG.LOC-put die.CPL NEG
'but (it) did not make me die' [B07.020.03]

The obligations that are imposed internally might be expressed by the same construction using the LOC prefix that has the same reference as the A argument. The transitive construction has in such cases a 'reflexive' reading. An example is given in (159) where the 'rain' is encoded as internally bound to 'come down':

(159) *ahana* *beka* *do,* *anui* *de-ì* *sei*
whirlwind be.bad PRX rain 3I.LOC-put come.down.CNT
'during the rainy season the rain must come down' [B07.044.04]

8.4.3 SVCs with minor verbs quantifying participants

The second subtype of asymmetrical SVCs II is characterized by minor verb belonging to the quantifying-verb class such as *ning* 'be (number)', *fal* 'separate (from others, in fact together)', and *tafuda* 'be all'. The minor verb specifies the quantity of the participants. It combines either with an A or an U argument. The verb *ning* 'be (number)' is followed by the appropriate number and quantifies the A argument as discussed in 8.4.3.1. The verb *fal* 'separate' described in 8.4.3.2 quantifies either A or U argument. The verb *tafuda* 'be all' (8.4.3.3) usually quantifies the U argument.

8.4.3.1 SVC with *ning* 'be (quantity)'

The minor verb *ning* 'be (quantity)' combines with a numeral or non-numeral quantifier (see 3.5.3) and serves to quantify the A argument shared with the major verb. The A argument is primarily expressed as a free pronoun and for the third person participants also optionally as a NP. In (160) the minor verb combines with the numeral *ayoku* 'two' quantifying the A argument *pi* (1PL.I) shared with the major verb *yaa* 'go':

(160) *hare* *pi* *ning* *ayoku* *yaa* *mi-a* *yo*
so 1PL.I be.QNT two go take-DUR MD.AD
'so two of us go take it' [B06.050.00:48]

The quantifying verb *ning* 'be (quantity)' is frequently used in combination with a motion verb in narrative texts. The participants are quantified, consequently moving to a location and performing some activity there that is described by a symmetrical SVC. This is illustrated in (161) where a fragment from a narrative is given:

(161) *hare pi ning ayoku pi-wai mara mi-a yo!*
so 1PL.I be.QNT two 1PL.I.PAT-turn go.up.CNT take-DUR MD.AD
'so two of us go back up there to take it!' [B02.148.01:52]

In a single case, the verb *ning* 'be (quantity)' combines with the non-numeral quantifier *faring* 'much, many'.

8.4.3.2 SVC with *fal* 'separate'

The minor verb *fal* 'separate' is used when two or more participants act or are affected together outside the group. The verb stem is used also in other contexts with the meaning of separation. In (162) the minor verb *fal* 'separate' forms a SVC with *làk* 'leave for' in (a) sharing the A argument *ni* (1PL.E). In (b) it combines with the verb *fak* 'break' that typically occurs in an intransitive construction. The quantifying minor verb serves here to introduce the A argument *pi* (1PL.I).

(162) a. *ni fal làk*
1PL.E separate leave.for
'we leave together (without others)'

b. *pi fal baleei fak*
1PL.I separate banana break
'we will share a banana' [B10.007.01]

In (163) the minor verb *fal* 'separate' combines with two arguments realized as the free pronoun *di* (3A) and the NP *hefeela* 'his friend':

(163) *afei-d-a he-feela di fal miei*
pass.CPL-hold-DUR 3II.AL-friend 3A separate come.CPL
'he came with his friend yesterday' [B07.004.04]

Observe that the minor verb *fal* 'separate' does not have to combine only with motion or impact verbs. In (164) it combines with the verb *kabei* 'be few, be little' to quantity the number of participants as 'several':

(164) *neng moku fal kabei di bal pe-i ta-luk-u*
man kid separate be.little 3A ball near-PFV DISTR.PAT-rub-PRF
'several young men fought near the ball' [B06.056.MPI065MFb]

The quantified participant is sometimes expressed as the U argument of the minor verb *fal* 'separate'. In (165) NP *tuong Karsten* 'teacher Karsten' and the bound pronoun *nu-* (1PL.E.REC) are marked as the U arguments of the minor verb:

(165) *afe* *war* *ba* *he-yeting* *yo* *tuong* *Karsten* *nu-fal*
passed sun LNK 3IL.LOC-five MD.AD teacher name 1PL.E.REC-separate
Otfai *marang* *luuk-u*
place come.up.ICP dance-PRF
'last Friday we went with Karsten up to Otfai village to dance lego-lego[22]' [B04.067.03]

8.4.3.3 SVC with *tafuda* 'be all'

The verb *tafuda* 'be all' is typically used to quantify undergoer participants. It expresses that all of them are affected by the event. In (166) it combines with a single argument realized with a bare NP *kumal* 'mosquito'. Bare NPs usually have a generic reading. The U argument is shared with the major verbs *mia* 'be in' and *monge* 'die':

(166) *kumal* *tafuda* *war* *tama* *mi-a* *mong-e*
mosquito be.all sun sea be.in-DUR die-IPFV
'in the dry season all mosquitoes die' [B07.061.02]

In (167) the quantified participant is realized as the U argument with the pronominal prefix *po-* (1PL.I.REC):

(167) *me* *po-tafuda* *yai* *paneng*
come 1PL.I.REC-be.all song make.CNT
'let's all sing together' [B07.017.03]

8.4.4 SVCs with minor verbs referring to event location

Minor verbs that belong to the deictic-verb class refer to the spatial or cognitive location of an event. Deictic verbs *ma* 'be.PRX', *ta* 'be.PRX.AD', *la* 'be.MD', *fa* 'be.MD.AD', and *ya* 'be.DST' are discussed in detail in section 3.4.5.3. Deictic verbs distinguish among event locations in respect of speech participants and the proximal-medial-distal axis (PRX, MD, and DST). Deictic verbs typically occur in intransitive constructions serialized and sharing their single argument with a major verb. Their main function as minor verbs is to express the location of the event in respect of the speech participants. The minor verbs have pragmatic extensions as modal, epistemic and evidential markers. In this section I discuss the various functions of each of the minor verbs, starting with the deictic verb *ma* 'be.PRX' in section 8.4.4.1. The section 8.4.4.2 describes the functions of the minor verb *ta* 'be.PRX.AD', followed by discussion on *la* 'be.MD' in 8.4.4.3, and *fa* 'be.MD.AD' in 8.4.4.4. The last deictic verb *ya* 'be.DST' is described in section 8.4.4.5.

[22] Lego-lego is a traditional dance in Alor-Pantar area with a specific variety for each ethnic group. It follows important ceremonies connected with the rural calendar and modern religious rituals. In Abui area it is traditionally performed all night long, starting at sunset and lasting till dawn.

8.4.4.1 SVC with *ma* 'be.PRX'

The speaker-proximate event location is expressed with the minor verb *ma* 'be.PRX'. An example is given in (168) where the minor verb *ma* 'be.PRX' combines with the verb *yei* 'fall' sharing a single argument. It refers to the location near the speaker where the referred object 'fell':

(168) *di* *ma* *ha-yei?*
3A be.PRX 3II.PAT-fall
'did it fall here (by me)?' [B05.083.02]

Although both verbs in (168) have each their own argument, both pronouns expressing the arguments have the same reference. The free pronoun *di* (3A) is the A argument of the deictic verb *ma* 'be.PRX' while the PAT prefix *ha-* is the U argument of the verb *yei* 'fall'. The minor verb in (168) expresses an event location while in (169) it expresses potential modality. The minor verb *ma* 'be.PRX' expresses an attitude of the speaker towards the event expressed by the major verb. The major verb is inflected for aspect with imperfective suffix *-e* (IPFV).

(169) *di* *ma* *do-làk-e*
3A be.PRX 3I.REC-leave.for-IPFV
'let he go home' [B07.019.02]

8.4.4.2 SVC with *ta* 'be.PRX.AD'

The minor verb *ta* 'be.PRX.AD' encodes the addressee-proximate location of the event. This is illustrated in example (170) analogous to previous (168) where the minor verb *ta* 'be.PRX.AD' combines with the verb *-yei* 'fall' sharing a single argument:

(170) *di* *ta* *ha-yei?*
3A be.PRX.AD 3II.PAT-fall
'did he fall near you?' [B05.083.02]

In (171) both proximal deictic verbs are contrasted in the same SVC. Note that the minor verb *ma* 'be.PRX' used in a question presupposes the same location of the speaker with the addressee as illustrated in (a). However, the minor verb *ta* 'be.PRX.AD' refers simply to the location of the addressee, regardless the location of speaker. Logically the speaker is located elsewhere than the addressee in such situation because otherwise the verb *ma* 'be.PRX' would be used:

(171) a. *anui* *ma* *o-pa=ng* *sei?*
rain be.PRX 2SG.REC-touch.CNT=see come.down.CNT
'is it raining on you? (here, where we both are)' [B05.083.01]

b. *anui* *ta* *o-pa=ng* *sei?*
rain be.PRX.AD 2SG.REC-touch.CNT=see come.down.CNT
'is it raining on you (there where you are)?' [B05.083.01]

8.4.4.3 SVC with *la* 'be.MD'

The minor verb *la* 'be.MD' expresses a medial (less proximate) event location with respect to the speaker. The construction is used in situations when the speech participants talk about events occurring in other locations that are distant from them. This is illustrated in (100) where the speaker inquires whether the addressee is going to stay over night in the harbour town encoded as *la* 'be.MD' or come back to the village where they are both located at that time:

(172) *a* *la* *taa* *re* *a-wai?*
2SG be.MD lie or 2SG.PAT-turn
'will you sleep there or come back?' [B04.009.02]

In example (173) the minor verb *la* 'be.MD' is used in a very complex utterance that uses a number of SVCs. Ignoring the first two clauses, in the third clause the minor verb *la* 'be.MD' combines with the major verb *yaari* 'go', together with the other two minor verbs *pa* 'touch' and *ng* 'see' expressing the motion towards a proximate recipient. The minor verb *la* 'be.MD' is used to stress that the location where the speaker 'arrived' is actually distant from his location at the moment of speech:

(173) *di* *he-n* *de-l* *binen-r-i* *ba* *me* *mai* *se* *na*
3A 3II.LOC-see 3I.LOC-give ready-give-PFV LNK come when INCH 1SG

ho-pa *la=ng* *yaar-i*
3II.REC-touch.CNT be.MD=see go.CPL-PFV
'he was getting ready for it to come when I arrived to him there' [B07.037.03]

The location verb SVC with the verb *la* 'be.MD' has a functional extension expressing modality. It expresses speaker's opinion that the event expressed with the major verb happens 'autonomously' according its own will. The event is presented as 'distant' from the speaker as illustrated in (174). The addressee is expressed as the A argument of the minor verb *la* 'be.MD' and major verbs *we* 'leave' and *me* 'come'. The speaker expresses his lack of understanding why the addressee just keeps walking around:

(174) *a* *la* *we* *la* *me* *do,* *a* *nala* *tahai?*
2SG be.MD leave be.MD come PRX 2SG what search
'you, you only go and come, so what are you searching?' [B05.033.03]

In fact the minor verb *la* 'be.MD' indicates that the reported event is performed outside the deictic centre, and 'autonomously' of speaker's intention and awareness of its reason; however, this construction can be analyzed as realis marking strategy as it confirms that the event is truly happening. This is illustrated in (175) where (A) inquires whether (B) is already asleep. (B) uses *la* 'be.MD' to express that he is unable to sleep. He says that he is just lying 'there', while he is in the same location with the speaker.

(175) Q: *a* *tadei* *a-yongfi?*
2SG lie.ICP 2SG.PAT-forget.CPL
'are you sleeping?'

A: *naha, na* *la* *taa*
NEG 1SG be.MD lie
'no, I am just lying' [B07.028.03]

The minor verb *la* 'be.MD' is also used to refer to 'suddenness' of an event. The event takes place 'autonomously' of speaker's expectation. In (176) the minor verb *la* 'be.MD' combines with *yei* 'fall' sharing a single argument *wata* 'coconut'.

(176) *wata* *la* *ha-yei*
coconut be.MD 3II.PAT-fall
'the coconut fell suddenly' [B07.073.01]

8.4.4.4 SVC with *fa* 'be.MD.AD'

The minor verb *fa* 'be.MD.AD' refers to an event location distant from the addressee. The use of *fa* implicates realis mode as it marks 'truly' occurring events. As realis mode marker it has also contrastive epistemic function identifying that the information is either new or unknown to the addressee. The verb *fa* corresponds roughly in its use to English 'actually'. In (101) it is contrasted with two other deictic verbs *ta* 'be.PRX.AD' and *la* 'be.MD' combined in all cases with the major verb *sei* 'come down':

(177) a. *anui* *ta* *sei?*
rain be.PRX.AD come.down.CNT
'is it raining (where you are)?'

b. *anui* *la* *sei*
rain be.MD come.down.CNT
'it is continuously raining'

c. *anui* *fa* *sei*
rain be.MD.AD come.down.CNT
'it is actually raining (you don't know yet)' [B05.082.02]

Another example is given in (178), where the verb *fa* 'be.MD.AD' is refers to the location of a questioned car. Note that the deictic verb *fa* 'be.MD.AD' corresponds in usage to the anaphoric demonstrative *nu* (SPC.AD).

(178) Q: *oro* *oto* *nu* *a* *he-wahai* *kang?*
DST car SPC.AD 2SG 3II.LOC-look be.good
'can you see that car over there?'

A: *he'e,* *na* *fa* *he-wahai* *kang*
yes 1SG be.MD.AD 3II.LOC-look be.good
'yes, I can see it over there' [B07.037.01]

It is an interesting detail that the new information is referred to as 'distant' from the addressee. It seems to be a general strategy in Abui, as in most or all languages, that the temporal and discourse dimension and their operators are mostly transferred from the

spatial dimension and referred to with spatial operators such as deictic verbs. Another example is given in (179) where the verb *fa* 'be.MD.AD' combines with *rul* 'take off':

(179) *di* *fa* *de-namang* *ha-rul* *ba* *ko* *da-wel*
3A be.MD.AD 3I.AL-cloth 3II.PAT-take.off LNK soon 3I.PAT-pour
'he is actually getting undressed to wash himself' [B07.042.02]

8.4.4.5 SVC with *ya* 'be.DST'

The minor verb *ya* 'be.DST' expresses an event location distal from both speech participants. Its use is illustrated in (180) where the minor verb *ya* 'be.DST' combines with the verb *-iel* 'roast'. In (a) the speaker is located outside the shelter where he is roasting a fish for the addressee. In such context, he is marked 'distal' from the event location. In (b) the minor verb *fa* 'be.MD.AD' is used because the speaker is roasting a fish for the addressee inside the shelter, while the addressee is outside:

(180) a. *na* *ya* *e-afu* *walanga-i* *h-iel*
1SG be.DST 2SG.AL-fish be.fresh-PFV 3II.PAT-roast
'I actually roast your raw fish there'

b. *na* *fa* *e-afu* *h-iel*
1SG be.MD.AD 2SG.AL-fish 3II.PAT-roast
'I actually roast your fish' [B05.042.01]

The usage of the minor verb *ya* 'be.DST' is extended to narratives. There it has an evidential function marking the event as non-witnessed by the speaker but as one that really happened expressing in fact realis mode. This is illustrated in the narrative fragment in (181):

(181) *he-maama* *do* *wan* *ya* *do-beka*
3II.AL-father PRX already be.DST 3I.REC-be.bad
'his father was already actually dead' [B02.011.03:21]

The minor verb *ya* 'be.DST' emphasizes that the source of the information is not the speaker, but that he is reporting a narrative, that is: an event that occurred in a distal time from the moment of speech.

8.4.5 SVCs with minor verbs expressing position

The fourth subtype of asymmetrical SVCs II is characterized by the minor verb belonging to the positional-verb class. The positional-verb class contains the verbs *tai/tah-a* 'put on', *mai/mah-a* 'put in', and *hanai/hanah-a* 'put between' (see 3.4.5.4). These verbs express the position of participants. They occur typically in transitive construction combining with two arguments. The positional verbs introduce a location as their U argument increasing the valence of a SVC. SVCs with positional verbs are contiguous, allowing only other U argument and/or minor verb intervene between the

minor and major verb. The general location verb *mia* 'be in' occurs frequently as the major verb. The functions of positional verbs used as minor verbs in SVCs are discussed in the remainder of this section. The verb *tai/tah-a* 'put on' is discussed in 8.4.5.1, followed by *hanai/hanah-a* 'put between' in 8.4.5.2, *mai/mah-a* 'put in' in 8.4.5.3, and *balekna* 'be around' in 8.4.5.4.

8.4.5.1 SVC with *tai/tah-* 'put on'

The minor verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' refers to the vertical position of two participants. The minor verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' expresses only the position but does not refer to the location. In order to express the location it combines with the major verb *mia* 'be in' as illustrated in (182). Note that the minor verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' is transitive sharing its two arguments with the major verb:

(182) *Fan Ata di kota tah-a mi-a ha-yei*
name 3A wall put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-DUR 3II.PAT-fall
'Fan Ata fell down from the top of the wall' [B05.068.01]

In (183) the U argument of the minor verb *tah-a* 'put on' is expressed with the LOC prefix as it refers to a human serving as a location. Note that the verb *tafuda* 'be all' expresses the participant that is located 'above' the first person participant (see also 8.4.3):

(183) *do-tafuda ne-tah-a mi-a*
3I.REC-be.all 1SG.LOC-put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-DUR
'they all are above me' [B01.034.05]

In (184), the verb *tah-a* 'put on' combines with pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC) that refers to betel nuts that are the topic of the fragment. *Tah-a* is serialized with the verbs *mi* 'take' and *takei* 'bite' expressing the U argument of both verbs.

(184) *he-ni-r haba naha, la he-da-yongfi*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach but NEG, be.MD 3II.LOC-3I.PAT-forget.CPL
'having done so, she did not (follow the advice), (she) forgot about it'

ya [*he-tah-a*]$_{\text{complement}}$ *di mi takei*
SEQ 3II.LOC-put.on.CPL-DUR 3A take bite
'and took those (betel nuts) that were put above and chewed them' [B02.104.20:08]

In (185), *meja taha* 'be on the table' serves as a complement of the verb *ng* 'see' that combines with the verb *wot-i* 'throw' is allative serial verb construction. Serial verb construction is quite frequent complementation strategy in Abui; however, there is no evidence that the structure *meja taha* 'be on the table' is a nominal (for similar discussion see 8.4.2.3).

(185) *di sura mi* [*meja tah-a*]$_{\text{complement}}$*=ng* *wot-i*
3A book take table put.on.CPL-DUR=see throw.CPL-PFV
'he took a book and threw it on the table' [B07.034.06]

The minor verb *tah-a/tai* 'put on' has two stems. The stem *tah-* 'put on' is glossed as completive contrasting with the non-completive stem *tai* 'put on'. In (186) both stems combine with the major verb *kul* 'throw'. In (a) the non-completive stem *tai* 'put on' is used to express that the participant reaches the above position by means of jumping. In (b) the completive stem *tah-* 'put on', inflected with durative suffix *-a* (DUR), in combination with allative minor verb *ng* 'see' emphasizes that the participant is jumping above. The minor verb *tah-a/tai* 'put on' combines with a single argument only leaving the location unspecified:

(186) a. *na tai* *na-kul*
1SG put.on 1SG.PAT-throw
'I jump upwards' [B05.085.05]

b. *na tah-a=ng* *na-kul*
1SG put.on.CPL-DUR=see 1SG.PAT-throw
'I jumps above' [B05.085.05]

In (187) and (188) two longer examples are given which were elicited using the MPI elicitation tool 'Staged events' (cf. van Staden et al, 2001). In (187) the construction refers to a situation in which a boy is sitting on a chair and playing a guitar.

(187) *wil neng nuku* [*de-kadera* *tah-a*]$_{\text{complement}}$*=ng* *mit-i* *ba* *de-paking*
child man one 3I.AL-chair put.on.CPL-DUR=see sit-PFV LNK 3I.AL-guitar

h-uol-e
3II.PAT-strike-IPFV
'a boy is sitting on the chair and playing his guitar' [B06.069.MPI063ETG]

In (188), another boy starts walking to a side and sits down on a chair. In this case the non-completive stem of the verb *tai/tah-* 'put on' is used combined with the verb *mit-d-i* 'sit down'; the allative serial verb construction with *ng* 'see' is not necessary. Observe also, that in both cases the linked *ba* (LNK) links the clauses referring to subsequent events.

(188) *wil neng* *nuku* *di* *làk-i* *ba* *we* *de-kadera* *tai*
child man one 3A leave.for-PFV LNK leave 3I.AL-chair put.on

mit-d-i
sit-hold-PFV
'a boy went and sat down on his chair' [B06.058.MPI079ETC]

8.4.5.2 SVC with *hanai/hanah-* 'put between'

To refer to the position 'between' the minor verb *hanai/hanah-* 'put between' is used. The minor verb combines usually with two arguments, encoding the location as its U argument. The participant located in that position may be expressed as the A argument as in (189) where *hanah-a* 'put between' is serialized with *mit* 'sit':

(189) *di* *moku* *loku* *hanah-a* *mit-i*
3A kid PL put.between.CPL-DUR sit-PFV
'he sat among the children' [B07.055.04]

In (190) two NPs *lik ya kadera* 'table and chair' are coordinated and indexed with the REC prefix *to-* (DISTR.REC) on the verb *hanah-a* 'put between'. The location 'between' them is referred to with the LOC prefix *he-* (3II.LOC). This construction serves as a complement of the verb *ng* 'see' which is serialized with the verb *natet-d-i* 'stand up' in allative serial construction (see 8.4.2.1).

(190) *wil* *mayol* *nuku* [*lik* *ya* *kadera*
child woman one platform SEQ chair

he-to-hanah-a]$_{complement}$*=ng* *natet-d-i*
3II.LOC-DISTR.REC-put.between.CPL-DUR=see stand.up.CPL-hold-PFV
'one girl stood upright between the table and the chair' [B06.072.MPI147ETS]

In (191), the completive stem *hanai* 'put between' is serialized with the verb *bek-bek-d-i* 'fight'. The verb *hanai* 'put between' typically combines with the noun *futing* 'yard' to refer to the space between houses, that is not cleaned from grass. The noun *futing* 'yard' refers to the space around and under the house that is swept every day and sometimes is also paved with stones.

(191) *di* *futing* *hanai* *bek-bek-d-i=te* *hu,* *de-mui-l-a*
3A yard put.between RED[bad]-hold-PFV=INCP.C SPC 3I.LOC-game-give-DUR

he-yaar-i
3II.LOC-go.CPL-PFV
'after he first was fighting in between the houses (with other children), he went to play himself' [B05.039.06]

8.4.5.3 SVC with *mai/mah-* 'put in, below'

The verb *mai/mah-* 'put in' occurs in serial verb construction to indicate that the participant is located below. Usually the completive stem is used, as in (192), where *mah-a* 'put in' is serialized with the verbs *kil* 'detach' and *wai* 'turn'. These two verbs are used idiomatically to express that the turtle is occupied doing something. The example is taken from the fable *yoikoi ya luka-luka I* that can be found in the Appendix.

(192) *yoikoi* *do* *dara* *mah-a* *da-kil* *da-wai* *yo,*
turtle PRX still put.in.CPL-DUR 3I.PAT-detach 3I.PAT-turn MD.AD
'the turtle was still below there occupied (by doing all kind of things)' [B06.045.03:35]

In (193), a serial verb construction with the completive stem *mah-* 'put in' is given. It is used by people who are outside a house and ask those inside whether the rain comes through the roof; in fact, whether the roof leaks.

(193) *anui* *mah-a* *sei*
rain put.in.CPL-DUR come.down.CNT
'is it raining into inside (of the house)?' [B05.082.02]

8.4.5.4 SVC with *balekna* 'be around'

The minor verb *balekna* 'be around' usually combines with inalienable body part *mina* 'side'. In (194), it has the NP *moku fila loku* 'the children' as it's a argument.

(194) *moku fila* *loku* *na-mina* *balekna* *mi-a* *de-mui-l-a*
kid be.young PL 1SG.INAL-side be.around be.in-DUR 3I.LOC-play-give-DUR
'the children are playing around me' [B07.057.04]

8.4.6 SVCs with minor verbs expressing manner

The second type of manner SVC is characterized by a minor verb expressing the manner that precedes the major verb. The minor verb has a participant oriented reading because it precedes the major verb. The participant oriented reading contrasts with the manner reading of the manner SVCs discussed in 8.3.3. A number of manner verbs will be discussed starting with *abikni* 'be quick' in 8.4.6.1, *me* 'come' in 8.4.6.2 and *wai* 'turn' in 8.4.6.3. Finally the manner SVC with reduplicated manner verb is described in 8.4.6.4.

8.4.6.1 SVC with *abikna* 'be quick'

The minor verb *abikna* 'be quick' expresses the manner that has a participant oriented reading. The minor verb has two stems. The continuative stem *abikna* is used to stress that the participant has to keep being 'quick' while the completive stem in combination with the allative *ng* 'see' encodes that the participant has to become 'quicker'. Both verbs are illustrated in (195) in imperative constructions in which they typically occur:

(195) a. *he-abikna* *a-wai!*
3II.LOC-be.quick.CNT 2SG.PAT-turn
'quickly turn back!' [B07.019.01]

b. *he-abiki=ng* *a-wai!*
3II.LOC-be.quick.CPL=see 2SG.PAT-turn
'hurry up to go back!' [B07.019.01]

8.4.6.2 SVC with *me* 'come'

The verb *me* 'come' is used to expresses a gradual change of state brought about by an event. In (196) the participant becomes increasingly 'ill'. The second verb *me* 'come' functions as a conjunction indicating that some time elapsed between the events expressed by the subsequent clause.

(196) *di* *kang* *me* *ha-rik-i* *me* *mong-e*
3A be.good come 3II.PAT-hurt-PFV come die-IPFV
'he gradually got ill and now is dying' [B03.010.01]

However, the verb *me* 'come' may be used to introduce an acting participant. It is typically used in imperative constructions where the addressee is summoned to perform some event. In (197) the verb *me* 'come' is serialized with *lilra* 'heat up'. It introduces an A argument that will perform the heating up. The preceding verb *ì* 'put' is not part of the serial construction because it belongs to the RC modifying the NP *afu makiila* 'old fish'.

(197) *afu* *makiila* *ba* [*afeida* *he-ì*]RC *me* *ha-lil-r-a!*
fish be.old LNK yesterday 3II.LOC-put come 3II.PAT-hot-reach-DUR
'the old fish that is from yesterday, come and heat it up' [B05.040.06]

The verb *me* 'come' is typically used in the first person (plural) imperatives, as illustrated in (198), and followed by the free pronoun *pi* (1PL.I).

(198) *he-war* *hare,* *me* *pi* *làk-e!*
3II.AL-sun so come 1PL.I leave.for-IPFV
'it is time, so let's go (away)' [B07.018.03]

8.4.6.3 SVC with *wai* 'turn'

The verb *wai* 'turn' expresses that an event is performed again mostly because the previous result was not satisfying. This is illustrated in (199) where the verb *wai* 'turn' combines with *paneng* 'make'. The 3I prefixes *da-* (3I.PAT) and *de-* (3I.LOC) refer to the human experiencer. Because the free pronoun *di* (3A) does not occur, the construction has a non-volitional reading (see 5.7.3).

(199) *kariang* *beka* *ba-i,* *da-wai* *de-ì* *paneng*
work be.bad say-PFV 3I.PAT-turn 3I.LOC-put make.ICP
'the badly done work he has to do it over' [B07.035.01]

Observe that the SVC is actually larger comprising also the generic verb *ì* 'put' that encodes the obligation of the participant to perform the event. Another two examples are given in (200), where the verb *-wai* 'turn' occurs in two imperative clauses. Note that in (b) the serial construction can be taken literally as 'turn and come'.

(200) a. *a-wai* *he-kok-u=te!*
2SG.PAT-turn 3IL.LOC-prod-PRF=INCP.C
'prod it out finally!' [B05.078.01]

b. *a-wai* *miei=se!*
2sg.pat-turn come.CPL=INCP.I
'come back again!' [B07.041.04]

8.4.6.4 SVC with reduplicated verb

The reduplication of a state verb is a productive strategy to derive manner verbs. The reduplicated verb combines with the major verb indicating the event. The reduplication of the manner verb also contributes the 'increased degree' component. In (201) the state verb *tukoi* 'be strong' is reduplicated and serialized with the verb complex *yai paneng* 'sing' indicating that the 'singing' has to be done 'louder':

(201) *tukoi-tukoi* *yai* *paneng!*
RED[be.strong] song make
'sing louder!' [B07.017.04]

Other reduplicated state verbs used as minor verbs in manner SVCs are listed in (202):

	REDUPLICATED VERB	GLOSS	TRANSLATION
(202)	*kang-kang*	be.good	'well'
	kilikil-kilikil	be.lazy	'lazily'
	mulang-mulang	be.straight	'straightly'
	liki-liki	be.slanty	'slantily'
	kupil-kupil	be.round	'in a round way'
	rama-rama	be.quiet	'quietly'
	kilang-kilang	be.careful	'carefully'
	falaa-falaa	be.slow	'slowly'
	fanasing-fanasing	be.soft	'softly'
	sai-sai	be.broken	'in vain, vainly'
	kul-kul	must	'surely'

8.4.7 SVCs with minor verbs expressing modality

There are two types of modal SVCs. The first type is discussed in 8.3.4 where a more general discussion of the notion 'modality' can be found. To resume shortly, with modality I understand either a general intent of the speaker or his attitude towards the possibility, reality, or desirability of the expressed proposition. This is expressed by the minor verb in modal SVCs. While in the first type of modal SVCs the minor verb follows the major verb, in the second type discussed in this section the minor verb precedes the major verb (cf. example (59) in section 8.3.4). The set of verbs used as

minor verb in modal SVCs is closed, containing the verbs *kul* 'must' (see 8.4.7.1), *kang* 'be good' (see 8.4.7.2), and *ra/re* 'reach' (see 8.4.7.3).

8.4.7.1 SVC with *kul* 'must'

The verb *kul* 'must' is used to express deontic modality. An example is given in (203) where *kul* combines with a single A argument:

(203) *Floris di kul Petumbang yaa-r-i*
name 3A must place go-COMPL-PFV
'Floris had to go to Petumbang' [B10.053.05]

The verb *kul* 'must' may occur in different syntactic positions as illustrated in (204) with a distinct reading. In (a) the modal follows the pronoun forming a contiguous SVC with *sakoladi* 'learn' and encoding deontic modality. However, in (b) the NP is extracted in pragmatic position and the A marking free pronoun *di* (3A) intervenes between *kul* and *sakoladi* 'learn'. This non-contiguous SVC encodes epistemic modality:

(204) a. *moku fil-a di kul sakola-d-i=se*
kid be.young 3A must school-hold-PFV=INCP.I
'the small child must learn' [B10.053.08]

b. *moku fila kul di sakola-d-i=se*
kid be.young must 3A school-hold-PFV=INCP.I
'the small child is certainly about to learn' [B10.053.08]

In instances such as (b) *kul* may be considered to be an adverb. Note that adverbs are mainly found preceding the A argument in the left edge of a clause or in the clause-initial pragmatic position. In some cases they are preceded by focussed argument. Another instance of *kul* 'must' displaying adverbial features is given in (205). Here *kul* indicates epistemic modality; the dog is reported to be 'certainly' lost:

(205) *he-kaai kul kupai tama=ng nai-d-i*
3II.AL-dog must forest sea=see lost-hold-PFV
'his dog certainly got lost in the forest' [B07.023.01]

To express alethic modality *kul* can be used. The presence of the food is qualified as logical necessity by the speaker in the following example where *kul* combines with *du* that is here used to express that food has to 'accompany' or simply 'be there':

(206) *nala ma do kul ha-d-u*
what ripe PRX must 3II.PAT-hold-PRF
'there must be food, one has to eat' [B07.014.03]

8.4.7.2 SVC with *kang* 'be good'

The verb *kang* 'be good' indicates that an event 'really' happened. An example is given in (207) where *kang* is serialized with *wel* 'pour'.

(207) *di* *kang* *da-wel*
3A be.good 3I.PAT-pour
'he is bathing' [B07.073.02]

The verb *kang* occurs frequently in narratives to indicate that the reported events truly happened. Constructions with *kang* occurred frequently in elicitations of the Man Tree game.[23] In the following example taken from a narrative the water bucket is being reported as truly getting empty:

(208) *ya* *do* *di* *kang* *taka-d-i* *do*
water PRX 3A be.good be.empty-hold-PFV PRX
'the water (bucket) was empty again' [B02.135.04:05]

In modal SVC of the type illustrated above, the verb *kang* combines exclusively with third person arguments expressed obligatorily with the free pronoun *di* (3A) and an optional NP. This serial construction is a source of the adverb *dikang* 'again', an instance of its use is given in (209). I analyze the form *dikang* as an adverb 'again', because the A argument is expressed with second person singular free pronoun *a* (2SG). More details can be found in section 6.3.

(209) *kopi* *a* *dikang* *ma-r=te*
coffee 2SG again ripe-reach=INCP.C
'make some coffee again' [B10.013.01]

8.4.7.3 SVC with *ra/re* 'reach'

The verb *ra/re* 'reach' occurs in serial construction to express speaker's intention to perform some activity. Abui verb 'reach' has two alternating stems: the inceptive stem *re* 'reach, try' refers to reaching or trying that has an initial point. This verb is also used in aspectual SVC illustrated in 8.3.1.3. The continuative stem *ra* 'reach, attempt' is used when the event of trying has not clear initial and final point, it has a reading of 'reach' or 'attempt, persist'. The minor verb *ra/re* 'reach' usually occurs in A≡U_{PAT} experiencer construction (6.2.5.2), expressing a single participant with both free and bound pronoun. Consider now (210):

[23] Man-Tree game is a MPI elicitation tool designed to provide stimuli and help elicit spatial reference and navigation apparatus of a language. Language consultants are presented each an identical set of photographs. One of the consultants is to describe the photographs that consequently have to be correctly identified by the other consultant.

(210) a. *di* *da-ra* *we-i*
3A 3I.PAT-reach.CNT leave-PFV
'he tries to leave (obligation)'

b. *di* *ra* *we-i*
3A reach.CNT leave-PFV
'he tries to leave (deliberately)' [B05.045.01]

The single participant is realized as an experiencer as free and bound pronoun with single reference in (a). In (b) it is expressed only as a free pronoun. The minor verb *ra* 'reach, attempt' expresses speaker's intention to 'leave'. The use of the inceptive *re* 'reach, try' is illustrated in (211) where it combines with the verb *natet-d-i* 'stand up, get standing':

(211) *a-re* *natet-d-i!*
2SG.PAT-reach.ICP stand.up.CPL-hold-PFV
'stand up!' [B05.044.05]

The continuative *ra* 'reach, attempt, persist' indicates an event as being performed in a persistent way. The single (human) participant is realized as the U argument with the PAT prefix. Because the speaker mostly expresses his 'wish' to perform an activity, the free pronoun is omitted and the A≡U$_{PAT}$ experiencer construction is alternated, as illustrated in (212). In both cases the major verb is inflected with perfective suffix *-i* (PFV) although the expressed situation must be considered as an instance of irrealis mode (cf. Payne 1997:244):

(212) a. *na-ra* *we-i*
1SG.PAT-reacht.CNT leave-PFV
'let I go' [B05.045.01]

b. *a-ra* *na-pun-i*
2SG.PAT-reach.CNT 1SG.PAT-grab.CPL-PFV
'try to catch me' [B05.044.03]

In negative clauses such as in (213), the verb *ra* 'reach' can be the best translated as 'still' and has many similarities with an adverbial modifier. In (a), the item still can be interpreted as a verb; however, in (b), the predicate *dara* does not show person agreement with the A argument *na* (1SG). The form functions as an adverbial modifier (see 6.3).

(213) a. *di* *da-ra* *nala* *nee* *naha*
3A 3I.PAT-reach.CNT what eat NEG
'he does not eat yet' [B07.021.05]

b. *na* *dara* *ne-wil* *he-l* *bol* *naha*
1SG still 1SG.AL-child 3II.LOC-give hit NEG
'I did not hit my child yet' [B07.075.01]

The form *dara* following inanimate participants reminds us of the adverb 'still', and considering the restrictions on the use of the active pronouns with inanimates, it is likely that the form *dara* in (214) is adverbial. It is quite obvious that the semantics of the verb *ra* 'reach, attempt, persist' can be easily extended to an adverbial use.

(214) *aloba* *dara* *fa* *ne-toku=ng* *ha-lok-e*
thorn still be.MD.AD 1SG.AL-leg=see 3II.PAT-touch-IPFV
'the thorn is still actually stuck in my foot' [B10.020.03]

The verb *ra* 'reach' is sometimes used to refer to an event performed simultaneously by more than one participant. In that case it combines with the distributive prefix *ta-* (DISTR.PAT) that refers to the performing participants. The function of *ra* in such instances is complex. It serves to introduce a multiple actor and indicates the realis mode. Consider now the example (215):

(215) *Fan Malei* *ya* *Fan Ata* *la* *ta-ra* *de-kaai* *bol*
name SEQ name be.MD DISTR.PAT-reach.CNT 3I.AL-dog hit
'Fan Malei and Fan Ata each beat their dog there' [B07.076.02]

In (215) *ra* combines with *bol* 'hit' sharing the multiple actor expressed with two proper nouns *Fan Malei* and *Fan Ata*. These two participants are expressed as the U argument of *ra* and also cross-referenced as the possessor of *dekaai* 'their own dog'. The SVC contains further the deictic verb *la* 'be.MD' indicating a 'distant' location of the event. In some cases the whole minor verb might be reduplicated to indicate that the participants perform the event simultaneously, but each of them on his own. This is illustrated in (216) where *ra* combines with *mok* 'bring together, pray':

(216) *ta-ra-ta-ra* *mok*
RED[DISTR.PAT-reach.CNT] bring.together
'each prays on his own' [B04.019.03]

Now compare the construction discussed in (215) with the construction given in (217). Here the boys *Fan Malei* and *Fan Ata* beat simultaneously each his own dog. That means that more than one dog is being beaten, while in (215) their single dog was maltreated:

(217) *Fan Malei* *ya* *Fan Ata* *ta-ra-ta-ra* *de-kaai* *bol*
name SEQ name RED[DISTR.PAT-reach.CNT] 3I.AL-dog hit
'Fan Malei with Fan Ata beat each his dog on his own (different place, way)' [B07.076.02]

Also in this case the reduplication of the minor verb *ra* indicates that the participants act simultaneously but each of them upon another undergoer.

Appendix: Abui texts

In this section I present a number of Abui texts. The first text is an ancestor story of the Aila clan *la teitu nikalieta*. The second and third text are two fables about the monkey and the turtle titled *luka-luka ya yoikoi*. The fourth text is the Abui version of the Lord's Prayer. The sixth text *moku mayol* is a description of a traditional bride price negotiations and marriage. In the transcriptions I use the comma symbol to mark a pause in intonation, longer pauses (where the speaker is thinking) are marked with the plus symbol +, long pauses that mark the end of a discourse unit are marked with the number sign #. Malay loans are given in bold case.

la teitu nikalieta (ancestor story of Aila clan)

This story describes the ancestry and origin of the Aila clan that is a part of the Takalelang village. The common ancestor of Aila clan is claimed to originate from the Munaseli area of the neighbouring island Pantar. After an internal conflict some of the ancestors left Munaseli and came up to Likwatang area.[1] Having cultivated some areas they came in contact with the original (Non-Austronesian) Abui speaking population settled in Kewai above in the mountains. The mountain people did not have iron tools and therefore they allowed the Aila people to stay and demanded iron tools from them.[2] After a conflict the Aila ancestors had to escape; one of the two brothers was killed, while the other one managed to escape and built a village. Although he was paying a tribute to the Kewai, his village was attacked and burnt down. Only a couple managed to escape. The woman was pregnant; she gave birth to a child and was taken back by her family. The Aila clan members count their origin from her. In the recent past they were summoned by the government and the church to come down from their village on the mountain top and move to the new settlement Kameng Taha. The relocation of the village happened during the lifetime of the old story-teller Alfred Maufani. His ironic allusions describe the relocation as a well-meant intention of the government and the church to let everybody dwell in peace together. The style of the story is rich with frequent parallelisms and direct speech, and frequent resuming of the previous (tail head linkage). The number of Malay loans is very limited.

[1] Barnes (1973:86) mentions that 'the Coastal Alorese speaking coast-dwellers of Alor and Pantar (…) have slowly formed from a mixture of Salayarese (Macassarese-Buginese); Solorese and Javanese and people of the former Muna (on the northern tip of Pantar) and, on Pantar, alswo from people from Ternate. There is a legend that five to six hundred years ago, a colony of Javanese settled on the coast of Pandai on Pantar. There they were involved in a war with Muna. Muna was defeated and its population fled to Alor, where they mixed with other goups and gave rise to the present coastal population.'

[2] The art of forging iron by low temperature is known to some of the Aila clan members till nowadays.

(1) *la* *teitu+* *ni-kalieta+* *pa* *Muna* *buku* *naha=te*
be.MD first 1PL.E.AL-old.person go.down.CNT area land or
'it was first, our ancestors lived in Muna or'

Pantar *buku* *mi-a* *ba+* *ta-t* *ta-wal-i#*
area land be.in-DUR LNK DISTR.PAT-lie DISTR.PAT-augment-PFV
'in the Pantar area, they married and they procreated'

(2) *raha*[3]*+* *Muna Seli* *naha=te* raha *Pandai+* *ho-mi=ng*
king area or king place 3II.REC-be.in=see
'the king of Muna Seli, and the King of Pandai'

ta-luol *ta-ren-a+* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba*
DISTR.PAT-gain DISTR.PAT-turn.to.CPL-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK
'hated each other and because of it'

ama *kang+* *ha-d-a* *beka-d-i+* *ha-d-a*
person be.good 3II.PAT-hold-DUR be.bad-hold-PFV 3II.PAT-hold-DUR
'(they) drove people to animosity'

yenang-d-i,+ *me* *Muna* *melang* *mi-a* *ba,+* *he-n*
war-hold-PFV come area village be.in-DUR LNK 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'and drove them to war, till those (that) were in Muna village,'

ta-wal-i *kalieta* *loku* *marang*[4]*+* *Likwatang* *buku*
DISTR.PAT-augment-PFV old.person PL come.up.ICP place land
'split because of it, and the ancestors came up'

he-rotang-d-i#
3II.LOC-land-hold-PFV
'and embarked in the Likwatang area'

(3) *sei* *Likwatang* *buku* *mi-a-d-i* *ya,+* *di* *mara+*
come.down.CNT place land be.in-be.at-hold-PFV SEQ 3A go.up.CNT
'they came down getting to the Likwatang area and, went up to'

Tipai Babi *buku* *do* *he-d-o+* *mi=ng* *afen-i#*
place land PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in=see stay.CPL-PFV
'the Tipai Babi area, there they stayed'

(4) *Tipai Babi* *buku* *do* *di=ng* *afen-i,+* *he-n* *mi-a*
place land PRX 3A=see stay.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR
'they stayed in Tipai Babi area, and as they were there'

ba *di* *we+* *ho-mi* *ha-matai* *do+* *pining*[5] *do* *di*
LNK 3A leave 3II.REC-be.in 3II.PAT-be.around PRX fallow PRX 3A
'they went and in and around it, they'

[3] The noun *raha* 'king, chief' is a loan from Malay *raja* 'king'
[4] The verb *marang* 'come up' may refer to sailing or navigating on the high seas either away from the island or in eastwards direction.
[5] The noun *pining* 'fallow' refers to a new field, a stroke of bush of forest that is cultivated for the first time.

he-we *he-me*[6] *di* *tek* *batek+* sampai+ *sieng* *bila* *di*
3II.LOC-leave 3II.LOC-come 3A slide smite till rice basket 3A
'kept working on the fallows, and slashed and burned till'

mi-a,+ *he-n* *mi-a* *ba* *sei+* *melang* *Muna*
take-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK come.down.CNT village area
'they got a basket of rice, they took it and came down to the village Muna'

melang *he-d-o* *di* *on-i+* *masang*[7] *di* *mihi#*
village 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3A make.CPL-PFV sanctuary 3A set
'and built the village and erected a sanctuary'

(5) *di* *sei* *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba* *ha-kil*
3A come.down.CNT 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR Lnk 3II.PAT-detach
'they went there and made efforts'

ha-wai[8]*+* *melang* *balekna* *momang-d-i#*
3II.PAT-turn village be.around clean-hold-PFV
'and cleared (the area) around the village'

(6) *di* *kang* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba* *di* *da-pong* *mi* *ba*
3A be.good 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK 3A 3I.INAL-face take LNK
'and because they were there (cleared everything), they turned'

war *sei* *ha-reng#*
sun come.down.CNT 3II.PAT-turn.to
'towards the west'

(7) *di* *sei+* *pun* *namei* *marang+* *he-tilipang* *Loma Lohu*
3A come.down.CNT field cultivate come.up.ICP 3II.AL-tip place
'they started to made fields upwards till the tip of Loma Lohu (lit.: Long Slope)'

Kalang Masang *di* *mara* *Lalamang buku* *do* *di* *he-afen-i#*
place 3A go.up.CNT place land PRX 3A 3II.LOC-stay.CPL-PFV
'and Kalang Masang, they went up to the Lalamang area where they stayed'

(8) *Lalamang* *buku* *do* *he-afen-i,+* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba+*
place land PRX 3II.LOC-stay.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK
'they lived in Lalamang area, being there'

di *mara* *abui+* *Kewai* *buku* *do* *he-d-o* *di=ng*
3A go.up.CNT mountain place land PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3A=see
'they went up to the mountains, to the Kewai area'

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[6] The serial verb construction *we* 'leave' *me* 'come' has a general meaning of performing an event repeatedly. Here the event is identified by the pronominal prefix *he-* (3II.LOC)that refers to the gardening.
[7] The noun *masang* 'sanctuary' refers to a dance place with an altar in the middle. In the old days sacrifices and possibly also skuls of enemies were put in the center of the dance place.
[8] The pair of verbs *-kil* 'detach' and *-wai* 'turn' is used to express an effort to do something. It is translated to Malay with *putar* 'turn around' *balik* 'turn over'.

yaa-d-i+ *de-lelang* *lol#,* *ama* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba+*
go-hold-PFV 3I.AL-family walk person 3II.LOC-see be.in-DUR LNK
'they went to visit their kin, people that were there'

he-pet *he-kafuk* *naha=te* *he-sora* *he-*sapada[9]*+* *ama*
3II.AL-bow 3II.AL-arrow or 3II.AL-sword 3II.AL-machete person
'their bows and arrows, or the swords and machetes, people'

h-ién-i *ya:+*
3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV SEQ
'saw them and (said):'

(9) *'e-sora* *e-*sapada *do* *lakang* *masena* *do!#*
2SG.AL-sword 2SG.AL-machete PRX really be.nice PRX
'your swords and machetes are really nice!'

te *wi-r* *panen=te,+* *he-d-u*
where be.like.MD.CPL-reach make.CPL=INCP.C 3II.LOC-hold-PRF
'how did you make them, that you got (weapons)'

wi-d-a *do* *a* *pun-a?#'*
be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR PRX 2SG grab.CPL-DUR?'
'like that you are holding?'

(10) *kalieta+* *Pelang Mai +* *Baruen:* *'he-d-o* *wi-d-a* *ba*
old.person name 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR LNK
'the ancestor Pelang Mai Baruen (said): '(weapons) like that'

he-d-o,+ *ni-d-u* *hu* *ni* *kariang,+* *ni-d-e*
3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 1PL.E.LOC-hold-PRF SPC 1PL.E work 1PL.E.LOC-hold-IPFV
'those, it was us, we worked, it is us'

he-ong *ni-d-e* *he-paneng,+* *ma* *haba* *nala* *ba*
3II.LOC-make 1PL.E.LOC-hold-IPFV 3II.LOC-make be.PRX but what LNK
'who make them, us, we make them, (this is the case, but), what (tools)'

mi *he-d-o* *he-kariang* *he-ì,+* *pa* *melang* *it-i#*
take 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3II.LOC-work 3II.LOC-put go.down.CNT village lie.on-PFV
'(we) need to make them (weapons), it is below in the village'

(11) *he-n* *mi-a* *ba* *sei+* *pol* *kiding* *pol*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK come.down.CNT hammer be.little hammer
'because of it they came down, small hammers,'

foka+ *Yoimang* *sei* *tafuda* *ban-i+*
be.big place come.down.CNT be.all carry.on.shoulder.CPL-PFV
'big hammers, they came down to Yoimang, carried everything'

[9] The noun *sapada* 'machete' is possibly a loan originating in the Portugese *espada* 'sword' (cf. Stokhof, 1984:141).

mara *Kafak Beka* *mia+* *di* *ma* *ama* *he-tipai*
go.up.CNT area be.in-DUR 3A be.PRX person 3II.AL-iron
up to Kafak Beka, he was here, people's'

tuku *ameta-ameta* *di* *bai+* *mi* *ba* *ama* *he-kafuk*
piece RED[be.small] 3A as.well take LNK person 3II.AL-arrow
'small pieces of iron, they also took them to make arrows for people'

he-lui+ *he-kawen* *he-l#*
3II.AL-knife 3II.AL-machete 3II.LOC-give
'knifes and machetes'

(12) *he-n=te* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba+* *me* *Laking Tei*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX=INCP.C 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK come place
'and so when they were already there, (it happened that)'

he-moku+ *nuku* *me* *ma+* *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba* *moku*
3II.AL-kid one come be.PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK kid
'one child from Laking Tei came here, being there'

ho-k *miti+* *moku* *kamai#*
3II.REC-bring sit.ICP kid watch.over
'to look after the children and baby-sit'

(13) *di* *e* *moku* *ba* *ho-l* *ba* *ha-d-a* *we*
3A before kid LNK 3II.REC-give LNK 3II.PAT-hold-DUR leave
'she was embracing a child and carrying it back'

ha-d-a *me+* *ara* *ba* *lei* *kadangri* *ba*
3II.PAT-hold-DUR come fire LNK reach.over straddle.CPL LNK
'and forth stepping along the fire'

ha-d-a *we* *ha-d-a* *me+* *he-n* *mi-a* *ara*
3II.PAT-hold-DUR leave 3II.PAT-hold-DUR come 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR fire
'back and forth, and because of it'

do *he-làk-i+* *mi* *ba+* *Pelang Mai* *kalieta+* *he-ui*
PRX 3II.LOC-leave.for-PFV take LNK name old.person 3II.AL-back
'she stepped on the fire and'

he-tok-u#
3II.LOC-drop-PRF
'dropped it on the back of the old Pelang Mai'

(14) *he-ui* *he-tok-u* *ba* *na-l-a* *mi+* *kalieta*
3II.AL-back 3II.LOC-drop-PRF LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR CONJ old.person
'dropping it on his back, the old man'

ho-mi *lila-e+* *di* *pol* *bang* *ha-liel* *ba+* *mi*
3II.REC-be.in be.hot-IPFV 3A hammer carry.on.shoulder 3II.PAT-lift LNK take
'became angry and lifted up the hammer'

ba moku ba ho-lel do moku inr-i ba ha-kaai#
LNK kid LNK 3II.REC-impend PRX kid faint-PFV LNK 3II.PAT-drop.CPL
'to threaten the child with it when the child fainted and fell'

(15) *he-tilipang mi-a+ ama ha-kil ha-wai+ Pelang Mai Baruen+*
3II.AL-tip be.in-DUR person 3II.PAT-detach 3II.PAT-turn name
'at the end, the (Kewai) people did whatever they could, Pelang Mai Baruen'

ama feng=te ya mi haba+ ama ha-kil ha-wai+
person injure=INCP.C SEQ take but person 3II.PAT-detach 3II.PAT-turn
'people wanted to kill him and catch, but the people tried everything'

sama[10] *naha#*
be.with NEG
'they did not succeed'

(16) *he-n mi-a ba ama ha-d-o bang*[11]
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK person 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT carry.on.shoulder
'there, people conspired with each other (lit.: carried it with each other)'

to kan-r-i+ we melang kiding nuku ha-ne+
PRX.AD be.good.CPL-reach-PFV leave village be.little one 3II.INAL-name
'and went to a small village named'

Fe Fui he-d-o mi-a ba ma+ ama kalol+ ama
place 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK be.PRX person foretell person
'Fe Fui, and they were there and foretold the future'

fotong kadel kalol ba+ ko mi nala=ng ha-d-a
seer split foretell LNK soon take what=see 3II.PAT-hold-DUR
'they were considering with what'

sama-*d-i-a=ti+ ko kalieta ayoku do di feng#*
be.with-hold-PFV-DUR=PHSL.C soon old.person two PRX 3A injure
'they would achieve to murder the two ancestors'

(17) *di fotong kalol ba na-l-a+ pesing tading*
3A seer foretell LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR bamboo splinter
'they were considering that, (they would) stick out bamboo splinters'

ha-tol+ tadielang tai ì-a+ he-ni-l ma-i
3II.PAT-reach stipel put.on put-DUR 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give be.PRX-PFV
'and put sharp stipels on the top of it, and when done so'

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[10] The verb *sama* 'be with' is problematic. It can be either a loan from Malay *sama* 'together' or a completive stem of the verb *sai* 'put along' *sam-* 'put along with' inflected with durative aspect *-a* (DUR) meaning along with, which refers to 'succeed'. The second analysis is certainly plausible as the form *sama-d-i-a=ti* 'they would achieve, succeed' suggests, given in the last line of (16).

[11] The verb *bang* 'carry on shoulder' is used here to refer to a co-ordinated activity. It originally refers to the carrying of large beams for houses. A several dozens of people are needed to transport a large hardwood beam from the jungle to the village on a wooden construction.

ye+ *ko* *di* *mi-a* *kang+* tapi+ *kawen* *naha=te* *sora*
SEQ soon 3A take-DUR be.good but machete or sword
'then they could get them but the machetes or swords,'

sapada *wok* *ma-i* *ye+* *he-n-u* sama *naha#*
machete throw be.PRX-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF be.with NEG
'if they would use them, then it would not succeed'

(18) *ama* *me* *Pelang Mai* *loma* *do* *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba+*
person come name hill PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK
'people came to the Pelang Mai (village) slope, they were there,'

melang *wò* *do* *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba* *tadielang* *ì-a+*
village DST.L PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK stipel put-DUR
'below the village putting the sharp bamboo stipels'

pesing *tading* *ha-tol#*
bamboo splinter 3II.PAT-reach
'sticking out the bamboo splinters'

(19) *sei* *loma* *tama* *do* *mi-a-d-i* *ya+*
come.down.CNT hill middle PRX be.in-be.at-hold-PFV SEQ
'going down, (they) got halfway in the hill and'

he-n *mi-a* *ba* *kalieta+* *ama* *di* *kang* *ha-wai*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK old.person person 3A be.good 3II.PAT-turn
'because the ancestors were there, the people could come back'

ho-l,+ *ama* *ho-l-i* *ya+* *ama* *ha-d-a*
3II.REC-give person 3II.REC-give-PFV SEQ person 3II.PAT-hold-DUR
'to catch them (ancestors), people were catching them and (other) people'

ring-r-i *ba* *he-l* *mi* *ba* *it-i* *he-l+*
out.ICP-reach-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-give take LNK lie.on-PFV 3II.LOC-give
'were driving them out to get them to'

Pelang Mai *loma* *do* *he-ho-l-i#*
name hill PRX 3II.LOC-3II.REC-give-PFV
'the Pelang Mai (village) slope to imprison them there'

(20) *yaa* *foka* *afenga* *loku* *ama* *tafuda+* *karang* *ì+* *ama* *tafuda*
road be.big be.other PL person be.all barrier put person be.all
'people put barriers on all other big paths, people'

he-mit-d-i *ya* *he-d-o* *do-ahiling-d-i#*
3II.LOC-sit.CPL-hold-PFV SEQ 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3I.REC-broad-hold-PFV
'watched them all and there (in the middle of the slope) they made space'

(21) *kalieta* *sei* *loma* *tama* *mi-a+* *tadielang* *tai*
old.person come.down.CNT hill middle be.in-DUR stipel put.on
'the ancestor was coming down and in the middle of the slope, he stepped on a stipel'

làk-i+ *'suak'* *ba-i* *ba* *ya+* *pesing* *tading* *he-toku*
leave.for-PFV sound.of.slipping say-PFV LNK SEQ bamboo splinter 3II.AL-leg
'and slipped out and so a bamboo splinter'

he-karia[12] *h-ai* *do* *ha-fel-r-a+* *he-n*
3II.LOC-be.narrow 3II.INAL-side PRX 3II.PAT-bleed-reach-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'wounded his leg in between the toes'

mi-a *ba* *kalieta* *ma* *he-n* *da-mit-i#*
be.in-DUR LNK old.person be.PRX 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3I.PAT-sit.CPL-PFV
'and there (it was) that the ancestor got to sit immediately'

(22) *he-n* *mi-a-d-i=se* *kang* *ta,+* *ama*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-be.at-hold-PFV=INCP.I be.good be.PRX.AD person
'he got there and it was finished, people'

he-n *ma* *kalieta* *do* *fen-i,+* *Luruen* *kalieta*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.PRX old.person PRX injure.CPL-PFV name old.person
'were nearby him and the ancestor got killed, the ancestor Luruen'

do-na *kal* *furai* *sei+* *Yoimang* *buku*
3I.REC-be.like.PRX.CNT set.away run.CNT come.down.CNT place land
'remained alone, he ran downwards'

mi-a-d-i#
be.in-be.at-hold-PFV
'and got to the Yoimang area'

(23) *sei* *Yoimang* *mi-a+* *ama* *da-ra* *la*
come.down.CNT place be.in-DUR person 3I.PAT-reach.CNT be.MD
'coming down to Yoimang, people kept'

he-ha-liol,+ *ruwol* *kiek=ti+* *ama* *sei*
3II.LOC-3II.PAT-gain chicken cackle=PHSL.C person come.down.CNT
'following him there, after the chicken cackled (around midnight), people came down'

ho-buok+ *ruwol* *kiek=ti+* *sei* *ba*
3II.REC-ambush chicken cackle=PHSL.C come.down.CNT LNK
'to ambush him, after the chicken cackled, they came down like this'

na-l-a *mi* *kolmalei-kukalei*[13] *ha-liel* *ba*
be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR CONJ k.o.drum 3II.PAT-lift LNK
'he took a kolmalei-kukalei drum and'

[12] The word *karia* 'be narrow' refers to the digits of the foot, it is possibly nominalized here. The standard term for the toes is *he-toku paka* 'his toe', lit.: 'fruits of his foot'.
[13] In Abui culture the drum plays an important role. Many drums have a story to that is sometimes reflected in the name. The drum *kolmalei-kukalei* contains the onomatopoeic root *kukalei* that refers to the singing of the roosters around midnight and refers back to this story in which the drums was given as a payment to the Kewai people to stop their night attacks.

he-tàn-i:#
3II.LOC-release.CPL-PFV
'gave it to them'

(24) *'ri sei-sei do beka hare+ ri tafaa it-i do*
2PL RED[come.down.CNT] PRX be.bad so 2PL drum lie.on-PFV PRX
'that you keep coming down is bad, so you'

bang ba làk-e!#'
carry.on.shoulder LNK leave.for-IPFV
'take this drum (lying here) and leave'

(25) *tafaa di bang ba yaa melang mi-a-d-i*
drum 3A carry.on.shoulder LNK go village be.in-be.at-hold-PFV
'they took the drum went and got to their village'

kan-r-i di kang da-wai la sei#
be.good.CPL-reach-PFV 3A be.good 3I.PAT-turn be.MD come.down.CNT
'after that, they kept coming back down there'

(26) *he-n mi-a ba+ kalieta loku+ de-nala kar-nuku=ng*[14]
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK old.person PL 3I.AL-what ten-one=see
'and because of it the ancestors'

binen-r-i-a+ di he-n:+
ready-reach-PFV-DUR 3A 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'were preparing all their possessions and they (were saying)'

'beka, hare ko+ pi la po-taki-a!' sampai *ama*
be.bad so soon 1PL.I be.MD 1PL.I.REC-flee-DUR till person
'it is bad, we have to flee soon!' till people

sei, melang afeng mi-a ba ama kang do
come.down.CNT village hamlet be.in-DUR LNK person be.good PRX
'came down, the people that were in the village'

neng mayol ama+ fen-i+ to-ha-loi
man woman person injure.CPL-PFV DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-put.far
'men and women, people harmed (killed) them, chased them'

to-ha-siei ya+ ne-kalieta+ neng nuku mayol
DISTR.REC-3II.PAT-come.down.ICP SEQ 1SG.AL-old.person man one woman
'and pushed them down, and my ancestors, one man and one woman'

nuku di sei+ taki ba sei Likwotang
one 3A come.down.CNT flee LNK come.down.CNT place
'they managed to flee and come down'

[14] The idiom *nala kar-nuku* 'ten things' refers to all possessions that one has.

mi-a-d-i *ya+* *mayol* *afung* *mi-a* *he-n* *la*
be.in-be.at-hold-PFV SEQ woman pregnant be.in-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.MD
'and got to Likwotang and the woman was pregnant'

sei *pe,* *hare,* *ha-d-o* *ba* *làk-làk-i*
come.down.CNT be.near so 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT LNK RED[leave.for]-PFV
'about to give birth, so he went away with her'

ba *sei+* *tut* *ha-luol,+* *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba*
LNK come.down.CNT shore 3II.PAT-gain 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK
'and came down, followed the shore, and being there'

ma+ *ahel-ì#*
be.PRX breathe-put
'here they rested'

(27) *di* *sei* *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba* *ahel-ì* *ya+*
3A come.down.CNT 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK breathe-put SEQ
'they came down and there, they rested and'

he-n *he-d-o* *mi-a* *ba* *ma+* *di*
3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT be.in-DUR LNK be.PRX 3A
'while they were, she'

ta-man-i#
DISTR.PAT-bear.CPL-PFV
'gave birth'

(28) *ta-man=te* *he-n* *mi-a* *ba+* *mara* *melang*
DISTR.PAT-bear.CPL=INCP.C 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK go.up.CNT village
'she gave birth and (for that reason) he went up to the village'

do *mi-a* *ba+* *he-kalieta* *loku* *saai* *ya*
PRX be.in-DUR LNK 3II.AL-old.person PL come.down.CPL SEQ
'so that her parents (elders, family) came down and'

sei+ *ne-kalieta* *ha-d-o* *ba* *mara+* *mi*
come.down.CNT 1SG.AL-old.person 3II.PAT-hold-PNCT LNK go.up.CNT take
'coming down, they took my (female) ancestor up'

ba *Lu Melang* *naha=te* *Kafiel Melang* *he-d-o+* *di*
LNK place or place 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3A
'to Lu Melang or Kafiel Melang village, there she'

he-afen-i#
3ii.loc-stay.Cpl-Pfv
'stayed'

(29) *he-n* *mi-a* *ba+* *mara* *melang* *mi-a-d-i+*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR LNK go.up.CNT village be.in-be.at-hold-PFV
'from there they went up and got to the village'

melang mi-a parenta agama+ *de-ì* *do-ma*
village be.in-DUR government religion 3I.LOC-put 3I.REC-be.PRX
'in the village, whatever is the will of government and religion'

wa *ha-luol* *ba* *na-l-a* *yo+*
be.like.MD.CNT 3II.PAT-gain LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR MD.AD
'is accepted and while doing so'

yal-a *tafuda* *ni* *sei+* *fui+* *naha=te* *Kamen-Taha*
now-DUR be.all 1PL.E come.down.CNT flat or place
'now all of us came down to the coast or to Kamen Taha'

buku *ba* *he-afen* *do* *he-d-o+* *he-d-i#*
land LNK 3II.LOC-stay.CPL PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3II.LOC-hold-PFV
'area and we settled in it, and cultivated it'

(30) *ma* *hare* *ne-tanga* *ne-ananra+* *ne-tira*
be.PRX so 1SG.AL-speaking 1SG.AL-telling 1SG.AL-lineage
'it is so, my speaking and telling, my lineage and'

ne-yar+ *de-ì* *lohu* *naha+* *ma* *haba+*
1SG.AL-give.birth.CPL 3I.LOC-put be.long NEG be.PRX but
'my origin are not long, but'

ne-kalieta *di+ pa* *Muna* *buku+* *ba* *di* *mi-a*
1SG.AL-old.person 3A go.down.CNT area land LNK 3A be.in-DUR
'my ancestors went down from Muna area and from there'

maran *do* *he-d-o+* *ama* *he-fangi* *ya*
come.up.CPL PRX 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT person 3II.LOC-say.CPL SEQ
'they came up, it is, people say'

he-d-o masa *ba* *oro+* *buoka#*
3II.LOC-hold-PNCT time LNK DST be.far
'that it is time that is far away'

(31) *ama* *da-ra* *wi* *kapal* *he-d-u* *hu* *mi* *ba+* *namei+*
person 3I.PAT-reach.CNT stone flint.stone 3II.LOC-hold-PRF SPC take LNK cultivate
'people used to have stone tools, those they used to work'

ama *da-ra* *bataa* *foka* *la* *he-h-al* *lol-e,+*
person 3I.PAT-reach.CNT wood be.big be.MD 3II.LOC-3II.PAT-burn walk-IPFV
'people used to burn big trees around,'

ha-ne *lui* *kawen* *dara* *ma-d-a+* *ama* *h-iéng*
3II.INAL-name knife machete still be.PRX-hold-DUR person 3II.PAT-see
'that the name for knife and machete existed, people'

lak-a *naha#*
mark-DUR NEG
'did not know'

(32) *ma* *hare+* parenta *naha=te* *agama+* *kul* *ma-d-a*
be.PRX so government or religion must be.PRX-hold-DUR
'and so the government or religion really have'

ho-mi *kang+* *yal-a* *pi+* *ko* *la* *ta-ra-ta-ra+*
3II.REC-be.in be.good now-DUR 1PL.I soon be.MD RED[DISTR.PAT-reach.CNT]
'a good intention, so now all of us, we dwell each in his own place'

ma *haba* *pi* *sei* *melang* *nuku* *afeng* *nuku*
be.PRX but 1PL.I come.down.CNT village one hamlet one
'but we come down to one village, into one hamlet'

ho-mi *mi-a=ti+* *pi* *ma-d-a* *muknehi* *wil*
3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR=PHSL.C 1PL.I be.PRX-hold-DUR sibling.SS child
'and dwell here as siblings, children'

kalieta+ *kokda* *fing+* *yai* *aremang* *ho-mi* *mi-a#*
old.person younger oldest folk clan 3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR
'parents, brothers and sisters inside a single clan'

(33) *tanga+* *ananra+* *ya* *he-nu* *mi-a* *ba* *do*
speech tell.CNT SEQ 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF be.in-DUR LNK PRX

kan-i#
be.good.CPL-PFV
'speaking and telling and so it is to here and finished'

luka-luka ya yoikoi I. (about the monkey and the turtle)

This fable is well-known in the area. It is about two brothers in crime, the Turtle and the Monkey, that always try to cheat each other. In this fable, the Monkey and the Turtle agree with each other to steal bananas. The Monkey climbs the banana tree, eats the fruits and drops down only banana skins. The Turtle is upset and makes a fuss about it. The owners of the bananas hear it and come down. The Monkey runs away but the Turtle is caught and slaughtered by them. The fable is told in a very vivid style with a lot of dialogue, it is one of the best fables that I have recorded. The language contains no loans and displays regular tail-head linkage, connecting one clause chain to another.

(34) *luka-luka* *ya* *yoikoi* *di* *ning* *ayoku#* *di* *ning* *ayoku* *do,+*
monkey SEQ turtle 3A be.QNT two 3A be.QNT two PRX
'the monkey and the turtle; the monkey and the turtle, the two of them,'

di *he-to-k* *fangi* *ya+*
3A 3II.LOC-DISTR.REC- bring say.CPL SEQ
'they said to each other:'

(35) *'ne-feela,+ na wó do mi-a baleei nuku h-ién-i*
1SG.AL-friend 1SG DST.H PRX be.in-DUR banana one 3II.PAT-see.CPL-PFV
'my friend, I saw up there one banana (tree)

hare,+ pi ning ayoku yaa mi-a yo!'#
so 1PL.I be.QNT two go take-DUR MD.AD
'so, the two of us, let us go to steal'

(36) *he-ni-l mi,+ yoikoi do di he-fangi ya:+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give CONJ turtle PRX 3A 3II.LOC-say.CPL SEQ
'having done like this, the turtle, he said:'

'kang to!'#
be.good PRX.AD
'it is good, as you just said'

(37) *he-ni-r-i ya di ning ayoku+ kul di+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach-PFV SEQ 3A be.QNT two must 3A
'having done so the two of them, they really'

làk-e+ di làk-làk-i ya+ mi=ng
leave.for-IPFV 3A RED[leave.for]-PFV SEQ be.in=see
'went; they went and went and'

ha-pek-d-a=ti+ yoikoi di:+ 'ne-feela, te mi-a?'#
3II.PAT-nearby-hold-DUR=PHSL.C turtle 3A 1SG.AL-friend where be.in-DUR
'after they came nearby, the turtle (said): 'my friend, where is it?"

(38) *'ai, wó peka do mi-a yo!#*
oh DST.H be.nearby PRX be.in-DUR MD.AD
'ah, it is actually nearby up there'

(39) *he-ni-r ba na-l-a di ning ayoku*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR 3A be.QNT two
'having done like this and doing so, the two of them'

marei ya,+ di mara+ wó + he-l baleei wó do
go.up.ICP SEQ 3A go.up.CNT DST.H 3II.LOC-give banana DST.H PRX
'went up, they were going up; above there; as for them, they were at the banana tree above there'

mi-a,+ luka-luka do di+ baleei do ho-ng yaar-i#
be.in-DUR monkey PRX 3A banana PRX 3II.REC-see go.CPL-PFV
'the monkey, he went up on the banana tree'

(40) *ho-ng yaar-i ya+ di+ mi=ng sik ba nee-i,+ nee-i*
3II.REC-see go.CPL-PFV SEQ 3A take=see sever LNK eat-PFV eat-PFV
'having gone up, he plucked (bananas) and ate'

kan-r-a *ma-i,+* *he-kai* *do* *mi* *ò*
be.good.CPL-reach-DUR be.PRX-PFV 3II.AL-bark PRX take MD.L
'after having finished eating, he took the skin (of the banana)

de-feela *do* *ho-k* *ha-yei#*
3I.AL-friend PRX 3II.REC-bring 3II.PAT-fall
'and dropped it to his friend below'

(41) *he-ni-l=ti+* *yoikoi* *do:+* *'ne-feela,+* *ma,+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C turtle PRX 1SG.AL-friend be.PRX
'having done so, the turtle (said): 'my friend, now'

nuku=ng *sik* *ba* *ne-l* *bai* *ne-l* *re!'#*
one see sever LNK 1SG.LOC-give as.well 1SG.LOC-give reach.ICP
'try to pluck one and, me, give me as well'

(42) *he-ni-l=ti* *ya,+* *'ma* *it-i,+* *na* *ong*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C SEQ be.PRX lie.on-PFV 1SG make
'after having said so: '(those) lying near (here),'

ha-yei *nu!'#*
3II.PAT-fall SPC.AD
'I dropped them'

(43) *'ah,* *he-d-o* *he-kai* *do!'#*
oh 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3II.AL-bark PRX
'ah, these are the skins (of banana)!'

(44) *he-ni-l=ti+* *di* *he-fanga:+* *'ah,* *he-n*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C 3A 3II.LOC-say.CNT oh 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'after having said so, he said: 'ah, as for that (banana skin)'

bai *ba* *e-ng+* *doden* *takai* *ba-i* *yo!'*
as.well say 2SG.LOC-see anyway bite.CPL say-PFV MD.AD
'you just eat that anyway!'

(45) *he-ni-l+* *dikang* *di* *mi=ng* *sik* *ba* *nee,+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give again 3A take=see sever LNK eat
he did so and again he plucked (bananas) and ate

nee-i *kan-r-a* *ma=si +* *dikang* *he-kai*
eat-PFV be.good.CPL-reach-DUR be.PRX=PHSL.I again 3II.AL-bark
'after he had just finished eating'

ong *ha-yei#*
make 3II.PAT-fall
'he dropped the skins again'

(46) *'ne-feela,+ he-d-o he-kai hu a mi no-k*
1SG.AL-friend 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT 3II.AL-bark SPC 2SG take 1SG.REC-bring
'my friend, it was its skin that you just took'

ha-yei do!'#
3II.PAT-fall PRX
'and dropped to me'

(47) *'ah,+ e-ng la a-ran-r-a ba-i,+ ko-r*
oh 2SG.LOC-see be.MD 2SG.PAT-be.quiet-reach-DUR say-PFV soon-reach
'ah, you make yourself quiet there'

ba-i=se ko na ong ha-yei yo!#
say-PFV=INCP.I soon 1SG make 3II.PAT-fall MD.AD
'in a while, I will drop some!'

(48) *he-ni-l ba di ning ayoku di+ mi=ng*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give LNK 3A be.QNT two 3A be.in=see
'he did so and the two of them'

te-ì sasang palepal do,+ lunga naha lo+
DISTR.LOC-put discuss argue PRX be.long NEG MD
'they were arguing with each other there and it did take a long time (when)

he-l baleei he-adua he-n wò sei#
3II.LOC-give banana 3II.AL-master 3II.LOC-see.CPL DST.L come.down.CNT
'them, the owners of the bananas came down there because of it'

(49) *sei ba na-l-a yo,+ he-n:+ 'wah,+*
come.down.CNT LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR MD.AD 3II.LOC-see.CPL ho,
'(they) were coming down and while doing so, (the turtle said): 'ho!,'

ko yal do na wó na=ng it-i+ he-adua nu
soon now PRX 1SG DST.H be.like.PRX.CNT=see lie.on-PFV 3II.AL-master SPC.AD
'now, the owners of those lying up there (bananas)!'

h-or=te ba-i!#
3II.PAT-call.CPL=INCP.C say-PFV
'I will really call him'

(50) *he-ni-l=ti:+ 'h-ol re,+ e-d-o*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C 3II.PAT-call reach.ICP 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT

ha to!'#
be.like.DST.CNT PRX.AD
'after he said so: 'just call him then, you do so (as you just said)!'

(51) *he-ni-r ba na-l-a yo,+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR MD.AD
'having done like this and doing so,'

he-l *yoikoi* *do* *di* *he-fangi* *ya:+* *'hoo…,* *ama*
3II.LOC-give turtle PRX 3A 3II.LOC-say.CPL SEQ hoy person
'as for him the turtle, he said: 'hoy…, someone'

fa *ri-baleei* *takai* *yo!'#*
be.MD.AD 2PL.AL-banana steal MD.AD
'is actually stealing your bananas!'

(52) *he-ni-l* *yo+* *wan* *o +* *luka-luka* *de-ì*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give MD.AD already MD monkey 3I.LOC-put
'he said so and then already the monkey'

na *da-pak-d-i* *ba* *làk-i#*
be.like.PRX.CNT 3I.PAT-touch.on-hold-PFV LNK leave.for-Pfv
'jumped down by himself and went away'

(53) *yoikoi* *do* *dara* *mah-a* *da-kil* *da-wai* *yo,*
turtle PRX still put.in.CPL-DUR 3I.PAT-detach 3I.PAT-turn MD.AD
'the turtle was still below there occupied (by doing all kind of things)'

he-n+ *he-adua* *loku* *do* *wan* *sei:*
3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.AL-master PL PRX already come.down.CNT
'when the owners (of the bananas) already came down (at it)'

'eits, *pi-feela* *pi-mahiting* *ò* *pa* *yo!'+*
INTER, 1PL.I.AL-friend 1PL.I.AL-meat MD.L go.down.CNT MD.AD
'wow, friends, our meat is going down there!'

he-ni-l *do* *wan* *di* *piei*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give PRX already 3A go.down.CPL
'as they just did so, they already went down'

kan-r-i *ya+* *do-tafuda* *di* *he-buk-buk-d-i*
be.good.CPL-reach-PFV SEQ 3I.REC-be.all 3A 3II.LOC-RED[bunch]-hold-PFV
'and all of them, they crowded at him'

kan-r-i *ya +* *di* *ha-rek-d-i*
be.good.CPL-reach-PFV SEQ 3A 3II.PAT-breast-hold-PFV
'and turned him (turtle) with his chest up'

kan-r-i+ *di+* *lai-n-i* *tok-a* *mi=ng*
be.good.CPL-reach-PFV 3A spread-see.CPL-PFV drop-DUR be.in=see
'cut him in bits and put down for'

de-yen-i+ *he-n* *mi-a* *do* *kan-i#*
3I.LOC-how.much.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR PRX be.good.CPL-PFV
'dividing (the turtle) among themselves; and at it, this is finished'

luka-luka ya yoikoi II. (about the monkey and the turtle)

In this fable, the Turtle invites the Monkey to his house on the sea bottom. He prepares a big feast for the Monkey. His wife is sick; she suggests that she should eat Monkey's heart to get better. The Monkey cheats the Turtle saying that he actually forgot his heart at home, so they have to go back and get it. After they get on the shore he escapes and laughs at the Turtle. The story-teller Amalia Lanma introduces many dialogues in the fable. There are no loans in this fable.

(54) *luka-luka nuku+ya yoikoi nuku ba# di ning ayoku te-feela#*
monkey one SEQ turtle one LNK 3A be.QNT two DISTR.AL-friend
'a monkey and a turtle, the two of them, they were friends'

(55) *te-feela do+ he-l yoikoi do di maran-i ya*
DISTR.AL-friend PRX 3II.LOC-give turtle PRX 3A come.up.CPL-PFV SEQ
'being each other's friends, the turtle came up and'

de-feela do he-l ek-i di ning ayoku di yaa+
3I.AL-friend PRX 3II.LOC-give ask.for-PFV 3A be.QNT two 3A go
'invited his friend to go together'

ama he-baleei do takai#
person 3II.AL-banana PRX steal
'and steal the people's banana's'

(56) *takai-takai ba na-l-a do+ de-tamai la*
RED[steal] LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR PRX 3I.LOC-repeat be.MD
'they kept stealing and doing so he kept'

marang la marang ba,+ he-ni-r ba
come.up.ICP be.MD come.up.ICP LNK 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach LNK
'coming up again and again (to the monkey) and'

na-l-a mi+ di he-fangi ya:#
be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR CONJ 3A 3II.LOC-say.CPL Seq
'doing so he said:'

(57) *'ne-feela,+ ne-tamai o-pa=ng marang-marang do*
1SG.AL-friend 1SG.LOC-repeat 2SG.REC-touch.CNT=see RED[come.up.ICP] PRX
'my friend, that I keep coming up to you'

beka+ ma hare+ e-l bai, pu-fal
be.bad be.PRX so 2SG.LOC-give as.well 1PL.I.REC-separate
'is bad, so you (should) as well, we'

ne-melang yaa yo#
1SG.AL-village go MD.AD
'will go to my village'

(58) *he-ni-l=ti* *ya* *'kang* *to!'*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give=PHSL.C SEQ be.good PRX.AD

he-ni-l#
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give
'and after this: 'it is good (what you just said)' like this (he spoke)'

(59) *'kang,* *haba* *ko* *na* *te* *wi-r* *ba?'#*
be.good but soon 1SG where be.like.MD.CPL-reach say
'okay, but how will I do it?'

(60) *'ah,* *kang* *to,+* *ko* *a* *ne-ui* *tah-a=ng*
oh be.good PRX.AD soon 2SG 1SG.AL-back put.on.CPL-DUR=see

mit *to!'#*
sit.CPL PRX.AD
'ah, it is easy, you will sit on my back!'

(61) *he-ni-r* *ba* *na-l-a* *mi*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR CONJ

di+ *he-n+*
3A 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'doing so then he (answered)'

(62) *'ma=si* *pi* *làk-o!'#* *di* *he-ui* *tah-a* *do=ng*
be.PRX=PHSL.I 1PL.I leave.for-PNCT 3A 3II.AL-back put.on.CPL-DUR PRX=see
"if it is so, let's go!', he (the monkey)'

mit-d-i *ya+* *he-l* *yoikoi* *do* *di* *ayong-ayong-ayong*
sit.CPL-hold-PFV SEQ 3II.LOC-give turtle PRX 3A RED[swim]
'sat down on his back and the turtle, he swam and swam'

ko *yaa* *oro* *tama* *h-ièng* *kul-a* *mi-a* *de-fala*
soon go DST sea 3II.INAL-eye white-be.at be.in-DUR 3I.AL-house
'and soon he was in the middle of the sea'

ha-d-a *sama* *do* *mi-a* *yo,+* *ah!,* *di* *la*
3II.PAT-hold-DUR be.with PRX be.in-DUR MD.AD oh 3A be.MD
'along his house, ah, he was there'

rung-r-i *yo* *sei* *lik* *tah-a* *do=ng*
dip-reach-PFV MD.AD come.down.CNT platform put.on.CPL-DUR PRX=see

miti#
sit.ICP
'and dived, went down, and sat on the platform'

(63) *he-ni-l* *do,* *he-lik* *he-fala* *do,+* *ai!+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give PRX 3II.AL-platform 3II.AL-house PRX oh
'and so, his house and platform, ah!,'

bilen *ba+* *ta-na-i* *naha* *ba!#*
colour.CPL LNK DISTR.PAT-be.like.PRX.CNT-PFV NEG say
'they were painted that there is really no other like this!'

(64) *he-ni-r* *ba* *na-l-a* *do,+*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR PRX
'and doing so,'

he-n *di+* *he-wil+* *we-d-o*[15] *he-n* *di* *sieng*
3II.LOC-see.CPL 3A 3II.AL-child 3PL.LOC-hold-PNCT 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3A rice
'because of it they, his children, they'

do *tapei* *taki-a+* *he-n* *ma-r-i+* *di* *kang* *ruwol+*
PRX pound fetch-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL ripe-reach-PFV 3A be.good chicken
'pounded the rice for it, fetched (water and wood), to cook for it, they also'

kiek-i *awang-awang* *nuku* *ha-pun-i+* *he-d-o*
cackle-PFV male one 3II.PAT-grab.CPL-PFV 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT
'caught one big (cackling) rooster, and it (the rooster)'

bai *h-ier-i* *kan-r-i* *ta*
as.well 3II.PAT-roast.CPL-PFV be.good.CPL-reach-PFV be.PRX.AD
'they roasted it as well completely,'

ma-r-i,+ *he-n+* *do* *tafuda* *to-buut*
ripe-reach-PFV 3II.LOC-see.CPL PRX be.all DISTR.REC-consume.CPL
'and cooked here (the rice) so that they would really give to drink'

to-nee *ba#*
DISTR.REC-eat say
'and to eat to everybody'

(65) *to-buut* *to-nee-i* *ba+* *he-n*
DISTR.REC-consume.CPL DISTR.REC-eat-PFV LNK 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'they gave to drink and to eat to everybody and because of it'

ha-took *fik-d-i* *ya+* *he-n* *kan-r-i#*
3II.INAL-stomach pull.away-hold-PFV SEQ 3II.LOC-see.CPL be.good.CPL-reach-PFV
'their stomachs were pulling out (they were satiated) and because of it (they) finished'

(66) *kan-r-i* *mi* *na-l-a* *do,+* *he-l*
be.good.CPL-reach-PFV CONJ be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR PRX 3II.LOC-give
'having finished, given that it was done like this, to him,'

[15] The pronominal prefix *we-* (3PL.LOC) occurs frequently in the dialects of Mainang and Ateng Melang area. It is used to express the third person plural U argument. The singular form is *he-* (3SG.LOC). In the northern dialects of the Takalelang area it used very rarely.

yoikoi *do* *di* *he-fanga:+*
turtle PRX 3A 3II.LOC-say.CNT
'the turtle, he said:'

(67) *'ne-feela,#* *ne-mayol* *do* *ha-rik-e,+* *ha-rik* *do+* *di*
1SG.AL-friend 1SG.AL-woman PRX 3II.PAT-hurt-IPFV 3II.PAT-hurt PRX 3A
'my friend, my wife is ill, being ill, she'

oro *he-fanga=ti+* *di* *e-bukomang* *do* *nee* *ma-i* *ye*
DST 3II.LOC-say.CNT=PHSL.C 3A 2SG.AL-heart PRX eat be.PRX-PFV SEQ
'just said over there, if she would eat your heart'

ho-kang-r-a *ba-i* *yo!#'*
3II.REC-be.good-reach-DUR say-PFV MD.AD
'she would actually really become better!'

(68) *he-ni-l-o* *he-n+* *he-l* *luka-luka* *do*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give-PNCT 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.LOC-give monkey PRX
'and being like this, the monkey'

he-fangi *ya:+*
3II.LOC-say.CPL SEQ
'said:'

(69) *'ai,#* *e-d-o* *bai* *beka,+* *he-ni-l* *mi,*
oh 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT as.well be.bad 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give CONJ
'ah, you are really wrong, if it is like this,'

te *wi-r=te* *a* *e* *wó* *do* *mi-a*
where be.like.MD.CPL-reach=INCP.C 2SG before DST.H PRX be.in-DUR
'why when you were above (on the land), why'

he-fanga *naha+* *he-ni-l* *ma* *re* *na* *e*
3II.LOC-say.CNT NEG 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give be.PRX or 1SG before
'didn't you say it if it is so, I'

mi *do,+* *haba* *he-n+* *a* *he-fangi* *naha* *mi*
take PRX but 3II.LOC-see.CPL 2SG 3II.LOC-say.CPL NEG CONJ
'would have taken it, but because you did not ask for it,'

he-n *na* *mi* *naha+* *hare* *pi* *ning* *ayoku+* *pi-wai*
3II.LOC-see.CPL 1SG take NEG so 1PL.I be.QNT two 1PL.I.PAT-turn
'I did not take it so both of us actually have to return'

mara *smi-a* *yo!#'*
go.up.CNT take-DUR MD.AD
'above to take it!'

(70) *he-n* *'ai,* *kan* *to!'* *he-ni-l#*
3II.LOC-see.CPL oh be.good.CPL PRX.AD 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give
'to it (the turtle answered) 'oh, it is good (as you just said)!' like this'

(71) *he-ni-r* *ba* *na-l-a,* *he-n*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'and having done so, he (the monkey) had to'

kul *di+* *he-ui* *tah-a* *do=ng* *mit-d-i* *ya* *di*
must 3A 3II.AL-back put.on.CPL-DUR PRX=see sit.CPL-hold-PFV Seq 3A
'sit on the back (of the turtle) and they'

kang *di* *la* *maran-i* *yo* *marang* *tama*
be.good 3A be.MD come.up.CPL-PFV MD.AD come.up.ICP sea
'actually kept coming up, coming up'

tah-a *mi-a#*
put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-DUR
'to the sea surface'

(72) *tama* *tah-a* *mi-a-d-i* *ya+* *he-d-o*
sea put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-be.at-hold-PFV SEQ 3II.LOC-hold-PNCT
'having reached the sea surface, they'

mi-a-d-i *ayong-ayong* *ya* *ka* *marang-marang-marang#*
be.in-be.at-hold-PFV RED[swim] SEQ soon RED[come.up.ICP]
'got there and swam on and on towards the shore'

(73) *mara* *takata=ng* *ha-pek-d-a* *yo+* *he-n+*
go.up.CNT be.dry=see 3II.PAT-nearby-hold-DUR MD.AD 3II.LOC-see.CPL
'going up they got nearby the shore, and so'

he-l+ *luka-luka* *do+* *da-kur-i* *ya* *mara* *wó*
3II.LOC-give monkey PRX 3I.PAT-throw.CPL-PFV SEQ go.up.CNT DST.H
'to him, the monkey, he jumped and went up,'

takata *mi-a* *yo* *do-wi-l-e#*
be.dry be.in-DUR MD.AD 3I.REC-be.like.MD.CPL-give-IPFV
'being up there on the dry (land), he (said) like that:'

(74) *'eh#,* *ne-ng* *e* *la* *a-kol-r-i* *yo* *ba-i#,*
oh 1SG.LOC-see before be.MD 2SG.PAT-trick-reach-PFV MD.AD say-PFV
'oh, I actually really had to cheat you before'

e-ì *na-l-a* *hu+* *ama* *kang* *nuku* *do+*
2SG.LOC-put be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR SPC person be.good one PRX
'you think that is so, that people'

de-bukomang *do* *do-it* *ba* *lol-e+,* *e-ì*
3I.AL-heart PRX 3I.REC-lie.on LNK walk-IPFV 2SG.LOC-put
'put their hearts (somewhere) and walk around, you think,

e-d-e *kang* *kul* *me-i* *kang* *naha* *ba-i* *ya+ ama*
2SG.LOC-hold-IPFV be.good must come-PFV be.good NEG say-PFV SEQ person
'you really cannot be smart, and people'

he-fangi *ya* *e-d-o+* *nala* *wala* *∅-iéng* *lak-a*
3II.LOC-say.CPL SEQ 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT what so 2SG.PAT-see mark-DUR
'say that you don't know anything'

naha do+ *kul+* *∅-ieńg* *lak-a* *naha!'# he-ni-l#*
NEG PRX must 2SG.PAT-see mark-DUR Neg 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-give
'and it is sure, you don't know!' like this (he) said'

(75) *he-ni-r-i* *ba* *na-l-a* *yo*
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.CPL-reach-PFV LNK be.like.PRX.CNT-give-DUR MD.AD
'after having (said) so,'

he-n+ *he-feela* *do* *he-n:+* *'ai!#'*
3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.AL-friend PRX 3II.LOC-see.CPL ah
'his friend (replied on it saying): 'ah!'

(76) *o* *do* *he-n* *do-dang-do-dang-d-i-a* *ba* *o*
MD PRX 3II.LOC-see.CPL RED[3I.REC-grumble]-hold-PFV-DUR LNK MD
'the one there, he grumbled because of it there,'

do, *haba* *ma* *lal-r-i* *ya* *ba* *o* *da-wai+*
PRX but be.PRX laugh-reach-PFV SEQ LNK MD 3I.PAT-turn
'but (the monkey) here laughed and the one there (the turtle) returned'

de-melang *piei#*
3I.AL-village go.down.CPL
'down to his village'

(77) *he-n* *mi-a+* *kan-r-i#*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR be.good.CPL-reach-PFV
'and there it is, finished'

Lord's Prayer

This is a translation of the Lord's Prayer as it was told to me by Amalia Lanma. The author of the translation is unknown to me.

(78) *Lahatala+,* *maama* *ba* *melang* *san* *mi-a+* *a-ne*
Lord father LNK village clean be.in-DUR 2SG.INAL-name
'Our Father, who art in heaven'

ha-fok-d-a *ha-loi-d-a+* *e-buku* *he-foka=ng*
3II.PAT-big-hold-DUR 3II.PAT-long-hold-DUR 2SG.AL-world 3II.LOC-be.big=see
'hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom'

sei+ *o-mi* *he-san* *he-masolang* *mi*
come.down.CNT 2SG.REC-be.in 3II.AL-clean 3II.LOC-be.pure take
'come, thy will be done,'

ni-l *buku* *tah-a* *mi-a* *do* *melang* *san*
1PL.E.LOC-give world put.on.CPL-DUR be.in-DUR PRX village clean
'on earth as it is in heaven'

mi-a *wi-d-a,+* *yal* *war* *do* *nala* *ba*
be.in-DUR be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR now sun PRX what LNK
'our daily bread'

he-kang *hu* *mi* *ba=ng* *ni-l-e+*
3II.LOC-be.good SPC take LNK=see 1PL.E.LOC-give-IPFV
'give us this day'

(79) *ni-beka* *ni-tafiela* *a* *he-o-m* *pan* *he*
1PL.E.AL-sin 1PL.E.AL-wrong.doing 2SG 3II.LOC-2SG.REC-be.in feel.CPL PRH
'forgive us our trespasses'

he-ta-wi-d-a *mi* *ba* *ni-l*
3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR take LNK 1PL.E.LOC-give
'as we forgive'

ama *ba* *beka* *mi=ng* *ni-d-a* *sama-d-i+*
person LNK be.bad be.in=see 1PL.E.PAT-hold-DUR be.with-hold-PFV
'those who trespass against us'

(80) *ni-l* *mi* *ba* *beka* *tafiela=ng* *ha-tàng* *naha* *ma*
1PL.E.LOC-give take LNK sin wrong.doing=see 3II.PAT-release NEG be.PRX
'and lead us not into temptation'

haba *ni-l* *mi* *ba* *he-kang* *he-ta-luol-a*
but 1PL.E.LOC-give take LNK 3II.LOC-be.good 3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-gain-DUR
'but deliver us from evil', lit.: 'let us regain the goodness'

h-u=ng *ha-tàng+* *e-d-o* *kul* *rofi#*
be.like.DST-PRF=see 3II.PAT-release 2SG.LOC-hold-PNCT must be.right
'Amen'

moku mayol

Alfred Maufani tells how the marriage of his daughter was arranged. First, the betel nut is sent to the parents of the girl. After they all agree, bride price negotiations are arranged. Nowadays the young pair already knows each other, but sometimes the marriage is arranged by the older people, sometimes a special person in the village. There can be also special motivation, because, the one who manages to organize a wedding will get a part of the bride price, this is a topic of the bride price discussion. After the wedding the young woman leaves to the house of her husband. Sons, on the other hand, stay with their parents.

(81) *moku* *mayol,+* *he-ni-l* *yal* *he-fu*
kid woman 3II.LOC-be.like.this.CPL-give now 3II.AL-betel.nut
'the daughter, it became so, now her betel nut'

he-meting *siei+* *he-ya* *he-maama+*
3II.AL-betel.vine come.down.ICP 3II.AL-mother 3II.AL-father
'and her betel vine was brought down, her mother and father'

moku *mayol+* *po-tafuda* *he-kang* *he-fanga#*
kid woman 1PL.I.REC-be.all 3II.LOC-be.good 3II.LOC-say.CNT
'the daughter, all of us agreed'

(82) *ma* *hare,+* *neng* *he-fing* *he-kalieta+* *naha=te*
be.PRX so man 3II.LOC-oldest 3II.AL-old.person or
'being so, the parents and elder of the man, or'

he-ya *he-maama+* *ko* *pi* *yaa* *mit* *nate-a* *tanga*
3II.AL-mother 3II.AL-father soon 1PL.I go sit stand.up-DUR speak
'his mother and father, we shall negotiate'

ananra+ *he-lung* *ha-liel+* *lung* *pe-i* *mit-i*[16]*+* *mangkaisara*
tell.CNT 3II.AL-door 3II.PAT-lift door near-PFV sit-PFV macassarese.drum
'to open the door, for (those who) sit near the door, one makassarese (drum)'

nuku+ *mayol* *he-bel +* *yawa* *lohu* *ayoku+* *mangkaisara*
one woman 3II.LOC-buy javanese.drum be.long two macassarese.drum

nuku#
one
'the bride price two long Javanese drums, one Macassarese drum'

(83) *ma* *hare* *neng+* *he-ya* *naha=te* *he-maama*
be.PRX so man 3II.AL-mother or 3II.AL-father
'being so, the mother of the man, or his father'

he-fing *he-kalieta+* *pi* sama *tanga+* sama *ananra+*
3II.LOC-oldest 3II.AL-old.person 1PL.I be.with speak.CNT be.with tell.CNT
'(those) elder (to him), his grandparents, we negotiate together'

he-war *he-tadeng* *mi* *ba* *awering* *ha-tàng*[17]*+*
3II.AL-sun 3II.AL-day be.in LNK ladder 3II.PAT-release
'the day when the young woman will be delivered to her husband', lit.: when the ladder will be released'

[16] *lung pei miti* '(those) who sit near the door' are the brothers of the bride and the brothers of bride's mother.
[17] *awering ha-tàng* 'release the ladder' refers to letting out of the house. Traditional houses are built on high wooden posts or in trees and without a ladder one cannot get in or out.

he-n-u *pi* *he-ta-pa* *kang-d-i-a*[18]#
3II.LOC-be.like.PRX.PRF 1PL.I 3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-touch.CNT be.good-hold-PFV-DUR
'so we are making an agreement'

(84) *ma-d-i=ng* *hu+* *mayol+* *yaa* *de-lik* *de-fala*
be.PRX-hold-PFV=see SPC woman go 3I.AL-platform 3I.AL-house
'after it was done so, the woman goes to her (new) house

mi-a+ *de-ya* *de-maama+* *de-neng* *ho-kariang+*
be.in-DUR 3I.AL-mother 3I.AL-father 3I.AL-man 3II.REC-work
'she works for her mother and father and her husband'

ni-d-o *de-ì+* *ni* *ma-d-a* *di* *ni-lik*
1PL.E.LOC-hold-PNCT 3I.LOC-put 1PL.E be.PRX-hold-DUR 3A 1PL.E.AL-platform
'it is us, who belong to her, (if) we are alive,'

ni-ayating *mi-a+* *neng* *moku* *ba* *nu-pa* *mi-a+*
1PL.E.AL-house be.in-DUR man kid LNK 1PL.E.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR
'she stays in our house, our son (that we have)'

ni-mina *mi-a+* *ni* *he-fika=ng* *he-balenta#*
1PL.E.INAL-side be.in-DUR 1PL.E 3II.LOC-be.satisfied=see 3II.LOC-entertain
'(they) stay at our side; we feed them till they are satisfied'

(85) *ma* *hare,+yal* *do* *wan* *ni* *he-kang* *he-fanga+*
be.PRX so now PRX already 1PL.E 3II.LOC-be.good 3II.LOC-say.CNT
'so, now we agree with it'

e-l *ba-i,* *he-n* *o-mi* *he-nate-a+*
2SG.LOC-give say-PFV 3II.LOC-see.CPL 2SG.REC-be.in 3II.LOC-stand.up-DUR
'and you, if you have made a decision (about it),'

a *he-n* *yaa+* *ko* *neng* *ho-pa* *mi-a#*
2SG 3II.LOC-see.CPL go soon man 3II.REC-touch.CNT be.in-DUR
'you go for it; you will be with a man'

(86) *la* *e-ui* *h-iéng* *wahai* *naha!+* *ma-d-a+*
be.MD 2SG.AL-back 3II.PAT-see look NEG be.PRX-hold-DUR
'you may not look at (what is) behind you!'

a-pong *a-rang* *he-n-u=ng* *wahai,+*
2SG.INAL-face 2SG.PAT-reach.at 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF=see look
'but what is in front of you', lit.: 'what you are directed to with your face'

e-lik *e-fala* *ho-mi* *mi-a* kurang *kal-e* *ba*
2SG.AL-platform 2SG.AL-house 3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR deficit avoid-IPFV LNK
'look at that, how to avoid shortage inside your house'

[18] *he-ta-pa kangdi* is an idiom meaning 'agree' and it literally means: be able to touch each other about something.

te *wi-d-a+* *he-n-u* *he-o-m*
where be.like.MD.CPL-hold-DUR 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF 3II.LOC-2SG.REC-be.in
'(like that is) what you think about'

pang *he-a-minang#*
feel 3II.LOC-2SG.PAT-remember
'remember that'

(87) *he-*kariang+ *ruwol* *ya* *fe* *ha-k+* *ri-pun* *namei+*
3II.LOC-work chicken SEQ pig 3II.PAT-bring 2PL.AL-field cultivate
'work for it, feed chicken and pigs, both of you work in your fields'

ma-d-i=ng *hu* *ya* *ri-lik* *ri-fala*
be.PRX-hold-PFV=see SPC be.DST 2PL.AL-platform 2PL.AL-house
'so that in your house'

ho-mi *mi-a+* *he-kang* *he-*sama+ *he-n-u*
3II.REC-be.in be.in-DUR 3II.LOC-be.good 3II.LOC-be.with 3II.LOC-be.like.PRX-PRF
'(there) is enough (of everything)'

ma-d-a *di=ng* *ahel* *madok#*
be.PRX-hold-DUR 3A=see breathe breathe.out
'and when it becomes like that, you can rest out'

(88) *ma* *hare+* *ne-tanga* *ne-ananra,+* *yala* *he-ma-d-a+*
be.PRX so 1SG.AL-speech 1SG.AL-story be.now 3II.LOC-be.PRX-hold-DUR
'so, (this is) my speech and story, now that it is (that)'

mayol *moku+* *he-n* *he-kang* *he-fangi+* *ni* *mi*
woman kid 3II.LOC-see.CPL 3II.LOC-be.good 3II.LOC-say.CPL 1PL.E take
'the daughter agreed with it'

ba *nu-ha-pai* *beka#*
LNK 1PL.E.REC-3II.PAT-keep be.bad
'we cannot keep her with us'

(89) jadi,+ *ri-l* *bai* *ba+* *wan* *tadeng* *ma-d-a* *pi+*
so 2PL.LOC-give as.well say already day be.PRX-hold-DUR 1PL.I
'so, as for you, when there already is a day'

he-ta-ming *mit-i* *he-to-ananri* *ya+* *mi*
3II.LOC-DISTR.PAT-next.to sit-PFV 3II.LOC-DISTR.REC-tell.CPL SEQ take
'we will sit next to each other and talk about it to each other'

ba *awering* *ha-tàng* *ma-d-i=ng* *hu+* *he-ya*
LNK ladder 3II.PAT-release be.PRX-hold-PFV=see SPC 3II.AL-mother
'when the young woman will be delivered to her husband', lit.: when the ladder will be released'

he-maama *nu* *to-a* *mit-i+* *ni* *kul* *ma-d-a*
3II.AL-father SPC.AD DISTR.REC-be.at sit-PFV 1PL.E must be.PRX-hold-DUR
'and so his mother and father, if they are still together (alive), we have to have'

fu *meting* *he-kang* *nu* *ni* *kabei* *takai+*
betel.nut betel.vine 3II.LOC-be.good SPC.AD 1PL.E little bite.CPL
'some betel nut and betel vine (that) are good, we chew a bit'

naha=te+ *ruwol* *he-ya+* *di* *ma-d-a+* *kabei* *buuk#*
or chicken 3II.AL-water 3A be.PRX-hold-DUR little consume
'or we must have some chicken soup and drink a bit'

(90) *he-n* *mi-a* *do-kan-i#*
3II.LOC-see.CPL be.in-DUR 3I.REC-be.good.CPL-PFV
'at it, it finishes'

Abui English Wordlist

A - a

a$_1$ [ʔa] *pro.* you (second person singular). *A marang.* You are coming up. *Usage: free pronoun used to express the actor argument in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

a$_2$ [a] *gv.* be at. *To-a miti.* They sit with each other. *Usage: generic verb deriving complex verbs, occurs also in serial verb constructions.*

a- [ʔa] [ʔa] *pro.* you (second person singular, U argument). *Arik.* You are ill. *Usage: verbal prefix expressing the patient argument in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

— *pro.* your (second person singular). *Amin.* Your nose. *Usage: inalienable possessive prefix combining with inalienably possessed nouns (usually body parts).*

-a *asp.* DUR, durative aspectual marker. *Usage: combines only with verbal stems.*

abeng *v.* break off, sever, pull down. *Pi yaa fat heabeng.* We go to break off corn. *Prdm:* II.C.

abet *adj.* young, adolescent. *Neng abet.* A young man. *Usage: refers only to young males.*

— *adj.* light, flexible, quick. *Hetoku abeti.* He runs, walks easily. lit.: His legs are flexible, light. *Usage: for body parts only. See:* *abik.*

abik *Variant:* *abek.* *vr.* quickly, hasty, hurry. *A abikna ba awele.* Wash yourself quickly. *Usage: bound root occuring in a complex verb. See:* *abet* 'ligh, young, quick'. *Prdm:* II.A.

abui *n.* mountain, hill, Abui speaking area. *Ni abui yaar te.* We are about to have gone to the mountains.

adat *n.* custom, traditional knowledge, traditional values. *From:* Malay: adat 'custom'.

adet *n.* yellow vegetable. *Adet war bataa helai.* A pumpkin climbs at the tree.

— *n.* yellow. *Bal adet san nuku, dikang kika nuku.* One yellow ball, and a red one.

adi *n.* sky.

adik *n.* mat pleated from pandanus leaves used for sleeping.

ading-adin *vr.* alarmed, scared.

ading-ading *vr.* alarmed, scared. *Usage: ideophone of the sound of beating heart. Prdm:* II.C.

ading-adin *vr.* alarmed, scared. *Narai hièng ading-adinra.* I got alarmed. lit.: My milt is palpitating. *Prdm:* II.C.

adiye *inter.* interjection of sorrow, surprise.

adua [ʔaduwa, ʔaduwɔ] *Variant:* *aduo.* *n.* master, owner, Lord. *Baleei headua hen wo` sei.* The owners of the banana came down there. *Etym:* *d 'hold'.

af *vr.* heap up, cover, draw aside, laddle. *Di malatai afui.* They heaped up sand. *Prdm:* II.F.

afai *v.* swarm, teem with, shoal. *Netoku namu do fufai fa heafai.* The flies are swarming at my wounded leg. *Usage: with insects, bird, and fish. Prdm:* III.D.

afe *v.* pass, past, previous. *Afe pi baleei tukoni.* We have cut banana some time ago. *Usage: adverbial modifier, part of complex verbs. Prdm:* I.

afe-afe *adv.* long ago, long time ago, long since. *Pi afe-afe beka heananri.* We were talking about it long time ago.

afeida *v.* set, go down. *War afeida.* The sun goes down. The sun is setting. *Morph:* *afe-i-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

afeidi *v.* set, go down. *War afeidi do, a teng yaa?* The sun went down already, where are you going? *Morph:* *afe-i-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

afeida *adv.* yesterday, before. *Afeida di miei.* He came yesterday. *Usage:* ***adverbial modifier***. *Morph:* *afe-i-d-a*.

afen *vr.* stay. *Di Leumang buku do di heafeni.* They settled down in the Leumang area. *Usage:* ***completive stem***. *See:* *afeng* 'stay'.

afeng [ʔafɛŋ] *v.* stay, dwell, settle in. *See:* *afen* 'stay'. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *n.* settlement, hamlet, country. *Ama afeng mia.* People are in the village.

afenga *v.* other, different, strange, foreign. *Nedo ama afenga.* I am a stranger. lit.: I am a strange, different person. *Prdm:* I.

afu *n.* fish. *Na afu tahai.* I am fishing. lit.: I search fish.

afui *n.* tree.sp.

afung *v.* pregnant. *Mayol do afung mia.* This woman is pregnant. *Usage:* ***obligatorily combines with the locative verb mia 'be in'***.

agama *n.* religion, church. *Tuong agama.* Teacher of religion, catechist. *From:* Malay: agama 'religion'.

ah [ʔah] *vr.* select, sort, assort. *Pi tamal ahi.* We were sorting tamarind. *Usage:* ***bound completive stem, requiring aspectual inflection***. *See:* *ai*. *Prdm:* II.F.

ah$_2$ *Variant:* *oh*; *ai*. *inter.* oh. *Usage:* ***general interjection***.

aha [ʔaha] *v.* be outside, be at the edge. *Aha mia.* Be outside, be outside the village.

— *n.* blade, sharp part of a cutting tool. *Kawen heaha.* The blade of a machete.

ahai [ʔahaj] *n.* threshold, entrance to the house. *Ahai foka, ahai kiding.* Doors and windows. lit.: big entrance, small entrance. *See:* *aha*.

ahama *n.* remnant, what remains outside. *Daak ayoku ahama.* Two fathoms and a half. *See:* *aha*.

ahana [ʔahana] *n.* whirlwind, tornado, tropical storm. *Ahana beka.* Bad wind. lit.: cannot be outside *See:* *aha*.

ahel *v.* breathe, sniff. *Ai, kabei ahel te.* Oh, rest a little bit. lit.: take a breath. *Prdm:* I.

ahelri *v.* tired.CPL. *Na ahelri.* I became tired. *Morph:* *ahel-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

ahiling *v.* broad, spacious. *Doahilingdi.* They made space. *See:* *aha*.

— *n.* air, outside space. *Ahiling tama hei.* Birds. lit.: those who belong in the air.

ahol *n.* taro.

ai$_1$ [ʔaj] *v.* put at, put aside, select, choose, sort. *See:* *ah* 'select.CPL'.

— *n.* side, edge, rim. *Neng nuku ai nukung wei.* One man went aside. *Usage:* ***also used to refer to wife, partner. ne-n-ai 'my wife'***.

ai$_2$ [ʔaj] *n.* root, vein. *Wata ai.* The root of the coconut tree. *Usage:* ***refers to parts of vegetal bodies and is used metaphorically to refer to veins on animal and human body***.

aikol *n.* lontar leaf, dried leaves of the lontar palm are used instead of cigarette paper to roll in tobacco. *Aikol hepikai nuku.* One bunch of lontar leaves. lit.: one head of lontar leaves.

aisa *v.* urinate, pee. *Na aisa.* I pee. *See:* *aisi* 'urinate.CPL'. *Prdm:* III.A.

aisaha *num.* hundred. *Rifi aisaha ayoku.* Two

hundred thousand.

aisi *v.* urinate, pee. ***Pi yaa aisi te.*** We are about to have gone peeing. *Usage:* ***completive stem.*** *See:* ***aisa*** 'urinate.CNT'. *Prdm:* III.A.

aiya *Variant:* ***aya***; ***eiya***. *inter.* ah.

ak [ʔak] *v.* open mouth, open up. ***Di ak.*** He opens up his mouth. *Prdm:* I.

aka$_1$ [ʔa'ka] *n.* body. ***Neaka.*** My body.

aka$_2$ *n.* outside, open space under the house. ***Dakur ba akang hayei.*** He jumped and fell down outside (the house).

akal *n.* trick, slyness, cheat. ***Neful, neakal.*** My tricks, my slyness. *From:* Malay: akal 'trick'.

akan *adj.* black. ***Upi akan kupil.*** Black and round fruit. *Usage:* ***adjective, cannot be used predicatively without i 'put'.***

aken [ʔakɛn] *v.* threaten, warn. ***Tafuda oro Kafolang akeni.*** Everybody was threatening Kabola (area) over there. *Usage:* ***completive stem.*** *See:* ***akeng.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

akeng [ʔakɛŋ] *v.* threaten, warn. ***Na Simon heakeng.*** I threaten Simon. *Usage:* ***non-completive stem.*** *See:* ***aken.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

akui *n.* lot, a part of the house above the living part that serves for food storage. ***Akui foka, akui kiding.*** Large loft (food storage), small loft (serves for storing drums).

akuk *v.* close, wink, blink. ***Na nièng akuke.*** I am closing my eyes. *Usage:* ***refers only to closing of eyes.*** *Prdm:* II.A.

akun [akʊn] *vr.* become dark, darken. ***Heabikna ara hakun te.*** Quickly extinguish the fire. *Usage:* ***refers to the time following the period of darkness: morning or tomorrow.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

akun *adv.* morning. ***Di akun miei.*** He came in the morning.

akun *adv.* tomorrow. ***Di ko akun me?*** Will he come tomorrow?

akung [akʊŋ] *v.* darken, become dark, extinguish. ***Ara fafun ba di takung!*** Blow the fire so that it extinguishes (itself). *See:* ***akun.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

akupil *v.* be rounded, be round. ***Hièng akupil.*** His eyes are rounded. *See:* ***kupil.***

akut [akʊt] *v.* close, wink, blink. *Usage:* ***only for eyes.*** *See:* ***akuk.*** *Prdm:* II.A.

akuta *v.* be blind, not able to see. ***Nedo akuta.*** I am blind. *See:* ***akut, akuti.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

akuti *v.* become blind. ***Naakuti.*** I became blind. *See:* ***akuta.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

al$_1$ *n.* Muslim, muslim Alorese or Indonesian population. ***Al loku.*** Alorese (muslim) people.

al$_2$ *v.* burn. ***A ara hal.*** You burn wood. *See:* ***ar.*** *Prdm:* II.D.

alehatang *n.* millipede.

alei *v.* tickle.

alei-aleida *v.* tickle. ***Hoalei-aleida naha.*** Do not tickle him. *Morph:* ***alei-alei-d-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

aleka *v.* quick, fast. ***Di aleka firai.*** He runs fast. *Prdm:* I.

alen *v.* climb. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *v.* weak, weakened. ***Neisi alenri.*** My body is tired.

aleng *v.* climb. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *v.* die by falling from a tree.

alesa *n.* land crocodile, land reptile.

aliking *v.* be frowning, be bent. ***Hapong aliking.*** His face is frowning. *See:* ***lik*** 'bend'. *Prdm:* I.

alin *v.* wet, soaked, leaking liquid.

alinra *v.* become wet, soaked. ***Nedo alinra.*** I am wet. *Morph:* ***alin-r-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

alinri *v.* become wet, soaked. ***Naalinri.*** I became wet. *Morph:* ***alin-r-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

— *v.* moldy, leaking liquid. ***Malika alina.*** Moldy figs.

aloba *n.* thorn. *Aloba naloke.* A thorn stabbed me.

aloi *n.* bamboo tube, bamboo container used for fetching water, or for storage of valuable goods. *Di hemalang aloi meng.* She wears a bamboo tube with medicine with her. *Ya aloi iti.* There is a water tube, lit.: the water tube lies.

malang aloi *n.* medicine tube, a bamboo tube with water, carried by the wife of the chief with magical powers.

alot *n.* fodder, leaves and skins of plants and fruits used as fodder for domestic animals. *Yaa, fe alot mi se!* Go and get the fodder for the pigs!

ama *n.* person, someone. *Ama kang.* Someone, a human person.

amaling *v.* smelly, fragrant. *Amaling kang.* Be fragrant, be smelling good.

ame *n.* relatives. *Rilelang riame loku.* Your family and your relatives.

amek *vr.* become small, reduce, diminish. *Prdm:* II.A.

amekni *v.* be small, little, be diminished. *Di hawai haluku amekni.* She folded it back to a small shape. *Morph:* *amek-n-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

amek-amekni *v.* be very small, little be diminished. *A wan amek-amekni.* You are already very small. *Morph:* *amek-amek-n-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

ameng *n.* coarse grass for thatching the house. *Na ameng mi fala waai.* I thatch the house with course grass.

amet *vr.* be small, little. *Prdm:* II.A.

ameta *v.* be small, little. *Oto ameta.* A toy car. lit.: a small car. *Morph:* *amet-a.*

amoi *n.* sister in law.

amosing *v.* be moldy.

ampai *v.* spray. *Anui ampai me.* The rain sprays towards here.

— *n.* dwarf. *Mabi ampai.* A dwarf.

amur *n.* hairs. *Di ruwol amur hebel.* She is plucking the chicken feathers.

amut *n.* alga. *Amut bulongai.* Green algae.

anai *Variant:* *anei.* *n.* soil, ground, earth, clay. *Mayol nuku anei miti.* One woman sits on the ground. *Usage:* *the form anei is specific for the Aila dialect.*

anakaai [ʔanaˈkaːj] *n.* termite. *Anakaai bataa bok.* Termites eat wood.

ananra *v.* tell, tell a story. *Na ananra lol ti.* I have told everywhere.

— *n.* story. *Neananra lohu naha.* My story is not long.

ananri *v.* tell, tell a story. *Di neng loku hoananri.* She told to the men.

anek *v.* weed. *Pi yaa fat hoanek.* We go to weed the corn.

angmona *n.* dead man, dead body, corpse. *Angmona, ama kabala mi hapok.* A dead body, people wrap it with a cloth. *See:* *mong.*

anu$_1$ *n.* pus.

anu$_2$ *n.* market. *Pi anu yaari ba afu bel.* We went to the market to buy fish.

anui [ʔaˈnʊj] *n.* rain. *Anui sei.* It rains. lit.: rain comes down.

ar *v.* burn. *Ara mi ba har te.* Take the fire(wood) and burn it. *See:* *al* 'burn'. *Prdm:* II.D.

arui *v.* incinerate, turn into ashes. *Morph:* *ar-u-i.* *Prdm:* I.

arui *n.* ashes. *Kaai arui kafia.* The dog is scraping ashes.

ara [ʔaˈra] *n.* fire. *Di ara peng we miti.* He went near the fire and sat down. *See:* *ar.*

ara *n.* firewood. *Na ara tahai.* I am searching firewood.

arang *v.* glow. *Morph:* *ara-ng.* *Prdm:* II.C.

arang *n.* cinder, glowing coals, ember.

aremang *n.* clan. *Abui aremang.* Abui tribe

ari *v.* appear, be visible, push up. *It do kabei ari.* It is a little bit visible.

arida *v.* appear, become visible. *A hok arida yo!* Appear to him. *Morph:* *ari-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

aridi *v.* appear, become visible. *War aridi.* Sun came up, appeared. *Morph:* *ari-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

arina *v.* welcome, surround, receive (a guest). *Ama narina.* People welcome me. lit.: People appear at me. *Morph:* *ari-n-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

arinra *v.* push up, appear, sprout. *Baleei ba afe pi tukoni yal hedarinra.* The banana that we cut before, is sprouting. *Morph:* *ari-n-r-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

arinri *v.* push up, roll up, sprout. *Di bal mi awering harinri marei.* She rolled up the ball along the stairs. *Morph:* *ari-n-r-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

arin *v.* cram, dip, immerse. *Morph:* *ari-n.* *Prdm:* II.C.

aring *v.* cram, dip, immerse. *Di nala ma mi hawang aring.* She took some food to cram it in his mouth. *Morph:* *ari-ng.* *See:* *ring.* *Prdm:* II.C.

aruwol *Variant:* *aruwal.* *v.* gray. *Prdm:* I.

asi *n.* shit, excrement. *Ruwol asi nu hekiki te.* Sweep away that chicken shit.

asiokai [ʔasɪjɔ'kaj] *n.* trap door in the floor of the house behind the cooking area to dump dirt and to use as toilet during the night, or the place underneath where the dirt drops. *Di we, asiokai taha tukola do di dong sei.* He went, through the hole above where the dirt drops he came down. *Morph:* *asi-o-kai.*

ata *n.* leaf. *Bataa ata walangai.* The leaves of trees are green.

sieng ata *n.* vegetables, lit. rice leaves. *Di desieng ata mal.* She cooks the vegetables.

ata taha *n.* nest, lit.: put on leaves. *Ruwol ata taha.* A chicken is in the nest. *Morph:* *ata tah-a.*

atang *v.* tickle. *Di neatang holi.* She has tickled me. *Prdm:* II.C.

atei *n.* belly. *Heatei.* His belly.

ateng *n.* fable. *Ateng hu heananri te!* Tell me some fable!

ati *n.* salt.

ati ralowang *n.* sugar, lit: sweet salt.

atik *v.* rinse. *Prdm:* II.B.

ating *vr.* roll. *Na wan mi pak ating hayei.* I fell and rolled down to the ravine. *Prdm:* II.C.

ating-atingri *v.* roll on, keep rolling. *Bal dating-datingri ba me.* A ball rolled on towards here. *Morph:* *ating-ating-r-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

atip *vr.* rinse, wash (dish, vegetable). *Sieng heatipi te!* Rinse the rice (before cooking). *See:* *atik.* *Prdm:* II.B.

awai [ʔa'waj] *n.* lime used with betel nut. *Awai kabei mi se, fu takai.* Take a bit of lime and chew some betel nut.

awang-awang *n.* male. *Di ruwol awang-awang nuku hapuni.* She caught one rooster. *Usage:* ***only for animals***.

awe *n.* end, far end, ending. *Di buot mi bataa awe hetilei.* He hung a basket at the end of a beam.

awela *n.* hook, probe (for fishing). *Awela nu kang-kang mi ba manei hekor te!* Take that hook and bind it well to the fishing line.

awen *Variant:* *aweni.* *v.* rich, mighty, powerful. *Awen nu henu buku hakanra henil ba taloi wala bukung dalakdi naha.* The Aweni, those make the land good, so that the war will not occur in the land. *Usage:* ***refers***

to the clan Aweni, the first born eldest member of Aweni clan is traditionally the head of a village. The members of the Aweni clan may not go to war but bring peace to the village (they know the traditional law and custom).

awering *n.* ladder. *Awering di herili ya mara.* He climbed the ladder and went up.
— *n.* chain, chainlet, necklace, beads.

ayak *n.* rice, rice plant. *Na yaa ayak sike.* I go to harvest rice.

ayating *n.* home, place of birth. *Ko neayating yaa.* Soon, I will go home. *See:* *yating*.

ayo *n.* possum, civet cat. *Ayo di batamal henu nee.* Possums eat papaya.

ayoku *num.* two. *Neng ayoku.* Two men.

ayon *v.* swim, dive. *See:* *ayong*. *Prdm:* II.C.

ayong *v.* swim, dive. *Na tamang ayong.* I swim in the sea. *Prdm:* II.C.

ayut *n.* deer, antelope, roe. *Na ayut feni.* I killed an antelope.

B - b

b *gv.* join, together, hit, attach closely, lean against. *Di awering habi.* He put down the ladder. *Usage:* ***generic verb deriving complex verbs or as a single predicate.***

ba *conj.* intersective linker, complementizer and relator. *Ama ba beka.* A person that is bad. *Di hefangi di me ba.* He said that he will come. *Anui saai ba fokdi.* It rained more and more.
— *v.* say, be as well, be truly. *Di yaa ba.* (it is true that) He goes. *Usage:* ***affirmative marker grammaticalized from the verb ba 'say'. typically translated to Malay with the verb bilang 'say'.*** *Prdm:* I.

bai *adv.* as well, too. *Di marei bataako bai hetei.* He goes up to dig for cassavas as well. *Usage:* ***adverbial modifier preceding the verb.*** *Morph:* ***ba-i.***

baa [baː] *n.* stable, cage. *Fe wi baa mia.* A pig is in the stable.
— *n.* fence.

baab [baːb] *vr.* strike, forge, hit with a hammer, crush. *Prdm:* II.F.
— *vr.* grind, crush (with stones). *Di dekanai baabi ba nee.* He crushed his canari nuts to eat (them). *Prdm:* II.F.

baai [baːj] *v.* strike, forge, hit with a hammer, crush. *Di tipai baai re bataa hekariang?* Does he strike (forge) iron or works with wood? *Prdm:* II.F.
— *v.* grind. *Na kopi baai.* I am grinding coffee. *Prdm:* II.F.
— *v.* be angry. *Maama nebaai.* My father is angry with me. *Prdm:* I.

baakai ['baːkaj] *n.inal.* wing. *Ruwol habaakai.* The wing of a chicken. *Usage:* ***inalienably possessed noun, requiring possessive prefix.***

baas *vr.* attach along.CPL. *Fa do mia nala hafung habaasi.* Something is attached along it and sticks out. *See:* *baai* 'strike'. *Prdm:* II.F.

bahak *v.* screw, timber, chisel. *Di pelang tiok bahak.* He is cutting out and timbering a canoe. *Prdm:* II.A.

bahat *v.* screw, timber, chisel. *Prdm:* II.A.

bahata *n.* lid, cover, cup. *Awai hebahata.* The cover of lime (container).

bak *v.* snatch, grab away, seize. *Na hel baki ba làki.* I snatched him and left. *See:* *baki*. *Prdm:* I.

bakai *v.* grapple, grasp, gather up, cramp,

squeeze. *Neng nuku di oro bataa hobakai.* One man over there grapples a log. *Prdm:* I.

bakaidi *v.* brace, firm up, stabilize, reinforce. *Fala nuku ba oro nu headuo di tukai bakaidi.* That house that is over there, its owner is reinforcing it again. *Morph:* *bakai-d-i.* *See:* *baki.* *Prdm:* I.

baki *n.* jaw, jaw bone. *Hawa baki.* His jaw bone.

bakon *v.* rip off, sever, tear off. *Lukai isi nu hebakon te!* Rip off the peppers. *Prdm:* II.C.

bakong *v.* rip off, sever, tear off. *Na sieng sik bakong.* I harvest rice. lit.: I sever and rip off rice. *See:* *bak.* *Prdm:* II.C.

bakooting [bɑ'kɔːtɪŋ] *n.* seed remnants, what remains after harvest. *See:* *bakong.*

bal$_1$ *n.* ball. *From:* Malay bal 'ball', probably going back to Dutch: bal 'ball'.

bal$_2$ *n.* plant. *Fat bal.* Corn plant.

bala$_1$ *n.inal.* knee. *Nabala buku.* My knee (joint). *Usage:* ***obligatorily possessed inalienable noun.***

bala$_2$ *n.* wall, plaited wall from bamboo.

balak *v.* slam, fling down, punch, nob. *Prdm:* I.

balakdi *v.* slam, punch, nob. *Maama di Simon habalakdia.* Father slams Simon. *Morph:* *balak-d-i.* *Prdm:* I.

balasa *v.* beat, punch. *Di nel bol balasa.* He is beating me up. *See:* *balak.* *Prdm:* III.A.

balasi *v.* beat up, pound. *Di tobol tobalasi.* He beated up each of them. *Prdm:* III.A.

bale *n.* bamboo, type of thick bamboo.

baleng *n.* cook in bamboo tubes, traditional way of preparing rice. *Na sieng baleng.* I cook rice in bamboo tubes. *Morph:* *bale-ng.* *See:* *balenta.*

balee [bɑ'lɛː] *n.* sweet potato. *Di balee hetei.* He digs for sweet potatoes.

baleei [bɑ'lɛːj] *n.* banana. *Na baleei hekui ba neei.* I peeled a banana and ate it.

balei [bɑ'lɛj] *v.* wind. *Hebalei.* Wind up (a rope) on it. *Prdm:* I.

— *v.* be around, surround. *Moku fila muili fala balei.* The children played around the house. *Prdm:* I.

baleka *n.* can, bucket, used as measure unit (10 liter). *Sieng baleka yeting-ayoku.* Seven buckets of rice (about 70 liter). *From:* Malay: blek 'can', from Dutch blik 'can'.

balekna *v.* be around, surround. *Moku fila loku namina balekna mia demuila.* Small children are playing around me. *Prdm:* I.

balenta *v.* entertain, provide food for guests. *Ni hefikang hebalenta.* We provide them with food till they are satisfied. *Morph:* *bale-n-t-a.*

balik *v.* sell. *Na yaa kafaak balik.* I go to sell tobacco. *Prdm:* I.

baloka *Variant:* *baloku.* *n.* grass. *Di baloku bel.* He is weeding.

ban$_1$ *v.* carry, carry on shoulder. *Ama wan me bataa do bani.* People already come to carry the log. *See:* *bang.* *Prdm:* II.C.

ban$_2$ *n.* tire. *Sepeda heban poku.* The tire of the bike is punctured. *From:* Malay: ban 'tire', from Dutch: band 'tire'.

bang *v.* carry, carry on shoulder. *Tafaa di bang ba yaa.* He carries the drum on the shoulder away. *Na bataa haliel ba mi hobang.* I lifted up a log for him to carry. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *n.inal.* shoulder. *Habang teipa.* Collar bone. lit.: shoulder bone *Melang tama habang mia.* A village on the shore of the sea. lit.: a village on the shoulder of the sea. *Usage:* ***inalienably possessed noun requiring possessive prefix.***

bapa *n.* father, sir. *Usage:* ***formal term to address older men.*** *From:* Malay: bapa 'father'.

basa *n.* belt.

bata [bɑ'tɑ, bɑ'tà] *n.* core, seed. *Bata isi.* A

core, nut of a fruit.

bataa *n.* wood, log, tree, plank, board. *Na kawen mi bataa tukong.* I cut wood with a machete. *Bataa nu oro nateti.* Some trees are standing over there.

bataako [baˈtaːkɔ] *n.* cassava. *Di abui yaa bataako hetei.* He goes to the mountains to dig for cassavas.

batamal *n.* papaya, lit.: ripe core. *Ayo di batamal henu nee.* Possums eat papaya. *Morph:* *bata-ma-l.*

batek *v.* smite, hit against, throw, strike. *Di tipai pol mi ba lik tahang batek.* He smites the hammer on the table. *Na bataa batek.* I split wood. lit.: I am wood-smiting. *See:* *batet*. *Prdm:* II.A.

batemang *n.* pounded bamboo, bamboo planks used as floor in the house. *Batemang mi tai i̓a.* Take pounded bamboo and put it on the top (to make the floor).

batet *v.* smite, hit against, throw, strike. *Di sora sapada mi hebateti.* They cut in it with swords and machetes. *Prdm:* II.A.

bek *v.* scatter, sew, spill, sprinkle. *Di ya mi nobek.* He took water and sprinkled on me. *See:* *bet*. *Prdm:* II.A.

bek *vr.* bad, broken. *Usage:* ***bound root***.

bekdi *vr.* become broken, break, practice black magic. *Lampu wan bekdi.* The lamp got broken. *Di nabekdi ba nomonge.* He practised black magic on me to kill me. lit.: He made me broken so that I would die. *Tifi do habekda.* The television became broken. *Morph:* ***bek-d-i; bek-d-a***.

beka *vr.* be bad, be broken, cannot. *Ama beka.* A bad person, a villain. *Di bir buuk beka.* She cannot drink beer. *Nobeka.* I die, or I do not like it. *Morph:* ***bek-a***.

bekadi *vr.* pass away, die. *Moku do dobekadi.* The child passed away. *Morph:* ***bek-a-d-i***.

beka-bekadi *vr.* become many, much, exceed. *Di kanai bol tok ya kanai do hen ming beka-bekadi.* He hit canari nuts to drop and so there were many canari nuts (on the ground under the tree). *Morph:* ***Red[bek-a]-d-i***.

bel$_1$ *v.* pull, pull out. *Na baloku bel.* I am weeding. lit.: I am grass-pulling. *Na nepet habel.* I draw my bow. lit.: I pull my bow. *Di ruwol amur hebel.* She plucks the chicken feathers. *Moku loku tafik tabel.* The children are fighting, lit.: the children are pulling each other back and forth. *See:* *tabel*. *Prdm:* II.D.

bel$_2$ *v.* buy. *Na sura kiding beli.* I bought a small book. *From:* Malay: beli 'buy'.

— *n.* price. *Hebel yawa lohu ayoku.* Her (bride) price are three long Javanese drums. *From:* Malay: beli 'buy'.

beng *n.* beam, cross beam of the house laid up the two main beams, which are fastened to the wooden posts on which a traditional house is built. *Beng yeting-sua mi tai ia hakol.* Take eight beams and put them on the top and bind them up.

ber *v.* pull.CPL. *Di bataa beri.* He pulled out a log, tree. *See:* *bel* 'pull'. *Prdm:* II.D.

berarti *v.* mean, have meaning. *From:* Indonesian: berarti 'mean, have meaning'.

bet *v.* scatter, sew, spill, sprinkle. *Di fat bila beti.* He scattered corn baskets around. *See:* *bek*. *Prdm:* II.A.

biek *n.* apex nasi, nose tip. *Hamin biek.* The tip of his nose.

biel *n.* liana. *Biel ama tukoni.* People cut liana.

bik *n.inal.* corner, edge. *Tama habik.* The edge of the sea. *Fala habik.* The corner of the house. *Usage:* ***inalienable noun requiring possessive prefix***.

bika *n.* kernel, round shaped object, seed. *Di*

bata bika nee. They eat seeds. *Hièng bika*. His eye pupil. *Hetik bika*. Her nipple. *Heraala bika*. His Adam's apple.

bikat *n.* pebble. *Wi bikat*. Pebbles, small stones.

bikeng *n.* louse. *Nebikeng hiéng*. Look for my lice.

bikengra *v.* louse. *Pi tebikengra*. We are searching each others lice. We are delousing each other. *Morph:* *bikeng-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bikeng-bikengra *v.* delouse. *Morph:* *Red[bikeng]-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bikil *v.* left. *Eobikil ta do mi hafik*. Pull with your left (hand).

— *n.inal.* navel. *Nabikil*. My navel.

— *n.* remainder. *Nièng bikil*. The little dirt in my eyes after sleeping.

bila *n.* large basket for storage of rice and corn placed inside the granary in a traditional house. *Di ayak bila toku*. He placed the storage baskets for rice.

bile tofa *n.* shelter in the fields to guard the crop from wild animals. *Di bile tofang yaa*. He goes to his shelter in the field. *[Note: usually some old and poor men in the village live in the fields to guard richer people's crops]*

bilek *n.* lizard.

bilel *Variant:* *binel*. *n.* sprout, offshoot, offspring, young animal. *Fat bilel*. Corn sprout. *Tunui bilel*. Locust offspring. *Moku bilel*. New born baby.

bilelra *v.* make young, rejuvenate. *Morph:* *bilel-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bilen *n.* colour. *Bilen ba tanai wida naha*. Colour that there is no else like this.

bileni *v.* colour, dye, paint. *Hedeki wan bileni*. His trousers are already dyed. *Morph:* *bilen-i*.

bilenra *v.* paint, re-paint, print, make photographs, shoot (with a camera). *Riisi oro bilenra*. He is making pictures of you. lit.: he paints your bodies there. *Morph:* *bilen-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bilenri *v.* paint, re-paint, print, make photographs, shoot (with a camera). *Na kul we nesura hebilenri te*. I have to go to finally print out my book. *Morph:* *bilen-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bin *n.* seed, seeds, seed for sowing. *Fat bin*. Corn seeds.

— *v.* plant at, sow.

binra *v.* cover up, bury. *Ama angmona habinra*. People cover up the dead body. *Morph:* *bin-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

binen *v.* prepare, make ready, arrange. *See:* *bin*. *Prdm:* II.C.

binenra *v.* prepare (seed for sowing), prepare food for storage, prepare oneself for a journey. *Di fat binenra*. He is preparing corn (in the granary) for storage and sowing. *Morph:* *binen-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

binenri *v.* prepare (seed for sowing), prepare food for storage, prepare oneself for a journey. *Di del binenri ba me*. He prepared himself to come. *Morph:* *binen-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bineng *v.* prepare, make ready, arrange. *Prdm:* II.C.

bing *v.* plant at, sow. *Prdm:* II.C.

bir *n.* beer. *Bir do moku loku di buuk beka*. Small children cannot drink beer. *From:* Malay: bir 'beer', from Dutch bier 'beer'.

bira *n.* egg. *Ruwol bira*. Chicken egg. *Haloku bira*. His biceps, lit.: egg of his arm.

birel *n.* ant, black big ant living in the trees and in tree roots with painful bites. *Birel patei*. Ant mound, anthill.

bok$_1$ *v.* punch, push in, dig in, poke, make holes, poke out seeds out of fruits. *Anakaai bataa bok*. Termites make holes in wood. *Di yaa deanei boku*. She dug out soil for herself (made a hole). *Pi tamal hebok*. We

are poking out tamarind seeds. *Prdm:* I.

***bok*$_2$** *v.* order, inform, place an order, send, impart, deliver. *Ama e pibok do.* People have just ordered us before. *See:* *tabok*. *Prdm:* II.A.

bokor *n.* bucket. *From:* Malay: baskom 'bucket', Dutch: waskom 'bucket' or Dutch: beker 'cup, beaker'.

bokung *v.* perforate, pierce, make a hole. *Hawei bokung.* His ears are pierced. *Morph:* *bok-u-ng*. *See:* *bok* 'punch'. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *n.* hole, perforation, puncture.

bol *v.* hit, punch, knock. *Di nel boli.* He hit me. *Di palotang mi ba wi hebol.* He took a rattan and hit the stone. *Prdm:* I.

bot *n.* pestle, stone for pounding peppers, coffee or betel nuts. *Di bot do mi ba kopi baai.* He took the pestle (stone) to grind coffee. *See:* *bok* 'punch'.

— *v.* order, inform, place an order, send, impart, deliver. *A niboti ba we.* You have ordered that we leave. *Fani di abot ba owe.* Fani ordered you to leave. *Prdm:* II.A.

botol *n.* bottle. *Botol kasing.* Splinter of a bottle. *From:* Malay: botol, from English: bottle.

***bu*$_1$** *n.* worm.

***bu*$_2$** *v.* exceed, pass over. *Di tei bu.* They are competing with each other.

bui *v.* be short. *Nedo bui.* I am short.

buida *v.* shorten, become short. *Di bataa tuku habuida.* He is shortening the piece of wood. *Morph:* *bui-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

buidi *v.* shorten, become short. *Di nedeki wan habuidi.* He shortened my trousers. *Morph:* *bui-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

buk *v.* brace, join together, tie together. *Di yaa kafiei habuku kanri.* He went to tie away the goat. *Na namang loku habuku ba we.* I embraced the clothes (with my arms) to leave. *Prdm:* II.A.

— *n.* bunch, cluster, group of fruits growing in the same bunch, things joined together. *Mea buk nuku.* One bunch of mango.

buk-bukda *n.* cluster, occur in groups. *Di sei hebuk-bukda.* The come down in groups. *Morph:* *Red[buk]-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

buk-bukdi *n.* cluster, occur in groups. *Di hebuk-bukdi kanri.* They grouped together, gathered, crowded (for it). *Morph:* *Red[buk]-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

buka *n.* switch on, start an electronic appliance. *Di tifi do hebuka hefaaling.* She switched on the television and watches. *From:* Malay: buka 'open'.

bukang *n.inal.* thimble, place of binding a bowstring. *Pet habukang.* The edge of a bow where the bowstring is attached. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

bukit *n.* hill. *From:* Malay: bukit 'hill'.

bukomang *n.* heart. *Nebukomang.* My heart.

***buku*$_1$** *n.* land, area, country, world, space joined together. *Di Kewai buku do heafeni.* They settled down in the Kewai area. *See:* *buku* 'joint'.

***buku*$_2$** *n.* joint. *Nabala buku.* My knee joint. *See:* *buk* 'brace'.

bul *vr.* sharp. *Usage:* ***bound root.***

bula *v.* be sharp. *Nelui bula.* My knife is sharp. *Morph:* *bul-a*.

bulra *v.* sharpen, make sharp. *Di nekawen habulra.* He is sharpening my machete. *Morph:* *bul-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bulri *v.* sharpen, make sharp. *A bataa habulri pi mi ba anai tei.* You sharpened a prod so we dig the soil with it. *Morph:* *bul-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

bula *n.* edge, cutting edge, sharp of a cutting tool. *Kawen hebula do.* The cutting edge of a machete. *See:* *bul* 'sharp'.

bulongai *v.* blue, green.

bun *v.* hide. *A efu mi ba nièng bunui.* You

took your betel nut and hid it for my eyes. *Prdm:* II.C.

bung *v.* hide. *Prdm:* II.C.
— *n.* ravine.

bunga *n.* flower. *From:* Malay: bunga 'flower'.

buok *v.* ambush, lie in ambush, lurk. *Ama nobuok.* People lie in wait for me. *See:* ***buoka*** 'far'.

buoka [bʊ'wɔkɑ, 'bwɔkɑ] *v.* be far, be in a remote place. *Hemelang do hebuoka.* His village is far away. *See:* ***buok*** 'ambush'. *Prdm:* I.

buong *v.* miss, throw away, drop. *Hawet buong.* Missing tooth. *From:* Malay: buang 'drop, throw away'.

buot *n.* back basket. *Di debuot foka hayoku.* She carried her large back basket.

but *v.* brace, join together, tie together. *Di dekaai habuti.* He embraced his dog. *See:* ***buk*** 'brace'. *Prdm:* II.A.

buti *Variant:* ***buk***. *num.* four. *Nefe buti.* I have got four pigs, lit.: My pigs are four.

bukna *num.* fourth. *Tadeng bukna.* The fourth day. *Morph:* ***buk-n-a***.

buuk [bʊːk] *v.* consume, drink, inhale. *Na ya buuk.* I drink water. *Di kafaak buuk.* He smokes tobacco. *Prdm:* II.A.

buut [bʊːt] *v.* consume, drink, inhale. *Na el kopi buuti.* I have already drunk coffee. *Prdm:* II.A.

D - d

d *gv.* hold, get, control, become. *Usage: generic verb, occurs in complex verbs or as a single predicate, requires aspectual inflection.*

da *vr.* do with, together with. *Di nada ananra.* He talks with me. *Usage: combines with Pat prefix expressing the accompanied participant. Morph:* ***d-a***.

de *vr.* hold, control, perform. *Ede hawele!* You do wash him! *Ede mara re nede mara?* Do you go up or do I go up? *Usage: combines with the Loc prefix expressing the focused participant that performs the action. Morph:* ***d-e***.

do *vr.* acquire, have property. *Nedo akuta.* I am blind. *Usage: with stative verbs to express the single U argument, combines with Loc prefix. Morph:* ***d-o***.

do *vr.* do with, together with. *Simon nado ba yaa.* Simon goes with me. Simon takes me away. *Usage: combines with Pat prefix expressing the accompanied participant. Morph:* ***d-o***.

du *vr.* hold, posses, acquire. *Ama kawen hadu.* People acquired machetes. *Usage: combines with the Pat prefix expressing the possessed or acquired item. Morph:* ***d-u***. *See:* ***aduo*** 'owner, master'.

da- *Variant:* ***d-***. *pro.* 3I.PAT, expressing the third person undergoer, coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Di dawel.* He is washing himself.
— *pro.* 3I.INAL, expressing the third person inalienable possessor, coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Di dabala buku kofi.* He cut in his own knee.

daak [dɑːk] *n.* fathom, length unit (about six feet). *Fala foka hetukda daak ayoku ahama.* The length of a large house is two and half fathom.

dai [dɑj] *v.* retain, keep in tenancy, keep in possession.

dak *v.* clutch, hold tight, clasp, grip. *Di nodak.* He holds me tight.

— *n.* trap, tongs.

dakun *adj.* dirty. *Namang dakun.* Dirty clothes.

dakuni *v.* become dirty. *Moku do latukoi dakuni.* This child is very dirty. *Morph:* *dakun-i.*

dakunri *v.* make dirty. *Ekonrek dakunri hare helan te!* Your shirt is dirty, so wash it! *Morph:* *dakun-r-i.*

dal *v.* handle, gripe. *Na pulang hadal* I handle the arrow.

— *n.* handle, gripe. *Kawen hadal.* The handle of a machete.

daliel *vr.* high. *Usage:* ***bound root***. *See:* *liel* 'lift'.

daliela *vr.* be high, tall. *Nedo daliela.* I am tall. *Daliela miti.* High post, high office, lit.: (he) sits high. *Morph:* *daliel-a.*

dalielri *vr.* rise, make high. *Lu do dalielri.* The (water in the) river rose. *Morph:* *daliel-r-i.*

damah *Variant:* *damay*. *vr.* put down, put low. *Melang do damahang miti.* The village is located below. *See:* *damai* 'put down'. *Prdm:* II.F.

damaha *v.* be low. *Hebel damaha.* Its price is low. *Bataa damaha.* Low tree. *Morph:* *damah-a.*

damai *vr.* put down, put low, decrease. *Di nala nee do la hedamai.* He eats less and less. *Prdm:* II.F.

dang *Variant:* *dung*. *v.* grumble. *Nodung-nodang.* I grumble.

dapi *n.* bridge. *See:* *dak.*

dara *adv.* still, yet. *A dara moku fila.* You are still a child.

daruting *v.* be bald.

daweng *n.* medicine, cure. *Di daweng buuke.* He drinks medicine.

de- *pro.* 3I.LOC, expressing the third person undergoer, coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Di del feni.* He killed himself.

— *pro.* 3I.AL, expressing the third person possessor, coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Di detoku namuri.* He wounded his own leg. *Usage:* ***alienable possession***.

deki *n.* trousers. *Deki lohu, deki bui.* Long trousers, pants.

di *pro.* 3A (third person pronoun expressing the actor in both transitive and intransitive construction). *Moku di desura ong naidi.* The child lost her book. *Usage:* ***may combine with an optional NP, indicates specificity***.

diei [djɛj, dɪ'jɛj] *v.* heat up, make hot, ignite, anger. *Wan tung yeng war diei.* The past years were hot, lit: already several years the sun burned. *Bataa nu nuku bai ara diei naha.* The fire did not ignite one single tree. *Nomi hel diei.* I hate him, lit.: I am ignited, heated up inside for him.

dieng *n.* pot for cooking, kettle. *See:* *diei* 'heat up'.

dik *v.* prick, stab, pierce, tickle. *Di rui hadiki.* He stabbed the rat. *Prdm:* I.

dik-dikda *v.* jerk, cramp. *Nepikai hedik-dikda.* I have headache, lit.: my head is jerking. *Morph:* *Red[dik]-d-a.*

dikang *adv.* again. *Kopi a dikang mar te.* Make some coffee again. *Morph:* *di kang.*

diking *n.* fire place, place for cooking made from three stones. *Kaai diking peng marei ba arui kafia.* The dog goes up to the fire place to scrape the ashes.

dingkang *adv.* perhaps, possibly. *Dingkang anui ko sei.* Perhaps it will rain. *Morph:* *di=ng kang.*

diskusi *n.* discussion. *From:* Indonesian: diskusi 'discussion'.

do *pro.* PRX (this here near me), proximal demonstrative pronoun. *Fala do.* This house here (I just talked about). *Di miei*

do. He just came (as I just said). *Usage: in both the NP and clausal domain in final position*.

do- *Variant:* *du-*. *pro.* 3I.REC, third person undergoer pronoun expressing mostly human recipient coreferential with the actor. *Kaai oro dokafia*. The dog is scratching itself over there. *Usage: some speakers use the variant form du- with plural reference; the free pronoun di (3a) may occur within the same clause if the participant is volitional*.

doden *adv.* anyway. *Doden di nala ma toku*. Anyway, she served the food.

dokter *n.* physician, doctor. *From:* Malay: dokter 'physician'.

dol *n.* wooden pestle to pound rice. *Di dol mi ba sieng tapei*. She took the pestle to pound the rice.

doma *adv.* no. *Usage: imperative*.

drom *n.* barrel. *From:* Malay: drom 'barrel'.

dur *Variant:* *dowir*. *v.* do like MD, medial deictic verb. *Morph:* *do-wi-r*.

E - e

e$_1$ [ɛ] *gv.* move, continue, add value. *Usage: in complex verbs*. *See:* *-e*.

e$_2$ *conj.* and. *Usage: conjunction restricted to nominal domain*.

e- [ʔɛ] *pro.* 2SG.LOC, second person singular undergoer pronoun expressing mostly inanimate location or human benefactive. *Di eroi ba ewahai se*. They are looking out for you and waiting for you.

— *pro.* 2SG.AL, second person singular possessive pronoun expressing the possessor of the alienably possessed entity. *Efala*. Your house.

-e$_1$ *asp.* IPFV, imperfective aspectual marker. *Na làke*. I am leaving. *Usage: to indicate that an event has started and is ongoing*.

-e$_2$ [eː, jeː] *Variant:* *-ei*; *-ie*. *suf.* vocative suffix. *Simone, a me!* Simon, come here!

eh *inter.* oh. *Usage: expressing disappointment, disagreement*.

eik [ʔɛɪk] *v.* defecate, shit, crap. *Kaai yaa fokang eike*. A dog is defecating on the road. *See:* *iek*. *Prdm:* II.A.

eit *v.* defecate, shit, crap. *Moku fila nedeki heeiti*. The small child shitted on my trousers. *Kuya di hoeiti*. The bird shitted on him.

eits *inter.* expressing disagreement, negation.

ek [ʔɛk] *v.* ask for, demand, invite. *Ama sei nefat ek*. People come down to borrow my corn. *Di rol eki*. They invited you (Pl). *Prdm:* I.

eki *n.* forearm. *Hatáng eki*. His forearm

el *Variant:* *e*. *adv.* before, some time ago, previously. *Ama el abui yaari*. People went to the mountains (some time ago). *Usage: indicates that the event happened in the past*.

embeka *Variant:* *mbeka*. *v.* pity, be poor, be pitiful. *Na hembeka*. I pity him. *Morph:* *m-beka*.

— *n.* mercy, sorrow, pity.

en [ʔɛn] *Variant:* *eng*. *id.* sound of crying, sound of unclear speech. *Eng beka*. Somebody who cannot say a word, someone who sputters or stutters.

enra *v.* cry, weep, lament, mourn. *Newil enra*. My child is crying. *Kalieta di moku fila ba moni hoenra*. The parents mourn at their small child that passed away. *Mayol kokda*

deui heenra. The younger wife cried secretly (cried at her back). *Morph:* ***en-r-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

enri *v.* cry, weep, lament, mourn. *Moku fila enri.* A small child cried. *Morph:* ***en-r-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

eti [ʔɛtɪ] *n.* shrimp. *Di deeti tahai.* He looks for shrimps.

F - f

f *gv.* sever, hide, loose, be lost, be unknown. *Usage: in complex verbs indicating separation locus and events resulting in separation. See:* ***fa$_2$.***

fa$_1$ *n.* sugar cane.

fa$_2$ *v.* be.MD.AD, addressee based deictic verb. *Di fa adik kapuk.* They are actually sewing mats (there). *Usage: evidentiality: events that the addressee is not aware of.*

faala ['fa:la] *n.* tray, a wooden disk on the top of the posts supporting a traditional house which prevent animals and insects to get into the granary.

— *n.* wheel, round shaped wheel-like objects. *Nekuong faala.* My bicycle.

faalik ['fa:lik] *v.* breeze, blow softly. *Timoi faalik.* Breeze, wind blowing softly.

faaling ['fa:lɪŋ] *v.* listen, listen to. *Na yai hefaaling se.* I will listen to songs. *Prdm:* II.C.

faalingdi *v.* listen, listen to something. *A e hefaalingdi naha.* You did not listen to it. *Morph:* ***faaling-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

fabil *n.* spider web.

fafang *v.* straight, upright. *Dofafang natia.* He stands straight. *Prdm:* II.C.

fafun *v.* blow, blast. *Arang fafun ba di takung.* Blow out the fire, lit.: blow at the fire so that it extinguishes. *See:* ***fafung.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

fafung *v.* blow, blast. *Arang fafung ba ding waida.* Blow at the fire so that it flames again. *Prdm:* II.C. *[Note: onomatopoeic root]*

fahai *n.* sea crocodile. *Fahai afu yo hafuri.* Crocodiles swallowed that fish.

fahak *v.* embrace, hug. *Newil enra hare hel fahak.* My child is crying so embrace it. *Prdm:* II.A.

fahat *v.* embrace, hug. *Maama di Nani tofahat ba làk.* Father embraced Nani and they left. *Prdm:* II.A.

fahit *n.* safety pin, grip, brace. *See:* ***fahat.***

faisewang *n.* floater, outrigger attached to a canoe for a better balance. *Pelang hefaisewang do hasiki.* The canoe floaters are broken off.

fak *v.* break, fracture, break off, crack. *Natáng faki.* My arm is broken. *Prdm:* I.

— *n.* leprosy.

fakda *n.* break down, fracture. *Bataa hefakdi.* The tree broke down. *Morph:* ***fak-d-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

fakdi *n.* break down, fracture. *Di tifol batemang fakdi.* They broke bamboo to bamboo boards, lit. they broke down bamboo boards *Morph:* ***fak-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

fakal *n.* scuttle, flat basket for rice, used to winnow rice and to keep vegetables and food.

fal *v.* separate, separate from other people. *Moku di fal.* Children are together (separated from others). *Na tada fal.* I rinse beans. *Prdm:* II.D.

fal-falra *v.* secrete, give off. *Di taa ba hen ahi fal-falra.* She was sleeping and drooling, lit.: secreting saliva. *Prdm:* III.A.

fala *n.* house. *Maama di fala ong.* The father

is building a house. *Tarik fala.* Hospital, lit.: house (where) we are ill.

fala-fala *Variant:* ***bala-bala.*** *adv.* slowly. *Ama afeida fala-fala làki marani.* People came up yesterday slowly.

falak *v.* bright, clear, shining. *Prdm:* I.

falaka *v.* bright, clear, shining. *Fír falaka.* Stars are bright. *Bataa falaka ía.* December, lit.: moon of shining tree. *Morph:* *falak-a.* *Prdm:* I.

falakda *v.* shine, become bright, brighten. *Akun falakda.* It is dawning, lit.: darkness brightens. *Noming falakda.* I am happy, glad, lit.: it brightens in me. *Morph:* *falak-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

falakdi *v.* shine, become bright, brighten. *Morph:* *falak-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

falefal *v.* be flexible, be strong. *Kawen falefal.* A flexible, strong machete.

faling [fɑ'lɪŋ] *n.* axe. *Di faling mi ba bataa hawok.* He splits the wood with an axe.

fanak *n.* mud. *Fanak iti.* There is mud. *See:* *fanasing.*

fanasing *v.* be soft.

fang *vr.* impair, maltreat, harm. *See:* *tafang.* *Prdm:* II.C.

fanga *v.* say, announce, send somebody word. *Di nok fanga kafaak buuk naha.* He tells me not to smoke. *Na hefanga.* I say it. *Di nofanga.* He scolds at me. *Prdm:* III.A.

fangi *v.* say, announce, send somebody word. *Di hekeluarga loku hafangi.* He ordered her relatives. *Ama poek pofangi.* People are asking from us, people demand from us. *Prdm:* III.A.

faring *adv.* much, a lot, many, plenty. *Kaai ba hebikeng faaring.* A dog that has many fleas. *Fan Ata dekaai faring boli.* Fan Ata hit his dog a lot. *See:* *fal.*

fat *n.* corn. *Di fat takda.* He is planting corn. *Na fat ma takai.* I am eating cooked corn. *Usage:* ***both plant and food.***

fe *n.* pig. *Na yaa fe hak.* I go to feed the pigs.

feela ['fɛːlɑ] *n.* friend. *Nefeela loku.* My friends.

fei *n.* shinbone, tibia.

fel *v.* bleed, tear, secrete bodily liquids. *Di hefel.* He cries for it.

— *n.* wound, bleeding wound. *Di hefel.* He cries for it.

felra *v.* make bleed, secrete bodily liquids. *Netoku hafelra.* My leg is bleeding. *Morph:* *fel-r-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

felri *v.* make bleed, secrete bodily liquids. *Morph:* *fel-r-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

fen *v.* injure, harm, murder. *Di deura feni.* He murdered his sister. *Prdm:* II.C.

feng *v.* injure, harm, murder. *Ko na el feng.* I will murder you. *Prdm:* II.C.

fetang *n.* snare, trap to catch wild animals.

fiai [fɪjɑj] *Variant:* ***fiyai.*** *n.* candlenut (Aleurites moluccana). *Nefiai tenga nuku.* One plate of candlenut.

fiek [fɪjɛk] *Variant:* ***fiyek.*** *v.* tear, rip, pull apart. *Wil neng sura ata fiek.* A boy is tearing paper, lit.: a boy is tearing book leaves. *Prdm:* II.A.

fiet [fɪjɛk] *Variant:* ***fiyek.*** *v.* tear, rip, pull apart. *Ekonrek fieti.* Your shirt is torn. *Prdm:* II.A.

fik *v.* pull away, drag. *Na bataa do hafiki.* I pulled the log away. *Prdm:* I.

fika *v.* be tight, be pulled tight. *Tila fika.* Rope is tight. *Natook fika.* I am not hungry anymore, I am full, lit.: my stomach is tight. *Morph:* *fik-a.*

fikda *v.* tighten. *Di tila ming fikda.* He tightens ropes. *Natook fika.* I am not hungry anymore, I am full, lit.: my stomach is tight. *Morph:* *fik-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

fikdi *v.* tighten. ***Hatook fikdi.*** He became satisfied, lit.: his stomach became tight. *Morph:* ***fik-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

fikai *n.* red ant sp. with very painful bites. ***Fikai maha.*** Ant hill, lit. (place where) ants are put in.

fil *v.* pull towards oneself, attract, borrow, bind to something. ***Nekuta di pakai ba kirekdi hafile.*** My grandmother is binding together the basket that was torn. ***Ama nefat fili.*** People borrowed my corn. *See:* ***fila.*** *Prdm:* I.

fila *v.* young, small, requiring care. ***Moku fila.*** A small child. *Usage:* ***mainly about small children or young animals.*** *See:* ***fil.***

filei *n.* feast food consisting of rice cones and meat. ***Pi filei nee.*** We are eating feast food.

fin *v.* eldest, older of age. *Prdm:* II.C.

finra *v.* grow up, mature (by age, experience). ***Moku do ran ayoku di finra.*** The child will be grown up later. *Morph:* ***fin-r-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

finri *v.* grow up, mature (by age, experience). ***Na ait aweli ba hefokda hefinri.*** I took care of you till you grew up, lit.: I fed you and washed you till you became big and mature. *Morph:* ***fin-r-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

fing *v.* eldest, older of age. ***Edo fing.*** You are older, you are eldest. ***Nofing.*** I am older, I am wiser, more experienced. *Prdm:* II.C.

fingdi *v.* become elder, more experienced. ***Na nofingdi re kang bai.*** If I would be more experienced, it would be good. *Prdm:* III.A.

firai *Variant:* ***furai.*** *v.* run, rush. ***Na aleka firai.*** I run quickly. *Prdm:* III.G.

firei *Variant:* ***furei.*** *v.* run, rush. ***Moku loku firei.*** The children run off. *Prdm:* III.G.

fitsin *n.* spice (mix of pepper, salt and spices sold by Chinese shopkeepers). *From:* Malay: vetsin 'spice'.

fir [fɪr] *v.* rush, hurry. *See:* ***firei.***

fír [fɪ́r] *n.* star. ***Fír loku hefalaka.*** Stars shine.

fo *n.inal.* wen, protuberance, an outgrowth on the body, elephantiasic outgrowth. ***Hafo.*** His wen. *Usage:* ***inalienably possessed noun, requiring an inalienable possessive pronoun.***

foh *vr.* peel.CPL. *Prdm:* II.F.

fohu *n.* peel, skin. ***Hièng fohu.*** Pouches under eyes.

foi *v.* peel, scale, be loose. *See:* ***foh.*** *Prdm:* II.F.

— *n.* peel. ***Baleei foi.*** Soft trunk of banana.

— *n.* wave. ***Foi foka.*** Big wave.

fok *vr.* big, large.

foka *v.* be big, large. ***Bataa foka.*** A big tree. ***Edo foka.*** You are big. ***Ama foka.*** Big men, chiefs, government. *Morph:* ***fok-a.***

fokda *v.* make big, enlarge. ***Ya ong hafokda.*** Open up the water tap, lit. make water bigger. *Morph:* ***fok-d-a.***

fokdi *v.* make big, enlarge. ***Anui saai ba fokdi.*** It rained more and more, lit.: rain came down and increased. ***Amoi hafok-hafokdi ba tanga.*** Speak loudly, lit.: make your voice big and speak. *Morph:* ***fok-d-i.***

fol *v.* separate, thin plane, shave, hack off, cut away. ***Di bataa hafol.*** He cuts the wood thin. *Prdm:* II.D.

folra *v.* thin, plane, shave. ***Di taha hafolra.*** He makes the house posts thinner. *Morph:* ***fol-r-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

fong *v.* divide from, separate from. ***Fat hafong.*** Dry out corn, lit.: separate (water) from corn. *Prdm:* II.C.

foola ['fɔːlɑ] *n.* flesh, raw meat.

for *v.* separate, strain away, thin. ***Pi fora tapong hakil.*** We (walk) astray, lit. we separated from what is in front of us.

fotong *v.* foretell, predict. ***Ama fotong ka lol.*** People were foretelling the future.

foyang *v.* pluck out, yank out. *Foyang beka.* It cannot be plucked out, pulled out.

fu *n.* betel nut (Areca catechu). *Pi fu takai, filei nee.* We chew betel nut and eat feast food.

fufai *n.* fly. *Fufai namu do heafai.* Flies are swarming at the wound.

fui [fʊj] *v.* flat, even, smooth, plain.
— *n.* vertex, flat top of the head. *Hefui daruting.* The top of his head is bald.
— *n.* plain, flatland, lowland, sea shore. *Na fui saai.* I came down to the plain, sea shore.

fuida *v.* flatten, level, plane, settle (conflict), pacify. *Aweni buku tai hafuida.* Aweni clan pacifies the land, lit.: Aweni flatten the land. *Morph:* *fui-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

fuidi *v.* flatten, level, plane, settle (conflict), pacify. *Na niek hafuidi ba miti.* I sat down on the ground, lit.: I flattened my buttocks and sat. *Morph:* *fui-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

fuk *v.* fart. *A nofuku!* You farted towards me!
— *n.* fart. *Efuk.* Your fart.

ful *v.* swallow, engulf, devour, absorb. *Kaai afu haful.* A dog swallows the fish. *Prdm:* II.D.
— *n.* experience, knowledge, tricks, slyness. *Neful.* My knowledge, experience, slyness. *Deì ful-ful hatàng.* He does what he likes.

fulak *n.* betelnut container, pottle. *Fulak faala taha mia.* The betelnut container is on the top of a tray. *Morph:* *fu lák.*

fung *v.* heap, grow, protrude, bulge, swell. *Prdm:* II.C.
— *n.* heap, pile, muscle. *Wi fung nuku.* One pile of stones.

fung-fungdi *v.* heap up, cluster. *Baleei kai do fung-fungdi ba toka.* The banana skins heaped up. *Morph:* *fung-fung-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

fung-fungri *v.* heap up, cluster, crowd. *Afu do oro hafung-hafungri ba me.* A school of fish swims towards here, lit.: the fish clustered over there and comes. *Morph:* *fung-fung-r-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

fuokung *n.* gong, bronze artefact used for bride price payments. *Ama fuokung do huol.* People play the gongs.

fur *v.* swallow, engulf, devour, absorb. *Wi ama hafur.* A stone that swallowed people (a magic place). *Prdm:* II.D.

fut *n.* trashing mat used during the harvest of rice, it is spread in front of a house and the wooden mortars are placed on it and the rice is cleaned from chaff. *See:* *futing.*

futing *n.* yard, place around the house that is paved with stones or is cleaned of grass. *Di ama hefuting hu mia.* They are in someone's house yard. *Bal futing.* Football field.

G - g

gerobak *n.* cart, two-wheeled vehicle. *From:* Malay: gerobak 'cart'.

gunting *n.* scissors. *From:* Malay: gunting 'scissors'.

H - h

h *gv.* lack, be elsewhere, be out, not be here, take away. *Di batamal sua ming hahi.* He took away three more papayas. *Usage:* ***derives complex verbs.***
— *vr.* distal index verb root. *Usage:* ***serves as the base for the distal index verb.***

ha *v.* distal index verb co-indexing manner and kind. *Anjing nu nala ha?* How do you say anjing (Malay for 'dog')? *Usage: indicates distal manner and kind.*

ha- *Variant:* *h-*. *pro.* 3II.PAT, expressing the third person undergoer, not coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Nefala afenga dara hadu.* I possess another house. *Usage: refers to patients in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

— *pro.* 3II.INAL, expressing the third person inalienable possessor. *Hamin.* His nose. *Usage: with inalienably possessed nouns such as body parts.*

haba *conj.* but. *Harik haba heng làk kang.* He is ill but he can go there.

hai *inter.* ah, so. *Hai, ni kul yaar to!* Ah, we have to go!

hak-hak *id.* sound made during the war dance.

hamba *n.* servant. *Hamba Tuhan.* Servant of the Lord. *Usage: to refer to people practising magic and fortune-telling. From:* Malay: hamba 'servant'.

hanah *vr.* put between, place between. *Di moku loku hanaha miti.* He sits between the children. *Usage: typically in serial verb construction followed by another verb. See:* *hanai*. *Prdm:* II.F.

hanai *v.* put between, place between. *Mi ba hanai ia.* Take and put in between. *Prdm:* II.F.

hare *conj.* so. *Harik hare afu nee beka.* He is ill so he cannot eat fish. *Morph:* *ha-r-e*.

hari *n.* day. *Hari minggu.* Sunday. *Usage: to refer to the names of the week days. From:* Malay: hari 'day'.

he *part.* prohibitive particle. *Kafaak buuk he!* Don't smoke! *Usage: in imperatives, always follows the verb.*

he- *pro.* 3II.LOC, expressing the third person undergoer, not coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Neura di nekonrek do hekapuk.* My sister is sewing my shirt. *Usage: refers to locations and human benefactives in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

— *pro.* 3II.LOC, expressing the third person possessor, not coreferential with the actor. *Na hekonrek lani.* I washed her shirt.

he'e [hɛ'ʔɛ] *part.* yes. *A ko me? He'e.* Will you come? Yes.

hi *v.* distal index verb. *Nado hi.* According to me, like me. *Usage: indicates distal manner and kind.*

hiengfor *Variant:* *hiengfar*. *n.* grave. *Heya hiengfor.* The grave of his mother.

hin *Variant:* *han*. *id.* sound of sighing. *A nohing-nohang.* You complain to me. *[Note: ideophonic root]*

hina-hanra *v.* sadden, grieve, hurt, complain. *Niya harik ba hehina-hanra.* Our mother is ill and is saddened because of it. *Morph:* *hin-a-han-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

hini-hanri *v.* sadden, grieve, hurt, complain. *Nohini-hanri.* I am saddened. *Morph:* *hin-i-han-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

hm *inter.* sound made while thinking.

ho *Variant:* *hoo*. *inter.* so, yes.

ho- *pro.* 3II.REC expressing the third person undergoer, not coreferential with the actor in experiencer constructions. *Fe nu holuok holan te!* Wash that pig. *Usage: refers to recipients or goals.*

horo *n.* saw, instrument to cut wood or iron. *From:* Malay: horo 'saw'.

hoting *n.* rainbow.

hu *pro.* SPC. *Nala hu di mi bataa tukong?* With what does he cut the tree? *See:* *h* 'be.like.DST'.

huipang *v.* blunt, unsharp. *Nekawen huipang.*

My machete is blunt.

I - i

ì *gv.* put, lay down, stop, finish. *Neng nuku di adik mi ba tanai ì.* A man took a mat and put it down on the ground.

-i *asp.* PFV, perfective aspectual marker. *See:* *ì* 'put'.

ía [ʔía] *n.* moon, month. *Ía kasing.* Moon crescent.

iek *n.* buttock. *Niek.* My buttocks. *See:* *eik*.

iel [ɪjɛl] *vr.* roast, burn. *Na eafu hiel.* I am roasting your fish *Prdm:* II.D.

ier [ɪjɛr] *vr.* roast, burn. *Ama ruwol nuku hieri na neei.* People roasted one chicken, I ate it. *Prdm:* II.D.

ièng [ɪjèŋ] *n.inal.* eye, centre, middle. *Nièng bika.* My eyes. *Ya hièng.* Water well. *Usage:* ***requires possessive prefix***.

ién [ɪjɛ́n] *v.* see, perceive, view. *Na ama nuku ién naha.* I did not see a single person. *See:* *n*. *Prdm:* II.C.

iénra *v.* show. *Ama oro luuk mi ba ama hiénra.* People dance over there to show it to people. *Morph:* *ién-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

iénri *v.* show. *Na ía mi ba Bui hehiénri.* I showed Bui the moon. *Morph:* *ién-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

iéng [ɪjɛ́ŋ] *v.* see, perceive, view. *A heiéng.* You see it. *Prdm:* II.C.

il$_1$ *Variant:* *ol*. *v.* call. *Ama te wir haneng ile?* How do people call this (animal).

il$_2$ *v.* spear, fish with a spear.

ili *n.* mouse.

imal *v.* turn quick.

imaldi *v.* speed up. *Na nawai imaldi.* I turned quickly. *Morph:* *imal-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

in *id.* sound of effort.

inra *id.* sigh. *Moku do inra bai asi sei naha.* The child sighed but the poop did not come out. *Morph:* *in-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

inri *id.* sigh, faint. *Di inri ba hakai.* He fainted, lit.: he sighed and fell. *Morph:* *in-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

isi *n.* body, fruit. *Mayol masena heisi daliela.* A pretty woman with a tall body. *Bataa isi loku*. Fruits.

it *v.* lie on, lie down. *Buku ba it do hane nala?* What is the name of his land that lies here? *Usage:* ***for inanimate objects, dead bodies***.

— *n.inal.* thigh. *Nit.* My thigh. *Usage:* ***requires possessive prefix***.

itu *num.* first. *Neitu*. Me first.

iya [ʔɪ'jɑ] *n.* trunk, tree. *Wata iya.* Coconut tree.

J - j

jadi *adv.* so. *From:* Malay: jadi 'so, thus'.

jaksa *n.* judge. *Jaksa rofi.* A just judge. *From:* Indonesian: jaksa 'judge'.

jam *n.* hour. *From:* Malay: jam 'hour'.

Jumat *n.* Friday. *From:* Malay: Jumat 'Friday'.

K - k

k *gv.* bring, receive(d), pass, feed on, move in. *Na fe hake.* I am feeding pigs. *Usage: frequently in complex verbs.*

ka *adv.* soon. *War ka marang.* The sun will rise soon.

kal *adv.* soon. *Kal a ananra to alal he!* When you will tell, don't laugh!

kaai [kɑːj] *n.* dog. *Nekaai.* My dog.

— *n.* friend. *Melang Kaai.* (My friend) Melang. *Usage: friendly addressing among youngsters.*

— *v.* greedy, voracious. *Sieng kaai, mahiting kaai.* He is greedy, lit.: voracious of rice, voracious of meat. *Usage: friendly addressing among youngsters.*

kaala ['kɑːlɑ] *v.* fine, soft. *Usage: about food.*

— *n.* pap, pudding. *Fat kaala.* Corn pudding, corn pap. *Usage: about food.*

kabala *n.* cloth, traditional hand-woven fabric. *Kabala kika.* Red cloth.

kabei *adv.* little. *Na ya kabei buuti.* I drank a bit of water. *Usage: with both nouns and verbs.*

kaberang *v.* stumble.

kaberangdi *v.* tumble over, trip up. *Di hekaberangdi naha.* He did not tumble over anything. *Morph:* *kaberang-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

kadamai *n.* eyebrow. *Hièng kadamai.* His eyebrows.

kadang *n.* pliers, often wooden to manipulate the burning charcoals.

kadangri *v.* straddle, obviate. *Di ara lei kadangri.* She walked pass the fire.

kadel *v.* split. *Ara nu hekadel toku te.* Split up some wood, lit.: split some wood and put it down

kadera *n.* chair. *Wil neng nuku dekadera tahang miti.* A boy is sitting on his chair. *From:* Portuguese: cadeira 'chair'.

kades *n.* village head. *From:* Indonesian acronym: kades>kepala desa 'village head'.

kafaak [kɑ'fɑːk] *n.* tobacco. *Na yaa kafaak balik.* I go to sell tobacco.

kafaata *n.* samping. *Kafaata teipa.* Ribs, lit.: side bones.

kafak [kɑ'fɑk] *n.* spear.

kafe *n.* rope. *Na kafe mi bataa hakol.* I bind up the wood with a rope.

kafelai *n.* shoulder blade. *Heui hekafelai.* His shoulder blade.

kafering *v.* horrify, be evil. *Nel bai ama hekafering kang.* I often horrify people, I often scold at people. *Kafering loku, tipai pet puna loku.* Soldiers, lit.: evil people, those who hold the iron bow.

kaferingdi *v.* frighten, make scared. *Niya, nekafering he!* Mother, do not scare me! *Morph:* *kafering-d-i.*

kafi *v.* scrape, scratch. *Etoku ba yokung nu hekafia naha.* Do not scratch your septic leg.

kafiei [kɑfɪ'jɛj, kɑ'fjɛj] *n.* goat. *Na kafiei habuku kanri.* I tied the goat away.

kafuk *n.* arrow for hunting. *Na nepet nekafuk mi ya kaai hatàng.* I go hunting, lit.: I take my bow and arrows and release the dogs.

***kai*$_1$** *n.* bark, tree bark, peel. *Di debaleei hekui ba hekai ong woti.* He peeled his banana and its peel he threw away. *See:* *kui.*

***kai*$_2$** *v.* drop. *Di inri ba hakai he.* He may not faint and drop down. *Omaha ba na nakai?* Do you want that I would drop myself down? *Prdm:* III.D.

kaik [kɑɪk, kɑ'jɪk] *n.* orphan. *Moku kaik.* An

orphan.

kak *n.* arrow for war. *Pet kak ama mi ba taloi.* People war with bows and arrows. *Variant:* ***kaik***.
— *v.* stab, perform war dance.

kal *v.* set away. *Di fat rehei kali.* She roasted corn and set it away.
— *v.* be odd, alone. *Mayol kala.* A single, widowed woman. *Mayol do ko dokala.* This woman will become a widow soon, lit.: will become odd.
— *adv.* another time, next time. *Na kal ko sei.* I will come down another time.

kalang *n.* gum lac tree, Schleichera oleosa or Acacia, 'Gum-lac' trees produce a resinous exudation from punctures, made by lac insects.

kalangfor *n.* evil being from the sea who can take the shape of the humans. *Kalangfor beka.* A dangerous being.

kalasi *n.* glass, cup. *From:* Malay: gelas 'glass' from Dutch glas 'glass'.

kaleba *v.* be odd.

kalei$_1$ *n.* leaves, long flat leaves of a plant used of different purposes. Leaves of the lontar palm are used for wrapping tobacco and making cigarettes. *Adik kalei.* Leaves for making mats. *Na kalei kafia.* I am scraping the leaves (for cigarettes).
— *n.* window sheet.

kalei$_2$ *n.* lung. *Nekalei.* My lung.

kalen *v.* avoid, not want. *Prdm:* II.C.

kalenri *v.* avoid, not want, refuse. *Nala halakda henokalenri.* I am fed up with reading. *Morph:* ***kalen-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kaleng *v.* avoid, not want. *Nala nee nokaleng.* I do not want to eat. *See:* ***kal*** 'set away'. *Prdm:* II.C.

kalieta *n.* old person. *Kalieta neng.* An old man. *See:* ***kal*** 'be odd'.

kaling *n.* small ant.

kalol *v.* tell fortunes. *Afe pikuta loku kalol.* In the past, our ancestors were telling fortunes. *See:* ***kal***.
— *n.* fortune-teller.

kamai *n.* cat. *Na kamai hada muila.* I am playing with the cat.
— *v.* watch over, look after. *Na moku hekamai.* I am watching after the children.

kamaidi *v.* take care, baby-sit. *Na moku hok miti moku kamaidi.* I was watching over the children and taking care of them. *Morph:* ***kamai-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kamar *n.* room. *Di ning ayoku kamar mia muila.* Two of them are playing in the room. *From:* Malay: kamar 'room' from Dutch kamer 'room'.

kameling *n.* cockroach.

kamol *n.* betel nut basket for men. *Nefu kamol mia.* My betel nut is in the betel nut basket. *Usage: in poetic language refers to the father.*

kan *v.* be good, be right, be finished. *Nala kata-kata dokani.* Stop being naughty. *Prdm:* II.C.

kandi *v.* stop, finish by own initiative. *Anui sei dokandi.* The rain stopped, lit.: rain stopped coming down. *Na wan firei nokandi.* I have already stopped running. *Morph:* ***kan-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kanra *v.* complete, finish, repair, recover, regain health. *Maama di lik ba bekdi nu hakanra.* Father is repairing the broken platform. *Nokanra.* I regained health. *Morph:* ***kan-r-a***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kanri *v.* complete, finish, repair, recover, regain health. *Nawel kanri.* I have finished bathing. *Nariki haba wan nokanri.* I was ill, but I have already recovered. *Morph:* ***kan-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kanai *n.* canari nut, Canarium vulgare. *Ama kanai*

loku bol toku. People are knocking down the canari nuts.

kanakda *v.* be every, be each. *War kanakda na sakolang yaa.* I go to school every day. *Prdm:* III.A.

kanakdi *v.* be every, be each. *Tung lang kanakdi ba di sei pumania.* He comes to visit us each year. *Prdm:* III.A.

kang *v.* be good, be right, be finished, can. *Kang to.* It is good. *Na me kang.* I can come. *Na hekang hefanga.* I agree with it, lit.: I say it is good. *Moku loku tifi horoa hokang.* The kids like to watch television. *Prdm:* II.C.

kantor *n.* office, department. *Afeida na kantor loku totilei lole.* Yesterday, I was going along the offices. *From:* Malay: kantor 'office' from Dutch kantoor 'office'.

kanusi *n.* button. *From:* Malay: kancing 'button'.

kapai *n.* thread for sewing.

kapal$_1$ *n.* flint, flint and steel. *Wi kapal.* Flint stone, sharp stone.

kapal$_2$ *n.* boat. *From:* Malay: kapal 'boat'.

kapala *n.* head, headmaster. *Tuong kepala.* Headmaster of a school. lit.: head teacher. *From:* Malay: kepala 'head'.

kape *Variant:* ***kp***. *n.* lottery ticket (for illegal lottery). *Na kape beli.* I bought lottery tickets. *From:* Malay: kape, kp>kupon putih lit.: 'white coupon'.

kapi *n.* arrow shaft, arrow nock. *Pulang hekapi.* Arrow shaft. *See:* ***kak***.

kapik *n.* dove.

kapuk *v.* sew. *Neura nekonrek hekapuk.* My sister is sewing my shirt. *Prdm:* II.A.

kaput *v.* sew. *Ama hawei kasingra hokaputi.* People sew up his torn ear. *Prdm:* II.A.

kar$_1$ *num.* ten. *Kar nuku.* Ten. *Kar buti.* Forty.

kar$_2$ *v.* set away. *See:* ***kal***. *Prdm:* II.D.

karaifang *v.* stand apart. *Hawei karaifang.* His ear is prominent, jug ear.

karang *n.* barrier, cut logs to block the road. *Ama karang ìa.* People are putting up barriers. *Morph:* ***kar-a-ng***.

kari *v.* be narrow. *Hedeki karia.* His trousers are narrow. *Morph:* ***kar-i***.

karidi *v.* narrow down, make narrow. *Di nedeki karidi.* They narrowed down my trousers. *Morph:* ***kar-i-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kara *n.* cards. *Pi kara paneni.* We played cards. *From:* Malay: kartu 'cards' from Dutch: kaarten 'cards'.

karaifang *v.* stick out.

karasing *n.* temple. *Awei karasing.* Your temple, lit.: the narrow part of your ear.

karat *n.* rust, corrosion. *From:* Malay: karat 'rust, corrosion'.

karfai [kar'faj] *n.* water bufallo. *From:* Malay: kerbau 'water bufallo'.

kariang [karɪ'jaŋ] *v.* work. *Di kariang heyaa.* He went to work. *From:* Malay: karya 'work, effort'.

karong *n.* bag. *Di karong do hiek ong tukolri.* He made a hole in the bottom of the bag. *From:* Malay: karong 'bag'.

kartipel *n.* sling, sling-shot, catapult. *Arjun dekartipel ong ba kuya hatak.* Arjun makes himself a sling to shoot the birds. *From:* Malay: kartipel 'sling, catapult'.

kasing *n.* bit, shred, splinter. *Botol kasing.* A shred of a bottle. *Afu kasing.* A piece of fish.

kasingra *v.* cleave, split up. *Fan Ata hawei ata kasingra.* Fan Ata's ear is cleft. *Morph:* ***kasing-r-a***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kasingri *v.* cleave, split up. *Ía kasingri.* The moon is in crescent. *Morph:* ***kasing-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

kat$_1$ *v.* stab, perform war dance. *Ama masang mia dokat te.* People will perform the war

dance in the dance place. *Nala ma heraala kati.* Some food got stuck in his throat. *Prdm:* II.A.

***kat*$_2$** *n.* green bean.

katak *n.* frog. *From:* Malay: katak 'frog'.

katak-katak *id.* sound of feeling of pain.

katak-katakna *v.* hurt, perceive pain. *Napong katak-katakna.* My head hurts. *Prdm:* III.A.

katung-katung *n.* caterpillar.

kawaaka [kaˈwaːka] *n.* tree sp., tree used for building houses in its branches.

kawada *n.* croft, area behind the village. *Di oro kawadang me.* He comes behind the village over there.

kawai *v.* argue. *Ama kawai.* People are arguing.

kawaisa *v.* be rich, be wealthy. *Edo kawaisa.* You are rich.

kawaisadi *v.* grow rich, grow wealthy. *Ni wan kawaisadi.* We grew rich. *Morph:* *kawaisa-d-i.*

kawal *v.* protect, shade from. *Anui sei hare na nesura kang-kang hakawalia.* It rains, so I protect my books well.

kawat *n.* wire. *Di kawat do helilri.* He heated up the wire. *From:* Malay: kawat 'wire'.

kawen *n.* machete. *Kawen falefal.* A strong machete.

kek *v.* prod. *Na batamal kek.* I am prodding papaya. *Usage: indicates a starting point. Prdm:* II.A.

kela *n.* bamboo wattle used to make walls of a traditional house.

keledai *n.* donkey. *From:* Indonesian: keledai 'donkey'.

keluarga *n.* family, clan, relatives. *Nekeluarga loku.* My relatives. *From:* Indonesian: keluarga 'family'.

keng *n.* sarong. *Keng tapat.* Thick sarong.

kesa *n.* sideburns. *Kesa lohu.* Long sideburns.

ket *n.* comb. *Neket hayei.* My comb fell down. — *v.* prod with a pole, stick. *A batamal ket he!* Do not prod the papaya. *Prdm:* II.A.

ketel *n.* kettle. *From:* Malay: ketel 'kettle' from Dutch: ketel 'kettle'.

kiak *v.* poke in leaves to find nuts. *Di dekanai kiake.* They were poking for their canari nuts.

kiang *n.* baby. *Moku kiang.* A baby.

kidai *n.* chaff. *Sieng kidai.* Rice chaff.

kidang *inter.* interjection of finding or winning.

kiding *v.* be small. *Na sura kiding bel.* I buy a small book.

kidingra *v.* reduce, lessen, make smaller. *Di hekidingra.* He is reducing it. *Ya ong kidingra.* Close the water tap, lit.: reduce the water. *Morph:* *kiding-r-a. Prdm:* III.A.

kiek *v.* cackle, crow. *Ruwol wan kiek ming suida.* The roosters are crowing for the third time.

***kik*$_1$** *v.* sweep, clean, prepare for planting. *Pi ut hekik.* We are sweeping the field. *Ruwol asi nu hekiki te.* Sweep away the chicken-do.

***kik*$_2$** *v.* red.

kika *v.* be red. *Ekabala kika.* Your cloth is red. *Morph:* *kik-a.*

kikdi *v.* become red, blush. *Nakikdi.* I blushed. *Morph:* *kik-d-i. Prdm:* III.A.

kikil *n.inal.* armpit. *Nakikil.* My armpit. *Usage: requires inalienable possessive prefix.*

kil *v.* detach, take off, remove, turn over, lonely, remote. *Sepeda heban hekil ba hemanehi te.* Take off the wheel of the bike and change it. *Tut kil.* Empty, remote coast, cliffs. *Prdm:* II.D.

kilai *v.* drop away, fall away. *Mea kilai.* Mangos fall down from the tree. *Morph:* *kil-a-i.*

kilra *v.* desert, abandon. *Okilra.* You are

deserted. *Morph:* kil-r-a. *Prdm:* III.A.

kilri *v.* desert, abandon. *Nedo kilri.* I am abandoned. *Morph:* kil-r-i. *Prdm:* III.A.

kila *n.* hawk.

kilang *v.* be carefull, pay attention.

kilangdi *v.* pay attention, do carefully. *Morph:* kilang-d-i.

kilempak *vr.* rock, swing.

kilempakda *v.* rock, swing. *Pelang foka o umak mia kilempakda.* The big canoe is rocked by the surf. *Morph:* kilempak-d-a. *Prdm:* III.A.

kilempakdi *v.* rock, swing. *Neng loku laru buuti ya oro kilempakdi ba lol nahang.* The men were drinking alcohol and are wobbling about over there. *Morph:* kilempak-d-i. *Prdm:* III.A.

kilik *v.* be weak.

kilikda *v.* weaken, become weak. *Netoku kilikda.* My legs are weak. *Morph:* kilik-d-a. *Prdm:* III.A.

kilikil *v.* be lazy. *Neakang kilikil.* I am lazy, lit.: my body is lazy.

kilikil-kilikil *v.* do lazily, be very lazy. *Dokilikil-kilikil ba làk.* He forced himself to go, lit.: he was very lazy and went.

kin *n.inal.* stomach. *Nakin fikdi.* I have eaten enough, lit.: my stomach is pulled out. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

king *v.* be tall. *Hawata king.* His neck is long, tall.

kir *v.* detach, take off, remove, turn over, lonely, remote. *Prdm:* II.D.

— *n.* key.

kira *v.* be hard, be tight, be firm. *Moku ba pikai kira.* A child that is stubborn.

kirek *id.* sound of tearing.

kirekdi *v.* tear. *Nekonrek kirekdi.* My shirt is torn. *Morph:* kirek-d-i. *Prdm:* III.A.

kireng kilai *n.* flatworm.

ko *adv.* soon. *Na ko we.* I will leave soon.

koda *n.* clothes. *Na nekoda loku haruli.* I took off my clothes.

kodang *n.* breast. *Hekodang.* Her breasts.

kof *vr.* cut down, cut at, hack. *Kaai nel tohaloi hare na kofi.* A dog was chasing me so I cut at it. *Prdm:* II.F.

kofa *v.* be sterile, barren. *Hedo kofa.* She is sterile.

kofadi *v.* become sterile, barren. *Di kofadi.* She became sterile. *Morph:* kofa-d-i.

kofang *n.* basket.

koi *v.* cut, cut at, hack, tickle, drop to. *Eng wei ba hel koi.* Go and cut him.

koida *v.* tickle. *Di nakikil koida.* He is tickling me, lit.: he is tickling my armpit. *Prdm:* III.A.

koila *v.* throw down, stumble. *Na hakoila.* I threw him down, I made him stumble. *Nakoila.* I stumble. *Morph:* koi-l-a. *Prdm:* III.A.

koili *v.* throw down, stumble. *Nakoili.* I stumbled. *Morph:* koi-l-i. *Prdm:* III.A.

koi buku *n.* handbasket.

kok *v.* prod. *Na wi hakoku.* I prodded out the stone. *Usage:* ***indicates an event limited to a single point in time.***

kokda *v.* be younger, be youngest. *Mayol ba kokda.* The women that is youngest.

kol *v.* bind, bind away, bind up. *Na hatáng hakol.* I bind up his hands. *Prdm:* II.D.

kolra *v.* bind up, trick, cheat. *Ama nakolra.* People cheated me. *Morph:* kol-r-a. *Prdm:* III.A.

kolri *v.* bind up, trick, cheat. *A nakolri.* You cheated me. *Morph:* kol-r-i. *Prdm:* III.A.

koling *n.* shield. *Nekoling.* My shield.

komang *v.* blunt. *Na kawen hakomang.* I blunt the machete.

komangdi *v.* blunt. *Moku di deya hekawen ong komangdi.* The child made blunt the

machete of her mother. *Morph:* ***komang-d-i.***

konrek *n.* shirt. ***Nekonrek tifa.*** My new shirt.

***kopi*$_1$** *n.* lumbar, the end of the backbone.

kopi*$_2$** *n.* coffee. ***Me, pi kopi buut te. Come, let's drink some coffee. *Usage:* ***refers to both beverage and commodity.*** *From:* Malay: kopi 'coffee'.

kor*$_1$** *v.* bind, bind away, bind up. ***Na fe hetoku hakori. I bound up pig's legs.

***kor*$_2$** *adv.* soon.

kot *n.* flower.

kota *n.* wall, stone levee around the village, circumvallation. ***Na kota mok.*** I am building a stone wall. *From:* Malay: kota 'stone wall, protected place: town'.

kowa *v.* be raw, be uncooked. ***Afu kowa.*** Raw fish. ***Fat kowa.*** Uncooked corn.

ku *n.* melon.

kuda *n.* horse. ***Di kuda hong mitdi.*** He mounted the horse. *From:* Malay: kuda 'horse'.

kui*$_1$** [kʊj] *v.* peel. ***Na bataa hekuia. I am removing the bark of the log, lit.: I am peeling at the log.

— *n.* peel. ***Beleei hekui.*** Banana peel, banana skin. *Usage:* ***skin or peel that is already removed.*** *See:* ***kai.***

***kui*$_2$** *n.* prison. *From:* Alorese Malay: kui/bui 'prison', either from Dutch kooi 'cage' or boeien 'handcuffs, chains'.

kukalek *v.* crow. ***Ruwol kukalek.*** Roosters are crowing.

kul*$_1$** *n.* skin. ***Hawa kul. His lip, lit.: the skin of his mouth.

— *adj.* white. ***Kaai kul do.*** The white dog.

kul*$_2$** *v.* must. ***Na kul we. I must leave.

kul*$_3$** *v.* throw, jump, kick. ***Moku loku bal hakul. The kids are throwing the ball. ***Na nakul.*** I am jumping. *Prdm:* II.D.

kuluk-kuluk *id.* sound of boiling water.

kuluk-kulukda *v.* boil. ***Di hekuluk-kulukda.*** The pot is boiling. *Morph:* ***kuluk-kuluk-d-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

kumal *n.* mosquito. ***Kumal nel takai.*** The mosquitos were biting me.

kuong *n.* disc, gong. *From:* Malay: gong 'gong'.

kupai *n.* forest, jungle. ***Kupai tama.*** Jungle, lit.: forest sea.

kupak *n.* butterfly. *From:* Malay: kupu-kupu 'butter fly'.

kupil *v.* be round. ***Wi kupil nuku.*** One round stone. ***Natáng hakupil.*** My fist, lit.: I rounded my hand.

kupildi *v.* round, make round, roll up. ***Na tila hakupildi.*** I rolled up the rope. *Morph:* ***kupil-d-i.***

kur *v.* throw, jump, kick. ***Ni nikur ba hayei.*** We will jump down, lit.: we jump and fall. *Prdm:* II.D.

kurang *n.* deficit, lack, scarcity. ***A kurang kale.*** Avoid deficits, poverty, scarcity. *From:* Malay: kurang 'less, deficit, lack, scarcity'.

kusing *n.* nail. ***Netoku kusing.*** The nail on my toe.

kuta *n.* grandparent. ***Nekuta loku.*** My grandparents.

kutang *n.* bra, brassiere. ***Di kutang meni.*** She wore a bra.

kuya *n.* bird. ***Kuya loku lia.*** The birds are flying.

L - l

l *gv.* give, make, affect. ***Na sura mi ele.*** I am giving you a book, lit.: I take a book give to you. *Usage:* ***generic verbs, either occurs as independent predicate, frequently in serial***

verb construction and very productive in verb derivation, indicates caused events and locus in reach.

la *v.* be.MD, medial deictic verb, speaker based. *Tafaa foka la mi sei.* Bring down the big drum that is over there. *See: l.*

laba *n.* chisel to pound and split betel nut with. *Fu laba.* Betel nut chisel.

labanta *n.* bridge. *Labanta tilaka.* There is a bridge (hanging).

lafufung *n.* scales of fish. *Na afu helafufung hekafia.* I am scraping away the fish scales.

lafut *n.* ant sp., white ant.

Lahatala *n.* Lord, God. *From:* Malay: Allah 'God'.

lai [laj] *v.* spread, put in reach, blow (by the wind). *Adet war bataa helai.* The pumpkin spreads over the tree. *Ara tika holai.* The smoke surrounds him, spreads on him.

laina *v.* spread on, spread out. *Na mahiting tadi la laina.* I slice the meat and spread it (for drying). *Morph: lai-n-a. Prdm:* III.A.

laini *v.* spread on, spread out. *Di ko pil feni ya tadi laini.* They would kill us, and cut in pieces. *Morph: lai-n-i. Prdm:* III.A.

lak *v.* mark, recognize. *Na henièng lak.* I know him, lit.: I see him, recognize. *Prdm:* I.

— *n.* mark, symbol, feast. *Pi lak paneng.* We organize a feast.

lakda *v.* identify, recognize, read out. *Na sura halakda.* I read out a book. *Na pining halakda.* I go and survey the fields. *Nala dalakda.* What happened? *Morph: lak-d-a. Prdm:* III.A.

lakdi *v.* identify, recognize, read out. *Ne nesura halakdi.* I read my book. *Taloi bukung dalakdi naha.* The war did not occur in the country. *Morph: lak-d-i. Prdm:* III.A.

lakai$_1$ *v.* shine. *Fir lakai.* Stars shine.

— *n.* shine. *Neng nuku helakai hosiki.* The man lost his good fortune, lit.: mans shine was plucked off.

lakai$_2$ *n.* epilepsy. *Lakai hel batet ba moni.* The epilepsy killed him, lit.: epilepsy stroke him and he died. *Morph: la-kai.*

lakang *adv.* very, intensely. *Natáng lakang narik.* My hand hurts a lot. *Morph: la-kang.*

lakangfak *n.* tree ant sp., destroying the logs. *Morph: la-kang-fak.*

lal$_1$ *v.* laugh. *Na nalal.* I am laughing. *Di dodalale.* He is laughing to himself.

lalri *v.* set laughing. *Morph: lal-r-i. Prdm:* III.A.

lal$_2$ *v.* reach for. *Hetadeng ding lal te pi yaa namei.* After his days are reached, we shall go and work in the fields.

— *n.* sail. *Nepelang helal.* The sail of my canoe.

lampu *n.* lamp, torch, gas lamp. *Lampu hetaha ba bekdi nu kul hemanehi te.* The column of the lamp that is broken has to be replaced. *From:* Malay: lampu 'lamp' from Dutch lamp 'lamp'.

lan *v.* rub, wash with hand. *Na nepikai takang lani.* I washed only my head (hair). *Prdm:* II.C.

lang *v.* rub, wash with hand. *Na nekonrek helang.* I am washing my shirt. *Maa ko oluok olang?* Who will wash you and scrub you? *Prdm:* II.C.

langa *v.* paw, touch somebody, harass. *Di mayol loku halanga.* He paws women, has no good manner. *Prdm:* III.A.

langi *v.* paw, touch somebody, harass. *Neng do nolangi haba nokaleng.* That man harassed me but I did not want it. *Prdm:* III.A.

lansi *n.* basil, basilicum. *From:* Malay: selansi 'basilicum'.

lapo *n.* rice sack, large sack to store rice.

lasak *n.* relatives. *Hedo pilasak naha yo.* They are not our relatives.

lasing *n.* bracelet.
— *v.* embrace.

latih *v.* exercise, repeat, practise. *From:* Indonesian: latih 'exercise'.

latukoi *adv.* very much. *Moku do latukoi dakuni.* This child is very dirty.

lawai *n.* rattan withe.

layang-layang *n.* kite. *From:* Indonesian: layang-layang 'kite'.

làk [làk] *v.* leave for (towards a deictic centre). *Na nolàke.* I am going back (home). *Na neui holàki.* I went backwards.

lák [lák] *v.* break, break out, break down, flatten. *Timoi foka di fala loku halák.* The storm broke down the houses. *Fe dolák.* The pig is breaking out (of the cage). *Prdm:* I.

leh *vr.* reach over, exceed, extend beyond. *Prdm:* II.F.

lei *v.* reach over, exceed, extend beyond. *Kuya li ba yoi halei.* The birds fly over the river, lit.: birds fly reach over the river. *Na ara lei kadangri.* I stepped over the fire. *Prdm:* II.F.
— *n.* ancestor. *Lei ama kang.* Ancestor. *Lei lohu.* Middle finger, lit.: the long overreaching one.

lek *v.* aim, point at. *Na holek hotawang.* I greet him. *Prdm:* II.A.
— *n.* index, index finger. *Nelek mot.* My index finger.

lel *v.* impend, threaten, almost reach. *Wi mi kaai holel.* Threaten the dog with a stone. *Na Takpala wei haba, la helel ba nawai.* I went to Takpala, but did not reach it and turned back. *Prdm:* I.

lelang *n.* family, clan. *Pilelang.* Our family.

let *v.* aim, point at. *Oto ameta nuku bataa heleti dikang marei.* The toy car aimed at the tree and then went up. *Prdm:* II.A.

lewai *n.* fizgig.

li *vr.* fly. *Kuya loku di lii.* The birds flew. *Timoi wata ata halia.* The wind blows the coconut leaves. *Prdm:* I.

lidi *v.* disperse, scatter. *Nièng talidi.* I am confused, lit.: my eyes are scattered. *Morph: li-d-i. Prdm:* III.A.

liel [lɪɛl, lɪ'jɛl] *v.* lift, lift up. *Ama naliel ba bang.* People lifted me up and carried me. *Prdm:* I.

***liel*$_2$** *n.* taboo, prohibition to do something causing the one who violates it to go mad. *Ara liel.* Firewood taboo, a piece of wood marking wood as prohibited.

lielra *v.* go mad, go crazy, insane. *Di mayol do hel lielra.* He goes crazy about this woman. *Ama lielra.* Insane people, mad people. *Morph: liel-r-a. Prdm:* III.A.

lifi *n.inal.* tongue. *Nalifi.* My tongue. *Usage: requires inalienable possessive prefix.*

lik *n.* platform, bench, table, open part of the house, verandah. *Lik ayating, lik fala.* Household, lit.: house and platform.

liki *v.* strong, robust. *Kapitang loku liki.* Kapitang (clan of warriors) are strong.

lil *vr.* hot.

lila *v.* be hot, be warm. *Ya lila.* Water is hot. *Morph: lil-a.*
— *n.* heath, warmth, knowledge of life, blessing. *Nemaama helila.* Blessings of my father. *Morph: lil-a.*

lilra *v.* heat up, warm up, boil. *Na ya ong halilra.* I am heating up the water. *Morph: lil-r-a. Prdm:* III.A.

lilri *v.* heat up, warm up, boil. *Na tipai ong lilri dikang baai.* I heated up the iron and forge it. *Morph: lil-r-a. Prdm:* III.A.

lingai [lɪ'ŋaj] *n.inal.* palate. *Halingai.* His palate.

Usage: requires inalienable possessive prefix.

liol *Variant:* *luol.* *v.* gain, pick up, collect, follow. *Tanga nu Nani haliol na mahi.* I heard the news that Nani picked up. *Na nefeela haliol mara.* I follow my friend going up. *Na bataa heahama toluol.* I pick up the rest of the wood. *Prdm:* I.

lipa *n.* blanket.

liwang *n.* anchor.

lo *pro.* MD, medial demonstrative pronoun.

loh *v.* put far, chase, distance. *Kaai di holohu.* The dog barked at him. *Prdm:* II.F.

lohu *v.* be long, be far reaching. *Hetoku lohu.* He is tall, lit.: his legs are long. *Morph:* *loh-u.*

loi [lɔj] *v.* put far, put away, drive away. *Kaai noloi.* The dog is barking at me. *Ama taloi.* People war, lit.: drive each other away. *A nel tohaloi beka.* You cannot chase me away. *Prdm:* II.F.

loida *v.* lengthen, prolong. *Na tadei ba lang haloida.* I will pass away, lit.: I will sleep down for ever. *Morph:* *loi-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

loidi *v.* lengthen, prolong. *Na natet-natet haloidi.* I stood there for a long time. *Morph:* *loi-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

lok *v.* prick, stab, touch with finger. *Aloba noloke.* The thorns pricked me.

loku$_1$ *num.* Pl, non singular marker of individuated referents. *Ama loku.* People.

loku$_2$ *n.* woodoo puppet, used for stabbing needles in it.

loku$_3$ *n.inal.* arm. *Naloku.* My arm. *Usage: requires inalienable possessive prefix.*

lol *v.* walk, wander. *Na la̍k lole.* I am wandering around. *Prdm:* I.

lol-lol *v.* live. *Di lol-lol.* He lived on. *Prdm:* I.

loma *n.* hill, slope. *Loma lohu.* Long hill, long slope.

long *v.* be long, lengthy, stretched out. *Hawata long.* His neck is long.

losa *n.* cucumber.

lu *n.* river, valley. *Lu foka.* Large river, large valley.

lui [lʊj] *n.* knife. *Lui bula.* A sharp knife.

luk$_1$ [lʊk] *v.* bend, bow, fight. *Wil neng nuku detoku haluk mitdi.* The boy kneeled down, lit.: the boy bent his legs and sat. *Ama afe taluku.* People were fighting each other before. *Prdm:* I.

luk$_2$ [lʊk, lwɔk] *Variant:* *luok.* *v.* rub, massage, sweep of, beat the dirt from the clothes. *Niya nel luk.* My mother gives me a massage, lit. my mother rubs me. *Prdm:* II.A.

lukai [lʊ'kaj] *n.* pepper, pepper sauce, spicy sauce. *Lukai hebel beka.* Pepper is expensive.

luka-luka *n.* monkey.

lulang *n.* glade, a cleared place, forest clearance.

lung *n.* door, door in the house. *Lung foka, lung kiding.* Doors and windows, lit.: large doors, small doors. *Na lung haliel.* I open the door, lit.: I lift up the door. *Na lung hayei.* I close the door, lit.: I drop the door. *Usage: doors are in horizontal position in traditional houses, on the floor and a ladder is used to go down.*

luokai ['lwɔkaj, lʊ'wɔkaj] *n.* fish trap made from bamboo.

luotai ['lwɔtaj, lʊ'wɔtaj] *n.* male. *Kaai luotai.* Male dog. *Fe luotai.* Male pig.

lut [lʊt] *v.* rub, massage, sweep of, beat the dirt from the clothes. *Na nekabala mi ba noluti.* I dried myself with a towel, lit.: i took my cloth and rubbed myself. *Prdm:* II.A.

luuk [lʊːk] *v.* dance, perform traditional dance. *Ama luuku yai aridi.* People danced and sang till the morning. *Prdm:* I.

M - m

m *gv.* be in, be with, be aside. *Usage: **derives complex verbs and occurs in serial verb constructions typically expressing the human participant of verbs of perception, emotion and cognition**.*
— *gv.* take, possess.

ma$_1$ [mɑ] *v.* ripe, cooked, edible.

mal *v.* cook, prepare food, ripen. *Neura nala mal.* My sister is preparing food. *Morph: ma-l. Prdm:* II.D.

mar *v.* cook, prepare food, ripen. *A kopi mar te.* Prepare coffee. *Morph: ma-r. Prdm:* II.D.

ma$_2$ [mɑ] *v.* be.PRX, proximal speaker based deictic verb. *Anui ma hayei.* It is raining here.

maa [mɑː] *pro.* who. *Maa el boli?* Who did hit you?

maama ['mɑːmɑ] *n.* father. *Nemaama.* My father.

macam *adv.* as, similar to. *From:* Indonesian: macam 'as'.

madalang *Variant:* ***madang***. *v.* be shiny, be flashing.

madok *v.* breathe out. *Pi ahel madok.* We are happy, lit.: we breathe in and out.

madung *n.* funeral meal, mainly meat that is being brought as a sacrifice for the passed away, his closest family does not eat it.

mah$_1$ *vr.* put in.CPL. *Anui maha sei.* It is raining into inside. *Prdm:* II.F.

maha *n.* nest, burrow, hive. *Rui maha.* Rat nest. *Fikai maha.* Ant hill, ant nest.

maha *v.* perceive, notice, register, note. *Nawel nomaha.* I feel like bathing. *See:* ***mah***. *Prdm:* III.A.

mahadi *vr.* choose, decide, desire. *Neng to hen domahadi.* That man desidered (it). *Morph: mah-a-d-i.*

mahapang *v.* be stupid. *Ama mahapang.* A stupid person.

mahi *v.* perceive, notice, register, note. *Anui sei na mahi naha.* I did not note that it rained. *Nirik bai a mahia naha.* You will not notice that we are ill. *See:* ***mah***. *Prdm:* III.A.

mahiting *n.* meat, flesh. *Na mahiting mal.* I am boiling meat.

mahoi *vr.* gather, call together.

mahoini *vr.* call together. *Ama hen o mahoini ba tel feng hemarang.* People were called together to go up and war. *Morph: mahoi-n-i.*

mahoi-mahoina *v.* be calling together, be gathering. *Ama tomahoi-mahoina ba mara.* People are calling each other together to go up. *Morph: mahoi-mahoi-n-a. Prdm:* III.A.

mahoi-mahoini *v.* be calling together, be gathering. *Ama depun denamei hemara tomahoi-mahoini.* People were calling each for going up to work in the fields. *Morph: mahoi-mahoi-n-i. Prdm:* III.A.

mai$_1$ *n.* bamboo. *Mai tuk.* One joint of bamboo.

mai$_2$ *v.* put in, put down. *Epulang hamai se.* Put down your bow. *Prdm:* II.F.

maiton-maiton *id.* sound made by ghosts.

maka *adv.* perhaps. *Maka anui sei.* Perhaps it will rain. *Usage: **indicates future possibility**.*

makal *v.* be bitter. *Upi loku makal.* The fruits are bitter.

makiila [mɑ'kɪːlɑ] *v.* old, not fresh. *Afu makiila.* Old fish, fish that is not fresh.

makiling *n.* liana with used for binding.

mako *n.* cup. *From:* Malay: mangkok 'cup'.

makong *n.* kedongdong tree, Canarium

patentinervium.

maku *v.* be silent, be quiet. *Ama maku.* A quiet person.

mal *v.* cry. *Na fel mali.* I cried. *Prdm:* I.

malai *v.* be dead, be bewailed. *Hafo malai.* Protuberance, swelling caused by elephantiasis.

malaida *v.* perish, wane. *Omalaida bai tahai.* Even if you perish, you have to find it. *Morph:* *malai-d-a.*

malatai [mɑlɑ'tɑj] *Variant:* *matalai.* *n.* sand.

male *v.* be young, be fresh, used only for plants. *Fu male.* Young betel nut.

malei *n.* thick liana, thick withe.

malik *v.* exhaust, tire. *Pi malik beka.* We are too exhausted.

malika *n.* fig tree.

maling *vr.* moan at, bemoan.

maling-malinga *vr.* be moaning at, be bewailing. *Na hemaling-malinga.* I am bemoaning him. *Morph:* *maling-maling-a.*

man *v.* bear offspring. *Di tamani.* She bore children.

maneh *vr.* replace, change, rearrange, compensate for. *Na lampu hetaha do hemanehi.* I replaced the burner of the lamp. *Prdm:* II.F.

manei *v.* replace, change, rearrange, compensate for. *Ni seng sakola yal do manei naha.* We are not compensating the school fees now. *Prdm:* II.F.

— *n.* string. *Awela nu kang-kang mi ba manei hekor te!* Bind the string well to the fishing hook.

mang *v.* bear offpsring. *Di tamang beka.* They cannot have offspring.

— *v.* be domestic. *Mang hu di mielangdi.* It is scaring out the domestic animals. *Mang fe.* Domestic pig.

— *n.* possession. *Hen nemang.* That is my possession.

mangmat *n.* foster child, a child that was bought for unmarried women in the old days so that they would not be.

mani *v.* check, visit. *Na fetang hemania.* I am checking the traps. *Di sei pumania.* He comes down to visit us.

mantan *adj.* former, previous. *Mantan kades.* Former village head. *From:* Indonesian: mantan 'former'.

mapuo [mɑ'pwɔ, mɑ'pʊ'wɔ] *n.* firefly.

mara *v.* go up, climb. *Na mara melang miadi.* I went up to the village. *Na bataa hong mara.* I climb the tree. *Prdm:* III.C.

marai *v.* be hungry. *Natook marai.* I am hungry, lit.: my stomach is hungry.

maraida *v.* become hungry. *Di maraida naha.* He has not become hungry yet. *Morph:* *marai-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

maraidi *v.* become hungry. *Newil kabei maraidi.* My child became a bit hungry. *Morph:* *marai-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

marak *v.* scare, fear.

marakda *v.* become scared. *A marakda naha.* Do not be scared. *Morph:* *marak-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

marakdi *v.* become scared. *A omarakdi.* I made you scared. *Morph:* *marak-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

maran *v.* come up, climb to. *Na Kupang mia melang marani.* I came up to the village from Kupang. *Sieng ma henomarani.* I am fed up with rice, lit.: (I) came up from rice. *Prdm:* II.C.

marang *v.* come up, climb to. *Na melang marang.* I am going up to the village. *Me numing marang.* We want to come, lit.: coming climbed in us *War marang.* The sun is rising, lit.: sun comes up. *Prdm:* II.C.

marei *v.* go up, climb. *Di bataa hong marei.* He climbs the tree. *Pi Kamana dong marei.*

We are going up to the Kamang area. *Prdm:* III.C.

marel *n.* bat.

mari *v.* go up, climb. *Di awering do habi mari.* He put up the ladder and went up. *Prdm:* III.H.

marik *v.* be crude, be unripe.

masa *n.* time, period. *Hedo masa ba oro buoka.* It is a period that is remote from now. *From:* Indonesian: masa 'time, period'.

masang *n.* sanctuary, dance place in the central point of the village.

masena *v.* be nice, be pretty. *Mayol maek masena.* Pretty young woman.

masolang *v.* be pure, be holy, beautiful.

masupa *n.* be bitter.

mata *n.* guts.

matai [maˈtaj] *v.* be around, be surrounded. *Di homi hamatai pining do.* They made fallows in and around it.

matak *v.* rage, anger. *Kalieta loku hewó hematak.* The ancestors cursed it, lit.: ancestors put their anger above it.

matakdi *v.* enrage. *Di la matakdi ba dewil bol mi hewil moni.* He enraged and hit his child till it died. *Morph:* *matak-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

mayak [maˈjak, maɛk] *Variant:* *maek*. *adj.* young. *Mayol mayak.* A young woman.

mayesing [maˈjɛsɪŋ] *v.* be diligent, make efforts. *Kafola loku afu tahai hemayesing.* Kabola people are diligent fishermen. *Prdm:* II.C.

mayol [maˈjɔl] *n.* woman, wife. *Nemayol.* My wife. *Mayol loku.* Women.

me *v.* come, arrive. *Na ko me.* I will come soon. *Na ya sia heme.* I am coming to scoop up water. *Prdm:* III.B.

mea *n.* mango. *Ama nemea loku tafuda takafi.* People stole all my mangoes.

meakilai *v.* be yellow, have the colour of ripe mango. *Bataa ata meakilai.* Tree leaves are yellow. *Morph:* *mea-kilai*.

meja [mɛɟa] *n.* table. *Meja hetoku faki.* The table leg is broken. *From:* Malay: meja 'table'.

melang *n.* village, large village. *Melang makiila.* Old village. *Nemelang.* My village, my country.

meli *v.* be tasty. *Nala ba hedo nee mai ye meli.* This food is tasty, lit.: something that when one eats it, it is tasty.

men *v.* wear, dress. *Di abui namang meni.* She was wearing traditional clothes, lit.: she was wearing mountain clothes. *Prdm:* II.C.

meng *v.* wear, dress. *Na namang kang mi homeng.* I dressed him in good clothes. *Prdm:* II.C.

meting *n.* betel vine, Piper betle. *Pi fu meting takai.* We chewed betel nut and betel vine.

mi *v.* be in, be inside. *Na nemelang mia.* I am in my village. *Nala nee nomi marang.* I would like to eat, lit.: eat something comes up in me.

— *v.* take, do with. *Na kawen mi bataa tukong.* I cut wood with a machete. *Di sei fu mia.* He came down to take the betel nut.

mida *v.* fill. *Hemida nu.* It was filled up. *Morph:* *mi-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

midi *v.* fill. *Na ya sia hemidi.* I filled up the water container, lit.: I scooped water, filled it. *Morph:* *mi-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

mil *v.* fill up. *Dieng nu ya ming si ong hemil.* I scoop water in the kettle. *Morph:* *mi-l*. *Prdm:* II.D.

mir *v.* fill up. *Drom ong hemir te.* Fill up the barrel. *Morph:* *mi-r*. *Prdm:* II.D.

miada *v.* include, reach a location. *Mayol do afung miada.* This woman became pregnant. *Morph:* *mi-a-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

miadi *v.* include, reach a location. *Na fala miadi.* I reached the house. *Morph:* *mi-a-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

miei [mjɛj, mɪɛj] *v.* come, arrive. *Awai miei se.* Come back, lit.: turn and come back. *Prdm:* III.B.

mielang ['mjɛlaŋ] *v.* fear. *Na mielang naha.* I do not fear. *Prdm:* II.D.

mielangdi *v.* get scared, get alarmed. *A mielangdi he!* Do not get scared! *Morph:* *mielang-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

mihi *v.* set. *Na moku fila mi ba lik tahang mihi.* I set the child on the table. *Mayol nu dedieng tai mihi.* That woman cooked, lit.: that woman set her kettle on it. *Usage:* ***flat-bottom shaped objects, mostly inanimates.***

min$_1$ *n.inal.* nose. *Namin.* My nose. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

min$_2$ *v.* be next to, be aside. *Di me kadera yo hamina mia.* He came next to the chair. *Prdm:* II.C.

mina *n.inal.* side. *Moku fila deya haminang làke.* The small child is walking at her mother's side. *Na tafui naminang ìa.* I am putting the shrimps at my side. *Morph:* *min-a.*

minak *vr.* be small, be tiny.

minaka *v.* be small, be tiny. *Hatook minaka.* His small intestine. *Morph:* *minak-a.*

minakdi *v.* diminish, decrease. *Di del minakdi.* He diminished himself. *Morph:* *minak-d-i.*

minak-minakda *v.* dwindle, shrink. *Na sura fiet ba minak-minakda.* I tear the book in small pieces. *Morph:* *minak-minak-d-a.*

minak-minakdi *v.* dwindle, shrink. *Di bataa faki ba ming minak-minakdi.* He broke the wood into pieces. *Morph:* *minak-minak-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

minang *v.* remember, think of. *Na niya henaminang.* I remember my mother. *Eominang.* Recall it, remember yourself. *Prdm:* II.C.

minangdi *v.* keep in mind, remember, file away. *Henu heaminangdia.* Keep that in mind. *Morph:* *minang-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

ming *v.* be next to, be aside. *Pi hetaming mitdi.* We sit next to each other. *Prdm:* II.C.

mit *v.* sit. *Na mit ba ananra.* I am sitting and telling. *Omiti.* Sit down. *Nomiti.* I sat down.

mitdi *v.* seat, mount. *Di ning ayoku taming mitdi ya heananri.* They sat down on each others side and talked. *Na kuda hong mitdi.* I mounted the horse. *Pi làk do di domitdi he.* We are leaving, he may not stay behind. *Morph:* *mit-d-i.*

moi [mɔj] *n.inal.* voice, sound. *Namoi.* My voice. *Amoi haliel.* Speak loudly, lit.: lift up your voice. *Fuokung ba hamoi kang.* A gong that has a good sound.

— *v.* sound. *A namoi.* Speak to me, answer me. *Amoi haliel.* Speak loudly, lit.: lift up your voice. *Ama fuokung huor ba tamoi kang-kangra.* People beat gong so that they sound well.

moida *v.* make a sound. *Na tifi do hamoida.* I switch on the television, lit.: I make the television sound. *Morph:* *moi-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

moidi *v.* make a sound. *Rimoi rimoidi he.* Your voices shall not sound. *Morph:* *moi-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

mok$_1$ *v.* bring together, construct, make up, compound. *Nièng do kabei mok.* I am a little bit sleepy. lit.: my eyes are brought together. *Na kota mok.* I am building stone wall. *Usage:* ***to refer to putting together of stones to build a stone wall.*** *See:* *mot.*

Prdm: II.A.

— *v.* pray. *Pi mok.* We pray *Prdm:* II.B.

mok$_2$ *n.* mug, cup (also a measure unit). *Sieng mok ayoku.* Two mugs of rice. *From:* Malay: mok 'mug, cup'.

moku *n.* kid. *Neng moku.* A boy. *Moku loku muila.* The kids are playing. *Usage: used as a generic term, the noun wil is used as kinship term.*

— *v.* be small, be tiny.

moku-moku *v.* be very small. *Afe nedo dara moku-moku.* Before, when I was very small. *Tafaa do moku-moku haliel mara mihia.* Lift up the drum very slowly and put it down.

mol *v.* envy, hate, thwart, poison. *Naana e nahaa do di ning ayoku temol.* The older and the younger sibling hate each other. *See:* *mong*.

— *n.inal.* enemy. *Namol.* My enemy.

moling *n.* gift, gift given to the family of a deceased person to keep the soul in peace. *See:* *mol*.

— *v.* perish, loose one's life.

momal *n.* elbow. *Natáng momal.* My elbow.

momang *v.* be clean, be unpelt, be deforested. *Sieng momang.* Clean, peeled rice. *Hapong momang.* His widow's peaks, bold sides of the forehead.

momangdi *v.* clear, deforest, burn off. *Di melang balekna momangdi.* They cleared the surroundings of the village. *Morph:* *momang-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

mon$_1$ *n.* snake. *Mon oro taa.* There is a snake over there (lying).

mon$_2$ *v.* die, pass away. *Nekuta moni.* My grandparents died. *Prdm:* II.C.

mong *v.* die, pass away. *Nowa mong naha.* I don't want to die. *Na ko feng monge.* I shall murder them soon. *Prdm:* II.C.

mop *vr.* pray, worship. *Nel bai, do mia mopi bang ada sama.* As for me, I pray for you here. *Usage: completive bound verb stem, requires aspectual inflection.*

mot *v.* lie together. *Prdm:* II.A.

motai *n.* spouses, husband. *Morph:* *mot-a-i*.

motor *n.* motorcycle. *Di motor taha hetahai.* He is practising to drive motorcycle. *From:* Indonesian: motor 'motorcycle'.

mu *n.* wound. *See:* *namu*.

mul *v.* wound. *Ama ayoku ming tel feni tamuli.* Two people injured and wounded each other for it. *Morph:* *mu-l*. *See:* *namu*. *Prdm:* II.D.

mui [mʊj] *n.* game.

muila *v.* play. *Neng loku debal hada muila.* The men are playing football. *Morph:* *mui-l-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

muili *v.* play. *Moku fila muili ba fala balei.* Kids played around the house. *Morph:* *mui-l-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

muk *n.inal.* horn. *Kafiei hamuk.* Goat's horn. *Usage: requires inalienable possessive prefix.*

muknehi *n.* sibling of the same gender as possessor. *Nemuknehi.* My brother.

mulai *v.* begin, start. *From:* Malay: mulai 'begin'.

mulang *v.* be straight.

mulangdi *v.* straighten. *Na epet do ong hamulangdi te.* I will straighten your bow. *Morph:* *mulang-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

mun *v.* smell, smell bad. *Nala nuku hamun do.* Something stinks. *Afu makiilra hehamun.* It stinks of rotten fish. *Ruwol bira makiila lakang hamuni.* Spoiled chicken eggs stink a lot.

muna *v.* care. *Niya namuna.* My mother takes care of me. *Morph:* *mun-a*.

munadi *v.* bring up. *Niya nayari namunadi.* My mother gave birth to me

and brought me up. *Morph:* *muna-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

munang *v.* smell at, sniff, kiss. *A niéna munang*. You are smelling at me, you are kissing me. *Kaai deadua homunang*. The dog sniffed after his owner. *Kalieta do fu do hamunang, lakang mununa*. The old person smells at the betelnut, it is very fragrant. *Morph:* *muna-ng*.

munangdi *v.* get smell of, scent. *Fe defeela hiek hemunangdia*. The pig is smelling at the back of another pig. *Morph:* *munang-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

munuk *v.* massage. *Niya di nel munuk*. My mother gives me a massage.

mununa *v.* be fragrant, good smelling. *Fu mununa*. Fragrant betel nut.

mur *n.* lemon, orange. *Mur nokang foka*. I really like oranges.

murtik *n.* gecko.

murui *v.* plant. *Na baleei murui*. I planted bananas.

mut *v.* blow. *Na ara hemuti*. I blew at the fire. *Prdm:* II.A.

mutang *n.* bee. *Mutang kadielang*. Beehive, lit.: bee stipel.

N - n

n [n] *gv.* see, perceive, apply on. *A hen yaa beka*. You cannot go there. *Usage: derives complex verbs and occurs in serial verb construction to express arguments such as location, purpose, or direction. See:* *ién*.

— *vr.* proximal index verb root. *Usage: serves as the base for the distal index verb*.

na$_1$ [na] *pro.* 1SG, first person singular pronoun. *Na sura halakda*. I am reading a book. *Na wan saai*. I came down already. *Usage: refers to the actor argument in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

na$_2$ *pro.* what. *It do nala?* What is this here? *A nala ong?* What are you doing?

— *vr.* be.like.PRX.CNT, proximal deictic verb. *Usage: indicates proximate manner and kind*.

nadi *v.* make by one's own power. *Di wan kadera nadi*. He made a chair (by himself). *Morph:* *na-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

nal *v.* make in this way. *A nala nale?* What are you making like this? *Morph:* *na-r*. *Prdm:* II.D.

nar *v.* make in this way. *A nala nari?* What have you made like this? *Morph:* *na-r*. *Prdm:* II.D.

na- *Variant:* *n-*. *pro.* 1SG.PAT, first person singular undergoer prefix. *A nalieli*. You lifted me up. *Usage: refers to patients that undergo a change of state or condition*.

— *pro.* 1SG.PAT, first person singular undergoer prefix. *Apong*. Your forehead. *Usage: refers to possessors of inalienably possessed nouns (mainly body parts)*.

naana ['naːna] *n.* older sibling, older brother or sister. *Nenaana di nawel*. My older sibling is bathing me.

nabuk *v.* bury. *Ni yaari ya niya nabuku yo*. We went and buried our mother. *Prdm:* I.

nah *vr.* lost, vanished, removed. *See:* *nai*.

nahadi *vr.* vanish, cease, die. *Ni nunahadi*. We ceased, we died. *Morph:* *nah-a-d-i*.

naha ['naha] *v.* Neg. *Di we naha*. He does not leave. *Usage: follows the verb immediately after the aspectual inflection*.

nahaa ['naːha] *n.* younger sibling. *Nenahaa harik*. My younger sibling is ill.

nahang *v.* be everywhere, be in many places.

Moku loku tamang ayong nahang. Children are swimming everywhere in the sea.

nai$_1$ *n.* tear, tears. *Nièng nai.* My tears.
— *vr.* loose. *Usage:* ***bound root.*** *See:* ***nah, naha.*** *Prdm:* II.F.

naida *v.* become lost, disappear, vanish. *Nesura naida.* My book is lost.

naidi *v.* become lost, disappear, vanish. *Hekaai kupai tamang naidi.* His dog disappeared in the jungle. *Morph:* ***nai-d-i.***

nai$_2$ *n.* sugar palm.

nala *pro.* what, something. *A nala tahai?* What are you searching? *Nemaama nala tahai.* My father is looking for something.

nala kang *pro.* chief, big man, lit.: something good.

namang *n.* cloth, clothing. *Na namang ong hayokdi.* I soak the washing (clothes).

namei *v.* cultivate, work in the field. *Na nepun namei.* I cultivate my fields.
— *n.* field, cultivated land. *Nenamei.* My fields.

namu *n.* wound. *Henamu.* His wounds.
— *v.* wounded. *Netoku namu do fufai heafai.* The flies are swarming at my wounded leg.

namul *v.* wound, injure. *Morph:* ***namu-l.*** *Prdm:* II.D.

namur *v.* wound, injure. *Netoku namuri.* My leg is wounded. *Morph:* ***namu-r.*** *Prdm:* II.D.

nat *vr.* stand, stab in, stick up. *Di fa yambuk mi lik tahang nati.* He already set the glass on the table.

nate *vr.* stand up. *Pi natea.* We stand up *Usage:* ***requires durative suffix.*** *Prdm:* II.E.

natet *v.* stand up, wait for, stop walking. *Na nateti.* I stood up. *Nemaama nenateti.* My father waited for me. *Oto oro nung nateti.* The car stopped over there. *Usage:* ***with animates and long shaped objects such as trees or houses, and objects that move, such as cars.*** *Prdm:* II.E.

natu *n.* mortar, wooden log with a hole in the middle standing upright used for pounding rice and corn.

ne [nɛ] *n.inal.* name. *Ane maa?* What is your name? *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

ne- [nɛ] *pro.* 1SG.LOC, first person singular undergoer prefix. *Niya di nedaminang.* My mother is remembering me. *Usage:* ***refers to human benefactives.***
— *pro.* 1SG.AL, first person singular possessive prefix. *Nesepeda.* My bicycle. *Usage:* ***marks alienable possession.***

nee [nɛː] *v.* eat. *A nala neei se.* Eat something! *Na nefeela loku tonee tobuuk.* I give to eat and drink to my friends.

nemang *n.* shells. *Pi nemang tahai mar kanri neei.* We were looking for shells, boiled them and ate.

neng *n.* man, male. *Neng moku nuku di ayong.* A little boy swims. *Neng kalieta oro miti.* An old man sits over there. *Neng taha.* Male pole, higher poles of the house oriented towards the sea or valey.

ng [ŋ] *gv.* see, perceive, apply on. *Di bataa hong marei.* He is climbing on the three. *Nang wahai.* I look (without any clear intention), I stare. *Usage:* ***derives complex verbs, used in serial verb constructions; cliticizes to the previous word if not combined with a pronominal prefix.***

ni$_1$ *pro.* 1pl.e, first person plural exclusive pronoun. *Ni sura tulisa.* We are writing a letter. *Usage:* ***refers to the actor argument in both transitive and intransitive construction.***

ni$_2$ *vr.* be like.PRX.CPL. *Usage: indicates proximal manner and kind.*

nidi *vr.* become this way. *Henidi ya di yaari.* After it happened so, he went away. *Morph:* *ni-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

nil *vr.* make this way. *Henil di mara fu dong sike.* Doing so, he went up to pluck the betelnuts. *Morph:* *ni-l*. *Prdm:* II.D.

nir *vr.* make this way. *Henir ba di yaa afu tahai.* After having done this, he went fishing. *Morph:* *ni-r*. *Prdm:* II.D.

ni- *pro.* 1PL.E.PAT, first person plural undergoer prefix. *A niboti.* You ordered us. *A nido ba sura halakda.* You are reading a book with us. *Usage: refers to patients that undergo a change of state or condition.*

— *pro.* 1PL.E.INAL, first person plural inalienable possessive prefix. *Usage: refers to possessors of inalienably possessed nouns (mainly body parts).*

— *pro.* 1PL.E.LOC, first person plural undergoer prefix. *Yal war do nala ba hekang hu mi ba nile.* Give us this day our daily bread. *Usage: refers to patients that undego a change of state or condition.*

— *pro.* 1PL.E.AL, first person plural alienable possessive prefix. *Niayating.* Our home, our house. *Usage: refers to possessors of inalienably possessed nouns (mainly body parts).*

ning *v.* be.QNT, be in number. *Di ning ayoku nala neei.* Two of them ate something. *Usage: quantifier verb optionally followed by a numeral. Prdm:* I.

no- [nɔ] *pro.* 1SG.REC, first person singular undergoer prefix. *Noakuta.* I am blind. *Mur do nokaleng.* I do not want this orange *Usage: refers to recipients in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

noting *n.inal.* soul, ghost. *Ama hanoting.* A soul of a person, a ghost. *Usage: inalienably possessed noun, requires possessive prefix.*

nowang *n.* cover, male kilt, selimut, traditional clothing for men. *Nenowang.* My selimut.

nu *pro.* SPC.AD. *Ama nu afeida miei.* Some people came yesterday.

nu- [nʊ] *pro.* 1PL.E.REC, first person plural undergoer prefix. *Nutafuda hen me.* All of us are going there. *Mong nukaleng.* We don't want to die. *Usage: refers to recipients in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

nuk-nuk *id.* sound of disturbing, teasing.

nuk-nukda *v.* disturb, tease. *Na ada nuk-nukda.* I disturb you. *Morph:* *nuk-nuk-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

nuku *Variant:* *nuk*. *num.* one. *Nefe nuku.* I have one pig, lit.: my pig is one. *Afe hetung nuku di miei.* He came one year ago.

nuk-nuk-d-i *num.* do to several, affect several. *Timoi ahana miei fala nuk-nukdi ba fak.* The storm came and broke several houses *Fani dekaai nuk-nukdi bol.* Fani hit several of his dogs. *Usage: requires either serial verb construction or linker ba (Lnk). Morph:* *nuk-nuk-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

O - o

o$_1$ *gv.* point, limit. *Usage: derives complex verbs. See: -o.*

o$_2$ *pro.* MD, medial demonstrative pronoun. *Heseng o kar-yeting ayoku wal yeting.* The price of it is seventy five. *Di o wei.* He went there. *Usage: deictic demonstrative precedes the head, anaphoric follows the head.*

ò [ʔɔ̀] *pro.* MD.L medial low demonstrative. *Na sei ò ahai mia.* I come down to outside below there. *Usage: deictic demonstrative, precedes the nominal or verbal head.*

ó [ʔɔ́] *pro.* MD.H, medial high demonstrative. *Mon foka ó marang!* A big snake comes up there. *Usage: deictic demonstrative, precedes the nominal or verbal head.*

o- [ʔɔ] *pro.* 2SG.REC, second person singular undergoer prefix. *Onaida.* You are lost. *Wata ohayei.* The coconut fell on you. *Usage: refers to recipients in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

-o *asp.* PNCT, punctual aspectual marker. *See:* *o* 'point'.

oh *inter.* oh, interjection of surprise.

oi *n.inal.* vagina. *Hoi.* Her vagina. *Moku ba oro do doi bol.* The child over there mastrubates, lit.: hits her vagina.
— *v.* have sexual intercourse. *Neng do nalangi ba noi.* That man harassed me to have sexual intercourse.

on *v.* make, build, produce. *Na hepet hepulang oni.* I made them bows and arrows. *Prdm:* II.C.

ong *v.* make, cause, build. *A nala ong?* What are you doing? *Nemaama hefala ong.* My father builds him a house. *Usage: in causative serial verb construction followed by the main verb. Prdm:* II.C.

or *n.* tablespoon.

oro *pro.* DST, distal demonstrative. *Kadera oro nung iti.* There is a chair over there. *Usage: deictic demonstrative, precedes the nominal or verbal head.*

oto *n.* car. *Oto heama kang.* The passengers of the car. *From:* Malay: oto 'car'.

P - p

p *gv.* touch, be near, approach, move downwards. *Usage: derives complex verbs, indicates contact locus and occurs in serial verb constructions.*

pa$_1$ *v.* go down. *Na lung pa.* I go down to the river. *Na pa taa.* I go sleep. *Prdm:* III.C.

pa$_2$ *v.* touch, accompany, have as company, keep. *Nenaana loku tafuda hemayol hopa.* All my older bother have a wife. *Seng nopa naha.* I do not have money. *Na hopa paria.* I am fumbling at him. *Usage: as independent verb and in proximate recipient serial verb construction. See:* *pai.* *Prdm:* I.

paakai ['paːkaj] *n.* broom.
— *n.* arrow to shoot birds or fish with the arrow head split in a number of pieces. *Nepaakai wan takdi.* My arrows are all gone now.

padok *n.* pitch, tree resin. *Mea padok.* Mango tree resin.

pai *v.* keep, have in possession. *Ni hel nuhapai beka.* We cannot keep her.

pak$_1$ *n.* ravine. *Na pak ating hayei.* I fell down rolling into a ravine.
— *id.* sound of hitting the ground, slapping at something. *Na nala ong hayei pak bai.* I dropped something it made 'slap'.
— *v.* bring at, slap, crash, drop at. *Oto heama kang loku mi pak mahoini.* The passengers of the car crashed to the ravine all together. *Prdm:* II.A.

pakda *v.* fling, throw, jump, slap. *Na ko awei karasing hapakda.* I will slap your temple. *Na napakda ba mara.* I jumped up, lit.: I flung myself going up. *Morph:* *pak-d-a.*

Prdm: III.A.

pakdi *v.* fling, throw, jump, slap. *A hapakdi.* You slapped him. *Kaai di dapakdi ba del ong hayei.* The dog jumped down, lit.: the dog flung himself and made himself fall down. *Morph:* *pak-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

pak$_2$ *n.* Sir. *Usage: term for addressing older males.* *From:* Indonesian Pak/Bapak 'Sir, Mister'.

paka *n.* fruit, spike, long shaped fruit. *Baleei paka, fat paka.* Banana fruit, corn spike. *Nataŋ paka.* My finger, lit.: fruit of my hand. *Netoku paka.* My toe, lit.: fruit of my foot.

pakai [pɑ'kɑj] *n.* basket, basket for collecting fruits and corn. *Na efat pakai hakil to.* I have turned over your corn basket. *Morph:* *paka-i.*

pakak *n.* spider. *Baleei pakak.* Spider sp.

paking *n.* guitar. *Na paking huol.* I am playing guitar.

pakol *v.* cover with hand enclose with hand. *Na nieŋ hepakol.* I cover my eyes with my hands. *Na seng tipai loku hopakol.* I cover the coins with my hands.

paku *n.* nail. *From:* Malay: paku 'nail'.

pal *n.* ray fish.

pal$_1$ *n.inal.* penis. *Hapal.* His penis. *Usage: requires inalienable possessive prefix.*

pala *n.* pencil. *Sura pala.* Pencil to write.

palak *v.* handle, touch with fingers, hand. *Prdm:* II.A.

palaka *v.* be naughty, unfair, dishonest. *Ama palaka.* A naughty person. *Usage: mainly about children.* *Morph:* *palak-a.*

palakdi *v.* become naughty, unfair, dishonest. *Edo palakdi ba helang lei.* You became too naughty, too bad. *Morph:* *palak-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

palakna *v.* cool, cool down. *War palakna.* The sun cooled down. *Na nosaili ba neisi hepalakna.* I fan myself so that my body cools down. *Morph:* *palak-n-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

palakni *v.* cool, cool down. *Kabei nel palakni to.* I have to cool down little bit. *Morph:* *palak-n-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

palak-palakna *v.* freeze. *Kaai heisi palak-palakna.* Dog's body is freezing, very cold. *Morph:* *palak-palak-n-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

palat *v.* handle, touch with hand of fingers. *Prdm:* II.A.

palata *v.* be cold, be cooled down. *Ya palata.* Cold water. *Morph:* *palat-a.* *Prdm:* II.A.

palek *v.* reach on, reach to, reach but not grasp, miss. *Prdm:* II.A.

palel *v.* strip, pluck down with hand. *Na fat fak palel.* I harvest the corn, lit.: I break of the corn and strip it.

palepal *v.* argue, make argument. *Di hetei sasang palepal.* They discuss and argue about it.

palet *v.* reach on, reach but not grasp, miss. *Prdm:* II.A.

— *n.* appendix, something hanging down.

palik *v.* bend down, bow, curve. *Epulang paliki.* Your bow is crooked, curved.

palikda *v.* become crooked, bent. *Morph:* *palik-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

palikdi *v.* become crooked, bent. *Nekawen wi hehayei palikdi.* My machete fell on the stone and crooked. *Morph:* *palik-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

paliking *v.* be crooked, be bent. *Hetoku paliking.* He is bow-legged, lit.: his legs are crooked. *Morph:* *palik-i-ng.* *Prdm:* III.A.

paling *v.* wipe, wipe clean. *Ni niut kik paling.* We are sweeping and cleaning our fields.

paliol [pɑlɪ'jɔl, pɑ'lɪɔl] *Variant:* *paluol.* *n.* python, large snake, magician.

paloku *n.* nape. *Hawata palok.* His nape.

palotang *n.* rattan. *Di palotang mi nel bol.* He hit me with rattan.

pan *v.* feel, shape, form. *Na henom pan ti.* I have just thought about it. *Na el pan te.* I will reshape you, change your dress. *Prdm:* II.C.

pandita *n.* pastor, Protestant clergyman. *From:* Indonesian: pendeta 'pastor'.

panei *v.* touch. *A nenamang hepanei se.* Touch my clothes.

panen *v.* make, shape, form, create. *A yai panen te.* Sing a song. *A te wir panen te?* How did you make it? *Prdm:* II.C.

paneng *v.* make, shape, form, create. *A nala paneng?* What are you doing, making? *Prdm:* II.C.

pang *v.* feel, shape, form. *Na henom pang.* I am thinking about it. *Prdm:* II.C.

panton *v.* recite, declaim, speak or sing in verses. *Di pantondia.* He is reciting traditional poetry. *From:* Malay: panton 'recite or sing traditional poetry'.

par *v.* fumble, touch at. *A nopa paria.* You are touching at me. *Prdm:* II.D.

parai *v.* tingle. *Netoku parai.* My leg tingles.

parenta *Variant:* *pemerenta.* *n.* government. *From:* Malay: parinta 'government', Indonesian: pemerintah 'government'.

pas *vr.* touch along, strap up, tighten the ropes by binding them together. *Na nakur napasi.* I jumped along. *Na lung hakor hapasi.* I fixed the door with ropes and tightened them together.

pasang *v.* install, set up. *From:* Malay: pasang 'install'.

pataka *v.* flatten, bend down, bend flat. *Hamin pataka.* His nose is flat, he has a snub nose.

patal *v.* straighten, unbend. *Di dapataldi.* He leaped up.

pataldi *v.* straighten, unbend. *Di dapataldi.* He leaped up, he straightened up. *Morph:* *patal-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

patei *v.* enfold, wrap, wind. *Di ating patei.* He is laughing secretly. *Di ating patei.* He is laughing secretly.

— *n.* wrap, package, swarm of insects. *Birel patei.* Ant mould, large group of ants. *Ati patei.* A package of salt.

pati *n.* box. *From:* Malay: peti 'box'.

pating *v.* teach, give advice. *Prdm:* II.C.

patingdi *v.* advise, give advise. *Na apatingdia.* I am giving you advices. *Morph:* *pating-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

pat-pat *adv.* slowly.

pe *v.* be near, be in touch. *Nedo nemelang pe mia.* I am near my village. *Anui sei pe.* It is about to rain.

peei [pɛːj] *n.* scorpion.

pek *vr.* approach.

peka *v.* be near to. *Ok epeka.* Near to you. *Peka loku.* Neighbours, lit.: those who are near to (us). *Morph:* *pek-a.*

pekda *v.* draw near, near, come near. *Na mara takatang hapekda.* I was going up drawing near to the shore. *Morph:* *pek-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

pekdi *v.* draw near, near, come near. *Di tapekdi naha.* They did not come near to each other. *Morph:* *pek-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

pelang *n.* canoe. *Pi pipelang hafiki.* We pulled out our canoe.

pen *n.* pen. *From:* Malay: pen 'pen'.

pesing *n.* bamboo sp.

pet *n.* bow. *Pet kak ama mi ba taloi.* People war with bows and arrows.

pi *pro.* 1PL.I, first person plural inclusive actor pronoun. *Pi lake.* We are leaving. *Pi sieng do tapei.* We are pounding rice. *Usage:* *refers to the actor argument in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

pi- *pro.* 1PL.I.PAT, first person plural undergoer prefix. *Di dapo mi ba pireni.* He is in front of us, lit.: he points at us with his forehead. *Usage: refers to patients that undego a change of state or condition.*

— *pro.* 1PL.I.INAL, first person plural inalienable possessive prefix. *Pitáng.* Our hands. *Usage: refers to possessors of inalienably possessed nouns (mainly body parts).*

— *pro.* 1PL.I.LOC, first person plural undergoer prefix. *Ama pido poek pofangi.* People asked us and invited us. *Di piwahai marang.* He visits us, lit.: comes up to see us. *Usage: refers to patients that undego a change of state or condition.*

— *pro.* 1PL.I.AL, first person plural alienable possessive prefix. *Pinaana.* Our older sibling. *Usage: refers to possessors of inalienably possessed nouns (mainly body parts).*

pidak *n.* bast. *Neng di yaa pidak tukoni.* The man went to cut the bast.

piei$_1$ *v.* go down. *Pi lung piei.* We went down to the valley. *Prdm:* III.C.

pieidi *v.* destroy, cremate, burn down. *Ama angmona hapieidi.* The people burned the carcasses. *Morph: piei-d-i. Prdm:* III.A.

piei$_2$ *n.* dream. *Na piei nuku hiéni.* I had a dream, lit.: I saw a dream.

pieila *v.* dream. *Na pieila ti nanoting Kalang Fat yaa ba.* I just dreamt that I went to Kalabahi, lit.: I just dreamt that my soul was going to Kalabahi. *Morph: piei-l-a. Prdm:* III.A.

pieili *v.* dream. *Na wan pieili.* I have dreamt. *Morph: piei-l-i. Prdm:* III.A.

piek *v.* pass along, skip, omit. *A hen hapieke.* Skip that. *Prdm:* II.A.

piet *v.* pass along, skip, omit. *Na Ruilak làk naha, na la hapieti.* I did not go to Ruilak, I skipped it over. *Ama tapieta.* People made a mistake, took the wrong thing. *Prdm:* II.A.

pikai *n.* head. *Nepikai.* My head. *Nepikai bataa.* My hair, lit.: my head trees. *Moku do pikai kira.* That child is stubborn, lit.: pig-headed.

pil *v.* tweak. *Na awei hapil.* I tweak your ear.

pingai *n.* plate. *Sieng ma pingai nuku.* A plate full of rice.

pining *n.* fallow, field that is cut, burnt and cultivated for the first time. *Ni yaa nipining halakda.* We go out to check our fallows.

— *v.* burn off, turn forest or bush to a field. *Di we homi hamatai pining do.* They went and burned off in and around (the area).

planet *n.* planet. *From:* Indonesian: planet 'planet'.

po- *Variant: pu-. pro.* 1PL.I.REC, first person plural undergoer prefix. *Potafuda pomi ukda.* All of us are shocked, saddened. *Di sei pumania.* He came down to see us, to visit us. *Usage: refers to recipients in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

pok *v.* split, burst, hatch. *Pingai nu hayei poku.* A plate fell down and broke. *Ruwol hepoku.* Chicken is hatching. *Prdm:* II.A.

pokal *n.* dimple. *Harun pokal.* A dimple in his cheek.

pol *n.* hammer, anvil. *Pol kiding.* Hammer. *Pol foka.* Anvil.

pong *n.inal.* face, front. *Napong.* My face. *Fala hapong.* House front.

pot$_1$ *n.inal.* thigh. *Hapot.* His thigh.

pot$_2$ *v.* split. *Prdm:* II.A.

— *n.* remnant. *Hepot do it naha.* Nothing is left, lit.: there is no remnant.

poti *n.* half. *Tung ayoku hepoti.* Two years

and a half. *Morph:* ***pot-i***.

pot$_3$ *v.* wrap, cover. ***Ama angmona hapot habinra.*** People wrapped the dead body and covered it up. ***Heananra ful hapota.*** His story is wrapped in lies, tricks. *Prdm:* II.A.

poying [pɔ'jɪŋ] *n.* pigeon.

puina [pʊjna] *v.* spit. *Prdm:* III.A.

puini *v.* spit. *Prdm:* III.A.

pulang *n.* arrow with blunt arrowhead to shoot birds. ***Pulang napong pe donw wei.*** An arrow passed just in front of me.

pun *v.* grab, catch, seize. ***Na afu hapuni.*** I caught some fish. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *n.* field. ***Na nepun namei.*** I cultivate my fields.

punadi *v.* seize, gripe. ***Eng tantama nung punadi se.*** Thy to hold it in the middle. *Morph:* ***pun-a-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A. *[Note: 08/Mar/2007]*

pung *v.* grab, catch, hunt. ***Fe te wir hapung?*** How do you catch pigs? *Prdm:* II.C.

pupu *id.* sound of blowing.

pupuk *id.* blow. *Morph:* ***pupu-k***.

pupukdi *v.* blast. ***Di ara do hemuti pupukdi.*** He blew and blasted the fire. *Morph:* ***pupu-k-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

puyung *n.* saliva. *See:* ***puina***.

R - r

r *gv.* reach, fix, affect. ***Na baleei mi eri.*** I gave you a banana, lit.: I took a banana and reached you. ***Netoku namuri.*** My leg is wounded, lit.: my leg is wound-reached. *Usage:* ***generic verbs, either occurs as independent predicate, frequently in serial verb construction and very productive in verb derivation, indicates completed caused events and fixed locus***.

ra *v.* reach, attempt, persist. ***Di dara defala bilenra.*** He is trying to repaint his house.

raala ['ra:la] *Variant:* ***rahala***. *n.* neck. ***Heraala bika***. His Adam's apple.

raata ['ra:ta] *n.* in-law. ***Neraata***. My brother/ father/ son/ sister/ mother/ daughter in law.

rafung *n.* hornet. ***Rafung taa.*** There is a hornet (lying).

raha [raha, raɟa] *Variant:* ***raja***. *n.* chief. ***Raha kalieta.*** The old chief. *From:* Malay: raja 'king'.

raharak *vr.* shiver.

raharakdi *vr.* shiver. ***Moku oro raharakdia.*** The child over there is shivering. *Morph:* ***raharak-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

rahieng *n.inal.* breast, chest. ***Harahieng.*** His chest. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix***.

rai *n.inal.* milt. ***Narai***. My milt. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix***.

ralaking *n.* sparrow. ***Ralaking kuya.*** Sparrow.

raleki *n.* sea eel.

ralowang *v.* sweet. ***Ati ralowang.*** Sugar, lit.: sweet salt.

rama-rama *adv.* silently. ***Di rama-rama mitdi.*** He sat down quietly.

ran *v.* reach at. ***Ran tung.*** Next year. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *v.* be quiet, silent. ***Na naran ba taa.*** I quieten myself and sleep.

ranra *v.* quieten. ***Eng la aranra bai.*** Calm down yourself. ***Ama fuokun haranra.*** People stopped beating gongs, people quietened the gongs. *Morph:* ***ran-r-a***. *Prdm:* III.A.

ranri *v.* quieten. ***Anui wan daranri.*** The rain

stopped, ceased. *Morph:* ***ran-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

rang *v.* reach at, turned towards. ***Afe nirang***. Our time, lit.: past reaching at us. ***Abui harang di nateti***. He is standing turned towards the mountains. ***Di harang nateti***. He is waiting, lit.: he is standing turned towards it. *Prdm:* II.C.

ranta *n.* villain, thief, wicked person.

rar *n.* arrow with fork like arrowhead to shoot the birds or fish.

rarak *v.* shake. ***Datáng mi ba adi hararak***. He threatens with his hand to the sky. ***Neng do kawen hararak***. The man threatens with his machete.

rarakdi *v.* shake. ***Tayoka miei yo, anei loku hetararakdi***. The earthquake split up the soil. *Morph:* ***rarak-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

rat *num.* million. ***Rat nuku***. One million. *From:* Malay: ratus 'hundred'.

ratala *n.* grandchild. ***Neratala loku***. My grandchildren.

rayak *v.* yank out, rip out. ***Mayol do di depikai bataa ber rayaki toku***. The woman pulled her hair, rip it out and threw on the ground.

re$_1$ *v.* reach, try. ***Are natetdi***. Try to stand up. ***Marang re***. Come up finally.

re$_2$ *conj.* or. ***Heya hemaama re hefing loku***. His parents or his elder ones.

rehei *v.* roast. ***Di defat do rehei, kali***. She roasted the corn and ground it.

reifunga *n.* bast used as a rope for binding wooden logs together in the house.

rek [rɛak] *n.inal.* chest. ***Harek***. His chest. *Variant:* ***rekdi***.

— *v.* turn with the chest upwards. ***Di darekdi ba tadei***. He lay down on his back, lit.: he lay down turned up with his chest. *Morph:* ***rek-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

rekna *v.* thirsty. ***Nerekna***. I am thirsty.

relang *v.* broad. ***Hawa relang***. His mouth is broad, big mouth.

ren *v.* turn to, direct towards, aim at. ***Di ai kang haren làk***. He leaves to the left, lit.: he leaves turned at the right side. ***Napo mi abui hareni***. I turned towards the mountains. *Prdm:* II.C.

reng *v.* turn at, direct towards, aim at. ***Na areng mara***. I go up to you, lit.: I go up turned to you. *Prdm:* II.C.

reng$_2$ *id.* sound of hitting metal objects, drums, gongs.

rerak *v.* jerk.

rerakdi *v.* jerk. ***Netoku hetarerakdi***. My leg is jerking (from an infection). *Morph:* ***rerak-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

resing *v.* fried.

ri *pro.* 2PL, second person plural pronoun. ***Ri ning yenge?*** How many are you? ***Ri nel feng he***. Do not kill me. *Usage:* ***free pronoun expressing the A argument in both transitive and intransitive construction***.

ri- *pro.* 2PL.PAT second person plural undergoer prefix. ***Riran ba taa yo***. You lie down and sleep! *Usage:* ***refers to patients that undego a change of state or condition***.

— *pro.* 2PL.INAL, second person plural inalienable possessive prefix. ***Rièng mok***. You are sleepy, lit.: your eyes are sleepy. *Usage:* ***refers to possessors of inalienably possessed nouns (mainly body parts)***.

— *pro.* 2PL.LOC second person plural undergoer prefix. ***Ama ril feni***. People want to murder you. *Usage:* ***refers to locations and human benefactives***.

— *pro.* 2PL.AL, second person plural alienable possessive prefix. ***Rifala***. Your houses. *Usage:* ***refers to possessors of alienably possessed nouns***.

ria *n.* sura, lower part of the leg. ***Heria fung***. His sural muscle.

riang *v.* raise, take care of, bring up. ***Niya nemaama nariang namuna.*** My parents raise and love me. *Prdm:* II.C.

riel [rɪ'jɛl] *vr.* clear, pure, bright.

rielri *v.* clear up, brighten. ***Ya wan rielri.*** Water cleared up. *Morph:* ***riel-r-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

rielang [rɪ'jɛlaŋ] *v.* be pretty, be beautiful. ***Mayol rielang.*** A pretty woman. *See:* ***riel.***

rifi *num.* thousand. ***Rifi ayoku.*** Two thousand.

rik *v.* hurt, be ill, be sick. ***Narik.*** I am ill. ***Nepikai narik.*** My head hurts me. *Prdm:* I.

ril *v.* get up to, reach the top, reach the edge. ***Na awering herili ya mara.*** I got up to the ladder and went up.

— *n.inal.* edge, peak, limit. ***Kupai haril mia donatet.*** He stopped at the edge of the forest.

rimal *v.* spin, turn quickly. ***Lewai darimal.*** The fizgig is spinning.

rimaldi *v.* turn round, turn about, turn over. ***Epet harimaldi se rei.*** Turn over your bow. ***Na neteh harimaldi se.*** I am stirring my tea. *Morph:* ***rimal-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

ring *v.* oust, get out. *See:* ***aring.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

ringra *v.* drive out, chase out. ***Moku loku ruwol hada ringra.*** The children are driving out the chicken. *Morph:* ***ring-r-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

ringri *v.* drive out, chase out. ***Moku loku ya o ringri kawai.*** The children are making noise and arguing over there. *Morph:* ***ring-r-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

ring-ringra *v.* expand, effuse. ***Hen mununa ring-ringra.*** It smelled strongly. *Morph:* ***ring-ring-r-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

ro- *Variant:* ***ru-.*** *pro.* 2PL.REC, second person plural undergoer prefix. ***Neratala loku rosei.*** Come down again, my grandchildren. ***Maa rufal.*** With who are you? *Usage: refers to recipients in both transitive and intransitive construction.*

roa [rɔwɑ] *Variant:* ***rowa.*** *v.* live. ***Nala neei se kul pi rowa.*** We have to eat to live.

— *n.* life. ***Neroa.*** My life.

— *v.* watch, stare at. ***Ni tifi do heroa.*** We are watching television. *Prdm:* III.A.

roadi *v.* notice, become aware of, observe. ***Na anui heroadi naha.*** I did not notice the rain. *Morph:* ***roa-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

rofi *v.* be right, be true, be righteous, be just. ***Jaksa rofi.*** A just judge. ***Edo kul rofi.*** You are right.

— *n.* truth. ***Na erofi hiéng naha.*** I do not believe you, lit.: I don't see your truth.

roi *v.* watch, stare at. ***Na eroi ba ewahai se.*** I am waiting for you, lit.: I watch to look at you. *Prdm:* III.A.

— *v.* await, hope. ***Di mit ba heroi.*** She sits waiting for him. *Prdm:* II.F.

roka *v.* be deep. ***Lu roka.*** Deep river.

rong *id.* sound of dropping metal.

ros *vr.* await, hope. ***Me ping harosa.*** We hope for his coming, we await his coming. *Prdm:* II.F.

rotang *v.* land, touch at, reach the shore. *Prdm:* II.C.

rotangdi *v.* land, reach the shore. ***Ni Likwatang buku herotangdi.*** We landed in Likwatang area. *Morph:* ***rotang-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

ruba *v.* change, replace. *From:* Malay: ruba 'change'.

rui$_1$ *n.* rodent, rat, field mouse.

rui$_2$ *v.* erect, right.

ruida *v.* get up, stand up. ***Nang naruida.*** I am getting up, waking up. ***Nefeela nel tulung ba nefalang haruida.*** My friends are helping me to get up the house (that was slanty before). *Morph:* ***rui-d-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

ruidi *v.* get up, stand up. ***Newil naruidi.*** My

child woke me up. *Mayol di dekuong waala haruidi.* The woman put up her bike. *Morph:* *rui-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

rul *v.* take off, remove, undress. *Na nenamang harul ba ko nawel.* I took off my clothes to wash myself. *Moku fila tilang haruli.* The child removed the rope, untied it. *Na kafiei harule.* I am releasing the goat (that was tied to something). *Prdm:* I.

rula *v.* be slippery. *Biel rula.* Bamboo sp., lit.: slippery, sliding bamboo. *Morph:* *rul-a.*

ruluk *n.* bamboo pipe for blowing the fire.

rumai *v.* be strong. *Fala hetaha do lakang rumai.* The posts of the house are very strong.

rumaidi *v.* strengthen, support. *Ni fala hetaha harumaidi.* We strengthened the house posts. *Morph:* *ruimai-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

rumang *n.* depth, the deepest place. *Di kel ba rumang mia loku bai tafuda marani.* He is caughing that everything deepest in him came up.

run *n.inal.* cheek. *Narun.* My cheek.

rung *v.* dip, dive. *Prdm:* II.C.

rungri *v.* dive. *Di la rungri.* He dived there. *Morph:* *rung-r-i.* *Prdm:* II.C.

ruwol *n.* chicken, bird. *Ruwol kieki.* The roosters crowed.

S - s

s *gv.* lie, lie along, be parallel, almost touch. *Usage: derives complex verbs with parallel locus and states that end in parallel position.*

saai [saːj] *v.* come down. *Na wan saai.* I came down already. *Anui nosaai.* The rain came down on me. *Prdm:* III.H.

sabun *n.* soap. *From:* Malay: sabun 'soap'.

sah *vr.* put along. *Di ui saha dong wei.* He went to the back. *Na ei saha ba ama bol.* I support you to beat up that person.

sai [saj] *v.* put along. *Di teng yaar re sai.* He goes whereever, he goes along any place.

— *n.* fan.

saila *v.* fan. *Na ara hesaila.* I am fanning the fire. *Morph:* *sai-l-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

saili *v.* fan. *Nel dohung hare nosaili.* I am sweating, so I fan myself. *Morph:* *sai-l-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

sai-sai *adv.* in vain, for nothing. *Na sai-sai pet ong naha.* I do not make the bow for nothing. *See:* *sai*.

sak *v.* pass, move along, get by, go by. *Pi hetapei sak.* We make an appointment, lit.: we pass near by each other. *Prdm:* I.

sakdi *v.* become loose, unfix, break, crack up. *Tayoka di anei loku hetararakdi sakdi.* The earthquake shaked the soil and cracked it up. *Morph:* *sak-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

sakni *v.* relax, release. *Pi ping tosakni.* We have released each other, we have given each other space. *Morph:* *sak-n-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

sakola [sakɔ'la] *n.* school. *Moku fila sakola hesei.* Small children come down for school. *From:* Malay: sekolah 'school'.

— *v.* teach. *Di nada sakola.* She is teaching me.

salimang *v.* dangerous, threatening.

salimangdi *v.* become dangerous, endanger, threaten. *A nisalimangi do!* You are bringing us in danger. *Morph:* *salimang-d-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

sama *v.* be with, together. *Afe dara Belanda hada sama.* Before, still during the Dutch

time. lit.: still together with Holland. *From:* Malay: sama 'similar, with'.

— *v.* be same, similar. *Pi sama tanga.* We are saying the same. We agree.

sameng *Variant:* ***samen***; ***semen***. *n.* cement. *Malatai ya sameng nu tohafal.* Mix some cement and sand. *From:* Malay: semen 'cement'.

sampai *conj.* till. *From:* Indonesian: sampai 'till'.

san *adj.* clean, ripe, holy. *Melang san.* Heaven, lit.: holy village.

sanri *v.* ripen. *Baleei wó wan sanri.* Bananas above there are already ripe. *Morph:* ***san-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

sapada *n.* machete. *Di sapada wok.* He hew with his machete. *From:* Portuguese: espada 'sword'.

sapatu *n.* shoe. *Sapatu loku.* Shoes. *From:* Malay: sapatu 'shoe'.

sapi *n.* cow, ox. *From:* Malay: sapi 'cow'.

sasan *v.* be alongside, discuss. *Prdm:* II.C.

sasanri *v.* align, parallel, alongside. *Fe loku tosasanri ba sei.* The pigs come down alongside. *Morph:* ***sasan-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

sasang *v.* be alongside, discuss. *Di ming tei sasang palelal.* They discuss and argue about it. *Prdm:* II.C.

sawai *adv.* in vain, to no end. *Di sawai delui tahai.* He searched his knife in vain.

se *asp.* INCP.I, inceptive inchoative aspect marker. *A marei se.* Go up finally. *Usage: indicates the point just before the start of an event.*

sei *v.* come down. *Moku loku sakola hesei.* The children come down for school. *Prdm:* III.H.

selaka *n.* roof sheet from corrugated iron. *From:* Malay: seng 'roof sheet from corrugated iron'.

seng *n.* money. *Seng nopa naha.* I have no money. *From:* Dutch: cent 'cent'.

senter *n.* torch, hand torch. *From:* Malay: senter 'torch, flashlight'.

sepeda *Variant:* ***sapeda***. *n.* bicycle, bike. *Di sepeda taha ba yaari.* He went by bike. *From:* Malay: sepeda 'bicycle'.

serang *n.* people.

setang *n.* devil, Satan, evil spirit. *Setang hanoting.* Bad spirit. Evil spirit. *From:* Malay: setan 'devil, evil spirit'.

si$_1$ *v.* scoop water. *Na ya si ba buuti.* I scooped up water and drank.

si$_2$ *asp.* PHSL.I, phasal inceptive aspect marker. *Ding wahai si.* He has just started looking. *Usage: indicates the moment just after the starting point of an event.*

sibirel *n.* worm.

siei [sɪjɛj] *v.* come down. *Yal wala di siei.* Only now he is coming down. *Yal wala di siei.* Only now he is coming down. *Prdm:* III.H.

sieng *Variant:* ***siang***. *n.* rice. *Ni sieng nee.* We eat rice. *Niya sieng mal.* Our mother is cooking rice.

sik *v.* sever, separate, pluck. *Na yaa ayak sike.* I go to harvest rice. *Tuntama hesiki te di dawai.* He came back after the night ended. *Moku do sakola tama hasiki.* This kid interrupted its school (attendance).

sila *adv.* plenty. *Kuya sila nahang.* There are many birds everywhere.

sina *n.* chinese, chinese minority on Alor. *Sina loku.* Chinese people (inhabitants of Kalabahi harbour). *From:* Malay: Cina 'Chinese'.

sirikna *Variant:* ***surukna***. *v.* rub away, shift. *Na bataa ata hesirikna.* I rub away, pull of the leaves from the tree. *Prdm:* III.A.

sirikni *v.* rub away. *Prdm:* III.A.

siwang *n.* bunch, cluster.

siyea [sɪ'jɛɑ] *n.* bamboo trap, to step on and hurt the legs/feet.

sobak *Variant:* ***suak***. *id.* sound of slipping.

sobakdi *id.* slip out. ***Awering yo sobakdi yo.*** The ladder slipped out actually. *Morph:* ***sobak-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

sok *v.* slip over, miss, pass along the target. ***La soku kang.*** It missed there.

sol *n.* paddle.
— *v.* paddle.

song$_1$ *n.* jackfruit.

sopi *n.* brandy, strong alcoholic beverage made from lontar. *From:* Alorese Malay: sopi 'alcoholic beverage' possibly from Dutch: zoopie 'brandy'.

sora *n.* sword. ***Na nesora hetidei.*** I sharpen my sword.

sosong *v.* put alongside. *Prdm:* II.C.

sosonri *v.* align. ***Dotafuda tososonri ba marei.*** Everybody alligned with another and went up. *Morph:* ***soson-r-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

stel *v.* set up, adjust. *From:* Malay: stel 'adjust', from Dutch: stellen or instellen 'adjust'.

sua *Variant:* ***sui***. *num.* three. ***Ni ning sua sura halakda.*** Three of us are reading a book. ***War hesua.*** Wednesday, lit.: the third day.

suida *v.* do three times. ***Ruwol wan kiek ming suida.*** Roosters crow for the third time. *Morph:* ***sui-d-a***. *Prdm:* III.A.

suidi *v.* do three times. ***Ruwol wan kiek ming suidi.*** Roosters crowed three times. *Morph:* ***sui-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

suonra [sʊ'wɔnrɑ, sɪ'jɔnrɑ] *Variant:* ***sionra***. *v.* shift along, slide along. *Prdm:* III.A.

suonri [sʊ'wɔnrɪ, sɪ'jɔnrɪ] *Variant:* ***sionri***. *v.* shift along, slide along. ***Hasionri mara.*** Push it up. *Prdm:* III.A.

sur *v.* shift, move along, shove. ***Kabei hasur maran te!*** Shift it up a bit. *Prdm:* II.D.
— *n.* bowstring.

suiraidi *v.* push down, push away. ***Di detakel lang hasuraidi.*** He pushed his rival away. *Morph:* ***sur-a-i-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

sura *n.* book, notebook, paper. ***Na sura halakda.*** I am reading a book. *From:* Malay: surat 'letter, document'.

surga *n.* heaven. *From:* Malay: surga 'heaven'.

suwai *n.* whale.

T - t

t *gv.* lie, lay, sit, be on, touch surface. *Usage:* ***derives complex verbs indicating horizontal locus and state in which participants are in horizontal position.***

ta *v.* be.PRX.AD, proximal addressee based deictic verb. ***Anui ta sei?*** Is it raining where you are?

ta- *Variant:* ***t-***. *pro.* DISTR.PAT, distributive undergoer prefix. ***Nefeela ayoku taluk.*** My two friends are fighting each other. ***Di oro moku ayoku tayoke.*** He is lifting up each of the two children. *Usage:* ***in intransitive reciprocal reading, in transitive construction distributive reading.***
— *pro.* DISTR.INAL, distributive inalienable possessive prefix. ***Tawei.*** Ears of each of us, our ears. ***Pi tatáng tatohu ba kariang.*** We work together, lit.: we put each our hands on together and work. *Usage:* ***in intransitive reciprocal reading, in transitive construction distributive reading.***

taa [tɑː] *v.* lie, sleep. ***Edo taa, nedo naruida.*** You sleep, I get up. ***Mon taa.*** There is a snake, lit.: snake lies. ***Fat faki taa.*** There is

broken corn.: broken corn lies. *Usage:* ***refers to horizontal position of humans, and often to sleeping and classifier verb for animals and objects with flat bottom that can 'lie'.*** *Prdm:* III.C.

tabaai [tɑˈbɑːj] *n.* imprint, hole, crater, hole in object created by freqent striking, craters in terrain made by water. *Morph:* ***ta-baai.***

tabel *v.* slump, collapse, tumble. ***Di bung tabel.*** He tumbles into a ravine. *See:* ***bel.*** *Prdm:* II.D.

taber *v.* slump, collapse, tumble. ***Di taber ba yaa yo anai hayei.*** He tumbled over and fell on the ground. *Prdm:* II.D.

tabo *n.* fog, cloud.

tabok *v.* send, deliver, transfer. ***Ko na neimil ong mi etaboke.*** I will send you my e-mail soon. *See:* ***bok*** 'inform'. *Prdm:* II.A.

tabot *v.* send, deliver, transfer. ***Maria di sura mi netaboti.*** Maria sent me a letter. *See:* ***bok*** 'inform'. *Prdm:* II.A.

tabuong [tɑbʊɔŋ, tɑbwʊɔŋ] *n.* dust. ***Tabuong lai.*** The dust is blown (by the wind).

tada *n.* bean. ***Tada fal.*** Rinse the beans.

tadei *v.* lie, sleep. ***Na tadei nayongfi.*** I sleep deeply, lit.: I lie unaware. *Prdm:* III.C.

tadeng *n.* day. ***Hetadeng wan lali.*** His days already passed.

tadi *v.* slice, cut. ***Na mahiting tadia.*** I am slicing meat. *Prdm:* III.A.

tadielang *n.* stipel, little leaf covering the new leaves, branches or blossoms, bamboo stipels are sharp and are used as weapons. ***Di tadielang ìa.*** They are putting down stipels (to wound the legs of enemy).

tading *n.* splinter, shred, piece of sharp bamboo used for cutting and skinning of animals.

tafaa *n.* drum, bronze drum referred to as 'moko' in Malay. ***Na tafaa foka mi saai.*** I brought a big drum.

tafan *v.* harm, do wrong. *Prdm:* II.C.

tafandi *v.* be killed, be harmed, be done wrong. ***Ama do bataa mia hayei tafandi.*** This man fell from tree and died. *Morph:* ***tafan-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

tafang *v.* harm, do wrong. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *n.* ghost of a murdered person. ***Tafang di ama feni.*** The ghosts murdered someone. *[Note: in Abui traditional stories, the ghosts of dead people occupy the earth every night and try to murder people. they also affect the villages in the sky and cause the stars to escape]*

tafayak [tɑfɑˈjɑk] *v.* tell lies, deceive, chat. ***Di tafayak dokol-koli.*** He lies and cheats.

— *v.* liar. ***Edo tafayak.*** You are a liar.

tafei *n.* Achilles' tendon. ***Ama hetafei teak.*** People cut his tendon.

tafel *n.* shark. *See:* ***fel.***

tafiela [tɑfɪˈjɛlɑ] *n.* wrong-doing, maltreatment, sin. ***Nibeka nitafiela a heom pan he.*** Forgive us our bad deeds and wrong-doing.

tafuda *v.* be all, be altogether. ***Dotafuda tifi do heroa.*** Everybody is watching television. *Prdm:* III.A.

tafui *n.* crab. ***Na tafui do koku.*** I prodded the crabs.

tafuyang *n.* broom, made from palm tree leaves.

tah *v.* put on, put on the top. ***Di pelang taha ba yaa.*** He goes by canoe, lit.: he is on the top of a canoe and leaves. ***Ama nel tahi.*** They healed me, lit.: people put (medicine) on me. *Prdm:* II.F.

taha *n.* house post, four or six columns supporting a traditional house. *See:* ***tah.***

tahaai [tɑˈhɑːj] *v.* search, find. *Prdm:* III.D.

tahai [tɑˈhɑj] *v.* search, look for, exercise. ***A nala tahai?*** What are you looking for? ***Na yai paneng hetahai?*** I am exercising singing? *Prdm:* III.D.

tahang *v.* ask. ***Ring natahang.*** You ask me.

Prdm: II.D.

tahangdi *v.* question, ask questions. *Di mit ba ding tatahangdi.* They were sitting and questioning each other. *Morph:* *tahang-d-i.*

tai *v.* put on, sit on the top, set, travel by (means of transport), support. *Ama hel tai.* They cure him, lit.: they put on him. *A nala tai mit ba miei?* By what means did you arrive? *Risti ya Simon di ming tel tai.* Risti and Simon support each other, help each other.

tak *v.* bring down, shoot, stop. *Na kuya hatak.* I shoot birds. *Nefeela netak.* My friend stopped me. *Usage:* ***no internal limit.*** *Prdm:* II.B.

takda *v.* plant, empty out. *Na fat takda.* I plant corn. *Edo epakai takda.* Empty your own basket. *Morph:* *tak-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

taka *v.* be dry, be empty. *Hawa taka.* His mouth is empty (name of a drum). *Karong taka kang.* The bag is empty. *Prdm:* I.

— *adv.* only. *Di mahiting taka nee.* He eats only meat.

takadi *v.* empty, empty out. *Heya do takadi.* His water (container) became empty. *Morph:* *taka-d-i.*

takaf *vr.* steal. *Prdm:* II.F.

takai$_1$ *v.* steal. *Pi ama hemea takai.* We steal someone's mango. *Prdm:* II.F.

takai$_2$ *v.* bite, chew. *Pi fu takai.* We chewed up betelnut. *Prdm:* III.G.

takak *v.* dry out, let dry. *Anui sei hare, nenamang takak naha.* It rains, so my clothes do not dry. *Prdm:* II.A.

takang *n.* waist. *Netakang.* My waist.

takat *v.* dry out. *Nekonrek dara takat naha.* My shirt is not dried out yet. *Prdm:* II.A.

takata *v.* be dry, be dried out, thin, skinny. *Afu takata.* Dry fish.

takata *n.* dry land, shore. *Na takatang marei.* I go up on the shore.

takei *v.* bite, chew. *Kumal nel takei.* Mosquito's are biting me. *Prdm:* III.G.

takel *n.* enemy, rival. *Hetakel o di hebaai.* His enemy was angry about it.

taki *v.* escape, flee, loosen. *Na takia.* I will escape. *Di ya hetakia bang mi sei.* He loosened the water (container) took (it) and went came down. *See:* *tiki.*

takoi *n.* bean. *Anai takoi.* Peanut, lit.: soil bean.

takukul *v.* wrinkled. *Narun takukul.* My cheeks are wrinkly.

tala *Variant:* *watala.* *n.* leaves.

talaama *num.* six. *Fe upi talama.* Six pigs.

taloi *n.* war. *See:* *loi.*

talok *v.* lean on. *Prdm:* II.B.

talop *vr.* lean on, lean at. *Bataa talopi.* A tree is leaning over. *Prdm:* II.B.

tama$_1$ *n.* sea, ocean. *Afu loku tama mia.* There is fish in the sea.

tama$_2$ *n.* middle. *Di loma tama mia.* He is in the middle of a hill.

tamada *v.* be fat, become a middle. *Prdm:* III.A.

tamadadi *v.* fatten, grow fat. *Di dara tamadadi naha.* He did not grow fat yes.

tamadi *Variant:* *tama-d-i.* *v.* centre, mix, repair, save. *Mayol teh hatamadi ba buuk.* The woman stirred the tea and drank it. *Neng do di defala hatamadia.* The man is repairing his house (broken houses lean aside and has to be pulled to the middle again). *Prdm:* III.A.

tamai *v.* repeat, redo. *Kaai detamai mara-mara.* The dog keeps coming up.

tamal *n.* tamarind. *Pi tama ahi ya hekui heboku.* We sorted tamarind and peeled it. *From:* possibly Dutch: tamarinde 'tamarind' or Portuguese: tamarindo 'tamarid'.

tamang *n.* offspring, children. *See:* *mang.*

tanekil *v.* nappy. *Fu tanekil.* Strong, nappy betel

nut.

tanekildi *v.* intoxicate, become intoxicated. *Na fu tanekildi.* I became intoxicated by betelnut. *Morph:* *tanekil-d-i.*

tanel *v.* weep. *Moku do di enra tanel.* The child is crying.

tanga *v.* speak, talk. *A te wir tanga?* How did you say it? *Prdm:* III.A.

— *n.* speech. *Na Abui tanga hetahai.* I am learning Abui language, lit.: I am looking for Abui language.

tanggal *n.* date. *From:* Indonesian: tanggal 'date'.

tangi *v.* speak, talk. *A tangi te.* Speak, say it first. *Prdm:* III.A.

tantama *n.* middle. *Na tantamang miti.* I sat down in the middle. *Pet hetantama.* The middle of the bow.

tap *vr.* bring down, shoot, stop. *Na kuya do hatapi.* I shot the bird, lit.: I brought down the bird. *Netapi.* I was stopped, prevented (of doing something). *Prdm:* II.B.

tapak *v.* press, pack down, compact, press on. *Prdm:* II.A.

tapak-tapakna *v.* be compact, be packed down, be thick. *Morph:* *tapak-tapak-n-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

tapak-tapakni *v.* be compact, be packed down, be thick. *Fala waai la do tapak-tapakni.* The roof of the house is compacted (with new thatches) *Morph:* *tapak-tapak-n-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

tapat *v.* press, pack down, compact, press on. *Keng tapat.* A thick sarong, compact cloth. *Bataa kul do lakang tapat.* The tree bark is very compact. *Prdm:* II.A.

tapei *v.* pound, put down at, hit down at, ram in. *Ni sieng tapei.* We are pounding rice. *Di hatáng do la tapei.* She hit down at his arm. *Di kawen mi ba bataa ming tapei.* He rammed a machete in to a tree. *Prdm:* I.

tapi *conj.* but. *From:* Malay: tapi 'but'.

taratak *n.* chatterer, somebody who talks a lot.

tawal *n.* frypan.

tawerang *v.* lean at, bend at. *Fala tawerang.* The house is leaning to the side. *Prdm:* II.C.

tawerangdi *v.* leaned at, bent at. *Bataa nu hawata nu tawerangdi.* The top of the tree is leaned away, lit.: the neck of the tree is bent away. *Morph:* *tawerang-d-i.* *Prdm:* II.C.

tawol *n.* current, stream, flow.

tayoka *n.* earthquake. *Tayoka foka.* Big earthquake.

tàn [tàn] *v.* release, release on, let drop on. *Di hepet oni, mi ba hatàni.* She made their bow, and gave it to them. *Nang tàni.* I finished crying, lit.: I completed releasing (my self). *Prdm:* II.C.

tàng [tàŋ] *v.* release, release on, let drop on. *Ni afu tahai, kaai hatàng.* We fish and hunt, lit.: we search fish and release dogs. *Prdm:* II.C.

táng [táŋ] *n.inal.* hand, sometimes also arm. *Natáng.* My hand. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

te$_1$ *pro.* where. *A te mia yaari?* Where are you coming from? *Efala te mia?* Where is your house?

te$_2$ *asp.* INCP.C, inceptive completive aspect marker. *A yaar te!* Go away finally!

te- *pro.* DISTR.LOC, distributive undergoer prefix. *Pi tebuoka.* We are far from each other, we are distant from each other. *Usage:* ***in intransitive reciprocal reading, in transitive construction distributive reading.***

— *pro.* DISTR.AL, distributive alienable possessive prefix. *Tefeela.* Each other's friends, friends of each of us.

tebak *n.inal.* stomach. *Natebak.* My stomach. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive***

prefix.

teh$_1$ *vr.* pour on, outpour, empty out. *Di ya mi ba kalasi hatehi.* She poured the glass with water.

teh$_2$ *n.* tea. *Na teh buuk.* I am drinking tea. *From:* Indonesian: teh 'tea'.

tei *v.* put on, dig, pour on. *Na pun hatei.* He diggs over the field. *Uti yo ni tei yeting-ayokdi.* We have digged over seven fields. *Di we ul tei.* He went away to dig a hole.
— *n.* field. *Fat tei nuku.* One corn field.

teila *Variant:* *tila.* *n.* rope. *Na teila mi ba iti hakori.* I bound it with a rope. *From:* Malay: tali 'rope'.

teina ['tɛjnɑ] *pro.* when. *Teina a me?* When are you coming?
teina-teina *adv.* sometimes.

teipa ['tɛjpɑ] *n.* bone. *Heui teipa.* His spine, backbone.

teitu *num.* first. *Usage: combines with alienable prefix when ordinal numeral.*
— *adv.* first.

tek$_1$ *v.* watch, dry in the sun. *Ni tifi horoa hoteke.* We are watching television. *Na afu mi war teke.* I dry fish in the sun, lit.: I take the fish to watch the sun. *Prdm:* I.

tek$_2$ *v.* bring down, slide, move down, tumble. *Pi luuk hatek.* We stop the dance, lit.: we bring down the dance. *Na yaa neut tek.* I go to clear the garden, lit.: I go to slide my garden (by means of rolling down the bushes that have been cut down to prepare for burning). *Usage: internal starting point. Prdm:* II.A.

tekok *n.* house lizard, small type of lizard.

tel *n.* bundle, bunch. *Ara tel nuku.* One bunch of firewood.

telang *v.* pull at, tug at. *Di hel telang hawai me.* She pulled him back towards her self. *Prdm:* II.C.

teng *n.* tent. *From:* Dutch: tent 'tent'.

tenga *n.* plate.

tep *n.* tape recored, tape. *Di tep hefaalingdi.* He listened to the tape recorder. *From:* Malay: tep 'tape (recorder)'.

ter-ter *id.* sound of urinating.

tet *v.* bring down, slide, move down, tumble. *Ama wan luuk heteti.* People already interrupted dancing. *Ama kang nuku kota hoteti.* A stone wall slid down on one man. *Prdm:* II.A.

ti *asp.* PHSL.I, phasal completive aspect marker. *Na pieila ti.* I have just finished dreaming. *Usage: indicates the moment just after the final point of an event.*

tibil *n.* rattan. *Ama tibil hawok.* People are hitting with rattan .

tibuk *v.* stab. *Na kafak mi mara tibuk.* I stabbed with the spear upwards.

tidei *v.* whet, sharpen. *Na sora nuku hetidei.* I sharpen one sword. *See:* *tideng.*

tideng *n.* whetstone, stone for sharpening tools. *Tideng kika.* Red whetstone, vulcanic stone for sharpening tools. *See:* *tidei.*

tieng [tɪ'jɛŋ] *n.* needle.

tifa *v.* be new.

tifi *Variant:* *tv.* *n.* tv, television. *Di pa tifi do horoa.* We went down to watch the television. *From:* Malay: tifi 'television'.

tifol *n.* bamboo sp., thin bamboo used for making arrows.

tihai *v.* heavy. *Narik tihai.* I am seriously ill.

tik$_1$ *n.* breast. *Hetik.* Her breasts *Moku fila tik buuk.* The small children are breast fed.

tik$_2$ *v.* stretch. *Anui saai lang hatik.* It was raining for a long time. *Prdm:* II.A.

tiki *v.* escape. *Moku do del tiki ba muila.* The child escaped (from the house) to play. *Fe yo dotiki.* That pig actually escaped. *Morph:* *tik-i.* *See:* *taki.*

tika *n.* smoke. *Ara tika.* Smoke from fire. *See:* ***tik***.

tikonrek *Variant:* ***tukonrek***. *n.* stick, stick for walking, staff. *Na netikonrek hopuna.* I am holding my staff. *Morph:* ***tukon-rek***.

tila *n.* rope. *Neng do tila hakupildi.* The man rolled up the rope.

tilak *v.* hang up. *Baleei tilaka.* Bananas are hanging. *Usage:* ***as classifier verb with some body parts and fruits***.

tileesing [tɪ'lɛːsɪŋ] *v.* be wide, stretched out. *Wi tileesing.* A wide, flat stone. *See:* ***tilek***.

tilei *v.* hang, hang out, continue. *Na buot mi bataa awe hetilei.* I hang the basket on the end of a beam. *Di kariang hetilei.* He continues working. *Prdm:* III.E.

— *n.* comb. *Na tilei mi ba bikeng hatul.* I took a comb to comb out the lice.

tilek *v.* stretch out. *Prdm:* II.F.

tili *v.* hang. *Tila nu oro tilia.* Some rope is hanging over there. *Prdm:* III.E.

tilipang *n.* tip, far end.

timoi [tɪ'mɔj] *n.* wind. *Timoi foka.* Big wind.

tinei *v.* plait. *Na adik tinei.* I plait mats.

tinra *v.* roll. *Di bal hatinra yaa.* He rolls the ball. *Prdm:* III.A.

tinri *v.* roll. *Prdm:* III.A.

tiol [tɪ'jɔl, tʊ'wɔl] *Variant:* ***tuwol***. *v.* plait, strengthen by plaiting an extra layer from strong bamboo fibre over the existing structure.

— *n.* bamboo sp.

tiongwat *n.* pineapple.

tipai *n.* iron. *Tipai pet.* Gun, lit.: iron bow. *Tipai falepak.* Air gun.

tira *n.* lineage. *Netira.* My lineage, my ancestry.

— *n.* lesson, message.

tirei *v.* look through, search through, inspect. *Di pakai tirei.* He looked through the back basket.

tit *v.* stretch, extend. *Di làk lang hatiti.* He kept going. *Prdm:* II.A.

to$_1$ *pro.* PRX.AD (this here near you), proximal addressee based demonstrative pronoun. *Fala to faki.* The house (that you just talked about) is broken. *Efat pakai hakil to.* Turn upside down your corn basket your self (that you just asked me to do for you)! *Usage:* ***in both nominal and clausal domain***.

to$_2$ *n.inal.* genitals. *Hato.* His genitals.

to- *pro.* DISTR.REC, distributive undergoer prefix. *Na ama hefe tohaloi.* I chase away the pigs that belong to other people. *Usage:* ***in intransitive reciprocal reading, in transitive construction distributive reading***.

tofa *n.* shelter, small house in the field. *Hetofa buoka.* His shelter is far away.

toi *v.* collect, equip. *Prdm:* II.F.

toida *v.* collect, equiped. *Tarik fala henala loku dara toida naha.* The hospital equipment is not yet complete. *Morph:* ***toi-d-a***. *Prdm:* III.A.

tok *v.* drop, tumble, bring down, demolish, pour. *Na fala hatok.* I break down the house. *Ya mi ba hotok.* Pour him with water. *Na ya mi ba ara hetok.* I poured the fire with water. *Kapal hetatok.* The boats disembark. *Usage:* ***dropping that occured once***. *Prdm:* II.B.

toka *v.* be dropped, be spilled. *Waik oro toka.* Some litter is dropped over there. *Morph:* ***tok-a***.

tokai *n.* coconut shell. *Tokai nu mi ara heĩ te.* Put some coconut shells on the fire.

toku *n.* leg. *Netoku faki.* My leg is broken. *Usage:* ***mostly combined with alienable possessive prefix***.

tol *v.* reach, reach on, reach to, stick out. *Moku fila depikai hatol ba wahai.* A little child stuck out its head to look. *Prdm:* II.C.

tol-tol *v.* hurry, rush. *Kalieta neng nuku di tol-tol ba me.* An old man is rushing to here.

tola *v.* be adult, reach the adult age. *Di wan yaa neng tola hapekda.* He is gradually becoming an adult man. *Morph:* *tol-a.*

tong *n.* barrel. *From:* Indonesian: tong 'barrel'.

took *n.inal.* intestine. *Natook.* My intestines. *Natook narik.* I feel sick, lit.: my intestines hurt me. *Natook marai.* I am hungry, lit.: my intestines are hungry.

top *vr.* drop, tumble, bring down, demolish, pour. *Rifi nuku hetopi.* More than a thousand. *Na newil hatopi haweli.* I washed my child properly, lit.: I droped my chiled in water and washed it. *Usage:* *dropping that occured once.* *Prdm:* II.B.

topa *vr.* blunt, unsharp. *Kawen topa.* A blunt machete. *Usage:* *dropping that occured once.* *Morph:* *top-a.*

tor *v.* reach, cut on. *Maa hel tori?* Who cut him? *Wata nu hetor te!* Cut that coconut. *Na natáng hatori.* I reached out my hand. *Prdm:* II.D.

totilaka *n.* family, relatives, clan. *Netotilaka.* My relative. *See:* *tilak.*

towa *v.* be alike, be the same. *Nekaara dara towa naha.* My cards are not yet the same, even. *Morph:* *to-wa.*

towang *n.* drumstick.
— *v.* drum, beat a drum. *Prdm:* II.C.

tromel *n.* box, tin container. *From:* Malay: tromel 'box', from Dutch: trommel 'tin box'.

tudok *v.* sink. *War tudoku.* Sun sank, went down. *Prdm:* I.

tudolai *n.* sprout. *Ameng tudolai.* Sprout of the course grass. *See:* *ameng.*

Tuhan *n.* Lord, God. *From:* Indonesian: Tuhan 'Lord'.

tuk$_1$ *n.* mortar, tube for pounding betelnut. *Fu tuk.* Betelnut mortar.

tuk$_2$ *v.* stick out, protrude, measure. *Na sieng momang tuk.* I measure clean rice. *Pi anai tuk.* We measure the land (with a stick). *Di namang mi hotuk.* He measured the clothes on him. *A dara natuk naha.* You do not know me yet. *Mayol do demoku fila hatuk.* The woman gives breastfeeding to her child. *Prdm:* II.B.

tukda *v.* stick out, measure. *Morph:* *tuk-d-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

tukda *n.* length, measurement. *Fala hetukda nu daak ayoku.* The length of the house is two fathoms. *Morph:* *tuk-d-a.*

tukai *v.* support, support by sticks, logs. *Di hefala tukai.* He supports his house (with logs). *See:* *tuk* 'stick'. *Prdm:* III.D.

tukaidi *v.* support, be supported, grant. *Di nemarei tukaidi.* He supported me when I was hungry. *Morph:* *tukai-d-i.* *See:* *tuk* 'stick'. *Prdm:* III.A.

tukda ili *n.* mouse, house mouse.

tukoi *v.* be strong, be powerful. *Nedo tukoi.* I am strong.

tukoi-tukoi *v.* strongly, powerfully. *A tukoi-tukoi halakda.* Read out loudly.

tukol *v.* stick in, poke in. *See:* *tuk* 'stick out'. *Prdm:* II.D.

tukola *n.* hole, perforation. *Mon do tukola mia.* The snake is in the hole. *Morph:* *tukol-a.*

tukolra *v.* perforate, stick through. *Na mai ong tukolra.* I am making a hole in (a piece of) bamboo. *Morph:* *tukol-r-a.* *Prdm:* III.A.

tukolri *v.* perforate, stick through. *Di karong do hiek ong tukolri.* He made a hole in the bottom of a bag. *Morph:* *tukol-r-i.* *Prdm:* III.A.

tukoladi *v.* leak, have a hole, be perforated. *Ya*

aloi do tukoladi. This bamboo water tube leaks. *Morph:* *tukol-a-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

tukon *v.* cut, cut on, hew, hack at. *Pi baleei tukoni.* We have cut down the banana. *Prdm:* II.C.

tukong *v.* cut, cut on, hew, hack at. *Na bataa tukong.* I cut some wood, I am wood cutting. *Prdm:* II.C.

tuku *n.* piece, bit, chunk. *Bataa tuku nuku.* One piece of wood. *Usage:* *often as classificatory noun following other nouns*.

tul *v.* take out, spoon out, eat with spoon. *Na tilei mi ba hebikeng hetul.* I comb out his lice. *Na hièng tama tul.* I spoon out from the middle. *Prdm:* II.D.

tuli *n.* tree sp., the leaves are used for rubbing wounds.

tulisa *Variant:* *tulusa*. *v.* write. *Na sura tulisa.* I am writing a letter, a book. *See:* *tulisi*. *From:* Malay: tulis 'write'.

tulisi *Variant:* *tulusi*. *v.* write.CPL. *Na Abui yai buti tulisi do.* I wrote four Abui songs. *See:* *tulisa*.

tulok *n.* stab, stab in, prick. *Me, nel tulok re.* Come, try to prick me. *Me, nel tulok re.* Come, try to prick me. *Afu kiding wan tuloku.* The little fish is stabbed (on a spear or piece of bamboo). *Prdm:* I.

tulun *v.* blaze, burn with flames. *Prdm:* II.C.

tulunri *v.* blaze, burn with flames. *Ara tang tulunri?* Does the fire burn here (where you are)? *Morph:* *tulun-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

tulung$_1$ *v.* blaze, burn with flames. *Ara tulung.* Fire is blazing. *Prdm:* II.C.

tulung$_2$ *v.* help, assist. *Ri nil tulung.* You help us. *From:* Malay: tolong 'help'.

tumal *v.* spy, lurk, lie in ambush, watch closely. *Di eti do hatumal.* He guards his shrimps. *Na Fani hotumal.* I secretely spied on Fani, I secretely watched, listened.

tun *v.* slip, go past, slip by, pass, elapse. *Prdm:* II.C.

tunra *v.* flow out, run out. *Morph:* *tun-r-a*.

tunri *v.* flow out, run out. *Ya do hatunri.* The water container run empty, leaked. *Morph:* *tun-r-i*.

tung *v.* slip, go past, slip by, pass, elapse. *Prdm:* II.C.

— *n.* year. *Tung kanakda di me.* He comes each year. *Etung yeng?* How old are you, lit.: how many are your years? *From:* possibly Malay: tahun 'year'.

tung-tung *n.* ancestors. *Etung-tung loku di fotong kalol.* Your ancestors were telling fortune.

tuntama *n.* night. *Tuntama na afu tahai.* I went fishing in the night. *See:* *tun*.

tun-tuntama *n.* midnight. *Morph:* *tun-tuntama*.

tuntamadi *v.* nightfall, get dark. *Morph:* *tuntama-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

tunui *n.* locust. *Moku detunui tahai.* The child is looking for locusts.

tuok [tʊ'wɔk, tɪ'jɔk] *Variant:* *tiok*. *v.* bring up, throw up.

tuokda *v.* bring up, throw up, shoot up. *Moku loku debal hatuokda.* The children are kicking the ball. *Na natuokda.* I am jumping up. *Morph:* *tuok-d-a*.

tuokdi *v.* bring up, throw up, shoot up. *Na baleei hekui hatuokdi.* I threw away the banana skin. *A atuokdi.* You jumped up. *Morph:* *tuok-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

tuong [tɪjɔŋ, tʊwɔŋ] *Variant:* *tiong*. *n.* teacher, catechist, deacon. *Tuong di noleki na nala halakda.* The teacher pointed at me so that I read something. *From:* Malay: tuan 'sir, master'.

tup *v.* stick out, protrude, measure. *Pelang loku do tamang tatupi.* The canoes

appeared on the horizon, lit.: stuck out on the sea. *Prdm:* II.B.

tur *v.* take out, spoon out, eat with spoon. *Na nala ma tur ba nee.* I spoon out and eat the dish. *Prdm:* II.D.
— *n.* spoon. *Na sei netur mi se.* I will pick up my spoon. *Detur faking hatol.* Somebody curious about other people's matters, lit.: he reaches his broken spoon.

tura-tara *adv.* long ago. *Afe tura-tara kawen dara hadu naha.* Long time ago people didn't have machete's yes.

tut *n.* shore, coast. *Na tut haliol we.* I left along the coast. *Tut kil.* Empty coast, cliffs. *See:* ***tuk***.

U - u

u *Variant:* ***w***. *gv.* leave, be remote, demote, get away, be gone. *Usage:* ***source for the medial index verbs***.

-u *asp.* PRF, perfect aspectual marker. *See:* ***u*** 'leave'.

ui [ʔʊj] *n.* back. *Neui.* My back. *Fala ui hiènɡ mia.* Be behind the house, lit.: Be (where you) see the back of the house. *Di ui saha dong yaari.* He went backwards.

uk$_1$ *vr.* withdraw. *See:* ***ut***. *Prdm:* II.A.

ukda *v.* be withdrawn, be shocked, surprised, sad. *Nomi heukda.* I am shocked, surprised about it. *Morph:* ***uk-d-a***. *Prdm:* III.A.

ukdi *v.* be withdrawn, be shocked, surprised, sad. *Nomi ukdi.* I am sad, it has withdrawn in me. *Morph:* ***uk-d-i***. *Prdm:* III.A.

uk$_2$ *v.* collect, assemble. *See:* ***up***. *Prdm:* II.B.

ukulei *n.* turtledove.

ul [ʔʊl] *Variant:* ***uli***. *n.* hole, grave. *Di kaai ba moni mi ba ul ì.* He took the dog that died and put it in a hole.

ulang *v.* repeat. *Ei ma neharai ulangdi te.* You have to try to repeat it for me. *From:* Malay: ulang 'repeat'.

umak *n.* surf, big waves. *Pelang foka yo umak di o bol.* The surf is hitting the big canoe there.

uol [ʊɔl] *v.* strike, throw. *Di depaking huole.* He plays his guitar. *Di nuol mai di nel hayei naha.* He threw at me and did not hit me. *Prdm:* II.A.

uor [ʊɔr] *vr.* strike, throw. *Nala huor yenra?* What time is it?. *A re nuori.* Try to hit me (by throwing).

up *vr.* collect, assamble, complete. *See:* ***uk***. *Prdm:* II.B.

upi *vr.* be entire, complete, integrated. *Morph:* ***up-i***.

upi *n.* fruit. *Mea upi sua.* Three mangos. *Usage:* ***as classifier noun indicating the shape***.

ura [ʊrɑ] *n.* sister/brother (oposite gender than possessor). *Neura.* My brother/sister, lit.: my sibling of the same gender. *Usage:* ***usually combines with alienable possessive prefix***.

ut [ʔʊt] *Variant:* ***uti***. *n.* garden. *Sieng loku uti mia.* The rice crop is in garden.
— *v.* withdraw. *Prdm:* II.A.

W - w

wa$_1$ *n.* foliage. *Wa ata.* Leaves.

wa$_2$ *n.inal.* mouth. *Nawa.* My mouth *Fe yo*

hawa beka. That pig bites, lit.: that pig, its mouth is bad.

wang *v.* greet. *A notawang re naha?* Do you greet me or not *Morph:* *wa-ng*.

wa$_3$ *v.* medial index verb. *Anui sei hare, dowa anung yaar naha.* It rained, so he did not go to the market. *Usage: indicates medial manner and kind.*

waah *inter.* sound of anger. *Usage: to chase people or animals away*.

waai [waːj] *v.* cover, make root, thatch with coarse grass. *Di ameng mi ba fala waai kanri.* He made the roof of the house from the coarse grass.

— *v.* roof. *Fala waai nu.* The roof of a house.

wah [wah] *vr.* put away, turn away. *Tafaa naha mai seng do waha.* When there are no drums, the money is needed, lit.: when there are no drums, the money is being put away. *Kafiei ming waha moni.* Several goats died, lit.: from goats (some) died away. *Prdm:* II.F.

wahai *v.* look, look at, seek, gaze. *Na ra mara hewahai hiéni.* I will try to go up to look and see it. *Na ewahai.* I am waiting for you, lit.: I look out for you.

wai$_1$ [waj] *v.* turn, turn over. *Na nawai me.* I come back. *Prdm:* I.

— *v.* put away. *Prdm:* II.F.

waida *v.* invert, reverse. *Ara fafung ba ding waida.* Blow the fire to revive it. *Morph:* *wai-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

waidi *v.* invert, reverse. *Natook waidi.* I am hungry, lit.: I stomach is inverted. (Welai dialect) *Morph:* *wai-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

waila *v.* turn over, cheat, chew. *Di nala ma ba dawa homi mia hawaila.* He is chewing the food that is in his mouth, lit.: he it turning the food that is in his mouth *Morph:* *wai-l-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

waili *v.* turn over, cheat, chew. *Neura loku la newaili.* My brothers cheated me. *Morph:* *wai-l-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

wai$_2$ *v.* turn, turn over. *Na nawai me.* I come back. *Prdm:* I.

wai$_3$ [wáj] *n.* urine. *Wai nokuia.* I have to pee, lit.: the urine is peeling me.

wai$_4$ *n.inal.* tail. *Di datiokdi ba hawai peng hayei.* He jumped down and fell near by the tail (of the snake). *Usage: requires inalienable prefix.*

waik *n.* waste, litter, garbage. *See:* *wai* 'put away'.

wak$_1$ *v.* embrace. *Di tawaki.* They embraced each other. *Prdm:* I.

— *v.* abandon. *See:* *wok*. *Prdm:* II.A.

wak$_2$ *n.* back knee. *Newak.* My back knee

wal *v.* augment. *Hawal te.* Share it, lit.: augment it!

— *n.* water body, lake, pond, ocean. *Ya wal.* Lake. *Tama wal.* Ocean.

walra *v.* exceed, gather. *Walra loku.* Drunk people, lit.: those who had too much. *Morph:* *wal-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

walri *v.* exceed, gather. *Akun ama oro Kalang Fat mia towalri.* People will gather in Kalabahi tomorrow. *Morph:* *wal-r-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

wala *adv.* so, only. *Yal wala di marani.* Only now he came up.

walang *vr.* fresh, newly grown, green.

walangai *vr.* fresh, raw, green, blue. *Afu walangai.* Raw fish. *Bataa ata walangai.* Tree leaves are green. *Morph:* *walang-a-i*.

walangra *vr.* Malay, freshly arrived people. *Walangra loku.* Malay people, freshly arrived people. *Morph:* *walang-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

walik *n.* mushroom. *Walik miti.* There are mushrooms, lit.: mushrooms sit.

wan *adv.* already. *Na wan naweli.* I have washed myself already. *Usage:* ***adverbial modifier, usually preceding the undergoer argument.***

war *n.* sun, day. *War beka.* It is hot, lit.: sun is bad. *War afeida.* Yesterday. *War heteitu.* Monday, lit.: first day. *War marang do.* East, lit.: sun comes up. *War sei do.* West, lit.: sun comes down.

war-wer *n.* noon. *War sei do.* West, lit. sun comes down.

wat *v.* abandon, waste. *Ni maama o wati.* We abandoned our father. *Prdm:* II.A.

wata*$_1$** *n.inal.* neck. *Nawata.* My neck. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.

***wata*$_2$** *n.* coconut. *Wata hayei.* Coconuts fall down.

wataka *n.* blossom of banana.

wati *Variant:* ***watika.*** *n.* deserted area, bush, wilderness, abandoned area. *Watika buku.* Desert. *See:* ***wat.***

wayang *n.* paddle.

wayangdi *v.* paddle, row. *Di wayangdi ba làk.* He paddled away. *Morph:* ***wayang-d-i.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

we *v.* leave. *Na wei.* I went away. *Prdm:* I.

we- *pro.* 3PL.II.LOC, third person plural undergoer prefix. *Usage:* ***Welai and Mainang dialect.***

wea *n.* blood. *Hewea nahang.* His blood is everywhere.

wei *n.inal.* ear. *Nawei.* My ear *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

wek *vr.* follow behind, come after.

weka *vr.* be following behind, succeed. *Noweka.* I am following up. *Doweka miei.* He came later, lit.: he came following behind. *Morph:* ***wek-a.***

weking *vr.* be behind, delay, drop behind. *Làk re ohaweking.* Leave or you will be delayed. *Doweka miei.* He came later, lit.: he came following behind. *Morph:* ***wek-i-ng.*** *Prdm:* II.C.

wel *v.* pour, wash. *Na awele.* I am washing you. *Ya tawel.* Water pours, flows. *Prdm:* I.

wer *n.* noon.

weti *Variant:* ***wet.*** *n.inal.* tooth. *Naweti.* My teeth. *Naweti nateti do.* These are my teeth, lit.: my teeth stand. *Usage:* ***requires inalienable possessive prefix.***

***wi*$_1$** *n.* stone, rock. *Na wi hakoku.* I prodded out the stones.

wi*$_2$** *v.* be.like.MD.CPL, medial index verb. *Usage:* ***indicates medial manner and kind.

wida *v.* become like, be alike, resemble. *Nesepatu Fani hei hetawida.* My shoes are like those that belong to Fani. *Morph:* ***wi-d-a.*** *Prdm:* III.A.

wil *v.* make so, do so. *Te wile?* Like what, how? *Morph:* ***wi-l.*** *Prdm:* II.D.

wir *v.* make so, do so. *A te wir hapuni?* How did you catch it? *Morph:* ***wi-r.*** *Prdm:* II.D.

wi bataa *n.* iron wood, strong wood for making prods, pestles and other tools, lit.: stone wood.

wik *v.* hug, carry in arms, carry. *Na moku hawil.* I am hug, cradle the child. *Na nesura wike.* I carry my book. *Prdm:* II.A.

wil *n.* child. *Ewil.* Your child. *Ewil neng.* Your son.

wit *v.* hug, carry in arms, carry. *Di desora witi ba wei.* He carried his sward and left. *Prdm:* II.A.

wò **[wɔ̀]** *pro.* DST.L, distal low demonstrative. *Moku bataa wò mia muila.* Children are playing below the trees over there. *Wò fala nu.* That house below over there.

wó **[wɔ́]** *pro.* DST.H, distal high demonstrative. *Wó baleei loku.* Those bananas above over there. *Nuku wó dotilaka.* One is hanging

above over there.

wok *v.* throw, throw away. *Di lui mi ba ruwol herala hawok.* He took a knife and cut off chicken neck. *Na mea mi ba ok wok.* I throw a mango at you. *Prdm:* II.A.

wot *v.* throw, throw away. *Kaai ba del ong woti.* The dog threw itself aside, jumped aside. *Na sura mi meja tahang woti.* I threw the books on the table. *Prdm:* II.A.

wotang *n.* deserted place, bush. *Likwotang.* Deserted platform (a name of a village). *Morph:* *wot-a-ng.*

Y - y

ya$_1$ [ja] *conj.* SEQ. *Niya ya nemaama.* My mother and my father. *Na we ya afu tahai.* I go and fish, lit.: I leave and search fish. *Usage:* ***to link both nouns and verbs***.

ya$_2$ [ja, jɛ] *n.* water. *Ya wal.* A pond. *Na ya kabei buuke.* I am going to drink a bit of water. *Variant:* *ye* (In Aila dialect, the form ye 'water' is standard, other dialects have ya 'water'.).

ya$_3$ [ja] *v.* distal deictic verb. *Di ya di heananri.* He was telling about it over there.

ya$_4$ [ja, jaja] *Variant:* *yaya*. *n.* mother. *Niya di nol ba na taa.* My mother cradles me so that I sleep. *See:* *yal* 'give birth'.

yaa [ja:] *v.* go. *Na yaa alot mi se.* I go to get some fodder. *Usage:* ***not oriented***. *Prdm:* II.E.
— *n.* road, path. *Na yaa fokang hafuida.* I level the road.

yaar [ja:r] *v.* go, arrive, complete going. *Pi anu yaari ba afu bel.* We went to the market to buy fish. *Prdm:* II.E.

yai$_1$ *v.* laugh, ridicule. *Di nok yai.* He is laughing about me. *See:* *yei*. *Prdm:* III.G.

yai$_2$ *v.* sing. *Di luuku yai aridi.* The were dancing and singing till the morning. *Prdm:* I.
— *n.* song. *Na yai paneng.* I am singing, I compose songs, lit.: I make songs.

yai$_3$ *n.* folk, tribe, origin, gens. *Neserang neyai.* My people, my folk. *See:* *yal* 'give birth'.

yakora-kora *n.* frog. *Yakora-kora oro miti.* There is a frog (sitting) over there. *Morph:* *ya kora-kora.*

yal$_1$ *vr.* give birth, bear, place, pose. *Mayol di moku do hayal.* The woman is giving birth to a baby. *Usage:* ***also refers to placing down of something***. *See:* *yar*. *Prdm:* II.D.
— *n.* place. *Netoku heyal.* My foot prints, lit.: the place where I put my leg.
— *adv.* now. *Yal do na kabei ahel te.* I will rest a little bit now.

yambuk *n.* glass, cup. *Yambuk oro lik tahang iti.* There is a glass on the table over there. *Morph:* *ya m buuk.*

yang *adv.* perhaps, maybe. *Hedo ko yang a halakda kang.* You will perhaps be able to read it.

yar [jar] *v.* give birth, bear, place, pose. *Kafiei fila hayari.* Little goatlings were born. *Prdm:* II.D.

yatal *n.* wild chicken living in the jungle.

yating *v.* procreate, bear children. *Tayating beka.* (She) cannot procreate. *See:* *yal* 'give birth'.
— *n.* parents.

yee *inter.* interjection of surprise.

yefang-fanai *n.* dragonfly.

yei [jɛj] *vr.* fall, hit. *Wata hayei.* A coconut fell *Di nuol mai nel hayei naha.* He threw at me (with something) and did not hit me. *Usage:* ***requires serial verb construction for other than third person***. *Prdm:* I.

yei$_1$ [jɛj] *v.* laugh. *Na nefeela hok yei.* I am

laughing about my friend. *See:* *yai* 'laugh.CPL'. *Prdm:* III.G.

yek *Variant:* *ya hiek*. *n.* water container, usually a bamboo tube or nowadays a bucket. *Morph:* *ya k*.

yelakai [jɛlaˈkaj] *n.* ghost.
— *n.* owl.

yen *v.* how much, how many. *Prdm:* II.C.

yenra *v.* do how many times, several times. *Maama di nel bol yenra.* My father hit me several times. *Nala huor yenra?* What is the time, lit.: How many times did (they) strike something? *Morph:* *yen-r-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

yenang *n.* war.

yenangdi *v.* war, fight. *Ama kang hada yenangdi.* People started to war with them. *Morph:* *yenang-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

yeng *v.* how much, how many. *Maama, efe yeng?* Father, how many pigs do you have? *Usage:* ***in questions or to indicate non-specific number occurring in the position of the quantifier***. *Prdm:* II.C.

yeting *num.* five. *Tafaa foka yeting do tihai.* These five big drums are heavy. *War ba heyeting.* Friday, lit.: the day that is fifth. *Usage:* ***ordinal numerals are derived with the third person alienable possessive prefix***.

yeting-ayoku *num.* seven, lit.: five two. *Morph:* *yeting ayoku*.

yeting-sua *num.* eight, lit.: five three. *Morph:* *yeting sua*.

yeting-buti *num.* eight, lit.: five four. *Morph:* *yeting buti*.

yik *v.* split, halve, tear apart. *Di afu hayiki.* He split the fish (open). *Prdm:* I.

ying-yung *inter.* sound made by ghosts.

yo *Variant:* *so*. *pro.* MD.AD, medial addressee based demonstrative. *Yo do ni tadei naha.* We do not sleep there (where you are). *Fala yo faki.* The house (that you know about) is broken. *Usage:* ***deictic demonstrative precedes the head, anaphoric follows the head, both types used to attract attention of the addressee***.

yoi *n.* flood, river. *Yoi sei.* A flood is coming (down), a landslide is coming. *Kuya li ba yoi halei.* Birds flew across the river.

yoikoi [jɔjˈkɔj] *n.* turtle.

yoiwo *n.* cave.

yok$_1$ *vr.* lift up, pick up. *Di debuot hayok ba wei.* She lifted up her back basket and went away. *Ama dohayoke.* People are dancing (modern dance). *Prdm:* I.
— *vr.* cover, place on the top of head. *Di fakal mi natu hayoku.* He covered the mortar with a scuttle. *Prdm:* II.A.

yok$_2$ *vr.* wet.

yokda *vr.* soak, make wet. *Na nenamang ong yokda.* I soak my clothes. *Morph:* *yok-d-a*. *Prdm:* III.A.

yokdi *vr.* soak, make wet. *Nekonrek yokdi.* My shirt is soaked. *Morph:* *yok-d-i*. *Prdm:* III.A.

yokung *vr.* fester, secrete pus. *Netoku yokung.* My leg is festering. *Morph:* *yok-u-ng*. *Prdm:* II.C.

yol *v.* cover up. *Pi ama nu hatàng ba hayol.* We bury that person, lit.: we release that person and cover him up. *Prdm:* II.D.

yongfa [jɔŋˈfa] *vr.* forget, not be aware. *Nemelang bai nayongfa.* I forget about my village. *Moku fila tadei dayongfa.* The child sleeps deeply, lit.: the child lies and is not aware. *Prdm:* III.A.

yongfi [jɔŋˈfɪ] *v.* forget, not be aware. *Nang nayongfi.* I am unaware, I forgot. *Na niya henayongfi.* I forgot about my mother. *Prdm:* III.A.

yor *v.* cover up, bury. *Kalangfor ama hatàni*

hohayori. People buried the devil (monster), lit.: the monster was released by the people and covered up. *Prdm:* II.D.

yot *v.* cover, place on the top of the head. *Ama kang loku e lâki yoti.* The people already left (carrying baskets on the head). *Prdm:* II.A.

English Abui Wordlist

A - a

abandon *v.* *wak*$_1$.
abandon (CPL) *v.* *wat*.
Achilles' tendon *n.* *tafei*.
adult *v.* *tola*, *see:* *tol*.
advice (CPL) *v.* *patingdi*, *see:* *pating*.
again *adv.* *dikang*.
ah *inter.* *aiya*; *inter.* *hai*.
aim *v.* *lek*.
aim (CPL) *v.* *let*.
air *n.* *ahiling*.
alarmed *vr.* *adding-ading*.
alarmed (CPL) *vr.* *ading-adin*, *see:* *ading-ading*.
alarmed (CPL) *vr.* *adding-adin*.
alga *n.* *amut*.
align (CPL) *v.* *sasanri*, *see:* *sasan*; *v.* *sosonri*, *see:* *sosong*.
alike *v.* *towa*.
alongside *v.* *sasang*.
alongside (CPL) *v.* *sasan*.
already *adv.* *wan*.
ambush *v.* *buok*.
ancestor *n.* *lei*.
ancestors *n.* *tung-tung*, *see:* *tung*.
anchor *n.* *liwang*.
and *conj.* *e*$_2$; *conj.* *ya*$_1$.
angry *v.* *baai*.
another time *adv.* *kal*.
ant *n.* *birel*.
ant sp. *n.* *lafut*.
anyway *adv.* *doden*.
apex nasi (tip of the nose) *n.* *biek*.
appear *v.* *ari*.
appear (CPL) *v.* *aridi*, *see:* *ari*.
appear (CNT) *v.* *arida*, *see:* *ari*.
appendix *n.* *palet*.
approach *vr.* *pek*.
argue *v.* *kawai*; *v.* *palepal*.
arm *n.inal.* *loku*$_3$.
armpit *n.inal.* *kikil*.
around *v.* *balei*; *v.* *balekna*; *v.* *matai*.
arrow *n.* *pulang*.
arrow (for birds and fish) *n.* *paakai*.
arrow (for hunting) *n.* *kafuk*.
arrow (for small fish) *n.* *rar*.
arrow (for war) *n.* *kak*.
arrow shaft *n.* *kapi*.
as *adv.* *macam*.
as well *adv.* *bai*, *see:* *ba*.
ashes *n.* *arui*, *see:* *ar*.
ask *v.* *tahang*.
ask for *v.* *ek*.
aspect marker: inceptive completive *asp.* *te*$_2$.
aspect marker: inceptive inchoative *asp.* *se*.
aspect marker: phasal completive *asp.* *ti*.
aspect marker: phasal inceptive *asp.* *si*$_2$.
aspectual marker: durative *asp.*-*a*.
aspectual marker: imperfective *asp.*-*e*$_1$.
aspectual marker: perfect *asp.* -*u*.
aspectual marker: perfective *asp.*-*i*.
aspectual marker: punctual *asp.* -*o*.
attach along (CPL) *vr.* *baas*.
augment *v.* *wal*.
avoid *v.* *kaleng*.
avoid (CPL) *v.* *kalen*; *v.* *kalenri*, *see:* *kalen*.
await *v.* *roi*.
await (CPL) *vr.* *ros*.
axe *n.* *faling*.

B - b

baby *n.* ***kiang***.
back *n.* ***ui***.
back basket *n.* ***buot***.
back knee *n.* ***wak***$_2$.
bad *vr.* ***bek***, *see:* ***bek***; *vr.* ***beka***, *see:* ***bek***.
bag *n.* ***karong***.
bald *v.* ***daruting***.
ball *n.* ***bal***$_1$.
bamboo *n.* ***bale***; *n.* ***mai***$_1$; *n.* ***tifol***.
bamboo pipe *n.* ***ruluk***.
bamboo sp. *n.* ***pesing***; *n.* ***tiol***.
bamboo trap *n.* ***siyea***.
bamboo tube *n.* ***aloi***.
bamboo wattle *n.* ***kela***.
banana *n.* ***baleei***.
bark *n.* ***kai***$_1$.
barrel *n.* ***drom***; *n.* ***tong***.
barrier *n.* ***karang***, *see:* ***kar***$_2$.
basilicum *n.* ***lansi***.
basket *n.* ***kofang***; *n.* ***pakai***.
basket (for storage) *n.* ***bila***.
bast *n.* ***pidak***; *n.* ***reifunga***.
bat *n.* ***marel***.
be all *v.* ***tafuda***.
be at *gv.* ***a***$_2$.
be behind *vr.* ***weking***, *see:* ***wek***.
be bright *v.* ***falaka***, *see:* ***falak***.
be calling together (CPL) *v.* ***mahoi-mahoini***, *see:* ***mahoi***.
be calling together (CNT) *v.* ***mahoi-mahoina***, *see:* ***mahoi***.
be following behind *vr.* ***weka***, *see:* ***wek***.
be in *gv.* ***m***; *v.* ***mi***.
be killed (CPL) *v.* ***tafandi***, *see:* ***tafan***.
be moaning at *vr.* ***maling-malinga***, *see:* ***maling***.
be (quantity) *v.* ***ning***.
be rounded *v.* ***akupil***.
be same *v.* ***sama***.
be small *v.* ***amekni***, *see:* ***amek***.
be very small *v.* ***amek-amekni***, *see:* ***amek***.
be with *v.* ***sama***.
be withdrawn (CPL) *v.* ***ukdi***, *see:* ***uk***$_1$.
be withdrawn (CNT) *v.* ***ukda***, *see:* ***uk***$_1$.
beam *n.* ***beng***.
bean *n.* ***tada***; *n.* ***takoi***.
bear offspring *v.* ***mang***.
bear offspring (CPL) *v.* ***man***.
beat (CNT) *v.* ***balasa***.
beat up (CPL) *v.* ***balasi***.
become dangerous (CPL) *v.* ***salimangdi***, *see:* ***salimang***.
become dirty *v.* ***dakuni***, *see:* ***dakun***.
become elder *v.* ***fingdi***, *see:* ***fing***.
become hungry (CPL) *v.* ***maraidi***, *see:* ***marai***.
become hungry (CNT) *v.* ***maraida***, *see:* ***marai***.
become like (CNT) *v.* ***wida***, *see:* ***wi***$_2$.
become like.Prx (CPL) *vr.* ***nidi***, *see:* ***ni***$_2$.
become loose (CPL) *v.* ***sakdi***, *see:* ***sak***.
become lost (CPL) *v.* ***naidi***, *see:* ***nai***$_1$.
become lost (CNT) *v.* ***naida***, *see:* ***nai***$_1$.
become naughty (CPL) *v.* ***palakdi***, *see:* ***palak***.
become red (CPL) *v.* ***kikdi***, *see:* ***kik***$_2$.
become scared (CPL) *v.* ***marakdi***, *see:* ***marak***.
become scared (CNT) *v.* ***marakda***, *see:* ***marak***.
become sterile (CPL) *v.* ***kofadi***, *see:* ***kofa***.
become wet (CPL) *v.* ***alinri***, *see:* ***alin***.
become wet (CNT) *v.* ***alinra***, *see:* ***alin***.
bee *n.* ***mutang***.
beer *n.* ***bir***.
before *adv.* ***el***.
begin *v.* ***mulai***.
belly *n.* ***atei***.
belt *n.* ***basa***.

bend *v.* ***luk***$_1$.
bend down *v.* ***palik***.
betel nut *n.* ***fu***.
betel vine *n.* ***meting***.
betelnut basket *n.* ***kamol***.
betelnut container *n.* ***fulak***.
bicycle *n.* ***sepeda***.
big *v.* ***foka***, *see:* ***fok***; *vr.* ***fok***.
bind *v.* ***kol***.
bind (CPL) *v.* ***kor***$_1$.
bind up (CPL) *v.* ***kolri***, *see:* ***kol***.
bind up (CNT) *v.* ***kolra***, *see:* ***kol***.
bird *n.* ***kuya***.
bit *n.* ***kasing***.
bite *v.* ***takei***.
bite (CPL) *v.* ***takai***$_2$.
bitter *n.* ***masupa***; *v.* ***makal***.
black *adj.* ***akan***.
blade *n.* ***aha***.
blanket *n.* ***lipa***.
blast *v.* ***pupukdi***, *see:* ***pupu***.
blaze *v.* ***tulunri***, *see:* ***tulun***; *v.* ***tulung***$_1$.
blaze (CPL) *v.* ***tulun***.
bleed *v.* ***fel***.
blind (CPL) *v.* ***akuti***.
blind (CNT) *v.* ***akuta***.
blood *n.* ***wea***.
blossom *n.* ***wataka***.
blow *id.* ***pupuk***, *see:* ***pupu***; *v.* ***fafung***.
blow (CPL) *v.* ***fafun***; *v.* ***mut***.
blue *v.* ***bulongai***.
blunt *v.* ***huipang***; *v.* ***komang***; *vr.* ***topa***, *see:* ***top***.
blunt (CPL) *v.* ***komangdi***, *see:* ***komang***.
boat *n.* ***kapal***$_2$.
body *n.* ***aka***$_1$; *n.* ***isi***.
boil (CNT) *v.* ***kuluk-kulukda***, *see:* ***kuluk-kuluk***.
bone *n.* ***teipa***.
book *n.* ***sura***.
bottle *n.* ***botol***.
bow *n.* ***pet***.
bowstring *n.* ***sur***.
box *n.* ***pati***; *n.* ***tromel***.
brace *v.* ***buk***.
brace (CPL) *v.* ***bakaidi***, *see:* ***bak***; *v.* ***but***.
bracelet *n.* ***lasing***.
brandy *n.* ***sopi***.
brassiere *n.* ***kutang***.
break *v.* ***fak***; *v.* ***lák***.
break down (CPL) *n.* ***fakdi***, *see:* ***fak***.
break down (CNT) *n.* ***fakda***, *see:* ***fak***.
break off (corn) *v.* ***abeng***.
breast *n.* ***kodang***; *n.* ***tik***; *n.inal.* ***rahieng***.
breathe *v.* ***ahel***.
breathe out *v.* ***madok***.
breeze *v.* ***faalik***.
bridge *n.* ***labanta***; *n.* ***dapi***.
bright *v.* ***falak***.
bring *gv.* ***k***.
bring at *v.* ***pak***$_1$.
bring down *v.* ***tak***; *v.* ***tek***$_2$.
bring down (CPL) *v.* ***tet***; *vr.* ***tap***.
bring together *v.* ***mok***$_1$.
bring up *v.* ***tuok***.
bring up (CPL) *v.* ***munadi***, *see:* ***mun***.
broad *v.* ***ahiling***; *v.* ***relang***.
broken *vr.* ***bekdi***, *see:* ***bek***; *vr.* ***bekdi***, *see:* ***bek***.
broom *n.* ***paakai***; *n.* ***tafuyang***.
bucket *n.* ***bokor***.
bunch *n.* ***buk***; *n.* ***siwang***.
bundle *n.* ***tel***.
burn *v.* ***al***$_2$.
burn (CPL) *v.* ***ar***.
burn down (CPL) *v.* ***pieidi***, *see:* ***piei***$_1$.
burn off *v.* ***pining***.
bury *v.* ***nabuk***.
but *conj.* ***haba***; *conj.* ***tapi***.
butterfly *n.* ***kupak***.
buttocks *n.* ***iek***.

button *n.* ***kanusi***.

buy *v.* ***bel***$_2$.

C - c

cackle *v.* ***kiek***.
call *v.* ***il***$_1$.
call together (CPL) *vr.* ***mahoini***, *see:* ***mahoi***.
can *n.* ***baleka***.
canari nut *n.* ***kanai***.
candlenut *n.* ***fiai***.
canoe *n.* ***pelang***.
car *n.* ***oto***.
cards *n.* ***kara***.
care *v.* ***muna***, *see:* ***mun***.
careful *v.* ***kilang***.
carry (on shoulder) *v.* ***ban***$_1$; *v.* ***bang***.
cart *n.* ***gerobak***.
cassava *n.* ***bataako***.
cat *n.* ***kamai***.
caterpillar *n.* ***katung-katung***.
cave *n.* ***yoiwo***.
cement *n.* ***sameng***.
centre *v.* ***tamadi***, *see:* ***tama***.
chaff *n.* ***kidai***.
chain *n.* ***awering***.
chair *n.* ***kadera***.
change *v.* ***ruba***.
chatterer *n.* ***taratak***.
check *v.* ***mani***.
cheek *n.inal.* ***run***.
chest *n.inal.* ***rek***.
chicken *n.* ***ruwol***.
chief *n.* ***raha***; *pro.* ***nala kang***, *see:* ***nala***.
child *n.* ***wil***.
Chinese *n.* ***sina***.
chisel *n.* ***laba***.
chisel (CPL) *v.* ***bahat***.
choose (CPL) *vr.* ***mahadi***, *see:* ***maha***.
cinder *n.* ***arang***, *see:* ***ara***.
clan *n.* ***aremang***.
clean *adj.* ***san***; *v.* ***momang***.
clear *vr.* ***riel***.
clear (CPL) *v.* ***momangdi***, *see:* ***momang***.
clear up (CPL) *v.* ***rielri***, *see:* ***riel***.
cleave (CPL) *v.* ***kasingri***, *see:* ***kasing***.
cleave (CNT) *v.* ***kasingra***, *see:* ***kasing***.
climb *v.* ***aleng***.
climb (CPL) *v.* ***alen***.
close *v.* ***akuk***.
close (CPL) *v.* ***akut***.
cloth *n.* ***kabala***; *n.* ***namang***.
clothes *n.* ***koda***.
cluster (CPL) *n.* ***buk-bukdi***, *see:* ***buk***.
cluster (CNT) *n.* ***buk-bukda***, *see:* ***buk***.
clutch *v.* ***dak***.
coarse grass *n.* ***ameng***.
cockroach *n.* ***kameling***.
coconut *n.* ***wata***$_2$.
coconut shell *n.* ***tokai***.
coffee *n.* ***kopi***$_2$.
cold *v.* ***palata***, *see:* ***palat***.
collect *v.* ***toi***; *v.* ***toida***, *see:* ***toi***; *v.* ***uk***$_2$.
collect (CPL) *vr.* ***up***.
colour *n.* ***bilen***; *v.* ***bileni***, *see:* ***bilen***.
comb *n.* ***ket***; *n.* ***tilei***.
come *v.* ***me***.
come (CPL) *v.* ***miei***.
come down (CPL) *v.* ***saai***.
come down (CNT) *v.* ***sei***.
come down (ICP) *v.* ***siei***.
come up *v.* ***marang***.
come up (CPL) *v.* ***maran***.
compact (CPL) *v.* ***tapak-tapakni***, *see:* ***tapak***.
compact (CNT) *v.* ***tapak-tapakna***, *see:* ***tapak***.
complete (CPL) *v.* ***kanri***, *see:* ***kan***.
complete (CNT) *v.* ***kanra***, *see:* ***kan***.

consume *v.* ***buuk***.
consume (CPL) *v.* ***buut***.
cook *v.* ***mal***, *see:* ***ma***$_1$.
cook (CPL) *v.* ***mar***, *see:* ***ma***$_1$.
cook in bamboo tubes *n.* ***baleng***, *see:* ***bale***.
cool (CPL) *v.* ***palakni***, *see:* ***palak***.
cool (CNT) *v.* ***palakna***, *see:* ***palak***.
core *n.* ***bata***.
corn *n.* ***fat***.
corner *n.inal.* ***bik***.
cover *n.* ***nowang***; *v.* ***waai***; *vr.* ***yok***$_1$.
cover (CPL) *v.* ***yot***.
cover up *v.* ***yol***.
cover up (CPL) *v.* ***yor***.
cover up (CNT) *v.* ***binra***, *see:* ***bin***.
cover with hand *v.* ***pakol***.
cow *n.* ***sapi***.
crab *n.* ***tafui***.
cram *v.* ***aring***.
cram (CPL) *v.* ***arin***.
croft *n.* ***kawada***.
crooked *v.* ***paliking***, *see:* ***palik***.
crooked (CPL) *v.* ***palikdi***, *see:* ***palik***.
crooked (CNT) *v.* ***palikda***, *see:* ***palik***.
crow *v.* ***kukalek***.
crude *v.* ***marik***.
cry *v.* ***mal***.
cry (CPL) *v.* ***enri***, *see:* ***en***.
cry (CNT) *v.* ***enra***, *see:* ***en***.
cucumber *n.* ***losa***.
cultivate *v.* ***namei***.
cup *n.* ***mako***.
current *n.* ***tawol***.
custom *n.* ***adat***.
cut *v.* ***tukong***.
cut (CPL) *v.* ***tukon***.
cut down *v.* ***koi***.
cut down (CPL) *vr.* ***kof***.

D - d

dance *v.* ***luuk***.
dangerous *v.* ***salimang***.
darken *v.* ***akung***.
darken (CPL) *vr.* ***akun***.
date *n.* ***tanggal***.
day *n.* ***hari***; *n.* ***tadeng***.
dead *v.* ***malai***.
dead man *n.* ***angmona***.
dear (interjection) *inter.* ***adiye***.
deep *v.* ***roka***.
deer *n.* ***ayut***.
defecate *v.* ***eik***.
defecate (CPL) *v.* ***eit***.
deficit *n.* ***kurang***.
delouse *v.* ***bikeng-bikengra***, *see:* ***bikeng***.
depth *n.* ***rumang***.
desert (CPL) *v.* ***kilri***, *see:* ***kil***.
desert (CNT) *v.* ***kilra***, *see:* ***kil***.
deserted area *n.* ***wati***.
deserted place *n.* ***wotang***, *see:* ***wot***.
detach *v.* ***kil***.
detach (CPL) *v.* ***kir***.
devil *n.* ***setang***.
die *v.* ***mong***.
die by falling *v.* ***aleng***.
die (CPL) *v.* ***mon***$_2$.
diligent *v.* ***mayesing***.
diminish (CPL) *v.* ***minakdi***, *see:* ***minak***.
dimple *n.* ***pokal***.
dinge *n.* ***tabaai***.
dip *v.* ***rung***.
dirty *adj.* ***dakun***.
disc *n.* ***kuong***.
discussion *n.* ***diskusi***.

disperse (CPL) *v.* ***lidi***, *see:* ***li***.
distal deictic verb *v.* ***ya***$_3$.
distal demonsrative *pro.* ***oro***.
distal high demonstrative *pro.* ***wó***.
distal index verb *vr.* ***h***.
distal index verb (CPL) *v.* ***hi***.
distal index verb (CNT) *v.* ***ha***.
distal low demonstrative *pro.* ***wò***.
distributive alienable possessive prefix *pro.* ***te-***.
distributive inalienable possessive prefix *pro.* ***ta-***.
distributive undergoer prefix *pro.* ***ta-***; *pro.* ***te-***; *pro.* ***to-***.
disturb (CNT) *v.* ***nuk-nukda***, *see:* ***nuk-nuk***.
dive (CPL) *v.* ***rungri***, *see:* ***rung***.
divide from *v.* ***fong***.
do how many times *v.* ***yenra***, *see:* ***yen***.
do like that (CPL) *v.* ***dur***.
do three times (CPL) *v.* ***suidi***, *see:* ***sua***.
do three times (CNT) *v.* ***suida***, *see:* ***sua***.
do to several (CPL) *num.* ***nuk-nuk-d-i***, *see:* ***nuku***.
do with *vr.* ***da***, *see:* ***d***.
dog *n.* ***kaai***.
domestic *v.* ***mang***.
donkey *n.* ***keledai***.
door *n.* ***lung***.
dove *n.* ***kapik***.
dragonfly *n.* ***yefang-fanai***.
draw near (CPL) *v.* ***pekdi***, *see:* ***pek***.
draw near (CNT) *v.* ***pekda***, *see:* ***pek***.
dream *n.* ***piei***$_2$.
dream (CPL) *v.* ***pieili***, *see:* ***piei***$_2$.
dream (CNT) *v.* ***pieila***, *see:* ***piei***$_2$.
drive out (CPL) *v.* ***ringri***, *see:* ***ring***.
drive out (CNT) *v.* ***ringra***, *see:* ***ring***.
drop *v.* ***kai***$_2$; *v.* ***tok***.
drop away *v.* ***kilai***, *see:* ***kil***.
drop (CPL) *vr.* ***top***.
dropped *v.* ***toka***, *see:* ***tok***.
drum *n.* ***tafaa***; *v.* ***towang***.
drumstick *n.* ***towang***.
dry *v.* ***taka***; *v.* ***takata***, *see:* ***takat***.
dry land *n.* ***takata***, *see:* ***takat***.
dry out *v.* ***takak***.
dry out (CPL) *v.* ***takat***.
dust *n.* ***tabuong***.
dwarf *n.* ***ampai***.
dwindle (CPL) *v.* ***minak-minakdi***, *see:* ***minak***.
dwindle (CNT) *v.* ***minak-minakda***, *see:* ***minak***.

E - e

ear *n.inal.* ***wei***.
earthquake *n.* ***tayoka***.
eat *v.* ***nee***.
edge *n.* ***bula***; *n.inal.* ***ril***.
egg *n.* ***bira***.
eight *num.* ***yeting-sua***, *see:* ***yeting***; *num.* ***yeting-buti***, *see:* ***yeting***.
elbow *n.* ***momal***.
eldest *v.* ***fing***.
eldest (CPL) *v.* ***fin***.
embrace *v.* ***fahak***; *v.* ***lasing***; *v.* ***wak***$_1$.
embrace (CPL) *v.* ***fahat***.
empty (CPL) *v.* ***takadi***, *see:* ***taka***.
end *n.* ***awe***.
enemy *n.* ***takel***; *n.inal.* ***mol***.
enfold *v.* ***patei***.
enrage *v.* ***matakdi***, *see:* ***matak***.
entertain *v.* ***balenta***.
entire *vr.* ***upi***, *see:* ***up***.
envy *v.* ***mol***.
epilepsy *n.* ***lakai***$_2$.
erect *v.* ***rui***$_2$.
escape *v.* ***taki***; *v.* ***tiki***, *see:* ***tik***$_2$.
every (CPL) *v.* ***kanakdi***.

every (CNT) *v.* ***kanakda***.
everywhere *v.* ***nahang***.
evil being *n.* ***kalangfor***.
exceed *v.* ***bu***$_2$.
exceed (CPL) *v.* ***walri***, *see:* ***wal***.
exceed (CNT) *v.* ***walra***, *see:* ***wal***.
exercise *v.* ***latih***.
exhaust *v.* ***malik***.
expand (CNT) *v.* ***ring-ringra***, *see:* ***ring***.
experience *n.* ***ful***.
eye *n.inal.* ***ièng***.
eyebrow *n.* ***kadamai***.

F - f

fable *n.* ***ateng***.
face *n.inal.* ***pong***.
fall *vr.* ***yei***.
fallow *n.* ***pining***.
family *n.* ***keluarga***; *n.* ***lelang***; *n.* ***totilaka***.
fan *n.* ***sai***.
fan (CPL) *v.* ***saili***, *see:* ***sai***.
fan (CNT) *v.* ***saila***, *see:* ***sai***.
far *v.* ***buoka***.
fart *n.* ***fuk***; *v.* ***fuk***.
fat *v.* ***tamada***, *see:* ***tama***$_2$.
father *n.* ***bapa***; *n.* ***maama***.
fathom *n.* ***daak***.
fatten (CPL) *v.* ***tamadadi***, *see:* ***tama***$_2$.
fear *v.* ***mielang***.
feast food *n.* ***filei***.
feel *v.* ***pang***.
feel (CPL) *v.* ***pan***.
fence *n.* ***baa***.
fester *vr.* ***yokung***, *see:* ***yok***$_2$.
field *n.* ***namei***; *n.* ***pun***; *n.* ***tei***.
fig tree *n.* ***malika***.
fill (CPL) *v.* ***midi***, *see:* ***mi***.
fill (CNT) *v.* ***mida***, *see:* ***mi***.
fill up *v.* ***mil***, *see:* ***mi***.
fill up (CPL) *v.* ***mir***, *see:* ***mi***.
fine *v.* ***kaala***.
fire *n.* ***ara***.
fire place *n.* ***diking***.
firefly *n.* ***mapuo***.
firewood *n.* ***ara***, *see:* ***ara***.
first *adv.* ***teitu***; *num.* ***itu***; *num.* ***teitu***.
fish *n.* ***afu***.
fish trap *n.* ***luokai***.
five *num.* ***yeting***.
fizgig *n.* ***lewai***.
flat *v.* ***fui***.
flatten *v.* ***pataka***.
flatten (CPL) *v.* ***fuidi***, *see:* ***fui***.
flatten (CNT) *v.* ***fuida***, *see:* ***fui***.
flatworm *n.* ***kireng kilai***.
flesh *n.* ***foola***.
flexible *v.* ***falefal***.
fling (CPL) *v.* ***pakdi***, *see:* ***pak***$_1$.
fling (CNT) *v.* ***pakda***, *see:* ***pak***$_1$.
flint *n.* ***kapal***$_1$.
floater *n.* ***faisewang***.
flood *n.* ***yoi***.
flow out (CPL) *v.* ***tunri***, *see:* ***tun***.
flow out (CNT) *v.* ***tunra***, *see:* ***tun***.
flower *n.* ***bunga***; *n.* ***kot***.
fly *n.* ***fufai***; *vr.* ***li***.
fodder *n.* ***alot***.
fog *n.* ***tabo***.
foliage *n.* ***wa***$_1$.
folk *n.* ***yai***$_3$.
follow behind *vr.* ***wek***.
forearm *n.* ***eki***.
forest *n.* ***kupai***.
foretell *v.* ***fotong***.

forget (CPL) *v.* ***yongfi***.
forget (CNT) *vr.* ***yongfa***.
former *adj.* ***mantan***.
fortune-teller *n.* ***kalol***.
foster child *n.* ***mangmat***.
four *num.* ***buti***.
fourth *num.* ***bukna***, *see:* ***buti***.
fragrant *v.* ***mununa***.
freeze (CNT) *v.* ***palak-palakna***, *see:* ***palak***.
fresh *vr.* ***walangai***, *see:* ***walang***.
fresh (root) *vr.* ***walang***.
Friday *n.* ***Jumat***.
fried *v.* ***resing***.
friend *n.* ***feela***; *n.* ***kaai***.
frighten (CPL) *v.* ***kaferingdi***, *see:* ***kafering***.
frog *n.* ***katak***; *n.* ***yakora-kora***.
frowning *v.* ***aliking***.
fruit *n.* ***paka***; *n.* ***upi***.
frypan *n.* ***tawal***.
fumble *v.* ***par***.
funeral meal *n.* ***madung***.

G - g

gain *v.* ***liol***.
game *n.* ***mui***.
garden *n.* ***ut***.
gather *vr.* ***mahoi***.
gecko *n.* ***murtik***.
genitals *n.inal.* ***to***$_2$.
get scared (CPL) *v.* ***mielangdi***, *see:* ***mielang***.
get smell of *v.* ***munangdi***, *see:* ***mun***.
get up (CPL) *v.* ***ruidi***, *see:* ***rui***$_2$.
get up (CNT) *v.* ***ruida***, *see:* ***rui***$_2$.
get up to *v.* ***ril***.
ghost *n.* ***yelakai***.
ghost (of a murdered person) *n.* ***tafang***.
gift *n.* ***moling***.
give *gv.* ***l***.
give birth *vr.* ***yal***$_1$.
give birth (CPL) *v.* ***yar***.
glade *n.* ***lulang***.
glass *n.* ***kalasi***; *n.* ***yambuk***.
glow *v.* ***arang***, *see:* ***ara***.
go *v.* ***yaa***.
go (CPL) *v.* ***yaar***.
go down (CPL) *v.* ***piei***$_1$.
go down (CNT) *v.* ***pa***$_1$.
go mad (CNT) *v.* ***lielra***, *see:* ***liel***$_2$.
go up (CPL) *v.* ***mari***.
go up (CNT) *v.* ***mara***.
go up (ICP) *v.* ***marei***.
goat *n.* ***kafiei***.
gong *n.* ***fuokung***.
good *v.* ***kang***.
good (CPL) *v.* ***kan***.
government *n.* ***parenta***.
grab *v.* ***pung***.
grab (CPL) *v.* ***pun***.
grandchild *n.* ***ratala***.
grandparent *n.* ***kuta***.
grapple *v.* ***bakai***, *see:* ***bak***.
grass *n.* ***baloka***.
grave *n.* ***hiengfor***.
gray *v.* ***aruwol***.
greedy *v.* ***kaai***.
green bean *n.* ***kat***$_2$.
greet *v.* ***wang***, *see:* ***wa***$_2$.
grind *v.* ***baai***.
grind (CPL) *vr.* ***baab***.
grow rich (CPL) *v.* ***kawaisadi***, *see:* ***kawaisa***.
grow up (CPL) *v.* ***finri***, *see:* ***fin***.
grow up (CNT) *v.* ***finra***, *see:* ***fin***.
grumble *v.* ***dang***.
guitar *n.* ***paking***.
gum lac tree *n.* ***kalang***.

guts *n.* ***mata***.

H - h

hairs *n.* ***amur***.
half *n.* ***poti***, *see:* ***pot***$_2$.
hammer *n.* ***pol***.
hand *n.inal.* ***táng***.
handbasket *n.* ***koi buku***.
handle *n.* ***dal***; *v.* ***dal***; *v.* ***palak***.
handle (CPL) *v.* ***palat***.
hang (CPL) *v.* ***tili***.
hang (ICP) *v.* ***tilei***.
hang up *v.* ***tilak***.
hard *v.* ***kira***.
harm *v.* ***tafang***.
harm (CPL) *v.* ***tafan***.
have property *vr.* ***do***, *see:* ***d***.
have sexual intercourse *v.* ***oi***.
hawk *n.* ***kila***.
he *pro.* ***di***.
head *n.* ***pikai***.
head (function) *n.* ***kapala***.
heap *n.* ***fung***; *v.* ***fung***.
heap up *vr.* ***af***.
heap up (CPL) *v.* ***fung-fungdi***, *see:* ***fung***;
v. ***fung-fungri***, *see:* ***fung***.
heart *n.* ***bukomang***.
heat up *v.* ***diei***.
heat up (CPL) *v.* ***lilri***, *see:* ***lil***.
heat up (CNT) *v.* ***lilra***, *see:* ***lil***.
heath *n.* ***lila***, *see:* ***lil***.
heaven *n.* ***surga***.
heavy *v.* ***tihai***.
help *v.* ***tulung***$_2$.
her (AL) *pro.* ***he-***.
her (INAL) *pro.* ***ha-***.
her (LOC) *pro.* ***he-***.
her own (AL) *pro.* ***de-***.
her own (INAL) *pro.* ***da-***.
her (PAT) *pro.* ***ha-***.
her (REC) *pro.* ***ho-***.
herself (LOC) *pro.* ***de-***.
herself (PAT) *pro.* ***da-***.
herself (REC) *pro.* ***do-***.
hide *v.* ***bung***.
hide (CPL) *v.* ***bun***.
high *vr.* ***daliel***; *vr.* ***daliela***, *see:* ***daliel***.
hill *n.* ***bukit***; *n.* ***loma***.
him (LOC) *pro.* ***he-***.
him (PAT) *pro.* ***ha-***.
him (REC) *pro.* ***ho-***.
himself (LOC) *pro.* ***de-***.
himself (PAT) *pro.* ***da-***.
himself (REC) *pro.* ***do-***.
his (AL) *pro.* ***he-***.
his (INAL) *pro.* ***ha-***.
his own (AL) *pro.* ***de-***.
his own (INAL) *pro.* ***da-***.
hit *v.* ***bol***.
hm *inter.* ***hm***.
hold *gv.* ***d***; *vr.* ***de***, *see:* ***d***; *vr.* ***du***, *see:* ***d***.
hole *n.* ***bokung***; *n.* ***tukola***, *see:* ***tukol***;
n. ***ul***.
home *n.* ***ayating***.
hook *n.* ***awela***.
horn *n.inal.* ***muk***.
hornet *n.* ***rafung***.
horrify *v.* ***kafering***.
horse *n.* ***kuda***.
hot *v.* ***lila***, *see:* ***lil***; *vr.* ***lil***.
hour *n.* ***jam***.
house *n.* ***fala***.
house lizard *n.* ***tekok***.

house post *n.* ***taha***.
how much *v.* ***yeng***.
how much (CPL) *v.* ***yen***.
hug *v.* ***wik***.
hug (CPL) *v.* ***wit***.
hundred *num.* ***aisaha***.
hungry *v.* ***marai***.
hurry *v.* ***tol-tol***, *see:* ***tol***.
hurt *v.* ***rik***.
hurt (CNT) *v.* ***katak-katakna***, *see:* ***katak-katak***.

I - i

I *pro.* ***na***$_1$.
identify (CPL) *v.* ***lakdi***, *see:* ***lak***.
identify (CNT) *v.* ***lakda***, *see:* ***lak***.
impair *vr.* ***fang***.
impend *v.* ***lel***.
in vain *adv.* ***sai-sai***; *adv.* ***sawai***.
incinerate *v.* ***arui***, *see:* ***ar***.
include (CPL) *v.* ***miadi***, *see:* ***mi***.
include (CNT) *v.* ***miada***, *see:* ***mi***.
index *n.* ***lek***.
inform *v.* ***bok***$_2$.
inform (CPL) *v.* ***bot***.
injure *v.* ***feng***.
injure (CPL) *v.* ***fen***.
in-law *n.* ***raata***.
install *v.* ***pasang***.
inter *inter.* ***kidang***.
interjection of surprise *inter.* ***yee***.
interterjection (disagreement) *inter.* ***eits***.
intestine *n.inal.* ***took***.
intoxicate (CPL) *v.* ***tanekildi***, *see:* ***tanekil***.
invert (CPL) *v.* ***waidi***, *see:* ***wai***$_1$.
invert (CNT) *v.* ***waida***, *see:* ***wai***$_1$.
iron *n.* ***tipai***.
iron wood *n.* ***wi bataa***.
it *pro.* ***di***.
its (AL) *pro.* ***he-***.
its (INAL) *pro.* ***ha-***.
its own (AL) *pro.* ***de-***.
its own (INAL) *pro.* ***da-***.
itself (LOC) *pro.* ***de-***.
itself (PAT) *pro.* ***da-***.

J - j

jackfruit *n.* ***song***$_1$.
jaw *n.* ***baki***.
jerk *v.* ***dik-dikda***, *see:* ***dik***; *v.* ***rerak***.
jerk (CPL) *v.* ***rerakdi***, *see:* ***rerak***.
join *gv.* ***b***.
joint *n.* ***buku***$_2$.
judge *n.* ***jaksa***.

K - k

keep *v.* ***pai***.
keep in mind (CPL) *v.* ***minangdi***, *see:* ***minang***.
kernel *n.* ***bika***.
kettle *n.* ***ketel***.
key *n.* ***kir***.
kid *n.* ***moku***.
kiss *v.* ***munang***, *see:* ***mun***.
kite *n.* ***layang-layang***.
knee *n.inal.* ***bala***$_1$.
knife *n.* ***lui***.

L - l

lack *gv.* ***h***.
ladder *n.* ***awering***.
lamp *n.* ***lampu***.
land *n.* ***buku***$_1$; *v.* ***rotang***.
land (CPL) *v.* ***rotangdi***, *see:* ***rotang***.
land crocodile *n.* ***alesa***.
laugh *v.* ***lal***$_1$; *v.* ***yei***$_1$.
laugh (CPL) *v.* ***yai***$_1$.
lazily *v.* ***kilikil-kilikil***, *see:* ***kilikil***.
lazy *v.* ***kilikil***.
leaf *n.* ***ata***.
leak (CPL) *v.* ***tukoladi***, *see:* ***tukol***.
lean at *v.* ***tawerang***.
lean on *v.* ***talok***.
lean on (CPL) *vr.* ***talop***.
leaned at *v.* ***tawerangdi***, *see:* ***tawerang***.
leave *v.* ***we***.
leave for *v.* ***làk***.
leave (generic verb) *gv.* ***u***.
leaves *n.* ***kalei***$_1$; *n.* ***tala***.
left *v.* ***bikil***.
leg *n.* ***toku***.
lemon *n.* ***mur***.
length *n.* ***tukda***, *see:* ***tuk***$_2$.
lengthen (CPL) *v.* ***loidi***, *see:* ***loi***.
lengthen (CNT) *v.* ***loida***, *see:* ***loi***.
leprosy *n.* ***fak***.
lesson *n.* ***tira***.
liana *n.* ***biel***.
liana withe *n.* ***makiling***.
liar *v.* ***tafayak***.
lid *n.* ***bahata***.
lie *gv.* ***t***; *v.* ***taa***.
lie (CPL) *v.* ***tadei***.
lie (ICP) *gv.* ***s***.
lie on *v.* ***it***.
lie together (CPL) *v.* ***mot***.
life *n.* ***roa***.
lift *v.* ***liel***.
lift up *vr.* ***yok***$_1$.
light *adj.* ***abet***.
lime *n.* ***awai***.
lineage *n.* ***tira***.
listen *v.* ***faaling***.
listen (CPL) *v.* ***faaling***.
little *adv.* ***kabei***.
live *v.* ***lol-lol***, *see:* ***lol***; *v.* ***roa***.
lizard *n.* ***bilek***.
LNK (linker) *conj.* ***ba***.
locust *n.* ***tunui***.
loft *n.* ***akui***.
long *v.* ***lohu***, *see:* ***loh***; *v.* ***long***.
long ago *adv.* ***afe-afe***, *see:* ***afe***; *adv.* ***tura-tara***.
lontar leaf *n.* ***aikol***.
look *v.* ***wahai***.
look through *v.* ***tirei***.
loose *vr.* ***nai***$_1$.
loose (CPL) *vr.* ***nah***.
Lord *n.* ***Lahatala***; *n.* ***Tuhan***.
louse *n.* ***bikeng***; *v.* ***bikengra***, *see:* ***bikeng***.
low *v.* ***damaha***, *see:* ***damah***.
lumbar *n.* ***kopi***$_1$.
lung *n.* ***kalei***$_2$.

M - m

machete *n.* ***kawen***; *n.* ***sapada***.
make *v.* ***ong***; *v.* ***paneng***.
make a sound (CPL) *v.* ***moidi***, *see:* ***moi***.
make a sound (CNT) *v.* ***moida***, *see:* ***moi***.

make big (CPL) *v.* ***fokdi***, *see:* ***fok***.
make big (CNT) *v.* ***fokda***, *see:* ***fok***.
make bleed (CPL) *v.* ***felri***, *see:* ***fel***.
make bleed (CNT) *v.* ***felra***, *see:* ***fel***.
make (CPL) *v.* ***on***; *v.* ***panen***.
make dirty *v.* ***dakunri***, *see:* ***dakun***.
make high *vr.* ***dalielri***, *see:* ***daliel***.
make like *v.* ***wil***, *see:* ***wi***$_2$.
make like (CPL) *v.* ***wir***, *see:* ***wi***$_2$.
make like.Prx (CPL) *vr.* ***nir***, *see:* ***ni***$_2$.
make like.Prx (CNT) *vr.* ***nil***, *see:* ***ni***$_2$.
make thin *v.* ***folra***, *see:* ***fol***.
make this way *v.* ***nal***, *see:* ***na***$_2$.
make this way (CPL) *v.* ***nadi***, *see:* ***na***$_2$;
v. ***nar***, *see:* ***na***$_2$.
make young *v.* ***bilelra***, *see:* ***bilel***.
Malay *vr.* ***walangra***, *see:* ***walang***.
male *n.* ***awang-awang***; *n.* ***luotai***.
man *n.* ***neng***.
mango *n.* ***mea***.
many *vr.* ***beka-bekadi***, *see:* ***bek***.
mark *n.* ***lak***; *v.* ***lak***.
market *n.* ***anu***$_2$.
massage *v.* ***munuk***.
master *n.* ***adua***.
mat *n.* ***adik***.
me (LOC) *pro.* ***ne-***.
me (PAT) *pro.* ***na-***.
me (REC) *pro.* ***no-***.
mean *v.* ***berarti***.
meat *n.* ***mahiting***.
medial addressee based deictic verb *v.* ***fa***$_2$.
medial addressee based demonstrative *pro.* ***yo***.
medial demonstrative *pro.* ***lo***; *pro.* ***o***$_2$.
medial high demonstrative *pro.* ***ó***.
medial index verb (CPL) *v.* ***wi***$_2$.
medial index verb (CNT) *v.* ***wa***$_3$.
medial low demonstrative *pro.* ***ò***.
medial speaker based deictic verb *v.* ***la***.
medicine *n.* ***daweng***.
medicine tube *n.* ***malang aloi***, *see:* ***aloi***.
melon *n.* ***ku***.
mercy *n.* ***embeka***.
middle *n.* ***tama***$_2$; *n.* ***tantama***.
midnight *n.* ***tun-tuntama***, *see:* ***tuntama***.
million *num.* ***rat***.
millipede *n.* ***alehatang***.
milt *n.inal.* ***rai***.
miss *v.* ***buong***.
moan at *vr.* ***maling***.
moldy *v.* ***amosing***.
moldy (CPL) *v.* ***alinri***, *see:* ***alin***.
money *n.* ***seng***.
monkey *n.* ***luka-luka***.
moon *n.* ***ía***.
morning *adv.* ***akun***, *see:* ***akun***.
mortar *n.* ***natu***; *n.* ***tuk***$_1$.
mosquito *n.* ***kumal***.
mother *n.* ***ya***$_4$.
motorcycle *n.* ***motor***.
mountain *n.* ***abui***.
mouse *n.* ***ili***; *n.* ***tukda ili***.
mouth *n.inal.* ***wa***$_2$.
move *gv.* ***e***$_1$.
much *adv.* ***faring***.
mud *n.* ***fanak***.
mug *n.* ***mok***$_2$.
mushroom *n.* ***walik***.
Muslim *n.* ***al***$_1$.
must *v.* ***kul***$_2$.
my (AL) *pro.* ***ne-***.
my (INAL) *pro.* ***na-***.

N - n

nail *n.* ***kusing***; *n.* ***paku***.
name *n.inal.* ***ne***.

nape *n.* ***paloku***.
nappy *v.* ***tanekil***.
narrow *v.* ***kari***, *see:* ***kar***$_2$.
narrow down (CPL) *v.* ***karidi***, *see:* ***kar***$_2$.
naughty *v.* ***palaka***, *see:* ***palak***.
navel *n.inal.* ***bikil***.
near *v.* ***pe***.
near to *v.* ***peka***, *see:* ***pek***.
neck *n.* ***raala***; *n.inal.* ***wata***$_1$.
needle *n.* ***tieng***.
negator *v.* ***naha***.
nest *n.* ***ata taha***, *see:* ***ata***; *n.* ***maha***, *see:* ***mah***$_1$.
new *v.* ***tifa***.
next to *v.* ***ming***.
next to (CPL) *v.* ***min***$_2$.
nice *v.* ***masena***.
night *n.* ***tuntama***.
nightfall (CPL) *v.* ***tuntamadi***, *see:* ***tuntama***.
no *adv.* ***doma***.
noon *n.* ***war-wer***, *see:* ***war***; *n.* ***wer***.
nose *n.inal.* ***min***$_1$.
notice (CPL) *v.* ***roadi***, *see:* ***roa***.
now *adv.* ***yal***$_1$.

O - o

odd *v.* ***kal***; *v.* ***kaleba***.
office *n.* ***kantor***.
offspring *n.* ***tamang***.
oh *inter.* ***ah***$_2$; *inter.* ***eh***.
oh (surprise) *inter.* ***oh***.
old (about food) *v.* ***makiila***.
old person *n.* ***kalieta***.
older sibling *n.* ***naana***.
one *num.* ***nuku***.
only *adv.* ***taka***.
open mouth *v.* ***ak***.
or *conj.* ***re***$_2$.
orphan *n.* ***kaik***.
other *v.* ***afenga***.
our (E.AL) *pro.* ***ni-***.
our (E.INAL) *pro.* ***ni-***.
our (I.AL) *pro.* ***pi-***.
our (I.INAL) *pro.* ***pi-***.
oust *v.* ***ring***.
outside *n.* ***aka***$_2$; *v.* ***aha***.
owl *n.* ***yelakai***.

P - p

paddle *n.* ***sol***; *n.* ***wayang***.
paddle (verb) *v.* ***sol***; *v.* ***wayangdi***, *see:* ***wayang***.
paint (CPL) *v.* ***bilenri***, *see:* ***bilen***.
paint (CNT) *v.* ***bilenra***, *see:* ***bilen***.
palate *n.inal.* ***lingai***.
pap *n.* ***kaala***.
papaya *n.* ***batamal***.
parents *n.* ***yating***.
pass *v.* ***sak***.
pass, ago *v.* ***afe***.
pass along *v.* ***piek***.
pass along (CPL) *v.* ***piet***.
pass away *vr.* ***bekadi***, *see:* ***bek***.
pastor *n.* ***pandita***.
paw (CPL) *v.* ***langi***.
paw (CNT) *v.* ***langa***.
pay attention *v.* ***kilangdi***, *see:* ***kilang***.
pebble *n.* ***bikat***.
peel *n.* ***fohu***, *see:* ***foh***; *n.* ***foi***; *n.* ***kui***$_1$; *v.* ***foi***; *v.* ***kui***$_1$.

peel (CPL) *vr.* ***foh***.
pen *n.* ***pen***.
pencil *n.* ***pala***.
penis *n.inal.* ***pal***$_1$.
people *n.* ***serang***.
pepper *n.* ***lukai***.
perceive (CPL) *v.* ***mahi***.
perceive (CNT) *v.* ***maha***.
perforate *v.* ***bokung***.
perforate (CPL) *v.* ***tukolri***, *see:* ***tukol***.
perforate (CNT) *v.* ***tukolra***, *see:* ***tukol***.
perhaps *adv.* ***dingkang***; *adv.* ***maka***; *adv.* ***yang***.
perish *v.* ***moling***.
perish (CNT) *v.* ***malaida***, *see:* ***malai***.
person *n.* ***ama***.
pestle *n.* ***dol***; *n.* ***bot***.
physician *n.* ***dokter***.
piece *n.* ***tuku***.
pig *n.* ***fe***.
pigeon *n.* ***poying***.
pineapple *n.* ***tiongwat***.
pitch *n.* ***padok***.
pity *v.* ***embeka***.
Pl (non-singular marker) *num.* ***loku***$_1$.
place *n.* ***yal***$_1$.
plain *n.* ***fui***.
plait *v.* ***tinei***; *v.* ***tiol***.
planet *n.* ***planet***.
plant *n.* ***bal***$_2$; *v.* ***murui***; *v.* ***takda***, *see:* ***tak***.
plant at *v.* ***bing***.
plant at (CPL) *v.* ***bin***.
plate *n.* ***pingai***; *n.* ***tenga***.
platform *n.* ***lik***.
play (CPL) *v.* ***muili***, *see:* ***mui***.
play (CNT) *v.* ***muila***, *see:* ***mui***.
plenty *adv.* ***sila***.
pliers *n.* ***kadang***.
pluck out *v.* ***foyang***.
point *gv.* ***o***$_1$.
poke *v.* ***kiak***.
possession *n.* ***mang***.
possum *n.* ***ayo***.
pot *n.* ***dieng***.
pound *v.* ***tapei***.
pounded bamboo *n.* ***batemang***.
pour *v.* ***wel***.
pour on (CPL) *vr.* ***teh***$_1$.
pray *v.* ***mok***$_1$.
pray (CPL) *vr.* ***mop***.
pregnant *v.* ***afung***.
prepare *v.* ***binenra***, *see:* ***binen***; *v.* ***binenri***, *see:* ***binen***; *v.* ***bineng***.
prepare (CPL) *v.* ***binen***.
press *v.* ***tapak***.
press (CPL) *v.* ***tapat***.
pretty *v.* ***rielang***.
price *n.* ***bel***$_2$.
prick *v.* ***dik***; *v.* ***lok***.
prison *n.* ***kui***$_2$.
procreate *v.* ***yating***.
prod *v.* ***kok***.
prod (CPL) *v.* ***ket***.
prod (with a pole) *v.* ***kek***.
prohibitive particle *part.* ***he***.
protect *v.* ***kawal***.
proximal addressee based deictic verb *v.* ***ta***.
proximal addressee based demonstrative *pro.* ***to***$_1$.
proximal deictic verb (CPL) *vr.* ***ni***$_2$.
proximal deictic verb (CNT) *vr.* ***na***$_2$.
proximal index verb *vr.* ***n***.
proximal speaker based deictic verb *v.* ***ma***$_2$.
proximal speaker based demonstrative *pro.* ***do***.
pull *v.* ***bel***$_1$.
pull at *v.* ***telang***.
pull away *v.* ***fik***.
pull (CPL) *v.* ***ber***.
pull to *v.* ***fil***.
pumpkin *n.* ***adet***.
punch *v.* ***bok***$_1$.

pure *v.* ***masolang***.
pus *n.* ***anu***$_1$.
push down *v.* ***suiraidi***, *see:* ***sur***.
push up (CPL) *v.* ***arinri***, *see:* ***ari***.
push up (CNT) *v.* ***arinra***, *see:* ***ari***.
put *gv.* ***ì***.
put along *v.* ***sai***.
put along (CPL) *vr.* ***sah***.
put alongside *v.* ***sosong***.
put at *v.* ***ai***$_1$.
put away *v.* ***wai***$_1$.
put away (CPL) *vr.* ***wah***.
put between *v.* ***hanai***.
put between (CPL) *vr.* ***hanah***.
put down *vr.* ***damai***.
put down (CPL) *vr.* ***damah***.
put far *v.* ***loi***.
put far (CPL) *v.* ***loh***.
put in *v.* ***mai***$_2$.
put in (CPL) *vr.* ***mah***$_1$.
put on *v.* ***tai***; *v.* ***tei***.
put on (CPL) *v.* ***tah***.
python *n.* ***paliol***.

Q - q

question *v.* ***tahangdi***, *see:* ***tahang***.
quick *v.* ***aleka***; *v.* ***imal***; *vr.* ***abik***.
quiet *v.* ***ran***.
quieten (CPL) *v.* ***ranri***, *see:* ***ran***.
quieten (CNT) *v.* ***ranra***, *see:* ***ran***.

R - r

rage *v.* ***matak***.
rain *n.* ***anui***.
rainbow *n.* ***hoting***.
raise *v.* ***riang***.
rattan *n.* ***palotang***; *n.* ***tibil***.
rattan withe *n.* ***lawai***.
ravine *n.* ***bung***; *n.* ***pak***$_1$.
raw *v.* ***kowa***.
rayfish *n.* ***pal***.
reach *gv.* ***r***; *v.* ***tol***.
reach at *v.* ***rang***.
reach at (CPL) *v.* ***ran***.
reach (CPL) *v.* ***tor***.
reach (CNT) *v.* ***ra***.
reach for *v.* ***lal***$_2$.
reach (ICP) *v.* ***re***$_1$.
reach on *v.* ***palek***.
reach on (CPL) *v.* ***palet***.
reach over *v.* ***lei***.
reach over (CPL) *vr.* ***leh***.
recite *v.* ***panton***.
red *v.* ***kik***$_2$.
red ant *n.* ***fikai***.
red (CNT) *v.* ***kika***, *see:* ***kik***$_2$.
reduce (CPL) *v.* ***kidingra***, *see:* ***kiding***.
relatives *n.* ***ame***; *n.* ***lasak***.
relax (CPL) *v.* ***sakni***, *see:* ***sak***.
release *v.* ***tàng***.
release (CPL) *v.* ***tàn***.
religion *n.* ***agama***.
remainder *n.* ***bikil***.
remember *v.* ***minang***.
remnant *n.* ***ahama***; *n.* ***pot***$_2$.
repeat *v.* ***tamai***; *v.* ***ulang***.
replace *v.* ***manei***.
replace (CPL) *vr.* ***maneh***.

retain *v.* ***dai***.
rice *n.* ***ayak***; *n.* ***sieng***.
rice sack *n.* ***lapo***.
rich *v.* ***awen***.
rich (CNT) *v.* ***kawaisa***.
right *v.* ***rofi***.
rinse *v.* ***atik***.
rinse (CPL) *vr.* ***atip***.
rip off *v.* ***bakong***.
rip off (CPL) *v.* ***bakon***.
ripe *v.* ***ma***$_1$.
ripen *v.* ***sanri***, *see:* ***san***.
river *n.* ***lu***.
road *n.* ***yaa***.
roast *v.* ***rehei***; *vr.* ***iel***.
roast (CPL) *vr.* ***ier***.
rock *vr.* ***kilempak***.
rock (CPL) *v.* ***kilempakdi***, *see:* ***kilempak***.
rock (CNT) *v.* ***kilempakda***, *see:* ***kilempak***.
rodent *n.* ***rui***$_1$.
roll *vr.* ***ating***.
roll (CPL) *v.* ***tinri***.
roll (CNT) *v.* ***tinra***.
roll on *v.* ***ating-atingri***, *see:* ***ating***.
roof *v.* ***waai***.
roof sheet *n.* ***selaka***.
room *n.* ***kamar***.
root *n.* ***ai***$_2$.
rope *n.* ***kafe***; *n.* ***teila***; *n.* ***tila***.
round *v.* ***kupil***.
round (CPL) *v.* ***kupildi***, *see:* ***kupil***.
rub *v.* ***lang***; *v.* ***luk***$_2$.
rub away (CPL) *v.* ***sirikni***.
rub away (CNT) *v.* ***sirikna***.
rub (CPL) *v.* ***lan***; *v.* ***lut***.
run (CNT) *v.* ***firai***.
run (ICP) *v.* ***firei***.
rush *v.* ***fir***.
rust *n.* ***karat***.

S - s

sadden (CPL) *v.* ***hini-hanri***, *see:* ***hin***.
sadden (CNT) *v.* ***hina-hanra***, *see:* ***hin***.
safety pin *n.* ***fahit***.
sail *n.* ***lal***$_2$.
saliva *n.* ***puyung***.
salt *n.* ***ati***.
sanctuary *n.* ***masang***.
sand *n.* ***malatai***.
sarong *n.* ***keng***.
saw *n.* ***horo***.
say (affirmative marker) *v.* ***ba***.
say (CPL) *v.* ***fangi***.
say (CNT) *v.* ***fanga***.
scales (of fish) *n.* ***lafufung***.
scare *v.* ***marak***.
scatter *v.* ***bek***.
scatter (CPL) *v.* ***bet***.
school *n.* ***sakola***.
scissors *n.* ***gunting***.
scoop (CPL) *v.* ***si***$_1$.
scorpion *n.* ***peei***.
scrape *v.* ***kafi***.
screw *v.* ***bahak***.
scuttle *n.* ***fakal***.
sea *n.* ***tama***$_1$.
sea crocodile *n.* ***fahai***.
sea eel *n.* ***raleki***.
search *v.* ***tahai***.
search (CPL) *v.* ***tahaai***.
seat *v.* ***mitdi***, *see:* ***mit***.
secrete *v.* ***fal-falra***, *see:* ***fal***.
see *gv.* ***ng***; *v.* ***iéng***.
see (CPL) *gv.* ***n***; *v.* ***ién***.
seed *n.* ***bin***.

seed remnants *n.* ***bakooting***.
seize (CPL) *v.* ***punadi***, *see:* ***pun***.
select *vr.* ***ah***.
sell *v.* ***balik***.
send *v.* ***tabok***.
send (CPL) *v.* ***tabot***.
separate *v.* ***fal***; *v.* ***fol***.
separate (CPL) *v.* ***for***.
servant *n.* ***hamba***.
set *v.* ***mihi***.
set away *v.* ***kal***.
set away (CPL) *v.* ***kar***$_2$.
set laughing (CPL) *v.* ***lalri***, *see:* ***lal***$_1$.
set (sun) *v.* ***afeida***, *see:* ***afe***; *v.* ***afeidi***, *see:* ***afe***.
set up *v.* ***stel***.
settlement *n.* ***afeng***.
seven *num.* ***yeting-ayoku***, *see:* ***yeting***.
sever *gv.* ***f***; *v.* ***sik***.
sew *v.* ***kapuk***.
sew (CPL) *v.* ***kaput***.
shake *v.* ***rarak***; *v.* ***rarakdi***, *see:* ***rarak***.
shark *n.* ***tafel***.
sharp *v.* ***bula***, *see:* ***bul***; *vr.* ***bul***.
sharpen (CPL) *v.* ***bulri***, *see:* ***bul***.
sharpen (CNT) *v.* ***bulra***, *see:* ***bul***.
she *pro.* ***di***.
shells *n.* ***nemang***.
shelter *n.* ***bile tofa***; *n.* ***tofa***.
shield *n.* ***koling***.
shift along (CNT) *v.* ***suonra***.
shift along (CPL) *v.* ***suonri***.
shift (CPL) *v.* ***sur***.
shinbone *n.* ***fei***.
shine *n.* ***lakai***$_1$; *v.* ***lakai***$_1$.
shine (CPL) *v.* ***falakdi***, *see:* ***falak***.
shine (CNT) *v.* ***falakda***, *see:* ***falak***.
shiny *v.* ***madalang***.
shirt *n.* ***konrek***.
shit *n.* ***asi***.
shiver *vr.* ***raharak***.
shiver (CPL) *vr.* ***raharakdi***, *see:* ***raharak***.
shoe *n.* ***sapatu***.
shore *n.* ***tut***.
short *v.* ***bui***.
shorten (CPL) *v.* ***buidi***, *see:* ***bui***.
shorten (CNT) *v.* ***buida***, *see:* ***bui***.
shoulder *n.inal.* ***bang***.
shoulder blade *n.* ***kafelai***.
show (CPL) *v.* ***iénri***, *see:* ***ién***.
show (CNT) *v.* ***iénra***, *see:* ***ién***.
shrimp *n.* ***eti***.
sibling (oposite gender than possessor) *n.* ***ura***.
sibling (same gender as possessor) *n.* ***muknehi***.
side *n.* ***ai***$_1$; *n.inal.* ***mina***, *see:* ***min***$_2$.
side, hip, waist *n.* ***kafaata***.
sideburns *n.* ***kesa***.
sigh *id.* ***hin***.
sigh (CPL) *v.* ***inri***, *see:* ***in***.
sigh (CNT) *v.* ***inra***, *see:* ***in***.
silent *v.* ***maku***.
silently *adv.* ***rama-rama***.
sing *v.* ***yai***$_2$.
sink *v.* ***tudok***.
Sir *n.* ***pak***$_2$.
sister in law *n.* ***amoi***.
sit *v.* ***mit***.
six *num.* ***talaama***.
skin *n.* ***kul***$_1$.
sky *n.* ***adi***.
slam *v.* ***balak***; *v.* ***balakdi***, *see:* ***balak***.
slice *v.* ***tadi***.
sling *n.* ***kartipel***.
slip *v.* ***tung***.
slip (CPL) *v.* ***tun***.
slip out (CPL) *id.* ***sobakdi***, *see:* ***sobak***.
slip over *v.* ***sok***.
slippery *v.* ***rula***, *see:* ***rul***.
slowly *adv.* ***fala-fala***; *adv.* ***pat-pat***.
slump *v.* ***tabel***; *v.* ***taber***.

small *v.* ***ameta,*** *see:* ***amet***; *v.* ***kiding***; *v.* ***minaka,*** *see:* ***minak***; *v.* ***moku***; *vr.* ***amek***; *vr.* ***amet***; *vr.* ***minak***.
small ant sp. *n.* ***kaling***.
smell at *v.* ***munang,*** *see:* ***mun***.
smell (CPL) *v.* ***mun***.
smelly *v.* ***amaling***.
smite *v.* ***batek***.
smite (CPL) *v.* ***batet***.
smoke *n.* ***tika***.
snake *n.* ***mon***$_1$.
snare *n.* ***fetang***.
snatch *v.* ***bak***.
so *adv.* ***jadi***; *adv.* ***wala***; *conj.* ***hare***; *inter.* ***ho***.
soak (CPL) *vr.* ***yokdi,*** *see:* ***yok***$_2$.
soak (CNT) *vr.* ***yokda,*** *see:* ***yok***$_2$.
soap *n.* ***sabun***.
soft *v.* ***fanasing***.
soil *n.* ***anai***.
sometimes *adv.* ***teina-teina,*** *see:* ***teina***.
song *n.* ***yai***$_2$.
soon *adv.* ***ka***; *adv.* ***kal,*** *see:* ***ka***; *adv.* ***ko***; *adv.* ***kor***$_2$.
soul *n.inal.* ***noting***.
sound *v.* ***moi***.
sound made during the war dance *id.* ***hak-hak***.
sound of anger *inter.* ***waah***.
sound of blowing *id.* ***pupu***.
sound of boiling *id.* ***kuluk-kuluk***.
sound of crying *id.* ***en***.
sound of disturbing *id.* ***nuk-nuk***.
sound of effort *id.* ***in***.
sound of ghost *inter.* ***ying-yung***.
sound of ghosts *id.* ***maiton-maiton***.
sound of hitting *id.* ***pak***$_1$; *id.* ***reng***$_2$.
sound of metal *id.* ***rong***.
sound of pain *id.* ***katak-katak***.
sound of slipping *id.* ***sobak***.
sound of tearing *id.* ***kirek***.
sound of urinating *id.* ***ter-ter***.
sparrow *n.* ***ralaking***.
specific anaphoric demonstrative *pro.* ***hu***.
specific addressee based anaphoric demonstrative *pro.* ***nu***.
speak (CPL) *v.* ***tangi***.
speak (CNT) *v.* ***tanga***.
spear *n.* ***kafak***; *v.* ***il***$_2$.
speech, language, word *n.* ***tanga***.
speed up *v.* ***imaldi,*** *see:* ***imal***.
spice *n.* ***fitsin***.
spider *n.* ***pakak***.
spider web *n.* ***fabil***.
spin *v.* ***rimal***.
spit (CPL) *v.* ***puini***.
spit (CNT) *v.* ***puina***.
splinter *n.* ***tading***.
split *v.* ***kadel***; *v.* ***yik***; *v.* ***pok***.
split (CPL) *v.* ***pot***$_2$.
spoon *n.* ***tur***.
spouses *n.* ***motai,*** *see:* ***mot***.
spray *v.* ***ampai***.
spread *v.* ***lai***.
spread on (CPL) *v.* ***laini,*** *see:* ***lai***.
spread on (CNT) *v.* ***laina,*** *see:* ***lai***.
sprout *n.* ***bilel***.
sprout (course grass) *n.* ***tudolai***.
spy *v.* ***tumal***.
stab *n.* ***tulok***; *v.* ***kak***; *v.* ***tibuk***.
stab (CPL) *v.* ***kat***$_1$.
stable *n.* ***baa***.
stand *vr.* ***nat***.
stand apart *v.* ***karaifang,*** *see:* ***kar***$_2$.
stand up *vr.* ***nate***.
stand up (CPL) *v.* ***natet***.
star *n.* ***fir***.
stay *v.* ***afeng***.
stay (CPL) *vr.* ***afen***.
steal *v.* ***takai***$_1$.
steal (CPL) *vr.* ***takaf***.
sterile *v.* ***kofa***.
stick *n.* ***tikonrek***.

stick in *v.* ***tukol***.
stick out *v.* ***karaifang***; *v.* ***tuk***$_2$; *v.* ***tukda***, *see:* ***tuk***$_2$.
stick out (CPL) *v.* ***tup***.
still *adv.* ***dara***.
stipel *n.* ***tadielang***.
stomach *n.inal.* ***kin***; *n.inal.* ***tebak***.
stone *n.* ***wi***$_1$.
stop (CPL) *v.* ***kandi***, *see:* ***kan***.
story *n.* ***ananra***.
straddle (CPL) *v.* ***kadangri***, *see:* ***kadang***.
straight *v.* ***fafang***; *v.* ***mulang***.
straighten *v.* ***patal***; *v.* ***pataldi***, *see:* ***patal***.
straighten (CPL) *v.* ***mulangdi***, *see:* ***mulang***.
strengthen (CPL) *v.* ***rumaidi***, *see:* ***rumai***.
stretch *v.* ***tik***$_2$.
stretch (CPL) *v.* ***tit***.
stretch out *v.* ***tilek***.
strike *v.* ***baai***; *v.* ***uol***.
strike (CPL) *vr.* ***baab***; *vr.* ***uor***.
string (for fishing) *n.* ***manei***.
strip *v.* ***palel***.
strong *v.* ***liki***; *v.* ***rumai***; *v.* ***tukoi***.
strongly *v.* ***tukoi-tukoi***, *see:* ***tukoi***.
stumble *v.* ***kaberang***.
stupid *v.* ***mahapang***.
sugar *n.* ***ati ralowang***, *see:* ***ati***.
sugar cane *n.* ***fa***$_1$.
sugar palm *n.* ***nai***$_2$.
sun *n.* ***war***.
support *v.* ***tukai***; *v.* ***tukaidi***, *see:* ***tukai***.
sura *n.* ***ria***.
surf *n.* ***umak***.
swallow *v.* ***ful***.
swallow (CPL) *v.* ***fur***.
swarm *v.* ***afai***.
sweep *v.* ***kik***$_1$.
sweet *v.* ***ralowang***.
sweet potato *n.* ***balee***.
swim *v.* ***ayong***.
swim (CPL) *v.* ***ayon***.
switch on *n.* ***buka***.
sword *n.* ***sora***.

T - t

table *n.* ***meja***.
tablespoon *n.* ***or***.
taboo *n.* ***liel***$_2$.
tail *n.inal.* ***wai***$_4$.
take *gv.* ***m***; *v.* ***mi***.
take care (CPL) *v.* ***kamaidi***, *see:* ***kamai***.
take off *v.* ***rul***.
take out *v.* ***tul***.
take out (CPL) *v.* ***tur***.
tall *v.* ***king***.
tamarind *n.* ***tamal***.
tape recorder *n.* ***tep***.
taro *n.* ***ahol***.
tasty *v.* ***meli***.
tea *n.* ***teh***$_2$.
teach *v.* ***pating***; *v.* ***sakola***.
teacher *n.* ***tuong***.
tear *n.* ***nai***$_1$; *v.* ***fiek***.
tear (CPL) *v.* ***fiet***; *v.* ***kirekdi***, *see:* ***kirek***.
tell (CPL) *v.* ***ananri***.
tell (CNT) *v.* ***ananra***.
tell fortunes *v.* ***kalol***.
tell lies *v.* ***tafayak***.
temple *n.* ***karasing***.
ten *num.* ***kar***$_1$.
tent *n.* ***teng***.
termite *n.* ***anakaai***.
their (AL) *pro.* ***he-***.

their (INAL) *pro.* ***ha-***.
their own (AL) *pro.* ***de-***.
their own (INAL) *pro.* ***da-***.
them (LOC) *pro.* ***he-***; *pro.* ***we-***.
them (PAT) *pro.* ***ha-***.
them (REC) *pro.* ***ho-***.
themselves (LOC) *pro.* ***de-***.
themselves (PAT) *pro.* ***da-***.
themselves (REC) *pro.* ***do-***.
they *pro.* ***di***.
thick liana *n.* ***malei***.
thigh *n.inal.* ***it***;
n.inal. ***pot***$_1$.
thimble *n.inal.* ***bukang***.
thirsty *v.* ***rekna***.
thorn *n.* ***aloba***.
thousand *num.* ***rifi***.
thread *n.* ***kapai***.
threaten *v.* ***akeng***.
threaten (CPL) *v.* ***aken***.
three *num.* ***sua***.
threshold *n.* ***ahai***.
throw *v.* ***kul***$_3$; *v.* ***wok***.
throw (CPL) *v.* ***kur***; *v.* ***wot***.
throw down (CPL) *v.* ***koili***, *see:* ***koi***.
throw down (CNT) *v.* ***koila***, *see:* ***koi***.
throw up (CPL) *v.* ***tuokdi***, *see:* ***tuok***.
throw up (CNT) *v.* ***tuokda***, *see:* ***tuok***.
ticket (lottery) *n.* ***kape***.
tickle *v.* ***alei***; *v.* ***alei-aleida***, *see:* ***alei***;
v. ***atang***.
tickle (CNT) *v.* ***koida***, *see:* ***koi***.
tight *v.* ***fika***, *see:* ***fik***.
tighten (CPL) *v.* ***fikdi***, *see:* ***fik***.
tighten (CNT) *v.* ***fikda***, *see:* ***fik***.
till *conj.* ***sampai***.
time *n.* ***masa***.
tingle *v.* ***parai***.
tip *n.* ***tilipang***.
tire *n.* ***ban***$_2$.
tired (CPL) *v.* ***ahelri***, *see:* ***ahel***.
tobacco *n.* ***kafaak***.
tomorrow *adv.* ***akun***, *see:* ***akun***.
tongue *n.inal.* ***lifi***.
tooth *n.inal.* ***weti***.
torch *n.* ***senter***.
touch *gv.* ***p***; *v.* ***panei***.
touch along *vr.* ***pas***.
touch (CNT) *v.* ***pa***$_2$.
trap *n.* ***dak***.
trap door *n.* ***asiokai***.
trashing mat *n.* ***fut***.
tray *n.* ***faala***.
tree ant sp. *n.* ***lakangfak***.
tree (kedongdong tree) *n.* ***makong***.
tree sp *n.* ***afui***.
tree sp. *n.* ***kawaaka***; *n.* ***tuli***.
trick *n.* ***akal***.
trousers *n.* ***deki***.
trunk *n.* ***iya***.
truth *n.* ***rofi***.
tumble over (CPL) *v.* ***kaberangdi***, *see:*
kaberang.
turn *v.* ***wai***$_1$; *v.* ***wai***$_2$.
turn at *v.* ***reng***.
turn over (CPL) *v.* ***waili***, *see:* ***wai***$_1$.
turn over (CNT) *v.* ***waila***, *see:* ***wai***$_1$.
turn round (CPL) *v.* ***rimaldi***, *see:* ***rimal***.
turn to (CPL) *v.* ***ren***.
turn up *v.* ***rek***.
turtle *n.* ***yoikoi***.
turtledove *n.* ***ukulei***.
tv (television) *n.* ***tifi***.
tweak *v.* ***pil***.
two *num.* ***ayoku***.

U - u

urinate (CNT) *v.* ***aisa***.
urinate (CPL) *v.* ***aisi***.
urine *n.* ***wai***$_3$.
us (E.LOC) *pro.* ***ni-***.
us (E.PAT) *pro.* ***ni-***.
us (E.REC) *pro.* ***nu-***.
us (I.LOC) *pro.* ***pi-***.
us (I.PAT) *pro.* ***pi-***.
us (I.REC) *pro.* ***po-***.

V - v

vagina *n.inal.* ***oi***.
vanish (CPL) *vr.* ***nahadi***, *see:* ***nah***.
vegetables *n.* ***sieng ata***, *see:* ***ata***.
vertex *n.* ***fui***.
very *adv.* ***lakang***.
very much *adv.* ***latukoi***.
very small *v.* ***moku-moku***, *see:* ***moku***.
village *n.* ***melang***.
village head *n.* ***kades***.
villain *n.* ***ranta***.
vocative suffix *suf.* ***-e***$_2$.
voice *n.inal.* ***moi***.

W - w

waist *n.* ***takang***.
walk *v.* ***lol***.
wall *n.* ***bala***$_2$.
wall (from stone) *n.* ***kota***.
war *n.* ***taloi***; *n.* ***yenang***; *v.* ***yenangdi***, *see:* ***yenang***.
waste *n.* ***waik***.
watch *v.* ***tek***$_1$.
watch (CPL) *v.* ***roi***.
watch (CNT) *v.* ***roa***.
watch over *v.* ***kamai***.
water *n.* ***ya***$_2$.
water body *n.* ***wal***.
water bufallo *n.* ***karfai***.
water container *n.* ***yek***.
wave *n.* ***foi***.
we (PL.E) *pro.* ***ni***$_1$.
we (PL.I) *pro.* ***pi***.
weak *v.* ***alen***; *v.* ***kilik***.
weaken *v.* ***kilikda***, *see:* ***kilik***.
wear *v.* ***meng***.
wear (CPL) *v.* ***men***.
weed *v.* ***anek***.
weep *v.* ***tanel***.
welcome (CNT) *v.* ***arina***, *see:* ***ari***.
wen *n.inal.* ***fo***.
wet *vr.* ***yok***$_2$.
wet (CPL) *v.* ***alin***.
whale *n.* ***suwai***.
what *pro.* ***na***$_2$; *pro.* ***nala***.
wheel *n.* ***faala***.
when *pro.* ***teina***.
where *pro.* ***te***$_1$.
whet *v.* ***tidei***.
whetstone *n.* ***tideng***.
whirlwind *n.* ***ahana***.
white *adj.* ***kul***$_1$.
who *pro.* ***maa***.
wide *v.* ***tileesing***.
wild chicken *n.* ***yatal***.

wind *n.* ***timoi***; *v.* ***balei***.
window sheet *n.* ***kalei***$_1$.
wing *n.inal.* ***baakai***.
wipe *v.* ***paling***.
wire *n.* ***kawat***.
with *vr.* ***do***, *see:* ***d***.
withdraw *vr.* ***uk***$_1$.
withdraw (CPL) *v.* ***ut***.
woman *n.* ***mayol***.
wood *n.* ***bataa***.
woodoo puppet *n.* ***loku***$_2$.
work *v.* ***kariang***.
worm *n.* ***bu***$_1$; *n.* ***sibirel***.
wound *n.* ***fel***; *n.* ***mu***; *n.* ***namu***; *v.* ***mul***, *see:* ***mu***; *v.* ***namul***, *see:* ***namu***.
wound (CPL) *v.* ***namur***, *see:* ***namu***.
wounded *v.* ***namu***.
wrap *n.* ***patei***.
wrap (CPL) *v.* ***pot***$_3$.
wrinkled *v.* ***takukul***.
write (CPL) *v.* ***tulisi***.
write (CNT) *v.* ***tulisa***.
wrong-doing *n.* ***tafiela***.

Y - y

yank out *v.* ***rayak***.
yard *n.* ***futing***.
year *n.* ***tung***.
yellow *n.* ***adet***; *v.* ***meakilai***, *see:* ***mea***.
yes *part.* ***he'e***.
yesterday *adv.* ***afeida***, *see:* ***afe***.
you *pro.* ***a***$_1$.
you (LOC) *pro.* ***e-***.
you (PAT) *pro.* ***a-***.
you (PL) *pro.* ***ri***.
you (PL.LOC) *pro.* ***ri-***.
you (PL.PAT) *pro.* ***ri-***.
you (PL.REC) *pro.* ***ro-***.
you (REC) *pro.* ***o-***.
young *v.* ***fila***.
young (about women) *adj.* ***mayak***.
young (male) *adj.* ***abet***.
young (plant) *v.* ***male***.
younger *v.* ***kokda***.
younger sibling *n.* ***nahaa***.
your (AL) *pro.* ***e-***.
your (INAL) *pro.* ***a-***.
your (PL) *pro.* ***ri-***.
your (PL.INAL) *pro.* ***ri-***

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Spraakkunst van het Abui, een Alorese taal

Dit boek is een beschrijving van het Abui, één van de meer dan een dozijn talen gesproken op het eiland Alor, in Oost-Indonesië. De sprekers van het Abui leven in het bergachtige hart van het eiland. De taal wordt gesproken door ongeveer 16.000 mensen en kent een aantal dialecten. Dit boek is een beschrijving van de noordelijkste dialecten Takalelang, Tifolafeng en Alila. Abui is een Papua taal, en is niet verwant met de Austronesische talen van de omliggende eilanden. Abui is verwant met de talen van de Trans-New-Guinea taalfamilie, die voornamelijk gesproken worden op het eiland Nieuw Guinea. Alor ligt op een oeroude migratieroute naar Australie en Nieuw Guinea, maar de precize informatie over de migraties ontbreekt nog.

Dit boek bestrijkt verschillende gebieden van het Abui. Op het introductiehoofdstuk volgt de klankleer (fonologie) in hoofdstuk 2. Abui heeft de volgende medeklinkers: b, p, m, w, f, d, t, n, s, l, r, j (geschreven as *y*), ŋ (geschreven als *ng*), k, ʔ, h, en een aantal medeklinkers onlangs geleend met de woorden uit het Maleis: c, g, en ɟ (geschreven als *j*). Er zijn vijf klinkers: a, ɛ, ɪ, ɔ, ʊ die met gewone letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, en *u*, worden geschreven. Allemaal hebben ze lange klinkers als tegenhanger. Deze lange klinkers worden met twee letters gescheven: *aa* [aː], *ee* [ɛː], *ii* [ɪː], *oo* [ɔː], *uu* [ʊː]. Binnen de lettergreep vinden we niet meerdere medeklinkers naast elkaar. Dergelijke medeklinkerclusters worden vermeden; soms worden in morfologisch complexe structuren klinkers toegevoegd om de clusters te vermijden. Naast lange klinkers, is het mogelijk twee verschillende klinkers te combineren binnen dezelfde lettergreep. Zulke lettergrepen worden altijd beklemtoond. Het basisklemtoonpatroon is jambisch, geteld van het einde van het woord. Uitzonderingen vormen de woorden met een zwaare voorlaatste lettergreep, want die trekt de klemtoon aan. Naast de klemtoon en de lengte kunnen de lettergrepen ook nog in toon verschillen zoals *fír* [fɪr] 'ster' en *fir* [fɪr] 'haasten'. De woorden met een hoge toon worden gemarkeerd met het *accent aigu* teken. Abui naamwoorden hebben maximaal drie lettergrepen, maar de werkwoorden kunnen langer zijn.

Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt Abui woordsoorten. Het begint met een bespreking van de woordbouw. Abui is een agglutinerende taal; dat betekent dat een woord uit een aantal wortels, voor- en achtervoegsels kan bestaan. De naamwoorden hebben meestal een simpele morfologische structuur. Er zijn geen naamvallen, en geen uitgangen voor enkelvoud en meervoud. De naamwoorden die naar lichaamsdelen verwijzen, krijgen meestal een voorvoegsel dat naar de bezitter verwijst. Voor de meerderheid van deze woorden is zo'n voorvoegsel verplicht. De morfologie van de werkwoorden is in het algemeen meer complex dan die van naamwooden. Werkwoordelijke stammen kunnen combineren met (maximaal) twee voornaamwoordelijke voorvoegsels en drie achtervoegsels voor aspect. Zowel de voorvoegsels als de achtervoegsels kunnen verplicht zijn. Werkwoordelijke samenstellingen komen veel voor: hoofdstuk 7 is er volledig aan gewijd.

Het tweede deel van hoofdstuk 3 geeft een overzicht van Abui woordstoorten, die verdeeld worden in open en gesloten klassen. Naamwoorden en werkwoorden behoren tot de open klassen. De gesloten klassen zijn bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, bijwoorden, demonstratieven, telwoorden, voegwoorden, en vraagwoorden. Werkwoordelijke en naamwoordelijke stammen kunnen niet altijd van elkaar worden onderscheiden. Bijvoorbeeld de stam ***yaa*** betekent zowel 'gaan', als 'weg, pad'; en de stam ***tanga*** betekent 'spreken' en 'spraak, taal'. Voor een 'Papua' taal is zulke ambiguïteit ongebruikelijk, maar in de omliggende Austronesische talen komt het vaker voor.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de Abui naamwoorden. Naast naamwoorden die naar mensen en plaatsen verwijzen, kent het Abui naamwoorden, die naar substanties en naar concrete voorwerpen verwijzen. Deze naamwoorden komen vaak voor als een lid van een samenstelling of worden in een naamwoordsgroep (Noun Phrase, NP) gevolgd door een ander naamwoord. In beide gevallen wordt hun referentie nader bepaald door het andere lid van de samenstelling of de woordgroep.

De Abui naamwoordgroep heeft een vaste woordvolgorde. In het algemeen is het eerste lid het hoofd. Alleen aanwijzende voornaamwoorden (*deictic demonstratives*), en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden gaan aan het hoofd vooraf. Andere leden van de NP volgen op het hoofd: naamwoorden, bijvoegelijke naamwoorden of statieve werkwoorden, telwoorden en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden (*anaphoric demonstratives*). Daarnaast bestaat de mogelijkheid om een betrekkelijke bijzin of een ander zinsdeel aan het hoofdnomen te koppelen door middel van het voegwoord ***ba*** (LNK) dat ook zinnen aan elkaar 'linkt'. Het opmerkelijke is dat een dusdanig gekoppeld zinsdeel zich op de plaats van zijn eenvoudige tegenhanger bevindt. Dus bijzinnen die de locatie of bezitter uitdrukken staan voor het hoofd en alle andere volgen erop.

Hoofdstuk 5 bespreekt de manier waarop de argumenten van een werkwoordelijk gezegde uitgedrukt worden. In deze beschrijving worden niet de traditionele termen onderwerp (*subject*) en lijdend voorwerp (*object*) gebruikt, maar de noties *Actor (A) argument* versus *Undergoer (U) argument*. De motivatie hiervoor is dat de wijze waarop een argument uitgedrukt wordt, niet puur grammaticaal bepaald is, maar vooral afhankelijk is van de semantische eigenschappen van de participanten van een gebeurtenis. Deelnemers die actief participeren in de gebeurtenis worden als het A argument uitgedrukt in transitieve en in intransitive constructies. Dat wil dus zeggen dat in ***na wan sieng neei*** 'ik heb al rijst gegeten', de eerste persoon enkelvoud participant op dezelfde manier wordt uitgedrukt als de eerste persoon enkelvoud deelnemer in ***na wan firai*** 'ik heb al gerend': allebei met het voornaamwoord ***na***. Maar wanneer deelnemers niet actief deelnemen, en een gebeurtenis meer 'ondergaan', dan worden ze als een U argument uitgedrukt, door middel van een voornaamwoordelijk voorvoegsel in plaats van een vrijstaand voornaamwoord. Dus de eerste persoon enkelvoud deelnemer in ***di wan na-weli*** 'hij heeft mij gewassen' wordt met een voorvoegsel uitgedrukt, op dezelfde manier als in ***wan na-riki*** 'ik ben geworden'. De deelnemers in gebeurtenissen als ***na wan naweli*** 'ik heb me al gewassen' worden zowel met het A argument als met het U argument uitgedrukt zoals ook het geval is in vergelijkbare constructies in het Nederlands of Engels.

Er zijn drie verschillende typen verbuigingen voor de voornaamwoordelijke voorvoegsels die het U argument uitdrukken. De voorvoegsels met met de klinker ***e*** in het enkelvoud en een ***i*** in het meervoud verwijzen naar een locatie of belanghebbende

(*location/benefactive*). De voorvoegsels met een *o* in het enkelvoud en een *u* in het meervoud drukken altijd een ontvanger (*recipient*) uit. De voorvoegsels met de klinker *a* in het enkelvoud en een *i* in het meervoud drukken de participant uit die het minst actief is en het meest een 'lijdend' voorwerp is (*patient*). Sommige werkwoorden kunnen combineren met alle drie de voorvoegsels. Het werkwoord *loi* 'verwijderen, wegleggen', bijvoorbeeld, combineert met *he-* in *kaai he-loi* 'een hond blaft erop'. In deze zin verwijst *he-* naar een plaats. In *kaai ho-loi* 'een hond blaft op hem', verwijst *ho-* naar een persoon. In *kaai ha-loi* 'een hond jaagt het weg' verandert de betekenis, en wordt *ha-* verstaan als datgene dat verjaagd wordt. Vervoegingen als deze komen zeer vaak voor, en worden op een productieve wijze toegepast.

Hoofdstuk 6 behandelt het werkwoordelijke gezegde. Ten eerste wordt uitgelegd hoe Abui werkwoorden hun stam vervoegen om het werkwoord aspect weer te geven. De vervoeging van de stam geeft aan of de gebeurtenis begint (*inceptive*), voltooid is (*completive*) of voortgezet wordt (*continuative*). Bijvoorbeeld het werkwoord 'rennen' heeft twee stammen *firei* en *firai*. De stam *firei* wordt gebruikt om aan te geven dat het rennen begint of pas begonnen is (*inceptive*), terwijl *firai* aangeeft dat het rennen inmiddels volbracht is (*completive*). Er zijn een aantal werkwoordklassen die hun stammen op deze wijze variëren. Het werkwoord kan vervolgens maximaal drie aspect–achtervoegsels krijgen. Deze geven aan of de gebeurtenis begonnen of volbracht is, of nog doorgaat. Hierboven zagen we al dat een werkwoord combineert met een of twee voorvoegsels die het U argument uitdrukken. Abui werkwoorden zijn flexibel, hetzelfde werkwoord kan in een transitieve constructie gebruikt worden (met twee participanten) maar ook in een intransitieve constructie (met slechts één participant). Ditransitieve constructies zoals 'ik gaf Jan een boek' komen in Abui niet voor. Deze constructies worden met een seriële constructie uitgedrukt zoals *na sura mi Yance he-ri* 'ik nam een boek en gaf (het) aan Jantje'.

Het werkwoordelijke gezegde is de kern van de zin. Het kan combineren met andere zinsdelen. Naamwoordsgroepen (*NPs*), voornaamwoorden, bijwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwooden (*deictic demonstratives*) staan links van het gezegde. Ontkennende en bevestigende partikels, en anaforische voornaamwoorden (*anaphoric demonstratives*) volgen het werkwoordelijke gezegde.

Hoofdstuk 7 is in zijn geheel gewijd aan complexe werkwoorden. Abui beschikt over een gesloten klasse van generieke werkwoorden (*generic verbs*). Generieke werkwoorden hebben een zeer algemene betekenis die vaak pas in het zinsverband duidelijk wordt. Het zijn werkwoordsvormen die uit een enkele medeklinker of klinker bestaan, zoals *d* 'houden, grijpen, verkrijgen, pakken'. Met behulp van generieke werkwoorden worden complexe werkwoorden afgeleid van zowel werkwoordelijke stammen als andere stammen. Bijvoorbeeld van de naamwoordsstam *namu* 'wond' kan met het generieke werkwoord *l* 'geven' het complexe werkwoord *namu-l* 'verwonden' worden afgeleid. Waneer de voltooide (*completive*) stam *r* van hetzelfde generieke werkwoord 'geven' wordt gebruikt dan wordt de betekenis van *namu-r* 'gewond raken'.

Hoofdstuk 8 behandelt seriële werkwoorden. Seriële werkwoorden zijn clusters van werkwoorden die zich als één groep gedragen: ze vallen onder één ontkenning, één intonatiepatroon en delen minimaal één argument. Dezelfde gebeurtenis die in het Nederlands met een enkel werkwoord beschreven kan worden, beschrijft men in Abui meestal met meerdere werkwoorden. Bijvoorbeeld 'terugbrengen' wordt in het Abui

uitgedrukt met de werkwoorden *wai* 'draaien', *mi* 'nemen', en *me* 'komen'. Op deze wijze worden gebeurtenissen feitelijk opgedeeld in deel-gebeurtenissen. Ik verdeel de seriële werkwoorden in twee groepen: symmetrische en asymmetrische seriële werkwoorden. Symmetrische seriële werkwoorden bestaan uit werkwoorden die geen afhankelijkheid van elkaar vertonen zoals *pi yaa mit natet tanga ananra* 'we onderhandelen' letterlijk 'we gaan, zitten, staan op spreken en vertellen' en dat allemaal onder één intonatiepatroon, in één adem. Asymmetrische seriële werwoorden vertonen een afhankelijkheid ten opzichte van elkaar. Een van de werkwoorden gedraagt zich als het hoofd van de cluster. Het andere werkwoord heeft een hulpfunctie. Bijvoorbeeld in *na sieng nee kanri* 'ik heb de rijst opgegeten, let. ik at rijst voltooide', drukt het werkwoord *kanri* 'voltooien' het aspect uit van het eten. In *na me na-riki* 'ik werd ziek' is de functie van *me* 'komen' om aan te geven dat het ziek worden op een geleidelijke wijze gebeurt.

Het boek wordt afgesloten met een aantal teksten en een woordenlijst.

Curriculum Vitae

František Kratochvíl was born in the Czech Republic (Havlíčkův Brod) on October 1st, 1976. From 1995 to 1998 he studied Czech and Dutch language and literature at the Charles University of Prague. In 1998, he continued his study at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands. He studied Dutch language and literature and Indonesian. In 2002 he received his doctoraal (MA) degree, after which he moved to Leiden to enroll as a PhD student at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). As of June 2007 he will take up a postdoc fellowship at the Research Center for Linguistic Typology of the La Trobe University, Melbourne.